GUIDE TO THE AF16 SOUTHWEST CHINA FILE

[The AF16 Southwest China File contains specific data on the regional culture of the southwestern Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sikang (Sikang was officially incorporated into Szechuan Province in July 1955). Southwest China was the last region to come under the power of the Chinese Communist government. It is a large area geographically (Yunnan is the second largest province in China), and contains as high a cultural diversity as to be found anywhere in China. There were a large number of tribal groups and small kingdoms speaking different languages which interacted with Chinese culture over a long period of time. The center of Chinese culture in the area was Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan. Among the many ethnic groups in the area which are discussed in the sources in the file are Minchia, Na-khi (Moso) and Pai-i.

There are seven sources in the AF16 Southwest China file, all of them in English. The basic source is 1: Stanford University. This is a general social, economic and political survey of this region, concentrating on the period 1949-1955, i.e., after the Chinese Communist takeover. It also contains historical data and information on the peoples and cultures of the region prior to 1949. 2: Rock is a very detailed historical and geographical analysis of a region in Yunnan, containing also genealogies, information on trails and routes, and on the flora of the area. 3: Hutson is a study of the city of Kwan Hsien in Szechuan, emphasizing religion, but also giving a general ethnographic coverage of the Chinese inhabitants. 4: Hsu describes the reaction to a cholera epidemic in a small town in Yunnan and how traditional and modern methods of treatment intermeshed. 5: Davies is a general survey of

Yunnan by a British officer who was interested in railroad routes. It contains a good bit of fragmentary information on a number of the tribes living in this province. 6: Liao is a study of the origins and current status of a Chinese secret society in Szechuan. 7: Hu is an agricultural and forestry land use survey of the Szechuan basin. Aside from the general survey in 1: Stanford University, most of the information in the file is based on fieldwork done during the 1930's and 1940's. The exception is 5: Davies, based on travels in the period 1894-1900. This is a fairly good regional file and can be used for many cross-national or large-area comparisons. The data on the groups living in the area are quite scattered however, and the researcher should be cautious in using them. The file was processed in 1955 and 1956.]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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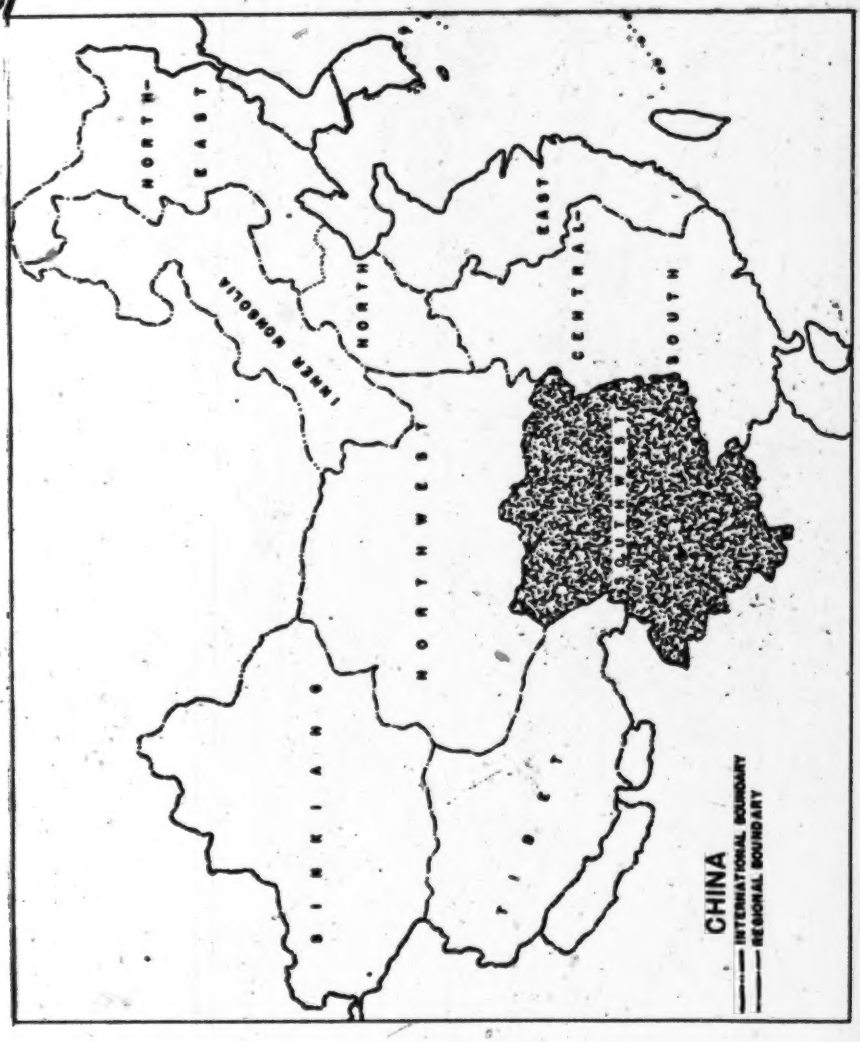

[facing p. 1(a)]

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Annex "A," Aubparagraph lh,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

177 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere, but local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. In Southwest 101 China, the Red basin is the oldest center of "Chinese" civilization. Yunnan and Kweichow remained in the status of colonies for many centuries after Chinese culture had taken root in Szechwan. Thus one might say that there are in the Southwest two distinctive types of sub-cultures: one is the older culture of the area surrounding Chengtu, and the other encompasses the remainder of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow and has been forged out of the interactions -- over the last few centuries -- between indigenous cultures and the culture of the invading Chinese. There is then as high a cultural diversity in this region as in any other major region of China.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. MILITARY CONQUEST

101 Southwest China was the last region to come under the power of the Chinese Communists.

The term Southwest covers the following provinces: Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang. However, Sikang has been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955.

669 A brief account of the conquest of these four provinces follows. The Communist army began their move toward this region at the beginning of November 1949. This task was entrusted to the 1st Field Army under P'eng Te-huai and to the 2nd, under Liu Po-ch'eng. When these two armies were fighting in the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan, they were further reinforced by the 4th army under Lin Piao. While the main force of P'eng's army went ahead for a direct attack of the Northwest Region, a part of his army remained in Shensi to fight the Nationalist army under the command of Hu Tsung-nan, who was withdrawing from Shensi to Szechwan and Sikang.

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PREFACE

121 The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West
101 China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

127 Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

114 My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers
[243] roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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101 tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

131 The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

162 In the area covered by map no. 1,[1] the Na-khi live in scattered villages
131 alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

174 Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

000 In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

[1] [see end map 1, cat 116 -- Analyst]

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of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 *tribe.* — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 玁狁), as well as the Hsün-yü 葷粥, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 2a–5a, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 蒲蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 晟州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

1 [p. 28A-- Analyst]

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175 101 he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.[3]

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 滇, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

[3] The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298–293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 409, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牁 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 爿 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山洞 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'iao-ch'ing ch'ao-wen chi* 樵經集文集, ch. 2, fol. 1–2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Asoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頌, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

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as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 琴. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-(Ch'in-)chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsang-ko* 牂柯 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that Hao is identical with Chuang Ch'iao. On page 9a, however, it says that it is feared that this may not be so. As regards the name Tsang-ko 牂柯, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as Tsang-ko. A footnote says that *tsang-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 牁 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平越, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂牁郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called P'ing-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

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175 101 Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480–403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kuo: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122–117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越巂 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th–April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang [4] where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

[4] It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 麼些 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅鍵甸. The P'o (Po)-man 僰蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 蠻宗部, Hsiu-chih 休利部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 澂江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b–5a, says that because T'u-mo-

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The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.[5]

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊愼, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熜 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高橋 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177–184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

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chih 徒莫武 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 蠻蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

[5] P. M. Tchang, S.J., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

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175 101 *The province of Yün-nan.* — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin-an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713–755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛羅皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

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stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 刺史埔. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 487 133

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets. 137

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See: San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神廟 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇史埔 (also written 刺史埔). The caravan stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet. [312]

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Khu (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu; colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of 101

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 沘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍 [3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are 197 now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled 173 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division 101 of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. [302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 鵝昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 擲, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 沘 is read *tz'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 沘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 泚, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chiu-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 駱馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people). 539 173

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common. 101

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

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Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 作 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

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south as the Ta-shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. Rock, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓杠嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-lung Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西青山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[2] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 故姬 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu-建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定作 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大作 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 故復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木裏 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 作 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定作縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 作都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 作 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 巂 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

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The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱輔 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang." 193

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 in the Han, Sui 隋 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages). — *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.[3]

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chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

[3] It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-zo* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ĕr-zo* or the Sons of P'ĕr (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O., T.* XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. *See* also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81. [101]

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi *yi* means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (900–247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475–440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a–b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. Tchang, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. Legge. A. Tschepe, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491–477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476–443 B.C.

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PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG

101 *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (PLATE 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (潞江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

[131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上捧可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

361 *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

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633 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business,
361 thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong
● 101 to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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361 101 the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大研里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wùa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 魯南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; *mbue-tkhi* is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 魯嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned [762] for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦壳 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lä-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. — This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wùa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various

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streams which flow south over the Li-chiang plain, flows through Tung-yüan li and is there called the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho 清溪玉河. A stone bridge crosses it on the extreme west border of the li, where it adjoins Pai-ma li. The bridge is called the Tung-yüan ch'iao 東元橋 and was built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. A mountain extends from north to south along the western part of the li, from which the above-mentioned stream flows; it is called She Shan 蛇山 (Snake Mountain).

Pai-ma li. — To the west of Tung-yüan li and immediately south of Li-chiang, is the li of Pai-ma. This is called in Na-khi, Wua-gkan-ts'an. The most important village is Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 (Na-khi, Muan-k'u, or the Lower or Southern gate). Other villages are San-chia-ts'un 三家村, the Na-khi Zhĕr-hăr-ndz(ĕr)-dzu (Where the green willow is born, or grows — on account of a large old willow tree which once grew there); the hamlet Chi-hsiang-ts'un 吉祥村, is divided into an upper 上 and a lower 下, the upper being called Ggŏ-boa-ts'an and the lower Mbe-lü (actually central one); then Ch'ing-yün-ts'un 慶雲村, called Wua-gkan-ts'an, whence the li derives its Na-khi name.

Tung-ni-lo li. — On the extreme east of Tung-yüan li, extending south along the Yangtze, is the li of Tung-ni-lo 東你羅里, of which the largest village is Tung-ni-lo. The southern border of this li adjoins that of the Ho-ch'ing district 鶴慶縣. Wu-lieh li 吳烈里 adjoins Tung-ni-lo li on the east and extends south of Tung-yüan li; it is a continuation of the Wu-lieh li to the north of Tung-yüan li. It does not extend, however, to the Ho-ch'ing border but comes to a sharp poir t half the length of the eastern border of the li of Tung-ni-lo. The villages which belong here are Wu-lieh, in the north-western corner, and Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村 (the Da-wùa of the Na-khi), in the west central part.

Hsia La-p'iao li. — East of the southern Wu-lieh li is the li of Hsia La-p'iao 下剌漂里. It extends from north to south to the Ho-ch'ing border. Its important villages are, in the west central part, T'ao-li-ts'un 陶禮村, and in the central part the village of Chung-chi 中吉, called in Na-hki Chu-gyi. In the east central part is the village of Mei-tzu-tseng 美自增, the Na-khi Muan-dsu-dzä; to the south of the latter are the villages of Ta-le 打勒 (the Na-khi Nda-lä), San-yüan-ts'un 三元村, and Ssu-na-ku 四納故. The southernmost village is Mu-chien 木堅.

Ch'i-ho li. — The li of Ch'i-ho 七河里 (Seven rivers) is south of Tung-yüan li and extends east to Hsia La-p'iao. It is divided by the stream called Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江, which flows into the Yangtze south-east of Ho-ch'ing, the Lä-bbu dü of the Na-khi, encircling the Sung-kuei 松桂 mountains to the south.

One of the streams which form the Yang-kung River is the Yü Ho or Jade Stream, the Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi, which has its source in the springs at the foot of the Hsiang Shan where the Lung-wang Miao stands. At Shuang-shih ch'iao 雙石橋 [4] the stream divides into three branches. One flows from Pai-ma li to La-p'iao, one through Pa-ho 八河 (a village south of Li-chiang),

[4] Shuang-shih ch'iao [Double (arch) stone bridge] is two li north-west of Li-chiang.

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361 101 and one through the center of Li-chiang (PLA - 53); all unite in Tung-yüan and join the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho. Flowing sou n, the latter river enters the Ho-ch'ing district and forms the Yang-kung Chiang. (The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes 漾工江 and 東員里 instead of 東元里.) A bridge called the Lo-ma ch'iao 勒馬橋 (the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes Lan-ma ch'iao 爛馬橋) spans it in the central part of the li on the main road between Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing. In the western half of Ch'i-ho li are the hamlets of Shang Ch'i-ho 上七河 (Upper Ch'i-ho) and Hsia Ch'i-ho 下七河 (Lower Ch'i-ho), the Na-khi Mbu-kv. In the southern part is the hamlet of Li-shou 麗首. In the eastern part of Ch'i-ho li, that is, the region east of the Yang-kung Chiang, are the following important villages: in the northern part, A-shih-ts'un 阿失村, south-west of it Wa-k'uan-tu 瓦寬獨, the Na-khi Wua-k'o-ndu (Tile kiln). South-west of the latter are the hamlets of T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村 and Mei-ch'i-chia 梅溪甲, and to the east of it is the village of Mu-kuan-ts'un 木官村; south-west of the last named is the village of Mien-ch'ang-chia 面塲甲, and south of the latter again is the village of Mei-so-chia 梅所甲, while east lies the large village of Ch'i-ku-ts'un 溪谷村, almost on the border of Ho-ch'ing.

Shang La-p'iao li. — To the west of Ch'i-ho li is the li of Shang La-p'iao 上剌標 (Upper La-p'iao), which is south of Pai-ma li. The most important villages are Ch'ieh-k'o-tu 且可都, in Nakhi Ts'ä-k'o-ndu (Salt-hole there), in the southernmost part of the li, with the hamlet of Chung-ho-ts'un 中和村 to the east or south-east of it. In the northern part of the li, south of the borders of Pai-ma li, are the villages of Hsia-tien-wa 下甸瓦 and Shang-chi-ts'un 上吉村.

Mu-pao li. — To the west of Shang La-p'iao li is the li of Mu-pao (Mu-pao li 木保里). The north-westernmost village is Wen-feng-ts'un 文崇村, in Na-khi Mùan-bbu; more centrally located are Mu-pao 木保 and, south of it, Chung-ts'un 中村 (Central village). Ta-ts'un 大村 (Large village) is on the eastern border and south of it the hamlet of Ta-lü 達魯, the Na-khi Nda-lv.

La-sha-li. — To the north of Mu-pao li is the li of La-sha 剌沙里, of which the important villages are Ch'ang-shui 長水, the Na-khi Ghügh-k'o, in the south, and to the north-east of it the village of Shang-i-ts'un 尙義村; the lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu 文崇寺, called Mùan bbu-nä in Na-khi, belongs to this li, so do the villages Mei-tzu-ts'un 梅子村 and Tz'u-man 茨滿, the Na-khi Tsi-man. On the western border, on the mountain slopes, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'eng-ts'un 老城村. At the extreme south-western end on the Li-chiang plain is situated the lake Sä-bpi Khü the Chinese Hsi-pi Hai 西碧海 or Sheng-pi Hai 生碧海; the mountain to the south of it is called Wan-sung Shan 萬松山, on its lowe slope is situated the temple of Cheng-chüeh Ssu 正覺寺.

Nan-shan li. — The longest of all the li is Nan-shan li 南山里 (Southern mountain li). It extends south of and encircles La-sha li, Mu-pao li, and Shang La-p'iao in part, and reaches also to the borders of Ch'i-ho. It is a very mountainous li with little level ground. A road leads over these mountains from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. The villages are mostly situated along this highway. From north to south they are: T'ieh-kan-shu 鐵甘書, which is,

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however, on the plain and in the north central part of the li and east of the road; along the road are Hua-i 花衣, Chi-tzu 戟子, Shan-shen-p'o 山神坡, Pen-shu 本書 and the southernmost, Kuo-mei-ku 果美古. 361 101

Hsiang-ko li. — To the north of this li is Hsiang-ko li 香閣里. There are two li of this name. This is the western one, the eastern being along the banks of the Yangtze where the iron chain-bridge at Tzu-li-chiang forms the border. This western Hsiang-ko li extends north to the banks of the Yangtze, and joins the li of A-hsi 阿喜. The latter extends north, and comprises the Yangtze valley west of the Li-chiang snow range. The northernmost village situated along the highway to Shih-ku is Sha-pa 沙壩, and to the east of it is Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝, which is on the border of A-hsi and Hsiang-ko li. To the west of it is Ching-k'ou-t'ang 箐口塘. Others to the south and not in the Yangtze valley are Hsiung-ku 雄古 (the Na-khi Khyü-gkv), Lu-wa 盧瓦 and Chu-pi 竹彼. The region to the north of the cross-roads (one running from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku, and the other from Chien-ch'uan to Li-chiang) on the top of the plateau, commonly called Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, is still the li of Hsiang-ko, which also extends south of these cross-roads to the borders of Chien-ch'uan. The southernmost village is T'ang-lang-pa 螳螂壩 (Praying mantis meadow). Other villages in the southern part are Lü-pi-shan 律比山, T'ien-hung 天紅, Mu-hai-p'ing 沐海坪, and Tien-wei 甸尼 (not to be confused with the Tien-wei of the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan).

La-shih li. — To the east of the northern part of Hsiang-ko li is the li of La-shih 剌是里, comprising a small area adjoining the Huang Shan in the east, which mountain separates it from the Li-chiang plain.

West of the pass over the Huang Shan, beyond Huang-shan shao 黃山哨, is the village An-lo-ts'un 安樂村. To the north of An-lo-ts'un is the hamlet of Chi-hsiang (ch'iang)-ts'un 吉祥村, and to the north of the latter is the lamasery of Chi-yün Ssu 指雲寺. To the east of the lamasery, on the western foot-hills of the limestone range which forms the southernmost spur of the snow range, and which separates La-shih li from Shu-ho li, is the hamlet of Ta-yü-ts'un 打魚村. In the western part of the li is the hamlet of Chi-lo-ts'un 吉樂村 and north-east of it Yü-lo-ts'un 餘樂村.

A-hsi li. — The villages in the Yangtze valley which form the li of A-hsi have already been described in the journey from the snow range west to the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. This comprises all the li from the bend of the Yangtze eastwards, to Tzu-li-chiang where the iron chain-bridge spans the river. (*See* page 253.)

There remain now only the two northernmost li within the loop, which are separated by the highway which leads to Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

La-pao li 剌寶里. — This is the eastern one. It extends south as far as Hung-men-tu 紅門渡, thence north to Chiang-wa-tu 江凹渡 (also called Chiang-wai 江外), and Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

Ta-chü li 大具里. — This, the western li is large, exceedingly mountainous and densely forested; the most important village is Ta-ku 打鼓 (Na-khi, Nda-gv), on the terrace above the Yangtze and within the loop.

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361 101 The snow range does not apparently belong to any separate li. The A-hsi li eastern border line extends along the summit peaks of the range to the village of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, at the mouth (entrance) of the Yangtze gorge, where it cuts through the snow range. Beyond the last mentioned village on the right bank of the river, the territory belongs to the li of Ta-chü. Although on the right bank of the river there are only cliffs thousands of feet high, where it is impossible to obtain a foothold, still less room for a hut, house, or village, the prefectural map of Li-chiang gives several names which designate certain rocks or parts of the cliff. They are located in Ta-chü li and read from south to north as follows: Ch'ing-lung-shui 青龍水 (Azure dragon water), Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff dwelling), Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment), Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard), and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's-comb ridge). This last is at the exit of the gorge. From Ta-chü, which is identical with Ta-ku, a trail leads along the Yangtze, but quite a distance from the actual river bank, on the western slopes of the main range which fills the loop.

North-east of Ta ku (Nda-gv), is the village of Lao-pen-ts'un 老本村 (La-mbe). further north Sheng-se-lo 生色落 (Sä-sä-lo), and finally Chu-ku 住古 (Tsu-gkv). From the main central trail which leads to Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), a trail leads to Nda-gv, and here we encounter the villages of Pu-ku-tsu 布固足 (Bbu-gkv-dsu) and P'ei-tan 培單 (P'ä-da).

Chiu-ho li. — To the west of Hsiang-ko li is Chiu-ho li (Nine stream li) of which the principal village is Chiu-ho-kai 九河街. The southernmost is Hui-lung-chia 迴龍甲, directly north of Chien-ch'uan. At the foot of the mountains which hem in the Chiu-ho valley on the west, are many villages of which the most important are, omitting the southernmost hamlet already mentioned: Ch'ing-chiang-chia 青江甲, Lung-ying-chia 龍應甲, Chi-lai-chia 吉來甲, A-ch'a-chia 阿差甲, Tien-t'ou-chia 甸頭甲 and Li-tzu-yüan 李子園. The border of Chiu-ho li passes through the top of the mountain range of which Lao-chün Shan 老君山, some distance to the west, is the highest peak. The villages situated to the west of that range, and still belonging to Chiu-ho li, are, from south to north, Sung-p'ing-pa 松平壩 in the south-western corner of the li, Wei-nan-hsiang 味南鄉, Ta-ngai-ts'un 打岩村, Jo-shui-t'ang, Shih-hung-shan 石紅山, Ma-p'ing-pa 馬平壩, Ta-p'iao-ts'un 大票村 and Leng-shui-kou. On the main highway coming from Chien-ch'uan, to the south of Chiu-ho-kai, is the hamlet of Kao-meng-ho 高猛河. To the north is Kuan-shang-ts'un 關上村, and the last hamlet is Chiu-ho-kuan 九河關 (Chiu-ho pass).

Shih-ku li. — To the west of Chiu-ho li is Shih-ku li 石鼓里, of which Shih-ku, the Na-khi La-ba or La-ba wùa-gkv, south of the bend of the Yangtze, is the most important village. The south-western part of the li terminates at the border of Ch'iao-t'ou li 橋頭里, which adjoins the high mountain known as Lao-chün Shan 老君山 in the west, the Li-chiang — Lan-p'ing hsien 蘭坪縣 border passing through its summit.

The Shih-ku li consists of a long valley watered by the La-ba gyi, (Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河), with the Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 forming its south-eastern border. An affluent actually has its source in Lao-chün Shan and flows along the western slopes of Wang-chiang Shan, while the main stream has its

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source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku. and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 鑼鍋箐.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 卢甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

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PART IV

AREA WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

FROM LI-CHIANG TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

101 The western and north-western region of Yün-nan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe comprises the valley of the Yangtze, from the town of Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba in Na-khi), west of Li-chiang, to the village of Ch'i-tsung (Na-khi, Gyi-dzu; Tibetan, Je-drong) in the north on the Yangtze. Ch'i-tsung is beyond the ancient T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) which once spanned the river; it is now under the magistracy of Wei-hsi. The region to and including the hamlet of La-p'u, on a western tributary which debouches at the village of Ch'i-tsung into the Yangtze, is also inhabited by them. To the north of La-p'u are still a few more villages inhabited by Na-khi, but the remainder of the territory towards Kar-ri (the Keng-li 更里 of the Chinese) and Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 is inhabited mainly by Tibetans.[1]

1. THE SALWEEN-MEKONG AND MEKONG-YANGTZE WATERSHEDS

The Mekong valley, separated from the Yangtze in the south by the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 Range, and to the north by the Hung-p'o Mountains 紅坡山 and Pai-mang Shan, is inhabited by Na-khi from A-dü (A-ti 阿滴) south of Wei-hsi on the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, which debouches into the Mekong, as far north as the village of Chang-lung, written lChang-lung (Willow valley) half a day's journey beyond Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛 (Yar-kha-lo) in Hsi-k'ang. To be sure, not all the villages on either bank of the Mekong are inhabited by Na-khi, for they often alternate with Tibetan villages, or Tibetans and Na-khi live together as in Tz'u-chung 茨中 on the west bank. The Li-chiang border extends as far south-west as T'ung-tien 通甸 on the T'ung-tien Ho, and north-west to Shu-miao 樹苗 on the east bank of the Mekong, with Lu-tien 魯甸 and T'o-chih 拖枝, typical Na-khi villages, south of the Li-ti-p'ing divide, which is also the border between the Li-chiang and Wei-hsi districts. The Salween valley (Nu chiang 怒江 also written Lu chiang 潞江), is mainly inhabited by the Li-su and Nu-tzu 怒子 tribes, the latter extending up the

[1] This mountain has been given by all previous travelers as the White horse mountain, or Pai-ma Shan 白馬山. This is due in part to the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a final consonant. *Mang* they would pronounce *ma*, which has been taken to mean *ma* 馬, hence the White horse Mountain. The Tibetan name of the mountain is, however, Pad-ma pronounced Pe-ma, meaning lotus, and it is thus possible that the Chinese have transcribed the Tibetan name of the mountain, as in their literature it is called Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, more correctly 白鋒山 (White sharp-pointed Mountain). In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, p. 3b, the mountain is called Pai-mang Shan 白鋒山. The character *mang* here can only be interpreted as "a sharp point," hence White sharp-pointed Mountain.

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● 101 Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

*133 The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Tè-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

132 *133 The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 漾江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

131 To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

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broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou,[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

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The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅姿 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獠, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆九驗. The P'u 濮 and Lu 獠 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 蛆羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 旄牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越巂羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 參蛆羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

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established in the Chiu-t'an 九賧 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü-chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麗江路). During the Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang. 173 101

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T'ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang, in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 汛 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü-tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白連 (White lotus), and Bä-lä-'a in Na-khi (H-M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of 'A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅; H-M., Dolö). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggŏ-lv-wùa (H-M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second. 487* 133* 137*

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-khü-ndu (Lower Khü-ndu; Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggŏ-khü-ndu (Upper Khü-ndu; Shang-heng-t'u 上亨土; H-M., Go-henda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 龍巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTH-EASTERN REGION OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)

●101 *133 The region from Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu) to Ch'i-tsung, Tibetan Je-drong (rJe-grong) [1] comprises the Yangtze drainage basin which lies in latitude 28° 30′ — 27° 35′. The Yangtze flows throughout in an arid, narrow gorge, flanked on the east, especially in the neighborhood of Pen-tzu-lan, by high, treeless, barren mountains which appear to be sandstone, one even reaching a height of 18,000 feet. This range is in Hsi-k'ang 西康, and more particularly in Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 country, inhabited by wild, lawless Tibetans known as the Hsiang-ch'eng-wa, or Chha-threng, written Phyag-hphreng,[2] the terror not only of Chinese and tribespeople, but of other Tibetan clans as well, even of the fearless Gang-kar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling).[3]

Hsiang-ch'eng was established as a magistracy in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and was called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣, but in name only, it is left severely alone by the Chinese, and the Tibetan outlaws do just as they please.

The territory here described includes the 20,000 feet snow range Pai-mang Shan, immediately south of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and two other high passes further south: the Kar-ri and the Ponge La. The valley between the two passes is called Yon-dze-khà, its stream debouches near Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙) into the Yangtze. South of the Ponge La is a maze of mountains, forested with pines, etc., on the eastern slopes, and spruces and fir on the wetter western slopes.

The country north of Ch'i-tsung is mainly inhabited by Tibetans; those living near Ch'i-tsung are called the Mo-so Ku-tsung 麼些古宗 and those around Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'ou Ku-tsung 臭古宗 (PLATE 202). They are all agriculturists, but as there is little arable land except such as is available on the river terraces of the Yangtze and Yon-dze-khà, they just manage to exist. [241]

*133 The volume of water carried by the Yangtze is considerably larger than that of either the Salween or Mekong, and the current slower. Rapids occur below Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍 (south of Ba-thang) where the river is reduced to a width of 100 yards. The barren valley slopes are composed of sandstone. The few hamlets in this arid gorge are situated on narrow shelves of alluvial detritus, with even occasional sand dunes. At Pen-tzu-lan the Yangtze is about 100 yards wide, and flows at an elevation of 7,100 feet. Here are rubble terraces covered with soil partly cultivated. Below Ch'i-tsung the character of the landscape changes completely. We have a broad valley floor with large fertile terraces, forested mountain slopes, and a quietly flowing river until Shih-ku is reached.

[1] See: p. 292.

[2] [illegible] [3] [illegible]

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PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

History and Boundaries of Yung-ning 永寧

1. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning. 101 173

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi) [1] family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A. [551]

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 麗化 (Li-t'ang 麗塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

[1] The name *Hli-khin* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi*. The Hsi-khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhĕr-khin.

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101 173 as Mu-li 木里 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the present Ch'ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k'-ang and partly in Ssu-ch'uan. The T'u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family 喇氏 which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多; Chhab-mdo) [2] in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa དགེ་ལུགས་ཀ).[3] He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: "Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work." The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: "If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity." The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po [4] (The first Mu-li T'ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T'u-pai-hu 土百戶 and T'u-ch'ien-hu 土千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* that the Tso-so and Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:

[2] ཆབ་རྡོ

[3] His name was rJe-blo-gros-chhos-skyong རྗེ་བློ་གྲོས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང

[4] སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་གླང་པོ

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"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approved he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh 巴洱 or 八耳 in the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief." [5] His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu 六藏篤都 a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs ཟླ་བཟང་མཐུ་སྟོབས, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob.

Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 項.[6] (PLATE

[5] The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ĕr, the Na-khi Mbĕr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri written hBar-ri འབར་རི; it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (འབར་ཝི་ལྡན). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced *dān* or *den*; its final n is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu 枯魯 or K'ang-wu 康烏 (in Tibetan, Khe-'ong ཁེ་ཝོང). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bsod-nams-dar-rgyas-gling བདེ་བ་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་ is situated.

[6] The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. *Hsüan* simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of *wei*, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-p'u 李章甫 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The late Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命自在佛敏吉呼圖克圖一等文虎章現任川邊佛教會長硜軍中將稱世雲木裏宣慰司開惠觀源 "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 項此稱扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorific: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei chün ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu 木裏宣慰司兼攝務指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍兩驃九龍防司令部.

At Min-chi 敏吉 a small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa ཨ་ལ་ཤོག་པ, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs rnam-sprul ཇམ་དཔྱངས་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ. (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan ཀྲག་པ་བསམ་གཏན), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (his captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-

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101 173 211). Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning, for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 攏打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, *i.e.*, the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 樓頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-dü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv dü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; *yi* stands for the name of the Yang-tze, *gv* is a box in Na-khi, and *dü* means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (*See also* Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 呷米; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.[7]

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shöh and the Hli-khin, Lä-mö or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nòh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

173 The *Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih* 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b–34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: "The Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a

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signed and as the lay male line of the Hang family has died out, the son of the sister of the late Mu-li King by name Hang Sung-tien-ch'un-p'in 項松典椿品 whose father is a Mo-la-shog Tibetan and the commander-in-chief of the late Mu-li King's forces has now been selected as ruler of Mu-li.

[7] The *Hsi-ning fu [illegible]n-chih* 西寧府新志, ch. 19, fol. 1a, states that the Hsi-fan are synonymous with the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 tribes and that they are very numerous, extending from Kan-su to Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. This statement would indicate that the Hsi-ch'iang are the ancestors of the Hsi-fan, similar to the Mao-niu Yüeh-sui Ch'iang who are probably the ancestors of the Mo-so or Na-khi. It would appear that most of the tribes whose language classes them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock, as the Lo-lo, Hsi-fan, Na-khi etc., are really descendants of the great Ch'iang 羌 race which became widely scattered and split into several clans or tribes, each adopting the name of their leader for the name of the tribe, thus, losing their identity as Ch'iang.

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173 "In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 [20] and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪 [21] subject to it.

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 慶保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫,[22] had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Hua-jung-chuang 華榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b–4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [*i.e.*, the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

● 101 Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 囉水 and She-k'ua 奢跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡,[23] 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜脚村 [24] [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-llü and P'u-dyü of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) [25] of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

[20] Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

[21] The present Hua-p'ing 華坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

[22] He was the joint o. sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章齡高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

[23] On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡茂坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 寧蒗.

[24] In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 蒲角.

[25] ཐུན་ཁང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ

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CHAPTER VII

NING-LANG 寧浪 OR LANG-CH'Ü CHOU 浪渠州

1. BOUNDARIES

The district of Lang-ch'ü which is still under a native T'u-ssu is now called Ning-lang 寧浪. The present T'u-ssu, like his ancestors, bears the family name A 阿 and is a relative of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. The Lang-ch'ü territory is situated between Yung-ning and the territory of Yung-pei, east of the Yangtze loop, and is bordered to the east by the Chung-so T'u-ssu 中所土司 in Ssu-ch'uan. It is watered by the Wo-lo Ho, the southern branch of which has its source south of Lang-ch'ü chou. The chief is a Mo-so, as are most of the T'u-ssu in this region, viz., the Chung-so, Tso-so, Ch'ien-so, Hou-so 後所 and Yu-so 右所, who are collectively called the Wu-so (Five *So*). The peasants are also Mo-so, but in Lang-ch'ü territory the Lo-lo have now the upper hand and are the real masters. A similar situation prevails in the territory of the other *So*. 101

The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, have the following to say regarding the boundaries of that district:

"It is 220 li north of the ruling city of Yung-pei. Its original name was Lo-kung 羅共 and it is inhabited by the Lo-lo and Mo-so tribes.

"In the east it borders on Ko-na-ssu 格納思, 100 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Chung-so border.

"In the south to the Tien Ho 點河 120 li to the border of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu [he was T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng].

"In the west to Chin-hsing 金形 180 li to the border of Li-chiang fu [in the Yangtze valley].

"In the north to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡 120 li to the border of Yung-ning. This is a village east of Mien-mien Shan (Continuous Mountain)."

2. HISTORICAL RECORDS

The Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 4b, state the following about the district:

"The seat of government of the Lang-ch'ü territory is at Lo-kung t'an 羅共賒, situated east of Li-chiang and north of the governing chün 郡 [Yung-pei], adjoining and contiguous with Yung-ning.

"Originally three tribes dwelled there from generation to generation; they are the Lo-lo, Mo [Mo-so] and Hsieh 些 [Li-hsieh 力些]. Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253). In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272), the district was incorporated in the empire. In the 16th year (1279) the name Lo-kung t'an was changed to the department of Lang-ch'ü chou. During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449) it became subject to Lan-ts'ang wei (military station of Lan-ts'ang); [this is the present Yung-pei or Yung-sheng].

"In the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (1687) the Wei was abolished and united

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●101 with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) t'.e chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

173 The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.[1] In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐國公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿各, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿珀, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿洪, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鑾, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿岐鳳, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿逵, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬歷 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尙義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the distr.-t. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659), owing to the ravages of the troops, he lost his letters patent, seal, and documents. Later Wu San-kuei rebelled, and, although he did not again receive official certificates, he assumed office.

[1] In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-magistrate).

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PART VI

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT RECORDS

The District of Yen-yüan 鹽源 (Salt-well) is situated in south-western Ssu-ch'uan and south-east of Hsi-k'ang 西康. 101

The Yen-yüan magistracy comprises a considerable area still ruled by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderatingly Mo-so; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascendancy. Yen-yüan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yün-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch'uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yün-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yüan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.[1] Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five *So* (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* 四川通志 (General Topography of Ssu-ch'uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* 嘉慶一統志). 173

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* 鹽源縣志 (Yen-yüan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.[2] A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935–1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

[1] He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch'un-p'in 項扎巴松典春品.

[2] The *Pei-p'ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T'u-shu-kuan* 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.

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173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卭 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卭都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

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貞元 (799) the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 韋臯 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the *Yüan Shih*, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Chün 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獹獹 and Ju-k'u 茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅斯宣慰司.[26] The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

[26] The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: P'o-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans). All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 大渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.

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173 to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu
101 ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the *I-t'ung chih* was situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty.

"According to the *Shu Chih* 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially in the Biography of Chang I 張嶷傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso, T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the *Chün* 郡 [perhaps here translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑[27] of the (Pai 白) Lang 狼 and Chiu 舅 the King of P'an-mu 槃木 were angry and disliked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The *Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty* state that Ting-tso hsien was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Barbarians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙作都 was the largest of them all. The *Hua-yang kuo chih* states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu Shui 瀘水 on the border of Pin-kan 賓剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白摩沙夷 dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 察罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武侯 (Marquis of Wu) (181–234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'un-ming belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the *Yüan ho chih* 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to Sui chou 嶲州. K'un-ming was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. *See* PLATES 162, 164]. For example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo ropes were stretched. The character *tso* 作 is equivalent to the character

[27] The *Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 槃木國 was west of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國, which is the present territory lying to the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順慶府 in Ssu-ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.

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chiao 筊 (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.[28] 173 101

Sui-chiu. — "It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yüeh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 勝門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134–87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — "According to the Records of the Chiu T'ang (Old T'ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 戎州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 姚州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yüan.

The obsolete Ch'ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai,[29] *Hsün-sheng* 尋聲 *and Lin-k'ai.* — "According to the *I-t'ung chih* these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T'ang History the land of Ch'ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k'ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch'ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T'ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 70 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch'ang explained. — "According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch'u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch'ang-li

[28] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* states that *tso* is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. In the *Shou-wen* 說文 it is said to be equivalent to *chiao* which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of *wei* 葦 (reed) was called *chiao*.]

[29] The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 松州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch'uan 東川 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 絳雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sung-wai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch'uan, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.

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173 長利, Kao-wang 高望 and Shih-ch'ang 始昌, in [the Chün of] Yüeh-sui.[30]
101 It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their cities [*ch'ang* meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 嶲 most of the cities were called *ch'ang*, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 鹽中, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh belonged to K'un-ming.

"It is possible that all the districts south-west of Yen-ching, as A-so-la 阿所拉,[31] Tso-so, Mu-li, Chung-so, and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (*or chou*). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K'u-lu 枯櫓, also called K'ang-wu 康塢 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'i 蘇祁, P'u-chai 僕寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-lu 西瀘, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 遏戎; all these were important garrison towns.[32]

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羌浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

[30] These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

[31] The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

[32] Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 顏慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.

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Yang-p'eng ling 楊蓬嶺, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan 俄準館. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

Jun-yen chou. — "Jun-yen chou was the land of K'un-ming of the T'ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P'u-lo chou. — "P'u-lo chou 普樂州 was to the north of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州.[33] Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou. — "The Hsi-yü chou 西豫州, or Mo-yü hsien 磨豫縣, and the hsien of Ch'i-pu 七部. At the beginning of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo 姜磨 and Shu-mo 戍磨 respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung 鹽中 there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch'i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t'ou tien (or Lo-lan pu 落蘭部). — "According to the *Fang-yü chih yao*, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu 馬剌長官司 or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p'u 鎮西堡 and Ta-ch'ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu chou 瀘州 and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching 中所鹽井.[34]

[33] P'u-chi was 150 li south-west of Hsi-ch'ang. The aborigines called it Kan-tien 玕甸 and the Lu-lu Man lived there for generations.

[34] The military substation of the chiliarch of Chung-tso, that is the Chung-so and Tso-so Ch'ien-hu of the garrison service of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦中左千戶所 was 160 li north-east of Yen-ching wei and during the Mongol dynasty was the land of Lu chou of the Circuit of Chien-ch'ang. During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398) a So (military substation) was established, but was later changed into five So, subject to Chien-ch'ang. The Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu was given to the family La 喇氏 in perpetuity.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted and the latter's son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch (Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶). Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

The land of the other four So adjoined Li-chiang and Yung-ning territory. The native official of the house of Mu of Li-chiang encroached on their territory so that half of it was lost to them. All the others submitted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and were given official positions, as the Yu-so chiliarch Pa 八, the Chung-so chiliarch La 剌, the Ch'ien-so chiliarch A 阿, the Hou-so chiliarch Pai 白. Later they were encroached upon and devoured by Li-chiang as a silkworm gnaws on the mulberry leaves.

In the *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu*, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character *cheng* 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon). Lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征) 月魯帖木兒 Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character *yüeh* is taken from his name and made to read "first moon," in the second the character *yüeh* is left as part of his name and the first character is read *cheng*, "to attack, to subjugate."

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year

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173 101 *Yen Chung-tso so.* — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 河西 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho [35] it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yüan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏.[36] Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yüan only. Yen-yüan is also spoken of as Sui 嶲, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yün-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yüan."

The magistrate who compiled the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145–86–74? B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yüan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui 嶲 is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh 越, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of

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of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two *yüeh*, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

[35] The *Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

[36] Wai-tsang was really the land of the Ch'iang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 禹貢. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ bKra-shis-lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsang 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong རྒྱལ་རོང).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF11

Yüeh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. 173 This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the 101 cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

"The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it *Tso*. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a *sheng* 繩 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

"The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [*Sui* is also read *Hsi*]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔. The character *hsi* 析 is similar in sound to the character *sui* 嶲 or to the sound of the character 徙 *hsi*. In the *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.[37]

"The character *hsi* 徙 is but another way of writing the character *sui* 嶲 but the character *hsi* 析 is an erroneous one.

"This would surely indicate that the Yüeh-sui 越嶲 is the Sheng-sui 繩嶲, (that is, the Yangtze).

"All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 敍府 may be called Sui 嶲, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yüeh 越.

"In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

"The word *Tso* was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yüeh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters *mai* 邁 and *yao* 遙 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

"The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 嶲水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.[38]

[37] Hsi-tso, according to the same work, comprised two kingdoms. Hsi hsien 徙縣 was in Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan), Tso hsien 筰縣 was in Yüeh-sui. Tso chou was originally outside the borders of Hsi Shu 西蜀 (Western Shu), and was called the Miao Ch'iang Sui 冉羌嶲. It was the Ya chou Chiung-lai Shan 雅州邛崍山; originally it was called Chiung-tso Shan 邛筰山 and was the border of the ancient Chiung and Tso people.

According to the *Ya chou fu chih*, ch. 2, fol. 42b, this mountain is five li north of the district of Ch'ing-hsi 清溪縣. The road over it is a very difficult one.

[38] This is indirectly correct for most of the streams flow into the Li-t'ang River, the latter into the Ya-lung, and it in turn flows into the Yangtze.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 "Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan
101 were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang 嶲江, but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER II

The Eight Mo-so Chieftaincies in South-West Ssu-ch'uan

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The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch'uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch'ien-so 前所 T'u-ssu (Front *So*) and the Tso-so 左所 T'u-ssu or (Left *So*); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so 中所 (Central *So*) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so 後所 (Rear *So*) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so 右所 (Right *So*) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left *So*) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch'uan. These comprise the Wu-so 五所 (Five *So* or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 T'u-ssu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh 瓜别 T'u-ssu in the north, near the bend of the Li-t'ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t'ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河 (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T'u-ssu's southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T'u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t'ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la 阿撒喇 T'u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 草直蘆,[1] whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 寧邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies' map, in fact the only one of the eight T'u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T'u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T'u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

1. KUA-PIEH 瓜别

"The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

[1] In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine *so* (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch'ien-so and Hou-so.

[p. 453]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 S households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

ST 651 "The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' S ST rations.

101 "There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173 *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).* — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

2. MA-LA 馬喇

101 Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 馬喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la [5] and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 擺夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yüan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yüan District Records calls them P'o 僰, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the T'u-jen 土人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 禹穴羌.[6]

"They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 僰, the radical of which is *jen* 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犭 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

131 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叵莨甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 嶲餓. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-chiang fu 澂江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yün-nan.

"The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所箐 and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 高 of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崖 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂箐, a distance of 70 li,

[5] In the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-yi k'ao* (see p. 437 n. 3) pp. 36b–37a, there is also mentioned a Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu, 瓦剌長官司. His territory lay 350 li south-west of the Yen-ching garrison. It relates that the family name of the native official was A 阿 and that the first ancestor of the family was a native of that place. In the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) he returned to allegiance, assisted with the revenue and acquired merit whereupon he was given the rank of Chang-kuan which his sons and grandsons inherited. He paid 150 piculs of food supplies which were allotted to the garrison. His territory adjoined Pei-sheng chou (now Yung-sheng hsien the former Yung-pei) in Yün-nan. At the time of the composing of the above records the Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu's name was A Sung 阿嵩. On a map accompanying the text, the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu is to the north-west of Yen-ching wei.

[6] Yü-hsüeh is the name of a defile in the Wu mountains 巫山 which gives passage to the waters of the Yangtze. The mountain is east of Wu-shan hsien 巫山縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The waters of the Yangtze pass east through the gorges of the Wu Mountains (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 397, fol. 6b).

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AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]

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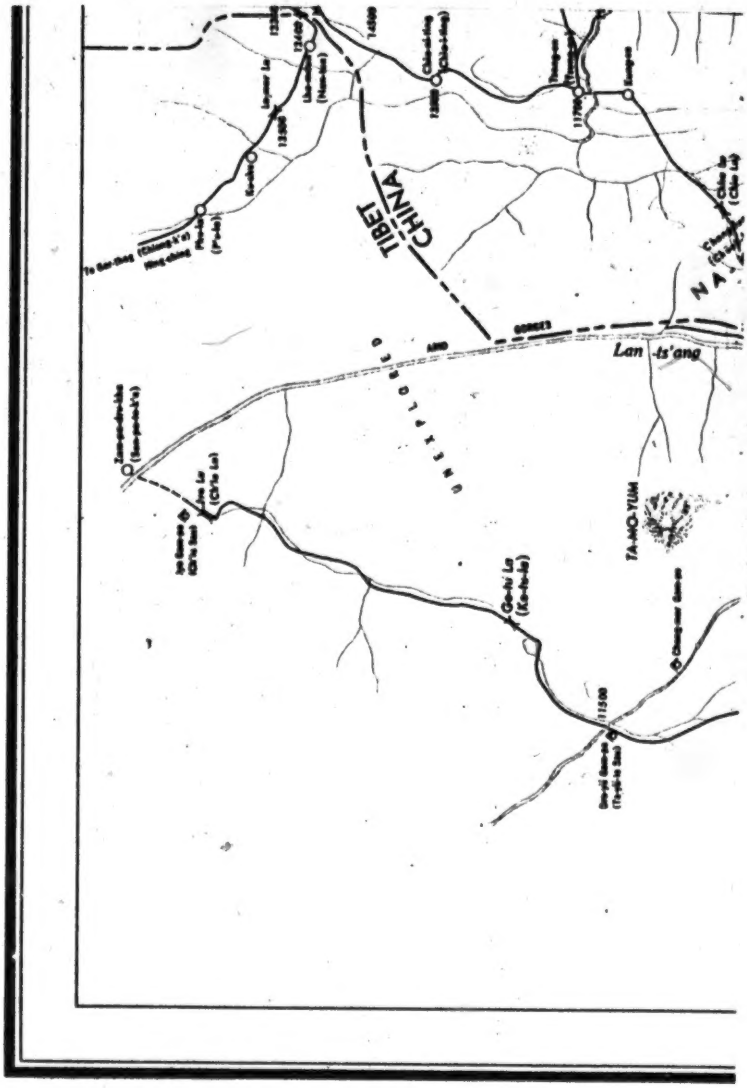

CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

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SHEET I OF IV
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FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

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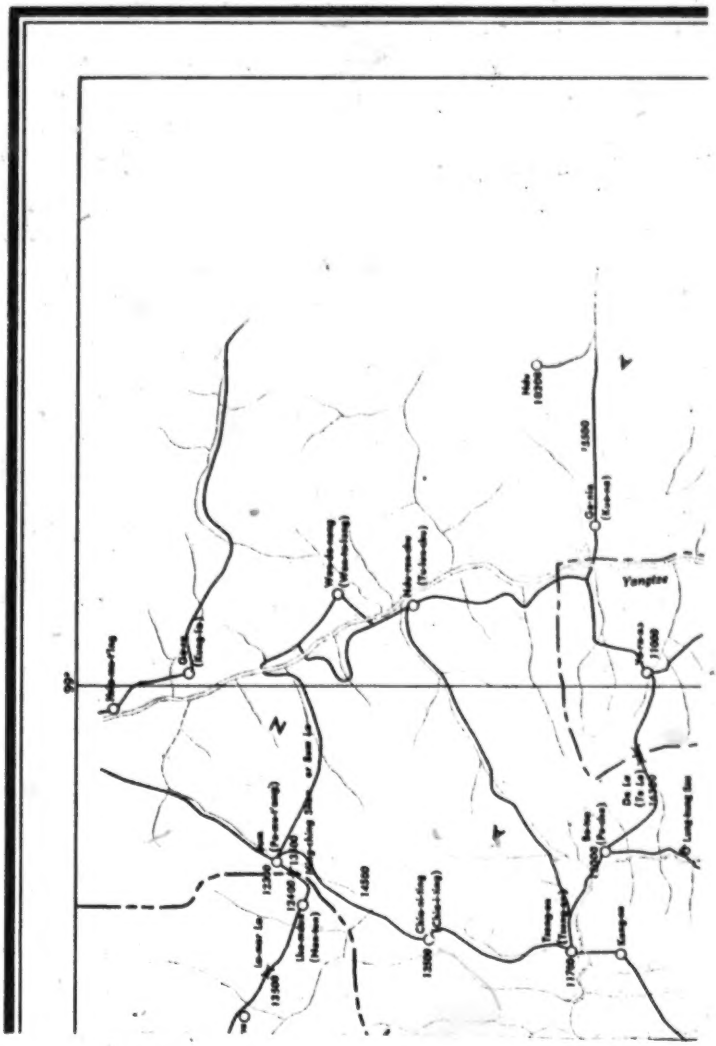

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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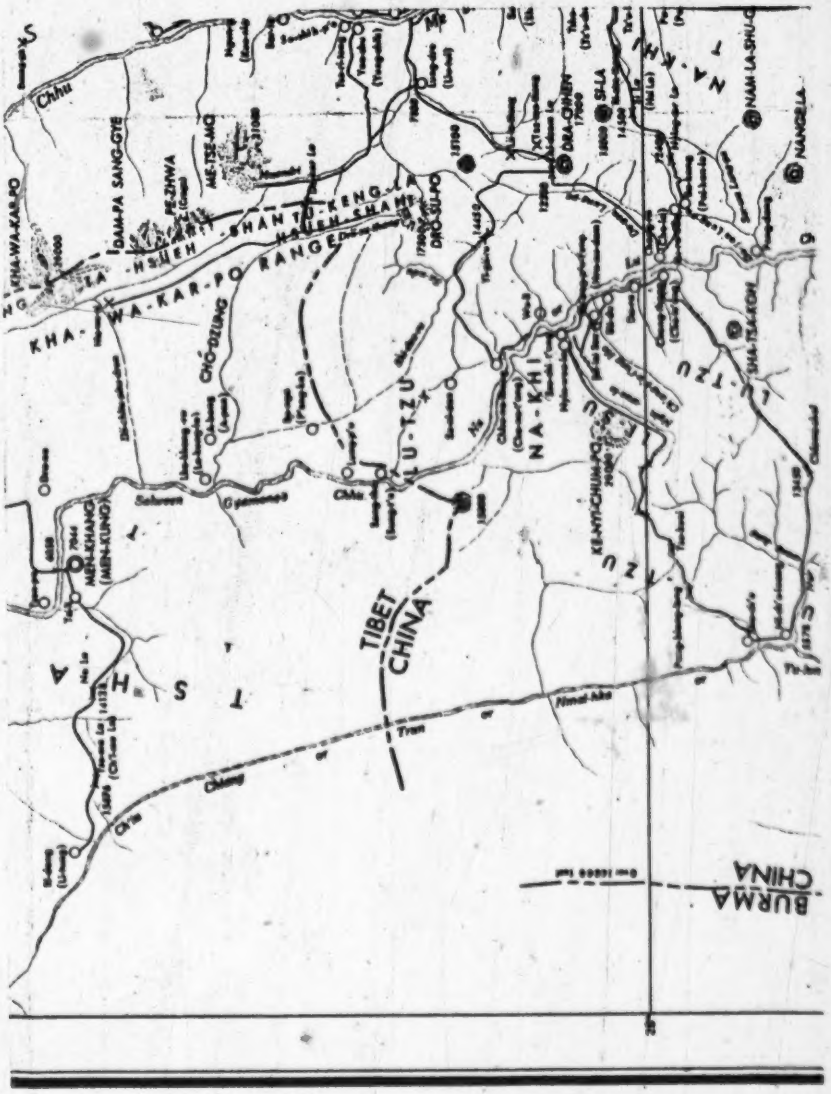

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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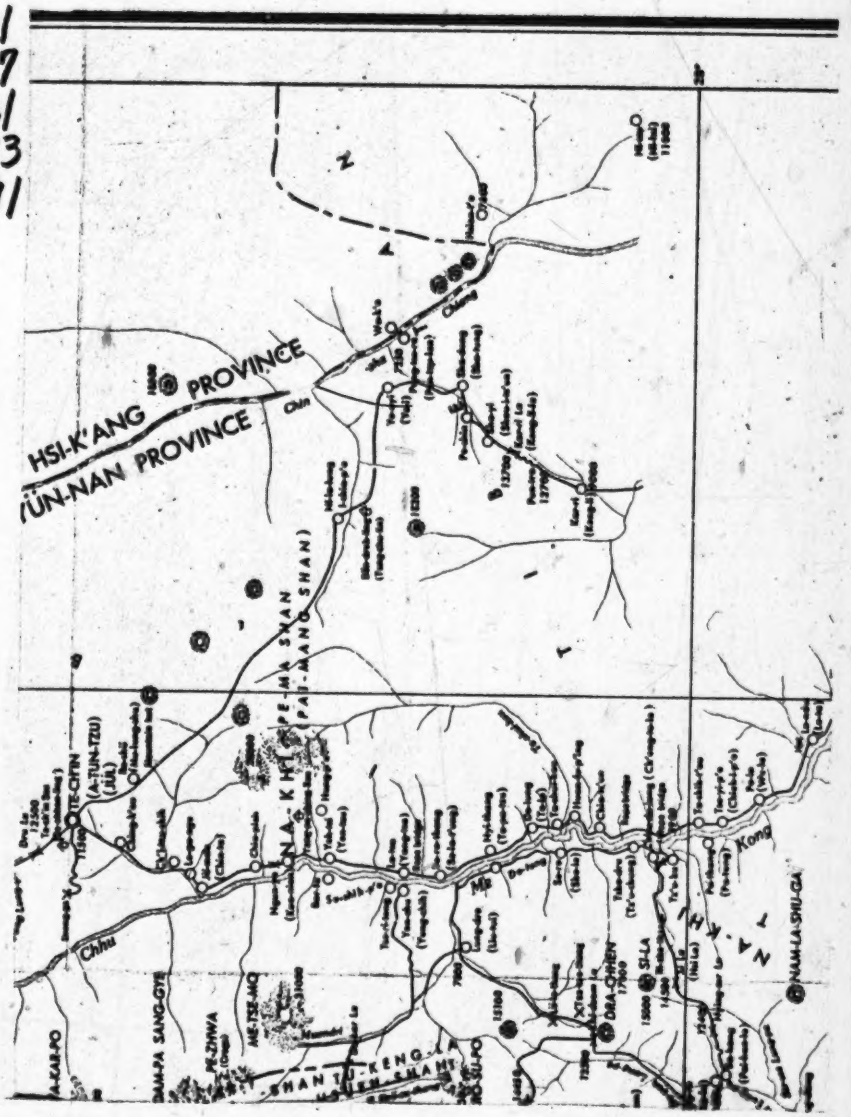

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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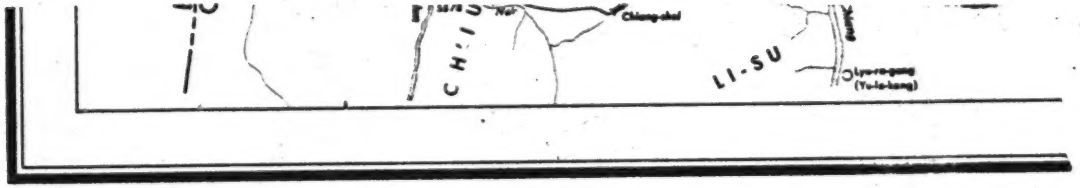

A.M.S. L406

First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1922, 1923 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1896, Captain F. M. Bailey 1911, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-16, Eric Teichman 1922.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximat

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Territorial or tribal
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District town
Village
Lake settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet — 15300
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sister terrace

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN

[Endmap I G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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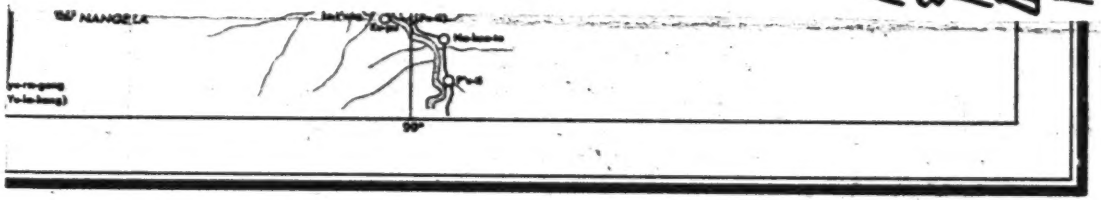

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ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C., 144362
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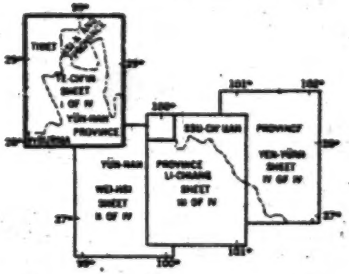

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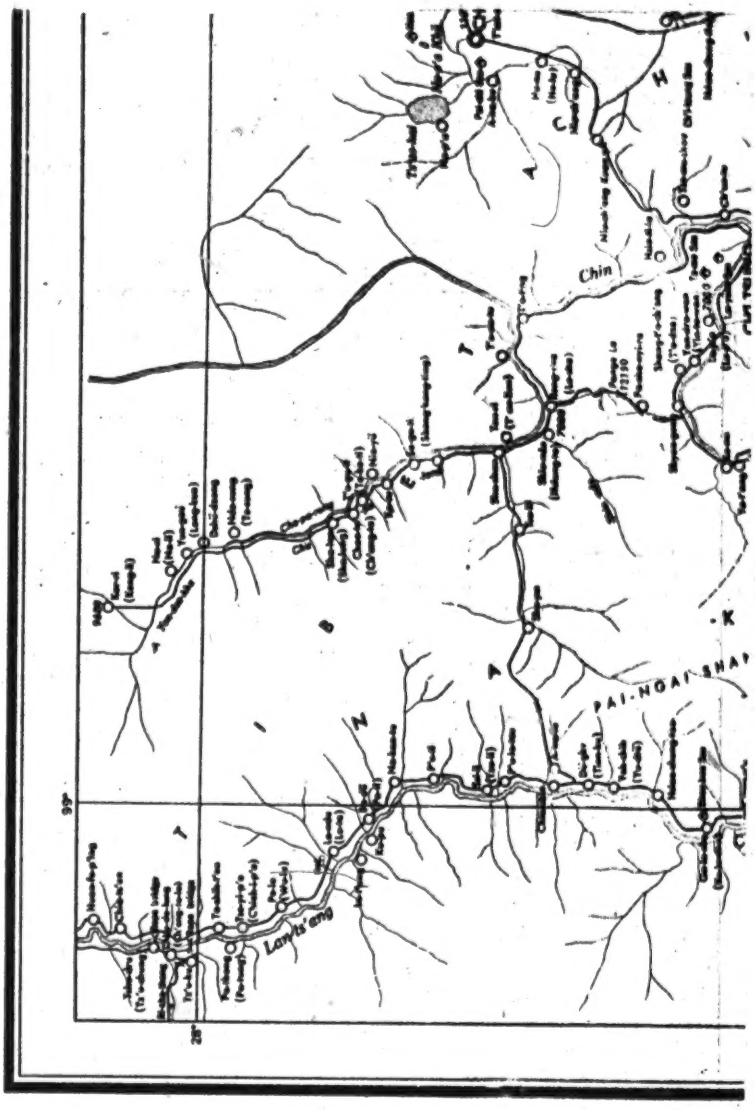

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SHEET II OF IV

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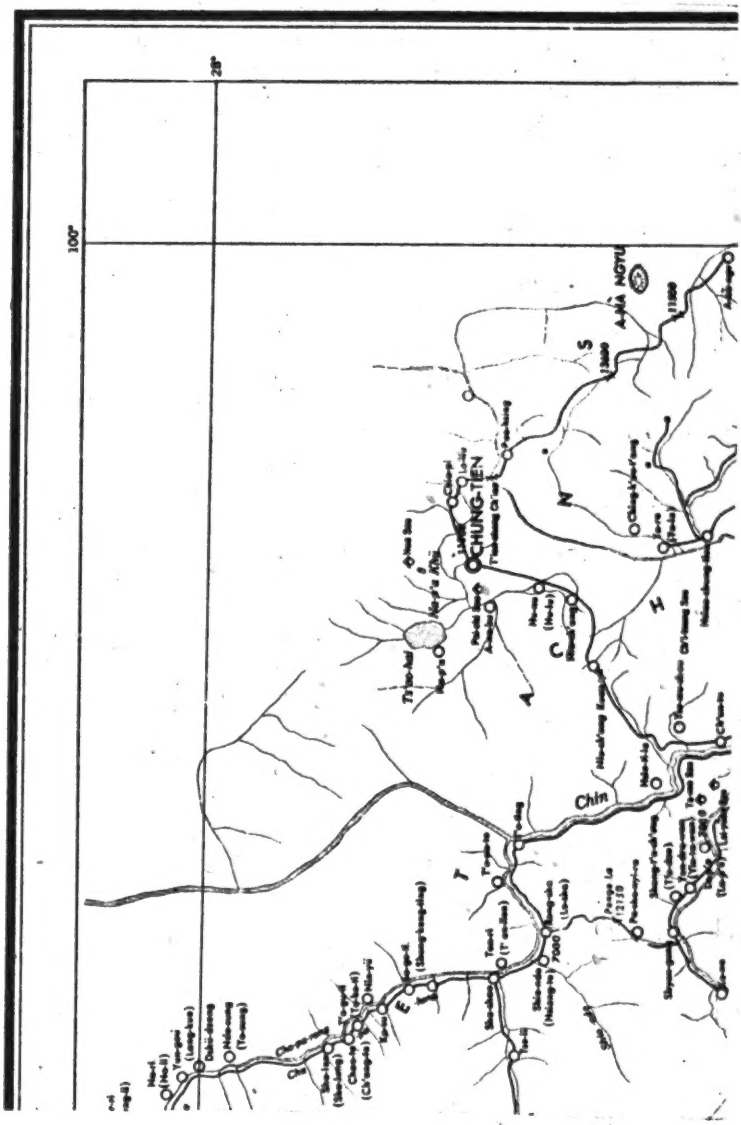

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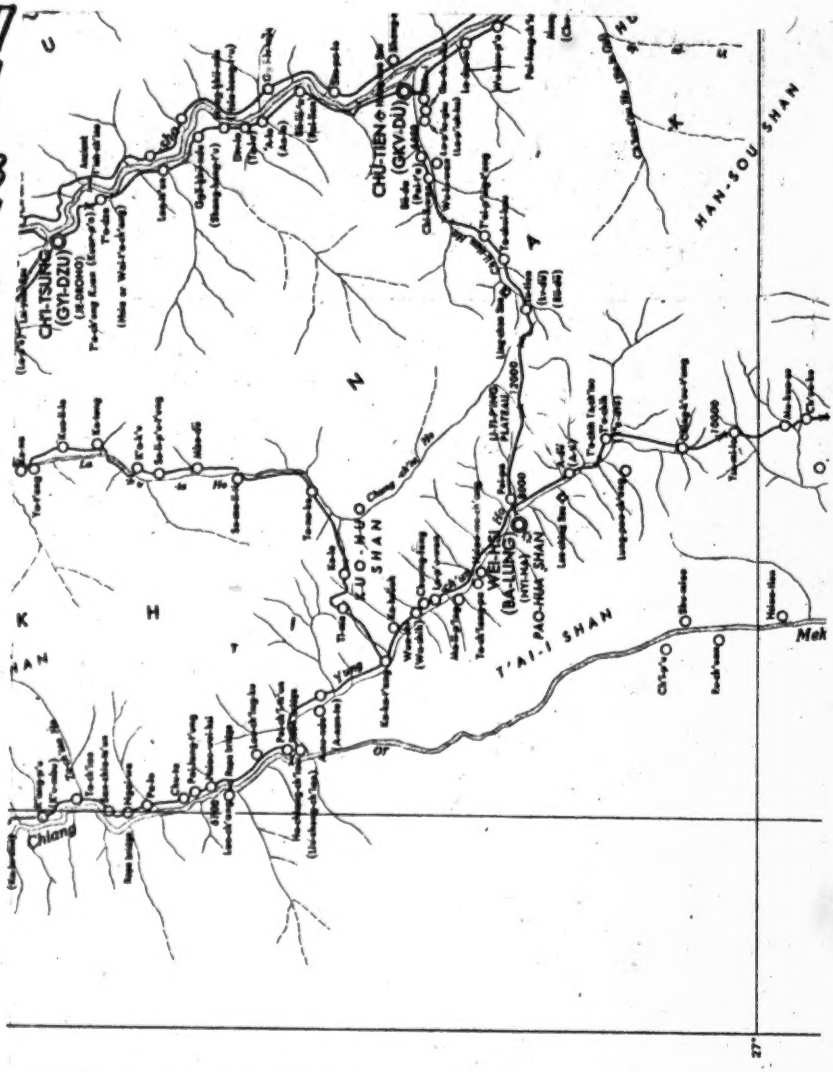

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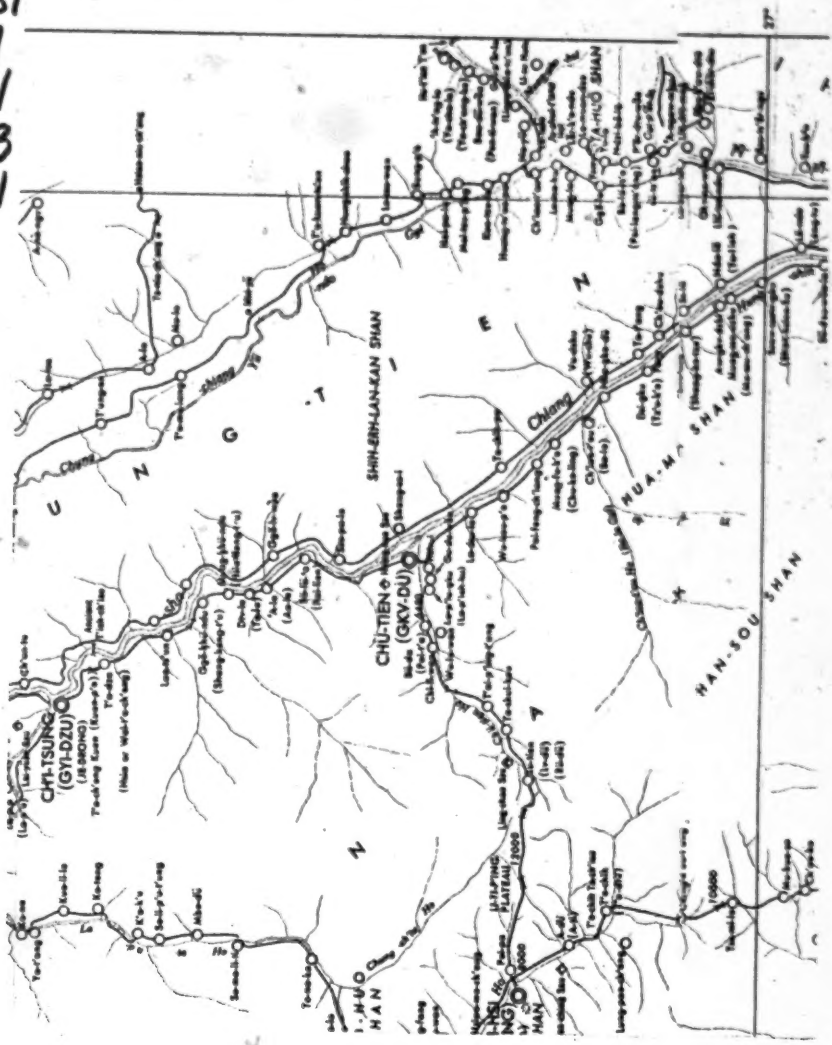

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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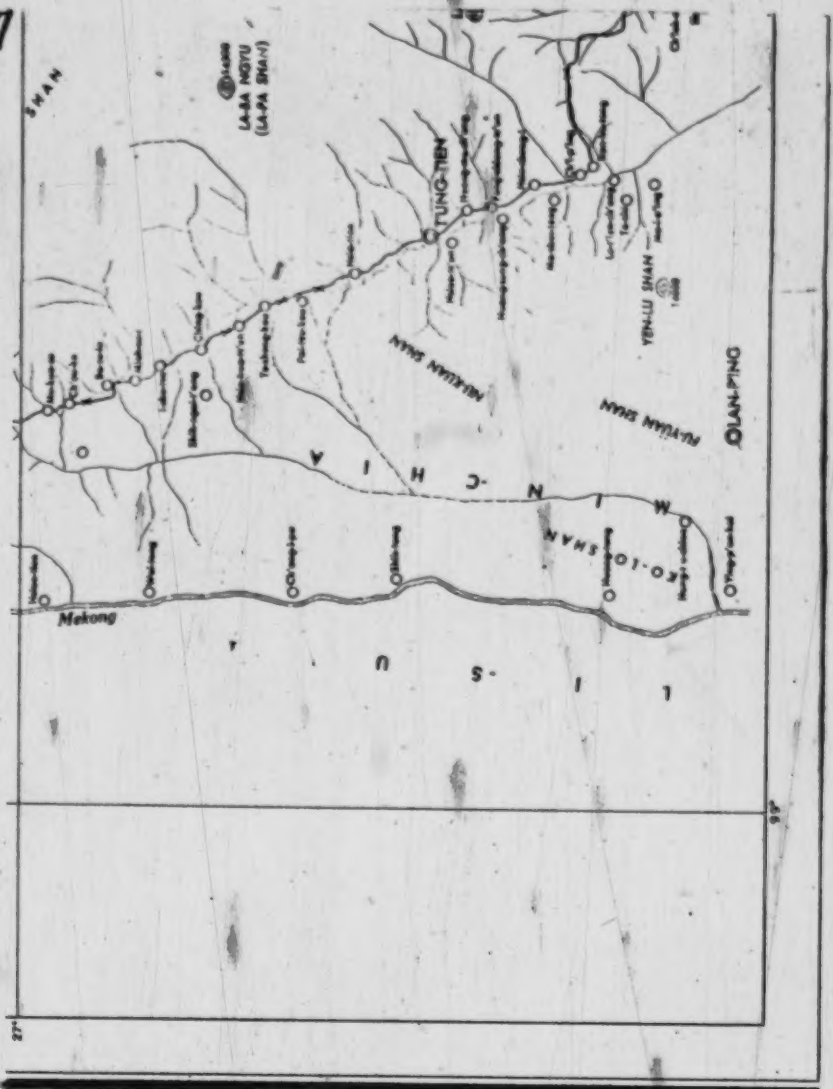

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map II F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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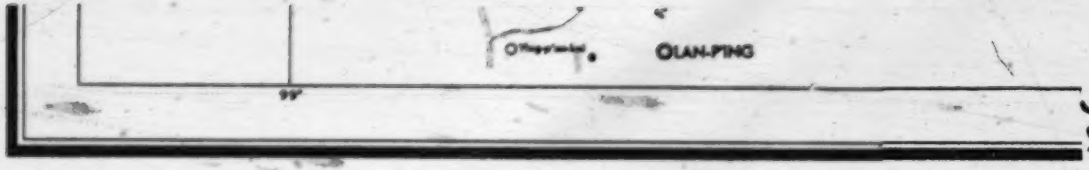

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

2 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Ki

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Disappeared trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain trail
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (removed)
Rope bridge
Dead wooden bridge
Disappearing stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Water terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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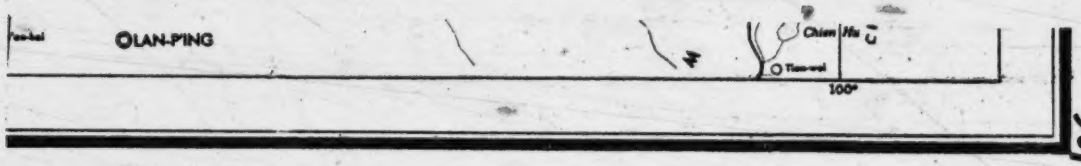
36



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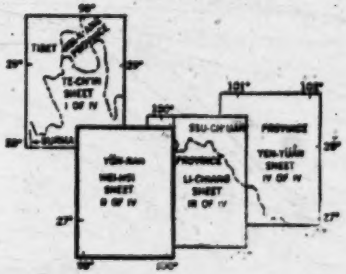
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U.S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D.C. 144363
12-46 1946

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

INDEX TO SHEETS



APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

WEI-HSI, CHINA

N2625-E9850/145x120

[End map II H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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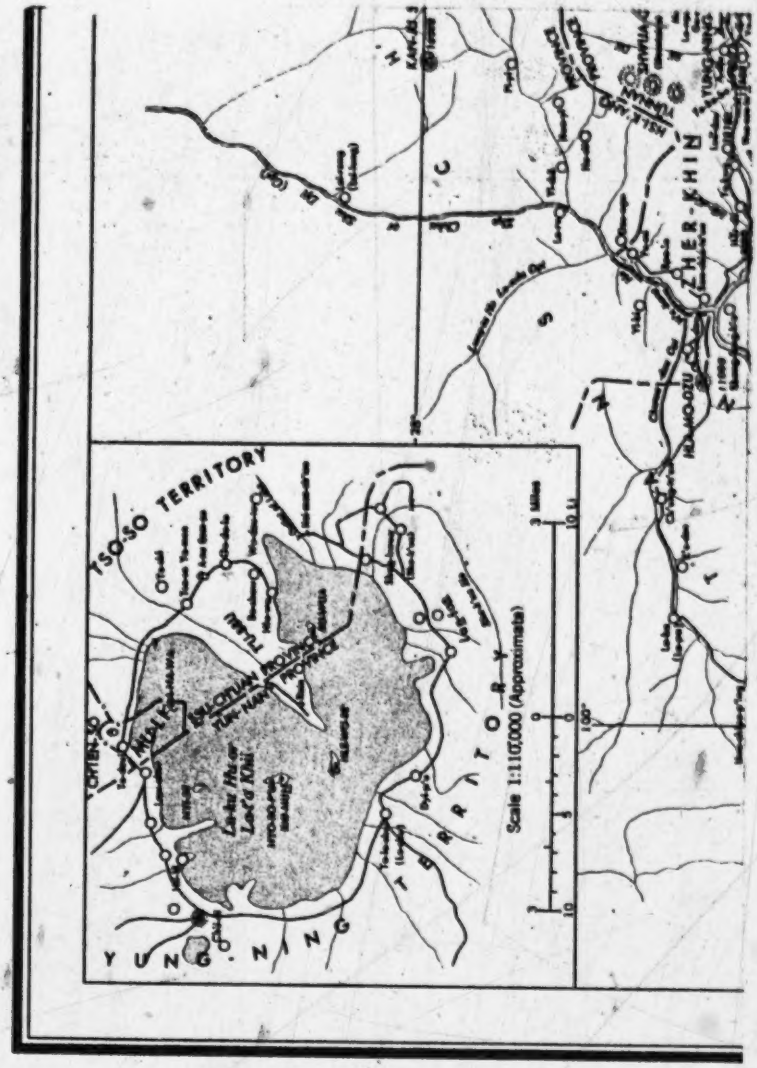
LI-CHIANG



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map III A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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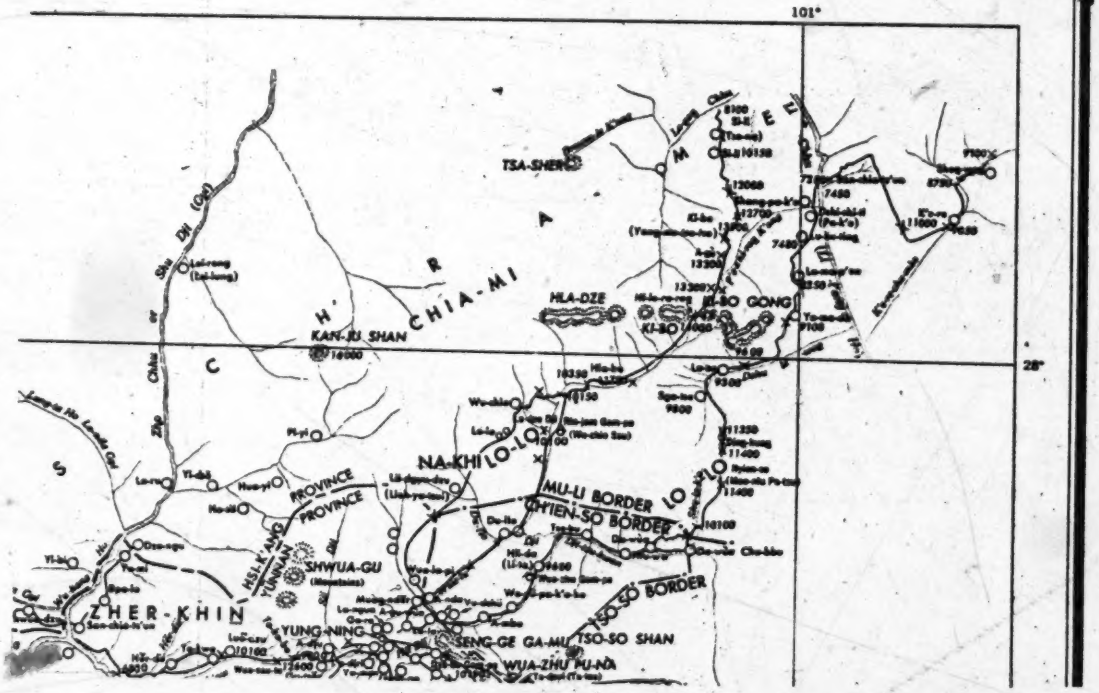
361

LI-CHIANG

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

A.M.S. L406



[End map III B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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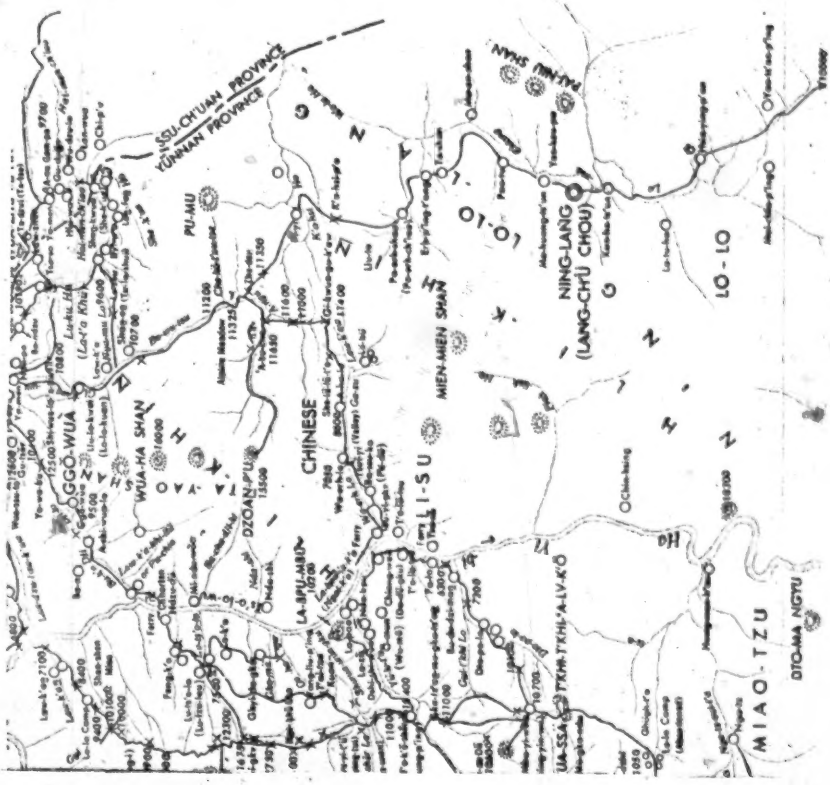

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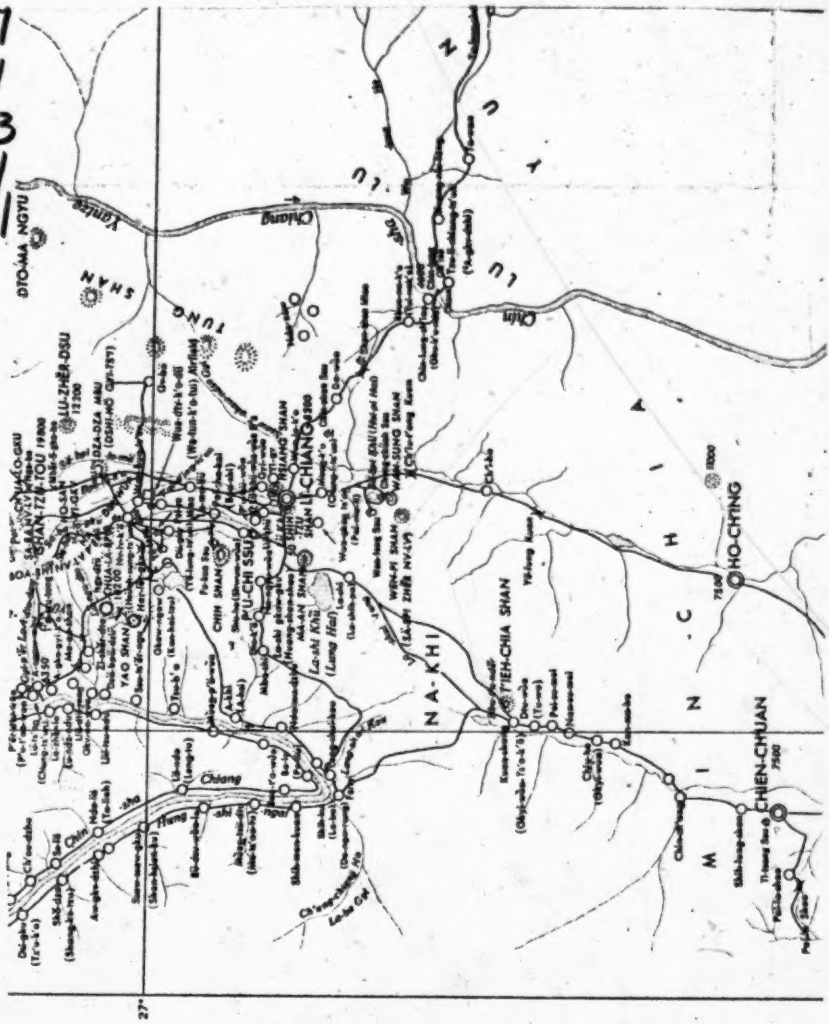
DTOMA NGTU
SHAN
TUNG
Yangtze
Chiang
Chiang
Chiang

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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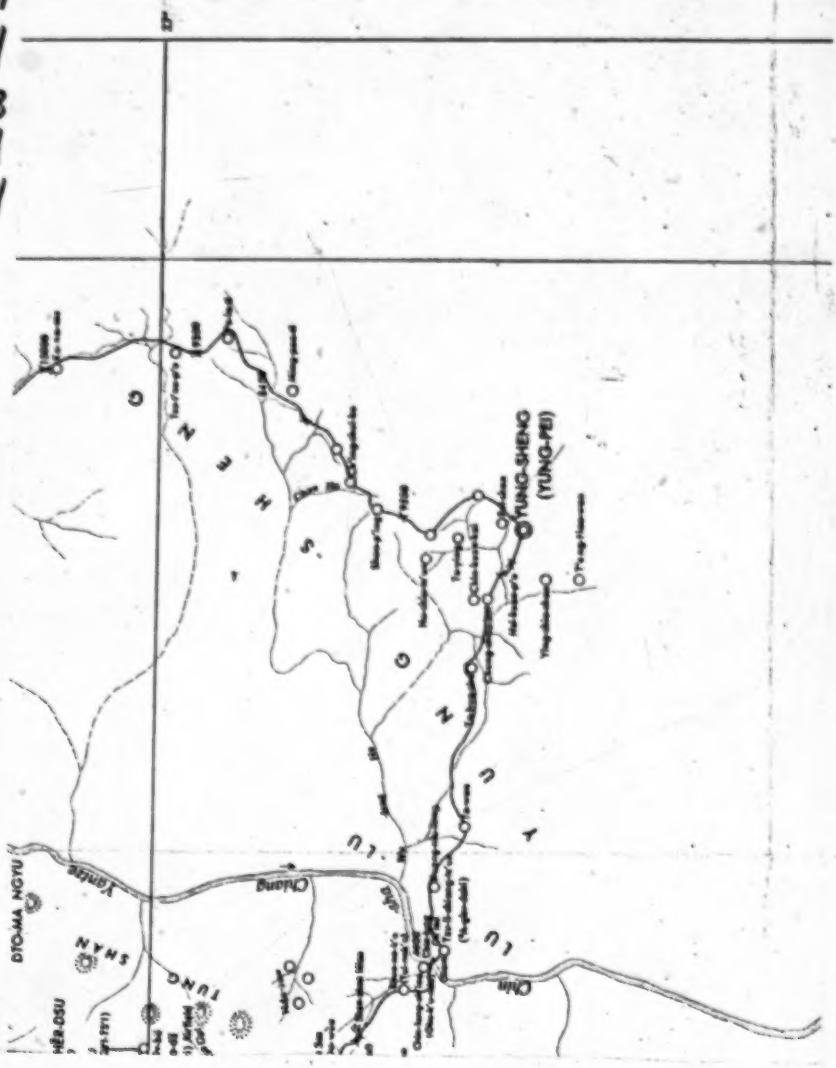

[End map III F]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

467
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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sister lamasery

[End map III G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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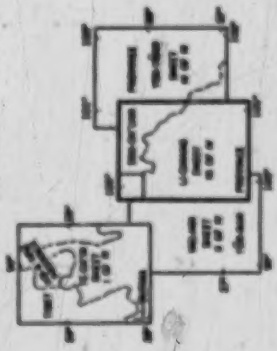

LI-CHIANG, CHINA
N2630-E9950/145x110

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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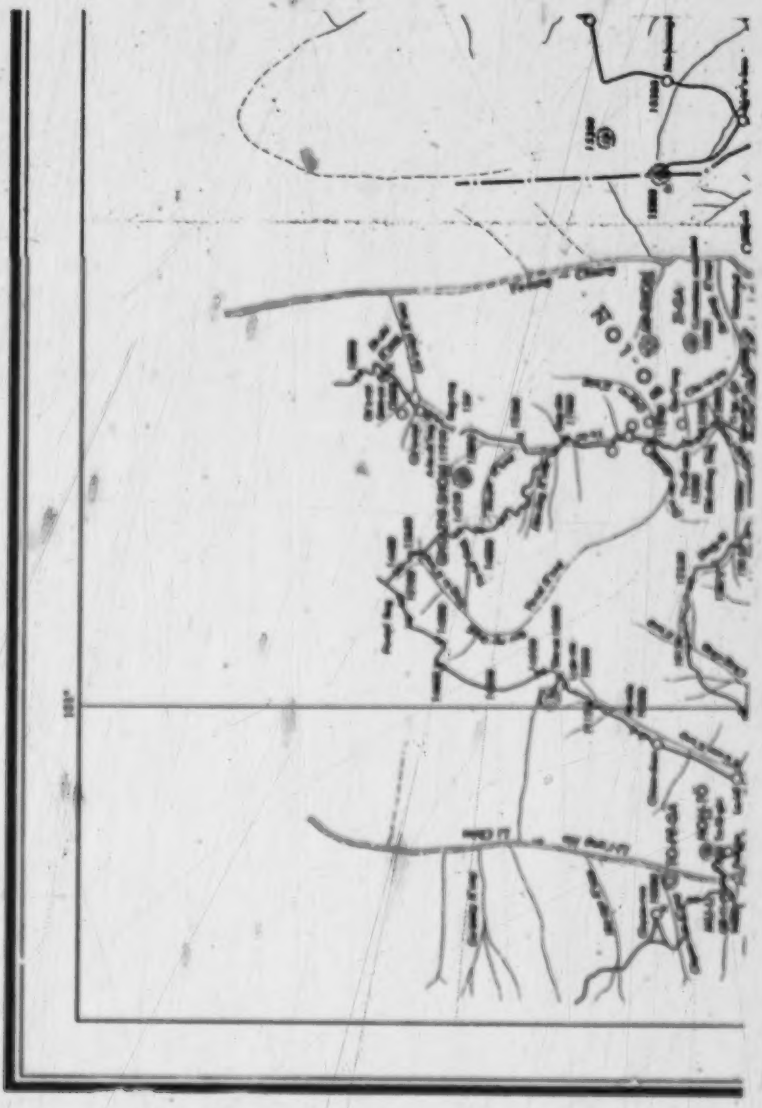
YEN-YUAN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map IV A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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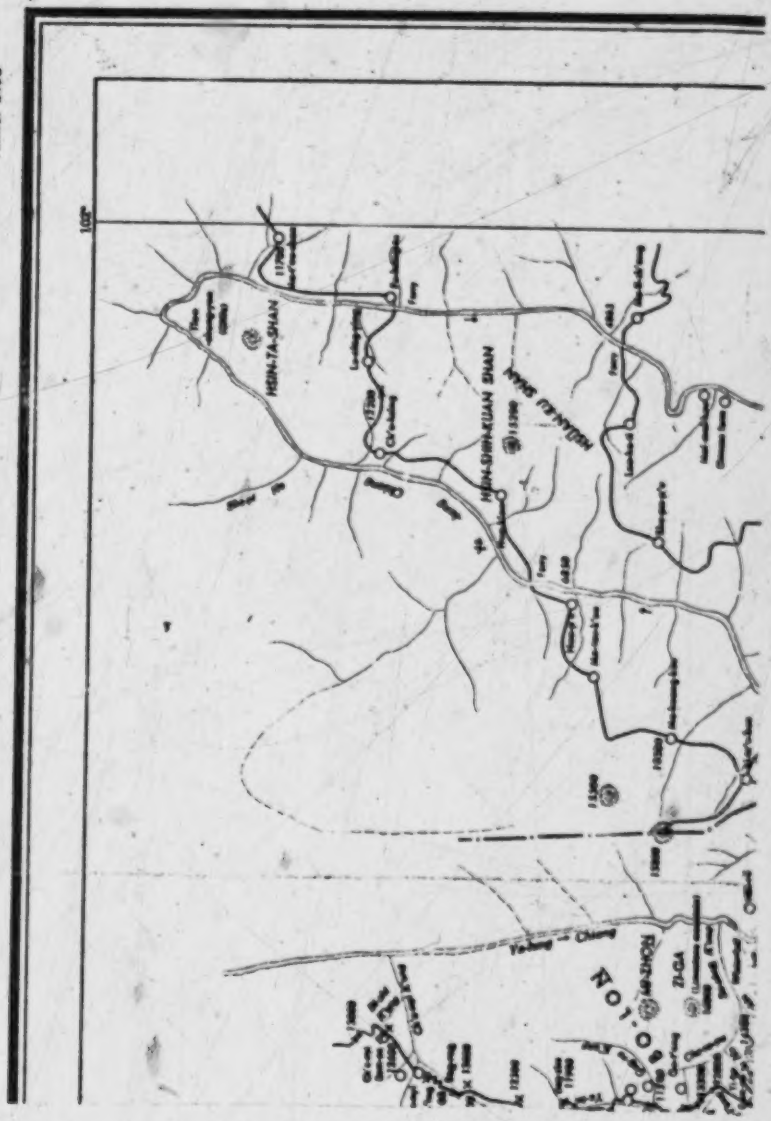
SHEET IV OF IV
A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

YEN-YUAN


HSIN-TA-SHAN
HSIN-SHIH-KUAN SHAN
HSIEH-TI-SHAN
Yenyuan
Ya Chang
Ya Chang
Ya Chang

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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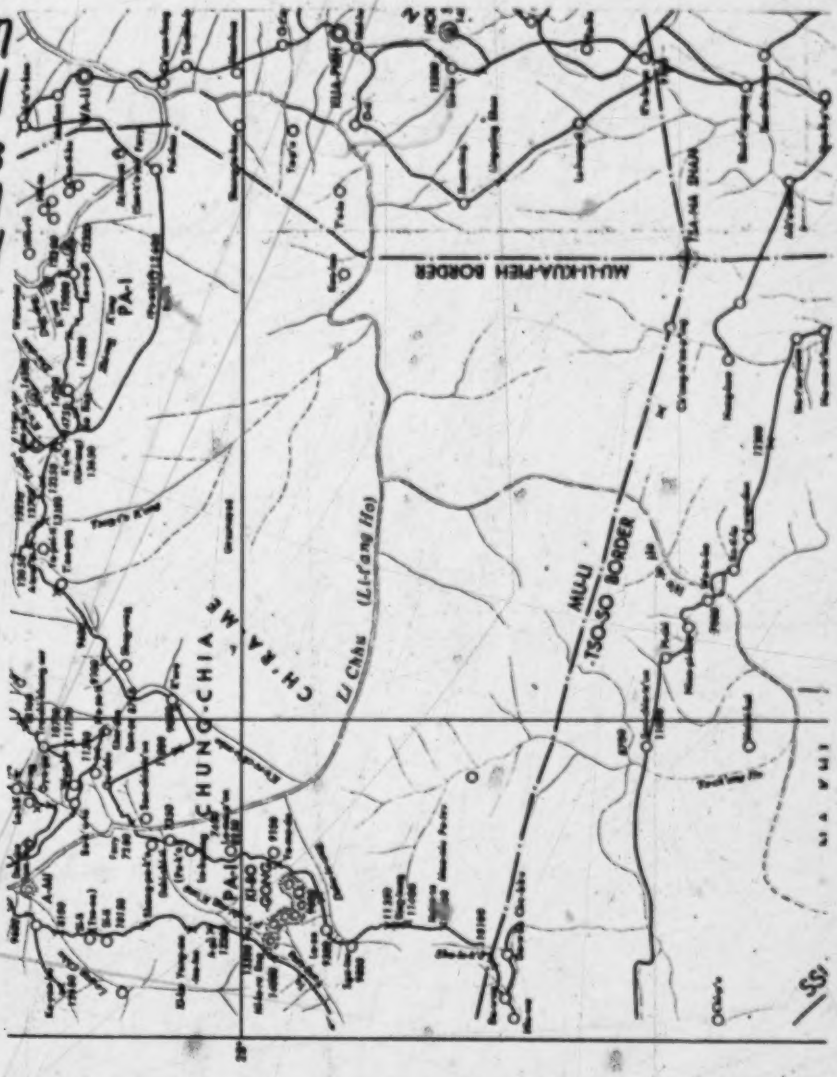

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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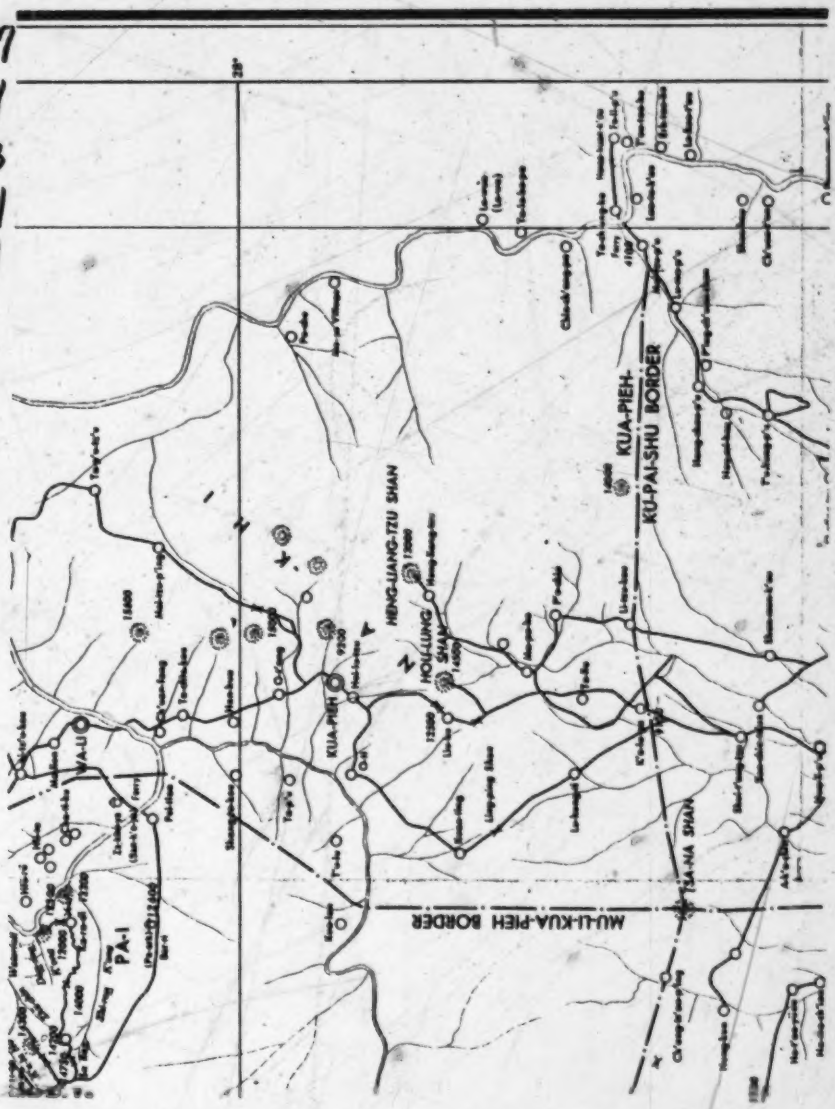

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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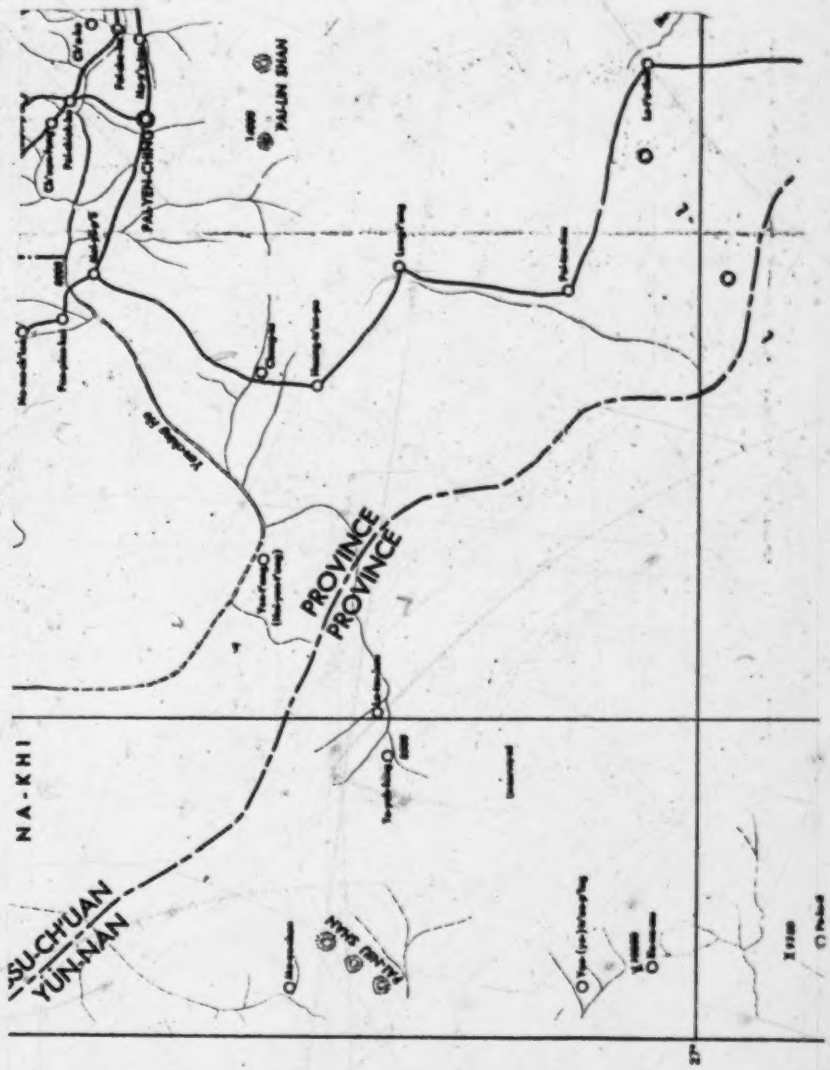

[End map IV E]

487
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[End map IV F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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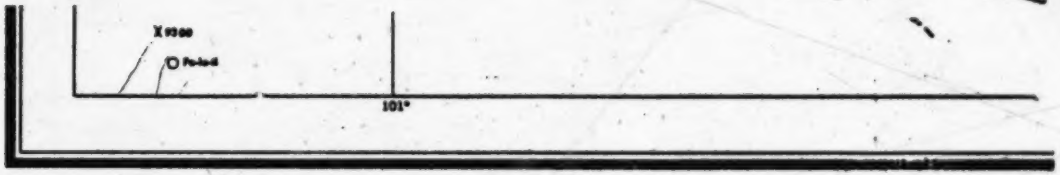

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

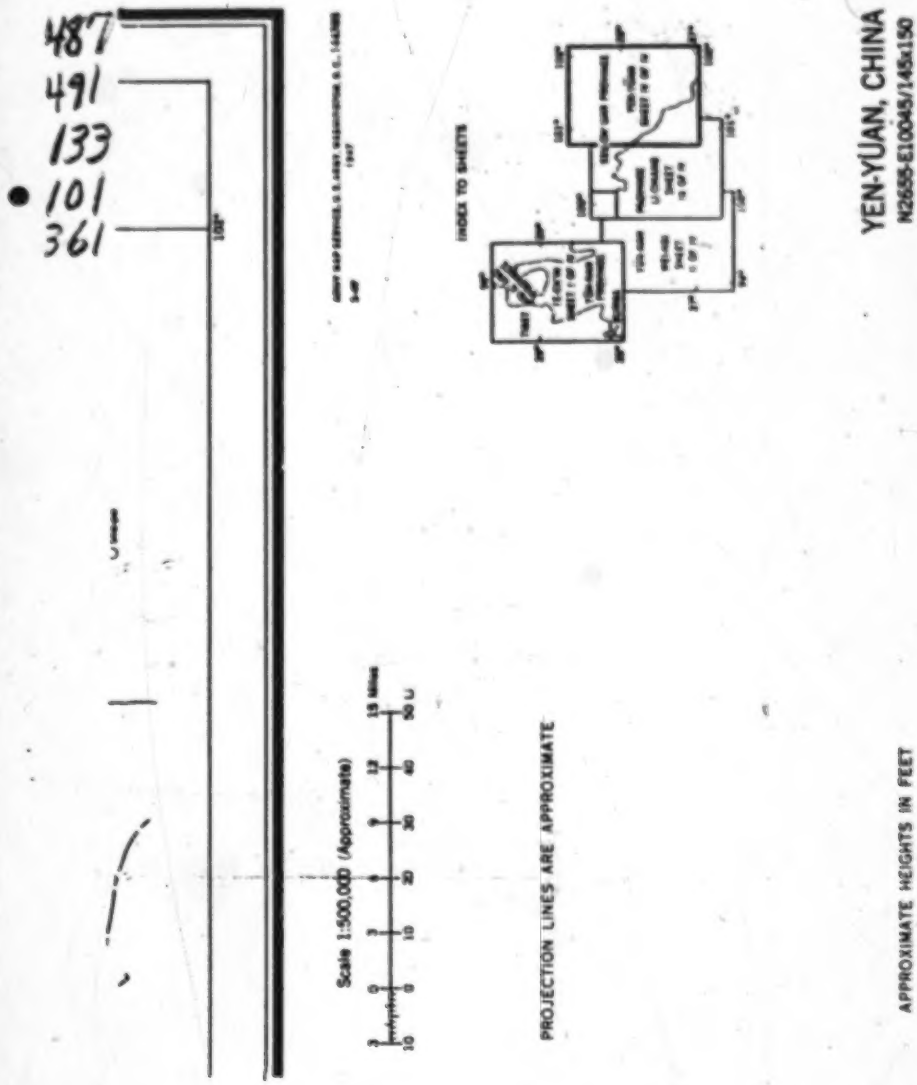
LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provinces
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

[End map IV G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



[End map IV H]

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly grocerics, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

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Pai-i AE7

S 131 622 P 131 622

Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50' and longitude 97° 45'. It is in the Northern Shan States and is part of the large tract of country governed by the sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

S 361 P 361

The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields. This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan, and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

S 101 P 101

This very civilised and widely spread race call themselves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they formerly governed a wide extent of country in western Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

[1] T'u-mö (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.
[2] Or Möng-mao according to the system of transliterating Chinese.
[3] Lat. 28° 10', long. 100° 50'.

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Pai-I AE7

S P 101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P 212 191 All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary P 177 language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, 212 where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, 191 though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans S from very different countries can understand each other. P I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had 771 little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P [142] 181 They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

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Pai-i AE7

S P 361 101 One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

S P 622 S P [291] Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'éng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

S P 302 622 Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

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Pai-i AE7

The next day P'êng turned up in the morning looking rather solemn and said the head-man of the village had just reported that one of our columns from Bhamo had on the previous day burnt 28 Kachin villages, most of which he said belonged to Möng Wan. The Sang-hawng people are a pretty rough lot and had probably spoken their minds freely on the subject to P'êng, who was certainly in rather an unpleasant position with us as his guests. 000

Mr Warry promised to send a message to the column to find out what had really happened, and we started on our march. The affair had, as is usually the case in China, been enormously exaggerated. An answer from the column arrived in due course to say that a few houses of one village in our own territory had been burnt, as the inhabitants refused to acknowledge our rule by paying tribute.

We were taking things very easy, and on the 12th only did 7½ miles to the village of Kying-khan. The Möng Wan plain is some 20 miles long and averages five or six in breadth, with the Nam Wan running down the middle of it. The state is called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese and Mowun by the Burmans. There are plenty of duck, geese, snipe, and coolan here, but it is not quite such a good shooting ground as the Shweli valley which we had just left. S P 101

The inhabitants are the real Chinese Shans or Tai Che as they are called by the Shans further south, though they themselves prefer the name of Tai Nö or Northern Shans. Both men and women dress entirely in dark blue, the men wearing round turbans and short jackets and trousers barely reaching to the knee, while the women wear a petticoat of much the same cut as the Burmese longyee with a band of the same dark blue colour wound round the waist, and turbans somewhat of the shape of a cylinder standing up a foot or more high. S P 291

This is a different costume from that of the people of Nam-hkam and Möng Mow, who in dialect and customs are half way between the Southern and the Chinese Shans. The men of these two states usually wear the white turbans put on crooked and the enormously broad trousers of the Southern Shan, while the women have a dress peculiar to themselves, the turban much lower than that of the Chinese

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pair | AE7

S P 622

the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son is fit to act as regent.

S P 361

The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice cultivation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S P [134] [243] S P [463]

S 101

The chief claim to interest of these two states is that they are inhabited by a distinct race, who do not exist

[1] Ho-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

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S 101

anywhere else. These are the Nga-ch'angs or A-ch'angs, called Chang by the Shans. These people's language is closely connected with Burmese, and is still more like the language of the Szi, Lashi, and Maru tribes[1] who inhabit the Kachin Hills. It has no resemblance to Shan, except the general likeness which connects all the Indo-Chinese languages. The A-ch'angs are often described as Ho-hsa Shans or, in Burmese, Maingtha Shans, and they have adopted Shan customs, dress, and religion so completely that they will even speak of themselves as Shans. But if further questioned they will always allow that they are not really of the Shan race. In feature too there is a noticeable difference between the two peoples.

S 162

The A-ch'angs, however, are not the only inhabitants of this little valley. Its height above the sea is 4500 feet, and it is consequently cold enough and healthy enough for Chinamen to live in, and there are a great number of them in the valley, most of whom have been settled here for some generations. From what the sawbwas told me there are 4000 houses in the two states, of which perhaps a third are inhabited by Chinese or half Chinese families.

S P 622

The sawbwas are both of Chinese extraction. Their ancestors came from Ch'ung-ch'ing Fu (Ch'ung-k'ing) in eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan 400 or 500 years ago. They were sent by the Chinese Government to repress disturbances which had broken out on the border, and were rewarded for their services by being made rulers of these two states. The sawbwas of Möng Na, San-ta and Möng Ti (Nan-tien) are also of Chinese origin, while the Möng Wan and Möng Mow chiefs are genuine Shans. The whole of these sawbwas, however, intermarry with each others' families and have become practically Shans, and would not now call themselves Chinese.

On the 16th January we had an ascent of 1000 feet and a long and steep descent of nearly 3000 feet into the valley of the Taping, and crossed the river, a slow sandy stream 300 yards wide, by boat to the village of Manwaing[2].

[1] For vocabularies, see pocket in cover.

[2] This place is usually called by us by its Burmese name of Manwaing or Manwyne. Its proper Shan name is Man-ving, which has been corrupted by the Chinese into Man-yün.

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712 an old moat, but this is exceptional, for in Yün-nan it is rare to find a town with a moat round it. These walled cities are found all over China, built in much the same sort of way. The Chinese have found them extremely useful in the numerous rebellions which have taken place in that country.° Even against modern armies the solidity of these defences would make them formidable obstacles if well defended, especially in a country like Yün-nan where nothing larger than mountain artillery could be brought against them.

361 T'êng-yüeh has another peculiarity which is characteristic of most Chinese towns, namely, that there are large open spaces and even fields within the city walls, while the principal shops and business houses are in the suburbs. This latter fact is probably to be accounted for by the rule which prevails throughout China that the city gates should be shut all night, so that people coming home late have to seek a lodging outside or to present the officer of the guard with a tip of perhaps as much as threepence to be allowed to go in. At T'êng-yüeh in fact many of the richest merchants do not live in the town at all, but at Ho-shun-hsiang, Yi-lo or one of the other large villages in the plain.

101 The real original name of T'êng-yüeh given it by the Shans, who no doubt inhabited it before the arrival of the Chinese, was Möng Myen, and by this name the Shans still know it. Momien, as the town is often called by Europeans, is merely the Burmese corruption of this. The origin of the Chinese name I discovered some years afterwards while travelling in a distant part of Yün-nan. Near Ch'ü-ching Fu, which lies to the east of the capital of the province, is a place called Yüeh-chou, formerly a town of the "chou" class. But as it has two other official towns within easy reach, one on each side of it, it was not considered necessary to keep it up, and it was reduced to the rank of a village, and Momien made an official town instead of it. The first syllable "t'êng" means to "fly away from" or "move away from," so that the name T'êng-yüeh Chou means "Moved away from Yüeh Chou." At present its official title is T'êng-yüeh T'ing, but the inhabitants of the place invariably refer to it as T'êng-yüeh Chou, and on the stone guide-posts, which one finds at nearly every cross-road about here, it is always called "the chou."

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S 133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
S 501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a
133 single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

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of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Méng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Méng-hua Lo-lo or simply Méng-hua Jén (i.e. Méng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there i nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Méng-hua Jén still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Méng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Méng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

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000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

S 136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a ST 177 village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

S ST 162 101 The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Mông-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, and where the distinction between them lies.

S ST 197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

S ST 101

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and Cochin China.

S ST

291 301 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

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in the Naga hills on the Assam borde. indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fan have adopted the religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside, and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese map of Ssū-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated, steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here to rest the mules and to get information about our future route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road, but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

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S ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

S ST 563 ●101 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

S ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

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CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL PATTERNS OF SZECHUAN BASIN

101

Szechuan Basin, or Red Basin,[1] as it is commonly known to the western world, is located in southwest China (Fig. 1). It is one of the richest and the most distinctive geographic regions of China. Politically, Szechuan Basin belongs to the province of Szechuan. The word, Szechuan, meaning "four streams," refers to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse, namely, the Min, the To,

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[1] F. von Richtofen (Ergebnisse Eigener Reisen [China, 1912], III, 180) was the first western geographer to use this German name, "Das Rothes Becken," for this region. This was translated as "Red Basin" in English, and it has since become the official name for this region in all western geographical literature. It is a well-known fact that F. von Richtofen's original christening of this area was based primarily on the coloring of the dominant geological formations of cretaceous sandstones and shales. But, during recent years, upon closer examination and more careful study of the region, many students have expressed doubt as to the appropriateness of the name "Red Basin" for this region. First of all, from the standpoint of coloring of the geological formations, not all of them are "red" (cf. C. Y. Lee, "Development of the Upper Yangtse Valley," Bulletin Geol. Soc. of China, XIII, 107-17). As a matter of fact, the formations (sandstones and shales) range in color from grey, brown, yellow, buff red, and purple, to deep chocolate. Some observers even insist that in so far as the color of the soil (which is one of the important factors in agricultural land-use) is concerned, it is perhaps more appropriate to call this region the "Purple Basin" (cf. J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China [1936], p. 200). At least, it seems fair to say that this "Red Basin" is, after all, not all "red."

Secondly, from the standpoint of soil classification and soil coloring, the term "Red Basin" is particularly misleading and inappropriate. As Thorp has emphatically and rightly pointed out, the use of this term would tend to confuse the rich and fertile "red" soils of the Basin with those highly leached, infertile red soils of other parts of southwest China. In any case, in spite of the popularity it has long enjoyed in geographical literature, the name "Red Basin" seems to be obsolete and is no longer scientifically correct. Instead, the writer proposes to adopt the name "Szechuan Basin" (both Buck and Thorp have also used this name in their recent publications). This name not only does away with all the misunderstandings, as already pointed out, but also conveys, as we shall see later, the political provincial name and the prominent physiographic feature of the region, for "Szechuan" literally means "four streams."

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the Fou, and the Chialing,[1] which flow from north to south through the province. 101

The term, Szechuan "Basin," as used in the present study, is not identical with the political unit of Szechuan "province." Moreover, it slightly differs from the area known as the "Red Basin" in western geographic literature. The latter is slightly larger and includes a small portion of Kwei-chow province to the south.

As a matter of fact the boundary lines of "Szechuan Basin" as defined in the present study are topographic in character. After careful consideration of both physical and cultural patterns the 700-meter contour line (as the upper limit) was chosen as the line of demarcation.[2] In the actual drawing of the boundary line, however, some minor alterations have been made. For instance, where the selected contour crosses some of the minor narrow river valleys (such as the Chien and others), the boundary line is drawn at the middle-point of such valley rather than at the headwaters of the streams. Primarily this is done to exclude the extremely narrow strips of land in the headwater areas--lands in most places too steep for agricultural use. The total area of the Basin, thus delimited, is 146,842 square kilometers.[3] This figure is 131

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[1]Most writers give widely divergent names to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse from which the province, as well as the Basin, derives its name. Unfortunately, many of these names are inappropriate. Personally, the writer believes the four most important tributaries of the Yangtse (for reasons which will be explained in the later paragraphs) should be called the Min, the To, the Fou, and the Chialing rivers (cf. A. Hosie, Szechuan, Its Products, etc., p. 17; G. B. Cressey, China's Geographical Foundations, p. 312; L. D. Stamp, Asia [1935 ed.], p. 523; C. Y. Chang, Geography of China, II, 79; and W. D. Bell, Eighteen Capitals of China, p. 253.

[2]Arbitrary as this criterion may appear to be at first thought, it has, however, at least three distinctive merits. First, within the boundary of this chosen contour line, as we shall see later, there is a maximum coincidence between the physical and cultural patterns. Second, within this boundary there lies the most habitable and the most prosperous areas of the whole province; this is geographically significant and is particularly important from the standpoint of the study of agricultural land use. Third, this contour line, unlike many other boundaries commonly drawn to delimit the Basin, has the virtue of being a quantitative line. It furnishes a more concrete, if not a more accurate, basis for drawing the boundaries. So far as the writer is aware, no one has ever used a completely quantitative line to demarcate the boundaries of the Basin.

[3]Average of four planimeter readings.

This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between
my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the 101
Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung
ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong
mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are [147]
under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a
language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people
from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to
have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the
next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants
are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo
of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a cer-
tain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh
Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival dur- [52]
ing which they light fires on all the mountains, amid
great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the coun-
try from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the [173]
natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a
cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered
as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one
of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith,
but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the
cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned
up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the
river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the [142]
strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even
loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on
one's back they carry fastened to a band on their fore-
head.

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are
the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the
Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost com-
pletely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River up- 491
stream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in
view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the
next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu,
the main highway and military road. The journey thither was sup-
posed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was
not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part
of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension

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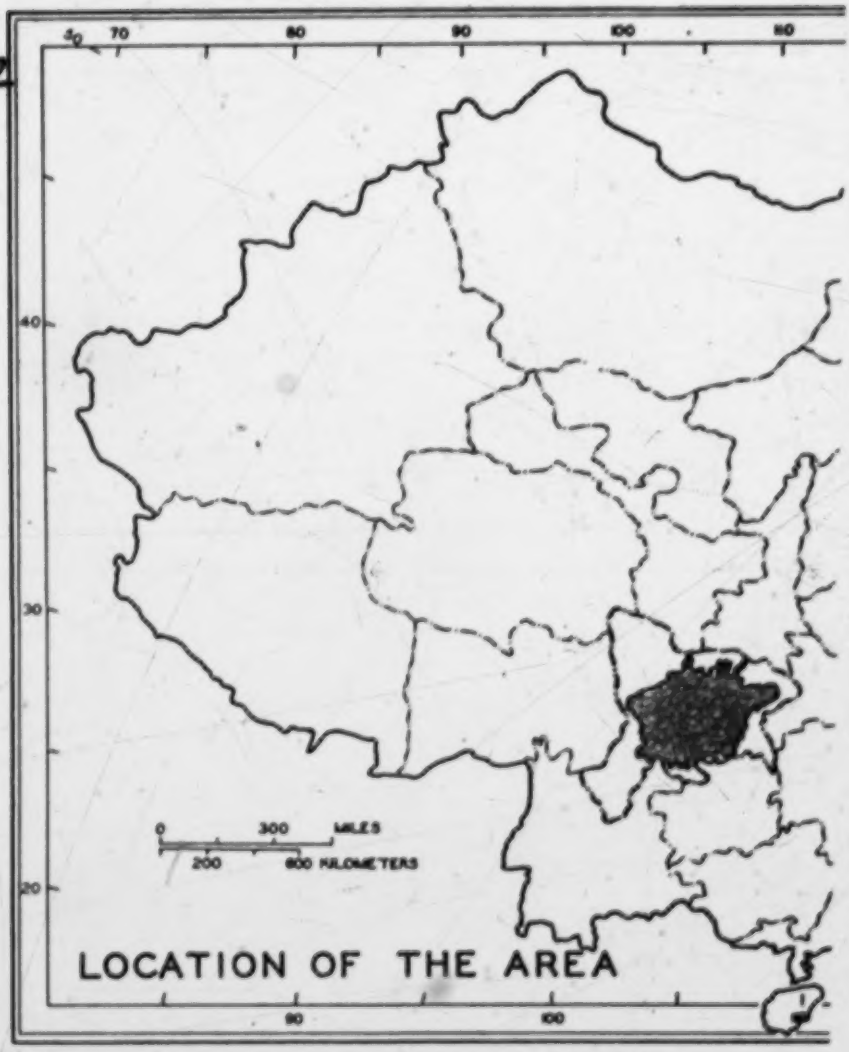

[End map 1 (a)]

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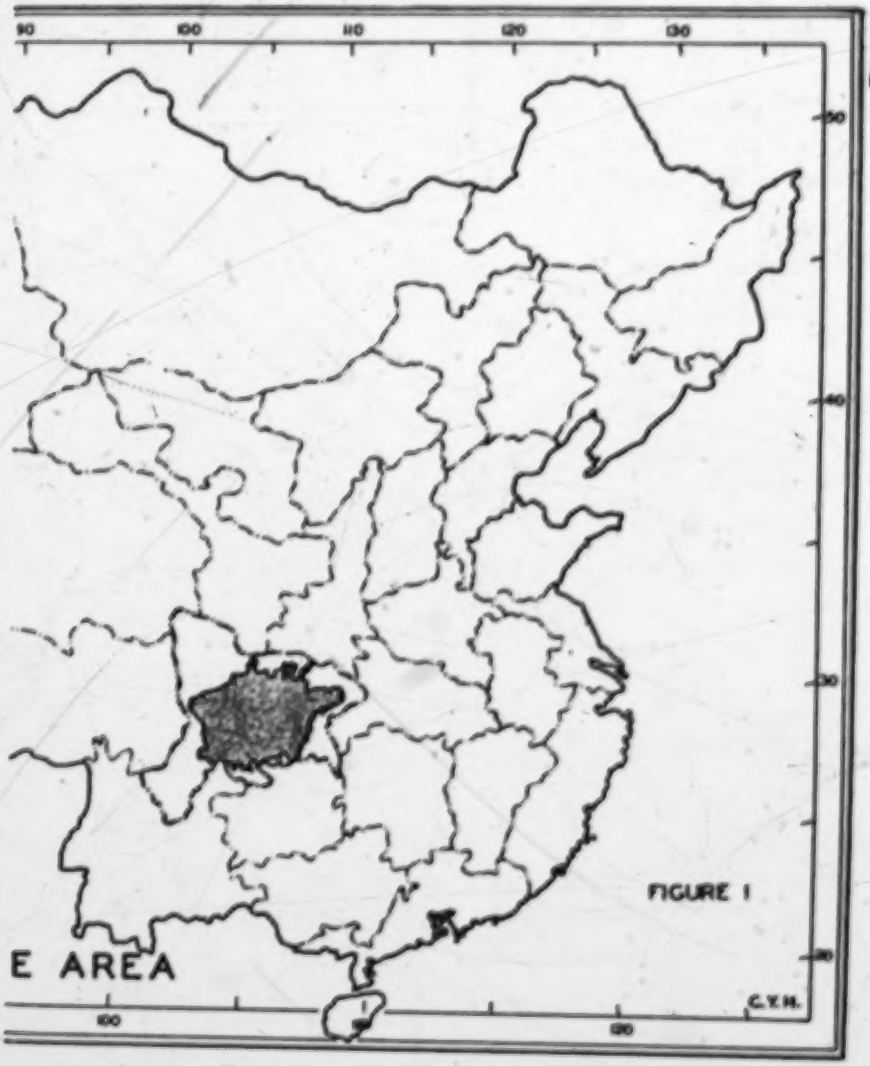

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[End map 1 (b)]

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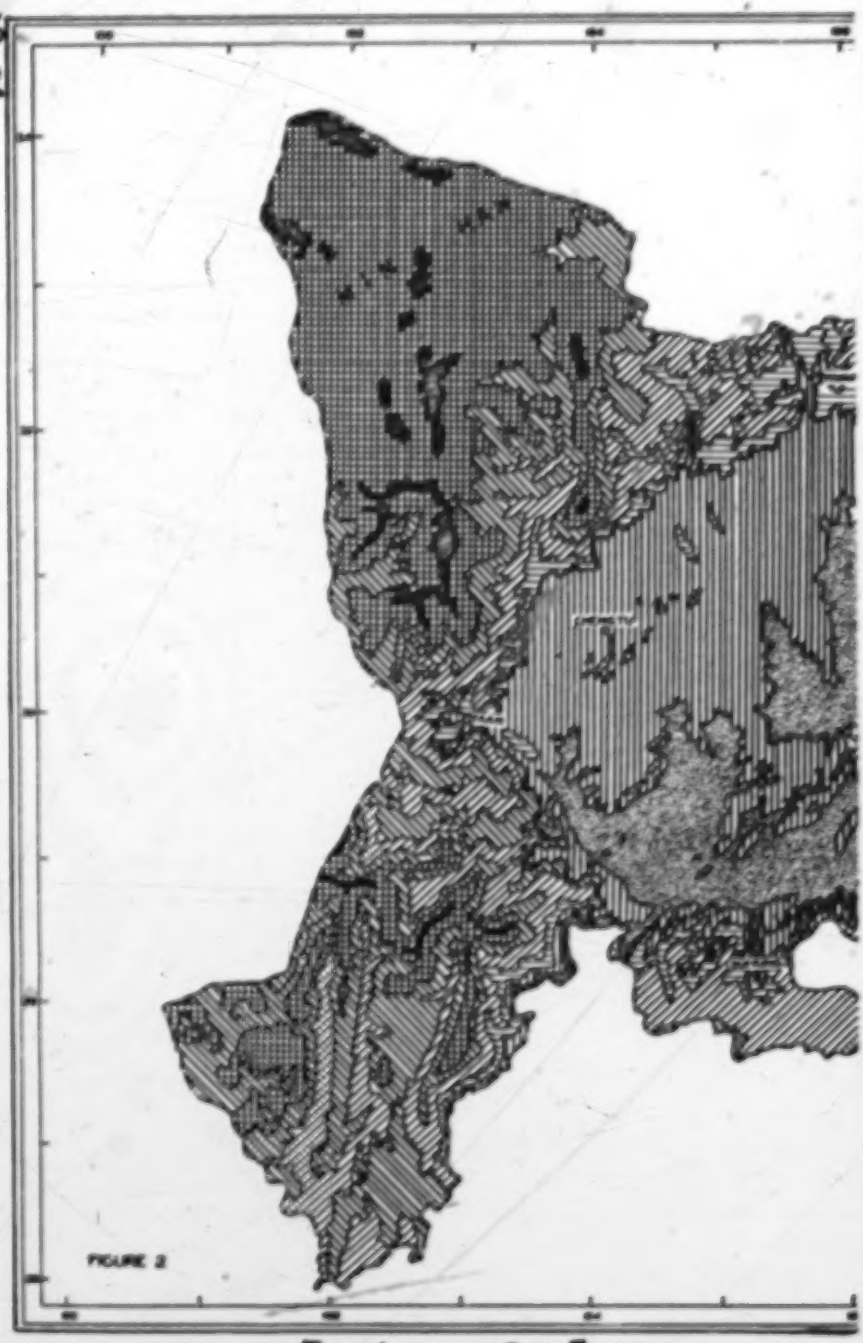

FIGURE 2

[End map 2 (a)]

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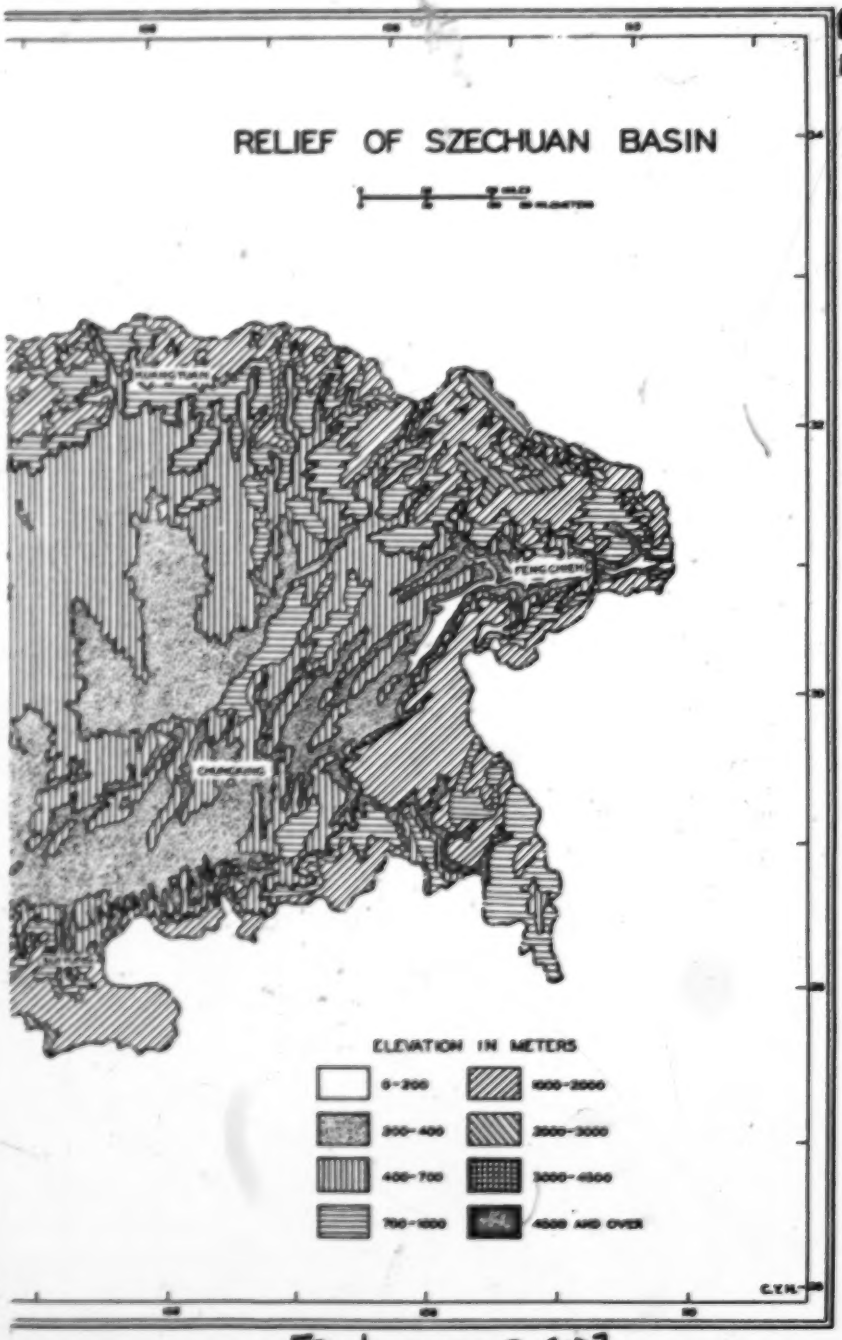

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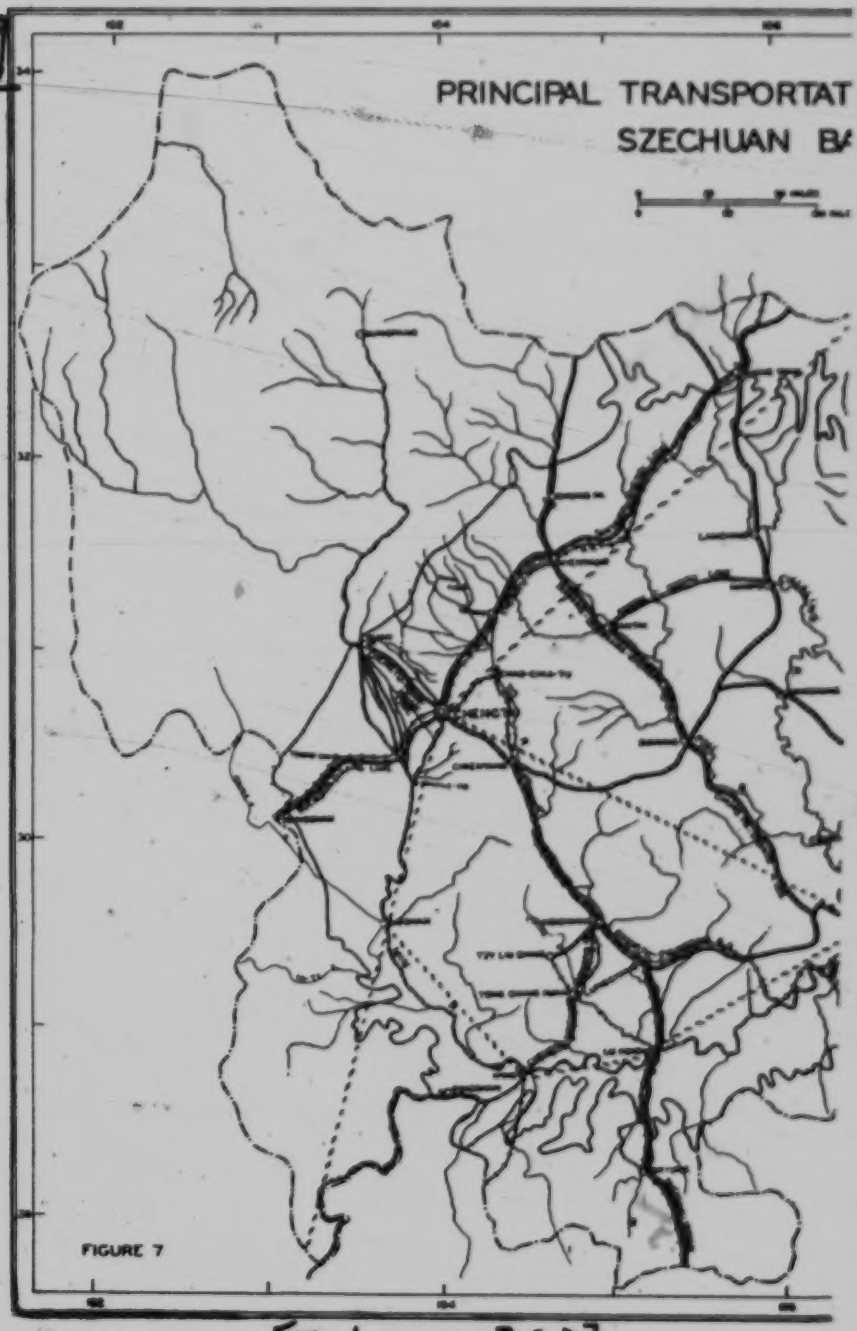

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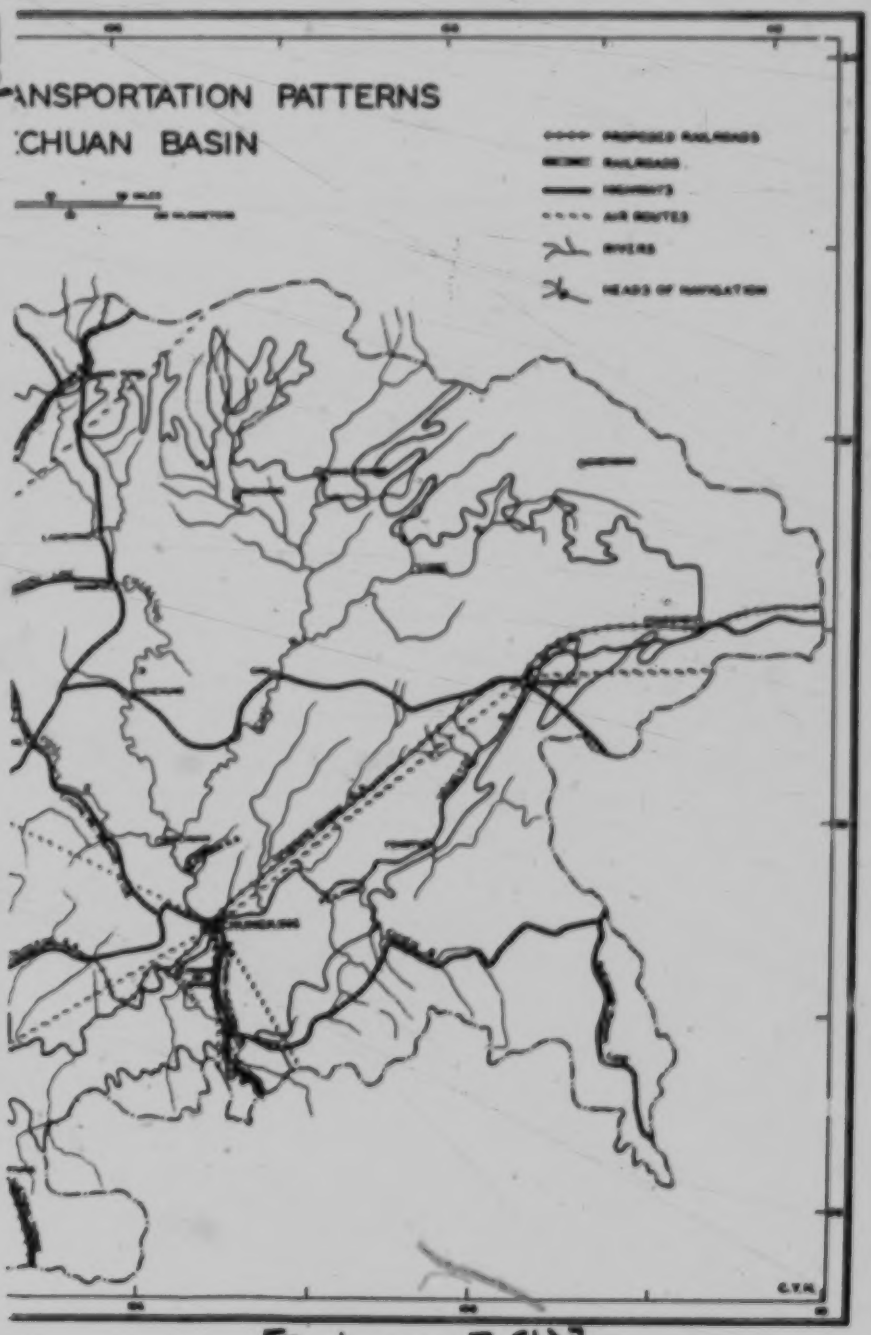

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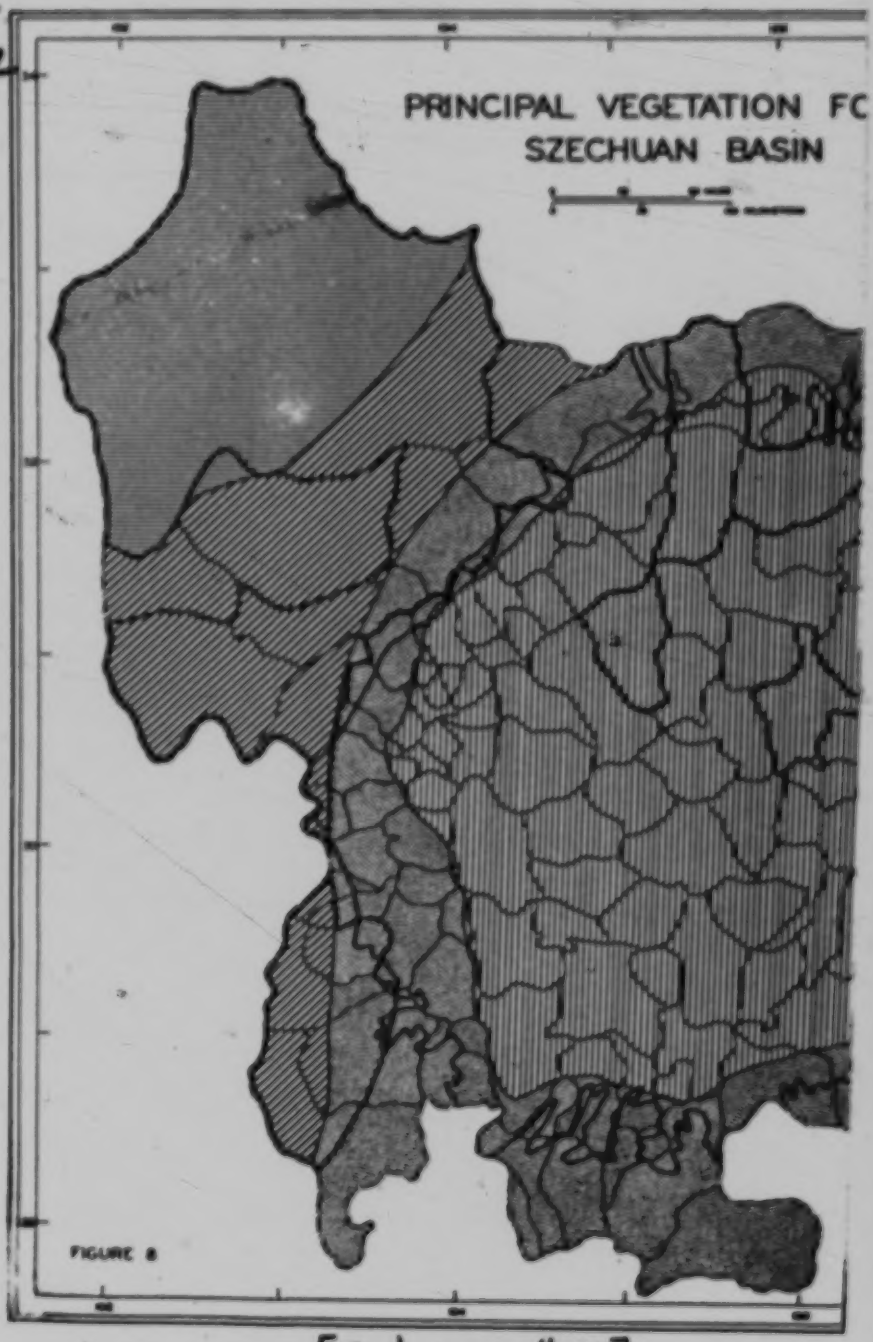

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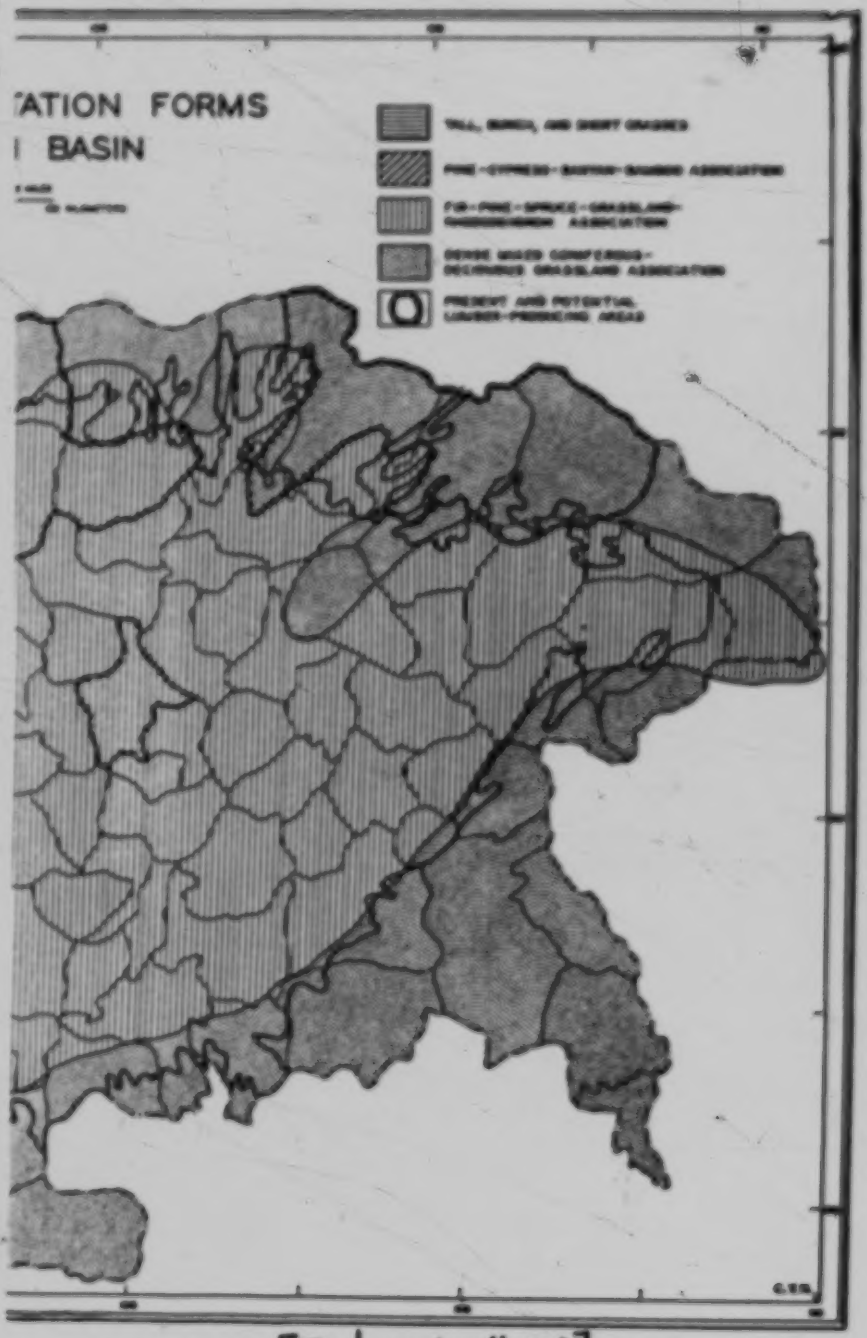

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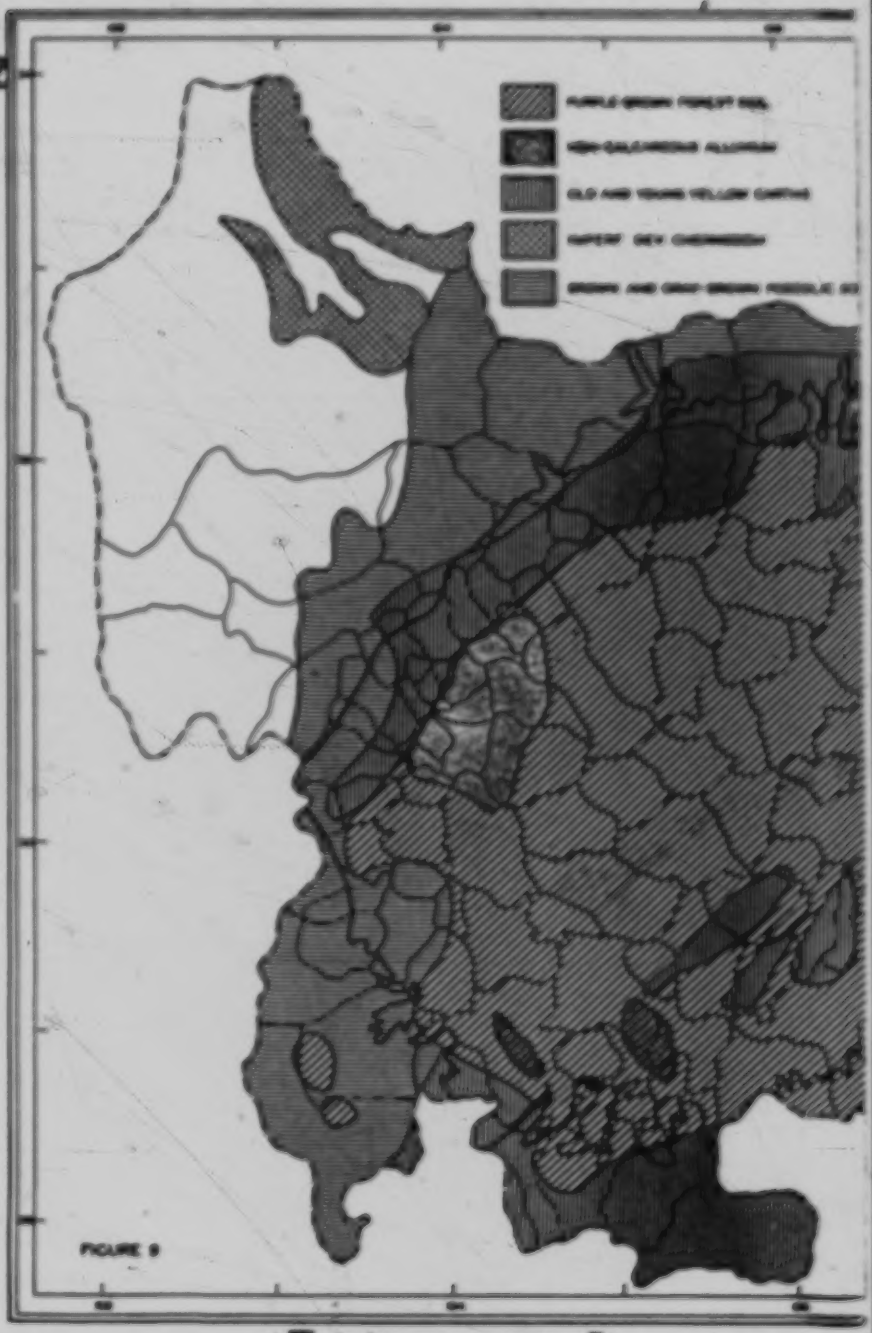

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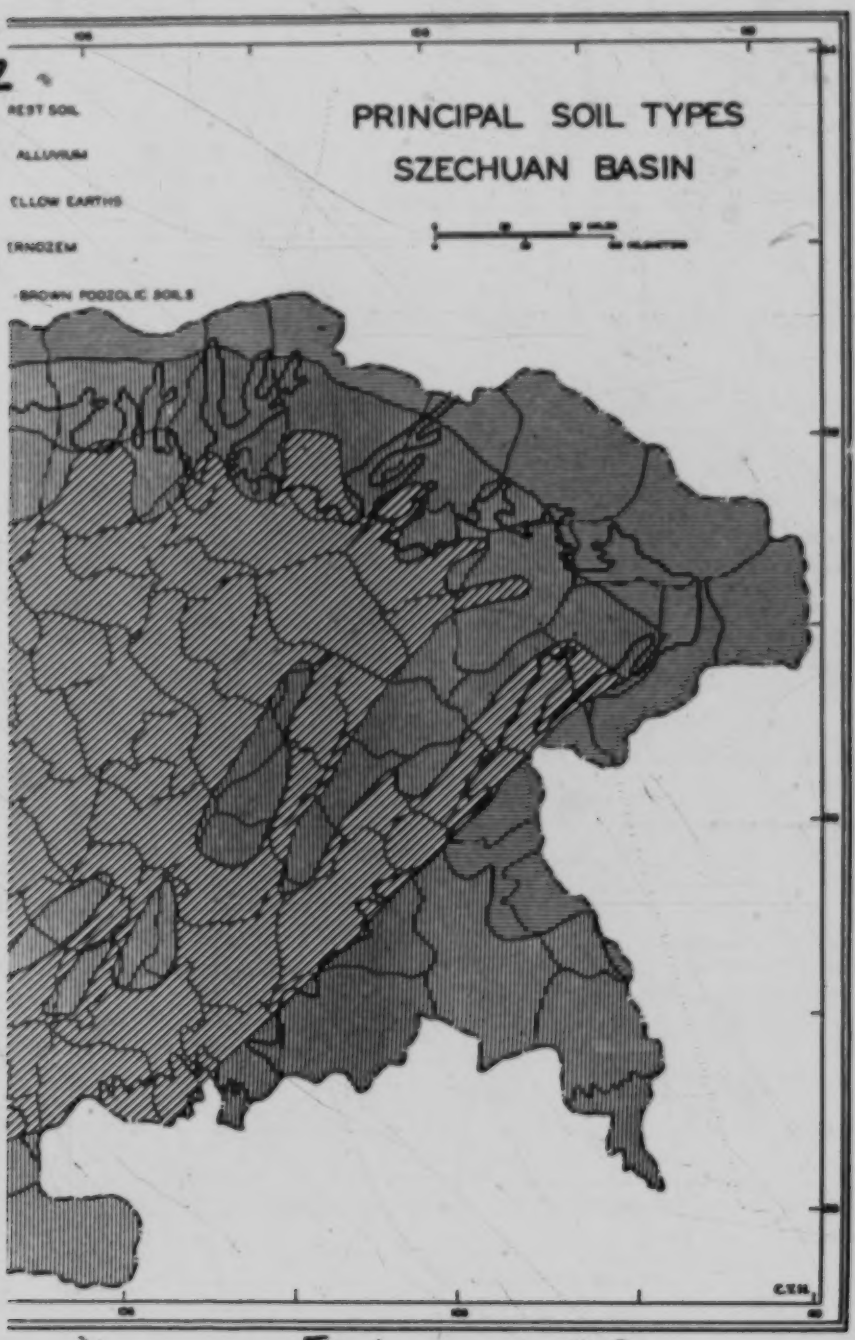


[End map 5 (b)]

Ti Ho K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

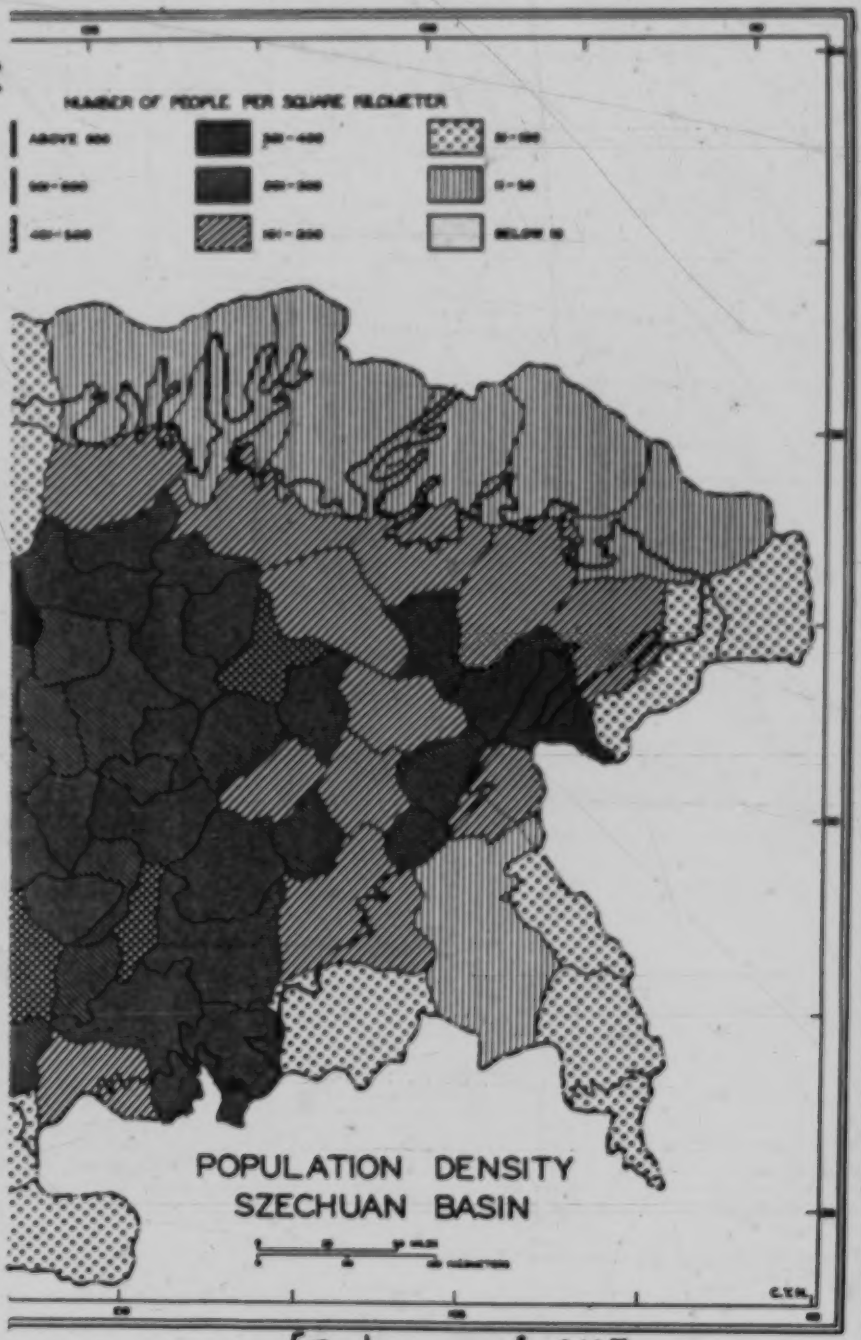
161
102

FIGURE 10

[End map 6 (a)]

7; Ho K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF36 Southwest China AF36

161
102



[End map 6 (b)]

634
102

FIGURE 11

[End map 7(a)]

634
•102

[End map 7 (b)]

Ti Sin K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

241
311
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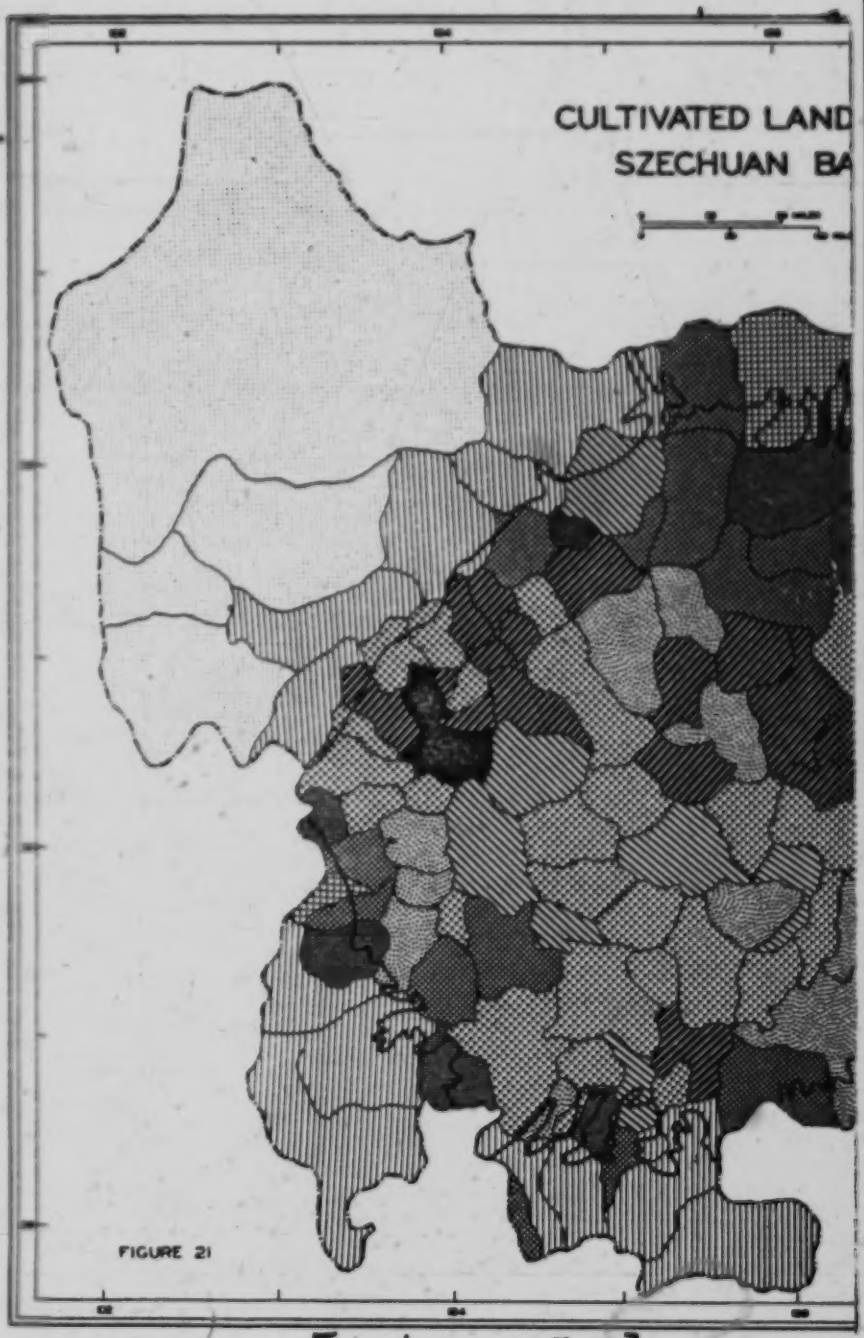
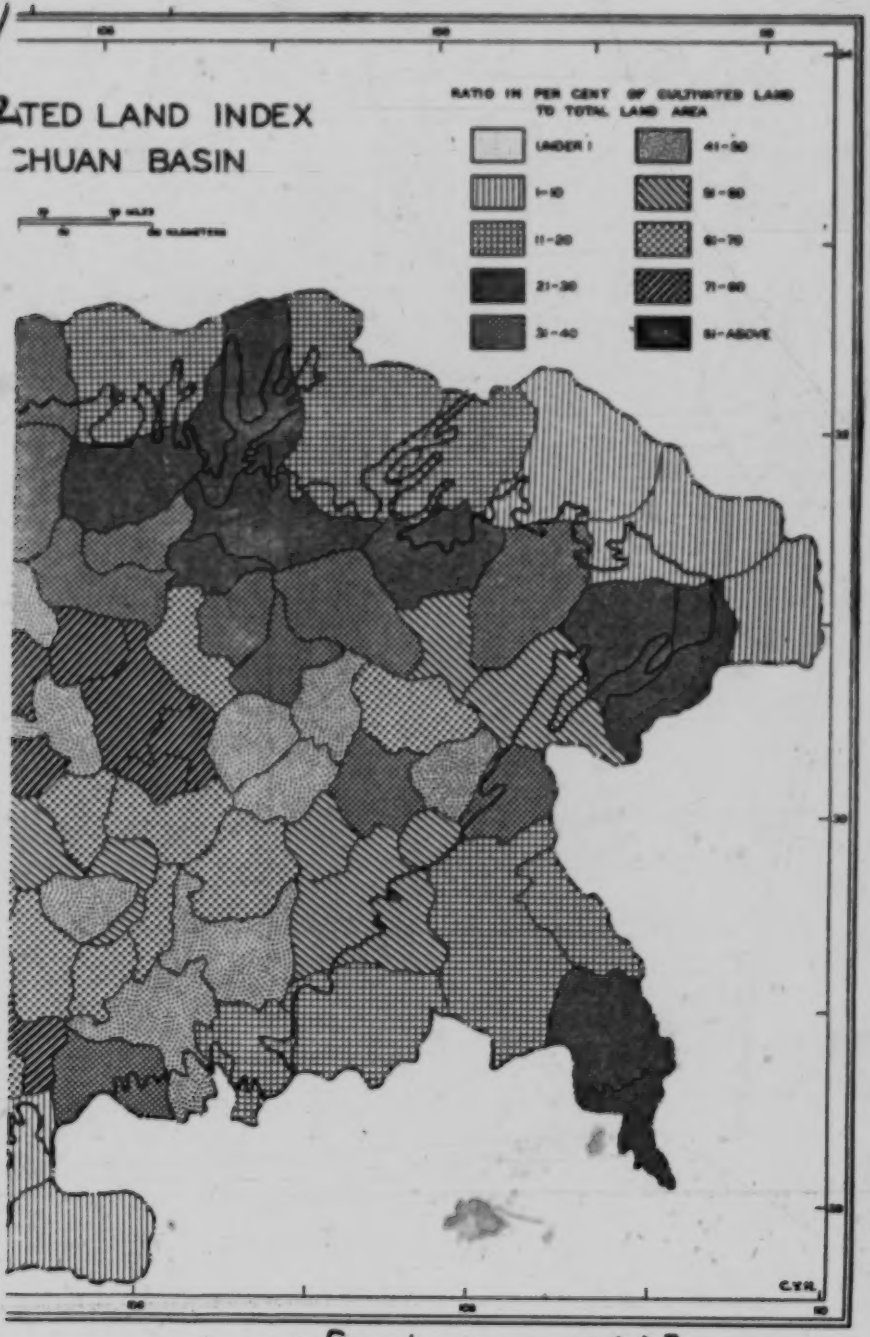


FIGURE 21

[End map 8(a)]

7; 111 K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF18 Southwest China AF18

241
311
102



[End map 8(b)]

7; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF18 Southwest China AF18

132
102

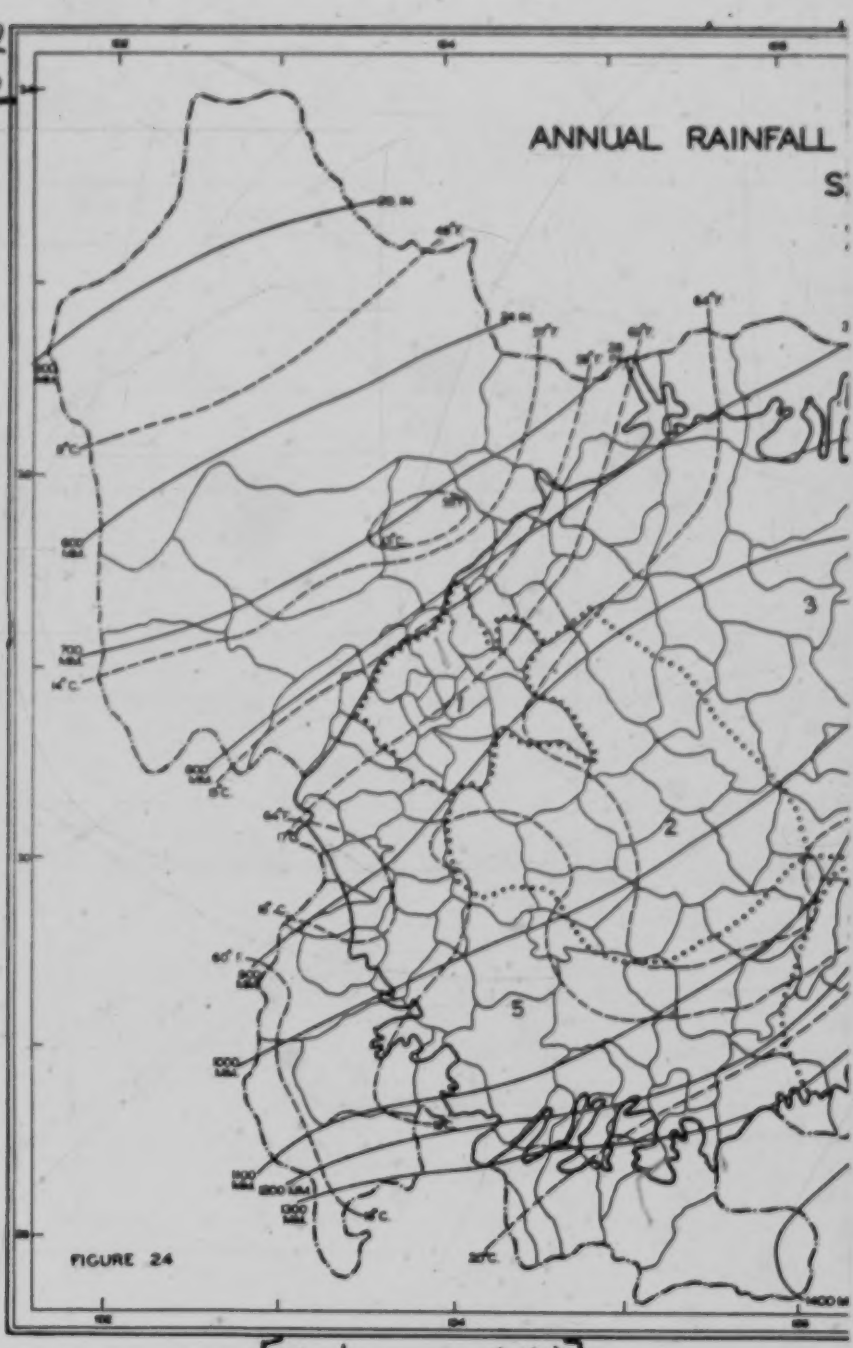


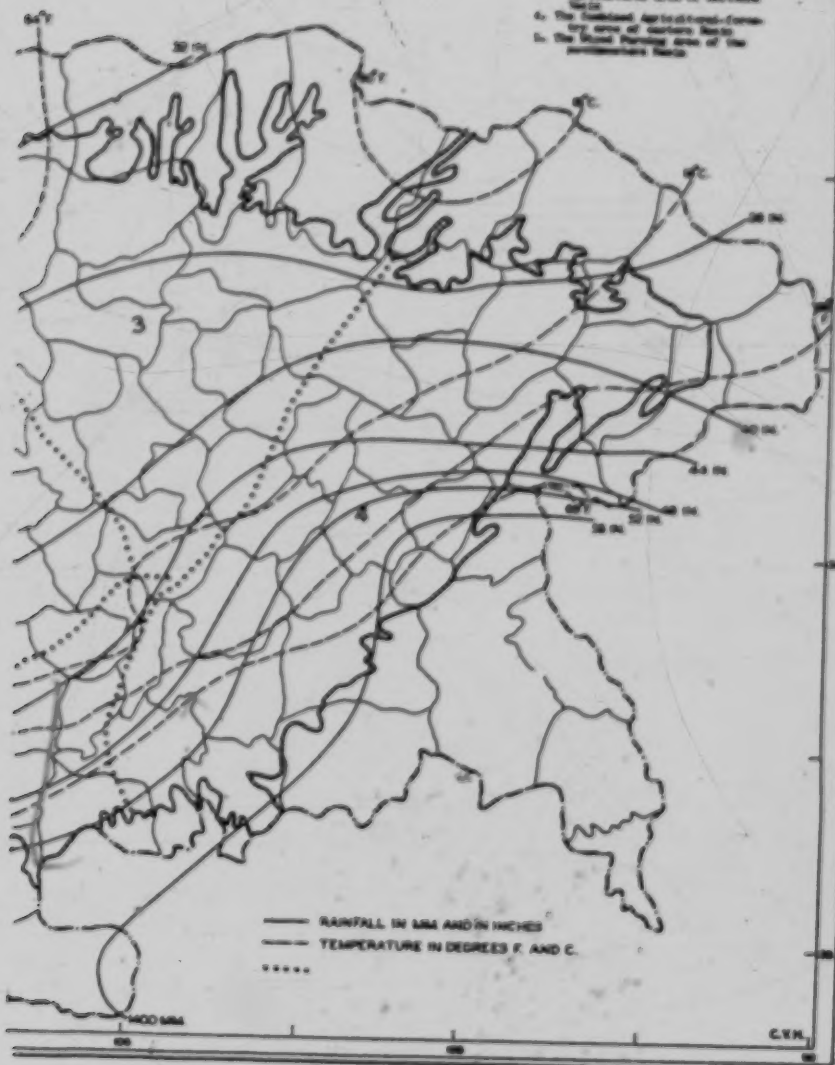
FIGURE 24

[End map 9 (a)]

Ts Hu X-5 (1934-) 1948 AF38 Southwest China AF38

132
102

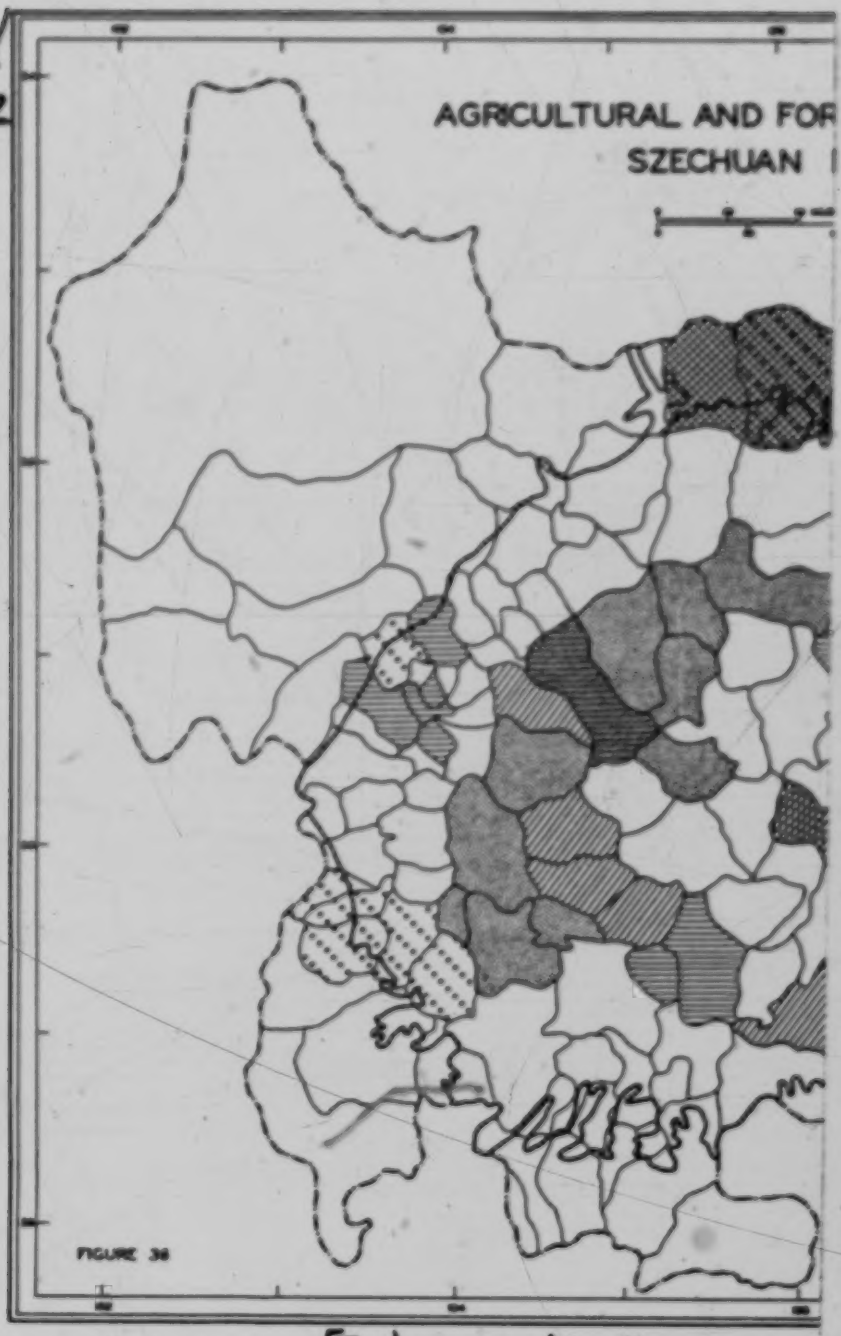
RAINFALL AND MARCH OF TEMPERATURE
SZECHUAN BASIN



[End map 1 (b)]

% Stu K-5 (1904-) 1948 AFM Southwest China AFM

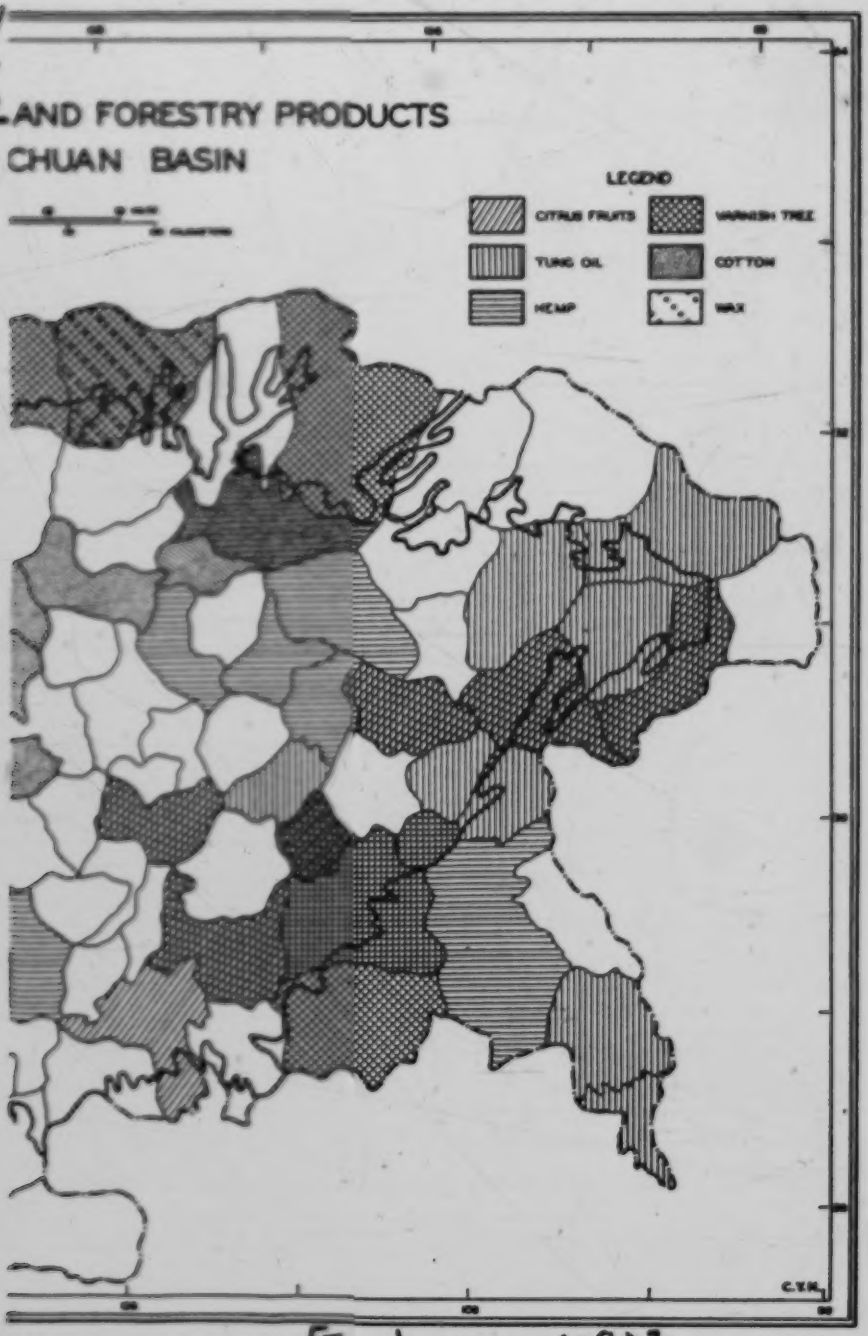
24/
314
102



[End map 10(a)]

241
314
102

AND FORESTRY PRODUCTS
CHUAN BASIN



[End map 10(b)]

Ti Hu K-5 (1934-) 1948 AF16 Southwest China AF16

241
314
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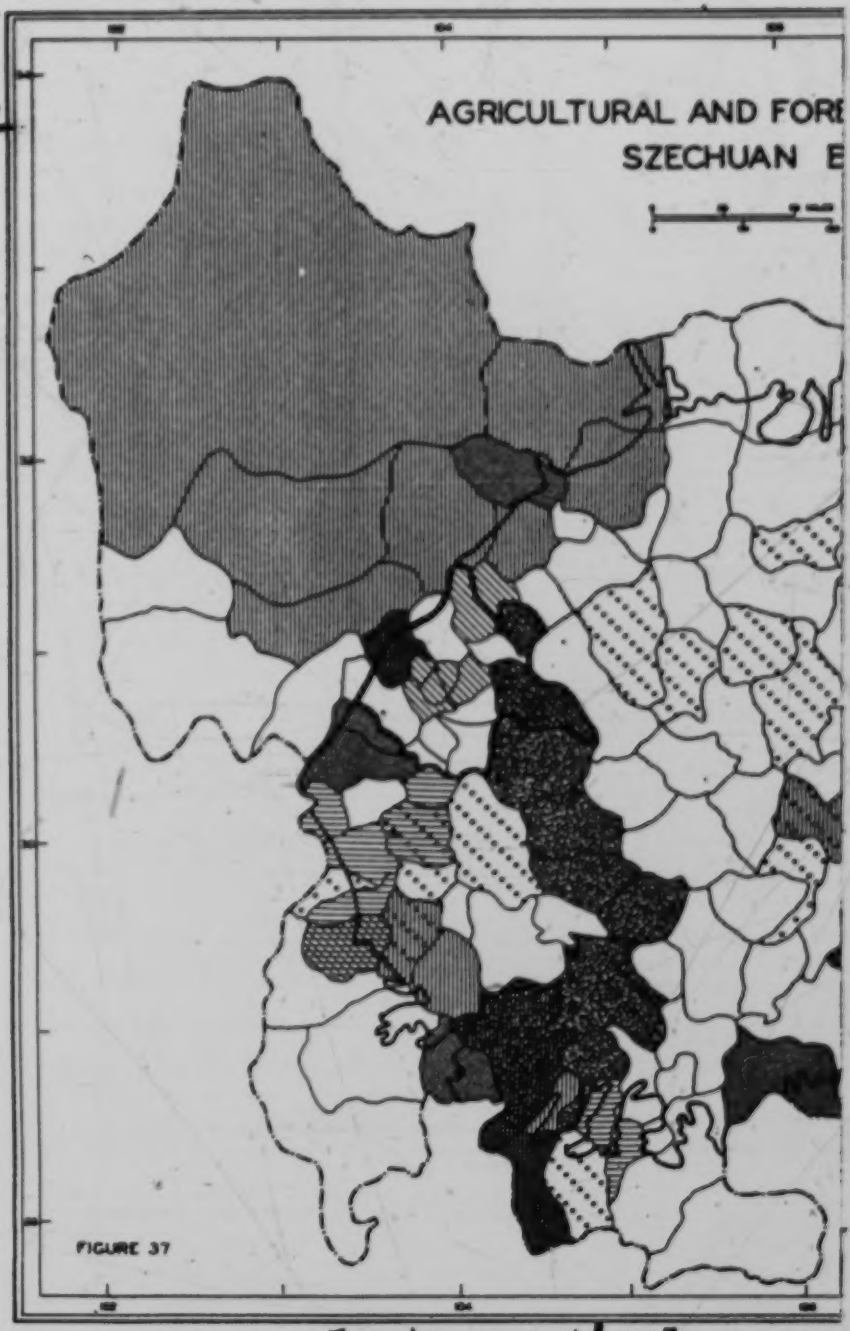

FIGURE 37

[End map 11 (a)]

T: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AFM Southwest China AF18

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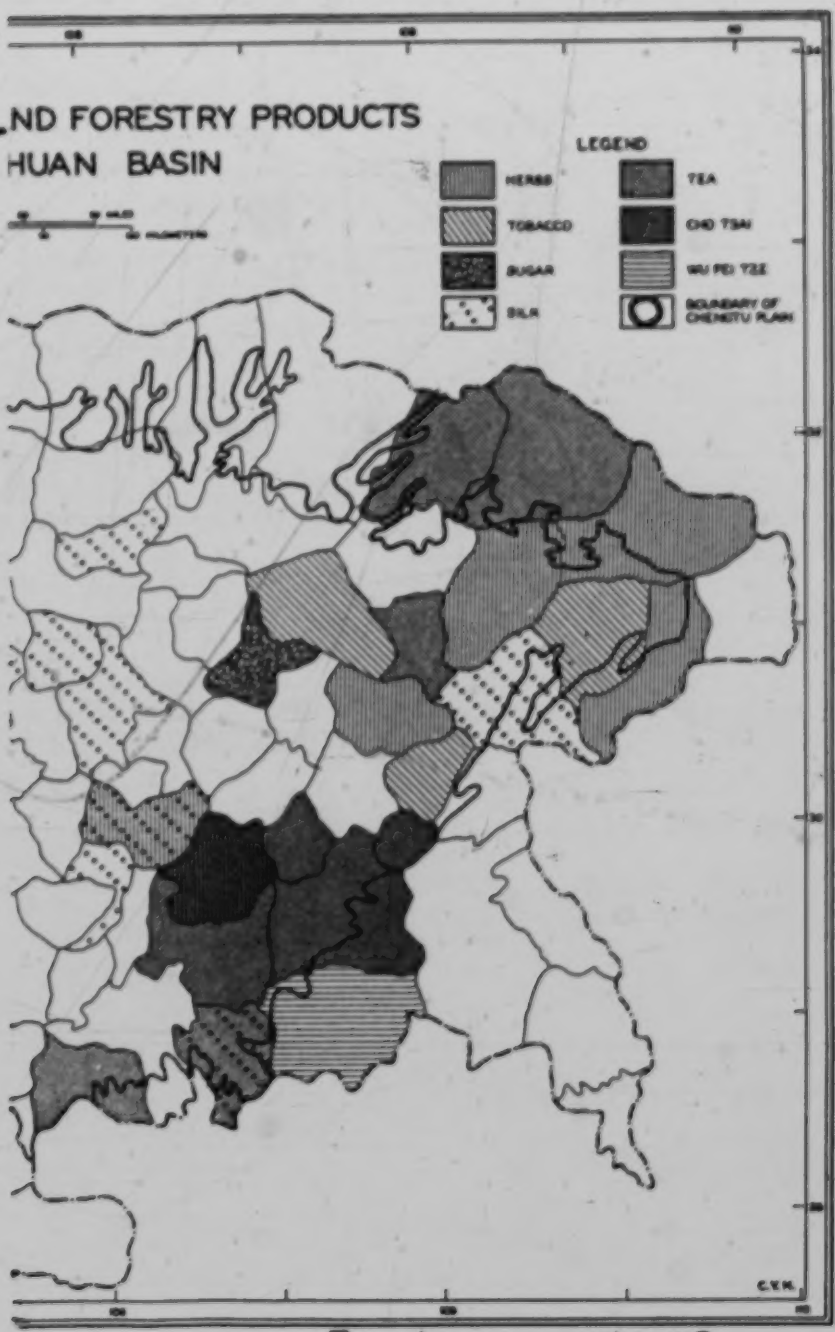
214
102



[End map 11 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

237
102

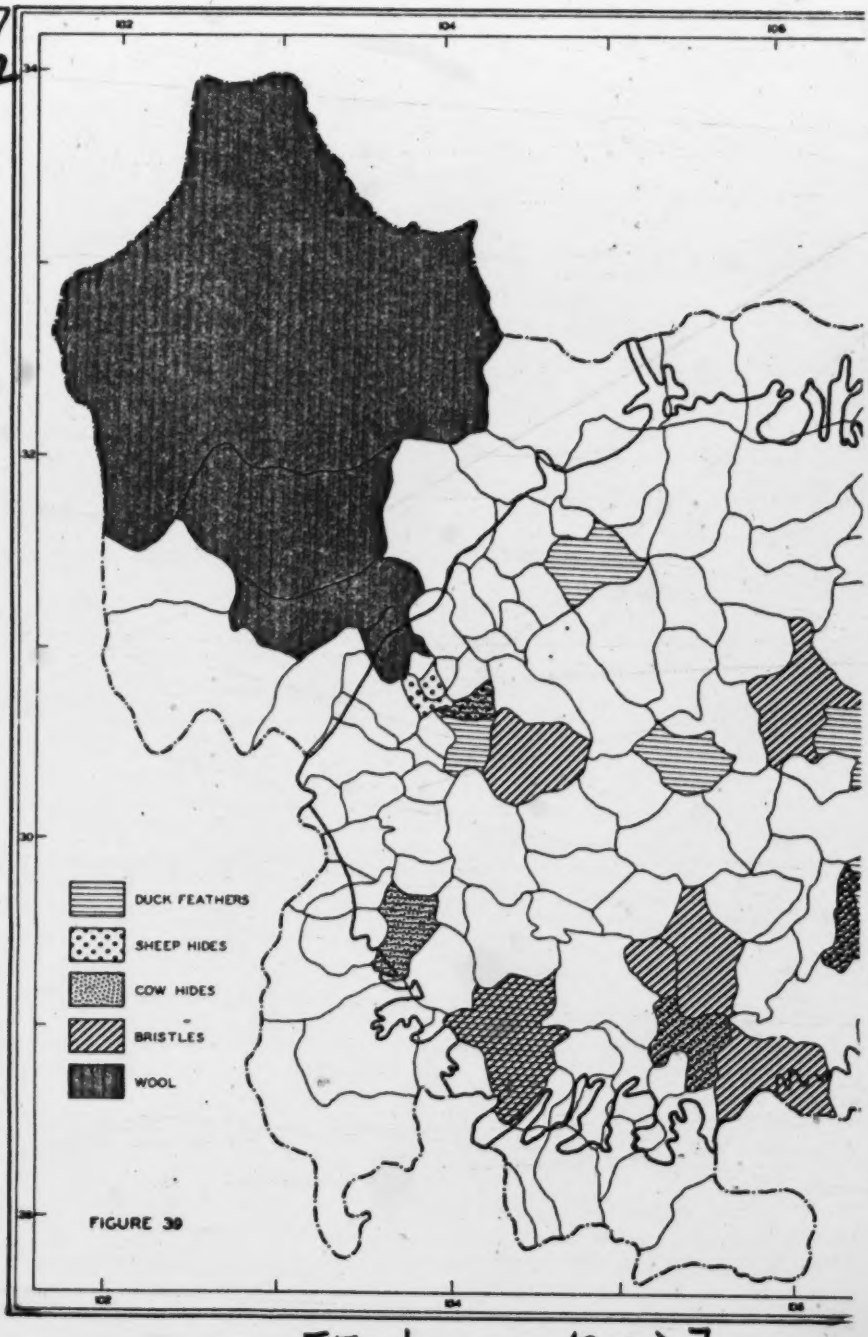
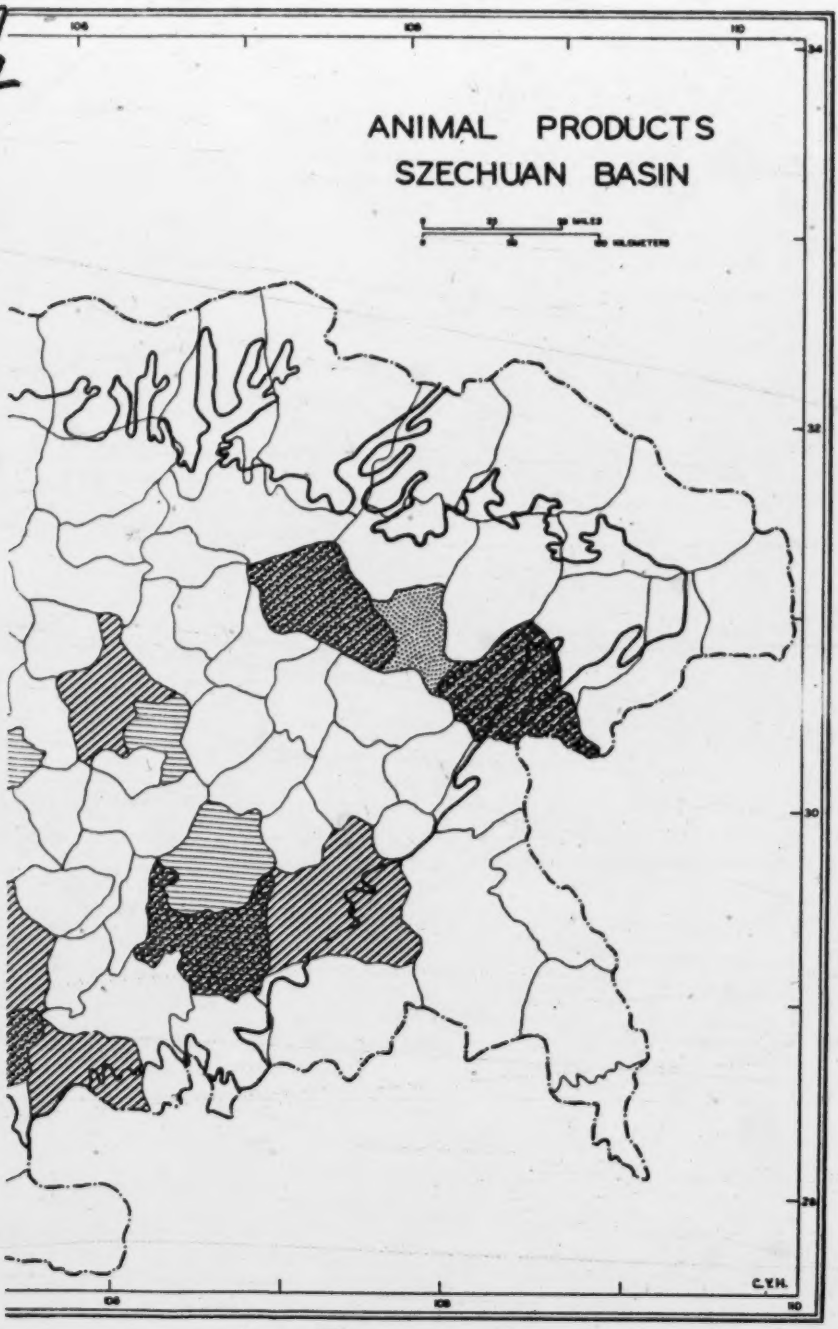


FIGURE 30

[End map 12 (a)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

237
102



[End map 12 (4)]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The South mountain, or Nan-yo 南嶽, is called Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 and is situated 80 li north of the prefectural city of Ching-tung 景東府. It is also known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山. The West mountain, or Hsi-yo, is the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山, and the North mountain, or Pei-yo, is the Yü-lung Shan. The Central mountain, or Chung-yo, is the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 west of Ta-li. Although the east and south mountains are not very important, yet they are quite the largest in their respective districts. 133

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* confirms that in the middle of the reign of Cheng-yüan (794) Wei Kao made an agreement with the Nan-chao Kingdom to attack the T'u-fan and drove them from the Hsüeh-ling, *i.e.*, snow mountain. The army of the Lo-lo-ssu was defeated at the snow mountain by the troops of Ssu-ch'uan at the beginning of the period Chih-shun (1330) of the Yüan dynasty. This snow mountain is none other than that of Li-chiang. A branch of it extends south, and this is the Ts'ui-wei Shan 翠微山. Still further lies the Sleeping elephant Mountain or Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 at the foot of which the Lung-wang Miao is situated. This branch ends at Yü-ho-ts'un 玉河村.

3. THE MOUNTAIN GOD AND THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO

Nearly every snow peak in Tibet has a name, it is usually that of a spirit or deity belonging to the protective type which deity is often believed to dwell within the peak. The Li-chiang snow range does not seem to have any other but Chinese names, which would indicate and confirm the belief that the Na-khi were immigrants in that region. The many Na-khi names which the various alpine meadows, forests, etc., on the slopes of the snow range bear, were given by Na-khi shepherds who were obliged to move their flocks of sheep from one little meadow to another. The shepherds are mostly children, directed by their parents as where to pasture their flocks, and this necessitates names for these places. But proper Na-khi names in the true sense of the word for the range or individual peaks do not exist. 103 ●

The name of the highest peak is a Chinese one, though it is true that it is also called in Na-khi, Boa-shi nv-lv. *Nv-lv* means silver rock, hence snow mountain, and Boa-shi is the Na-khi name for the market-place Pai-sha-kai situated between Li-chiang and the last village, Nv-lv-k'ö, on the north-western branch of the plain, at the foot of the range. But the name is only a few hundred years old and relates to an episode when the Boa (Hsi-fan 西番), from the north, invaded Na-khi territory and were killed (*shi* = dead) there by the Na-khi.

However, the Li-chiang snow range does represent a spirit or deity, and the deity in this case is not a local one, but one which had its origin in the far north, the grass-lands of Eastern Tibet whence the Na-khi migrated south during the latter part of the Han dynasty. Thus the name of Sa-ddo, the Tibetan Sa-tham, was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and applied in all probability first to the Li-chiang snow range, or rather the spirit of Sa-ddo was made the mountain god and protector of the Na-khi settlers. Only later as the town of Li-chiang came into being was the name Sa-tham extended to it.[19] We see

[19] It must be stated, however, that according to SIR CHARLES BELL and his Lhasa informant, Ge-sar is said to have lived during the reign of the Tibetan King To-to-ri nyen-tsen in the

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1:47 AF16 Southwest China AF16

103 thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

173 The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 351b, "*Tribus et regionis nom. in N.W. provinciae Sinar. Yunnan, cuj. urbs principalis est* Sa-tham *seu* Ly-Kiang-fou. *Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et* Nashi *ab ipsismet incolis*, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan." Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (*See* J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48–49: also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 37.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage* (1902), p. II, states that, strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndĕr-tkhyu-bpa-la-llü, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein, a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. of Roerich.

173 814 The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated, have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. Sarat Chandra Das gives 441 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-btsan); Schlagintweit in his "*Die Koenige von Tibet*, p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-bshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. Waddell, in his *Buddhism of Tibet* (*Lamaism*), p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang 羌, of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an 三談), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960–1126). In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang 麥良, also called A-liang 阿良, was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan 三談管民官. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-hsieh tribe dwelled there.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

in the Naga hills on the Assam borde. indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fans have adopted the religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside, and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese map of Ssŭ-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated, steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here to rest the mules and to get information about our future route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road, but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

T 792 between pp. 168 and 169 in original text. / /169/ Anyone on the Koko Nor or in Tsaidam who has a particularly good sword, sees to it that it comes from Dergi gon tschen.

The monastery as well as the princely residence of Dergi gon tschen lie five days' journey below Dschoma lhagan on the left (eastern) side of the Yangtze, a short day's ride from the river, and seem to be difficult to reach from the north. (1) On March 31, I stayed a whole day

000

1. In the Atlas de la Chine by d'Anville, Paris 1785, the monastery Tschonkor is indicated in this region.

in Antu Dschomba not far from Dschoma lhagan, in order to get guides to take me to Dschoma lhagan. There were people who offered to do so, but they all assured me that I could not reach it from this side with my pack animals and boxes because the paths were so narrow that pack animals would fall headlong. Since I did not get any carriers, I had to give up this idea, too.

C 487 Below Dschoma lhagan the Dre Chu-Yangtze enters a narrow valley as it breaks through a large mountain ridge in a more southerly direction. But the large road maintains the southwest direction that it has taken for several days. Immediately behind Dschoma lhagan (Chinese: Kwan yin miao) it again ascends a considerable height, and here only cattle raising can be carried on.

T 243 On our next trek (April 1) we passed several smaller monasteries that stood close to the road. After seven hours of travel we reached Nan dyi, a number of settlements consisting of seven or eight stone houses. The people were friendly, invited us to live among them and also sold us barley. They asked when the "Pe lang" was coming. Around this time the farmers are still threshing with their flail on their threshing floor which is always on the flat roof of the house. In order to clean the grain they do not use a winnowing shovel like the Chinese, for instance, but pour the grain on the floor several times, letting the mountain wind carry off the chaff.

C • 103 On the second day, beyond a pass, we came upon the kingdom of Ling gose that is supposed to derive its name from King Gesar's Ling or gLing. It is independent, so to speak, and has its own dyalbo (rgyalbo). The latter lives in Gose gomba and his home is a not very princely-looking stone house.

C 137 From the road we could see in the south and southwest, about one and a half days' journey from Dschoma lhagan, the valley of the Yangtze Kiang, although we did not once catch a glimpse of the river which is wedged in between rocks. Beyond the valley there are crests

S.W. China AF16

8,000-10,000 souls (one-third Chinese and two-thirds Tibetans) and has been for a long time the seat of a Chinese colonel (hsië tai) to whom all police garrisons throughout Hor as well as those of Ba tang, Li tang, etc., were subject, and a superintendant mandarin with the title of "kün leang fu" who had charge of the accounts with the occupation troops and the imperially recognized monasteries up to Lhasa /203/ and who was connected with the Dao tai of Ya tschou fu. (1) Finally I found here an important Likin mandarin whose chief 631

1. The imperial court in Peking annually sent as much as 40,000 taels through the kün leang fu to the monasteries of Tibet in payment for the saying of prayers.

duty it was to tax all tea imported from the lowland, before it entered the city. Besides these important Chinese, the Ming tscheng tu se, Tibetan: Dyala (Dschagla) dyalbo (written: lDschagsla rgyalbo) also has something to say in the administration, albeit only in purely Tibetan matters.

In Tibetan the town of Ta tsien lu is called Dar rtse ndo, i.e., mouth of the Dar, and from this seems to spring the botched expression "Ta tsien lu" in present-day Chinese. However, the Chinese of today do not recognize this derivation. According to one group the name means "arrow forge" and is supposed to be connected with the meaning of the place as a center for weapons; according to others, the name derives from the fact that an arrow was once found here which one of the frontier commissioners was supposed to have shot off. It is the story of the ox skin of Dido, translated into Chinese. After long-drawn-out boundary disputes the parties are said to have agreed that the Chinese boundary should reach as far as an arrow flies. The Chinese shot off an arrow and after a long search they found this arrow many days' journey inside Tibetan territory at the site of present-day Ta tsien lu. The city was called Lu tscheng by Chinese soldiers in the interior of Tibet. 103

Strictly speaking, the city consists only of two narrow streets that extend along either side of the little stream which has quite a lot of water and is supposed to be called Dar Chu (of course, few of the inhabitants know what to call it). Three bridges connect the two sides of the valley. The officials, the officers and the king live on the left bank in broad-gauged yamen, built in Chinese style. Most of the shops and the large Tibetan godowns or go tschwan are on the right bank. Ta tsien lu is today one of the few cities in the Middle 361

C 361

Kingdom which has no city walls. For this it seems to have been added to the kingdom too late (1697). Immediately behind the houses the sides of the valley rise up steeply so that the inhabitants felt it was necessary to build three gates at the three exits of the valley. (2)

2. In 1408 under the third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, however, the princes of the city had already had to submit to Chinese rule. The country was formerly called West Yü tung and Ning yüan tsch'ün.

Ta Tsien Lu

T 792

There are eight monasteries inside and outside the city, with 500 Tibetan monks all told. The most beautiful monastery is situated at the Chinese parade ground on the left bank of the river in front of the south gate. It is called "Dordyi dschak" and has 150 priests. Like the royal family, it belongs to the Nima or Red Sect. Beside the monastery are hot springs with temperatures of 25 to 27 degrees, that have formed beautiful sinter terraces. I found that the second largest monastery was a Gelugba lamasery with about 100 inmates. It is inside the city and also on the left bank. In the north there is a Saskya monastery with 40 to 50 priests; the rest are small and most of them are homes for Gelugba priests. All of them have regular incomes from real property; in fact, it seems to me that throughout Tibet no monastery can exist without owning property. The Nima Dordyi dschak monastery owns large royal grants and extensive /204/ holdings. With few exceptions these monastery holdings lie in the Minyang country (Chinese: Munia Shan) (1) in the 18 bailiwicks of

T 423 492

C [103]

1. Minyang, Muniag or Mi-nag. Various travelers thought that these names or Menia or Minjag were the name of more distant tribes, and therefore in a number of atlases this word reached the Hor Gantse and Dergi region. Actually it applies only to the region of the lower Nya Chu and at some former time it meant the land of the Hsi Hsia kingdom (see p. 205 Vol. I). It means a "lower" country.

the Dschagla Kingdom which extend southwest from the Dschedo La to the Nya Chu.

T 793

Besides the monastery priests there are also 100-150 private priests of all kinds of different sects who act as pastors for individual

T 278 Their daily earnings are said to amount to 20 to 30 taelcents and at best, 70 taelcents. A pound (600 grams) of be mu (Tibetan: Gar lo), for example, consists of 3,000 to 4,000 small roots, white bulbs of the Coelogyne Henryi, which must be found and dug out one by one. In Ma tang and Li fan a pound costs up to two taels. The little roots are a Chinese culinary delicacy.

C 133 I had a splendid view from a rise along the road. Far to the south and the southwest I was given a farewell greeting by the large black Somo Mountains with their numerous peaks which consist of green argillite sandstone and rise 5,000 meters upward. From the Ma tang region they extended far to the northwest so that 80 to 100 kilometers from my vantage point they looked as though they would continue into Tibet with a more east-west strike. They are the eastern ends of the Ba yen ka la Shan of Chinese cartography. (1) In front of

C [103]

1. Ba yen ka la schan is a designation borrowed from the Mongolian. Ba yen (Mongolian: bayan) means "rich"; ka la (Mongolian: khara) means "black." In Chinese geographies and even in their primers these words have for a long time referred to the mountain range forming the water shed between the Yangtze Kiang and the Hwang Ho within Tibet. It would therefore be wrong to try to introduce a new name.

them and extending immeasurably far to the north there is a green jungle of hills and mounds, valley plains and small mountain chains. There was not a single mountain there, as far as /258/ the eye could reach on that clear day, which was higher than 4,400 meters. This section of high plateau cut up into hilly country, is today the water shed between the large Yangtze and the Hwang Ho. It is only very gradually - as I noticed on my previous journeys - that the land gets higher toward the west, so that near Horkurma, finally, the floors of the deepest valleys reach up beyond 4,200 and 4,300 meters and the mountains up to 4,600 to 4,700 meters. All this country is the home of the free and audacious Ngolok and their countless fat yak herds.

In back of me, in the east, in the direction of China, there were somewhat higher mountains. There was granite to be found there and it formed a few peaks of close to 5,000 meters. Glacial marks were unmistakably visible even in this hard granite. All the valleys there were shaped like broad troughs and the entrances of the valleys revealed basin-shaped bottoms. In the meadows beside the tent village

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NA-KHI WORDS

104

Orthography	*Description*	*As in*
a	low back vowel	father
ă	same as above, short	Germ. *hat*
'a	low back vowel, with laryngeal constriction like Arabic *'asin*	
ä	mid front vowel	Fr. *seize*
aw	half-low back vowel, rounded	awe
b	voiced bilabial stop, lenis	be
bb	voiced bilabial stop, fortis, long (the vowel after bb, dd, ff, gg, ll, and nn is always short, as compared with that after an initial denoted by single b, d, etc.)	
bp	unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
ch	unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
ch'	aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
d	voiced dental stop, lenis	day
dd	voiced dental stop, fortis, long	
ds'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, lenis	
dt	voiceless dental stop, fortis	
dz	voiced dental affricate	adze
e	half-high front vowel (slightly higher than ä)	egg
ĕr	retroflexed mid central vowel, with a slight pharyngeal constriction	
erh	(orthography for Chinese loan words, with same phonetic value as ĕr)	
ff	voiceless labio-dental fricative, fortis, long	
g	voiced velar stop, lenis	go
gg	voiced velar stop, fortis, long	
gh	voiced uvular (or pharyngeal) fricative, like Fr. r *grasseyé* or the Arabic *ghain*	
gk	voiceless velar stop, fortis	
h	voiceless glottal fricative	hat
i	high front vowel	police
ĭ	high front vowel, slightly centralized	
k'	aspirated voiceless velar stop, fortis	
kh	voiceless velar fricative	Germ. *ach*.
kh	voiceless palatal fricative	Germ. *ich*.
l	voiced lateral continuant	low
ll	voiced lateral continuant, fortis, long	
lv	initial l plus syllabic v	
m	bilabial nasal, independent initial or combined with b to form the cluster mb	mother

[p.xix] [p.xviii is blank]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Orthography	*Description*	*As in*
n	dental nasal, independent initial or combined with d and dz to form the clusters nd and ndz	no
n̲	(letter to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel)	
ng	velar nasal, independent initial or combined with g to form the cluster ngg (simplified into ng in the text)	long
nn	dental nasal, fortis, long	
nv	nasalized syllabic v	
ō	half-high back vowel, rounded	Germ. *Sohn*
ö	half-high front vowel, rounded	Germ. *Söhne*
ou	back rounded diphthong	no
p'	aspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
r	(see ěr)	
s	voiceless dental fricative, fortis	sister
ss	voiceless dental fricative, extra fortis, long	
sh	voiceless alveolar fricative	show
sz	voiced dental fricative, fortis, long (syllable or followed by ěr)	
t'	aspirated voiceless dental stop, fortis	
ts	unaspirated voiceless dental affricate	
ts'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, fortis	
u	high back vowel, rounded	rude
ŭ	same as u, but less rounded and short	
ü	high front vowel, rounded (but back unrounded after gh)	Fr. *su*
uo	(after labials only) diphthong consisting of high back vowel, unrounded, followed by mid back vowel	
v	voiced labio-dental fricative, used in syllabic position after g, gk, k', d, dt, t' and l	
w	voiced bilabial continuant	way
wúa	special syllable, with prominence on "u" and value of "a" centralized	
wuà	same, with prominence on "a"	
y	voiced palatal continuant	yes
zh	voiced alveolar fricative	Fr. *je*

TONES

Superscript	*Description*
a^1	low-falling
a^2	middle-level
a^3	high-short
a^4	high-rising

The fourth tone occurs only in words borrowed from the Chinese or Tibetan languages.

1: Stanford University. Southwest China. HRAF Subcontractor's Monograph, HRAF-30 Stanford-4. New Haven, Printed by the Human Relations Area Files, 1956.

8, 972 p. 64 tables; 4 charts; 14 maps; 1 plate

[This is one of a series of five monographs compiled by a research team at Stanford University under the general supervision of HRAF. Within a uniform format this monograph stresses Southwest Chinese regional variations wherever found. Under three broad divisions labeled "Sociological," "Political," and "Economic," there are separate sections dealing with all aspects of modern Southwest Chinese life. Emphasis is placed on events and policies since the Communist assumption of control in 1949, but brief background materials are included as well. The footnotes refer to numerous documents and periodical articles, mostly in Chinese. There is no bibliography or index.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4, 5
Processed in 1956

2: Rock, Joseph F. The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China. 2 vols. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947.

17,554 p.; 256 plates; 4 end maps.

Yale: Bj12. O55d. 8 and 9.

[The author, who spent twelve years in the Na-khi country, gives a detailed account of the geographic features of this area. Translations of ancient and relatively modern genealogical records occupy much of the two volumes. Some observations about the Na-khi and other non-Chinese groups in the area are recorded. An account is given of the various routes and trails in the area. Considerable space is devoted to a description of the local flora.]

Field date: 1934
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Geographer--5
Processed in 1956

3: Hutson, James. Chinese Life on the Tibetan Foothills. Shanghai: Far-Eastern Geographical Establishment, 1921.

Pp. ix, 210.

Yale: Ma3. H976

[This source is a description of the culture of Kwan Hsien city, 40 miles northwest of Chengtu in Szechwan. Over half of the book is devoted to religious beliefs, practices and personnel; the rest of the work is general ethnography. There is no table of contents, its place being taken by an alphabetically organized index at the front of the book. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Missionary--5
Processed in 1955

4: Hsu, Francis L. K. Magic and Science in Western Yunnan: The Problem of Introducing Scientific Medicine in a Rustic Community. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

Pp. viii, 53.

Library of Congress: R 133. H74

[In this monograph, the author uses data on how a cholera epidemic was handled in a Yunnan community ("West Town") to point up (a) the influence of Western medicine on the traditional Chinese approach to disease and (b) in a larger sense the impact of modern science and its mode of thought on a pre-industrial rustic culture. After the normal health habits of the people are described in their cultural setting, the effect of the epidemic is traced from its beginning to its end, one month later. Observational data are supplemented by interviews. Comparative data from other cultures are brought forward, and the study concludes with the author's recommendations for

4: Hsu, Francis L. K.

health reform. A list of native drugs deemed effective during the epidemic is given in the Appendices. For further information on the inhabitants of this same community, see 26: Hsu, AF1 China. ---- Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1956

5: Davies, H.R. Yün-nan: The Link Between India and the Yangtze, Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press, 1909.

Pp. xii, 431; 73 plates; tables.

Yale: Eeb Y92.894.

[The author, a British Officer and Surveyer, traveled extensively in Yunnan while exploring for possible railroad routes through the area. The most valuable ethnographic materials are in the appendices. Data on the various ethnic groups are found on pages 370-397. (Miao-370-371, Yao-371, 372, Min-Chia 372, 373, Shan-Thai-373, 375, Palaung-376-377, Shan-Thai-377, 384, Mo-So-388, Lolo 389-391, LisO-391-392, La-hu 392-393, A-Ch'ang-395, 396, Maru-396-397, La-Shi-397, Atsi-397). Scattered references to topography and climate are made throughout the text. --Analyst]

Field date: 1894-1900
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Government Official--5
Processed in 1956

6: Liao, T'ai-ch'u. The Ku Lao Hui in Szechwan. Pacific Affairs, Vol. 20, pp. 161-173. Richmond, Virginia: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1947.

Yale: Ozd98.In75c.20

[This source is a description of a powerful secret society in Szechwan. The history and probable sources (e.g., nationalistic opposition to the Ch'ing dynasty and loyalty to the Ming) of the Ko Lao Hui are discussed, as are it's present functions (mutual aid, protection from government punishment, and protection of middle-class interests generally) and governmental attitudes and connections. There is some coverage given to the connections of the Ko Lao Hui with organized vice. --Analyst]

Field date: 1943-1945
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Social Scientist--5
Processed in 1956

7: Hu, Charles Y. The agricultural and forestry land-use of Szechuan Basin. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946.

10,157 p.; 12 Maps.

Yale: Ndb76. C6. 946H.

[The author made numerous trips through the Szechuan Basin and completed an aerial reconnaissance of the area. The information is concisely presented with numerous tables, charts, and maps to accompany the text. Land usage and forestry products are treated in detail for each sub-area within the Szechuan basin.]

Field date: 1934
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Geographer--5
Processed in 1956

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[For trends in the adoption of lack of adoption of modern Western medical science in the local Chinese community, see 4: Hsu, Category 116, pp. 2-53.]

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PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the Southwest China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally, official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreove

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two sources, the Survey of China Mainland Press and Current Background, although prepared by the American Consulate General in Hong Kong, are compilations of translations from Chinese Communist publications; unless the citations contained therein are specifically attributed to American editors, they refer to translation from Communist newspapers and magazines and neither represent nor reflect the views of the United States Government. The critical use of Communist and pro-Communist sources has been the principal means of analyzing developments in Soviet Russia. Scholars of China are now obliged by circumstances to employ similar sources in their study of contemporary China.

The regional approach embodied in this monograph represents an attempt to conform with the suggestion of our Prime Contractor. Although certain topics which cannot be properly treated on a regional basis have been discussed in more general terms, the bulk of this monograph is comprised of regional information. Since Communist China is undergoing many rapid changes, the studies contained in this monograph should be brought up to date at frequent intervals.

This monograph is to be regarded as a cooperative project, and no attempt will be made to identify the authors of the studies included. It is enough to mention the members of our staff.

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II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

114 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

241 668 First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected. No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

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PREFACE

121 101 The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

127 Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

●114 My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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114 on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

127 The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

000 The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944–1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634 173

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納.

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 1792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
● 114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

000 matters as cleanliness or use of pure drinking water) are not integrated in the fabric of the established code as essential parts of a continuing usage, such measures are short-lived. People fall back into their old ways, not because they are stupid or reactionary, but because there is no satisfaction in fragments of information or prescription from a world that is not their own.

The individualistic approach, so dear to the Western social reformer, also falls short of the real task. It attempts to reform a community or a whole society by rescuing a few from the trammels of ancient superstitions so that they may become leaders among their fellows in their striving for a better life. All they achieve, very often, is to estrange such persons altogether from their native community.

Success, according to our author, beckons when the propagators of new ideas and better practices cease to regard themselves as engaged in a perpetual conflict with outdated uses and pre-scientific habits of mind. Instead of asking people to change their ways, the public health officer and others like him should accept these ways with the respect due to a folk wisdom handed down through the generations. Social custom is not a dead thing to be reconstructed or added to, but has a life that permeates all its parts, so that progress can be achieved only through the development of the whole.

The author's attitude, thus, is somewhat different from that which we in the West have come to expect in Western-trained Chinese sociologists. He is not averse, as many of them are - or used to be - to discuss beliefs and customs which, when they manifest themselves in contemporary China, have too often been used by foreign writers to libel the Chinese people as hopelessly given over to superstition and incapable of rational thinking. These beliefs and customs, these behavior forms so strikingly in contrast with rationally conceived social codes, are precisely what we must study if the old failures of the modernist are not to be endlessly repeated.

There is no cultural isolationism here, nor a desire to retreat from modern reality, as so many European scholars have done in this generation, in a mystic appeal to blood and soil. On the contrary, Dr. Hsu goes farther than most of his contemporaries in demanding for China a complete social freedom as the essential condition of any sort of advance.

> "The development of support for public health measures and scientific medicine depends ultimately upon a sound mental attitude. And a sound mental attitude depends upon the general training in sound scientific reasoning. In a society of slavery, or of caste, or of fate, even with all the industrial development in the world, sound scientific reasoning can never really hope to take a permanent root."

Therefore he looks to a free and industrialized society and the kind of education which it alone affords as the crucible in which the conflict between magic and modern science will find its natural and inevitable solution - not in the victory of science over tradition but in the interweaving of both in a new pattern of customs and uses, of habits and ideas.

114 The present monograph is one of a number of intensive recent studies made in war-time China by a group of scholars concerned to implement

both theory and the shaping of practical programs of reform with concrete, even graphic, data on current social situations. All of them significantly illustrate widely prevalent conditions of social change. In each instance only the author is responsible for statements of fact and opinion contained in his contribution. The present study was first distributed in mimeographed form for private circulation in China through the generous assistance of the British Consulate-General in Kunming and the Branch of the Press Attaché's Office of the British Embassy in that city. The present edition, by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is intended, more especially, for distribution in North America. 114

W. L. HOLLAND
Research Secretary

September, 1943

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 known each other at Eton, for he was in the eleven while I was still a "lower boy" and would not have dared to address one who had attained such a distinguished position. After a few years in a cavalry regiment, he had thrown up his commission and come out to China as a missionary.

Two of the others whom we met were contemplating a journey further in to Tibet and hoped to establish a mission station at Ba-t'ang.

We also went to see Mgr Giraudeau, the Bishop of the French Tibetan mission, and thanked him for the many kindnesses we had received from the French missionaries.

366 Ta-chien-lu is the great trading mart of eastern Tibet. Furs, medicine, and musk are the exports to China, and tea is the principal import into Tibet. The amount of tea drunk in Tibet must be very large for the size of the population, for everyone, however poor, drinks it con-
245 stantly, in fact at every meal. A certain quantity of P'u-êrh tea is imported from Yün-nan, but by far the greater part of the tea for Tibet passes through Ta-chien-lu.

It is grown in western Ssŭ-ch'uan chiefly in the Ya-chou Fu district. All that is imported into Tibet is of a very coarse quality and is largely adulterated with sticks. The cost of carriage to distant parts of Tibet is so large that a good quality of tea could be sold there only at a prohibitive cost.

●114 Mr A. de Rosthorn has published a pamphlet[1] on the
439 subject of the tea trade and this probably contains the most accurate information available. He estimates the weight of the annual import through Ta-chien-lu as 108,780 piculs, which comes to fourteen and a half million English pounds.

He discusses the question of whether tea can ever be profitably imported from Assam into Tibet, but comes to the conclusion that the Chinese tea, adulterated as it is with 65 per cent. of twigs and leaves of other plants, and sold at Ba-t'ang at 5½*d.* and at Lhasa at 11*d.* a pound will continue to hold its own, except possibly in parts of Tibet very remote from China.

[1] *On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssŭ-ch'uan*, by A. de Rosthorn. London, Luzac & Co., 1895.

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PREFACE

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PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the Southwest China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally, official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreove

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two sources, the Survey of China Mainland Press and Current Background, although prepared by the American Consulate General in Hong Kong, are compilations of translations from Chinese Communist publications; unless the citations contained therein are specifically attributed to American editors, they refer to translation from Communist newspapers and magazines and neither represent nor reflect the views of the United St ates Government. The critical use of Communist and pro-Communist sources has been the principal means of analyzing developments in Soviet Russia. Scholars of China are now obliged by circumstances to employ similar sources in their study of contemporary China.

The regional approach embodied in this monograph represents an attempt to conform with the suggestion of our Prime Contractor. Although certain topics which cannot be properly treated on a regional basis have been discussed in more general terms, the bulk of this monograph is comprised of regional information. Since Communist China is undergoing many rapid changes, the studies contained in this monograph should be brought up to date at frequent intervals.

This monograph is to be regarded as a cooperative project, and no attempt will be made to identify the authors of the studies included. It is enough to mention the members of our staff.

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We are also grateful to our consultants who rendered invaluable assistance: Professor T'ung-ho Tung of the Academia Sinica, Dr. Kia-ngau Chang, Loyola University of Los Angeles, Dr. Shun-hsin Chow, now of the College of William and Mary, Dr. Ch'i-yün Chang and Dr. Yün-t'ien Chiang of Formosa, and Dr. Shann Yau Wang of Hong Kong. We are also grateful to Professor Joseph E. Williams executive head of the Department of Geography, Stanford University, for his supervision of our cartographic work. We should like to express our sincere appreciation to the staff of the Hoover Library, Stanford University, for their patient co-operation, and particularly to Dr. Mary C. Wright, curator of Chinese Collections, for her unfailing support.

The views and opinions expressed in this monograph are those of the staff of the China Project and are not necessarily those of Stanford University.

March 26, 1956
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Shau Wing Chan
Director

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*See pocket in back cover.

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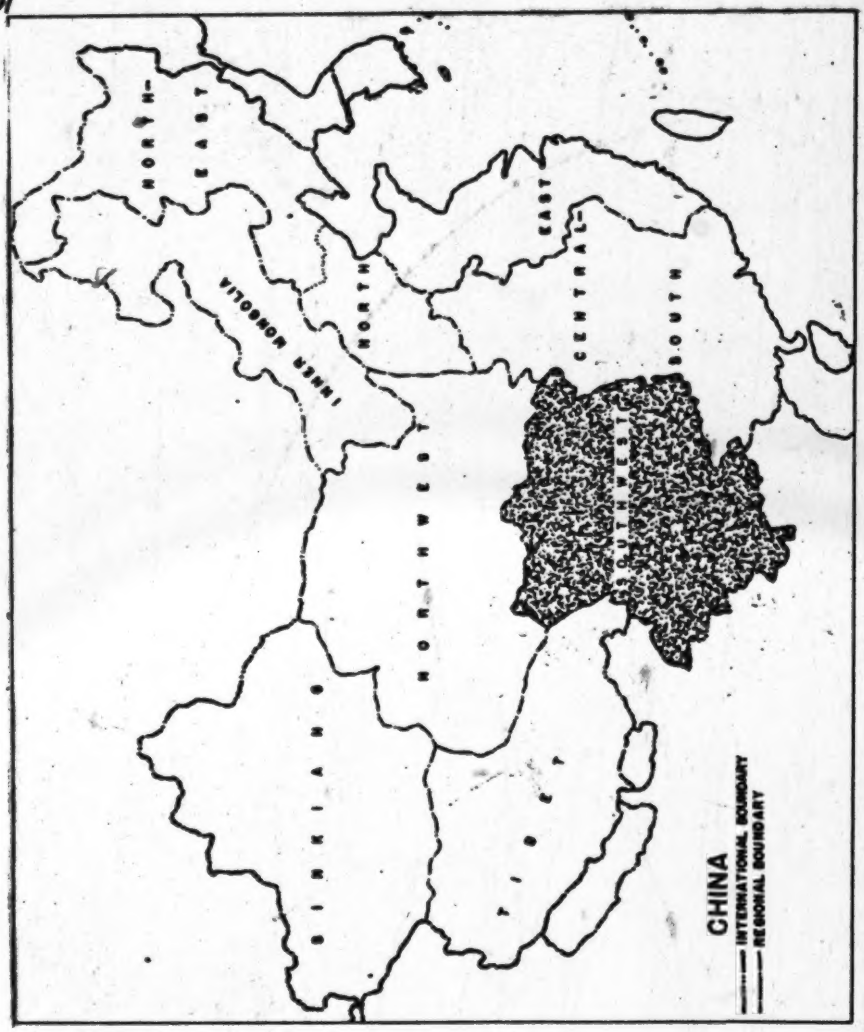

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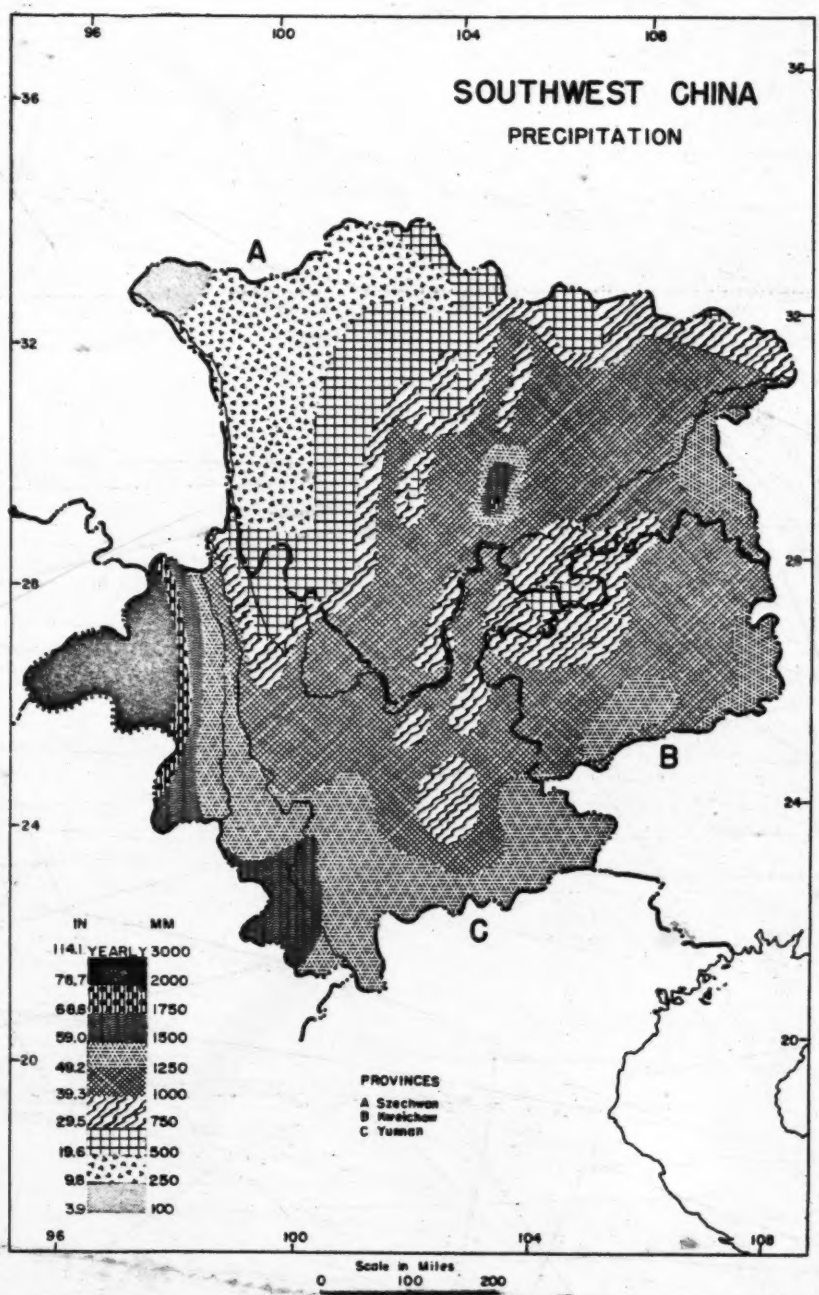

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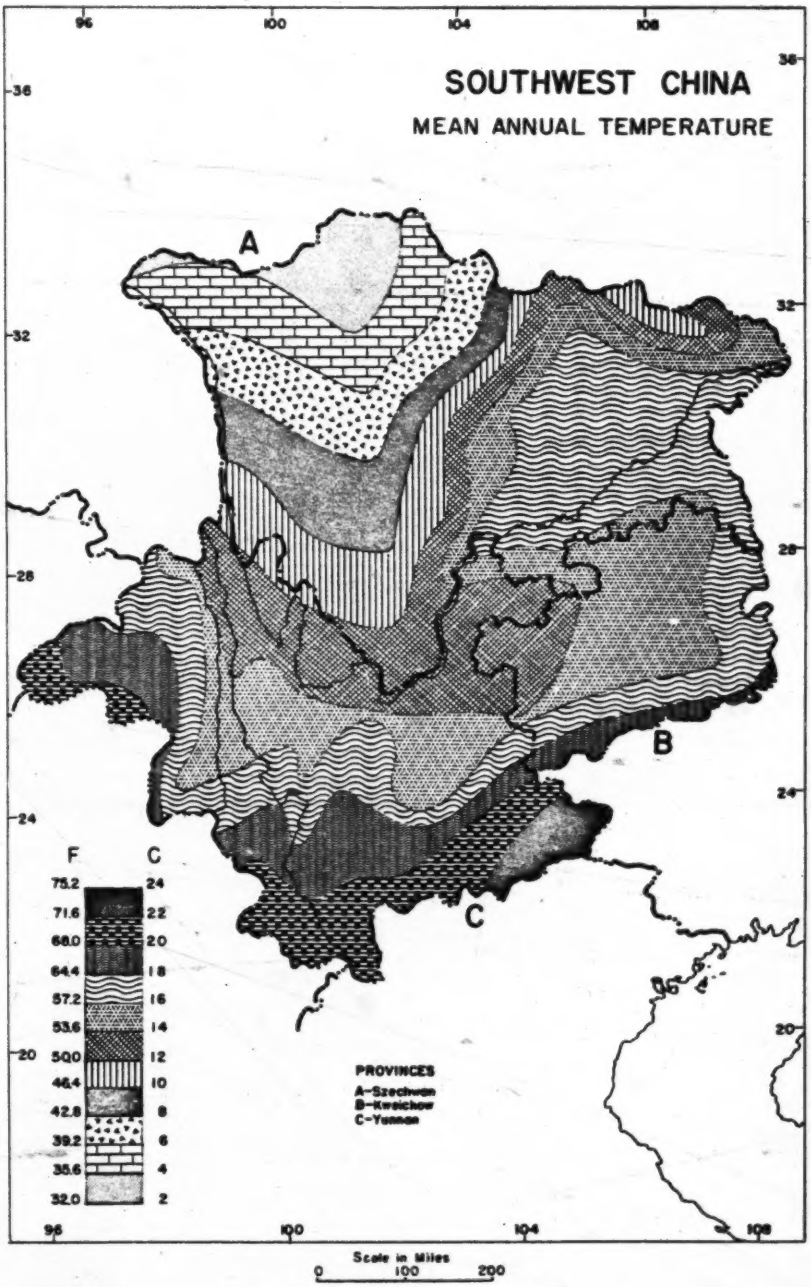

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 The Southwest China Region, comprising the provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow, is adjacent to Chinghai, Kansu, and Shensi provinces in the north across the Tanglha, Min, and Tapa mountain ranges. In the east it shares a boundary with Hupeh, Hunan, and Kwangsi provinces. The western limit of this region is an arbitrary line drawn vertically across the Tibetan massif to separate this region from Tibet.[1] This region defines China's southern frontier bordering upon Indochina and Burma. It lies between 21° and 34° North latitude, and 97° and 110° East longitude, covering an area of 1,146,345 square kilometers (442,600 sq. mi.) in which lives a population of 98,195,110, or about 16.9 per cent of China's total population.

I. TOPOGRAPHY

133 A. Mountains and Rivers

The elevation of the Southwest Region is quite high in the northwest, somewhat lower in

1. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], April 1955, pp. 15-16. For details of political subdivisions, see chapter on Structure of Government.

133the south, much lower in the southeast, and at its lowest point in the northeast (the Szechwan Basin). Because of the particular features of these mountains and rivers and their relative positions, it seems best to discuss them together.

The mountains and rivers in this region appear to originate in the same general area in the northwest. The mighty Tanglha Range, with summits over 7,000 meters (22,400 ft.) high, enters this region from northeastern Tibet and spreads south. The even mightier Himalaya and Nyenchentanglha ranges extend into this region just below the Tanglha, bending south to join the jagged tableland of western Yunnan Province. The rivers are sandwiched between these north-south mountain ranges. Between the Himalaya and the Nyenchentanglha ranges run the middle reaches of the Brahmaputra River, locally known as Yalutsangpu, which turns due south and leaves China between 95° and 96° East longitude. Out of the Tanglha Range flows the Nu River (the Angry River, the upper reaches of the Salween) which fills the deep gully between the Poshula Range (also known as Tan-ta, and its southern portion in Yunnan, as Kao-li-kung) and the Nu Range (the Angry Mountain, also known as T'a-nien-t'a-weng). To the east of the Nu Range and parallel to it across another dividing river (the Lan-ts'ang, upper reaches of the Mekong River) lies the Ning-ching Range. Its southern extension in Yunnan Province is called the Yün-ling.

133 The famous Yangtze River washes the eastern foot of the Ning-ching Range, but in this section the river is referred to as the Chin-sha River (Golden Sand River). Between the Golden Sand River and the Ya-lung River (another name for it is the Nya) is the Sha-lu-li Mountain. Flanking the former Sikang-Szechwan provincial border are the Ta-hsüeh and the Ch'iung-lai ranges. The southern finger of the Ta-hsüeh Range is Che-to Mountain, which has the highest peak in this region (Minya Konka, 7,700 m. or 22,400 ft.). The southern extension of the Ch'iung-lai is Ta-liang Mountain, home of the Yi minority. The little appendage protruding west from the middle of the Ch'iung-lai Range forms the celebrated O-mei Mountain which, although only 3,035 meters (9,712 ft.) high, is the most famous sacred mountain in West China and the site of hundreds of temples.

The mountains so far mentioned all run northwest-south. Other mountains of less magnitude violate this general pattern: the Wu-meng in northeastern and the Liu-shao in eastern Yunnan Province, both extensions of the Yün-ling mentioned above, and the Min-shan mass in northwestern Szechwan Province, which with the Ts-pa form the northern wall of this province. The Wu-shan Range guards the northeastern gate of this region through which the Yangtze River flows in a series of gorges (the awe-inspiring gorges of the Yangtze, about 170 km.

133 or 105 mi. in length).[2] In Kweichow Province, Lou-shan Mountain increases the elevation of the land in the north as does Yün-wu Mountain in the land to the southeast. Compared with the mountains to the northwest, these mountains are but minor elevations on the edge of this expanse of tableland.

Framed by high mountains the rivers thus far mentioned are separate systems, each running its own course northwest-south, with the exception of the Golden Sand, which ends its southward course in northwestern Yunnan and curves back and forth before reaching the Pacific Ocean some 3,000 miles east. The Golden Sand (or Yangtze) River system is the most extensive, receiving the Ya-lung in the former Sikang Province and four other sizable rivers (Ta-tu, Min, Fu, and Chia-ling) in Szechwan Province. There are very few tributaries of the Yangtze on its southern bank apart from the Wu River issuing from central Kweichow Province. There is a theory supported by geologic findings that centuries ago the Golden Sand River did not curve back as it entered northwestern Yunnan Province, but continued southeast to the Gulf of Tonkin by way of the Red River. The present course of the Golden Sand River in northwestern

2. Huang Yen-p'ei, Shu Tao [Szechwan Roads], Shanghai, K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1936, p. 23.

133 Yunnan remains very close to the source of the Yüan River (upper reaches of the Red River). At one point the two rivers are only a few miles apart and there is no towering division to keep them from flowing into each other.[3] It is also said that after the Golden Sand changed its course to the east and abandoned the Red River, it filled the Szechwan land depression and made a huge lake. The gorges in the Wu-shan Mountain provide an outlet for the river.

The mountain ranges in the western portion of this region are high, rising from intervening elevated valleys up to 4,000 meters (12,000 ft.) above sea level. They are rugged, desolate, and cold, with the snow lines between 4,000 and 6,000 meters (12,800-19,200 ft.), depending on local precipitation.

Lack of reliable surveys has caused geographers to consult travel notes which often contain hearsay information about the names of certain mountains and their systems. In addition, there is the matter of local dialects which makes it extremely difficult to arrive at a commonly acceptable translation of certain names.[4] The name of the Ta-hsüeh Range, for

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3. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 61.

4. George B. Cressey, China's Geographic Foundations, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1934, pp. 37-38, p. 274.

133 example, means "Big Snow." But local people in many communities use the same name when they refer to other mountains. The name Himalaya, incidentally, is Tibetan for "Snow Mountain."[5]

The rivers on the west side of this region are turbulent flows and objects of fear and superstition to the aborigines. Bamboo-cable bridges and buffalo-skin rafts are dangerous and impractical means for crossing these rivers. In this connection, accounts of the construction of the Hui-t'ung Bridge on the "Stilwell Road" in western Yunnan and the Communist epic crossing of the Ta-tu River in eastern Sikang during the 1934-35 Long March should be recalled. P tions of the rivers in Szechwan Province, where wooden junks serve as local transport, are navigable; other rivers in this region are not.

B. Plains and Lakes

133 The Chengtu Plain, heart of the Szechwan
311 Basin, is undoubtedly the largest area of level land in this region -- 6,000-7,000 square kilometers (2,280-2,680 sq. mi.).[6] It is extensively cultivated, and its productivity equals

5. Ko Sui-ch'eng, Chung-kuo Ti-li Hsin Chih [New Geography of China], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1950, chap. IX, p. 243.

6. Chiang Chün-chang, Hsi-nan Ching-chi Ti-li [The Economic Geography of Southwest China], Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1946, pp. 9-25.

133 the riparian "rice-bowl" section of Hunan
311 Province to the east. The Chung-pa Plain, northeast of Chengtu in the same province, is
133 another extensive flatland. Outside the basin, the plains are scattered and consist of high valleys between towering mountains or "grass-lands" on the Tibet-Sikang highland. The expansive valley around Kweiyang, provincial capital of Kweichow, for example, is about 1,000 meters (3,200 ft.) above sea level. Similar in nature is the Kunming plain, except that it rises to a height of 2,000 meters (6,400 ft.). Farther north are the flat stretches around Pa-an (or Pa-t'ang) on the former Ch'ang-tu--Sikang border, which is an open section of the Golden Sand River valley, rising 2,600-3,000 meters (8,360-9,600 ft.).[7] Many small lakes are found in these plains. The Szechwan Basin, with its lattice work of waterways, is without lakes, but Yunnan, Kweichow, and the former Sikang Province have many. Ts'ao-hai Lake in Kweichow and Erh-hai and T'ien-ch'ih lakes in Yunnan, are noted bodies of water. Warm springs also abound in these two provinces.

132 C. Climate

The climatic zones in this region are best

7. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

132 described in terms of relative elevation. This is especially true in western Szechwan, where warmer climatic conditions are noted in the valleys below 1,500 meters (4,800 ft.), and the few rare land depressions about 900 meters (2,880 ft.) show semitropical characteristics. Places averaging 3,000 meters (9,600 ft.) in elevation are cool, and no warm season can be observed at 4,800 meters (15,360 ft.) and above.[8]

On the highland wind and rain come in their own peculiar manner. During the day the wind blows down the valley but reverses its direction at dusk. Hailstorms frequently accompany the wind.[9] Flat grasslands offer no shelter when howling gusts strike with resounding violence. Travelers, who must camp in the open because few villages are within a day's walking distance of each other, find that it is an ordeal to keep their tents from being snatched away. Winds usually start in mid-morning and rapidly gain in velocity after the noon hour, making it most unpleasant for travelers who must fight the wind and breathe the thin air at altitudes of 6,000-7,000 meters (19,200-22,400 ft.).

The heaviest annual rainfall of 1,790 millimeters (70 in.) is recorded in the lower

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8. Ibid., pp. 30-36.

9. Fang Te, Sui-chün Ju Tsang Chi [Entering Tibet with the Army], Peking, Kung-jen ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 41.

132 Ya-lung River valley, with the greatest amount falling during June-September. North of the Ya-lung River the precipitation decreases; it reaches 300 millimeters (about 12 in.) in the high northwestern grasslands.[10]

In southwestern Yunnan the V-shaped river valleys become more pronounced, and in some places it is over two miles from the top of the mountain to the bottom of the valley. Near the bottoms of these valleys the climate is tropical. Wind rarely visits the surface of the rivers, leaving the air there stagnant and sultry; bacteria and disease carriers thrive.[11] Central and eastern Yunnan areas enjoy moderate weather all year long. The entire province of Kweichow is in the temperate zone; snow is rarely seen in winter except on high mountain peaks, and even the hottest summer days allow the comfort of cool mornings and evenings. Rain in this zone averages between 1,000 and 1,500 millimeters (39-58 in.) a year, the greatest amount falling in summer. The almost perpetually blue skies of Yunnan are in sharp contrast to the dull skies of Kweichow which are so often hidden under a grey overcast.

The Szechwan Basin is well known for its

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10. Cressey, op. cit., p. 384.
11. Chiang Chün-chang, op. cit., pp. 30-36.

132 fog which blankets the entire area from October through April. As soon as the fog lifts, it is summer. Warm days, with temperatures around 26° C (78° F), continue for five months. Sufficient rainfall (about 1,000-1,800 mm. or 39-70 in.) throughout the year makes the basin well suited for farming.

132

Table 1. Climate at Selected Localities*

Locality	Average Temperature (F) January	Average Temperature (F) July	Rainfall (inches) Annual Average	Rainfall (inches) Rainy Season
Kung-ko (on border between Yunnan and former Sikang)	24	64	42	June-July
K'ang-ting (in central-east of former Sikang)	30	69	75	June-July
Sung-p'an (northwestern Szechwan)	27	60	35	July
Chengtu (on Szechwan Plain)	45	78	55	July-August

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Table 1. (continued)

Kunming (lake region of Yunnan)	48	73	42	July-August
T'eng-ch'ung (western Yunnan)	27	69	59	June-August
Kweiyang (central Kweichow)	37	72	48	September-October

* Based on Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Ko Sui-ch'eng, op. cit., chap IV, p. 102, chap. III, p. 241; Cressey, op. cit., pp. 76-79; Mei Hsin-ju, Hsi-k'ang [Sikang], Nanking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1939, p. 10.

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II. SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The soil in the Szechwan plain is mainly a combination of eroded dark red sandstone, yellow shale, and limestone. Underneath is a layer of clay High fertility of this type of soil is attributed to its rich mineral contents that are easily absorbable for plants and not easily washed away by erosion. Red soil of various ages cover most of the land in Yunnan Province. This type of soil shares a number of properties with common clay. In western Szechwan and western Yunnan, where the mountains are, one can find thick layers of dark grey soil, the comparatively high acidity of which is a result of abundant coniferous woods. In the former province of Sikang, the top soil is thin, often deep dark brown or black in color, and of the plateau-grassland type.

137 Vegetation in this region can generally be divided into categories according to the altitude of the land. Along the Yangtze River in Szechwan Province, fruits like the orange and the peach, and trees like the bamboo and the palm, grow easily. On the hills up to 5,000 feet in elevation around the Szechwan plain are found oaks, evergreens, and ferns; sweet potato and maize are also planted. On higher mountains in western Szechwan and some parts of Yunnan, coniferous forests thrive magnificently, with shrubs of the rhododendron family carpeting the foothills. Dwarf juniper and flowering herbs cover the meadows at 11,550 to 15,500 feet. At still higher

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137 altitudes, vegetation dwindles, and only cushion herbs survive at places sheltered from freezing winds.

III. IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[12]

487 Szechwan Province is the western gate of the region, and the Yangtze River gorges guard the western entrance to Szechwan. Local transportation in Szechwan depended largely on the Yangtze River and its tributaries until the recent highway and railway development increased shipping 504 facilities in the province. Szechwan's largest river ports are Chungking and Wanhsien. Located at the conflux of the Chia-ling and Yangtze rivers, Chungking controls the inland trade of the eastern half of the province. During World War II, Chungking served as a temporary national capital, expanding to accommodate government agencies and industrial plants relocated from East China. About 200 miles downriver from Chungking is Wanhsien, one of the treaty ports open to foreign trade in 1902. Through Wanhsien is exported the bulk of Szechwan's famous tung oil output. Another river port, Lu-chou, is approximately

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12. Ch'en Yu-ch'in, Ch'uan-yu Man-chi [Random Notes on Travel in Szechwan], Nanking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1934, Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

504 150 miles upstream from Chungking. Two lesser tributaries empty into the Yangtze near Lu-chou and make the city a market for native products of southern Szechwan and northern Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Further up-river from Lu-chou is I-pin, terminal of steamer shipping on the Yangtze. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will pass through I-pin.

361 The Szechwan provincial capital is Chengtu, located on the westernmost of four major tributaries to the Yangtze River in the province. As an old cultural center of West China, this city is well known for its handicraft industries and is reputed to have an atmosphere like that of
499 Peking. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway -- an event overpublicized in the Communist press in 1952 -- brings Chengtu into closer contact with a number of important cities in central-south Szechwan, such as Nei-chiang, the only large center for the sugar industry in West China, and Lung-ch'ang. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway is to start from Nei-chiang, passing southwest through Tzu-kung
[317] Municipality. Salt extraction in the Tzu-kung area dates back to the tenth century. In 1953 there were 330 natural gas wells supplying 4,382 brine boilers in Tzu-kung. A railway linking Chengtu with Kansu Province in the north is under construction. This railway will pass Kuang-yüan, a strategic point on the northern
491 approach to Szechwan. The existing highway

491 between Chengtu and Kuang-yüan runs parallel to the new rail line at many places and cuts through a narrow defile just north of Kuang-yüan.

[361] West of Chengtu, the city of O-mei
491 stands on one of the two main overland routes linking Szechwan with the former province of
[823] Sikang. The mountain to the southwest of O-mei, after which the city is named, has been the favorite subject of classical Chinese literature because of its scenic beauty and its connection with Buddhism. Another main overland route from Chengtu westward is the much-heralded Sikang-Tibet Highway. Now that the province of Sikang has been abolished, it remains to be seen how the name of this highway is to be changed. An important highway trunk-line in West China, it passes through Ya-an, former capital of Sikang Province. Southward from Ya-an is a road running through the only rich valley area on the huge tableland of western Szechwan and Yunnan provinces.

Two highways connect Szechwan Province with Yunnan Province to the south. The eastern route from Chungking continues through Kweichow Province. The first key city on the highway in Kweichow Province is Tsun-i, which the red Army occupied twice during the Long March in 1934-35. The school playground on which the Red Army staged a huge rally in 1934 is now a national shrine and gives renown to the city

491 of Tsun-i. Farther south, the highway leads to the provincial capital of Kuei-yang in the center of Kweichow Province. On the network of highways converging upon Kuei-yang are Tu-shan on the route to Kwangsi Province, Kuei-ting on the highway to Hunan Province, and An-shun on the road to Yunnan Province. In the mountain area of western Kweichow Province, An-shun, with an estimated population of 50,000, is the largest metropolis.

The western Szechwan-Yunnan route also passes through Kweichow Province. It starts from Lu-chou in Szechwan and enters Kweichow at a point a short distance north of Pi-chieh, then leaves Kweichow at a point south of Wei-ning. The possibility of expansion of Wei-ning is greater than that of Pi-chieh because in addition to the highway, the proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will also pass through the former city. From Wei-ning south, the highway runs parallel to the proposed rail line to Chan-i, the northern terminal of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway.

496 The Yunnan-Indochina Railway links Chan-i with Yunnan's provincial capital of Kunming. During World War II, Kunming was used as the liaison center for U. S. and Chinese armies in South China and as the terminal of the famed Burma Road and the "Over the Hump" airlift. The beauty of nearby Kunming Lake and a healthful climate make this lake region

496 "the jewel of the south." Meng-tzu is the largest city in southern Yunnan. A spur line connecting Meng-tzu with Ko-chiu to the west facilitates the distribution of the latter's tin output by way of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway. For a period tin mining in the Ko-chiu area was interrupted by the destruction of the railway, but vigorous reconstruction after the Communists came has rejuvenated the industry, which, it is reported, supports 150,000 people. The last station on the Yunnan-Indochina Railway in China is Ho-k'ou, China's southern gateway. The only passable route across the border is by way of a bridge on the Nan-ch'i River.

491 Traffic between Yunnan Province and Burma has been shifted to the highway since the abandonment of the old Yunnan-Burma Railway. The highway starts from Kunming and passes through Ta-li and T'eng-ch'ung. The only international road suitable for mechanized vehicles crossing this section of China's boundary, the highway has become known as the Burma Road and is remembered for the important role it played when China was resisting the Japanese.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. INTRODUCTION

635 The Southwest China Administrative Region maintained by the Communist Government from 1949 to the abolition of the regional administration system in late 1954 comprises a frontier territory which has never been completely integrated into the Chinese Empire. Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, which make up the bulk of the region, often have been under indirect control of the unified Chinese Empire since its beginning in 221 B.C., but some areas of these provinces have never been completely subject to the central authority up to the present day. The Red Basin surrounding the Chengtu Plain of Szechwan is the only ancient center of Chinese civilization in the three provinces. What was until 1955 the province'

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635 of Sikang, which rounded out the western part of the Southwest Region, began to be developed as a part of the frontier colonial territory during the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

635 669 563 When the Red Army overran the Southwest Region in 1949, the Communists fell heir to the problems the territory has posed to every governing authority in China. As had often happened in the past, the mountainous terrain of the Southwest Region was the last refuge of armed resistance to the new regime. According to the Communists, Kweichow was not completely in their hands until January 1951,[1] and more "bandits" (a common Communist term for its armed enemies) were found in the Southwest Region than in any other region.[2] A more difficult and longer-term problem was that of the tribal people who had never been assimilated into Chinese culture. Constituting about 20 per cent of the region's population, the autochthonous people in many areas of the Southwest were still organized under their own tribal laws and respected the authority only of their own tribal chiefs.

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1. Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 205, pp. 12-13. Hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. Unless specifically attributed to the American editors, citations from this source refer to literal translations from Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

2. Ibid., 212, p. 24.

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II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Introduction of Chinese Culture

175 The legendary history of China records close relations between the Pa and Shu tribal states of the Chengtu Plain in Szechwan and the mythical Chinese emperors in the Yellow River area of North China, from which the mainstream of Chinese civilization spread south. In the historical period, the tribal kingdoms participated in the campaign of the founder of the Chou Dynasty (c. 1030-221 B.C.) which overthrew the first unified state in China -- the Shang (c. 1520-c. 1030 B.C.).[3] However, the Chinese culture did not begin to exert real influence in the Southwest Region until just before the establishment of the first Chinese Empire under the Ch'in Dynasty (221-206 B.C.).[4]

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3. Harold Wiens, China's March toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 55-62. On early cultural development in the Southwest Region see Ibid., pp. 29-129.

4. On the development of Chinese civilization from prehistoric times through the founding of the Ch'in Dynasty see Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-68; Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., rev. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 32-84. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1954, pp. 73-98, summarizes both foregoing presentations and other [cont'd

175 In the struggle for hegemony over all China among the petty states of the former Chou domains, the Southwest Region played a key role. During the fourth century B. C., eastern Szechwan became a part of the principality of Ch'u, which dominated the Yangtze River plain from what is now Chungking to the sea. At about the same time, the state of Ch'in expanded from its base in Shensi into the Chengtu Plain. The maneuver cut off a Ch'u military expedition seeking new territories in Kweichow and Yunnan, and it turned back to the Kunming region of Yunnan to establish the kingdom of Tien under the army's leader, Chuang Ch'iao.[5]

More important, the occupation of the forme Pa and Shu territories by Ch'in helped it to vastly expand its economic resources, outflank and defeat Ch'u in the final struggle for power, and become the founder of the first Chinese Empire in 221 B.C. The victory of Ch'in was in large part due to the broadening of its agricultural base through the development of the Chengtu Plain. Large numbers of people from the original domain in Shensi were transported to the more productive Szechwan plain, and its potential began to be realized at the end of the fourth century by the construction of a still functioning irrigation system

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modern scholarship on China's early development.

5. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

175 initiated by the Ch'in governor Li Ping.[6] The longer range results of Ch'in's development of the Chengtu Plain was to make it a continuing center of Chinese agriculture, civilization, and population up to the present day.

The great Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 220) initiated the policy of indirect rule in the frontier areas of the Southwest Region. Tribal territories were formed into political departments and districts. With the exception of those on the Chengtu Plain, they continued to be under the real control of their former tribal chieftains. The local rulers recognized the Han emperor as an overlord, a relationship enforced by imperial military expeditions when not accepted voluntarily by reason of the prestige of the Han Empire and its bestowal of gifts and titles. Among the most powerful local rulers who accepted the vassal relationship voluntarily were the kings of Tien in Yunnan and of Yeh-lang in western Kweichow.[7]

The policy of indirect rule over most of Kweichow, Yunnan, and eastern and western Szechwan was followed by subsequent dynasties until nearly the end of the fourteenth century. During that time, less than 20 per cent of the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau, the area most suitable to Chinese agriculture aside from the Chengtu Plain, was occupied by Han Chinese people.[8]

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6. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 96. In late 1954, the Communist press reported that the two-thousand year old irrigation

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175 However, many of the semi-autonomous tribes adopted administrative and cultural elements from the Chinese civilization when it was politically unified and powerful. Whenever the empire showed signs of weakness or was in eclipse, the tribal peoples broke away from Chinese influence.

B. Separatism in the Southwest

The chaos in the Southwest Region following the collapse of the Han Dynasty was resolved by the genius of the prime minister of the Shu Han Dynasty (221-264), recognized by the Chinese as the legitimate dynasty among the Three Kingdoms which ruled a divided empire after A.D. 220. Established on the Chengtu Plain, the Shu Han ruled most of Yunnan and Kweichow. The famous prime minister Chu-ko Liang set up an administrative system whereby central Szechwan and some of the surrounding Sinified areas of the central plateau of Yunnan-Kweichow were organized into districts under the direct rule of the capital at Chengtu. Outlying areas in Yunnan were tied to the kingdom by overlord-vassal

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[continued] system in Szechwan was being expanded: S.C.M.P., 941, p. 39.

7. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 147-8.

8. Ibid., p. 185.

175 arrangements which permitted the chieftains to retain real power in the tribal territories. Chu-ko Liang's firm but fair treatment of the distant tribes gained their respect and admiration. His reputation is still high among the Wa (K'a-wa) tribes of southwestern Yunnan.[9]

A less Sinified and longer lasting independent state was established in the Southwest Region during the middle of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906). The small tribe of Nan-chao in the Ta-li Plain of western Yunnan expanded under the leadership of P'i-lo-ko and the encouragement of the T'ang administration to extend control over most of Yunnan and Sikang. This movement was sanctioned by the T'ang because Nan-chao emulated Chinese administration and culture while performing the vital function of containing the threat of rampant Tibetan nomads on the western borders of the empire.

When a T'ang minister insulted the second ruler of the Nan-chao, Ko-lo-feng, he broke with the dynasty and founded an independent kingdom in 750. In the next century and a half, the Nan-chao threatened the existence of the T'ang, spread into Kweichow, and repeatedly invaded Szechwan and areas outside the Southwest Region to the north and south. During this time, the independent kingdom was absorbing Chinese culture through plunder, captives, and inter-marriage. The assimilation

9. Ibid., pp. 148-50.

175 was so thorough that the Min-chia (Pai-man) trbies of the Ta-li Plain show a close affinity to Chinese culture today.[10]

In conquering the Chinese Empire of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the Mongols outflanked it by striking through the Ta-li kingdom. Central Yunnan was made desolate by the invasion, but remnants of the Ta-li state survived as vassals of the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty (1279-1368) until the conquest of Yunnan by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in 1382. The province was incorporated into the Chinese Empire by the Mongols, who installed as governor a Mohamedan Tartar from Bukhara. Under the adopted Chinese name of Sai Tien-ch'i, he repopulated central and western Yunnan by inviting in Mohamedans from Northwest China. As a result, the province has become a secondary Chinese center of Mohamedanism.[11]

175 538 While most of the Southwest continued as an undeveloped and unassimilated frontier area, the thoroughly Sinified Red Basin in Szechwan was contributing to Chinese civilization some of its greatest exponents in the arts, philosophy, and statecraft. No Chinese poet has ever surpassed the work of Li Po (c. 700-762), whose birthplace is disputed but thought to be in Szechwan, and his frequent companion in bacchic revels, Tu Fu 712-770), more certainly a native of the province. Both men were for a time favorites at the T'ang court and were among the "Eight Immortals

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10. Ibid., pp. 142, 157-62.

11. Ibid., pp. 162-64, 184.

175 of the Wine-cup" -- a small group devoted to
538 serious drinking and metaphysical flights of Taoist and Buddhist fancy.[12] Both men suffered misfortune and privation during their lives, but Li Po sought to escape them by retreat into a romantic world, unlike Tu Fu, whose poetry often expresses suffering in moving terms. Both men are acclaimed by the Communists. Tu Fu's concern with his own and the world's miseries has been interpreted by the Communists as evidence of his anti-feudalistic feeling, and the current regime has lauded him and his poetry while making his home in Chengtu into a national shrine.[13]

Another famous exponent of Chinese culture from Szechwan was Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036-1101). He has a high place among the great names of Chinese philosophy, literature, and caligraphy. His philosophic writings -- committed to no orthodoxy and searching for the truth in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism -- were long influential in China and Japan as well.[14]

C. Development of Chinese Settlement and Direct Control

167 Large-scale settlement of Yunnan and Kwei-
175 chow by Han Chinese and the extension of Chinese central authority in these provinces and Szechwan became a Chinese policy with the Ming Dynasty. Under its rule, mass migration into western Szechwan and the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau was effected on a planned basis. One of the initial

12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.219-220.
13. S.C.M.P., 840, p. 41.
14. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp.264,267.

175 167 acts of the first Ming emperor Hung Wu (Chu Yüan-chang) was to remove most of the population of the Nanking area to Yunnan. Thereafter, armies recruited largely from the Yangtze Valley were settled in agricultural colonies throughout the fertile regions of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Fortifications were established at strategic points in the three provinces. Control and colonization in other areas of the Southwest Region were facilitated by commercial and civilian agencies. These acts made possible the establishment of Kweichow as a province under Chinese administrative control.[15]

175 636 The incorporation of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan into the Chinese Empire did not mean the imposition of effective control by the central government throughout these provinces. The Han Dynasty policy of indirect administration of non-Han Chinese areas through local rulers was formalized under the Ming Dynasty by the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system. Under it, local rulers were confirmed or established as hereditary t'u-ssu (local agents of the government) with various ranks in tribal areas. About one-third of these local chieftains were natives of the areas they controlled, another third were tribal leaders not native to the locality under their command, and the remaining third were Han Chinese, most of whom had adopted the customs of the subject tribal people.[16]

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15. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 180-85,192-200.

16. On the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system and the extension of Chinese control in the Southwest Region,see ibid., pp. 221-66.

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Some progress in extending direct control over former tribal areas was made by the Ming Dynasty through its program of planned settlement and military action. However, the Ming administration vacillated between a policy of leaving non-Han Chinese areas to their own devices and eliminating t'u-ssu power by military force. The latter policy was most consistently and successfully pursued in Kweichow.

A more persistent attempt to bring the whole Southwest under Chinese administration was pursued by the Ch'ing Dynasty. Under the Republic (1912-1949), the extension of Chinese administration was handicapped by internal revolution, external interference, and warlord rule until the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Chungking in 1938. By the end of the anti-Japanese Resistance War in 1945, some progress in further integrating the Southwest Region into the Chinese political system had been made, but the t'u-ssu and lesser tribal chiefs still exercising real power numbered more than one hundred in Szechwan, more than one hundred and fifty in Yunnan, and over one hundred in Sikang.[17] The continuance since then of local independence in the Southwest is reflected in the announcement that 220 autonomous local governments had been established in the region by the Communist regime up to September 1954.[18]

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The extension of central authority in the

17. Ibid., pp. 240-41.
18. People's China, Peking, Sept.1,1954,p.23

175 Southwest was complicated by the lack of respect
636 toward each other of the Han Chinese and the
563 tribal people. People who refused to adopt the Chinese culture were habitually regarded as inferior by the Chinese. On the other hand, the frontier area did not attract the best officials or Chinese people. Representatives of the central government tended to be second-raters inclined toward indolence, graft, corruption, and oppressive tactics toward the tribal people. Petty artisans and merchants made yearly trips to the frontier areas looking for quick profit by any means, while the more permanent Chinese settlers in the non-Han Chinese areas were often refugees and displaced persons who lived at a lower level than their non-Han Chinese neighbors. From the tribesmen, who respected strength and straightforwardness, such official and non-official representatives of the Chinese earned only contempt and resentment.[19]

Another factor which made the abolition of local autonomy difficult was that the t'u-ssu and lesser chieftains often had the respect of their subjects, entrenched position, and the armed strength to resist anything but a full-scale invasion by the central authority. In many places where hsien government was established by the Ch'ing or Republican central authorities, real power remained in the hands of the t'u-ssu or village headmen.[20]

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19. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 251-53.
20. Ibid., pp. 248-50.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 167 563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

175 669 563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy, along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being [167] suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

175 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,
669 outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese
563 central government occurred further to the
798 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

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624 The Southwest Region felt the impact of the West later and less profoundly than the regions of China bordering on the Pacicic Ocean. Western military might made an initial impress on the region but was not followed by the broad penetration of new material and ideological forces that changed so much of the environment and thinking in the maritime provinces. The bureaucracy of the Ch'ing Dynasty was succeeded by the warlords of [669] the Republican period. They maintained their power under the Nationalist Government and effectively blocked the wide dissemination of revolutionary doctrine in the Southwestern provinces, while playing along in the power struggle of the twentieth century revolutionary period. Only under the wartime needs and influence of the Nationalist Government in Chungking did the Southwest experience a growth of largely small-scale industrialization, the dissemination of new political and social ideas devoid of revolutionary content, and an advance in direct control by the central political authority.

[Footnote 23 continued]

interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H. B. Morse, op. cit.; and John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yü Teng, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the following pages are taken from these sources.

B. The Western Military and Missionary Impact

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The initial effect in the Southwest Region of Western intrusion was the new influence brought to bear on the relation between the tribesmen and Han Chinese authorities by French penetration of Indo-China and British operations in Burma and Tibet. Annam, Tongkin, and Burma were all tributary kingdoms of the Chinese Empire until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until the coming of the West, their borders with Yunnan were of little consequence to either kingdoms or the empire. The frontier area was rugged terrain inhabited by semi-independent tribes that had no consciousness of political demarcations and that moved freely back and forth across the vague boundary line. With French penetration of Annam and Tongkin and English advances into Upper Burma in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, all these tributary states were wrested away from Chinese suzerainty by force. Their borders and the loyalty of the tribal inhabitants of the frontier region then became matters of prime importance. If China pressed too hard for control or discipline of the tribes commissioned to guard the frontier, they had an alternative to Chinese rule and the means to blackmail the central authorities into more conciliatory treatment.

The Chinese frustration on the frontier was compounded by the inroads of France and England into the Southwestern provinces. Both Western powers in consolidating their position in the former Chinese tributary kingdoms

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simultaneously enforced demands for the rights of trade, mining development, railroad building, and missionary settlement in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow. The foreign economic and missionary representatives were a constant source of irritation and fear for the Chinese and tribal inhabitants. Their periodic outbreaks of violence against the Westerners constituted excuses for forcing concessions from the Chinese government, causing it real fear that the provinces might eventually be alienated from its control.

By the twentieth century, Britain in Burma was emulating the old Chinese frontier policy of indirect control over the tribal elements. In controlling upper Burma as a defensive outpost of the English colonial empire in India, England left the t'u-ssu intact, subsidized them, and enlisted their sympathy in every way possible. What could happen when the Chinese government failed to follow a similar program was made evident in 1910. An attempt in that year by the Ch'ing Dynasty bureaucracy in Yunnan to punish the tyranny of a t'u-ssu of the P'ien-ma area led to his defection to the British and their occupation of the northwestern corner of the province.[24]

The Chinese have never been reconciled to the loss, and both the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime claim the upper salient

24. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 254-57.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian intrusion into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

175 635 563 669 Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 The revolt was still in progress when the
635 Communists passed through the Southwest Region
563 on their "Long March." Approaching north-
669 western Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sungp'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

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175 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175 imperial era served to perpetuate these conditions
635 during the Republican period that followed. What
669 part the region played in the revolutionary ferment that marked much of China south of the Yangtze River from 1911 to 1928 was characterized by greedy provincialism and military expediency rather than by national aspiration and political idealism.

An immediate and direct cause of the revolution that overthrew the imperial regime was the outbreak in Szechwan during September 1911 of strikes and violence against the central government when it attempted to take over from the province the financing and construction of the Hankow-Szechwan Railway. However, the Chinese do not mark this event as the start of the 1911 Revolution, because the Szechwan outburst was not motivated by anti-dynastic feeling. Rather, the resistance was an outgrowth of jealous provincialism and, apparently, the hope of local investors in the mismanaged and corrupt provincial venture into railway building that the central government could be coerced into replacing their financial losses.[31] When the dynasty showed
175 hesitancy in dealing with the Szechwan outbreak,
669 revolutionary politicians elsewhere in China made another and successful bid, after more than a decade of abortive attempts, to establish republican government in China. The premature explosion of a bomb on October 10, 1911 at the Hankow (Hupeh) headquarters

31. On the Szechwan outbreak see Harley F. MacNair, China in Revolution; An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 28-29.

175 of one group plotting to overthrow the dynasty is
669 celebrated as the beginning of the republican revolution.

Both the outbreak of open warfare between the die-hard revolutionaries and the dynasty, opportunistic militarists in the Southwest Region as elsewhere in China were ready to take advantage of the situation to promote their own interests. Ts'ai Ao (Ts'ai O), a Ch'ing military commander in Yunnan, was the strong man of the Southwest Region. His troops quickly eliminated the Ch'ing adherents in the province and in neighoring Kweichow and Szechwan. As a reward for his contribution to the success of the revolution, he was made military governor of Yunnan under the new republic. A follower of the reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao rather than the revolutionist Sun Yat-sen, Ts'ai stood aside in the struggle for power which soon developed between the parliamentary-minded supporters of Sun Yat-sen and the dictatorial-minded president of the republic, Yüan Shih-k'ai. After Yuan had won the battle by dissolving parliament and crushing its adherents' attempt at resistance, Ts'ai was persuaded to move to Peking and take a nominal part in Yüan's increasingly more personalized government. When in 1915 Yüan attempted to cap his dominance of the central government by making himself emperor, Ts'ai fled the capital by way of Japan and returned to Yunnan in December to institute a rebellion that cost his life but eventually forced Yüan to relinquish his ambition and lose his hold on China south of the Yangtze River before he died in June 1916.[32]

32. Ibid., pp. 42-44.

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After Ts'ai's death, his place of leadership and influence in the region and national affairs was aspired to by T'ang Chi-yao, a native of Yunnan and supporter of Sun Yat-sen. Along with other military strong men, he supported the various ephemeral governments established in Canton with Sun's real or nominal leadership between 1918 and 1924. They claimed varying jurisdictions -- always over Kwangtung and Kwangsi, generally over Yunnan and Kweichow, and sometimes over Szechwan and other provinces south of the Yangtze River. On Sun's death following the revitalization and strengthening of the Kuomintang with Soviet Union guidance and material aid, T'ang made a bid for the dead leader's mantle. The Yunnan militarist adopted the title of vice-generalissimo of the Kuomintang armies, a post which had been offered him before Sun's death. T'ang's amibitious move and his command of a combined Yunnan-Kwangsi army posed a threat to the largely Kwangtung military force and leadership of the Kuomintang. Within six weeks of Sun's death, the Yunnan-Kwangsi army was decimated and T'ang forced into retirement.[33]

Thereafter, the Southwest was splintered into petty domains dominated by a number of minor warlords. The influence of the revolution as of the

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33. Ibid., pp. 64-68, 95-96.

175 669 [66] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

000 new regime in Southwest China.[34]

D. New Influences in the War of Resistance against Japan

175 177 With the removal of the Chinese national capital to Chungking in 1938, the heyday of central government authority in the Southwest Region was reached. The Kuomintang and its government officials were concentrated in the wartime capital and exerted lesser control in scattered areas throughout the Southwest. Through these party and government officials, such mass organizations as the San-min Chu-i Youth Corps, and a secret police network, the Nationalist Government came closer to ruling the region than had any previous central political authority.

Accompanying the new political influence were the novel effects of the influx of professional and academic people, students, and business men from the more modern cities of the maritime provinces. Industrialization mushroomed, especially in Chungking; and that city with Chengtu and Kunming became the temporary home of displaced universities. Rural co-operative and education movements in scattered areas of the Southwest acquainted thousands of peasants for the first time with some of the new social, economic, and political ideas that had been current in the coastal cities

34. On Lung Yan, see Paul M.A.Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941,p. 101;Herbert Freyne, Free China's New Deal, NY., Macmillan Co., 1945, p.169; and T. H. White, Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, N.Y., William Sloane Associates,Inc.,1946.

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175 of China for about a quarter of a century.
179 The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

175 From the beginning of the exodus to
186 Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals
563 from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education movement and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

[redacted]

68 government wartime censorship and control which permitted no criticism of existing conditions or of government policies and personnel. The revolutionary, political, economic, and social elements of the Kuomintang peogram which had won the party a popular following and control of the national government in the mid-1920's had been repudiated under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and replaced with a reworked Confucian doctrine that sanctioned authoritarian rule.[36] As a result, the spread of Kuomintang influence in the Southwest Region and the recruitment there of members to the Party and its auxiliary San-min Chu-i Youth Corps served to disseminate the principles and influences of authoritarian rule rather than to stir up the social ferment which had accompanied the Kuomintang's rise to power at Nanking a decade earlier. At the same time, the government found it expedient to permit local warlords to maintain their control and oppression of the people without interference as long as assigned quotas for grain payment and army inductees were met.

In the last year of World War II, popular dissatisfaction with Nationalist Government control and policies was plainly manifested in the Southwest Region as elsewhere in China by outbreaks of rebellions and anti-government demonstrations. They

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36. See Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: the Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," The Far Eastern Quarterly, August 1955.

668 were evidently inspired by economic rather than political factors. Enemy bombings and infantry drives against economic objectives, inflation, heavy taxes, and forced delivery of grain quotas to the government at prices far below the open market rate drove farmers and townspeople into bankruptcy, starvation, and desperate measures. After the war, the Nationalist Government was preoccupied with containing or eliminating the Communists while restoring its position in the agriculturally and industrially wealthier, more developed regions of North, Central-South, East and Northeast China. The Southwest was left more to its own devices and the rule of local warlords than was originally planned by the central authorities.

IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Long March

668 669 Before the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, Communism had had a more fleeting existence in Southwest China than in any other region of China. The only period of considerable Communist activity in the Southwest prior to the autumn of 1949 was at the time of the circuitous Long March. The six thousand-mile trek was a Communist retreat from areas of strength in Kiangsi and Fukien to Shensi under constant pressure from Kuomintang air and ground forces.

The first Communist migration occurred in 1933 when Nationalist Government attacks on the

668 soviets in the Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei border area
669 forced a partial withdrawal of the Communist troops there to Szechwan.[37] They were able to hold on to the naturally defensible northwest corner of the province, and this became the initial goal of the main forces of the Chinese soviets when they were forced to leave their bases in Kiangsi and Fukien under the sledge hammer blows of the Fifth Campaign launched by Chiang Kai-shek in October 1934. The line of retreat for the main body passed through Kweichow, Yunnan, and eastern Sikang.

In these provinces and in Szechwan, the Communists undertook propaganda activities among the Chinese and tribal peoples to gain their good will for the passage of the retreating column of soldiers and civilians. Such acts as the furnishing of arms to the Lolo tribesmen of southwestern Szechwan and eastern Sikang and the distribution of excess captured food supplies to the Chinese peasants all along the route of march helped ease the Communists' way into the Sung-p'an area of Szechwan in July 1935.

While the spent ranks of the new arrivals paused to regain their strength, the Communist leaders argued out future strategy. Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai from the Kiangsi-Fukien soviets insisted that the march be resumed with Shensi as the objective. The leaders of the former Hunan-

37. On the Communist retreat through the Southwest Region see Snow, op. cit., pp.179-194.

Hupeh-Anhwei force, Chang Kuo-t'ao and Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, favored remaining at the Szechwan base. Evidently the difference was bound up with a continuing power struggle and could not be resolved. In late August, the main force under Mao and Chou struck north into Shensi. Chang and Hsü with their contingent did not follow until a year later, and then only when driven out of Szechwan by Chiang Kai-shek's armies.

From 1936 until the Red Army invaded the Southwest in 1949, no large-scale Communist movement showed itself in the wartime stronghold of the Nationalist Government. However, a small number of official Communist representatives led by Chou En-lai were stationed at Chungking to maintain liaison with the Kuomintang in the uneasy and mutually expedient alliance between the two armed parties of China during the war of resistance against Japan.

B. Personalities with the Communist Regime

Although the Southwest experienced Communism only briefly before 1949, some of the top men in the Communist regime today derived from Szechwan. Three early converts to Communism from Szechwan are military men -- Chu Teh, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Ch'en I.

The best known and most remarkable of the trio is Chu Teh.[38] Born into a wealthy family,

38. Ibid., pp. 346-55.

669 he was early trained in Western military science
668 and accustomed to luxury and the opium habit. After distinguishing himself as one of Ts'ai Ao's leading generals in 1911 and 1915-16, Chu fell back into the indolent, corrupt life of a warlord-bureaucrat in Yunnan until his habit of reading stirred him into beginning a new life in his late thirties. Forsaking his family and position in Chungking, he broke himself of opium addiction, came under the influence of young leftists and Communists in Shanghai, and travelled and studied in Germany, France, and Moscow before returning to China in 1925. Caught up in the Nationalist Revolution then rising to flood stage, Chu became a full-fledged Communist in 1927 when the split in the Kuomintang-Communist alliance faced him with choosing one side or the other. From 1928 when he joined his forces with those of Mao Tse-tung on the Kiangsi-Hunan border until the end of the Long March in Shensi some seven years later, Chu Teh became a legendary figure in China and in the annals of defensive-guerrilla tactics. Since 1931 he has been commander of the Communist armies, and is now one of the most honored "old comrades" of the Party.

Both Ch'en I and Liu Po-ch'eng joined the Communist Party before Chu Teh, but they did not begin to distinguish themselves until the war of resistance against Japan. Ch'en led the New Fourth Army in the Yangtze River area, while Liu headed the 129th division of the Eighth Route Army in the North China Region. During

[redacted]

669 668 the civil war that followed almost immediately on Japan's surrender, Ch'en I rose to the position of commander of the Third Field Army and Liu Po-ch'eng was promoted to the command of the Second Field Army. The two armies were responsible for the campaigns in the East and Central-South regions, and the Second Army carried the brunt of the attack on the Southwest Region. Ch'en I became a major figure in the East China Region after the Communist victory, and Liu Po-ch'eng assumed various positions of military and civilian leadership in Southwest China.

Another native of Szechwan, Kuo Mo-jo, is one of the leading figures of modern, pre-Communist Chinese literature, journalism, and scholarship. Not a member of the Communist Party as far as is known, Kuo has been heaped with honors by the Communist regime, allowed to travel extensively outside China, and given numerous official positions in the regime's cultural and literary organizations. Originally an advocate of art for art's sake, he became gradually more socially conscious and radical in his literary and journalistic work. Forced to flee to Japan because of his leftist political ideas, he added serious studies in Chinese archeology and ancient history to his long list of writings in poetry, fiction, and political-social polemics.

C. Postwar Victory

By the time the Communist forces entered the Southwest Region in strength, the rest of the Mainland had been overrun and the Communist

669 regime formally established in Peking.[39] It
668 was November before the Second Field Army under Liu Po-ch'eng launched an attack on Kweichow, taking the provincial capital at Kwei-yang on November 15. Chungking in Szechwan fell to the Second Field Army on the last day of the month. During the next few weeks, Liu's forces moved westward toward Chengtu while the Fourth Field Army struck into Szechwan from the north. After Chengtu fell December 27, many of the remaining organized Kuomintang forces surrendered to the Communists in Yunnan and Sikang, and the Communists officially claimed the complete "liberation" of the Southwest Region. However, it is clear that large-scale unorganized resistance continued for a good part of 1950, and isolated bands undoubtedly held out much longer in the rugged mountain areas of the Southwest. It is
636 doubtful, too, whether the Communists have any more real control than had former regimes over the semi-independent tribal areas of the Southwest, especially along its borders with Indo-China and Burma.

669 The lack of any prolonged organized resistance in the naturally defensible areas of the Southwest Region was the result of several factors. Little faith in the Kuomintang cause remained

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39. The names, dates, and campaigns connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts as far as can be determined by checking against other scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1954, pp. 108-09.

669 among the Nationalist armies and the Chinese
668 people left in the Southwest region. The best Kuomintang troops that could be salvaged from the Communist avalanche had already been withdrawn with the government and its leading officials to Formosa. Other nationalist armed forces retreated into Burma under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, living off the Burmese countryside and making occasional harrassing raids into Southwest China for several years until withdrawn to Formosa. Many of the troops and their leaders who surrendered wholesale to the Communists in the Southwest provinces were warlord elements which never had had any commitment, let alone loyalty, to the Nationalist Government.

For the tribal people, the advent of the Communists meant only a change in rulers, with no guarantee that the new overlords would be any more upright or considerate in their dealings with the unassimilated peoples than had been the old Nationalist bureaucracy. The Chinese people of the region were thoroughly sick of warlord exploitation and Nationalist Government corruption. Any regime that promised peace and stability would have been welcomed. To the great majority of the Southwest's population, the peasants, the struggle for power was none of their business. They stood aside waiting for the winner to emerge, and accepted the victory of the Red Army as the beginning of a new dynasty which had inherited the "mandate of heaven" from the discredited Kuomintang.

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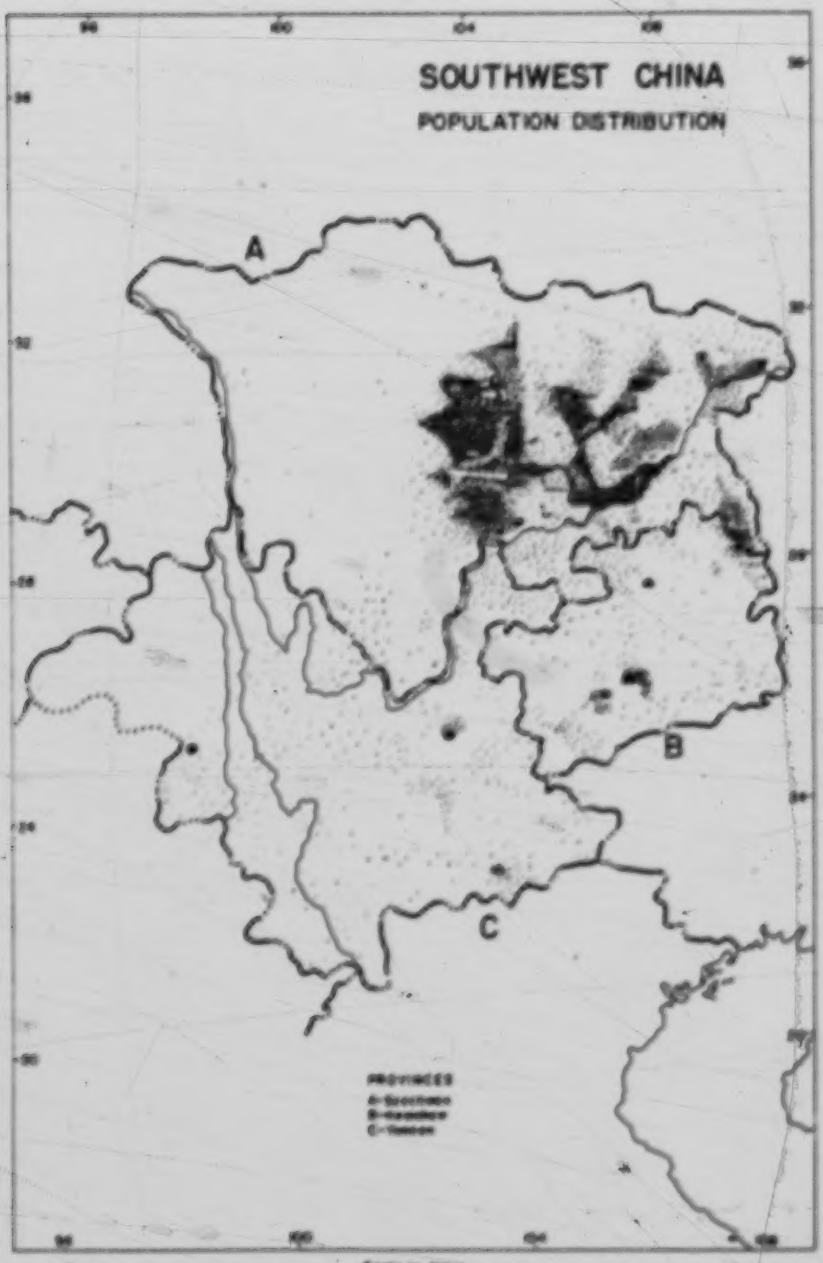

[facing p. 54]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

1. DISTRIBUTION, DENSITY, AND GROWTH

A. Distribution

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161 The 1953 nationwide census yielded a set of population figures by province. At the time the census figures were being compiled, the Southwest China Region comprised the four provinces of Szechwan, Sikang, Yunnan, and Kweichow. Sikang Province in 1953, however, was not the same as Sikang in the 1940's. Before 1953, Sikiang had been divided in two; only the eastern half retained the name of Sikang Province; the western half was renamed Ch'ang-tu District. Thus the population figure announced in the official communique actually reflected only a part of the pre-Communist province of Sikang. When the results were announced, the Bureau of Census grouped the Ch'ang-tu District population with that of Tibet. On July 30, 1955, the First People's Congress in Peking passed a resolution to abolish the province of Sikang and incorporate its territory into Szechwan Province.[1] This latest move does not

1. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955, p. 1.

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635 161 affect the figure of the total population in the Southwest China Region, because Sikang and Szechwan provinces had been included in the 1953 census figure for this region; nevertheless, it changes the distribution according to the political subdivisions of Southwest China as follows:

161 Table 1. Population Distribution in Southwest China*

Kweichow Province	15,037,310
Szechwan Province	65,685,063
Yunnan Province	17,472,737
Regional Total	98,195,110

*Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1; Sikang population is included in Szechwan.

Among all the regions of China, this region ranks third in population and fourth in size of area.

161 659 The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast upon these figures on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates)

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were employed. (2) Before the results of the census were announced, responsible Communist quarters had already instituted a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and even the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work at various government levels.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by Communist officials were all under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, estimates were stepped up to around 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have intentionally exaggerated the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until evidence proving fabrication is discovered, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and hereto only direct nationwide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following points: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electorate,

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2. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, March 31, 1954, p. 1.

3. Tsui-chin Ch'i-ko-yüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Last Seven Months], Taipei, the Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 22-23.

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161 delegates and their representation in the "basic-
659 level election" for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) The fact that scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available, roughly covering all parts of China, should serve to indicate the geographic extent if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census-taking was carried out. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 had begun their study on population, and it appears correct to say that the Peking regime had exercised considerable discretion in checking the 1953 census against the previously released figures. (4) Only a comparatively small portion of the 1953 population figures (about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of census-taking." (5) The above cited commique also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. After rechecking 9 per cent (or 52,950.000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, the duplicates amounted to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.255 per cent.

B. Density

161 From the figures in Table 1 it is apparent that Szechwan Province, the richest and only

4. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, pp. 13-22.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

16/ extensive plain in Southwest China, is the most populous province in this region and, for that matter, also the most populous among all the provinces of China. The following table, showing density of population, also indicates the unequal distribution among the provinces.

Table 2. Density of Population in Southwest China

	Per Sq. Km.	Per Sq. Mile
Kweichow	88.45	229.08
Szechwan	118.06	305.77
Yunnan	41.60	107.74
Regional Average	85.66	221.85

* 1953 census and Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953; area figure for Szechwan Province has been adjusted to include Sikang Province but exclude the Ch'ang-tu District

The regional average of 221.85 per square mile ranks fourth among China's regions. Within the region, Szechwan Province tops the list, with 305.77 per square mile. It is necessary to

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16 point out that earlier works on China's population have assigned greater density figures to Szechwan, although the total population of Szechwan Province was computed at a smaller figure. This sudden change was caused by the inclusion in Szechwan of what was the former Sikang Province, which according to the 1953 census, had only three and one quarter million people in its approximately 100,000 square mile territory.

The density of population varies greatly within this region. In the agriculturally rich Chengtu Basin and along the Yangtze River in Szechwan Province, there are places where over 1,000 people are crowded in a square mile of land, making it as congested as the Yangtze River Delta in East China. On the other hand, no more than one or two persons may be found in many a square mile in the mountains of westernmost Szechwan.

Another comparison may be made of the Southwest China Region and the region in India comprising Punjab, Rajputana, Hyderabad, Bombay, the Northwestern Frontier, the Central Provinces, and Berar, whose total area approximates that of the Southwest China Region. The topographical and climatic features of the two areas are also comparable. The comparison shows that Southwest China is even more crowded than its corresponding region in India, which has an

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(6) average population density of 172.31 per square mile.[5]

C. Growth

Population figures published before 1953 for this region, as well as for other regions, were estimates and partial census enumerations. The necessary margin of error that acompanies any work of estimation plus the re-demarcation of provincial boundaries tends to reduce the validity of earlier population figures as bases for comparative studies of the population trend in this region. The following table makes use of two sets of earlier figures selected not because of their known accuracy, but because they are the only recent data available.

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5. K. Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, Princeton University Press, 1951.

1; Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Table 3. Growth of Population in Southwest China Region*

	1948	1951	1953
Kweichow	10,173,750	13,000,000	15,037,310
Sikang	1,696,600	3,306,738	3,381,064
Szechwan	47,437,387	56,000,000	62,303,999
Yunnan	9,065,921	17,000,000	17,474,737
Regional Total	68,373,658	89,306,738	98,195,110

*The 1948 figures, from Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Abstracts of the Republic of China], Taipei, Executive Yüan, Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts & Statistics, 1955, pp. 20-21. The 1951 figures, from Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u. The 1953 figures, from the 1953 census announced in Kuang-ming Jih-pao. Note here the province of Sikang has not yet been incorporated into Szechwan.

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161 If the figures in Table 3 have any accuracy, the net population gain for this region over the five-year period of 1948-53 would be almost 20,000,000, or 30 per cent, a figure far too high to be credible. The Communist government tends to accept this rapid rate of growth and attributes it to increased economic stability and improved social conditions which raise the birth rate and induce people to return to their native towns and villages, but it is far more likely that the figures are an inaccurate reflection of growth in population. The second result, of course, can hardly be established since the increase in population is nationwide and the rate of growth appears to be fairly uniform among all the regions. Perhaps if we examine a few other figures for the province of Szechwan, we will find some pattern:

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Table 4. Population of Szechwan

Year	Population
A.D. 221	900,000
263	940,000
1578	3,102,073
1812	21,453,678
1911	50,217,030
1928	54,000,000
1937	49,948,943
1939	46,403,006

*Cheng Li-chih, Ssu-ch'uan Hsin Ti-chih [New Gazeteer of Szechwan], Shanghai, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1947, pp. 10, 304; Lou Yün-lin, Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1940, pp. 36, 47-49; Hu Huan-yung, Ssu-ch'uan Ti-li [The Geography of Szechwan], Chungking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1938, pp. 102-10.

Although the population in Szechwan doubled in the nineteenth century, it remained stable from the 1930's until the Communist occupation. Unless the frequent civil wars in Szechwan have had a strong, restrictive effect on the population of the province, it would seem that World War II, which was not fought on the soil of Szechwan, should have added to the population by driving more people into Szechwan from Japanese-occupied

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provinces. The only reasonable conclusion that can be drawn is that the estimated census figures in Table 4 are too crude to be relied on for a study of the exact rate of growth of Szechwan's population. One thing, however, should not be overlooked, and that is the fact that previous census-takers failed to include women or children in their population figures.

The New China News Agency reported from Chengtu, Szechwan's provincial capital, on June 14, 1954, that from 1948 to 1953 the population in Szechwan[6] increased by 12,900,000. This apparently is based on a figure for 1948 other than the one cited in Table 3; otherwise the increase would be a great deal higher than the national average rate of increase. However, in the same New China News Agency dispatch, it is said that 7,888,000 babies have been born since "liberation" in 139 of Szechwan's 154 municipalities and hsien. With infant mortality taken into consideration, this would indicate that anywhere from three and four million people of the above-mentioned 12,900,000 population increase for Szechwan during 1948-53 were not born in Szechwan but migrated to that province.

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6. Quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, U. S. Consulate-General, No. 834, June 14, 1954, pp. 20-21.

161 To substantiate official reports, the Census Bureau at Peking released some scattered information on various localities. The growth of population was studied, for example, by taking one hsiang (group of villages) from each of 17 hsien in Szechwan. On July 1, 1953, the total population of the designated village groups stood at 144,981. Sixty days later, the same communities showed[7] an aggregate net gain of 581. The rate of increase in this random sampling of communities thus amounts to approximately 24 per thousand, or about 2.4 per cent per annum.

Or take the population growth at Nan-pu hsien, one of the more populous counties in Szechwan. In the twelve months immediately preceding the census, 29,561 babies were born to Nan-pu's 789,000 people, which would give a birth rate of approximately 3.7 per cent.[8]

From these available samplings, it may be safe to conclude that in default of detailed information on population movements, the natural rate of increase in this region is close to the national average.

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7. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, March 30, 1954, p. 1.
8. Loc. cit.

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II. COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

A. Age Groups

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The young and middle-aged groups constitute the preponderant section of population in the Southwest Region. The 1953 census showed that of the 747,000 people in Chengtu, Szechwan Province, 380,000 (58 per cent) were 18-45 years of age. And in Nan-pu hsien, youths of 18 and under stood as high as 44 per cent of the total.[9] The situations in many other localities in the Southwest China Region are similar. An earlier study of the population in Yunnan communities arrived at very close percentage figures. The information collected was evaluated and tables were compiled which showed that the 15-44 age group stood at 46.91 per cent in the Kunming Lake region (the central region of Yunnan Province) and 42.71 per cent at Ch'eng-kung.[10] The Chinese study was completed in 1942; a comparable study in the United States was compiled for the year 1930 and gives the national average for the same age group as 47.7 per cent.

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9. Ibid.

10. Chen Ta, Population in Modern China, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 85-86.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

B. Sex Ratio

162 The national average sex ration is 51.82 per cent for males and 48.18 per cent for females, or 107.55 males for every 100 females. Because no regional breakdown on sex ratio has been announced since the completion of the 1953 census, the latest information available is offered for reference:

Table 5. Sex Ratio of Southwest China Population (1948)
(Number of males per hundred females)

Kweichow	100.56
Sikang	100.67
Szechwan	104.73
Yunnan	100.82
Regional Average	103.47

*Statistical Abstracts of the Republic of China, pp. 20-21.

If the 1948 ratio still holds, it means that the Southwest Region has a higher ratio of women than the national average, and this could be the result of several conditions: (1) frequent civil wars in this region, reducing the number of men rather than the number of women. (2) reduction of the practice of female infanticide, because in

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this region women have proved their usefulness by participation in farm work; and (3) the drain of able-bodied males during World War II when China depended almost exclusively on this region for troop replacements. (4) possible under-reporting of figures for males, who were attempting to dodge the draft.

C. Rural and Urban Composition

The result of the 1953 census shows that there has been a rapid increase in urban population, particularly in metropolitan and industrial centers. While in this region there are fewer large industrial capitals comparable to those in the Northeast and Central South regions, cities like Chengtu do bear evidence of this population trend. On the national scene, the increase in urban population is impressive, amounting to 40 per cent in certain cities as compared to their 1950 figures. The total population of the China Mainland is divided into 13.25 per cent for urban and 86.74 per cent for rural.[11] However this percentage is clearly based on dissimilar criteria for "urban" and "rural" than those used in the Nationalist estimates of 1947:

11. People's Daily, Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 3.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 6. Rural and Urban Population in Southwest China (1947)

	Rural	Urban
Kweichow	6,182,000	3,911,750
Sikang	1,668,000	28,600
Szechwan	38,957,000	8,481,387
Yunnan	7,169,000	1,896,921
Regional	53,976,000	14,397,658

*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien [The China Yearbook], Taipei, Chung-hua Min-kuo nien-chien she, 1953, p. 34.

According to Table 6, the percentage of rural population for this region in 1947 was only 75.72 per cent, which is in closer agreement with earlier statistics[12] on scattered localities in this region, such as the province of Yunnan, which had a "rural" population of 70.96 per cent in the early 1930's. As we have noted, there is a difference between the Communist and Nationalist criteria for "urban" and "rural". The Nationalist government have traditionally used the farming population for "rural," while the Communist authorities are apparently drawing

12. Yun-nan-sheng Nung-ts'un Tiao-ch'a [Survey of Villages in Yunnan Province], p. 12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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the line between communities with populations above or below a certain unspecified number.

D. Occupational Composition

The breakdown of the population by profession has not been released by the government on the China Mainland; not even fragmentary information, either national or regional, is available. Earlier studies also fall short of completeness. The following data on the population of Yunnan in the early 1930's, while outdated, may offer some information on the occupations of the people in this region. Yunnan appears to be a medium between the rich Chengtu Basin in Szechwan and the thinly populated mountains of former Sikang Province.

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Table 7. The Occupational Breakdown of Yunnan Population (1935)*

	Percent
Farmers	43.74
Workers	12.73
Merchants	3.04
Students, teachers	0.78
Government, army	1.01
Housewives	29.04
Self-employed†	0.19
Unemployed	6.32
Totally disabled	2.42
Others#	0.72

† Includes artists, physicians, lawyers, etc.

Includes gambling house operators and members of other professions not socially condoned.

* Yün-nan-sheng Nung-ts'un Tiao-ch'a [Survey of Yunnan Villages], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, pp. 13-14.

E. Some Earlier Observations

The Bureau of Statistics of the Central Government at Nanking in 1948 released the results of some cross-section surveys of China's population. The data was collected mainly before and during World War II in the Southwest China

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Region. The following excerpts may furnish some additional points for comparison:[13]

1. Population surveys of fifteen municipalities and hsien in the Southwest China Region from 1933-44 showed that on the basis of the age breakdown the population of this region as a whole was of a "stable" nature and only slightly inclined toward the "increasing type."

2. The same surveys also disclosed that while the sex ratio in these representative communities was generally well balanced before World War II began, the picture was quite noticeably altered during the war when the number of able-bodied males decreased sharply. This might have been caused by intensified conscription and by the falsification of reports on age in order to evade conscription.

3. The married population averaged 63-78.23 per cent of the total marriageable population. Out of the total population, those with middle-school education amounted to less than 2 per cent and those with college education, below 1 per cent.

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13. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 50-65.

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

162 4. A separate survey conducted during January-June 1947 in two large cities in this region further indicated that the age of fathers at the birth of first child was 20-35, and for mothers, 20-25. The mortality rate was highest in the 0-5 and 50-60 age groups. Pulmonary and typhoid diseases took the heaviest toll.'

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

166 The Southwest Region is singular in China's history of internal migration in that it has seen two large-scale migrations into this region within the past five hundred years. The first mass migration took place when the population of Szechwan Province was nearly exterminated during the chaos that marked the end of the Ming Dynasty (circa A.D. 1640). The succeeding authorities decreed migrations from Hunan and Hupeh provinces east of this region and encouraged voluntary migration from any area by promising land to the settlers. Over 1,700,000 settlers were recorded in the period[14] 1667-1707. [722] The second mass migration occurred after the 1937 Japanese invasion of China, when a huge number of people fled the northern and the coastal provinces west of this region. The latter migration is discussed in Chen Ta's Population of Modern China, which includes an analysis of

14. Lou Yün-lin, op. cit., p. 36.

166 the influence of more technically advanced easterners on the life of the local population. The first migration restocked the population in the Southwest Region; the second migration was less permanent, with the majority of the migrants returning to their native places upon the conclusion of World War II. However, not a few of these easterners have remained and made their homes in this region.

166 178 After 1949, the Communist program of industrialization concentrated upon the Northeast and Central South regions, but this does not mean that the Southwest Region is totally neglected. Many of the industrial establishments temporarily arranged to house the plants evacuated from the north and the east during the Sino-Japanese War have been retained and brought into the master plan for development of this region. Of 156 major industrial units involved in the Chinese Communists' first Five-Year Plan, over 19 per cent are located in this region.[15] The two steel plants in Chungking, the tin mining center in Yunnan Province, and the ordnance plant in Chengtu are undoubtedly attracting many workers and contributing to the rapid increase in population in such centers.

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15. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

166 Among the large construction projects which have been drawing thousands of people into this region are the Szechwan-Sikang and Sikang-Tibet highways, both reported to have been opened to traffic in the summer of 1954. The railway between Chungking and Chengtu in Szechwan Province has been completed, but another rail line connecting Szechwan Province with the north is still under construction. In addition, the Communists have been organizing people from more crowded places to settle on the grasslands and in mountain valleys in northwestern Szechwan and the western part of former Sikang Province. Reports are available in the Communist press on the progress of new villages where recent settlers are "making the barren mountains bloom ." Although the dimensions of these organized migrations cannot be measured, reports couched in general terms should at least suggest one of the population trends in this region.

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THE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

[facing P. 76] [a]

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

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NAME	ORIGIN
Hui (Hui-hui, Hui-tsu)[1]	1. Arabian & Iranian soldiers & merchants moved into China from 7th to 13th centuries and intermarried with the Chinese aboriginies. 2. Chinese children adopted by Hui families.
Miao (Miao-chia, Miao-tsu)	Tribes migrated from Hunan, eastern Kweichow and western Hupeh.
Yi (I-chia, I-pien, Lolo, Ning)	Probably immigrants from Tibet.
Tibetans (Ku-tsung in Yunnan, Mosshu in the mountains of northwestern Yunnan, Nu-tsu, or Lu-tsu along the Nu River, Kamba in Sikang)	Tribes migrated from Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi since the 10th century, probably by way of Chinghai or Tibet.
Pu-yi (T'u-jen, T'u-chia, by the Chinese, Chung-chia near Kweichow, Yu-chia near Anshun, and Shui-chia near Tu-shan)	Probably tribes from area south of the Yangtse in China.
Pai-yi (Shui Pai-yi in southernmost Yunnan, Thai)	Probably tribes from the coastal regions of South China.

Facing p. 76 (b)

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

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APPEARANCE
Compared with average Han Chinese, the Hui have fairer complexion, and are well built, of moderate height. The Hui have well bridged noses, high cheek-bones, and slightly oblique eyes.
Deep-chested, rosy-cheeked hardy mountain-dwelling people. Men dress like Han Chinese peasants. Women wear costumes of different colors peculiar to their tribes.
Tall for an Oriental race, men and women averaging about 5'7". Their typical costume is a gray felt cloak for both men and women.
Tall and robust in physique. Men wear long garment belted at the waist, felt hat, and felt boots. Women wear different costumes in different localities, but all wear big silver earrings.
Not easily distinguished from the the Chinese. Men dress like Chinese. Among older women their tribal costume consisting of a tight-fitting jacket and a long skirt, is still common.
Short and well-built, with distinct Mongoloid features. Boys are tattooed and girls blacken their teeth at marriageable age.

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

563 NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Tali is the center of the descendants of the Mohammedan soldiers of Kublai Khan.
South of Kunming is the center of Hui immigrants from Shensi.[2]

Approximately 2 million distributed in mountainous areas:

(1) Hua Miao (Flower Miao): widely distributed from Kweiyang westward, through An-sheng, Wei-ning, to eastern Yunnan.
(2) Hei Miao (Black Miao): southeastern Kweichow, centering around Li-p'ing.
(3) Ch'ing Miao (Blue Miao): central Kweichow
(4) Pai Miao (White Miao): central Kweichow
(5) Hung Miao (Red Miao): eastern Kweichow, centering around Tung-jen and related to the Miao of southwestern Hunan.

About 3,200,000 distributed in areas 6,500 .t. above sea level: East Sikang, northwestern Kweichow, northeastern and eastern Yunnan. The stronghold is in Ta-liang-shan in Sikang.

Sikang, northern Yunnan, western Szechwan.[3]

About 1,247,000 distributed in low marshy areas around Kweiyang and in southwestern Kweichow Province.

A little less than a million, distributed in lowland valleys in Yunnan:

(1) Along the Mu R. & Yüan R. (most influenced by Chinese culture.)
(2) Between 23 & 24 degrees N., and between Mu R. & Lan-ts'ang R.
(3) The region along the Yunnan-Burma Highway.
(4) The territory of the Shui Pai-yi in the southernmost Yunnan, historically known as the "Shih Shong Paan Naa" (least influenced by Han Chinese culture).

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

LANGUAGE	(Contd.)
Han Chinese with Arabian and Iranian elements of a religious nature.	
Many dialects, but no written language. Adopt Chinese for writing when necessary.	
No written language. Some have learned Chinese. Recently a Latinized Yi written language was invented and taught to the Yi people by the Chinese Communists.	
Dialect not much different from that of Tibet proper. Written language is Tibetan.	
Shan-speaking. Many can read and write Chi[illegible]	
Shan-speaking. Thai written language.	

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

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OCCUPATION	RELIGION (Contd.)
Merchants, bakers, money-exchangers, restaurant and inn keepers, horse dealers, carriers, traders. In northwestern Szechwan they control the Tibetan tea trade. In Hui communities they farm.	Islam (Ch'ing-chen chiao)
Most are peasants (the Hei Miao alone are usually owner-cultivators). Women spin, weave, and embroider. Some are boatmen; others, hunters.	Some of the Chinese gods are worshipped in their temples.
Agriculture.	A form of ancestor worship.
Nomadic and agricultural work.	Lamaism
Most are peasants. Those who settle in towns and cities engage in trade.	Buddhism
Agriculture.	Buddhism

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION
(Contd.)

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1/ The Hui is an ethnic designation, not necessarily including all the believers in Islam. Many Islamic groups in China have their own ethnic names, i.e., Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongolian Moslems, Tibetan Moslems, etc.

2/ China's 3.6 million Hui people live in large numbers only in Kansu Province. The rest are scattered throughout the country, mainly in Honan, Hopeh, Yunnan, and Northwest China.

3/ According to the census taken by the Chinese Communist government in 1954, there are 2,757,622 Tibetans in China, populating Tibet, Sikang, N. Yunnan, and W. Szechwan.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d,
Sociological Background

THE ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

563 Ethnic minorities are generally defined as groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" or "national minorities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality," as it is used in China today, is a designation for an ethnic and geographical community; but owing to the fact that the Hui people, who are neither racially homogeneous nor all concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the latter's main principle governing such a classification seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices particular to a group of common origin which have over a period of time regulated its standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups in China. Accordingly, the Han Chinese, although by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94 per cent), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

I. INTRODUCTION

There is probably no area in the world where so many different ethnic groups have collected as

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in the four provinces in Southwest China. Some of the groups are said to have migrated from Tibet; others, driven from their lands by the Han Chinese, sought refuge in the Southwest. The Han Chinese came later, and are now chiefly found in the plains and more accessible valleys.

These peoples, forming successive migratory waves from different parts of the continent, developed for a long time side by side without much intermingling. Cut off by high mountain ridges and unnavigable rivers, many have preserved their original languages and ancient customs, which are still in use today.

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162 There are more than 35 million people belonging to non-Han ethnic groups in China, constituting 6 per cent of the total national population and occupying more than one-half of the national territory.[1] Of the ten ethnic groups each having more than one million people, the Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Pu-yi, and Hui are represented in the Southwest in large numbers. The Southwest alone has 20 to 21 million people belonging to non-Han ethnic groups, constituting 20 per cent of the total regional population, and more significantly, dwelling along more than 3,000 miles of the national boundary.[2]

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1. Communique of "Results of Census and Registration of China's Population," Current Background, No. 301, Nov. 1, 1954, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General.

2. Wang, Wei-chou, "Hsi-nan Min-tsu Kung-tso Ch'ing-hsing" ["The State of the Nationalities Work in the Southwest"] , Min-tsu Cheng-tse Wen-hsien Hui-pien [Compendium of Writings on Nationalities Policies] , Peking, Jen-min chu-pan-she, 1953, p.124.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later. 563 162 177

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials. 563 167

B. Sikang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

175 1280 A.D.) dynasties. In the Ch'ing (1644-1912 A.D.)
167 dynasty more than 200,000 Han Chinese went to
166 Sikang as refugees, criminals, laborers, and adventurers. Shortly after 1910, about 70,000 to 80,000 Han Chinese went from Szechwan to Sikang as merchants. Pa-an (Pa-t'ang), at the center of the province, and K'ang-ting, in the eastern part of the province, have more Han Chinese than other cities in Sikang.[5]

C. Yunnan

175 The first Han Chinese invasion into Yunnan took place in 225 A.D. during the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-266 A.D.). The next Han-Chinese attack during the T'ang dynasty was repulsed by a powerful Thai people organized as the Tali Kingdom of Nan Chao. This kingdom, however, was conquered by the army of Kublai Khan in 1253. The most important campaigns undertaken by the Han Chinese in Yunnan occurred in the Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing dynasties. Some large families in Central

3. Lou, Yun-lin, Sze-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941, pp. 35-36.

4. It is said that this policy of the Manchu government was pursuant to rebel Chang Hsien-chung's wanton killing in Szechwan at the end of the Ming dynasty which had nearly depleted the population there. See chapter on Historical Background.

5. Ch'en, Chung-wei Hsi-k'ang Wen-ti [The Sikang Problem], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1930, pp. 85-90.

China were compelled to colonize Yunnan early in the Ming dynasty, and most of the Ming garrison soldiers were from the vicinity of the Yellow River and the Yangtze. Among the Han Chinese immigrants were criminals and refugees.[6]

D. Kweichow

The ancestors of the small number of native Han Chinese in this province were soldiers left behind in the wake of earlier military campaigns. Their descendants, speaking the old dialect (or a modification of it) their forebears brought into the country, now form separate communities. They are sturdy and industrious, and generally own the land they cultivate, but they are regarded by the immigrant Han Chinese in much the same category as the Miao and the Pu-yi. The native Han Chinese, in the course of time, have been absorbed into the non-Han Chinese and the immigrant Han Chinese groups. The immigrant Han Chinese came after Kweichow was made a province of the Manchu Empire. Most of them claimed Kiangsi as their old home. In recent years, however, nearly all the Han Chinese immigrants have come from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, particularly Szechwan.[7]

(For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese in this region, see chapters on Social Structure and Family.)

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6. Wilhelm Credner, Cultural and Geographical Observations Made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region with Special Regard to the Nan-Chao Problem, Bangkok, The Siam Society, 1935, pp. 12-13.

7. Samuel R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in Southwest China, London, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., China Inland Mission, 1911, p. 11.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
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III. THE NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS

A. The Hui of Yunnan

563 The Hui intermarry with the Han Chinese. When a Han Chinese bachelor desires to marry a Hui girl, he must embrace the Islam[1] faith; a Han Chinese girl who wishes to marry a Hui man does not have to change her own religion. Therefore, although physical difference sets the Hui apart from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more complex. Hence, Hui cohesiveness is attributable to factors other than mere racial physical difference. Their language, religion, and customs that follow religious practice and observance make them cohesive as an ethnic group against outside forces, despite the fact that in Yunnan the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

[669] In the past there was enough antagonism between the Hui and the Han Chinese to cause several rebellions against the Chinese government. The bloody suppression of the Hui rebellion led by Tu Wen-hsiu in the middle of the nineteenth century devastated Hui communities in Yunan to such an extent that they have never recovered from it. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that the Hui were so sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities that they did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's

[1] [i.e., the Muslim faith -- Analyst]

563 the Hui were treated as "believers in Islam," and their ethnic differences were minimized.[8]

The present Chinese Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang practice. By digging out past grievances between the Han and the Hui, and by condemning the suppressive policies of the previous governments, the ethnic policy of the People's Government is claimed to be the most enlightened of all times. However, the Peking Government's reversal of the Kuomintang practice seems to have more proganda value among other Moslem peoples in the world, especially the Indonesians, than any actual material benefit for the Hui people in Yunan.[9]

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Associations at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and chou have been established for the Hui people in China. However, there have been no reports announcing the establishment of any Hui autonomous unit in the Southwest, although there are indications that scattered Hui in this area have representation in the local governments as well as in the autonomous government units of some other ethnic groups.[10]

B. The Miao of Kweichow

The Miao tribes, divided by dialects not intelligible to each other, are not united. Many scattered Miao, upon closer contact with neighboring peoples, readily lose their identity. Except

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8. This is evident in several yearbooks of that period; Hui people are not separately listed.

9. Propaganda value can be illustrated by activities of the Hui Cultural Association and its intercourse with Moslem delegations from other parts

[continued next page]

523 for the Hei Miao, who usually own the land they cultivate and are well-to-do, most of the Miao tribes are poor and backward in their "slash and burn" system of agriculture.

For generations the Miao have been ruled by Yi chieftains called T'u-ssu, or Chinese officials, to whom the Miao pay taxes. In western and northwestern Kweichow, where the Miao are the tenants of the Yi landlords, the Miao not only pay rent in kind, but also render labor and military service to the landlords. The Yi landlords may also impose levies on them on special occasions.[11] In Communist jargon, this is clearly a situation in which one minority group is "exploited" by another. The amelioration of this condition of the Miao tenants would entail the alienation of the Yi people. Consequently, Communist propaganda among the Miao tribes emphasizes the past sufferings of the Miao under the Kuomintang rule, but not their hardships under the Yi landlords. It is interesting to note the way in which the Communists carried out "land reform" in this area; their policy of giving preferential treatment to the Yi is a clear departure from the "land reform" principle practiced in other parts of China.

[No. 9 continued] --of the world.

10. NCNA, April 15, 1955, SCMP, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, pp. 32-33.

11. Lin Yueh-hwa, "Social Life of the Aboriginal Groups in and around Yunnan," Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. XV, Series A, 1944, Chengtu, West China Border Research Sodety, pp. 50-51.

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563 The Miao women work in the field together with their men. They do not observe the marriage bond as strictly as the Han Chinese. They do not particularly suffer under the marriage system,[12] and the enforcement of the Marriage Law makes no material difference to the status of women in Miao communities.

C. The Yi of Sikang

The Yi are divided into two classes: the Black and White. The Black are the nobility and landlords, and the White are the slaves. The White Yi do all the manual and agricultural work, and their children are born slaves and property of their overlords. Marriage between the two classes is absolutely forbidden. This two-class society is further complicated by the fact that, owing to their own diminishing numbers, the Yi along the Kweichow border have brought in the Miao as their tenants.[13]

The Chinese Communist press recently has made brief mention of the abolition of the two-class system in Yi society, but of how it has been brought about, and, more particularly, of how the organization of the clan and the family has been affected, nothing has been said. It seems that so far this abolition of the class system is only in principle.[14]

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12. Clarke, op. cit., p. 31.
13. Ibid., p. 121.
14. Chen Han-seng, "The Yis of Taliangshan," China Reconstructs, No. 2, p. 1.

563 The Communist press has also emphasized the improved status of women in Yi society. However, the fact is that Yi girls are trained to manage household affairs and traditionally hold a high position in the family, while their brothers are not trained in any occupation.[15] Therefore, that Yi women are now elected to local governments should not be regarded as an unprecedented Communist accomplishment.

D. The Tibetans of Sikang

The Tibetans are divided into two classes: landlords and tenants. Because of the scarcity of labor, those who have been given the right to cultivate the land must work for their masters;this forced labor is known in the Manchu language as ula.[16]

The Communists have claimed that the Chinese People's Liberation Army pioneered the battering down of the ula system in Sikang. It is alleged that from the moment of its arrival in Sikang, the People's Liberation Army paid the Tibetans for every service rendered and provided compensation for all animals lost in transport work. This had never been done in Sikang before. Subsequently, one of the first acts of the Sikang Tibetan Autonomous Regional Government was a decree in November 1950 to abolish the ula system.[17] The fact that many Han cadres are encouraged to work and to "grow roots" in Tibetan communities, that soldiers stationed in the area are told to adopt local customs, diets, and

15. Lin Yüeh-hwa, op. cit., p. 54.

16. Chen Han-seng, The Chinese Peasant, London, New York and Bombay, Oxford Univ.Press, 1945, pp. 16-18.

17. Chen Han-seng, "Sikiang Serfdom to Freedom," China Reconstructs, No.5,1954,pp.28-32.

languages, and that migration from other parts of 563
China to Sikang is encouraged, seems to indicate that more labor force is needed before the ula system can be abolished in practice.[18]

The Tibetans in Sikang are Lamaists, upon 563
whom Han Chinese culture has made little impression. 648
Instead, they look to Tibet for cultural leadership. Relations between the Chinese and the Tibetans in Sikang have not been cordial, and the attitude of the Tibetans in Sikang toward Pekings seem to be contingent upon Peking's relation with Tibet proper. So far, the Communist government in Peking has had more administrative control over Sikang than over Tibet; this could be the reason behind the recent Communist move to unite the western part of Sikang province with Tibet proper,[19] hoping that, through Sikang, Tibet might be brought closer to Peking administratively and, through Tibet's cultural influence, Sikang's Tibetans might be made to co-operate with the Chinese government more readily.

E. The Pu-yi of Kweichow

Although called by different names in various 563
parts of Kweichow, the Pu-yi are not divided into tribes like the Miao. Pu-yi dialects differ in individual localities, but not enough to become mutually unintelligible as is the case with the Miao dialects. The Pu-yi are a homogenous group, and there is little divergence between Pu-yi and Han Chinese cultures. The latter fact has made the Pu-yi more

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18. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 18, 1952; December 11, 1950.

19. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], April 1955, pp. 15-16.

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Chung-chia
Pai-1

563 readily assimilated into Chinese communities. Many Pu-yi speak, read, and write Chinese, and they are not despised by the Han Chinese as are the Miao.[20] As a minority group the Pu-yi of Kweichow actually do not pose any minority problem for the Chinese administration.

The traditional land ownership patterns of most of the ethnic groups in the Southwest may make them less resistant to collectivism in agriculture, whereas the Pu-yi,[21] who usually own the land they cultivate and are well-to-do, may not accept collectivism as readily.

Pu-yi women do more work in the fields than Han Chinese women, but their social position is lower.[22] No change in status of women in Pu-yi communities has so far been reported in Communist sources.

F. The Pai-yi of Yunnan

Pai-yi society is divided into two classes: the aristocracy, consisting of the native chieftains and their relatives, and the common people. Intermarriage between the aristocracy and the common people is generally forbidden, although the native chieftains sometimes take concubines from the common people.[23]

There are no small landowners or owner-cultivators in Pai-yi villages. Land ownership is

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20. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 96-99.

21. Ibid., pp. 99-101.

22. Ibid.; Gabrielle M. Vassal, In and Around Yunnan Fou, London, William Heinnemann, 1922, p. 52.

23. Lin Yüeh-wa, op. cit., p. 53.

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nominally vested in the village as a community, but in reality, in the Pai-yi aristocracy as a ruling class.[24] The common people's obligations to their landlords are numerous: rent, household taxes, office provision, and other special tributes. In addition, the common people may be called on at any time to render military service. Land tax is collected for the Chinese government by the Pai-yi chieftains from each family rather than each land unit.[25] The tribal administration lingers on, hindering not only the development of any administration based on taxing the privately owned land, but also imposing the burden of a double government on the Pai-yi people.

However, the tightly-knit Pai-yi village does not provide fertile ground for the Communists' land reform. In fact, it is reported by Chinese Communist sources that, as late as October 1954, the original Pai-yi tribal land system was still intact. On the other hand, the traditional Pai-yi pattern of land ownership may not offer strong resistance to agricultural collectivism if it is launched.

The Pai-yi are racially related to the Thai people in northern Burma; many of them, especially the Shui Pai-yi, are not much influenced by Han Chinese culture. Part of the Pai-yi territory and their neighboring territory which lies west of the Kao-li-kung-shan [Kao-li-kung Mountains] have been claimed by both the Chinese and Burmese governments.[26] For these reasons, winning the

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24. Chen Han-seng, Frontier Land Systems in Southernmost China, New York, Internat'l Secretariat, Inst. of Pacific Relations, 1949, p. 15.

25. Ibid., p. 22.

26. In early 1930's, British and Burmese troops occupied Chiang-hsin-p'o. This is the so-called P'ien-ma Incident.

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563 allegiance of the Pai-yi people has been recognized as an urgent task of any Chinese central administration.

IV. The Chinese Communist Policy and Administration

The Fourth Department of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government at Peking carries on research and collects data on the ethnic groups in the Southwest. It also advises the Government Council with regard to the formulation and administration of ethnic policy there.[27]

Overcoming the isolation of the ethnic groups is the first goal of the Communist administration in the Southwest. Since the "liberation," three large delegations from Peking have made extended tours of minority areas in the Southwest. They have gone not as mere visitors, but as missionaries to explain the government's policy toward the minorities. They have not only demonstrated the government's good will at the "grass-roots level" by presenting these peoples with gifts and providing them with medical service, but, more importantly, they have collected information pertinent to the development of the Southwest. Highways are now being built which not only link the minority but also join these communities with the outside world. There is now a highway from Yunnan to Szechwan passing through Chao-chüeh, the heart of the once-isolated territory of the independent Lolo (Yi).[28]

The Communists have recognized that, at the present stage, the millions of ethnic minorities

27. People's Daily, Peking, August 14, 1952.
28. Chen Han-seng, op. cit.; People's Daily, March 1, 1954.

563 can achieve cultural, political, and economic progress only in their own accustomed patterns. Their own languages must be used as vehicles for the communication of modern methods. Han Chinese cadres are told to study minority languages.[29] Linguists and philologists have been dispatched to the Southwest to help improve or invent written scripts for the minorities.[30]

"Consultation" is adopted as a method to get desirable representatives from the various ethnic groups when conditions are not favorable for popular election of delegates. This method frequently yields a number of hand-picked representatives not proportionate to the total population of the ethnic groups. When the minorities have more representatives than they are entitled to have, the fact is publicized by the Communists as special consideration for minorities. This subterfuge is cloaked by the democratic-sounding phrase: 'Cooperation with minority leaders having connections with their own people."[31]

To sum up, it could be said that the Chinese Communist government has so far attempted more than any other previous government in China to

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29. People's Daily, November 12, 1953.

30. In the past several years the government has sponsored the following: (1) invention of a Latinized Sikang Yi written language; (2) improvement of the Yunnan Pai-yi and Chingpo's Thai language; (3) invention of the Kweichow Pu-yi script; (4) collection of Kawa words and phrases; and research in Miao dialects and preparation of textbooks in Miao languages. People's Daily, June 23, 1954.

31. Ibid., Feb. 21, 1954.

563 to bring the minorities in the Southwest into the national orbit. It increases the intensity of cultural contacts among these groups and between the Han Chinese and these groups. In economic, cultural, political, health, and educational activities, it endeavors to decrease the divergence of the different groups. It tries to curb distrust of the ethnic groups by playing down the irritating chauvinism of the Han Chinese. It has fostered and brought the leaders of the ethnic minorities into closer contract with the central government in Peking. It is training present and future minority leaders in Chinese national universities.

Under the Communist administration, although each ethnic group now seems exalted and its separate identity emphasized, the net effect of the Communist ethnic policy and administration has been easing out the factors which had for centuries caused the minorities in the Southwest to cohere and to defy the central administration. Solidarity of all the ethnic groups, the international prestige resulting from it, and the development of the nation as a whole seem to be the main concern in the government's treatment of the minority ethnic groups in the Southwest. It does not seem feasible for a future Chinese government to concentrate on negating the Communist government's ethnic program in this area if the Southwest is intended to remain as part of the Chinese territory. Rather, better programs can be formulated and carried out by taking advantage of the Communists' experience with the minorities in this area.

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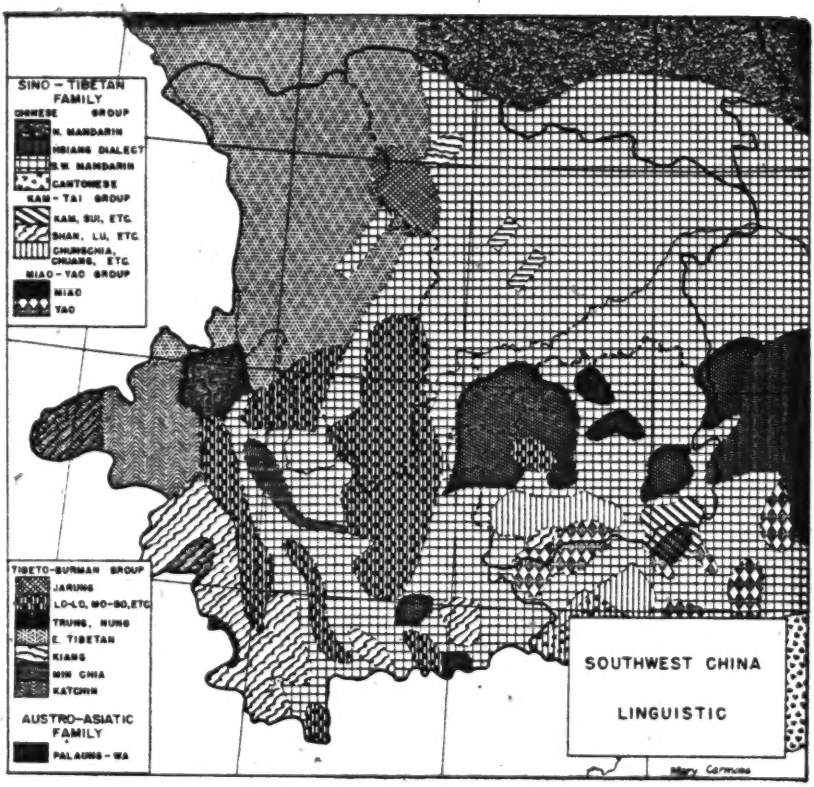

[facing p. 92]

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1e,
Sociological Background

LANGUAGE

I. MAJOR DIALECT GROUPS AND DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKERS

197 Only two Chinese dialect groups, Southwestern Mandarin and Hakka, are spoken in this region, and the former is by far the most popular. But a good number of non-Chinese dialects are spoken by the people in the Southwestern frontier areas. The distribution of these dialects is as follows:

Southwestern Mandarin -- spoken by approximately 80,000,000 throughout this region.

Hakka -- spoken by several million people in a few scattered districts near Chengtu in Szechwan Province.

Kam-Tai -- about 5,000,000 speakers in southern and southeastern Kweichow and eastern, western, and southern Yunnan.

Miao-Yao -- about 2,500,000 speakers in Kweichow and the mountainous areas in Yunnan.

Tibeto-Burman -- about 3,000,000 speakers in western Szechwan and the mountainous areas in Yunnan.

II. DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS

A. Southwestern Mandarin

Next to Northern Mandarin, Southwestern Mandarin is the largest dialect group in China in terms of the number of people who speak it and the area which it covers. Like Northern Mandarin, its dialects are fairly homogeneous. The following are some of its characteristics: 197

1. The initials n and l are not distinguished except in some Yunnan dialects. However, there is a tendency to treat these two sounds as conditioned variants or partially conditioned variants of a sound unit. That is to say, l is heard before mid and low vowels while n is heard before high vowels; or, although either n or l may occur as free variants before mid and low vowels, n occurs regularly before high vowels. 197 194

2. There are no retroflex sounds because such sounds are replaced by dental sibilants; thus Northern Mandarin chu (pig) becomes tsu, shan (mountain) becomes san.

3. The guttural nasal ng usually precedes the Northern Mandarin zero-initial when the latter is not a high vowel. Thus, words pronounced like ai (to love), e (forehead), and en (favor) of Northern Mandarin, become ngai, nge, and ngen, respectively.

4. When initial h precedes a syllabic u, it is changed to f; thus, Northern Mandarin hu (tiger) becomes fu.

5. The common Northern Mandarin unrounded back vowel ə͡, found in such words as kə͡, sometimes also written ko. (elder brother), hə͡, or ho (river), is replaced by a rounded o generally.

The same back vowel in other Northern Mandarin words such as te (to obtain), se (color), che (this), k'e (guest), etc., is replaced by a front vowel e (which sounds like a in chaotic) in many dialects in this region.

6. Northern Mandarin final uo is replaced by ue in such words as kuo (nation) and huo (or), which become kue and hue respectively in Southwestern Mandarin.

7. Northern Mandarin final üeh is replaced by io in such words as hsüeh (to learn) and chüeh (to become aware), which become hsio and chio respectively in Southwestern Mandarin.

8. There is only one final nasal, n, after the vowels ə, i, u.

9. The four tones of Northern Mandarin are described as high-level, high-rising, low-dipping, and high-falling; most of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects have a tonal pattern consisting of the high-level, low slightly falling, falling, and rising tones.

10. Within this dialect group, the following local variations are observed:

a) Dialects spoken in some areas along the upper reaches of the Yangtze River have preserved the ancient "entering" tone, which is generally associated with a "lax" vowel. Thus these dialects have five, instead of four, tones.

197 b) In certain areas, the common diphthing
198 ie is changed to the simple vowel i; thus Northern Mandarin chieh (elder sister) becomes chi.

c) Some dialects in Yunnan and Kweichow lack the rounded high front vowel ü ; thus Northern Mandarin nü (woman) becomes ni, and chü (to dwell) becomes chi.

B. Hakka

All Hakka people in Szechwan Province are bilingual; they speak Hakka at home and Southwestern Mandarin outside their village. Although they believe that Hakka remains their "ancestors' language," it actually has been very much influenced by Southwestern Mandarin and has lost many of its features except the following:

1. Many aspirated initials are substituted for unaspirated initials; thus Northern Mandarin tu (to cross a river) becomes t'u, and tso (to sit) becomes ts'o.

2. The initial v replaces the zero-initial u in Northern Mandarin; thus Northern Mandarin wu (house) becomes vu, and wan (ten thousand) becomes van.

3. There is no ü sound except in a few words apparently borrowed from Mandarin.

4. In many words, the diphthong oi replaces the Northern Mandarin ai, and the final on replaces an; thus Northern Mandarin kai (should) becomes koi, and an (dark) becomes on.

194 5. There are six to seven tones, two of which
197 are derived from the ancient "entering" tone and associated with final p, t, and k.

C. Kam-Tai

Kam-tai, like the other two major non-Chinese dialect groups spoken in this region, belongs to the extensive Sin-Tibetan family which includes Chinese dialects. The Sino-Tibetan language family, generally speaking, is: (a) monosyllabic -- the ultimate constituents of the language are all monosyllabic; (b) tonal -- when normally stressed, the pattern of pitch of a syllable determines its meaning; (c) uninflectional forms virtually do not exist. The special characteristics of Kam-Tai can be further described as follows:

1. It has eight or more tones. This results from the development into two tones of each of the four tones in ancient Sino-Tibetan languages.

2. There are pre-glottalized voiced consonants, such as b and d. This is especially true of Kam dialects.

3. Consonant clusters are preserved, in Tai, but they do not appear as initials in Kam dialects.

4. Long and short vowels are differentiated.

[193] 5. Word order, in some respects, is different from Chinese dialects. For example, hao jen (good man) in Chinese becomes jen hao in Kam-Tai.

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197 6. Certain dialects, such as those spoken by the Pai-yi people in southern Yunnan, have preserved aspirated consonants as initials.

7. Examples of Kam-Tai sounds are given below:

	Kam	Tai (as spoken in southern Yunnan)	Tai (as spoken in eastern Yunnan)
palm	fa	p'a	va
eye	da	t'a	ta
fish	mum	pja	pla
egg	tai	kjai	klai

D. Miao-Yao

Earlier scholars have grouped Yao with Tai described above, and Miao with the Mon-Khmer language family. However, further comparative studies have shown that a greater affinity exists between Miao and Yao and that there seems to be more reason to group these two as a separate branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. This group has the following common features:

1. In Miao there is no final consonant except the guttural nasal ng and rarely the dental nasal n. But final consonants m, n, ng, and p, t, k are common in Yao dialects.

2. Initial consonant clusters are common in Miao, especially pre-nasalized ones such as mp, nt, mpl, mpr, etc., but rare in Yao.

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194 3. Gutturals and uvulars in the initial position are differentiated in Miao.

4. Many words in Yao are borrowed from either Chinese or Tai.

5. The following are examples of Miao and Yao words as spoken by different groups of the frontier peoples.

	Miao		Yao	
water	ong	ai	wam	vom
door	tong	tai	keng	keng
house	pla	pra	piau	piau
to die	tu	to	tai	tai

E. Tibetan-Burmese (Tibeto-Burman)

The use of prefixes, syllabic or assyllabic, and the subject-object-verb word order are common features of this group. In comparison with Kam-Tai, this group has a much simpler tonal pattern. Four sub-groups of Tibetan-Burmese are spoken in this region:

1. Tibetan

a) Unlike the Tibetan spoken in Tibet, this sub-group has preserved the prefixes and final consonants of ancient Tibetan.

b) Each word has two forms, "common" and "honorific"; the latter is used when the speaker wishes to be polite. For example:

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	Common	Honorific
eye	mig	spyan
nose	sna	shangs
mouth	kha	zhal

2. Lolo-Moso This sub-group includes a number of aboriginal languages and has a complicated initial system. In addition to the common initials, there are also pre-nasalized voiced stops and affricatives such as mb, nd, ndz, ngg, etc.

3. Kachin The only general characteristic so far ascertained of the people who speak this sub-group is that they tend to pronounce the prefixes as separate syllables.

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4. Others Small minority nationality groups inhabiting the Yunnan-Burma border zone speak a variety of dialects. Information on these minor dialects has been extremely scanty and it is generally assumed that they belong to the Burmese branch of the Tibetan-Burmese group.

F. Other Non-Chinese Dialect Groups

A number of non-Chinese dialects, which are not sub-groups of the Sino-Tibetan family, are also spoken in this region. The Palaung (with about 5,000 population), Puman (14,000 population), and Wa (about 56,000 population) each has its own dialect. These dialects are related to the Peguan (or Mon) language spoken in Burma and the Cambodian (or Khmer) language spoken in Indo-China. Linguistically they come under the Palaung-Wa group which uses more affixes than dialects of the Sino-Tibetan family.

IV. DEGREE OF AUDITORY INTELLIGIBILITY

197 Although it is rather difficult to point out the exact degree of mutual auditory intelligibility of the languages and dialects spoken in this region, the previous section dealing with their distinguishing features should have made it reasonably clear that non-Chinese languages, although not entirely free from Chinese influences, bear little resemblance to the Chinese dialects. Hence they are not intelligible to the Chinese-speaking people of the region. Furthermore, they are sufficiently different from one another to be mutual unintelligible.

Speakers of Southwestern Mandarin generally have a great deal of difficulty in trying to understand Hakka. However, since speakers of Hakka in this region are able to converse in Southwestern Mandarin also, there is no insurmountable barrier between them and speakers of Southwestern Mandarin.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YU

197 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese,
185 and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was

197 185 launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

212 The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

212

1. Pictographs

Chinese characters are traditionally classified into six main categories, the first of which is pictographs. The characters in this category all originated from simple pictures: jih ⊙(now written 日)is the character for "the sun"; yüeh ☽ (now written 月) is the character for "the moon," etc. However, they have long lost their function of picturing things and have become merely conventionalized visual symbols of spoken words.

2. Ideographs

The second category is that of the ideographs, which are characters indicating in a diagrammatic manner simple ideas, as shang 上 for "up, above," hsia 下 for "down, below," i 一 for "one", erh 二 for "two," san 三 for "three,", etc. Pictographs and ideographs, presumably bases of ancient Chinese characters, however, amount to only one-tenth of the entire stock of China's written symbols.

3. Compound Ideographs

The third category is that of the compound ideographs or characters whose meanings are determined by the combined meanings of their component parts, as ming 明, which is a combination of the "sun" and "moon", stands for "bright"; hsin 信, which is a combination of "man" and "word," hence, the "words of a man" stands for "honesty."

4. Phonetic Loan Characters

212 The fourth category is that of phonetic loan characters. These characters were all borrowed from existing words homophonous with the new ones for which written symbols had to be coined. For example, when a written symbol had to be created for the new word lai, meaning "to come," instead of resorting to pictographic or ideographic devices for the coining of such a symbol, the old character 來, meaning "barley," also similarly pronounced, was borrowed for that purpose. Often such a borrowed character displaced the original source. Thus, 來 is now used exclusively to mean "to come" rather than "barley." Simiarly, ch'i 其, the third personal pronoun, is now used invariably as such rather than as a symbol for "basket," the meaning of the original word similarly written and similarly pronounced.

5. Phonetic Compounds

Phonetic compounds constitute the fifth and perhaps the most numerous category of Chinese characters. They consist of two portions, a "signific" or meaning portion, and a "phonetic" or pronunciation portion. The former reveals the general meaning while the latter indicates the pronunciation of the compound. Thus, jan 燃 "to burn" has huo 火 "fire" as its signific, and jan 然 "so, thus" as its phonetic. Similarly, t'ang 糖 "sugar" has mi 米 "rice, cereal" as its signific, and t'ang 唐 "bold talk" as its phonetic. It may be pointed out here that the phonetic element of such compounds may or may not have been a "phonetic loan compound," that the pronunciation of the phonetic may or may not be

212 exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

6. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old"' others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

B. Non-Chinese Written Languages

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563 To varying degrees of completeness and adequacy, some of the non-Chinese languages spoken in this region have their own scripts:

1. The Pai-yi ethnic minority groups, speaking Kam-Tai dialects, use two systems of writing. One is the Shan alphabet derived from the Burmese alphabet and the other is closely related to the Siamese alphabet.

2. Speakers of Miao-Yao have no script of their own, but attempts have been made by some Western missionaries to adapt the Latin alphabet to these dialects for the translation of the Bible.

212 3. A writing system derived from a certain
563 ancient Indic alphabet of the seventh century is used by the Tibetan-speaking people in this region in their religious writings.

4. The Lo^lo people use a phonetic script, mainly for religious writings. The phonetic symbols resemble Chinese characters and can be written either vertically or horizontally.

5. A primitive "hieroglyphic" script is in use among the Moso-speaking people. The system has yet to be standardized and is neither adequate nor effective as a written medium of communication. More recently an effort has been made to adopt a phonetic alphabet to replace the "hieroglyphic" symbols. The new phonetic alphabet resembles that of the Lo_lo script.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

212 It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese

212 to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average person to learn, and in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective

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when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses.

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University.

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185 In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai^2) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai^3) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai^4) "to sell".

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinzua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of

212 learning to read and write Chinese much easier
185 and less time-consuming. For example 然 ts'ai "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron", to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplication that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y.C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of

212 their flexibility in forming compounds with other
125 characters, and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the language of a people cannot be artifically changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language to combat illiteracy. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communists promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"[3] to substantiate their argument.

The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's

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1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch"u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and [contd]

212 spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays,
185 and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already used in handwriting by the people. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua,

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Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

212 a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces.
185 Ch'i publicized the use of "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. Phonetic symbols are employed as an aid to pronunciation. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committe announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] By January 1956, the number of simplified characters approved by the committee and already in use by many publications had increased to 260. At the same time the committee also announced the standardized forms of 810 characters, of which many irregular forms had been in use.[7]

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5. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Jan. 19. 1956, p. 3.

8. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yu-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp. 458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit. pp. 131-34. [see next page]

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications, with a total circulation of about 500,000 on the market.[8] There is evidence that such publications are still available in Southwest China today. 212 185

There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation. On October 5, 1951 the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization. It has also been advocated that Chinese be written horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first Chinese regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions of this practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and the New China Monthly began printing their texts horizontally in January 1955. The People's Daily and a few other journals followed suit in January 1956.

As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create or improve their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Southwest China, the Tai

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952] , Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

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script used by the minority nationality groups around Pao-shan in Yunnan Province was standardized in December 1952.[10] Many other non-Chinese languages in this region are receiving equal attention.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191

Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few larger cities in Southwest China like Chungking and Chengtu. In Kunming (Yunnan Province) and several towns on the old Yunnan-Indochina Railway where French influence was discernible, French was an understandable language among a small segment of population in commercial and educated circles. Compared with other Western languages English was popular in Southwest China because of the contact with English-speaking visitors and the inclusion of English in school curricula. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Although some college students could read a printed item in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

10. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 29, 1953, p. 3.

191 The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except for advanced specialized studies. But as late as 1953, knowledge of simple English was still required for enrollment in college.[11] It appears reasonable to assume that the number of senior middle school (secondary school) and college students able to read or speak English has not changed. Foreign language instruction has been eliminated from the curricula of junior middle schools and primary schools.[12] Although the study of Russian has been encouraged by the Communists, it is doubtful if much has been achieved during the past five years.

There is no statistical information on the number of people able to read or speak English in Southwest China, but if the curricula for senior middle schools and colleges are any indication then there cannot possibly be more than 35,000 with this ability.[13] As to the number of people in this region who can speak or read other Western languages, there is even less information to serve as a basis for conjecture.

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11. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao [Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954], Hong Kong, Hsüeh-sheng shu-tien, 1954, p. 98-100.

12. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü Kung-tso [Communist Education in the Past Five Years], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 16.

13. Total number of senior middle school graduates in China (1949-53) was 216.000. 17-18 per cent reported in Southwest Region. People's Handbook, 1955, p. 571-73.

Annex "A" Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

563 Owing to the fact that the majority of the population in Southwest China are Han Chinese who have migrated from provinces in East, North, and Central-South China, and that the Southwest has been under Chinese rule for centuries, the social structure of the Han Chinese in Southwest China closely resembles that of other regions of China. However, the presence of a large number of ethnic minorities in this region gives the over-all social structure of the region a unique character. Those minorities who have adopted Han Chinese culture are integrated into the social structure of the Han Chinese; those who remain isolated and unassimilated have their own separate social structures peculiar to their own cultures, which are not yet sufficiently investigated and understood by people outside of these groups.[1] The scope of this chapter is therefore limited to the social structure of the majority people, i.e., the Han Chinese and those ethnic minorities who have adopted the Han Chinese way of life in the Southwest.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 A. Social Classes

The people of traditional China often viewed

1. Consult chapter on Ethnic Groups in this handbook.

[redacted]

565 society as being comprised of four occupational groups: the literati, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants. Soldiers had no social status and were not members of any group. Although this classification indicates that all members of society recognized the prestige of the literati and the low status of the merchants, it fails to account for two things: the wide diversity in wealth, standards of living, and cultural and recreational interests within each occupational group; and the free interchange of occupations among the top layers of the farming, merchant, and governing groups.[2]

In reality, social stratification in Chinese society was not entirely based on occupational lines. Rich merchants and wealthy landlords were often linked by marriage; retail merchants and middle peasants were socially compatible; the social distinction between a craftsman and a simple peasant was even more difficult to draw; and bureaucrats were often wealthy landlords as well. Thus, if we employ the term social classes to mean the stratification of society on an economic basis, we will find that class lines cut across the traditionally accepted occupation-status classification.

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2. In some dynasties, sons of merchant families were not allowed to join the governing group. However, as their prosperity increased, it was relatively easy for the third generation to come into the governing group. It was quite common for retired bureaucrats to engage in commerce. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912), there emerged in coastal provinces a group of

[continued next page]

However, members of all the occupational 565
groups regarded the possession of land as the true indication of prestige and security. A landless peasant hoped to possess land, a peasant with some land hoped to acquire more, and the wealthiest landlord wished to do likewise. Artisans who had acquired savings would invest them in land. Merchants invariably put excess capital that might have been used for business expansion into land, although often they did not count on income from it as their principal means of support. Bureaucrats were even more preoccupied with owning land concomitant with their rise in officialdom. This is a common phenomenon in any society where other tangible assets for accumulation are lacking.

Although the possession of land was a criterion for determining prestige and, to a large extent, the sign of real power, prestige did not always result from wealth and the land-holding of[3]

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gentry-merchants who purchased the rank of tao-t'ai (circuit judge) and were given positions in the official custom banks. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, ADocumentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1954, pp. 214-15.

3. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1948, p. 4. Hsu's book is a study of a small semi-rural community in Southwest China. It is his conviction, as stated in the preface, that the essential social structure of the community he had studied is typical of China as a whole. See also, Fei Hsiao-tung, China's Gentry, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953. Particular reference to SWChina in rural-urban relations and life-histories of gentry families.

565 any one family seldom remained constant for more than two or three generations. These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

565 428 596 The family ideal. Large families, especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[4] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by economic means. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu (Ch'ing) Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions, individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families and particularly when land was the sole source of income.[5] On the

4. Consult chapter on Family in this handbook.

5. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, Praeger, 1953, p. 52.

565 other hand, because of the existence of extended
596 families and the clan structure, less fortunate
428 members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

183 The scholar ideal. Learning was much es-
565 teemed, especially when combined with wealth.
555 The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indicative of the respect all Chinese had for learning was the popular saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[6] The emphasis

6. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China, Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be oversimple, it indicates that the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected
[continued next page]

183 565 555 on learning was buttressed by the imperial examination system, the means by which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal in education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their sons in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of the son's eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the familes, be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills and

6. [continued] ...by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-75.

183 commercial activity. Therefore, if a scholar
565 did not pass the examination, or having passed
555 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

The scholars, therefore, are not to be regarded as a separate class or a separate occupational group, except as they relied for their livelihood on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government, and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only a way to added prestige.

The road to status and wealth through edcation and government service was often by-passed

183 in time of chaos; then military skills would enable
565 individuals to obtain high positions in the bureau-
555 cracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity to acquire learning under tutelage of well-known scholars due to their parents' wealth.

C. Social Organizations

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Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In the rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

575 Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds or "hongs" (hang) and regional guilds or "pongs" (pang). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopolies and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[7]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties when traveling.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was also called Hung-pang. The bulk of the membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict and severe discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed, and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of this society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao

7. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

575 Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lai Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass following.[8]

While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at the overthrow of the existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pangwere utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extra legal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor, handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen, shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even the civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of China. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for the support of politicians and warlords, as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-45 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[9] With the influx

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8. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi-pei Yen-chiu she, 1941.

9. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

178

Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 369 565 The traditional rural village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 166 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land together with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
166 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
178 was especially true after Confucian training had
871 been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

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11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

178 and intelligible to the younger generation than the
871 classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, it at least had taught him not to be resigned to his lot, but to look to the future rather
178 than to the past for betterment. With the in-
871 crease of schools, there emerged in the cities
565 a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together; and with their newly established organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although frequently dependent for subsistence on their families, students had nothing to do with the cultivation or management
178 of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to
565 find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast with the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions in the ruling elite class, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social nobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social rôles were less clearly defined; sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status

178 in the new business or political hierarchy and
565 yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 Influenced by the idea of democracy which
565 they had discovered in the new schools, the in-
668 tellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power, ob-
874 taining offices by virtue of their military success.
555 Rather than despising the military as the older
565 scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

565 668 the Kuomintang leader Chiang-Kai-shek, "bureaucratic capitalists" like H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, "feudalistic" landlords, and a host of other anti-Communist leaders. The second group consisted of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the national bourgeois. Workers were considered the elite of the nation; the peasants were to be converted into rural workers through collectivization of agriculture, or into urban workers through the development of industry; the petty bourgeois were needed during the "New Democratic Stage" and were to be "re-educated" in the process of reconstruction; and the national bourgeois, once "enslaved: by bureaucratic capitalism, were now "free" to contribute to the industrialization of China. Mao's classification of the Chinese population and his stipulation of the task of each class at the "New Democratic Stage" formed the conceptual basis from 1949 to 1954 for the Communist policy toward each of the classes.

The convocation of the National People's Congress in 1954 is considered by the Chinese Communists to have marked the conclusion of the "New Democratic Stage: and the beginning of a transitional period which will lead China to socialism. Land reform had been completed and the landlords as a class eliminated, the wings of the bourgeois industrialists, and merchants, had been clipped by the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and the "ideology of the working class" had been officially established as the ideology for all sectors of China.

B. The New Social Ladder

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668 The Chinese Communists distinguish between persons "from the working class" and those "possessing the ideology of the working class." The Party acknowledges that not all Communists are from the working class but those who have accepted its ideology belong to it. By the same logic, the working-class character of the People's Liberation Army is fixed. The Communists says that, since the People's Liberation Army is led by the working class, viz., the Communist Party, although the bulk of the soldiers and commanders may not be from the working class, the army remains of the working class. Conversely, many workers may not possess the ideology of the working class. The Communists explain that most of the Chinese workers are fresh from the villages where "feudalistic ideas" abound and have not had time to develop the ideology of the working class.

The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of the Communist-sponsored organizations where membership cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, rural organizations such as the peasants' associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

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590 Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of higher learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the indvidual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute
668 for the traditional social structure. Since the
555 individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations reward the achievement of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement makes conformity the criteria of success. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the Classics and their

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668 commentaries was the prerequisite to success in
555 the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises, positions conceivably may be offered to absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances which accumulate under a totalitarian system, and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in Southwest China the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[13]

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13. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.

THE FAMILY - SOUTHWEST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

596 Until almost the end of the imperial period (221 B.C. to A.D. 1912), the family was a vital and universal aspect of the centralized state in China and most characteristic of the society which sustained it. Since then, the family has been in flux. The direction of change and the major causes and problem involved will be sketched in this section. A more precise picture, as Marion Levy has pointed out, is not feasible with the existing incomplete state of material on Chinese society both before and since the inauguration of the Communist regime.[1]

The traditional family still persists. It proved resistant, but not impregnable, to the influx of modern Western techniques and ideas after 1842 and to the political revolutionary efforts to realize democracy and equality in the present century. The traditional family is still proving tenacious, in the face of the Communist regime's persistent effort to turn Chinese society inside out.

To understand the nature of the Chinese family today, it is necessary first to take account

1. Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Family Revolution in Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 273.

596 of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that characterize the family in Southwest China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

594 596 565 183 The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

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2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

593 The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. AT the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theorectically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.[4]

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers and relatives of an older generation.

593 562 606 Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband, to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In her mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

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4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit., and Lang, op. cit.

B. Social Role

596 562 769 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, becuase only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life afte death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was reemphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to carry on the yearly observances was regarded as a major failing on the responsible male's part and a tremendous catastrope for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providingsons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

554 561 596 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did

561 these factors determine his behavior and position
554 in the community and the world at large. An
596 additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

562 Authority and dominance were the province
554 of the males. Women might, and occasionally did, exervise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however. In modern times,at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

561 Age was honored relatively and absolute-
554 ly. Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

555 Individual status also improved with ed-
596 ucation, more particularly with the attainment
554 of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official careeer was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the exams was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and

555 village almost as much as himself. The wealth
554 usually accumulated by an official during his
596 career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

577 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial
596 system operated by moral suasion with a mini-
642 mum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaing peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for

618 any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors, this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-off and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün-tsu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young men and women with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system.

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5. On the clan, see Hu Hsien-chin, The Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

631 As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the National Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

596 421 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses, and workshops were owned by the family rather than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshop, or store to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked [462] in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing

596 were allotted each member according to his needs, as they were determined by the head of the house and permitted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred among the upper-class families. Gentry-officials and merchants were often away from home; they frequently had personal income from salaries or business, from which they met their expenses without resorting to the family treasury.

The family and its extensions in China also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or desrving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business systems in the twentieth century.

III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

A. Influence of Modern Technology

596 178 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately

596 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is
178 traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those cities. The same influences also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

596 Much more important in effecting a change
491 in the old family pattern was the introduction of
178 modern factory and business methods into China.
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178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

871 offered to a broader segment of the population in
178 the decade before World War II. New social,
596 political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press.
489 Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or
596 more away from the nearest great city were
178 brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

668 An even more disturbing influence on the
178 old way of life was the increasing spread of revo-
596 lutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It e mphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

596 178 In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was undermined. He was still needed at home to carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

369 596 178 562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship

369 continued to give a greater primacy to males in
596 the family, but the ability of daughters to earn
178 a wage enhanced their value to the family and
562 made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted, however, that women of farming and laboring families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

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178 While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in high school were willing to answer the question as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal,: acting "against the trend of the time"; as "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling, smoking opium and frequenting brotherls Mothers were more gently and less often criticized but they were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mah-jong, quarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society

6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

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178 has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by foreign firms or government services headed by foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successsively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve as the social and political training ground of China. The political parties and modern schools, particularly the colleges and universities, now began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911.

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

178 No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in
596 youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the Communist
671 regime has undertaken to change the nature and
582 function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater immediate success.[9]

Eassentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

(1)...The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.

(2)...The abolition of the feudal system

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, Aug.1955, pp.515-32.

[9. and 10. next page]

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of marriage...based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.

(3)...The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriage, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant, unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

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To help traditionally-minded families

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers, and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

596 attain the new Communist-established goal of
68 "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in their children's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage." [12]

Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese society with two utilitarian purposes in view. One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed. For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices from them. Under the new regime, the article pointed out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and...the interests of the people

12. [see next page]

596 should be the highest criterion governing our
668 actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of women in Socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on to state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted and protected and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relationships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

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596 As the Nationalist government had made no attempt to put into effect the marriage and family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp.1-3; pp.4-14 and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong American Consulate, 932, iv; hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. The same conditions apply to this source as to Current Background; see footnote 8.'

13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., p. 4; and SCMP, 104 pp. 30-31.

5% 671 encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

The result was apathy, when not open resistance, toward the reorientation of marriage and family practices among the farming population. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive

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16. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.

17. C.B., 273, p. 4.

18. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.

596 671 for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administrative Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20] Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

596 671 582 C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. Reports on the results of the 1952

19. C.B., 273, p. 1.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

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investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extremes of backwardness and progress in family practices rather than to give a comprehensive picture of them. A spate of press accounts in January 1952 referred to conditions from good to bad found in political units of varying size throughout the country, but none of the accounts contained references to the Southwest Region. Evidently, the regime encountered more difficulties here than elsewhere. Last of the regions to fall to the Communists and to complete land reform, the Southwest was still reporting difficulties in expanding the Party organization in the region and complaining of the lack of education and soundness in existing cadres as late as January 1954.[21]

The Communist press announced in October 1951 that all areas in the Southwest Region had begun a check-up on Marriage Law implementation, but noted that one of the duties of the work teams involved in the task was to educate local cadres. The report also referred to a meeting of government organs in Sikang to correct the "erroneous ideas" of some cadres that to publish the Marriage Law "would cause confusion" in the central work of the Party.[22]

Some light was shed on the situation in the Southwest Region by a Communist article written in the fall of 1953. Referring to "the

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21. SCMP, 858, Supplement, vii-xii; 970, pp. 29-32.

22. Ibid., 198.

596 671 582 stubborn remnants of the old marriage system... still damaging the prosperity, security, and happiness of the people of New China," the article cited the example of the subdistrict of Chen-yu in Szechwan. According to the article, there had been no strong "progressive" influence in the area before "liberation," and the Marriage Law team found family relations little changed from the traditional pattern. To propagandaize and implement the new Marriage Law in the subdistrict, the team undertook the training of new cadres made up of village administrators, leaders of peasant women's associations, and members of the Communist Party and New Democratic Youth Corps. It soon turned out that "at least half [the new cadres] were themselves influenced by feudal ideas." Further troubles were encountered when an attempt at a panel discussion to illustrate the need for reform by soliciting personal experiences ended in failure. In carrying the movement to the people, the method of assembling individual families and encouraging wives to reveal abusive treatment by husbands and mothers-in-law had to be called off because 23 the sessions only succeeded in developing quarrels. This revelation of the resistance to family reorientation in the Southwest Region has no parallel insofar as is known, although similar problems were undoubtedly encountered outside the Southwest Region.

The latest report on the reorganization of family life in China was given in March 1955 by the Marriage Law Implementing Committee.

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23. Fang Yen, "Making the Marriage Law Work," China Reconstructs, Peking, Sept.-Oct. 1953, pp. 32-33.

596 Couched in general terms, the announcement
671 gave no clear indication of the true situation in
582 the country or any one of its regions. For example, the committee reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the consent of the couples concerned.[24] No figures were released on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 counties were families reformed "up to perfect Communist standards," and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[25]

The Marriage Law Implementing Committee's report in March 1955 also included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." It is unlikely that any of the "advanced areas elsewhere" were

24. SCMP, 1002, p..3.

25. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 2.

in the Southwest Region. Far more likely, the region would have been mentioned in reports on the areas "least progressive" in family reform, had the Communists cared to publicize such conditions in 1955. But the report on the "advanced areas" gives some indication of the best the Communists have been able to do in places where they have been long estabished. According to the commitee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90 to 95 per cent of the homes and "bad" in only 5 to 10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10 to 15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The commitee announcement added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer oppressed, beaten, or scolded, but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[26]

C. Reorientation of Family Reform

No rapid change in traditional family attitudes and practices in the Southwest Region is likely to have occurred to date. The all-out effort to revolutionize the Chinese family in the spring of 1953 has not been repeated. Soon after the 1953 campaign, decreasing emphasis was given by the regime to quick implementation of the new Marriage Law. Family reform was made a continuing part of the everyday work of the various

26. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

5A6 Party and state organizations. The complaint of
185 the Party since then has been that the cadres are not taking the work seriously.[27]

There are indications that by 1953 the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[28] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations are becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations are tabulated.

A shift in pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to women were not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[29]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal

27. Ibid., p. 4.
28. China News Analysis, No. 5, p.2.
29. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

596 185 and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

596 185 369 In the cities where modern influence had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual reference to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

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596 and devotion to self-interest. They had re-
185 spectively given rise to the sins of marriage
369 based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts" was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955. In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors, "to place love in a secondary position in one's life," is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking.

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31. SCMP, 1022, p. 4.

32. Ibid., pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its
[582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
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33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

578 who might otherwise be free of the constant
575 direct influence of the government. These two
562 groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit
861 for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that the trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

596 With the Communist regime's emphases
593 on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

596 article on the subject in the January 1955 issue
593 of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies; if they are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[35]

563 Except for the Chengtu Plain, an ancient
596 center of Chinese civilization and population in Szechwan, the Southwest Region is occupied largely by Chinese who immigrated since the fourteen century. About twenty per cent of the region's population consists of various indigenous tribes scattered throughout the more mountainous areas and following different social and family customs

35. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

563 596 too various to describe in this chapter.[36] Under the Communists, the tribal peoples have been given special treatment, and the uniqueness of their social systems has been largely preserved.[37] No attempt was made to implement the new Marriage Law in the ethnic minority autonomous areas established by the new regime.

178 In the twentieth century, family patterns among the Chinese people of the Southwest Region have largely followed the forms of traditional China before the beginning of industrialization and the resulting outgrowth of revolutionary social and political forces.[38] The customs and practices of the Chinese people long established on the Cheng-tu Plain and of immigrants, mostly from the Yangtze River provinces of the Central-South and East China regions, were little disturbed by modern trends until the capital of the Nationalist Government was moved to Chungking during the war with Japan. Previously, Western-style commerce and industry had made little progress in the region, the intrusion of modern trends from other parts of China had been barred by the lack of railway and highway links with the outside world, and warlord rule had perpetuated traditional values and practices. 178 873 One significant modern influence that had made its way into the region was modern education at the universities, especially in the

36. The chapter on Ethnic Groups describes some of the major social characteristics of the principal indigenous tribes.

37. See Fei Hsiao-t'ung, "Minority Groups in Kweichow Province," C.B., 150, pp.8-15.

38. On the family in the Southwest Region, see Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1948; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, China's [cont'd]

178 provincial capital of Chengtu and its vicinity.
873

Just before the war, transportation sys-
178 tems began to bring the Southwest Region into contact with the rest of China. The wartime needs of the Nationalist Government led to the beginning of modern industrial and commercial development within the region and the exploration and development of its mineral resources. Refugee students and professors from other parts of China were scattered in makeshift unversities throughout the Southwest Region. Many of the educated group made determined efforts to filter to the people some of the new political and social ideas derived from Chinese contact with the West through the mesh of the Kuomintang wartime censorship. Some refugee intellectuals were enlisted in the rural reconstruction program, headed by James Yen, who attempted in scattered rural areas to improve literacy, agricultural methods, and living habits and to spread new social and political ideas. Although stripped of their former revolutionary content, they contained within them the seeds of change in family and other areas of life.[39]

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178 The results of these innovations in the Southwest Region appear to have been minor and ephemeral, but it is still too early to assay their long-range and lasting effects. The influences of the intellectuals and of the personnel of the rural

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39. On the rural reconstruction program see Paul M. A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic.] : A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 218-22.

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reconstruction program probably cut deepest because of the patriotic eagerness and sincerity with which many of the educated group sought communication with the peasants, understanding of their problems, and the elevation of their social and political life and outlook. Industrial influences seem to have been less penetrating. Manufacturing plants were generally small, decentralized operations most centered in the wartime capital. Refugees from the modern cities stayed close to Chungking and viewed the permanent residents with contempt. The factories, the immigrants who supervised them, and the modern habits of the recent arrivals from the western cities were in turn looked on with suspicion and dislike by the older inhabitants. As soon as the war was over, many of the war-born industries were discontinued and the urban immigrants moved back to the industrialized centers of the East with their ammeniti for modern living. However, some of the new factories remained open after the war, the mining possibilities of the region had begun to be explored and developed, and permanent changes with closer links to the rest of China were underway before the Communists entered the Southwest Region.[40]

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40. On the Southwest in wartime see Linebarger, op. cit., pp 218-34; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder Out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946 pp. 3-19, 54-72, and passim.

178 The Communist government, with its penchant for regimentation and passion for industrialization, is exerting a more intense and pervasive influence on the region. If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. The youth of the region will probably prove less resistant and more in favor of the "new order," as has been true elsewhere in China. But as the young people are emancipated from the old family restriction, they are likely to manifest the tendencies, already evident in the youth of the eastern cities, toward individualism and romanticism in love and marriage which pose a problem of equal calibre for the new rulers of China.

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Annex "A," Aubparagraph lh,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

177 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere, but local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. In Southwest 101 China, the Red basin is the oldest center of "Chinese" civilization. Yunnan and Kweichow remained in the status of colonies for many centuries after Chinese culture had taken root in Szechwan. Thus one might say that there are in the Southwest two distinctive types of sub-cultures: one is the older culture of the area surrounding Chengtu, and the other encompasses the remainder of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow and has been forged out of the interactions -- over the last few centuries -- between indigenous cultures and the culture of the invading Chinese. There is then as high a cultural diversity in this region as in any other major region of China.

177 There are other factors which give to
311 much of the area we are now considering
563 important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
241 west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
621 culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
621 easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the patterns of village life common to the old settled Szechwan plain and the more recently colonized areas of the Southwest? We shall sketch these before discussing the variations represented by urban life.

A. The Pattern of Village Life

First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Szechwan in 1946 the average farm was 3.9 acres, and the average square mile provided food for 650 people. In Kweichow the average farm was 3.2 acres, in Yunnan 3.1. [1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit

1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China, New York, 1955, pp. 105, 178. The richest part of Szechwan, the Chengtu plain, has a population density of 2,300 people per square mile. Ibid., p. 178. As we consider the pattern of agricultural life in the Southwest, the following data on the nature and distribution of farming throughout the area should be kept

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241 in mind. The table is from Shina Mondai Jiten [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, p. 435.

Province	Under cultivation (per cent)	Cultivated land in paddy fields (per cent)	Cultivated land, dry farming (per cent)
Szechwan	15	44	56
Yunnan	4	44	56
Kweichow	8	41	59

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241 near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal, if the family is fortunate enough to have one, and as fuel for cooking, and, 291 rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of 342 cloth shoes. Wood for all purposes, is more abundant in Yunnan and Szechwan than elsewhere in China, but farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the rice region, of bamboo lathe and mud plaster. Floors are of earth, and only the dwellings of the wealthiest farmers have 735 glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and over-population became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of over-population China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional

735 authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

178 311 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintegrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

178 Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of

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2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London 1951, p. 111. H.L. Richardson, commenting in 1942 on Szechwan -- usually regarded as a fertile and prosperous province -- says: "The condition of the individual farmers is less happy than the prosperity of the Province as a whole would suggest, and the pressure of the whole population on the supplies of food and other agricultural products, such as cotton, is very intense." Cressey, op. cit., pp. 178-79.

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178 change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

221 527 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is devoted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The village is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many

527 221 farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

241 In the rice lands of the Southwest the most intensive work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. At that time the farmer harvests his winter crops -- usually rape and wheat sometimes supplemented with winter beans and peas.
243 Right after the New Year, often before the winter harvest, the farmer sets out his rice plants in nursery beds near the farmhouse. Then he removes his winter crop stubble and plows and prepares the fields for the young rice plants. He spreads fertilizer over the land and then breaches the dike and allows the irrigation water to flow in. After the desired water level is reached the field is harrowed again and again; then begins the back-breaking work of transplanting the rice shoots from the nursery beds to the flooded fields. The farmer has an easier life during the ripening of the grain. As the grain ripens, the fields dry, and at last it is harvest time. The harvesting and threshing are done with primitive implements, and many hands are required; straw is carefully

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243 saved in bundles for thatch and for fuel.[3]

[427] 241 Once the harvest is in, the farmer, if he is a tenant, has to pay a share -- often 40 per cent of the crop -- to the landlord.[4] He must also deal with the tax collector who relieves him of yet another substantial share of his crop. If the year has gone well, the rice borers have not destroyed too much of his crop, and the tax collector has not been unduly rapacious, the farmer may retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest and have some to sell in the nearest market town. After he has prepared his fields for the crops of winter wheat and rape, the farmer and his household turn to a variety of winter chores: repairing farm implements and buildings, weaving thatch, spinning and weaving rough cloth, making shoes, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer looks forward to some festivity, perhaps calling for a feast and the slaughtering of the family pig; if debt looms large, the pig may have to be sold to help pay the bills.[5]

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3. Cf. the description in Gerald Winfield, China, The Land the The People, New York, 1948, pp. 49-52. For the slightly different work cycle in the terraced upland ricefields, cf. ibid., pp. 53-58.

4. Cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. On

(continued next page)

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The farm year, toilsome everywhere in China, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming, which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was once a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of these duties is often the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. (continued) landlord-tenant relations in the Southwest which involve the ethnic minorities, see chapter on Ethnic Minorities.

5. J.L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed that 39 per cent of these were in debt in the period 1929-32. Cited in Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-127. Cf. the full description of this festival observance in Yunnan in 1942 by Francis Hsü in Under the Ancestors' Shadow, New York, 1948, pp. 178-82.

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On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient statesman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. As a further salute to the dead, lantern-lit boats are floated on some

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7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

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body of water, to symbolize the community's concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- a Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many persons pay visits to nearby temples and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. At this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[8]

The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.[9]

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8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 129-33.
9. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

527 These are the festivals that have
796 retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[10] The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals and other milestones of family and individual life.

527 In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for

10. For a description of wedding celebrations in Yunnan in the 1940's cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 93-98.

536 relaxation, special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin his 622 tales to an impromptu audience. The election of a village headman often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages 796 to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. 521 Perhaps the most universal re~~a~~cre action was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation. Francis Hsü describes the recreation pattern in a small Yunnan town:

> In the evening, many shop doors may be found open to welcome neighbors and friends who care to come into the brightly lighted interior for a chat, and little clusters of men stand or squat near some street corner, often near a food stand.... The topics discussed at these gatherings range from rumors about national affairs and market prices to local rights and wrongs.[11]

11, Hsü, op. cit., p. 25.

181 Despite the grim struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[12] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and established merchant families.
632 The county seats (hsien capitals) were the
369 centers for tax collection and administration of

12. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
161 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[44] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[14] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
369 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
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13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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527 of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the
575 holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. The urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

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II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

114 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

241 668 First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected. No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

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668 The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[15] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[16] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities as well as from among the ethnic minorities and training them to return to their native places as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in

15. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

16. Ibid., p. 28.

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668 the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new. It is the cadre in the Southwest who brings to each locality the new policies for the various ethnic minorities.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulities.[17] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives inthe countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[18]

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17. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

18. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), 1036, April 28, 1955.

668 The cadre carries on the continuing effort to destroy traditional mores, which are prime resistants in what the Communist call the long and difficult process of ideological and social reform. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and, sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.[19]

556 668 The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to increase his family's land holdings is checked by fear lest he be re-classified as a "rich peasant" and be subject to higher taxes and other pressures. Yet what the Communists deplore as the peasant's "spontaneous capitalistic tendency" has not been crushed,

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19. People's Daily, Jan. 30, 1955; SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

556 668 and the landholdings of the more enterprising grow in size.[20]

The effort to force various forms of co-operative work has not been completely successful:

> "...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[21]

668 Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his leisure. The slack winter season may now find him in winter school or

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20. Rostow, op. cit., p. 152, cites the Peking People's Daily, Feb. 13, 1954.
21. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.

668 involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

668 527 Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at the village level.[22] The New Year festival itself is characterized by some traditional activities, modified to promote government aims, and by some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[23] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist [525] standards.[24] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. 668 536 The peasants have been urged to organize their

22. SCMP 979, F b. 2, 1955, p. 30.
23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
24. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton, 1953, p. 32.

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own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the "New Order" have been moving through the countryside. The old exchange of visits with relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[25]

The seasonal pilgrimage, in company, to some famous shrine also has its Communist counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[26] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[27]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function

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25. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid. Also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21. We have no data on this for the Southwest.

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796 as a celebration of kinship ties and family
668 continuity. Although we have no data, it is safe to assume that the elaborate festival calendar of "West Town," Hunan, described by Hsü, has been severely reduced by "anti-superstition" campaigns and other work of
527 the cadres.[28] The next approved traditional
668 holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[29] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen that the pattern of living in the villages has been drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained to be abruptly condemned without precipitating a crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrinatic

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28. Cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 22-24.
29. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

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III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 In the towns and cities, as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants, industrial workers, all are organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals. Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[30]

632 668 City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, which serve further to mold urban life into the new pattern.[31] The

30. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

31. *Cf.*, "*Regulations of Urban Organizations*," Current Background, 310, Jan. 17, 1955.

632 townsman, more than the peasant, is open to
668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are celebrated in the cities with great parades and with endless speeches. Privacy and the chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

668 The New Year's holiday has some of its
527 old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[32] New Year's activities in 1955 suggest the way in which

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32. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from the cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19, 1955; SCMP, 972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

668 527 all public celebrations of the festival are made to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, in the coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and danc troupes performed at thirty factories.[33]

668 [653] 369 The cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, large sections of old city walls such as those of Chengtu have been destroyed, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[34]

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33. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager. We do not have details on activities in the Southwest. We would expect them to be similar in outline, less elaborate in form.

34. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

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[511] 618 369 Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[35] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This identification and the opportunities offered by the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land in the country, where economic opportunities are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

The elite of the towns and cities are the functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families somewhat easier

35. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

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life than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[36]

The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine, as the Communists plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

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36. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

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[redacted]

II. BASIC ATTITUDES

184 One of the principal reasons for the stability and long life of the old order in China was its social homogeneity. The imperial government fostered uniformity of attitudes and values, and Chinese statesmen believed this to be a more binding, durable, and cheaper cement for the imperial order than government coercion. Old China was primarily a way of life, a system of values and attitudes, and on this premise the state was organized. A foreigner who wished to become "naturalized" had only to show that he accepted Chinese attitudes and values; this he did by adopting Chinese dress and speech and patterns of behavior.

This characteristic of the old order is one of the reasons why we find no important regional variations in basic attitudes. The other reason is that the Communist government is as determined, in enforcing a uniformity of values and attitudes, and far more resourceful, than was the imperial government of the past.

There are, however, certain local variations in temperament and ethos which affect, to a minor degree, the basic attitudes and values. A few of these will be noted. For the variant attitudes and values of ethnic and religious minorities, see the chapters on Ethnic Groups and Religion.

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178 There have been profound changes in basic attitudes over the last century and particularly during the last five years. Change has been brought about by two factors. The first is the disintegration of the old social and political order resulting from its failure to adapt itself to the problems and pressures of the modern world. Consequently, people became critical of the older attitudes and, in increasing numbers, adopted newer "modern" attitudes and values which were considered better suited to a modern China. The second is the power of the Communist state which, in the last five years, has been used to inculcate a new and uniform set of values and attitudes.

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668 These two factors are closely inter- related. Thus, the Communists have been making a sympathetic use of individual and group-dissatisfaction with the old order to inspire and promote the acceptance of the new attitudes and values; the latter's appeal has been particularly strong with youth -- especially adolescents -- and with women who have been taught to regard the old social order as tyrannical and oppressive. The following will illustrate this last point:

> Co-operative agriculture has
> organization,
> and women are not left out.
> In the old society we were badly
> mistreated,
> but the new society teaches friend-
> ship and love.[29]

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29 Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [Three-character Classic for Women], Hsin-hua Publishing House, 1950, p.21. Three-character rhymed verses [cont'd next page]

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In addition to capitalizing on discontent, the Communists have been making a peculiar use of traditional attitudes and values. Certain values from the old order still have a strong emotional appeal for the Chinese people. And the Communists seek to make the new order more acceptable by associating some of its elements with selected elements from the traditional culture. For example, they insist that as a guiding principle of personal behavior the idea of "struggle" (tou-cheng) must replace that of "harmony" (ho).[30] People are taught to struggle for self-perfection and to engage in class struggle, in the struggle for a new China, and in the struggle against deviation even when this involves attacking their friends. This is utterly contrary to the old ideal of harmony in personal relations, an ideal that means in practice a comfortable adjustment to one's natural and human environments. Yet in urging all to struggle, the Communists insist that the ultimate goal of all struggle is the Ta-t'ung ching-yü -- the traditional utopian ideal of a harmonious, frictionless social order.[31]

[29. from previous page] were widely used in traditional China for the indoctrination of the young.

30. Cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Struggle vs. Harmony: Symbols of Competing Values in Modern China," World Politics, Vol. VI (Oct. 1953) pp. 31-44.

31. Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship, 3rd. ed., Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1950, pp. 16-17. For Mao, of course, this term means ultimate world-wide Communist utopia.

In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

183 Bad conduct was not, as in the West, violation of the laws of God but deviation from the age-old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) li [good form], accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

The laws of imperial China provided heavy punishments for violations of these norms; the most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feelings [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official," which

[32. continued] as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization, ...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

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expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforcement of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings."[33] The criteria for judging behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

In traditional Chinese goodness could be cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

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The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is"...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society."[34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

33. Ruth Bunzel and John Weakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

183 ideas; some have been discarded, others have been
168 taken over with little adaptation; still others linger between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage" of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create a favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling

35. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family." Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao-chi, quoted in David S. Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium, Thought and Officialdom in China, Univ. of Chicago Press, early 1956.

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of happiness -- this is the highest expression of Communist morality..."[37]

This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others" (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grieves before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)[38]

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37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member" in Compton, op. cit., p. 110. Nivison, op. cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op. cit., pp. 108-55. Traditional sources are identified in Nivison, op.cit., p. 19-20.

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To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who sought to improve themselves. Books on filial piety were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[39] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[40] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of

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39. Liu Shao-ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo" [Party Nature and Private Life] in Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p. 76, note 16.

183 history and environment and becomes capable of working creatively for the aims of the new society.
668 This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[41] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[42]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communists is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid onself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the early form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ...we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should listen for the response

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.
42. [next page]

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of others [the group] : this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43]

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation

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In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

44. Cf. Anon., "The 'Struggle Meeting' in Communist China," Far Eastern Notes, No. 1. April 21, 1952.

178 regarded as cyclical. Out of their careful adjust-
181 ment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of
668 Nature, Chinese-farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was not seen a the end of the line but as a return to childhood -- not in the sense of "second childhood" but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When empire has long been unified it will invariably be divided." [45]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbook Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight-line change

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45. San-kuo Chih Yen-i, [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms], translated by Prewitt-Taylor.

178 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu
181 Shao-ch'i:
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> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."[46]

The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change. Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, not that of cause and effect. Night follows day, but day is not the cause of night.[47] Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can actively participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results.

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46. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background, No. 159, Jan. 31, 1952, p. 18.

47. Bunzel-Weakland, p. 31.

178 668 181 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 668 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

597 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

577 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

573 643 In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

576 577 These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality was

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique du Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

formed within the family; his status in society was determined by his family's status. To understand the individual of traditional China, we must see him within this setting; to understand the changes being wrought by the Communists, we must take into account some of the tensions and dissatisfactions which the family system -- particularly in its period of decay -- set up in the individual.

The role of the individual was determined by his position in the family, and he was taught to fill that particular role. For example, an older brother was held responsible for his younger brother, and was taught to be nice in play to those younger in years. The younger sons were expected to be less sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled them. Throughout all the complex relations of the family, roles were assigned and the individual's life and character were formed by the role he played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop individuality were thus rigidly limited.[50]

The well-being of the family group was the individual's prime concern. He was committed to work which would assure the family's prosperity; he was obliged to protect the family's reputation, for example, by paying off the gambling debts of a family member rather than have the family disgraced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy household rather than to break away and thereby weaken the family's solidarity.

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50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

596 In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bride, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

572 The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

181 The two patterns -- paternal domination and
572 fraternal association -- are reflected in political
596 life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

181 When the old social order began to break up
178 under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52] 181 178

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; in doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations. 181 668

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories 181 668 596

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

596 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- some-
181 times denouncing their "reactionary" fathers --
668 and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

572 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of
668 relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

576 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among
668 top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and
643 Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us....[54]

Another praises his paternal care for his people

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

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As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yüan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u-pan-she, Wuhan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

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"a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says:

> Our great fatherland-
> We should pay it the same filial
> reverence,
> As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial] Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng [Yantze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has the baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

181 one looks to state and Party health agencies, but
668 responsibility for the care of the aged devolves
596 upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourages the equal co-operation pattern

[61. and 62. on following page]

181 associated with the old image of brotherhood
662 and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly
591 subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission to absolute paternalistic authority and the subordination of the individual to the group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

577 In traditional China, "face" meant one's
662 moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethical norms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are 'counterrevolutionaries', the child should treat them as enemies.

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46 (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

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assigned to the individual. To "get above oneself" in a play for prestige was actually "to lose face" (tiu mien-tzu). The widespread use of go-betweens in business, marriages, and political negotiations was a device for insuring that, in the event of failure, neither principal would "lose face." Consideration for the "face" of others was highly regarded, and, in actual behavior, care for one's own and others' "face," particularly of one's family, was conducive to the surface harmony of Chinese social relations.

Modern Chinese critics have argued that this harmony was too dearly bought, that individual concern for "face," intensified by community pressure, stifled individual initiative and made creative people into timid conformists who sacrificed all for the preservation of superficial prestige in the community. This, they held, worked against China's successful adjustment to the modern world.

The Communists have built on this sort of criticism and dissatisfaction and, in seeking to release individual energies for the purposes of the Communist state, have made a frontal attack on the notion of "face." Mao sarcastically describes the attitude they seek to destroy: "Failing to start an argument in principle with a person, even when you know he is in the wrong, letting things slide for the sake of peace and cordiality, all because he is an old friend, a fellow villager, a fellow student, a close friend, someone beloved, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or failing to make any clear

577 668 decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

577 668 554 The Communists single out for public recognition individuals who have ruthlessly battered their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face," their own or others'. They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph li,
Sociological Background

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

538 184 Intellectual and artistic expression is interpreted in this chapter to mean the communication of ideals and ideas through creative and academic writing, painting, the plastic arts, dancing, and music.

The Chinese written language is the vehicle for official business and creative expression in all parts of China. Therefore the bulk of the creative and academic writing of the Southwest Region of China does not differ from that produced in China as a whole. In the past cultural activities originating in Peking and Shanghai stirred up cities like Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming in the Southwest as well; and the support from these citie gave cultural movements originating in coastal [722] cities a national appearance. During the war with Japan, these Southwestern cities became wartime Chinese cultural centers, as the sites of the wartime campuses of the best Chinese universities. The identification of the bulk of the creative and academic writings of the Southwest with that of the Chinese nation is particularly true today when the nation is ruled by a centralized government and when all cultural innovations emanate from Peking.

538 The Chinese, especially the Chinese Communists often speak of literature and the arts as one. In the Communists' policy statements, what pertains

538 to literature also pertains to the other arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

553 Only in the less sophisticated folk literature
563 and folk art does the Southwest retain its unique regional characteristics. However, even in this respect, the Southwest is by no means a separate entity. Parts of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, being largely populated by the Han Chinese from the provinces east of them, are more closely related to the Central China tradition; other parts of these provinces are populated by a variety of ethnic minorities, each having its own unique cultural pattern. The cultural policies toward these minorities are part of the national policies and are decided in Peking.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

538 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-
668 feng) at Yenan in 1942 [1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all

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538 668 writers and artists in the nation to the service of the state. Control and regimentation of thought in literature and art became more systematic as the Communists consolidated their power, the victor being the arbiter of artistic "truth." In

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1. Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Party School in Yenan in February and at the Yenan Literary and Art Circles' meeting in May 1942 established the "line" of literature and art which had been endorsed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and which has since been upheld as the creed of writers and artists in Communist China. The general tnor of the speeches was that literary and art workers at Yenan, being undeniably "revolutionaries by choice," should stop the hitherto blind imitation of alien and imported prototypes and the singing of abstract, contentless tunes which had nothing to do with the revolution and, as such, would not be understood by the peasant-worker-soldier masses. In their place, fresh and lively revolutionary themes in the Chinese style would be appreciated. Although in principle Mao believed that Chinese literature and art should benefit from masterpieces of other cultures, especially those produced in the Soviet Union, in no instance would he allow the separation of Chinese literature and art from immediate revolutionary tasks; and on this basis he puts the popularization of literature and art ahead of sophistication. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Vol. 3, pp. 833-900.

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general, the control over writers, artists, and their work takes three forms, as was true in the Liberated Areas after the 1942 reform: (1) the organization of writers and artists under government auspices; (2) the identification of the duties of the writers and artists with the implementation of government policy; and (3) the intentional and unceasing use of literary and art criticism to keep writers and artists in line. Now, however, the scope is national.

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A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and

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the remaining 10,000 in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it becomes obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers engaged in raising the standard of literacy.[2] It is doubtful that the majority of these 70,000 so-called writers and artists had achieved high competence in intellectual and artistic expression. Two years later, the Communists' leading woman author, Ting Ling, was still complaining that as editor she had difficulty in finding acceptable manuscripts for her magazine.[3]

It is certain that the organization of these writers and artists put the politically dubious under the guidance and supervision of the politically reliable; and the organized state rendered the writers and artists collectively responsible for their part in the Communist cause. Furthermore, dominated as it was by veteran Communists, the organization embracing all China's well-known writers and artists served as a good Communist-style "democratic front."

B. The Task of the Writer

The literary subdivision of the federation was the All-China Association of Literary Workers, which, like the federation's other subdivisions, has its own professional magazine, People's Literature. In the first issue, published in October 1949, the sixfold task of the magazine was stated in part as follows:

2. Chou En-lai, "Political Report at the Conference of the All-China Literary and Art Workers," (July 6, 1949), People's Literature, Peking, 1,3, Jan.1,1950,p.17.

3. [see next page]

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1. To participate in the People's Liberation War and in the construction of the "New Democratic nation: through literary forms that are treasured by the people, with ideological content reflecting the growth of the new nation and praising the contribution of the masses in revolutionary struggles and productive activities;

2. to rid literature of imperialist influence and to reform traditional literature; to accept what is "good" in foreign literary and artistic endeavor;

3. to guide the masses in factories, villages, and in the ranks in their literary study, and to help increase their "literary strength";

4. to develop literatures of the ethnic minorities;

5. to study revolutionary theory and to organize groups for the study and discussion of the new literary productions and the formulation of a "scientific" theory of literary criticism;

6. to promote interflow of literature and

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3. Ting Miao, A General Analysis of Chinese Communist Literature and Art, Hong Kong Ya-chou ch'u-pan she, 1954, pp. 149-50.

4. People's Literature, I, 1, Oct.25,1959, p. 13. The content of this declaration reads very much like the constitution of the Union of Soviet Writers in the USSR. [see next page]

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538 668 art among nations; to develop patriotism and internationalism; and to participate in "struggle for peace" as led by the USSR.[4]

Before the writers of the association had time to demonstrate their ability to implement these policies by fulfilling pledges to turn out so many pieces of work in a stipulated period of time, the conflict in Korea began.

The war was utilized by the Party as a schooling ground for class education and was depicted as a panorama of international class struggle. On this pretext writers were sent to the front to learn about "reality" in order to delineate the struggle of the heroes of the day and to draw the moral of the times. They were expected to mak e the most out of their experience not only by reporting immediate events but also by recording their impressions in notes which would later serve as material for more lengthy literary works. With the exception of Pa Chin's Living Among the Heroes, Wei Wei's Who Are the Most Lovable People?, Lu Chu-kuo's Shang-kan Mountain, Yang Shuo's Three Thousand-Li Territory, and a few others which are readable and maintain certain literary standards, other writings based upon the authors' experiences at the Korean front do not show maturity even in the handling of the Chinese language. However, the Chinese Communists claimed that these second-rate writings adequately express the Chinese Volunteers' patriotism and Communist internationalism.

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In sending professional writers to Korea the Communists departed from one of their most boasted practices. Throughout the war against Japan and the "war of liberation" against the Kuomintang, Chinese soldiers were encouraged to write, and writings from the ranks were hailed and widely publicized. But professional writers were chosen for Korea, probably in the hope that they would effect a more skillful literary dramatization of the Communist cause.

However, the Korean front was not the only place where writers were to learn about "reality" and to dramatize the "cause of the people." While the war was going on, Ai Wu, Ts'ao Yü, the noted playwright, and other writers, were sent to factories; Ho Ching-tzu, author of The White-Haired Girl, was sent to study life in the villages; Ting Hsi-lin, Liu Ch'ing, Li Tzu-hua, Mu Yen, and a host of other veteran motion picture producers and directors were sent to Shanghai to participate in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.[5]

But these writers were not to record life as they observed it. Before they left for their "life schools," they had to undergo some "training." One can imagine the situation: writers of the calibre of Pa Chin and Ts'ao Yü learning from the speeches of Lu Ting-i and Ch'en Po-ta, the two propaganda chiefs of the regime, "how to describe people, how to abstract living reality and exercise care in collecting material, how to portray and praise, and above all, how to avoid making mistakes." It would appear that the Communists were so eager to prove the righteous-

5. See chapter on Subversive Potentialities in handbook for impact of Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.

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538 668 ness of their actions that they carefully arranged that "history" should be recorded exactly in the way they wished it to seem.

Judging from the extent to which the land reform turned the rural, social and political order upside-down, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns destroyed the bourgeois stronghold in the national economy, and the way in which the war in Korea affected the national life, one might expect that those writers who had been given the opportunity to witness these momentous events would accomplish literary feats of equal magnitude. On the contrary, one finds, with only rare exceptions, "formula" stories which have all the correct political ingredients demanded of them but which lack originality and any attempt at characterization. One story of land reform reads much like another, the only differences being the names given the heroes and some few idiosyncracies of the writers in the use of colloquial expressions and political jargon. Adherence to a prescribed political formula blights all creativeness.

C. Literary Criticism

What has contributed most to this fear of originality in literature is the influence of officially organized and directed literary criticism, which uses Communist literary theories to coërce and browbeat the writers. The disparity in the respect given critical and creative forces has stunted the young Communist literature and precluded a normal growth.

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668 Outstanding instances of the enervating effect of Communist criticism are the reviews of the play, "The Song of the Red Flags," and the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan." The play, concerning shock-teams in a production drive, was initially praised by the Communists themselves; later, it was criticized because "it did not give a strong portrayal of the trade union and the Party." According to the critics, the author should have used the play to strengthen the prestige of the trade union among the worker-audiences as well as to emphasize the "heroic" qualities of the leading protagonist, a Communist cadre. The portrayal of the Party cadre P'eng Kang in the play was deemed incorrect, "for the Party's leadership is invariably collective, but in the play P'eng seems to be quite alone." The play was thus rated "of low educational value." The author of the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan," was reprimanded because he "not only distorts the image of a model Party member but also completely ignores the function of Party training and leadership."

The classic example of Communist literary and artistic criticsm involves the 1951 Shanghai-produced film, "Wu Hsün Chuan," based on the life of an advocate of free education from Shantung Province. Wu Hsün was born into a poor family and had no formal education. In order to help children attend school, he dedicated himself to hard work and frugal living; and by shrewd investment of his savings, he succeeded in accumulating funds for the education of the poor. Wu Hsün's contribution to Chinese education was never questioned until the Communist critics attacked

538 668 the film. Wu's effort for the kind of education prevalent at his time, according to the Communist critics, only strengthened the feudal order and arrested the forces of progress; rather than serving as an "accomplice" of the Manchu ruling order, the critics said, Wu should have joined the revolutionary force, i.e., the Taiping revolutionaries. Furthermore, they said, Wu Hsün's means of accumulating wealth was indicative of his subservience to the rich and of his exploitation of the poor.[6]

The evolution of criticism of the film "Wu Hsün Chuan" is illustrative of the nature of Communist literary and artistic criticism. Adverse opinions of the film were not initiated by literary and art circles, but by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In fact, the film had been very enthusiastically received, even by many eminent Communists. On May 20, 1951, the Peking People's Daily, an organ of the Central Committee of the Party, published an editorial alluding to this state of affairs. "Some comrades say that they have already mastered Marxism, but ...confronted with concrete issues, they completely lose their critical sense." The "Party life" column of the same issue ordered all Communists to join in criticism of "Wu Hsün Chuan." On June 4, a directive of the Ministry of Education of the People's Government,

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6. The most representative voice of this kind is Ai Ch'ing's article "Oppose the Slave Ideology of Wu Hsün in People's Literature, June 1, 1951, pp. 9-10.

538 published in the People's Daily, instructed all
668 personnel in education throughout the nation to carry out discussions of the film. On August 4, the final and definitive verdict on the film was delivered by Chou Yang, the vice-minister of Cultural Affairs of the Communist Government. He labeled the film as unrealistic art and a product of anti-historical and anti-popular ideology.[7] Party organs in all parts of China where "Wu Hsün Chuan" had been shown used the film as a target for ideological propaganda. The ideology of the film was also discussed at the third session of the first National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which met from October 23 to November 1, 1951. Members of the All-China Federation of the Literary and Art Circles began to echo the view of the Central Committee of the Party and confessed that, while they had made definite progress in the past two years, nevertheless they always fell behind the development of Chinese society. This confession led the writers to "plunge" into study in an effort to "remold their ideology and to sharpen their critical sense."

The conflict between critical and creative forces also manifests itself in the bulk of incongruous writings of the literary critics in Communist China. The critics have ready an abundance of clichés, jargon, and theories of socialist realism which are clearly ill-digested and are

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7. Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 113, September 1, 1951.

538 used with little discrimination or literary skill.
668 Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Zhadanov are frequent but are not integrated into the theme of the text. Even Communist critics have noted that many quotations for orthodox Marxist texts are either irrelevant or superfluous.[8] This excessive verbalism at the expense of content makes literary criticism irreconcilable with the alleged theory of its essentially didactic function. Much criticism is lukewarm and stereotyped, written by writers who are called upon by the Communists to undertake the task of attacking their fellow writers. In this case, what is criticized is invariably the "petty bourgeois standpoint." The exception to the rule is Mao Tse-tung himself, who, from his position of absolute authority, can write criticism which is non-imaginative, forceful, and pointed, even by the standards of the free world. Top Communists, like, Liu Shao-ch'i, for example, who seem to be more confident in translating Marxism into practice, do not quote from orthodox texts as often or use as many clichés as the lesser Communists.

Since 1949, Chinese Communist literature appears to have concentrated on a number of well-defined themes. It has been most concerned with the individual under the Communist system and the problems confronting him. These have included the social confusion of the New Democratic period, the doubts of the intellectuals, the "criminal" activities of the bourgeois merchants, the struggle

8. Shen Ch-chung, "The Popularization of Theoretical Criticism of Literature and Art," People's Literature, No. 9, July 1, 1950, pp. 27-28.

against the "enemy of the people," and the appearance of human types based on the newly created Communist "tradition." Even the "return to history" is oriented for the solution of certain present-day problems.[9] Patriotism, aetheticism, and naturalism are all good literary themes, provided they are imbued with the spirit of "socialist

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9. Writers are told to find evidence in history of the excellent qualities of the Chinese people, and to appreciate and to learn the beautiful styles in Chinese literary heritage. For instance, the poet Li Po (A. D. 701-762) who was an incorrigible individualist, can now be safely described as a "great patriot," for Li Po "could not have written such beautiful verses about the magnificent rivers and mountains of his fatherland had he not been very patriotic." His many lyric poems which sang praises of the bright moon are now interpreted to mean his longing for a "cleaner" world, and therefore indicate his personal integrity; his mild protests against the conditions of his time are now interpreted to mean his progressive spirit. (Wang Yao, Li Po, Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1955.) Ch'ü Yuan, the poet-statesman of the Kingdom of Ch'u in the Chan-kuo period (481-221 B.C.), is praised for his "patriotism and sympathy for the common people." (Kuo Mo-jo, "A Brief Account on Ch'ü Yuan," People's Literature, No. 44, 1953.) Emperors like Han Kao-tsu and T'ang T'ai-tsung, who increased the national territory and the prestige of the Chinese people, are now praised as heroic. This salvaging of national characters and literature for Communist posterity could be a sign of a felt need. There are reports that since the
[continued next page]

538 realism," which is belief in the inevitability
668 of the development of socialism.

Since 1949, China's best writers have not produced any first-rate work. If there happen to be interesting writings that suit the taste of the reader, they do not fit into the theoretical scheme of the Party. Hsiao Yeh-mu's short story, "Between Us, Husband and Wife," for instance, was criticized as "employing the intellectual's viewpoint and taste to distort the image of the working masses and to vulgarize things political."

Some writers are unable to find publishers for their work, not because the work is counterrevolutionary but because its theme is considered untimely. In 1952, Miao Yen-hsiu was advised not to publish his Maio-chia Feng-kuang, a long poem about freedom of love and marriage in Miao communities, because the Communists did not think a celebration of the equality of the sexes useful to the Communist revolution at that time.

[No. 9 continued]
Party came to the cities it has neglected to supply enough reading material for the people in the old Liberated Areas, and that the people have gone back to the old novels. In order that they may not be "poisoned" by the "feudalistic ideas" in the old novels, the reinterpretation of the characters in old novels according to dialectical materialism seems far more necessary than the writing of novels of comparable stature.

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Romantic novels of love and sophisticated novels of human relationships are not published. When love does come into the scene, it is shown as subsidiary to other, more "worthy" and "unselfish" problems (i.e., problems social and political).

Although the writer may desire to let human relationships play a decisive part in the development of his material, there is a tendency to utilize abstract characters rather than vivid personalities. Most of the writers who choose to deal with the exposure of corruption and the excesses and tyranny of established institutions are more adept at portraying "negative" personalities than creating "positive" personalities in keeping with the Communists' view of the "heroes" of the new regime. This is true, despite the fact that Communist leaders have repeatedly told the writers "to give the most important position in the plot to the affirmative man," and that "in no case should evil be vividly presented, lest virtue remain an abstraction," for it is now the writers' task to describe the bright possibilities of life under the Communist leadership.

The recent development of literature and art in China seems to parallel that in Soviet Russia. In China, the emphasis to praise industrial and agricultural heroes follows the pattern of Soviet literature. The influence of the war in Korea upon literature in China is comparable to the influence of World War II upon Russian

538 literature. Now that we hear about the "thaw"
668 in Russian literature,[10] can we anticipate a similar development in China? Hu Feng's attempt in early 1955[11] to liberate literature from the shackle of politics, although it ended in failure and personal disgrace, indicates, nevertheless, conscious recognition by a group of writers of the freedom necessary for the creation of works of art.[12] Only general discussion of minor ways to improve literature has been undertaken by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the developmentof literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (October 1949 to April 1950) with six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change; the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was; and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, induding, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

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10. Walter Z. Laqueur, "Russia in Flux, I. The 'Thaw' and After," Encounter, London, October 1955, p. 35.

11. Hu Feng is a well-known Communist writer, and was the protégé of the Communists' "literary saint" Lu Hsün.

12. Laqueur, op. cit., p. 35.

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II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

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A. Translations from Russian Literature

Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course, many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings

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13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la litterature chinoise contemporaine, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. 9, #35, 7/1948, p. 251.

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538 such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939),
814 Ostrovsky's How Steel Was Tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming, and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature petry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

Since the establishment of the Central People's Government, delegations of Russian authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship

15. [see next page]

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538 Association, which has branches throughout
814 China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under the direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society[16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include Nien Chün, concerning the peasant rebellions in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Honan, and Shantung in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and the Hui Revolt, the

15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Times Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People Through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

16. Society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of the Sciences at Peking.

814 revolt of the Hui people in the Northwest and in the province of Yunnan in the Southwest in the nineteenth century; The Opium War (1839-42); and The Hundred-Day Reform (1898). This series will include twelve collections of source materials including works on the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the May Fourth Movement (1919).

The published volumes contain a wealth of source materials. In addition to assembling records kept by previous governments, the works bring together the memoirs of individuals concerned and documents which have lain undisturbed in county archives. However, one cannot find in these volumes any interpretation of or commentaries on the material gathered. In the prefaces to these published volumes it is stated that:

> "Counterrevolutionary forces always try their best to distort fact. Because they often suppress and destroy revolutionary literature, the latter is seldom preserved for posterity. New research in past revolutionary events can only proceed from the records kept by the counterrevolutionaries. Therefore those who are going to use the material here assembled must be reminded that they should approach the matter with a viewpoint opposite to that advocated by the authors of the material."

So far no major historical treatises based on this material have been written. The first volume of Part I of Fan Wen-lan's Modern

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814 History of China (Harbin, Tung-pei shu-tien, 1948), which deals with the period 1840-1905, is the text on modern Chinese history; Fan's book was published before the Communists achieved national power. Other historians such as Ku Chieh-kang, who at the beginning of the Communist rule in China expressed his gratitude to the Chinese Communist regime for enabling him to continue his research, have so far produced nothing.[17] Historians in China now prefer to annotate published works rather than write their own views of history, probably for fear that the whims of some Communist critics may some day put them in peril. As a result of the lack of new historical texts, history books written before 1949 are now being reprinted.

Of the academic people who have transferred their allegiance to the Communist regime, the anthropologists seem to be faring better than others. Fei Hsiao-t'ung, author of Peasant Life in China (London, 1939) and China's Gentry (Chicago, 1953), published his Revamping the Universities (Shanghai, Shanghai ch'u-pan kung-ssu 1950), in which he anticipated the change of college curricula under the Communist government. Fei has since led several government delegations to visit the ethnic minorities in the South and Southwest and has made some first-hand studies of these peoples. In the field of anthropology much basic study is possible without running afoul of the Communist line. Despite the

17. The re-writing of history textbooks with a dialectic materialist viewpoint for primary and secondary school students is not considered in this section. See the chapter on Education in this handbook.

814 omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by the anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might do in a free society.

829 In the field of philosophy, especially in political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new books since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily

829 the case since "truth" was declared in Marxist writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views." Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

C. Fiction

538 The larger part of Southwest China came under Communist control after all the other regions of China. Southwest China, therefore, is not among the first to face problems such as the recovery of industries, the increase of agricultural and industrial productions, the land reform, and the liquidation of the anti-Communist forces. Since Communist literature is largely intended to describe the solution of these problems, stories and novels which deal with these aspects in Southwest China are stereotyped and lacking in originality, imitations of the prototypes written in other regions and earlier. As a result, stories and novels produced in other regions of China are more popular in Southwest China than that produced locally.

People in Southwest China, like those in other parts of China, read Yüan Ching and K'ung Chüeh's best-seller Hsin Erh-nü Ying-hsiung Chuan (The Biography of a New Hero and Heroine) a 200,000-word account of the repulse of the Japanese invaders in North China, written in the

18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (4 vols.), Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

[redacted]

538 style of the old-fashioned Chinese novels,[19] and Ting Ling's The Sun Shines on the Sang-ch'ien [Sang-kan] River, a novel about the struggle of the people in North China during the 1946-48 land reform, which was awarded the Stalin prize. Liu Pai-yu's Lights Ahead, which describes the crossing of the Yangtze River by General Liu Po-ch'eng's Army during the "liberation" war against the Kuomintang, is also well-known in Southwest China.

D. Poetry

Although Mao Tse-tung himself composes poems in the classical style, the "new poetry" which is written in pai-hua (vernacular) is in vogue in Southwest China today as in other parts of China.

Wen I-to, Kuo Mo-jo, and Hsü Chih-mo, who wrote pai-hua poetry, are still talked of. The publication of Wen's collected poems, Still Water, was an important literary event in 1929. Hsü experimented with new forms, including those found in Western poetry. He was less concerned with the theory and art of versification than was Wen. Wen's book, The Forms and Rules of Poetry (1926) which lists musical, artistic, and architectural skills as the necessary elements of good poetry, is a unique contribution to pai-hua poetry.

19. First edition (10,000 copies) sold out in twenty days, 80 per cent in North China. Although pleased [see next page]

538 Kuo Mo-jo's poetry had energy and imagination, but no discipline and restraint; and has been likened to water escaping from a broken dam, rushing everywhere. In the 1920's, when Kuo was the leader of the Creative Society, he advocated "art for art's sake." He was the first to introduce untranslated Western words and phrases into pai-hua poetry to enhance the beauty of the metrical patterns of the stanzas. Although Kuo is not productive nowadays, and his poems are not popular today, his present prestige as a "literary personage" is based on his past achievement; and his present political position as a cultural leader in the Communist regime in turn encourages the sale of his peoms. He is the only one of the three still living. Being now wholly dedicated to the Communist cause, although not a Party member, he is comparable to Simonov of Russia, for Kuo, like Simonov, spends a good deal of his time heading Chinese cultural delegations to other countries and entertaining foreign cultural delegations to China.

Ai Ching and T'ien Chien are established as Communist poets. Ai writes prose poems and T'ien writes extremely short verse. The average Chinese reader is apt to appreciate Ai more

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[19 continued] with its success, the Communists have lamented the fact that the Chinese people are still so fond of the traditional "feudalistic" novels that a novel of new ideas and new people could be successful only when dressed in the traditional forms.

than T'ien, especially when Ai writes of every- 538
day things familiar to the reader and T'ien draws his inspiration from a vision of the new world which is less comprehensible to the average reader.

Ma Fan-t'o and Li Chi are often spoken of together. Ma's poems are modeled upon popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Kuo Mo-jo may be better appreciated by the Southwesterns because he was born and grew up in Szechwan.

E. Literature of the Ethnic Minorities

The so-called literature of the ethnic 538
minorities in Communist China, the development 563
of which was mentioned in the first issues of the People's Literature in October 1949 as one of the six tasks of the literary workers in China, is so far not the product of the minority peoples; the writing is done in the Chinese language, mostly by the Han Chinese, or by people of minority origins who have mastered the use of the Chinese language.[20]

So far, the effort of fostering minority literature takes four forms:

1. tracing and recording customs of the minority groups;
2. interpreting the institutions of the minority groups from a dialectic materialistic viewpoint; and

20. [see next page]

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563 3. The exchange of literatures of the Han Chinese and the ethnic minorities.[21]

Although history in the Southwest is often interpreted by the Chinese Communists as antagonism between groups or suppression of one group by another, the literatures of the minorities that are to be developed are not allowed to take anti-administration forms.

F. Drama

536 Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin,

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20. Most of the literature of the minority groups take the form of poetry. The following are representative: Yung Ying, "We Are a Group of Miao-chia," People's Literature, January 1, 1952, pp. 61-62; Fan Jung-k'ang, "Sang of the Mao-chia" ibid, pp. 63-64; Chu Yeh, "The Yi and the Ni-su of the Highlands," ibid., pp. 53-60; Miao Yen-hsiu, Ta-miao-shan Symphony, Shanghai, Hsin wen-i ch'u-pa she, 1954; and "Ah-shih-ma," a long poem transmitted orally by a Southwest minority group and now rendered into Han Chinese language by Huang Ti, People's Literature, May 7, 1954.

21. This, before minorities have their own written language, amounts to sinicization of minorit people with Chinese litera t ure in ways which do not seem "imperialistic" to minority peoples. On the other hand, cultural heritages of the Chinese people may be enriched by the assimilation of cultures of minority groups through literature.

536 and Shanghai, and in the big cities of the Southwest, (3) the new opera, a genre created by the Chinese Communists, and (4) the modern plays. These, together with motion pictures, are now utilized by the Communists to disseminate ideological and political messages

1. The folk plays. The best-known folk play in the Southwest is Ch'uan-hsi. The difference between Ch'uan-hsi and other Southwestern folk plays is mostly due to the difference in the dialects employed. All the folk plays borrow stories from each other, and therefore the same folk stories in the Southwest are presented in different versions in different folk plays.

Ch'uan-hsi resembles ching-hsi in stage-setting and costuming. But Ch'uan-hsi uses percussion more extensively than ching-hsi; at the end of each verse the percussion helps to heighten the mood, and the musicians themselves also chant the sound of the last syllable of the sung verse of the actor on the stage. This practice is called pang-ch'iang. Also, in Ch'uan-hsi there are choral arrangements which are absent in ching-hsi.

With the large influx of people from other parts of China into the Southwest during the war against Japan, ching-hsi has become more popular than Ch'uan-hsi in the larger Southwestern cities. But in the small towns and in rural areas Ch'uan-hsi and other types of folk plays are still the common means of entertainment.

536 2. Ching-hsi. A composite of many regional plays, ching-hsi is popular in all parts of China. The best actors and actresses of ching-hsi, however, have been those associated with the Peking theaters. Because of their wealth, some of the larger Southwestern cities have been able to invite to their theaters the best actors and actresses from North China. The musical accompaniment is carried by the hu-ch'in, a string instrument, assisted by other strings and by wood-winds. Percussion is used to accentuate rhythms of body movements and to dramatize heightened moments.

At its present state, ching-hsi is a polished form of art. It no longer depends for audience appeal on plotting but rather on a display of skill by the actors or actresses. It emphasizes costuming rather than scenery. Actors may play the female roles and actresses may play the male roles. The music pattern is not very flexible, but permits the well-known actors and actresses to vary the style of production. The spoken dialogue and the spoken patter songs, consisting of clichés in colloquial language, help the movement of the play, make the literary language of the sung verses more intelligible to the audience, and aid in the variation of rhythm. However, most of the spectators know the play, have memorized the verses, and can sing some of them. They came to the theatre to watch and enjoy the art of a stylized performance.

In comparison with the folk plays, the ching-hsi is a much more integrated art. Therefore, it is more difficult to bring innovations to the ching-hsi without damaging its accepted form; in contrast,

536 the folk plays may easily incorporate new elements. This fact accounts for the Communists' effort to revamp the folk plays and to bring them up to the same level of popular and artistic recognition as the ching-hsi. However, in the Communists' effort to reinterpret history, the ching-hsi is now rendering unique service. The Communists have not only revised many of the old scripts to conform to their ideology, but have also encouraged the writing of new scripts. In this attempt, well-known actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu are asked to lend a helping hand.

Playwrights in Communist China are now told to study ching-hsi, because this form can be used to dramatize personalities. In the Communists' efforts to glorify the image of the "new heroes," this art is considered extremely important.

545 3. The new opera. The new opera in China is modeled after the operatic forms of the West but the content conveys revolutionary themes. The first experiment in this form was The White-Haired Girl (1944), a collective creation of the writers and artists of the Lu Hsün Institute of Literature and Art. In the arias sung by the heroine, the musical pattern of the Hopei pang-tzu is borrowed to convey her changing moods. This is considered a very successful adaptation by the Communists. But the melodies of the other sung parts, which appear to be of yang-ko origin, are close to folk songs and lack dramatic effect. The White-haired Girl has been characterized as "drama-plus-songs," a term which indicates that the operatic form is not well enough developed to enable the music to carry the theme.

545 This inadequacy was remedied in the second major opera commissioned by the Communists. The opera Liu Hu-lan gives the heroine Liu Hu-lan opportunities "to delineate her heroic personality" in longer and more frequent arias. The musical pattern of the Shansi pang-tzu is used in the areas, and the whole opera has a Shansi color.

The composers were alarmed when they discovered that the melodies which describe the corrupt life of the landlord in the opera The White-haired Girl were hummed by the audience rather than the arias of the heroine and the chorus of the 8th Route Army. They resolved not to give the "negative" personality strong musical treatment. As a result, the opera Liu Han-lan incorporates disjointed melodies for the villainous roles. The villains are shallowly caricatured. Thus, for ideological reasons, the Communists now limit "true music" to the expression of "lofty passions" for the "right cause."

The new operas are intended for national consumption irrespective of regional differences, although local airs are incorporated into the scores according to the locality of the stories. Both The White-haired Girl and Liu Hu-lan are based on incidents which occurred in North China, although they have been transformed by grossly "dramatic exaggeration. They are performed by opera troupes all over China, and their influence is therefore national. Other well-known operas include the Long March, in which for the first time Mao Tsetung is impersonated.

536 4. Modern plays (hua-chü). The modern play, like the motion picture, has no regional character. Any acceptable play will be staged in all parts of China, and kuo-yü (the national language) is used rather than the various dialects. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung's Thousands of Rivers and Mountains proves that the Communists' Long March in the thirties is always "correct" material for dramatization. The Song of the Red Flags, concerned with production drives in a textile factory in North China, was the joint creation of three playwrights, written after they had agreed on the ideological significance of this type of play and had sketched out the plot under the guidance of Chou Yang, the vice-minister of Cultural Affairs. The Song of the Red Flags was performed in Chungking as well as in other cities like Shanghai, Nanking, Peking, and Lan-chou. In Shanghai alone, it was given 159 performances, and some 125,000 people attended it.[22] If we take into account the fact that theater-going is now an organized activity of the various mass organizations such as the labor unions, the Women's Federation, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the study circles, the length of the run and the size of the audience do not accurately reflect the enthusiasm of the people but rather the effectiveness of the Communist organization of mass participation in the field of recreation.

546 5. Motion Pictures. Although Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, based on the same incident

22. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, July 1950.

546 as the opera of the same name, won first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-Picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shang jao, produced in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully demonstrates the "collective heroism" of the Communists under duress. When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the movie Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mongol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities. Similar movies about the ethnic minorities in the Southwest are likely to be made in the future.

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

A. Painting and the Plastic Arts

532 Painting and the plastic arts are largely utilitarian in China today. The utilitarian spirit puts them either in the realm of propaganda or craftsmanship. As propaganda, they become extremely derivative and stereotyped; as craftsmanship, they utilize local characteristics and traditional skills, although they sometimes appear to be unrestrainedly florid and pretentious. Chinese brush paintings, woodcuts, oil paintings, cartoons

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chalk drawings, and posters are entries in most of the art exhibitions. Among these categories, ceramic figures and wood-carvings represent local craftsmanship and are little influenced by Communist ideology. Other art forms have used Communist policies and slogans as themes for depiction. Woodcuts, sculptures, and water colors seemed to have been more easily adapted to the new themes than oil paintings and the traditional Chinese brush paintings. The oil paintings done by Chinese artists usually lack imagination in composition; at their best, they are only near-photographic depictions of political activities. Traditional brush-painting technique is at its best in landscape paintings and in depicting rural life and is ill-adapted to the illustration of modern people and their activities. No prominent artists in oil or water color have emerged under the Communist regime.

Under the general principle, "Accept the heritage of the world," artists like Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci are commemorated and reproductions like that of the Mona Lisa are used in literary and art journals.

B. Woodcuts

The woodcut, a traditional art in China, is used to adorn story books. Lu Hsün was the first to renew popular interest in this art. Woodcuts became popular in Yenan during the war against Japan because their creation does not require eleaborate equipment. Many people remember the lively wood cuts of the Liberated Areas, which showed the influence of Western woodscuts. Woodcuts are popular in Communist China; there is a tendency to incorporate the

532 traditional Chinese woodcut style in the illustration of Communist themes, and there are elaborate woodcuts in multiple colors, a technique which antedates the Yenan period. In recent woodcuts, rural life is more effectively presented than blast furnaces or anti-U.S. activities.

C. New Year's Pictures (Nien-hua)

In those Chinese households which have not been influenced by the West, a new picture is hung or pasted on the wall on every New Year's Eve to assure a prosperous and peaceful year ahead. The pictures are called nien-hua. New Year's pictures are exploited by the Communists as a means to secure people's consent and support for their regime. The traditional themes of superstitious propitiation to gods has been transmogrified to praise of Mao Tse-tung for bringing happiness and prosperity to the people, to celebration of the Long March of the Red Army, the distribution of the land certificates after the land reform, the woman train-conductor, or the "great meeting of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."[23]

The Communists have boasted of a tremendous sale of the "new" nien-hua in the last few years. The production and printing of the nien-hua are now done entirely by Communist publishing houses, and the Chinese people have no way of buying their traditional nien-hua. The aesthetic value of the nien-hua is practically nil, but it utilizes so well the traditional customs, beliefs, and sayings of the people that its messages are immediately understandable and are apt to be accepted.

23. People's Pictorial, February 1951.

D. Comic Strips (Lien-huna t'u-hua)

532 The Chinese comic strip is neither literature nor art, but it borrows a little from both to enable the barely literate to entertain themselves with stories. The Communists, knowing the popularity of the comic strip among children, women, and the uneducated, have used it to teach "patriotism," sanitation, and health. They regard earlier comic strips as "feudalistic" and superstitious, and have replaced them with those which are "new, healthy, and educational." The new comic strips, created by artists recruited and guided by the Communists, are seen at street corners, and in factories, villages, armies, and schools.

The Communists claim that the sale of comic strips is increasing daily. The Lien-ho Bookstore in Shanghai, which handles the new comic strips, reports the sale of more than 600,000 volumes in January 1951, and more than one million volumes in the following April. The comic strip periodical Lien-huan Hua-pao is reported to have a circulation of 400,000 copies.

The most representative and most publicized new comic strip is The Letter with a Chicken Feather,[24] which uses 243 pictures to "give the Chinese children a patriotic education." The story concerns a young boy who, after receiving a Communist education, successfully fulfilled the "heroic" task of delivering an important message to anti-Japanese guerrilla force. It is claimed

24. It was a traditional practice to include a chicken feather with an urgent message, signifying the letter's importanceand need for its safekeeping

532 that more than 58,000 copies of The Letter with a Chicken Feather have been sold.

E. Dance

535 China proper does not have any distinctive form of dancing, although yang-ko is sometimes considered native to China. Yang-ko is a combination of signing and dancing, derived from the song pattern of peasants who sing in groups antiphonically when working in the rice-fields. The dance steps revolve around a basic pattern, that is, two steps forward and one step back, which resembles the movements of the peasants as they work in the fields. In village festivals, yang-ko is sometimes performed, but it became truly popular only after the reform of literature and art in 1942, when the Communists used the dance to propagate new ideas in Shensi, and later in North China. It was brought to different parts of China in time to greet the advancing People's Liberation Army. The opera The White-haired Girl was based on singing and dancing forms of the yang-ko; and at the first stage of land reform this opera was utilized by the Communist cadres in many different parts of China to stir up class struggles in villages. The vogue of yang-ko in East China now seems to be over. The sophisticated cadres seem to prefer the new opera to yang-ko, and Western forms of social dancing to yang-ko steps.

The Chinese Communists have always fostered any art form that would assist their revolution. In 1950, Hsien Hsing-hai's Production

535 Cantata (Sheng-ch'an Ta-ho-ch'ang) was transformed into an operatic spectacle. The new song-and-dance version is divided into four scenes, celebrating the times of spring cultivation, seeding, harvest, and prosperity, to portray the rural working people's enthusiasm for production and their prosperity as a result of the Communist "liberation."[25]

535 563 The minority groups in the Southwest have many forms of folk dances. During the war with Japan and in the postwar years, folk dances such as the Drinking Party of the Chia-jung (Chia-jung Chiu-hui) became popular among student groups in all parts of China. The Cultural Corps (Wen-kung t'uan) of the Central Institute of Nationalities at Peking has been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are the "Flute Dance" (a courtship dance) and "Wedding Dance" of the Miao people, "Happy Sun" (a tap dance) and "Good Harvest" (a traditional dance around a family cooking stove) of the Tibetans in Western Szechwan and Northern Yunnan, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

535 The Central Dance Corps at Peking, sponsored by the government, recently gave a "Lion

25. People's Pictorial, August 1950.

26. Ibid., July 1954.

535 Dance," which is an adaptation of a traditional festival stunt performed in North China during the lunar New Year season.[27] Another dance, "Tea and Butterflies," has also been widely publicized; it is concerned with tea-gathering maidens in Western Fukien.[28] The purpose of these dances is "to beautify the working spirit" and to set a pattern to be developed by dance corps elsewhere in China.

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring ballerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[29]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[30] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world." The

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27. Ibid., March 1954.
28. Ibid., April 1954.
29. Ibid., May 1954.
30. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

533 municipal symphony orchestra in Peking performs Beethoven as well as Tschaikowsky and such a performance is intended to set an example for musical activities elsewhere in the nation. The quality of the symphony's performance is unknown. No major composer has emerged under the Communist regime. Most of the musicians seem to be absorbed in collecting and re-arranging folk music, in composing scores for new operas, or in turning out at short notice musical accompaniment for propaganda films.

Marching bands have been very popular under the Communist regime; nearly every school has a band. This is in keeping with the Communists' deliberate effort to foster some kind of martial spirit in the youth of the country.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive a basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

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1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

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871 Nationalist officials singled out two of the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus a mild social reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy of education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Officials explanations stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

Under the Nationalist Government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were [873] made by such people as James Yen (an internationally known promoter of mass education), who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist Central People's Government, who did much for the development of vocational education in China.

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

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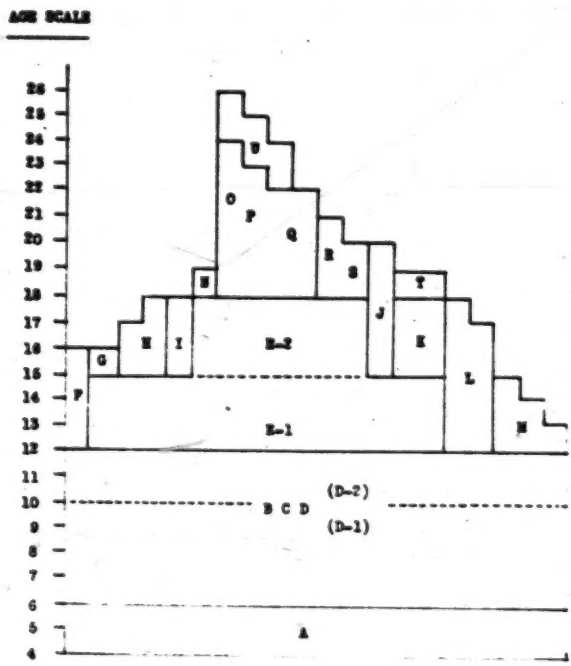
It is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the eve of the Communist seizure of power. 871

The application of the broad principles of education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the chart which follows.

CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

87/ As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students at rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit and may be sufficient, for all general purposes, if the students must devote themselves to manual labor upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their formal education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

By 1946, it was announced by the Nationalist Ministry of Education, 54.52 per cent of the

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871 nation's population above the age of six either had attended or were attending schools.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In the Southwest China Region, 30 schools for advanced education were in operation in 1947. Of these, 16 were general, 8 were technical, and 6 were for teacher-training.[5] Other pre-Communist statistics on education in Southwest China, cited in Table I, will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1,623.

5. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, pp. 1,591-594.

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Table I. Education in Southwest China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	No. of Schools	No. of. Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
Szechwan	47,931	3,696,712	825	283,205	(4,635)	(64,828)
Yunnan	11,150	724,833	173	38,844	(2,014)	(169,572)
Kweichow	7,901	623,983	155	38,961	(9,394)	(149,091)

* The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions. The figures for Sikang Province have been included in those for Szechwan Province.

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871 It is to be noted that Southwest China,
722 unlike other regions, had an opportunity to expand educational facilities during World War II when many schools in North and East China were forced to move to the interior.

II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

871 Mao Tse-tung stated in his work On New Democracy, that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "New China," Mao believed that the education program in China would be successful if it contained "scientific substances, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

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87/ 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[8] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to education, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that "education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[9]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution

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8. Comprador - a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China, to have charge of its native employees.

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, Section B, p. 9.

871 says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian-style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles

871 of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those of stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation

10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. People's Education, Oct. 1954, p. 13.

873 of the educational system was administratively impossible), the Communist instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricular for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricula-reform in the Institutions of Higher Learning." The main point of this directive was that, "Institutions of higher learning must... abolish the politically reactionary courses, install revolutionary political courses of the New Democracy.... The curriculum of all departments must practice the principle of proper specialization ... must install and

1:Stanford U. S-4, 1956 AF16 SW China
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873 strengthen necessary and important courses and omit those overlapping and unimportant courses and materials, in accordance with the principle of intensification and simplification."[12]

Following this conference, major changes in college curricula were carried out. Similar measures were also adopted for secondary and primary schools by modifying the courses and altering the subject-content. In January 1951, the Communist Ministry of Education moved to check on the results of curricula "reform" by holding a "Conference on Inspection of Teaching Plans for the Academic Year 1950 of All Institutions of Higher Learning." Again, similar actions were taken for schools on the lower level. After September 1951, official efforts were mainly devoted to "thought reform" and the inspection of course material and teaching methods to insure that the reform measures were truly carried out in the Communist spirit. These efforts have not lessened in the past five years.

Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricula

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12. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. II, No. 5, Sept. 1950, p. 1,134.

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873 "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricula "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels, supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences, before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious, but their technical quality can not be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard works in non-Communist countries.[13]

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13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on Public Information and Propaganda and Artistic and Intellectual Expression. Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China], Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 218-27.

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C. Changes in Organization

871 Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[14] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Goverment Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October

14. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Last Five Years], Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communists.

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87 1, 1951. The *People's Daily* of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[15] (1) the reorganization will ascertain the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educational classes in the regular school system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and the two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China"; and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major

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15. People's Education, Oct. 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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87 reorganization of schools was completed.[16] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[17] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Administration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-years and two-levels." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[18]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to

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16. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.
17. People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 24.
18. Ibid., p. 8.

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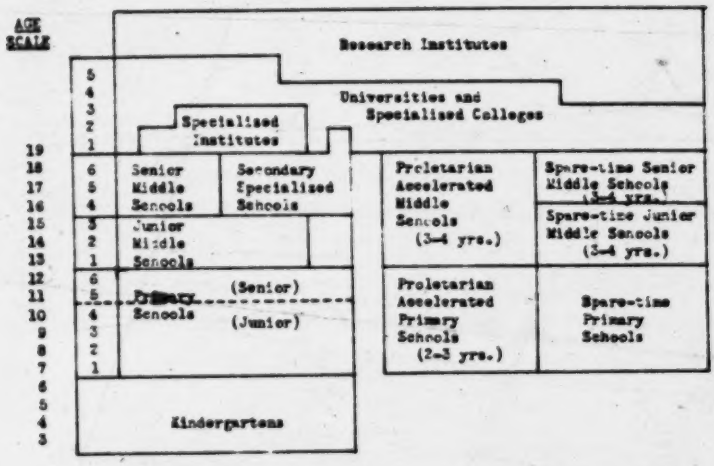
87/ achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities as prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[19] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-wei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

19. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

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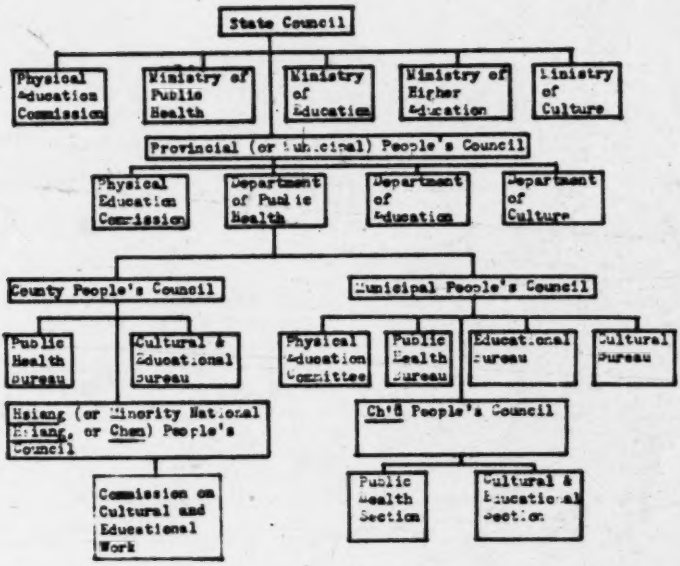
Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

(Chart 3 faces p. 285.)

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871 Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program; the Ministry of Education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activities" other than education, such as the press, publications, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

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665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

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668 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime

21. People's Education, Dec. 1954, p. 30.

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in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not begin until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological erros. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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87 668 in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The State Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is designed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth. (This is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.) Instruction begins in kindergarten, where the Communists teach pupils to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property, and to aid their parents in the work at home and in the fields. Grade school children are given manual work, partly as physical exercise and

22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. People's Education, May 1955, p. 5.

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partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be given "New China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved or the separation from familiar places it may entail. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any of the several levels of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

C. Physical Education Movement

Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3),[1] the State Council and the two

25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

1 [facing p. 285--Analyst]

668 ministries of education have been seriously
87 concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." In April 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued a joint directive in July 1954 reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions for Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequte diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under

26. People's Education, Aug. 1954, p. 65.

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668 the Communists in China. Language reform,
871 important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed.

IV. SCHOOLS ON VARIOUS LEVELS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in Southwest China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

872 The development of kindergartens in the Southwest China Region followed the basic policies laid down by the Communists: to consolidate the existing schools and improve their efficiency before building new schools. The program was tied in with the child welfare program and there has been no specific discussion on the progress made in Southwest China. According to Ch'u T'u-nan, Chairman

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872 of the Cultural and Educational Commission for Southwest China, the emphasis in educational development in that region immediately after the Communist seizure of power in 1949 was to "build and strengthen a few institutions of higher learning and middle schools."[27] Obviously the expansion of kindergartens in Southwest China was to come later.

872 668 The development of primary schools received prompter attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The policy has been to strengthen the primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments.

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27. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien, 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1,000.

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 575-76.

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872 668 In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. By September 1952, over 16,000 primary school teachers had gone through the "thought reform" process in Southwest China. Refresher courses were arranged during summer and winter vacations and other off-duty hours to improve the qualifications of primary school teachers; over 18,000 teachers were reported to have attended these courses before the end of 1952.[29]

872 In 1950, there were 76,000 primary schools in Southwest China with a total registration of 5,000,000 students. By September 1952, the total enrollment of primary schools in this region had increased to 7,167,000, or about half of the number of school-age children in Southwest China. Of these students, nearly 90 per cent were from peasant and worker families.[30] The Communists pointed out the high percentage of "proletarian" students in primary schools as a proof of the improved educational opportunity for the working class.

One of the most difficult problems in improving the primary school system was the fact the teachers were dissatisfied because they

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29. Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 17-19.

30. Ibid.

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872 were not paid as much as industrial workers and their political status was lower than the often-untutored government "cadres". Much of this discontent was bared during a lengthy discussion in the Primary School Teacher, a monthly published by the Ministry of Education. From September 1953 through May 1954, the magazine received over 20,000 letters and articles arguing the pros and cons of this issue. Many of the letters were from teachers in Southwest China.[31] On the other hand, Chou Hui-wen, a young woman teacher at a primary school in Chengtu,[32] recounted in detail how she reformed badly behaved students for the glory of the "New China." There seem to be similarly dedicated teachers, thoroughly indoctrinted in Communism and devoted to the responsibility of "being the People's teacher," in all parts of Southwest China.

The emphasis in primary school education has been to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for country. Thus, students in a history course were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that

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31. Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih [Primary School Teacher], Sept. 1953 through May 1954 issues.

32. Ibid., Nov. 1953, p. 6.

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872 he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[33] Schools which succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm or factory work upon graduation were cited as "model" institutions. In April 1955, the schools at Kuang-yüan (Yunnan Province) reported with pride that out of 204 students graduating in the last class, 80 took up jobs with mutual-aid teams and agricultural co-operatives.[34] To achieve this result, school teachers had to persuade the students' parents that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education. However, in spite of the fact that the government has made "labor education" the primary point of emphasis in political indoctrination, lack of success was revealed by Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu, Mayor of Chungking, who reported on January 13, 1955 that "the idea of looking down on physical labor and the laboring class still prevails among students."[35]

873 B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in

33. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
34. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1012, April 26, 1955, pp. 12-13.
35. Ibid., Supplement, pp. 4-5.

873 Southwest China went through the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization according to the Communist policy for education. Incomplete statistics from a Communist source indicate that in that year there were 1,200 schools with 150,000 students in this region.[36] Suspension and merging of many private schools in the subsequent years reduced the total number of middle schools in Southwest China to 674 in 1951. However, student enrollment apparently suffered little from the reorganization of schools; in the spring of 1952, there were 216,000 students attending middle schools. Of this number, about 50 per cent were from "proletarian" families.[37] In Szechwan, the largest and richest province in this region, the policy has been to establish a middle school in every "old revolutionary base" (area occupied by the Communists in the 1930's). Although there is no up-to-date information on the accomplishment of this program, the government in Szechwan was prepared to do everything possible to develop education in the northern parts of that province, including the

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36. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1,000.

37. Southwest China behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

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8B organization of "substitute tiller" teams to help those families which, after sending their older children to school, would not have sufficient manpower to work on the land.[38] Concrete results of middle school expansion were reported in Chungking Municipality; in 1954, 18 junior middle schools were either newly built or expanded.[39]

Aside from giving technical instruction commensurate with the level of the school, secondary education in Mainland China stressed the same things as the primary schools. To make the teacher conform to the government policy of education, a rotating system of indoctrination was inaugurated for secondary school principals and other administrators, with the commissioners of education of each provincial government responsible for the supervision of indoctrination. The program got underway in Southwest China in 1951; by September 1952, over 11,000 teachers and administrators had completed their "training."[40]

Some important changes were made in the curricula for secondary schools. To the natural science courses was added a subject

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38. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan Under the Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 21.

39. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1012, pp. 4-5.

40. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

873 called Elementary Darwinism. To the social sciences courses was added a study of the Common Program, later replaced by a study of the new Constitution of 1954 after its promulgation. During the past five years there have been times when a scheduled course was suspended at the last minute because the official textbook for the course was not ready.[41] Many textbooks were revised several times to measure up to the changing Party line as interpreted by Peking.

C. Institutions of Higher Learning

873 668 In principle, the control of institutions of higher learning is centralized under the Ministry of Higher Education, except for the teacher's training program which falls under the Ministry of Education (see Chart 3).[1] In practice, the Government Administration Council has instructed the various central government ministries in charge of various industries to "supervise and co-ordinate" the programs for advanced technical schools. These central government ministries in turn can appoint local government personnel to take charge of the schools in order to maintain close supervision.

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41. People's Education, Aug. 1954, pp. 63-64.

[1] [facing p. 285 -- Analyst]

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873 668 In this connection, local governments, mainly provincial, are given the responsibility of providing the schools with political guidance.[42] With this system of control, the political conversion of the universities and colleges was carried out with very little delay. In September 1950, the regional authorities of Southwest China called a conference on higher education. Immediately after the conference, the 43 existing institutions of higher learning were put through the initial "reform." As a part of the "thought reform," 808 college teachers and 5,212 students were enlisted to serve in the Land Reform Movement. In the summer of 1951, 191 teachers and 1,640 students were sent to farms and factories to practice what they had been learning in school.[43]

873 Among the more acute difficulties

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42. "Decisions Concerning the Revision of Relations of Leadership for Institutions of Higher Learning," announced by the Government Administration Council on Oct. 6, 1953; People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 558-59.

43. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

873 experienced during the conversion and reorganization of universities were:[44] (1) the "thought reform" of college professors, who were subject to public criticism by their students, and (2) the transfer of certain departments from one university to another, which disrupted the administration of those institutions. By the end of 1952, nine of the schools of higher education in Southwest China had been revamped to include 39 more departments, of which 25 were directly controlled by government agencies in charge of industrial affairs. Seventeen "new type" technical schools were established, of which 11 were engineering[45] schools. Not all of these schools were on the college level.

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44. Accounts of thought reform for college professors are presented (possibly with some exaggeration) in such works as Ts'ui Shu-ch'in, Ta-lu Hsüeh-jen Ti Pei-chü [Tragedy of Scholars on the Mainland], Taipei, Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1953; and Kung-fei Ti Nu-i Wen-hua Yü Chiao-yü [The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952.

45. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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Table II. Institutions of Higher Learning in Southwest China (1954)*

Name	Location	Departments	Special Courses	Specialization
Szechwan University	Chengtu	7	none	General
Yunnan University	Kunming	8	none	General
Chungking University	Chungking	6	2	Mining, engineering
Chengtu Engineering College	Chengtu	3	1	Engineering
Chungking College of Civil Engineering	Chungking	1	1	Civil engineering
Kunming Engineering College	Kunming	2	1	Engineering
# Szechwan College of Chemical Engineering	Lu-chou	4	none	Industrial chemistry
Hsi-nan Agricultural College	Chungking	6	none	Agriculture
Kweichow Agricultural College	Kweiyang	1	none	Agriculture
Agricultural College, Szechwan University	Chengtu	4	none	Agriculture
Agricultural College, Yunnan University	Kunming	2	none	Agriculture
Szechwan College of Finance and Economics	Chengtu	4	none	Finance, Economics
Hsi-nan College of Political Science and Law	Chungking	none	1	Pol. science, law
Szechwan Medical College	Chengtu	3	none	Medicine
Kweiyang Medical College	Kweiyang	1	none	Medicine
Hsi-nan Russian Institute	Chungking	none	1	Russian
Hsi-nan College of Physical Education	Chengtu	1	none	Physical ed.
Hsi-nan Normal College	Chungking	11	4	General
Szechwan Normal College	Nan-ch'ung	5	5	General
Kweiyang Normal College	Kweiyang	7	6	General
Kunming Normal College	Kunming	4	5	General
Chungking Special School for Teacher Training	Chungking	none	4	General
Szechwan Special School for Teacher Training	Lu-chou	none	3	General
Hsi-nan Special School of Music	Chengtu	none	3	Music
Hsi-nan Special School of Fine Arts	Chengtu	none	3	Fine arts

*Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 569-71.

#Szechwan College of Chemical Engineering specializes in training students in the process of pulp-making and tanning.

[pp. 301, 302 are blank]

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873 In 1950, there were 43 schools of higher education with 15,000 students in Southwest China[46] -- some 13 schools added to the number existing in 1947. However, subsequent reorganization and merging of the schools left only 25 in operation in 1954 (see Table II). Of these, nine were technical schools, two specialized in medicine, and two were full-fledged "general" universities. Some of these schools simultaneously conducted two- and three-year special courses. The establishment of the short-term special course is in accordance with the over-all government policy of preparing sufficient technical personnel to meet the needs of the national reconstruction program.

Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in school, the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[47] The 9,190 college students graduating in 1950-52 in Southwest

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46. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1,000.

47. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-yung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

873 China were assigned jobs.[48] Supporters of this program said that this would bring to an end the complaint that "graduation means unemployment." But placing so many graduates properly so that everyone of them would make use of what he had studied was not a simple undertaking, and there were undoubtedly many misassignments resulting in dissatisfaction on the part of the students.

D. The Teachers' Training Program

874 As shown in Chart 2, colleges and secondary schools for teacher training have equal standing with general schools on the same levels. The urgent need for trained teachers for schools on different levels was first announced in October 1950 by Ma Hsü-lun, then Minister of Education. Ma told the first All-China Conference on Primary Education and Teacher's Training that, before 1957, according to the planned expansion of schools, China would need 1,000,000 new teachers. Of these, 200,000 would be for "spare-time" schools for peasants and workers, 130,000 for regular

48. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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middle schools, 10,000 for colleges, and the remainder for kindergartens.[49] Measures adopted to expedite the training of teachers included the condensation of courses and the establishment of special short-term courses for training primary school teachers who, upon completion of training, would be promoted to teach in junior middle schools. To improve the qualifications of teachers, refreshers courses were organized during vacations and in evenings. In 1953, there were 1,280 such refresher courses throughout China. For teachers in outlying districts correspondence courses were designed in addition to reference materials brought to them by mobile libraries. The Communists claim that 407 counties in China were serviced by mobile libraries in 1953. In the same year, the teachers in 220 counties formed correspondence clubs and exchanged their teaching experiences, thus helping one another to improve teaching techniques.[50] Another measure adopted was the hiring of some high school graduates after a period of apprenticeship to serve as teachers in the schools from which they graduated.

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49. The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists, p. 23.

50. People's Education, Jan. 1953, p. 23.

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874 These stopgap measures, however, were unable to meet the shortage of teachers pointed out by Ma Hsü-lun in 1950. In 1954, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, still mentioned the possible shortage of 100,000 secondary school teachers in the next five years.[51] Nine months later, a report from the Ministry of Education stated that, according to plan, the expansion of secondary schools in 1954 would need about 28,000 additional teachers. Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. At the same time the teachers' colleges also had to be expanded, thus absorbing a number of graduates. As a result, the Ministry of Education reported, only about 7,600 new teachers would be available for other assignments.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres, and the Illiterate

873 To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists'

51. People's Education, Jan. 1954, pp. 17-18.

873 theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on September 30, 1950.[52] He quoted Mao Tse-tung as saying that, because the peasants and workers constituted over 80 per cent of China's population, they were the main force upon which would depend the transition of Chinese society from "New Democracy" to Socialism. Ch'ien stressed the following points: (1) The most immediate task was to combat illiteracy. (2) The cadres among the peasants and workers must be the first to be educated so that they would provide proper leadership for the masses. (3) This type of education must be fitted to local conditions which might vary from place to place.

[665] No line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between the educational institutions for peasants and workers and those for Party and other government cadres. Altogether these schools form a part of the regular school system. As Ch'eng Fang-wu, former president of the College of the War of Resistance at Yenan, reported in July 1952,[53] the development

52. People's Education, May 1951, pp. 12-16.
53. Ibid., July 1952, p. 6.

873 of this type of education under the Communists could be traced back to Mao Tse-tung's Peasant Movement Institute in Hunan in the early days of the Chinese Communist movement. Later, when the Communists established a stronghold in southern Kiangsi Province, cadre schools were established to train political and military personnel. These institutions were succeeded by the College of the War of Resistance and by the Northern Shensi Institute in Yenan in the 1930's and early 1940's. As the Communist Army occupied North China after World War II, the North China University and the North China People's Revolutionary University were established for cadres training. After 1949, the Chinese People's University emerged in Peking, with 30 per cent of its curriculum devoting to political education and 70 per cent to the specific fields in which the cadre students were specializing.

The first government effort in Southwest China to promote a "study drive" for peasants and workers resulted in registering 350,000 participants in 1951. In the municipality of Chungking, it was reported, over 96 per cent of the workers took part in spare-time studies. In the same year, over 6,000,000 peasants in Southwest China enrolled in "winter schools," and later about 4,000,000 continued their studies by registering in "year-round" peasant schools. Eight schools were established in

873 various cities in this region, enrolling a total of 2,604 students in 1952; of these students, 200 were graduated and registered in "proletarian accelerated" middle schools.[54] No report is available on the exact number of such middle schools in Southwest China, however, as early as 1950, the Southwest Experimental Proletarian Accelerated Middle School was established; another was established by Szechwan University in Chengtu in 1952.[55]

In the proletarian accelerated secondary schools (see Chart 2),[1] a formal curriculum is pursued. The courses taught there are similar to those in regular secondary schools except that emphasis is placed on technical subjects while anything without direct bearing on farm or factory work is simplified in order to shorten the time of study. In the classes irregularly conducted during the spare-time of the peasants and workers, political study consists of lectures and discussions, using as topics whatever happens to coincide with the most recent official Party propaganda line.

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54. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

55. New China Daily, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

[1] [see p. 284 -- Analyst]

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823 For political cadres, regardless of their own
665 professions, study of Marxian and other Communist theories are required. The Central Committee of the Communist Party periodically issues directives listing the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung to be studied. Chiefs of local Party branches are charged with the responsibility of supervising these studies at weekly meetings.[56]

Classes to teach beginners to read the Chinese language are held separately, but once the students have graduated from these classes they are given the opportunity to advance to higher levels of learning. An attempt is made to raise the academic level of cadres among peasants and workers to that of graduates of
873 regular schools. In a directive issued by the Communist Party on December 24, 1953,[57] it was stated that those who pursued spare-time study at least six hours a week for forty weeks a year, covering the essential courses prescribed for the primary school level by educational authorities, were entitled to enroll in a junior secondary school. Three years of

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56. A sample list of materials to be studied is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 535-36.
57. Ibid., p. 538.

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8B similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary schools. In this way, any person pursuing studies in his spare-time can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

8B1 The Communist government expressed concern over two aspects of the "proletarian" education program. One was that so far the schools have not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, in spite of the fact that more and more children of peasants and workers were reported to be enrolled in schools. The government admitted that in certain schools children from peasant- and worker-families still felt themselves discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. The other aspect was the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[58] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to deficient students.

~~F. Education for Minority Nationalities~~

58. People's Education, Aug. 1953, pp. 31-32.

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F. Education for Minority Nationalities

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With the slogan "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[59] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[60] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Southwest China, three colleges and a number of middle and special technical schools have been established; the total enrollment of these schools in 1951 was 6,800.

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59. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
60. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 35.

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871 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended
563 spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000
[665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 The Communists claimed that their policy
563 of providing educational opportunities for
186 minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

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V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of Communist Education

876 Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in the school system and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are expedient in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction outlined in the first Five-Year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and the centralized publication of textbooks. In other words, every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure, the Communists have yet to achieve complete uniformity in education in comformity with the Party line, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation.

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People's Attitudes

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the

876 Communists expect to teach the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism, "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses, Russian technique is singled out as the "advanced model" to be copied. This is particularly observable in institutions of higher learning in North China. Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed throughout the country. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or a potential enemy and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language classes, they defended their position by saying that Russian would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works into Chinese, but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[64] However,

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64. People's Education, Feb. 1952, p. 7.

876 they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

871 Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations. Lack of financial support for students causes preoccupation with means of livelihood when they should be studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of co-ordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although it is not clear if such practices are continuing in Southwest China, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking

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871 to issue an order banning such a practice.[65] Too frequent transfers of teachers in Kweichow Province resulted in the temporary suspension of classes at the Ch'ien-hsi Primary School.[66] Too many government-required extra-curricular activities deprived the students at the First Normal School in Chungking of 65 class-hours in a period of 24 days.[67] Too many extra assignments reduced the effectiveness of the teacher's instruction. One teacher at the Kuan-hsien Primary School in Szechwan Province complained that he had to serve on 13 committees, concerned with problems ranging from the repair of school buildings to dissemination of political propaganda.[68] Multiple control and supervision of school administration tends to confuse the administrators. The School for Iron and Steel Industries in Chungking had to

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65. Ibid., Aug. 1951, p. 8.

66. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Communists], Taipei Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 12-13.

67. New China Daily, Chungking, Jan. 23, 1953, p. 1.

68. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1953, p. 2.

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87 take orders from six government agencies; as a result the school administration found it difficult to please everybody.[69] According to Southwest China press reports, these were not isolated cases; they reflect the confusion that plagues the entire educational system in China today.

Until adequate officially-approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to translations of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. Since such translated works have not yet been slanted to the needs of the Chinese, it is doubtful that they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The effort of the government to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are all thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism, there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not grow among those who have been denied the choice of jobs.

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69. Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 225.

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871 In summary, it should be noted that, although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their work is far from accomplished. The attitudes of the many people involved in the system of education can not be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expedient nature of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the graduates. According to a Communist report, some students of primary schools spent more than four years in a single grade; in some middle schools about 17 per cent of the students failed; in 1954, 73 per cent of the applicants for engineering department failed in mathematics in the college entrance examination.[70] There is no information available on how the college graduates fared; but it seems reasonable to assume that they could not have done much better.

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70. People's Education, Jan. 1955, p. 5.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

771 Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

[178] With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, 771 as they gained more and more rights and conces- 648 sions from a weakening China, demanded and

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got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religioned Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

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This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive

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1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

77/ and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was
668 the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

77/ Religions in the twentieth century were
777 caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of the Western powers which held China in thrall.

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2. O. Brière, "Les courant philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

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Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the triumph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property and the secularization of the clergy. The Communist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the Southwest China Region.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

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II. BUDDHISM

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This oldest of imported religions shows, in its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot Tai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and Nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered severe attrition. Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools, barracks, and police stations.[5]

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

779 The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia generated widespread anti-Buddhist sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

779 792 The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parastic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained largely negative.[6] Thus gradual extinction of

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6. Chan, Religious Trends, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to 70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

779 the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time.
792 But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy and establishments in Southwest China were numerous, especially in the rich and populous province of Szechwan.[7]

Provinces	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries and Nunneries
Szechwan	158,610	39,089
Yunnan	37,180	9,920
Kweichow	720	410

It is not possible to trace the decline from 1930 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of boty clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to "less than 100" in 1954.[10]

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7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook], 1933, p. T2.

8. Ibid., Basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. [see following page]

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779 Estimates on the total number[11] of clergy vary,
792 but in 1931 they appear to have numbered 500,000 to 600,000. Refugees in 1949-50 reported that four out of every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954 it was estimated that there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its dwindling influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

779 While the traditional clergy was in decline, Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. The leadership of the movement

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9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, (a four-page pamphlet), Buddhist Association of China, Taiwan, 1954; hereinafter cited as Atrocities.
10. Ibid.
11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
12. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Atrocities.

779 was largely from the East China Region. In the Southwest, Szechwan was an important secondary center. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: that an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were organized. Buddhist writing and publishing were encouraged.[14]

The Chinese Buddhist Association, founded in 1914 to oppose the effort to make Confucianism a state religion, continued as

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14. Chan, op. cit., pp. 1-62, points out that 537 Buddhist works and 58 Buddhist periodicals were published in the years 1920-35 in all parts of China. Most of the periodicals were short-lived.

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the main organization of Chinese Buddhists. It claimed 4,620,000 members in 1947, but its organization was loose and weak; it included heterogeneous components: Buddhist philosophers, simple believers, reformist clergy and many of the old clergy, nationalists, internationalists, and Japan-oriented pan-Asians. The great abbot Tai-hsü, master monk-politician, tried to weld these elements into a strong, effective, and enduring organization which could formulate an attractive, long-range program and defend Buddhism against attack. But he ultimately failed, and the Buddhists of China had not the means to defend themselves against Kuomintang pressure; when the Communists came, the Buddhists had a stronger adversary and neither the means nor the spirit to resist. Some residue of the modern Buddhist movement may be found in the Southwest, perhaps only in Szechwan. The following is a breakdown, by provinces, of the number of Buddhist believers claimed in 1930 by the China Buddhist Association. The second column gives the number of modern type Buddhist organizations such as schools, translation and publication societies, missionary societies, etc.[15]

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15. Shen-pao Yearbook, 1933, p. T2.

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Szechwan	490,700	190
Yunnan	36,130	1
Kweichow	2,730	17

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668 Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped in Chungking and elsewhere, and publishing houses closed. The Han-Tibetan College in Chungking, along with other Buddhist colleges, has been closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[1] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders.[17] Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists to reform and defend

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16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

17. According to Buddhism in China, Peking, Nationalities Publishing House, 1955, p. 2, the effective date of organization was June 1953, when 93 persons representing "the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen of different nationalities and Buddhist schools of the various regions" were elected to serve as its board of directors.

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their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and the Party. In China's relations with the Buddhist countries of Asia, it will be used as a propaganda device to allay their fear that China is an enemy of Buddhism; it will also be used to "soothe" and control Buddhist populations in Mongolia, the former Sikang province, and Tibet.[18] Domestically, the new association, like all others in Communist China, will be used primarily for the indoctrination and control of its members. As early as May 1951, a central committeeman of the Party outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in land reform, (2) opposition to counterrevolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[19]

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18. The Dalai Lama, the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Chagan Kogen of Inner Mongolia, and the Venerable Hsu Yun have been chosen as honorary presidents of the Buddhist Association. Cf., Buddhism in China, p. 20. A photograph in the same volume shows an encampment of Tibetan tribesman in Sikang listening to a lama's sermon. Another shows a Southern Buddhist temple in the Tai Autononous area in Yunnan.

19. Richard Walker, China Under Communism, New Haven, 1955, pp. 188-89.

779 In the principal cities, especially those visited by delegations from Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, a few temples are maintained for religious use. But the greatest number of temples have been converted for use by the state. One source, admittedly strongly biased, asserts that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1, in Shanghai from 600 to 2, and in Hangchow from 300 to 1.[20] Certain Buddhist monuments of historical and cultural importance are being restored and preserved.[21]

779 As we have pointed out, the clergy has
792 been largely secularized. In Shanghai, as in other cities, monks have opened restaurants specializing in Buddhist dishes. Everywhere the clergy has converted temples into small factories in order to produce hand-made articles. Monks of the Fa-tsang temple in Shanghai now work on

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20. Atrocities.
21. Buddhism in China, introduction and plates.

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779 nearby farms. In Hangchow, some 1,800
782 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22] We have few details on the fate of the Buddhist clergy in the Southwest.

779 There are occasional reports of Buddhist
178 ceremonies, such as the celebration of the Buddha's birth day.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer

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22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

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779 to resist totalitarianism or the trend of the
178 times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[24]

III. TAOISM

779 Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purposes to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism

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24. The outstanding example is Chü-tsan -- a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religious, and social work -- the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü-tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. also, Chü-tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

779 as an organized religion; the other is Taoism as a folk religion at the village level.[25] The Taoist religion developed as a reaction to the challenge of the imported faith of Buddhism. It borrowed extensively from its alien rival; its scriptures, its clerical hierarchy and organization, its rituals, its heavens and hells were often scarcely disguised copies of those of Buddhism. Its decline over the last five-hundred years has been slow but steady; in recent years its decline has accelerated. Some aspects of this should be noted. Intellectual vitality has long since disappeared, and there was little doctrine on which to base a modern revival of the religion. The priesthood, divided between northern and southern sects, was largely locally recruited; there was no central control exercised by the hereditary "Heavenly Teachers" (T'ien-shih) of the two sects, and the monks gained the reputation of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe

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25. The residue of philosophic Taoism is dealt within the chapter on Basic Attitudes in this handbook.

779 in them.[26] The last "Heavenly Master" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time for him to buy some books to read."[27] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yün-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant; the Nationalist Government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yün-kuan.

Religious Taoism has not had the inspiration or the leadership to develop modern doctrines and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-15,[28] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by

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26. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

27. Ibid., p. 152. Another source says that he was "deposed" by Chinese Nationalist troops in 1927. Cf. Ch'en Hung-shun, "The Taoist Press in China" in Rudolf Lowenthal, ed. The Religious Periodical Press in China, Peking, 1940, p. 167.

28. Shina mondai jiten [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.

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779 the development of any social, educational, or medical program. (Efforts along these lines proved abortive.) Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communist will complete this process. The Communists them-
779 selves recognize that "Religious Taoism" is
668 dead. In 1949, when bidding for the support of religious groups, they invited representatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects, simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors have steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy,

29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

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779 and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshipped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[30] One sample survey showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for their original purpose;[31] the decline in the last twenty-five years has been accelerated. It should be noted that many of the folk cults of Yunnan and Kweichow are of local origin and do not share the common characteristics of the folk Taoism of the old settled provinces.

798 In the case of folk Taoism, and other local cults, the Communists have moved to bring to an end a complex of ancient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay

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30. Cf., Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

798 away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."[32] At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Hygiene Movement, and the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," "unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

575 Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society. These organizations have traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, especially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship grouos. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a

32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

575 strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

575 668 The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That his claims of victory were premature is suggested by a recent report of the dissolution of five secret society

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les Sociétés Secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

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575 organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The
668 report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to infiltrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance are discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

575 Secret societies have been particularly numerous and powerful in North China, but those which have had important followings in Southwest China might be mentioned here:

1. Hung-chiang hui. The Society of Redspears, an offshoot of Pai-lien chiao, the White Lotus Society. Once powerful in the north, since 1924 it has been active in Kiangsu, Hupeh, Hunan, and -- in Southwest China -- in Szechwan.[36]

2. Ko-lao hui. The Society of the Elders. It is somewhat more religious than other societies, has a history of resistance to government. Founded in Fukien, has been

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35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., pp. 158-59; Encyclopedia of China Problems, p. 480.

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575 particularly in Central, North, and West China. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[37]

3. I-kuan Tao. The Way of Pervading Unity. Founded soon after the 1911 Revolution, grew rapidly from 1928 on. It gained strength and extended its activities during World War II, especially in Japanese-occupied areas. It was ordered suppressed by the National Government, but its activities have continued and spread.[38] Apparently radiating from a center in Shensi, I-kuan tao groups were formed throughout the Southwest.[39] The society was mentioned in connection with three counter-revolutionary cases in Chungking[40] and was reported active in Yunnan and Kweichow in the Spring and Summer of 1955.[41] This secret society has apparently been resourceful in surviving the concerted and severe attacks of the Communist government.[42]

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37. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

38. Ibid., pp. 166-67; Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-kuan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

39. JMJP, June 5, 1951, p. 3, identified eight sub-groups operating in the Southwest.

40. JMJP, Feb. 7, 1955, p. 3.

41. Cf. SCMP, No. 1001, March 5-7, 1955, [see following page]

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IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

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Islam was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

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41. (continued) p. 3, and JMJP, July 7, 1955, p. 3.

42. The account of the suppression of I-kuan tao and other secret societies in the Kalgan area includes details of their considerable resourcefulness. Cf. SCMP, No. 1078, pp. 27-28.

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779 563 The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizaing caravans, butchering leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

779 794 563 The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Iman, usually elected from among senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes,

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43. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

779 interprets Islamic law, and presides at
563 ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in
794 Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

779 In the Southwest China, Mohammedan
563 communities are found in all provinces, but by far the highest concentration is in the province of Yunnan where tension and conflict between Han-Chinese and the Moslems has been endemic in modern times. The following table indicates the provincial distribution of believers and religious establishments (probably places of worship rather than Islamic schools or any such institutions) throughout the region as of 1938.[45] Population estimates for the same period are added to suggest the proportion of Moslems in the total population. The source of the Moslem figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars regard as far too high.[46]

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44. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems.

45. Chungokuo Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

46. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammaden scholar Pai-Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Languages Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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Province	Pop. in Millions	Moslems	Mosques
Szechwan	48.	2,615,330	2,279
Yunnan	15.	4,567,290	3,971
Kweichow	14.3	519,160	449

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Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

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47. Cf. Chan op. cit., pp. 190-91.

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779 As the Chinese Moslems came out of
795 isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874) of Yunnan Province, and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

779 Chinese Mohammedans, in their moves
563 towards modernism, came to accept the Chinese
873 translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic. They had, by 1936, opened eleven high schools for Moslem children, and they began to send students abroad to foreign centers of Islamic learning. Yunnan

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48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.

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779 Province led in this movement; in 1937,
563 eighteen Chinese students were sent to Egypt,
873 and half of these were from Yunnan. By 1930, the Islamic Theological College attached to the Chungking mosque had been in operation five years, and the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or co-ordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools.[49] Yet the spread of modern type education was handicapped by the poverty of the Moslem communities and by religious prejudice against Chinese learning. For example Shantien, in Yunnan, was the outstanding Islamic cultural center in China and sent more students abroad than any other town; yet in 1949 it had a population of only 5,000, of which two were college graduates and "some thirty" high school graduates; it had one grade school with 360 students but no high school.[50]

779 What have been Chinese Communist policies
668 toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The

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49. Ibid., pp. 198-201.
50. Ibid., p. 200.

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policies adopted towards major centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have something in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: An All-China Islamic Association which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before[51] liberation. This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are increasingly being given the prescribed Communist education.

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51. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[52]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech of Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

> "...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and Socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[53]

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52. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.
53. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

1;Stanford U. S-4; 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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779 668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions: (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems."[54] Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not read Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

779 563 We have little detailed and reliable information on the Islamic communities of the

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

779 Southwest today. But some trends should be
563 noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the goverment, and the youth will tend in time to become more Communist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit communities in the Southwest will probably
779 proceed apace. The Communist government
563 boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth
177 now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and chü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955; SCMP, 1067, p. 23.

57. Ibid.

779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

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58. Ibid.

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779 because of its foreign support and its allegiance
797 to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The
793 most striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of worldwide policies in any age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[59]

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

59. Jean Monsterleet, S.J., Les Martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung contre l'Eglise duChrist, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

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797 This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the older Catholic areas in North and Central China, the least in such provinces as Kweichow and Kwangsi. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[60] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

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797 Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges and universities have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and universities have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Zikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clear that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

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60. Ibid.

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779 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging
797 to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of
[648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased,
668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com-
798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of
797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association
779 of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

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two-hundred adult groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün, Army, or Legion, of Mary. Many experienced Catholic missionarie were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

Communist policies and propaganda have made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played

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62. Monsterleet, p. 148. It seems to have had much less strength in the Southwest than in the major cultural and commercial centers. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

63. Cf., Hsü, Hsin-Chung-kuo ti tsung-chiao ko-hsin yü-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13. Hereafter cited as Hsü.

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798 up, and nationalistic feelings against it were
797 aroused. Its role as property owner --
779 "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le Communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, [see following page]

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798 espionage.[66]
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779 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried" and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

798 The next step in the campaign against
795 Catholicism resembled the policy followed
797 in Russia and in the East European satellites.
779 This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments; and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communist teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge.

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65. (continued) p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

67. Ibid., p. 28.

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798 Apparently this organization has had only limited
795 success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2
797 per cent went over to the "reform church";
779 many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

798 From October 1952 on there was less
797 persecution of Catholics, although between
January 1951 and November 1953 the number
779 of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

797 Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy
797 than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another
204 index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, *and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit.* p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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of the region had a total of 9 periodicals, while the province of Hopei alone had 40.[71] The following table indicates the number of Catholics and the distribution of Catholic centers in the Southwest:[72]

71. Cf. R. Lowenthal, The Religious Periodical Press in China, Peking, 1940, p. 8.

72. Figures on Catholics are from Annuaire des missions catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939. Distribution of Catholic centers from Monsterleet, pp. 16-17.

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Province	Pop. in Millions	Catholics	Metropolitan Bishoprics	Suffragan Dioceses
Szechwan	53	176,772	Chungking	Chengtu Shun-ch'ing (Nan-ch'ung) Wanhsien Chia-ting I-pin K'ang-ting Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan)
Yunnan	15.	19,999	Kunming	none
Kweichow	14.3	36,866	Kweiyang	none

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797 Government and Party moves against the Catholic communities of the Southwest followed the general pattern outlined above. The bishops of K'ang-ting and I-pin, Szechwan, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured in 1951. They were accused of espionage, of recruiting for the Legion of Mary, of sabotaging the movement for "triple autonomy," etc. At the end of 1952 in K'ang-ting, the bishop had been expelled from China, six Chinese priests were in prison, and only two were allowed a limited freedom. Thirty Catholics were in prison; the Franciscan lay missionary brothers were dispersed; the hospital, the orphanages, the leprosarium had been taken over by the Communists.[73] From this and other reports from the Southwest it would appear that the Communists have destroyed a great deal of the young and weak Catholic organization in these provinces. The missionaries returning from this area are generally more pessimistic about the future of Catholicism in China than those returning from areas where the church is better established. Commenting on the situation in Szechwan in July 1952, an authoritative Catholic journal said that there was not a single foreign missionary active in the entire province and

73. Monsterleet, pp. 44-45.

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only four in prison. In the dioceses under the Foreign Missionary Fathers of Paris, and in those in the charge of native clerics, the situation was appaling; the visible hierarchy of the church had disappeared or had been completely neutralized; the faithful deprived of organization and supervision, were left to shift for themselves.[74]

There was a respite from persecution from the Autumn of 1952 onward, though it is doubtful that this permitted any arrival of Catholicism in the Southwest. Churches in Shanghai were well attended, and although missionaries and native priests were continually harassed, they went on with their work. A group of British residents who left Shanghai in November 1955 testified that "Church attendance... has remained large, and Roman Catholic churches, in particular, are said to be jammed at all masses."[75] But the following month the Bishop of Shanghai and his "principal accomplices" were arrested and charged with "plotting a counterrevolutionary uprising." It seemed likely that another wave of persecution was rising in

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74. Bulletin de la Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris, quoted in Monsterleet, pp. 211-12.

75. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

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798 Shanghai and elsewhere.[76] It might well lead to
797 the extinction of the church in areas such as the Southwest when its situation was already desperate.

The Church in China obviously faces further trials. The fundamental question is how can the church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnesses the persecution in Kwangsi, sounds a sombre note of warning, He is speaking of the cadres:

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds.... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship

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76. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, U.P. dispatch dateline London, Dec. 10; China News Analysis, Hong Kong, 105, p. 1. No details of action taken outside of Shanghai are given.

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nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

177 in medical education, in many fields of
779 technical education, in women's education, and
797 in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

797 Protestant missions began in the ports of
779 the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

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Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations of Christianity to the Chinese.[78]

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78. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les Missions Protestantes en Chine" Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Ser. III. Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1955, p. 305, observes: "Far more disruptive in almost every mission area has been the swarm of small, independent sects -- pentecostal, holiness, fundamentalist -- most of them divisive. Not only do they assert their unwillingness to co-operate with other Christian groups, but they seek most of their converts from the established churches."

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797 Naturally the antagonism between Catholic and
779 Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[79] Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the motivations of conversion in the village he studied: "The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries."[80] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and, in the twenties and thirties there were serious efforts to curb them. One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor

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79. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, pp. 158-64.
80. Ibid., p. 159.

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results after ninety years of effort, was to reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936.[81] This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

The Sino-Japanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north and central China. At the war's end, the

81. Damobriena, p. 83.

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777 Protestant missionaries returned and set
779 about the rehabilitation of church establishments. Apparently progress was made, but there were disquieting aspects. The interdenominational unions which the Japanese had imposed during their occupation broke apart and sectarian rivalries sprang up again.

> "The measure of self support achieved in wartime necessity collapsed before the inflowing torrent of foreign funds. Leadership which had demonstrated both courage and competence through years of crisis politely yield to colleagues returning from the West."[82]

American financial support also drew upon the Protestants an increasing barrage of Communist and left-wing criticism as the Nationalist Government -- receiving American support -- became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their preponderant emphasis on the social gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clear-headed of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

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82. Lacy, op. cit., p. 306.

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798 797 The timetable of Communist moves against Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools, and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. The following figures show the decrease in Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and the almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[83] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have made their peace with the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectarianism, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The "three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this, when stated by the

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83. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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798 Communists, as a praise-worthy end.[84] A
797 leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) "a grand union of the churches"; (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[85] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[86] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist

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84. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-08.

85. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1950, p. 3.

86. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

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798 regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of
797 the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of the church in China is dark indeed.

204 Southwest China was a relatively late
797 and underdeveloped field of missionary effort; it suffered from the tendency of Protestant missions to concentrate in the coastal and easily accessible provinces. The distribution of Protestant periodicals serves to illustrate this fact. Between 1914 and 1937, 18 Protestant journals were established in the southwestern provinces (none in Kweichow). During the same period 124 were started in Kiangsu -- most of them probably in Shanghai -- and 115 in Kwangtung --
797 most of them probably in Canton. The following table shows the distribution of Protestants in the three provinces of the Southwest.[87]

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87. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages appear to be far too high and would yield a larger number of Protestants than the churches ever claimed.

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Province	Pop. in Millions (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Gross number of Protestants (1924)
Szechwan	48.	3.9	12,954
Yunnan	13.9	2.4	7,816
Kweichow	14.7	2.8	9,446

In social composition, the small Protestant communities of the Southwest probably are roughly those of Chinese Protestantism as a whole: 75 per cent rural, 25 per cent urban, with farmers, petty merchants, and workers predominating.[88]

798 797 Chinese Protestant leaders have not suffered in the way that Catholic leaders have. They have apparently led their churches in a policy of accomodation to the new regime. An account by a Chinese Protestant -- and it is 797 impossible to check its accuracy -- states that there are 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai holding services every Sunday, and we know

88. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

797 from British evacuees from Shanghai that churches are well attended there.[89] The same Chinese Protestant describes the renovation or building of churches, nine in Hangchow, one at least in rural Kiangsu. He stresses particularly the assumption by Chinese Protestant sects of their own missionary functions -- one of the "three autonomies," he mentions missionary work in Fukien, but none in the Southwest. He further states that nearly 200 students have been enrolled in divinity schools in both Nanking and Peking.[90]

The future of Protestantism is uncertain. The key to its survival is whether, within the strict limits imposed by the new Communist-Nationalist orthodoxy, a Christian church can win over a significant number of the youth. Christianity is continually castigated in education and in the press as backward, superstitious, and unscientific. The rewards of place and prestige go to those Chinese most fervent in their acceptance of the Communist orthodoxy. It is doubtful if a significant number of youth will act to cut themselves off from these rewards by embracing an alien religion.

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89. Wu Yao-tsung "Freedom of Religious Belief in Prosperous Strong Fatherland," Hong Kong, Wen Wei Pao, Oct. 1, 1955; SCMP, 1159, Oct. 28, 1955, p. 41; New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

90. Wu, op. cit., p. 41.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. BACKGROUND

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744 During the War of Resistance against Japan, while a major part of China was under the domination of Japan and Japanese-controlled puppet governments, Southwest China emerged as the base of operations of the Chinese government. The city of Chungking in Szechwan Province became China's wartime capital. With the air-route over the Himalayas and the opening of the Burma Road, the Southwest Region also furnished China important lines of communication with the outside world. Following the moving of government to Chungking, government organizations and workers moved in. Taking refuge from the Japanese, numerous educational and cultural institutions moved to the Southwest and settled in their temporary quarters in Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and Sikang. Although this worked hardship on both the natives and the newcomers, it gave an opportunity for a cultural fusion which was a great benefit to the Southwest. Along with this cultural invasion, modern medical and health organizations were given a chance to spread and expand at a faster pace in this region of China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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In the four Southwest provinces, in 1947, there were 59 government health organizations at the provincial level, with 6,529 medical and health personnel. At the county level, there were 904 government health organizations.[1] As to preventive medical care, in the year 1946, 720,702 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 1,029,541 were inoculated against cholera, and 448,415 were inoculated against both cholera and typhoid by various government health agencies.[2] Statistical data are far from satisfactory for the presentation of a balanced picture of the health work and health conditions of the Southwest before 1949, particularly since figures for private practitioners and private institutions are not available; however, it is hoped that the few figures given above may serve as background. Furthermore, there are indications that all the achievements claimed by the Chinese Communist regime in health and sanitation are not completely new developments; many projects were begun under the Nationalist Government.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

In July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education of the

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1. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, 344.
2. Ibid., p. 347.

744 Southwest Military and Administrative Region,
751 made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950.
[874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50, seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

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3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

744 751 Ch'u's report indicated that the Communist regime was placing emphasis on prevention of disease, on improvement and restoration of organizations of health and sanitation, development of health programs for women and children, organization of health and medical workers, and dissemination of health knowledge and education. All these points of emphasis seemed to be in conformity with the general policies on health and sanitation set forth by the Central People's Government in Peking.

Two years later, in September 1952, Lu Chih-chün, vice-chairman of the Health Department of the Southwest Region, spoke on "The Development of the People's Health Work in the Southwest in the Past Three Years."[4] He began with acknowledgment of the guidance given by the Party and the government, and went on to "prove" that noticeable achievements had been accomplished in the Southwest in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Central People's Government. Since one important aspect of health work undertaken by Communist China was disease-prevention, this report placed stress upon preventive measures and enumerated those taken against contagious diseases in the Southwest Region.

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4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, September 26, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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751 Smallpox headed the list. To combat the possibility of an epidemic, 50,000,000 people were reported to have been given vaccination in the three years covered by the report. As a result, the threat of smallpox was greatly reduced. In twelve important cities, Chungking, Chengtu, Pei-p'ei, Wanhsien, Tzu-kung, Nan-ch'ung, Nei-chiang, and Wu-t'ung-ch'iao in Szechwan Province, and in Hsia-kuan and Ho-k'ou in Yunnan; Tsun-i in Kweichow; and Ya-an in Sikang (now incorporated into Szechwan), there were no smallpox epidemics in 1952.

Recurrent fever was second on the list. In 1951, preventive medical corps were sent into many localities for the prevention and treatment of this disease. At the same time the public was alerted to check its spread by exterminating fleas. Thus in Lung-ch'ang, a special district of Szechwan, the number of sufferers from this disease in the spring of 1952 was claimed to be only 7 per cent of the number so afflicted in the spring of 1951. In Pi-chieh, a special district of Kweichow, the number of people affected by recurrent fever in March 1952 was half the number reported in March in the preceding year.

Only slightly less common causes of epidemics in the Southwest were typhoid and cholera. To combat these epidemics, the chief measures were the disinfection of drinking water

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744 and the betterment of environmental hygiene.
751 Early preventive inoculations were also recommended. Lu Chih-chün claimed that there were no cases of cholera in the region and that the number of cases of typhoid had been greatly reduced.

Malaria was a common disease in the Southwest Region, according to the report. In addition to the promotion of environmental hygiene, malaria-prevention centers and malaria-prevention corps were established in the key cities in the four Southwestern provinces. Preventive centers for other local contagious diseases, such as bubonic plague and hookworm, were also established, according to Lu's report.

Referring to the improvement of health conditions in the Southwest, it was claimed that in large cities like Chungking and Chengtu that there were "fewer" people reported sick in 1952 than in 1951. Finally it was claimed that health centers had been established in 85 counties, and that the number of hospital beds in 1952 had been doubled since 1950.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

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At the First Session of the First National People's Congress (1954), Li Teh-ch'uan (General Feng Yü-hsiang's widow), Minister of

744 Health, spoke on public health.[5] She reported that efforts to protect the health of mothers and children made much headway, and that the mortality rate of expectant mothers and infants had dropped. Special attention to the health of women and children is urged in a Chinese Communist document, "The Common Program." Article 48 of this document declares that "Public health and medical work shall be expanded, and attention shall be paid to the protection of the health [844] of mothers, infants, and children."[6] She reported that the training of midwives, the re-educating of "old-style" midwives, and the prevention of various childhood diseases have been stressed throughout China as well as in the Southwest.

To cite the municipality of Chungking, for example, by the middle of 1953 there were 26 health centers for women and children and 70 maternity stations with 684 midwives on duty. The practice of modern obstetrics showed a noticeable increase; modern methods were used in 10 per cent of the births in 1951, 30 per cent

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5. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 41-42.

6. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given
951 to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.

8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

744 563 164 was reported that the minority groups in both the Southwest and the Central-South suffered from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. In Yunnan Province in 1950, from 64 to 94 per cent of the children of the minority peoples were affected with enlargement of the spleen, and 39 per cent had malarial parasites in their blood. The basic measures proposed for the improvement of health conditions in the minority nationalities were the establishment of additional public health agencies and the training of additional health workers.[9]

944 563 Two years later, twenty-five mobile health corps units had been formed and were serving the minority nationalities areas in Southwest China, according to Communist sources. Not only were the treatments and preventive injections said to have been administered free, but the dissemination of modern methods of sanitation and education in hygiene were the responsibility of these traveling medical workers. A special effort was made to train members of minority groups as health workers among their own people. Incomplete statistics for 1949-52

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9. Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, pp. 5-7.

744 563 claim that among minority groups in the Southwest Region, 98,406 people received free medical treatment and 72,900 people were given vaccination against smallpox.[10]

V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

744 668 In 1952 the Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive. It was designed primarily to integrate health work with the mass propaganda campaign which accused the United States of engaging in bacteriological warfare. The Patriotic Health Drive was, therefore, stimulated by the conflict in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In the name of patriotism the Chinese people were called upon to clean their cities and work for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Upon the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in April 1952, some 70 to 80 per cent of the population in the key cities of the Southwest Region were mobilized. According to statistics released in September 1952, the following accomplishments were claimed:

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10. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 3.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Refuse removed		1,000,000 tons
Flies exterminated		20 tons
Fly larvae destroyed	some	70 tons
Mosquito larvae destroyed	some	23 tons
Mosquitos exterminated		190 pounds
Ditches dredged and repaired		868 miles
Rats exterminated		800,000
Rat holes sealed up		96,619
Public comfort stations improved and constructed		7,993
Wells improved and dug		9,418

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The Communists claimed to have used new types of rat traps, and more efficient ways of exterminating fleas and other pests were utilized. One activist of the Patriotic Drive, it was claimed, killed 9,000 flies in a single day and on the following day surpassed his own record by killing 13,900.[11] We must assume that the New China Daily, in enthusiasm for such a display of industry, has quoted approximate figures.

VI. OBSERVATIONS

1. In 1953, the Patriotic Health Drive began earlier in the year. In many localities it was integrated with house-cleaning before the Chinese New Year. Instead of killing flies in the summer, the people were called upon to dig up and destroy fly larvae. To publicize these activities and accomplishments, the Party bureaucrats demanded further details with which to adorn their reports. One county government in Szechwan asked each village farmer to answer 120 questions. When exterminating rats, for example, the farmer was to classify them as being large, medium, or small. The weight of each rat was to be given; farmers were expected to give the length of the rats' bodies and the length of their tails.[12]

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11. New China Daily, Sept. 26, 1952, p. 3.
12. Ibid., June 7, 1953, p. 3.

744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

[[31]] 744 157 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

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13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 42-43.

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744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical [878] Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744 757 In a joint convention in Chungking, a similar criticism was voiced.[18] Although many traditional practices have proved to be effective, it still remains to be seen to what extent the use of medicinal herbs can be justified by modern science. It also remains to be ascertained whether this enthusiasm for traditional medicine on the part of the Chinese Communists is more than an evanescent interest.

744 The health of the people of a nation depends on many factors. Preventive medical care or even a lower infant mortality rate does not necessarily mean the general betterment of public health. Malnutrition as the result of an inadequate diet may offset whatever has been accomplished by vaccinations and inoculations. Since little information is revealed in Chinese Communist publications, on the diet and nutrition of the people, it is necessary to point out that while reports on health and sanitation improvements on the mainland of China should not be discounted, other factors must also be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the general health of the Chinese people.[19]

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18. Ibid., No. 1012, Supplement, pp. 4-5.

19. For medical education and health in schools, see chapter on Education; for health and sanitation in the factories and among industrial workers, see chapter on Labor.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph lq,
Sociological Background

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

746 Under the Nationalist Government during the war years (1937-1945), the first and foremost agency in the work of public welfare was the National Relief Commission. It was the pivot upon which China's machinery of relief and rehabilitation depended. Through its various efforts from 1938 to 1944, 30,152,131 refugees from war and famine were benefited.[1] In addition to immediate war and disaster relief, it also operated clinics, occupational relief works, and organizations for the training and care of children. A number of private and semi-private welfare and relief agencies were also active, and most of these were founded to meet the needs of the war conditions.[2] For women and children, there were the National Association for Refugee Children, the National Child Welfare Association of China, and the Women's

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1. China Handbook 1937-1945, compiled by Chinese Ministry of Information, New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 521-37.
2. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 Advisory Council. For servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work there were the China Wartime Relief Association, and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies, such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China of the United States, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through different medium also helped to aid China in her distress.

746 657 The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940s, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the many relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in Southwest China.[3] With Chungking as the wartime capital of China, and the Southwest provinces as the base of operations in the long resistance war against Japan, the Southwest Region, in spite of material hardships made cultural and social progress. This was equally true in public welfare.

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

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RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA */
(June 1947)

Province	Relief Organizations	Farmers' Welfare Socities	Child Welfare Units	Social Service Offices	Employment Agencies Independent/	Employment Agencies Auxiliary
Szechwan	571	32	295	181	22	19
Sikang	33	1	10	9	1	1
Yunnan	160	22	53	6	7	5
Kweichow	97	22	42	32	10	6
Chungking	78	5	76	21	13	3
Total	939	82	476	249	53	34

*/ See Footnote 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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657 On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CRRA) as a department of the Nationalist Government on the level of ministries, was established in January 1945, as was the China office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of relief and the rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] It was extremely unfortunate that peaceful projects of this sort did not continue; their efforts were suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the Mainland of China.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locusts and other harmful insects, frost, wind-storms, and hail-storms, have caused famines, beginning in the rural districts and spreading through the entire nation. According to one estimate, natural calamities, climaxed by the floods of 1954, affected many millions as shown

4. China Handbook, pp. 538-541.

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1949	60,000,000
1950	38,000,000
1951	28,000,000
1952	33,000,000
1953	47,000,000
1954	180,000,000

above.[5] No region has escaped entirely from these disasters. If there are differences between them, it is only a matter of degree.

In Southwest China, spring and summer droughts were severe in 1950 and 1951. Some 246 counties were affected and some 4,471,970 people faced starvation. Before this condition was remedied, the spring drought of 1952 affected 133 counties and another 2,000,000 were in danger of starvation.[6] In the Li-chiang special district there was a severe earthquake in 1951. As a result some 300 people died, 2,000 were injured, and 20,000

5. Kung-fei T'ung-chih Hsia-ti Wen-hua yü she-yüan [Cultural and Social Movements Under the Communist Rule], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1953, p. 103.

6. Pei Kuan-chin T'ien-ma Hou-ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1954, pp. 35-37.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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731 houses were destroyed. This calamity created 120,000 refugees.[7]

731 668 As if these were not enough, the people on the mainland of China were beset by a number of man-made adversities -- the land reform, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and warfare in Korea. About 90,000,000 people were affected.[8] Land Reform has been completed in 12,165 villages (about 82 per cent of the total area) in the Southwest Region, and the number of people involved in this violent change was estimated at 74,315,489, of which 3,715,774 were landowners. One estimate gives the number of casualties of these purges as follows:[9] some 2,600,000 landlords suffered from the land reform, with 148,430 put to death; some 2,500,000 died as counter-revolutionaries as the result of the Three-Anti

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

8. Kung-fa-ti Chiu-chi Kung-tso [Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists], *The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1955, pp. 2-3.

9. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 2-5.

*/ Hereinafter cited as Relief Work.

731 and Five-Anti campaigns, 272,800 men were
668 mobilized and sent to fight in Korea from the four southwest provinces. Among the prisoners of war who chose to go to Formosa rather than return to Communist China, 5,184 men were from Southwest China.[10]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

657 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the
744 Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, have been in name only, and little relief work has been accomplished.[11]

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun

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10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6.

657 Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this
744 organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. In the organizing of branch offices, four years later it was reported that twenty-three large cities in all regions of China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In Southwest China, branch offices have been established in Chungking and Chengtu in the province of Szechwan and in Kunming in the province of Yunnan. A special provincial branch office was also set up in Kweichow Province.[12] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[13]

464 Due to the increase of unemployment, the
657 Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administrative Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established in August of the same year. Later similar committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[14]

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12. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 396-397.

13. Cultural and Social Movements, pp. 6-8.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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747 The Red Cross Society of China has had a history of 50 years. In August 1950 the Communists assumed control and reorganized it under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. It has done more medical work than relief work, especially in and around construction projects where large numbers of laborers congregated. In Southwest China, the Communist Red Cross sent medical and epidemic-prevention corps to serve the laborers in the building of the Chungking-Chengtu Railway and the Hunan-Kwangsi Railway (Hsiang-Kuei Railway). This organization also did medical and propaganda work among the minority nationalities in the Southwest province.[15]

During the war of resistance against Japan, the China Defense League was founded (June 1938) by Soong Ching-ling in Hong Kong. It acted as the channel for international aid chiefly to bring medicine and relief to Communist bases. In 1941, its headquarters was moved to Chungking. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, this organization changed its name to the China Welfare Institute (August 1950). Its chief

15. Ibid., p. 8; People's Handbook, 1955, p. 396.

747 [204] activities have been in Shanghai.[16] Beginning in January 1952, the China Welfare Institute has published an international, propaganda-disseminating, bimonthly magazine, China Reconstructs, in the English language.

The Chinese People's National Committee for the Defense of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 in Peking, in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of this organization is also Soong Ching-ling. The policy of this committee, apart from the promotion of child welfare, was defined as anti-imperialisism and the defense of world peace.[17]

A group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association in 1948. The Communist regime brought this organization under their control and then moved it to Peking in 1951. In August 1953, a conference of the workers was called, and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. It is reported that tuberculosis prevention units all over the country are affiliated with this organization.[18]

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16. Ibid., pp. 397-398; Relief Work, pp. 8 - 9.
17. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 260-61.
18. Ibid., p. 398; Relief Work, pp.8-9.

:1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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IV. RELIEF AND RELIEF POLICIES

746 During the convention of the National People's Congress in Peking in September 1954, Hsieh Chieh-ts'ai, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Chinese Communist regime, made a report on the state of relief and welfare on the China Mainland. After alluding to the expanse and severity of natural calamities from 1949 to 1954, he reiterated the policies of the Chinese Communist Government in conducting its relief work. The first effort is to mobilize the masses to work on the prevention of drought, frost, harmful insects, and flood. Secondly, when disaster strikes, the people are expected to adopt measures to "help themselves through production," "to economize during the famine period," and "to offer mutual-aid." Only when it is absolutely necessary should the government be expected to offer outright relief.[19]

In discussing public welfare and relief in Communist China, it is necessary to recognize how the Communists interpret certain common terms. The word relief, although it is generally taken to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need,"[20] to the Communist

19. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-12.
20. Fairchild, H.P. Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams, 1955, p. 255.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. From this the Chinese Communist have not deviated. As a matter of fact, most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroad lines are undertaken, in part, by famine refugees, who thus are expected to pay in labor for government efforts to prevent starvation.[21]

746 73/ In an official report on relief work in 1952, the deputy chief of the Department of Civil Affairs of the Southwest Region gave some interesting slogans used by the government to rally the people in famine areas.[22] In order to ensure a good harvest, "one must get rid of the traditional belief of relying on nature (God or heaven) to live." "One must believe that men can conquer nature." In preventive measures against drought, the Southwest mobilized 30,000,000 people to build and repair waterways. In the southern part of Szechwan, 252,182 water-wheels were set up, and enough people were mobilized to tread them

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21. Relief Work, pp. 9-12.

22. New China Daily, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 6.

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day and night. When 15 counties were faced with flood in East Szechwan, people were called out to fight the inundation and to build dikes. To exterminate insects, 1,560,000 people were mobilized in South Szechwan, and "260,000,000 insects amounted to some 70 tons in weight" were caught, according to the same report. Against the traditional spring and summer famine spells as many as 150 kinds of secondary production (usually handicrafts) were developed in the various parts of the Southwest. In reporting on the substitution of work for relief, it was revealed that in addition to the building of roads, railways, and dikes, the famine refugees also undertook the shipment of coal and salt and the building of granaries and army camps. In 1951, the report said, 200,000 refugees were engaged in cutting timber and in reforestation in southern Szechwan. Expanding the theme of self-help, the Communists advocated mutual-aid. In Southwest China there were drives to economize in order to be able to contribute for relief. Slogans demanded that everyone give each day a bowl of rice and a handful of vegetables for relief. In this way the cities contributed their share for the welfare of the rural areas, and even other administrative regions. The 1952 report also stated that in 1950 JMP$ 57,250,000,000 were contributed to the winter clothing fund for the refugees of northern Anhwei and

746 northern Kiangsu provinces in East China
by the people of the Southwest. In 1951, the
731 city people of East Szechwan contributed
JMP$ 425,000,000 and some 2,700,000 pounds
of food to the famine-stricken rural areas.[23]

464 In the cities, especially in the early period of the Communist regime, unemployment was an extremely serious problem. In the Southwest Region it was estimated that in 1952 about 2,600,000 people were unemployed or partly unemployed,[24] and as a result the Communist regime established a Labor Employment Committee in Peking as well as on the various levels in local governments. Under this committee the "registration of labor employment" was conducted. The following steps were taken to alleviate the problem of unemployment: (1) the centralization of employment agencies under the Labor Employment Committee, (2) the establishment of training courses, (3) the substitution of work for direct relief, (4) the advocation of self-help-through-production, (5) outright relief (only to cases of extreme hardship), and (6) a

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23. Ibid.
24. Relief Work, p. 13.

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464 campaign to encourage workers to return to the rural areas to engage in production.[25] All in all, the basis of city relief was self-help-through-labor, which was also the emphasis of rural relief policies. For example, in Chungking needy people were organized into handicraft-production teams. Early in 1955, it was reported that in addition to those performing regular and seasonal labor, 32,000 needy people were organized into productive labor teams in Chungking. Among the people who were unable to make a living, including the aged, the cripple, and the young, relief was given to 41,828 families in the period January-October 1954, according to a Communist source.[26]

735 733 548 Beggars, pickpockets, and prostitutes were the subjects of an intensive campaign. It was reported in 1952 that the majority of these three city elements had been sent to institutions for reform and training in productive works.[27] In a speech in September 1954, the Communist Minister of Internal Affairs told the National People's Congress that prostitutes, beggars, and opium smokers were "basically

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25. Ibid., p. 16.

26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, America Consulate General, No. 1008, Supplements, March 16, 1955, pp. 8-10.

27. New China Daily, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 4.

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733 "non-existent" in Communist China and the
735 number of vagrants had been greatly reduced.[28]
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V. CHILD WELFARE

527 Following the international practice of
746 dedicating one day in the year to the children, in 1931 April 4th was promulgated as China's Children's Day by the Nationalist Government. But the Chinese Communist regime changed this date to June 1st, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation in 1949 at Moscow.[29] Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic, i.e., not designed for the well-being of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1st every year, all the propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the happy state of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and references to the "plight" of children in the free world. And it is also around this time in most large cities on the Mainland of China that health examinations for

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28. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-13.

29. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [History of the Memorial Days], Shanghai, T'ai-lien ch'u-pan she, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 180-83.

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527 children are conducted. In the period 1950-52,
746 according to one report, more than 1,000,000 children received a health examination.[30]

In the Southwest, in Chungking, on Children's Day 1953, more than 33,000 children gathered at the "Working People's Cultural Palace." Entertainment and games were on the day's program, as well as speeches by the mayor and vice-mayor of the city. In eleven other cultural centers" in the municipality of Chungking on that same day, special motion pictures for children were shown. The New China Bookstore opened its new department for children, and on the first day a sale of more than 3,700 children's books was reported.[31]

746 The first conference of the workers in
668 women's and children's welfare was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production as the over-all purpose, the scope of their welfare work was described as to serve the masses of working

30. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
31. Ibid., June 2, 1953, p. 1.

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746 668 women and their children. Their main tasks were to promote the health of women and children and to solve the problems which arise in the rearing and educating of the children of working people. At the conference it was reported that 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in two years (to November 1951) 4,340 persons were trained to care for children and 3,743 were trained as health workers to care for women and children. During the same period, propaganda agencies arranged 128 exhibits to promote good health among women and children; 7,295,095 people were reported to have attended these exhibits.[32]

746 By the end of 1952, there were 34,000 public health agencies for women and children, with additional mobile corps, organized under all the provincial governments. In 1952, in mining and construction work, in other enterprises, in public organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in existence; in larger cities, 4,346 street creches were set up, and in the rural areas 148,000 creches were

32. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, 1951, No. 12, Dec. 1951, pp. 47-48.

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746 organized during the busy farming seasons to care for an estimated 850,000 children of agricultural families.[33] In the Southwest Region, many factories were reported to have provided creches to care for the children of working mothers. In a report made in 1953, the total number of creches of this category was given as 77, caring for approximately 4,400 children.[34] For the region as a whole, this number is far too small to be considered adequate.

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

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746 In relief work in Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been regarded with utmost seriousness and has been treated as relief work in the more usual sense. The welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families was specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the earliest documents adopted by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and of members of the revolutionary forces, who are in need, shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or

33. New China Daily, April 18, 1953, p. 4.
34. Ibid., May 30, 1953, p. 3.

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729 retired servicemen who have participated in
746 the revolutionary war, providing them with the means of livelihood or with occupation."[35] However, the nationwide campaign did not begin until late in 1950, which indicates that this necessity was caused by the warfare in Korea.[36] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime promulgated five sets of regulations relating to compassionate payments. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen; preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen killed in action or upon illness; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers injured or killed; and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service injured or killed.[37] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included receiving land and farming implements as well as government scholarships for their children, lower prices, discounts from commercial establishments, and so forth. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

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35. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign LanguagesPress, 1949, p. 10.

36. R[illegible] W[illegible] p. [illegible]

37. New China Monthly, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

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746 At the time of the Spring Festival in 1951, 10,000,000 people were rallied to take part in the campaign to honor servicemen and their families, according to a report made by the Department of Civil Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee. Festivals at the lunar New Year and again on August 1, the Chinese Communist Army Day, have since become annual affairs. Through the Government relief and rehabilitation program, the report claimed, many members of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen and many disabled veterans became local Party leaders, and members of Communist cadres and others were elected as delegates and committeemen to Communist conventions and assemblies. In the county of T'ung-chiang[38] in Szechwan Province, as many as 963 cadres were chosen from among these people in 1953.

The system of substitute-tilling during the absence of responsible family members was promoted in most rural areas in the Southwestern provinces. Among the 7,040 families of "martyrs" and servicemen who lived in the rural districts in the Chungking municipality, 1,431 families were granted substitute tillers to cultivate their lands in 1952. In 71 other counties and municipalities of Szechwan,

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38. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.

729 according to the same report, out of a total of
746 209,813 families of "martyrs" and servicemen, 80,174 families were granted substitute tillers during 1951. However, the report also mentioned confused management and inadequate enforcement of this system in many places in the Southwest.[39] Apparently, much improvement is to be desired and substitute-tilling may always remain a source of dissatisfaction among the rural population.

In the cities in the Southwest Region as well as in all other regions, the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were organized for production and trained for employment. Statistics covering the cities of Chungking, Chengtu, Wanhsien and Nan-ch'ung in Szechwan Province, Kweiyang in Kweichow Province and Kunming in Yunnan Province, showed 102 organized production units involving 2,139 people, and further, that 9,550 people obtained employment through the efforts of the government. In addition, in 22 counties in southern Szechwan Province, 202 units were organized and 3,726 members of servicemen's families engaged in
729 production work. For those who were unable
746 to work (as of June 1952), the regional govern-
657 ment appropriated relief payments amounting

39. Ibid.

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729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

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729 874 gone into construction work.[43] Some of these schools are in the Southwest, but the number and their locations are not known. According to their own criticism, expressed in Communist newspapers, Southwestern schools for disabled veterans are few in quantity and poor in quality.[44]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen had become participants in mutual-aid groups and cooperatives and many were elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or village cadres.[45] The People's Daily reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans were elected "labor heroes" in July 1954.

VII. CONCLUSION

746 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China, the emphasis is on production rather than the alleviation of suffering. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save

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43. Relief Work p. 19.
44. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.
45. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

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746 themselves by "self-help-through-production." Even in concern for the welfare of women and children, the chief purpose is to gain energy to further production. The Communists are not concerned with the welfare of individuals or the lives of individuals. Whereas the humanitarian element prevails in public welfare in the free world, it is generally lacking in a Communist state. In the charter of the People's Relief Administration, Article 2 explains its function in the following sentence: "This Administration is an organization of the people under the leadership of the Central People's Government to unite and guide...all relief and welfare workers to help the Government in the organization of the masses for the promoting of production and economy, labor and mutual-aid, so that the relief and welfare works for the masses of the people shall be enhanced."[46] The key words here are production, economy, labor, and mutual-aid. There is no allusion to the alleviation of suffering or the promotion of the well-being of the people.

000 When one understands the Communist attitude toward public welfare, it helps one to grasp the overwhelming plight of those who become the victims of man-made calamities.

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46. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, May 5, 1950, p. 1.

Perhaps no written passage could illuminate the situation so vividly and succinctly as a parable recounted in one of the ancient Chinese classics.

> "In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave... 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed, ... and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave [this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said to [his] disciples, 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'"[47]

Have man-made disasters in Communist China become fiercer than nature's floods and droughts? This may be the reason why so many Chinese prisoners of war in Korea did not choose to return to the China Mainland.

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47. James Legge, tr., The Li Ki: [The Book of Rites], Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1885. Vol. 27, The Sacred Books of the East, ed., by F. Max Müller, pp. 190-91.

747 On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the suffering masses still under Communist rule. In the past five years, the association has aided more than 967,000 refugees and helped 51,846 people to escape to Formosa. During the flood of 1954, this organization sent thirty-five airplanes to the Mainland of China and dropped about 100,000 pounds of rice and 7,500,000 handbills. The Free China Relief Association was also responsible for the rehabilitation of 14,500 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea, who chose Free China rather than return to the Communist fold. Over one-third (5,184) of these men are natives of the Southwestern provinces. The group arrived in Taiwan on January 23, 1954. The FCRA has established connections with the UN and the United States and has extended aid to Chinese refugees in many places, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea.[48]

At the UN Security Council meeting on November 28, 1950, the American delegate, Warren Austin, spoke of the relief supplies sent to China from the United States, of

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48. Chiu-chi T'e-kan [Special Relief Bulletin], The Free China Relief Association, Taipei, Sept. 1, 1955.

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747 American efforts to feed and to clothe thousands and thousands of Chinese people in the postwar years, and of the friendship expressed by the American people for China. Friendship between America and China has a long history. Because this is true, and a truth remembered by millions of Chinese, the Peking regime and the Communists do all in their power to slander the United States.

During a period of some two years after V-J Day (1945-47) China received millions of US dollars in American aid through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.[49] Although relief and rehabilitation work was disrupted by the civil strife between the Nationalists and the Communists and was brought to an abrupt end by the Communist domination of the Mainland, many people were benefited. After the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Chinese Communist Government made the decision to assume control of all American-subsidized educational, relief, and religious organizations. According to a Communist report, American assets in these three categories amounted to

49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 46, Jan. 11, 1951, pp. 17-20.

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US$ 41,900,000. Of this sum, 47 per cent was for relief and welfare work, the operation of 200 orphanages, 20 leper asylums, 10 schools for the mute and deaf, and 30 schools for the blind.[50] It is apparent that without American aid much welfare work will be suspended. It is unlikely that those who have received the benefit of subsidized institions will readily forget such gestures of American friendship.

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50 Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Dec. 30, 1950, p. 1.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

181 The attitudes of an individual, although conditioned by the environment in which he lives and influenced by the persons with whom he comes in contact, are subject to changes that are well-nigh unpredictable; he may simultaneously adopt diametrically opposed attitudes without being aware of inconsistency. This circumstance, coupled with China's multitudinous regions and groups of people of varying characteristics, makes the task of gauging the attitudes of the Chinese people an exceedingly risky one at best. The Chinese, in general, are traditionally less outspoken than Americans. However, since attitudes manifest themselves in reactions and some of the reactions of the Chinese people are observable even in official Communist announcements, a few very general and broad conclusions may be drawn. In this discussion, attention is focused on the attitudes of the various groups of Chinese toward their country, the Communist government, and the ambitions and aspirations of the individual.

In sociological studies, occupational stratification is one recognized criterion for analyzing any society. In adopting this approach for our discussion, we do not propose to overlook the significance of grouping people according to other equally valid criteria, such as age, sex, and income. Older people, for example, are generally more conservative, less willing to

181 adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

565 184 The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but nonexistent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. Especially in Southwest China, where warlords ruled until the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, the development of a national feeling among the farmers has been late and slow. However, the cessation 565 722 of what used to be perpetual skirmishes between 184 warlords and the presence of a single centralized authority during World War II furnished many farmers in this region with a basis on which to form a concept of nationalism. Although no part of Southwest China was overrun by Japanese troops, the experiences of enemy bombings, anti-Japanese propaganda, and contact with refugees made

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of cooperatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

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177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

177 565 184 foreign missionaries. In Southwest China, foreign churches were seen only in a few larger cities. The presence of American troops in Kunming, Chengtu, and a few other cities where military installations were located during the war against Japan made possible a different view of the foreigner. The farmer's reaction to the sight of a swashbuckling American soldier was generally puzzlement, envy, and a measure of disapproval. But on the whole, very few farmers in this region have had much experience with foreigners, nor did anti-foreign uprisings in the past directly involve the Southwestern farmer. The frightening image of "Western imperialism" created by Communist propaganda organs, therefore, is likely to pose no meaningful threat to these long-isolated people. The majority of the farmers in this region are not concerned with the fate of foreign missionaries in Communist China.

565 184 The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring more land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer's hopes for obtaining land are strictly limited, his interest turns to finding ways in which his children, through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young people from peasant families have been absorbed into the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which

575 Farmers active in secret societies, which
565 are traditionally opposed to government control,
184 may have a different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) sect was reported active as late as the summer of 1955 and apparently has survived Communist efforts to stamp it out. Other secret societies are of minor importance in comparison with those operating in Central-South or East China

II. URBAN WORKERS

565 Southwest China had been backward in indus-
178 trial development until the late 1930's when
184 some industrial plants were moved from the coastal areas to places like Chungking and Wanhsien in Szechwan Province. Even as late as 1952 there were still very few industrial workers in this region. Most of them were not organized until after 1949 and were not involved in earlier political movements. Before unionization, industrial workers in Southwest China had no greater national feeling than was commong among the farmers.

565 The Communists' avowed attempt to raise
184 the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learned of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the New China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions, also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most

565 184 of these benefits are limited and there have been only a small number of beneficiaries.

565 466 184 On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial increase in the standard of living, a harsher work schedule and loss of leisure time, and growing disillusionment as it becomes obvious that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the New China. The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against overwork and overly rigid demands upon the time and temper of the laborer indicate that the laboring class is not necessarily most productive under pressure. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new, Communist-fostered managerial class, which, for whatever reasons, receives more benefits than does manual labor.

565 648 Foreign advisers had been employed in many Chinese factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to recognizing the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. There is no evidence to suggest that many Russian technicians or advisers are employed in factories in this region, or that those employed have caused resentment among the native workers.

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The Chinese worker has not abandoned his aspiration of personal advancement in the material sense. The promotion of the young and ambitious to serve in the huge government bureaucracy may satisfy some of the workers, but the lack of a substantial increase in their standard of living will lead many to feel that their aspirations cannot be fulfilled under the Communist regi me.

III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class," hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectuals may differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some of them at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of power among the nations. After five years of Communist

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rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified. But on the negative side, severe restrictions on intellectual freedom have been imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a feeling of insecurity among many of the intellectual group.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government, the principal means to wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal amibitons, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly welcomed. So far, the vast underdeveloped areas in Southwest China have offered a great challenge to the educated, and many who accepted assignments in such areas have been reported to feel that they finally have started contributing to the welfare of their country. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist govern-

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ment has been guilty of misassignments which have caused dissatisfaction and open criticism in the Communist press.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among most of the students. Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to entirely suppress a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in the regime less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

VI. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-businessmen and manufacturers, who made up the larger part of China's urban population continue to exist in reduced numbers. The merchant has always occupied an inferior position in the traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new, and an industrialist's position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had been forced to operate under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days, are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers

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except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese market and caused dislocation in the Chinese economy.

Under the Peking regime, businessmen and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small businessmen and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the "New Democracy," and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist society which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of and regulation by state enterprises. There is evidence that the businessmen and manufacturers, accustomed as they are to government interference, are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government increasingly harsh and ever more difficult to evade. In Southwest China, this mood may not be easily discernible since there are fewer large commercial and industrial centers.

If profit has been the most common motive among businessmen and manufacturers, under present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their amibitons. Some members of this class who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by co-operating with

565 184 the Communist regime. In this connection, the Communists have appointed a few erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

Ad additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on export trade. Southwest China has a few traditionally profitable export commodities, such as tung-oil, hog bristles, and foodstuffs. Now that the government has virtually completed its monopoly of export trade, the merchants are denied of the opportunity to take part in this lucrative undertaking.

V. WOMEN

562 184 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition is so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their rights in pre-Communist days; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have thus assumed more active roles in society are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness similar to that of men

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of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of nationalism.

How much improvement in the status of women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to participate in political activities and industry; they are provided with facilities for child care and adult education, as well as other welfare benefits if they will join the working force. If the increase in the number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women are reluctant to work in factories and those who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized Marriage Law in Communist China embodies nothing new in principle but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is unprecedented. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the Marriage Law in the chapter on Family).

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184 Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

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184 A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

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184 Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

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minority groups. Traditionally isolated to varying degrees, these groups had been given little reason to feel favorably disposed toward a central government in China; in their eyes, a central authority appeared a threat to their traditional way of life. Until it has been proven that by identifying themselves as a part of the "greater" Chinese community they would be in a better position to realize their aspirations, it would be difficult for these groups to share the national feelings of the Han-Chinese.

The Communist government has been trying to cultivate a feeling of kinship between all the ethnic groups and to assimilate the minority nationals without provoking their resentment. Preferential treatment has been extedned minority nationals who left their villages for the Han-Chinese areas. Many of the ethnic minorities have been granted "autonomous" status by the Central People's Government to win their support. Schools have been established and languages designed for the minority groups so that Communist ideology can be taught to them. Special efforts have been made to publicize the achievements of individuals belonging to such groups. All these measures are meant to foster a favorable attitude among the minority groups toward the Peking regime.

It is impossible to measure the success or failure of the Communist policy toward the minority groups at this stage. However, it appears reasonable to say that the Communists have been doing more to win support from these groups than to alienate them.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

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In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes have significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that they are regimented by a well-controlled machine. High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of Party loyalty and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far there has been no indication that their feelings have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the top Communist leaders in Southwest China have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. Those who contributed to the victory of the Communists received assignment commensurate with their service, and they seem to remain active and content with their positions.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to repeatedly prove their loyalty to the Communist regime. The fact that the Party relies

665 on close surveillance and an atmosphere of
184 fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction and dissidence within the Party ranks. The expansion of a bureaucracy necessitates the promotion of numerous lower-level Party functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. Even former warlords who has chosen to co-operate with the Communists have been assigned government positions without true authority, but which at least insure their livelihood and prestige. A sense of insecurity may continue to affect some members of this group, but as time goes on they will consolidate their positions in the "new" society.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which extends to all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

184 Russia are two major causes of dissatisfaction among the Chinese people. Regimentation, when carried to the extreme, provokes the resistance of the people. Subservience to Russia destroys the spirit of nationalism which the Communists have been trying to cultivate in China. Vigorous and continuous government efforts to promote friendship with Russia through the extensive Sino-Soviet Frendship Association is an indirect admission that anti-Russian feeling either already exists or can easily develop.

The general patterns of attitudes we have discussed can serve only as indications of the prevailing social mood among various groups. Sociologists agree that it is difficult to predict group response. This, it appears, must apply to a study of a people so various in temperament as the Chinese.

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CONSTITUTION

SOUTHWEST CHINA

Since the Constitution of the People's
000 Republic of China, adopted in September, 1954 is designed to serve the country as a whole, it will be undesirable to deal with it on a regional basis. However, a study of certain interesting phases of the Constitution is included in this handbook as Appendix A, and readers are urged to consult it.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. MILITARY CONQUEST

101 Southwest China was the last region to come under the power of the Chinese Communists.

The term Southwest covers the following provinces: Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang. However, Sikang has been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955.

669 A brief account of the conquest of these four provinces follows. The Communist army began their move toward this region at the beginning of November 1949. This task was entrusted to the 1st Field Army under P'eng Te-huai and to the 2nd, under Liu Po-ch'eng. When these two armies were fighting in the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan, they were further reinforced by the 4th army under Lin Piao. While the main force of P'eng's army went ahead for a direct attack of the Northwest Region, a part of his army remained in Shensi to fight the Nationalist army under the command of Hu Tsung-nan, who was withdrawing from Shensi to Szechwan and Sikang.

669 The second field army under Liu Po-ch'eng coming from Shansi and Shensi encountered the Nationalist army on the border of Hupeh, Hunan, and Szechwan. This army was under the command of Sung Hsi-lien, who tried to stop the Communist advance. A battle took place between them, and Liu succeeded in destroying Sung's main force at I-ch'ang and Sha-shih and in crossing the Yangtze River. Liu, not satisfied with this partial success, continued the pursuit of Sung's army to Kweichow and Szechwan.

While Hu Tsung-nan's army was on the way to Chengtu, in the west of Szechwan, it was threatened on both sides: on the northern side by P'eng, and on the southeastern side by Liu. Hu Tsung-nan tried to escape to Ya-an and Hsi-ch'ang, but as Lin's army had already entered Yunnan after the surrender of Governor Lu Han, Liu crossed the border of Yunnan and annihilated Hu's army in Hsi-ch'ang, while Hu himself excaped by plane. Thus the Nationalist Army was completely wiped out.

721 Tibet, which was then a buffer state between China and British India, was still beyond the reach of the Chinese Communists. Liu Po-ch'eng raised the question of Tibet at a meeting of the Southwest Military and Political Committee held on July 27, 1950 and announced that the Tibetan campaign would follow quickly in order to get rid of Anglo-American imperialism. Following this declaration, the Communist Army

72 marched into Tibet from both neighboring provinces, Sikang and Tsinghai. The battle of Ch'ang-tu cleared the way for the march to Lhasa. In May 1951, an agreement of peaceful solution was signed by the Tibetan and Chinese delegates in Peking. Thus the military conquest of the Southwest came to an end with an extension of Chinese sovereignty to Tibet.

63 In the first period of conquest by the Chinese Communists, this region was divided into eight units: namely, (1) Ch'uan-tung (East Szechwan), (2) Ch'uan-hsi (West Szechwan), (3) Ch'uan-nan (South Szechwan), (4) Ch'uan-pei (North Szechwan), (5) Yunnan, (6) Kweichow, (7) Sikang, and (8) the Special Municipality -- Chungking.

After two years, the four sections of Szechwan were reassembled into one province as before. Sikang, which had been considered attached to Tibet long ago and declared a separate province only in 1928, was now incorporated into Szechwan. Chungking's status as a special municipality under the Peking government, was cancelled. Thus today the Southwest Region comprises only the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan

II. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

423 The first program of this period was based on the eight points[1] announced by Mao Tse-tung in the third session of the seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party held on June 6, 1950

1. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Gov't Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1.

423 The first item of the 8-point program was *land reform. The official reports of the Military* and Political Committee of this region on land-ownership were prepared to indicate necessity for reform. Chang Chi-ch'un, a member of the Southwest Military and Political Committee, stated that in Ch'uan-tung in 12 Paos (a group of villages) there was a population of 17,465 persons and an acreage of land which could produce 24,139 tan (piculs) and 7 tou of rice. Of this land, 60 per cent was owned by 1,147 "landlords." Approximately 25 per cent of the land was owned by 15,369 "middle poor" peasants, 5.8 per cent was owned by 4,967 poor peasants, and 2.6 per cent was owned by 8,490 tenant farmers.[2]

Wang Wei-kang, a member of the Ch'uan-nan Administrative Committee, reported that while in the three paos of the Yung Country, the landowners, 8 per cent of the population, owned 68.37 per cent of the land, the peasants, the moderately well-to-do, the poor, and the hired farm hands who constituted 85.4 per cent of the population, owned only 24.7 per cent of the land.[3] Chang Chi-ch'un reported similar conditions of land monopoly in Kweichow and to a lesser degree[4] in Yunnan. He said that land monopoly was most acute in the municipality of Chungking where 96.2 per cent of the land was in the hands of the rich

2. Compendium of Government Reports, p.1006
3. Ibid., p. 1049.
4. Ibid., p. 1006.

423 landowners, and less than 3 per cent in the hands of the middle and poor peasants.[5] He came to the conclusion that as 40,000 people out of a total population of 57,400,000 were on the verge of starvation, the policy of Mao Tse-tung was justified and should be carried out.

745 162 In this period it was also found that there was a large number of persons in Southwest China who depended upon the government for a living. Teng Hsiao-p'ing reported on April 11, 1950 that there were 900,000 disbanded Kuomintang soldiers, 400,000 old civil service men, and 700,000 Communist soldiers. He emphasized that if they were not well-fed, a state of disorder might result.[6] The Communists considered the collection of a grain levy on the whole population in order to feed the armies and the civil service men as the most urgent need at this time.

669 The Communists were greatly concerned that the Kuomintang members would make trouble. Their fears were confirmed when the rebellion led by Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, two Kuomintang generals, took place in Kunming. Part of the 2nd and 4th field armies were sent from southern Kwangsi to Yunnan, and the rebellion was quickly stamped out, although the rebel leaders succeeded in escaping to the border of Burma.

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5. Ibid., p. 1006.

6. Ibid., p. 991.

178 Another problem was the number of steel
499 plants and textile mills which had been estab-
653 lished in the Southwest during war against Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and com merce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the con- st ruction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimu- lated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region wa
162 that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan. Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang, coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

635 mission, Cultural-Educational Commission and the People's Control Commission within the Committee of the Greater Area were kept intact, some of the departments of the same Committee became subordinate to the ministries of the Central People's Government.

The change from Military and Political Committee to Administrative Committee indicates that China, which has been a unitary state for two thousand years, cannot be transformed into a federal state following the pattern of Soviet Russia.

The organization and structure of the Administrative Committee of the Region is given as follows:

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7. [continued from previous page] Wang Wei-chou's report on the national minorities, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] , Peking, February 11, 1952.

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GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL OF PEKING

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REGION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Political-Legal Commission	Financial-Economic Commission	Cultural-Educational Commission	People's Control Comm.

THE PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

1. Department of Civil Affairs
2. Dept. of Public Security
3. Dept. of National Minorities
4. Dept. of Overseas Chinese
5. Dept. of Finance
6. Dept. of People's Provincial Bank
7. Dept. of Industry and Commerce
8. Dept. of Industries
9. Dept. of Transportation
10. Dept. of Post and Telegraph
11. Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry
12. Dept. of Labor
13. Dept. of Education
14. Dept. of Culture
15. Dept. of Health
16. Dept. of Information & Publication
17. Dept. of Committee for Prevention of Illiteracy

635 All these Departments were subordinated in three ways: (1) to the Administrative Committee of the Region through its commissions, (2) to the Provincial People's Government, (3) to the appropriate ministries of the Central Government. Such a complex system of subordination and control tends to slow down administration. More important, too much power was given to the Administrative Committee and in some areas this power was monopolized by leading regional figures. The system was again revised and then finally abolished on June 14, 1954.

On the provincial level, personnel were formerly appointed by the recommendation of the Regional Committee to the Peking Government. Later when the provincial Representatives' Conference was called into existence, the right of electing the governors of the provinces was transferred to the Conference. In reality the choice of a provincial governor was in the hands of the Communist Party and the Central regime, although on the surface it appeared that he was elected by the Representatives' Conference.

The relation between the provincial governor and the Provincial People's Congress (until 1954 called the Provincial Representatives) can be best explained by the actual working of these two branches. With the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, the Provincial People's Congress assumed new functions.

The Szechwan Provincial People's Congress was convened for the first time in the period

635 August 1-8, 1955 and was attended by 650 members consisting of Chinese, Tibetans, Chuangs, Yi's and Miaos. Li Ching-ch'üan, Chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Government, made a report on the work of the past two years and the important tasks to be done in the coming winter and spring. He referred to improvements in agriculture and industry, giving the following figures for 1952 as 100:

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Industries	1953	199.11
	1954	307.9 estimated
Agriculture	1953	86 %
	1954	6 %

There were 34 national and local factories and mines in the region, 604 agricultural co-operatives and 990,000 mutual-aid teams. In the same report he claimed that the people of Szechwan supported the building of the railroads from Chungking to Chengtu and from Chengtu to Pao-chi, and also the surveying of oil fields in Szechwan.

635 With regard to the tasks of the coming winter and spring, he asked the people of Szechwan to try to reach the goal for the second year of the five-year plan. Li's report was passed. Another report on the Constitutional draft was made by Governor Li. After a serious debate, it was given a unanimous support. Finally, 87 delegates to the National Congress were elected with Chu Teh at the head of the list.[8]

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8. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, August 10, 1952.

635 In Yunnan, the first Provincial People's Congress met from August 6-12, 1954. It was attended by 376 members, who represented a population of 17,000,000, which, besides Chinese, is composed of 28 national minorities. The delegates of the Yunnan People's Congress were elected by 126 units. Out of the 17,000,000 population, 6,000,000 belong to the minorities. The delegates from them make up 41.1 per cent of all the delegates sent to the National Congress. Women delegates took up 15 per cent.

Kuo-ying Ch'iu, vice-chairman of the Yunnan Government, gave a report on the administration of Yunnan which was passed and ratified. A debate on the constitutional draft, which was given full support, followed. The Congress passed a resolution in support of the policy of liberating Formosa. Finally the election of 45 delegates to the National Congress took place -- an election in which each of the 14 minority groups had a share.[9]

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

631 Two years before the promulgation of the Constitution, the Chinese Communist Party decided that China should be a unitary state, with

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9. Enlightenment Daily, August 14, 1954.

631 each province standing under the direct control of the central government. In the Constitution the structure of provincial local units was clearly defined on the basis of democratic centralism. Since the membership in the National Congress was made up of delegates elected by the provinces, the special municipalities, the military forces, the overseas Chinese, each provincial congress became a part of the electoral machinery of the National Congress. But since the executive-administrative and the legislative organs on a higher level have the power to cancel or revise inappropriate resolutions of corresponding organs on a lower level, the administrative and legislative organs in a province, a county, or a hsiang are not really independent, nor do they have any power on the basis of a charter or a special grant.

A. The Provincial Government

635 The promulgation of the New Constitution has placed the Provincial Governments on a new basis. On the one hand, each province regains its traditional status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central Government, while, on the other hand, there is a change from tradition insofar as the members of the Provincial Government are elected and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliberative functions. The avoidance of the term "legislative" in the section on Provincial Government suggests that the People's Congress was limited to the function

635 of deliberation and is not entitled to hold the corresponding executive organs accountable. It can be said that each province, according to the Communist Constitution Article 53, is a modified administrative district subject to control from above but empowered to pass budget, enforce laws and safeguard the rights of citzens. Though the Provincial Government is elected and a Provincial People's Congress sits next to it, it does not have the reserved powers of a state under the American Constitution, nor the powers granted by special charter to a British borough. It is stipulated that the Provincial Government stands under the leadership of the Central Government, and that the Provincial People's Congress can only pass resolutions within the framework of the laws which govern it.

631 Similarly, autonomous regions and municipalities are administrative districts directly under the central government. Counties and Hsiang (villages) are also an administrative district, though they are not considered as being directly under the authority of the Central Government.

635 The executive, deliberative, and judicial branches of the Provincial Government are constituted as follows:

The Provincial Executive consists of one governor, a number of deputy-governors, and twenty-five to fifty-five members of the Provincial People's Council. The governor, the deputy-governors, and the members of the Provincial

635 Council are elected by the Provincial People's Congress, while the Commissoners of the Civil Affairs, Public Security, Finance, Grain, and other twelve departments are appointed by the Central Government. The fact that the Commissioners are appointed confirms the view that the provincial administration is not a kind of self-government, but stands under the centralized control of the Peking Government.

The Provincial People's Congress according to the Constitution has the following powers:

(1) To ensure observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and the resolutions of the National People's Congress; (2) to adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of their functions and powers; (3) to plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work and relief work; (4) to consider and approve budgets and financial statements; (5) to elect members of the Provincial People's Council; (6) to elect presidents of the Provincial People's Courts and of the intermediate People's Courts; (7) to elect deputies to the National People's Congress of the next higher level; (8) to hear and examine the work reports of the Provincial People's Councils and the Provincial People's Courts; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's Congresses and People's Councils on the county level; (10) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (11) to ensure the equal rights of the national minorities; (12) to recall the members of the Provincial People's

635 Council and its president.

From this list the powers of the Provincial People's Congress are enumerated. It should be noted, however, that while the Provincial People's Congress has a number of powers over organs on the provincial and lower levels, it is itself under the ultimate control of the National People's Congress and inevitably of the Central Government.

666 The Provincial People's Congress is elected indirectly. Its size is determined by: (1) the population of the province; (2) the number of the counties within the province. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the Congresses of all levels, a province with a population not exceeding 20 million shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; a province with a population exceeding 20 million, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally small, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but shall not exceed 600.

Since the members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected, not directly by the people of the province, but indirectly by the counties, the provincial municipalities, towns, and others, the size of the Provincial Congress is governed by a second principle: a county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population between 200,000 and 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies.

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From the municipalities and towns and the important industrial and mining districts within the provinces, one deputy shall be elected by every 20,000 of the population. Based on the above-mentioned principles, the number of the members of the Provincial Congress as of the Southwest is as follows: Szechwan, 650, plus Sikang, 101; Yunnan, 344; Kweichow, 284.

635 It is important to note the relationship between the provincial government and the provincial congress in their actual work. Usually, the chairman or the governor gives a report on government work, followed by another report on the tasks of the coming year, which announced not only the measures planned by provincial government but also the methods by which the people can fulfill the agricultural and industrial production quotas. As examples, the procedure of the Szechwan and the Yunnan Provincial People's Congresses have been described in the above paragraphs. The procedure of the first Kweichow Provincial People's Congress affords a further illustration.

The first Provincial People's Congress of Kweichow was convened in the period July 22-30, with an attendance of 284 members. Chou Lin, the vice-chairman of Kweichow, made a report on the work of the Kweichow government in the past four years. He pointed out that great improvement had been made in handling the affairs of the minority groups. In the counties where the minorities were 40 per cent of the

635 population, the loan of 11,600,000,000 yuan had been made as rural credit, while cultivating machinery and equipment with a value of some 13,800,000,000 yuan had been distributed. 2,000 party cadres who came from the minority groups were trained, and 674,000 students enrolled in the primary schools. It has always been difficult for the people of Kweichow to obtain salt for cooking because it must be imported from Szechwan and carried by coolies on their shoulders Chou Lin reported that the per capita consumption of salt had risen from 5.7 catties in 1951 to 8.15 catties in 1953. Chou also reported that there were 265,900 mutual aid teams in which 64 per cent of the peasant population were member and that besides the 519 agricultural producers' co-operatives already established, another 5,000 were expected to be added in the spring of 1955. Finally, the Kweichow People's Congress passed a resolution giving full support to the Constitutional draft and elected 26 delegates to the National Congress, of which six were from the minority groups.[10] From the above proceedings of the provincial congresses, it can be seen that policy-making was in the hands of the Governor, while the congress was a mere echoing machine, reflecting the popular response.

The Provincial People's Congress in the constitutional period has the power to elect the Governor, the Deputy-Governors, a number of members of the Provincial People's Council, and the President of the Court.

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10. Enlightenment Daily, August 5, 1954.

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635 A list of the governors, deputy-governors, presidents of the People's high courts recently elected in the three provinces of the Southwest, is as follows:

A. Szechwan:

Governor -- Li Ta-chang.
Deputy-governors -- Teng Hsi-hou, Yen Hung-yen, Jen Pai-ko, Chung Ti-ch'ien, Yü Chi-t'ang.

Provincial Higher People's Court
President -- name not revealed

B. Sikang (before merging with Szechwan):

Governor -- Liao Chih-kao
Deputy-governors -- Pai Jen, Sana-rygas-shes (Tibetan), K'ang Nai-erh, Chang Wei-chiung, Kuo-chi-mu-ku, Yi Shargur Dobdeng (Tibetan).
P.H.P.C. President -- Liu Ch'ang-chien.

C. Yunnan:

Governor -- Kuo Ying-ch'in
Deputy-governors -- Chang Ch'ung, Liu Tai-feng, Liu Ming-hui, Kung Tzu-chih, Wu Tso-min.
P.H.P.C. President -- Jou Hsing-ts'ai

D. Kweichow:

Governor -- Chou Lin

635 Deputy-governors -- Chou Su-yüan, Hsü Chien-sheng, Wu Shih, Ou Pai-ch'uan
P.H.P.C. President -- Yeh Ku-lin.

In general, most judicial affairs are handled on the national level. However, the Provincial Congress plays a certain role.

Article 59 of the Constitution, "The People's Congress at county level and above, elect and have power to recall the presidents of People's Courts at corresponding levels," and accordingly is a version of articles 105-09 of the Constitution of the USSR. The jury system, which is provided for in Article 75 of the Communist Constitution, is the first in Chinese history.

Besides the elective presidents of the local courts, another institution which follows the Soviet pattern is the procuratorate. The provincial procurator is not elected, but appointed for four years by the procurator-general in Peking. Each county has a similar official appointed by the provincial procurator with approval of the Procurator-general.

The following paragraphs deal with the governments below the provincial level: the municipal governments, the county governments, and the hsiang or chen governments. The urban population lives in a municipality, while the county and the hsiang or chen consist entirely of rural or half-rural population. However, between the provincial and the county level, there is an agent of the provincial government who inspects the work of the different county governments within the district.

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635 The number and the respective names of the municipalities, counties and administrative districts in these three provinces of Southwest China are given as follows:

Political Subdivisions

The political subdivisions of this region, like those of other regions in China, have been modified many times since the Peking regime was established. The latest of these changes is the abolition of Sikang Province and the incorporation of that area into Szechwan Province, approved by the People's Congress in Peking in July 1955. The Ch'ang-tu District, formerly the western half of Sikang Province, had already been merged with the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The following political subdivisions were current in August 1955.

A. Szechwan Province. Capital, Chengtu.

1. Ten municipalities (cities): Chengtu, Tzu-kung, Lu-chou, Wu-t'ung-ch'iao, Nei-chiang, I-pin, Wanhsien, Nan-ch'ung, Ho-ch'uan, Ya-an.

2. Three minority nationality autonomous districts under the direct control of the provincial government:

a) Szechwan Tibetan Autonomous District (District government at Shua-ching-shih), 12 counties: Mou, Wen-ch'uan, Li, Hsiao-chin, Ta-chin, Sung-p'an,

635 A-pa, Ssu-t'u, Hei-shui, Nan-p'ing, Jo-erh-kai, Ch'o-ssu-chia.

b) The former Sikang Tibetan Autonomous Chou [11] (Chou administrative office at K'ang-ting), 20 counties: K'ang-ting, Lu-ting, Chiu-lung, Ya-chiang, Ch'ien-ning, Tan-pa, Li-t'ang, Tao-ch'eng, Te-yung, I-tun, Pa-t'ang, Teng-k'o, Te-ko, Kan-tzu, Lu-huo, Tao-fu, Hsin-lung, Pai-yü, Shih-ch'ü.
c) Liang-shan Yi Minority Nationality Autonomous Chou [12] (Chou administrative office at Chao-chüeh), 7 counties: Chao-chüeh, P'u-hsiung, P'u-ko, Hsi-te, Pu-t'o, Mei-ku, Chin-yang.

3. Twelve districts:

a) Wen-chiang (District administrative office at Wen-chiang), 18 counties: Wen-chiang, P'i, Ch'ung-ning, P'eng, Hsin-fan, Hsin-tu, Hua-yang, Shuang-liu, Ta'i, Ch'ung-ch'ing, Kuan, Ch'iung-lai, Hsin-chin, Ming-shan, P'u-chiang, Kuang-han, Chin-t'ang, Shih-fang.
b) Mien-yang (District administrative office at Mien-yang), 15 counties: Mien-yang, Chang-ming, Tsu-t'ung, Lo-chiang, Te-yang, Mien-chu, An, Kuang-yüan, Chao-hua, Wang-ts'ang, Chien-ko, Chiang-yu, Pei-ch'uan, P'ing-wu, Ch'ing-ch'uan.
c) Hsu-ning, P'eng-ch'i, T'ung-nan,

[see following page for 11. and 12.]

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An-yüeh, Lo-chih, Chung-chiang, San-t'ai, She-hung, Yen-t'ing.
d) Han-ch'ung (District administrative office at Yüeh-ch'ih), 11 counties: Yüeh-ch'ih, Wu-sheng, Nan-ch'ung, Hsi-ch'ung, Nan-pu, P'eng-an, Ying-shan, I-lung, Ts'ang-ch'i, Lang-chung, Kuang-an.

e) Ta-hsien (District administrative office at Ta-hsien), 11 counties: Ta, P'ing-ch'ang, Pa-chung, Nan-chiang, T'ung-chiang, Wan-yuan, Hsüan-han, K'ai-chiang, Ta-chu, Ch'ü, Lin-shui.

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11. Chou is a traditional Chinese term for an administrative division. This term was adopted to replace the former designation of "District" at the 1st session of the Second People's Representative Conference of the Tibetan Autonomous District in Sikang, convened at Ya-nan, March 2-6, 1955. There so far has been no information on the name chosen for this chou following the abolition of Sikang Province.

12. This district was renamed "chou" in in April 1955.

[redacted]

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f) Wan-hsien (District administrative office at Wan-hsien municipality), 9 counties: Wan, K'ai, Yün-yang, Ch'eng-k'ou, Wu-ch'i, Wu-shan, Feng-chieh, Chung, Liang-p'ing.
g) Fu-ling (District administrative office at Fu-ling) 11 counties: Fu-ling Ch'ang-shou, Feng-tu, Shih-chu, Ch'ien-chiang, Yu-yang, Hsiu-shan, P'eng-shui, Wu-lung, Nan-ch'uan, Tien-chiang.
h) Chiang-chin (District administrative office at Chiang-chin), 10 counties: Chiang-chin, Yung-ch'uan, Yung-ch'ang, Ta-tsu, T'ung-liang, Ho-ch'uan, Pi-shan, Chiang-pei, Pa, Ch'i-chiang.
i) Lu-chou (District admininstrative office at Lu-chou), 8 counties: Lu, Fu-shun, Lung-ch'ang, Ho-chiang, Na-ch'i, Ku-sung, Hsü-yung, Ku-lin.
j) I-pin (District administrative office at I-pin), 9 counties: I-pin, Nan-ch'i, Chiang-an, Ch'ing-fu, Ch'ang-ning, Hsing-wen, Kung, Kao, Yün-lien.
k) Lo-shan (District administrative office at Lo-shan), 15 counties: Lo-shan, Chia-chiang, Ch'ing-shen, Mei-shan, P'eng-shan, Hung-ya, Tan-ling, Ching-yen, Ch'ien-wei, Mu-ch'uan, P'in-shan, Lei-po, Ma-pien, O-pien, O-mei.
l) Nei-chiang (District administrative office at Nei-chiang), 7 counties: Nei-chiang, Wei-yüan, Yung, Jen-shou, Chien-yang, Tzu-yang, Tzu-chung.

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m) Ya-an (District administrative office at Ya-an), 7 counties: Ya-an, Yung-ching, Han-yüan, Shih-mien, T'ien-ch'üan, Pao-hsing, Lu-shan.
n) Hsi-ch'ang (District administrative office at Hsi-ch'ang), 11 counties: Hsi-ch'ang, Ning-nan, Te-ch'ang, Hui-li, Hui-tung, Yen-pien, Mien-ming, Yüeh-sui (pronounced Yüeh-chün locally), Mi-i, Chin-k'uang, Yen-yüan; one minority nationality autonomous sub-district; the Mu-li Tibetan Autonomous Subdistrict.

B. Yunnan Province. Capital, Kunming

1. Two municipalities (cities): Kungming, Ko-chiu

2. One mining district under the direct control of the provincial government: the Tung-ch'uan Mining District.

3. Eleven districts

a) Chao-t'ung (District administrative office at Chao-t'ung), 11 counties: Ta-kuan, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Wei-hsin, Chen-hsiung, I-liang, Lu-tien, Ch'iao-chia, Yung-shan, Hui-tse, Chao-t'ung.
b) Ch'ü-ching (District administrative office at Ch'ü-ching), 13 counties: Ch'ü-ching, Chan-i, Yung-feng, Fu-yüan Ma-lung, Sung-ming, Hsün-tien, I-liang,

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Lu-liang, Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Lu-hsi, Lu-nan.

c) Wen-shan (District administrative office at Wen-shan) one municipality: Ma-li-p'o Municipality; 7 counties: Wen-shan, Yen-shan, Ch'iu-pei, Kuang-nan, Fu-ning, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan.

d) Meng-tzu (District administrative office at Meng-tzu), one municipality: Ho-k'ou Municipality; 7 counties: Meng-tzu, P'in-pien, Shih-p'in, Chien-shui, the county level: the Mi-lo-hsien Yi Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

e) Yü-ch'i (District administrative office at Yü-ch'i, K'un-yang, Chin-ning, Ch'eng-kung, Ch'eng-chiang, Chiang-ch'uan, Hua-ning, T'ung-hai, Ho'hsi, Hsin'p'ing, I-men, Yuan-chiang; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: The O-shan-hsien Yi Minority Autonomous subdistrict.

f) Ssu-mao (District administrative office at P'u-erh), 7 counties: Ssu-mao, P'u-erh, Ching-tung, Mo-chiang, Lan-ts'ang, Ching' ku, Chen-yüan ; 3 minority nationality autnomous subdistricts at the county level: the Lang-ts'ang Lahu Minority Autonomous Subdistrict, the Meng-lien-hsien, T'ai, Lahu, and K'awa Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict, the Chiang-ch'eng-hsien Hani and Yi Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict.

g) Lin-ts'ang (District administrative office at Lin-ts'ang), 5 counties: Lin-ts'ang, Shuang-chiang, Ts'ang-yüan,

[redacted]

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Keng-ma, Chen-k'ang.

h) Pao-shan (District administrative office at Pao-shan), 4 counties: Pao-shan, Ch'ang'ning, T'eng-ch'ung, Lung-ling; one town: Wan-ting.

i) Ta-li (District administrative office at Hsia-kuan), 13 counties: Ta-li, Teng-ch'uan, Pin-ch'uan, Hsiang-yin, Feng-i, Mi-tu, Wei-shan, Yin, Feng-ch'ing, Yung-p'ing, Yang-pi, Yin-lung, Erh-yuan.

j) Li-chiang (District administrative office at Li-chiang), 9 counties: Li-chiang, Yung-sheng, Ho-ch'ing, Chien-ch'uan, Lan-p'ing, Wei-hsi, Chung-tien, Hua-p'ing, Ning-lang: one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: the Te-ch'in-hsien Tibetan Autonomous Subdistrict.

k) Ch'u-hsiung (District administrative office at Ch'u-hsiung), 17 counties: Ch'u-hsiung, Mu-ting, Yen-hsing, Kuang-t'ung, Lu-feng, Shuang-po, Nan-hua, Yao-an, Yen-feng, Ta-yao, Yung-jen, Wu-ting, Lu-ch'uan, Fu-min, An-ning, Lo-tz"u, Yuan-mou.

l) Hsishuang Panna T'ai Minority Autonomous District (District administrative office at Yungchinghung), 12 Baan Naa (Panna, or Baan Naa -- "Land" in the Yi language. Baan Naa and an autonomous subdistrict have the equivalent status of "subdistrict"): Yung-ching-hung, Meng-hai, Meng-wang, I-wu, Meng-na, Meng-h'un, Meng-che, Meng-yang, Meng-la, Meng-lung, Meng-wang, Man-tun;

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two minority nationality autonomous subdistricts: the Kelang and Hani Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict and the Pailang Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

m) The Tehung, T'ai and Ching-p'o Minority Nationalities Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Mang-shih), 6 counties: Lu-hsi, Jui-li, Lung-ch'uan, Ying-chiang, Lien-shan, Liang-ho.

n) The Hung-ho Hani Minority Nationality Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Hsin-chieh), 3 counties: Hung-ho Yüan-yang, Chin-p'ing.

o) The Nu-chiang Lisu Minority Nationality Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Chih-tzu-lo), 4 counties: Pi-chiang, Kung-shan, Fu-kung, Lu-shui.

C. Kweichow Province. Capital, Kweiyang Municipality.

1. One municipality (city): Kweiyang Municipality

2. One county under the direct control of the provincial government: Kuei-chu hsien.

3. Eight Districts:

a) Kuei-ting (District administrative office at Kuei-ting), 9 counties: Kuei-

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ting, Weng-an, K'ai-yang, Hsi-feng, Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Lung-li, Ch-ang-shun, Lo-tien; one autonomous subdistrict: The Hui-shui-hsien Pu-i Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

b) Tsun-i (District administrative office at Tsun-i),one municipality: Tsun-i Municipality; 11 counties: Tsun-i, Jen-huai, Ch'ih-shui, Hsi-shui, T'ung-tzu, Sui-yang, Cheng-an, Tao-chen, Wu-ch'uan, Feng-kang, Mei-t'an.

c) T'ung-jen (District administrative office at T'ung-jen), 9 counties: T'ung-jen, Sung-t'ao, Yen-ho,Te-chiang, Ssu-nan, Ying-chiang, Shih-ch'ien, Chiang-k'ou, Yü-p'in.

d) Chen-yüan (District administrative office at Chen-yüan), 10 counties: Chen-yüan, Ts'en-kung, San-sui, T'ien-chu, Chin-p'in, Chien-ho, Lei-shan, Huang-p'ing, Shih-ping, Yü-ch'ing; 2 minority nationality autonomous subdistricts: the Lü-shan-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict, the T'ai-chiang-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

e) Tu-yün (District administrative office at Tu-yün), 10 counties: Tu-yün, Ma-chiang, Fu-ch'üan, San-tu, Yung-chiang, Li-p'ing, Ts'ung-chiang, Li-po, Tu-shan, P'ing-t'ang; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: the Tan-chai-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

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f) Hsing-i (District administrative office at Hsing-i), 10 counties: Hsing-i, P'an, P'u-an, Ch'ing-lung, Hsing-jen, Kuan-jen, Kuan-ling, Chen-feng, Wang-mu, Ts'e-heng, An-lung.

g) An-shun (District administrative office at An-shun), 6 counties: An-shun, Tzu-yün, Chen-ning, Lang-tai, P'u-ting, P'ing-pa.

h) Pi-chieh (District administrative office at Pi-chieh), 9 counties: Pi-chieh, Ta-ting, Chin-sha, Ch'ien-hsi, Chih-chin, Na-yung, Shui-ch'eng, Wei-ning, Ho-chang.

In examining the nature and functions of local governments from the Municipality down to the county and hsiang level, it is found that since the Communist regime, there has been a radical change. While a laissez-faire policy characterized under the Republic and Kuomintang period the political scene, now the Communists put stesss on organizing people of every municipality, county, or hsiang, and each individual is under surveillance.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY, COUNTY, AND HSIANG

A. The Municipality

633 The Communist regime pays a great deal of attention to city life, because industrial enter-

prises and, consequently, the laboring classes are concentrated there. In this region, Chungking was, at first, one of the seven municipalities which were under the direct control of the central government. After the promulgation of the Constitution, the control over the Chungking municipality was transferred and placed again under the Government of Szechwan, with the same status as ordinary municipalities in other provinces.

A municipal People's council consists of a mayor, a number of deputy-mayors, and from 9 to 25 members, but in a municipality where the population is especially dense, the members of the council can be increased to 45.

The municipal People's congress is governed by Article 16 of the electoral law of the People's Republic of China. "A municipality with a population not exceeding 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons. The number of deputies to a municipal people's congress shall be not less than 50 and more than 800."

633 According to Article 17 of the same law, the armed forces are entitled to elect from 2 to 10 deputies to the municipal People's congress.

An advertisement[13] of the Chungking Municipality published in the Chungking newspapers on January 6, 1952 asked the citizens of the city to take part in the election and to give their suggestions to the delegates. It also gave the agenda of subjects which were to be discussed in the coming session: (1) a report of work done in 1951 and the tasks to be done in 1952; (2) examination and approval of the budget and the financial statement; (3) debates on the suggestions made by the people; (4) election of the mayor, the deputy-mayors, and the members of the government. This list shows clearly the operation of the municipal People's congress. But at the first session of the Municipal Congress in Chungking, called before the opening of the National Congress, besides the works mentioned above, both the National Congress and the Provincial Congress had to be elected. The Municipal People's Representative Conference had gone through three stages. In the first stage it consisted of members recommended by professional groups, the different parties and popular organizations. In the second stage the members of the Conference were given the right to elect the mayor and the deputy-mayors. In the third stage, from 1954 on, the members have been further given the right of electing the delegates to the National and provincial congresses, and they are now elected

13. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 6, 1952.

633 in sectional meetings throughout the city. They are still not elected by direct popular vote.

B. The County

634 Under the Republic and the Kuomintang, a county was run mostly by a single person called the magistrate, though at times he was also assisted by a few department heads of his own choice. Now, the county people's council, according to the Communist Constitution, consists of a Head, a deputy-Head, from 21 to 31 members, and 10 heads of administrative departments, namely (1) civil affairs, (2) public security, (3) finance, (4) grain, (5) taxes, (6) industry and commerce, (7) agriculture and forestry, (8) transportation, (9) culture and education, and (10) health; with others to be added when necessary.

As a concrete example, the Representatives' Conference of Lung Chang county is described below, though it was an institution of the pre-Constitution stage. In Lung Chang the first session of the Sixth Representatives' Conference convened from December 1-5, 1951. It consisted of reprsentatives who were recommended by the different occupational groups. In the first period, the voters did not appreciate the right of suffrage which had been given to them. When they were asked to go through the different stages of election, they considered it a sheer waste of time. As a result, the method of recommendation by the different groups and decision by mutual

634 negotiations was adopted. However, the debate in the session was found to be very useful because a great deal of misunderstanding due to conflict of interests among the different groups was cleared up. After the session, a standing committee was set up to supervise the handling of the resolutions passed and to be the liaison between the citizens at large, the congress, and the government.

C. The Hsiang

633 A hsiang council can have a head, a deputy-head, 3 to 31 members, and also four or five department heads.

On the national and provincial levels, power is in the hands of administrative organs, but on the county, the hsiang, and the municipality levels, power is exercised by both (1) the administrative organs and (2) the organizations of the people themselves.

The People's Congress on a county or hsiang level exercises the same functions as the Provincial Congress, which is covered by the Article 58 of the Constitution:

1. to ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees;
2. to draw up plans for local, economic, and cultural development and for public works;
3. to examine and approve local budgets and financial reports;

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
AF 16 AF16

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4. to protect public property;
5. to maintain public order;
6. to safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of national minorities.

Article 59 stipulates that the congress elects and is empowered to recall the members of the government on the hsiang level.

The departments under the hsiang head are as follows: (1) civil affairs, (2) security, (3) militia, (4) producer's co-operatives, (5) finance and grain, (6) culture and education, (7) conciliation. Besides the above, there are also voluntary associations: (1) Joint Association of Commerce and Industry, (2) Democratic Youth League, (3) Student Union, (4) Democratic Women's Association (5) Housewives League, (6) Inhabitants League or Street's League.

As a concrete example of hsiang government, a report on Kao Tai Hsiang in the county of Pa can be given.

From December 1951 to April 1953, there were sixteen sessions of conferences. 80 per cent of the population took part in the voting. The people were interested in the proceedings of the conferences and even demanded the dismissal of a few members of the hsiang government. Resolutions for making ditches and for the prevention of floods were passed and put into practice by the people of the hsiang.[14]

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14. New China Daily, May 17, 1953.

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In conclusion, it may be said that although the Chinese Communists are serious in carrying on the work of democratic reconstruction, they are, at the same time, making use of the constitutional machinery, the "democratic" institutions, and other voluntary associations for getting the popular support for the purpose of building a broad foundation for their own monopoly of power. Even before the promulgation of the Constitution, two or three years were spent in paving the way by educating the people to be interested in polling and registration and parliamentary procedure, leading to the final implementation of the Constitution.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2c,
Political Background

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

665 The fundamental aim of the Chinese Communist regime is to concentrate all political power in the hands of the Communist Party of China. This fact has determined the pattern of political dynamics in Southwest China. Political dynamics is concerned with political power and the political process. Since political power is monopolized by the Communist Party of China, and since the political process is patterned upon the controls exercised by the Party, the study of political dynamics is little more than a study of the Party itself and its methods of political control, together with a study of the role and policies of minor parties. The power structure is such that the decision-making process follows a course largely determined by the organizational and operational pattern of the Party. Through a well-established network of control over organizations of all types, political activities are regulated and guided by the Party. Thus, it is the Party, not society, that generates the vitality which shapes the political process. In order to determine the course which society will follow the Party

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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665 must control closely all types of political organizations and make use of all available instruments of coercion.

A campaign[1] is one of the political devices used by the Party to implement its decisions. Since it calls for concerted action by all groups and organizations, a campaign also can be used to test the loyalty and effectiveness of those taking part in it. It may be carried on at both a national and a local level and directed at either the entire population or a segment of it.[2]

Governmental and Party centralization is another factor which determines the pattern of political dynamics in Southwest China. The Party maintains control over local authorities by four major means: (1) maintenance of a unified and effective Party organization within the region; (2) close supervision of regional administrative and judicial organizations, armed forces, public security agencies, and

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1. For a discussion of campaigns, see Richard L. Walker, China Under Communism, the First Five Years, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 77-100; W. W. Rostow, The Prospects for Communist China, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 72-98.

2. Typical drives of a local nature are those (continued next page)

65 People's procuratorates; (3) control of all mass organizations; (4) instigation of movements and campaigns designed to arouse popular enthusiasm and manipulate public opinion.

I. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS AFFILIATED ORGANS

A. The Present Status of the Party in Southwest China

Two facts must be kept in mind when discussing Communist activities in Southwest China. First, the Communist Party always has been relatively weak in this region. Second, the region was one of the last to be conquered by the Communist armies. Although there was some Communist activity in certain areas during the early 1930's, the Party was weak in the cities and had almost no strength in the countryside. Not until 1952 did the Communists begin to build up a strong Party organization. Prior to that time the Party relied primarily upon its military forces and

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2. (continued) conducted in farming communities: Spring Plowing, Summer Collection, Resist Drought, Resist Flood, Autumn Harvest, and others.

665 the co-operation of the New Democratic Youth Corps, a Party affiliate, for the implementation of its policies. There was little Party activity in the rural areas. In fact, only 7 per cent of the hsiang (groups of villages) had Party organizations.[3] One of the first steps taken by the Party was to create Party branches in rural areas and establish close control over all rural organizations. This resulted in a general tightening of Party control over the whole region.

In spite of the many handicaps that confronted it in the Southwest, the Party quickly accomplished its basic objectives. The land reform program was merely one of many campaigns brought to successful completion by the end of 1952. Since that time the regional Party organization, operating under the close control of Peking, has carried out Party directives with increasing speed and efficiency. Three things are clear: (1) the

3. Report of Yü Chiang-chen, head of the Department of Organization of the Southwest China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Hsin-hua Daily [New China Daily], Oct. 23, 1952, p. 1.

665 regional Party organization is extremely flexible and is being adjusted and expanded continually in order that it may cope with the many tasks assigned it; (2) Since 1952 the Party has maintained a concerted drive to increase its total membership. It is especially anxious to attract more workers, technicians, and managers into its ranks; (3) Party members continually are exposed to a thorough indoctrination and training program, which imposes upon them the duty of constant rectification and reform. Party organizations are periodically overhauled and reorganized.

B. Party Organization

Three principles governing Party organization should be borne in mind: (1) Party organization is an integrated system, which symbolizes the extreme centralization of political power and the fullest demand for unity and discipline. (2) Party organization is pyramidal in structure and is erected on a territorial and functional basis. (3) Party organization is flexible.

Prior to 1955, the organization of the Communist Party of China in Southwest China was divided into two parts: (a) the delegates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the region and (b) the local party bodies extending from the provincial

665 party layer down to the hsiang (group of villages) level. Since the abolition of the Southwest regional government in June 1954, the need for the Southwest Party Bureau has diminished. Although the abolition of the bureau has not yet been announced, bureau representatives, with the exception of those from the Shanghai, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang bureaus, were not present at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China held in March 1955 and the 6th Plenary Session (enlarged) of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in October 1955.[4] Presumably, the bureau organization in the different regions no longer exists. However, since the Party bureau had long been active in regional politics, and since it can be established at the will of the Central Committee of the Party, some explanation of its operation seems necessary.

Delegates to the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Communist Party

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4. Reports on the conference and the plenary session are found in New China News Agency Daily Bulletin (London), No. 1278, April 7, 1955, p. 4; and ibid., No. 1413, October 18, 1955, pp. 6-7.

665 was represented in Southwest China by the Southwest Bureau. Prior to the formation of the Szechwan Provincial Government in 1952, the bureau had direct jurisdiction over the provincial Party organizations in Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikiang, and the four special districts Party organizations in Szechwan. The local Party bodies are divided into tiers from provincial Party organizations to administrative district, county and city, ch'ü (district) and hsiang.

The Party bureau exercised its authority through two channels, the bureau secretariat, an executive organ, enjoyed power comparable to that of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Its standing departments were: organization, propaganda, rural work, urban work, social affairs, united front; its commission dealt with trade unions, youth, and women; it also had offices of policy planning, military affairs, and other functions.

The bureau has not hesitated to use the regional Party conference for the transmission of directives and for periodic controls. In

665 the past few years, the bureau convened many enlarged cadre conferences and administrative, joint district-secretariat sessions. Bureau departments might also call their own sessions, thereby placing the different Party secretariats directly under their respective jurisdictions.

C. Local Party Hierarchy[5]

1. Provincial Party Layer. The provincial Party organization is the highest layer of the Party hierarchy within a province. Its first obligation is to enforce the directives and decrees transmitted to it by the Central Party. As will be seen, the provincial and city/county layers have a mixed party-governmental function while the administrative district and ch'ü layers are primarily concerned with the Party.

2. Administrative District Party Layer. The Party unit at this layer generally

5. For local Party organizations, consult the Constitution of the Communist Party of China; English text in Liu Shao-ch'i, On the Party, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1951, pp. 185-90.

665 corresponds with that of an administrative district under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. Its great importance derives from the following facts: (a) its major work is Party affairs; (b) owing to administrative requirements, its functionaries are allowed some initiative and independence. For example, it holds authority in the selection and placement of personnel -- Party as well as governmental -- within its jurisdiction.

3. County and City Party Layer. This layer of organization corresponds to the county and city governments. Like the provincial Party agencies, the county and city Party units have the dual tasks of carrying out Party work and of securing complete control over other administrative and mass organizations.

4. Ch'ü Layer. Party bodies are installed below a city or county irrespective of the ch'ü organization. Like the administrative district Party agencies, ch'ü Party units are directly responsible for the management of Party affairs and the implementation of Party policy.

5. Hsiang Layer. This is the lowest layer of the local Party hierarchy. It is here that the Party and government fusion is most obvious and the Party control over other

665 administrative and mass organizations most clearly revealed.

In addition to the territorial division of Party organization -- the central delegate to the region and the local Party hierarchy -- there is an organization known as the Party branch or Party cell, which acts as a link between the Party and the masses in all organizations. Party branches are organized in any factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, army, government office, or school, wherever there are three or more Party members. Branches can be grouped into general branches and Party groups, depending largely upon the number of members and the place of function.

D. Organization

In each of these constituent party units, quadripartite division of authority is maintained: the Party Congress, the Party Committee, the Control Committee, and the Party Conference.

1. Party Congress. The Party Congress of each unit is the highest organization of that unit. In theory, Party congresses at all local levels meet every two years; in fact, the National Party Congress has not convened since 1945, and local Party congresses as

665 such have not been held. But theoretically, in order to carry out its announced function of supervising the Party Committee, the Party Congress hears and approves or disapproves the Committee's report, decides on questions pertaining to that area, and elects members of the Party Committee on its level and delegates to the Party congress at the immediately higher level, subject to the approval of the Party Committee at that higher level.

2. Party Committee. The executive body of the Party unit on each level is the Party Committee, whose power is concentrated. At the provincial level, power within the Party Committee is further centralized in a Standing Committee which has the same permanent and temporary functional departments and working commissions as the Party bureaus. The Party Committee convenes Party conferences between sessions of Party congresses and sets up various subordinate Party organizations, allocates Party personnel and finance, and directs the work of Party agents in non-Party organizations.

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Although Party committees in the district and below have no standing committee, power within the committee is further centralized in the hands of secretaries. Certain basic departments and commissions form the backbone of the committee. The operational aspect of the Party Committee is uniform at all levels, in the sense that all committees adhere to democratic-centralism and other basic centralized devices characteristic of the Communist Party.

3. Control Committee. The National Party Conference[6] of the Communist Party of China held in March 1955 established new Control Committees to replace the Discipline Inspection Committees established in November 1949. The change was made necessary because of the need for an intensified drive toward socialism and as a campaign against corruption and laxity in the Party. Members of the committees are elected by the Party congresses or conferences of the respective levels, subject to the approval of the Party

6. English text in New China News Agency Daily Bulletin, No. 1277, April 6, 1955, p. 3.

665 committees of the next higher levels. Local control committees are also subject to the supervision and direction of the higher control committees. They may set up branch offices. Their relationship is centralized and permits no deviation.

4. Party Conference. The Party Conference in fact is an executive meeting. Convened by the Party Committee on a higher level, it is attended by representatives of Party committees on lower levels. Unlike the delegates to the Party congresses who are elected at large, representatives to the conferences are appointed by their own Party committees. The conference has the power to appoint or remove up to one-fourth of the members of the Party committee convening the conference and to reach decisions on Party work within its jurisdiction.

E. Party Expansion

The Communist Party has conducted two major membership drives in Southwest China. The first was launched in 1952 and the second in 1955. Prior to 1952 the Party was

665 extremely weak in the Southwest and had failed to win appreciable popular support. Party leaders believed that this situation had resulted from the failure of the Party to increase its membership in the region. Only 7 per cent of the hsiang had Party organizations; at the ch'ü level, Party organizations were few in number and generally ineffective.[7] The situation was even worse in the cities. It was reported that between 1950 and 1952 Party organizations in Chungking had admitted only 300 new members.[8] In some Party organizations not a single new member had been admitted during this period. Local Party leaders were accused of neglecting expansion work and seeking to make the Party a closed caste.

In order to remedy this situation the Party launched its great membership drive of 1952. The goal of this drive was the creation of a Party branch in every village and the expansion of Party organizations in factories, schools, and government offices.

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7. The New China Daily, Aug. 9, 1952, p. 3; Oct. 23, 1952, p. 1.
8. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1952.

445 In October 1952 the Southwest China Party Bureau issued a directive[9] outlining four tasks to be undertaken by all Party organizations: (1) Party members must be organized into groups for the study of documents on Party expansion; (2) all organizations above administrative district Party committees must form inspection teams to supervise the expansion work of lower Party organizations; (3) all organizations must publish directives and pamphlets on Party expansion and make them available for mass circulation; (4) monthly reports on the progress of the membership drive must be submitted to the Central Committee of the Party.

This directive was elaborated by Yü Chiang-chen, chief of the Department of Organization of the Party Bureau. Yü instructed Party secretaries to organize teams led by responsible Party members and to promote Party expansion in villages and factories. He also called for the organization of temporary ch'ü Party branches wherever possible and greater efforts on the part of the Department of Organization and the Discipline Inspection Committee. He pointed out that the success of the membership drive

9. Ibid., Oct. 18, 1952, p. 1.

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665 depended upon the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility of individual Party members, especially those employed in the Department of Organization who were charged with conducting the drive.[10]

The first membership drive brought thousands of new members into the Party. Four months after the beginning of the drive Szechwan had filled over 7 per cent of its quota. Chungking alone contributed 3,000 new Party members.[11] The campaign in Kweichow netted even greater gains -- 11,000 new members.[12] Government offices contributed the largest number of new Party members (35%), followed by rural areas (18%), factories (9%), commercial establishments (9%), and schools (6%). New members were selected from among 220,000 activists recommended by trade unions, the New Democratic Youth Corps, and other organizations.[13] Special training schools were established for their instruction and indoctrination.

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10. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1952, p. 1.
11. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1952, p. 1.
12. Ibid., Nov. 13, 1952, p. 1.
13. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1952, p. 1.

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665 During 1953 and 1954 the membership of the Party continued to increase. The growth of industry in the Southwest and the national campaign for the creation of agricultural co-operatives provided an environment favorable to Party expansion. By June 1954 there were 117,536 Party members serving in rural areas.[14] Recently conquered Yunnan contributed 30,000 new members to this total.[15] Expansion also took place in the cities. Between 1953 and 1955 over 8,000 new members were admitted into the Party's Chungking branch.[16] In the factories almost 10 per cent of the workers were Party members. Members usually were selected from among the most skilled and experienced workers. Four hundred and sixty nine new Party branches were organized.

During this period the Party also sought to attract members of ethnic minorities into its ranks. There are over 18,000,000 of these minority peoples, scattered over the

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14. People's Daily, June 6, 1954, p. 3.
15. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1954, p. 5.
16. Ibid., June 30, 1954, p. 3; Survey of China Mainland Press, U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong, No. 1018 (Supplement), April 15, 1955, p. 34.

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165 entire Southwest. Their close ties with communities in Southeast Asia enhance their value to the Party (See chapter on Ethnic Groups.) In November 1954, 5,000 members of ethnic minorities residing in Yunnan became Party members.[17] Most had been members of Party organization teams or were graduates of the Institution for Nationality Groups.

These efforts to increase Party membership in the Southwest were accelerated by the inauguration of a national membership drive in 1955. Under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Party teams sought to increase Party membership in rural areas. At that time, the Party had over 4,000,000 members in rural areas and had established Party branches in 70 per cent of the hsiang.[18] At present, Party membership is expanding rapidly.

F. Party Overhauling

Party overhauling generally involves

17. Ibid., Nov. 28, 1954, p. 1.
18. People's Daily, March 9, 1955, p. 1.

665 four major activities: (1) rectification,[19] a step which involves examination and the political education of Party members; (2) review and criticism of Party members' work; (3) arousal of mass interest in the criticism of Party members, and (4) increased study.

The examination of individual Party members centers upon the eight conditions set forth by the Party and upon the San Ch'a ("three checks" principle). The eight conditions required of a Party member have been set forth in the Party's Constitution. They include the realization of the ultimate goal of the Party, devotion to the cause and interest of the Party, and absolute obedience

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19. Prior to the assumption of power, there had been two rectification movements in Party history, in 1942-44 and in 1947-48. For a study of the 1942-44 rectification, see Boyd Compton, Mao's China: Party Reform Documents, 1942-44., Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1952. The 1952 rectification movement was aimed at the promotion of the fighting spirit in the Party and the study of administrative and organizational material.

165 to Party leaders.[20] The San Ch'a principle is employed by the Party as a means of eliminating undesirable members. San Ch'a can mean a check on work, work style, and ideology; it can also mean a check on viewpoint and personal history. During the Land Reform Movement, work, style, history, and class status constituted the three checks. This practice may not appear violent, but its psychological effect upon the individual is alarming.

Even the selection of Party members for further training can be used to eliminate undesirables, for it is a device to re-examine the qualifications of Party members; those who fail to pass the examination may be expelled. While rectification and overhauling are constant, the examination given four times a year increases the pressure upon Party members.

Because of the extreme weakness of the Party in the Southwest, no serious overhauling of Party organizations in this region

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20. For detailed discussion of the eight conditions, consult Tzu-wen An, "Strengthen the Work of Party Reform and Party Expansion on the Foundation of Victory in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns," Current Background, No. 251, July 25, 1953, pp. 5-6.

665 took place prior to 1955. The reorganization of agricultural producers' co-operatives, which took place in 1955, was the first Party reform movement conducted in the Southwest.

G. Indoctrination and Training

Another way of maintaining Party unity and discipline is by the constant indoctrination and training of each member.[21] This practice is aimed at the revitalization of adherence to Party doctrine.

665 874 Southwest China maintains two schools, a cultural school to raise the general level of education and an ideological school to tighten adherence to doctrine.

In the country as a whole, one half of the cadres, most of them Party member, have less than a junior high school education,

21. Pamphlets published by the 6th Section of Kuomintang on Formosa relative to this subject are of interest: Fei-tang Hsün-lien Ti P'ou-shih [An Analytical Study of Indoctrination of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1952; Chung-kung Tang Ti tsu-chih yü K'ung-chih [Organization and Control of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1951.

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and some actually are illiterate.[22] To remedy this, a cultural school system, administered by the Party and the government was established in this region in 1951, with the aim of raising the cadre standard to the junior high school level.[23] The course called for two semesters of twenty weeks, with four two-hour evening classes per week. In January 1954, a revised plan was ordered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, establishing a nationwide system and bringing both individuals and the responsible secretaries below the county and ch'ü levels into the new plan.[24] The plan called for cadre education equivalent to grade school and/or that of junior high school. Also included in the program, and to be completed in three or four months, was a class for the illiterate. Evening schools for the average cadre took twenty weeks at six hours a week. The secretaries and administrative personnel of the Party who were unable to take time off during the day for the supplementary

22. People's Daily, Jan. 22,1954, p. 1.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

665 classes were expected to attend school in the
874 evening.

The purpose of the ideological school is to train Party members, candidates for membership, and leaders of mass organizations. Located in Chungking, the Southwestern ideological school is under the joint control of the Southwest Party Bureau and the Chungking Municipal Party Committee. Together with its 108 branch schools, it trained some 80,000 people in 1952. Instructors are trained in two special schools, where they study such things as Party history, the Party Constitution, and Soviet works on economic reconstruction.[25]

H. Affiliated Party Organizations

668 The Party attempts to utilize the enthusiasm of youth through two organizations which, although not a part of the Party, are under its supervision: the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and its subordinate group, the Young Pioneers, for youths aged

25. New China Daily, Jan. 17, 1953, p. 1.

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9 to 15. The Young Pioneers are subordinates of the Youth Corps, looking to the latter for leadership and guidance.

1. New Democratic Youth Corps

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668 The Party controls the NDYC through the Southwest China Working Committee of the corps. The constitution of the corps assures the Party of effective control.[26] It permits Party members to be in charge of corps above the county level, thus placing the direction of corps activities in the hands of the Party. The first function of the corps is to provide a reservoir of potential new Party members; for example, the corps contributed the highest number of new Party members during the 1952 membership drive.[27] Its second task is to supply needed activists in all organizations, particularly in the factories and rural communities. In Chungking, for example, corps units are maintained in all

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26. The Chinese text of the Constitution of the NDYC and Li Ch'ang's explanatory report in People's Daily, July 7, 1953, pp. 1, 3. English text in Current Background, No. 258, Sept. 10, 1953.

27. New China Daily, Nov. 3, 1952, p. 1; Oct. 11, 1952, p. 3.

883 668 organizations.[28] The final task of the corps is to engage in the broadest possible range of activities in order to reach segments of society which have no Party organizations. In 1952, when Party organizations were small and relatively ineffective in the Southwest, the NDYC had 440,000 members. Thus, it paved the way for the sharp increase in Party membership that took place after that date.

The organization of the corps follows that of the Party. Prior to 1955, a Southwest China Working Committee of the NDYC was established to serve as the representative of the Central Committee of the NDYC. Local corps organizations on provincial, municipal, and county levels are empowered to establish representative committees in the administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees on administrative-district and ch'ü levels, the constituent corps organizations rest upon a dual authority. Each level has

28. Ibid., Oct. 21, 1951, p. 3.

883 a congress and a committee elected by it.
668 These committees are the executive organs of the corps and their component members are approved by the upper-level committee.

The corps branch, like the Party branch, is an essential link with the population as a whole. It may be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village, government agency, company of the armed forces, school, or street where there are three or more corps members. A general corps branch and corps committee can be formed, depending upon the size of the branch. These basic-level agencies of the corps serve to mobilize youth and the masses and also may take over Party functions where Party agencies are inadequate.

The New Democratic Youth Corps has at least 3,000,000 more members than the Party itself. However, it is not an organization with political power; it is rather the instrument through which the Party exercizes control over youth, and, more particularly, over youth organizations in the militia, the army, and the schools.

2. The Young Pioneers Chapter 7 of the constitution of the corps governs the

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883 relationship between the corps and the Young
668 Pioneers.[29] The pioneers are completely subordinate to the corps and their regional influence is far less apparent. Earlier, the pioneers concentrated upon the promotion of patriotic fervor among the youth between the ages of nine and fifteen; since 1953 they have placed increasing emphasis on cultural education. In October 1952 there were 183,000 Young Pioneers in Southwest China. Since that time efforts have been made to acquire additional members in rural areas.[30] National membership now stands at 70 million, about 15 per cent of the youth in that age group.[31]

II. POLITICAL CONTROLS

668 The Party has consolidated its power by a network of controls not only over Party agencies but over all bureaucratic, military, public security, and mass organizations. The control is maintained by placing members of the Communist Party of China in key positions in all these organizations, by reserving all policy-making decisions to the Party, and

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29. Chinese text of the Regulations of the Young Pioneers, People's Daily, June 1, 1954, p. 2.

30. New China Daily, Oct. 7, 1952, p. 6.

31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], March 14, 1955, p. 1.

668 by agitation to arouse popular enthusiasm in favor of the Party

A. Party Controls Over Government Organs

1. Party and Government Fusion. Control of government organs has been accomplished primarily by the fusion of government and Party in authority, in functions, and in personnel at all levels and in all spheres of political activity. Two systems, the report and the inspection system, have been introduced into all Party organizations in order to facilitate this fusion. The former requires that all Party organizations periodically report to and seek instructions from Party units at a higher level. The latter directs high level Party units to check regularly on the conduct of subordinate units.

Another powerful means of control is the placing of Party members in key administrative positions. On the regional level, for example, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the First Secretary of the Southwest China Party Bureau, served concurrently as deputy chairman of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee between 1950 and 1952. The several committee

668 chairmen under the regional government also were Party secretaries, thus holding key positions in both hierarchies. One example is Sun Chih-yüan, who served concurrently as Secretary General of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee and as Secretary of the Party Military and Political Committee.

The pattern on the provincial level is similar. Li Ching-ch'üan, First Secretary of the Szechwan Communist Party, formerly served as chairman of the Szechwan provincial government. Liao Chih-kao and Hsieh Fu-chih held similar positions in Sikang and Yunnan, respectively. At present, the newly elected governors generally are second secretaries of their branch Parties; however, all real power has been retained by the first secretaries.

At lower levels this fusion is even more frequent.

2. Cadre Utilization. A second method through which the Party exercises control over state organs is the appointment of

668 faithful and capable cadres (Party members as well as non-Party members) to serve in the rank and file of judicial and administrative organizations.[32] Party secretaries in charge of Party personnel are appointed to head the personnel offices of the government organizations. For example, in 1952 Yü Chiang-chen, the chief of the Department of Organization of the Southwest Party Bureau, was appointed director of the Department of Personnel in the regional government. In Szechwan, An Fa-hsiao, head of the Department of Personnel in the provincial government, served concurrently as deputy chief of the Department of Organization of the provincial Party Committee.[33]

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32. For a discussion of the Party's role in the control of state organs, see Hsiung Hsi-yüan, People's Daily, November 18, 1954, p. 3; for definition and the utilization of cadre, see Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Cambridge, M.I.T., 1942, ii.

33. A list of the members of the Szechwan Provincial Government can be found in New China Daily, Nov. 18, 1952, p. 1.

668 After the Constitution was promulgated, all government personnel offices of the central and provincial governments were disbanded. This may mean even firmer Party control of personnel policy.

3. The Department of Supervision and Other Instruments of Control. One of the most common and effective instruments of Party control over the government is the Office of Supervision, formerly the People's Control Commission. It is found at all levels from the central government down to the county government. This system of control should be distinguished from the judicial agencies of control, namely, the People's procuratorates, and from the public security agencies.[34] Supervisory offices of all levels and in all organizations are strictly controlled by the Party. As a rule, heads of these offices are either Party secretaries or chiefs of public security agencies. Personnel working in these offices are usually activists, who, like the members of the Party, only carry out Party directives.

The offices of supervision check the execution of government policies directed

34. Discussions of judicial and public-security organs will be found in later studies.

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against officials guilty of misdemeanors, disobedience, and corruption. Unlike the People's procuratorates, they check only government employees.[35]

The highest supervisory agency is the Southwest People's Control Commission. Control branches have been established in state enterprises, financial and economic offices, transportation agencies, notably railways, and post offices.[36] At the provincial level, such offices are formed within each department and bureau dealing with financial and economic matters. From two to four workers are employed in each branch.

The work of the supervisory offices in the region is co-ordinated with the major yearly drives. The tasks for the nation in 1955 are the elimination of nationwide waste, corruption, and degeneration within the government.[37]

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35. T'an Cheng-wen's article in "Chien-ch'üan Jen-min Chien-ch'a Chih-tu, Kung-ku Kuo-chia Fa-chih," ["Construct a People's Protectorate and Reinforce State Judicial System"], New China Monthly, No. 2., Feb. 28, 1955, pp. 28-29.

36. People's Daily, Jan. 6, 1953, p. 1.

37. Kuang-ming Jih-pao, June 13, 1955, p.3.

668 People's supervisory reporters are sent out by the supervisory commission or selected within the organization itself. They are organized into small working broups to spy on the individual worker for evidence of misdemeanors, waste, corruption, bureaucratic attitudes, and other behavior not in the "best interest" of the State. Their techniques are varied. They may make direct accusations, establish a network of mass contact, spy on their own colleagues, tamper with People's complaint boxes, and control the hearings of the "reception room." The complaint boxes are used to encourage accusations and complaints against officials and agencies. This arrangement is required in all government offices, and the head of the office is responsible for the examination of these letters and appropriate replies. The reception rrom enables people to make accusations and complaints directly to the government. In 1952 there were 749 supervisory reporters in Southwest China.[38]

B. Party Control Over Mass Organizations

Communist policies toward mass

38. New China Daily, Dec. 1, 1952, p. 3.

668 organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. These policies encourage and regulate the activities and political utilization of mass organizations.

From the Party point of view, mass organizations are a political asset because each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is itself a social or economic force.

Immediately after the Communist seizure of power in this region, mass organizations sprang to life. Not until 1952, however, were mass organizations placed upon a permanent basis. There are as many mass organizations in this region as at the central level.[39] The most influential are examined to illustrate the patter of Party control.

467 668 1. Trade Unions. Trade unions are regarded as the transmission belt between the Party and the workers.[40] Their

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39. See Chao Kuo-chün, The Mass Organization in Communist China, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T., 1953.

40. Constitution of All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 248, June 22, 1953.

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organization is patterned after that of the Party. A branch office of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has been set up in the Southwest. Under this regional office, local trade union councils stretch from provinces, municipalities, and counties to towns. Since farmers and handicraft workers are ineligible, hsiang are not included.

The establishment of Party control over the trade unions in Southwest China did not prove to be an easy task. A sweeping and drastic campaign was required before control was comfortably secured. The "democratic reform" campaign, launched in 1951, was directed at the trade unions and was aimed at the liquidation of the old trade union leadership and the strengthening of the Party's hold on the urban population.[41]

To facilitate the Party's political control of trade unions, there is a basic trade union branch or cell, similar to the Party branch, composed of the trade union members working in the same enterprise. If the branch is of sufficient size, this basic trade union committee will set up a workshop (department) committee. The trade union

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41. Reports of the campaign are printed in the following issues of the New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 25, 1951, p. 1; Jan. 1, 1952, p. 3.

467 committee may be divided into trade union
668 teams according to production units. The general methods employed by the Party for political control of other organizations are applicable here. Trade union affairs are subject to the direction of the Party commission on trade unions; and Party members are placed in key positions within the unions.

However, the most effective method is the initiation of union policies in the Party rather than in the union.[42] This involves three steps: first, the Party branch within the union initiates major policies, including directives, working plans, and cadre policy. Secondly, the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the Trade Union Council policies in need of discussion. Party members elected to the presidium direct the trade union meeting and successfully guide the Party proposal through the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out.

668 2. Federation of Democratic Women. By October 1951 almost one-third of the women of Southwest China had become

42. People's Daily, May 8, 1953, p. 2.

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668 members of the Federation of Democratic Women and its affiliates.[43] The federation's importance in the region, however, is not based solely on the large size of its membership. The position of women in society is such that they not only constitute an important part of the labor force, but also exert a profound influence on the entire population. The Communists correctly regard the federation as a major political force and are most eager to see that women's organizations are formed.

At the village level, the federation plays the most active role in the rural movement. The wide participation of women in the Peasants' Association should be noted. In October 1951 there were 7,700,000 women enrolled in Southwestern associations. The federation plays a political role in all the farm drives and gives full support to the hsiang governments and party apparatus. Since the completion of land reform, women have begun to take an active part in the producers' co-operatives. In May 1954, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women held its first "rural work meeting" and called

43. People's Daily, May 9, 1953, p. 2.

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668 upon all women on the farms of China to join the movement.[44]

In the cities, women are important to the urban inhabitants' committees and the worker's family committees, both Party devices for urban control. Apart from participation in all drives in the cities -- notably the "democratic reform" movement and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns -- the Federation of Democratic Women also co-operates with the Department of Women Workers of the trade unions. In addition, it urges all women to participate in social work.

Women have played an increasingly active role within both the government and the Party. For example, the Chungking Party branch listed 5,759 women among its members.[45] Furthermore, in 1954, twenty per cent of the elected representatives of hsiang People's Congresses were women.[46]

Party control of women's federations follows the same pattern as that of other mass

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44. People's Handbook, 1955, p. 3.
45. People's Daily, March 11, 1955, p. 3.
46. Ibid., June 11, 1953, p.1.

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668 organizations. The Party, as well as the New Democratic Youth Corps, maintains a commission on women's affairs. The commission has the power of direction and policy-making. However, the work of the commission is subject to the supervision of other basic departments such as the departments of organization, propaganda, rural work, and so forth. Party personnel are placed in key positions in the federations.

3. Other Mass Organizations. A number of mass organizations which have a strong influence on society are represented in this region. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth maintains branches in all key cities and counties in each province.[47] Also active is the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles. The most elaborately organized group is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, established in 1949. By April 1951 it had 33,583 members in the Southwest.[48] Party control of these mass organizations follows the usual pattern.

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47. Regulations governing the ACFDY can be found in the People's Daily, June 17, 1953, p. 1.

48. Hopei Daily [Paoting], April 15, 1951, p. 1.

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668 C. Political Control in the Rural Areas

The rural movement is the foundation of Communist political power in Southwest China. Here lies the strength and the weakness of the region and of the Party; here the pattern of political dynamics is most revealing and Communist power encounters the greatest opposition.

The establishment of Communist power in the rural areas can be divided into three stages: the initial construction period prior to the completion of land reform, when political power was centered in the peasants' associations and closely related to land reform in the rural areas; the consolidation period, a period of experiment for the producers' co-operative movements, marked by a gradual shift of p0litical power from the Peasants' Association to the hsiang government, controlled by the Party; the election and the post-Constitution periods when the continuous suppression of opposition in the rural areas (during the elections of 1953-54) strengthened the foundation of Communist political power, and when such political power has been firmly entrenched in the government and the Party (during the post-Constitution period).

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1. Initial Construction: 1950-1952. Communist leaders have emphasized the political significance of land reform.[49] They regard it as a political struggle, and its essence is conceived to be the abolition of the "feudal" system of land ownership, the creation of a political force under Party control, and the establishment of "democratic authority."

Land reform is divided into three stages: preparation, execution, and re-examination. The preparatory stage is aimed at the liquidation of the existing holders of political power. The executive stage includes confiscation and redistribution of land in order to destroy the basis of the landlord class. During the re-examination period, the foundation of new political power is laid.

During the land reform period, political power in the rural area rested upon: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasants' Association, (3) the

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49. Liu Shao-ch'i's report on land reform in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, June 30, 1950, p. 1; English text in The Agrarian Law of the People's Republic of China, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1950.

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hsiang government, (4) the militia, and (5) other mass organizations, notably the women's federations and the youth organizations.[50] Of these, the Peasants' Association and the militia, organized as instruments of terror, were of particular importance.

The Communist conquest of the Southwest was accompanied by widespread disorder and unrest. Therefore, the initial organization of peasant associations took place under the auspices of Communist military forces. In addition, Communist soldiers helped the peasants organize militia units for the suppression of "bandit activities" and carried out the first stage of the land reform program. Unrest was so prevalent that in some areas land reform had to be delayed until the fall of 1952.[51] Once the land reform program was

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50. For reference, consult Kung-fei Jo-ho K'ung-chih Nung-ts'un Yü Ch'eng-shih [How the Communists Control Villages and Cities], Taipei 1954, also Nung-ts'un Kung-ch'an-tang-yüan K'o-pen [Textbook for Rural Party Workers], Canton, Hua-nan, 1951.

51. By the spring of 1952, land reform had been carried out by most of the rural areas. Further delay occurred only in areas occupied (continued next page)

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668 under way, membership in the Peasants' Association increased rapidly. For example, during the initial stages of land reform, membership in the Eastern Szechwan Special District rose from 455,990 to 619,000, an increase of 30 per cent.[52] The number of "poor peasants" who entered the associations also increased rapidly. In the Northern Szechwan Special District, "poor peasants" made up 65 per cent of the membership of the peasants' associations and 70 per cent of that of the militia. In addition, they represented 80 per cent of the membership in hsiang governments and militia units.[53]

701 668 The militia, an armed force at the disposal of the Party, is an organization of poor peasants, farm laborers, and young people.[54] Prior to the Communist conquest, there were no militia units in Southwest China. Although Communist forces immediately set about building up a militia, only 500,000 recruits had been enrolled by 1950. Central control of the new units was not established

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51. (contnued) by national minorities and in some parts of Kweichow. See New China Daily, Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2; Sept. 28, 1952, p. 1; May 10, 1952, p. 1; and Oct. 2, 1951, p. 2.

52. Ibid. Oct. 2, 1951, p. 3.

53. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1951, p. 2.

54. For a study of the militia, see Li Tang, Militia of Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954.

701 until 1952, following the completion of land
668 reform. At the present time, the militia of Southwest China is far smaller than that of other regions.

The duties of the militia in peace time are to assist the public security forces in matters concerning arrests and detention, co-operate with troops in campaigns against bandits, to guard bridges and transportation centers, and to take charge of food transportation and the maintanence of order at public meetings. In war time, the militia's duty is to co-operate with area commands in district defense.

668 2. Consolidation Period: 1952-53.
As land reform came to a close, Communist power was established, but challenged, in the rural areas. Party organizations had not yet been established in many rural areas. Even where they existed, they generally were weak and ineffective. Party indoctrination was neglected, with the result that Party members acted like dictators and Party leaders became confused. In order to remedy this situation, the Party launched its membership drive of 1952 and sought to

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strengthen already existent Party organizations.[55]

Together with reports of general apathy was the Wu-to (the "five-too-many") phenomenon. Its name has reference to the practice of permitting an individual to hold a number of different jobs at one time, and it was one of the causes contributing to Party inefficiency in the rural areas. It was reported that in one hsiang in Szechwan, the deputy county chief held more than ten jobs, spent most of his time in meetings, and neglected his official duties.[56] This phenomenon was nationwide and was so serious that the Communists issued directives against it.

At the same time, the Party sought to establish hsiang governments and bring them under its firm control. Various organizations, notably the peasants' associations and other mass organizations, were instructed to select representatives to a hsiang People's Representative Conference. These delegates in turn elected the members of the new hsiang government. The new governments consisted of one

55. New China Daily, Aug. 16, 1952, p. 3.
56. Ibid., June 7, 1953, p. 2.

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668 chief, one or two deputy chiefs, and anywhere from nine to eleven committeemen. Administrative organs included commissions on civil affairs, finance, food, education, sanitation, production, militia, and public security.

The Party especially sought to establish closer control over ethnic minorities. First, military forces were used to liquidate "bandits" hiding in the remote mountainous regions inhabited by these minorities. Under the auspices of these forces, schools were organized for the training and indoctrination of political cadres and activists. By December 1952, 65 autonomous area governments and 127 coalition governments had been formed among ethnic minorities in the Southwest.[57] Over 368 trade stations had been established to exploit the economic resources of the region. Acting through 170 purchasing teams, agent of the trade stations scoured these areas for raw materials. to be exported to the Soviet

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57. See the report of Ho Lung, Deputy Chairman of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee in New China Daily, Dec. 11, 1952, p. 1.

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668 Union.[58]

668 666 3. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period:. 1953-1955. Premier Chou En-lai's announcement of a nationwide election in 1953 and the fact that the majority of 280,000 hsiang had held all-circle People's conferences indicated the degree of Communist confidence in their power.

At the village and hsiang levels, the key task in the period prior to the election was the consolidation and strengthening of the hsiang government and the allocation of electoral districts.[59] The ts'un (village) lost its status as an administrative unit. Its powers were taken over by the new hsiang government. At the same time, delegates to the hsiang representative conference were formed into a team for liaison work between the ts'un and the hsiang government. The jurisdiction of the hsiang governments was reduced, in order that they might exert closer control over the population under their authority. Jurisdiction was limited to area within a radius of 30 li

58. Ibid., Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

59. See the directive issued by Chang Chi-ch'un in Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2.

668 (approximately 10 miles) of the local head-
666 quarters and a population between 500 and 10,000. Ch'ü and county administrations were dealt with in similar fashion. The former was to have not more than 10 hsiang under its jurisdiction and the latter, not more than 10 ch'ü. Finally, electoral delegates were alloted on the basis of hsiang population.

668 After the promulgation of the Constitution, Communist political power was further strengthened. The hsiang People's congress now holds the highest formal authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the hsiang People's council. Resistance remains strong in the rural areas, however, and in 1955, two strong countermeasures were passed by
474 the Party.[60] Further expansion of agricultural producers' co-operatives was temporarily
668 checked, and the first Rural Basic-Level Organization Conference was held in April 1955 for the purpose of strengthening Party

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60." Wei-shen-ma Pi-hsü Chung-shih Nung-yeh Sheng-ch'an Ho-tso-she Ti Kung-ku Kung-tso?" ["Why Should Productive Co-operatives Be Strengthened?"], New China Monthly, March 1955, pp. 133-134.

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474 leadership over the agricultural producers'
668 co-operative organization before gradual collectivization began.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Conference:[61] (1) Party organization shall be based on territorial and production units, with emphasis on the development of more Party branches in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. (2) Collective work rather than individual achievement is to be stressed. (3) There is to be further expansion of Party indoctrination programs. (4) The county Party secretary's leadership and the Party's political role in the producers' co-operatives is to be strengthened.

The chief problems which the agricultural program of the Party faces are the need for cadre education, the lack of Party strength, and the peasant's sense of individuality and love of his own land.

369 D. Political Control in the City
668

The establishment and consolidation of

61. Summary report on the conference in New China Monthly, No. 4, April 1955, pp. 27-28.

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369 Communist power in the cities followed the
668 same general course as in the rural areas. The Democratic Construction Movement, directed in particular at the urban population and the trade unions, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, directed at the Party itself, the government administration, and industrial and business circles of society, in effect, performed functions similar to those in the land reform in rural areas.

668 Communist power in the city is retained through the maintenance of a set of control organizations, extending from workers' trade unions to the students' federation.[62]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committee, composed of one-hundred to six-hundred families, is organized with the stated aim of contributing to the welfare of the residents. The basic unit is a family residing in or sharing a house with others. Under the committee are sub-committees representing

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62. Regulation of committees, People's Daily, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 1-2. English text in Current Background, No. 310, Jan. 17, 1955.

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668 fifteen to forty families. Minority nationality groups and workers' residential areas are organized in similar units. It is reported that more than 70 per cent of the cities in China are under the control of these organizations.

The Urban Street Office is a representative of the city government and acts as a liaison between the government and the street for the maintenance of public order. Its jurisdiction parallels that established for the Public Security Sub-Station, thus enforcing a double-check on residents. The Public Security Sub-Station is responsible, in the main, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

The Mediation Committee is a mass organization established both in the city and in the village.[63] Its function is to mediate disputes and to propagandize government statutes, and, provisionally, to exercise "judicial" power in the village or street for misdemeanors not under the jurisdiction of the People's tribunal. Although the committee acts as a third party in a dispute, it represents

63. People's Daily, March 23, 1954, p. 1.

668 the government's view and emphasizes the technique of self-criticism.

Communist control in the city is much more rigid and forceful than in the village. With the spread of Communist domination over many organizations, factories, and other professional organizations, Communist domination is strengthened. Although public security sub-stations play a leading role in enforcing government decrees, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be minimized.

III. ELECTIONS AND POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

666 665 A. Elections

The nationwide election which produced the People's congresses at all levels was held in the Southwest between 1953 and July-August, 1954.

1. Election Mechanism. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China was

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665 promulgated on March 1, 1953.[64] Article 3
666 stipulates that deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like People's congress of the next lower level. Deputies to the People's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected directly by the electors. To administer these elections, the electoral law provides for the establishment of election committees at all levels down to the hsiang. Members of the committees are appointed by the People's government of the next higher level. The eight functions assigned to the committee at the hsiang level were reinforced by the directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[65] The chairman of the committee is appointed from the higher level. The committee defines electoral districts: each district consists

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64. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congresses and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1953.

65. For the eight functions of the committee, see Article 39, ibid.

665 of at least 200 people, in order to supply two
666 or three representatives. A voter-qualification examination board is established; only those who pass the examination may receive the electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level directly control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the Party representatives and representatives of mass organizations within the election committee.

Although the election of the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of hsiang or a town deputy may be conducted byeither secret ballot or a show of hands (Article 55).

665 During the period prior to the general
208 elections of 1953 and 1954, the Party
666 accelerated its program of propagandaand indoctrination. Every phase of the campaign was designed to induce mass participation and greater adherence to Communist values and objectives. Szechwan was the center of an especially intense propaganda campaign.[66]

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66. New China Daily, May 16, 1953, p. 1; also May 30, 1953, p. 1.

665 Fifty nine thousand election handbooks were
666 distributed by some 180,000 specially trained
208 propagandists, many of them members of the Szechwan Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Among other devices used were 34 mobile motion picture projection teams, 400 slide-projector units, innumerable "cultural" exhibits, and periodic radio
665 broadcasts. Election personnel were chosen
668 from various Party, governmental, and mass organizations. Students also were widely used. For example, in Kweichow some 400 students of political science and law, together with several hundred graduates of the Provincial Institue of Nationalists, served as election officers.[67]

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. In all provinces, between one-fourth and one-third of the deputies elected to the Provincial People's Congresses were members of the Communist Party.[68] Most non-Party deputies enthusiastically supported the Party's program. It would seem that, like most elections in Communist states, the general elections of 1953 and 1954 were

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67. Ibid., May 19, 1953, p. 3.
68. People's Daily, March 21, 1954, p. 3; also April 28, 1954, p. 3.

665 conducted in order to facilitate the indoctrination
666 of the masses, rather than to secure leaders who enjoyed the support of the majority of the electorate.

2. Selection and Nomination of Candidates. Article 47 of the Electoral Law regulates the nomination of candidates. Members of the Communist Party of China, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations, and electors or representatives who are not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In all cases, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus method is adopted. Negotiations on the nomination of candidates at the provincial or municipal level are made through the consultative conference of the level in question. At the county level or below, where such conferences do not exist, negotiations are carried out by the election committee. There is little doubt that the Communist Party of China commands the selection of candidates in the negotiations. At the hsiang level, a preliminary list of the candidates is given to the electors' discussion group for approval

65 and returned to the election committee. The
66 final list is then published five days before the election.

3. Election Campaign and Fund. The practice of joint nomination of candidates usually eliminates the need for election campaigning. Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must first meet the approval of the local Party organization; if they are approved, their election is assured. Any campaigning must take place only at the Party meeting and discussion group meetings, where candidates may be questioned and qualifications discussed. With respect to electin expenses, Article 8 of the electoral law permits a disbursement from the national treasury. Since campaigning is rare, the collection of a campaign fund is not provided for. Article 62 singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices include violence, intimidation, and fraud. Offenders are subject to fine or imprisonment.

B. Politics of Minor Parties

After 1950, minor parties gradually re-established themselves in the key cities of Southwest China. The most noted are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang,

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665 the China Association for the Promotion of
666 Democracy, the Democratic League, the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, and the Chih Kung Tang.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, composed of former Kuomintang officials, forms the largest group participating in government. The next largest is the Democratic League. As a party made up of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, it serves as a symbol of coalition. The China Association for the Promotion of Democracy is a party of the national bourgeoisie, including industrialists and capitalists. Its services are needed in the nation's economic programs. Minor parties having some political importance are drafted for other activities. Of special importance is the Chih Kung Tang, which, as an overseas Chinese political association, has been a major medium through which the Communists seek support from abroad.

The status of minor parties in this region is determined ultimately by their status in the central government -- a status which changed after the promulgation of the Constitution. While the Constitution still calls for the continued functioning of the People's

665 Democratic United Front led by the Communist
666 Party of China, the democratic groups of the United Front are rapidly losing their identity.

The local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which are the organizational forms of the United Front, are no longer politically important. In 1951 their duties included assisting local governments, reflecting public opinion, examining decrees submitted by the government, and participating in government-sponsored drives. Article 18 of the Constitution has reduced them to advisory agencies.[69]

It is true that minor parties may still participate in government affairs, either through the nomination of candidates to the People's congresses or through the local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; however, as the foregoing sections have indicated, the People's congresses and People's councils fail to provide for real popular participation. Equally significant is the reduction in the establishment of consultative committees below the provincial level. Prior to the

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69. English text of the Constitution of the Chinese People's P.C.C. in Current Background, No. 309, Dec. 25, 1954.

665 promulgation of the Constitution in September
666 1954, the establishment of these committees in administrative districts, cities, and counties was encouraged. The new Constitution only allows for the establishment of these committees in provinces and in municipalities directly under the central authority.

With the consolidation of Communist political power at all levels, the position of minor parties is further endangered. For instance, the liquidation of capitalists in the transitional stage certainly will reduce the power of the China Association for the Promotion of Democracy. Eventually, minor parties no longer will exist as political forces in the ordinary sense of the term, simply because they no longer will exert political influence.

665 1. Control and Infiltration of Minor
668 Parties. The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. The guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

665 indicates the degree to which these minor
668 parties have subordinated themselves to the Communist Party of China. Minor parties "must assist the state organs and set the social forces in motion ... to maintain close contact with the masses ... to continue to consolidate and develop the alliance between China and the U.S.S.R. .... and to study Marxist-Leninist theories on a voluntary basis, study state policy, elevate political levels, practice self-criticism and criticism, and strive for ideological remolding."

The Communist Party relies chiefly on infiltration to eliminate minor parties. Through the Party Committee's Department of the United Front, the Party maintains a close control over the policies and activities of the minor parties. Often it virtually dictates their policies. For example, the resolution on party expansion adopted by the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party in December 1951 authorized the appointment of Communist Party members to high posts within the organization. In addition, it forbade the establishment of party units in the countryside and excluded party activists from such organizations as the People's Liberation Army, the public security agencies, and intelligence units.

665 668 2. Minor Parties and "Pressure Politics." In a democracy, the political activity of minor or opposition parties may indicate the measure of effective democracy. Likewise, special interest groups, as such, can enjoy their political privileges under democratic rule. In Communist China, since public opinion is controlled by the Communist Party, and since the minor parties have only assigned duties to perform, special interest groups and the dissident parties exert no "pressure" upon the state organizations dominated by the Party nor do they take part in the making of decisions.

Deputies of the minor parties were allowed to make speeches at the All-People's Conferences, but they limited themselves to priase, criticizing only those minor faults which the Communists themselves had admitted publicly.

Finally, with the retirement of aging leaders whose authority dates from the pre-Communist period, and with the absence of young and vigorous new members, the value of the minor parties is in rapid decline.

CONCLUSION

665 Since 1952 both the size and the influence of the Communist Party have increased

665 rapidly in Southwest China. By 1954 Party branches had been organized in 63 per cent of the hsiang, an increase of 900 per cent over 1952. Nevertheless, this abnormally rapid expansion merely reflects the original weakness of the Party in this region. In fact, as late as 1953, the Party had so little support among the mass of the peasants, that it had to use force to bring about the organization of agricultural producers' co-operatives.

The rapid growth of industry in the Southwest, together with the recent decision of the 6th Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Party to accelerate the organization of collective farms, will necessitate even greater Party expansion in the immediate future. Such expansion may well arouse unprecedented opposition, requiring violent methods of suppression similar to those employed in the Soviet Union in the 1920's.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2d,
Political Background

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

692 In a totalitarian regime, the employment of terror is a primary strategy by which "public order" is maintained and the consolidation of political power is assured. The Communist regime in the Southwest Region has not hesitated to pursue such a policy, employing it on an intensive scale which covers all spheres of activity. Such a policy is insured by the maintenance of rigid control over the populace and the employment of various means for the suppression of opposition. The judicial organ of government is conceived neither as an institution of justice nor as a protector of individual rights, but it is designed to serve as a weapon of the state for the suppression of all opposition, thereby "safeguarding the people's democratic system and protecting public property." Likewise, to insure observance of Communist law," the local People's Procuratorate, although a "judicial organ," exercises procuratorial authority over all local state agencies, over government workers, and over all citizens in general. The procuratorates serve as instruments of control over the People's courts and public

692 security agencies, particularly since they have the power to supervise the People's courts in adjudication matters, the security agencies in investigation activities, and the execution of judgment in criminal cases. Both the police and public security agencies with their own security forces are instruments of violence. They assume direct responsibility for the maintenance of public order and constant vigilance over the entire populace. They are integrated systems, subject to the control of the Central People's Government and rigidly supervised by the Communist Party.

The use of terror is inherent in a dictatorship, where subordination to a single will is required. The imposition of a single will upon an entire society is certain to meet opposition; the more rapid and drastic the change, the stronger the resistance. To crush this resistance, terror and violence are employed. The Communist regime imposes upon society a new political ideology and its acts are calculated to destroy the old order while creating a new one. It is for this reason that violence and terror are widespread and their impact upon the entire society alarming. (The activities of resistance groups will be discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

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I. PEOPLE'S COURTS AND PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATES

A. People's Courts

692 As political weapons of the state, the People's courts have actively engaged in the suppression of counterrevolutionary activities and maintenance of public order. The Supreme People's Court was established in November 1949, and a year later the Southwest China Branch Court was formed and given final authority in the region.[1] Local People's courts were formed at all levels, and mediation committee functioned in rural areas. The Municipal People's Court in Chungking handled 11,550 criminal and 7,635 civil cases in the first year of its operation.[2] Kweichow prosecuted 5,260 civil and 5,041 criminal cases in a period of nine months.[3]

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1. Official report by Chuen-ju Shen, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], June 2, 1950, p. 1.

2. Report *in* Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports of 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 1016-24.

3. Report of Tseng-ku Ch'en, ibid., pp. 1098-1112.

692 The courts, like other agencies of the state, underwent several stages in development; however, they followed dissimalar courses and their functions varied from time to time. For instance, during the first stage, prior to June 1952, the courts served as instruments of violence, carrying out with relentnessness the Land Reform Movement in the rural areas and the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns in the cities. During the second stage, between June 1952 and the spring of 1953, the courts completed judicial reform that enabled them to legalize their authority, replacing that of the former courts. The reform affected Southwest China two months later than other regions and was not as vigorously carried out, chiefly because other regional projects demanded greater attention. During the third stage, from September 1954 to the present, the courts have consolidated their authority and have begun to function as judicial agencies in conformity with the Organic Law of the People's courts of the People's Republic of China.[4]

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4. English text of the law is available in Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, No. 303, Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 1-7.

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692 1. The First Stage. The distinguishing feature of judicial activities during this stage is the wide use of the People's tribunal in the land reform, and in Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. This devotion to the administration of the criminal code in connection with the suppression of opposition made possible the concentration of judicial authority in the hands of Party functionaries and the complete subordination of judicial functions for political expediency..

The city and county governments were empowered by the Central Government to organize People's tribunals for land reform. People's tribunals were established in every two or three ch'ü and were given sole authority in dealing with criminal matters, including the authority to impose sentences of not more than five years' imprisonment. They also have the authority to prosecute counter-revolutionaries and to initiate arrests. The political character of the tribunal can be detected by the composition of the adjudication committee, composed of a president, a deputy, and several judges, half of whom were to be appointed by the People's government and the rest "elected" by the People's representatives

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692 from public security, the Peasants' Association, and other mass organizations. Specifically, the county head in some cases and the ch'ü head in all cases were the presidents of the tribunals.

A directive issued by the Southwest China Military and Political Committee in December 1951 offered specific regional instructions.[5] Tribunal personnel, drawn from those showing strong class consciousness, were to be trained by provincial and county governments. County governments were to hold training courses, and provincial governments were to supply instructors and instruction materials. Government authorities claimed that by September 1950 People's tribunals were functioning in all key areas of Southwest China.[6]

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5. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Dec. 24, 1951, p. 2.

6. Report of Tan Mou-hsing, head of the Department of Justice of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, ibid., Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2.

692 The operation of these tribunals relied
695 heavily on mass hysteria and mob hatred. The administration of the trials by Party functionaries insured the use of terror. When cases were heard, the judges of the People's tribunals bombarded the masses with propaganda. The masses were sufficiently agitated to denounce as reactionaries those whom the Party had previously singled out for prosecution. After mass emotion was aroused and denunciations were made, judgment was passed by the masses and sentence rendered at the instigation of the adjudication committee controlled by the Party. Such a mass trial could not avoid intimidation and violence toward the accused.

During the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, People's tribunals were established by the directives of the Government Administration Council.[7] Members of the committee were activists representing various Party-controlled organizations. These tribunals were empowered to mete out death sentences.

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7. Directives on the Three-Anti tribunal in People's Daily, March 31, 1952, p. 1; on the Five-Anti tribunal, ibid., March 25, 1952, p. 1.

692 The effective use of People's tribunals as weapons of force was introduced after the judicial reform.[8] During the nationwide electons in 1953-54, People's tribunals were again widely used. Their main function was to suppress and punish violators and unqualified candidates and voters, including those citizens accused of counterrevolutionary activity. These tribunals worked in co-ordination with the election committees at all levels.

2. The Second Stage. The Judicial Reform Campaign was a mass movement aimed at eliminating judicial personnel previously serving with the Nationalist Government.[9] Exaggerated accounts of corruption and practices detrimental to the state were publicized. Mass meetings were held to identify, accuse, and pass judgment upon the accused workers. A large percentage of the old-established personnel was affected. For example, in the city of Chungking about 50 per cent of the total personnel in the Municipal People's Court had served under the

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8. For functions of the election tribunal, see People's Daily, Feb. 7, 1954, p. 3.

9. For reports on campaign conducted in Chungking, see New China Daily, Aug. 29, 1952, p. 1, and ibid., Sept. 19, 1952, p. 3.

692 Nationalist Government; some 60 per cent were charged with corruption.[10]

Mediation committees were set up to deal with local disputes and disseminate government propaganda. The active participation by the public security sub-stations in the cities and the hsiang governments in the rural areas indicates the political nature of the mediation.[11]

692 695 In regard to the elimination of old judicial practices, the Communists attacked the old system on four counts:[12] (a) that the judiciary was a weapon employed by one class for the suppression of the opposing class; (b) that the exceedingly mechanical procedure of the old courts should be condemned as a bourgeois practice; (c) that the assumption of a purely legalistic approach to a case that does not reflect the economic and social relationship of the society was contrary to the socialist view of law; and (d) that the use of precedents for adjudication of a case should also be discarded as a bourgeois practice.

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10. Ibid., Sept. 27, 1952, p. 1.

11. Report on the conclusion of the campaign in this region, ibid., Dec. 14, 1952, p. 1.

12. Yangtze Daily, Feb. 18, 1951, p. 3, and Li Kuang-ts'an, "P'i-p'ing Jen-min Fa-lü Ti Chiu-fa Kuan-tien" ["Criticizing the People's Law from the Old Jurisprudential Viewpoint"], Hsüeh-hsi [Study], No. 7, Oct. 1, 1952, pp. 16-19.

692 To stress the development of a new
695 judicial system, the Communists introduced several innovations: (a) the simplification of jurisdiction, the reduction of appellant cases, and the concentration of judicial authority in the lower courts; (b) the adoption of adjudication committees and the administration of law by collegia; (c) the review and periodic check of non-appellant cases by the higher courts and the practice in the lower courts of seeking instructions from and reporting to the higher courts; (d) the conduct of circuit hearings; (e) the use of People's assessors, a system similar to the Western jury system, which includes representatives from various People's organizations; (f) the use of trials for cases involving disputes among Party members and workers in factories, offices, and enterprises; and (g) such new techniques as oral inquiries and on-the-spot investigations and the establishment of People's reception rooms and mediation committees as means of enlisting mass support as well as for the intimidation of the masses.

692 3. The Third Stage. After judicial reform, further effort was concentrated upon the establishment of the new system and the training of new cadre to fill the vacancies which resulted from large-scale liquidation of

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692 the former workers. In 1953, as a result of the second session of the All-China Judicial Conference, a directive was issued calling for the immediate training of 200 to 500 judicial workers and for the drafting of a training plan in each region.[13] Effort was made to strengthen judicial authority at the lower levels and to set up special courts in industrial and mining centers as well as courts with jurisdiction over railways and waterways. As of September 1954, only eight railway courts and one waterway court had been established in the entire nation.[14]

"Comrade trial courts" were established in factories. Members of these courts were activists of the trade unions, and their tactics were similar to those of the mediation committeemen. Their jurisdiction was limited to disciplinary cases, and they were to recommend suitable punishments. As of June 1954, 70 comrade trial courts had been reported in major cities of the nation.[15]

The new judicial system was made permanent by the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China, which

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13. People's Daily, Sept. 10, 1953, p. 1.
14. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1954.
15. Ibid., June 5, 1954, p. 3.

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692 was promulgated at the First Session of the National People's Congress.[16] The law also formalized the relationships among the various courts.

B. People's Procuratorate

The People's Procuratorate is called a "judicial organ" but is, in effect, a prosecuting agency exercising control over both People's courts and public security agencies. It is in itself a centralized system. Powers exercised by the local offices include the supervision of decisions, orders, and measures of local state agencies, inquiry into criminal activities, supervision of the work of the People's courts, guidance in passing judgment on criminal cases and the activities of the agencies for "Reform-through-Labor," and the right to prosecute criminal cases or to join in the prosecution of important civil cases involving the interest of the State and the people.

Prior to 1954, the Supreme People's Procuratorate was represented in Southwest China by the Southwest China Branch.[17] At the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July 1955, Chang Ting-ch'eng, the Supreme People's Procurator, announced

16. Text in Current Background, No. 303, Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 1-7.
17. Text, ibid., pp. 8-9.

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692 the course of action for the People's procuratorates for 1955.[18] He emphasized the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and in the armed forces. From September 1954 to July 1955 the number of People's procuratorates increased from 199 to 1,963.

II. PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS AND POLICE

625 Perhaps the most powerful instrument of violence, with the exception of the armed forces, is the public security organ which exists in all government and functional organizations throughout China. It maintains close control over the entire populace and assumes the responsibility for arrests and punishment. Furthermore, it has at its disposal the public security forces, which are said to be efficiently staffed. There is no doubt that the public security agencies, by collaborating with other secret agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, have become the best physical and psychological instruments for the maintenance of public order.

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18. People's Daily, July 24, 1955, p. 2.

A. Organization

625 For reasons of secrecy and the potentially sinister role played by public security agencies in the structure of the regime, information on their organization and activities is withheld by the Communists. However, it is known that, in addition to the Ministry of Public Security in the Central Government, each level of government has a department or bureau in charge of matters of public security. This public security system extends from the provincial government down to the hsiang.

In the past, the Department of Public Security of the regional government was directly responsible for the maintenance of public order and safety in the Southwest China Region. According to a Nationalist study from Formosa in 1953, the Department of Public Security in a provincial government was said to have the following five sections as well as an administrative office:[19] political security, security administration, police, general service, and "Reform-through-labor."

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19. Kung-fei Chün-shih Kung-an T'e-wu Tsu-chih Hsi-t'ung T'u-piao Hui-pien [Compendium of Organizational Charts of Communist Military, Public Security, and Intelligence Organs], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953.

625 Other units such as a cadre school, border public security bureaus, and forced labor batallions were also under the department's jurisdiction. Public security bureaus were organized within administrative districts and municipalities. County bureaus were empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in ch'ü and hsiang, and they were placed in charge of detention houses and prisons.

B. Public Security in the Rural Areas

625 701 During the land reform period, rural security relied on peasant associations and the militia to enforce decrees and destroy the old rural system, to crush the intelligence agencies controlled by the Kuomintang, to suppress banditry, and to eliminate landlords and "despots."

625 701 669 At the time of the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement in the cities, climaxed by the use of violence in 1951, a similar campaign was carried out in rural areas. Official reports during this time indicated the unrest and the resistance of the peasants, expressed in the forms of organized "underground armies," the killing of militia,

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625 the burning of granaries, and the slaughtering
701 of cattle. Communist authorities in the
669 Southwest China region called for the strengthening of rural public security.[20] Village committees, composed of from 3 to 11 members, were organized, and public security teams were formed.[21]

The extent of rural unrest was indicated by Wen-hui Liu, deputy from the province of Szechwan, at the second session of the National People's Congress.[22] He reported destruction of agricultural implements, sabotage of a dam, murder of Communist cadres and activists, arson, and impairment of relationships between the Han and the minority groups.

In August 1953, bands of armed police were transferred from the military command to the public security agencies in an attempt to strengthen rural public security.

C. Public Security in the Cities

625 The maintenance of public order and

20. New China Daily, June 29, 1952, p. 1, and Oct. 9, 1952, p. 3.
21. People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1952, p. 1.
22. Ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 5.

625 safety in the cities is more complex than in the rural areas. The Communists approach this problem from at least four different angles: (a) an extensive public security organization; (b) rigid census control over resident movements; (c) the establishment of resident organizatins to watch over the entire populace, including committees in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The Public Security Bureau in a municipal government maintains eight sections and several other units. The eight sections include a secretariat, political security (including intelligence, investigation, confidential communication), security administration, police, sanitation, fire prevention, supply, and personnel. Other units under the bureau include prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as security-training schools and security forces. Under the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as that of the bureau itself. The sub-bureau takes charge of detention houses and directs the work of security stations and security committees under them.

625 659 In 1951, the Communistsbegan to tighten census control throughout the Southwest. The directive on census control, issued by the

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625 Government Administration Council in July
659 1951, restricted the movement of city dwellers.[23] Any resident who wished to move had first to obtain a permit from the security station. Likewise, any person who moved into the district had to report his arrival to the station. Even house guests staying three days or more were required to register. The nationwide census taken in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter vigilance. "Planned purchase and marketing," a form of rationing introduced at the end of 1953, strengthened security control. The recent institution of a regular system of registration increases the burden of established regulations.[24]

625 The Security Committee was first organized in the cities during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951. Dwellers in a street or an alley formed a unit for the establishment of a committee. Under the security sub-station, which might have jurisdiction over several streets, security committees were linked to form

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23. Yangtze Daily, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

24. Directive of the State Council in People's Daily, July 3, 1955, p. 1; see Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], April 2, 1955, p. 1.

625 a general committee with the sub-station chief as its chairman. The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen, assigned to maintain public order and enforce decrees pertaining to it. These functions include the enforcement of laws on public security, the suppression of sabotage, the prevention of bandit activities, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, census-taking, and the supervision of the security committees.

Security in factory, business enterprises, and other industrial organizations is the concern of committees established in each of these organizations. These committees are expected to supervise every phase of industrial production and labor discipline.

625 656 The establishment of regulations governing the conduct of business in the Southwest enables the Party to maintain control over all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances[25] requires each electrical shop to secure a permit from the security agency before requesting a license from the local Department of Industry. A monthly report of sales and a monthly inventory also are required. Failure to report suspicious

25. People's Daily, July 26, 1955, p. 3.

625 patrons to the security agency is a punishable
656 offense. Equally rigid regulations govern the ownership and use of firearms.[26] Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses, and recreational facilities also are extremely stringent.[27] Owners first must have permits from public security agencies. The procedure regulating the issuance of permits requires the submission of the personal history of the owner, complete information concerning others involved in the business, and a diagram of the geographic location of the shop or office. Hotels must make daily reports upon their guests, and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time.

B. Police

625 The police should be distinguished from the security forces, which are a component of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Effective August 1955, as a result of a State Council order, security forces at the level of the administrative district were organized into an armed police force.[28]

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26. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, June 29, 1951, p. 5.

27. Ibid., May 1951, p. 2.

28. The only Communist report on security forces appeared in People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1953, p. 1; Text of the State Council order, ibid., July 31, 1955.

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III. CRIMINAL CODES AND LAWS GOVERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

671 Although the establishment of a criminal and civil code is assigned to the Commission on Codification under the Government Administration Council, to date no report has been made by the committee. However, decrees and orders concerning counterrevolutionary activities have been issued by all levels of government.

A. Criminal Code

671 694 A decree promulgated by the chairman of the People's Republic of China in December 1954 explained the procedure for arrest and detention.[29] As a rule, arrests must first be approved by the People's court or by the People's procuratorates, and before making an arrest, public security agencies must obtain a warrant from the People's Procuratorate. However, there are circumstances under which immediate arrests can be made. These exceptions, in fact, grant the security agencies more power than the decree would suggest. For example, persons who are unable to establish their place of residence

29. People's Daily, Dec. 21, 1954, p. 1.

671 are subject to immediate arrest. It is true
694 that certain provisions in the decree guarantee each individual the right to demand a warrant, a minimum period of detention, and an early and rapid trial; nevertheless, at least two factors minimize the value to the individual of these provisions -- warrants for arrests are not always obtained by security agencies, and exceptions to these provisions are allowed to facilitate the arrest of counterrevolutionaries.

687 Apart from those decrees relating to the punishment of counterrevolutionaries, discussed below, other orders that may be singled out for discussion include the decree on the safekeeping of confidential information[30] and that implemented in cases involving the violation of laws concerning national currency.[31] Since "confidential material" is loosely defined by the Communists, the "unlawful disclosure" of any information whatsoever can be regarded as a crime. "Confidential information" includes not only national security and military matters in the usual sense, but also any data relating to economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, and matters of a

30. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.
31. Ibid., April 28, 1951, p. 4.

687 judicial and legislative nature. In the same fashion, any violation of the laws governing national currency committed with the intention of aiding counterrevolutionary activities is regarded as an act of counterrevolution and carries a severe penalty.

B. Counterrevolutionary Decrees

According to the Communists, "counterrevolutionaries" are persons who engage in activities contrary to the interest of the state. This term specifically includes bandits of all kinds, landlords, "despots," spies, Kuomintang intelligence agents, former high-ranking Nationalist officers continuing to engage in counterrevolutionary activities, and members of secret societies.

Regulations on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries[32] were first issued by the Government Administration Council in February 1951. These regulations are reportedly based on the "spirit" of Article 7 of the Common Program, which registered

32. Yangtze Daily, Feb. 23, 1951, p. 1.

687 the determination of the Communist regime to punish all counterrevolutionaries and "other criminals" and to impose upon them the punishment of "Reform-through-labor." Counterrevolutionaries are those who collaborate with foreign imperialist powers, instigate mutiny in the militia and armed forces, or organize secret societies. Counterrevolutionaries are subject to trial both by the People's courts and by the military tribunals. Former members of political parties, including the Kuomintang, the Chinese Youth Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party, former intelligence personnel under the Nationalist regime, and former Nationalist officers above the rank of captain are required to register with public security agencies.[33] Their political rights may be witheld for a period of time, their property may be confiscated, and they are subject to political surveillance.

The control of counterrevolutionaries is made possible by two laws promulgated by the regime -- the law of control of counter-revolutionaries and regulations governing "Reform-through-labor." The law concerning counterrevolutionaries was issued in July

33. Ibid. Aug. 13, 1951, p. 1.

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687 1952 by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council.[34] Decisions on the means of suppression of counterrevolutionaries can be made either by the People's court or by the public security agencies at county and municipal levels. In the villages, hsiang and ch'ü governments may initiate this control, subject to the approval of the public security agencies at the county level. Sub-stations in the city may also initiate control, subject to the approval of public security sub-bureaus. Persons under surveillance are deprived of their political rights, including the right to vote. The period of surveillance may be three years or less. During the period, the individual is sent to a forced-labor camp.

The regulations governing "Reform-through-labor," issued by the Government Administration Council in August 1954, provided a detailed scheme for the establishment of forced labor throughout China.[35] Centralized authority no doubt facilitates control of counterrevolutionaries.

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34. People's Daily, July 16, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Sept. 7, 1954, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 293, Sept. 15, 1954.

COMMENTS

625 The prevalence of banditry and disorder in the region, together with the activities of remnants of Nationalist military units, made it exceedingly difficult for the Communist Party to re-establish "peace and order" in the Southwest. The difficulty of maintaining control over ethnic minorities, the multitude of secret societies, and the hostility of the peasants to many Communist economic schemes constituted further obstacles. The Party was so preoccupied with these problems that it made little headway in the organization of the usual civil security agencies, such as the People's courts and the People's procuratorates. Instead, the regime was forced to rely upon military force and terror in order to maintain "public order."

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2f,
Political Background

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

669 The most serious challenge to the Communist regime immediately after its assumption of power in the Southwest Region was the open resistance of armed groups. The Communists credit the Nationalist Government with having established fifteen guerrilla bases and organized thousands of intelligence workers in Southwest China before evacuating the region. Nearly one million members of Nationalist units and various resistance groups "controlled by the Nationalists," in addition to 80,000 intelligence agents, were reported by the Communiststo have been left behind to harass the new regime.[1]

000 Even after the Communists consolidated

1. Report of Chou Hsing, head of the Department of Public Security of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 12, 1951, p. 2; and report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

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Even after the Communists consolidated
668 their hold on Southwest China, open and clandestine opposition of all kinds was reported by the new regime. Two main sources of subversion were marked as targets for destruction by the government: (1) "Counterrevolutionaries" or "basically hostile elements" -- inclusive terms embracing all social, economic, and political elements considered enemies of the socialist state. (2) Harmful activities such as corruption, waste, and theft which are reported to have caused degeneration and inefficiency in Party and government organizations, industrial
578 establishments, and rural co-operatives. A third source of danger to the Communist regime -- tension and discontent within the party, government, and the populace -- can be inferred as concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[2]

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2. Studies of the USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954.

I. SUPPRESSION OF COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

69 The term "counterrevolutionaries" as used by the Communists is only vaguely defined. It includes all persons whose past or present actions are deemed contrary to the purpose and interests of the Communists, particularly "bandits," landlords, armed resistance groups, spies, saboteurs, secret societies, and unrepentant former Nationalist Government officials, army officers, and members of the Kuomintang. Any person to whom the term was applied was generally subject to the penalty of death or forced labor.

A. Extermination of Nationalist Forces and "Bandits"

Prior to 1952, the term "bandits" applied only to remnants of the Nationalist Government forces on the Mainland and long-active bands of robbers, the great majority of which were regarded by the Communists as "agents of Nationalist underground forces." The politically subversive nature of the "bandits" in the Southwest Region was emphasized from the beginning of the Communist attempt to consolidate control there by Liu Po-ch'eng, then chairman of the Southwest China Military and

669 Political Committee and commanding general of the Second Field Army.[3]

669 727 Another factor that contributed to the nature of the "bandit-suppression campaigns" in the Southwest was the large number of Nationalist troops that surrendered to the Communists in this region. The Communists claim they accepted the surrender of 900,000 Nationalist soldiers in Southwest China -- 400,000 of them in organized units and the remainder in scattered groups or as individuals. Part of the captured forces were reorganized and relocated as Communist units, but large numbers were discharged and ordered to their homes. Some of this latter group remained at large to create serious problems for the Communists, including reported participation in open rebellions during 1950 and 1951.

669 725 Communist military campaigns in the Southwest against the remnants of Nationalist

3. Report of Liu Po-ch'eng, Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-Pien, 1950, [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, People's Press, 1951, pp. 989-91.

669 725 forces and robber gangs were conducted in the same manner as in other regions. Elements of the regular Red Army encircled the opposing forces, while Party cadres organized and indoctrinated local militias. The combined Communist forces then cut the opposition into small groups and destroyed the main body of resistance. The mopping up of isolated elements was entrusted to the local militia, permitting large numbers of regular troops to be shifted to pacified rural areas for political work.

669 Within the general pattern of "bandit-suppression" strategy, different timing and tactics were employed in each province to meet the varying conditions encountered by the Communists. The work of eliminating armed resistance in Szechwan was undertaken within four special districts.[4] Counter-revolutionary activity organized by Kuomintang elements and aided by professional bandits, as the Communists described it, seems to have posed the greatest threat in the southern and eastern special districts of Szechwan. Simultaneous campaigns launched during the spring of 1950 in the four special

4. For reports of the work of the four special districts in Szechwan, see Compendium of Government Reports 1950, pp. 1025-70.

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669 districts were brought to a close in September with the announcement that 170,000 "bandits" had been eliminated in the southern special district, 120,000 in the eastern district, and lesser numbers in the other two districts.

Pacification of Kweichow was a far more difficult and prolonged problem. The Communists admit that in April 1950 they controlled only the cities and county seats of 48 counties as against 31 counties held by counterrevolutionary forces. Fifteen Nationalist regiments and numerous Nationalist-organized local militias were said to form the backbone of the opposition, which was not overcome until November 1950.[5]

A similar situation confronted the Communists in Yunnan.[6] Many Nationalist troops were identified as taking part in open resistance to the new regime during 1950-51. The situation was complicated by the operation of Nationalist elements along and across

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5. On the Kweichow situation, see New China Daily, Oct. 2, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 23, 1951, p. 3.

6. On the Yunnan situation, see People's Daily, Oct. 24, 1950, p. 3; New China Daily, Dec. 17, 1952, p. 1.

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669 Yunnan's border with Burma and within ethnic minority areas of the province. In December 1952, the Communists announced the capture of the last Nationalist stronghold inside Yunnan and the annihilation of 21,573 Nationalist soldiers and intelligence agents. However, the presence of Kuomintang forces under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan across the Yunnan border in Burma constituted a continuous threat to the province's security until they were withdrawn to Formosa in late 1954.

In Sikang, the "bandit-suppression" campaign was on a much smaller scale.[7] It lasted from February to November of 1950 and was reported to have destroyed 30,000 "bandits."

B. Landlords

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668 Under the Land Reform Law and the joint directive of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court,

7. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, pp. 1071-73.

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565 landlords were convicted of a variety of crimes
668 during the Land Reform Movement. Punishment ranged from death to short terms of imprisonment. After release from prison, landlords were given a small piece of land to work and placed under the surveillance of public security agencies or were required to
[697] serve in forced-labor camps. During and after the Land Reform Movement, forced-labor units were established throughout the Southwest Region, and nearly every county maintained a forced-labor battalion.[8] These battalions were engaged in all types of construction from the building and repairing of roads in ethnic minority areas to the extraction of minerals in mining areas. Still other landlords were classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in the Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries issued by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council[9] in Feb. 1951. They

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8. For example, see report on the province of Kweichow, New China Daily, Oct. 8, 1951, p. 1.

9. Text of the regulation in People's Daily, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 were deprived of their political rights and
668 subject to surveillance for at least three years as well as being made liable to forced labor at any time and in any place they were needed.

A new type of "potential landlord," regarded by the Communists as hostile to the new regime, came into existence after land reform. This "new rich" group was composed of Party members and former middle peasants who had acquired wealth following the redistribution of land. Since 1953, they have been accused of such hostile acts against the state as seizing control of rural governments, destroying agricultural producers' co-operatives, and disrupting Communist political control in rural areas. Cases of these kinds have been reported everywhere.[10] (See section on Rural Security in chapter on Public Order and Safety.) According to Communist accounts, the "new rich" group destroyed rural co-operatives by bribing Party cadres and responsible persons in the organizations or by employing collaborators

10. For an early report see New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1952; for more recent accounts see the reports of deputies to the National People's Congress, People's Daily, July 29, 1955, pp. 5, 6; and July 31, 1955, p. 3.

565 to infilitrate and capture key positions. Through
568 these agents, the "potential landlords" spread rumors among the peasants, falsified co-operative accounts, and engaged in other disruptive maneuvers to disorganize the co-operatives' work and membership.

C. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries and Espionage Agents

668 As early as July 1950, the Government
687 Administration Council of the Central Government and the People's Supreme Court issued a joint directive calling for the suppression of all counterrevolutionaries throughout China. The directive demanded the apprehension and severe punishment of organizers of open resistance, saboteurs in factories and warehouses, and murders of government officials. Nationalist intelligence agents and "bandit leaders" were particularly singled out for elimination. However, not until the nationwide Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 did the campaign against subversives reach major proportions and involve mass participation. At the conclusion of the movement, the foundation had been laid for the construction of a network of mass security organizations.

668 1. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951. Like other mass movements

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668 initiated by the Communists, the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951 relied heavily on techniques for arrousing mass hysteria. The people were drawn into mass meetings to be bombarded with propaganda. With mass fear and emotion aroused, the populace was led to make accusations in public and in private and to sign patriotic agreements. The campaign was carried on in factories, schools, and other organizations. Finally, security committees were established in every organization, street, and village, so that a public security network reached into every sector of social, economic, and political life. In Chungking, for example, four area-security committees, 90 branch-security committees, and 1,211 security teams were set up between June and September 1951. The membership of the committees was overwhelmingly made up of workers' representatives.[11]

Throughout the movement, cases of subversion and espionage were deliberately manufactured or exaggerated by the Communists, This deceptive practice seems

11. New China Daily, Oct. 7, 1951, p. 1.

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668 to have been a convenient means of absolving the regime of responsibility for any of its failures. In the Southwest Region, 5,168 cases of counterrevolutionary activity were reported during the movement, and 70 per cent of them were described as involving open resistance.[12] Their crimes were reported to have included the murder of 14,000 government workers and activists, the poisoning of 6,000 others, and the destruction or theft of several billion yuan worth of crops and other property.

Toward the end of the movement, its general success was praised in a spate of reports. At the same time, the Communist press noted failures, stressed the need for continuing vigilence, and issued warnings to particular areas where the movement had not been carried out successfully or had been completely ignored. In the Fu-ling Administrative District of Szechwan, for instance, only 34 per cent of the hsiang were credited with having done an adequate job in ferreting out counterrevolutionaries. Chou Hsing, head of the Department of Public Security of the Southwest China regional government, pointed out that the enemies of the regime had not

12. Ibid., Nov. 12, 1951, p. 2.

668 been entirely eliminated. He called for continued efforts to detect and suppress Nationalist intelligence agents, "bandits," and landlords, and for concentration on the strengthening of the "democratic reform movement" and the establishment of public security committees.

726
669 2. Suppression of Nationalist Spies. The threat of Nationalist expionage in Southwest China was greatest at the time the Communists assumed power in the region. The Communists not only reported 80,000 Nationalist intelligence workers at large in the region, but also claimed their influence and operations extended to the remnants of Nationalist forces, "bandit" units, and secret societies in Southwest China. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity of ridding the region of these spies to assure the well being of the new regime.

During 1950, the Communists concentrated on the disbanding of Nationalist espionage organizations and obtaining the surrender and arrest of spies. In the western Szechwan special district, the Communist authorities reported the surrender of 2,000 spies and the arrest of 318 others in the first half of 1950. During the same period in the southern Szechwan special district,

726 669 2,451 spies were arrested and 1,200 gave themselves up, according to Communist sources. Throughout the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951, further efforts were made to apprehend Nationalist intelligence personnel. As one means to this end, the Communists required that all former Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain register with public security agencies. The officers who complied were placed under surveillance.

Despite the emphasis placed on uncovering spies during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement, relatively few of the cases dealt with during the campaign involved espionage. In the eastern Szechwan special district, of all prosecuted cases, 79 per cent dealt with "bandits" and "local despots" and only a small percentage concerned intelligence workers.[13]

Counterrevolutionary activities, including Nationalist espionage operations, have received increased publicity since 1954. Three counterrevolutionary cases presented for mass trial in January 1955 at Chungking[14]

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13. Ibid., Dec. 4, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, Feb. 7, 1955, p. 3.

726 apparently were intended to convince the people
669 that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

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668 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." Closely connected with the suppression of
798 Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

687 During 1950-52, sabotage was combatted by the reinforcement of union control and the organization of security committees and safety teams in factories and industrial organizations. Nevertheless, 146 sabotage cases were reported in the Southwest China region[15] during 1950 and the first half of 1951. One case cited involved the open assault on a mining installation by 1,000 persons.

With the inauguaration of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953, regulations on safety and labor discipline were strengthened.[16] "To observe labor regulations, to guard state property, to safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations" became the duties of every worker. However, increasing the responsibility of the workers did not eliminate industrial sabotage. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang told the Second Session of the First National People's Congress in July 1955 that 364,604 cases of sabotage[17] had occurred throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955.

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15. Ibid., Dec. 11, 1951, p. 2.

16. Text of the regulation in ibid., July 14, 1954, p. 2.

17. Text of the speech in ibid., July 30, 1955, p. 6.

687 The revival of Communist concern with counterrevolutionary activities since 1954 after a lapse of only two years, could indicate an upsurge of resistance against the regime. Nearly all the reports made by the various ministers and deputies from all over China at the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 contained references to serious instances of subversive activity. In Kweichow in 1955, counter-revolutionary crimes of all types were reported to be 13 per cent higher than in the previous year; subversive acts involving murder had risen 27.4 per cent, those involving arson, 90 per cent.

D. Secret Societies

575 687 Secret societies have been a source of irritation, if not subversion, for every regime in China, including the Communist. The latter, on attaining power, took immediate steps to wipe out these clandestine organizations. In the Southwest Region, the Ko-lao-hui sect had been for centuries the most influential of the secret societies.[18]

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18. See Wei Ta Fa-shih, Chung-kuo Pang Hui [Chinese Secret Societies], Chungking, Shuo-wen-she, 1949; and Ko-lao-hui Yü Ch'ing pang Kai-k'uang [General Survey of Ko-lao-hui and Ch'ing-pang], Hsi-pei Yen-chiu-she, 1940.

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575 Formed at the end of the Ming Dynasty in
687 the seventeenth century, the Ko-lao-hui served as center of resistance against the succeeding, alien dynasty. The sect initiated several organized uprisings against the Manchu (Ch'ing) rulers, and its influence gradually extended to all sections of society. In the last days of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Ko-lao-hui was one of the secret socities which supported the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-sen, the leading figure in the founding of the Republic of China. After 1911, the society was an open organization participating in politics. Particularly in Southwest China, warlords relied considerably on this sect for support, and many of the local military leaders were heads of the organization. These militarists either were eliminated by the Communists or absorbed into their ranks when the Red Army overran the Southwest Region. As a result, the Ko-lao-hui has not been active under the Communist regime.

Another major secret society, I-kuan Tao, was practically unknown in the Southwest Region before the advent of the Communists but is now the most active sect opposing the Communist

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575 regime.[19] Founded in Shantung during the early 1920's, it began to spread only in the 1940's. The Communists claim I-kuan Tao received direct financial and political support from the Japanese during World War II to spy on the Nationalists and Communists. As one of the largest secret societies in North and East China after the war, the sect was asserted by the Communists to have become a Nationalist espionage organization. Whatever the truth of the Communist claim, I-kuan Tao is the most active secret society on the China Mainland. Its influence extended to Southwest China and other regions beginning in 1950. The society is reported to have had a centralized command capable of directing and co-ordinating operations in all regions since 1951.

The suppression of I-kuan Tao was associated with the drive to eliminate other subversive elements. Leaders of the organization were arrested; some were placed on mass trial to publicize their "crimes."

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19. See Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook], No. 4, December 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, Jan. 5, 1951, pp. 38-43.

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575 Since 1954, I-kuan Tao activities have increased rapidly. In Kunming, eight leaders of the society were sentenced to death in February 1955 by the Provincial People's Court of Yunnan.[20] One of them was charged with having organized and directed branches of the society in nine counties of the province since 1952. He also was charged with having prepared fraudulent papers, spread rumors, and sabotage planned grain purchases. Another of the leaders was accused of having performed destructive acts in the rural districts, undermined the co-operative movement, and slandered the government's rural political guidance. I-kuan Tao activities were reported to be widespread in the western part of Kweichow,[21] and in various parts of Szechwan. The three widely publicized counterrevolutionary cases tried at Chungking in January 1955 were linked to the I-kuan Tao movement in the Southwest Region.

The Communist regime undertook other than legal measures to suppress secret societies. After they were outlawed and their

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20. Survey of China Mainland Press, 1001 Supplement, pp. 16-17.

21. People's Daily, July 7, 1955, p. 3.

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[redacted]

575 memberships dissolved, the Communists invaded and controlled the societies' former areas of strength. This move was largely accomplished through the "democratic reform movement,"[22] which involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of the societies' membership and activities. Another part of the movement consisted of a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of secret socieites. Some of them had acquired leadership of labor groups in charge of wharves, railway, stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists introduced a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

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In December 1951, the Communists

22. New China Daily, Oct. 14, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 29, 1951, p. 1; July 24, 1952, p. 2.

661 launched the Three-Anti Campaign against
668 waste, corruption, and bureaucracy; a few months later the regime initiated the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information. These campaigns did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the drives also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the first campaign hit Party and administrative personnel from two sides and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

B. Corruption

661 Most of the charges and disclosures
685 that accompanied the progress of the Three-Anti

661 and Five-Anti campaigns can be grouped under
685 the general heading of corruption. In Southwest China, the department of industry was one of the first to be singled out for attack.[23] An initial study of the department's operation under two years of Communist rule disclosed 157 cases of corruption involving 173 persons and property valued at 668,000,000,000 yuan. One worker was accused of corruption amounting to 79,000,000,000 yuan, and another, in collaboration with a merchant, of stealing from the state equipment and material valued at 100,000,000 yuan. Many of the cases revealed in the financial and economic organizations of the Southwest Region were reported to be connected with espionage activities.[24] Not only individuals were charged with supporting Nationalist espionage through corruption in state organizations; the bureau of taxation in one county was reported to have appropriated 20,000,000 yuan from tax revenues for the use of counterrevolutionaries. The total loss to the government in 1950 and the first half of 1951 from the corrupt practices of personnel working in the tax-collection organizations of

23. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1951, p. 2.
24. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1951, p. 1.

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661 the Southwest Region was set at over
685 11,000,000,000 yuan.[25] Charges of widespread corruption were also lodged against military organizations. At the conference of the general Party branch of the Southwest China Military Command held in December 1951, regional Party leaders warned the gathering of the seriousness of the situation.[26] Corruption was reported to be most rife in the quartermaster and political and cultural departments of the command.

The most frequently mentioned type of corruption in all organizations was the misappropriation of funds.[27] Government employees were accused of living luxuriously at the expense of the state. One means to this end was the extravagant appropriation of funds for government meetings. A meeting called by the department of industry of the Southwest China regional government lasted 21 days, during which 10,000,000 yuan were spent on food and an equal sum on the furnishings for one of the living accommodations.[28] The political and cultural department of the region's military command was accused of having spent

25. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
26. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
27. See for instance reports in ibid., Jan. 1, 1952, p. 2; June 17, 1952, p. 1.
28. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1951, p. 2.

661 58,000,000,000 for the repair of one theater
685 and 40,000,000,000 yuan for the construction of one film factory.

Within the 26 departments of the Southwest China regional government, 139 persons accused of corruption involving less than one billion yuan were arrested during a six-month period;[29] another 182 individuals in the municipal government of Chungking were arrested within the same span of time;[30] personnel of the provincial governments were also charged with corruption and taken into custody. Among the members of the Kweichow Provincial Government arrested were Chang Chin-po, deputy head of the department of public security, and Wang Jen and Yen P'u, both officials in the bureau of information and publications.[31]

Charges of corruption entailing bureaucratic abuses ranging from dictatorial acts to disobedience were lodged against Party and government officials during the Three-Anti Campaign. Some of the accused were dismissed from the party; others were

29. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1952, p. 1.
30. Ibid., Feb. 19, 1952, p. 1.
31. Ibid., March 12, 1952, p. 2; Jan. 23, 1952, p. 1.

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661 placed on trial in the People's courts. Among
685 the Southwest China officials punished for bureaucratic abuses were Tu Hung, chief of the secretariat of the Chungking Municipal Government and concurrently secretary of the Party branch of the municipal government. He and his deputy chief were accused of dictatorial acts.[32] Similar charges were lodged against T'u Kuo-lin, deputy of the Southwest China broadcasting station;[33] T'ang P'eng, deputy of the New Democratic Youth Corps school; and Mei Wen-hua, an official of the Chungking Federation of Democratic Women.[34] Kou Hsing-ts'ai and his deputy, Chang Tse-min, officials in the public security department of the eastern Szechwan special district, were accused of disobedience.[35]

C. Theft and Waste

687 The Communist definition of theft extends beyond the usual meaning of the word. Tax evasion and the falsification or default of government contracts are considered theft

32. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1952, p. 1.
33. Ibid., Jan. 16, 1952, p. 2.
34. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1952, p. 1.

687 from the government. Contracting firms experienced a particularly bad time during the Five-Anti Campaign. The Chien Yüan Contracting Company, for example, was accused of cheating on its government contracts to the amount of 10,000,000,000 yuan.[36] The Ta Hua Pharamacy was charged with theft from the government for supplying substandard first-aid kits to the People's Liberation Army in Tibet. Theft of other kinds was involved in the cases of Wang Jo-hsi, a merchant who was accused of stealing economic information for profit; and Fan Wei-ch'ao, another merchant who was reported to have collaborated with a government employee in the sale of food stolen from a state-owned food trading company.

One of the most publicized examples of large-scale, organized theft to be disclosed during the Five-Anti Campaign involved a business organization known as the "Thursday Club."[37] According to the Communist account, the club was organized by the owners of

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36. Ibid., Jan. 22, 1952, For examples of other cases see ibid., Jan. 18, 1952, p. 1; March 14, 1952, p. 1; and Jan. 21, 1952, p. 1.

37. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1952, p. 1; Feb. 29, 1952, p. 1; and March 16, 1952, p. 6.

687 several privately operated iron and steel companies to exchange information on government contracts with the intent of monopolizing government contracts and, thereby, increasing profits. Originally, the group was said to have concentrated its efforts on the factories managed by the Ministry of Heavy Industry. When the club later extended its manipulations to shipbuilding and accounting contracts, according to the Communist account, the members organized a "Friday Club" and a "Saturday Club" to handle the new interests. The businesses operated by the group were substantial and, following the prosecution of their owners, were taken over by the Communists and transformed into state-owned enterprises. Similar cases of large-scale theft became more numerous as the regime expanded its industrialization program and the accompanying conversion of private enterprises into elements of state-owned industry.

Waste was another "poison" singled out for detection and elimination during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. Industrial and trading organizations bore the brunt of the drive against waste, which seems to have resulted in large part from the inefficiency of Communist manufacturing, transportation, and

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storage methods. For example, during one four-month period of 1951, 317,000,000 pounds of crops worth 28 billion yuan were reported to have spoiled due to improper warehousing.[38] Instances of waste increased as industrialization was accelerated. An inspection during the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955 of a major industrial organization with a factory in Chungking revealed an accumulation of excess materials valued at 350 million yuan (new currency). One of the construction jobs in which the Communists originally took great pride was the four-year task of building an auditorium in Chungking patterned on the "Temple of Heaven." In 1955, the Communist press reported that the structure required the annual expenditure of 100,000 yuan (new currency) and the services of 50 men for maintenance.[39]

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687 The cases cited above are only examples of the charges and prosecutions brought against thousands of firms, private individuals, government officials, and Party members in the Southwest Region during the Three-Anti

38. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 1.
39. Ibid., April 9, 1955, p. 2.

661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

578 668 III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

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578 and Five-Anti campaigns. Other signs are
668 apparent in press references during the past few years to the deleterious effects on the health and efficiency of the people in forcing them to over-extend their energies in work or study and to sacrifice all their free time to participation in indoctrination programs and propaganda drives. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected in the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the Marriage Law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such evidences of restiveness in the population and from our knowledge of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the causes and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

1. Regimentation and Restriction.

The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

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The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconvenience. However, the demand that spare-time be devoted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmer spends his money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advise on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The process is not only time-consuming, but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and to attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected. Almost no time is left for taking care of private affairs.

2. High Taxation and Public Obligation.

651/The high taxes and business restrictions

imposed by the Communist regime are likewise
651 unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, initiated at the end of 1953, taxes and regulates the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products -- mainly rice and cotton -- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations. The transformation of private businesses into elements of state-owned enterprises is a major cause of discontent among the business class.

Public obligations imposed upon the people are a further cause of public discontent. The average peasant is required to perform duties for the state periodically and on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. Young persons in the villages
651 are required to participate in military training
701 and to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. All railways are

constantly patrolled, and each village near the
651 right-of-way must maintain a specially
701 organized force for this purpose and participate in the guard duty for a 72-hour period every month.[40] In addition, the village maintains a militia in which all the young residents must serve. Besides training or participating in the unit's cultural and indoctrination activities, the militia patrols key areas in the village, guards government grain, helps in loading it for shipment, and assists in keeping the village free of bandits. Misuse of the militia by the Southwest China Military Command in 1953 was criticized as having wasted 24,700 man-hours per day.[41]

Similar public and military services are required of city dwellers. They must engage in military training, participate in the local military unit's cultural and organizational activities, and serve on patrols in their own or neighboring areas whenever needed.

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208 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations

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40. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 4.

41. Report of the Second Southwest China Militia Conference, Ibid., May 20, 1953, p.1.

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208 have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not outbreaks of violence. To some extent, at least, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The regime seeks to offset disaffection by emphasizing in its propaganda the necessity and patriotism of individual sacrifice for the national welfare. If some non-vital aspect of the Communist program occasions bitter and widespread complaint, the regime bends to public opinion and institutes changes. Wherever possible, the Communists attempt to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public. Nevertheless, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

B. Tension within Organizations

578 The use of various overlapping control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directive has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party,

578 and mass organizations. A government office or factory may be subject simultaneously to as many as four control agencies -- the control committee of the Party, the supervisory office of the administration, the People's procuratorate, and one of the public security teams. Although the immediate focus of the policing agencies may differ, the effect of the multi-control system is to press in on every organization from all sides and extend control to each member .

Tension within organizations also results from over-centralization. In any centralized and "planned" society, not only are economic decisions based on a master plan which cannot allow for the unique problems of various organizations and localities, but also all political and social policies are determined by directives originating at the head office. Pressures increase in direct proportion to the distance from the originating office; thus tension is greatest at the lowest echelon of the chain of command. Most directives emanate from the central government, are passed to the provincial governments, and then are filtered down to governments on consecutively lower levels until put into effect by the lowest political unit. In the

578 process, each level of government has a particular target in mind and exerts influence on the next lower political echelon to achieve that objective. The result is an accumulation of pressure at the base of the political pyramid.

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466 In the economic field, each factory is given a production quota, assigned through a similar chain-of-command method. To fulfill the quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure engendered is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them means severe penalties. Recently, the Communists have attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in an effort to gain some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

665 Within the Party itself, pressure and
578 tension are most intense. In the first place, the Party apparatus as the center of power and activity of the regime is subject to pressure by both the Party and the state. Secondly,

665 Party members cannot escape the endless
578 program of Party indoctrination and rectification. The dual pressures and resulting tension are in large part responsible for the high rate of expulsion and resignation from the Party. Many people who are outwardly in favor of the regime are reluctant to join the Party. The fate of former Parry members after expulsion or resignation is not known, but they are undoubtedly confined in prisons or forced labor camps for some period of time. If allowed to remain free or when released, ex-members are probably subject to security surveillance. However, they may in time form a new subversive group.

668 Tension also exists in mass organizations
578 as the result of pressure imposed upon them by the Party and higher organizations. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These groups must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from

668 expanding beyond safe limits seems to lie in
578 constant vigilance and an incessant barrage of propaganda. By instituting stricter controls and by disposing of undesirable members, the regime has sought to keep these organizations in the service of the Party.

CONCLUSION

Subversive potentialities cannot be eliminated however effective a dictatorship or tyranny may be. The forces in opposition to Communist rule in Southwest China are the victims of power, the traditional resistance groups, and discontented ex-members of the Communist Party.

The victims of Communist power -- landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and other elements which have been named by the Communists as "counterrevolutionaries" -- constitute the most threatening opposition to the current regime. Most of the former Nationalist forces have been eliminated, imprisoned, or placed under surveillance, but some of them may still remain at large. Because of past experience, any officials of the former regime still operating in the

578 Southwest Region are in the best position to
668 assume leadership over all resistance groups. Potential additions to the subversive elements in the region are present in the peasants opposed to collectivization and the "new rich" group, classed as hostile by the regime.

The operation of traditional resistance groups is manifest in the continued activities of the secret societies. Because they are attractive to illiterate peasants and laborers, the regime may find itself in the curious position of having to eliminate considerable numbers of the proletariat and peasantry, whose interests the Communists claim to protect and advance.

Too little is known of the fate and activities of the former Communist Party members in China to be able to speculate on their subversive potentialities. However, it seems certain that the chances for opposition by this group and its possible strength and cohesion will vary inversely with the success, power, and unity of the Chinese Communist Party.

Public discontent and tension within organizations in the Southwest Region are by no means indications of the impending collapse

578 of the Communist regime. Rather, they
668 are the reactions to be expected from a controlled society under a tight dictatorship. Tension and public discontent would have to develop in intensity and proportion far beyond their current manifestations before the regime would be weakened or seriously handicapped, and the loss of Party morale and unity would have to extend far beyond its present level before the entire Communist system was threatened with disruption.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. SCOPE OF DISCUSSION

208 In Communist China, public information lays a heavy stress on propaganda and education. As is true of all Communist countries, the Chinese People's Republic is guided by the inviolable principle that all facts and issues must be selected and interpreted in the light of Marxist theories and whatever the current Party line dictates. Limited by source materials of a regional character, the following discussion on public information and propaganda in Southwest China will attempt to cover only the basic facts about the formal structure, operations, and government control of the principal media of mass communication in the region. Wherever possible, exemplary cases in each medium will be included.

II. PRESS

A. News Services

204 Before the Communists occupied the Southwest China Region, the nationalist government-operated Central News Agency played a leading part in supplying the newspapers in this area with materials. Services of foreign press associations were available. Dispatches from such

204 major institutions as the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Reuters of England, Agence France, and Tass frequently appeared in local newspapers. Until shortly before the Communist offensive against the Nationalist bastion of Szechwan Province towards the end of 1949, the Chinese Communist official outlet, the New China News Agency, was also operating in Chungking, Chengtu, and a few other large cities in this region. This last news service was subject to varying degrees of government suppression as the Nationalist-Communist conflict blew hot and cold throughout World War II and subsequent years.

Immediately upon the occupation of Southwest China, the Communists moved to expand the New China News Agency. The Kuomintang Central News Agency went out of business. One after another, American and European news service representatives packed up and left. Within months the New China News Agency became the sole news-gathering agency in this region. Under the direct control of the Information Administration in Peking, this Communist news agency established its branches in both military and civil subdivisions:

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Table 1. Hierarchy of the New China News Agency */

	Branch Headquarters	Branch Office	Section	Correspondence Center	Liaison Office
Civil	Region	Province	Municipal	Hsien	Hsiang
Military	Field Army Corps	Army	Regiment	Battalion	Company

*/ Jen Chung, "Lun Chung-kung Ti Hsin-wen Kung-tso" ["The Chinese Communist Press"], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 29, 1954, pp. 7-9.

204 Although the organization of the New China News Agency is essentially the same in all regions, in Southwest China the agency's branches attached to the armed forces are most extensively developed. A large number of troops have been engaged in road building in western Szechwan Province (former Sikang Province) and Tibet, and publicity given the accomplishments of the People's Liberation Army in developing the long-neglected land of Southwest China will not only help to sustain the soldiers' morale but will give support to Peking's theory of national reconstruction, Soviet-styled.

The organization of the New China News Agency is highly centralized. Through the chain of command shown in Table 1, every staff member is placed under rigid government and Party control. Careful selection of correspondents is only the first step the agency adopts to ensure the allegiance of its employees to the government and the Party. According to some anti-Communist sources, correspondents must submit ideas and outlines for approval before writing them. The finished articles go through another thorough screening before they are released. [1]

Another news agency, the China News Service was established in October 1952, with branches in Southwest China. The head of this agency, Chin Chung-hua, was a member of the East China Military and Political Committee (supreme authority in this region until 1954) and

1. Jen Chung, "Chung-kung Pao-chih Ti Nei-yung Chi An-p'ai" ["The Contents and Formats of the Chinese Communist Newspapers"] , ibid. No. 71, May 10, 1954, pp. 14-15.

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204 vice-chairman of the Cultural Department under the committee. The agency serves as an interpreter of events in China for foreign consumption; its branches in this region are not active.

B. Newspapers

1. Pre-Communist Newspapers.

Compared with the North and East China regions, Southwest China had been slow in newspaper development until the early 1940's when the war against Japan caused many journalistic institutions and personnel to move from the coastal areas to the interior. No statistics are available on the number of newspapers and their circulations in the period before the Communist occupation. However, a survey of available files shows that there were at least forty-three newspapers in this region under the Nationalist Government. Their distribution was as follows:

Table 2. Newspapers in Southwest China

Place of Publication	Number
Szechwan Province	31
Kweichow Province	7
Yunnan Province	3
Sikang Province	2
Total	43

*/ Compiled from the collection at the Hoover Library, Stanford University.

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With few exceptions, the newspapers listed in Table 2 were in operation during 1946-47. Of the thirty-one papers published in Szechwan, seventeen were in the city of Chungking and eleven in Chengtu. Six of the Kweichow papers were printed in the provincial capital of Kweiyang. The two papers in Sikang Province were published in Hsi-ch'ang, which was incorporated into Szechwan in July 1955. Only five of these papers can be identified as Nationalist Party organs, and only one was a Communist organ *per se*. Some were irregularly published periodicals, with the appearance of tabloid newspapers. Since these newspapers formed the basis for the development of the Communist daily press, a representative sampling is selected for brief review.

a) *Ta-kung Pao* [*Ta-kung Daily*] . This was one of the largest newspapers in pre-Communist China, with branches in several large cities in China. Labeled "the New York Times of China," it at one time appeared under the masthead, *L'Impartial*. During and immediately after World War II, this daily offered conservative and impartial news coverage, reflecting its editorial policy. In 1946, when Wang Wen-pin succeeded Ts'ao Ku-ping as published, L' Impartial was dropped from its masthead and *Ta-kung Pao* remained. This newspaper was printed in Chungking, China's capital during World War II. A table, giving a percentage breakdown of contents of a typical issue in January 1949, is included to show the coverage offered by the *Ta-kung Pao*, before the Communists began to use it as a medium of propaganda.

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Table 3. Contents of Ta-kung Pao (January 1949) */

Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorial	3.5
Foreign News	6.2
National News	13.3
Regional News	12.1
Local News	3.4
Features	4.7
Letters to editor	2.3
Graphic materials	0.0
Advertising	50.0
Market news	4.5

*/ Compiled from files at Hoover Library

The Ta-kung Pao regularly published four pages a day; the size of the page was 14' x 20', divided into fourteen horizontal columns, using for the text "new No. 5" type, about one-fourth the size of the type used in the Chinese dailies now published in America. Among all the dailies available in Southwest China during World War II, this paper probably gave the most thorough news coverage, printing news briefs compiled from the major wire services. Toward the end of 1948, the paper was critical of the Kuomintang economic policy, but continued to support the government in its fight against the Communists. After the

204 Communist occupation of Southwest China, the Ta-kung Pao in Chungking was suspended, but its branches carried on in those cities unoccupied by the Communists.

Most of the major dailies in this region during World War II imitated the physical appearance of the Ta-kung Pao.

b) Kuei-chou Shang-pao. The Kweichow Commercial Daily copied the format of the Ta-kung Pao. Established in 1940, it remained the leading daily in Kweichow Province until 1949. Its editorial policy was conservative, and it put strong emphasis on economic and commercial news. Editor Lai Yung-ch'u retired from publishing immediately after the Communists came to power and has not been heard of since.

c) Tien-tung Jih-pao. The Eastern Yunnan Daily, published in Chao-t'ung, is a typical example of the smaller tabloid which flourished in Southwest China prior to the Communist conquest. Most of these tabloids were predominantly local in character, and a large segment of the reading public in outlying districts relied on them for news of local interest. A table, giving a percentage breakdown of contents of a typical issue in May 1947, is included to show the coverage offered by the Tien-tung Jih-pao before the Communists appeared.

204 Table 4. Contents of Tien-tung Jih-pao (May 1947)*

Type of Material	Percentage
Editorial	6
Foreign News	7
National News	13
Local news	19
Features	25
Commercial News	5
Advertising	25

*/ Compiled from files at the Hoover Library

The Tien-tung Jih -pao was a four-page paper, 13' x 9'. For a tabloid of this kind, the space devoted to foreign news offered unusually broad coverage and increased its appeal to readers of varying educational backgrounds. The feature columns, as a rule, contained literary works, a common characteristic of many pre-Communist papers. The editorials paid particular attention to local political matters, the efficiency of the local government, and the organization of local groups, with strong anti-Communist overtones. Editor Li Ping-ch'ang has not appeared on the regional political scene since 1949. It is not known if the paper continues in operation.

2. Communist Newspapers

a) Development and Control

204 The occupation of Southwest China was not complete until the end of 1949 when the evacuation of the Nationalists gave the Communists control of this region. The only daily published by the Communists, Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], with headquarters in Chungking, has ceased publication. If there were clandestine pro-Communist papers in this region, they had difficulty in publishing under strict surveillance. Immediately after the Communists took over the administration of this region, an organized effort was made to "convert" the independent papers to Communism and expand official Party organs. By July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee (the supreme authority in this region at that time), was in a position to claim success. He urged newspaper publishers to "face reality, get closer to the masses, and strengthen their criticism and self-criticism work." [2] Ch'u reported that as of July 1950, seven government-operated newspapers were being published in this region. Four of these were at the administrative level (under province but above hsien) and two were designed for the workers exclusively. The circulation of the seven papers

2. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports] , Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1003.

totaled 90,000. In addition the armed forces units 204
stationed in this region published their own papers, and six newspapers, with a total circulation of about 20,000, were operated by private interests.[3] The total circulation of the newspapers in Southwest China amounted to 193,000. There was a daily paper for one out of every 400 persons in Southwest China in 1950.

An incomplete survey in August 1951 showed that thirty-five papers were in operation on the administrative level, and in northern and southern Szechwan Province alone, fifty-four hsien level newspapers were being published. The total circulation figure had jumped from under 200,000 persons in Southwest China in 1951 to over 450,000. There was a daily paper for one out of every 200 individuals at that time. There were also privately published newspaper not forced to suspend operations, and these non-government newspapers[4] had a total circulation of about 20,000.

By September 1952, the total number of newspapers in this region had increased to 234, of which 18 were at the regional and provincial levels,

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3. Ibid., p. 1002.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951.

204 33 at the administrative level, and 183 at the hsien level. The aggregate circulation figure for all the regional and provincial papers was 600,000; no information on the circulation of the other 216 papers is available.[5] It is not certain whether these figures included any non-government organ, but it is presumed that no "independent" voices existed in the midst of a government-controlled press.

204 563 The inauguration of a Tibetan-language newspaper on June 10, 1953 in northern Szechwan may prove to be of far-reaching significance. Named Minchiang Pao [Min River Daily], this paper is intended for the Tibetan minority population inhabiting the upper reaches of the Min River. The first issue of the paper appeared in tabloid form, and carrying a portrait of Mao Tse-tung and messages from officials of the Tibetan Autonomous Area in Szechwan Province. The paper was to appear every five days.[6] Establishment of minority-language newspapers is in line with Peking's policy toward the non-Chinese speaking ethnic groups on the Mainland. Unfortunately no sample of this paper is available for analysis.

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5. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

6. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 593, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 19, 1953, p. 20.

204 In January 1954, there were eight newspapers on the administrative district level in Szechwan Province alone. Six of these were intended to serve the farming population and one was the above-mentioned Min River Daily. The total circulation of these papers was about 80,000. Thirty-six papers were published at mining centers and factories near Chungking, where a number of others were published.[7] The exact number of hsien newspapers printed in this province are unknown.

The total number of newspapers published [439] in Southwest China today are unknown. The Communists began tightening their control on export of newspapers in the winter of 1951. By the spring of 1953, all but a few official and national newspapers were placed on the contraband list. Since then it has been extremely difficult to secure accurate statistics on the press in any region of China. Although the over-all policy of the regime has been to expand newspaper publishing, with the ultimate goal of a newspaper at each political level from the province to the village, there have been modifications in the execution of this policy during the past six years. Under the pretext of economy, some papers have been merged, and some new periodicals have been inaugurated. If the total national figures are any indication, the number of newspapers published currently in Southwest China is about

7. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, January 17, 1954.

204 the same as in 1952.[8]

As to the general line adopted by the editors of these newspapers, the Communist press has made it clear in a statement on the role played by the newspapers in Southwest China: "Gradually the papers on the administrative district level have become the tool with which local party cadres and those at industrial centers keep contact with and educate the masses.[9]

Among the twenty-eight major newspapers of Mainland China listed in the 1955 People's Handbook, the following four are in Southwest China:

Table 5. Major Newspapers in Southwest China (1955) *

Name	Place of Publication
Ssu-ch'uan Jih-pao [Szechwan Daily]	Chengtu
Yun-nan Jih-pao [Yunnan Daily]	Kunming
Hsin-ch'ien Jih-pao [New Kweichow Daily]	Kweiyang
Hsi-k'ang Jih-pao [Sikang Daily]	Ya-nan

*/ People's Handbook, 1955, p. 553.

8. There were 276 newspapers at administrative district level in China in 1952. In 1953, the figure dropped to 260. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 554.

9. People's Daily, Peking, January 17, 1954.

204 None of the papers in Table 5 are available for this investigation. However, one of the most influential Party newspapers, New China Daily, was exported until July 1953. It was first published in Chungking in 1938, when the Nationalists and Communists joined in the "united front" against Japan, and continued in operation until 1947 when the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists brought about its suspension. In December 1949, it resumed publication and functioned as the official organ of the Communist Party in Southwest China until its dissolution sometimes after 1953 when the Szechwan Daily succeeded it as the official organ for the entire region.[10] After the abolition of the "greater administrative regions" in the summer of 1954, the People's Daily (the Pravda of China), published in Peking, was reprinted in Southwest China and served as the leading Party organ for this region as well as for the entire country.

b) Contents and Readership

A table giving an average percentage breakdown of contents of typical issues of the New China Daily is included to show the coverage offered.

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10. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan under Communist Rule], Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, January 24, 1954, p. 27.

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Table 6. Content of the New China Daily (June-July 1953) */

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Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorial	5.6
Foreign news	14.3
National news	16.2
Regional news	25.1
Local news	4.7
Features	18.7
Letters to the editor	3.5
Graphic materials	1.2
Advertising	9.9
Market news	0.8

*/ Compiled from the file at the Hoover Library

The editorials in the New China Daily are often reports from the People's Daily in Peking. They are long-winded harangues on such current subjects as "Open the Way to a Peaceful Settlement in Korea" (June 10, 1953, p. 1), and "Strive to Better Raise Our Younger Generation" (June 2, 1953, p. 1). The paper itself also prints shorter editorial comment; for example, "A Positive Attitude Should Be Adopted toward the Workers' Rationalization Suggestions" (June 9, 1953, p. 2), which appears side by side with a news item depicting how a worker's suggestion to increase efficiency was ignored. This same news item also

204 serves as an illustration of how a local issue is treated by the New China Daily, which, as a rule, carries very few local items.

In the above issues of this newspaper, most of the foreign news items deal with the peace talks in Korea. In the national and regional news columns, economic reconstruction and preparation for the imminent general election (which took place in 1954) are central themes. It is interesting to point out that the news items often resemble feature stories. Both are usually lengthy and contain much editorializing. Even the headlines are long and opinionating statements. However, compared with many major newspapers in other regions the New China Daily appears to be more carefully edited and few phrases directly glorifying Mao Tse-tung and his regime have found their way into the headlines. In the news items, the traditional western journalist's "what-where-when-how" approach is missing.

There is no society column in the New China Daily of Chungking, unless the commencement speech at the local party cadres school, or the report on the proceedings at a local factory mass meeting can be so considered. There is no sports page; news items having any bearing on physical education are either speeches by the Director of the Physical Education Department or brief statistical summaries of athletic events without any "color material." Crime and murder news is positively ruled out. Fires and other disasters appear in the paper only when they contain possible "sabotage" angles to be exploited

for propaganda effect. What little space allocated to advertising is taken up by government agencies' announcements and few commercial classified advertisements. Display advertisements, however modest, are a rare item. 204

The potential of graphic materials is being fully exploited within the paper's physical limitations which, at least in 1953, did not allow elaborate illustrations. Photographs are used. In the June 2, 1953 issue, for instance, seven pictures appear on different pages, all contributing to the timely occasion of Children's Day. The captions are so phrased as to depict the "Life of Lucky Children in the Mao Tse-tung Era."

The "letters to the editor" column is a common feature for amny newspapers on the China Mainland. Sometimes the New China Daily carries a digest of several letters on the same subject; at other times the paper prefaces several letters on the same subject with a critical analysis or reply; at still other times the paper merely prints its editorial reply without reproducing the letters. None of the criticisms touch upon the basic policy of the Communists. If a letter is critical of a particular government agency, the concerned agency is given space to reply in a subsequent issue. Such criticism on occasion can constitute a basis for action on a high level to correct the condition criticized. Once the Southwest Construction Bureau was forced to adopt a measure to improve its personnel training program as a result of a critical letter printed in the New China Daily.[11]

11. New China Daily, Chungking, May 28, 1953, p2.

204 The New China Daily was regularly published in four pages, size 14" x 20", divided into seven horizontal columns. The text was printed with old "size No. 5" type, which was slightly larger than the new "size No. 5" type used in pre-Communist press. Typographically, the New China Daily was an improvement over its predecessors before 1949 in this region. An interesting feature in the make-up of this paper was the two ear-boxes on the front page. The left ear was always a digest of the day's important news, and the right ear was occupied by a photograph showing, in most cases, a construction project.

It is possible that most of the larger newspapers in Southwest China today are fashioned after the New China Daily. Some of the hsien newspapers presumably are printed in the tabloid form, of which no sample is available. However, one may study the physical appearance of the tabloids described in the foregoing sections of this discussion to derive an approximate picture of what may be in circulation now in Southwest China.

c) Distribution and Sales

Subscriptions to the major newspapers in Southwest China are handled through either the local post offices or the China Publications Distribution Company, a government-supervised organization, which has branches throughout Mainland China. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of allowing the smaller local papers to manage their own subscriptions and sales. If subscribed through the post office,

204 the paper is delivered together with the mail. Street sale constitutes a part of the distribution, through the existing book stores and sidewalk stands which will be discussed in the section "Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books." There is no evidence of news hawkers or delivery boys who, before 1949, used to roam the streets in Southwest China.

The circulation figures of the newspapers and methods of distribution are misleading if one attempts to use them to gauge the readership of the press in Southwest China. Each subscription and each copy purchased on the street may be shared by dozens of readers. Most of the schools include newspaper reading in their regular curricula. Factories and government offices organize newspaper reading and discussion groups. The newspapers all run "social service departments" to provide guidance for these reading groups. The New China Daily particularly has a reputation for its activities in fostering these groups. The paper sends news analysts to preside at reading sessions. In outlying areas where the public is mostly illiterate, the news analyst reads and explains the content of the paper to his audience. He also works in collaboration with the "propaganda officers" and "radio receiving officers" who are responsible for putting out blackboard or wall newspapers.

The street sale price of the New China Daily in 1953 was JMP 600. This was the price for five to ten ounces of rice, or three ounces of pork at that time. The government makes an effort

204 to keep down the price of all publications so that they can be more readily available to larger numbers of readers. At the same time, Communist authorities in Southwest China are following the national practice of making the newspapers self-supporting. The reason of the move is not only economy, but the belief that if the papers are sufficiently "popularized," they will have enough support from the masses, making government subsidy unnecessary. By October 1951, official reports showed that except three dailies -- the North Szechwan, South Szechwan, Sikang -- all the newspapers in this region had been paying their own bills.[12]

C. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

1. Reorganization of Publication and Distribution

204 In pre-Communist days, publication of maga-
214 zines and printing of books were, in most cases, two separate enterprises. Local magazines were operated by private groups and printed in local printing plants found in such larger cities as Chengtu and Chungking in Szechwan Province, Kunming in Yunnan Province, and Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. National magazines were distributed through local book stores. There was little book printing done in this region until the Sino-Japanese war when many eastern China publishers moved west. Many national book publishers had branches in Southwest China. Most notable of these were the Commercial Press, and the Chung-hua, Shih-chieh, K'ai-ming, Sheng-

12. New China Daily, Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 huo, Erh-t'ung, and Cheng-chung bookstores.
214 Shortly before the Sino-Japanese war started, the Communist New China Bookstore also began to establish branch outlets in this region.

214 After 1949, the Communist policy for the publishing industry was "centralization and specialization." Publishing facilities were centralized, and each consolidated firm was required to specialize in one field of publication. National distributors were established to handle the sales. With publication and distribution clearly divided, the Communists believed that it would then become possible to control the entire publishing industry by means of a rigid quota system. In Southwest China, control of publication and distribution rested with the Cultural and Educational Mission. Extensive merging eliminated the majority of small publishers. The official New China Bookstore played a leading part in reorganizing the larger ones. The existing branches of formerly independent national publishers followed the policies of their headquarters in North and East China and effected a complete overhaul of management and personnel policies. Most of these publishing houses entered into partnership with government interests. By July 1950, the New China Bookstore already had in this region seven branch offices and thirty-two stores, all directly responsible to their regional headquarters in Chungking.[13] The number of branch stores of this firm increased rapidly to sixty-two in this region

13. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1002.

214 by the fall of 1951.[14]

Following the announcement by the Government Administration Council in Peking on August 16, 1952 of the "Temporary Regulations for Control of the Publishing and Printing Industries," and the "Temporary Directive on Registration of Periodical Publications," authorities began to tighten their control in Southwest China on the publishers. All publishers, regardless of the fact of whether or not they had already been cleared for operation, had to register once again with the government.[15] The penalty for failure to do so before October 12, 1952 was immediate suspension. At that time the branches of the New China Bookstore in this region had already increased to seventy-nine. In addition, there were forty-one branches of the People's Bookstores on the hsien level -- meaning that at least forty-one out of a total of 382 hsien in Southwest China had one People's Bookstore each.[16] The People's Bookstores are outlets for the official People's Publishing Company.

The official plan for 1953 called for the increasing of New China Bookstore branches in this region to 129, and of the People's Bookstores, to 191. There is no report on whether this plan has been fulfilled or not, but a survey of 1953 announcements in the press of Southwest China shows that at least the following book publishers were selling their products in this region:

14. New China Daily, Chungking Oct.1,1951.

15. Ibid., Chungking, Oct.6, 1952, p. 4.

16. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

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Table 7, Book Publishers Advertised in Southwest China 1953 */

Name	Specialization
Hsi-nan Ch'ing-nien Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest Youth Publishing Co.]	Youth
Hsin-hua Shu-tien [New China Book Store]	All Subjects, with preponderance on political
Hsi-nan Kung-jen Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest Workers' Publishing Co.]	Technical, popular readers for workers.
Hsi-nan Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest People's Publishing Co.]	All subjects
Hsin-ya Shu-tien [New Asia Book Store]	Technical, sciences
Lung-men Lien-ho Shu-chü [Dragon Gate Associated Bookstore]	Textbooks on natural sciences
Shang-wu Ying-shu-kuan [Commercial Press]	Technical, sciences

[continued next page]

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Table 7. [continued

Name	Specialization
Kuo-chi Shu-tien [International Bookstore]	Translated works
Jen-min Chiao-yü Ch'u-pan-she [People's Education Publishing Co.]	Education
Chi-hsieh Kung-yeh Ch'u-pan-she [Mechanical Engineering Publishing Co.]	Mechanical Engineering
Ssu-ch'uan Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she [Szechwan People's Publishing Co.]	All subjects

*/ Compiled from New China Daily, Chungking, January 1953 issues.

Obviously Table 7 does not represent an exhaustive list, but the fact that those listed were advertised in the leading regional newspaper indicated the importance of these publishers. On January 15, 1953, the Southwest Youth Publishing Company was disbanded and its function consolidated with the central Youth Publishing Com-

214 pany in Peking. The New China Bookstore had the largest number of branches throughout the region. The Southwest People's Publishing Company, established as a branch of the People's Publishing Company in Peking, was abolished in early 1953. A combined office of the Peking People's Publishing Company and People's Education Publishing Company was set up to handle for this region the publications of these two national institutions.[18] The People's Bookstore, which had numerous branches in this region, merely served as a distributor and was not the publisher. All the publishers listed in Table 7 were branches of national publishers. There is no information on whether at present there is any publisher in Southwest China that operates independently from Peking and exclusively for this region.

2. Quantity of Publications

There is no information on the total quantity of publications produced and sold in Southwest China before 1949. After the reorganization of book publishers and distributors, the New China Bookstore reported in July 1950 that during the first half of that year it printed 4,764,000 copies of 149 different titles. In addition, the store and its branches in this region sold 1,850,000 copies of text books and 1,110,000 books, pamphlets, and periodicals published by government-approved concerns. The San-lien Bookstore, jointly operated by government and private interests, sold 278,000 books and 198,000 magazines from January to June 1950.[19] No statistics are available on sales

18. New China Daily, Chungking, May 23, 1953, p.4

19. Statistics from Compendium of Gov't. Reports, p. 1002.

214 by small independent bookstores still in operation at that time.

Rapid expansion of book distribution in this region was claimed by the Communists when in October 1950 they reported the publication of 469 titles totaling 12,250,000 copies since "liberation." The bulk of these publications was printed to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. As has been mentioned under the "newspapers" section, the presence of large numbers of troops engaged in road construction in western Szechwan Province augmented the demand for reading material. Consequently attention was focused on publications suitable to member of the armed forces. The above statistics do not include textbooks which constituted a separate category. The same Communist officials claimed that during a six-month period in 1951, over 24,000,000 copies of textbooks were printed in this region. Compared with the 1950 record, a six-fold increase in text book output was claimed.[20]

The increase in book distribution continued. By fall of 1952, the progress during the past three years was traced as follows:

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20. Figures in this paragraph are from New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

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Table 8. Publication and Distribution in Southwest China */

Period	Books Published Titles	Books Published Copies	Books Published Titles	Books Published Copies	Number of Copies Distributed
Jan-Dec. 1950	149	4,764,000	---	---	13,000,000
Jan-June 1951	469	12,250,000	---	---	20,000,000
July-Sept 1952	196	37,986,000	---	---	17,000,000
Total	814	55,000,000	66	11,000,000	150,000,000

*/ New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3; September 30, 1952, p. 3; Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, p. 19.

214 The figures in Table 8 are all based on Communist claims, and they have to be examined with caution as exaggerations may be involved. One thing does emerge quite clearly from them. The Communists in Southwest China are relaying on national publishers to supply books, and official attention is concentrated on distribution. The figures for "number of copies distributed" in Table 8, therefore, do not reflect the quantity of books and magazines "printed" in Southwest China; a good portion of the items sold in this region are apparently shipped in from North or East China. Some sources even say that "no major publishers in this area are permitted separately to publish any books."[21] While this may mean that most of the publishers in Southwest China are reprinting books prepared by national publishers, it does not preclude the possibility of some publishers still continuing to print items of regional interest with government
204 approval. A survey of available sources reveals that the following regional publications were available in Southwest China in 1953:

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21. Szechwan under Communist Rule, loc.cit., (p. 27).

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Table 9. Major Regional Magazines Advertised in Southwest China (1953) */

Name	Type	Publisher	Price
Hsi-nan Wen-i [Southwest Literature]	Monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	JMP $2,500
Hsi-nan Fu-nü [Southwest Women]	Monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	- - -
Hsi-nan Ch'ing-nien [Southwest Youth]	Biweekly	Southwest Youth Publ. Co.	JMP $1,300
Ta-chung Hua-pao [Popular Pictorial]	Semi-monthly	- - -	JMP $700
Shuo-ku Ch'ang-chin [Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today]	Semi-monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	- - -

*/ Compiled from New China Daily, Chungking, January 1953 issues.

In addition to those listed in Table 9, there were 204
undoubtedly many more lesser regional magazines which failed to compete for attention in a regional newspaper's advertising columns. On the other hand, many major national magazines were listed, such as People's Pictorial, New Reconstruction, Study, and the Chinese version of For A Lasting Peace and For A People's Democracy. The prices listed in Table 9 may be compared with the price for rice, about JMP$700 a pound, and pork, about JMP$2,850 a pound, in 1953 in Chungking.

3. Contents and Readership

Textbook distributors, in the Southwest 214
China Region, have been doing a profitable business. 814
Next to textbooks, popular literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets have been and resumably still are easiest items to sell.[22] One of the typical booklets is the "March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet," published by the Southwest People's Publishing Company in 1952.[23] It

22. A national survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped the list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol.I, No. 5, Peking, March 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature, with 1673 titles, ranked first among all categories of books published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

23. T'a-p'o Hsüeh-shan Chin-chün Hsi-ts'ang [March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet], Chungking, Hsi-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952.

214 is a collection of articles by different authors,
814 as collective authorship has become a fad in Communist China. About a hundred pages is the average length of most of these booklets, and 5" x 7", the usual size of their format. A few photographic illustrations at the beginning of the work depict the "peaceful liberation of Tibet" and the scenes along the route traveled by the Communists army. The picture showing how Communists Army cadres give medical treatment to the native people is a tell-tale selection reflecting the purpose of the whole booklet. In the preface, the editorial department of the publisher states that the publication is designed to show the "greatness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's troops, and their contribution to the Tibetan people." Depsite its minor flaws, the book seems to be well prepared, well presented, and very readable to people with a basic command of Chinese.

214 Subheadings such as "The Kindness [of the
208 Communist Army] Is as Deep as the Ocean" on page 94, and "Our Tibetan Brothers and We Have Become One Family" on Page 92, need no elaboration on their propaganda slant. There is a good deal of excellent descriptive material, emotion-packed, sweeping, and touchingly vivid. An objective evaluation of such writings cannot but lead to the conclusion that the propaganda pens of trained Communist writers are skillfully used and, judging by this particular sample, the writers seem to have a sincere feeling for the subjects they are treating in the book.

204 Clues to the contents of the magazines in this region are found in their titles which often specificy the reader groups for which the publications are intended. The titles of the articles are also self-explanatory. The "Good News for Our Mother Country," in Southwest Literature, No. 13, eulogizes the achievements of Communist China; the "Hero's Blood Nurtures Flowers of Victory" in Southwest Women, No. 19, praises patriotism of the Chinese dead on Korean battlefields, thus giving consolation to their widows who may be reading this magazine at home. The "Sing and Cheer for 1953" in Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today, No. 24, recounts Communist success in 1952 and entertains a rosy prospect for the new year. The Popular Pictorial in its first 1953 issue is loaded with news photographs, showing, of course, the promising side of every subject,and "New Year" paintings designed for the readers to clip off and use for decorative purposes. These paintings are a good propaganda medium of which a fuller discussion is presented in the chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions."

214 208 Are the people in Southwest China reading these books and pamphlets? According to Table 8, about one out of four persons during the first half of 1951; and about one out of two persons bought three copies during the period of July 1951 to September 1952. This is better than the records available for both Central-South and East China for the same periods. (In Central-South China,

214 about one out of ten persons bought a copy during
208 the twelve months from September 1949 to August 1950. In East China, one out of eight person bought an item during April-November 1950.) Again, these figures may reflect gross exaggerations for propaganda effect. Anti-Communist press reports have given accounts of how the mainland people bought books and newspapers under duress.[24] Some of these reports may have factual bases as the Communist cadres, intent on carrying out Peking's orders, abused the book promotion program by cajoling the people into purchasing the publications. Nevertheless these cases did not involve the minority of the book buyers. Three days before the third volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works appeared in Chungking bookstores, the New China Bookstore posted an advance announcement. According to the Enlightenment Daily of Peking, "crowds of readers rushed to the New China Bookstore in Chungking at the break of dawn on April 10, 1953 to await their chance to buy the book."[25]

Such manifestations of enthusiasm on the part of the book buyers may not be a common occurrence in Southwest China, as the Communists would like to have the world believe, but undoubtedly the books are read and understood at least by the literate segment of the population. Among the minority peoples in western Szechwan and southwestern Yunnan, books printed in their own languages have been rare. Consequently, Communist books printed in such languages have little

24. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 27.

25. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 11, 1953, p. 1.

214 208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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214 563 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

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214 563 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953, quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

27. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25,'53, p3.
28. New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

gather around him wherever he goes. About 1,000 of these couriers were on duty in Szechwan Province in January 1955,[31] but there is no information available on how many such couriers there are altogether in Southwest China. 203

There are also popular science programs designed to educate the public in basic scientific knowledge. But in comparison with East and North China, this region is lagging behind in the development of this type of program, for it has yet to report the establishment of any "science education center."

D. Application and Effectiveness of the Press as a Propaganda Medium

Having thus examined the organization and operation of the Communist press in this region, let us see how the Communists have made use of the press for propaganda propaganda purposes, and if their effort has been successful. However, because the Communist experiment with the press in this region is still new and information on it is even more scarce than that of the other regions, our findings can hardly be expected to be too conclusive. At any rate the following observations on the characteristics of the Communist press in Southwest China are made with a view to providing some understanding of the problems involved. While some of these characteristics may tend to hamper the response of the people in the region to 204 208

31. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 26.

204 the press operated by the Communists, others
208 may enhance it.

1. As a part of their reorganization of the press, the Communists in Southwest China have started a concerted drive to "reform" the thought of the newspapermen. A salvo is fired at the traditional beliefs of the journalists, and a new professional standard established. The new standard is to report the facts selected and interpreted for the sole purpose of educating the readers to support government policy. As a result, the body of information the public receives via the newspapers is restricted to only what the government deems fit for public consumption. The same standard applies to magazines, books and other publications. Writers are subject to the same screening and indoctrination. Those who have failed to be converted simply have to give up writing as a profession.

Although in this region there has been no incident involving severe penalty meted out to politically "undesirable" writers, the execution of six journalists in Canton in 1951 has produced far-reaching repercussions and will remain as a warning to those who tend to deviate from the official party line. Subsequent literary purges that time and again jolted the literary circles in China will also contribute to the submissiveness of writers. (For a more detailed discussion on literary purges, see chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions.") The response of the press to every turn of the political wind is instantaneous and done with amazing efficiency.

204 As soon as Peking decides to weed out wavering
208 elements from the party ranks, regional newspapers will pick up the message and splash it all over their front pages. The next day local papers will follow suit. In the course of a week pamphlets harping on the same theme will flood the book market. Throughout the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, the "Resist-America-Air-Korea Movement, the "Anti-American-German-Warfare" Movement, and the "Oppose American Effort to Revive Japanese Militarism" Movement, the press in Southwest China answered the call as quickly as the newspapers and pamphlets in any other regions of China.

2. The Communists are always keenly aware of the importance of making newspapers easy to swallow for the masses. Early in their underground days they made a motto of O. A. Piatnitskii's utterance that "revolutionary newspapers must be written in plain and popular language so that they can be understood by the masses."[32] In Southwest China, where public education has been even less developed than in North or East China, the newspapers catering to uneducated and semi-educated readers are making a special effort to carry out the long-established policy of "explaining the political problems in the simplest possible terms."[33]

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32. A translation of this article appears in Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], Jan.15,1932. Osip Aronovich Piatnitskii, who wrote such standard treatises on Communist propaganda and agitation as the World Economic Crisis: the Revolutionary Upsurge

[continued next page]

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208 Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, took pride in announcing in 1951 that this policy was observed in the development of the southwestern press. Not only did the newspapers strive to move closer to the masses, Ch'u said, but the books published also went more than half-way to meet the needs of workers, farmers, and soldiers.[34] In most of the publications, local expressions and trade jargons are freely adopted. To a person trained in classical Chinese and accustomed to reading the serious writing of pre-Communist days, the new language of the Communist press would sound strange if not unintelligible. Yet the new language style, accentuated by the occasional use of words and expressions of minority-languages, could possibly increase the popular appeal of the newspapers. One other factor that contributes to the effectiveness of the press as a whole is the Communist drive to eliminate illiteracy. In the reading classes, mimeographed news bulletins, wall newspapers, and other handy means of news communication are employed. Although these

[32. continued] and the Tasks of the Communist Parties, and World Communists in Action, was idolized by the Chinese Bolsheviks in the early 1930's.

33. Red Flag, March 10, 1932.

34. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 smaller papers are not as elaborate as the New
208 China Daily of Chungking, they contain the same basic political messages in boiled-down versions. This seems to coincide with Lenin's theory that an "agitator uses a few words to present a single idea." [35] Anybody studying the Communist press at work will do well to remember the enticement to a semi-illiterate person of a printed message he vaguely understands. He will want to read it again and again until he feels that he has understood it fully. The ability to read has always been highly treasured in China. (See chapters on "Family" and "Social Structure.") Thus, Communist propaganda has been contributing a great deal to whetting the intellectual appetite of the semi-illiterate class in this region as a whole.

3. It would be misleading to compare the Chinese Communist press with the U. S. press and to judge the former's effectiveness accordingly. To begin with, the Chinese Communist press has never permeated community life to the same degree that the U. S. press has. Except for a small section of China's urban population, no Chinese will feel that he has missed something if he has no morning paper to read at the breakfast table. However, it may be said that the Communists in this region are helping the people to cultivate a newspaper reading habit by means

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35. David Shub, Lenin, New York, The American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1954, p. 31.

204 of organizing news paper reading groups and
208 other encouragements. The reading of newspapers or having newspapers read and explained to him is exciting to the average peasant on a Szechwan farm or in the western Yunnan mountains. Since he has no previous experience which he can compare with the present one, he will hardly know what else there is to be desired in a newspaper other than what he finds there. Compared with North and East China, the Southwest has an even smaller sophisticated population. To the unsophisticated, the press in Southwest China is conveying a good deal of new information.

4. While the Communists are feeding the public with their diatribes, using the press as a spoon, they are also bringing to the public a considerable amount of much-needed rudimentary knowledge on the natural sciences, public health, and sanitation. This may not particularly be true of the New China Daily because it has as its primary mission the interpretation of government policy to the public. But as an established policy, the Communists have been assigning local papers the duty of carrying special columns devoted to various popular sciences and technical subjects suitable for their readers. In addition, there is at least one magazine for each of the population segments in Southwest China; for youths there is the Southwest Youth Biweekly; for women, the Southwest Women Monthly; for mechanical workers, the Mechanical Worker, etc. For each periodical on a certain subject, there are dozens of pamphlets published every year to reach readers of varying

204 degrees of education. The propaganda angle in
208 most of these publications is obvious. Even the most technical treatises do not neglect to contrast the present with the past. The past is treated with disdain and its shortcomings are blamed on the "reactionary Kuomintang" or "American imperialism." The present, however, is praised and excessive credit is given to Mao Tse-tung or Russia.

5. Another general criticism voiced by anti-Communist elements is that the newspaper in Communist China as a whole contains very little timely news. With the Communist system of censorship and double-checking, news dispatches are often delayed before they reach the press. However, it must be noted that lack of promptness in reporting news may not seriously impair the effectiveness of the controlled press in South China as a medium of propaganda; many of the readers are unsophisticated, and to them the Communist press, regardless of its content, possesses a great appeal because it is something new and exciting.

6. Two developments may impair the effectiveness of the press in Southwest China. One is the lavish use of statistical data to support or refute an issue. Although so far no gross inaccuracies have been discovered in the major newspapers here, cases involving inaccurate reporting have

204 208 been exposed in the Central-South China press.[36] Bent on propagandizing as it does, the Southwest China press is always faced with the danger of carrying propaganda too far. As the reader in time becomes more sophisticated, inaccurate reports will destroy his confidence in the press. The Communists claim that they are trying to be careful. They have even gone so far as to standardize the usage of punctuation marks, something which has never attracted the attention of the Chinese press.[37] The other development is the action taken by the Communists in Southwest China in response to a Peking order to restrict the circulation of local newspapers to their own respective districts only.[38] According to anti-Communists sources, this move is designed to "hide the deplorable conditions of one locality from the knowledge of those in another locality." The Communists explain it on the grounds of economy and planned distribution. Whatever the true reason is, this move will, in the long run, tend to impair the effectiveness of the press when newspapers cannot freely circulate from one place to another. Books and pamphlets in this region seem to be free from this restriction.

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36. The expose of inaccuracy in the New Hunan Daily, a major regional paper in Central-South China, was printed in Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 22, 1954.

37. People's Daily, Peking, September 26, 1951.

38. Central News Agency dispatch quoted in Review of Hong Kong Chinese Press, No. 174, American Consulate-General, Sept. 19-20, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

III. RADIO

A. Facilities and Control

207 The development of radio networks in Southwest China followed a series of official directives. Upon the establishment of the Peking regime in 1949, the Common Program, which formed the basis of Communist China's "constituion," specifies that "People's radio and publication work shall be developed."[39] Immediately after that, a central agency in charge of radio administration was established in Peking. In April 1950 the Information Administration at Peking issued a directive on the "establishment of radiobroadcast receiving networks." Based on this directive, provincial and special administrative district authorities in Southwest China issued in the same year their announcements on how to establish radiobroadcast receiving networks. On July 27, 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, reported that "one of the most important tasks for the Southwest is to strive for improvement in the content of radio programs, expand receiving networks step by step, increase radio facilities and supplies, so that radio can and will become an essential tool by means of which the government can direct all its functions in this region."[40] Ch'u was the official interpreter of

39. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

40. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1003.

207 government policy on radio, and his interpretation made it unmistakably clear how and for what purpose radio networks in the Southwest China Region were to be developed.

According to these announcements, radio networks (broadcasting as well as receiving) were to come under the joint jurisdiction of the local People's government, the Communist Party's local branches, and the regional radio station which directly received instructions from the Central People's Radio Station in Peking. Since the abolition of the regional administrations in June 1954, it is presumed that provincial and municipal radio stations have been directly responsible to Peking while still subject to control by local People's governments and Communist Party branch offices.

The multiple system of control is necessary, in the eyes of the Communists, because the Peking regime and regional authorities have made it amply clear that radio is one of the most effective instruments of mass education to prepare the masses for "socialist construction of China."

One characteristic of radio control in China and other Communist countries is its extent, covering not only the broadcasting networks but receiving stations as well. Organizing "receiving stations" may serve two purposes; one is to ameliorate the shortage of facilities, the other is to insure that available facilities are used in the way approved by the government. The services of private radio owners are enlisted by the government

207 to expand the radio network. These owners are called "friends of the radio." They receive free radio program announcements from the government and some free maintenance services. In turn they are expected to reciprocate by reporting the listener's reactions to the government. Each of these private radio owners may serve as a receiving station, or as a nucleus for a listener's group, if the owner has already registered with the government. Communist authorities also appoint official radio receiving officers in each military unit, government office, school, and in other institutions.

Receiving stations are established on the hsien (county), city, hsiang (group of villages), and village levels. Within a larger city, more than one station may be maintained on the public square, at the public library, in factories, and other places. Outlying industrial and mining districts also may have them. Each complete receiving station is equipped with a radio set and manned by a monitor (called a "receiving officer"), who monitors news and other important broadcasts, and a technician responsible for maintaining the set.

As a supplement to the receiving stations, whose audiences may be limited in number, there are public address systems either directly hooked up to the radio receiving sets or operating separately. The Communists call these public address systems "wire broadcast" (one type of radio

207 diffusion exchange) in contradistinction to "wireless." When a "wire broadcasting" station operates separately, the receiving officer organizes a separate program based on the news and important broadcasts he has monitored. To these materials he then adds whatever caters to local needs. In a large factory, the public address system may have a number of loud speakers distributed among the departments on the premises.

The receiving officer at a station which has no supplementary public address systems is usually required to run a news bulletin. Such a bulletin may be issued from once a day to twice a week, and the method of publication depends on the location of the station and the audience it serves. Sometimes the radio receiving officer may also be required to prepare a "blackboard newspaper," which involves his transcription on a conspicuously-placed blackboard of the news items he has monitored from the radio.[41]

A few terms in connection with the Communist radio work may be somewhat puzzling to Western observers. Lieh-ch'e Kuang-po [broadcast on the train] is a "wire broadcasting" system installed on the train for the benefit of the passengers. T'u Kuang-po [native broadcast] and

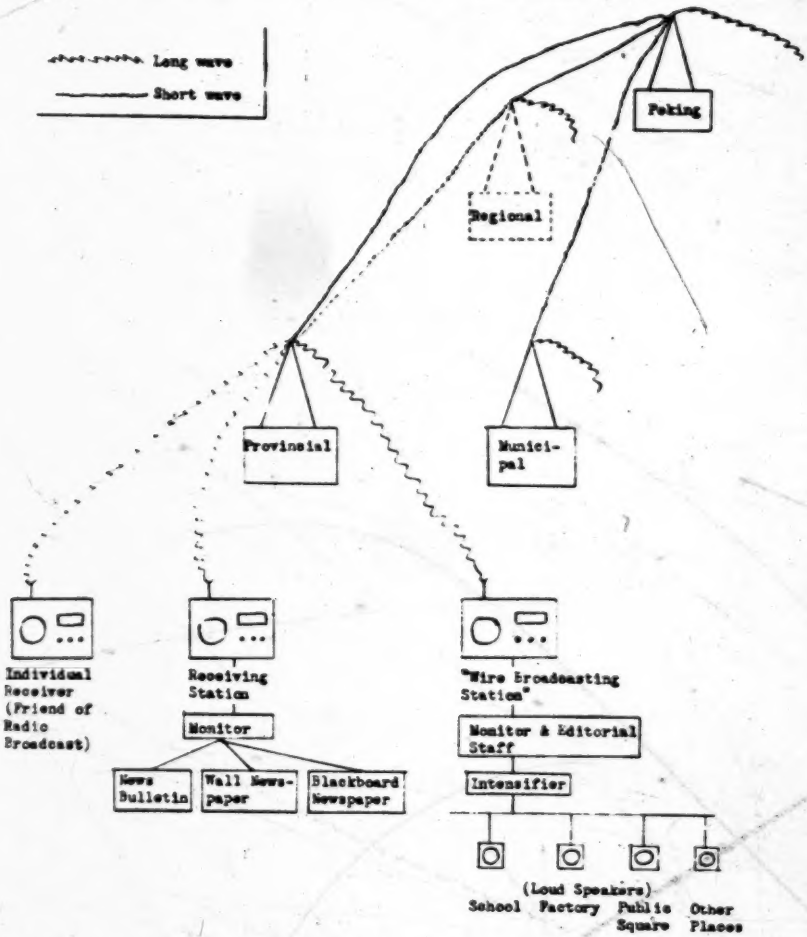
41. For regulations governing radio receiving officers, see People's Daily, Peking, April 30, 1950.

207 Wu-ting Kuang-po [rooftop broadcast] are but Communist cadres shouting at the top of their voices the monitored news items through megaphones (trumpet funnels). When they do so at a street corner, they are performing "native broadcasting." If they do so on rooftops, they are performing "rooftop broadcasting." These cadres are identified with "propaganda officers," about whom more will be said later. All these forms of broadcasting are in use in Southwest China.

The relationship between these broadcasting stations and receivers, and the chain of control, can be illustrated by the following chart:

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

RADIO BROADCASTING AND RECEIVING IN COMMUNIST CHINA



Similar receiving arrangements are repeated at all levels.

(Facing p. 655)

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In 1947, the following seven stations were broadcasting in this region:

Table 10. Radio Stations in Southwest China (1947)*/

Name	Location	Call Signal	Kilocycles
Kunming	Kunming, Yunnan	XPRA	700; 6,404
Chungking	Chungking, Szechwan	XGOB	1,200
International	Chungking, Szechwan	XGOY	9,658; 11,913; 15,170;7,153
Ku-sheng	Chungking, Szechwan	XLDA	1,340
P'ei-tu	Chungking, Szechwan	XLDB	950
Kweichow	Kweiyang, Kweichow	XPPA	9,430;1,000
Chengtu	Chengtu, Szechwan	XGOG	560

*/ Chung-hua Nien-chien [China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, pp. 1956-63.

After the Communist occupation, there was no immediate report from this region on the re-organization of the broadcasting stations. Other reports, however, indicated that some stations were apparently taken over

207 and operated by the Communists in 1950. Among the major stations operating in China, the 1952 People's Handbook listed the Southwest Regional Station and the Chungking People's Station for this region.[42] Programs of the two above-mentioned stations also appeared in Southwest regional newspapers in 1952. On October 1, 1952, a third station -- the Szechwan People's Station -- started broadcasting.[43] The announcement failed to indicate the location of this station. As a rule, such provincial stations are located in provincial capitals; thus the Szechwan People's Station could be the successor to the Chengtu Station of 1947. Since the Communist policy of expanding radio networks appears to have been in effect during the past five years, there is reason to believe that at least one major broadcasting station has been operating in each province. The former province of Sikang is an exception. It never had a radio broadcasting station and now, having been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955, it apparently must be relying on the Szechwan Station for radio broadcasting.

Two reasons may account for the fact that the Communists are in no great hurry to establish many broadcasting stations. One is Peking's policy favoring rapid expansion of major, well-controlled media of information.

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42. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.436.

43. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 This has been true with the press where the government promotes circulation of large official papers while voicing caution from time to time against "blind expansion" of small local newspapers. A larger number of broadcasting stations, like newspapers, will present a more complicated problem of control. The other reason is the shortage of facilities. With these limitations, the Communists have been placing emphasis on the establishment of receiving stations in their policy of expanding radio work. In January 1951, every administrative district and hsien, except in certain areas of Yunnan Province, was reported to have at least one receiving station in operation. In Szechwan and Kweichow provinces, 256 such stations were established. This number does not include those in the two provincial capitals of Chengtu and Kweiyang. Where there was electricity, "wire broadcasting" stations were already functioning[44]

By September 1952, officials in Southwest China claimed that a receiving network had been completed for the entire region. Even in northwestern Sezechwan in the remote hsien of Sung-p'an, there was one such station in each subdistrict. Eight hundred receiving officers manned these stations in the region, maintaining over 100 mimeographed news bulletins and about 20,000 blackboard newspapers.[45]

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44. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

45. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

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207 Newspaper advertisements in this region show that in 1953 basic facilities for radio reception were available in the market. Four- and five-tube receiving sets, operating on either direct or alternating current, were for sale in Chungking. Batteries, loud-speakers, and microphones could also be bought. Some of these supplies were possibly manufactured in Chungking.[46]

There is no later information on radio facilities in this region,[47] but the expansion of receiving stations is believed to be still in progress.

B. Operation and Audience

207 208 The programs of these broadcasting stations are organized to deliver and explain

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46. Ibid., January 1, 1953, p. 5.

47. Some statistics on radio in China, however, are available. In March 1953, there were 20,591 receiving stations, 15,850 listening groups, and 32,667 receiving officers. In addition, there were many special listening groups of women, children, and neighborhood units organized in special districts. Over 85 per cent (or about 1,800) of the nation's hsien have such stations, including minority banners and leagues. Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po-wang," ["The Radio Network in Communist China"], China Weekly, No. 65, March 29, 1954, pp.10-12.

207 political messages to the audiences. The
208 pattern is fixed and changes in content occur in accordance with the commands of central authorities. If the current issue is "Resist-America-Aid-Korea," then everything on the programs is anti-American propaganda. If it is "Production Emulation to Greet Labor Day," then every speech or news item has something to do with model workers and heroes. The following table is a survey of the programs presented by the Southwest Regional People's Broadcasting Station and the Chungking Municipal People's Broadcasting Station in June 1953:

Table 11. Radio Programs in Southwest China (1953) */

Program (daily)	Time (in minutes) Southwest	Chungking
Rebroadcast of Peking program and nat'l hookup	90	90
Lessons in Russian	60	60
Literature	45	75
News	15	15
People's Liberation Army programs	105	--
Music, announcements	35	95
Calisthenics	---	20
Women, children, and other programs	---	30
Tibetan-language program	20	--
Total	370	385

207 */ New China Daily, Chungking, May 31,
208 1953, p. 4.

In 1953, the stations in this region were broadcasting twice or three times a day. The regional station was on the air from 6:00 to 7:00 and from 18:10 to 23:20, broadcasting on 570 and 6,154 kilocycles. The Chungking Municipal Station's schedule was 6:00-7:35; 15:50-17:00; and 18:50-22:30, on 1,300 kilocycles. Common to both stations were the rebroadcasts of Peking programs, consisting of "important" speeches by high government officials and lectures. When a national campaign like the preparation for the general election in 1953-1954 was on, a portion of radio time would be devoted entirely to a national hookup organized and controlled by the Central People's Station in Peking. Studying Russian has been in vogue in Mainland China, hence the daily allocation of almost one-sixth of broadcasting time to this purpose. Literature programs included reading of poems and stories whose central theme never varied from praising the working class and the achievement of the Communist regime. Since many "news" items were covered in the rebroadcasts and other special programs, the comparatively small portion of time devoted to news reporting was used to give summaries only. In our foregoing discussion of the press, it has been shown how news items in Communist China resemble feature stories; the same difficult exists when one attempts

207 to draw the line between news and other features
208 on the radio program. The initial musical number to start the day's broadcasting was either "All Red the East," or "We Sing for Our Motherland," the two most popular tunes in Communist China. There was no evidence of the use of works by western composers on the prgrams in this region, although in 1953 the stations in Shanghai featured the works of Beethoven. Local operas and plays were occasionally used to fill the music hours.

"Liberation Army" and Tibetan-language programs were special features of the regional station for Southwest China. Correspondence from writers assigned to army units on the Sikang-Tibet Highway constituted the bulk of the materials broadcast for regional and even national consumption. "How our Troops Conquered the Difficulties in Building the Sikang-Tibet Highway," "Our Recreational Club in the Liberation Army," and "Learn from the Russian Army,"[48] were some of the common subjects presented on the Army program. On this program, brief items of news were also read. Radio monitors attached to the Army used these news reports to run their mimeographed or wall newspapers for the troops. The Tibetan-language hour was designed to serve the minority nationals in northwestern Szechwan Province. It consisted of summaries of the day's important items.

Calisthenic lessons were broadcast early in the morning, while special programs catering

48. New China Daily, Chungking, June 4, 10, 2, 1953, p. 3.

207 to women, children, and other groups were left
208 to the municipal station which served a more limited audience. The regional station also went on a slightly different schedule on Sundays to present more music and plays. The municipal station featured "dance music" on Saturday nights, but there is no report of the type of music used for dancing. In addition, the municipal station also broadcast a lengthy "worker's program" twice a day, except Sundays. A typical item on the "worker's program" was a speech by a labor hero. For instance, there was one by Yang Hu-k'un entitled "My Experience of Participating in the Seventh All-China Conference of the Federation of Labor Unions."[49] To entertain the workers, the program carried "live" broadcasts direct from the theaters on Saturday nights.

Like the content of the press in this region, the radio programs in 1953 also laid heavy stress on "economic reconstruction." Even the children's programs devoted considerable time to such a propaganda item as "My Father Has Become a Model Laborer," broadcast by Chou Ting-kuo, member of the Communist Young Pioneers.[50] Fairy tales and folk tales of both oriental and occidental origins were generally so

49. Ibid., June 3, 1953, p. 3.

50. Ibid., June 5, 1953, p. 3.

207 doctored as to carry the message of "how to be-
208 have like good children of Chairman Mao Tse-tung," or "how to help our parents to construct a socialist China." No commercials or "soap operas" were allowed on any program in this region.

The program of the Szechwan People's Broadcasting Station, inaugurated on October 1, 1952, was arranged in the same pattern. One interesting item was the "propaganda officer's"[51] hour, which provided the official propaganda personnel a radio forum to clarify the political issues of the day. The Szechwan station operated on 980 and 1,350 kilocycles.

C. Application and Effectiveness of Radio as a Propaganda Medium

The Communists in Southwest China claim that their radio networks, with minor shortcomings noted, have been a success. To evaluate this claim, it is necessary to take into consideration the following observations:

1. The control of radio broadcasting in this region has been complete. Since there were not as many independent stations in this region as in East China at the time of Communist occupation, the problem of reorganizing the stations in Southwest China was a relatively simple one. However, since every step from broadcasting to receiving is directly and closely supervised by the government and the Party, the entire system could easily be

51. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 brought under effective control. However, the
208 first sign of anxiety was visible at the First National Radiobroadcast Workers' Conference held in Peking from December 1 to 11, 1952. Among the dangerous trends pointed out at the conference were the following: (a) the editorial departments of radio stations failed to establish a close tie with the masses; (b) the issues raised in the programs did not sufficiently reflect life in reality; (c) there were wide gaps in overall planning and technical guidance.[52] To remedy the situation, the conference concluded, more regimentation and centralization were needed in radio work. Hence, there seems to be little possibility for any local station to use its own initiative; if it tried, it would be accused of "deviation" and subject to severe penalties.

2. Lack of facilities remains a stumbling block to expansion of radio work. In addition to such measures as "wire broadcasting station," radio news bulletins, blackboard and wall newspapers, the Communist in Southwest China have been following the nation-wide practice of sending mobile radio teams to the countryside. These mobile teams carry radio sets with them and, upon reaching a village, organize listening groups to hear some of the special programs. Such a measure has proven effective when the Communists have a special campaign to carry out. In

52. Chin Ta-k'ai, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

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208 the cities, similar listening groups are also organized to support any campaign. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" Movement, "good results" were reported in Chungking and its vicinity. One admitted drawback was that these listening groups would break up as soon as the special campaign was over. Better organization is needed if any lasting effect is to be expected of the propaganda, according to report.

3. The Communists in Southwest China assign only trusted Party members to key positions in the radio network, but there are apparently not enough well-trained personnel (technical and otherwise) to meet the need. As a result, each provincial broadcasting station has been conducting its own personnel training program. While much may have already been done to improve them, these training programs, begun in 1950-51, leave much to be desired. Many of the radio receiving officers are given only two months of training. During such a short period, these candidates are supposed to "elevate the level of their political understanding and formulate a new revolutionary outlook on life." Actually, some of the trained receiving officers have failed even to acquaint themselves with standard Mandarin pronunciation and intonation. This has resulted in their inability to monitor correctly the messages broadcast from Peking or from provincial stations. Radio technicians are, in most cases, given a six-month training course. Their doubtful competence, plus the shortage of radio parts, has subsequently caused many receiving stations to stop operation.

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4. One success of the Communist radio program is to be found among the students, particularly among the younger ones. At school, radio listening, like newspaper reading, has been made part of the regular curriculum. With Communist Youth Corps members acting as leaders, daily news items are discussed and analyzed with a view to guiding the thinking of the students in the direction of favoring the Communist regime. When the fall of Seoul was broadcast in 1951, receiving officers were directed to explain the setback as a strategic necessity, not as a sign of defeat, lest the students become skeptical of the Communist slogan, "The U. S. is but a paper tiger." There is evidence that most of the students are quite willing to accept such Communist propaganda and are enthusiastic about their Communist leaders.

5. The national hookup programs to support propaganda campaigns are probably the most effective broadcasts. Co-ordinated with the press, these radio programs are given advance notice and the masses are psychologically prepared for them. During the land reform, this technique was employed to agitate the people to rise against the landlords. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" and the subsequent "Germ Warfare" campaigns, students and soldiers were encouraged to tell over the radio their sentiments toward "American warmongers." When the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns were being promoted, citizens were urged to report on "corrupt officials" and inefficiency in government agencies. According to Communist statistics, from March 1

207 to May 31, 1951, the forty-nine People's broad-
208 casting stations throughout Mainland China organized 389 such national or regional hookup broadcasts. Over 36,000,000 people were said to have listened to the programs and the stations received 186,000 letters, telegrams, and telephone calls as evidence of favorable response.[53] Photographs are available in Communist publications, showing old peasant women crying under a loud speaker which is supposedly relaying a live broadcast of how a "People's enemy" is brought before a mass trial, or a youth shouting in response to the radio's call for additional manpower to suppress counterrevolutionaries, or a young country girl beaming broadly upon hearing the news of the promulgation of the new marriage law. These pictures, of course, could be other than what the captions claim. But there is no denying that the Communists have resorted to every conceivable means of mass persuasion and that radio is being fully exploited in Communist China for propaganda purposes.

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53. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, October 1951, (no pagination).

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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IV. STAGE AND SCREEN

536 The stage and screen are effective media for bringing messages to the illiterate and semi-literate. The Communists realize this and have been fully exploiting the possibilities of both forms of mass communication.

A. Stage

1. Control

The main goal of the Communist control of the stage is the consolidation of existing facilities and indoctrination of existing personnel. This has been pursued by officials in charge of dramatics in Southwest China since 1950. The system of control starts with both professional and amateur dramatic groups. Professional actors, playwrights, and stage workers have their respective associations under the direction of a provincial federation. In larger cities, artists are organized in a similar manner. Amateur dramatic groups are encouraged and aided by the association to which they belong. Before the abolition of the Greater Regional governments, the provincial federation took orders from regional authorities, but now it works with provincial Party propaganda agencies and receives direction from the Cultural and Information administrations under the State Council in Peking. The central Drama Reform Bureau under the Cultural Administration directly and exclusively interprets the broad policies laid

536 down by the Party. Its interpretation is passed down through a chain of control to the region, where the Cultural and Educational Commission puts it into practice.

2. Development

To expand stage activities, the Cultural and Educational Commission of this region has been promoting the organization of dramatic groups and encouraging professional actors to join the latter. By September 1952, about 50,000 stage workers were registered and 158 troupes organized.[54] The department of dramatics in the Southwest People's College of Arts was the center of the new drama movement until January 1, 1953 when the department was combined with the Experimental Drama Society to form the Southwest People's Art and Drama Academy, which now is playing a leading role in dramatics in Southwest China. When academy was founded, Li Ch'ang-lu, vice-chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission, exhorted the members of the academy to "study the thoughts and theories of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung." In addition, they were told to retain "the cultural heritage" of the people of Southwest China so that local color and characteristics of southwestern drama could be preserved and further developed.[55] Li sounded

54. New China Daily, Chungking, September 30, 1952, p. 3.

55. New China Daily, Chungking, Jan. 3, 1953, p. 3.

536 the keynote for the future development of drama in this region.

Scattered statistics indicate that the development of dramatics in this region had an enthusiastic start in 1950. In the city of Chungking alone, more than ten "revised traditional operas" were staged in the first half of 1950, with a total audience of about 200,000. The official plan called for revision of 60 old scripts during the remainder of that year.[56]

The traditional Szechwan opera, differing from Peking opera in musical and lyrical styles, drew national attention when in September 1952 a selected group of actors visited Peking and participated in the national dramatic exhibition. Veteran Szechwan opera singers such as Chia P'ei-chih returned from Peking after the exhibition performance beaming with pride and optimism because he was among those who received awards. He published in the New China Daily his observations on the future of Szechwan opera as follows: (a) the People's Government was definitely supporting and helping traditional Szechwan opera and its actors; (b) in the past "feudalistic" influences and "reactionary" suppression caused the opera to distort its true beauty and deal with superstitious elements, but now the time had come to remove these stumbling blocks so that the laboring masses and their heroes could be naturally represented; (c) the success scored in Peking in September 1952 by Szechwan opera was made possible by the fact that the works performed had been revised in accordance with the new principle

56. Compendium of Gov't Reports, p. 1002.

536 of dramatic arts.[57] The remarks of this old actor, with over twenty years of stage experience in Southwest China, point out clearly the direction in which local traditional drama is to be developed.

The non-musical stage-play was quite popular in Southwest China during the War of Resistance against Japan. Possibly because of their political ideas such plays are no longer popular. In January 1953, only one play -- "Confronting New Things and People" -- was advertised in Chungking. New variety shows dealing with short subjects such as "Sing for the Erh-lang Mountain," and "Kill the American Wolf," are performed more often than plays. Many familiar traditional Szechwan operas have been performed, but undoubtedly they have been revised by the Communists. This situation is different from that in North or East China, where the non-musical stage-play continued to hold the interest of the stage as late as 1953.

533 Song and dance are extensively used both on and off the stage. Their versatility as media of information and propaganda has long been recognized by the Communists. As early as 1950, the 700 musicians in Chungking were organized into groups, and by July of that year had already been to 106 factories to teach the workers to sing "new" songs.[58] Music and dance

57. New China Daily, Chungking, January 27, 1953, p. 3.

58. Compendium of Gov't Reports, p.1002.

[redacted]

533 numbers arranged to depict a political theme are frequently presented at the cultural centers and by propaganda teams traveling in the countryside. (For more discussion on song and dance, see chapter on Artistic and Literary Expression).

B. Motion Pictures

1. Control

546 So far there has been no indication that any motion picture has been or is being made in Southwest China, except perhaps some newsreels photographed by movie teams attached to the "Liberation Army." Thus the problem of control in this region is reduced simply to that of supervising the distribution and showing of films. More remote from sources of American and other Western motion picture supply, even the question of censorship will automatically be taken care of as soon as distribution is centralized. Early in 1950, the Southwest China branch of the China Motion Picture Distribution Company was in operation. It monopolizes distribution and is directly controlled by its headquarters in Peking.

Responsible for the supervision of the showing of motion pictures in this region are the provincial cultural and education commissions. They are also in charge of organization and the assignment of mobile motion picture teams to tour the countryside.

2. Development

In July 1950, the Southwest China branch

546 of the China Motion Picture Distribution Company reported that it had already handled 53 Russian films and 41 Chinese films since the beginning of that year. At that time, motion picture theater-goers in the Southwest Region still favored Chinese films. The Russian films only drew a total of 446,000 people while Chinese pictures drew 837,000 for their total. In January 1953, the distribution system was further consolidated and most of the theaters in larger cities were showing the same films either simultaneously or by rotation. The quota for each was determined and announced in advance. The following is a sample of the types of films that the people in Chungking saw in motion picture theaters in 1953:

Table 12. Motion Pictures Shown in Chungking Theaters (Jan-Feb 1953) */

Type of Film	Number
Russian	12
Newsreels	4
Historical	1
People's Liberation Army documentary	1
Reconstruction of China	2
Revolutionary stories	4
Cartoon	1
Total	25

*/ Compiled from advertisements in New China Daily, Chungking, January and February 1953 issues.

546 The Russian films dealt mostly with the October Revolution and key personalities of the Soviet revolutionary war. The newsreels included one entitled "We Are Opposed to Germ Warfare," and "Long Live Peace," which depicts the Communist-inspired Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Nations held in Peking in the fall of 1952. The historical film dealt with the pacifism of Mo Tzu (Mo Ti), an ancient Chinese philosopher. The economic achivement in Northeast China and Inner Mongolia was the subject matter of the films on reconstruction. Films dealing with revolutionary stories depicted the suppression of an anti-Communist secret society, I-kuan Tao, and the change in pastoral life in Northwest China. One of these films, under the title "The Flame of Wrath," was actually filmed in Northeast China.

Admission to a motion picture theater in the city was JMP$2,000, or about the price of two and a half pounds of rice. Motion picture theaters in the rural areas charged only JMP $1,500 for admission. These rates were fixed by the government.

As to the newsreels shown in rural areas, the Communist motion picture producing industry has turned out an ample supply of them. Government authorities pay specific attention to the motion picture teams visiting the factories and mining areas. Regarding this, the central Cultural Administration at Peking on June 8, 1954 issued a special directive ordering local governments to "supervise motion picture distribution agencies by adequately supplying these mobile

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

546 teams with films."[59] By May 1952, the thirty-nine teams operated by the cultural and educational organizations in this region had given shows to 17,329,537 people. According to Communist official announcements, these figures did not include the teams attached to the Army or organized by labor unions. It has also been reported that in the cities of Southwest China, 8,799,704 people saw motion pictures in 1950, and 20,522,438 in 1951. If these statistics are reliable, then the Communist goal of enabling every inhabitant in Southwest China to see at least one motion picture show a year would be within the range of achievement.[60] (The population of Southwest China in 1950-1951 was about 75,000,000.)

Promotion of Russian films has been made an official task for the distributors in this region as a result of the relative scarcity of native films. The literary purges that have been going on in North and East China are exerting a restrictive influence on script writers. Consequently, the film production industry has not been able to make enough movies, and producers have to resort to writing titles and dialogue in Chinese for foreign films already approved by the government. Over 50 films made in countries with in the Soviet orbit, with titles and dialogue written in Chinese, were distributed throughout Mainland China in 1952.[61]

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59. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 540.

60. New China Daily, Chungking, May 21, 1952, p. 3.

61. Ibid., January 16, 1953, p. 3.

546 In 1954, the Shanghai Motion Picture Producing Company, in collaboration with the Northeast Motion Picture Producing Company, wrote the titles and dialogue in Chinese for 40 foreign films, including a few non-Communist ones such as "The Bicycle Thief," made in Italy, and some "progressive" pictures from Japan.[62] Meanwhile a Japanese journalist reported upon his return to his country from a visit to Red China in 1953 that the average motion picture theater in large Chinese cities had to have about eight films a month, that the government could only supply one or two, and that the rest came from the Soviet Union.[63] In October 1953, a "Russian Motion Picture Week" was observed in Southwest China commemorating the 36th anniversary of the October Revolution. During that week in Chengtu, Chungking and Kunming, over 1,413,000 people saw a Russian motion picture.[64]

All this points up an acute shortage of native films in Southwest China.

C. Lantern Slides and Phonograph Records

Despite physical limitations, officials in

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62. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 6, 1954, p. 2.

63. Chao Ts'ung, "I-nien-lai Chung-kung Ti Wen-hua Kung-tso" ["The Chinese Communist Cultural Work during the Past Year"] , Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly] , Hong Kong, January 4, 1954, p. 36.

64. China Weekly, No. 62, March 8, 1954, p. 22.

546 Southwest China in charge of mass communication and propaganda have been stressing the importance of using audio-visual aids. The program to develop lantern slides for public information is tied in with the expansion of libraries and cultural centers which have already been mentioned.

Chairman Ch'u T'u-nan of the Cultural and Educational Commission for Southwest China was proud to point out in September 1953 that a total of 845 projectors (for slides) had been acquired, averaging two to each hsien in this region. The slides stocked at the cultural centers and libraries were divided into the following categories:

Table 13. Lantern Slides in Southwest China (1952) */

Category	Percentage
Political	50.8
Agricultural	23.7
Industrial	7.0
Health and Sanitation	10.0
Popular Science	3.7
Others	4.8

*/ New China Daily, Chungking, September 30, 1952, p. 3.

Table 13 shows that in providing the public with lantern slides, the first and foremost emphasis is on political indoctrination. Agricultural and

546 public health subjects come next, because Southwest China is predominantly agrarian and the people's knowledge of sanitation is particularly lacking. Besides organizing shows at the cultural centers or libraries, mobile motion picture teams and propaganda groups also make use of slides and projectors. When Chairman Ch'u claimed that the cultural centers in the region had given over 9,000,000 people political education and enrolled 1,700,000 illiterates in reading classes,[65] he undoubtedly included those who had been show motion pictures and lantern slides as well.

Slides were extensively used in connection with educational campaigns on health and sanitation conducted in the Tibetan Nationality Minority area in northwestern Szechwan Province early in 1953.[66] It was found that where the Chinese language was not spoken, drawings and photographs were satisfactory media of communication.

It is not known whether facilities exist in Southwest China for the manufacture of lantern

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65. New China Daily, Chungking, September 30, 1952, p. 3.

66. New China Daily, Chungking, January 24, 1953, p. 3.

slides on a large scale, but in 1953 such equipment was advertised for sale in the New China Daily of Chungking. Slides on maternity hygiene, public health, educational subjects, and current events were available in the market at that time. A set of 36 slides was sold for JMP$130,000 (about US$26, official rate) which was equivalent to the price of 200 pounds of rice.[67] 546

Phonograph records are used at the cultural centers and recreational clubs, but not as extensively as lantern slides and radio sets. They were also available in Chungking in 1953 for JMP$16,000 (about US$3.20) each, or about the price of 23 pounds of rice.

V. MASS ORGANIZATIONS AS MEDIA OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

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The Communists are fond of using the word "network" for activities pertaining to public information and propaganda. Already discussed in this study are the news-gathering network, radio network, library and book distribution network, and motion picture showing and cultural center network. Included in the Communist term of "cultural network", however, are many mass organizations contributing to the dissemination of public information, education, and propaganda.[68]

One of these organizations is the Sino-Russian Friendship Association. Established on October 5, 1949, in Peking, it expanded rapidly and by February 1952 had 64,200 large and small branches

[next page for 67. and 68.]

575 with a total membership of 23,000,000.[69] Under
208 the direction of Liu Shao-ch'i (chi), whose position in the party hierarchy is said to be only next to that of Mao Tse-tung, this association, through its omnipresent branches, has been organizing, indoctrinating, and propagandizing people of all professions. It holds small group gatherings in which Soviet theories and practices are presented, discussed, and analyzed, while its members and their friends are urged to emulate their Soviet comrades. Whenever there is a national propaganda campaign, the association mobilizes all its branches to give concerted support to the effort.

Since detailed discussion on mass organizations in China is presented in a separate chapter in this handbook, no attempt is made here to mention the names of all the major ones and to discuss their activities. Suffice it to say that these organizations all have their own "cultural departments" which in reality are information and propaganda units. Generally speaking, the "cultural network" of an average-size hsien may easily consist of as many as 4,000 units with more than 30,000

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67. Ibid., January 17, 1953, p. 3.

68. A list of 96 such national mass organizations is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 7-8.

69. People's Handbook, 1952, p. 258.

575 people actively partici pating.[70] Although these
208 statistics may not be true of many of the sparsely populated hsien in Southwest China, the scope of the Communist public information program and the effectiveness of the Communist propaganda machine is not to be underestimated.

V. PERSONAL CONTACT

208 Any study of public information and propaganda in Communist China would be sadly incomplete if the important part played by personal contact were ignored. Personal contact actually has been an effective tool in the dissemination of public information and propaganda in a country like China where a preponderant percentage of the population is illiterate.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on January 1, 1951 issued a directive on the "Establishment of a Propaganda Network Aimed at the Masses." Among other things the directive pointed out that: (1) In the past propaganda work had been neglected, and no permanent personnel had been assigned to conduct person-to-person propaganda to counteract rumors and clarify government policies. (2) All Party branches from that day on would assign propaganda officers, and all guiding agencies in the Party would appoint reporting officers, while enthusiastic activists, although non-Party members, might also be appointed as propaganda officers. (3) Under the direction of the Party, propaganda officers would conduct propaganda by means of

70. Chao Ts'ung, op. cit., p. 36.

708 personal contact and report the people's reactions and responses to the proper authorities. (4) Reporting officers were required to make political reports to mass meetings at least once every two months, and their reports had to be first cleared by Party authorities.[71]

Execution of the above directive in Southwest China resulted in the registration of 85,000 propaganda officers by December 1951.[72] A different Communist source claimed that by the end of November 1951, incomplete surveys showed that there were already 2,086 reporting officers and 86,349 propaganda officers in this region.[73] By September 1952 the number of propaganda officers had increased to 158,000.[74] In the summer of 1953, Sezchwan Province alone reported that there were altogether 180,000 propaganda officers at work.[75] At about the same time, Communist authorities began to strengthen

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71. Chien-li Hsüan-ch'uan-wang [Establish Propaganda Network], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 1-6.

72. People's Handbook 1952, pp. 436-437.

73. New China Daily, Chungking, December 23, 1951.

74. Chin Ta-k'ai "Chung-kung Hsuan-ch'uan-wang Ti Fa-chan Chi Ch'i P'o-ch'an" ["The Development and Bankruptcy of the Chinese Communist Propaganda Network"] , China Weekly, No. 70, May 3, 1954, p. 11.

75. People's Daily, Peking, May 29, 1953, p. 1.

208 the system of personal propaganda by establishing what might be described as "coaching stations" for propaganda officers. At these stations propaganda officers met twice a month, each session lasting about two hours. With the help of experienced coaches, the propaganda officers received on-the-spot instruction on how to disseminate propaganda and how to make their argument convincing to the people. Unfortunately, there is no information available on the exact number of such coaching stations in this region.

Anti-Communist sources claim that the establishment of such "coaching stations" is evidence of the collapse of the Communist person-to-person propaganda system.[76] Communist reports, however, maintain that propaganda and reporting officers have come to be regarded by the people as "information bureaus" that know all the answers. They are also being referred to as "thought doctors," and "messengers of Chairman Mao Tse-tung." If these appellations really reflect the high esteem that the people have for these propaganda agents, then the Communist claim that personal contact "has exerted decisive influence on the masses in the campaigns to suppress counter-revolutionaries, carry out land reform, resist America and aid Korea, and increase production" is perhaps not entirely unreliable.[77]

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76. Chin Ta-k'ai, op. cit., p. 12.
77. People's Handbook 1952, pp. 436-437.

208 The significance of the part played by personal contact in the Communist propaganda scheme is well expressed in an editorial of the People's Daily. The Party has been relying on separate propaganda campaigns to achieve the goals, the editorial said. At first, Party members thought that personal contact was essential to the successful dissemination of propaganda. Now everybody admits that "propaganda officers are trail-blazers without whom nothing can be undertaken."[78]

VII. CONCLUSION

A. The Massiveness of the System

208 666 The Chinese Communist propaganda machine makes use of all types of media which are coordinated to function effectively. Once a decision is made by the top members of the Party hierarchy, it will be transmitted to Party and government agencies at lower levels for execution. Then a sort of chain reaction will begin. Take the 1954 general election, for instance. The decision was made in Peking in early 1953. By May all the provinces had already organized special committees

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78. People's Daily, Peking, 1953, p. 1.

208 to carry it out. Meanwhile from Peking came
666 detailed instructions embodied in the General Election Handbook, of which 1,380,000 c pies were distributed throughout the country. Discussions on the forthcoming election filled the pages of the press and consumed the bulk of radio time of all the major broadcasting stations. Provincial authorities further printed thousands of pamphlets for distribution. The Shantung provincial branch of the New China Bookstore alone handled more than 16,000 copies of these pamphlets in the first half of May 1953. By June all the propaganda officers were mobilized, briefed on the subject, and assigned to work. In Szechwan Province, 180,000 propaganda officers worked feverishly. More than 400 lantern slide teams took to the back roads and side roads of the province; about 440 cultural centers staged co-ordinated programs.[79] Every unit of the public information and propaganda system was put to work. It was claimed that, mainly on the basis of this immense propaganda campaign, the turnout of the election was close to 90 per cent of the nation's total eligible voters. Such a claim might have been exaggerated, but the effectiveness of such an intense campaign
208 should not be totally discredited. After all, during China's War of Resistance against Japan, the propaganda teams organized by the Nationalists succeeded, in 1938-40 at least, in making the villagers of western Szechwan aware of the national leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, and the grave situation

79. People's Daily, Peking, May 29, 1953, p. 1.

208 created by the war that was threatening the very life of their own country.

B. The Thoroughness of Operation

Western journalists who visited the Communist areas during the brief lulls in the Nationalist-Communist war were surprised to find that the grade school children were quite familiar with Communist political jargon. Such an achievement is perhaps to be accounted for by the thoroughness of Communist indoctrination and propaganda. As soon as a child is old enough to be taught, he is subject to persistent Communist indoctrination. The first words he learns in grade school are "the Chinese Communist Party" and from then on he is taught to live for and think in terms of Communism. He would be an exceptional person if he could escape from becoming a devout Communist upon reaching adulthood. Perhaps occasionally from the older generation he will detect opinions or behavior at variance with Communist standards, but in Communist China the old and wise are dying out, and in twenty years they will be replaced by the new generation which has been thoroughly trained in Communist concepts and practices. It is the new generation that will run the country.

C. Prospects of Success or Failure of Communist Public Information and Propaganda

Are the people in Southwest China convinced by the Communists now? In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems that the majority of the

208 people are willing to go along with their Communist leaders, or, for that matter, with any leader who has brought about a measure of order and stability to their community after so many years of chaos. As to the remainder of the population, it is difficult to gauge their feelings accurately, since so few Chinese have escaped from the Mainland to reveal their sentiments to the outside world. But if from this region there had been such refugees, it would still be risky for us to rely completely on their words for the measure of popular reaction in Southwest China to Communist propaganda. After all, refugees' stories, as has been proven before, usually are highly subjective and often tend to convert individual experiences into questionable generalizations.

It is also difficult to say how much counter-propaganda, if a way is found to bring it to Southwest China, will be enough to offset the Communist balance there. However, there is at least one danger that will confront the Communists in the future. After the masses have been taught to read and write, they are likely to become curious about the outside world and want to know more about it. The people in the Soviet Union now seem to be curious about the West after 38 years of Communist indoctrination and propaganda and total blackout of outside news.[80] Communist China is traveling on the path that the Soviet Union has trod. It is only reasonable to assume that the Chinese people

80. "Mr. Kleiner's Russia," Newsweek, September 5, 1955, p. 17.

208 will someday demand the right to satisfy their curiosity about the outside world, news of which has been denied them for so long.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2h,
Political Background

KEY PERSONALITIES

647 Certain special problems have given the Communist regime in Southwest China distinctive characteristics which become evident when we study the backgrounds, careers, and present administrative functions of fifty key personalities in this region.

The first special aspect which we note has to do with the significant number of senior leaders in the regional military administration. The interrelation between military and political control appears to be much closer than in other regions of China -- a situation which is due not only to the fact that Southwest China was the last area to be brought under Communist control but also to the circumstance that in this region Kuomintang and anti-Communist guerrilla activities have given the Communists the most trouble. Thus we find that the key men -- senior officials and Communist Party Central Committee members -- are military leaders, officials of the military districts and the 2nd Field Army rather than members of the provincial People's governments in the region. In fact, the relative

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647 unimportance of many of even the top-level provincial administrators is striking. Presumably this imbalance is gradually being rectified as administrative control becomes more secure and Party organizations more thoroughly entrenched.

A second special aspect of the Southwest China administrators as a group results from the large number of national minority groups in the region. These groups vary considerably in size and importance, and it is the avowed policy of the People's Republic to accord them equal and non-discriminatory treatment. We find, therefore, a certain number of administrators who come from these minority groups. We would logically expect to find these men on the Committee on Nationalities of the National People's Congress, and in fact most of them are. But on the other hand, it is worth noting that an almost equal number of administrators from Southwest China who have a place on this committee are not members of minority groups. Presumably this too will be changed as soon as more leaders from minor nationalities have been suitably trained by the Communists.

In addition to these special characteristics, we find other features which are more typical of the Communist administrative structure in

647 other regions of China: a considerable overlapping of personnel in some key positions, apparently only nominal authority among the incumbents of most of the lesser positions, a calculated distribution of Communist Party personnel, and the presence of several former Kuomintang leaders in positions of considerable administrative importance who are, nevertheless, inevitably outranked by Communist officials.

I. SURVEY OF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS HELD

This survey is concerned with fifty men who, with three exceptions, hold key regional and provincial posts in Southwest China. The three exceptions -- Ch'u T'u-nan, Lung Yün, and Hsiung K'o-wu -- have in the past held important administrative positions in Southwest China, but our data on their present positions notes only jobs on the national level. The remaining incumbents occupy the positions of commander of military districts (regional and provincial), political commissar of military districts (regional and provincial), commander and political commissar of the 2nd Field Army, governor and deputy-governor of provincial People's governments, provincial committee member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, president of provincial People's higher courts, and secretary of provincial and regional committees of the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC).

647 We do not have enough significant data on the backgrounds, careers, or present status of sixteen of these men to include them in this analysis. We can simply record their functions in the administrative structure: five are NDYC officials (a secretary in each province and a secretary for the region of Southwest China); four presidents of People's higher courts (one in each province); and seven deputy-governors (one each in Szechwan and Kweichow, two in Sikang, and three in Yunnan).

The remaining 34 incumbents, then, include 13 deputy-governors (two in Yunnan, three in Kweichow, and four each in Szechwan and Kweichow); four provincial committee members of the Chinese People's P.C.C. (one in Kweichow, three in Szechwan); four commanders of provincial military districts (one for each province); three political commissars of provincial military districts (the political commissar for Kweichow is not known); four governors (one in each province); and the six men who are commanders, deputy-commanders, political commissars, and deputy political commissars of the Southwest China military district and the 2nd Field Army.

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II. INCUMBENTS HOLDING A SINGLE POSITION

647 Four of these 34 men (in addition to the 16 already noted, about whom we have no further information) hold only a single administrative position. Two are deputy-governors: Kung Tzu-chih, a former member of the Yunnan Provincial Government, who is now a deputy-governor of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government, and Jen Pai-ko, a deputy-governor of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government, who has been prominent in the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association since 1949 but who apparently holds no other offices at present.

The other two men who hold only one position are the governors of the Yunnan and Kweichow provincial People's governments. Kuo Ying-ch'iu, of Yunnan, was formerly a director of the Department of Political Affairs attached to the People's Liberation Army (1949), the deputy-director of the South Szechwan People's Government (1949-52) and the vice-chairman of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government (1952-54), but according to our data he holds no other administrative, military, or Party position at this time. Chou Lin, the governor of Kweichow, was formerly on the Southwest China Military and Political Committee and the Southwest China Administrative Committee

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647 (in each case, simply as a member) and was a vice-chairman of the Kweichow Provincial People's Government. No other information on him is available.

We note that neither of these governors is known to hold a top Party position in his province. These posts are held by the political commissar of the Yunnan Provincial Military District (Hsieh Fu-chih) and the chairman of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. (Shen Yün-p'u), who is, incidentally, one of the few non-military Party leaders in the region. The apparent lack of importance attached to the position of governor in these instances may, of course, be due to a lack of complete information, but to the extent that it represents a real situation, it is undoubtedly a result of a necessary emphasis on the military organization in the region.

III. INCUMBENTS HOLDING TWO POSITIONS

Eleven men each hold two administrative positions. In nine of these cases, the second position is that of delegate to the First National People's Congress. Five such men are deputy-governors: one in Sikang, one in Szechwan, and three in Kweichow. Two others also hold provincial positions in addition to their function

647 as delegates to the 1st NPC: Li Hsiao-t'ing, vice-chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and Li Ta-chang, governor of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government. Li Hsiao-t'ing was a member of the Revolutionary League of Dr. Sun Yat-sen from 1905 to 1913, but no details of his later career are known until 1950, when he was a member of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, and member of the Standing Committee of the Szechwan-Sikang Provisional Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. Li Ta-chang was director of the Department of Propaganda of the T'ai-hang Sub-bureau of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC during the Sino-Japanese War, and he has since held other Party and provincial positions, but at present he has, according to our data, no functions other than as governor of Szechwan and delegate to the 1st NPC

The two remaining men in this group of delegates to the 1st NPC are Ch'u T'u-nan and Hsiung K'o-wu. Both hold national rather than regional or provincial positions: Ch'u is a member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., Hsiung is a member of the Standing

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647 Committee of the 1st NPC.

The last two men who hold only two positions are distinguished by their status as reserve members of the Central Committee of the CPC: Sung Jen-ch'iung and Ch'en Keng. Both are members of the National Defense Council, Sung is deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, and Ch'en is commander of the Yunnan Provincial Military District. Because of the importance of their regional and national posts as well as their Party rank, these two men are included below in the group of administrators with top status.

IV. INCUMBENTS HOLDING THREE POSITIONS

Eight men each hold three positions. Four of these are almost identical: the three positions consist of delegate to the 1st NPC, membership on the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC and deputy-governor. The only exception in this group is Shen Yün-p'u, who is not a deputy-governor but chairman of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a member of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the CPC.

647 The other four incumbents holding three positions include a former Kuomintang leader, Teng Hsi-hou, who is now deputy-governor in Szechwan, a delegate to the 1st NPC and a member of the National Defense Council; Ho Ping-yen, who is commander of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and a member of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government; Yang Yung, commander of the Kweichow Provincial Military District, member of the National Defense Council, and Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea (1955); and Wang Wei-chou, a reserve member of the Central Committee of the CPC, who is deputy-commander of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and a member of the Standing Committee of the 1st NPC.

Because of the number and nature of their multiple positions, these four men are included in the group of key administrators discussed below. Shen Yün-p'u is also included because of his Party position and his occupancy of the important position of chairman of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

The true status of the other three men in this category is more difficult to appraise.

647 Two of the positions they hold are of lesser authority: delegate to the 1st NPC and deputy-governor. Furthermore, as we shall see, their positions on the Committee on Nationalities may give them little more than prestige. They should be noted, however, as persons who may carry considerable administrative weight, at least in their own nationality districts, and perhaps, ultimately on a national level. They are Kuo-chi-mu-ku (a member of the Yi minority from Sikang); Shargur Dobdeng (or Hsia-k'o Tiao-teng), a Tibetan from Sikang; and Sana-rygas-shes, also a Tibetan from Sikang. The first two are both former vice-chairmen of the Sikang Provincial People's Government; Shargur Dobdeng was also a member of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, a member of the Committee on Nationalities Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, and a member of the Southwest China Administrative Committee.

We have considerably more information on Sana-rygas-shes, a man whose colorful career suggests that in time he may become a figure of some significance. When the Red Army reached Tan-pa hsien in 1934, Sana-rygas-shes, then seventeen, co-operated with other Tibetans in Tan-pa hsien in organizing the Tan-pa United Government. He later served as director of the Department of Youth Affairs in the same

647 government. He subsequently became political commissar of the Tan-pa Detachment of the Red Army and, during World War II, he studied at the School of Nationalities in Yenan. After the war, he was active in the organization of Mongolian guerrilla forces in Southern Suiyan Province. Since 1949 he has been an active and prominent participant in the Communist administration; he was a delegate to the 1st Chinese People's P.C.C., a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs of the Government Administrative Council, chairman of the Tibetan Nationality Autonomous District of Sikang, member and vice-chairman of the Committee on Nationalities Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, and member of the Southwest China Administrative Committee.

Although neither Sana-rygas-shes nor the other two minorities representatives discussed above appear to carry, at the present time, senior status among the group of key administrators, their status within their own groups and, as the Communists' nationalities policy becomes more fully implemented, their potential importance makes them worthy of special notice.

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V. INCUMBENTS HOLDING FOUR POSITIONS

647 Five men each hold four positions, and by virtue of both the number and nature of these multiple posts these men may all be included in the group of key officials in the region.

Two men are Party officials: Chang Chi-ch'un, a reserve member of the Central Committee of the CPC and secretary of the Southwest Bureau of the Central Committee, is also deputy political commissar of the 2nd Field Army, deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.; Hsieh Fu-chih, secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the CPC, is political commissar of the Yunnan Provincial Military District, member of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC.

Two others are former Kuomintang members who joined the Communists in the late 1940s: Lung Yün, who is now delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Standing Committee of 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese

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647 People's P.C.C.; and Chang Ch'ung, an Yi military leader under the Nationalist Government, who is now deputy-governor of Yunnan, delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC, and member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

The fifth man is Yen Hung-yen, whose career is known to us only since 1950, and who is currently deputy-governor of Szechwan, deputy political commissar of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the National Defense Council.

VI. INCUMBENTS HOLDING MORE THAN FOUR POSITIONS

The remaining six men hold a total of 32 positions. They are identified below and their Party and administrative functions noted. An analysis of their special characteristics and their relation to the group of senior officials as well as to the region as a whole will follow.

Liu Wen-hui is a former military leader who is now delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Committee on the Budget of the NPC, member of the National Defense Council, member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese P.C.C., and vice-chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

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647 Li Ching-ch'üan, whose early background we do not know, is deputy-political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, political commissar of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., member of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government, and chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

Liao Chih-kao, secretary of the Sikang Provincial Committee of the CPC, is currently governor of Sikang, commander and political commissar of the Sikang Provincial Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the Committee on Nationalities of the NPC.

Ho Lung, who is a member of the Central Committee of the CPC, is commander of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, deputy premier of the State Council, and chairman of the Commission on Athletics of the State Council.

Liu Po-ch'eng, veteran Party military leader, is commander of the 2nd Field Army, delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Standing Committee of the 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and director of the Department of Military Training of the National Defense Council.

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647 Teng Hsiao-p'ing, top Party official for Southwest China, is also political commissar of the 2nd Field Army, political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, deputy premier of the State Council, member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and a member of the Central Election Committee.

VII. CHARACTERISTICS OF SENIOR LEADERS AS A GROUP

On the basis of the foregoing survey, we can select the 19 men who, because of the multiplicity of their positions, the relatively superior authority granted them by their various functions or their status in the Communist Party, constitute the top echelon of Southwest China's leadership. Even within this group, of course, we can observe the typical Communist pyramidal power structure: a very small number of senior Communist Party officials hold key positions both regionally and nationally and may be assumed to wield ultimate control. From the regional point of view, however, the group may be taken as a whole, and certain specific characteristics of the administrative structure of Southwest China noted.

647 Eleven of the 19 men are ranking Communist Party members (Li Ta-chang is included in this group because of his past Party status, although his present rank in the Party is not known.)

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Ho Lung are members of the Central Committee, and clearly constitute the core of Party control in the region. Wang Wei-chou, Sung Jen-ch'iung, Chang Chi-ch'un, and Ch'en Keng are reserve members of the Central Committee. Liao Chih-kao, Hsieh Fu-chih, and Shen Yün-p'u are officials on provincial committees of the CPC.

Five of these men have been Party leaders since the 1920s: Teng, Liu, Ho, Wang, and Ch'en. All participated in Communist uprisings in 1927 and all but Wang are known to have made the "Long March." Two others, Sung and Li, have been active at least since the 1930s. We have data on the remaining four only since 1949.

Four of the five veteran leaders -- that is, the men who have been active since the 1920s -- are military men. Liu Po-ch'eng is a Moscow-trained former Red Army Chief of Staff and former commander of the Central China People's Liberation Army. Ho Lung, who began his career as a bandit leader, rose to the rank of

647 commander of the Shansi-Suiyuan People's Liberation Army before taking his present post of commander of the Southwest China Military District. Wang Wei-chou, a veteran of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (1927-36) was commander of the Communist garrison forces in East Kansu during World War II. Ch'en Keng began his military career in 1916 at the age of twelve as a private in the army of General Lu Te-p'ing and served in the Communist army from 1928 on, rising to the rank of commander of the 4th Army Corps of the 2nd Field Army of the People's Liberation Army.

It is noteworthy that five of the remaining Communist officials are closely connected with the military administration. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who holds the top Party position in the region, was for fifteen years political commissar attached to Communist military forces and is now political commissar of the 2nd Field Army as well as of the Southwest China Military District and, on the national level, a vice-chairman of the National Defense Council. Sung Jen-ch'iung, National Defense Council member and deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, is the right-hand man of General Liu Po-ch'eng. According to our data, he first became prominent in 1937 as the director of the Department of Political Affairs of the 29th Division of the 18th Group Army (the same

647 division which Liu commanded and to which Teng was attached from 1937 to 1946), and he is also a former commander of the Central Hopei Military District and deputy director of the Nanking Military Control Committee. Chang Chi-ch'un, Liao Chih-kao, and Hsieh Fu-chih are also associated with the military administration; they are political commissars of the 2nd Field Army, the Sikang, and the Yunnan provincial military districts, respectively.

All but two of these eleven key Communist Party leaders, then, have past careers -- as far as we know them -- and current positions that are essentially military. Li Ta-chang, the governor of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government, was director of the Department of Propaganda of the T'ai-hang Sub-bureau of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC during the Sino-Japanese war and held the same position on the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC from 1945 to 1949. He was subsequently director of the South Szechwan People's Government, member of the Southwest China M.P.C., vice-chairman of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government and member of the Southwest China Administrative Committee. Shen Yün-p'u also has a non-military background: according to our information he was a member of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Southwest China M.P.C. from 1949 to 1952 and

647 vice-chairman of the Kweichow Provincial People's Government in 1954.

The preponderance of military officials is a reflection of the difficulties encountered in subduing and integrating Southwest China, and is a characteristic which we might expect to be increasingly modified, as it has been in other regions of China. It is a characteristic which is further accentuated, however, by the inclusion of four former Kuomintang military leaders in this group of senior officials.

Lung Yün is a veteran Kuomintang military leader who reached the post of president of the Military Advisory Council of the Nationalist Government before going over to the Communists in 1949. Chang Ch'ung, a former bandit leader who served in the Yunnan Army from 1917 on, defected to the Communists after he and the forces he commanded were dispatched to Manchuria by Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Communists. Teng Hsi-hou served for many years in the Szechwan provincial army and, by 1924, held the rank of three-star general. After leading forces against the Japanese in Shansi, Shantung, and northern Kiangsu, Teng was appointed director of the Szechwan-Sikang Pacification Headquarters, a position which he held until he went over to the Communists in 1949. Liu Wen-hui also served in the Szechwan Army until he became chairman of the Szechwan

647 Provincial Government in 1929; he was subsequently appointed deputy director of the Szechwan-Sikang Pacification Headquarters.

We note that four of the 15 men discussed so far -- Liao Chih-kao, Hsieh Fu-chih, Shen Yün-p'u, and Chang Ch'ung -- are members of the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC. Of this group only Chang Ch'ung is known to be a member of a national minority: he comes from an Yi family in Lu-hsi, Yunnan Province. The other three are Chinese, as far as we know, and Party officials. We might question, therefore the real weight of minority-group membership on the Committee on Nationalities. Although the proportion of Chinese members to minority members may change as more leaders from the lesser national groups are trained, the fact that the three Chinese members are also officials in the Communist Party suggests that the representation of the minorities is little more than a formal gesture.

The remaining four men in this key group of 19 do not appear to fit any of the main categories suggested above; they are not Communist Party members, Kuomintang veterans, or members of the Committee on Nationalities. On the other hand, tjwo are military men and two are political commissars of military districts. Whether they rise or fall in the Communist hierarchy may well be determined by

647 how thorough a transformation is made from a military to a civilian administration and, of course, by what kind of Party status they achieve. None is known to have status in the Party at present.

Yang Yung's military career is known since 1937, when he was a regimental commander in the 8th Route Army. He rose to the rank of commander of the Air Forces of the Southwest Military District (1952-54) before becoming deputy commander, and then commander, of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea. He retains the post of commander of the Kweichow Provincial Military District and member of the National Defense Council.

The career of Ho Ping-yen, commander of the 18th Army Corps and the Szechwan Provincial Military District, is known since 1949, when he was deputy commander of the Chinghai Provincial District. In addition we know that he is also a former member of the S zechwan Provincial People's Government and of the Southwest China M.P.C.

Yen Hung-yen is first noted as director of the department of political affairs of an army corps sometime prior to 1950, when he became director of the East Szechwan People's Government. He held other non-military positions in

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647 Szechwan and is now a member of the National Defense Council as well as deputy political commissar and deputy governor in Szechwan.

Li Ching-ch'üan, first noted as director of the West Szechwan People's Government (1950-52), subsequently became chairman of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government (1952-54). He is still a member of the same government, and his other positions carry considerable authority: deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, political commissar of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

These four men may be among the candidates for top rank in the Communist administration. In any case, their present status warrants their inclusion in the group of key administrators at this time.

The general conclusion of this survey must emphasize the state of transition in Southwest China. Its relatively recent date of conquest and the nature and extent of the various resistance forces have resulted in the military structure of the administration. As more Party cadres are trained and more nationalities representatives prepared for leadership, we will

647 find changes in the administrative personnel emerging. Present conclusions based on the nature of the leadership of Southwest China may be invalid in a very short time, but the techniques and structure of control which they reveal appear to be constant features of the Chinese Communist administration.

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For the sake of brevity, certain abbeviations have been used in the biographical sketches which follow.

A-C Fl -- All China Federation of Literature
A-C FDY -- All-China Federation of Democratic Youth
A-C. FDW -- All-China Federation of Democratic Women
Centr. Com. of CPC -- Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
C.A.P.D. -- China Association for Promotion of Democracy
CPC -- Communist Party of China
Chinese People's P.C.C. -- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
D.L -- Democratic League
Exec. Com. -- Executive Committee
JCRR -- Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction
KMT -- Kuomintang
NPC -- National People's Congress
NCNA -- New China News Agency
NDYC -- New Democratic Youth Corps
P.A. -- Peasants' Association
prep. -- preparatory
R.C. of KMT -- Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang
Southwest China A.C. -- Southwest China Administrative Committee
Southwest China M.P.C. -- Southwest China Military and Political Committee
WDP -- Workers' Democratic Party

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF KEY PERSONALITIES IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

000 CHANG CHI-CH'UN

Origin: b., Hunan Province.

Background: mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); Chm. of Commission on Land Reform of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

Current Career: reserve mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); Dep.-Sec. of Southwest Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (1949-); Dep.-Pol. Commissar of 2d Field Army (1949-); Dep.-Pol. Commissar of Southwest China Milit. Dist. (1949-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of standing com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-).

CHANG CH'UNG

Origin: decendant of an I family in Lu-hsi hsien, Yunnan Province.

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000 Background: once a bandit leader in Yunnan; from 1917 served in Yunnan Army, first as company comdr. and, in 1937, as army comdr.; after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Chang's forces were dispatched from Yunnan to East China to take part in fighting; at time of V-J Day Chang's forces were under command of Gen. Lu Han; in 1946 Chang's forces were dispatched to Manchuria by Chiang Kai-shek to fight Communist forces there; subsequently, Chang defected to Communists and was appointed V-C. of Sungkiang Provincial People's Govt.; V-C. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of same conf. (1949-54); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of same conf. (1949-54); mem. of Commission on Nationalities of Govt. A.C. (1950-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. and V-C. of Commission on Nationalities of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan., 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

OVD CHANG WEI-CHIUNG

Origin: b., Sikang Province.

Background: Sec.-Gen. of Sikang Provincial Govt. under former KMT regime; V-C. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan., 1953-54).

Current Career: chm. of Sikang Provincial Com. of KMT Revolutionary Com. (1949-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept., 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CHAO FANG

Current Career: Pres. of Szechwan People's High Court (1955-).

CHOU LIN

Origin: b., Kweichow Province.

Background: mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan., 1953-54); V-C. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1952-54).

Current Career: Gov. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CH'EN KENG

Origin: b., 1904, Hsiang-t'an hsien, Hunan Province.

Background: son of a landlord; left home at age twelve and joined army of Gen. Lu Te-p'ing as private; joined Communist Youth Corps in 1922; entered Whampao Milit. Acad. in 1923; graduate, 1924; taught fourth class of same acad. (1925); studied milit. science in Moscow (1926); on return to China took part in Nanchang, Hai-feng, and Lu-feng uprisings (1927); engaged in underground activities in Shanghai (1927-28); later went to Soviet dist. in Anhwei-Hopei-Honan border region and served in Communist army under Gen. Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien; returned to Shanghai in 1932 and was arrested by KMT authorities; brought to Nanking and resisted pressure by Chiang Kai-shek to repudiate Communism; escaped from Nanking and entered Soviet district again; served as Chancellor of Red Army Acad. for one year (1934); led students of Red Army Acad. during "Long March"; Comdr. of 1st Division of 1st Group Army of Red Army (1935-37); after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937,

served as Brigade Comdr. of 115th Division of 18th Group Army; founder of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region milit. base; crossed Yellow River in 1946 and joined forces with Gen. Chao Shou-shan in Honan-Hopei-Shansi Border Region; Comdr. of 4th Army Corps of 2d Field Army of People's Liberation Army and "liberated" Honan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Yunnan (1949-50); Chm. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); Dir. of Yunnan Milit. Control Com. (1949-54).

Current Career: reserve mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); Comdr. of Yunnan Provincial Milit. Dist. (1949-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-).

CHOU SU-YUAN

Origin: b., Kweichow Province.

Background: mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1950-54); mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1952-54); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

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000 Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

CH'U T'U-NAN

Origin: b., 1899, Wen-shan hsien, Yunnan Province

Background: graduate of Peking Higher Normal School; attracted by socialist ideas; joined Society for Study of Labor Problems (1919); taught at Yunnan Middle School in Kunming (1923-28); forced to leave Kunming because of leftist tendencies (1928); taught school in Harbin, imprisoned by local authorities (1928); released in 1931 and taught various middle schools and universities in Peiping, Shantung, Honan, and Shanghai (1931-36); Chm. of Dept. of History of Yunnan Univ. (1937-46); active in movement for democratic govt. (World War II); prof. at Shanghai College of Commerce (1946-48); prof. at Peking Normal Univ. (1949); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of same conf. (1949-54); Chm. of Southwest China Provisional Com. of Democratic League of China (1949-?); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); Chm. of Commission on Cultural and Educational

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OVV Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); dir. of Dept. of Cultural Affairs and Education of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of executive council of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1949-54); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan., 1953-); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

Current Career: mem. of standing com. of Central Com. of Democratic League of China (1945-); mem. of executive council of Chinese Historical Assoc (1953-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of standing com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); Chm. of Chinese People's Assoc. for International Cultural Relations (1954-).

CHUNG T'I-CH'IEN

Origin: b., 1889, Szechwan Province.

Background: graduate of Szechwan Milit. Acad. and graduate of Tokyo Milit. Acad.; upon return from Japan, served under Gen. Liu Tsung-hou; in 1936 promoted to division comdr.; Mayor of Chengtu (1928); Chm. of Preparatory Com. of Szechwan Provincial Com. of KMT Revolutionary Com. (1949-?); Dep.-Dir. of West Szechwan People's Govt.

000(1950-52); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (Aug. 1952-54); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

HO LUNG

Origin: b 1895, Sang-chih hsien, Hunan Province.

Background: Comdr. of 1st Division of 9th Army of Northern Expenditionary Forces (1926); took part in Nanchang Uprising and shortly joined CPC (1927); Comdr. of 2d Group Army of Red Army (prior to "Long March"); took part in "Long March" (1935-36); Comdr. of 120th Division of 18th Group Army (1937-45); engaged in guerrilla warfare in Shansi, Suiyuan, and Honan (sometime during World War II); Garrison Comdr. of Yenan (during later period of World War II); Comdr. of Shansi-Suiyuan People's Liberation Army (1946-49); del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); mem. of People's Revolutionary Milit. Council (1949-54); del. to Second Natl. Congress

of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

Current Career: Comdr. of Southwest China Milit. Dist. (1949-); mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); Dep.-Premier of State Council (1954-); Chm. of Commission of Physical Education of State Council (1954-). For more information see handbook on China as a whole.

HO PING-YEN

Origin: b., Hopei Province.

Background: Dep.-Comdr. of Chinghai Provincial Milit. Dist. (1949-52); mem. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (Aug. 1952-54); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: Comdr. of 18th Army Corps and Szechwan Provincial Milit. Dist. (1952-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

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000HSIEH FU-CHIH

Origin: b., Hupeh Province.

Background: Pol. Commissar of East Szechwan Milit. Dist. (1949-52); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: Sec. of Yunnan Provincial Com. of CPC (1952-); Pol. Commissar of Yunnan Provincial Milit. Dist. (1952-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

HSIUNG K'O-WU

Origin: b., 1881, Ching-ching hsien, Szechwan Province.

Background: graduate of Tokyo Milit. Acad.; mem. of Revolutionary League of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1905-13); took part in Canton Uprising (March 29, 1911); Milit. Gov. of Szechwan (1912-13); revolted against Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1913; imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek in 1925 because of personal discord; mem. of Natl. Govt. Council (1927); took part in Hu Han-min's anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement

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000 in 1931; mem. of 4th Central Exec. Com. of KMT (1931-35); mem. of 5th Central Control Com. of KMT (1935-45); mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1951-54); V-C. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Standing Com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-).

HSÜ CHIEN-SHENG

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

JEN PAI-KO

Background: mem. of First Exec. Council of Sino-Soviet Assoc. (1949-54); mem. of Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. and Dep.-Dir. of Dept. of Cultural and Educational Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52).

Current Career: del. to Second Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc.

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000(1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

K'ANG NAI-ERH

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

KOU HSING-TS'AI

Background: mem. of Commission on Pol. and Legal Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52).

Current Career: Pres. of Yunnan People's High Court (1955-).

KUNG TZU-CHIH

Origin: b., 1895, Yunnan Province.

Background: graduate of Peking Univ.; sometime prof. of Yunnan Higher Normal School; mem. of Yunnan Provincial Govt. and dir. of Dept. of Education of same govt. (1929-?); mem. of Yunnan Provincial Com. on Financial Adjustment (1930); Sec.-Gen. of Yunnan Provincial Govt. (World War II); mem. of

000 Preparatory Com. of Yunnan Provincial Com. of KMT Revolutionary Com. (1950-?); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan 1953-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

KUO CH'AO

Background: mem. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54).

Current Career: Sec. of Kweichow Provincial Com. of NDYC (1949-).

KUO-CHI-MU-KU

Origin: decendant of an I family in Sikang Province.

Background: V-C. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1952-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

000 KUO YING-CH'IU

Origin: b., Shantung Province.

Background: dir. of Dept. of Pol. Affairs of army corps of People's Liberation Army (1949); Dep.-Dir. of South Szechwan People's Govt. (1949-52); V-C. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1952-54).

Current Career: Gov. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

LI CHING-CH'ÜAN

Origin: b., Kiangsi Province.

Background: Dir. of West Szechwan People's Govt. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52; Chm. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (Aug. 1952-54); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: Dep.-Pol. Commissar of Southwest China Milit. Dist. (1950-). Pol. Commissar of Szechwan Provincial Milit. Dist. (1952-); mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); mem. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-); Chm. of Szechwan Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

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000 LI HSIAO-T'ING

Origin: b., Szechwan Province.

Background: mem. of Revolutionary League of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1905-13); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. and Chm. of People's Control Com. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Standing Com. of Szechwan-Sikang Provisional Com. of KMT Revolutionary Com. (1950-?); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of Szechwan Provin cial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

LI SHUN-KENG

Background: mem. of People's Control Com. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1952-54).

Current Career: Secretary of Szechwan Provincial Com. of NDYC (1952-).

LI TA-CHANG

Origin: b., Szechwan Province.

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000 Background: dir. of Dept. of Propaganda of T'ai-hang Sub-bureau of North China Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (during Sino-Japanese War); Dep. Dir. of Dept. of Propaganda of the Northeast Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-49); Dir. of South Szechwan People's Govt. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (Aug. 1952-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-); Gov. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

LIANG WEN-YING

Background: mem. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54).

Current Career: Sec. of Sikang Provincial Com. of NDYC (1949-).

LIAO CHIH-KAO

Origin: b., Sikang Province.

Background: Chm. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); mem. of Southwest

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China M.P.C. (1950-52).

Current Career: Sec. of Sikang Provincial Com. of CPC (1949-); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-); Comdr. and Pol. Commissar of Sikang Provincial Milit. Dist.; del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

LIU CH'ANG-CHIEN

Current Career: Pres. of Sikang People's High Court (1955-).

LIU CH'U-YÜAN

Background: mem. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1950-54).

Current Career: Secretary of Yunnan Provincial Com. of NDYC (1950-); mem. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

LIU MIN-HUI

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

000 LIU PO-CH'ENG

Origin: b., 1900, Szechwan Province.

Background: joined CPC in 1926; later served as KMT representative at headquarters of Gen. Yang Sheng; special commissioner of CPC in Hupei Province (1926); engaged in underground activities on behalf of Northern Expeditionary Forces in western Hupei (1926); took part in Nanchang Uprising (1927); studied at Red Army Milit. Acad. in Moscow (1928-30); served as staff mem. of Central Revolutionary Milit. Council of CPC (1930); entered Soviet district in Kiangsi and took charge of training of newly recruited soldiers for Red ARmy (1931); Chief-of-Staff of Red Army (1932-?); took part in "Long March"; Comdr. of 129th Division of 18th Group Army (1937-46); Comdr. of T'ai-hang Shan Milit. Dist. and Comdr. of Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region Milit. Dist. (World War II); Comdr. of Central China People's Liberation Army (1946-49); Chm. of Nanking Milit. Control Com. (1949); "liberated" Southwest in 1949-50; del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central Pwople's Govt. Council (1949-54); mem. of People's Revolutionary Milit. Council (1949-54); Chm. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1949-52); Dep.-Sec. of Southwest Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (1949-54); del. to 2d Natl.

OOO Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

Current Career: Comdr. of 2d Field Army (1949-); mem. of Central Com. of CPC (1945-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Standing Com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); Dir. of Directorate of Milit. Training of Natl. Defense Council (1954-). For more information see handbook on China as a whole.

LIU TAI-FENG

Origin: b., Shansi Province.

Background: mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. and V-C. of Commission on Finance and Economic Affairs of Southwest M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-).

Current Career: Dep. Gov. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

LIU WEN-HUI

Origin: b., 1892, Ta-i hsien, Szechwan Province.

000 Background: graduate of Pao-ting Milit. Acad.; served in Szechwan army after graduation, and by 1926 became Co mdr. of 24th Army; Comdr. of Szechwan-Sikang Frontier Garrison Forces (1927); Chm. of Szechwan Provincial Govt. (1929); Chm. of Sikang Provincial Govt. (1934-48); mem. of 6th Central Exec. Com. of KMT and Chm. of Sikang Provincial Com. of KMT (1945-48); Dep.-Dir. of Szechwan-Sikang Pacification Headquarters (1945-49); mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1951-54); V-C. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Budget (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); mem. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); V-C. of Szechwan Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

LU HAN

Origin: b., 1891, Chao-t'ung hsien, Yunnan Province.

Background: graduate of Yunnan Milit. Acad.; sworn brother of Gen. Lung Yün; served under Gen. Lung until end of World War

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OVV II; during World War II served first as Comdr. of 60th Army, then Comdr. of 30th Group Army, and finally Comdr. of 1st Front; after V-J Day, accepted surrender of Japanese forces in northern Indo-China; later appointed Chm of Yunnan Provincial Govt. (1946-49); defected to Communist regime in 1949; del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. and mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of same conf. (1949-54); Chm. of Yunnan M.P.C. (1949-54).

Current Career: V-C. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Bills of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); mem. of Standing Com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-).

LUNG YÜN

Origin: b., 1887, in Chao-t'ung hsien, Yunnan Province.

Background: graduate of Yunnan Milit. Acad.; Comdr. of 5th Army of Gen. T'ang Chi-yao (1924-26); collaborated with Gen. Hu Jao-yü in overthrowing Gen. T'ang Chi-yao's dictatorship in Yunnan (1927); mem. of Yunnan Provincial Govt. (1927); joined ranks of Northern Expeditionary Forces in 1928 and

appointed Chm. of Yunnan Provincial Govt. (1928-45); mem. of Milit. Council of Natl. Govt. in Nanking (1928-?); reserve mem. of 4th Centr. Exec. Com. of KMT (1931-35); mem. of 5th Centr. Control Com. of KMT (1935-45); Dir. of Yunnan-Kweichow Pacification Headquarters (1937-45); Pres. of Milit. Advisory Council of Natl. Govt. (1945-48); defected to Communists 1949; del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's Govt. Council (1949-54); mem. of People's Revolutionary Milit. Council (1949-54); V-C. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Standing Com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); V-C. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); mem. of Standing Com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-). For more information, see handbook on China as a whole.

OU PAI-CH'UAN

Origin: decendant of a Miao family in Kweichow Province.

Background: mem. of Commission on Nationalities of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

000 Current Career: mem. of Kweichow Provincial Com. of KMT Revolutionary Com. (1950-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

PAI JEN

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

SANA-RYGAS-SHES

Origin: b., 1917, Tan-pa hsien, Sikang Province; a Tibetan.

Background: when Red Army reached Tan-pa hsien in 1934, co-operated with other Tibetans in Tan-pa hsien in organizing Tan-pa United Govt. and later served as Dir. of Dept. of Youth Affairs of same govt.; when Red Army was marching from Sikang to Shensi, served as Pol. Commissar of Tan-pa Detachment of that army; studied at School of Nationalities in Yenan (World War II); after V-J Day, went to I-k'o-chao League (in Southern Suiyuan Province) to organize Mongolian guerrilla forces and fought against forces of Gen. Hu Tsung-nan and Gen. Ma Hung-k'uei;

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000 del. to Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Commission on Nationalities of Central Govt. A.C. (1949-54); Chm. of Tibetan Nationality Autonomous District of S ikang (1949-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. and V-C. of Commission on Nationalities of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

SHARGUR DOBDENG (or Hsia-k'o Tiao-teng)

Origin: a Tibetan, b., Sikang Province.

Background: V-C. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Commission on Nationalities of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Sikang Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

000 SHEN YÜN-P'U

Background: mem. of Commission on Cultural and Educational Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1949-52); V-C. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1954).

Current Career: Dep.-Sec. of Kweichow Provincial Com. of CPC (1954-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Com. on Nationalities of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); Chm. of Kweichow Provincial Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1955-).

SUNG JEN-CH'ING

Origin: b., Hunan Province.

Background: right-hand man of Gen. Liu Po-ch'eng; Dir. of Dept. of Pol. Affairs of 129th Division of 18th Group Army (1937-?); Dir. of South Hopei People's Govt. (1938-?); studied at Central Party School (1943); Comdr. of Central Hopei Milit. Dist. (1946-48); Dep.-Dir. of Nanking Milit. Control Com. (1949); V-C. of Yunnan M.P.C. (1950-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950- July, 1952); V-C. of same com. (July, 1952-Jan., 1953); mem. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); del. to 2d Natl. Congress of Sino-Soviet Friendship Assoc. (1954).

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000 Current Career: reserve mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); Dep.-Pol. Commissar of Southwest China Milit. Dist. (1949-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-).

TENG HSI-HOU

Origin: b. 1889 in Ying-shan, Szechwan Province.

Background: graduate of Pao-ting Milit. Acad.; served in Szechwan Provincial Army as company comdr., regiment comdr., brigade comdr., and division comdr.; in 1924 given rank of three-star general by Peking Govt. and appointed Gov. of Szechwan Province; in 1926 appointed by Chiang Kai-shek Comdr. of 28th Army, mem. of Milit Council of Natl. Govt., and Commander-in-Chief of 14th Route Army; Comdr. of 45th Army (1934-?); Comdr. of First Bandit Suppression District of Szechwan (1934); Comdr. of 6th Route Army (1936); after outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, asked Natl. Govt. in Nanking to permit his forces to fight Japanese; shortly appointed Comdr. of 4th Army Corps; subsequently, promoted to Comdr. of 22nd Group Army; meanwile, Teng's forces fought battles against Japanese in Shansi, Shantung, and Northern Kiangsu; in 1938 appointed Dir. of

Szechwan-Sikang Pacification Headquarters (1938-48); Acting Chm. of Szechwan Provincial Gpvt. (1946-47); went over to Communists in 1949; mem. of Southwest China M.P.C.; mem. of Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs of same committee, and Dir. of Dept. of Water Conservation of same committee (1950-52); V-C. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: del. to 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); Dep.-Gov. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

TENG HSIAO-P'ING

Origin: b., Chia-ting hsien, Szechwan Province.

Background: joined CPC while studying in France; took part in Communist movement (1925-27); took part in "Long March" (1935-36); Pol. Commissar of 129th Division of 18th Group Army (1937-46); Dir. of Dept. of Pol. Affairs of Central Revolutionary Milit. Com. of CPC (1942-46); Pol. Commissar of Central China People's Liberation Army (1946-49); mem. of 1st Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1949-54); mem. of Central People's

000 Govt. Council (1949-54); mem. of People's Revolutionary Milit. Com. (1949-54); V-C. of Southwest M.P.C. and Chm. of Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54); Minister of Finance (Aug. 1953-54).

Current Career: mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); Sec. of Southwest Bureau of Centr. Com. of CPC (1949-); Pol. Commissar of 2d Field Army (1949-); Pol. Commissar of Southwest China Milit. Dist. (1949-); del. to 1st NPC (Sept., 1954-); V-C. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); Dep.-Premier of State Council (1954-); Sec. Gen. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1953-); mem. of Standing Com. of 2d Natl. Com. of Chinese People's P.C.C. (1954-); mem. of Centr. Election Com. (1953-); mem. of Pol. Bureau of CPC (1955-).

WANG WEI-CHOU

Origin: b. in K'ai-hsien, Szechwan Province; decedant of landlord.

Background: collaboraged with Wu Yü-chang in staging Kuang-han Uprising (1927); worked with Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (1927-36); Comdr. of Communist garrison

000 forces in East Kansu (World War II); Communist representative in Chungking (1946-47); Comdr. of Sian Milit. Dist. (1949); V-C. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); Chm. of Commission on Pol. and Legal Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); Chm. of Commission on Nationalities of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); V-C. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-54).

Current Career: reserve mem. of Centr. Com. of CPC (1945-); Dep.-Comdr. of Southwest China Milit. Dist. (1949-); del. to 1st NPC and mem. of Standing Com. of 1st NPC (Sept. 1954-).

WANG YÜ-HUI

Current Career: Sec. of Southwest China Com. of NDYC (1949-); mem. of Standing Com. of Centr. Com. of NDYC (1934-).

WU SHIH

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

000 WU TSO-MIN

Background: mem. of Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52).

Current Career: Dep.-Gov. of Yunnan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

YANG YUNG

Background: a regiment comdr. of 8th Route Army (1937); Comdr. of 3rd Brigade of 115 th Division of 18th Group Army (1937-40); Dep.-Comdr. of Hopei-Shantung-Honan Milit. Dist. (1941-?); Chm. of Kweichow Provincial People's Govt. (1949-54); Comdr. of 5th Army Corps of People's Liberation Army (1949-54); mem. of Southwest China M.P.C. (1950-52); mem. of Southwest China A.C. (Jan. 1953-43); Comdr. of Air Forces of Southwest Milit. Dist. (1952-54); Dep.-Comdr. of Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea (1954-).

Current Career: Comdr. of Kweichow Provincial Milit. Dist. (1949-); mem. of Natl. Defense Council (1954-); Comdr. of Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea (1955-).

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000 YEH KU-LIN

Current Career: Pres. of Kweichow People's High Court (1955-).

YÜ CHI-T'ANG

Background: Dep.-Dir. of East Szechwan People's Govt. (1950-52); V-C. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (Aug. 1952-54).

Current Career: Dep-Gov. of Szechwan Provincial People's Govt. (1955-).

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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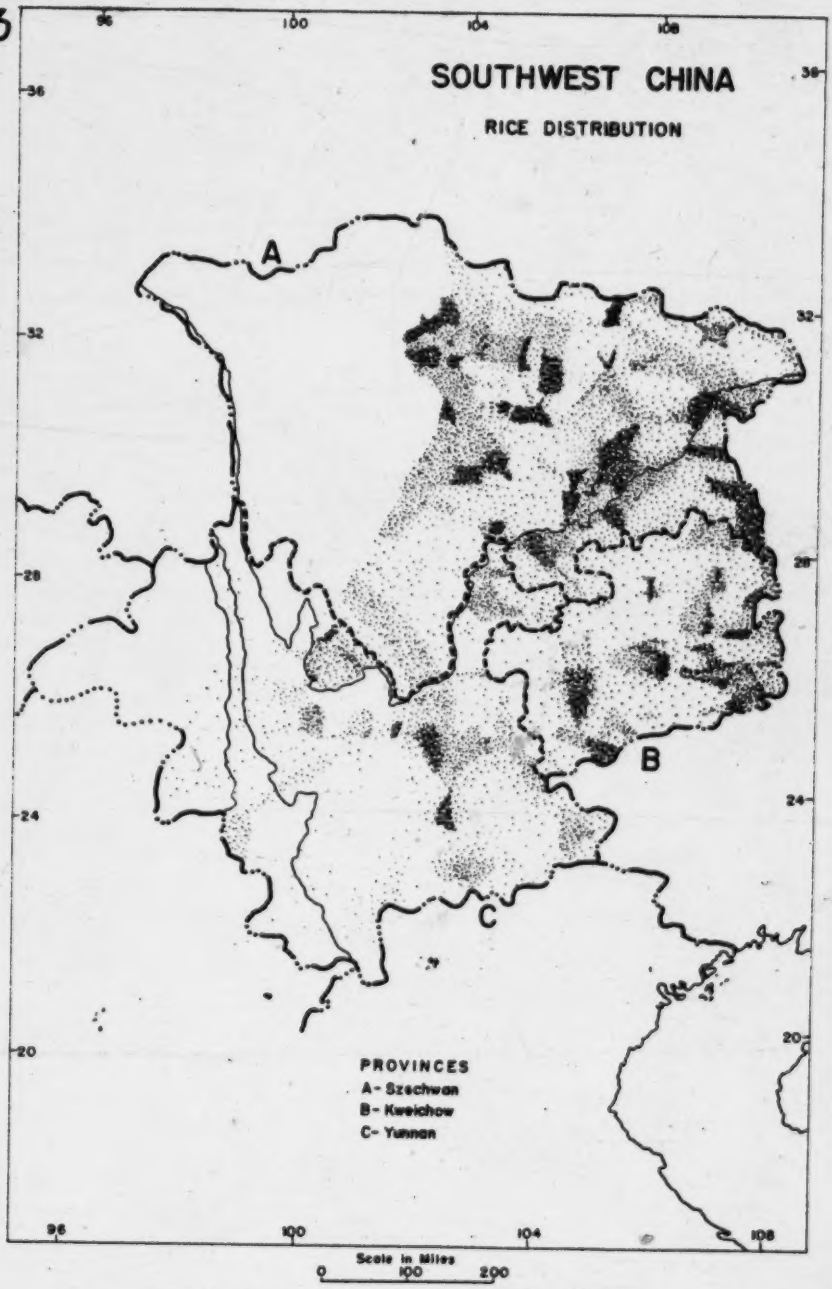

[facing p. 745(a)]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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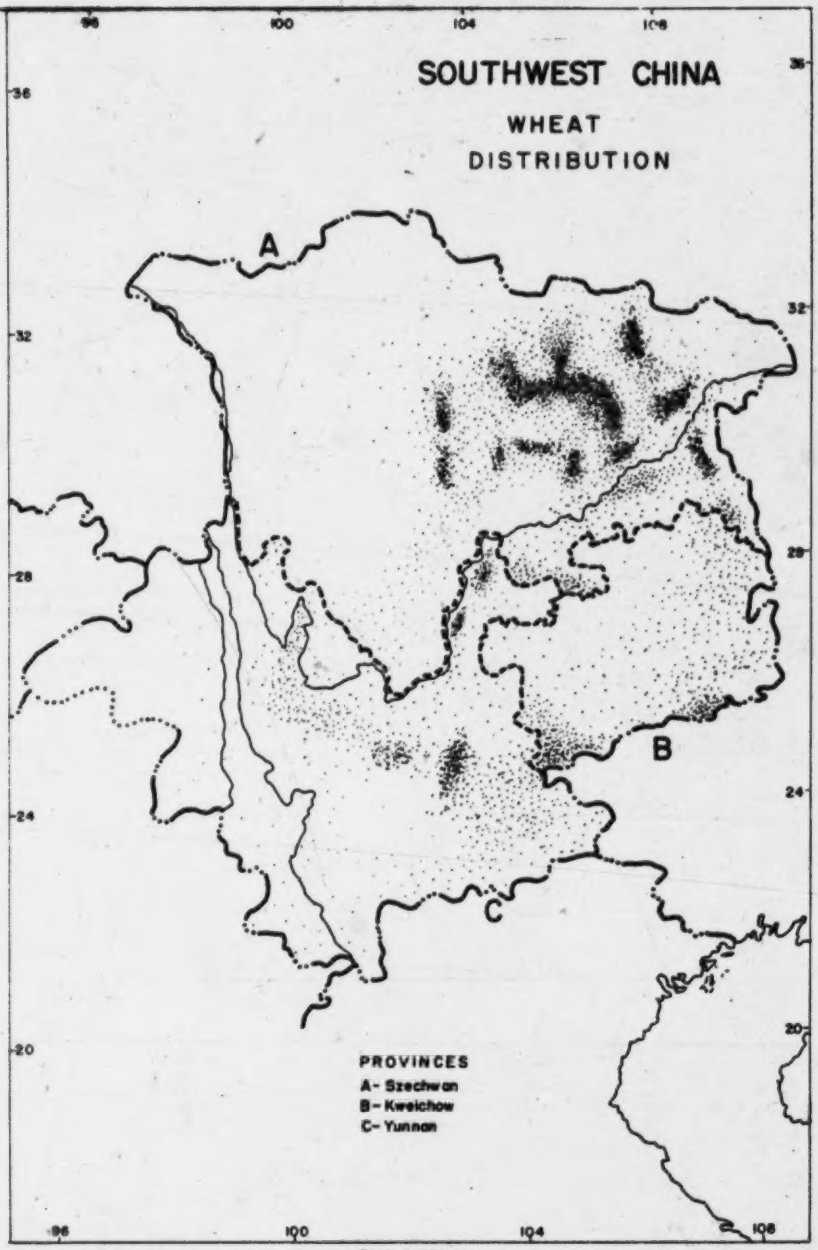

[facing p. 745 (b)]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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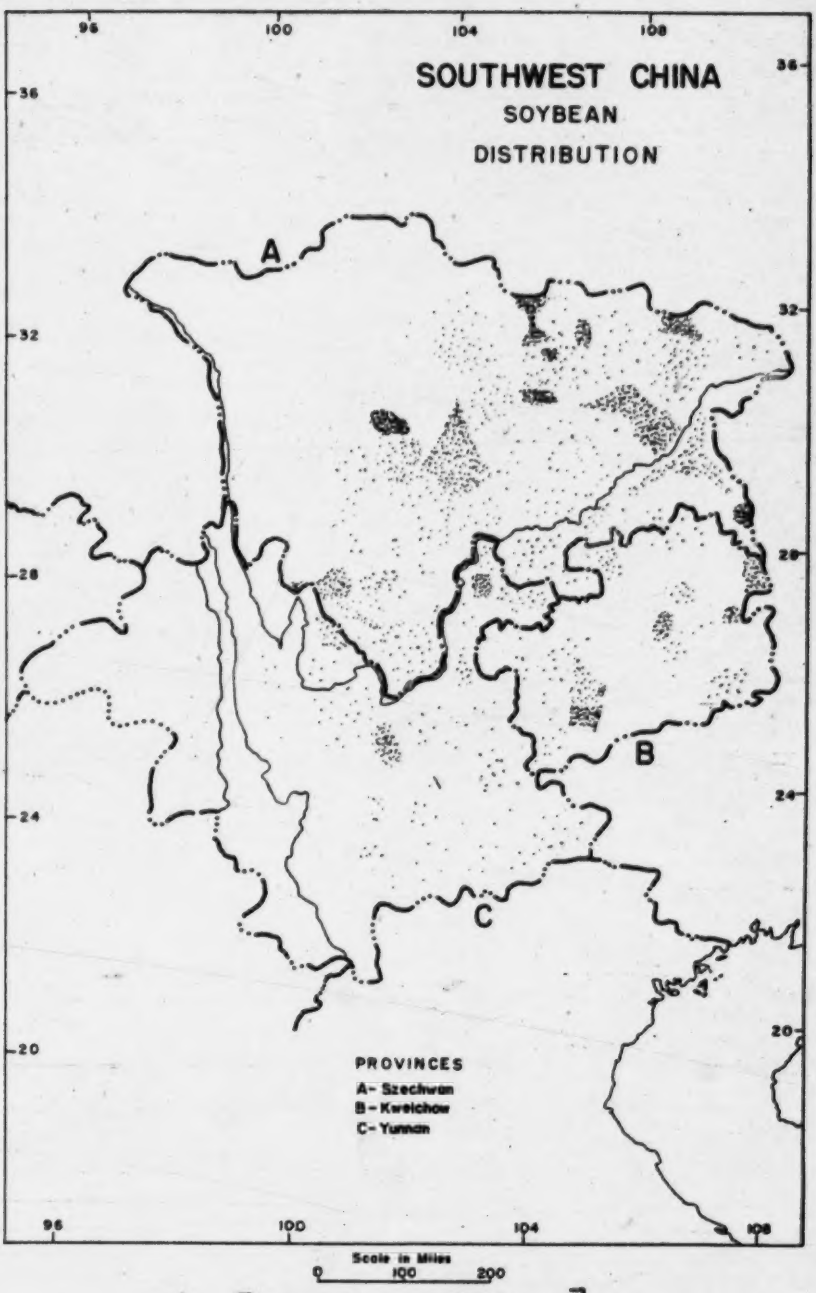

[facing p. 745 (c)]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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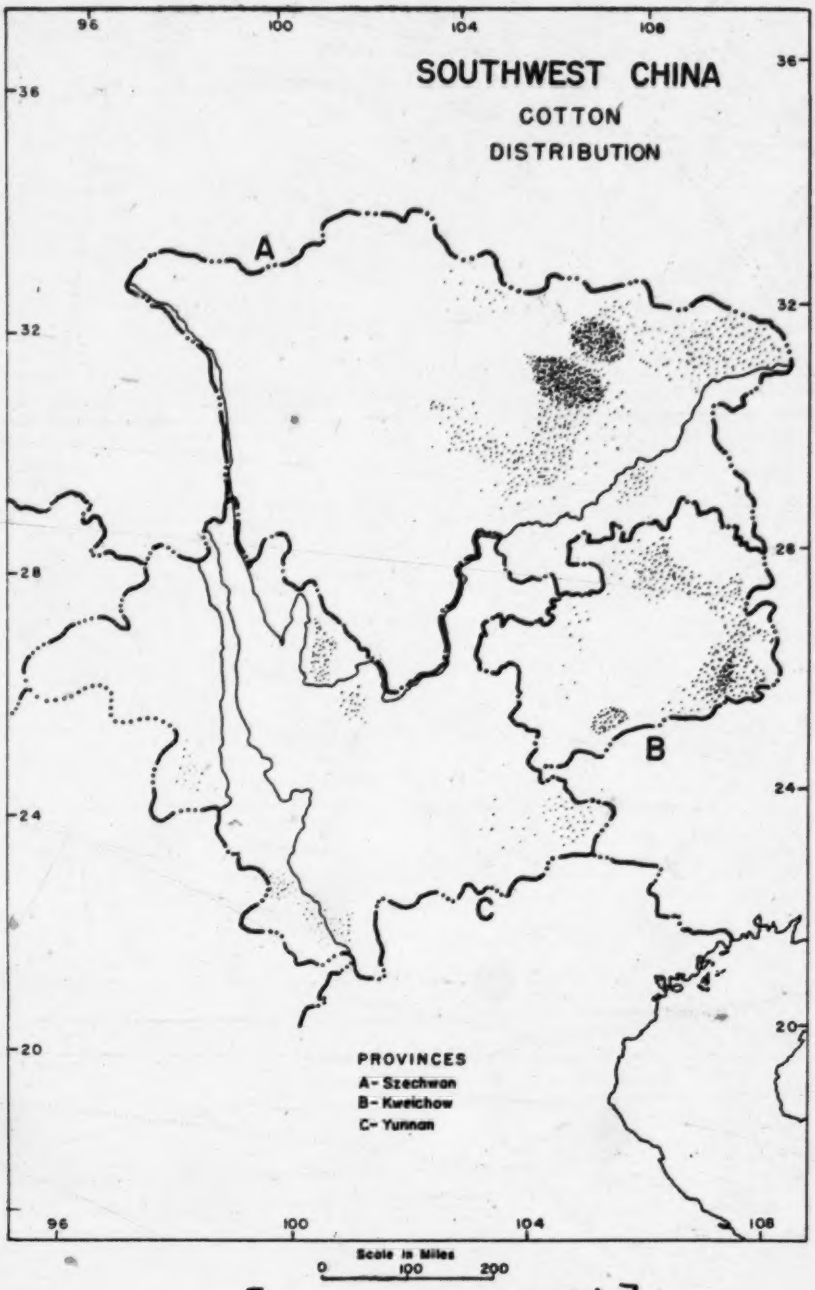

[facing p. 745 (d)]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

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The Southwest China region is formed of four provinces - Szechwan, called "the heavenly kingdom"; Sikang, an area of awesome mountains and dense forests; Yunnan, home of many different brother nationalities; and Kweichow, the settlement of the Miaos. The topography varies considerably, the climate is as variable, and crops are raised in abundance. The Red Basin in Szechwan, watered by the Yangtze and its tributaries, is especially fertile, and the Chengtu plain is one of the most famous rice producing areas in China. In addition to being the richest province for grain production in Southwest China, Szechwan also produces large quantities of cotton, tung oil, sugar cane, silk, rapeseed, and fruit.

II. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

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The total population of Southwest China is a little over 98 million,[1] according to a

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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162 census completed by the Communists in June 1953. If we assume the ratio of rural and urban populations to be 87 to 13, the rural population in the Southwest Region in 1953 was approximately 85 million.[2] A comparison 311 of the rural population and the total amount of cultivated land in this region in the years 1946 and 1953 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Cultivated Land and Rural Population of Southwest China*

Unit = 1,000. S = shih-mou. A = acres.

Province	Year	Cultivated Land	Rural Population	Farm Households	Shih-mou (acres) per Household	Shih-mou (acres) per Capita
Szechwan	1946	151,437 S (25,239 A)	38,957	6,352	23.8 S (3.9 A)	3.9 S (0.6 A)
	1953	151,674 S (25,279 A)	54,204	8,930	16.9 S (2.8 A)	2.8 S (0.5 A)
Sikang	1946	4,011 S (668 A)	1,668	278	14.5 S (2.4 A)	2.4 S (0.4 A)
	1953	4,111 S (685 A)	2,942	485	8.5 S (1.4 A)	1.4 S (0.2 A)
Yunnan	1946	26,215 S (4,369 A)	7,169	1,384	18.9 S (3.2 A)	3.7 S (0.6 A)
	1953	26,375 S (4,396 A)	15,201	3,005	8.7 S (1.5 A)	1.7 S (0.3 A)
Kweichow	1946	23,173 S (3,862 A)	6,182	1,193	19.4 S (3.2 A)	3.7 S (0.6 A)
	1953	23,273 S (3,879 A)	13,082	2,586	9.0 S (1.5 A)	1.8 S (0.3 A)
		Total	Total	Total	Average	Average
	1946	204,836 S (34,138 A)	53,976	9,207	19.1 S (3.2 A)	3.4 S (0.6 A)
	1953	205,433 S (34,239 A)	85,429	15,006	10.8 S (1.8 A)	1.9 S (0.3 A)

* For 1946 data, Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking, 1948, pp. 70-71. For 1953 data, Communist census of 1953 and Chung-hua Jen-min kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, 1953, pp. 42-46.

2. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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311 In 1955, the lowest average land holding per farm household was 8.5 shih-mou (1.4 acres) in Sikang Province; the highest average land holding per farm household was 16.9 shih-mou (2.8 acres) in Szechwan Province. The average for Szechwan is 12 per cent higher than the national average.[3]

III. LAND REFORM

423
565 The Land Reform Movement, as it affected the Southwest China region, had been partially completed in September 1951. Approximately 37 million inhabitants, in an area which included 172 hsien and 8 municipalities, had been subjected to "land reform."[4] The Communist regime had organized "poor peasants" and "farmhands" to unite with "middle peasants" in order to nullify the power of "rich peasants" and to abolish the "landlord system." The Land Reform Movement continued on to 1953. In the spring of that year, of the approximately 85 million persons who made up the rural population of the Southwest Region less than 2.2 million inhabitants had not yet experienced "land reform."[5] In spite of the vast scale on which

3. Mao Tse-tung's report, "The Collectivization Movement," Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1951.

5. Ibid., Dec, 13, 1952.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

423 the program had been conducted, the Com-
565 munist cadres were ordered to complete a "re-examination" of the success of the Land Reform Movement.

According to statistics on the redistribution of land in northern Szechwan Province, "poor peasants" and "farm hands" were given approximately 85 per cent of the average land holding for all classes of peasants and "middle peasants" received 29 per cent more than average.[6] Although all lands rented to tenants by "rich peasants" were confiscated, "rich peasants" were allowed to retain the amount of land they were able to cultivate with or without the help of "farm hands." At the end of the Land Reform Movement, the "rich peasants" still maintained an average land holding approximately 58 per cent higher than the general average for all classes of peasants.[7]

By the end of 1952, approximately 102,241,000 shih-mou (17,068,333 acres) of land, 204,830,000 heads of cattle, 10,241,500 tons of grain, 10,241,000 farm implements, and 663,100 farm buildings were estimated to have been confiscated in the Southwest China region.[8]

6. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951.
7. Ibid.
8. see next p.

000 Southwest China region.[8]

IV. "COLLECTIVIZATION"

474 "Co-operativization" was the first step of the movement toward "collectivization" in China. In December 15, 1951, the Communist Party of China determined to organize agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural areas. The formal promulgation of the order was not issued until December 16, 1953, by which time approximately 14,000 producers' co-operatives had been organized by Communist cadres.[9] Mutual-aid teams flourished. In the spring of 1954, there were 100,000 producers' co-operatives; in the summer of 1955, there were an estimated 650,000 producers' co-operatives throughout Mainland China.[10]

The campaign for the introduction of producers' co-operatives was intensified following Mao Tse-tung's report to a conference of secretaries of provincial, city, and area

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8. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 9, 1953, p. 12.
9. China Daily News, New York, Oct. 27, 1955.
10. New China News Agency Bulletin, London, Oct. 19, 1955, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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474 Party committees on July 31, 1955, calling for the acceleration of the "co-operativization" movement in all regions. At the 6th Plenary Session[11] of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was resolved that 1,300,000 producers' co-operatives would be organized before the "spring plowing" in 1956. As the result of the vigorous efforts of the cadres, some 1,240,000 co-operatives had been organized by November 1955. Of this number, a phenomenal number (590,000 co-operatives) were organized between August and November of that year.[12] The exact number of co-operatives in the Southwest China region has not been reported. However, if we estimate the possible number on the basis of the ratio between the region's rural population and the rural population in the country as a whole, at least 165,000 producers' co-operatives must have been organized in Southwest China before the end of 1955.

475 No current statistics are avilable on the total number of state-owned and state-operated farms in Southwest China. However,

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11. Ibid.
12. China Daily News, Nov. 24, 1955.

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475 according to an incomplete report made in 1952, there were approximately 200 state farms of varying sizes in Southwest China.[13]

V. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

A. Production of Grain

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433 Szechwan Province produces more grain than other provinces in the Southwest China region. The entire region produces approximately 17 per cent of the grain produced in China as a whole; Szechwan Province alone produces 10 per cent of the country's grain; the other three provinces together produce only 7 per cent of the total for the entire country.

The western Szechwan plains, irrigated by the 2,000-year-old Tu-chiang Yen Reservoir, is considered one of the richest granaries in China.[14] The province of

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13. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Ch'i Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, p. 63.

14. China Daily News, Aug. 31, 1955.

243 Szechwan was expected to produce approximately
433 375,000,000 shih-piculs (20,625,000 tons) of grain in 1955, an increase of 23.5 per cent over the amount produced in 1949.

Prior to 1952, Kweichow Province was not self-sufficient in its production of grain. It had the reputation of being a province in which the people were forced to live from hand to mouth. In 1953, for the first time in the history of the province, the harvest of grain was enough to meet the demand of the local population.[15] The output of grain in Kweichow in 1954 and 1955 was higher than in 1953. During July-August 1955, approximately 807,400 shih-piculs (44,407 tons) of grain were "exported" from the province.[16] In the "crop year" (July to June) 1954-55, approximately 4.7 million shih-piculs (258,500 tons) of grain were exported from Kweichow Province.[17]

Grain production in Yunnan Province increased after the adaptation of improved techniques and the introduction of more modern farm implements. In spite of a period of drought in 1953 and floods in 1954,

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15. New China News Agency, Kweiyang, Aug. 26, 1955.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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243 the plan for grain production was overfulfulled,
433 according to Communist reports.[18]

Table 2 shows the progress of grain production in the Southwest China region.

Table 2. Grain Production in Southwest China

Unit: million. S = shih-piculs. T = tons.

Grains	1949 *	1951 *	1952 #	1953 x	1954 x	1955 y
Rice	135,000 S (7,425 T)	167,040 S (9,187 T)	291,200 S (16,016 T)	293,832 S (16,162 T)	301,840 S (16,601 T)	320,544 S (17,630 T)
Wheat	56,250 S (3,094 T)	69,600 S (3,828 T)	45,240 S (2,488 T)	45,649 S (2,510 T)	46,893 S (2,579 T)	49,799 S (2,739 T)
Soyabeans	11,250 S (618 T)	13,920 S (766 T)	11,960 S (658 T)	12,068 S (663 T)	12,937 S (681 T)	13,165 S (724 T)
Tubers	60,000 S (3,300 T)	74,240 S (4,083 T)	20,800 S (1,144 T)	20,988 S (1,154 T)	21,560 S (1 ,187 T)	22,896 S (1,259 T)
Others z	112,500 S (6,188 T)	139,200 S (7,656 T)	150,800 S (8,294 T)	152,163 S (8,369 T)	156,310 S (8, 597 T)	165,996 S (9,130 T)
Total	375,000 S (20,625 T)	464,000 S (25,520 T)	520,000 S (28,600 T)	524,700 S (28,858 T)	539,000 S (29,645 T)	572,400 S (31,482 T)

* Economic Year Book 1952, Hong Kong, Economic Bulletin, 1952, pp. 37-38. The production data of various crops were estimated according to percentage distribution in 1946.

\# Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, p. 12.

x China Daily News, New York, August 4, 1955, Ch'en Yün's report to the National People's Congress on July 21, 1955, and Nov. 24, 1955. The data of various crops were calculated according to the percentage distribution in 1952.

y Based on Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 28, 1955. The data of various crops were calculated according to the percentage distribution in 1952.

z Including millet, corn, kaoliang, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

18. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, June 13-14, 1955.

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433 In analyzing the above table, it will be noticed that grain production in Southwest China has shown a consistent increase since 1949. If 1949's output is taken as 100, the index of grain production increased to 124 in 1951, 139 in 1952, 143 in 1953, 145 in 1954, and 153 in 1955.

In terms of acreage planted in various food crops in 1946, rice led in the Southwest Region by 7.4 million shih-mou (1.2 million acres), constituting about 34 per cent of the total grain acreage. Table 3 shows the total acreage of various grain crops in three of the four provinces in the Southwest Region:

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Table 3. The Acreage of Grains in Southwest China 1946*

(Unit - 1,000. S - shih-mou. A = acres.)

Crops	Szechwan	Yunnan	Kweichow
Rice	30,259 S (5,043 A)	10,317 S (1,719 A)	7,436 S (1,239 A)
Wheat	24,887 S (4,148 A)	5,864 S (977 A)	4,672 S (779 A)
Barley	12,476 S (2,079 A)	2,508 S (418 A)	3,372 S (562 A)
Other Grains#	37,546 S (6,258 A)	11,623 S (1,937 A)	5,909 S (985 A)
Tubers	9,276 S (1,546 A)	369 S (62 A)	406 S (68 A)
Total	114,444 S (19,074 A)	30,681 S (5,113 A)	21,795 S (3,633 A)

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* Director of Budgets, The Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking, 1948, pp. 73-74. Figures on the acreage of grains in Sikang Province are not available.

\# including millet, corn, kaoliang, oats, peas, and broad beans.

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Table 4. Grain Supply in Southwest China, 1954

(Unit = Million tons)

Grains	Gross Production#	Supply After Provision for Seeds, Fodder and Waste		Supply After Milling		Total Net Supply After Converting into Rice-Equivalent	
		Conversion Standard*	Quantity	Conversion Standard*	Quantity	Conversion Standard y	Quantity
Rice	16,601	92.01	15,275	92x	14,063	1.00	14,063
Wheat	2,579	86.47	2,230	80	1,784	1.02	1,820
Soyabeans	681	81.94	558	100	558	0.99	552
Tubers	1,187	64.00	760	100	760	0.28	213
Others z	8,597	76.80	6,602	89	5,876	1.00	5,876
Total	29,645		25,425		23,031		22,514

* FAO Balance Sheet for 1933-37, compiled from FAO World Food Survey, Food Balance Sheet for China, 1931-37.

\# See Table 2.

x The Chinese Communist milling standard for rice is 92, and this figure is used for the present calculation.

y Derived from the quantity of calories of different grains and tubers using the conversion standard of FAO, 3,430 calories = one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of rice as our basis of calculation.

z Including corn, millet, kaoliang, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[facing p. 757]

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B. *The Adequacy of Grain Supply*

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433 One of the most important problems involved in the production of grain in Southwest China is the need to determine the adequacy of supply as it meets or fails to meet the local demand for grain. In order to estimate supply and demand, the following procedure was adopted: (1) data on the gross production of various grains in 1954 were used as the basis for calculation; (2) allowance and deductions were made to provide for the amounts necessary to provide seeds for re-sowing, the amounts necessary as fodder, and the amounts considered waste; (3) allowance was made for the varying losses of the several types of grain during the milling process; (4) all unhusked grains were reduced to milled products suitable for human consumption; it was then necessary to convert all grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents," according to the accepted standard; and (5) in determining the total demand for grain, the actual population, regradless of age or sex, was figured in terms of the equivalent number of "adult males."

The process for conversion of grain into "rice-equivalents" is shown in Table 4. The process for conversion of the population of the provinces of the Southwest Region into equivalent "adult males" is shown in Table 5.

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Table 5. Population in Terms of Equivalent "Adult Males"*

Province	Population	Population in Equivalent "Adult Males"
Szechwan	62,303,999	51,089,279
Sikang	3,381,064	2,772,473
Yunnan	17,472,737	14,327,644
Kweichow	15,037,310	12,330,594
Total	98,195,110	80,519,990

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient of 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work, China's Food and Population, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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433 Using the statistics in Tables 4 and 5 as a basis for calculation, the total supply of grain -- in terms of rice-equivalents -- available for human consumption in 1954 in Southwest China was 22.5 million tons (20.46 million metric tons). If we use as the basis for estimate the Wu formula[19] of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grain for every 1,000 "adult males" per year, the total amount required to feed 80.52 million "adult males" in Southwest China was 17.47 million metric tons, leaving a surplus of almost 3 million metric tons (3.3 million tons) of "rice-equivalent" grain for export to other regions.

C. Cotton Production

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433 During a six-year period ending in 1955, cotton production in the Southwest China region showed a considerable growth, although some ups and downs were noted during the period. Data on cotton production in the region are given in Table 6.

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19. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 6. Cotton Production in Southwest China*

(Unit = 1,000. S = shih-piculs. B = Bales)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	192 S (44 B)#	557 S (127 B)	508 S (116 B)	518 S (118 B)	622 S (142 B)
Yunnan, Kweichow	48 S (11 B)	139 S (32 B)	127 S (29 B)	130 S (30 B)	155 S (36 B)
Total	240 S (55 B)	696 S (159 B)	635 S (145 B)	648 S (148 B)	777 S 178 B)

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1954, No. 387, p. 4; Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming jih-pao she, July 16, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955; People's Handbook 1955,

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 511. The production data for Sikang Province is not available.

Bale = 480 pounds.

248 It will be noted that the production of
433 cotton in Southwest China has increased since 1949. Using 1949 as the base year (100), production was 289 in 1952, 263 in 1953, 269 in 1954, and 323 in 1955. The fall in cotton production in 1953 was probably caused by the government ruling which lowered the price ratio of cotton and grain in that year. Production increased in 1954 but was still below the 1952 level, although the price ratio of the two commodities had been adjusted to encourage production. The Communist regime set a production target for 1955 approximately 20 per cent above the output for 1954, and in view of the more favorable climatic conditions prevailing during 1955 it is possible that the goal was attained.

The greatest amount of acreage planted in cotton was reached in 1952. When the price of cotton was lowered in 1953, less land was planted in cotton in subsequent years. Estimated cotton acreage in Szechwan Province and in the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow (combined) are shown in Table 7.

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Table 7. Cotton Acreage in Southwest China*

(Unit = 1,000. S = shih-mou. A = acres)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	326 S (42.3 A)	911 S (151.8 A)	592 S (98.7 A)	604 S (100.7 A)	725 S (120.8 A)
Yunnan, Kweichow	60 S (10.0 A)	168 S (28.0 A)	109 S (18.2 A)	111 S (18.5 A)	133 S (22.2 A)
Total	386 S (64.3 A)	1,079 S (179.8 A)	701 S (116.9 A)	715 S (119.2 A)	858 S (143.0 A)

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: New Construction, Peking, July 11, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, July 24, 1955; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Sept. 13, 1954, p. 4; Oct. 1, 1954. Figures on the cotton acreage of Sikang Province are not available.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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248 The price of cotton in ratio to the price of
435 various grains is shown in Table 8.

Table 8. The Ratio of Cotton Prices Relative to Grains*
(In weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.0	6.75-8.0
Millet	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.5-8.25	7.5-8.25
Rice	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574; Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

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433 Most sections of the Southwest provinces are rice-producing regions. As will be noted in Tables 7 and 8, in 1953 and in 1954 parity prices were lower than in 1952; the total acreage under cultivation in these years dropped correspondingly. Thus changes in parity price are reflected by changes in the amount of acreage devoted to cotton in any given year.

To publicize a "bumper harvest" campaign, the Communist regime bestowed the title of "model producer" on any farmer who was able to report an increased yield of cotton per unit of land. In most cases, the yield had been increased by the application of modern farming techniques -- careful irrigation, the use of chemical fertilizers, improved farm implements, the planting of two or three crops a year, careful selection of seeds, and more efficient methods of cultivation. Of course, isolated cases of increased yields would not appreciably alter the average yield. What increases there have been in Southwest China since 1949 are indicated in Table 9.

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Table 9. Average Cotton Yield in Southwest China*
(Unit: C = catties per shih-mou. P = Pounds per acre)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	22.1 C (145.7 P)	30.8 C (203.3 P)	36.0 C (237.6 P)	37.8 C (249.5 P)	37.8 C (249.5 P)
Yunnan Kweichow	23.0 C (152.0 P)	30.8 C (203.3 P)	36.0 C (237.8 P)	37.9 C (249.9 P)	37.9 C (249.9 P)

* Estimated from the following sources: Hua-Shu, "Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-t'i" ["The Chinese Cotton Production Problem"], Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming Jih-pao she, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, Peking, Jan. 27, 1950; Survey of China Mainland Press, Aug. 17, 1954, p. 29. The cotton yield per unit of land in Sikang Province is not available.

248 If we use 1949 as the base year (100),
433 the average yield per unit of land was 134 in 1952, 156 in 1953, and 164 in 1954 and 1955.

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Southwest China's production of edible
433 oil (excluding soybean oil) surpasses the majority of regions in China, and the output of oil from rapeseeds ranks first on the Mainland. It was estimated that the total production of rapeseed oil in Szechwan Province alone amounted to 108,000 metric tons (118,800 tons) in 1955, an increase of 28 per cent over the amount produced in the preceding year.[20]

249 In addition to the production of rapeseed,
245 Szechwan Province is also the chief producer
433 of sugar cane and oranges. Tremendous quantities of sugar cane are grown on the plains of Chengtu; the output of sugar cane in 1955 was 1,180,000 tons more than the output
245 in 1949, according to one report.[21] The
433 oranges and tangerines grown in Szechwan fill all local needs and are exported to other parts of China as well as to the Soviet Union

20. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 31, 1955.

21. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, July 25, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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245 and her satellites. According to one estimate,
[43.9] the annual export of fruit from Szechwan brings to China in return 4,000 tons of steel products.[22]

241 Szechwan Province also produces raw
433 silk, ramie, herb medicines, hogs, and over
245 400 different "native products," of which at least 40 are for export.[23] The leading export is tung oil, of which Szechwan produces an amount second only to that produced in Hunan Province in the Central-South Region. The prewar average production of tung oil was estimated to have been 1,000,000 shih-piculs (55,000 tons), and in 1947 this amount had been increased to 1,292,372 shih-piculs (71,080 tons).[24]

245 The principal special products of Yunnan
433 Province are tea, herb medicines, and oil-bearing crops such as rapeseeds and peanuts. "P'u-erh" tea and the ball of compressed green tea leaves known as "T'o-ch'a", produced in Yunnan, are popular throughout China.[25]

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22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ma Chi, Chung-kuo Ti Shen-lin [China's Forestry], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1952, p. 45.

25. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 15, 1955.

245 The Communists have ordered the increased
433 production of tea. The production target set for Yunnan in 1955 was approximately 48 per cent higher than the output in 1954, which in turn was 21 per cent above the amount produced in the preceding year.[26]

According to a radio report from Peking, the province of Yunnan has been designated as one of the major coffee growing districts in Communist China. The region abounds with wild coffee plants; the Communists propose that in the spring of 1956 millions of coffee plant seedlings be transplanted and cultivated.[27] The first harvest is expected in three years' time, and plants for processing coffee beans are to be built.[28]

241 Kweichow Province has comparatively
433 poor agricultural resources. With the exception of grain, this area does not produce a significant quantity of any important commodity. The output of tung oil and tobacco amounts to about 450,000 shih-piculs (24,750 tons) per
273 year.[29] "Mao-t'ai" wine, which resembles dry
433 gin, has reportedly gained an international reputation and has become one of the leading exports from the province of Kweichow.

26. New China News Agency, Kunming, April 6, 1955.

27. Examiner, San Francisco, Nov. 6, 1955, p. 9.

28. Ibid.

29. China Daily News, New York, August 16, 1955.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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000 exports from the province of Kweichow.[30]

241 313 433 Sikang Province, with a population a little over three million, is a comparatively undeveloped area. Its principal products, in addition to grain, are herb medicines and lumber. Sikang is considered one of the chief lumber centers in China. In the regions of the Ch'ing-i River, the Ta-tu River, the Ya-lung River, and the Sikang-Tibet plateau there are forests over 500 years old.[31] Lumber production[32] in Sikang in 1954 was reported to be 34 times that of 1950. However, since transportation facilities have not yet been fully developed, and lumber resources of Sikang Province cannot be fully utilized.

VI. WATER CONSERVATION AND IRRIGATION

312 The most renowned irrigation system in Southwest China is the Tu-chiang Yen (Tu-chiang Irrigation Works) in Szechwan Province. It was built in 250 B.C. by order of Li Ping, governor of Shu (Szechwan) during the Ch'in Dynasty. Li was an able administrator and

30. Ibid.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 21, 1954.
32. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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312 and engineer who understood the value of water conservation and irrigation.[33] A large area of land under his control was flooded each year and a series of natural calamities had brought his people close to starvation. After an extensive investigation of the causes of the floods, he and his son planned the irrigation system which harnessed the rivers and dammed the flood waters so that they might be used with profit.[34] The entire system constructed over 2,000 years ago, is in service today. It can irrigate half a million acres of land in 14 hsien within the Chengtu plains region.[35] Chi Yung's Water Conservation and Irrigation in Ancient China gives an interesting account of the development of the system. Minor repairs are made each year and major repairs every five years.[36]

Many smaller irrigation projects are undertaken each year in order to extend the amount of land under cultivation, and in consequence agricultural production has

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33. Chi Yung, Chung-kuo Ku-tai Ti Shui-li [Water Conservation and Irrigation in Ancient China], Shanghai, 1955, p. 27.

34. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

35. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1954, No. 17, p. 18.

36. Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, June 24, 1955.

312 steadily increased throughout the provinces of the Southwest Region.

VII. CONCLUSION

241 433 The Communist regime has given special attention to the intensive development of the agricultural resources of the Southwest Region. In Southwest China, the province of Szechwan plays the most important role in the production of grains and commercial crops. Since 1953, even the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, where the supply of foodstuffs has been generally inadequate, are asserted to have become more or less self-sufficient. Surplus grain from Szechwan is available in cases of emergency elsewhere in China, and the province is relied upon to make up the grain deficits of other regions. Southwest China also produces in abundance a number of commodities suitable for export, including tung oil, tea, silk, canned meats, wine, and fruit.

474 The movement to extend the authority of agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural districts of Mainland China has accelerated since the promulgation of the "Resolution on Co-operativization" in November 1955. Since the principle of "mutual-aid" is counter to traditional Chinese practice, it will doubtlessly meet strong resistance among the peasants as soon as the cadres relax their

474 rigorous campaigns. The extraordinary development of nearly 600,000 producers' co-operatives in a single three-month period in 1955 may suggest the degree of coercion necessary to establish this record. Surely the burden imposed upon the rural masses demands an adjustment few of the peasants will be able to make. And it seems likely that many of these co-operatives may be little more than "paper claims" or so poorly organized that they will soon be considered a hindrance to the present regime.

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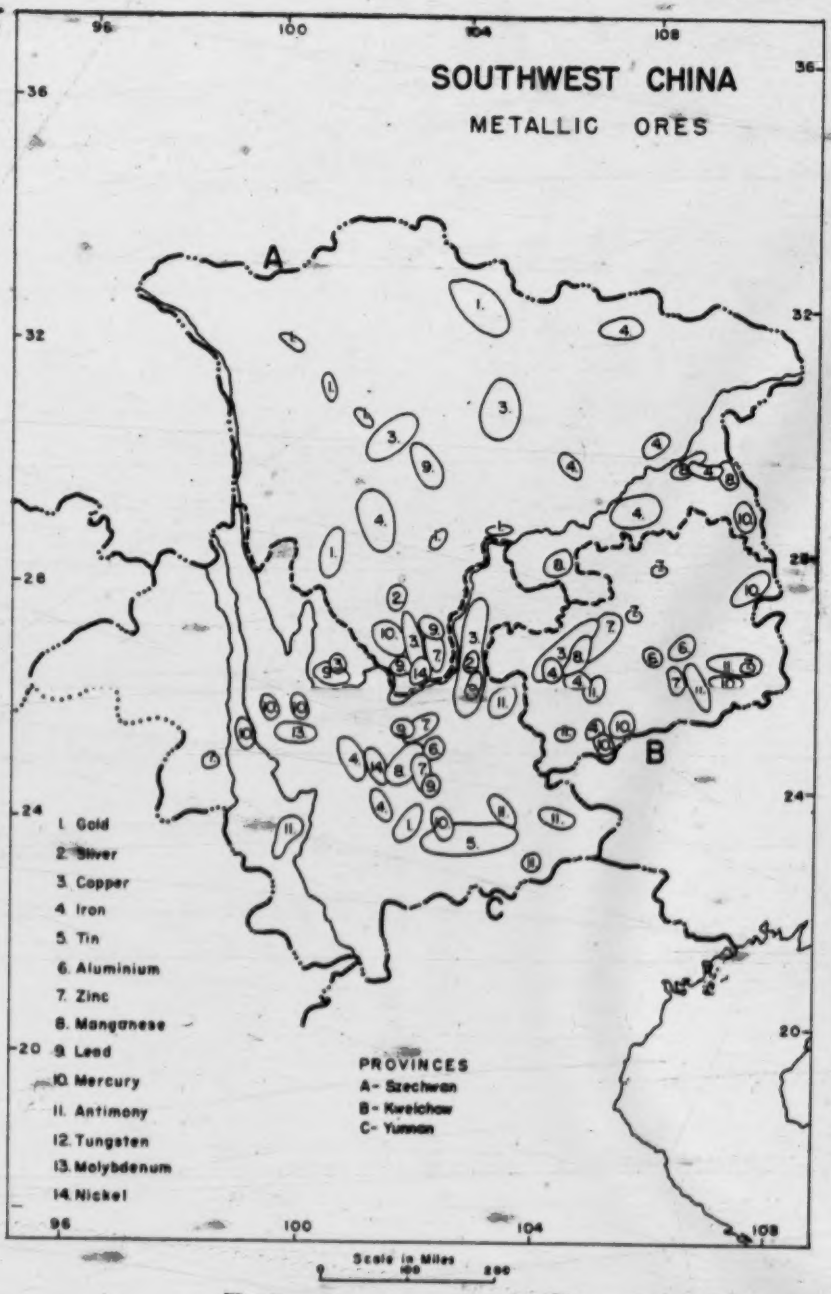

[facing p. 774 (a)]

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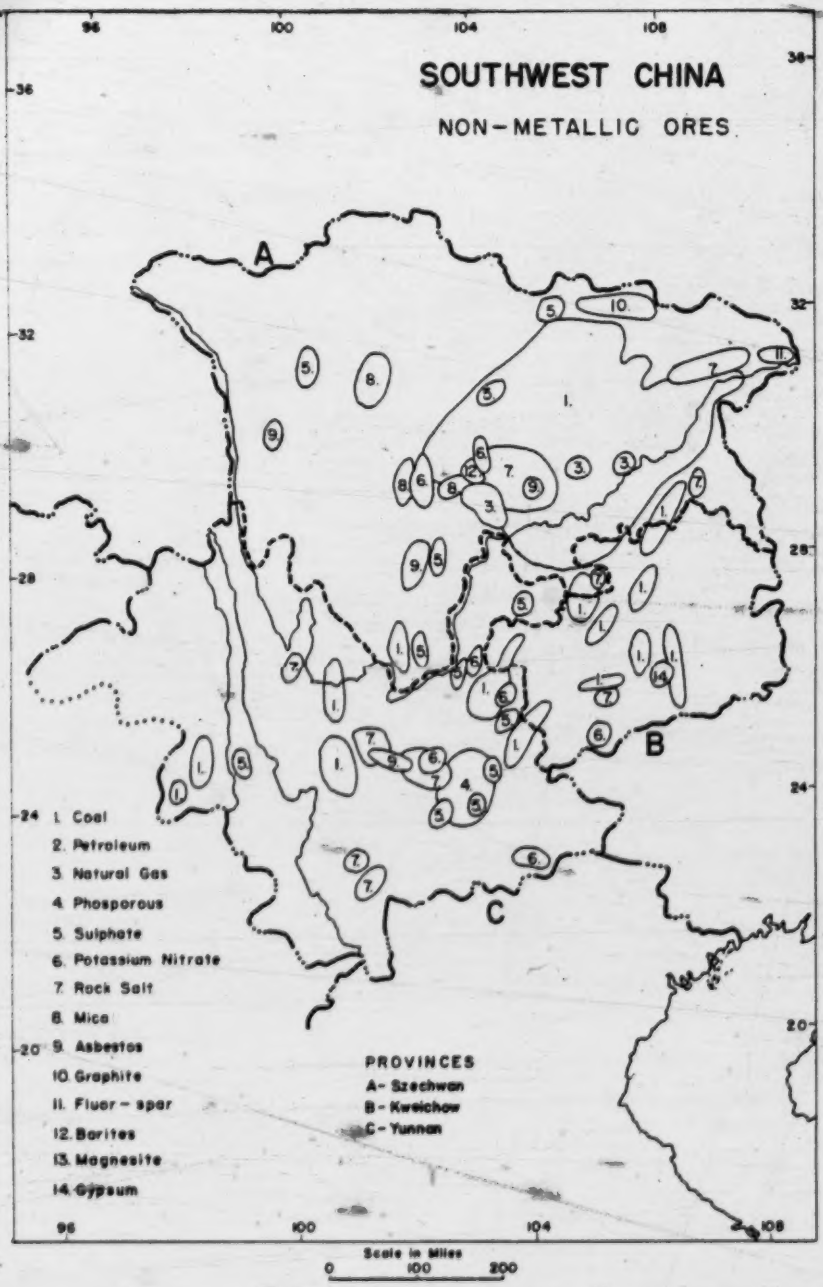

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3b,
Economic Background

INDUSTRIES

316 The industries of Southwest China fall into two major groups -- mining and manufacturing. Among the mining enterprises, the largest are those dealing with the production of tin, iron, coal, and copper. The tin production of Yunnan has been one of the main sources of supply for China and the world market. A major part of the nation's copper comes from Yunnan, Kweichow, and Sikang. Despite rapid growth during World War II, manufacturing industries in Southwest China has been relatively unimportant in comparison with those in Manchuria and some other sections of China.

I. MINING RESOURCES

A. Production of Tin

During the period, 1935-39, approximately 10,000 metric tons of tin were produced in China each year, equivalent to 5.5 to 7.8 per cent of the total production of the world, excluding Russia. During 1940-41, the world production of tin was maintained at a high level because of the demands of war, but the production of

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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316 tin in China dwindled steadily when the war engulfed the mining regions. Output was as low as 2,000 metric tons in 1944 and 1945. During 1947-49, China's rate of production rose to 4,000 tons a year, but in terms of expanding world production the relative importance of China's tin production declined. During the period 1941-53, it amounted to less than 4 per cent of the world total.

Most of China's tin is produced in the Ko-chiu area of Yunnan Province. In some places, modern mining methods are used, but ore dug by outdated methods still constitutes an important part of China's tin production. Before the Communists seized control of the China Mainland, a portion of the tin produced in Yunnan was processed by a local refinery before export to world markets.[1]

Under their regime, the Communists reported, annual tin production on the China Mainland increased from 4,000 metric tons in 1950 to 6,400 metric tons in 1953. The major expansion occurred in Yunnan Province. But

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1. Chinese Ministry of Information, China Handbook, 1937-1945, New York, Macmillan Co., 1947, p. 394.

316 similar increases in production were taking place elsewhere in the world. Today, China accounts for less than 3 per cent of the world's total production of tin.[2]

B. Iron and Steel Production

Most of the iron and steel produced in Southwest China comes from the province of Szechwan and, more particularly, the Chungking area. Kweichow and Yunnan have produced some iron, but the amount is insignificant in comparison with the amount originating in Szechwan.

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2. See Table 1 in the chapter on Foreign Trade.

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Table 1. Iron and Steel Production in Southwest China

Year	Iron Ore Province*	Iron Ore Free China#	Pig Iron Province*	Pig Iron Free China x	Steel Free China#
1934		Unknown		Unknown	Unknown
Szechwan	60,000		20,000		
Kweichow	300		75		
Yunnan	1,500		500		
Total	61,800		20,575		
1939	Unknown	41,466	Unknown	Unknown	12,000
1940		55,182			1,500
1941		62,836			2,011
1942		77,497			3,000
1943		70,000			6,800
1944		40,134			13,361

* Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, p. 656.

\# Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, pp. 28-29.

x China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 391.

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316 1. Iron Ore. Before World War II, virtually all of the iron ore produced in the southwestern provinces came from antiquated native mines. It has been estimated that in 1934 the native mines in Szechwan produced about 60,000 metric tons of iron ore, those in Yunnan about 1,500 tons, and those in Kweichow about 300 tons.[3] The output in Szechwan Province was surpassed only by that of Shansi Province in the North China Region, where, if the production of modern mines is excluded, the greatest amount of iron ore in China is mined. During the prewar years, Central China and Manchuria were the only regions where large-scale modern iron and steel plants were in operation.

327 2. Pig Iron. In 1934, the pig iron production of Szechwan amounted to 20,000 metric tons, that of Yunnan to 500 metric tons, and that of Kweichow to 75 metric tons. During the war years, plant facilities in the southwestern provinces were modernized, and pig iron production (largely in Szechwan) rose to approximately 30,000 metric tons

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3. The Council of International Affairs (Chungking), The Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, Shanghai, Chicago Daily Tribune Publishing Co., 1946, p. 656; Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, Nanking, Directorate General of Budgets, Accounts and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1948, pp. 28-29.

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327 in 1942 and 32,800 metric tons in 1943. (See Table 1).

3. Steel. Available statistics indicate that in the prewar years Southwest China produced an average of 1,200-1,500 metric tons of steel. In 1942, the output increased to 3,800 metric tons, and in 1943 exceeded 9,000 tons. Government-operated steel mills had been expanded under the control of the National Resources Commission, and some privately owned mills in the region had participated in the growth. The following table shows the respective growth of facilities for iron and steel production in China as a whole in the period 1942-43.

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Table 2. Production of Iron and Steel*

Ownership	Pig Iron 1942	Pig Iron 1943	Steel 1942	Steel 1943
Government-owned	14,032	23,617	1,516	4,499
Privately owned	15,983	9,200	2,300	4,548
Total	30,015	32,817	3,816	9,047

* China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 391. Although the figures in this table do not tally with those reported in the Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945 and the Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, used as sources for Table 1, they may offer some idea of the proportionate increase in privately owned and government-owned mills.

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327 Despite expansion, the absolute gain in steel production in these provinces remains insignificant in comparison with the growth of production in Manchuria. There are no figures available on iron and steel production in Southwest China since 1946, but any substantial expansion is unlikely. Plants in the Southwest Region are less efficiently operated and less favorably located than plants in other regions, and it seems probable that the Communists have concentrated upon the expansion of the best of the plants rather than those hastily constructed during the war years.

Comprehensive information on industrial production in Southwest China under the Communist regime is not available. However, the Communist press announced in 1954 that the capacity of the iron and steel works at Chungking had been increased from 15,000 metric tons in 1949 to 89,000 metric tons in 1952.[4] The Communists also reported that two new open-hearth furnaces, with scales second only to those of the Anshan Steel Works in Manchuria, began trial operations in 1954, and an existing furnace was to be repaired the same year. The Chungking mill turns out both

4. The New China News Agency, Chungking, October 2, 1954.

327 standard and narrow gauge rails for the construction and repair of railroads in the Southwest Region.

C. Production of Coal

316 In terms of the coal resources of the
135 entire country, reserves and production in Southwest China are small (See Table 3).

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Table 3. China's Coal Production
(in 1,000 metric tons)

	1934		1946	
East China	1,619	(4.7%)	1,160	(6.8%)
South China	501	(1.5)	130	(0.8)
Southwest China	863	(2.6)	2,310	(13.5)
North China	16,876	(49.4)	7,177	(41.8)
Northwest China	487	(1.5)	1,409	(8.2)
Northeast China (Manchuria)	12,000	(35.0)	4,182	(24.4)
Central China	1,828	(5.4)	790	(4.6)

* Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, p. 684; The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China, 1948; and China Handbook, 1937-1945, pp. 398-90.

316 Szechwan Province has the largest known coal
135 reserve in the region, and Sikang the smallest. Geological data on coal reserves in Sikang are incomplete. Szechwan leads the provinces of the Southwest Region in the production of bituminous coal (See Table 4).

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Table 4. Estimated Coal Reserve in Southwest China*
(in million metric tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Lignite	Total	Per cent of National Total
Szechwan	293	3,540	-	3,833	1.46%
Yunnan	77	1,542	694	2,313	.88
Kweichow	822	1,696	-	2,518	.96
Sikang	3	501	27	531	.20
Total - Southwest China				9,195	3.51%
- China, including Manchuria	45,281	216,021	4,012	265,314	100.00%

* Based on data published in China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 389.

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D. Production of Copper

135 Copper deposits are found in most of the provinces in China, but Southwest China has the greatest share of the nation's total reserve. According to studies made by the National Geological Survey of China in the 1940's, the estimate copper reserves and their geographical distribution are as follows:

Table 5. China's Estimated Copper Reserves* (in thousand metric tons)

Region	Province	Reserve
Southwest	Yunnan	270
	Sikang	261
	Szechwan	27
	Kweichow	178
Central-South	Hupeh	18
	Hunan (with Fukien)	200
North	Shansi	4
Northeast	Liaoning	5
Total		964

* China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 393. Difference between total and sum of individual figures results when figures are founded to nearest whole number.

328 Yunnan, Szechwan, and Sikang are centers of China's copper production. During the 1940s, several modern copper refineries using the electrolytic process were operating in Southwest China. They treated ore mined in the region and refined it to a product of 99.95 per cent purity. China's copper production during 1938-45, accounted for largely by the Southwest Region, was as follows:

Table 6. China's Production of Copper* (in metric tons)

Year	Production
1938	477
1939	1,886
1940	2,318
1941	1,591
1942	1,266
1943	500
1944	930
1945	1,179

* Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, pp. 28-29.

E. Production of Antimony

135 Another important mineral resource in the Southwest Region is antimony, of which

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135 China has been the largest producer in the world. As shown in Table 7, about 14.7 per cent of China's total antimony reserve is in the Southwest Region, and 13.4 per cent of China's total antimony reserve is in the province of Kweichow.

Table 7. China's Estimated Antimony Reserves* (in metric tons)

Province	Reserves	
	Tonnage	Per cent of National Total
Szechwan	-	-
Yunnan	48,000	1.26
Kweichow	509,790	13.41
Sikang	-	-
Total -Southwest China	557,790	14.67
- China	3,802,850	100.00

* China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 394.

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II. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

433 Despite the program of expansion during World War II, industrial development in Southwest China is minor compared to that in the maritime provinces (See Table 9).[1]

433 178 Before 1940, there were few modern factories in the Southwest. After the removal of the Nationalist Government to Chungking, an attempt was made to expand industrial production in the Southwest provinces to meet China's wartime needs and lessen the threat of inflation to the economy of Free China. Although the result fell short of the intended objective, a comparatively substantial increase in industrial production occurred in the provinces of the Southwest Region. The government itself owned many industries and offered subsidies to private enterprises. Continued price increases as a result of inflation and the lack of outside competition as a result of wartime blockade encouraged further expansion. After the war ended, many so-called "extra-marginal" firms went bankrupt. Some government enterprises were abandoned in order that personnel could be transferred to more efficient plants as they became available in other sections of the country, particularly in Manchuria and Formosa. Because of these changes, it is possible that industrial production in Southwest China decreased during the postwar years.

[1] [Table 9 is missing -- Analyst]

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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433 Comprehensive information concerning production in Southwest China under Communist domination is not available. The following statistics, released by a Communist-controlled newspaper in Chungking, are probably unreliable but offer an indication of the relative emphasis placed on various industries by the Communist regime.

Table 8. Index of Industrial Production* in Southwest China

Industry	Production Index (pre-1949 peak = 100)
Electric power	116
Steel ingots	700
Steel rails	380
Cast iron	353
Cement	190
Caustic soda	863
Cotton yarn	168
Cotton cloth	183
Paper	429
Salt	147
Wheat flour	227
Matches	272
Cigarettes	150

* Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 29, 1942, p. 1.

433 These production indices should be read with caution; because of unusually low production in the base period (pre-1949 peak), a small increment in the absolute volume of production in a later year will appear as a sharp increase in the production index.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3c,
Economic Background

BUDGET AND TAXATION

I. THE NATIONAL FISCAL SYSTEM

652 Since Communist China is a unitary state, its fiscal policy is national in scope and has relatively few regional variations. Accordingly, unless otherwise indicated, what is said here of one region is often equally true in the other regions.

From the data shown in the tabulation below, certain facts are obvious.

1. During 1950-54, the revenue derived from the profit of government enterprises rose steadily from 12.76 per cent of the total government receipt in 1950 to 36.47 per cent in 1954. Moreover, profit is not the only contribution that government enterprises made to the government treasury. In the course of these years, they also contributed an increasingly large share of taxes which the People's Republic of China (the Communist government) imposed upon industries and trade. This tendency is clearly shown in the following statistics.

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SOURCES OF GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS */

Year	Government-owned Enterprises	Government-participating Enterprises	Co-operatives	Farmers	Private Industries and Trade
		(combined)			
1950	-	-	34.08 -	29.63	32.93
1951	-	-	49.35 -	18.17	28.66
1952	-	-	56.33 -	1 7.08	22.36
1953	-	-	59.79 -	14.56	17.02
1954	65.24	3.65	- 1.66	14.23	13.34
1955	69.47	3.65	- 1.98	11.76	10.70

*/ [In percentage of the total annual receipt of the current year.] Economic Weekly, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 17; People's Daily, June 18, 1954; July 10, 1955. The figures for 1955 are budgetary estimates.

652 Unlike the usual concept used in Western countries, the profits of government-owned concerns and enterprises in which the government participates as listed in fiscal reports of the Communist government include allowances for depreciation of assets, which according to Western practice should not be included in net profit. At the same time, all the outlays of government enterprises for improvement and replacement are listed as government expenditures for economic construction. The procedure used by the Chinese Communists means, therefore, a substantial increase in both government receipts from its enterprises and outlays for economic construction.

2. During the five-year period ending 1954, the relative importance of the agricultural tax has been substantially reduced. In 1950, it accounted for 28.01 per cent of the total government expenditure. In 1954, the percentage declined to 13.33 per cent. The decrease was due to the rapid expansion of receipts from other sources (particularly profits from government enterprises and urban taxes) rather than to the reduction in the agricultural tax itself. This development therefore should be interpreted to mean that the tax on rural economy has not been reduced; it reflects merely that the increase of the agricultural tax has not been as rapid as the increase of other government receipts.

3. Similarly, the fact that the ratio of the taxes on industry and trade to the total government expenditure remained almost constant during these years should not be interpreted to mean a constant tax burden imposed on these sectors of the Chinese economy. In absolute terms, their contributions have continually increased in order to meet the ever-expanding expenditure of the government.

As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist 652
government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of the government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises which, according to the Communist policy, will ultimately monopolize all the important trade and industries in the country.

On the expenditure side, military outlay con- 652
stituted 41.5 per cent of total government expenditure 659
in 1950 and 1951, respectively. After 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21.1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account.

In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not indude salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure of the Communist government would have been tabulated here for the years 1950-52.

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Year	Ratio of Military Expenditure to Total Gov't Expenditure
1950	51.11
1951	49.83
1952	32.15
1953	29.45 (budget estimate)
1954	30.06
1955	32.98 (budget estimate)

In the fiscal report for 1953 the military and government administration expenditures were listed as a single item. It is rather difficult to separate the military from the non-military outlays on the basis mentioned above. For this reason, the budgetary estimates, where these outlays were separately listed, were used in this tabulation.

A second point which should be noted concerning the military expenditure of the Communist government is that a part of its expenditure for economic construction might well be considered military rather than economic. In the budget of the Nationalist Government, for example, outlays for development of aircraft-manufacturing industries, ammunition industries, and so forth were usually classified as military expenses, whereas they would probably be considered as economic outlay in the Communists' report.

A third point to be noted is that, if the depreciation charges and outlays for maintenance and replacement in government enterprises were excluded from government receipt and expenditure, as should normally be the case, the relative importance of military expenditure for the years under consideration would have been much greater than those shown in the fiscal reports.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

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Even allowing for these adjustments, the fact that government outlays for economic, social, and educational purposes has been substantially increased under the Communist regime is obvious when compared with the conditions under the Nationalist Government. Whether these expenditures have actually contributed to improving the economic and social welfare of the people is, of course, another question entirely.

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EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Per cent)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Expenditures					
Military	41.50	42.52	26.23	--	24.19
Government administration	19.21	14.71	11.83	44.62	11.74
Other	2.64	2.01	3.49		
Economic construction	25.51	29.50	44.79	40.38	52.07
Cultural construction	11.11	11.26	13.66	15.00	12.00
Receipts					
Agricultural tax	28.01	18.24	15.69	14.90	13.33
Taxes: industry & commerce	43.84	49.16	42.28	43.43	36.46
Receipts from gov't enterprises	12.76	25.64	28.55	35.40	40.49
Income: credit and insurance	4.87	4.79	1.53	3.00	1.26
Other	--	--	--	14.41	--

*/ Compiled on basis of actual government outlays and receipts as given in fiscal reports of People's Republic of China.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
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In the discussion that follows, we shall examine 652
at length some phases of Communist China's fiscal policy during the first five years of occupation of Mainland China. They include the agricultural tax, the taxation on commerce and industry, and government bonds. As will be seen, the revenues discussed are all recurrent in nature. No attempt is made to study such non-recurrent levies as those imposed during the Five-Anti Campaign. Because of the nature of these impositions, it is not likely that these measures can be successfully repeated in the near future.

II. URBAN TAXATION

In Communist China, the core of urban taxation 651
has consisted of the business tax, the tax on business income, and the commodity taxes.

None of the trio is new in China. Under the Nationalist Government, the business tax was collected as a local tax, the tax on business income was a part of the income tax system, and the commodity tax constituted one of the main revenues of the Nationalist Government.

Under the Communist government, all these taxes were drastically reorganized, apparently under the influence of the Russian tax system. From 1949 to date, the system of urban taxation has already undergone several important changes. Its history which may be divided into two stages, covers the period from January 1950 to December 1952.

During the first period, the industrial and commercial tax constituted the greater part of urban taxation.

651 The tax was a composite levy consisting of an impost based on gross turnover and another on net taxable income. The "business tax" was collected on the basis of a proportional rate schedule. While the tax rates remained constant regardless of how the amount of the tax base changed, they varied according to the nature of the business or industry. The rates on manufacturing industries, for instance, were in general higher than those on undertakings which consisted only of sales of services (such as public utilities, professional services, hotel services, insurance, banking, etc.). For undertakings deriving their income in the form of commission (such as trade agents, etc.), the rates of business tax were much higher than for any of the other types of businesses mentioned heretofore.

In addition, the tax rates varied according to the nature of the commodity produced or handled by the taxpayers. Those who deal in such commodities as are essential to the national economy are liable to a lighter tax than those who are associated with the production of cigarettes, for instance. The business tax rate on the production such non-essential commodities, for example, was much higher than the rate applicable to the iron and steel industry.

The characteristics of the income tax system, which was used early in the Communist regime and is still in effect, may be summarized as follows.

1. Like the system in Soviet Russia, the income tax system in Communist China consists of a series of

income taxes applicable to different types of income. Besides the agricultural tax, which may be considered as an income tax on agricultural income, there are income taxes on business profit derived from the earnings of business enterprises and on interest derived from bank deposits. Wages and salaries, however, are not subject to tax. Because of the disappearance of landlords, under the Communist system, the tax on rent income is non-existent in the tax system of Communist China's regime. 651

2. Like the Soviet system, there is more differentiation in the Chinese income tax than in the system commonly used in the West. There is, for instance, the differentiation in favor of military or industrial heroes, and of earnings from industries against earning from commercial undertakings (particularly those derived from services, such as commissions., etc.).

3. The progressive rates used in the Chinese income tax are applied on the entire taxable income rather than progressively by income brackets.

4. Inventory valuation for income-tax purposes is computed on the basis of the historical cost. This apparently means an unduly heavy tax burden on taxpayers at the time of rising prices.

5. Depreciation charges are computed on the basis of either the straight-line method or the method of constant percentage. In either case, the income tax will mean, under the condition of rising prices, a tax to be paid out of capital as well as current income rather than a genuine tax on income.

After December 31, 1952, the "tax on commodity

651 circulation," or the turnover tax, was introduced. This new tax is a composite levy consisting of parts of former commodity and business taxes. In many represpects, it is also reminiscent of the turnover tax in the USSR. The introduction of the turnover tax brought changes in the system of urban taxation in Communist China. In the place of former commodity and business taxes, the turnover tax is applicable to the following 22 commodities: rolled tobacco, tobacco leaf, wine, wheat flour, furs and hides, cotton yarn, matches, phonograph records, acid, salt, chemical fertilizers, paper, newsprint, rubber tires, cork, cement, glass plates, metal and metal products, pig iron, coke and its products, and mineral oils and their products. After paying the turnover tax, producers and dealers in these commodities will be subject to no other commodity or business taxes so long as they circulate within the national boundaries of China. The exemption, however, does not apply to the custom duties if they are to be exported or to the income taxes to which such producers or dealers are liable. Nor would the payment of a commodity tax on raw materials exempt a product manufactured of such material from commodity tax, if the product itself were a taxable commodity.

Instead of the payment of tax as a product leaves its factory or additional taxation as each business transaction occurred, as was the case of the old commodity tax, the collection procedure of the turnover tax varies according to the nature of the commodity subject to tax. In the case where the sales are to be handled by a government agent, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity is sold or transferred from its producers to such a sales agent. In the case where the sales are done

by the manufacturer's own agent, the tax is payable at the first sale of the commodity at the wholesale level, or its transfer from producer to the sa les agent. In the case where the sale of product is handled by neither a government agent nor that of its producer, but by the producer himself, the tax is payable at the time when the product leaves the hand of its producer. In the case where the taxable product is not for sale, but for further processing or use in some other departments of the producing factory, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity leaves the producing department. In the case of forestry products, the tax is paid by the purchasers at the time when the products are being shipped from their point of origin. In the case of an imported commodity, the turnover tax is collectible by the customs to ether with customs duties at the point of importation. In the case of an export commodity, the tax is collectible at the time of export.

Which of the above-mentioned procedures of collection is applicable to a given commodity is to be decided by the government and not by the taxpayer himself.

Since the turnover tax is to displace both the commodity and business taxes, its rates are higher than those of either of these old taxes. The turnover tax rate on wheat flour has been raised to 10 per cent as against a rate of 3 per cent according to the old commodity tax. The new rate applicable to cotton yarn is 22 per cent as compared to 12 per cent charged in the old commodity tax. With the exception of the turnover tax on beer, which is a

651 specific levy, the leavy on all other commodities is collectible on an ad valorem basis.

Many changes other than those mentioned above were made in the business taxation following the institution of the turnover tax. Among such changes, the following changes are probably the most important.

Under the new regulations, all the commodities produced within the country and not subject to commodities or turnover tax as previously explained are liable to three business taxes -- one at the level of production, one at the wholesale level, and another at the retail level. All those subject to commodity or turnover tax are liable to two business taxes at the wholesale and retail levels. These regulations will be applied regardless of whether a commodity transaction is an inter-firm sale or an intra-firm transfer. As a result of these modifications, all the advantages of vertical combination, which were ample under the old system, are eliminated.

Before the tax reform in 1952, all the business taxes at manufacturing, wholesale, and retail levels were payable after the completion of the business transaction. After 1952, the business tax became applicable only to the transactions of those commodities to which the new turnover tax does not apply. But, instead of collecting the tax after the completion of transactions, producers of such commodities are required, in addition to their own tax liabilities, to advance the tax payable by wholesale dealers to whom the products are sold.

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Such advances are later to be repaid by the wholesale dealers to the producers. Thus, under the new law the business tax on wholesale dealers becomes collectible before rather than after the relevant business transactions are effected.[1]

In the case of the commodities subject to turnover taxation, all the business taxes on retailers, under a similar arrangement, are to be advanced by wholesale dealers. The turnover tax and the changes in business tax therefore not only result in speeding up the collection of business tax, but also, through the concentration of tax collection at production and wholesale levels, reduce substantially the cost of tax administration.

The stamp tax and all surtaxes attached to the business tax under the old system merged under the new regulation with the business tax. Under the new system, the rates of business tax fall into three categories. They are, those applicable to industries, those for commercial undertakings, and those applicable to incomes derived from sales of personal services. For the cases where the old rates fell within the range of 1 to 3 per cent, a new rate of 5 per cent is used. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 4 to 6 per cent, an additional 1 per cent is added in the new rate schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 8 to 10 per cent, an additional 2 per cent is added to form the new schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 12 to 15 per cent, a flat rate of 15 per cent is used.

1. Cheng Chu-yüan Chung-kung Ts'ai-ching Cheng-ts'e Hsin Tung-hsiang [The New Tendencies of Chinese Communists' Financial and Economic Policies], Hong Kong, 1953, pp. 73-77.

651 Besides the institution of the turnover tax and the changes in business tax mentioned above, there are also important modifications in the system of commodity tax. Among these are the following adjustments.

Twenty-two of the commodities formerly subject to commodity tax are under the new regulations subject to the turnover tax.

Fifteen new items are included in the modified system of commodity tax; among these new commodities, the most important item is foodstuffs. In the place of the old transaction tax, under the new system the foodstuffs are subject to a commodity tax. This adjustment contributed substantially to widening the basis of the commodity tax,

Several silk textile products which were formerly subject to commodity tax are now exempt from the tax. In addition, several other minor adjustments in commodity classifications have also been made with a vew to simplifying tax administration.

In the place of market price, commodity taxes under the new system are assessed on the basis of the relevant wholesale prices as quoted by government sales agent. For the commodities for which government quotations are not available, the market price is used as the basis of the tax assessment. Under the old system, the commodity tax was assessed by the means of the following formulas:

$$\frac{\text{Market price}}{1 - \text{Tax rate}} = \text{Price subject to tax}$$

The price subject to tax X Tax rate = Amount of tax.

The purpose of using these formulas was to avoid the inclusion of the tax in the price upon which the commodity tax rate is to be applied. Under the new system, the commodity tax rate is applicable directly to the price quoted by government enterprise, and the price includes the cost of tax. The commodity tax assessed on this basis is apparently higher than that which was derived from the old formula. 651

Other important changes in the system of urban taxation effected the end of 1952 are as follows:

1. A part of stamp duties were transferred to be collected as turnover tax, commodity tax, or the tax on butchery.

2. The business taxes and stamp tax payable by butchers merged under the new system with the butchery tax.

3. The transaction tax on foodstuffs are being collected in a new system of commodity tax. The transactions tax on cotton was combined under the new system with the turnover tax on textile products.

4. All the levies on real estate merged into one tax on real estate. It is clear that one of the objectives for tax reform in 1952 was to transfer, wherever it was feasible, all the old taxes on gross business receipts, the commodity taxes, the transaction taxes, stamp duties, and so forth, into the newly instituted system of turnover tax. In the cases where such transfers are not practical, these levies are collected as much as possible under the system of commodity taxes. Only in the case where neither transfer is feasible do the old taxes on business or turnover continue to exist. Whenever conditions

651 permit, the regular tax and surtaxes imposed by local authorities are consolidated into one single tax. In the case of turnover tax, collections are made, as far as it is administratively feasible, at the wholesale level or at the time when the taxable commodity leaves the hands of its producer. The main purpose for effecting successful reforms is to reduce the cost of tax collection and to improve the efficiency of its administration.

There is little change in the system of income tax.

III. AGRICULTURAL TAXATION

In Southwest China, the system of agricultural tax is rather simple in comparison with that used in East China. Since no part of Southwest China has been considered a so-called "old liberated" area, only the agricultural tax designed for "newly liberated" areas with and without land reform.

In the areas where the land reform campaign has already been completed, the features of the tax system may be summarized in the following manner.

1. All the agriculture taxes have been collected in kind.

2. The tax has been assessed on the basis of so-called normal production, regardless of what the actual production is. This system not only greatly simplifies the tax administration, but also

651 stabilizes the government revenue from agricultural tax regardless of actuall production. It relieves the government from the possible adverse effects upon its revenue of year-to-year fluctuations in agricultural production, and leaves that burden to farmers.

3. The progressive tax rates are applicable in cases where the production, reckoned in terms of the land's main crop, exceeds an average of 150 kilograms per capita. The amount per capita production is determined by dividing the total production of the entire household by the number of recognized farm hands in the household. The rates applicable to forty separate income brackets range from 3 per cent on an annual production of from 150 to 190 kilograms per head to 42 per cent on the annual production exceeding 3,410 kilograms per capita.

Besides the variation based on production, the tax rates vary also on the basis of the following factors: (1) the production of a landowner who tills his own land, with or without employing assistance, will be counted toward taxable income at par; (2) the production of a farmer who does not own his land is taxed on the basis of 80 per cent of his actual production. On the other hand, a landowner who does not till his own land but derives an income from leasing it to others has to pay a tax on the basis of 120 per cent of the actual production; and veterans, Party workers, and all those "making special contribution to the country" may be counted as farm hands in reckoning per capita production, even though they do not actually work on farms.

The general features of the system of agricul-

65/ tax applicable to the newly liberated areas without land reform are very similar to those used in the areas with land reform. There are, however, important differences between the rate structures used in the two types of agriculture tax. First, the rates for the area with land reform ranged from 7 to 30 per cent as against 3 to 42 per cent in the case of the other system. Secondly, the proportional rate of 30 per cent becomes effective when the per capita production, reckoned in terms of the main crop produced on the land subject to tax, exceeds 1,950 kilograms a year. In the system for the areas without land reform, the proportional rate of 42 per cent is used for production exceeding 3,410 kilograms. In both cases, an initial exemption of 150 kilograms is used. In other words, the income range within which the progressive rates are operative is much shorter in the area with land reform than those without land reform. Thirdly, the agricultural tax rates for the areas with land reform would be higher than the corresponding rates for the areas without land reform if the per capita production were lower than 1,000 kilograms. The reverse is true of the cases where the per capita production exceeds 1,000 kilograms.

It is clear from previous comparisons that, after the completion of the land reform campaign, both the range and the degree of progression of the agricultural tax have been reduced as compared with the rate schedule applicable to the areas without land reform. One possible argument for adopting this policy is that, by reducing the rate of increase of the tax, agricultural production may be encouraged. Another possible explanation is that, after the completion of land reform, the

inequality in the distribution of farm income tends to disappear. For this reason, it becomes feasible to reduce the rate of increase so that tax administration may be simplified. 651

Whatever the reason may be, the fact is that, as a result of land reform, low-income farmers tend to pay a higher tax and high-income farmers a lower tax.

Similar to the experience in other regions, in the Southwest Region the most common difficulties that have been encountered in implementing the agricultural tax include the following:

1. The lack of reliable production statistics and other relevant production data concerning agricultural production makes it necessary to have recourse at times to such arbitrary measures as "democratic assessment," which means simply an assessment on the basis of the opinion of a specially appointed committee consisting of persons supposed to be familiar with the financial condition of the taxpayer. More often than not, such assessment has little or no bearing upon the ability of the taxpayer to pay the tax.

2. Difficulties arising from the lack of reliable statistical data, of course, will gradually decrease as more information concerning rural economy is assembled and the various "norms" of taxation are established.

3. Another important difficulty encountered in implementing the agricultural tax arises from the system of collection-in-kind. Reports from China seem to indicate that this system of tax collection has caused a great hardship among the taxpayers,

651 for under the system they have to bear not only the tax but also the cost involved in transporting the tax-in-kind to designated points where the commodities are assembled by the government.

4. The agricultural tax is assessed on the basis of the gross income, taking little or not account of the cost involved in production. The system, if strictly enforced, will necessarily result in discouraging such improvements as the use of chemical fertilizers, the use of irrigation system, etc. Chemical fertilizers have been more commonly used in many parts of Central-South China than in other parts of the country. Failure to allow for such costs of production in the tax system will necessarily mean a discouragement to those who are making such improvements in their production.

5. In assessing the agricultural tax both for the regions with land reform and for the areas without land reform, the tax rates progress on the basis of the total income rather than by bracket. This could mean in some cases a payment of more tax by a taxpayer with less income than by one with more income.

IV. GOVERNMENT BONDS

652 This quota is equivalent to less than one-sixth of the subscriptions of East China, or less than one-half of the subscriptions of North China. In 1950, Victory Bonds valued at 100 million fen (one fen or unit was worth approximately US$.75) were issued; 7 per cent were allocated for subscription in Southwest China.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3d,
Economic Background

BANKING AND CURRENCY

I. BANKING DEVELOPMENT

A. Pre-Communist System

453 Banking was less developed in the Southwest Region than elsewhere in China proper at the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan in 1937. This situation was in part due to the lack of industrial development in the region, and in part the result of chaotic conditions engendered by warlord rule. The unpredictable and inefficient handling of local finance and issues of paper currency had precluded the local development of modern banking or the extension into the region of the modern banking facilities of established firms in Shanghai.

There were a few locally registered commercial banks in Chungking, Szechwan Province. Only one of them, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation, employed modern practices and relied little on warlord capital. The rest of the concerns depended almost completely for their capital on the warlords and made but slight contribution to the development of modern banking. In addition, Szechwan Province had a provincial

453 bank and a number of native banks. In Kweichow and Yunnan provinces there were hardly any locally registered commercial banks, nor any branches of modern banks with headquarters in other cities; there were only a provincial bank and a few native banks in each province.

When the Nationalist Government moved its capital to Chungking in 1938, the head offices of the Central Bank of China and the Farmers Bank were also transferred there. The Bank of China and the Bank of Communications followed soon afterward. Branches of these four government banks were opened in the major cities of Szechwan, and the modern commercial banks of Shanghai also established branches at Chungking. The opening of a highway connecting Southwest China and Central-South China made Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow Province, the hub of transportation in Southwest China and also encouraged banks to open branches along the highway in Kweichow. After the Japanese army cut the Canton-Hankow railway linking Nationalist China with Hong Kong, Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province, became the terminus of the only communication lines between Free China and the outside world, viz., the Yunnan-Indochina Railway and the Burma Road. As a result, branches of government and modern commercial banks

453 were rapidly established in Kunming. Thus, an unprecedented banking boom took place in Southwest China which vastly expanded all banking facilities. At the end of the war, there were 866 banks (including head offices and branches) in Szechwan, 149 in Yunnan, 91 in Kweichow, and 44 in Sikang.

With the surrender of Japan, the Nationalist Government re-established its capital at Nanking, the head offices of the government banks returned to Shanghai, and much of the war-inspired industrial and commercial activity in the Southwest Region was discontinued. What business remained was insufficient to support the expanded banking facilities in the region. The Shanghai banks recalled their funds, and private capital migrated to Shanghai, where increasing inflation provided a wider scope for speculative activities. Most of the local commercial banks in Szechwan and Yunnan, partly owned by the warlords, encountered difficulties because their funds were tied up in local enterprises which were adversely affected by the end of the war. As a result, the banking structure in Southwest China was reduced to impotency before the arrival of the Communists.

B. Communist Transformation

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453 When the Communists took over Southwest

453 China, they closed the branches of the Central
652 Bank of China and the Farmers' Bank, and instituted rigid supervision over the branches of the Bank of China and Bank of Communications. The new regime also took over the provincial banks outright. The regulations governing private banks which had been enforced in other regions were put into effect; the stipulations regarding the banks' operations and interest rates, the amount of reserves to be kept with the People's Bank, and the periodic reports required were so harsh that few banks could survive. The banking shares owned by so-called "bureaucratic capitalists" and "reactionaries" were confiscated. Nearly all native banks and the minor locally registered commercial banks discontinued operations because of their inability to increase capital as required; a few locally registered commercial banks in Chungking and Kunming were liquidated after their shares had been confiscated by the government and their financial resources had proved inadequate.

In May 1951, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and the Ho Chen Bank were "advised" to join the first system of eleven banks operated jointly by state and private enterprise with headquarters at Shanghai. Both the commercial banks were owned by Szechwen capital and did business within and outside

453 the province. The Ho Chen Bank was the
652 younger of the two institutions but had made great strides during the war. As a result of a Communist-induced merger of all private banks in December 1952, the names of Ho Chen and Young Brothers disappeared from the banking world.

Meanwhile, the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were reorganized and placed under the control of the People's Bank. With the transformation of the modern commercial banks in Shanghai into one Joint State-Private Bank, their branches in Southwest China underwent similar changes.

Before the war, a branch of the Banque de l'Indochine in Kunming was the only foreign bank in Southwest China. It ceased operation soon after the Communists took over Yunnan. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation had established an office in Chungking during the war but withdrew soon after its end. Therefore, the Communists were hardly confronted with a problem of eliminating foreign banking influence in the region.

Since Szechwan was the most fertile of the Southwest China provinces, it had a larger number of affluent landowners and a greater amount of outstanding rural credit

453 extended by landowners than had Yunnan and
652 Kweichow. On the other hand, pawnshops in the latter two provinces did more business than their counterparts in Szechwan, which were often handicapped by inflation and the consequent need to charge excessive interest rates.

These two sources of credit were wiped out by the Communists: the Land Reform Movement eliminated the landlords; and the pawnshops closed because they could no longer obtain bank credit nor meet the increased capital requirements established by Communist regulations.

The fragile banking structure of Southwest China could offer little resistance to Communist designs, and it was completely transformed by the middle of 1951. As the old banking structure was liquidated, the new banking system in Southwest China was developed after the general pattern of the banking system of Communist China as a whole: monolithic and uniform. It now consists of branches of the following institutions: (1) People's Bank of China; (2) Bank of China; (3) Bank of Communications; (4) Chinese People's Construction Bank; (5) Agricultural Bank of China; (6) State-Private Joint Bank; (7) Chinese People's Insurance Company; and (8) credit co-operatives.

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II. THE COMMUNIST BANKING SYSTEM

A. The People's Bank of China

453 The People's Bank of China is the
652 supreme financial organ in the country; all other banks operate under its control. A Southwest China regional office of the People's Bank was established at Chungking as the highest authority on monetary matters and administration; branch offices were maintained in each province. The regional office was abolished with the abandonment of the regional administrative system in September 1954; the branch offices in each province were placed under the direct control of the head office at Peking and charged with the responsibility for monetary affairs at the local level.

The number of branches, one in each provincial capital, was reduced from four to three after the province of Sikang was amalgamated with Szechwan Province in October 1955. Branch offices of the People's Bank in the Southwest Region are currently located at Chengtu, Kweiyang, and Kunming.

Under each branch office there are sub-branch offices in counties, cities, and towns.

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453 There also are temporary units, called
652 central sub-branch offices, set up at political or communication centers to supervise sub-branch offices in the vicinity. A network of subordinate offices called agencies, sub-agencies and stations, has been established to serve main thoroughfares and residential sections in large cities and individual towns, populous villages, schools, factories, and military posts. These offices handle deposits, remittances, and the extension of rural credits.

According to incomplete statistics there are about 400 sub-branch offices and about forty central sub-branch offices in the three provinces of Southwest China, besides several thousand agencies and stations. The total number of subsidiary offices of the People's Bank was officially reported to be more than 19,000 in March 1955.

The branch offices perform the following functions.[1] (1) Adjust the circulation of currency; (2) Act as agents for the state treasury; (3) Accept current accounts and promote savings; (4) Extend credits to

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1. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics]. Shanghai, Ch'un-ming Shu-tien, 1953, p. 8,013.

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453 industry and commerce, both public and
652 private, either directly or through affiliated banks; (5) Handle clearings of bills and transfers of accounts, and facilitate remittances; (6) Extend rural credits either through their own agencies or through co-operatives; (7) Look after receipts and disbursements of foreign exchange handled by affiliated banks; and (8) Handle any other monetary matters within their jurisdictions.

Each branch office has departments to control currency, credit to public and private enterprises, rural credits, and the promotion of savings deposits and the expansion of credit co-operatives.

B. Bank of China

The Bank of China, established as a central bank in 1912, was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution with government participation for dealing with foreign trade. After the Communists overran China, the bank was allowed to continue its old status, and those of its directors who represented private interests retained their positions. At the same time, the general manager and the directors representing Nationalist Government interests were replaced by Communist appointees; one of the newly appointed directors,

453 the director-general of the People's Bank,
652 was concurrently nominated chairman of the board. At the first shareholders' meeting, held in November 1954 under the Communist regime, the old directors representing private interest who had left the Mainland were replaced by shareholders who were co-operating with the Communists. Hence, the Bank of China is fully controlled by the Communist government and is virtually a subsidiary of the People's Bank.

The Bank of China is entrusted by the People's Bank to:[2] (1) Administer the control of foreign exchange; (2) Handle foreign exchange, foreign securities, bills of exchange, and other commercial documents, payable or receivable in foreign exchange; (3) Extend credits, and accept deposits in connection with foreign trade; (4) Look after the accounts and clearings of foreign trade conducted by and through government organizations; and (5) Control overseas remittances.

Before 1937, the Bank of China had had only three branches in the Southwest Region,

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2. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, No. 31.

453 all in Szechwan. During the war the bank not
452 only increased its branches in Szechwan, but also opened a number of offices in Kweichow and Yunnan. The bank now has only two branches in Southwest China, both in Yunnan, one at Kunming and the other at Wan-ting on the Burma border.

The Communists found the Bank of China a valuable institution because of its solid reputation, core of trained personnel, and assets located in China and abroad. However, the Communist regime was able to control only 11 of the overseas branches -- in Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Chittagong, Rangoon and Djakarta. The other eight branches -- in South Indochina, Cambodia, Thailand, Japan, the United States, Cuba and Australia -- are still under the control of the Bank of China in Formosa because those countries have not recognized Communist China.

C. Bank of Communications

The Bank of Communications, inaugurated in 1907 as a treasury agent of the Ministry of Posts and Communications, was reorganized in 1928 with the participation of government interests as a special institution to develop industry and internal trade. In June 1951,

453 after a short period of suspension ordered by
652 the Communists, the bank was allowed to resume business under its old status. Probably, this was done with the intent of facilitating Communist penetration of private industries through the bank's connections. Business was resumed only after Communists were appointed to the offices of chairman of the board and general manager, and after Nationalist Government directors were replaced by appointees of the new regime. At the shareholders meeting held in December 1954, the shareholders were "advised" to elect as directors representing private interests a slate of candidates drawn up by the Communists.

The Bank of Communications performs the following functions:[3] (1) Handles appropriations for basic government construction, and screen and approve applications for appropriations for such construction; (2) Organizes and lead long-term investment markets; (3) Controls ownership rights for public shares of enterprises operated by state-private joint interests; (4) Handles long-term credits.

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3. Cheng Chu-yüan, Monetary Affairs of Communist China, Hong Kong, The Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 25.

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652 Since the establishment of the Chinese People's Construction Bank, it has been entrusted with the important function of handling appropriations for basic government construction. No investment markets could be created because any savable income the people might have was constantly drained by the government's frequent levies. The function of controlling ownership rights for public shares is non-existent since in every joint state-private enterprise one or more Communist appointees participates in the management, assisted by Communist-controlled labor union members. Therefore, the duties of the Bank of Communications are confined to looking after long-term credits to state-private joint industry.

The Bank of Communications increased the number of its branches in Southwest China after resuming business. The important ones are: in Szechwan Province -- Chungking, Chengtu, Neikiang, Tzeliutsing, Luhsien, and Kikiang; in Kweichow Province -- Kweiyang, Tuyun, and Tuhsan; in Yunnan Province -- Kunming and Kokui.

D. Chinese People's Construction Bank

In order to facilitate progress of the Five-Year Plan and to overcome defects in

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652 the appropriation of funds for capital construction, the Chinese People's Construction Bank was established in October 1954 and entrusted with the following functions:[4] (1) To handle the funds of basic construction projects, either as provided by budget appropriations or as raised by the projects themselves; (2) Supply short-term credits, according to the governments' credit plan, to the contracting organizations undertaking work on projects; (3) Settle accounts and make returns in connection with the governments' appropriations for the projects; and (4) Supervise the use of funds appropriated or raised, the arrangement of payment to contracting organizations, and project matters related to finance, cost accounting, and investments.

As soon as the head office of the Chinese People's Construction Bank was installed in Peking, branch offices were set up in places where basic construction projects were underway. A part of the buildings of the People's Bank or of the Bank of Communications

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4. New China News Agency release, Peking, Sept. 13, 1954.

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453 were used as Construction Bank offices; a
652 number of staff members of the two older banks were switched to the new bank. In light of its functions and of the establishment of its branches in such a summary manner, the Chinese People's Construction Bank bears more resemblance to a government department than to a banking institution.

Less than three months after the Bank's establishment, a conference of managers of branches was held to review their work in appropriating and supervising funds for capital construction in 1954. Among the resolutions of this conference was an ambitious proposal. The Bank would supervise construction units and enterprises to fully develop the resources and potentials of each project, and would urge them to deliver profits, depreciations funds, and surplus revolving funds to upper levels on schedule.

E. Agricultural Bank of China

The Agricultural Bank of China was inaugurated on March 25, 1955. Rural finance until then had been handled entirely by the branch and subsidiary offices of the People's Bank in line with the policy of avoiding the duplication of banking services involving small

453 loans and deposits at the local level. As
652 early as May 1951, a departure from this policy was contemplated when a national rural finance conference decided an agricultural co-operative bank should be set up to handle rural finance exclusively. This decision was not implemented, however, because it was contradictory to the policy of the People's Bank. The revival of the idea of creating a special rural finance institution was the result of a new call for more "co-operativization" of agriculture, and of the rapid growth of the number of credit co-operatives.

The Agricultural Bank of China performs the following functions:[5] (1) Extends long-term and short-term credits to individual producers and to joint state-private operated agricultural, stock-raising, fishery, and producer mutual-aid and co-operative organizations; (2) Handles capital investments allocated in the state budget for agriculture, forestry, and water conservation; (3) Guides and helps the people's credit co-operative organizations; and (4) Provides savings deposit services for rural residents, producer mutual-aid and co-operative organizations, collective farms, and state agriculture and water conservation organs.

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5. Ibid., March 25, 1955.

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652 At present, the function of handling capital investments appropriated in the state budget will be retained by the People's Bank, according to an official statement. Moreover, there is no indication that the new bank will develop an extended branch network on the order of the Chinese People's Construction Bank. Therefore, the present function of the Agricultural Bank of China appears to be primarily the guidance and supervision of credit co-operatives and the promotion of savings deposits in rural areas; its organization is, in reality, similar to that of a department of the People's Bank, except that the Agricultural Bank has more responsibility and discretionary power.

F. Joint State-Private Bank

Soon after all banks in Shanghai had been transformed into joint state-private concerns and then grouped, with the exception of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, into four joint management units, they were all "advised" to merge into one Joint State-Private Bank. It began operations on January 1, 1953. Only two Szechwan banks, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and the Ho Chen Bank, were involved in the merger. The general managers of the two Szechwan banks were included on the 103-man boards of directors

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453 of the joint bank and made two of its 27 managing
652 directors. The Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming branches of the component banks in the merger were ordered amalgamated in each city into one branch of the Joint State-Private Bank; branches of the component banks in other cities of Southwest China were closed. The amalgamated branches in Chungking, Kunming, and Chengtu constitute three of the thirteen branches of the joint bank maintained throughout the country; the head office is located in Peking.

The chairman of the board and the chief manager of the bank are appointees of the People's Bank, which completely controls the Joint State-Private Bank. The Joint Bank is empowered to fulfill the following functions:[6] (1) Handle accounts of private enterprises; (2) Extend short-term credits to private enterprises, subject to the advice of the People's Bank; (3) Handle inland remittances and overseas Chinese remittances through the branches of component banks still operating in Hong Kong for the account of the Bank of China; and (4) Accept savings deposits for the account of the People's Bank.

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6. Report of Shanghai Commercial Bank, Hong Kong.

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453 The Hong Kong branches of the Young
652 Brothers Banking Corporation and of the Ho Chen Bank are still allowed to operate. Other Hong Kong branches of the component banks which likewise continue to function are: Kincheng Banking Corporation, Yieh Yieh Commercial Bank, China and South Sea Bank, Sin Hwa Savings Bank, the China State Bank, the National Commercial Bank, and the National Industrial Bank. The desire of the Communists to maintain as many interests in Hong Kong as possible accounts for the continued operation of these branches, in spite of their handling only small deposits and remittances.

G. Credit Co-operatives

452 Credit co-operatives in rural areas have
474 experienced tremendous growth since 1954. The number throughout the country increased from about 13,000 at the end of 1953 to 153,400 in June 1955.[7] According to Communist statistics, credit co-operatives exist in about 80 per cent of the more than 2,000 counties in the country and have a membership of nearly 100,000,000.

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7. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 6, 1955.

452 In October 1955, there were 6,100
474 credit co-operatives in Szechwan[8] and 5,691 in Yunnan.[9] The number in Kweichow was reported to be smaller, but no exact figures are available.

Two other types of credit co-operative organizations function on a lower level -- credit departments attached to supply-marketing co-operatives, and credit mutual-aid teams. The former have neither separate membership nor independent capital and depend for their operating funds on deposits or special funds appropriated by the co-operatives concerned. The latter consists of a group of farmers, each of whom subscribes an equal amount of capital for loans to group members. Credit is granted on the approval of subscribers and is redeemed in installments.

Although the publicized objectives of the Communists' promotion of credit co-operatives are to aid the peasants' financial needs for production and daily living and to

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8. New China News Agency release, Chengtu, Oct. 11, 1955.

9. Ibid., Kunming, Oct. 27, 1955.

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452 eliminate exploitation by usurers, disinterested
474 observers have doubts as to how far such means can or will go in meeting these problems. The doubts arise principally because of the government's frequently expressed desire to utilize credit co-operatives to pool idle capital in rural areas as government operating funds, which appear to be almost non-existent.

H. Chinese People's Insurance Company

456 According to the Communists, the state-operated Chinese People's Insurance Company is considered as a component of the entire Communist financial system. It has the functions of organizing scattered funds for the industrialization of the state, and of establishing a centralized insurance fund to compensate losses from natural calamities or accidents sustained by individual policy holders or economic units. The Chinese People's Insurance Company was established on October 20, 1949, and simultaneously the elimination of privately owned and foreign-operated insurance firms was begun. Branch offices and subordinate offices of the Chinese People's Insurance Company were established throughout the country, and branches of the People's Bank and other bank were appointed agents of the state-operated insurance company.

456 Since 1950, the Chinese People's Insurance Company has handled the compulsory insurance of assets of state-owned enterprises and supply-marketing co-operatives above the county level and of persons traveling by rail, steamer, and aircraft. The company also has promoted life and private property insurance on a voluntary basis in urban centers. Insurance of livestock and farm crops has been encouraged in rural areas. Rates for various categories of insurance have been reduced, and the scope of coverage broadened. However frequent criticism of the company has been expressed concerning imprudent expansion, inexperienced personnel, and the arbitrary attitude displayed by the officers.

III. BANKING OPERATIONS

453 The operation of these varied banking
652 and financial organizations is integrated through their subordination to the single command of the People's Bank, and, in effect, they operate as a single body. During the development of the Communist monetary system, the emphasis of the whole banking operation appears to have shifted. At its inception, popularization of the People's Bank notes and the promotion of individual deposits were stressed; at a later stage, control of cash funds held by public organizations and centralization of credit extension were emphasized; recently,

453 attention is being focused on attracting peasants'
452 deposits. But the main objective of these different emphases is to subject all economic activity to state direction by controlling all cash funds held by organizations, firms, and individuals, and by completely controlling the distribution of credit.

A. Cash Control

Beginning in March 1950, control over revenue collections was enforced; all government agencies handling such funds are required to deposit them with the People's Bank or its authorized agencies. Similar control was soon extended over funds held by publicly operated enterprises, the armed forces, and co-operatives. These organizations are allowed to keep on hand only small, stipulated amounts of cash and are required to make all payments by check, except for wages, salaries, and the purchase of local products in rural areas.

After intensification of the Korean war in 1951, the increasing fluctuation of commodity prices and the revival of black-market financial dealings prompted the Communists to further tighten control over cash held by private firms and individuals. All persons engaged in business are required to deposit the day's net proceeds in their bank

453 accounts; all shops have to make their pur-
652 chase payments by check, and under no circumstances can cash be used. Checks received for the sale of goods have to be deposited in bank accounts; under no circumstances may these checks be used to buy other goods. All persons are required to bank their cash holdings in excess of PB$2,000,000 (about US$80.00);[10] all firms and individuals must use checks for transactions exceeding PB$100,000 (about US$4.00).

To prevent the use or retention of checks as substitutes for cash, "crossed checks" (checks so marked that they cannot be cashed, but only deposited to the account of the payee) are mandatory in transactions between public enterprises, and special checks in transactions between public and private enterprises. To preclude the acquisition of cash by transferring funds from one locality to another, such transactions can only be accomplished by the use of "crossed checks"; and the paying bank is responsible for validating the transfer.

A lucrative rate of interest of 5.4 per cent a year was paid on current accounts

10. Cheng, op. cit., p. 84.

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453 opened by private enterprises or individuals
652 until October 3, 1955. On that date, it was reduced to 2.88 per cent to "implement the strict practice of economy".[11] Indeed cash control has been so effective that the inducement of high interest is no longer necessary to encourage the banking of excess cash.

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652 The People's Bank also vigorously encouraged saving. Many subordinate offices were established for this express purpose, and their officers visited residents in the vicinity to solicit deposits. In rural areas, quotas for increasing savings deposits were set for each county, which, in turn, fixed quotas for each village and household. After the enforcement of the state plan for the unified and compulsory purchase of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, canvassing for rural savings by banks in conjunction with credit co-operatives was accentuated with the hope of absorbing the purchase proceeds into the bank. It is interesting to note that the People's Bank, at the time it issued the new currency in March 1955, provided in its Savings Deposits Regulations for maintaining secrecy concerning depositors and their funds. The bank

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11. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452 and its agencies became responsible for
652 guarding in closest secrecy the names, addresses, specimens of signatures and seals, amounts of deposits, identities of depositors, and particulars on the receipt or payment of money for savings depositors. This indicates the extent to which the Communists were prepared to go to induce deposits.

According to a Communist report, bank deposits in China's cities at the end of August 1955 amounted to more than 1,440 million yuan (over US$576 million) mostly in fixed deposits. There was no explanation as to whether the fixed deposits included savings deposits. The number of depositors in the seven major cities of Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton, Chungking, and Sian was reported to have been 4.8 times higher in the first six months of 1955 than in the same period of 1954.[12] One report shows that savings deposits in the third quarter of 1954 amounted to 610 billion yuan (old currency; about US$24.4 million) in Szechwan[13] and 216 billion yuan (old currency, about US$8.6 million) in Yunnan.[14] Per capita savings in Szechwan (population 62,303,999) amounted to

12. Ibid.
13. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 19, 1954.
14. Ibid., July 27, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452US$0.40 and in Yunnan (population 17,472,737)
652to US$0.50.

B. Credit Control

During the first years of Communist rule, when the power of granting credit was concentrated in the head office of the People's Bank at Peking, the Southwest China regional office of the bank had more power of decision on credit matters because it was remote from the financial and political capital; yet important matters had to be referred to the Financial and Economic Committee of the Greater Southwest Region Administration.

Since the adoption by the People's Bank, in 1953, of a decentralization policy on credit extension, followed by the abolition of the Greater Regional Administration in 1954, the branch office of the bank in each province has had the power and responsibility to extend credits. In applying for a loan, public enterprises and co-operatives are required to provide the branch office with a budget outlining credit needs and a plan estimating the extent to which the proposed project will increase production, raise labor productivity, and lower production costs. Credits are classified according to their duration (short, long, or seasonal) and use; borrowers are required to adhere to the terms expressed in the contract.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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652 The granting of credit to private enterprises is subject to the same requirements for furnishing a plan and a budget. Before the Communist takeover, a system of specialization in certain lines of business had been developed by each private bank; thus, one bank granted credits to textile enterprises, another to the metal industry, etc. When all private banks were merged into the Joint State-Private Bank, the latter was placed in charge of the extension of credits to private enterprises under the direction of the People's Bank. A system of joint application was promoted; enterprises in the same line of business were encouraged to apply jointly for credits, listing the financial requirements of each firm with an estimate of its production and demand for its output. This arrangement was intended to prevent "blind" competition in production and preclude the diversion of bank credit by one borrower to help another.

Extension and acceptance of credit between public enterprises and private firms were prohibited to eliminate commercial loans. Private enterprises have had to depend entirely on government banks for credit. Furthermore, an exorbitant rate of interest has been charged on credits to private enterprises: private industry paid 10.8 to 19.8 per cent annually, while private commerce was subject to rates of from 16.2 to 23.4 per cent. Though

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 the interest rate was reduced on October 3,
652 1955, it remained as high as 11.88 per cent for private industry and 16.2 per cent for private commerce,[15] double the rate charged for public industry and commerce.

The Communist regime's accession to control of rural credit through the instrument of the People's Bank seems to have been an easy task. The large-scale landlords and retail merchants, who had been the most important source of rural credit, particularly in Szechwan and Yunnan, were stripped of their wealth if not of their lives; the newly emerged rich peasants were drained of their limited funds by compulsory subscriptions to savings deposits, government bonds, and various patriotic drives. Moreover, the so-called fixed purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops barred the peasants from accumulating any kind of savings which might be loaned.

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652 The vigorous Communist drive to increase participation in credit co-operatives aims at utilizing the peasants' own funds for the extension and control of rural credits. This

15. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

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objective is indicated in a directive issued on September 12, 1955 by the head office of the People's Bank to its branches,[16] stating that branches must guide credit co-operatives in encouraging savings deposits for the use of rural credits in the coming year. The branches also were ordered to collect matured long-term credits prior to the start of government crop purchases. This directive indicates that the Communists use the withdrawal of rural credits as a weapon to force peasants to sell their products to the government.

In 1955, rural credit was extended at the following interest rates:[17]

Agricultural production co-operatives	7.2% per annum
Producer mutual-aid teams	9.0% per annum
Individual peasants	10.8% per annum
Very poor peasants	9.0% per annum

16. Peking broadcast, Sept. 12, 1955.
17. New China News Agency release, Peking, Nov. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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IV. CURRENCY

A. Currency System

436 After the establishment of the People's
652 Bank of China in Shih-chia-chuang of Hopei Province on December 1, 1948, Jen-min-p'iao (People's Banknotes) were first issued. They have become the uniform currency of Communist China. They are the monetary unit for all tax payments, settlement of accounts, and computation of commodity prices. Circulation of all gold, silver, and foreign currencies has been prohibited. Since March 6, 1951, the circulation of Jen-min-p'iao has been restricted to Communist China only, and export of the notes forbidden.

The Jen-min-p'iao is not redeemable in any precious metal nor interchangeable with any foreign currency. No provision is made for limiting its issue. The Communists' rationalization of their monetary system evolved from a very primitive theory to a more advanced one. At an early stage, the Communists explained that the note issue was backed by foodstuffs and cloth. Later the regime claimed that "the increasing stability of the currency is borne out by the balance of the budget, by the balanced distribution of supplies, and by the balance of cash receipts

436 and expenditures." Recently the regime has
652 referred to other indicators of the currency's value --i.e., the balance of international payments and the resulting increase of foreign reserves. It would appear that the Communists discovered during the period of currency inflation the Chinese people's instinctive ability to distinguish between good and bad money and have had to find plausible monetary theories to quiet the people's anxiety.

The Communists have kept the amount of note issue strictly secret, yet the progress of inflation becomes evident in observing the increase of the notes' denominations. The Jen-min-p'iao was first issued in denominations of 1, 5 10, 20, 50 and 100 yuan. By the second half of 1949, the printing of notes was speeded up to cover huge government deficits. The small denomination notes were no longer found practical, and larger denominations of 200, 500 and 1,000 yuan were successively introduced. Between February and April 1950 an additional issue of 5,000 and 10,000 denomination notes was made. Finally the denomination was enlarged to 20,000 and 50,000 during 1953-54.

On March 1, 1955, a new kind of People's Banknotes in small denominations was issued,

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436 and current People's Banknotes were called in.
652 The major denominations of the new currency are 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10 yuan. The smaller denominations are 1, 2, and 5 fen (100 fen equal one yuan) and 1, 2, and 5 chiao (10 chiao equal one yuan). A new one-yuan note is equivalent to 10,000 yuan note of the old currency. All old banknotes outstanding in denominations above 5,000 yuan were to be exchanged at the People's Bank before the end of April 1955, and denominations of 5,000 and less not later than June 10, 1955.

A statement made by the vice-premier and concurrent finance minister of Communist China on the issue of the new currency is worth noting. He admitted for the first time that inflation existed under the Communist regime but, ironically, heralded the new banknote issue at the rate of 1 to 10,000 of the old notes as the cure for inflation. At the same time, he revealed the true objective of the new issue by adding that it would aid considerably in accounting for the possession and use of money in China.

Although the Bank of China quotes a foreign exchange rate for the Jen-min-p'iao, the quotation does not reflect the real value of the Chinese currency in international monetary terms. Frequent revisions were made in

436 652 the rate until May 1951, but since then few changes have been announced. No exchange rate in terms of the American dollar have been quoted since the United States government enforced the embargo on trade with Communist China in 1950. Figures on the cross rate of the Hong Kong currency, quoted by the Communists at HK$2.34 per PB¥1, one People's Banknote is valued at US$0.385. Despite the fact that these evaluations have not been tested on the open market and that the old currency was subject to inflation, a responsible official of the People's Bank publicly announced that the new currency of China was one of the most stable in the world.[18]

B. Currency Control

The Communists found currency control in Southwest China more necessary than in other areas because the people in the region were more experienced in facing the problems of an unsound currency. For more than two decades after the establishment of the Republic in 1911, Szechwan warlords practiced all kinds of currency manipulation; they debased silver dollars, silver coins, and even copper coins, issued unbacked paper notes through local

18. Ibid., Peking, March 20, 1955.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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436 banks and private armies, and repudiated the
652 redemption of banknotes issued against real reserves. These same practices were duplicated in Yunnan on a smaller scale. As a result, the people in these provinces were always alert to protect their interests whenever monetary inflation, debasement, or manipulation occurred. The warlords had not been able to derive much revenue from debased currency and inflated notes because the people refused to accept such money.

During the inflation under the Nationalist Government from 1938 to 1949, the people of the Southwest Region tried to exchange banknotes for gold and commodities. After the Communists took over Southwest China, a fair amount of scattered gold and silver holdings was reported uncovered in the course of liquidating the landlords and local "despots" and through extortionate fines during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti movements. Frequent exactions were made on the people to prevent them from turning their cash into goods. Southwest China was allocated 15 per cent of the 1950 Victory Bond series, amounting to a nationwide total of US$70 million;[19] assigned

19. Hsin Chung-kuo Ta-shih Chi-k'an [New China Events Quarterly], No. 4, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1949, p. 127.

43% a quota in 1951 of 8.3 per cent of the US$220
662 million amunition contribution for the Korean conflict;[20] and required to contribute 16 per cent of the total of US$220 million collected throughout the country during 1950 and 1952 in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement.

In addition, Southwest China has been assigned a proportionate share of the Economic Construction Bonds amounting to US$250 million yearly since 1954. In 1954, 53.3 per cent of the issue was allocated to private industrial and commercial enterprises, the private partners of joint enterprises, and other city residents; 30 per cent to rural villages, and 16.6 per cent to workers, shop employees, working personnel of the government and public organs, and the cadres of the armed forces. In the 1955 allocation, the first category was reduced to 45% and the last category increased to 25%, the second category remaining the same.[21] An issue of Economic Construction Bonds for 1956 was announced in November 1955.

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20. Ho Yü-wen, Chung-kung Ts'ai-cheng Chieh-p'ou [An Analysis of Communist China's Finance], Hong Kong, Asia Press, 1953, p. 74.

21. Jin-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 9, 1955.

436 According to an estimate[22] made by
652 the Communists in 1955, workers were required to pledge a little more than 7 yuan per head (about US$2.70) for their subscription to the Economic Construction Bonds, and the peasants, excluding those in calamity-stricken areas, were required to pledge an average of 0.4 yuan.

Since the government began the enforced purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, hardly any staple commodities have been left for the people to hoard, and the bond subscriptions have consumed what little cash might have been available for saving. In view of the past ingenuity of the people in the Southwest Region to defend themselves against inflation, it remains to be seen whether currency control will remain effective, and if so, how it will influence incentives for agricultural and industrial production.

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22. Ibid.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF 16

[facing p. 850(a)]

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF 16

[facing p. 850 (b)]

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF 16

[facing p. 260 (c)]

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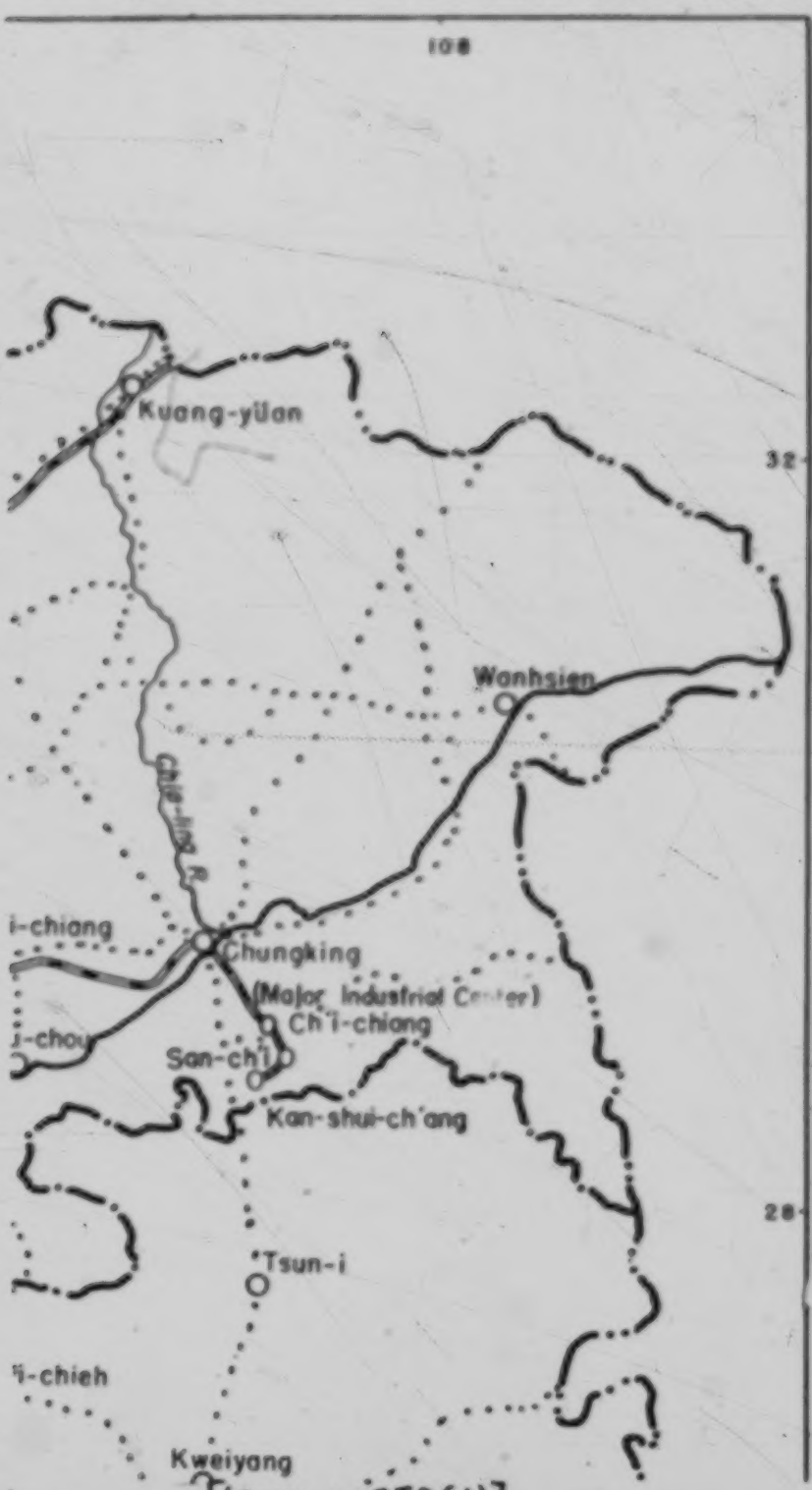

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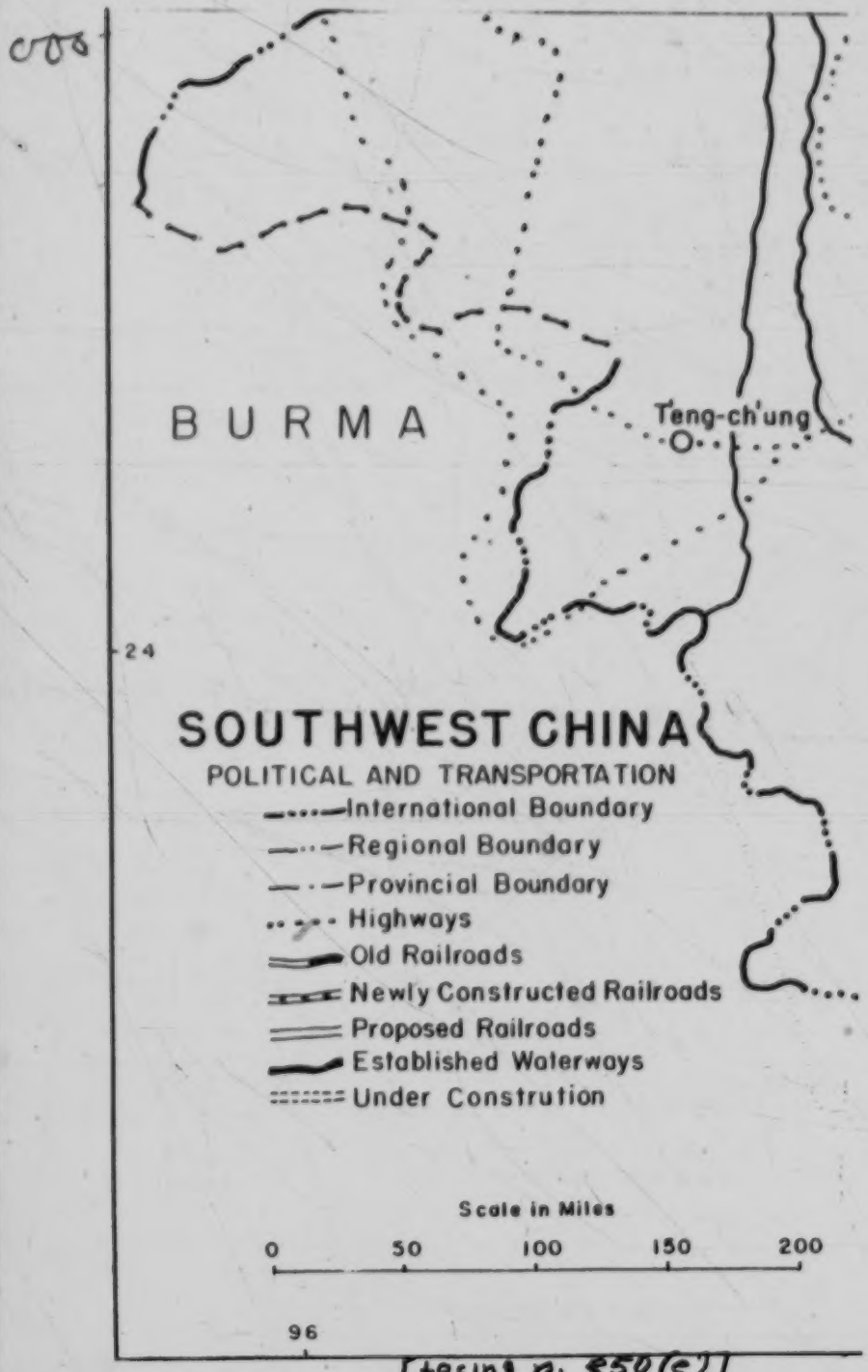

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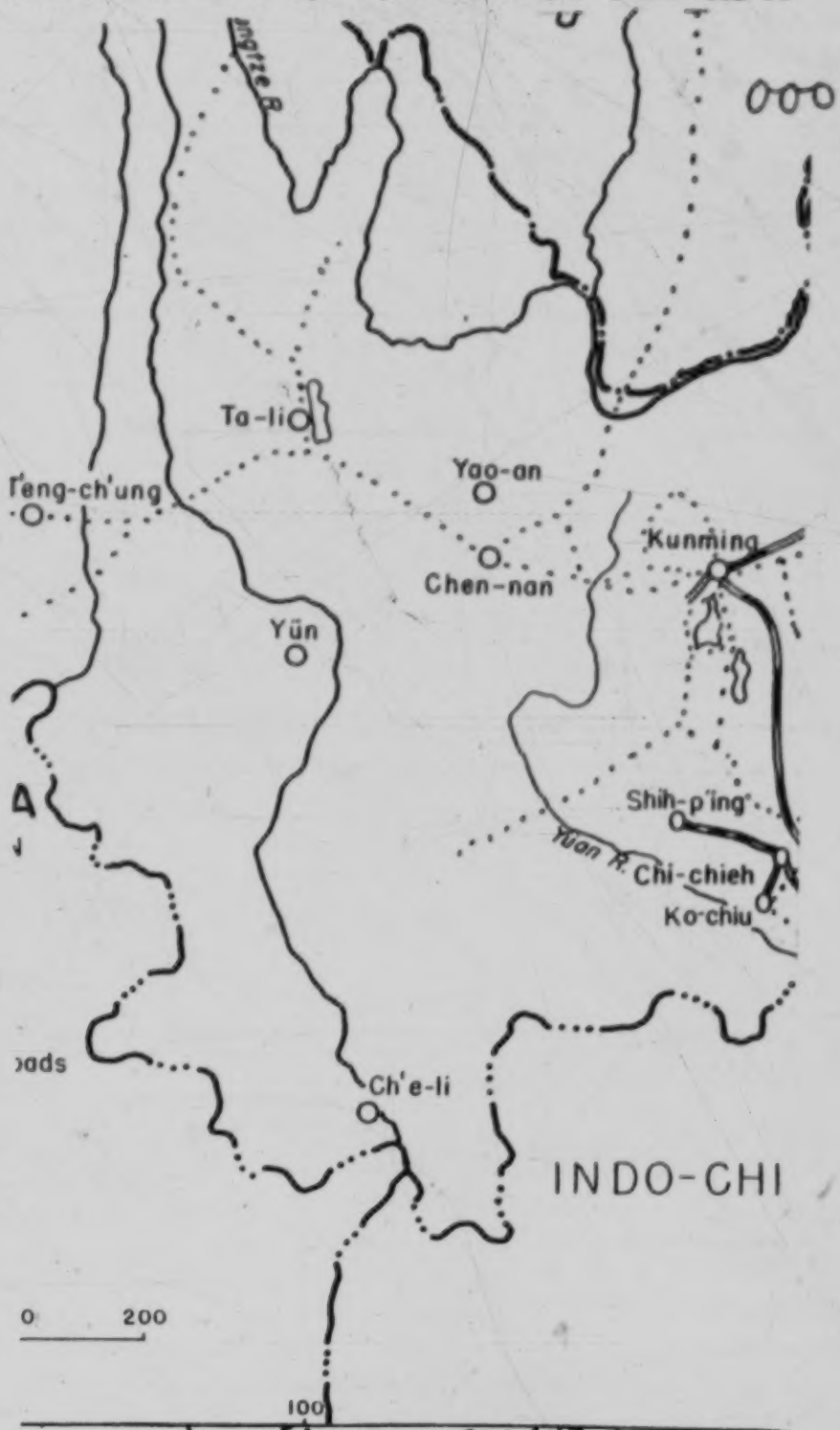

[facing p. 850(f)]

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[facing p. 250(h)]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3e,
Economic Background

TRANSPORTATION AND DOMESTIC TRADE

489 For generations, Southwest China has lacked good transportation facilities. Before the founding of the Republic in 1911, not a single railroad was in operation in this area; nor were there many wide roads. The chief means of transportation at that time were the inland waterways and a limited number of country roads. The idea of building a modern railway in Szechwan was initiated by Chang Chih-tung in the last year of the reign of the Emperor Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty,[1] but the plan failed. Extensive railway building was not started in the Southwest Region until 1936, just prior to the war of resistance against Japan. During the war, the Nationalist Government accomplished a great deal in both railway and highway construction in Southwest

1. Wang Chih-fen, Ch'eng Yü T'ieh-lu [Chengtu-Chungking Railway], Shanghai, Hsin chih-shih ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 14-15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

(Table 1 faces p. 851)

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Table 1. The Railway Lines of Southwest China, 1959*
(Unit: Km = kilometers, Mi = miles.)

Name	Terminals	Length
The Chungching Railway Administration		
Trunk Lines		
Chungking-Chengtu Line	Chengtu to Chungking	505 Km. (313 Mi.)
Ssechwan-Kweichow Line	Chungking to Kweiyang	130 Km.#(80 Mi.)
	Total	635 Km. (393 Mi.)
The Kunming Railway Administration		
Trunk Lines		
Yunnan-Indo-China Line	Kunming to Hok'ou	465 Km. (291 Mi.)
Chengtu-Kunming Line	Kunming to Neichiang	174 Km.x(109 Mi.)
Yunnan-Burma Line	Kunming to Kunnung	35 Km.y(22 Mi.)
Branches		
Pisechai Shihp'ing Line	Pisechai to Shihp'ing	144 Km. (90 Mi.)
Chichieh-Kochiu Line	Chichieh to Kochiu	34 Km. (21 Mi.)
	Total	852 Km. (533 Mi.)
The Second Bureau of Railway Works		
Paochi-Chengtu Line	Paochi to Chengtu	456 Km.z(285 Mi.)
	Grand Total	1,772Km.(1,211 Mi.)

*Ling Hung-hsün, Chung-kuo T'ieh-lu Kai-lun [General Survey of China's Railways], Taipei, 1950, pp. 32-33. Ito Toshio, Chukyo tetsudo no genjo [The Present Conditions of the Chinese Communist Railways], Tokyo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1954, pp. 24-25, and 53.

#The complete line is 320 kilometers (200 miles) and at present it covers only the completed section between Chiang-chin and Kan-shui-ch'ang.

xCovers the already completed section between Kunming and Chan-i, but the total length of the entire line is 810 kilometers (506 miles).

yCovers the already completed section between Kunming and An-ning, but the total length of the line is 860 kilometers (537 miles).

zCovers the already completed section between Chengtu and Lüeh-yang, but the total length of the line is 672 kilometers (420 miles).

[facing p. 851]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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489 China in spite of the numerous difficulties encountered. After the "liberation," the Communists, in addition to the rehabilitation of existing railways and highways, began to build new ones. In addition, some improvements have been made in inland water transport and aviation. Consequently, Southwest China is now able to ship its surplus grain to regions where grain production is inadequate.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

496 Since the Communists came to power in 1949, efforts have been made to restore and expand the railway network in Northwest and Southwest China. The railways which are now (1956) in operation in Southwest China are shown in Table 1.

499 Over one-third of the total construction work of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway had been completed by the Nationalists before 1949; the Communists finished the railway in June 1952.[2] According to the Communists, they built 15 new tunnels, 28 large bridges, 189 small bridges, 446 culverts, and about two-thirds of the road foundation.[3] About 35,230 tons of steel rails and 1,250,000 railway ties were needed.[4] Most of the steel rails were supplied by the iron and steel plant at Chungking.[5] The supply of railroad ties presented serious problem but a sifficient amount of timber was collected when the Communists announced that peasants would be allowed to pay land tax in timber instead of grain.[6]

499 661 When the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was under construction, a great number of charges of waste and corruption were brought against officials. In Chiu-lung-p'o, Communist

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2. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, July 11, 1955, p. 13.

3. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Hong Kong, July 12, 1950, July 4, 1951.

4. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 25.

5. Chao Yung-seen, Railways in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union R search Institute, 1955, pp. 23-24.

6. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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499 cadres were charged with stealing ¥1,000
661 million ($40,000).[7]

Many bridges collapsed and had to be rebuilt because material of poor quality had been used.[8] Some Communists cadres could not be trusted to inspect the quality of work done, and others were willing to approve poor work if the contractors paid them a bonus or offered bribes.[9]

497 In July 1952 the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was open to traffic.[10] This railroad, which runs through the richest farmlands of Szechwan, brought new economic prosperity to the province. With the low-cost transportation, the region can sell rice, sugar, salt, and coal in many markets. Principal native products (hemp, vegetable oil, tobacco, and herb medicine) of Western Szechwan are shipped in large quantities from Chengtu to Chungking by rail and thence down the Yangtze River to Central-South and East China.[11]

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Feb. 22, 1952.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. China Weekly, Hong Kong, July 11, 1955.
11. People's China, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, July 16, 1953, p. 29.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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497 During the first year of operation, over 1,200,000 tons of freight and nearly 2,500,000 passengers were shipped by way of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway.[12] The business turnover of Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan, was 12 per cent higher in May 1952 than in May of the preceding year.[13] An express train from Chungking to Chengtu took 16 hours in July 1953, five hours less than in 1952. Freight tonnage increased by 277.4 per cent and the number of passengers by 118.7 per cent in less than a year.[14] The Communists estimated that over 33 per cent more freight would be carried by the Chengtu-Chungking Railway in 1955 than in 1952 according to one report.[15]

499 Another important railway (the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway) to link the Southwest with the Northwest is now (1956) under construction. Construction began on July 1, 1953, and the entire line is to be completed in August 1957, the last year of the first Five-Year Plan.[16]

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12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. New China News Agency, Chungking, June 20, 1955.
16. People's Handbook, Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 525.

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499 But the Communists now expect to complete the line eight months ahead of the original schedule.[17] At the southern terminal, Chengtu, the line will connect with the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, at the northern terminal, Pao-chi, an important industrial center of Northwest China, it will connect with the Lunghai Railroad, which runs from Lanchow in Kansu Province to the port of Lien-yün-kang on the East China coast. The construction of the southern section of the railway, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, called for twice as many tunnels as were built for the entire Chengtu-Chungking Railway. The Pa-miao-kou Tunnel is one of the longest in the country.[18] According to Communist plans, the southern section of the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway, including the laying of rails to Kuang-yüan, 345 kilometers from Chengtu, will be completed in 1954, as will approximately 40 per cent of the roadbed for the section from Kuang-yüan to Lüeh-yang.[19] The target for 1955 was the completion of track-laying between Kuang-yuan and Lüeh-yang.[20]

Work on the northern section has been much more difficult and hazardous because

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17. New China News Agency, Peking, July 5, 1955.

18. Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, July 4, 1955.

19. Ibid.

20. New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955.

499 the railway must pass through innumerable mountains and bridge many deep ravines. About 35 per cent of the roadbeds have to be built on solid rock.[21] Over 30 per cent of the rails had to be laid in tunnels on the section from Pao-chi to Ch'in-ling.[22] In 1955, five tunnels were completed on the northern section and the largest Ch'in-ling tunnel was finished.[23]

496 The section between Chungking and Kan-shui-ch'ang on the Szechwan-Kweichow Railway was completed by the Nationalist regime. Connection with the Chengtu-Chungking Railway has facilitated the shipment of grains, tung oil, and minerals from Chi-chiang and a few other points in Kweichow to Chungking.[24] The original narrow-guage rails have been changed to standard-guage.[25]

The Chengtu-Kunming Railway starts in Nei-chiang on the Chengtu-Chungking Line, passes through Tzu-liu-ching (Tzu-kung), and runs along the Chin-sha River and the Hsiao River to reach Kunming, a total distance of 810 kilometers.[26] The route was

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22. Ibid.
23. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, Dec. 24, 1953.
24. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, June 25, 1955.
25. Ibid.
26. Chao Yung-seen, op. cit., p. 20.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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496 surveyed in 1953 by the Communists, who made its construction a part of the first Five-Year Plan.[27] The section from Kunming to Chan-i completed by the Nationalists has already been opened to traffic.[28] This line is of little economic value, because it runs through the poorer districts of the Chin-sha River valley. However, since it is the shortest route between Chungking and Kunming, it would be of military value in case of war.

The Chengtu-Kunming Railway will be connected with the French-built Yunnan-Indochina Railway at the border. Because the section between Ho-k'ou and Pi-se-chai was destroyed by the Chinese Nationalist Army when the Japanese landed in Indochina in the autumn of 1940, the Communists have had to rebuild this section.[29] It was reported in 1953 that the Communists had begun to extend the Pi-se-chia--Shih-p'ing line through Yüan-chiang and Mo-chiang to reach P'u-erh near the border of Laos.[30]

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27. New China News Agency, Chungking, Aug. 18, 1953.
28. Ling, Hung-hsün, op. cit., p. 33.
29. Chao Yung-seen, op. cit., p. 22.
30. Ibid.

499 The Chinese Nationalist Government began to build the Yunnan-Burma Railway in the spring of 1941 under an agreement between China, the United States, and Great Britain. In 1942, following the occupation of Rangoon by the Japanese, the work was stop. Only the short section between Kunming and An-ning (35 kilometers (22 mi.)) and about 50 per cent of the earth and stone work of the 550-kilometer section between Wu-chia-chai and Hsiang-yün had been completed.[31]

498 There are two large railway plants in Southwest China -- the Chungking Railway Plant and the Kunming Railway Plant. They are not as well-equipped as those in Central-South, East, and North China, where freight and passenger cars and locomotives have been manufactured.[32]

497 The railroads in Communist China are managed in accordance with the "advanced experience" of Soviet Russia. The most

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31. Chin Shih-hsüan, T'ieh-lu Yü K'ang-chen Chi Chien-she [Railways and War and Reconstruction], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947, pp. 107-108.

32. Chinese Communist Problems, Hong Kong, Freedom Press, Series No. 1, 1954, pp. 75-76.

497 important measures adopted by Communist China are as follows:

A. The "Economic Calculation System"

Stocks of supplies in each of the railway administration's warehouses are checked in order to determine the amount of working capital needed. The next step is to determine the cost of material resources and manpower; the amount of work required for a particular job must be calcualted carefully in order to determine whether each worker has enough to keep him busy eight hours a day.[33] The economical use of material is another important part of this system. To save on coal, the Chinese Communists have adopted Soviet Russia's "One-two-three" method -- for every "one" kilometer a locomotive runs, coal is added "two times, "three shovelfuls at a time. Anti-rust preservative is used in

33. People's Daily, Peking, Dec. 16, 1952.

497 the boiler to soften the water, dissolve the dirt, and prevent rust.[34] The quota system is intended to prevent excessive use of materials. But in actual practice, this problem has not been solved. For instance, the amount of material required for any job will depend upon a number of factors -- such as the quality of the material, the skill of the workers, and the detailed specifications for any particular job. Therefore, a quota cannot very well be fixed in advance.

B. The Full Carload Movement

Because of a shortage of locomotives and rolling stock, the Communist government is enforcing the "Full-carload Movement" in all regions. The so-called "Yang Mao-lin loading method" is considered the model.[35]

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34. This method is considered out of date in the Western nations. In Western nations, super-heater has been adopted. A saving of about 15 per cent resulted. Experiments with eight-wheeled freight locomotives also resulted in a saving of 25 per cent in fuel consumption. See Chao Yung-seen, Railways in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1955, pp. 51-52.

35. Yang Mao-lin was originally a head weigher in the railway station at Harbin.

497 Cargo is divided into various classes according to the shape and the nature of the content; markers are pinned on the packages. Workers are supplied with lists showing the loading order, and they load the marked packages into the freight cars which bear the same marked flag shown on the packages. This is also called the "matching-flag loading method."[36]

C. The Over-Haulage Movement

The overhaulage system was first devised by Cheng Hsi-k'un, an engine drive who had practiced this method as early as 1949 in order to haul 60 tons more than official capacity. When an overloaded train approached an upgrade, Cheng accelerated the locomotive and sprayed sand on the rails. To stop an overloaded train speed was reduced long beforehand and brakes applied twice.[37] Cheng's method proved so efficient that it was adopted to carry military supplies to North Korea.

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36. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, May 27, 1952.

37. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, July 6, 1952.

497 At the beginning of the present regime, the Communists encouraged locomotive engineers to make utmost use of their rolling stock. Each loaded train was expected to cover 500 kilometers (312 mi.) every 24 hours. In order to achieve this objective, it was necessary to increase speed and shorten the time lost in car-switching, checking and assembling at stations, and loading and unloading at terminals. The so-called "li Hsi-kuei Train Switching Method" and the "Sun Feng-chi Simultaneous Checking and Repairing Method" were established on all national railways.[38]

D. The Planned Transport

The basic principle of "planned transport" is to make use of all available railway facilities to transport cargoes and to reduce "empty hauls" to the minimum. The promulgation of tentative regulations concerning the regional balancing of production and marketing of coal and its reasonable transport in 1953 incorporates this measure.[39] The country is divided into thirteen coal producing areas, comprising

38. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Worker's Daily], Peking, Dec. 19, 1952.

39. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, pp. 24-25.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

497 45 state-operated and joint state-operated and joint state-and-private coal mines. The distribution, supply, and transport of coal are completely under government control. The direction of flow and the regions in which coal is to be marketed are fixed for each mine in order to avoid waste of transportation facilities.[40]

E. Railway Rates

The Chinese Communists re-classified railway freight into thirty classes instead of the five existing prior to their conquest of the Mainland. Railway rates have been adjusted five times. The most recent readjustment of rates was announced in June 1955, when the general level of freight rates was lowered.[41] Items related directly or indirectly to production cost less to ship; those meant for domestic consumption are shipped at higher rates. The rates assigned to the former were usually borne by state industrial enterprises while those assigned to the latter were paid by consumers.[42]

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40. Ibid., p. 25.
41. Ibid., Aug. 8, 1955, p. 13.
42. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Table 2. The National Highways of Southwest China*
(Unit: Km = kilometers, Mi. = miles.)

Highway	Terminals	Route (principal Southwestern cities)	Length
Basic No. 1	Shanghai to Lhasa	Chungking, Neichiang, Chengtu, K'angtung	5,221 Km. (3,263 Mi.)
Basic No. 4	Wanting to Ch'engte	Tali, Kunming, Chani, Chungking	4,615 Km. (2,884 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 4	Chanchiang to Pailingmiao	Kweiyang, T'ungtzu, Chungking	3,614 Km. (2,259 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 5	Talo to Shanpa	Kunming, Hsich'ang, Yaan, Chengtu	3,621 Km. (2,263 Mi.)
Lateral No. 2	Shanghai to Tientshengch'iao	Yüp'ing, Lungli, Kweiyang, Anshun	2,782 Km. (1,738 Mi.)
		Total	19,853 Km. (12,407 Mi.)

* Kuo-tao Wang [The National Highway Network], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yüan, Hsin-wen-chü, pp. 2-50.

[facing p. 864]

497 Passenger rates were increased from 20 to 30 per cent. Higher rates were charged for exceedingly long or exceedingly short hauls of certain commodities in order to eliminate unnecessary use of transportation facilities.[43]

II. HIGHWAY ROUTES

491 The exact mileage of the highway network in the Southwest region is difficult to determine. The figures given in provincial reports do not agree with those given in the national report. No distinction is made between provincial roads and couty roads, nor is there any consistency in the various records concerning the completion of new roads or when such road are open or closed to traffic.

In this study, all the major national highways which pass through Southwest China are discussed as are principal provincial or interprovincial highways connecting the important cities and towns of the region. Major national, interprovincial, and provincial highways of the region are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

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43. Ibid., p. 14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 3. Interprovincial and Provincial Highways in Southwest China*

(Unit: Km. = kilometer. Mi. = miles.)

HIGHWAY	TERMINALS	LENGTH
Sinkiang-Tibet Line	Yasn-lhasa	2255 Km. (1409 Mi.)
Chengtu-Apa Line	Chength-Apa	507 Km. (317 Mi.)
Chinghai-Sikang Line	Hsiehwu-Taot'angho	673 Km. (421 Mi.)
Szechwan-Shansi Line	Chengtu-Paochi	770 Km. (481 Mi.)
Sikang-Yunnan Line	Fut'ien-Huili	433 Km. (271 Mi.)
Kunming-Talo Line	Kunming-Talo	-------
Yunnan-Kweichow Line	Kunming-Kweiyang	659 Km. (412 Mi.)
Szechwan-Yunnan (W.) Line	Chennan-Chinshaho	243 Km. (152 Mi.)
Szechwan-Yunnan (E.) Line	T'ienshengch'iao-Ch'ihshuiho	512 Km. (320 Mi.)
Szechwan-Kweichow Line	Sanch'iao-Ch'ungch'iho	306 Km. (191 Mi.)
Kweichow-Kwangsi (E.) Line	Kweiyang-Liuchai	300 Km. (187 Mi.)
Kweichow-Kwangsi (W.) Line	Hotsuling-Patu	266 Km. (166 Mi.)
Szechwan-Sikang Line	Chengtu-K'angting	333 Km. (208 Mi.)
Chengtu-Chungking Line	Chengtu-Chungking	413 Km. (258 Mi.)
Chungking-Wanyüan Line	Chungking-Wanyüan	417 Km. (261 Mi.)
Chienchiang-Sanchiaop'ing Line	Chienchiang-Sanchiaop'ing	785 Km. (491 Mi.)
Kunming-Hok'ou Line	Kunming-Hok'ou	297 Km. (186 Mi.)
	TOTAL.....	9761 Km. (5862 Mi.)

* Fei-ch'ü Ti Kung-lu Chiao-t'ung /The Highway Transportation of Communist Area/, Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, pp. 22-23.

(Table 3 faces p. 865)

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499 Before the war of resistance against Japan, the highways in Southwest China (including country roads) amounted to 11,818 kilometers (7,386 miles) of which 6,812 kilometers (4,258 mi.) were paved with concrete or surfaced with tar.[44] During the war, the Nationalist Government built many new highways in the Southwest to meet military needs.[45] Since 1950, the Communists have built a number of new highways, including a network of roads in the minority areas. During the three-year period 1952-54, thirgy-four new highways (over 5,000 kilometers or 3,125 miles) were constructed.[46] Of these highways, the Sikang-Tibet Highway, the Chengtu-A-pa Highway, and the Kunming-Talo Highway are most important. The Sikang-Tibet Highway runs from Lhasa to Ya-an, a distance of 2,240 kilometers (1,400 mi.)[47] It climbs over mountains 16,000 feet above sea level. This was the first road to be built at such an altitude. In the past, traders with pack-trains

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44. Mao Shou-chin Kung-lu Ch'ang-shih [Common Knowledge about Highways], Shanghai, 1951, p. 3.

45. Ibid., p. 8.

46. Ching-chi Nien-pao [Economic Year Book], Hong Kong, Economic Bulletin Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 50-51.

47. China Reconstructs, Peking, The China Welfare Institute, May 1955, p. 2.

1:Stanford U: S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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491 of yaks journeyed for months to bring their
499 goods to "the roof of the world," toiling over the ranges and deep valleys of the Tibetan plateau. But today trucks make the trip to Lhasa from Shanghai or Peking in as little time as 15 days.[48] When the Communists decided in 1950 to build this highway, teams were sent out to make a complete survey of the terrain. Soviet experts were consulted before the final choice of the route through Ch'ang-tu and T'ai-chao was made.[49]

Construction of the Sikang-Tibet Highway was extraordinarily difficult. The line was divided into 100-kilometers (60 mi.) sections, and workers were equipped with rock-drills and power-driven saws.[50] The snow-line on the Tibetan plateau was 15,000 feet above sea-level, and in certain area the earth was frozen so hard that workers had to use dynamite to blast it.[51]

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48. Ibid.
49. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, June 23, 1955, p. 786.
50. Ibid.
51. China Reconstructs, May 1955, p. 3.

491 The bridging of the Nu River was another
499 difficult project in the building of the highway. Both banks of the river rose to a height of 3,000 feet. The river's current ran at a rate of 20 feet per second.[52] Another section of the highway cut across an immense tract of virgin forest, and it took the workers a long time to fell all the huge trees.[53] The Lhasa River Bridge, the last bridge of the highway, was completed in the latter part of December 1954 and the highway was open to motor traffic.[54]

491 The Chengtu-A-pa highway is another principal highway built by the Communists through one of the national minorities areas in Southwest China. Its construction was begun in March 1951 and was completed in November 1955.[55] It runs from Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan Province to A-pa, the commercial center of the Tibetan Autonomous District in Szechwan, a distance of 509 kilometers (318 mi.)[56] During a three-year period prior to November 1955, grains and building and industrial materials shipped to

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52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 4.
55. People's Handbook, Tientsin, Ta-kung Pao, 1955, p. 532; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 21, 1955, p. 12.
56. Ibid.

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491 this district amounted to 25,000 tons, while the native products shipped out of it amounted to 13,000 tons.[57] In Kweichow Province four short highways leading to the national minority district of the province were completed in 1954.[58] The Kweichow-Kiangsi Highway from Kweiyang to Chin-ch'eng-chiang was also opened to traffic in the same year.[59] Road improvement work on the Kweichow-Yunnan Highway was begun in 1955.[60]

Because of the limited number of railways in operation in Southwest China, highway transportation plays a very important role in this region, in spite of the comparatively high cost of motor fuel and a shortage of motor vehicles.

III. INLAND WATER ROUTES

505 Inland water shipping is a major
487 means of transportation in Southwest China. The two most important navigable rivers are Yangtze and the Chia-ling rivers. There are

57. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 23, 1955.
58. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1955.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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505 numerous minor streams in this region, but
487 most of them are only navigable by junk. Some of the region's rivers are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. The Inland Water Routes of Southwest China*

(Unit: Km. = kilometer.)

RIVER	TERMINALS	DISTANCE (kilometers)	GRADE
Yangtse	Ich'ang-Ipin	1082 (676 Mi.)	3
Chinsha	Ipin-Chinchiangchieh	1000 (625 Mi.)	5
Heng	Hengchiang-Yenchin	80 (50 Mi.)	6
Min	Ipin-Loshan	160 (100 Mi.)	4
Chingshui	Loshan-Chengtu	168 (105 Mi.)	5
Tatu	Yaokut'o-Hapien	110 (69 Mi.)	6
	Loshan-Chink'ouho	100 (63 Mi.)	6
Ch'ingi	Loshan-T'iench'üan	190 (119 Mi.)	6
	Yaan-Yungching	30 (19 Mi.)	6
Nei	Chengtu-Kuanhsien	70 (44 Mi.)	6
Nai	Kuanhsien-P'engshan	110 (69 Mi.)	6
T'o	Lunsien-Neichiang	150 (94 Mi.)	5
	Neichiang-Chu'nging	408 (255 Mi.)	6
Ching	Fushun-Neiyüan	160 (100 Mi.)	6
Yungning	Nach'i-Hsüyung	120 (75 Mi.)	6
Ch'ihshui	Hochiang-Ch'ihshui	80 (50 Mi.)	5
	Ch'ihshui-Maot'ai	164 (103 Mi.)	6
Ch'i	Chiangk'ou-Tungch'i	102 (64 Mi.)	5
Chialing	Chungking-Kuangyüan	740 (463 Mi.)	4
	Kuangyüan-Lüehyang	200 (125 Mi.)	5
Paishui	Ch'aot'ieni-Mienhsien	140 (88 Mi.)	5
	Chaohua-Pik'ou	150 (94 Mi.)	6
Fu	Hoch'uan-Shehung	379 (237 Mi.)	5
	Shehung-P'ingwu	406 (254 Mi.)	6
Ch'ü	Hoch'uan-Kuangan	125 (78 Mi.)	5
	Kuangan-T'ungchiang	332 (208 Mi.)	6
Nan	Chiangk'ou-Nanchiang	138 (86 Mi.)	6
T'ung	Sanhui-Hsüanhan	110 (69 Mi.)	6
Chung	Hsüanhan-Shuanghok'ou	92 (58 Mi.)	6
Hou	Hsüanhan-Kanyüan	120 (75 Mi.)	6
Wu	Fuling-Liukuang	585 (366 Mi.)	5-6
Ch'ing	Itu-Chuhopa	210 (131 Mi.)	5
	TOTAL.....	8031 (5019 Mi.)	

* Hang-tao Wang [Navigation Route Network], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan Hsin-wen-chü, [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1947, pp. 26-29.

The different grades of waterways as determined by navigability, are shown in Table 5.

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Table 5. Navigability of Rivers*

Rating	Depth	Navigability by Tonnage
Grade 1	5 to 8 meters (16-26')	10,000
Grade 2	3.8 meters (12')	2,000
Grade 3	3.2 meters (11')	1,000
Grade 4	2.8 meters (9')	6,000
Grade 5	2.5 meters (8')	300
Grade 6	1.5 meters (5')	60

* The Navigation Route Network, Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-5.

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505 The section between I-chang and I-pin
487 of the Yangtze River has a navigability rating of Grade 3, i.e., navigable for boats up to 1,000 tons. The section between I-pin and Lo-shan on the Min River and the section between Chungking and Kuang-yüan on the Chia-ling River have a navigability rating of Grade 4, navigable by steamers of 600 tons. All the other rivers have a lower rating than Grade 4 are navigable only by junk.

A. Inland Shipping

501 Before the resistance against Japan, China's total shipping tonnage was about 576,000 tons, including 124 ocean steamers totaling 367,383 tons and 3,333 river steamers totaling 208,617 tons. During the war, it was estimated that about 495,329 tons of both types of steamers were lost.[61] After the war, 2,751 Japanese ships of various types, with a total of 251,288 tons, were confiscated, including 507 river boats (62,375 tons) in the Yangtze River area.[62]

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61. Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan, Hsin-wen-chü [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1949, p. 24.
62. Ibid., p. 23.

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Table 6. Shipping Tonnage of the Yangtze River Area in 1947*

Shipping Classification	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage
By size		
60 tons--200 tons	460	25,964
201 tons--8,000 tons	47	36,411
Total	507	62,375
By Ownership		
National	160	28,959
Private	347	33,416
Total	507	62,375

* Hang Yün [Navigation], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan, Hsing-wen-chü, [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1947, pp. 24-28.

B. Recent Developments

501 The Nationalist Government moved a great many government-owned ships from the China Mainland to Taiwan in 1949. It was estimated that less than 20 per cent of the shipping tonnage of the government-owned China Merchant Steamship Company was left to the Communists.[63] But due to the Communists' vigorous efforts in ship-building and ship-repairing, the number of ships available increased substantially in the period 1951-55. The People's Refloating Company has salvaged over 100 steamers of different sizes(totaling over 100,000 gross tons.)[64] adn of these salvaged vessels, the largest is the steamship Chiang-hsin, which is now in operation on the Yangtze River between the port of Shanghai and ports in Szechwan.[65]

503 River-dredging in Szechwan Province progressed rapidly during the three-year period prior to 1955, and a great many rocks and sand bars have been removed, enabling large

63. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, Jan. 1950, pp. 7-8.
64. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Oct. 12, 1955.
65. Ibid.

503 junks and steamers to reach many places formerly inacessible.[66] As of September 1955, there were approximately 100,000 kilometers of navigable waterways in Southwest China.[67]

502 The use of river lights along the upper Yangtze between I-chang and Chungking facilitated night sailing and reduced the running time by as much as six days.[68]

505 The former Min-sheng Industrial Corporation, the largest privately owned shipping company in China, was founded in Szechwan. It was reorganized as a joint public-private firm in 1952, and its name was changed to the Min-sheng Shipping Corporation by the Communist regime.[69] The Ch'uan-chiang Steamship Company, a merger of three steamship companies -- the Ch'iang-hua, the Hsieh-hsiang, and the Hua-chung -- was recently converted into a joint public-private corporation.[70] Other, smaller shipping firms in Southwest China were reorganized as well.[71]

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66. New China News Agency, Chungking, Oct. 12, 1955.

67. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Oct. 12, 1955.

68. Navigation in the Communist Area, Taipei, 1953, p. 16.

69. The Economic Yearbook, Hong Kong, 1954, p. 52.

70. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Sept. 6, 1955.

71. Ibid.

505 [502] The adoption of the "single file towing" method was recommended by Soviet experts, and it has increased both the speed of shipping and the volume of cargo shipped. It was reported that the Min-sheng Shipping Corporation has made a considerable increase in annual volume of freight since reorganization in 1952. Its target set for 1955 was three and half times that of 1952.[72] The reported efficiency of Min-sheng's tug boats in 1954 was 318 per cent higher than that reported in 1953.[73]

The freight rates for 24 manufactured articles were reduced by an average of 40 per cent in 1955, according to the Ministry of Communication.[74] The reduction of freight rates was made possible by the lowering of transportation costs as the result of improvements in towing methods and other techniques.

000 In Southwest China, Chungking is the most

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72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. New China News Agency, Peking, Oct. 20, 1955.

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In Southwest China, Chungking is the most
504 important river port. It is at the junction of the Yangtze and Chia-ling Rivers and is a terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. Loading equipment was installed on the Chiu-lung-po wharf at the port of Chungking after the completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway in 1952. Its loading and unloading capacity in 1955 was approximately 120 tons an hour.[75]

IV. AIR TRANSPORTATION

509 When the Nationalists evacuated to Taiwan in 1949, the two aviation companies, the China National Aviation Corporation, and the Central Aviation Corporation left no airplanes on the Mainland. Most of the planes were flown to Hong Kong. But in November 1949, because of the sudden defection of Liu Ching-i and Ch'en Cho-lin, managers of the two companies, a dozen planes were flown back to the Mainland.[76] Approximately 4,000 company employees in Hong Kong supported Liu and Ch'en, but only a small number of them went back to Mainland China.[77]

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75. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 4, 1955.

76. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1940, p. 673.

77. Ibid.

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509 Because of shortage of civil airplanes, the Communists did not make much progress in civil air transportation during the first three years of their regime. Since 1954, however, there has been a considerable increase in the number of commercial airplanes, some of which were supplied by Soviet Russia.[78] Some planes are manufactured in Communist China, but most of the essential parts are imported from the Soviet Union, according to reports from Hong Kong.[79]

The two civil air routes in Southwest China in 1955 were the Peking-Hankou-Chungking line and the Peking-Sian-Chungking Line.[80] The international air routes which are in preparation include the China-Burma, the China-India, and the China-Vietminh lines.[81] The China-Burma civil aviation agreement, signed in Peking on November 21, 1955, provides that China's Civil Aviation Administration will operate the Kunming-Mandalay-Rangoon line and the

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78. People's Daily, Peking, Sept. 29, 1954.
79. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 23.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.

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509 Burma Civil Aviation Corporation will operate the Rangoon-Mandalay-Kunming-Canton line.[82] The national civil aviation targets for the first half of 1955 were surpassed. The number of passengers was 13 per cent above that reported in 1955; freight and mail increased 5.9 per cent and 76 per cent, respectively over the figures for the preceding year.[83]

V. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 Southwest China in general and Szechwan in particular is one of the grain-surplus regions of China. A large part of the surplus grain is shipped to Northwest China through the Chengtu-Chungking and Chengtu-Pao-chi railways and to Tibet by river junks and motor trucks. A small part of the surplus grain is usually shipped to Central-South China by water transport on the Yangtze River.

Part of the raw cotton produced in Szechwan is shipped to Yunnan and Kweichow. Szechwan also receives some raw cotton from Hopei

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82. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Nov. 21, 1955, p. 12

83. New China News Agency, Peking, July 20, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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438 Province either for re-shipment to other Southwestern provinces or for local use. The cotton from Hopeh is usually shipped by steamer on the Yangtze River.

Generally speaking, Southwest China is self-sufficient in coal. However, as a safety measure, the region imports some coal from Central-South China.

"State Socialism" is the guiding principle in Chinese Communist industry and trade. During the present transition, state-owned, co-operatives, state-capitalist and private industries co-exist.

A. State-owned Companies

438 655 The six state-owned domestic trading companies established in 1950 were the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Material Company, and the China Native Products Company.[84] All

84. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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438 have branches and sub-branches in the major
655 cities of Southwest China. Some companies, such as the China General Merchandise Company and the China Native Products Company, have branches in the rural areas of the region.[85] If the trade volume of the country as a whole in 1950 is given the index number 100, trade volume rose to 397 in 1952. It is reasonable to assume that the total trade volume of the Southwest Region made a proportionate gain in the same year.[86] The number of state owned and operated commercial firms in Communist China increased 45 per cent in a single year.[87] In 1954, wholesale and retail prices of staples in the eight major cities in the Southwest Region including Chungking and Kunming, increased only 4 per cent over those reported in the preceding year.[88]

B. Co-operative Companies

438
474 Supply and marketing co-operatives

85. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

86. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

87. Current Background, Hong Kong. U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, No. 360, p. 8.

88. Ibid.

438 supply farm implements, fertilizer, and a
474 great number of other commodities for both production and consumption purposes to their members. The state trading companies usually draw up contracts in advance to supply products at fixed low prices to co-operatives. The exact number of supply and marketing co-operatives in Southwest China is unknown, but reports indicate that the number has increased rapidly since 1953. By the third quarter of 1955, there were co-operatives in cities in Southwest China and almost every hsiang (group of villages) had at least one co-operative.[89] Co-operatives accounted for one-quarter of the total national retail trade in 1953 -- 18 per cent of the total retail trade in the cities and 30 per cent of that in rural areas. About 75 per cent of all the purchases by co-operatives were made on behalf of the state.[90]

C. State-Capitalist Companies

475 The principal "State-Capitalist" corporations serve as distributors of the

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89. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, May 12, 1955, p. 597.
90. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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475 products of supply and marketing co-operatives on a commission basis. Private merchants purchase commodities from state trading companies at wholesale prices and resell them to consumers at retail prices fixed by the state. Joint state-private ownership has replaced private-capitalist ownership, and the state invests capital in trading firms under joint management. Throughout China approximately 200,000 private wholesale merchants and 2,000,000 retail traders had been forced to accept "socialist transformation" by the end of 1953. By early 1955, almost 100 per cent of the wholesale merchants dealing in grain, lumber, edible oil, and salt accepted the change to the "state-capitalism" arrangement.[91]

D. Private Companies

472 656 Private traders and individual merchants, too, have been led on the road of state-capitalism. As a result of the growing monopoly of state-owned companies, private wholesale dealers have either been

91. Kung-shang-chieh [Industry and Commerce], Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, p. 17.

472 squeezed out of business or transformed into
656 retail traders acting as agents of state trading companies. They are compelled to accept "socialist transformation."

After the "planned purchase and supply of grains" was introduced, nearly all of the retail dealers in grain were "transformed" into agents of the state grain markets. By the first half of 1955, over 33 per cent of the retail traders in China were acting as agents for state trading companies or co-operatives.[92] According to Communist plans, the total volume of private retail trade will be decreased from 65.9 per cent of the total retail trade in 1953 to 45.1 per cent in 1957.[93]

VI. FOOD RATIONING AND GRAIN TRADE

434 Rationing was first applied to food grain on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grains," designed to control the distribution of food during the period of reconstruction.

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92. Industry and Commerce, Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, No. 8, pp. 17.
93. Ibid., p. 18.

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434 The stocks of all traders engaged in the sale of grain or other essential foodstuffs became the property of the state, which was to determine the ration and fix the official purchasing price and the retail selling price of various grains.[94]

In order to facilitate the work of rationing in cities, industrial and mining districts, and in rural areas where not enough grain was produced, state grain markets were established throughout the country. Upon the establishment of state grain markets, all private wholesale or retail grain shops in Southwest China were either forced out of business or were "transformed" under state guidance.[95]

Because of periods of flood and drought in 1953 and 1954, the production of grain in some regions of China was not sufficient to meet local demands. The system of rationing was unsatisfactory and caused discontent among the people. In rural districts, the implementation of the "San-ting" policy, i.e., the fixing of production, purchase, and supply quotas, resulted in great dissatisfaction among the farmers, who were unable to meet

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94. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, May 12, 1955, No. 17, p. 604.

95. China Weekly, Hong Kong, April 12, 1954, pp. 12-14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SWChina
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434 the demands of the Communist cadres. In many cases farmers found it impossible to feed themselves and their families. In urban areas the per capita ration was too small for the maintenance of minimum subsistence standards.

VII. TRADE FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate
443 the interflow of commodities between the
438 urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a number of "Local Produce Fairs" in most of the principal cities throughout Southwest China. Some of the more notable fairs held in 1952 are shown in the following table:

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Table 7. Local Produce Fairs in Southwest China, 1952. *

Fair	Location	Trading Volume (Million)
Southwest Commodity Fair	Chungking	¥566,600 ($22.7)
Ch'wanfei Third Native Products Fair	Nanchung	¥205,900 ($ 8.2)
Ch'wannan Commodity Fair	Lu-hsien	¥107,600 ($ 4.3)
Ch'uansi Commodity Fair	Chengtu	¥ 73,000 ($ 2.9)
Yunnan Second Commodity Fair	Kunming	¥ 69,600 ($ 2.8)
Kweichow Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 34,900 ($1.4)
Kweiyang Municipality Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 74,000 ($2.9)

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Total	¥1,248,500 ($49.9)

* Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 28, 1953, No. 28, p. 7.

543 In 1952, the total trade volume of
443 these fairs amounted to US$49,900,000, of
438 which the fair in Chungking, the commercial center of the region, accounted for approximately 45 per cent.

CONCLUSION

000 The Communists plan intensive development of railway and highway transportation in Southwest China. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was of considerable importance to the utilization of the industrial and agricultural resources of Szechwan Province. The completion of the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway will link the Southwest with the Northwest and will be of great strategic value to the Communists in case of war.

At the time of the building of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, a number of cases involving the corruption of Party cadres were brought to light. Many cadres accepted bribes from contractors who were anxious to sell the government inferior materials or who had economized by doing a shoddy job of construction. These practices, according to the Communists, accounted for the collapse of several bridges shortly after completion.

000 Workers were "conscripted" from forced labor camps, and many were inexperienced and too weak for so rigorous a job. Many of the cadres were neither properly trained nor adequately paid for the responsibilities they were required to assume.

Major highways built in "minority areas" in Southwest China will be used to facilitate the development of economic resources heretofore untapped, and they will also be used to tighten Communist controls over minority groups.

As a result of state monopoly of domestic trade, most private commercial firms have been forced out of business or have been compelled to accept "socialist transformation." Most of the retail dealers in the provinces of Southwest China are unemployed and in danger of starvation. Those who do not succumb to the propositions offered by the Communist regime will be eliminated in one way or another before they can join the ranks of rebellion.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3f,
Economic Background

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF */ PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

178 Prior to World War II, few modern industries had been developed in Southwest China. There were no spinning mills or cotton textile plants, for example. Power plants in the region produced only 17,000 kilowatts of electricity, an amount so low that it discouraged further industrial development. Only after the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Szechwan and the subsequent arrival of industrial equipment salvaged from East and Central China was it possible for a modern industrial society to develop. Factories were rapidly constructed, and some 10,000 skilled laborers migrated to Southwest China. Most of these factories were poorly built, had insufficient equipment, were inadequately financed, and encountered difficulty in maintaining operations under the impact of inflation during the war years. After the war, those industries which had survived were forced out of business by the press of competition from east coast cities and foreign markets.

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*/ Unless otherwise indicated, information in this chapter is supplied by Dr. K. N. Chang, consultant and author of chapter, from private sources.

471 Industries in Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan were financed in various ways. In Chungking, industries important to the war effort were built by the government itself; some textile plants were financed by government banks. Shipping, coal mining, power generating, and cement manufacturing were developed by local entrepreneurs with the help of funds from government banks. The Szechwan-Sikang Industrial Development Company was organized, with capital subscribed by the central and provincial governments, to promote industry in the two provinces; it succeeded in establishing a few enterprises. In Kweichow Province, officials organized the Kweichow Enterprise Corporation, a holding company financed by the Kweichow provincial government, the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Central Government, government banks, and local private interests. With its own capital or with the participation of private capital, it promoted 24 enterprises, including machine-manufacturing, chemical-manufacturing, tobacco-processing, flour-milling, the manufacture of electrical products and matches, and other light industries; it also controlled the provincial bank and a department store.

In Yunnan, the Yunnan Provincial Bank controlled the tin mining industry, the most important industry in the province, and a textile mill. The bank also promoted several other industries, with the participation of private capital. All of these industries were brought under the Yunnan People's Enterprise Corporation, a holding

company, which was indirectly controlled by the Yunnan Provincial Bank. A few industries were built with the help of local "semi-public" banks. There was only one large private industry, the Yun Mow Cotton Textile Mill, established by a commercial firm of long standing with extensive holdings in Burma. 471

Government-financed industries were easy prey to the Communists when they took over control of this region. In Chungking, the Communists simply assumed command of all the industries operated by the Central Government and the government banks as well as those industries supplied with government credits. The three holding companies in the Southwest Region also came under Communist control. In one stroke, all the major industries in Southwest China fell into Communist hands.

In addition to extending control over the remaining private operated industries by confiscating the shares owned by "bureaucrats" and "reactionaries," the Communists sought to win the support of prominent businessmen by offering them various positions with the local government, commending them as "progressive elements" within the community, and offering other inducements of a similar nature. The intention was to force acceptance of government participation in business. In this way the number of joint state-private enterprises was increased. The following examples will illustrate the Communist program.

471 The Min Sheng Industrial Company in Chungking, a shipping enterprise with a large fleet of river boats, an ironworks, and shipbuilding and machine shops, was noted for its services to the government during the war. The founder and general manager of the company, Lu Tso-fu, was invited by the Communists to return to Mainland China from Hong Kong. He was assured that the Communist regime favored the continuation of his enterprises and would assist him whenever possible. Upon his return, he was appointed a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. When the Min Sheng Company was pressed for the payment of interest due on the credit extended by Canadians who had helped the company finance the construction of a number of vessels in Canada, the Communists facilitated the necessary payments. However, in 1952 the Min Sheng Company was transformed into a joint-state-private enterprise only a short time after the announcement of Lu's suicide. Why he chose to kill himself is not known, although it will be suspected that his relationship with the Communists was not as cordial as the Communists wished it to seem.

Hu Tzu-ang, an infuential local businessman and general manager of the Szechwan-Sikang Industrial Development Company, was appointed a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a member of the Finance and Economic Committee of the People's Government; he was also made deputy-mayor of Chungking Municipality. He has been used by the regime

471 to influence private factories to accept state orders for the processing and manufacturing of goods -- one step in the process of transforming private industry into joint state-private enterprise.

Wang Shao-yen, the brother of the general manager of the Yun Mow Cotton Mill in Kunming and its largest shareholder, was appointed deputy-chairman of the Yunnan Provincial Government while living in Hong Kong. A native of Yunnan, he has been used to win for the Communists the support of local businessmen as well as of community leaders. The Yun Mow Cotton Mill was transformed into a joint state-private enterprise in 1954.

The Min Sheng Company and the Yun Mow Cotton Mill were able to pay dividends to their shareholders after being transformed from private to joint ownership, but persons receiving payments were required to subscribe 90 per cent of their dividends for government bonds. Although Tung Shao-sheng, chief assistant to Lu Tso-fu, was appointed assistant general manager of the Min Sheng Company, actual direction of the company rests in the hands of a manager appointed by the Communists.

Among the few remaining industries under private ownership were some twenty cotton textile mills, with a total of 217,000 spindles, which had been built in Szechwan during the war. Two of these mills had been financed by the Bank of China. When the Communists reorganized the Bank of China, these two mills were taken over

471 immediately by the Communists, and the remaining privately owned mills were in process of transformation during 1954. In all, there were 32 joint state-private enterprises in Chungking; their output in 1954 was reported to constitute over 43 per cent of the total value of all large-scale production by private industry and to account for more than 30 varieties of products.[1] About 130 enterprises were reported to have been transformed in Szechwan Province in 1954, not including those in Chungking.[2]

During 1953-54, about 30 enterprises in Yunnan Province were transformed.[3] With the exception of the Yun Mow Cotton Mill, they were all small factories producing cheap consumer goods.

In Kweichow Province, the Communist regime assumed control of all enterprises operated by the Kweichow Enterprise Corporation, but there were few other industries in the province worth the Communists' immediate attention.

The rapid transformation of private commerce in the Southwest Region can be illustrated by reports from Chungking. According to the mayor of Chungking, wholesale butchers and four classes of dealers in grain, cotton and silk piece goods, oil and wax goods, and firewood, coal, and charcoal were taken over by the state's commercial agencies.[4] Exporters of native products

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1. Chungking Jih-pao [Chungking Daily], Dec. 27, 1954. 2. Ibid.
3. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, June 6, 1954.
4. Chungking Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

471 and dealers in hardware and electrical appliances, general goods, stationery, pharmaceuticals, dyestuffs, and Chinese medicines were temporarily allowed to carry on their businesses or were asked to do wholesale business on behalf of the state agencies. Some were persuaded to turn to retail trade or were given assistance in changing to other lines of business.

In the sphere of retail trade, the mayor's report stated that all private grain shops had been transformed into state agents in the course of carrying out the program for unified grain purchasing and marketing. In addition, 1,094 retail shops and 160 stall-keepers dealing in cotton cloth, sugar, edible vegetable oils, and dyestuffs were drawn into the orbit of "state capitalism." They were forced to stock goods furnished by state agencies on a consignment basis.

In order to accelerate the transformation of private industry and commerce, a conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce was held in November 1955.[5] A message addressed to industrial and commercial circles asking for the acceptance of "socialist transformation" reported that more than 80 per cent of private industry, figured in terms of total value of production, was then in process of becoming joint state-private enterprise, and more than 50 per cent of the private retail merchants had become agents of "state capitalist" commerce by November 1955. This statement on national conditions is the

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5. New China News Agency, Nov. 21, 1955.

471 best indication we have on the extent of present over-all "socialist transformation" in Southwest China.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3g,
Economic Background

LABOR

I. LABOR ORGANIZATION

467 Southwest China was more economically backward than any other region of China proper when the Communists established their regime in October 1949. Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Chinese industry had been concentrated on the east coast of such cities as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton. In the inland, Southwest provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang (now a part of Szechwan), industry had remained almost wholly in the handicraft stage. This situation was somewhat changed during the war when industrial plants removed from the coastal area and new factories were located in the Southwest, particularly at Chungking, Kunming, and Kweiyang. Many of the plants were discontinued after the war or removed to their original sites in the eastern cities.

The low stage of industrial development in the Southwest Region explains why the Communists' promotion of labor organization and the labor movement in the region has lagged behind similar efforts elsewhere in China. According to a Communist report of June 1950, there were only 177,670 industrial workers, including staff members, in the entire region. This number

467 constituted about 0.05 per cent of the total number of industrial workers in all China, although the population of the region accounts for 16.9 per cent of the population of the whole country. Of the 177,670 industrial workers, only 25,538 (14.37%) were unionized at the time the report was published.[1]

After three years' work on labor organization and the development of industry, the new regime announced in June 1952 that 35,259 basic trade unions (unions formed in individual factories, mines, and other enterprises) had been formed in the region.[2] The number of unionized industrial workers was reported to have increased from 25, 538 to 640,846, and the total of all unionized wage earners was set at 1,405,706.

438 However, in mid-1952, about 80 per cent of
466 the industrial output of Southwest China was still turned out by handcraft methods in small shops throughout the region.[3] Old fashioned workshops and some of the semi-modern factories continued to rely heavily on apprentices for labor. The

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1. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker Monthly], Peking, June 15, 1950, p. 69.

2. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.

3. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-kung-yeh [China's Light Industry], Peking, May 1952, pp. 21-24.

438 treatment of apprentices under the new regime
466 still largely followed the old customs in Southwest China. The working hours of the apprentice were almost unrestricted; his earnings seldom amounted to more than 35 lbs. of rice per month. Since the trade union and labor insurance laws promulgated by the Communist government did not cover the apprentices, they had neither organization nor security. After a three year apprenticeship, they entered the labor market as unskilled labor.[4]

467 Chungking is the industrial and commercial center of Southwest China. As a result, almost all regional reports concerning organized labor refer solely to this city. Chungking was occupied by the Communists on November 30, 1949, and the Preparatory Committee of the Chungking General Trade Union was established on December 27. The committee consisted of 87 members, including representatives of miners, textile workers, telecommunication workers, and workers in other industrial enterprises. The initial tasks of the committee were the restoration of production and the organization of labor in the city. By September 1951, about 90 per cent of the city's 200,000 working population were reported to have joined trade unions.[5] A large part of the Chungking industrial force was working in arsenals in the suburbs of the city. These workers were more tightly controlled by the regime but better paid than

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4. New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1951, p. 2.

5. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 5.

467 the average worker. By mid-1953, 6,700 of the politically advanced industrial workers in Chungking were party members.[6]

II. LABOR DISPUTES AND LABOR BUREAU

468 According to Chinese Communist theory, labor and capital (or management in the case of publicly owned enterprises) perform different functions in striving for the identical goal of increased production; therefore, labor disputes should not be allowed to develop into strikes, sabotage, or lockouts which would interrupt production. To prevent crippling disputes, the regime has established a compulsory process of arbitration. The first step in settling labor differences consists of consultation between the owner and the trade union representatives of the workers in the case of privately owned enterprises, and between the trade union and the management in the case of publicly owned enterprises. If consultation fails, the dispute is taken to the labor bureau for settlement. Labor bureaus are maintained at all levels of the Communist government.[7] During the first half-year of Chungking's "liberation," some workers of privately-owned enterprises were reported to have submitted, under the guidance of trade unions

6. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily], July 1,1953, p. 1.

7. "Measures Concerning Procedure of Settling Labor Disputes" issued by Ministry of Labor on Nov. 26, 1950. See Chung-yang Ts'ai-ching Cheng-t'se Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies, Vol. II, Peking, pp.1111-13.

and the labor bureau, to a cut in wages of from 40 to 60 per cent to help tide the capitalists over a difficult period.[8] 468

On the basis of experience in settling labor disputes, the Ministry of Labor in April 1950 issued a "Directive Concerning the Establishment of Labor-Capital Consultative Councils in Privately Owned Enterprises." In accordance with the directive, 34 different groups of private enterprises in Chungking formed their labor-capital consultative councils between mid-1950 and mid-1951. Labor and capital were equally represented on the council. During the period, consultations between labor and capital in various Chungking enterprises resulted in 2,224 agreements which were submitted to the labor bureau for ratification. Almost without exception, matters brought up in the councils for consultation were concerned with wages and the discharges of workers.[9]

III. POLITICIAL INDOCTRINATION

The Communists insist that the strength and class consciousness of the workers can only grow out of political indoctrination. In the guise of implementing this dogma, the Communists initiated the "Democratic Reform" Movement among the working class in May 1951, followed by the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement as well as the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. Through 467 668

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, 1951, p. 1013; Workers' Daily, June 21,1950,p.1.
9. New China Daily, Oct.10,1951,p.2.

467 these drives, the Communists claim that trade
668 union organization was greatly expanded throughout the nation and the unity of the working class increased.

The "Democratic Reform" Movement was aimed specifically at the elimination of reactionary elements from labor organizations. Launched in Central-South China in May 1951, the movement was extended to the whole country in the following months. Its centers of action were the public and private factories, mind, and transportation systems.

To initiate "Democratic Reform" in any enterprise, the trade union leaders called meetings, at which everyone was free to make complaints or accusations against workers, union cadres, or managers. Once initiated, the campaign continued for days or weeks. In subsequent meetings, criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. The Communists claimed that many reactionary elements were disclosed this way. Within the transportation industry alone, 15,616 gang labor chiefs were said to have been eliminated throughout the country a few months after the movement started.[10]

The Communists claim that the conditions of construction workers at Ta-tu-k'ou and coal miners at the T'ien-fu mine, both in Chungking, were improved after the "Democratic Reform"

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10. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Oct. 15, 1951, No. 128.

467 Movement was initiated there in mid-1951. Prior
668 to the Communist regime, the system of recruitment in construction work and in the mining industry was known as the gang master system. The gang master made a contract with the head engineer or manager of a company to supply labor for certain jobs at a stipulated price. He employed villagers for low wages and pocketed the difference between his payroll and the contract price. According to the Communist press, when the Red Army took Chungking at the end of 1949, the gang labor chiefs infiltrated the labor organization and some of them even pretended to be activists. The Communists assert that in the criticism and self-criticism meetings these gang labor chiefs were discovered and eliminated from the labor organization in Chungking.[11]

IV. LABOR EMULATION AND PRODUCTION

466 Labor emulation is a Communist method
461 for increasing labor productivity without raising production costs. It was practiced in Communist China during the early 1940's in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[12] Extended to all China in 1950, the labor emulation drive was stepped up in 1951 after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War. According to the

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11. New China Daily, Oct.10,12,14,1951; and Oct. 2,1952, p. 2.

12. Abundant Clothing; Sufficient Food, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, May 1944.

466 Communist tenet, labor emulation is a natural
461 and spontaneous expression of the working class when it becomes the leading element in the country and begins to work for its own and national interests.

The responsibility for initiating labor emulation drives rests with the trade union leaders. They develop the campaign by the following stages: (1) the workers are brought together to discuss state production plans; (2) the trade unions, acting on behalf of the workers, then sign collective contracts with the managements of individual factories, mines, or other enterprises; (3) meetings are called to discuss production problems; and (4) the workers are urged to originate and submit "rationalization proposals"[13] and to popularize "advanced methods of work."[14]

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13. In Communist China, the term "rationalization proposals" means proposals submitted by workers to management for increasing production through improved techniques, reducing the cost of production, introducing methods to lengthen the life of machines, and using manpower more efficiently. The submission of rationalization proposals emerged as a campaign in Northeast China in 1947 and spread to all China in 1950. Cf. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Ts'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, 1952, pp. 9016-17.

14. The campaign to popularize "advanced methods of work" is a movement corresponding to Stakhanovism in Russia, a means of increasing the output of workers through publicized competition and the widespread adoption of faster or improved techniques developed by model workers. See Ibid., p. 9057.

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Since Southwest China was the last region to be occupied by the Communists, the labor emulation drive began there in 1952, two years after the movement's appearance in the other regions. In the later stage of the drive, emphasis was placed on raising the tehcnical skill of workers instead of lengthening working hours as had been done earlier in the movement. Throughout the region, Communist trade union cadres urged workers to improve working processes and devise more efficient working methods. In September and October 1952, the workers in the iron and steel and cotton textile industries of the whole region were said to have submitted 11,700 rationalization proposals.[15]

There were some reports of increased labor productivity in Southwest China following the inception of the labor emulation drive. They were accompanied by other accounts of an increase in sub-standard and unacceptable products. For instance, in a measuring instruments factory in Chungking, a production contract was signed by the union and management stipulating that if the workers could not fulfill 80 per cent of a fixed quota, there would be a wage cut. As a result, the workers raised their output, and the number of seconds and rejects increased accordingly.[16]

During an emulation drive, workers who showed special initiative and ingenuity in improving their work were accorded the title of "model workers" and given wide publicity. In addition, they received honors and rewards, prior rights to better housing, jobs as teachers of "backward"

15. Workers'Daily, Oct.22,1952, p. 1.
16. New China Daily, Sept. 13, 1952, p. 2.

466 workers, invitations to talk to visitors about
461 their accomplishments, and, occasionally, even tours of foreign countries for propaganda purposes.

V. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER

465 In order to insure a stable income for the people at a time of wide fluctuation in commodity prices, the Chinese Communists introduced a system whereby workers were paid in wage-units. One wage unit was worth the sum of the retail prices of the following daily necessities,[17] over which the government had control:

Food grain.	0.80 catty*/
White cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih#/
Edible oil	0.05 catty
Salt	0.02 catty
Coal.	2.00 catties

*/ One catty = 1.1 lb.
#/ One ch'ih = 1.09 ft.

Southwest China was the last region to adopt the wage-unit system. In October 1952, the money value of the wage-unit in the Southwest region was quoted at 2,158 yuan (old currecy), the lowest quotation in the country. Before the wage-unit system was adopted in this region, workers were paid in "commodity-equivalent" units,[18] which

17. Yangtze Daily, March 11, 1951, p. 2.
18. Commodity-equivalent units were also based on the prices of essential commodities.

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had been used previously in Communist China to compute and stabilize savings deposits. One "commodity-equivalent" unit was quoted in October 1951 at 5,492 yuan (old currency).[19] The average miner in the T'ien-fu coal mine in Chungking was reported to be earning 120 "commodity-equivalent" units per month in mid-1950, which amounted to 659,000 yuan (about US$22),[20] while the average monthly pay for the construction worker was said to be 89 "commodity-equivalent" units (about US 19.50). The lowest pay was received by the apprentices who averaged 4.5 "commodity-equivalent" units per month[21] (about US$1.00).

At the end of 1951, state-operated enterprises in the Southwest Region began to pay their workers in wage-units instead of "commodity-equivalent" units. The average gross earnings of a highly skilled worker in a Chungking steel factory was reported to be 300 wage units a month, amounting to 647,400 yuan (about US $25.90). An unskilled worker earned about 60 wage-units per month (about US $5.20).[22]

The Chinese Communists claim that the wages of Chinese workers have been rising as production increased, but the Communists' own figures do not support the claim. According to

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19. New China Daily, Oct.4,1951.p.6.

20. There are no direct quotations on the exchange rate of the yuan in terms of the U.S. dollar at this period. The figure is worked out from Hong Kong money to be about 25,000 yuan for one U.S. dollar.

21. Chinese Worker Monthly, Sept.1950, p.70.

22. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p.2; and Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.

465 Communists statistics,[23] the average annual increase from 1951 to 1953 in the total value of industrial products of the Southwest Region was about 32 per cent. The 1953 average wage of workers in publicly owned enterprises in the region exceeded the 1952 average by only 13 per cent.

465 511 The Chinese Communists boast that the increase of wages in China does not merely keep pace with the rise of living coats as is supposed to happen in a capitalist society, but represents a real elevation of the workers' living standard. In the Southwest Region, people's purchasing power[24] in 1952 was said to be 30 per cent higher than in 1950. The New China NewsAgency reported that three times the amount of cotton textiles were being supplied to the people of Szechwan Province in 1954, compared with 1951.[25] In Chungking, the consumption of meat in Nov. 1952 was reported to be 160 per cent higher than that in the pre-Communist period.[26]

An examination of the budget of a skilled worker in a Chungking steel factory, reported by the New China Daily on September 25, 1952, offers evidence for doubting the validity of the Communist

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23. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1954, p. 18.
24. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin] Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10.
25. NCNA, Chengtu, Sept. 9, 1954.
26. Economic Bulletin, Sept. 8, 1953, p. 1.

465 511 claims:

Income (Wages and bonuses)	Yuan
	600,000

Expenditure	Yuan
Rice	90,000
Fuel (coal and wood)	68,000
Edible oil	10,800
Fat	8,000
Salt	510
Supplementary food	80,000
Rent	25,890
Total	283,200

465 511 651 The expenditures in the above budget are all for food and rent, which consumes about 47 per cent of the average worker's earnings. Besides clothing and other miscellaneous expenses, the remaining 53 per cent of his gross income is subject to various deductions in the form of union fees, "voluntary" contributions, and purchases of government bonds. When the Communist government issued the 1950 Victory Bond series, the Southwest Region was allocated 700,000 points; people [27] were urged to buy as many points as they could afford. The purchase of even one point was a big deduction from the workers' small income. After the Chinese Communists entered

27. One Victory Bond point was equal to the total value of six catties of rice, one catty of flour, four ch'ih of cotton cloth, sixteen catties of coal. One unit was quoted at 14,005 yuan (old currency) at the beginning of 1950.

the Korean war, the Chinese workers were urged 465
to make "voluntary" contributions to finance the 571
war. Within three months of 1951, workers in the 651
city of Chungking contributed 13,200,000,000 yuan (old currency).[28]

The Communists have reported an increase 511
in bank savings throughout the whole country. By 466
early May 1954, total savings deposits in cities nationwide were stated to be ten times larger in May 1954 than at the end of 1950. By the end of 1953, savings deposits in the Southwest Region had increased by 7.5 times as compared with 1950. But the increased savings do not necessarily indicate surplus spending power in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1952, the Chinese Communists forced each worker to put 25 to 30 per cent of his income in the People's Bank as compulsory savings to prevent possible inflation and to accumulate capital for national construction.[29] After deducting the "voluntary" contributions and compulsory savings, there is not likely to be money for the workers to spend for other than daily living needs.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law promulgated 745
by the Communist government in March 1951, 5,380,000 workers throughout China received insurance coverage for death, old age, illness and disability. In the Southwest China Region, there were 163,824 workers, other than railway

28. New China Daily, Oct. 25,1951,p.2.
29. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an[China Weekly], Hong Kong, Jan.4, 1954, p. 41.

745 and telecommunication employees covered by the insurance law in mid-1952. In the whole region, there were only three large sanitoria, nine rest homes, and 53 crêches established under the provisions of the Labor Insurance Law. The largest sanitoria for workers is located in Nan-wen-ch'üan (Southern Warm Spring), a famous health resort and scenic beauty spot ten miles south of Chungking.

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

466 The Chinese Communists claim that from 1949 to 1953 the People's Government enacted 119 decrees, rules, and regulations concerning labor safety and sanitation. But there are no indications that any of them has been enforced to any extent. Since the intensification of the labor emulation drive in 1951, the incidence of industrial accidents in Southwest China has been increasing. A report covering the first half of 1952 showed a serious situation. According to the deputy director of the Department of Industry of the Southwest Region,[30] during the first six months of 1952, 3,245 industrial accidents occurred in the region and the accident death rate increased 56.25 per cent over the corresponding period of 1951. From June to August 1952, there were 273 serious industrial accidents reported in Chungking alone. As a result of these disclosures, the municipal government of Chungking issued a directive in September 1952 calling on all responsible parties in the factories and mines of Chungking to follow carefully the labor safety measures and to establish special agencies in each

30. Ibid., January 19, 1953, p. 7.

466 enterprise to supervise the enforcement of safety rules and make detailed reports on industrial accidents. Working conditions were reported to have been improved since the issuance of the directive.[31]

C. Labor Education and Recreation

873 466 At the time the Communists took over Mainland China in 1949, from 60 to 80 per cent of Chinese workers were illiterate (i.e., they could read less than 1,000 Chinese characters). In June 1950, the Government Administration Council issued the "Instructions for Developing Spare-time Education of Workers," a measure aimed at teaching all workers at least 1,000 characters within a period of three to five years and the ability to read simple books and newspapers. The Communist Trade Union Law stipulates that the management or owner of every enterprises must allocate a certain sum for the education of workers. By mid-1952, besides night classes opened in individual factories and mines, there were 652 spare-time schools in the region. "The Quick Method of Learning Chinese Characters" devised by cultural instructor Chi Chien-hua of the People's Liberation Army is lauded as a great help in accelerating the learning process among workers. Workers having a high degree of intelligence are reportedly being sent to universities and technical institutions for advanced study. The

31. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 16, 22, 1952, p. 3.

873 Party, unions, and management decide who is qualified for additional technical training. The workers entering schools receive financial support equal to their former wages. The stated intention of the Chinese Communists is to build a new intelligentsia within the working class.

466 In the interest of worker recreation, the Communists reported that 11,929 clubs had been set up in factories, mines and other enterprises throughout the country by the end of 1954. From 1949 to 1952, 348 workers' clubs and 712 libraries were reported to have been established in Southwest China.[32] Workers were encouraged to enjoy their leisure time in these clubs and libraries. But in Communist China, even the "leisure" of the masses is controlled by the Party. After an 8- to 10-hour working day, workers have to participate in political studies, criticism or self-criticism meetings, or various campaigns, movements and drives initiated by the Party. It is doubtful that the Chinese workers have any real leisure time at all.

D. Housing Conditions

362 According to a Communist report, People's
466 Government spent more than 286,000,000 yuan (new currency) on housing projects for workers throughout China in 1952. In 1953, the government allocated 130,000,000 square feet of floor space for building workers' living quarters.

32. New China Daily, Sept. 29 and 30, 1953.

362 466 The housing projects for workers of Southwest China have been concentrated in Chungking and Chengtu; the number of units built was far less than in other regions. By March 1953, nine apartment houses with 577 rooms for workers and their families had been built in Chungking. There are no private baths and no private kitchens in these apartments. Only workers in construction and public utilities are eligible to live in these apartments. They rented for 12 wage-units per month (25,890 yuan, about US 1.00).[33] The municipal government of Chengtu completed a housing project for 512 families in April 1953. The whole project consisted of 14,896 square meters of floor space (about 152,534 square feet). Each family occupied about 250 square feet of floor space.[34] Compared with the living standard in pre-Communist China, this is a great improvement, but it benefitted only a small part of the working force.

VII. UNEMPLOYMENT

464 Since the Constitution of Communist China guarantees the right to work to everyone, the Communists maintain that "unemployment" under the new regime is a temporary holdover from the old

33. New China Daily, April 29, 1953, p. 2.
34. Ibid., April 30, 1953, p. 2.

economy and will eventually disappear after the transformation from the capitalist economy to the socialist economy is completed in the future. 464

During the period from 1952 to 1952, 354,297 unemployed workers registered with the local governments in the Southwest Region. By October 1952, about 76 per cent of the registrants had found work through their own efforts or through government agencies. The Communist methods of unemployment relief included "substitution of work for relief," "increased production and self-help," and a "back-to-the-village" drive. Most of the unemployed urban workers in the Southwest Region were recruited to build railways, highways, and other public works in large cities such as Chungking, Chengtu, and Kungming. Only 15 per cent of the unemployed workers received direct relief in the region.[35]

VIII. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE WORKERS OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

The industry of Southwest China is still largely in the handicraft stage. The first Five-Year Plan initiated by the Communists in 1953 contained no major projects for the region. None of the small-scale factories and mines play any significant parts in the plan. Despite these facts, 185

35. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 29, p. 2 and Sept. 30, p. 2, 1952.

185 in 1953 and 1954 the workers in the Southwest had to respond to the demand of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for renewed labor emulation drives and increased efforts to raise production. Reports of increased production in the region during the first three years of the plan were scattered, indicating that the workers in the Southwest have not been carrying a major load in Communist reconstruction under the plan.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

697 When the Chinese Communists seized control of Mainland China, they declared that they were going to use forced labor as a means of punishment for political offenders. The "landlord class, bureaucratic capitalists, and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang" would be compelled to "Reform through labor" in order to qualify as "new men under the new regime."

687 In Southwest China the Communists instituted the Land Reform Movement and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries as they had done in other regions of the country. Chou Hsing, Chief of the Public Security Bureau of the Military and Political Committee in Southwest China, reported on November 17, 1951, that, according to incomplete statistics, there had been 5,181 cases in 1950 involving spies, bandits, "local despots," and other types of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region. 697 Up to June 1950, of the population of that region, 80 per cent were said to have joined with local governments in suppressing counterrevolutionary elements, and thousands of arrests had been made. Beginning in May 1951 public security

697 agencies in the whole region began to clear the accumulated cases and organized the convicts for Reform through labor.[1] A report from Formosa estimated the number of prisoners sentenced to death or to Reform-through-labor for political reasons in this area at 1,484,000 up to the end of 1953, and those who had been put under public surveillance[2] at 743,154. The latter also were forced to perform manual labor.

But in some cases of forced labor, the political aspect has been overshadowed by the economic significance. Men were sent to forced-labor camps not only because they held different political views from the ruling class, but also because they were needed to fulfill huge economic plans such as the Hwai River project in East China and the Ching River harnessing project in the Central-South Region. In the Southwest similar examples may be found in the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and of the Sikang-Tibet Highway.

II. MASS LABOR IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION (CHENGTU-CHUNGKING LINE)

499 The Chengtu-Chungking Line is 505

1. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1950.
2. Pei-kuan-chih T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, No. 5, p. 3.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

499 kilometers (about 314 miles) in length and connects the provincial capital of Szechwan Province and the commercial center of the Southwest Region. In addition to the building of roadbeds, which had been partly finished by the Nationalists, the entire work consisted of building 45 tunnels, 327 bridges, 701 culverts, and 26,530,000 cubic feet of earthwork.[3] It was begun in June 1950 and was completed by the end of June 1952, six months in advance of the scheduled time. It was opened to traffic on July 1 of that year.

A. Recruitment of Labor

499 464 In June 1950, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee was created by the Southwest Military and Political Committee. Because of the urgent need for construction, the authorities first used the regular army. At the same time, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee, in co-operation with the hsien governments, worked on the recruitment of civilian labor. In addition to patriotic appeals such as they had used in other mass-labor projects, the authorities promised the peasants

3. Wang Chih-fen, Chengtu-Chungking Railway, Shanghai, 1954, pp. 18-19.

499 reduction of land rent, the return of rental
464 deposits on their land, and a cheap supply of daily necessities to the workers along the construction sites. The methods of recruitment seemed to be effective. Some 38,000 persons answered the call from the eastern part of that province; 30,000 from the southern part, 10,000 from Chengtu and the western part; 6,000 from the northern part; and 22,000 unemployed workers from Chengtun and Chungking also took part in the construction. The total labor force amounted to 104,000 men.[4] After the recruited civilians were organized, they took over the construction job from the army, some members of which were kept to act as office personnel and as an engineering corps.

B. Organization and Living Conditions of the Labor Force

499 The units of the labor organization were
466 formed according to the plan of the projected line, which was divided into 180 sections. Each section was allocated 579 workers. Each group of workers was divided into two shifts. They were formed into small teams according to the character of the work assigned to them. Their

4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung ti Nu-kung Chin-tu [Slavery System of the Chinese Communist] Hong Kong, Tzu-ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 89.

499 sphere of movement was restricted to within
466 2 li (about 545 yards) on each side of the construction line.

499 The recruits were paid according to piece
465 rates, calculated on the basis of the work-day unit. One work-day unit is what an average worker could accomplish in one day. In the case of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway construction, one work-day unit is 2.5 cubic meters (about 81.75 cubic feet) of earthwork. For this amount of work, one worker received seven and one-half catties (about 8.25 lbs.) of rice.[5] In Southwest China, one catty of medium-grade rice was sold for 740 yuan (old currency); one U.S. dollar was worth about 20,000 yuan at the time. Therefore, 7.5 catties of rice would be worth about 27 cents in the United States. With this amount of money per day, the worker had to provide for his food, clothing, and other necessities, not to mention the support of his family.

499 The recruits were required to bring their own tools such as pickaxes and bamboo poles, for railway construction in China depended upon physical labor rather than upon mechanical equipment. Machinery for the laying of tracks was not introduced until the spring of 1954 in building the Pao-chi-Chengtu Line. The workers

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5. The World Today, Hong Kong, Oct. 15, 1952, p. 2.

499 on the Chengtu--Chungking Line came to depend upon the primitive tools they brought, or used their bare hands. In their spare time, they were urged to make tools such as bamboo baskets for removing stones and mud. In their letter to Mao Tse-tung from the workers on the Chengtu-Chungking Line, they boasted that they had made and invented several hundred kinds of tools during the period of its construction.[6]

C. Methods Used to Increase the Productivity of Labor

499 466 The Communists used all sorts of emotional appeals to increase productivity. After some activists among the workers had vowed not to go back home until they saw the train running between Chengtu and Chungking, 90 per cent of the builders gave up their New Year's vacation during the first year, and many young workers postponed their wedding dates. Early in 1951, the Communists organized the Three-Systematization and Five-Comparison campaigns among the working teams.[7] Within a period of four months (January to May), in consequence of these

6. New China Daily, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 4.

7. The Three-Systematization Campaign included systematization of thought, of organization, and of rules. The Five-Comparison Campaign included comparison of work, of efficiency, of progress, of safety, and of economy. For details about these movements, see New China Daily, Dec. 8, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

499 campaigns, 130,000 "model workers" were
466 elected and labor productivity increased. Taking the standard accomplishment for one work-day as 100 per cent, an average worker at first could fulfill only 25 per cent, but by the end of 1951, this had increased to 150 per cent.[8]

After the Communists entered Korea in November 1950, the Resist-America Aid-Korea Movement was instituted in the labor camps along the Chengtu-Chungking Line. The Communists aroused "hate-America" feelings among the workers and kept on telling the workers that the speeding of the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Line was one way to defeat "American imperialism." The railway workers worked longer hours after being exposed to this propaganda. By the end of 1951, nearly 70 per cent of the entire undertaking had been completed.[9]

In addition to patriotic appeals, the Communists mobilized the workers to organize a Red Flag Campaign. To win the red flag, some members of one labor team worked steadily and slept only 30 hours in a period of 18 days[10] in order to fulfill the assigned task within the time required, One report from a Formosan

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8. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 24.
9. New China Daily, Dec. 8, 1951, p. 2.
10. Ibid., June 22, 26, 1952.

499 source stated that the mortality rate among the
466 workers was as highl as 10 per cent at the beginning of construction[11] in 1950, although the Communist press insisted that the workers seemed to think that the harshness of their life was nothing in comparison with what they had achieved. The Communists made the workers believe that they had built a road leading to paradise.[12]

D. Other Railway Construction in Southwest China

499 Since the sites of these railways are the same as the sites of the forced-labor camps, it would be helpful to list those lines under construction or in contemplation in Southwest China.[13]

1. Pao-chi--Chengtu Line connects Pao-chi in Shensi Province and Chengtu in Szechwan Province. The southern section was begun after the completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Line in 1952. As of May 1955 the track-laying

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11. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Szechwan [Szechwan Under the Communist Control], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, Jan. 24, 1955, p. 24.

12. New China Daily, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 4.

13. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 25-26.

499 work had already passed the Wei River. Originally it was scheduled to be finished in 1957, but the Communists have now scheduled its completion for 1956.

2. The Chengtu-Kunming Line runs from Chengtu in Szechwan Province to Kunming in Yunnan Province. Work on the line was begun in 1954 and scheduled for completion within the period of the first Five-Year Plan, which ends in 1957.

3. The Lung-ch'ang --Kweiyang Line is still being planned.

4. The Szechwan-Sikang Line will run from Chengtu to Ya-an in former Sikang Province. It is in the planning stage.

5. The Hunan-Kweichow Line will run from Chu-chou in Hunan Province to Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. It is under contemplation.

6. The Yunnan-Burma Line will run from Kunming in Yunnan to Nanta in Burma. It is under contemplation.

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III. MASS LABOR IN HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION (SIKANG-TIBET HIGHWAY)

The Government Administration Council

499 issued one directive concerning the conscription
464 of peasants to build and repair the highways in 1951,[14] which authorized all levels of local governments (administrative district, hsien, chu, and hsiang) to recruit and organize civilian labor for highway construction. It is stipulated in the directive that one recruit is limited to 10 standard work-days each year. One standard work-day is the average amount of work accomplished per day per person in that locality. The recruits receive no daily allowance for their food and are required to bring their own tools. In Southwest China, during five years of Communist control, about 5,000 kilometers (about 3,105 miles) of highways had been constructed with recruited laborers.[15] The most important one -- the Sikang-Tibet Highway -- was completed by the end of 1954.

A. Difficulties of the Job

491 The Sikang-Tibet Highway, 2,240 kilometers (about 1,400 miles) long, today links Lhasa with the rest of China. It is the first highway built in China at such a high altitude and in the face of so many difficulties. It climbs the

14. Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies of the Central Government, Peking, March 1952, Vol. III, pp. 713-15.

15. People's Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

491 snow-clad mountains that tower 16,000 feet above sea level, with bridges across the tremendous ravines where mountain torrents plunge through twisting gorges. The area along the route is rocky, precipitous, and subject to earthquakes, landslides, avalanches, and shifting sands.

499 464 Although the Communists had no topographical maps of this region, no geological, seismological, or weather records, and no engineers with experience in highway construction over such a terrain as the Plateau of Tibet, they mobilized a tremendous amount of manpower.

B. Labor Force and Working Conditions of the Laborers

By the end of 1951, the local governments of K'ang-ting, Ya-an, Ch'ang-tu and T'ien-chüan had recruited about 8,000 civilian laborers. They began to work with the man-power of the People's Liberation Army. In that winter they worked on the terrain 16,000 feet above sea level under severe weather, 25 degrees below zero (C). By March 1952, out of the original 8,000 builders, 3,500 had died as the result of hardships and the climate.[16] At the same time, a fresh

16. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 98.

499 supply of 50,000 recruits continued to pour
464 into the construction sites, including thousands of Tibetans who worked from the western end of the line.

499 The builders were equipped with rock drills and power-driven saws which they moved in first to get rid of the most stubborn obstacles. It seems that on the Sikang-Tibet Highway road-building machinery was used more than on other highway construction. In one report the Communists said that snowplows and bulldozers cleared millions of cubic feet of snow and earth, replacing hand labor even on mountain tops and in deep forests.[17]

The Sikang-Tibet Highway has been the most-talked-about highway construction in Mainland China. Almost all the newspapers in different parts of China sent the reporters to the construction sites. This resulted in thousands of detailed press reports which disclosed the "heroic and tragic life of the masses who toiled on the roof of the world."[18]

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17. China Reconstructs, Peking, May 1955, pp. 2-5.

18. People's Daily, June 9, 1954, and Dec. 17, 1954, Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Aug. 7, and Sept. 26, 1954.

499 Workers and soldiers scaled vertical rock-walls, fought their way across rapids, and crept inch by inch across glaciers, disregarding wind, rain, and snow. Where the laborers worked in Ch'iao-erh-shan Mountain, the altitude was 17,000 feet above sea level, there was snow all year round, and the earth was frozen to a depth of over three feet. The workers built their tents on this hard-frozen floor and made their beds of dry leaves and tree branches. Sometimes they were buried by snow, their tents swept away by avalanches; in one place an avalanche fell every afternoon for five months. One section of the road cut across an immense tract of virgin forest which was cleared by manual labor, although each tree required several days' work by a team of three or four men.

The bridging of the Nu River was said to be the most "heroic" act accomplished by the builders. Both banks rose in sheer precipices about 3,00 feet high, and the current ran 20 feet per second. The point they had chosen for bridging had never been crossed. A group working on the Nu River bridge was completely cut off from its supply line, and the laborers were forced to live on rice gruel for two months before they were rescued.

499 The Communists gave better treatment to
466 the workers on the Sikang-Tibet Highway than to

499 workers elsewhere, for they did not use such
466 methods as "emulation drives" and "model workers' elections" to speed up work as they did on other projects. On the contrary, the authorities on the Sikang-Tibet Highway prohibited overtime work. The fact that the labor supply was not so abundant in this region and that they could not afford to transport workers from other parts of the country made them more lenient to the laborers on this project.

The Sikang-Tibet highway was opened to traffic by the end of 1954. To travel from Peking to Lhasa once took several months; today the trip can be made in fifteen days.

IV. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

697 A Communist report admitted that, in the Southwest Region, of the prisoners convicted through suppression of counterrevolutionaries, through land-reform laws, and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, 65 per cent had been organized by the end of 1951 into Reform-through-labor corps. They were employed in such heavy work as road-building, house construction, coal mining, collective farming, brick- and tile-manufacturing, and in handicraft industries such as weaving and shoe-making.[19] The size

19. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951, p. 2.

697 of the labor corps varied in accordance with the actual needs of the locality and was under the jurisdiction of the local public security offices. The following are some of the labor camps in the Southwest Region.

A. Reform-through-labor Camps in Chungking

Chungking was the headquarters for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region in 1951. In that year there were 100,000 arrests in Chungking alone. There were four Reform-through-labor camps in Chungking suburbs: (1) the Shih-pan-p'o, with 4,000 prisoners; (2) Tz'u-ch'i-k'ou, with 1,000 prisoners; (3) Wang-shan camp, with 2,000 prisoners; and (4) Sun-chia-hua-yüan camp, with 1,300 prisoners. The prisoners were organized according to physical condition and production techniques into groups engaging in different trades such as tile- and brick-making, wood, stone, earth, and lime works, and sewing, weaving, and other handicraft industries.

In addition to these permanent setups, there were temporary labor camps in Ts'ai-yüan-pa, Shan-hu-pa, and Ch'ao-t'ien-men. These temporary labor camps had been established to relieve the overcrowded prisons before

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

697 the labor corps were sent away to construction sites.[20]

B. Reform-through-labor Camp in Ch'i-chiang Hsien (East Szechwan)

Most of the prisoners here were employed in railway construction and coal mining. The corps who were engaged in coal digging netted 13,000,000 yuan (old currency) per month, while the women prisoners in the shoe factories netted 3,000,000 yuan per month.[21]

C. Labor Camp in O-mei Hsien (South Szechwan)

This camp was organized in March 1951, and laborers began work with one worn-out cart; later the camp developed into a large organization, including carpentry, lime kiln, brick and tile shops, paper-making works, and a duck farm. It accumulated a fund of 60,000,000 yuan (old currency) in 1952.[22]

These two cases of Reform-through-labor corps indicate that the Communists carried out the policy of combining punishment with labor

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20. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1951, p. 2; also Cheng Ch'u-yuan, op. cit., p. 78.
21. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951.
22. Ibid.

697 production as defined in the forced-labor code, "Regulations Governing Reform-through-labor," promulgated in August 1954. Article 74 of that measure stated that the funds for the agencies enforcing Reform-through-labor are derived from (1) appropriations from the state budget and (2) income from production under Reform-through-labor.[23] In the case of O-mei Hsien Labor Camp, the state had supplied one "worn-out cart." The prisoners produced surplus value for the state at the start.

D. Labor Camps in Fu-ling Administrative District in Szechwan

The local government of Fu-ling Administrative District chose about 90 "intellectuals" and cadres from different hsien for training in the techniques of Reform-through-labor and then sent them back to their native places to join Reform-through-labor camps. They strengthened the rules in the labor camps and enforced among the prisoners a system of awards and punishment. Those prisoners who were found idle during labor service or who violated control measures were severely punished. Others, who had obeyed the law, exerted effort to study, and engage actively in production

23. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.

697 were awarded with praise, material reward, or a reduction of their sentences. After these changes the productivity of the labor corps in this district doubled.[24]

What happened to prisoners who refused to "reform" may be judged from the case of Chiang-chin (Szechwan), where six labor-camp inmates were executed because they resisted control regulations and joined counterrevolutionary groups during the period of Reform-through-labor.[25]

E. Reform-through-labor Corps in Kweichow and Yunnan

According to a report by Ch'en Tseng-ku, vice-chairman of Kweichow Province, 70 per cent of the population of the province had joined the drive for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. There were about 25,000 prisoners undergoing Reform-through-labor in Kweichow Province in 1951, half of whom became self-supporting when they began work.[26] Most of the prisoners were officials of the Nationalist regime or officers of the Nationalist Army. They were organized into teams according to their knowledge and ability. Those

24. New China Daily, Oct. 20, 1951, p. 2.
25. Ibid., Dec. 12, 1951.
26. Ibid., Nov. 23, 1951.

697 who had no professional training were formed into groups to reclaim waste land, repair or build municipal warehouses, and work on the highways.[27]

697 731 In Li-chiang hsien, Yunnan Province, a Reform-through-labor corps of 30,000 prisoners was employed to repair the damages of an earthquake in December 1952. With the help of the peasants in the area, they dredged 6 rivers, rebuilt more than 100 villages, dug 78 ditches, and constructed 87 water basins to irrigate 110,000 mou (about 16,610 acres) of rice field, which was returned to production by the prisoners.[28]

There are several Reform-through-labor camps in the suburbs of Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province. One is in T'an-hua-ssu, and contained 3,000 prisoners in 1954.[29]

V. COMMENTS

464 It is doubtful that the use of patriotic appeals in recruiting peasants to work on the construction of such projects as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway would be successful again and again. The

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27. Sung Wei-ta, Hung-chieh Yü-sheng [Life After Red Terror], Taipei, 1955, p. 104.

28. Yün-nan Tung-nan-ya Ti Huo-san [Yunan--the Volcano of Southeast Asia], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, The Nationalist Party, May 1954, p. 31.

29. World Today, Aug. 1, 1954, p. 12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

464 Chinese peasants are both individualistic and conservative. After they have acquired land, they wish to be left alone. If the Communists want to employ men on mass-labor projects in the future, they may have to rely increasingly on material offers rather than on emotional appeal.

In their press reports, the Communists have always boasted of their ability to mobilize millions of peasants to work for the "Motherland"; they seemed to care little for the results of mobilization. In many cases, because of lack of planning, the use of patriotic appeals to arouse the masses resulted in a waste of manpower, causing frustration among those who remained idle or worked needlessly. For instance, one Communist report from Mien-chu Hsien in Szechwan Province admitted that the local government wasted 16,000 mandays in digging a well which did not yield one drop of water. Another report from Ying-shan, also in Szechwan Province, stated that the local dams were swept away by the torrent before the recruited peasants had finished them. In both cases, the local governments spend 30,000 catties (33,000 lbs.) of rice to feed the otherwise unpaid laborers.[30]

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30. New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

464 The easy mobilization of the masses in the Southwest Region discloses also the existence of a large group of unemployed in that region. Projects such as the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway provide a means of coping with the unemployment problem and the population pressure which is typical in an overpopulated and underdeveloped country such as China is today.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3i,
Economic Background

FOREIGN TRADE

I. INTRODUCTION

439 A comprehensive survey of trade between Southwest China and foreign countries is not feasible because pertinent data is lacking. Much of the import and export trade of the inland region has been routed through seaports, and statistics on China's international trade have been compiled on the basis of reports submitted to the customs at the point of entry or embarkation.

In the case of imports, it is almost impossible to differentiate goods destined for the Southwest Region from those bound for other parts of the country until they reach their final destination. But to trace the flow of imports in the domestic market beyond their point of entry would require detailed trade statistics at wholesale and retail levels which are unobtainable. Nor is it feasible to make even crude estimates on the basis of regional consumption because relevant data is again lacking.

In the case of exports, the situation is somewhat different. We know what commodities are exported abroad from the Southwest Region and have available national export figures on these

439 products and statistics on their production in the Southwest and China as a whole. From these and other relevant data, we can obtain some idea of the Southwest's share in the export of tin, bristles, and tung oil. Because of the practical problems involved in an overall survey of the Southwest's foreign trade, this chapter will be confined to a discussion of the specific products, which are of special significance in the region's export trade.

II. TIN

439 328 China's tin production was badly crippled during World War II. Reduced from a high of more than 13,000 metric tons or 7.8 per cent of the world supply outside the Soviet Union in 1938 to a low of 2,000 metric tons in the last years of the war, the nation's output had recovered to only about one-third the 1938 rate at the time of the Communist takeover in 1949. Under the Communists, the production of tin was reported to have reached 6,400 tons in 1953 or about 3.6 per cent of total world production with the exception of the Soviet Union. Most of the increased output was the result of mining expansion in the Ko-chiu area of Yunnan, the major source of China's tin supply.

Tin constitutes a large part of Yunnan's total contribution to the nation's export trade. Under the Nationalist Government, much of China's tin went to the United States to pay the principal and interest on loans granted before and during World War II. However, China was only a minor source of supply for the United States' total tin requirements. (See Table.1.)

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328 Details about the tin trade of Communist China are not now available. China's own needs for tin have undoubtedly increased under the Communist industrialization program, and any exportable surplus easily could have been absorbed by the Communist bloc of nations. Either or both suppositions would account for the complete discontinuance of Chinese tin shipments to Hong Kong after the Communist domination of the Mainland.[1]

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1. See the statistics covering trade between China and Hong Kong published regularly in the Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong.

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Table 1. China's Tin Exports in Relation to the United States' Tin Requirements */

Year	U.S. Imports from China	U.S. Tin Consumption in Manufacturing	Percent of U. S. Requirements Met by Chinese Imports
	[In 1,000 tons]		
1935-39 (aver.)	2.7	77.3	3.43
1940-44 (aver.)	2.7	97.6	2.81
1945	1.9	83.6	2.06
1946	1.0	80.9	1.22
1947	2.6	88.1	3.00
1948	1.6	90.8	1.78
1949	3.7	72.4	5.09
1950	1.7	104.5	1.59
1951	.1	88.2	.62
1952	n. a.	78.4	-
1953	n. a.	85.6	-
1954	n. a.	82.6	-

*/ Commodity Research Bureau, Commodity Yearbook 1955, New York, 1955, p. 335.

1:Stanford U. S-4-5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF/6

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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III. BRISTLES

439 237 Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, China's total export of bristles ranged from 8 to more than 10 million pounds a year. (See Table 2.) From 1937 to 1941, the volume was reduced to between 6 and 8 million pounds a year due to the curtailment of bristles supplies from North China and partial disruption of normal distribution channels inside China. In the following two years, the bristles trade between Free China and the outside world was drastically reduced by Japan's total blockade of the China coast. Improvements in air transportation and the Chinese Government's efforts in increasing the collection of bristles from producers in Southwest China, particularly in Szechwan, permitted the nation to more nearly meet the continuing demand abroad for the product by exporting 4 million pounds in 1944, as against only 600 thousands pounds the previous year. The dislocations arising from the war-to-peace transition and the unrealistic official foreign exchange rate of the Chinese yuan reduced the export of bristles in 1945 to 1.3 million pounds. From 1946 to 1948, exports of the product regained their prewar rate of about 10 million pounds a year.

Between 1930 and 1950, the United States and the United Kingdom were the chief importers of Chinese bristles. (See Table 2.) From 1931 to 1938, the United States directly imported between 35 and 45 per cent of China's total bristles export, and in the next ten years between 55 and 95 per

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Table 2. China's Bristles Export in Relation to the United States' Bristles Import a/

Year	Total Export from China (in thousands of pounds)	Total Import of U.S.A. (in thousands of pounds)	China's Export to U.S.A.	China's Export to U.S. as Percentage of: China's Total Export	China's Export to U.S. as Percentage of: U.S.A Total Import
1931	8,484	4,245	3,061	36.1%	72%
1932	8,001	3,486	2,847	35.6%	82
1933	9,100	5,186	4,168	45.8	80
1934	9,273	4,143	3,341	36.0	81
1935	10,199	4,854	3,887	38.1	80
1936	11,607	-	4,693	40.4	90
1937	8,917	4,825	3,734	41.9	77
1938	8,011	3,209	2,859	35.7	89
1939	7,347	5,163	4,632	63.0	90
1940	7,840	5,640	5,078	64.8	90
1941	6,039	5,789	5,229	86.6	90
1942	141	1,458	968	686.5	66
1943	599	1,384	533	89.0	39
1944	4,282	2,871	1,659	38.7	58
1945	1,329	2,840	1,251	94.1	44
1946	10,493	6,454	5,785	55.1	90
1947	9,778	7,042	5,689	58.2	81
1948	10,125	7,307	6,842	67.6	94
1949	-	4,828	-	-	-
1950	-	7,357	-	-	-
1951	-	3,854	-	-	-
1952	-	5,368	-	-	-

a/ Based on Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China, 1948, Nanking, 1948; and on the following publications of the United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.: Foreign Commerce Yearbook, 1948, 1949, 1950; Monthly Summary of Foreign Trade of the United States.

(Table 2 faces p. 945.)

439 cent. These percentages are even higher if ship-
237 ments of Chinese bristles to the United States via Hong Kong are included. Statistics on the United States' importation of bristles show that from 80 to 90 per cent of the American foreign supply was normally derived from China.

After the Communists gained control of the Chinese Mainland in 1949, trade between the United States and China generally declined. However, the trade in bristles seems to have been an exception.

According to private information from a bristles merchant in New York, the commodity is of such strategic importance to the United States and so unavailable elsewhere than China that American government trade restrictions have been overlooked in regard to bristles imports, usually via Hong Kong. This policy would explain the steadiness of bristles imports into this country during 1950-52 (See Table 2.) despite the political changes occuring in China before that time.

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237 It is difficult to estimate with precision the part of the Southwest provinces in Chinese bristles production, and export, although the importance of the region's contribution is generally known. Before 1937, according to one authoritative study, about 15 per cent of the bristles exported from China came from the Southwest provinces.[2] During the war, the collection and export of bristles in these provinces were administered by the Foreign Trade Commission, a Chinese government agency specially organized to foster the export trade of Free China. According to Nationalist Government statistics, the quantity of bristles collected in the Southwest provinces, mainly from Szechwan, during 1941-45, was as follows:[3]

Year	Thousands of Pounds
1940	1,638
1941	2,772
1942	3,520
1943	2,596
1944	2,728

On the basis of an average annual export of 10 million pounds for all China, the above figures

2. Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien [Economic Yearbook of China], Hong Kong, T'ai-p'ing-yang ching-chi yen-chiu she, 1947, pp. 55-58.

3. Chinese Ministry of Information, China Handbook, 1937-1945, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 419.

439 and other relevant statistics indicate that between
237 15 and 20 per cent of the nation's bristles exports normally originated in Southwest China.

IV. TUNG OIL

439 During the last two decades, several impor-
245 tant developments have occurred in the tung oil trade between the United States and China. First, from 1939 to 1953, the United States' domestic production of tung oil increased by more than ten-fold, whereas the quantity imported was reduced by about two-thirds. In 1953, domestic production for the first time surpassed imports of the commodity. (See Table 3.)

A second important development was the decreasing importance of China as a source of supply for tung oil imports into the United States. Before World War II, more than 90 per cent of American tung oil imports usually came from China. During 1943-45, the Chinese supply disappeared almost entirely from the American market because of the wartime disruption of major transportation arteries between China and the outside world. A temporary recovery in the oil trade between the two countries occurred in 1946, but in the years following, the relative importance of the Chinese supply of tung oil to the United States was greatly reduced because of the increased production of tung oil in South American and the curtailment of Chinese trade as a result of civil war in the country.

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245 Yet another development in the Sino-American tung oil trade after World War II was the decline in the relative importance of the American market as an outlet for Chinese tung oil exports. From 1932 to 1937, Chinese tung oil shipments to the United States constituted from 62 to 72 per cent of China's total tung oil export. During 1946-48, the ratio dropped to between 31 and 52 per cent.

Like other statistics cited in this chapter, those pertaining to tung oil include only the quantity involved in direct trade between China and the United States; they do not account for shipments from China to America via Hong Kong, or other intermediate ports. The practice of indirect shipment was commonly used during the war because of the Japanese occupation of China's maritime provinces and was frequently resorted to in the postwar era to evade trade and foreign exchange restrictions enforced by the Nationalist Government. Despite the absence of figures on Sino-American indirect trade, the decreasing importance of Chinese tung oil to the United States market because of expanding production of the commodity in North and South America is quite evident.

Normally, about one-third of China's tung oil export comes from Szechwan; Kweichow, another Southwestern province, also produced tung oil but on a much smaller scale. Before the Communist Government came to power in Mainland China, the tung oil from Szechwan was usually shipped either in barrels or in bulk via the Yangtze River to Shanghai, where it was transhipped to foreign countries.

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Table 3. China's Tung Oil Export in Relation to the United States' Import and Production of Tung Oil */

Year	U. S. Domestic Production	U. S. Import for Consumption	U.S. Import from China	Total Export From China	U. S. Import From China As Percentage of: Total U.S. Import for Consumption	Total Export from China
	(- - - - in thousands of pounds		- - -)	(in millions of lbs.)		
1931	-	74,668	--	109.2	95.4%	-
1932	-	72,594	66,106	107.0	93.4	61.8%
1933	-	114,544	117,213	166.2	94.5	70.5
1934	-	110,007	90,476	143.9	84.4	62.8
1935	-	120,069	108,467	162.9	91.2	66.6
1936	-	134,650	137,319	191.2	94.8	71.8
1937	-	174,885	141,343	227.0	91.1	62.3
1938	-	107,456	12,538	153.4	-	8.2
1939	3,000	78,718	1,538	73.9	-	2.1
1940	62	97,049	-	51.2	-	-
1941	3,533	43,800	-	46.5	-	-
1942	1,290	8,269	-	2.0	-	-
1943	5,310	68	-	.2	-	-
1944	2,568	1,771	-	.2	-	- -
1945	10,353	1,370	-	.2	-	-
1946	11,046	34,919	35,892	77.7	96.5	46.2
1947	12,680	114,327	54,755	177.6	45.00	30.9
1948	16,837	122,853	86,693	167.8	65.0	51.7
1949	22,449	154,667	-	-	-	-
1950	23,467	104,041	-	-	-	-
1951	12,667	24,847	-	-	-	-
1952	23,151	28,500	-	-	-	-
1953	43,153	-	-	-	-	-

*/ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Statistics, 1954; U.S. Department of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Yearbook, 1948, 1949 and 1950; and Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947.

(Table 3 faces p. 949.)

[Facing p. 949]

439 After 1949, the pattern of the trade was
245 drastically changed. Partly because of the trade policy of Communist China and partly because of American government restrictions on trade with Red China and the use of Chinese Communist assets in the United States, the continuance of Chinese tung oil exports on the old scale to the United States became impossible. Although during the last few years a considerable amount of tung oil has been shipped to the United States from Communist China, the volume has been relatively small compared to that of the pre-Communist era. Apparently, the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and countries in the Soviet bloc have replaced the United States as the leading outlets for Chinese tung oil exports.

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Annex "A"

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

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The general character of the Chinese Communist Constitution -- and its relation to the 1936 Soviet Constitution -- may be indicated by an account of the way in which it was produced. In January 1953, a constitutional-drafting committee was formed, consisting of thirty-two members, of which a majority of seventeen were from the Communist Party. The drafting committee then sat idle for a year without a meeting. The Communist members made necessary revisions and decided on a draft without consulting the other members of the committee. According to a leading party theoretician, Liu Shao-ch'i,

> "While drafting the Constitution, the committee for drafting the Constitution referred to all the constitutions, past and present, of the Soviet Union as well as to the constitutions of the People's Democracies. It is obvious that the experience of the advanced

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000 socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union, has been of great help to us. Our draft constitution embodies the experience of our own country and that of other countries. It is not only the product of the People's Revolutionary Movement in China, but also a product of the international socialist movement."[1]

This draft was presented as a finished product to the Constitutional Drafting Committee at its first meeting in March 1954. The Central Government announced that the Draft Constitution would be discussed by the Political Consultative Conference, the governments of the regions, the provinces, the municipalities, the democratic parties, the local branches of the People's organizations, and the military forces. This was little more than a gesture to enlist popular support. When the National People's Congress was convened, nineteen days were devoted to organizing the work of the congress, and then the Constitution was

1. Liu Shao-ch'i, Report on the Draft Constitution; see Current Background, No. 294, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, Sept. 20, 1954, p. 8.

unanimously passed within one hour. The only changes made were minor changes in wording.

The Chinese Communist Constitution contains a few features which are reminiscent of the highly authoritarian and centralized imperial Chinese state and a number which are reminiscent of the structure of the Kuomintang after 1924. But in the present context the resemblance to Chinese precedent is of less significance than the resemblance to the Stalin Constitution of 1936. This is scarcely surprising in view of the manner in which the document was written. In analyzing either constitution, it is essential to remember that to the Communists a constitution is not a statement of abstract and enduring principles but one of many instruments forged to speed the struggle toward a socialist, and ultimately Communist, society. Therefore, every article must be examined in the context of what seem to be the ultimate goals of the international Communist movement.

The Chinese and Russian Constitutions are generally similar not only in basic principles, but also in wording and style, as the following juxtaposed passages will show:

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.	Art. 1. The People's Republic of China is a democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.
Art. 2. The political foundation of the USSR is the Soviet of Working People's deputies which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.	Art. 2. All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local People's Congress. The preamble of the Chinese Constitution says: The Chinese people led by the Communist Party finally achieved their great victory in the People's revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism.
Art. 4. The economic foundation of the USSR	Art. 5. At present the following basic forms of ownership of means of

000 is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production...

Art. 5. Socialist property in the USSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water, and air transport, banks, communication... are state property,

production exist in the People's Republic of China: state ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownerships, that is, collective ownership by the working-masses; ownership by the individual working people; and capitalist ownership.

Art. 6. Socialist Ownership: All mineral resources and water, as well as forest, undeveloped land, and other resources which are state-owned by law, are the property of the

000 that is, belong to the whole people.[2]

people.[3]

II. THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME SOVIET

While the USSR and the Supreme Soviet is composed of two chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the Chinese People's National Congress is a unicameral system. The Chinese State has been unitary for two millennia and the Communaist Constitution contains no provision parallel to those concerning the Federal Republics of the Soviet Union.

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 30. The highest organ of state power in the USSR is the	Art. 21. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state authority in the

2. J. H. Meisel and E. S. Kozera, Material for the Study of the Soviet System, Ann Arbor, The George Wahr Publishing Company, 1950, p. 243.

3. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Language Press, 1954.

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Supreme Soviet of the USSR.	People's Republic of China.
Art. 32. The legislative power of the USSR is exercised by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.	Art. 22. The National People's Congress is the only legislative authority in the country.

As the power of a national congress in a unitary state is unlimited, it can make laws on any subject. The drafters of the Chinese Communist Constitution failed to understand the distinction between the Soviet federal state and the Chinese unitary state and have quite unnecessarily specified the powers of their national congress as if China were a federal union.

The Chinese National People's Congress is indirectly elected. According to Article 23 of the Constitution: The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous municipalities directly under central authority, the armed forces, and the Chinese residents abroad. There are several electoral levels within each province. The hsiang is the lowest unit of local government, and the congress of a hsiang

000 is elected by the population. Above it, the county congress is composed of deputies elected by the hsiang congresses, and the provincial congress is then composed of deputies elected by the county congresses. Members of the National People's Congress are elected by the provincial congresses. Under this system of election, the intermediate layers -- the hsiang congress, the county congress, and the provincial congress -- make it difficult for the public to see the true relation between promises made by members of congresses and their fulfillment to their ultimate constituencies. The Chinese Communist Party can easily manipulate the small number of deputies involved on each level.

After the military conquest of the Mainland, Communist prestige reached a new high. When the election of people's congresses was instituted, the Communists generally won a majority of at least 60 per cent on all levels of government. The Chinese Communist Party is confident of its powerful influence over the people and over all other political groups.

This one-party rule is somewhat obscured because other democratic groups are allowed to exist and to sit in the National People's Congress. Their leaders have been elected as deputy-chairmen under Liu Shao-ch'i. The

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000 preamble of the Constitution explicitly states: "In the course of the great struggle to establish the People's Republic of China, the people of our country forged a broad people's democratic united front, composed of all democratic classes, democratic parties, and groups, and popular organizations, and led by the Communist Party of China."[4] In reality, these non-Communist leaders have no power and are used by the Communists as a facade.

III. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE STATE COUNCIL

The position of Mao Tse-tung as the Chairman of the People's Republic of China is unique in the Communist world. This position is found neither in the Soviet government nor the "People's democracies." Stalin said, "The USSR should not have an individual president elected by the entire population on an equal basis with the Supreme Soviet, who might essay to stand out against the Supreme

4. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.

000 Soviet."[5] It was explained by Soviet jurists that Stalin was referring to men like Napoleon and Hindenburg who rose above the state they were to serve. This consideration does not appear to have concerned the Chinese Communists. While the president of the Presidium of the USSR is a titular head, Mao Tse-tung represents the People's Republic in its relations with foreign states, commands the armed forces of the country, promulgates laws and decrees, and appoints or removes the Premier, Vice-Premier, and ministers. It is clear that Mao is an individual president, deviating from the collective presidency system of Soviet Russia, regardless of Liu Shao-ch'i's statement that "Ours is a collective head of state."[6]

Another divergence from the Soviet Constitutional pattern is the Chinese State Council. In the USSR the Council of Ministers, including its chairman or premier, is appointed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, but in China the premier is recommended first by the Chairman of the People's Republic

5. Julian Towster, Political Power in the USSR, Oxford Press, New York, 1948, p. 263.
6. Liu Shao-ch'i, op. cit., p. 15.

and then accepted or rejected by the National People's Congress. Again, the ministers of the State Council are not, like the Council of Ministers in the USSR, appointed by the Presidium, but are recommended first by the premier and then accepted or rejected by the National People's Congress, or by the Standing Committee when the Congress is in recess. The Chinese Standing Committees' inability to appoint the premier means that it is less powerful than its counterpart, the Presidium of the USSR. The division of powers to appoint the premier and ministers in China may in part result from concern over the personal relations of the three top leaders. Mao Tse-tung, as Chairman of the Republic, may wish to have a share in the choice of Premier; Chou En-lai may be reluctant to have his premiership decided by Liu Shao-ch'i, who, as Chairman of the National Congress and the Standing Committee, would then appear superior to Chou.

In both China and the Soviet Union the ministers are directly subordinate to the State Council. In the Constitution of the Soviet Union, thirty all-union ministries are enumerated. Communist China has the following, similar list: Internal Affairs; Foreign Affairs; National Defense; Public Security; Justice; Control; State Planning;

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000 State Construction; Finance; Food; Commerce; Foreign Trade; First Ministry of Machine Building; Second Ministry of Machine Building; Fuel Industry; Geology; Building-Industry; Textile Industry; Local Industry; Railways; Communication; Post and Telecommunication; Agriculture; Forestry and Reclamation; Water Conservation; Labor; Cultural Affairs; Higher Education; Education; Public Health; Physical Education; Nationalities Affairs; and Overseas Chinese Affairs. Eight administrative offices attached to the State Council co-ordinate the elaborately subdivided work of the ministries.

IV. THE STANDING COMMITTEE AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET

The functions of the Standing Committee in China are the same as those of the Presidium of the USSR, except that the Standing Committee's power of appointment is limited to vice-premiers and ministers.

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 49. The presidium of the Supreme Soviet	Art. 31. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

000 of the USSR: (a) convenes the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; (b) issues decrees; (c) gives interpretations of the laws of the USSR in operation; (d) dissolves the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in conformity with Article 57 of the constitution of the USSR, and orders new elections; (e) conducts nationwide polls (referendum) on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics; (f) annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the council of ministers exercises the following functions and powers: (1) to conduct the election of deputies to the National People's Congress; (2) to convene the National People's Congress; (3) to interpret the laws; (4) to adopt decrees; (5) to supervise the work of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate; (6) to annul decisions and orders of the State Council which contravene the Constitution, laws, and decrees; (7) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions issued by the government authorities of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central authority; (8) to decide on the appointment or removal of any Vice-Premier, Minister, head of commission, or secretary-general of the

000 of the Union Republics if they do not conform to law; (g) in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, releases and appoints ministers of the USSR on the recommendation of the Chairman of the council of ministers of the USSR subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; (h) institutes decorations (orders and medals) and titles of honor of the USSR; (i) awards orders and medals and confers titles of honor of the USSR; (j) exercises the right of pardon; (k) institutes military titles, State Council when the National People's Congress is not in session; (9) to appoint or remove the vice-presidents, judges, and other members of the Judicial Committee of the Supreme People's Court; (10) to appoint or remove the deputy chief procurators, procurators, and other members of the Procuratorial Committee of the Supreme People's Procuratorate; (11) to decide on the appointment or recall of plenipotentiary representatives to foreign state; (12) to decide on the ratification or abrogation of treaties concluded with foreign states; (13) to institute military, diplomatic and other special titles and ranks; (14) to institute and decide on the award of state orders, medals, and titles of honor; (15) to decide on the granting of pardons; (16)

000 diplomatic ranks, and other special titles; (l) appoints and removes the high command of the Armed Forces of the USSR; (m) in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, proclaims a state of war in the event of military attack on the USSR or when necessary to fulfill international treaty obligations concerning mutual defense against aggression; (n) orders general or partial mobilization; (o) ratifies and denounces international treaties of the USSR; (p) appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR to foreign states; (q) receives the letters to decide, when the National People's Congress is not in session, on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of armed attack on the country or in fulfillment of international treaty obligations concerning common defense against aggression; (17) to decide on general or partial mobilization; (18) to decide on the enforcement of martial law throughout the country or in certain areas; and (19) to exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

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000 of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states; and (r) proclaims martial law in separate localities or throughout the USSR in the interest of the defense of the USSR or of the maintenance of public order and the security of the state.

Art. 48. The presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for all its activities.[7]

Art. 33. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it.[8]

V. THE JUDICIARY

Article 78 of the Chinese Communist

7. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.

8. Meisel and Kozera, op. cit., p. 236.

000 Constitution states that in administering justice the People's Court is independent, subject only to the law. And, according to Article 85, "citizens of the People's Republic are equal before the law." However, the first article of the constitution says that the People's Republic is based on the alliance of the workers and peasants. This wording clearly shows that capitalists and landlords are much less privileged than workers and peasants.

The president of a People's Court is not a judge appointed for life. He is elected by the People's Congress on the corresponding level. In addition to the judge, there are assessors, according to Article 25 of the organic law of People's Courts and People's Procuratorates. With the exception of those deprived of political rights, citizens who have reached the age of twenty-three, and have the right to elect, may be elected as assessors.

Cases of the first instance in the People's Courts are heard in full court composed of judges and People's assessors. The People's Court is responsible to the People's Congress on the corresponding level; it is not independent. The Six Codes instituted during the Kuomintang period have been declared null and void; the newly issued Communist laws and ordinances are instruments of Communist political policy.

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000 The judicial systems of Soviet Russia and Communist China are similar in spirit and letter, as the following comparisons will show.

USSR	COMMUNIST CHINA
Art. 112. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.	Art. 78. In administering justice, the people's courts are independent, subject only to the law.
Art. 103. In all courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.	Art. 75. The system of people's assessors applies, in accordance with law, to judicial proceeding in the People's Courts.
Art. 110. Judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union Republic, autonomous republic, or autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being guaranteed the	Art. 77. Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Court are to provide interpretations for any party unacquainted with the spoken and written languages commonly

opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and, likewise, the right to use their own language in court.[9]

used in the locality.[10]

VI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

An examination of the powers of annulment in local government from the province down to the hsiang will show how the power of governing the localities is centralized according to an hierarchical principle. The fourth paragraph of Article 40 of the Constitution reads, "The People's Congresses at county level and above have power to revise or annul inappropriate decisions issued by People's Congresses at the lower level as well as inappropriate decisions issued by People's Councils at the next lower level."[11]

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9. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peking, The Foreign Languages Press, 1954.
10. Meisel and Kozera, op. cit., p. 236.
11. Ibid.

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VII. CITIZENS RIGHTS

000 Communists believe that class determines the rights of the individual in society. They disavow the theory of natural rights, and argue that the rights of landlords and capitalists should be eliminated. When the proletarian dictatorship was established in Soviet Russia, the property of the landlords and the capitalists was confiscated. The same thing happened to Chinese landlords and capitalists throughout the country after 1949. Under the Chinese Communist Constitution, the right to property is not guaranteed.

With regard to other rights, the language of the Chinese Constitution is generous only on the surface. According to Article 87: "Citizens . . . have freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession, and freedom of demonstration. By providing the necessary material facilities, the state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms." However, "freedom of association" in Communist China does not apply to groups which are deemed subversive, and anything which challenges orthodox Communist teaching is deemed subversive. The great majority of the newspapers are government-owned or Party-owned, and the news to be published is

000 under the control of the New China News Agency; the newspapers of the other democratic groups can only publish or write as they are instructed.

Article 89 says that "freedom of the person of citizens. . . is inviolable." In reality, each person is a member of the urban street office, or urban inhabitants' committee, with the result that he is under the watch of Party members. Each must deposit his cash in a bank, which is situated at the corner of a street, and his bank account can be examined, so there is little freedom to dispose of one's own money. A Party member or a policeman may question anyone about his neighbors, and visitors must be reported.

The Russian Communists call the modern Western European and American views of civil rights "formal." By this, they insinuate that, while according to the letter of the Western European and American constitutions each citizen supposedly enjoys the same rights, in fact, however, a workman or a peasant never enjoys the same rights as a landlord or a capitalist. The Russians claim to reject this Western interpretation and to look at the question in the light of the common practice. Stalin says in his article, "The Principal Specific Features of the Draft Constitution,"

000 "Bourgeois constitutions usually confine themselves to stating the formal rights of citizens, without bothering about the conditions for the exercise of these rights . . . . What distinguishes the draft of the new Constitution is the fact that it does not confine itself to stating the formal rights of citizens, but stresses the guarantees of these rights, the means by which these rights can be exercised. It does not merely proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but insures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, to the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation."[12]

VIII. CONCLUSION

Because the Chinese Communist Constitution is only a legal document, one must seek the reality behind it.

The Chinese Communist Party has always

12. Meisel and Kozera, op. cit., p. 236.

aimed at seizing and maintaining power; its war machine, its organizations, its propaganda, and its discipline are directed to this end.

In order to attain a monopoly of power, the Chinese Communists have worked to remove all obstacles. From Lenin, they have learned that civil rights are an obstacle, that separation of powers is an obstacle, that direct elections are an obstacle. Since there had been little knowledge of these democratic ideas among the people of China, their elimination has proved relatively easy. The Chinese Communists have been able to use new and effective techniques of control to consolidate a dictatorial power beyond the dreams of earlier Chinese autocrats.

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/For information on the influence of Communist propaganda over Chinese literary and humanistic activity, see category 116, pp. 227-241/

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/For details of Communist policies toward various sociological, political, and economic aspects of present-day Southwest China, see the entire text in category 116./

113, 427, 56

Lolo AE4

/For a short description of the social organization of the Yi (Lolo) of Sikang, including their relationship to the Miao, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 83-85/

113, 177, 563

Shan-Thai AL3
Chung-chia

/For a short description of the cultural position of the Chung-chia (Pu-yi) of Kweichow and the effects of Communist control on that position, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 86-87/

113, 177, 563

Pai-i AE7
Chung-chia

/For a short description of the cultural position of the Chung-chia (Pu-yi) of Kweichow and the effects of Communist control on that position, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 86-87./

113, 621, 648 Pai-i AE7

/For a short discussion of the social organization and cultural position of the Pai-i of Yunnan - with special reference to Communist control of the area - see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 87-89/

113, 427, 563 Miao AE5

/For a short description of the relationship of the Miao and the Lolo (Yi), and the effects of Communist rule on this relationship, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 83-84/

105, 113 Miao AE5

/For a cultural summary of the Miao of Kweichow, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 82-84/

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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.000 THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

BY

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944–1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants.

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The maps were made by myself in the field, using as a basis the excellent map of Yün-nan by Major Davies, and the sketch map of the region of the upper Salwin, the Trun River, Mekong and Yangtze, published by the late Dr. Handel-Mazzetti.

The altitudes of towns, villages, rivers, passes, etc., are based on aneroid and hypsometer readings, while those of inaccessible peaks are approximate only. In certain instances, heights of mountains as determined by others, such as those of the snow peaks of the Yü-lung Shan, have been adopted.

I have endeavored to give the Na-khi name for every place, mountain, valley, meadow or crag in the area occupied by the Na-khi tribe. In regions where they live together with Chinese, Tibetans or other tribespeople, names of places, etc., are given as far as ascertainable, in those languages also.

Now, a few words as to the orthography of Chinese as well as Na-khi and Tibetan names employed in this work:

I have followed the Wade-Giles system of romanization throughout the work, with the exception of certain words which are pronounced differently in Yün-nan, as *ngai* (cliff) for *yen*; *kai* (market, street) instead of *chiek* and a few others which are indicated in their respective places. I have not followed the spelling of geographic names adopted by the Chinese Government Postal Service, but in some instances I have added them in parenthesis, while for words like Yangtze, the spelling generally in use has been adhered to. Tibetan names have been given in Tibetan script wherever possible; the transcription and romanization employed is that of Sir Basil John Gould, with certain modifications. In a few instances, it was not possible to ascertain the Tibetan orthography of names of places, etc., situated in remote and sparsely inhabited regions where the natives were illiterate. Even most lamas are ignorant of the proper spelling of Tibetan names. In nearly every instance, Chinese characters follow proper names, as well as geographic names, and in parenthesis follows the spelling of place names used on the maps of Major Davies and Handel-Mazzetti to facilitate their identification. For the pronunciation of Na-khi words the notes on pages xix–xx, below, are to be consulted.

Mr. B. Armstrong Claytor of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, has prepared the index.

J. F. ROCK

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, SUMMER, 1945

NOTE: Handel-Mazzetti published in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna (Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Bd. 97), a map and description of Li-chiang, and parts of the Mekong, Salwin, and Irrawadi. It includes the Yangtze loop, Chung-tien and its dependencies. As guides and collectors he had with him Na-khi from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö. All Na-khi, as well as most Yünnanese, are unable to pronounce final consonants, as *n* or *ng*. The spelling, therefore, of place names, etc., on his map is very bad. In addition he adopted the German romanization for the Chinese names mispronounced by the Na-khi, and the result is far from happy. The names of the Li-chiang snow peak may here serve as an example. Handel-Mazzetti gives it as Satseto; this is not a Na-khi name, but the purely Chinese term *Shan-tzu* 扇子 (a fan) and *tou* 陡 (steep, vertical). He gives the name Satseto as if it were a Na-khi one. Along with the Na-khi and Chinese names which I shall quote, will be put in parenthesis those given by Handel-Mazzetti (abbreviated to H-M).

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255. View from the island of A-na-wa
256. Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Peasants of Dshi-zhi in Mu-li

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NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NA-KHI WORDS

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Orthography	*Description*	*As in*
a	low back vowel	father
ä	same as above, short	Germ. *hat*
'a	low back vowel, with laryngeal constriction like Arabic *'ain*	
ä	mid front vowel	Fr. *seine*
aw	half-low back vowel, rounded	awe
b	voiced bilabial stop, lenis	be
bb	voiced bilabial stop, fortis, long (the vowel after bb, dd, ff, gg, ll, and nn is always short, as compared with that after an initial denoted by single b, d, etc.)	
bp	unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
ch	unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
ch'	aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
d	voiced dental stop, lenis	day
dd	voiced dental stop, fortis, long	
dz'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, lenis	
dt	voiceless dental stop, fortis	
dz	voiced dental affricate	adze
e	half-high front vowel (slightly higher than ä)	egg
ér	retroflexed mid central vowel, with a slight pharyngeal constriction	
erh	(orthography for Chinese loan words, with same phonetic value as ér)	
ff	voiceless labio-dental fricative, fortis, long	
g	voiced velar stop, lenis	go
gg	voiced velar stop, fortis, long	
gh	voiced uvular (or pharyngeal) fricative, like Fr. r *grasseyé* or the Arabic *ghain*	
gk	voiceless velar stop, fortis	
h	voiceless glottal fricative	hat
i	high front vowel	police
ï	high front vowel, slightly centralized	
k'	aspirated voiceless velar stop, fortis	
kh	voiceless velar fricative	Germ. *ach.*
kh	voiceless palatal fricative	Germ. *ich.*
l	voiced lateral continuant	low
ll	voiced lateral continuant, fortis, long	
lv	initial l plus syllabic v	
m	bilabial nasal, independent initial or combined with b to form the cluster mb	mother

[p. xix] [p. xviii is blank]

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Orthography	Description	As in
n	dental nasal, independent initial or combined with d and dz to form the clusters nd and ndz	no
ã	(letter to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel)	
ng	velar nasal, independent initial or combined with g to form the cluster ngg (simplified into ng in the text)	long
nn	dental nasal, fortis, long	
nv	nasalized syllabic v	
ô	half-high back vowel, rounded	Germ. *Sohn*
ö	half-high front vowel, rounded	Germ. *Söhne*
ou	back rounded diphthong	no
p'	aspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
r	(see ẽr)	
s	voiceless dental fricative, fortis	sister
ss	voiceless dental fricative, extra fortis, long	
sh	voiceless alveolar fricative	show
zz	voiced dental fricative, fortis long (syllable or followed by ẽr)	
t'	aspirated voiceless dental stop, fortis	
ts	unaspirated voiceless dental affricate	
ts'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, fortis	
u	high back vowel, rounded	rude
ü	same as u, but less rounded and short	
ü	high front vowel, rounded (but back unrounded after gh)	Fr. *su*
ur	(after labials only) diphthong consisting of high back vowel, unrounded, followed by mid back vowel	
v	voiced labio-dental fricative, used in syllabic position after g, gk, k', d, dt, t' and l	
w	voiced bilabial continuant	way
wû	special syllable, with prominence on "u" and value of "a" centralized	
wuà	same, with prominence on "a"	
y	voiced palatal continuant	yes
zh	voiced alveolar fricative	Fr. *je*

TONES

Superscript	Description
a^1	low-falling
a^2	middle-level
a^3	high-short
a^4	high-rising

The fourth tone occurs only in words borrowed from the Chinese or Tibetan languages.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

SHAN-TZU-TOU, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山與白水河

Photographed from an elevation of 10,500 feet, from a ridge overlooking the upper Pai-shui or White water, the Gyi-p'ěr of the Na-khi. The main glacier on the eastern slopes is the source of the Gyi-p'ěr. The trees in foreground are pines and spruces, the pale foliaged trees poplars in autumn garb. On the higher slopes are firs and spruces, the lighter-colored trees, larches.

[Frontispiece]

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THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

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[p. 1] [p. 2 is blank]

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[202] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 瑯江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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101 tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

131 The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

162 In the area covered by map no. 1[1], the Na-khi live in scattered villages
131 alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

174 Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

000 In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

1[see end map 1, cat 116 ;-- Analyst]

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of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 *tribe.* — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏朝 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 玁狁), as well as the Hsün-yü 葷粥, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 2a–5a, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 濮蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 辰州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

1 [p. 28A-- Analyst]

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175 he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom
101 of Tien, or Tien Kuo.[3]

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 巔, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

[3] The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298–293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 180, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 元江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 409, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牁 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 月 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山洞 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'ao-ching ch'ao-wen chi* 漢經朝文集, ch. 2, fol. 1–2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Asoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頌, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

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as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 秦. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-(Ch'in-)chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsang-ko* 作柯 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that Hao is identical with Chuang Ch'iao. On page 9a, however, it says that it is feared that this may not be so. As regards the name Tsang-ko 牂柯, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as Tsang-ko. A footnote says that *tsang-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 舲 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平越, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂牁郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called P'ing-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

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175 101 Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480–403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常莊 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kuo: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122–117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越巂 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 滇江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th–April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang[4] where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

[4] It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 蒙巂蠻 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅鍥甸. The P'o (Po)-man 僰蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 羌宗部, Hsiu-chih 休利部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 澂江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b–5a, says that because T'u-mo-

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The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.[5]

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊愼, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熜 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高橋 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177–184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

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chih 徒莫盛 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 爨蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

[5] P. M. Tchang, S.J., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

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175 101 *The province of Yün-nan.* — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin-an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713–755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛羅皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

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CHAPTER I

TERRITORY BETWEEN K'UN-MING (YÜN-NAN FU) AND LI-CHIANG

It would seem superfluous to give here the stages and a description of the road to Ta-li, which has been described by travellers too numerous to mention. But practically none give the names with the Chinese characters. And as the romanization adopted by them depended on their nationality — English, French or German — the resulting spelling has not always been a happy one. It is for this reason that I shall describe briefly the route from K'un-ming, via Ta-li 大理, to Li-chiang 麗江, and also give historical accounts of the various towns encountered *en route*, beginning with K'un-ming, our starting point. 487

Although no one will ever again use the old caravan road to Ta-li except muleteers — and these only for a few years more — as a motor-road has been built to Ta-li and its extension to Li-chiang is almost completed, I have thought it wise to give this description of the old caravan road as a matter of historic interest.

1. — HISTORY OF YÜN-NAN FU

Yün-nan fu was the land south of the Liang Chou 梁州 of Yü Kung 禹貢 173 In the time of the Yin 殷 (also called Shang 商) and Chou 周 dynasties, it was outside their borders and was inhabited by the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians). There dwelled the P'o 僰, Chiu 嶲, Liao 獠, Li 慄 (Piao 標), Lo 倮 (Naked), Tu 毒, Lu 獹, and Ngo or O 噩, and all the tribes of the Wu-man 烏蠻. In the Fighting States period, Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 of Ch'u 楚 seized the land, assumed the kingship of their territory and called it Tien Kuo 滇國.

Tien Kuo. — There seems to be some discrepancy as regards the actual establishing of the Tien Kuo. Chavannes, in his introduction to the *Mémoires historiques*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXIV, states that King Wei 威王 of Ch'u, who reigned from 339–329 B.C., sent General Chuang Ch'iao to conquer the region which is the present K'un-ming. Owing to his inability to return to Ch'u the latter installed himself on the borders of lake Tien and named his kingdom after the lake, Tien Kuo (Kingdom of Tien) (Plate 2).

The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 1, pp. 6b–7b, quoting from the *Shih Chi* 史記, says that, in the time of King Wei of Ch'u, General Chuang Ch'iao was sent with his soldiers to follow the Chiang 江 (Yangtze), and seize the territory to the west of Pa 巴, Shu 蜀 and Ch'ien-chung. General Chuang was the descendant of King Chuang (Wang) of Ch'u 莊王 (613–591 B.C.). (The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* has quite a discussion about this statement that Chuang Ch'iao was the descendant of Chuang Wang). Chuang arrived at lake Tien; near it was level ground, 300 li square, consisting of fertile soil. Several thousand li were occupied by the soldiers, who overawed the country, which thus became subject to Ch'u.

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173 When the General intended returning to report (to his king) he found that Ch'in had attacked Ch'u, Pa and Ch'ien-chung. The road was thus closed. He sent one of his generals, Hsiao Pu 小卜, to tranquilize the savages to the west of Tien. Unable to return to Ch'u, he began building the walled city of Chü-lan 苴蘭 and resided there. Chü-lan ch'eng was in the prefecture of Ku-ch'ang 谷昌 and was seven li north of K'un-ming hsien — other books say over 10 li from Yün-nan fu.

The *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) states that in the time of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang 頃襄王, Chuang Hao 莊豪 was King of Tien.

According to the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* 漢書, the time when Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan was during the reign of King Wei of Ch'u (339–329 B.C.), and not during the reign of King Ch'ing Hsiang of Ch'u (289–262 B.C.).

Although the Li-chiang Records state explicitly that it was after Ssu-ma Ts'o had attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung (which was in 280 B.C.), the exact date of the establishing of Tien Kuo is, therefore, left undetermined.[1]

K'un-ming (*Yün-nan fu*). — In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien submitted, and at first there was established the I-chou Chün 益州郡.[2] (A *chün* 郡 was a territorial division of the Han empire beginning 221 B.C.) In the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Shu Han (A.D. 225). I-chou Chün was changed to Chien-ning 建寧 which controlled also Wei hsien 味縣 (this was 15 li west of the city of Nan-ning, or Nan-ning ch'eng 南寧城, the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, to the east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu), distant seven stages).

[1] The dates given by EMILE ROCHER in his "Histoire des princes du Yün-nan" in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. X (1899), p. 1, as regards the early history of Yün-nan, are completely untrustworthy, for he says, "About the beginning of our era the prince of the Kingdom of Ch'u sent an ambassador by the name of Chuang Ch'iao, etc., to Yün-nan to which he gave the name of Tien." Now the State of Ch'u came to an end in 223 B.C., which is hardly "about the beginning of our era."

The next king of whom any record exists, although it is very little, is Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, of whom the Li-chiang Records relate that "at first Han Wu Ti sent envoys to Tien [Yün-nan] to interview King Ch'ang Ch'iang." Wu Ti ruled from 140 to 87 B.C., so Ch'ang Ch'iang's reign in Yün-nan must fall into that period and not A.D. 20 as Rocher states.

In the *Hsi-nan-i Lieh-chuan* of the *Shih Chi* it is stated that Ch'ang Ch'iang, the King of Tien, led all his people to allegiance in the second year of the period Yüan-feng (109 B.C.). Thereupon he was given an official seal, authorizing him to continue to govern his people as their king.

Among the south-western savages there were about one hundred chieftains among whom only those of Yeh-lang and Tien received official seals authorizing them to be kings. The State of Ch'in exterminated the kings of all the other States except the King of Tien who was a descendant of Ch'u. When the Han dynasty launched an expedition against the south-western savages, all the barbarian States were exterminated except Tien, the king of which remained a favourite of the emperor. We learn that Ch'ang Ch'iang, King of Tien, appeared first in Chinese history in the first year of the period Yüan-shou (122 B.C.). — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 117, fol. 2a and b.

[2] In I-chou Chün during the reign of Wu Ti, in the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 there were founded 24 hsien, of which the first was Tien-ch'ih 滇池. This Tien-ch'ih is the present-day Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣. The second was Shuang-pai 雙柏, the present I-men hsien 易門縣; the third was T'ung-lao 同勞, the Yüeh chou 越州, of the present Nan-ning, later abandoned, etc. Under the Later Han, I-chou Chün had 17 walled cities, the first again being Tien-ch'ih. All these belonged to Yün-nan. — (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 4b). *See* p. 8.

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In the second year of the period Yung-an 永安 (305) in the reign of Chin Hui Ti 惠帝, Chien-ning was enlarged and Ning-chou Chün 寧州郡 was established. In the second year of the period Yung-chia 永嘉 of Chin Huai Ti 懷帝 (308), Ning chou was changed to Chin-ning Chün 晉寧郡. Both the Sung 宋 (420–478) and Ch'i 齊 (479–501) called it by the same name. During the Liang 梁 (502–56) and Ch'en 陳 (557–589) dynasties the name Chin-ning Chün was abolished. In the beginning of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581) there was established K'un chou 昆州, which was subsequently abolished. — *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 9b. 173

However, in the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618) it was re-established as K'un chou, but subject to the Yao chou Tsung-kuan-fu 姚州總管府 (Fu-Governor of Yao chou, north of Chen-nan chou). In the fourth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (630) it was changed and made subject to the Tu-tu-fu 都督府 (Governor-General) of Jung chou 戎州.[3]

Towards the end of T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was abolished by the Nan-chao Kingdom. In the fifth year of Kuang-te 廣德 (767),[4] Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, a prince of the Meng family 蒙氏, added a wall and called the town T'o-tung ch'eng 拓東城, as in the east of Nan-chao (Ta-li) the Meng princes had established the *chieh-tu* of T'o-tung. It was intended to open up the land of T'o-tung which was one of six *chieh-tu* 節度,[5] namely, T'o-tung, Lung-tung 弄棟 (present-day Yüan-mou 元謀), Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (now called Pao-shan 保山), Yin-sheng 銀生 (present-day Ching-tung 景東), Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and Lu-shui 瀘水. T'o-tung ch'eng is the K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) of to-day.

Ch'üan-feng-t'o 劵豐拓, a grandchild of the sixth generation of Feng-ch'ieh-i, changed the name T'o-tung ch'eng to Shan-shan fu 鄯闡府. Hsün-ho-ch'üan 尋閣勸 (in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* he is called Hsün-ko-ch'üan 尋閣勸), the seventh Nan-chao King (808–809), renamed T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城, and made it the Hsi-ching 西京 or Western capital, calling Shan-shan the Eastern capital. Lung-shun 隆舜, 12th Nan-chao King (877–897), changed the Hsi-ching 西京 (Western capital) to the Chung-tu 中都 (Central capital); and the Tung-ching 東京 (Eastern capital) he called the Shang-tu 上都 (Upper capital). In the time of the Tuan family, Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇[6] governed Shan-shan and his descendants lived there.

In the beginning of the Yüan 元 (Mongol) dynasty (1253) was established the Shan-shan wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Shan-shan city of 10,000 families). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 32, fol. 3b, however, states that in the fifth year of

[3] Jung chou is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (formerly called Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 and Sui-fu) of Ssu-ch'uan. It was first known as Jung chou in the 10th year of Ta-t'ung 大同 of the Liang dynasty (544).

[4] This should probably read the second year of Ta-li 大歷, as there were only two years of the period Kuang-te, though the emperor was the same. The date may, however, be wrong, as the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* gives the second year of Kuang-te, which is 764.

[5] *Chieh-tu* was the office of an Imperial Commissioner.

[6] Kao Chih-sheng was marquis of Yo (hou) 岳侯. He was promoted in 1063 to T'ai-pao 太保 (Grand Protector of the Hereditary Prince), and invested with the title of marquis of Te (hou) 德侯. Later he was promoted marquis of Shan-shan 鄯闡侯, the title to be inherited by his descendants.

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173 Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1255) Shan-shan was divided into four Wan-hu fu or four cities of 10,000 families each. In the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1276) it was changed to Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路 (Circuit of Chung-ch'ing).

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the name was changed to Yün-nan fu 雲南府, which then ruled over four chou and nine hsien.

Ed. Chavannes, in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. 6 (1905), p. 4, raises the question as to the identity of Shan-shan 鄯闡 and concludes that it is not to be identified with Yün-nan fu. He is inclined to accept the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* where it states that T'o tung is the present-day P'ing-ting hsiang 平定鄉, north of K'un-yang chou 昆陽州 in Yün-nan fu. K'un-yang chou is on the south-western point of K'un-yang Lake. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chi kao*, Vol. 8, ch. 3, fol. 9a, states explicitly that T'o-tung ch'eng is the Yün-nan fu of to-day, and that it was also called Shan-shan fu.

Another reference, however, is in Vol. 14, ch. 14, fol. 5b, of the same Chinese work, where it says that the ancient Ya-ch'ih ch'eng 押赤城, which Chavannes accepts as the present-day Yün-nan fu, was 20 li south-east of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣. Lo-tz'u hsien is north-west of Fu-min 富民, so this would mean that Ya-ch'ih ch'eng was between Lo-tz'u hsien and Fu-min.[7]

172 173 *The city wall.* — The wall of K'un-ming (the ancient T'o-tung ch'eng), was first built by Feng-ch'ieh-i[8] in the second year of Kuang-te 廣德 (764) (*see* p. 13, note 4), though according to tradition it is the ancient wall built by Chuang Ch'iao, first king of Tien Kuo.

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the wall was replaced by a brick wall nine and three-tenths li in circumference, 29 feet and 2 inches high, and having six gates, each with a tower.

[7] If this were true the town could not have been surrounded by water on three sides. From many of the Chinese records it seems apparent that Ya-ch'ih and Shan-shan were two different cities. Ya-ch'ih was the capital of the Wu man. We read in the *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史 (New Mongol History), ch. 122, fol. 6b, that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai attacked the Wu man (Black savages), then the territory of the Lo pu 羅部 (Lo tribe who dwelt at Lo-tz'u hsien), and defeated Kao-hua 高華, the chief of the Man. He then advanced on the city of Ya-ch'ih (it actually says Ch'ih-ya which is a misprint). Three sides of the city are on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih (K'un-ming Lake). He employed *pao* 礮 (machines for throwing heavy stones), attacked its north gate and set fire to it. He was however unable to take it. In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fol. 22a, it states that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai divided his army and took the adjacent capital Shan-shan. He then turned around and attacked the Shui ch'eng 水城 of the Wu man Ho-la-chang 合剌章, etc. Further on it relates that he advanced on Ya-ch'ih, a city on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih and surrounded on three sides by water.

Shan-shan has survived in the K'un-ming of to-day while Ya-ch'ih has completely disappeared. The Na-khi however call K'un-ming, to this day, Yi-chi or rather Yi-ch'i, which seems to be the Ya-ch'ih of the Mongols, but they may be referring to the capital of the Wu-man with which they were classed by the Chinese.

The temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu 筇竹寺 (Temple of the Ch'iung bamboo [a variety of bamboo with great many knots]) situated 20 li west of K'un-ming on the Yü-an Shan 玉案山 (Jade-table Mountain) was built by Kao Kuang 高光 of Shan-shan about 638, so the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* relates. A stele in the same temple which bears the date of May 15, 1316, and which has only recently come to light, bears two inscriptions, a Chinese and a Mongol. The former states that the priest Hsüan Chien 玄璧 holds forth in the temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu of Yün-nan Ya-ch'ih.

[8] He was the son of Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 who ruled over the Nan-chao Kingdom from 748 to 788.

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In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 麼些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482] [438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

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173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡[10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass)
487 is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u
137 草鋪 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(黍)螵 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

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feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance. 133 487 137

Lu-feng [11] is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 拾資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province. 579

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

[11] In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿鵬甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏婆蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937–1094) by I-sheng 義聲, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341–1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

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487 137 133 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descending to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-[579] quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then governor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dispersed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching [317] 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were [483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their foreheads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七鋪, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路談. [The character *t'an* 談 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 鄯 *shan*, and 撿 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路談千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回蹬關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 宜力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 紅江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 楊起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

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361 487 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 鍛祿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明量 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 133 137 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.

Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石舖 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢糧橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard. [317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閤. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 裕富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 宏治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓橦 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹爲憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

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487 until we reach the village of Pan ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-
133 nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a
137 stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普湧 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 苴力鋪, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where
133 lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li
485 from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher
133 pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and ex-
137 posed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with [243] wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the 137 stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the 133 neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief 487 Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession.

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湧.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not con- [312] tain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain [243] brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[17] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are

[17] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers,
[316] the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩 *f.* is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村鋪, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江鋪, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

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(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉井湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li. 137 133 487

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買鋪, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).[20]

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village 731 137 133 487

[20] Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文案洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649–902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 檢 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (*see* p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 甸. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522–1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 龍紆那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (*see* p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the former Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋羅, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 傍彌千, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (*Lang-k'ung hsien chih lüeh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

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487 731 133 137 the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables. [508]

487 133 137 *Twelfth stage.* — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu is 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 蒙化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[21] marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[22]

[731] We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[21] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381).

[22] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 泰國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 33 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 5a, states that it was built during the reign of Ming T'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

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of about 600 houses, but quite forlorn and empty.[23] The plain is wide but is hemmed in on the north by a broad, conical hill, partly wooded. Five li beyond Feng-i (Chao chou) we come to the hamlet of Shih-pi-t'ou 石壁頭 and the peaceful temple at the foot of the cliff, called Fei-lai Ssu,[24] which is the regular caravan halting-place, as there are no inns with stables in Chao chou.

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Thirteenth stage. — From Fei-lai Ssu to Hsia-kuan 下關 (Lower pass) and Ta-li 大理 is a distance of 25 and 50 li respectively (55 li from Chao chou).

Near the end of the plain, at the foot of a wooded conical hill, the trail makes a complete right angle to the west, and one is fronted by the magnificent Tien-ts'ang Shan 點苍山 (Starred azure Mountain), commonly called Ts'ang Shan,[25] snow-streaked half-way down its slopes; its height is 14,000 feet. We

[23] In ancient days Chao chou had no wall. The first earth wall was built in the second year of Ming Hung-chih (1480). It was 3 li in circumference, 13 feet high, and 5 feet thick. Several times at various periods the wall collapsed and was last rebuilt in 1805. Prior to the Han dynasty, Chao chou was in the State of K'un-mi 昆彌. During the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–24 A.D.), it belonged to Yün-nan hsien. K'un-mi was the name of a family who ruled over that State — hence K'un-mi Kuo — but nothing is known regarding their succession. Afterwards the Lo-lo man 蠻落蠻 dwelt there. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of K'un chou 昆州. Subsequently it was called Chao chou chien 趙州縣. Later it was called Chao chun 趙郡 and Chao chou. In the time of the Tuan family it was called T'ien-shui chun 天水郡. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it was the Chao chien ch'ien-hu 趙縣千戶. During Yüan Chih-yüan (1264–1294) it was called Chao chou subject to the circuit of Ta-li. In the Ming dynasty the name remained unchanged. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, Chao chou was first captured; and when the Ming troops attacked the region they first took Chao chou and then the two strategic forts, the Hsia and Shang Kuan. The district derived its name from a certain Chao K'ang 趙康 who was sent to reside there by the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

[24] The temple received its name from a legend which relates that an image of a Buddha came flying through the air. It is situated at the foot of Yü-lung Shan 蓄龍山 (Mountain of the lething dragon), also known as Su-lung Shan 宿龍山 (Resting-dragon Mountain), and is five li north of Chao chou. Another temple called T'u-chu Miao 土主廟 (Temple of the local lord) is in the same village. It was rebuilt during the period Cheng-t'ung 正統 (1436–1449).

[25] The Ts'ang Shan is also called Ling-chiu Shan 靈鷲山, named so after a peak in India called Gṛdhrakūṭa on which vultures had their nests: literally, "Vulture Peak." The Indian mountain, which is now called Giddore, is near Rājagṛha, famous for its vultures and caverns inhabited by ascetics, where Pisuna, or Māra, in the shape of a vulture, hindered the meditation of Ananda (EITEL). It has 19 peaks, and 18 streams descend from it. In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 (784), of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗, I-mou-hsün of the Meng family, who was ruler of Ta-li, conferred upon it the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central sacred Mountain). During the reign of Hung-wu, Lan Yü 藍玉, second commander of the left wing of the army and marquis of Yung-ch'ang, attacked Ta-li. He sent his soldiers west of the Ts'ang Shan and ordered them to climb it from the west and implant his flag on the highest peak. When the people of Ta-li saw the flag they fled. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 5, fol. 1b, states that it is 3 li west of the city and that it extends for over 100 li from north to south, like a wall. The *Hsi Shu* calls it the Hsieh-lung Yün-nan Shan 邪龍雲南山 and compares it to the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 of Fu-feng 扶風, Shen-si. Clouds often encircle the mountain like a jade girdle, hence people speak of it as the Jade girdle (mountain). Each of its nineteen peaks has a special name, for all are different. Enumerated from south to north beginning with the one above Hsia-kuan and adjoining the T'ien-sheng ch'iao, they are: K'o-yang 蛤羊, Ma-erh 馬耳 Horse ear, Fo-t'ou 佛頭 or Buddha head, Sheng-ying 聖應, Ma-lung 馬龍 or Horse dragon, Yü-chü 玉局, the Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 or Dragon spring, and the Central Peak or Chung-ho feng 中和峯. Then follow the Kuan-yin 觀音, or Goddess of

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487 pass through miserable hamlets nearly destroyed by the earthquake, and over
133 a sandy trail which skirts the hill-sides, leaving to our right the southern end
137 of the Erh Hai 洱海 (Erh Lake), that is, the Ta-li Lake (PLATE 4). On Davies' *Map of Yün-nan* the distance to Hsia-kuan does not appear to be more than 15 li, in comparison to the stretch from Hsia-kuan to Ta-li; the scale is quite out of proportion. The actual distance from Chao chou to Hsia-kuan is 30 li, and from there to Ta-li 25 li.

Hsia-kuan is situated on a hill-side and is visible from afar; elevation 6,900 feet. It is the business town of western central Yün-nan, while Ta-li is the residential town and the seat of the officials. The Hsia Kuan has another name — the Lung-wei Kuan 龍尾關 (Dragon-tail Pass). This, as well as the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper pass, also called Lung-shou Kuan 龍首關, Dragon-head Pass) were constructed by P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣 in the 29th year of K'ai-yüan 開元 (741). He was the first ruler or King of Nan-chao and the fourth of the Ta Meng or the Great Meng dynasty. The first kingdom of the Ta Meng was called the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔.

Passing through the walled town with its narrow streets, we cross the Hei-lung ch'iao 黑龍橋 (Black dragon bridge), over the Hsia-kuan Ho (Hsia-kuan River),[26] the outlet of the Erh Lake,[27] and ascend the steep grade over the slippery pavement of the suburbs of Hsia-kuan.

Mercy Peak, the Ying-lo 應樂, the Hsüeh-jen 雪人 or Snow-man Peak, the Lan-feng 蘭峯 or Orchid Peak, the San-yang 三陽, the Ho-yün 鶴雲, the Pai-yün 白雲, or White cloud, the Lien-hua 蓮花 or Lotus Peak, the Wu-t'ai 五臺 or Five Terraces, the Ts'ang-lang 滄浪 and last the Yün-lung 雲弄, directly above the Shang-kuan.

[26] The Hsia-kuan Ho, where it enters the defile in the Tien-ts'ang Range, is called the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream); beyond it is called the Ho-chiang Ho 合江河, after a village by that name in the gorge. It flows as the Ho-chiang Ho into the Yang-pi River 漾濞江.

[27] The Ta-li Lake, which is 90 li long and from 9 to 21 li wide, is a beautiful sheet of water. To the east it is bordered by reddish, bare, rather low hills, the region being called Tung-hai 東海 (East lake). The lake is also called the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (West Erh Stream), and is east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣, the present Ta-li hsien or Ta-li district. It is also known as the Yeh-yü Shui 樸檢水 (Waters of Yeh-yü) — Yeh-yü being the ancient name of Ta-li. [The Yeh-yü of the Han epoch is 10 li south-east of the present-day Ta-li and is identical with the village of Yang-ho-p'u 楊和鋪, where its foundations, or remnants, are still visible. The region now belongs to the district of T'ai ho hsien. During the Han dynasty it was subject to Yün-nan hsien 雲南縣, now called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣, pronounced in Yün-nan, Ch'ien-yün hsien.] The origin of the name Yeh-yü is traced to a large forest of elms, called *yü-shu* 檢樹 in Chinese. [*Ulmus pumila var. pilosa* Rehd. is quite common on the eastern slopes of the Tien-ts'ang Shan.] The elm forest existed in ancient days at the outlet of the Ta-li Lake at Hsia-kuan, by the T'ien-sheng ch'iao 天生橋 (Natural bridge), a natural stone bridge which spans the outlet of the lake. It was so dense that it was always dark and no one could pass there. To the south of the bridge is a stele which records that it was there that Chu-ko Liang captured Meng-huo 孟獲. The stele is dated Kuang-hsü *ping-wu* 丙午 (1906).

Still other names for the Ta-li Lake are Hsi-erh Hai 西洱海 and Erh Shui 洱水.

The source of the lake is in the Pa-ku Shan 龍谷山 in the north of Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣. Flowing south it passes east of Lang-k'ung hsien and Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州 and thence enters the borders of T'ai-ho hsien, where it is called Hsi-erh Ho. From the Tien-ts'ang Shan, which lies to the west, 18 affluents descend into the stream, which thus enlarged forms the Erh Hai. Its outlet is at Hsia-kuan as has already been described.

The shape of the lake is that of a human ear, *erh* 耳, hence the name Erh Hai. Its cir-

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PLATE 1.—THE NORTHERN END OF TIEN CH'IH, THE YÜN-NAN LAKE

滇池北端

This part of the lake is commonly known as Ts'ao Hai 草海 or Grass Lake. It also goes by the name of K'un-ming Ch'ih 昆明池 or K'un-ming Lake. Bordering the lake to the west is the famous Lo-han Shan 羅漢山 popularly called Hsi Shan 西山.

[p. 28 A]

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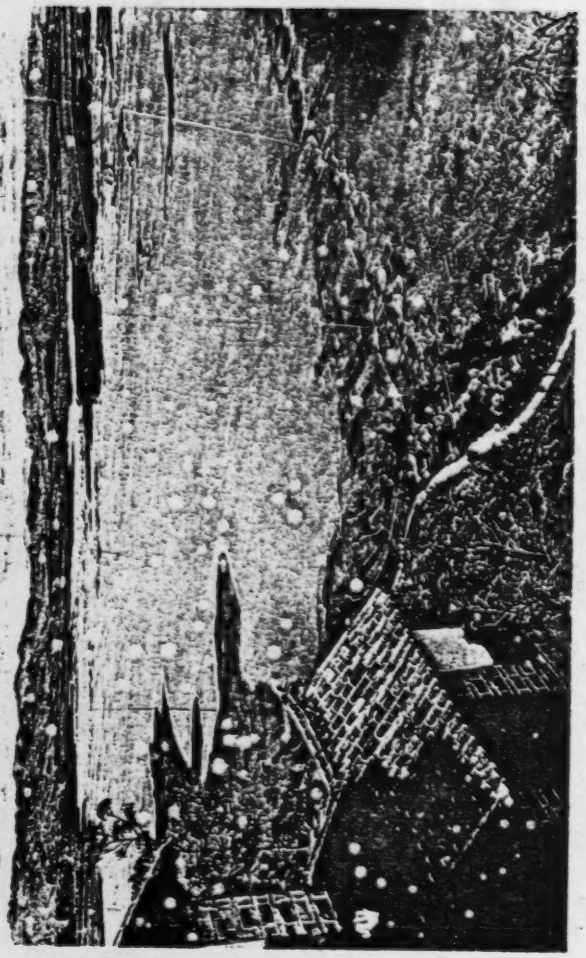

PLATE 2.—TIEN CH'IH SEEN FROM HSI SHAN

西山望滇池

Looking east from Lo-han Ssu 羅漢寺 the main temple on Hsi Shan 西山 across the northern end of the Tien Ch'ih; K'un-ming is in the extreme upper right. The division of the actual Tien or K'un-ming Ch'ih and the Ta'ao Hai or Grass Lake can be seen in the lower right. The lake is at an elevation of 6,400 feet.

[p.28 B]

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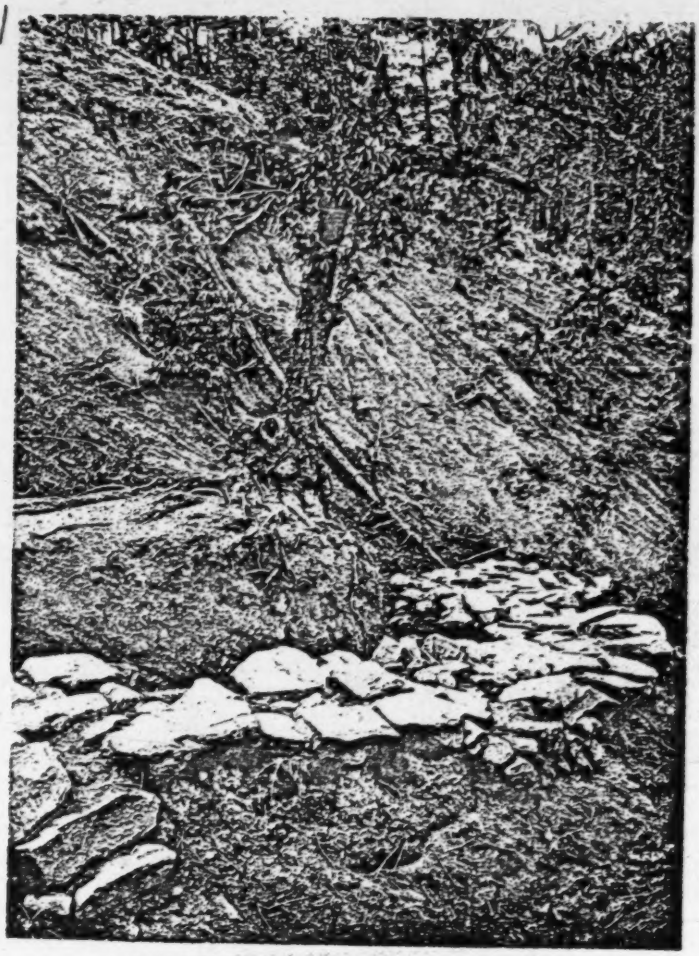

PLATE 3. — A TYPICAL YÜN-NAN HIGHWAY

雲南滇緬公路

This road is as old as the hills and leads from Li-chiang 麗江 to La-chi-ming 喇嘛鳴, a salt-well station east of the Mekong.

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PLATE 4.—WEST SHORE OF THE TA-LI ERH HAI

大理洱海西岸

Fishing boats with cormorants in the foreground. The trees are willows. The lake is thirty miles long and from three to seven miles wide, its elevation is 6,800 feet above sea level.

[p.28 D]

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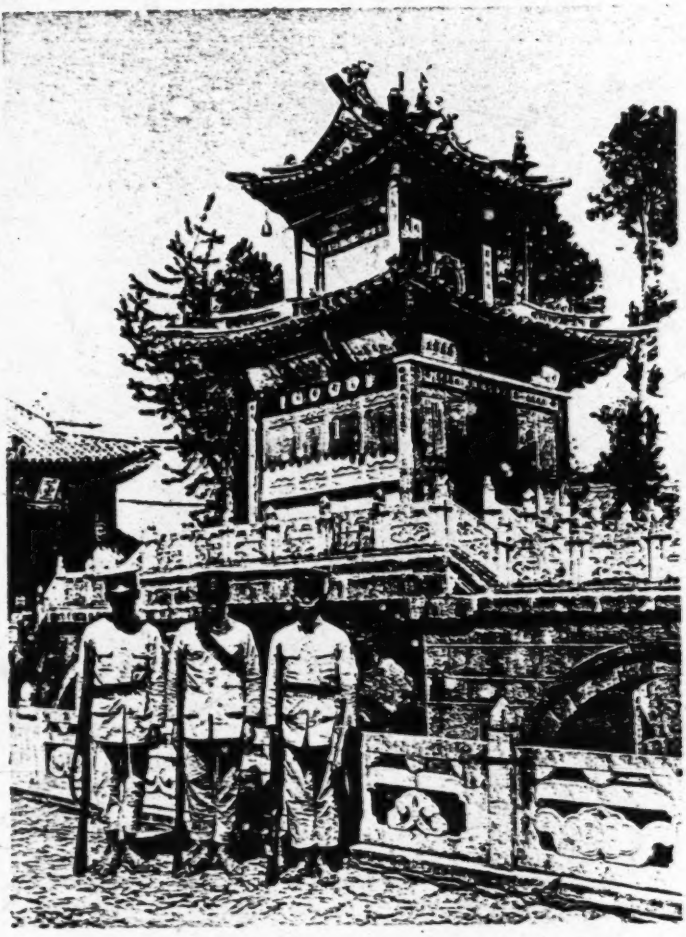

PLATE 5. — KUAN-YIN SSU BETWEEN HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI

大石廟下關大理之間

The shrine is built over a rock (seen behind the soldier on the right) which is supposed to have been carried here by the Goddess of Mercy, disguised as an old woman. Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺, or Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, is thus also known as Ta-shih An, Great Rock Shrine.

[p. 28 E]

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PLATE 6. — TWO OF THE THREE PAGODAS OF SAN-T'A SSU

大理三塔今之二塔

These famous pagodas stand to the north of the city of Ta-li. They were built by a master mason of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 632. They withstood two earthquakes, one on June 17, 1515, and another on March 16, 1925. At both times, the city of Ta-li was completely destroyed. Photographed April, 1922.

[p. 28 F]

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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PLATE 7. — MIN-CHIA PEASANTS

民 家 農 夫

The Min-chia tribespeople are said to be the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom. They are now scattered all over Yün-nan, but their main stronghold is still Ta-li and the region of Yün-lung 雲龍. They carry their loads by means of a peculiar yoke which rests on their shoulders, a strap passes over the forehead. When stopping to rest they use a stick to prop the wooden yoke, and the left hand rests in the head strap. Chu-ko Liang (A.D. 181–234) is said to have invented these yokes during his conquest of Yün-nan when he employed the Min-chia as carriers.

[p. 28 G]

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PLATE 8. — MIN-CHIA WOMEN

民 家 婦 女

The Min-chia women are the main burden bearers. The load is carried on a wooden yoke, secured by a head strap. Firewood for the market of Chien-chiang, north of Ta-li.

[p. 28 H]

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PLATE 9. — YEH-YEH, ANCESTOR OF THE MU FAMILY

葉葉一祖牧

Yeh-yeh is considered the first ancestor according to the Second Genealogical Chronicle. He arrived in Li-chiang during the reign of Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125).

[p.28 I]

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PLATE 10 — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

古麽些象形文字書

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mber saw*, relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 77. *First sentence*, *Second* and *Third sentence* on page 78.

[p. 28 I]

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PLATE 11. — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 78, *Fourth sentence*; *Fifth*, *Sixth*, and *Seventh sentence* in part on page 79.

[p. 28 K]

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M3
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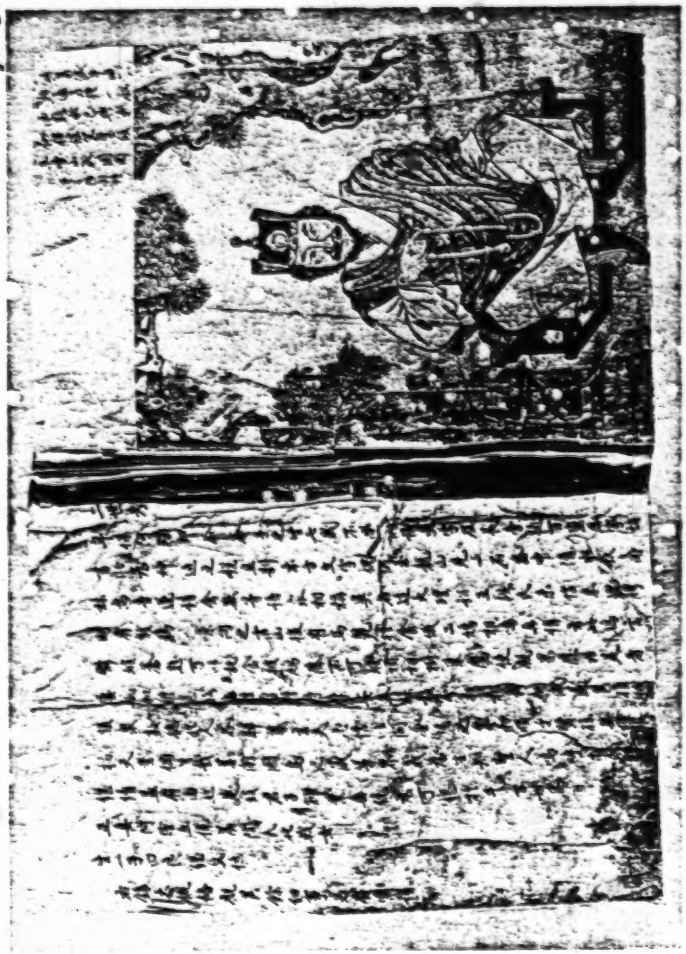

PLATE 12. — THE SECOND GENERATION, MOU-PAO A-TSUNG

牟 保 阿 孜 二 代 考

The Nien-pao A-tsung of the Second Chronicle

[p. 28 L]

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PLATE 13.—THE THIRD GENERATION. A TSUNG A-LIANG

[p. 28 M]

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四世考
阿良阿胡 良之嫡長襲父襲元帥之職
至元九年爲恭軍章帝民官而襲元帥
成宗元貞元年蒙
皇帝聖貴獎者給
龍章恩榮
誥命授正奉大夫護軍宣慰司
正妻阿宣剌母保爲陶氏和擇女
誥封碩夫人
生三子長男阿里僰父職

[P.28 N]

PLATE 14.—THE FOURTH GENERATION. A-LIANG A-HU

考數四胡阿良阿

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PLATE 15.—THE FIFTH GENERATION, A-HU A-LIEH

[p. 28-0]

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PLATE 16. — THE SIXTH GENERATION, A-LIEH A-CHIA

阿烈阿甲六世

[p. 28 P]

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[764] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-
fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-
137 hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in
133 the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and
487 brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves.
Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake].
[291] Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5)[1]. In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

173 Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音堂 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里堂 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but the dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[1] [see p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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173 about the history of this region, which, however, does not come within the scope of this work. It is my hope some time to write a history and geography of the entire province, when this particular region will be fully treated.

361 *The city of Ta-li.* — Fifteen li bring us to the city of Ta-li, elevation 7,000 feet.[31] It is built on the sloping plain between the Ts'ang Shan Range and the

173 [31] In the days of Yü Kung 禹貢 Ta-li was the land south of the division of Liang (Liang Chou 梁州). In the Han dynasty, Wu Ti 武帝 (140–87 B.C.) opened up the land of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians), and created the territory of I-chou Chün. In the Later Han dynasty (25–220) Ta-li belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. Under the Minor Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡, *i.e.*, the region of the ancient Yün-nan hsien, south-east of Ta-li and Chao chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty 晉 (265) it remained unchanged. During the reign of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307–312) it was divided and the district of Tung-ho-yang Chün 東河陽郡 was established. The *Sung Shu* 宋書 states that in the fifth year of Yung-chia of Chin (311) the Tz'u-shih 刺史 (Governor), Wang Sun 王遜 of Ning chou 寧州 (the modern Lin-an 臨安, south of K'un-ming), divided Yung-ch'ang and Yün-nan and established the Chün of Tung-ho-yang to control two prefectures, namely, Tung-ho-yang and Yeh-yü 葉榆. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties Ta-li remained unchanged. At the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (about 555–556) it fell into the hands of the Man (savages). In the fourth year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (621), K'un-mi sent an envoy and they submitted. In the seventh year of T'ang Wu-te (624) the Emperor caused the land of Yün-nan chou to be administered. (It was called Yün-nan chou when the Meng family gained control over it. Another name for it was K'un-mi 昆彌.)

The K'un-mi of the *T'ang Shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty) is the K'un-ming 昆明 of the Han dynasty, which lay west of the Ts'uan-man (Ts'uan or Lo-lo savages); it became the land of Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) it became K'uang chou 匡州. After the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756) it came under the control of Nan-chao, and the Nan-chao Kingdom established its capital in this place; it was also called the Western capital. Later it was changed to Chung-tu 中都, or Central capital. In the time of Shih Chin 石晉 (Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 is here meant, the first Emperor of the Later Chin 後晉 dynasty who ruled from 936–942, his reigning title being T'ien-fu 天福) the Tuan family possessed this land and called it Ta-li Kuo 大理國. (The Ta-li Kuo existed from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung, 憲宗 (1253) it was brought to submission. In the sixth year (1256) were established the Shang 上 (Upper) and Hsia 下 (Lower) Wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Cities of 10,000 families). In the seventh year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1270) they became the Ta-li Lu 大理路 (Circuit of Ta-li). In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) it was again changed to Ta-li fu 大理府, controlling four chou, three hsien, and one Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司.

So much for the history of Ta-li, which has been translated from the *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 1a and 1b.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* ch. 24, fol. 6a, states that the Ta-li ch'eng was near the suburbs of T'ai-ho ch'eng, and was the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城 which in turn was the Grand Ya-men of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The *T'ang Shu Ti-li chih* states that it was twenty li from T'ai-ho ch'eng. In the 14th year of T'ang Ta-li 大歷 (779) I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom built the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城. The *Ta-li hsien chih kao* ch. 3, fol. 6a, however states that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng is the present district city (Ta-li) and that I-mou-hsün during the reign of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 794) robbed Hsi-ch'uan 西川, suffering defeat he returned and being afraid, he built the tamped wall of Yang-chü-mieh, fifteen li long and broad. He changed his residence to this place and changed the name to Ta-li.

We further read that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng was situated below the central peak of the Ts'ang Shan and was the ancient Yeh-yü ch'eng. The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* ch. 上 fol. 12, states that P'i-lo-ko built Yang-chü-mieh north of T'ai-ho ch'eng in the second year of T'ien-pao (743). The *Man-shu* fol. 23, states that originally all the Ho-man 河蠻 dwelt at T'ai-ho ch'eng, Ta-li ch'eng 大營城 and Yang chü-mieh. In the twenty-fifth year of K'ai-yüan (737) Meng Kuei-i 蒙歸義 (P'i-lo-ko) drove out the Ho-man and took possession of

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lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are 361
two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second south-
ern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built 344
by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐祐,[32] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In
it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh
(Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The
Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-
hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have
been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元
(1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua 344
lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks 731
of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger cen-
tral pagoda a gilded bronze Garuḍa, which the people called a duck, fell from
the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe
was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model [539]
of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-
nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his
friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were 344
erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the
military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[33] Around the pagodas have

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T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem 173
that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[32] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 權. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[33] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yüan-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 恭韜敬義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come [508] within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川[35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the
137 Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙坪, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta Li 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p.28 F. -- Analyst]

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Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,[26] the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,[27] crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 漢水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

[26] At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

[27] In the Han dynasty, Teng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 葉榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 騰衝州, dependent on Yao chou 姚州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 騰談詔 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the *t'ao* 陶 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Feng-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 漢水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 羅時江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

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487 133 137 Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, bring us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal[38] which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌苴河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge[39] over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler. [317] Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,[40] also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Halfway up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.[41] On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,[42] formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

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executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no descendants.

[38] This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

[39] This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王綱, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457–1464).

[40] The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou-ching 喬后井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 50 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

[41] This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

[42] During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

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Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent. 489 133 137

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山鋪, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li. [243] [438]

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan 火藥山 [44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound- [135]

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 佛 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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487 ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from
133 the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour,
137 after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

579 Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

487 *Sixteenth stage.* — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li.
133 Elevation 7,800 feet.
137 From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662–1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 [45] (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple [46] nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yünnanensis*, Alnus, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, Berberis, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

[45] The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748–778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b–6a).

[46] The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行庵 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

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lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it. 487 133 137

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyu in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Filippi-del-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan). [317]

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semi-circle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — Jade dragon Mountain), although it is already visible

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487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called
137 Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[322] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羈縻羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 縣 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窯村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍談 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羈縻談 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羈縻千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羈縻 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

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p'ing-ts'un 太平村, Liu-chia-teng 劉家登 and Tien-hsin-ch'iao 甸心橋. The village of Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨 is not on the Chien-ch'uan plain but beyond a narrow ravine, the slopes of which are covered with pines. Opposite the village, in a lovely pine forest, are numerous graves. This or the village of Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河 is the regular lunch-stop for the day. Five li from this village will bring us to the end of the stage, the village of Chiu-ho 九河 (Nine streams),[48] but there are still the villages of Chiang-tung 江東 and Wen-mu-ho 文木河 to be passed. Ere reaching Chiu-ho there is a beautiful isolated hill with a lovely forest of oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and thence we travel along the foot of a rocky hill entering the long valley which leads to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. Chiu-ho is situated on a low spur at an elevation of 8,150 feet. It is a miserable hamlet with a single dilapidated temple. Caravans bound for Li-chiang usually prefer to go beyond it to the hamlet of Tu-wo 杜娥 also called Tu-wu 杜吳 on Chinese maps (Na-khi, Dtu-wùa).

We have now arrived at the border of the Li-chiang district, to which the village of Chiu-ho belongs. South of it is Chien-ch'uan territory.

[48] Chiu-ho is called in Na-khi, Gkyi-wùa; and Kuan-shang 關上, at the end of the valley which extends north of Chiu-ho, is called Gkyi-wùa Ts'o-k'ö.

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CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

487 133 137 *Eighteenth stage.* — **From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li.** Elevation, 8,200 feet.

From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,[1] the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (*see* description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'o), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndĕr (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round, [243] wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).[2] These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

[1] The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'o). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei mou 錯鬼牟. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

[2] "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

[p. 40]

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stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 拉史巴. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 487 133

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets. 137

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See*: *San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神庙 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇史巴 (also written 拉史巴). The caravan-stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet. [312]

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Khü (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 马鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of 101

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 洮江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the
197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled
173 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division
101 of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan].
[302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 鵝昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 蝎, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 洮 is read *ts'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 洮 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chiu-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 騾馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people). 539 173 101

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common.

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'lu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'lao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

[p. 44 is blank]

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PLATE 17.—THE SEVENTH GENERATION. A-CHIA A-TE (MU TE)

木得七世阿甲阿

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1B
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PLATE 18.—THE EIGHTH GENERATION. MIU CH'U

本 第 八 代 祖

[p.43 B]

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PLATE 19.—THE NINTH GENERATION, MU TU

木土九代

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PLATE 20.—THE TENTH GENERATION. MU SHEN

第廿代 木神

[p.43 D]

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PLATE 21.—THE ELEVENTH GENERATION, MU CH'IN

第十一世 穆

[p.43 E]

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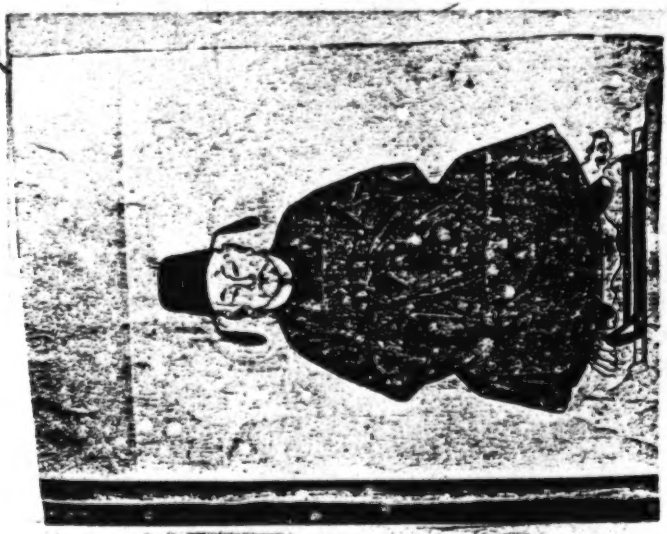

PLATE 22.—THE TWELFTH GENERATION: MU TAI

木 第 十 二 世 祖

[p. 43 F]

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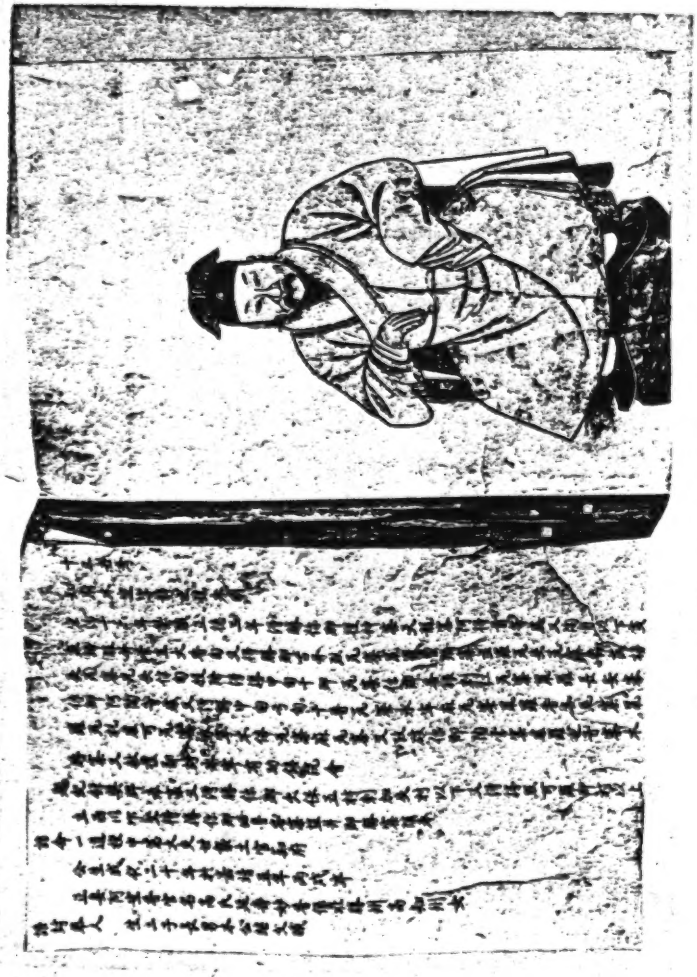

PLATE 23.—THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION MU TING

木 宣 十 三 代 祖

[p. 43 G]

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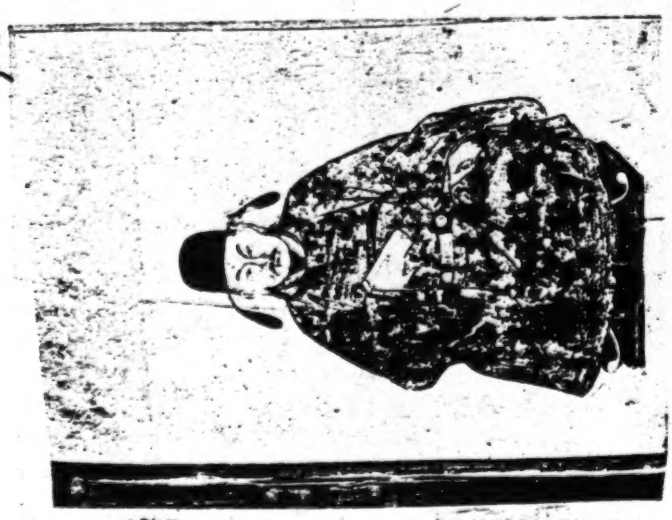

PLATE 24.—THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION, MU KUNG

木公十四世孫

[p.43H]

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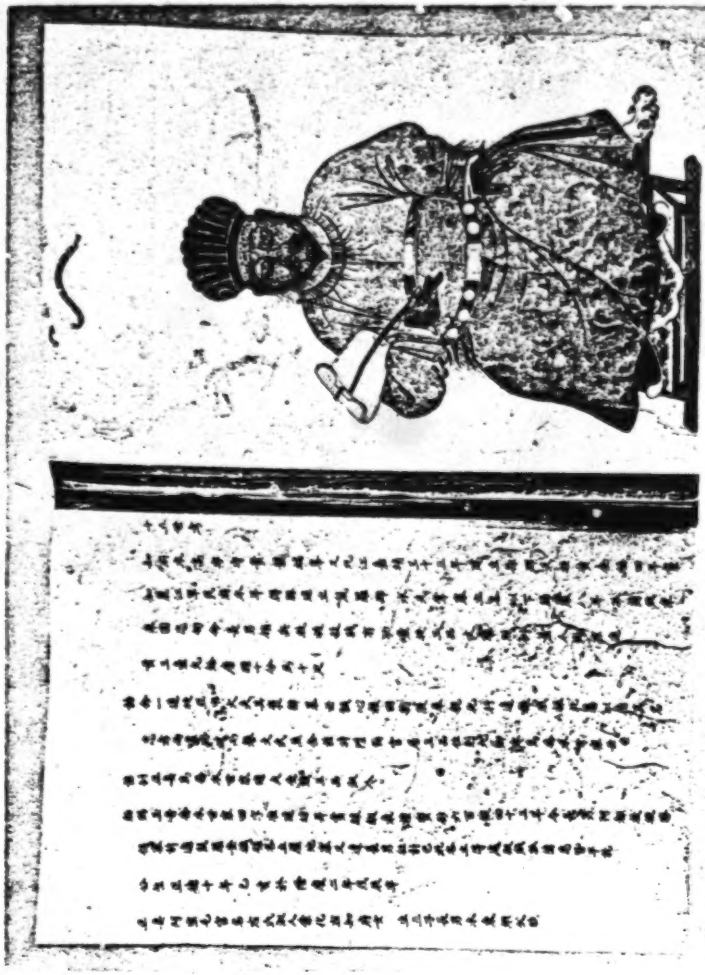

PLATE 23.—THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION, MU KAO

木高十五世孫

[p. 43 I]

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FIG. 16.—THE SIXTEENTH GENERATION. MU TUNG

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PLATE 27.—THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION: MU-WANG

[p. 43 K]

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173
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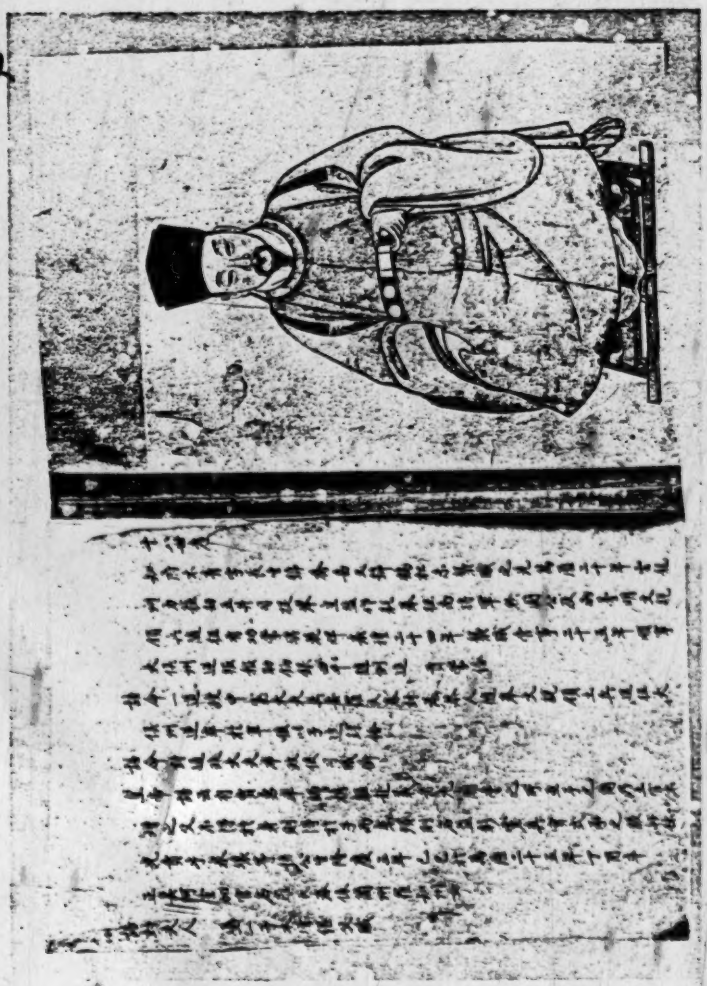

PLATE 28.—THE EIGHTEENTH GENERATION, MU CH'ING

[p.43 L]

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PLATE 29. — THE NINETEENTH GENERATION. MU TSENG

木 增 (木 盛 白) 十 九 世 考

He was also known as Mu Sheng-pai and was the most famous of the Na-khi rulers.

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[P. 43 N]

PLATE 30. — MEMORIAL GATE OF THE MU FAMILY, LI-CHIANG

麗江木氏石牌坊

This gate or *P'ai-fang* stands in front of the former official residence of the Na-khi chiefs. The inscription *Chung I* 忠義 Loyalty and Righteousness was presented — 1620 by Ming Emperor Shen Tsung (Wan-li) to Mu Tseng. In the upper panel are the two characters *Sheng-chi* 聖旨 meaning Imperial decree. The Yamen is now used as the district's public primary school.

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PLATE 31. — THE TWENTIETH GENERATION, MU I

本 族 二 十 穆 考

[p. 43-0]

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PLATE 33.—THE TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION OF THE SECOND CHRONICLE. MU YU

第二本民族譜二十一世 牧 玉 本 祠

[p. 43 P]

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PART II

THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

"Records of Li-chiang"

173 The following brief historical account of the Li-chiang district has been taken mainly from the Records of the prefecture of Li-chiang (*Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 麗江府志略), which is dated the 15th day of the third moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty 大清記 (April 9th, 1743). It was written by the Li-chiang magistrate, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣, whose literary name was Wei T'ing 未亭. He was a native of An-iu 安福 in Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi) and received the degree of Doctor in 1718. He took office as magistrate of Li-chiang in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736). He was evidently still holding that office when he wrote the Records as he figures as the last magistrate in that work. A preface was written to it by the Inspector, or Hsün-ch'a 巡察 for the Western political Division or I-hsi Tao (滇西道), Chu Feng-ying 朱鳳英, dated the 1st day of the tenth moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 16th, 1743). Another preface was written by Chang Yün-sui 張允隨. He was a Chinese Bordered Yellow Bannerman, and previous to becoming Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou, he held many minor positions, such as magistrate of Ch'u-hsiung, and provincial treasurer of Kuei-chou. These are the first and only records ever written of Li-chiang, both before and after it came under complete Chinese jurisdiction in 1723. There exist, as far as I am aware, only two copies of these records. One is in Li-chiang, in the joint possession of two families, the other is in the Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai) Catholic Mission Library (Shang-hai Hsü-chia-hui T'ien-chu t'ang-ts'ang-shu lou 上海徐家匯天主堂藏書樓). Through the kindness of the late Mr. Mu Shu 木樞, a descendant of the old Na-khi chiefs residing in Li-chiang, I obtained the loan of the record in Li-chiang for the purpose of having it copied. It is not in the Yün-nan Government Library, but the Pei-ping National Library and the Peiping Palace Library possess the second half of the work in manuscript form.[1]

In the general introduction we meet with these pompous opening sentences: "The great enterprise of turning a frontier, barren and desolate, into a civilized country within a short space of time, can never be accomplished by one or two

[1] The records I found in Li-chiang were in very bad condition, they were printed on very thin paper and many characters had become illegible. I therefore had the Zi-ka-wei Li-chiang records copied, through the kindness of the late Rev. P. C. Baumert, Librarian. In the Department of Education in Li-chiang there is a manuscript copy of a Li-chiang hsien chih which has never been printed, it dates from the 10th year of Kuang-hsü (1884). I had it copied in 1941 but it was lost with the translations of over 700 Mo-so manuscripts, Tibetan books and other rare mss., in the Arabian Sea due to enemy action in the spring of 1944.

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173 subjects only of our Imperial Court. In order to accomplish this arduous task, it is first necessary to appoint a reputable subject, well-experienced in governing, as magistrate of the chief city, one who, through careful management and deep study, will educate the people and correct their customs. Only then will our excellent culture of hundreds and thousands of generations, find root in that land, grow luxuriantly, and unfold its first brilliant flower."

It is said of the writer of the record, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan, that in his leisure time he would call on old scholars of the neighborhood and try to collect from them all remaining manuscripts relating to the history of this district, also maps, and literature about its mountains and rivers, biographies, etc. This enabled him to write the first record of Li-chiang in two *chüan* 卷, an Upper 上 and a Lower 下, each consisting of six chapters. The printing blocks of these records were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. It is very strange that no magistrate since 1736 had the time or interest to keep these records up to date, and issue a new edition, as Li-chiang is one of the most interesting regions and certainly the most beautiful of the entire province.

Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan says that Li-chiang had been part of the Chinese Empire since the days of the Yüan dynasty, and was at the time he wrote (1743) a safe rampart of the western frontier of Yün-nan. He tells us that the officials of the Yüan and Ming dynasties had adopted only a vague policy in ruling the district and did nothing to mitigate the pain and misery of its people. And, furthermore, "that it had been said that instead of naturalizing them (the Na-khi) into Chinese, those Chinese officials who governed them were themselves naturalized by the Barbarians." The record further states that "the people were employed by their magistrates to do transport work, open the jungle, and become soldiers to fight the bloodiest battles and to sacrifice their lives for the safety of our country. Not a single word of comfort and encouragement, nor any show of mercy or grace, had ever been delivered to these people by past officials." Thus reads Kuan's indictment of the officials who ruled Li-chiang. Kuan held his post under the Manchu regime, and therefore it is easy to see why he enlarges on the benefits the people derived from the Imperial Manchu rule, and why he says that they (the Na-khi) "are now of one mind and of one voice." And this was said to have been due "to the great influence, inspiration, benevolence and mercy exhibited by the Manchu dynasty for 60 years." This was written 20 years after the Chinese had taken over the administration of Li-chiang.

Their magistrate asks these questions: "Why did the Barbarians apply for naturalization in 1723? Why did they not remain in their peaceful barbarian state?" And he answers them with this phrase: "*They had been attracted by the Imperial Benevolence as animals are attracted by sweet grass.*" He closes his preface by stating that "he dare not say that he established anything for these people, but that the bright future and the hopes of Li-chiang will certainly depend upon future capable magistrates of *superior quality.*"

The viceroy in his preface states that "prior to the nationalization of Li-chiang, its native chieftains or local magistrates oppressed the people, they were violent, cruel, greedy and lustful." It is given as a fact that the chief had the right and privilege to deflower any bride, who could only return to her legal, newly-wed husband after having spent three days with the chief.

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It was this latter violence which the people could bear the least and which caused them to apply for naturalization. The viceroy closes his preface by saying that "he is pleased to see that the Imperial Rule has spread its influence even to this farthest and *desolate* land, whose people are living a quiet life, and who lack nothing to satisfy their desires." 173

It is doubtful, however, if the pious hopes expressed by Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan have ever been fulfilled.

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CHAPTER II

General History of the Region

173 The following pages are translations of the *Yen-ko* 沿革 (Successive changes) in the history of Li-chiang and the territory to which it belonged, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. E, ch. 3, fol. 12b.

Between 298 and 262 B.C., we briefly recall, Chuang Ch'iao, a general of the State of Ch'u, invaded the region and established the Kingdom of Tien (*see* pp. 5–6 for details of this period).

In the fifth year of Han Wu Ti and the period of Yüan-kuang 元光 (130 B.C.) "the Emperor appointed Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, the Chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 (Lieutenant-General), and the Fu-shih 副使 (Assistant Commissioner) Wang Jan-yü 王然于, and others to proceed with the Imperial Insignia to the Hsi-i (Western barbarians). Thereupon the different rulers of the Jan-mang 冉駹[1] and Yeh-yü 檯榆[2] petitioned to become subjects of the

[1] The regions to the north of Tso-tu 笮都, on the western border of the State of Shu, comprised at the time of the Han dynasty a certain number of tribes, governed by their great chiefs. Among them the Jan-mang occupied first rank. Originally there were two tribes, the Jan and the Mang. The Jan-mang changed their residence occasionally in search of pasturage. They advanced up to the western frontier of the State of Shu. In the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of the Emperor Wu Ti (111 B.C.) their territories were united into a *chün* 郡 (a territorial division), which received the name of Wen-shan 汶山. — That is what the *Mou chou chih* says in ch. 1, fol. 7a.

The *Wen-chih chi lueh* 汶志紀略, ch. 1, fol. 4b, says that in the Han dynasty their territory was called Mien-ssu hsien 綿虒縣, subject to Shu Chün 蜀郡. In the Eastern Han it became the Mien-ssu tao 道, while in the Shu Han it became the Wen-shan Chün 汶山郡. This is the territory of the present Mou hsien 茂縣 in the Min valley, six stages north of Ch'eng-tu, on the north-west border of Ssu-ch'uan. The Wen Mountain, which has given the name to the district, is north-west of Mou chou. On Chinese maps showing the domain of the Fighting States the mountain is situated on the extreme north-western border of the State of Shu, and south of the T'ao Ho 洮河 and the Min Shan 岷山 in the present The-wu or The-wo ঠেউ (The-bu) country 鐵布 (T'ieh-pu). In the Great Geography of China it is considered the Min Shan, but not the Ku Min Shan 古岷山 (Old Min Shan), which is apparently the one in Kansu. The *Wen chih chi lüeh* says that the Yu kung 禹貢 Min Shan 岷山 leads to the *Chiang* 江 (Yangtze), and the *Shih Chi* 史記 states that the Min Shan is the Wen Shan 汶山.

133 The Kan-su Min Shan is a distinct range for the most part composed of grey limestone only the eastern part is conglomerate. To the north of it flows the T'ao River 洮河 and to the south of it the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江 or Pai-lung Chiang 白龍江. Many lateral valleys debouch into these rivers north and south respectively, their sources being among the crags of the Min Shan. The valley of the Pai-shui Chiang is quite broad and fertile especially in its central part. Thus the Min Shan is a distinct and separate range. Of course the entire region is mountainous but the mountains are much lower both to the north and to the south of the Min Shan; they are mere hills in comparison, especially those to the north of it. In the extreme eastern end the limestone extends across the Pai-shui Chiang Valley and there the river flows in a narrow chasm. It is here that the Min Shan connects with the range to the south where two streams, the To-erh-ku Ho 多兒谷河 and the A-hsia-ku Ho 阿夏谷河 join the Pai shui Chiang coming from the south and having their source in the range over which a pass called the Yang-pu Shan-k'ou 楊布山口 leads into Ssu-ch'uan; the pass is the border between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan. From here long valleys lead

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Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 筰 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

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south as the Ta-shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. ROCK, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓杠嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-lung Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西傾山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[3] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 故姬 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu-建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定筰 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大筰 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 故復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木里 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 筰 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 筰都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 筰 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 巂 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

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173 郭昌 and Wei Kuang 衛廣 [4] were ordered to subjugate the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 [5] who had not yet been humiliated and brought into subjection. At that time the king of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) returned to allegiance and was given a royal seal. His land was made into the State of I chou 益州郡.

At first Emperor Wu Ti sent messengers to Tien to seek a way to the Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國 (India — the region of the basin of the Sindh River or Indus). Ch'ang Ch'iang 嘗羌, King of Tien,[6] asked the messengers: "Which kingdom is the greater, the kingdom of Han, or my kingdom?" When the messengers returned and reported this question to the Son of Heaven, he was angered at the disloyal words, and caused a lake to be dug in the south-west of the Imperial city of Ch'ang-an 長安 [7] in the same shape as the lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu lake) for the purpose of carrying on manœuvers on the water. In the meantime the kingdom of Tien was attacked and pacified, and the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 was established, to which the hsien of Ting-tso 定作縣 (Li-chiang) belonged. A short time afterwards another envoy was sent, but communications with K'un-ming were again interrupted.

During that time, Jen-kuo 仁果,[8] descendant of King Pai-fan 白飯 of T'ien-

[4] These two generals were sent to war with K'un-ming because the latter repeatedly obstructed the road to the envoys of Han. They decapitated several ten thousand and made many prisoners, after which they left. In spite of this, the Han envoys, which later were again sent to K'un-ming, met with hostility in Yün-nan, and no Han embassy ever managed to pass through K'un-ming. — From the *Shih* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 12a.

[5] There were three regional barbarian tribes: the Hsi-nan-i, Hsi-i, and Nan-i (South-western, Western, and Southern barbarians respectively). There is a statement in the *Tien-yün li-nien-chuan*, ch. 2, fol. 8b, that the K'un-ming-i 昆明夷 are the present-day Mo-so and Li-su of Li-chiang, actually those outside of T'a-ch'eng 塔城, La-p'u 喇普 and other places west of the Yangtze, on the road to Tibet from Yün-nan, etc. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 400, fol. 5a, states that the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty was afterwards captured by the Man-i. During the reign of Chou Wu Ti 周武帝 (561–578) there was established Ting-tso chen 鎮. In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (610), the district or hsien of K'un-ming was established in the *chen*. The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 2b states that there were three K'un-ming. The *Han Shu* says K'un-ming extended from T'ung-shih 桐門 north-east to Yeh-yü (Ta-li); this is the Sui 巂 (Sui chou) K'un-ming and is the present Pao-shan 保山 — Yung-ping 永平 (south-west of Ta-li). In the second year of T'ang Wu-te (610) Sui chou established a K'un-ming hsien which is the Ssu-ch'uan Yen-yüan hsien of to-day. The third was one of three *chou*, viz.: Yin 嶲, Tsung 總, Tun 敦 州; but which one is now not known. None of these three K'un-ming, however, is identical with the present-day K'un-ming, the former Yün-nan fu.

[6] As Wu Ti ruled from 140–87 B.C., Ch'ang Ch'iang must have been King of Tien during that period. In the Hsi-nan-i of the *Ch'ien-Han Shu* 前漢書, ch. 95, fol. 3b, the name of the King of Tien is given as Tang Ch'iang 當羌. The sending of these messengers to India via the Kingdom of Tien took place between the first and fourth year of Yüan-shou 元狩 (122–119 B.C.), for it states that after four years, that is, after 119 B.C., the road to K'un-ming 昆明 (Yün-nan) was closed.

[7] Hsi-an fu on the Wei Shui 渭水 in the present province of Shensi.

[8] As the King of Tien, Ch'ang Ch'iang, was entirely engrossed in the Buddhist religion and cared nothing for affairs of state, the peasants made Jen-kuo King of Pai-ngai. Jen-kuo was a descendant of Pai-fan Wang, whose name meant "white rice."

Jen-kuo now governed Pai-ngai (the present Hung-ngai 紅崖), and as both he and Ch'ang Ch'iang contended for the kingdom, Han Wu Ti afterwards established Jen-kuo as ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國. SARSON, in his translation of the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, makes a mistake in translating the word *t'si* as "to expel, chase"; *t'si* in this instance means "to

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chu Kuo 天竺國 (India), was elected by the masses as King of Tien. He established his capital at the city of Pai-ngai and called his kingdom Pai-tzu Kuo. Thus the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 family came to an end. 173

In the 12th year of the period Yung-p'ing 永平 of Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 69), Liu-mao 柳貌, King of Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國,[9] submitted to the Imperial rule, and his kingdom became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (Records of the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang), ch. 9, fol. 1b, states that

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elect, to promote." He translates the passage 仁果者爲衆所推立於白崖, by "Jen-kouo, chassé par son peuple, s'était établi à Pai-yai," while it should read, "Jen-kuo, elected by his people, established himself at Pai-ai."

[9] The founder of the Ai-lao Kingdom was Chiu-lung 九隆. The State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, now called Pao-shan hsien 保山縣, between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 (the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝) was the ancient Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國. Its name was derived from Ai-lao Shan 哀牢山. This mountain is 20 li east of Yung-ch'ang fu (Pao-shan hsien), and it is also called T'ien-ching Shan 天井山. The Barbarian, Meng-ch'ieh-tu 雟僰篤, of the State of Ai-lao, went fishing in lake Chiu-lung 九龍澤 (also called I-lo Ch'ih 昌莎澤) and was drowned. His wife, Sha-i 沙壹, who lived on the slopes of Ai-lao Shan, went to weep on the shore of the lake. She was struck by a floating log, felt affected, and after ten months gave birth to a son — and in all to ten sons.

Afterwards she conducted her ten sons to the shore of the lake. The log changed into a dragon and said to her. "Where are my sons?" Nine of the ten sons were frightened and ran away. The youngest remained, and the dragon licked its back. In the language of the Ai-lo man (savages), *chiu* 九 meant "back" and *lung* 隆 "to sit" or "to keep one's seat." It is from this that the family name Chiu-lung 九隆 originated.

Another tradition relates that the woman Sha-i was fishing for herself when she was struck by the log, etc.; and that at the foot of Ai-lao Shan there lived another woman, by the name of Nu-po-hsi 女波喜, who gave birth to ten daughters. These latter became the wives of the Chiu family brothers. They established ten clans, as follows: Tung 董, Hung 洪, Tuan 段, Shih 施, Ho 何, Wang 王, Chang 張, Yang 楊, Li 李 and Chao 趙. They multiplied, so that there were many grandchildren, and they all lived on the mountain of Chiu-lung 九龍山. This mountain is seven li south-west of Yung-ch'ang; according to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, it is west of Pao-shan hsien, 10 li outside the Lung-ch'uan men 龍泉門 (Dragon-spring gate).

The *Pei-cheng-chih* says Yüan-lung 元隆 instead of Chiu-lung, apparently a misprint.

After the death of Chiu-lung, his direct descendants inherited the sovereignty from generation to generation. Later some of the brothers separated and established smaller States. The subjects of these princes dwelled in valleys and ravines, protected by the mountains and streams. They later separated into 99 tribes, from whom originated the Nan-chao (Kingdom).

To return to Meng-ch'ieh-tu 雟僰篤, who was also known as Meng-chü-tu 雟苴咒: He was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低雟苴. The latter, who had nine sons, was himself the son of P'iao-chü-ti 附苴低, also known as A-yü Wang (Aśoka the Sorrowless), sovereign of the Indian kingdom of Magadha, and his wife Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 矢雟虧.

Ti-meng-chu, as related, had nine sons; the first was Meng-chü-fu-lo 雟苴沒羅, who was the ancestor of the Sixteen Kingdoms. The second, Meng-chü-lien 雟苴廉, was ancestor of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans); the third, Meng-chü-no 雟苴諾, of the Han-jen 漢人 (Chinese); the fourth, Meng-chü-ch'ou 雟苴酬, of the Tung man 東蠻 (Eastern savages). The fifth son, Meng-chü-tu 雟苴咒, had 12 sons: seven were saints, five were sages, and they were the ancestors of the Meng family. The sixth son, Meng-chü-t'o 雟苴託, was the ancestor of the Shih-tzu Kuo 師子國 (Lion Kingdom) — Simha or Simhala (Ceylon). The seventh, Meng-chü-lin 雟苴林, was the ancestor of Chiao-chih Kuo 交趾國 (the Hanoi region in Tonkin); the eighth, Meng-chü-sung 雟苴頌, of Jen-kuo 仁果, ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國; the ninth, Meng-chü-ch'u 雟苴罔, of the Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians), that is, the Tai (Shan), who occupy the lower regions in southern Yün-nan, which begin at from 4,000 feet down.

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113 "in the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties it was the land of Jung chou 戎州, and that outside this south-west border was Ai-lao Kuo, originally called An-lo Kuo 安樂國, and in the language of the barbarians incorrectly called Ai-lao." It says further that it was spoken of as Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國. It was the kingdom west of Shu 蜀, the present-day Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang). [According to this, Pao-shan is identical with Shen-tu Kuo, always considered to be a name for India, and especially for the region of the basin of the Indus]. The Chiu-lung family lived there, and had no intercourse with China.

Under the Han dynasty. — In the first year of the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of Han Wu Ti (122 B.C.), the land of the south-western barbarians was opened, and the first connection was with Po-nan. The district of Pu-wei 不韋縣 was then established under the Chün of I chou 益州郡. In the first year of Yung-p'ing 永平 of the Later Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 58) the different barbarians revolted again. Thereupon the magistrate Chang Hsi 張喜 of I chou punished and pacified them. There was then established the Chün of Lan ts'ang 蘭滄郡 and the two hsien of Po-nan 博南[10] and Ai-lao 哀牢.[11] In the 12th year of the same emperor (69), in the spring, Ai-lao submitted and their territory became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang 永昌郡 to which were ceded six additional hsien from the western part of the Chün of I chou 益州.[12] The above-mentioned six hsien were called: Pu-wei 不韋, Sui-t'ang 嶲唐, Pi-su 比蘇, Yeh-yü, Hsieh-lung 邪龍 and Yün-nan.[13] At that time Li-chiang belonged to Hsieh-lung hsien 邪龍縣.

In the second year of the period Chien-ch'u 建初 of Han Chang Ti 章帝 (A.D. 77), Lui-lao 類牢, son of Liu-mao 柳貌 (ancient King of the Ai-lao), rebelled. Lu-ch'eng 鹵承, leader of the K'un-ming-man 昆明蠻 (K'un-ming

[10–11] Po-nan was east of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. The latter was 170 li north-east of Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang), between the latter city and Ta-li. Ai-lao hsien was south-west of Yung-ch'ang and was the ancient (Ngai) Ai lao wang's kingdom. The *Ta-ch'ing I-tung-chih* (Great Geography of the Chinese Empire) says it is east of Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan hsien 保山縣).

[12] The *Tien hsiao chi*, fol. 15b, states: "I chou is the Ch'eng-tu of Ssu-ch'uan. Wu-hou (Chu-ko Liang) said that I chou was very difficult to control. Han Wu Ti (in the 2nd year of Yüan-feng, 109 B.C.) took the kingdom of Tien 滇王國, and established I-chou Chün; this is the region between K'un-ming and Ta-li. The *Han chih* 漢志 states that I chou was divided and Yung-ch'ang Chün was established but was still part of I chou. The I chou of Tien (Yün-nan) was first, and the I chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) was established later by Liu Yen 劉焉 (about the 3rd year of Chung-p'ing 中平, A.D. 186), who was its governor. (Liu Yen was a native of Ching-ling 竟陵 and lived on the mountains of Yang-ch'eng 陽城山. He later moved from Mien-chu 綿竹 in Ssu-ch'uan to Ch'eng-tu whence he governed I chou). Later people only knew of the Ssu-ch'uan I chou, and did not know that the first or earlier I chou existed in Yün-nan."

[13] The first hsien, Pu-wei, is identical with the present-day Pao-shan hsien 保山縣 (Yung-ch'ang), and was north-west of Yung-ch'ang fu. It ceased to exist in the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265). Sui-t'ang was situated in the present Yün-lung hsien 雲龍縣, and so was Pi-su hsien. The former was south of Yün-lung, and the latter was west of it. As regards Sui-t'ang, D'HERVEY DE SAINT-DENYS in his part translation of Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung kao* 馬端臨, 文獻通考, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine méridionaux*, p. 176, says, "Territoire actuel de Li-kiang," which is wrong. Yeh-yü was south-east of the present Ta-li fu. Hsieh-lung was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山, the present La-pao 剌寶 (Na-khi, La-bpu) north of Li-chiang within the Yangtze loop. Yün-nan hsien is 100 li south-east of Feng-i 鳳儀 (Chao chou 趙州) and is the Hsiang-yün 祥雲 of to-day.

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savages), recruited many soldiers and with the combined forces of many other States attacked Lui-lao at Po-nan 博南 in the Chün of Yung-ch'ang, where the latter was defeated and slain. The Emperor then conferred on Lu-ch'eng the honorary title of P'o-lu-p'ang-i hou 破壞旁邑侯 (Marquis of the conquered frontier districts). 193

The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (ed. 1785), ch. 5, fol. 1b, states: "In the first year of the period Chien-ch'u (76) Lui-lao, King of the Ai-lao, killed the magistrate. Wang Hsün 王巽, prefect of Yüeh-sui 越巂, recruited 20,000 soldiers from Yeh-yü (Ta-li) and Ai-lao. He attacked Po-nan and burnt all its houses. In the following year (77) the various barbarians competed with one another in attacking Lui-lao, who was there defeated and killed. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 31, fol. 5a, it says that Lu-ch'eng assisted Wang Hsün's recruiting of soldiers.

During the Three Kingdoms. — In the third year of Shu Han Chien-hsing 建興 (225) Yung-k'ai 雍闓, leader of I chou, rebelled and, slaying the T'ai-shou 太守 (prefect), submitted in person to the Imperial rule of the Kingdom of Wu 吳 (222–280), one of the Three Kingdoms 三國. On a southern expedition, Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 [14] crossed the Lu Shui 瀘水 [15] with his troops from Yüeh-sui 越巂, marched to Pai-ngai, killed Yung-k'ai 雍闓 and captured Meng-huo 孟獲.[16]

The followers of Meng-huo besieged Li-hui 李恢 at K'un-ming. In the meantime Chu-ko Liang quartered his troops on the bank of the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween), on the border of Li-chiang district, and subjugated I chou, Yung-ch'ang, Tsang-ko and Yüeh-sui.[17] I chou was then changed into Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡; the Commandery of Yün-nan 雲南郡 was also established, and both Chien-ning and Yung-ch'ang were placed under its administrative control.

[14] Born in 181, died 234; a native of Shan-tung. He returned from this southern expedition to subdue the border tribes, even reaching Burma in January, 226, or the twelfth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing.

[15] The Lu Shui is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅礱江, also known as Chin Chiang 金江; its ancient name is Jo Shui 若水. The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 66, fol. 22a, states that Chu-ko Liang crossed the Lu Shui in the fifth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing (June–July, 225). The fifth moon commenced in that year on June 24th.

[16] Yung-k'ai, the leader or chief of I chou (Yün-nan), and his cunning servants, killed Wang Ang 王昂, prefect of Chien-ning 建寧, and made his submission to the State of Wu 吳, one of the Three Kingdoms; thereupon the King of Wu, Sun Ch'uan 孫權, nominated Yung-k'ai prefect of Yung-ch'ang, but Chu-ko Liang, who was sent against the tribes of the south by the Shu Han 蜀漢, killed Yung-k'ai. Meng-huo was a prince who had rebelled against the State of Shu, and was in league with Yung-k'ai, hence Chu-ko Liang took him prisoner. It was this Meng-huo who had been captured seven times and released seven times by Chu-ko Liang. Overcome by the generosity of the latter, he led his wife, brother and relatives to the Marquis's tent and submitted, saying: "I and my son and son's sons will remember your grace, and will be loyal." Chu-ko Liang confirmed Meng and his family in their princedom.

[17] I-chou Chün comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan; Yung-ch'ang Chün, the territory of the present Pao-shan hsien 保山縣; Tsang-ko comprised parts of Kuei-chou 貴州 and eastern Yün-nan, such as Ch'u-ching 曲靖, Lo-p'ing 羅平, Lu-liang chou 陸涼州 and Chan-i chou 霑益州; Yüeh-sui, the region of the Chien-ch'ang valley 建昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. Li-chiang belonged to the latter and was then called Ting-tso hsien 定作縣.

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173 At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,[18] and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties. — In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,[19] to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晉寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420–478), Ch'i 齊 (479–501), Liang 梁 (502–556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳紀 (557–589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty. — In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽[20] to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河,[21] to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

[18] Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'u 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

[19] In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chun 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

[20] According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

133 312 [21] The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 鼓谷山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

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teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien. 173

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649–764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.[22] He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).[23]

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'iung [but read *k'ung* in Yünnan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賧詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙巂詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,[24] received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣[25] requesting that he

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through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449). They burst ten times between 1691–1775. 312 133

[22] The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關). 173

[23] The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649–902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

[24] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

[25] P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 邏盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

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173 petition the Emperor on his behalf to permit the combining of the other five chao with his into one kingdom. The Emperor sanctioned his petition. At that time Po-ch'ung 波衆,[26] King of Yueh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Li-chiang), was murdered by Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求, a violent chieftain. The land of the five kingdoms combined was then given to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 (779), Ko-lo-feng[27] died and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, succeeded to the throne. He allied himself with the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans) and invaded China. The Emperor then sent Li Sheng 李晟,[28] the Shen-ts'e-tu chiang 神策都將 (General of divine strategy), to defeat him.

In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 of Emperor Te Tsung 德宗 (784), I-mou-hsün changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-li Kuo 大理國 (this is the first appearance of the name Ta-li; *see* Note 34, p. 32). He usurped the Imperial right to confer the titles of Wu-yo 五嶽 (the five sacred mountains) and Ssu-tu 四瀆 (the four rivers of China) on his own five mountains and four rivers respectively. He thus conferred on the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 (which extends from north to south, west of Ta-li and its lake), the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central Yo); on the Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲祿山, at the border of Tung-ch'uan 東川 in north-eastern Yün-nan, the title of Tung-yo 東嶽 (Eastern Yo); on the Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山, better known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山 on the borders of Yin-sheng-pu 銀生部,[29] the title of Nan-yo 南嶽 (Southern Yo); on the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山,[30] on the borders of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the title of Hsi-yo 西嶽 (Western Yo); on Yü-

place in the 18th year of K'ai-yüan (730 instead of 728). P'i-lo-ko then made himself King of the Nan-ch[illegible] (Nan-chao Wang 南詔王). The *Tien-hsi* under chapter *Tien-ku* 典故 (Traditions), fol. 35a, states that at the end of the K'ai-yüan period (about 741) P'i-lo-ko pursued the Ho-man 河蠻 (River savages) and captured T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城 (under Ho-man must be understood the dwellers along the shores of the Hsi-erh Ho or Ta-li Lake). He bribed the Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih, Wang Yü, to petition the Emperor on his behalf to unite the Liu chao into one kingdom. The date given here does not agree with that of the previously mentioned work.

[26] Po-ch'ung was the founder of Yüeh-hsi chao, which was also called Mo-so chao 磨些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom). He resided at Sui chou 嶲州, the present Li-chiang. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 17b, states that the wife of Po-ch'ung was very beautiful and that Chang Hsün-ch'iu had immoral intercourse with her. It was on that account that he killed her husband, Po-ch'ung. The Nan-chao King reported this to Wang Yü, who came to Yao chou 姚州 (this was in the southernmost part of Chien-nan, adjoining the Nan-chao Kingdom). They succeeded by a ruse in getting Chang Hsün-ch'iu to come to Yao chou, where they killed him. The land of Mo-so chao was then given to Nan-chao.

[27] Ko-lo-feng was the son of P'i-lo-ko. He ascended the throne of Nan-chao at the age of 36, in the seventh year of T'ien-pao 天寶 (748). I-mou-hsün was 24 years of age when he ascended the throne of Nan-chao in 778, one year prior to his grandfather's demise. He transferred his capital to Shih-ch'eng 史城 (the latter is 40 li north of Ta-li and is the present-day Hsi-chou 喜洲, inhabited by Min-chia). It was also known as Ta-li ch'eng 大理城.

[28] Li Sheng was a native of Lin-t'ao 臨洮, Kan-su. He was 18 years of age when he joined the army and six Chinese feet tall. He was fearless and courageous.

[29] The present-day Ching-tung 景東 on the Ta Ho 大河 (Chung-ch'uan Ho 中川河).

[30] On the Chinese map it is called the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎貢山 and also Mo-p'an Shan 麼盤山, and is 120 li east of T'eng-ch'ung. It extends from north to south, west of the Salween River.

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lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain, or Li-chiang snow range), he conferred the title of Pei-yo 北岳 (Northern Yo). On each of the five mountains he built a temple to the mountain-spirit, and a San-huang miao 三皇廟 (Temple to the three emperors — the Three primordial sovereigns: Fu Hsi 伏羲, Shen Nung 神農 and Huang Ti 黃帝). Sacrifices were offered to them on the respective festivals of the four seasons (See also Part III, Ch. II, The Jade dragon Mountain, etc., p. 187–191). On the four great rivers of Yünnan, the Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong), the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of golden sand or Yangtze), the Hei-hui Chiang 黑惠江, better known as Yang-pi Chiang 漾濞江, which is a tributary of the Mekong and has its source south-west of Li-chiang, and the Lu Chiang 潞江 (Salween), he bestowed the title of the Ssu Tu 四渎 (Four great rivers). 173

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元 (793) I-mou-hsün sent messengers to the Emperor applying for permission to make a surprise attack on the T'u-fan 吐蕃 in concert with Wei Kao 韋皋.[31] Thereupon he was appointed King of Yün-nan by Imperial decree. In the 10th year (794) Wei Kao employed I-mou-hsün's troops to attack the Tibetans and thoroughly defeated them. He cut the Iron Bridge, captured sixteen cities, and made prisoner five Tibetan kings whom he presented as captives of war at the Imperial Court. (The T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋, Iron Bridge, is in the Chü-tien 巨甸 area the former Chü-chin chou 巨津州 in the Li-chiang district.)

Meanwhile the T'u-fan tried to enlist soldiers in the Nan-chao Kingdom. I-mou-hsün deceived them by saying he was weak and his army numbered few, and so he could only send 5,000 soldiers to comply with their request. At the same time he secretly led several ten thousand soldiers, following at the heels of the Tibetans. He routed them completely at Shen-ch'uan 神川[32] (the territory of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of the Cheng-yüan period (799) Wei Kao and the Nan-chao Kingdom again defeated the T'u-fan at the Iron Bridge.

In the second year of the period T'ai-ho 太和 (828), Wang Tso-tien 王嵯巔,[33]

[31] Wei Kao was a native of Wan-nien hsien 萬年縣 in the prefecture of Ching-chao (fu) 京兆府, the present Hsi-an in Shensi. Wan-nien hsien was established in the fu of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) in the 2nd year of Ming Ti of the northern Chou dynasty (A.D. 558). He was born in 745, and according to the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, ch. 236, fol. 25a, he died in the eighth moon *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 of the 1st year of Shun Tsung period Yung-cheng 順宗永貞 (September 13th, 805). O. FRANKE in his *Geschichte des Chin. Reich.* III: 307, says he died in 806, in the year in which Shun Tsung started his reign. Now Shun Tsung ascended the throne on the day *ping-shen* 丙申, that is the 26th of the first moon of the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (February 28th, 805). He adopted Yung-cheng as his reign title on the day *hsin-ch'ou* 辛丑 of the eighth moon (September 1st, 805), he abdicated the same month, and died on the day *chia-shen* 甲申, of the first moon of the first year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (February 11th, 806). Wei Kao ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans.

[32] According to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 22a, the part north of Chü-chin chou 巨津州 (the present region of Chü-tien 巨甸) of the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) was also called Shen-ch'uan 神川. This name was only applied to that territory and stretch of the river during the T'ang dynasty.

[33] Wang Tso-tien was a Chieh-tu-shih (Imperial commissioner) of Lung-tung 弄棟. This latter place was north of Yao chou where there was an ancient walled town; during the Han dynasty it was the district of Lung-tung 弄棟縣. It was inhabited by Man (savages). I-mou-hsün pacified the region. Wang Tso-tien received many valuable gifts from the

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173 a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, plundered and invaded the three chou cities, as Chiung 邛 (west of Ch'eng-tu 成都 in Ssu-ch'uan); Jung 戎 (in the Chien-nan 劍南 district of Ssu-ch'uan during the T'ang dynasty, and the present-day I-pin 宜賓 [Hsü chou 叙州]); and Sui 嶲 (also in the ancient Chien-nan district of Ssu-ch'uan, the present-day Yüeh-sui 越嶲 in the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley).

He also plundered Ch'eng-tu and entered its territory.

In the fourth year of T'ai-ho (830), Li Te-yü 李德裕[34] was appointed Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih 西川節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Hsi-ch'uan.[35] He constructed the city walls of Chang-i 彰義城, Yü-wu 興武城 and Jo-yüan 若遠, which were considered important strategical points. He restored the Chiung-lai Pass 邛崍關 (this pass is 80 li west of the hsien city of Jung-ching 榮經縣 in the district of Ya chou in Ssu-ch'uan; it was the dividing line between the Chiung 邛 and Tso 筰 tribes) which he returned to the control of Sui chou 嶲州. He also governed the affairs of T'ai-teng 臺登 (the territory of Li-chiang). Li-chiang belonged to the same territory but was, of course, not identical with T'ai-teng hsien. The latter was in the district of Sui chou and was part of the present day Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣, north of Ning-yüan fu (Hsi-ch'ang 西昌).

In the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天復, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (902) Cheng Mai ssu 鄭買嗣,[36] the Ch'ing-p'ing kuan 清平官 (Incorruptible tranquilizing official), of the Nan-chao Kingdom, killed his master Shun-hua-chen 舜化貞 and, destroying the Meng family, usurped the throne and called his kingdom the Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great excelling peaceful Kingdom).

In the first year of the period T'ien-ch'eng 天成 of T'ang Ming Tsung 明宗 (926), Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 of Tung-ch'uan 東川,[37] killed Cheng Lung-t'an 鄭隆亶, grandson of Cheng Mai-ssu, and

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Nan-chao King, Ch'uan-li-sheng 勸利聖, who even accorded him his own family name Meng, and invested him with the title of T'ai-yung 太容. This, in the language of the barbarians, meant T'ai-hsiung 太兄 (Great or beloved elder brother). This latter explanation can be found in the *Tien-yan li-nien chuan* 滇云歷年傳, ch. 4, fol. 40b. In the same work it states, fol. 40a, that Wang Tso-tien killed Ch'uan-lung sheng 勸龍晟, King of Nan-chao and elder brother of Ch'uan-li-sheng, who succeeded him on the throne. The former was licentious and oppressed the people, and it was on account of his tyranny that his minister killed him. In 819 he was disgraced by the king, but later pardoned for all his crimes. — *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. I, fol. 20b.

[34] Li Te-yü was a native of Chao-chun 趙郡 and for a time was governor of the modern Ch'eng-tu, Ssu-ch'uan. He was also president of the Board of War, but later was impeached and banished to Ai chou 崖州 (Yai chou, in Kuang-tung), where he died (GILES).

[35] The Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih was also called the Chien-nan Hsi-ch'uan 劍南西川, etc.; he governed Ch'eng-tu fu, and many chou cities, as, for example, Jung chou, Chiung chou 邛州, Sui chou 嶲州, Tieh chou 疊州 (south of the Kan-su Min Shan 岷山 in the valley of the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江, the present T'ieh-pu 疊布 country), and others.

[36] He was first a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, and ascended the throne at the age of 42. He ruled from 902 to 910. His reign title was An-kuo 安國 (Peaceful kingdom) and his capital Ta-li.

Shun-hua-chen was the last Nan-chao King of the Meng family. He ascended the throne at the age of 21, and ruled from 897 to 902.

[37] The latter comprised parts of Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan; the present Hui-tse 會澤 (Tung-ch'uan) in north-east Yün-nan was the southern part of the Tung-ch'uan of the T'ang dynasty.

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made his Imperial attendant, Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, King of Nan-chao. He changed the dynastic title to Ta T'ien-hsing 大天興; it was also called Hsing-yüan Kuo 興源國. The dynasty lasted only one year. 173

In the third year of T'ien-ch'eng (928) Yang Kan-cheng deposed Chao Shan-cheng and made himself King of Nan-chao, and called his dynasty and kingdom Ta I-ning, or Ta I-ning Kuo 大義寧國. This dynasty lasted until 937. In 929 he called his reign Hsing-sheng 興聖 and later Ta-ming 大明.

Under the Later Chin dynasty. — In the first year of the period of T'ien-fu 天福 of Hou Chin Kao Tsu 高祖 (936), Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平, the Chieh-tu-shih of T'ung-hai 通海 (this prefecture is 150 li north of Lin-an fu 臨安府, the present-day Chien-shui 建水 of evil repute, and east-south-east of K'un-ming), commenced military operations to punish Yang Kan-cheng. In the third year (938), Tuan Ssu-p'ing[35] made himself King of Nan-chao and changed the dynastic title to Ta-li 大理.

Under the Sung dynasty. — In the third year of the period Ch'ien-te 乾德 of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (965), Wang Ch'üan-pin 王全斌[39] offered a map of Yün-nan to the Emperor and requested his orders to conquer Yün-nan, but in vain.

After Wang Ch'üan-pin had subdued Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) he wished to use his military prestige to conquer Yün-nan, therefore he again offered the map to the Emperor. However, T'ai Tsu, who well understood the source of the trouble suffered by the T'ang dynasty, made a mark with his jade axe on the

[35] In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 64a, it states that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished Yang Kan-cheng. The latter was defeated and made his way to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh, four stages north-east of the latter) and committed suicide by strangulation. It further states that he was a tyrant, and oppressed the people, and was thus disliked by Chinese and aborigines. It was for this reason that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished him. Yang Kan-cheng sent his five younger brothers to attack Tuan, but they were unsuccessful.

Strange to say, the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 1, fol. 32b, records that Tuan Ssu-p'ing, after he became king, forgave Yang Kan-cheng and that the latter became a Buddhist monk.

Tuan Ssu-ping ruled until 944. He was 44 years old when he made himself king. His reign title was Wen te 文德 and his capital Ta-li fu. His posthumous title was T'ai-tsu sheng-shen Wen-wu Huang-ti 太祖聖神文武皇帝. The Ta-li dynasty had 14 rulers and lasted until 1094.

The ancestors of Tuan Ssu-p'ing, according to the Nan-chao History, were natives of Wu-wei 武威郡, the region now forming the prefectural city of Liang chou 涼州 in north-west Kan-su. The *Pei-cheng-chih* says that his ancestors came from Kuang-wei 廣威, south-east of Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su, which belonged to the Chün of Wu-wei. [Wu-wei hsien is only 60 li from the Mongolian border.] Since the revolution Liang chou has again been changed to Wu-wei hsien.

For generations these ancestors were generals of the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom. Tuan Ssu-p'ing was the sixth generation after Tuan Chien-wei 段儉魏, who defeated the troops of the T'ang dynasty in 754 near the Ta-li Lake and the Tien-ts'ang Mountains 點苍山.

[39] Wang Ch'üan-pin, according to the *Sung Shih* (Sung Dynastic History), ch. 255, fol. 13b, was a native of T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣 in Ping chou 并州 (T'ai-yüan, Shan-hsi 山西 province). He was a military commander who conquered Shu 蜀 after which he intended to take Yün-nan. The Emperor admonished him saying: "The barbarians will obey us without the use of soldiers and without conquering them."

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173 map, where the Ta-tu River 大渡河[40] was shown, saying: "Beyond this point the land is no longer my territory." Hence Yün-nan became detached from the Chinese Empire and the Tuan family usurped the throne of Nan-chao for 300 years. During that time Li-chiang had been occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 酋酋,[41] leader of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi). The chief who ruled about that time (965) among the Mo-so is given as O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具.

Under the Yüan (Mongols). — In the fourth year of the period of Shun-yu 淳祐 of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1244), the Mongolian troops attacked Ling Kuan 嶺關 (Ling Pass).[42] In the battle, Kao Ho 高禾,[43] a Ta-li 大理 general, was killed. After the battle the Mongolian troops withdrew.

In the 12th year of Shun-yu (1252), the Mongols sent troops under Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈), the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Imperial younger brother), to attack Ta-li 大理 (13 stages west of K'un-ming). He led his troops from Lin-t'ao 臨洮[44] across T'u-fan 吐蕃 country to Li-chiang. As the Mongols respected the customs of the people wherever they went, the people turned to allegiance in all sincerity. They then established the civil office of Ch'a-han-chang 茶罕章管民官[45] in Li-chiang.

In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 of Yüan Shih Tsu 世祖 (Kublai Khan)

[40] The Ta-tu Ho, with the Ya Ho 雅河, is an affluent of the Min River 岷江. Their confluence is at Chia-ting 嘉定 in Ssu-ch'uan. The source of the Ta-tu Ho is to the north-west of Li-fan t'ing 理番廳 in the Ch'iang 羌 tribal lands of north-west Ssu-ch'uan. It receives affluents from the south-west, such as the Ta-chien-lu Stream. On foreign maps it appears as the T'ung Ho 潼河.

[41] In the First Chronicle of the Mu family, the name Ts'u-ts'u appears as Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Muan-zä was the name of Ts'u-ts'u's father (*see* pp. 80–81). According to the First Mu Chronicle, however, Ts'u-ts'u lived 12 generations before Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 who, between 674–675, became Governor of Li-chiang.

[42] The Ling Pass is north-north-west of Ya chou in the prefecture of Lu-shan hsien 廬山縣, and 60 li distant from the hsien city. In the Han dynasty it belonged to Yüeh-sui 越巂, to which Li-chiang was subject.

[43] Kao Ho was a general of the Nan-chao army under Hsiang-hsing 祥興, King of the Hou Ta-li Kuo 後大理國 (Nan-chao Kingdom) who ruled from 1238–1251. He sent Kao Ho to fight the Mongols; in the battle the latter lost his life.

[44] Lin-t'ao was in Kan-su, and identical with Ti-tao 狄道 which lately was renamed Lin-t'ao 臨洮.

[45] Ch'a-han-chang is the Chinese transcription of the Mongol Chagh'an jang and means White Jang or Mo so. The first word *Chagh'an* is Mongol, the second *Jang* is Tibetan and is their term for the Mo-so.

Kowalewski in his *Dictionaire Mongol-Russe-Français* Vol. III: 2081a, under *tsaghan* states that the word means white, and that it is also a mourning dress or a white dress, also a white hemp sash or girdle. The Na-khi to this day still wear trousers and coats of white hemp, also white girdles of the same material (homespun). It may be that on account of their dress the Mongols called them Chagh'an jang or White Jang. Pelliot suggests that the word Jang is perhaps identical with the Chinese Ts'uan of which there were two tribes the White and Black, the former lived to the west of Yün-nan fu and were not classed as Lo-lo, the latter lived in the region of Yün-nan fu and to the east of it; these the Mongols called Kara jang and were classed by the Chinese as Lo-lo. However both the Lo-lo and Mo-so (Na-khi) are called Wu-man or Black barbarians by the Chinese.

The word *jang* is often pronounced *jung* and may have some relation to the Chinese Jung 戎 under which term the wild tribes of the west were understood. In the *Dictionaire thibétain-latin-français par les Missionaires Catholiques du Thibet*, p. 351, it states that the hJangs, or Jang as the word is pronounced, are a tribe living in the north-western part of the province

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(1271), the office of Ch'a-han-chang was changed into that of Li-chiang Hsüan-wei-ssu 麗江宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Li-chiang). 173

In the 13th year of the same reign (1276) the office was changed to the Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang Lu — Li-chiang Circuit).

In the 22nd year of the same reign (1285) the magistracy of the fu-city was abolished, and there was established the office of the Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (a title given to chieftains of the Western Frontier), which controlled 1,000 Mo-so households (蠻夷千戶), and ruled over one fu-city, namely Pei-sheng 北勝 (the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝, recently known as Yung-pei 永北 and four stages east of Li-chiang), and seven chou-cities, namely: Shun chou 順州 (east of Li-chiang and also known as Niu-t'an 牛潭); Lang-ch'ü 浪渠 (east of Li-chiang district between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng [Yung-pei]); Yung-ning 永寧, the ancient name of which was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭潭 (north of Lang-ch'ü and south of Mu-li 木裏, Hsi-k'ang, separated from the Li-chiang district by the Yangtze); T'ung-an 通安 (east of Li-chiang city on the eastern part of the Li-chiang plain, now obsolete); Lan chou 蘭州 (west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and east of the Mekong); Chü-chin 巨津 (north-west of Li-chiang, on the Yangtze, north of Shih-ku 石鼓 and near the present Chü-tien 巨甸, but now obsolete); and Pao-shan 寶山 (the present-day La-pao 剌寶, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang). Also one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi 臨西, west of the ancient Chü-chin chou, to which it belonged; west of Lin-hsi was the land of the T'u-fan. Later the city belonged to Wei-hsi; it was 460 li west of Li-chiang and was set up in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), but is now obsolete.

Under the Ming dynasty. — In the autumn of the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381), Fu Yu-te 傅友德,[46] marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川, was appointed by the Emperor as Cheng-nan chiang-chün 征南將軍 (General of the Southern Expedition); Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平, were both appointed as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Vice-Generals) to attack Yün-nan.

In the spring of the 15th year (1382), Ta li was conquered, and the troops

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of Yün-nan, whose principal city is Sa-tham (Li-chiang). Their Chinese name is Mo-so and they call themselves Nashi (Na-khi). Sa-tham is the Tibetan name of Li-chiang and is also the name of a king with whom the famous Ge-sar fought battles. The former was the King of Jang — written in Tibetan, Byang (The North). It would seem that *byang* (read *jang*) is in all probability the correct rendering and explanation of the word. (*See* p. 192).

Since this was penned I have learned from Mr. Rolf Stein who is occupied with the translating of Ge sar legends, that he found in a manuscript of the Ge-sar saga the King Sa-tham styled as "Byang Sa-tham rgyal-po," *i.e.* Sa-tham King of the North.

[46] Fu Yu-te's ancestors were natives of Su chou 宿州 in An-hui 安徽. Later they settled in Tang-shan 碭山 in Chiang su 江蘇 (Kiangsu). Assisted by Mu Ying, who was also a native of An-hui and who in 1384 became governor of Yün-nan, and Lan Yü, another An-hui man, Fu Yu te attacked Yün-nan with 300,000 infantry and cavalry. He came by way of Kuei-chou 貴州 where the Miao 苗 tribes made their submission. A great battle was fought at Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and on the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江 which flows to the north of Ch'ü-ching. All the barbarians of Tung-ch'uan 東川 and Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung 昭通, submitted. Over 30,000 Wu-sa 烏撒, tribespeople who lived in the west-north-west of Kuei-chou and who had revolted, were decapitated. Wu-sa was a district adjoining Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and its inhabitants belonged to the Mang tribe 芒部.

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173 of the victors passing by the different roads of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang, broke through Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone gate Pass).[47]

In the same year the magistracy of the fu-city of Li-chiang was established, and as A-te 阿得 was the first to submit to the conquerors he was appointed magistrate and was given the surname Mu 木.[48] Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei), was demoted to a chou-city 州, and Yung-ning, Lang-ch'ü 瀾滄, Lan chou and Shun chou 順州 were placed under the fu city of Ho-ch'ing (south of Li-chiang, 80 li distant).

In the 17th year (1384), Lan chou was again brought under the control of Li-chiang fu; thus the latter controlled, in all, four chou-cities, the aforesaid Lan chou, T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, and Pao-shan 寶山, also one magistracy or hsien city, namely Lin-hsi.

In the 31st year of Hung-wu (1398), Li-chiang fu's name was changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang).

Under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. — In the 16th year of Shun-chih 順治 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1659), the territory of Yün-nan was annexed to the Chinese Empire. The magistracies of the four chou-cities of T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin were abolished. Only one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi, remained under the fu-city of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), A-chih-li 阿知立, A-chung-chü 阿仲苴, Ho Jih-chia 和日嘉 and A-pao-t'a 阿寶他[49] of the Mo-so tribe of Li-chiang city, went to the provincial capital and applied for the appointment of Chinese officials. Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, Viceroy of Yün-nan, and Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, the Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Provincial Governor), proposed to the Emperor that a transferable fu-magistrate be established in Li-chiang, and that the hereditary office of native fu-magistrate be demoted to that of T'u T'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native Sub-prefect).

649 *Under the Republic.* — To-day magistrates are still appointed by the Commissioner of the Interior, now called Min-cheng-t'ing 民政廳; the office of native sub-prefect still exists, but the present incumbent has neither voice nor power. He controls a few peasants on the land which he still possesses, but his holdings are being gradually reduced. Only recently his former peasants in the region of Nga-tz(u) became subject to the magistrate of Li-chiang and the territory included in the sixth ch'ü (sub-district) of Li-chiang. This sixth ch'ü comprises the northern part of the Yangtze loop, Nga-tz(u) being in Tung-shan li 東山里.

[47] The Shih-men Kuan is a strategic pass on the Yangtze where the river narrows considerably, the trail following the river at the foot of vertical cliffs. It is only a short distance north of Shih-ku 石鼓 where the Yangtze makes a sharp bend, some 85 li to the west of Li-chiang. (*See* Geographical description, p. 285.)

[48] He was the seventh generation of the Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang. His full name was A-chia A-te 阿甲阿得, his official name being Mu Te 木得 (*see* the Historical Genealogies of the Na-khi Chiefs, pp. 99–101).

[49] Their Na-khi (Mo-so) names were: Aw-dzhi-lĕr, Aw-ndo-zo and Aw-bpo-t'a. The Chinese characters are the transcription of the Na-khi sounds. The name Ho Jih-chia is one of Chinese adoption, and not a Na-khi name, save for the family name Ho, which every Na-khi peasant bore. The name A 阿 belonged to the ruling family.

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CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LI-CHIANG

Prior to the time of the San Tai 三代, the three ancient dynasties, Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 (2205–256 B.C.), no references can be found about Li-chiang. The Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶲郡, to which Li-chiang belonged, was established in the reign of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 (140–87 B.C.). 173

The Chün of Yüeh-sui was also called Chiung-tso K'un-ming 邛莋昆明, and Li-chiang was in Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣. During the Chin 晉, T'ang and Sung dynasties (265–1278), its name was repeatedly changed, but its territory remained occupied by the native chiefs. Although in the Yüan and Ming dynasties (1260–1643) States and magistracies had been established there, and prefects and civil officials sent to rule the territory, the real power remained in the hands of the native chiefs; the Imperial rule was nominal only.

The Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 10b, state that in ancient times Li-chiang was the land of Huang-fu 荒服 whose frontier adjoined the territory of the T'u-fan 吐蕃.[1] In history it is spoken of as the land of Sui K'un-ming 嶲昆明.

In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), it belonged to both the States of Yüeh-sui and I chou.

In the Later Han dynasty (25–220), it belonged to the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. In the Shu Han (221–264) (established in Ssu-ch'uan), it belonged to the State of Chien-ning 建寧.

In the Chin 晉 dynasty (265–316), it belonged to Hsi-ning chou 西寧州. In the Sui dynasty (581–617), it belonged to Sui chou. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618), its name was changed from Ting-tso 定莋 to K'un-ming, subject to Sui chou. Later it became the land of the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi), (also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國).

During the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804), Li-chiang was occupied by the Meng family (rulers of the Nan-chao Kingdom), and the office of Li-shui Chieh-tu-shih 麗水節度使 (Imperial Commissioner of Li-shui district) was established.

In the Sung dynasty (960–1126), it was occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 酷酷, leader of the Mo-so-man whom the Tuan family could not control. (The Tuan family ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), when the Imperial troops crossed the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of Golden Sand, or Yangtze) to attack Ta-li, the Mo-so

[1] In the second volume of The Tribute of Yü, *Yü-kung hsia* 禹貢下, ch. IV, pass. 22, we read: "Wu-pai li Huang-fu, san-pai li man, erh-pai li liu, 五百里荒服, 三百里蠻, 二百里流." This, J. LEGGE in his *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 147, translates "Five hundred li *the most remote*, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred li were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred li by criminals undergoing the greater banishment." The 500-li Huang-fu are the last of the domains. It was called Huang-fu with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 li in every direction beyond the fourth domain.

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173 tribes, trusting in their defenses, refused to submit. In the fourth year (1254), however, they were conquered, and the office of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil governor of Ch'a-han-chang) was established for them. In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1271) the office was changed to that of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner). In the 13th year (1276) the name of the district was changed to Li-chiang Lu and a Chün-min tsung-kuan-fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil governor's Yamen) was established. In the 22nd year (1285) the fu-magistracy was abolished and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 was substituted for it, between the cities of T'ung-an 通安 and Chü-chin 巨津. It controlled one fu-city, seven-chou cities, and one-hsien city.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the office was changed to Li-chiang fu (prefecture of Li-chiang), and later was again changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang). The control of the various chou-cities was divided: four of them, Shun chou 順州, Pei-sheng 北勝, Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü came under the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing; while T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin 巨津, and the hsien-city of Lin-hsi became subject to Li-chiang.

In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) the fu-magistracy was retained, but the four chou-cities were abolished and became merged in the magistracy of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), Li-chiang was brought under direct control of the Yün-nan Pu-cheng-ssu 雲南布政司 (Yün-nan Provincial treasurer).

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 1, fols. 26b–27b, while giving much the same historical data as found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and other geographical works by Chinese authors, yet contains certain statements which are of more than passing interest, and these I append here.

The Tien Commentary (*Tien-hsi*) states that Li-chiang was the southern border of the State of Liang (Liang chou 梁州), one of the nine chou or great divisions of the Empire instituted by Yü Kung 禹貢 (2205 B.C.), which comprised Ssu-ch'uan, parts of Shensi, Kan-su and Hu-pei.

During the Later Han dynasty (25–220), Li-chiang belonged to the State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and its ancient name was Pai-lang ti 白狼地 (Land of Pai-lang, or of the White Wolf). In the 17th year of Yung-p'ing 永平 (A.D. 74), the King of Pai-lang[3] composed a poem of three verses in which he extolled the merits and virtues of the Han dynasty.

[3] During the period Yung-p'ing 永平 (58–75), Chu Fu 朱輔, Governor of I chou, proclaimed the virtues of the Han, whereupon Pai-lang Wang 白狼王 (King of the Pai-lang), whose tribe, like the P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄 and T'ang-tsou 唐菆, dwelled west of Wen Shan 汶山, came with over 100 others to pay tribute. They were considered barbarians from outside the borders of the Mao-niu-i 旄牛夷 (Yak barbarians). The latter dwelled north-west of Li-chou so 黎州所 (Sub-military station of Li chou), which was in the magistracy of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 青衣縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The P'an-mu Kuo 盤木國 (Kingdom of the P'an-mu tribe) was west of Mou chou 茂州. The Pai-lang Kingdom comprised apparently the region of the present Mu-li 木里 Lama State, as well as the Wu-so 烏所 territory (*see* p. 453). In ancient days Yung-ning, north-east of Li-chiang, which was under the Mo-so chiefs of Li-

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The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱袀 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang." 193

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 in the Han, Sui 隋 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages).—*Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.[3]

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chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

[3] It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-so* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ĕr-so* or the Sons of P'ĕr (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O.*, *T.* XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. *See* also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81. [101]

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi yi means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (909–247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475–440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a–b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. TCHANG, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. LEGGE. A. TSCHEPE, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491–477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476–443 B.C.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GENEALOGICAL CHRONICLES OF THE MU FAMILY 木氏

173 *Chang Chih-shun's Introduction to the First Chronicle.* — The history of Li-chiang is intimately connected with that of its ruling chiefs and therefore a genealogical chronicle of the latter, full of historical information, much of which is not found in print, is here given in translation from a Chinese manuscript dating from the year 1516, and still in the possession of the descendants of the old Na-khi Kings or Chiefs, the Mu family of Li-chiang. The introduction to the work, written by Chang Chih-shun 張志淳,[1] a native of Yung-ch'ang and scholar of the degree of Doctor, consists mainly of eulogies of the Mu family and especially of Mu Kung 木崧, who was the eldest son of Mu Ting 木定, native prefect of Li-chiang.

Mu Kung was the 14th generation counting from Yeh-yeh. He was born in 1494, took office in 1527, and died in 1553; he started the family chronicle, to which Chang Chih-shun wrote a preface, on December 27th, 1516. That is the first and complete genealogical chronicle, but it is not illustrated; we shall presently speak of another.

Chang Chih-shun's literary name was Chin-chih 進之. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih*, ch. 42, fol. 3a, tells us that he was a native of the sub-district of Chin-ch'ih (Chin-ch'ih ssu 金齒司).[2] He graduated as *chin shih* in the year 1484. Because he wrote two books, called *Nan-yüan-chi* 南園集 and *Nan-yüan man-lu* 南園漫錄, he is known as Chang Nan-yüan. He died at the age of 81.

In his introduction to the official chronicle of the Mu family, he states that Mu Kung had a good friend by the name of Kao 高, a native of Ho-ch'ing, who was the younger brother of an official who hailed from an old and honorable official family.[3] They helped each other in securing all the ancient records about the customs of their native place, and encouraged each other in literary pursuits and in the building up of moral character.

The official record was completed up to the rule of Mu Ting 木定, father of the author who, with his friend Kao, had compiled it by the year 1516, for

[1] Chang Chih-shun was magistrate of Yung-ch'ang, of which he was a native. His given name was Nan-yüan 南園; his official designation was Hu-pu Shih-lang 戶部侍郎 (Vice-president of the Board of Revenue). He wrote four books: *Man-lu* 漫錄; *Hsü-lu* 續錄; *Yung-ch'ang Erh-fang chi* 永昌二方記; and *Ming-shih fu-chiao fang-chuan* 明史附焦方傳.

[2] As regards Chin-ch'ih (District of Golden teeth) the *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* states that it was not Yung-ch'ang. Chin-ch'ih was 2,000 li outside the borders of Yung-ch'ang. It was the Yin-sheng tien 銀生甸 of the ancient Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 (this is the present-day Wu-liang Shan 無量山, 90 li north of Ching-tung 景東 and 10 stages south of Ta-li). The *Kang-mu* 綱目 states that it adjoined Pa-pai hsi-fu 八百宣府 (the present-day Chieng-mai in northern Siam). In the Yüan dynasty there was established Chin-ch'ih 金齒, and Pai-i 百夷; all these circuits and Yung-ch'ang were then subject to the Ta-li circuit.

[3] Members of the Kao family, originally natives of Ho-ch'ing, settled in Li-chiang, or rather T'ung-an chou, during the reign of Mu Shen 木瑄 (1434-41). They became hereditary native sub-magistrates of T'ung-an 通安.

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the Yung-ch'ang magistrate says in his preface that he had read it, and that it was compiled by Mu Kung personally. 173

The magistrate states that "He learned that the first ancestor of Mu Kung was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. That from the latter to the period of Shang-yüan 上元 of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗 (674), there were six generations to his descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became Governor of San-tien (Li-chiang), or the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管.

"From Ch'iu-yang to his descendant Meng-wang 孟王, who bore the official title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit), there were four generations; from Meng-wang to Mu Kung there were 24 generations.

"Throughout these generations, many dynasties such as the T'ang, Wu-tai 五代, Sung, and Yüan, had succeeded each other, but the changes could neither influence nor impede the growth of the Mu family in which some were dukes, some marquises, others generals and commanders-in-chief."

The magistrate continues: "In the Ming dynasty, in the year when the Imperial court sent its Pacification Commissioners to the frontier lands of Yün-nan, this family exhibited such hospitality and loyalty to them that His Majesty the Emperor (in 1382) conferred on them the surname Mu, renewed their official letters patent and ordered them to rule their people with hereditary official authority. Mu Kung's grandfather, by name Mu T'ai 木泰, laid special stress on moral character, and for that reason had no concubines, and thus set a good example to the later generations. He encouraged his people to study, and abolished official corruption."

He defines the genealogical chronicle as, "A historical work, a complete narrative of their military achievements, official appointments, ranks, traditions, etc."

He then tells us of the Imperial policy in regard to outlying regions. "Owing to bad communications and natural barriers, this land (Li-chiang) is separated far from Imperial rule. Thus it is advisable to make the native leader of this people their ruler. He is given an official seal by the Emperor and also the hereditary right to control the land and its people. His political principles would have to suit the customs of his people. Such privileges are not accorded simply as a reward for merit acquired, but form part of a special policy of the government applied to suit the circumstances of the people. This means that their manners and customs are so different from ours, that the Emperor is obliged to allow the native rulers to maintain their hereditary right."

He concludes his introductory remarks by saying: "Descendants can never be dependent on their hereditary rights only, in order to keep their official positions and rule their States and people. There must be something more important than this. I therefore hope that Mu Kung, besides his honorable attempt to write this official record for the enlightenment of his family, will try to perform other and more significant works, and improve the people's lot, so that the descendants of his family will thereby be enabled to multiply and prosper for ever."

The abbreviated and illustrated or Second Chronicle.— In the *T'oung-pao*, 1912: XIII, p. 555, under the title *Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang*, Ed. Chavannes published a translation of a genealogical

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173 chronicle of the Mo-so (Na-khi) chiefs whose capital was at Li-chiang in western Yün-nan. This chronicle, which is written in Chinese and illustrated with the portraits of these chiefs, is in the possession of their descendants, who still bear the family name, Mu. M. Jaques Bacot, during his two journeys to Li-chiang in 1907 and 1909, saw this illustrated chronicle and had it copied. He also employed a Na-khi artist, a relative of the Mu family, to copy the portraits accompanying the text. These copies of the portraits he published in his work *Les Mo-So* (Leide, 1913) and not photographs of the actual paintings which accompany the manuscript. Bacot published 26 portraits, while the genealogy when I saw it in 1931 contained 30 portraits, representing 29 Na-khi chiefs. The 28th generation was figured twice, representing Mu Han 木漢 in his youth and then again later in life, his face showing pock-marks.

No text accompanies the four last portraits.

This chronicle commences with Yeh-yeh 爺爺, as the first generation, who arrived at the Li-chiang snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). At the end of the chronicle of the first generation, or Yeh-yeh's, there is a sentence which states that besides this record there exists another, carefully prepared and complete. Bacot, apparently unable to read Chinese, was unaware of the existence of this second and more complete chronicle of the Na-khi chiefs.

The same sentence is repeated at the end of the biography of the second generation, or Nien-pao A-tsung's 年保阿宗. The introduction to the illustrated chronicle was written by Yang Shen 楊慎, who is better known by his surname Sheng-an 升菴. He was banished to Yün-nan in the year 1524. He died of dissipation in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (August 3rd–September 1st, 1559). The introduction, dated November 9th, 1545, was not translated by Chavannes, but discussed in his paper. Bacot, in his work *Les Mo-so*, reprinted Chavannes' discussion.

The complete or First Chronicle. — During my sojourn in Li-chiang in the year 1931–1932, I repeatedly visited the Mu family at their official residence and was gladly shown the second chronicle of their illustrious ancestors, the same chronicle which had been shown to Bacot. I photographed both the text and the portraits (which are here reproduced), and further had the same artist who made copies for Bacot to paint copies of the portraits in the original size for me. This copy of the illustrated chronicle, carefully bound and certified by the present Tu-t'ung-p'an, is now in the Library of Congress in Washington. On closely examining the text I found, as previously mentioned, the sentences regarding the existence of a more complete and detailed genealogical chronicle of the Na-khi Kings. When questioned about it, the late Mu Shu 木恕, fourth son of the late Na-khi chief, Mu Yin 木蔭 (style, Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭), who administered the affairs of the family and its estate, very willingly brought for my inspection from the ancestral shrine, this earlier chronicle which antedates the illustrated one by 29 years. He also kindly allowed me to have it copied.

The introduction to this chronicle by Chang Chih-shun has already been given at the beginning of this chapter. Chang also wrote the introduction to the illustrated genealogical chronicle (Bacot's) and sent it on to Yang Shen, who added a preface. In the illustrated chronicle his *hao* is wrongly given as

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Nan-kuo, an error copied by Chavannes; it is Nan-yüan, as explained on page 66. 193

Chang's introduction is dated the 11th year of Cheng-te 正德, the 5th of the twelfth moon (December 27, 1516).

Chavannes in his introduction states that Yang Shen ascribes the origin of the Mu family to a much earlier date than does the chronicle copied by Bacot. He further says that Yang believed that the Mu family could trace their ancestors to a certain Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te 武德 (618–626) of the T'ang dynasty, after which he enumerates 20 generations to Mu Te 木得, who was the first chief of Li-chiang to bear the family name Mu.

Chavannes was surprised to find in Yang Shen's introduction the mention of these 20 generations before Mu Te, and he further says, "Why do these 16 generations not figure in the chronicle?" In the one seen by Bacot, Mu Te figures as the seventh generation, while the third generation corresponds to the 18th in Yang Shen's list in the introduction.

This mystery of the 20 generations preceding Mu Te is now cleared up by the appearance of the more complete non-illustrated chronicle, which from now on I shall designate as the First Chronicle, and the abridged illustrated one as the Second Chronicle.

The Na-khi manuscripts. — In the First Chronicle appear not only the 20 generations mentioned in Yang Shen's introduction, but also 15 earlier generations which are more or less legendary. These legendary ancestors and their wives are fully described in several Na-khi manuscripts written in their pictographic script. The names of the male ancestors appear in a manuscript called *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which is recited during the ceremony called *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping of Heaven), performed in a place especially set aside for that purpose and called by them *Muan-bpö d'a*. They also appear in another manuscript called *Wua-bpa-ts'u*, chanted at the Wua-bpa-ts'u ceremony. The names of the female ancestors are given in a manuscript called *K'wuo-shou* of the Ssu-dsu (marriage ceremony).

The names of the early ancestors enumerated in Chinese in the chronicle must have been copied from these Na-khi manuscripts. I have numerous manuscripts of *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw* and *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u*[4] and also others in which these ancestors and their wives are enumerated, but the names of the females are not always the same, and in each of the manuscripts they have a different ancestor as their spouse. Some ancestors had apparently more than one wife, as the names of other females appear as their wives, though not more than one name at a time. It is possible that each wife possessed more than one name. The wife of Ō Gkaw-lä, for instance, is always given as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi, instead of Gyi-ssu-mun-lu as appears in the chronicle.

The present descendants of the Mu family of Li-chiang could not explain

[4] The former relates to the period preceding the flood, and is the story of creation in which the egg, as in the ancient Bön stories, plays a great part; the latter is the story of the flood and the regeneration of the Na-khi race through their ancestor, Ts'o-dze-llü-ghügh, and his wife, Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi. [See my article: "The Story of the Flood in the Literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi) tribe" in *Journal West China Border Research Society*, Vol. VII (1935), 64–80.]

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173 the meaning of the Chinese characters, especially of the introductory part of the legendary ancestors, the Chinese text being unintelligible. Not until I began translating with my Na-khi sorcerers the *K'wuo-shou* manuscript, and that called *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw* of the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, did I realize that the particular Chinese text of the chronicle followed the Na-khi words and represented part of the story related in these books (manuscripts). In some instances the phonetic value of the Chinese characters render Na-khi words only, and their ideographic value had to be discarded, while in others the meaning of the character had to be read in Na-khi and the phonetic value rejected. The reason for this mixture of phonetic and translation rendering is the phonetic paucity of Chinese. Where the sound complex of a word could not be rendered it was translated. The story the Chinese text thus told was the same as in the *Muan-bpö* book, *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw*.

Stone-tablet in the Mu family cemetery at Si-li-wùa. — At a place called Si-li-wùa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦), south-east of Li-chiang about 10 li distant, there is a large *pei*, or stone-tablet, at the end of a row of graves pointing east. This is one of the burial grounds of the Mu family. The larger one is at Tung-kuan 東關, 30 li from Li-chiang. There, certain chiefs are buried, beginning with the 24th generation, Mu Chung 木鍾, who died on September 6th, 1725. All the predecessors of Mu Chung were cremated and their graves do not exist, although the bones and ashes were supposed to have been interred near the village of Boa-shi. On the stone-tablet, about six feet by three, which stands at Si-li-wùa among the graves of the minor members of the Mu family, there is engraved an abridged copy of the First Chronicle. It begins with the legendary ancestors and their origin and states: "Since nothing is known of Yeh-ku-nien, we respectfully call Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 our first ancestor."

Thus Ch'iu-yang appears also in the First Chronicle as the first ancestor after Yeh-ku-nien. In the center of the stone-tablet there is engraved in large characters: "Yang-po-na 陽伯那[5] at the foot of the exalted[6] Yü-lung Shan. The first ancestor of the Mu family [was] Ch'iu-yang; his true wife [was] Mi-chün Hsi-shu 彌均羲淑. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, K'un-ming (which was then Li-chiang) became merged with Sui chou and during the reign of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗, Shang-yüan 上元, (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-chün-kuan 三甸總軍管 (Military Governor of San-tien district)." This same legend appears under Ch'iu-yang in the Chronicle, but with the omission of the word 軍, military.

[5] DEVERIA in his work, *La frontière sino-annamite*, states in a footnote on p. 101 that "the word *pa-na* according to a Chinese and Pa-yi vocabulary, signified *residence* or *li* 里." This would coincide with the title of the Chronicle, the words *po* 伯, *pa* 八, or *par* 巴 being simply the Chinese transcription of native words. The words *pai* 摆, *pa* 八, *po* 伯, *pai* 白, *po* 伯, *pai* 百 are interchangeable phonetically and are used in transcribing the names of tribes and places in Chinese. It is possible that the word Po-na being of Shan or Min-chia 民家 origin was in usage among the Na-khi in the past. Yang 陽 stands for the name of the first ancestor; the foot of the Li-chiang snow range (Yü-lung Shan) was his residence. In fact, an ancient residence existed at the foot of the snow range a short distance north of the last village on the Li-chiang plain, called Nv-lv-k'o. The place is now known as Kwuâ-d'a (Kwuâ-d'a gko-lo) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 219).

[6] On the stele it is written 尊 (exalted, great). In the First Chronicle the character *ling* 靈 (spiritual, divine) is used instead.

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While the First Chronicle counts Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿宗 as the second generation, the inscription on the stone tablet counts Yang-yin-tu-ku 陽音都谷.[7] 173

On the stone-tablet the name of the first ancestor, Ch'iu-yang, is placed in the center, the names of the even numbered generations to the left of it and the uneven to the right.

The tablet is dated Tao-kuang 道光, 22nd year, the first moon, 17th day (February 26th, 1842).

The first generation of the Second Chronicle, namely Yeh-yeh, is omitted entirely both in the First Chronicle and on the stone-tablet. The probable reason was that Yeh-yeh was an outsider, a stranger from Mongolia, who was said to have floated down the Chin River on a log. When he arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 (in Na-khi, Bä-lä-ts'o)[8] a chief by the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku 美陶阿古 of the village of Pai-sha 白沙 (Boa-shi in Na-khi),[9] saw that his features were not those of an ordinary man and so he gave him his daughter in marriage. There were five village chiefs who put Yeh-yeh at their head. At that time, a certain Nien-lo Nien-pao 年樂年保 (it should read Mou 牟 instead of Nien 年), who had given himself the title of General-in-Chief, adopted the son of Yeh-yeh as his successor.

In the First Chronicle it is stated that Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保 and Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和[10] of the Later Ta-li 後大理 Kingdom were called Generals-in-Chief.

The First Chronicle is silent as regards Yeh-yeh, while the Second Chronicle speaks of Yeh-yeh's son having been adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao; the son took the name of his adopted father and thus appears in the First Chronicle as the second generation under the name Mou-pao A-tsung, and Nien-pao A-tsung in the Second Chronicle.

Oral traditions of Li-chiang. — It is strange indeed that the First Chronicle ignores Yeh-yeh entirely and names Ch'iu-yang the first generation and Mou-pao A-tsung the second generation, although there are 14 generations between them. As regards Yeh-yeh there are several traditions current in Li-chiang, and these are probably nearer the truth than the more or less legendary figure of the Second Chronicle.

[7] In the First Chronicle Yang-yin-tu-ku follows Ch'iu-yang, but Mu-pao A-tsung is nevertheless marked as second generation, although 14 other generations are intermediate.

[8] This is the Bä-lä-ts'r or Bä-la-ts'o of the Na-khi; the village is situated in the district of A-khi (A-lusi 阿喜). CHAVANNES translates this "the Northern Lan-ts'ang or Mekong," the Chinese characters, Pei-lang-ts'ang, being simply a phonetic rendering of the Na-khi name of the village Bä-lä-ts'o, in ancient days called Bä-lä-ts'r. BACOT in his book, *Le Tibet révolté*, p. 306, makes the same mistake, for he says: "Le Fleuve Bleu n'a peut-être pas toujours eu son cours actuel. L'histoire fabuleuse du premier roi Moso de Likiang laisserait supposer qu'il communiquait autrefois avec le Mekong."

[9] CHAVANNES uses Pai-sha as part of the name of the chief. It is a village situated half-way between the Li-chiang snow range and Li-chiang proper. The Chinese Pai-sha is a phonetic rendering of Boa-shi (Dead Hsi-fan) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 222).

[10] Under Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和, Ho Yü 和譽 must be understood here, who was the son of Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳. Ho was the second king of the Later Ta-li dynasty which ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom. He ascended the throne in 1108, and ruled 39 years.

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173 The following stories about Yeh-yeh's origin are told in Li-chiang: —

When Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan)[11] marched with his troops through Yün-nan down the Yangtze to attack the Burmese, he encountered heavy snow in north-west Yün-nan and was thus delayed for three months. He stayed with the headman of a village who had a very beautiful daughter who always remained at home. He wanted her to become his wife and told her that when he had fought and conquered the Burmese he would come back and claim her. A long time elapsed, and the girl was still waiting for her lover to return. In the meantime she had given birth to a son. As her lover did not return to claim her, she tied her child to a piece of wood and sent it floating down the river (Yangtze), while she drowned herself.

Later Hu-pi-lieh returned and enquired about his love. He was then informed that she had drowned herself and that her son had been picked up at a place called Bä-lä-tsĕr (now Bä-lä-ts'o). The village of Bä-lä-ts'o is in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The meaning of the name is: *Bä* from *Bä-tsi-zi* = man, *lä* = come, *tsĕr* = to take something out of the water. As it was there that the child was fished out of the water, the fact was commemorated by giving the particular village nearby the above name; Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name.

Thereupon, it is said, Hu-pi-lieh conferred on the child a hereditary title and made him Prince of the Na-khi. He thus became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings. This would also explain his Mongol origin. In the Second Chronicle nothing is said of Yeh-yeh's mother, only that his son was adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao, and that he himself came from Mongolia floating down on a juniper log, and that when he reached a certain place he was picked up, the place being afterwards known as Bä-lä-ts'o.

[11] MARCO POLO, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Yule, Vol. 2, ch. 52, p. 101, describes the battles fought by the Great Khan against the King of Mien 緬. He mentions the Mohammedan general and calls him Nescradin. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the capital of Karajang. His name was Nazir-ed-din; his father was the first to introduce coffins into Yün-nan, and also go-betweens at betrothals. He caused reservoirs to be built against drought. He built the first Wen Miao 文廟 (Confucian Temple) in Yün-nan. His name was Sai-tien-ch'ih-shan-ssu-ting 賽典赤贍思丁 (Sai-yin-o-te-ch'i 賽音阿德齊, in *Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*), he was a native of Bokhara and died at the age of 69, in the 16th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1279) after having been in Yün-nan six years, where he was governor. His son, Nazir-ed-din, died in the 29th year of Chih-yüan (1292) in Yün-nan, leaving 12 sons (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 125, fol. 1a–4a).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, in his book, *The Beginnings of Writing*, p. 182, § 268, states: "Mo-so soldiers under the command of a Mohammedan general, Nazir-ed-din, aided the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277."

Regarding the wars fought by Kublai Khan with the Burmese, the Mongol History (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 210, fol. 1a) has the following to say: "Mien Kuo 緬國 is the land of the Hsi-nan-i (barbarians of the South-west). In the eighth year of Chih-yüan (1271) the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai fu 宣慰司都元帥府 the Yamen of the Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capitals of Ta-li, Shan-shan (the present K'un-ming; Shan-shan was established during the T'ang dynasty) and other circuits sent Ch'i-t'a-t'e-t'o-yin 奇塔特托音 and other envoys to Mien 緬 (Burma) to proclaim an edict to their king that he should become tributary to the Empire."

In the 14th year (1277) in the tenth moon (November), Yün-nan fu sent the local Provincial Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capital, Ni-ya-ssu-la-ting 尼雅斯拉丁 (Nazir-ed-din) to lead an army composed of Mongols, Ts'uan (Lo-lo), P'o (Shan) and Mo-so (Na-khi) — over 3,440 men — to attack Mien.

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Another story relates how a Na-khi girl, by the name of Nda-lä-wua-ssaw-mi, 173 had an illegitimate child which she tied to a piece of wood and threw into the Yangtze. The boy was fished out of the river at Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi and became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings.

Bacot in his work, p. 118, relates another legend taken from a Na-khi manuscript. The village he mentions is not Bache, but Boa-shi, as previously explained. To complete the biography I add herewith that part of the Second Chronicle which deals with Yeh-yeh.

Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor according to the Second Chronicle. — The founder and first ancestor of the Mu family listed in the Second Chronicle was called Yeh-yeh 爺爺 (Plate 9). "He arrived at the snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). He was originally a Mongol from the Western Region. At first he arranged a niche in a rock cliff in the K'un-lùn Mountains 崑崙山 and there delighted in the rules of the East and in the Buddhist religion, and the entire day remained seated in deep meditation. Suddenly there arose a Chiao-lung 蛟龍 [dragon — a roaring torrent of water and mud is supposed to be caused by a Chiao-lung] [12] accompanied by thunder and rain; at that moment he mounted a large fragrant tree (washed down with the rocks and debris) and floated away into the Chin Chiang 金江 (Yangtze). He arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang. When the barbarians saw him from a distance they marvelled, and called all their people together from afar to meet him. He then mounted the river bank. At that time there was a certain Hsien-t'ao A-ku from Pai-sha [13] who was the head or chief of the barbarians. He saw signs of nobility on the face and in the bearing of Yeh-yeh; he also noticed his calmness and imperturbability [retiring attitude] and marvelled greatly in his heart. Thereupon he gave him his daughter in marriage. The common people rose to invite the stranger to select a place in their midst for worship. But it was their intention that he should dwell apart. At that time there were five village chiefs, one called Kan-lo-mu-tu 干羅陸督, (*see*: p. 96), a second Tien-ch'i-hsüan 甸起選, a third A-niang-hui 阿娘揮 [this is a Chinese rendering of the Na-khi-name, A-nyu-khü], a fourth La-wan 剌宛, and a fifth Wa-chün 瓦均.[14] A [-ku] intended to make Yeh-yeh their chief. At that time Nien-lo

[12] The Dragon in China and Japan by Dr. M. W. De Visser in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam* N. R. Deel XIII, no. 2.

The Kiao lung 蛟龍 pp. 76–79. De Visser states on page 79 that "The *Kiao* belongs to the same kind as the *lung*. Its shape resembles that of a snake and yet it has four legs and a thin neck. Around its neck it has a white necklace. The big *kiao* are several spans thick. They are born from eggs. Their eyebrows are united (交) reason why they are called *kiao* 蛟." In the *Shan Hai Ching*, sect. Nan shan Ching 南山經, ch. 1, p. 11a, it says that they live in special mountain rivulets.

[13] Pai-sha 白沙 is the name of a li 里 (commune), also of a village 20 li north of Li-chiang which used to be the seat of the Na-khi Kings before they moved to Li-chiang. In Na-khi it is called Boa-shi (Dead Boa or Hsi-fan). BACOT calls it Bache; it is thus not part of the name of the man Hsien-t'ao A-ku 秉陶阿古, but the village whence he hailed from.

[14] CHAVANNES here uses the word *yün* 云 as part of the name of the second and third chiefs, and adds the word 阿 on to the name of the fifth, viz: 云甸起選 Yun-tien-k'i-siuan, 云阿娘揮 Yun-a-niang-houei, 剌宛 La-wan, 瓦均阿 Wa-kiun-a, the original text reads: 一云干羅陸督, 二云甸起選, 三云阿娘揮, 四云剌宛, 五云瓦均, 阿乃願崇爺爺爲其家之長. The character 阿 refers to A-ku (Hsien-t'ao A-ku).

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173 Nien-pao 年之年保 called himself by the title General-in-Chief. To Yeh-yeh was born a son who was given the name A-tsung 阿宗.[15] When he was born he was superior to other people. Nien-lo Nien-pao saw that he was not like others. He protected him and made him his successor and hereditary General-in-Chief. He thought that when the root was deep the tree would be strong, and that a deep spring will flow to a great distance [will be inexhaustible]. Those who wish to examine and trace the affairs of the founder and of each of the ancient and present-day generations of the clan, can find them in this [chronicle]. His true wife was A-shih 阿氏 [in Na-khi, O-shi]."

The last sentence reads: "In the text information is provided in part. A detailed account of the remainder is in another Genealogy." (The first one is here meant.)

The three memorial stones at the Mu ancestral seat at Li-chiang. — In addition to the two chronicles cited, there is extant a separate biography of Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was the father of the most famous of all the Na-khi Kings (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was born in 1569 and died in 1507, at 28 years of age. This biography was written at the request of his son Mu Tseng, better known as Mu Sheng-pai, by a Han-lin scholar, Chang Pang-chi 張邦紀 by name, in the period Wan-li, and engraved on a large stone-tablet; the latter was erected by his son Mu Tseng in the 40th year of Wan-li (1612). This memorial stone is set into the garden wall of the official residence of the Mu family in Li-chiang. Mu Ch'ing's *hao* 號, both in the First Chronicle and in the one engraved on the stele, is Sung-ho 松鶴 and not Ho-sung as given in the Second Chronicle and so recorded by Chavannes.

This particular tablet simply extols the virtue, ability, and merit of Mu Ch'ing, but adds nothing of historical value. The writer of the Biography was a Han-lin scholar who lived 10,000 li from Li-chiang, and had been requested by messenger to write it for Mu Tseng.

The second tablet is a biography of Mu Kung 木公 whose surname was Wan-sung 萬松; he was born in 1494 and died in 1553. It was written by his son Mu Kao 木高, engraved on a stele, and erected first in the ancestral temple of the Mu family in the 33rd year of Ming Chia-ching (1554), but is now set in the garden wall of the family residence. Like the first tablet it is a eulogy only and adds nothing of historical value. Mu Kao calls himself here the 35th generation of the Mu family.

The third tablet is a biography of Mu Tung 木東 of the 16th generation, written by his son Mu Wang 木旺. It was erected in the Mu family ancestral hall of military merit by his son in the eighth year of Ming Wan-li in the first moon (1580).

Printed records: The "Huang-Ming En-lün-lu" at Pai-sha-kai. — Besides the two manuscript copies of the genealogical chronicles kept by the Mu

[15] Apparently the entire story of the arrival of Yeh-yeh is a myth. He probably never existed. The *Li-chiang fu chih luch* states that Mai-tsung 麥宗, which is the equivalent to A-tsung, arrived in Li-chiang at the end of the Sung dynasty, that is, at the end of the reign of Emperor Li Tsung 理宗, about 1253. It also states that he was a native of Hsi Yü 西域 (Central Asia), and that the natives of Li-chiang elected him as their chief. Thus he could not have been the son of Yeh-yeh. In another place in the same record it is said that he was Yeh-yeh's son and when seven years old could read, etc.

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family in their Li-chiang residence, the yamen of their ancestors, there has recently come to light a printed record of the letters patent of the Mu family. 173

There exists a branch of the Mu family of Li-chiang which does not reside in that city but in a village 20 li to the north of it, namely, in the lower part of the mart Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街); the village is known as Mbe-lü in Na-khi, and Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 in Chinese. The owner of this printed copy of the Mu family letters patent is a certain Mu Wen-lan 木文蘭, a descendant of Aw-dzhi-lĕr (A-chih-li 阿知立), who was a member of the same Mu family which furnished the native magistrates of Li-chiang. It was this Aw-dzhi-lĕr who lodged a complaint against the Mu chiefs of Li-chiang with the viceroy of Yün-nan, and thus caused the chiefs to be demoted to a much inferior position, and their land to be taken over. This naturally created a family feud, and although it happened 223 years ago the wound is not yet healed.

The Li-chiang Mu family, who must have been aware of the existence of this printed record, never breathed a word to me about it, until I came accidentally to know of it. The book is called *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* 皇明恩綸錄 (Records of the gracious words of the Imperial Ming). It was printed in the winter of the second year of Ming Lung-wu (1646). This Emperor was a fugitive and was killed in the eighth moon of 1646. The Records commence with the native T'u-kuan A-te 阿得 (Li-chiang native official A-te), who ruled from 1383 to November 11th, 1390, as fu-magistrate of Li-chiang, although prior to the advent of the Ming dynasty he was a Chih-chou 知州 (chou-magistrate) of T'ung-an 通安, east of Li-chiang. The book gives the official letters received during the reign of each incumbent, that is the gracious words sent to them by the ruling Emperors. It ends with the military and civil magistrate of Li-chiang, Mu I 木懿, who ruled from 1624 to 1673. The last entries relate to the two wives of Mu I. The final date on the last page is Ts'ung-cheng 崇禎, the 12th year, which corresponds to our 1639. The book is really a printed record of all the letters patent received by the Na-khi chiefs from the various Emperors, the first one being dated the 15th year of Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖, period Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) and the last 1639, covering a period of 257 years. The record is complementary to the two chronicles, as it gives verbatim the text of the various letters patent. There are certain differences between the printed Ming letters patent and those in the genealogical chronicle. Attention to these differences is called in their respective places.

The scrolls in the Mu reception hall at Li-chiang. — There is also extant a biography of the six most important Na-khi chiefs, Mu Kung, Mu Kao, Mu Tung, Mu Wang, Mu Ch'ing and Mu Tseng. It is written on red scrolls and is displayed on the walls of the reception hall in the Mu family residence. It is of a eulogistic nature only, and was written by Feng Shih-k'o 馮時可, though no date is given. The biography was inscribed on the scrolls by the descendant Mu K'un 木坤, as told by Mu Yin 木懿, in the 27th year of Kuang-hsü (1901). All these I had copied and translated, but as they do not add much of historical value, only the First and most complete genealogical Chronicle is here translated.

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CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHRONICLE

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

1. THE DESCENT OF MAN

173 The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu dsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-na* 玉龍山靈脚楊伯那 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-ssu ta-tzu hsun-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族宦譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mbèr* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It is chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

773 It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mbèr ssaw*), or the Creation
173 of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the
form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony.
764 There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-

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PLATE XX.—THE TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION, MU YAO

第廿二世 木瑤

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PLATE 34.—THE TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. MU HSING

本圖二十三世 牧

[p. 76 B]

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PLATE 33.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION, MU CHENG

[p. 76 C]

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PLATE 36. — THE INSCRIPTION AT HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

玉龍山雪松村題碑

The inscription commemorates the nationalisation in 1723 of the land of the Na-khi hereditary prefect into a Chinese prefecture. The large characters were written by Yang Pi, the first magistrate appointed. The limestone cliff is back of the village of Hsüeh-sung-ts'un at Gkwus-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain or Li-chiang snow range).

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PLATE 33.—THE TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION, MU TE

木德二十五世

[p. 76 E]

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PLATE 38 — THE TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. MU HSIU

本第二十六世 穆

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PLATE 35.—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. MU JUN

[p. 76 G]

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PLATE 40.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. MU HAN

木漢二十八世考

[p. 76 A]

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PLATE 41.—THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. MU CHING

木 靖 二 十 九 世 祖

[p. 76 I]

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PLATE 42. — THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION. MU YEN

本圖共十四幅

[p.76 J]

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[p. 76 K]

PLATE 43.—THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. MU CH'I-SO.

The present Tu Tung-p'an, central figure. The child in his arms is his son, the 33rd generation, his name is Mu Sung-k'uei. Mu Ch'iung was the son of Mu Pian. The man on the right of the central figure is his uncle, the other three are cousins.

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PLATE 44. — MU TSENG AS A BUDDHIST MONK

木 增 (在 白) 皈 依 佛 之 像

Mu Tseng was a devout Buddhist who welcomed the Karma-pa sect of Lamaism to the Li-chiang district. The scroll illustrated here is beautifully painted in sombre tones; it shows Mu Tseng with a rosary in his hands and above his head the image of Amitabha. This large scroll is in the possession of the Mu family of Li-chiang. Mu Tseng was an excellent calligraphist, besides being a poet and author.

[p. 76 L]

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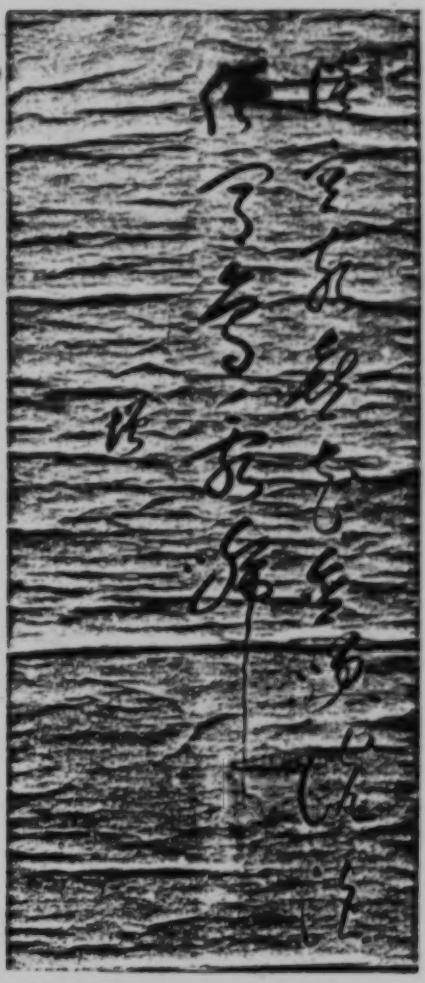

PLATE 45. — SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

* 余自平論解事

論空事實花合笑 When the guests are delighted at my discussions of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;

說法聲聞鳥亂鳴 While the monks are listening to my preaching of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly outside. The small character to left is Tseng 曾.

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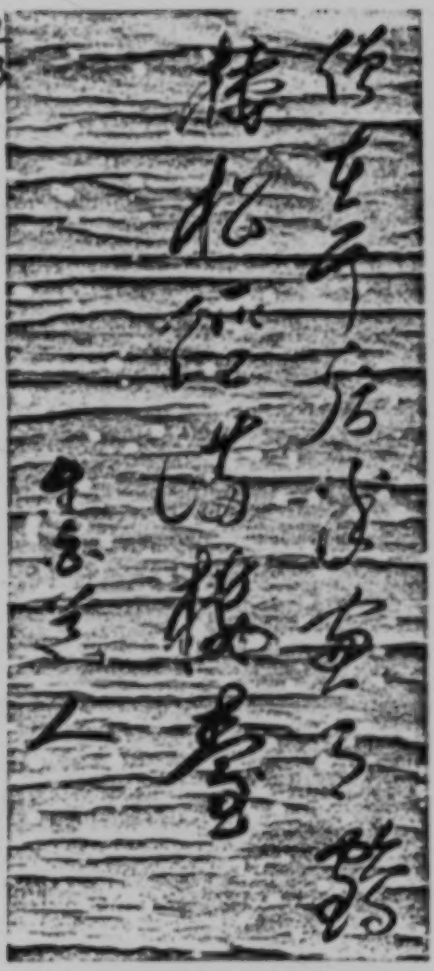

PLATE 46.—THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

僧在竹屋半窗月 The priest meditates in his bamboo hut whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴歸松巢滿樓塵 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the sombreness of the pine tree glade.

The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).

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PLATE 47. — SHRINE OF MAO AND YANG

毛 楊 二 公 祠

Adjoining the Temple of Pi-hsien, overlooking the Lake of K'un-ming, from the West.

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Plate 48.—The Statue of Yang Sheng

In the Shrine of Mao Yü and Yang Sheng adjoining P'u-hsien Sen, across the lake, west of K'un-ming.

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173 ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit.
173 The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by some-
764 one in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with: "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will be dressed in?" "In a *p'wlu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan-bpu-d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-nä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

212 *First sentence.* — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-*
173 *ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnü-ghv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *ghv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbv ssew* (Plate 10) thus:

The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *ghv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Lü-ghugh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bû), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Lü-ghugh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nâga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan-llü-ndaw-gyi (Khu). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草佛地能佛 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 鬥 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

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meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it. The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:

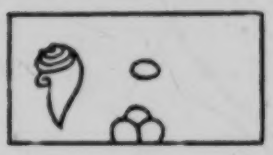
We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dü* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character 烽 *feng*, a much more common one than *fu* 孵, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

Third sentence. — 蛋殼似螺 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-gv-fu* gv. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of Ts'o-zä was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. Zä is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have th ceremony called *Zä-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *Gv* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last *gv* means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:

Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *gv* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompters only.

Fourth sentence. — 似螺熱了 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*, in Na-khi: *Gv-fu-gv-lv-gv*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became," or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character *lü* represents the Na-khi word *lv*, hot; the last character 了 is the Na-khi *gv* = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):



The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch shell; the second upper is *gv*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lv* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

Fifth sentence. — 了熱氣熱了 *Ku-lü-ch'i-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-lv-ssau-lv-gv*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot

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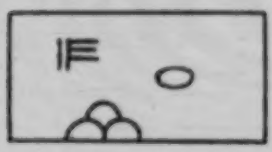
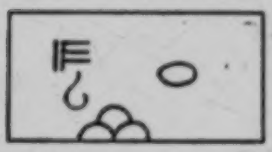
egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus: 212/173



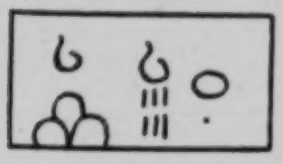
The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lv* (rocks) is borrowed for *lv* = hot, and *gv* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *gv* = egg and the second time as *gv* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂露呂古 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssaw-lv-ndshěr-lv-gv*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]," or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lv* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshěr*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lv* = hot; and *ku* for *gv* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:



The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshěr*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lv* = rock stands for hot, and the last *gv* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點古 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshěr-lv-ch'wua-t'o-gv*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshěr* = dew; *lü* = *lv* = hot; *liu* = *ch'wua* = six; *tien* = *t'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *gv* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:



The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign; below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一滴海娘聽 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddü-t'o-khü-nyu-nděr*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *ndev* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

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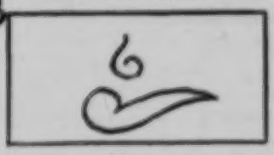
unable to pronounce final consonants; *ti* *g* = *ti* coming closest to their word *ndĕr*. In pictographs it is written:



The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshĕr*, dewdrop, the lower *ḳhü*, lake, sea.

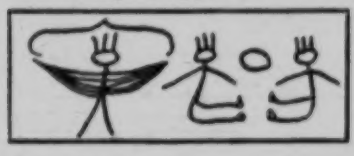
Ninth sentence. — 海失海茨古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ḳhü-shi-ḳhü-zä-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *Ḳhü-zä* came forth," or from the golden lake was born Ḳhü-zä. Apparently the first human being was called Ḳhü-zä. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake Ḳhü-zä, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih* In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:

The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *ḳhü* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit Zä which here is, however, a phonetic only, *ḳhü* = lake being read twice, the second time as a phonetic. It is part of the name of the first being Ḳhü-zä. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海茨剌茨古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ḳhü-zä-la-zä-gv*, which means literally: "From Ḳhü-zä La-zä succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:

The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zä*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *Ḳhü-zä* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 剌茨天茨古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zä-muan̲-zä-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zä Muan̲-zä came forth," or, La-zä was succeeded by Muan̲-zä. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muan̲* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muan̲* is part of the name Muan̲-zä. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muan̲-zä*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muan̲*. Below is the spirit *Zä* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

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position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Ts'u-ts'u was the son of Muan-zä, the father's name always preceding the son's. 212 173

From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 during the reign of Kao Tsung, Shang-yüan 高宗上元 (674–675)

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung 天僊從從; Na-khi: Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. The Na-khi word *muan* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, K'uei-tu-mu-shu 魁都母書; Na-khi: K'ö-dtu-mun-ssu.

Second. — Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang 從從從羊; Na-khi: Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the Na-khi *yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:

The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu 當青青書; Nakhi: Dta-ts'ä-ts'ä-ssu.

Third. — Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao 從羊從交; Na-khi: Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu; written in pictographs thus:

The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, Chi-li-chi-shu 集里集書; Na-khi: Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu.

Fourth. — Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien 從交交僊; Na-khi: Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze. He married the celestial woman, A-chün-ngai-shu 阿均岩書; Na-khi: A-dzi-ssä-ssu.

The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The Na-khi *ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

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212 first character *ngoi* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read
173 *ssö*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交賢比賢; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:

Kgyü (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *sö* a spirit, *dzi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *sö*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dzi*. The symbol also stands for "man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dzi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbër-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:

The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dtu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbër* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比賢曹賢; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:

The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father, the second half, his own name, is represented by *ts'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Lü-ghügh, whom the Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Lü-ghügh. He had a common origin with the *lü-mup* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.[1] The symbol is that of a *lü-mup* (serpent spirit). Note the head-dress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).

[1] In a manuscript entitled *K'ö-ddu-gv-lër-mö* belonging to the *Sso-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the Lü-mup (Nāga) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the Lü-mup was called K'ö-ddu-gv-ssu-mö and the mother of the Na-khi K'ö-ddu-gv-lër mö. The name of the father is not given.

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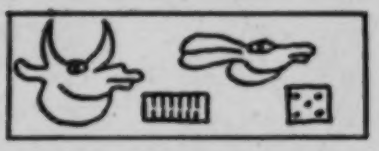
The character *sä* is here read *dse*.

Dzi-dse Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 爲揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-khü-lä-ssu. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus: 212 173



Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *khü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 草湘里爲爲; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ĕr-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpö-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.[2]

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh's name is written thus:

The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蒲蒲; Na-khi: Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.

To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里爲糯于; Na-khi: Llü-ghügh Non-ö. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hö-non. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *n* according to usage. They will say for *no* 糯, as in this instance, *non* instead of a clear *no*. Llü-ghügh Non-ö married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳鍾; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

[2] (*See* "The Origin of the Tao-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39–52 [1936].)

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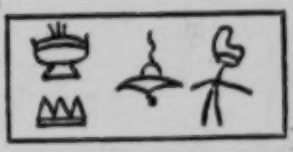
woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.



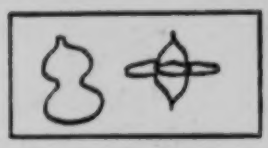
The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *wu* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dzu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯于南伴普; Na-khi: Noṇ-ō Na-lä-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssä-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 敍女敍他剌魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:

The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Noṇ (Llü-ghügh Noṇ-ō of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 伴普于; Na-khi: Bä-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:

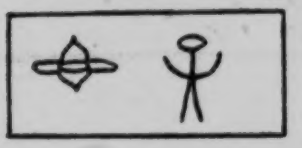


The first symbol is read *Bä-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ö*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bä-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木魯; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:

The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dtu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbĕr*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥來; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lä. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read *Ō* and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lä*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

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He married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-ssu-mu-lu 敍女敍思母魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-muṇ-lv. Her name is written: 212 173

The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *muṇ* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

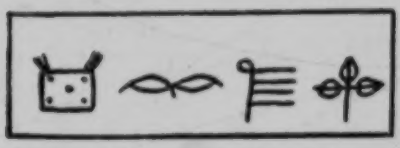
Ō Gkaw-lä figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called *Khi-nv* is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lä Ts'ü, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ö-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lä Ts'ü soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, *i.e.*, redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ö-shĕr*. It is the key-book to the *Khi nv* funeral ceremony.

In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ō Gkaw-lä is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ō-yu-dtu-nuṇ-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The characters serve as phonetics only.

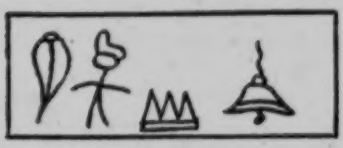
His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ü* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. He was married to Chi-nü-chi-chung 敍女敍鍾; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who separated into four clans, the Ssu (卓 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mä (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,090 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* - a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs; the fourth, *mä*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü's wife is written:



The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 6ob, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 卓葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family 173

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173 木氏, originated from the Yeh clan. The two other clans, Mä and Ho (Mai 賈, Ho 禾), dwelled outside on the mountains and in the Yangtze valley."

In a book belonging to the *Non-bbu*, or *No-bbu* ceremony, the four clans are mentioned: "The Mä clan lived at Mä-saä-t'a-wua-p'ĕr, the Ho at Ho-dsu-lv-na-wùa, the Ssu at Ssu-bbue-lv-lä-wùa and the Yu at Llü-shwua-yu-gkaw-la."

The family name for the common people was Ho, then and now written 和. This Chinese character was selected for the following reasons: It can be analysed into 丿口木. When the radical *p'ieh* is placed on top of the character *mu* 木 representing the family name of the chiefs, it becomes *ho* 禾 (grain); and by adding *k'ou* 口 (mouth) it becomes *ho* 和, which the peasants explain as feeding the mouths of the Mu family, hence the peasants of the Mu chiefs. Many of the people now calling themselves Ho were originally outsiders who, out of fear of the Na-khi chiefs, called themselves by this name to make believe that they were natives of Li-chiang, as they would otherwise have been driven out or suppressed.

It was during the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), that the Na-khi chiefs were given the family name Mu 木, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 2, fol. 18b. The Mu family did not allow the people who had charge of their affairs, and whose name was Mu by virtue of belonging to their family, to retain that name. If they represented the third generation they could use the name A 阿, the old family name of the Na-khi chiefs. If they represented the fifth generation they were given the name Ho 和. Outsiders coming to Li-chiang to settle had to call themselves Ho 和, therefore all the peasants were so named. After the country came under direct Chinese rule and the native magistrates ceased to exist in 1723, the peasants could readopt their old family names, and new settlers could keep their own names.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh and his wife Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi had three sons and, according to Na-khi manuscripts, they were collectively called Ghügh-khü ssu-zo-yi; the first-born became the ancestor of the Tibetans and lived at La-sa-t'o-k'ö-p'ĕr, his wife's name being P'ĕr-mi; the second was the Na-khi ancestor, his wife's name being Wu-mi-wu-dsu. According to the genealogy he was called Llü-ghügh Non-ö and figures as the Na-khi descendant of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He dwelled at Dzi-yu-lü-gv-ö, that is, the "man born who dwelled in the center." The third son was the ancestor of the Lä-bbu (the Chinese Min-chia 民家). His wife's name was Ssa-mi, and he dwelled at Zhi-zaw-man.

In one of the Na-khi funeral songs, called *Mun-ndz(ĕr)-ä-lä-dzhu*, occurs the passage: "Bu-lv zhi-zaw-man, Lä-bbu ä-ssi mun," meaning, "At the tail-end of the shepherd's trail the father of the Lä-bbu died." Now the Lä-bbu are the Min-chia of the Ta-li plain and neighborhood. *Zhi-zaw-man* = the end of the road, that is, where the road from the Na-khi highlands ends and that of the plain commences.

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CHAPTER VI

The Historical Generations of the Na-khi Kings

1. YÜEH-SUI CHAO

After the name of Ko-lai Ch'iu (Gkaw-lä Ts'ü of the Na-khi) there appears the following statement in the genealogy: 173

FIRST GENERATION. — The first ancestor was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. He was a Mo-so 摩梭 of the T'ang dynasty. Eleven generations previous to Yeh-ku-nien, during the Eastern Han (the land) was made the Yüeh-sui chao 越巂詔, Yüeh-sui Kingdom — *chao* meaning king. Six generations after Yeh-ku-nien it was changed to Tso-kuo chao 作國詔, and Ting-tso-hsien 定作縣 (district of Ting-tso; this included the land of the present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan). It was changed to K'un-ming 昆明 and (the ruler) promoted to K'un-ming Tsung-chün-kuan 昆明總軍官 (Commander-in-Chief of K'un-ming). To the ancestor Yeh-ku-nien in the time of T'ang Wu-te (618–626) and to the descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽,[1] there were in all 17 generations.

2. TSO-KUO CHAO

Ch'iu-yang 秋陽: In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty K'un-ming was merged with Sui chou 巂州. During the reign of Kao Tsung 高宗, in the period of Shang-yüan 上元 (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 (Governor of San-tien).[2] His wife's name was Mi-chün-hsi-shu 彌均智叔.

[1] According to the introduction written by Yang Shen to the Second Chronicle, Yeh-ku-nien was a military official during the reign of T'ang Wu-te, and Ch'iu-yang took office in the period of Shang-yüan of T'ang Kao Tsung (674–675). His successor Yang-ku took office in the period of T'ien-pao of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 天寶玄宗 (742–755).

It is however stated in the Chronicle, more correctly in the introduction of Chang Chih-shun, that counting from Yeh-ku-nien to Ch'iu-yang, there were six hereditary rulers. The time which elapsed during these six rulers is only about 56 years. If the rulers represented six generations then the time is certainly insufficient. The records do not appear to be authentic; this seems to be confirmed by the statement on the memorial stone in the Mu burial ground that nothing is known about Yeh-ku-nien.

[2] In the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), Yeh-ku-nien is mentioned as Yeh-ku-cha 葉古乍. It states that he conquered the territory east of Li-chiang at the foot of the snow range, anciently called San-t'an 三壇 and which was inhabited by the savages called P'u-hsieh 僕僰. The same statement occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* under the now obsolete name of T'ung-an chou 通安州 (*which see*), situated three li east of the present city of Li-chiang. Its former name was San-t'an, the P'u-hsieh-man (here written 僕僰蠻) dwelled there, and Yeh-ku-nien of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) conquered the territory. *See*: Addendum page 471.

The name San-t'an is apparently identical with the Tibetan name of Li-chiang, which is Sa-tham (Na-khi, Sa-ddo). The latter is the name of the mountain god of the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Li-chiang snow range), who is also the patron spirit of the Na-khi. San-tien was east of T'ung-an chou. San-tien and San-t'an could not have been far apart and probably the two places are identical.

As to the P'u-hsieh savages mentioned at the beginning of the note the *Yün-nan T'ung-*

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173 *Yang-yin Tu-ku* 陽晉都谷:[3] During the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 in the period of K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741, actually 730) the Liu chao 六詔 (Six Kingdoms) were united into one which was called the Nan-chao Kingdom 南詔. Yang-yin Tu-ku became the San-tien Tsung-kuan, and hence turned his allegiance to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–755), Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳, King of Nan-chao, rebelled against the Imperial rule of T'ang and invaded Sui chou 巂州. Ku commanded the vanguard of the Nan-chao troops. On account of his merit in capturing Cheng Hui 鄭回,[4] district magistrate of Hsi-lu 西瀘 of

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chih, ch. 199, fol. 1a, states that "Wu Wang 武王 [of the Chou 周 dynasty, 1122–1116 B.C.] held a great assembly at Meng-chin 孟津 [in the present-day Huai-ch'ing fu 懷慶府, Ho-nan], at which men of Yung 庸, Shu 蜀, Ch'iang 羌, Mou 髳, Wei 微, Lu 盧, P'eng 彭 and P'u 濮 were present. Among these tribes were three from Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), namely the Mou, Wei and P'u. The P'u alone flourished." Later they became more and more numerous. Meng-chin (the ford of Meng) was on the Yellow river in Ho-nan. (See "The Books of Chou 周," "The Great Declaration 泰誓"; also "The Speech at Mu 牧誓." J. LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 281, 301 respectively.) The names of the tribes here enumerated are those of the Hsi-nan-i pa-kuo ming 西南夷八國名, *i.e.*, those of the eight kingdoms of the rude tribes on the west and south.

West of the village or market-place of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街 of the Chinese), 20 li north of Li-chiang, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range, there is a village called 'A-k'ö (At the foot of the cliff). Its Chinese name is Ngai-chio 崖脚, but it is now more often spoken of as An-chüeh 安覺. On the cliff behind this village, there is an inscription (approachable only with a ladder) in the shape of a seven-character poem, which states that there at the foot of the cliff was the dwelling of the sacred lords (of the Mu family 木氏) of San-tien.

This was the first settlement of the Na-khi Kings. The stone platform where their houses stood and the old pillars of a temple are still visible.

The place is called 'A-k'ö d'a. The Mu family had 12 *d'a* (places of residence). There is a song chanted by the old Na-khi peasants which tells of these *d'a* of their ancient chiefs. (*See*: note 155, p. 148.) The Tai words *po-na* 伯那 or *pa-na* 八那 have apparently the same meaning as the Na-khi word *d'a*. The headings to the First Chronicle, as well as to the inscription on the memorial stone in the Mu family burial-ground, where the foot of the divine (exalted) Yü-lung Shan is mentioned as the *po-na* (residence) of Yang (Ch'iu-yang — Ch'iu being his father's name, Yang his own), have apparently reference to this first dwelling of the Na-khi chiefs at 'A-k'ö d'a, which is literally at the foot of the snow range. Ch'iu-yang, according to the Chronicle was the first ruler of San-tien, and it is very likely that 'A-k'ö d'a was his first place of residence.

There are two Chinese inscriptions and one in Tibetan on the cliff. The oldest dates from the 13th year of Ming Chia-ching: "Written by Mu Kao 木高, after carefully bathing and qualified to become hereditary chief of the 38th generation [he was on that date 19 years old], in the Spring, the third moon and 12th day (April 24th, 1534)."

The first sentence tells of the origin of the Mu family in the following words: *Mu-shih yüan-yüan Yüeh Han lai* 木氏淵源越漢來, "The Mu family's origin is from Yüeh [Sui] Han dynasty." (The western part of Ssu-ch'uan during the Han dynasty comprised two *Chün*, I chou 益州 and Yüeh-sui 越巂. It was from the latter that the Mu family hailed according to the inscription above mentioned.)

The second inscription, also in a seven-character poem, was written by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung 木公 of the 37th generation and is dated the 15th day of the first moon of the 15th year of Chia-ching (February 16th, 1536). It tells of the extensive forests on all sides, like evening smoke settling over the landscape. These, alas, have now disappeared.

[3] This is the Yang-ku 陽谷 of the Second Chronicle of Yang Shen's list.

[4] Cheng Hui was a native of Hsiang chou 相州 in the circuit of Ho-pei 河北道 (the present-day Ho-pei Province). He was a scholar, and the magistrate of Hsi-lu in Sui chou 巂州, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan.

After his capture, Ko-lo-feng and his son, Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, treated him like a teacher — According to the *Ta-li hsien chih kao*, ch. 11, fol. 27b.

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the T'ang dynasty, he was promoted by the Nan-chao Kingdom to the position of Tsung-tu Yüan-shuai 總督元帥 (Viceroy and Generalissimo). His wife was named A-shih A-hui 阿室阿揮 (in Na-khi, A-shi A-khü).

Tu-ku La-chü 都谷剌具: In the 10th year of the period of T'ien-pao (751) of T'ang, the Nan-chao Kingdom defeated the Imperial army at the Hsi-erh River 西洱河, Yün-nan,[5] and invaded the office of the Governor-general of Yün-nan province. It now began to proclaim itself the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). As Chü acquired much merit by joining the punitive expeditions of the Nan-chao, it was approved that he succeed his father as Viceroy and Generalissimo. His wife was named A-shih A-yao 阿室阿堯.

La-chü P'u-meng 剌具普蒙: In the first year of the period of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (785), there was newly established the office of Chieh-tu shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner), to which Meng was appointed by the Emperor in the district of Li-shui 麗水 (the present Li-chiang). His wife was named A-shih T'ieh-nü 阿室僭女.

P'u-meng P'u-wang 普蒙普王: He succeeded his father as Imperial commissioner of Li-shui. In the third year of the period of Cheng-yüan (787), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋, King of Nan-chao, submitted to the Imperial court, but secretly still had connections with the T'u-fan 吐番. The Imperial court suspected this and instructed Wang to put restrictions on them. Meanwhile, a number of T'u-fan chiefs were enticed to attend a great banquet given by Wang in their honor in the temple called the Tien-ts'ang Shan-miao 點蒼山廟[6] of Ta-li. When they were drunk, he killed them all.

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan of T'ang Te Tsung (793), Wang guided the Imperial general Wei Kao 韋皋[7] with borrowed Nan-chao troops against the T'u-fan. The latter were then utterly defeated.

In the 10th year (794) Wang broke down the iron bridge at Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass). In the meantime, he captured 16 cities of the T'u-fan Kingdom and made captive its five princes. On account of the military merit achieved in this expedition, the Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit). His wife was named A-shih Chieh-chieh-yü-lu-lu 阿室節節于魯祿.

This might be said to have been the most prosperous age of the Mu family.

[5] The Hsi-erh Ho is the Ta-li Lake as well as the stream entering the lake in the north, and so is the exit of the lake at Hsia-kuan 下關.

[6] This is Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen Tz'u 點蒼山神祠 (Shrine of the Spirit of the Tien-ts'ang Range). It is situated three li west of T'ai-ho hsien in Ta-li district. For a detailed account of the decapitation of the Tibetan envoys see *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 17b; also SAINSON's translation, p. 52. It was in the shrine of the Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen (Tz'u) that I-mou-hsün swore allegiance to the T'ang empire.

[7] Wei Kao was a general in the T'ang dynasty who lived between 745–805. He ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans. He is said to have killed 480,000 of them in battle, also 1,500 generals, and beheaded 5,000 prisoners. He was a native of Ching-chao 京兆 in Shensi: his literary name was Ch'eng-wu 城武. The *Ch'in-ting chiu T'ang shu* 欽定舊唐書, ch. 140, p. 3, states that he sent a judge by name Ts'ui Tso-shih 崔佐時 to the Nan-chao Kingdom; he reached the Man Kuo 蠻國 (country of the savages) and its capital, Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 羊苴咩城, the present Ta-li 大理. There he met its king, I-mou-hsün, who begged him to cut off the T'u-fan.

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173 *P'u-wang La-wan* 普王剌宛: He inherited his father's title of Duke of military merit; his wife was named A-shih Wei-yu-yü-lü-neng 阿室爲由于呂能 (in Na-khi. A-shi Ghügh-yu-ö-lv-nnü).

La-wan Hsi-nei 剌宛西內: In the reign of Hsien Tsung 憲宗, period Yüan-ho 元和 (806–820), the name of his kingdom was changed to Yüeh-hsi 越析, and he was appointed as its Chün-min Tsung-kuan 軍民總管 (Military and Civil governor). He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Han-nü 阿室漢女.

3. YÜEH-HSI CHAO

Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o 西內西可:[8] In the reign of Wen Tsung 文宗, period T'ai-ho 太和 (827–835), the Nan-chao Kingdom rebelled against the Imperial court, and invaded several districts in the State of Shu 蜀. Thenceforward it had no more connection with the empire. K'o still maintained his throne as King of the Yüeh-hsi chao and the title Chün-min Tsung-kuan. His wife was named A-shih P'u-mi 阿室蒲彌.

From now on, it became more and more difficult to control Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o and he was therefore left to himself; the Nan-chao Kingdom merely tried to keep him in restraint.

Hsi-k'o La-t'u 西可剌土:[9] In the fourth year of I Tsung 懿宗, period Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (863), on account of merit acquired by helping the Nan-chao Kingdom to invade Chiao-chih 交趾 (Tonkin, region of Hanoi), he was appointed as Wu-hsün Kung of the Yüeh-hsi Kingdom.

In the fourth year of the period Ch'ien-ning 乾寧, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (897), owing to the murder of the King of Nan-chao[10] by a man named Yang Teng 楊登, T'u was demoted to be Wu-hsün Hou 武勳侯 (Marquis of military merit) instead of duke.

In the first year of the period Kuang-hua 光化, of Chao Tsung 昭宗 (898), when Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞, son of Lung-shun 隆舜,[11] ascended the throne of Nan-chao, T'u was again promoted to his original position of Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Ko-nü 阿室哥女.

La-t'u O-chün 剌土俄均: In the second year of the period T'ien fu 天復, of Chao Tsung (902), Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣[12] usurped the throne of Nan-

[8] He is the ninth of Yang Shen's list and is there called Nung-k'o 濃可.

[9] He is the 10th of Yang Shen's list, where he is called K'o-t'ung 可同.

[10] The King of Nan-chao who was murdered by Yang Teng was Lung-shun 隆舜. His usurped posthumous title was Hsüan Wu Ti 宣武帝. He was the 12th king of the Ta Meng Kuo (Ta Meng dynasty) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He began his rule in 877 when he was 17 years old and changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-feng-min Kuo 大封民國. He was murdered in Yün-nan fu after ruling for 20 years.

[11] Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞 of Nan-chao ascended the throne in 897 when he was 21 years old. In the eleventh moon of 899 he killed Yang Teng, murderer of his father, and all his family. He died in 902 leaving a little son eight months old. He was the last ruler of the house of Meng 蒙, there being 13 generations from the founder, Prince Hsi-nu-lo 細奴羅.

[12] Cheng Mai-ssu was a cruel and ambitious man. He killed Shun-hua-cheng's son and exterminated the Meng family and all its relatives. He was a Chinese, and formerly held

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chao, destroyed the Meng royal family and called his kingdom Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great Ch'ang-ho Kingdom). Thenceforward Chün had no more connection with the Cheng family 鄭氏. He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Hsien-lu 阿室羨魯 and gave birth to six sons, named Mou-chü 牟具, Mou-tao 牟刀, Mou-ku 牟古, Mou-tai 牟歹, Mou-lai 牟來 and Mou-t'ung 牟通. Each of them became the chief of a clan. 173

O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具: He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Chü-chung 阿室具中.

Mou-chü Mou-hsi 牟具牟西: In the reign of Sung Cheng Tsung 貞宗 (998–1022) his official title was changed to that of Wu-ying Hou 武英侯 (Marquis of military heroism). His wife was named A-shih-chiao 阿室交.

4. MO-SO CHAO

Mou-hsi Mou-ts'o 牟西牟磋: In the period of Chih-ho 至和 of Sung Jen Tsung 仁宗 (1054–1055) he was made the supreme chief of the Mo-so chao 摩娑詔. At that time, though the Tuan family 段氏[13] was becoming very powerful (at Ta-li), it was never able to bring Ts'o to submission. His wife was named A-shih Yü-li 阿室于里.

Mou-ts'o Mou-lo 牟磋牟樂: In the period of Cheng-ho 政和 of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1111–1117), he succeeded his father as supreme chief. His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌睦.

Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保: Together with Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和 he bore the title of General-in-Chief. His wife's name was A-shih-nü 阿室女.

5. FROM THE SECOND TO SIXTH GENERATION

SECOND GENERATION. — *Mou-pao A-tsung* 牟保阿琮 (PLATE 12): At the age of seven he could read Chinese characters without having been taught by a teacher. When he was full-grown, he understood the languages of the different tribes, and could read the Chinese classics written by the ancient philosophers. He was therefore regarded by all his people as a man possessing supernatural powers. In addition to that, he first invented the characters of his own tribal language.[14]

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office in Ssu-ch'uan. On account of his evil deeds, he had to flee to Yün-nan, and there found employment. He secured much power under Shun-hua-cheng and became First Grand Secretary. After exterminating the Meng family (800 members), he made himself King of Nan-chao at the age of 42, in the second year of T'ien-fu in the twelfth moon (actually January, 903). He died in September, 910, after having ruled eight years.

[13] The Tuan family founded the Ta-li Kingdom, which existed from 937 to 1094 under 14 successive rulers.

[14] The Na-khi possess two types of writing, a pictographic and a syllabic (phonetic); the latter consists of more or less simple characters which the *dto-mba* (priests) call *Ggö-ba*. They resemble simple Chinese and also Lo-lo (No-su) characters, and were supposed to have been invented by the disciples of Dto-mba Shi-lo, the founder of Na-khi Shamanism (also the founder of Bön, the ancient pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet). Dto-mba Shi-lo's disciples were called Di-tz Ggö-ba. The first two syllables are of Chinese origin, viz: *ti-tzu*

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173 Once he happened to go to the Yü-lung Shan and there saw a large stone basin full of clear water. He drank of it and heard some birds singing in the clouds. He thus came to understand the language of birds and beasts. All his people were greatly surprised at his wonderful talents, so that his fame reached the ear of Tuan 段, King of Ta-li. The latter did not believe the rumours about him, but sent messengers to him and invited him to his palace. On his arrival, the king requested him earnestly to tell him the meaning of the noise of some crows which were flying about at that moment. Tsung said: "The crows say, 'There is a dead horse lying at the other side of this mountain. Let us go to eat it.'" In another moment two doves were cooing. The king asked him to interpret their meaning. He replied: "One of them said, 'There is much ripe barley growing on that hill-side. Would you like to go and feed on it?' The other replied, 'No, we cannot do so, because there are eagles nesting on the branches of the cypress trees over there.'" The king actually sent men to see whether there were really eagles, and they returned and confirmed that what Tsung had said was true. He tested him repeatedly, but he made not a single mistake, and the king began to respect him and offered him many gifts.

One day it happened that the king destroyed a swallow's nest under the eaves of his palace, and taking the young swallows, put them secretly into one of his sleeves. He pretended to enquire of Tsung why the parent swallows were making so much noise around the eaves. He answered him saying: "The swallows are blaming you, and prophesying that the reign of your royal house will soon draw to an end, and are inquiring why you do not try to build up your character, instead of destroying their nest." On hearing this, the king was displeased. Meanwhile, a certain book dropped from heaven into the sea, out of which a dragon showed its head, presenting the book hanging from one of its horns. Some men fetched the book and offered it to the king. Its contents were unintelligible to him. One of his subjects suggested that they should ask the sage Tsung to explain it. Thus he was again welcomed to the palace, and reading the book through, interpreted it as saying: "Some ten years later, Mongol soldiers will come down to Ta-li, etc." After that prophecy, Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), of the Yüan dynasty, led his troops in person to conquer Ta-li, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the heavenly book.

While Tsung was still alive, the different clans of the Mo-so royal family divided themselves into several small States, and competed with one another for supreme power. Afterwards, however, they were all overcome by his sincerity, fame and virtue, so much so that they united and paid homage to him as their only king. Hence we see Heaven really had a definite purpose in choosing this particular man to lay this foundation for their royal throne, and to hand down blessings to the obedient and virtuous descendants of their families, by first showing them his own faithfulness and benevolence.

(disciple) 弟子, *ggö-ba* (to rise to the dance). Very few *dio-mba* are able to read the *Ggö-ba* script, while all can read the pictographs. The latter were invented considerably later than the *Ggö-ba* script which, it is my belief, was brought by them from their home in the far north, the grasslands of Tibet. Thus their written (syllabic) language has degenerated rather than developed. The pictographic script was developed in their present home, for the symbols used represent birds, insects, wild animals and plants, indigenous to Li-chiang or northwest Yün-nan in general.

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Later two more States, the Shan-shan Kingdom 善闡國 and Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏,[15] also acknowledged Tsung as their prophet and sage. Oh! this proves why the lineage of the Mu family is enabled to maintain its everlasting existence, and again explains to us the old saying: "The princely man can found and hand down an inheritance for hundreds and thousands of generations." 173

Tsung's wife was named A-shih-ch'iu 阿室秋, and was the noble daughter of the Hsien-t'ao family 蒲陶氏.[16] She gave birth to one son named Liang 良, who succeeded to his father's throne.

THIRD GENERATION. — *A-tsung A-liang* 阿琮阿良 (PLATE 13): As the only son of Tsung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the first year of the reign of Li Tsung 理宗, period Pao-yu 寶祐 (1253), of the Southern Sung dynasty, Emperor Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1251–1259), of the Mongols, ordered his royal brother named Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai), later Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of China (1260–1279), to conquer Ta-li in person. Liang went to welcome the soldiers at the mouth of the La-pa River 剌巴江.[17] On account of his kind hospitality and proper courtesy to them, Kublai conferred on Liang the honorary title of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil Governor of the Ch'a-han-chang [White Jang]), gave him two suits of official uniforms, one official hat made of yellow wool with a jade button embedded in gold plate on the top, and two assistants, one to precede and one to follow him. He also received an official girdle and pair of top-boots. These presents were sent to him by two official secretaries who walked in procession along the street in his honor.

[15] Under Shan-shan Kuo, Yün-nan must be understood, for Shan-shan fu was the name of the capital (the present K'un-ming) during the rule of the Nan-chao King Ch'üan-feng-yu 勸豐佑 (824–859).

Wu-ssu-tsang was the Ming dynasty designation for the present Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet), whose capital is Lha-sa.

[16] Hsien-t'ao was the family name of a Mo-so chief of Pai-sha 白沙 (the Na-khi Boa-shi), who gave his daughter in marriage to Yeh-yeh (*which see*).

[17] There are two La-pa Chiang k'ou (Mouth of the La-pa River), one only 80 li distant from Li-chiang, and the other 7 stages from that city, at Yung-ning. The one mentioned in the Chronicle is at the foot of the spur on which Shih-ku 石鼓 is situated and where the La-pa Chiang debouches into the Yangtze, west of Li-chiang. This river is called La-ba gyi in Na-khi (Waters of La-ba) because the river has its source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba), and also because La-ba is the Na-khi name of Shih-ku. Besides being known as La-pa Chiang 剌巴江, the stream is also called Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 (The river which rushes into the Yangtze) by the Chinese. As the Chronicle states that Liang met the Mongol soldiers at the mouth of the La-ba River, and not Kublai Khan himself, it must be taken for granted that he went to the La-ba Stream which enters the Yangtze at Shih-ku, only one day's journey from Li-chiang. To enter Li-chiang territory proper coming from the Yen-tang region, one must cross the La-ba Stream where it debouches into the Yangtze at Shih-ku, and where an iron chain-bridge spans it. It is by this route that Wu-lan-ha-ta led his army corps. Thus it becomes fairly certain that Liang met Wu-lan-ha-ta and his soldiers at Shih-ku, and not Kublai Khan with his cavalry at Yung-ning, where is situated the other La-ba Chiang k'ou. It is not likely that Liang would go seven days from his own district to meet a doubtful foe.

The other La-pa Chiang-k'ou (mouth of the river La-pa) passes at Yung-ning through the meadow La-pa-ddü (Chinese, Jih-yüeh ho 日月和 or Union of the Sun and Moon) where Kublai camped with his army (PLATE 212). It has its source in a grassy, swampy plateau, elevation 11,600 feet, to the south of Yung-ning 永寧. The stream, as with most water-

[see p. 28 M-- Analyst]

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173 Meanwhile, they took the city of Chü-nin chou 巨津州 by storm, and at the walled village of Pan-kung-ho 半空和 he made prisoner the brigand leader A-t'a-la 阿塔剌. On account of this achievement, he was promoted to the position of Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu 茶罕章宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang). He then captured the village of Ta-ko 大各 and also participated in conquering Ta-li, where they made the powerful chief Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智 prisoner. In reward for his splendid military service, he was again promoted by the Mongols to be Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the right wing of the army of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai 兀良合台, the famous Mongol Commander-in-Chief, and was given a battle-axe and a golden tiger-head shield. Later, Wu-liang-ho-t'ai returned to Ta-li to guard that station,

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courses in China, has several names. Its source is called A-ngu; where it enters the forested valley it becomes the Bo-wu-tsu; still further north near the village of Mu-dri it becomes the Bu-llu dji and as such passes through a narrow rocky defile and flows as the La-pa Ho (La-pa dji) through the meadow where Kublai camped with his army. The exit of a stream through a defile is spoken of as a *k'ou* 口 (mouth). The stream beyond the meadow is called the Hli dji (Waters of Hli, the native name of Yung-ning), Hli dü (Land of Hli), and (on Chinese maps) the K'ai-chi Ho, from the village of K'ai-chi 開基, past which the river flows on to the Yung-ning plain. The stream receives many affluents and debouches into the Wo-lo-Ho 臥羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河), which in turn flows into the Li-t'ang River 裏塘河 (*see* Geographical Part: Yung-ning).

It is precisely at the meadow of La-pa-ddü, where Kublai camped with his army, that the Yung-ning chiefs will escort visitors, and that lamas starting out on a long journey will camp, although only about two li from the Yung-ning monastery.

As to Kublai Khan's campaign and his march through Mo-so (Na-khi) land, the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), printed in Chiang-su 江蘇 in the 13th year of T'ung-chih (1874), ch. 4, p. 1b, states that Hsien Tsung 憲宗 ordered the attack on Yün-nan. On the day 丙午 of the seventh moon of the second year (August 30, 1252) the expedition went westwards from Ma-ya 麻牙. In the eighth moon of the 3rd year (1253) the army was dispatched to camp at Lin-t'ao 臨洮 (this is the present Ti-tao on the T'ao River 洮河 in west Kan-su). The officers I-la-chu 伊拉珠 (玉律虎), Wang Chün-hou 王君侯 and Wang Chien 王鑑 were sent in advance to Ta-li (to make known the Imperial command), but they were not successful. On the day 壬寅 of the ninth moon (October 20th, 1253), the army camped at T'a-la 塔拉 (the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 上, fol. 44a, calls it T'e-la 忒剌), and thence they separated, going by three different routes. Wu-lan-ha-ta 烏蘭哈達 (兀良合帶), led the army corps of the west, following the Yen-tang 晏當 road; Prince Ch'a-han-i-chao-erh 察罕伊兆爾 (抄合也只烈) conducted the army of the east by way of the land of the Pai-man 白蠻; the Imperial brother led by the middle route. The Li-chiang Records state, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 35b, that the ancient Yen-tang was outside the western border of Li-chiang in uncontrolled territory. T'e-lieh 忒列 was within the land of the T'u-fan. The land of the Pai-man is the present-day Yao-an fu 姚安府, which is north of Chen-nan 鎮南 and seven and a half stages west of K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

Hu-pi-lieh's cavalry came by Yüeh-sui and crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) in the Pei-sheng 北勝 district (to which Yung-ning belongs).

On the day 乙巳 of the ninth moon (October 23rd) the Mongols arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 蠻陀城, where they left their baggage and chariots. On the day 丙午 of the tenth moon (October 24th), they crossed the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河 and marched over mountains and through valleys for over 2,000 li, until they arrived on the Chin-sha Chiang. On inflated skins and rafts they crossed to Mo-so (territory). The chief of the Man came to welcome them and made his submission (their land was north of Ta-li, over 400 li distant). On the day 辛卯 of the eleventh moon (December 8th, 1253) Hu-pi-lieh sent I-la-chu 伊拉珠 and two other envoys to Ta-li. They were killed by Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, the Nan-chao King. On the day 丁酉 (December 14th), the army arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭寨 in the land of the Pai-man 白蠻, whose military chief came forth to submit. His nephew resisted,

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while Liang went back to the Mo-so Kingdom to rule as its king. Again, His Majesty the Emperor presented him with the following words of praise: *T'ien-mu-cheng-chi* 添睦貞吉 (Increase of peace and happiness). Afterwards he took by storm the T'ieh ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.[18]

In the period Chih-yüan 至元 of Yün Shih Tsu 世祖 (1264–1294), the Emperor gave Liang a silver seal weighing 48 taels, which authorized his appointment to the office of T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 (Field-Marshal in command of Armies of all routes). The territories under his control were named Yüeh-hsi Chün 越析郡, Po-hsing fu 伯興府, Yung-ning fu 永寧府, Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, Lang-ch'ü chou 浪渠州, Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯,

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and they captured and killed him, but did not molest the people. On December 17th (1253) they camped at San-tien 三甸 (Li-chiang) (*see* pp. 391–393).

On December 18th the Pai-man brought presents. On the day 丙辰 of the twelfth moon (January 2nd, 1254) the army besieged the city of Ta-li.

The Pai-man mentioned here are in all probability the Mo-so, and Pai-man is a translation of the Mongol Cha-han-chang (White Jang), or, perhaps, the Pai-lan-man (White Wolf savages), after whom the Li-chiang territory was once called. The Pai-man Ta-kuo chai 打郭寨 was in Na-khi territory and is undoubtedly identical with the present-day Ta-ku 打鼓, a group of villages on a small plain on the Yangtze, two days north of Li-chiang. This would also tally with the time it took the Mongol army to reach San-tien. They arrived at Ta-kuo-chai on December 14th, and were camping at San-tien on December 17th, allowing from the 15th to the 17th to reach there. Certainly the Pai-man of Yao-an are not meant here.

As to the place where Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze, the *Yüan Shih*, ch. 61, fol. 7a, has the following to say: "Pao-shan (La-pao) is east of the snow range (Yü-lung Shan); the Li Chiang (Li River = Yangtze) comes from the west and encircles it on three sides (it is within the Yangtze loop) like a girdle. In ancient days the Mo-so-man dwelt there; the first Mo-so came from Lou-t'ou 樓頭 (Lü dü = Yung-ning, *which see*), they had dwelt at Pao-shan for twenty generations (at the time of the Mongol invasion). When Shih Tsu 世祖 was engaged on his expedition against the Ta-li Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭, and passed by Lo-pang 羅邦; he arrived at the villages of Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍 and Ta-kuei 大匱. All these places came under the sub-district of Pao-shan 寶山. The headmen of these four places submitted to Kublai Khan, who called their villages Cha-han-hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of [the period] Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) the seven places of Ta-kuei became the Pao-shan hsien 寶山縣 (magistracy of Pao-shan)."

The ancient Pao-shan, according to the Li-chiang Records, was 240 li east of the present city of Li-chiang (north-east is correct). It was in the western part of the Chün of Yüeh-sui of the Han dynasty. In the Latter Han it belonged to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and in the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by the Mo-so-man 摩些蠻. According to the map in the second volume of the Li-chiang Records, ch. 2, fols. 2b–3a, Pao-shan is within the Yangtze loop and comprises the region between the present Feng-k'ou and La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶), colloquially called La-po in Na-khi. According to this, Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze coming from Yung-ning at the place where the Yangtze is still crossed, namely at what is now called Feng-k'o 偉可 (*see* Geographical Part, p. 238). The name Lo-pang apparently represents the Na-khi La-bpu or La-po; Lo-ssu-wei is probably Lv-tso-lo; and the Pien-t'ou is P'u-dyu, where one crosses from Yung-ning to Feng-k'o, another name for P'u-dyu being Law-k'a-khi-llü. Ta-kuei was a small place where, during the T'ang dynasty, seven brothers of the Mo-so man had settled.

[18] According to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 42b, Hua-ma Kuo, was the district of Chü-chin chou, and it was there that Emperor Shih Tsu (Kublai) had his outposts.

In Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b, the Li-chiang Records speak of a Hua-ma Shan 花馬山. This mountain is situated 350 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern border of the

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173 Pai-lang 白狼, P'an-mu 槃木, I-liao 夷獠, etc. As to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府,[19] it had been brought under the control of his Mo-so Kingdom for many generations beginning with the T'ang dynasty, therefore it is not mentioned here.

Since the 11th year of the Chih-yüan period (1274) Liang had repeatedly received Imperial mandates conferring on him various degrees of honor and the dragon-design medal. His Majesty the Emperor also conferred on him the honorary title of Chin-tzu-kuang-lu ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫 (Minister of the Imperial court in the principal first official rank), and the additional honorary title of T'ung-chün-ssu 統軍司 (Field-Marshal), together with the right to use the same ceremonies as the three chief commissioners of the whole province. His wife was named A-shih Yü-hsien 阿室于先, and was the daughter of Kan-lo-mu-t'u 干羅木土 (perhaps a descendant of Kan-lo-mu-tu, *see* p. 73). On her was conferred the honorary title of Kuo fu-jen 國夫人 (Wife of the official of the principal first rank). She gave birth to three sons, named Hu 胡, Chieh 節 and Nai 耐. The eldest son, A-hu, succeeded to his father's throne.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-liang A-hu* 阿良阿胡 (PLATE 14)[1]: As the eldest son of Liang, he succeeded his father as Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) he was appointed as Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan and assumed the hereditary office of Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the first year of the period Yüan-cheng 元貞, of the reign of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (1295), the Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor and the distinguished dragon-design medal, together with the honorary titles of Cheng-feng ta-fu 正奉大夫 and Hu-chün Hsüan-wei-ssu 護軍宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of military affairs). His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌母, the daughter of Ho-hui Ho-mi 和揮和迷 of the Hsien-t'ao family 羨陶氏

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ancient Chü-chin chou. On the cliff there is a rock of variegated colors in the shape of a horse. Anciently the Mo-so Kingdom called itself Hua-ma Kuo from the piebald stone on the cliff. In the First Chronicle it is called 華 Hua-ma Kuo. The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 上, fol. 1b, column 2 relates that Yüeh-hsi chao was established by Po-ch'ung 波衝 and was also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo. This was during the reign of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (713–755). Po-ch'ung must have been the predecessor of Yang-yin Tu-ku 陽音都谷, for the latter was the first San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 in the Six kingdoms (Liu chao 六詔), and the six chao were only united after the murder of Po-ch'ung by the violent chieftain Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求; this was in 738, the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元. There is still in existence a village called T'a-dza in Na-khi and T'a-ch'eng 塔城 in Chinese, both meaning "pagoda city." This T'a-dza was the walled city (*dza* = a wall) of Hua-ma Kuo.

[19] Of the above-mentioned places, Yüeh-hsi is Li-chiang; at the end of the period of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was captured by the Tibetans. Afterwards it belonged to Nan-chao. During the Mongol dynasty (1277) it became Yen-ching 鹽井 (Salt-well) of Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in south-west Ssu-ch'uan. Po-hsing fu, also written 柏興 and 柏興府, where the Mo-so once dwelled, was the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty, governed by Yüeh-sui. Yung-ning is north-east of Li-chiang to the north-east of the Yangtze loop; Pei-sheng fu is the district and city of Yung-pei 永北, now called Yung-sheng 永勝; Lang-ch'ü chou is between Yung-sheng and Yung-ning, a territory still ruled by a Mo-so (Na-khi) chief. Lo-lo-ssu was ruled by a military commissioner, and was in Chien-ch'ang 建昌 (Hsi-ch'ang) in Ssu-ch'uan; the Pai-lang and P'an-mu were tribes who were later ruled by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang), the Pai-lang belonging with their land to Li-chiang territory according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 5, fol. 69a; while the P'an-mu dwelled west of Mou chou 茂州 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan. Ho-ch'ing is a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang. 1 [see p. 28 N-- Analyst]

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(local chiefs of Pai-sha). On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen 郡夫人. She gave birth to one son, named A-lieh 阿烈, who succeeded to his father's throne. His second wife gave birth to one son named A-chi 阿吉. 173

FIFTH GENERATION. — *A-hu A-lieh* 阿胡阿烈 (PLATE 15): As the elder son of Hu, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 13th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347)[20] there was established in his kingdom the new office of Li-chiang Lu Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 麗江路軍民總管府. Under this authority he controlled one fu-city called Pei-sheng 北勝; seven chou cities called T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, Pao-shan 寶山,[21] Lan chou 蘭州,[22] Yung-ning 永寧, Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖 and Shun chou 順州;[23] and one hsien city called Lin-hsi 臨西.[24]

In the 15th year of the same emperor (1349) (actually 8th year of the period Chih-cheng 至正), he appointed his brother A-chi 阿吉 as Chü-tien Chün-min kuan min-kuan 巨甸軍民管民官 and An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Governor of military and civil affairs, and Chieftain of the frontier lands) of the place called Chü-tien 巨甸.

On Lieh the Emperor conferred various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, and the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 and Ch'ing ch'e tu-yü Tsung-kuan-fu 輕車都尉總管府 (Governor of the fu-magistracy of the sixth order of nobility). His wife was named A-shih Chang-meng-a-chia 阿室丈蒙阿加, daughter of La-pa La-t'u 剌巴剌土. On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen. She gave birth to one son named A-chia 阿甲, who succeeded to his father's throne.

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[20] The period Chih-yüan lasted only to 1340, but the succeeding period, Chih-cheng 至正, of the same Emperor, has been ignored and Chih-yüan continued by the writer of the two Chronicles.

[21] Pao-shan was north-east of Li-chiang and north-east of the present Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 (Mba-yi-wùa in Na-khi); it is 240 li from Li-chiang and is the present La-pao. It is a district of many villages, among the mountains of the Yangtze loop and on the west bank of the Yangtze, where a large village is situated called La-bpu 'a-k'o. The village of T'o-k'ö-shër (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese) belongs to the La-pao district — the Na-khi name means "Long foot of the pine," because there is a large pine grove on a high hill; and the Chinese name means "Long pine flat." North of La-pao the Yangtze flows through a terrific gorge, a tremendous rock defile called Gv-ho-gu. In the rock of the cliff west of it which forms the T'ai-tzu Kuan (*q.v.*), the Mu family is said to have carved the following characters, 剌寶太子關手伸摩得天 *La-pao t'ai-tzu kuan shou-shen mo-le t'ien* = [On] the La-pao pass of the heir apparent, the raised hand may feel Heaven.

[22] Lan chou is the present-day Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, 360 li south-west of Li-chiang.

[23] Shun chou is 120 li west of Yung-sheng 永勝 and east of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty it was a dependency of Ho-ch'ing. It was called Niu-t'an 牛談 during the T'ang.

[24] The obsolete Lin-hsi was north-west of the secondary prefecture of Chü-chin. The latter was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. On a map published during the Ming dynasty in 1643 Lin-hsi is placed north of the T'ieh ch'iao (Iron bridge), which itself was 130 li north of Chü-chin. Lin-hsi was a hsien-city 460 li from Li-chiang and was inhabited entirely by Na-khi. In the 15th year of Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) Lin hsi was ruled by Li-chiang, and later came under Wei-hsi 維西.

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173 After careful examination, we learn that when A-tsung A-liang became Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan, it was the fourth year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1254). In the fourth year of the period Chung-t'ung 中統 of Emperor Shih Tsu (1263) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu. In the ninth year, period Chih-yüan (1272), the Emperor conferred on him a silver seal, and appointed him T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 Field Marshal in command of All Routes of the Armies.

A-liang A-hu became Ch'a-han-chang, and succeeded his father as hereditary Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Vice-Commander-in-Chief), and in the 25th year of the same reign (1288) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the Ch'a-han-chang).

In the first year of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗, period Ta-te 大德 (1297), the interior of China was in a disturbed condition. At that time Liang Wang 梁王, a prince of the Yüan dynasty, became ruler of Shan-shan 繕闡 [25] and divided his territory with another ruler named Tuan Kuang 段光.[26] Prince Liang also invaded two other States called Ch'ieh-hsi-t'ai 且西台 and Yao-yüeh-ssu 遙越寺.

During the reign of T'ai Ting Ti 泰定帝 (1324–1328), on account of bad communications and natural barriers, we cannot secure much historical information about A-hu A-lieh. However, we know that in the eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan 至元 (1342), he became Pacification commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang.

From the ninth year of Shih Tsu 世祖, period Chih-yüan (1272), to the 13th year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347), were only 67 years,[27] and there had ruled in China ten emperors of the Yüan dynasty, but during that period the Mu family had only descended three generations.

The eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1342), was the second year of the period Chih-cheng 至正 (1342). The 13th year of Chih-yüan (1347) was the seventh year of Chih-cheng (1347) (*see* note 20 on p. 97).

With regard to the official ranks mentioned, according to the system of the Yüan dynasty, Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 宣慰使司 (Pacification commissioner) was equal to the secondary second rank. Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 [Chieftain of the (Yün-nan) frontier tribes] and the Vice-Chieftain were each equal to the principal third rank. An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Chieftain of the [Yün-nan] frontier tribes — similar to the above-mentioned Hsüan-fu-ssu) was equal to the same rank. Chu-lu Tsung-kuan-fu 諸路總管府 (fu-governor of the various dis-

[25] Liang Wang was King (*Wang*) of Yün-nan; his full name was Pa-tsa-la-wa-ch'i-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. He was the descendant of the fifth son of Kublai Khan, who was called Hu-ko-ch'ih 忽哥赤 and was King of Yün-nan. Shan-shan 繕闡 is the present K'un-ming. The first character for Shan is wrong and so is the one on page 93.

[26] Tuan Kuang was ruler of western Yün-nan. He was the ninth hereditary governor of Ta-li fu. He took office in 1333 and divided his territory with Prince Liang in 1334. The latter attacked him in 1335 at Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺. This is a high mountain pass between Chao chou 趙州 and Hung-ngai 紅崖 on the K'un-ming Ta-li road and was then called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山. Liang was defeated and afterwards bribed Tuan's cook who poisoned his master in 1345.

[27] The chronicle says 67 years had elapsed between the ninth year of Shih Tsu and the 13th year of Shun Ti, but actually 75 years had elapsed between those two dates.

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tricts) was equal to the secondary third rank. The offices of Chih-chou 知州 and Shang-chou 上州 (Magistrate of a chou-city) were each equal to the secondary fourth rank. The above references are given for clear understanding.

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SIXTH GENERATION. — *A-lieh A-chia* 阿烈阿甲 (PLATE 16): He was also named Yüan Te 元德 and, as the eldest son of Lieh, succeeded to his father's throne. In the 22nd year of Shun Ti (Chih-yüan) (1356) (actually the 16th year of Chih-cheng), the fu-magistracy was abolished, and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu was established in its stead. It was later changed into the office of the magistracy of T'ung-an chou. The Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, the honorary title of Ch'ao-ch'ing ta-fu Ch'i-tu-yü 朝請大夫騎都尉 (Minister of the Imperial audience, and the seventh order of nobility), and appointed him as Chief magistrate of the chou-city, with the addition of the principal third rank. His wife was named A-shih-yüan 阿室圓 (also, Chü-mu 佉母). She was the daughter of A-tu 阿都, Yu-ch'eng 右丞 (Junior deputy) of the Mongol family Hu-i-p'u-tu 胡以普都 of Chien-ch'uan 劍川.[28] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to four sons, named A-te 阿得, A-chü 阿佉, A-ya 阿牙 and A-chien 阿見. His second wife gave birth to three sons, named A-ts'ung 阿從, A-tai 阿歹 and A-ch'ang 阿昌. The eldest son, A-te, succeeded to his father's throne.

[The graves of the different ancestors of the 21 generations mentioned above are all located on the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain). Twice a year, in the winter and summer, the Mu family still offers sacrifices to them, in accordance with traditional custom. As to the graves of the different ancestors of the following seven generations, it built temples to them, and still regularly offers sacrifices to them.]

6. FROM THE SEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH GENERATION

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-chia A-te* 阿甲阿得 (PLATE 17): He was the magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Te 木得, he was also named Tzu-jan 自然 and Heng-chung 恆忠. He was the eldest son of Chia. In the last reign of the Yüan dynasty, he became Chih-chou 知州 (Magistrate) of the chou-city of T'ung-an and later he was promoted to the position of Li-chiang Hsüan-fu-ssu fu-shih 麗江宣撫司副使 (Vice-Chieftain of the district of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the Celestial army (Chinese army) came to the southern part of China, and conquered Ta-li and many other cities. Te was the first to lead his troops to swear allegiance to Fu Yu-te 傅友德, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern expedition, Ying-kuo Kung 潁國公 (Duke of Ying-kuo), and T'ai-tzu T'ai-shih 太子太師 (Grand preceptor to the Heir Apparent). Fu and other military leaders made a report to the Emperor on behalf of Te. His Majesty was so pleased that he conferred on him the surname Mu 木, and ordered him to work together with Fu at headquarters, waiting for suitable appointments.

[28] Chien-ch'uan 劍川 is a walled city between Ta-li and Li-chiang. It is 210 li from Ta-li.

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173 I append here the Imperial decree of Hung-wu conferring on A-te the surname Mu, according to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*:

"Through the protection of God, the manifestation of the supernatural forces of the seas and mountains, and the many virtues of my ancestors, fifteen years have peacefully elapsed since my accession to the Throne, and almost all lands of the world have come within the Imperial map. But the different barbarians of the South-west, deceived by Liang Wang [29] of Yün-nan, and relying upon the altitude of their native place and the remoteness of their land from my throne, disobeyed my Imperial orders and instructions. For this reason I especially ordered Fu Yu-te, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern punitive expedition 征南將軍, and marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川; Lan Yü 藍玉, Assistant Commander-in-Chief 副將軍, and marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌侯; and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing, to lead 300,000 mail-clad soldiers — the cavalry and infantry advancing all together — to punish them for insubordination. No sooner did the Imperial army reach their land than the chief criminals were captured. As you, A-te, Native official of Li-chiang, were the first to lead his followers to submit as an example to the barbarians, your loyalty to me was clearly established.

"Moreover I appreciate your learning as expressed in the memorial submitted by you through your envoy some time ago. Thus I confer upon you the surname Mu, and order you to listen to General Fu in so far as he may propose to give you an official position, and to lead you in the accomplishing of meritorious acts in the future, so that you may gain glory for yourself.

"Be careful enough not to forget what I have said, forever.

"In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382)."

In the 16th year of the same period (1383), Fu instructed Mu Te to re-establish Li-chiang as a fu-city, and appointed him as its magistrate. In the second moon of the same year (March, 1383), he joined the army of the Southern expedition, and helped the Commander-in-Chief to conquer the village of Fu-kuang-chai 佛光寨 [30] where the Junior prefect P'u Yen-tu 普顏篤, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, burned himself to death.

In the third moon (April, 1383), the great chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan tribes 西番 intended to lead his troops to capture the region of Pai-lang-ts'ang 白浪滄 [31] in the district of Li-chiang. Te ordered his eldest son, A-ch'u 阿初, to lead his own troops against them, and force them to retreat. In the eighth moon (September), Te attacked Pei-sheng fu 北勝府 and made captive its native chief, the usurping P'ing-chang 平章 (Controller), Kao

[29] The Liang Wang 梁王 was a descendant of the fifth son of Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. The Yüan emperors bestowed on him the title King Liang of Yün-nan. When he was pursued by the Ming forces he fled to Chin-ning chou 晉寧州 to the village of Hu-na-chai 忽納寨 where he burnt his Imperial robes and drove his wife and children into the Lake of Yün-nan (Tien Ch'ih 滇池) to die. Liang himself then jumped into the lake. After the prince's death, the senior and junior deputies Ta Ti 達的 and Lü Erh 驢兒 hanged themselves.

[30] Fu-kuang-chai is 30 li north of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 or 20 li east of Ta-li Lang-k'ung (ch'iung) hsien 大理浪穹縣, the present-day Erh-yüan 洱源.

[31] Pai-lang-ts'ang is the Na-khi Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) under Li-chiang (*vide* origin of Yeh-yeh, p. 71, note 8; p. 72).

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Sheng-hsün 高生尊, descendant of Kao Ta-hui 高大惠.[22] Later Kao Sheng-hsün was killed by the I 夷 (Lo-lo), who offered his head to Te. Pei-sheng fu was thereafter changed into four chou-cities. Again, by joining the army of the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, and under the service of Commander Tung 董指揮, Te succeeded in capturing Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass), T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron bridge city), and many other places. His military exploits on this expedition were made known to the Emperor by a special report. In the ninth moon (September–October) Te was summoned to the Imperial court to an audience with the Emperor, and to pay tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (Hung-wu) was so pleased with his military services that he conferred on him Imperial letters patent, appointing him as hereditary T'u-kuan chih-fu 土官知府 (Hereditary native magistrate) of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and giving him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫, with orders to safely defend Shih-men Kuan, and to resist the advance of the Fan-ta 番韃 (Nomads). A complete set of official uniforms, made of coloured satin and embroidered with golden flowers, was given him; also a golden-flowered belt with four Chinese characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), engraved on the central badge, six silver ingots, and a silver medal designed with the character *Ling* 令 and weighing 20 taels.

In the 17th year of the same period (1384), Te ordered his son, A-ch'u, to attack and capture the Tao-k'ou 刀寇 (Knife brigands). He was so victorious in this expedition that the Emperor rewarded him with many silver ingots. In the 19th year (1386), A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chü-chin 巨津, rebelled against the Imperial rule by attacking Stone-gate Pass and other villages. Te and A-ch'u led their troops to join the expedition of Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, Marquis of Chi-an 吉安侯, and succeeded in capturing the villages of Stone-gate Pass, as well as the place called Meng-ku-ho 蒙古和. A-nu-ts'ung then fled with his men to the Hsi-fan. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December, 1386–January, 1387), the brigand leader returned to Chü-chin chou. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), he was captured alive, and was brought a prisoner to the headquarters of Commander-in-Chief Fu and there executed.

Te was born in the fourth year of the reign of Yüan Wu Tsung 武宗 (Chih-ta 至大) (1311), and died on the 6th day of the tenth moon of the 23rd year of Ming Hung-wu (November 11th, 1390). His wife was named A-shih-she 阿室社, daughter of Ho Lüeh-ko 和畧哥 (the Second Chronicle gives the name Ho Lüeh-k'o 可), Chao-mo 照磨 (Commissary of records) of San-pi-ts'un 三必村. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to three sons, named Ch'u 初, K'uei 虧 and Ssu 寺. His second wife, A-shih-mi 阿室彌, gave birth to one son, named Ch'i 七. His eldest son, A-ch'u, succeeded to his throne.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *A-te A-ch'u* 阿得阿初 (PLATE 18): Native magistrate of the fu-city. His official name was Mu Ch'u 木初, and he was also named Ch'i-yüan 啓元 and Shih-ch'un 始春. As the eldest son of Te, he suc-

[22] Kao Ta-hui was governor of the commandery Shan-chü 善巨郡 which was the later Pei-sheng and the present Yung-sheng 永勝.

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173 ceeded to his father's throne. Before his accession to the throne, in the 16th year of Ming Hung-wu (1383), on account of his merit in defeating Chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan, Commander-in-Chief Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, proposed to the emperor to appoint him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men. In the second tenth moon (November–December) of the 17th year of the same period (1384), the proposal was approved by the Imperial Board of Civil Office, which issued a dispatch bearing the character *Chung* 忠, No. 3, appointing him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men, together with the additional duty of Leader of 100 families, as a test. In the eleventh moon (December, 1384–January, 1385) he entered on his duties.

In the twelfth moon (January, 1385), the native magistrate of Pao-shan chou 寶山州 became recalcitrant. Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station, and settled the trouble by means of skilful strategem, capturing many stockaded villages in the mountains of that district, and restoring the people to their peaceful pursuits. Later in the same year, La-mi-ju-chi 剌密如吉, the native magistrate, again occupied the mountain districts, starting a new rebellion. Ch'u led his troops thither to attack them and the aforesaid districts were again recovered. The captives taken and the brigands killed in that fight numbered more than 20. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), Yang-nu 楊奴, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, and others were guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u hastened there with government troops to punish them, and made them all prisoners. In the eighth moon (September–October) of the same year, the usurping Commander-in-Chief, Pao-chu 保朱[33] of Chien-ch'uan, was also guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u proceeded with the Military governor Cheng Hsiang 鄭祥 of Ta-li military station, succeeded in capturing Pao-chu, and then put him to death.

In the third moon of the 21st year of Hung-wu (April, 1388), Ch'u led his native troops to join the army of the Commander-in-Chief Mu Chao-ching Ying 沐昭靖英,[34] Prince of Ch'ien-ning 黔寧王 and Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, and attacked the two cities of Ching-tung 景東[35] and Ting-pien hsien 定邊縣.[36] He then captured these two cities, killed the powerful leaders of the Po-i savages 伯夷蠻,[37] took and executed many prisoners, such as Tao Ssu-lang 刀斯浪, etc.

In the 24th year of Hung-wu (1391), Ch'u received an official dispatch bearing the character *T'ing* 定, No. 504, from the office of the Military governor

[33] In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the name is written Chu-pao 朱保. He usurped the rank of Yüan-shuai 元帥.

[34] This is the Mu Ying who was given the posthumous title of King of Ch'ien-ning and the appellation of Chao-ching 昭靖 (Glorious and peaceful). As the titles given were retroactive they are used here as if he bore them while alive.

[35] Ching-tung is a town on the Black River the upper part of which is known as the Chung-ch'uan Ho (*q.v.*), 10 stages south of Hsia-kuan and Ta-li, in south central Yün-nan.

[36] Ting-pien hsien is south of Meng-hua 蒙化 and is the present Nan-chien 南涧. It is situated at the confluence of the Meng-hua and Nan-chien Streams, the Meng-hua Ho 蒙化河 being the Red River. Nan-chien is really situated on the north bank of the Nan-chien Ho. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻.

[37] The Pa-i, Shan or Tai, who inhabit southern Yün-nan, are meant here.

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of the Right army 右軍都督, informing him that his hereditary right had been confirmed and duly approved by the Emperor. On the 18th day of the fifth moon (June 20th) he assumed his official position, succeeding his father. In the eleventh moon (November–December), he went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the second moon of the 25th year of the same period (February 23rd–March 23rd, 1392), he was given Imperial letters patent bearing the character *Chia* 甲, No. 697, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy. He was then rewarded by the Emperor with many rich gifts and sent back in honor. 173

In the ninth moon (September 17th–October 16th) of the same year, by serving under the Military governor Feng Ch'eng 馮誠, he captured Yung-ning chou 永寧州[38] and took by storm Pai-chiao 白交[39] and other villages adjacent to the border of Lang-ch'ü 瀘渠.[40] He then forced the brigands to retreat, captured their leader, Pu-pa-ju-chia 卜八如甲, and forced the headman La-t'a 刺塔 of the village of Shui-chai 水寨 to submit with his people. In the 26th year of the same period (1393), Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 of the La-ma family 剌馬氏,[41] native magistrate of the Salt-well Sub-military station of Tso-so 左所 in Ssu-ch'uan, conspired to start a rebellion. Ch'u and the Military Governor Ho Fu 何福,[42] Marquis of Ning-yüan 寧遠侯, were both in reserve to help the government troops. In the first moon of the 27th year of the same period (February, 1394), the rebel Chia-ha-la of Tso-so invaded the two cities of Pei-sheng and Lang-ch'ü. Ch'u helped Mu Ch'un 沐春,[43] Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, by leading his troops thither, and recovered these two cities. They then established the Lan-ts'ang military

[38] Yung-ning is the present semi-independent magistracy north-east of Li-chiang and the Yangtze.

[39] Pai-chiao is the present Pai-chiao pa 白交壩, or Pai-chio pa 白角壩, which adjoins Yung-ning territory.

[40] Lang-ch'ü chou is south of Yung-ning and west of the Wo-lo Ho (River) about half-way between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei 永北). It is the Ning-lang 寧蒗 of to-day; *see* Chap. VII, p. 429.

[41] La is the family name of the present ruling T'u-ssu 土司 (chief) of the Tso-so 左所 country east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan. The La family is of the Mo-so tribe but most of its subjects are Lo-lo. Tso-so land is separated from Yung-ning territory partly by the Yung-ning Lake, known to the Na-khi as La-t'a Khü. The main village of Tso-so, where the chief's yamen is situated, is called To-shi (To-she-chai 多舍寨). La-t'a was a native of Tso-so territory and its headman. He had a son called La-ma-fei 喇馬非 who paid tribute, whereupon he was given the title of Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶 (Assistant chiliarch). According to the *Ming-Shih* Chia-ha-la's territory was Po-hsing 柏興, the present Yen-yüan hsien; he was the native chief of the Mo-so tung or cave (dwelling) Mo-so. (*See* also Part VI, Ch. II. 6, Tso-so, page 463.)

[42] Ho Fu was a native of Feng-yang 鳳陽 in An-hui. He came, together with Fu Yu-te, to attack Yün-nan.

[43] He was the son of Mu Ying who died in the 25th year of Hung-wu, the sixth moon and *ting-mao* 丁卯 day (July 7th, 1392). Mu Ch'un 沐春 inherited the rank of Chen-shou 鎮守 (Guardian) of Yün-nan. (*Chen-shou* was the title of a Tartar General). He ruled the *Chen* (Principality) for seven years and died at the age of 36.

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113 station 瀾滄衛 for the purposes of defence. In the same year, Ch'u joined the military expedition of the Military governor Ch'ü Neng 瞿能, and succeeded in pacifying the rebels. Later he transported military provisions to the Salt-well military station.[44] In the eleventh moon (December) of the same year, Pa-t'a-kan 八塔干, Ho-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-headman)[45] of Lan chou 蘭州, became recalcitrant and unruly. Ch'u led his own troops to fight him; he captured and killed more than 100 brigands, and restored the tribes to their peaceful pursuits.

In the ninth moon of the 30th year of Hung-wu (September 22nd–October 20th, 1397), Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station to attack Ko-shih 革石,[46] A-nao-wa 阿惱瓦, and a few other villages. They captured the rebel bandits and made the pretending P'ing-chang 平章, Chia-ha-la, prisoner. In the eleventh moon (November–December), there was newly established the Government of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang, to which an official seal, character *I* 以, No. 87, was issued by the Imperial court. This government was intended by the Imperial order to safeguard the village of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, to check the advance of the Hsi-fan, to arrange all things to fit the circumstances, and to embody all matters in one unit, in order that national prestige might be enhanced. In the ninth moon of the 31st year of the same period (October, 1398), Ch'u helped the Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'un 沐春, General of punitive expeditions, Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, to attack the Po-i 伯夷. They besieged the city of Lu-ch'uan 麓川,[47] and made the brigand leader Tao-kan-meng 刀幹孟 prisoner [a native chief of Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien 平緬 who had rebelled and ousted Ssu-lün-fa 思倫發, the Hsüan-wei-shih of Lu-ch'uan. His territory was in P'iao-t'an 驃睒 (name for the eastern part of Burma)]. When he returned from this expedition, he was given many silver ingots and other rich gifts by the provincial authorities. In the 35th year of the same period (1402)[48] he sent his eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor, who gave him also many silver ingots and sent him back honored.

In the second year of Ming Yung-lo (1404) Ch'u led his troops to Chü-chin

[44] Yen-ching wei 鹽井衛 (Salt-well military station) corresponds to the sub-prefecture of Yen-yüan 鹽源, which in turn is dependent on the prefecture of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan) in Ssu-ch'uan.

[45] A *Ho-t'ou* is a small village official, lower than a headman. The name *ho-t'ou*, which actually means a scullion, has also reference to his entertaining any official who may come to the village.

[46] The name of the village is Ko-shih, not Tsin-ko-che as CHAVANNES gives the name in the translation of the Second Chronicle. The word *tsin* (*chin* 進) here means to advance (they advanced on Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Na-khi A-na-wùa). These villages are in Tso-so and Mu-li 木里 territories respectively.

[47] Lu-ch'uan is the present-day Lung-ch'uan 龍川, 140 li south-west of T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝. It is called Mong-wan in Shan, and is situated on the Nam-wan River; in Chinese its name is Nan-wan Ho 南碗河. According to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 498, fol. 2b, Lung-ch'uan belonged to Burma during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619), and later reverted to China. The Pai-man 白蠻 (Pa-i or Shan) dwell there.

[48] This should read the fourth year of Chien-wen 建文 of Hui Ti 惠帝 (1402), for T'ai Tsu (Hung-wu) died on the 24 of June, 1398.

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chou 巨津州 and relieved A-chi 阿戟, native magistrate of that city, from the siege of the Hsi-fan brigands, whose chief, A-niang-yün 阿娘匀, was forced to retreat with his men. Many other officials and people who had been taken captive by these brigands were thus released. In the fourth moon of the third year of the same period (May, 1405), he ordered his brother, A-ssu 阿寺,[49] to accompany the Imperial messenger and Eunuch Yang Lin 欽差內監楊麟, together with the pacified Hsi-fan representatives, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor. In the tenth moon (October-November) he himself prepared presents consisting of horses and native products, and went with some of his subordinates to the capital to pay tribute. His Majesty gave him many silver ingots and sent him back much honored. In the fifth moon of the fourth year of the same period (May–June, 1406), he received a dispatch from Commander-in-Chief Mu 沐, instructing him to accompany Chu Ch'eng 朱程 the Chih-hui-shih 指揮使 of the Chen-fu-ssu 鎮撫司 of Chin-i wei 錦衣衛 (the military station of Chin-i) to the land of the Hsi-fan, to establish two An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification officers) in the *tao* 道 of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, the Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場, and the Chang-kuan-ssu of Ni-na[50] for the purpose of urging the I-fan (Wild tribes) to go and pay tribute to the Imperial court, news of which was reported to the Emperor on Ch'u's behalf. He was then given Imperial dispatches instructing him to safeguard the land. The Emperor also conferred upon him a golden shield with an inscription of four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), in reward for his military exploits in Chü-chin 巨津, Lin-hsi 臨西, Mao-niu-chai 毛牛寨, Pao-shan chou 寶山州, Lan chou 蘭州, the Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江 (Mekong), etc.

In the fifth year of Ming Yung-lo (1407) His Majesty conferred on Ch'u the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 中憲大夫 (Minister of the principal fourth rank) and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy, by an Imperial order, containing dispatches: *I* 義, No. 76, and *Chia* 甲, No. 809. In the tenth moon (November) of the same year, Ch'u ordered his eldest son, A-t'u, to search for a golden shield in the household of A-chi 阿吉, a native official and An-fu-ssu, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, and forward it directly to the Yünnan Provincial Treasurer.

In the fifth moon of the eighth year of the same period (June, 1410), he went himself to Pao-shan chou 寶山州, and to the villages of Pai-ti 白的[51] and Yüan-shih-wa 元始瓦 and many other places, and succeeded in persuading the village headman, A-yung-mu 阿容目, to furnish a number of laborers each year to serve the government, commencing from that year. He then sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court; the Emperor gave him an Imperial receipt, and sent them back with many gifts and highly honored. In the fourth moon of the 10th year of the same period (May–June, 1412), he prepared tribute consisting of horses and many native products, and requested his official secretary,

[49] He was Ch'u's second younger brother and was called Mu Sheng 木笙.

[50] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na and the Tibetan Ni-nag — the district of Wei-hsi 維西, northwest of Li-chiang and east of the Mekong.

[51] The Chinese Pai-ti is the Na-khi district of Bbĕr-ddĕr west of the Yangtze loop; BACOT's Be-djri should read Mbe-ddü, "Village large," or large village; one of the eight villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr is meant. (*See*: p. 262.)

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173 A-t'a 阿他, to offer them to the Emperor, who conferred on Ch'u's father, A-te 阿得, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, on his mother the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen 太恭人, and on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the respective Imperial orders. *Chia* 甲, No. 997; *Chia* 甲, No. 998; and *Chia* 甲, No. 999. When these orders were delivered to their official residence, they all expressed their hearty thanks, kneeling down in the direction of the Imperial throne.

Meanwhile, on account of his military merit gained by helping Mu Ch'un in his expedition to settle the affairs of the cities of Ching-tung 景東, Yung-ning 永寧 and Lang-ch'ü 浪穹, etc., and by helping the Military governor Ho Ch'ü 何瞿 in his expedition to attack the Salt-well military station of Ssu-ch'uan, and to capture the rebels La-ma-jen-tsu 剌馬仁祖 and Chia-ha-la alive, after taking the villages of Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Emperor issued him a decree *I* 乙, No. 119, promoting him one rank higher, and conferring on him a golden girdle with the four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), together with many other gifts listed in detail in the book of the Hereditary rights of the Mu family [the *Huang-Ming En-lun-lu*]. In the 14th year of the same period (1416), after he had been promoted in rank by the Emperor's special grace, he was permitted to retire, and transferred his official seal to his heir, Mu T'u 木土, to preserve the hereditary right.

Ch'u was born in the fifth year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1345) and died in the twelfth moon of the first year of Ming Hung-hsi (January, 1426). His wife was named A-shih A-mu-hsiang 阿室阿木相 (her official name was A-shih-sa 阿室撒), daughter of A-mu 阿木 (Mu-hsien 木仙), who was native leader of 1,000 households of T'ung-an chou. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named T'u 土, Niang 娘, Chi 戟, Chia 迦, Chün 均, Hsing 興 and Hui 惠.

His second wife was named A-shih-lo 阿室羅, daughter of the Chang-kuan-ssu of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場. She gave birth to one son, named Mu 目. His third wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里. She gave birth to one son, named Pao 保. His fourth wife was named A-shih-yang 阿室羊. She gave birth to two sons, named Tu 都 and Hsi 希.

His eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Ming Cheng t'ung (1440), the Emperor conferred on Ch'u, on account of the military merit of his grandson, two more posthumous honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 767, and on his wife, A-shih-sa, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen 淑人 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 768.

NINTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'u A-t'u* 阿初阿土 (PLATE 19): His official name was Mu T'u 木土; he was also named Yang-min 養民 (Yü-min 育民). As the eldest son of Ch'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 17th year of Yung-lo (1419) he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute. He lodged at the Board of Civil Office. In the tenth moon (October–November) of the same year, the aforesaid Board applied for him to the Emperor, who sanctioned his hereditary right in due time, and presented him with many silver ingots and satin garments and sent him back highly honored. He also received Imperial letters

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patent *Wen* 文, No. 5708, whereupon he assumed his official duties in the first moon (January 15th–February 13th) of the 18th year of the same period (1420). In the following year (1421), His Majesty, yielding to popular opinion, conferred on him Imperial letters patent, stating that thereafter he was only to be ordered to proclaim the Imperial will, but not to be transferred on any occasion. In the 21st year of the same period (1423), he ordered his official secretary, Mu Mi 木彌, and the sergeant Yang Chung-li 楊仲禮 and many others to pay tribute at the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for (new) letters patent. He was then given the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 115. On his wife, A-hu 阿護, was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 116. 173

In the third year of Ming Hsüan-te (1428), owing to the frequent inroads by A-k'uei-chang 阿虧丈 at Shih-men Kuan (Stone-gate Pass), T'u led his men to attack and capture him. The country was then taken, and many new roads and ferries were built by him to facilitate communications. In the first moon (January 21st–February 19th) of the eighth year of the same period (1433), he assembled his troops, and in the second moon (February 20th–March 20th) captured the village of Lüeh-shao 掠梢, which then acknowledged its allegiance. Again, in the third moon (March 21st–April 19th), the Yung-ning Fan brigands 番賊 carried off magistrate A-jih 阿日 of Pao-shan chou 寶山州. T'u led his troops himself, and recovered him from the hands of the brigands through many stratagems.

T'u was born in the 24th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝 (Chih-cheng 至正) (1364), and died on the 24th day of the fourth moon in the 8th year of Ming Hsüan-te (May 13th, 1433). His wife was named A-shih-fu 阿室甫 (her official name was Kao Shih-hu 高氏護), daughter of Kao Chung 高仲, native magistrate of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.[52] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named Ti 地, Chung 仲, I 義, Ch'ang 昌, Shu 恕 Chü 苴 and Hui 揮. His eldest son, A-ti, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Cheng-t'ung (1440), on account of the military merit of his son A-ti, the Emperor conferred on T'u the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial order *Wu* 戊, No. 769 and *Wu* 戊, No. 770, respectively.

While T'u was still living, he published a proclamation to the district of Pai-sha li 白沙里, forbidding the officials to graze their cattle on the people's crops. Once cattle belonging to officials were eating the peasants' crops. Those who witnessed this wondered why the officials did not remove their cattle. T'u learned of this, and immediately ordered the buffaloes or cows to be killed and offered as a solemn sacrifice in the Pei-yo Temple 北嶽神祠 (*see* Sa-ddo *or* Pei-yo). The whole of the beef was divided among the people for food. Thus all his subjects were made obedient to his laws and regulations. Henceforth, it became their custom every year to make contributions to the Pai-yo Temple out of the sales of their cattle, for the purpose of offering regularly a similar sacrifice.

[52] Ho-ch'ing, a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang, formerly belonged to the Li-chiang district under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs. Its inhabitants are mostly Lä-bbu (Min-chia

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113 TENTH GENERATION. — *A-t'u A-ti* 阿土阿地 (PLATE 20): His official name was Mu Shen 木森. He was also named Sheng-jung 升榮 and Ta-lin 大林. As the eldest son of T'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the ninth year of Ming Hsüan-te (1434) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed by the Imperial decree *Wen* 文, No. 154, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 13th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 17th, 1434), he assumed his official duties. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), he led his troops with Commander-in-Chief Mu Chung 沐忠 (Mu Ching-sheng 沐敬晟),[53] Prince of Ting-yüan 定遠王, to settle the trouble at Lu-ch'uan 麓川 caused by Burmese brigands. During the expedition, the armies from the various sections of the country were anything but brave, and many deserted, except the Li-chiang troops who proved their valor by first venturing across the river and then burning seven of the enemy's camps, capturing one leader alive, and chopping off 16 heads. They captured two elephants, and decapitated 24 prisoners in another lot. Ti was thereupon rewarded by the Imperial court with a silver bowl, a flower-design shield, many pieces of silk and satin, etc.

In the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1439), he again joined the government troops and decapitated 20 of the enemy. This time he was similarly rewarded, and, in addition, Mu Chung, Prince of Ting-yüan of the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou government, gave him a farmstead in the village of Sha-ch'iao 沙橋.[54] In the fifth moon of the fifth year of the same period (June, 1440), on account of his merit gained by conquering Lu-ch'uan, the General historiographer Wang Chung-i kung-i 王忠毅公驥,[55] Marquis of Ching-yüan 靖遠侯, made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then rewarded him with several pieces of colored satin and many other gifts.

In the ninth moon (October 26th–November 25th), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and requested some of his servants to offer them as tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for an Imperial patent. After certain investigations were made by the Board about his merit, the Emperor granted his request, and gave him the letters patent *Wu* 戊, No. 771, conferring on him the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu, Tzu-chih-shao-yin 資治少尹 (Assistant junior intendant of a circuit), and Yün-nan Pu-cheng-shih-ssu Ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司參政 (Counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer). His ancestors, two generations before him, received various posthumous honors from the Emperor. He assumed his official duties in the capital of Yün-nan. Although he had returned to his native place,

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民家) tribespeople, only a few Na-khi being among its population. It is not 350 li southeast of Li-chiang as CHAVANNES states without giving his source of information.

[53] The title *Chung-ching* 忠敬 was a posthumous one. After returning with his troops from Lu-ch'uan to Ch'u-hsiung he died in 1439. Of the Mu 沐 family, 16 generations ruled in Yün-nan, the first one being Mu Ying 沐英. They were military governors of Yün-nan and ruled that province like a feudal fief.

[54] Sha-ch'iao is eight stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road, and a distance of 575 li from the provincial capital.

[55] His name was Wang I 王驥 and his appellation Shang-te 尚德. He was a native of Shu-lu 東鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Chih-li. He was of tall stature and imposing appearance. He died at the age of 83. The title *Chung-i* 忠毅 was a posthumous one.

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PLATE 49.—THE ANCESTRAL TABLET OF YANG SHEN

楊慎祠堂

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PLATE 50. — THE TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

麗江城

Looking east over the city from a hill called Lion Mountain or Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山, in Na-khi, Wua-gkv-mbu. The Na-khi name of the city is Ngu-bö, though it is also known as Yi-gv.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 51.—THE LI-CHIANG MARKET OR SOU-PANG KAI

麗江周方街

Looking east. Everyday is market day between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Na-khi women are the traders.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 52.—THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

麗江壩白沙鄉

The Hsiang or Commune of Pai-sha, looking south-east from the trail to Här-lêr-gkv. Lower left, the village of Dügkv or Yü-lung-ts un; the building embowered in the grove of tall trees to the right of village is the Pei-yo Miao. See Plate 61.

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PLATE 53. — A TYPICAL STREET OF LI-CHIANG

麗江城中特色街

Crystal clear streams flow through the town in various directions. The city is divided by the Na-khi into small villages each of which has its name. This part of the city through which the Yü Ho 玉河 or Ngu-lu gyi flows is called Gyi-ddü-p'u.

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PLATE 34.—THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN OR JADE-DRAGON MOUNTAIN

玉龍山上望玉龍山

As seen from Shih-tzu Shan west of Li-chiang, looking north. Shan-tzu-tou the highest peak is visible. The fields and villages in the foreground are in Ta-yen li and the center of the plain is in Pai-sha li. Hsiang Shan (Elephant Mountain) in center, right; part of Shih-tzu Shan lower right.

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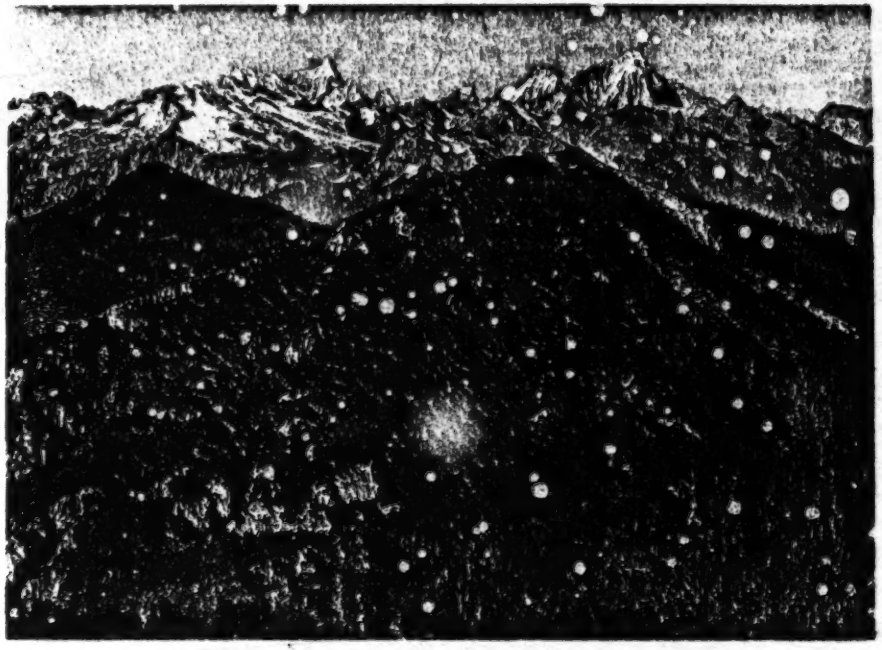

PLATE 55.—THE THREE PROTECTING LORDS, THE GANGKAR-LING SNOW PEAKS

雪嶺雀雲山頂立藏木寨背

The Gangkar Risum gompo, the Three Protectors. The three peaks rise from a plateau 17,000 feet in height. From left to right they are: Jambyang, Chenresig, Chhana-dorje. Photographed from an elevation of 14,900 feet west of Mt. Nu-tsi-ga, in Mu-li; Hsi-k'ang. See also Plates 56, 57, 58, 59.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 56. — MOUNT CHHANA-DORJE, THE HOLDER OF THE THUNDERBOLT OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

寧瑪教會開宗 (時) 尚

As seen from a ridge near Dra-go-tse, elevation 15,350 ft. Approximately 21,000 ft. in height.

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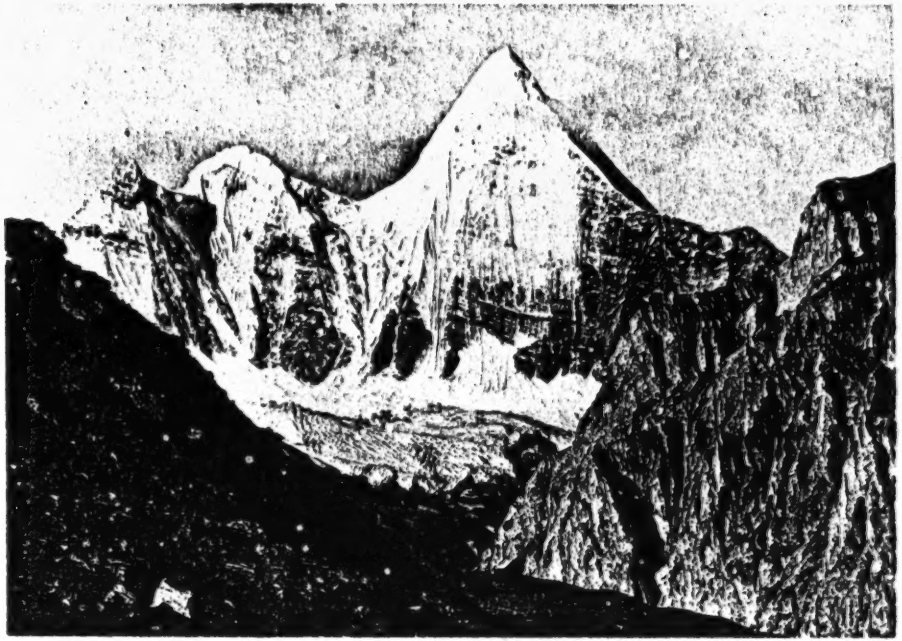

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 57. — MOUNT JAMBYANG, THE GOD OF LEARNING OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢嘎雙文峰山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. Approximately 21,000 feet in height.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 58.—JAMBYANG AND CHEPYRERO OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

其 嘎 嘉 文 冉 山 與 雀 山

Photographed from Bayu Camp, elevation 15,800 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 59. — MOUNT CHENREZIG OR KUAN-YIN, THE GODDESS OF MERCY OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

觀音菩薩 山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. The deeply eroded cliff is porphyry and is not part of the main peak, a deep gorge separates the mountain from the cliff. It is the highest of the three peaks and probably 21,500 feet in height.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 60. — MINYA GANGKAR, THE MINYA SNOW PEAK

康定明雅貢嘎大雪山

The highest peak of the Minya Gangkar Snow range, altitude 24,900 feet. Photographed from a ridge overlooking Bü Chhu Lung-pa east of Yü-lung-shih from an elevation of 16,500 feet.

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PLATE 61. — THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO MIAO

玉 觀 村 之 觀 廟

Centuries-old maples and cypresses surround the temple. Over the entrance to the temple are four large tablets bearing the Chinese characters 恩溥三多 En P'u San To=Gracious all pervading San-to (Sa-ddo).

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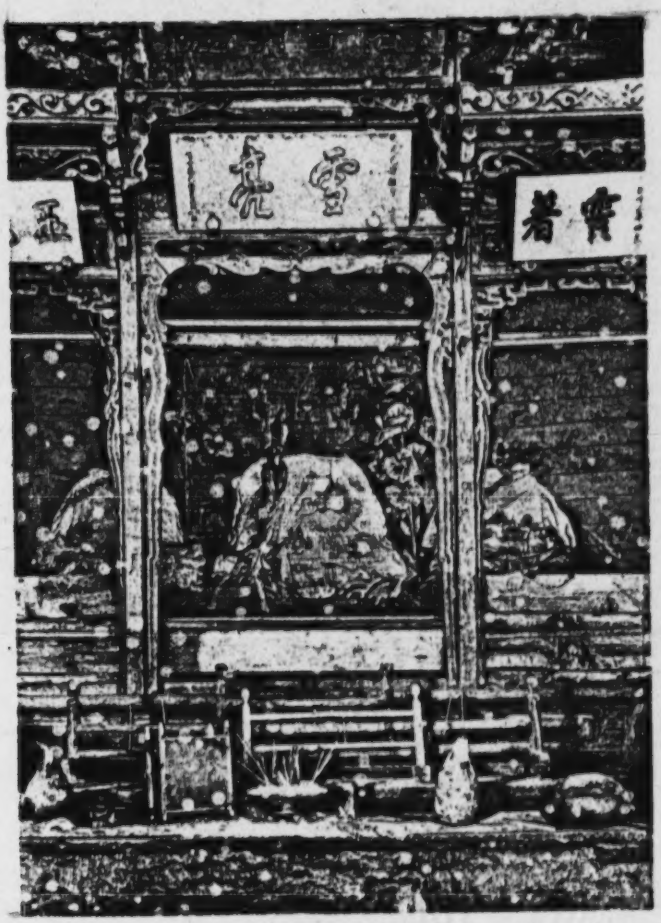

PLATE 62. — MAIN SHRINE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO

薩 都 王 殿

The central figure is Sa-ddo (Pei-yo); to his left sits his wife Gkyi-chi-ndzèr-dto, and to his right his concubine Gkyi-chi-ndzèr-mug. When prayers are offered to Sa-ddo their names are also mentioned. He, himself, is addressed as P'u-la Sa-ddo hä ddü, the god Sa-ddo, the great god.

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PLATE 63. — CHHOB-KYI-HEYUNG-CHAS

The Guru Karma-pa who visited Li-chiang. After a painting from the Yü-feng Sou (Jade-peak Lamasery) at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan.

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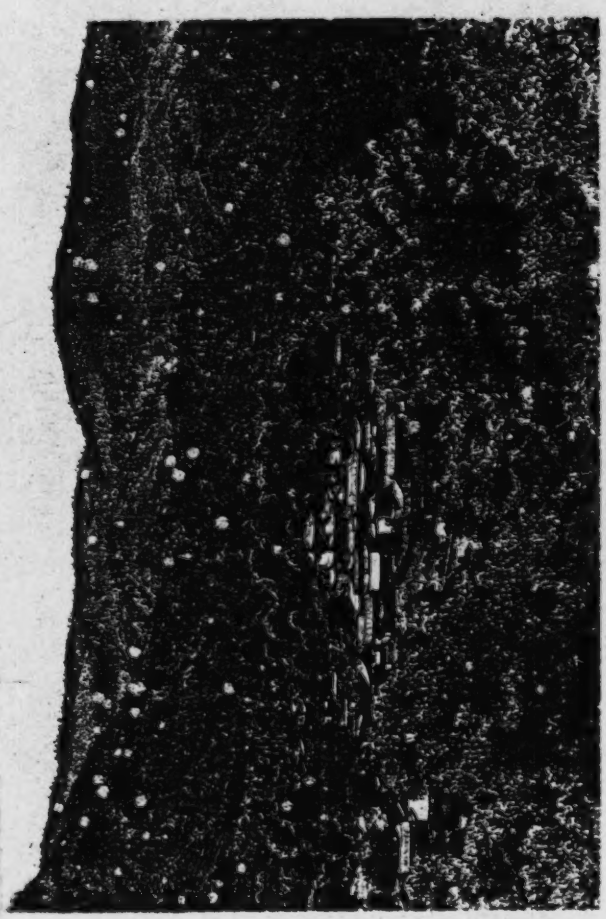

PLATE 64.—THE CHIEH-P'O-LIN LAMASERY

雞 鉢 林 喇 嘛 寺, 北 麗 縣 中

The lamasery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan the Khyu-t'o-lin Nyru of the Na-khi. The trees in foreground are mainly *Pinus yunnanensis*.

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173 his official seat was reserved in the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer. On his wife, A-shih-li 阿室里, was conferred by separate Imperial letters patent, *Wu* 戊, No. 772, the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the same year, the office of Governor of Yün-nan was first established, and was filled by the Yün-nan Tu-yü-shih 雲南都御史丁 (Imperial grand censor) Ting who wrote an inscription for him in praise of his past merit and to encourage him in future service. In the sixth year of the same period (1441), he led his troops to assist Commander-in-Chief Wang Chung-i kung-i, Marquis of Ching-yüan, on his expedition against Lu-ch'uan. Ti gained considerable merit by taking 16 prisoners, capturing one elephant, and attacking Ssu-jen-fa 思任發,[56] headman of the village of Cha (chai) 柵寨.

He was born in the 34th year of Hung-wu (1401),[57] and died in the twelfth moon of the 6th year of the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (January 12th–February 10th, 1442). His wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里, and was the daughter of A-su 阿俗, Hsün-chien 巡檢 (Sub-district deputy magistrate) of Mu-pao 木保.[58] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named Hsi 智, Na 那 and T'a 他. His second wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, gave birth to one son, named Jih 日. His third wife gave birth to one son, named A-nü 阿女.

A-hsi succeeded his father.

ELEVENTH GENERATION.—*A-li A-hsi* 阿地阿智 (PLATE 21): His official name was Mu Ch'in 木嶔. He was also named Wei-kao 惟高 and Chün-ch'iao 峻喬. As the eldest son of Ti, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the seventh year of Cheng-t'ung (1442) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed, and he received official letters patent issued by the Imperial court through the office of the Yün-nan Viceroy 總督, Wang 王, Grand historiographer of the Board of military affairs and Ta-li ssu-ch'ing 大理寺卿, Director of the Grand Court of Revision. On the 10th day of the third moon of the same year (April 20th, 1442), Hsi assumed his official duties. In the second year of Ching-t'ai (1451), when the Hsi-fan brigands 西番 invaded Chü-chin chou 巨津州, he personally led his troops against them. On this expedition he decapitated 42 brigands and took 26 prisoners.

In the sixth moon of the 3rd year of the same period (June 17th–July 16th, 1452), Lo Wen-k'ai 羅文凱, hereditary magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, was murdered by brigands. Hsi was instructed by the government to devise plans to capture them. He succeeded in taking ten of them prisoner, including their leader Lo-hao 羅好.

A-yung-t'a 阿容他, leader of another group of brigands, led over 300 men to plunder the people. Hsi took his own troops to attack them and captured 18 brigands, including their leader Ho-cha 和札; at another time he took 12 prisoners. In the sixth year (1455), Pao-shan chou, Pai-ti, and a few other

[56] Ssu-jen-fa was the native chief of Lu-ch'uan who had revolted. After the attack on Lu-ch'uan, he escaped. Cha-chai was his stockaded village.

[57] This should read the third year of Chien-wen (1401), as Hung-wu's reign ended with his 31st year.

[58] Mu-pao li is a commune consisting of several villages about 20 li south-west of Li-chiang. The leading village is Muan-shwua-wüa.

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173 places were looted by the Fan brigands under the command of their leader Tao-jih-pu-t'a 刀日卜他 and his son A-su 阿俗. Hsi personally led his troops and made four prisoners, killing eight other brigands. Thus A-su surrendered, and Hsi arranged to find him and his men a place to live in. In the second year of T'ien-shun (1458), Yen-chung-chang 鹽仲丈, chief of the Hsi-fan brigands, cruelly plundered some of the frontier districts, whither Hsi sent his troops to pursue them. Five brigands were killed, and four were made prisoners. In the fourth year (1460), A-su again occupied Pao-shan chou with his men. Hsi sent his troops thither and killed 23 of his remaining followers. In the same year, Hsi sent men to pay tribute to the Emperor, and in the following year, the latter conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, by Imperial letters patent *Hsin* 信, No. 23. On his wife, Kao-shih-shan 高氏善, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the sixth year of T'ien-shun (1462), he conquered the villages of La-pao 剌寶,[59] Lu-p'u-wa-chai 魯普瓦寨, Shu-lo 鼠羅,[60] Ni-lo 你羅 and Chan-p'u-wa 占普瓦. In the eighth year (1464), he conquered the villages of Shu-lo 鼠羅, La-lo 剌羅, Ai-na-wa 岩那瓦, Li-feng 里俸, Chien-neng-wa 見能瓦 and Mei-shih-wa 梅矢瓦.

In the fourth year of Ch'eng-hua (1468), he conquered the villages of Ni-na 你那,[61] Mu-lai-ko 母來各, Tang-wa 當瓦, Pen-tu-wa 本都瓦 and Ai-tien 岩甸. In the sixth year (1470), he conquered the villages of Ni-na, Wei-hsi, Hsia-chieh 下接, Chü-chia-wa 具加瓦, Hsiang-pi-wa 相必瓦, La-mu-wa 剌木瓦 and La-ho-ch'ang 剌何塲. In the 18th year (1482), he conquered the villages of Chao-k'o 照可, Ch'i-tsung 其宗,[62] La-p'u 剌普,[63] Chün-li-ch'ang 均里塲, Ch'i-li-ch'ü-ting 其立佉丁, etc. In the 19th year (1483), he con-

[59] La-pao is identical with the ancient Pao-shan, three stages north of Li-chiang. Lu-p'u-wa-chai (stockaded village of Lu-p'u-wa), is the Na-khi (Lv) Lu-p'ér-wùa to the north of La-bpu mbu, a peak overlooking the Yangtze (*which see*). *Wùa* is a Na-khi term for a group of houses or hamlet, the Chinese *wa* 瓦 is its phonetic equivalent.

[60] Shu-lo is the name of a region and village which the Hsi-fan call Shen-dzong; it is in Mu-li territory, in south-west Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang). An iron chain bridge once spanned the Shu Gyi (Iron River) at that particular spot; the name Shen-dzong means "iron bridge" in Hsi-fan. The river is called Zho Chhu in Hsi-fan (KINGDON WARD calls it Shu-lo Ho [*Shu-lo* is Na-khi for "iron valley" and *ho* is the Chinese for river] and HANDEL-MAZZETTI, Dou tschu). This latter is a misnomer, he apparently confounds it with the Tong Chhu, an affluent of the Zho Chhu which has its source in the Kung-ka-ling 貢嘎嶺 (Mt. Jambyang [hJam-dbyangs]) peaks. The Zho Chhu has its source at Na-wu (called Nabu by MAJOR DAVIES), 10 days to the north of Shen-dzong, and not in the Kung-ka-ling peaks, as heretofore believed.

The valley of the central Zho Chhu is inhabited by a tribe called the Shu-khin (Iron people), named after the river; they speak a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan, but their language is understood neither by the Na-khi nor the Hsi-fan. They are said to be descendants of soldiers placed there as guards by the Na-khi chiefs — like the inhabitants of the village of O-yü on the same river further south, who, however, still speak pure Na-khi.

The lower stretch of the Zho Chhu is inhabited by a related tribe called the Zhër-khin — see my article on the Zhër-khin tribe in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. III, 1938; pp. 171–188.

[61] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na, or the Chinese prefectural city of Wei-hsi. The other names apparently are those of villages in Nyi-na (Wei-hsi) district.

[62-63] Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u are two villages, called in Na-khi Gyi-dzu and La-p'o; the former is situated on the west bank of the Yangtze at the confluence of the La-p'u Ho, which has its source north of the Li-ti-p'ing — the Yangtze-Mekong divide. La-p'o is situated on the south bank of the stream, about 20 li from Ch'i-tsung.

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quered the villages of Chung-tien 忠甸 and Tsao-wa 早瓦. In the 20th year (1484), the villages of Chung-tien and Tsan-lo 僧羅 surrendered of their own accord. 173

Hsi was born in the fourth year of Hsüan-te, *chi-yu* 己酉 (1429), and died on the 24th day of the eighth moon in the 21st year of Ming Ch'eng-hua (October 2nd, 1485). His wife was named A-shih-shun 阿室順, and her official name was Kuan-yin-shan 觀音善, daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of Ho-ch'ing. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named Ya 牙, Ti 的, Chu 住 and Pao 寶. His second wife, Kuan-yin-fu-cheng 觀音福珍, daughter of the Kao family, gave birth to two sons, named Tz'u 束 and Su 俗. His third wife, A-shih-niang 阿室娘, daughter of the Sub-district deputy magistrate of Mu-pao 木保, gave birth to five sons, named Chi 吉, Sha 沙, Lu 祿, T'a 他 and Chien 見. His fourth wife, A-shih-kuei 阿室桂, daughter of the Yang family 楊氏 of Shun-t'ang 順塘, gave birth to two sons, named Lo 樂 and Ti 的. In all he had 13 sons. His eldest son, A-ya, succeeded him.

TWELFTH GENERATION.—*A-hsi A-ya* 阿習阿牙 (PLATE 22): His official name was Mu T'ai 木泰. He was also named Pen-an 本安 and Kai-sheng 介聖. As the eldest son of Mu Ch'in, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 21st year of Ch'eng-hua (1485) A-chia-nan-pa 阿加南八, leader of the Fan brigands, invaded Pai-tien 白甸 [64] and many other villages, whither Ya personally led his troops in pursuit; he decapitated five brigands and defeated the rest. In the 22nd year of the same period (1486), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered the village of Chü-kung 苴公 in Shu-lo.

In the 23rd year (1487), the brigands returned with stronger forces. Ya rearranged his troops, and terrible fighting took place in the mountains near the mouth of the Ha-pa Chiang 哈巴江 (Ha-pa River).[65] He decapitated fifteen of the brigands, and took six prisoners. Taking advantage of his victory, he pursued them to the village of K'o-tsung 可琮, where they intended to offer resistance, but he again defeated them and decapitated 72, holding 18 prisoners for trial. Afterwards, the brigands, who hid in the village of Wu-ya 吾牙, scattered out of fear, and those who had been captured by the brigands, were all again restored to their daily pursuits. The two chief officials of Yün-nan, the Provincial Treasurer and the Brigadier-General, gave him many rolls of satin and a flower-design shield as a reward for his meritorious achievements on that expedition.

In the same year, Ya conquered the village of Yü-yang 于楊 in Shu-lo,

[64] Pai-tien is a small town or village south-west of Wei-hsi on the west bank of the Mekong, but situated along the foot-hills. The crest of the range, which here forms the divide between the Mekong and Salween, is, on British maps, the Yün-nan and Burma border, but on the Chinese military map of 1928 the border not only includes the Salween valley but also the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (eastern branch of the Irrawadi), the latter is correct.

[65] This river descends from Ha-pa Shan (Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshër-nv-lv) in Chung-tien 中甸 territory, and flows through the land of a native chief who bears the title of Pa-tsung 把總. His territory is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba and in Chinese Ha-pa. The stream flows through a broad valley past several villages into the Yangtze, but near its confluence is confined in a deep rocky gorge.

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173 while the village of Pieh-tien 別甸 surrendered of its own accord. In the 24th year (1488) (actually first year of Hung-chih) he included the latter village in Shu-lo territory.

In the second year of Hung-chih (1489), Ya conquered the village of Chia-jih 加日 in Chao-k'o 照可, and captured the lower part of Shih-t'ou-k'an 石頭坎 in the same district. In the third year (1490), A-chia-nan-li 阿加南立, leader of the Fan brigands, ruthlessly plundered many villages of the district of Chü-chin 巨津, whither Ya personally led his troops, attacking him three times. He took 89 prisoners, while many brigands drowned themselves in the river. He then conquered the villages of Pa-lo 巴羅, and Ngai-(Yen-)wa 岩瓦 in Ni-na (Wei-hsi district). In the fourth year (1491), he conquered the villages of T'o-san 托散 and Ch'ü-yü 佉玉 of Chung-tien as well as Chün-chi-yü 均集玉.

In the first year of Hung-chih (1488), Ya had received official letters patent *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 888, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and on the 2nd day of the second first moon of the same year (February 14th, 1488), he assumed his official duties. In the fifth year (1492), he conquered the villages of K'ung-li-yü 空立玉 in Chung-tien, while Chien-sha-ko 見沙各 and the village of T'o-ch'i-lo 托其羅 in Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the sixth year (1493), he conquered the village of Sheng-hou-yü 生後玉 in Chung-tien. In the same year, Chü-te 具得, leader of the Hsi fan brigands, caused trouble in the neighborhood of the village of Lang-o 崀峨[66] of the city of Pei-sheng chou 北勝州 by secretly conspiring against the government with the wild Fan 野番 brigands, whose abode was on the borders of Ssu-ch'uan. Ya was instructed by the three chief officials of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops to settle that affair. On his arrival, he devised many plans, and at last succeeded in enticing 35 of the Hsi-fan brigands and Kan-t'ieh 干鐵, their leader, to come out of their retreat. He thereupon took them prisoner, and at the same time sent his troops to pursue the rest. Later, three of the above-mentioned prisoners committed murder, and they were compelled to pay an indemnity in accordance with the usual custom. The money thus obtained was used to pay the plundered soldiers and people. Ya then took hand-prints of the aforesaid Fan brigands, and had them carved on wooden blocks for preservation in his office. This case was reported to the two chief officials, the Yün-nan Provincial Treasurer and Brigadier-General; the Imperial Eunuchs gave him many presents of colored satin, a flower-design shield, and many silver ingots. A special official was ordered to send all these things, and he received them. Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief, Mu Tsung 沐琮,[67] General of the Southern expedition 征南將軍, Imperial tutor, Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國公 and Duke of Wu-hsi 武僖公, reported on his behalf to the Emperor, who then gave him all the land pertaining to the village of Sha-lan 沙闌村, near the city of Pei-sheng chou (the present Yung-sheng). Henceforth that village was to be called by the new name of Feng-ti-chuang 奉地庄 (Feng-ti farm), and was to be

[66] Lang-o is south-east of Yung-pei 永北 (Yung-sheng), near a little lake called Ts'ao Hai 草海 (Grass Lake); it is directly west of the small town Jen-li 仁里, which is situated on the west bank of a small stream called I-ch'a Ho 夷察河 which flows into the Yangtze.

[67] He was the son of Mu Pin 沐斌, the grandson of Mu Sheng, and the great-grandson of Mu Ying 沐英, who all had governed Yün-nan.

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handed down to his descendants for ever. In the same year, Ya conquered the following villages of Chung-tien: Ch'ieh-tsan 伽僧, Hsi-li-ch'ü 西里佉, Ta-tang 大當 and Hsiang-ko 香各.

In the ninth year (1496), he conquered the village of Nien-yü 年玉 of Chung-tien, and established the village of Ai-na-wa. In the 10th year (1497), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor gave him many silver ingots together with many other gifts, and conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his wife, A-shih-kuei 阿氏貴, the honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial decree *Yin* 寅, No. 18.

In the 11th year (1498), Ya conquered the villages of Wa-jih-wa 瓦日瓦 of Chung-tien, and Hsi-li-wa 西里瓦, and La-chia-wa 剌甲瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 12th year (1499), he conquered Chung-tien, and established the villages of Ta-nien-yü-wa 大年玉瓦, and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Feng-lu-wa 俸魯瓦 of Ni-na, Ku-p'u-wa 古普瓦 of Shu-lo, Pu-wa 卜瓦, P'ing-k'ou-tien 平口甸, Mu-jo-tien 母若甸, Chia-san-yen-wa 加散岩瓦 and Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦. In the 13th year (1500), he conquered the villages of Mi-la-yen-wa 迷剌岩瓦 and Ch'ü-na-wa 佉納瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 14th year (1501), he conquered the villages of Li-yao-ko 立堯各 of Ni-na, and Yü-la 玉剌. In the same year, the brigands of Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the 15th year (1502), he conquered the villages of Hui-ch'ü 揮佉 of Chung-tien, La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦, Shou-li-wa 手立瓦, and T'o-p'u-wa 托普瓦 of Ni-na.

Ya was born on the 15th day of the sixth moon of the 6th year of Ching-t'ai (July 29th, 1455), and died on the 21st day of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of Hung-chih (December 20th, 1502). His wife was named A-shih-chüan 阿室卷, and her official name was A-shih Shan-kuei 阿室善貴. She was the daughter of magistrate A 阿 of the chou-city of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川.[68] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named A-ch'iu 阿秋, A-chung 阿鐘, A-yü 阿于 and A-lien 阿連. The eldest son, A-ch'iu, succeeded to his father's throne.

For reference, it is said that Mai Tsung 麥琮, one of the ancestors of the Mu family, once accepted an invitation of the King of Ta-li. On his way home, he felt that he had lost his spiritual power. He then went to the Yü-lung Shan, intending to drink some of the spiritual water out of the stone basin (*see* p. 92), but searching everywhere, he could not find it. For a moment he happened to take a rest under a rock. He unconsciously planted his bamboo staff into the ground. Suddenly he found that the earth was becoming softer and softer, while the bamboo staff had grown 11 joints taller than it had been before. In a little while branches and leaves sprouted luxuriantly. He then began to understand and said: "I have not yet lost my spiritual power, but I must have committed a sin. Eleven generations later, I shall be reborn to accomplish my destinies." A few days afterwards he died.

Counting from the time of Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮 (Mai Tsung) to A-hsi A-ya (Pen-an) exactly eleven generations have passed. Ya was born a genius.

[68] Teng-ch'uan is one stage north of Ta-li, a distance of 90 li.

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123 Without being taught by anybody, he could read the pictographs of the Na-khi language invented by his ancestor Mai Tsung. In addition, he did much to cause our Mu family to prosper by following the virtuous examples of his ancestors. Ya was probably Mai Tsung reborn, and the prophecy made by Tsung in his life was perhaps true. I think this is what Buddha said about "the theory of cause and effect," and about "the theory of transmigration of a man's three lives."

THIRTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ya A-ch'iu* 阿牙阿秋 (PLATE 23): His official name was Mu Ting 木定. He was also named Ching-chih 靜之. As the eldest son of Mu T'ai 木泰, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 16th year of Hung-chih (1503) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the 17th year (1504), he received his Official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1107, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and in the fifth moon and the 13th day of the same year (June 24th, 1504), he took up the duties of his office. In the third year of Cheng-te (1508), he conquered the villages of Ts'ung-chung 從仲 and T'ien-lung 天龍 of Ni-na. In the fourth year (1509), he conquered Ni-na, A-te-chiu 阿得酋 and other places. In the fifth year (1510), he sent horses and native products to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu [the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* says Chang-shun ta-fu] and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his deceased wife, Kao-shih-hsiang 高氏香, the honorary posthumous title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Kao-shih 高氏, also the honorary title of Kung-jen by Imperial decree, *Chih* 智, No. 908.

In the same year, the village of T'ao-mu 陶目 surrendered of its own accord. In the seventh year (1512), the villages of Ping-so-li 并索立 and Ta-hsiang-tien 大香甸 turned to his allegiance. In the eighth year (1513), he conquered the villages of Na-ku 那古, Ya-lieh-wa 牙烈瓦 and Lu-mi 魯彌 of Shu-lo; in the ninth year (1514), those of Pan-lo-wa 伴羅瓦 and Shih-wa 失瓦; in the 10th year (1515), the villages of Chieh-lo 節落 and Mei-shih-wa 梅失瓦, while the villages of Kuang-shih 光失 and Pan-tien 伴甸 surrendered of their own accord. In the 11th year (1516), he conquered the village of Kan-na-wa 干那瓦 of Chung-tien, and gained a victory over the villages of Li-yu 立由 and Tao-tsai 刀才. In the 12th year (1517), he conquered the villages of Ko-niang 各娘 and La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦 of Ni-na, also Ch'ang-an 長安 of Shu-lo, and in the 14th year (1519), the village of A-t'ao ts'un 阿陶村 of Ni-na. In the 15th year (1520), he conquered the villages of K'uei-tien 虧甸 and Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 of Chung-tien, and in the 16th year (1521), the villages of Ma-wa 麻瓦 of Yung-ning and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦 of Shu-lo.

In the first year of Chia-ching (1522), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Wa-t'o 瓦托 and Chu-ko-wa 處可瓦 of Shu-lo, and also Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦 of Yung-ning. In the second year (1523), he again conquered the village of Ma-wa of Yung-ning. In the fourth year (1525), he conquered the villages of T'ao-so 陶索 of Ni-na, Yeh-yin 也音 and Mu-sheng 木勝 of Shu-lo. On account of his relieving the siege of the neighbouring district of Yung-ning, the Brigadier-General and the Viceroy of Yün-nan conjointly inscribed a scroll for him in memory of his remarkable deeds, and presented him with a flower-

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design shield. In the same year, he conquered the following villages of Ni-na: Ch'ien-pao 欠保, Wu-ts'un 五村, La-chia 剌加, and Shih-ts'un 失村. In the fifth year (1526), he conquered the upper part of the village of Lo-na-ts'un 羅那村 of Chao-k'o, and the lower part of the village of Li-hsi 立西,[69] also the village of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, and the village of Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching 鹽井.[70]

Ch'iu was born on the 23rd day of the twelfth moon of the 12th year of Ch'eng-hua (January 7th, 1477), and died on the 2nd day of the eighth moon of the 5th year of Chia-ching (September 8th, 1526).

His wife, A-shih-hsiang 阿室香, was a daughter of the Kao family 高氏, her father being-magistrate of Pei-sheng chou. Her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou-miao-hsiang 高氏延壽妙香. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-kung 阿公, A-shan 阿山 and A-tsung 阿琮. His second wife was named A-shih-ching 阿室井, and her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou 高氏延壽. On her was conferred the same honorary title as that of his first wife. She gave birth to four sons, named A-mu 阿木, A-chü 阿苴, A-chi 阿敍 and A-ts'ung 阿從. His eldest son, A-kung, succeeded to the throne.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'iu A-kung* 阿秋阿公 (PLATE 24): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kung 木公,[71] he was also named Shu-ch'ing 恕卿, Hsüeh-shan 雪山 and Wan-sung 萬松. As the eldest son of Mu Ting, he succeeded to his father's throne.

In the sixth year of Chia-ching (1527), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching, T'ao-so 陶索, Hsi-yüan 西原 and Ch'ien-tien 欠甸. In the same year, two men, named An 安 of Hsün 尋[72] and Feng 馮, rebelled, and in the seventh year (1528), they invaded the province, and even besieged the provincial capital. Kung gained

[69] The village of Li-hsi, now written 立西, is west of Wei-hsi in the valley of the Salween.

[70] Yen-ching is the present Yen-yüan 鹽源 in Ssu-ch'uan, under whose jurisdiction are the Wu-so 五所 and the Mu-li King.

[71] It was Mu Kung who, as a young man, before he became the native magistrate of Li-chiang, compiled this and the Illustrated Chronicle with the help of his friend Kao. He also wrote a collection of poems entitled *Hsüeh-shan Shih-chi* 雪山詩集, (Collection of Poems by Hsüeh-shan, which was Mu Kung's given name). One hundred and fourteen of his poems were printed in a small volume called *Hsüeh-shan Shih-hsüan* 雪山詩選 (Selections of Poems by Hsüeh-shan). A preface was written to these poems by Yang Shen 楊慎, dated Chia-ching 己酉, the 6th month, 24th day (July 18th, 1549). The Li-chiang Records state that Yang Shen chose 114 of the poems and called them a "Selection of Poems" by Hsüeh-shan.

[72] The names of the two rebels were An-ch'üan 安銓 and Feng Ch'ao-wen 馮朝文. The former was a native of Hsün-tien 尋甸, north-east of K'un-ming, in the prefecture of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and the latter of Wu-ting 武定, north of K'un-ming. In both places they held positions as hereditary native officials (*t'u-ssu* 土司). The two joined forces and attacked Yün-nan fu (K'un-ming), burning the north-east gate. They took Sung-ming 嵩明, Yang-lin 楊林 and Ma-lung chou 馬龍州.

The *Ma-lung chou chih* 馬龍州志, ch. 2, fol. 24b–25a, states that in the 7th year of Chia-ching (1528) the Wu-ting and Hsün-tien T'u-ch'iu 土酋 (Native chiefs) rebelled. At first the Jen-te fu 仁德府 (Native officials) An-yang 安洋 and An-nai 安迺 continuously rebelled, whereupon a transferable official was placed at Hsün-tien. When the fu-magistrate collected the annual taxes in grain, he undressed and beat the wife and son of An-ch'üan and im-

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173 great merit by sending his troops to relieve this siege. The Commander-in-Chief, Mu Ming-ching-kung Chao-hsün 沐敏靖公詔勳,[73] General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, reported on his behalf to the Emperor to have his exploits registered for reward.

In the eighth year (1529), Kung conquered and rebuilt the villages of Ta-hai 大海[74] and Hai-lo 海螺 of Yung-ning. In the ninth year (1530), through application and recommendations made to the Emperor on his behalf by Wu Wen-ting 伍文定, Imperial censor of the Board of Military Office, and by the chief officials of Yün-nan, he received his official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1056, issued by the Board of Civil Office. In the fourth moon of the same year (April 27th–May 26th, 1530), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Tang-ho 當何 and Chüan-na 卷那 of Chao-k'o, and the village of Chia-kuang-ting 加光丁. In the 10th year (1531), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Tang-tsung 當琮, T'ien-sheng 天勝寨, Hsiao-chai 小寨 and Kuang-shih-chai 光世寨 of Shu-lo.

In the 13th year (1534), he selected gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. In the 15th year (1536), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy by official letters patent, *I* 義, No. 278. An Imperial scroll was also given him, bearing the four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 綏寧邊境 (Concord and tranquility of my frontier). He also received many pieces of colored satin and silver ingots. On his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏綠, was conferred the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶, the same honorary title.

In the 14th year (1535), he conquered the villages of Nien-ko 年各 and Nien-nao 年惱 of Chung-tien, while the village of Chia-kuang-ch'ü-pa 加光佉巴 surrendered of its own accord. In the 15th year (1536), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chu 天柱 of Ni-na, T'ieh-chu 鐵柱 and Hsiang-va 香押 of Shu-lo, and pacified the villages of T'ien-pao 天保, Chin-

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prisoned them. Thereupon An-ch'üan united with the Wu-ting barbarian (*man*) Feng Ch'ao-wen and rebelled. They then killed 13 officials of Hsün-tien and Wu-ting; 20,000 soldiers joined them and they burnt and looted the city (*ch'eng* 城). The city Jen-te (fu) was established under the Yüan dynasty as Jen-ti Wan-hu-fu 仁地萬戶府, but was later changed to Jen-te fu. The old city wall is 5 li east of the Hsün-tien hsien of to-day. Under the Ming dynasty it was changed to Hsün-tien Chün-min fu 尋甸軍民府 (Military and civil magistracy of Hsün-tien). It is now governed by Hsün-tien hsien. The *Sung-ming chiu-chih* 嵩明舊志, ch. 3, fol. 11b–12a, says that in the 6th year of Chia-ching (1527) An-ch'üan rebelled. He was killed by Governor Fu Hsi 傅習 of Yün-nan. His men were defeated and went to Sung-ming, which they captured. They killed two majors, Wang Sheng 王昇 and T'ang Kung 唐功. For further reference, *see*: ED. CHAVANNES "Trois inscriptions relevées par M. Charria" (II-Notice sur les chefs aborigènes du district de Wou-ting 武定 in *T'oung-pao* Vol. 7, 1906, pp. 681–689), where the rebellion is described in detail.

[73] Mu Chao-hsün was his proper name. The title of Duke of Ming-ching was conferred on him posthumously. He was the son of K'un 崑 who at the age of 14 became Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國, Kuei-chou province. He died at the age of 40.

[74] This must refer to the villages around the lake of Yung-ning, called La-t'a Khü in Na-khi. Half of the lake is in Yün-nan and half in Ssu-ch'uan. Various villages are grouped along the shores of the lake and the foot of the encircling mountains.

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chu 金柱 and Li-t'o 里托. In the 16th year (1537), he conquered the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 of Chung-tien. In the 19th year (1540), Annam 安南 rebelled against the Imperial rule. Kung assembled his troops, preparing for active service with the government forces. He was instructed by Mao 毛,[75] Imperial censor of the Board of military office, to remain in reserve for the time being, but to select beforehand certain roads for troop movement, and to await mobilization. Meanwhile, His Majesty rewarded him with a silver wine-cup, weighing 10 taels, to be handed down to his descendants as a priceless treasure.

In the 24th year (1545), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Sheng-hsin 勝新, also T'ien-pao 天保. In the 26th year (1547), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui and Sheng-pao 勝保. In the 27th year (1548), he conquered T'ien-kao 天高 village and Ch'ang-sheng 長勝 of Ni-na. He then ordered his eldest son, A-mu 阿木, to lead his troops to capture Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 [76] and to subdue the villages of Kung-ts'u 鎮粗,[77] Tang-lai 當來 and Lu-ku 魯古. In the 28th year (1549), he ordered A-mu to lead his troops to subdue the villages of Kan-t'ao 干陶 and Ko-pan-pa 各伴巴 of Chung-tien. In the 32nd year (1553), he himself conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-sheng 天生 of Chung-tien.

Kung was born on the 10th day of the seventh moon of the 7th year of Hung-chih (August 10th, 1494), and died on the 10th day of the ninth moon of the 32nd year of Chia-ching (October 16th, 1553). His first wife, A-shih-meng 阿室蒙, was the daughter of magistrate Feng 鳳 of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定,[78] and her official name was Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to one son, named A-mu 阿目, who succeeded to the throne. His second wife was named A-shih-yü 阿室于, and her official name was Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶. She gave birth to two sons, named A-chia 阿價 and A-t'ui 阿退 respectively. In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), on account of his son's merit, His Majesty conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 and on his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen.

7. FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH GENERATION

FIFTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-kung A-mu* 阿公阿目 (PLATE 25): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kao 木高.[79] He was also named Shou-kuei 守貴, Tuan-feng 端峯 and Chiu-chiang 九江.

[75] Mao Po-wen 毛伯温 was minister of war and in 1539 headed the troops who were to punish Annam. He was a native of Chi-shui 吉水 of Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi).

[76] Mao-ch'ü-ko belonged to the district of Lin-hsi 臨西.

[77] Kung-tsu 鎮粗 is the way it is written in the inscription on the stone-drum of Shih-ku 石鼓, for the translation of which see p. 283.

[78] Wu-ting is a town three stages north of K'un-ming. Both his wives were daughters of Feng Chao-ming 鳳朝明 whose native name was I-lu 矣祿. He was the second hereditary native prefect bearing the name Feng. The family name of his ancestors was originally A 阿; this was changed to Feng in 1488 by Imperial order. His first ancestor was A-erh 阿爾 who was given the chieftainship of the Lo-wu tribe 羅婺部 by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsing 段智興, during Sung Hsiao Tsung 宋孝宗, period Shun-hsi 淳熙 (1174–1189). — From the *Wu-ting chou chih* ch. 3, fol. 49a.

[79] It was Mu Kao who in 1548 won the victory over the Tibetans which is described on the stone-drum at Shih-ku, engraved in October, 1561. *See* pages 282–285.

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173 As the eldest son he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chieh 天接 and Huang-chin-ch'iao 黄金橋 of Ni-na. In the 34th year (1555), the application recommending him as the legal successor to his father's throne of the fu-magistracy of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang was duly sanctioned by the Emperor. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Na-shui 那水 and T'ien-chang 天掌 of Shu-lo, while the village of Li-ko 立各 surrendered of its own accord.

In the 35th year (1556), A-mu received his official letters patent, *Chi* 急, No. 4946, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 9th day of the second moon of the same year (March 19th, 1556) he assumed his official duties. In the 38th year (1559), numerous brigands, led by a man named Ku-p'u 瓜蒲, besieged the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 in Chung-tien. On the receipt of an urgent message, A-mu ordered his elder son, A-tu 阿都, to lead his troops to raise the siege. His son killed many brigands and gained a great victory.

On the 9th day of the sixth moon of the 39th year (July 2nd, 1560), he instructed capable subordinates to prepare a budget for wages of workmen required for certain large constructions. On account of this service, the Department of works of the Yün-nan Viceroy conferred on him the third rank of civil official, and applied on his behalf to the Board of Civil Office for its confirmation and for Imperial letters patent. In accordance with the usual custom, he selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court. To assist him the three chief officials of Yün-nan gave him 10 men's rations out of the provincial granary, and 10 transport horses for the journey to the Imperial capital. On the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 40th year (September 16th, 1561), he himself applied to the Board of Civil Office for the confirmation of his third rank of civil official and for Imperial letters patent.

The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu, together with the following commendatory words, "You have been loyal to your nation; you have honored your parents by cutting off flesh from your own arm, to be used as medicine in curing their illness; you have civilized the frontier lands; you have shown your power by safely defending your State against the Pei-fan 北番 (tribes of the north). Speaking of the fame of your virtue, you are perfect both in loyalty and in filial piety. As to your reputation for knowledge, you are well-learned both in literature and in military science. Now We have the pleasure to confer on you specially the third rank of a civil official, and allow your official degree to be classed in the same order as those of Our nine ministers, and your hereditary right of nobility to be preserved in your Ch'iao-mu 喬木 for ever and ever." On his wife, Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. The above-mentioned titles were all conferred by the Imperial patent *Hsin*, 信, No. 877. Again, His Majesty gave him four characters, *Ch'iao Mu Shih Chia* 喬木世家 [50] (The ancient,

[50] 喬木世家, of these four characters the first two are from the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (Book of poetry), Book I, 9th ode, stanza 1, 南有喬木 — "In the south there are stately trees." These characters were selected as the family name of the Li-chiang chiefs is Mu 木 (tree) and because they lived in the south of the Empire.

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honorable and exalted Mu family), and permitted him to erect an arch in front of his house with these four Chinese characters carved on it. 173

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 22a–b, in transmitting the official appointments and gifts, the Emperor in his decree wrote as follows:

"Succeeding under Heaven's decree to the throne, We command as follows:

"So far as We know Our Empire, according to the Imperial system is just like a family. For this reason those near and those from afar are treated alike regarding the appointment of officials and the bestowing of titles. This in order to broaden the principle of tranquility throughout Our Empire and to exhibit the law of encouragement.

"Mu Kao, hereditary native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang and Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, if you examine your ancestry, will recall that your forebears were promoted to be prefects. They accomplished many meritorious acts, and as Imperial subjects, from generation to generation, all respectfully performed the duty of defending the Imperial border. By your merit you can make your family as glorious as before, devoting yourself with sincerity to the State. . . . The people on the Imperial border were influenced by your instructions, and the northern barbarians were repressed by your acknowledged power. Speaking about your fame based on your virtue, We believe you to be both loyal and filial. Praising you for your ability, We appreciate that you are versed both in letters and in military affairs.

"Thus We confer upon you an Imperial patent by which you will be promoted to the third official rank, and occupy a seat among the nine ministers, so as to show Our esteem for you. We hope that you will exert yourself to keep the peace of Our State. Defend your native place, and comfort and instruct your people. Reverently receive the Imperial bounty sanctioned with Our Imperial seal, and keep your ancient family noble forever. Be reverent!"

The Emperor again commands as follows:

"According to the State law of recompensing one for merit, if a title is conferred on a husband, a favor must be extended to his wife. This to emphasize the principle of the five human relationships (伍倫) and to strengthen the law of inheritance.

"Tso-shih, wife of Mu Kao . . . , you were endowed with virtue and came from a family of rank and position. As you are diligent in helping your husband, you obtained a reputation of lofty virtue. We especially confer upon you the title of Shu-jen by an Imperial patent. Receive this silken [Imperial] bounty and glorify your sex forever!

"Given in the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), *Hsin* 信, No. 877."

The Emperor also presented him with three pieces of colored satin and 600 silver ingots, he also sent back 10 men's rations taken from the provincial granary and the 10 transport horses given him by the three chief officials of Yün-nan. All these things arrived safely at the fu-magistracy. On the 7th day of the eighth moon of the same year (September 15th, 1561), when the gifts were delivered to him at his office, he expressed his sincere thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. The complete list, in detail, of the rest of the Imperial gifts may now be found in the book of Hereditary Rights.

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173 In the 43rd year (1564), he ordered his son, A-tu, to relieve the village of Sheng-pao 勝保 and, by sending his troops still farther, he also conquered the villages of Chin-chia-la 金加剌 and Ch'iu-kuang 秋光 of the district of Shu-lo. In the 44th year (1565), he conquered the villages of Ts'o-ko 磋各 and Li-ya-ti 立壓地 of Ni-na. In the fifth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (May 27th–June 26th, 1568), he ordered A-tu to settle the affairs of the rebel Ku-p'u 蠱蒲 by attacking him in his retreat in the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Ko-li 各立. This his son carried out successfully.

Mu was born on the 22nd day of the first moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (February 5th, 1515), and died on the 11th day of the eleventh moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing (November 29th, 1568). His wife, A-shih-mao 阿室毛, was the daughter of magistrate Tso 左, of the fu-magistracy of Meng-hua 蒙化府,[81] and her official name was Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to two sons, A-tu and A-ch'un 阿春 of which the elder succeeded to the throne.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-mu-A-tu* 阿目阿都 (PLATE 26): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tung 木東, and he was also named Chen-yang 震陽, Wen-yen 文巖 and Yü-hua 爵華. As the elder son of Mu Kao 木高, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he ordered all the people of his different districts to help him kill the brigand leader Ku-p'u 蠱蒲, whose followers were then thoroughly defeated and dispersed. In the fourth year (1570), he sent his troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of Ni-na, where he was victorious. In the same year, he received his official letters patent *Chi* 敕, No. 32, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 18th day of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 13th, 1571), he assumed his official duties, and then conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-hsi 天喜 of Ni-na. In the sixth year (1572), Hsiang-tao 相刀,[82] leader of the Tibetan tribes of the village of Li-kan-mao 利干毛 of Ni-na, knelt before him and repented his former crimes.

In the second year of Wan-li (1574), Tu selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, to express his thanks to the Emperor for his grace, and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the same year, he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Lei-sheng 雷勝. In the third year (1575), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and on his wife, Kao-shih-hsien 高氏顯, the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, also on his second wife, Meng-shih-fu 孟氏富, the same honorary title, by the Imperial patent *Chih* 制, No. 104. The Emperor also gave him four Chinese characters, *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (Screen

[81] Her ancestor was a certain Tso-ch'ing-lo 左青羅 who was native associate magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧 in the Yüan dynasty. His descendant Tso-ho 左禾 became the Huo-t'ou 火頭 of nine tribes and the interpreter of Shun-ning chief in the Ming dynasty. He was made a chou-magistrate of Meng-hua 蒙化 in the 3rd year of Yung-lo (1405) because he persuaded a rebel by name Kao Ta-hui 高大惠 to submit. The office then became hereditary — *Meng-hua fu chih* 蒙化府志, ch. 4, fol. 19a.

[82] CHAVANNES gives the name as Hsiang-tao Hu-mu 相刀胡目. The words *Hu-mu* (Eye of the barbarians) refer to his being the leader of the Tibetans of the village of Li kan-mao of the district of Nyi-na (Ni-na). This epithet occurs on the stone-drum inscription at Shih-ku.

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of my north-western frontier), and permitted him to build an arch for his house bearing these four characters. He also presented him with three pieces of colored satin, and 600 silver ingots, and paid his men travelling expenses equal to the salary of two men, provisions for 12 men, and four horses for their journey home. On the 21st day of the tenth moon of the same year (November 22nd, 1575), when the gifts had been delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. 173

In the same year, he in person led his troops against the village of La-ch'lu-kuang 剌秋光, and ordered his eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, to advance on the villages of Na-ch'i-yin 那其音 and Ni-pao 倪保, where they gained a great victory, beheading over 400 brigands and taking over 300 prisoners. In the fifth year (1577), the Fan brigands invaded the border of the village of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 [83] in the Ni-na district, whither he ordered A-sheng to attack them with his troops. The brigands were prepared to resist him, in that they already had mustered several ten thousand men who occupied as their headquarters the villages of A-hsi 阿西 and Chi-chü-ngai (yen) 集苴岩 at the mouth of the Tao-na-ting-ssu River 刀那丁思江.

At first A-sheng's army lost the battle, and was forced to retreat from its defensive line. Thus, the brigands became bolder and stronger. A-sheng then ordered his troops to be courageous and divided them into four camps. Meanwhile, they proved their valor by assaulting the two villages of strategic importance, and capturing or killing over 1,000 brigands. All the hidden retreats of the enemy were at last taken. No sooner did his troops advance on Niang-ti 娘的, Kuo-tsung 果宗, Ts'ao-na-mu 草那目, Ch'un-kan 春干, T'ao-ch'i-wei 陶其尾, A-hsi-ni 阿西倪 and Wang-lüeh-ahao 王畧哨, than all these desolate places surrendered of their own accord. In the seventh year (1579), Tu established the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, Sheng-lieh 勝烈 and Feng-yang 俸楊.

Tu was born on the 26th day of the ninth moon of the 13th year, *chia-wu* 甲午, of Chia-ching (November 1st, 1534), and died on the 18th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year, *chi-mao* 己卯, of Wan-li (December 6th, 1579). His wife, A-shih-lu 阿室魯, was the daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou,[84] and her official name was Kao-shih-hsien

[83] Mao-ch'ü-ko was in the district of Lin-hsi, and the latter belonged to Ni-na (Nyi-na), the present Wei-hsi.

[84] Her first ancestor was Kao Pin-hsiang 高賓翔; he was the first native magistrate of Pei-sheng (Pei-sheng T'u-chih-chou 北勝土知州) during the Yüan dynasty. Owing to meritorious services, Yün-nan officials bestowed on him the title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫. He died in the 13th year of Ming Hung-wu (1380). Her father was Kao Te 高德, the ninth hereditary native magistrate of Pei-sheng. He took office in the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554) — *Yung-pei T'ing chih*, ch. 3, fols. 33b and 34b.

The first native official (magistrate) of Shun-ning, which is 320 li south-south-west of Ta-li, was Meng-hung 猛興. He was the descendant of Meng-yu 孟獄 who was chief of the P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages), the P'u 僕 of ancient times; *see* note 95. The latter inhabit besides Shun-ning, Ching-tung 景東, P'u-erh 普洱 and neighboring regions. They came under Chinese rule during the Mongol dynasty. When Meng-yu submitted to the Chinese empire in the time of the Mongol dynasty (in the first year of the period T'ien-li of Emperor Ming Tsung, 1329) his name was officially changed to Meng 猛 (Fierce and brave). — *See* also *Shun-ning fu chih*, ed. 1725, ch. 5, fol. 26a. Meng-hung was authorized to rule in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Later his people stopped paying taxes, quarrelled and killed

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173 高氏嫺. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-sheng 阿勝, A-ch'eng 阿成 and A-hsien 阿先. His second wife, A-shih-hui 阿氏輝, was the daughter of magistrate Meng 猛 of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧, and her official name was Meng-shih-fu 猛氏富. Tu's eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, succeeded to the throne.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-tu A-sheng* 阿都阿勝 (PLATE 27): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Wang 木旺. He was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春, Yü-lung 玉龍 and K'un-kang 坤崗.[85] As the eldest son of Mu Tung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the eighth year of Wan Li (1580), his hereditary right of fu-magistrate was duly recommended and confirmed. In the ninth year (1581), he received his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 58, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 21st day of the third moon of the same year (April 23rd, 1581), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he established the villages of Li-hsi-ko 立習各 and T'ien-ling 天靈 of Chao-k'o. In the 10th year (1582), the soldiers of the Wu-so 五所[86] of the Yung-ning 永寧 district burned and destroyed 27 small villages of Shu-lo. In the first moon of the same year, he personally led his troops to the attack and forced them to retreat to the interior of Yung-ning. In the eighth moon of the same year, he again led his main troops, and divided them into several battalions, to advance by different routes. On his arrival at the village of Tao-li 刀立 of Shu-lo, the headman of Tso-so 左所 assembled many soldiers to lay siege to his military headquarters. He victoriously raised that siege and defeated them completely. With his triumphant troops, he again attacked and conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, P'u-la 普剌 and Chia-wa 加瓦. In the 11th year (1583), on account of the rebellion of the Hsi-k'ou 西寇, western robbers, he supplied the government with 1,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. In the same year, he personally led his troops to invade Yung-ning and conquered the villages of A-lo 阿羅 and Kuang-li 光立, where he captured magistrate A-hsiung 阿雄[87] of the fu-magistracy, together with his followers, but did not kill them. In the 12th year (1584), the remaining followers of A-hsiung joined the brigands of the five So (Wu-so) districts, and again besieged the village of Hsiang-shui and also Kuang-shih 光世. Sheng personally raised the siege, and defeated them completely. He then conquered the village of Hsiang-shui-wa 香水瓦 and established the village of T'ien-yu 天佑.

In the same year, a punitive expedition was carried on against Burma 緬, and this time he supplied the government troops with 2,000 taels of silver. In the 13th year (1585), he selected horses and native products, and sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court to thank the Emperor for his grace, and to

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one another. In consequence, a Ta-li military official attacked and conquered them, after which a transferable official was installed.

[85] In the Second Chronicle it is written Shen-kang 神崗.

[86] The Wu-so 五所, who were once under Yung-ning, are the five districts ruled by Na-khi T'u-ssu, or Chiefs, belonging now to south-west Ssu-ch'uan (*see* Wu-so).

[87] A-hsiung was of the eighth generation of the A 阿 family of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu 永寧土司; he took office in the second year of Wan-li (1574), succeeding his brother A-ying 阿英. He died in 1586. (*See* Genealogy of the Yung-ning chiefs, p. 367.)

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apply for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty gave him three valuable gifts, and sent his men back with an official reply. 173

In the 14th year (1586), he established the village of Hsiang-chu 香柱. After that, he marched with his men to La-t'a 剌他,[88] and captured all the land of the villages of Hsiang-shui, Chi-mai 戟買, Lo-hsiang 羅相 and Chang-ming-yüan 丈明原. In the 15th year (1587), he captured and killed the brigand leaders A-chüan 阿卷 and La-mao-chia 剌毛加 of the Tso-so[89] district. In the 16th year (1588), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pu-wa 卜瓦 and Pao-chih 寶之. In the same year, the Hsi-fan tribes of La-t'a conspired with the people of Wu-so to besiege the village of Hsiang-chu. Immediately he led his troops to raise the siege, and gained a great victory over the enemy. In the same year governor Hsiao 蕭 of Yün-nan joined three other chief officials of this province, to submit a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧, the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 931. In the second moon of the 17th year (March 16th–April 14th, 1589), when the Imperial dispatch was delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the same year, he rebuilt the village of Chün-lu-wa 均魯瓦 of the district of Chao-k'o. In the 19th year (1591), he rebuilt the iron-chain bridge of the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na.[90] In the 20th year (1592), he built the wall of the village of Chao-ts'ang 昭蒼 of the Ni-na district. In the 21st year (1593), he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui and P'u-pao 普保. In the 22nd year (1594), he rebuilt the walls of the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Pu-hsi 卜習 In the same year, Burmese brigands plundered the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰,[91] whither he led his troops to relieve the people, forcing the brigands to retreat. In the 23rd year (1595), he rebuilt the villages of Tsung-che 宗者 and Yin-chu 銀柱寨 of the Ni-na district. In the fourth year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1631), on account of his grandson's military merit, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, together with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor, *see* note 96), and on his wife, Lo-shih 羅氏, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen. [The *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 40a, states that the Emperor gave him, in addition, the posthumous title of Junior treasurer in the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury.]

Sheng was born on the 1st day of the ninth moon of the 30th year of Chia-ching (September 30th, 1551) and died on the 13th day of the fifth moon of the

[88] La-t'a 剌他 is the Na-khi name of the Tso-so district, from the T'u-ssu's family name, which is La 喇.

[89] In the 15th year of Yung-lo, the headman of Tso-so was called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. The name in the Chronicle is written 剌, but it should be 喇.

[90] There is no iron rope or chain-bridge in the Wei-hsi district to-day, unless the district to the south between Lan-p'ing and Yün-lung was included in Ni-na in those days. There are several iron chain-bridges over the Pi Chiang 批江, marked Lo-ma Ho on MAJOR DAVIES' map.

[91] The towns of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 in south-western Yün-nan are here meant.

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173 24th year of Wan-li (June 8th, 1596). His wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅 [52] of the magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧. She gave birth to three sons, named A-chai 阿宅, A-hsi 阿希 and A-hsiang 阿祥. The eldest, A-chai, succeeded to the throne.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 35b, the Emperor in his Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 554, states as follows:

"As you, Mu Wang, aimed at pacifying the rebellion, you unfortunately lost your life on the battle-field. Your great fidelity to Us cannot be obliterated from Our memory. You are indeed a pattern of manly honor. For this reason We give you an Imperial patent by which you receive the title of Chung-shun ta-fu and Junior counsellor to the provincial governor of Yün-nan."

All this is not mentioned in the Genealogical Chronicles. It would appear, according to the Emperor's opening sentences, that Mu Wang lost his life on the battle-field while suppressing a rebellion.

EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-sheng A-chai* 阿勝阿宅 (PLATE 28): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Ch'ing 木青. He was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生, Ch'iao-yo 喬岳 and Sung-ho 松鶴. As the eldest son of Mu Wang, he succeeded to his father's throne. Before his hereditary right was confirmed, in the 20th year of Wan-li (1592), the Li-su 力蘇 [53] tribes of Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 plundered some government salt from the office of the Salt magistrate of Wu-ching 五井 (Five Salt-wells). He received a dispatch, issued by Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'ang-tsu 沐昌祚,[54] Ch'ien-kuo Wu-ch'i-g kung 黔國武靖公, General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, with the joint signatures of two other chief officials of Yün-nan, instructing him to settle this trouble. He personally led his troops thither and, defeating the enemy, he decapitated 83 of the brigands. Thus, he was honorably rewarded with a flower-design shield and many other gifts.

[52] The first native official of Lan chou was called Lo-k'o 羅克, and was a native of Lan chou. In the Mongol dynasty he was made a Wan-hu 萬戶 (chief of 10,000 families). During the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he made his submission with all his people. On account of military merit he was made a T'u chih-chou 土知州 (native sub-prefect). One of his successors, by name Lo-ts'ai 羅才, in company with Mu Ch'u 木初 (8th generation), attacked the Po-i 伯夷 [chief] Tao-ch'ien-meng 刀千孟 and during this campaign he acquired merit. The office then became hereditary until Lo-ts'an 羅燦, who ruled in the capacity of a T'u-she 土舍 (native resident) but his hereditary right was not recognized — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 143, p. 6a.

[53] The Li-su 傈僳, or 力蘇, are aborigines who inhabit the south-western part of the province of Yün-nan, especially the region around Yün-lung. They do not form any particular agglomeration in Yün-nan, but are distributed over the entire province, some Li-su villages occurring even in Yung-ning territory, north-east of Li-chiang. Yün-lung is a prefectural city situated on the Pi Chiang 批江, also called the Lo-ma Ho 羅馬河, and is north-east of T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝). In the Li-chiang prefecture they dwell at the entrance to the Yangtze gorge of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain), on the steep cliffs of 'A-ts'an-gko. Near them, at La-muan-dse, dwells another tribe called the Chung-chia 种家. They came originally from Kuang-hsi (Kwangsi).

[54] Mu Ch'ang-tsu was military governor of Yün-nan and hereditary Duke of Kuei-chou (Ch'ien-kuo). He was the son of Ch'ao Pi 朝弼, who was dismissed from office in the sixth year of Lung-ch'ing (1572) on account of misconduct.

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In the 24th year (1596), Chai's hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. He then assumed his official duties. In the 25th year (1597) when the towns of Ta-hou chou 大侯州 [96] and Shun-ning 順寧 rebelled, he assisted by supplying 4,000 taels of silver for soldiers' pay. 173

In the 34th year (1606), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen by Imperial patent, *I* 義, No. 284. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627), the Emperor gave permission to his son to build for his mother, Lo-shih, an arch in honor of her chastity. In the fourth year of Ts'ung-cheng (1631), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor again conferred on him a posthumous honorary official degree — that of the second rank and honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[97] and on his wife, Lo-shih, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent, *Jen* 仁, No. 4.

[It is related of Mu Ch'ing that he was tired of life and committed suicide on the Li-chiang snow range].

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 27a–b, in transmitting the decree giving Mu Ch'ing his posthumous rank the Emperor wrote as follows:

"Mu Ch'ing, you are the father of Mu Tseng, Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. On account of your son's merit, I confer upon you the posthumous titles of Chung-hsien ta-fu and Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. Though you could not keep your body alive, yet you had a good son. You became more renowned because you lost your life. Your spirit may seek to receive this. Receive this blessing and exert your strength in the nether world."

Chai was born on the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 3rd year of Lung-ch'ing (September 18th, 1569), and died on the 15th day of the tenth moon of the 25th year of Wan-li (November 23rd, 1597). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿室加, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅, of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ch'un. She gave birth to one son, named Ssu 寺, who succeeded to the throne.

NINETEENTH GENERATION. — *A-chai A-ssu* 阿宅阿寺 (PLATE 29): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tseng 木增. He was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, Hua-yo 華岳 and Sheng-pai 生白 (pronounced Sen-pe in Yün-nan). As the only son of Mu Chai 木宅, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 26th year of Wan-li (1598), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

In the same year, the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao 阿丈剌毛, of the

[96] The ancient Ta-hou chou was 150 li south-east of Shun-ning. In olden days it was the land of the Man-i 蠻夷 (Barbarians). Their chief was called Meng-yu 孟獄 and belonged to the P'u-man 蒲蠻 tribe. They submitted during the reign of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1260–1263) of the Mongol dynasty.

In the 25th year of Wan-li (1597) the name was changed to Yün chou 雲州; to-day it is called Yün hsien 雲縣.

[97] Under the Ming dynasty a Pu-cheng shih was a governor of a province, but now the title refers to a provincial treasurer.

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173 village of Hsiang-shui [97] rebelled. He led a punitive expedition against him, and defeated him thoroughly. In the 27th year (1599), he attacked the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-yao 好堯, where he gained a great victory. In the 28th year (1600), he submitted a report to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned his hereditary right, and presented him with his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 10, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 10th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 18th, 1600), he assumed his official duties. He captured the brigand leader Pi-li 畢哩 at the village of T'ao-tien 陶甸 in the district of Chung-tien. In the 29th year (1601), he fell upon the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui, P'u-wa 蒲瓦 and Hao-yao, where he attained a great victory. He then sent troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the district of Ni-na, where he won a great victory. In the same year, he fought the rebels of the village of Shu-lo (west of Mu-li 木里), and was victorious on that expedition. Again, he charged the rebels of the allied villages of Hsiang-shui, Tso-so and Hao-tien 好甸, where he captured and killed the disobedient resident, Hsi-yüan-chü 西原苴.

In the third moon of the 30th year (April 22nd–May 20th, 1602), he won a great victory at the village of Shun-ta 順大. He carefully examined the merits and demerits of his men on that expedition, and varied their pay accordingly. The Emperor also rewarded him with 20 taels of silver. He then fought the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-tien at the mouth of the Tang-ting River 當丁江, where he was again victorious. In the 31st year (1603), he repaired the Yung-chen bridge 永鎮橋 of the Ni-na salt-well 你那鹽井.[98] In the same year, Ssu killed the brigand leader P-li 畢哩 in the village of Shu-lo. In the 33rd year (1605), in the district of Hsiang-shui, he decapitated the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao on the bank of the Pa-hu River 把胡江.

In the 34th year (1606), in accordance with the usual official regulations, he sent his envoys to the Imperial court to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then favoured him with a reply through the medium of the Board of Civil Office. In the sixth moon (July 5th–August 3rd) of the same year, the aforesaid Board issued him Imperial letters patent, conferring on his father, Mu Ch'ing, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of magistrate of the fu-magistracy, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen. Again, the Board conferred on him the same honorary title as that of his father, and on his wife, Lu-shih-fan 盧氏繁, the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the Imperial patent *I* 義, No. 283. In the second moon of the 35th year (February 26th–March 27th, 1607), he expressed

[97] This was in the present-day Tso-so territory east of Yung-ning, and in south-west Ssu-ch'uan.

Under the Nan-chao Kingdom, the Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 of to-day was called Hsiang-ch'eng chün 香城郡, the first part of the name of the village being apparently derived from that district, to which Hsiang-shui belonged.

[98] The river on which the city of Ni-na is situated is called the Yung-ch'ün Ho 永春河 (River of eternal spring). The salt-well here mentioned as belonging to the Ni-na (Wei-hsi) district, can only be the La-chi-ming 喇雞明 salt-well which, however, is not in the Wei-hsi district, at the present time. La-chi-ming is west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, which once belonged to Li-chiang.

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his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. 173

In the 37th year (1609), he led his troops in person to the villages of Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of the Chung-tien district, where the brigand leader Ku-p'u 蒗蒲 with his followers knelt before him. In the 40th year (1612), he ordered his troops to assault the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the Ni-na district, over which he gained a great victory. In the 41st year (1613), he fought against the brigands of the village of Pa-t'o of the Chao-k'o district, where he was victorious. In the 43rd year (1615), he seized three Ta-tzu 達子 (Tartars), and sent them directly, together with the heads of the brigands and some captured military weapons, to the three chief officials of Yün-nan, to be registered for merit. In the 44th year (1616), he conquered the village of Lu-pa-ting 鲁巴丁 of Shu-lo. In the 45th year (1617), he again ordered his troops to attack the village of Pa-t'o, where he was victorious. In the 46th year (1618), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of the Emperor, who presented him and his wife with many pieces of fine hemp, silk, colored satin, gauze, socks and boots, and authorized him by a special Imperial decree to defend the frontier lands. He received all these things in good condition.

In the same year, as the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 in Feng-t'ien 奉天 was greatly alarmed [on account of Manchus?], he transported directly to the Board of revenue 10,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. The fund was transferred on his behalf to the Board of war for the registration of merit. His Majesty ordered the matter to be carefully printed in a special record, and published as a good example to all the officials in the whole country. At the same time the Board of Civil Office sent him a reply, conferring on him an Imperial official dress of the third rank, and a reward of silver coins worth 30 taels. In the 47th year (1619), he instructed the five divisions of the village of Pa-t'o to supply a certain number of laborers for government work. In the 48th year (1620),[99] he sent 1,200 taels of silver to the Imperial capital to buy cavalry horses for the Imperial military service. His Majesty presented him with two Chinese characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness) (PLATE 30). In the same year, by using persuasion, he brought Jih-yin-a-chün 日音阿均 of Hsiang-shui into submission.

In the same year, when Emperor Kuang Tsung of the Ming dynasty changed the year-title to T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌 succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高氏懋 in the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou, but their official secretary, named Kao Lan 高蘭, conspired to usurp that same magistracy for himself. Ssu was instructed to settle the affair. Thereupon he led his troops to that city and took prisoner the chief culprit Kao Lan and many of his followers. For that service, he was rewarded with a flower-design medal

[99] Shen Tsung (Wan-li) died on the 21st day of the seventh moon in the 48th year of his reign (August 18th, 1620). His son Kuang Tsung, who ascended the throne in the same year, adopting the reign title T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, died after having reigned for less than six weeks, on the 1st day of the ninth moon (September 26th, 1620). He was followed by his son Hsi Tsung 熹宗, who, in the ninth moon of the same year, ascended the throne, adopting the reign title of T'ien-ch'i. The latter, however, commenced in 1621.

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173 and many other valuable gifts. In the second year of T'ien-ch'i (1622), the tribal chief She 奢[100] of Ssu-ch'uan rebelled against the Imperial rule; Ssu transported a large sum of money to pay the government soldiers for his suppression.

Thus, the governor of Yün-nan rewarded him with a gilt flower-design silver medal and many pieces of colored satin. His Majesty again presented him with a suit of official dress of the third rank, 30 taels of silver, and two (rolls) of hemp and silk. In the same year, Ssu sent envoys to the Imperial capital to offer ten suggestions to the Emperor, and to contribute 1,000 taels of silver to be used on behalf of those who had either sacrificed their lives in the war or had been remarkable for their loyalty or filial piety. The Imperial court praised him as a loyal official. The Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that His Majesty had promoted him to the position of Yün-nan Pu-cheng shih-ssu Yu-ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司右參政 (Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor). On the 14th day of the third moon of the 3rd year (April 13th, 1623), he respectfully accepted the appointment. In the fourth year (1624), he resigned from official life.

In the fifth year (1625), he contributed to the government, 1,000 taels of silver for soldiers' rations and transported this fund to the provincial treasurer of Yün-nan. At the same time he sent men to the Imperial capital to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, and on his wife, Lu-shih 陸氏, the honorary title of Shu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 555. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honorary titles by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 9th day of the fourth moon of the 6th year (May 4th, 1626), he expressed his thanks for the Emperor's grace by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the same year, he provided many laborers for the government corvée, and taking advantage of this, he applied to the Emperor for an honor to be conferred on his mother for her marital fidelity. In the seventh year (1627), His Majesty permitted him to build an arch in memory of her chastity. In the first year of Ch'ung-cheng (1628), Governor Min 閔[101] of Yün-nan made a report on his behalf to the Emperor for the purpose of recommending and praising his past deeds.

In the same year, he was instructed to lead his troops to the city of Yün-lung,[102] where he took prisoner 13 brigand leaders. He then forwarded to the

[100] This tribal chief's name was She Ch'ung-ming 奢崇明, he was hereditary Hsüan-fu-shih 宣撫使 of Yung-ning, Ssu-ch'uan, and belonged to the Lo-lo tribe 羅羅種. The She family first submitted to Chinese rule during the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398). Ch'ung-ming was only distantly connected with the She family. Yung-ning (not to be confused with the Yung-ning of north-west Yün-nan) belonged previously to Kuei-chou and forms now the sub-prefectural city of Hsü-yung 敘永 in Ssu-ch'uan. (Latitude 28° 08′, longitude 105° 18′. PLAYFAIR). — From the *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a; and *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 2b, and ch. 2, fol. 24b.

[101] The governor's name was Min Meng-te 閔夢得. He ruled over Yün-nan and Kuei-chou.

[102] Yün-lung is situated on the banks of the Pi Chiang 瀾江 (latitude 25° 54′, longitude 99° 36′. PLAYFAIR. MAJOR DAVIES gives latitude 25° 50′, longitude 99° 50′.) It is mainly inhabited by the Min-chia 民家 tribe.

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Yün-nan government many military weapons which he had captured. In the third year (1630), he rebuilt the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na district and the bridges of Ch'ing-lung 青龍 and Wei-yüan 威遠,[103] and also helped the Imperial capital and Kuei-chou province with considerable funds to pay the soldiers, and transported the money directly to the Board. Thus the Yün-nan Viceroy Chu 朱[104] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who promoted him to the position of Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury in the fifth moon of the 4th year of Ch'ung-cheng (May 31st–June 28th, 1631), and conferred on him the additional honorary titles of T'ung-feng ta-fu, and Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury, and on his wife, Lu-shih, the honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 4. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honors by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 4th day of the fourth moon of the 5th year (May 22nd, 1632), he expressed his thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the seventh year (1634) the local scholars of the city of Ho-ch'ing invited him to attend a great feast. 173

In the 10th year (1637), he recovered the village of Yang-li 楊立 of Chao-k'o district. He sent many laborers to work on the Imperial tombs, and transported a contribution of 500 taels of silver to the Imperial court. In the eighth moon of the 13th year of Ch'ung-cheng (September 16th–October 14th, 1640), the Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that the Emperor had promoted him to the position of Senior treasurer of the Ssu-ch'uan provincial treasury, and had permitted him to build an arch in the Yün-nan provincial capital in honor of his loyal deeds, as an example and in order to give encouragement to other tribal chiefs of all other provinces. His Majesty then presented him again with flower-design silks, a sheep and wine,[105] which were delivered with the Imperial dispatches to the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, which ordered messengers to take the presents to him, whereupon he reverently received them.

In the same year, Ssu rebuilt the village of Na-ya 那牙 of the Ni-na salt-well. In the 15th year (1642), the Fan-i 番夷 (Hsi-fan and Lo-lo) tribes of Lang-ch'ü 浪渠,[106] Tang-wa 當瓦[107] and Chih-tien 知甸, and the Li-su, tribes of the

[103] Ch'ing-lung is a small town south of Ching-tung, and is near the Black River, (Pa-pien Ho or Pa-pien Chiang 把邊江); Wei-yüan (latitude 23° 30′, longitude 100° 45′) is a town north-west of P'u-erh, situated on the west bank of the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河, which flows into the Mekong. Wei-yüan is now called Ching-ku 景谷. It is near a salt-well called Hsiang-yen ching 香鹽井 (Fragrant Salt-well).

[104] The Viceroy's name was Chu Hsieh-yüan 朱燮元. He was a native of Shan-yin 山陰 in Che-chiang 浙江 (Chekiang), and received a doctor's degree in 1584. His first appointment was as judge of the administrative court of Ta-li — *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a.

[105] In ancient days it was the custom to give a present of a sheep and a jar of wine.

[106] Lan-ch'ü is the territory of a Na-khi T'u-ssu south of Yung-ning and north of Yung-pei; the latter town is four stages east of Li-chiang.

[107] Probably the Tong-wa Tibetans are meant, who live north of Chung-tien. The Tong-wa to this day still make raids on Chung-tien and on the territory to the south of it. In 1933 they came in large numbers and held Chung-tien for some time, as a base from which to rob

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113 four mountains of Pi-shuo 必勺 surrendered of their own accord. In the 16th year (1643), Li Yung-chen 李永鎮,[108] leader of 100 households of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川,[109] and his brothers started a riot and murdered the magistrate of that city. Ssu was instructed to settle this affair, and succeeded in making them all prisoners and sending them to the office of the Yün-nan viceroy. In the 17th year (1644),[110] he contributed labor towards government works, and supported the Imperial court in Nanking with large sums of money to be used for the urgent need of paying the soldiers. His Majesty then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing 太僕寺正卿 (Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

In the first year of Hung-kuang (1645),[111] he was ordered to attack the city of Lang-ch'ü, whither he led his troops and settled the trouble caused by its obstinate rebels. In the same year, he was instructed by an Imperial messenger to recruit Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) soldiers. Meanwhile, on account of his merit in supplying funds for the pay of soldiers, the Imperial censor Ch'en 陳 sent some officials to present him with satin, embroidered with golden flowers and woven with four-clawed dragons, which he accepted with great respect. In the fourth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (May 15th–June 12th, 1646), the Board of Civil Office informed him that the Emperor had sanctioned his promotion to the rank of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing, and had given him a special note, sending greetings to his whole family.

Ssu was born on the 17th day of the eighth moon of the 15th year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1587), and died on the 1st day of the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (September 9th, 1646). His wife, A-shih-yü 阿室于, was the daughter of magistrate Lu-hua-kao 祿華誥 of Ning chou 寧州,[112] and her

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the neighboring districts. In 1942 over 5,000 Tibetans came and held Chung-tien for a considerable time, till they were driven off by being bombed by Yün-nan military planes.

[108] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 142, fol. 34b, and the *Tien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, ch. 109, fol. 21b, both give the name as Yang Yung-chen 楊永鎮 instead of Li 李 Yung-chen.

[109] The city of Chien-ch'uan is two days south of Li-chiang Latitude 26° 29′, longitude 99° 54′. (PLAYFAIR).

[110] This should read the first year of the Ch'ing Emperor Shun-chih 順治 (1644) The Mu family remained loyal to the very last to the House of Ming.

[111] According to the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 3a–b, Fu Wang 福王 (Prince Fu) assumed the reigning title of Hung-kuang 弘光 in Chiang-nan 江南 (An-hui and Chiang-su [Kiangsu]) in the second year of Shun-chih 順治, in which year he died. He was followed by Prince T'ang 唐王, who ruled in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) as Lung-wu 隆武.

[112] Lu-hua-kao was the native magistrate (T'u-ssu 土司) of Ning chou. His ancestor, P'u-chieh 普傑, during the Mongol dynasty was Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) of Tien-t'ing 甸町, which was five li north-east of T'ung-hai hsien 通海縣, which in turn was 150 li north-east of Lin-an fu 臨安府. In the Ming dynasty there appears a certain Lung-sheng 弄勝, who with the opening of Yün-nan at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) acquired merit and was given the family name Lu 祿; he was appointed native sub-magistrate of Ning chou in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Ning chou was a secondary prefecture north of Lin-an fu, to which it belonged. The name Ning chou dates from the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (Kublai Khan) (1276). At the end of the period of T'ien-pao (about 755), Ning chou was captured by the Man [Savages], when it was called Lang-k'uang 浪穹, though the tribes called it Han-lung 羣龍 in their language. Ning chou is the

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official name was Lu-shih-fan 祿氏藩. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. His second wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-hui 阿室揮, gave birth to his eldest son, named A-ch'un 阿春, who succeeded to his father's throne. His third wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-ko 阿室哥, or A-shih-jung 阿室榮, gave birth to three sons, named A-hsien 阿先, A-pao 阿寶, and A-jen 阿仁.

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8. FROM THE TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION

TWENTIETH GENERATION. — *A-ssu A-ch'un* 阿寺阿春 (PLATE 31): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy.[113] His official name was Mu I 木懿. He was also named K'un-lun 崑崙 and T'ai-mei 台美. As the eldest son of Mu Tseng, he succeeded to his father's throne. Since his childhood, he had possessed a wonderful intellect. He was a man full of love and respect, and had great courage and wisdom. His father Tseng loved him greatly. In the fourth year of T'ien-ch'i (1624), when his father retired to Chih Shan 芝山 [114] to rest and care for his health, his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

Every morning, just when the cock began to crow, he would first comb his hair and wash his face, and would then wait quietly at the door of his father's bedroom to pay his respects. Deferentially he would request his father to advise him in the solving of important problems. He would then beg leave to take his breakfast, and would afterwards carry his father's advice into effect. In the sixth moon of the 9th year of Ch'ung-cheng (July 3rd–July 31st inclusive, 1636) the Pi-li 必哩 [115] Fan-man assembled many brigands, and plundered

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present-day Li hsien 黎縣, the name being revived from the T'ang dynasty (eighth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 [634]) when it was called Li chou 黎州.

The *T'ung-hai hsien chih*, ch. 3, fol. 14a, says that the ruins of the city of Tien-t'ing of the Han dynasty are north of the city of T'ung-hai. The Meng family established there a Tu-tu fu 都督府. The Tuan family established the office of Chieh-tu-shih and changed the name of the city to Hsiu-shan chün 秀山郡 and then to T'ung-hai chün 通海郡. During the Yüan dynasty a Hsüan-wei-ssu was established.

[113] As already remarked on p. 66, Chang Chih-shun says the Genealogical Chronicle was compiled by Mu Kung before he succeeded to his father, Mu Ting 木定, and was finished by 1516. It will be noted that up to Mu Tseng (Mu Sheng-pai) inclusive, the number of the generation is always given, Mu Tseng being the 19th. Beginning with A-ch'un (Mu I), the number of the generation is omitted. It would appear that up to the end of the 19th generation the Chronicle was considered complete, for a colophon now to be found at the end of the Chronicle which has been extended to include the 24th generation, is dated 1648 and 1650; this colophon must first have been placed at the end of the 19th generation (Mu Tseng, who died in 1646). The compilation of the Chronicle experienced an interruption through the imprisonment of Mu I by Wu San-kuei. The greater part was compiled by Mu Kung, and after him must have been kept up by his son and grandsons, etc. There is no additional colophon to tell us who compiled the rest of the Chronicle.

[114] Chih Shan is on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, west of the village of Pai-sha 白沙, Boa-shi (*see* Geographical Part p. 184).

[115] Pi-li is apparently identical with the Tibetan tribe Pi-lieh 必烈. Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖, who in his travels came to Li-chiang in 1639, states in his work *Hsia-k'o-yu-chi* 霞客遊記, 1929 ed., Shanghai, ch. 12, fols. 20b–21a, that the Pi-lieh and Hu-ku 胡獒 Tibetans established themselves on the northern border of Li-chiang in the year *chia-hsü* 甲戌 (1634). Previously the aboriginal tribe Ying-ch'üan 鷹犬 (hired ruffians), who, subject to the Pi-lieh tribe, was guilty of crimes against the prince of the Pi-lieh, fled and established itself

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173 ruthlessly the frontier of Yün-nan province. Ch'un was instructed by his father to lead his main troops to attack them, and crossing the river (Yangtze), went with his men in a northerly direction. Hearing of his arrival with troops at P'u-wa 普瓦, Pi-li dispersed with his followers to far-away desert places without engaging in fight. Thus Ch'un gained a great victory, and the affair was settled.

In the 10th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1637), Ch'un carefully prepared gifts of horses and native products and, in accordance with the usual custom, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent.

In the city of Lang-ch'ü at that time, there lived a man by the name of A Yung-nien 阿永年, who failed to secure the position of chou-magistrate of the city, and in revenge murdered his rival, Fen-ju 奉如. So Ch'un was instructed by both the viceroy and the governor of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops in order to punish the usurper, who was then utterly defeated. In the meantime, some of his followers offered his head to Ch'un, and in this way he settled the whole affair without much difficulty. His merit resulting from this expedition was afterwards reported to the Emperor, who ordered that thereafter the city of Lang-ch'ü [116] be annexed to the territory of Li-chiang.

In the 12th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1639), the Emperor conferred on Ch'un the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor, and, according to the usual custom, presented him with rolls of hemp and silk and many silver ingots. On his father, Mu Tseng, was conferred the additional honorary title of the Ssu-ch'uan Senior provincial treasurer. He himself was permitted to build an arch in the provincial capital in honor of his deeds and engrave thereon the four characters, *t Fu Chung Cheng* 登篤忠貞 (Progress, Sincerity, Loyalty, Uprightness).

Meanwhile, on account of the urgent need of money for military purposes, he contributed to the Imperial court for soldiers' rations all the funds collected for the building of the arch. In the 16th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1643), the Yün-nan Civil Governor, Wu Chao-yüan 吳兆元,[117] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, describing all his past deeds and his character of loyalty, obedi-

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on the Li-chiang frontier where it committed many piracies, etc. In 1635 the chief of Li-chiang sent his soldiers to oust the brigands, but they were defeated.

The territory of the Pi-lieh tribe was said to have been two months' journey north of Li-chiang. This explains the statement in the Chronicle that they dispersed to far-away desert places without engaging in battle. (*See also* CHAVANNES, Documents Historiques et géographiques in *T'oung-pao* Vol. XIII, p. 630; and in BACOT *Les Mo-so* p. 192). Hsü's statement and the one in the Chronicle do not coincide and it is quite probable that Hsü's account is the correct one — the Mu family being too proud to acknowledge defeat. Yet, it is stated (page 126) that Mu Tseng killed the brigand leader Pi-li [whose followers apparently adopted his name for their tribe] in Shu-lo in 1603.

[116] Lang-ch'ü is ruled by a T'u-ssu whose name is A 阿. His territory is now under the magistracy of Yung-sheng.

[117] He was a native of P'u-t'ien 莆田 in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) and held the degree of *Chin-shih* 進士. He was first Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Governor) of Yün-nan at the end of the reign of Ch'ung-cheng (1643). Later he became Governor General. — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fols. 18a–b.

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ence, purity and honesty. The Board of Civil Office sent the governor a reply, informing him that the Emperor had granted that Mu I should inherit his father's honorary titles of Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Junior provincial treasurer, as an example, and to give encouragement to the chiefs of all the other frontier districts. In the 17th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1644),[118] the Emperor promoted his father, Mu Tseng, to the rank of Senior provincial treasurer, together with the additional honorary title of Minister of the Imperial droves, and permitted him to erect an arch in honor of his deeds with the following four characters, *Wei Lieh Chiu Ch'ing* 位列九卿 (Ranked among My nine ministers) displayed on it. Unfortunately, in the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647), during the rebellion of the Liu-k'ou 流寇 (Roving bandits)[119] this arch and all the gold, silver, official documents and Imperial letters patent given to this family by the different emperors of past dynasties, and by many of the inhabitants of the region, were either burned or plundered, only the lives of the people being spared. However, after the cloudy days had passed, the bright sun appeared again.

In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Emperor sent his great Imperial army to Yün-nan to exterminate these wild brigands. After they had been utterly defeated, the poor people living in this district again began to enjoy life. When the Imperial army reached Yün-nan, Mu I was the first to submit to the Imperial order, and petitioned the Imperial generals about the miserable condition of his people. On the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 17th year of Shun-chih (December 30th, 1660), the Board of Civil Office issued him an official dispatch and an official seal, appointing him magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He went with all the representatives of his people some distance beyond his city to receive the above-mentioned dispatch and seal, showing great deference to the Emperor by burning incense and prostrating a hundred times before the Imperial envoys.

[118] Huai Tsung (Ch'ung-cheng) committed suicide on Wan-sui Shan 萬歲山 at dawn on the 19th day of the third moon of the 17th year of his reign (April 25th, 1644). So the orders for the promotions of Mu I must have been issued either the latter part of the 16th year, or the very beginning of the 17th year — more probably the 16th year — the letters patent reaching Li-chiang during the 17th year.

[119] The Liu-k'ou (Roving bandits) were the hordes of the bandit chiefs Li Tsu-ch'eng 李自成 and Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠. The former was the famous rebel who captured Peking when the last of the Ming Emperors hanged himself on Wan-sui Shan. He was a native of Mi-chih 米脂 in Shensi (*see* GILES, *Biographical Dictionary* No. 1226).

Li's followers overran the country. In the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647) a bandit chief by name Sha Ting-chou 沙定洲, a native chief of Annam, with his men came for the second time to attack Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 (seven stages west of K'un-ming). When he heard that the Roving Bandits had reached Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), he turned back; this was in the first moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (1647). In the fourth moon of the same year (May 5th–June 2nd) Sun K'o-wang 孫可望, another leader of the Roving Bandits, and his associates entered Yün-nan. He came via I-liang 宜良 and took the capital, Yün-nan fu. He minted Ta Shun 大順 money [Ta Shun was the dynastic title of the rebel Li Tzu-ch'eng who had made himself emperor and called his reign Yung-ch'ang 永昌]. It was Sun K'o-wang who changed the name of the province and capital city from Yün-nan sheng 雲南省 to Yün-hsing sheng 雲興省, and Yün-nan fu to K'un-ming fu 昆明府, and K'un-ming hsien 昆明縣 to K'un-hai hsien 昆海縣. (For further reference, see *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 2–20.) *See also* E. HAUER, Li Tzŭ-Ch'êng und Chang Hsien-Chung in: *Asia Major*, Vol. 2, pp. 436–498; and Vol. 3, pp. 267–287.

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173 Immediately after that, he assumed his official duties. Obeying the gracious Imperial order, he succeeded his father as magistrate of the city, and ruled his people well. He was considered the founder of the State of Li-chiang of the present Ch'ing dynasty.

In course of time, the rebel Wu (Wu San-kuei 吳三桂)[120] came to Yün-nan, and revolted against the Imperial rule by conspiring with the T'u-fan 吐番. As the district of Li-chiang was strongly defended and justly ruled by Mu I, the latter incurred the wrath of the prince, who hated him thoroughly. In the sixth year *ting-wei* 丁未 of K'ang-hsi (1667), Wu unexpectedly ordered Ch'un to enlist 1,000 native soldiers, to enter his (Wu's) service, but Ch'un refused to obey the command. Seizing this as pretext, Wu searched his official residence and took away a golden seal by which the successive Emperors of the Yüan dynasty had authorized his family to rule and defend this frontier land. Also a silver seal, issued to his family by the three chief officials of this province he confiscated. In the following year (1668), Wu ceded to the T'u-fan, for the purpose of reconciling them, five large districts lying beyond the valley of the Li Chiang (Yangtze), called Chao-k'o, Ni-na Hsiang-lo, Shu-lo and Chung-tien,[121] which originally had been under the rule of the Mu family. Moreover, Wu charged Mu I with the responsibility of making good the lost taxes. In the eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1669), Governor Li 李[122] of Yün-nan submitted a

[120] Concerning the history of Wu San-kuei, *see*: HAENISCH, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas, in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 14 (1913), pp. 1–129. *See* also GILES, *B.D.* No. 2342.

Wu San-kuei was a native of Liao-tung, and at the end of the Ming dynasty was engaged as military commander resisting the advance of the Manchus. He ruled over Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, where he was semi-independent. In 1674 he threw off his allegiance and incited other feudatory princes to rebellion.

According to the *Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 20, fol. 41b, Wu San-kuei died of dysentery and choking on the 17th day of the eighth moon in the 17th year of K'ang-hsi (October 2nd, 1678). This happened at Heng chou 衡州 in Hu-nan. In the 16th year (1677) he gave La-p'u 剌普 in north-western Yün-nan to the Mongols to win their support. His reign title was Chao-wu 昭武. His grandson, Wu shih-fan 吳世璠, took the title of Emperor and called his reign Hung-hua 洪化. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 6a, states that Wu San-kuei died in the tenth moon (November 14th–December 13th inclusive). His body was brought back to Yün-nan by Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱, his general, and deposited in the An-fu yüan 安阜園 (a garden also called Yeh-yüan 野園), which was outside the north wall of Yün-nan fu, according to the *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3a. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the Yeh-yüan was built by Wu San-kuei. It is also said that his body was thrown into the Yang-tsung Hai 陽宗海, the present-day Ming Hu 明湖, which is the lake visible from the railroad south of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) after descending from the K'un-ming plain.

[121] Chao-k'o (照可 or 昭可) is supposed to have been a district east of Wei-hsi. Ni-na (Na-khi, Nyi-na) is Wei-hsi.

Hsiang-lo is the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, a small village situated in Mu-li territory in a valley among limestone mountains to the east of Mt. Ki-bo sKi-hbo(ས্কি-ব্হো), a high range in the Yangtze — Ya-lung watershed between Yün-nan and Mu-li Hsi-k'ang. A pass leads over this range called Hi-lo-ra ran and it is to the north of this pass that Hsiang-lo is situated.

Shu-lo is in the valley of the Zho Chhu (Shu Gyi). On the Chinese maps it is written So-lo 索洛 and the river is called Wu-liang Ho 無量河. It is the Shen-dzong of the Hsi-fan in Mu-li territory, south-west Hsi-k'ang. In this valley can still be seen the watch-towers, or blockhouses, erected by the Na-khi chiefs. (For Chung-tien, *see* pp. 248–252.)

[122] The governor's name was Li T'ien-yü 李天育; he was a native of Shun-t'ien 順天 (Peking). He became Governor of Yün-nan in 1668, and was an honest and upright official. Wu San-

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recommendation on his behalf to the Emperor, who released him from the burden of that taxation.

During all this time, many native chiefs of Yün-nan, great and small, vied with one another to obtain favours from Wu, by accepting his illegal appointments and quickly changing their official letters patent. Mu I alone stood firm and kept aloof, without wavering in the slightest. Wu searched him repeatedly and severely for his official documents, but he refused to deliver them up to him and intentionally made excuses. His main purpose was to bequeath them to his descendants, in order to manifest his loyalty and righteousness to the Imperial court. Thus the rebel Wu hated him the more, and secretly ordered him to conspire with the T'u-fan. He, however, defended his own territory and remained firm in his contention.

Now the only way left for Wu was to compel him to resign from his position, and to appoint Mu Ching 木靖, his eldest son and legal heir, to the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang and to attend to the affairs of this district. At last he accused Mu I of secretly conspiring with the T'u-fan to cause trouble. By thus falsely accusing him, he had him arrested and sent to Yün-nan fu, where he remained imprisoned for seven years, and nearly died. Fortunately, our August Emperor finally realized the incomparable loyalty of this native subject, who had suffered so much so far away from the Imperial court, and had him released from imprisonment, and reinstated in his original hereditary position. He maintained his magistracy up to the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (1673), when Wu started another rebellion, and intentionally brought much harm upon the Mu family by again presenting the T'u-fan kingdom with that territory belonging to Mu I called Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, situated within the valley of the Li Chiang, and by charging Mu I with the burden of making good the loss in taxes. It was in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694) that Viceroy Fan 范 [123] of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou proposed to the Emperor to have him excused from this heavy burden of taxation.

Although all of Ch'un's past heroic deeds, and the merits he had acquired in his life, never had been rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, none of his descendants ever forgot them. They orally passed on his praises, as if they had been engraved on a stone monument for posterity. He lived to over 80 years. His children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren lived together with him under the same roof, in all four generations. His happiness was thus not comparable to that of the common people. He was born on the 15th day of the fifth moon of the 36th year of Wan-li (June 26th, 1608), and died on the last day of the first moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (March 17th, 1692). His wife, Lu-shih-kuan 祿氏琯, was the daughter of an official family of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定.[124] On her was conferred the posthumous

kuei memorialized the throne to deport people of Tien (Yün-nan) to other places, but Governor T'ien-yü opposed him and the people were left in peace.

[123] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳. He was a Han-chün 漢軍, that is, a descendant of a native of North China who had joined the Manchu invaders against the Ming. He was also a Bannerman of the first rank of the Bordered yellow banner (Hsiang-huang ch'i 鑲黃旗). He became Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686.

[124] There was no such family at Wu-ting holding the position of native magistrate. The hereditary native magistracy of Wu-ting belonged to the Feng 鳳 family. The office of

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173 honorary title of Shu-jen of the second rank. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-ching 木靖 and Mu-yu 木樾. His second wife, Lu-shih-jui 祿氏瑞, was a daughter of the same official family from the same fu-magistracy as his first wife. On her was conferred the same honorary title. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-chan 木旃 and Mu-hsi 木挨.

TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION. — *A-ch'un A-su* 阿春阿俗:[125] Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu-Ching 木靖, and he was also named Hsiao-ts'ang 曉蒼 and Wen-ming 文明. As the eldest son of Ch'un, he succeeded to his father's throne.

Since childhood, his character had been one of modesty and simplicity. He was very fond of studying the ancient Chinese classics and poetries. Every day he buried himself among the hundreds and thousands of volumes of old books kept in his library, where he would sit for hours to meditate and appreciate their contents. He read all the old books and manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father and his ancestors, and had them all carved (on wooden blocks) and printed as records, or arranged into literary essays, in order that they be handed down as valuable legacies to his children and later generations. Whenever he heard of famous scholars or sages, he would call on them at their residence, and hold agreeable conversations with them. He never failed to treat them with deference, inviting them to be his teachers, and showering

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T'u-ssu of Wu-ting was abolished in the 35th year of Wan-li (1607). Neither was there a Chinese official by the name of Lu who held the post of magistrate of Wu-ting. No such name occurs in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* or *Wu-ting chou chih*.

[125] Mu Ching in this Chronicle is given as the 21st generation, while in the Second Chronicle his younger brother Mu Yu 木樾 (*see* PLATE 32), also called Chün-chang 君章, and with the surname Chih-an 治安, is listed as the 21st generation.

Mu Ching became hereditary T'u-ssu on the 12th of April, 1669, or rather he assumed the position only, for he died on the 16th of August, 1671, before the Imperial letters patent arrived. The Second Chronicle states that he died in the 11th year of K'ang-hsi (1672). I presume the First Chronicle to be correct, for it gives the month and day.

In the Second Chronicle Mu Ching is entirely omitted and his younger brother, Mu Yu, is named as the successor to Mu I, who in the meantime had been in prison in Yün-nan fu. This younger son is listed as the 21st generation; he was born on the 15th day of the first moon in the 1st year of Ts'ung-cheng (February 14th, 1628) between the hours of 11 P.M. and 1 A.M., and died on the 15th day of the seventh moon of the 43rd year of K'ang-hsi (August 15th, 1704) between the hours of 9 and 11 P.M. CHAVANNES gives 1688.

The Second Chronicle states that in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680) Mu Yu became ill and turned the affairs of office over to his son Mu Yao 木堯, who was the nephew of Mu Ching 木靖, although his grandfather Mu I was still alive. Yet we read further on that, on the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688), his son was given an Imperial dispatch which conferred on his father the posthumous title of Chung-hsien ta-fu. There is certainly an error in this date for this would make his son apply to the Emperor for a posthumous title for his father sixteen years before the latter's death. The dates should either be transposed or the following explanation adopted: The First Chronicle does not give the date of Mu Yu's death, but simply states that the Emperor conferred on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu on the same date as given in the Second Chronicle. It seems very probable that the title was bestowed on him before his death and on the date given, *i.e.*, 1688, or eight years after his retirement. The error is then in the Second Chronicle in the statement that the title was conferred posthumously. The other alternative would be to transpose the dates. CHAVANNES, who does not mention these discrepancies, merely takes the earlier date as that of his death, although on that date the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu (*see* also p. 141, second paragraph).

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upon them his richest gifts. He was, indeed, a man of high literary attainment and with a heart at ease. Later on he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Buddhism, and understood thoroughly the most difficult allusions. 173

In the later years of his life, he studied many Tibetan Buddhist classics, from which he acquired a clear understanding and spiritual inspiration. In the third moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (April 1st–29th, 1669), the Yün-nan provincial treasurer sent him an official dispatch enclosing his official letters patent issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 12th day of the third moon of the same year (April 12th, 1669), he assumed his official duties. Whenever he met his tribespeople, he would advise them to build up their character, and practice loyalty and filial piety, and encouraged them to follow the examples given in the ancient classics. He was always kind-hearted and merciful to everybody, and never punished his people severely by means of whips. He hated those who liked to talk about cruel and unlawful punishment.

He was not fortunate enough to have an heir, therefore he adopted his nephew Mu Yao 木堯 as his own son and legal heir. On the 2nd day of the seventh moon of the 10th year of K'ang-hsi (August 6th, 1671), he died unexpectedly before the Imperial letters patent arrived. He was born on the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year of T'ien-chi (January 5th, 1628). His wife, T'ao-shih-i 陶氏怡, was the daughter of the native magistrate of Ching-tung 景東.[126]

TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. — *A-su A-wei* 阿俗阿胃 (PLATE 33): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Yao 木堯. He was also named Chung-sung 中嵩 and Hua-yo 華嶽. He was the eldest son of Mu Yu 木樾, who was the younger brother of Mu Ching 木靖. As he was adopted by his uncle Mu Ching as his legal heir, he succeeded to his uncle's throne. He was gifted with loyalty and filial piety and was very resolute and wise. Immediately after the death of his adopted father and in accordance with the latter's will, his official secretaries and the tribespeople wished that he should succeed him. But he wept bitterly in mourning dress, saying to his people: "Loyal subjects must be found in the household of obedient sons. Our family has bequeathed to its children the teachings of loyalty and filial piety as valuable legacies for many generations. Is it right for a son to enjoy a life of wealth and honor, and leave his father to suffer poverty and humiliation? If I could carry out my own wish, I should first make my father ruler of this kingdom,[127] and

[126] During Mu Ying's 沐英 incumbency (he was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384), T'ao-o 陶俄 was the first Ching-tung native magistrate. His father was a certain A-chih-lu 阿只魯, who lived during the Mongol dynasty, and controlled several districts among which Wei-yüan 威遠 was one. His name was A-t'ao-o 阿陶俄, which was changed to T'ao in the 17th year of Hung-wu (1384). T'ao-shih-i's father was probably T'ao-hsi 陶曙, who became native magistrate of Ching-tung in the 11th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1638). — From *Ching-tung hsien chih kao*, ch. 5, fols. 49a–50a.

[127] As already mentioned, in the Second Chronicle Mu Yu is figured as the successor to Mu I instead of Mu Ching, who is given in the First Chronicle. The latter cannot very well be considered to have been native magistrate of Li-chiang, as he died before he had received his appointment, although he was the legal heir. He selected his younger brother's son to succeed him. The latter, however, refused to assume the position while his father was still alive. As his father was actually appointed, he rightly takes the place of his elder brother Mu Ching in the later Chronicle.

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173 then myself." All the tribespeople shouted with joy, praising and obeying him.

In the meantime, he explained in detail why his father, as the brother of his adopted father, should succeed to his position as magistrate of this district, and how he himself would enter into a bond with his father to help carry on the important responsibility of managing the affairs of his people. He sent the same explanation in the form of a petition to the Yün-nan Viceroy Li, who forwarded his proposal to the Emperor and duly obtained for him an Imperial reply, which praised his most filial action, and permitted his father to inherit this magistracy, and to enjoy this official honor for six years. After a certain period his father resigned from official life. Mu Yao then assumed his father's position as his legal heir; but in doing so he still expressed considerable sorrow both in manner and in words, and acted as if he were unwilling to do so.

At that time, the rebel Wu occupied the capital of Yün-nan as his most important strategical post, but Mu Yao remained loyal to the Imperial rule, and never obeyed his command. In addition to this, he secretly investigated Wu's followers, and sent information privately by his headman to Yung-lüeh Chiang-chün Chao 勇略將軍趙 (the Brave and conquering general Chao),[128] in Ssu-ch'uan province, and in all sincerity volunteered to help his army. Chao sent him a secret reply containing words of praise and encouragement. At the same time, Mu Yao sent the same information to Wang 王, General in defense of the military station of Chien-ch'ang 建昌;[129] he then quickly assembled many of his tribesmen at the Ch'iu-t'ang Pass 丘塘關,[130] and there built stone barricades to check the advance of the enemy.

On the 25th day of the seventh moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (August 19th, 1680), Brigadier-general Wang 總鎮府王 and Vice Brigadier-general Wang 標副總府王, under the Yung-lüeh general, both instructed him to enlist quickly 2,000 native soldiers to be ready for the march against the enemy. In case he should experience difficulty in transporting the soldiers' provisions from other parts of Yün-nan at a distance of 1,000 li, he had to find other means of providing the Imperial army with provisions so that the expedition should be successful. The generals promised him that, after it was settled, they would report his merit to the Emperor, and request that the cost of the

[128] Chao Liang-tung 趙良棟 was a native of Ning-hsia 寧夏, Kan-su. He was Commander-in-Chief (T'i-tu 提督) of Ning-hsia in 1676. In the year 1680 Wu San-kuei's followers took Ssu-ch'uan, and it was at that time that he was sent with an army to destroy the rebels. His title was "The Brave and Conquering General." He was appointed viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou on February 27th, 1680, on account of the merit he had acquired in capturing Ch'eng-tu — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 34b–35a.

It was while *en route* from Shan-hsi to Yün-nan that he was met by Mu Yao's messenger in Ssu-ch'uan. He died in 1697. The *Ning-hsia fu chih*, ch. 13, fols. 25a–27a, has a great deal to say about this general.

[129] Chien-ch'ang is a long, fertile valley in Ssu ch'uan, north of K'un-ming. Its capital is Hsi-ch'ang 西昌, the former Ning-yüan fu.

[130] The Ch'iu-t'ang Kuan, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 26b, is 25 li south of Li-chiang. It is the entrance to Li-chiang. In front of it are two mountains, one on each side, and the road passing through the center is very difficult to negotiate. A guard-station on the pass was once repaired by the native magistrate, who inscribed on it four characters: *Pao-I T'ien-Hsi* 保乂天西 (Protect the West).

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rice, which he had advanced to them, be twice repaid, and they would also see that all his heroic deeds were carefully recorded. Again, the Yung-lüeh general and Yün-nan Viceroy Chao sent him a secret note saying that his former report had been duly received, and that his loyalty and righteousness had been acknowledged. 173

On the 26th day of the second eighth moon (October 18th, 1680) of the same year, the viceroy again instructed him to gather his troops secretly from far and near, and employ them either as guides, or in preparing boats, soldiers' rations and fodder, and promised that his merit in being the vanguard of this expedition would be reported in detail to the Emperor. His Majesty would be requested to show him additional grace and reward him abundantly. Later, the viceroy wrote to Mu Yao again saying he had heard that Mu Yao had rendered good service to the great Imperial army under difficult circumstances, on its arrival in Yün-nan to recover its capital from the enemy. He also told him that he was aware of his brave and fearless fighting *en route* to Yün-nan fu, and how sincerely he had volunteered his services to the headquarters of the Imperial army. He informed him that the Emperor had ordered the Ku-shan-pei-tzu 固山貝子,[121] Chang T'ai 章泰, the Ting-yüan p'ing-k'ou ta chiang-chün 定遠平寇大將軍 (Great general of the far Southern punitive expedition), to reward him justly according to his own discretion; also that the viceroy himself was rewarding him in advance.

On the 28th day of the fourth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (June 15th, 1681), the viceroy reported to the Emperor on his behalf, who then gave him an additional official seal and official letters patent, ordering him to manage all his military affairs properly and to defend the frontier to the best of his ability. On the 23rd day of the fifth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (July 8th, 1681), he again received an Imperial order through the service of the Ku-shan-pei-tzu, Chang T'ai, informing him that the Emperor had greatly appreciated his loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to the nation, in devoting his efforts to the mustering of his troops for purposes of defense; and that now he (the Great general) had specially instructed General Hsi 將軍希, Provincial Commander-in-Chief Sang 提督桑, and the volunteer general Wang Hui 投誠將軍王會, together with a certain Pai Lin-sheng 白麟生, to lead the most powerful Imperial troops, both Manchu and Chinese, to the city of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 [122] and against the rebel Wu.[123] Mu Yao was instructed to do all

[121] Ku-shan-pei-tzu is the Manchu Ku-sai Bei-tzu (*Ku-sai* signifying *Banner*) and designates an Imperial prince of the fourth order. Chang T'ai led his great army to Yün-nan. His soldiers at that time were quartered in the Kuei-hua Temple 歸化寺. Meanwhile, the robbers decided to hold out against the Imperial forces, and to await the arrival of their own reinforcements from the west. The robber chief, Kuo Chuang-t'u 郭壯圖 (whose wife was the daughter of Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan 吳世璠), however, did not listen to this advice and made a sortie with his troops and attacked Chang T'ai. All the Imperial forces under the various generals and the viceroy Chao Liang-tung attacked them in return. The elephants in the regiment of the robbers suddenly stampeded and drove their army into the Chin-chih Ho 金汁河. (This stream is also called Chin-leng Ho 金稜河. According to the *Yün-nan fu chih* it is 10 li east of Yün-nan fu.) Only 27 soldiers of the robber Kuo Chuang-t'u escaped and entered the city — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 104, fol. 2a.

[122] The rebel general Ma Pao 馬寶 (robber) had fled from the eastern part of Yün-nan (Hsün-tien 尋甸) to Ch'u-hsiung, whither the officers Hsi Fu 希福 and Sang Ko 桑格 followed

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173 in his power to levy his own troops, in order to prepare for the defense of his territory. In case the rebel Wu and his brigand followers should flee to his district, he should help the Imperial army to check them, and co-operate with it in order to destroy the brigands. The merit he would thereby acquire would again be greatly rewarded by the Imperial court. Thereupon, Mu Yao recruited more then 10,000 tribesmen, and organized them into a defensive corps and awaited the approach of the brigands. There happened to escape at that time to his post at Li-chiang, over 10,000 brigands led by seven rebel generals, among whom was Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱,[134] who intended to steal a march across the river for the purpose of conspiring with the T'u-fan to rise against the government.

Mu Yao secretly ordered some men to pretend to be native guides to show the rebels the road to Tibet, but at the same time instructed the wild Li-su tribe to hide in ambush in all the wild places west of the Lan-ts'ang River (Mekong). He personally led his troops of over 10,000 tribal soldiers, following the brigands step by step; he succeeded in capturing and killing many of them with their horses, whose corpses were strewn along the highway. When he had pursued them beyond the river, the enemy had scarcely half of their number left, and those remaining tried to escape as best they could. Their only road lay either up steep cliffs and over the unsurmountable peaks which surrounded them, or along the large river blocking them in front. Those who tried to escape by climbing up creepers which grew on the cliffs were all killed by the Li-su. At last, the brigand leader Hu Kuo-chu with his confederates was in great despair, and he committed suicide. Mu Yao secured much ammunition and many military weapons, also two dead elephants. He made a detailed report about this expedition to the Great General [Ku-shan-pei-tzu] Chang T'ai. Thereupon His Excellency the Sui-yüan general and Viceroy Ts'ai 綏遠將軍總督部院蔡,[135] and His Excellency the Yün-nan Governor Yin

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them and engaged them in battle at Lü-ho 呂合 (60 li west of Ch'u-hsiung and seven stages west of K'un-ming).

The following notes may be of interest regarding the persons mentioned here:

Ma Pao was a native of Shensi and from the beginning a rebel leader. He submitted to Wu San-kuei in 1659 and became his most loyal follower. In the 15th year of K'ang-hsi (1676) he fought the Imperial troops and relieved Ch'ang-sha. After the death of Wu San-kuei he passed through Kuei-chou *en route* to Ssu-ch'uan where he tried to stop the advance of the Imperial troops. In 1681 when Yün-nan fu was besieged, he was defeated by General Hsi Fu and forced to surrender. In the autumn of the same year he was executed.

Sang Ko (Sangge) was a Manchurian Bannerman belonging to the Plain White banner. He was in the vanguard on the march to Yün-nan via south Hu-nan. In 1681 he was recalled to Peking. He died in 1699. (*See* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*)

[133] This is Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan.

[134] Hu Kuo-chu was a general under Wu San-kuei. He was first defeated by Chao Liang-tung in the Chien-ch'ang valley. Hu Kuo-chu was later sent to Ssu-ch'uan with other generals to try and persuade that province to join again the cause of the rebels. In this they succeeded and captured various districts. Hu Kuo-chu's troops dispersed after the fall of Hsü chou in Ssu-ch'uan, and he himself fled to Li-chiang where he hid in the high mountains (Yü-lung Shan). Later, on December 19th, 1681, Hsi Fu found him in Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 (south-west of Ta-li on the Pi Chiang), where he was surrounded. To avoid capture he committed suicide by strangulation.

[135] His name was Ts'ai Yü-jung 蔡毓榮. He was a Han-chün and a Bordered white flag

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PLATE 65. — A NA-KHI MUAN-SPÖ D'A

納西天神境

Each clan, designated by a family name, has its own altar, at which to propitiate Heaven. On the altar are three treelets, from left to right: an oak representing Heaven, a juniper representing the Emperor and an oak representing Earth. In the foreground large incense sticks ready to be lighted and put into the ground.

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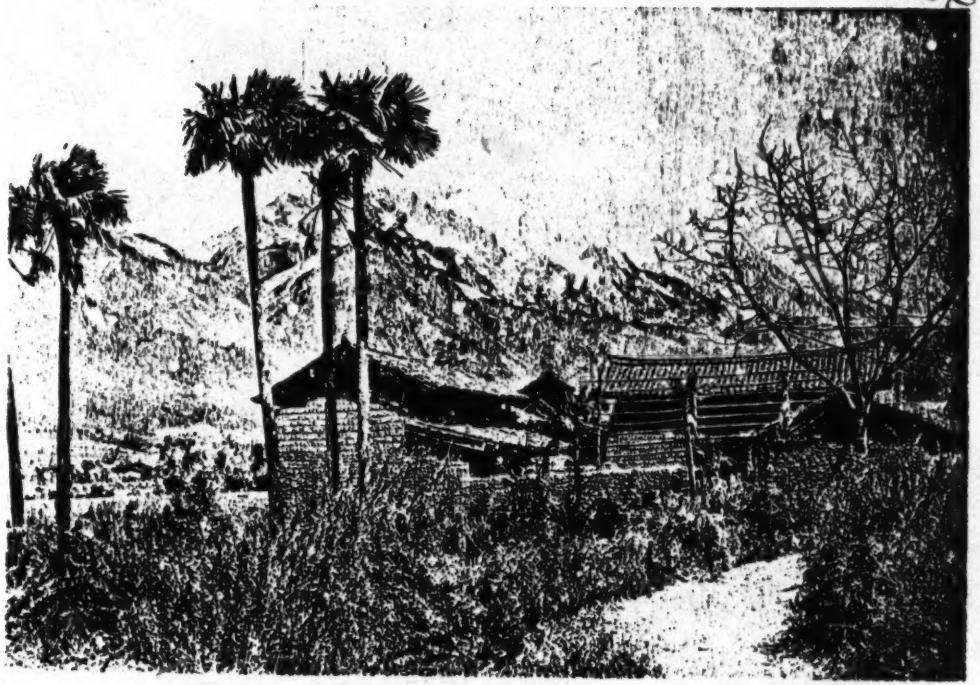

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 66. — MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山尖子頭

The highest peak of Yü-lung Shan as seen from the village of Lüü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (in foreground) in the li of Pai-sha. To the left fan palms (*Trachycarpus Fortunei*), to the right a leafless walnut tree. The rack in front of the house is used for drying grain, turnips, etc.

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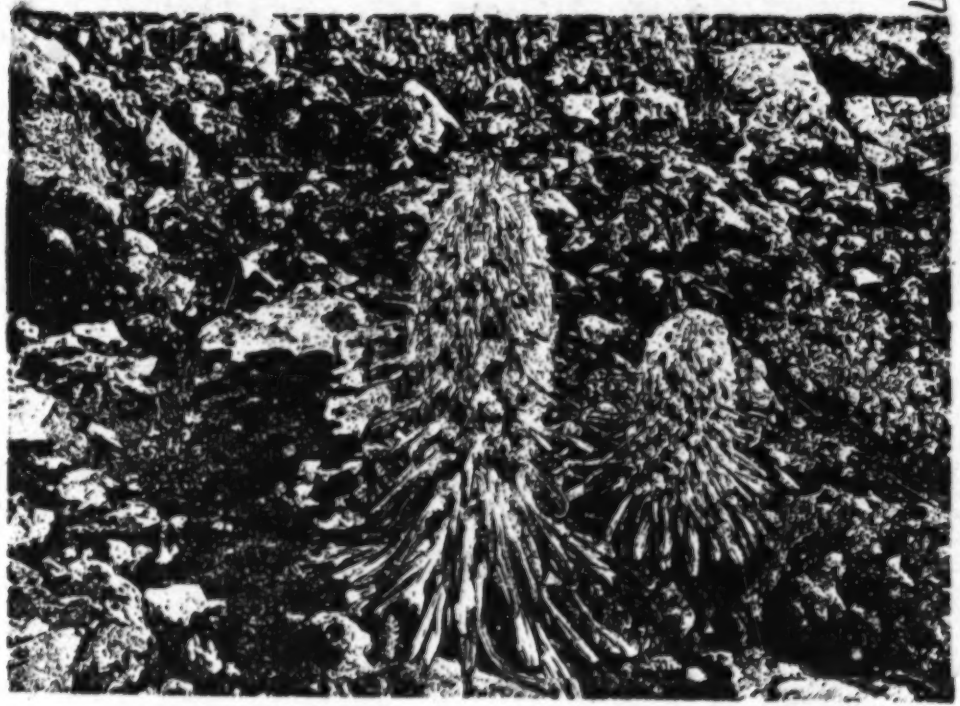

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 67. — SAUSSUREA LAHICEPS H-M.

The last of the alpine compositae growing among limestone rocks at an elevation of 15,000 feet, at Khi-lili-p'u-dalwuh, eastern slopes of the Yü-lang Shan.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 68. — THE LIMESTONE MASS OF SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山獅子頭山峰

View from near the edge of Sa-ba lo-gkv gorge looking west. The dark patches in the foreground are *Rhododendron prostratum* growing on the scree. Between the main peak and the rugged limestone mass beyond the scree lies the 4,500 feet deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. Photographed from an elevation of 15,500 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 69. — THE ALPINE MEADOW OF MAH-DEU-GEV

In the foreground *Rhododendron Trailianum* trees with *Abies Forrestii*. The forested spur on the other side of the meadow is Ghügh-bö lo and the ravine in the extreme upper left Zhwua-k'o lo. Elevation 11,000 feet.

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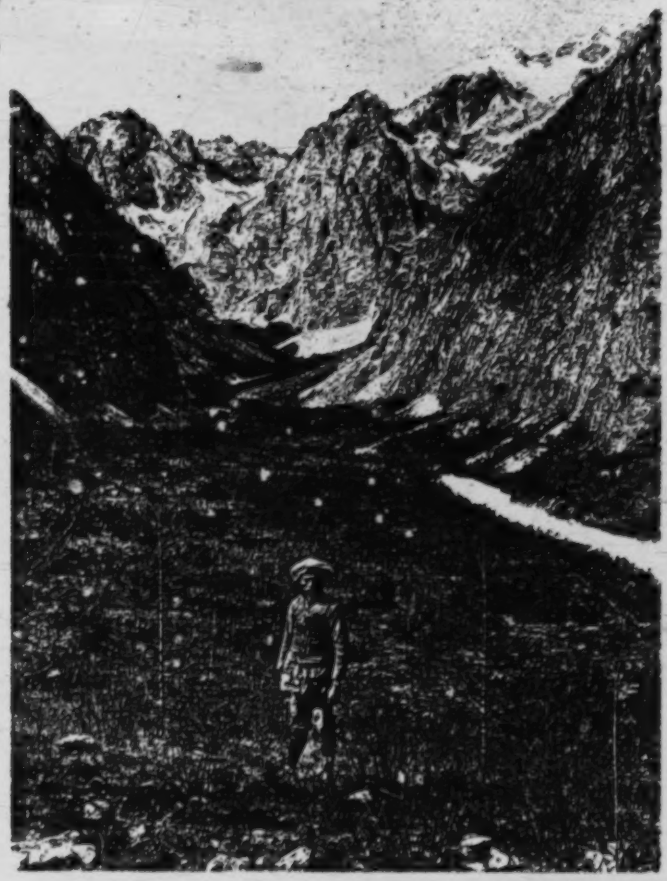

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 70. — THE GORGE SA-BA LO-GEV

雅巴羅古峽谷

The gorge which has no outlet was once glacier-filled; it is now waterless except in its upper part. Forest of spruce and Rhododendron which give way to firs higher up fill the gorge. The glacier in the upper right descends from the highest peak, Shan-tzu-tou, its snout is now at the extreme head of the gorge. Photographed from La-zo-gko-dshwuà elevation 12,300 feet, and 300 feet above the floor of the gorge. The leafless trees in the foreground are larches (*Larix Potaninii*).

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PLATE 71. — THE SA-BA GORGE (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

雅巴峽全景

The mighty gorge once filled with a glacier is now dry and the limestone floor is sparingly covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. It extends east from about the center of the snow range, south of the Yangtse. A similar gorge (Gyi-p'ér k'a) but longer, extends west from the other side of the range in contraposition of Sa-ba; it is 2,650 feet lower than Sa-bā. The broad rocky mass above the pine-covered spur (left) is Ggö-gko 'a-k'ö; La-so-gko-dshwuk is near the head (top) of the pine-covered spur whence Plate 70 was taken.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 72. — SA-BA DÜ-LA-LO, THE NORTHEASTERN BRANCH OF SA-BA

The floor of this part of Sa-ba is composed of almost pure marl; the encircling moraines are covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. The distance from Sa-ba lo-gkv, the head of the gorge, to the end of Sa-ba dü-la-lo is over three miles. The glacier which once filled this gorge has now retreated to its very head.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 75.—THE GLACIER AT THE HEAD OF SA-BA LO-GKV

The glacier which once filled Sa-ba is fed by the avalanches of ice and snow from Shan-tzu-tou visible in the picture. In the summer waterfalls tumble over the limestone cliffs which form the head of Sa-ba or Sa-ba lo-gkv. Elevation of glacier 13,250 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 74. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö OR HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

麗江白沙鄉雪松村子雪嵩村

The last village on the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain in the Commune of Pai-sha, at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan. The Na-khi name of the village means: "At the foot of the silver rocks." Mt. Shan-tzu-tou in background.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 75.—A NA-KHI FARMER FROM THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

雲龍村納西農夫

He wears a felt hat and sheepskin jacket. The men play nursemaid, while the women perform most of the work, except ploughing.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 76. — NA-KHI WOMEN OF THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

[illegible]

The first two (from left) are unmarried, the third is married. Girls usually wear Chinese caps on festive occasions, otherwise a simple cloth is worn on the head with the hair (braids) wound outside. Married women wear their hair in a knob on the top of the head around which a cloth is wound to keep it in place, another cloth is then placed over it as in the picture.

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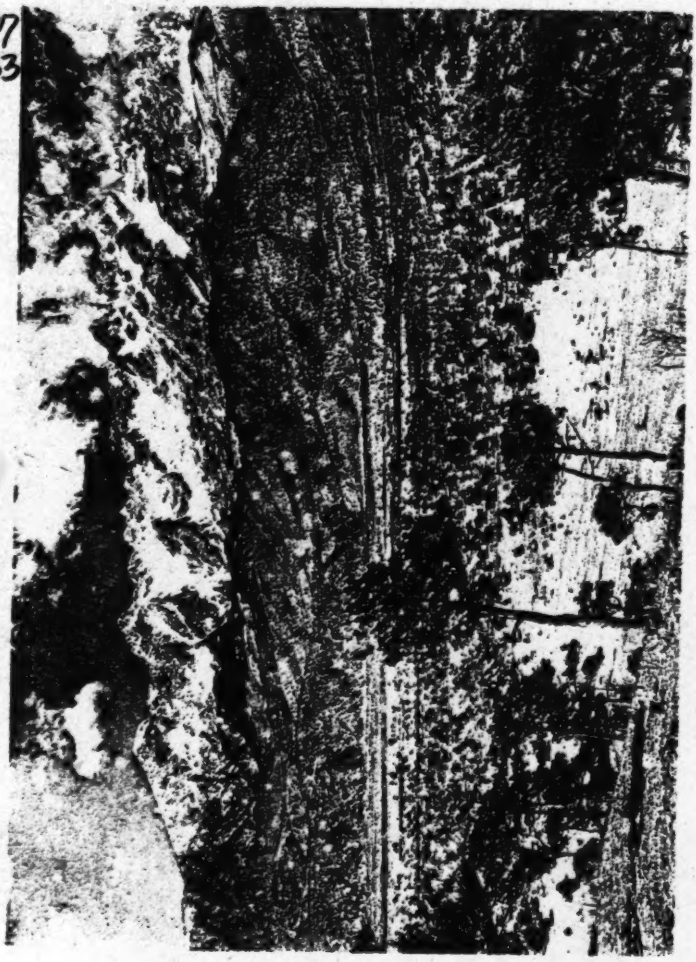

PLATE 77.—SOUTHERN END OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN IN WINTER SNOW

玉龍山南支雪

View across the upper end of the Li-chiang plain from the eastern limestone range at Dza-dza mbu. The trees are all pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The first snow-covered crag (left) is Hua-lü-bpu. The others are called first half Nv-lv-na, the second Nv-lv-p'ér (black and white silver rocks) owing to the black and white scree which descend from the crags.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 78.— MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山獅子頭

View from Dza-dza mbu (Dshi-hō gyi-tsī) across northern end of Li-chiang plain and west to Shan-tzu-tou. The Sa-ba gorge is beyond the diagonal spur. Pine trees on plain; scrub oak and limestone in foreground. Where the lowest snow field seems to join the spur is La-so-gko-dshwuā.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 79. — NGA-BA, THE ANCIENT BED OF AN ICE LAKE

玉龍山峨嵯子，古冰湖底子

Situated at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan, elevation 10,500 feet. The trees on the grassy plain are pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which higher up give way to poplars (*Populus Bonatii*) and larches (*Larix Potaninii*). The first peak (left) is Ch'wua-lo-gku; the second Sa-ba nv-lv; the third Shan-tzu-tou. Note the man on horseback in lower right.

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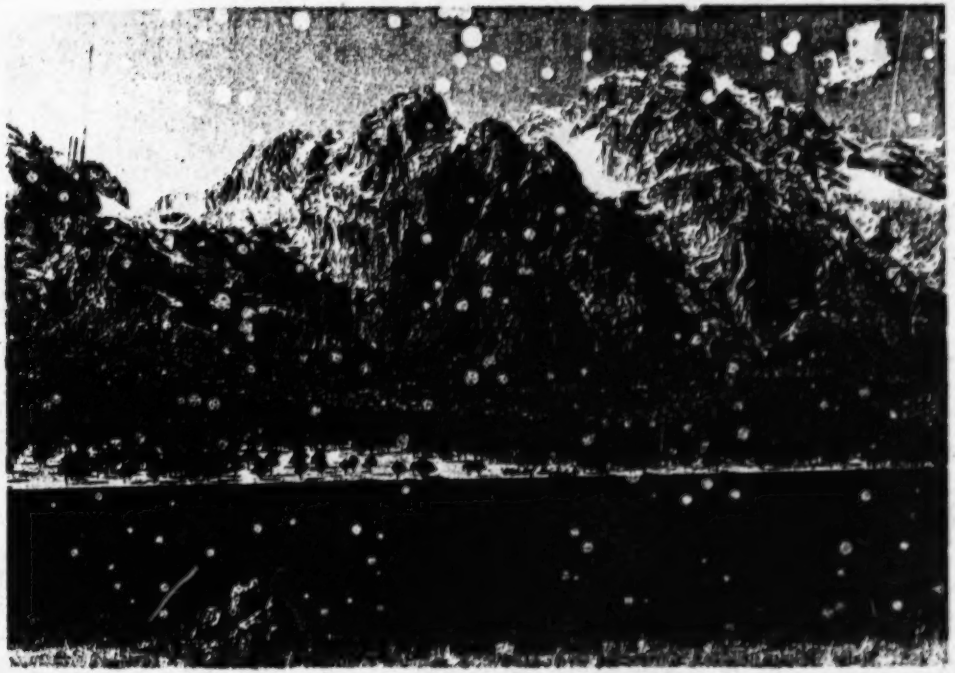

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 80. — NGA-BA TRANSFORMED INTO A BLUE LAKE

蛟海子變成藍湖

Only during summers of exceptional heavy rains does a lake form at Nga-ba; by spring, however, the waters disappear entirely. The author's camp can be seen on lake shore (center). The central peak is Nga-ba nv-lv; the last peak Gyi-nà nv-lv.

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173 尹,[126] both affixed their signatures in a proposal to the Emperor that his hereditary right be confirmed.

In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (May 15th–June 12th, 1684), in accordance with instructions given by the Yün-nan Governor Wang 王,[127] the Provincial treasurer sent Mu Yao an official dispatch issued by the Board of Civil Office, conferring on him the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (*v.s.*), he accepted his hereditary position. In the same moon, on account of rheumatism, he could no longer look after the affairs of his people, and offered to resign from official life.

According to established custom, Mu Hsing 木興, his eldest son and legal heir, inherited his position. On the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688),[128] the Emperor conferred on his father, Mu Yu, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'ing 羅氏卿, daughter of a native family of Lan chou,[129] was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by special Imperial patent. Mu Yao's mother gave birth to five sons, named Yao 堯, Sheng 聲, Tuan 端, Huang 潢 and Chung 忠. His father's second wife also gave birth to five sons, named Ch'eng 成, Wen 文, Kuang 光, Cheng 貞 and Man 滿.

Mu Yao received once more Imperial letters patent for himself, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He was born on the 6th day of the sixth moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (July 7th, 1647), and died on the 28th day of the eighth moon of the 47th year of K'ang-hsi (October 11th, 1708). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿氏加, was the daughter of the native magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安.[130]

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bannerman. In the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (1670) he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan, Hu-nan and Hu-pe. One year later a separate viceroy was appointed for Ssu-ch'uan and Ts'ai remained viceroy for Hu-nan and Hu-pe only. In the 21st year (1682) he became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. Together with his son Lin 林 he was sent into exile for crimes committed, and died there in 1699 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 35a–b.

[126] His name was Yin P'i 尹繼. He was still governor of Yün-nan in 1681, when Wang Chi-wen was his provincial treasurer.

[127] His name was Wang Chi-wen 王繼文; he succeeded Yin P'i as governor of Yün-nan. He was a Chinese-Bordered yellow bannerman; in 1674 he became Provincial treasurer of Yün-nan, and Governor of Yün-nan in 1681. He was appointed Viceroy in 1691. He died in 1703.

[128] *See* p. 136, Note 125.

[129] The first ancestor of this family was Lo-k'o 羅克, a native of Lan chou. He was the leader of 10,000 families during the Mongol dynasty. In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he led all his people to submission. On account of merit acquired during military exploits he was made native sub-magistrate. Lan chou, the present Lan-p'ing, is 360 li south-west of Li-chiang. During the Mongol dynasty it was in the Circuit of Li-chiang. Under the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), it belonged to Ho-ch'ing and afterwards again to Li-chiang. Lo-ts'an 羅鑽 was the last native sub-magistrate. His successors were merely called Hsi-t'u-she 世土舍 (Hereditary local residents) — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 61a.

[130] The first ancestor of the Kao family mentioned in Chinese records is a certain Kao Ming-

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173 On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen of the fourth principal rank. Her official name was Kao-shih-ning 高氏寧. She gave birth to four sons, named Kuei 貴,[141] Hsing 興, Hung 弘 and Chung 鍾. His second wife, Li-shih 李氏, gave birth to four sons, named Chih 枝, Ch'üan 全, Ting 定 and Hui 惠.

Although Mu Yao's merits were not properly rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, yet his fame reached the four corners of the nation. He had proved himself both loyal and righteous to his country. When he was dying, he called his eldest son to his bedside, and handed him a large parcel containing his official seals, dispatches, and diplomas given him by the different emperors, and instructed him to keep them as valuable legacies for his children and those of later generations.

TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. — *A-wei A-hui* 阿胃阿揮[142] (PLATE 34): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Hsing 木興. He was also named Wei-hsin 維新 and Hsüeh-ch'eng 雪城. He was the second son of Wei (Mu Yao), and succeeded to his father's throne. He was mentally well-endowed, very widely read and had carefully studied all the ancient classics. When full-grown, he understood thoroughly how to manage political affairs. A very sociable man, he attracted numerous friends from all directions. He often strengthened his friendships by widely circulating his poems and specimens of his calligraphy, which he presented to famous scholars and ministers of high rank, who were his contemporaries. The Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Governor-general, Chiang 雲南貴州制軍蔣,[143] saw his poems and calligraphy and was much surprised at his wonderful skill.

When Chiang had leisure, he used to request Mu Hsing to write poems and scrolls for him, in return for which he presented him with many gifts. For these Hui also repaid him with presents. Thus their friendship became truly intimate and lasting. On the 6th day of the fifth moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (June 20th, 1692), the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan 總督雲貴部院范,[144] sent him an official dispatch, enclosing a diploma, issued on

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ch'ing 高明清. The seventh generation after him was a certain Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥, who was sent by Tuan 段 (Hsing-chi 興智), King of Nan-chao, to stop the troops of Kublai Khan and prevent them from crossing into the Nan-chao Kingdom. Being unable to do this, he fled to his native home at Yao-an. He was captured by the Mongols and decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓, the main south gate of Ta-li.

Yao-an is a sub-prefecture under Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, and is north of Chen-nan (chou) 鎮南州, now a hsien. The latter is six and a half stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

[141] Kuei died in early manhood before marriage.

[142] His Chinese name is a transcription of his Na-khi name, Aw-wùa Aw-khū.

[143] There was a Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi 蔣陳錫, who ruled in Yün-nan in 1717, but his name does not appear in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 34b, states that Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi suppressed a rebellion among the Wu-ting chiefs in 1718. According to the *Chung-kuo Jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* 中國人名大辭典, p. 1540, he was a K'ang-hsi Chin-shih and Governor General of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He was sent to Tibet to comfort and feast the (victorious) troops, but he died of illness within a hundred li of the Tibetan border.

[144] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳; he was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman, and became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686. It was he who brought

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the 4th day of the fifth moon of the same year (June 18th, 1692) by the Board of Civil Office, ordering him to succeed to his father's position. In the same moon, he assumed his official position. Since he had no legal heir, he adopted the son of his younger brother Mu Hung 木弘, named Mu Ch'ung 木崇, as his own son. He held his position for 28 years; under his rule all his people enjoyed happiness and contentment and proved most obedient to his will. His excellent reputation had spread everywhere.

In the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706), a tribe called the Lu-man 罏蠻[146] started a rebellion. Viceroy Chiang secretly instructed the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang to investigate this matter. As it was not safe for the Chinese to travel into those tribal lands, the viceroy again ordered Mu Hsing to select capable natives of his own land and to send them to Ni-t'ang 泥塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) to investigate carefully the real conditions of the rebelling tribes. Furthermore, those men should return quickly to render a true report to the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang. In this mission, Mu Hsing proved himself not only careful and moderate, but also most patriotic in defending the frontier territory of our empire. In the same year, he contributed some money for the building of the Confucian temple in our city, and did not begrudge 1,000 ounces of silver for opening public schools and engaging teachers.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial army launched a punitive expedition against Tibet by way of Yün-nan. Mu Hsing showed his unusual loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to our nation by making a careful report to the government and offering voluntarily 2,000 of his native soldiers to be enlisted against Tibet. In the eighth moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (September 2nd–October 1st inclusive, 1720), he received an official dispatch from the two chief officials of Yün-nan, the viceroy and the governor, sanctioning his application to keep 1,000 of his native soldiers as a reserve force, and to enlist 1,000 more for immediate service. He was also appointed by them as Superintendent of military affairs, to lead personally 500 native soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his own command, to serve as builders of military stations and bridges along the road, defenders of the important ferries, spies and guides to show the way, and carriers of military provisions. An additional dispatch by the above-mentioned officials was given to his son and legal heir, Mu Ch'ung, who was appointed major to accompany this expedition, and ordered to be in charge of 500 native veteran soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his command. He was to serve under His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu 欽差都統伍[148] as vanguard of the front lines, and as builder of

out the first Ch'ing edition of *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan). He died in 1714 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fol. 35b.

[146] The term Lu-man is derived from Lu 罏 the last character in the name of the town Ta-chien-lu 打箭罏 (now K'ang-ting 康定) on the Tibetan border, capital of Hsi-k'ang. The term comprised the Tibetans living between Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang 裏塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (now Li-hua 裏化 and Pa-an 巴安 in Hsi-k'ang 西康) in the Tibetan Marches.

[148] His name was Wu Ko 伍哥 (Uge). He led, in company with the Assistant Commander-in-Chief Wu Na-ha 吳納哈, 1,000 Manchu soldiers, while the regiments of Li-chiang, Ho-ch'ing and Yung-pei were headed by Major-general Chao K'un 趙坤 (who later became gov-

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173 roads along the mountain passes, and of bridges over the streams. The above-mentioned dispatches were duly approved by the aforesaid officials.

In the meantime, Mu Hsing transported military provisions from the different military stations to the battle fronts. Arrived at La-p'u, he rearranged their system of transport. At La-p'u, there was a headman named Pa-sung 巴松, who had suppressed their official dispatches, and prevented their soldiers' rations from being forwarded, whereby they found it difficult to advance any further. Mu Hsing's native soldiers therefore killed him and recovered many of the dispatches. The reason why the Imperial soldiers, both Manchu and Chinese, suffered from want of rations in Tibet, was entirely due to Pa-sung, who had stopped the transport of supplies. On his arrival at A-tun-tzu 阿墩子, Mu Hsing learned that Pa-sung had been one of the most intimate subordinates of Nien 年, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan.[147]

While Mu Hsing was trembling with fear, he received a secret dispatch from the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy Chiang, in which was enclosed a copy of a false report written by the Ssu-ch'uan viceroy to the Yün-nan viceroy full of accusations against him. Thus he was very much frightened, and became so ill that he could neither eat nor drink. At last his health declined, so that he died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (December 8th, 1720), after he had been carried home in the tenth moon (October 31st–November 29th inclusive) of the same year.

As mentioned above, his son, Mu Ch'ung, accompanied the army of the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu on his expedition, and served under him as vanguard in the front lines. He suffered considerably from exposure on snow-covered mountains, and endured heavy frost. Thus he contracted rheumatism which later developed into a serious case of dropsy. On the 30th day of the second moon of the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (April 15th, 1722) he died, after returning home from this expedition, in spite of treatment

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ernor of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou). Ma Hui-po 馬會伯 led 1,500 Green banner troops plus 500 Li-chiang Mo-so soldiers. They were to cross the Yangtse and unite with the Ssu-ch'uan troops on their march on Tsang 藏 (Tibet) — *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 37a.

See also E. HAENISCH, "Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas," *T'oung Pao*, 1911, Vol. 12, pp. 197–235, 375–424. On p. 402, HAENISCH translates from the *Tung-hua-lu* 東華錄, ch. 29, which I render here from the German: General Uge left Yün-nan on the 12th day of the second moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (March 20th, 1720). Uge reports: "As I received a communication from Mu Hsing, native Prefect of Li-chiang fu, asking my permission to accompany me, and at the same time placing his contingents at my disposal, I selected 500 men from his native troops, which I placed under the command of the sons of Mu Hsing and ordered them to join the campaign of our army."

[147] His name was Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states, ch. 103, fol. 2b, that he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721) (*see* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*, p. 404). He was opposed to the placing of Pa-t'ang and Li-t'ang under the native magistrate of Li-chiang and memorialized the throne to have these two places remain under the rule of Ssu-ch'uan. He sent a subordinate general, Yo Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪, with troops to Li-t'ang, who was to join the Yün-nan troops on the march to Lha-sa. This general was one of the most renowned. He rushed ahead without waiting for the great army, and with his small detachment captured Lha-sa. It is due to him that the entire military operation, from the advance march from Pa-t'ang to the capture of Lha-sa, took only four months (May 19th–September 20th, 1720). *See* also CHAVANNES, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, p. 634.

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by the most skilful doctors. Thus both father and son sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation. 173

Although the merit they had acquired was not properly recognized or rewarded by the Imperial court, yet it has been remembered and praised by our people until the present time. There is an old saying that so far as loyalty is concerned, an official should bend his body and exhaust his energy in the service of the State, and only death shall put a stop to it. Both father and son were worthy to receive this praise. Mu Hsing was born on the 13th day of the third moon of the 6th year of K'ang-hsi (April 5th, 1667), and died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of the same period (December 8th, 1720). In the 42nd year of K'ang-hsi (1703), when Mu Hsing was still alive, he respectfully received, by the grace of the Emperor, Imperial letters patent conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu together with the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his wife, Lu-shih-lung 陸氏隆, daughter of the official Lu 陸 family of the city of Wu-ting 武定, the honorary title of Kung-jen. As he had no son, he adopted his nephew, Lieutenant-colonel Mu Ch'ung, as his legal heir. The latter's wife, Kao Shih-ch'eng-yü 高氏成玉, daughter of the Kao family, native chiefs of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶, also had no son.

TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-hsi A-chu* 阿揮阿住[148] (PLATE 35): Hereditary native Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Chung 木鐘; he was also named Yün-lin 雲林 and Yung-mou 永茂.

He was the fourth son of Mu Yao, and succeeded to his brother's throne. Since his childhood, he had been very simple, gentle and quiet in mind. He never was obstinate or disobedient. He was, therefore, much respected and liked by his people both inside and outside his household. At the age of six, Kao Ying-ying 高穎映,[149] native sub-magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安, heard of his pure and gentle character, and invited him to his yamen for the purpose of giving him a perfect education. Kao saw that he was never fond of wasting his time by indulging in games. He consented to give him his daughter in marriage, and treated him as if he were his own son. After some years, Mu Chung begged leave to return home to attend the Imperial examination, but Kao was so fond of him that he could not bear being separated from him. Mu Chung then married Kao's daughter in his father-in-law's yamen.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial court sent a punitive expedition against Tibet and his elder brother and his nephew both lost their lives in battle. His country had no one to look after the affairs of its people; their official secretaries, therefore, invited Mu Chung to return to his own country, and made him administrator of all its military and civil affairs. In controlling the affairs of his fu-magistracy, he never neglected to follow the example of the best teaching of his ancestors. He had a very pleasant dis-

[148] He is called Aw-khū Aw-dzu in Na-khi, of which the Chinese is a phonetic transcription.

[149] From the time of the Ming dynasty the members of his family have been hereditary sub-prefects of Yao-an. He revised the *Chi-tzu Shan-chih* (Records of the famous Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山 [north-east of Ta-li]), and co-operated in writing the famous work called *Tien-hsi* 滇系.

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173 position and was therefore liked by his ...espeople. Because he was the younger brother of Mu Hsing born of the same parents, and was the uncle of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 of the same blood, therefore in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722), after his brother and his nephew had died of illness, all his people joined to append their signatures to a recommendation on his behalf to the Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Viceroy Chang 雲貴部院張.[110] He was thereupon appointed to look after the affairs of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. The viceroy sent him a short note saying that, as soon as his family record was submitted to the governor as evidence, his hereditary right would be duly recommended and confirmed by official letters patent.

After having been in office for a little over 40 days, there unexpectedly appeared a man by the name of A-chih-li 阿知立,[111] of the same Mu family. He, with some others, perceiving the bad state of affairs in this fu-magistracy caused by the deaths of Mu Hsing and his [adopted] son [actually his nephew] Mu Ch'ung, and seeing also that the official seal was securely packed, quickly seized the opportunity at once to accuse the late Mu Hsing to the governor. They unearthed old complaints and brought them forward anew. There were certain headmen who, during Mu Hsing's rule, had been organized by a few leaders of this district, and these men pretended to perform public services for the people. They called themselves the Wu hu 五虎 and Shih-ssu piao 十四彪 (Five tigers and Fourteen tiger stripes or Tiger-cats) Party.[112]

These leaders, during the absence of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 and his father (actually uncle) Mu Hsing, while on service with the military expedition, tried in every possible way to rob the people of their wealth in the name of the Mu family, and, under the disguise of reformers, satisfied their selfish ends. Although there was little truth in the accusations which they brought, the Viceroy and Governor Kao 總督部院高[113] did not wait to examine carefully these false

[110] His name was Chang Wen-huan 張文煥. He was a native of Shensi and held the military degree of doctor. Although he is here called the Yün-nan — Kwei-chou Governor (雲貴) he was actually Viceroy since 1720.

[111] Aw-dzhi-lēr is the Na-khi name of the person who accused Mu Chung at the Yün-nan viceroy's yamen in Yün-nan fu. He lived in the village of Boa-shi mbe-lü (central village of Pai-sha li), a little south of Pai-sha-kai; the hamlet consists of peasants called Mu 木, descendants of Aw-dzhi-lēr. In the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 17a, it states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), the native A-chih-li, with Aw-ndo-so (A-chung-chü 阿仲宜), Ho Ji-chia 和日嘉, and Aw-bpu-t'a (A-pao-t'a 阿寶他), went to Yün-nan fu to accuse Mu Chung and implored and begged the Viceroy Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, and the Governor of the province, Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, to nationalize Li-chiang, and establish a Liu-kuan chih-fu 流官知府 (transferable prefect) and reduce the native prefect to a native syndic or advocate.

[112] The *piao* is also a mythical animal (called Gkü in Na-khi) which is supposed to be able to overcome a tiger.

[113] His name was Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬. He became viceroy in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722). He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 139, fols. 7b–8a, states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) he memorialized the throne that the bad system of hereditary T'u-ssu should be abolished. His reason was that several headmen or chiefs (four in number) had gathered around them many followers and had robbed Yüan-chiang. Three hundred and twenty-six native village headmen also had rebelled, and he sent soldiers to suppress them. The Chung-tien La-ma, also the Tibetan headmen, led 1,500 families to submission. During the incumbency of Kao as Viceroy, the Governor of Yün-nan was Yang Ming-shih 楊名時.

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leaders of the people, but, in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), suddenly 173 made a report to the Emperor, saying that Mu Hsing had been very covetous and cruel during his official life, and that even now his people were still accusing him.

He also reported that Mu Chung's 木鐘 reputation had suffered badly in his native place. Consequently the district should be nationalized, and the title of its ruler, formerly T'u chih-fu 土知府 (Native magistrate of the fu-magistracy) should be changed into Liu chih-fu 流知府 transferable prefect. Further, that the title Liu t'ung-pan 流通判 (Naturalized sub-prefect) should now be changed to T'u t'ung-pan 土通判 (Native sub-prefect). This report was duly registered and confirmed by the Emperor, and the district became nationalized on the 27th day of the fourth moon of the same year (May 31st, 1723).

After Mu Chung's return from Yao-an to Li-chiang he was busy day and night with military affairs without interruption. Since Mu Chung had assumed his official duties only for about 40 days, how could it suddenly be said that his reputation was bad? It is quite plain that he was unjustly accused by his people. Finally it became known that Viceroy Kao of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou had been for a long time an intimate friend of Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan. On receiving the accusation made by A-chih-li against Mu Hsing and Mu Chung 木鐘, Kao planned secretly to take revenge for the murder of Pa-sung 巴松, who was the most favorite subordinate of Nien Keng-yao. At that time, when the members of the Mu family learned that their district was to be reorganized, all tried their best to seize official positions, and acquire some power for themselves. Mu Chung was thus left alone, his influence vanished and he could do nothing. He lived patiently without showing the slightest anger. In the same year, a new magistrate named Yang 楊 [184] was appointed to rule the district of Li-chiang. On his

[184] His full name was Yang Pi 楊毘 (this character is also read P'ieh), and he was a Han-chün Cheng-huang-ch'i 漢軍正黃旗 (Chinese Plain yellow bannerman) of the literary degree *Chien-sheng* 監生 (the lowest degree to be obtained by purchase throughout the Empire). In the first year of Yung-cheng he was appointed Commissioner, or Collector, of revenue of the province of Hu-nan. Afterwards in the same year he became the first magistrate of Li-chiang. A memorial stone bearing the name of Yang Pi, whom it honors, stands outside the last village adjoining Li-chiang on the road leading west and to the small air field.

On the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range, back of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村) and immediately behind the present Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple) of that village (it is the last village on the western branch of the plain, at the foot of the snow range), there is a limestone wall or cliff called Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko. *Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu* (*lit.*, control water inside), a place where issues a beautiful spring which was controlled by a headman; *'a-gko* = cliff amongst. On this cliff is engraved the name of the first magistrate, Yang Pi, who assumed the position of Li-chiang magistrate in 1723. The cliff is called in Chinese, *Yü Chu Ch'ing T'ien* 玉柱擎天 (Jade-pillar which upholds [bears] the sky); this may have been intended as a metaphor for "a statesman who upholds the country." The words 玉柱擎天 are engraved in the center of the cliff in huge characters (p. 149 and PLATE 36). To the left side of the main inscription are the characters 雍正甲辰春麗邵守襄平楊毘題書: "In the second year of Yung-cheng *chia-ch'en* (1724), in the spring, the prefect of Li [chiang], Yang Pi of Hsiang-p'ing [Hsiang-p'ing hsien was in Feng-t'ien fu 奉天府 or Mukden] wrote this [central] inscription." At the base of the cliff are the characters *Yü Pi Chin Ch'uan* 玉壁金川 (Jade Wall and Golden Stream). Reference is here made to the snow range (Jade dragon Mountain), which rises like an enormous wall above

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173 arrival at this place, not only did he not investigate the robberies committed by "The Five tigers and the Fourteen piao party," but he appointed those evil-doers as secretaries of the six sub-bureaux in his yamen and as Hsiang-yao 鄉約 (village headmen).

By using these men as his tools, Yang tried to search out all the possible mistakes made by the Mu family. At last they discovered a case. At the period when Mu Wei-hsin (Mu Hsing) was busily occupied with his allotted military duty, he could not find time to collect the land and grain taxes from the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan and send the revenue to the Provincial treasurer. He thus neglected the collecting of taxes for four years. Mu Chung 木鐘 was therefore instructed to go to Chien-ch'uan to clear up the account. In the meantime, the magistrate of that chou-city was secretly instructed by the new magistrate of Li-chiang to confine him privately. The judge P'an Ch'ao-ssu (shih) 潘朝士, whom he employed to look after his judicial affairs, was also arrested and imprisoned. His secretary was forced by means of severe tortures to hand over the official documents which Pa-sung had suppressed with orders to burn them all. His family was then carefully searched and compelled to deliver all the deeds and evidences of their ancestors' landed property. All official documents and dispatches concerning their past generations were ordered to be burned. Happily, his wife, Kao, was a well-educated woman, and could read and write Chinese very well, so that she secretly hid in a strong, safe place, all their Imperial letters patent, and the various medals and proofs given to them by the different emperors, in honor of past merits acquired by their ancestors in the service of the Imperial court.

As the rest of the documents and accounts of this district were burned, nothing could be discovered regarding the quantity of rice and the amount of money kept for public purposes, and stolen by the above-mentioned evil leaders of the people, and appropriated to their own use. In addition, the searchers never credited and put into account that quantity of military rice which had become mildewed and rotten in the barns.

They made a report to the viceroy, who instructed Mu Chung to deliver the exact and entire amount of official property, the public rice and money, without taking into consideration the damage that had been done in the past. Again, the governor instructed the new magistrate to make him pay the balance of over 10,000 taels of silver, which was due from Mu Hsing and his (adopted) son Mu Ch'ung 木崇 to the Provincial treasurer during their official tenure. The new magistrate, taking as an excuse this shortage of payment owed by the Mu family to the government, confiscated Mu Chung's 木鐘 private lands and the buildings thereon which were bequeathed to him by his ancestors. These amounted in all to 12 residences.[116]

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the Chin-ch'uan (Golden Stream — the Yangtze or Chin-sha Chiang, *i.e.*, River of golden sand).

To the right of these characters, engraved in a horizontal line, come the small characters. *Yung-cheng ping-wu hsia jih* 雍正丙午夏日: "On a summer day in the year *ping-wu* of Yung-cheng [1726]," *Ch'eng-chün Nieh Jui t'i shu* 承郡聶瑞題書: "This theme was written by the assistant prefect Nieh Jui." The name of this person is not to be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung chih*.

[116] These residences (*d'a* in Na-khi) were distributed over the Li-chiang plain. The furthest

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雍正甲辰春麗郡守裘平楊秘題書

玉柱擎天

玉壁金川

雍正丙午夏日
丞郡鼐瑞
題書

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CLIFF OF GKWUA-GYI-GKV-LU 'A-GKO

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173 The confiscated houses were used as quarters for the soldiers and offices for the new magistrate, and for other public purposes. With regard to Mu Chung's ancestral landed property, the searchers divided it into two classes. First that which had already been sold or mortgaged to other people by his ancestors, with official deeds or proofs, and second that which had not been sold. From the first they tried to get additional payment, while the second was all confiscated by the government. His servants, house-stewards, and private secretaries were all discharged and forced to return to their native villages, to make their living by raising live-stock. The grazing lands were rented out, in order to obtain money to be used in the district for public purposes.

The investigators again questioned and interrogated his wife, Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and tried to make her hand over all their heirlooms of precious objects and valuable trinkets, but she replied that she had been in Li-chiang only for a short time, and had never seen a single precious thing bequeathed to them by the ancestors of the Mu family. What she now possessed had all been given to her by her parents at her marriage. She again said that those things kept by Wei-hsin Kung 維新公 (Lord Wei-hsin) (Mu Hsing) were all taken away by his wife, Ho-shih, while the legacies preserved by Lord Shih-ch'iao 世喬公 (Mu Ch'ung 木崇) were all given to his wife Kao-shih 高氏 (Kao-ch'eng-yü 高成玉). The searchers thought that what she said was true, and found no means to deprive her of her possessions. They gradually stopped their misdoings and felt satisfied with what they had obtained. They then falsified the ancestral records of the Mu family, and invented at their pleasure many false reports, which they sent to the governor. They only gave back to Kao-shih the book containing copies of all the official seals of the ancestors of the Mu family, and directed her and her husband to keep it for themselves for ever.

During this time Mu Chung was still detained in Chien-ch'uan. As soon as he learned that all his property had been confiscated by the government, he stamped his feet and beat his breast in great anxiety. From that time on, he could not eat at all, and gradually became seriously ill with vomiting. He was

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north was Kwuà-d'a, at the foot of the snow range to the north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ō (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪崇村). The twelve ¹d'a or ²Ts'ä-³nyi-¹d'a were as follows: ²Ggō-¹dgyū-²hoa-¹tkhi ¹d'a was the residence of the Na-khi ruler in Li-chiang proper; the upper or ²Ggō ¹d'a ²Aw-³lv ¹d'a was situated at Pai-sha 白沙 or Boa-shi; the lower or ²Mūāṇ ¹d'a ²Ssu-²chēr ¹d'a was back of the present Ministry of Education; ²Law-²shi ¹dtv-²ngv ¹d'a; ²Mbu-¹tkhye ¹d'a was situated below the Mu family temple at Ssi-li-wùa; ²Wùa-²naṇ ¹d'a at Ssi-li proper; ²Shwua-²wùa-²ds ¹d'a near the village of Shu-ho 東河 to the north-west; ²Mùaṇ-¹bbu-²ggō ¹d'a, ²Mùaṇ-¹bbu-³lü ¹d'a and ²Mùaṇ-¹bbu-¹mūāṇ ¹d'a (these three apparently count as one), they are the upper, central and lower ²Mùaṇ-¹bbu ¹d'a and are situated on the eastern slopes of Sä-bpi zhēr nv-lv or Wen-pi Shan near the lamasery ²Mùaṇ-¹bbu-¹nä (*see* pp. 176 and 185) hence the name. ¹¹A-³k'ō ¹d'a the first and oldest residence of the Mu family, see page 88; ²Kwuà ¹d'a situated by the village of ²Nv-³lv-k'ō, also known as ²Kwua ¹d'a ²Ch'wua-²ts'o ¹d'a where the stags danced; ²T'aw-¹bpō ¹d'a or ²T'aw-²bbu ¹d'a because there they performed the ceremony of ²T'aw-¹bpō and last ²Lü-³khū ²wùa-²wùa ¹d'a situated near a small lake called ²Lü-³khū or Central lake, the Chinese Chung-hai 中海; to the east of this artificial lake is the small airfield which is lower than the lake and therefore useless because it is swampy. Near it is an artificial hill about 50 feet high, more like a pyramid in outline, this is called ¹Ssaw-²ngaw-²wùa it is 6 li distant from the village of ²Lü-³khū; there is also a circular temple called ²Lü-³khū-²wùa-²wùa, ²wùa-²wùa meaning round. On ¹Ssaw-²ngaw-²wùa the Na-khi chiefs caused beacon fires to be lighted when they wished to call the people together. (*See also* p. 156, note 8, and p. 219.)

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sometimes dizzy and fainted without uttering a word; day after day he lay in his bed in a dying condition. In the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (1725), he was carried to his house in his native place, and died three days after he had reached home.

His tenure of office as native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of this district, and T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect) lasted altogether for two years only. During that time he had trouble within and without, and suffered so much that he was in tears all day, and held his head with his hands till he went to his grave. But the trouble had not been caused by Mu Chung himself. Whether he was right or wrong in his conduct is left to the judgment of his posterity, in fair conscience. He was born on the 17th day of the seventh moon of the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (August 24th, 1687), and died on the 30th day of the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (September 6th, 1725). On the 3rd day of the ninth moon of the 13th year of Yung-cheng (October 18th, 1735), by a special Imperial decree of grace, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ch'eng-te-lang 承德郎, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of An-jen 安人. She was named Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and was the daughter of sub-magistrate Kao 高同知, of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安. She gave birth to one son, named officially Mu Te 木德. His second wife, A-shih 阿氏, gave birth to two sons, named Mu Ming 木明 and Mu Chia 木嘉.

* * *

This closes the detailed account of the First Chronicle.

It is followed by the entire family tree of the Mu family beginning with Mu Te 木得, who lived from 1311 to 1390, and ending with Mu Te 木德 who was the last of the native prefects of Li-chiang. This is followed by a colophon the translation of which is at the end of the following chapter, the family tree for lack of space being omitted here.

The Historical Genealogies

Continued from the Second Chronicle

In order that the records of the Mu family be as complete as possible, the data missing in the First Chronicle are here supplied from the Second, though already partly translated and published in French by Edouard Chavannes.

TWENTY-FIFTH TO THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION

TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. — Mu Te 木德 (PLATE 37): His literary name was Fang-sheng 芳聲 and his given name Nien-tsu 念祖. He was the son of Yün-lin 雲林 (Mu Chung 木鍾). When the latter assumed his position, there appeared Aw-dzhi-lĕr who lodged false accusations against him. This man succeeded in having the native magistracy abolished and Mu Chung's property confiscated by the government. All the property and gifts accumulated by their ancestors through many generations vanished completely. Mu Chung had no longer any home, and 40 days or so after having assumed the position of T'ung-p'an, in which he had been neither confirmed nor appointed, he died.

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173 At that time Fang-sheng was nine years old in his home many had died, and he mourned bitterly.

He became hereditary T'ung-p'an at the age of nine, but his existence was precarious, his house like an empty jar, and he was poor and desolate. Yet he prospered and was apt and clever. Heaven gave him courage and understanding. He met Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕,[156] a *Chin-shih* 進士 of the city of Shih-p'ing 石屏,[157] who became his tutor and instructor. He studied the classics and readily grasped their meaning. His mother, Kao-shih, showed him all the ancient documents, ancestral papers and books which she had secretly preserved. He borrowed money and bettered the condition of his home, secured clothing and sufficient food. He consecrated all his efforts to retrieve his family after the reverses which had stricken it. When he was grown up and had gained both in courage and in knowledge, he submitted official reports to the different high provincial authorities, petitioning them to help ameliorate his condition. He went several times to the provincial capital, and thus wearied himself and nearly exhausted his energy. But he was not afraid of difficulties and dangers, and tried his best to create a favorable impression at official headquarters.

The viceroy invited him to an audience and granted him the native official farm and rice rent, in the form of 150 Imperial piculs of rice, and ordered him to visit [call upon] the Bureau of granary [at the four seasons] four times a year to take delivery. After that he had enough food for his morning and evening meal. He then obtained taxes in grain from the farms of Yung-pei, Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and La-pao 剌寶, and did not lose his office and influence. He trusted the profound grace of the viceroy, and obtained from the glorious Imperial court abundant help. Afterwards he subscribed towards the building of a Yü-yin lou 玉音樓,[158] where he prostrated himself to show his loyalty.

He repaired his residence and rebuilt the old ancestral hall to express his filial piety. He sold the copper utensils of his ancestors and gave the proceeds to the students, and defrayed their expenses to promote literature. All praised his moral qualities and profound instruction. After his death the Imperial Government bestowed on him the title of Hereditary assistant sub-prefect of Li-chiang 世襲麗江府通判. He lived to the age of 64. He was born in the 53rd year of K'ang-hsi, the 4th day of the fourth moon (May 17th, 1714), at the hour of noon. He died in the 42nd year of Ch'ien-lung, the 7th day of the sixth moon (July 11th, 1777) at the hour of *ch'en* 辰 (7–8 A.M.). His wife was Kao-

[156] Wan Hsien-yen was a native of Shih-p'ing who became a *chin-shih* in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721). In the second year of Yung-cheng (1724) he came to Li-chiang. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), on account of his special excellence (*Cho-i* 卓異, *i.e.*, deserving of special merit) he was appointed to the magistracy of Ching-yen 井研 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[157] Shih-p'ing is now a magistracy in the district of Chien-shui (Lin-an 臨安), south of K'un-ming.

[158] There is a Yü-yin lou (tower) in Li-chiang. It stands to the left of the T'ung-p'an yamen. This particular tower was built in the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619) by Mu Tseng (19th generation) of the Mu family. — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 36a. Fang-sheng received from the throne an Imperial tablet on which were inscribed (carved) the 12 characters, *T'ien Yen Chih Ch'ih* 天顏咫尺, *Hsiung Wei Ch'i Li* 雄偉奇麗, *Chia Yü Tien Hsi* 甲於滇西, which may be translated: Close to the Imperial face (an intimate adviser of the Emperor, as close as a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches); magnificent and beautiful; and the best known in the west of Tien (Yün-nan).

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shih-shun-ying 高氏順英, and she was the niece of Kao Hou-te 高厚德, native sub-prefect of Yao-an.[149] She was given the posthumous title of An-jen. To him were born two sons, the second was called Mu Hsiu 木秀, and he inherited his father's position. His first-born was Mu K'un 木坤, who died of illness at the age of 20, while at school. 173

Of some of the remaining generations only their names are known, of others their names, dates of birth, and death.

TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. — Mu Hsiu 木秀 (PLATE 38): His literary name was Chen-yo 鎮岳. Neither his date of birth nor death is given.

TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. — Mu Jui 木睿 (PLATE 39).

TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. — Mu Han 木漢 (PLATE 40): His literary name was Ying-yün 映雲.

TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. — Mu Ching 木景 (PLATE 41): His literary name was Ching-yang 景陽 and his given name Shu-tung 曙東.

THIRTIETH GENERATION. — Mu Yin 木蔭 (PLATE 42): His literary name was Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭. He was born in the year *jen-hsü* 壬戌 of T'ung-chih (1862). He died in the eighth year of the Republic (1919).

THIRTY-FIRST GENERATION. — Mu Piao 木標: His literary name was Chien-i 建儀, and his given name Po-fan 伯藩. He was born in the year *chia-shen* 甲申 of Kuang-hsü (1884), and died in the 17th year of the Republic (1928).

THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. — Mu Ch'iung 木瓊 (PLATE 43): His literary title is P'ei-ming 佩明 and his given name Shao-fan 紹藩. He was born in the year *mou-shen* 戊申 of Kuang-hsü, the second moon and 2nd day (March 4th, 1908), at the hour of *mao* 卯 (5–7 A.M.). He is the present T'u t'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native assistant sub-prefect), but without any power whatsoever.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION. — Mu Sung-k'uei 木松奎, also written 嵩錤: He was born in the 18th year of the Republic, tenth moon, 7th day (November 7th, 1929), at the hour of *shen* 申 (3–5 P.M.).

[149] His ancestor was a certain Kao Chin 高金 who during the Ming dynasty became native sub-prefect. Kao Hou-te was the son of Kao Ying-hou 高映厚 who held the same position during the K'ang-hsi period. Kao Hou-te because of certain affairs was banished to Chiang-nan and the hereditary office ceased to exist. — *Yao chou chih*, ed. 1885, ch. 5, fol. 47a.

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CHAPTER VII

COLOPHON AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS OF THE NA-KHI CHIEFS

COLOPHON TO THE FIRST CHRONICLE

173 In examining the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) we learn that at the beginning, when Li-chiang first belonged to Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom), it possessed no definite name.

The ancestors of the Mu family originally lived in Tso Kuo 笮國[1] (Tso Kingdom); in the Chou 周 (1122–255 B.C.) and Ch'in 秦 (255–206 B.C.) dynasties there are no records about this family. Beginning with the Han 漢 (206 B.C.–A.D. 221) and Chin 晉 (265–420) dynasties, down to the T'ang 唐 (618–907), the family existed for many generations.

The Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi Kingdom) was originally one of the Liu chao (Six Kingdoms).

At the close of the Sung dynasty, there lived in the Mu family a man by the name of Mai-tsung 麥宗,[2] who was very wise and lived to a ripe old age. He was endowed by Heaven with special intellect. There are narratives of him in the records. As to his ability and virtue, he was superior to the rest of the people and was therefore honored by them all. Unfortunately, at that time there was not much cultural development among these people, and although this man possessed a virtuous character and had accomplished much, nothing has been recorded about him. He begot Liang 良; Liang begot Wu 兀; Wu begot Liang 亮; Liang begot Chia 甲; Chia begot Te 得.

In the Yüan dynasty, this family enjoyed peace, and its deeds filled many shining pages in its history. When the Ming dynasty was founded (1368) and the first Emperor selected Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking) as Imperial capital, Chia of the Mu family knew immediately that the divine order of the succession of the Imperial throne had been established. He therefore sent his son with a number of envoys to Nanking to offer a map of their native land.

[1] The Tso-tu Kuo was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷筰都國 (Tso-tu Kingdom of the western barbarians). Han Wu Ti incorporated that territory in his empire and established the district of Tso-tu (Tso-tu hsien 筰都縣). In the sixth year of the period Yüan-ting 元鼎 (111 B.C.) it became the Ch'en-li Chün 沉黎郡. During the Sui dynasty it was called Han-yüan 漢源, which is 30 li south of the present-day Ch'ing-ch'i 青溪, governed by Ya-an 雅安 (Ya chou 雅州) in Ssu-ch'uan. To-day it is again called Han-yüan hsien.

Ma Tuan-lin is more precise in his *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 329, fol. 5b, for he states that during the Han dynasty there were about 10 principalities north-east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, of which the Tso-tu was the most powerful. He amplifies this by saying "the Tso-tu of Hsi 徙." Hsi was east of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州, the present-day T'ien-ch'üan hsien, west of Ya-an. Although in other works he is quoted verbatim, the character *Hsi* 徙 is omitted. In a note it states that Hsi was made a hsien (district) during the Han dynasty, belonging to Shu Chün 蜀郡.

[2] The Li-chiang Records state that Mai-tsung was a man from west of the borders of China and that he came to Li-chiang at the end of the reign of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1253). The natives elected him as their chief. His son met Kublai Khan's army in the first year of Pao-yu 寶祐 of Sung Li Tsung (1253).

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In the 15th year of the Ming dynasty (1382), Te acknowledged his allegiance to the Imperial rule, and T'ai Tsu, the first Ming Emperor, admiring his action, conferred on his family the surname Mu 木, and, by separate letters patent, granted him the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. Te then conquered the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge), guarded the Shih-men 石門 (Stone-gate Pass), and was given by the Emperor an official robe, a *hu* 笏 (tablet),[3] and a golden belt.

Te begot a son by the name of Ch'u 初. The latter joined the Meng-chien 蒙驗 (the present Meng-hua hsien) Southern expedition, and succeeded in capturing the city of Lu-ch'uan (in the south), and opened Yung-ning 永寧 (in the north). He conquered Yen-ching 鹽井,[4] a salt-well in the east, and thus gained considerable military merit. The Emperor gave him a gold medal and a gold belt, and granted him the power to rule over the territory of the Jung 戎 tribe[5] (on the frontier).

Ch'u begot T'u 土, to whom the Emperor in a special order, granted his family the title of hereditary prefect to rule its native land. He authorized it only to proclaim the Imperial will to the people, who could not be conscripted for other places.

T'u begot Shen 森, who gained great military merit by joining the punitive expedition of Secretary of State, Wang Chi 王驥,[6] who attacked the city of Lu-ch'uan 瀘川 and was then promoted by Imperial order to the honorary position of Ts'an-cheng 參政 (State adviser). On his ancestors, male and female, the Emperor conferred various posthumous honorary titles. The merit of this family was also made manifest by the Yün-nan governor Ting 丁.[7]

Shen begot Ch'in 嶔; Ch'in begot T'ai 泰. They all bore the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, conferred on them by the Emperor. T'ai was a man of wonderful ability and thoroughly understood the science of divination according to the diagrams (*I Ching*, the Book of Changes), and Chinese philosophy. He was both martial and keen on literature. Thus he brought great glory and prosperity to his family.

[3] The *hu* was a tablet made either of bamboo, jade or ivory, and was held before the breast at audiences of the Emperor (GILES, *Chinese Dictionary* No. 4962).

[4] The present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[5] The Jung are considered the wild tribes of the west. There are many different clans, or rather, tribes, of Jung, among which the Na-khi were reckoned. The Hsi-jung (Western Jung) dwelled in north-western Kan-su and extended into the State of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) where they inhabited the district of Yüeh-sui 越巂 and the ancient Ch'en-li 沈黎 in Tso-tu Kuo (the present-day Han-yüan hsien 漢源縣 in Sasu-ch'uan).

The Hsi-i of the Tso-tu Kingdom are apparently identical with the Hsi-jung of Ch'en-li, for the territory is one and the same.

[6] Wang Chi later became viceroy of Yün-nan. He was a native of Shu-lu 束鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Ho-pei. His literary name was Shang-te 尚德. In the sixth year of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1441), the Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使 of Lu-ch'uan, by name Ssu-jen-fa 思任發, rebelled. Wang Chi was unable to suppress him at first. He attacked Lu-ch'uan three times, and only then routed the robbers and destroyed their stronghold — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fol. 13a.

[7] His name was Ting Hsüan 丁璇 and he was a native of Shang-yüan 上元 in Chiang-su (Kiangsu). He also fought Lu-ch'uan, after which he was promoted to a Senior vice-presidency of the censorate.

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173 T'ai begot Ting 定, who helped his neighbouring districts by restoring peace; his merit was great, but he did not bring it to notice.

Ting begot Mu Kung 木公, whose old age was spent at the foot of the Hsüeh-shan 雪山 [8] (Snow mountain). There he buried himself among his books, in order to understand thoroughly the ancient literary allusions. He and a man named Chang 張, who lived on the Yü Shan 禹山 near the city of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and a third man named Tso 左, living on the Huang Shan 黃山 of Meng-hua 蒙化, were known at that time as the Three famous mountain scholars. The T'ai-shih 太史 (Imperial historiographer), by the name of Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修,[9] and many other scholars were his most intimate literary friends.

His literary works were made known to the later generations, and his scholarly fame was respected throughout our kingdom. His military merit, achieved for the Imperial court, was so great that His Majesty the Emperor personally wrote for him [an inscription of] four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Peaceful defender of My frontier-land), and in addition the Emperor gave him many other rich gifts. He devoted much time to the compiling of two copies of his ancestral record, describing all the honorary titles and glorious deeds of his family, beginning from his first ancestor down to his son. He built an ancestral temple in honor and for the worship of his ancestors. These were two of the chief things he accomplished to express his filial piety. For his family record, Chang Chih-shun 張志淳, president of one of the six Imperial boards and native of Yung-ch'ang and Yang Shen 楊慎, Imperial historiographer and native of (Hsin-tu) Ch'eng-tu 成都, each wrote a preface.

Mu Kung begot Mu Kao 木高, who was also named Shou-kuei 守貴. From childhood, he was clever in strategy. At 31 years of age he extirpated the rebels and conquered the village of Hsiang-lo 香羅. Later, he gained a great victory over the village of Mao-ch'ü 毛佉, and completely defeated the T'u-fan 吐番. Then again he conquered Kan-t'ao 干陶, and established some villages at Wei-yüan 威遠. His father, Mu Kung, was so pleased with his heroic deeds that he took out the gold medals and gold belt, and many other objects given to his ancestors by the different Emperors of the successive dynasties, and handed them to him, saying: "Follow the examples of your ancestors, and be loyal to your nation."

When his father became a widower, Mu Kao selected a beautiful girl, and offered her to him as a concubine. His father was well pleased and on excellent terms with him. In this we find the cause of the good luck which attended him. On account of curing his father of his illness with flesh cut from his own

[8] The Li-chiang snow mountain is meant. At the foot of the range on its eastern slopes, north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is a large grove of spruce trees, the remains of a large forest which in the time of Mu Kung covered the region. There stood a residence, one of the 12 homes possessed by the Mu family. The place was and is still known as Kwuä-d'a. To-day a small temple with statues of Buddha stands beneath the spruces. The temple dates back to the Ming dynasty. The temple has lately been dismantled, the beautiful murals dating back to the Ming dynasty destroyed and the building converted into a forestry station.

[9] He is better known as Yang Shen 楊慎. It was he who wrote an introduction to the Chronicle of the Mu family. He had been banished for life to Yung-ch'ang in south-west Yün-nan. (See page 162.)

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Sino-Tibetan Border-Peoples AE3

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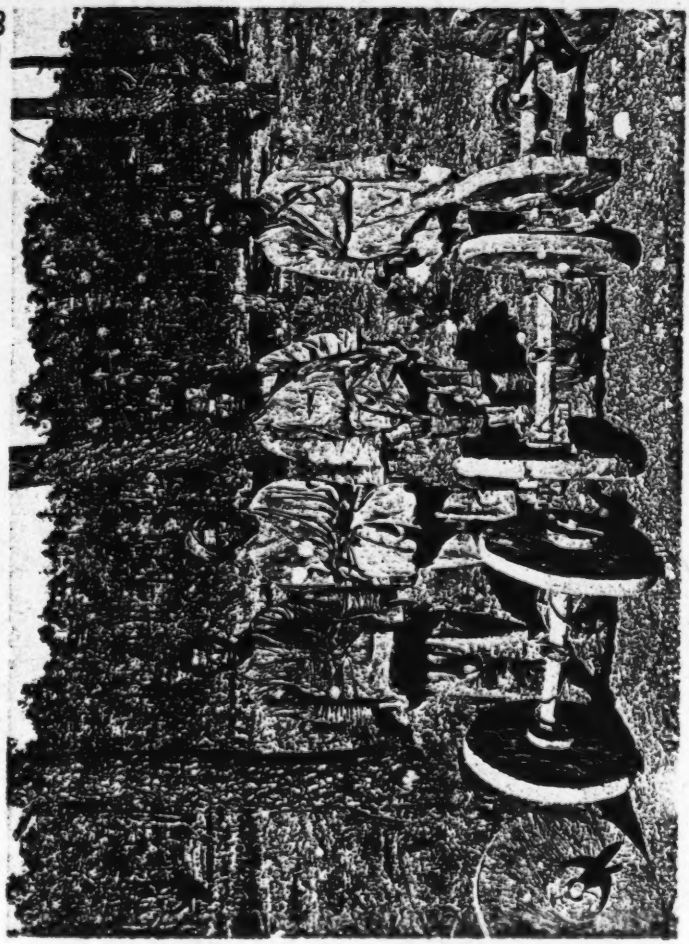

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 81. — NA-KHI WOODCUTTERS

納 西 木 夫

On these primitive, solid, wooden-wheeled vehicles Na-khi woodsmen transport timber from Nga-ba to Li-chiang.

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Peoples AE3

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PLATE 82. — WARRIOR DRESSED IN HLI-KHIN ARMOR

古 雜 色 戰 士 盔 甲

Dressed in armor made of pigskin blades, lacquered red, wearing a helmet of iron segments, Hli-khin and Hsi-fan warriors, danced at Nga-ba prior to their attacking Li-chiang in the 12th century.

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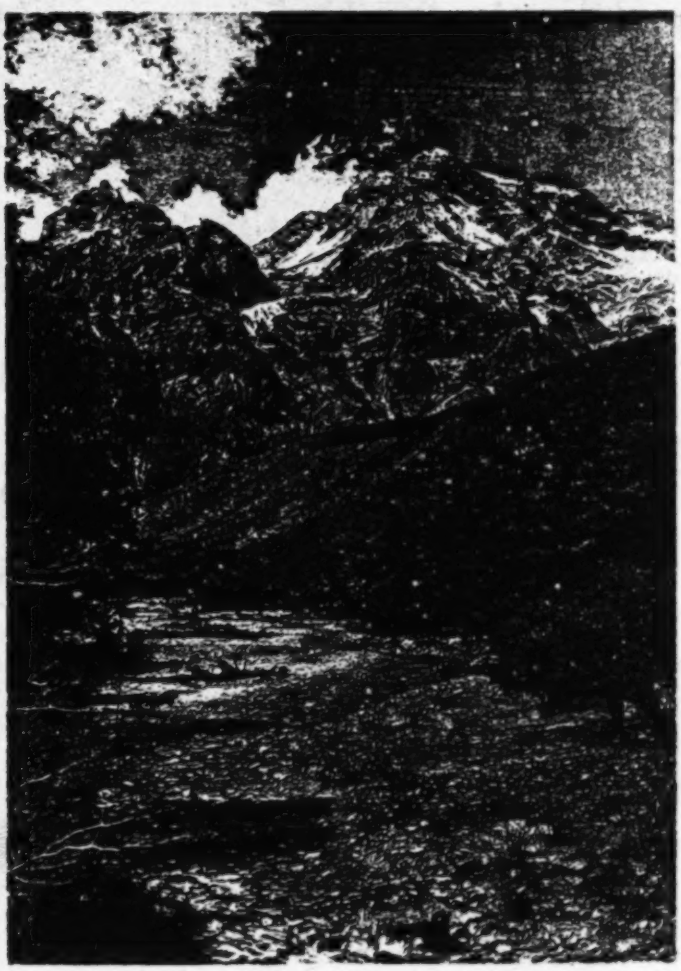

PLATE 83. — THE WHITE WATER GLACIER STREAM

玉龍山白水河

Looking up the Pai-shui stream, the Gyi-p'er of the Na-khi, from an ancient stone bridge, elevation 10,000 feet. Spruces, willows and rhododendrons line the stream-bed. The rocky mass on the left is Nga-ba nv-lv; the higher snow-covered peak, Gyi-nà nv-lv.

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PLATE 84. — NOA-EA OSO, THE LOVELIEST OF ALPINE MEADOWS

Situated on a spur overlooking Pai-shui, at an elevation of 10,700 feet. The mighty mountain mass Shan-tzu-tou with its glacier which feeds the Pai-shui, overshadows the meadow. Forests of tall spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) surround it. The author camped here for weeks translating Na-khi literature.

[p. 156D]

PLATE 83. — THE THIRD HIGHEST PEAK GVI-NÀ HV-LV

玉龍山第三高峰

As seen from Nda-sa gko, elevation 10,700 feet. Spruce forest near the base of the mountain, firs on the central slopes. In the summer numerous waterfalls descend over the limestone cliffs, while in the winter the snows are blown off the summit ridge.

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(Courtesy Pat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 16.—LOOKING SOUTH ALONG THE YU-LONG SHAN

玉 龍 山

The grassy downs extend to Yu-k'o-lo, a patch at the foot of Cyi-ch ze-lv. The trees are Abies, the only survivors of extensive forests which covered this region. Shan-tse-tou in the distance (left). Cyi-ch ze-lv in immediate background.

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PLATE 89.—ON THE SUMMIT SNOWS OF GYI-MA KU-TU

The broad summit ridge is buried in its upper part by a glacier which extends north; many beautiful alpine plants live in the crevices of the limestone rocks. West of the mountain and parallel to it is the 'A-ts'an gko range, see plate 89.
Photographed looking south from an elevation of 16,500 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 88.—THE CONFLUENCE OF THE CHIEN-T'AI HO AND THE YANGTSE NEAR TA-KU

打箭鑪金川金沙江會流

The Chien-t'ai Ho has its source in the glaciers of Mt. Gyi-nâ Ne-iv and the 'A-ts'ang-gko Range; its greyish-white waters debouch into the Yangtse near Ta-ku.

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173 limb, his glory became known to the world. The Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, and the same posthumous honor was also conferred on his ancestors. Again, the Emperor sent him a message containing the following words of praise: "As to your fame and virtue, you have been both filial and loyal; with regard to your popularity and ability, you have been perfect, both in literary works and in military achievements." In the winter of *ting-mao* 丁卯 (1567), when he received the sad news of the death of the Emperor,[10] he lamented so much that he was unable to rise from his bed. In the following year he resigned from official life.

Mu Kao begot Mu Tung 木東, who was also named Chen-yang 震陽. In the 38th, year of Chia-ching (1559), Tung was ordered by his father to attack the Fan brigands 番寇, whereupon he defeated them completely. In the years *ping-yin* 丙寅 (1566) and *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 (1568), he repeatedly gained great military merit. His father gave him also many Imperial gifts, bequeathed to them by their ancestors. In the third year of Wan-li (1575), Mu Tung crossed the river Ta-ch'ung 打冲[11] (in Tso-so 左所 territory) to attack the Fan brigands of Ta-tu 大渡. The Emperor then permitted him to build an arch in his native place with the following characters carved on it: *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (My Northwestern barrier). He usually tried to investigate the condition of the farmers, and helped their husbandry with money. In his leisure hours, his parlour was full of guests and friends. He would be deeply interested in writing poetry and would indulge in drinking wine with all of his guests. In the year *mou-yin* 戊寅 (1578) he lamented so much over the death of his mother that he died in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 (1579).

Mu Tung begot Mu Wang 木旺, who was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Yü-lung 玉龍. In the fifth year of Wan-li (1577), Wang became the legal heir of his father. He was impetuous and terrible in his actions, and succeeded in completely defeating the Fan brigands. At the time when he assumed his official duties, the Wu-so 五所[12] secretly conspired against him. He quickly discovered their evil plans and destroyed them at once. After that, he became the more experienced and hardened in military service, wherefore he was able in his later life to conquer more territory. He was presented with an Imperial credential containing the following words of admiration: *Chung Kuo Heng Yüan* 忠國恆垣, "Your loyalty to your nation has been as strong as everlasting battlements."

Mu Wang begot Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生 and Ch'iao-yo 喬岳. Ch'ing was well versed in the Six Chinese Classics, and was very skilful in calligraphy, which he wrote on paper with the strokes of each character resembling the shape of "old pine-trees and ancient cranes." Hence the poetic name given him was Sung-ho 松鶴 (Pine-tree and the crane).

[10] The Emperor Shih Tsung (Chia-ching) died on January 23rd, 1567 (the 14th day of the twelfth moon of the 45th year of his reign) on returning from the Western Park to the Palace, in his 60th year.

[11] Ta-ch'ung Ho is the Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country of south-west Sze-ch'uan; a branch of it is the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake. It flows into the Li-t'ang River which in turn flows into the Ya-lung. On the Chinese map of Yün-nan the Li-t'ang River does not exist and the Ta-ch'ung Ho flows into the Ya-lung.

[12] The Five So 所 (T'u-sze), in south-west Sze-ch'uan, *which see.*

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173 Immediately after he had assumed his official duties, he contributed considerable funds for military purposes. He was, however, very pessimistic and, travelling on the white clouds, he became an immortal, and his spirit is still known to exist.[13]

Mu Ch'ing begot Mu Tseng 木增, who was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, I-hsin 益新 and Hua-yo 華岳. At the age of 11, he lost his father, and became the legal heir. In Wan-li *chi-hai* 萬曆己亥 (1599), he supplied food to the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰.[14] In the year *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1600), he helped the city of Po chou 播州[15] in its difficulties.

In the year *jen-yin* 任寅 (1602), he submitted a report to the Emperor about the affairs of West China and was commended by His Majesty. In the year *ping-wu* 丙午 (1606), he received an Imperial patent by which the Emperor conferred on his ancestors various posthumous degrees of honor. In the year *i-mao* 乙卯 (1615), his capture of the Three Tartar leaders (San-ta-k'uei 三韃鬼) and the Ssu-ma 司馬 (prefect), was recorded as worthy of merit. In the year *mou-wu* 戊午 (1618), he went to pay tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of celebrating the peaceful and blessed 46th anniversary of the reign of His Majesty the Emperor Shen Tsung, who gave him many valuable gifts, and conferred on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen. Again, he opened up new land, and contributed the products therefrom for soldiers' rations required in Liao (Feng-t'ien). For this reason he was especially promoted to the position of an official of the third rank. In the year *keng-yi* (this should read *keng-shen* 庚申) (1620) he offered money to the Emperor to buy horses, whereupon His Majesty praised him with the two characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness). He then was ordered to exterminate Kao-lan 高蘭,[16] the rebel of Pei-sheng 北勝. He was then presented with a gold belt. In the period period T'ien-ch'i *jen-hsü* 天啓壬戌 (1622), the tribal chief She 奢 of Shu (Sau-ch'uan) revolted and Mu Tseng contributed funds towards his suppression. Hence he was given the additional honorary official title of the third rank, as well as a suit of official dress of the same rank.

He then applied to the Emperor for permission to retire from official life. He addressed to the Emperor a memorial containing ten suggestions in connection with awards; the memorial was composed in such a way that it might have been written by any great official of the Imperial court. Meanwhile, he requested the Emperor to allow him to offer sacrifice to the two great heroes,

[13] Tradition relates that he went up the Li-chiang snow range to a peak called Ho-aa yi-gkv, a prominent limestone crag covered with scree, whence he never returned. Apparently he committed suicide. It is very common for the Na-khi to commit suicide on the snow range, especially lovers. Such couples committing suicide together are said in the Na-khi language to have committed *Yu-ssu*. (See my article, "The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi" in *BEFE-O* T. XXXIX: 1939, pp. 1–155.)

[14] Yung-ch'ang and T'eng-yüeh in south-west Yün-nan.

[15] Po chou is the present Tsun-i hsien 遵義縣 in Kuei-chou province.

[16] Kao-lan refused to recognise the authority of Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌, the new chief of Pei-sheng, who had succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高世懋, and rebelled; Mu Tseng took him prisoner and executed him. Kao-lan was a nephew of Kao Shih-mou who died in 1620.

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Chang Ch'ian 張銓 and Ho T'ing-k'uei 何廷魁,[17] and also contributed funds to relieve the families of the generals and soldiers who had been killed on the battlefields. 173

The Emperor praised him with the two characters of *Chung Chie* 忠節 (Loyal and Patriotic), and promoted his official position to Ts'an-fan 參藩 (Administrator of the frontier lands). In the year 1624 he bequeathed his official position to his eldest son. In the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625) he again contributed to the court additional funds for the pay of soldiers, and received then letters patent in honor of his grandparents. In 1627 he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, and applied accordingly for an Imperial banner in honor of his mother's chastity. The Tu-yü 都御 (Imperial censor) Min 閔 also sent a recommendation to the Emperor on his behalf. In the year *keng-wu* 庚午 (1630) he remitted considerable funds to assist in the military expenditure of Kuei-chou, and transported money for the pay of soldiers to the Ta-ssu-nung 大司農 (Minister in charge of the Board of agriculture).

In the year *hsin-wei* 辛未 (1631) His Majesty promoted him to the honorary position of Yu-fang-po 右方伯 (Junior provincial treasurer), and the same honor was also conferred posthumously on his ancestors for three generations back. As the district school in the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 was destroyed by fire, he contributed money to rebuild it. In the year *jen-shen* 壬申 (1632) the work of building this school was completed. In the year *ting-ch'ou* 丁丑 (1637) he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, for which he was specially decorated by the Emperor. In the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1640) he was appointed as Tso-fang-po 左方伯 (Senior provincial treasurer). The Emperor issued an edict praising him with the following four characters: *I Tu Chung Cheng* 益篤忠貞 (Progressive, Faithful, Loyal and Upright), and gave him permission to build an arch in the capital city of this province, in memory of his deeds. But instead he saved the expenses required in building this arch and, in the year 1644, contributed the money to the court for soldiers' rations. When the Emperor Hung-kuang (1644)[18] ascended the throne in Nanking, he conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ch'ing 太僕卿 (Imperial grand steward). In the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (1645) both father and son, as well as other members of the Mu family, contributed funds for the pay of soldiers. Ch'en 陳, the Imperial messenger, sent a report to the Emperor on his behalf, whereupon the latter bestowed on both father and son various pieces of satin

[17] Chang Ch'ian 張銓 (this is the way the name is written in the *Ming Shih*) and Ho T'ing-k'uei are listed in that history under the characters *Chung I* 忠義. Mu Tseng also received these two characters, but he is not listed, probably because he was considered a barbarian.

Chang Ch'ian received the degree of doctor in 1604. He fought in Yün-nan under Fu Yu-te, especially at Yung-ning 永寧, Ch'i-ching 奇靖, and P'u-ting 普定 in Kuei-chou, to suppress the aborigines. He was given the title of Marquis of Yung-ting 永定. Ho T'ing-k'uei was a native of the military station of Wei-yüan 威遠 in Shan-hsi (Shansi). He received the degree of doctor in 1601. He became a fu-magistrate in Ho-nan. He and another official, by name Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰, who would not obey him, lost the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 (Feng-t'ien) to the Manchu army who attacked it. He took his seal and with his two wives jumped into a well; with him died six male and female servants (*Ming Shih*, ch. 251, fols. 4a and b).

[18] Hung-kuang 弘光 was a descendant of the last of the Ming Emperors who, when the Manchus established themselves in Peking, fled to Nanking where he set up his court.

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173 embroidered with Mahoraga and golden flowers (for ceremonial robes worn by mandarins).

Mu Tseng was born to be loyal, filial, benevolent and righteous. He honored his mother, named Lo 羅, and his wife's relatives, and respected worthy people. In his leisure hours, he was always seen with a book in his hand, reading. He was the author of various books, which were made known by the commendations of many scholars. Again, he applied to the Imperial court for the Fa-pao 法寶 (Treasures of the Law [Dharmaratna]) to pray for peace for the frontier. He printed many Tibetan Buddhist books and used them to teach the tribespeople. He built a temple on Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山,[19] and a bridge at Lu-feng 綠豐.[20]

Mu Tseng was both liberal and magnanimous and helped to build the road which led to Ssu-ch'uan. All his deeds of benevolence may be read in detail from the Family Record, whose preface has been written by Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, the Imperial historiographer. The legal heirs of the Mu family have succeeded one another as the rulers of this district for 27 generations, and their family has descended for 32 generations to the present Mu Yao. Mu Tseng had no brothers. His mother selected a virtuous wife for him, who gave birth to four sons.

Mu I 本懿, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's official position and was also named T'ai-mei 台美 and K'un-lun 琨瑜. In the beginning of the period

[19] This is the famous sacred Buddhist Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山 (Chicken-foot Mountain), which is also called Chiu-ch'ü Shan 九龍山 and is 40 li west of Pin-ch'uan hsien 賓川縣, adjoining the borders of T'ai-ho hsien and Teng-ch'uan hsien. Its summit resembles a lotus flower. Its name was derived from a sacred Buddhist mountain of India, the "Chicken-foot Mountain" (Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri), which is seven miles south-east of Gaya and known as the abode of Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉佛, a disciple of Buddha and a native of Magadha. He is said to come at various intervals to dwell on Chi-tsu Shan, and in 1931 it was proclaimed he had taken up his residence on that mountain. Consequently, all the Tibetans of the neighbourhood, and the Na-khi from Yung-ning, flocked there on pilgrimage. At the foot of Ch'a-p'ing Shan 插屏山 (a part of Chi-tsu Shan) is a temple dedicated to Kāśyapa and containing his image, which was placed therein during the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–756). The temple is called Chia-yeh Tien 迦葉殿 (Kāśyapa Hall) and also Chia-sha Tien, 袈裟殿 (Temple of the Buddhist priest's garment). Kāśyapa was one of the main disciples of Buddha, but according to another conception a forerunner of Gautama; he is said to lie undecayed in Mt. Kukkuṭa-pāda near Gaya. When Maitreya the coming Buddha will leave his palace he will betake himself to that mountain, will open it in a mysterious manner, and will there receive from Kāśyapa Buddha's robe. Thereupon miraculous fire will consume the undecayed body of Kāśyapa so that neither bones nor ashes will remain. (Grünwedel.)

Mu Tseng also built the Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, which stands on the Man-yüeh Shan 滿月山 (Mountain of the full moon), in the year *ting-szu* 丁巳 of Wan-li (1617). In 1624 the Emperor gave him the Tibetan Classics and bestowed on his temple the name of Hsi-t'an shan Ssu 悉檀禪寺. In 1629 ..e built the Fa-yün Ko 法雲閣, and in it placed the Classics. In 1631 his son Mu I added to it and embellished the temple so much that it was looked upon as the finest on the mountain. (The gate to the temple and the *ko* 閣 or pavilion were rebuilt by Mu Yao 木堯.)

Again during the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619), Mu Tseng built the Hua-yen Ko 華嚴閣, in a temple of the same name, and placed the Tibetan Classics in the pavilion. In 1597 the pavilion was destroyed by fire — *Chi-tsu Shan chih*, K'ang-hsi edition, 31st year, eighth moon (September 11th–October 9th, 1692), ch. 4, fols. 4b–5b.

[20] This bridge is called Ch'i-ming ch'iao 啓明橋 and is situated 15 li south of Lu-feng; it was built by Mu Tseng in the period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627).

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of T'ien-ch'i 天啓, in the year *chia-tzu* 甲子 (1624) he assumed his official duties. Whenever he had to deal with political questions, he did not venture to settle them alone without going to his father for advice. After the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625), when his father was getting on in years, he did his best to serve him according to the principle of filial piety. He carefully compiled the genealogy of his family, to manifest to its members the glory of their ancestors. This record is indeed the fruit of loyalty and filial piety and is the crystallization of the thought of its distinguished members. Its accomplishment is due to a long-sustained effort. I am now requested to write a postscript in continuation of the main record written by the Imperial historiographer Yang. As I am quite an ignorant man, I feel unworthy to accept this honor. Nevertheless, as I am now in the service of this family, and know very well that its members have been loyal and obedient subjects of the Imperial throne of the Great Ming dynasty, and because their heroic deeds of glory can easily be described in detail from what I have seen and heard, I should do my best to further this work, and dare not refuse to perform this duty. Although Li-chiang is a small, barren, and desolate land, yet its sovereignty has been kept in the hands of the Mu family without interruption from the Sung (960–1278) to the present Ming dynasty (1308–1644). Is it not because the ancestors of this family have been under the protection of Heaven?

* * *

"To the above record a colophon was written by Chu Kuei-lin 朱桂林,[31] Shang-tung provincial treasurer, descendant of the Prince of Lu (Shan-tung) and defender of the frontier, on an auspicious day of the third moon of the spring season of the year *mou-tzu* 戊子 of T'ien Wang 天王 (March 24th–April 23rd, 1648).

"Corrected by Liang Chih-chieh 梁之杰,[32] native of the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 and a scholar of the second degree in retirement, in the winter of the year *keng-yin* 庚寅 (1650)."

NOTE ON MU TSENG

The most outstanding and most progressive of the native prefects of Li-chiang was undoubtedly Mu Tseng 木增, who was and is best known in Na-khi as Muan-ssä-bä (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was always spoken of, however, as Mu T'ien-wang 木天王 (Celestial king Mu). He was born in 1587, took office in 1598, and died in 1646. He was a devout Buddhist, and welcomed the Karma-pa lamas; a branch of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, who later established lamaseries in the Li-chiang district. He himself was initiated in the Buddhist monkhood, as a painting, of him as a monk with rosary testifies; it is now in the

[31] Owing to the remoteness of Li-chiang and the lack of communication, the people of that distant region were not aware of the change of dynasty which had taken place four years previously to the date of the colophon.

Believing that the Ming dynasty, of which they had been loyal subjects, was still in power, but not knowing what Emperor had ascended the Imperial throne, the writer dated his colophon *Ta Ming T'ien Wang sui mou-tzu* (In the year *mou-tzu* [1648] of the Celestial King of the Great Ming dynasty).

[32] He became a *K'o* 科 (scholar of the second degree) in 1633.

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173 possession of his descendants, the present Mu family of Li-chiang. It is a large scroll, beautifully painted in somber tones, and his figure is crowned by an image in gold of Amitabha (PLATE 44). A biography of him, written on scrolls, tells that although the Mu family had long been converted to Buddhism, it was Mu Sheng-pai who had acquired the highest spiritual achievement in the Mahāyāna doctrine.

On Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山, situated north-east of the Ta-li Lake in a range of mountains, he erected in 1615 a pavilion called the Ts'ang-ching Ko 藏經閣 in the temple Hua-yen Ssu 華嚴寺, in which he deposited a set of the Buddhist Tripitaka. In 1617 he built a copper temple called Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, and erected in its interior a hall called Wan-shou Tien 萬壽殿 (Hall of Ten thousand ages). In 1628 he solicited the Chinese court for a set of the Tripitaka for the purpose of depositing it in that hall. In recognition of this service the monks of the Hsi-t'an Ssu consecrated a chapel to Mu Sheng-pai, which is known as the Chapel of Prefect Mu 木太守祠.

In the lamasery of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 (Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林; in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü) situated on Chih Shan 芝山, on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, and west of the village of Boa-shi, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街, is a small shrine with a statue of Mu Sheng-pai in a sitting posture.

He was a poet and an author, and was considered an excellent calligraphist. Unfortunately the printing blocks of his books, with many other objects of value, were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. The Mu family was able to save by hiding in caves only the most precious and valued objects, such as certain books written by him, and a few scrolls which testify to his ability as a calligraphist. Two of these scrolls are reproduced here (PLATES 45–46). They are signed Tseng 增 and Sheng-pai Tao-jen 生白道人 (Sheng-pai the Buddhist, seeking after *bodhi*, or enlightenment respectively). The two scrolls are not complimentary but represent two individual couplets. The scrolls read:

T'an K'ung K'o Hsi Hua Han Hsiao 談空客喜花含笑
Shuo Fa Seng Wen Niao Luan T'i 說法僧聞鳥亂啼

Seng Tsai Chu Fang Pan Lien Yüeh 僧在竹房半簾月
Ho Ch'i Sung Ching Man Lou T'ai 鶴棲松徑滿樓苔

THE SHRINE OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER YANG SHEN 楊慎

Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, better known as Yang Shen and Sheng-an 升菴, was a great friend of the Mu family. He helped them with their family records and wrote an introduction to the Second Illustrated Chronicle.

Yang Shen was born in 1488 and was the son of Yang T'ing-ho 楊廷和, a minister of State. His native place was Hsin-tu 新都 in the prefecture of Cheng-tu 成都, capital of Ssu-ch'uan. At the age of 24 he was already a Chü-jen 舉人 (Provincial graduate Bachelor of Arts), the second literary degree. In the 6th year of Cheng-te 正德 (1511) he was first in the palace examination, and became historiographer in the Han-lin. He died at the age of 72, in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching (August, 1559) after he had lived

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the last few years of his life dissipating and drinking. He had written over one hundred different collections of essays, and was considered the first poet of his time. During the reign of Hsi Tsung, period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627), he was canonized as Wen Hsien 文憲. Mu Kung and Mu Kao, the 14th and 15th generations of Na-khi chiefs, were his contemporaries and literary friends, and at the request of Mu Kao, the compiler of the Mu Chronicles, he wrote an introduction to the Second Chronicle.

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Beautifully situated at the foot of the western hills which hem in the plain and lake of K'un-ming, is the Temple of P'u-hsien (Ssu) 普賢寺.[33] Adjoining it to the south, with a separate entrance, facing east over the lovely lake is the shrine of Mao Yü 毛玉 and Yang Shen (PLATE 47). The shrine is in good repair and on the altar between ancestral tablets there sits enthroned a figure with a very human and jovial expression, representing Yang Shen (PLATE 48), so different from the stiff and severe-looking deified emperors one encounters in Chinese temples. Walled-in in the enclosure of the court are several memorial stones giving the history of the shrine and also something of the life of Yang Shen himself, as well as of his father Yang T'ing-ho, and of his friend Mao Yü,[34] a native of K'un-ming and high official of Nan-ching (Nanking).

Over the entrance to the shrine is the following inscription: *Mao Yang erh kung ts'u* 毛楊二公祠 (Shrine of the two Lords Mao and Yang). In the center of the court is a very old Cycad (*Cycas revoluta*), and to the right and somewhat below it is a stone bearing the two characters *Hai-chuang* 海莊 (Villa by the sea).[35] The shrine has been built apparently at the same spot where Yang Shen

[33] The Temple of P'u-hsien is situated west of the city of K'un-ming in the li 里 of Kao-yao 高堯 (pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan). The actual date of its first construction seems to be unknown, as the records state it was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, the 1st year of Cheng-hua (1465), and completed in the winter of 1466. It is located at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain), a northern spur of Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, more commonly known as Hsi Shan 西山. The Pi-chi Shan faces the Chin-ma Shan 金馬山 (Golden horse Mountain) in the east. It is the Temple of P'u-hsien or Samanta Bhadra, who rides an elephant, and whose seat of worship is on Mt. O-mei in Ssu-ch'uan.

[34] Mao Yü received the degree of doctor in 1505. He was chosen to be Chi-shih-hung 給事中 (Junior metropolitan censor) of the Li-k'o 吏科 (Section of personnel) of Nanking. He had a villa at the foot of Pi-chi Shan. He was among those who remonstrated with the Emperor at the east gate of the palace, whereupon he was imprisoned together with Yang Shen and unfortunately bamboozed to death. His ancestral tablet reposes with that of Yang Shen (PLATE 49) on the altar of the shrine. He left ten volumes of memorials addressed to the Emperor.

[35] At the base of the small stone bearing the two large characters *Hai-chuang* a brief note is engraved which reads as follows:

"Records state that Hai-chuang is below Kao-yao Shan. Yang Shen sojourned there. He built the Pi-yao, a beautiful dwelling where he used to rest. Time has flown quickly and many generations have passed, and nothing has remained [of the villa]. The natives of the land themselves had practically no knowledge of the name Hai-chuang. Therefore this stone-tablet has been erected so that the same may not be forgotten.

"Written by hou-hsüeh (your pupil) Lin Sung 林松, also Ch'ien Mu-ling 錢穆齡, in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 of the period Chia-ch'ing, in the autumn in the seventh moon (August 21st to September 19th, 1819).

Lin Sung, whose literary name was Yü-t'ien 玉田, was a native of K'un-ming; during

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had built himself a villa and where he carried on his literary activities whenever he resided in Yün-nan fu. Yün-nan became enriched by Yang Shen's involuntary residence, for he wrote many essays on this province, one of the best known being his *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom). The preface to the latter work is dated: "The autumn, the eighth moon, of the 29th year of Chia-ching" (September 11th–October 10th, 1550). We let the records found engraved on the memorial stones within the court, and here translated for the first time, speak for themselves:

Historical Record of the Shrine of Yang Shen

"Emperor Shih Tsung, in the first year of his reign [the first year of the period Chia-ching 嘉靖, 1522] wanted to confer an honorary title on Prince Hsing Hsien 興獻 [father of Shih Tsung], but the ministers at the court were of the opinion that this should not be done. More than 100 officials remonstrated tearfully with the Emperor at the Tso-shun men 左順門, of the palace. As a result of this demonstration which angered the Emperor, more than 90 of the remonstrators were bamboo'd, among whom was Lord Fan 范, a native of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden). [This was Fan Tsung 范鍾 the great-grandfather of Fan Ch'eng-hsün who became viceroy of Yün-nan in 1686, and who rebuilt the Yang Shen shrine; his interest and feeling for Yang Shen were heightened because his great-grandfather was bamboo'd to death at the same time as Yang Shen received his bamboo'ing, from which he, however, recovered]. Lord Mao 毛 of Tien-nan 滇南 (Yün-nan) and Lord Yang Chieh-fu 楊界夫 and his son Yang Shen-an, natives of Hsin-tu, were also bamboo'd. At that time Yang Shen-an, being the first successful Chin-shih 進士 [graduate of the doctors' degree] served as historiographer, while his father occupied an important position at the court. All died under the bamboo except father and son natives of Hsin-tu. It was because Heaven wanted to preserve loyal and reproving persons.

"First Yang Shen was charged with the duty of guarding the Chinese frontier at Yen-men 鹽門, and Wen-chung Kung 文忠公 (the posthumous title of Yang Chieh-fu, his father) was dismissed from office. Yen-men [in Shansi] was at that time a barren and desolate land and would have made Lord Yang exceedingly poor. The Emperor, however, still bore a grudge against him and exiled him to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 instead of to Yen-men. Oh, how severe the punishment was!

"As Lord Yang, a son of good family, was thoroughly versed in the books of Cheng Shu 正叔 and K'ao-t'ing 考亭,[*] it is clear to us that he could not be

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the reign of Tao-kuang he became a Sui-kung 歲貢 (3rd rank certificate from middle school). Ch'ien Mu-ling was also a native of K'un-ming, and became a Chü-jen (Provincial graduate) in *mou-wu* 戊午 of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798); he died at 54 years of age.

[*] Cheng Shu or Ch'eng I 程頤 (1033–1107) was a native of Lo-yang in Ho-nan. He was tutor of the Emperor Che Tsung 哲宗. He had many enemies at the court; in 1097 he was sent to take up a post in Seu-ch'uan and was later recalled to be reinstated in the Imperial academy. In 1103 he was again in trouble and finally retired. In 1241 his tablet was admitted to the Confucian temple. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 280.

K'ao-t'ing or Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) was a native of Fukien and received the doctor's degree at the age of 19. He was accused of sedition, of magic, breaches of loyalty and filial

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honored with high official rank. Moreover, the previously mentioned incident was a matter which concerned the conventions of the State. Hence there would be nothing of importance for the historiographer to examine in a thousand autumns [years] to come. At the risk of his life he fought for right, even disregarding the relationship of father and son. 173

"He then entered the barbarian world like a vagrant and homeless man. He improved the savage customs and taught those wearing mallet-shaped hair-knots and dressed in colored clothes, to understand the respect due the Emperor and elders. The reason why Heaven decreed he should not die under the bamboo was in order that the people on the deserted and remote border might express their gratitude for his kindness.

"When Lord Yang was first exiled to Yung-ch'ang many people felt concern for him. Yet he peacefully discussed Chinese philosophy with barbarian boys of the Mien 緬 (Burma) and the P'o tribes 僰. He discussed with them the peculiarities of the various mountains and the seas in every corner. Sometimes, while wearing a double hair-lock and flowers, arrayed in a crimson gown and with a powdered face, he would talk about *Tao* 道 (the Way) and poetry with his pupils. This simply means that he gave thought to the 'orchid of the Hsiang 湘蘭' and the 'iris of the Li 澧芷.'[27] He wanted to follow the example of Ch'ü Yüan,[28] until now people have spoken of this as an interesting story.

"At the death of Wen-chung Kung (his father) Yang Shen received the Emperor's permission to return home to attend to his duties connected with the burial of his father. Later on, because he had earned the displeasure of a certain high official, he was ordered to return to Yün-nan. As a result he died a sad death.

"Alas! When literary men are in trouble, it is very difficult for them to pay

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piety, of seducing nuns, etc. At first these attacks were unsuccessful, but at length he was deprived of all honors and of his official posts. He was later partly reinstated, but was too old to re-enter official life. He revised Sou-ma Kuang's history, which under the title of *T'ung-chien kan-mu* 通鑑綱目 became the standard history of China. He was called K'ao-t'ing after the place where he resided. K'ao-t'ing was south-west of Chien-yang hsien 建陽縣 in Fu-chien (Fukien).

[27] The Hsiang is a large tributary of the Yangtze; it flows through Hu-nan. The Li is also a river of Hu-nan, being an affluent of the Tung-t'ing Lake. The allusion is to be found in the poem *Li-sao* 離騷 (Falling into trouble) written by Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, or Ch'ü P'ing 屈平.

[28] Ch'ü Yüan was a native of Ying 郢 in the ancient State of Ch'u (Hu-pei). He was born in 332 B.C. and died in 295. He is famous throughout China as the type of a loyal minister. He enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign until impeached through the intrigues of rivals. It was then he composed the famous poem *Li-sao*, which is an allegorical description of his search after a prince who will listen to good counsels in government. After he had sunk still deeper in disfavor, and being tired of life, he went to the bank of the Mi-lo River. There he met a fisherman who accosted him saying: "Are you not his Excellency the Minister? What has brought you to this pass?" "The world," replied Ch'ü Yüan, "is foul, and I alone am clean. There they are all drunk, while I alone am sober. So I am dismissed." "Ah!" said the fisherman, "the true sage does not quarrel with his environment, but adapts himself to it. If, as you say, the world is foul, why not leap into the tide and make it clean? If all men are drunk, why not drink with them and teach them to avoid excess?" The fisherman rowed away and Ch'ü Yüan clasped a big rock and plunged into the waters of the Mi-lo 汨羅. — From Giles, *B. D.*, No. 923.

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173 heed to their own fame and fidelity. Although Yang Shen was both clever and wise, he was unable to hold his position as historiographer.

"Confucianism was poorly developed in the barbarian and deserted borderland. As soon as Yang Shen took upon himself the responsibility of educating the people, the literary men of Yün-nan began to esteem politeness and righteousness. They offered sacrifice to Lord Yang at Pi-yao 碧燒 [19] and established a Shu-yüan 書院 (College) there in his memory, in order that the spirit of Lord Yang may roam at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain)[20] and not vanish into the void in the Liu chao 六詔 [the six kingdoms which comprised Nan-chao 南詔], like vapor or creepers in the wild fields.

"Is it not true that Heaven spared him and decreed for him to lay the foundation of Confucianism [in Yün-nan] for hundreds and thousands of years to come?

"From the year *chia-yin* 甲寅 (1674) onward the rebellious Fan [Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled that year against the Ch'ing dynasty] savages had recklessly outraged all rules of propriety. The borderland was ravaged by wolves [troops or savages] and fire. Mountains, rivers, grass and trees, temples and pagodas in Yün-nan were destroyed. Even the place where the spirit of Yang Shen lived was overgrown with filbert trees, weeds, thorn-bushes, and ravaged by wild fire and will-o'-the-wisp.

"Long after the suppression of the rebellion the Chih-fu 制府, Lord Fan 范 [21] of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden) was ordered to take charge of the South-west. He visited all the mountains, rivers, famous places, mysterious regions and relics of Yün-nan. While passing by the ruins of Pi-yao and making inquiries at the gravestone of the Mao family 毛氏, he saw the grave of Yang Shen [22] among the ruined and fallen walls. As he stood there meditating sorrowfully on Lord Yang's loyalty, simplicity, intelligence and fidelity, he could not help recalling the time when Lord Yang knelt on the ground at the Tso-shun palace gate.

"Thereupon Lord Fan engaged workmen and collected material for the construction of a hall. He bought a portrait of Yang Shen on which he inscribed

[19] The word *Pi* refers to Pi-chi Shan, the Jade-fowl Mountain famous in Yün-nan history, and the word *Yao*, pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan, refers to the village Kao ch'iao 高橋, near which the temple and ancestral hall is situated at the foot of Pi-chi Shan.

[20] The Pi-chi Shan and its counterpart, the Chin-ma Shan (Gold horse Mountain), are famous in Yün-nan. The range from the village of Kao-yao (ch'iao) to the Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, commonly called Hsi Shan 西山 (Western hills), is known as Pi-chi Ta-shan 碧鷄大山 (Great Pi-chi Mountain). There is also a Kao-yao Shan 高燒山 which is to the right of Pi-chi Shan and actually a part of it. The shrine of Yang Shen, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 12, fol. 10a, is at the foot of Kao-yao Shan.

[21] Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳 was a Chinese Yellow-bordered bannerman. In the 25th year of K'ang-hsi (1686) he became viceroy of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He left Yün-nan in 1704 to take up a higher post at the court. He died in 1714.

[22] Yang Shen is, however, not buried in Yün-nan. His body was taken back to his native place Hsin-tu in Ssu-ch'uan. According to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 385, fol. 18b, his grave is to the right of that of his grandfather Yang Ch'un 楊春, one li west of the city of Hsin-tu, outside the Hsi Kuan 西關 (West Pass), where his father is also buried. The burial-ground is several li in circumference. See also the *Hsin-tu hsien chih*, ed. 1926, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

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a eulogy, and to which he offered sacrifices in the hall. Because of this, the 173
people as well as retired scholars again revered Lord Yang's influence and reputation; they also appreciated Lord Fan's filial piety, loyalty to the State and the encouragement he gave to scholars. The people dwelling in the far-off and deserted border region thus learned to know the meaning of paying respect to former worthies.

"They particularly rejoiced that on account of Lord Yang's exertions the defense of the State became as strong as a wall of metal and moats filled with scalding liquid. How admirably Lord Fan had acted!

"I have been in charge of the Salt Tax for three years without being properly qualified, and have often followed Lord Fan's advice. Having perceived that the filial heart of Lord Fan was worthy of imitation, how could I not rejoicingly take the responsibility of writing on his behalf the biography of Lord Yang?

"Thereupon I, Lords Hsü 許, Yüan 元 and Nieh chang 臬長 [chiefs of the court], bought a property of 300 acres, the produce of which is to be devoted to sacrifices to Lord Yang.

"Written by Wang Chao 王照,[33] native of Wan-p'ing 宛平 [a district in Ho-pei], in the period K'ang-hsi, the year *keng-wu* 庚午, Chung-tung 仲冬, the 2nd day (December 2nd, 1690)."

The T'ai-shih Tz'u 太史祠, *Shrine of the Historiographer*
(According to the *Old Yün-nan T'ung-chih*)

"The shrine is situated at Kao-yao-ts'un 高耀村, west of the city of Yün- 178
nan fu, and is dedicated to Yang Shen, Historiographer of the Ming dynasty. 173
It was built by Liu Chih-lung 劉之龍, Pu-cheng-shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[34] during the Wan li period (1573–1619). Later on it was rebuilt and then fell again into disrepair. In the 28th year of K ang hsi (1689) it was rebuilt by the viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün, who also bought some fields the produce of which was to be devoted to sacrifices to Yang Shen.

Selections from "A Historical Account of the Pi-yao College by Viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün"

"During Lord Yang's exile in Yün-nan he had lived here and there: in Po- 173
nan 博南, Lan-chin 瀾津, Ts'ang-erh 蒼洱 and Chin-pi 金碧.[35] He had many

[33] He took charge of the Yün-nan Salt Tax in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). He was a Yin-sheng 廩生 (Honorary Licentiate).

[34] Liu Chih-lung was a native of Fu-shun 富順, a district city in Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 in Ssu-ch'uan. He held the degree of doctor.

[35] Po-nan must refer to Po-nan Shan, a mountain between Yung-p'ing 永平 and the Mekong, on the highway to Yung-ch'ang to which place Yang Shen had been exiled. The pass over this mountain is 8,150 feet above sea level. From there the trail leads to the village of Sha-yang 沙羊 and down to the Mekong where an iron chain-bridge spans it. This is apparently the place called Lan-chin, the ancient ford on the Mekong. On the slopes of Po-nan Shan a an elevation of 7,500 feet, 18 li from Sha-yang, there stands a temple called Yung-kuo

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173 different lodgings. Wherever he stayed he le' and encouraged young people. Thus the scholars of Yün-nan all tried to follow his example. Even after his death they continued to admire him and offered sacrifices to him at the foot of Pi-chi Shan, where Yang Shen had built a house for himself to carry on his literary activities. As time went on, the hall fell into neglect, although it had been repaired many times.

"After I took up my residence in this land, I inquired about the remains of Chai-hsien 謫仙 [26] and mourned the ruins of Hai-chuang 海莊, the villa by the sea. Seeing that they had almost vanished, I became quite sad. Thus I ordered Lord Yang's shrine to be rebuilt on the right side of P'u-hsien Ssu. . . . After it had been completed I wrote of it as follows:

Ssu 永興寺. In that temple, situated in a large grove of wild chestnuts (*Castanopsis*), on the lonely slopes, far away from any human habitation, I spent a very peaceful night from October 2nd to the morning of October 3rd, 1922. Here in the court of the temple grew a large magnoliaceous tree which proved to be a new species: *Michelia lanceolata* Wilson.

The temple dates from the Ming dynasty, as an old bell cast during that dynasty, and hanging in the vestibule of the temple, testifies. Two large stone-tablets stand to the left of it. On the main tablet is inscribed the same story which occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 下, fol. 69a, about the song "Singing while crossing the Mekong" (*Tu Lan-ts'ang ho* 渡蘭滄歌). In the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 it is said that in the time of Han Ming Ti (58–75) a road was opened over the Po-nan Shan to where the Mekong could be forded. Travellers thought it difficult and thus sang the following: "The virtue of the Han dynasty was so far-reaching that for the benefit of others a road was opened to the wild regions over the Po-nan Shan via Lan-chin to where the Mekong could be forded."

The memorial stone further states that the mountain is also called Chin-lang 金浪, and that another but wrongly applied name is Ting-tang Shan 叮噹山. This name also appears in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edit. 1894, ch. 98, fol. 9a. There it relates that the temple used to be situated on the summit of that mountain, and that it was built by the Buddhist priest Shu Ch'ang 書昌. In the 36th year of K'ang-hsi (1697) the magistrate Ch'eng I 程貺 removed the temple to a terrace on the slopes of the same mountain. Yang Shen himself according to the memorial stone, confirms that the name Ting-tang Shan is incorrect. At the end of the Ming dynasty, we learn from the same stone, that Prince Chin 晉王 (Sun K'o-wang 孫可望) and Li Ting-kuo 李定國 (an adopted son of the robber Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠) fought Manchu troops on this mountain. In the reign of Ming Yung-li 明永曆 (1647) Chin Wang inscribed four characters on a wooden tablet: *Ning Hsi Ch'an Ssu* 寧西禪寺, "Buddhist temple of the peaceful West."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 24, fol. 25a, states: "According to the old *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the mountain is situated 45 li west of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. It is also called Chin-lang tien 金浪巔, and is commonly misnamed Ting-tang Shan 丁當山. It is 20 li high and has many steep slopes and cliffs. It serves as an important passage to the Western Frontier. The hsien of Po-nan was named after it during the Han dynasty. It is the present Yung-p'ing hsien. The *Ming I-t'ung chih* 明一統志 says: "It is the mountain over which Han Wu Ti [140–87 B.C.] opened a road. The P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages) go in and out of their land by way of this mountain. In ancient days the Nan-chao Kingdom sent a general on a punitive expedition against Burma. His soldiers sent back gold and other treasures over this mountain where they were met by robbers. After the death of the general a temple was built called the Chin-lang-tien shan-shen Tz'u 金浪巔山神祠. At the foot of its northern slope is a spring which is the source of the Hua-ch'iao Ho 花橋河 (Flower bridge River)."

The *Tien-lüeh* 滇略 says: "On the mountain is an iron column." Lan-chin refers to the ford on the Mekong previously mentioned, while Ts'ang-erh refers to the Ts'ang Shan west of Ta-li, and the Erh Hai or Ta-li Lake. *Chin* is the first word in the name of the Golden horse Mountain, Chin-ma Shan, to the east of K'un-ming, and *Pi* is the first word in the Pi-chi Shan (Jade-fowl Mountain) at the foot of which Yang Shen had built himself a house.

[26] *Chai-hsien* means to be banished to earth from heaven; this has reference to Yang Shen's banishment from the Imperial court to the savage regions of south-western Yün-nan.

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"'Pi-yao College was originally the name given by Lord Yang to the villa of the Mao family. The villa exists no more. But as the mountain has not changed its color, and the place has not changed its name, I give the name of the former villa to the shrine, thereby commemorating the fidelity of Lord Mao.'" 173

Quoted from the inscription on a large memorial stone walled-in in the south enclosure of the court of the shrine. The beginning of the text is somewhat hidden by the wall, and the stone is cracked in three places. The same text can, however, be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 88, fols. 27b–28b.

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PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

The Boundaries and Sub-districts of Li-chiang

101 *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (Plate 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (潞江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

[131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上棒可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

361 *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

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361 caused the wall to collapse, whereupon magistrate Fan Hao-jen 樊好仁 repaired or rebuilt it. In the 58th year (1793) it fell again, but this time an order was received not to rebuild it. In the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) the Provincial Governor, Ch'en Yü-ying 岑毓英, petitioned for permission to construct a brick wall. The east gate was called Hsiang-jih 向日 (Facing the sun), the south gate, Ying-en 迎恩; the west gate, Fu-yüan 服遠; the north gate, Kung-chi 拱極 (Saluting the polar star). The small west gate was called Yin-yü 飲玉 [Swallowing the Jade (dragon mountain) gate]."

To-day no wall remains save a small section east and north of the yamen, in the north-east corner of the town, and even that is in ruins.

THE PRESENT PREFECTURE AND TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

633 361 *The present boundaries.* — The prefecture of Li-chiang lies between two large rivers, the Yangtze (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) and the Mekong, (Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, also written Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江; this latter name is more commonly used in Li-chiang). The prefecture is divided into six ch'ü 區 (sub-districts) and 23½ li 里 (now called hsiang 鄉). (A *li* 里 is a group of villages situated usually around a larger central one after which the *li* is named. It might be termed a commune or a borough.) The first ch'ü comprises the li Ta-yen 大研, Pai-ma 白馬 and Tung-yüan 東元里; the second, Pai-sha 白沙, Shu-ho (pronounced *Ssu* in Li-chiang) 束河, La-sha 剌沙, La-shih 剌是 and Mu-pao 木保; the third, La-p'iao 剌標 with its two divisions of Shang 上 and Hsia 下, Nan-shan 南山, Ch'i-ho 七河, Wu-lieh 吳烈 and Tung-ni-lo 東倪羅; the fourth, Shih-ku 石鼓, A-hsi 阿喜, Hsiang-ko 香閣 and Chiu-ho 九河; the fifth, Chü-tien 巨甸, Lu-tien 鼎甸 and Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭; the sixth, Ta-chü 大具, La-pao 剌寶, Tung-shan 東山里; and the half-li Tung-hsiang-ko 東香閣.

The present Li-chiang prefecture is bordered on the east by the prefecture of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei); north-east by the Mu-li T'u-ssu 木里土司 of Hsi-k'ang and the adjoining Yung-ning; south by the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing; south-west by the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan; west by the two prefectures of Lan-p'ing and Wei-hsi; north by the prefecture of Chung-tien.

The distances of the present prefecture to its borders, reckoned from the prefectural city of Li-chiang, are as follows: to the Yung-sheng border at Ching-li or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, where exists the only bridge over the Yangtze 130 li; south to Ho-ch'ing 80 li; west to Lan-p'ing 250 li; to the border of Wei-hsi 450 li; north to the border of Chung-tien 60 li.

The distance from Li-chiang to K'un-ming, capital of the province, is 1,240 li, in 18 stages. Since the construction of a motor road to Ta-li, Li-chiang can be reached in eight days (1938). A motor road to Li-chiang is also under construction (1939). It was not completed in 1944 when I last left Li-chiang.

The town of Li-chiang. — Li-chiang (beautiful river) (PLATE 50) is known as Yi-gv to the Na-khi of outlying districts such as La-bpu and the villages on the banks of the Yangtze. The Na-khi of the Li-chiang plain, however, always speak of the town as Ngu-bä. One meaning of the word *ngu* is a very large box, and *bä* means to do, to make. The size of the town is thus compared to a very large box, and *bä* means that everything is obtainable therein. Another mean-

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PLATE 69.—THE SOUTHERN PASS OF 'A-erh-pao

The first is A-ma ere-ly or Mi-hsing Shan, it is the second highest peak of the Yi-hsing Shan; the second is A-ko ere-ly or Ma-hung Shan; the third A-nien ere-ly or Ma-kao Shan. In foreground the summit slopes of Gyi-ak ere-ly. The Yangtze flows more than twenty feet below the peak.

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PLATE 98.—THE NIANSHAN CHAIN OF 'A-NI'-MA-CHEN

The Yungtu flows several thousand feet below this crags, a continuation of the peaks down on Plate 96. The last broad peak (extreme right), the fourth Mahoyi of the Yellow Sheet in Ho-lo-p'ing-ch'ü (Ho-p. Sheet 6 B 6) is to separated from the crags by the Yungtu, which here cuts through the outer range and forms the 'A-ni-ma-chen gorge. The Sheet on the slopes are Alien.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 91. — THE ALPINE REGION GY-SSU-GKO DÜ-MAH

玉龍高山牧場

The author's camp in a sea of Anemones, Primulas, ground orchids and other alpine flowers. The region was formerly covered with dense fir forest, a few trees have still survived. The peak in center is Shan-tsu-tou; the one in extreme upper right, Gyi-nà nv-lv. Photographed after a midday storm. Elevation 15,500 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 92.—VIRGIN, MIXED FOREST ON THE EASTERN SLOPES OF YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山東麓原始混交林

Forest of evergreen and deciduous trees covers the mountain slope between Hei-shui and Ta-ku at an elevation of 10,000 to 10,700 feet. The trees are mainly *Pinus yünnanensis*, *Pinus Armandi*, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, *Tsuga yünnanensis*, Acer, Sorbus, etc. The undergrowth is formed by *Rhododendron decorum* and *Rhod. rubiginosum*, Lonicera and *Rodgersia pinnata* (lower left). The lichen *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

[p.172 D]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 93. — THE PINE FOREST OF GHEOH-Y'O WANTONLY DESTROYED BY LO-LO TERRORISTS

國 內 大 噪 盜 賊

Lo-lo squatters set fire to this forest which burned for weeks, enshrouding the land in clouds of smoke. The Lo-lo are the enemy of every tree, and wherever they settle they cause wanton destruction. Since the Lo-lo have been driven out some ten years ago, the forest is gradually coming back again.

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 94. — LO-LO WOMEN AT CHÜCH-T'O

圖 版 四 十 四

Women as well as men wear the black felt cloak. They live in the most primitive fashion; their houses made of pine boards, tied together with vines, are not much better than pigsties.

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Sino-Tibetan Border Regions AF3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 95. — LO-LO TRIBAL MEN FROM GHÜGH-T'O

[illegible]

When not occupied cultivating their land, they held up lonely travellers and robbed their Na khi and Chinese neighbors.

[p. 172 G]

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Plate 98.—Ma-ssu Patterns on Ma-ssu-wa

(Gamy Ma. Gap. Ju.)

Ma-SSU farmers from the Yungjan loop still live a primitive existence controlled by Chinese officials. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

[p. 172 H]

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 97.—A NA-KHI WOMAN FROM MBA-YI-WÛA

She still wears the ancient Na-khi pleated skirt of homespun with blue border. Note the huge earrings.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 98. — MOUNT GYI-NÀ NV-LV AND THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO RANGE

墨 永 雪 山

As seen from near Mba-yi-wùa. The broad mountain mass (left) is Gyi-nà nv-lv; the peaks and crags behind form the 'A-ts'an-gko range back of which the Yangtze flows in a gorge more than 10,000 feet deep. Pine forest in foreground. *See* also Plates 89 and 90.

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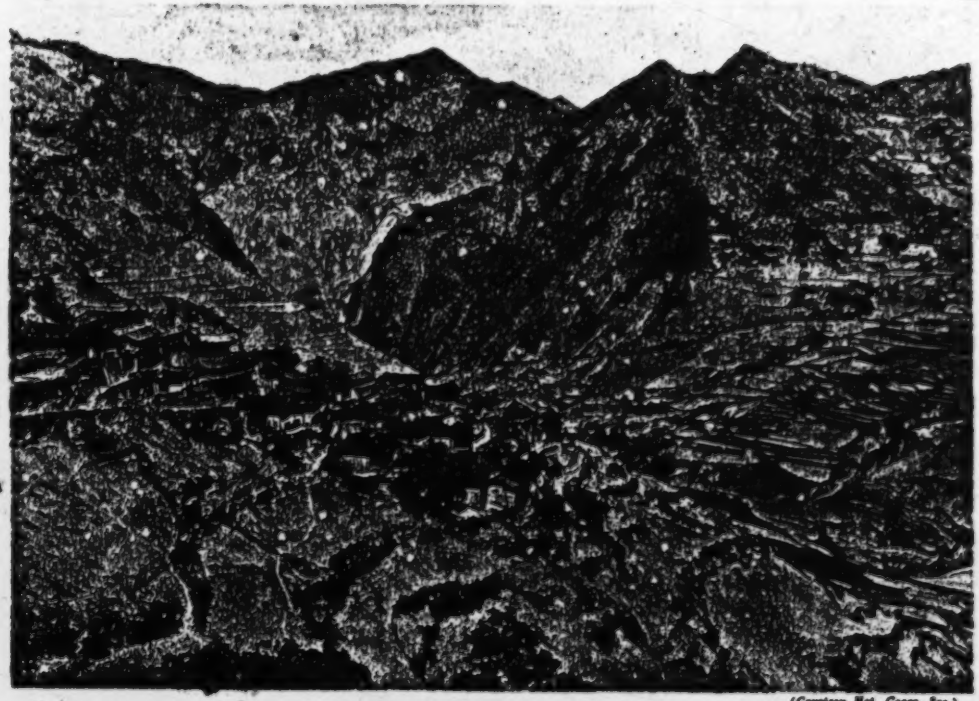

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 99. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LA-ZÄ

納 西 族 村

La-zä which consists of about 40 houses is situated at 8,000 feet elevation. A terrific rock-gate (center) opens out into the Yangtze gorge, through it a trail leads to La-bpu 'A-k'o; *see* Plate 100.

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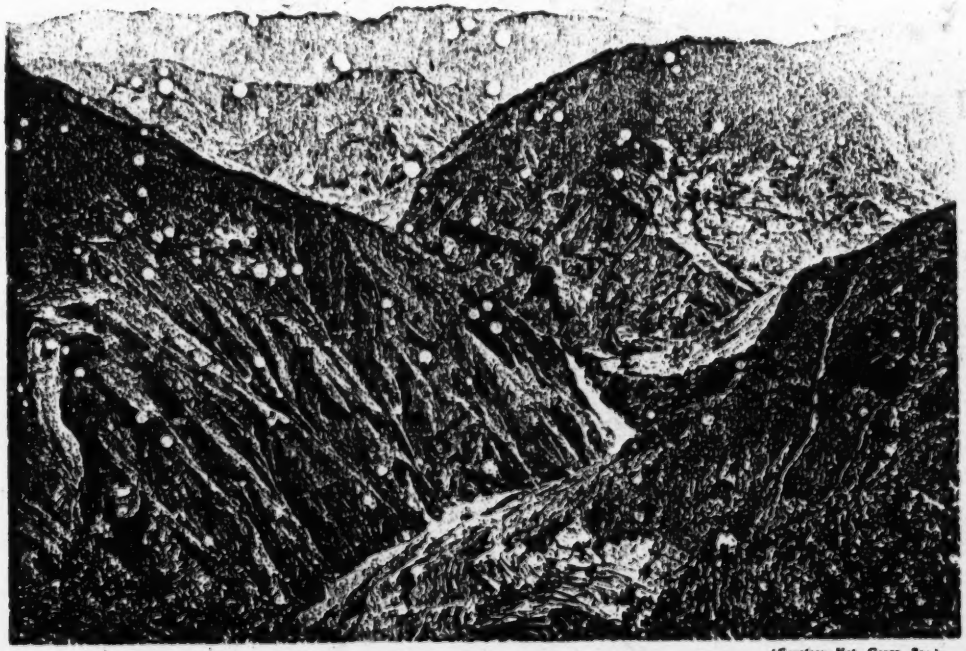

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 100. — THE YANGTZE AT LA-PAO LOOKING DOWNSTREAM

納西金沙江拉抱

The river which flows in a magnificent gorge separates La-pao (right) from Yung-ning (left). The village of La-bpu 'A-k'o with its terraced fields is visible in lower center of picture. Photographed from summit of La-bpu mbu 10,200 feet elevation, looking south.

[p. 172L]

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PLATE 101. — NA-KHI (ZHĚR-KHIN) FERRYMEN AT FENG-K'O (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

住木濱的可麗鳳

Na-khi who live in the hot river valleys of the Li-chiang — Yung-ning districts are known as Zhěr-khin. They are all excellent swimmers. See Plate 238.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 102. — THE YANGTSE AND FERRY AT FENG-K'O

鳳 可 金 沙 江 渡 口

The author's camp on the Li-chiang side (Feng-k'o) of the Yangtse. A ferry plies here to the Yung-ning side at Law-k'a-khi-lilö. It was here that Kublai Khan and his army crossed the Yangtse to Mo-so (Na-khi) territory coming from Yung-ning.

[p.172 N]

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PLATE 103. — THE YANGTZE — GV-HO-GU GORGE

麼 子 鋪 金 沙 江 石 門

Beyond the gorge is the district of La-pao where Kublai Khan first fought the Mo-so (Na-khi) December, 1253. He was opposed by them at a pass called Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, west (right) of the Gv-ho-gu gorge. The triangular peak beyond the gorge (center) is La-bpu mbu.

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PLATE 104.—IN THE GV-HO-GU YANGTZE GORGE

獅 寶 金 沙 江 峽 谷 內

Pines and oaks cling to the vertical walls forming the Gv-ho-gu gorge in which the Yangtze roars several thousand feet below the summit crags. Photographed from a bluff in the Gko-mii ravine, elevation 8,000 feet. The gorge separates the Feng-k'o from the La-pao district.

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633 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business,
361 thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong
101 to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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361 101 the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大研里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wùa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 魯南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; *mbue-tkhi* is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 魯嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned [762] for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦壳 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lä-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. — This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wùa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various

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streams which flow south over the Li-chiang plain, flows through Tung-yüan li and is there called the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho 清溪玉河. A stone bridge crosses it on the extreme west border of the li, where it adjoins Pai-ma li. The bridge is called the Tung-yüan ch'iao 東元橋 and was built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. A mountain extends from north to south along the western part of the li, from which the above-mentioned stream flows; it is called She Shan 蛇山 (Snake Mountain).

Pai-ma li. — To the west of Tung-yüan li and immediately south of Li-chiang, is the li of Pai-ma. This is called in Na-khi, Wua-gkan-ts'an. The most important village is Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 (Na-khi, Muan-k'u, or the Lower or Southern gate). Other villages are San-chia-ts'un 三家村, the Na-khi Zhĕr-hăr-ndz(ĕr)-dzu (Where the green willow is born, or grows — on account of a large old willow tree which once grew there); the hamlet Chi-hsiang-ts'un 吉祥村, is divided into an upper 上 and a lower 下, the upper being called Ggŏ-boa-ts'an and the lower Mbe-lü (actually central one); then Ch'ing-yün-ts'un 慶雲村, called Wua-gkan-ts'an, whence the li derives its Na-khi name.

Tung-ni-lo li. — On the extreme east of Tung-yüan li, extending south along the Yangtze, is the li of Tung-ni-lo 東你羅里, of which the largest village is Tung-ni-lo. The southern border of this li adjoins that of the Ho-ch'ing district 鶴慶縣. Wu-lieh li 吳烈里 adjoins Tung-ni-lo li on the east and extends south of Tung-yüan li; it is a continuation of the Wu-lieh li to the north of Tung-yüan li. It does not extend, however, to the Ho-ch'ing border but comes to a sharp point half the length of the eastern border of the li of Tung-ni-lo. The villages which belong here are Wu-lieh, in the north-western corner, and Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村 (the Da-wùa of the Na-khi), in the west central part.

Hsia La-p'iao li. — East of the southern Wu-lieh li is the li of Hsia La-p'iao 下剌漂里. It extends from north to south to the Ho-ch'ing border. Its important villages are, in the west central part, T'ao-li-ts'un 陶禮村, and in the central part the village of Chung-chi 中吉, called in Na-hki Chu-gyi. In the east central part is the village of Mei-tzu-tseng 美自增, the Na-khi Muan-dsu-dzä; to the south of the latter are the villages of Ta-le 打勒 (the Na-khi Nda-lä), San-yüan-ts'un 三元村, and Ssu-na-ku 四納故. The southernmost village is Mu-chien 木堅.

Ch'i-ho li. — The li of Ch'i-ho 七河里 (Seven rivers) is south of Tung-yüan li and extends east to Hsia La-p'iao. It is divided by the stream called Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江, which flows into the Yangtze south-east of Ho-ch'ing, the Lä-bbu dü of the Na-khi, encircling the Sung-kuei 松桂 mountains to the south.

One of the streams which form the Yang-kung River is the Yü Ho or Jade Stream, the Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi, which has its source in the springs at the foot of the Hsiang Shan where the Lung-wang Miao stands. At Shuang-shih ch'iao 雙石橋 [4] the stream divides into three branches. One flows from Pai-ma li to La-p'iao, one through Pa-ho 八河 (a village south of Li-chiang),

[4] Shuang-shih ch'iao [Double (arch) stone bridge] is two li north-west of Li-chiang.

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and one through the center of Li-chiang (PLA[illegible] 53); all unite in Tung-yüan and join the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho. Flowing sou[illegible]n, the latter river enters the Ho-ch'ing district and forms the Yang-kung Chiang. (The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes 漾工江 and 東員里 instead of 東元里.) A bridge called the Lo-ma ch'iao 勒馬橋 (the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes Lan-ma ch'iao 攔馬橋) spans it in the central part of the li on the main road between Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing. In the western half of Ch'i-ho li are the hamlets of Shang Ch'i-ho 上七河 (Upper Ch'i-ho) and Hsia Ch'i-ho 下七河 (Lower Ch'i-ho), the Na-khi Mbu-kv. In the southern part is the hamlet of Li-shou 麗首. In the eastern part of Ch'i-ho li, that is, the region east of the Yang-kung Chiang, are the following important villages: in the northern part, A-shih-ts'un 阿失村, southwest of it Wa-k'uan-tu 瓦寬獨, the Na-khi Wua-k'o-ndu (Tile kiln). Southwest of the latter are the hamlets of T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村 and Mei-ch'i-chia 梅溪甲, and to the east of it is the village of Mu-kuan-ts'un 木官村; southwest of the last named is the village of Mien-ch'ang-chia 面塲甲, and south of the latter again is the village of Mei-so-chia 梅所甲, while east lies the large village of Ch'i-ku-ts'un 溪谷村, almost on the border of Ho-ch'ing.

Shang La-p'iao li. — To the west of Ch'i-ho li is the li of Shang La-p'iao 上剌標 (Upper La-p'iao), which is south of Pai-ma li. The most important villages are Ch'ieh-k'o-tu 且可都, in Nakhi Ts'ä-k'o-ndu (Salt-hole there), in the southernmost part of the li, with the hamlet of Chung-ho-ts'un 中和村 to the east or south-east of it. In the northern part of the li, south of the borders of Pai-ma li, are the villages of Hsia-tien-wa 下甸瓦 and Shang-chi-ts'un 上吉村.

Mu-pao li. — To the west of Shang La-p'iao li is the li of Mu-pao (Mu-pao li 木保里). The north-westernmost village is Wen-feng-ts'un 文峯村, in Na-khi Mùan-bbu; more centrally located are Mu-pao 木保 and, south of it, Chung-ts'un 中村 (Central village). Ta-ts'un 大村 (Large village) is on the eastern border and south of it the hamlet of Ta-lü 達魯, the Na-khi Nda-lv.

La-sha-li. — To the north of Mu-pao li is the li of La-sha 剌沙里, of which the important villages are Ch'ang-shui 長水, the Na-khi Ghügh-k'o, in the south, and to the north-east of it the village of Shang-i-ts'un 尙義村; the lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺, called Mùan bbu-nä in Na-khi, belongs to this li, so do the villages Mei-tzu-ts'un 梅子村 and Tz'u-man 茨滿, the Na-khi Tsi-man. On the western border, on the mountain slopes, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'eng-ts'un 老城村. At the extreme south-western end on the Li-chiang plain is situated the lake Sä-bpi Khü the Chinese Hsi-pi Hai 西碧海 or Sheng-pi Hai 生碧海; the mountain to the south of it is called Wan-sung Shan 萬松山, on its lowe[illegible] slope is situated the temple of Cheng-chüeh Ssu 正覺寺.

Nan-shan li. — The longest of all the li is Nan-shan li 南山里 (Southern mountain li). It extends south of and encircles La-sha li, Mu-pao li, and Shang La-p'iao in part, and reaches also to the borders of Ch'i-ho. It is a very mountainous li with little level ground. A road leads over these mountains from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. The villages are mostly situated along this highway. From north to south they are: T'ieh-kan-shu 鐵甘書, which is,

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however, on the plain and in the north central part of the li and east of the road; along the road are Hua-i 花衣, Chi-tzu 戟子, Shan-shen-p'o 山神坡, Pen-shu 本書 and the southernmost, Kuo-mei-ku 果美古. 361 101

Hsiang-ko li. — To the north of this li is Hsiang-ko li 香閣里. There are two li of this name. This is the western one, the eastern being along the banks of the Yangtze where the iron chain-bridge at Tzu-li-chiang forms the border. This western Hsiang-ko li extends north to the banks of the Yangtze, and joins the li of A-hsi 阿喜. The latter extends north, and comprises the Yangtze valley west of the Li-chiang snow range. The northernmost village situated along the highway to Shih-ku is Sha-pa 沙壩, and to the east of it is Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝, which is on the border of A-hsi and Hsiang-ko li. To the west of it is Ching-k'ou-t'ang 菁口塘. Others to the south and not in the Yangtze valley are Hsiung-ku 雄古 (the Na-khi Khyü-gkv), Lu-wa 盧瓦 and Chu-pi 竹彼. The region to the north of the cross-roads (one running from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku, and the other from Chien-ch'uan to Li-chiang) on the top of the plateau, commonly called Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, is still the li of Hsiang-ko, which also extends south of these cross-roads to the borders of Chien-ch'uan. The southernmost village is T'ang-lang-pa 螳螂壩 (Praying mantis meadow). Other villages in the southern part are Lü-pi-shan 律比山, T'ien-hung 天紅, Mu-hai-p'ing 沐海坪, and Tien-wei 甸尼 (not to be confused with the Tien-wei of the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan).

La-shih li. — To the east of the northern part of Hsiang-ko li is the li of La-shih 剌是里, comprising a small area adjoining the Huang Shan in the east, which mountain separates it from the Li-chiang plain.

West of the pass over the Huang Shan, beyond Huang-shan shao 黃山哨, is the village An-lo-ts'un 安樂村. To the north of An-lo-ts'un is the hamlet of Chi-hsiang (ch'iang)-ts'un 吉祥村, and to the north of the latter is the lamasery of Chi-yün Ssu 指雲寺. To the east of the lamasery, on the western foot-hills of the limestone range which forms the southernmost spur of the snow range, and which separates La-shih li from Shu-ho li, is the hamlet of Ta-yü-ts'un 打魚村. In the western part of the li is the hamlet of Chi-lo-ts'un 吉樂村 and north-east of it Yü-lo-ts'un 餘樂村.

A-hsi li. — The villages in the Yangtze valley which form the li of A-hsi have already been described in the journey from the snow range west to the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. This comprises all the li from the bend of the Yangtze eastwards, to Tzu-li-chiang where the iron chain-bridge spans the river. (*See* page 253.)

There remain now only the two northernmost li within the loop, which are separated by the highway which leads to Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

La-pao li 剌寶里. — This is the eastern one. It extends south as far as Hung-men-tu 紅門渡, thence north to Chiang-wa-tu 江回渡 (also called Chiang-wai 江外), and Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

Ta-chü li 大具里. — This, the western li is large, exceedingly mountainous and densely forested; the most important village is Ta-ku 打鼓 (Na-khi, Nda-gv), on the terrace above the Yangtze and within the loop.

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361 The snow range does not apparently belong to any separate li. The A-hsi li
101 eastern border line extends along the summit peaks of the range to the village of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, at the mouth (entrance) of the Yangtze gorge, where it cuts through the snow range. Beyond the last mentioned village on the right bank of the river, the territory belongs to the li of Ta-chü. Although on the right bank of the river there are only cliffs thousands of feet high, where it is impossible to obtain a foothold, still less room for a hut, house, or village, the prefectural map of Li-chiang gives several names which designate certain rocks or parts of the cliff. They are located in Ta-chü li and read from south to north as follows: Ch'ing-lung-shui 青龍水 (Azure dragon water), Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff dwelling), Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment), Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard), and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's-comb ridge). This last is at the exit of the gorge. From Ta-chü, which is identical with Ta-ku, a trail leads along the Yangtze, but quite a distance from the actual river bank, on the western slopes of the main range which fills the loop.

North-east of Ta ku (Nda-gv), is the village of Lao-pen-ts'un 老本村 (La-mbe), further north Sheng-se-lo 生色落 (Sä-sä-lo), and finally Chu-ku 住古 (Tsu-gkv). From the main central trail which leads to Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), a trail leads to Nda-gv, and here we encounter the villages of Pu-ku-tsu 布固足 (Bbu-gkv-dsu) and P'ei-tan 培單 (P'ä-da).

Chiu-ho li. — To the west of Hsiang-ko li is Chiu-ho li (Nine stream li) of which the principal village is Chiu-ho-kai 九河街. The southernmost is Hui-lung-chia 迴龍甲, directly north of Chien-ch'uan. At the foot of the mountains which hem in the Chiu-ho valley on the west, are many villages of which the most important are, omitting the southernmost hamlet already mentioned: Ch'ing-chiang-chia 青江甲, Lung-ying-chia 龍應甲, Chi-lai-chia 吉來甲, A-ch'a-chia 阿差甲, Tien-t'ou-chia 甸頭甲 and Li-tzu-yüan 李子園. The border of Chiu-ho li passes through the top of the mountain range of which Lao-chün Shan 老君山, some distance to the west, is the highest peak. The villages situated to the west of that range, and still belonging to Chiu-ho li, are, from south to north, Sung-p'ing-pa 松平壩 in the south-western corner of the li, Wei-nan-hsiang 味南鄉, Ta-ngai-ts'un 打岩村, Jo-shui-t'ang, Shih-hung-shan 石紅山, Ma-p'ing-pa 馬平壩, Ta-p'iao-ts'un 大票村 and Leng-shui-kou. On the main highway coming from Chien-ch'uan, to the south of Chiu-ho-kai, is the hamlet of Kao-meng-ho 高猛河. To the north is Kuan-shang-ts'un 關上村, and the last hamlet is Chiu-ho-kuan 九河關 (Chiu-ho pass).

Shih-ku li. — To the west of Chiu-ho li is Shih-ku li 石鼓里, of which Shih-ku, the Na-khi La-ba or La-ba wùa-gkv, south of the bend of the Yangtze, is the most important village. The south-western part of the li terminates at the border of Ch'iao-t'ou li 橋頭里, which adjoins the high mountain known as Lao-chün Shan 老君山 in the west, the Li-chiang — Lan-p'ing hsien 蘭坪縣 border passing through its summit.

The Shih-ku li consists of a long valley watered by the La-ba gyi, (Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河), with the Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 forming its south-eastern border. An affluent actually has its source in Lao-chün Shan and flows along the western slopes of Wang-chiang Shan, while the main stream has its

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source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku. and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 鑼鍋箐.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 卢甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

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any size to what is now Li-chiang was T'ung-an, for the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that in ancient days there stood only the native yamen or palace, without a wall. In 1659 T'ung-an chou was abolished and absorbed by Li-chiang.

Li-chiang still meant only the magistracy of Li-chiang, for it says in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* that the Circuit of Li-chiang was changed to a magistracy in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). However a district is always named after its largest town. As to when the actual town of Li-chiang came into being, the records keep strangely silent.

The first wall began to be built in 1723. Li-chiang has now no wall and a remnant of it only exists to-day around the ruined yamen.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fols. 34b–35a, states that T'ung-an chou, now no longer existing, was three li east of Li-chiang fu.[5] Its ancient name was San-t'an. The P'u hsieh man 濮㴱蠻 (P'u-hsieh savages) dwelled there. They were followed by the Mo-so-man, Ye-ku-nien, who conquered it by force. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it was the land of Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣, subordinate to Yüeh-sui Chün 越嶲郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) the name Ting-tso was changed to K'un-ming 昆明, subordinate to Sui chou 嶲州. It was raised later to K'un-ming Chün 昆明軍 (military district of K'un-ming). After the reign of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 756) it became the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao 越析麼些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi). In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) of the Yüan dynasty, it submitted to the Empire. In the fourth year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1263), Mai-liang (a Na-khi chief called A-liang 阿良 in the Mu Chronicle) was made civil governor of San-t'an 三睒管民官. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) T'ung-an chou was established under the Circuit of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty there were no changes. In the Ch'ing dynasty it was reduced and merged with Li-chiang fu.

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 19b, has the following to say about T'ung-an chou:

"It is now to the east and near the suburb of the governing fu-city [Li-chiang]. In ancient days it was in the land of Tso Kuo 笮國 and its name was San-t'an. The Man (Savages) called it Yang-ch'ü-t'ou 漾渠頭 [this name I have found in no other work relating to this district]. In the Han dynasty it became the land of Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣, subordinate to the commandery of Yüeh-sui. In the T'ang dynasty Ting-tso was altered to K'un-ming, belonging to Sui chou. It was raised to K'un-ming Chün and became the land of K'un-ming. After the reign of T'ien-pao, about 756, it was conquered by the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao. Afterwards it was absorbed by Nan-chao. In the Sung dynasty (960–1252) the P'u-hsieh man[6] dwelled there. [Apparently in

[5] E. Chavannes in his "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" in *T'oung Pao* and in Bacot "*Les Mo-so*" p. 164 states that according to the *Yüan Shih* the administrative seat of T'ung-an chou is east of (the) Li-chiang at the foot of the snow mountain. This is correct as far as the statement goes; I believe however that the river Li Chiang (Yangtze) is not meant but the town of Li-chiang. As T'ung-an chou was within the loop of the Yangtze, it could be called either west or east of the Yangtze. The Li-chiang records are quite explicit and state that T'ung-an chou was three li east of the town (Li-chiang), and the map accompanying these records shows it there. Therefore the river Li Chiang could not have been meant. The Yangtze, either west or east, is more than seventy li from Li-chiang.

These were two tribes, the P'u and Hsieh. All the different works I have consulted mention

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ancient days it was the land of the P'u-hsieh tribes, who were defeated by the Mo-so Ye-ku-nien during the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 618–626.] They were ruled by the Mo-so chiefs until the Sung dynasty when the P'u-hsieh again gained the upper hand."

[This will explain the gap in the Chronicle of the Na-khi kings who during the period between 1101–1125, start again with the stranger from Mon-

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the various P'u tribes, but there is no P'u-hsieh tribe. The Hsieh supposedly were a different clan, who dwelt together with the P'u in the land which now comprises Li-chiang and were the original inhabitants of the country. Chinese records speak of two tribes as residing in the Li-chiang district, viz., the Mo-so (hsieh) erh-chung man 摩些二種蠻. Are we to understand that the Mo are the Mo-so and the Hsieh the tribe formerly associated with the P'u? Both are spoken of in Chinese works as the Mo-man 摩蠻 and Hsieh-man 㑹蠻.

I propose here a conjecture which may serve as a basis for further investigation.

I have held the opinion that the Mo-so (Mo-hsieh) and the Na-khi are identical, that the former is their Chinese name and the latter their own tribal name. After much thought and research on my part this assertion I have come to doubt for the following reasons:

First the Chinese chronicles never mention the name Na or Na-hsieh, but they state that there were two tribes, the Mo and the Hsieh, the character used is pronounced "*so*" when it refers to the tribe, according to the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. They also mention the P'u and Hsieh who were the aborigines of the district of Li-chiang. However, nowhere are the Hsieh separately mentioned and I have come to believe that the Chinese word *hsieh* is merely a transcription of the Mo-so word "*Khi*" which sounds like hsi, but the initial is actually a palatal German "*ch*." *Khi* in Mo-so (or Na-khi) means "*man*" (not man = male). Therefore they would have been spoken of as the P'u-khi and the Mo-khi, the people of the P'u and the Mo (tribes).

As to the Na-khi the people of the Na tribe, they were a branch of the Ch'iang and migrated south from their home in northeastern Tibet. They settled among the P'u and Mo. The P'u were driven into the hills and the Mo and Na occupied or kept to the plains and valleys.

The Na were apparently not numerous but they had a religious literature and the name Na = black was perhaps given them by the Mo-so because they were darker skinned than the aborigines of the Li-chiang territory. They adopted the Mo-so language and were gradually absorbed by the Mo-so. Yet the religious cult of the immigrants, the Bön Shamanism plus their own demonolatry, was adopted as the religion of the people of the Mo-so (hsieh) tribe by their chiefs. It is difficult to trace the original culture of the Mo-so, it was probably the same as that of the Lo-lo their neighbors, who with them are classed as *Wu-man* = Black barbarians by the Chinese.

There are two types of writing in vogue in Li-chiang, a syllabic phonetic type, very similar to that of the Lo-lo script, and a pictographic. The former, of which little is known nowadays, may have been the script of the Mo-so, while the pictographic script was that invented by the Na-khi, both being read in Mo-so with an admixture of Na-khi. The language now spoken in Yung-ning may be the aboriginal Mo-so tongue, yet they have no written language. It is also possible that the syllabic type of writing was brought by the Na-khi and was discarded later in favor of the pictographic much easier to remember than the syllabic.

Certain primitive ceremonies as the propitiation of Heaven or Muan-bpö, at the performance of which neither books or priests are needed, show that there is more than one tribe involved. Yet there exist ancient Na-khi manuscripts pertaining to the Muan-bpö cult; the texts reveal that the ceremony is akin to that performed by the Ch'iang and therefore is of Na-khi and not Mo-so origin. A modified Muan-bpö was later adopted by all the different tribes or clans and this would explain the discontinuance of the use of priests and books, for the former only can read. All the people bearing the family name Ho, which is considered a genuine Na-khi name, perform their Muan-bpö at a different time than the families bearing the Chinese-sounding family names of Chao, Yang, Wang, etc. It is here that we may learn who is Mo-so and who is Na-khi. However all the non Chinese people of the Li-chiang district, irrespective of family name, call themselves Na-khi, while the name Mo-so is resented.

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golia called Yeh-yeh as the first generation of their line (*see* Chapter VI, pp. 71, 73). The kings were called Ta-ch'iu-chang 大酋長 (Great chiefs of the tribe).]

"Afterwards the Mo-so conquered that territory. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) a civil official was established to govern San-t'an. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) that name was changed to T'ung-an chou. It remained unaltered during the Ming dynasty. The native sub-magistracy (T'u-chou), controlling the families of 13 li, was in charge of a sub-prefect of the Kao family." The family were originally natives of Ho-ch'ing. Kao Ch'ing 高清, who was the son of Kao Ssu 高賜, a native of Ho-ch'ing, was sub-magistrate of T'ung-an chou during the reign of the Na-khi chief Mu Shen 木森 (1434–1441). He had married the daughter of Mu Shen, who survived him by 54 years. His son, Kao Lu 高祿, became hereditary T'ung-an sub-prefect. Thus it appears that the first place in the Li-chiang district was San-t'an, which during the reign of Kublai Khan became the T'ung-an chou. The latter place must have been near the suburbs of what is to-day Li-chiang. Apparently Li-chiang grew up slowly, and was an unimportant place until it absorbed T'ung-an.

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CHAPTER II

1. The Mountains of Li-chiang

according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*

(上 ch. 4, fols. 23a–24b)

Wu-lieh Shan 吳烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. 842
On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 娘娘廟, where barren 778
women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children.

Tung Shan 東山 [1] (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the 133
east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city.

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,[2] also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wùa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (Plates 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple 778
called P'u-te t'an 普德壇,[3] built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the 774

[1] To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-mā*, (Tibetan, *gtor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

[2] San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

[3] The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muan-bpō d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

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774 T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the
778 sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

133 *Hsiang Shan* 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon-king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern
312 point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

133 *Chih Shan* 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子巖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

[233] *Ma-tso-shu Shan* 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

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khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po

দ্ৰ্ঘ্ৰ্মুগ্ৰ্পো], *i.e.*, the purple mountain of Jang = Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明具, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 [6] is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dyansty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 [7] is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [8] flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

[6] There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dü-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

[7] This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 and La-chün Shan 剌均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 is 20 li north-west of the old Lan chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 剌鉤山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈞. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the natives pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu-niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling-ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石賴江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

[8] It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

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133 *Hsüeh-p'an Shan* 雪盤山 (Snow basin Mountain) is situated 200 li south-west of Li-chiang, and 10 li west from the ancient Lan chou. It has 12 separate peaks, and snow remains throughout the four seasons [there are, however, no glaciers on the mountain, which is 14,000 feet in height].

[37] The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is now better known as the Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt road Mountain), as all the salt from the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 wells is brought over this mountain to Chien-ch'uan, etc. On the latest Yün-nan military map, published in 1928, the Hsüeh-p'an Shan extends east of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 for about 120 li, about 50 li north of Lan-p'ing and 70 li south, making a curve. In the same range is a mountain marked Fu-yüan Shan 福源山, extending somewhat north-east. I believe that this mountain is identical with the peaks known as Yen-lu Shan, and is the central part of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan.

How accurate Chinese geographical accounts are as to distances can be judged from the following statement found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b: "The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is 200 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang, and 10 li west of the ancient Lan chou [present Lan-p'ing]"; On p. 35a, it states that "the ancient Lan chou is 360 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang." We have here a difference of 160 li; furthermore the Hsüeh-p'an Shan is not west, but east of Lan-p'ing. By stating it is 10 li distant from Lan chou, one would expect a definite mountain and not a range about 120 li long. There is a high mountain mass just about 20 li east of Lan-p'ing, and that is the Yen-lu Shan (Handel-Mazzetti's Ye-lu-schan). I crossed that mountain three times and know whereof I speak.

About the Fu-yüan Shan the same source states that it is 250 li west of Li-chiang, yet this mountain is in the center of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan. Again, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that the Yen-lu Shan is south of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan and reaches to the border of Yün-lung. On its southern slopes rises the Ta-lang Ho 大郎河, which flows south-west into the Pi Chiang 泚江. [This is the river which flows past Yün-lung and is marked as the Lo-ma Ho on Major Davies' map.]

Fu-yüan Shan 福源山 (Lucky spring Mountain) is 250 li west of Li-chiang and at the north border of Lan-p'ing. The mountain extends south-east over 50 li.

Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (Piebald horse Mountain) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and near the south-east border of the ancient Chü-chin chou 巨津州, the present Chü-tien. On one of the cliffs is a rock resembling a piebald horse, whence the name. In ancient days the people of the Mo-so chao called their country the Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 after that mountain. (*See* History of Li-chiang, p. 95.)

Han-sou Shan 漢藪山 is 500 li west of Li-chiang and close to the Shu-miao 樹苗汛 guard-house, north-west of the ancient Chü-chin chou. It is a spur or branch of the Lao-chün Shan. On its summit are three lakes, each five *mou* wide, or a little less than an English acre, and of unknown depth. [This mountain is south of present-day Lu-tien 魯甸.]

Feng-lo Ta-shan 風羅大山 is over 700 li west of Li-chiang; it forms the western valley wall of the Mekong or Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, and extends to

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Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), forming the divide between the Nu-tzu 怒子 [9] and the Mekong. 133

Ko-lo Shan 革落山 is 420 li west of Li-chiang and forms the eastern valley wall of the Mekong, west of the present Lan-p'ing. It is composed of two parallel mountains, each with three distinct peaks overlooking the Mekong.

Nu-kuan Shan 怒關山 is 190 li west of the Li-chiang district. From its slopes rises the T'ung-tien Ho 通甸河. [The T'ung-tien Ho is the southernmost branch of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江.] It flows past T'ung-tien, and debouches into the Mekong at Sha-tien 沙甸. [This place is south of Shu-miao 樹苗, which is the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border.]

Shih-ho Shan 十和山 is 20 li north-west of Li-chiang. At its foot is a village called Shih-ho-ts'un 十和邨. [This is in the sub-district of Shu-ho; Na-khi: Shwua-wùa.]

La-pa Shan (Na-khi: La-ba Ngyu) is 160 li west-north-west of Li-chiang. It is also called Feng-shui-ling 分水嶺. The Shih-ku Stream (Na-khi: Pa-tzu gyi, or La-ba pa-tzu gyi) has its source on the eastern slopes and flows at Shih-ku into the Yangtze. Handel-Mazzetti calls this mountain "Lo-tue schan." This is a mistake and his informer evidently had Lao-chün Shan in mind, which is also called Lo-chün Shan.

2. JADE DRAGON MOUNTAIN, OR YÜ-LUNG SHAN 玉龍山 THE LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE (PLATE 54)

This beautiful mountain range, consisting of three main peaks, extends from north to south; in its northern part it is cut through by the Yangtze, which separates the third peak (Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv) from the two southern peaks. The gorge which divides the range is known as 'A-ts'an gko and is described elsewhere (pp. 256–282).[10]

The southernmost is the highest peak and dominates the Li-chiang plain. It is known as Shan-tzu-tou 扇子陡, for its fluted face, the outspread snow ridges below the summit resemble an opened fan held upright. Shan-tzu-tou is 19,800 feet high.

The second peak, but not the second highest of the mountain mass of which it is a part, is commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv (H.-M., Dyinaloko) which really means "Inside the black water valley." It may be better described as Gyi-nà nv-lv (Black water snow peak); [the literal translation of *nv-lv* is silver rocks, by which the Na-khi denote a snow peak.] This peak differs greatly from the highest one of the range, and is somewhat further east than Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as on Handel-Mazzetti's map.

West, and parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nà nv-lv, but connected at the very top by a spur from which a deep valley extends north, is a

[9] The Nu-tzu (Lu-tzu 獹子), are a tribe inhabiting the upper Salween in Yün-nan territory, hence the Salween — Mekong divide is meant.

[10] The Yü-lung Shan is also called Sung Hsüeh-shan 崇雪山 (Lofty Snow mountain), and Fa Hsüeh-ling 乏雪嶺 (Peerless Snow peak).

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133 range of ice-crowned peaks exactly like those of Shan-tzu-tou. The last of these peaks at the head of the valley is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, hitherto considered the second highest peak of the Jade-dragon mountain. It is of about the same height as Shan-tzu-tou. This parallel range is often spoken of by the Na-khi as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv (Snow peaks of 'A-ts'an-gko), and I have adopted the name for the ice-crowned peaks, the southernmost of which is the second highest, with Gyi-nà nv-lv third, and Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv fourth of the Li-chiang snow range.

There are many snow peaks in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan, some of which are higher than the Li-chiang range and like the latter they also extend from north to south. Directly north of Li-chiang, in the new province of Hsi-k'ang 西康, is a large snow range called Gangs-dkar Rigs-gsum-mgon-po (pronounced Gangkar risum gompo), (PLATE 55), also known as the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) snow range (Kung-ka-ling Hsüeh-Shan 貢嘎嶺雪山 in Chinese). (PLATES 55, 56, 57, 58, 59). It is composed of three isolated peaks which rise from a high plateau and form a triangle,[11] but they extend from west to east, and are directly north of the Yangtze loop. The river Zho Chhu (Iron River; Wu-liang Ho 無量河 of the Chinese) flows at the foot of the range and debouches into the Yangtze at the apex of the loop (PLATE 105). The entire Gangkar-ling range and the Zho Chhu were once under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs, in particular during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619). There are extensive Na-khi villages, collectively called O-yü, the inhabitants of which are descendants of the Na-khi soldiers who once guarded the region.

There is one other range not marked on any map, and that is Mu-ti Gangkar (Mu-ti Gangs-dkar)[12] which lies east of the Ya-lung 鴨龍 in Hsi-k'ang. It is about 19,000 feet in height and glacier-crowned; the western face of the mountain is in Mu-li 木裏 (Mi-li in Hsi-fan, Mä-li in Na-khi) territory; it also extends from north to south, with the Ya-lung flowing at its foot, in a gorge 11,500 feet deep, and 1,300 feet higher than the Yangtze.

361 Still farther north is the Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar[13] (Minya Konka as I baptized
133 it) (PLATE 60). It is north-east of the Mu-ti Gangkar range and south-west of Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐, in Hsi-k'ang. Although Na-khi are supposed to live near Ta-chien-lu, in all my travels in that region I have not come across any of their villages. The farthest north are those on the Tibetan side north of Yar-kha-lo and in Mu-li territory near the Yün-nan border. These will be described in their respective places.

133 The Li-chiang Records state that besides being called the Yü-lung Shan, the Li-chiang snow range is also called Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺 and is covered with eternal snow, visible for a hundred li or more. Half-way up the mountain is said to be a pond, but the only pond known to me on this snow range is at the foot of the last and southernmost crag, called Hua-lä-bpu (H–M., Ünlupe).

[11] The three peaks are named after the Lamaist trimurti Rigs-gsum mgon-po རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ (The Three Lords), defenders of Lamaism, *i.e.*, Chenrezig (Spyan-ras-gzigs), Jambyang (Hjam-dbyangs) and Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje).

[12] ལྷ་ཆེ་གངས་དཀར

[13] མིན་ཡག་གངས་དཀར

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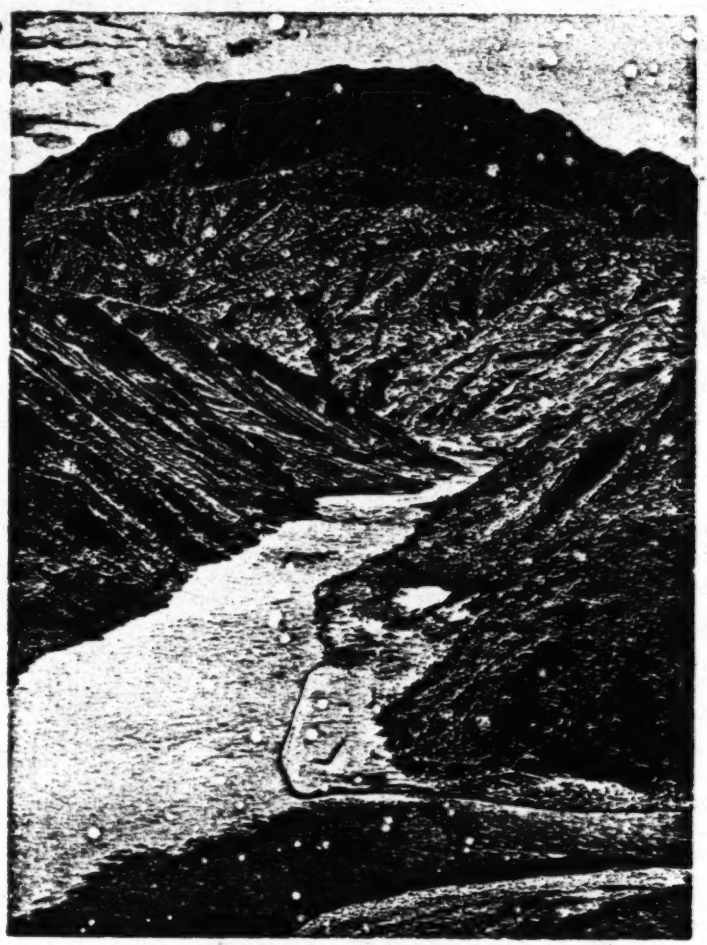

PLATE 105.—THE CONFLUENCE OF THE YANGTZE AND THE ZHO CHHU

金沙江與烏江河會流

The Zho Chhu or Wu-ljang Ho enters the Yangtse at the apex of the loop. Li-chiang, Yung-ning and Chung-tien territories meet here.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 106.—THE WESTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP

金沙江西支彎曲

The Yangtze makes two sharp bends ere reaching the apex near Shang Feng-k'o. Photographed from the central spur elevation 9,400 feet. Pines cover the hillsides.

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PLATE 107. — THE EASTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

金沙江東支彎曲

The river flows here in a deep gorge which separates Li-chiang from Yung-ning territory. The bend seen in the picture is north of Feng-k'o. The high mountain in the distance is Wuz-ha over 15,000 feet in height. Photographed from an elevation 10,100 feet. Pines in foreground.

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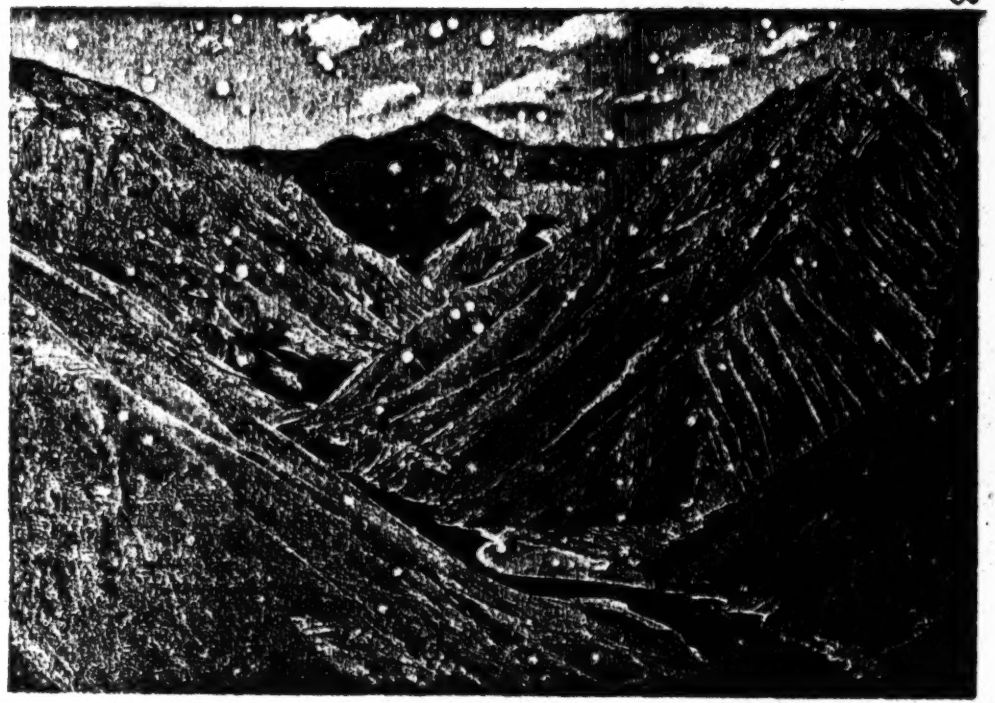

[P. 188 D]

PLATE 108. — THE YANGTSE NEAR P'A-LO

金沙江巴洛

The river (looking upstream) flows here in an arid gorge; the Li-su hamlet of P'a-lo (Chinese Pa-lo), also called Tse-mi, can be seen on the steep slopes above the alluvial fan, about center of picture. Left is Li-chiang, right, Yung-ning territory. Photographed from a bluff elevation 6,800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 109. — THE YANGTSE AT CHIHNG-WAI

江外鎮口

The arid gorge is dreary and a waste of rock and grass. A ferry plies here between Bu-yi-gkv in Yung-ning and Chiang-wai (Da-dü-gku) in Li-chiang territory (left). The latter village can be seen on the slopes (left margin of picture). La-bpu mbu whence Plate 100 was taken is beyond the gorge, about center (left) of picture.

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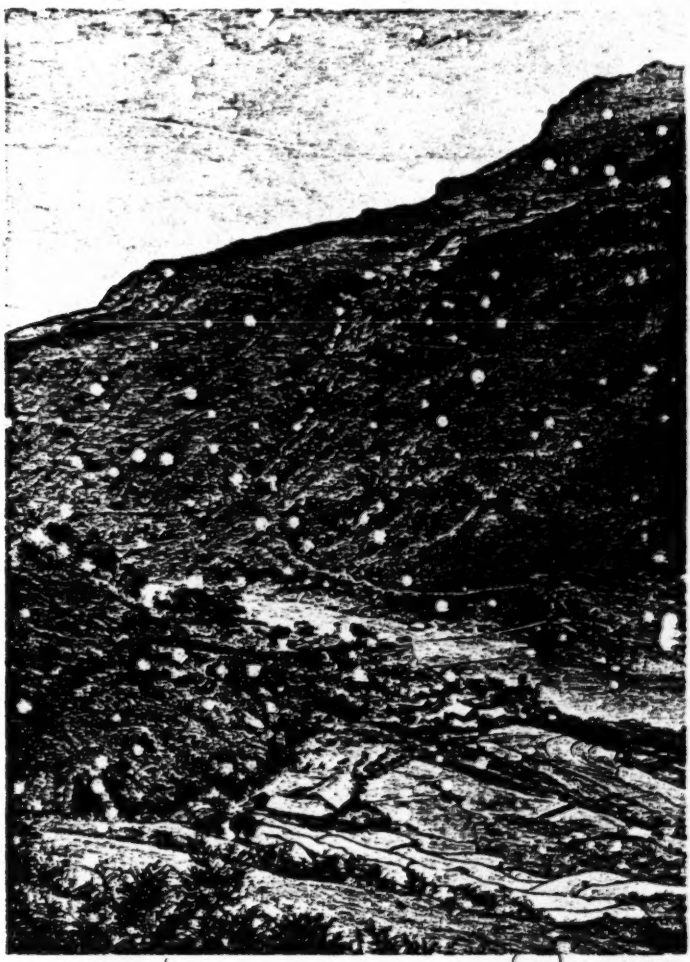

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 110. — THE ONLY BRIDGE ACROSS THE YANGTZE

金 龍 橋 渡

The Chin-lung ch'iao (Golden dragon bridge) spans the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang. The village above the bridge is called Chin-lung-ch'iao-ts'un or Gku-k'u-ndu in Na-khi. The mountains on the other side of the river are in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) territory.

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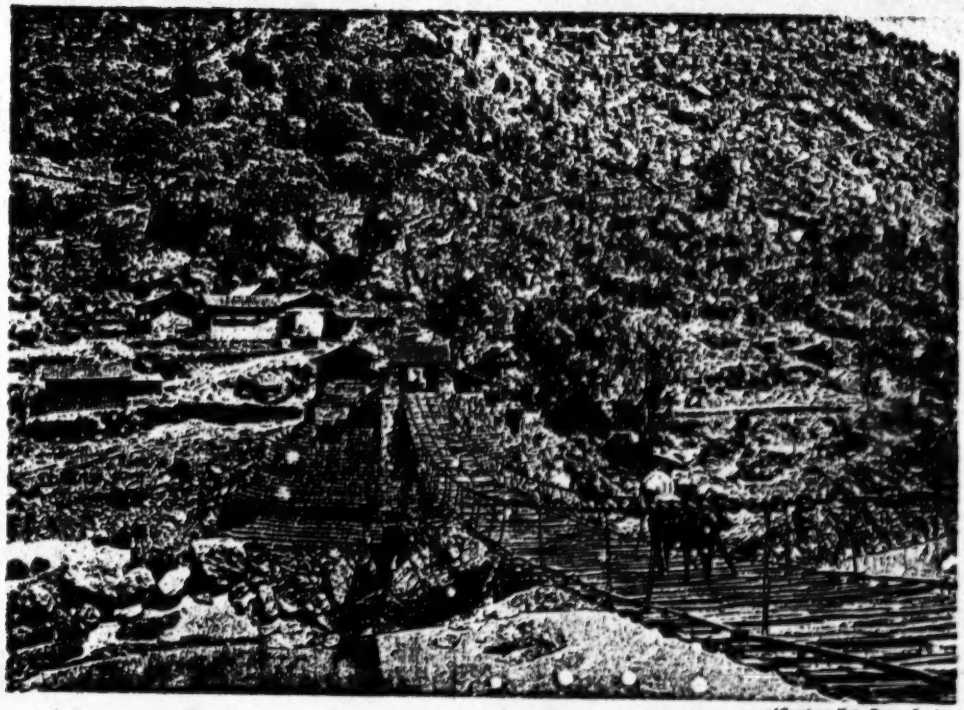

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 111.—THE CHIN-LUNG CH'IAO CHAIN SUSPENSION BRIDGE

金龍橋或拉里鍋朱橋

The bridge called Dsi-li shu-êr ndso in Na-khi, rests on 18 iron chains anchored to boulders buried in the ground. It sways considerably when traversed by pedestrian or mule. The Yangtse flows here at 4,600 feet.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 113. — GEAW-NGAW LAKE

乾 海 子

The lake, situated at the southwestern end of the Yü-lung Shan, has a subterranean outlet. In the summer the meadows surrounding it are a blaze of color. It is the home of *Primula Vialii* and many other lovely flowers. Pines in foreground. Elevation of lake 10,300 feet.

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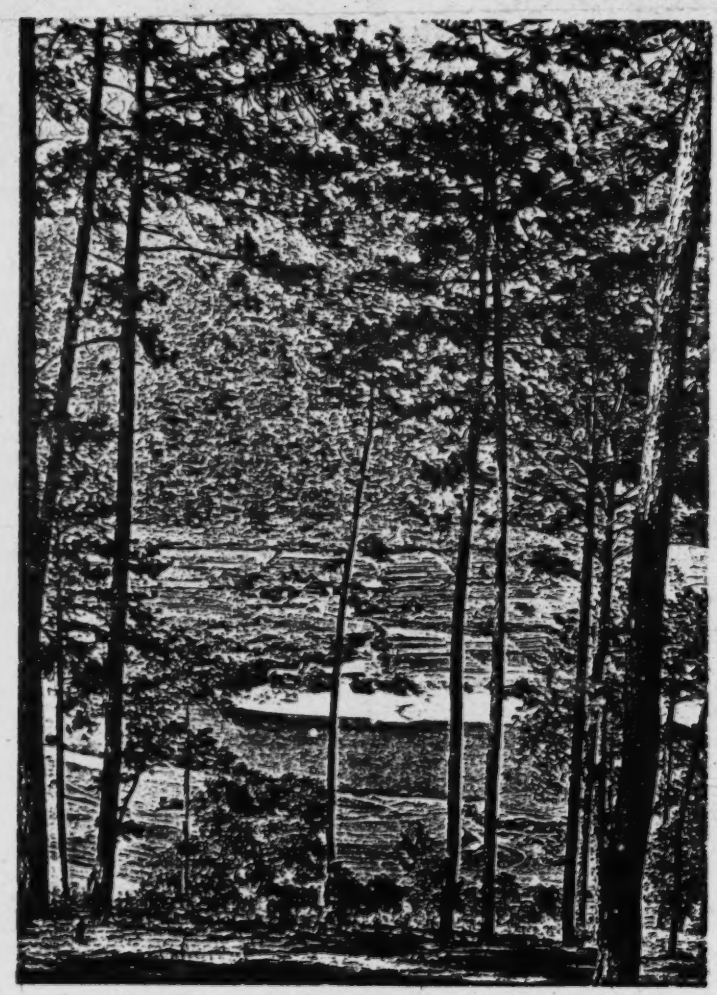

PLATE 113. — THE YANGTIE WEST OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

阿茶圖金沙江

Photographed from near 'A-gko-gyi-k'o looking west to the Chung-tien side of the river, with the village of La-zhèr-lo in center of picture. Pines cover the valley slopes. Elevation 6,600 feet.

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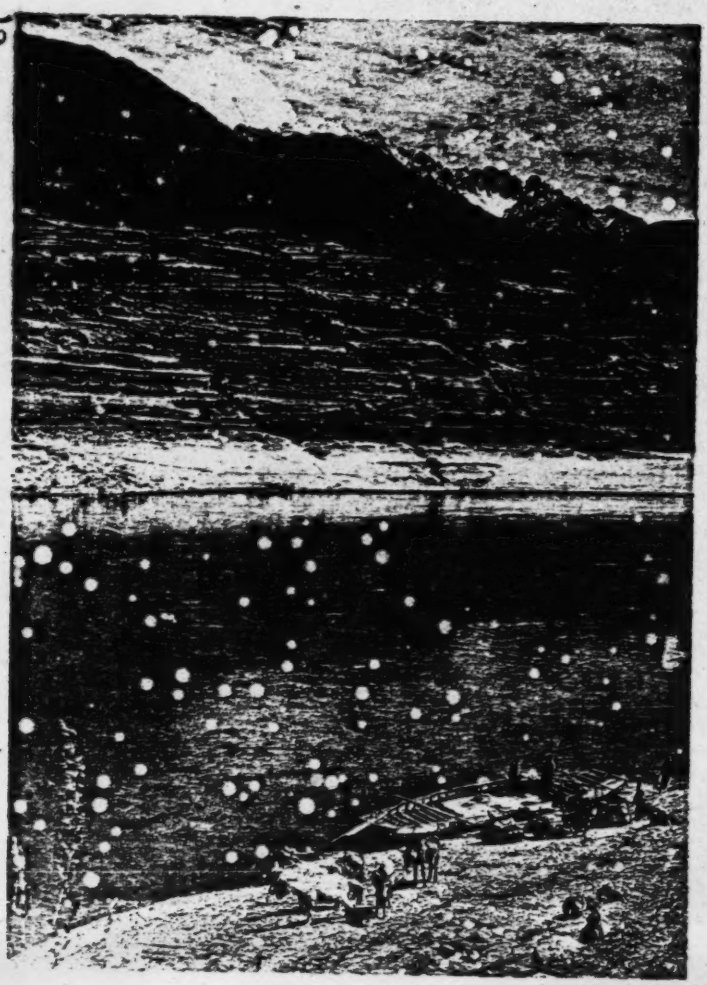

PLATE 114. — THE FERRY ACROSS THE YANGTZE AT YU-LO

雲 集 村 金 沙 江 渡 口

Photographed from near the hamlet of Ggö-lo elevation 6,070 feet, looking east towards Yu-lo (upper extreme left). The Yü-lung Shan with Shan-tzu-tou in the distance.

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PLATE 115.—THE YANGTZE AT GOŌ-LO

The river is here considerably broad; at the foot of the mountain mass, overshadowed by the snowpeak Ha-ba ndshēr nv-lv, the Yangtze makes a sharp bend to the right and cuts through the Yü-lung Shan.

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AF3

PLATE 116. — CHUNG-CHIA TRIBESPEOPLE FROM LA-MUAN-DZE

大火山种族

The Chung-chia are natives of Kuei-chou; the village of La-muan-dze is in the crater bowl of Ta-huo Shan, a detached extinct volcano back of Yu-lo.

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PLATE 117.—THE ENTRANCE TO 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

金沙江入玉龍山峽口

The Yangtze entering the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge which it has carved for itself through the Yü-lung Shan. Left, Chung-tien; right, Li-chiang territory. In the winter, the dry season, sand islands appear in the riverbed. Photographed from a terrace south of La-tsa-ku, Chung-tien district.

[W 881, d]

2; Rock. K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 118. — CONFLUENCE OF THE CHUNG-CHIANG HO AND YANGTZE

金沙江與中江匯流合流

The Chung-chiang Ho or Yü-nob gri descends from the highlands of Chung-tien and debouches into the Yangtze where the latter enters the great 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Looking south, upstream; Li-chiang territory left, Chung-tien territory right.

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PLATE 119. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE NEAR NO-YÜ

金沙江玉龍山脈峽內

The river flows placidly at the foot of stupendous limestone cliffs opposite No-yü: In the deep lateral ravine called Muag-gko-hsi a few Li-su families eke out a precarious existence.

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PLATE 120. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅 礼 角 峡 峡

Looking south-west, back towards the entrance of the gorge from a lateral spur or bluff. 8,000 feet elevation. Pines in foreground.

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133 This pond, which only exists in the summer, is called Tsu-k'aw-khü; when it is full it descends as a waterfall over a vertical cliff several hundred feet high, the water having cut a terrific, narrow channel in the rock. This waterfall is called 'A-nggü-t'an (Floor of the split cliff).

The name Yü-lung Shan was first mentioned by Pauthier in *L'Universe* (*Chine*) in 1837,[14] and appears on the Chinese maps and in Chinese geographies as well as in the Li-chiang Records. The following appears in the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 113, fols. 15a–16b.

"The Yü-lung Shan is situated 20 li north-west of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. It is also known as Sung hsüeh-shan 狨雪山 (Lofty snow mountain) and commonly as Hsüeh-shan. The entire range extends for about 100 li, and about ten high peaks rise to the skies. It looks down on the Li Shui 麗水 (Beautiful River) [Yangtze]. The snow which accumulates during the summer never melts. Its cliffs rise to the height of 10,000 jen 仞 [one *jen* = 8 feet]. If one looks at it from beyond 1,000 li, it seems as near as the distance between a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches. It is connected with the mountains of Sung chou 松州 of Ssu-ch'uan."[15]

The Meng family 蒙氏 (of the Nan-chao Kingdom) bestowed the name of Pei-yo 北嶽 (North sacred Mountain) upon it, and also called it Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺.

133 175 During the reign of T'ang Te Tsung, period Cheng-yüan (785–804) Wei Kao agreed with Yün-nan to attack jointly the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and drove them beyond Yün-ling 雲嶺, that is beyond the Hsüeh-ling (Li-chiang snow range).

In the beginning of the Yüan Chih-shun 元至順 (1330) period, one of the rulers of Yün-nan, T'u-chien 禿堅,[16] and others rebelled against the Mongol

[14] On p. 7 of his work a list is given of all the snow mountains of China, which is headed by Yün-nan. The fifth mountain mentioned is the Li-chiang snow range, and he states: "Siuè chan (montagne de neige) ou Yu-loung-chan, 26° 33′–97°. Cette montagne colossale est visible à une distance très-considérable; elle est couronnée par plusieurs glaciers élevés."

[15] This is the present day Sung-pan hsien 松潘縣 in the extreme north-west of Ssu-ch'uan. It is, of course, not connected with the mountains of that district, unless one considers all mountains to be so connected.

[16] The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fols. 55a–57a, states: "History relates that T'u-chien and the Wan-hu 萬戶 (Rulers of 10,000 families) Po-hu 伯忽 and A-ho 阿禾 rebelled and attacked Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路, (the circuit of Chung-ch'ing = Yün-nan fu), and killed the secretary of the judicial commissioner, whereupon he called himself King of Yün-nan. This happened in the third moon of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun of Yüan Wen Tsung 元文宗." The *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史, ch. 22, fol. 1a, says that T'u-chien rebelled in the first moon of the spring *ting-ssu* 丁巳 of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun (January 24th, 1330); he made himself King of Yün-nan in the second moon *chia-wu* 甲午 (March 2nd, 1330). Po-hu became the Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 (Assistant minister) and A-ho became the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State). In the fifth moon the Yün-nan Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使, Lu-yü 祿余 [he was the native official of Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung hsien 昭通縣 in north-east Yün-nan], rebelled and joined T'u-chien.

"History further relates that Lu-yü acquired merit by killing T'u-chien. He thereupon was made Hsing-sheng ts'an-chih-cheng ssu 行省參知政事.

"The Lo-lo and all the savages who had joined T'u-chien started rebellions everywhere and the P'ing-chang T'ieh-mu-erh Pu-hua 帖木兒不花 [grandson of Kublai] met his death.

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133 175 dynasty, and the Ssu-ch'uan army was ordered to punish them. In the defiles of the Hsüeh-shan they defeated the army of the Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯.[17] According to the *Tien-chih* 滇志, I-mou-hsün proclaimed himself Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) in the fourth year of T'ang Cheng-yüan (788) and under pretext bestowed titles on five mountains, and four rivers. The eastern one, or Tung-yo, is called Chiang-yün-lu Sung-wai Lung Shan 江雲露松外龍山 and is situated 280 li north-east of the chou (department) of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸州 in the prefecture of Wu-ting 武定府, adjoining the border of Tung-ch'uan fu 東川府, Ssu-ch'uan (now Hui-tse 惠澤 in Yün-nan); it is also called Wu-meng Shan 烏蒙山, Yün-lung Shan 雲龍山 and Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山.[18] The northern part of this range overlooks the Yangtze. Its twelve great steep peaks, extend for more than 70 li. In the twentieth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (546) the military governor of Sui chou 嶲州, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, said that the various Man beyond Sung, i.e., Sung-wai, only temporarily submitted and later revolted again. He petitioned the government to attack them in order to open the road to Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (Ta-li Lake) and India. This he was permitted to do. The following year the government sent Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 to mobilize the army of the 12 chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and punish the various Man of Sung-wai. Over 100,000 barbarians were killed and captured. Thereupon the various Man, severely frightened, dispersed to live in the valleys of the mountains. An envoy was then sent to Hsi-erh Ho, who, by proclamation, ordered the native leaders to submit. The chief Meng-yü 蒙羽 of Sung-wai was also ordered to pay tribute to the T'ang dynasty.

Afterwards T'u-chien's younger brother Pi-la-tu-mi-shih 必羅都迷失 and his whole family drowned themselves in the Lake (Yün-nan fu Lake). Two more of his younger brothers and his three sons were captured and executed while Lu-yü fled and all the rest were pacified."

[17] The Lo-lo-ssu were the aborigines ruled by a native chief who lived one li east of Chien-ch'ang 建昌, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. The *T'u-i k'ao* 土彝考 says that during the period Yüan Chih-cheng (1341–1367) there was established the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai-fu 宣慰司都元帥府 of the Lo-lo, the Meng-ch'ing 蒙慶 and of other places. They and their chief dispersed and lived to the west of the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河. The grandson of the Lo-lo-ssu Hsüan-wei-ssu, An-p'u-pu 安普卜 by name, submitted with all his people in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371). He was given the title of T'u-chi-hui-shih 土指揮使 and ordered to administer the affairs of the military station of Chien-ch'ang (wei). He was, however, given neither letters patent nor a seal. He controlled territory 15 horse-stages in extent and ruled nine tribes, viz.: P'o-jen 僕人, Lo-lo 羅羅, Pai-i 白彝, Hsi-fan 西番, Mo-so 摩些, Lu-lu 猓猓, Mongols, Mohammedans and Yü-jen 漁人. The Lo-lo were the most refractory and all these tribes scattered to the mountain valleys. The territory extended for more than 1,000 li each way; north to the Ta-tu Ho, south to the Yangtze, east to Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung), and west to Yen-ching 鹽井, the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣. The grandson six generations after him died without issue and the tribes all rebelled. The stronger lorded it over the weaker, and feuds caused constant murder, until all was quiet again after a long lapse of time.

[18] The *Tung-ch'uan fu chih*, ch. 4, fol. 5a, states that the mountain is 200 li south-west of the city of Tung-ch'uan, and is also called Yün-lung Shan 雲弄山. From Hsün-tien 尋甸 and Ch'e-hu 車湖 a branch extends 300 li as far as San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. Much snow remains on the mountain, hence it is called snow mountain. It is also called Wu-lung Shan 烏龍山. This name appeared first in the western Han dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Chiang-yün-lu Shan. Now it is known as Wu-lung-hsüeh-shan 五龍雪山. It is very steep and imposing, its 12 peaks extending through the clouds. On its summit is a lake called Hui-niao Hu 惠鳥湖.

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The South mountain, or Nan-yo 南嶽, is called Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 and is situated 80 li north of the prefectural city of Ching-tung 景東府. It is also known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山. The West mountain, or Hsi-yo, is the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山, and the North mountain, or Pei-yo, is the Yü-lung Shan. The Central mountain, or Chung-yo, is the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點苍山 west of Ta-li. Although the east and south mountains are not very important, yet they are quite the largest in their respective districts. 133

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* confirms that in the middle of the reign of Cheng-yüan (794) Wei Kao made an agreement with the Nan-chao Kingdom to attack the T'u-fan and drove them from the Hsüeh-ling, *i.e.*, snow mountain. The army of the Lo-lo-ssu was defeated at the snow mountain by the troops of Ssu-ch'uan at the beginning of the period Chih-shun (1330) of the Yüan dynasty. This snow mountain is none other than that of Li-chiang. A branch of it extends south, and this is the Ts'ui-wei Shan 翠微山. Still further lies the Sleeping elephant Mountain or Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 at the foot of which the Lung-wang Miao is situated. This branch ends at Yü-ho-ts'un 玉河村.

3. THE MOUNTAIN GOD AND THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO

Nearly every snow peak in Tibet has a name, it is usually that of a spirit or deity belonging to the protective type which deity is often believed to dwell within the peak. The Li-chiang snow range does not seem to have any other but Chinese names, which would indicate and confirm the belief that the Na-khi were immigrants in that region. The many Na-khi names which the various alpine meadows, forests, etc., on the slopes of the snow range bear, were given by Na-khi shepherds who were obliged to move their flocks of sheep from one little meadow to another. The shepherds are mostly children, directed by their parents as where to pasture their flocks, and this necessitates names for these places. But proper Na-khi names in the true sense of the word for the range or individual peaks do not exist. 103

The name of the highest peak is a Chinese one, though it is true that it is also called in Na-khi, Boa-shi nv-lv. *Nv-lv* means silver rock, hence snow mountain, and Boa-shi is the Na-khi name for the market-place Pai-sha-kai situated between Li-chiang and the last village, Nv-lv-k'ö, on the north-western branch of the plain, at the foot of the range. But the name is only a few hundred years old and relates to an episode when the Boa (Hsi-fan 西番), from the north, invaded Na-khi territory and were killed (*shi* = dead) there by the Na-khi.

However, the Li-chiang snow range does represent a spirit or deity, and the deity in this case is not a local one, but one which had its origin in the far north, the grass-lands of Eastern Tibet whence the Na-khi migrated south during the latter part of the Han dynasty. Thus the name of Sa-ddo, the Tibetan Sa-tham, was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and applied in all probability first to the Li-chiang snow range, or rather the spirit of Sa-ddo was made the mountain god and protector of the Na-khi settlers. Only later as the town of Li-chiang came into being was the name Sa-tham extended to it.[19] We see

[19] It must be stated, however, that according to SIR CHARLES BELL and his Lhasa informant, Ge-sar is said to have lived during the reign of the Tibetan King To-to-ri nyen-tsen in the

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103 thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

173 The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 351b, "*Tribus et regionis nom. in N.W. provinciae Sinar. Yunnan, cuj. urbs principalis est* Sa-tham *seu* Ly-Kiang-fou. *Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et* Nashi *ab ipsismet incolis*, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan." Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (*See* J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48–49: also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 37.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage* (1902), p. II, states that, strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndĕr-tkhyu-bpa-la-llü, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein, a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. of Roerich.

173 814 The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated, have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. Sarat Chandra Das gives 441 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-btsan); Schlagintweit in his "*Die Koenige von Tibet*, p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-bshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. Waddell, in his *Buddhism of Tibet* (*Lamaism*), p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang 羌, of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an 三路), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960–1126). In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang 麥良, also called A-liang 阿良, was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan 三路管民官. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-hsieh tribe dwelled there.

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may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given. 173 814

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel [20] that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618–913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北嶽廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[21] The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wùa-wùa (A-wu-wùa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wùa in La-shih-pa 刺是壩, to the west of Li-chiang (*see* Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth. [178]

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His 173

[20] *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

[21] This is the Tibetan rGya-sde ཤ་ཁ. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40′, to the western confines of the principality of Chha-mdo (Chhab-mdo), *circa* longitude 96° 25′ E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuḍa). In the Na-khi religion the Garuḍa plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'ĕr Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

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173 appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

173 782 539 INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦景帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦景帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-s. 'h Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪石北嶽安邦景帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

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even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮[24] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man. of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and. mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rainstorm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

[24] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

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346 782 173 *The Pei-yo Temple.* — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃耕熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

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T'ang dynasty (779), I-mou-hsün [25] removed to the town of Yang-chien-chü 羊險苴 [26] and changed the name of the year to Shang-yüan. It was not until the latter part of the Ming dynasty that the name of Pei-yo (North sacred Mountain) was bestowed on the Jade-dragon. He is prayed to under the name of 'Auspicious god spirit of Yo.' 173

"Therefore a temple was built at the foot of the mountain. When the chiefs, officials, and peasants humbly worshipped in the temple, the god was always efficacious and answered every prayer. The temple stood majestically, its hall high and deep, in a dense forest, striking awe in everybody who beheld it. All people made obeisance to the god. In the year *i-wei* 乙未 of Chia-ching of the Ming dynasty (1535), our prefect Mu Kung, having perceived a supernatural vision, engaged workmen to rebuild the temple, making everything look as new. This was only achieved through the devoted sincerety of our Prince.

"Oh! sacred god! Bless our people, defend our territory and protect the descendants of the Mu family for hundreds of thousands of years, so that they may continue to worship thee just as we do in the present day.[27]

"Written on an Auspicious Day in the Spring,

By the Prefect Mu Kung" [28]

The second memorial stone. — This stone, dating from 1748, is entitled: Tablet recording the dedication of sacrificial fields of the Pei-yo Temple:

"The snow mountain stands straight through the clouds. [Clothed] with perpetual snow, it is the most wonderful view in Yün-nan. It is well known that this mountain has been miraculous. Since the name Pei-yo was conferred upon it by the Yüan dynasty, the border region has been glorified by the presence of another Heng Shan 恆山 [the author means the North sacred mountain of Shansi]. In the Ming dynasty the Mu family was appointed by the Throne as hereditary lords of the land, to guard this territory and to be responsible for the offering of sacrifices in the temple in recognition of military exploits. It is traceable from tradition that the power of the god was often relied upon in the defense and development of the territory. The present

[25] I-mou-hsün the sixth ruler of the Nan-chao Kingdom, ascended the throne at the age of 24 in the 13th year of Ta-li (778) and the following year changed the title of his reign to Chien-lung 建龍 and afterwards to Shang-yüan 上元. The inscription states that this happened in the 14th year of Tai Tsung; now the 14th year of Ta-li commenced on January 22nd, 779, and did not end until February 12th, 780; so it is possible, as no definite date is given, that it could have been in the beginning of 780. His capital was the present Ta-li.

[26] This is synonymous with Yang-chü-mieh 羊苴咩 and Yang-chien, which is the present Ta-li.

[27] It was the custom, even to the present time, for the ruling T'u-ssu (chief) of the Na-khi to come to the Pei-yo Temple on the 8th day of the second moon to worship Sa-ddo. In olden days when the Na-khi chiefs were the native prefects of Li-chiang, and they came to the temple to worship, none of the peasants were allowed to remain in the neighborhood, still less in the temple. It is believed that Sa-ddo was born in the sheep year, and so on a sheep day in the second moon the Na-khi peasants flock to the temple by the thousand. Much wine is drunk and many brawls ensue, as gambling takes place on that day.

[28] He was born in 1494, began his rule in 1527 and died in 1553.

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173 Emperor made the frontier region a cultured place, and changed the tribespeople to a cultured race. Just and upright officials followed one another. A city wall and offices were built, farming and planting of mulberry trees were encouraged. If rain impeded work, or a drought brought hardship on the farmers, the god was always beneficent whenever prayers were offered. A rule was therefore made to sacrifice to him in the spring and autumn in token of the people's indebtedness to the deity.

"I am a mediocre and rustic native. In the reign of K'ang-hsi, in the winter of *chi-hai* 己亥 (1719), I was under orders of Governor Chiang 蔣 to lead the native troops and follow the vanguard of Lieutenant-general Wu Yung 伍雍 to Chung-tien to ascertain the condition of the road. In the year of *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1720), I was promoted to second captain. I led more than 500 native soldiers to follow Lieutenant-general Wu Wu 伍吳 in the western campaign and approached Lo-lung-tsung 洛龍宗. Then an Imperial decree was received to the effect that the insurgents be pacified along the highway between Ch'a-wa-kang 察瓦崗 [29] and Kung-pu 工布; that roads be built and that food supplies be escorted. Upon the return of the troops I had a boat-bridge made at the Mu-lu 木魯 ferry.

"In the spring of *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 (1724) of the reign of Yung-cheng, I was instructed by governor Kao 高 to lead the native troops to co-operate with Commander Ho 郝 in advancing westward as far as Chia-lang 甲浪,[30] whence we were ordered to proceed to Ch'a-wa-peng 察哇崩 [and] Ta-pa-shu 打巴樹 to deal with the rebels. After the rebel chieftain Chia-sung-weng 加松翁 and his followers were executed, I moved back to Ch'a-mu-tao 查木道.[31] In the autumn of the year *i-ssu* 乙巳 (1725), I was promoted garrison commander

[29] Lo-lung-tsung 洛隆(龍)宗 (in Tibetan Lho Dzong ལྷོ་རྫོང་ or Lho-rong Dzong ལྷོ་རོང་རྫོང་) is the farthest west that Ho Kuo-chu, our tribal captain, penetrated with his Na-khi troops. It is on the main highway to Lha-sa from Chha-mdo (Ch'ang-tu 昌都) and west and south of the Salween (the Salween flows here east and then south). Ch'a-wa-kang is to the east of Lo-lung-tsung 730 li distant. From A-tun-tzu in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan to Ch'a-wa-kang is a distance of 1,188 li.

The territory of Kung-pu is south-east of Chiang-ta 江達, the present T'ai-chao 太昭. It is under the control of a T'u-ssu (chief) and is west of the old Tibet — Hsi-k'ang border, and north of the Ya-ru-tsang-po (Ya-ru-gtsang-po), the Chinese Ya-lu-tsang-pu Chiang 雅魯藏布江, which becomes the Brahmaputra.

The Mu-lu ferry our captain mentions is identical with the Mu-lung 木龍 of the maps. It is on the left bank of the O-i River 歸宜河, the Ui Chhu (written Dbui Chhu) of the Tibetans, a tributary of the Salween in the south-easternmost province of Tibet, Tsha-wa-rong [illegible].

[30] The *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, fols. 117b–119a, gives the stages from A-tun-tzu to Ch'a-wa-kang: A-tun-tzu to Mereshü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹), 160 li; thence to Chia-lang, 230 li; thence to Pi-t'u 必兎, 120 li, and to Ch'a-wa-kang, 678 li, a total of 1,188 li. One road leads from Chung-tien, Yün-nan, to Tibet via Peng-tzu-lan, Ch'a-wa-peng and Lo-lung-tsung.

[31] Ch'a-mu-tao is identical with Ch'a-mu-to 察木多, or Ch'ang-tu 昌都 [its ancient names were K'o-mu 喀木 and K'ang 康], the Tibetan Chhab-mdo (Confluence of [two] waters). It is situated in the triangle formed by the two branches of the Mekong; the eastern branch is called Tsa-ch'u Ho 雜楚河, and the western branch Ang-ch'u Ho 昂楚河, the word *ho* (stream) is superfluous, for the word *ch'u* is equivalent to *chhu*, the Tibetan for river. They are the Dza Chhu and Ngom Chhu of the Tibetans, the former being the real Mekong and the latter a tributary. South of the confluence, in Yün-nan, the river is called La Chhu.

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and had charge of the regular troops. I had hardly withdrawn the troops when the governor's order again came in *ping-wu* 丙午 (1726) that I lead troops to follow Brigadier-general Nan 南 in taking up the garrison post at Ch'a-mu-tao. We did not return until the summer of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (1729). 173

"In the autumn of the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 (1730), Governor Ngo [O] 鄂 started a campaign to extirpate the insurgent Lo 倮 [Lo-lo] of Wu-tung 烏東 [Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and Tung-ch'uan are meant], and I was again ordered to coöperate with Commander Chang 張 at Tung-ch'uan and to recapture Ch'iao-chia 巧家.[32] We pursued the rebels to the Niu-lan Chiang 牛欄江,[33] where we built a bridge and crossed at night. We reached Wu-meng 烏蒙[34] and Lu-tien[35] 魯甸 and captured the rebel chief Weng Chü-tsu 翁苴卒 and others. After that our troops were stationed at Tung-ch'uan until the spring of *hsin-hai* 辛亥 (1731), when we returned.

"During the autumn of the year *jen-tsu* 壬子 (1732), Governor Kao ordered me to lead the native troops to follow Brigadier-general Yang 楊 to proceed to Hsin-p'ing 新平[36] to capture fortresses. We searched the mountains and fought the rebels at Man-kan-pa 漫干壩[37] and defeated them. In the winter I was again ordered to mobilize troops to coöperate with Major Ha 哈 in marching down to Ssu-mao 思茅 and Pu-erh 普洱.[38] We advanced to Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江[39] and attacked Meng-lieh 猛烈[40] and La-tsung 腊縱. We at last captured the lairs of the robbers. It was not until the autumn of the next year that we returned in triumph.

"Now, incompetent as I am, I have been frequently cited for military exploits in the South-west. These could not have been accomplished had it not been for the prestige of the country and the bravery of the tribal troops. When we slept during snowy nights, using our spears for pillows, or when we attacked fortresses on a malarial river, the god was said to have appeared at our

[32] Tung-ch'uan is in eastern Yün-nan and Ch'iao-chia in the Tung-ch'uan district, is situated on the east bank of the Yangtze which here forms the border between Yün-nan and Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, the independent Lo-lo country in Ssu-ch'uan.

[33] The Niu-lan Chiang forms the border between the Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung magistracies in eastern Yün-nan. The river has its source near Yang-lin 楊林 and flows into the Yangtze near Hsiao-niu-lan 小牛欄.

[34] Wu-meng is the present Chao-t'ung. It was thus called in the T'ang dynasty (618–906) and was inhabited by Man or Lo-lo tribespeople. In the Ming dynasty it was called Wu-meng fu and belonged to Ssu-ch'uan. It became Yün-nan territory in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) and became known as Chao-t'ung in the ninth year (1731).

[35] Lu-tien is south-west of Chao-t'ung, near a small lake called Ma-ch'ang Hai 馬廠海.

[36] Hsin-p'ing is directly north of Yüan-chiang 元江, south-west of K'un-ming.

[37] Man-kan-pa, also called Man-kan, is north-west of Hsin-p'ing between two spurs of the Ch'e-ts'ung Mountains 徹樅山.

[38] Ssu-mao and Pu-erh are two stages apart in the southern part of Yün-nan.

[39] Chiu-lung-chiang is equivalent to Ch'e-li 車里, inhabited by Tai or Shan people on the Mekong in the Hsip-song-pa-na near the Burmese border.

[40] Meng-lieh is on the Mekong, but in Burmese territory and north of Meng (Muang) Hsing in French Laos.

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173 critical moments, in the form of white horses, and sometimes to have assisted us with supernatural banners and soldiers. There were countless occasions when the god manifested his miraculous power. When we fought the rebels close to their lairs at La-tsung, they tried to assail our camps at night. They said themselves that they were prevented from approaching our camps by a a god with a long beard and round eyes, leading ferocious beasts around the camps.

"There were many Chinese as well as tribal soldiers in our ranks who also saw the miracle. They unanimously realize that it was the appearance of the god of the sacred mountain. I am further convinced that what I had heard was not inaccurate after all.

"When the heavenly soldiers saved our people from floods and drought, there was already established the practice of regular worship in the temple. I myself have been sheltered on numerous occasions, so how can I forget the kindness of the god? I therefore dedicate to him two fields adjacent to the temple. The fields are situated in Shan-jen-li 山人里 [41] bordering on K'ai-mai 開買 [42] on the east, the field of Ho Ts'e-pao 和册寶 [Ho-mbö-bo is the Na-khi name] on the south, and to the rear of the field of Ho Pao-shan 和寶山 on the north-west. Every year the amount of 0.034 silver taels shall be paid to the priest Ho Ti-chu 和地住 [this is a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ho-ddü-dzu] of the temple. The fields shall be cultivated and the proceeds therefrom shall be spent in keeping lamps (lighted) in the temple. In this way the illustrious virtue of the god may be perpetuated with the snow mountain.

"Written on an auspicious day in the spring in the 13th year of *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 in the reign of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty (1748)."

> "Reverently written by Ho Kuo-chu 和國柱, of the Prefecture of Li-chiang, second captain of the tribal troops, promoted one rank for meritorious military services and with two Records of Merit."

This translation shows how far the Na-khi troops were sent under their officers to fight, not only in the snow mountains of Tibet, but also in the malarial regions of Burma, and in the eastern and southern-most parts of Yünnan.

[41] The words Shan-jen-li are a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ssaw-zhi-llü.

[42] This is a transcription of the Na-khi words, K'a man = the tail-end of the ravine.

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CHAPTER III

LAMASERIES AND BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF LI-CHIANG

1. THE KARMA-PA SECT AND ITS HIERARCHS

The Karma-pa, a sub-sect of the Kargyu-pa, founded about the middle of the twelfth century, look upon rDo-rje hChhang as their supreme deity. He is regarded as a reflex of Buddha himself. He is the metamorphosis of Indra and is called Vajradhara in Sanskrit. Directly inspired by rDo-rje hChhang was Ti-lo-pa (Tai-lo-pa), who had Nā-ro-pa as disciple. Thence followed Mar-pa, who was the teacher of the famous Mi-la (Mi-la-ras-pa, pronounced Mi-la-re-pa), the Cotton-clad. Mar-pa was born in 1010 (Bacot in *La Vie de Marpa*, p. 2, n. 1, gives 993 as the year of his birth and 1081 as that of his death); Mi-la-re-pa was born in 1038 and died in 1122. 779 795

His disciple was Dwags-po. This latter's disciple was Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa who became the actual founder of the Karma-pa sect. He was born in 1109 and died in 1192. 795

There have been 15 incarnations, including the present one, of Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (pronounced Dü-sum khyen-pa).

Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's disciple was hGro-mgon Ras-chhen; the latter's disciple was sPun-brag-pa.

The first incarnation but second head of the Karma-pa sect was Karma-pa-zhi (1203–1282); he was invited by Kublai Khan to China. His disciple was mKhas-grub U-rgyan-pa (the abbot writes A-rgyan-pa.)

The second incarnation was Rang-byung rDo-rje (1283–1338); he was the third head of the Karma-pa Church. He was invited to Peking by the Emperor Tohan Timur, Shun Ti 順帝, or Hui Tsung 惠宗 (1333–1367). The third incarnation was Rol-pai rDo-rje (1339–1382); he was the fourth head; the fifth head (fourth incarnation) was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1383–1415); in the abbot's list he is called De-bzhin-shes-pa; he was invited to China by the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu 成祖 (Yung-lo 1403–1424); the sixth head was mTshong-wa Don-ldan; the seventh head Chhos-grags-rGya-mtsho; the eighth Rang-byung mTsho-skyes; the ninth Mi-bskyod rDo-rje; the tenth Chhos dbyings rDo-rje; the eleventh Ye-shes rDo-rje; the twelfth Byang-chhub rDo-rje; the thirteenth bDun-hdul rDo-rje; the fourteenth Theg-mchhog rDo-rje and the fifteenth mKhah-khyab rDo-rje.

The sixteenth head but fifteenth incarnation of Dü-sum Khyen-pa was found nearly a decade ago. His name is Rod-pas rDo-rje[1] pronounced Rö-pe-dor-je.

[1] ཤ་ནད་ཀ

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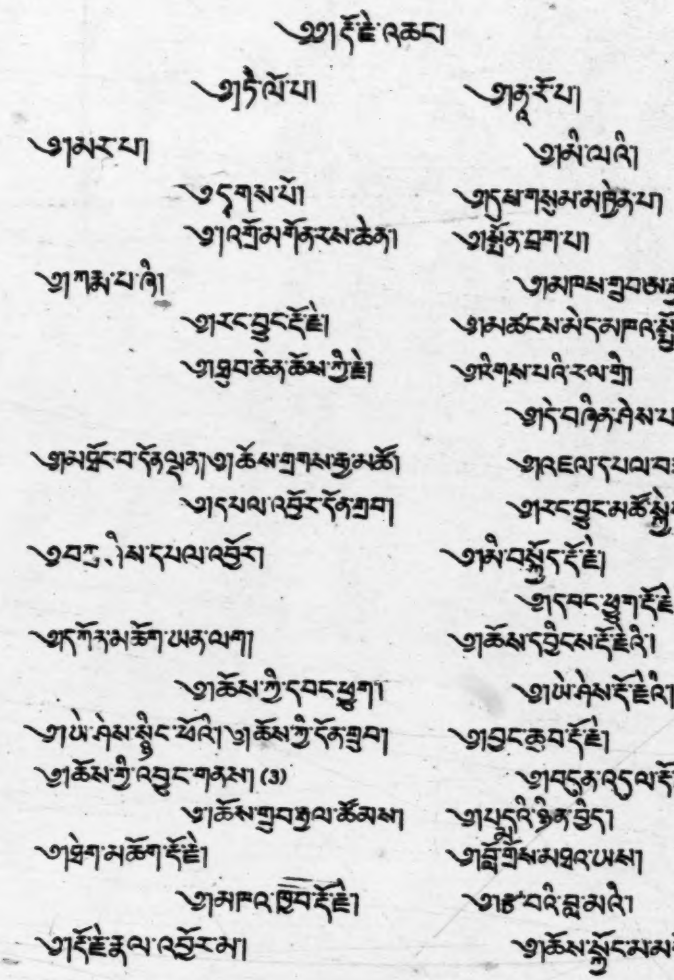
795 Herewith is the succession tree of the Karma-pa hierarchs, including 14 incarnations as given to me by the abbot of the Yü-feng Ssu 玉峯寺 Karma-pa Lamasery of Li-chiang.[2]



[2] The list must be read from left to right; all names not occurring among those of the sixteen hierarchs are those of their disciples. The final syllable *hi* is not part of the name, but represents the genitive.

[3] Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas, he was the Guru Karma-pa who came to Li-chiang; *see* p. 204.

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2. TWO FAMOUS GURU

In the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* 維西聞見錄[4] we are told that, "There are 13 different sects of the Red Lama Church [Hung-chiao la-ma 紅教喇嘛] and that of these only one is to be found in Wei-hsi,[5] namely, the Ko-ma 格馬 (Karma-pa) sect. This latter sect has five heads, or chief lamas, who are known as the Wu-pao 五寶 (Five treasures). They are reborn in Tibetan territory through successive transmigrations; in all more than ten generations now have appeared without danger of extinction.[6] They are thus called Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddhas)." There are in Wei-hsi five monasteries composed of 800 Red sect lamas, who adhere to the rules of the Ko-ma Ssu-pao la-ma 格馬四寶喇嘛 (Lama of the four treasures of the Karma-pa sect). We read further that "the adherents of the Karma-pa sect are mainly Mo-so. Among them strife becomes daily more common, as the Yellow lamas oppress them considerably. . . ." During the Ming dynasty it was the Red lamas who oppressed the Yellow.[7]

La-ma Shan-chih-shih. — In the same work we read (fol. 14b) about Shan-chih-shih 善知識 lama, who was a *Kao ti-tzu* 高弟子 (Exalted disciple or Sthavira) of the Karma-pa Ssu-pao lama. His previous births and incarnations, however, are not known. He was born in the year *chi mao* 己卯 of the Ch'ien-lung period (1759) in the village of Liu-ts'un 六村 in the family of the Mo-so interpreter, Wang Yung-shan 王永善. Before his birth the wife of Wang Yung-shan dreamed that the brightness of the sun illuminated her chest, the warmth so penetrating that she could not be awakened. Afterwards Shan-chih-shih was born. His appearance was remarkably beautiful and had no resemblance to a Mo-so. When he sat down on the ground he crossed his legs Buddha-fashion; he could also speak, and he said to his mother, "The ancient homeland of your son is cold, but it produces apricots, raisins and *p'u-lu* [the red woolen cloth woven by the Tibetans]. I cannot offer you anything now to mark this rebirth which I owe to you, my mother, but after a few years I shall be able to make you rich." His mother understood nothing of this discourse. In the year *ting hai* 丁亥 of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1767), the Ssu-pao lama ordered a number of lamas to take with them gold, silver, horses and mules to the value of 700 (oz.) of gold, and travel to the home of Wang Yung-shan.

[4] The *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* is to be found in the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih* 雲南備徵志 of which it forms the 18th chapter. The part concerning the lama sects occurring in Yün-nan is to be found also in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 204, *Nan-man chih* 南蠻志 and *Chung-jen* 種人, 6, fols. 13a–19a.

[5] This lama sect has also settled in Li-chiang and other parts of western Yün-nan.

[6] This was written about 1769, as the author, Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, resided at that time in the yamen of Wei-hsi during his elder brother's incumbency as ruler of that district.

[7] In one of a set of six Chinese illustrated tribal albums in my library there is one plate representing the Hsi-tsang Ta-pao with the following statement: "In Tibet there are the Ta-pao, Erh-pao and San-pao who are Huo-fu (Living Buddhas). Out-side Tibet are the Ssu- and Wu-pao lamas."

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1745 When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (*see* p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.[8] There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,[9] Pad-ma Kun-bzang[10] and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.[11] The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling[12] in Dege sDe-dge),[13] the Chinese Te-ko 德革.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

1771 It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist cere-
[1764] monies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 剌寶, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled.
1795 Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

8 ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས། 9 པདྨ་ཉིན་བྱེད། 10 པདྨ་ཀུན་བཟང། 11 པདྨ་དབང་ཆེན། 12 དཔལ་པོ་གླིང། 13 སྡེ་དགེ

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Among the Yung-ning Lü-khi, a very ancient form of Bön Shamanism, called by them *Nda-pa*, is still practiced. The priests wear similar head-dresses to those worn by the Dto-mba of Li-chiang, but, unlike the latter, they have no literature and all their prayers, etc., are chanted from memory. (PLATE 222). 795

The ancient religion of the Li-chiang Na-khi, and that of the Lü-khi or Hli-khin Nda pa of Yung-ning, will be treated in separate publications. We are here only concerned with Karma-pa lamaism, a late introduction into Li-chiang. Excepting the Na-khi who have become lamas, and live in the few lamaseries in the district, there are few if any followers among the lay population. It may be said that in Li-chiang they are in a decadent state and the number of lamas is constantly decreasing. In the Wei-hsi district are both sects, the Red Karma-pa, and the Yellow Gelug-pa (dge-lugs-pa); the former preponderates. In the Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) and Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌 lamaseries, the lamas who are adherents of the Yellow sect are nearly all Tibetans. It is in the Red or Karma-pa lamaseries of the Wei-hsi and Li-chiang districts that Na-khi lamas predominate.

In the Li-chiang district proper there are five Karma-pa lamaseries. In order of importance they are: 795 778

1. *Chieh-t'o-lin* 解脫林 (Monastery of Emancipation). — This lamasery is called in Tibetan, 'Og-min-rnam gling[14] (pronounced O-min-nam-ling). During the reign of the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung 熹宗 (1621–1627) the name of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 was bestowed on it by Emperor Hsi Tsung himself. The actual date of its founding is not known as it was once destroyed by fire and all records were burnt with it. It was said to have been rebuilt in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) and that 53 years had elapsed between the fire and the rebuilding of the monastery.

Chieh-t'o-lin was originally founded by the 9th incarnation of Dü-sum-khyen-pa (Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa) whose name was Chhos-dbyings rDo-rje.[15] Dü-sum-khyen-pa himself, the founder of the Karma-pa sect, was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192.

Before the founding of the lamasery, the land on which it was built was the execution ground during the rule of the Mu chiefs; later a small Chinese Buddhist temple was built on the former execution ground. The Na-khi name of the place was Bbue-na-k'o, written in Chinese Pei-na-k'o 背拿課. Other names are Nao-tu-lin 腦獨林 and Wu-mei-nao-tu-lin 吾妹腦獨林 — the latter is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name. The monastery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan 芝山, called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu (PLATE 64).

In the Ming dynasty the Ssu-pao 四寶 lama came from the Ta-pao 大寶[16]

[14] འགོ་ཟིན་རན་གླིང་ [15] ཆོས་དབྱིངས་རྡོ་རྗེ

[16] Shortly after Kublai Khan ascended the throne, he invited the very scholarly and wise nephew and successor of Saskya Paṇḍita the famous hPags-pa-bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (born in 1234) to China. He wished to discuss with him the form of government of Tibet and also the conversion of the Mongols to the Lama Buddhist church. He thereupon appointed him as head of the entire clergy and bestowed on him the titles of King of the Law in the three realms, venerable Lama and Ta-pao fa-wang 大寶法王 = King of the great and precious law (Mahāratna-dharma-rāja). He is usually known in Chinese literature as

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of Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏 (the name of Tibet during the Ming dynasty) to Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 to worship. *En route* they passed through Li-chiang when the reigning Na-khi King extended a warm welcome to the Erh-pao 二寶 (Second precious one), who pointed out that Chih Shan was an excellent place on which to build a lamasery. Thereupon the Na-khi King presented the land to him. On his return journey he took with him six disciples to enter a school in Tibet. After their studies had been completed they returned to Li-chiang and established the Lama religion and built the lamasery. On a stone, set into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the principal temple, is engraved a detailed description of the mountain; every ridge, ravine and prominent rock is mentioned by name, but no definite date when the lamasery was built. The rock is dated T'ien-ch'i 天啓 *ting-mao* 丁卯 of the Ming dynasty, which corresponds to 1627. The temple was built by Mu Sheng-pai, whose official name was Mu Tseng. As he was born in 1587, took office in 1598 and died in 1646, the building of the temple must fall within the period 1598–1646 — in all probability in the early part of the seventeenth century. The *Yün-nan Hsü-t'ung-chih-kao* (Supplementary Topography of Yün-nan) does not give the date of its erection, but states that it was repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by the lamas. (*See Chih Shan*, page 184).

2. *Chih-yün Ssu* 指雲寺. — Called in Tibetan, Nges-don-phun-tshogs gling, pronounced Nge-dön-phün-tsho-ling,[17] (Lamasery of perfection and absolute knowledge of the truth). It must not be confused with the big lamasery called Phun-tshogs gling in Tsang Tibet, belonging to the Jonang-pa sect. It is situated on a mountain called Mo-tu Shan 秣度山, 20 li west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih 剌是, and was built in the fifth year of

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Pa-ssu-pa 八思巴. In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) ch. 202, fol. 1b, he is called Ti-shih P'a-k'o-ssu-pa 帝師帕克斯巴 or Imperial Tutor P'a-k'o-ssu-pa. His biography is contained in the above-mentioned chapter. He received a jade seal from Kublai Khan who also appointed him Kuo-shih 國師 (Preceptor of the realm). He invented a new Mongol script of about 1,000 signs with 41 radicles. He died in the sixteenth year of the period Chi-yüan 至元 (1279).

While the first Ta-pao fa-wang was a Saskya Lama, the Ta-pao here in question was a Karma-pa Lama. It was in the year 1405 that the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu (period Yung-lo) at a time when the reformer Tsong-kha-pa had already appeared, bestowed on a Karma-pa ecclesiastic the title of Ta-pao fa-wang and not on a Saskya Lama. The lama so honored on account of his sanctity was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa, the fifth head of the Karma-pa sect. He had been ordained in 1403 when in his twentieth year. The title was apparently inherited by the successive incarnations.

From the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* we learn that there are five heads of the Karma-pa sect known as the Wu-pao or the Five Treasures. They are reborn in Tibetan territory. All the lamaseries of Wei-hsi (*q.v.*) comprising about 800 lamas belong to the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect, *i.e.* are subject to the fourth of the Five Treasures.

The Ta-pao fa-wang hPhags-pa of the Saskya sect was a contemporary of the second head of the Karmapa sect namely Karma-pa-zhi whom historians commonly call Bakshi or Karma Bakshi. Both resided at Kublai Khan's court for a time. Thus hPhags-pa and Bakshi are two different persons. Karma-pa-zhi was the first incarnation of the founder of the Karma-pa sect Dü-sum Khyen-pa who built the first Karma-pa lamasery in 1154 north of Lhasa which is still the most powerful of that sect. Karma-pa-zhi established in the hills west of Lhasa a monastery called Tsor-pu-ling.

[17] ངེས་དོན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གླིང་

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Yung-cheng (1727) under Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成.[18] He personally contributed money and became the patron for the collection of funds for the building by the lama Li Hsiang 立相 and others. 1795 778

Teacher Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕 [19] states that at the foot of a mountain south-west of La-shih li there was in ancient days a water spring which later became obstructed. A western lama from Mo-ka-t'o 摩迦陀 (Magadha, in southern Behār, the cradle of Buddhism down to 400 A.D.) sat down cross-legged by the spring, on a pile of sharp, conical rocks. He took a stick and poked into the empty well, and the water gushed forth. His footprints are said to be still there. The lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu was then built at that spot. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it was rebuilt by the lamas in the sixth year of Kuang-hsü (1880).

In the lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu there are two memorial stones, one dealing with the monastic rules of the lamasery, admonishing the lamas "to respect the old monks and to take care of them, not to drink liquor, to chant the classics morning and evening in the great chanting hall, and to behave well during the ceremonies. The crops of the fields belonging to the lamasery must not be given away to relatives of the lamas. The head of the lamasery must be obeyed and treated reverently. The aged and ill, the naked and hungry, must be cared for, healed, clothed and fed, while living; and when dead, they must be properly buried. The buildings of the lamasery must be well taken care of and repaired. The incense fires must be kept going, and the memory of the founder should be kept alive for ever." 1788 1795 778

This memorial stone is dated the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756). It also relates that the first lamasery built was Chieh-t'o-lin, and that during the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730),[20] the teacher of the law of the Four Treasures of the western land (Tibet) went to worship at Chi-tsu Shan, and passed *en route* through Li-chiang. He pointed out that in La-shih li 剌是里 in the grotto of Lo-shui-tung 落水硐 where the footprints of the patron saint of Magadha (Mo-ka-t'o) are preserved, there should be built a Buddhist temple 1795 778

[18] He was a native of Chih-li 直隸, of the city of Ching-hai 靜海 in T'ien-ching 天津. He was a *lin-sheng* 廩生, or former salaried graduate of the first degree or *hsiu-ts'ai* 秀才. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) he became Commissioner of revenue of Yün-nan province.

[19] He was a native of Shih-p'ing 石屏 and held the degree of *chin-shih* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate). He was the fourth school teacher in Li-chiang, and assumed his post in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724). In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), as he was deserving of special merit, he was promoted to become magistrate of Ching-yen 井研, Ssu-ch'uan.

[20] This date does not correspond with the one given both in the Li-chiang Records and in the Yün-nan Topography, where the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) is given as the date of the building of this lamasery. According to the memorial stones in Chih-yün Ssu, the Karma-pa lamas who passed through La-shih li on their way to Chi-tsu Shan in 1730 pointed out where the lamasery should be built; according to these latter records the lamasery was not built until several years afterwards by Li Hsiang. Which is the correct version is difficult to say, but I should trust the prefectural records rather than those of the monastery itself. As it is stated that the name Chih-yün Ssu was given by magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng, it must have been in the fifth year of Yung-cheng, as in the sixth year, that is, 1728, he was succeeded as magistrate by Feng Kuang-yü 馮光裕, according to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 5, fol. 58a.

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795 778 for the protection of the country and the people. They recommended that silver to the value of over 700 ounces of gold should be collected for the purpose. The Buddhist priest Li Hsiang listened and obeyed and went to all parts of the country collecting funds. Several years afterwards the foundations were laid. Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng then gave the temple the name of Chih-yün Ssu.

Another memorial stone in the lamasery refers to the fields belonging to the said temple. It also states that the King of the Law of the Four Treasures 四寶法王 gave 200 taels of silver to buy these fields. (They are mainly situated in the Yangtze valley between Shih-ku and Chü-tien.)

3. *Wen-feng Ssu* 文峯寺. — Also called Wen-feng yüan 院. Its Tibetan name is gSang-sngags-dgah-tshal gling [21] (Lamasery of Secret religious instruction and garden of happiness), pronounced Sang-nga-ga-tshe-ling. This lamasery is situated ten li south-west of Li-chiang at the foot of Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, called in Na-khi, Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv. In ancient days a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺 stood on the site, but later fell into ruins. In the eleventh year of Yung-cheng (1733), the Tibetan lama Ka-li-pu 噶立布 built a hut in that place. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739) the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛 of the Karma-pa sect came to Li-chiang to prostrate himself before magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣,[22] and to ask him for funds and to allow the priest Ming Chü 明具 to solicit contributions from all over the country for the building of the lamasery.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the lamasery was rebuilt in the seventh year of Kuang-hsü (1881).

There is a cave on Wen-pi Shan called Ling tung 靈洞 (Spiritual cave). It is related that the Karma-pa lamas crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) three times in search of a beautiful place before they found the Ling tung, which they pronounced to be one of the 24 Ling tung of the Nan Chan-pu chou 南贍部洲 (Southern Jambudvīpa) or Southern Continent of the Universe situated south of Mount Meru — as the inhabited world is referred to by Buddhists.

4. *P'u-chi Ssu* 普濟寺 (Lamasery of Universal aid). — Its Tibetan name is Thār-pai-lam-hdzin gling [23] (Lamasery of the Keeper of the road to salvation), pronounced Thār-pai-lam-dzin ling.

Needless to say it also belongs to the Karma-pa sect and is located 13 li west of Li-chiang near the village of P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦, called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, and a short distance south-west of the larger village of Shu-ho, in Na-khi Shwua-wùa.

This, and the monastery of Chieh-t'o-lin, were destroyed by soldiers during the Mohammedan rebellion, with the exception of the large gate to the latter monastery.

[21] གསང་ངགས་དགའ་ཚལ་གླིང

[22] He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi. He became *chin-ssu* (Metropolitan graduate) in the year 1718, and in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736) was appointed magistrate of Li-chiang.

[23] ཐར་པའི་ལམ་འཛིན་གླིང

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The head lama of P'u-chi Ssu belonged to the Ho family 和氏 of P'u-chi village 普濟村. His name was Lo 羅. He was middle-aged when he became a lama. His nephew, also a lama, by name Tien 典, was greatly reverenced by the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect. He was told that in his previous existence he was a Lo-han 羅漢 (Arhat), and that if it pleased him he should build the lamasery on the mountain, behind the village of P'u-chi. Many mendicant priests became his disciples. He died at the age of 80. After three years, the Ssu-pao lama said he would be reborn in the same family. Later lamas enquired and found the child. When he was six years old they brought him to P'u-chi Ssu. At the age of ten he was taken to Tibet to study the Tibetan classics while the priests looked carefully after him. When he had finished his studies he returned to P'u-chi Ssu and became its abbot. 795 778

Although no exact date of the building of P'u-chi Lamasery is recorded it must have been during the reign of Ch'ien-lung. Both the priest Lo and his nephew Tien studied at Fu-kuo Ssu in the beginning of Ch'ien-lung. Lo was asked by mendicant priests of the Ssu-pao lama to become head of the Fu-kuo Ssu, but this he refused and said he would build his own lamasery. This he built on the mountains of La-shi. This seems to contradict the records of Chih-yün Ssu, where it states that it was built by the priest Li Hsiang and others, unless he is included under "and others." In the P'u-chi Ssu records it states definitely that Lo 剌是山成大叢林卽今指雲寺 "completed on La-shih mountain the large Buddhist monastery which is now Chih-yün Ssu." It is possible that Li Hsiang was the first to collect funds, but that he was only enabled to lay the foundations, and that later in the Ch'ien-lung period it was completed by Lo.

P'u chi Ssu, as stated, must have been built after the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung, as it is the only lamasery not mentioned in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, which was published in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743).

5. *Yü-feng Ssu* 玉峯寺 (Jade peak Lamasery). — Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling,[24] pronounced Tra-shi-chhö-phe ling.

It is situated on the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range to the west of the village of Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村 (Dü-gkv) and the temple of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham). It was built during the Ming dynasty, probably during the Wan-li period (1573–1619). No memorial stones are extant in the temple grounds and the lamasery shelters now only seven or eight priests. It has an incarnation, or Huo-fu, who is now in Tibet, but they have no money to bring him back. Most of the lamas were addicted to opium and they are nearly all on the last rung of the ladder.

Yü-feng Ssu is really beautifully situated on the slopes of the snow range, embedded in a forest of old *Pinus Armandi* trees (Yün-nan white pines). A lovely little pond, encircled by huge trees, is in front of the main entrance to the temple. The latter itself is in a most dilapidated condition. It is the home of rats, whose excrements lie inches deep in the building and on the seats, testifying that the lamas very rarely occupy them in praying as the rules require. In the upper story of the main temple, dangerous to visit on account of the decayed condition of the floor and ceiling, is a small library, the books

[24] ཁྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་ཕྲེལ་གླིང་

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wrapped in dusty silks, a picture of neglect. It is, in fact, the most forlorn and forsaken lamasery I know of.

An-lo Chi-hsiang lin 安樂吉祥林. — This lamasery, which is unknown to me, is called in Tibetan bKra-shis-spro-bde gling[25] pronounced Tra-shi-tro-de ling (Monastery spreading happiness and bliss). As the Chinese name indicates, it is supposedly located near the villages of An-lo and Chi-hsiang in the li of La-shih 刺是.

The smaller temples. — In addition to these five larger lamaseries, there are several smaller temples under the Karma-pa sect which are of interest. The most important ones are here briefly discussed. The various Chinese temples found in the Li-chiang district are omitted.

To the east of the market town of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai), there are two Lama temples, one on the eastern outskirts of Pai-sha-kai proper, and one some distance north-east of it. The nearer one is called Pai-sha Ta-pao-chi Kung 白沙大寶積宮 (Temple of the collection of the great treasure of Pai-sha). The Ta-pao-chi has undoubtedly reference to the collection of the 49 sutras known as Mahāratnakūṭa, arranged by Bodhiruci, a Śramaṇa (ascetic) who came to China and Lo-yang in particular in A.D. 508. It is known to the Na-khi as Boa-shi Dta mä-lo, and is also called Hu-fa T'ang 護法堂 (Hall of Dharmapāla) and Hu-fa ch'ieh-lan 伽藍 (Hu-fa monastery), the monastery or temple of the Defender of the faith.[26] Beautiful murals decorate the walls of the temple, they were executed during the Ming dynasty by the same artist who painted the murals of Hsüeh-sung An now destroyed, *see* pp. 156, n. 8; 219.

According to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, the temple was built during the Ming dynasty. A tablet states that the Na-khi chief Mu Wang 木旺 built it. Mu Wang was born in 1551, became hereditary ruler of Li-chiang in 1580 and died in 1596. It must have been built between 1580 and 1596, as the tablet bears his title as magistrate 知府.

In the temple, now decayed and dilapidated, but still inhabited by two Karma-pa lamas who hail from the lamasery of Chieh-t'o-lin, is a shrine containing a figure of Mahākāla (mGon-po nag-po ཨི་གོན་ནག་པོ, or the Black Lord), one of the defenders of the faith. His sanctuary is closed the entire year, except on the 20th day of the first moon when the box-like shrine is opened, and a live chicken is thrown in, which is said to die instantly. All the peasants from the Li-chiang plain as well as some from the Yangtze valley at A-hsi 阿喜 come to worship on that day.

Further to the north-east of Pai-sha are two temples close together, one called the Chin-kang Tien 金剛殿 (Hall of the Diamond sutra) and the other the Ta-ting Ko 大定閣 (Hall of Great abstract meditation). Both were rebuilt by the famous Na-khi chief Mu Tseng during the Ming dynasty. Mu Tseng ruled between 1598 and 1646, and the rebuilding of these two temples

[25] བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྤྲོ་བདེ་གླིང

[26] The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons. In this case the Lord-demon Mahākāla is meant.

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falls within that period. The temples, according to memorial stones found in them, existed in ancient times, that is, before 1587, which is the year of Mu Tseng's birth. The record states that they were rebuilt by Mu Tseng but not finished at that time. They were later finished by Mu Pen-li 木本立 and 32 others.

4. ANCIENT NA-KHI ALTARS

At Pai-sha-kai there is said to be an altar or 墠 [*muan-bpö d'a*[27] in Na-khi], called Hsien-t'ao t'an 蒗陶墠, built during the T'ang dynasty. The name of the altar is derived from a Na-khi chief called Hsien-t'ao A-ku 蒗陶阿古; he lived during the time of Yeh-yeh, who is considered the first ancestor of the Mu chiefs. It was Hsien-t'ao A-ku, chief of the natives of the village of Boa-shi (Pai-sha), who recognized in Yeh-yeh signs of nobility. This happened during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). Although the *t'an* (altar) bears the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku it could hardly have been built by him, for the records state that it was built in the T'ang dynasty and Hsien-t'ao A-ku lived in the Sung dynasty.[28]

Another altar at Pai-sha-kai is the Yüeh-chün t'an 月均墠, which was built during the reign of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (901–904). The name of the altar most likely refers to one of five village chiefs whose name was Wa-chün 瓦均, and *Yüeh* 月 is perhaps a misprint for *wa* 瓦. He lived during the Sung dynasty, at the same time as Hsien-t'ao A-ku. In the first moon the native officials used to lead their clansmen to this altar (in all probability also a *muan-bpö d'a*) to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain (PLATE 65).

Behind the village of Shu-ho 東河, at the foot of the cliff, and overlooking a pond is the small altar called Tzu-che t'an 子宅墠 15 li west of Li-chiang, built in the 46th year of Ming Wan-li (1618). In the third and seventh moon of each year the peasants of Shu-ho li 東河里 repair to that temple to worship the spirits of the Shih Pao 十保神 (Ten Protectors).

Outside of the former east gate of Li-chiang there is an altar called Hsien-nung t'an 先農墠. It was built in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) by the Chinese magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成. Another is called She-chi t'an 社稷墠 (Altar of the spirits of the land and grain) and was built in the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1740). These are Chinese altars and not Na-khi *muan-bpö d'a*.

[27] A *muan-bpö d'a* is a place where the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon of every year.

[28] It is, of course, possible that Hsien-t'ao was the clan name. Every Na-khi clan has its own *muan-bpö d'a* wherein they propitiate Heaven in the first moon, and so it is very likely that it was built by the ancestors of Hsien-t'ao A-ku during the T'ang dynasty.

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CHAPTER IV

Li-chiang Snow Range and Territory South of the Yangtze Loop

1. THE SOUTHERN END OF THE SNOW RANGE

*133 *137 The entire Yü-lung Shan is of limestone, but in the extreme southern end this stone is partly superimposed by volcanic rock.[1] The range completely encloses the Li-chiang plain to the west and joins Wen-pi Shan (Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv) by a low spur over which a pass called Gkaw-gku leads to the Yangtze, via La-shih-pa. Here are situated the hamlets of Tsi-man (Tz'u-man 茨滿), La-ssaw-dzhi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa (in Chinese, P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦), Shwua-wùa (the Chinese Shu-ho, but pronounced Ssu-ho in Li-chiang).

The li of Boa-shi (Pai-sha li), with its largest village called Pai-sha-kai, comprises many villages, such as Mbe-man (of which there is an east and a west village), Llü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (PLATE 66), Mbe-lü, Khü-ndu, 'A-k'ö (first residence of the Na-khi kings), Dzhi-man, Dzhi-lo, Gyi-ts'ä-ndso and Dzhi-gkv-ggŏ. These places are on the main road from Li-chiang to the snow range; west of the road, and at the foot of the long spur which extends south from the snowy crags, are other hamlets, such as Ndz(ĕr)-gkan-ndz(ĕr)-k'ö, Mbe-gkv, K'a-mä-gyi-k'u and Mbe-gkyi; east of the latter village is a marshy meadow called O-ggü-ddü on which the Na-khi of the neighboring villages herd their live-stock. On this southern spur, also, are situated three lamaseries belonging to the Karma-pa sect.[2] Then comes the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un) with its temple to Ssa-ddo, the spirit of the Li-chiang snow range. North of Dü-gkv, at the very foot of the snow range, is the last Na-khi hamlet, called Nv-lv-k'ö (Foot of the [Silver rocks] snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村. This is the highest village on the Li-chiang plain and has an elevation of 9,400 feet. Foreign travelers mention it usually as Ngu-lu-kö.

[1] The upper part of the snow peak consists of massive unfoliated limestone. Large blocks of cæspitose reef coral (*Thecosmilia* cf. *fenestrata* Reuss) occur in the southern end of the Hsiang Shan [Gyi-wùa Ngyu of the Na-khi]. This coral is of the triassic age. While the Li-chiang plain is alluvial, the southern part of the Yü-lung Shan consists of basalts resting on Minchia limestone. Boulders in the Sa-ba moraine [*which see*] contain a Devonian coral (*Idiostroma*). The presence of fragments of a coral belonging to Stromatomorpha indicates that the massive limestone also belongs to the triassic age. The western slopes of the low spur which connects with Wen-pi Shan and over which the pass Gkaw-gku leads, are of basalt; the southern side of this pass is a volcanic neck composed of limburgite tuff and agglomerate. These rocks rest on Minchia limestone. The limburgite is supposedly kainozoic in age (GREGORY).

PROF. GREGORY adopted the name Minchia Series for rocks which cover an extensive area in north-western Yün-nan, after the tribe in whose territory it is widely developed. The characteristic [illegible]ture of the Minchia Series is the association of a dark gray to bluish limestone with white calcite veins along a network of cracks, with black shales, purple, red and green sandstones and grits. These rocks are often associated with various porphyries and coarse porphyritic basalts and diabase. The series is unfossiliferous and the limestone has been largely recrystallized. The only fossil from the Minchia Series is a Devonian *Uncinulus* (GREGORY). This rock forms the main building material (foundations) in Li-chiang.

[2] See Ch. III Lamaseries, and Buddhist temples of Li-chiang.

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Between Dü-gkv and Nv-lv-k'ö is a meadow called Mba-mä. Here a large spring called Boa-shi gko-gyi issues from the mountain-side under a grove of century-old maples (*Acer cappadocicum sinicum*), where Na-khi sorcerers perform *Zü-mä*, a ceremony for the propitiation of the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits). The spur behind Dü-gkv is called A-na-lo. The spur north-west of the Yü-feng Ssu lamasery is called Hăr-lĕr-man (End whence the wind is called). A trail leads across this spur to the western slopes of the snow range and the Yangtze valley, described separately. 133* 137*

For every crag and spur, pond and meadow of this beautiful snow range the Na-khi have names, which shows that they must have occupied this region for many hundreds of years. Every nook of the mountain has its name and story connected with it, yet they have no name for the entire range, nor real Na-khi names for the highest peaks.

The southernmost and first limestone crag of the snow range, overlooking the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is called Hua-lä-bpu (H-M., Ünlupe); west of the crag is an alpine meadow called Gko-zo-lo. At the foot of and south of the crag, is a deep ravine, Dzhi-k'o-lo, which is crossed by a trail to Hăr-lĕr-gkv, a pass over which the wind howls in fury during the winter and spring months. To the north of the valley is a cliff resembling a stairway or ladder, and hence known to the Na-khi as 'A-lä-gyi (Cliff stairway). Beyond is a waterfall which has its source on Hua-lä-bpu and flows over a gravelly slope called Shou-mbyu-lo.

Below and east of Shou-mbyu-lo is a small lake or pond called Ts'u-k'aw, supplying a waterfall which flows over a steep cliff, with a deep, narrow cleft, called 'A-nggü-t'an. Adjoining Hua-lä-bpu, north of the Ts'u-k'aw Lake, is a very steep, hanging alpine meadow called 'A-lä-dte, which merges into fantastic crags forming the backbone of the mountain. From this meadow extends abruptly a deep, impassable valley with a stream called Lo-mä-lo. This valley can only be entered from the plain below. To the north of 'A-lä-dte is a ravine which joins Lo-mä-lo. This is called 'A-lä-dte-k'u-k'ö; it can be crossed only in two places, but no animal larger than a goat can pass. Below 'A-lä-dte and north-east is a steep meadow with tall luscious grass and marvellous flowers. A large, dark limestone boulder, which once upon a time had fallen from the heights above, stands guard in this meadow, which is called La-dtu-gkaw. Above it, passing through a rock gate, one can reach the immense screes sloping from the moss-covered crags above. There are two of these screes, a black one called Nv-lv-na, or Na-dshwuà, and a white one called Nv-lv-p'ĕr. North of Nv-lv-na is a small waterfall, frozen in the winter, but descending in the summer to an alpine meadow called Gko-zo-mbu, where leeches abound. The source of this waterfall is a flat terrace called Khi-t'a-gkv.[3] It passes first over a basin-like meadow called Ndv-lo (H-M., Mdwolo; Poison valley), on account of the abundance of aconite (*Aconitum volubile*) growing there, and then into a small ravine in a meadow known as A-nùn-t'khü-k'ö (Sharp bill of the cliff).

To the east of Ndv-lo is an Abies- or fir-crowned hill, with a small meadow called Mbĕr-hoa-lo dzü-gkv (Yak pen on top of the hill). Adjoining Nv-lv-na,

[3] This name is part Chinese and part Na-khi, the first two words being the Chinese *ksi-t'ai* 戲臺 (theater, stage).

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*133 but separated by a black limestone spur, the ground is composed of gravel and resembles small terraced fields. These are called Khi-llü-p'u-dshwuà *137 ([Terraced] rice-field partition). This is the depression at the foot of Nv-lv-na and Nv-lv-p'ĕr. Here in the gravel and scree grows the peculiar composite resembling a shako, *Saussurea laniceps* H-M., formerly mistaken for the Himalayan species *S. gossipiphora* (PLATE 67).

[136] The lovely alpine meadow of Gko-zo-mbu, commonly known as Ma-huang pa-tzu 蝗蟒壩子 in Chinese (Leech meadow) on account of the leeches which abound there in the summer, is surrounded by beautiful fir trees (*Abies Forrestii*) with dark greenish-black needles, silvery beneath. These exude a delicious fragrance of balsam. Here grow also wonderful rhododendrons and primulas, and in the summer the meadow is often one mass of *Strobilanthes versicolor*, with bluish-purple flowers. Above the meadow and the encircling forest to the north-west is a hanging meadow with a mass of limestone rocks hidden in the grass. Crossing the little stream of A-nûn-t'khü-k'ö, a trail leads first to a spot called Zhwua-mä-shi-gkv, with a spring, and thence to the steep, rocky slopes of P'ĕr-dshwuà-k'u-k'ö (Gate to the white barrier).

Opposite, to the east, is Ho-san yi-gkv, a high, limestone crag 15,500 feet in height, with long scree and talus slopes. A Buddhist priest once spent a night on the top, hence the name, Where the priest slept (*ho-shang* 和尚, priest). The name is half Chinese and half Na-khi. Beyond P'ĕr-dshwuà-k'u-k'ö is another lovely meadow, 14,500 feet in elevation, known as P'ĕr-dshwuà. In the month of July it is covered with the most beautiful alpine flowers and prostrate rhododendrons (*Rhododendron prostratum*) with large salver-shaped, wine-colored blossoms. From here one can ascend still higher to 17,000 feet and look down upon Ho-san yi-gkv; the region is called P'ĕr-dshwuà-gkv-lu.

The tremendous gorge of Sa-ba lo-gkv (H-M., Lo-kü) which extends to the very foot of the vertical limestone wall beneath Shan-tzu-tou, stops one's progress (PLATE 68). On the edge of the gorge, which is 4,500 feet deep, lie masses of loose boulders; one passes over a pile of rock, split by the action of ice into thousands of fragments, and then over a talus slope, the last stretch of which leads to the brink of the overhanging crags composed of loose, flat limestone slabs. The edge appears crenellated, due to dislodged boulders which found their way to the depths below. Avalanches of rock and ice from the hanging glacier below Shan-tzu-tou descend continuously into the gorge, and the resulting roar reverberates like distant thunder from the abyss below. Huge boulders are precariously balanced on the edge of the gorge and the lightest touch dislodges them. Here at 17,000 feet is the limit of vegetation. At this height we find the beautiful turquoise-blue-flowered crucifer *Solmslaubachia pulcherrima* growing between limestone rocks, while on the screes and among loose rock occur shako-like species of Saussureas (*S. laniceps*, *S. leucoma*), their flowers buried in a conical mass of cotton which rises from rosettes of prostrate leaves.

Halfway up the mountain mass of Ho-san yi-gkv is a belt of fir forest called Nv-lv boa-gkü (Belt of the snow range), and to its north a broad talus slope descends steeply into a valley or, rather, ravine called Zhwua-k'o lo (Gorge where the horse was killed). On this long talus slope is a broad strip of black fir forest growing for some distance down into the ravine. The latter leads

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steeply out onto a scree slope adjoining the foot of a limestone bluff called Ggŏ-gko 'a-k'ŏ, at the edge of the gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. The lower part of the ravine debouches, at the foot of Ho-san yi-gkv, into a meadow called Man-dzu-gkv. 133* 137*

Man-dzu-gkv meadow (PLATE 69) is very beautiful and contains a spring beneath a large boulder. It merges, in its lower part, into a gorge called Bu-mă lo, which in turn opens into the Li-chiang plain. The meadow stream flows by the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un 文化村) and is known as the Ssaw-ssu gyi (Waters of Ssaw-ssu). The word *ssaw* is now often pronounced *ssan*.

Over the northern spur, which hems in Man-dzu-gkv, a trail leads through beautiful fir and spruce forest with rhododendron undergrowth; a meadow extends the length of the first terrace of the spur. This beautiful spot, from which a lovely view unfolds, is known to the Na-khi as Ghügh-bŏ lo (Cattle-pen valley). From here we ascend through forest of fir and spruce with several species of tall rhododendron trees (*Rhododendron rubiginosum* predominating) as undergrowth to a spring which issues from the hill-side along the trail known as Vu-zi gyi-k'o-k'ŏ (Bird spring). Arrived on the top of the spur, the trail crosses the head of a valley called Gkaw-chĕr-k'o lo whence one can reach three meadows: the highest is called Ggŏ-gko (Top one); then comes Lü-gko (Central one), above the head of the valley; while the third, across the valley, is called Muan-gko (Lower one).

These three meadows, as well as the region in the immediate neighborhood, are collectively called Lü-ghügh-gko. From Muan-gko the trail crosses a succession of little meadows surrounded by low, forested spurs, and continues east to the edge of the deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv, which extends to the foot of the highest peak of the snow range. These little meadows, as well as the larch- and fir-forested spur overlooking the gorge, are called La-zo-gko-dshwuà (Homes of the baby tigers).

The elevation of La-zo-gko-dshwuà is 12,300 feet, while the floor of the gorge immediately below is 12,000 feet above sea level. From this vantage point a wonderful view is obtained of the deep gorge and of the Li-chiang snow peak at its head (PLATE 70).

2. SA-BA GORGE OR SA-BA LO-GKV (PLATE 71)

At about the center of the Li-chiang snow range, that is, in the part south of the Yangtze gorge ('A-ts'an-gko), are two long, deep canyons, a western one called Gyi-p'ĕr k'a, which extends from the foot of Shan-tzu-tou into the Yangtze valley; and an eastern one called Sa-ba in its lower, and Sa-ba lo-gkv in its upper part, which extends exactly opposite towards the Li-chiang plain. The eastern gorge, once glacier-filled has no outlet, as it terminates in a moraine. There is a difference of 2,650 feet in the height of the floors of these two gorges at their head.

The Sa-ba moraine and the head of the gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv is easily approached from north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ŏ at the foot of the snow range, but it may be remarked that a steep trail descends from the meadow La-zo-gko-dshwuà, to the upper half of the gorge. The best approach to the lower part and the beginning of the gorge called Sa-ba, is over the north-eastern foothills.

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133 Past the little artificial pond called in Chinese Yü-hu 玉壺 (Jade jug), to which the Na-khi add the word *khü* or lake (Yü-hu Khü),[4] we come to a meadow called Bi-ndu-tsü-gko, alongside a little, shallow gully; to the left, or west, debouches a small ravine called Gka-gkv, the waters of which flow into the Yü-hu (Khü). The trail ascends 'A-mä-nun a scrub-covered slope with pine forest on both sides.

A high limestone mountain, called Zhwua-dzo-gkv, covered with scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) rises to the left (west); the trail follows at its foot into the Bu-mä lo ravine. In the winter the ravine is dry, but below, where the trail crosses it, is a steep drop and there it is filled with trees; a broad stream gushes forth from beneath the rocks at all seasons. This stream disappears and reappears several times on its way to the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a to the south-east of Nv-lv-k'ö.

After crossing the Bu-mä lo and a short slope, we arrive in a depression with pines and scrub oak, bounded on the east by a limestone spur; here are two small lakes, or rather, ponds, one to the left of the trail and one below the trail, somewhat north, with graves near the banks. This latter pond called Bpa Khü (Frog Lake), overflows during the rainy season, into the Bu-mä lo. From here the trail skirts the scrub-covered slopes, with a forested ravine to the east called Gyi-mbu-kgv. This ravine has two sources, one in Sa-ba and the other north-west on the mountain slope called Ba-ndĕr gko, in a small meadow, but water is to be found only in the ravine below the trail. We climb the rocky slopes over a rough, white, stony trail; cross a dry, white stream-bed which has its source in Ba-ndĕr gko, and ascend among pines and spruces along a gully called Sa-ba lv-t'khye-aw, where there is a great amount of loose white gravel and rock. Thence we strike the southern end of the moraine and a little meadow called Sa-ba dü-man, and later come to the large moraine and a beautiful meadow without a single rock, the soil being pure marl, resembling a cement floor. This meadow, surrounded by lateral moraines which are now pine-covered, extends north-east and is called Sa-ba dü-la-lo (PLATE 72). A glacier once covered it from the head of the gorge south towards Nv-lv-k'ö and also north-eastward. The glacier has retreated now to the head of the valley, where it is fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the summit of Shan-tzu-tou (PLATE 73).

The entrance to the main gorge of Sa-ba beyond the grassy expanse is guarded to the north by an enormous limestone mountain, about 16,000 feet in height, called Ch'wua-lo-gku (Where the stags cross). On its eastern face is a depression once filled by a glacier. Immediately behind it is a still higher limestone crag which I called Sa-ba nv-lv and which, with Ch'wua-lo-gku, forms part of the northern wall of Sa-ba lo-gkv. From the base of Ch'wua-lo-gku a trail leads through dense spruce forest along the foot of the snow range to the glacier stream and valley called Pai-shui 白水 (White water), and Gyi-p'ĕr lo-gkv in Na-khi. This latter region is described in detail under 4. Nga-ba Depression.

[4] It is believed that a jade jug is buried in the pond, hence the name. The real Na-khi name, however, is Bi-ndu Khü (Forest Lake). There are no trees now in the immediate neighborhood, but extensive forests covered this region several hundred years ago; a remnant of spruce forest still exists around the village temple a little to the south of the pond.

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The floor of the valley is 12,000 feet above the sea, the entire southern length being occupied by forest, first pine, then spruce, and, near the head of the gorge, fir (*Abies Forrestii*) and larch (*Larix Potaninii*). In the center is a broad stream-bed which narrows in its upper part owing to extensive avalanches of rock and huge boulders from the vertical northern wall of the gorge. Its rocks are pure limestone, of a dazzling white; except in its upper part, it carries no water — the stream disappears underground about halfway down the gorge. The upper part of the gorge which is called Sa-ba lo-gkv (At the head of the gorge Sa-ba — *lo*, gorge, valley, *gkv*, inside) is blocked by a gravel-covered glacier which extends from north to south, the stream-bed winding around it at a sharp angle. A waterfall descends into a basin of ice and disappears underground. Here Sa-ba lo-gkv is 13,250 feet above sea level. From its north-western corner the limestone wall rises in a series of tiers 6,000 feet above the valley floor, bearing masses of ice, fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the main peak into which it culminates (PLATE 73). At the foot of this wall grows the gorgeous larkspur *Delphinium likiangense*, associated with the blue-flowered *Adenophora coelestis*. 133* 137*

3. THE NORTHERN EDGE OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

The north-western part of the Li-chiang plain is bordered on the east by a fairly high limestone range which is a continuation of Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), the Na-khi Gyi-wùa Ngyu. It is furrowed by several ravines or steep valleys which debouch west into the Li-chiang plain. At the foot of this range, which extends parallel to the Yü-lung Shan, there are situated several Na-khi hamlets. The southernmost, and immediately north of the Li-chiang Lung-wang Miao (Dragon-king Temple), is the hamlet of Gyi-wùa where there are many springs known as Gyi-wùa gyi-t'u-gkv. Ten li or more beyond to the north is the large hamlet of Gko-lo, subject to the larger village of Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村, the south-eastern end of Pai-sha. Beyond is La-ma-llü, consisting of about eight families. It belongs to the larger hamlet west of it called in Chinese Mu-tu-ts'un 木都村, which in turn belongs to Pai-sha li. Then comes the hamlet of Dto-k'ö, with a few families only and subject to Mu-tu-ts'un. Beyond Dto-k'ö used to be a small settlement, now abandoned, called A-yü-ngyu-k'ö (At the foot of monkey mountain). This was the last village on the eastern margin of the plain at the foot of the limestone range.

The central part of the plain between these villages and Pai-sha is either occupied by fields or uncultivated areas. The large stretch of perfectly level ground called Wùa-dtv k'o-dü is uncultivated. *Wùa-dtv* is the name of the person who owned it, and *k'o-dü* means any uncultivated area. It would form one of the finest aviation fields possible, as it is about two miles long, over half a mile wide and as smooth as a billiard table.[5] It is only ten miles from Li-chiang. [508]

Immediately to the north of Wùa-dtv k'o-dü is the last hamlet in the central part of the plain, called Ssaw-ssu-k'a, named after the stream Ssaw-ssu which

[5] It was on this field that our plane, the "K'un-ming," landed in 1936 on the historic first flight around the snow range. It has served as an airfield during world war II, and a weather station was established there but is now (1946) abandoned.

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*133 flows along its eastern margin — *k'a* being a ravine. The Chinese name of the
*137 hamlet is Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村. Formerly it was known as San-chia-ts'un 三家村, as originally only three families lived there. To-day there are eighteen.

The most northerly village on this part of the plain, situated at the actual foot of the snow range at an elevation of 9,400 feet, is Nv-lv-k'ö, consisting of about 100 families (PLATES 74, 75, 76).

South of Wùa-dtv k'o-dü, on the main road to Li-chiang and east of Pai-sha, is the hamlet T'a-bbu-d'a, called in Chinese T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村. T'a-bbu-d'a was originally one of the 12 *d'a* (residences) owned by the Mu family. It was the place where they worshipped their ancestors; when performed in the sixth moon, the service was known as *T'a-bpö*. To the east of T'a-bbu-d'a is a small hamlet of seven or eight families called Nda-la-k'o-dyü, also belonging to Mu-tu-ts'un.

Another larger village consisting of over 100 families, called Nyi-mä-t'u-ts'an in Na-khi, and in Chinese, Hsiang-yang-ts'un 向陽村 (Facing the sun village), is north-east of Pai-sha.

241 Rice cannot be cultivated on this northern part of the Li-chiang plain, as
[134] the soil is too stony and there is not enough water to irrigate the fields, furthermore the altitude is too great. The Na-khi plant wheat, maize, potatoes, barley, oats, beans and peas also the rape-turnip *Brassica rapa depressa* which they call *ngyu* (the *man-ching* 蔓菁 of the Chinese). The tuber itself is called
[249] *'a-k'ö*. Opium was also grown for Chinese consumption. South of and in the actual neighborhood of Li-chiang, opium was grown in the spring, and rice during the rainy season.

Gv-bö, in Chinese, Chiu-tzu-hai 九子海 (Nine lakes) is a district lying east of the long limestone spur which hems in this part of the plain. It has been settled only recently. Peasants from the village of Pai-sha-kai have started homesteads and planted fields. Previous to the settling of the Na-khi, a few Li-su and Lo-lo had built their poor huts there and carried on cultivation. The Chinese name is derived from the several circular basins which are filled with water all the year round.

*133 The range in which is situated Gv-bö, better known as Gv-bö la-zhěr gko [the
*137 name appears also in Na-khi literature, and has reference to the tigers which once roamed in its forests and meadows: *la* = tiger, *zhěr* = sound, noise, *gko* = alpine meadow], is composed of old limestone. The sharp rocks projecting through the mass of scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), give it a peculiar aspect. The highest point of this range is the triangular peak Lv-zhěr-dsu (H-M., Lajatso), approximately 12,000 feet in height. The best approach is from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Ssaw-ssu-k'a, whence the ascent can be accomplished in about three hours. From its summit one obtains a glorious view of the entire Yü-lung Shan, that is, the part south of the Yangtze gorge. The northern end of the Li-chiang plain is covered with low pines and oaks (PLATES 77, 78), especially scrub oak; many herbaceous plants with beautiful flowers form lovely carpets in the summer months, and enliven the otherwise grey, stony waste.

Immediately east of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö is a low, circular mound, looking for all the world like an extinct volcanic cone. It is known to the Na-khi
000 as La-lo-dtö-gkv, including a small ravine to the north of it. On the top of this

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On the top of this hill, in its crater-like depression, the Na-khi of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö in ancient days used to cremate their dead and bury their ashes. The first burial *à la chinoise* took place from the village of Shu-ho 束河 (in Li-chiang pronounced Ssu-ho) in 1723, when the mother of one Ho Tsung-shun 和宗順, headman of Shu-ho, was placed in a coffin and interred. To-day cremations still take place but only of women who have died in child-birth, or within 100 days after. They are no longer cremated on the top of the hill, however, but in the little ravine at its foot. 764 133*

North of the hill is the little artificial pond called Yü-hu Ḳhü (*see* p. 216) constructed by one of the early Na-khi kings, and in it is a small islet with a solitary tree. It was here that a Na-khi king exposed his sister in a cage, as related in the history of Nga-ba (*see* p. 221). 133* 137*

A neat village temple (now dismantled and changed into a forestry station) surrounded by a grove of *Picea likiangensis* trees is west of the pond. These spruces are the remnant of once extensive forests which here covered the plain. The temple contains an image of Buddha in Tibetan style, in the Bhūmisparśa mudrā = Earth-touching or Witness attitude. A marble slab in its court, now broken and merely giving certain rules of conduct, bears the date Ming Wan-li 36th year (1608); it may however have been built earlier. The temple is known as Nv-lv kwuà-d'a to the Na-khi, and as Hsüeh-sung An 雪松庵 to the Chinese. It was one of the 12 *d'a* (*see*: note 155, p. 148) of the Na-khi chiefs, in which a certain specified part of each year was spent. The great chief Mu Sheng-pai kept here a herd of deer (*Cervus albirostris*) in captivity at Nv-lv kwuà-d'a; a place a little below the temple is still known as Ch'wua-k'o-lo (Garden of the stags), the pond Yü-hu Ḳhü serving them as drinking pool. 998

The inner walls of the little temple were once covered with beautiful frescoes, of which only a small portion remains (now totally destroyed). In the third year of the Republic, when anti-religious feelings ran riot, the ancient statue of Buddha was carried up the snow range and hidden in a cave to save it from destruction. It again sits peacefully on its throne erected centuries ago, while the old quinces still bloom in the little court as of yore.[6]

Beyond the village of Nv-lv-k'ö the region is wild in the extreme, lonely forests alternating with stretches of meadows, rocky wastes, pine-covered spurs, and deep ravines. Every hill, spur and cliff has its Na-khi name, some of which figure in their ancient manuscripts. 133* 137*

To the north of Yü-hu Ḳhü is a grassy knoll with graves, at its foot a marshy meadow drains into the pond. This hill is called Wua-nà mbu-dtò — *Wua-nà* being the name of an ancient Na-khi, and *mbu-dtò* meaning hill. From the hill a trail leads down to the stream called Ssaw-ssu gyi, also Ssaw-ssu gyi-na gyi, crossed by a small stone bridge. Beyond the little bridge the trail loses itself over a stony waste called Na-dò-k'o, also Lv-na-k'o (Place with the black rocks) which merges into a lovely pine forest known as T'o-dshwua-mbu. The trail, again distinct, leads on to a stream called Bpö-lü k'a, also Gyi-p'ĕr gyi; its source gushes forth from beneath a layer of rocks on the eastern slopes of the snow range at a spot called Gyi-mbu-gkv. Crossing it, we reach open country,

[6] The statue of Buddha had been removed when the temple was taken over by the forestry department and placed elsewhere in the village. Thus one of the old landmarks has ceased to exist.

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*133 while the ravine to our left is filled with hazel-nuts, spiræa, viburnums, etc.
*137 We then come to the main gulch of Bpö-lü k'a (gyi) now dry, as the water has been diverted.

We next reach very rocky ground, the entire region having been once a lake bottom. The protruding limestone is of the weirdest shape and sharp as razor blades. Small scrub-oak bushes with spiny leaves fill the gaps between the rocks, making walking rather disagreeable. This region is called La-bpa-dto-lo-gkò (Place of the small oak bushes). From here a trail leads to the foot of the limestone range of Dza-dza mbu, which hems in the eastern margin of the plain. To the south of this mountain between spurs extends a magnificent meadow larger than Nga-ba, called Ts'a-ts'a dü, which adjoins Gv-bö in the north. Beyond La-bpa-dto-lo-gkò the plain becomes still rockier and is here called 'A-man-ndv (Broken tail [end] of the rocks), meaning that beyond 'A-man-ndv, along the main highway, the sharp rocks cease.

From 'A-man-ndv the trail descends into a dry, rocky ravine called 'A-lo (Cliff valley), with steep sides of limestone. The rocks are covered with *Selaginella involvens*, which in the dry season roll up into balls, and spread out into beautiful dark green rosettes during the rains. To the west of 'A-lo, among the low, rocky hills, is a cave, the home of many bats.

In a limestone cliff a little to the north of 'A-lo are peculiar miniature caves which play an interesting role in the religious life of the Na-khi. The place is known as Nv-gkyi-k'o-ndv. In these caves the Na-khi deposit pine twigs carved to represent human beings, the needles left on to represent hair. These twigs, called *nv*, represent the body of a departed spirit. They are deposited during the great funerary ceremony called *Khi-nv*, a sort of All Souls' Day rite performed during the eleventh moon. I hope to describe the ceremony in a work on the religion of the Na-khi, giving the translation of the hundred odd books chanted during its performance.

From Nv-gkyi-k'o-ndv we finally emerge onto a stony meadow. The rocks of white limestone seen from the distance give the meadow the appearance of being covered with snow. A rocky ravine extends here into the foot-hills of the snow range, the entire region, lonely in the extreme, being known as Zhĕr-p'ĕr-gyi-tsi. On the eastern margin of this plain, near where it joins Dza-dza mbu, is a small spring — hence the place is commonly used as a lunch-stop by Tibetan caravans *en route* to Li-chiang. The northern end is closed by a ridge which projects from the foot-hills of the snow range and forms the southern margin of Nga-ba. From Zhĕr-p'ĕr-gyi-tsi the trail ascends a pine-covered spur and leads over undulating country covered with open pine forest, along a deep, tree-filled gorge to the east — a regular riff or fault, known as Sä-bpi lo-mä (grea. Cinnamon gorge). The gorge has its source to the north in a basin-like depression called Mbĕr-ò-gko-ho, and ends miles below on the eastern margin of the Li-chiang plain at a spot called Mbu-lo-màn. The place where the trail to Gv-bö crosses it is called Ssi-dzi-lo-k'o.

We now descend to Mbĕr-ò-gko-ho, a small, circular basin, its slopes wooded with spruces. A little spring issues from beneath the spruces on its western slopes. It is a lonely, spooky place, shut in and weird in the extreme. Its northern outlet is through a narrow defile with a cave in the cliffs to the west. The Na-khi themselves believe that the place is haunted by ghosts and will

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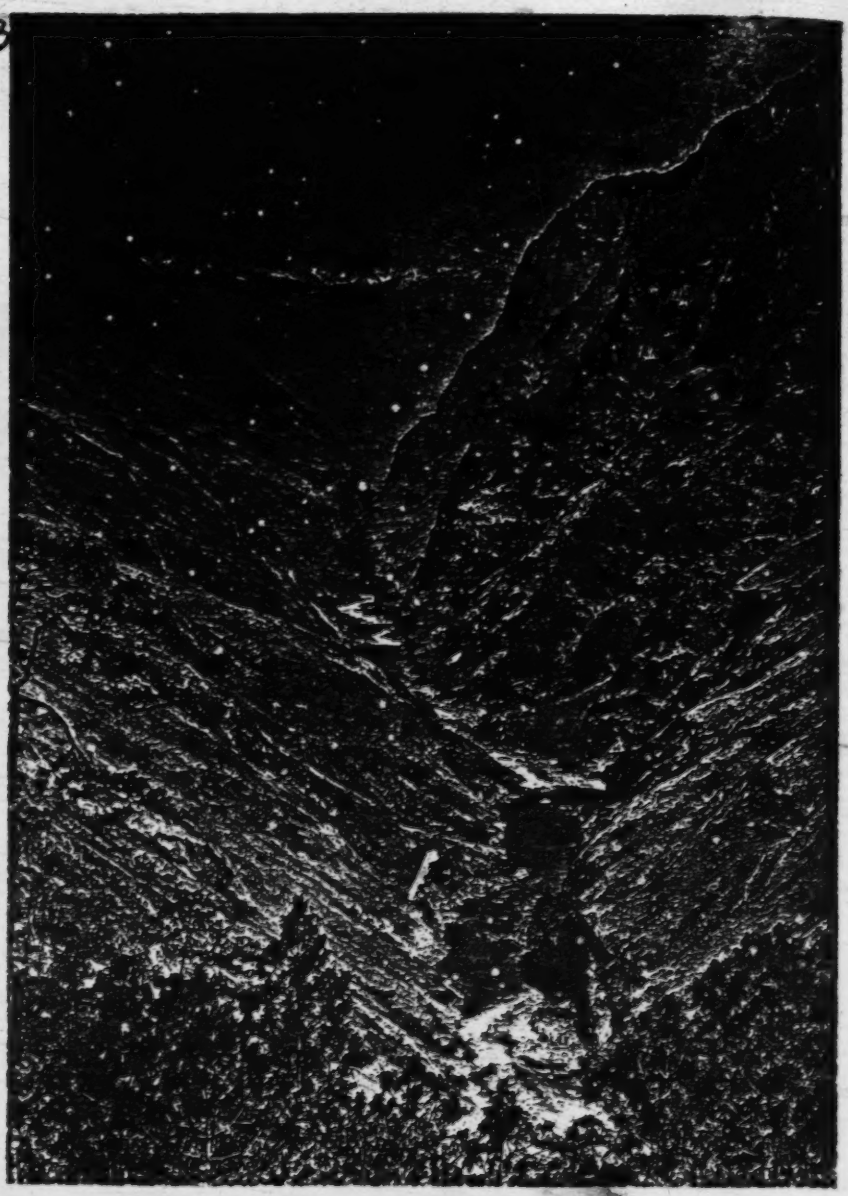

PLATE 121. — THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅 昌 角 峽 峽

Looking north-east, downstream, from a bluff 8,000 feet elevation whence plate 120 was taken. There are in all 34 rapids in the gorge. The Yangtze strikes the snow-capped range Dzu-ku nv-lv (visible in center of picture), and flows north. Pines in foreground.

[p. 220 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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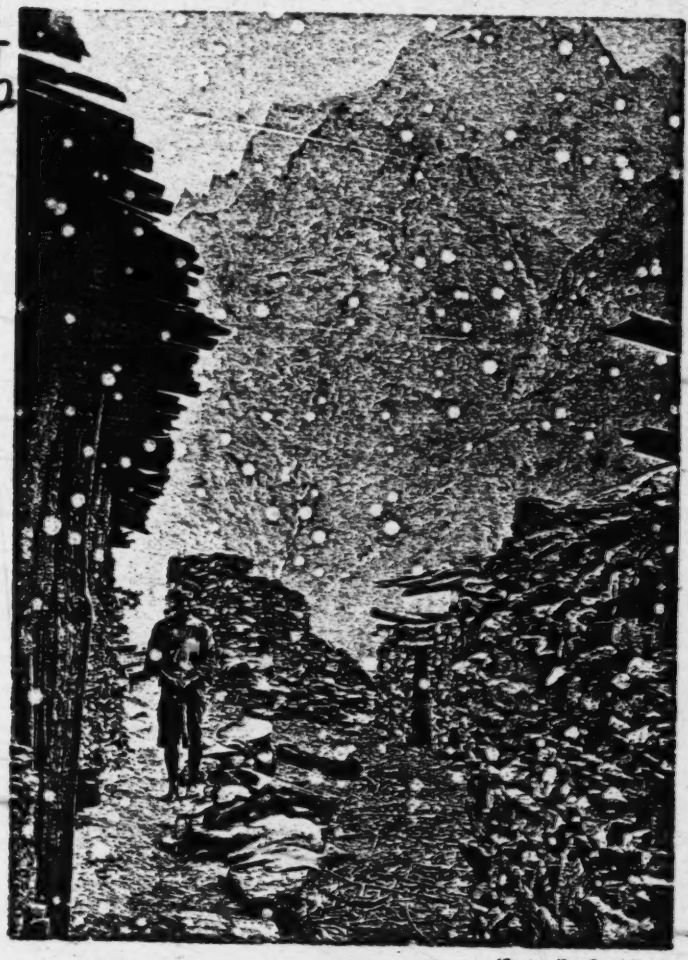

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 122.—THE NA-KHI HAMLET GYI-P'ER-LO IN THE 'A-TS'AE-GKO GORGE

[illegible]

The isolated village consists of seven families and is built entirely of rock; its elevation is 7,775 feet, and is in Chung-tien territory.

[p. 220 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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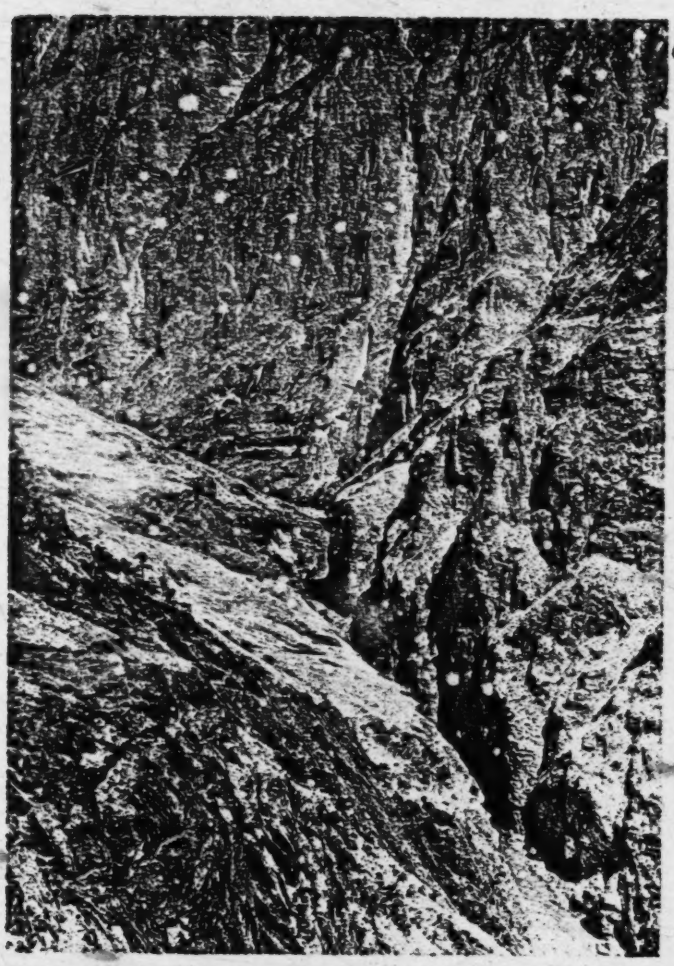

PLATE 123.—THE YANGTZE IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GEO GORGE

雅 昌 角 金 沙 江

The river is a narrow blue-green ribbon only a few yards wide, but very deep. The famous Hu-t'iao-t'an or Tiger-leap rapid is visible in the center of the picture. Photographed (with front-lens removed) from a lateral spur elevation 8,350 feet

[p. 220C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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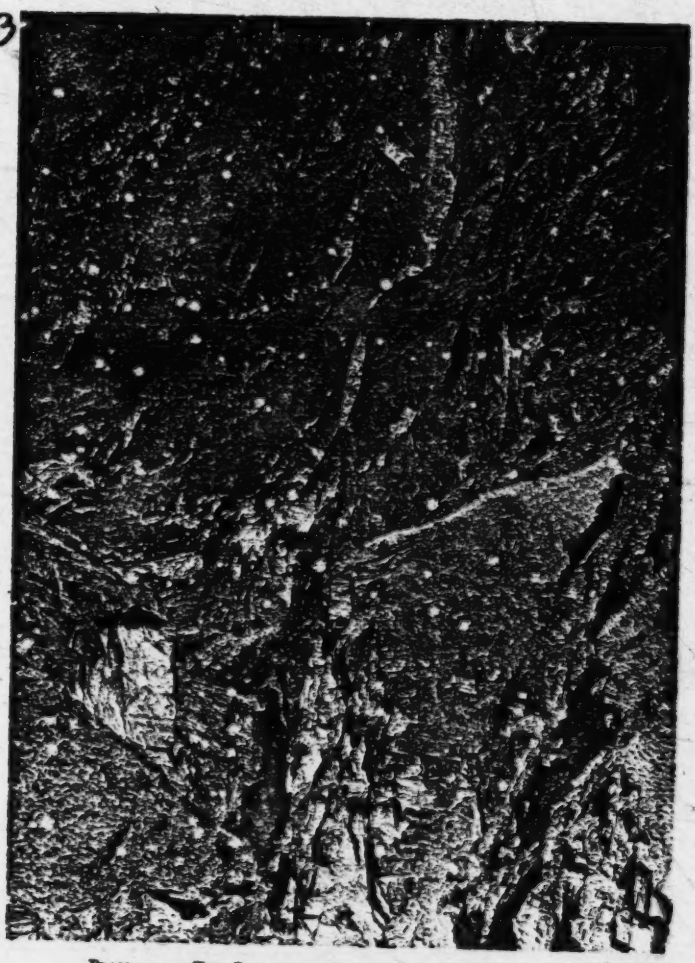

PLATE 124. — THE CELEBRATED HU-T'IAO-T'AN OR TIGER-LEAP RAPID

金沙江虎跳峽

The narrowest part of the Yangtse in the entire 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. It is so narrow that a tiger could jump from wall to wall, hence the name. The rock is old limestone.

[p. 220 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 125.—THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AI-GEO GORGE LOOKING UPSTREAM FROM NEAR THE HU-T'IAO-T'AN

虎跳峽上游

In this stretch, the river is one succession of rapids; in the summer or early spring, the volume of water is immense and tons of water are thrown up into the air at every rapid.

[p. 220 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 126. — THE PINNACLED LIMESTONE WALL OF THE YANGTZE GORGE OPPOSITE TA-SHEN-KOU

峽 昌 角 與 岸 大 深 溝 對 面

The right bank of the Yangtze is hemmed in by the vertical cliffs of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge.

[p.220F]

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PLATE 127.—THE END OF THE TRAIL IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GEO GORGE

阿 坐 格 山 口

The gap called Han-p'o-ling is at an elevation of 10,000 feet; there is a sheer drop of over 4,000 feet to the Yangtze. Rhododendrons and pines cling to the vertical wall of rock.

[p. 220G]

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PLATE 128. — VIEW INTO THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

金 沙 江 峽 谷

From near the Han-p'o-ling gap the Yangtze, roaring 4,000 feet below, appears as a small stream, a solid wall of limestone rock rises thousands of feet vertically from the Li-chiang side of the river.

[p.220H]

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PLATE 129. — THE YANGTSE IN THE TA-KU PLAIN

金沙江進入打鼓壩

After emerging from the 'A-ts'ag-gke gorge the Yangtse flows across the conglomerate plain at Ta-ku. Photographed a little north of Han-p'o-ling gap, elevation 10,000 feet. The village of Ta-ku is on the terrace upper right. Pines in foreground.

[p. 220-I]

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PLATE 130. — PINE FOREST IN THE HA-BA DISTRICT

哈巴森林

Unlike the Lo-lo, the Na-khi are lovers of trees and disturb the forests as little as necessary. The trees are *Pinus yunnanensis*.

[p. 220 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 131.—HA-BA NDSHÊR NV-LV, THE FOURTH HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

哈巴大雪山

As seen from a spur called Wa-'a mbu in the Ha-ba district, elevation 9,250 feet. The peak is 18,700 feet in height.

[p. 220 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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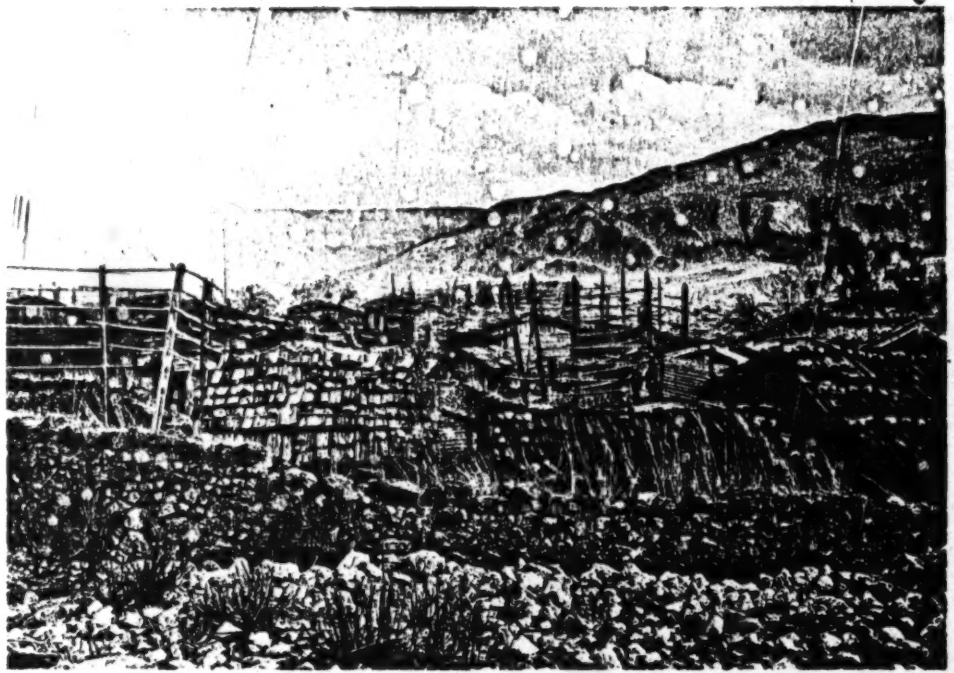

PLATE 132.—THE BBÊR-DBÊR NA-KHI VILLAGE OF WU-SHU-WÛA

北地樂西村

The houses are built of mud bricks with a superstructure of wood. The roof is of boards weighted down with rocks. On the racks they dry their grains and turnips.

[p. 220L]

PLATE 133. — THE MOUNTAINS OF GKÜ-DÜ NORTHEAST OF BRÈR-DOÈR

The range is snow-covered in winter only and its highest peak is 15,420 feet. Photographed from near T'khi-dtü in Ha-ba, elevation 9,000 feet. The forests are composed mainly of pines and oaks.

[p. 820 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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PLATE 134. — NA-KHI FROM THE VILLAGE OF BU-DO-WÖ

纳 西 部 落 图 4

It is the first village in Bhôt-âhtr (coming from Ho-ka) situated at an elevation of 7,600 feet. The people were painfully polite and knelt on our approach.

[p. 220 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3

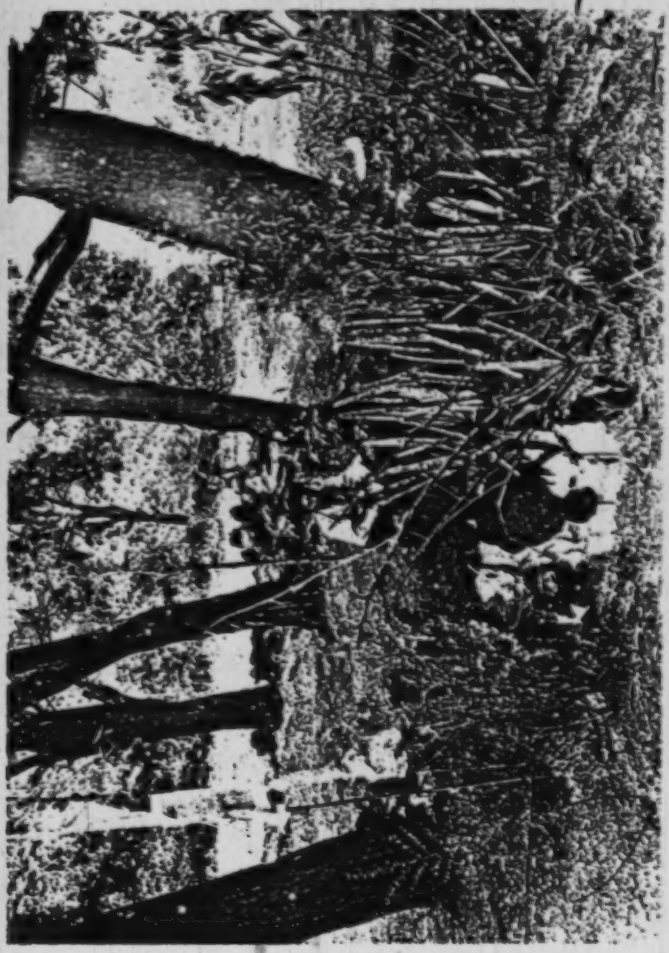

PLATE 133.—THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BÖN-PA-OTÖ

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bhdr-g'ir-dkhr sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are Ye-lha on which are painted various Klu-mgo or Nāga, serpent spirits, whom the dis-ease propitiate.

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[p. 220-0]

133

PLATE 136.—THE SINTER TERRACES OF BABA-Y'KA-DTZE

金沙泉瀑布

The carbonate of lime-bearing waters of the spring shown on plate 135, have built these marvelous terraces and basins. They are composed of thousands of thin layers of carbonate of lime deposited by the water which flows noiselessly over them. The entire terrace, where covered by the water, is of a rich cream color.

[p. 220 P]

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*133 hardly ever be persuaded to spend the night there. They are even afraid to
*137 cross that place alone by day. When escorting the spirits of their ancestors north, to their ancestral homes where the cranes lay their eggs, in the distant grass-lands of the Ko-ko Nor, they believe that if their souls once pass Mbĕr-ȯ-gko-ho all is well. The cave and narrow ravine which leads north out of Mbĕr-ȯ-gko-ho is called Ds'i-p'a 'a-k'o (Goat-face cliff cave). Beyond the cave was in ancient days a huge forest; the place is still known as Mbĕr-ȯ-bi-mä (Vast forest of Mbĕr-ȯ). The trail, lined by pines and spruces, now merges into a white, rocky road, full of clinker-like limestone; this is called Nga-ba lv-t'khye-ȯ (Narrowing stony throat of Nga-ba). A short distance beyond we emerge onto the southern end of Nga-ba, covered with pines and spruces.

4. NGA-BA DEPRESSION

Nga-ba is a large basin-like depression at the foot of the eastern slopes of the snow range at an elevation of 10,500 feet. It extends from the northern slopes of the Sa-ba moraine to the edge of Pai-shui 白水 or Gyi-p'ĕr k'a (not to be mistaken for the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a of the western slopes) (PLATE 79).

Nga-ba, once the bed of an ice lake, is now usually dry, except in summers of unusual rain when the greater part becomes a beautiful blue sheet of water in which the snow range is reflected (PLATE 80). Nga-ba is over two miles in length and bounded on the east by forested limestone hills, the trees being mainly pines. To the west of the basin are great forests of pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which merge into dense forests of spruces, *Picea likiangensis* of large size predominating. These in turn give way to forests of larches (*Larix Potaninii*), with undergrowth of *Arundinaria*, or cane-brake, a small slender bamboo, rhododendrons, etc. Above the larches are patches of *Abies Forrestii*, easily distinguished by their dark foliage.

The region of pine forests is known as Nga-ba t'o-k'o (*t'o*, pine tree, *k'o*, land, ground); the slopes forested with spruce and larch are called Llü-na-bi-gkv (Where the forests of the black spruces are) these forests furnish the Na-khi with timber used in the construction of their houses. The pine and larch logs are transported on very primitive two-wheeled contrivances (PLATE 81).

173 It was on this meadow that the Hli-khin[7] and Hsi-fan warriors of Yung-ning camped with their chiefs ready to attack Li-chiang. Tradition relates that the sister of one of the Na-khi chiefs,[8] who was given in marriage to the chief of the Hli-khin tribe, instigated the attack, suggesting the day of Ch'ing-ming 清明[9] when all the male Na-khi would be away visiting the graves to

[7] The Hli-khin (people of Hli, or Hli dü, or Yung-ning) are a branch of the Na-khi speaking a Na-khi dialect (*see* section on Yung-ning).

[8] It was Mu Ting who gave one of his four sisters, the eldest, called Mu Shih-hsien 木氏先, to the Yung-ning chief, A-ch'o 阿卓, in marriage. In the chronicle it relates that Mu Ting conquered Yung-ning between 1521–1523, and this would coincide with the Yung-ning Chronicle, in which it is stated that the chief A-ch'o came to power in the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (1484), succeeding his elder brother. The name *Boa-shi*, however, dates back to the Sung dynasty (*see* Chapter III, 4), and therefore the incident here related must have happened much earlier.

[9] Ch'ing-ming falls either in the second or third moon, oftener in the third moon, usually about April 5th. On that day the people visit the graves and make food offerings to their

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173 worship their dead. The Hli-khin and Hsi-fan people came down from the north and camped at Nga-ba, which the Hli-khin people call Gha-ba dü. A great mounted host had assembled on this huge meadow and before the attack staged a war dance, dressed in armor (PLATE 82) and bearing swords, lances, cross-bows and poisoned arrows. Below Nga-ba, on the northern end of the plain, is 'A-lo, or 'A-man-ndv, the plain covered with razor-sharp limestone outcroppings resembling a rough lava flow (*see* p. 220). Their charge, at 'A-lo was delayed by the sharp rocks which cut the feet of their horses, laming them. The delay lost them the battle, for when they arrived twenty li north of Li-chiang they were met by the Na-khi chief's army and annihilated, every Hsi-fan being decapitated. The place is known to this day as Boa-shi (Dead Boa, or Hsi-fan) and the scene of the decapitation is called Lv-wùa-k'ö (Place where the rocks are piled up). For every decapitated head a stone was thrown on the spot, till a considerable pile accumulated; the tumulus still exists. Another Lv-wùa-k'ö lies one li south of the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un) and is also known as Ḳhü-wùa-k'ö (*ḳhü* = lake), referring to the immense pool of blood of the executed.

The Na-khi chief then brought his traitorous sister to Li-chiang. On the artificial islet of Yü-hu Ḳhü, or Bi-ndu Ḳhü, he imprisoned her in a cage, feeding her with dry barley flour, but giving her no water whatever: surrounded by water she died of thirst. So much for historic events in Nga-ba.

*133 Several spurs with intervening meadows separate Nga-ba from the northern
*137 end of the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain. The first peak, a massive limestone mountain, which flanks the southern end of Nga-ba on the west, is the same which guards the entrance to Sa-balo-gkv, namely Ch'wua-lo-gku; it once bore a glacier on its eastern face. Behind the latter is a still higher mountain mass which I have named Sa-ba nv-lv (PLATE 79). At its foot in the spruce forest issues a spring and a streamlet which disappears underground on its way down the hill-side. The spring is called Gyi-k'aw-k'ö of Llü-na-bi-gkv.

*137 The trail, which leads through the forest on the middle slopes of the moun-
*133 tain, passes a small meadow called Bpü-gkaw-k'o-man below a small valley
*487 and spring known as Bpü-gkaw-gkv-k'wuà. Between the main peak and the nameless mountain mass is a ravine densely forested with fir at its apex; the ravine and meadow with luscious grass where the shepherds herd their flocks of sheep, are called Ō-hăr ba (Turquoise meadow), while the spur separating it on the north from Pai-shui bears the name Ō-hăr mbu-gkv (Turquoise spur) and overlooks the glacier valley Pai-shui.

On the eastern mountain slopes of Nga-ba there is a meadow called Nga-ba tsi-mä gko, east of the trail leading to the hamlets of Nga-tz inhabited by Na-khi as well as Miao-tzu 苗子. The latter are immigrants from Kuei-chou. From the northern end of Nga-ba a trail leads through forest, after crossing a ravine which issues from the mountains to the east of Nga-ba and is called Nga-ba lua-mba-k'o. There Tibetans often camp and herd their yak, selling the butter in the Li-chiang market.

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dead. The Na-khi buried the ashes of their cremated dead, and placed a stone before the circular mound.

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Emerging from the pine forest we come to an *obo* [10] (*shi-zhi* in Na-khi) at the head of the trail which leads into Pai-shui. The first part of the trail takes us to a small meadow and depression called Hoa-gkyi lo,[11] surrounded by *Picea likiangensis*, and thence down to the stream-bed, spanned by a stone-bridge: elevation 9,970 feet. The stream-bed is lined with spruces, willows and rhododendrons. On the northern bank, and somewhat above it, is a beautiful meadow surrounded by spruce forest which, next to Nda-za gko, is one of the finest camping places in this region. It is known as Gyi-p'ĕr k'a-k'o, elevation 10,000 feet. 133* 137* 487*

The Pai-shui (White water) has its source in the hanging glacier overlooking Nga-ba, and it is rightly so called, for it is of a bluish-white, intensified by the white limestone rocks over which it flows. It is a beautiful stream with tall spruces lining its bank (PLATE 83) as if planted there, and for background the grand peaks of Jade-dragon Mountain crowned with eternal snow. Words fail to describe the beauty of the scene. Here is Nature still undisturbed, here roam bears, deer, leopard, stags and pheasants, in the majestic forest and over meadows starred with myriads of flowers. [136]

Two lateral streams join Pai-shui near its head, the Pai-shui itself is fed by the glacier which spreads out like a fan over the rocks polished by the ice. Here at the head of the stream-bed the elevation is 11,000 feet and the mountain wall rises abruptly, the slopes to the left and right being forested with larches, while above them somber firs cling to the steep declivities, their dark green foliage contrasting sharply with the light-grey limestone scree.

On the spur which separates Pai-shui from the parallel-flowing Hei-shui 黑水 (Black water), called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, rising in the third highest peak, Gyi-nà nv-lv, is situated one of the finest meadows on the entire range. It is called Nda-za gko, elevation 10,700 feet (PLATE 84). There are two approaches to this loveliest of all the meadows, hidden in dense forest on this lateral spur which appears too narrow to harbor such an extensive place.

One approach is by the Pai-shui valley, the trail ascending the northern valley wall; the second is up the broad slope of the pine-covered spur which separates Pai-shui from Hei-shui. The steep trail leads at right angles from the main road into the pine forest, the dividing spur being known as Gyi-p'ĕr mbu in Na-khi and Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 in Chinese, for once upon a time a shrine dedicated to the mountain spirits existed here. Once over the steep slope the trail crosses a rocky flat covered with pines and low, shrubby oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), to a narrow meadow called Nda-za gko dü-man, flanked on the north by a spur with a bluff known as Ting-hsiang 釘像 gkv; the last word is Na-khi and meaning "there," while the Chinese characters refer to the shape of the bluff, which resembles a nail.

From this little meadow it is only a short distance to the magnificent one of Nda-za gko. To the south the spur enclosing it is covered with forest composed of spruces 100 to 150 feet tall and firs, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

[10] *Obo* is a Tibetan-Mongol word and denotes a cairn, a pyramidal pile of rocks on a pass. The Tibetans call it *la-rdsas* (pronounced la-dse).

[11] The *Hoa-gkyi* is an herb (*Oxyria sinensis*) with reddish stems and white flowers, the leaves of which are cooked and fed to pigs.

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From the top of the sharp spur a wonderful view is to be had of Pai-shui. West the meadow extends almost to the foot of the wall of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and is surrounded by the same type of forest, carpeted with deep moss. The sources of the Hei-shui (Gyi-nà lo-gkv), separate the meadow from the massive walls of the mountain. The latter can be reached by following the forested spur to the south of the meadow.

Only in the summer time is there running water on the meadow, but a little distance to the north is a spring called Gyi-dtà-lä-han [12] (the name embracing not only the spring but also the meadow and immediate surroundings), which furnishes water in the winter. Seen from this meadow, Gyi-nà nv-lv is one huge limestone mass declining to the north (PLATE 85); in the spring when the snows melt, or after heavy rains, waterfalls descend its steep slopes, here and there sparingly covered with firs and junipers.

From Nda-za gko it is possible to reach the northern slopes of this mountain, by descending into the valley parallel to its base and following it to Yu-k'o-lo at the foot of the cliff. The waters from the two ravines at the left and right of its base join and flow east as the Hei-shui; collectively they are called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, and the entire region Gyi-nà gv-ssu gko. Two other ravines, descending from the eastern face of the mountain proper, join the main Hei-shui Stream. The first, or southern one, is dry and is called Bpu-k'a-k'u (Dry embankment), the second, north of it, carries water and is called Gyi-shi k'a (Yellow water valley). These have to be crossed if one wishes to reach the foot of the mountain at Yu-k'o-lo (PLATE 86).

5. THE GYI-NÀ MOUNTAIN, OR GYI-NÀ NV-LV (PLATES 85, 86, 87)

Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly spoken of as Gyi-nà lo-gkv, is the third highest mountain mass of the Li-chiang snow range. Unlike the Shan-tzu-tou range, it is a long, broad mountain with a gradual ascent from north to south, and perfectly flat on the top, in the shape of a long hand, the upper part of which is occupied by a broad glacier hemmed in by low limestone ramparts. The eastern side is composed of a solid limestone wall, almost vertical from its base at 10,500 feet to the summit, 19,356 feet above sea level. Between Shan-tzu-tou and Gyi-nà nv-lv [13] is a lower, but nameless, mountain mass, isolated from both by once-glacier-filled ravines. The rocky mass which I here baptize Nga-ba nv-lv (Silver rocks or Snow mountain of Nga-ba) is visible on plates 80 and 83.

The western flank of Gyi-nà nv-lv is covered with loose limestone and is less steep than the eastern, but with sharp limestone ridges protruding from the

[12] The name Gyi-dtà-lä-han refers to two springs, one on the actual meadow of Nda-za gko, the second on the other side of a low spur to the north of it. *Gyi* is water, *dtà-lä* is a double bag, with two openings similar to a saddle-bag, such as the Na-khi use, and *han* is the method of carrying such a bag, slung over the shoulder — here the spur between the two springs is meant.

[13] While any snow range is called *nv-lv*, the literal meaning is "silver rock," *nv* = silver, *lv* = rock. However, there are other high, steep mountains, not crowned with eternal snow, which are also designated as *nv-lv*, as for example, Sä-bpi zhěr nv-lv. The word *zhěr* has two meanings — one is steep, vertical, and the other is the ringing in the ears at high altitudes. Both meanings may be applicable, but the former is probably the correct one.

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screes. Its slopes drop into a valley which has its head near and west of the summit of Gyi-nà nv-lv. The other wall of the valley is formed by a spur, culminating in ten separate limestone crags which extend parallel to Gyi-nà nv-lv proper. The three first are worthy of the name peak, for each has a glacier which descends into the valley. The southernmost of this row of peaks, known collectively as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv, is the second highest of the range, being slightly higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv — probably 19,500 feet — and a close rival of Shan-tzu-tou. It is directly opposite and west of the summit of Gyi-nà nv-lv and joined to it by a sharp limestone crest, to the north of which lies a glacier. This glacier forms the head of the valley, sending down a greyish stream, called the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河 (PLATE 88), into the Yangtze west of Ta-ku. Although the peak is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, it is not an outstanding one and is only visible from the north or from the slopes of the former.

As the three southernmost and highest peaks of the 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv Range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze gorge, were nameless, I have given each an appropriate Na-khi name, in memory of the three most renowned Na-khi chiefs. As the most noteworthy was A-ssu, or Mu Tseng, the first of these three peaks I thus baptize A-ssu nv-lv; the second, after A-ku, or Mu Kung, A-ku nv-lv; and the third after A-mbu or Mu Kao, A-mbu nv-lv [14] (PLATE 89).

The entire spur of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv has the character of Shan-tzu-tou mountain and is in fact a continuation of it (PLATE 90). Gyi-nà nv-lv, parallel to 'A-ts'an-gko is a quite different, bulky mountain mass, pushed further east, as it were from the main backbone of the range. Were it not for the sharp limestone crest which connects it to the first peak of the 'A-ts'an-gko Range Gyi-nà nv-lv would really be a separate mountain mass.

The best approach to the foot of Gyi-nà nv-lv, whence it is possible to ascend the mountain, is by following the trail north from Pai-shui — the same trail which leads up into the Yangtze loop. Thus from Pai-shui we climb through beautiful forest of spruces and pines to a spur called Gyi-p'ĕr mbu, at 10,400 feet elevation, the divide between the Pai-shui and the Hei-shui. Over this ridge called Shan-shen-miao in Chinese, a steep trail leads to the alpine meadow of Nda-za gko. We descend into the Hei-shui, quite a disappointment in comparison to the beautiful Pai-shui. Ere reaching the Hei-shui, to the left of the trail, halfway down the slope, is a spring surrounded by pines and oaks. This spring and the immediate neighborhood, where good camping places can be found, is called Gyi-nà zhwua-ts'u.

The muddy trail descends now to the narrow stream of the Hei-shui which is here spanned by a wooden bridge, elevation 9,600 feet, or 400 feet lower than the Pai-shui. After crossing the bridge the trail ascends steeply to where used to be a Chinese hut, which served as an inn for travelers, a miserable affair at best. No one lives there now and the slopes, which were once cultivated, lie fallow and abandoned owing to the robbers who make this region unsafe. These robbers are mostly Chinese, but Lo-lo and Lü-khi (Yung-ning people) also, are not averse to highway robbery when opportunity offers. From the

[14] Should these Na-khi names prove difficult to be pronounced, their Chinese equivalents may be adopted thus: Mu-tseng Shan 木增山, Mu-kung Shan 木公山, and Mu-kao Shan 木高山.

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*133 *137 *147 ruins of former habitations we enter open pine forests and emerge at a lovely meadow surrounded by large *Tsuga yünnanensis*, or hemlock trees. This meadow, a rather marshy one, is called Gyi-nà o-nda-mä (Marshy meadow of Gyi-nà), elevation 10,550 feet.

With the entire snow range in full view, we ascend through pine forest to the top of the northern spur of Gyi-nà lo-gkv valley, called Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, to an elevation of 11,000 feet. From this vantage point one of the finest views of the snow range is revealed. The main trail descends the spur through virgin forest consisting of spruces, hemlocks, firs, oaks, birches, sorbus, willows, and rhododendrons, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

Instead of following the main trail, we turn west through pine forest, later entering lovely spruce and hemlock forest, with tall *Rhododendron rubiginosum* trees bearing purple to lavender flowers, and finally emerge on the broad spur, a huge meadow of the richest green, bordered by forest. Thousands of flowers wave their heads in this luscious, green meadow called Gv-ssu-gko dü-man (PLATE 91), over which our trail continues overlooking the valleys of Pai-shui and Hei-shui, and the ancient lake-bed of Nga-ba. The entire country to the south lies before us like an open book. To the north of the spur is a valley, very deep in its lower part where it joins the Hei-shui. The region north of the valley is called collectively Gko-ndza-gkv, as lush, rich meadows are interspersed with forest of fir and oak: *ndza* meaning spotted, *gko*, alpine meadow, *gkv*, the region. Of this region the Na-khi have the saying, *Gko-ndza ts'ä-ho-p'a, lv-mä ts'ä-ho-kwua, kwua-gku-muan-dto-dto*, or, "On the 18 faces of Gko-ndza, the 18 assembled shepherds cannot see one another's huts." Numbers of shepherds may herd their sheep on the many separate meadows, without one being aware of the others' presence.

One feels lost in this vast place, which joins the broad, massive base of Gyi-nà nv-lv. Myriads of flowers dot the green turf, on which Tibetans have established their yak encampments. Where the meadow joins the limestone mountain it is called Gv-ssu gko. Elevation 12,500 feet. This entire region was once covered with dense forests of fir (Abies) and junipers of immense size, the haunt of tigers and leopards, as well as deer and stags. Several decades ago someone set fire to the forest, which burned for months and reached the borders of Nga-ba, crossing even the deep gorge of the Pai-shui. Since then tigers have vanished from this region.

Crossing Gv-ssu gko to the head of the gulch Yu-k'o-lo, which becomes the Hei-shui at the base of the mountain, the trail ascends steeply through beautiful forest to a plateau with pure stands of fir forest, thence out on to a burnt-over area with the charred remains of the forest, partly standing and partly littering the steep slopes, which make climbing difficult. The almost vertical slope, covered in its upper part with stunted firs and prostrate rhododendrons, joins the limestone wall of Gyi-nà nv-lv at 13,500 feet. Instead of skirting the broad base, made difficult on account of the soft snow which lies here often 50 feet deep, we climb hand over foot up the grey limestone wall, thence across snowfields, from one spur to another, until an elevation of 15,500 feet is reached. The sharp, limestone rocks stand upright as the leaves of a book. Here a panorama of real grandeur unfolds itself. To the north one can see plainly in this clear atmosphere the three Gangkar ling peaks in Hsi-k'ang,

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rising to over 20,000 feet into an azure sky, while Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv rears its snowy head high over the crags and pinnacles forming the last of the spur to the west, at the foot of which the Yangtze roars some 10,000 feet or more below, ever carving a deeper and deeper gorge. Range upon range is visible, as well as the Yangtze in its trench at Ta-ku after it emerges from the gorge between Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv and the crags of 'A-ts'an-gko. 133* 137* 487*

From 15,500 feet on, the grade is gentle and the going is good. We continue on the top of the wide spur leading to the broad peak, over thousands of tiny, loose, sharp limestone rocks. The entire surface of the hard limestone has been split into myriads of fragments by the action of the ice. The wall of rock which forms the eastern part of the gorge is cleaved several feet deep into a forest of columns as if the entire surface had been chopped up with a giant's axe. From the summit down to 17,000 feet the broad spur is buried beneath a massive glacier, the ice lying in folds like the train of a wedding garment (PLATE 87). The rocks here change in shape, resembling angular sticks several feet in length, and only about two inches in width. They lie about parallel to each other, having been split by the action of severe frosts and ice. Quartz is not uncommon here, also iron-bearing rock and pure white marble. The ascent to the summit of this mountain can easily be accomplished, one needs only follow the western outer edge or rampart which hems in the glacier, and which is usually free of snow. The only obstacles are the terrific gales which blow over these mountains, whirling the snow in huge columns like smoke into the air. If one wishes to ascend Gyi-nà nv-lv, camp should be pitched in the gorge west of it, on a broad shelf or terrace, suitable for a camp, a little below 16,000 feet. At 14,500 feet and even higher we found *Lerwa Lerwa major* on the rocky, barren waste and also several snow chickens, *Tetragallus tibetanus henrici*, neither hitherto recorded from Yün-nan.

6. THE REGION BETWEEN TA-KU (NDA-GV) AND GKO-NDZA-GKV

Ta-ku and the many small villages belonging to it are collectively called Ta-chü li 大具里. Ta-ku itself is situated on a fan-shaped plain mainly composed of conglomerate. To the west the plain is bordered by the Gyi-nà nv-lv and the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河. The Yangtze emerges here from the terrific gorge which it has cut for itself through the Li-chiang snow range, and flows east for a short distance through the conglomerate plain and then north at the foot of a mighty range — the Dzu-k'u nv-lv as it is called by the Na-khi of Ha-ba and Bĕr-ddĕr. The plain through which the Yangtze flows, 600 feet below the main village of Ta-ku, drops in terraces towards the river. It is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, except for a few Chinese settlers. The climate is warm enough for two crops to mature in one year. Wheat, panicled millet (*shu* 黍), cotton, rice and maize are grown. Out of the millet stalks they make sugar known as Sha-t'ang 紗糖. *Cannabis sativa*, the *ma* 麻 (hemp plant) which the Na-khi call *ssaw*, is much cultivated, especially the female plant which gives better fibre and which they call *ssaw-mä*. 133* [132] 241

Ta-ku is 10 li north of Li-chiang. To the west of the village is a large spring called Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 (Dragon spring); in the days of a native official, its water was conveyed in irrigation ditches to the higher fields. Near the [132] 133* 137*

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*133 main village, or to the east of it, are the hamlets of La-mbe and Zaw-muan.
*137 From Ta-ku we go south across an arid, uncultivated stretch, the ground appearing to be hard, cemented limestone, which sounds hollow when riding over it. The plain from Ta-ku village to the foot of the hills is six li across. The village of P'ä-da (Chinese, P'ei-tan 培單) is the last on the southern edge of the plain at the foot of the hills. From P'ä-da we ascend the hill-side over a steep and more or less indistinct trail through a xerophytic vegetation of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, Berberis, Wikstroemia, etc., up to an elevation of 8,500 feet where the trail enters pine forest. It then skirts ravines, past a lovely meadow in the pine forest with a spring, which affords an excellent lunch-stop as well as camping place.

Skirting another ravine we emerge on the top of a spur with a dry pond, in dense pine forest at an elevation of 9,250 feet. Looking between the trees down over the Ta-ku plain, we spy to the west on a terrace the hamlet Gka-dzè amidst green fields. Higher we ascend, where we meet with individual larches, with *Rhododendron heliolepis*, oaks and pines, all forming a somber forest through which the trail zigzags. Winding around ravines we enter a broad, densely forested valley from the head of which extend several rounded terraces. Over these the trail leads in and out, to ascend a central spur from an elevation of 10,000 feet, forested with hemlocks (*Tsuga yünnanensis*), *Pinus Armandi* with *Rhododendron rubiginosum* and cane-brake as undergrowth (PLATE 92). Soon spruces take the place of hemlocks, with golden oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and we emerge at a beautiful meadow, elevation 10,700 feet, surrounded by lovely spruce forest. From here an unrivalled vista opens to the traveler. The peaks of the Li-chiang snow range tower high above us, cold and wintry, wrapped in ice and snow.

To the north in Chung-tien 中甸 loom the mountains of Gkü-dü, and northeast Wua-ha Shan of Yung-ning beyond the Yangtze. This region with its numerous meadows, each isolated and surrounded by spruces and firs, is called Gko-ndza-gkv.

From these meadows, some of which resembled a ploughed field rummaged by wild boars, we descend through forest to the main trail which leads northeast to Mba-yi-wùa.

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CHAPTER V

THE LI-CHIANG TERRITORY WITHIN THE YANGTZE LOOP

The Yangtze River after cutting its way through the snow range in a north-eastern direction turns northwards at Ta-ku headed off by the limestone range of Dzu-ku nv-lv which merges into La-pao Shan. Hua-ti-yi nv-lv is an extension of the range and is the highest part of the backbone in the north. At Shang Feng-k'o the river turns due south. Deep and long gorges extend east into the Yangtze as the central mountain mass is closer to the western bend of the loop than the eastern. 137* 133* 487*

The territory north of Li-chiang in the Yangtze loop is quite narrow in comparison to the great triangle which the river encloses. The southern and eastern part of the triangle is inhabited by Na-khi, but the northern part is exclusively occupied by Tibetans. Both banks of the river to the west of the triangle up to Ch'i-tsung are however peopled by Na-khi. [131]

The Li-chiang snow range occupies the western and central part of the loop; it is here pierced by the Yangtze which bulges considerably into the land and is then forced north by the range mentioned previously.

The land within the loop from Li-chiang to Shang Feng-k'o is six stages long and exceedingly mountainous. With the exception of the Li-chiang plain which extends to the foot of the snow range, there is no level land within the loop, save scattered alpine meadows, the longest of which is Nga-ba. As one travels over the high mountains, mostly densely forested, one gains occasional glimpses of the Yangtze on both sides, especially in the northern part of the loop on the road to Shang Feng-k'o 上俸可 (Upper Feng-k'o). On the trail to Feng-k'o 俸可, however, one is forced to travel for about half a day along the barren, rocky slopes of the eastern part of the loop. Coming from Shang Feng-k'o, at the apex of the loop, the trail leads over the central mountain mass, leaving the Yangtze on both sides, without entering either valley.

It is possible to reach Ta-ku 打鼓 from the central mountain spurs within the loop, by a narrow trail from two different places, one being Mba-yi-wùa (Place where there is sugar) called Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 in Chinese, and the other T'o-k'ö-shĕr, called in Chinese Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 (Long pine flat). The trail is negotiable to pedestrians only.

The only large settlements within this territory and north of the Li-chiang plain are at La-bpu (Chinese, La-pao 剌寶), Fu-k'o (Chinese, Feng-k'o), and Nda-gv (Chinese, Ta-ku). The remaining villages are scattered and consist of a few families only.

I. FROM HEI-SHUI TO LA-PAO LI

We have followed the main trail from Nga-ba as far as Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, where a small path leads to the heights of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and shall continue north from the bluff overlooking the Hei-shui.

Leaving the pine forest behind, the trail descends from Gyi-nà mbu-gkv into

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*133 virgin forest of a mixed type consisting of giant spruces, hemlocks (*Tsuga*
*137 *yünnanensis*), oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), willows, red birches, Sorbus and
*487 rhododendrons, with undergrowth of Ribes and a species of Arundinaria, or cane-brake. A brook crosses the trail which in the winter is a sheet of ice and difficult to negotiate. The elevation is 10,700 feet. The spot is called Muṇ-p'ä (Winnowing tray). This streamlet joins the Mùeṇ-ts'ä-dto, a brook crossing the trail further north; together they flow near Nga-tz into the united Hei-shui and Pai-shui which is known as Nga-tz gyi-t'a (Water below Nga-tz). We continue to descend through beautiful forest of similar composition, but with additional species such as Acer, Prunus, etc., cross another brook called Muṇ-p'ä-gko and follow the mountain slope, till we emerge from the mixed forest onto a pine-covered slope whence the confluence of the Pai-shui and Hei-shui is visible. Opposite the mouth of the Nga-tz River, where it debouches into the Yangtze, is a large mountain which Handel-Mazzetti calls Man-tou schan,[1] height 10,300 feet. Near by on the west bank of the Yangtze is situated the hamlet of Dshi-hö gyi-ts'ä (Red earth ferry), called in Chinese Hung-men-k'ou 洪門口. Here rules a small chief by name Yang Hsiu-lin 楊修林.

Neither the Yangtze nor the village are visible, as both are hidden in the terrific chasm of the river nearly 100 li distant. The Chinese map places the village opposite the district of La-pao and on the east bank of the Yangtze, a long days journey too far north.

Once more we enter mixed spruce forest, which the Na-khi here call Wua-ssi-bi-ssu-dshwua: the meaning of the first part of the name has been lost, but *bi* is forest and *ssu-dshwua* means three partitions. Pine forest alternates again with spruce forest and a trail leads north-west over Gko-ndza-gkv to Ta-ku, on the Yangtze. Where the trail branches to the left up the spur to Ta-ku the place is known as Mùeṇ-ts'ä-dto after the brook somewhat to the south. Elevation 10,800 feet.

We continue on the main trail, skirting a depression to the east, and ascend the spur K'ö-shĕr-hwoa to an elevation of 11,100 feet. Here is a small, sloping meadow, an agreeable midday halting-place, with water in the ravine below; the place is called Llü-bpu gko, and is surrounded by forest of oaks, spruces and rhododendrons.

Ascending further through forest we strike a broad, gravelly trail, almost worthy of the name of road, and descend over the steep mountain slopes, here covered with larches, pines, oaks and rhododendrons. To the west is a broad depression which separates us from the Gyi-nà nv-lv range of which one enjoys a magnificent view. A-nà Ngyu, a rock dome 15,600 feet in height, is visible north of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv; it is the fifth highest peak of the Li-chiang snow range, but situated across river in the Chung-tien district and divides the Bbĕr-ddĕr Na-khi from the Chung-tien Tibetans. To our left is the broad ravine which leads to the plain of Ta-ku on the Yangtze; from here the river is also visible, flowing north in its deep trench. To our right is a gravelly limestone spur at the foot of which our trail descends, among pines and bushes of the blue-flowered *Rhododendron cuneatum*. Still descending, we turn east through tall pine forest into the former Lo-lo settlement of Ghügh-t'o.

[1] The *Yung-pei chi-li t'ing chih* records no mountain by that name.

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The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93). 133* 137* 487* 241

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbĕr-ddĕr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again. [252]

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wùa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ö (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot. 133* 137* 487* [136]

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in- [712] 669

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669 gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

*487 *133 *137 [241] [291] [301] The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wùa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat, oats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wùa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wùa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yünnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yünnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

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prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily. 487* 133* 137*

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shĕr, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shĕr, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes). 634 173 131

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (ch. 117, fol. 20a)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 岩可) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.] 634 173

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大匱 [the Li-chiang records

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant, Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

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634 173 state that the ruins of it are still in existence and are east of Pao-shan chou]. The other six were called Lo-pang 羅邦 [this may be the origin of the Na-khi name La-bpu], Lo-ssu (also called Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍), Ngai-ch'ang 礙場 [perhaps the present Ngai-k'o, or Na-khi 'A-k'o, south of Pao-shan chou in La-bpu (PLATE 100)], Pien-t'ou 卞頭, Tang-po-lo 當波羅 [undoubtedly the present-day Dto-bpo lo, or Chinese Tung-po-lo 東波落, in the li of La-pao], and, finally, Tang-lang-chiang 當郎將.

It is recorded that these seven brothers separated and resided each in a village. When Kublai Khan came in 1253 to attack Ta-li, that is, the Nan-chao Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭 and came to Lo-pang and thence to Lo-ssu-wei and Ta-kuei, etc. Their headman submitted and their villages received the name of Ch'a-han hu-lu-han.[4] In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) the district of Pao-shan was created and in the 16th year (1279) Pao-shan was raised to a chou.

La-bpu is an ancient historical region. The first Na-khi chief migrated to this district from Lou-t'ou 樓頭, that is, the present Yung-ning, which the Na-khi call to this day Lü dü (Land of the Lü). More than 20 generations of his descendants succeeded him. The name Pao has been retained to this day in its present appellation of La-pao, which the Na-khi call La-bpu.

[So much for the historical part available.]

3. FROM T'O-K'Ö-SHĚR TO THE FENG-K'O FERRY

*133 *137 *189 La-bpu proper is a triangular basin, sloping steeply towards the Yangtze, and is separated from T'o-k'ö-shěr by a limestone spur. It is composed of many Na-khi hamlets, such as Dshi-shi-wùa, Nda-bpu, La-zä, etc. The mountain spur forming the western wall of the Yangtze gorge is pierced by the Yü-lv-t'o (La-bpu Stream) which divides the La-bpu basin, and flows east through a deep rock gate (Shih-men 石門) into the Yangtze. A trail leads through this terrific ravine to the banks of the Yangtze, 500 feet above which is situated the village of La-bpu 'A-k'o (Ngai-k'o), built on both banks of the La-bpu Stream. The trail into La-bpu from T'o-k'ö-shěr crosses a gap, elevation 10,400 feet, over the separating spur. It then descends steeply into a deep valley which leads to the La-bpu villages. To the north is a huge limestone mountain with cliffs; it is here that the T'ai-tzu Kuan is situated.

Instead of descending to the ravine bottom we skirt the northern mountain-side high above the gorge through groves of pine, oak and pear trees, a typical xerophytic vegetation such as one encounters elsewhere in the Yangtze valley. Flocks of parrots disport themselves in the pine groves, but other birds are scarce. The trail is narrow and is obliterated in places by landslides. The schistous rocks are split into small fragments. In and out winds the trail at 8,400 feet elevation, skirting lateral ravines, the largest of which, called Ssi-

[4] It seems that the name was originally Ho-lo-ko 和囉哥, and was rendered by the Mongols, Hu-lu-han; the *I-t'ung chih* states that the old Mongol name was corrected to Ho-lo-ko. The name Ho 和 is a distinct Na-khi family name. All Na-khi were known as Ho who did not belong to the ruling class. The Na-khi chief of the seven villages, of which Ta-kuei was the largest, who submitted to Kublai Khan, was apparently called Ho-lo-k'a, and as he belonged to the tribe which the Mongols called Ch'a-han-jang (White Jang) they gave his district the name Ch'a-han hu-lu-han, transcribing his name in Mongol fashion.

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kwuà-lo-gyi, sends a considerable stream into the gorge below. The trail descends to the village of La-zä, probably the Lo-ssu of the Li-chiang records, where in the dim past one of the seven Na-khi brothers had settled. La-zä is situated at 8,000 feet elevation, on a narrow spur which terminates into a steep bluff, giving the hamlet a medieval fort-like appearance (PLATE 90). 133* 137* 487*

The high bluff, north of the Rock Gate which communicates with the Yangtze, is called La-bpu mbu from its summit one is rewarded with a magnificent view of the Yangtze gorge and La-bpu proper. From La-zä the trail ascends gradually to the foot of La-bpu mbu, and afterwards steeply through pine forest to the summit, which is 10,200 feet high. At the foot of La-bpu mbu a saddle-like depression separates it from the spur which forms the left wall of the Yü-lv-t'o valley, and from here, at an elevation of 9,400 feet, one gains a wonderful view into another terrific canyon parallel to La-bpu. This canyon is called Shwuà-wua-gku; its northern wall is vertical and much higher than the spurs which hem in La-bpu, it is on this spur that the historic T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 is situated; the wall facing the Yangtze presents a sheer drop into the gorge, where 5,000 feet or more below the river flows.

At the top of La-bpu mbu is a small, open, mud-brick temple containing a female deity dressed in red. The view from the summit of this mountain is indeed awe-inspiring. Down-stream the Yangtze can be seen for quite a distance to the mouth of Tsui-yi valley near Chiang-wai 江外, where a trail leads to Yung-ning (PLATE 100). The view north, or up-stream, is obstructed by a spur which extends further into the Yangtze valley than La-bpu mbu, so that only a small stretch of the river is visible. The fields of La-bpu 'A-k'o are terraced in narrow strips resembling steps, the land sloping steeply to the river. As the mountains east of the Yangtze gorge are still higher, the river flows at a depth of 7,000 to 8,000 feet. There is no trail through the Yangtze gorge from La-bpu 'A-k'o, and the villages beyond or north of it are only approachable from Lv-ts'o lo.[8]

Continuing our journey north from T'o-k'ö-shĕr, we ascend the spur which separates it from La-bpu and, climbing to the foot of a grey limestone cliff at an elevation of 11,600 feet, we reach virgin forest of spruces, hemlocks, oaks and pines, and descend 600 feet to the valleys called Shĕr-gv shĕr-lo, literally "Seven circles and seven gulches, the San-ta-wan 三大灣 of the Chinese who transcribe the Na-khi name San-ku-san-lo 三古三羅." It is a circular basin divided into many ravines — hence the name. To the north of it is a high limestone cliff with caves inhabited by Na-khi shepherds, who herd their flocks on the higher meadows.

The region here is wild, and not a breath of air is stirring in the forest of pines, through which our trail leads up into the silent wilderness, where yellow and white pines (*Pinus yünnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*) form pure stands. A deep gorge filled with trees and hemmed in by huge grey limestone cliffs debouches some ten miles to the east into the Yangtze, a forbidding chasm inaccessible in its upper part. The name of this region is Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü, the Chinese Ta-niu-ying-tui 打牛英堆. It is from this spot that the newly opened

[8] A very narrow path leads through the gorge along the cliff, which has to be negotiated by groping sideways facing the cliff, a most dangerous undertaking.

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*733 *737 *489 and historic trail leads to the famous T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關, also known as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關. It is the pass of the Heir-apparent, that is Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) who led his army over it when *en route* to attack the Nan-chao Kingdom in 1253 A.D. For years I had been searching for that pass, but nobody seemed to know where it was located. In the early summer of 1942 I left Li-chiang for Yung-ning 永寧 to avoid falling into the hands of the Japanese, who were then rumoured to have taken Ta-li. It was only then that I came on to the newly opened trail to the Yangtze.

From Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü the trail leads east across a small ravine and then ascends a densely forested spur, virgin forest, moss-carpeted, and undisturbed. From this forest we reach a ravine with vertical limestone walls and following down the little stream in a northerly direction we climb again through dense forest and then up a cliff, the trail ascending in many short, sharp zig-zag turns to the foot of a limestone wall. A gap in the wall forms the famous historic pass, the T'ai-tzu Kuan.

The man responsible for the reopening and rebuilding of this ancient trail, shorter by over one day than the old trail, was the late Ho Chih-ming 和志銘 a Na-khi and native of Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The work was commenced in 1940, and the trail finished early in 1942. He died at Feng-k'o from poisoning, having taken an overdose of medicine the day prior to my arrival at Feng-k'o in 1942. He furnished most of the funds for its construction; a certain Chia-wa 甲瓦, a native of Law-k'a-khi-llü (Pu-chio 卜脚) in Yung-ning territory also contributed funds towards the reopening of that historic trail.

From the pass the trail leads zigzag down a long spur to the village of Yang-liu-p'ing 楊柳坪 and then follows north high up on the slopes of the mountain which forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze. This trail leads in and out narrow ravines which debouch into the Yangtze, high above a lower trail which I followed in 1931 to the villages of Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko when exploring the deep Yangtze gorge north of La-bpu (La-pao) (*see* p. 240, n. 7, also Pl. 104). Near the mouth of Lv-ts'o-lo canyon it rejoins the lower trail and leads to the Na-khi hamlet and bridge of Lv-ts'o-lo.

The old trail winds through majestic forest, up a steep spur to an elevation of 11,400 feet, leaving a deep ravine to the left filled with magnificent trees. Ascending the spur which joins the main western mountain mass, we reach the skeletons of once stately forest trees, now reduced to ashes by careless hunters. Many times I have passed this stretch, and during ten years I have not observed a single young tree taking the place of the charred boles 100 feet or more in height. Leaving the valley to our left we enter a majestic grove of giant spruces and hemlocks, their trunks swathed in moss which also forms a carpet in this forest. Clear, running water is everywhere and a nicer lunch-stop it would be difficult to find.

This forest extends into a ravine with walls of limestone to the west and low, rounded hills to our right or east, gradually emerging at an open pass 13,000 feet above sea level. Gorgeous rhododendrons (*Rhododendron rubiginosum*) brightened the otherwise somber colors of the oaks and spruces, while primulas and peonies dotted the lush meadows. Not a human soul dwells here. To the west high limestone crags and screes of grey rock merge into a deep blue sky, while to the east we behold the chasm in which the restless

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Yangtze hurries on its long journey to the sea. The forest changes now, for the somber spruce and oak give place to larches clothed in the fresh green of their spring foliage, framing a lovely meadow called Ngv-khü gko (Nine pools). Lavender rhododendron bushes (*Rhododendron hippophaeoides*) grow in the marshy part of the meadow, while large pink-flowered ones, *Rhododendron adenogynum*, *Rhododendron sigillatum*, and *Rhododendron orthocladum*, frame the rich green sward, full of primulas, anemones and lady's slippers, at an elevation of 12,600 feet. This fairy spot is situated at the foot of a mighty limestone range called La-bpu Ngyu or La-pao Shan.[6]

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La-bpu Ngyu forms the backbone of the mountain mass which fills the Yangtze loop; it joins Hua-ti-yi nv-lv to the north. It is called Ha-ba su-p'e-zu by the people of Bbĕr-ddĕr and is north-east of the mouth of Ha-ba lo. I could not discover whether that name is known to the people of La-bpu. Its height is approximately 16,000 feet and it is Handel-Mazzetti's Hsuetschou schan.

From Ngv-khü gko we descend a deep ravine filled with larches and stately oaks, opening out towards the Yangtze with steep grey limestone bluffs on either side. Ascending again to 12,500 feet we follow the rocky, open slopes of La-bpu Ngyu, covered with a mass of *Rhododendron racemosum*, a low bush growing among the sharp rocks, with here and there an oak and a pine-tree, also prostrate junipers (*Juniperus squamata*). Higher up on the crags and scree grow black firs mixed with larches. We climb to 12,750 feet over a very rocky stretch to where the trail divides. The upper one leads to the very tip of the Yangtze loop at Shang Feng-k'o, also called San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 on account of three streams debouching there into the Yangtze; the lower trail leads to Feng-k'o, we shall follow it to the Yangtze. A short distance beyond where the trails divide we descend into hemlock forest with cane-brake and tall rhododendron trees as undergrowth; skirting a deep ravine densely forested we emerge into open pine forest at 12,000 feet elevation. Many of the trees in the ravine had been burned years ago, and, as on the southern slopes of La-bpu Ngyu, no young trees have as yet appeared. The trail descends a pine-covered spur separating the canyon of Lv-ts'o lo from a ravine to the west, once inhabited by Lo-lo from Ta-liang Shan.

The spur broadens into a large bluff with steep slopes, which we negotiate over a zigzag trail. It is called Hua-bi-gkv, elevation 11,675 feet, and is mainly sandstone. Here under pine-trees grows a lovely rhododendron, a low, compact shrub with small tubular, pink, flowers arranged in a globose head (*Rhododendron radinum*). From Hua-bi-gkv on clear days it is possible to see the snow peaks of Gangkar-ling some 10 to 12 days' journey to the north.

To our left (west) is the mighty limestone mountain Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, over

[6] This is the mountain baptized Mount Bonvalot by G. Courtellemont (*Voyage au Yunnan*, 1904: 227). He named two peaks of the Hua-ti-yi nv-lv range, the southern one Mount Bonvalot, and the northern higher one, Pic Koua-ly Malou. His Koua-ly may be a misprint for Koua-ti, which is the Na-khi Hua-ti, and his Malou is undoubtedly the Na-khi *so-lv* which means snow range. The Na-khi speak rather indistinctly and it is only after long practice that one learns to differentiate their difficult sound complexes. He marks a village on his map (p. 227), to the north-west of his peak, on the east bank of the Yangtze; this village he calls Koua-tien. It is the Na-khi village of Hua-ti-yi (Chinese, Hua-t'ing-i 花廷衣), after which the mountain is named or vice versa.

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*733 16,000 feet in height; three small valleys descend from it and unite beyond
*737 our spur to form with the stream from Ngv-khü-gko, the Lv-ts'o lo canyon
*487 debouching east into the Yangtze.

Descending the spur of Hua-bi-gkv over a zigzag trail, we enter the canyon of Lv-ts'o lo. The trail is rocky to a degree and seems endless; the stream-bed is dry in stretches, the water appearing and disappearing underground until we come to an old temple once dedicated to the Lung Wang 龍王 (Dragon King) at 7,500 feet elevation, where a clear spring gushes forth from beneath the path. Here is situated one of the few Na-khi hamlets in this valley. The people are very poor, for the terraces on which they grow their maize are rocky and few in number. The new trail coming from T'ai-tzu Kuan joins here the old Lv-ts'o lo caravan route. Crossing the stream we ascend the narrow trail and follow along the opposite walls of the canyon to a bluff, 8,100 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze, which flows here at 4,900 feet above sea level. Opposite the mouth of Lv-ts'o lo canyon, over the river in Yung-ning territory, debouches the Ba-cha-dji-ki canyon from Wua-ha Mountain, 16,000 feet in height, a high limestone range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

From the bluff the trail descends over the open scrub covered rocky slope, through the scattered hamlet of Feng-k'o (H-M., Fong kou). It leads through hamlets and fields and is the most exasperating in this part of Yün-nan. The fields are terraced and supported by rock walls, encroaching on the path so as not to sacrifice an inch of soil, thus reducing it to a mere strip resembling a ditch. In addition all the rocks of the fields are thrown on the trail, which also serves as an irrigation ditch. Nature has taken possession of the rock walls in the form of rose-bushes and other shrubbery, which are, of course, never cut nor even trimmed, and thus hide the narrow track. The Na-khi caravans, brushing constantly against the bushes, keep the trail more or less open, but nevertheless, one's garments suffer considerably from the thorns of the roses, unless one rides a tall horse. The traffic is the steam-roller. Senselessly the trail leads up and down past every hut. Even should such a shanty be situated on the top of a hill, the path must climb up to it, only to descend again to the level whence it started.

Ere reaching the banks of the Yangtze, the trail descends into a valley in which most of the scattered hamlets of Feng-k'o are situated, a stream is crossed over a stone-bridge, and a short distance beyond we descend over arid, red, gravelly slopes, bearing a typical xerophytic vegetation such as *Pistacia weinmannifolia*, Dalbergia, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, legumes, *Terminalia micans*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Sapindus Delavayi*, etc. Most of the water in this arid waste is brackish. Close to the river bank, on a small terrace, a few houses form the hamlet called Ndzu-dü (H-M., Tsatue).

505 Near a pyramidal rocky hill which juts into the Yangtze, forming a little bay to the south, is the river ferry. It is here that Kublai Khan must have crossed with his army. There are other ferries to the south below La-bpu, but there he could not have crossed as it is recorded that he met the Mo-so first at the T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 (*see* pp. 97, 236). The ferry-boat, a leaky affair, holds five mules and a few loads, besides two or three passengers. The current is swift and in the summer crossing is very dangerous owing to a large oblong

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rock which is then submerged. The ferrymen are Zhĕr-khiŋ, a clan of the Na-khi (PLATE 101), but the man in charge of the ferry is a Chinese who buys his position from the Li-chiang magistrate. He hires the rowers and charges a certain amount, as 10 to 20 cents silver per animal, and a nickel per man. Of this a certain amount must be given to the yamen at Li-chiang. The magistrate has the right to remove him and can give the position to any one who is willing to pay more for it. Thus he is never certain, although he has purchased the position, how long he may remain in it. The natives of Yung-ning pay half of what the Li-chiang people pay, and the Yung-ning chief also secures a portion of the ferry money. Often the ferry renter is unable to keep the position on account of losses, for the magistrate must receive a certain amount per annum; if there is little traffic on account of robbers, the income is next to nothing — yet the magistrate must have his due. The boat is nearly always built by the renter, who must also keep up repairs: that these are hardly ever made is indicated by the leaky condition of the boat. Infrequently the magistrate contributes something towards the building of the boat — a crude affair at best (PLATE 102). 505

4. THE YANGTZE BETWEEN LV-TS'O LO AND LA-BPU

The Yangtze between Lv-ts'o lo (Lu-tzu-lou 蘆子樓) and La-bpu is approachable only by Lv-ts'o lo. One must, if coming from Feng-k'o, ascend the Lv-ts'o lo gorge to the bridge over the stream, as below, where the gorge debouches into the Yangtze, it is impassable, forming a deep, winding canyon with vertical walls. A narrow trail leads for ten li along the southern flanks of Lv-ts'o lo gorge to a bluff over the Yangtze, whence a full view can be had of the rock gate known as Gv-ho-gu (the Ngv-khü gko of the Li-chiang Na-khi), which separates La-bpu from Lv-ts'o lo. Through this the Yangtze flows again south into the heart of Yün-nan to within two stages of Ta-li Lake, 78 li as the crow flies. The western flank of the Yangtze valley, south of Lv-ts'o lo, slope more gently and are partly cultivated. The eastern bank in Yung-ning territory is precipitous, culminating in the bulky limestone mass of the Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大瑤山), a southern extension of which forms the Dzoan-p'u peaks; its precipitous slopes are cut up into steep and deep ravines, like those of Ba-cha-dji-ki and Nda-shi (these are Hli-khiŋ, or Yung-ning, names). 133* 137* 487*

Looking down-stream from across river above Law-k'a-khi-lü (H-M., La-kalo), in Yung-ning, the western face of the gorge appears as one continuous, massive rock wall, though it is formed by two projecting spurs: the first is narrower and separated by a deep ravine with vertical walls, the second is a broad rock wall washed by the Yangtze (PLATE 103). Through the rock gate is visible the La-bpu peak (La-bpu mbu) already described. The gorge is the dividing line between La-pao and Feng-k'o districts. The scenery is awe-inspiring and really magnificent, yet less impressive than the gorge of 'A-ts'aŋ-gko.

Between the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo and the Gv-ho-gu gorge, in Li-chiang territory, are situated two Na-khi hamlets, the lower one is called Lo-k'o, the upper one, Gkyi-da-gko. The women of these villages dress like their sisters

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[291] The women of these villages dress like their sisters
*133 in Yung-ning; they wear pleated skirts and immense dark blue, cotton cloth
*137 turbans. Beyond the last village the valley walls are steep and forested with
*487 pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Across the spur west of Gv-ho-gu gorge is a pass known to the Chinese as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關 (the Snow Mountain Gate Pass), and also by the name of T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent).[1]

On the cliffs of the T'ai-tzu Kuan north of La-bpu, a member of the Mu family engraved ten Chinese characters which, tradition relates, an Imperial heir apparent had visited. On the Chinese map it is given as being along the main trail north of Pao-shan, written 保山, which is not correct, for La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶) was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山.

Between Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko there is a deep ravine which the trail skirts; back of the latter village the trail ascends to the top of the first lateral spur which forms the western wall of Gv-ho-gu, elevation 8,000 feet. Between this spur and a much higher one to the south, is a terrific ravine called Gko-mä; its walls are vertical and it is here that the Na-khi mine saltpetre. Dense forests of oaks, pines and junipers fill the ravine (PLATE 104). The trail leading from T'ai-tzu Kuan to where it joins the old trail through the Lv-ts'o lo gorge, follows the lower one but high above it and the villages mentioned.

Opposite Lv-ts'o lo in the ravine of Ba-cha-dji-ki is the Hli-khin village of Mi-ndu-wùa, situated on a terrace; the second, smaller ravine to the south is called Nda-shi, after the lone village in the valley.

The region on the Yung-ning side between Law-k'a-khi-llü and Nda-shi is known as Ts'o-lo-wu. Here, half-way up the slopes of the mountain, which is crowned by the limestone crags of Wua-ha (H-M., Alo), used to be a small lake, called in Chinese Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. This pond has been drained for many years, but it is still marked very prominently, and much too large, on the Chinese military map of 1928.

5. SHANG FENG-K'O IN THE APEX OF THE LOOP

*133 Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o) is at the extremity of the Yangtze loop.
*137 It can be reached by two different trails, one which leads from Feng-k'o along
*487 the banks of the Yangtze, and the other over the mountains along the central
505 spur or backbone which fills the Yangtze loop. We will follow the latter trail from Shang Feng-k'o proper to where it strikes the lower or Feng-k'o path.

There are several ferries over the Yangtze on the eastern stretch of the loop;

[1] The Li-chiang records state that "The Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan is 260 li from Li-chiang, and the pass is north-east of the ancient Pao-shan chou. During the T'ang dynasty, it was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so. It is as of Heaven created, a dangerous precipice. The younger brother of the Emperor of the Yüan dynasty, namely Hu-pi-lieh, when on his way to attack Ta-li, coming from the T'u-fan country, fought the Mo-so at this pass; hence the pass is known to this day as T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent)." From this I am convinced that Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) crossed the Yangtze at P'u-dgru in Yung-ning territory to the present Feng-k'o; in order to reach T'ai-tzu Kuan, or the Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, the Yangtze must be crossed at Feng-k'o. The pass was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so, the latter lived south of the pass where he attacked them; the first Mo-so settlement coming from T'u-fan country was Pao-shan, the present La-pao. As it is stated that after having crossed the Yangtze, Kublai passed through various villages which now comprise La-pao (La-bpu), he could not have crossed but at Feng-k'o and passing first through Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan entered La-pao. The *Tien-hsi* gives an older name for this pass, viz., Yüeh-mieh-kan Kuan 越嶲關.

[2] [Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko -- Analyst]

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the most important is at Feng-k'o, the next important one at Chiang-wai further south, and the third at, or near T'o-lä-tsu. A fourth ferry, which serves the Chung-tien and Gangkar-ling country, and the people of O-yü on the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi in Mu-li (Mi-li) country, is at the very apex of the loop, at Shang Feng-k'o. There are several other ferries, that is, improvised rafts, made of inflated goatskins. Unless goods are to be transported they are rarely used; people who merely decide to cross, usually tie their scanty clothing around their head, fasten a goatskin in front of themselves, inflate it, jump in the river and swim across. I have known of Na-khi swimmers, from the southern border of Yung-ning called north to Yung-ning lamasery by their chiefs, to return home by simply tying a goatskin or two around their bodies, inflating them, jumping into the river, and allowing themselves to be carried by the current through rapids and narrows till they reached their hamlets, in preference to walking back over a long rocky trail. This entails, of course, an expert knowledge of the river, otherwise one would be dashed to pieces against the rocks. 133 137 487 505

The Yangtze is called Gi-dji by the Yung-ning people, and Ha-yi-bi, or La-lĕr Ha-yi-bi, or simply Yi-bi (River), by the Li-chiang Na-khi. 133 137 487

The largest tributary of the Yangtze in this region is the Zho Chhu [8] (Hai-fan), or Shu gyi (Na-khi), the Chinese Wu-liang Ho 無量河; its lower part is in Yün-nan, in the territory of Yung-ning. North of Yu-mi the Zho Chhu is in Mu-li territory (Land of the Yellow Lamas), up to the cantilever bridge (elevation 8,820 feet) at the village of Wua-shi which forms the border between the Gangkar-ling Bun-dzi-bese clan [9] and Mu-li. Handel-Mazzetti calls the river Dou-chu, which is incorrect; there is a Tong Chhu [sTong-chhu] [10] which is an affluent of the Zho Chhu, it derives its name from the district of the Tonyi-bese Tibetan clan through whose territory it flows, south-west of the Gangkar-ling mountain system. The Zho Chhu does not have its source in the Gangkar-ling mountains, as Kingdon Ward surmised, but near Na-wu, 11 days' journey north of Mu-li.

Major Davies gives the source of a river at Na-bu (Na-wu) which he believed to flow into the Li-t'ang River. This is nothing else than the source of the Zho Chhu, which however flows into the Yangtze at Shang Feng-k'o (PLATE 105). It receives a very important affluent, the Gang-kha Chhu (Gangs-kha chhu), from the glaciers of the northern slopes of Mount Chhana-dorje of the Gangkar-ling peaks. South of the Gang-kha Chhu it receives three affluents worth mentioning, namely the Tong Chhu, Lo-nda, and Chwua-

[8] ཟོ།

[9] The Gang-kha-ling (Gangs-kha-gling ཀན་ཁ་གླིང་ or Gangs-dkar-gling ཀན་དཀར་གླིང) territory is ruled by a chief who used to be subject to the T'u-sse of Li-t'ang 麗塘土司. His name is Tshe-rab-dpon ཚེ་རབ་དཔོན (pronounced Tshe-rab-pön). Since the Li-t'ang T'u-sse has been abolished the clans are under nobody's jurisdiction and are outlaws or a law unto themselves. Tshe-rab-pön has under him three sub-chiefs, each one controlling a clan. They are known as Rim-bhal-sras ཁ་ལ་ལ་ཁ (pronounced Rim-bese), hBum-rdzi-bhal-sras ཧ་ལ་ལ་ཁ (Bun-dzi-bese) and sTong-chhen-bhal-sras ཏ་ལ་ལ་ཁ (Tong-chhen, better known as Tonyi-bese).

[10] ཏ

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 *137 *487

dzu. The latter has its source in a mountain called Dza-bo ran (*ran* in Hai-fan is a pass) which forms the Hai-k'ang — Yün-nan, that is, Mu-li — Chung-tien, border. Kingdon Ward calls the river the Shu-lo (a Na-khi name), but this is the name of the valley: *shu* = iron, *lo* = valley; the river is called Shu gyi (Iron water). Iron is mined in large quantities, especially near O-yü, where the best iron ore in the Zho Chhu valley is obtained.

The little hamlet of Shang-Feng-k'o is situated directly opposite the mouth of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) and consists of a few houses only. The place or region is also called San-chiang-k'ou (Mouths of three rivers); the three streams which debouch into the Yangtze near the apex of the loop, are the Zho Chhu from the north, the Luë-dzu from the east, and the Ha-lo from the south or within the loop.

[505] In former days there was a ferry where the Zho Chhu debouches into the Yangtze, but now it plies a little north of the mouth of Luë-dzu valley.

Opposite Luë-dzu, a valley called Law-k'an debouches from the Li-chiang side. It is here that a trail leads up into the hills to the central spur.

From the banks of the Yangtze the trail ascends the grass-covered slopes up the valley of Law-k'an past several hamlets where maize and millet is cultivated, and thence to a pine-covered spur at an elevation of 10,100 feet. The trees are mainly yellow pine and oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The ridges are dry and gravelly; in one place the rocks are volcanic. The trail now joins the main broad spur, the backbone of the mountain mass in the loop. Here the Yangtze can be seen to both sides. In the west the river makes two sharp bends (PLATE 106) ere reaching Shang Feng-k'o. Beyond, a grey scree mountain rises into the turquoise-blue sky: it is part of the Gkü-dü range, also known to the Na-khi as Gkü-dü gkü-tsu-tsu. To the east, seen from 9,500 feet elevation, the Yangtze makes a sharp bend between Feng-k'o and Luë-dzu valley (PLATE 107). Further south the gorges to the west become visible, the river entering terrific canyons.

Our trail continues on the top of the broad central spur through beautiful pine forest; I consider this the best trail to Yung-ning as one avoids the long hot journey up the dry Yangtze valley. The heat in the Yangtze valley is at all seasons intense, especially in the spring. There are lovely meadows surrounded by wonderful forest, and excellent camping places, the elevation being 10,000 feet. Here clear brooks flow from the foot of a high mountain overlooking the river. Oak and pine forests cover the spur. The trail skirts many deep ravines, but leads steadily up, along the foot of grey limestone cliffs, to the west. At 10,000 feet there used to be a Lo-lo settlement now forsaken, and the destroyed forests can again claim their own. At 11,400 feet the forest is still composed of pines, but with undergrowth consisting mostly of birches, a rather unusual plant association; at 12,000 feet the trail enters forest composed of larches, spruces, oaks, and birches, with scattered pines, hugging a limestone wall at the head of deep valleys which debouch east into the Yangtze. The scenery is superb, the autumn coloring magnificent, the birches yellow, the sorbus trees crimson, and the maples orange-red. The path leads from one spur to another and their intervening valleys, over gently sloping ground forested with spruces and carpeted with soft moss, and an undergrowth of tall, large-leaved rhododendron trees, Lonicera (honeysuckle), Ribes, and cane-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

brake. The somber spruces contrasted sharply with the gay-colored foliage of the deciduous trees which were then in autumn garb. The trail emerges from this beautiful virgin forest into a clearing at the foot of the mighty limestone crags of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv above the Lv-ts'o lo gorge. East of the Yangtze looms high the massive limestone mountain Wua-ha. Water being scarce further on, this proved an excellent camping place at 12,200 feet elevation, for a small stream issues from some rocky bluffs below the clearing. From Shang Feng-k'o to this camp is two full stages. 133* 137* 487*

Further on the entire forest has been burned by the wretched Lo-lo, the enemy of every tree; where once stood vast tracts of spruce and birch is now a black waste. The trail leads along the edge of a spur overlooking the Yangtze valley, till at 13,000 feet we enter pure larch forest which covers the steep slopes to the very foot of the towering limestone crags. Not a single house, hut, or human being is met with on this stretch after leaving the hamlet of Law-k'an. Continuing on the top of the spur at the foot of cliffs and in forests of spruce and larch for 15 li, we come to the gravelly trail which joins the one leading down into the Yangtze valley to Feng-k'o, or Lower Feng-k'o as it is also called.

6. FROM MING-YIN-WU (MBA-YI-WÙA) TO THE CHIANG-WAI FERRY

From Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 a trail leads east to the Yangtze and thence to a ferry at Chiang-wai on to Yung-ning via the Tsui-yi valley (called Ts'wue-yi by the Li-chiang Na-khi); it is by far the shortest trail. From Ming-yin-wu a zigzag path leads into the Dto-bpo lo valley; the upper part is covered with pine forest, in the valley itself there are large groves of oaks and *Castanopsis Delavayi*, an evergreen wild chestnut-like tree, at an elevation of 9,200 feet.

Dto-bpo lo is a smaller and comparatively shallow branch of the very deep and large valley, or rather gorge, called Gyi-t'khi lo, except where it debouches into it. It is undoubtedly the ancient Tang-po-lo 當波羅 of the T'ang dynasty Mo-so-man, and was one of seven districts belonging to Pao-shan, the present La-bpu (Chinese La-pao: *see* La-bpu district, p. 233). The hamlets of Dto-po lo are situated in the center of the broad valley floor; some are at its head.

In the Gyi-t'khi lo gorge the hamlets are perched like swallows' nests on the steep valley slopes; their narrow fields are terraced strips, some of them not wider than two or three feet, with a sheer drop of 100 feet or more beneath. The trail which descends this long valley to its narrow mouth, is dangerous indeed, on account of its extreme narrowness and its proximity to the vertical walls of the deep chasm which it skirts. At about 7,000 feet elevation we meet the peculiar conifer *Keteleria Davidiana* with pale green needles and erect, persistent, straw-colored cones. Old trees branch like deciduous trees rather than like a conifer. It is peculiar to the hot, dry canyons.

The trail descends zigzag to the poor hamlet of Bu-dv-dzi-man, a scattered affair, the houses situated on the hill-tops, while the fields are along the river bank. Fairly good oranges are here cultivated. From the village we again ascend a spur to a bluff at 6,800 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze (PLATE 108), and six li from the village. The journey in this arid valley of the Yangtze proves usually hot, unless the sky is overcast. The trail is indescrib-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 ably rocky and leads up and down between boulders and rock walls which hem
*137 in the wretched fields of the first Na-khi hamlet we strike, here called P'a-lo, con-
*487 sisting of six families. Ere reaching P'a-lo the trail nego iates a lateral ravine, climbing up and down; it resembles more the rocky bed of a stream than a path.

Opposite P'a-lo, in Yung-ning territory, is a tiny hamlet bearing likewise the name of P'a-lo, though the name of Tse-mi is also given it. It is inhabited by Li-su 栗粟 (also written 力些); several clans of this tribe have settled in Yung-ning in the more arid and undesirable regions.

At P'a-lo the trail divides: The upper fork leads to the hamlet of T'o-lä-tsu, which consists of five families, and is the most forlorn-looking place imaginable. The main occupation of the people is gold washing, and the whole hill-side is honeycombed with tunnels. The lower trail leads down to near the river along a conglomerate cliff, everywhere pitted with gold diggers' tunnels, to below T'o-lä-tsu, where a ferry plies to the Yung-ning side of the river. If we follow the upper trail we skirt two narrow ravines, the rocks being mostly sandstone.

In this arid gorge I observed the following vegetation: Ziziphus bushes, *Barleria cristata*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, Vitex, Rumex, and *Opuntia monacantha*. This latter cactus is exceedingly common, and has almost taken possession of the gorge. The most common grass, which gives the hill-sides a bronze to copper-colored appearance, is *Heteropogon contortus*. Several legumes grow with *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, of which the only second species known in the genus occurs on the dry and arid lava flows of Hawaii, and elsewhere in the Pacific. *Debregeasia edulis*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*, *Pteris longifolia*, *Selaginella involvens* — the latter forming rosettes on the cliffs — *Escholtzia polystachys*, Sida, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Terminalia micans*, and *Amphicome arguta* form the main vegetation, with here and there a *Dalbergia yünnanensis* tree, the creeping *Ficus foveolata*, Berberis, Astragalus, *Solanum verbascifolium* and *Excoecaria acerifolia*.

Opposite T'o-lä-tsu in Yung-ning territory, a valley called Ku-dju debouches into the Yangtze which makes a sharp bend at the mouth of Tsui-yi (PLATE 109).

The Na-khi hamlet of Chiang-wai 江外 (or Chiang-wa 江圃) called in Na-khi Da-dü-gku, is situated on a terrace opposite the little village of Bu-yi-gkv perched on a bluff above the mouth of Tsui-yi, elevation 5,900 feet. A leaky ferry plies here across the Yangtze between the two hamlets.

The region of Chiang-wai is a veritable sea of rock and *Heteropogon contortus* grass. While the forested mountains within this great Yangtze loop are wonderful, the arid gorges of the eastern branch of the loop are miserable and dreary.

North of Chiang-wai (Da-dü-gku) the Yangtze flows through another rock gate similar to the one between Lv-ts'o lo and La-bpu, but smaller.

The huge boulders, fallen from the heights above, have been utilized by some of the poorer peasants to save building an extra rock wall for their houses. The houses are loosely constructed from the rocks which lie about. The entire terrace beyond Chiang-wai, to the mouth of the rock gate, is full of vertical holes of considerable depth; here gold digging operations have been carried on by the natives in the most primitive manner. In the early spring and winter this region is enshrouded in dust which makes travelling anything but pleasant. Corn or maize is the main crop.

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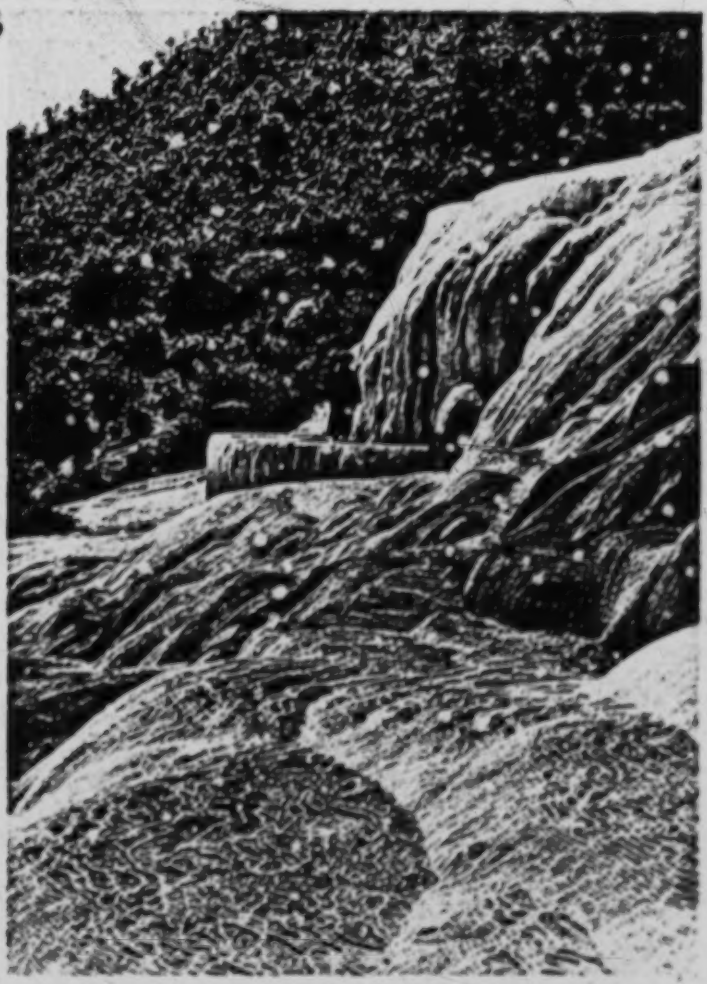

PLATE 137. — THE SINTER CASCADES AND BASINS OF BABA-O'TA-OTTA

Stalagmites and stalagtites are formed here. Every ripple and wavelet leaves its cast behind, forever building.

[p. 244A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 South-east China AF16

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Plate 138.—The Scenic Treasures of Sikang-Tibet

They have the aspect of artificial terraced rice-fields. The lakes are shallow and contain blinding white water and thousands of pinnies.

[p.244 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 139.—SINTER BUTTRESSES SUPPORT THE TERRACES OF BAÑA-P'EN-OYÜA

北 海 邊 的 水 晶 宮

Near the base of the hill covered by the Sinter terraces, are huge bulging buttresses mostly hollow. The one on the left is called Mi-le-fo as it resembles the huge belly of the Chinese God of Wealth. Here sterile women come to pray and burn incense.

133

[p. 244 c]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
S
133
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M8

PLATE 140. — THE SACRED GROTTO SHU-LO NI-A'O

It is the wish of every Na-khi Dto-mba to visit, at least once, this sacred grotto where their teacher used to dwell. Two dto-mbas are performing a religious rite.

[p. 244 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

PLATE 141. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR INFLATED GOATSKINS

打 渡 羌 族 皮 筏 的 人

The only way to cross the Yangtze to Bhdo-dibr is by means of goatskin rafts. The men are Na-khi from the village of Za-lu opposite Ta-ku.

[p. 244 E]
S
ST
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

505

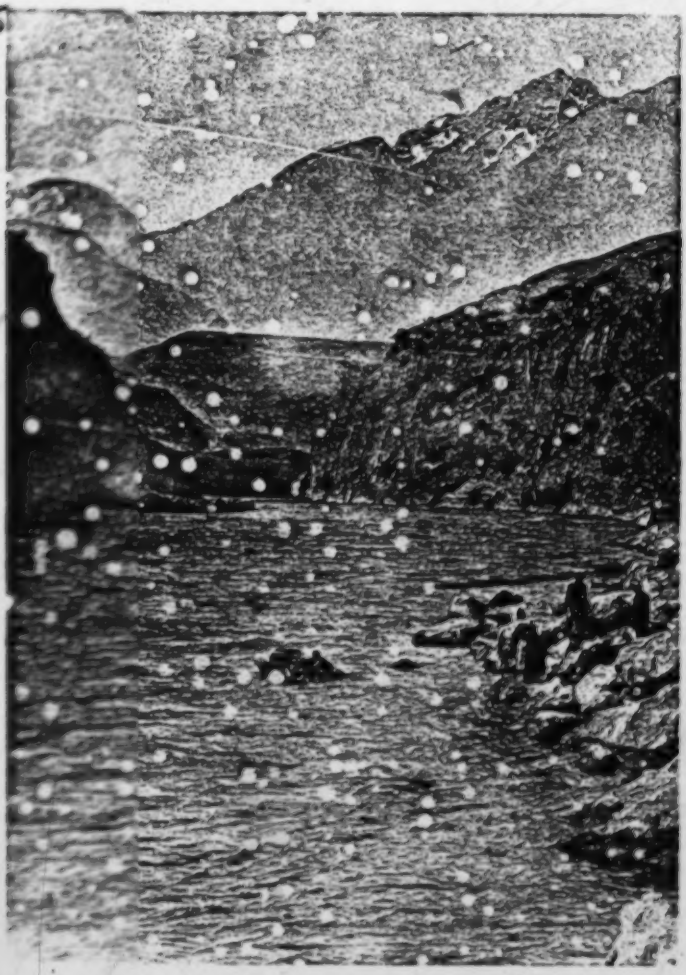

PLATE 142. — A RAFT NEGOTIATING THE YANGTSE

金沙江渡船載具角

The Raft of the Yangtse from the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The author's camp equipment is being ferried across from Za-ba to Ta-ku.

[p.244 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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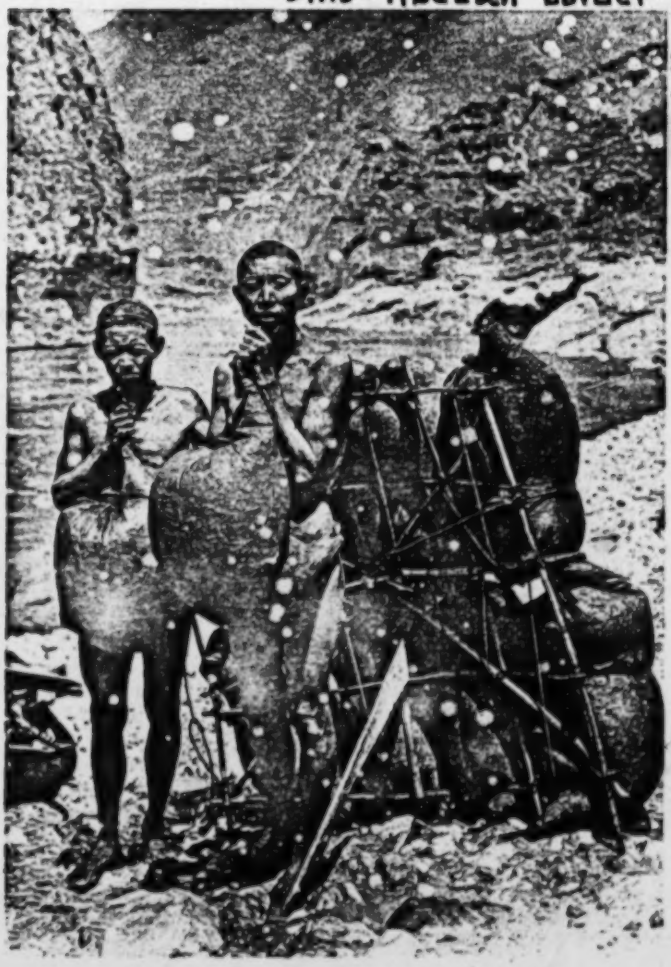

PLATE 143. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR RAFT

竹筏羌族泳者

Every time they plunge into the icy waters of the Yangtse, they must inflate their goatskin bags as well as those of the raft.

[p. 244 ⓒ]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

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PLATE 144. — ARRIVAL OF ONE OF THE EXPEDITION'S COURIER RAFTS ON THE TA-TU SIKE

A trunk and a man were ferried across at a time, the swimmers pulling and pushing the raft. The horses had to swim.

[p. 244 H]

PLATE 143.—THE T'IEN-SHU (TIGER) CAVE

[illegible]

An-ch'i-ch'i, a brother of Ta-shih, is said to have lived in this cave on the western side of the Li-chiang near Ssu-ch'i. The name is also given to the cave.

[p.244 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[p244 J]

PLATE 146. — 'A-DTO-DAW, THE WESTERN WALL OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山西麓白水臺

A deep gorge called Gyi-p'ér k'a extends from the foot of 'A-dto-daw into the Yangtze at Lü-ta'ag. The gorge is filled with forest, but lifeless in its upper part, owing to absence of water. Shan-tzu-tou the highest peak in center. Dying glaciers cover the upper slopes.

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PLATE 147. — MANY FLYING SQUIRRELS INHABIT THE T'AI-TIN (TUNG) CAVE

太 子 洞 蝙 蝠

Several species inhabited the recesses of the cave. The largest here figured is *Petaurista albiventer ochropis*; after dark they volplaned from the cave onto tall trees to feed on leaves.

[p. 244 K]

Plate 14A.—The Yunnan River or the Yi-Lung Ho

M E R G E P E

The river flows in a comparatively broad valley which joins the Li of A.M.C. Photographed north of Ojiyin to
looking south, from an elevation of 10,000 feet.

[p.244L]

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PLATE 149. — THE BULKY MASS 'A-TS'AN-GKO NY-LV

進入東昌角藏影玉龍山

Flying at a height of 17,000 feet our plane, the K'un-ming, entered the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The range called 'A-ts'an-gko ny-lv forms a huge limestone pyramid with a vertical drop to the Yangtze of more than 10,000 feet. Gyi-ná ny-lo to left, Shan-tan-lung in center (foreground).

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PLATE 139.—Ha-na massif 29-19 as seen from Our Plane

哈那基山 空中 照

Our plane approached this peak at a speed of 120 miles an hour, flying at an altitude of 16,000 feet. Ha-na district is at its foot (lower left). The Chung-tien snow mountains in the distance. Ha-pa Shan is 18,500 feet and is the fourth highest peak of the Yü-lung Shan.

[p. 244 N]

PLATE 150. — THE PEAK OF HO-NO MOUNTAIN SO-CU ON HO-YA SHAN

[illegible]

Our plane flying at 17,000 feet, enters the 'A-ta'ro-gko gorge. Fierce winds sweeping through the gorge caused our plane to flutter through it like a piece of paper. This picture shows the southern face of the mountain which is 18,700 feet in height.

[P. 244-D]

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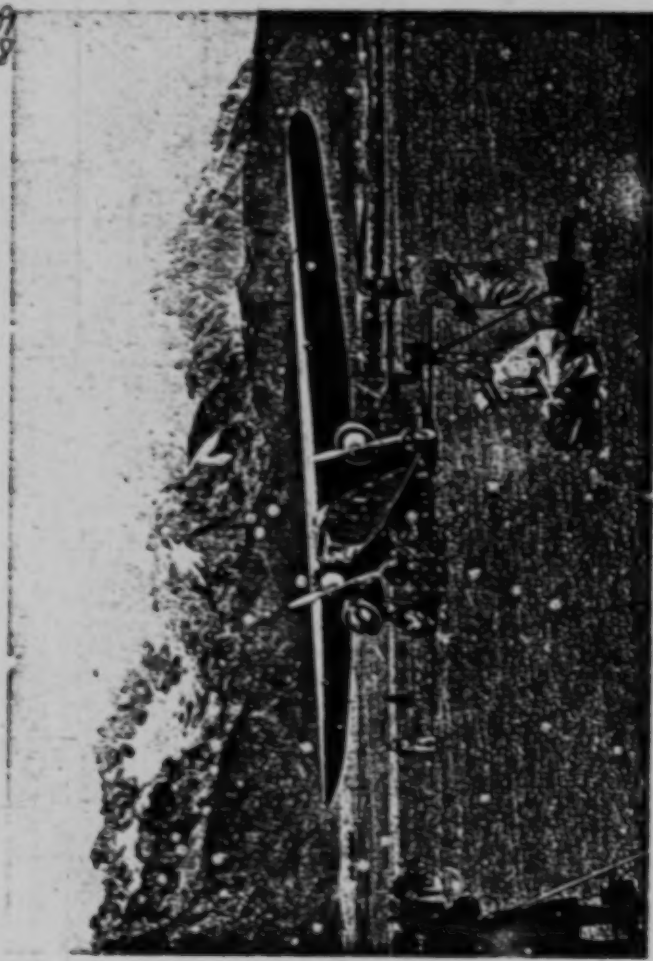

PLATE 153.—THE PLANE K'UN-MING NEAR WEN-HUA-TI'UN

雲 南 昆 明 附 近 文 華 台 的 飛 機

After making the circuit of the Yü-lung Shan, flying through the 'A-ta'ing-pao (Yangtze) gorge, we landed at the foot of the snow range on the natural landing field called Wen-hua-ti'un elevation 8,700 feet. Shan-tan-tou in distance.

[p.244 P]

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*133 *137 *148 Behind the high mountain which flanks the terrace on which Chiang-wai is situated, is the large village of O-mun, the Chinese Wu-mu 博木. It is really an agglomeration of villages, such as O-muṇ-ggō-gkwua, Bpō-lo, and O-muṇ-mbe-ddü, the largest. O-muṇ-ggō-gkwua is mainly inhabited by Na-khi who have come from the village of Boa-shi; they belong to the Li 李 family.

7. FROM LI-CHIANG TO THE TZU-LI-CHIANG BRIDGE

From Li-chiang there are two ways of reaching the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江 (Ching-li 井里 in the Li-chiang records). The river in this region goes by the name of Tzu-li Chiang. One way is by the village of Nda-zaw, and the other by the village of Tui-nao-k'o 對腦科. The latter is considered the small road.

The main road, by Nda-zaw, leads from Li-chiang to Wei-lai-ts'un 爲來村, 15 li; then to Ta-chü-ts'un 大苴村, 25 li; on to Chieh-mai-ts'un 節買村 60 li; and thence to Tzu-li-chiang village, 30 li.

The small road leads from Li-chiang south across the plain, past the hamlets of Bpa-wùa and Lä-wùa. To the east of the former is situated the village of Wua-lo-k'o in Wu-lieh li. It continues along the foot of Chin Shan 金山 (Golden Hill), a low hill south-east of Li-chiang, to the foot of the mountain range which hems in the plain to the east. On Chin Shan, embowered in a grove of old trees, is the Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺. To the west of it is the village of Ssaw-gkaw-ndso, where there is a large stone bridge over the stream called Ssaw-gkaw-ndso gyi, flowing south past a long, rounded hill, called Dtü-ghügh-lü-dzü-gkv, conspicuous for the white pagoda, or *t'a*, built on its summit. South-east of this hill are many Na-khi villages, such as Dtü-ghügh, Mi-zhër, Wua-na-nda and Ssi-li-wùa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦); at the latter the Mu 木 family had a temple, now converted into a school. Ere reaching Ssi-li-wùa, one passes their family graves. The large memorial stone engraved with the history of the Na-khi chiefs has been described on page 70.

From Chin Shan the trail continues east to the foot of Wu-lieh Shan, where lies the hamlet of Da-wùa (in Chinese, Ta-wo 打窩 or Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村), 15 li from Li-chiang. *En route* we pass by some Min-chia villages east of Chin Shan, where the land is called Nyi-'a-gko and where is situated the Na-khi hamlet of T'khi-lä.

At Da-wùa the trail ascends the steep mountain-side, up a deep gorge called Da-wùa lo-mä, to a pass, and thence leads down through a shallow ravine to cultivated fields and groves of oak and pine, and so comes to the hamlet of Tui-nao-k'o 對腦科 (also written 對腦效), called in Na-khi, Bbue-na-k'o, a distance of 25 li.

From Tui-nao-k'o the trail leads south, descending steeply into a ravine through pine forest with oaks, and *Rhododendron decorum* trees as undergrowth. Here, where the rock is conglomerate and the soil a red clay, we meet with the beautiful shrub *Styrax lankongensis*, and two species of Castanopsis. We descend zigzag over an exceedingly steep and rocky trail, on the edge of the precipitous canyon of the Yangtze, whose mighty rapids are visible. The

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*133 vegetation is decidedly xerophytic, and the same plants occur as enumerated
*137 on the Mba-yi-wüa — Chiang-wai stretch
*487 The distance from Tui-nao-k'o to Tzu-li-chiang bridge, the border of the districts of Li-chiang and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), is 30 li.

Situated on a terrace, a short distance above the bridge, is the hamlet of Chin-lung-ch'iao 金龍橋村; it has two Na-khi names: Gku-k'u-ndu and Gku-k'u-k'o (PLATE 110). To the west of it, separated by fields and a stream called Sä gyi the Chinese Hsi-chi Ho 錫杞河, is another Na-khi village known as Nun-dzä-lü-k'o (Nun dzä = sprouted Mung bean, lü = field, k'o = inside) Chinese Fan-tou-ti 飯豆地. Owing to the large volume of water carried by the Sä gyi in the summer and autumn, a log and chain-bridge has been built; it is called Sä-gyi ndso in Na-khi and Hsiao-ho ch'iao 小河橋 in Chinese. The village of Ching-li-chiang 井里江村 or Tzu-li-chiang 持里江村, the Na-khi 'A-gkv-dzhi (Chicken egg market), is east of the Yangtze only a very few li distant, in Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北) territory.

The Chin-lung ch'iao 金龍橋 (Golden dragon bridge) is the only bridge which spans the Yangtze in its entire course. According to the *Yung-pei t'ing chih* ch. 1, fol. 46a–b, this bridge is 150 li from Yung-pei. The Na-khi name of the bridge is Dsi-li shu-ɜr ndso (Dsi-li iron rope-bridge). *Ɜr* in Na-khi means rope, and *shu-ɜr* means an iron chain, for they apparently never had a special name for chain. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 30, fol. 27a–b, the bridge is called Tzu-li t'ieh-so ch'iao 持里鐵索橋. The ancient name of the place where it spans the river was Ching-li tu 井里渡 or the Ching-li ford. The bridge was built in the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876) by Chiang Tsung-han 蔣宗漢, literary name Ping-t'ang 炳堂, a native of Ho-ch'ing and Ti-tu 提督 (Major-general) of Kuei-chou (PLATE 111). It replaced a ferry consisting of two dug-out canoes, lashed together, which functioned during the winter and spring. In the autumn, when the waters were high and the current swift, a rope-bridge was used.

A memorial stone at the bridge-head relates that Chiang Tsung-han used to be afraid crossing the single rope-bridge when bound for Yung-pei. The crossing on the rope was an exceedingly difficult affair. He tells of being tied up like a pig and swung across. Owing to the sagging of the rope one remained suspended over the middle of the river, and natives guarding the rope had to pull one across. Chiang vowed that he would build an iron chain bridge to facilitate traffic. Tzu-li-chiang is a very important and strategic point, as it is on the highway from China to Tibet, and from Ssu-ch'uan and Yung-pei to western Yün-nan. According to the Memorial stone the building of the bridge was commenced in November of the year *ping-tzu* 丙子 of the Kuang-hsü period (1876) and completed in February of the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1880).

The local story however says that Chiang Tsung-han, eloping with a girl reached the ferry and wished to cross the river. The ferrymen, however, having been warned of the elopement, refused to take them over. Chiang then swore that, should he ever become wealthy, he would build a bridge across the river and reduce the ferry owners to poverty. He kept his vow, and the bridge was built.

It measures 280 Chinese feet (328.3 English feet) in length, and is nine Chinese feet wide. It rests on 18 chains, which are anchored to boulders

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buried in the ground. Over the chains is a roadway of boards, and over these again, in the center, is another set of boards. The bridge sways considerably when crossed by a string of loaded mules. 135* 137* 487*

In 1929, by order of General Lu Han 盧漢, the bridge was practically cut to prevent the rebel, Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, from crossing it. One chain was actually cut through and the boards were removed. The structure collapsed completely, except for two chains, on February 5th, 1935. It has been repaired and opened for traffic on January 4th, 1938.

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [548] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states 173 that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 嶲州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634 173

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納.

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格哈 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 倪西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The mas-
S ST sive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S ST of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S ST finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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post-haste on news reaching the town that the Tong-wa Tibetans, who live in Hsi-k'ang 西康 to the north of Chung-tien, are on the war-path. These people not only loot in and around Chung-tien, Bbĕr-ddĕr, etc., but they often cross the Yangtze and invade Li-chiang territory, as in 1922, when they burned the town of Ta-ku, and killed many people, shooting the girls, who had climbed trees to avoid falling into their hands, like pigeons off the branches. When I visited Ta-ku shortly afterwards I found the town in a terrible state; many girls had broken limbs which had ulcerated and were beyond hope. In 1933 the Tibetans came again, but satisfied themselves by occupying Chung-tien for a considerable time, whence they undertook raiding expeditions in various directions. 631

The present native ruler of Bbĕr-ddĕr is of the rank of Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant), and besides Bbĕr-ddĕr rules also over his own district called Ha-ba (Ha-pa), to the south. His family name is Yang 楊. His Mohammedan ancestors came originally from Shan-hsi province. They lived in Ta-li, but escaped during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856 and fled to Chung-tien. He again is under the immediate control of the Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Chiliarch, Lieutenant) of Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, also of the name of Yang, though they are not related. Both positions are hereditary. The latter is directly under the magistrate of Chung-tien, who is usually an absentee. Yang Pa-tsung of Ha-pa is a half-breed, his mother being a Tibetan woman and his father a Chinese Mohammedan. The latter was killed by Tibetan bandits in a raid which they were making into his territory. Unfortunately, the present ruler, who is addicted to opium, lacks all the qualities necessary to control such a district, and one can but pity the poor peasants who have to look to such an individual for help in time of stress. It is impossible for a magistrate to remain or keep order, unless he has a large force of regular troops to rely on for protection. The few militia soldiers, with antiquated, rusty rifles, and bullets which often do not fit the barrel, are no protection against the wild hordes of Tong-wa Tibetans, who are usually well armed.

Strange as it may seem, these Tibetan bandits were often armed by Chinese generals, residing in Ning-yüan fu, Ssu-ch'uan, under whose nominal jurisdiction they come. The generals, being interested mainly in money, sold their old rifles to the highest bidders, in this case the Tibetans and Lo-lo on the Yün-nan border. In 1931 when I was in Yung-ning, the good Tsung-kuan 總管 who, unfortunately for his country, has passed on to the Great Beyond, complained to me bitterly about the sale of arms to the wild Tibetans and Lo-lo by the Ning-yüan generals. They had actually sent for the Tibetans, sold them their surplus or old rifles, and given them a *hu-chao* 護照 (passport) and even a Chinese escort to prevent their being molested *en route*. The King of Mu-li (Mi-li) did not wish them to pass through his territory, but could not refuse them transit in view of their passes from the Ning-yüan generals, under whose jurisdiction the Mu-li King comes. 579 713

In 1929 Ch'en 陳,[2] the Tsung-pan 總辦 of Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung River in Ssu-ch'uan, sent many loads of rifles, commandeering peasants on the road to carry them to Yung-ning in Yün-nan, to be sold to whoever had the money

[2] He was murdered by the Communists in April, 1934, when the latter passed through Ssu-ch'uan from Yün-nan.

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579 to buy them for more than 100 dollars silver apiece with 25 rounds of ammunition. In order that they should not fall into the hands of the Lo-lo or
713 Tibetans the rulers of Yung-ning had to buy as their finances allowed. When Ch'en Tsung-pan and his party were in Yung-ning on their way towards Li-chiang to sell their remaining rifles, the Gangkar-ling Tibetans, having learned of their presence there with arms for sale, came post-haste to Yung-ning, followed and overtook them at a village to the south. They then attacked them in order to capture the arms. Ch'en, who had some Ssu-ch'uan soldiers with him, resisted, keeping up a constant fire and using up all the ammunition which was to be sold with the rifles. The Tibetans retreated and finding a Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 Tibetan caravan which was returning from Li-chiang, attacked and robbed it. Under such conditions, the poor unarmed peasants have indeed a difficult existence.

505 From the south there are three approaches to the Ha-pa and Bbĕr-ddĕr
*487 territories, but the Yangtze must be crossed no matter where one enters them, coming from Yün-nan. The quickest way to reach the district used to be by way of Ta-ku immediately north of Li-chiang, two stages distant. A ferry plied there, but, since the Tibetan bandits used it to cross over to Li-chiang in 1922, it has been destroyed and there is now no intercourse with Ha-pa, at least not from the Ta-ku side. People do cross on goatskin rafts which are hastily constructed, but the skins are kept on the Chung-tien side, none being available at Ta-ku. Thus to cross from the Ta-ku side, although the easi-
*487 est approach, is now impossible (1932). This still held good in 1944.

The second best approach, only feasible in the summer, is via the pass called Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 (Snow gate cut) over the mountain near Bbĕr-ddĕr to the west. The valley which leads to it from the Bbĕr-ddĕr side is called Gyi-na lo (Black water gulch). From the pass a trail leads west to the Yangtze above Ch'iao-t'ou (Bridge head). From autumn to spring the pass is deep in snow, and many have lost their lives in trying to cross in the winter season.

The third and longest and most difficult approach is the one by the Yangtze gorges. When mentioning the Yangtze gorges, those known to the tourists at I-ch'ang 宜昌 come into mind, but let it be said that the latter can never be compared with the gorge the Yangtze has cut for itself through the Li-chiang Snow range. Having always wished to explore the gorge through the Yü-lung Shan, I took this route to Bbĕr-ddĕr, and it is this which I shall describe. Bacot is said to have traversed the gorge, but he says little or next to nothing about it, and mentions it as being 2,000 metres deep. It is much more than that, and 10,000 feet is about right.

2. FROM NV-LV-K'Ö TO THE MOUTH OF THE YANGTZE GORGE

Nv-lv-k'ö (At the foot of the snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村[3] as the Chinese call it, is situated at the end of the north-western branch of the

[3] (Hsüeh) Sung is the highest and central peak of the Wu-yo 五嶽 (Five sacred mountains) on which the ancient emperors worshipped Shang-ti (God). The Sung peak lies in Ho-nan fu in the province of Ho-nan, on the watershed between the Yellow and the Han Rivers. As the title of Pei-yo (North sacred mountain) had been bestowed on the Yü-lung Shan, the village lying at its foot was given the name Sung, which also stands for eminent and lofty.

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Li-chiang plain at the very foot of the snow range, its elevation being 9,400 feet. Owing to its proximity to the range it has always been my headquarters while exploring the north-west of Yün-nan and Hsi-k'ang. It is from this village that I left for the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. The trail leads from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö over a pass called Hăr-lĕr-gkv (Wind-call pass,[4] or Pass whence the spirits call the wind), elevation 10,500 feet, to the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜 in Chinese; H-M., Aschi) on the western bend of the Yangtze. The village of A-khi is, however, considerably south of where the Nv-lv-k'ö trail first strikes the Yangtze. Ere reaching the top of the pass the trail passes an *obo* (rock pile) with oak branches (such as one usually finds on mountain passes in Tibetan country); this particular place is known as Shi-zhi-k'ö (At the place of the mountain spirit), and also called Hăr-lĕr-man (Tail of the wind-call pass).

A magnificent view unfolds over the plain with the many villages which dot it; in the spring it looks like a large chess-board, with the thousands of wheat-fields for squares. Here the mountain-side is wooded with pines — both *Pinus Armandi*, the tall white pine, and the yellow *Pinus yünnanensis* — oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), maples, spruces, etc. The air is clear as crystal and every tree and house stands out as sharply as if one were viewing them at close range. (PLATE 52).

From the pass we reach an oblong depression filled with water, the howling wind whipping the surface and carrying the spray clear across, drenching the traveler as from a shower-bath. The water of this small lake, which has its source mainly in underground springs but also from small rivulets descending from the surrounding spurs, rushes cascade-like through a forested gorge down to the plain, where it joins the waters of a broad spring called Mba-mă which is used entirely for irrigating the fields of the many villages. The trail skirts the pond on the north side to a pass at the other end called Hăr-lĕr mbu (Hill whence the wind is called).

From Hăr-lĕr mbu the trail leads along the western slopes covered with pines and prostrate oaks, overlooking the lake Gkaw-ngaw (Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子 in Chinese; H-M., Ganhaidsi). This lake, like the La-shih-pa Lake, appears and disappears through subterranean outlets (PLATE 112). The mountain south of Gkaw-ngaw and facing La-shih-pa is called La-shi ch'ou-mă Ngyu; it is much frequented by Na-khi intent on suicide. The zigzag trail continues through forest to the main A-khi road, the junction being called Shi-zhi mbu (Hill of the mountain god), elevation 10,500 feet. The road is broad and lined by forest of magnificent, centuries-old, oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) and spruces, mainly *Picea likiangensis*. To the left is a valley, whose western wall is a high, partly forested (with firs, spruces, birches, maples, etc.) mountain called the Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain; H-M., Yau-schan), about 13,500 feet in height. It is the Na-khi Gkaw-ngaw gkü-p'ĕr Ngyu. We are now on the western slopes of the snow range above the Yangtze valley, the river flowing north.

[4] The word *hăr* means wind, but pronounced in the third tone *hăr* means to cut. Both meanings are here employed. The fiercest and most cutting winds come over this pass onto the Li-chiang plain, rocking the houses of the last village for months during the winter and spring. As spring is the windy season, the Na-khi use the symbol of wind for spring.

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311 *487 [241] *135 *137 Of the forests only a remnant remains, the Lo-lo having burned the huge oaks, in fact cleared the whole mountain-side. After ploughing the ashes under, they plant their buckwheat for one or two years, and then move on again, leaving behind them desolation, only to repeat the performance elsewhere. The slopes of the snow range are terrifically steep and once denuded of their forests, the land of the villages below in the Yangtze valley, of which only a narrow margin is arable, will be in danger of being washed away by the floods descending from the mountain. It is a pity that the government is indifferent to the preservation of the magnificent forests which still exist in this region, and allows whole areas to be laid waste by Lo-lo and Chinese alike. The Lo-lo are the greatest enemies to forests: wherever one meets that tribe one finds desolation; countless charred and fallen trees cover the landscape. When they are in need of firewood they will cut down additional trees instead of utilizing those already lying about by the thousand. This is especially true where they have settled in pine forests, as at Ghügh-t'o, north of Li-chiang (p. 231).

*487 *133 *137 From this forest-remnant we emerge on to a small alpine meadow called Ngv-dzü, elevation 10,200 feet, and continue down the valley, crossing several lateral streams, the last of which is called Lä-ngu-dtò. At 8,800 feet, where the stream and valley make a sharp bend west, we enter pine forest, at the upper end of which is a clearing called T'o-k'ö-shĕr (Long foot of the pine). Here in this forested valley not a breath of wind is stirring, while the eastern slopes of the snow range and the northern plain are swept by gales in the late winter and early spring, and the snow blown off the peaks and spurs in great masses resembling clouds. From T'o-k'ö-shĕr a trail branches north and follows on the middle slopes of the range to a famous cave called T'ai-tzu tung 太子硐, which is described separately. The trail to the Yangtze descends steeply through what is left of the once magnificent pine forests.

Most of the building lumber for Li-chiang comes from these forests; a dozen boards an inch thick, 12 feet long, and 1 foot broad, sell for Yün-nan $3, or about Chinese $1.50 delivered. The boards are of various sizes and grades, the smaller ones selling for Yün-nan $2.50 a dozen. This is reckoned in prewar silver dollars.

The trail winds through the forest, but does not descend straight to the Yangtze. It turns north to a gap known as Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), past a hamlet called Zi-shĕr-dto (Long grass hill) and the little village of Bbu-k'aw-dtü nestled against the valley wall below. This mountain path skirts several lateral valleys before and after reaching Ma-an Shan, where the Yangtze becomes first visible as a broad blue-green band, hemmed in to the west by a range 13,000–14,000 feet in height. Here in the river valley below are situated various hamlets, as Llü-tsu-ndu across on the west bank, and others further up-stream on the east bank, near the mouth of the valley down which the trail leads to the Yangtze. An alluvial fan extends into the Yangtze valley, and here are situated the villages of Dzä-bpö-dzü, Gkv-na-wùa and Llü-dtü-man.

The trail continues through pine forest, at an elevation of between 7,800–7,400 feet, to a bluff of the latter height, from which the Yangtze valley can be viewed to advantage, up-stream as far as A-khi. Down-stream, the

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Yangtze, here called Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 by the Chinese and Ha-yi-bi (Gold stream) by the Na-khi, makes a horse-shoe bend near the region called 'A-gko-gyi-k'o (Spring amongst the cliffs) after a spring and a tiny hamlet of the same name. On the opposite bank is the hamlet of La-zhĕr-lo (PLATE 113). 487* 133* 137*

From the bluff the trail leads to 'A-ngaw-mbu (Rocky hill difficult to cross), referring to the boulder-strewn place. The village is at 6,350 feet elevation. Here a deep valley opens out into the Yangtze coming directly from the highest peak of the snow range, its terminal valley wall is called 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) carrying a broad stream into the Yangtze. On the north bank of this tributary, which is spanned by a stone bridge, is situated the hamlet of Lü-ts'an, the Chung-ts'un 中村 of the Chinese, both names meaning Central village. Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Cultivation extends from here as far as P'ĕr-dtu-wùa (H-M., Padoa; in Chinese P'u-t'ao-wan 葡萄灣), elevation 6,350 feet, and less than three li distant. The most-planted cereal is rice, next come wheat and maize, with red peppers, tobacco and vegetables; potatoes cannot be grown, as everything goes into the plant and hardly any tubers form. Peas and broad beans are also grown. The red peppers and tobacco are sold, the latter in leaf form as well as ground. Every village has its own walnuts, which the Na-khi call *gv-du*. Tobacco they call *yu*, but the origin of the name is not known.[5] Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here. 241

Beyond P'ĕr-dtu-wùa dense pine forest commences which is followed by a stony waste covered with bushes of the rosaceous shrub *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, until the hamlet of Dza-dtu is reached, elevation 6,420 feet, a distance of five li. At this village which is in the ward Bä-lä-ts'o (Chinese Pai-lang-ts'ang 白[北 pei] 浪滄), where Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor of the Mu family, was fished out of the Yangtze (*see* the Mu Chronicle page 73). Continuing between fields we come to the hamlet of Ndzi-mbü-lü, elevation 6,320 feet, thence to the village of Yu-lo, the Chinese Ying-p'an-ts'un 營盤村, 6,300 feet. Various villages, as Ggŏ-lo and Muan-lo, named after two ravines (*lo*), the upper (*ggŏ*) and the lower (*muan*), are situated on the opposite west bank. At Yu-lo the trail turns at right angles down to the Yangtze where a flat-bottomed ferry crosses it to the hamlet of Ggŏ-lo (PLATE 114). The elevation at the river bank is 6,070 feet. A fine view is obtained from here of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (H-M., Tja-ta-schan) (PLATE 115).[6] 487* 133* 137*

Along the steep slopes of the western Yangtze valley wall, covered with a xerophytic type of vegetation, the rocky trail continues at an elevation of 6,500 feet. There is no cultivation along the trail, until we reach the next village of Muan-lo overlooking the entrance of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. On the

[5] The word *yu*, second tone for tobacco may have its origin in the word *yu*, first tone, meaning a wilted fallen leaf, the Na-khi observing that the wilted leaves of the plant are used in smoking.

[6] HANDEL-MAZZETTI's Tja-ta-schan can again be traced to the unfamiliarity of the Na-khi with the Chinese language. His guide, apparently ignorant of the real name of the mountain, and being close to a rather important village called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 (Bridge-head village), in which district the mountain is also situated, called it Ch'iao-t'ou shan, whence Tja-ta-schan.

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eastern slopes of the valley are situated the hamlets of Lu-na-wùa, K'ö-da-gkv, and Lä-gkv-wùa, in the order named, from south to north. The last hamlet is opposite Muan-lo.

On the eastern valley slopes, back of the villages of Yu-lo, etc., is a detached bowl-shaped mountain; it is an extinct crater and is called in Chinese Ta-huo Shan 大火山 (Great volcano (H-M., Tahosa). On its slopes facing the gorge is a settlement of Li-su tribespeople, their hamlets being also called Ta-huo-shan, while on the western slope in the crater-like depression is the Chung-chia hamlet called La-muan-dze. The Chung-chia 鍾家 are immigrants from Kuei-chou; they have a phonetic writing resembling that of the Lo-lo but with differences. Handel-Mazzetti first mentioned the Chung-chia (H-M., Tschun-dja) as occurring in the above village (PLATE 116).

At the foot of Ta-huo Shan, on the very banks of the Yangtze near the hamlet of Lĕr-k'o-ndu, the last village on the eastern valley slopes, is a hot spring much frequented by the Na-khi. The square pool is divided into two halves, apparently for men and women. During the rainy season when the Yangtze is in flood these springs are sometimes submerged.

On the western valley slopes, immediately opposite the Yangtze entrance into the gorge, is the hamlet La-tsa-ku 拉咱古, called in Na-khi La-dza-wua-gkv (H-M., Ladsaku), elevation 6,650 feet. From here, as well as from the fan-like terrace south of it, a magnificent view of the entrance to this tremendous gorge unfolds itself (PLATE 117).

From La-tsa-ku the trail descends into the valley of the Chung-tien River, the Chinese Chung-chiang Ho 中江河, called in Na-khi Yü-ndo gyi (PLATE 118). From the mouth of the river it is 3¾ li to the village of Ch'iao-t'ou (H-M., Tjiautou) (Bridge-head). Across the wooden bridge over the river at Ch'iao-t'ou, one trail leads north to Chung-tien, and one east into the Yangtze gorge; elevation 6,220 feet. All the villages on the west bank of the Yangtze, are under the jurisdiction of the magistracy of Chung-tien.

3. THE GORGE OF 'A-TS'AN-GKO

Ch'iao-t'ou (Ndso-ndu in Na-khi) is 103 li from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, which is 35 li from the town of Li-chiang, a total of 138 li.

Beyond, the inhabitants are mainly Tibetans. Ch'iao-t'ou is inhabited purely by Na-khi, who do, however, speak Tibetan besides their own language and Chinese. Although north of Ch'iao-t'ou are mostly Tibetans, Na-khi are also to be found up to the hamlet of T'o-mu-na, called T'o-mu-lang 拖木朗 in Chinese.

Crossing the bridge at Ch'iao-t'ou the trail ascends the hill-side east of it into fields and a large grove of oaks (*Quercus serrata*), and thence a short distance beyond to the poor hamlet of Lä-ndo situated on a treeless bluff at an elevation of 6,400 feet — indeed a dreary site. The heat is intense in these valleys and gorges, so that the children run about as they were born, without a stitch of clothing.

Here the trail turns sharply into the gorge, and from 7,000 feet elevation a grand view of it is obtained. While the rocks at Ch'iao-t'ou are mostly porphyry, those at the entrance of the gorge are quartz and slate. The trail

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is exasperatingly rocky and very narrow, resembling more a stairway than a path, being only a foot wide in places. In many instances it has disappeared, having dropped into the Yangtze over 1,000 feet below. The scenery is, however, beyond words to describe. We ascend steeply over boulders and rocks whence a sharp turn brings us into an amphitheater with steeply-terraced fields, at the back of which, at an elevation of 7,350 feet, is situated the hamlet of No-yü (H-M., Loyü), a distance of 16¾ li. The mountains are here forested with pines. 487* 137* 133*

In 1922 the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans occupied the gorge at No-yü, and against regular soldiers despatched from Ta-li with machine-guns, they stood their ground and kept up their fire. They had driven out the officials from Chung-tien and robbed the Chinese soldiers of their rifles.

Opposite No-yü are stupendous limestone crags, the last spurs of the range, which extend parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nà lo-gkv (H-M., Dyinaloko), or better Gyi-nà nv-lv (Black water snow peak). This name can well be adopted, for the first and highest peak is often spoken of as P'ĕr nv-lv (White snow peak), and Nv-lv-p'ĕr and Gkyi nv-lv (Cloud snow peak). A deep ravine called Muan-gko-hsi in the local dialect extends from the foot of the crags, separating them from Ta-huo Shan; three or four Li-su families eke out a precarious existence on its steep slopes.

The view in the gorge itself is unsurpassed. Here the snow-topped crags, glittering like a crown of diamonds, arise to a height of 17,000 feet into the turquoise-blue Tibetan skies, while at their feet, more than 10,000 feet below, flows one of the mightiest rivers of Asia. Deeper becomes the gorge and narrower, and the placid stream turns into an angry, surging, whirling mass of foam and spray as it is forced into the narrow rocky prison it has cut for itself. One staggers as one beholds the power and voracity of this stream which has cut the dark, solid limestone, gnawing at the very foundation of this mighty range, the Jade dragon Mountain. Ever onward surge the mighty waters, cutting ever deeper and overcoming every obstacle, even be it a mountain range nearly 20,000 feet in height.

The gorge is always full of haze and photography is, therefore, difficult, unless one employs infra-red films. The Yangtze, whose waters here are of a deep greenish-blue, flows so placidly in the gorge up to No-yü that it is impossible to say in which direction it is running (PLATE 119).

From the hamlet of No-yü, with its twelve Na-khi families, the trail ascends steeply in incredible zigzags over boulders and rock piles, from 7,300 feet, up the face of a nearly vertical cliff to the top of a lateral spur at an elevation of 8,700 feet, or nearly 3,000 feet above the river. Oak trees grow along the cliff overhanging the deep void, and through their branches are visible in a blue haze the cliffs on the other side of the river. There is no lens made which would take in on one plate the river and the topmost crags of this gorge. One's head reels looking down into the narrow chasm with the mighty crags towering thousands of feet above the surging waters.

The trail now enters pine forest clinging to the mighty slopes, and from a a bluff directly in front one beholds the tremendous gorge. Looking upstream is a huge rapid, the river hemmed in by the talus fan of a lateral torrent which descends at a terrific angle into the Yangtze (PLATE 120). Looking down-

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*487 stream one beholds a succession of rapids (a total of 34 rapids through the
*133 entire gorge) — stretches of churning white with alternating bands of blue-
*137 green (PLATE 121). To the right, or south, the walls are perfectly straight, culminating into snow-capped pinnacles and battlements of limestone, grey and forbidding, with here and there patches of forests clinging tenaciously to the buttresses in their lower or middle portion.

A sharp turn of the trail and we come to the small Na-khi hamlet of Gyi-p'ĕr-lo (H-M., Dyipalo) (White water gorge or valley). It is the last real Na-khi hamlet in the gorge and is called in Chinese Liang-chia-ts'un 兩家村 (Two-family village), although seven families make their home in that most isolated of all places, elevation 7,775 feet. Although available land for cultivation is very scarce, these families have their small oak grove and enclosure with stone altar (*muan̲-bpō d'a*), in which they make their offerings and propitiate Heaven in the first week of the first moon. There are, however, a few Na-khi settlements further on, but not worthy of the name village.

The rocks here are white limestone, rose-quartz, and porphyry. Across on the north side of the gorge they are slate and schist, except the summit crags and the south wall of the gorge, which are limestone.

Gyi-p'ĕr-lo is situated in a veritable chaos of rocks (PLATE 122) a most untidy place and having the appearance as if a cyclone or earth-quake had ruined it. From this forlorn hamlet of seven families, the trail descends through dusty, stony fields into a wilderness of boulders, becoming next to impassable, while the heat is unbearable, the thermometer registering 102° Fahr. (March, 1931). On the mighty cliff opposite, on what appears as a large white scar, there is visible a black patch of rock resembling a mule and
[176] a human figure riding astride. This, the Na-khi say, is one of the seven female wind-spirits, called 'A-ts'an̲-boa-ndü-mi, who howls during the night when danger lurks and death is to take its toll. She and her six co-spirits are propitiated in a special ceremony called *Hăr-la-llü k'ö*, and their names, etc., are given in two special books called *Hăr-shu* and *Bpö-lü-k'u* (PLATE 229).

The trail from here turns straight up a vertical wall with overhanging cliffs, and in endless zigzags we climb and climb in the heat of the afternoon sun in this arid waste of stone, to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The rock walls are folded into incredible shapes, testifying to Nature's terrific convulsions.

Arrived at the top of a spur we behold in a shallow amphitheater, above steeply sloping, terraced fields and hemmed in by cliffs, the scattered hamlet of Boa-ndü-wùa, or Boa-dü-wùa (Pen-ti-wan 本地灣 in Chinese), elevation 7,900 feet. It is possible to bring pack animals as far as this place, but not with the Yünnanese saddle-frames, only such as the Tibetans use, where the load is directly tied on to the saddle. From here on, porters have to be employed to carry the tents and other camping equipment through the gorge, for no animal could manage the difficult stretches of trail which remain to be negotiated. Above the village of Pen-ti-wan (H-M., Bundua) is fir (*Abies*) and spruce (*Picea*) forest, overtopped by the mighty snow-capped crags of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the fourth peak in height of the snow range. There is little level space and even the pitching of a tent becomes a problem. Here are no more Na-khi, but Li-su and Chinese families, squatters from Ssu-ch'uan who have selected this difficult region to extract from the barren soil barely

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enough to keep body and soul together. They come in contact with no one, and are left alone by the officials, who probably are unaware of their existence. The distance from No-yü to Pen-ti-wan is 37 li, but most of it is vertical rather than horizontal. Like an ant one must crawl over the exasperating trail where progress is slow, to say the least.

From Pen-ti-wan the trail leads across the fields to the foot of the cliff at 8,000 feet, which it ascends in short zigzags — a veritable rock slide — to 8,500 feet elevation. The going is appalling and I wondered at the time why people, whose lot has cast them into such surroundings, should be so indifferent to improve it. At best they were leading a precarious, makeshift existence among a pile of rocks and in a gorge, through which the wind howls as hot as from the mouth of Hades.

From the top of the spur we enter another but smaller amphitheatrical depression with a central small spur, below which were a few terraced fields and two lonely huts sheltering four families. This insignificant settlement bears the name of Ya-ch'ang-ko 雅昌角 which the Na-khi call Ya-cha-lo and 'A-ts'an-lo, the village deriving its name from the cliffs between Gyi-p'ĕr-lo and Pen-ti-wan known as 'A-ts'an-gko.

Winding in and out of two ravines we come to a spur with overhanging rock ledges, which project into the Yangtze gorge. Here from an elevation of 8,350 feet one can see in the distance down-stream the famous narrows which the Chinese have baptized the Hu-t'iao-t'an 虎跳灘 or chiang 江 (Tiger-leap rapid or river), (PLATE 123). Near it was visible a curved wall extending from the right cliff into the stream-bed; at the foot of this wall, which seemed to completely dam the stream-bed, the river was one white mass of whirling foam.

From this spur the trail leads along the limestone cliff, from bluff to bluff, to a grove of oaks and pines, where under an overhanging cliff crystal-clear water gushes forth. Above, nestled against the cliff, is Kuan-yin Miao 觀音廟, a shrine dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy. From a bluff beyond the shrine the trail emerges onto open grass-covered slopes with here and there a pine tree, indeed a relief from the dreary surroundings of Pen-ti-wan, which has the appearance of a giant mole-hill thrown up topsy-turvy. The trail now skirts another ravine and emerges below a homestead, if such it can be called, with a few terraced fields, inhabited by Na-khi.

We follow the grassy slopes to a deep ravine called Ta-shen-kou 大深溝 (Great deep gorge). The hamlet and a few homesteads are also known by that name. From the edge of the ravine, near a few stone huts where three Na-khi families dwell in utter isolation at an elevation of 6,870 feet, we climbed down to a bluff directly over the Hu-t'iao-t'an (rapid) and took photographs of the narrowest part of the Yangtze down- and upstream, showing the many other rapids (PLATES 124, 125). Hu-t'iao-t'an itself, being directly below the overhanging bluff, remained invisible. The only place from where it could be seen is the other side of the Ta-shen-kou ravine, but as there is no trail across, and both sides are vertical, it is impossible to get there. The scenery here is truly stupendous. Opposite, on the right bank of the Yangtze, a cliff of limestone rises 10,000 feet forming the northern wall of the snow range or, to be more precise, the wall of the parallel range to Gyi-nà nv-lv, third highest peak of the snow range (19,356 feet). The wall facing south is formed by the fourth peak

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*487 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700
*133 feet in height.
*137 Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,450 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-hoa-t'an (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

[342] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses
[515] of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their
[291] garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together
[147] haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a
[342] giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

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top of the spur and to a gap cut through the wall of solid rock at an elevation of 10,000 feet (PLATE 127). The Yangtze roars over 4,000 feet below and yet above us cliffs and crags rise still 5,000 feet higher (PLATE 128). This gap, called Han-p'o-ling 漢坡嶺, is at the exit of the gorge which the River of Golden Sand has cut for itself through the mighty limestone range poetically called Jade dragon Mountain. 487* 133* 137*

It was hazy in the extreme and the Yangtze hardly visible as it flowed through the Ta-ku plain. Although the total length of the gorge is approximately 100 li, we spent five days in this chasm, two of which were in camp and three on the march.

The cliff on the right bank of the Yangtze has various Chinese names which appear on a local map of Li-chiang. Opposite the Tiger-leap rapid part of the cliff is known as Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff house); opposite Ho-t'ao-yüan the cliff is known as Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment). Further on two more names appear for sections of the vertical limestone wall — Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard) and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's comb ridge). The latter is on the right bank at the exit of the great gorge.

4. THROUGH THE HA-BA DISTRICT

Describing a broad bend, the river makes its way through the plain of Nda-gv (Ta-ku) (PLATE 129) until it strikes the massive mountain wall of Dzu-ku nv-lv, some 15,000 feet in height, which forces it to flow north.

From the gap Han-p'o-ling we now leave the gorge and descend zigzag through pine forest to another hanging valley of much more cheerful aspect than any we have encountered since leaving No-yü. It is called Shui-chien-ch'ao 水檻巢 (also written 水梘槽), where some Chinese had once tried to settle but were forced to abandon it for lack of water. Here we camped in peace at 9,100 feet elevation.

The trail leads from Shui-chien-ch'ao somewhat zigzag down the valley, through forest of pine and oak and lovely rhododendron undergrowth, to the edge of the waterless ravine. Here at 8,400 feet grew large cornus trees, wild plums with cream-colored flowers, Lonicera, Ligustrums, and fine-leaved Aralias. Instead of descending further, the trail continues on to a pine-covered bluff where the Yangtze and the village of Ta-ku are still visible. It skirts the forested hill-side and emerges in a shallow and arid ravine called Bo-shi whose grassy head we cross and ascend the spur dividing it from another, also waterless, ravine called Ghügh-nun lo in Na-khi or En-nu kou 恩怒溝 in Chinese (H-M., Yüna), at an elevation of 8,250 feet. Here the country is all limestone and covered with pines and oaks.

A gradual ascent brings us to the hamlet of Ghügh-nun, elevation, 8,550 feet. This is the first hamlet in Ha-ba, excepting those encountered in the gorge. Instead of entering the village we ride across the rocky plateau covered with old scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The scenery here is wild and beautiful; to the west is the glorious Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv Snow range, with a deep gorge, similar to Sa-ba lo-gkv, dividing it into the lesser peaks which line the Yangtze gorge, and the main peak with a broad glacier which extends

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*487 north. Were it not for the absence of water, a more beautiful camping spot would be difficult to find.

*133 To the east of the Ha-ba snow range, the northern limit of Jade dragon *137 Mountain, is a beautiful, gravelly plain called Sho-ko dü, with dense pine forest extending to the foot of the range. Our trail leads across the plain to where it is flanked by a broad spur or hill-side 900 feet high. This spur closes the entire plain to the north, and resembles a huge lava flow of enormous thickness, but is, of course, composed of limestone like the rest of that region. The track ascends the spur more or less gradually through wonderful forest of *Pinus yünnanensis* to the summit, which is at 9,900 feet elevation (PLATE 130).

From the top of this spur we look down into a peculiar bowl-shaped depression hemmed in on the west by the Ha-ba snow peaks, in the north by a high spur, and in the east by another spur, but with an outlet, thus forming really a valley which leads out to the Yangtze. In this bowl-like depression is situated the scattered hamlet of 30 families called Ha-ba. We descend over the spur, which on its northern slope is mainly forested with the Yün-nan white pine (*Pinus Armandi*), while the yellow pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*) covers the southern and drier slopes. The former pine is more moisture-loving and thus chooses the northern slopes where the snow does not melt so quickly. Here on this spur there are also several springs and small ponds. *Tsuga* (hemlock trees) occur in the ravines.

The trail leads down to a meadow crossed by a crystal-clear stream, and makes a sharp turn straight to the foot-hills of the Ha-ba Snow peak (PLATE 131). Here in a marvellous grove of hemlock trees (*Tsuga yünnanensis*) and tall white pines, a spring gushes forth from under the huge limestone boulders of which the foot-hills are composed. To the Na-khi of Ha-ba this is a place sacred to the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits), whom they propitiate. They hold here an annual fair on the 8th day of the second moon, when crowds come to worship, and when their sorcerers perform the *Ssu-gv* ceremony, that is, the propitiation of the serpent spirits and the Garuḍa, whom they call Dtu-p'ĕr Khyu-t'khyu.

5. FROM HA-BA TO BBĚR-DDĚR

[131] *The Bbĕr-ddĕr territory.* — Bbĕr-ddĕr, is purely Na-khi and the people still live in their primitive state uncontaminated by Chinese manners and customs. This is due to the almost inaccessible location of their territory protected in the east by the Yangtze in its deep gorges, and in the west by snow peaks and ranges, the passes of which are closed for several months in the year. It is a world of its own.

Bbĕr-ddĕr is a large, sloping, triangular basin, bordered in the west by the Ta-ra mountains, which are a continuation of the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv Range extending north to south. The pass Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 is its western outlet. In the north it is bounded by the mountains of A-nà-ngv [7] (H-M.,

[7] A-nà Ngyu also A-nà-ngv after a Na-khi village by that name, in Chinese An-nan-ku (Mountain of the village of An-nan-ku-ch'ang 安南古廠), is 200 li south-east of Chung-tien, and is also called Pei-ti Shan. In the winter and spring the mountain is covered with snow. Sixty li south of it is a *ling-ch'üan* ("mysterious spring"). This refers to the carbonate of lime spring at Bbĕr-ddĕr or Pei-ti. In the south A-nà-ngv adjoins the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv

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Anangu), beyond which are Tibetans; to the east by the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi (White water Stream) of Bbĕr or Bbĕr-ddĕr (H-M., Bapadyi), which has its source in the mountains north of A-nà-ngv; the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi flows south into the Gyi-na lo (Black water gorge), which is the southern border dividing Bbĕr-ddĕr from Ha-ba. North-east of the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi are the high mountains of Gkü-dü (H-M., Kü-dü), which is Na-khi and ruled by Chung-tien. The altitude of Bbĕr-ddĕr is 8,000 feet, varying somewhat as the land slopes towards the south, the lowest hamlet at the edge of Gyi-na lo valley being at 7,600 feet elevation.

Handel-Mazzetti calls Bbĕr-ddĕr Bö-dö: this is perhaps a wrong transcription of the name Bbĕr-ddĕr, unless he meant Bpö dü, the land of the Bpö (mbö), or Dto-mba (Na-khi sorcerers), for it is here that the Bpö-mbö still have the strongest hold on the people, although they have few of their religious books or manuscripts left. The Tibetan bandits, who have often laid waste their poor hamlets by setting fire to them, are responsible for the very few books now in existence, as most of them perished with the homes of the people.

Bacot also calls Bbĕr-ddĕr, Bedjri. This is to be understood as Mbe-ddü (Large village), as the largest village of Bbĕr-ddĕr is often called. In the word *ddü* the *d* is neither soft nor hard and corresponds perhaps to the Tibetan *gr* as in the word *sgrolma*, hence probably Bacot's transcription of *ddü* as *djri*. The eight villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr not six as given by Bacot, are: Pu-du-wùa, A-ru-wùa,[8] Ghügh-tu-wùa, Wu-shu-wùa (PLATE 132), Bpu-wùa, Ghügh-shu-wùa, Shui-chia 水家[9] and Gu-dù.

The Gyi-na lo flows into the P'u-wùa lo, named after the village of P'u-wùa situated in its valley, and debouches in a deep, narrow gorge into the Yangtze. The P'u-wùa is joined by the So-lo-dzu from the south at about the same point as the Gyi-na lo joins it, a sharp angular ridge sloping to the north separating the two.

The word *wùa* means to pile up, heap together; another meaning, read in the same tone, is house. It probably refers to a collection of houses, hence is a suffix to the village name of which it must however be considered a part, although village in Na-khi is *mbe*.

The trail from Ha-ba. — From the scattered hamlet of Ha-ba the trail turns north to the foot of the spur which we ascend, skirting a valley which joins the Ha-ba lo (Ha-ba valley), quite a distance below. From a bluff called Wa-'a mbu, 9,250 feet, the trail leads up a lateral ravine to a saddle at an elevation of 9,420 feet, and descends into a lovely valley over a broad earth road, the

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a continuation of the Li-chiang Snow range, from which it is separated by the Yangtze. To the west of the Pei-ti Shan is the Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二蘭杆山, which is 105 li south of Chung-tien. (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 29.)

[8] The name A-ru-wùa shows Tibetan influence. The Na-khi have no initial *r* in their language, and the Li-chiang Na-khi would pronounce it A-lv-wùa, or A-lu-wùa.

[9] It is strange why the largest village, or Mbe-ddü (BACOT's Bedjri), should have the Chinese name of Shui-chia (Water family), but that was the only name given me for the village, except Mbe-ddü (Large village) which is, of course, its Na-khi name on account of its being the largest. HANDEL-MAZZETTI also was given the name of Shui-chia (his Schuidja) for the largest village, and the Chinese Pei-ti is probably an imitation of the Na-khi name Mbe-ddü, though it may also be in imitation of Bbĕr-ddĕr, HANDEL-MAZZETTI's Bö-dö.

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*487 slopes densely forested with pines and large oaks with undergrowth of brilliant
*133 pink, red and white-flowered rhododendrons. It was like walking in fairyland
*137 — birds singing and the atmosphere cool and pleasant. The ravine opens out into an oblong, cultivated basin encircled by forested hills. The fields were planted with wheat, and the hamlet to which they belonged, called T'khi-dtü in Na-khi, and in the dialect of Ha-ba, Chi-chŭr (H-M., Tjatü), nestled against the mountain slope. From here there is to be had a beautiful vista of the high limestone mountains of Gkü-dü, 15,420 feet in height. (PLATE 133.)

Instead of descending to the village the trail keeps to the mountain spur in virgin pine forest. A deep valley is to the east or right of us with narrow, terraced rice-fields far below. Here are excellent camping places, for little streams cross our path everywhere. Near these streams are offerings to the [776] water-spirits of large *k'o-byu*[10] painted with dancing Dto-mba and spirits; other offerings consist of wooden tea-bowls, baskets, goat skins and cane-brake with colored paper tied to it.

We continue in dense forest on the steep hill-side at 8,850 feet elevation. To the east below us is the hamlet of A-wùa, of 20 families, with its terraced rice-fields. The gorge which we have been following over a trail leading high above it is called So-lo-dzu. The path skirts a ravine and leads to a pass, elevation 8,800 feet. The eastern spur of the So-lo-dzu forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze, while the eastern wall is formed by the 16,000 feet high Ha-ba su-p'e-zu (H-M., Hsuetschou schan).[11]

Here, at the foot of a sharp angular ridge sloping north, is the confluence of the So-lo-dzu (from the south) and (from the west) the Gyi-na lo which rises in the Hsüeh-men-k'an mountains and receives *en route* from the north the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi. United these streams flow east into the Yangtze as the P'u-wùa gyi in the deep canyon called P'u-wùa lo. The Yangtze makes a sharp turn at the mouth of the P'u-wùa.

From the pass, in the north were visible the high mountains of Gkü-dü, at the foot of which the Yangtze flows northwards. In this immense landscape of stupendous chasms, snow-covered peaks, vast rocky ranges and lovely forests, one feels like a fly on a windowpane. There is often not level ground enough to pitch a tent; the vertical surfaces exceed many times the horizontal.

We follow now the edge of Gyi-na lo, high above the valley floor, the terraced fields of the village of Wa-shwua (H-M., Waschua) far below us. Wa-shwua is composed of 100 Na-khi families. Pine forest still covers the spur, but soon we come out onto a rocky waste with scrub vegetation, the rocks being sharp, rough limestone. Crossing a bluff with a dry basin which in the

[10] *K'o-byu* are pine boards roughly cut, usually oblong, several feet in length, about four inches broad and half an inch thick. (Plate 135.) Their bases are wedge-shaped so as to be stuck into the ground, their surfaces are planed, and the apex is either triangular or truncate. When truncate it is an offering to the headless demons called *Dtĕr*; the particular deities, spirits or demons to whom they are offered are usually painted with other symbols on the surface of the board. In this particular case the Llü-mun (water-spirits) were painted on them, with dancing Dto-mba (To-pa 多巴 in Chinese) suppressing the malevolent ones. *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E-O.* T. XXXIX; 1939, Plates XX–XXX.

[11] This is the Mount Bonvalot of GERVAIS COURTELLEMONT, which is in fact part of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, a limestone range a little farther north.

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rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil 487* with bushes of Cotoneaster, wild pears, and scrub-pines. 133*

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet 137* elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in Bbĕr-ddĕr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wùa, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first Bbĕr-ddĕr Na-khi, a most painfully polite 576 people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are 142 stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-cloth trousers 291 and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw 302 sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans.

From Bu-du-wùa, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wùa, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. — From Bpu-wùa we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr and are at an elevation of 8,650 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dshi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing 133* from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water.

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

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*133 race becomes higher in one place, causing the water to desert its old terrace and to flow over the hill in another direction, to build anew. The whole hill is therefore covered with ancient basins and terraces, some much broken and covered with vegetation and of a dark grey, resembling the hide of an elephant. Some of the circular basins are fully 20 feet broad, yet are only a foot or less deep, growing ever taller like stalagmites, which they really are, with the only difference that instead of shedding all the water, they retain a quantity in a shallow, broad basin. (PLATES 136, 137, 138.)

One part of the terrace is especially high, forming a large, bulging promontory resembling the fat-bellied god of the Chinese, Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛, whose name it bears (PLATE 139). Below the bulge is a natural slit in the limestone which communicates with the interior. Here barren women come to pray for children, burning incense before the opening.

In the shallow sinter basins, as well as in the furrows and corrugations of the terraces over which the water flows, there are to be found millions of pisolites or oölites, resembling the roe of fish. These are formed around minute algæ which are the nuclei of the pisolites. They are not exactly round, but somewhat oblong and flattened and never thicker than the depth of the water which flows over them. They differ notably from pisolites known from similar sinter basins and terraces, as those of Madagascar and the Yellowstone of America. Instead of being composed of concentric rings, they are dichotomously branched. They are constantly rolled back and forth by the flowing water; the basins are full of them, though they never grow larger than a pea.[12]

778 The natives and their sorcerers look upon this terrace as sacred and as being the property of the Llü-mun, the equivalent of the Chinese dragon kings and the Tibetan Lu (serpent spirits; written kLu). *K'o-byu* offerings adorn the spring (PLATE 135), as also paper streamers, saplings, etc. Under the trees is a stone altar on which the Dto-mba (priests) burn pine branches and incense, while they chant incantations to propitiate the Llü-mun. They have a special ceremony called *Ssu-gv*, during which many books are chanted and many objects offered to propitiate the serpent spirits. The books of this ceremony, as well as those belonging to numerous other ceremonies performed by the Na-khi, I have translated and these will form two separate volumes.

*133 The spring and terraces have no connection with the deep ravine and valley
312 which encircle this hill; the water is forced up to the surface from hundreds of
[164] feet below. It forms the water-supply of most of the villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr. Goitre is very prevalent, but the inhabitants should never suffer from indigestion. The water is conveyed to the villages first in a ditch and then in wooden flumes which, after having been in use for a certain time, have a most curious appearance. The ditches are encrusted with lime and the flumes have become so filled with it that the boards merely serve as support for the limestone which has been built up above the edge and bulges over the boards. The water thus flows in a limestone trough several inches above the original flume. At Gu-dù the water empties from the flume to the ground. Here the mouths of the hollowed out logs which serve as troughs look as if they were covered with icicles. The main stream of water has formed a stalactite, while from the ground

[12] DR. HOFFET, of the Geological Service of Indo-China, kindly analysed these pisolites for me.

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a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133*

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bběr-dděr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 [156] [291]

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bběr-dděr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bběr-dděr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bběr-dděr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] 778 [191]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bběr-dděr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bběr-dděr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bběr-p'ěr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ěr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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778 all demons and evil spirits flee. The possession of such rocks, the Dto-mbas say, will also enable them to better drive out demons when performing their shamanistic rituals.

6. RETURN JOURNEY TO LI-CHIANG BY TA-KU

*487 As the mountain passes were still under snow and as I did not care to repeat
*733 the arduous journey through the Yangtze gorge, we decided to leave Bbĕr-ddĕr
*137 via Ha-ba for Ta-ku (Nda-gv), crossing the Yangtze on inflated goatskins (PLATES 141, 142).

Descending again into the Ha-ba lo basin over the pass Wa-'a mbu, elevation 9,250 feet, we take the trail which leads in the center of the valley over a spur between two streams and fields. This trail is a miserable one, as are all those that pass by villages and through fields, for the peasants collect the rocks in their fields and dump them into the middle of the paths. We pass through the hamlet of Wua-pa-dtu, elevation 8,150 feet, and continue zigzag through nearly the entire inhabited length of Ha-ba, excepting the lowest part in the narrow ravine which debouches into the Yangtze. It is the poorest part, arid and composed of limestone, the stream in a deep gorge below; it has been occupied, however, similarly to unwanted places in the Yangtze gorge, by Ssu-ch'uanese squatters.

The trail crosses the stream which flows along the southern valley wall, much the smaller stream of the two, and then leads up the hill-side along the slopes of the southern valley wall of Ha-ba lo, at an elevation of 7,700 feet. The trail then enters more pleasing country, away from habitations, into lovely pine forest. Looking back a marvellous view is to be had of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the snow peak. Continuing near the top of the spur we come to a grassy bluff and then turn south to the little hamlet called Lä-t'o-dshi, elevation 7,800 feet. Here the Na-khi have adopted Chinese customs and we meet again with graves. From this village we follow the Yangtze up-stream, we going south, the river flowing north, in a deep, barren gorge which on its eastern side is precipitous and composed of grey limestone, culminating into the peaks of Dzu-ku nv-lv. On a terrace overlooking the Yangtze is the hamlet of Lo-ndo.

The pine forest gives way to scrub vegetation and an arid rocky waste without a tree, and the temperature over 100° F. After skirting a ravine with a dry, rocky stream-bed, we turn sharply to the hamlet of Za-ba (H-M., Sabe), elevation 7,100 feet.

To view the exit of the Yangtze gorge, I continued a short distance along a pine-covered spur to a small bluff directly facing its outlet. From the bluff called Ghügh-shi-gku, elevation 7,000 feet a grand vista opens out into the gorge and up the broad slope of the third highest peak of the Li-chiang Snow range, Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv; its summit is a broad, oblong declivity, covered in the upper third with a vast sheet of ice.

From near Ghügh-shi-gku the trail leads over a bare, rocky flat with sandy fields, where the Na-khi of Za-ba grow pumpkins in the summertime. Here is also situated the hamlet of Yu-k'o, elevation 6,200 feet. We cross over the barren, sandy fields to the edge of the Yangtze valley at an elevation of 6,050 feet.

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Na-khi swimmers with their goatskins had been summoned from the various villages, and were ready to ferry us across the rapid-flowing river to the opposite shore in the Li-chiang district. Below the edge of the main valley is a terrace over which we made our way and then zigzag to the only place available on the bank of the river, among huge boulders, where loads could be untied. Here also was an eddy in the river which permitted the swimmers to get back to the starting point. 487* 133* 137*

Two of them would undress at a time, fastening the goatskins to their bodies by means of straps over their buttocks, that is, they would slip them on like a pair of trousers. The neck of the skin is held in one hand close to the mouth and is thus easily inflated. The raft consisted of a few sticks to which eight inflated goatskins were tied (PLATE 143). To cross one lay flat on one's stomach on the raft. One man and a trunk or box would be ferried across at a time (PLATE 144). One Na-khi with his inflated goatskin would be in front of the raft, pulling with a rope, and one behind would push. The river was swift indeed. Once in the center of the current the raft is carried down at express speed about one-third of a mile to another eddy among a pile of boulders. The horses and mules must swim; they are held by either one or two men with goatskins tied to their bodies and thus paddle across the river.

The height of the Yangtze near Ta-ku, at the place where one is now ferried across on goatskin rafts, is 5,300 feet. The river thus drops 770 feet in about 115 li (35 miles) from the ferry at Yu-lo (6,070 feet) to the ferry at Ta-ku (5,300 feet). The entire river-bed is conglomerate, like the plain of Ta-ku. The main village of Ta-ku is one and a half li from the river bank and at a height of 5,900 feet above sea-level and 600 feet above the Yangtze.

7. T'AI-TZU TUNG, OR CAVE OF THE HEIR APPARENT, IN A-HSI LI

The Na-khi of Li-chiang believe in three mountain spirits of whom Sa-ddo is the most venerated, as the god of the Li-chiang Snow range. The legends connected with Sa-ddo, or Sa-ddon as he is also spoken of, and the history of his temple at the foot of the snow range on its eastern slopes, etc., is related elsewhere (*see* p. 191-200). 176

Sa-ddo had two elder brothers. The first was called Aw-wùa-wùa, who dwelled on the western slopes of the snow range in a limestone cave called T'ai-tzu tung, after an Imperial heir apparent who came to live there. History is, however, silent as to the identity of the heir apparent or the date of his father's reign.

The second elder brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and his temple is at La-shi Na-ngyu-wùa, west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih-pa.

T'ai-tzu tung is situated on the western slopes of the snow range and is mentioned under the A-khi or A-hsi district to which it belongs. It is visited by crowds of pilgrims during the second moon. 487* 133*

To reach T'ai-tzu tung we follow the same trail over Hăr-lĕr mbu as described on the journey to the Yangtze gorge of 'A-ts'an-gko, as far as T'o-k'ö-shĕr. From this place instead of descending the valley we turn north through pine forest into a bowl-shaped depression in which is situated the hamlet of Muan-ndĕr, elevation 8,575 feet. As seen from here the crags of the snow range are 137*

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*487 of two distinct types, the uppermost, which form its backbone, are of a whitish-
*133 grey, while the lower ones are a deep chocolate-colored limestone. The con-
*137 trast is very striking, especially when illuminated by the setting sun.

From Muan-nděr we ascend a valley densely forested with pine, inhabited by large black woodpeckers with a red cap on top of their head (*Macropicus Forresti*), flying from tree to tree, while in the low oak scrub we found *Pucrasia Meyeri*, the *K'aw-k'aw* of the Na-khi, so named after its call while in search of food over the hill-sides. The trail climbs over a spur whence the Yangtze is visible, and along the pine-forested slopes towards a large gulch (the Gyi-p'ěr lo which debouches into the Yangtze); and thence into a bowl-like depression. We have now arrived at the alpine meadow of Lä-dzu gko, elevation 10,700 feet, not exactly a beauty spot, for the forests have been burnt and what is left is being ruined by cattle which the Na-khi bring here to graze.

Leaving Lä-dzu gko we descend over a central spur through lovely pine forest until arrived in a pure stand of tall old oaks. This spur is the divide between the main gorge which descends from Shan-tzu-tou and the little valley in which the T'ai-tzu (tung) cave is situated, and up which our trail leads.

The cave is neither large nor deep, and, like all limestone grottoes, possesses stalagmites and stalactites. In its recesses I found miniature sinter basins and terraces, such as are to be found on a large scale in Bběr-dděr. The elevation of the cave is 8,800 feet (PLATE 145). A splendid view of Shan-tzu-tou and of the entire limestone wall which forms the head of the deep valley Gyi-p'ěr lo (White water gorge), is to be had from the T'ai-tzu tung valley.

Near the head of the main gorge the forest is more open and drier and consists of pines only, with undergrowth of Berberis and roses. The elevation is here only 10,600 feet while the head of Sa-ba lo-gkv is over 13,250 feet, a considerable difference in the height of the two gorges, of which the western one is, however, much longer and, unlike the eastern one, has an outlet.

At the head of the Gyi-p'ěr lo a gorge extends from the south at the foot of the cliffs of the snow range. It is filled with scree on which there are dark areas, denoting forests of Abies at 14,000 feet or more. This lateral gorge separates the upper white-gray limestone crags from the lower chocolate-colored crags. The dark cliffs, which form the northern wall of the main gorge, are entirely occupied by yellowish-green junipers, handsome, tall, heavy-trunked trees. Junipers love southern, dry exposures where the snow melts quickly, while northern exposures are always occupied by spruces, firs and hemlocks, which like moisture. Here the snows lie for a considerable time and allow a carpet of moss to develop.

The gorge is without a sign of life, not a bird was to be seen. Apparently this is due to its waterless condition, not even a tiny brook being visible. The wall of limestone at the head of the gorge culminating in Shan-tzu-tou, is known to the Na-khi of the Yangtze valley as 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) (PLATE 146).

From below the T'ai-tzu tung, the gorge (Gyi-pěr lo), here called Gyi-p'ěr k'a makes a sharp turn north-west to the Yangtze. It is several hundred feet deep, a bridge spanning it at 8,100 feet elevation. From the bridge the stream-bed drops 1,800 feet to where another bridge spans it on the main road at 'A-ngaw-mbu, and where it debouches into the Yangtze.

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Large Macacus monkeys inhabit the central part of this valley. They move in companies, settle in the fields of the neighboring villages, and eat the crops of the farmers, especially those of broad beans and turnips. [136] 137*

Some distance below T'ai-tzu tung a narrow trail leads down into the deep gorge Gyi-p'ĕr k'a with walls vertical in places, the lower slopes mainly forested with oaks and pines. Here on the western side there is no glacier moraine and the forests extend to the very foot of the cliffs. To where the trail descends into the gorge there is no sign of water, but immediately below the trail there is a tremendous drop in the stream-bed, and from the rock wall a huge volume of water issues, forming a large stream which debouches into the Yangtze at the village of Lü-ts'an. 133* 487*

From where the path (coming from T'ai-tzu tung) strikes the white, waterless stream-bed to the head of the Gyi-p'ĕr lo gorge is a distance of 10 li. A terrace densely forested is to the south of it, and a woodman's trail leads to the foot of the limestone cliffs at the head of the valley.

From the summit of Shan-tzu-tou two small dying glaciers descend onto the sloping rock wall but are not to be compared to those on the eastern slope of the range. Here the peak itself looks insignificant, due to the small quantity of snow and the absence of the lower peaks and promontories which make the eastern side so beautiful. The slopes of Gyi-p'ĕr lo are densely forested with spruces, hemlocks, and giant rhododendrons 40 feet tall with trunks two feet in diameter.

Bears live in this gorge, as their fresh tracks testified, while huge flying squirrels dwell in the recesses of the T'ai-tzu tung. These are reddish-brown in color with a very pale fawn-colored back; they are known scientifically as *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis*, and to the Na-khi as Fu-chung-p'i, which is apparently a mispronunciation of the Chinese Fei-ch'u-p'i 飛鼠皮. During the daytime it was impossible to find them in the caves, but at night they volplaned out of them onto tall trees growing in front, where they fed on the green leaves. With a torchlight pointed up into the trees, their red eyes glowed like live coals, and thus they could easily be shot down (PLATE 147). 136

Trails lead from across the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a gorge to the forests and bluffs at 10,300 feet elevation to the north, whence beautiful views can be had both up (PLATE 148) and down the Yangtze, up the Yü-ndo gyi (Chung-tien River) to the north, to A-hsi on the Yangtze in the south, and, even beyond, the little lake Bbu-t'u-ndĕr in the valley at Kuan-shang 關上 is visible. 487*

From T'ai-tzu tung a lower trail leads up the Yangtze valley past the village of Ggŏ-ndĕr in a circular depression, the floor of which forms a small lake or pond, and thence over pine forested spurs and along wide curves and ravines to the village of Muan-ndĕr (Lower pond, in contradistinction to Ggŏ-ndĕr or Upper pond).

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CHAPTER VII

Air Flight round Li-chiang Snow Range and through the 'A-ts'an-gko — Yangtze Gorge

489 Since my earlier days of exploration in Yün-nan great progress has been made in China: the most important was the linking of out-of-the-way places with centers of civilization, either by motor-road or aeroplane. Roads in our sense of the word are still rare in Yün-nan and few connect with neighboring 509 provinces.[1] Since 1934 an air service has been established linking this far-away province directly with Shanghai (via Chungking) and other parts of China. An opportunity was thus offered to charter the plane K'un-ming of the China National Aviation Company for a flight to the Li-chiang Snow range and through the now famous gorge of the upper Yangtze called 'A-ts'an-gko. It is extremely difficult while exploring on foot in this greatest of all canyons to form an idea as to the lie of the peaks which hem in this gorge. To solve certain geographical problems I decided to fly through the gorge at a sufficient height to enable me to get a bird's-eye view of it and of the surrounding mountains.

*133 Viewing the peaks from the air, we have learned that the mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko with its towering peaks of A-ssu, A-ku and A-mbu nv-lv (p. 225) running parallel to the bulky pile of Gyi-nà nv-lv in the west, is by far the most important part of the northern end of the snow range (Plate 149). It forms a huge, broad pyramid, the western and north-western edges of which are the walls flanking the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Our picture was taken looking south from an altitude of 17,000 feet as the plane entered the gorge flying in a south-westerly direction. It shows clearly the tremendous pyramid separated from Gyi-nà nv-lv by a glacier-filled ravine, beyond which is visible Shan-tzu-tou, the highest peak of the range. This proves that Gyi-nà nv-lv (*see* p. 224) is to the east of Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as shown on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Viewing Gyi-nà nv-lv from the east one would never suspect that to the west of it extends, parallel to it, this far greater mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv.

Our flight also definitely proved that the second highest peak of the snow range is in the 'A-ts'an-gko Range. In the next few pages I shall give a description of the actual flight through the gorge from notes taken on the trip.

THE FLIGHT

February 3rd (1936) was set as the day for the first flight to the Li-chiang Snow range. It was such a day as only Yün-nan could boast of at that time of year. The sky was cloudless and of a deep turquoise blue, the atmosphere crystal clear. The plane "K'un-ming" left the K'un-ming aerodrome at

[1] Two motor roads have since been opened: one connecting K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) with Chung-king (Chung-ch'ing 重慶) via Kuei-yang, and the other K'un-ming with Burma via Hsia-kuan and Lung-ling. Owing to the war, air service to the coast cities of China was suspended but has again been inaugurated.

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7.45 A.M. Yün-nan time, sailing first over the ancient city of K'un-ming, after which it gradually rose to 9,000 feet elevation and during the next half hour climbed to 13,000 feet. 133*

Beneath us were hills, mostly bare, though here and there covered with pine trees. The country below was like a sea disturbed by a terrific gale, resembling huge waves. At 8.10 A.M. we passed the town of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣, flying over it at 12,000 feet elevation. Twenty minutes afterwards we flew over Yüan-mou 元謀 and Ma-kai 馬街 (Horse market), at an elevation of 13,000 feet. To our right we saw mountains north and north-east of Wu-ting 武定, populated by Miaos. Far away to the north was the Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, land of the independent Lo-lo. Deep erosion met the eye everywhere, red soil, bare hills and small plains. From this region, we first sighted the snow range 150 miles away as the crow flies. The atmosphere was clear and the peaks stood out sharply. At 9 A.M. we were flying at 14,000 feet above sea-level. [134]

From here, looking north-north-west, we could see 170 miles away the Gangkar-ling peaks, over 20,000 feet in height, and first explored by me in the spring and summer of 1928 (PLATES 55 to 59). To the south and somewhat to the west of us was the 14,000 feet Ts'ang-shan Range, which flanks the Ta-li Lake (Erh Hai).

At 9.10 A.M. we crossed over the Yangtze at an elevation of 15,000 feet, the river a mere ribbon, a streak of brilliant green hurrying across the Yün-nan plateau in its arid bright red gorge. Directly to the west and south of the snow range, and extending from north to south, distant 160 miles, we saw the Mekong — Salween and Salween — Irrawadi divides the latter further south forms the Yün-nan — Burma border, and the former further north the Yün-nan — Tibet border, with Lhasa four flying hours, or 600 miles, distant. To the north-west of the Li-chiang Range the snow mountains which encircle the Chung-tien plateau stood out clearly in the crystal atmosphere.

By 9.30 A.M. we were again nearing the Yangtze further west and crossed one of its many bends and turns. To the south lay the town of Yung-pei, now called Yung-sheng (Eternal victory), on a long plain, and 15 miles to the south of it the lake of Ch'eng Hai 程海, a sheet of blue water about 26 miles in circumference. From here we flew straight north, but east of the district of Tung-shan (Tung-shan li 東山里) and parallel to the snow range, which stood out in all its glory, covered deeply with a mantle of white. Truly it seemed to float in the atmosphere like a sleeping dragon, enshrouded in purest snow, its sharp peaks and crags piercing the deep blue sky. An aura of majesty encompassed it; overawing all; its neighboring hills lay crowded about as loving children gather around their mother.

Nearly 20,000 feet its peaks tower into the heavens and yet the ever-hastening waters of the Yangtze and time have conquered it.

We continued our flight in a northerly direction till we came abreast the exit of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge, flanked by the peaks and crags of the snow range. Up to here flying was more or less smooth, only now and then, while passing over the deep Yangtze valley, were we somewhat tossed about.

We flew to the north of Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), and nearing T'o-k'ö-shĕr (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), we turned west over the alluvial

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*133 plain with its scattered hamlets collectively called Nda-gv, or Ta-ku (Beat the drum). The plain is at an altitude of 5,900 feet, and we traversed it at a height of 16,000 feet. It is completely enclosed by high mountains and, bisected by the Yangtze which flows 600 feet below it, looked insignificant.

At a speed of 120 miles an hour we approached Ha-ba nv-lv (Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv) the third outstanding peak of the snow range (PLATE 150) but fourth in height. The wind coming from south-west was so strong that as we neared the mouth of the gorge we were driven close to the walls of this forbidding-looking mountain (PLATE 151). The mouth of the terrific Yangtze gorge yawned and swallowed us. The wind was now terrific. To both sides of us the ice-crowned crags and peaks hemmed us in, and 12,000 feet below us flowed the Yangtze, in its rocky prison and in deepest shadow. The sun, which only for a short fraction of the day shines in the gorge, illuminated brilliantly the snow peaks and pinnacles, outlining them sharply against the blue of the sky. The fierce wind which howled through the gorge caused our ship, which had now reached 17,000 feet, to flutter like a piece of paper in a gale. It drove us towards the peak of Ha-ba, so that I feared the wing of our plane would scrape the ice-crowned cliff. To the left or south of us was the enormous mountain mass which forms the northern end of the snow range, composed of the huge limestone bulk of 'A-ts'an-gko and Gyi-nà nv-lv. The former drops a sheer 12,000 feet and forms the south-eastern wall of the gorge (PLATE 149).

The wind rushing through the gorge at different pressures caused our plane to be tossed about like a ship in a heavy sea; sometimes dropping vertically it would rise in a succession of shudders, then again would slip sideways, losing and gaining height involuntarily at the rate of 1,500 feet a minute. The roar of the engines seemed intensified, the echo reverberating from the mighty cliffs. It was a terrifying sensation to be literally blown through this mighty gorge — a narrow chasm — the ship swaying and bumping as it passed close to the vertical limestone cliffs at a height of 17,000 feet. Serene and as if with contempt the mighty peaks looked down on us as we in our frail craft fluttered at their very feet. As we approached the end of the gorge we turned south, but still hugged the snow range, instead of flying over the now broad Yangtze valley. We flew close to the actual peaks and, nearing the southern end of the range, turned east, flying over the last crag of the range (Hua-lä-bpu) at the rate of 130 miles an hour, to the plain or valley floor at its eastern foot.

-508 We made a beautiful landing on one of the finest natural landing-fields in the province. The place is called Wùa-dtv k'o-dü or Wùa-dü-k'o-dü the Chinese Wa-tun-k'o-tui[2] 瓦墩評堆 and is 8,700 feet above sea-level, and only about 12 miles from the town of Li-chiang (PLATE 152). As no plane had ever before landed here (or, for that matter, in any other part of western Yün-nan), our pilots flew several times around the field examining it carefully until they decided it was safe to descend. Gently we glided down, alighting at a speed of 95 miles an hour at 10.50 A.M. The first trip by air to the Li-chiang snow peaks had thus been safely accomplished.

[2] During World War II, Wua-dtv-k'o-dü served as landing field for many an Air Transport Command plane and the Li-chiang Snow range as a beacon for the pilots on their flights over the "Hump" to Assam.

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JOSEPH F. ROCK

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PART IV

AREA WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

FROM LI-CHIANG TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

101 The western and north-western region of Yün-nan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe comprises the valley of the Yangtze, from the town of Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba in Na-khi), west of Li-chiang, to the village of Ch'i-tsung (Na-khi, Gyi-dzu; Tibetan, Je-drong) in the north on the Yangtze. Ch'i-tsung is beyond the ancient T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) which once spanned the river; it is now under the magistracy of Wei-hsi. The region to and including the hamlet of La-p'u, on a western tributary which debouches at the village of Ch'i-tsung into the Yangtze, is also inhabited by them. To the north of La-p'u are still a few more villages inhabited by Na-khi, but the remainder of the territory towards Kar-ri (the Keng-li 更里 of the Chinese) and Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 is inhabited mainly by Tibetans.[1]

1. THE SALWEEN-MEKONG AND MEKONG-YANGTZE WATERSHEDS

The Mekong valley, separated from the Yangtze in the south by the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 Range, and to the north by the Hung-p'o Mountains 紅坡山 and Pai-mang Shan, is inhabited by Na-khi from A-dü (A-ti 阿滴) south of Wei-hsi on the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, which debouches into the Mekong, as far north as the village of Chang-lung, written lChang-lung (Willow valley) half a day's journey beyond Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛 (Yar-kha-lo) in Hsi-k'ang. To be sure, not all the villages on either bank of the Mekong are inhabited by Na-khi, for they often alternate with Tibetan villages, or Tibetans and Na-khi live together as in Tz'u-chung 茨中 on the west bank. The Li-chiang border extends as far south-west as T'ung-tien 通甸 on the T'ung-tien Ho, and north-west to Shu-miao 樹苗 on the east bank of the Mekong, with Lu-tien 魯甸 and T'o-chih 拖枝, typical Na-khi villages, south of the Li-ti-p'ing divide, which is also the border between the Li-chiang and Wei-hsi districts. The Salween valley (Nu chiang 怒江 also written Lu chiang 潞江), is mainly inhabited by the Li-su and Nu-tzu 怒子 tribes, the latter extending up the

[1] This mountain has been given by all previous travelers as the White horse mountain, or Pai-ma Shan 白馬山. This is due in part to the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a final consonant. *Mang* they would pronounce *ma*, which has been taken to mean *ma* 馬, hence the White horse Mountain. The Tibetan name of the mountain is, however, Pad-ma pronounced Pe-ma, meaning lotus, and it is thus possible that the Chinese have transcribed the Tibetan name of the mountain, as in their literature it is called Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, more correctly 白鋒山 (White sharp-pointed Mountain). In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, p. 3b, the mountain is called Pai-mang Shan 白鋒山. The character *mang* here can only be interpreted as "a sharp point," hence White sharp-pointed Mountain.

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101 Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

*133 The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

132 *133 The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 漾江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

131 To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

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2. SHIH-KU 石鼓

From the Li-chiang plain we go west up the slopes of the southern-most spur of the snow range which joins the further range commonly called Wen-pi Shan and Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv in Na-khi, also known in Chinese as San-pi-wai-lung Shan 瑚碧外龍山.[2] A paved road leads steeply to the pass called Huang-shan-shao 黃山哨, a distance of 10 li from the town. In former days soldiers were stationed there to protect the approach to the plain and city. A small hamlet called Gkaw-gku is situated in the pass, where food is sold to travelers. The pass itself is known as Gkaw-gku to the Na-khi. A few yards beyond the village the road forks, the left or southern leading direct to La-shih-pa, and the right or northern to Shih-ku via A-hsi (Aw-khi or A-khi in Na-khi).

The Shih-ku trail descends slightly and leads past a flat-topped hill also known as Huang-shan-shao. It is sparingly covered with pine trees and from the summit a fine view is obtainable of the La-shih Lake, called La-shi Ḳhü in Na-khi and Lung Hai 龍海 (Dragon Lake) in Chinese. This lake has a habit of disappearing through subterranean channels. At the time of writing (1934) the lake basin has been practically entirely reclaimed and excellent crops are grown where formerly was water. A terrible road leads down to the plain past the hamlet of Ch'ang-la-shih 長刺是. We cross the plain between the lake and the little village of Muan̲-bä, which we leave to our right, and pass between fields and the hamlet of Gkü-la-wùa to the foot of a pine-covered hill and the village of Dto-k'ö (Foot of the hill; H-M., Toke). This village possesses groves of walnut trees; maize, pumpkins, squash and rice are cultivated. Elevation 8,625 feet.

From the village of Dto-k'ö, the trail ascends the pine-covered hill immediately back of it; the soil is decomposed sandstone of a reddish-grey color. The path is narrow and winds through scrub vegetation between sink-holes such as are encountered on the Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 plain,[3] of which it is the northern border. It ascends higher, and the funnel-shaped sink-holes become larger and more numerous, their throats lined with vertical limestone walls. We emerge on to a pass at 9,300 feet elevation which is in fact a plateau with a small hamlet called Ggö-mbo.[4] The village people are dependent for their

[2] So as not to confound it with the snow range called Jade dragon Mountain (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山) it is here called the Wai 外 (Excluded) outside dragon mountain San-pi.

[3] All Li-chiang Na-khi call the plain west of La-shih to Kuan-shang, Lo-shui-tung. It seems, however, that only one cavern, or sink-hole, bears that name. It must be the subterranean outlet of the lake which is so named, for the Li-chiang records state that "it is 20 li south-west of Li-chiang in La-shih li, the natives call the Lo-shui-tung, or sink-hole, the Hai-yen 海眼 (Eye of the lake)," the lake proper being called the Lung Hai on the Chinese military map of Yün-nan. In the summer and autumn all the waters of the snow range (in this region) collect and inundate the land. They then filter through the sink-hole and flow through subterranean channels. Others say they flow into the Yangtze. This is why the sink-hole is called Hai-yen. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* say that the Mu-pieh Ho 木別河 is 15 li west of Li-chiang and flows south-west of La-shih li into the Hai-yen. It seems that Hai-yen is also the name of the lake, as the Mu-pieh Ho flows into it, although the Chinese name for it is Lung Hai (Dragon Lake).

[4] The village is also called Mbo-shi (H-M., Muschie).

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[312] The village people are dependent for their water supply on a stagnant pool immediately beside the trail, whose water is of a deep yellowish-red color.

*487 *133 *137 Beyond the village the path divides, the right branch leading to Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) and the left to Shih-ku. The whole country takes on the aspect of an undulating plateau similar to that of Lo-shui-tung on the Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa road. The sink-holes are crater-like, and so numerous that their rims meet. The soil is a brilliant red and cultivation is continued up to the steeply sloping walls of the holes, buckwheat being the main crop. Na-khi are the sole cultivators.

The upper edge of the plateau drops steeply to an undulating, much-furrowed valley floor. Immediately below flows the Yangtze, making a narrow bend, where a ferry plies to the village of Ba-lo on the west bank of the river. The trail descends now into the Yangtze valley at a fair grade over the otherwise steep slope, till we reach the valley floor and the river bank. Looking west we behold a peculiar triangular peak at the foot of which Shih-ku (Rock drum) village is situated. There is some pine forest on the broad valley floor, though a good deal of it is under cultivation. So much has the soil been disturbed and denuded of its trees, that the whole valley floor is eroded into a maze of small canyons. Sharp limestone boulders washed out from their embeddiments dot the ground. The trail is in many places obliterated and one is forced to cross these miniature canyons over narrow ridges. In places the packed, hard trail is a mere shell over an abyss washed out beneath. The soil is a dark-red loam in which are deeply embedded black limestone boulders of fantastic shapes. On this furrowed, hilly floor the La-shih-pa road joins the one from Dto-k'ö. The trail descends steeply to a ravine called Leng-shui kou 冷水溝 (Cold water ravine), which debouches into the Yangtze 57 li from Li-chiang, and 20 li from Shih-ku. In the ravine is situated the hamlet of Leng-shui-kou, the Gyi-t'khi-lo of the Na-khi. A path leads down-stream to the village of A-khi (Aw-khi), where there is a lovely Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple).

Our way leads upstream towards the curious-looking peak behind Shih-ku. This mountain is called Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 and is 80 li distant from Li-chiang.

When looking up stream near Leng-shui-kou where the Yangtze is about 600 yards wide, one would be convinced that the Yangtze issues from the valley behind Shih-ku and Wang-chiang Shan. Only close to Shih-ku is the sharp bend of the river visible.

At the foot of the Shih-ku spur the Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河[5] [Stream which rushes on to the river (Yangtze)] debouches into the Yangtze.

The Na-khi call it La-ba gyi and La-ba pa-tzu gyi (Chinese, La-pa Chiang 剌巴江), for its source is in a mountain called La-ba Ngyu; elevation 14,500 feet. Shih-ku itself is called La-pa 剌巴[6] (La-ba in Na-khi), and Do-ngà-rong

[5] In the Li-chiang records given as Ch'ung Chiang 冲江, or Ch'ung-chiang Hsiao-ho 冲江小河 (Small stream).

[6] The *Tien-ksi* relates in Vol. 4, fol. 1, that "the Great Yü 大禹 was born in the land of the western Ch'iang 西羌, called Shih-niu 石紐. This place was in Hsi-ch'uan 西川, that is in western Ssu-ch'uan in the state of Shu 蜀. Shih-niu is to-day the Shih-ku of Li-chiang." It is possible that the ancient name of Shih-ku was Shih-niu and because Li-chiang be-

1 [The Na-khi village of Gqǒ-mbo -- Analyst]

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(rDo-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan 老君山, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku. 487* 133* 137*

The Yangtze at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards; on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (GREGORY). [243]

The town of Shih-ku [7] is situated on the very bend of the Yangtze, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety. [505]

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese, the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (力些 or 㑩㑩) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan. 361 346

The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku 鎮吐蕃鼓. At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of 346

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longed to Yüeh-sui 越巂, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Zo Shui 若水, and became the Chu-hou 諸侯 (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌濮氏. There was born Chuan Hsü 顓頊, who for 10 years assisted Shao Hao 少昊 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Zo Shui is the present Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze).

Kun 鯀 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 莘. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no illicit offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 薏山 and there obtained the *I-i* 薏苡 (*Coix lachrima-jobii*, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 24, fol. 27, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石紐山 is one li south of Shih-ch'üan hsien 石泉縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an fu 龍安府 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the *Tien-hsi* to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The *Li-fan T'ing-chih*, ch. 1, fol. 29b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hua-li 通化理. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石紐山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'üan hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jou, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

[7] Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50′ and longitude 99° 55′, according to Major H. R. DAVIES (*Yün-nan*, p. 256).

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346 *hsin-yu* 辛酉 (1561)[8] the native prefe . Mu Kao pacified the T'u-fan and engraved the hymns of his victories on the drum. (This is from the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, p. 35b.)

173 Chavannes translated the inscriptions into French from a copy (rubbing) brought back by Bacot. I give here an independent English translation of the original.

3. THE STONE-DRUM INSCRIPTIONS OF SHIH-KU

The inscription of 1548. — The Song of Universal Peace

"When we had received our orders to go on a punitive expedition against the wild tribes, everything went off propitiously. By virtue of bountiful blessings from Heaven we had an overplus of luck.

"The people of the country, supporting their old men, came to return to allegiance. The former subjects came leading their youngsters by the hand to behold the glorious aspect of the country. By refraining from killing, in order to spare the inhabitants, considerable good works were performed; by applying military strategy to gain victories, both virtue and prestige were achieved. With the flags to shade the sun the accumulated clouds became colorful, and when blood dripped from the swords and spears the cold blades had proved their sharpness. When the bugle[9] sounded the command to advance to the north, the courage of the Huns fell. If shields and spears were pointed westward the enemy lost his wits. Benevolent words transform a region like the grass bows under the passage of the wind; superior steeds [of noble blood] travelling over the country, are like the hoar-frost illuminated by the sun.

"Bravery in war and military resourcefulness are as unfathomable as God, and thus no man should endeavor to wholly comprehend them.

"Fierce as the leopards we overran the land, and the enemy could not withstand us.

"Loyalty we rendered to our Holy Sovereign, and we pacified the frontier lands. For ever our black army[10] will stand guard over a territory of 10,000 li."

The Song of the Conquerors

"Within two years we have carried victory east and west of the River [the Yangtze]. The neighing of our steeds of war was heard thousands of li

[8] CHAVANNES was quite correct in surmising that the inscription of 1548 could not have been engraved in that year, as it records campaigns executed during the years 1548–1549. He says, "et si les deux inscriptions n'ont pas été toutes deux gravées en 1561." According to the Li-chiang chronicle they were both cut in 1561.

[9] *Hao ling* 號令: by this is understood an order to an army to advance, for example, by means of a certain bugle.

[10] Wu-shih 烏師 (Black army).

CHAVANNES in his translation of the song remarks that in no literary text had he found an explanation of the epithet Wu 烏 applied to soldiers.

The explanation seems simple. The Li-chiang soldiers were not Chinese, but Mo-so who call themselves Na-khi and whom the Chinese class under the Wu-man 烏蠻 (Black barbarians), hence the term Wu-shih.

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away. The region was so cold that water froze and frost formed in the sixth moon. The wind was biting, and during the three months of the autumn the mists and the rains obscured the view. Snowflakes were as large as the palm of the hand. It rained from morning to night. With the wind blowing like arrows, the roads and passes were covered with frozen snow. By spreading sand over the frozen trail cattle and horses could pass over them.

"The horses of the brigands marched southward crossing the River, and invaded our frontier territory of Lin-hsi;[11] but the Celestial soldiers guarded the borders. The orders of their officers were like thunderbolts and lightning, and the rebels having lost their courage had no time to gather their flags. They fled, helping each other across the river and leaving behind saddled horses, riderless, and sacks of grain. The garments of the brigands and sacks [of grain] covered the battle-field. Our soldiers vied with one another in tearing away the tents of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 [Barbarians, Huns]. Some crept on all fours and, carrying their spears and arrows reversed, surrendered. Our advancing soldiers shook like a thunderbolt the spirit of Shan-yü 單于 [the head of the Tibetan brigands, is meant, used metaphorically here].[12]

"Heads were heaped up like hills, blood flowed like rivers and buff-coats and rattan shields filled up hollows and ditches.

"To conquer the barbarians we have now passed the years of *shen* 申 and *yu* 酉. [The years *wu-shen* 戊申 and 己酉 *chi-yu* of Chia-ching or 27th and 28th, corresponding to 1548 and 1549, are meant.] Now in the deserts there are no more traces of the foxes and the leopards. [The Tibetan brigands had been conquered and are thus symbolized.]

"A metal tablet 3 >o feet high was erected to commemorate the exploits of the gallant general of the Ming dynasty. The returning soldiers brought back a great victory and their joyous songs resounded like the waves of the ocean. The flags reflected the sun, and the East and the South were made red by them, the brass drums sounded like thunder, which penetrated to the West and the North.

"The resourcefulness of our braves exceeded that of Kuan Chung 管仲.[13] Our men of talent showed to the world a shrewdness worthy of Wu (and) Sun 武孫.[14]

[11] Lin-hsi 臨西 is the present-day Wei-hsi hsien.

[12] Shan-yü according to Ma Tuan-lin is equivalent to the modern Khan. Shan-yü has the meaning of vast, extensive. The first Shan-yü mentioned in the *Han Shu* ch. 94, fol. 5a was a Hsiung-nu by name T'ou-man 頭曼. In his wars against the Ch'in 秦 (255–207 B.C.) he was not victorious. Thereafter he retired to the north where he lived for more than ten years. His son and heir apparent was called Mo-t'u 冒頓 (209–175 B.C.). There were many Shan-yü who were the kings of the Hsiung-nu.

[13] Kuan Chung, also known as Kuan I-wu 管夷吾, died in 645 B.C. He was a native of the state of Ch'i 齊, whose minister he became in 685 B.C.

[14] This should in all probability read Sun Wu instead of Wu Sun. Sun Wu also called Sun-tzu 孫子 was a native of the State of Ch'i 齊. He wrote a treatise on the art of war (*Ping-fa* 兵法) and his name is usually associated with that of Wu Ch'i 吳起 as the two masters of the science of tactics and strategy. It may however stand for Wu 吳 and Sun, but in that case the writer used the wrong character Wu 武 instead of Wu 吳. The latter was a native

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173 "We have annihilated 400 camps of dogs and sheep [the Tibetans are here meant], and swept away 5,000 villages of the barbarians. The wind having blown the wicked clouds away, both the sky and earth were made serene. The sun having conquered the mountain which barred his way, the heights and the valleys were made bright. We returned to submit this to our sagacious Lord of the Ming dynasty; we, with the entire universe, rejoice in this universal peace."

The Moon on the West River

"The chiefs leading a million brave soldiers, their majestic air like that of a tiger and of a plumed bird bent on exterminating, they struck and roared like the thunder. Who dares to disobey! The prisoners of the North and the barbarians of the West, the jackal and the dog who had offended Heaven, earth and the gods, this day we have entirely swept away, and suppressed those offensive beings.

"We shall enjoy a superabundant prosperity and peace in perpetuity."

"Written in tune as if drunken with peace. *A Toast to Universal Peace.*

"The three armies have decapitated the wicked barbarians, the supreme chief is beaten with the ivory drumstick. The heads of the dogs lay covering the ground, piled up as at the Feng and Yü 封嵎.[15] Our military virtue was made to rebound; the streams of blood eddied around the armor and ○○.[16] The bodies of the slaughtered lay so thick that our horses could not move, the prowess of our soldiers was such that the western corner was pacified. Their names are sung through the ages."

"In the great Ming dynasty, Chia-ching, the 27th year (1548), when the dragon was in the attitude *wu-shen* 戊申 on an auspicious day in the middle of Spring, our great general, the pacificator of the West, the lord of the purple gold, sung this while playing on his sword [illegible] on a musical instrument."

The inscription of 1561. — Records of Great Exploits and Great Victories

"If an exploit is not outstanding, one's fame cannot be achieved; if virtue is not conspicuous, one's standing cannot be established. As exploit means loyalty to the king, and virtue means filial piety to the parents, one can obtain

of the State of Wei 衛 who died in 381 B.C. He had studied the art of war in the State of Lu 魯 and gained great proficiency therein.

Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 1825 gives Sun Wu, using the wrong character *wu* 吳, it should be *wu* 武. The biography of Sun Wu may be found in the *Shih Chi*, ch. 65, fol. 1a.

[15] The mountains of Feng and Yü are in the province of Che-chiang, and there, in the days of Confucius, a gigantic bone pile existed. Feng Shan is 18 li from the hsien city of Wu-k'ang 武康. A prince of the Wang-mang 王莽 family dwelled on the Feng Yü mountains. In the T'ang dynasty the mountains were called Fang-feng Shan 防風山 and Yü Shan 禹山. The latter is 2 li south-east of Feng Shan.

[16] Two Chinese characters have been defaced and hence illegible.

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exploit through loyalty, and virtue through filial piety. Be loyal after you have become noble, and you shall keep the hereditary rank; be filial after you have become wealthy, and you shall retain the position permanently. Within the four seas, in China as well as in foreign countries, the great virtue of loyalty and filial piety constitutes the universal ruling force, from which people derive blessings, glories and perpetual inheritance. Heaven helps human beings to attain their aims, and would be moved by their consciousness. 173

"In the year *wu-shen* 戊申 (1548) the Tibetan robbers depredated the territory of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 of the district of Lin-hsi.[17] My honorable father ordered me, his eldest son, Mu Kao, to take command and lead the brave soldiers to exterminate the bandits. In the same year, the eighth moon and 9th day (September 10th, 1548) we arrived at Li-kan-mao 利干毛. Before the sun had risen we advanced on the retreating brigand soldiers numbering more than 200,000; over 2,800 of them were decapitated. Success was as easy as the splitting of bamboos. Our troops advanced as far as Kung-tsu 碛租 before we returned.

"Upon reporting the victory to the three high provincial officials, the superiors bestowed golden medals, golden flowers, colorful satins, cows and wine to reward the rank and file; and gave to my honorable father the farms (of the great victor) of Mu-chien and A-hsi,[18] 1,000 taels of gold, and 10,000 of silver, ten pairs of various sorts of silk gauzes, satins, damasks, and lustrines, one gold goblet, one pair of gold fruit trays, one complete set of gold medals, and a gold necklet bearing the inscription, "With a sincere heart you have responded for the benefit of the Empire," one pair of golden flowers, one golden belt, one set of golden saddles, and one white horse.

"In the eighth moon of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (August 23rd to September 20th, 1549) when the Tibetans again invaded the border region of Chao-k'o 昭可 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of Chü-chin 巨津,[19] orders were given me, Mu Kao,

[17] The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 38, ch. 71, p. 6a, writes Mao-ch'ü-kung 毛佉公, and states that it came under Wei-hsi 維西 (formerly called Lin-hsi) and that from Wei-hsi to A-te-chiu 阿德囚 were six stages, and from the latter to T'ien-chu-chai 天柱寨 were three stages, and thence to Mao-ch'ü-kung another three stages, and from the latter place to Tibet 54 stages. Mao-ch'ü-ko was, therefore, 12 stages from Wei-hsi, it is not stated in what direction but probably towards A-tun-tzu.

Lin-hsi was north-west of Li-chiang 460 li. The district was created in the Yüan dynasty in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277). To the west of Lin-hsi was the T'u-fan territory.

CHAVANNES says that in the Mu Chronicle the name Mao-ch'ü-ko appears twice, in the 14th and 16th generations. In the second instance it is preceded by the words Ni-na. Nyi-na is the Na-khi name of Wei-hsi.

[18] Mu-chien 木堅 is a district east of Li-chiang comprising a number of villages. It is called in Na-khi, Ss-ngyi; Mu-chien is a translation of the words Ss-ngyi (Durable wood). A-hsi is a village as well as a district on the Yangtze west of Li-chiang and north-east of Shih-ku. The words used here are: ta-sheng chuang 大勝庄 = farm-steads of the great victor, *i.e.* the farms belonging to the great victorious Mu family.

[19] Chü-chin is now obsolete. It was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an 羅波九睒; west of it was the T'u-fan district. The great chiefs of the Mo-so lived there for generations. In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), in the Chiu-t'an 九睒, was established Chü-chin chou, but belonging to Li-chiang Lu 麗江路 (Li-chiang Circuit).

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173 to mobilize a large force to proceed to Pa-t'o-chai 巴托寨. There we fought and the brigands received a crushing defeat, with over a thousand of them beheaded by our forces, and innumerable more drowned in the river. After that our troops marched to Kan-to-kuang 干朵光 and other peaceful regions, in order to soothe and pacify the people ere they returned.

"The success was again reported to the superiors and a reward similar to that of the previous occasion was bestowed on my venerable father as before.

"My venerable father said, 'He who practises benevolence has no enemy. He who plans strategy in his tent assures victory a thousand li distant. The Mu family has for generations been the protecting barrier of the Ming empire.

" 'It maintained peace with firmness in the entire region. If in the south of Tien 滇 [Yün-nan] the chickens and dogs are not afraid, and if the army and the people live in peace, is that not, in brief, due to the grace of the Mu family?

" 'In order to show publicly his loyal heart, a vassal worthy of the name, whether asleep or while eating, must never forget [what he owes to the sovereign]; therefore my sons and grandsons shall wear the golden belt embossed with the flowers which was bestowed on us in recompense by Imperial decree and which bears the words, 'To a loyal heart which responded for the benefit of the Empire,' and hereditarily shall defend Li-chiang.'

"As lofty as the height of the North Sacred Mountain, and as vast as the expanse of the South Sea [so be the majesty of the Mu family]. We have engraved this inscription on this stone in order that it may be handed down to posterity.

Poetry says:

"In recompensing the favors of the Empire, he brandished a pair of swords, and the wind and the rain were made to whirl busily. When he brandished a single sword, devils and spirits would hide away. With his heroism the frontier regions were kept in strict order; the cold brightness of his sword penetrated the constellations of the Cow-herd and the Great Bear. He had been the key to a stone gate in hereditarily defending the territory of the Ming dynasty."

This is now followed by the Song of Peace:

The Toast to Universal Peace

"We inscribed the ode about the great victories; we have composed with joy the rhymes about universal peace; for the three armies when the merits gained by each one were repeatedly discussed, it was a rare and beautiful spectacle. The brocaded silk garments, in front and behind, were singularly

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The iron chain-bridge was the point of friendly intercourse between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'u-fan, and on that account it was called Ta-chin-tu 大津渡 (Great ford) (over the Yangtze). Hence also Chü (the great) chin (ford or mart), *See* page 289.

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harmonious. The red hue of the banners reflected the first movements of the sun; the merry songs were heard a hundred li away. 173

"In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561) when the dragon was in the attitude of *hsin-yu* 辛酉, in the ninth moon (October 9th to November 6th) on an auspicious day, the civil and military prefect of Li-chiang, hereditary T'u-ssu [native chief], received by Imperial decree and favor promotion to the grade of mandarin of the third rank, and a dignity similar to the nine ministers was bestowed by the supplementary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 [vice-minister, ○○○], MU KAO of the hereditary Mu family ○○."

4. FROM SHIH-KU TO CHÜ-TIEN 石鼓 巨甸

From Shih-ku the trail descends to the Ch'ung-chiang Ho (Major Davies' Hsi-mi Ho), the Pa-tzu gyi (La-ba gyi) of the Na-khi. Old willows line the banks of the stream, while a covered wooden bridge, the posts held together by crudely forged chains, spans it.[20] Arrived at the Yangtze (the Chinese Ch'ang Chiang 長江 or Long River) we follow its western bank under the shade of giant willows which have weathered many a flood. The river is here very broad and its waters a silvery gray; it is decidedly picturesque where it turns to the east and then north, to cut through the Li-chiang Snow range. The fields are of a rich sandy loam and bear excellent crops of rice and maize much finer in every way than on the upper slopes. 487* 133* 137* [243]

We now enter the wide river valley and lose sight of the spur on which Shih-ku is situated. The mountains rise steeply on both sides of the valley floor, exposing reddish-yellow sandstone; the grassy slopes support scattered pine trees with long drooping branches. A few li over a sandy road through broad maize-fields, bring us to the hamlet of Shih-men-kuan 石門關[21] (Stone gate pass); diagonally opposite on the east bank of the river is the hamlet of Boa-t'a-wùa (H-M., Botauo). This is a historic spot. A native Supervisor (Hsün-chien 巡檢) was established here in the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) of the Yüan dynasty, but later abolished. In ancient days it belonged to the district of Chü-chin and to the village La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 (the present Shih-ku, for the latter is called La-ba in Na-khi). Many battles have been fought here against the T'u-fan who dwelled to the north of it. It was the battle-ground of the T'ang, as well as of the Mongol and the Ming generals.[22]

[20] The bridge is called Lai-yüan ch'iao 來遠橋, and is also known by the name of Tiao-ch'iao-kuan 弔橋關; and was built in the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739).

[21] The distances from Li-chiang to Chü-tien and beyond are given as follows in the Li-chiang records, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34: from Li-chiang to Shih-ku 77 li, to Shih-men-kuan 20 li, to Ch'iao-t'ou 70 li, to the large village of Chü-tien 70 li, to T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關) 90 li.

[22] In the ninth year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (793), P'u-wang 普王, a Na-khi chief, guided the T'ang troops under General Wei Kao 韋皋 to fight the T'u-fan at Shih-men-kuan and defeated them (*see* Mu Chronicle, p. 95).

In 1382 Fu Yu-te 傅友德, a Ming general, was sent to conquer south-west China for the Empire. It was then that the Na-khi chief Mu Te submitted and guided Fu Yu-te's troops to subdue the Tibetans who had resisted at Shih-men-kuan. In 1385 the native chief of

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*748 *133 *137 Back of Shih-men-kuan a beautiful little valley extends west into the wooded hills, while a perfect cone of a mountain stands sentinel at the entrance, crowned by a lovely temple, guarding the valley and the village (PLATE 153).

The trees found along the river bank here are mostly *Diospyros lotus*, a wild persimmon, walnuts and catalpas. The trail is very narrow and follows the bank of the river which is, however, quite broad, and full of islets (October). Red sandstone walls are exposed on the otherwise green slopes of the mountain, which rise steeply from the valley floor. Fields of maize and a few houses announce the fact that we have reached the hamlet of Mùen-tsü-dtu (Mu-ts'ao-tu 木草都; H-M., Mutsüto). [243]

[361] The hamlet is distinctly scattered, for several li beyond is the rest of the village, considered part of it, but called Bü-dsu-wùa-lo (H-M., Büdsuölo). At this village a little stream enters the Yangtze, spanned by a small, wooden, covered bridge, picturesquely set in a grove of willows.

The region is called Hung-shih-ngai 紅石巖 (Red cliff), from the red sandstone cliff mentioned previously. The Li-chiang records state that "it is exactly 100 li from Li-chiang, or 20 li from Shih-ku, and rises straight from the Yangtze, overlooking the same; it flanks the river for a distance of over 30 li and adjoins Shih-men Kuan to the south. It is the throat of the Mongols and Tibetans, and is still considered the dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." It is indeed a very important pass, the only one here on the Yangtze and frequented by the Tibetans, who come, sometimes with a thousand pack-mules, once a year to fetch tea from P'u-erh 普洱 in south Yün-nan. In the summertime, when the Yangtze is in flood, the trail is often submerged and impassable.

Many valleys debouch into the Yangtze valley, the trail passing through bushes of small white-flowered Bauhinias, *Prinsepia utilis*, Spiraeas, a Desmodium with pink flowers, Rhamnus, etc. The path is lined by limestone boulders and conglomerate. The valley narrows and we enter a veritable canyon of bleak, reddish sandstone walls which rise hundreds of feet straight from the river-bed. This is the real Hung-shih-ngai (H-M., Hoschinga), the "dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." The trail is built up of rock, straight out of the river-bed and flush with the wall. Opposite, on the eastern bank of the Yangtze, is situated the Na-khi hamlet of Lä-ndo (Leng-tu 冷渡, Cold ford; H-M., Lindo). A blackish peculiarly shaped mountain guards the other side of the canyon.

The mountain spur which flanks the Yangtze on the west is called Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (*see* Historical Part pp. 95, 186), after which the ancient

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Chü-chin chou, named A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, revolted and took possession of Stone gate Pass, but was defeated by Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, who was marquis of Chi-an 吉安. In 1391, according to the Ming annals, the Na-khi chief Mu Ch'u (the eighth generation, born in 1345, and known as A-te A-ch'u) guarded the Shih-men Kuan, when he became the chief of Li-chiang at the death of his father. He was succeeded at Stone gate Pass by his brother Mu Kuei 木鬼. In the Mu chronicle the latter's name is written Mu K'uei 木奇. His Na-khi surname was A-k'ö. He was the Shih-men-kuan Ch'ien-fu-chang 千夫長 (Head of a thousand men). Later he became a Hu-fu-fa 扈伏法. Shih-men-kuan is the name of a village as well as of a pass.

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Mo-so Kingdom was called Hua-ma Kuo. The Chü-tien River has its source west of it, on the south-eastern slopes of *Li-ti-p'ing* and in Han-sou Mountain 漢叟山. The Li-chiang records state that Hua-ma Shan is 350 li from Li-chiang. This must be an error, or perhaps the extreme northern end is meant, and this would indicate that the mountain extends to T'a-ch'eng, which is 350 li from Li-chiang. On the Chinese military map the mountain is marked from south of Shih-men Kuan to San-kai-tzu 三街子 (this should read Shang-ko-tzu 上格子). 187* 133* 137*

Beyond Hung-shih-ngai canyon the river widens and makes a large sweeping curve on the west bank. The mountains look bleak and dreary and are grass-covered only. Immediately beyond the cliff, and beneath the vertical sandstone wall on the north side, is a nice little temple which belongs to the hamlet of Ssaw-ssaw-gku — in Chinese the name is transcribed Shan-hsien-ku 山仙姑 (H-M., Sansankou) — only one li distant. Willow trees and large, spreading Albizzias line the bank of the Yangtze, while long, sandy or rock-strewn islets are visible everywhere in the river-bed (October).

The trail, now muddy, leads between rice-fields for about ten li to the Na-khi hamlet of Aw-gkv-dzhi. Wide valleys open out into the main gorge. We enter beautiful groves of *Castanopsis Delavayi* and oaks, beyond which we reach the hamlet of Shŏ-dzo (Shang-ko-tzu or Upper Ko-tzu), while further down is the hamlet of Hsia-ko-tzu (Lower Ko-tzu). As already remarked, the Chinese map gives the village wrongly as San-kai-tzu 三街子 (H-M., Sangaidsi), but the Li-chiang records give it as I wrote it down on the spot. The village is situated on the floor of a broad lateral valley carrying a fairly large stream called the Sung-chiang Ho 宋江河, which is crossed by a covered wooden bridge. Opposite on the east bank, in Chung-tien territory, is the hamlet of Nda-lä.

A legend is connected with the cliff at Nda-lä, which is known as Bä-mä-'a. It is the story of a girl who was given in marriage. When she left her home she looked back, and was carried off by the clouds and winds to Bä-mä-'a. She was hence known as Nda-lä-a-ssaw-mi, which means the girl (whose soul) was scattered or blown by the wind to Nda-lä. A whole book is devoted to the seven wind spirits of which she is one. It is chanted during the Här-la-llü k'ö ceremony in propitiation of these wind spirits, who are believed to liberate the dogs of the clouds and wind, and bombard the houses of the people with stones, and close up the water-courses. 821 773

Beyond the hamlet the hill-sides are pine-covered, and the river-bed narrow and of considerable depth. Near here the river makes a rather sharp curve to the west, due to a broad peninsula which extends deeply into its bed (PLATE 154). The vegetation is of a scrub-xerophytic type and consists mainly of Pyracantha bushes, Escholtzia, Prinsepia, Ligustrum, while blue-flowered Didissandra cling to the rock walls. The trail skirts the mountain-side which it also ascends, and here we encounter Castanopsis, *Cornus capitata*, Excoecaria, etc. Descending again to the plain we pass the hamlet of Dsi-gku (Tz'u-k'ai 茨開)[23] situated near the river bank. The Chinese 187* 133* 137*

[23] In the Li-chiang records it is written Tz'u-k'o 茨科, which is the better transcription of the Na-khi name of the place.

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*487 military map gives Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 below San-kai-tzu (Shang-ko-tzu) and
*733 opposite Lä-ndo (Leng-tu), while in reality it is beyond Dsi-gku, which itself
*737 is some distance north of San-kai-tzu.

Between Ssaw-ssaw-gku and Dsi-gku, or Dsi-gkv as the Li-chiang Na-khi pronounce it, are several villages, as Muan-ssu-dzhu (H-M., Musödso), or Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場 in Chinese, on the Li-chiang side of the river; and on the east bank, or Chung-tien side, the hamlets of Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打烈; H-M., Ta-lä), and north of it the village of Ss or Ss(ĕr)-lä (H-M., Sa-lä), and north of this, also on the Chung-tien side of the river, the village of Ch'ou-dzhu (H-M., Tschodjio).

[134] Near Dsi-gku the soil is red, and sandstone and mica abound. Opposite the large village of Ta-t'ang 大塘 on the Chung-tien side, the mountain-sides
[241] slope gently toward the Yangtze. Here along the river cultivation is carried on, while above the fields are dense pine forests, extending into a valley and up the steep mountain slopes on the Li-chiang side. The fields bear crops of millet and maize and, on the slopes above, rice. A large grove of lovely old oaks, through which the trail leads, relieves the monotony of the sandy fields. Here, near the village of Vu-dzhu (H-M., Mudschuo; the Chinese Wu-chu 梧竹), situated on the Chung-tien side, is a long island.

The scenery is weird and lonely, especially where the trail enters groves of Castanopsis, quercus (oaks) and pines; the mountain slopes are steep and huge boulders lie about everywhere. On the opposite side a narrow, dark valley debouches into the Yangtze at the hamlet of Nda-gka-dü. Five li beyond bring us to the village of Ba-lo (Chinese Pa-lo 巴羅) at the mouth of a long, broad valley, almost as broad as that of the Yangtze itself. An iron chain-bridge spans the Ba-lo gyi which issues from the broad valley. It has two branches, the northern one carrying the larger stream; in the southern branch, called Yi-gv lo, are situated about ten villages.

Ba-lo itself is called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 in Chinese (Bridge-head) on account of the iron chain-bridge which spans the Ba-lo gyi. This is, however, not the iron chain-bridge (T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋) which figures so largely in all the battles fought between the Na-khi and Tibetans, nor where the Mongols and the Ming soldiers fought when conquering the territory for China. Ba-lo itself is one of the dreariest spots imaginable and compares unfavorably even with villages situated in the lonely Pa-pien Ho 把邊河 valley in the south of Yün-
[505] nan. Altogether three ferries ply across the Yangtze between Shih-ku and Ch'iao-t'ou: one at Shih-ku, where, since my last visit, a crude row-boat, such as is commonly used in this primitive part of the world, has taken the place of the raft; one at Müen-tsü-dtu; and one at Dsi-gkv.

The trail leads over the iron chain-bridge across the Ba-lo gyi,[24] and climbs the slippery rocks on the other side, leading along the steep, rocky bank down to the plain and the village of Muan-fu-k'o (Chu-ko-ling 諸葛嶺).

[24] Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河. Its source is over 200 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern slopes of the Han-sou Shan. It flows by the guard-station of Ch'iao-t'ou into the Yangtze. The bridge which spans it is called the P'ing-cheng ch'iao 平政橋; it was first built in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737) by magistrate Chiang Ch'iao-sun 江喬孫. It was destroyed by fire in the first moon of the fifth year (1740) and rebuilt by magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣 in the seventh year (1742).

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From here it ascends and leads over a narrow pass high above the river. The cliffs are densely wooded and very steep; at the pass itself stone barricades had been erected with loopholes, to prevent Tibetan brigands from paying their annual visits to this part and to within sight of Li-chiang itself, for the purpose of looting and burning. A little beyond the pass on the plain is the Chinese village of Pai-feng-ch'iang 白粉墻 (H-M., Befeng djiang), in the Li-chiang records written 白粉嶂. The distance to this village from Shang-ko-tzu is 45 li. About 15 li beyond is the village of Wu-hou-p'o 武侯坡. 487* 133* 137*

Thirty li from Pai-feng-ch'iang we reach the hamlet of La-dsu-lo (H-M., Ladsulö). The trail passes through groves of *Quercus variabilis*, over rocky slopes, and along steep mountain-sides, over landslides and boulders — the path being positively dangerous.

La-dsu-lo is situated at the mouth of a long valley which extends deeply into the western watershed. A good-sized stream flows here into the Yangtze, crossed by a stone-arch bridge. Beyond La-dsu-lo are fine broad rice-fields through which the trail winds, the valley floor being quite broad but narrowing beyond, the trail following close to the river bank and somewhat above it. Here in the Yangtze is a long, sandy grass-covered island where natives are busy washing gold in the most primitive way.

Passing through scrub oaks and by sandstone boulders, we reach an old temple, whence one can see Chü-tien across the broad expanse of the river valley, while, beyond, a blue ridge practically closes the valley, save for an outlet for the river from the north.

5. CHÜ-TIEN 巨甸

The trail now follows the mountain, leaving the Yangtze and entering the valley of its tributary, the Chü-tien Ho (Hsin-i Ho 新移河), which has its source in the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 hills. A stone bridge crosses it and one trail leads north from here to Chü-tien, while another to the left leads to Lu-tien 魯甸 and Wei-hsi 維西.

Chü-tien, called Kün-dü (Kun-sdud)[25] in Tibetan, and Gkv-dü in Na-khi, situated at an elevation of 6,450 feet, is a dusty, miserable place; the upper or northern half of the town had been burned by Tibetan brigands. 721

Like their ancestors whose depredations are recorded in the Mu Chronicle, the Tibetans still invade this territory, burn, rob, and loot to their hearts' content, for there are no more native Shih-men guards to keep them back, as in the days of old. These hordes can only be held in check by troops which are occasionally rushed up from Ta-li with machine-guns, usually much too late and after the Tibetans have done their depredations and have retreated into their mountain fastnesses, where the Chinese soldiers are unable to pursue them.

To Chü-tien belongs a lamasery named Hsing-hua Ssu 興化寺, called in Tibetan, Theg-chhen-dar-rgyas gling pronounced The-chhen dar-gye-ling.[26] It is situated north-west of the Chü-tien plain, 10 li from the town. [778]

At Chü-tien (Major Davies, Ch'i-tien; H-M., Tjü-tien) the river is very 487* 133* 137*

[25] ཀུན་ལྡུད།

[26] ཐེག་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང།

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broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou,[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

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The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅婆 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獠, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆九啖. The P'u 僕 and Lu 獠 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 姐羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 旄牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越巂羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 參組羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

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established in the Chiu-t'an 九陂 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü-chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麗江路). During the Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang. 173 101

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T'ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang, in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 汛 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü-tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白蓮 (White lotus), and Bä-lä-'a in Na-khi (H-M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of 'A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅; H-M., Dolö). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggŏ-lv-wùa (H-M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second. 487* 133* 137*

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-khü-ndu (Lower Khü-ndu; Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggŏ-khü-ndu (Upper Khü-ndu; Shang-heng-t'u 上亨土; H-M., Go-henda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 龍巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the

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foot of the hills past the village Lao-ts'un 老村, and ascend a bluff covered with pine scrub. Rafts ply here on the river to the Chung-tien side while others float down the river, from Ch'i-tsung (Gyi-dzu in Na-khi). Descending the rocky bluff over a dusty trail, we come to fields in the now broad, flat valley floor which here is quite uninteresting. Hamlets are situated on both sides of the river, all inhabited by Na-khi. One is of especial interest. It is the hamlet of T'a-ch'eng 塔城 (T'a-dza), actually Hsia-t'a-ch'eng 下塔城 or Lower T'a-ch'eng also known as Wai 外 T'a-ch'eng, the Na-khi Muan-t'a-dza. It was also called T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron-bridge walled town). Another Na-khi name for the village was T'a-dzhi, the Chinese Shih-tzu 柿子 (Persimmon) on account of the many persimmons which grew there.

The T'a-ch'eng Kuan (T'a-ch'eng Pass) 塔城關, called in Na-khi Nĕr-hăr mbu (Gunny-bag hill) (PLATE 155) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and was the border of the ancient Chü-chin chou. Beyond it to the north is Wei-hsi territory. T'a-ch'eng Kuan, 8,000 feet in height, is a triangular rock peak and lateral rock wall composed of grey corrugated schist, it causes the Yangtze to make a sharp bend, and it was here beyond doubt, at the foot of the peak, that the T'ieh-ch'iao (Iron bridge) was located. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 上 ch. 4, fol. 27a, states expressly that beyond the pass was Wei-hsi territory, and the only village here beyond the pass is Ch'i-tsung, which is in the Wei-hsi district. It adds that the Yangtze enters at the foot of the pass into Li-chiang territory. On the top of the pass are the remains of an old Cha-tzu 閘子 or barrier, now overgrown with shrubs and vines. This barrier gate was repaired by order of the authorities in the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1742). The spur known as Kuan-p'o 關坡 to the Chinese is forested with evergreen trees, representing many species. Looking upstream we see the village of Ch'i-tsung[28] (Gyi-dzu in Na-khi and Je-drong, written rJe-grong ཇེ་གྲོང in Tibetan) a short distance away on the west bank of the river, and beyond it the arid gorge of the Yangtze, whence the latter issues from a defile formed by a gray limestone wall. The mountains to both sides of the valley are rather low and pine covered. A large triangular rock peak and a lateral rock wall crowned by smaller sharp pinnacles jut out into the river bed, forcing the Yangtze to make a sharp bend (PLATE 156).

South of the bridge was the T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城, (Walled town of the iron bridge), and this can have been no other than the present village of

[28] Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, of the district of Wei-hsi, shared an official called a T'u-pa-tsung 土把總 (Native sergeant). He ruled over Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, Chia-mu-k'o 加木科, Hsia-t'a-ch'eng 下塔城, and other villages. His rule extended from Ch'i-tsung — La-p'u east to the Chung-tien district boundary, 70 li; south to the Li-chiang border, 50 li; west to the Wei-hsi border and Kung-lung 工龍, 100 li, (a trail leads from La-p'u via Ch'uan-hu 串虎, and Kung-lung 工龍 to La-p'u-wan 剌普灣, a little north of Wei-hsi); north to Wei-hsi T'o-ting 椎西拖頂, 30 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Ch'i-li-chi-pu 七里吉布. Originally he was the T'u-mu 土目, or headman, of Ch'i and La (Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u). In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) the office was changed and the region annexed and a hereditary Ch'i-la t'u-pa-tsung was appointed. He was given the name of Wang Chung 王忠. He handed down his office to Ho Nien 鶴年. After his death Yung T'ai 永泰 inherited the office, and after his death his son Ch'ang 昌 inherited the position in the 30th year of Tao-kuang (1850).

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T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng), which was one of 16 walled places in T'u-fan territory which were taken by I-mou-hsün when he attacked the Iron bridge. The government of the Iron Bridge was thereupon established at T'a-dza. At the place where the bridge once spanned the river, the holes in the stones, where the iron links were fastened, can still be seen in the winter when the water is clear. No trace of these links has, however, survived. 487* 133* 137*

The iron bridge was the border between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the Tibetans, and the same records state that it was built during the Sui dynasty 隋 (590-617) by Shih Wan-sui 史萬歲 and Su Jung 蘇榮; others say it was built by the T'u-fan. This last is, however, very doubtful. The bridge was destroyed by I-mou-hsün (sixth King of Nanchao, 778-808) during his attack on the T'u-fan in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) of the T'ang Emperor Te Tsung 德宗, to prevent them from entering Li-chiang territory, which then belonged to Nan-chao. I-mou-hsün had subdued also the Na-khi Kingdom after he ascended the throne in 778.

We descend steeply over a very rocky trail to fields and cross a bridge over a stream called Sä gyi. This stream has its source in a meadow to our left (west), near the foot of the mountains; it is broad but short and debouches into the Yangtze. A few more steps and we arrive at the village of Ch'i-tsung. At the time of my visit the place was in ashes, having been burnt one month previously by the Tibetan brigands. It is said that a lot of undesirable Chinese and Na-khi had joined the Tibetans, whom the people here call Ku-tsung.

The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, fol. 7a-b, says in regard to the Ku-tsung 猞猁, also written 古宗, that they are the ancient T'u-fan, and that there were two tribes of Ku-tsung, none of them having family names; they live near Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u. In the Ming dynasty the chief of the Na-khi, Mu, failed to exterminate them and they scattered among the land of the Mo-so (Na-khi), and therefore these are called Mo-so Ku-tsung. The second tribe of Ku-tsung live at sPong-tse-ra (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄) and A-tun-tzu, and these are called Ch'ou Ku-tsung 臭古宗 (Evil-smelling Ku-tsung); they are of course Tibetans (PLATE 202). The language of the two tribes is the same, but their character is said to be different. The Mo-so Ku-tsung are reputed to be very much like the Mo-so. This of course, can be understood, for having lived among them, they have adopted Mo-so habits and customs.

It seems that the Ch'ou Ku-tsung who live at Pong-tse-ra and A-tun-tzu are part of the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans 鄉城 who live east of Pong-tse-ra in Hsi-k'ang formerly part of Ssu-ch'uan.

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CHAPTER II

WEI-HSI 維西

I. THE WEI-HSI RECORDS

173 According to the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, and the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* 維西聞見錄 (Transcription or records of things heard and seen about Wei-hsi), ch. 18, fol. 1, Wei-hsi was outside the border of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan). It was incorporated with Li-chiang and its territory ruled by the (Li-chiang) T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect)[1].

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, p. 44b, states that, "In the T'ang dynasty, the T'u-fan T'ieh-ch'iao 吐蕃鐵橋 was the territory of a Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner). In the Mongol dynasty it became the territory of the Li-chiang Circuit, and in the Ming dynasty that of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. At the change of the dynasty, Wu 吳 (Wu San-kuei) rebelled and later his grandson gave the land to the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it belonged to Ho-ch'ing fu. A T'ung-p'an of the latter place was transferred to reside there and to protect their territory. In another line on the same page it says that a Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-class assistant department magistrate) from Chien-ch'uan chou 劍川州, a town to the south of Li-chiang resided there with a garrison.

"Wei-hsi t'ing was the Lin-hsi hsien of the Yüan dynasty. It was in the northwest, and was the land of the T'u-fan.

"In the Ming dynasty the native magistrate sent his soldiers to improve the land; its existence dates from that time."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that Wei-hsi became part of the empire during the Ming dynasty. During the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) it was under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) a transferable official was appointed there. Nothing is known of the previous successive changes in the Wei-hsi district.

The Wei-hsi Geographical Records state that from the Han dynasty to the Sung dynasty nothing is known about it. In the Yüan dynasty it adjoined the border of Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.

No records of the climate or customs of the territory were kept.

814 173 In the year *chi-ch'ou* 己丑 of Ch'ien-lung (1769), a certain Yü Ch'ing-ch'ang 余慶長 filled the function of T'ung-p'an at Wei-hsi. Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, who was his younger brother and had the rank of Kung-sheng 貢生 (Senior licentiate) lived with him in the yamen. He enquired about the past from the old native officials, and also from such as could speak Chinese, and thus he acquired considerable knowledge. Yü Ch'ing-yüan composed the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* already quoted, and it is due to him that we have any records at all about this interesting region, its people, customs, etc.

[1] The office of T'ung-p'an of Li-chiang was established in 1723. The Na-khi T'u-chih-fu (Native prefect) was reduced at that time to assistant prefect of the second class.

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"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) Wei-hsi was the eastern border of the T'u-fan, and prior to the Ming dynasty there were no records. During the reign of Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) the Li-chiang native prefect of the Mu family [2] gradually became powerful and led his Mo-so soldiers to attack the T'u-fan. The latter then built several hundred watch-towers to resist them, and guarded and strongly fortified all important places, such as the villages of Liu-ts'un 六村, La-p'u 剌普, and Ch'i-tsung. The Mu family made a huge battering-ram and, pulling it after them, struck their watch-towers, causing them to collapse. All their important places were then captured, and the people butchered. After that the Mo-so tribespeople were brought to rule over them. From the north of Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄 [3] they came to submit. Thereupon Wei-hsi and Chung-tien and the villages of Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) and Li-t'ang 裏塘 [the present-day Pa-an 巴安 and Li-hua 裏化] now governed by Ssu-ch'uan [Hsi-k'ang], became part of the empire. The Mu family collected the land tax, and this was reported to the throne. In the 13th year of K'ang-hsi (1674) Wu San-kuei rebelled; when his grandchild, Shih-fan 世璠, was defeated, he ceded the region north of Ch'i-tsung and presented it to Ch'ing-hai 青海 (that is, Koko Nor), and asked them to come to his rescue. Wei-hsi was again lost to the Tibetans. After several years it was again retaken. Those territories which belonged to Ssu-ch'uan were kept in restraint by native officials. The affairs of the Dalai Lama, who was greatly respected by the dynasty, were not interfered with.

"In the 7th year of Yung-cheng (1729), the families of north-western Yün-nan were divided and some were placed under the rule of Ho-ch'ing fu. The Ho-ch'ing T'ung-p'an was transferred to rule them and he established himself in the city (Wei-hsi). One thousand soldiers were also placed there under the control of a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel). To seven old headmen was given the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總, and to three the rank of T'u-pa-tsung 土把總.

"In the 19th year of Ch'ien-lung (1754) the administrative seat of the country bordering on Li-chiang was changed and placed under Li-chiang fu." [4]

2. THE NATIVE OFFICIALS

The Wei-hsi Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 T'u-pa-tsung ruled over La-jih 喇日, La-p'u-wan 喇普灣, Lo-chi-ku 樂吉古, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西, and other villages. His ancestors lived at Yu-i-ts'un 由義村, from which village it is 60 li east to Ch'i-tsung La-p'u; 15 li south to La-p'u-wan; west, 100 li to the Nu-ti 怒地, the region of the Nu-tzu tribe, who live on the Salween; 200 li north to the village of Chih-yeh-ts'un 枝葉村 [this should read Yeh-chih-ts'un].

His first ancestor was Chao-mu 趙謨. In the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung

[2] This was Mu Tseng, who fought many battles against the Tibetans of Nyi-na, which is the Na-khi name for Wei-hsi (*see* Mu chronicle, p. 126–27). He was born in 1587 and died in 1646.

[3] Also written Peng 崩 instead of Pen.

[4] *Pei-cheng-chih* ch. 18, fol. 1a–2a, and 17, fol. 84a.

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173 (1742), the Li-su robbers rose, and so he joined the army, and fighting them with energy he acquired merit, and was appointed hereditary Yen-chiang 沿江 T'u-pa-tsung (Native sergeant of the Mekong river bank). The office was handed down to Kuo-chün 國俊; after his death Hsin 信 inherited the office. After the latter's death Chao-chang 朝璋 inherited. He died in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). His son Wei 渭 died of illness in the army. His grandson Chiu-hsi 九錫 assumed the position.

* * *

There was established what was called the Northern circuit and the Western circuit on the Mekong. The Northern circuit (Pei-lu) was ruled over by a T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). His ancestral seat was the territory of K'ang-p'u 康普 and extended east to K'ang-p'u Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, 30 li; [5] south to the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween) 50 li; west to Wo-lu-ngai ch'iao 窩路巖橋, 30 li; north to Ngai-wa-ngai ch'iao 巖瓦巖橋, 70 li.

His first ancestor was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, who governed the affairs of Kung-lung 工龍. He led his drilled soldiers to attack the Li-su robbers, whereupon he acquired merit, and was rewarded with the office of hereditary T'u-ch'ien-tsung. The office was handed on to Shih-lu 世祿. The latter was succeeded by Liang-pi 良弼. After his death, his son Wen-han 文翰 assumed the position. The present T'u-ch'ien-tsung is the Nan T'uan-shou 喃團首 (Nan, head of the Militia).

The Western circuit (Hsi-lu 西路) was ruled by a T'u-pa-tsung (sergeant) who lived hereditarily at K'ang-p'u village 康普村. His territory extended to the east 10 li from the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong); south 15 li to Kan-lan-mu 橄欖木; west to the Salween (Nu-tzu Chiang 怒子江), 150 li, and north to Cha-lo-ching 渣洛箐, 80 li. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) Wang-lien 王連 captured and chained many prisoners and assisted in extirpating the Li-su robbers. He died in battle.

A memorial being granted, the hereditary title of Hsi-lu T'u-pa-tsung (Sergeant of the Western circuit) was transmitted to his son Shih-chio 世爵. The latter transmitted it to Jung 榮. In the military duties connected with the subjection of Yün chou 雲州 [6] and Ta-yao 大姚 [7] he acquired merit. He was rewarded with the Lan-ling 藍翎 (Raven plume) and also the rank of Shou-pei 守備 (Second Captain). Jung died and his son Chi-jen 吉仁 inherited the position.

[634] Wei-hsi district has to-day a total of twenty-one t'u-ssu or native officials.

[5] This mountain, written more correctly Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山, extends from north to south and east of a lower parallel range which hems in the Mekong. Valleys extend to the Mekong at various places. The range stretches north towards Tung-chu-lin and forms the western valley wall of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河.

[6] Yün chou, now called Yün hsien, is south of Hsia-kuan and Meng-hua about six to seven stages.

[7] Ta-yao is north-west of Ch'u-hsiung about four stages, and about eight stages from the capital via the northern route, Wu-ting, Fu-min 武定富民.

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3. THE DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

To the east of the city of Wei-hsi the territory[1] adjoins Li-chiang, a distance of 70 li; the great Li-ti-p'ing Range connects the two territories. In the south it adjoins the T'o-chih ta-ch'iao 拖枝大橋 (T'o-chih is south-west of Lu-tien, and the Ta-ch'iao is a bridge over the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 on which T'o-chih the Na-khi T'o-dtü, [H-M., Todschü], is situated.[8] The Yung-ch'un Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Han-sou Shan which belongs to Li-chiang. It is 25 li distant from Wei-hsi. In the west the territory adjoins I-wan-shui 一碗水 and Jih-teng-ts'un 日登村, which belong to Lan-p'ing [probably the Shih-teng 石登 of the Chinese Yün-nan military map]. In the north it adjoins the A-tun-tzu border at the village of Ta-shih-t'ou-ts'un 大石頭村, on the east bank of the Mekong, south of Tz'u-chung 茨中. North-north-east it adjoins Chung-tien and Te-jung 德榮[9] of the Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 in Ssu-ch'uan, as well as adjoining on Pa-an 巴安 and several hsien of Ssu-ch'uan. North-north-west it borders on Tz'u-k'ai 茨開, where there is a deputy magistrate. On the west it borders on the Ch'iu Chiang 猇江 (球江), the eastern branch of the Irrawadi of the Burma border. In the north it adjoins the Tibetan province of Ch'a-wa-lung 察瓦龍 (Tsha-wa-rong). Its width from east to west is 70 li and its length from south to north is 405 li. 131

These boundary notes have been taken from the *Wei-hsi Ti-li-chih* 維西地理誌 (Geographical records of Wei-hsi) which adds that the southern part of the district is the narrowest and that it was quite broad in the north.

The *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 26b, states the distances as follows: 70 li east to the Li-chiang district border; 1,080 li west to Ch'a-wa-kang 擦瓦岡 in Tibet (this is in Tsha-wa-rong, south-eastern Tibet *see* page 198); south to the Li-chiang border, a distance of 25 li; north to the Chung-tien border, 310 li; south-east to the Li-chiang border, 70 li; south-west to the Li-chiang border, 70 li. North-east to the Chung-tien border, 320 li; north-west to the Chung-tien border, 720 li.

4. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO WEI-HSI

South of Chü-tien the Yangtze receives a tributary called Hsin-i Ho 新移河, of which one source is on the south-eastern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing, and not the La-pa Shan as the Yün-nan military map would make us believe. The stream is better known as the Chü-tien Ho[10]. A bridge of stone slabs 487* 133* 137*

[8] North of T'o-chih, is the hamlet of A-dü which is all Na-khi, while T'o-chih is said to be Hsi-fan.

[9] Also written 得榮. It is in the realm of the Ba-thang T'u-ssu (Pa-t'ang) 巴塘土司 in Hsi-k'ang. The Hsiang-ch'eng country was also in the territory of the Ba-thang chief, but was made a magistracy called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣 in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and the T'u-ssu (chief) was abolished. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese control the region. Rather, since the abolishing of the chieftainship (that is, the native hereditary governor) the Hsiang-ch'eng have become lawless and independent. The region is now in Hsi-k'ang and not Ssu-ch'uan.

[10] The Chü-tien Ho, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 35, has its source in the Han-sou Shan, 400 li north-west of Li-chiang. All the Lu-tien waters join it and to-

1 [i.e. Wei-hsi District -- Analyst]

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*4189 crosses it, over which the trail leads to Chü-tien. Instead of going over the
*133 bridge, we follow the south side of the stream to the hamlet of Hsin-i (Bi-me-
*137 t'ang in Na-khi). The southern side of the lower part of this valley is crystalline limestone, while the rocks near Bä-da are mica schist. The people are a mixture of Na-khi and Chinese, but not Tibetan as Kingdom Ward tells us.
[778] One li beyond Hsin-i we come to the village of Gu-du-wùa; here we meet with lamaistic structures, such as *mani* rock piles, on the smooth surfaces of which is chiseled the familiar Tibetan prayer, the magic formula of Chenrezig, *Om mani padme hum*. A few li more bring us to the hamlet of La-p'iu-gku (H-M., Lapikou; the Chinese, La-p'ieh-ku 拉撇古) which boasts of a large Chinese temple dedicated to the Kuan-sheng Ti 關聖帝.
[241] The trail continues up the cultivated valley where in the order of their importance, maize, rice, beans, and buckwheat are grown, also sorghum. Here, beyond La-p'iu-gku, we cross the stream over a narrow board bridge and follow its northern bank. The trees along the bank are mostly willows,

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gether they flow south-east past Chü-tien hsün 巨甸汛 (Chü-tien military post) into the Yangtze. On the northern bank of the Chü-tien Ho, between the two bridges which span that tributary of the Yangtze, is situated a small hamlet called Pai-t'a 白塔 (White stupa, or White pagoda).

Two li south of Chü-tien on the slopes, above the Yangtze, there stands a pagoda known to the people as Man-tzu t'a 滿字塔 (Pagoda with Manchu letters). The pagoda is actually below a Kuan-yin Temple (Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺) near the village of A-wùa (A-wa-ts'un 阿瓦村), in the li of Chü-tien. It is about 15 feet or more high and is quadrangular. Tradition relates that it was built by Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) at the time of his Burmese campaign. His army travelled by this road (Chü-tien) while en route to attack Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). On their arrival at Chü-tien they were footsore and weary and they camped there. As they were people from the north it is believed that they knew Manchu characters (probably Mongolian script) and thus the building of this pagoda is attributed to Kublai Khan. As the rock selected for the building of the *t'a* was of a poor quality, the characters soon became illegible. It was later repaired and reconstructed and a Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddha) was requested to write the text, previously chiseled into the rock, on the plastered walls of the repaired pagoda.

The text written in Tibetan is still legible. It reads as follows:

"OM MA NI PAD ME HUM HRI!

May the pagoda with basis and globe grant long life, health, happiness and perfection for a period of hundred years (perpetually) to traversing military forces, travelers, etc., while crossing the river which has the appearance of milk.

Erected in the fire — female-sheep year, in the beginning of the year, in the third moon, on the 14th day, on a full moon, on a Thursday.

Chiseled into the rock by the inscription sculptor Nyi-ma, motivated by me A-zho La-tsa-yar.

May long life, health, happiness and perfection be granted."

This last sentence is repeated. The pagoda was to guarantee success to those who were to undertake the crossing of the river at this place. As it is said that the pagoda was erected by Mongols while engaged in an expedition against Burma, the date given above can only be April 26, 1307, or the eleventh year of the period Ta-te 大德 of the Mongol Emperor Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (Timur or Olcheitu). It could not have been the year 1247, the previous fire-sheep year, for the Mongols did not make their appearance in Yün-nan until the year 1253.

Olcheitu succeeded Kublai Khan on the throne of China. The foundations of houses which once upon a time stood around the pagoda are still visible. Every year people worshipped here.

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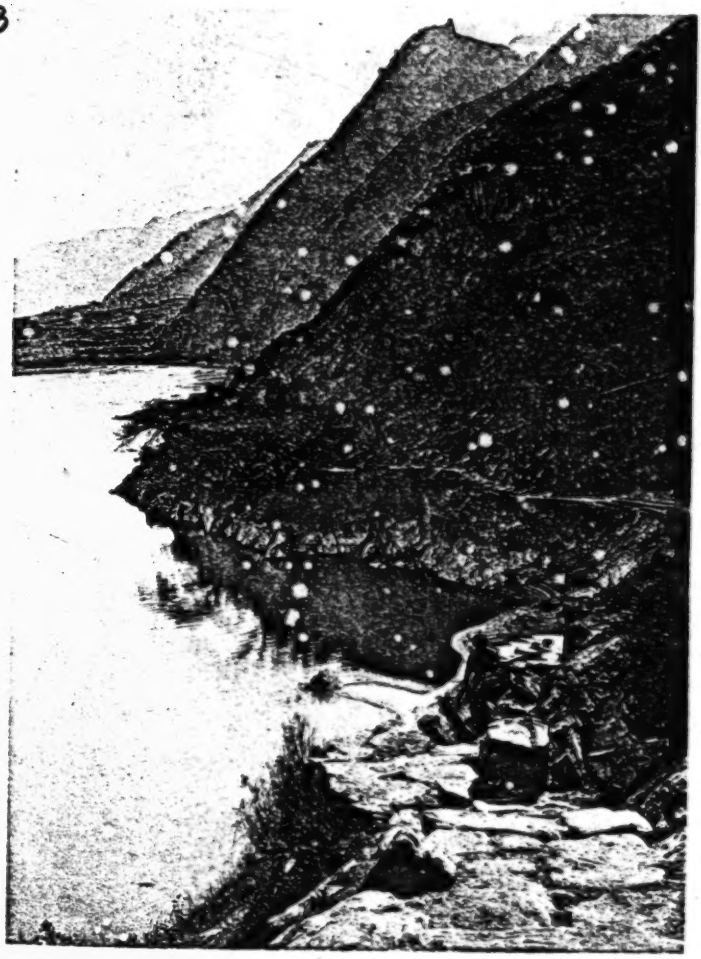

PLATE 153. — THE YANGTSE NEAR SHIH-MEN-KUAN

金沙江石門關

The trail [illegible] Shih-men-kuan is very difficult to negotiate especially in the summer when it is flooded by the Yangtse. In the distance immediately back of Shih-men-kuan is a steep conical mountain crowned by a temple.

[p. 298 A]

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(Courtesy Rel. Geog. Soc.)

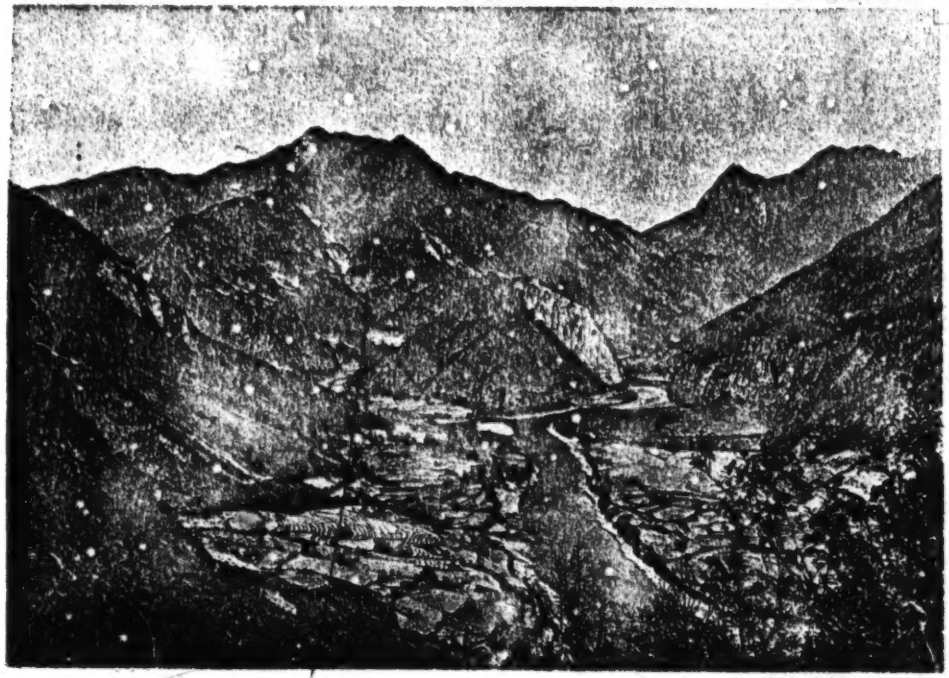
PLATE 154.—THE VANGTZE NEAR NIUA-LI

金沙江牛欄灯 图

The large bend of the river is actually between the villages of Shang-ko-tan and Ta'a-k'ai. Photographed from a bluff north of Shang-ko-tan, 11 stages north of Shih-lu.

[p. 298 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 155. — THE T'A-CH'ENG KUAN, ONE OF THE MOST HISTORIC PASSES OF NORTHWESTERN YÜN-NAN

金沙江塔城關北面光景

The T'a-ch'eng Kuan is now the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border. In the T'ang dynasty and prior to it, it was the Na-khi — Tibetan border. An iron-chain bridge once spanned the Yangtze here. This bridge was destroyed in 794 A.D. Photographed from the top of the pass, also called Kuan-p'o, elevation 8,000 feet, looking north to Ch'i-tsung, visible to the left.

[p. 298 c]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 156. — THE YANGTSE AT CH'I-TSUNG

古時藏和北麗交界處

The defile is the ethnic border between the Na-khi and Tibetans. The river flows through arid gorges and is still the border between Chung-tien and Wei-hsi — To-ch'in (A-tun-tsu) as far as T'o-hsien 陀縣. From there on it becomes the border between To-ch'in and Hsi-k'ang.

[p. 298 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibet Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 157.—A NA-KHI WITH CROSSBOW

魯甸麗江射弩

A Na-khi from the village of Lu-tien on the Li-ti-p'ing, showing how to use the crossbow.

[p. 298 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 158. — THE TOWN OF WEI-HSI

維西城

The town consists of about 400 houses and is at an elevation of 8,000 feet. Its inhabitants are mostly Chinese. The Na-khi call it Nyi-na, the Tibetans Ba-lung.

[p. 298 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 159. — NA-KHI LAMAS OF THE YELLOW SECT

黃教納西喇嘛

Unlike the Li-chiang Na-khi lamas who belong to the Karma-pa sect, the lamas of K'ang-p'u, Shou-kuo Seu, belong to the reformed Yellow Sect.

[p. 298 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

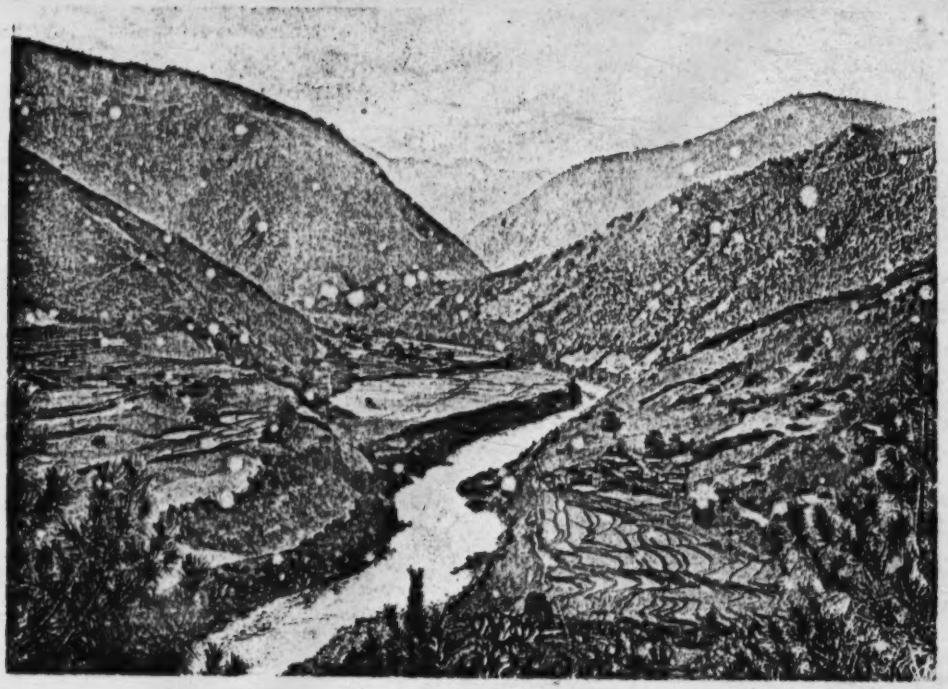
PLATE 160. — THE LATE MUH-KWUA OR NA-KHI CHIEF OF YEH-CHIH
WANG KUO-HSIANG

麗江木瓜王國祥

He was better known as Wang Tsan-ch'en. Photographed in his Yamen in 1923.

[p. 298 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 161.—THE MEKONG NEAR THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LO-NDU

瀾滄江昵速拉地

Photographed, looking upstream, from a lateral spur immediately north of Ba-dü. The village of Lo-ndu is visible to the right on a terrace above the Mekong.

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[p. 298 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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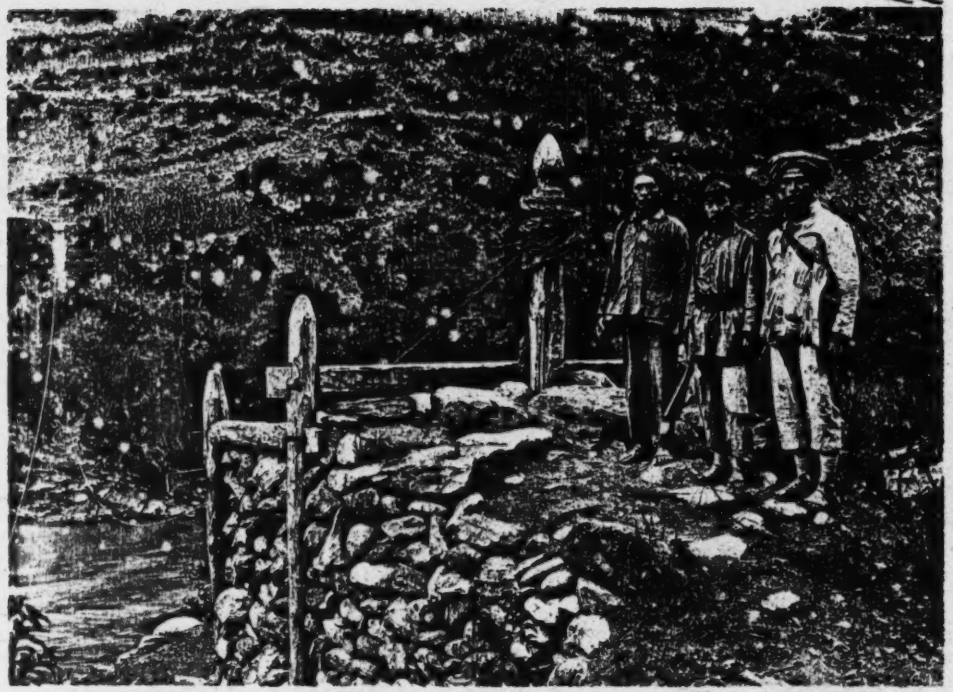

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 162. — THE ROPE BRIDGES ACROSS THE MEKONG AT LO-NDU

There are two rope bridges at Lo-ndu, for crossing from the east to the west bank and vice versa. The rope is made of twisted bamboo (Arundinaria), and the post around which it is wound, of cypress wood. The ropes are changed about every three months, depending on the traffic.

[p.298 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China A16

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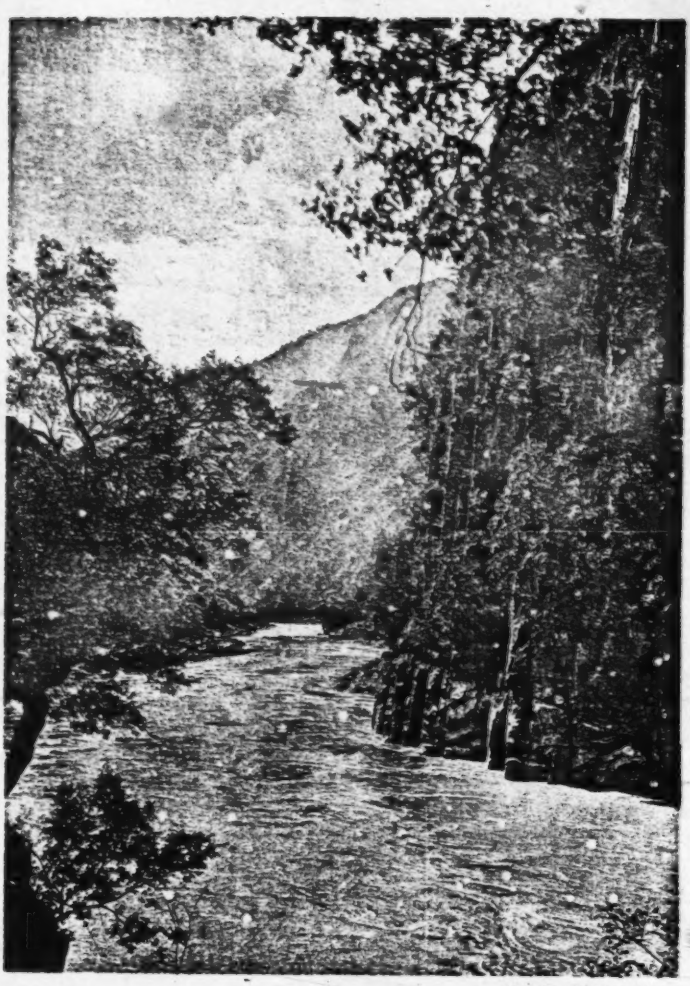

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 163. — THE MEKONG GORGE NEAR TIE-YI-P'O

瀾滄江鐵壹坡峽谷

Formidable rapids preclude any attempt at navigation. On the steep walls of the gorge grow Junipers and Cypresses.

[p. 298 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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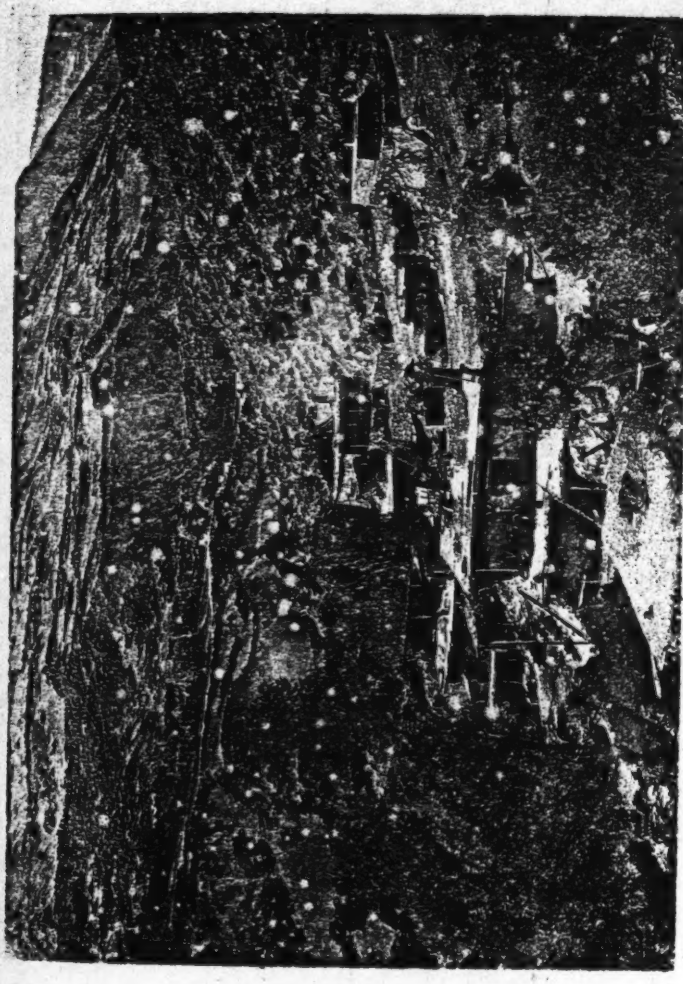
PLATE 46. — THE ROPE BRIDGE ACROSS THE MEKONG AT TI'U-KU

索桥渡澜

Horses are equally frightened when crossing a rope bridge; they usually kick, open their mouth and lift up their tail. Arrived on the other side they lie down exhausted.

[p. 298 4]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 165.—THE TIBETAN HAMLET OF NYI-THANG

瀾滄江多雨古寨村

The houses of the Mekong Tibetans have flat roofs on which they dry their grain. Maize is especially cultivated here. Notched logs are used for ladders. Salt and Chinese tea, rather than money is the medium of exchange, the two articles being scarce here.

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[p. 298 M]

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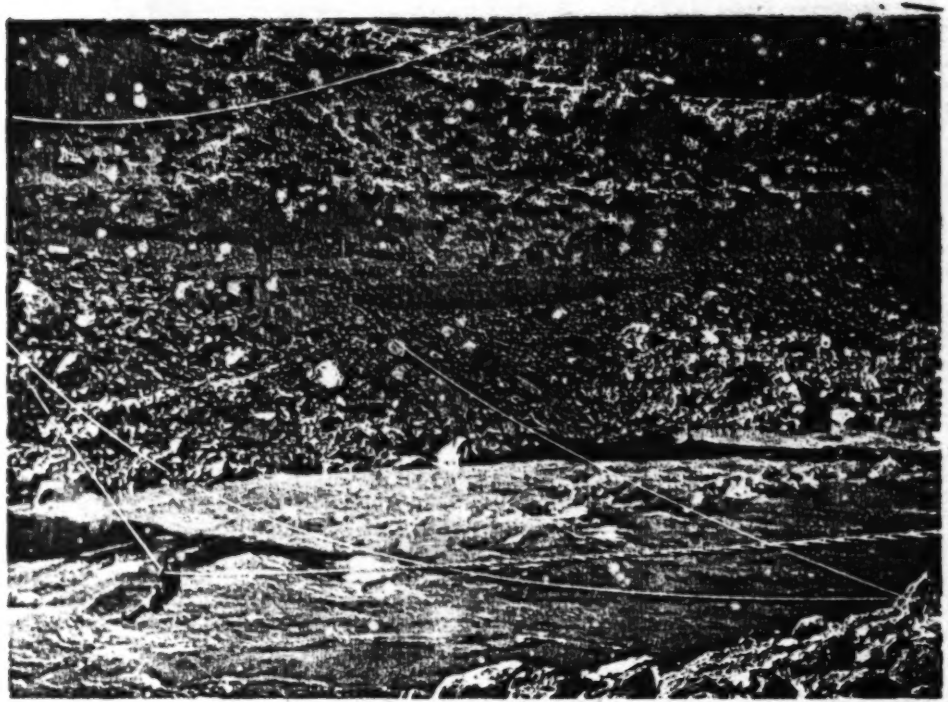

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 166. — THE ROPE BRIDGES AT YANG-TSA

藏倉拉羊哨繩橋

In the autumn hundreds of pilgrims cross here daily *en route* to the sacred Do-kar La.

[p. 298 N]

4: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 167.—THE MEKONG NORTH OF YANG-TSA

瀾滄江楊雜以北

The Valley of the Mekong between Yang-tsa and Yeh-tsi is an arid trench. Note the trail built up against the cliff. Owing to constant rockslides the Chinese have given this part of the gorge the name of "Hill of the shuttle rock."

[p. 298-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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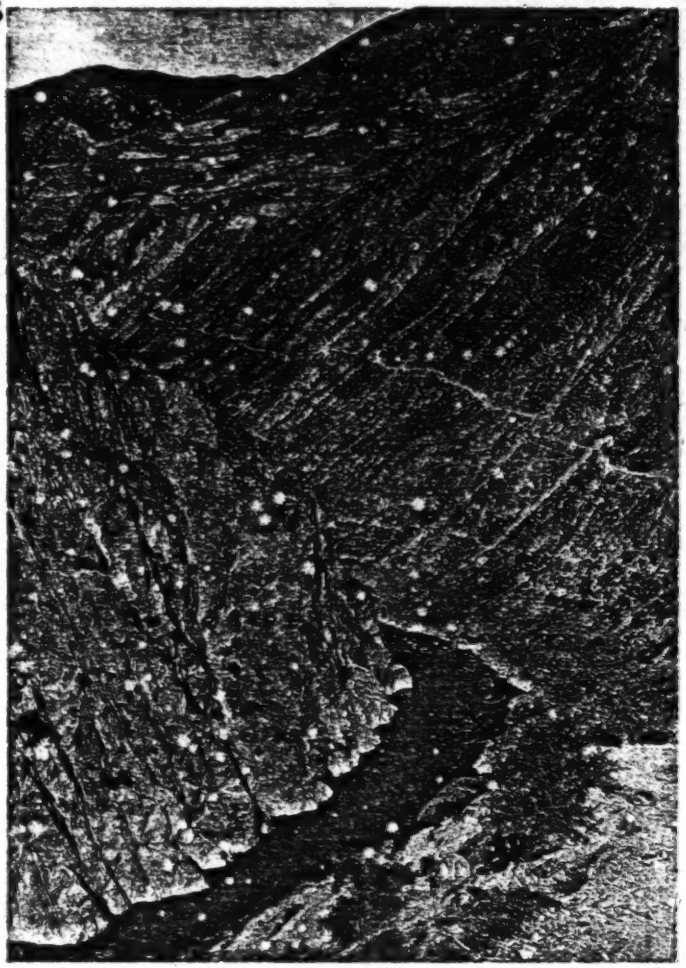

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 168.—THE ME-KONG NEAR NGUN-YA, LOOKING UPSTREAM

瀾滄江某金鴨

The caravan trail which leads to Ngun-ya is visible on the east slope of the arid gorge. The Mekong, is of a blue green, especially in the winter. The bushes are *Sophora viciifolia* and *Bauhinia densiflora*.

[p. 298 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 while several species of oaks grow on the lower half of the mountain slopes,
*133 and above them are forests of pines. Two li beyond the last village we come
*137 to the Na-khi hamlet of Bä-da (H-M., Bäta) situated along a brook lined with walnut trees. Here the valley narrows considerably; the slopes are terraced and mainly rice is grown. The rocks are phyllitic schist, with many quartz-veins and limestone, and the trees pines and oaks. This calcareous phyllitic stage is succeeded by crumpled quartz-mica schist, and as the valley narrows to a ravine the river-bed is littered with igneous rocks (GREGORY). On the south bank of the stream is situated the hamlet of Wu-lu-wan 務魯灣. In the narrowest part of the valley or just a short distance beyond, another valley debouches from the south. Here the trail passes through the village of Chi-li-wan 吉利灣.

In the main valley, about a half a li beyond Chi-li-wan, cultivation ceases, with the exception of some steep, cultivated hill-sides with one or two houses. The forest here is of a mixed and semi-evergreen type and is mainly composed of several species of oaks, *Castanopsis concolor*, and *Schima argentea*, while along the stream *Alnus nepalensis* is the most common tree, in company with *Uraria sinensis*. The trail leads across a wooden bridge and follows on the south bank to a meadow, and then ascends the southern valley slopes in steep zigzags. Opposite on the steep northern valley slopes there are still a few fields and huts. From here a commanding view rewards the traveler looking back towards the Yangtze over the valley of the Chü-tien Ho. The former type of vegetation has now given way to pines and oaks, with *Rhododendron racemosum* and *Rhod. decorum*, *Lyonia ovalifolia*, etc.

Leaving the main branch of the valley we turn directly south, at an elevation of 8,000 feet, into another branch which becomes narrower and narrower, the stream being the width of a brook; but the ravine, instead of terminating in a mountain spur, emerges by a narrow cleft into a broad, circular basin, the rushing brook becoming a broad stream, again flowing lazily in a sandy, gravelly bed between fields. In the valley tall pine trees form dense forests till we come to the hamlet T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘 (H-M., Taipingta). From here we descend through wild walnut groves and pass another hamlet called Ta-shui-kou 大水溝. The trail leads to the stream-bed which it follows.

The vegetation now changes completely, being composed mostly of *Pyrus pashia*, Malus, Corylus or hazel-nut bushes, and tall trees (*Corylus chinensis*), also several species of Acer, as *Acer robustum* with cane-brake, or *Arundinaria faberi* as undergrowth. It takes on the character of the uplands, for we find *Meliosma cuneifolia*, Viburnum, Cornus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, Desmodium, etc.

[361] *Lu-tien village.* — The narrow ravine, with its steep slopes, opens out abruptly through the narrow cleft mentioned, into the broad amphitheatrical valley, with scattered groups of houses which comprise the Na-khi village of Lu-tien 魯甸 [11] (MAJ. D., Li-tien), the Na-khi, Lv-dü.[12] This is 70 li distant

[11] Tien 甸 stands for frontier lands.

[12] The hamlet is situated on decomposed outcroppings of eruptive rocks. The most conspicuous rocks of the floor basin are biotite-quartz-diorite-porphyry, also rhyolite and

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*487 *133 *137

from Chü-tien and 60 li from Wei-hsi. It is also spoken of as Lu-tien t'o-ting 魯甸托丁,[13] a ward of Li-chiang, of which it is north-west and distant 400 li, which is also the distance from that city to the Wei-hsi district border. Lu-tien is actually composed of five villages called: Tien-pei 甸北, Tien-wei 甸尾, Tien-nan 甸南, Tien-hsin 甸心, and Tien t'ou 甸頭, while directly west of the latter is the hamlet of Hsün-shang 汛上.

The stream is crossed over a wooden bridge and the first house encountered is the schoolhouse. On the northern valley slopes is a lamasery, the most imposing building in the valley. Elevation of Lu-tien 8,900 feet. Lu-tien is called Rü-dü (Rus-bsdus) in Tibetan,[14] and the lamasery is known to the Chinese as Ling-chao Ssu 靈招寺, and to the Tibetans as bKris-dgah-hkhyil gling [15] (Lamasery of prosperity and emblem of purity). The word *bKris* is an abbreviation of *bKra-shis*.

The trail ascends the western mountain slope back of the village, with a ravine to the south — the head-waters of the Lu-tien Ho by which name this part of the stream is known. Here at 9,500 feet grow three species of the family *Taxaceae*, namely *Cephalotaxus Fortunei*, a glaucous shrub or small tree with plum-like fruits, *Torreya Fargesii*, and the Chinese yew, *Taxus chinensis*, a shrub with red fruits; also several species of oaks, Acer, *Lithocarpus variolosa*, *Pyrus paskia*, Cornus, Engelhardtia, *Pinus Armandi*, *Rhododendron decorum*, Berberis, Rhamnus, Elaeagnus, etc. As we ascend higher the forest becomes denser and consists mainly of huge oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, the Yün-nan hemlock *Tsuga yünnanensis*, with *Arundinaria faberi* as undergrowth. The trail leads finally out into pine and oak forest at 10,200 feet. *Usnea longissima*, a lichen of long yellow strands, festoons all the trees.

The Li-ti-p'ing divide. — We emerge finally at a pass, 10,800 feet elevation, which leads out into a broad, grassy plateau (Yangtze-Mekong watershed). The soil is a reddish-yellow decomposed sandstone. The swampy alpine meadow is lined by dense spruce (*Picea ascendens*) forest mixed with a copper-bark birch (*Betula japonica* var. *szechuanica*) and with cane-brake (Arundinaria) undergrowth. At the time of my visit (October) the meadows were blue with a lovely species of Gentian (*Gentiana sino-ornata*). The trail leads across the meadow along the forest. The birch and Sorbus trees were then in autumn garb, and their gay-colored foliage contrasted beautifully against the dark spruces. The forest was carpeted with deep moss, as were the fallen giants of spruces, long since dead. *Picea ascendens* forms pure stands on the Li-ti-p'ing. The forest is dense and somber, a solid wall of green, only on the outskirts grows the bushy, yellow-flowered *Rhododendron litiense*, with wild cherry trees. The former, five to six feet tall, forms a belt around the forest, while a smaller species covers the otherwise bare hill-

felsite. On the ascent to the Li-ti-p'ing pass the diorite-porphyry and granite are better preserved than in the basin floor (GREGORY).

[13] In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, T'o-ting is written 拖頂.

[14] ཤུ་ལས་ལྷ་ལས། [15] བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཁ་ཕྱེ་ལིང་ཁ།

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sides. Unfortunately the Li-ti-p'ing is a notorious robber haunt where Li-su robbers hold up caravans, and loot and murder. Hence caravans and travelers do not tarry long, but hasten to more friendly regions. It is a gorgeous place to camp, virgin, undisturbed, a paradise for the lover of the out-of-doors. 487* 133* 137*

The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 18, fol. 3, says: "The Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 is 40 li east of Wei-hsi. The road is narrow and like the steps of a stairway, the immense trees form a huge canopy which cuts off all view, clouds envelop the region, being wafted back and forth by the wind. There is much rain and mist, and even on a summer day one must wear furs. In the ninth moon there is much rain and snow; in the winter and spring the snow lies 10–20 feet deep. Once the snow lay so deep in the autumn that along the road tall poles had to be erected at intervals of 10 feet with cross-pieces tied for support. Often for 20 to 30 days the trail would be completely blocked. In the second or third moon [April to May] the trail would be passable for human beings but not for horses. Even after days and days of sunshine only half the snow would melt. After the beginning of summer the snow would melt sufficiently to make the trail visible, as well as the cliffs. In ancient days the snow lay deeper, but is now diminishing in volume."

This would indicate that in earlier days (the book was written in 1831) the forests were vaster than they are now, as it states that the road was narrow and like a stairway and no view could be had. To-day the central part of the Li-ti-p'ing is cleared of forest and its place is taken by a broad meadow. The snow is still a great obstacle to travel and the road is often closed for months.

The pass at the northern, or Wei-hsi, side of the Li-ti-p'ing, is at an elevation of 11,000 feet. The summit of this pass consists of a ridge of porphyry, while the descent westwards is over decomposed igneous rocks with occasional outcroppings of limestone and dolerite. A long spur extends southwest by west towards Wei-hsi; the upper part consists of slate and the lower part of black slate, or phyllite, with intrusive rhyolite (GREGORY). The trail descends through lovely pine and spruce forest mixed with oak, and becomes really a road and a surprisingly good one for this part of the world, with few rocks and a good grade. We follow on the top of a lateral spur through beautiful forest, but then descend rather steeply to a small stream which leads to the village of Pei-pa. The view of Wei-hsi is hidden by a mountain range which extends at right angles to the spur we descend. The vegetation at the little stream is composed mainly of wild pears and apples, maples, hazelnut bushes, and oaks (*Quercus Griffithii*), plus bushy *Rhododendron racemosum* and a hydrangea. Beyon Pei-pa we descend to the Wei-hsi Stream which flows in a northerly direction into the Mekong. This stream is called the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 (Eternal spring River). A wooden bridge spans it which is called Ch'ing-yün-hsiang ch'iao 慶雲享橋. It is also called the Yung-ch'un ch'iao and was first built in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834).

The banks of the stream are flat and wide-spreading and are cultivated with maize and rice. [243]

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361 *Wei-hsi.*—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 倪那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung) [16] in Tibetân, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch'un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T'ung-p'an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 ordered the T'ung-p'an Ch'en Ch'üan 陳權 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T'ao 王濤 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T'ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

[799] A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The 778 Ssu-ch'uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch'un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 寶華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 維安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 蘭經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.[17]

*489 Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch'un
*133 Ho from the Mekong.[18] The mountain is called the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山
*137 (Mountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T'ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹苗. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong [19] pronounced Kye-nà-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is "To hold or maintain the West."

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEH-CHIH 葉枝 PLAIN

[323] We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

[16] འབར་ལུང

[17] བཀྲ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གླིང

[18] The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GREGORY).

[19] སྐྱེ་ནག་རོང

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arch bridge by a small hamlet consisting of a few houses. The trail leads on the east bank of the stream along the foot of a rocky mountain slope composed of reddish-purple boulders. The vegetation consists mainly of bushes such as Corylus and Escholtzia. The mountains rise to about 2,000 feet on the west bank, and 3,000 feet on the east bank, with secondary parallel ridges. Terraced rice-fields extend along the banks, but well above the river. On the west bank is situated the village of Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬廠. Here the slopes of the mountain are covered with tall forests of *Pinus yünnanensis*. One li beyond we come to a few houses which compose the village of Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍壩, also situated on the west bank. The river winds considerably, passing through a small rocky defile, the trail following downstream on the east bank. The path becomes narrower and almost impassable due to many wash-outs and projecting boulders. About a hundred feet above the stream on the west bank is the hamlet of Ma-li-p'ing 麻梨坪. 487* 133* 137*

We cross a small tributary and follow the ever-narrowing trail, which in places is really perilous, winding up and down and around hill-sides, then again through groves of oaks and *Cornus capitata* trees, pears, Rhamnus, and Berberis, until we come to the poorest village so far encountered; it is called La-p'u-wan 腊普灣 (also written 剌普灣). Soon we come to another village called Chuang-fang 庄房; here the river is very narrow and strewn with huge boulders, a wooden bridge crossing it. The hamlet is on the east bank almost at the level of the river-bed. A little over a li brings us to the Tibetan village of Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石). About 30 li to the west of this place a quicksilver mine is said to exist. Red sandstone and gray grits with patches of manganese dioxide and iron oxide are to be found at Wua-shih (Gregory). [316]

The valley becomes considerably narrower with rather steep slopes.

Ka-ka-t'ang village. — Ten li more and we arrive at the narrow, filthy conglomeration of huts and pigsties which calls itself the village of Ka-ka-t'ang 戛戛塘. Near the entrance to the village is a spring enclosed in a square rock basin over which a tiny Lung-wang shrine had been built. Fish swam peacefully in it. The inhabitants nearly all have goitres, some of extraordinary size, almost as large as the head itself. [361] [147]

From Ka-ka-t'ang a trail leads east across a pass and along the valley of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河 to La-p'u. The Chung-ch'iu Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing and flows first parallel with the Yung-ch'un Ho and then turns straight north there it is called La-p'u Ta-ho; it bends east at La-p'u, and debouches into the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung 其宗. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan gives its source south of Pong-tse-ra and ignores two high passes between Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌 and La-p'u, thus making the stream flow over the passes south, instead of from south to north. Davies' map is here also completely wrong, for the two sources of his stream, one in the Kar-ri La and the other in the Ponge La, a pass 12,150 feet in height, flow together on the map, but have no outlet. The Yon-dze-khà, which is the Tibetan name of the stream, rises in the Pai-mang Shan and flows south, but above Rong-sha (Lo-she 洛舍); it then flows east and debouches into the Yangtze.

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From Ka-ka-t'ang the trail follows high above the stream, but descends now and again to its bed. It is in places washed out and narrowed by projecting boulders, so that the loads have to be lifted from the saddles, and carried across on their frames sideways. On this stretch it is best to follow the Tibetan custom of tying the loads directly to a saddle, rather than the Yünnanese custom of having a wooden saddle-frame which can be lifted off the saddle and rested on the ground.

A-nu-ndo hamlet. — After a march of 30 li we pass the small Tibetan hamlet of A-nu-ndo the Chinese A-nan-to 阿南多 (H-M., Anadon, MAJ. D., A-nan-tu). On the steep hill-sides cultivation is carried on, the principal crops being maize, millet, beans and tobacco, the leaves of the latter are tied to strings which are stretched under the eaves of the houses to dry. The trail follows the river in a north-westerly direction; the ravine becomes narrower and, about 15 li beyond A-nu-ndo, which is on the west bank, another stream joins the main stream we have been following. Major Davies places his A-nan-tu at the bend of the river where it flows west into the Mekong and receives the affluent just mentioned. This, however, is not so. The bend is 15 li north of A-nu-ndo.

The trail leads on down the spur separating the two streams and follows up the affluent from the east for a few hundred yards, crosses it over a bridge and follows the steep, rocky mountain slopes composed of slate, shale and sandstone. To the east, high cliffs with rugged peaks rise several thousand feet into the sky. We follow the main stream, augmented by the affluent, down a narrow gorge with steep, overhanging sandstone walls, a short distance beyond which the stream enters the Mekong.

Ho-chiang-ch'iao on the Mekong. — At the mouth of the stream is situated the hamlet of Ho-chiang-ch'iao 合江橋, and, one li beyond, the first single-rope bridge spans the Mekong. The bridge consists of one bamboo rope evenly suspended but sagging in the middle. A short distance beyond this bridge on the east bank of the Mekong is the hamlet Pei-ch'i-ts'un 北濟村 (H-M., Betjihsün) above which the river makes a curve at the foot of a high peak. The trail soon descends to near the water's edge, passes a huge rapid and climbs again to below the village of Lao-ch'ing-ku 老慶古, situated on a prominent bluff. Here maize is the principal crop. At the mouth of a narrow ravine, along the banks of a tributary of clear, bluish water debouching from the west into the Mekong, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'ang 老廠. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. A few li beyond, after having passed through walnut and chestnut groves, we reach the most forlorn of all villages, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西 (Small Wei-hsi), the acme of neglect. At this village is a Catholic church in charge of a Chinese priest. Elevation of Hsiao-wei-hsi 6,400 feet, and a distance of 90 li from Ka-ka-t'ang.

Here the Mekong valley is inhabited by a tribe called the La-mao jen 剌毛人 (La-mao), besides Mo-so and Chinese. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* writes Tz'u-mao 剌毛, and has the following to say in ch. 202, p. 22b, "They dwell on the banks of the Lan-ts'ang Chiang; they delight to live near the

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water. Their language is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 僰人. Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind."

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪桶, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 出大 (H-M., Djüta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩怒. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa 岩瓦. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a cliff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500–2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Shou-kuo Ssu lamasery.—We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普, called K'u-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 500 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 喃. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his

1 [i.e. the La-mao -- Analyst]

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622 spacious house and court, facing the west on the second floor, is the private Lama chapel of our friendly host. [He has since died; the early ancestor who was commissioned T'u-ch'ien-tsung in the seventh year of Yung-cheng 772 (1729) was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, see p. 296.] The lamas here are all Na-khi. 778 (PLATE 159).

Their lamasery is called Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺 and is situated beyond K'ang-p'u in a grove of pines above the village of Ga-la-she (Ka-la-she 喀拉舍). It is 240 li north of Wei-hsi, and was built in the 12th year of Yung-cheng (1734). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling,[20] and the region in which K'ang-p'u is situated is known as Mi-nag-rong [21] (Valley of the black people). This, with the A-tun-tze lamasery called Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 in Chinese and bDe-chhen-gling [22] in Tibetan, and the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery called Don-grub-gling [23] in Tibetan, and situated at Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), belong to the (Ge-lug-pa Yellow reformed sect), whose head is the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa. To this same sect belongs also the lamasery of Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺, the Tibetan Yangs-pa-chan,[24] situated north-east of Wei-hsi and built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753).

*487 From K'ang-p'u we descend to the Mekong over a rocky trail, then in *133 great zigzags over a huge bluff to 500 feet above the river. Enormous *137 boulders project everywhere, covered with orchids. At the summit of the bluff is a fine grove of pines and two *mani* shrines, with slabs of smooth rock engraved with the ubiquitous Tibetan formula. The Mekong is here very narrow, flowing between steep walls, but widens somewhat near the village of Ga-la-she, beyond which the river turns east-north-east. There a canyon opens into the Mekong gorge, sending a torrent of clear water between huge vertical cliffs of whitish-yellow limestone into the river, while high above a snow-capped peak crowns the scene.

The Mekong now enters a narrow gorge, the waters forming tremendous rapids of considerable length which undermine the walls of conglomerate and black slate on both banks. Near the village of Hsiao-sheng-tao the river widens, the hamlet being situated on a gentle, fan-shaped slope at the mouth of a circular ravine. Several li beyond, the trail skirts a huge, yellow sandstone cliff, over steep steps, with a sheer drop of 50 feet to the river. The trail is exceedingly narrow and hewn into the cliff, in places broadened by a plank or log with an abyss beneath. Ahead is a long island covered with forest; the river is here very broad, and terraced rice-fields extend down to its banks.

622 *Yeh-chih plain.* — The plain of Yeh-chih 葉枝 is called Yu-dtü in Na-khi and is under a Tu-ssu 土司 of the Na-khi tribe. The late chief's name was Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 (PLATE 160). He is known as the Mun-kwua (Military Official), commonly spoken of as the Mu-kua 木瓜 in Chi-

[20] བཀྲ་ཤིས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་ [21] མི་ནག་རོང [22] དེ་ཆེན་གླིང [23] དོན་གྲུབ་གླིང

[24] ཡངས་པ་ཅན། Yangs-pa-chan is the Tibetan translation of the name of the town Vaisāli, in which Buddha often resided.

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nese. He was the descendant of a military officer placed there by the ancient Na-khi chiefs to rule the district.[25] His son has now succeeded him. His power extends to the Ch'iu Chiang 洪江, whence the Ch'iu-tzu 洪子 tribe pay him tribute-taxes in kind.[26] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* mentions as first ancestor a certain Wang Lien 王連 who ruled as sergeant at K'ang-p'u, (see page 296); the Wang family apparently moved to Yeh-chih later. 622

Following along the sandy stream-bed on the edge of the fields for about two li, we reach the hamlet of Yeh-chih. The T'u-ssu has a very spacious mansion and was a very hospitable host, and a friend of the foreigner. Mr. George Forrest, the English botanist, owed his life to him when he was pursued by the lamas of A-tun-tzu and other lamaseries in 1905, and even saw the venerable Père Dubernard murdered in cold blood at Tz'u-ku, where the Catholic mission used to be. At the time of my visit in 1923 the T'u-ssu was 65 years of age. In the rear of his yamen is a private chapel, where a lama prays and beats the drum and blows his conchshell for the spiritual benefit of the T'u-ssu and his household. 487* 133* 137*

East of Yeh-chih is a peculiar mountain range, purple in color and much eroded. It is the Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山 (White cliff Mountain) which extends from north of Yeh-chih to below K'ang-p'u. To the west of Yeh-chih, forming the Mekong — Salween divide, is the Nu Shan 怒山, which extends from north of Yeh-chih to south of Wei-hsi. The southern part of this mountain, back of the hamlet of Fu-ch'uan 富川, on the west bank of the Mekong, is known as Fu-ch'uan Shan. North of Fu-ch'uan is the hamlet of Ch'i-p'u 其普. The Fu-ch'uan Shan is a wonderful botanical collecting ground, as is the entire Mekong — Salween divide in Yün-nan and Tibet. It is south of the Wei-hsi district border.

The climate of Yeh-chih is warm, but in the three winter months all the surrounding mountains are covered with snow, which even in the spring does not melt. In September heavy frosts begin, but the climate of Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, is much hotter in the summertime. 132

[25] PÈRE F. GOUÉ in his *Notes sur les Marches Tibétaines*, Hanoi, 1923, p. 47, calls him Nou Koua, chief of the Nou or Lou-tseu. This is, however, erroneous, for Mun-kwua is a Na-khi term meaning "Soldier Governor." There were only two Mun-kwua, one at Yeh-chih, the other at O-yü on the Zho Chhu and they were the highest-ranking officials after the chief at Li-chiang.

[26] The father of the late Mun-kwua was a great friend of the conqueror of the Ta-li Mohammedans, the famous Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科. He was assassinated in 1871 while carrying out the latter's orders to subjugate the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, one stage south of A-tun-tzu. Although the Chinese revenged his death, it was not sufficient for the new Mun-kwua, the son of the victim, for he called out 2,000 Li-su who, prior to marching forth, drank fresh bull's blood, swearing vengeance. They brought destruction to all the villages controlled by the Hung-p'o lamas to within sight of the village of Tz'u-ku 茨菰, but spared the Christians and the Catholic missions. They drove off the flocks of the peasants and the latter they carried off into slavery.

All foreigners who passed through Yeh-chih have only kind words and praise for the Mun-kwua. T. T. COOPER, who travelled through his territory in 1868 when Ta-li was in the hands of the Moslems, and when his way south was barred, enjoyed the hospitality of the father of the late Mun-kwua Wang Tsan-ch'en, and has the highest praise for him and his relatives. Even the Catholic priests, when expelled from Tz'u-ku, found refuge with the Mun-kwua, who was their friend.

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6. THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE YEH-CHIH T'U-SSU.

173 Through the courtesy of Mr. Yü Te-chün 淪德浚 a Chinese botanist who recently visited Yeh-chih, I have come into the possession of a copy of the genealogical record of the Wang family 王氏 of Yeh-chih. This record has been jealously guarded by the present T'u-ssu of Yeh-chih, who even declared not to possess any. The record is not flattering and this may account for his reluctancy to reveal it. The Wang family which since the death of the late T'u-ssu has degenerated, exercises now only a nominal control over the district. The record is brief and full of hostile remarks about certain members of the family. It was written by Li Wen-ch'üan 李蘊泉 alias Li Yü-lien 李玉濂 a Chinese, who was the tutor and secretary of the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 also known as Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相. Both T'u-ssu and secretary were living at the time of my visit in October 1923, while leading an expedition in south-eastern Tibet for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D.C. Besides the Genealogical record here published, there exists apparently another one, but that is not available and may be no more extant.

It is most curious that so little is known about the male line of the Wang family, for the first two rulers mentioned are women. The first is a mother-in-law of the female tribal chiliarch, and the second is her daughter-in-law. The husband of the latter was presumably an outsider and is therefore not mentioned in the family record.

Introduction to the Genealogical Record. — Li Yü-lien, B.A., was requested by the T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en to compose this record, so we are told in the introductory remarks, which are as follows:

"There have been eight generations from the first ancestor to Hsiang 相 (Wang Kuo-hsiang). During that period some of the forefathers, leading a patriotic life, achieved much in the way of reclaiming waste lands, erecting temples and lamaseries; also in the construction of bridges. Others again distinguished themselves in military exploits. Among those who were repeatedly rewarded with medals and other decorations, mention may be made of the ancestor of the fourth generation on whom was bestowed an honorary tablet by the viceroy. The writer's (the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en) own father (T'ing-chao 廷詔) was promoted from a Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant) to a Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Lieutenant) and Shou-pei 守備 (Second captain). On him was also bestowed the third grade peacock feather, as well as a tablet bearing the inscription Wei Kuo Chüan Ch'ü 爲國捐軀 (You gave your life for your country). Unfortunately he died suddenly while serving his country, as a result of a quarrel among the brothers in the family. The Li-chiang prefect Chu 朱[27] sent a eulogy for his funeral.

The writer's third uncle by the name of Hsüan 選, who harbored evil intentions, wanted a share of the property, kept on causing trouble until the case was finally brought before a court. Unexpectedly the writer's false uncle

[27] Chu Ch'ing-ch'un 朱慶椿 became Li-chiang Chih-fu 知府 or prefect in the eleventh year of Hsien-feng 咸豐 (1861).

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T'ing-tso 廷佐, who followed the bad example of the other uncle[28] caused incessant trouble. 173

Now several decades have elapsed and the writer's age is almost seventy. It is still remembered that the writer was treated like a dog or a sheep by his two wolf-like uncles who were bent on exterminating him. Moreover, the second and fourth uncles, who were lamas, trying to dig up the rats and catch the birds, compelled us to give them a portion of the family property and issue a title deed to cover their share. In consequence the family tie with them was severed.

Alas! Is it conceivable that my mortal body should have undergone so many upheavals of the world? The only consolation I have lies in the prosperity the family has gradually enjoyed by virtue of the secret blessings from the ancestors.

After the family residence was destroyed by fire, a new and more elaborate building was erected in its place. Farmsteads have been established at such villages as Pa-ti 巴滴, Tzu-li 子里, East Pai-man-lo 東白滿羅 and West Pai-man-lo 西白滿羅, To-lo 多猓 and Lung-t'o-lo 弄它洛. Difficulties were often experienced in arranging weddings and funerals. In handling official business and in dealing with public affairs, much was left to be desired. Putting my hand over my heart in self examination, I do not know how much energy has been spent over these matters.

Now I have sons and many nephews, and ere long the grandsons will themselves have children of their own. Time certainly flies and I am much moved by the fact that the span of life is merely like a dream.

I have requested Mr. Li Yü-lien, B.A., to compose this article. It is not intended to add anything to the glories already existing, but merely to state the facts so that a part of the grandeur of the past may still be seen by posterity."

"On a lucky day in the fourth lunar month, in the seventh year of the Republic of China (May 10th–June 9th, 1918).

Recorded by Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相 (Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣). Composed and written by Li Yü-lien (Li Wen-ch'üan) tutor 西席 to the ancient Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 (Kingdom of the piebald horse."

Genealogical Record of the Wang family.

FIRST GENERATION. — *Ho-niang* 禾娘: The mother-in-law of the female tribal lieutenant Chih-ming 志明. Her daughter-in-law Chih-ming was brave and loyal and alone succeeded her husband in office and opened up Wei-hsi 維西. Unfortunately her husband died early, survived by a daughter. Ho-niang and her son's wife carried on extensive philanthropic work by erecting six temples which they endowed with land and fields. They rehabilitated

[28] The text actually says: ch'ui-hsien 垂涎 = (whose) mouth watered. As an old saying goes, 'who will quietly let another man snore beside his own bed'? A lawsuit was filed against him at the office of the prefect and the case was appealed to the office of the Tao-yin 道尹 and then to the viceroy. Complaint was made against the designs of the said false uncle and his son who intended to confuse our ancestral line by the admission of persons of different surnames. The case was finally settled when a definite verdict was issued for each party to abide by its documentary evidence.

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A3 the estates belonging to the various petty tri .. officers, and clearly defined the boundaries of the properties of the inha'itants, and erected a city wall.

In the 15th or 16th year of Yung-cheng[29] (A.D. 1737 or 1738) they requested that the tribal system be changed to the Chinese system and that an office for the pacification of the tribespeople be established.

It may be mentioned that since the founding of the Republic, Wei-hsi has been made into a district.

SECOND GENERATION. — *Wang A-chih* 王阿芝: Daughter of Ho-niang, left K'ang-p'u for Yeh-chih where her surname was changed to Wang. She had no son but only a daughter who was married to Tsai-hsi 再錫. The latter lived with her in her family. Like her mother she inherited the hereditary position and increased the family property by the reclamation of waste land.

(The name of the daughter does not appear in the record, neither did she succeed her mother).

THIRD GENERATION. — *Wang Tsai-hsi* 王再錫: The son-in-law of Wang A-chih. He had two sons. No reference can be found in the family genealogy as to his birth place. However he succeeded his mother-in-law holding the same position and was known to be upright and unselfish. He was kind to the people.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *Wang An* 王安: The eldest son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He was sincere and honest by nature. He was systematic in performing official duties and efficient in tranquilizing the people. His superiors appreciated his ability and all the people liked to obey his orders. It was a pity that he did not live long. He had two sons Ch'ao-tung 朝棟 and Ch'ao-fu 朝補.

Wang Ting 王定: The second son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He had two daughters, their names are not given; one of them was married to Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌 of Tien-ku 甸古,[30] who lived in his wife's family.

He was kind and righteous. Both the Chinese and tribespeople liked him. The viceroy presented him with an honorary tablet bearing the inscription: Hsing Tui Ku Ch'u 行敦古處 = Your character is sterling.

FIFTH GENERATION. — *Wang Ch'ao-tung* 王朝棟: The eldest son of Wang An died early. A man whose original name was Chao 趙 was taken into the family, which named him P'u 璞; Wang Ch'ao-tung's daughter was given him in marriage. It is impossible to ascertain whence P'u's father Chao Kuo-chün 趙國俊 had come from.[31]

[29] Yung-cheng ruled for thirteen years only; it should read the 2nd or 3rd year of Ch'ien-lung.

[30] Tien-ku is the Na-khi Dü-gkv; it is north of Yeh-chih.

[31] Chao Kuo-chün was the Yen-chiang t'u-pa-tsung 沿江土把總 the native sergeant of the Mekong river bank. His first ancestor was Chao Mu 趙穆 who was appointed to the above position in the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1742); he had been victorious over Li-su robbers of Ngai-wa-lo 嚴瓦洛. Chao Hsin 趙信, the son of Chao Kuo-chün inherited the

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Wang Ch'ao-fu 王朝輔: The second son of Wang An. He had no son but only two daughters. He was a prudent and industrious young man. He often shared the sufferings and joys of his servants. Villagers and members of his clan admired him for his industry and foresight. 173

Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌: He married one of the daughters of Wang Ting; originally his personal name was Shih-ch'ang. Since he married one of the Wang daughters and lived with the Wang family, he should not have kept the surname Ho. It is also impossible to say why T'ien-chio 天爵 was called the son and heir. It is believed that perhaps at the time of succeeding to the hereditary title, the recorder played a trick and caused an erroneous entry. It will be noted that Ho Shih-ch'ang was the second son-in-law of Wang Ting and that T'ien-chio was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu. Why was he still called son in the records? The land register of the ancestor of the fourth generation was somewhat obscure and contradictory in this respect.

SIXTH GENERATION. — *Wang P'u* 王璞: He came to Yeh-chih from Wei-hsi and married the daughter of Wang Ch'ao-tung. He had two sons but no daughter. The names of his two sons were Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Wan-nien 萬年.

Wang T'ien-chio 王天爵: He was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu and had four sons and two daughters. His sons were named: T'ing-chao 廷韶; Ming-chüeh 明覺, he was the Chang-chiao 掌教 (Wielder of supreme religious authority) of Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺; T'ing-hsüan 廷選 and Te-tu 得度, the latter was a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. The eldest daughter was married to the Wang family of K'ang-p'u [32] and the second daughter was married to the Ho family of Tien-ku. T'ien-chio's parents had died when he was still young. Game huntin ; was his hobby. When he grew into manhood he was prudent and kind. He built the Hsien-jen tung 仙人洞 or the cave of the immortals and the Lo-tzu bridge 猓子橋. He did much in the reclamation of land and in mining.

Wang T'ien-lu 王天祿: He was T'ien-chio's younger brother, who was the adopted son of Ho Hui-tsu 禾輝祖. He was the assistant tribal officer of Yeh-chih. His false (spurious) younger brother, T'ien-kuei 天貴 was the father of the spurious uncle T'ing-tso 廷佐. The family register showed that the spurious father was given a share of the property and that his son was married to the daughter of the Sang family 桑氏 at Kung-shui 共水, [33] and lived in the wife's family.

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position. He was followed by his son Chao Ch'ao-chang 趙朝璋 who was killed in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). See also chapter: Wei-hsi native officials. — From: *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 145, fol. 33b.

[32] It would appear that there was a Wang family at K'ang-p'u which had nothing to do with the Wang family of Yeh-chih. The former was the native Pa-tsung of the Western circuit of Hsi-lu 西路. This Pa-tsung and the Pa-tsung of Northern circuit or Pei-lu 北路 named Nan 南 resided at K'ang-p'u. Now only the Nan family resides at K'ang-p'u. There is also a Lin-ch'eng t'u pa-tsung 臨城土把總 by the name Wang who lives thirty li east of Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 at Yung-an-ts'un 永安村.

[33] The members of the Sang family were T'u-pa-tsungs of A-tun-tzu, dating to the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

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13 It could not be understood why he started a lawsuit to get a share of the property. He would not have left his wife and children and come to T'o-pa-k'o 拖八科, had there not been a prospect of snatching a further portion of the family property.

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wan-ch'un* 王萬春 and *Wang Wan-nien* 王萬年: They were the elder and second sons of Wang P'u, and became the adopted sons of T'ing-hsüan 廷選, the third son of T'ien-chio. They should have been able to get along with others amicably but after their cousin was assassinated at Hung-p'o 紅坡, they at first attempted in vain to encroach upon the property; later they instituted a lawsuit with a view of seizing the property. It was a great pity that they had no consideration for their sister-in-law and nephews, who were thus exposed to starvation.

Wang T'ing-chao 王廷詔: He was the eldest son of T'ien-chio. He was brave and resourceful by instinct. He won victories in suppressing the Mohammedan uprising led by Tu 杜. Five of the districts under the Li-chiang prefect sent tablets bearing the inscriptions: Li Yüan Pao Chang 麗垣保障 = the Bulwark of Li-chiang, and Wei Kuo Wei Min 爲國爲民 = for the Country and for the People, etc. He was later instructed by Yang Wu-min 楊武愍 (General Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科 of Ta-li fame) to urge the people to pay the military tax, but he was unfortunately murdered by the wicked lamas. Prefect Chu 朱 a former prefect of Li-chiang and Li 李 the prefect then in office, sent eulogies for his funeral. One of the eulogies was engraved on his tombstone.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *Wang Kuo-hsiang* 王國相 (PLATE 160): He was the eldest son of Wang T'ing-chao. He was clever when young and skilled in painting. While he has enjoyed Heaven's blessing, he has been prudent and modest. He has continued the good works of his ancestors in such projects as building highways, repairing bridges, erecting temples and developing waste land. Most of his achievements have already been recorded in the new family genealogy. He has started to accumulate funds for constructing a rope-bridge and ferries. He is most congenial when dealing with the people, and has been quite successful in teaching his sons, grandsons, younger brothers and nephews. The composer of this article has been in his employ for over a decade and is well aware of his enjoyment of prosperity, good reputation and ripe old age. All necessary enterprises have been carried out in all speediness. It may be appropriate to present him with the following eulogies: A noble pair of brothers and a good father and son. He had four brothers named Kuo-tung 國棟; Kuo-liang 國樑; Teng-tzu 登子 [he was a lama of Shou-kuo Ssu] and Kuo-ts'ai 國材. His brother Kuo-tung became a member of the Ho family; he had seven daughters and one son Ho Hou-pen 禾厚本. Kuo-liang had one daughter and one son by name Wen-min 文敏. Kuo-ts'ai had one daughter and three sons: Wen-ch'ang 文敞 who became the Chang-chiao of Shou-kuo Ssu, Wen-fu 文敷 and Wen-huan 文煥 who became a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. Wang Kuo-hsiang had three daughters and three sons. The first born is Wang Wen-cheng 王文政, then Wen-shu 文淑 who died in childhood, and Wen-tien 文敷.

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Wang Kuo-cheng 王國楨: Was the son of Wang T'ing-hsüan [The assertions made by the author of this genealogy are so uncomplimentary that they are here omitted. Suffice it to say that the clan has degenerated and that opium has played its part in the downfall of the family]. 173

NINTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wen-cheng* 王文政: Is the eldest son of Wang Kuo-hsiang and is the present ruler of Yeh-chih. He exercises however little authority and it is doubtful if his son will ever inherit the office. He is the father of three sons and one daughter. The sons are named: Wang Chia-lu 王嘉祿, Wang Chia-jui 王嘉瑞 and Wang Chia-pi 王嘉弼. Wang Wen-cheng has since died and his son Wang Chia-lu has succeeded him.

Concluding remarks. — When the Genealogical record was written, Wang Kuo-hsiang was the eighth generation of rulers, but the seventh who ruled at Yeh-chih, for the first generation lived at Wei-hsi. In fact the town is said to have been opened by Chih-ming who also is said to have built the city wall. The first reference to Na-khi being given charge of the region of Wei-hsi, the ancient Lin-hsi and the Na-khi Nyi-na, occurs in the Mu family Chronicle during the rule of A-te A-chu, the eighth generation, in the year 1406.

Recently K'ang-p'u has been attached to Yeh-chih and now forms only a chü 局; the T'u-ssu has lost part of his authority and is only permitted to collect taxes from the Li-su living in the mountains and from Na-khi villages. He administers about 800 families in all.

7. FROM YEH-CHIH PLAIN TO TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

After leaving the Yeh-chih T'u-ssu's yamen we cross the Yeh-chih stream 487*
and climb high above the Mekong, passing the village of Tien-ku 甸古, the 133*
Dü-gkv of the Na-khi. The trail is again very narrow, covered by land- 137*
slides and often dropping vertically into the Mekong, which runs like a mill-race. We next pass the village of 'A-wùa (Ngai-wa),[34] skirting sandstone bluffs, the slopes of which are covered with oak and walnut, while on the terraced slopes near the village maize, rice and tobacco are cultivated. The villages next passed are P'u-lo-tzu 普羅子[35] (H.-M., Palonso) and Ssi-li the Chinese Tzu-li 子里, each near a lateral stream. The Mekong beyond the last village makes a sharp curve, due to the resistance of the conglomerate, and ahead on a bluff is visible the hamlet of P'u-ti 普地. After crossing over a long wooden bridge a tributary between two vertical cliffs, two li more bring us to the village of Na-kan-to 那干多, and, near another bend of the river, to the village of Ba-dü, (Pa-ti 巴滴 or 巴的), distance 65 li from Yeh-chih. Ba-dü is a pure Na-khi village, situated at the foot of a hill forested with pines; opposite on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ku-pu 故布.

Skirting the village of Ba-dü, we come to the hamlet of Lo-ndu (PLATES 161, 162) (Lo-ta 猓達 in Chinese; MAJ. D., Nan-tao), and follow the curves

[34] The Chinese Yen-wa 嚴瓦, pronounced Ngai-wa in Yün-nan.

[35] In Tibetan Ba-glang-tsho ཕ་གླང་ཚོ, pronounced Ba-lang-tsho.

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of the mountain slopes over loose slate; on the very banks of the river a short distance beyond Lo-ndu, are hot springs of clear water, forming several small pools almost in contact with the waters of the Mekong. The vegetation is here composed of Excoecaria and other small shrubs. Beyond are large boulders with broad, white quartz veins. After passing a lateral torrent over a wood-plank bridge, we come to the hamlet of Pa-lo or Po-lo (on the Chinese map, Wu-lu 霧路, Tibetan U-rong). One li beyond Po-lo the Mekong emerges from a very narrow gorge, with rock walls worn smooth by the torrent, the sides vertical and overhanging. Along the exceedingly narrow trail one can see huge pot-holes, made in the walls by the surging waters of the river thousands of years ago. In places there is no solid trail and wooden planks are laid across narrow chasms, the waters of the Mekong roaring beneath. Again we meet with the magic formula, *Om mani padme hum*, this time engraved in large letters on the smooth, worn rock wall. The valley becomes still narrower, the trail passing through forests of *Quercus variabilis*, *Cupressus Duclouxiana*, and *Thuja orientalis*, which grow along the river bank.[36] The Thuja trees are as wild as the cypresses, and are not escaped from cultivation as some plant collectors claim.

The gorge of Lung-dre (Liu-tui 六堆 or Lu-tui 魯堆, Na-khi Lo-ndĕr; in Tibetan Lung-hbrel,[37] or Connecting valley), which debouches further north from the west into the Mekong, is one grand forest of Thujas and cypresses. I have met with them in gorges east of the Ya-lung in uninhabited regions, where they formed the only covering of the mountain slopes, but nowhere are they so stately as in the drier, lateral canyons which debouch into the Mekong from the Salween — Mekong watershed. There they occupy the inaccessible cliffs and for that reason are immense, well-formed trees. These trees are first met with here and beyond the narrow, rocky gorge of the Mekong.

The trail descends to the stream-bed littered with huge boulders, which cause a tremendous rapid. The mica schist is here arranged in vertical folds. Not far beyond is the hamlet of Tse-yi-p'o (Chieh-i-p'o 結衣坡, or 劫義坡) half Chinese, half Tibetan. Here again are formidable rapids which would preclude any attempt at navigation. The mountains rise high on both sides, while the river passes through a most beautiful but short, rocky gorge, forested with junipers (PLATE 163). Beyond, on the west bank of the river, high up on the steep hill-side, is the village of Pa-thang (Pa-tung 巴東).[38] This is the first village in the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) district west of the Mekong, and Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭 is the first east of the Mekong.

Tz'u-ku and its rope bridge. — A short distance beyond we arrive at the rope bridge of Tz'u-ku 茨姑,[39] also written Chu-ku 著姑. Here prior to

[36] In the January, 1926, number of the (London) *Geographical Journal* (DR. H. GORDON THOMPSON: From Yün-nan fu to Peking, etc.), there is a photograph of this gorge facing p. 12, the title of which is "The Mekong near Pah-tih."

[37] ལུང་འགྲེལ

[38] In Tibetan ཕ་ཐང་ or ཕ་ཐང་ཀྱོང. Spag-thang or Spag-gtong.

[39] Tz'u-ku is the name of a marsh plant *Sagittaria sagittifolia* L. cultivated for its tubers.

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Here[1] prior to

1905 a Catholic mission was established, where Père Dubernard was murdered in cold blood by the fanatic lamas. 487* The bridge is 150 feet above the river-bed and one glides down at express speed to less than 50 feet on the other side. 133* Those unaccustomed to crossing by such not altogether too safe means, strapped to an oak-wood slider greased with yak butter, are all but cheerful at the prospect, be they native or European; 137* those used to crossing such ropes suspended high above the river, pass back and forth as unconcerned as we would cross a courtyard. The rope is often greased by the man sliding across; he would put liquid butter from a bamboo tube into his mouth and, holding his head above the rope, would let the butter run out of his mouth on to the rope. Only mules, horses and heavyweights reach the other bank without aid. Lightweights remain suspended on the sagging rope, in the middle over the roaring torrent. This necessitates pulling oneself up hand over hand to the other side. Once crossed one must confess that this sliding into space is not an unpleasant sensation, the only disagreeable feature is the preliminary tying up in leather straps, fastened to the short semi-circular oaken slider. The horses are not less frightened than their riders, for they kick the air with tails up and open mouths, and lie down exhausted from fear on the other side (PLATE 164).

From Tz'u-ku to Tz'u-chung 茨中 (in Na-khi, Tsu-dĕr)[40] is a distance of 361 five li. The latter is a scattered Tibetan village consisting of about 30 797 houses, with a few Na-khi families who have settled there, while beyond the poor village are a few leper huts. The most imposing building here is the Catholic church, almost worthy of the name cathedral. It was built here, after the destruction of the mission at Tz'u-ku in 1905, by Père Ouvrard who also built the church at Ta-chien-lu. He died later at Tz'u-chung. It was Père Ouvrard who told me that it was easier to convert a Tibetan lama than a Na-khi layman, of whom he had not a single convert. A short distance north of Tz'u-ku, on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of 487* Ch'eng-to-lo 秤多洛, in Tibetan, Chhu-rdo-lung, pronounced Chhu-do-lung 133* or Valley of water and stones. 137*

From Tz'u-ku a trail leads up the mountain range to the Hsi La 夕拉 in Tibetan Sribs La,[41] a pass over the Mekong-Salween divide (this part of the range being also called Hsi-la hsüeh-shan 錫拉雪山), and thence to the Salween, which route will be described in a separate chapter, although no Na-khi live there. Between Tz'u-ku and Tz'u-chung the river bank is strewn with boulders of coarse-grained purple porphyry and rhyolite, marking the beginning of another development of igneous rocks. At Tz'u-chung proper the river bank consists of pink and black porphyry, which also extends up the hill-side to about 6,800 feet (GREGORY).

Do-lung gorge and Mt. Me-tse-mo. — From Tz'u-ku we follow the east bank of the Mekong, never wider than 60–80 yards, to the Tibetan village of Huan-fu-p'ing 換夫坪 or 換富坪 (H-M., Fangfuping) 25 li distant, and

[40] In Tibetan the name is variably written Tshogs-drug ཚྭགས་ཐུང or Tshed-grong ཚད་ཀྲོང pronounced Tshe-drong.

[41] [illegible] 1 [TZ'U-KU-- Analyst]

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*487 thence to Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 situated on a bend of the great river. Twenty
*133 li beyond Huan-fu-p'ing we come to an exceedingly narrow part of the
*137 Mekong gorge, arid in the extreme, and scarcely more than a trench. The trail which leads through the gorge is passable for porters only, while the mule caravans pass over the mountain-side at its entrance, emerging near Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu 大壩子). This gorge is called Do-lung [42] in Tibetan, and To-lo 多洛 in Chinese. The trail is one of the worst on the entire stretch to A-tun-tzu, and is simply an echelon, built by means of slender props against the cliff, a sort of trestle-work spanning a chasm. Where the Mekong enters the gorge there is a fierce rapid but in the gorge itself the river flows placidly enough. Nyi-thang [43] called To-lo-t'ang 多洛塘 in Chinese, is a Tibetan village situated on a flat spur north of the Do-lung gorge, and consists of a few houses only (PLATE 165).

[436] Money is here valueless, for the peasants of this area will sell nothing, but are willing to exchange grain or other victuals for salt and coarse Chinese tea, two commodities unobtainable in this region. The peasants are much [147] afflicted with goitre.

From here one has the first glimpse of the mighty promontory of the Kha-wa-kar-po [44] range, Mt. Me-tse-mo,[45] the southernmost and highest mountain of that magnificent divide. On a manuscript map of the district of A-tun-tzu in the Provincial Library at K'un-ming, the range is marked Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 庸支雪山, after a village called Yung-chih, situated on the eastern slopes, and on the west bank of the Mekong. The northern end of the same range is marked as Tu-ch'ü-ling hsüeh-shan 都取嶺雪山. Mt. Me-tse-mo is a wonderful dome, standing separately and projecting from the rest of the range; it is covered with immense masses of snow, with buttresses on each side at the base of the peak. In the early hour of dawn the dome looked a death-like grey, cold and forbidding, but as soon as the sun shone on its almost vertical snow-fields it turned to a rich pink, while the Mekong valley was still sleeping in deep, gloomy shadows.

The trail leads past a narrow lateral gorge and then opposite the Lung-dre canyon which debouches from the west, misty and mysterious, into the Mekong. Up Lung-dre gorge a trail leads to the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-hdzom-la) [46] and to the Salween.

Yang-tsa village. — Cypress trees (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*) line the Mekong river banks; the valley becomes narrower and more arid, the walls steep and furrowed by huge land-slides. The hamlet of Se-ra-thang (Se-lo-t'ung 色勒通) is here situated on a small meadow with the mountain walls rising steeply back of it. A few li beyond and the scenery is still more arid save for the cypress trees; not far beyond is the village of Yang-tsa 羊咱, also called La-tsa 拉咱, a few scattered houses among boulders. Three rope-bridges are stretched across the river here (PLATE 166). In the autumn

[42] rDo-lung རྡོ་ལུང (Rock valley). [43] ཉི་ཐང Nyi-thang or gNyis-thang གཉིས་ཐང

[44] Khwa-dkar-po ཁྭ་དཀར་པོ or Kha-wa-dkar-po gangs-ri [45] sMad-rtse-mo སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

[46] bZhi-hdzom-la བཞི་འདོམ་ལ

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this is a very busy place, for pilgrims, who circumambulate the sacred Kha-wa-kar-po mountains, must cross here to ascend the Do-kar La into Tibet. Then hundreds will slide across in a day, and the rope must be changed once a week, or every three days when the traffic is heavy, as the slender, twisted strands are unable to withstand the strain, for heavy horses cross as well as men. Opposite Yang-tsa is a small Tibetan temple, and above it is situated the Tibetan village of Gyang-dzom [47] (Yung-chih 庸支), whence a trail leads to the sacred Do-kar La (rDo-dkar-la,[48] Pass of the white rocks; the Chinese To-k'a-la 多卡拉). The valley narrows again, the rock walls are red and bare, and only among the fields of Yang-tsa are walnut trees grown, the only trees in this region.

From Yang-tsa two roads or trails lead to Yeh-tsi (Yen-tzu 燕子). The upper or main trail leads high above the river, while the smaller one leads directly through the deep, narrow gorge ahead. Only dry, arid scrub vegetation, consisting mainly of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, and bushes of the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*, sparingly covers the loose, rocky slopes. The lower trail through the gorge is built up against the vertical cliff by means of posts which rest on rocks below (PLATE 167). It thus leads zigzag up the face of the cliff, suspended over the chasm below in which the Mekong roars. This part is known to the Chinese as So-shih-p'o 枝石坡. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that "it is 300 li north of Wei-hsi. The rocks are like a shuttle, always sliding and ever restless, hence the name So-shih-p'o (Hill of the shuttle rocks). It is three li long, its foot resting in the Mekong. In wind and rain the gravel rolls down and rocks fall from the heights. When travelers wish to pass through they must observe whether there is any wind or rain. Only when there is neither is it possible to traverse this place. Once the rocks and gravel start sliding there is no escape. Anyone travelling from Wei-hsi up the Mekong to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) must cross this region, there is no other way; it is on the road to Ba-thang [49] (Pa-t'ang 巴塘) in Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) and Tibet."

This is true indeed. It is necessary to traverse the place in the early morning ere the wind rises, for by 10 or 11 a.m. a terrific wind howls through the canyon, hurling down rocks which cause avalanches and woe to the traveler caught in this gorge. A new grave on the slopes, if such it could be called — for a man was simply buried under the rocks — testified to the truth of the statement.

Yeh-tsi and Hung-p'o lamaseries. — Beyond, in a flat, circular depression, is situated the village of Yeh-tsi (Chinese Yen-tzu 燕子) and diagonally across on the western mountain slopes the village of Bar-ta; three rope-bridges span the river, which is comparatively wide at this place. The only vegetation growing here and there consists of bushes of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Bauhinia densiflora* and the prostrate *Thuja orientalis*. The people of Yeh-tsi, in contrast to the inhabitants of other Tibetan villages along the Mekong, are rather surly and unfriendly. A valley opens out here which

[47] Gyang-hdzom [illegible] [48] [illegible]

[49] hBah-thang [illegible]

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*248 *133 *137 has its source on the western slopes of Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 (also written 芒 and 鋩), which are visible through Yeh-tsi valley. Part of the waters of its stream are led by ditches to the village, which is inhabited by Tibetans only. The sky is an azure blue, the atmosphere crystal clear, making every rock stand out sharply defined.

In this valley is situated the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, called Yang-pa-chen-ling (Yangs-pa-chan-gling,[80] Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺), which belongs to the Yellow sect, perhaps so named after a monastery in northern Tibet of the same name. It is, however, also the name of a city in Magadha on the site of modern Allahabad. The lamasery was built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753). Hung-p'o is known in Tibetan as Ngü-phu,[81] from *dngul*, silver, and *phu*, the upper part of a sloping valley. There are also two villages called Hung-po, one north and one south of the lamasery.

Ngun-ya village. — Beyond Yeh-tsi we cross a spur and follow along the now more gently sloping hill-side, past another gap, and arrive at the village of Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 果念); this is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, and is the last pure Na-khi village in north-west Yün-nan. There are, however, other villages inhabited either wholly or in part by Na-khi, across the Yün-nan border in Hsi-k'ang.

At Ngun-ya, or Gun-ya, the Mekong flows in a deep trench imprisoned by steep rock walls. It makes a sharp curve to the east, flows through a defile and encircles the spur on the southern slopes of which Ngun-ya is situated; it makes in fact a double horseshoe bend. (PLATES 168). Beyond Ngun-ya it flows through a very narrow gorge with a tributary descending through a rocky, arid canyon with the pinnacles of the high mountains visible in the distance.

[394] Fuel is scarce here, the nearest wooded mountain being Pai-mang Shan to the east. The people of Ngun-ya are very friendly and helpful to the traveler, quite a contrast to the surly attitude of the people of Yeh-tsi. They are, [47] however, sorely afflicted with goitre. On the road one meets now only Tibetans, stalwart fellows who greet one with upturned hands raised to about the chest — survival of an ancient custom to show that the hands hold no arms.

[712] All along the Mekong on small promontories are more or less ruined watch-towers built of mud bricks (PLATE 169) their walls pierced with loop-holes. It used to be, and still is, the belief that these towers were built by the ancient Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pe (Mu Sen-pe, as it is pronounced by the Na-khi). But, as has already been related, they were not erected by the Na-khi rulers but by the T'u-fan, against the invasion of Na-khi soldiers led by their chiefs. These towers are to be found all along the Chinese — Tibetan, not political, but ethnic border. They are common north in Mu-li, on the Zho Chhu, on the hills in the Li-t'ang River valley, on the Ya-lung, and in the region of Chiu-lung hsien 九龍縣, south of Ta-chien-lu. They form, in fact, an ethnic boundary line from the Mekong to the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河.

From the gorge beyond Ngun-ya the trail again climbs the rocky, steep

[80] ཡངས་པ་ཆན་གླིང་ [81] dNgul-phu དངུལ་ཕུ

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slopes, whence the tip of Me-tse-mo becomes visible in the west. Here the Mekong makes a complete S figure, flowing through a very narrow defile. The trail leads to the top of the spur, through a gap with two *mani* pyramids. No view is, however, obtainable from this spur as one might expect. At the northern slope of the spur is an oblong, somewhat horse-shoe-shaped valley, with fields and scattered walnut trees, and a conglomeration of houses which form the village of Chia-pieh 加別 or Chia-pi 加必. The Chia-pieh stream flows below the village through a narrow ravine cut through brown sandstone into the Mekong. We follow the stream to the Mekong which, a little south of Chia-pieh, enters a very narrow, forbidding-looking gorge; the stream is here not wider than 60 yards with a strong current. Boulders of limestone in the Chia-pieh stream are covered with the familiar Tibetan magic formula in bas-relief. Here the Mekong is a fierce rapid, rushing madly into the weird black gorge. 487* 133* 137*

The trail follows the Mekong in its arid trench, here with less steep slopes. On the west side a torrent joins it; it is a glacier stream from the Kha-wa-kar-po range. Far away to the north there could clearly be seen a white pyramid west of Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs or lho),[52] the Chinese Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛, in south-east Tibet. It is the Ta-mo-yum [53] (written stag-mo-yum, Tigress mother), another sacred peak of the Tibetans. Kingdon Ward tells us that Ta-mo-yum is a hump of porphyry.

The trail follows over a small plain strewn with boulders and rocks; the mountains rise gently from it, and the Mekong flows between rock walls some 60 feet below it. The vegetation here is a typical xerophytic one consisting mainly of *Sophora viciifolia*, Berberis, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*.

Up the Te-ch'in valley from Chin-ta. — A few li bring us to the mouth of a narrow valley; it is the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley with its stream rushing into the Mekong at the foot of a small flat spur on which is situated the Tibetan hamlet of Jö-mda (hJol-mdah),[54] in Chinese, Chin-ta 金打. Leaving the Mekong behind we follow the narrow lateral valley up to the village of Lo-ga-ngu, where a stream descends the slopes of Pai-mang Shan and joins the Te-ch'in stream. Here the mountain slopes, higher up, are again covered with *Thuja orientalis*, but stunted trees. A short distance beyond is the hamlet of Ch'i-tzu-shih 棋子石, inhabited by friendly Tibetans (PLATE 170). Maize is still cultivated in the otherwise barren valley. From the slopes back of the village a view can be had of Mt. Me-tse-mo (Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 庸支雪山), the highest and southernmost peak of the Kha-wa-dkar-po range (PLATE 171). [243]

The trail follows the A-tun-tzu stream, crossing it several times, once over a wooden bridge, past the village of Ching-k'ou 清口 to the town of A-tun-tzu (PLATE 172). The A-tun-tzu valley is bounded on the East by the steep walls of a plateau (13,000 ft.), from the edge of which the country rises to the rocky peaks of the Mekong-Yangtze divide. Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) itself lies between hills of mica-schist on the west and limestone (Minchia Series) to the east.

[52] [illegible] [53] [illegible] [54] [illegible]

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CHAPTER III

TE-CH'IN AND THE MEKONG — SALWEEN DIVIDE

1. THE TOWN OF TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

361 The town of Te-ch'in is situated at the head of the valley at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it consists of 300–400 houses extending from wall to wall, filling the valley completely. In Tibetan the town is known as Jö or Jöl 346 (written hJol).[1] On a hill overlooking the town to the north, is situated the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 (in Tibetan bDe-chhen-gling, Lamasery of great happiness),[2] founded in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). Its 30 buildings including a large chanting hall have been built since 1905 after the destruction of the original lamasery, which was situated in the valley in the outskirts of the town. This was destroyed by Chinese soldiers in punishment for the murder of the Catholic priests and the burning of their missions in the Mekong and Salween valleys. The present site is a strategic one overlooking the town and, being situated at the summit of a hill, can be easily defended. Like the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery further south, it belongs to the Yellow sect.

361 In ancient days A-tun-tzu had no wall. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730), a garrison of soldiers was established and a tamped earth wall built. No wall exists, however, at present (PLATE 173). The town is inhabited by Tibetans, Chinese, and Na-khi, and has experienced many a raid by the Tibetans from the north, so that the merchants of A-tun-tzu used to keep their better-class goods a few days' journey south, on the west bank of the Mekong. It is the last frontier town in north-west Yün-nan, and one of the highest situated in the province. Its climate is raw, cold and dusty in the winter, quite a contrast to the villages a little further down in the same valley near the Mekong. Being shut in at the head of the valley, surrounded by steep, high mountains, the sun does not shine long in A-tun-tzu during the winter months.

622 Although the place is now a hsien city, a native official, whose Tibetan title is Zhal-ngo[3] (Face or Presence, formerly a term applied to an officer over 50 soldiers), still holds office, subject to the magistrate of the town. The title for a Ch'ien-tsung (Lieutenant or leader of 1,000 soldiers) is Tong-pön, written sTong-dpon.[4] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* 雲南通志 has the following to say about A-tun-tzu, ch. 145, fol. 32:

"In former days A-tun-tzu was ruled by Wei-hsi, but was under the immediate control of one native lieutenant and one native sergeant or Dang-pön (ldang-dpon),[5] the equivalent to the Chinese Pa-tsung (there are said

[1] ལྕོ་ལ།
[2] བདེ་ཆེན་གླིང།
[3] ཞལ་ངོ།
[4] རྡོང་དཔོན།
[5] ལྡང་དཔོན།

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now to be two sergeants in office), responsible to the Wei-hsi magistrate. They attended to the affairs of A-tun-tzu, Ta A-tung 大阿董 (the Tibetan Dang or Dang-po[6]) and Hsiao A-tung, also Tung-ti-kung 動地公, Hung-p'o and other villages. 622

"The A-tun-tzu native lieutenant for generations had his seat at A-tun-tzu, and his territory extended east to Lu-k'a 路卡 adjoining Yeh-chih, 240 li; south to Ch'a-li-p'o 察利坡 adjoining the territory of Ssu-ch'uan, 100 li; west to Hsü-kung-ts'un 敍工村[7] adjoining Hsi-ts'ang 西藏 (Tibet), 200 li; north to Pi-yung-kung-ts'un 必用工村[8] adjoining Ssu-ch'uan, 200 li. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Ho Liang-tou 禾良斗 was ordered to lead his native [barbarian] soldiers to attack the K'ang-p'u Li-su robbers. He acquired merit, and was rewarded with the raven plume, and confirmed as the hereditary A-tun-tzu lieutenant (T'u-ch'ien-tsung). The office was transmitted to his son, Ssu-na Weng-hsüeh 思那翁學. Ssu-na died and the office was inherited by Kung-pu 工布 Weng-hsüeh. Kung-pu died and his son, Ting-pan 定邦, inherited the office. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume.

"The A-tun-tzu T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the lieutenant, restrained the barbarian peasants, and guarded the borders of Ssu-ch'uan and Tibet. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Sang Shang-ta 桑上達 went to attack the Li-su robbers at K'ang-p'u and acquired merit; he was rewarded with the raven plume, and was confirmed as hereditary native sergeant (T'u-pa-tsung) of A-tun-tzu. Shang-ta handed down his office to Lung-pu 隆布, the latter to Pu-kung 布工. During the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume. Pu-kung died, his son, Ch'un-hua 春華, also died of illness, and his grandson, Wen-han 文翰, being still a minor, his mother attended to the affairs of the orphan."

* * *

2. COLOPHON ON MANUSCRIPT MAP IN K'UN-MING PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

"In the olden days A-tun-tzu belonged to the Tibetans. When Chung-tien and Wei-hsi came under the government of Yün-nan, the native officials were abolished, and transferable officers appointed. The first Chinese official in A-tun-tzu was a Tan-yao wei-yüan 彈壓委員 (a Delegate repressing violence) whose duty it was to control the frontier. At first A-tun-tzu came under the rule of Li-chiang, and later under Wei-hsi. At that time the Tan- 634

[6] གདང་པོ , A-dang is half Chinese and half Tibetan, the Tibetan name is more often written Dang གདང ; according to P. F. Goré the inhabitants are known as Dang-po-wa གདང་པ which means angry or hostile people.

[7] Hsü-kung is the last village north-west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and west of the Mekong, on the eastern slopes of the Kha-wa-kar-po range on the Tibetan border.

[8] Pi-yung-kung is on the east bank of the Mekong, south of the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border.

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 牧頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[651] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in
A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[192] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[177] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few
merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged
[438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich
[135] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu
[34] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of
[197] the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] ব্রহ্ম [10] স্মৃতৈর্ম

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ice, tapering into a spire of ethereal blue, almost transparent and merging into an azure sky. 133*

Next to it is a huge crest of ice, a giant cock's comb known as Pe-zhwa (Pad-zhwa [illegible]) or Lotus hat, while the peak Dam-pa Sang-gye (written Dam-pa sangs-rgyas),[11] meaning "Excellent (Holy) Buddha" adjoins it to the north. The central pyramid is Kha-wa-kar-po proper, with radiating glaciers, one of which extends deep down into the Mekong valley to within two miles of the river. The glaciers are however retreating. The peak to the north of the central pyramid is called Si-go-dum (written Sri-mgo-rdum) [12] which means "Headless demon Si (Sri)." A village situated at its foot is also called Si. This last of the higher peaks is adjoined by two minor ones to the north, beyond which the range dwindles to snowless crags. The base of the range consists of mica schist, covered by Minchia limestone and black shale, which are overlaid by basalt, which lies beneath tuffaceous trachyte with coarsely porphyritic sanidine trachyte on the summit (GREGORY). In Chinese the northern end of the range is called Tu-ch'ü-ling Hsüeh-shan 都取嶺雪山.

The entire range is called Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山 — "Great snow-range of the four Mang." [13] The Tibetans look upon the range, or Kha-wa-kar-po proper, as the abode of the great Yi-dam bDe-mchhog,[14] the Sanskrit Samvara, Chief of happiness, also called dPal-khor-lo-sdam-pa.[15] This Yi-dam is the tutelary deity of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, a branch of the Nying-ma-pa (rNying-ma-pa) Red lama sect. 133* 778

One of the best views obtainable of this range is from a mountain west of A-tun-tzu called Mt. Drong-go (written Grong-gog),[16] 13,500 feet in height. The summit of this mountain is clear of trees, although Abies and rhododendron forest cover its slopes. On this summit-meadow a seat of stone slabs has been erected for lamas to sit and meditate. A more wonderful place for meditation it is certainly difficult to find. The Mekong flows about 12,500 feet below the summit of the Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid (PLATE 174), at an elevation of 7,500 feet. 133* 137*

From Pai-mang Shan a beautiful view of this range is also to be had (PLATE 203) but the best view is unquestionably from Mt. Drong-go.

The Tibetans circumambulate this range in the late summer, ere the passes become closed by the snow. Coming from Tsha-rong (Hot valley) in South-eastern Tibet, they cross the Shu La (Shug-la),[17] a 16,000 feet high pass, and descend by Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹) into the Mekong valley whence they go south, crossing the Mekong to the east bank at Liu-t'ung-

[11] [illegible] [12] [illegible]

[13] The *Mang* 蟒 are large serpents; they are the Mahoraga of the Hindu-Buddhists and Lamaists, which the Tibetans call lTo-hphye-chhen-po [illegible]. They are the great reptile or creeper demons in shape like boas. The *Mang* are also large serpents as the python, and it is possible that that name has been given the range on account of its length, or on account of the long snake-like glacier which descends from Kha-wa-kar-po into the Mekong valley.

[14] [illegible] [15] [illegible] [16] [illegible] [17] [illegible]

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*133 chiang 瀘筒江 north of A-tun-tzu. They continue south to Yang-tsa whence
*137 they again cross to the west over a rope-bridge and climb to the Do-kar La (White rock Pass), from here descending once more into Tibet. This is the Yün-nan—Tibet—Tsha-rong border. The journey via the Do-kar La is described elsewhere.

4. FROM TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU) NORTH TO THE MEKONG

*487 From Te-ch'in the trail leads north of the town out of the valley, climb-
*133 ing zigzag up the mountain slopes. Turning to the right, or east, we enter
*137 the Dru La (written hBrug-la, Thunder-dragon Pass)[18], elevation 12,500 feet, and descend into a ravine. We follow down its stream which flows by Hsia A-tung 下阿董 (Dang), and debouches into the Chü-k'o-ti Chiang 鞠克底江.[19] United they flow into the Mekong. Before us is the A-dang mountain; the ravine becomes very rocky and the cliffs are covered with Picea trees, rhododendrons, Berberis, willows, etc. We follow the A-dang lung-pa (valley) through a narrow, rocky gap to A-dang village, situated at an elevation of 9,400 feet and inhabited entirely by Tibetans (PLATE 175). East of A-dang a trail leads to the Tsha-le Pass (Tsa-li 咱里 or Ts'a-li 擦甲), the actual border between Yün-nan and Hsi-k'ang and the shortest route to Ba-thang.

Here on the trail we met with many pilgrims bent on circumambulating the snow range, their only pack animals being sheep loaded with *tsamba* (roasted barley flour), the staple food of the Tibetans (PLATE 176). The sheep had their ears pierced and, instead of ear-rings, red and yellow tassels were fastened in the holes. This ear-mark denotes their being sacred, for once they have circumambulated the sacred snow range with their masters, they are never killed but allowed to die a natural death.

From A-dang (A-tung) we turn west and follow the A-dang lung-pa over a narrow trail along the mountain-side, bare save for stunted *Thuja orientalis*, a few Berberis, Cotoneaster, and the small-leafed *Bauhinia densiflora* bushes. The slopes become steeper, the tremendous rock-slides and enormous boulders which lie about testify to the danger of the trail. On the north side of the gorge are pure limestone outcroppings with hot springs. The stream flows through a broad but steep gorge and the entire rock canyon is filled with the most awe-inspiring scenery. A peerless peak, the last of the Kha-wa-kar-po range, shone forth in all its glory.

The trail is built of logs above the river-bed against the steep cliff. It is useless in the winter when the stream carries less than half of its summer volume, and one can meander anywhere in the broad gorge. From the village of Dza-dü, within the gorge, the river descends in huge cascades over enormous boulders, the stream-bed being lined with cypresses and *Thuja orientalis* trees. High above the mouth of the gorge, the stream turns south as a long, narrow spur extends south into the Mekong valley, separating it from

[18] འབྲུག་ལ

[19] Another name for this stream which has its source in the Tsha-le (Tsa-li) mountain (Ts'a-li Hsüeh-shan) is Jung-p'u Ho 榮普河.

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the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 溜頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[20] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual. 487* 133* 137* [312]

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields. [243] [245]

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江鋪, La-p'u 拉鋪, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴美 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 壩永鍋 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo. [317] [797]

* ཡར་ཁ་ལོ

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*487 The last village inhabited by Na-khi is called Chüeh-lung 覺隆 the Tibetan
*133 Chang-lung written lChang-lung [21] or Willow valley.
*137 Chang-lung is really a district of villages situated at the head of a lateral valley which merges into a plateau. This valley, debouching from the north-east into the Mekong, divides the salt wells of Yen-ching 鹽井 (called in Tibetan Tsha-kha-lo, written Tshwa-kha-logs,[22] Region of the salt mines) with the seven small villages around the brine wells on both banks of the Mekong from the village of Yar-kha-lo a thousand feet above the river.[23] The tributary is crossed over a bridge after which the trail leads up Yar-kha-lo.

Opposite Yen-ching, on the west bank of the Mekong is the village of Chia-ta 加打.

The Na-khi living in and around Tsha-kha-lo are called Jang-böd or Tibetan-Na-khi, written hJangs-bod [24] and those to the south in Yün-nan, Chinese-Na-khi or hJangs-rgya [25] (Chinese Jang). This is the last group of Na-khi on the Mekong. According to Père Goré, the Tibetan-Na-khi are still found further north, one group in the small valley of the Ta Chhu, north-east of Yen-ching and Dzang-ngön written rDzang-sngon [26] north of the Yün-nan border and west of the Yangtze; the other on the Teng Chhu written sTeng-chhu or Upper river,[27] a tributary of the Yangtze, in the Ba-thang district.

6. TSHA-RONG (CH'A-WA-LUNG 察瓦龍)

From Yang-tsa up Lung-dre Gorge. — Crossing the rope-bridge at Yang-tsa 羊咱, the Tibetan La-tsa, one finds a Tibetan village on the west bank of the Mekong, called Tse-ri-teng (rTse-ri-teng ཙེ་རི་ལྟེང), with a small temple on a promontory. Here the Tibetans are quite friendly, but it is necessary to be firm with them in engaging porters, for it is impossible to take pack animals across the Do-kar La owing to the narrowness and steepness of the trail, and also because it is impossible to buy fodder for them in that wilderness. The only pack animals that are taken across are sheep, as has already been mentioned.

The headman of Tse-ri-teng provides the porters, in fact he is obliged to do so on presentation of a written order in Tibetan fro mthe Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) magistrate. Having secured porters for the baggage, we follow the stream-bed zigzag, back of the little temple until we enter pine forest; from here one can survey the Mekong — Yangtze divide and the arid gorge of the Mekong. Crossing a spur we find ourselves in the Lung-dre gorge [28]

[21] ལྕང་ལུང [22] རྩ་ཁ་ལོ་ཀས

[23] Yar-kha-lo is merely a Catholic settlement around a mission where Père F. Goré labored for many years. Another village called P'u-ting 浦丁 was the seat of the magistrate ere the Chinese lost the region to the Tibetans, and is therefore known as the real Yen-ching to the Chinese.

[24] ལྕང་ལྷོ་ཅོད [25] ལྕང་ལྷུ

[26] ཛང་སྔོན [27] སྟེང་ཆུ [28] ལུང་བདེལ

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(Lo-ndĕr in Na-khi), and have an unobstructed view up to the Zhi-dzom La which leads to the Salween valley (*see* journey to Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 萬蒲桶). At the head of the latter is the Dra-chhen (Brag-chhen) [79] peak, the "Great rock" which the French baptized Francis Garnier Peak, and which has been erroneously called Maya by foreign travelers. The trail leads high up on the ridge above Lung-dre through stunted oaks, with the deep and densely forested ravine to our left or south. Up this deep gorge a magnificent panorama of the snow peaks to the west in Tsha-rong, or Tshwa-rong [80] the Chinese Ch'a-wa-lung 察瓦龍, unfolds itself. 487* 133* 137*

The mountain mass, with its enormous limestone crags projecting from the snow-fields, is known to the Tibetans as Drö-su-po, and is no longer in Yün-nan but Tsha-rong, south-east Tibet.

The trail continues up the deep ravine through oak and pine forest, high above the roaring stream which descends from Mt. Drö-su-po, while from the north it is joined by a stream which has its source in one of the glaciers of Me-tse-mo.

Do-kar La. — Leaving the Lung-dre gorge we turn north, up the valley which leads to the Do-kar La (White rock Pass), following a glacier torrent through Abies (*Abies Forrestii*) and maple (Acer) forest with a few rhododendrons as undergrowth. Near the junction of the two streams the Do-kar La valley is narrow, but gradually widens and large birches (*Betula japonica* var. *szechuanica*) take the place of the Abies or firs. The trail is rocky and leads gently out of the forest into meadow-land with birch forest surrounding it. Limestone cliffs hem in the valley; a waterfall descends from the rocky crest of the western wall, and icicles hang everywhere. Mountain ranges forming an amphitheater separate the Mekong from the Salween.

The Do-kar La itself is a disappointing rocky peak with three or four crags resembling a cock's comb; it is situated at the head of a lateral valley. The main valley is closed by a low mountain crest, snow-capped and glacier-bearing; the snout of the glacier which fills the head of the valley descends from Me-tse-mo. This peak is entirely in Yün-nan, while the western slopes of the main Kha-wa-kar-po Range are in Tibet proper.

The trail leads first through forest and then crosses the stream which has its source in the glacier at the head of the valley called Muandri, enters fir forest, and ascends zigzag in the Do-kar La gorge. Various species of rhododendron form the undergrowth among the firs. We enter finally an amphitheater surrounded by rocky peaks crowned with snow, while a gap at the head of it is the pass which leads to Tsha-rong. From the pass there is no view to be had of any of the peaks which form the Kha-wa-kar-po Range, with the exception of the very tip of the southern-most peak which is only visible from the steep slopes leading up from the Muandri glacier stream to the mouth of the actual Do-kar La valley. To see this mountain close it is best to follow to the end of the main narrowing valley, and climb up the Muandri glacier which descends from it.

The trail leads through rhododendron bushes among limestone boulders to the edge of a meadow in a fairly straight line, but when reaching the sloping

[79] ཟ་ཁ་ཆེན། [80] ཚ་ཁ་ཤོ།

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*487 meadow ascends in long zigzags to the pass (PLATE 177). From near the
*133 top of the pass a view opens out to the Mekong—Yangtze divide and also to
*137 the Si La which leads over the same divide into the Salween further south. At the summit of the Do-kar La, 14,500 feet, an *obo* or cairn of rocks with prayer flags and rags tied to bamboo marked the pass. A wonderful panorama of the mountains unfolds to the east and the rocky snow-crowned range in Tsha-rong to the west (PLATES 178, 179). It is impossible to remain long on the summit owing to the terrific winds, and one is glad to seek the shelter of the western vertical wall. The descent into Tsha-rong is a sheer drop down which the trail leads in short zigzags said to be 118 in number (PLATE 180). In winter when ice covers the narrow path the descent is dangerous, for a slip would land one a thousand feet or more below.

The trail to Men-kung.—We go down into a deep valley, closed to the south by a snow peak of the Drö-su-po Range, from which a glacier descends, and a stream sends its waters to the Salween at Lha-khang-ra,[31] the Chinese La-kung-lo 拉公羅. This stream, here called Drö-su Chhu, flows through lovely Abies forest and then disappears under the black rocks and boulders with which its bed is strewn. We emerge from the valley at a small meadow faced by a huge, bare, red rock wall.

The trail continues along the stream-bed, here flat and broad, lined by birches, while firs cling to the mountain-side. Five li beyond a valley opens out to the west with a trail leading to the Salween; the stream and valley being called Chö-dzung. Instead of descending we keep to the western wall of the gorge above the roaring torrent. The trail now enters beautiful forest of tall Abies and Picea (spruce) trees. Fifteen li beyond we cross, by a few logs, a stream issuing from the east, and which has its source in a lake called Shü-tong Tsho up the mountain-side. Now the Abies trees give way to Picea, and the latter further on to Tsuga (hemlock) trees. The trail leads high above the river, a huge torrent of white foam, in a deep ravine. Deeper becomes the valley, hemmed in by massive snow peaks in the east, while ahead they seem to close it. The conifers give way to evergreen forest composed solely of enormous oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, with *Rhododendron decorum* as undergrowth. Skirting a lateral ravine over a narrow trail we reach the mouth of a valley, here called Dö-chu-pu-drön, which opens out from the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Looking up this rocky valley (mostly greyish-blue limestone), with its upper slopes forested with tall firs, we behold the western slopes of Kha-wa-kar-po and neighboring peaks. This deep and narrow valley leads east, out into a long, broad valley, densely forested on the western side, and extending along the Kha-wa-kar-po Range from north to south (PLATE 181).

The slopes of Kha-wa-kar-po on the Tibetan side are steeper, yet the snow descends much lower than on the Mekong side. At the entrance to the ravine, or rather at the mouth, for no trail leads into it, there is a peculiar *obo*, if such it can be called, consisting of huge bundles of bamboo or canebrake, leaning so as to form a pyramid. Stones are tied to these bundles,

= 9/5-2

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and to the branches of nearby trees; flags and rags covered with prayers are fluttering from the cane-brake, to which also Tibetan pilgrims have added their queues as offerings to the mountain gods. Innumerable wooden tea-bowls lay scattered on the ground (PLATE 182). The little hill on which these offerings are placed by the devout pilgrims (PLATE 183), in full view of Kha-wa-kar-po, is called Hlu-wu-si. A glacier, descending from the Kha-wa-kar-po Range, deposited enormous quantities of detritus in the flat valley bottom immediately below giving it the appearance of a quarry.

The stream flows nearly a thousand feet below the trail and, turning south-west, joins the Salween one and a half days' journey distant at Lha-khang-ra, while a trail leads to Bonga and A-bong (A-pan 阿板). At Bonga formerly the French Catholic Mission du Thibet had established a station. They were, however, driven out by the lamas of Men-khang, the capital of Tsha-rong.[32]

From Hlu-wu-si the trail descends to a meadow called Chhu-na-thang written Chhu-nag-thang [33] or Plain of the black river; the Chinese Cho-na-t'ang 卓那塘. Here we met our Tibetan pilgrim friends with their sheep laden with tsamba, everyone carrying two bamboos, one as a staff, the other to be deposited at Hlu-wu-si and added to the *obo* pile. They constantly mumbled the magic formula *Om mani padme hum*. At Chhu-na-thang the pilgrims tarry to eat their frugal meal of tsamba and buttered tea churned with salt. Some there are, especially nuns and monks, who do nothing all year long but cross the Do-kar La in penance, to acquire merit. Others even go so far as to measure the entire distance, with their own bodies, up and down the rocky path, over ice and snow, lying down flat, next rising, folding their hands in prayer above their head, and lie down again where their outstretched arms and hands had marked the ground, repeating the performance. Thus they consume months in making the weary journey.

Men-khang written sMan-khang [34] the Chinese Men-kung 門工, is situated south of the Salween at an elevation of 7,044 feet (BAILEY), while the river, which here makes a bend at right angles, flows at a height of 6,050 feet. North-west of it is the lamasery of Men-k'ung Ssu 悶空寺. A trail leads from here to Dza-yül written rDza-yul [35] or Land of clay; the Chinese Ch'a-yü 察隅, via Jih-chien 日東, Na-chiao 納交 and Tu-wa 度瓦. From Na-chiao a trail leads west to Ri-ma (Li-ma 力馬), and also to Sha-mei 沙美 (Assam).

[32] The Catholic mission at Bonga was founded by M. Renou in 1854. The mission had been repeatedly attacked, until on September 29th, 1865, MM. F. Biet and C. H. Desgodins were attacked there by 300 armed men headed by the Abbot Atu of the lamasery of Men-khang, four persons sent by the chiefs of Lhasa, and the chief of the three great lamaseries. The priests were made prisoners, told to pack their belongings, and depart. On October 7th, 1865, when they left Bonga and as they were marching along the foot of the mountains, they saw their mission station go up in flames. Bonga had been ceded in perpetuity to the French Catholic mission in 1862 by the Peking Government, ratified by Lhasa. It seems that the French ambassador at Peking, so states M. Desgodins, in order to spare himself the trouble of protecting the missionaries, preferred himself to order their expulsion. (*La Mission du Thibet* 1872, p. 110.)

[33] [illegible] [34] [illegible] [35] [illegible]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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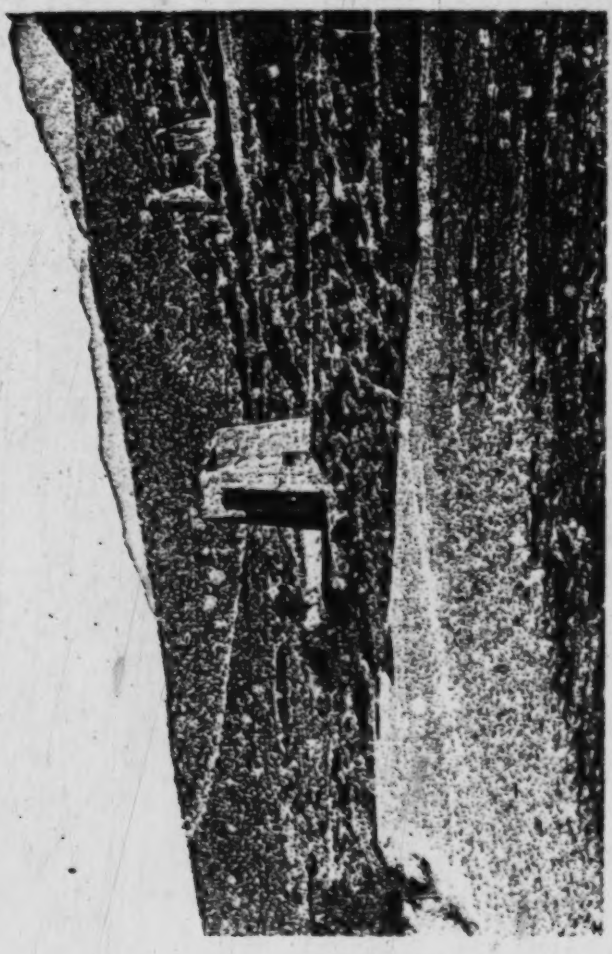

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 169.—ANCIENT TIBETAN WATCH TOWERS, COMMON IN THE MEKONG VALLEY

These towers were built by the Tibetans to ward off Na-khi troops led by their chiefs, bent on punishing Tibetan outlaws.

[p.330 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 170.—MEKONG TIBETANS FROM THE VILLAGE OF CH'I-TZU-SHIH

旗子石古樂農夫

Although it was quite cold the people went about half naked, and the children entirely so. Their village is at an altitude of 9,500 feet in an arid canyon east of the Mekong (November 1923).

[p. 330 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China, AF16

133

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 171. — MOUNT ME-TSE-MO, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE

雅克大雪山. 阿爾大雪山之最高峯

The peak is approximately 21,000 feet — in height. Photographed from an elevation of 9,500 feet above the village Ch'i-tzu-shih in the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley.

[p. 330 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 172.—THE TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU) AS SEEN FROM THE DEU LA, ELEVATION 12,500 FEET

德欽（阿墩子）城，自德拉山望之

To the right on the hillside is the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu. In the background Pai-mang Shan.

[p.330 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

p. 330 E.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 173. — THE BLEAK TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)

It is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet at the head of a valley. Its inhabitants are Tibetan, Na-khi and Chinese; the latter are the merchants who for fear of Tibetan raids keep their more valuable merchandise on the west bank of the Mekong, two to three days' journey south.

[p. 330E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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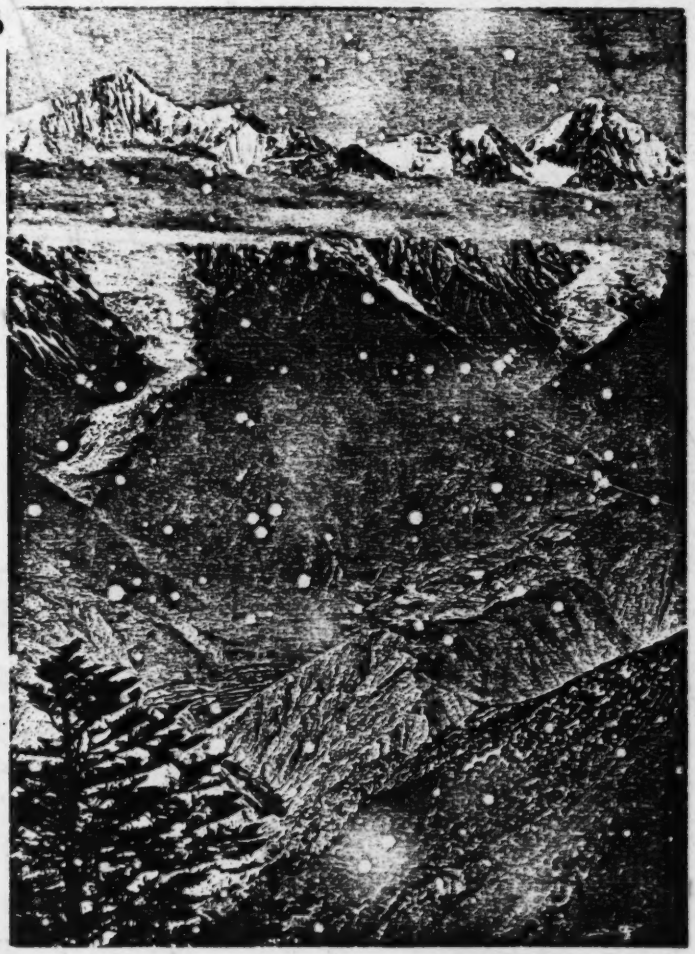

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 174. — KHA-WA-KAR-PO, THE CENTRAL PEAK OF THE RANGE

雲南方面四姆大雪山

This magnificent range whose glaciers descend deep into the Mekong valley, forms the Yün-nan — Tibet border. Abies in foreground. Photographed from Mount Drong-go, west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu).

[p. 330 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 175. — A TIBETAN SOLDIER FROM A-TUNG

阿墩古察兵

He is armed with flintlock gun and sword; his garment is of P'u-lu (Tibetan woolen cloth) and his boots of felt with leather soles.

[p. 330 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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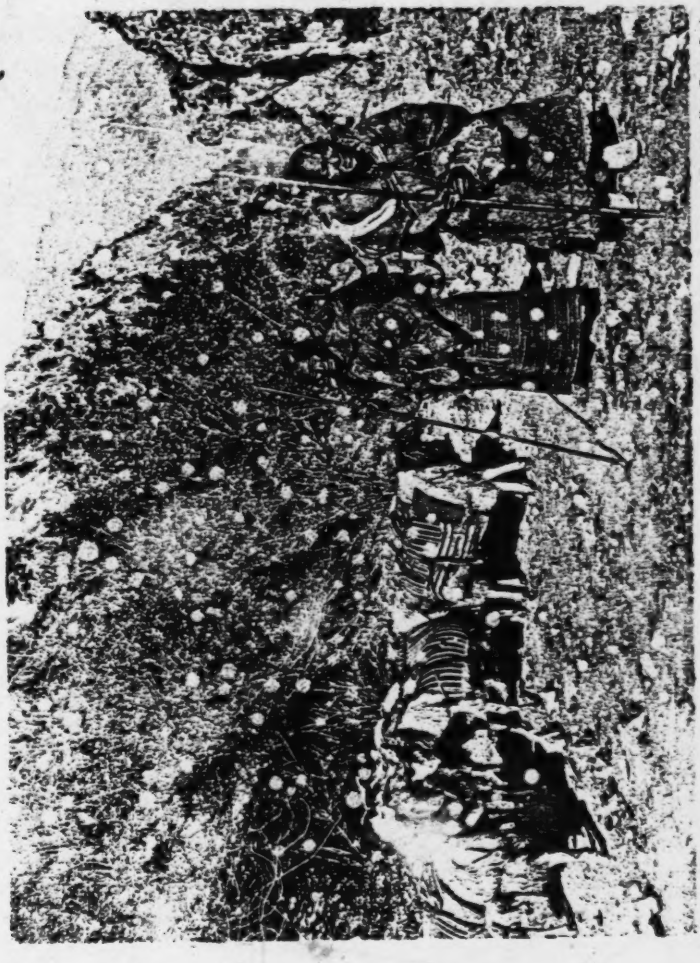


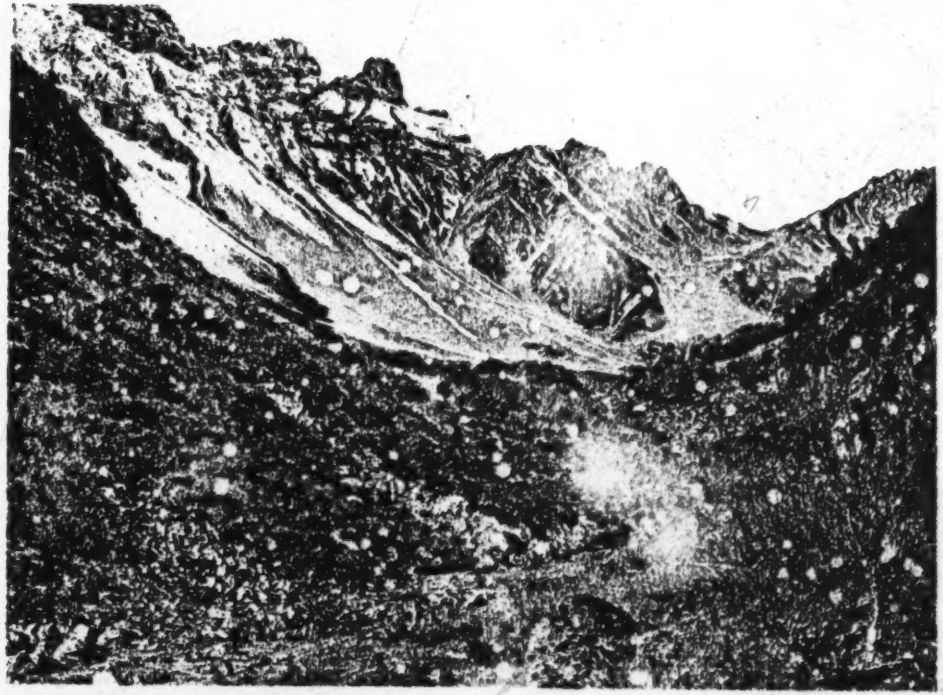
PLATE 176. — TIBETAN WOMEN PILGRIMS

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

Women are especially religious, and nuns often perform continuous pilgrimages around the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Sheep loaded with *tsamba* serve as pack animals, as the Do-kar La trail is not negotiable for mules or horses.

[p. 330 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 177.—T[illegible]RED DO-KAR LA

多卡拉雪[illegible]山頂遠景

The "Pass of the White Rock" is at the head of the Valley at an elevation of 14,500 feet. Masses of Rhododendron in foreground.

[p. 330 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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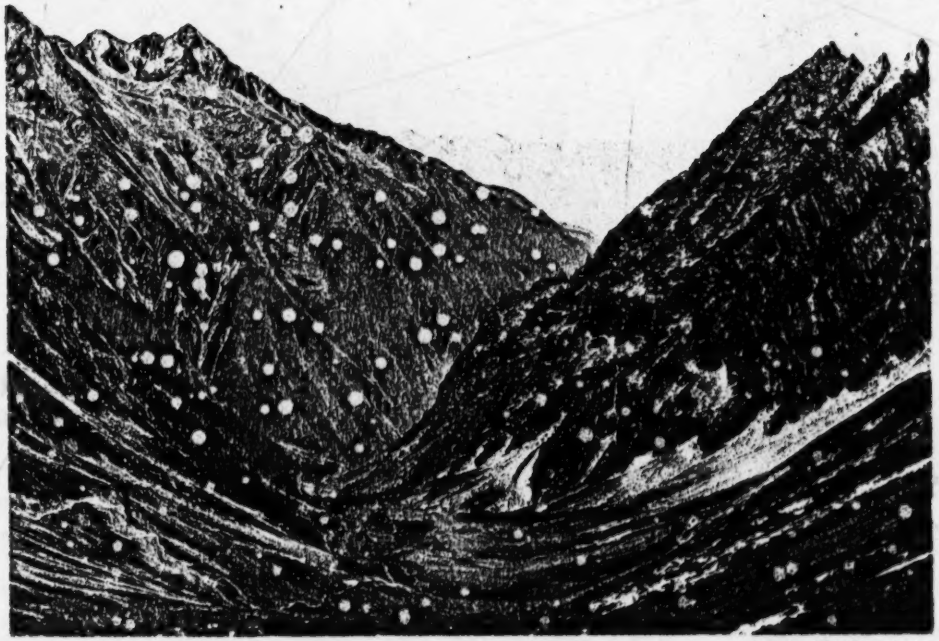

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 178. — LOOKING TOWARD YÜN-NAN FROM THE DO-KAR LA

自多卡拉眺望雲南境

View down the Do-kar La valley; the range in the distance is the Mekong — Yangtse divide.

[p. 330 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 179. — THE MOUNTAINS OF TSHA-RONG

View west from the Do-kar La into Tsha-rong; the range in the background is the Drö-su Chhu — Salween divide in Lha-sa — controlled Tibet.

[p. 330 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 180. — THE DESCENT INTO TSHA-RONG SOUTHEASTERN TIBET

多卡拉翻四渡路

In 118 zigzags the trail leads from the Do-kar La into the Drö-su Chhu valley of Tsha-rong.

[p. 330 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 181. — THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO PEAK VIEWED FROM TSHA-RONG, TIBET

[illegible]

Looking east up Dö-chu-po-drön valley towards the massive Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid. Spruces and firs cling to the limestone cliffs.

[p. 330 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

778

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 182. — TIBETAN OFFERINGS TO THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO MOUNTAIN GOD

雪山朝拜

On a small hill called Hlu-wu-si, in full view of the Kha-wa-kar-po Peaks, Tibetan pilgrims deposit bamboo canes, wooden tea bowls, queues, stones, flags, rags, etc., as offerings to the gods believed to inhabit the snow peaks.

[p. 330 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 183. — TIBETAN PILGRIMS FROM KHAM *en route* TO THE SACRED DO-RAR LA (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

康方來朝山之人經過多寧拉

Thousands of Tibetan Pilgrims from all over Eastern Tibet circumambulate the Kha-wa-kar-po Range annually. The more inclement the weather the greater the merit.

[p.330-0]

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2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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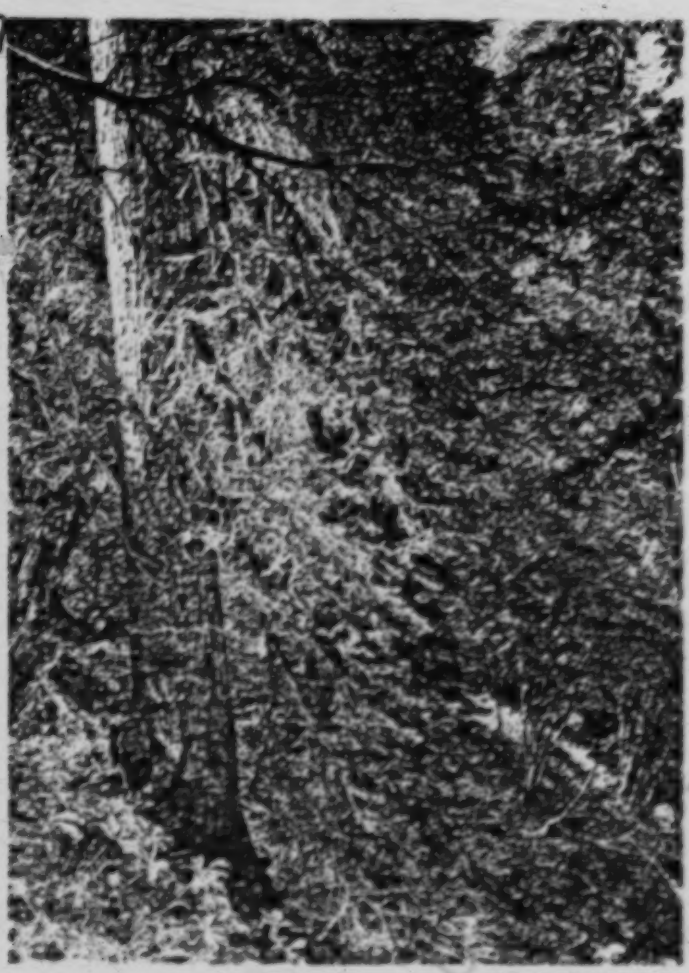

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 184 — ARHO CHENGSHENG, THE TALLEST CONIFER BELOW THE SI LA

大雪山下之王

With Birches, Hemlocks (Tsuga), Maples and many other trees, this magnificent fir forms lovely forests on the eastern slopes of the Mekong — Salween divide at an elevation of 9,000 to 10,000 feet.

[p. 330 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 *133 *137 *From Tz'u-ku to Ri-sha-thang.* — Between Tz'u-ku village and Tz'u-chung the narrow, rocky trail ascends the mountain slope at a terrific angle, zigzag through scrub oak, thence through pine forest. From this trail a magnificent view unfolds over the Mekong—Yangtze watershed with Pai-mang Shan the prominent peak in the distance, and the narrow band of the Mekong deep below. Higher up the vegetation changes from pine forest to deciduous forest composed of large-leaved Cornus, Prunus, *Rhododendron decorum* and *Pinus Armandi*. The exceedingly narrow trail leads finally in short zigzags to the top of the ridge; a steep, rocky bluff dropping vertically to the Mekong. From this bluff there is an unobstructed view of the Si La across a circular, deep valley with a torrent rushing towards the Mekong. Here one is as in another world, for the vegetation changes completely. The trail enters mixed forest of enormous conifers such as *Abies chensiensis* (PLATE 184), trees 150 feet in height and trunks four feet in diameter, immense Betula (birches) 80 feet tall, and huge *Tsuga yünnanensis* (hemlocks). These and many others reared their crowns into the azure autumn sky, forming a vast canopy of foliage.

The undergrowth is mainly composed of rhododendrons with thick leathery leaves and brown or silvery tomentum on their lower surface. Hugh strands of the pale yellow lichen, *Usnea longissima*, draped the branches of the tall conifers and large maples, some in crimson foliage, others of a golden yellow; the copper-colored, curled bark of the giant birches and the scarlet leaves of Ampelopscissus vines gave additional colors to Nature's palette. The soil is mainly composed of black humus, a tangle of roots and holes.

The trail descends gradually through this glorious forest, where many birds fluttered about, small orchids and numerous ferns festooned the trees, and moss carpeted the ground. From this forest one enjoys glimpses of the Si La, whose reddish rocks were still void of snow. The track emerges onto a small meadow with a shepherd's hut, bordered by tall conifers. Savage cliffs rise steeply thousands of feet above us covered with Abies, junipers, Cupressus, Thuja and Taxus trees, interspersed with brilliantly colored Sorbus and Acer (maples). Ahead, the entire aspect of the scene changes, the region becomes drier, the trees crooked and smaller, most of them now leafless, and cane-brake (Arundinaria) makes its appearance, indicating higher altitude. We follow along the bed of a crystal brook, a torrent in the rainy season, as the presence of huge trees washed down roots and all testified. On the north bank of the stream at an elevation of 10,350 feet is a small meadow with a shepherd's hut, called Ri-sha-thang written Ri-bya-thang.[38]

Here the forest is open and consists of crooked trees of birch and Sorbus, whose white fruits were set off against the crimson foliage; of conifers, Abies, Picea, and Tsuga also abound. In this region little frequented by man the birds are tame, so much so that as I wrote my notes sitting on a fallen log on the edge of the forest, two birds boldly alighted, one on my arm and the other on my hand, and I stopped writing to behold my friendly visitors.

From Ri-sha-thang the trail leads steeply through rhododendron forest of several species, over ground thickly covered with moss. After climbing over

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 a rocky path, we emerge, onto a mead w full of boulders encrusted with
*133 lichens. The rhododendron forest is here mixed with Larix (larches), with
*137 undergrowth of Rubus, and cane-brake. The mountain slopes are deeply furrowed by cascades which descend over talus slopes to the stream-bed. Beyond the meadow open moorland commences; green, slimy pools, deep peat and sphagnum moss cover a considerable area. This is the favorite abode of many primulas, especially Omphallogramme, also Pedicularis, Corydalis, and Potentilla associated with shrubby rhododendrons of many species.

The Si La. — The trail follows first along the stream-bed then crossing it twice ascends the talus slope. The valley now widens into an amphitheater with high snow peaks to the north. Rhododendrons are everywhere; it is indeed the botanist's paradise. Prostrate shrubby rhododendrons cover the mountain slopes as with a densely woven mat associated with other prostrate plants such as Gaultherias and Vacciniums. At 11,600 feet we encounter the last Abies which here line the margins of the moorland, turned brown by the frost of approaching winter.

A glorious view is obtained of a conical peak about 17,000 feet in height, to the north-north-west, which my Tibetan porters called Dra-chhen (PLATES 185, 198); written Brag-chhen, the Francis Garnier Peak of the French). The peak is part of the main Mekong—Salween divide, only projecting above the range of lower peaks like an overhanging pyramid. The trail leads up the dome-like crest, over loose rocks and boulders,[39] where ill-defined hoofmarks made by laden mules are the only guide across the stony waste. The mountain is bleak, no shrubs or bushes occur, only alpine flowers between the cracks, such as Delphinium, Cremanthodium, Potentilla and others. The Si La written Sribs-la [40] is 14,500 feet in height with a vast flank of mountains all around the pass several thousand feet higher and white with snow. From the weird, inhospitable summit we look down into a deep, narrow valley, its sides dropping vertically; the mountains to the west rise steeply, their peaks hidden in snow clouds. Here below the pass, the small purple-flowered *Rhododendron saluenense* made its home, indifferent to cold and the snow which covers it for several months in the year. Further down is a grove of Abies and the trail is lined with various species of rhododendron. Far below the pass, some 3,000 feet, there is a small, deep blue lake at the foot of a precipitous wall. It sends a little stream into the Ser-wa lung-pa [41] or Hailstone valley, the lower slopes of which are covered with cane-brake and Lonicera (honeysuckle) bushes. Looking from the valley floor of Ser-wa lung-pa (H-M., Saua lumba) to the summit of the Si La, the steep mountain wall appears almost unnegotiable. Gazing south, down the

[39] The ascent to the Si La is over schistose grits, which also form the peaks to both sides of the pass. At 11,100 feet we find the first evidence of glacial action by a few moraines, which rest further up on glaciated surfaces of a grey to brownish quartzose gneiss. Higher up the characteristic rock is a schistose quartzite formed from a grit (GREGORY).

[40] [illegible] [41] [illegible]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

narrow valley, the eye meets wonderful mountain ranges and deep, narrow canyons, all densely forested. Indeed a wild and glorious country. S 487* 133* 137*

Nying-ser La (Pass).—From the Ser-wa lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo of the Li-su) the trail ascends gradually, at first zigzag and then steeply, through Abies and Picea forest, with undergrowth composed of several species of rhododendron. To the south the Nam-la-shu-ga Peak [42] glistened in the morning sun; a pale pink sky illuminated the lovely icy scenery, while the deep valley of the Ser-wa lung-pa lay hidden in purplish-black shadows; only the projecting ridges were aglow from the faint, misty rays, reflected from the snow peaks. Higher and higher we ascend, stately Abies trees, 80–90 feet in height, towering all around us, their somber branches festooned with the long, yellow streamers of *Usnea longissima* and their feet embedded in soft, rich, green moss. As the sun appeared above the great divide and a flood of light permeated all, the frost and icicles glistened like diamonds in the morning sun and the entire forest likened a transparent, flawless emerald.

We reached the pass called Nying-ser La [43] (Yellow bamboo pass) at an elevation of 12,400 feet, and a wonderful panorama lay before us (PLATE 186). A tangled mass of rhododendrons, mixed with the ericaceous *Cassiope dendrotricha* with quadrangularly arranged foliage, covered the ground. Looking east there towered the great Salween—Mekong divide with its conical peak Dra-chhen; and to the west lay the huge Salween valley with its central barrier range called A-lo-la-kha. This range is much lower and the Doyon Stream flows east of it parallel to the Salween, into which it debouches farther south, united with the Ser-wa lung-pa. Buttresses covered with deciduous forest now in the most glorious autumn tints, drop abruptly into the deep valley below. From the Mekong divide a triangular spur extends steeply into the Salween valley, while to the south of it, a deep valley opens from the west, up which a trail leads to the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang 秋江), the Trun [44] of the Lu-tzu and Ch'iu-tzu. From the Nying-ser La (Pass) we descend through somber Abies and Picea forest with rhododendron bushes, and over an open fell which further on gave place to deciduous forests of Sorbus, Prunus, Pyrus, Populus, Litsea, Aralia, and rhododendron.

Bahang village of the Lu-tzu tribe.—Bahang (Pai-han-lo 白汗洛), situated on a grassy bluff composed of granite-gneiss is reached after a zigzag descent through pine forest mixed with willows and poplars. The largest part of this bluff is occupied by the Catholic mission, with the Lu-tzu huts arranged around the slopes (PLATE 187). Bahang consists of 18 huts, besides the mission, and Père Georges André, the most friendly host, is the spiritual adviser of the Lu-tzu. The mission had been burnt twice in 34 years by the lamas of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, the last time in 1905. For four or ST 361 797

[42] This is the Nange La of HANDEL-MAZZETTI. The real Nange La Pass and Peak is however south-west of the Nam-la-shu-ga. The latter is a Lu-tzu name.

[43] This is the Nisirengo of HANDEL-MAZZETTI, *see*: note 36, page 330.

[44] The Ch'iu-tzu name is Trun, and not Taron as given on the maps and in books.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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131 For four or five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 212 The Lu-tzu 鹿子 have no written language, while the spoken language itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] 262 273 The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor. They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 拉薩 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan T'i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 羅邁基 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野夷). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: —The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 50 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

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They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men]. ST [41] 291

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats." ST 304 ST 262

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high." ST 302

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight. ST 411

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south. 204 S 487 133

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a ~~small~~ alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

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alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 八普桐. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-vo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] [illegible]

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 秋江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul [illegible] (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

[a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

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Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung lamasery is situated in a grove of oak trees, beyond the first lateral stream which is crossed by a very handsome wooden bridge, roofed with slate. The lamasery (known to the Chinese as Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺) was built in the 30th year of Ch'ien-lung (1765). From it a trail leads to the famous marble gorge (PLATES 194, 195); it first crosses the second lateral stream in its deep ravine and then descends to some 50 feet above the river. The almost white marble walls of the gorge rise several hundred feet vertically from the river-bed and are in places overhanging. Here and there on the steep face of the cliff grow a few fan palms of the genus Trachycarpus, whose slender trunks rise from crevices in the rock wall. The trail in the marble gorge is only a hand's breadth, if that, wide, at one place consisting of a single small log spanning a gap. On this one either balances like a tight-rope walker, or hugs the wall, while crossing over the chasm with the Salween roaring beneath. On a little terrace above the east (left) bank of the Salween, at the entrance to the marble gorge, is the tiny Lu-tzu hamlet called Chiam-bshel, as isloated as any place can be in this world. 487* 133* 137*

8. MT. KE-NYI-CHUM-PO [49] OF THE SALWEEN—IRRAWADI DIVIDE

To reach the Ke-nyi-chum-po peak crowned with eternal snow, the highest point of the Salween—Irrawadi divide in this region, it is necessary to cross the stream north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung and follow it up where it nears the larger stream; these two streams separate the plateau from the rest of the terrain. Here the Ch'ang p'u-t'ung plain narrows into a long knife-edge ridge which forms the wall of the two valleys. After passing some Li-su huts among maize fields we ascend the ridge back of the marble gorge. The ridge which is covered with tall grass and pine trees becomes exceedingly steep and narrow, especially its northern slope which forms the deep gorge of Si-ki-t'ong (Ssu-chi-t'ung 思祀通) called in Lu-tzu, Ssö-chin-tung, and Nyin-wua-lo by the Li-su. Nyin-wua-lo is not the name of a village as marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map, but is the name of the whole valley, although a few huts are near its mouth. *Lo* both in Li-su and in Na-khi means valley. In it a tiny hamlet, also called Si-ki-t'ong, is situated; the vegetation is composed of deciduous and evergreen trees like Acer, Rhododendron, Tsuga, large Lyonia (Pieris), etc. We climb to a high knoll at 9,100 feet elevation, and here we behold the entire mountain mass of Ke-nyi-chum-po, called Dji-nyi chim-mbo by the Lu-tzu as well as Li-su, wrapped in virgin white, its crescent-shaped glacier covering it as with a mantle (PLATE 196). The Si-ki-t'ong gorge, deep and narrow with precipitous cliffs, extends from the foot of the glacier to the Salween valley. Dense forests, most difficult to penetrate, cover the rocky slopes. It is the home of the beautiful conifer *Taiwania cryptomerioides* a relative of the California Sequoias;

[49] The peak is often erroneously called the Gom-pa La (dGon-pa-la དགོན་པ་ལ). The latter (*la*) is a pass further back and south of the peak. This peak with its glacier the Tibetans call Ke-nyi-chum-po, and the Lu-tzu and Li-su, Dji-nyi-chim-mbo. In Ting's New Chinese Atlas the pass is called Shu-wang Shan-k'ou 舒旺山口, but the snow peak is not marked.

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strange to say, it occurs here, in Burma, and on the island of Formosa, but nowhere else.

The main peak of Ke-nyi-chum-po is a blackish rock, probably porphyry which rests on limestone, and rises from about the center of the mountain pass, with a rampart-like crest extending from its northern flank, sheltering the glacier. To the south-east the rocks are cut into steps and grooves, the result of former glaciation, for the main glacier is now retreating. The spur from which the panorama is described, adjoins a high, forested mountain, the sides of which, facing the gorge, are cleft into deep, narrow canyons with rock pinnacles extending along their sides. In the distance to the north-east a snow-covered range is visible, while towards the south lies the beautiful Salween—Mekong divide with its southern peak, the Nam-la-shu-ga, about 16,000 feet in height.

A trail leads on the northern valley slopes of Si-ki-t'ong, below the glacier to the summit ridge and thence over the Gom-pa La and several other passes to the Ch'iu Chiang 球江, or 琅江, the Trun (spelled erroneously Taron on foreign maps) of the Ch'iu-tzu 琅子. At the foot of the Gom-pa La is a large lake in a wilderness of rock; altitude approximately 14,000 feet. The Trun is the easternmost branch of the Nmai Hka, transcribed En-mei-k'ai Chiang 恩梅開江, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi which at Tu-lung 渡龍 flows at an elevation of 5,400 feet, there a rope-bridge spans it; it is the Du-dum of the Lu-tzu. This region is inhabited by Ch'iu-tzu, a tribe related to the Nu or Nu-tzu of the Salween.

Shang-p'a. — Below Tu-lung the Ch'iu Chiang is called Tu-lung Ho by the Chinese, and its eastern affluent, the Meh Hka the Lung-ku Ho 龍骨河 or Dragon bone River. Two terrible trails lead to P'u-t'ao 普討 (Fort Hertz) in Upper Burma, one from Lyu-ra-gang (the Yuragan of the maps) south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, and another trail via Si-ki-t'ong and the Gom-pa La to the north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.

The main or western branch of the Irrawadi, called Nam-ch'iu or Mali Hka, transcribed Ma-li-k'ai 麻里開 and Mai-li-k'ai Chiang 邁立開江, is not the Ch'iu Chiang of the Chinese but is called the I-lo-wa-ti Chiang 伊洛瓦底江, a transcription of the word Irrawadi.

Shang-p'a 上帕, or 上怕, the seat of a magistrate, whence the Li-su-inhabited part of the Salween is supposed to be governed, is situated at about the height of Li-chiang, on the eastern (left) bank of the Salween. A trail leads from Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 via La-chi-ming 喇鷄明 salt-wells and Tien-shang 甸上 to Ying-p'an-kai 營盤街 on the Mekong, thence to So-lo 拔羅 via Chi-wei 吉尼; from So-lo one trail leads west to Chih-tzu-lo 知子羅 via the So-lo La and another north to Shang-p'a on the Salween. To the south of Shang-p'a is the hamlet of O-ma-ti 俄馬底.

The mountain range to the east of Shang-p'a is called the Nu Shan 怒山 (Shan-mo 山脈).

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The Ch'iu-tzu tribe. — The Ch'iu-tzu (PLATE 197), according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 202, p. 19b, "dwell beyond the great snow range of the Mekong. They belong to the wild tribes of the western region of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang.

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and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Analyst]

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*487 and hosts to a varied array of epiphytes, especially ferns. The giant lily
*133 (*Lilium giganteum*) grew everywhere. It was then in the fruiting stage and
*137 the lightest touch sent the winged seeds like snow-flakes fluttering to the ground.

After having spent a peaceful night in the mossy bosom of this forest, where magnolias and rhododendrons grew to immense trees, we continue to a steep slope with two narrow ravines, where two small streams descend close to each other in cascades to the Do-yon lung-pa. Here we find larches, maples, Pyrus, Sorbus, etc. We ascend the steep slopes which are covered with Anaphalis and large-leaved Rubus. The trees are now smaller and birches are again common, forming more open forest with bamboo, gradually giving way to conifer forest of Abies and Larix, with many rhododendrons, Sorbus, and roses. Ascending the sharp ridge of a triangular spur, we finally emerge onto alpine meadows bordered by firs and *Rhododendron colletum*, while the mossy margins were lined with primulas.

Mt. Dra-chhen and the Zhi-dzom La (pass). — The trail leads east across the swampy meadows to the pass at the foot of the peak Dra-chhen.[50] (PLATE 198). This peak consists of banded crystalline limestone, while the valley below the pass is cut out of biotite-granite-porphyry, as well as schistose grits, such as are found on the Si La. This schist series continues as far as Lung-dre. At Lung-dre the schists are replaced by gneiss and foliated biotite-granite. This gneiss is succeeded eastward by green slate and hornstone. Lower down a white fine-grained quartzite is followed by purple sandstone, while the eastern end of the Lung-dre gorge gives a deep section through red sandstones with veins of quartz (GREGORY). From the pass, which is at 12,300 feet elevation, a fine view is obtainable north-eastward, where two high snow peaks of the Pai-mang Shan (the Mekong—Yangtze divide) pierce the clouds. Looking across the Salween a few snow-covered peaks were visible above a sea of clouds which filled the valley of that river. From the Zhi-dzom La, which the Lu-tzu call Long-bi La, we follow a narrow gap along a small brook through forest, the landscape being rather dreary. Passing a meadow called Tsa-sso-thang we continue our descent to 10,500 feet and thence through dead forest to another camping place called Lü-lo-thang. Here a valley opens out from the north; crossing the stream to the west where a small affluent joins it, we descend, entering again lovely forest. The trail leaves the stream-bed and climbs zigzag high above it through conifers, birches, maples, etc. (PLATE 199).

Our trail descends once more, the stream has become a mighty cascade roaring in its prison, lined by magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) of enormous size, associated with *Pinus Armandi* whose large cones littered the trail (elevation 8,950 feet). Crossing several brooks we ascend the slopes,

[50] HANDEL-MAZZETTI calls this mountain Maya. Maya is really the name of a rock to the north of the mountain further along on the pass. PÈRE GEORGES ANDRÉ of Bahang, who enquired repeatedly of different individuals as to the identity of Maya, was always pointed out a certain rock on the pass, while the name of the peak itself was given as Dra-chhen (Pra-chen in Lu-tzu). Brag-chhen being pronounced *Dra* or *Djra-chhen*, meaning "Great crag." This name was also given me for the peak in question by Tibetan porters, when we first spied it from below the Si La (PLATE 185), and again when we passed it crossing the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-bdzom-la ཞི་ཛོམ་ལ) (PLATE 198).

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now drier, and emerge into tall *Pinus yunnanensis* forest with its inseparable associates *Rhododendron decorum* and *Quercus semicarpifolia*. Here the soil is gravelly, the rocks a soft granite with quartz veins. At a sharp turn to the east on the dry pine-covered ridge, we behold a most beautiful view. North-east three snow-capped peaks of Hung-p'o Shan, part of the Mekong—Yangtze divide, pierced the sky. From here we descend to the village of Lung-dre,[51] the Long-bi of the Lu-tzu, situated at the junction of two streams: the one we had followed, and the larger one which has its source in the glaciers of Drö-su-po and Do-kar La. Here on a small terrace stands this poor and lonely village.

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Wild Thuja trees at Lung-dre.—From Lung-dre we descend through poplar forest and past a row of *mani* pyramids amidst some *Thuja orientalis* trees, which also cover the dry, rocky slopes of this valley, in company with *Cupressus Duclouxiana*. Crossing the torrent over a wooden bridge we enter a narrow gorge between high, steep walls of whitish limestone. These rocky walls are covered exclusively with gnarled and twisted *Thuja* trees which, in spite of the late E. H. Wilson's assertions that they do not occur wild because he had never seen them, grow here decidedly wild, and not only here but also in remote valleys of south-west Hsi-k'ang where he never penetrated. Higher up on the summit crest *Cupressus Duclouxiana* trees hold sway; one may as well assert that they also are escapes from cultivation. Crossing the stream once more the trail leads over tremendous rock avalanches and landslides, only to cross again the roaring torrent to the north side over a shaky bridge, and to continue in somber, dry forest at the foot of red sandstone cliffs. We finally climb steeply over the most appalling trail built zigzag against the overhanging wall of rock, a scaffolding suspended over a black chasm. It actually swings free, hundreds of feet above the torrent, which roared invisibly in the black abyss. A gale was howling; at every step the trail swayed, especially around sharp turns, where it projected into the void. This dreadful piece of trail, clings to the cliff and yet is not part of it; the fact that the cliff is overhanging makes it still more appalling, for below the trail the cliff recedes towards the bottom of the canyon.

Arrived at the top of the precipice we behold the Mekong deep below us. In descending to the Mekong it is necessary to follow upstream for a considerable distance. The river is here lined with beautiful cypresses (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*). We cross the mouth of the Do-kar La stream over strong wooden planks resting on a huge triangular boulder in the stream-bed. (PLATE 200). The Mekong is here very narrow and flows swiftly, a great contrast to the Salween valley south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, with its forests and abundant moisture. Here the river flows at 7,300 feet elevation (PLATE 201), and the air is warm in comparison to the icy, cold, wet Zhi-dzom La. Much more water appears to be descending from the Zhi-dzom La than from the Si La, for the former pass is a veritable bog through which it is difficult to pass in winter and still more so in the rainy season. The journey from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Mekong via the Zhi-dzom La takes about three days and the same length of time is required from Tz'u-chung to Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung via the Si La. A strenuous trip, to say the least, at any time of the year.

* In V. K. Ting's *Atlas* it is called Lung-tz-li 龍子里.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTH-EASTERN REGION OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)

101 The region from Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu) to Ch'i-tsung, Tibetan Je-
*133 drong (rJe-grong)[1] comprises the Yangtze drainage basin which lies in latitude 28° 30′ — 27° 35′. The Yangtze flows throughout in an arid, narrow gorge, flanked on the east, especially in the neighborhood of Pen-tzu-lan, by high, treeless, barren mountains which appear to be sandstone, one even reaching a height of 18,000 feet. This range is in Hsi-k'ang 西康, and more particularly in Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 country, inhabited by wild, lawless Tibetans known as the Hsiang-ch'eng-wa, or Chha-threng, written Phyag-hphreng,[2] the terror not only of Chinese and tribespeople, but of other Tibetan clans as well, even of the fearless Gang-kar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling).[3]

Hsiang-ch'eng was established as a magistracy in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and was called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣, but in name only, it is left severely alone by the Chinese, and the Tibetan outlaws do just as they please.

The territory here described includes the 20,000 feet snow range Pai-mang Shan, immediately south of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and two other high passes further south: the Kar-ri and the Ponge La. The valley between the two passes is called Yon-dze-khà, its stream debouches near Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙) into the Yangtze. South of the Ponge La is a maze of mountains, forested with pines, etc., on the eastern slopes, and spruces and fir on the wetter western slopes.

The country north of Ch'i-tsung is mainly inhabited by Tibetans; those living near Ch'i-tsung are called the Mo-so Ku-tsung 麼些古宗 and those
[241] around Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'ou Ku-tsung 俅古宗 (PLATE 202). They are all agriculturists, but as there is little arable land except such as is available on the river terraces of the Yangtze and Yon-dze-khà, they just manage to exist.

*133 The volume of water carried by the Yangtze is considerably larger than that of either the Salween or Mekong, and the current slower. Rapids occur below Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍 (south of Ba-thang) where the river is reduced to a width of 100 yards. The barren valley slopes are composed of sandstone. The few hamlets in this arid gorge are situated on narrow shelves of alluvial detritus, with even occasional sand dunes. At Pen-tzu-lan the Yangtze is about 100 yards wide, and flows at an elevation of 7,100 feet. Here are rubble terraces covered with soil partly cultivated. Below Ch'i-tsung the character of the landscape changes completely. We have a broad valley floor with large fertile terraces, forested mountain slopes, and a quietly flowing river until Shih-ku is reached.

[1] *See:* p. 292.

[2] ཕྱག་ཁྲེང

[3] གངས་དཀར་ལིང

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I. PAI-MANG SHAN 白莽山, OR PE-MA LA

From Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) we follow the main road south for a short distance, then turn south-east instead of west whither the main road leads to the Mekong, and climb zigzag steeply to a gap which leads to Pai-mang Shan.[4] The slopes of the mountain are partly forested but are fast becoming denuded because the Tibetans char the wood for the use of A-tun-tzu town. We met many yak coming from Pai-mang Shan, loaded with both charcoal and firewood, destined for A-tun-tzu. From the gap the trail descends to a deep valley with a stream joined by one from Pai-mang Shan pass, both flowing west to the Mekong. Our path skirts the eastern mountain slope and emerges into a broad valley, opening out towards the Mekong. From here the entire Kha-wa-kar-po range, the Mekong—Salween divide, is visible in all its glory (PLATE 203). Two glaciers descend into the valley of the Mekong, but the river, flowing about 12,000 feet below the summit peaks, remains invisible. After passing the small hamlet called Ra-shü (Mu-lung-shu 木龍樹) where potatoes are cultivated for the A-tun-tzu market, we come to a small meadow with an old tumble-down house, and thence ascend the valley with the stream roaring about 1,000 feet below the trail.

[4] The Tibetans speak of a Pe-ma La which has, however, nothing to do with the Chinese Pai-ma 白馬 (White horse). It is the Tibetan way of pronouncing Pad-ma (the Lotus), and Pe-ma La 巴馬拉 means the Lotus Pass.

The region east of Pai-mang Shan is little known and is a blank on the Davies map. There is, however, a trail which leads over the Dru La north-east to the main Yangtze divide, here called the Mu-ting Shan 慕頂山 after a village situated on the Yangtze by that name. The range is also called Jung-liu Hsüeh-shan 戎柳雪山. What seems to be a continuation of it to the north is called the Nu-lu Hsüeh-shan 怒鹿雪山 (Nu-lu Snow range). Over this range a pass leads to the Yangtze called Rün-tsi La. The height of this pass, the highest in this region, is said to be 16,500 feet. At Mu-ting there is a Tibetan T'u-ssu and a population of about 50 families, also a tiny lamasery; the village is about 1,000 feet above the Yangtze and about three li distant from the narrow and arid Yangtze gorge. The slopes on which Mu-ting is situated are terraced, and wheat, millet and buckwheat are grown. Of fruit trees, pomegranates, walnuts, and a small persimmon are cultivated (K. WARD).

On Mu-ting Shan grow lovely rhododendrons such as *Rhododendron Beesianum*, *Rhod. dryophyllum*, *Rhod. dumosulum*, *Rhod. schizopeplum*, etc. On the Rün-tsi La charming alpine plants abound such as *Saxifraga Wardii*, *Saxifraga flagellaris* subsp., *megistantha Paraquilegia microphylla*, *Dracocephalum Rockii*, *Saxifraga diapensia*, *Chionocharis* (*Myosotis*) *hookeri*, a forget-me-not cushion plant with tiny silvery leaves and sky-blue flowers, blue poppies such as *Meconopsis rudis* and *Meconopsis eximia*, and many others, too numerous to mention.

Beyond the Rün-tsi La to the north-east is a lower pass called the Chnü-ma La (probably the Chinese Nu-lu Shan 怒鹿山), whence a trail leads to Mu-ting. Yün-nan territory extends a considerable distance along the west bank of the Yangtze, forming a narrow strip with Hsi-k'ang on both sides of the river. The last village on the main road north from A-tun-tzu is Lung-ya-li 龍牙里 (MAJOR DAVIES' Lung-xang-nang), below the Tsha-le (Tsa-li 吶里 or Ch'a-li 茶里) Pass.

The villages on the west slopes of the Yangtze valley are, from about the height of A-tun-tzu north, Sung-tiao 宋刁, K'a-sa 卡萨, Sheng-kung 雪工, the lamasery Yüan-ko Ssu 元格寺 (this lamasery was built in the 11th year of Ch'ien-lung (1746), Kung-kung 共雪, Chi-sha-k'a 吉沙卡, Lou-lung 楼龍, Ch'a-kung 查工, then the village of Ya-ra-no (Liao-la 了拉), and a pass over the Yangtze—Tsha-le River divide, 16,300 feet in height, called the Da La 塔拉, which is also the Yün-nan—Hsi-k'ang Border.

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*487 The mountain slopes are covered with dead trees, but *Quercus semicarpifolia* bushes were coming up everywhere; farther on the slopes were covered with large trees of the same species of oak festooned with the long, beard-like lichen *Usnea longissima*. The trail is lined with roses, *Caragana Franchettiana* and Berberis. At 13,000 feet we come to a stream which descends from the eastern mountain slopes while the trail leads to a fine meadow and good camping ground. Another stream flows from the pass, and this we follow, the rocky stream-bed (ice-covered, December) being the trail, up a narrow valley, which higher up broadens somewhat. To the east a small valley debouches into a meadow, another lovely camping place. The snow peaks of Pai-mang Shan are further south, for we have not as yet reached the first pass over the range. Abies trees abound here, but still more numerous are the arborescent, *Rhododendron flavorufum* and *Rhod. tritifolium* 15–20 feet tall, with thick, leathery leaves and brown tomentum beneath, which cover the hill-sides in company with *Rhod. aischropeplum*, *Rhod. globigerum* and *Rhod. dictyotum*.

From here the trail follows the stream, then zigzags to the top of the pass with low scrub (*Rhododendron tapetiforme*) covering the ground. An *obo* with prayer-flags crowns the pass; to the east massive crags of yellow, weathering rock, identified by Gregory as rhyolite, flank this upper valley, while to the west the gently sloping snow-covered declivities of the Pai-mang Shan become visible. The trail crosses a small plateau with stunted *Rhododendron tapetiforme* bushes (PLATE 204) and then arrives at a shallow ravine with Abies and Larix trees and rhododendron undergrowth. Following the east bank of the valley, which becomes broader as we advance, we finally reach a lateral ravine from the east with a stream descending it. The vegetation here is composed mainly of junipers, Larix, *Caragana jubata*, rhododendron and *Spiræa lævigata*, Rosa, and Berberis. The trail ascends the eastern mountain-side with the stream deep below in the valley; here a fine view of the main peak of Pai-mang Shan to the south-west gladdens the eye (PLATE 205). It is a rectangular peak, covered with snow and retreating glaciers. The range is composed of metamorphic rocks, granite and porphyry.[8]

Following the trail over a rounded ridge, we finally reach the southern pass of Pai-mang Shan, 13,600 feet elevation; thence we descend into a deep valley filled with junipers (*Juniperus Wallichiana*) some 40 feet tall. Larix (larches) grow scattered among them with undergrowth of Sorbus, Berberis and rhododendron. A long, sharp ridge extends from the steep wall of the main peak into the valley below.

Flanking the valley on the east are two bare clumsy-looking mountains, one of a greyish-ochre rock, with gravelly slopes, which has the appearance of grey-colored frosting having been poured over it; the other is a Sienna-red mountain mass with wavy strata near the summit.

From the pass, where a brownish biotite-granite-porphyry is to be found,

[8] The main central part of the range is composed of granite, while its eastern foot-hills are of slate and Minchia limestone. Farther east the ridges are of mica schist. The granite had been affected by intense earth movements due to pressure from the west, and this is shown by the inclusion of slabs of Devonian rock in the brecciated banded granite (GREGORY).

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we descend on to a plateau with small brooks, and thence down a broad valley with massive mountain walls on both sides, parts of Pai-mang Shan. The valley increases in depth and is densely wooded with conifers; to the west are visible the last of the snow-covered rocky peaks of Pai-mang Shan. The trail descends at an easy grade leading first through forest of Abies, Larix and Juniperus and then through the most beautiful stands of *Picea complanata* (PLATE 206), a spruce with trunks of more than 100 feet in height. The handsome, yellow-flowered *Rhododendron Wardii* forms here the undergrowth. The mountain slopes to both sides are a dark green, the forest extending high up the slopes which appear as if covered with dark velvet. At the margins are small meadows filled with lovely blue iris. Abruptly this forest gives way to one of a mixed type of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, Betula, and other deciduous trees, with *Pæonia lutea* (the yellow peony) growing on the outskirts. A few li beyond we reach the hamlet of I-chia-p'o 一家坡 (also called Ni-la-lung 泥拉隆) situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it stands beside the contact of hornblende-granite with the Devonian sediments. This point is two stages from A-tun-tzu, a distance of about 105 li.

From I-chia-p'o the trail descends over a rocky slope (green grits and slates) with a stream roaring deep below. Here the oak forest gives way to pines, *Pinus yünnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*, with a few scattered oaks and *Rhododendron decorum*. The trail crosses the stream-bed, and follows on the western bank through scrub forest and bushes of Rosa and Berberis, only to ascend once more. On the east bank is situated a small Tibetan hamlet whose houses had been reduced to ashes. Only the charred walls remained near terraced fields. These ruins date back to 1905 when the Chinese troops set fire to this and other villages and lamaseries, after the Tibetan revolt against China. The rebellion was led by the lamas of Tung-chu-lin and other lamaseries, who brutally murdered two Catholic priests and burned their mission station on the Mekong.

2. TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY 東竹林喇嘛寺

The road to Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery leads over a gravelly limestone spur (Minchia limestone) with scattered *Thuja orientalis* (arbor-vitæ) trees, past an affluent of the stream which descends from Pai-mang Shan. Here the trail forks, one leads to a village situated at the foot of a hill, the other up the hill on which Tung-chu-lin, the Tibetan Dön-dru ling (Don-grub-gling) Lamasery has been rebuilt.*

The golden roofs of this lamasery are visible from afar, glistening brilliantly in the sunlight. The entire lamasery is surrounded by a low, white-washed wall, and resembles more a town than a monastery (PLATE 207). It consists of about 150 houses with flat, wooden slat-roofs weighted down by

* དོན་གྲུབ་ Don-grub (Siddhârtha) means one who has reached his goal, and also one who has successfully performed his work.

It was in this lamasery that the founder of the Catholic mission (Mission du Thibet) Père Renou disguised as a merchant found shelter in 1850 and received lessons in the Tibetan language from the Living Buddha himself. It formed the center of resistance dur-

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346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

190 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*487 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed
*433 with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys
*437 until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra) [7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子欄

173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 公頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角巴, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 了拉郎 villages.

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ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (Goré).

[7] 孟宗

[8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tun-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

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The T'u-ch'ien-tsung hereditarily resides at Pen-tzu-lan; his territory extends east to the Hsi-k'ang—Tibetan border and the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, 20 li; south to T'o-ting 拖爯 of the Wei-hsi border, 240 li; west to I-chia-p'eng 一家棚 of the Wei-hsi border, 150 li; north to Wei-hsi and the Ba-thang border, 500 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Shen-weng 神翁. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the native office was changed and naturalized, and the memorial for his appointment as hereditary native lieutenant was approved by the Throne. He guarded the important borders of Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang)—Tibet. The office was handed down to the son of San-chia-ch'i-li 三家七里 (his Tibetan name transcribed), whose name was changed to Wang Shih-ch'ang 王世昌. Shih-ch'ang died and his son Ch'en 臣 inherited the office. After the latter's death his son Wan-nien 萬年 assumed the position in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834). The present ruler is Wang Chao-lin 王兆麟. 173

The T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the native lieutenant, restrained the Man-i (barbarians). They governed and guarded the important frontiers. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the hereditary rank of the T'u-pa-tsung was approved. His first ancestor was Pieh-ma 別馬, but afterwards his name was changed to Po 柏. The office was transmitted to Po-hui 柏惠. Hui died and Mou 茂 inherited the office. Mou died and his son Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青 inherited the office in the first year of Kuang-hsü (1875).

According to the *Wei-hsi Wen-Chien lu*, "Pen-tzu-lan is situated on the banks of the Yangtze; the territory is narrow and difficult and the mountains high. In the summer the heat is intense, while on the tops of the mountains there is much snow; in the winter the cold is severe.

"At Pen-tzu-lan are said to grow five trees called *Tsang-t'ao* 臧桃. The leaves are like those of willows, the flowers are deep red and the petals are like those of a peach. It flowers in the 12th moon, the flowers are large and long; in the third moon the flowers drop, and in the sixth moon the fruit is ripe, and red as a peach. The taste is astringent and the fruit not edible. If one wishes to eat it, it must be treated like the *Hu-t'ao* 胡桃.[9] The kernel is fragrant and sweet. Tradition relates that during the reign of K'ang-hsi the territory belonged to Ch'ing-hai 青海; the headman of that region came to Pen-tzu-lan and took the seeds back with him to Ch'ing-hai [Koko Nor], but they would not grow."

4. ACROSS KAR-RI LA (PASS) OR KENG-LI LA 更里拉

Continuing our journey we come to three converging gorges in the center of which is a large, massive, pyramidal mountain, clothed in its upper third 487* 133* 137*

[9] *Hu-t'ao* is the earliest designation in Chinese for the walnut and means the peach of the *Hu*. Hu was the Chinese name for the Iranians. The term *Ho-t'ao* 核桃 is a later one for the walnut and means seed peach, or the peach containing a kernel (LAUFER *Sino-Iranica*). The *Tsang-t'ao* is very possibly the almond (*Prunus amygdalus*) but the latter has not yet been found in China. What the Chinese call *Hsing-jen* 杏仁 is not the almond but the kernels of the apricot — although genuine almonds, because they resemble the seeds of the apricot, are also called *Hsing-jen*. The only almond occurring in China is a wild species known as *Prunus tangutica* and occurs in western Kan-su along the T'ao River as a thorny shrub, where I collected it in 1925 and 1926.

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*487 with scrub vegetation; beyond a high, bare range rises above it, with a black,
*133 sharply-pyramidal rock forming the highest point.
*137 We reach a hamlet of a few houses constructed of red earth, built close
[36] together like a fortress, with the windows near the roof, the latter crowned by huge mounds of grass. Yak were grazing over the bare, dry fields. Below
[331] in the ravine is the Tibetan village of Yo-nyi (Yo-i 約宜; in Yün-nan pronounced Yo-ni) with its terraced fields, grey and dusty. We descend and follow at the bottom of a narrow, rocky valley, bare of vegetation with the exception of *Sophora viciifolia* bushes, till we reach the Tibetan hamlet of Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙董). Here walnuts and willows grew along the fields. To the east is the trail to Pong-tse-ra, and to the west the trail which leads to the Kar-ri (Keng-li 坑里) Pass. At Sha-dung we cross the stream which descends from the Kar-ri La and follow the valley on the south bank. Near the mouth of this lateral valley is a formidable dwelling with a golden spire, the compound is surrounded by a wall on which Tibetan mastiffs were racing wildly up and down. It is the residence of a Huo-fu (incarnation of the Tung-chu-lin lama).[19]

The trail enters an arid and weird, ravine with loose rocks and boulders scattered over the slopes to the very top. It is narrow and one li beyond its mouth it is blocked by an isolated, pyramidal hill crowned by a *Shan-shen Miao* 山神廟 (Shrine to a mountain spirit). Here the stream makes a detour to the left; to the right a barren valley opens out near the temple-crowned hill, covered with cactus (*Opuntia monacántha*). What little vegetation there is consists of Berberis, Sophora, and the small-leaved *Baukinia densiflora*, while deciduous willow trees line the banks of the stream. *Pteris longifolia* is also common. On the right hill-side is a conglomeration of houses resem-
342 bling watch-towers. It is the hamlet of Pe-shin. Dogs run around wildly on the flat roofs, barking viciously at the traveler in the deep and narrow ravine.
*487 It would be easy to stop an army here by rolling down the loose rocks which
*133 lie in myriads on the valley slopes. Beyond Pe-shin the slopes are composed of disintegrated shale and fine grey dust resembling ashes.
*137 Farther on, the valley divides, the right-hand branch being quite barren; the trail follows up the left branch and here, at the mouth of the valley in a specially constructed shed three large cylindrical prayer-wheels, eight feet long and one foot in diameter, dressed in red and white skirts, whirled around like mad, driven by the stream. Further up the valley was another set, but these were out of commission. For 10 li the trail leads through this rocky, ever-narrowing ravine, till we come to the fortress-like Tibetan hamlet of Sha-yi (Shou-i-ts'un 設義村), situated on a flat spur above the river. At one end of the village is a lama shrine or small temple, with a golden roof and spire, probably the private chapel of the Tibetan T'u-ssu who resides here.

Near Sha-yi the trail passes through *Pinus Armandi* forest which later gives place to *Quercus semicarpifolia* trees, with here and there a *Rhododendron decorum*, several deciduous trees, rose-bushes, Caragana, etc. The mountains rise steeply, the stream is ice-bound (December), and at an eleva-

[19] The Huo-fu is a member of the family of the T'u-ch'ien-tsung of Pong-tse-ra, who also resides here.

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tion of 10,000 feet we enter oak forest with *Pinus yünnanensis* and a few spruces. White-barked birches make their appearance where a deep lateral ravine opens to our right. The left valley, into which our trail leads, broadens, and red-barked birches and Piceas abound with several species of rhododendron. A beautiful meadow framed by mossy forest invites to a rest and lunch. The meadow was a mass of iris, while wild cherries and pears grew on the outskirts of the forest surrounding it. After climbing a central rocky spur we find ourselves in beautiful Picea forest with *Rhododendron levistratum* as undergrowth, all festooned with long strands of *Usnea longissima*. To our left is a deep, densely-forested valley, with the snow-covered summit of the Kar-ri written dKar-ri La,[11] White mountain Pass shaped like an amphitheater, towering high above us.

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The trail, composed of black slate which is exposed beneath morainic drift, is now almost a road and leads zigzag to the flat summit of the Kar-ri La, with the usual *obo* and prayer-flags. The wind howled in fury at the top, which was covered with a low scrub rhododendron with indigo-blue flowers and bronze leaves; the altitude was 13,700 feet.

The northern slope which we had ascended was deep in snow, while the south-western slope which we began to descend was entirely free of it. The trail goes down zigzag to a meadow called Pun-tra 1,000 feet below the pass, with dense spruce or Picea forest to both sides, while the shrubs represented species of Sorbus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, etc. From the summit pass the Yünnan—Hsi-k'ang border is visible. It is formed by a row of peculiar peaks, bleak and barren, to the east of the Yangtze, which flows at their foot. The entire landscape was hazy owing to fires on the hill-sides, started by Li-su tribespeople.

From the Pun-tra meadow below the Kar-ri Pass, we descend along the stream-bed; here the mountain-sides rise steeply several thousand feet, covered with Abies forest and crowned at their summit with alpine meadows. The ravine narrows, but to our left a broader valley opens; the stream we have been following is separated by a narrow comb of earth and loose rocks from the larger one which it joins. The walls are mainly of old limestone, the stream flowing between steep slopes which for a short distance are composed of loose soil and boulders, with trees and dead logs overhanging them; the trail crosses the stream many times. The vegetation changes, the forest is of a mixed type composed of spruces, maples, and oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), while the upper slopes of the broadening ravine are covered with pure stands of Picea. Many landslides have obliterated the trail, buried under boulders with tree trunks sticking out of them. The slightest vibration dislodges the loose mass.

Here we met with Li-su tribespeople and Tibetans armed with cross-bows, and a lama with red cloak and yellow hat, bound for Tung-chu-lin. Descending rapidly we pass into *Pinus Armandi* and oak forest with undergrowth of Rosa, Berberis and Corylus, etc. The valley broadens considerably and we enter the village of Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里), situated on a spur at an elevation of 9,000 feet.

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342 The houses of Kar-ri are of mud brick, but are unlike the Tibetan houses of the Mekong valley, which have flat dirt roofs. Here the roofs are of wooden slats weighted down by rocks, as is the Na-khi custom.

*487 The Chinese map gives the village of T'o-ting between Sha-yi and Kar-ri. *133 This village was said to have been the northern border of the Wei-hsi district, but we have not encountered such a place on the road from Pong-tse-ra *937 to Kar-ri, neither is it marked on Davies' map.[13] South of Kar-ri the rocks are Devonian sediments which form also the hills to the south of the river.

To the east a small valley debouches into the one we have been descending; deciduous oak scrub covers the lower slopes, while the hill-sides above are clothed with *Pinus yunnanensis*. A deep valley extends diagonally across the mouth of the Kar-ri valley, the trail leading to the broad, rocky stream-bed which we cross to the south bank, where the hamlet of Tsho-khà-thang, written mTsho-kha-thang is situated[14] (PLATE 208). The women of this [291] region dress like the Na-khi or Mo-so women of La-pao, within the Yangtse loop, north of Li-chiang, wearing much-pleated hemp cloth skirts; they are unlike Tibetan women, and belong to the Mo-so Ku-tsung tribe (PLATE 209). The houses are very quaint and it seems that their domestic animals enjoy [342] residence in the upper story of their houses, while the family lives on the ground-floor, as the accompanying picture would indicate (PLATE 208).

5. YON-DZE-KHÀ (CHU-PA-LUNG 竹巴龍)

We now reach the Yon-dze-khà[15] which has its source on the southern slopes of Pai-mang Shan; it is spanned by a covered wooden bridge (PLATE 210). The trail follows the south bank downstream, through *Quercus semicarpifolia* forest, the stream thundering over huge boulders, a mass of foam. Up it leads again a forested spur and thence to the deep, rocky gorge of the Yon-dze-khà, weird and dismal, with fantastic peaks to the east. We continue down the gorge, mainly composed of limestone, crowned by crags and odd pinnacles, the highest of which bear Picea trees which accentuate their loftiness. To the west a brook descends from a narrow zigzag valley, at the head of which black, rocky snow-crowned peaks rear their bleak summits into the sky. A long wooden plank-bridge spans the stream and leads us to the Tibetan hamlet of Na-ri (Na-li 哥里). Na-ri is situated on the east bank of the stream at the foot of a huge, grey limestone cliff with a deep ravine opening out behind the village; in the distant background a high, deep-blue, densely forested range closes the valley.

[13] HANDEL-MAZZETTI gives a village of To-tyü which may be identical with the Chinese T'o-ting, but this village is at the junction of the Yon-dze-khà and the Yangtse, and on the western bank of the latter. As the Chinese map is not at all reliable, it is very likely that T'o-ting is identical with To-tyü, which may be the Na-khi pronunciation of it.

[14] ཚ་ཁ་ཐང

[15] The lower part of this gorge is known as Cho-pa-rong written lChog-pa-rong ལྕགས་ཕ་ལུང (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍; also Chou-pa-lo 阿巴洛): the stream is called Chu-pa Ho 竹巴河. The divide between this latter stream and the Mekong is known as Chou-pa-lo Hsüeh-shan (Snow mountain of Chou-pa-lo).

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From Na-ri we follow a narrow trail up and down, first high above the river, then in and out of ravines; the main road, however, leads on the west bank at an even grade. A few li bring us to the hamlet of Yun-gou where the ravine becomes very narrow and the stream enters a deep limestone gorge lined with Cupressus trees. Beyond the gorge on the east bank of the river is a huge limestone boulder which appears suspended over the stream, its lower surface being flat; hot water passes through the rock and flows from the flat under-surface as from a sieve. Limestone crags and mountains tower 2,000 feet above the river-bed, the slopes being covered with scrub oak and pines. The whole scenery is strange and dismal. 487* 133* 137*

At the end of the day's stage is the hamlet of Dshü-dzong situated on the east bank of the river. From this village the trail follows the clear stream, crosses two lateral affluents and ascends a rocky bluff. The trees on the lower slopes are all walnuts, while oaks and *Pinus yunnanensis* clothe the upper. We come to a cantilever bridge at the village of Ndo-sung (To-sung 多松) on the east bank of the stream. The entire village consists of one large white house and a few log huts. We enter forest of pines and deciduous oaks in the broadening valley; mountains about 12,000 feet in height and composed of limestone rise to the east. The next village, called Sha-lon, in Chinese Sha-lung 沙隆, is situated on a hill in the valley. The Tibetan dialect spoken here is different from that of A-tun-tzu and Chung-tien. Three li beyond the village of Sha-lon, the trail leaves the main stream, enters a narrow valley and crosses the affluent which issues from it.

We follow on the top of the spur which separates it from the main stream to a small hamlet called Chao-to (Ch'ang-ta 昌大); five li beyond we reach the village of To-gu-ti the Chinese T'o-ko-ti 陀格底. Near the entrance to the village a gate was erected across the trail. It consisted of two pine trees connected by braided strands of bamboo from which wooden swords dipped in blood hung suspended. On inquiry I was informed that an epidemic was rampant among the horses in this village, and the swords, were to drive or keep out the demon which caused it. At the other end of the village was a similar gate, but from the bamboo rope swung the huge wooden penis of a horse. Not far from this village situated on the left bank, is the hamlet of Nin-yü, where another cantilever bridge spans the river. As the valley floors became broader and the land more suitable for agriculture, villages are also more frequent. 751 487* 133* 137*

Two li bring us to the village of Ka-su, and a short distance beyond situated on a terrace is the village called Sa-gè-ti (Sheng-keng-ting 生根丁); here are limestone and black shales both much contorted. Walnuts grow along the river bank, the Tibetans, similarly to the Na-khi, use the oil for cooking. The trail crosses a rather large, flat cultivated area to a village called Sha-shao 沙哨 situated under a huge limestone bluff. Here a valley opens out into the Yon-dze-khà, from the right, or west, bringing a stream of considerable size from the eastern slopes of the mountains, which form the Mekong—Yangtze divide in the neighborhood of Yeh-chih. A trail leads up this valley and over the divide to the Mekong a little north of Yeh-chih. [552]

To the south of the valley is a high spur which Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls Ko-bu-dä — this is the Chinese Kuo-pu-ta 過不搭 (Cannot be

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*487 crossed). Evidently when asking his guide about the name of the mountain
*733 he replied that it could not be crossed; Handel-Mazzetti, thinking it was the
*137 name, put it on his map. According to a Chinese map the name of the mountain is Hsiung-kung Shan 凶工山 but that name is locally unknown and seems to be an invention of the Chinese cartographer.

Opposite the bridge which here spans the stream is a small Tibetan hamlet. Another village is perched against the northern hill-side of the valley, while ancient watch-towers, built by the Tibetans centuries ago to keep out Mo-so soldiers, crown the ridge. As has already been remarked elsewhere, Major Davies' map is here wrong, for his stream has no outlet, while in fact the Yon-dze-khà flows into the Yangtze ten li from the hamlet of Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙 or Lo-she 洛舍) which consists of about ten houses.

6. ACROSS PONGE LA (PASS)

From Sha-shao, two li of marching along the stream, which is here quite broad but shallow, brings us to the village of Ton-ri, Chinese T'an-lien 貪碧, on its east bank among fields; this is by far the greatest expanse of flat territory encountered in this valley. Crossing another affluent (the rocks in its bed are gneiss and granite) coming from the south-west, called the Shio-ndo (Hsiang-to 香多) after the village situated up the valley on its east bank, we enter a gorge with limestone rocks and crags. The district or region is here known as Du-bà-lo.[18] The trail ascends a rocky bluff high above the river which flows east-north-east, very placidly and clear as crystal. From the limestone bluff we look down on the village of Rong-sha situated at the mouth of a narrow valley above terraced fields. Mandarin oranges are grown here. At the head of the Rong-sha valley is the Ponge La (Pass) at a height of 12,150 feet.

At Rong-sha we turn directly south up the lateral valley along terraced fields, the slopes of the mountains being pine-covered. To the east of Rong-sha is visible a high, bare range at the foot of which the Yangtze flows. The trail leads steeply up the valley through *Pinus yünnanensis* forest, with deciduous oaks, *Quercus Griffithii*, as undergrowth, also the ubiquitous *Rhododendron decorum* and *Quercus semicarpifolia*. Further on the ravine divides into two branches, the trail following steeply the eastern branch on the east bank. Here we encounter clearings and wheat-fields. The valley slopes are inhabited by Li-su tribespeople who speak broken Tibetan. Above the fields we come to alpine meadows and rows of beautiful Picea trees, with here and there a *Pinus Armandi*, the five-needled *Pai-sung* 白松 or white pine.

The real climb to the Ponge La commences. The trail follows the narrowing meadow which gradually merges into Picea forest with undergrowth of *Rhododendron heliolepis* and a silvery-leaved species, also found on the Kar-ri La, besides *Rhododendron irroratum* and *Rh. eritimum* both arborescent species and a few deciduous trees such as Betula and Pyrus. Looking up to the pass it seemed only a short distance away, but the climb is an arduous one, especially as the trail becomes the stream-bed, which on our

[18] It is the Tibetan Cho-pa-rong the name is often applied to the entire valley.

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visit was frozen and full of fallen trees and decayed logs. Near the head of the stream the narrow gulch is filled with fallen trees, and the trail leads in short and sharp zigzags to the pass, which resembles a trench, very different from the broad Kar-ri La. This pass, height 12,150 feet, is composed of green shale and shows no trace of glacial action. Abies tower to right and left, and a high, bare mountain range is visible in the distance, one black pyramidal peak being especially prominent.

Looking south from the pass we behold a deep ravine with steep walls and crags covered with snow. In the distance loom up range upon range, one flat, bowl-shaped mountain especially attracting our attention. We descend steeply in sharp zigzags, almost spirals, through Abies and Picea forest; the trail resembles a narrow trench, hardly one foot wide but much deeper. As the mountain slopes steeply and the trail is very bad, it is best to camp just below the pass on the grassy downs, or on the top where there are, or were, some roofless log cabins.

Continuing the descent we finally reach the village of Pa-sho-nyi-ra situated on the left or east valley slopes and inhabited by Tibetans, but of a different type from the Tibetans to the north. The people as well as their dogs seem to be of an inferior breed from those one is accustomed to meet on the Mekong and north of A-tun-tzu.

The forest through which we traverse is indeed stately, large oaks, an evergreen species but different from any previously met with, *Pyrus yünnanensis*, Piceas, pines, climbing roses, Ligustrum, etc., form the undergrowth. We pass several Li-su huts and then enter the common yellow pine forest *P. yünnanensis*, mixed with *Quercus semicarpifolia* and *Rhododendron decorum*, with an occasional Tsuga. We continue in the deep ravine among stunted trees, past an enormous black limestone bluff, and emerge into a large valley into which the ravine from the Ponge La debouches at right angles. At the mouth of the ravine is situated the village of Shyon-gung among terraced fields.

The trail does not descend to the valley floor but leads around a bluff, and along the foot of a limestone range covered with a species of Castanopsis. The valley is considerably broad with fields lining both banks of the stream. Its southern wall is formed by a high range densely forested and apparently of a different rock formation to the northern one which is composed of limestone boulders, buried in red shale. Following at the foot of the limestone range we come to the hamlet of T'a-ch'eng 塔城 (T'a-dza in Na-khi) inhabited by Na-khi and Tibetans, who also speak Li-su. This is the Shang 上 (Upper) T'a-ch'eng while the Hsia 下 (Lower) T'a-ch'eng is south of Ch'i-tsung and the T'a-ch'eng Kuan.

7. LA-P'U AND CH'I-TSUNG 拉普其宗

The next village is Yon-dron-ko, also called Yon-dron-wan, the Chinese Yin-to-wan 因多灣. Here the valley is still broader, we pass many villages, most of which were then in ashes, having been burnt by Tibetan robbers who came within 60 li of Li-chiang. To the north, towers the bare limestone range, while the southern one is densely forested; the valley floor is here an alluvial

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*487 *133 *137 lan, extending in fertile terraced fields to the stream-bed. We cross the latter over a wooden-covered bridge to a village, follow the hill-side past many other villages of which the largest is La-p'u 拉普 (called La-p'o by the Na-khi), famous in Mo-so annals. It was like the other villages, entirely in ashes. The inhabitants are a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan. The women wear the Mo-so pleated skirt and large ear-rings. The trail leads along the hill-side, the valley narrows again, and fields cease; we follow immediately above the stream-bed, whose slopes are forested with the common pine, while a scrub oak, Cornus, and *Rhododendron racemosum* grow along the trail.

The ravine becomes narrower and deeper, the stream flowing between steep, forested walls of crystalline limestones and schists. These limestones form also the precipices above the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung, where that river flows at an altitude of 6,800 feet. The La-p'u Lamasery, called the Lai-yüan Ssu 來遠寺, built in the sixth year of Ch'ien-lung (1741) is visible high up on the nothern mountain-side. In Tibetan the lamasery is called hBreng-khung-dgon [16] while La-p'u is known to them as gLu-hphe [17] (pronounced Lu-phe). Further west, not far from this lamasery, is said to be another called Ta-mo Ssu 達摩寺. It was built four years earlier than the Lai-yüan Ssu, namely in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). It is called bsTan-hphel-gling [18] in Tibetan. The Chinese Ta-mo is equivalent to the Sanskrit Dharma or Bodhidarma, the twenty-eighth Indian and first Chinese patriarch, who arrived in China A.D. 520, the reputed founder of the Ch'an or Intuitional School in China. The trail descends and passing a rocky bluff we emerge into the Yangtze valley at Ch'i-tsung, a journey of nearly nine days from A-tun-tzu, and a distance of approximately 450 li.

[16] [illegible] [17] [illegible] [18] [illegible]

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PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

History and Boundaries of Yung-ning 永寧

1. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning. 101 173

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi)[1] family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A. [551]

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 麗化 (Li-t'ang 麗塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

[1] The name *Hli-khin* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi*. The Hli-khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhêr-khin.

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101 as Mu-li 木里 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the
173 present Ch'ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k'-ang and partly in Ssu-ch'uan. The T'u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family 喇氏 which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 茶木多; Chhab-mdo)[2] in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ)[3]. He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: "Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work." The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: "If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity." The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po[4] (The first Mu-li T'ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 40th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T'u-pai-hu 土百戶 and T'u-ch'ien-hu 土千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* that the Tso-so and Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:

[2] ཆབ་མདོ

[3] His name was rJe-blo-gros-chhos-skyong ཇེ་བློ་གྲོས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང

[4] སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་ལྡང་པོ

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"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approved he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh 巴洱 or 八耳 in the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief."[5] His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu 六藏圖都 a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs ཁྲོ་བཟང་མཐུ་སྟོབས, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob.

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Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 項.[6] (PLATE

[5] The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ĕr, the Na-khi Mbĕr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri written hBar-ri འབར་རི; it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (འབར་ཁ་ལྡན). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced *dān* or *den*; its final n is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu 枯祿 or K'ang-yu 康遊 (in Tibetan, Khe-'ong ཁེ་ཝོང). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bsod-nams-dar-rgyas-gling བདེ་བ་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་ is situated.

[6] The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. *Hsüan* simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of *wei*, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-p'u 李章甫 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The last Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命自在佛位吉呼圖克圖一等宣慰使兼四川邊務督辦暫代理本軍軍司令中將總指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍剿匪九縣防司令部. "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 項此爾扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorific: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei chün ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu 木寶宣慰司兼剿匪指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍剿匪九縣防司令部.

At Min-chi 敏吉 a small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa ཨ་ལ་ཤོག་པ, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs mam-sprul ཇམ་དཔྱངས་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ. (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan ཀྲ་ཤིས་བསམ་གཏན), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (his captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-

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101 211). Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning,
173 for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 隆打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, *i.e.*, the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 樓頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-dü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv dü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; *yi* stands for the name of the Yangtze, *gu* is a box in Na-khi, and *dü* means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (*See also* Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 呷米; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.[7]

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shöh and the Hli-khin, Lä-mö or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nòh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

173 The *Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih* 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b–34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: "The Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a

signed and as the lay male line of the Hang family has died out, the son of the sister of the late Mu-li King by name Hang Sung-tien-ch'un-p'in 項松典春品 whose father is a Mo-la-shog Tibetan and the commander-in-chief of the late Mu-li King's forces has now been selected as ruler of Mu-li.

[7] The *Hsi-ning fu [illegible]-chih* 西寧府新志, ch. [illegible] 12a, states that the Hsi-fan are synonymous with the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 tribes and that they are very numerous, extending from Kan-su to Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. This statement would indicate that the Hsi-ch'iang are the ancestors of the Hsi-fan, similar to the Mao-niu Yüeh-sui Ch'iang who are probably the ancestors of the Mo-so or Na-khi. It would appear that most of the tribes whose language classes them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock, as the Lo-lo, Hsi-fan, Na-khi etc., are really descendants of the great Ch'iang 羌 race which became widely scattered and split into several clans or tribes, each adopting the name of their leader for the name of the tribe, thus, losing their identity as Ch'iang.

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frontier district of Yün-nan, adjoining Ssu-ch'uan and the land of the T'u-fan. Its ancient name was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭鐵 and is also known as Ta-lan Mo-hsieh 答藍摩歇.* At the close of the Han 漢 dynasty [about A.D. 24] the Yung-ning A T'u-ssu's ancestor — Ni-yüeh-wu 倪月烏 — pacified the T'u-fan and settled in their land."* (The *Tien-ksi* Vol. 2, fol. 10a calls him Tsu (祖)-ni-yüeh-wu and states that he was a chief of the Mo-so man). "In the T'ang dynasty it belonged to the Nan-chao Kingdom under the rule of the Meng family (649–902). After that it was occupied by the Mo-so man [Na-khi] but later again recovered. In the Sung dynasty it belonged to the Ta-li 大理 dynasty under the rule of the Tuan family (937–1094).

"In the Yüan dynasty, Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈 sojourned [with his troops] at Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和" (PLATE 212). This place is called in Hli-khin, La-pa-ddü; it is a meadow about one and a half li west of the Yung-ning Lamasery; the Hli gyi (Hli River) crosses the meadow in the center. The southern part of the meadow is called Jih (Sun) and the northern part of the meadow Yüeh (Moon) and collectively Jih-yüeh-ho (Union of the sun and moon). The late Tsung-kuan 總管 of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan 阿雲山 or A To-ch'i 阿俄奇 (PLATE 213), often told me that Kublai Khan camped there with his army. The Tsung-kuan and his relatives used always to escort me as far as this place when I left Yung-ning for Li-chiang. He said that from time immemorial, when anyone started on a voyage from Yung-ning, the first place to camp would be at Jih-yüeh-ho. He himself was proud of his Mongol origin, for he was a descendant of one of the Mongol officers left by Kublai Khan in Yung-ning to govern that territory.

"In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed to the

*This is apparently in imitation of the Tibetan name of Yung-ning which is Thar-lam, meaning the "road to Nirvana," which also the Chinese name Yung-ning (Eternal peace) indicates. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call it Ta-long. The Yung-pei Records write it 摩 instead of 麼 or 魔, which is the correct character meaning the Thar-lam of the Mo-so or Mo-hsieh tribe.

*We have here the first record of the settlement of the Mo-so and their chief Ni-yüeh-wu who must have been accompanied by a horde of his tribe, otherwise he could not have dislodged the Tibetans and settled in their land which bore the name of Thar-lam, the Tibetan name of Yung-ning to this day. This was said to have taken place about A.D. 24. We further learn from the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, as well as from the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History) that the first chief of the Mo-so to settle south-west of the Yangtse, that is within the Yangtze loop, came from the present Yung-ning, then called Lou-t'ou; he himself was called Po-ch'ung 波衝. He settled in what was afterwards called the district of Pao-shan, 寶山 the present La-pao, 245 li north of Li-chiang and 150 li south-west of Yung-ning. He founded the Mo-so Kingdom (Yüeh-hsi chao) during the T'ang dynasty in the early part of the eighth century and called his kingdom Mo-so chao and also Hua-ma Kuo, 花馬國. We learn from the Li-chiang Records that he was murdered in the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (A.D. 738). According to the Nan-chao Records he dwelled at Sui chou 嶲州, which was the name of Li-chiang during the T'ang dynasty, changed later to K'un-ming hsien. He may have been one of the seven Mo-so brothers who established themselves at La-pao during the Eastern T'ang (Tung T'ang 東唐) dynasty.

We thus learn that the Mo-so reached the region of Yung-ning — Li-chiang, or the present north-west of Yün-nan, at the close of the Han dynasty about A.D. 24. It is possible that the Mo-so man afterwards went south of Yung-ning, and that Po-ch'ung founded the Mo-so Kingdom only after Mo-so had long been settled among the P'u and Hsieh tribes and in what is now the Li-chiang district.

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173 empire. [The old *Tien-hsi* says that Ho-tzu 和字, who was the 31st generation after Ni-yüeh-wu, submitted in that year to the empire; but the new edition of the *Tien-hsi* omits this.] The *Yüan Shih* ch. 61, fol. 9a states the same, adding that in the 16th year of Chih-yüan (1279) it was changed to a chou 州.

"In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), the office of Ch'a-yen-kuan 茶鹽官 [the Yung-pei Record says Ch'a-lan-kuan 茶藍管 and the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih*: 'Ta-lan kuan-min-kuan 荅藍管民管', or the civil official of Ta-lan which is correct] was established. In the 16th year the office was abolished and the department of Yung-ning in the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝府 was established. In the Ming dynasty during the period of Hung-wu (1368–1398) it became subject to the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) it was changed and made subject to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) 蘭滄衛; in the fourth year of Yung-lo (1406) it was changed again to Yung-ning fu, to which belonged the Ssu-ch'uan Chang-kuan-ssu 四川長官司. The native official received the title of prefect and a seal of office, also a letter ordering him to restrain his tribal people. Thereupon the Ssu-ch'uan Tso-so T'u-ssu, by name La-ma-fei 喇嗎非,[10] occupied the territory and killed Pu-sa 卜撒 the father and his son [the Yung-ning T'u-ssu and his son]. His wife then accused him before the Chen-shou 鎮守 (Defense commissioner). Thereupon La-ma-fei was arrested and was ordered to be sent to the capital but he died on the road. The territory was again delimitated. Pu-sa's younger brother, Nan-pa 南八, then took charge of the Tso-so T'u-ssu's affairs.

"During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449), all the wild tribes of Yen-ching [east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan] advanced to attack him. The native [prefect] official could not prevent them from doing so, and thus he petitioned that a prefect and sub-prefect be established and a yamen built in the Lan-ts'ang wei-ch'eng 蘭滄衛城 (walled town of the military station of Lan-ts'ang). The latter then held the district and governed it from a distance.

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (1698), Pei-sheng chou was changed and raised to the fu-city of Yung-pei; the sub-prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning was changed to the sub-prefect of fu-city of Yung-pei and the native prefect of Yung-ning (Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu) was made subject to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The T'u-ssu was delegated to rule in the

[10] The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 15, fol. 20a, says Ma-la-fei instead of La-ma-fei. This is a mistake. There is a 馬喇 (vice-headman or Fu-chang-kuan-ssu) by the name A, but he is not to be confused with the Tso-so T'u-ssu called La-ma-fei. The A T'u-ssu or T'u-kuan of Ma-la was a Pa-i 僰夷 tribesman and not a Mo-so or Na-khi. The Ma-la territory adjoined the land of the Yün-nan Pei-sheng T'u-ssu Chang 章土司. The same work (ch. 9, fols. 70b–71a) states further that "in the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1429) Shih-pu-la-fei 矢不剌非 of the barbarian village of Yung-ning, conspired with Ma-la-fei the native official of the Ssu-ch'uan Salt-well military station, to kill Ko-chi-pa-ho. They were then pacified by the Imperial army. Thereupon Pu-sa was ordered to succeed to the title of prefect of Yung-ning. Later, he (Pu-sa), was also killed by Shih-pu-la-fei. After his death, his younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position. In the second year of Cheng-t'ung (1437) Ma-la-fei was attacked by Nan-pa, who recovered Wu-chieh 烏解 [this is probably Wu-chio 烏角 near Yung-ning in Mu-li Hsi-k'ang] and other stockaded villages. It is said that Nan-pa was also killed by Ma-la-fei."

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Yüan dynasty but without documentary evidence, and only when Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉 came on to the scene in the Ming dynasty was there conferred upon him by letters patent the office of Yung-ning T'u-chih-chou 永寧土知州 (Native Department magistrate of Yung-ning). In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) when high officials came to Yün-nan fu, the T'u-ssu led his people to confer with them, whereupon he was appointed to the position of T'u-chih-fu 土知府, which until this day remains a hereditary post without change." 173

THE FOUR CHANG-KUAN-SSU DISTRICTS

As regards the four districts ruled by the four Chang-kuan-ssu (native headmen) under the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning, the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 497, fol. 5b, states that they were established in the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo; (the personal records of the A family, chiefs of Yung-ning, state the 24th day of the fourth moon and 4th year of Yung-lo (May 25th, 1402). Later they belonged to the Yün-nan Yung-ning wei 雲南永寧衛. The four Chang-kuan-ssu were all Hsi-fan officials, by name A 阿. After the reign of Cheng-t'ung 正統, about 1450, the Yen-ching native chiefs seized the territory by force. The four native officials then ceased to exist (were abolished). Apparently the entire region was a lawless one, and the Yung-ning chiefs, being unable to rule it, later turned the land over as a gift to the Incarnation of Chha-mdo, as related elsewhere. It appears that the lawless Wu-so (Five So), especially the Tso-so who made inroads into Yung-ning, and killed the son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, possessed themselves of the four territories, the Yung-ning chiefs retaining only a nominal control. Thus it became part of Ssu-ch'uan. The Chha-mdo Incarnation later by converting the inhabitants to the Yellow Lama Church subdued them, and succeeded in establishing his steward, a man of Mongol origin, as the temporal ruler of what is now Mu-li. It is significant that the Tso-so, who were apparently the ringleaders in the seizing of the territory, and did not look with favor on the establishing of the Yellow Church, refused to be converted, and remained to this day adherents of the Shamanist Bön sect, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

5. YUNG-PEI RECORDS, CH. 2

In another volume (ch. 2, fol. 1a–5a) of the Yung-pei Records much of the foregoing is repeated regarding Yung-ning and adjacent territory with the exception of the following, which is of historic interest: "The Yung-pei district was between the borders of Yün-nan and the State of Shu [western Ssu-ch'uan] and in ancient times was between Yüeh-sui and I chou. In those days it had many names which cannot now be determined nor what part of the country they represented.

"It is stated that Tien-sheng 滇省 [Yün-nan] was in the realm of Yü-kung 禹貢 (2200 B.C.) called Liang chou. Ch'eng-wang 成王 of the Chou dynasty (1115–1079 B.C.) united Liang 梁 with the State of Yung and called it Yung chou 雍州 or the department of Yung. Yung-pei was subject to Yung chou; it was west of the province of Tien 滇.

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173 "In the period of the Contending States 戰國 (Commenced 480? or 468?–247 B.C.) it belonged to the land of Pai-kuo 白國地 (Land of the White Kingdom).

"In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 25) the land northwest of the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge; *see* p. 25) was occupied by the Shih-man 施蠻 (Shih barbarians).[12]

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) in the 11th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (795),[13] I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom took by force the land of the Man, called Pei-fang t'an 北方賧 [the present-day Yung-sheng]. He deported the P'o-jen 㚇人 of the K'un-mi Ho 昆彌河,[14] [they are the Shan or Pa-i, who dwelled in the Pai-kuo 白國 or Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, established during Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 about 121 B.C., the founder of which was Jen-kuo], the Lo-lo 裸羅, and the Li-(su)hsieh 㹞㲋[14] to people that territory, and called it Chien-ch'iang 劍羌 and also Ch'eng-chieh t'an (district of Ch'eng-chieh); later he changed the name to Shan-chü Chün 善巨郡 (Commandery of Shan-chü).

"During the Five Dynasties 五代 (907–960) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣 rebelled against the house of Meng 蒙氏; Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞 and Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 succeeded one another by force and murder, so that there was not a peaceful day.

"In the Sung dynasty (960–1127) the house of Tuan 段氏 occupied Ta-li, and changed the name Shan-chü Chün to Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡, and placed Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 to keep it in order. The Kao family 高氏 thus dwelled there for many generations.[15]

In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), Kao Chün 高俊[16] submitted to the Imperial rule. In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) the territory of Shih shou 施州 was established. In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Pei-sheng shou 北勝州. In the 24th year (1287) it was raised to the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng fu, and Yung-ning

[12] The Shih-man inhabited the third of the six *Chao* which comprised the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom). Their territory was the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, of which Shih-wang-ch'ien 施望千 was the founder; it was situated on the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河 and the mountains of Meng-tz'u-ho Shan 蒙次和山 in Lang-kung (ch'iung) 浪穹縣 (north of Ta-li).

[13] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* gives the 15th year (799) instead of the 11th (795). Ch. 7, fol. 30 of the Yung-pei Records gives also the 15th year. The same record also states that later the Ch'eng-chieh t'an 成傷賧 was created. In the time of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (712–755) [this is wrong, it should read the second year of T'ien-fu 天福 (937)] Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 (he ruled from 937–944 and was the founder of the Ta-li Kuo 大理國 of the Nan-chao Kingdom) conquered Nan-chao, changed the name of Ch'eng-chieh t'an and created the Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡. (In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, Vol. 10, fol. 16b, it says that in the Sung dynasty the Ta-li Tuan family created the Ch'eng-chi-chen and Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 was placed to govern it or keep it in order and subjection.)

[14] The word 㹞 is written 㹞 in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史.

[14] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says the Mo-so 摩些 instead of Li-su. This latter name is usually written 力些 or 㹞㲋.

[15] The Kao family succeeded the Tuan family on the throne of Ta-li under the name of the Ta-chung Kuo 大中國 (1094–1096).

[16] Kao Chün according to the Mongol history, ch. 61, fol. 6a, was the chief of Pei-sheng.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 185. — FIRS AND RHODODENDRONS BELOW THE SI LA

[illegible]

At an elevation of 12,000 feet, at the foot of the Si La we meet with pure stands of *Abies Delavayi* with undergrowth of *Rhododendron levistratum*. The snowy pyramid in center is Mt. Dra-chhen which flanks the Zhi-dzom La. Eastern slopes of Mekong — Salween divide.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

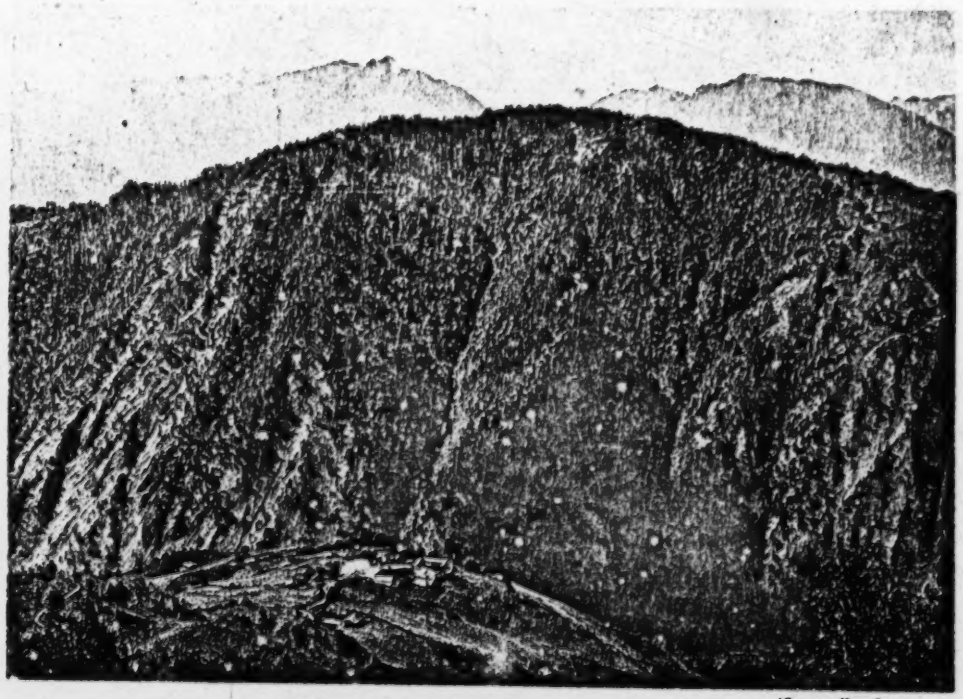
PLATE 186. — THE VALLEY OF THE SALWEEN

怒江谷，南望雀鼠嶺與怒山

Looking west from the Nying-ser La, elevation 12,400 feet, into the Salween valley. The central spur (lower right) is A-lo-lo-kha; the snow-covered range is the Salween — Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang) divide. Abies (firs) and Rhododendrons in foreground.

[p.362 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 187.—THE LU-TZU VILLAGE OF BAHANG

白汗洛村天主教會

The village is situated at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking the Doyon lung-pa, a tributary of the Salween. The central range is A-lo-la-kha and separates the Doyon lung-pa from the Salween. A Catholic Mission occupies the central part of the bluff; it is one of the loneliest Mission outposts imaginable.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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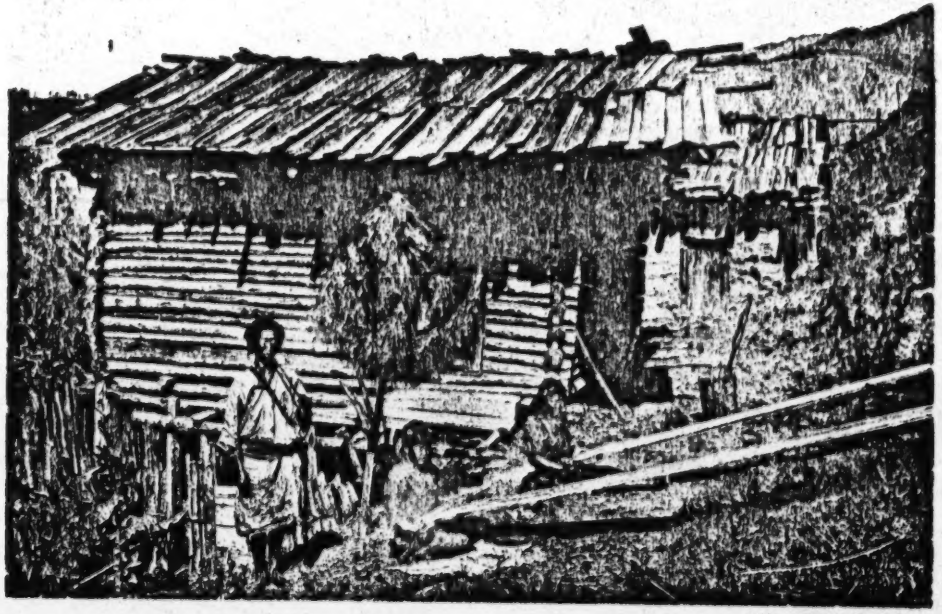
PLATE 188. — A NU-TZU (LU-TZU) FAMILY FROM PAI-MAN-LO (BARANG)

白 竹 蔴 罗 子

Through continuous intermarriage many of them are cretins and nearly all are afflicted with goitre.

[p. 362 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 189.—LU-TZU HUTS AT BAHANG

白祥渚聚子住房

All Lu-tzu huts are alike and the price is three silver taels each. Lu-tzu women can be seen weaving hemp cloth.

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PLATE 190.—THE SALWEEN RIVER AS SEEN FROM A-LO-LA-KHA

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

怒 江. 阿 洛 拉 之 景

The river, flowing south in its narrow trench; seen from an elevation of 8,000 ft. on the western slopes of A-lo-la-kha above Chang-ta (Cho-la) and south of Ch'ing-p'o-l'ung.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 191.—LU-TZU VILLAGE HEADMAN OF CHANG-RA

怒江卓拉怒子頭目

The Lu-tzu are confined to the Salween valley between Lyu-ra-gang and Sang-tha. To the north of them are Tibetans and to the south the Black Li-su.

[p. 362 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border A E3
505
[p. 362 H]

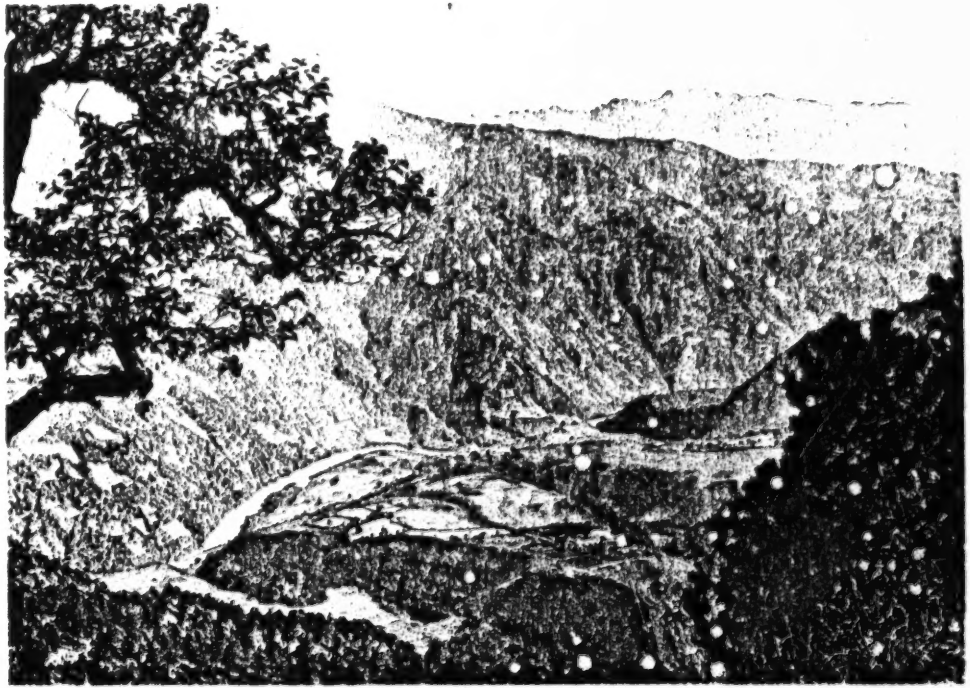
(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 192. — THE SALWEEN AT CHANG-RA

怒江章拉渡

In the winter the crossing of the Salween is accomplished by dug-out canoes paddled by Lu-tzu; in the summer a single rope stretched across the river serves as a bridge. The Salween flows here at 5,800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.).

PLATE 193. — CH'ANG-P'U-T'UNG IN THE SALWEEN VALLEY

菖蒲桶怒江溝

The village is situated on a wedge-shaped terrace, at an elevation of 6.000 feet. Photographed looking south-east toward the Mekong — Salween divide.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

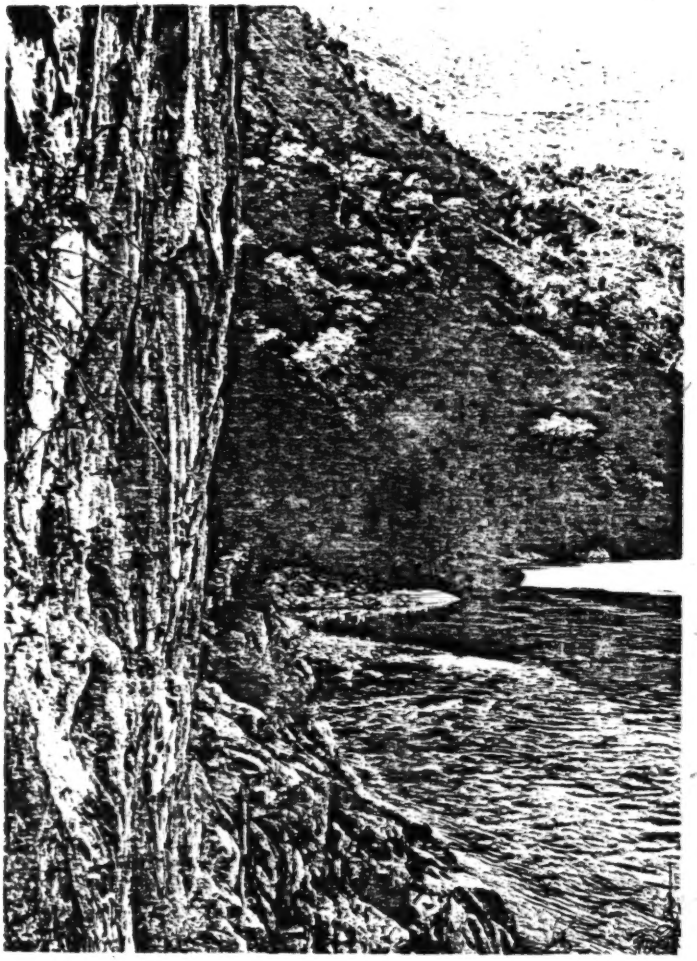
PLATE 194.—THE MARBLE GORGE OF THE SALWEEN

瀾滄江峽谷

North of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung the Salween flows through a beautiful marble gorge, it is the gateway to South-eastern Tibet or Tsha-rong. Pines in foreground.

[p. 362 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 195.—WITHIN THE SALWEEN MARBLE GORGE

薩溫德怒江峽谷

The trail through the gorge is on the left and consists of a few sticks visible in the picture. The Salween valley is here densely forested with tropical, evergreen trees and palms, which higher up give way to pines, spruces, firs and finally alpine meadows studded with gorgeous flowers. The bright stream of light on the Salween is the mouth of the Ssu-chi-t'ung.

[p. 362 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 196. — MOUNT KE-NYI-CHUM-PO OF THE SALWEEN — IRRAWADI DIVIDE

嘉雜穆高黎貢山

This snowpeak is a little north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung at about latitude 28° 2'. A pass called the Gom-pa La leads to the Ch'iu Chiang or Trun, still in Yün-nan. The tremendous gorge at the foot of the mountain mass is Ssu-chi-t'ung. This is the home of *Taiwania cryptomerioides*.

[p. 362-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 197. — A CH'IU-TZU FROM THE TRUN VALLEY

祁 江 祁 子

The Ch'iu-tzu are closely related to the Lu-tzu of the Salween but their language is not the same. They live in the valley of the Trun, an affluent of the Nmai Hka, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi. They are a very friendly and peaceful people.

[p. 362 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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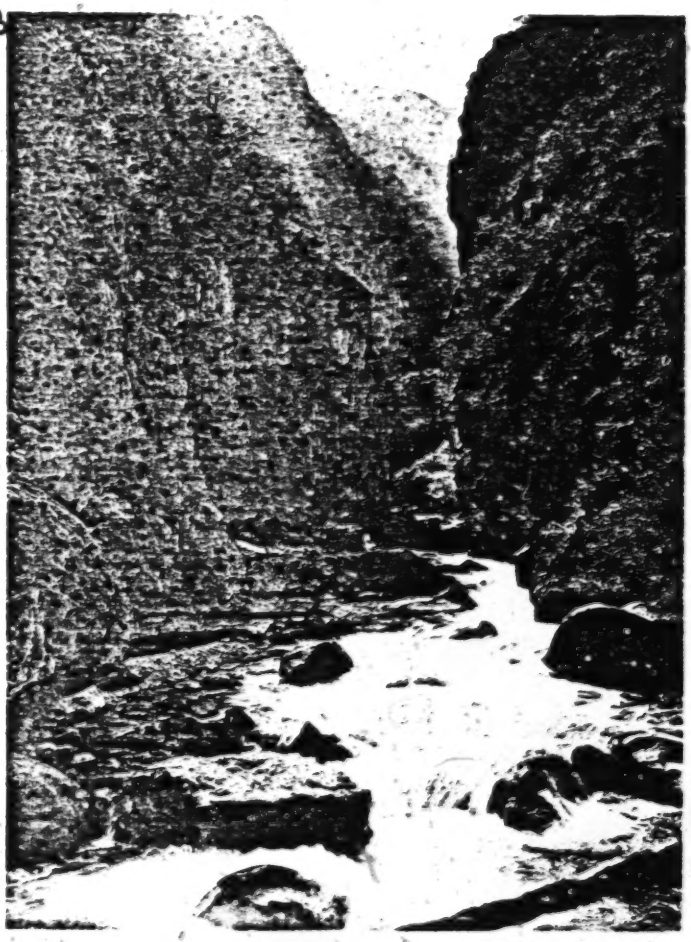

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 200. — THE DO-KAR LA STREAM AT ITS CONFLUENCE WITH THE MEKONG

多卡拉河口

The Do-kar La Stream is joined by the Lung-dre Stream below Lung-dre and united they enter the Mekong at an elevation of 7,300 feet.

[p. 362-N]

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173 chou was made subject to the military and civil Hsüan-fu-ssu of the Li-chiang Circuit 麗江路軍民宣撫司 and to be governed by him.

"In the Ming dynasty, the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), Kao Ts'e 高策 [17] led his people to submit to the empire. In the 17th year (1384) a Pei-sheng chou liu-kuan chih-chou 北勝州流官知州 (Pei-sheng transferable Department magistrate) was established and Kao Ts'e was appointed native Department magistrate. He was to govern the I-min 夷民 (wild tribes) and his Pei-sheng chou was made subject to the military and civil magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) the Lan-ts'ang wei military and civil tribal chieftaincy was established and was ordered to take charge of the district 州, which became joined to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei).[18]

"In the sixth year of Cheng-t'ung (1441) this was changed, and the Yün-nan pu-cheng-shih-ssu 雲南布政使司 (Yün-nan provincial governor) together with the Wei (military station) was to govern it. Again Lang-ch'ü chou 濮華州 (Lang-ch'ü district) subject to the Wei, was made dependent on the Yün-nan-tu Chih-hui-shih-ssu 雲南都指揮使司 (Yün-nan capital Tribal government).

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), there was established the Pei-sheng ying (cantonment). In the fifth year of K'ang-hsi (1666), Pei-sheng chou was placed under Ta-li fu, and there was added to it and established the Yung-pei chen 永北鎮 (Yung-pei brigades)."

In the 22nd year (1683) it was changed to Yung-pei hsieh 協 territorial regiment. In the 26th year (1687) Lan-ts'ang wei was abolished and all the collected taxes were taken and brought into the chou (district). In the 31st year (1692) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳, examined the frontier and reported to the Emperor that it was an important and strategic land, and Pei-sheng chou was made the Chih-li chou 直隸州 (Independent department) reporting direct to the provincial government. Later it was changed back to Yung-pei chen. In the 37th year (1698) the Pei-sheng chih-li chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei (Yung-pei fu 永北府) and the Yung-ning t'ung chih 同知 (sub-prefect) was changed to the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect under whose rule the hereditary Yung-ning native prefect was placed. In the 38th year (1699) Shun chou 順州 subject to Ho-ch'ing fu was also placed under the rule of the sub-prefect.

"In the 32nd year of Ch'ien-lung (1767) the fu-magistracy was changed and was made an independent sub-prefecture or chih-li-t'ing 直隸廳 subject to I-hsi tao 迤西道.[19]

"In the 35th year (1770) the Chen 鎮 or brigade was changed into a Ying or battalion, governed by a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel), subject to the Ho-li chen 鶴麗鎮 (Ho-ch'ing–Li-chiang brigades).

[17] Kao Ts'e was the son of Kao Pin-hsiang 高賓祥, native prefect of Pei-sheng during the Yüan dynasty, who, when he made his submission to the Ming dynasty, was reduced to a superintendent or prefect of the second class.

[18] The ancient military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) is the present city of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) according to the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fol. 6b.

[19] I-hsi is a circuit in the west of Yün-nan comprising Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei, Li-chiang, and Meng-hua, but in reality it comprises the entire west of Yün-nan beginning west of K'un-ming.

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173 "In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 [20] and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪 [21] subject to it.

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 慶保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫,[22] had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Hua-jung-chuang 華榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b–4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [*i.e.*, the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

101 Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 騾水 and She-k'ua 奢跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡,[23] 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜脚村 [24] [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-llü and P'u-dyü of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) [25] of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

[20] Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

[21] The present Hua-p'ing 華坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

[22] He was the joint o. sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章鈴高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

[23] On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡洗坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 寧蒗.

[24] In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 蒲角.

[25] ཇིན་ལྷོམ་དགོན་པ།

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CHAPTER II

Family Chronicles of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu

In the possession of the family of the present Yung-ning chiefs there are two brief chronicles written in Chinese and in manuscript form. One of these chronicles begins with the first ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi, who makes his appearance in local history in the year 1381, when he submitted to the Ming dynasty with all his subjects; it ends with A Heng-fang of the 19th generation, born on May 7th, 1830. The second chronicle is an abridged account of the first and ends with the present T'u-ssu, A Min-han 阿民漢, great-grandson of A Heng-fang. 173

The late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan (Governor) (Plate 213), a close relative of the T'u-ssu, claimed, like the rest of the A family of Yung-ning (Plate 214), to be of Mongol origin and descendant of a Mongol officer or officers left by Kublai Khan to rule Yung-ning, when on his conquest of Yün-nan in 1253. The A family has always told me that they considered themselves Mongols, and their build and physiognomy bear out their statement. The first ancestor who appears in their biographical history at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1381, does not bear a Mongol but a genuine Na-khi name. The name P'u-dtu is distinctly Na-khi, and is the term for a closely braided basket which does not leak. It is also perhaps a clan name, for the Na-khi of Li-chiang are divided into the P'u-dtu, Gv-hö, Gv-ndza and other clans. Each clan performs its special propitiation of Heaven (Muan-bpö) (Plate 65) on specified days in the first moon, the date varying for each clan. The origin of the names or their real meaning is now no more ascertainable.

1. Chronicle according to the 19th descendant, A Heng-fang

"An official family record of the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Heng-fang.

Pu-tu-ko-chi, the first ancestor: "My Personal Deposition:

"I, the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan 雲南永寧府, named A Heng-fang 阿恒芳, aged fifty-eight, having a purple-colored face with a small beard, being a subordinate official of the magistracy of the directly ruled t'ing-city of Yung-pei 永北廳, state in my evidence that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉. In the 14th year of the period of Ming Hung-wu (1381), this ancestor submitted to the Imperial rule with all his subjects of the chou-city of Yung-ning. The application of his submission was duly sent to the Emperor, who reappointed Pu-tu-ko-chi as prefect of the city of Yung-ning to govern all his tribespeople, and to defend his whole territory in the same way as he had done before. Meanwhile, this ancestor died of illness in his official residence, and the case was duly reported to the Imperial court.

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173 *The second generation:* My ancestor of the second generation was named Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八介 and, as the son of the previous prefect, succeeded to his father's position, and pacified all the land to his southern boundaries. In the 12th moon of the third year of Ming Yung-lo (December, 1405–January, 1406) he led the Huo-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-heads) of the four villages of Hsiang-lo 香羅,[1] Ko-tien 革甸, Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之 and La-tz'u-ho 剌次和, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a 板必他, Tz'u-lang 次郎, Pu-chi-fen 卜吉分 and A-chih-chü 阿只苴, to the Imperial capital to have audience with the Emperor.

On the 24th of the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo (May 12th, 1406) Ko-chi-pa-ho received an Imperial despatch, which ordered his chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫 (Functionary of the third class honor), and appointed him also as the local prefect of Yung-ning. In the territory of the four villages Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 (Senior village officials) were established, and they were all put under his rule.

"To his subordinates, that is Pan-pi-t'a and the other three fire-heads, the Emperor gave four letters patent and five official seals, conferring on each of them the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fifth rank); he appointed each of them also as the vice-senior officials of their respective villages. The Emperor again appointed Ko-chih-pa-ho as prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, and gave him a golden belt, inlaid with flowers befitting his official rank, and engraved in its center, with the four Chinese characters *K'o Tu Chung Cheng* 克篤忠貞 (Capable of continued loyalty and uprightness). All these Imperial letters patent and appointments were duly received and read with expressions of thanks for the grace of the Emperor. This ancestor Ko-chih-pa-ho died in office on account of old age and a certain illness.

Third generation: "On the 15th of the ninth moon of the 12th year of Yung-lo (1414),[2] my ancestor of the third generation, named Pu-sa 卜撒, succeeded to his father's position, and assumed his official duties in due time. On a certain night of the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October, 1417) his territory was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei 剌馬非, rebel chief and tribal official of the Tso-so Salt-well garrison, Yen-ching wei Tso-so 鹽井衛左所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan, who killed Pu-sa. On the 24th of the sixth moon of the 21st year of Yung-lo (July 31st, 1423), Nan-pa 南八, second son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, succeeded to his brother Pu-sa's position as the local prefect. He assumed his official duties in due time; meanwhile, a part of his territory was again boldly invaded and occupied by a tribal chief of the Salt-well garrison Wu-so 鹽井衛五所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan.[3]

[1] Hsiang-lo, according to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 23–24, was 150 li north of Yung-ning, Ko-tien 120 li north-west, Wa-lu-chih 280 li north, and La-tz'u-ho 240 li north-east of Yung-ning. At the latter place a senior official whose name was A, resided in the third year of Yung-lo (1405).

[2] That year had two ninth moons, so he could have assumed his position either on September 28th, 1414, or October 28th of that year.

[3] The Wu-so (Five So) are five semi-independent chieftains, who rule to this day their

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This case was accordingly reported to the Brigade-General and the two Provincial Commissioners, who duly attended to the matter. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), an application was made on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and established two transferable officials, namely a sub-prefect and a chief secretary, in the prefect's yamen. Their official residences were built in the city of Lan-ts'ang wei. They took charge of the official seals and defended their territory.

Fourth to tenth generation: "Ancestor Nan-pa died in office of illness, and thereupon A-chü 阿苴, of the fourth generation, succeeded to his father's position as the local prefect on the 18th of the sixth moon of the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (July 28th, 1458). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (September 12th, 1484), A-ch'o 阿綽, blood-brother of A-chü, succeeded to his brother's position as the local prefect. He died of illness. On the 9th of the second moon of the 9th year of Hung-chih 弘治 (February 22nd, 1496), A-kuei 阿[illegible], of the fifth generation, succeeded to his father A-cho's position as local prefect. He died in office of illness, and on the 14th of the sixth moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (July 24th, 1515), A-hui 阿暉, of the sixth generation, succeeded to his father A-kuei's position as local prefect. There were born A-ho 阿和 and A-che 阿哲, of the seventh generation. On the 16th of the sixth moon of the 9th year of Chia-ching (July 10th, 1530), A-hui died of illness, and on the 24th of the fourth moon of the 19th year of Chia-ching (May 29th, 1540), A-ho succeeded to his father A-hui's position as local prefect. While in office he begot A-ying 阿英 and A-hsiung 阿雄. A-ho died of illness, and A-ying, his elder son and ancestor of the eighth generation, succeeded to his fa her's position as local prefect on the 5th day of the ninth moon, the 36th year of Chia-ching (September 27th, 1557). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 5th of the ninth moon of the 2nd year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1574), A-hsiung, second son of A-ho, succeeded to his brother A-ying's position as local prefect. A-hsiung left no heir, and A-pu 阿卜, elder son of A-ho's blood-brother A-che, should have succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect, but on account of his ill-health he was unable to do so. In the 14th year of Wan-li (1586), A-hsiung died of illness and A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠, elder son of A-pu, had the right to succeed to his position. On the 9th of the third moon of the 19th year of Wan-li (1591),[4] A Ch'eng-chung, ancestor of the ninth generation, succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect. During his tenure of office there was born to him A-ch'üan 阿銓. In the 38th year of Wan-li (1610), A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, succeeded to his father's position as local prefect. On the 5th of the sixth moon of the 42nd year of Wan-li (July 11th, 1614), he assumed his official duties. In the 8th year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1635), he begot A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒. A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, died of illness in his official residence, and A Chen-ch'i, of the 11th generation, succeeded to his father A-ch'üan's position as local prefect.

various territories in the south-west corner of Ssu-ch'uan; two of them, the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so, adjoin Yung-ning on the east.

[4] In that year there were two third moons. The date for the first third moon is April 2nd, 1591, and for the second, May 1st, 1591.

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173 *Eleventh and twelfth generation:* "In the fourth moon of the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih (May–June, 1659), when the Imperial troops came to Yün-nan, A Chen-ch'i sent messengers to them, and returned to allegiance. He was then permitted to rule his district as usual. In the meantime he received an Imperial note, informing him that all the tribal chiefs of the province of Yün-nan had followed his example by returning to allegiance. On account of the merit he had thus acquired the Board of Civil Office issued him special instructions, stating that he had been definitely appointed local prefect. The appointment was duly received and he assumed his official duties accordingly. In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), he begot A T'ing-k'un 阿庭錕. He died of illness on the 2nd of the eighth moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (August 27th, 1669). In the third moon of the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (April–May, 1670), the Provincial Governor sent an application on behalf of A T'ing-k'un to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and permitted him to succeed his father A Chen-ch'i in the position of local prefect.

Wu San-kuei's Revolt: "In the eleventh moon of the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1673), when the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government, A T'ing-k'un was forced to hand over his Imperial appointment, and an illegal appointment was then issued by Wu, compelling him to rule his district as before and to restrain the Fan 番 and I 夷 (Tibetans and Lo-lo). On the the 19th of the fourth moon of the 14th year of K'ang-hsi (May 13th, 1675), during his tenure of office he begot A Chin-hui 阿錦輝. In the eighth moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680), A T'ing-k'un, hearing that the troops of the present Imperial court had restored the province of Ssu-ch'uan, sent special messengers to the town of Chien-ch'ang chen 建昌鎮 and first offered to return to allegiance by putting himself under the command of the Yung-lüeh General 勇略將軍, to whom accordingly he handed the illegal appointment. In the seventh moon of the 21st year of K'ang-hsi (August, 1682), Viceroy Ts'ai 督部蔡 holding the additional title of Sui-yüan General 綏遠將軍, issued him an official dispatch, ordering him to assume his official duties, to restrain all his aborigines, and to rule his district. In the first moon of the 24th year of K'ang-hsi (February, 1685), Viceroy Ts'ai sent a nomination on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and issued him official letters patent. In the same moon of the same year, A T'ing-k'un received his official appointment, and obeyed the Imperial order by assuming his official duties in due time. In the eleventh moon of the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1698), he received instructions from the Board of Civil Office, ordering the chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, and to be under the control of the fu-city of Yung-pei; he was bidden to do his official duties as usual, in restraining the aborigines and paying his land taxes to the government.

Thirteenth generation: "In the sixth moon of the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (July–August, 1705), A T'ing-k'un, on account of his suffering from chronic rheumatism, was unable to perform his official duties. He therefore applied for permission to resign, and A Chin-hui 阿錦輝, ancestor of the 13th generation and elder son of A T'ing-k'un, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the fourth moon of the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (May, 1706),

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through the courtesy of the Provincial Treasurer his case was reported in detail to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who put their joint signatures to an application on his behalf which they forwarded to the Board. On the 20th of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1797) the Board favoured A Chin-hui by issuing him letters patent as local prefect, which he duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. In the eighth moon of the 50th year of K'ang-hsi (September–October, 1711), he suffered from a paralytic stroke, which was found incurable. On the 20th of the eleventh moon of the same year (December 29th, 1711), he died of illness while still in office.

"A Hsi-yüan 阿錫遠, elder son of A Chin-hui, became thus the rightful heir to his father's position. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated his blood-uncle, A Chin-hsien 阿錦先, to comfort and support the orphan, and to assist in managing local affairs. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), A Hsi-yüan came of age. On the 13th of the ninth moon of the 1st year of Yung-cheng (October 11th, 1723) while the application requesting his right of inheritance was being prepared, he died suddenly of illness. His death was due to a natural cause, and the news was reported clearly to the court. He left neither an heir nor any blood-brothers. The case was investigated and it was proved that the local official secretary, A Chin-hsien, was in truth the blood-brother of A Chin-hui. Now, A Hsi-yüan was dead, therefore A Chin-hsien, ancestor of the 13th generation, was the rightful successor to his brother's position as ruler of this district. There were no corrupt practices at all in this matter. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) applications were sent to the Provincial Government, requesting that he be permitted to succeed his brother, A Chin-hui, in the position of local prefect. On the 26th of the third intercalary moon of the 5th year of Yung-cheng (May 16th, 1727), the Viceroy sent his nomination to the Board of Civil Office, which then issued him letters patent, appointing him local prefect, and authorizing him to assume his official duties. On the 2nd of the first moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1727) he suffered from heart trouble and gout, which was found to be incurable, and on the 4th of the fourth moon of the same year (May 24th, 1727) he died as the result of his illness.

Fourteenth generation: "A Yu-wei 阿有威, ancestor of the 14th generation and elder son of A Chin-hsien, was examined by the Provincial Treasurer, and found to be the rightful heir and successor to his father's position. The case was duly reported on his behalf to both Viceroy and Provincial Governor, who then joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Board, which issued official letters patent in his favor appointing him local prefect. This was on the 20th of the third moon of the 6th year of Yung-cheng (April 28th, 1728). The appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties.

"In the sixth moon of the same year (July), the Nung tribe 儂人 rebelled against the government. A Yuiwei was instructed by Defence Commissioner Liu 柳 of Yung-pei to send his local militiamen to exterminate the rebels. A Yu-wei selected 300 men to join the government troops, and advanced with them to La-ju-wo 腊汝窩, where they assisted each other in carrying on a

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173 campaign against the robbers. Pursuing the rebels to Tso-so territory, they captured the leader of the brigands alive. In the twelfth moon of the 11th year of Yung-cheng (January, 1734), the Emperor rewarded the headman of the militia with 16 taels of silver, and each of the 299 militiamen with one tael and two candareens of silver. In receiving this reward, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor. In the fifth moon of the 10th year of Yung-cheng (June–July, 1732), on account of a certain massacre caused through mutual enmity among the tribespeople, Defence Commissioner Liu of Yung-pei instructed A Yu-wei to send his local militiamen to assist the government troops in their campaign to exterminate those robbers. He accordingly selected 500 local volunteers, and advanced with them to the place of fighting. Owing to his careful planning and cooperating with the government troops, the leader of the Hsi-fan robbers, named Cha-shih-teng 乍實等, was captured alive. After withdrawing his own troops, he received instructions from the Emperor, who rewarded Ch'i-k'o-ch'u 岂可初, headman of the militia, with 26⅝ taels of silver, and each of the 499 militiamen with a silver medal. In the tenth moon of the 1st year of Ch'ien-lung (November, 1736), he respectfully received a gracious Imperial mandate, stating that all those chiefs and local prefects governing the tribespeople of Yün-nan province who wished to apply for hereditary rank, were requested to do so by sending a careful report, together with their nominations to the Emperor. Ancestor A Yu-wei reported in conformity with the usual regulations to the Imperial court, which then issued him two Imperial mandates, one conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 忠憲大夫 (Functionary of the fourth class honor) and the other appointing him local prefect. While in office there were born to him two sons named A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌 and A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌 respectively.

Fifteenth generation: "In the fourth moon of the 5th year of Ch'ien-lung (April 26th–May 24th, 1740), A Yu-wei died of illness; therefore in accordance with the usual custom A Shih-ch'ang, his elder son, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the tenth moon of the 6th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 8th–December 7th, 1741) the Provincial Treasurer reported on A Shih-ch'ang's behalf to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who again joined their signatures in his favor to nominate him to the Emperor. In the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747), official letters patent were issued to him, appointing him local [native] prefect. The latter were duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. On the 23rd of the second moon of the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (March 30, 1769), A Shih-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-pi 阿良弼, his elder son and ancestor of the 16th generation, became the rightful heir and successor. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated Chang-shih 章氏, mother of A Liang-pi, to comfort and support him [the minor]. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) he died of illness without having succeeded to his father's position and left no heir. The Provincial Treasurer 布政司 Ch'ien 錢 investigated this matter carefully in his favor and reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy 督部堂 Chang 彰 and the Provincial Governor 撫部院 Na 納, asking them to permit A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌, blood-uncle of A

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Liang-pi, to inherit the office. It was known that A Ch'i-ch'ang was the second son of the late native prefect A Yu-wei by his first wife Chang-shih, therefore it was found in order for A Ch'i-ch'ang to succeed to his brother's position. Meanwhile, nominations were sent in his favor to the Emperor, who issued him official letters patent, appointing him local prefect. On the 9th of the ninth moon of the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (October 16th, 1771), the appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties, to rule over his district, and to restrain the aborigines. 173

Sixteenth generation: "On the 20th of the second moon of the 1st year of Chia-ch'ing (March 28th, 1796), A Ch'i-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-fu 阿良輔, ancestor of the 16th generation and elder son of A ch'i-ch'ang by his first wife A-shih 阿氏, became the rightful heir to the position. On the 29th of the third moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing (April 25th, 1797), the Provincial Treasurer Ch'en 陳 reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy Lo 勒 and the Provincial Governor Chiang 江, who, favoring him, sent his nomination to the Emperor, and asked permission for him to assume his hereditary post. Official letters patent were then issued to him, appointing him native prefect. On the 12th of the third moon of the 3rd year of Chia-ch'ing (April 27th, 1798), the said appointment was received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. Sometime before this, in the 1st year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796), the wild Lo-lo robbers of Wei-yüan 威遠 created trouble.

The Provincial Governor sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating those wild tribes. A Liang-fu 阿良輔 selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a captain to lead them. They were to join the government troops, and advanced to the place of trouble in order to assist in this campaign. On account of the excellent service rendered by the militiamen in putting the Lo-los to the sword, both the captain and the men were rewarded by all the high authorities of the military headquarters with silver medals, cows and wine. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor again relieved the relatives of the killed and wounded militiamen in the war, by granting them an indemnity of 80 taels of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor.

"In the sixth intercalary moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing, (July 24th-August 21, 1797), the Chung Miao 狆苗 [8] of Nan-lung 南龍 committed unlawful acts, and the Viceroy Lo 勒 sent dispatches to all chiefs, ordering them to send the militiamen under their command to join the government troops, in order to reduce those tribes to submission. A Liang-fu selected 50 men of his militia, and appointed a headman to command them, and advanced with them to assist in attacking the enemy. Meanwhile he was again instructed to send his militia to assist in the attack. This time he selected 30 men and appointed a headman to command them and to accompany the government troops and assist in conquering the tribes. On account of this meritorious service, both the headman and the militia were rewarded with

[8] Either the Hei-chung-miao 黑狆苗 or the Chung-chia 狆家 and Miao-tzu 苗子 tribes are meant, all of which live in the province of Kuei-chou where Nan-lung is situated.

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173 silver medals, silver ingots, cows and wine, which gifts were duly received and distributed to them all. This time, each of the headman of the militia was rewarded with six taels of silver, and three taels of silver to repair their clothing. Before they started on their journey, each of them was paid two taels of silver for the support of his home. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor relieved relatives of the killed and wounded in the war by granting them an indemnity of a considerable amount of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks. Meanwhile, A Liang-fu was instructed by the government to attend to certain military affairs at Wei-hsi 維西; this task he accomplished without the slightest fault or delay. On the 20th of the ninth moon of the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (October 22nd, 1815), A Liang-fu, ancestor of the 16th generation, suffered from a cold which was then found to be incurable. On the 29th of the same moon of the same year, (October 31st), he succumbed to his illness.

Seventeenth generation: "A Hui-yüan 阿會元, ancestor of the 17th generation and elder son of A Liang-fu by his first wife Chang-shih 章氏, had reached maturity, and was, therefore, found to be the rightful heir to his father's position. In the first moon of the 21st year of Chia-ch'ing, (February, 1816), the Provincial Treasurer Han 韓 reported in his favor to both the Viceroy Po 伯 and the Provincial Governor Ch'en 陳, who again joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Emperor, who then issued him an official dispatch, appointing him as the native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. On the 25th of the first moon of the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (March 12th, 1817), letters patent were duly received which authorized him to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes to the government.

"In the first year of the period of Tao-kuang (1821), Lo-lo robbers created trouble in the district of Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪,[6] in the territory ruled over by two aboriginal chiefs named Kao 高 and Chang 章 respectively. A Hui-yüan received instructions from the Viceroy, stating that the Emperor had approved his report, and that government troops of the two provinces Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan would shortly be dispatched to capture or exterminate those robbers. No sooner had he received this information, than the Superintendent of Military Affairs and Intendant of the Circuit of West Yün-nan 迤西道 named Hsieh 謝, and the Sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to guard all important passes and prevent the robbers crossing them. A Hui-yüan accordingly selected 300 volunteers and appointed a headman to command them to meet the enemy. He was again instructed to transport rations for the soldiers and to furnish provisions to the chair-coolies and horses. These services he performed without the slightest delay.

"In the 25th year of the period of Tao-kuang (1845), when the Mohammedan robbers of Mi-tu 彌渡[7] and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble, he

[6] Chiu-ya-p'ing is the present day Hua-p'ing 華坪 and is east of Yung-sheng on the Yung-sheng–K'un-ming highway.

[7] Mi-tu is 30 li south of Hung-ngai and two and a half days south-east of Ta-li Yung-

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was instructed by Sub-prefect Liu 劉 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen to escort the soldiers' rations. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them in order to escort the transport of the soldiers' rations to the Military Commissariat of the city of Ta-li. The rations were delivered safely to that bureau and without delay.

In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), Yao Shan 藥山,[8] a region under the rule of the chief of Lang-ch'ü was made unsafe by bands of highway robbers. A Hui-yüan was therefore instructed by sub-prefect Hsiung 熊 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen and attack the brigands. He selected 300 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order that they might advance and join the government troops to ward off the brigands. Again, he was instructed to superintend the transporting of the soldiers' rations, and to find chair-coolies and horses. He performed these services without delinquency or delay. While in office, there was born his first son, A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, who was duly reported to the government for registration.

"Now, when A Yü-hsing had reached maturity, he was found to be the rightful successor to his father's position. However, owing to pressing affairs and bad communications, he was prevented from sending his report to the government and could not apply for his right of inheritance. In the sixth moon of the eighth year of Hsien-feng (July 11th-August 8th, 1858), hairy rebels created trouble at Tali.[9] The Provincial Commander-in-Chief 提督軍門 Ch'u 褚 sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to assist the government troops in exterminating the rebels. A Hui-yüan imme liately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to ward off the enemy. He was again instructed to raise funds to pay the soldiers, and he duly delivered the same safely to the General Military Commissariat of the city of Yung-pei 永北軍需總局. In the first moon of the 11th year of Hsien-feng, (February 10th-March 10th, 1861) the hairy rebels came to Yung-pei. Sub-prefect Hu 胡 of Yung-pei sent him an order to mobilize his troops to exterminate the robbers. He then selected 300 militia and a headman and sent them against the rebels. He was also ordered to send funds for the pay of soldiers. In the seventh

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ch'ang (Pao-shan 保山) is in the south-west of Yün-nan four stages north-east of T'eng-yüeh on the highway between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝).

[8] Yao Shan (Medicine Mountain) is a high range which extends from north to south, west and south of Yung-hing. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

[9] The so-called hairy rebels here mentioned are none other than the Mohammedans of Ta-li. The *Yung-pei chih-li t'ing chih* ch. 3, fol. 59b relates that in the sixth year and eighth moon of Hsien-feng (August 30th-September 28th, 1856), the Mohammedans of Ta-li rebelled. In the battle with the rebels, magistrate Mao Yü-ch'eng 毛玉成, who led the native troops, was killed. The Moslem robbers of the western district thereupon captured Ta-li and also Yung-ch'ang where they established themselves. The Moslem native, by name Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀, was made their chief and took the title of Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. They allowed their hair to grow long, cast a false seal, appointed illegal officials, and hoisted their own flag, white in color. They also changed their type of garments and headgear, and established a false calendar.

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173 month of the same year, the city of Yung-pei was captured by the hairy rebels. Sub-prefect Wu 吳 of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to join the government troops, in order to attack the enemy. He was again instructed to secure military rice. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 500 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in attacking and exterminating the robbers. He performed these services without delay. In the tenth moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-chih (November 11th–December 10th, 1863), he again attacked the lair of the robbers at Yung-ch'eng 永城.[10] He also received an urgent dispatch from sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei, instructing him to mobilize his militia and to secure military rice. He accordingly selected 200 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in exterminating the robbers. In the 4th year of T'ung-chih (1865), on account of the robbers attacking the city of Yung-ch'ang, sub-prefect Ts'ao 曹 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, instructing him to order his militiamen to assault the city of Yung-ch'ang. Ancestor A Hui-yüan selected 300 volunteers to assist in this campaign. He was then instructed to raise 2,000 taels for military purposes; this amount he paid without delay. On the 10th of the first moon of the 6th year of T'ung-chih (February 14th, 1867), being advanced in years, he became ill. From this illness he never recovered. On the 28th of the same moon (March 4th) he died in office. The date of his death was carefully reported to sub-prefect Na 納 of the city of Yung-pei, who forwarded the same on his behalf to the government for registration.

Eighteenth generation: "After certain investigations, it was found that A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, ancestor of the 18th generation, was the elder son of native prefect A Hui-yüan of the fu-city of Yung-ning by his first wife, A-shih 阿氏. He was born on the 16th of the second moon of the 16th year of Chia-ch'ing (March 10th, 1811), therefore A Yü-hsing was the rightful heir to his father's position. Since he did not formally apply for his right of inheritance, he was given only an ordinary appointment. He received the same in due time, and was thus authorized to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribespeople, and pay the land taxes. In the eleventh moon of the 8th year of T'ung-chih (December 3rd, 1869–January 1st, 1870), while the city of Yung-ch'ang was being attacked, he received an urgent dispatch from each of the high authorities, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen and assist in exterminating the robbers. He was also instructed to secure chair-coolies and military rice, etc. My father, A Yü-hsing, personally led his militiamen to render assistance in exterminating the robbers. As he travelled through many humid regions, his limbs became afflicted with gout.

"At that time he was already 60 years of age, and, since he was unable to perform his official duties, he applied for permission to resign, and requested that his elder son A Heng-fang 阿恆芳 be allowed to succeed him. This was duly reported to sub-prefect Kuo 郭 of the city of Yung-pei. While documents were being drawn up on his behalf by sub-prefect Kuo asking each of

[10] That is Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng 永勝, four stages east of Li-chiang.

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the high authorities to consent to his right of inheritance, on account of his father's old age, ill-health, and retirement, this sub-prefect died in office of illness, hence the documents could not be forwarded to the government. 173

Nineteenth generation: "In truth, my name is A Heng-fang, and I was born by A-shih 阿氏, my mother and the first wife of my father, A Yü-hsing, on the 15th of the fourth moon of the 10th year of Tao-kuang (May 6th, 1830). I am the elder son of my father, therefore I am the rightful heir and successor to his position. This had not been reported to the government, although I had reached majority and am eligible to inherit my father's position. Therefore I sent on the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (September 18th–October 16th, 1876), my personal depositions to sub-prefect Wu 吳 of the city of Yung-pei, containing a careful description of my physical features, ancestral history, official seal-print, the geographic maps of my territory, and other evidences, in the form of a statistical table. I had hoped that he would report on my behalf to Intendant Hsiung 熊 of the Circuit of West Yün-nan, who would in turn report on my behalf to the Provincial Treasurer, who would report to both the Viceroy Liu 劉, and the Provincial Governor Tu 杜. The latter were to nominate me to the Emperor, requesting him to grant me the right to assume my ancestors' hereditary position. I also sent most respectfully my report to the Emperor. On the 3rd of the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (April 23rd, 1879) I received from sub-prefect Hu 胡 of the city of Yung-pei an official diploma together with an official dispatch, informing me that letters patent had been issued on behalf of the native prefect A Heng-fang of the fu-city of Yung-ning on the 13th of the second moon of the 4th year of Kuang-hsü (March 16th, 1878) by the Board of Civil Office, but it was delivered through the Board of War and Viceroy Liu. I immediately wrote a reply acknowledging the receipt of these letters patent authorizing me to assume my official duties, rule over my district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes. I am now still holding this position. My first wife was named Ch'eng-shih 程氏, and gave birth to my elder son, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, on the 26th of the first moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (February 20th, 1876). On account of his minority, he is now unable to rule over this district, but he has already been registered to succeed me in the future.[11] This is here added simply for the purpose of rendering a clear and complete statement."[12]

2. ACCORDING TO THE 22ND DESCENDANT, A MIN-HAN

"An official family record of the Native prefects of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Min-han.

"On account of services rendered in supplying military rice in the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th,

[11] This was the late retired T'u-ssu (Chief) of Yung-ning. He died in the summer of 1938.

[12] Here follows a statement regarding the four boundaries of Yung-ning, which are practically the same as described on p. 364.

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173 1930), Colonel Kao Yin-huai 高蔭槐 did me the favour of requesting the Provincial Government to grant me the right of inheritance. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931), Provincial Chairman Lung 龍主席 sent me a dispatch approving the said request, and I, A Min-han, descendant of the 22nd generation of my clan, am thus authorized to succeed to my ancestral position. I have two brothers named A Min-chu 阿民柱 and A Min-fan 阿民藩 respectively.

"My Personal Deposition:

"I, the native prefect A Min-han 阿民漢 of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the hsien-city of Yung-pei, state that I am now 22 years of age,[13] of middle stature, white-faced and beardless, and that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi. In the reign of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398), this ancestor submitted himself and the people of his chou-city of Yung-ning to the Imperial rule, and the Emperor approved his request and appointed him native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning, in order that he could rule over the Fan-i 番夷 (barbarous tribes) and defend his territory. Ko-chi-pa-ho, my ancestor of the second generation, conquered the southern frontier of our district. On account of this service, he was promoted to the position of native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. Thenceforth, one generation succeeded the other till A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒, my ancestor of the eleventh generation, who, submitting to the Imperial rule in the reign of Shun-chih of the Ch'ing 清 dynasty (1644–1661), was then appointed to rule over his district and permitted to assume his hereditary position as native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning.

Twentieth generation: "This position was inherited by many generations till the time of A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who is of the 20th generation, and who is my grandfather. In the 20th year of Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty (1894), he succeeded to his father's position. At that time he sent a statement to the provincial authorities, petitioning them to permit his elder son A Chan-k'o 阿占科 to be his rightful successor. On the 26th of the eighth moon of the 12th year of the Chinese Republic (October 6th, 1923),[14] my father A Chan-k'o unfortunately died of illness. Since I was the elder son of A Chan-k'o and the grandson of A Ying-jui, a report was sent to the magistrate of the hsien-city of Yung-pei, asking that my right of inheritance be confirmed.

Twenty-second generation: "In the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th, 1930), Colonel Kao of the 3rd regiment reported in my favour to Lung Yün 龍雲, Chairman of the Provin-

[13] This is not correct, for he was born in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung 宣統 (1910). Even reckoning the Chinese way, he would be only 21 and not 22 years of age.

[14] This is incorrect, as A Chan-k'o was alive on February 5th, 1924, the Chinese New Year of the 13th year of the Republic, when he received me at the yamen of Yung-ning with his father A Ying-jui who was then still living.

In the family tree of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu it gives the date of the demise of A Chan-k'o as the eighth moon of the 16th year of the Republic, and if he died on the 26th of the eighth moon of that year this would be equivalent to the 21st of September, 1927, which is probably correct.

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cial Government, requesting him to grant me the right of inheritance and to issue me an official appointment. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931) I received the appointment. As my grandfather A Ying-jui is old and feeble, he applied for permission to resign, which was duly approved and registered. On the first of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 19th, 1931), after receiving my appointment, I succeeded to his position and assumed my official duties. All that I have stated in my deposition is true and without mistake. I hope you will fully acquaint yourself with the foregoing. 173

"My Official Title:

"My official title is 'The Hereditary Native Prefect A Min-han of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the hsien-city of Yung-pei.' "

3. ACCORDING TO THE YUNG-PEI CHIH-LI T'ING CHIH

The *Yung-pei Chih-li t'ing chih* gives in ch. 3, pp. 36b–41a, a brief account of the family history of the ruling T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. There are certain discrepancies between the personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs and those published in the Yung-pei Records, and a translation of the latter is here given, for comparison. The first personal records are in manuscript form and are in the possession of the Yung-ning chiefs, who kindly permitted me to have them copied. The second, printed in the official gazetteer of Yung-pei, under whose jurisdiction Yung-ning comes, is long out of print and only one copy is available in K'un-ming, and not accessible to every one. [Two copies of this work, besides the very rare *Yung-pei fu chih*, are in my private library.] A translation of the records pertaining to Yung-ning and the other Na-khi T'u-ssu and their territory, is here appended.

In the Ming dynasty:

Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉: He held the position of native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning. In the 14th year of the period of Hung-wu (1381), he and all his subjects submitted to the government, which appointed him native prefect of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year of the same period (1396), his district became subordinate to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (Lan-ts'ang wei 瀾滄衛).

Ko-chi-pa-ho 冬吉八合: Son of the former, succeeded to his father's position as prefect of their chou-city. In the third year of Yung-lo (1401), he governed the four places called Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December 22nd 1405–January 19th, 1406), his fire-heads (headmen) of the Hsi-fan tribe, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a, Pu-lang 布郎,[15] Pu-chi-fen and A-chih-chü, went to the capital to have audience with the Emperor, who was so pleased with them that in the fourth year of the same reign (1402), he sent Imperial letters patent to Ko-chi-pa-ho, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city

[15] In the personal family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is given as Tz'u-lang 夫郎. The territory of these former four officials belongs now to Mu-li.

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173 of Yung-ning. He also conferred on him the additional honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu (Functionary of the third class honor). In his four subordinate villages, namely Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior officials) were established, while on each of the fire-heads, Pan-pi-t'a, etc., was conferred the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fourth rank), by five Imperial mandates and six official seals.[16] He was also given a golden belt inlaid with silver flowers, and carved with four Chinese characters: *K'o Tu Chung Ch'eng* 克篤忠誠[17] (Capable of continued loyalty and honesty), by a separate Imperial mandate. In the eighth moon of the same year (September 12th–October 11th, 1406), he obeyed the Imperial order by changing his chou-city to a fu-city, and assumed his official duties in due time, governing the four senior officials of the four places, Hsiang-lo, etc., as his subordinates. In the 10th year of the same reign (1412), the Emperor conferred on his father Pu-tu-ko-chi the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu, and on both his mother A-ta 阿大 and his wife Chia-shih 甲失 the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人.

Pu-sa 卜撒: In the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413)[18] he succeeded to his father's position as prefect of the fu-city. In the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October 10th–November 8th, 1417), on a certain night, his district was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei, the native official of the Tso-so Salt-well military station in the province of Ssu-ch'uan, and Pu-sa was murdered. His younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position.

Nan-pa 南八: In the 21st year of Yung-lo (1423), after he had succeeded to his brother's position, his district was again boldly invaded and occupied by the local Wu-so chiefs of Ssu-ch'uan. Both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor sent men to investigate this matter on his behalf. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), reports were submitted to the Emperor, who duly granted his requests by appointing two additional officials, a transferable sub-prefect, and a transferable secretary of records at the military station of Lan-ts'ang. An official yamen was then built for their use within that city. These two officials took charge of the seals and defended their territory.

A-chü 阿苴: Son of Nan-pa. In the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (1458), he succeeded to the position of prefect of the fu-city. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-ch'o 阿綽: Younger brother of A-chü, succeeded him in the second year of Ch'eng-hua (1466).[19]

[16] The manuscript family records of the Yung-ning chiefs mention only four credentials and five seals.

[17] In the Yung-ning family records of the T'u-ssu the last character is *cheng* 貞.

[18] In the private family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the date is given as the 12th year (1414).

[19] The personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the date as the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Cheng-hua (September 12th, 1484).

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A-kuei 阿貴: Son of A-ch'o, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hung-chih (1496).

A-hui 阿暉: Son of A-kuei, succeeded the latter in the 10th year of Cheng-te (1515).

A-ho 阿和: Son of A-hui, succeeded him in the 10th year of Chia-ching (1531).[20]

A-ying 阿英: Son of A-ho, succeeded him in the 36th year of Chia-ching (1557). He left no heir.

A-hsiung 阿雄: Younger brother of A-ying. In the second year of Wan-li (1574), he assumed office. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-pu 阿卜: Elder son of his younger brother A-che 阿哲, of the same mother, succeeded him. Meanwhile, on account of A-pu's ill-health, A Ch'eng-chung, his elder son, assumed office.

A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠: He succeeded to the official position in the 19th year of Wan-li (1591).

A-ch'üan 阿銓: Son of A Ch'eng-chung, succeeded to his position in the 42nd year of the reign of Wan-li (1614).

In the Ch'ing dynasty:

A Chen-ling 阿鎮麟:[21] Son of A-ch'üan. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) as the Imperial troops reached Yün-nan, he and his subordinates submitted to the Imperial rule. He was then ordered to rule over his district. Meanwhile, the Board of Civil Office issued him official letters patent, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city.

A T'ing-k'un 阿庭錕: Son of A Chen-ling, assumed office in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670). In the 12th year of the same reign (1673) the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government. In the 19th year (1680), when the Imperial troops recovered Yün-nan, he went with his subordinates to Ssu-ch'uan, and there made his submission to the Imperial rule. In the 24th year (1685) he received an official dispatch ordering him to assume his official duties. In the 37th year (1698), instructions were received ordering the chou-city of Pei-sheng to be changed to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The fu-city of Yung-ning was then made subordinate to the fu-city of Yung-pei. A T'ing-k'un was also instructed to rule over his district and to restrain the tribespeople as heretofore.

A Chin-hui 阿錦輝: Elder son of A T'ing-k'un, succeeded to the latter's position in the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706). He died of illness and left no heir.

A Chin-hsien 阿錦先: Younger brother of A Chin-hui, succeeded him in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727).

[20] The private records give the 19th year (1540).

[21] In the private records the name is given as ch'i 麒 instead of ling 麟.

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173 *A Yu-wei* 阿有威: Son of A Chin-hsien, succeeded him in the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728). In the sixth moon (July) of the same year, owing to the rebellion of the Nung 獠 tribe he was instructed by Brigade-General 總鎮 Liu 柳 to send his militia to the lair at La-ju to exterminate the robbers. He was then rewarded with certain gifts. In the 10th year of the same reign (1732), murders took place among Hsi-fan tribespeople who had rebelled; he was instructed by Brigade-General Liu to order his militiamen to join the government troops, and assist in exterminating the rebels. Meanwhile, he succeeded in capturing the Hsi-fan (leader) Cha-shih-teng 乍實等 of Liao-tu 料度. He was then rewarded by the Emperor for his military services. In the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), two Imperial dispatches of grace were sent to him, conferring on him certain honorary titles.

A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌: Son of A Yu-wei, who died when his son was only seven years old. His mother, Chang-shih, supported and comforted the orphan A Shih-ch'ang, and assisted in managing the affairs of their district. In the 15th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1750)[22] he had reached majority and applied for permission to succeed to his father's position.

A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌: Second son of A Yu-wei, succeeded his brother in the 36th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1771).

A Liang-fu 阿良輔: Elder son of A Ch'i-ch'ang, succeeded him in the 3rd year of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798). In the first year of the same period (1796), before he succeeded to his father's position, certain tribal brigands created trouble at the city of Wei-yüan 威遠,[23] whereupon he was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating the brigands. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service. Again, in the 2nd year of the same reign (1797), some Chung-miao (tribespeople), of the city of Nan-lung 南籠[24] of the province of Kuei-chou, rebelled against the government; he was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating the rebels. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service.

A Hui-yüan 阿會元: Son of A Liang-fu, succeeded him in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817). In the first year of the reign of Tao-kuang (1821) some tribal brigands created trouble. He was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in guarding them. In the 25th year of the same reign (1845) certain Mohammedan brigands of Mi-tu 彌渡 and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble. He was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating them. In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853) highway robbers made Yao Shan 藥山, a mountain range under the jurisdiction of the T'u-ssu of Lang-ch'ü, unsafe. He was instructed to send his militiamen to guard against

[22] The private records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747).

[23] Wei-yüan is in Yün-nan and 340 li north-west of P'u-erh 普洱, latitude 23° 29′, longitude 100° 55′. It came under P'u-erh fu in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

[24] Nan-lung is the ancient name of the present An-lung 安龍 formerly also called Hsing-i fu 興義府. It received the latter name in the second year of Chia-ch'ing (1797). Latitude 25° 15′, longitude 106°.

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them. He was also ordered to secure chair-coolies and horses and to supply military provisions. Meanwhile, during the rebellion of the brigand Tu 杜,[25] he was repeatedly instructed to send his militiamen to render help in exterminating the rebels, and to supply military rice and other provisions in order to assist in carrying on this campaign. 173

A Yü-hsing 阿毓興: Elder son of A Hui-yüan. During his tenure of office his district was much disturbed, and therefore he found no opportunity to apply for the right of inheritance. He was given only an ordinary certificate of appointment to office which authorized him to command his militiamen and to assist in exterminating brigands. Meanwhile, he suffered from gout, and thereupon applied for retirement.

A Heng-fang 阿恆芳: Elder son of A Yühsing. Owing to his father's old age, illness, and his having resigned from office he applied for the right to succeed him. In the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (1879) an official diploma was delivered to him, and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. In the 19th year of the same reign (1893) he retired from office.

A Ying-jui 阿應瑞: Elder son of A Heng-fang (PLATE 214). Owing to his father's resignation, he applied for the right of inheritance. In the 22nd year of the same reign (1896) his request was duly approved by the Emperor, who then issued him an official diploma and authorized him to assume his official duties. [He died in 1938 and his grandson, A Min-han 阿民漢, has succeeded him as native prefect of Yung-ning.]

[25] His name was Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀. He was a Mohammedan headman (shou 首). Later he called himself Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. He was a leader of the Mohammedan rebellion.

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CHAPTER III

THE MOUNTAINS OF YUNG-NING

*133 The *Yung-pei Chi-li t'ing chih* ch. 1, fol. 16b, gives the following mountains as belonging to the Yung-ning territory:

La-pu Shan 剌不山: North of the Yung-ning Wa-lu Chang-kuan-ssu 永寧瓦魯長官司. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* amplifies this brief information by stating that the mountain is 280 li north of Yung-ning fu and 35 li north-east of the ancient (舊) Wa-lu Chang-kuan-ssu.

As already remarked in the introduction to the chapter on Yung-ning, the territory to the north, which is now Mu-li, belonged once to Yung-ning. The chiefs were given jurisdiction over it by Imperial decree in the fourth year of Yung-lo, the 24th of the fourth month (May 12th, 1406). The particular Yung-ning chief was called Ko-chi-pa-ho and was of the second generation. Wa-lu, or Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之, is the Wa-erh-chai 窪耳寨 of to-day, called Wa-chin by the Hsi-fan of Mu-li.[1] It is the oldest of the three larger monasteries in Mu-li and claims to be over 500 years old. The rDo-rje (Thunderbolt) is the protecting symbol of Wa-chin. A high mountain range over which a pass leads into the Li-t'ang River valley 25 to 30 li north-east of Wa-chin, is considered the embodiment of the rDo-rje and protective spirit of Wa-chin.[2] The pass, the highest in the neighborhood (elevation 15,420 feet) is called rDo-rje ran in Hsi-fan. It is the La-pu Shan of the Chinese mentioned as situated in Yung-ning which then had jurisdiction over Wa-chin (Wa-lu-chih). The mountain is also called Lieh-pu Shan 列卜山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it is 730 li north of Yung-pei, that it is also called Lieh-pu Shan, and that Lieh-pu and La-pu are interchangeable. This mountain is of course no longer in Yung-ning or Yün-nan territory but in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's domain in Hsi-k'ang.

Kan-mu Shan 干木山 (PLATE 216): This mountain, according to the Yung-pei Records, is 15 li east of Yung-ning and is said to be over 80 *chang* (a *chang* 丈 is 10 Chinese feet) in height. Its circumference at the base is 100 li. Another name for it is Shih-t'ou Shan 獅頭山 (Lion-head Mountain). It is also called Ku Shan 孤山 (Solitary Mountain).

Kan-mu Shan is the most prominent feature of the Yung-ning landscape; the Chinese apply different names to various parts of the mountain. It is the Lion Mountain (Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山), called Seng-ge ga-mu by the Hli-khin people and Seng-ge dKar-mo, or White lioness, by the Tibetans,

[1] In Tibetan the place is called Lha-khang-steng ལྷ་ཁང་སྟེང་ or Terrace of the house of the gods. Here is a large lamasery called dGah-ldan-dar-rgyas gling དགའ་ལྡན་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་, named after the great lamasery of Ga-den in Tibet.

[2] The name of the mountain god and protective deity of Wa-chin is Lha-steng-gzhi-bdag-kha-drag-rdo-rje ལྷ་སྟེང་གཞི་བདག་ཁ་དྲག་རྡོ་རྗེ, shortened to Kha-dra (Mighty *dorje* or thunderbolt).

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and represents the mountain goddess (dKar-mo).[3] The southern part or broad head of the mountain which faces the Yung-ning Lake is called Lion-head Mountain, while its broadside which forms the eastern border of the Yung-ning plain, or Hli-dü, is looked upon as the Lion Mountain (Shih-tzu Shan); that part is also called Chia-mu Shan 甲母山 (First mother Mountain). Another name is Ku Shan, because it stands alone unconnected with any other range, being separated from the mountain to the east of it, Wua-zhu Pu-nà, the mountain god of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu, by a ravine and pass. Kan-mu Shan is 13,100 feet in height, and rises 3,600 feet above the lake and 3,700 feet above the Yung-ning plain. It is of limestone with superimposed volcanic rock in its northern lower end. There is a distinct crater-like depression in the broad central part of the mountain, and a peculiar crater is attached to its north-western end. On account of these depressions it is considered a female rather than a male mountain deity. This is also expressed in the Chinese name Chia-mu Shan (First mother Mountain). 133*

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 27, fol. 2b, states [in addition to the remarks in the Yung-pei Records], that the mountain is 398 li north-west of Yung-pei and 10 li south-east of Yung-ning. Its color is a hoary purplish green, its summit penetrates the clouds, and its base is over 100 li in circumference. Careful records note that the sound complexes Kan-mu and Chia-mu are interchangeable. At its foot is the Lu-ku Hu (Yung-ning Lake), erroneously given in the *Ming I-t'ung-chih* 明一統志 as Lu-k'u Hai-tzu 魯窟海子; this is identical with Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 the correct rendering.

Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain): The Gko-mun Ngyu of the Li-chiang Na-khi and Seng-ge ga-mu of the Hli-khin is, as has already been remarked, the dominant feature of the landscape. It is a beautifully proportioned mountain and is well named, extending along the Yung-ning plain like a reposing lion, its head facing the lake and its paws, the lateral spurs, resting in the blue waters of the lake. It is no wonder that a mountain with such outstanding features and individuality should have been selected as the mountain goddess of the district. The name Yung-ning, meaning Eternal Repose or Tranquility, must have been derived from the majestic pose and serenity of this mountain.[4] It is most easily ascended from lake or south side, for at any other place the sheer cliffs of its upper part bar the way.

Back of Hsiao-lo-shui 小騾水 (Law-zhĕr) a trail leads steeply zigzag up a narrow valley, or rather ravine, through oak forest, *Quercus semicarpifolia*; it is the same trail which leads to the territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. From this path we turn west, up a steep pine-covered spur to the rim of a crater-like depression at 12,500 feet, situated on the northern flanks of Seng-ge ga-mu. This depression is overgrown with cane-brake, so common at the higher altitudes; spruces, rhododendrons and peonies, are also present. 487* 133* 137*

[3] ཨ་ཡི་ནེ་ཀུ་ཨོ She is said to dwell in Shih-tzu Shan. Kan-mu, is the phonetic rendering of the Tibetan dKar-mo and the Hli-khin Ga-mu. The goddess is pictured riding a hind (PLATE 245).

[4] The name Yung-ning is in all probability a translation of its ancient Tibetan name Thar-lam, which means the way or road to emancipation (Nirvana).

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*487 From this side-crater we climb steeply to the broad limestone crest of the
*133 mountain. The top of the mountain is fairly broad, and here again is a
*137 circular depression. The highest part on the broad summit is a limestone knoll to the west, overlooking the plain of Yung-ning, and is exactly 13,100 feet in height.

The view from the top of this mountain is magnificent: deep below at its foot, lies the placid lake with its islets, which appeared like tiny boats float-
*133 ing on the surface of the waters (PLATE 217). To the west extends the plain of Yung-ning with its villages, and beyond, the long mountain range called Shwua-gu which separates the Sä gyi, or Sä dji as the Hli-khin people pronounce it, from the Shu gyi or Zho Chhu, Iron river. This river is an affluent of the Wu-liang Ho 無量河,[5] and it forms the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan as

[5] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 27, fol. 15, has the following to say about this river:

"The Wu-liang Ho is also called Wu-lang Ho 五郎河. It has two sources. One is called To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 and has its beginning in Ni-t'i Shan 泥替山 in the Ba-thang T'u-ssu territory of Ssu-ch'uan. The stream is also called Sha-lu-ch'u-po 沙魯楚泊; its ancient name was Sha-li-ch'u-no-erh 沙里楚諾爾. The source is a lake or pond, whence it flows more than 600 li to the Yün-nan border. The other source of the Wu-liang Ho is called Li-ch'u Ho 里楚河 and comes from the Lin-k'a-shih T'u-ssu territory 臨卡石土司 from the foot of the eastern slopes of Li-mu Shan 里穆山. It flows south-east to the territory of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. Where the two sources unite is at the Sha-lu-ch'i Shan 沙魯齊山 and they become the Cha-mu-ch'u Ho 札穆楚河; united they flow 1,400 li outside the Yün-nan border, and thence south-east 70 li within the Yün-nan border and there the stream is called the Wu-liang Ho. Flowing south it passes the Yung-ning territory for 200 li. Its western bank is the Li-chiang — Chung-tien border. It receives small affluents, flows east and again south-east and is called the Wu-lang Ho. On the left it receives the Liu-ho Shui 六河水." [The Wu-liang Ho did flow past (west) Yung-ning territory for 200 li before Mu-li became separated from it and was still under Yung-ning jurisdiction. Now the river flows west of Yung-ning, only for about 25 li. Its western bank is the border of Li-chiang — Chung-tien but only for a very short distance.]

Here ends the description in the *T'ung-chih*. The latter is seriously wrong when it states in the next paragraph that the Liu Ho has its source south-east of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's territory, for if that were the case it could not flow into the Wu-liang Ho, for all the waters of Yung-ning and those of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu form the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 and flow into the Li-t'ang River, while the Wu-liang Ho flows into the Yangtze.

The Yung-pei Records continue where the *T'ung-chih* leaves off and say: "Flowing south-west [after it has received the Liu Ho] it receives a stream from the left called Kuan-yin Ho 觀音河 and flows then south-west into the Chin-sha Chiang [Yangtze]."

On examining the map of the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, ch. 71, fol. 2b, I find that the entire map is wrong.

There is, however, a second Wu-liang Ho, also a tributary of the Yangtze, but a considerable distance removed from the first. This second one has its source south-west of Yen-yüan 盐源 in Ssu-ch'uan, flows from east to west, north of Yung-pei, and debouches into the Yangtze near Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, south-east of Li-chiang. The map in the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao* makes one river of these two, by taking the stretch of the Yangtze between their mouths and calling it part of the Wu-liang Ho. Yet the Yangtze is drawn, in addition, describing a short, very shallow loop, a little distance north of the town of Li-chiang

As to the first Wu-liang Ho great confusion exists, and V. K. Ting's New Atlas of the Chinese Republic has only added to this confusion. The real Wu-liang Ho consists of two distinct branches, both these branches have their source in about the same latitude, near the 29th degree. The To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 is the westernmost, it is in fact an

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well as the Yung-ning — Chung-tien border. As this eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho has no Chinese name and none is given on V. K. Ting's map (35) I baptize it the T'ieh Ho 鐵河 or Iron River which is the meaning of all three tribal names of that River, viz. Tibetan, Hsi-fan and Na-khi. On the limestone cliffs immediately below the crest of Shih-tzu Shan grow tall juniper trees. To the north is visible the entire mountain system of Ki-bo Shan, a much crenellated limestone mass, which hems in Mu-li to the south, and which must be crossed to reach Mu-li Monastery on the Li-t'ang River. The distant peaks of the Gangkar-ling[6] system tower above the entire landscape far to the north. 133*

In the rock wall which forms the summit crest of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing the lake, is a huge cave, high and roomy, but with an entrance so small that a man has to lie down flat in order to crawl in. Somewhere on this mountain lie hidden a bejewelled golden girdle and other treasures given to one of the early T'u-ssu, probably the second generation Ko-chi-pa-ho during the reign of Yung-lo (1403–1424). That T'u-ssu hated his second son who succeeded him after his first son had been murdered, and so he buried the jewels somewhere on that mountain. On his deathbed he gave vague directions where they were to be found, but they have as yet not been located. All the other treasures possessed by the ancient chiefs have been

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affluent of the western branch of the Wu-liang Ho. It has its source south of the Lha-mo-long La (pass) the Chinese La-mu-lung 拉木隆. On the east bank of this stream is situated the Gangkar-ling Lamasery (Kun-ka-ling 貢噶嶺). The source of the western branch is to the north of the Lha-mo-long La, it flows first north and then east as the Tao-pa 稻壩 River, Tao-ch'eng hsien 稻城縣 being situated on its north bank. The Tao-pa Ho receives several small affluents from the north and turns south and south-west as the Wu-liang Ho. V. K. Ting, however, leaves the Tao-pa Ho suspended, flowing nowhere, and makes the Li-t'ang River which flows west of Li-t'ang join a stream which has its source near Na-pu 那布 (Na-bu); this stream with its source at Na-pu is the eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho.

Davies has this stream flowing [he presumed so, as the course of the river is dotted only] into the Li-t'ang River. In fact this stream is the Zho Chhu and flows directly south parallel to the Li-t'ang River into the Yangtze at the very apex of the loop in which Li-chiang is situated. This eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho, is the Cha Chhu (lchags-chhu 장작처종) of the Tibetans, the Zho Chhu of the Mu-li Hsi-fan, and the Shu gyi of the Na-khi. It receives several affluents, the largest coming from the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) mountains, such as the Gangs-kha Chhu which has its source on the eastern slopes of Mt. Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje), the easternmost peak of the system. Another affluent is the Tong Chhu, which has its source west of the Gangkar-ling peaks, on the western slopes of Mt. Jambyang (hJam-dbyangs). While exploring the Gangkar-ling mountain system for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., in 1928 [See J. F. Rock, Konka Risumgongba, Holy mountain of the outlaws in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX, No. 1, July 1931, p. 7], I saw to the north-west of Mt. Chenrezig, a tremendous gorge extending from north to south; this apparently is the western and main branch of the Wu-liang Ho, the Zho Chhu flowing parallel to it. They unite about 30 li north of the apex of the Yangtze loop (*see* page 241).

[6] The proper name of the range is Gangs-dkar-gling (White Snow Monastery) and not gangs-ka-ling as Kingdon Ward writes it and which he translates as the Snowy place (in *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 64: 3, 229; The Snow Mountains of Yün-nan). If that were the name it should be transcribed gans-kha and not gangs-ka. A monastery is situated to the north or north-west of the peaks from which the mountain range derives its name or vice versa.

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stolen by their wild neighbors, the Tibetans, who to this day still make incursions into the impoverished country of Yung-ning.

The northern end of Seng-ge ga-mu is open, and thus the mountain has really the shape of a horseshoe. A ravine leads east of the mountain separating it from a terrific limestone cliff with a huge cavern. The limestone is grey and cinnabar-red, as is the soil which discolors the stream. The north-eastern wall of the mountain is pierced by several small ravines, their slopes being forested with pines and the golden oak. The ravine to the east of the mountain becomes narrow higher up, and terminates in cliffs of limestone which form the summit of Mt. Wua-zhu Pu-nà, the mountain god of the Ch'ien-so people in Ssu-ch'uan. The mountain can also be compared to a hand, the open palm being the crater-like depression with an outlet to the north, through which a stream flows into the Hli gyi or Hli dji. Here, near the cave in the grey and red limestone cliff called Shih-tzu wan 獅子灣 (Lion's cove), is a small village occupied by Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan. The ravine itself is the divide between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan (PLATE 219).

Liu-nieh Shan 六捏山: West of La-tz'u-ho in Yung-ning. According to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 127, fol. 1b, the mountain is 240 li north-east of Yung-ning and was in the ancient La-tz'u-ho of the Chang-kuan-ssu. The mountain extends several 10 li and is in the best part of the realm of the senior official (Chang-kuan-ssu). La-tz'u-ho is now in Mu-li and probably north of K'u-lu or south-east of Wa-erh-chai. The exact location of this mountain is not known to me as the Mu-li Hsi-fan have their own names for their mountains. There is one conspicuous limestone mountain in what seems to have been the ancient La-tz'u-ho; that mountain is called Dza-mpe-she ran in Hsi-fan, and rDzong-spe-bzhag-ring [7] in Tibetan. It is east of Wa-erh-chai.

Pu-wu Shan 卜兀山: It belonged once to Yung-ning and is 150 li north of it. It is south-west of the ancient Hsiang-lo tien 香羅甸 of the Chang-kuan-ssu. This cannot be any other place than Mu-li and the mountain is probably the limestone range to the east of and parallel to Mt. Ki-bo of the Hsi-fan, which is two stages from Yung-ning. Mu-li district must have been the ancient Hsiang-lo tien, for there is no other place between Mu-li and Wa-lu-chih or Wa-erh-chai, 250 li north of Yung-ning. The distance given for Hsiang-lo tien can only have reference to the present-day Mu-li district in which the Mu-li Monastery is situated. The Hsiang-lo is undoubtedly the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, now a small village to the south-east of Mu-li Monastery, among the spurs of Pu-wu Shan.

Kan-ju Shan 幹如山: It is 120 li west of Yung-ning village, and north of the ancient Ko-tien 革甸 of the Chang-kuan-ssu. It is considered a perilous place (to approach). This is the Gonschiga of Handel-Mazzetti which he makes 4,900 meters, or 16,000 feet, in height. The Chinese Yün-nan military map gives Ko-tien on the Yün-nan — Hsi-k'ang border but within

[7] རྫོང་སྤེ་བཞགས་རིང , pronounced Dzong-pe-zha-ring.

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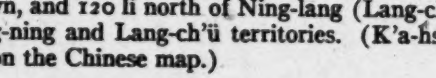
Yung-ning territory. The mountain is, however, in Mu-li territory south-west of Mu-li Gom-pa (Mu-li Monastery). The latter is called dGah-ldan-bshad-sgrubs-rnam-par-rgyal-bai-gling 133*



Chin-ting Shan 金鼎山: Is two li north-west of Yung-ning.

K'a-hsi p'o 卡洗坡: Is 280 li north of Yung-pei, 170 li south of Yung-ning town, and 120 li north of Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü chou); it is the border of Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü territories. (K'a-hsi p'o is also marked as a village on the Chinese map.)

A-la Shan 阿剌山: Said to be 300 li east of Yung-pei and forms the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan border. A stream called Chan Ho 詔河 has its source on the north-western slope. (It is east of Lang-ch'ü chou.)

Tso-so Shan 左所山: Over 400 li north of Yung-pei, and east of Yung-ning. The source of the Lu-ku Hu is at its southern foot. The waters of the lake flow south then east through Hai-men-ch'iao 海門橋 into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. This mountain is east of Wua-zhu Pu-nà, which in turn is east of Lion Mountain and separated from the latter by a gap or pass.

Pai-chio Shan 白角山: 80 li north of Yung-pei in the ancient Lang-ch'ü chou and Pai-chio hsiang 白角鄉, whence the mountain derived its name or vice versa.

Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山: North of Yung-pei and north-west of Lang-ch'ü chou. (This is the Alo-shan of Handel-Mazetti.)

Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain): Extends north-east to the Hsi-k'ang border. It is the Wua-ha of the Yung-ning people with the Dzoan-p'u peaks at its southern end. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze gorge; a branch or spur of the mountain joins Mien-mien Shan. It is called Yao Shan on account of the many medicinal plants growing on it. Its height is approximately 15,500 feet.

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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

1. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

S ST 311 [16] ST [24] [312]

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒攸河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hĕr-dü, the Har-lĕr-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

S ST 131

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

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 S ST

Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li. 131

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory. S ST 162 [197] S ST 715

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba. S ST [182]

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion ST 162 [197] [212] ST 795

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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ST 795

of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

ST 162

The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 771

S ST 346 778

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪布 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] [illegible]

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling [illegible]). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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S ST 346 776

represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

ST 601

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

ST 591
ST [164]
ST [162]

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

S 487* 193

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

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*487 173 Hli-dü language the place is known as La-pa-ddü (pronounced La-pa-tri) and consists of a meadow traversed by the Hli gyi. Here on the banks of this stream, Kublai Khan camped; his army camped on the broad flat plateau above the stream to the east. He sojourned here ere he pushed on south, crossing the Yangtze near Feng-k'o, and storming the first Na-khi settlement at La-pao. At the present T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 or Hsüeh-shan shih-men Kuan 雪山石門關 (Snow mountain gate Pass) he fought his first battle with the Mo-so. (PLATE 103).

The historic Mongol camp was not far from the wooden bridge which spans the Hli gyi at the village of Ba-chü. One crosses it on the way to the summit of Mt. Yo-wa-bu and to Feng-k'o on the Yangtze. The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 30b, state:

173 "After the Sung and at the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, in the 2nd year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1252) the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Royal brother) Hu-pi-lieh received orders to attack Nan-chao. He sojourned [camped] at Jih-yüeh-ho."

The Tuan 段氏 family sent Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥[5] to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. The Mongol generals Wan-yen 完顏 (elsewhere called Po 伯 yen),[6] Pu-hua hu-erh 不花虎兒 and others watched (the two river banks).

Hu-pi-lieh supplied them with skin bags on which they crossed the river. The soldiers of Kao T'ai-hsiang fled and he was captured. He refused to be humiliated and was therefore executed. He was decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓 [South gate tower] of Ta-li fu. About the crossing of the Yangtze by Hu-pi-lieh and his army, the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, 上 ch. 4, fol. 35, has the following to say under the heading *Chiu yen-tang Lu* 舊宴當路 (Circuit of the ancient Yen-tang): "It was situated west of Li-chiang outside the frontier. In the beginning of Pao-yu 寶祐 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1252) the Mongols came to attack Ta-li. T'e-lieh 武烈[7] was in the T'u-fan country and there the army divided. One went by the west road which was the Yen-tang road, one went by the east road into the Pai-man country (land of the white barbarians), which is the present Yao-an hsien 姚安縣. General Hu-pi-lieh led the cavalry by the middle

[5] Kao T'ai-hsiang was appointed prime minister of the Ho-li Kuo 後理國 dynasty by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsiang 段智祥 in 1237.

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Kao T'ai-hsiang was sent to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. Opposite them the Mongol generals Po-yen 伯顏, Pu-hua-hu-erh-tun 不花虎兒敦 and others, fearlessly observed the two sides of the river. Hu-pi-lieh ordered them to cross the river and to attack the T'u-fan and advanced on the Mo-ti 摩荻 (Mo-so).

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 109, translates this passage wrongly thus: "Battant les T'ou-fan a Tche-ma-ti, il déboucha à Che-men et passa" (to attack the T'u-fan at Tse-ma-ti, etc.); the Chinese text reads: 破吐番摩荻出石門. The word *chih* 出 means to advance, to go forward, and Mo-ti is a name given the Na-khi or Mo-so. The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 32, fol. 28, states that the Mongols (under) Hu-pi-lieh brought to submission the Mo-ti (Mo-so), emerged from the Shih-men 石門 (Rock gate) (PLATE 103) and passed on.

[6] He is the Bayan of Marco Polo and was Kublai Khan's most famous lieutenant. *See* GILES *Biographical Dictionary* 1663.

[7] The Mongol History writes T'a-la 塔拉 and T'e-la 武剌.

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road from Yüeh-sui 越巂 to cross the Chin-sha Chiang which is in Pei-sheng chou.[8] The army divided before it reached the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河, considerably to the north of the Yangtze and north-east of Li-chiang. Wu-liang-ho-tai 兀良合帶 led by the west road from Yen-tang Lu, Prince Ch'ao-ho-yeh-chih-lieh 抄合也只烈 led his army by the east road and the land of the Pai-man.[9] Hu-pi-lieh, leading his cavalry by the middle road, arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城 on the day *i-ssu* 乙巳 the 29th day of the ninth moon, the 3rd year of Hsien Tsung (October 23rd, 1253; Sainson translates 乙巳 as "Les uns et les autres" and does not give the date). They left their heavy baggage behind and in the tenth moon they crossed the Ta-to Ho. In the eleventh moon they arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭砦 (*see* Mu Chronicle, A-tsung A-liang 阿琮阿良).

Ta-yao Shan. — Leaving Jih-yüeh-ho, the trail follows the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho for a short distance, then winds up and down over the pine-covered foot-hills of the range which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze. Climbing the steep, densely forested mountain-side through spruces, firs, rhododendrons, etc., we reach the summit pass called Yo-wa-bu, 12,500 feet elevation (PLATE 230). Here on this pass, a flat expanse covered with a wonderful forest of Abies, Picea, Tsuga, with canebrake undergrowth, is a log cabin inhabited by Li-su guards armed with cross-bows (PLATE 231). They are always on the look-out for roving bandits and run to Yung-ning to notify the chief of the approach of robbers or report their movements. The entire mountain is called Ta-yao Shan 大藥山 (Great medicine Mountain). It extends east of the Yangtze to the Tsui-yi valley, its south-eastern part is controlled by the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu. In the second year of Hsien-feng (1852) this latter part of the mountain was the stronghold of a bandit horde. The distance from Yung-ning to the summit pass is 27 li. From the pass we descend steeply over a rocky trail through majestic forest of spruce and hemlock, some 100 feet or more in height, associated with fir, oak, maple, red birch, wild cherry and undergrowth of rhododendrons, Berberis, Ribes, Spiræa, willows, Ligustrum, Lonicera and cane-brake; the best preserved part of this forest is at 11,000 feet elevation.

Lower down, the forest gives way to pine, till we emerge in a valley by a little hamlet and fields called Ggŏ-wùa 22.5 li from the Yo-wa-bu Pass, or a total of 51.5 li from Yung-ning.

Ggŏ-wùa and the Dji lo (valley). — Gwŏ-wùa (Upper dwelling) is situated at the head of a fairly broad valley at an elevation of 9,500 feet, exactly the height of Yung-ning. The valley is called the Gyi or Dji lo (Water valley). Its slopes are pine-covered. The trail descends to the stream which we cross over a wooden bridge, then climbs along the northern valley wall composed of loose schist which moves at the gentlest step. The trail is

[8] Pei-sheng chou is the district of Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng; the Yangtze separates the two hsien, Li-chiang and Yung-sheng. Yung-ning is under the latter's jurisdiction.

[9] This is the present Yao-an hsien, north of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming, (according to the Li-chiang Records).

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*487 obliterated in many places, making the passage of a loaded mule very
*133 dangerous. This valley becomes a canyon lower down to where it debouches
*137 into the Yangtze.

We arrive at a bluff where a beautiful vista opens towards the Yangtze and the terrific rock gate, the Gv-ho-gu gorge. This part of the valley resembles an amphitheater, on whose gentle terraced slopes a tiny hamlet also called Ggŏ-wùa is situated. Above the village under immense maple [162] trees, one of seven feet in diameter, is a lovely clear crystal spring. The peasants are all Lü-khi or Hli-khin, save one family which is Chinese. They migrated to this place from Chiang-hsi (Kiangsi) five generations ago.

Following the Yangtze to Feng-k'o.—From the lower Ggŏ-wùa we ascend an arid, scrub-covered terrain to a pass, and then descend over a most terrible trail of only a hand's width. Some ten years ago the entire, almost vertical mountain-side, several hundred feet in height, slid down into the valley carrying with it a small hamlet situated on a terrace high above the old trail. Man and beast perished, only one or two houses remained standing. The entire mountain-side in this valley is loose gravel, broken shale and schist. The trail is indeed a dangerous one and difficult to negotiate on account of constant landslides. After skirting this perilous place, we ascend gradually to another tiny hamlet of a few huts, called A-shi-wua-lo. The trail now leads to a pass and a circular depression, the bed of an old pond at an elevation of 8,800 feet (PLATE 232) whence we can overlook the entire Yangtze valley. The mountains, whose slopes are covered with *Heteropogon contortus* grass, are here dissected into many deep gorges, which debouch into the terrific canyon along which our trail leads. The walls drop almost vertically to the narrow valley floor, which sends foaming torrents into the Yangtze; the whole scenery is of indescribable magnificence.

Steeply we descend over the grassy spur along a narrow ravine, one trail leading down into it, while another leads along its crest. To the right (north) on a little terrace nestled against the steep mountains is the hamlet of Ba-a at 6,500 feet elevation. This trail is a terror to the muleteers; in wet weather it is as slippery as ice, on account of the yellow clay of which the hills are here composed. The heat is intense in the middle of the day, there is no shade as the hills are devoid of trees and only covered with the reddish-brown Heteropogon grass.

We come to the hamlet of Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-djü or Pu-chio 卜脚 or 卜喃]. The hamlet is divided into two parts by the valley called Bu-k'o and its torrent, which descends from Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan), Yo-wa-bu and Ggŏ-wùa valley. A small hamlet called Wùa-sha-lo is situated in the ravine. Here the peasants speak both Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so or Hli-dü. Below Law-k'a-khi-llü there is a fierce rapid in the Yangtze which here makes a bend in its narrow canyon. The trail leads down to the torrent of the Bu-k'o dji which must be forded, an impossible feat in the rainy season. From here it is 10 li over the grassy slopes to the Feng-k'o ferry. A Tibetan (mchhod-rten ཁ་ཆོད་རྟེན) chhorten [the equiva-

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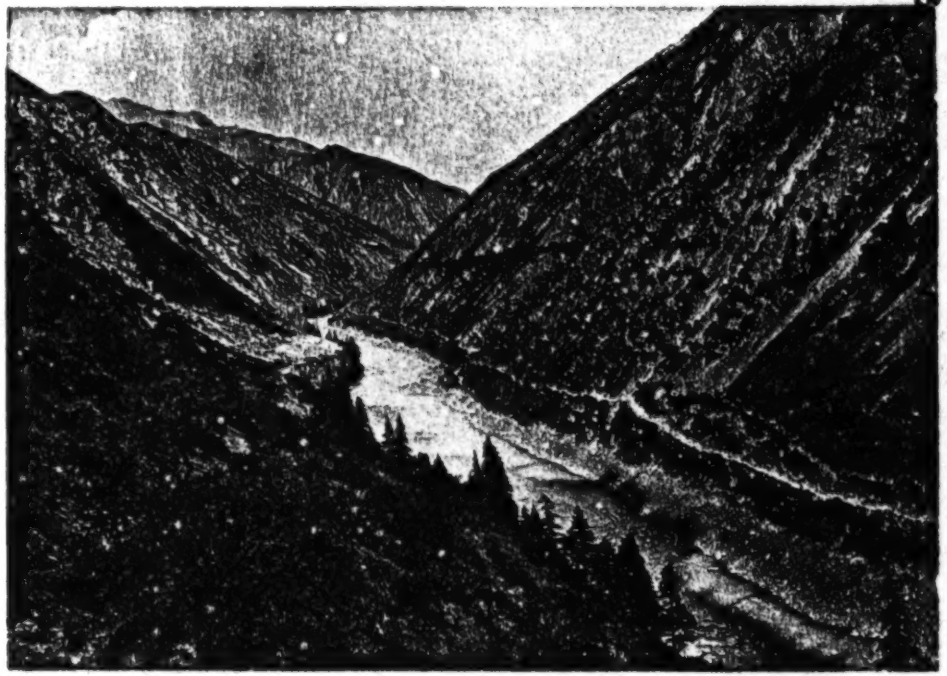

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 201. — THE MEKONG NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE DO-KAR LA STREAM

瀾滄江從多卡拉河口

The Mekong in its arid gorge, looking up stream (north) from its west bank. The trees lining the river bank in the immediate foreground are Cypresses (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*).

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 202. — CH'OU KU-TSUNG (TIBETANS) FROM NEAR PEN-TZU-LAN

丑子關與古宗男人

They wear a single garment and use cross bows, the arrows are stuck into the hair.

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PLATE 203.—THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE AS SEEN FROM PAI-MANG SHAN (*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

四藏大雪山今登山白莽山望見

Next to Me-tse-mo, the central peak Kha-wa-kar-po, whence the range derives its name, is the most beautiful. Me-tse-mo is not visible, it is to the south of the range here pictured. The last peak (right) is Si-go-dum.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 204. — THE HIGHEST PASS ACROSS THE PAI-MANG SHAN

白 蒙 (白 馬) 拉

The pass is 15,800 feet above sea-level; to the west facing this view are the snow and glacier-crowned peaks of Pai-mang Shan, to the east (in background) bare yellow massive crags of rhyolite. The low bushes in foreground are *Rhododendron tapetiforme*.

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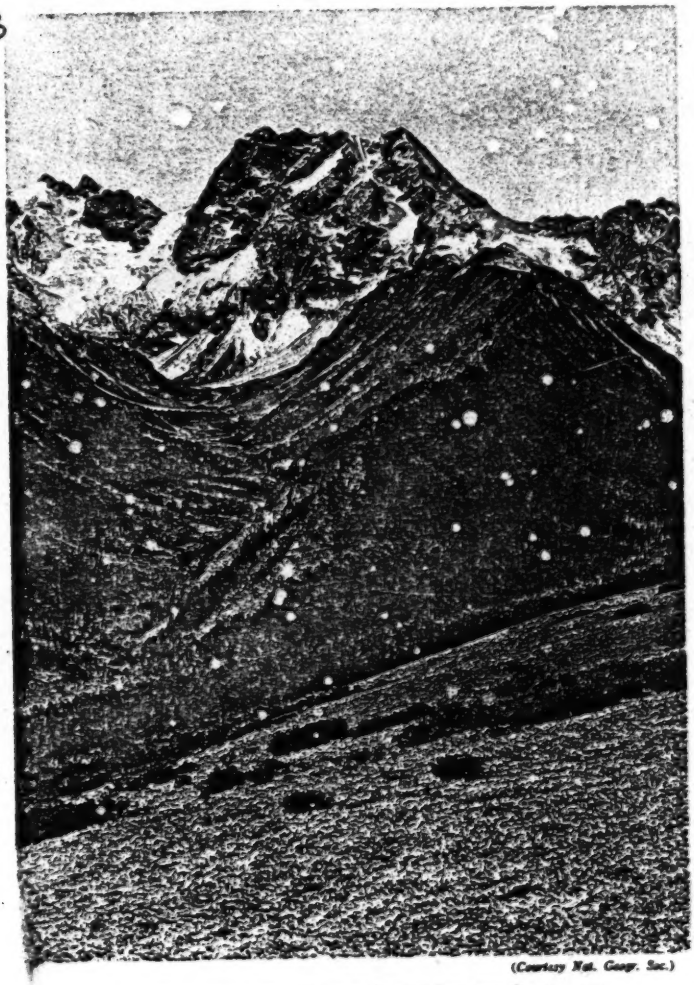

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 205. — THE HIGHEST PEAK OF PAI-MANG SHAN

白 茫 山

The peak is 20,000 feet in height and mainly composed of granite. Photographed with front lens removed, looking west from an elevation of 15,000 feet.

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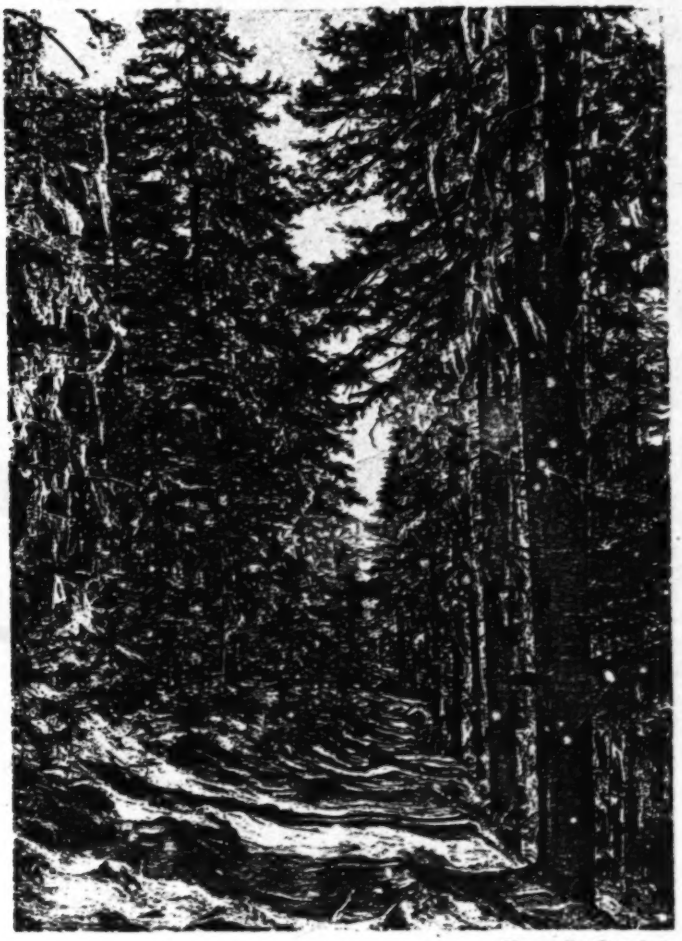

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 206. — THE ROAD TO TUNG-CHU-LIN THROUGH MAGNIFICENT SPRUCE FOREST

東竹林路途見壯林

Picea complanata with *Rhododendron Wardii* as undergrowth forms pure stands at 12,000 feet, north of Tung-chu-lin Lamasery. *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

[p.394-F]

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PLATE 207. — TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY

東竹林喇嘛寺

It belongs to the Yellow Sect and shelters about 300 monks. A nunnery is on the hill to the rear. The bushes on the hillside (foreground) are *Thuja orientalis*. Spruces and firs on the spur behind the lamasery.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 208. — A MO-SO — TIBETAN HOMESTEAD NEAR KAR-HI

夏日康地古宗住房

The architecture in this region is very different from that of the houses in the Mekong Valley. Instead of being flat (covered with tamped, rolled earth), the roofs are of wooden boards weighted down with rocks. The stables are in the second storey.

[p.394-H]

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*487 lent of a stupa] stands on the terrace above the Yangtze a few li from the
*133 ferry, announcing that here is lama land.
*137 From P'u-djü (Law-k'a-khi-llü) south to opposite the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo valley, the district is called Tso-lo-wu and is Yung-ning territory. Here the mountain-side is extremely steep. Half-way up the mountain there used to be a small lake which was called Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. It has, however, been drained, a tiny hamlet has been established, and the bottom of the former pond converted into fields.

Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大藥山, also written 大葯山) hems in the Yangtze which flows several thousand feet beneath its summit. Opposite the gorge of Lv-ts'o lo, which is on the Li-chiang side, is a deep, narrow, hanging defile called Ba-cha-dji-ki; on a terrace above the division of the torrent which descends into the Yangtze is the hamlet of Mi-ndu-wùa (pronounced Mindwua).

The torrent mentioned above is joined by another, coming from a similar defile in the mountain wall further to the north, the stream flowing behind a promontory range. South of Ba-cha-dji-ki is another ravine with a village called Nda-shi. Beyond is the terrific rock gate through which a narrow foot-path, if such it can be called, leads along the cliff above the Yangtze to La-pao. The traveller must be immune from vertigo or else he will land in the Yangtze; there is really no path in the proper sense of the word, he has to make sure of his footing on the rocks as he goes sideways embracing the cliff with both hands. Beyond the defile the Yangtze makes a curve to the east, to the mouth of Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai (also called Chiang-wa 江門) where there is a ferry. From Tsui-yi a trail leads to Yung-ning which is shorter than the Feng-k'o road. This region is described in the next chapter. For description of the Yangtze gorge from Lv-ts'o lo south to La-pao see page 258.

3. FROM YUNG-NING TO CHIANG-WAI 江外 ON THE YANGTZE

The shortest way from Li-chiang to Yung-ning or vice versa is by way of Chiang-wai and the Tsui-yi valley over a southern pass of the Great medicine Mountain called Wua-ha in the Hli-dü language. The route is, however, not as safe as the Feng-k'o one, for Lo-lo robbers are often met with on the summit and on the alpine meadows near there; many a lonely traveler has been murdered in cold blood by these highwaymen, who are as cruel, if not more so, than Chinese bandits. With a proper well armed escort, there is, however, nothing to fear. The route is a far lonelier one, but perhaps also more interesting and wilder, than the Feng k'o one and is more frequented by Yung-ning people than any other route to Li-chiang.

From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads to K'ai-chi 開基, then crosses the wooden bridge [10] over the Hli dji or Hli gyi (K'ai-chi Ho) to the village of Ba-chü. Thence we follow the road which leads to the Yung-ning T'u-ssu's yamen and to the lake shore of the Lu-ku Hu, as far as the ancient and now dilapidated Ch'eng-huang Miao 城隍廟. Here a trail leads

[10] A stone-arch bridge once spanned this river a little further up-stream from the present bridge, but was washed away shortly after my first visit in 1924.

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*487 over the eroded hill-side, then proceeds on the top of a flat spur, covered
with small stunted *Quercus semicarpifolia* bushes. Limestone outcroppings
*133 are visible everywhere. We pass between two limestone hills covered with
*137 oaks which grow in the red soil in the cracks of the whitish-gray limestone.
The trail of even grade leads along the hill-side overlooking the second and smaller plain south of the Yung-ning plain, through which the Hli gyi winds. Many limestone hills stand sentinel here, the path winding between or over them. The entire region is covered with scrub oaks, and is lonely in the extreme.

The Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu cave. — Seven li from the Ch'eng-huang Temple or 10 from the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail turns up a valley called Gi-k'wa-wu; here we encounter limestone sink-holes, such as occur on the Lo-shui-tung plain 落水洞 between Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa 剌是壩 on the way to Li-chiang. Four and a half li to the north from where the trail enters the Gi-k'wa-wu valley, through a rocky gap, there is a huge limestone cave called Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu, elevation 10,800 feet. About 1,000 people can take refuge in this cave, for as a refuge and place of hiding it is used, when Gangkar-ling — Tibetan bandits go on the war-path to rob and burn. The Yung-ning people flee with their mules and other livestock to this cave, a hidden retreat difficult to find. It is off the main trail and one must retrace one's steps going north from the gap down the valley. There are several small passage-ways which lead from the rear of the cave into the mountain. Its vault is enormous. Where the light could not reach we found long slender stalagmites of ice formed by the dripping from the ceilings. It is related that Guru Karma-pa, by name Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas (pronounced Chhö-kyi-chung-ne), who came to Li-chiang and established the Karma-pa (the Li-chiang people pronounce it Ga-ma-pa) lamaseries there, lived in this cave.[11] High up in a crevice in the ceiling is his staff, wedged in between the rocks.

Bu-llu dji valley. — From Gi-k'wa-wu we follow up a broad spur, and enter a circular depression with many sink-holes; deep below us flows the Bu-llu dii in an exceedingly narrow, precipitous, limestone gorge. The trail leads high above the stream-bed over a natural rock ledge, smooth and slippery like a macadam road, and descends along the pine-covered hill-

[11] The Hsi-t'u Ssu-pao fa-shih 西土四寶法師 (Fourth precious *fa-shih* Buddhist priest of the western land [Tibet]) a Karma-pa lama came to Li-chiang in the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730). He and his followers went to Chi-tsu Shan to worship [Chi-tsu Shan is a sacred Buddhist mountain to the north-east of the Ta-li Lake] and passed through Li-chiang. On the La-shih li Lo-shui-tung 剌是里落水洞 [to the west of Li-chiang, *see* geographical part of Li-chiang] on a cliff they saw the footprints of the Buddha of Magadha (摩迦陀國佛) and advised that a lamasery be built. (From a stone inscription in the Chih-yün Ssu 指雲寺, a Karma-pa Lamasery at La-shih li, Li-chiang.) The Karma-pa sub-sect was founded by Karma-pa Dus-gsum mKhyen-po (ཀརྨ་པཎ་ཆེན་པོ). He was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192. His monastery, called Tshu-mtshur Lha-lung, (ཚུ་མཚུར་ལྷ་ལུང), was built at mTshur-phu, (མཚུར), north of Lhasa, beyond Ser-ra (gSer-ra thugs-chhe-gling གསེར་ར་ཐུགས་ཆེ་གླིང Monastery of the Mighty Heart enclosed in gold), and is still the most powerful of all the Kar-gyu-pa sub-sects (WADDEL). *See* Chapter III. 2, page 204.

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sides to the valley floor and the stream, but keeps to the east of it. The Bu-llu dji valley floor resembles a long, narrow plain, in which the river describes a tortuous course. 487* 133* 137*

The first Hli-khin village we strike in this valley is called Mu-ddri-di-man (Mu-ddü-dü-man in Li-chiang Na-khi) situated at an elevation of 10,500 feet on the east bank of the Bu-llu dji. It is the Mu-ti-ching 木底箐 of the Chinese, and is 12 li distant from Guru Karma-pa's cave. Beyond this little hamlet the trail crosses the stream and leads up the valley on its west bank, past a side stream descending from Wua-ha Mountain; near its mouth is situated the hamlet of Llu-lo-kwei (Lo-lo-kuan 猓猓關). Following along fields we ascend the valley which here is quite broad and flat, the hill-sides being covered with spruces (Picea), white pines *Pinus Armandi*, and also the yellow pine *Pinus yünnanensis*. Oaks and white birches are also not uncommon. It is a beautiful valley indeed, hemmed in by high mountains forested mainly with tall spruces. The last little hamlet is called Shan-on, situated at 10,700 feet elevation on the east bank of the stream and at the mouth of a lateral gully; it is 12 li from Mu-ddri.

Bo-wu-tsu valley. — A few li beyond the village of Shan-on the Bu-llu dji valley narrows considerably and is here known as Bo-wu-tsu to its head. The best time to travel over this route is in the winter; in the summer it is said to be dangerous to tarry in this region, on account of the thousands of leeches which stretch their heads from every rock, grass blade and bush, ready to attach themselves to man and beast. The trail ascends steeply up the narrowing Bo-wu-tsu valley, whose western walls tower high above the river. We enter dense forest of spruces with undergrowth of cane-brake, rhododendrons, etc. At 10,800 feet the first firs (Abies) make their appearance, and at 11,200 feet we emerge into pure stands of *Picea likiangensis* which has the appearance of *Picea purpurea*, so common in the mountains of western Kansu. A torrent roars here; we descend to cross it to the east bank, and climb out into an open valley with hills to the east. Here, the vegetation has changed entirely, and we are once more in pine forest with oak scrub.

The A-ngu valley. — We ascend over a narrow rocky trail leaving the stream-bed below, and come to another valley which opens out from the east, the junction of the two valleys being called Che-kö-t'ou-tse. This spot is a noted robber haunt, and Lo-lo, who have their stronghold at the head of the side valley, on a mountain called Pu-mu, waylay lonely travelers, and rob and beat them, if they do not murder them. From this broad knoll in the middle of the main valley, the trail descends again to the stream-bed and crosses it at 11,325 feet elevation, entering dense forest of *Picea likiangensis* with scrub-oak as undergrowth. The whole scenery is weird and lonely. The trail crosses the stream once more to the west bank, and leads out into boggy alpine meadows which form the head of Bo-wu-tsu valley, here called Zhe-dsu. Huts of yak herders are near a small ravine opening out from the east. Here the head of the valley is merely a flat meadow through which the stream meanders in innumerable zigzags. A trail leads through the little valley by the yak herders' camp to Pi-yi and

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*248 Yung-sheng. We follow the main stream, which has become a mere brook,
*133 and cross it to the west bank. The valley broadens, the surrounding hills
are low and are sparsely covered with pines and Picea trees.
*137 We come to a forking of the valley, or rather to the junction of two valleys — our valley, which leads to the left (south) and another opening from the right (west). At the head or what seemed the head of the valley there loomed up high limestone mountains with prominent crags piercing the sky. It is the southern end of Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan); this particular peak is called Dzo-an-p'u and represents another mountain god of the Hli-khin people. In this valley which debouches from Dzo-an-p'u are lovely meadows alternating with forests. The yak and half-breed yak called Dzo (mDzo in Tibetan) of the Yung-ning chief and family roam here several hundred strong, herded by Tibetans who alone know how to handle them (PLATE 233). Quite a distance up the valley there is a limestone cave in the mountain cliff called 'A-bu-kwo at an elevation of 11,650 feet. The slopes of the valley are covered with spruces and evergreen oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*).

The main valley extends south, with broad, undulating, hilly country bordering it. It is a lonely region, a broad, high upland in which the streams coming from the crags and peaks of Wua-ha and Dzo-an-p'u have begun to cut as yet only shallow valleys. The valley leading south is called A-ngu, and the distance from Shan-on to this highland is 24 li and thence 10 li to the cave 'A-bu-kwo. We continue up the A-ngu valley, which spreads out into various shallow branches with yak herders' encampments, the broad, shallow floor being 11,600 feet above sea level. *Picea likiangensis* covers the low spurs in open formation, giving way to pines on one side of the slopes, and to oaks and white birches on the other. The oaks form here large low masses together with the small-leaved, blue-flowered *Rhododendron dasypetalum* which grow in clumps. The highest point of this grassy, shallow valley is 11,680 feet. Limestone outcroppings make their appearance, also funnel-shaped sink-holes, hiding-places of Lo-lo robbers. Here we begin to descend gradually until we find ourselves on the edge of a terrific limestone cliff at an elevation of 11,600 feet, with a sheer drop of 600 feet to its foot. The top of this cliff is the most dangerous spot as far as attacks from bandits are concerned. The trail descends steeply in short zigzags over the cliff to a small meadow with willow bushes. Three valleys converge here at the foot of the cliff. One deep valley issues from the west, sending down a stream which joins the short valley coming from the south; both flow in a curve to the east. These valleys are full of slender bamboo or canebrake and form an excellent hiding place for Lo-lo highwaymen. The trail ascends the narrow valley from the south, crosses another lateral ravine from the west and emerges into the grassy head of the valley, one branch extending east. We climb the shorter branch to the south-west to a pass at 11,400 feet elevation. This pass, where many a poor traveler has been murdered by Lo-lo robbers, is called Gi-kwua-gu-k'aw.

Tsui-yi. — We now descend into a glen which leads us out into the long broad valley called Ga-zu law-k'aw, the entire district being known as

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Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li. S 487* 133* 137*

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lō-bü. Beyond Lō-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory. S [342]

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent. S [342]

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been ST [342] [251] ST [197]

dumped on a rock pile.

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134 dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones.[1] Lime-stone
147 is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families con-
ST 301 stantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neighborhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (PLATE
ST 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white
291 conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female *Cannabis sativa*. The children go entirely naked and are
S black from filth.

*487 From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the
*133 stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although
*137 longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over landslides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of *Phyllanthus emblica*, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, *Maba buxifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, compositae and *Heteropogon contortus* grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus *Delavaya* (species) *yünnanensis*.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa 江[川] on the west bank of the Yangtze. (*See* journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k'o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (PLATE 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t'o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K'O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khin tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan *en route* to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Luë-dzu law-k'aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hĕr-dü or Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luë-

1 [The Li-su village of Ba-ssu-ko -- Analy st]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

dzu and Hĕr-dü, is arid, similar to the lower end of Tsui-yi, but perhaps even more so. 487* 133* 137*

Up the Sä dji to To-ka-bo Pass. — From the lamasery the trail leads as far as the Jih-yüeh-ho and then to the Sä dji or Sä gyi which has its source on the eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zho Chhu divide. The Sä dji joins the Hli dji by the village of T'o-djri, south of the hamlet of K'ai-chi and there they flow united as the K'ai-chi Ho. From this junction the Hli-khin people call it the Hli dji because it traverses the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü and after which they call themselves the "Hli-khin" or people of "Hli," *dü* meaning land. Eight and a half li bring us to the banks of the Sä dji which we cross over a bridge by the village of A-dju at an elevation of 9,800 feet. Continuing west we enter a ravine and climb the pine-covered spur to an elevation of 10,400 feet, with deep depressions to the south and a Lo-lo settlement called Gu-tsĕr on the slopes. In great zigzags the trail ascends the forested spur to a gap at 11,650 feet, overlooking a valley to the north, which has its source east of the To-ka-bo Pass, and which debouches into the Sä dji. Here grows the white pine *Pinus Armandi* in company with the yellow pine, and species of deciduous oaks. Higher up these give way to spruce and poplar forest, mixed with maples (Acer) and rhododendrons. At an elevation of 12,200 feet, a magnificent vista opens out over Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain) and part of the beautiful Lake Lu-ku [La-t'a Ḳhü, as the Li-chiang Na-khi call it] (PLATE 237).

The trail follows the summit ridge to the Pass To-ka-bo, elevation 12,600 feet. To the north is the long high range called Shwua-gu with a view up the Sä dji, and a valley mentioned previously which leads from our pass into the latter. The virgin forest immediately below the pass is magnificent beyond words. It was atumn (1929) when I traversed this region, and all the deciduous trees were in their rich autumn garb. Tall spruces, birches, maples, with undergrowth of rhododendron and Lonicera, their foliage a golden yellow, bronze, or red, composed this glorious forest at an elevation of 12,400 feet. From To-ka-bo we descend along a spur with a valley to the north, a branch of which we skirt to a meadow surrounded by pine forest, and known to Hli-khin as Wua-ssu-to. Here is water and the lovely little meadow in the pine forest invites for a midday halt and rest for man and beast.

Luë-dzu valley. — From Wua-ssu-to we descend into a deep valley with the stream to the south of the trail, to the Hli-khin hamlet of Luë-dzu, elevation 10,100 feet. The valley itself is named after the village — Luë-dzu law-k'aw. Distance from Yung-ning 55 and a quarter li.

Skirting a ravine, the trail continues down the Luë-dzu valley, to the hamlet of To-kwa, elevation 9,600 feet, and then to a gap on the spur which separates Luë-dzu from a valley called Hĕr-dü in Hli-dü, and Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. There are two paths — one descends the Luë-dzu valley, and another crosses the spur into a branch of Hĕr-dü valley. These two paths meet again at the hamlet of Hĕr-dü. Beyond the village the two streams unite and debouch into the Yangtze. A short distance further we come to a bluff overlooking the Yangtze at 6,800 feet. The mouth of the Hĕr-dü valley

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*387 as called Sä-dji-ma; it was here that a ferry once plied to the Li-chiang side
*133 of the river.
*137 *Crossing the Yangtze.* — At the time of my visit in 1929, while returning from an expedition to Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar (Minya Konka) [12] for the
*487 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., all the ferries over the Yangtze had been smashed on account of the occupation of the Yung-pei
505 and Yung-ning region by military rebels and their horde of soldiers; it was to prevent them from crossing the Yangtze and occupying Li-chiang territory. Under the above circumstances we found it expedient to cross the river as speedily as possible in order to escape the rebels, who were then nearing Yung-ning. The good and friendly Tsung-kuan, the real ruler of Yung-ning, accompanied us to the Yangtze to personally supervise our difficult crossing of that river on inflated goatskins.[13] My entourage was a large one, consisting of many men, mules, horses and loads; the crossing by this primitive method took two days. We followed the river upstream, for the usual crossing at Sä-dji-ma is only suitable for boats. The light goatskin rafts would be quickly carried down to the fierce rapid a short distance from the mouth of Hĕr-dü. We eventually crossed three li higher up at a more placid stretch of the river.

A few words as regards the crossing of the Yangtze. All Zhĕr-khin people are expert swimmers. Twenty-two of them had been called together from the entire Yung-ning — Yangtze bank from as far south as T'o-lä-tsu. They were ready with their goatskins. Each skin was entire and formed a bag, only the neck was open, every other aperture being securely tied. The skin is held over the stomach, lengthwise so that the neck reaches to the mouth. The hind legs of the skin are securely tied with string, and are then passed between the swimmer's groins and tied over his buttocks. The neck of the animal is held in the mouth, and on entering the water the skin is inflated. They bobbed up and down in the swift current like corks, and when caught by a whirlpool they were sucked completely out of sight but soon popped up again. The mules and horses swam across, each man taking one by the reins; the more obstreperous animals needed three men. Often mule and man would disappear, being sucked down by the whirlpools for several seconds. We as well as our belongings were ferried across on inflated goatskin rafts, which consisted of 12 skins tied to sticks. They were much better constructed than the goatskin rafts used on the Yellow River in the Tibetan grasslands. There the rafts could be paddled across by one or two men, but here usually five men had to handle one raft, two pushing and swimming behind, and three, with ropes over their shoulders or holding them in their mouth, pulling and swimming in front. They first pushed the raft along the cliff (PLATE 238) until they reached the current, where there was also a whirlpool and where they were carried down-stream at express speed. When a considerable distance down, one would lead, swimming and

[12] ཨ་རྒྱ་ཀུན་ལས་ཀྱི།

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, "The Glories of Minya Konka," in the *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. LVIII No. 4 (1930) PL. XV.

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pulling with all his might making for the other shore. Still they were carried down-stream until they struck another eddy, where they swam ashore. The ordeal was now to carry the raft back for a mile over the rocks on the opposite bank, inflate the skins, refasten the strings and plunge again into the water, pulling for the starting point. Although the atmosphere was balmy, the water was like ice, and the poor men, stark naked as they were, shivered visibly. It was a curious sight to see them coming back sitting in the water like corks, their bronze-colored bodies glistening in the sunlight. After two days of strenuous work we reached the other side of the Yangtze without the loss of a thing, save a mule who fell over the cliff into the river. 487* 505

San-chiang-k'ou. — From the mouth of Hĕr-dü the trail leads over an impossible terrain along the cliffs; it is exceedingly narrow and the slopes down into the Yangtze next to vertical. Projecting rocks and boulders caused one of our mules to be pushed over the precipice, breaking his back. By an improvised trail down a talus slope we descended to the Yangtze. The heat is stifling in these arid canyons. From here it is 16 li to the junction of the Wu-liang Ho and the Yangtze (PLATE 105). This stretch is also called Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (dji) by the aborigines, who consider apparently the real Wu-liang Ho an affluent of the Zho Chhu. Opposite to where the Wu-liang Ho debouches into the Yangtze, on the Li-chiang side, is the small hamlet of Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o). Here besides the Wu-liang Ho two other streams empty into the Yangtze, the Ha-lo dji (Ha-lo Stream) from the Li-chiang side, and the Hĕr-dü below the Wu-liang Ho on the Yung-ning side, hence the name of this region, San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouths of three rivers). 487* 133* 137*

Hla-mo-dzu Mountain. — On the right or western bank of the Zho Chhu and north of the Yangtze is a mountain called Hla-mo-dzu (H-M., Lamatzo) a spur of which forms the Yangtze valley wall and separates a stream from the river, namely the Chwua-dzu dji which flows into the Zho Chhu not far above its junction with the Yangtze.

Hla-mo-dzu is the border between the Hsi-k'ang — Mu-li, and Yün-nan — Chung-tien districts. Hsi-k'ang extends to the bank of the Yangtze west of the Wu-liang Ho, and to the summit of Mt. Hla-mo-dzu. Handel-Mazetti's map is here wrong, as he gives the Mu-li border farther north, and makes Hla-mo-dzu and a considerable stretch to the north of it, Yün-nan territory.

O-yü district. — On the banks of the Zho Chhu in Yung-ning territory are situated the hamlets of Yu-mi, Shu-dtü, Bpo-lo, the Chinese Po-lo 波羅, (H-M., Polo) and Zo-wua. They are inhabited by the Zhĕr-khin, a tribe related to the Na-khi and Hli-khin. Yu-mi is on the border between Yung-ning and Mu-li territory. The first village in the latter is Dze-ngu (H-M., Dsengo), others are Dshe-pu and Gya-pu — all inhabited by Zhĕr-khin. The large village of O-yü, Wo-ya (窪亞) in Chinese, farther up the Zho Chhu valley is inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi, the descendants of former Na-khi soldiers who guarded that region in the days of the Ming dynasty during the rule of Mu Tseng (1587–1646) (PLATE 239). The famous gold-

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bearing Lo-nda gyi (Lung-ta Ho 攞打河) enters the Zho Chhu north of the Chwua-dzu dji at the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan border. The northern half of the north-western slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zho Chhu divide, forms the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning territories. The district of O-yü is situated on the banks of the Zho Chhu in Mu-li territory. There are in all over 200 Na-khi families, or over 1,000 men, women and children, living in O-yü. The district is known to the Hsi-fan as Wua-yëa-gko. From O-yü the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr in the Chung-tien magistracy can be reached in two days via the mountains and gorges of Gkü-dü. From Shen-dzong in Mu-li country, where a cantilever bridge spans the Zho Chhu and where a trail leads to the Tibetan-inhabited region of Mu-li, it is four days to O-yü, following the Zho Chhu down-stream. On the west bank of the Zho Chhu (the Shu dji of the O-yü Na-khi) the following villages comprise O-yü: K'ö-ndso, Wua-zhi, Mbi-dü, Re-bu (the Li-chiang Na-khi call this place Llü-bbu; we see here the influence of the neighboring Tibetans), Dji-ku (the Li-chiang Gyi-gkv); then the hamlets of Dji-man (Gyi-man) and Gkv-gkü. One day west of Shen-dzong are the villages of Shü-lo-gu-nyi and Shü-lo-dshĕr-bbu.

Besides the Na-khi villages enumerated above and belonging to the district of Mu-li in south-west Hsi-k'ang, there is one more Na-khi hamlet called T'o-lä-gki, harbouring several families. It is situated above the east bank of the Li-t'ang River, opposite Mu-li Lamasery and near the small monastery called lDan-hdra-ri-khrod [14] (pronounced Den-dra-ri-thrö).

The entire lower slopes of the Yangtze valley are covered with the reddish-brown grass *Heteropogon contortus*. On these dry slopes grows a beautiful shrub or small tree, a species of Hibiscus, *H. aridicola* with white flowers, the petals being pale green at the base. It reminds one of *Hibiscus Brackenridgei* of Hawaii, which grows in similar arid situations, associated with the same species of grass. *Hibiscus aridicola* has, however, long rambling branches. The remainder of the vegetation is similar to or the same as elsewhere in the Yangtze loop.

5. FROM YUNG-NING TO CH'IEN-SO IN SSU-CH'UAN

The T'u-ssu family feud. — The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu 前所土司 is not extensive, consisting of only one large valley in which is situated the yamen of the chief, and a little lamasery, or rather a lama temple. There are in all six villages in the valley, which extends north-east, then east. The T'u-ssu belongs to the Hli-khin tribe. His family name is A 阿 and he is a relative of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The Ch'ien-so native chieftainship was established in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), the present T'u-ssu, A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟, being the ninth generation.[15] Like the Tso-so chieftains, they have degenerated, and recently a feud arose between the present chief and his brother, so that neither could remain in the territory.

[14] ལྡན་དྲ་ཤི་ཁྲོད

[15] During the Ming dynasty the same family ruled the territory in question under the title of Chiliarch or T'u-ch'ien-hu.

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This T'u-ssu brought in Lo-lo settlers to counteract his brother's activities, the outcome being that the peasants were the sufferers. His mother, a refined old lady, was a relative of the Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning. Her husband, the late T'u-ssu, died in 1909 at the age of 33. During the feud between her sons she ran the affairs of her forlorn little country which had once seen better days. The T'u-ssu has since then shot his brother in cold blood. Whereupon the wife of his brother employed a relative to kill A Ch'ao-tung. The Ch'ien-so territory was then taken over by the Mu-li T'u-ssu but in 1944 it was again relinquished to the impoverished A family. 627

Ch'ien-so country is beautiful, but several villages have been burned by the Lo-lo, especially in the Du-llo dyi valley, and it is impossible for the peasants to return. Some have sought asylum in Yung-ning, others in Mu-li. The outlook is not a bright one unless order is restored and the Lo-los are kept in check.

The Mu-li — Ch'ien-so — Yung-ning border is not correctly marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Instead of extending south-east from the Mu-li pass which leads to Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lidjiatsun of Handel-Mazzetti, and the Chinese Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), the boundary is formed by the eastern wall of the Erh dji valley, extending north and south till it strikes the confluence of the Erh dji with the Hli dji. From there it continues as a ditch across the fields, south-east to the valley which debouches from the rear of Lion Mountain. 133 *

Erh dji valley. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads along the northern edge of the plain to the mouth of the Erh dji valley, which extends from the village of Wua-la-pi to the Yung-ning plain; there the Erh dji stream joins the Hli dji. South of the Erh dji ford, is the deep crater-like depression of Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain). On the north-western slopes of the latter are two small craters, and here the limestone is superimposed with volcanic rock. These craters whose outlines are very distinct and unmistakable, face north and are apparently much younger than Lion Mountain itself. Leaving the village of A-gu-wùa to our left, still in Yung-ning territory, we proceed along the edge of the plain and at the foot of the spur, instead of crossing it by the trail which leads to Mu-li via Wua-la-pi. At the foot of the mountain which forms the eastern valley wall of the Erh dji, and near its mouth, stands a white house close to the village of A-nda, both of which are in Ssu-ch'uan and Ch'ien-so territory. The eastern spur leads north and south and forms the Yung-ning — Ch'ien-so and Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. The actual boundary, 11.5 li from Yung-ning, is the mere ditch which divides the Erh dji valley and crosses the plain of Yung-ning diagonally south-east, to the foot of Lion Mountain. 133* 489* 137*

Following the Hli dji through the Ch'ien-so valley. — Crossing the mouth of the Erh dji valley we come to the hamlet of Vu-dchü in Ch'ien-so territory, two li from the Yung-ning border. Here the Hli dji flows in long zigzags across the plain, and enters the valley of Wua-zhu (Wua-zhu law-k'aw); the trail follows down-stream along the northern valley slopes. Wua-zhu is the Na-khi name of the Ch'ien-so country. East of Seng-ge ga-mu and separated by a gap, is another but inconspicuous limestone mountain; this is the

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*487 mountain god of the Ch'ien-so people and is called Wua-zhu Pu-nà. Adjoin-
*133 ing it to the east is Tso-so Shan in the Tso-so T'u-ssu territory. Wua-zhu
*137 Pu-nà, unlike Seng-ge ga-mu is a male deity and is depicted wearing a black garment and riding a black horse.

The Wua-zhu valley narrows, limestone outcroppings and cliffs are on the north side, at the foot of which our trail leads with the Hli dji immediately below. Six li from Vu-dchü, is the hamlet of 'A-mbe, the houses are of the log-cabin type, though some have tamped earth walls. The vegetation on the limestone spur to the north is entirely composed of oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, while along the trail grow bushes of *Prinsepia utilis*, called Shu-da or Shĕr-da in Na-khi. This shrub flowers twice, in the winter and in the summer but produces fruit only from summer flowers. The southern slopes of the valley are forested entirely with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The Hli dji is here a sluggish river, with fish weirs stretched across the shallow bed. There are beautiful camping places on its south bank under groves of poplars. Five li from the village of 'A-mbe the river makes a sharp bend north-east, near the small hamlet of Wo-yü-pa-k'a-ko, at an elevation of 9,500 feet. It winds considerably. From the north a limestone spur extends into the Ch'ien-so valley, the southern slopes of which are covered with pine groves, while straight ahead, on the northern slopes of the valley, is situated the yamen of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. Another valley opens out from the north, pine scrub covering the slopes here, while old oak trees grow on the southern hill-sides.

346 A lama temple called Wua-zhu Gom-pa, representing the Yellow sect, stands on the west bluff of the side valley, while the yamen is on the eastern one. The place where the yamen stands is called Hli-da (Li-ta 利達) and is at an elevation of 9,600 feet. The distance from Yung-ning to Hli-da is 31.5 li. The main building is over 90 years old and is in a bad state of repair. Back of it is a small temple with a large figure of Yamāntaka, conqueror of Yama, King of Death, one of the most venerated tutelary deities (*Yidam*) of the Yellow Church.

*487 Below the yamen the valley narrows and forms a defile through which the
*133 Hli dji has cut its way. Here it is exceedingly beautiful. The walls of the
*137 limestone gorge are a pearl grey and rise vertically from the river-bed. Large old evergreen oaks line the banks, their crowns over-hanging the stream, a lovely picture of peace and solitude. Here we noticed a large family of Maccacus monkeys which made its way chattering over the cliffs, the mothers with babies on their backs. When they finally reached the top of the rocky walls, they swung on to the trees and disappeared over the mountains. Beyond this defile a valley opens from the west called Du-llo law-k'aw, a distance of seven li from Hli-da. The Du-llo dji has two sources, one south and the other north of Lä-dgyu-dzu in Mu-li territory. A bridge of wooden planks, hardly worthy of the name of bridge, spans it.

Beyond the bridge where the Hli dji makes a sharp bend, it is joined by the Du-llo dji; this region is called Dji-tsu-kwan. Once inhabited, the fields on the northern slopes of the river valley are now abandoned, and the village which stood here and which bore the name of Tse-bu is in ashes. It is impossible for any one to remain here owing to the savage Lo-lo robbers. Only

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large and well armed parties may dare venture here, anything less would be robbed and murdered by these outlaws. 487*

The trail leads past the incinerated village along pine and oak-covered hills, strewn with boulders of limestone. The valley becomes shallower and here and there a small lateral stream joins the waters of the Hli dji; the latter flows placidly, but winds considerably in the broadening valley where we encounter tilled ground. We follow up a side valley for a short stretch to the hamlet of Hlu-wa, and then emerge again into the main valley of the Hli dji, in which we continue down-stream past another hamlet called Da-wùa, elevation 9,350 feet. Beyond the hamlet is a marshy meadow in which grows a variety of *Acorus calamus*, perhaps var. *vulgaris*, the Chinese Ch'ang-p'u 菖蒲. The local people call it Chu-bbu and the Li-chiang Na-khi, Ch'um-bbue. The peasants are forbidden to dig the rhyzomes of this plant, as the T'u-ssu had reserved himself the right to do so. The root is of medicinal value and sells in Ssu-ch'uan for two or three dollars silver a catty (Chinese pound). Beyond Da-wùa the Hli dji enters a terrific defile about one li long with vertical limestone walls. Continuing a short distance east beyond the gorge, it makes a sharp bend south, and enters Tso-so territory. 133* 137*

Mu-li boundary. — From Da-wùa a trail leads north up the side valley and climbs steeply the eastern valley slopes which are covered with forests of tall pines. Most of them have, however, been felled, as at Ghügh-t'o, by Lo-lo who inhabit these mountains. The Lo-lo, who live in huts made of pine boards tied together with ropes, had fled, as the Mu-li King, whose lama emissaries they had robbed while bent on a mission to Lhasa, was then on the war-path; he had sent his Tibetan cavalry to chastise them. There is one person the Lo-lo is in awe of, and that is a Tibetan of the uncontrolled territory of Gangkar-ling. The summit of the ridge, at an elevation of 10,900 feet, is the border between the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu and Mu-li territory. In the distance, visible from the ridge, is a high mountain spur which forms the divide between Mu-li and the territory of the Hou-so 後所 T'u-ssu. The latter is also a member of the Na-khi — Hli-khin tribe, and rules over peasants of the same stock with a sprinkling of Lo-lo tribespeople.

Below the spur which forms the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li divide flows the Shu-lo-k'o; it sends its waters into the Hli dji, where it turns south into Tso-so country, beyond the defile of Da-wùa chu-bbu, as the place is called, west of the gorge. The Shu-lo-k'o is entirely inhabited by Hei Lo-lo 黑倮倮 (Black Lo-lo) under the control of the Mu-li lamas, who belong to the Hsi-fan tribe, but who call themselves Ch'ra-me, which the Chinese transcribe Chia-mi 甲迷.

6. FROM YUNG-NING TO RIN-JOM GOM-PA (WU-CHIO SSU LAMASERY)

The north-westernmost part of Ch'ien-so territory, where it adjoins Mu-li in the north and Yung-ning in the south, consists of the valleys of Wua-lu, Du-llo and part of Ha-la-mi, but the only village in this part of Ch'ien-so is the scattered hamlet of Du-llo. It was in ashes and the fields were abandoned. To reach the monastery of Wu-chio 烏角 or Rin-jom Gom-pa (Rin-

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*487 hjom dgon-pa),[16] dedicated to the goddess Palden Lhamo (dPal-ldan Lha-
*133 mo),[17] is by way of the above-mentioned valleys. The boundary between
*137 Mu-li and Ch'ien-so is below Rin-jom Gom-pa in the valley of Ha-la-mi.

Du-llo and its destruction by Lo-lo bandits. — Opposite the hot springs, situated in the Erh dji valley, one half of which is in Yung-ning and the other in Ch'ien-so territory, a valley extending from north-east to south-west debouches into it.[18] This valley is called Wua-lu. It is more of a ravine than a valley and leads to a pass among forested hills. It becomes very narrow in its upper half, where it is joined by another ravine with a rocky defile. The slopes are covered exclusively with the yellow Yün-nan pine. There is a maze of spurs over which the trail leads to a pass and down another small rocky ravine, which debouches into the broad valley of Du-llo. Here at the junction of the ravine and the Du-llo dji, on the northern bank of the latter, stood the hamlet of Du-llo; now only the charred mud walls of the few houses which composed the village remain.

579 On February 9th, 1929, the eve of Chinese New Year, when the poor Hli-khin peasants had decorated the gates of their homes, with pine trees, the savage Lo-lo came and robbed them, drove off their cattle, and set their houses on fire; worse still, their children were carried off into slavery. And this happened less than 10 miles from where Chinese New Year was celebrated in great style in Yung-ning. Passing by here on my way to Mu-li in March of the same year, a few of the peasants were sitting in the ruins of their former homes; silently they contemplated the ashes of what constituted their former belongings. Their overlord, the T'u-ssu of Ch'ien-so, an opium sot, who was at feud with his brother and who had invited the Lo-lo to settle in his territory (see p. 404), had fled from the wrath of his brother, who had waylaid him with the intention of killing him. He was safely camping on the Li-t'ang River in Mu-li territory. His enemy brother had likewise fled and was living on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u in the Yung-ning Lake, also an addict to the opium pipe. No one cared for the poor peasants, who were thus delivered up into the hands of outlaws and robbers. I mention this to show what dreadful conditions prevail in this part of China, and how indifferent the officials are to the dire distress of the peasants and the lawlessness in the country.

This state of affairs is of course mainly due to lack of communications, the wildness of the country, and the long distance, comparatively speaking, from the governing center of these outposts of China. But if the truth must be told, it is also due to the indifference of the Chinese officials. It would be useless for the people to attempt to complain to the magistrate under whose jurisdiction they come, for between them and Yen-yüan, the seat of the magistrate, are independent Lo-lo who would rise *en masse* and inflict worse punishment. Only a large military force would be able to deal with them. Under present conditions, with the peasantry disorganized, their ruling

[16] ཏེ་ཁ་ལོ་ཆ་ཁ་ [17] དཔལ་ལྡན་ལྷ་མོ

[18] In the summer of 1942 the entire bank of the Erh dji on the Ssu-ch'uan side was planted to opium, a sea of purple flowered poppies extended to the foot of the mountains.

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chiefs at feud with each other, and themselves refugees, they cannot help but be prey to the rapacious, cruel Lo-lo. 579

Ha-la-mi valley. — Crossing the Du-llo Stream the trail leads up another broad valley which debouches at Du-llo village into the Du-llo valley. This valley is called Ha-la-mi, the lower half of which belongs to Ch'ien-so territory. 487* 133* 137*

At the corner of the junction of these valleys stood the ruins of other homes. The Lo-lo robbers had done a thorough job in looting the poor innocent and undefended peasants. No one cared about their trials and tribulations.

In the Ha-la-mi valley a trail leads to Wu-chio Monastery situated in the territory of the once powerful Lama King of Mu-li whom the Lo-lo greatly feared and respected. Ha-la-mi is a beautiful valley, forested with pines and oaks. Yet the fields along the crystal-clear stream have been abandoned by their owners on the Ch'ien-so side of the line for fear of being carried off into slavery by the Lo-lo, should they dare go out to till them. The elevation at the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li border is 9,700 feet.

Ere reaching Wu-chio Monastery, a valley debouches into Ha-la-mi from north-west. A bridge spans that stream.

Wu-chio Lamasery. — Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺 is situated at an elevation of 10,100 feet on a terrace which juts out into the stream. North of Wu-chio although in a continuation of Ha-la-mi valley, the stream is called La-dze dji and has its source in the huge limestone mountain called Hla-dze or La-dze.[19] 346

The lamasery consists of one stone building containing the main shrine and chanting hall, while log cabins house the few lamas who attend to the worship of the most dreaded demon goddess of the Lama Church, Palden Lhamo. Wu-chio Ssu (Rin-jom Gom-pa) is well known in Tibet as it is said to have been one of the early dwelling-places of the goddess. It is a mysterious spot, the temple dark and gloomy like all Tibetan chanting halls. One corner of the building was partitioned off and this was the sanctuary of the fierce goddess whose image, represented by a fresco, adorned the wall. The painting was covered with silk scarfs which served as a curtain. Butter lamps which were burning in front of it, furnished the only light; all was still and hushed. In front of the old temple stood two immense juniper trees at least 500 years old. The lamas related that the goddess delights to live in trees. Facing the valley in which Wu-chio Ssu is situated are the mighty crags of La-dze or Hla-dze. In this mountain is a large cave known as La-dze ni-kung. Palden Lhamo is reputed to have lived there in the dim and hoary past. Water issues from this cave, which is said to be the source of the La-dze dji.

[19] The Hsi-fan of Mu-li, who call themselves Ch'ra-me and whom the Na-khi call Boa, look upon Mt. Hla-dze as the cradle of their race. Like the people of Yung-ning do still, and the Li-chiang Na-khi did in former days, the Boa cremate their dead. They take the ashes and fragments of bones of their cremated relatives and deposit them on the limestone cliffs of Hla-dze, similarly to the chiefs of Yung-ning whose ashes are deposited at the foot of the cliffs, high up on Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain).

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CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

S 131 136 241 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361 The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. ST [282] In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. ST 295 Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found, *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca niroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 309. — MO-SO — KU-TSUNG TRIBAL WOMAN OF TSHO-KHÀ-THANG

摩 梭 古 宗 部 落

The women of this region wear long pleated skirts like the Na-khi women of La-pao; they speak only Tibetan and do not understand Na-khi.

[p. 410-A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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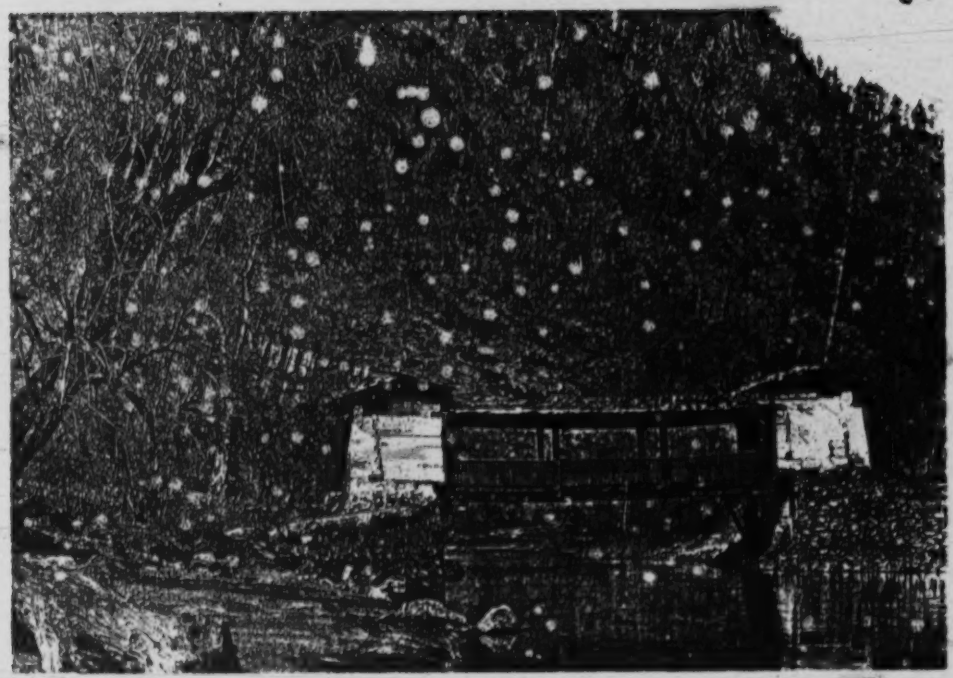

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 410.—TIBETAN WOODEN BRIDGE OVER THE YOH-DZE-KHÀ

竹巴阿古弟金木橋

This type of bridge is common in the Tibetan part of the Yangtze drainage basin.

[P. 410 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 211. — THE LATE MU-LI T'U-SSU HANG TZ'U-CH'EN-CHA-PA

本寨故宜慶司頂老喇嘛已

The late Mu-li or Mi-li rGyal-po (King) in front of his throne clad in priestly robes. The banners on the wall represent from left to right: Thugs-rje-chhen-po-bchugs-chig-zhal — the eleven-headed Chenrezig; the Tibetan pantheon Lam-rim-tshogs-shing; Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow sect.

[p. 410 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 212. — HERE AT JIH-YÜEH-HO KUBLAI KHAN CAMPED WITH HIS ARMY

永寧日月和元世祖駐軍處

It was on this historic spot that Kublai Khan camped in December 1253, when he attacked Yün-nan. It is called La-pa-ddü by the people of Yung-ning. The author was always escorted by the rulers of Yung-ning as far as the Jih-yüeh-ho, when he took leave of them. From right to left, mounted: a servant; A Yün-shan, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan; a Tibetan incarnation; A Shao-fu the abbot of Yung-ning; J. F. Rock; Li Sou-ch'en, a Na-khi assistant.

[p.410-D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 213.—A YÜN-SHAN THE LATE TSUNG-KUAN OF YUNG-NING

永寧宗管阿雲山

He was of Mongol ancestry, a descendant of one of Kublai Khan's officers left to rule Yung-ning in 1253. He holds in his arm his last-born son, declared a lama incarnation in 1931. See plate 254.

[p. 410-E]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 214.—THE FAMILY OF THE YUNG-NING NATIVE PREFECT

永寧土知府家眷

The center figure in Chinese dress is the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui; on his left the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan; between the two in the rear the present T'u-ssu A Min-han. To the right of the late T'u-ssu, his wife, sister of A Yün-shan. To her right the abbot of Yung-ning Lamasery A Shao-fu, second son of the late T'u-ssu.

[p. 410 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AH16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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301

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 215.—A HLI-KHIN MAIDEN OF YUNG-NING

永寧摩梭少女

She is dressed in her best; wound around her head she wears strings of cornelian, amber and turquoise. Over her forehead is a strip of cloth studded with gold nuggets. Her earrings suspended from her hair are of solid gold as are the buckles of her silk jacket.

[p. 410 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

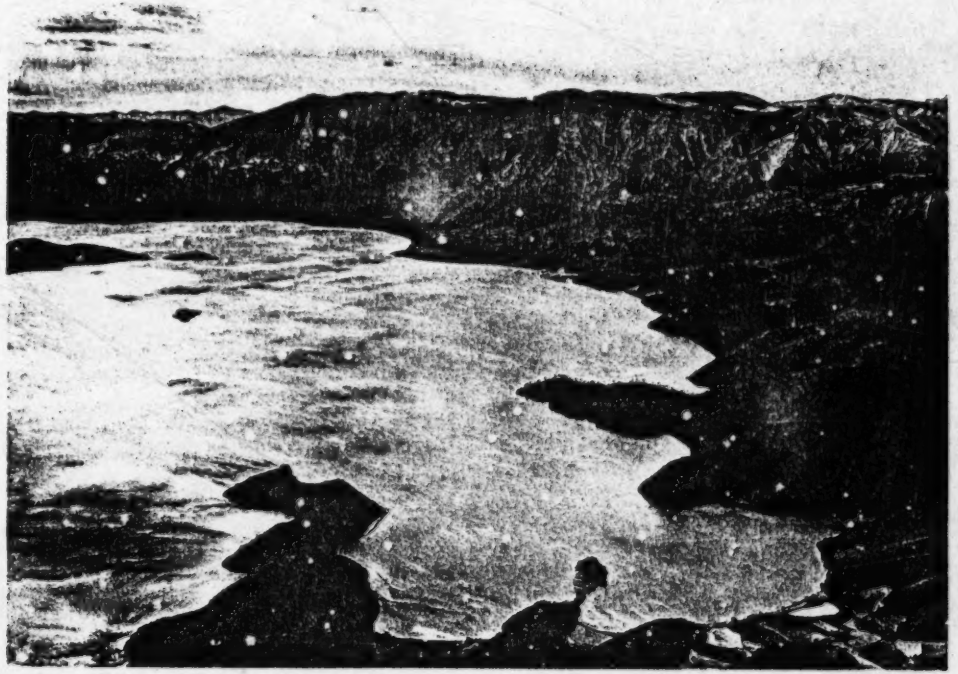
PLATE 216. — THE LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN OR SHIH-T'OU SHAN

獅頭山與石頭山

The southern end of Seng-ge ga-mu is broad and massive hence the Chinese call it Lion-head. It is 13,100 feet in height and rises 3,600 feet above the lake. At the foot of the upper limestone cliffs is a large cave.

[p. 410-H]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 217. — THE WESTERN END OF THE YUNG-NING LAKE

瀘沽湖由獅頭山頂望登

As seen from the summit of Lion Mountain, elevation 13,100 feet. The lake is 3,600 feet below the peak. Extreme left T'u-bbu peninsula; separated by a channel is the island of Hle-wu-be; below it the island of Nyo-ro-p'u. At base of picture the village of Hli-ki on the small peninsula.

[p. 410-I]

133

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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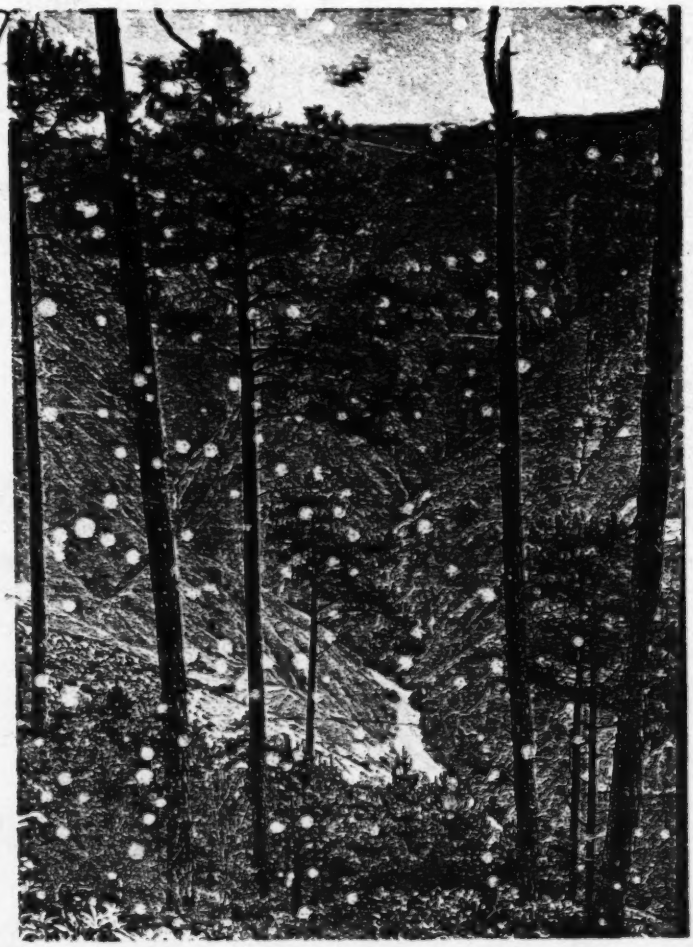

PLATE 218.—THE EASTERN BRANCH OF THE WU-LIANG HO OR ZHO CHHU IN MU-LI TERRITORY

木雅貢木雅地方無量河東支流

The Zho Chhu or Shu Gyi of the Na-khi has its source at Na-pu and flowing parallel to the Li Chhu or List'ang River, joins the main Wu-liang Ho some ten miles above its confluence with the Yangtze; *see* Plate 105. Photographed from an elevation of 12,000 feet, between the villages of Ga-ro and Dze-ru, Mu-li Territory.

[p.410-J]

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
133

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 219. — SHIH-TZU-WAN OR LION'S COVE

獅子灣雲南永寧四川瀘所交界

This solid limestone mountain covered with scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) is in Ch'ien-so territory, Ssu-ch'uan; the small stream flowing in front, is the Yün-nan (Yung-ning) — Ssu-ch'uan border. Chinese squatters have settled in the cave.

[p. 410-K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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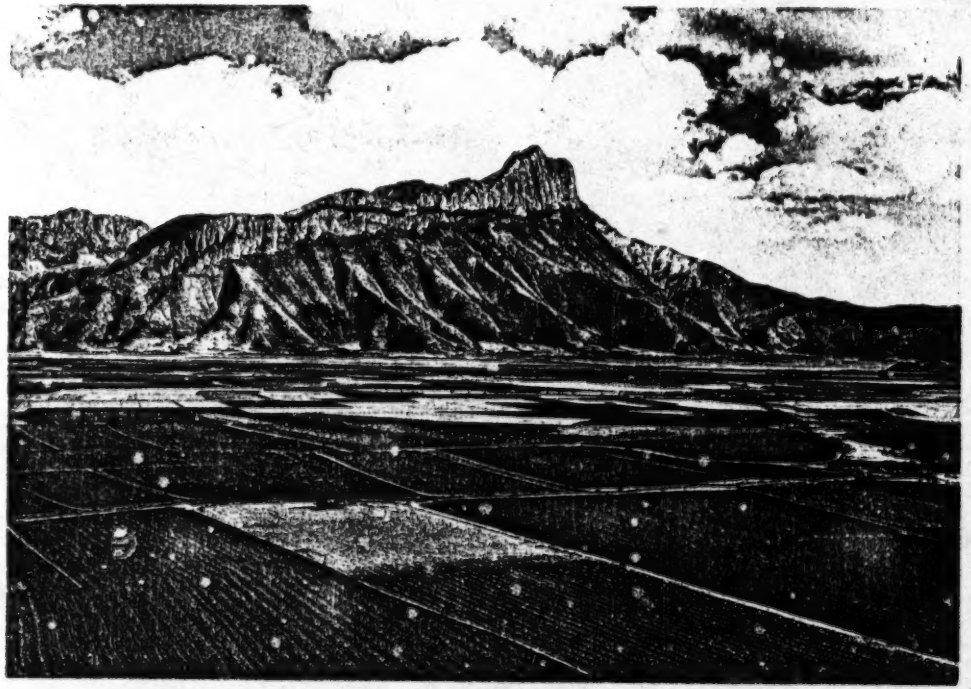

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 220.—THE YUNG-NING PLAIN WITH LION MOUNTAIN

永寧壩獅子山（甲巴山）背景

The Plain is called Hli-dü and is the largest level piece of land in Yung-ning. Its elevation is 9,500 feet. Lion Mountain, the landmark of Yung-ning, is 13,100 feet in height.

[p. 410-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 221. — HLI-KHIN LADIES, MEMBERS OF THE T'U-SSU FAMILY

土司家婦人

Only members of the ruling family are allowed to wear long skirts. They adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments and wear a white goat skin jacket held in place by a large round, silver buckle.

[p. 410-M]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
292

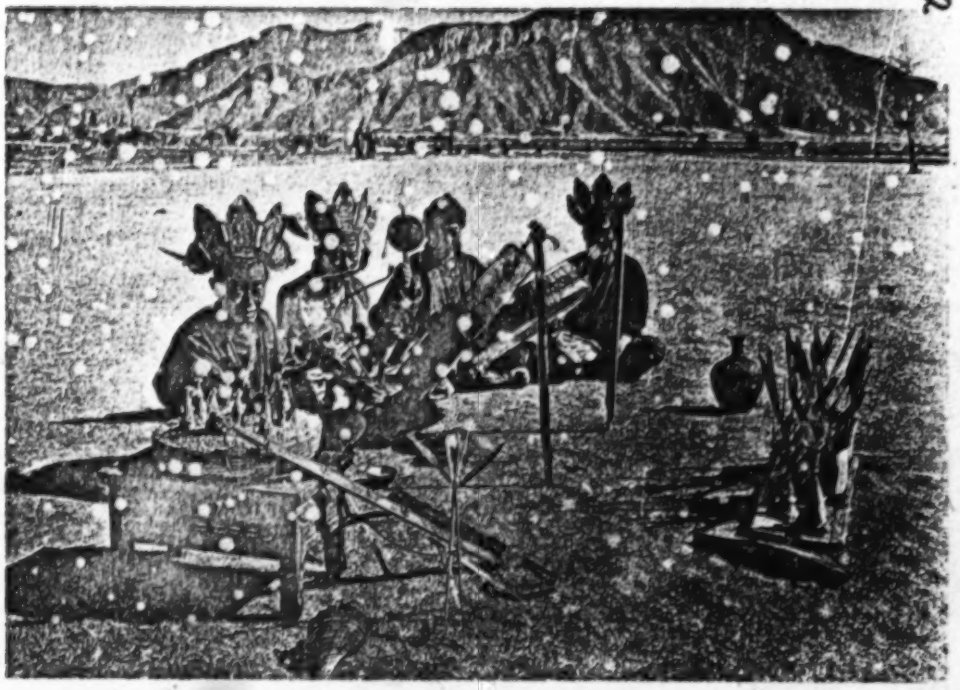

PLATE 222. — YUNG-NING NDA-PA (SORCERERS) PERFORMING THE ZHI-WUA-GKĀ CEREMONY

永寧巫行式

All their rituals are performed out of doors, on a meadow; in this case on the Yung-ning plain, in front of the lamasery. The Zhi-wua-gkā (burning of the demons), like all other Nda-pa ceremonies, ends in drunkenness.

[p. 410 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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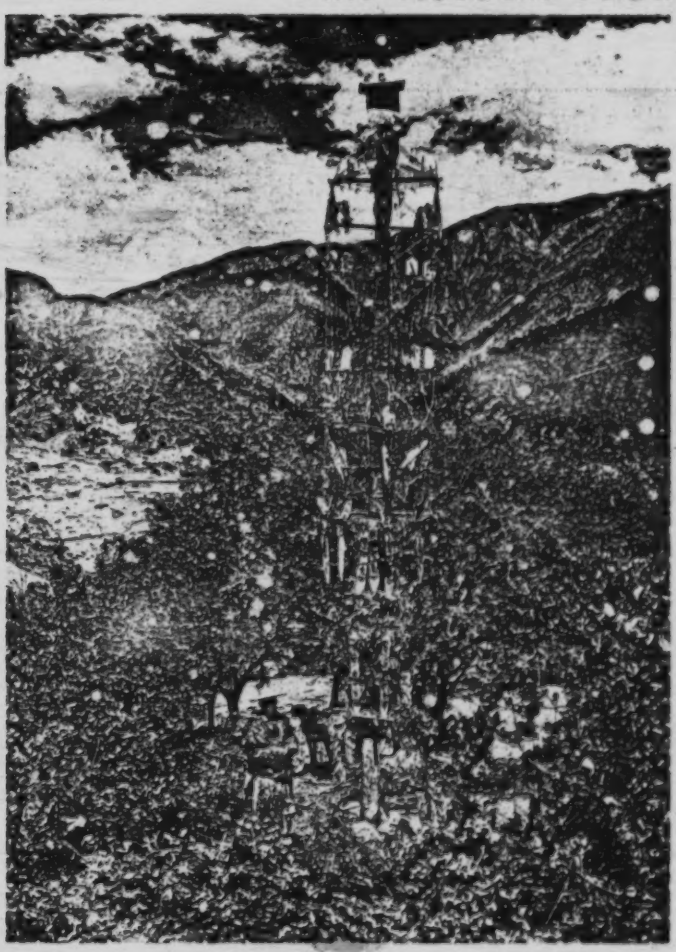

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 223.—A HA-PA CONTRAPTION TO PREVENT HAILSTORMS

金寧縣巴哈教徒用以防雹之器具

This structure is called Nya-ta and is erected once every three or four years by the ancient sect of sorcerers called Ha-pa who have survived in Yung-ning and in Mu-li. The Nya-ta is built of wood and is surrounded with a network of string known as Na-k'wai by the Na-khi Dto-mbas. It is erected in the first moon, first in a valley, and in the second moon is moved to a hillside where it is left until a new one is needed.

[p. 410-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[p. 410-P]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 224. — THE YUNG-NING LAMASERY DJRA-MI-GKO

永寧寺 (扎米格)

It is also called Ta-lan Ssu after the Tibetan name of the lamasery. The central building is the main temple or chanting hall; the square building to the left of it houses the giant statue of Maitreya, the Coming Buddha. The small buildings surrounding the temple are the homes of the lamas. They are however empty except on certain festive occasions.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 295 ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

S 361 Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-ngua, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K'ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-chü. Behind the village of K'ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K'ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginko tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T'U-SSU YAMEN

S *487 *133 *137 West of K'ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-ddü of the Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji [2] and Bu-llu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dzoan-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T'o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K'ai-chi where the stream is known as K'ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (*Sophora japonica*, the Na-khi Li-law ndzĕr) stand at the entrance which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. The present S 173 T'u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民漢 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1382). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T'u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui's father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T'u-ssu of Yung-ning.

S *487 *133 *137 From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu.

[2] The words *sä dji* (Li-chiang Na-khi, *sä gyi*) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 The ravine narrows, the trail crosses the stream twice, and finally emerges
*433 by a small lake and the hamlet of Chü-di, situated on the southern side on
*437 higher ground. As the land is marshy it is often difficult to cross. From Chü-di the trail ascends a scrub-covered spur overlooking the lake near, or to the south-west, of the hamlet of Hli-ki; from here it continues around the south-western side of the lake to Ta-lo-shui 大曜水.

3. P'I-K'U-WUA HILL

The shortest way to the lake is across the Yung-ning plain through the hamlet of Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, along ditches to the banks of the Hli-dji which must be forded, thence to a hill called P'i-k'u-wua,[4] six li from the lamasery in a south-easterly direction. On the top of this hill is a temple with a huge figure of Chenrezig [5] with the thousand arms and eyes (Kuan-yin 觀音 of the Chinese). East or to the rear of P'i-k'u-wua is the hamlet of Nda-po. Here a nice house with a spacious court denotes the family home and the birthplace of the late and lamented Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan of Yung-ning. Near Nda-po a stream is crossed which has its source in, or is the outlet of, the little lake or marsh on the banks of which Chü-di is situated.

The trail follows along the foot-hills, into the narrowing wedge of the plain between the south-eastern foot of Lion Mountain and the outer spurs which hem in the lake. At the village of Bo-dzu it climbs a ridge to a pass of 10,190 feet elevation, with a ravine to the right and the plain on the left. Descending again it leads past two ponds, the first a smaller one and the second a larger one. The remnants of these circular basins with standing water would appear to testify to a former succession of lakes similar to the present Yung-ning Lake. The Yung-ning plain itself probably was once a large lake in which P'i-k'u-wua hill formed an island similar to the islands in the present Lu-ku Lake.

The trail leads along the slopes of Lion Mountain and along the edge of the larger basin up the pine and oak-covered spur, thence down to another cultivated basin with standing water to the south-west. Crossing the basin, about three li in diameter, we reach the spur which separates us from the main lake (PLATE 240). From the summit of the spur it is four li to the lake shore at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, where there are a few houses and cultivated fields and a good beach for landing boats. Both dug-out canoes made

[4] On the top of P'i-k'u-wua the cremation ceremony for the dead, that is for deceased members of the Yung-ning ruling class only, takes place. The late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan 阿雲山, however, was cremated on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u.

[5] This form of Chenrezig has 11 heads and is usually standing. In addition to the double pair of arms it has numerous others (said to be 1,000 in all) rotating from the body like a halo, each hand carrying weapons to defend its devotees. The 11 heads are arranged in a cone and are said to represent the unhappy state of Avalokita, whose head split into pieces with sorrow on contemplating the pitiable condition of depraved humanity. In each of his hands, in the center of the palm, he has an eye, hence his name: "He who looks down." In this form he is known as Samanta-mukha in Sanskrit. The 11-headed form is known in Tibet as Chenrezig chu-chi-zhel (sPyan-ras-gzigs bchu-gchig-zhal) [illegible]. In Chinese the thousand arms and thousand eyes Kuan-yin is known as 千手千眼大慈大悲觀音菩薩 (Bodhisattva Kuan-yin who has 1,000 arms and 1,000 eyes, great in mercy and great in compassion).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sou .vest China AF16

of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use. 487*

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture. 133* 137*

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as 778 782 262 251

[6] In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling ཛེ་བོ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང་). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

262 mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief's family for lack of
251 storage space. When wanted the *Buchĕr* is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

*487 There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning
*133 to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the
*137 direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndĕr, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or *obo*, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Ch'ien-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

[197] Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-dyu (Wu-chio 烏角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (PLATE 242).

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CHAPTER VI

YUNG-NING LAKE AND TSO-SO TERRITORY

1. LU-KU HU (YUNG-NING LAKE)

The Yung-ning Lake (called Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 in Chinese and by the Li-chiang Na-khi La-t'a Ḳhü) is known to the Yung-ning people as Lo-shu Khü.[1] This magnificent sheet of water is divided almost in half by a long peninsula, broad where it projects from the land and narrowing to a sharp point; this peninsula is called T'u-bbu and extends from north-east to south-west into the lake. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border passes through the lake, cutting off the south-western point of the peninsula. A ravine extending down the western face of the wooded spur is the border. By far the larger part of this beautiful lake is in Yün-nan as are also three of the five islands scattered over it.[2] The smallest island is west of the Yün-nan border and is called Nyi-se. It is an oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and only a short distance from the northern shore between the villages of Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr, the Chinese Lo-shui 瀘水 or Hsiao 小 (Small) Lo-shui. 133 × 131

Immediately beyond is the border of the Yung-ning — Mu-li — Tso-so territory. Here is a boundary stone, erected in the 17th year, second moon and 27th day of Chia-ch'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty (April 8th, 1812), which denotes the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning. On one side is inscribed the above date, and on the western face of the stone is inscribed 雲南永寧土司東北界至此 (Up to here is the Yün-nan Yung-ning T'u-ssu north-east border); on the eastern face is engraved 四川木裏土司西南界至此 (Up to here is the Ssu-ch'uan — Mu-li T'u-ssu south-west border).

Strange to say, the Mu-li King possesses a strip of land on the north shore of the lake, three li long; it consists of a spur and a bay, with a valley extending west-north-west, a continuation of the bay. The spur is bare, the soil red; it extends from a white limestone bluff on Lion mountain to the bank of the lake. In the lake, just beyond the little peninsula which forms the narrow bay belonging to Mu-li, is a triangular island called A-na-wa, once a part of the projecting spur which forms the bay. This island also belongs to the Mu-li lama King. The ridge is semicircular in outline and is part of a crater wall, the island of A-na-wa being a remnant of the other half of the crater.

Legendary origin. — At the foot of the ridge near the frontier is a huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Ḳhü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake came forth). It is believed that here the lake has its source. A legend connected 823

[1] This may be in imitation of Lo-shui, two villages by that name situated near the lake shore. The two villages in question are called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi and Lü-khi.

[2] Part of the northern, and all of the western and southern shore of the lake is in Yung-ning, Yün-nan territory, while the eastern end and a short stretch of the northern shore, where it joins the eastern, is in Ssu-ch'uan. The peninsula of T'u-bbu, with the exception of the south-west end, is also in Ssu-ch'uan.

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823 with this bluff relates that in ancient days before the existence of the lake there lived in a rock cave (now under the water at this bluff) a huge fish. The people tried to pull this giant out of the cave, but could not move it. They then employed nine yak, tugging a rope tied to the fish's tail. When they had pulled the fish out, a tremendous volume of water poured forth, forming the present lake. The area now occupied by the lake is said to have been a large plain on which many yaks grazed.

Another story relates how a deaf and dumb yak herder saw under the rock at the foot of the bluff, a water-hole which was plugged up with a huge fish. Daily he cut off a piece of this fish for food. One day the other yak herders found out whence he secured his fish. Thereupon they used yak, and in the above described manner pulled out the fish.

173 *Yung-pei t'ing Records.* — The Yung-pei t'ing Records state that where now the lake is there was once upon a time a hsien called Lu-ku hsien 盧沽縣. In ch. 2, fol. 4b, it relates that: "The *Yüan-shih ti-li chih* 元史地理志 (Geographical Records of the Mongol History) states that Lu-ku hsien, (magistracy of Lu-ku) was subject to Li chou 禮州 of Chien-ch'ang Lu 建昌路 (Circuit of Chien-ch'ang, [the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 or Ning-yüan fu 寧遠府 in Ssu-ch'uan]). The Lo-lo-man (Lo-lo savages) dwelled there. On the arrival of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649) they found that of all the feudatory tribes the Lo-lo had been the first settlers, and so the Wu-man chief was placed in charge of Pei-ch'eng 北城[3] [the Lo-lo belong to the Wu-man or Black barbarians]. They gradually became flourishing and numerous and thus they called themselves the Lo-lan pu 落蘭部 or Lo-lan tribe; they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.

"P'u-te 蒲德, who was their descendant, sent his nephew Chien-tai 建帶 to make his submission. Later he turned against his uncle and killed him. He himself then said: 'I am a great chief,' and the entire tribe joined him. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) he was pacified [suppressed].

"A Ch'ien-hu 千戶 [official ruling over 1,000 families] was then established. In the 13th year (1276) he was promoted to a Wan-hu 萬戶 [official ruling over 10,000 families]. In the 19th year (1282) the office was changed into a magistracy (hsien), but it is not known when it became part of the chün 郡 (of Yung-pei). Now the Lu-ku Lake is said to have been their land, that is, where the lake is now was their land."[4]

[3] The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 401, fol. 4b, states Tz'u-ch'eng 此城 instead of Pei-ch'eng. By the former the town or *ch'eng* of Lu-ku is meant and by the latter the city of Yung-pei or Pei-sheng; which is correct is difficult to say, but it seems probable that Lu-ku hsien is meant. The Lo-lo settled there and called themselves Lo-lan pu.

[4] It is quite possible that in ancient days the lake and the surrounding territory belonged to Lu-ku hsien; Lu-ku hsien was established by the Mongols in 1278, and the name Lu-ku has survived in the name of the Yung-ning Lake to the present day. We find the name Lu-ku Shui 盧沽水 in the Mongol History but whether it was a river or lake is not mentioned; it is possible that Lu-ku Shui was the ancient name of the Ya-lung which is known as the Lu Shui 瀘水. Furthermore the Mongol History states that Li chou which governed Lu-ku hsien was east of the Lu-ku Shui, which would then be correct. There is, however, a gross error in the map of the Ning-yüan (Hsi-ch'ang hsien) district in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (Topographical Records of Ssu-ch'uan). There the Ya-lung River is called the

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The Yung-pei Records further state in ch. 1, fol. 30b, that the lake is also called Lu-k'u Hai 鹿窟海 [the word *k'u* means a cave or a hole in the ground]; and that it possesses three islands. [In reality it has five, three in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan.] 173

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 7, fol. 5a, says that the western part of the lake, ruled by Yung-ning, is called Lu-k'u Hai, in the center is a small mountain called Shui-chai 水寨, on this island the T'u-ssu built a stronghold. Its outlet is at Hai-men-ch'iao 海門橋 (Lake gate bridge), the water flowing into the Ta-ch'ung Ho in Ssu-ch'uan, [that is in the Tso-so country]. The circumference of the lake is 100 li [not following the shores of the long peninsula called T'u-bbu].

Description of the lake. — The Yung-ning Lake is without exception the finest sheet of water in the whole of Yün-nan; a more beautiful setting it is difficult to imagine. Its water is as clear as crystal, of a deep blue, which shades into purple at the foot of the wooded hills. It is surrounded by forested mountains whose sides are furrowed by deep ravines and whose little streams find their way into the lake. The quiet and peace which reigns here is indeed wonderful; the islets float like ships on a placid sea; all is serene, indeed a fitting place for gods to dwell (PLATE 243). It was my good fortune to visit this lake at many different times from 1924 to 1942 and to spend happy weeks on the lovely island of Nyo-ro-p'u, the only one of the islands belonging to Yün-nan which is inhabited. The lake is uniformly deep and flat-bottomed, the average depth being 220 English feet. Its elevation is 9,600 feet above sea level and 100 feet higher than the Yung-ning plain. 133*

Hospitality of Yung-ning chiefs. — The hospitality of the Yung-ning chiefs, especially of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain) was unsurpassed. Friendliness personified, A Yün-shan made one really feel welcome. Yet peaceful as the lake and the surrounding country appear, its inhabitants have experienced bitter and stormy days and undoubtedly will continue to experience them.[5]

Ta-ch'ung Ho to where it debouches into the Yangtze. The Ta-ch'ung Ho, as explained by me elsewhere, is an affluent of the Li-t'ang River, and the latter a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang 雅隆江. On another map the upper part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho is called the Ya-lung Chiang. The real Ta-ch'ung Ho (called Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country) is thus marked on the map mentioned as Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河.

In the text, ch. 15, fol. 29a, of the same work, it states that the Jo Shui 若水 is identical with the Lu Shui and that another name for both is Ta-ch'ung Ho; from this it can be seen that the Ya-lung is also called Lu Shui.

On page 34b, the Yangtze is, however, also called the Jo Shui, and is made to flow into the Lu Shui or Ya-lung, which is also given as Jo Shui.

Thus it is impossible to take any given location of a place seriously, especially when stated east or west of such and such a river, for it is next to impossible to decide which river is meant.

We find mention made of a Lu-ku Ho which is probably identical with the Lu-ku Shui; this Lu-ku Ho is made to flow into the Yangtze. It does, however, state that the Lu-ku Ho flows south-east of Mien-ning 冕寧 into the territory of Hui-li 會理, and this makes it the An-ning Ho 安寧河 which flows, however, into the Ya-lung (Chin Chiang 金江) and not into the Yangtze.

[5] Since this was written the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) Tibetan outlaws have again

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519 To the north-vest of Yung-ning dwell the outlaw Tibetans of the Kung-ka-ling 貢噶嶺 and Hsiang-ch'eng countries, who are ever bent on robbing; to the east and south are the insurgent savage Lo-lo whom it is impossible for the Chinese, or the degenerate smaller T'u-ssu on the Ssu-ch'uan side of the lake and Yung-ning, to control. In addition to the raids perpetrated by these wild tribes, an occasional military rebel, like the former chairman of the Yün-nan Provincial Government Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, who having been turned out, attempted to regain control of the province, settles with his hordes like locusts on this beautiful, but otherwise poor region. He and his hungry soldiers impoverished the peasants and forced their headmen or chiefs, on pain of death, to contribute not only food but money for their support.

The good old Tsung-kuan was always busy, he detested any one who smoked opium and had no good word for such. His righteous anger was aroused when an official order came from the Yün-nan Government in 1931 forcing his people to grow opium. He was a wise man and his counsel was always in demand. The neighboring chiefs in Ssu-ch'uan, and the Lang-ch'ü chief to the south-east of his territory, always asked his assistance when in trouble, for he was greatly respected on account of his sense of justice, and unimpeachable character. It was a great loss not only to Yung-ning and Yün-nan, but toall the poor and troubled chiefs, his neighbors, whose burden he helped carry,when he passed away on the 28th day of the second (intercalary) fifth moon of the 22nd year of the Republic (July 20th, 1933).

*133 136 *Lion Mountan.* — One of the most conspicuous landmarks which confront the lake on the north, is the southern face of Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain; Sengge ga-mu). The latter is a Tibetan word Seng-ge dKarmo (White Lioness), *Seng-ge* meaning lion, *dkar* white, and *mo* female. It is the Chinese Kar-mu Shan. In Na-khi it is called Gko-mun Ngyu (Hawk Mountain). This mountain is mirrored in the lake, its broad face representing the lion's head (PLATE 244), while its body extends to the north, the long western slopes of it forming the eastern boundary of the Yung-ning plain. No hunting is permitted, and here roam many bears who live on the oaks, and often come to the fields of the villages and eat their broad beans and peas. Deer stags, blue sheep, serow, and goral roam over its rocky slopes and cliffs The goddess Kar-mo is pictured riding a hind (PLATE 245). Two shrines have been erected to her in Yung-ning, one on the western slopes of the mountain which bears her name, and one on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 246).

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invaded Yung-ningterritory, burnt its peaceful homes, driven off 1,600 head of livestock, and killed a number of peasants. This state of affairs is only attributable to the short-sightedness of certin Chinese militarists who, personally kill or order the killing of inoffensive native rulrs who alone are able to control these wild border tribes. The murder of the Mu-li King s a case in point, and is directly responsible for the invasion of Yung-ning by the Gangar-ling outlaws. It is true that some of the T'u-ssu are not fit to rule, but this degeneration has been brought about by the opium habit and the latter again by the forced growing of opium by the Chinese authorities for the sake of revenue. Tribespeople usually do not smoke opium and would never grow it were they not at times forced to and heavily fined should they refuse to grow it, plus being taxed for what they could grow. Happily those days are past.

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Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr on the lake. — The first village one strikes on the lake-shore coming from Yung-ning is Hli-ki, situated on the small peninsula which extends here into the lake from Seng-ge ga-mu or Lion Mountain. There is very little flat lake-shore indeed, especially on the western end where the mountains fall steeply into the water. One trail leads over the mountains, while a lower one leads along the lake-shore but is forced to climb the slopes, as the waters of the lake wash the foot of the hills forested with pines and oaks. 487* 133* 137*

2. THE MU-LI KING'S TERRITORY ON THE LAKE

From Hli-ki bay the trail climbs the spur on which the village of Hli-ki is situated, then skirts another bay with a valley and cultivated fields, and climbs to the top of the next spur. A valley extends from Seng-ge ga-mu to the lake, while a long, wooded peninsula stretches south into the lake. From the long peninsula [not T'u-bbu] at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu the trail descends to broad fields and the shores of a lovely bay. In the distance in Ssu-ch'uan there loomed up a high, rocky peak called Ssu-p'u-wua in the territory of a T'u-ssu, the land being called Nyi-bu-chu, east of the Tso-so territory and still inhabited by Hli-khin. The trail continues to another spur above Hsiao-lo-shui (called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi or Hli-khin) and descends to the above village, the distance from Hli-ki to Hsiao-lo-shui being about nine li. A short distance beyond the bay in which Hsiao-lo-shui is situated is the Yün-nan — Yung-ning — Ssu-ch'uan, — Mu-li boundary stone. Hsiao-lo-shui is the last and easternmost hamlet in Yung-ning.

From the boundary stone a narrow strip of land three li long extends along the lake-shore, and belongs to the Mu-li T'u-ssu (Mu-li lama King) of south-west Hsi-k ang, formerly ruled by Ssu-ch'uan, if the little strip of land on the lake shore comes now under Hsi-k'ang or is still part of Ssu-ch'uan is not known; the high mountains to the back of it are in Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory, in Ssu-ch'uan. On the dark mountain slopes, on a steep spur, a white rock is noticeable; Mu-li territory extends from this white rock above the boundary stone to the lake. At the foot of the ridge near the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan boundary is the huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Khü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake issues). It is believed that the lake had its source beneath this rock.

What is now Mu-li territory on the northern lake-shore belonged in the days of the Na-khi chiefs, to the Li-chiang district; it was first inhabited or settled by soldiers who were sent there by them to keep guard. The present inhabitants are the descendants of these soldiers. After the Na-khi lost their independence, the soldiers took to banditry and never returned to Li-chiang. The name of the place where these people settled is now called Dta-dzu or Ta-dzui in Na-khi, (Tao-tse 盜賊), the meaning being Great robbers or Highway robbers; in this case the Chinese name has been phonetically rendered into Na-khi, but it does not have the Chinese meaning, and cannot be translated. These soldier-highwaymen were first stationed at Pai-chio-pa 白角塔 as soldiers under the Mu T'u-ssu 木土司; but when the Mu family ceased to rule as chiefs of Li-chiang (1723), the soldiers, instead of returning to their homes, looked for a place to settle. They then went to the Yung-

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*487 ning lake-shore on the slopes of Seng-ge g mu. Na-khi will always dwell
*133 where their is plenty of oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), the leaves of which
*137 they use as litter for their pigs; the decayed leaves with the pig manure are afterwards put into the fields as fertilizer. There were few oaks at Pai-chio-pa, so they went in search of a place where there were plenty, and seeing an abundance on Seng-ge ga-mu they settled on its southern slopes and became an independent robber band. Later, fearing they would get into trouble, they requested Mu-li to annex them, and so became subjects of the Mu-li King. Thus the village, which to this day retains the name of Ta-dzui (Tao-tse 盜賊 or Ta-tse 大賊, both meaning Highway robbers) [6] in reference to the unsavory occupation followed by the ancestors of the present inhabitants, became Mu-li territory. There are two villages on the strip of land along the lake belonging to Mu-li, both of which are known as Dta-dzu, Ta-dzui or Ta-tse, as explained above. One village is situated on the shore and the other up in the valley back of the spur which juts out into the lake forming a bay. Red soil covers the spur, on whose top is a small lama temple. Beyond the spur, and once part of it, is the island of A-na-wa also belonging to the Mu-li King. There is no house or temple on the islet, save a little hut on the north-east slopes where a Mu-li lama goes to meditate. The Mu-li King himself had never seen this part of his territory on the lake. The bay in which the island is situated only a short distance from shore is no longer Mu-li but Tso-so territory (PLATE 255).

3. — TSO-SO TERRITORY IN SOUTH-WEST SSU-CH'UAN

In Na-khi Tso-so land is called La-t'a. Beyond Ta-dzui we cross three small streams at the foot of Tso-so Shan and come to the broad shore and valley at the base of the T'u-bbu peninsula. This is the main approach to the Tso-so T'u-ssu's territory. From this shore it is ten li inland to the official residence of the Tso-so T'u-ssu, whose family name is La 喇. The residence is a poor affair surrounded by a large grove of trees. A short time previous to my visit it was partly burned by the Gangkar-ling bandits, especially the Tibetan Tong-chhen (sTong-chhen) [7] a ferocious bunch of outlaws. Back of the residence is the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung 大冲), with 40 families.

The Wo-lo or Ta-ch'ung Ho. — Tso-so is drained by the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河), the various branches of which have a number of Hli-khin as well as Chinese names. For example, the Yung-ning branch of it has its source on the eastern slopes of Dzo-an-p'u Mountain which is the southern end of the Wua-ha Mountain (Yao Shan). It becomes the Hli gyi, or Hli dyi, where it traverses the Yung-ning plain [called in Chinese the K'ai-chi Ho 開基 after a village by that name]. After having traversed the Hli-dü plain it enters Ch'ien-so territory as the Lo-chi Ho 勒汲河 until it reaches Da-wùa the last hamlet in that district. There it receives a tributary from Mu-li in the north called the Shu-lo-k'o. From Da-wùa it flows south and joins the main branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho coming from south of Lang-ch'ü

[6] It is also written 大賊 on the Yung-pei Records sketch map.

[7] *See* note 9, page 241.

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chou, with its source on the northern or north-eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Mountain. This part of the river is called the Lo-i Chiang 羅易江. From the eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Shan further north it receives a small affluent called the Mi Ho 米河 (Rice river); another branch in the east is known to the Chinese as the Yen-ching Ho 鹽井河. These two main branches flow united as the Ta-ch'ung Ho into the Li-t'ang River, and not into the Ya-lung Chiang, as the Chinese Yün-nan military map, as well as the older Chinese maps, would make us believe. These maps ignore the existence of the Li-t'ang River and draw the Ya-lung in its stead. Furthermore Ch'ien-so territory is marked much too far north and west, instead of north-east of Yung-ning. It would be of little benefit and would only create confusion were I to quote the Yung-pei Records regarding the sources, etc., of the Ta-ch'ung Ho. 487* 133* 137*

A valley extends from the T'u-bbu peninsula, to the mainland, carrying a stream through Tso-so territory east into the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung River). Another branch it receives in the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake (Lu-ku Hu), the outlet being called the Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge), for a bridge spans the stream at the effluence of the lake. Thus the lake drains into the Ta-ch'ung Ho, the latter into the Li-t'ang, and the Li-t'ang into the Ya-lung, which debouches into the Yangtze somewhat north-west of K'un-ming.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu family. — My first visit to Tso-so land was in the company of the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan. He had been asked to act as intermediary between the Tso-so T'u-ssu and the King of Mu-li, who was on the point of invading the former's territory with his Tibetan cavalry from Ga-ro, an unsavory lot with a notorious reputation. Tso-so country to-day is a lawless tract of land. The T'u-ssu family have lost all the respect of their peasants and are unable to control their territory, living themselves in constant fear of being kidnapped by the Lo-lo who form a major portion of their so-called subjects. The T'u-ssu, a young man of 26, admitted to me that he is unable to exert any authority east of the Wo-lo Ho. The Lo-lo repeatedly invaded and plundered his territory from the north and east — recently very nearly succeeding in carrying off the chief himself into slavery — while the Gangkar-ling bandits harass it from the north-west. 579 622

The older members of the chief's family, such as La Tsung-kuan 喇總管 and the old abbot of their lamasery which represents the Bön sect, were all addicted to opium; the former had died since my first visit in 1928, so there is now no one to take the responsibility of government and the poor peasants suffer without redress. The new and young abbot is a brother of the present T'u-ssu (PLATE 247). Matters had come to such a pass that the peasants were on the point of informing their chief that they did not want him any more. Whenever the approach of bandits is reported, the La family flees post-haste to the island of Bu-wua situated in the south-western part of the lake leaving the peasants to their fate. Their livestock is driven off, their houses burnt, and all that is left to them are ruins; into the fields of standing wheat which the bandits cannot carry off, they turn their horses loose and leave the stubble. Last, but not least, their children are carried off to be sold into slavery.

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579 622 Such is the lot of the poor peasants of the Tso-so territory and the same holds good for the Ch'ien-so country. I have met peasants from the latter who had lost everything and were migrating with a chair or a cupboard on their back, climbing the 13,000 feet high mountain of Ki-bo which separates Mu-li from Ch'ien-so territory, to beg the Mu-li King for a little land where they could settle and start life anew. No one of the ruling class of Ssu-ch'uan, an immense province without communication with this south-westernmost corner, cares for the peasants of these T'u-ssu, of whom there are five, called the Wu-so. The Yung-ning Tsung-kuan took pity on them and acted as intermediary between them and the Lo-lo, for the latter respected him and listened to his advice. Although powerless against the Tibetans, yet with the goodwill of the King of Mu-li he could at times avert pending troubles. Now, since the decease of that most active personality, who was like a father with a big heart for any one in trouble, the country has fallen on evil days. It is the beginning of the end of the native chiefs.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu is said to rule (?) over 1,000 families. However, he himself stated to me that he can, or supposedly can, control only his Na-khi subjects, who dwell west of the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho. Although his territory extends east of the Wo-lo Ho, he cannot even venture there, as it is inhabited by Lo-lo tribal clans in whose fear and dread he and his subjects constantly live. Since my first visit, their residence, at best a small affair, was being rebuilt, mostly of mud bricks and wood. The old decayed and half burnt yamen still stood in a long court full of weeds. The old Bön Temple in the rear had been spared by the Tibetan bandits, and there still sat enthroned as of old the founder of the Bön sect Tön-pa Shenrab (sTon-pa gShen-rabs-mi-po), with *Yidam* (tutelary deities of the Bön church) to both sides of him.

Only in the women members of the chief's family of Tso-so land is refinement to be seen, the men being degenerate and addicted to opium (PLATE 248).

*487 *133 *137 *T'u-bbu peninsula.* — The long spur which juts out into the lake and forms the T'u-bbu peninsula ends abruptly to the rear of the present Tso-so yamen. It does not join the mountain range to the north, but leaves a broad, flat stretch of land between: the main road to Yen-yüan or Yen-ching, to which the Tso-so or La-t'a T'u-ssu is subordinate, leads over this little plain. The mountain god of the Tso-so people is called Yon-tra T'u-bbu, and is represented by the T'u-bbu peninsula. He is pictured riding a white horse, and is accompanied by a white dog and a white rooster. In the left hand he carries a flag like the Tibetan god of wealth, and in his right a *Bum-pa* (Amrta vase). His face is white. Facing the god is his wife, a *kLu-mo* (female water spirit), rising from a spring. In winter the temperature in Tso-so land is considerably colder than that on the islands in the lake where the deciduous trees lose their leaves much later than on the mainland. The elevation at the Tso-so yamen is 9,700 feet and is ten li distant from the lake-shore. The trail leads from the Tso-so chief's house and village of To-shi, up the valley, leaving to the west the last hill which is still a part of the T'u-bbu peninsula. At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 South -st China AF16

At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-eastern base, is a square lama temple, commonly called Anu Gom-pa, belonging to the Bön or Black lama sect. It is a poorly constructed building containing only one large room, and is surrounded on three sides by low mud huts roofed with boards, weighted down with stones. These are the living quarters of the lamas when attending festivals, as on the annual Tor-gya-la (གདོར་ཆུ་བཟླ) when the gtor-ma of the Bön deity Ta-lha (lTa-lha) suppresses and banishes all evil, sickness, etc. (PLATE 249). The gtor-ma is burned at the end of the ceremony. Their large Bön temple is called Phun-tshogs-bden-rgyas-gling,* pronounced Phün-tshog-den-gye-ling a smaller Bön temple in the vicinity being called Sun-te-nyi. The Tso-so, as well as the natives of the other four *So*, call themselves (Na-z(u); this is equivalent to the Na-khi *Na-zo* which means a male Na-khi. 346

Five li from the temple the trail brings us to a small hamlet with another, but much smaller, Bön temple or chapel. The hamlet is called Bo-shaw. Between the latter and the main temple is another little village called Gu-du-lo. East of Bo-shaw a distance of five li up the valley is the hamlet of Wu-dzu-lo. From Bo-shaw it is only a short distance to the tiny hamlet of Hlu-wa on the shore of the lake, at the southern end of the broad base of T'u-bbu. 487* 133* 137*

Outlet of the lake at Hai-men-ch'iao. — A few li beyond Hlu-wa is the outlet of the lake. A long valley extends east-north-east into which Lu-ku Lake empties; the valley is very broad and is a vast swamp extending from hill to hill. The outlet is a sluggish stream, spanned by a wooden bridge, with hardly any noticeable current; it converts the valley into a great marsh: outlet, stream and valley collectively are known as Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge).

This stream unites with the one flowing from the center of the T'u-bbu peninsula and together they flow into the Ta-ch'ung Ho at an elevation of 8,700 feet, not far from the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村. East of the actual bridge Hai-men-ch'iao is a long sandy stretch with a little hamlet on the southern end which is in Yün-nan. Between this little hamlet and a stream called the Chi-p'u Ho is the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. On this stream is situated the hamlet of Chi-p'u in Tso-so land.

Shan-kwua on the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. — Beyond the little hamlet on the southern end of the broad sandy stretch in Yün-nan, a small stream called the Shan-kwua flows into the lake. About six li before reaching the lake a bridge crosses it and here are two hamlets, both of which are known as Shan-kwua (She-k'ua 佘瓜); they are in Yün-nan and form the border between Yung-ning and Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan. This is a distance of 60 li from Yung-ning. The Shan-kwua Stream has its source south-west in the mountains which here encircle the lake, while broad valleys debouch to the lake-shore from the east in Tso-so land.

* ཕུན་ཚོགས་བདེན་རྒྱས་གླིང

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF 16

4. TA-LO-SHUI 大羅水

*487 West of Shan-kwua, near a small stream, are three hamlets collectively
*133 called Lan-fan. Two streams debouch here into the lake. The westernmost
*139 Lan-fan is situated between the two streams, of which the western one debouches from a deep valley extending north-east, past a deep bay. The trail climbs a bluff overlooking the lake and here one obtains a beautiful view over the south-eastern end of this lovely sheet of water (PLATE 250). Continuing west along its shores we come to another stream which flows through a deep, winding ravine which we cross; here at its mouth is the hamlet of Dyi-p'u, whence a trail leads over the mountains to Pai-chio. The lake-shore extends north-north-west, the mountains sloping closely down to the water. By far the broadest expanse of level ground along the shore is some five li beyond Dyi-p'u, where two streams debouch into the lake. Here is also the largest village. It is inhabited, like the rest, purely by Hli-khin or Yung-ning Mo-so peasants, and is called by them Lo-shu [Ta-lo-shui, Large Lo-shui; in contradistinction to Hsiao-lo-shui (Small Lo-shui) called Law-zhĕr, situated on the northern shore]. From here one can reach Bo-wu-tsu valley to the south-west by following the valley edge by Ta-lo-shui and climbing zigzag to the top of the encircling mountains; here covered with spruce and fir forest. A magnificent view over nearly the entire lake is to be had from half way up the mountain on the trail to Bo-wu-tsu. From the summit ridge the trail descends to an alpine meadow which is the head of a valley called Nya-mu-lo and which debouches into Bo-wu-tsu below the hamlet of Law-k'a.

From Ta-lo-shui, where the Yung-ning chiefs have a commodius house with a Lama Buddhist chapel, the trail follows along the lake-shore crossing three small streams. The mountains slope rather steeply to the water, with the exception of a peninsula which is the nearest point of land to Nyo-ro-p'u, the most important island in the lake. There are no more villages between Ta-lo-shui and the pass over which the trail leads to Yung-ning and the lamasery 23 li distant.

In 1940 a battle was fought here between the lamas of Yung-ning and Lo-los brought in by the son of the late Tsung-kuan to suppress the authority of the abbot A Shao-fu 阿少符. A feud has thus developed in the Yung-ning A family to the detriment of the country.

5. ISLANDS IN THE LU-KU HU

*133 There are altogether five islets in the Yung-ning Lake, of which three are in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan. Yün-nan possesses the two largest, while the third largest belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu and is in Ssu-ch'uan. The smallest is a mere oblong rock near the northern shore below Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain). The most interesting historically are Hle-wu-be and Nyo-ro-p'u which belong to the Yung-ning chief. Both these islands are fairly large comparatively speaking, and were inhabited as far back as the Ming dynasty when the Li-chiang chiefs, especially Mu Sheng-pai, or Mu Tseng (1587–1646), had control over this territory.

The names of the islands in Yün-nan are: Nyo-ro-p'u, situated in the cen-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

ter of the north-western half of the lake and exactly ten li from Hli-ki; Hle-wu-be, off the south-western point of T'u-bbu peninsula and separated from the latter by a channel breast-deep; and the third Nyi-se, a mere oblong rock, probably once fallen from the heights above or part of the rocky shore of the lake. It is covered with scrub vegetation. Of the two Ssu-ch'uan islets one is called Bu-wua and belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu; it is in the south-eastern half of the lake close to the slopes of the T'u-bbu peninsula. The second is called A-na-wa and belongs to the Mu-li lama King (PLATE 255). It is a small islet situated south-east of the spur of Ta-dzui which forms the bay in the Mu-li part of the lake-shore. 133*

Nyo-ro-p'u. — (PLATES 251, 252). Nyo-ro-p'u, which the Hli-khin people call Khyo-ō-on and the Na-khi Khü-wua-gku, is the most important strategically, as it is out of the range of rifle bullets, being located in the center of the lake. It is 100 feet in height and is surrounded by a wall with watch-towers and loop-holes, to ward off attacks by possible bandits. Furthermore, to prevent landing anywhere on the island, large pine trees have been sunk around the island, the base of the trees resting on the shore the branches sticking out of the water (PLATE 252). It is impracticable for any row-boat to approach the island save on the west side, where there is a regular landing place, a channel between sunken pine trees. There are also only two gates in the wall, one at the landing on the west shore, and one opposite on the east shore. The highest point, 100 feet above the lake, is at the southern end. The western side is nearly a straight line, and is 813 feet long; the eastern side is convex and measures 1,083 feet; the north point of the island is 66 feet across and the south point 40 feet, giving the island a total circumference of 2,002 feet. The northern crest is long and narrow with a small path leading to a lovely little tea or rest-house. The island has only been recently again inhabited (since 1920) when the late Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan, brother-in-law of the chief, built a residence first on the northern slope, and then a larger and massive house on the highest point after levelling off the top of the island. Here at least his family could be safe from the attacks of the Gangkar-ling bandits, who more than once came to Yung-ning to loot and burn. No rifle shot can reach the island and as there are no other boats available except those owned by him, it is impossible for any one to approach it; furthermore the Tibetans, having a holy fear of water, would never venture on the lake. From behind the loop-holes in the solid wall, any enemy could be held at bay. The island serves also as a treasure-house for all valuables, such as silver ceremonial utensils, butter lamps, etc., used in the lama ceremonies. All the valuable brocade dresses with gold and silver spangles, valuable Tibetan paintings, heirlooms, etc., not only of the Yung-ning chief, but also the treasures belonging to the Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü) chief to the south of Yung-ning, are kept in safety on the island. I was often told that it held over 100 horseloads of treasure. 133* 712

On this island were born the last three children of the Tsung-kuan's last marriage (PLATES 253, 254); the youngest son, born in 1927, was, during my visit to Yung-ning in 1931–1932, declared by Lhasa to be the third incarnation of a Huo-fu (Living Buddha) of Dre-pung Lamasery, situated 173

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173 some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdang-phyug[9] (pronounced Khentrül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

*133 On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned.

172 The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

342 On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yün-nan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. *See:* J. F. ROCK, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

173 Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he

[9] [illegible]

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[p. 426 A]

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 225. — THE YUNG-NING LAMA CHANTING HALL

永寧喇嘛誦經堂

It is the largest building of the lamasery; in it all services are conducted necessitating a full complement of lamas. The entire lama constituency of Yung-ning is assembled before the gates of the hall. In the center (small figure) the late Huo-fu; on his left the abbot; on his right a lama oracle.

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[p.426 B]

PLATE 226. — LAMA DANCERS OF YUNG-NING

永寧喇嘛跳舞之狀態

They represent from left to right: 1, the Tibetan stag or Sha-wu, the messenger of the god of the dead; 2 and 3, the central and northern gShin-rje sngon-po = the blue Lords of the dead; 4 and 5, Shwa-nag = Black hat dancers (sorcerers); 6, Dam-chan-gshin-rje chhos-kyi-rgyal-po = Yama the Lord (Judge) of the dead; 7, the latter's wife Chi-mun-tra; 8, mGon-po bram-ze = Brá-hma nátha; 9, kShe-tra-pá-la = the oracle of Serra monastery; 10, Ma-há-ká-la or mGon-po phyag-drug-pa; 11, Seng-ge gdong-chan = the lion-faced companion of Lha-mo the She-devil.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 227. — HSI-SHIH, NA-KHI, HSI-FAN, LI-SU AND TIBETANS COME TO WATCH THE LAMA DANCES AT YUNG-NING

A motley crowd gathers in the court of the Yung-ning Lamasery at every festival, the long skirted women belong to the Hsi-hsing tribe.

[p. 426 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 118. — THE MAITREYA OR COMING BUDDHA IN YUNG-HUNG LAMASERY

This giant image was erected by the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. It is of gilt clay and its interior is filled with the Kang-gyur (bKah-hgyur) and Tang-gyur (bsTan-hgyur), the Tibetan Classics; in all some 317 Volumes. Note the tall lamas to both sides of the image.

[p. 426-D]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 129.—NA-KHI DTO-MBAH PERFORMING THE HÄR-LA-LLÜ CEREMONY

納西多巴(祭)為行心喇嘛法

The ceremony, lasting from three to five days, is to propitiate the spirits of suicides causing harm to the family to which they belonged. Many promiscuous love affairs end in double suicide.

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[p. 426 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 230. — YO-WA-BU PASS OVER THE TA-YAO SHAN

大 要 大 巴 山 山 日

The author's entourage on Yo-wa-bu Pass in front of the Li-su guard station. It is the most important pass over Ta-yao Shan, on the caravan route to Yung-ning from Feng-k'o, on the Yangtze.

[p. 426-F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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714

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 231.—LI-SU GUARD WITH CROSSBOW ON YO-WA-SU PASS

金沙火藥山羅漢哨兵

On the summit pass in lovely fir and spruce forest Li-su guards are on the lookout for bandits. They run to Yung-ning to notify the chief should robbers make their appearance. Lo-lo have now settled immediately east of Yo-wa-bu, and thus the pass is practically in the hands of robbers.

[p. 426-G]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 232.—THE YANGTSE VALLEY LOOKING SOUTHWEST FROM NEAR Ni-a

金沙江從寧蒗縣北面西南望

The Yangtse forms here the border between Yung-ning and the Li-chiang district. The mountain visible through the clouds is Hua-ti-yi ze-lo; the terraced fields (lower left) belong to the village of Lee-k'o-khi-fiu (Po-chin). Feng-k'o is west of the river about center of picture.

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2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 233.—YUNG-NING PIEN-NIU OR HALF-BREED YAK (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

永寧騙牛，黃牛與犏牛雜種

Half-breed Yak or Dao (mDao), a cross between a domestic cow and a Tibetan Yak, grazing on the alpine meadows of Wua-ha Shan, Yung-ning, elevation 11,500 feet. Mount Dao-an-p'u in the distance.

[p. 426-I]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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PLATE 134.—THE LI-SU HAMLET OF BA-KU-SIN

A ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

Ba-ku-sin is situated on a terrace in the Tsai-yi valley at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It is the only Li-su village in this area. Note the pumpkins on the roofs of the houses.

[p. 426 - J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

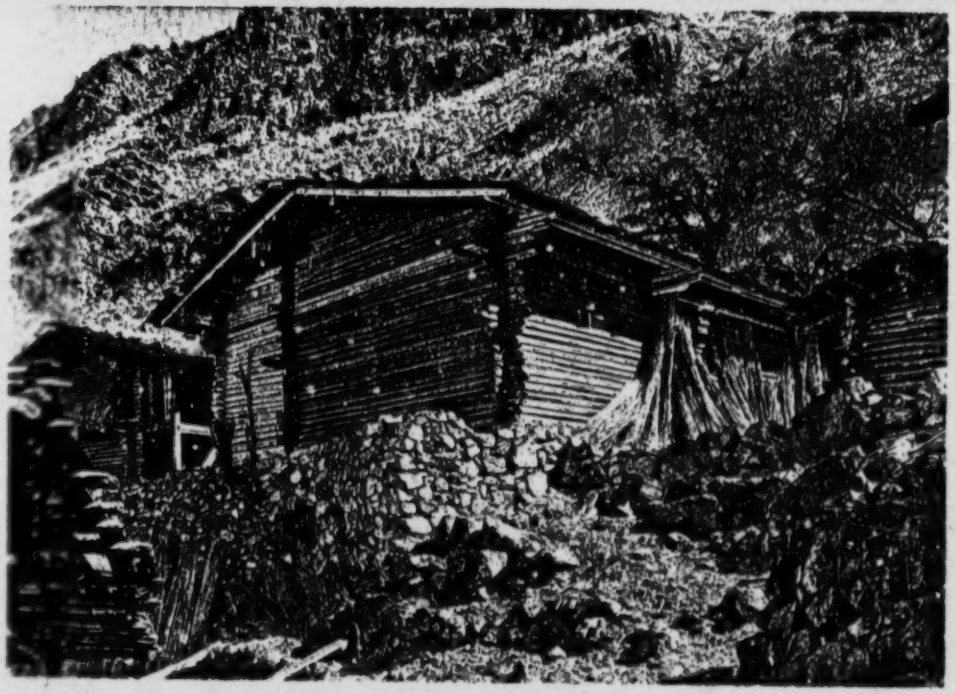

PLATE 235. — LI-SU LOG CABINS OF THE BA-SSU-KO VILLAGE

木瑟瑟巴人

The cabins are of yellow pine logs, the roof pine boards weighted down with rocks. Leaning against the wall of the first cabin, are hemp stalks (*Cannabis sativa*) from the fiber of which they weave their clothing.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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291

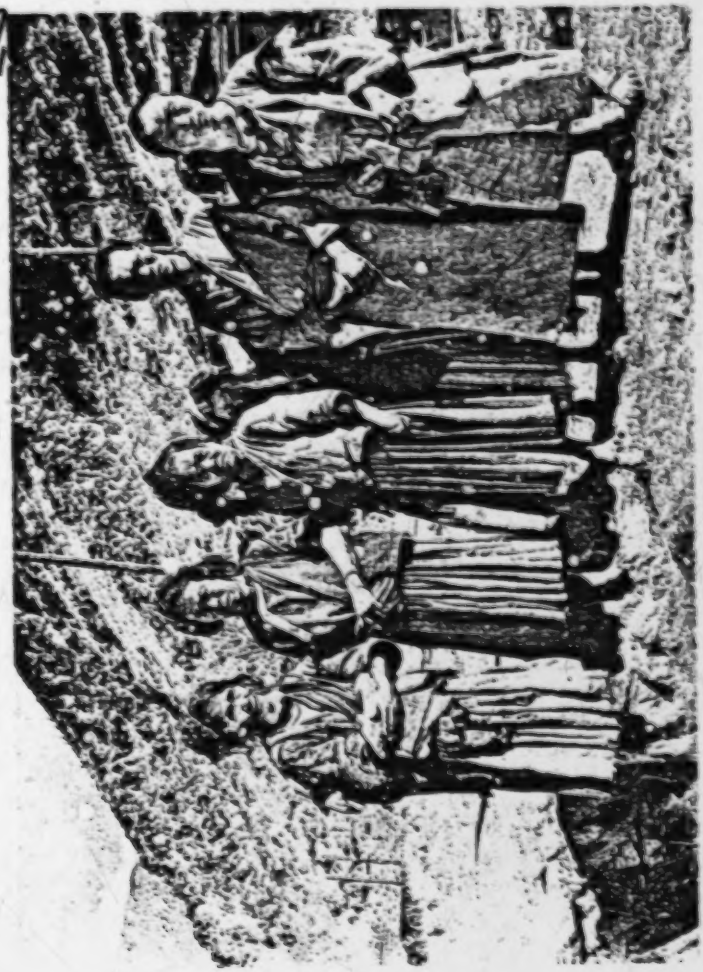

PLATE 256. — LI-SU PEASANTS OF BA-SHU-KO

本 事 為 無 子 西 人

Nearly all are cretins and afflicted with goitre. Their constant intermarriage has caused them to degenerate. They live a miserable existence, isolated from the rest of the world.

[p. 426-L]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 137. — VIEW OVER YUNG-HING AND LIEH MOUNTAIN FROM EAST OF TO-KA-BO PASS

自大佛寺西山望永興，獵平山竹壩

Photographed looking east from an elevation of 12,200 feet. A trail leads here west over To-ka-bo Pass to Hêr-dü and Sen-chiang-k'ou at the apex of the Yangtze loop. Pines, spruces, poplars and rhododendrons in foreground.

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[p.426 M]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 238. — CROSSING THE YANGTZE NEAR THE APEX OF THE LOOP

渡江處環江沖金沙江之頂點上游

It took the expedition two days to ferry its entourage and belongings from Yung-ning to the Li-chiang side of the river. More than twenty Zhêr-khin swimmers were engaged for the purpose.

[P. 426 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1954-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 239. — A NA-KHI SOLDIER OF O-YÜ, NOW SERVING THE MU-LI T'U-SSU

木里土司的納西兵

The Na-khi of O-yü are the descendants of professional soldiers who guarded the region, which from 1406 to 1729 was ruled by Na-khi chiefs. They were said to have been placed there by Mu Sheng-pai. Many are now soldiers in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's tribal guard. He wears a panda skin as headdress.

[p. 426-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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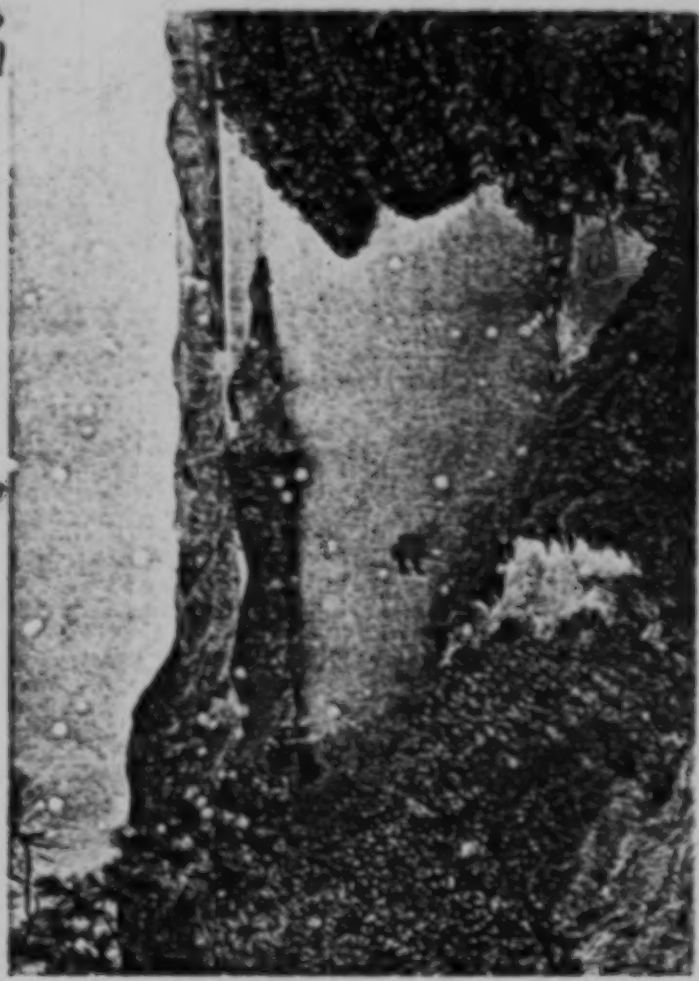

PLATE 150.—THE NORTHERN SCARP OF YUNNAN-FU LAKE

The trail in the foreground leads to the village of Hsi-hsi near the foot of Lion Mountain. The Yün-nan — Sun-ch'ang border is beyond (east) the long, wooded promontory. The trees covering the lake-overlooking hills are mainly pines and oaks. The Ta-ma territory is the background.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 chose to spend the last years of his life. After the Japanese had taken T'eng-ch'ung in south-west Yün-nan it was rumoured in the summer of 1942, that they were on their way to Ta-li. In order to avoid falling into their hands I left Li-chiang intending to make my way north through Mu-li to K'ang-ting. I stopped *en route* at Yung-ning but owing to a severe illness was prevented from carrying out my plan. I visited the island of Nyo-ro-p'u and stayed there about ten days. I enquired of the two last born sons of the late Tsung-kuan, who were living on the island with their mother, where their father's grave was. To my greatest astonishment they replied that they did not know. I then asked a lama who said his ashes are buried on the island of Hle-wu-be. I then requested the two sons to accompany me to the island to visit their father's grave; to this they consented. We rowed over with a lama who took us up to the broad part of the spur, back of the ancient tower-ruin of the days of Mu Sheng-pai, and there found two graves, one that of a lama (on the south edge of the spur) and the other north of it that of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan. Not even a stone marked the spot, only a few rocks and thorny branches covered a small circular depression, yet his remains had been buried there since 1933. The two sons who had never visited the grave amused themselves elsewhere while I meditated at the resting place of my old friend. The boys had rowed by there nearly every day with their Lo-lo dogs when on their way hunting in the forests around the lake, but did not even enquire where their father was buri.

The present Yung-ning Tsung-kuan is the second son of the late A Yün-shan; he was selected by his father and previously acted for him on various occasions. His name is A-pi 阿霏 in Chinese, and A-p'a-du-dji in the Mo-so Hli-khin language.

*133 *137 *Hle-wu-be.* — The island of Hle-wu-be is situated off the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula and is the oldest inhabited island in the lake. It is in line with, and south three li of the island of Nyo-ro-p'u, and separated from T'u-bbu by a narrow channel about four feet deep. It is densely wooded with pines and other trees, and covered with vines such as climbing Lonicera, etc. Near the center of the island is an ancient lama temple with a low hut for a priest or hermit, hidden in trees and shrubbery. In the sixth moon the peasants of Hli-khin land (Yung-ning) come to this islet to pray in the temple.

Many birds have made their home on this peaceful spot, as it is now uninhabited. On its very top is the ruin of an old watch-tower built by the Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pai, (1587–1646). Little remains but about 15 feet of the tower in which a tree had taken root, grown to large size but has now died and crumbled. This island is better wooded than the rest as it has remained uninhabited for a century or more. The trees extend to the water's edge, forming a jungle; two trails lead to the top, one from the northern slope and one from the eastern, on both sides being a landing-place for canoes.

Ny-se and A-na-wa. — The island of Nyi-se is a low oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and, like Hle-wu-be, close to the mainland. This holds also good for the islands of A-na-wa and Bu-wua, the latter being still closer

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133 to the shore than the former. A-na-wa is the smaller of the two Ssu-ch'uan
137 islands; the top is rocky and bare, only the eastern and northern shores are wooded with willows. (PLATE 255)

Bu-wua. — Bu-wua, which belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu, has a residence and Bön lama Temple on its summit. It forms a broad triangle and its slopes are wooded. It is not used as a residence like Nyo-ro-p'u but merely as a place of refuge for the Tso-so chief and his family at the approach of either Tibetan or Lo-lo bandits.

T'u-bbu peninsula. — There remains now the long T'u-bbu peninsula. This latter discharges a stream from its central portion eastwards, which flows past the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung) and, united with the Hai-men-ch'iao, flows into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. The peninsula, which is about ten li in length, is densely wooded with pines and oaks. The last third or south-western end of this land tongue is in Yün-nan, the remainder in Ssu-ch'uan. A small ravine on its north-western slope, with a hut where a Chinese family has settled, is the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan. The slopes are very steep and rocky and covered with scrub oaks and pines. Its highest
173 point is in Yün-nan. Near the end of the peninsula the top is more or less broad and there can still be seen the remains of a house once inhabited by the proud Na-khi war-lord, MuT'ien-wang 木天王, the "Celestial King Mu," as Mu Tseng used to be styled 300 years ago. Now the remnants of the walls are moss covered and damp, buried in forest of oak and pine. All the glory of the past has vanished. To-day not a vestige remains of the power once held by the Na-khi chiefs in the days of the Ming, when they reached their height in Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Tseng); their descendants a counterpart of the ruins on this peninsula, live in poverty in the Li-chiang district, without a trace of the martial spirit which characterized their noble ancestors.

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CHAPTER VII

NING-LANG 寧蒗 OR LANG-CH'Ü CHOU 瀘沽州

1. BOUNDARIES

The district of Lang-ch'ü which is still under a native T'u-ssu is now called Ning-lang 寧蒗. The present T'u-ssu, like his ancestors, bears the family name A 阿 and is a relative of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. The Lang-ch'ü territory is situated between Yung-ning and the territory of Yung-pei, east of the Yangtze loop, and is bordered to the east by the Chung-so T'u-ssu 中所土司 in Ssu-ch'uan. It is watered by the Wo-lo Ho, the southern branch of which has its source south of Lang-ch'ü chou. The chief is a Mo-so, as are most of the T'u-ssu in this region, viz., the Chung-so, Tso-so, Ch'ien-so, Hou-so 後所 and Yu-so 右所, who are collectively called the Wu-so (Five *So*). The peasants are also Mo-so, but in Lang-ch'ü territory the Lo-lo have now the upper hand and are the real masters. A similar situation prevails in the territory of the other *So*. 101

The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, have the following to say regarding the boundaries of that district:

"It is 220 li north of the ruling city of Yung-pei. Its original name was Lo-kung 羅共 and it is inhabited by the Lo-lo and Mo-so tribes.

"In the east it borders on Ko-na-ssu 格納思, 100 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Chung-so border.

"In the south to the Tien Ho 點河 120 li to the border of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu [he was T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng].

"In the west to Chin-hsing 金形 180 li to the border of Li-chiang fu [in the Yangtze valley].

"In the north to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡 120 li to the border of Yung-ning. This is a village east of Mien-mien Shan (Continuous Mountain)."

2. HISTORICAL RECORDS

The Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 4b, state the following about the district:

"The seat of government of the Lang-ch'ü territory is at Lo-kung t'an 羅共潭, situated east of Li-chiang and north of the governing chün 郡 [Yung-pei], adjoining and contiguous with Yung-ning.

"Originally three tribes dwelled there from generation to generation; they are the Lo-lo, Mo [Mo-so] and Hsieh 些 [Li-hsieh 力些]. Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253). In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272), the district was incorporated in the empire. In the 16th year (1279) the name Lo-kung t'an was changed to the department of Lang-ch'ü chou. During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449) it became subject to Lan-ts'ang wei (military station of Lan-ts'ang); [this is the present Yung-pei or Yung-sheng].

"In the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (1687) the Wei was abolished and united

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101 with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) the chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

173 The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.[1] In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐國公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿哥, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿頗, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿洪, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鑾, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿岐鳳, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿逵, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬曆 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尚義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the district. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659), owing to the ravages of the troops, he lost his letters patent, seal, and documents. Later Wu San-kuei rebelled, and, although he did not again receive official certificates, he assumed office.

[1] In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-magistrate).

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Then came A Ssu-tsu 阿嗣祖, son of the former. In the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (1692) he gratefully received from the provincial ruler Ma 馬, the official title of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). He also appointed him to rule over the Fan and I 番夷 barbarians and savages [Tibetans and Lo-lo are meant], and allowed him to collect taxes. 173

He died without sons and his younger brother, A Ssu-hsien 阿嗣賢, followed him, having received from fu-magistrate Li 李 permission to assume the position. In the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (1705) he received from the Board of Frontiers a commission to be the native chief and to rule his district.

Then followed A T'eng-lung 阿騰龍, who was the former's first-born. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720) his father died, and in the 60th year (1721) he assumed his father's position. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) he received orders from General Liu 劉 to come to La-ju-wo 腊肉窩 to join the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan military officials, to capture the bandit chief Liao-ma-ch'e 了馬車. He endured many hardships, became ill and died.

Afterwards followed A Feng-t'ai 阿鳳泰, son of T'eng-lung. At his father's death he was still a minor. The magistrate of Yung-pei, Shih Hsiang 石詳 by name, arranged to have his paternal grandmother [of the La family], look after the affairs of office and also after the orphan grandchild. In the 13th year of Ch'ien-lung (1748) he reached his majority and was then asked to assume his father's position.

After him came A Ch'i-chi 阿其吉, his son. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy Te 德 ordered him to assume his father's position. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) he was ordered to assemble his native troops and his headmen and to lead them to Wei-yüan,[3] where there was trouble. Later he led his troops to Nan-lung[5] to attack the Chung and Miao tribes. Afterwards they were again sent to Wei-hsi.[4] He acquired merit on these expeditions, and was given a silver medal, cattle and wine.

Then followed A Erh-fu 阿爾福, the son of A Ch'i-chi. In the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809) Viceroy Chang 章 ordered him to assume his father's position.

Then followed A Wei-chu 阿爲柱, the former's first-born. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) Viceroy Po 伯 sent him letters patent. In the 10th year of Tao-kuang (1830) he asked for permission to assume his hereditary position. In the 22nd year (1842) he received from the Executive Office an official commission and a copper seal, and thereupon assumed his official position. In the 27th year (1847) he led the native troops to Yen-yüan hsien in Ssu-ch'uan where he captured the Moslem rebel Hai-pa-wang 海巴王. His military exploits were recorded. In the 29th year (1849) he repaired the wall of his city (Lang-ch'ü chou). He received from his su-

[3] Wei-yüan was in the district of P'u-erh, north-west of that city in the south of Yün-nan. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Yin-sheng fu 銀生府; in the Yüan it was known as Wei-yüan. It is the present Ching-ku 景谷 on the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河 which flows into the Mekong.

[5] Nan-lung is in the province of Kuei-chou.

[4] Wei-hsi is in the north-west of Yün-nan.

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1773 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尚文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsi 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲雁) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position."[6]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

567 661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-i 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yünnan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

[6] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the T'u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

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I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 蒗蕖土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to

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the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

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The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang 吳兆棠 submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang 東升廠, also Pai-niu ch'ang 白牛廠. At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers (池) or smelters going [the word *ch'ih* 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every *ch'ih* from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.

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PART VI

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT RECORDS

The District of Yen-yüan 鹽源 (Salt-well) is situated in south-western Ssu-ch'uan and south-east of Hsi-k'ang 西康. 101

The Yen-yüan magistracy comprises a considerable area still ruled by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderatingly Mo-so; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascendancy. Yen-yüan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yün-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch'uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yün-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yüan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.[1] Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five *So* (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* 四川通志 (General Topography of Ssu-ch'uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* 嘉慶一統志). 173

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* 鹽源縣志 (Yen-yüan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.[2] A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935–1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

[1] He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch'un-p'in 項扎巴松典稱品.

[2] The *Pei-p'ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T'u-shu-kuan* 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.

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173 work is not in manuscript, but is a block-print consisting of six *pen* 本. It is not divided throughout into numbered chapters, and its pages are numbered in part; an index (*mu-lu* 目錄) is also lacking. Furthermore, pages are missing here and there throughout the six volumes. There are no maps.

I have lately come into the possession of a copy of the Yen-yüan Records through the kindness of the Mu-li ruler. The same pages are missing as in the Peiping copy, which would indicate that the printing blocks representing these pages have been lost and not the pages themselves.

The first preface is dated the 17th year of Kuang-hsü (1891) while the second preface is dated the 19th year of Kuang-hsü (1893). The Record was compiled by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu Chün-yün 吳鈞雲 and Ku P'ei-yüan 顧培源, who was a Chien-sheng 監生 (Collegian of the Imperial Academy).

This work has enabled me to give here a detailed account of the genealogical history of the native Mo-so chiefs and the history of the territory they rule; a general account of the history and topography of the entire region under the jurisdiction of Yen-yüan is also added. I have only been able to make extensive visits to the territory of three, namely Mu-li, Tso-so and Ch'ien-so.

An account of the Mu-li lama King or Pacification Commissioner, his genealogical records and the history and geographical account of his kingdom, is reserved for a separate work which will include also Hsi-k'ang or the Tibetan Marches.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Past and present designations. — The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 1, states that: "The land of Yen-yüan is in the extreme south-west of China. At one of its frontiers there is a salt lake. This land is also called Tso 筰 and possesses a clear [salt] spring which is indeed a treasure. In the Yüan dynasty this land was called *Jun* 閏 (Extra) as if it were a small piece of land added to the empire. In the Ming dynasty it was called a *Ching* 井 (Well) as if it had been an insignificant territory.

"Since the time of the Han dynasty this territory had been captured several times but could not be retained as part of the Chinese empire. At times it was rejected by the Imperial Court and later could not again be recovered, not even by force. Yet for several thousand years it has retained its beauty and mysteries. The emperor tried to acquaint the tribes peoples with Confucianism and graced them with virtues. They looked upon this as a constellation which supplied them with food.

"Therefore the first name given to this land was Yüan 源 (Source of a spring). The intention was that the people should keep firmly impressed in their mind the stream of the Imperial grace and not sever their connection with it.

Establishment between Hsia and Han dynasties. — "According to the Yü-kung 禹貢 (Tribute of Yü) of the Hsia dynasty 夏 (2205–2197 B.C.) which governed the province of Liang chou, the land of Yen-yüan hsien was situated outside its south-west frontier. In the 30th year of Nan Wang 赧王

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of the Chou dynasty 周 (285 B.C.) the State of Ch'in 秦 appointed a prefect to govern the land of Shu [Ssu-ch'uan] and called it Tso 筰, which is the first appearance of the name in the History of China. At the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.) there was established Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣 (district of Ting-tso) in the same territory, subordinate to the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 and ruled by an official bearing the title of Tu-yü 都尉.[3] 173

Under Shu Han, Chin, Sung, and Northern Chou. — "Under the various dynasties which followed, as the Shu Han, Chin and Sung, the name as well as the policy towards it remained unchanged. In the Ch'i 齊 dynasty (479–501) the land was lost to the Liao 獠 tribes.[4] In the second year of T'ien-ho 天和 of the Northern Chou dynasty 北周 (567) the Principality of Ting-tso 定筰鎮 was established there.

Under T'ang and Sung. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the hsien of K'un-ming 昆明縣 was established subject to the department of Sui 巂州. Afterwards the Meng family 蒙氏 of the Nan-chao Kingdom made it to Chün 郡 of Hsiang-ch'eng 香城. In the Sung dynasty (960–1126) it was nominally kept in restraint (by the emperor) but was really controlled by the Ta-li Kingdom which called it the Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸.

Under Yüan. — "In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it became the land of the Lo-lan tribe [Lo-lan pu; the Lo-lan tribe and Lo-lo are identical. *see* p. 416]. In the 10th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) it acknowledged allegiance to the empire. In the 14th year (1277) the Yen-ching Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch of Yen-ching) was established. In the 15th year (1278) there was created the department of Chin 金州 (Chin chou), later demoted to the district of Chin 金縣 or Chin hsien.

"In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Jun-yen chou 閏鹽州 and made subordinate to Te-p'ing Lu 德平路 (Circuit of Te-p'ing). In the 27th year (1290) the chou was made into a hsien and the prefecture of Po-hsing 柏興府 was established.[5]

[3] In the National Library of Peiping (now temporarily in the safe-keeping of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.) there is extant the 3d. volume of a rare work entitled: *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* 四川土夷考 published in the Wan-li period (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, the other volumes have unfortunately been lost. This work (the 3d. chapter) deals in part with Yen-yüan and the Wu-so 烏蘇, and I give here translations as far as they concern us here. As regards Yen-yüan it states under the heading Yen-ching wei t'u shou 鹽井衛土酋 on p. 36b, "According (to records) Yen-ching wei under the Han dynasty was the land of Ting-tso hsien of the Chün of Yüeh-sui. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty it was called Po-hsing fu 柏興府. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so 柏興千戶所 and afterwards was again changed to Yen-ching wei, or the military garrison of Yen-ching."

According to Ma Tuan-lin the Liao are a tribe of barbarians or (Man) mentioned in antiquity. Their original home was in the region situated between Liang chou and I chou. From Han-chung 漢中 [parts of Shensi and Ssu-ch'uan] they penetrated to Chiung 邛 and Tso (Ssu-ch'uan and the region of Yen-yüan).

[5] The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 15, fol. 30a, states the name Po-hsing was applied to it because of the dense forest of Sung Po 松柏 pines and cypresses [junipers or *Thuja orientalis* could also be meant] which existed there on a mountain called Po-lin Shan 柏林山

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173 "This town was made subordinate to a Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) belonging to the Lo-lo tribe.

Under Ming. — "In the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) the same name was retained as well as the policy towards it, but it was later changed to Po-hsing chou. In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so 柏興千戶所 (Petty military station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subordinate to the Wei of Chien-ch'ang 建昌衛. In the 27th year (1394) the Wei of Yen-ching was established and its ruler was given the title of Chün min chih-hui shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and civil leader of the native tribes).

Under Ch'ing. — "At the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) it was still called Yen-ching wei. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) the office of the Military Station was abolished and the hsien of Yen-yüan was established in its stead, subordinate to the fu-city of Ning-yüan 寧遠府.

2. SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Under Han. — "In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) there was established the hsien of Ting-tso. In the sixth year of Yüan-feng 元封 (105 B.C.) the land of Chiung and Tso was changed into the Chün of Ch'en-li 沈黎郡.[6] In the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.) Ch'en-li was abolished and two Tu-yü 都尉 (Captains) were appointed, one to govern Mao-niu 牛崍 and to control the foreign Ch'iang 羌 tribes, and the other to govern Ch'ing-i 青衣 and to control the people of Han (Chinese), at that time Ting-tso was subject to the Tu-yü of Mao-niu.[7]

(Cypress forest Mountain) 10 li south of the city of Yen-yüan. The color of the forest was beautiful and the trees tall, touching heaven. It was surrounded by the Lung Shui (Dragon River) and was the border of Tien (Yün-nan) and Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and the land where the Chinese and barbarians met.

The old *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (of 1733), ch. 27, fols. 13b–14a, states that in ancient times the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 (Mo-so) dwelled where Po-hsing was. At the end of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶, about A.D. 755, it was captured by the T'u-fan. In 1273 the chief of the Mo-sha tribe of Yen-ching submitted to the empire.

In 1280 there were established P'u-lo chou 普樂州 and Jun-yen chou 潤鹽州 and in 1290 the two were united and made the Jun-yen hsien or Jun-yen district, of which the prefectural city was Po-hsing (fu).

[6] E. CHAVANNES in Vol. 1, Introduction to *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, p. LXXXVIII, states that Ch'en-li (Tchen-li) was the ancient territory of the principate of Tso, and is the present prefecture of Li-chiang.

The *Chia-ch'ing I t'ung-chi*, ch. 403, fol. 1b, states that Ch'en-li was south-east of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 and was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷作都國 (Kingdom of Tso-tu of the Western Barbarians). According to the *Shih Chi* 史記 (Historical Records), Hsi-Tso-tu 徙作都 was the largest of the 10 tribal chieftain territories situated to the north-east of Sui 嶲.

In the Han dynasty the Marquis of Tso 作侯 was murdered and Tso-tu was changed to Ch'en-li Chün. The latter was, however, abolished in the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.). During the Chin dynasty it was again established by dividing Han-chia 漢嘉 (the present Ming-shan hsien 名山縣 under Ya-chou fu 雅州府). The name of Ch'en-li does not appear in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*.

[7] Mao-niu hsien is the territory south of the present Ch'ing-ch'i hsien under Ya-chou fu.

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"Then there was established the hsien or district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣.[8] The name Sui-chiu was derived from the name of a mountain. According to the *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經, the Sheng Shui 繩水 has its source in the Pa-sui Mountain 巴遂山. According to the *Hua-yang chih* 華陽志, in Sui-chiu there is a hsien and a river called Sheng Shui. 173

Under the Three Kingdoms and Shu Han period. — "During the period of the Shu Han dynasty of the Three Kingdoms (221–265) it was called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien. In the (two) Chin dynasties (265–419) it was also called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien but was changed and made subject to Yün-nan Chün,[9] which was later again abolished. In the Sung dynasty of the house of Liu 宋劉 (420–478) it was again called Ting-tso hsien. In the Ch'i, Liang and Pei Chou 齊梁北周 dynasties (479–580) it had the following designations:

"In the Ch'i dynasty it was the Liao Chün 僚郡 of Yüeh-sui, and the hsien of Ting-tso was subject to the latter.[10]

"In the Liang dynasty, Ting-tso hsien was again established, subordinate to Sui chou. Later it fell into the hands of its aggressors. In the Later [northern] Chou the Principality of Ting-tso was established.

Under T'ang. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the district of K'un-ming was created, subject to Sui-chou. Afterwards it ceased to exist as the Nan-chao Kingdom captured it. The latter established in its stead the Chün of Hsiang-ch'eng.

"In the seventh year (624) there was established the chou of Hsi-yü 西豫. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) its name was changed to

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In the *Han Shu* it relates that the descendants of the Ch'iang chief Wu-i 無弋 established separate tribes of which one was the Mao-niu tribe [or Yak tribe who apparently were nomads herding yak (Mao-niu)]. They were the Yüeh-sui Ch'iang. This Tu-yü resided in Mao-niu and was the ruler of the barbarians who lived outside the border. In the second year of Yen-kuang 延光 (A.D. 123) of the Eastern Han, the tribes of Mao-niu rebelled and attacked Ling Kuan 靈關. [This pass is 60 li north-west of Lu-shan hsien 盧山縣 and adjoins the border of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州. It led over the Ling Shan and was considered of great strategic importance as one guard is said to be able to hold up 100 attackers. It adjoined the border of the Pai-lang 白狼 barbarians; it was like the belt of the Fan and Man tribes.] They were then attacked by Chang Ch'iao 張喬 who defeated them. [He was a native of Nan-yang 南陽 in Ho-nan and was a hereditary official appointed during An Ti 安帝 (107–125).]

The ch'ing-i hsien (district of Ch'ing-i) is the land to the north of the present-day Ya-an hsien 雅安縣.

According to the *Ya-chou fu chih*, ch. 3, fol. 34b, Ch'ing-i hsien was originally the kingdom of the Ch'ing-i Ch'iang 青衣羌. In 201 B.C., that is the sixth year of Kao Tsu of the Han dynasty, it was first opened and the district of Ch'ing-i established. It then belonged to the Chün of Shu 蜀郡.

[8] In the Western Han dynasty it was a district in the Chün of Yüeh-sui. In the Chin 晉 dynasty it was a hsien in Ning chou 寧州 in the Chün of Yün-nan 雲南郡. It is the land to the west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien of Ssu-ch'uan.

[9] Yün-nan Chün was 80 li south of Yün-nan hsien, subject to Ta-li fu, Yün-nan province. It is the present day Hsiang-yün 鄉雲 (pronounced Ch'iang-yün in Yün-nan), two and a half stages east of Ta-li.

[10] The hsien was abolished as the Liao tribes captured it.

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173 Chi-mi Mi chou 羈縻靡州 (Chi-mi [11] of Mi chou); [it was north-west of Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 in Yün-nan] it controlled two districts, Mo-yü 磨豫 [12] and Ch'i-pu 七部.

"Afterwards they were abolished.

"Then there was established the hsien of Ch'ang-ming 昌明縣 [13] subject to Sui chou.

"At the end of the reign of Cheng-kuan (649) there were established one chou, namely Lao chou 牢州 and three hsien, Sung-wai 松外, Hsün-sheng 尋聲, and Lin-k'ai 林開.

"At the beginning of the reign of Yung-hui 永徽 (650), the chou was abolished and the (three) hsien demoted and included in Ch'ang-ming hsien. Afterwards it was again abolished.

Under Sung and Yüan. — "At the beginning of the Sung dynasty (960) the territory was subject to a Chi-mi, but afterwards the Ta-li Tuan Shih 大理段氏 [ruling house of Tuan of Ta-li (Yün-nan)] conquered it by force, and changed its name to Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the Yüan dynasty the fu-city of Po-hsing was established. In the 17th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1280) the chou of Jun-yen 閏鹽州 was founded and in the 27th year (1290) it was demoted to a hsien, and then in the hsien was established a fu-city 府 subject to the Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing Hsüan-wei-ssu 羅羅蒙慶宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing).

"In the 15th year of Chih-yüan (1278) there was established the chou-city of Chin 金州. Afterwards it was demoted and made a hsien, namely Chin hsien, subject to the fu-city of Po-hsing.

Under Ming. — "In the Ming dynasty there was established the Yen-ching wei (Salt-well military station). In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed and made the Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so (Military sub-station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subject to the Chien-ch'ang military station. In the 27th year it was changed and the Yen-ching Wei Chün-min Chih-hui-shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and Civil Leader of the native tribes of the military Station of Yen-ching) was established, subject to the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司 (mobile captain): thereafter Chin hsien was abolished.

"Yen-yüan was called Ting-tso and in ancient days belonged to Sui chou. Yet Tso itself is not Yen-yüan, for Sung, Mou, Ch'en-li Chin-ch'uan, and Wei-tsang 松, 茂, 沈黎, 金川, 衛藏, all these were called Tso. But strange to say our district [Yen-yüan] is generally believed to, have been the territory of Tso. [Li-chiang also belonged to Ting-tso in the Han dynasty]. Yen-yüan, did not represent the whole of Sui 隋, for the territory of Sui

[11] During the T'ang dynasty dependencies of the empire were ruled by indigenous chiefs and this type of local government, of which there were ninety-two, was called Chi-mi tu-tu fu 羈縻都督府. Chi-mi-chou 羈縻州 was the designation of a prefecture of a tributary state ruled by a native prince. *See* R. DES ROTOURS, Les grand fonctionnaires de provinces en Chine sous la dynastie des T'ang in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 25, 1928, p. 243.

[12] Mo-yü was a district also called Chi-mi as was Mi chou. It is the land of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

[13] This hsien belonged to Chien-nan Tao 劍南道 (Circuit of Chien-nan) and was subject to Sui chou. It was south-west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

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also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 會理, Hui-wu 會無, Yao chou 姚州 and Ma-hu 馬湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui. 173

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yüeh-lu 月魯. 173

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 岑槃. On the south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsün 卒尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 弄贊.[14] Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. 131

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border[15] 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 棚土坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒勃海[16] of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司[17] subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military *So* (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 瀘寧營 (Military district of Lu-ning) of the district of Mien-ning 冕寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu.

[14] Yüeh-lu stands for Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsün is I Mou-hsün, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

[15] This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

[16] This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

[17] There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chün-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la written lChags-la ལྕགས་ལ; its ruler had the title of rgyal-po རྒྱལ་པོ or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.

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173 North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yün-nan and the border
131 of the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua 理化].

"The distance from Yen-yüan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yüan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso 大作 [18] was situated between T'ai-teng 臺登 and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh 瓜別 and Mu-li, crossed by the Jo Shui 若水 [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang 鴨瀧江 which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh].

"The district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣 was changed and made subordinate to Yün-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yün-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source.[19] It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yüan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien 姑復縣 [20] lay in the south of Yen-yüan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo 猓果 and No-lung 糯弄.[21]

[18] Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui 繩水 [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui 孫水 (*see* further discussion of the name Sui 筰). According to the *Mien-ning hsien chih* 冕寧縣志 ch. 2, fol. 2a, Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

[19] Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the *Shui tao t'i kang* 水道提綱 is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

[20] The last edition of the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420–478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the *Shui-ching chu* (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yüan and east of Li-chiang.

[21] The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yün-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-

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"According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 岔河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung]. 173 131

In the T'ang dynasty. — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 靡州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 牢州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

Under the Mongols. — "In the Yüan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利賨,[22] the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西瀘 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

Under the Ming dynasty. — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yen-ching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 鹽中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

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proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

[22] Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yüan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yüan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利賨揭勒 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-ho Shan 斛婆和山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 30 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 蕊庫 barbarians dwelled there.

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173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卭 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卭都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

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貞元 (799) the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 韋臯 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the *Yüan Shih*, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Chün 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獠獠 and Ju-k'u 茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅斯宣慰司.[26] The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

[26] The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: P'o-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans). All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 大渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.

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173 101 to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the *I-t'ung chih* was situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty.

"According to the *Shu Chih* 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially in the Biography of Chang I 張嶷傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso, T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the *Chün* 郡 [perhaps here translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑 [27] of the (Pai 白) Lang 狼 and Chiu 舅 the King of P'an-mu 槃木 were angry and disliked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The *Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty* state that Ting-tso hsien was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Barbarians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙作都 was the largest of them all. The *Hua-yang kuo chih* states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu Shui 瀘水 on the border of Pin-kan 賓剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白摩沙夷 dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 察罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武侯 (Marquis of Wu) (181–234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'un-ming belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the *Yüan ho chih* 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to Sui chou 嶲州. K'un-ming was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. *See* PLATES 162, 164]. For example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo ropes were stretched. The character *tso* 作 is equivalent to the character

[27] The *Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 槃木國 was west of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國, which is the present territory lying to the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順慶府 in Ssu-ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.

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chiao 茭 (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.[28] 173 101

Sui-chiu. — "It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yüeh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 勝門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134–87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — "According to the Records of the Chiu T'ang (Old T'ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 戎州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 姚州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yüan.

The obsolete Ch'ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai,[29] *Hsün-sheng* 尋聲 *and Lin-k'ai.* — "According to the *I-t'ung chih* these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T'ang History the land of Ch'ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k'ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch'ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T'ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 70 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch'ang explained. — "According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch'u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch'ang-li

[28] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* states that *tso* is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. In the *Shou-wen* 說文 it is said to be equivalent to *chiao* which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of *wei* 葦 (reed) was called *chiao.*]

[29] The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 松州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch'uan 東川 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 絳雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sung-wai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch'uan, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.

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173 長利, Kao-wang 高望 and Shih-ch'ang 始昌, in [the Chün of] Yüeh-sui.[30]
101 It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their cities [*ch'ang* meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 嶲 most of the cities were called *ch'ang*, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 鹽中, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh belonged to K'un-ming.

"It is possible that all the districts south-west of Yen-ching, as A-so-la 阿所拉,[31] Tso-so. Mu-li, Chung-so, and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (*or chou*). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K'u-lu 枯櫓, also called K'ang-wu 康塢 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'i 蘇祁, P'u-chai 僕寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-lu 西瀘, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 遏戎; all these were important garrison towns.[32]

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羌浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

[30] These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

[31] The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

[32] Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 顏慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.

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Yang-p'eng ling 楊蓬嶺, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan 俄準館. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

Jun-yen chou. — "Jun-yen chou was the land of K'un-ming of the T'ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P'u-lo chou. — "P'u-lo chou 普樂州 was to the north of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州.[33] Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou. — "The Hsi-yü chou 西豫州, or Mo-yü hsien 磨豫縣, and the hsien of Ch'i-pu 七部. At the beginning of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo 姜磨 and Shu-mo 戍磨 respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung 鹽中 there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch'i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t'ou tien (or Lo-lan pu 落蘭部). — "According to the *Fang-yü chih yao*, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu 馬剌長官司 or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p'u 鎮西堡 and Ta-ch'ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu chou 瀘州 and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching 中所鹽井.[34]

[33] P'u-chi was 150 li south-west of Hsi-ch'ang. The aborigines called it Kan-tien 玕甸 and the Lu-lu Man lived there for generations.

[34] The military substation of the chiliarch of Chung-tso, that is the Chung-so and Tso-so Ch'ien-hu of the garrison service of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦中左千戶所 was 160 li north-east of Yen-ching wei and during the Mongol dynasty was the land of Lu chou of the Circuit of Chien-ch'ang. During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398) a So (military substation) was established, but was later changed into five So, subject to Chien-ch'ang. The Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu was given to the family La 喇氏 in perpetuity.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted and the latter's son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch (Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶). Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

The land of the other four So adjoined Li-chiang and Yung-ning territory. The native official of the house of Mu of Li-chiang encroached on their territory so that half of it was lost to them. All the others submitted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and were given official positions, as the Yu-so chiliarch Pa 八, the Chung-so chiliarch La 剌, the Ch'ien-so chiliarch A 阿, the Hou-so chiliarch Pai 白. Later they were encroached upon and devoured by Li-chiang as a silkworm gnaws on the mulberry leaves.

In the *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu*, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character *cheng* 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon), Lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征) 月魯帖木兒 Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character *yüeh* is taken from his name and made to read "first moon," in the second the character *yüeh* is left as part of his name and the first character is read *cheng*, "to attack, to subjugate."

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year

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173 101 *Yen Chung-tso so.* — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 河西 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho[35] it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yüan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏.[36] Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yüan only. Yen-yüan is also spoken of as Sui 嶲, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yün-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yüan."

The magistrate who compiled the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145–86–74? B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yüan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui 嶲 is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh 越, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of

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of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two *yüeh*, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

[35] The *Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

[36] Wai-tsang was really the land of the Ch'iang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 禹貢. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ bKra-shis-lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsang 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong ཀྱལ་རོང).

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Yüeh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

"The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it *Tso*. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a *sheng* 繩 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

"The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [*Sui* is also read *Hsi*]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔. The character *hsi* 析 is similar in sound to the character *sui* 嶲 or to the sound of the character 徙 *hsi*. In the *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.[37]

"The character *hsi* 徙 is but another way of writing the character *sui* 嶲 but the character *hsi* 析 is an erroneous one.

"This would surely indicate that the Yüeh-sui 越嶲 is the Sheng-sui 繩嶲, (that is, the Yangtze).

"All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 敍府 may be called Sui 嶲, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yüeh 越.

"In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

"The word *Tso* was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yüeh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters *mai* 邁 and *yao* 遙 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

"The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 嶲水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.[38]

[37] Hsi-tso, according to the same work, comprised two kingdoms. Hsi hsien 徙縣 was in Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan), Tso hsien 筰縣 was in Yüeh-sui. Tso chou was originally outside the borders of Hsi Shu 西蜀 (Western Shu), and was called the Miao Ch'iang Sui 旄羌嶲. It was the Ya chou Chiung-lai Shan 雅州邛崍山; originally it was called Chiung-tso Shan 邛筰山 and was the border of the ancient Chiung and Tso people.

According to the *Ya chou fu chih*, ch. 2, fol. 42b, this mountain is five li north of the district of Ch'ing-hsi 清溪縣. The road over it is a very difficult one.

[38] This is indirectly correct for most of the streams flow into the Li-t'ang River, the latter into the Ya-lung, and it in turn flows into the Yangtze.

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173 "Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan
101 were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang 禡江, but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."

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CHAPTER II

The Eight Mo-so Chieftaincies in South-West Ssu-ch'uan

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The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch'uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch'ien-so 前所 T'u-ssu (Front *So*) and the Tso-so 左所 T'u-ssu or (Left *So*); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so 中所 (Central *So*) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so 後所 (Rear *So*) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so 右所 (Right *So*) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left *So*) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch'uan. These comprise the Wu-so 五所 (Five *So* or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 T'u-ssu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh 瓜別 T'u-ssu in the north, near the bend of the Li-t'ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t'ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河 (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T'u-ssu's southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T'u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t'ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la 阿撒喇 T'u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 草苴蘆,[1] whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies' map, in fact the only one of the eight T'u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T'u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T'u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

1. KUA-PIEH 瓜別

"The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

[1] In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine *so* (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch'ien-so and Hou-so.

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Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

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"The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101

"There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

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Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner). — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

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whereupon he received an official seal and Imperial letters patent appointing him as the ruler of Kua-pieh. 173

"Chi Chio-pu 己角補 was the eldest son of P'o 迫 by his first wife. In the 55th year of K'ang-hsi (1716) he succeeded his father as T'u-ssu. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the Fan [Hsi-fan] brigands of Yü-o 魚窩 he acquired merit, and was rewarded with 300 taels of silver. In the 11th year (1733) he again joined the Imperial army, attacking the Fan bandits of Erh-ssu 兒斯. He captured the rebel Wu-sha-chia 烏沙甲 and more than 10 bandits. He was granted more than 600 taels of silver and promoted to a higher official rank.

"Chi Lien-kuei 己聯貴, the eldest son of Pu 補 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 25th year of Ch'ien-lung (1760).

"Chi Shao-hsien 巳紹先, the eldest son of Kuei 貴 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

"Chi Kuang-tsung 己光宗, the eldest son of Hsien 先 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).[3]

"Chi Kuo-fu 己國富, eldest son of Tsung 宗 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (1815). In the 23rd year of Tao-kuang (1843) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the brigand chief Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒 he acquired merit, and received the *Lan-ling* 藍翎 [Blue plume, a raven's feather conferred as a reward for services upon officials below the sixth grade. GILES, No. 6732].

"In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan 張大脚板 (Chang with the big feet) of Yün-nan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he was ordered by the government to lead his troops to exterminate them. He then received the peacock's feather instead of the former Blue Plume. In the 11th year (1861) the brigand leader Ma Jung-hsien 馬榮先 and his followers burned and looted Mien-hua-ti 棉花地 in the district of Yen-yüan. Fu joined the Imperial army and by subjugating the brigands he acquired merit and was promoted to the second official rank. In the third year of T'ung-chih (1864) he retired from his official post.

"Chi T'ien-hsi 己天錫 was the eldest son of Fu 富 by his first wife. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he succeeded to his father's position. In the sixth year (1867) he led his own troops to build defense works and to exterminate the Yün-nan bandits. On this account the Emperor conferred on him the honorific title of Pa-t'u-lu 巴圖魯 (Strong and brave; [*Baturu* is a decoration rewarded for military prowess and bestowed only on such as already have the peacock's feather]).

"Chi T'ing-liang 己廷樑, son of the brother of Hsi 錫, succeeded to his uncle's position in the 15th year of Kuang-hsü 光緒 (1889).[4]

[3] He is the An-fu-ssu (Pacification Commissioner) mentioned in the second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816).

[4] It was this T'u-ssu who was murdered with his entire family, excepting his eldest son, by the Lo-lo of Kua-pieh in January, 1924.

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2. MA-LA 馬喇

101 Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 馬喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la [5] and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 擺夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yüan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yüan District Records calls them P'o 僰, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the T'u-jen 土人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 禹穴羌.[6]

"They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 僰, the radical of which is *jen* 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犭 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

131 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叵莋甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 嶲峨. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-chiang fu 澂江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yün-nan.

"The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所箐 and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 高 of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崖 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂箐, a distance of 70 li,

[5] In the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-yi k'ao* (see p. 437 n. 3) pp. 36b–37a, there is also mentioned a Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu, 瓦剌長官司. His territory lay 350 li south-west of the Yen-ching garrison. It relates that the family name of the native official was A 阿 and that the first ancestor of the family was a native of that place. In the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) he returned to allegiance, assisted with the revenue and acquired merit whereupon he was given the rank of Chang-kuan which his sons and grandsons inherited. He paid 150 piculs of food supplies which were allotted to the garrison. His territory adjoined Pei-sheng chou (now Yung-sheng hsien the former Yung-pei) in Yün-nan. At the time of the composing of the above records the Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu's name was A Sung 阿嵩. On a map accompanying the text, the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu is to the north-west of Yen-ching wei.

[6] Yü-hsüeh is the name of a defile in the Wu mountains 巫山 which gives passage to the waters of the Yangtze. The mountain is east of Wu-shan hsien 巫山縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The waters of the Yangtze pass east through the gorges of the Wu Mountains (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 397, fol. 6b).

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adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7] 131

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official." 651

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 饑多. 131

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (*Senior native deputy official.*) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9] 173

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌鋪鋪 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

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173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿繪健, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文籌, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子堡 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿迫古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

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PLATE 241. — BU-CHÈR, THE YUNG-NING BONELESS PIG

永寧無骨肉（編者譯）

They are often kept for ten years and are used as mattresses for that length of time, before being eaten. Horizontal slices are cut as from a loaf of bread; these, with butter or cheese, serve as New Year gifts to the lamas and peasants from the Yung-ning chiefs.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

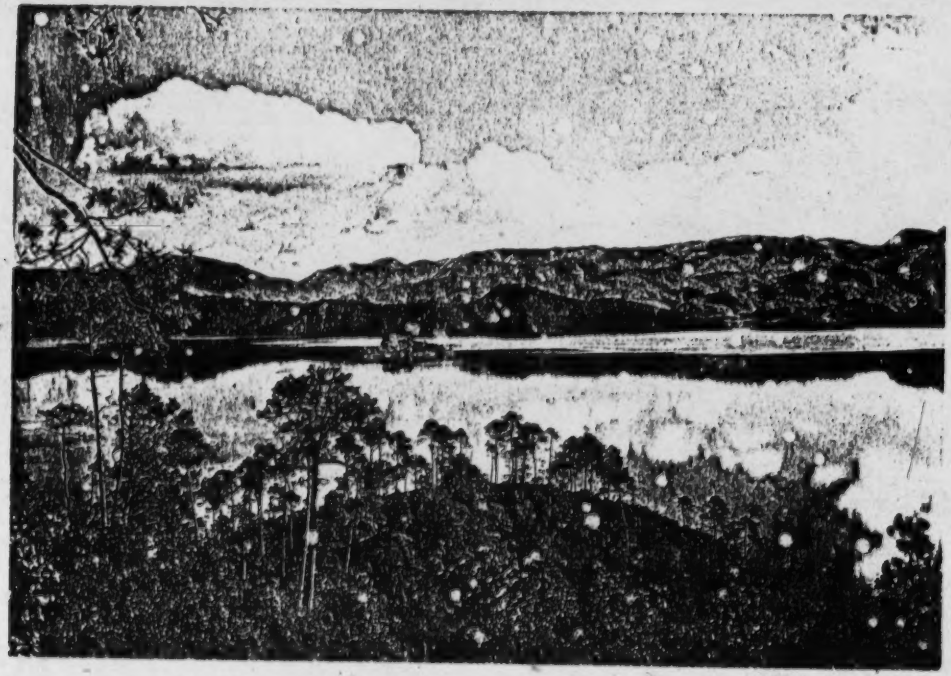
PLATE 242.— A LO-LO FROM WU-CHIO VILLAGE

* 寨 角 烏 羅 羅 倮 夷

Many Lo-lo villages are distributed through southern Mu-li. They behave in Mu-li territory, but often leave their villages to rob elsewhere.

[p. 458 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 243.—THE YUNG-NING LAKE WITH THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P'U

永寧湖沿岸松林環繞，湖中木羅島

Looking east from the pine covered hills encircling the west shore of the lake. Beyond Nyo-ro-p'u is the long peninsula called T'u-bbu; separated from the latter by a channel is the island of Hle-wu-be. The mountains in the distance (center) are in Tso-so land, Ssu-ch'uan.

[p. 458 c]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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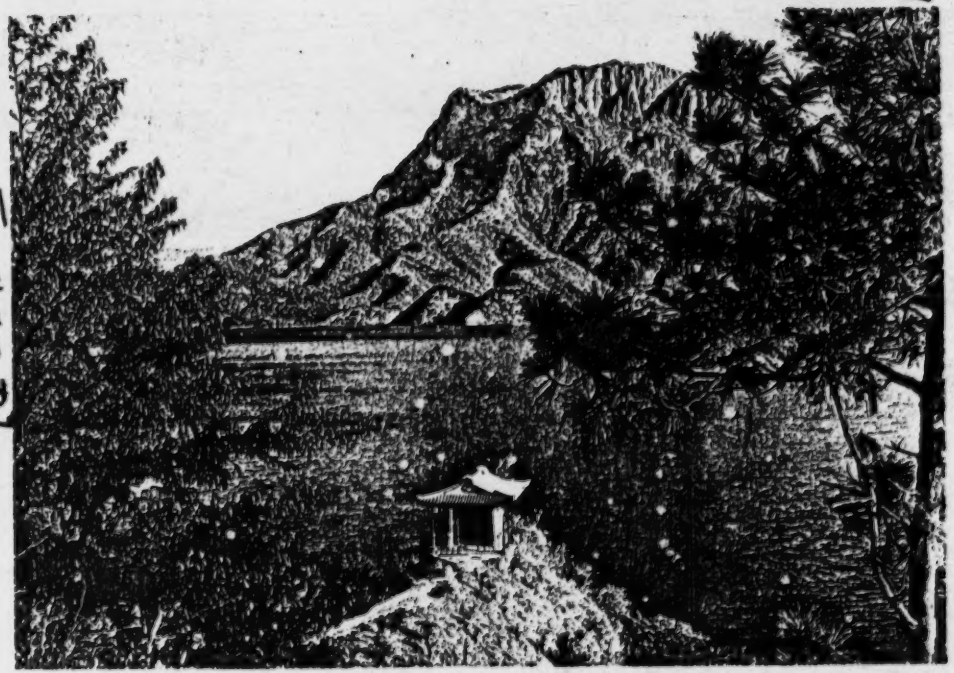

[p. 458 D]

PLATE 244. — VIEW OF LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN FROM THE CENTER OF NYO-RO-P'U

自永寧瀘沽海水落為獅頭山登

On the northern end of Nyo-ro-p'u is a lovely tea-house whence a beautiful vista opens over the lake to Lion-head. Here the author spent many happy weeks translating Na-khi literature.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 245.—LION MOUNTAIN GODDESS SENG-GE GA-MU

永寧獅子山山女神僧葛

She rides a hind and is patroness of Yung-ning. From a Tibetan painting made in Lha-sa. To the left, near her hand holding a flute, is Lion Mountain; lower left, Yung-ning lake with two ducks. Above her in center is Amitabha.

[p. 468 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 246. — SENG-GE GA-MU'S SHRINE ON NYO-RO-P'U

永宗道法岡永雪島上獅子山神廟

In the little window of the shrine is a picture of the goddess. Pine branches are burned as offering to her every morning and evening in the little furnace, while a lama strikes the gong suspended from the tree. Prayer flags flutter from under the roof of the shrine which is situated in the center of Nyo-ro-p'u.

[p.458-F]

2: Roc R.R.5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 247.—THE ABBOT OF THE TSO-SO BÖN LAMASERY

四川左所黑喇嘛塔佬

He is the brother of the Tso-so T'u-ssu. Only Tso-so land has adhered to the Bön sect. The lamasery, like the whole country, is in a terrible state of neglect.

[p. 458-G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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AF16
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[p. 458 H]

PLATE 248. — HLI-KHIN LADIES OF THE TSO-SO LA T'U-SSU FAMILY

四川左所土司喇家夫人

The women alone of the Tso-so T'u-ssu family show refinement. Like their sisters of Yung-ning they wear long pleated skirts.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 249. — TSO-SO BÖN LAMAS GATHERED FOR THE DANCE

四川左所黑喇嘛開歡會

Once a year the Bön Lamas of Tso-so celebrate the Ta-lha festival which ends in a religious dance. Unlike the Yellow sect they wear a peculiar cornucopia-like ceremonial hat of various colors.

[p. 458-I]

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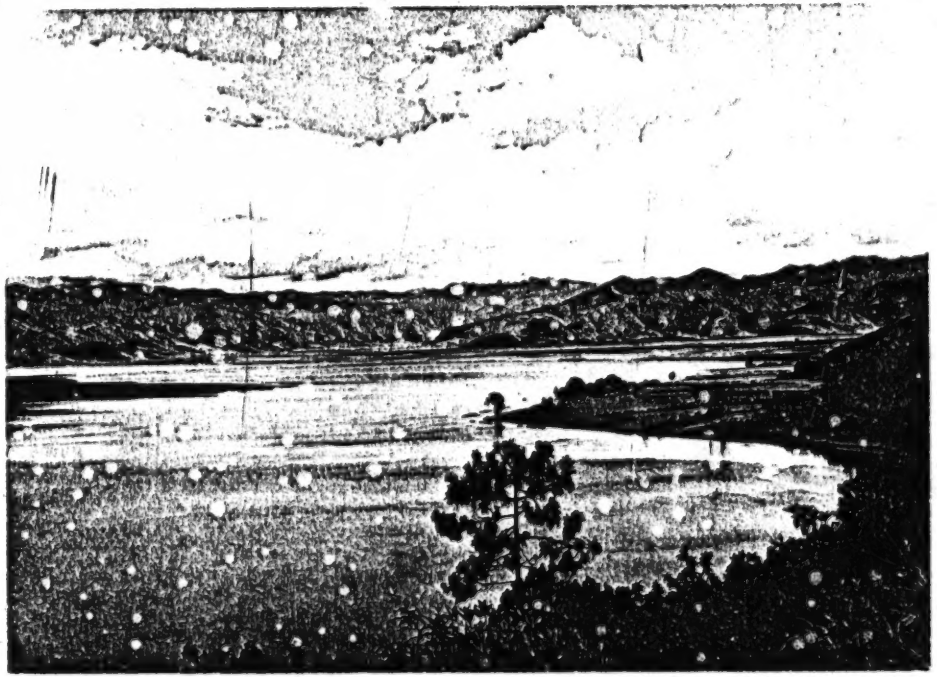
2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

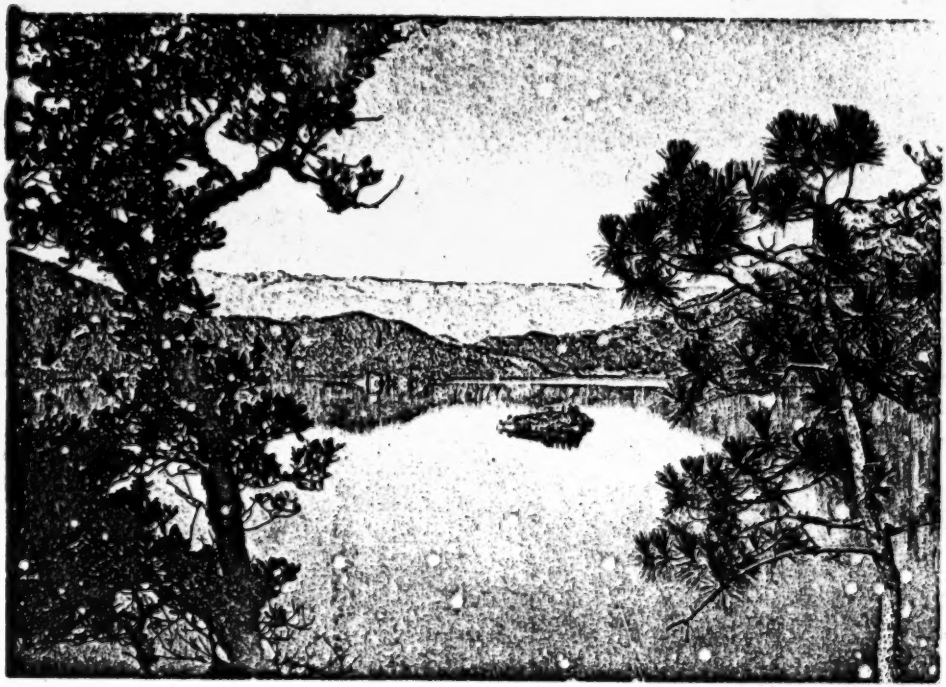
PLATE 250. — THE SOUTHEASTERN END OF YUNG-NING LAKE

永寧湖的東南岸，左所望背景

The outlet of the lake is through the broad valley in the Tso-so mountains in the distance. The little village on the lake shore beyond the first bay is in Yün-nan. Pines in foreground.

[p.458-J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 251. — YUNG-NING LAKE AND NYO-RO-P'U ISLAND AS SEEN FROM THE T'U-BBU PENINSULA

自永寧渡法圖上看牛乃窠西面，湖中水窠島

Looking west from T'u-bbu, Nyo-ro-p'u appears like a majestic liner floating on a calm sea. Left Oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*; right *Pinus yünnanensis*.

[p. 458-K]

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2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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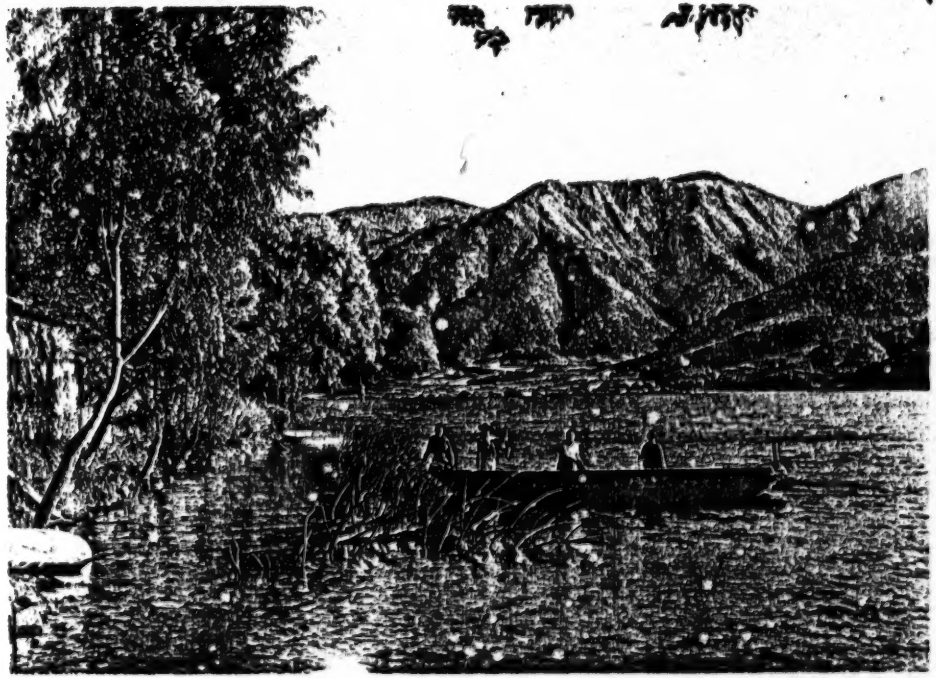

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 252. — LANDING ON THE WEST SHORE OF THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P'U

水中水葉島西岸

The lake is alive with fish, some of them poisonous. Pine trees have been sunk around the island to prevent landing of enemies. The village of Ta-lo-shui in middle distance.

[p. 458-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 253. — WIFE OF THE LATE TSUNG-KUAN WITH HER CHILDREN

永寧故總管阿雲山妻

The little boy in her arms is the last born and was declared the incarnation of a Dre-pung Lama. She wears a brilliant Paris-green skirt, a red sash, and a jacket of blue brocade with golden yellow sleeves. In her hair she wears cornelian, ivory and coral beads.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[p. 458 N]

PLATE 254. — LU-ZO THE LAST-BORN SON OF THE LATE YUNG-NING TSUNG-KUAN

永寧總管小兒祿卓活佛

In 1931 Lha-sa authorities declared him an incarnation of a high lama of Dre-pung Monastery. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-bdsin-dbang-phyug. He was preliminarily installed in the Yung-ning Lamasery on February 11th, 1932.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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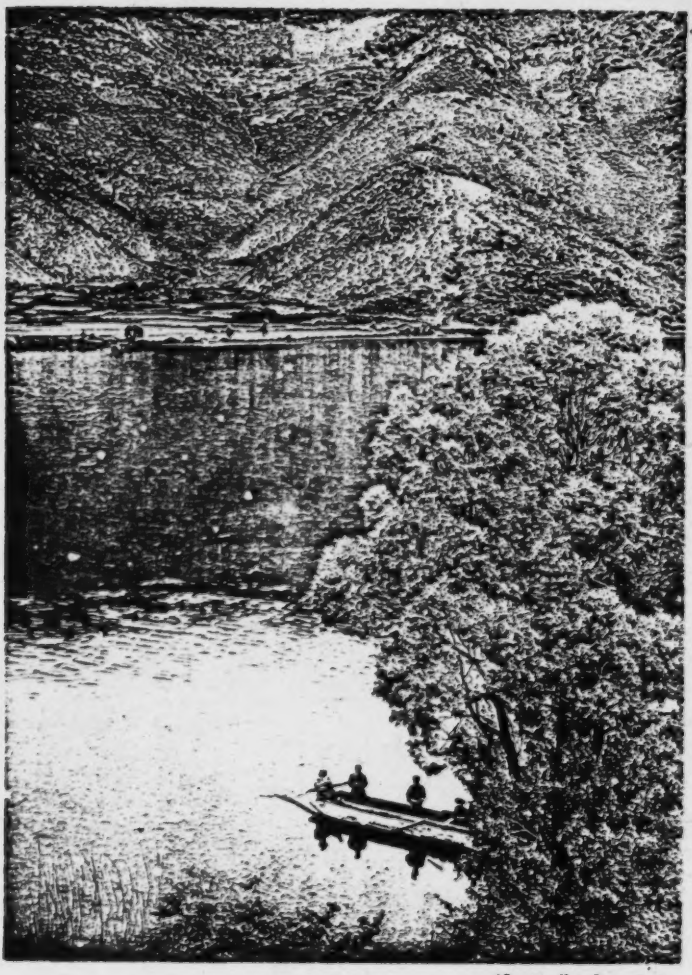

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 255. — VIEW FROM THE ISLAND OF A-NA-WA

麗江縣木家阿那瓦島

A-na-wa Island belongs to the Lama Kingdom of Mu-li as does the shore opposite visible in the picture. Willow tree in foreground.

[p. 458-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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[p. 458 P]

PLATE 256.—HSI-FAN (CH'IA-ME) PEASANTS OF DSHI-ZHI IN MU-LI

木里西番恰麻

They are oppressed by the lamas, and dare not look up in the presence of superiors. The men wear no trousers but, like the women, wear striped skirts woven of yak hair, the men's skirts have horizontal, those of the women longitudinal stripes. They are forbidden to wear shoes.

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65/ hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[12] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 祿馬六槽."[13]

131 The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

173 *Imperial audiences and tribute.* — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 茯苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ⅕ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (*Chiliarch*). — "Lang Chün-wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

[12] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[13] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州壩 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

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M3 "Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, eldest son of the legal wife of Pao, succeeded to his father's position in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784).

"Lang T'ing-hsi 郎廷璽, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded his father in the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling chiliarch of Ku-po-shu].

"Lang T'ing-fang 郎廷芳, son of the brother of Hsi by the legal wife, succeeded to the position in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821).

"Lang Ying-sheng 郎應陞, eldest son of the legal wife of Fang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the 22nd year (1842) on account of his meritorious services rendered in suppressing the brigand Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒, he was rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume. In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the Yün-nan brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he joined the Imperial troops to attack Chang. After the expedition he was rewarded with the peacock's feather. In the 10th year of Hsien-feng (1860) the Yün-nan brigand Ma Jung-hsien and others escaped and disturbed the peace at Mien-hua-ti in the district of Yen-yüan. On account of his meritorious services in that campaign the Emperor promoted him to the third official rank.

"Lang Ch'ao-ting 郎朝鼎, eldest son of the legal wife of Sheng, succeeded to his father's position in the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

"Lang Jui-lin 郎瑞麟, eldest son of the legal wife of Ting." [He was apparently T'u-ssu at the time of the compiling of the Yen-yüan Records; no further notes as to his assumption of office, etc., are given.] The present Ku-po-shu native chiliarch is Lang Chih-pang 郎治邦.

The Ku-po-shu census of 1834 revealed a population of 585 households consisting of 1,461 tribespeople.

4. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE SO KUO

"Of the So Kuo 所國, the first to be established were the Chung and Tso which formed one *So*. Now they are divided into five *So* and are known as the Wu-so, subject to the magistracy of Yen-yüan, formerly called the Yen-ching wei. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 whose old remnants are the present military transport circuit-post of Sha-p'ing 沙平. In the Yüan dynasty it was the territory of Lu chou 瀘州 in the Chien-ch'ang Circuit"[14] (*Yen-yüan hsien chih*).

5. CHUNG-SO 中所

"The seat of the chief of Chung-so[15] is 100 li from the district town of Yen-yüan.

[14] The now obsolete Lu chou was 25 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present-day Hsi-ch'ang hsien. The savages who dwelt there called it Sha-ch'eng-chien 沙城堵.

[15] The home of the Chung-so chief is situated on the mountain-side above the village of Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草壩, a distance of 135 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and about 60 li from Yen-ching. The mountains around there are inhabited by Lo-lo tribespeople who live in rude pine-log huts. The mountains are covered with pine forest with undergrowth of *Rhododendron decorum*.

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"The eastern border of Chung-so extends to the A-kuo Ho 阿果河, a distance of 15 li, adjoining the border of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井; the southern border extends to the village of No-lung 糯弄, adjoining the boundary of the Yün-nan district of Ta-yao, a distance of 400 li; to the west the border extends to the summit of the Ko-na-ssu Mountains 格納思山, a distance of 100 li, adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district. To the north the border extends to the banks of the Ta Ho, 大河 a distance of 60 li, adjoining the territory of the Tso-so native chiliarch. The circumference of the entire Chung-so territory is 575 li.[16] The chief controls 50 villages inhabited by native tribes [I-min 夷民]. [Lo-lo, Mo-so and Hsi-fan are here meant.] 173

"The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu pays taxes in kind amounting to 19 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat. This is forwarded to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In addition he pays a land improvement tax of 15.66 taels' silver to the magistrate of Yen-yüan."

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1733) the borders of Chung-so extend east to A-ko 阿各 (the edition of 1816 states A-ko Ho or A-ko Stream); south to Sa-che 撒者; west to the border of Ku-mu 古木; north to Mi-i 迷易.[17]

"He controls 820 households of tribespeople [the edition of 1816 states, 485 families].

Imperial tribute and rewards. — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the second-class native chiefs of the aborigines were commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Thereupon La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相 went to Peking in person and took with him the following articles of tribute: A brass Buddha sitting on a silver throne and weighing 8.10 taels, five *Ha-ta* 哈達 [the Tibetan Khatag (written Kha-btags)],[18] weighing two catties; five China-roots [*Fu-ling*] weighing 27 catties and 8 taels; five boxes of *Ch'ang-p'u* (*Acorus* roots) weighing five catties; five foxskins weighing 4 catties; five bear galls weighing 7.7 taels, and five pockets of musk weighing 3.15 taels. These articles he presented to the Emperor, who honoured him with the button of the fourth rank. Hereafter when commanded to have audi-

[16] *See* note 7 on page 457.

[17] At Mi-i there is a native chiliarch whose family name is An 安. His ancestor was An Wen 安文 who also submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi. This chiliarch resides and rules over a district called Li-ch'i chou 黎溪州 under the prefecture of Hui-li.

The *Ming Shih*, ch. 311, fol. 16a, states that the native official Ch'ien-hu of Mi-i was called Hsien 賢. His first ancestor was a native of Ching-tung 景東, Yün-nan, and belonged to the P'o tribe 婆種. The above is also recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of Ming Wan-li (1573–1620). But it adds that the name of his distant ancestor was A 阿 and that the latter possessed no fields in Ching-tung. He lead his tribesmen and migrated to Mi-i where they possessed themselves of fields and stayed. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) he followed the army, attacked and advanced on Tung-ch'uan and Mang-pu where he killed the robbers. Having thereby acquired merit he then submitted and left for the capital where the Emperor appointed him hereditary assistant chiliarch of Mi-i-so.

[18] Presentation or salutation scarfs made of silk; the longest and best are presented to high officials; they carry respect according to their quality, color and length.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 ence, he either went himself or sent his representatives and was always rewarded with precious gifts.[19]

Genealogy of the Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La Jui-lin 喇瑞麟 returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent and ordered him to reside in Chung-so and administer its affairs as the native Ch'ien-hu. He belonged to the Mo-so tribe.

"La Chün-jung 喇君榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Lin, succeeded to his father's position in the 15th year of Ch'ien-lung (1750).

"La Yung-chung 喇用中, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Ch'ien-lung (1755).

"La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"La Ying-han 喇英翰, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsiang, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Chia-ch'ing (1804). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling T'u-ssu of Chung-so.] In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821) he was ordered to join the punitive expedition against the Yün-nan wild tribes. He was afterwards rewarded with the fourth class official button.

"La Wen-ch'ing 喇文清, eldest son of the legal wife of Han, succeeded to his father's position in the third year of Tao-kuang (1823). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) the Yün-nan bandit chief Chang Ta-chio-pan and his followers disturbed the peace. He led his own militia, pursued the brigands and helped exterminate them all, whereupon the Emperor rewarded him with the peacock plume.

"La Pang-tso 喇邦佐, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ing, succeeded to his father's position in the first year of T'ung-chih (1862). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) the Yün-nan brigands besieged Yen-yüan, whereupon he led his own soldiers, raised defence works and helped to exterminate the bandits. The Emperor thereupon conferred on him the additional rank of Brigadier-General.

"La Shu-t'ung 喇淑統, nephew of Tso. He was appointed as the rightful heir and succeeded to his uncle's position. [No date is given of his assuming the office of Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so.]

"The present (1940) Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so is La Ch'eng-chieh 喇成傑.

"In the Chung-so territory are two stockaded villages of importance. One is called Shui-tz'u-wa-chai 水次凹寨 and the other Ch'e-ch'iu-chai 扯邱寨. Another village is called La-t'a-chai 喇踏寨.

[19] The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* p. 38a states: The Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu's family name is La 剌; his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He submitted to the Imperial rule and extirpating the brigands he acquired merit and received the hereditary rank of Assistant Chiliarch. In previous years he paid tribute in horses and received the Imperial command to remain at his post and lend assistance to the postal courier. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan and was repeatedly raided. The land originally under his jurisdiction was narrow and closely hemmed in. There were barely a hundred tribesmen and their position was isolated and weak, but they defended themselves energetically. The present resident (written in the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty [1573–1620]) La Shu-tsu 剌述祖 continues the clan according to the law of inheritance.

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"The census of 1834 held in the Chung-so territory revealed a population of 485 households composed of 1,283 tribespeople." 173

6. TSO-SO 左所

"The seat of the T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so 左所土千戶 is 240 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is formed by the Mountain Sha-ta-wa-t'a-erh (Shan) 沙打四塔耳山 and adjoins the boundary of the district of Yen-yüan, a distance of 400 li. The southern border is at Pa-ch'iu 巴邱 and adjoins the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district, a distance of 120 li. The western border adjoins the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory distant 30 li. The northern border adjoins the border of the Pacification Commissioner's territory of Kua-pieh 120 li [and also that of Mu-li]. The entire territory has a circumference of 670 li, extending from north to south 240 li and from east to west 430 li.

"He rules over 1,001 families of tribespeople [who are mostly Mo-so, or, to be correct, Hli-khin or Lü-khi, a branch of the Na-khi, also Lo-lo and Hsi-fan].

"The Tso-so chief pays taxes in kind amounting to 70 *tan* of buckwheat. This is delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. He controls also the native chief of Pi-chü-lu. The latter place is also known as Nan-yang-chai 南陽寨."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* pp. 37a–37b relates of the Tso-so territory as follows:

"The family of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch) is La 剌, his distant ancestor La-t'a 剌他 was a native of that place. In the 25th year of the period Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la planned a revolt but were reduced to submission. La-t'a returned allegiance, established a great army at Yen-ching wei and repeatedly attacked the robbers; he acquired merit and pacified the people.

The second generation ancestor La-ma-fei went in audience with the Emperor and paid tribute in horses which he sent to the capital. He was thereupon promoted to hereditary Native Assistant chiliarch of Tso-so of Yen-ching wei.

In the 11th year of the period Yung-lo (1413) he was promoted by Imperial decree hereditary Cheng Ch'ien-hu, his descendants have inherited the title without interruption. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou of Yün-nan. He had a strong force of soldiers and horses. Recently (this was written in the Wan-li period [1573–1620]) his territory was seized by the Li-chiang fu native official Mu Wang 木旺 (*see* Page 122). Yung-ning fu also encroached on its borders and appropriated it and the tribesmen agreed to leave. The present resident (Wan-li period *v.s.*) La-ma-kao 剌馬高 in his youth was an orphan and helpless to cope with the situation, but now that he has reached maturity he is rich, brave and shrewd and protects his inheritance."

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (edition 1733) states that the eastern border is at the mouth of the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 [a branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho],

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173 south to the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu of Yün-nan; west to the borders of the territory of Yung-ning, Yün-nan; and north to the border of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. At the time of the publication of this topography (1733) he ruled over 1,201 households. The Topography published in 1816 states that he rules over 525 households.

The ancestor of the Tso-so T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman, by name La-t'a 喇塔 (also written 他). According to the statement of the present Tso-so chief his first ancestor was called La-ma-t'a 喇馬塔. His territory to this day is called La-t'a and the Yung-ning Lake, the eastern half of which is in his domain, is known to the Mo-so as La-t'a Khü (La-t'a Lake).

Under the Mongols and Mings. — Little or nothing is know as to the history of this region prior to the Ming dynasty, save that it was conquered by Kublai Khan in 1253. He left officers in Yung-ning to rule the territory, which then was subject to Yung-ning and the latter in turn subject to the rulers of Li-chiang (*see* History of Yung-ning).

The *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that in the first moon of the 25th year of Hung-wu (January 25th-February 22nd, 1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 and the native, La-t'a 喇他 submitted to the empire and obeyed. The *Ming Shih* 明史, ch. 311, fols. 14a-b, states that Chia-ha-la was a Mo-so-tung 麼些洞 native chief. [In the ancient literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi), written in pictographs, it relates of their dwelling in caves]. It was not until towards the close of the period Hung-wu of the first Ming Emperor (1368–1398) that Yün-nan and especially the south-western part of China including the territory in question was subjugated.

It remained a last stronghold of the Mongols. The Yung-ning chiefs to this day pride themselves on their Mongol origin. Female relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were given in marriage to the aboriginal Mo-so native chiefs of Tso-so, called La-t'a.

The first Tso-so to visit the capital of the Ming empire, then Nanking, was the son of La-t'a or La-ma-t'a, called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. He made his submission and paid tribute. The Ming History relates that when the Imperial troops had captured Chien-ch'ang, Chia-ha-la was appointed a captain. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol military commander, resisted and with his followers tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops who had begun the subjection of the South-west. All his followers were killed, and he escaped to Po-hsing chou [the present-day Yen-yüan hsien], at that time ruled by Chia-ha-la. On the arrival of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, Chia-ha-la also rebelled. They were pursued by the Imperial troops who had commissioned a certain Pai-hu 百戶 (Centurion) by the name of Mao-hai 毛海 to arrange for their capture. He succeeded not only in capturing Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, but also his son P'an-po 胖伯. Their followers thereupon made their submission; Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and his son were taken to the capital and executed. Chia-ha-la was also captured and executed because he had also rebelled. This happened in the last (31st) year of Hung-wu (1392). It appears that the Chung-so and Tso-so chiefs also assisted in the capture of

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Chia-ha-la, although it is stated that he was actually captured by Hsü K'ai 徐凱, a military commander. 173

At that time Chung-so and Tso-so had not yet been divided and were under the rule of a T'u-ch'ien-hu whose name was La-wu 剌兀. His son, who went later to pay tribute, was then appointed Fu-ch'ien-hu and not until the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) did he become officially T'u-ch'ien-hu. Thus the office of the Chung-tso T'u-ch'ien-hu had its beginning in that year. It was shortly afterwards that the Mu family (the chiefs) of Li-chiang encroached on the territory of the *So* and the latter lost about half of their domain.

Genealogy of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La shih-ying 喇世英 was the first T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so. He was a Mo-so tribesman and submitted to the Ch'ing dynasty in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710). Thereupon the Emperor issued him letters patent and an official seal and ordered him to reside in the native village of To-she 多舍寨 in Tso-so territory as its native chieftain of one thousand (families).

"La Nan-chung 喇南仲, eldest son of the legal wife of Ying, succeeded to his father's position in the 52nd year of K'ang-hsi (1713). In the 60th year (1721) he joined the Imperial troops to attack the Fan tribes [Hsi-fan, *i.e.*, Mu-li natives of La-ju-o 腊汝窩; the Yung-pei Records write La-jou-o 腊肉窩] and succeeded in capturing the bandit chief Liao-ma-erh-ch'e 了馬兒車. On account of the meritorious service thus rendered he was rewarded with the fourth official rank and the appropriate official robes, plus 150 taels of silver.

"In the third year of Yung-cheng (1725) he again joined the Imperial troops to attack the bandits of Yung-ning in Yün-nan. [The Yung-ning people are neighbors of the Tso-so and belong to the same tribe, yet they have always hated each other and in the various chronicles they call each other bandits.] He succeeded in capturing the bandit leader and 37 of his followers. In the 10th year (1732) he was rewarded with robes and button of the third official rank, also a court dress and cap used in Imperial audience, and a pinto horse.

"La Kuang-yüan 喇光遠, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 23rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1758).

"La Kuo-yü 喇國玉, first legal grandson of Yüan, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788)."

One generation is here apparently missing, namely the father of Te whose name must have been La (?) tsung 喇○宗.

"La Pang-te 喇邦德, eldest son of Tsung 宗, succeeded to his father's position in the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih the Yün-nan bandits besieged the town of Yen-yüan [Mohammedan rebels are here meant; they had even gone to Mu-li and slaughtered the lamas of Wa-chin]. He raised a military contingent and defense works and assisted in exterminating the bandits. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the second rank.

"La Cheng-hsiang 喇楨祥, eldest son of the legal wife of Te, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870)."

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173 The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu 喇鴻酋. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai 左所土寨, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai 獨些寨, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai 沽盧土寨 [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [*See also* Tso-so T'u-ssu *under* Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

131 "The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所土千戶 is 120 li from Yen-
173 yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la 阿所拉 and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州[20] and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa 八 and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州[21] governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]; south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿呢哈 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan; west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung[22] at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 應家庄. The edition of 1733

[20] Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

[21] At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 吉, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 吉三嘉 was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 鹿魯, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 蒲家.

[22] Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.

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gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so 德昌所. It is possible that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, — so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893. 131 173

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 *tan* of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22.011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Genealogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八璽 was the first ancestor of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chai) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch). 173

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yün-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yün-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yün-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-

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173 minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠.

The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 得).

8. CH'IEN-SO 前所

173 "The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from
131 Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波菓 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出猪村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khin Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position.

It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 褚都村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-

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ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border. 173 131

Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu. — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so. 173

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, *see* Ch'ien-so *under* Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 小橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 押克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*]. 173 131

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (*q.v.*), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border

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173 100 li to the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山頂, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k'o 雅押克山, a distance of
131 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different *So* under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch'uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

"The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 迷雅寨. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople."

173 *Genealogy of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "Pai Ma-t'a 白馬塔 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

"Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T'a, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Ch'ien-lung (1744).

"Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father's position in the 54th year of Ch'ien-lung (1789).

"Pai Kuo-hsien 白國賢, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 17th year of Chia-ch'ing (1812).

"Pai T'ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

"Pai T'ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 賢, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

"Pai Huai-hsing 白懷馨, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father's position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

"Pai Chung-yo 白鐘樂 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.

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ADDENDUM

After I had written this book I returned in 1940 to Li-chiang in north-western Yün-nan to continue my investigations on the literature of the Na-khi tribe. While translating manuscripts and discussing with my dto-mbas (Na-khi priests) the aboriginal inhabitants, the P'u 濮 tribe of Li-chiang which had been conquered by Ye-ku-nien chief of the Mo-so-man, I learned that the P'u are identical with the Boa, the Chinese Hsi-fan of Mu-li 木裏. 173

In Na-khi manuscripts they are called ²P'u-³mi which is a transcription of P'ron-mö by which name they designate themselves in Mu-li, while Boa is a derogatory name the Na-khi have given them. Before the arrival of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in Li-chiang the ²P'u-³mi occupied the entire Li-chiang territory, but were conquered during the T'ang dynasty by Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te (618–626), or rather who held office during that time. The ²P'u-³mi were driven by them to the north as well as into the mountains in the various *li* of the district of Li-chiang where they can still be found as in Nan-shan, Hsiang-ko li, etc., while the Na-khi occupied the plains and valleys.

During the Sung dynasty (*see* page 180–81) the ²P'u again gained control of their former territory till the advent of Yeh-yeh in 1101 A.D.

The Boa or ²P'u-³mi together with the Hli-khin of Yung-ning once more tried to invade Li-chiang about 1521 but they were utterly defeated and most of them were decapitated at a place now known as Boa-shi or dead Boa, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街.

In a book of the ²Dto ¹na ²k'ö ceremony called ²T'u ²lü it speaks of the ²P'u as follows: ²Ghügh ³muan ¹ngyü ³nnü, ¹ndzĕr ²ssä ¹dzu; ¹Dzi ³muan ¹ndsu ³nnü, ²P'u ²ssä ¹ndsu; ²P'u ¹ndsu ²haw ²muan ¹shu, ²Ghügh ²haw ¹ndzĕr ²muan ¹shu.

Translated this reads: Before the birds were, the trees had been born; before the ²Dzi (Na-khi are meant) had settled, the P'u were settled; where the ²P'u had settled it was unnecessary to look for food (elsewhere), neither did the birds have to look for a roost. In another manuscript called ¹Ö-¹yu-²ngv-²szi-²yi of the ²Zhi ²mä funeral ceremony it relates that the ²P'u ate raw meat and that they also ate their dead. That the ²P'u must have been a very primitive people is borne out by the present living condition of their descendants in Mu-li where they form the main population. I have observed them eating carrion honey-combed by maggots of the thickness and size of a man's finger.

Little is known of their language which is very different from the other tribal languages; they have no written language but the lamas among them have employed the Tibetan script for it.

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Heng-liang-tzu 橫梁子, IV
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Hêr-dū (Hār-lêr-dū), III
Hêr-dū (river), III
Hi-lo-ra-ran, III, IV
Hla-bu, III
Hla-dze (La-dze), III
Hla-mo-dzu, III
Hle-wu-be, III
Hli Dji (Hli-gyi) (K'ai-chi Ho 開基河), III
Hli-da (Li-ta 利達), III
Hli-ki, III
Hli-to, IV
Hlu-ua, III, IV
Hlu-wu-ai, I
Hlū-rū, IV
Ho-chia-tz'un 和家村, III
Ho-chiang-ch-iao 合江橋 (Liu-sheng-ch'iao 流聲橋), II
Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶, III
Ho-men-k'ou 河門口, IV
Ho-p'ing-tzu 何坪子, IV
Ho-shang-yi-gkv, III
Ho-shao-ch'iao 河燒橋, IV
Ho-sō, III
Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園, IV
Hop-tū, IV
Hou-lung Shan 猴龍山, IV
Hsi-kuan-p'o 西關坡, III
Hsia-ma-t'ing 下馬亭, I
Hsia-tien 下甸, II
Hsiang Shan 象山 (Gyi-wùa Ngyu), III
Hsiang-shui-ho 香水河, IV

Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸, II
Hsiao-kao-shan 小高山, IV
Hsiao-ko-la 小格拉, II
Hsiao-kuan-k'ou 小關口, IV
Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬廠, II
Hsiao-niu-ch'ang 小牛廠, II
Hsiao-sheng-tao, II
Hsiao-tien 小甸, II
Hsiao-ts'un 小村, II
Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西, II
Hsie-ti-la 獬底拉, II
Hsien-t'o 仙沱, I
Hsin-hua-ts'un 新花村, II
Hsin-i 新村 (Bi-me-t'ang), II
Hsin-sheng-i 新生已, II
Hsin-shih-kuan Shan 新石官山, IV
Hsin-ta Shan 新大山, IV
Hsin-ying-p'an 新營盤, III
Hsing-hua Sou 興化寺, II
Hsiung-kung Shan 凶工山, II
Hsüan-ku Shan 懸鼓山, IV
Hsüan-ma-kou 雲馬溝, IV
Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍, III
Hu-nu (Hu-lu 戶羅), II
Hu-t'iao-t'an 虎跳潭 II, III
Hua Sou, II
Hua-bi-gkv, III
Hua-chiao-p'ing, III
Hua-k'an 華坎, IV
Hua-lā-hpu, III
Hua-li-p'u 華梨堡, IV
Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, III
Hua-t'ing-i 花/鹿衣 (Hua-ti-yi), III
Hua-yi, III
Huan-lu-p'ing 猫夷(苗)坪, I, II
Huang-mu-ch'ang 黃木場, II
Huang-mu-ch'ian 黃木廠, IV
Huang-sung-ch'ang 黃松場, II
Huang-teng 黃登, II
Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草壩 [壩], II, III
Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草坝, IV
Hung-kuo 紅果, IV
Hung-men-k'ou 洪門口 (Dshi-hō gyi-tu'ā), III
Hung-shih-ngai 紅石崖, II, III
Hung-shih-shao 紅石哨, I, III
Hung-t'u-chien 紅土澗, II

I-shu-tsa 易竹咱, II
I-wan-shui 一灣水, IV

Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (La-pa-dū), III
Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, II, III
Jō-nda (Chis-ta 雀打), I
Jung-ma 容馬, I

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Jung-p'u Ho 容普河, I
Jyo Gom-pa (Ch'iu Ssu 秋寺), I
Jyo La (Ch'iu La 秋拉), I

Ka-hsüeh 夏血, II
Ka-ka-t'ang 夏夏塘, II
Ka-ra-di, IV
Ka-su, II
Ka-yon-he, IV
K'a-hsi Ho 卡洗河, III
K'a-hsi-p'o 卡洗坡, III
K'a-k'u 卡枯, II
K'a-kung 卡工, I
K'a-la-pa 卡拉巴, IV
K'ai-chi 開基, III
Kan-ho-teng 干河登, II
Kan-ho-ts'un 乾河村, III
Kan-ju Shan 乾如山, III
Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河, II, III
Kan-yü Ho 乾魚河, IV
K'ang-p'u 康普 (K'u-mbu), II
Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里), I, II
Kar-ri La (Keng-li-la 更里 [拉]), I
Ke (Ko-p'u 格普), I
Ke-nyi-chum-po, I
K'e-re, III, IV
K'e-re-chu-mbo, III, IV
Kha-wa-kar-po, I
Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四望大雪山), I
Khi-mup, III
Khor-den Gom-pa, IV
Ki-bo (Yang-mo-tso-tso), III, IV
Ki-bo (Mts.), III
Ki-bo-gong, III, IV
Ko-li La 哥力拉, I
Ko-lo 格洛, II
Ko-lo Shan 哥洛山, II
Ko-na 可納, II
Ko-na-ssu 格納思, III, IV
Ko-teng 陽登, II
Ko-ti-lo 多地羅, IV
K'o-dso, III
K'o-pa-ti, IV
K'ö-shêr-hwua, III
Ku-dju, III
Ku-pai-shu 古拜樹, IV
Ku-piao 古表, IV
Ku-pu 古布, I, II
Ku-shu 古樹, I
K'u-lu 苦魯 (Khe-ong) (K'ang-wu 康烏), IV
K'u-lu Ho 苦魯河, IV
K'ü-ssu K'ong, IV
Kua-lan, IV

Kua-pieh 瓜別, IV
Kua-tzu-lo 瓜子羅, II, III
Kuan-p'o 關坡 (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關), II
Kuan-shang 關上 (Gkyi-wüa Ts'o-k'ö), II, III
Kuan-ting 關頂, IV
Kuang-niu-lang 光牛郎, III
Kuei-tzu 櫃子, IV
Kung-sa, I
Kuo-huo Shan 郭霍山, II
Kuo-li-lo 郭里洛, II

La-ba (La-pa 拉巴), III
La-ba Gyi (Chung-chiang Ho 樟江河), II
La-ba Ngyu (La-pa Shan 拉巴山), II
La-bpu, III
La-bpu-mbu, III
La-bpu Ngyu (La-pao Shan 拉寶山), III
La-bpu-wua-ssä, III
La-dsu-lo, II
La-dza-wua-gku (La-tsa-ku 拉哲古), III
La-dze Dji, III
La-kö, IV
La-lo, III
La-ma La, I
La-ma-lüü, III
La-ma-p'ien, III, IV
La-mu-ting 拉木頂, I
La-muap-dze, II, III
La-ngua, III
La-pao 拉寶 (Ngai-k'o 岩可), III
La-p'ing-gku (La-p'ieh-ku 拉別古), II
La-p'o (La-p'u 拉普), II
La-p'u 拉普, I
La-p'u-ta Ho 拉普大河, II
La-p'u-wan 拉普灣, II
La-ru, III
La-shi (La-chih-pa 拉吉巴), III
La-shi gkaw-gku (Huang-shan-shao 黃山哨), III
La-shi Khü (Lung Hai 龍海), III
La-t'a-tien 拉塔甸, IV
La-trang, I
La-tsa 拉哲, II
La-tsa-ku 拉哲古 (La-dza-wua-gku), II, III
La-tu Ho 拉都河, III
La-tu-ho 拉都河, III
La-tsu-kou, IV
La-ua, III, IV
La-uä, III
La-shêr-lo, II, III
Lä-dgyo-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsai 列亞宰), III
Lä-gku-wüa, III
Lä-ndo (Leng-tu 冷渡), II, III
Lä-nbu, II, III
Lä-ngu-dzu, III

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Lā-t'o-dhi, III
Lai-yūm Sou 賴遠寺 (hBreng-khung-dgon), II
Lan-ching Sou 蘭經寺 (bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling), II
Lap-lap, III
Lan-pa 蘭坝 (near Ho-men-k'ou 河門口), IV
Lan-pa (near O-p'ing-tzu), IV
Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, II
Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾(滄)滄江 (La Chiu) (Mekong), I, II
Lan-wia, III
Lao-ch'ang 老廠, II
Lao-ch'ing-ku 老慶古, II
Lao-chün Shan 老君山, II
Lao-ho-ti 老河底, IV
Lao-kuei-tzu 老櫃子, IV
Lao-ts'un 老村, II
Lao-to-k'ou 老渡口, IV
Law-k'a, III
Law-k'a-khi-lü (Pu-chio 卜脚), III
Law-k'ap, III
Law-k'ap (river), III
Law-shêr (Hsiao-lo-shui 小羅水), III
Lei-rong (Lei-lung 雷龍), III
Leng-shui Kou 冷水溝 (ravine), III
Leng-shu-kou 冷水溝 (Gyi-t'khi-lo), II, III
Lêr-k'o-nzlu, II, III
Lha-khang-ra (Lo-kung-lo 拉公羅), I
Lha-mdun (Nan-tun 南敦), I
Li Chiu (Li-t'ang Ho 里塘河), III, IV
Li-chiang 麗江 (Yi-gv) (Ngu-ba), III
Li-gu-chi, IV
Li-ou 利歐 Huts, II, III
Li-t'ang Ho 里塘河 (Li Chiu) (Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河), III, IV
Li-ti-p'ing 里地坪, II
Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, IV
Liang-ch'iao-kou 涼橋溝, IV
Liang-ho-k'ou 兩河口, IV
Liang-shan-p'u, IV
Lieh-p'ing 列坪, II
Ling-chao Sou 靈照寺 (bKris-dgah-bkhyil gling), II
Ling-ping Shan 凌冰山, IV
Liu-ku 溜姑, IV
Liu-te 六得, III
Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江, I
Llu-lo-kwei (Lo-lo-kuan 羅羅關), III
Lü-hpu-gko, III
Lü-dü-mup, II, III
Lü-tzu-nzlu, II, III
Lo-chu-ts'un 羅家村, IV
Lo-ga-ngu, I
Lo-gup Chiu, III, IV
Lo-k'o, III
Lo-kou-t'an 洛貢灘, IV
Lo-liu 羅六, II
Lo-lo Camp, at Chügh-t'o, III; near Law-k'ap, III; near Wu-chio 烏角, III
Lo-ma Chiang 羅馬江, III
Lo-ndo, III
Lo-ndu (Lo-ta 羅達), I, II
Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, III
Lo-ssu-wan 螺絲灣, II, III
Lo-t'ien-ch'ang 螺天場, II
Lo-t'ung 羅洞, I, II
Lo-wia (Lo-wa), IV
Lö-bü, III
Lo-hung-ti 龍宏地, IV
Lo-ku Hu 落古湖 (Lo-t'a Khü), III
Lo-ku-ting 落古丁, III, IV
Lo-ma-p'u 羅馬鋪, IV
Lo-ning-ying 龍寧營, IV
Lo-tien 羅甸 (Lo-dü) (Rö-dö), II
Lo-shêr-dsu, III
'Lö 'Khü (Chung Hai 中海), III
'Lö-'khü, III
'Lö-'khü-'wia-'wia 'D'a, III
Lö-lo-thang (camp), I
Lö-nde-nzlu, III
Lö-ts'ap (Chung-ts'un 中村), II, III
Lor-dzu, III
Lor-dzu-lew-k'aw, III
Lung-dre (Lo-ndêr) (Liu-tui 六堆) (Lung-to-li 龍得里), IV
Lung-kung Sou 龍宮寺, I
Lung-pao-ch'ang 龍寶廠, II
Lung-p'u, I
Lung-ta Ho 龍打河 (Lo-nda Gyi), III
Lung-t'ang 龍塘, IV
Lung-t'ang-ho 龍塘河, IV
Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, III
Lung-ya-li 龍牙里 (Lung-ts'ung-nan 龍崇南), I
Lo-gkv-dzhi, III
Lv-na-wia (Lo-nan-wa 羅南瓦), III
Lv-ts'o-lo (Lo-tzu-lou 羅子樓), III
Lv-ts'o lo (river), III
Lyu-ra-gang (Yu-la-kang 由拉岡), I

Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (mt.), III
Ma-an-shan 馬鞍山 (pass), III
Ma-an-shan (village), III, IV
Ma-huang-kou 麻黃溝, IV
Ma-huang-ts'un 麻黃村, III
Ma-i-p'ing 馬益坪, II
Ma-li-p'ing 麻利坪, II
Ma-nye K'ung, IV

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Ma-pa-deng (Ma-pa-ting 馬巴定) (Hu-li 呼里), I
Ma-pa-ho 馬巴河, IV
Ma-p'u-tzu 馬鋪子, IV
Ma-shui-teng 馬水登, II
Ma-t'ou-shan 馬頭山, IV
Ma-t'ou-tien 馬頭甸, IV
Mai-chia-p'ing 麥賀坪, III
Mai-mai-kou, IV
Mba-yi-wüa (Ming-yin-wu 明治吾), III
Mbe-dü, II
Mbér-ó-gko-ho, III
Mbo-shi (Ggö-mbo), III
Me-ra-dam, I
Me-re-shü (Mo-li-shu 摩里樹), I
Me-tse-mo (sMad-rtse-mo) (Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan 雍吉雪山), I
Mei-tzu-p'ing 梅子坪, II, III, IV
Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子鋪, IV
Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨, II, III
Mei-yü-p'u 梅雨鋪, IV
Mekong River, see Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾(滄)滄江, I
Men-khang (Men-kung 門工), I
Mi-ndu-wüa, III
Mi-zhuy, IV
Mieh-su-i, II
Miem-miem Shan 緬緬山, III
Min-yü, II
Ming-pao-ti 明寶地, III
Mo-lien, IV
Mo-so village (near Pa-che), IV
Mo-tzu-k'ou 磨子口, IV
Mo-yü-kou 摩玉溝, IV
Mountain Hut (near Ra-shü), I
Mu-dtri-di-muy (Mu-dtü-dü-muy) (Mo-ti-ching 木底井), III
Mu-gko-ndu, III
Mu-kuo-so 木郭所, II
Mu-li 木里 (Mi-li), IV
Mu-li-ch'ang 木利場, IV
Mu-lo 木羅, II
Mu-ting 慕丁, I
Muan-dri, I
Muap-la-k'o (Chu-ko-lung 竹葛龍), II
Muay-gko-hui, II, III
Muap-khü-ndu (Hsia-keng-t'u 下耕土), II
Muap-k'u (Chung-i-tu'un 忠義村), III
Muap-lo, II, III
Muap-ndér, III
Muay-ou-dzhu (Mo-ou-ch'ang 木瓦場), II
Miep-p'ü-wüa, II, III
Miep-tu'k-dzu, III
Miep-tuö-dzu (Mo-tu'an-tu 木端都), II, III
Muo-p'ü-gko, III
Na-dzhwuä (Nu-lu-na), III
Na-kao-to 那高多, I, II
Na-ma-ch'iao 哪馬橋, IV
Na-ngyu-wüa, III
Na-p'a 納巴, II
Na-p'a Khü, II
Na-ri (Na-li 納里 or 那里), II
Nai-wang-lung 賴旺龍, I
Nam-la-shu-ga, I
Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅, II, III
Nange-la, I
Nao-p'u 腦鋪, IV
Nda-bpu, III
Nda-gka-dü, II, III
Nda-lü (Ta-lieh 打烈), II, III
Nda-nyo-yi-t'ü (Ta-niu-ying-tui 打牛營堆), III
Nda-po, III
Nda-shi, III
Nda-shi (river), III
Nda-ou-dzhu, II, III
Nda-za Dü (Nda-zaw dü), III
Nda-za gko, III
Nda-zaw, III
Ndo-oang (To-oung 多翁), II
Ndong (Tung 東), I
Ndu, I
Ndu-ren-chu (Tu-lun-chu 都倫竹), I
Ndzi-mbü-lü, II, III
Ndzu-dü (Chung-tien 中甸) (sGyal-thang), III
Nei-ma-sha 內馬沙, I
Nga-ba, III
Nga-ba nu-lo, III
Nga-tu, III
Nga-ta-gyi-t'a, III
Ngai (yen)-wa 愛瓦, II
Ngan-ya (Kao-nien 高年) (Gan-ya), I
Ngu-dzü, III
Ngu-khü Gko, III
Ni-ch'e-liang 泥車梁, I
Ni-la-lung 泥拉龍 (I-chia-p'o 一家坡), I
Ni-nu (Ni-lui 泥垂), I
Niao-pi-kou, IV
Niu-yü, II
Ning-lang 寧浪 (Lang-ch'ü chou 浪穹州), III
Niu-ch'ang 牛廠, II, IV
Niu-ch'ang kuan 牛廠關, II
Nu La, I
Nu-mp, IV
Nu-yü, II, III
Nuo-mi-kou, IV
Nu-kuan Shan 怒關山, II
Nup-to K'ung, IV

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Ne-lo-k'o (Hsüeh-mang-p'o-'an 雪莽坡), III
Ne-lo-p'ir, III
Nya-mu Lo, III
Nyi-ce, III
Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu 大八子), I
Nyien-se (Mao-niu Pa-tzu 牛八子), III, IV
Nyin-wan-lo, I
Nyin-wan-lo (river), I
Nying-ser La (Ming-ser La), I
Nyo-ro-p'u, III

Ô-mup (Wo-mu 倭母), III
Op'ing-tzu, IV
Ot'ang 鄂塘, IV
Ou 鄂, IV

Pa-che, IV
Pa-erh 巴爾 (Ba-er), IV
Pa-erh-chao 八[爾]朝 (Pa-erh-chao 八[爾]朝), III
Pa-k'o 巴克 (Dzi-cho-ts), III
Pa-lo 巴羅 (near Ngu [Yen]-wu 蕚山), II; (near Ts'o-ma-ts'), III
Pa-mo (Pa-mo 巴莫), I
Pa-ho-ya-ira, II
Pa-thang (Pa-tang 巴塘), I, II
Pa-yung-kao 八角樓, I
P'a-da (P'o-tan 坡丹), III
Pai Shui 白水 (Gai-per lo-gha), III
Pai-chi Sou 白鷄寺, II
Pai-chieh-ho 白芥河, IV
Pai-feng-chang 白鳳嶂, II
Pai-kan-ch'ang, II
Pai-la Shan 白腊山, II, III
Pai-la-chao 白腊哨, II, III
Pai-lang-t'ang 白浪塘, II
Pai-lin Shan 白林山, IV
Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山, II
Pai-ren Shan, III, IV
Pai-sha-ho 白沙河, II
Pai-sha-kai 白沙街 (Bie-du), III
Pai-shih 白石, IV
Pai-ung 白雲, I
Pai-tzu-hsu 白子須, II
Pai-tzu-tien 白子甸, IV
Pai-wu-ching 白烏井, IV
Pai-ch'uan 白川, IV
Pai-pa-kai 白巴街, IV
Pan-t'o 班陀, I
Pang-blang-long, I
Pan-hsing 半星, II
Pan-hsu Shan 半須山, II
Pan-to 班陀, III
Pe-ma Shan (Pai-mang Shan 白茫山), I
Pe-yi Ran, IV
Pe-shin, I
Pe-shwa (Pai-shwa), I
P'e-shi-rong K'ong, III, IV
Pei-ch'i-t'an 北七塘, II
Pei-pa, II
Pe-chin 北津, III
Pei-o-mei 北鵝梅 (Ts'o-k'o-mup), II, III
Pei-nan, IV
Pen-yo Miao 本岳廟, III
P'ên-hsu-ca (P'o-t'an-wan 潘塘灣), II, III
Pho-lo (P'o-la 坡拉), I
Pi-chi, IV
Pi-ci, III
Pieh-lieh Ho 別列河, III
Pieh-ou Ho 別歐河, IV
P'ing-h'uan-chan, IV
Po-lo (Wa-lo 瓦羅 [illegible]), I, II
Po-lo-t'o 波羅陀, III, IV
P'o-lin 坡林 (near Ma-pa-lin 馬巴林), IV; (near Sung-p'ing-tzu 松平子), IV
Pong-dong, I
Pung-tu-ca (Pen-tu-lan 本土蘭), I
Pungo La, II
Pu-mu, III
P'u-lo-chuo 蒲羅卓, IV
P'u-lu Sou 蒲魯寺 (Thar-pa-lin-bdain gling), III
Pu-lo-tzu 蒲羅子 (Bu-glang-mbo), II
Pu-to 蒲陀, I, II
P'u-nu-ma (P'u-ch'i-wu 蒲七烏), III
P'u-wu, III
Pu-wu Gyi, III
Pu-wu La, III
Pun-tra, I

Ra-po K'ong, IV
Ra-chi (Ma-long-ku 麻龍谷), I
Ri-dong (Li-tung 里東), I
Ri-sha-thang (Ri-ya-thang), I, II
Rin-po Gonpa (Wa-chin Sou 瓦寺寺), III
Rong-chu (Lo-chu 洛[克]), II
Ru-ra, I

Sa Ring, IV
Sa-ba, III
Sa-ba-lo-gha, III
Sa-ba ro-le, III
Sa-pin (Sheng-kung-ting 聖宮丁), II
Sa-ma, I
Sa-dun K'ong, IV
Sa Dji (Sa Gyi), III
Sa-lipi Khu (Sa-lipi Kai 沙里海) (Sheng-pi Kai 生里海), III

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Sä-bpi-lo-mä, III
Sä-dji-ma, III
Salween River (Gyamongä Chiu) (Nu Chiang怒江) (Lu Chiang 瀘江), I
San-chia-ts'un 三家村 (Zhèr-har-ndz(ér)-dru), III
San-chia-ts'un 三家村, near Bpe-lo, III;
  near Dshi-shi-ti, III, IV;
  near Ngu (Yen)-wa 雁之, II,
  near Pi-shi, IV;
  near Shui-t'ang-tzu 水塘子, IV
San-ko-chuang 山歌莊, IV
Sang-thu (Sung-t'a 松塔), I
Se-bp'o-t'ung 色波通, II
Se-ma-li-ti 色瑪里底, II
Se-ra-dun, I
Se-le-chang (Se-le-t'ung 色勒通), I
Se-ro (Shé-le 舍勒), I
Seng-ge-ga-mu (Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山), III
Ser-wa Lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo), I
Sga-tse, III, IV
Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東), I
Sha-lon (Sha-long 沙龍), II
Sha-pa 沙壩, IV
Sha-shao 沙哨, II
Sha-ra-kum, I
Sha-ya, IV
Sha-yi (Shen-i-ts'un 沙壹村), I
Shan-men-k'ou 山門口, IV
Shang-ep, III
Shan-shen Miao 山神廟, III
Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 (Gyi-p'ér mbu), III
Shang-ma-tou 廟子頭, III
Shang Ta-ch'ong 上大塘 (Ta-dun), II
Shang-lung-k'o 上龍河 (Sao-chiang-k'ou 三江口), III
Shang-pa-k'o 上巴哥, III, IV
Shang-ri 上阿里, II
Shang-ta-kou, IV
Shang-p'ing 上平, III
Sha-k'ua 沙瓜 (Shag-kwua), III
Sha-k'ua Ho 沙瓜河, III
Sha-lä 沙拉, III
Sha-pi Ho, IV
Shen-kuo 深溝, IV
Sheng-lä, IV
Sheng-wang, III, IV
Shih-ge-shih Lo (Sao-ta-wan 三大灣), III
Shi Dju, IV
Shi-ching K'ung, IV
Shi-ching Rang, IV
Shi-dao-ru, I
Shi-lo-ne-k'o, III
Shi-wan-lo'a-ku, III
Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二蘭干山, II
Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba) (La-ba wua-gkv) (Do-nga-rong), II, III
Shih-k'uai-teng 石塊登, II
Shih-lung Shan 石龍山, II, III
Shih-men-kuan 石門關, II, III
Shih-ngai-t'ang 石岩塘, II
Shih-teng 石登, II
Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山, III
Shih-wan-ho 石灣河, IV
Shio-ndo (Hsiang-to 香多), II
Shio-ndo (river), II
Shô-dro (Shang-ko-tzu 上格子), II, III
Sho-ko dü, III
Shou-kou Ssu 壽國寺 (bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling), II
Shu-La (Shug La), I
Shu-ch'e 樹子, I
Shu-ho 束河 (Shwua-wua), III
Shu-lo-k'o, III, IV
Shu-miao 樹苗, II
Shu-pa 樹巴, II
Shu-pa-p'u 樹巴鋪, IV
Shui-chia 水家, III
Shui-chien-ch'ao 水澗巢, III
Shui-t'ang-tzu 水塘子, IV
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Shwuâ-wua-gku, III
Shyon-gung, II
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Si La (Hsi La 錫拉), I
Si-go-dum (Sri-mgo-rdum), I
Si-li, III, IV
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Sinter terraces, III
So-lo-dzu, III
So-mei Ho 雪美河, I
So-shih-p'o 雪石坡, I
Se-lä, II, III
Ssaw-gkaw-ndso Gyi, III
Ssaw-ssaw-gku (Shan-hsien-ku 山仙姑), II, III
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Ssu-chi-t'ung 思記通 (Si-ki-t'ong), I
Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh Shan 四明大雪山, see Kha-wa-kar-po Range
Ssu-pa-lo, II
Ssu-ts'ér-ngu, II, III
Ssu-ts'un 四村, I
Sung-p'ing-tzu 松平子, IV
Sung-po 松坡, II, III

Ta-chi 大箕, II
Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍壩 [?], II
Ta-ch'iao 大橋, II
Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河, II

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Ta-chio-kou 大脚溝, IV
Ta-ch'ung Ho 大冲河, see Wo-lo Ho
Ta-ch'ung-ho 打冲河, IV
Ta-dzui (Dta-dzu) (Ta-tse 大嘴) (Tao-tse 道嘴), III
Ta-ho-ta, III
Ta-hua-shu 大花樹, III
Ta-huo Shan 大火山, II, III
Ta-ku (Nda-gv), III
Ta-li 達里, I
Ta-liu, IV
Ta-lo-ho-pa 打鑼河壩, IV
Ta-lo-shui 大羅水 (Lo-shu), III
Ta-mo Ssu 達摩寺 (baTan-hphel-gling), II
Ta-mo-yum, I
Ta-niu-ch'ang 大牛廠, II
Ta-p'ing-tzu 大坪子, IV
Ta-p'u, IV
Ta-p'u-tzu 大鋪子, IV
Ta-ra (Ta-la 達拉), II
Ta-rá Peak, III
Ta-rà Shan, III
Ta-shan 大山, III
Ta-shen-kou 大深溝, III
Ta-shih-pa 大石壩, II
Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭, I, II
Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 (near Do-lung), I; (near T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘), II; (river), I
Ta-t'ang 大塘, II, III
Ta-tu-k'ou 大渡口, IV
Ta-wan 大灣, III
Ta-yao Shan 大藥[藥]山 (Wua-ha Shan), III
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T'a-dza (Hsia or Wai-t'a-ch'eng 下外塔城), II
T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 (T'ien-i Shan 天乙山), II
T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘, II
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T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關, III
T'ai-tzu-tung 太子洞, III
T'ang-shu-tu 塘樹渡, I
Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) (Jül), I
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T'ien-sheng-ch'iao 天生橋, II
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Ting-po Ho 定波河, I
T'khi-dü (Chi-chür), III
T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'o, III
To-gu-ti (T'o-ko-ti 拖格底), II
To-ka-bo, III
To-kwa, III
To-na-ko 拖那哥, II
To-pe-gä, IV
To-shi (Ta-ch'ung 大冲), III
T'o-chih 拖集 (T'o-dü), II
T'o-chih Ta-ch'iao 拖集大橋, II
T'o-djri, III
T'o-k'ö-shèr (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), III
T'o-lä-gki, IV
T'o-lä-tsu, III
T'o-mu-lang 拖木郎 [朗] (T'o-mu-na), II
T'o-ting 拖頂, II
Ton-du La, I
Ton-ri (Tan-lien 丹巒), II
T'ou-tao-ho 頭道河, IV
Tra-shi-khang-ser, IV
Tsa-na Shan 哲那山, IV
Tsa-sher, III
Tsa-sso-thang, I
Tsaip-t'ong, IV
Tsap-t'o K'ong, IV
Ts'ao-hai 草海 (Nda-bpa Khü) (Na-pa Taho), II
Ts'ao-ku-tien 草古甸, IV
Tse-bu, III
Tse-li 嘴里, II
Tse-ma La (Ch'i-ma La 齊馬拉), I
Tse-mi (P'a-lo), III
Tse-mi-lo 擇米洛, II
Tse-mu-shou 箐木堡, II
Tse-ri-teng, IV
Tse-yi-p'o (Chieh-i-p'o 節義壩), I, II
Tsen-pa, I
Tsha-le (Ts'a-li 擦里), I
Tsha-le La (Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 察里雪山), I
Tsha-rong, I
Tsho-dru (Ts'o-chung 錯中), I, II
Tso-so Shan 左所山, III
Tso-so Ya-men 左所衙門, III
Ts'o-lo-wu, III
Tsong-en (Tsung-en 宗恩), I
Tsu-b'a, II, III
Tsu-kuei, I
Tsu-t'ou-p'o, III
Tsui-yi (Ts'uie-yi), III
Tu-keng-la hsüeh-shan 獨更拉雪山, I
T'u-bbu, III
T'u-kuan-ts'un 土官村, II, III

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T'u-kung-p'u, IV
T'u-lu, IV
Tung Shan 東山, III
T'ung-en 通恩, II
T'ung-tiao-wan, III
T'ung-tien 通甸, II
Tzu-li-chiang-ts'un 特里江村 ('A-gkv-dshi), III
Tz'u-ku 茨姑 (Chu-ku 竹姑), I, II
Tz'u-wu 茨烏, I

Ui Chhu (O-i Ho 野宜河), I

Vu-dchû, III
Vu-dzhu (Wu-chu 特竹), II, III

Wa-'a Mbu, III
Wa-bo, I
Wa-erh Lo 特爾(爾)耳羅, III
Wa-erh-lo 特爾耳羅, III
Wa-k'a 四卡, I
Wa-li 瓦里, IV
Wa-shwua, III
Wan-da-nong (Wan-ta-lung 萬大龍), I
Wan-sung Shan 萬松山 (Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu), III
Wang-chiang Shan 望江山, II
Wei-hsi 維西 (Ba-lung) (Nyi-na), II
Wei-teng 維登, II
Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺 (Mûan bbu-nä), III
Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村 (Sa-'v-ssu-k'a), III
Wen-pi Shan 文筆山 (Sä-bpi zhêr nv-lv), III
Weng-tu 翁渡, I
Wo-lo Ho 卧羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河) (Hli Gyi) (K'ai-chi Ho 開基河) (Lo-chi Ho 勒吉河), III, IV
Wo-lo-bo 卧羅河 (village), IV
Wo-yü-pa-k'a-ko, III
Wu-chio 烏角, III
Wu-dzu-lo, III
Wu-hou-p'o 武侯坡, II
Wu-lang Ho 五浪河 (Wu-liang Ho 無量河), III
Wu-li 五里, I
Wu-lu-wan 特魯灣, II
Wu-shu-wûa, III
Wu-tou-chung 五斗種, IV
Wua-bpa-dtu, III
Wua-dtv-k'o-dû (Wa-tun-k'o-tui 瓦頓科堆), III
Wua-gkap-ts'an (Pai-ma-li 白馬里), III
Wua-ha Shan, III
Wua-ko, IV
Wua-la-pi, III
Wua-lo-k'o, III
Wua-lu, III
Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石), II
Wua-ssu-to, III
Wua-zhu Gom-pa, III
Wua-zhu law-k'aw, III
Wua-zhu-pu-nä, III

Ya-lung Chiang 雅砻江 (Lu Shui 瀘水) (Chin Chiang 金江) (Jo Shui 若水), IV
Ya-ma-dä, III, IV
Ya-men (village near Ba-chû), III
Ya-men, III
Ya-pe-ti 亞佳地, IV
Ya-ra-no (Liao-la 瓦拉), I
Ya-t'ang 雅塘, II
Ya-tsi K'ong, IV
Ya-tsi Ran, IV
Yang-liu-p'ing 楊柳坪, III
Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八井 (Yang-pa-chen), I
Yang-tsa 羊哈 (La-tsa 拉哈), I
Yangtse River, see Yang-tzu Chiang 揚子江
Yang-tzu Chiang 揚子江 (Dri Chhu) (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) (Gi-dji) (Ha-yi-bi) (La-ber Ha-yi-bi) (Yi-bi), I, II, III
Yao Shan 瑤山 (Gkaw-ngaw gkû-p'êr Ngyu), III
Yao Shan, III
Yao(Yo)-ts'ao-p'ing 藥草坪, III, IV
Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛), I
Yeh-chih 葉枝 (Yu-chû), II
Yeh-tsi (Yen-tzu 燕子), I
Yen-ching 雁井 (Tsha-kha-lo), I
Yen-ching Ho 雁井河, IV
Yen-kou-pa 雁溝坝, III
Yen-lu Shan 雁路山 (Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山), II
Yen-t'ang 雁塘 (Hei-yen-t'ang 黑雁塘), IV
Yen-yüan 雁源, IV
Yi-be Gom-pa, IV
Yi-bi (river), see Yang-tzu Chiang 揚子江
Yi-bi (village), III
Yi-bû, III
Yi-gô-ru, I
Yi-gv, III
Ying-chia-shan, III
Ying-p'an-kai 營盤街, II
Yo-nyi (Yo-i 野宜), I
Yo-wa-bu, III
Yon-chu (Yung-chih 永吉), I
Yon-dron-wan (Yin-to-wan 銀多灣), II
Yon-dur-kha (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍) (Cho-pa-rong), II
Yu-di-min, IV
Yu-k'o, III
Yu-k'o-lo, III
Yu-lo (Ying-p'an-ts'un 營盤村), II, III
Yu-mi, III

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000 Yu-so 右所, IV
Yun-gou (Lang-kuo 郎果), II
Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, II
Yung-ning 永寧, III
Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), III
Yü-leng Seu 玉琴寺 (bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling), III
Yü-hoa-ts'aŋ (Ho-t'ao-yüan 桃花園), III
Yü-lung Kuan 玉龍關, III
Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山, III
Yü-lv-t'o, III
Za-ba, III
Za-kha-ya (San-k'o-ya 三克雅), IV
Zam-pa-dru-kha (San-pa-te-k'a 三巴得卡), I
Zaw-muag, III
Zhe-dzu (Bo-wu-tzu), III
Zhi-dzum La (Long-bi La), I
Zhi-roŋ K'ong, IV
Zho Chhu (Shu Dÿ [Gyi]), III
Zhü-chiu, IV
Zi-ga, IV
Zi-shêr-dto, II, III

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[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]

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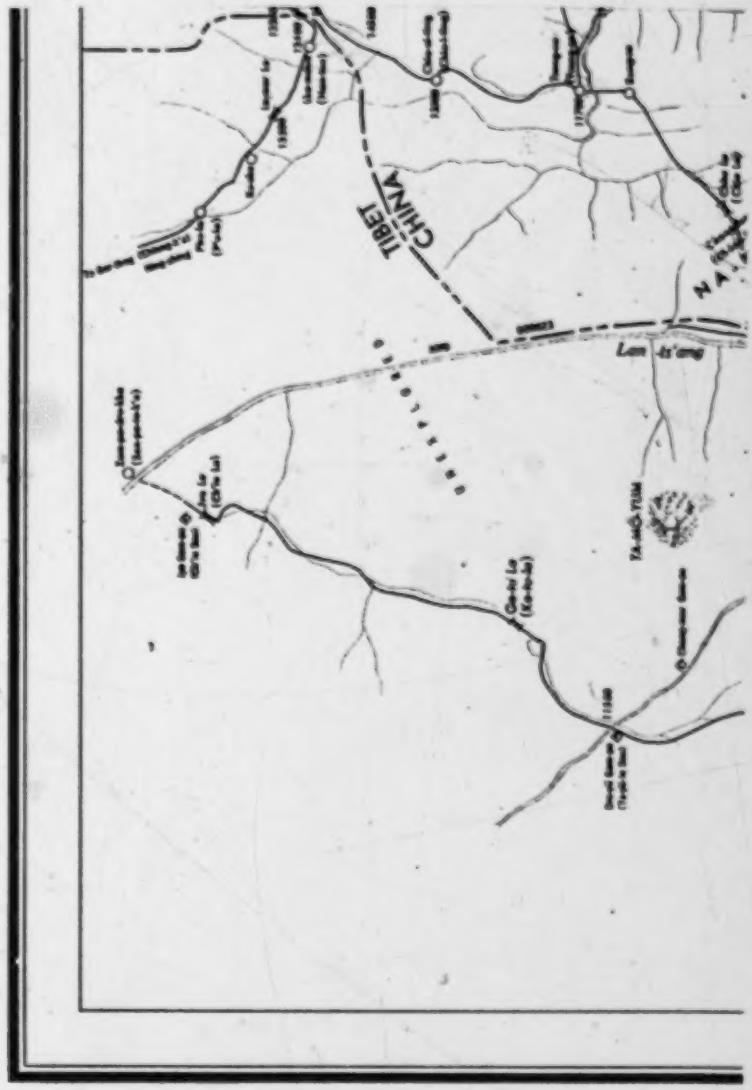
TE-CH'IN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

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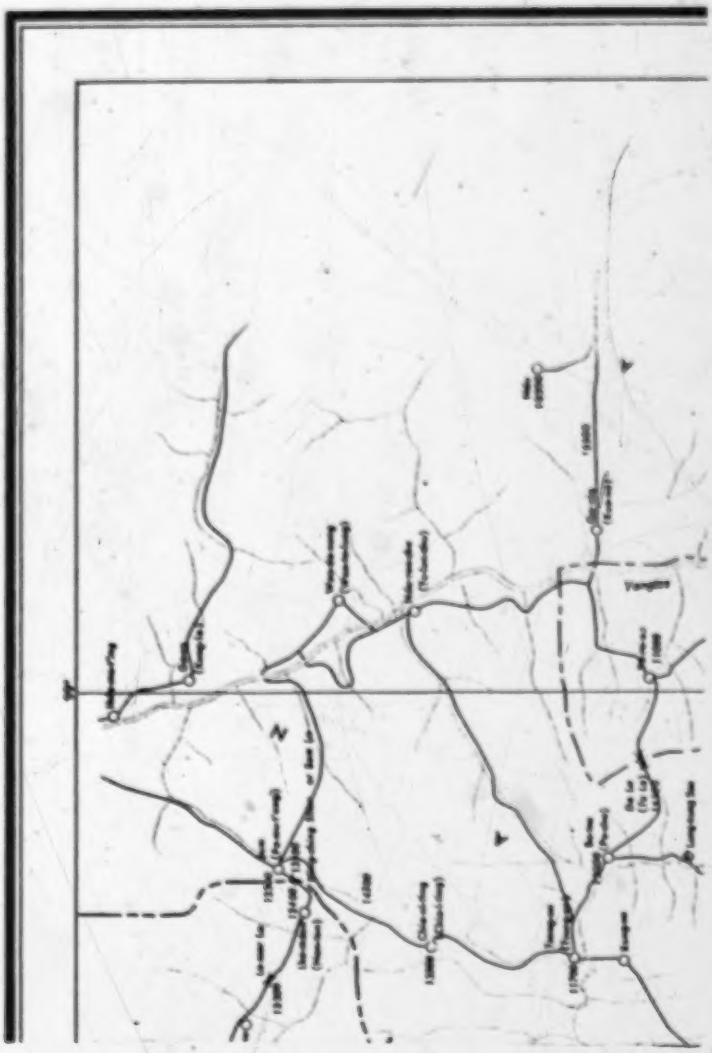
SHEET I OF IV

A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS I



-CH'IN

[End map I B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I C]

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[End map I D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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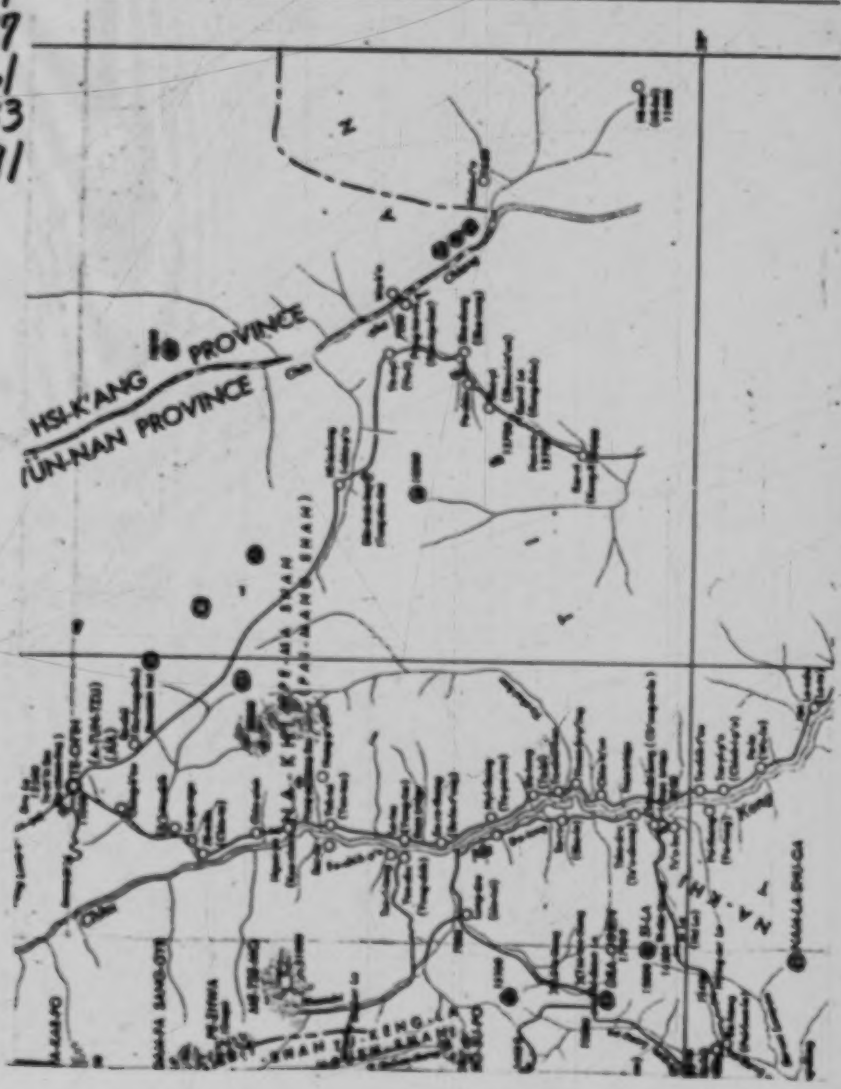

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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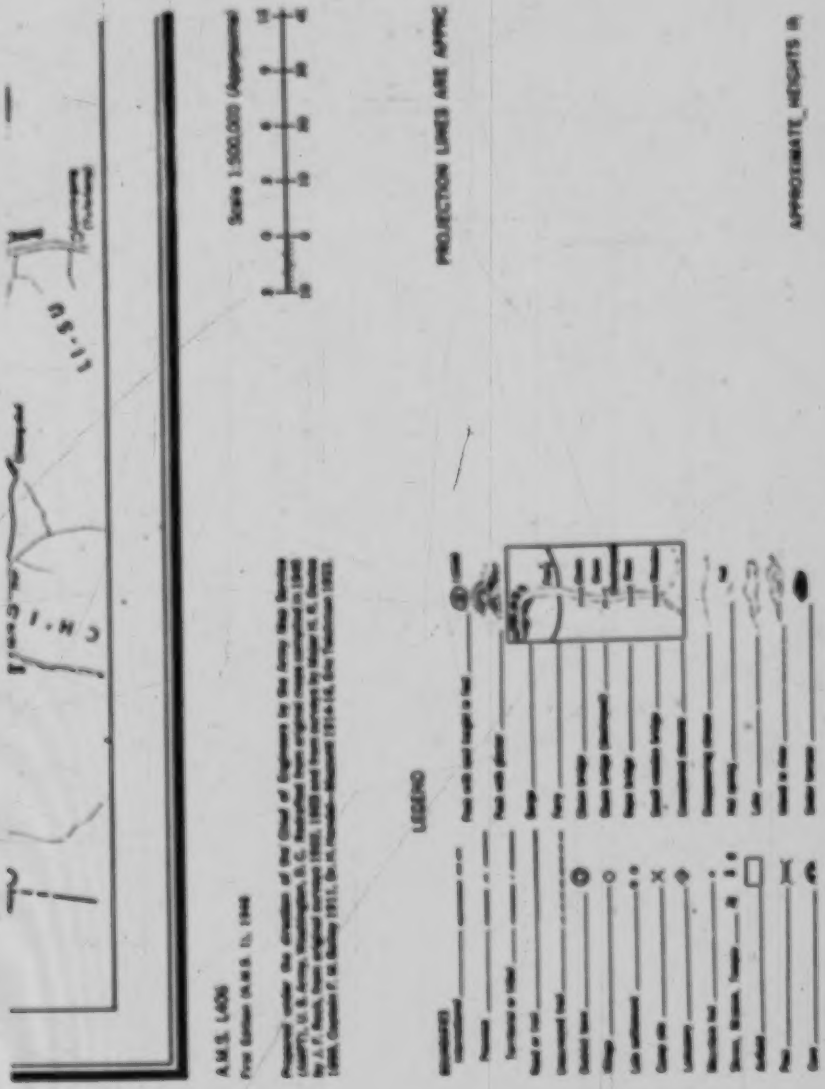

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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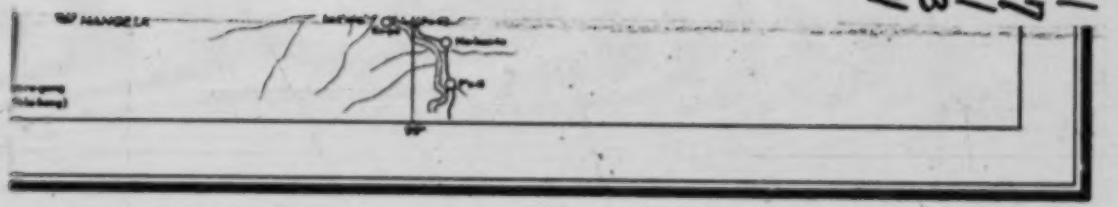

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 20 30 40 50 U

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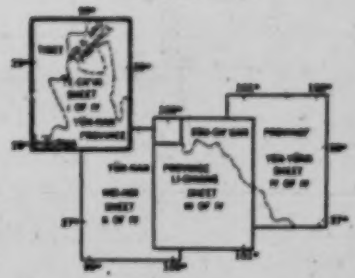
S-MP 1947

INDEX TO SHEETS



CTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA
N2750-E9800/150x130

[End map I H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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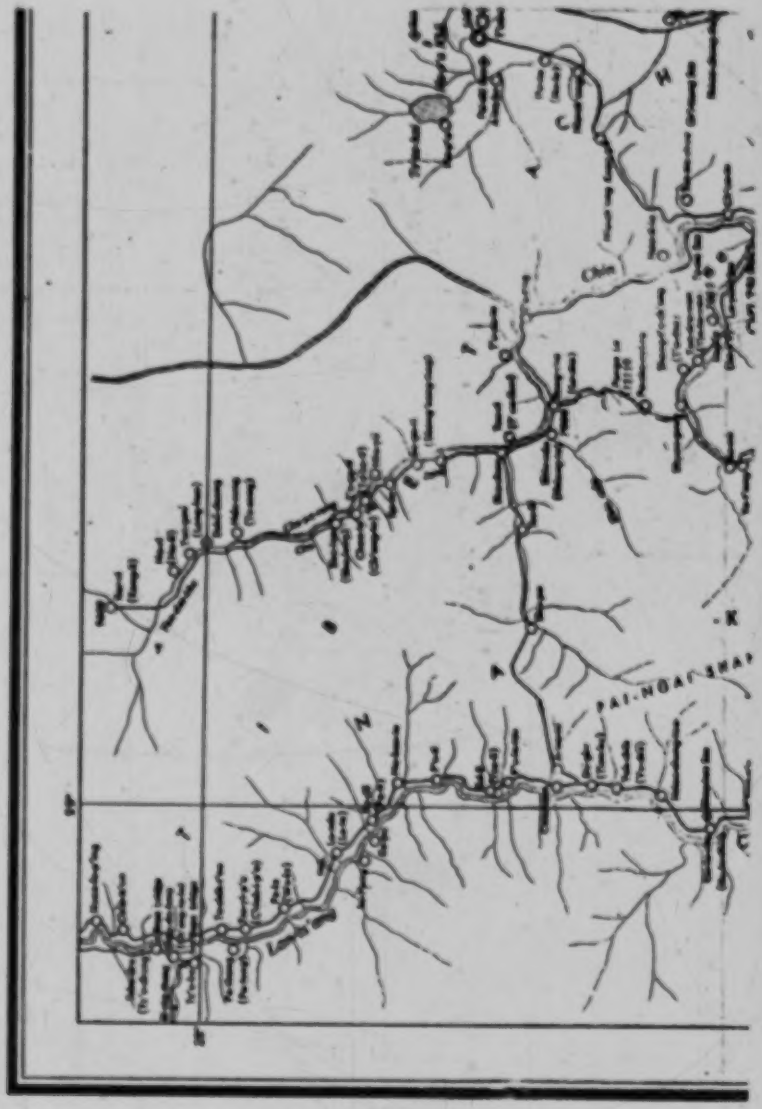
WEI-HSI



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map II A]

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FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

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[End map II 8]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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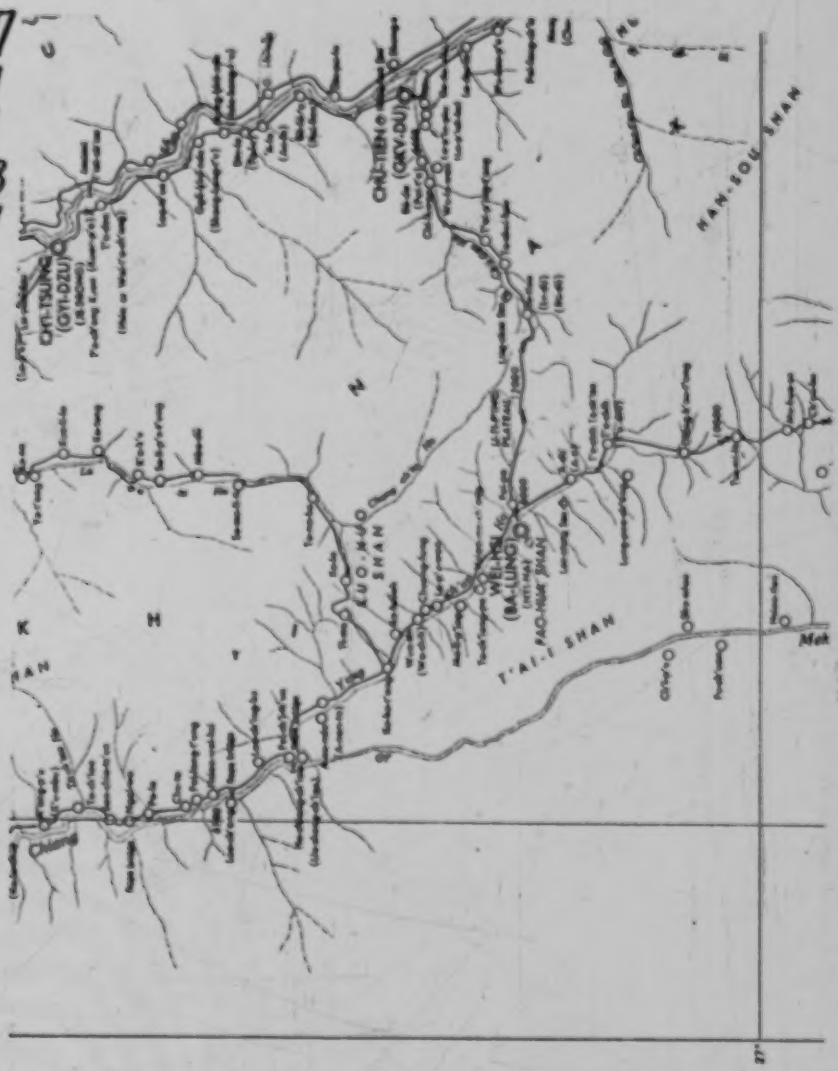

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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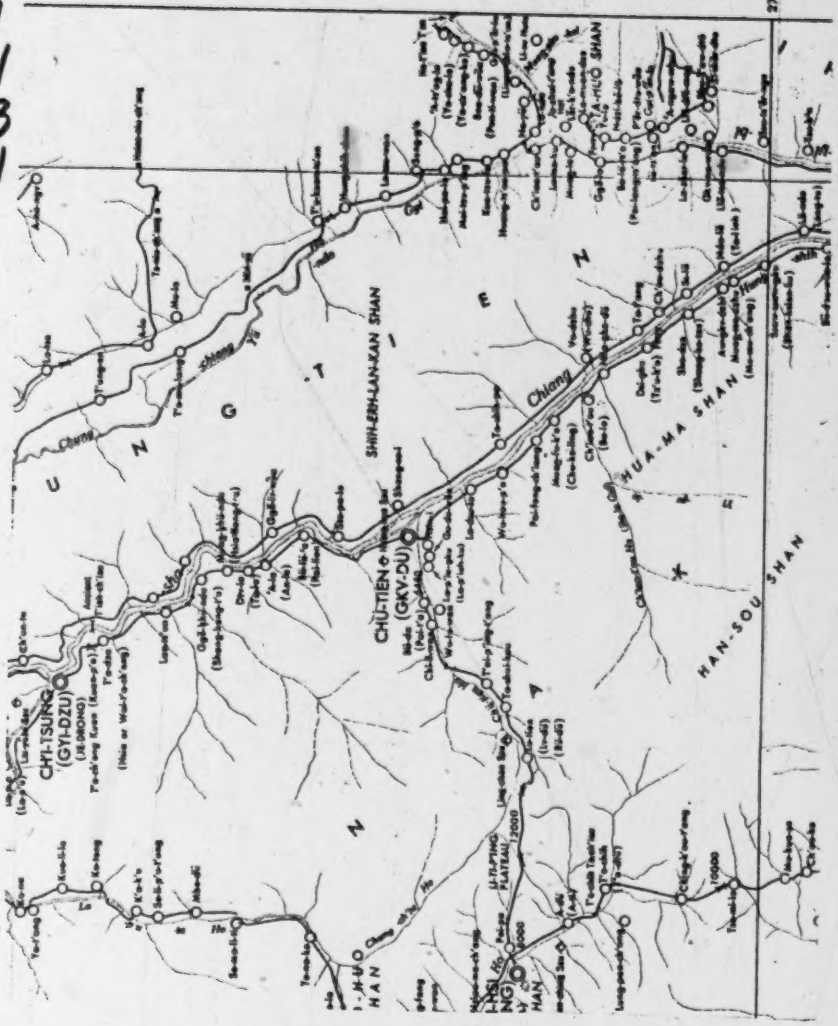

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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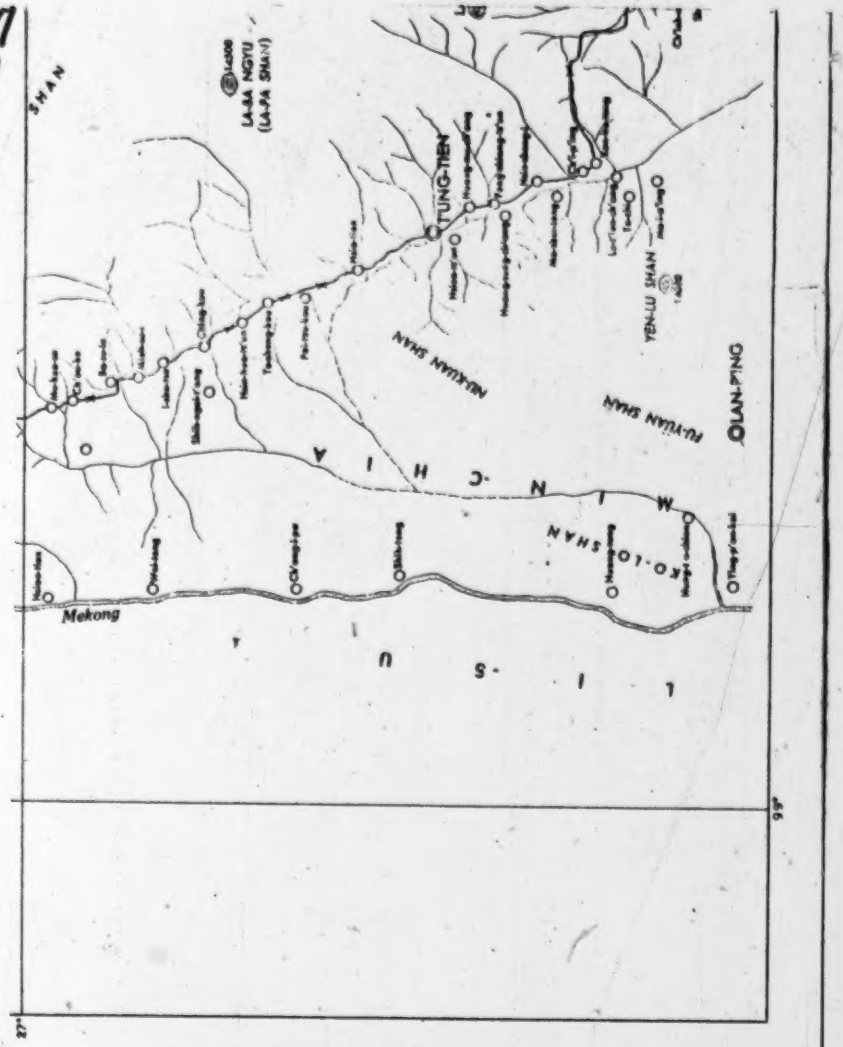

[End map II E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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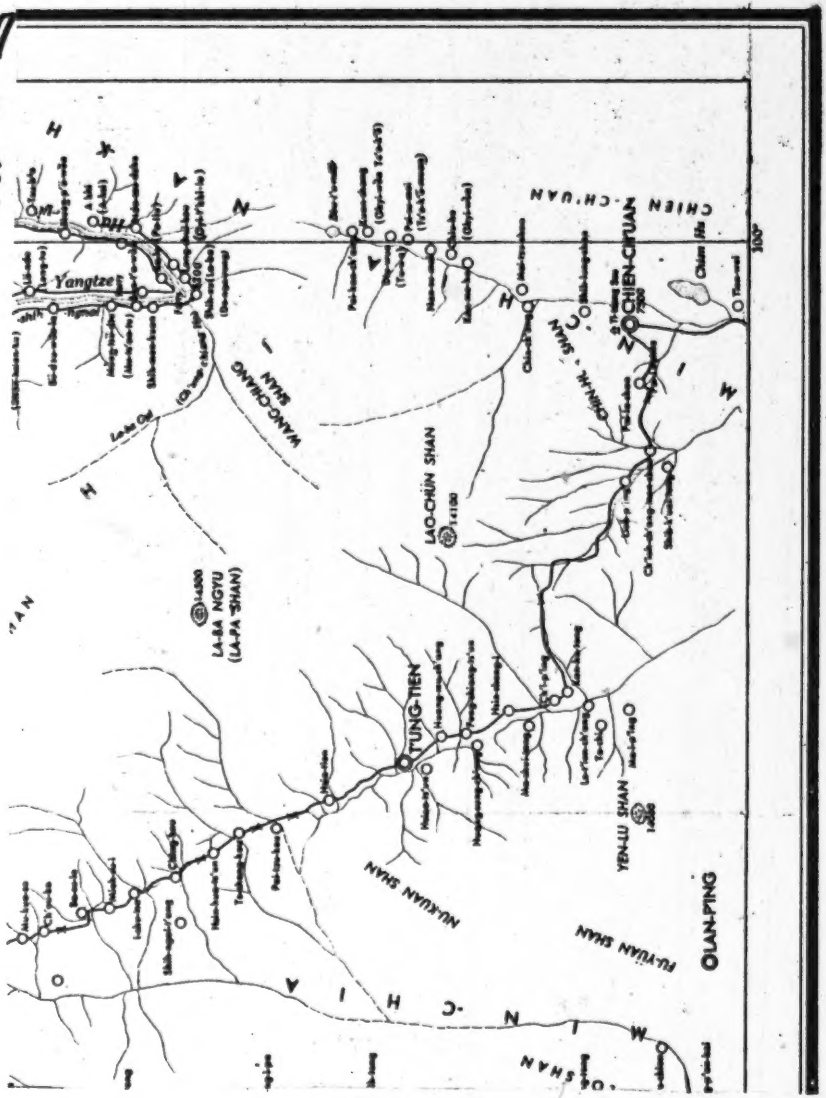

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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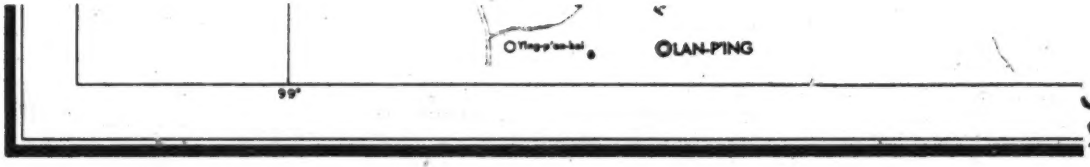

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 L

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
- International
- Province
- Territorial or tribal
- Road or trail
- Unsurveyed trail
- District town
- Village
- Lolo settlement
- Camp site
- Lamasery
- Mountain hut
- Shrine, Mission, Temple
- Airfield
- Pass
- Cave
- Peak with spot height in feet — 15300
- Peak with glacier
- Gorge
- Ferry
- Chain bridge
- Chain bridge (destroyed)
- Rope bridge
- Small wooden bridge
- Unexplored streams
- Disappearing stream
- Hot spring
- Lake
- Island in river
- Sister terrace

[End map II G]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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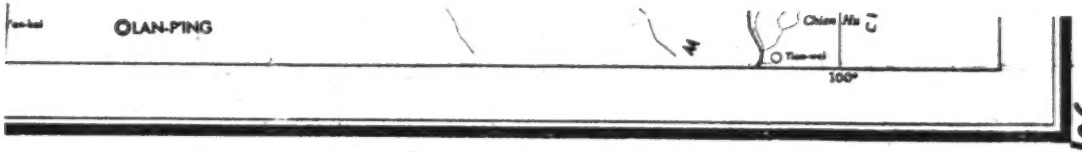

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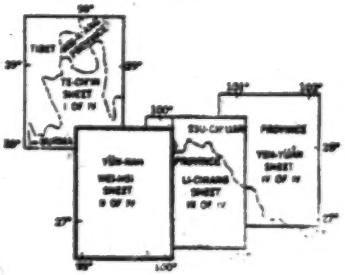

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

WEI-HSI, CHINA
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CHINA 1:500,000

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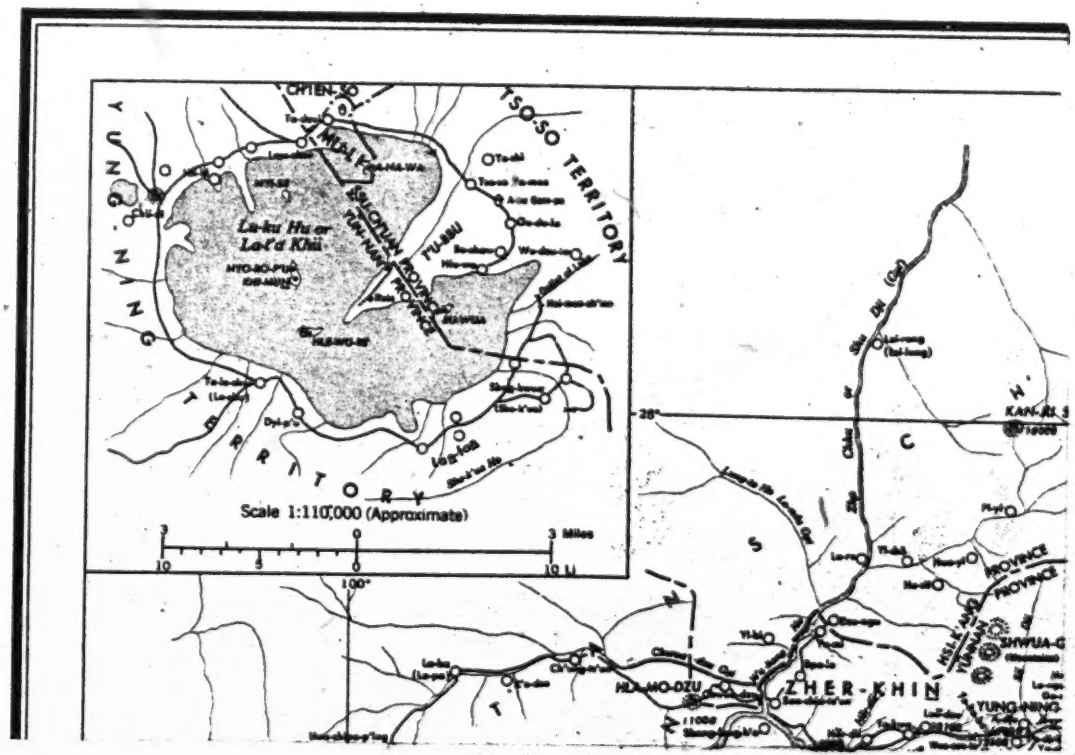

[End map III A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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LI-CHIANG

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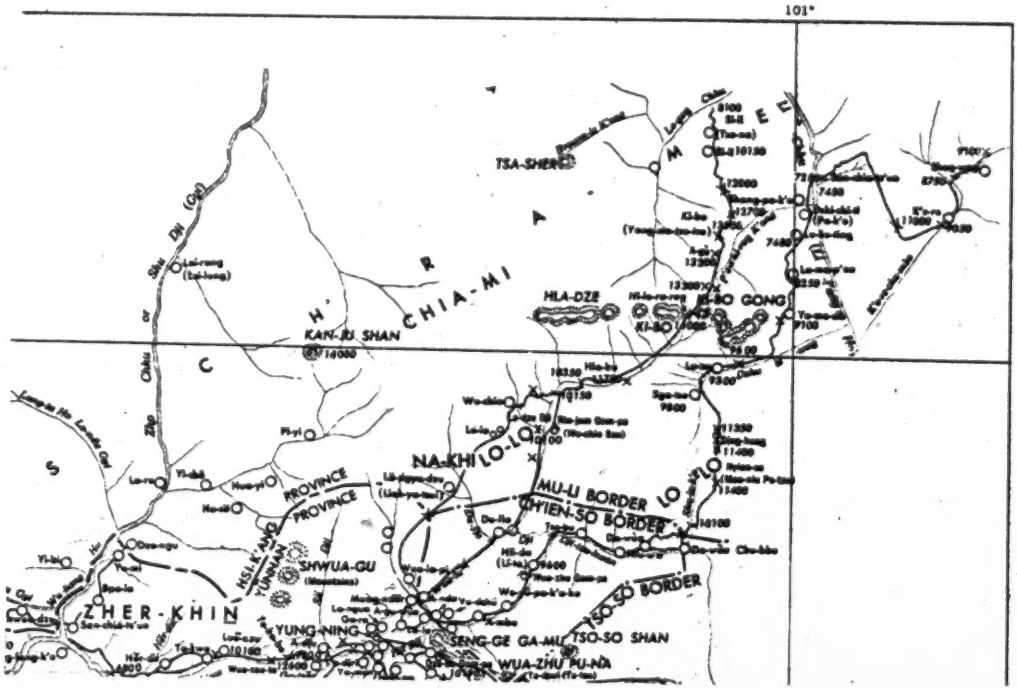

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2: Rock . K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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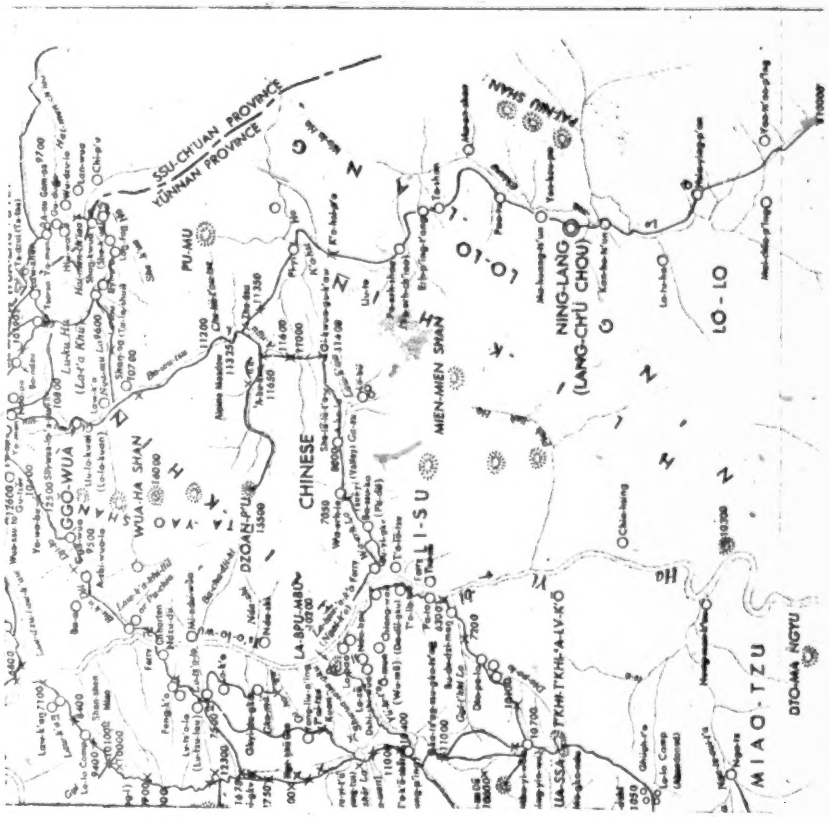

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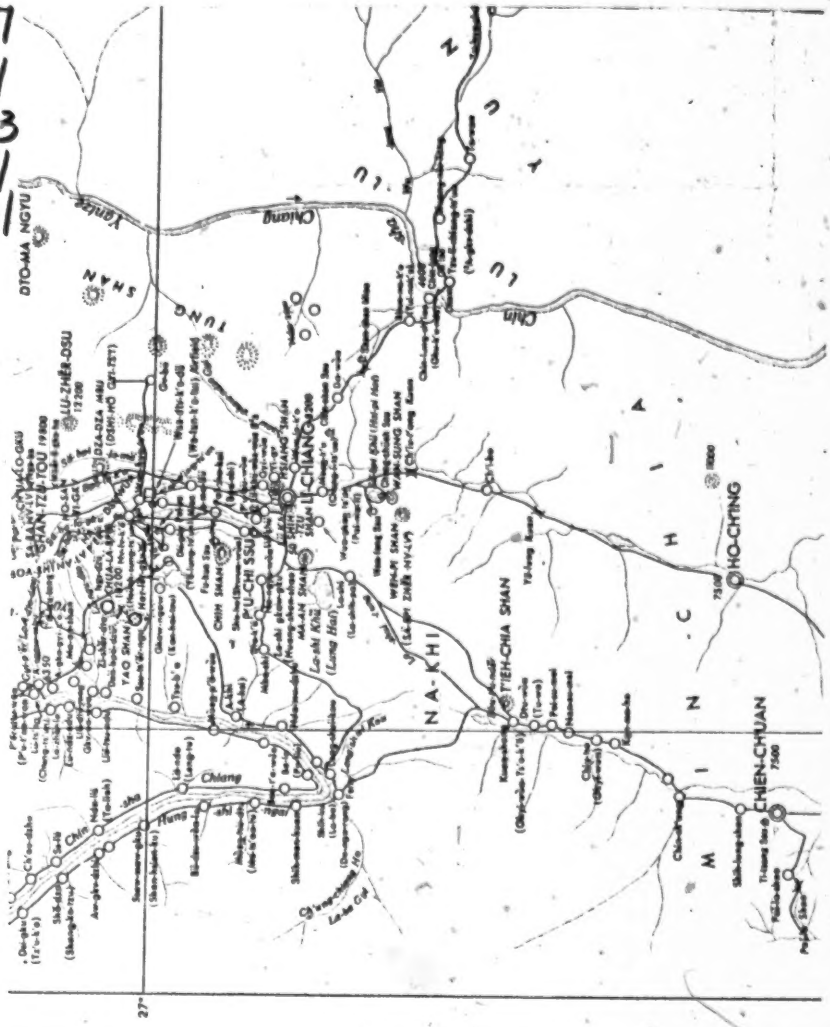
Yangtze
Chiang
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Hung
Ho
Lake Erh
Lake Erh
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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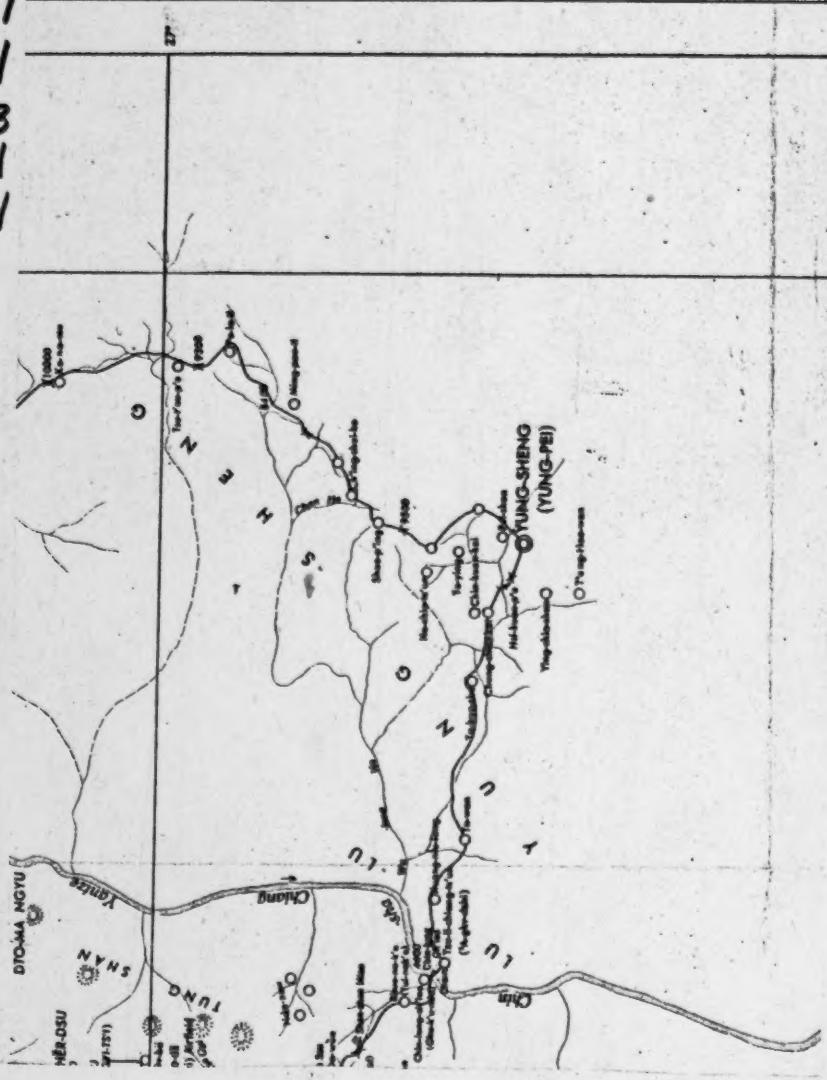

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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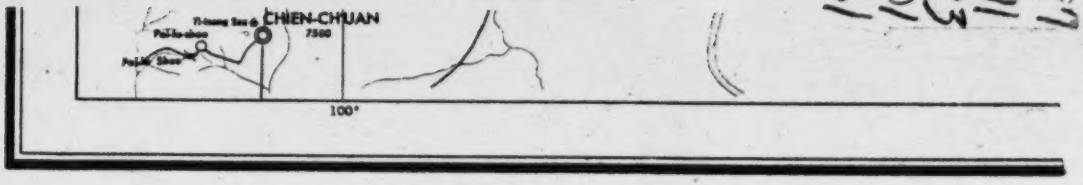

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave
Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sister terrace

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

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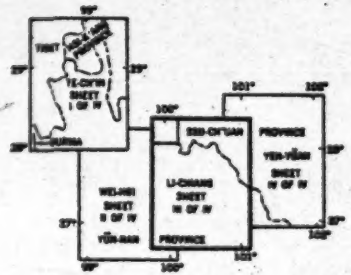

LI-CHIANG, CHINA

N2630-E9950/145x110

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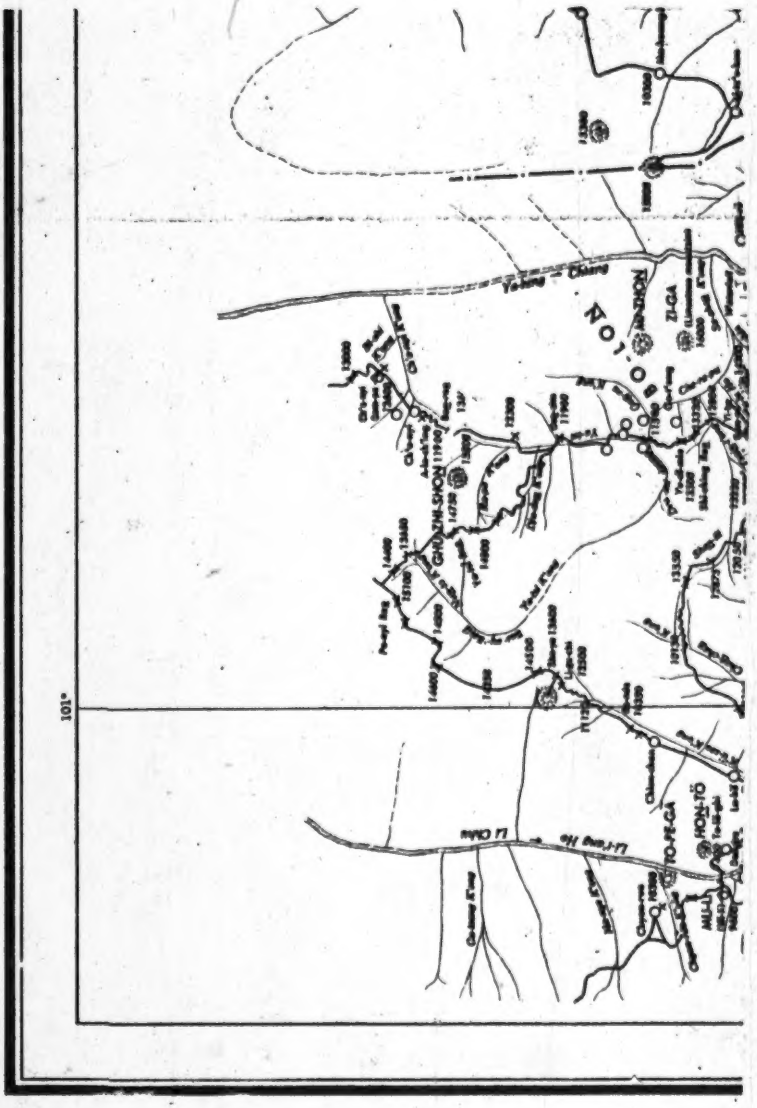
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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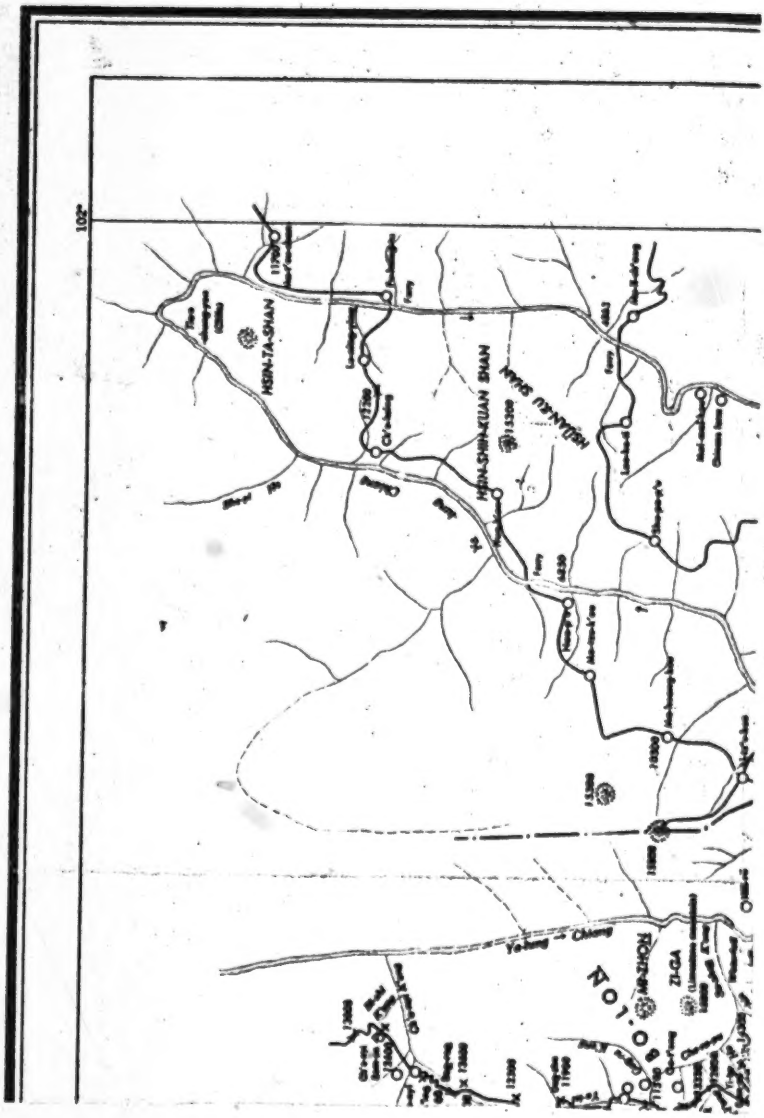

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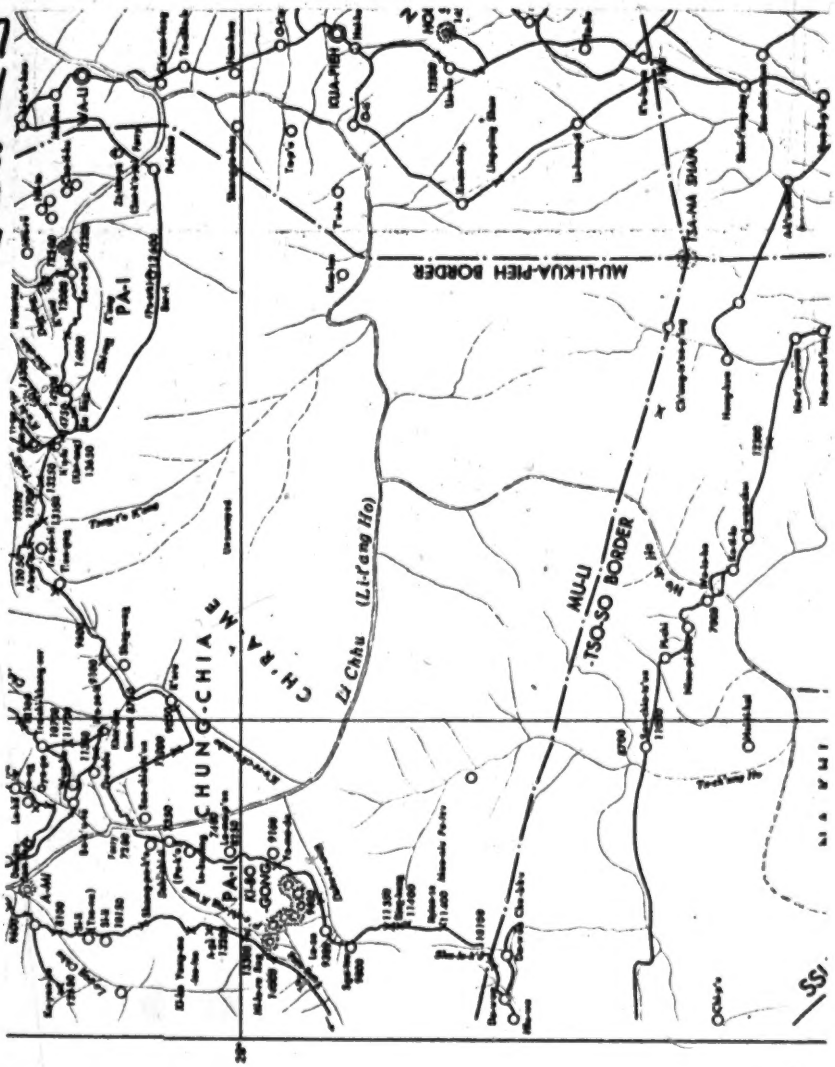

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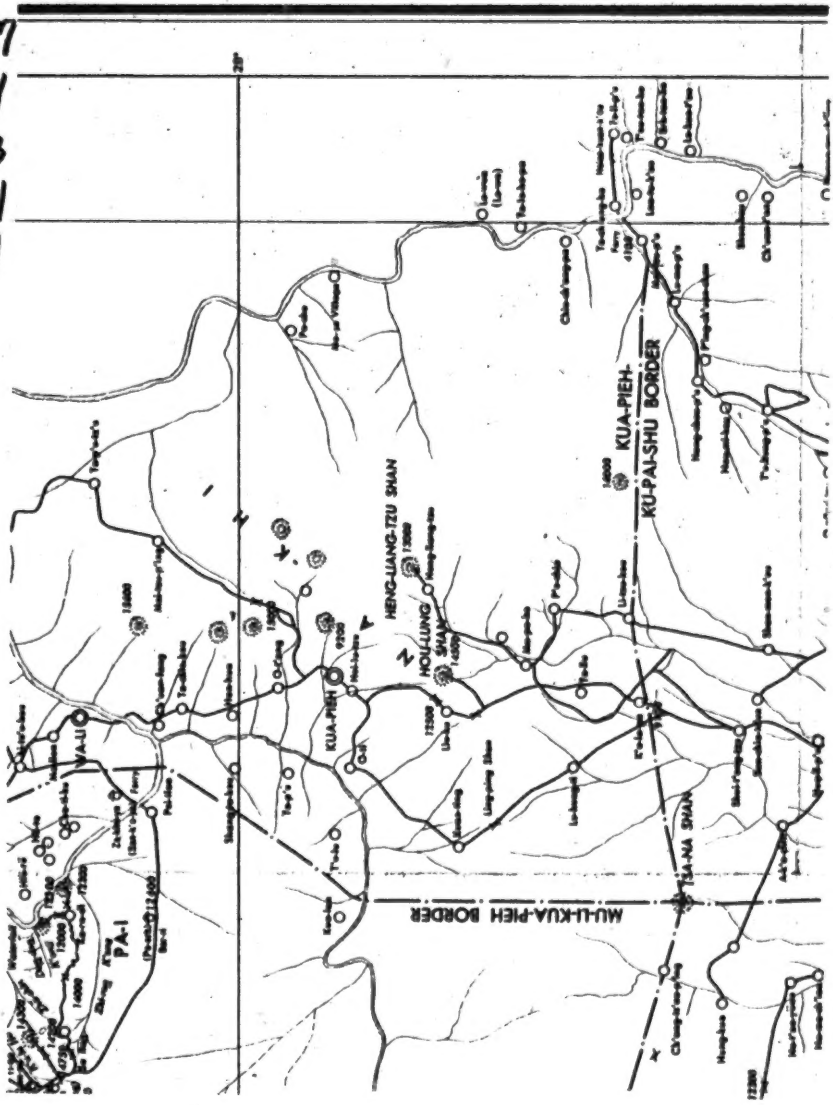

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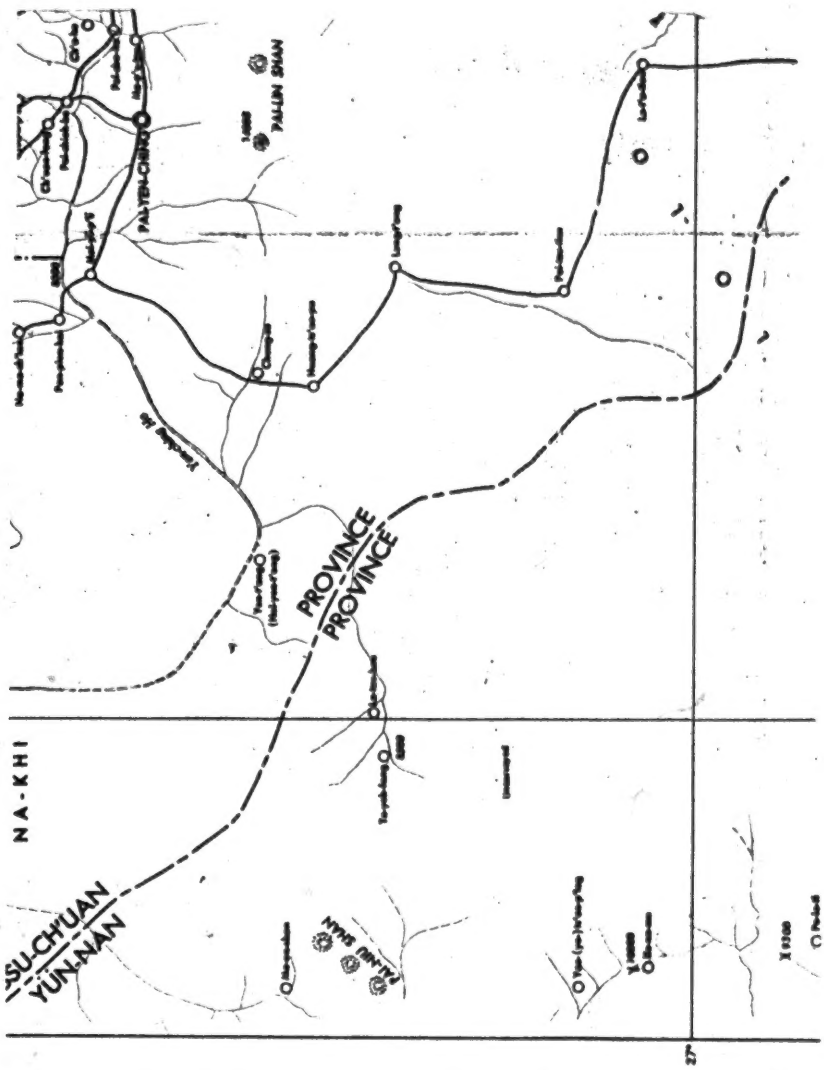

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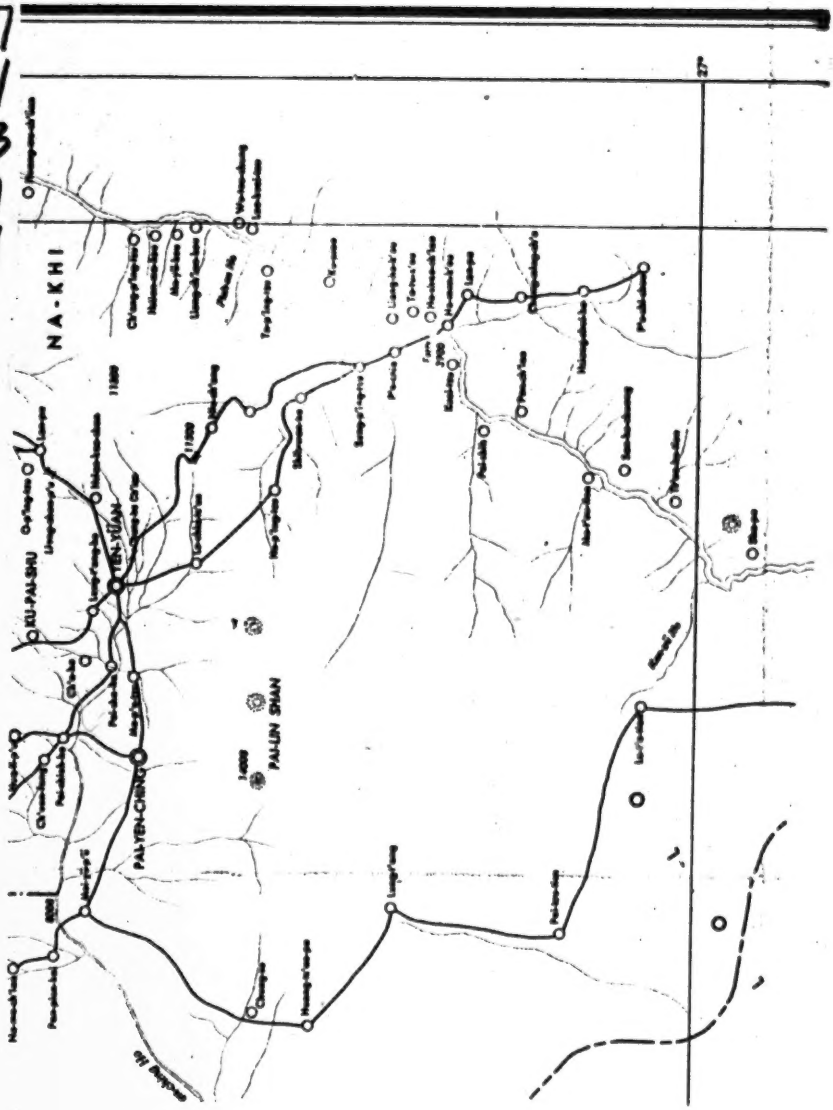

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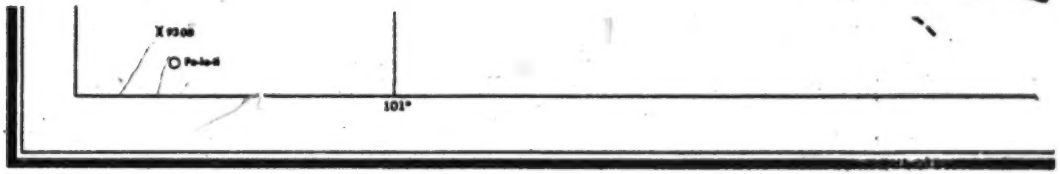

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave
Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

[End map II G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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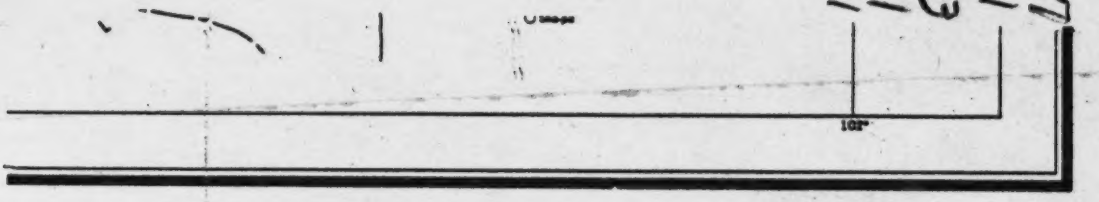

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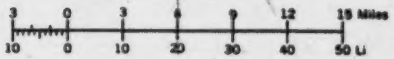

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PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

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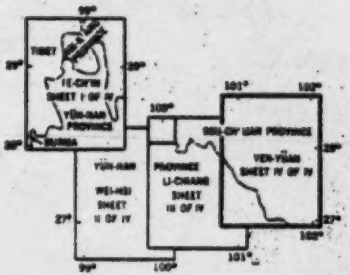

[End map IX H]

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

YEN-YÜAN, CHINA

N2655-E10045/145x150

2: Rock
133, 137, 487

AF 16 Southwest China AF16

[For data on Topography, Flora and Routes, see Category 116, pp. 217-354, 388-428.]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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CHINESE LIFE IN THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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CHINESE LIFE IN THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY THE

REV. JAMES HUTSON

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1921

FAR EASTERN GEOGRAPHICAL ESTABLISHMENT

SHANGHAI

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PREFACE

500 These studies were never intended for public consumption, but for personal benefit and enlightenment; and it was only at the request of several friends, coupled with the fear of permanent loss owing to the disturbed state of the country, that I was induced to submit them for publication. The object of the studies was to obtain the Chinese view point concerning the many mysterious customs and practices which perplexed me in daily intercourse with this people. In order to attain this end two things have had to be rigorously guarded against—first, an adverse spirit of criticism, which closes up every avenue of information; and second, the danger of being content when only personal curiosity is satisfied instead of trying to see things as the Chinese see them.

127 It should be stated that no foreign text books have been studied; questions of a scientific, ethnological and comparative nature have been set aside in order to present the local view of the subject in hand. The writer does not claim to have fully attained his end or to have exhausted the information obtainable on any given subject; while variations may be found in almost every county in the province, to say nothing of the whole of China.

The little city of Kwan Hsien, which lies 40 miles to the north-west of Chengtu in the province of Szechuan, is the hub of "The Tibetan Foothills." It was from this centre, so richly endowed with natural beauty, so famous for its ancient yet efficient irrigation system, so crowded with a teeming cosmopolitan population, that these pages were gradually compiled.

The whole of the subject matter contained in this volume has passed through the pages of the "New China Review," under the editorship of Mr. Samuel Couling to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude for editing the MS. and correcting the proofs. If the printing, numbering and colour of paper should not be quite uniform all readers will kindly consider the difficulty under which the Editor has laboured while putting these papers through his magazine.

JAMES HUTSON

Chengtu, January, 1921. [v] [iv blank]

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BOOK I—DOMESTIC

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHS, 生產 *shêng ch'an, etc.*

WHEN the birth is delayed it is put down to Lo Hou 羅睺, and the master of the house fires a gun over his shoulder towards the heavens to drive away the evil influences. These influences are believed to come from the *t'ien-kou hsing* 天狗星 or heavenly Dog-star. In some houses a picture of Chang kung 張公 is hung up; he is depicted as carrying a sling and stones; he is supposed to throw at this heavenly dog which comes to devour the expected child. It is said that Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 was an incarnation of this heavenly Dog-star, which is also the devourer of the moon in lunar eclipses.

To take away or escort the blood demon 送血鬼 *sung hsüeh kuei*, or demon of birth-pangs *ch'an-nan kuei* 產難鬼, is the work of a sorcerer, and many incantations are practised and charms used to assist the birth; the ceremony may take place a few days before the birth is expected.

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844
782

The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 燒三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jên tai nai* 防人帶奶. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

844
431

On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場, 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house, *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge. 844 782

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man ssŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue. 842 782

They beg a prayer-tally, 求籤 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month); 842 745 261

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842 785 261 *chên-wu chai* 眞武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

842 778 Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai êrh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzŭ*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai*.

787 842 Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssŭ chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou tso-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

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788 842 Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

231 842 788 When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

842 778 753 At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

842 778 Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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In some places a meeting called *t'ung-tzŭ hui* 童子會 is held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon, when women who have obtained sons by taking away a child-idol from Kuan-Yin's shrine return the images to the goddess. When worship is finished these idols are carried off to be given to other childless families, and that night the streets are lively with processions of this kind going to their destinations. 842 796 798

Another present with the same object is a turnip with the leaves on; this is put on the family altar and incense and paper offered to it.

The piece of wood used by a sorcerer to hang his chart on when exorcising a spirit is also regarded as a useful present to a childless family.

At Ch'eng-tu 成都 it used to be the custom on 5th of the 5th moon for youths to pelt with plums women of 'doubtful reputation.' These plums were then got hold of by other people and sent to friends anxious for sons. The origin of the idea is said to be in the story that the mother of Lao Tzŭ dreamed before the birth of her illustrious son that she had eaten a plum.

At the New Year lighted lamps are hung on trees or high poles; they are believed to attract homeless, wandering spirits, and they are afterwards given to childless families.

At the fast for protection against fire and epidemics small lighted lanterns soaked in oil are set adrift on the river. These are sometimes stolen and presented to some home lacking children, where they are kept on the family altar.

In some temples there is an apartment called the 玉皇樓 *Yü-huang lou*, the Gemmeous Emperor's dwelling. Before his image hangs a lantern. This is sometimes stolen and presented to a childless family. A new lantern is presented to the temple if a child is born. Such lanterns, 玉皇燈 *Yü-huang têng*, are also hung in numbers in an orchard or elsewhere with the object of securing a good crop.

During the first moon lamps are lighted before the shrines of the *t'u ti shên* 土地神 or gods of the soil. After being used they are often presented to childless people in the firm belief that children will then be born.

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852 782 Such customs as are noted above have a great hold on otherwise quite enlightened people.

The following customs are connected with the protection of children.

If during the first month or two of the child's life it cries a great deal, this request is put out: 小兒夜哭請君念讀若還不哭請君萬福; "My little one cries in the night, will good men take note and read; if after this it does not cry may ten thousand blessings rest on you."

People who are afraid of their child becoming a priest make a priest's hat and other garments for it. They think the spirits will be thus deceived and suppose the child is a priest already.

For fear a child may not live long a ring is put round its neck and locked, *so kuan* 鎖關. This is even done to sick adults, with the idea of locking in the life that it may not leave the body.

With the same idea an old horse-shoe is made into a bangle and locked on the child's wrist—*ta ma-chang ch'üan* 打馬掌圈.

Money also is collected from many other families 化千家錢 *hua ch'ien-chia ch'ien*, and made into a silver, iron or bronze collar, which is locked on the child's neck.

A tablet called *ch'ang-ming p'ai* 長命牌 is made up of the characters for long life, riches and honour. It may be worn suspended round the child's neck or on his cap. It is sometimes the gift of friends. A tablet with the figures of the Eighteen Lo-han is similarly worn.

A coin-shaped tablet on the cap with the Eight Diagrams 八卦 *pa kua* engraven on it is supposed to repel evil influences.

In the same way are worn the images or names of the 12 Buddhist *pratyêka* who were disciples of the goddess of Mercy 十二圓覺 *shih-êrh yüan-chüeh*; or of the twenty-eight constellations; or of the 36 or 72 famous generals who are supposed to be able to ward off demons.

An embroidered cat on the cap, with eyes and mouth facing outward, is worn to drive away demons. A monkey embroidered on the shoulder has similar virtue.

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The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to. 852 782

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 18 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu êrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

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847 their girls because they are unable to support them. It is impossible to get enough information to make a reliable estimate of illegitimate births and infanticides, but it is certain that both are very numerous among both rich and poor.

754 791 When a person falls sick a quack doctor may make him believe that his spirit has already departed and entered into a certain pregnant woman, and that the only hope for his life is to curse this woman and make her miscarry. This is done by the 胎術 *t'ai shu*, womb black art. Generally a witch is called in; she takes an egg and recites over it an incantation somewhat as follows: "If the spirit has gone south the south precinct god 土地神 *t'u ti shên* will bring it back; if to the north, the north precinct god will do the same," etc. The egg is then put in hot ashes, and if it spurts in any direction the spirit is called back from that quarter with the usual ceremonies. Persons known as *shuan t'ai-ti* 拴胎的 are called in for the purpose of counteracting this black art.

845 It is believed that deformed and maimed births 腦精瞎怪 *ch'üeh ching hsin kuai*, are the outcome of sin, whether of adultery or of irregular intercourse as to time or place.

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CHAPTER II

PASSING THROUGH CRISES

(OR, CROSSING THE BARRIERS 度關 *tu kuan*)

To take children through the important crises in their lives is the work of a sorcerer. On consultation the fortune-teller announces the critical times in the child's life, when that life may be in danger. The sorcerer's help is then asked for, and he invokes the aid of the *k'ai-kuan t'u-ti* 開關土地 the precinct god who opens barriers.

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The following are a few of the crises or barriers which may occur in a child's life, and with respect to which he must be carefully guarded.

There is the 短命關 *tuan ming kuan* or short-life barrier, which means that the child may die at any age before 12 years. At 12 the barrier or crisis is over. There is also the 100-days barrier; the child is not safe till past that age.

The Buddhist-priest barrier 和尚關 *ho-shang kuan*, means there is danger that the boy will run away from home and become a priest, which is equivalent to losing him altogether.

The "knock-door crisis" 撞門關 *ch'uang mên kuan* means there is danger that the child some time visiting a neighbour's house will get bitten by a dog or catch

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some infectious disease. This barrier is avoided in the following fashion. The parents take the child out for a walk, and accost the first person they meet, pedlar, beggar, or what not. They salute him and tell him the matter, asking him to become surety for the child. If he consents he will give the child a new name and become his *kan tieh* 乾爹 informal adoptive father (or *kan ma* 乾媽 adoptive mother). The person is then invited to the house and food put before him, and the same evening the necessary ceremony, much the same as in sorcery, is performed in the house.

The danger may be that the child must pass the *lei-kung kuan* Thunder-god barrier, or be killed, as the Chinese say, by thunder. Such death is regarded as evidence of the special displeasure of Heaven.

Another crisis is the *ch'ü-ming kuan* 取命關 or taking-life barrier. There is danger of the child's life being taken by a demon. In this case a butcher is asked to become surety or adoptive father, because he carries a knife and can thus frighten away the slaying demon. Much the same ceremony is performed as in the "knock-door crisis."

It may be threatened that some heavy or sharp article shall fall on the child and kill it; this is a *tao-chên kuan* 刀砧關 or knife and anvil crisis. A butcher with his knife or a blacksmith with his sledgehammer is sought as *kan tieh*.

The danger may be that of drowning, *lo-shui kuan* 落水關. Any willing person may be made *kan tieh* in this case.

The *p'ei-ma kuan* 披麻關 or donning-sackcloth barrier, means that there is danger the child may be left an orphan, or that he will fall sick if he sees anyone in mourning.

The crisis to be dreaded may be that the child will one day fall through a hole in some bridge and be drowned. This is the *tuan-ch'iao kuan* 斷橋關 or broken-bridge crisis.

The child may be liable to the *chiang-chün kuan* 將軍關; that is, he may be accidentally shot. To avert this calamity, or to get past this barrier he must worship at the tomb of some military general 將軍, or at some memorial stone. Such a lad will most likely carry through life the nickname *pei* 碑 or tablet, because he worshipped at the stone slab

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There is a crisis recurring at 3, 6 and 9 years old, *san liu chiu sui kuan* 三六九歲關. The child with this threat on him is not allowed to travel far or visit any house where a corpse or coffin may be till he is ten years old.

The white tiger barrier 白虎關 *pai-hu kuan*, means that a dog will bite the child, or a demon attack him, or that he will be left an orphan.

There is fear that the child will be made ill by the sight of blood; this is called the blood-dish barrier 血盤關 *hsüeh-p'ên kuan*. A butcher is the proper *kan tieh* to be sought for in this case.

There is danger lest the child should be scalded by the upsetting of a kettle of water or burned by the fire-brazier in the winter. The people are in the habit of putting the fire-basket under their clothes or even taking it to bed with them with the result that many lives are lost and much property destroyed.

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGES 婚姻 *Hun Yin.*

584 Betrothal may take place very early; friends will sometimes betroth their unborn children.

Marriage with one of the same family name is forbidden by law; but such marriages do take place when there is a different ancestry, 同姓不同宗 *t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung.*

A male go-between is called 媒 *mei*, and a female is 妁 *cho.* Marriages are said to be arranged by 父母之命媒妁之言 *fu mu chih ming mei cho chih yen,* "Parents' will and middleman's words." The children are supposed to have nothing to do with the arrangements, but in fact their likes and dislikes count for a good deal.

Another name for the go-between is *hung-yeh* 紅葉 red leaf. The term originated in the T'ang dynasty. A female palace-slave whose life was made bitter by her imperial mistress wrote her troubles on a red leaf and threw this into the moat. A young scholar got it and forwarded a reply in the same romantic way. Later some of the slaves were married off by imperial orders, and the girl fell to the lot of the scholar without their knowing till afterwards that they had been the corresponding parties.

584 787 Preparing the horoscope before marriage is called *k'ai pu tzŭ* 開八字, preparing the eight characters. These characters give the year, month, day and hour of birth. The

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saying is, "The man's horoscope is never false; the woman's never true." A fortune-teller is called in to examine the girl's horoscope, and if he finds it is an unlucky one it will be falsified before being reported to the family with whom a marriage is sought. 584 787

It is said that in the time of Han Wên Ti 漢文帝 a barbarian chief wished for marriage relationships with the Chinese. The Chinese professed willingness, but warned the barbarian Man-tzŭ that it would be unlucky for them if marriages were made with unsuitable horoscopes. They were then able to decline marriage on the ground that 八字不合 *pa tzŭ pu ho*, the horoscopes do not agree. To this day, in refusing a proposal of marriage the people almost always say *jên k'ên hun pu k'ên* 人肯婚不肯, "We are willing but the horoscope is not."

The parents who seek a bride for their son first find a middleman, or more likely he finds them. They ask him to take presents to the home of a certain girl and to beg that her horoscope may be sent them for examination. The middleman has probably already paved the way, and he soon brings back the horoscope, which is put on the family altar for from 3 to 8 days to see if anything happens, good or bad. If a bowl is broken during this time, or something lost, or a cat or dog dies, the horoscope is promptly returned as being unlucky. This is called *t'ui hung kêng* 退紅庚. If on the contrary some piece of luck befalls during this period, an astrologer is called in to examine the two horoscopes and see if they agree. The comparison may show upper, middle or lower degree of suitability. If the boy's parents are satisfied with the horoscope they send the middleman to the girl's parents to say they feel quite unworthy to be related to such an exalted family, but since there was such condescension they were willing to fix the agreement *hsia p'in shu* 下聘書, *hui hua* 回話, or *ch'a hua* 插花. Much depends on the go-between, and as it is difficult to prevent bribery there is great need for caution and private enquiry.

The girl's parents reply 寫允書 *hsieh yün shu*, generally saying their daughter is weak and useless, but they are willing 584

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584 to give her to the others' exalted son to wife. Samples of the girl's needlework and embroidery are also sent for the boy's parents to inspect.

The lad's parents then draw up the *hun shu* 婚書 or form of agreement, leaving a blank space for the girl's name and other particulars about her. A lucky day is selected and presents of silk, chickens, ducks, etc., prepared. The go-between takes these to the girl's home, and asks that the particulars about the girl may be filled in on the *hun shu*. This done, he worships at the family shrine in the girl's home, using incense and candles specially bought for the occasion. Then presents are returned in the same box which brought the others, and the middleman or a representative of the girl's family worships at the shrine in the boy's home.

On the agreement are written the characters 天長 *t'ien ch'ang* above the boy's horoscope, and 地久 *ti chiu* above the girl's. The meaning is that the agreement is as lasting as heaven and earth. It is really as binding as any known in China, and the saying is that a lawsuit about a marriage agreement or about land will go through eighteen courts before being settled. Other proverbs are 說給猪跟猪走說給狗坐地守 "If engaged to a pig you must go its way; if to a dog you must sit down and bear it." And 說給叫化子提沙鍋也要跟到披蓆片. "If engaged to a beggar, pick up the earthenware bowl and follow the sleeping-rags."

In some cases when a family has become poor after betrothal and before the wedding, a girl will cut off her hair in the bridal chair, which results in her being sent home again. After this her only resource is to become a nun; yet even in the temple she may still be claimed by her betrothed at any time. In cases where parents wish to break off an engagement because the other family has become poor a lawsuit is certain. One man in such a case was bound down not to take a wife for his son till he had sent his daughter to her betrothed: thus cutting off the line of succession and putting both families on the same footing.

The home which is to receive the bride gets a fortune-teller to fix a lucky day; he also arranges the hour for every movement of hers. This is called *k'an nien yueh* 看年月,

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and the announcement of the date to friends is *sïng* 送 *nien-yüeh*. This may be sent some months beforehand, after which presents are sent in, accompanied with music and flags. 584

When the date of the marriage is fixed the times for the following are also arranged: the day for cutting the bride's clothing; the day for placing the bed in position; the hour for 開臉 *k'ai lien*, or pulling out the hair on brow and neck to make the bride look older; and the time for putting up her hair. Till marriage all girls wear the hair in a queue; just before marriage it is put up in a coil at the back of the head. In asking if a girl is engaged it is common to ask if she has put her hair up or not, 上梳 *shang liu*. Times are also fixed for treading on the bushel; when she shall take leave of the family idols; when she must leave the parental roof; when she shall worship at the family shrine in her new home; and when the bridal cup shall be shared by the young couple. This partaking of the cup is called *chiao pei chiu* 交杯酒; it may be a cup of wine, tea or not a cup at all but a piece of squash, which they pull apart and both eat; it is their mutual pledge. All these times are fixed by the astrologer, are written on red paper and are announced to the bride's parents when the presents are sent, so that they may prepare accordingly. 585

Furniture, (chairs, bed, cupboard, etc.), are prepared by the bride's parents, quality and quantity depending on the family's means. The things are often given over to the bridegroom's representatives some days before the wedding, so that the bed may be placed in position on a lucky day.

The wedding things include tea-cups and tea-pot, flower vases, clothing for bride and bridegroom, etc., etc. A well-to-do bride will perhaps have hundred or more garments, besides bedding, curtains, mirrors, etc., more than she can use in a lifetime. The silversmith has to make bangles, chains, earrings etc., and so great is the expense of marrying a girl off that the saying goes, *ch'ien nü ju fên chia* 遣女如分家, "Marrying a daughter is like dividing the inheritance."

In some places some young, fat pigs are driven along together with the bridal outfit; in other parts animals of various kinds are sent afterwards as part of the dowry.

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585 The bridegroom's parents invite his friends for the night before the marriage 花夜 *hua yeh*: they dress him, put on his ceremonial hat, deck his hair with flowers, put red cloth round his shoulders, and afterwards, in good families, he feasts them. Then he makes obeisance to his parents and worships at the family altar.

When the wedding day has come the groom's friends invoke the family gods and send off the middleman, accompanied by a relative, to bring home the bride, 娶親 *ch'ü ch'in*. They take with them a flowered sedan-chair, a band of flute-players with gongs, flags, and ceremonial umbrellas. They take besides the following articles: two eggs, to comfort the bride's forehead after the pulling out of the hair; two plaits of hair to be used in putting up the bride's hair, to make it look more; a large sheet of red paper to cover the bushel on which she must tread; a large piece of red cloth or silk for a veil; one big and one small comb, said to be used only this once; a bundle of five-coloured silk threads for dressing the bride's hair; a pot of oil for her toilet, a red cord for her hair, cosmetics, colouring for the lips, bandages for the feet, etc. These all go before or with the deputation which fetches the bride. The materials for her dresses or money to buy them are delivered earlier unless other arrangements have been made, but generally the bride's home provides most of her clothing and ornaments.

She takes leave of her ancestors 拜家神 *pai chia-shên*, by worshipping at the family shrine, and 辭祖宗 *tz'ü tsu-tsung*, and makes obeisance to her parents. The mistress of ceremonies throws down a bundle of chopsticks 丟筷子 *tiu k'uai-tzü* before the altar as evidence that the bride renounces her maiden home and will henceforth eat the rice of another.

Then the bride is dressed, on a carpet, and under a canopy of red cloth; the materials just brought from the bridegroom's home being used.

Her toilet finished, and the veil being put over her, a bushel full of unhulled rice is placed in the doorway and covered with red paper, and she is made to tread on it, 出閣踏斗 *ch'u kuo t'a tou*. After this she has to be carried

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out and put into the flowered chair at the door. The unwillingness of brides at this point has become proverbial,—*na-ko hsin-jên k'ên shang chiao* 那個新人肯上轎. "What bride was ever willing to enter the chair?" 585

She carries in the chair with her a foot-rule, scissors, a brass mirror and some five-coloured threads: these are to protect her from demons on the road. She is tied in, and often locked in, the key being carried by the middleman or by the bridegroom's relative who has come with him.

To sit in the flowery chair makes the day of a lifetime for many a bride; and if there is only a short distance to go, they will often wish to be carried round the neighbourhood in this way, with the music, flags and umbrellas, that it may not be said of them in after-years that they came in a common chair.

Before this chair is sent to bring the bride the bridegroom sacrifices to it, a stick of incense is placed at each of the four chair-poles, wine is poured on the ground at each corner, while someone kneels and worships the chair lest the *hsin-jên sha* 親人煞 the evil influences of brides who have used the chair before should still adhere to it.

On reaching the door of her new home the bride finds a table on which is a measure of rice with candles and incense stuck in it. The master of ceremonies calls out 女家車馬請回轉男家車馬出來迎. "Bridal chariots please return: bridegroom's chariots come forth and receive." It is supposed that the spirits of her home escort her so far, but on entering the house she comes under the guardianship of the spirits of her husband's home.

She is received by a specially appointed person, who receives the key, gets her out of the chair and leads her to the chief room in her new home. The bridegroom, escorted by his friends, soon appears and the marriage ceremony is performed. Two candles are lighted on the altar, and the pair kneel and worship Heaven and Earth and their ancestors. They then salute one another with a bow, and at this point the husband may lift the veil and look on his bride's face for the first time.

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585 A youth then carries the two candles from the altar into the *tung fang* 洞房 nuptial chamber very carefully, not changing the right and left hand position of the two, and letting nothing befall them. Then the groom leads the bride into this chamber, and they drink together the nuptial cup 交杯酒 *chiao pei chiu*. The candles are allowed to burn out. If that on the left goes out first the husband will die first; if that on the right, the wife will be first to die. A light is kept in the room all night with the idea that there will be continuous light in the home and always someone to attend to the family altar and the ancestral sacrifices.

When the pair have had a little time together they return to the chief room, where people come in turn to offer congratulations. A good deal of importance is attached to priority in doing this. Rich persons with large families are preferred. No widow or widower would be allowed to escort or receive, or to be first in congratulating. The guests bow, while the newly wedded couple kneel and knock their heads on the ground 磕頭 *k'o t'ou*.

At the feast which follows, men and women sit separate. The bride eats nothing the first day in her new home. All who have given presents are invited and regard it as a right.

In the evening the intimate friends of the bridegroom enter the private apartments, examine the bride's hands and feet, make rude remarks about her clothing, ability, general appearance, etc. Her clothing will be examined and tried on, but she must sit still through it all and say nothing. About midnight the visitors depart.

On or about the third day the bride returns to her parents' home, accompanied by her husband. Day and hour are fixed by the wife's parents, who send someone to meet them. A feast is prepared and guests invited to meet the bridegroom. If it rains on that day it is said the bridegroom rides a dog. The same is said of the bride if it rains on the wedding day.

There is a table with wine at the door of the bride's old home, "to stop the horses of the bridegroom," and he has almost always to drink before he can enter the house.

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The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest. 585

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的 "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law." 581

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people. 584

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup). 587

Her step-children call her *hou mu* 後母 or *chi mu* 繼母.

Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住苗 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes. 588

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CHAPTER IV

DEATHS 喪禮

763 WHEN a person seems just about to die a few bundles of cash-paper are burned at his side; two candles and some incense are also burned. The dying person is sometimes moved from the bed and laid on the ground, but it is more lucky to die in bed. The superstitious, however, will not afterwards use the bed where one has died, for fear of the demons. Children of the dying kneel at the bedside while the spirit takes its departure. Rice is thrown about the house to drive away demons, if by any means the life may still be saved.

As soon as life is gone a tablet is set up. On its front is written the name of the dead, and on the back the dates of birth and death, with the characters for the five elements, gold, wood, fire, water and earth.

Beside the tablet, to call the spirit to enter it, a yellow paper flag is set up bearing the characters meaning, "To the goddess of mercy who saves from suffering."

If the corpse does not stiffen or does not close its eyes there is fear that more deaths in the family will soon follow.

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Soon after death the evil influences of the dead are let out from the house *ch'u ssü hsing* or *sha* 出死星 or 煞, by poking a stick or bamboo pole through the roof; a person inside calls, "Has it come out?" and one outside replies, "It has come out." Then the stick is pushed through the hole onto the roof, and no one will touch it again if he knows it has been used for this purpose. 763

Before death the bed-curtains are removed, that the spirit may have easy exit. After death the body is laid on the ground or on the coffin-lid to cool. 764

In the case of the aged, one envelope full of paper money for each year the deceased has lived is burned in the central room. While this is done the corpse is bound in a chair, and an umbrella held over its head; women wave peach and willow branches toward heaven, and others flourish knives toward the earth, lest hungry ghosts should come and rob the dead of his travelling money.

The ashes of this paper imitation money are gathered and put into a jar, to be buried with the body, either in the coffin or beside it. The idea is that as soon as the spirit is free it is in need of cash to secure its passage through the various courts of Hades.

Five garments of each kind, suitable for all seasons of the year, are often put on the corpse. The shoes are made with cloth or grass soles, no leather being allowed. The coverlet is often very expensive. The pillow is filled with sawdust, cedar branches, or wood ashes.

In wealthy families the whole body is bound in a single piece of white cloth or silk, each finger, toe and limb being bound up by itself. Only the napkin for the head is separate. After this, or, in poor families, after the corpse has been washed and shaved, it is dressed. No outsiders are allowed to see these operations.

In ancient times it was believed that a precious stone held in the mouth 含玉 *han yü*, would preserve the corpse from corruption. The custom now is to put a piece of silver or some small article in the mouth.

It is said that a corpse has a small loaf of bread placed in one hand and a stick in the other. If attacked by a dog

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764 he may first feed it with the bread and then, if necessary, drive it away with the stick.

Coffins are of various prices, according to the wood and varnish used. It is common for elderly people to have their coffins lying ready in the house for many years. The provision of a good coffin and an expensive funeral gets over many a difficulty in family relationships.

The body is encoffined 入殮 *ju lien* as soon as everything is ready. The sealing of the coffin lid 封棺 *fêng kuan* or 閉殮 *pi lien* takes place three days later, the delay being to give the spirit time to return if it will. Black varnish is generally used for sealing, and a charm is pasted on at the top and bottom. The stick and bread are taken out before the sealing. Three days later the coffin is placed in position in the central room, preparatory to the chanting for the dead. It may remain there for three months 三月殯 *san yüeh pin*, or for a year.

To show the importance of burial, there is a saying 亡人得土如得金. Earth is to the dead what gold is (to the living).

Funeral rites are counted more important than care for the living. The *Li-chi* 禮記 ideal is for one mourning a parent to have a bed of straw and a pillow of clay 衰苫枕塊, and for three years the teeth must not be shewn in laughter; neither wine nor meat should enter the mouth, nor silks cover the body; but coarse weeds and coarse food must be the mourner's lot.

The rule to mourn a parent for three years is based on the mother's nursing of her child for that time.

Strips of white paper are pasted on the sign-board, etc., mourning scrolls over the door-gods and the sorcerer's chart over the family altar.

There is a custom confined to the mountain districts and decidedly aboriginal: old and young of both sexes sing and dance in a ring round a pot of wine 跳鍋樁 *t'iao kuo chuang*. After dancing, each person cuts a piece from a large lump of pork, sits on the ground and sucks wine from the pot through a long pipe stem. This goes on for two or three days and nights.

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On every seventh day after the death, till forty-nine days have elapsed there is chanting, and the women of the family weep. [765] 764

Soon after death there is a ceremony to open the road for the spirit; this is done by chanting and is more or less elaborate according to the family means.

A passport to Hades is also burned and the ashes put in or near the coffin and buried.

Immediately after opening the road a ceremony may be performed called 繞棺 *jao kuan*, to go round the coffin, or 熱血道場 *jê hsüeh Tao ch'ang*, hot blood chapel. The Taoist priest chants the 救苦經 *chiu-k'u ching* save-from-sorrow classic. The ceremony may last from one to three days, according to the means of the family. It is the short way of getting through the funeral ceremonies; the longer will be described later.

Within three days all mourning preparations must be complete. The chief mourners must have white garments, turbans and shoes, with a coarse girdle; sometimes the clothes are of coarse hempen cloth. If a son of the deceased should hold an official position he must vacate office for three years.

The coffin is guarded by sons and grandsons while in the house.

The tablet set up immediately after death, and called 血靈位 *hsüeh-ling wei*, is only temporary. It is removed, and a new one of wood, sometimes gilded, takes its place 設靈位 *shé ling wei*. This is carried to the grave at the funeral, brought back, and kept in the house for three years.

At each family meal food is offered to the spirit, in some families for three years, in others only till the funeral, perhaps during seven or fourteen days. Much depends on the position of the family.

The priestly ceremonies: 道場 *Tao ch'ang*.

Chanting for the emancipation of the soul is done by Taoist priests and lasts for from three to eight days, according to the family means. The first act of the ceremony is to invite water 請水 *ch'ing shui* for the cleansing of the altar. The priests go in a body to the river where they bury paper,

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764 incense and candles, chant awhile, and return to the house with a vessel full of water.

Then the priests have a day of tramping round the house, a man following them with a tray of vegetarian dishes of all kinds, 轉齋 *chuan chai.* Some of this food is first offered to the dead; the rest is eaten by the company. At the close of the ceremony the rice offered to the dead is at once carried off and presented to families with no male issue, in the hope that sons will then be born.

The priests then proceed to break open Hades 破地獄 *p'o ti-yü.* Quicklime is sprinkled on the ground in the form of a square to represent Hades; at each of the four sides is an imaginary gate. The priests walk round it, chanting as they go, then a priest breaks it open by smashing a basin or tile with his staff at each corner and in the middle.

At certain seasons lighted lanterns are set adrift on the rivers to appease the spirits of those dead who have no one to sacrifice to them.

To each of the ten kings of Hades a tablet is set up; the priests go round them chanting prayers and followed by the youth of the family. Each time they go round a passport is burned, till all ten kings have been thus passed.

In the courtyard of the house a small platform is erected for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*; ten lighted yellow candles are set thereon, incense is offered, and there is much chanting with clanging and banging of gongs, etc. It is said that when the spirits are pleased a small black line appears on the candles.

A ticket containing an official declaration about the person for whom the chanting is being done is burned with a thick bundle of paper, and thus sent to the gemmeous Emperor. This is called 上表 *shang piao.*

The priests cast a flower here and stick another there; this is supposed to take away sin or to lessen its evil consequences.

The departed spirit is exhorted 勸亡 *chü'an wang* to behave and and not to injure the living. It is also invited, with chanting, to return, the youths of the family kneeling meanwhile.

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A platform is put up, paper and incense burned on it, commands issued to the spirits, and 鬼彈子 *kuei tan-tzŭ* scattered for the benefit of orphan spirits. These *tan-tzŭ* are bread and cakes; the people scramble for them and eat them; those who eat become bold and are free from bad dreams.

A little weeping may be heard directly after the death, but it is generally checked because it confuses the spirit so that it cannot find its way; but after the formalities of opening the way and escorting the spirit through the difficulties of Hades are finished, the floodgates of weeping are opened. There are few if any paid weepers at a funeral, and this may be regarded as the real and spontaneous outflow of grief, though some, of course, weep as a mere form.

The ceremony of chanting for the dead is performed every seventh day for seven weeks, at the end of 100 days, and on the first, second and third anniversaries of the death.

The three Offerings to the dead, etc. 三獻禮 *san hsien li.*

Only those occupying a high position in social life and having an ancestral hall can have this expensive ceremony.

The three offerings are all alike, but one is given by the eldest son, one by the eldest grandson, and one by younger sons and grandsons. In each case the offerings are of three kinds, as follows: 酒樽, *chiu tsun*; 羹饌 *kêng chuan*; 香帛 *hsiang pi*; or, respectively, wine, soup and food, incense and silks. But various minor gifts are also included under these headings.

In this ceremony sacrifices are made to Heaven, Earth, the well, the kitchen god, the door god, the carrying-poles for the funeral, *sang yü shên* 喪輿神; to the effigy which leads the way 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*, and to the 河伯 *ho pei* or gods of the river if a stream has to be crossed.

Temporary buildings are generally put up for the purposes of the ceremony; they are called 望燎所 *wang liao so* or 望位所 *wang wei so*, and often adjoin the house. They consist of rooms where are stored the three kinds of offerings named above; a 'chapel,' *tsan chiang t'ang* where the master of ceremonies performs the ceremonies; a pavilion 歌講廳

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764 *ko chiang t'ing* for the singers, who are generally scholars with youths to assist; a room for the mourning robes of the family, etc.

The officiating masters are usually literati, who call on the mourners to do certain things in a certain order. They are, the officiating priest 點主官 *tien chu kuan*; the two precentors 引讚生 *yin tsan shêng*; three or four assistant precentors 通讚生 *t'ung tsan shêng*; the reader of the eulogy 讀祝生 *tu chu shêng*; singers of the poetic eulogy 歌詩生 *ko shih shêng*; the teacher of filial duties for the youth of the family 講書生 *chiang shu shêng*.

Letters are sent to relatives, announcing the date of the funeral and the time when offerings to the deceased should begin, and giving an invitation to be present.

The mourners arrive for the ceremony, bringing many kinds of gifts, such as pigs and sheep for sacrifice; pig's head, feet and tail, raw, or cooked with coloured rice; paper, candles, incense, gold and silver tinsel money, with "golden youths and gemmy maids" *i.e.* slaves made of paper.

A paper shrine is prepared to contain the tablet when carried to the grave.

The sons and daughters put on their white or coarse hemp garments, and white turbans or girdles are given out to all visitors.

A likeness of the deceased is hung in the chief room of the house. Lanterns are hung, and mourning scrolls of any coloured paper except red; the most commonly used are white and light blue. On the lanterns are the characters 當大事 *tang ta shih*.

The services are begun by the sons going round to the mourning department, donning the mourning robes and taking from each store such things as wine, incense, etc.; these they offer to the tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai*, and then fall down before it while the the preacher reads and the singers chant the Filial Piety classic 孝經 *hsiao ching*.

The members of the family walk up to the pavilion where the ancestral tablet has been placed. They prostrate themselves before it at the bidding of the master of ceremonies, and return to their places. This is done thrice.

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A notice is read that the family has entered on a season of mourning 讀成服文 *tu ch'êng fu wên.* Then the chief mourners kneel towards the *wang liao so,* the master of ceremonies burns the notice of mourning, the mourners and friends enter the house, and the initial ceremony is at an end.

The ancestral tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai,* is a double piece of wood about three feet long, the outer portion fitting on the other like a box-lid; on both surfaces is written 新故某公某母某諱某老人老孺人之神主 meaning that it is the abode of the newly deceased person, name, etc., being given.

The consecration of the tablet begins by the eldest son kneeling down and taking it on his back; he carries it to the ceremonial table and there leaves it.

Then the scholar *tien chu kuan* who is to perform the duty is brought in; he washes his hands and approaches the table, where a pencil and red ink are also put ready. He takes the tablet from its casket and lays the two parts on the table with their surfaces exposed. Then the finger of the chief mourner is pricked for blood, with which the officiating scholar mixes his red ink. The pencil, having been dipped in this blood and ink, is breathed on by the scholar. The idea is to get the life, virtue and ability of the son and the officiating scholar into the tablet, as in writing a Heaven and Earth tablet. (See under *Family Altar*).

Next, a dot of red is put over the date of birth and another over the date of death. Then a red stroke is made through the character 神 *shên* on the inner tablet 穿內神 *ch'uan nei shên,* and a red dot is put on the 主 *chu.* These characters being thus completed they are enclosed by covering with the external part of the tablet 合主 *ho chu.* The same two characters on the outer tablet are then finished in the same way.

A red circle is put on each side of the tablet to represent the ears; a red dot at the top is for the forehead, and one at the bottom is for the feet; down the middle of the tablet is put another red mark, on both front and back. This whole proceeding is called *k'ai kuang* 開光 or opening the senses. It is to be remarked that there is an inner part of the tablet,

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764 supposed to correspond to the inner man, while the sense organs are on the outer tablet, and the breath on the pencil touches all into life.

When the writing is finished the scholar throws the pen over his shoulder. It is caught and used to paint the sores of smallpox: they will then not run together.

The tablet is put back into its casket, and the scholar addresses it as the person himself and lauds his virtues.

The chief mourner then knocks his head 磕頭 *k'o t'ou* four times to the officiating scholar, who now retires, and the tablet is taken by the son and placed beside the spirit tablet 靈牌 *ling p'ai.*

Incense and wine are offered to the tablet, while the preacher reads aloud the pacificatory ode 安主文 *an chu wên.*

A document in which are written the virtuous deeds of the deceased is burned. The sons bow thrice while this is done, fire-crackers are let off, women weep and singers praise the dead man's virtues; and the ceremony comes to an end.

The funeral 送喪 *sung sang.*

The finding of a lucky spot for the grave is the geomancer's business, and is a most important matter. Many miles may be travelled and much money spent in seeking the right place, especially for a parent's grave. The prosperity of the family depends on the position of the ancestral tombs. It is said that if the *wang ming* 亡命 departed life and the earth crust 山甲 *shan chia* do not agree, the spirit returns and troubles the living with sickness and disaster. For this reason the remains are sometimes removed to a new resting-place.

The geomancer has also to fix the day for the funeral. As all branches of the family must have their convenience suited, the funeral may be postponed for years, the remains being kept in the house or in a temple, or the coffin may be put outside and thatched with straw against the weather 寄土, *ch'i t'u* or 停棺 *t'ing kuan.* When the lucky day is agreed on, the lucky times for leaving the house and for lowering the coffin are also fixed.

At the proper time the coffin is carried out and a catafalque placed over it; a tile on the roof is driven outwards

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with a hatchet and broken to pieces; sometimes rice is scattered and swept inwards as the coffin is carried out. 74

Strips of white paper attached to the ends of bamboo rods are used as flags to lead the spirit to the grave 引魂幡 *yin hun fan*.

Paper money called 買路錢 *mai lu ch'ien*, buying-road money, is scattered to the demons on the way. This money is of various shapes and sizes.

The tablet which is to be destroyed at the end of three years, not that belonging to the ancestral hall, is carried out on a portable pavilion *t'ing tsü*, with candles, incense, etc. Afterwards it is taken back to the house.

A paper image to which sacrifice has been offered, is put in front of the coffin to open the road, 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*. It is burned at the grave.

On the coffin a white cock is carried, to lead the spirit which is supposed to be in the coffin. For there are three spirits; one enters Hades, one the tablet, while the third goes to the grave. The cock is the perquisite of the geomancer.

Paid men carry the coffin, and the chief mourners dressed in weeds go in front and pull. Women generally go in chairs, weeping as they go. They are accompanied by umbrellas, gongs, fire-crackers, etc.

A coffin may not be borne through a city unless it has the dragon's head at its back and front. This becomes absolutely necessary when a funeral cortège has a long distance to go.

Husbands and wives are laid close together, the side of the first grave being opened and the side of the coffin laid bare, that the new-comer may lie close. This is termed 聯棺合葬 *lien kuan ho chung*.

The grave is dug 開山 *k'ai shan* a day or more beforehand at a lucky time, and in the direction fixed by the geomancer.

A scholar with a degree is invited to 破土 *po t'u* break earth. He shoots three arrows away from the grave, then burns incense and worships. The idea is that the progeny of the deceased will become like this scholar.

A notice is read, to inform the spirits of the hills that the interment has taken place and to set the spirit of the deceased at rest.

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N4 The shops which sell other funeral requisites have ready-printed forms for title-deeds of the ground on which burial is made. These are read at the grave and on the third day burned there. In the case of land acquired for the purpose of course it is a copy of the real deed which is used.

The position of the coffin in the grave is fixed by the geomancer with chart and compass.

Three days later an offering of food, wine and paper money is brought to the grave 三日伏山 *san jih fu shan.*

Cranes, deer and a tombstone, all of paper, are taken to the grave; the tombstone is placed where the proper stone will afterwards be erected; the other things are left on each side of the grave to be destroyed by the weather.

The grave is guarded by the sons of the family, but sometimes people are paid to do it. Grave riflers might otherwise strip the dead of their clothing, though the punishment for such crime is death. For the first three nights a straw torch is lighted at the grave; if it is burns out it is a lucky omen, it is unlucky if half is left unburned.

After a few months fresh earth is heaped on the tomb, and every spring or winter afterwards.

A tombstone or ornamental arch is erected to the memory of the dead. In wealthy families the stone is set on the back of a stone tortoise. In the case of officials stone pillars are put up. High officials have stone lions round the grave, to remind them of the stone lions of their yamens. The trees of a graveyard are spoken of as being like the clothing on the body. If they grow well the family will increase and prosper. There is hence trouble when one branch of a family wishes to cut down trees round the ancestral tombs.

Before the graves of very important men are set up statues of men, horses, etc.

Public graveyards are generally on land given for the purpose, and the title-deeds are kept in the yamen for 60 years, after which the graves and tombstones are a sufficient guarantee. In some such public cemeteries small towers 枯骨塔 *k'u ku t'a* are built as receptacles for dry bones dug up in grave-digging; on them may be the characters 骨肉相遇 *ku jou hsiang yü*, flesh and bones meet.

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764 A young child is often rolled in a mat or old garment and buried without ceremony, and new-born babies are often thrown out to be devoured by the dogs.

Buddhist priests' graves may be known by the small pagoda-shaped stone in front.

It is supposed to have been the custom to level all grave mounds at the beginning of a new dynasty, till the Ta Ch'ing dynasty, whose grace extended to love of the bones of the dead 泽及枯骨 *chai chi k'u ku.* At the present time much land is occupied by the dead which is greatly needed for the use of the living.

766 Sometimes the astrologer says the deceased has done something which will shortly cause another death in the family 犯重喪 *fan ch'ung sang.* Then a coffin is prepared and funeral rites gone through for some imaginary person or perhaps for a known sick person, and the empty coffin is buried. It is hoped this will deceive the demons and prevent the second death.

The Cantonese in Ssŭch'uan often remove the bones of their dead to another place. A grandparent's bones are inurned and kept on the family altar, in some cases being counted and strung together on wire or cord.

The aborigines find out from the astrologer how a body should be disposed of, whether by hanging out for the birds to devour 天葬 *t'ien tsang,* by throwing to the beasts of the field 地葬 *ti tsang,* by cremation 火葬 *huo tsang,* or by throwing into the river 水葬 *shui tsang.*

765 *National mourning* 國服 *kuo fu.* On the death of an emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty men went unshaved for a hundred days; and no red buttons might be worn on the hat; if the New Year came in this period no red scrolls were pasted on the doorposts, etc., but white or blue scrolls might be put up in sign of mourning. Women did not wear their ornaments, and marriages and theatricals were deferred till the hundred days were over.

During the first three days all officials sat for a certain time on straw in the temple, while no public business was attended to, except urgent cases of life and death.

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CHAPTER V

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR 家神 *

778 THE domestic altar is called *chia k'an hsiang huo* 家龕香火 or *shên k'an* 神龕 or *shên kuei* 櫃; on the upper part is an incense pot; in the niche or cupboard is *t'u ti* 土地 the precinct god. This shrine is the last thing to leave the house when the habitants remove, and as long as it is there the owner of it claims to be in possession. When he removes the cupboard he invites the domestic gods to follow him, *ch'ing chia-shên* 請家神, the colloquial for worshipping them being *kung* 供 *chia-shên*.

778 173 The Heaven and Earth tablet 天地君親師 *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih* is dedicated to Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestors and Teachers. It is said this tablet originated with Ssŭ tzŭ Yen wang 四子燕王 of the Han dynasty. Before he became emperor he fled before soldiers seeking to kill him, but stopped at the request of some friendly folk who asked him to write a tablet for the family altar. He wrote the above five characters, and explained that "Heaven has a covering grace, Earth a supporting grace," and so on.

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Another account says they were written by 漢班超 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have done it, but the former story is the more generally believed. 778 173

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet. 778 769

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t'ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t'ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k'ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *sui* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k'un* 昆, *jêng* 礽, *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

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778 ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry
769 may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

778 The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls
775 seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 子派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

778 A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon,
779 and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng;* the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün*; Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni.* (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 銀闕大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti.* The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

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The Kitchen god 竈神 Tsao shên, is the universally worshipped god of the kitchen, who preserves the lives of the families from starvation and poison. There is said to be a wife also, who acts as the god's deputy when he ascends to heaven on the 23rd of each month to give in his monthly report. In the last moon he goes up to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct through the year. Before he goes incense is burned on his altar, and sugar candy offered him to gain his favour and get a good report.

He is said to have been Sui jên 燧人 the Prometheus who taught the Chinese how to get fire. The belief dates back to the mythological period. Fire was then produced by driving a drill into different kinds of wood according to the seasons; in spring the elm and willow were used; in summer the date and apricot, or in late summer the silk-worm oak; in autumn the gardenia and rosewood, and in winter the oak and hornbeam.

The kitchen god has been styled the lord of the house. He has two assistants, the stick-gatherer 搬柴童子 *pan ch'ai t'ung tzŭ*, and the water-carrier 運水郎君 *yün shui lang chün*. He is chiefly worshipped in his niche in the kitchen, but occasionally in the chief room. He takes special care of the domestic animals, chickens, cats, dogs, etc., and sometimes a picture of these is put up just below his shrine. In the kitchen fire nothing dirty may be burned, for fear of offending him, nor may flesh of dog or cow be cooked in his pot. No quarrelling is allowed in the kitchen, lest he should hear and report, 一家吵鬧使我不安我必降災 廚登牛犬穢氣觸我我必降災.

"If in kitchen vessels the vile odour of dog or cow annoys me I will send calamity; if the family quarrels and disturbs me I will send calamity."

The domestic lares are husband and wife, 長生土地 *ch'ang shêng t'u ti* and 瑞慶夫人 *jui ch'ing fu jên*. The domestic god of the soil bestows long life, and his wife gives good luck to the household. His place in the house is just below the Heaven and Earth tablet, and special offerings are made to him on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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776 If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

788 791 Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

788 754 What would appear to have been originally an exceptionally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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The tablet used is 三十二天上帝中央一元梵天帝君 788
san shih êrh t'ien shang ti chung yang i ch'i fan t'ien ti chün; 754
or a Buddhist priest uses 二十四諸天菩薩無量世尊
êrh shih ssŭ chu t'ien p'u sa wu liang shih tsun.

Note that there is one incense stick and one candle for each spirit worshipped.

Another ceremony is the worshipping or thanking Earth 788
kung ti 供地 or *hsieh t'u* 謝土.

This is deemed necessary when a house has been repaired, the dragon having possibly been disturbed; or when a new house is first occupied, or when 土府不安 *t'u fu pu an*, the place does not agree with the resident. This is indicated perhaps by his digging up some unlucky thing, such as *t'u lung tan* 土龍蛋 dragon's eggs, which are black, soft balls with contents like blood: in such cases there is need to worship Earth. Or it may be necessary because a geomancer states that the resident is at variance with the five capital evils 五皇煞 *wu huang sha*, or with those of the current year *sui* 歲 *sha*, or with that of the yellow flag *huang fan* 黃幡 *sha* or that of the leopard's tail *pao wei* 豹尾 *sha;* when Earth is worshipped these disturbing spirits are worshipped.

This ceremony also is managed by a married Taoist sorcerer. A table is set outside the house and candles and incense lighted on it. On the ground the four points of the compass are marked by lines of dry lime, a candle being stuck in the earth at each extremity of the lines and in the centre. Sometimes, especially when the fault is with the house itself, the ceremony is performed in the chief room.

Five tablets are set up to the five dragons of the five 778
points *wu lung shên* 五龍神, inscribed with 東方青帝青 788
龍神君 *tung fang ch'ing ti ch'ing lung shên chün*, the eastern green dragon spirit, and similarly for the other four, which are the southern red, the western white, the northern black, and the central yellow dragon spirits. Along with these tablets there are others to the gods of the five planets; in the east the wood-virtue god (Jupiter), while south, west, north and middle are the gods of fire-virtue (Mars), metal-virtue (Venus), water-virtue (Mercury), and earth-virtue (Saturn) respectively. The inscriptions are 東方木德星君 *tung fang mu tê hsing chün*, etc.

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778 788 The five dragons and five planets have an intimate association with the five cardinal tenets of the secret societies.

Another tablet of a more general nature is set up, 土府九壘高皇大帝 *t'u fu chiu lei kao huang ta ti.* This is for worshipping the god of springs and placating the five dragons. *T'u fu* seems to include the whole family of Earth, while *chiu lei* is said to refer to the nine continents.

There is also a somewhat similar ceremony of worshipping the gods of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Sun, Moon and Stars; the tablets being Fêng po 風伯 (*fêng*, wind); this was a statesman of the T'ang dynasty named K'uei Chêng 魏徵. He is said to have killed the five-horned dragon. Yü Shih 雨師 (*yü*, rain), a statesman of the Yin dynasty, by name Fu Yüeh 傅說. Le tsu 雷詛 (*lei*, thunder) is said to have been Wên t'ai shih 文太師. And lastly Yün lung 雲龍, the cloud dragon. The sun is the emperor, the moon the empress, the planets the statesmen, the larger stars the provincial officials and the smaller stars, the people.

There is also thanksgiving to the Fire-star, 謝火星君 *hsieh huo hsing chün*, both a parochial and a domestic affair. We here speak only of the domestic side, the other being dealt with under the Feast of All Souls. When there has been anything approaching to a conflagration in the house, or anything to indicate that the fire-demon is in the ascendant, a few pieces of red-hot coal are taken from the kitchen fire, put into a jar, and extinguished with water, while the priest chants the incantations necessary to drive the demon from the house.

Those who live by rivers and marshes worship or thank the Water-star 謝水星 *hsieh shui hsing*, hoping to be thus saved from flood. In this ritual the dragon of the five cardinal points is the chief object of worship. A jug of water is brought from the river, and the priest chants his incantations over it. After the ceremony both jug and water are taken outside and thrown away.

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BOOK II—SOCIAL

CHAPTER I.

THEATRICALS, ETC., 演戲

THE puppet shows or Punch and Judy shows are called *chou chou tzŭ* 肘肘子 because the puppets are held up in a man's arms (*chou*, arms). An ancient name for puppets was *k'uei lei* 傀儡. Another name is *pang* 棒. This kind of play is said to have been originated by T'ang Ming Huang (唐明皇) now deified as god of the theatre under the title T'ai tzŭ 太子 p'u sa. His image is worshipped in the *lao lang* temple 老郎廟 which is the temple of actors. In this temple and guildhall aged and infirm actors are housed and fed, and are buried at guild expense. 545

The puppets are made from the heads of coffins 猾頭 of newly beheaded or murdered persons. Such wood is believed to be very responsive 靈 *ling*. The spirit of the dead person is worshipped and called for daily, and after a time is supposed to enter the puppet and speak from the stage. 545 775

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545 In shadow plays, *têng ying hsi* 燈影戲, the figures are made of leather and the performance is generally held at night. The court-yard of a house is curtained round with white calico; within there is light, without it is dark, and the figures are manipulated so that the shadows fall on the screen for the spectators outside to view.

In the *pei tan* 被單 *hsi* or sheet play the actors screen off a small enclosure with black calico and display a small wooden puppet over the top of it. The puppets are worked by strings attached to legs, arms, tongues, etc. The showmen are trained ventriloquists, and make their puppets dance and kick about in most amusing fashion; the figures are called *shên t'ung-tzŭ* 神童子, because they are so smart and acrobatic, and they are probably procured in the same way as those of the Punch and Judy shows.

There are amateur theatrical companies composed of local actors or farm labourers with a gift for singing or acting, and called *têng pan-tzŭ* 燈班子. Many join such a troupe to have a gay time of running round the countryside; the rustics call these escapades *sao têng* 臊燈. Such companies only get about 5000 cash for a day's performance.

[533] Street singing is termed *pan têng* 板凳 *hsi* (stool concert), or *wan yu hui* 玩友會 (friendly society), or *wei ku* 圍鼓, (round the drum).

The peepshow, *hsi hu* 西湖 *hsi* (west lake show) is a box with glaring pictures outside, and peepholes through which those who pay may look at the pictures inside, these being brought into view in turn by means of a handle.

Performers go from door to door getting a single cash at each for making a puppet dance up and down by the motion of a fan; *shan tzŭ* 扇子 *hsi*.

545 231 Others go from house to house with a monkey, a dog and a box of paraphernalia. Money for a performance having been paid down the performer directs the monkey which opens the box, dresses itself, and rides the dog or drives it hitched to a miniature plough.

Theatricals are given in each parish in front of the *Yang miao* 秧苗 *t'u ti* or local god of sprouting grain, in order to keep insects away from the growing crops.

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The open stage theatricals *ming t'ai ta pan-tzŭ* 明臺大班子 are almost always given on a stage called *wan nien t'ai* 萬年台 located in temples in front of the chief idol. They are got up for the purpose of pleasing the gods, and the expenses are always paid from temple funds; but the public is allowed to witness performances. The plays are nearly all historical. They belong to three periods: *ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 period plays, of the time of Confucius; *chan kuo* 戰國 *hsi* of the times of Mencius; *san kuo* 三國 *hsi* plays about the time of the Three Kingdoms. These last are called 'pure' plays, *ch'ing* 清 *hsi*, because there are no demons in them. Besides the historical plays there are others of a lower grade, such as the *fei fei tzŭ hsi*; this class is without proper beginning or end to the performances. There are also the lower grade music hall theatricals called *fêng hua hsüeh yüeh* 風花雪月 and *chien yin ku pa* 姦淫估霸. 545

Behind much that is unreal there is often a good deal of historical truth; for example, in the famous play *Mu lien ta hsi* or *Mu lien chiu mu* 目連救母. Mu lien lived near P'eng hsien 彭縣 in Ssŭ-ch'uan. It is said that his family residence is still to be seen. His father, Fu Yüan-wai 傅員外, had a literary degree and every comfort but he long was without a son. The wife was a strict vegetarian, and they both prayed continually for a son, till, when the husband was 60, a son was born, and named Mu-lien. Later, the mother broke her vegetarian vow, became profligate and came to a bad end; but still worse, when passing through the ten regions of purgatory she was struck by a spike and fell into the abyss. Mu-lien, on hearing of this, determined to rescue his mother. To this end he became a Buddhist priest, and by strict asceticism attained incorporation with the Buddha. Still thinking of his mother he made known the burden of his heart to Buddha and was sent by him to save her. He burst the gates of Hades with a *ch'an chang* 禪杖 meditation staff, and bore his mother out of purgatory in triumph, followed by a crowd of demons. The boatmen on the upper Yangtze declare that they are the incarnation of those demons, and the song they sing while rowing is said to sound very like a hungry demon's. They say that if they do not sing this song the boat will not move foward. 545 539

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545 This is a famous play, and when acted in full takes 40 or
539 50 days. All the details are acted, even to the throwing of the dart which struck the woman; and a coffin is always ready to receive the corpse if the throwing should be unskilful and cause death. If the actor survives, the coffin is sold and he receives the money.

It is a common belief that Mu-lien became Ti-tsang wang 地藏王, god of the lower world.

545 The actors in a dramatic company are as follows. *Shêng* 生, who acts the youthful scholars' parts. Lao 老 *shêng* acts the old and bearded scholar, and *hsü* 鬚 *shêng* the black-bearded scholar. *Wên* and *wu hsiao* 文 and 武 小 *shêng* are respectively the civil and military student. *Tsun* 俊 takes the wise man's part.

The term *tan* 旦 is used for these who take women's parts; *lao* 老 *tan*, the old woman; *hsiao* 小 *tan*, the respectable woman; *chêng* 正 *tan*, the unmarried girl; and *hua* 花 *tan* the indecent woman, the singer of lewd songs, etc.

Mu 目 is the clown, also called *ta hua lien* 大花臉 first clown, with the whole face painted, and *êrh* 二 *hua lien* or second clown, with half the face painted. *San* 三 *hua lien* or *ch'ou* 丑 the third clown plays off against the *hua tan*, and has generally only one patch of colour, about the nose.

As to times, the early morning performance is *tsao san chih* 早三折; the chief performance of the day, between ten and two o'clock, is *kêng pên* 耿本 or *chên mu* 正目; that in the afternoon is *hsia pên* 下本, and an additional evening performance is *hua hsi* 花戲, while night theatricals from 7 to 9 o'clock are *yeh* 夜 *hsi*.

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CHAPTER II.

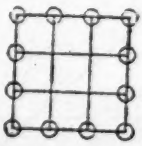
PASTIMES 戲玩, RIDDLES, ETC.

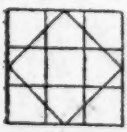
Under this heading will be found the recreations both of the old and the young. Games of chance have a great power over the Chinese mind, and the mania for gambling would seem almost as binding as the craving for opium, and its moral injury almost as certain. 524

A children's game of chess, called the pig's foot chess, *chu t'i ch'a* 猪蹄叉 is played on a board like the following, which is something in shape like a pig's foot. The two rings indicate the two checkers.

Ox-horn chess, *niu chüeh ch'i*, 牛角棋, is played on a board somewhat after this shape. One person runs his checker up one side of the horn and the other up the other side. The motive is to avoid being cornered in the point of the horn.

A game of draughts, *chang san ch'i* 長三棋, played with six checkers on each side, has a board something like this.





Another game called slanting draughts, *hsieh* 斜 *san ch'i* is played with three checkers each on a board of this pattern.

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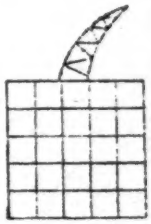
524 Another game, something like draughts, is called *wei lao ho shang* 圍老和尚. The board is of this pattern.



The idea is to avoid being driven back into the horn.

The most famous game of this class is *wei ch'i* 圍棋, played with 360 counters.

Common games of chance are pitch and toss, *pan ma ch'iao mei* 扮麻雀妹, in which the Chinese and Manchu characters on a cash are the 'heads and tails'; to play cards, *ta p'ai* 打牌, which are of paper, ivory or wood; to play dominoes, *ta ku* 骨 *p'ai*, a very old game in China; to throw dice, *chih shai-tzŭ* 擲骰子, using either 3 or 5 dice; to raffle, *yao pao* 搖寶, by means of dice; the wheel of fortune, *chuan t'ang ping* 轉糖餅, where sweets are won or stakes lost according as the wheel stops; guessing fingers (morra), *hua ch'üan;* and many others.

Scholars have a game of the "missing word" in a line of poetry, *shih pao* 詩寶. There is a game with cards each bearing the name of a province; the idea is to make poetry by arranging these characters: thus, 同福寧東江, 宣蘭昌, 南河林廣浙, 臺貴陝雲章.

There are many games with cash, such as throwing cash at a coin either placed on the ground or fallen there in the rebound from a wall at which it has been cast, *pan ch'ien* 拌錢 and *chuang* 撞 *ch'ien*.

Or the cash is aimed at a small hole in the ground, *tiu wo* 丟窩, or it is thrown at the central one of some 16 bean-curd moulds, *tiu tou-fu hsiang* 丟豆腐箱.

A hollow in the ground is lined with brass cash, and players throw walnuts, winning each cash they hit, *ta hê t'ao* 打核桃.

A piece of sugar-cane is balanced on a knife. The knife is removed and a cut made at the falling cane. The person gets as much as he cuts off, if he splits it down the middle he gets the whole.

The Chinese have the well-known amusement of blind-folding one eye, then walking up to a sugarcane stuck in the ground and trying to drop a ring on to it. The winner gets the cane. This is called *kua kan chê* 掛甘蔗.

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A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁. 524

Blindman's buff, *ta hsia mo* 打瞎摸; hide and seek, *ts'ang mao mao* 藏貓貓 (the seeker being the *mao* or cat); marbles, *tan tan tan* 彈; turning cart wheels, or turning like a kestrel *ta yao-tzŭ fan shên* 打鷂子翻身; a kind of hockey *ta ch'ou niu* 打臭牛, 'to hit the stinking ox'; top-spinning, *ch'ai ti ko tzŭ* 扯地鴿子; swinging, *ta ts'ui* 打鞦; are all familiar pastimes.

Kiteflying, *fang fêng-chêng* 放風箏 in the second moon is done by grayheaded men as well as by children. The kites are in the shape of eagles, bats, etc., etc., and if one should fall on a house it is unlucky and no one dare claim it.

The shuttle-cock in the game *t'i chien-tzŭ* 踢毽子 is a brass cash with a few feathers attached; it is kept in the air by using the side of the foot for a battledore. Experts turn round once after each kick.

To turn to a different class of pastime: eagles are kept for catching birds and rabbits, *fang ying* 放鷹. The sport is so exciting that a proverb says: 'After seeing an eagle catch a rabbit the glory of an official career sinks into insignificance.' 224 231

Game is hunted with a kind of setter, *fang lieh ch'üan* 放獵犬 or *fang nien shan kou* 趁山狗. These dogs have long tapering noses and slight bodies.

The musk-deer is hunted, *shuan chang-tzŭ* 拴獐子 for the musk. A coolie carrying a small quantity of musk can easily be detected by the smell. The deer horns are sold for medicine and the skin for leather.

Jackdaws and various other birds are kept for fighting purposes *fang ch'üeh ta ts'ai* 放鵲打彩; which means gambling. 525

Practising with bow and arrows, *ts'ao kung chien* 操弓箭 is a sport now going out of use. So is the exercise of the heavy knife, *shua ta tao* 耍大刀. These knives weighed 80 to 140 catties, and even more. 411

Many pets are kept, such as the green parrot, *ying ko* 鸚哥; the Liao-tung or black parrot, *liao ko* 遼哥; the 231

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23) canary *pai yen* 白燕; the quail, *an shun* 鵪鶉; monkeys *hou tzŭ*, 猴子 which are said to be better than dogs as a protection against thieves; rabbits *t'u tzŭ* 兎子, generally in narrow-necked crocks sunk in the ground; pigeons *ko-tzŭ* 鴿子, some of the best carriers returning home from 1000 *li* or more; they are often sold, and as they always go home again good profit is made; white mice which drive little wheels in their cages; stove crickets, *tsao chi-tzŭ* 竈鷄子; and 'ocean insects,' *yang ch'ung* 洋蟲, which are said to cure tuberculosis. I do not know what these insects really are.

The Chinese are great bird-fanciers and pet-keepers, and domesticate many birds besides those above mentioned. Lotteries, smoking, snuffing, etc., are other amusements; it is a nation of smokers. Probably the dismal homes make the people love the pipe, and the crudeness of medical science makes them take to opium.

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RIDDLES AND DITTIES. 謎子, 歌兒 *mi tzŭ, ko êrh.*

青幽幽　黑洞洞　十個牯牛拉不動

Of a dark green, in a black cave, which ten oxen cannot move, What is it? (A well.)

千節節　萬節節　千年萬年不落葉

With a thousand joints, even ten thousand joints. For a thousand or ten thousand years it does not lose its leaves. (The bamboo.)

金筅筅　銀絲絲　一搥打開四姊妹

A golden and silver floss: one stroke of the hammer and it becomes four sisters. (A walnut.)

十姊妹　同路要　各人頭上頂片瓦

Ten little sisters went out for a walk,

On the crown of each a tile is fixed. (The fingers.)

頭戴紅頂子 身穿白袍子 走路很斯文 說話像蠻子

On his head he wears a red button, his body is clothed with a white robe, his walk is like an elegant scholar's, but his talk is like a barbarian's. (The goose.)

各家窩頭一個蕩 一根白蛇在裏頭放 要死要死又掇他一棒

In each family niche there is a pool, in which a pure

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white snake doth loll. When it is about to die, just strike it a bang. (The lamp.) 524 539

生喫得 熟喫得 放在地下又走得

It can be eaten raw, or eaten cooked; when put on the ground it can walk. (Water.)

黃牛給黑牛一頭睡 黃牛的舌頭餂黑牛的背

The yellow cow slept by the side of the black cow,

The yellow cow's tongue licked the black cow's back. (The kettle by the stove.)

The flea: (A louse's remonstance.)—

尖嘴黑殼 這戳那戳 戳出禍來你跑脫

With a peaked jaw and black coat, here a rive and there a bite; when the trouble has been stirred up you make a jump and clear out.

The louse. (The flea's retaliation.)—

六脚白米 自家走不得 要怪張怪李

You six-footed white rice, who cannot even walk by yourself. You are always blaming Chang or Li.

The Orange Blossom. 539

柑子樹兒開白花 團團圓圓姊妹家
天晴下雨請來耍 唸個佛句當燒茶

The blossoms of the orange tree, whose petals white sweet sisters be,

In rain or in sunshine how welcome you'll be

Just sing a chant and I'll bring you your tea.

Heaven, Earth and Water.

天生綉綉 地生縵縵 水生骨頭

Heaven produces the variegated, Earth begets the unadorned, Water begets bones.

Natural Wisdom.

一個雀 雀飛上坡 一個雀 雀飛下坡 三歲孩兒會唱歌 不是爹娘告訴我 是我自已聰明多

One little birdie flies up the hill, another little birdie flies down the hill; a three-year old child is able to sing, not what the parents teach it, but what natural wisdom prompts.

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The Twelve Months.—

正月十五湯圓子　二月驚蟄抱蠶子　三月清明填標子
四月芒種栽秧子　五月端陽喫糉子　六月六來扇扇子
七月半　燒箔子　八月中秋喫餅子　九月重陽釀糟子
十月初一穿襖子　冬月間烤烘籠子　臘月三十貼對子

On the 15th of the first moon we eat sweet dumplings.
In the second moon the insects stir and we feed silk worms.
In the third moon comes clear brightness and we put up grave-flags.
In the fourth moon is the busy season and we plant rice.
In the fifth moon comes the dragon festival and we eat rice dumplings.
In the sixth moon comes the great heat and we use our fans.
In the seventh moon there is a festival and we burn paper money.
In the eighth moon is the mid-autumn festival and we eat moon cakes.
In the ninth moon there comes a festival and we eat fermented rice.
In the tenth moon the cold comes and we put on our wadding.
In the eleventh moon it gets colder and we light our fire-baskets.
In the twelfth moon comes the time to put up New Year scrolls.

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The digits.—

大指拇　二指弟　中三娘　王夥契　身小巴兒子出不得氣

The thumb is the elder brother, the forefinger is the younger, the middle finger is the aunt, the fourth the chief partner, but the youngest piggie is almost smothered to death.

The Bamboo grove.—

京竹桠　苦竹桠　對門對戶對親家　親家兒子會跑馬
親家女會剪花　大姊剪的靈芝草　二姊剪的牡丹花
三姊剪不來　丟下剪刀紡棉花　紡了三丈三大哥
二哥縫件夏布衫　三哥說我心不平　把我嫁在高山苦竹林
要柴燒柴又高　要水喫水又深　打溼花鞋不當緊
打溼羅裙一千針

The green bamboo and the bitter bamboo
Were intermarried relations living in opposite doors.
The sons on one side were brave cavaliers

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The daughters on the other were clever at flowers;
The eldest was good at the orchid bud,
The second was good at the peony rose,
But though the third did try she was not any good,
So she mounted the loom to weave cotton cloth,
And wove to the length of thirty-three feet.
Then the elder and second brothers both made them a gown.
But the third brother said My lot is unfair;
You've married me up the high hill in the bamboo grove.
If you want fuel to burn, that fuel is high,
If you want water to drink that well is deep;
To wet the flowered shoes is of little import,
But to wet the gauze skirts costs a thousand threads.

New Year good luck.—

新春大發財 二十四個元寶輥進來
輥進不輥出 金銀財寶堆滿屋.

May the New Year bring you the greatest of luck,
With the twenty-four pieces of silver rolling into your lap;
Rolling in but not rolling out, till
Gold, Silver and riches fill up the house.
(Round stones are sometimes heaped outside the house on the last day of the year, and carried inside on the first day of the New Year; hence this ditty).

新春新春 財發萬金 說好就好 添財進寶.
In the New Year, The New Year,
May your riches increase ten thousand fold:
When you say lucky may it be luck,
Adding to your riches and bringing in gold.—

The New Year scrolls of the New Year feast.—

新年對子新年節 門神對子兩邊貼
門神對子貼得高 金銀財寶幾大包
門神對子貼得矮 金銀財寶幾大塊

On both sides of the door are scrolls and gods;
If the scrolls and gods are put up high,
Gold, silver and riches will come in great array;
If the scrolls and gods are put up low,
Gold, silver and riches still continue to grow.

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539 The farm servant.—

清早起來就上山 At the dawn of day he goes up the hill,
裝把鋤頭把地翻 Carrying a mattock to till the ground;
世人沒我長年苦 The farm servant's lot is bitter indeed,
臉朝黃土背朝天 With his back to the sky and face to the mud.

CRIES 口號 *k'ou hao.*

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198 The cry used to call a pig when at large is *liu, liu, liu,* 嘍. A pig is also called a *liu*, and a man is cursed by being so called.

The call for chickens is *chu, chu, chu,* 祝. Formerly 朱雞翁 Chu chi wêng was a famous chicken fancier and breeder, and the chickens are called after him.

Liao, liao, liao, 嘹, is the call used to call the ducks from the pond. It is said to be an abbreviation of *lai-a,* 來啊.

Wa-êrh, wa-êrh, 娃兒, is the cry used to call in the goose. Some say it is *wo-êrh,* 鵝兒. Others think the call is an imitation of the bird's own cry.

The call to the dog when there is any scavenging to be done is *oh ngo, oh ngo,* 啊哦. In driving the dog away the common "hist, hist" is used.

The cry used to call the sheep is *mieh, mieh, mieh,* 咩. This is spoken in a low tone and is believed to be like the bleat of a sheep. Sometimes it is "*meh, meh,*" like the bleat of a lamb. The call used to frighten the sheep, *t'u êrh,* 吐爾, is also used to frighten birds from the grain, and is likened to the whizzing of a stone through the air at a great speed. When the cry is uttered a stone or a whip very often accompanies the sound. This *t'u êrh* is very freely called after foreigners, and is not a good omen. The connection is in the sound of the two characters, *yang* 羊 sheep, and *yang* 洋 of the sea, foreigner.

Sun êrh 猻兒 is the call used for a monkey. It means a small monkey.

Mi, mi, 咪, is the call used to bring the cat to eat its food.

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Wa, wa, 唾, is the call used to make mules and oxen stand still. The aboriginal tribes have names for each mule in the caravan. 198

Ch'a, ch'a, 吒, is the sound used when driving an ox or mule. Horses do not seem to be so addressed.

When ploughing the following are the cries used to the ox; *chuan ying* 轉英 turn round; *shang* 上 *ying* go on the sward, and *hsia* 下 *ying* go in the furrow; *ts'ai kou* 踩溝 go along the furrow.

Noises made by hawkers, etc., are as follows; the oilseller beats a small gong, *ch'iao tang tang* 敲鐺; the bean-curd seller strikes a hollow bamboo *pang pang* 梆; the condiment seller strikes a brass mirror *yün pan* 雲板; the tinker or scissor-grinder shakes clappers of iron *yao ching kuei* 搖驚閨 'to arouse the women-folk'; the castrater strikes a gong *ma lo* 馬鑼 of the same size as the *tang tang*, but with a stronger sound; the itinerant fortune-teller beats two pieces of bamboo together, *san ts'ai pan* 三才板; the pedlar rings a bell, *p'eng tang ku* 彭鐺鼓, and the vendor of sticking-plaster sounds a fish drum, *ta yü ku* 打漁鼓.

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CHAPTER III.

FOOTBINDING
THE QUEUE

304 THE origin of the custom of footbinding is said by some to date from the Six States and to have been begun by an Imperial concubine P'an-fei 潘妃. This aspirant for imperial favour bound her feet with silken bands. By binding the toes together and the instep upwards, she made the foot somewhat like a bow; while the licentious Emperor made golden lotus flowers for her to tread upon. Hence women's feet are sometimes spoken of as *san ts'un chin lien* 三寸金蓮, three inches of golden lotus.

In Ssŭch'uan there are some places where the women have natural feet. These places are said to have been settled by people from Kuangtung province; and these feet are scornfully called *huo chüeh pan* 活脚板. Some feet have not been bound in childhood, and when older the pain would have been too great; hence the toes are simply turned in and the foot bound up a little: such are called *pan chüeh* 半脚.

When the instep is round and almost perpendicular like a horse's hoof it is called *yüan chüeh* 圓脚, round foot.

If the bandages are so manipulated as to make the heel to be part of the leg, wooden heels are put in to make up the deficiency between the false heel and the shoes; the woman thus only walking on the half of her foot. Such feet are termed *chia* 假, *chüeh* false feet.

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Those feet which have been bound from childhood have an ideal length of three inches, but many are much larger. This involves enormous suffering to the child, but small feet are a source of pride to all who possess them, and large feet a source of shame. 304

A foot that is long and narrow is much disliked and is called *huang kua* 黃瓜 *chüeh*, cucumber foot. The reasons assigned for the continuation of this custom are as follows:

(1) It *is* the custom and that is enough for most people.

(2) It is nice looking. These small feet are also called the *hsiang kou* 香鉤 or incense hook with which to hook the affections of the men; and the men generally desire that the feet should be so.

(3) It is impossible to find a husband unless the girl's feet are bound.

(4) It keeps the women from bad company and from remaining away from home.

In Ssŭch'uan some women make a speciality of both footbinding and hair dressing, others make a speciality of one only.

THE QUEUE. 辮子 *pien tzŭ*

When the Ch'ing dynasty conquered the Chinese Empire the shaving of the head was made compulsory, the barber being sent forth with an official warrant to seize and shave all the refractory and rebellious; and the barber bears to this day the name of *tai chao* 待詔 or carry-passport man. Till quite recently the itinerant barber's stand consisted in a low stool for sitting on, and a high stool on which the hands could be rested: on the other side was a small boiler for heating water, and above was a short mast on which there were two iron hooks, from one of which a sword used to be suspended while on the other the head of the rebellious was hung after execution. From the top of this mast the flag used to be displayed. 302 305

Popular opinion has it that there were certain exceptions to the rule of head shaving; these were as follows: 男從女不從 *Nan ts'ung nü pu ts'ung*; the men had to conform but the women did not need to do so. Thus we have the Chinese 302

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302 women wearing the dress of the Ming dynasty while the men had to adopt the Manchu style of dressing, as well as the head-shaving. The living had to conform, but the funeral rites remained as before the occupation, 生從死不從, *shêng ts'ung, ssŭ pu ts'ung.* The people had to conform but not the priests; *min ts'ung chiao pu ts'ung* 民從教不從. Hence we have the clean-shaven Buddhist priest, and the coiled locks of the Taoist sect; this is believed to be the original Chinese mode of hair dressing. Moreover the style of garments now worn by the Taoist priests would appear to be the style of ancient China.

When the queue was forced upon the Chinese people it was hateful to them as a sign of subjection to a stronger branch of the Mongolian race. This loathing gradually gave place to pride, and the queue became a national badge, and a sign of loyalty to the reigning dynasty. Hence every rebellion against the Manchus has made the cutting off of the queue of first importance.

The queue, when worn properly, was used to indicate reverence for superiors, respect to equals, and decorum in worship. No inferior would dare to enter the presence of a superior with his queue hanging in front, or coiled round the head; and when worshipping at the temples its position was carefully noted. The following are a few of the kinds of queues spoken of by the Chinese and were indicative of character:

To leave the hair unplaited for three handwidths from the skull in order that the hair might fall loose on the neck; 鬆三把 *sung san pa.* This was for protection against sword cuts, and also in fights, when the queue was largely used to pull with. Its looseness kept the strain from falling on one part of the head.

302 575 The big queue made up of false hair and silk. Those who wear this are known as *wu êrh shên* 吾二神, and are those who have just entered a secret society. They are neither men nor boys.

The dandy of the secret society wears a queue that is dressed up with silk tassels, *têng lung t'iao pien tzŭ* 燈籠條辮子.

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The unkempt queue of the novice who has not entered the society is called *k'ung tzŭ* 空子 *pien tzŭ*. 302 [575]

A few hairs on the back of the head is called *yü mei sui* 御麥穗 *pien tzŭ* or a *hao-tzŭ wei pa* 耗子尾巴, a rat's tail.

A nice-looking queue of a youth with a long red cord attached to it is called *kua tao pa* 挂刀把 *pien tzŭ*, the sword-handle queue.

The cow's head, *niu t'ou* 牛頭 queue is worn by women of the aboriginal tribes to the west of Kuan Hsien.

A common proverb is *shên hsien yang chih-chia, hsin hsien yang t'ou-fa* 身閑養指甲, 心閑養頭髮; an idle body grows finger nails; an idle head grows hair.

The Kitan tribes, *ta-ta* 韃韃, probably the ancestors of the Mongols, have the following slang names for the queue:

The hairy lid, *mao kai-tzŭ* 毛蓋子; Tartar hair, *ta-ta mao*; the hairy tassel, *mao t'ou tzŭ* 毛頭子; the horse-bucket cover, *ma t'ung kai* 馬桶蓋; the magpie's nest, *ya ch'iao wo* 鴉鵲窩; the tadpole's tail, *ting ting wei* 丁丁尾.

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CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR A FUTURE LIFE. 修來世 *hsiu lai shih.*

782 THIS is also spoken of as *yin kung* 陰功 or secret merit. Secret merit is supposed not to be spoken of, and is rarely practised by people under forty, but some, after they have sown their wild oats desire to accumulate merit to counteract their evil practices; as the saying runs 一善敌千惡; one good deed changes a thousand bad ones.

To set free living creatures bought for the purpose, *fang shêng* 放生, such as birds, fishes, tortoises, eels, etc., is reckoned great merit. So is the building of bridges by subscription. To repair the public roads near the home, when done out of free will is also believed to be very meritorious, but it is expected that travellers will contribute to this work, and has now come to be a respectable way of begging. This kind of work is also inflicted by law for light offences.

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To give away medicine and sticking-plaster to the poor is merit, but it is reckoned still greater merit to give away good prescriptions, as these are often a legacy of ancestors, and any person having a few good ones might start in business. Some people keep a tea pot or crock full of tea at their doors for people to drink out of during the hot weather. Others light a lamp at a dark and dangerous part of the road to keep people from falling into a ditch or over a precipice. They open a free ferry *k'ai i tu* 開義渡 for transporting travellers over streams and rivers, or give away rice gruel to the poor in times of distress; or rice and money to the poor at New Year times, or after a fire or flood. 783

They give free coffins for the poor and for unknown travellers who die by the way; or land for free burying grounds; these are found everywhere. This is reckoned very great merit.

An individual or a number contributing will open free schools. Others give away clothing, bedding and fire-baskets to the poor at the beginning of the cold weather. This is largely done by ladies who wish to prepare for leaving this world. Poor-houses for the aged and orphans are kept up both by government and by public subscription.

To open an orphanage is great merit. The infant children of poor parents are taken to this institution and are here reared; many of the slave girls of officials are procured from these places.

Institutions are opened also for the blind, deaf and maimed, *k'ai t'zŭ yu t'ang* 開慈幼堂; some for adults, some for children; and asylums for the shelter and support of widows. Such women get benefit from a Society's funds if they are well recommended, and on condition that they do not remarry. Some set up a tramp's refuge, *ch'i liu so* 棲流所 for men and women from a distance; shelter is provided free, but not food. Beggars' refuges for the local poor are supported.

The chief beggar carries a rod with which he administers correction to the disobedient, and he visits the farmers at harvest time and gets grain from them, and shopkeepers at feast times to get his wages for keeping the beggars in order. 735

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735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 212 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

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through the villages and cities on their knees. The Buddhist devotees are divided into two kinds *ta* and *êrh chü shih*, 大 and 二居士, men and women respectively. These latter are called *tao yu* 道友 or friends of the doctrine. 788

Another way is to *sung ching pai ch'an* 誦經拜懺 chant the classic of "regret for the past." It is said that chanting is a Buddhist idea, while the doctrine of repentance has its roots in Taoism. These classics and repentance odes are very plentiful. Fasting, *ch'ih chai* 喫齋 or *ch'ih su* 素, is meritorious. It means the abstaining from wine, garlic, and meats, whether for a whole lifetime or at stated times and on stated days. A person who is afraid that his family may not do enough chanting, etc., for him after he is dead has a special lot done while he is alive, and sent on ahead to await him in the next world; also lots of paper and incense are burned and deposited in the treasury of Hades. This is called *chi k'u tao ch'ang* 寄庫道場. 782

Some seek merit by issuing tracts about the protection of life, exhorting people not to throw lime in the paddy fields, because it kills the insects there; to refrain from treading on any living thing; they even exhort people to allow vermin to live on the clothing and person; also to abstain from breaking off tender twigs on trees and bushes; because there is life in them. These ideas are from the Buddhist pantheism.

People abstain from treading on anyone's shadow. To do so is to treat them lightly and it is also very unlucky. To strike a person's shadow in a vital part is reckoned to be almost as serious as to strike the person himself.

It is merit to abstain from food on a mother's birthday, because she suffered so much at one's birth. The Mohammedans fast from dawn to dusk on that day. It is great merit to go to the *nan hai p'u to* 南海普陀. This is one of the most sacred places of Buddhism, or the place where the goddess of mercy is said to have made her appearance after becoming a celestial. A Taoist idea is for a person to sit erect with legs crossed, the eye fixed on the nose, lips closed, tongue straight, and to swallow the saliva; the thoughts must be kept pure and sleep kept away; the old nature is thus cast off by the top of the head and the aspirant becomes an

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782 immortal. This is called *lien tan hsüan kung* 煉丹玄功. The body is said to have ten openings, but the one on the top of the head needs to be opened in this way before it is effectual.

* * *

EXHORTATION 說書 *shuo shu.*

792 To explain the Sacred Edict, 講聖諭 *chiang shêng yü.* The Sacred Edict originally had six chapters composed by the emperor Shun-chih 順治, but it was enlarged and edited by his successor K'ang-hsi, and now contains sixteen chapters. Before the exhorter begins his works a tablet has to be erected on which are engraved the two characters Shêng yü. Candles are lighted on either side and in front, paper and incense are also burned before the tablet; the exhorter then bows three times, and knocks his head nine times to the ground before he begins to talk. The custom is to pay 100 cash for each chapter explained, and three chapters are generally gone over each evening. This money is generally paid by rich people in order to accumulate merit; not uncommonly a rich farmer or wealthy merchant invites an exhorter to his house for this purpose. At its beginning this practice may have been better than it now is; unfortunately the wicked lives of many of these men does much to nullify their words; and their exhortation is no longer confined to the doctrines contained in the Sacred Edict, but is largely made up of old wives' fables, and local and provincial scandals.

Many preachers of the Sacred Edict also use the method of exhortation by proverbs, *chiang kê yen* 講格言. There is a slight resemblance to, and connection with, the Sacred Edict, but most of the incidents are taken from the law courts, or scandals in business and private circles.

533 Men walk through the streets and sing ballads of a national or amorous character, *ch'ang shan shu* 唱善書. The idea is generally to procure travelling expenses for themselves or others to some distant place

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Discussions are held 講評書 *chiang p'ing shu*, generally in a tea shop or open courtyard, when some ancient character's merits and demerits are discussed, with a good deal of sarcasm and dramatic contortion; the speech is often lewd and the characters of many of the speakers are of the lowest; in fact many are libertines, with some wit and humour to cloak their wickedness. 521

A news vendor who carries a stool and books round with him is called 上馬冊冊 *shang ma ts'ê ts'ê*; he stands on the stool and sells his literature, which has a bearing on current events; his sign is a pair of chopsticks. 203

A news vendor of the yellow press is called 下馬 *hsia ma ts'ê ts'ê*. He travels round and carries a flag of yellow or sometimes white paper on which are written the latest sensations. He visits the towns and markets, and to this kind of individual many false rumours are to be traced. He stands on the ground as compared with the former who stands on a stool.

On the birthday of the goddess of Mercy Kuan-yin or other festival there are often mixed gatherings in the temples to hear the Buddhist doctrines preached. The crowds are often of the lowest type. 796

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PURCHASE OF PROPERTY 田地買賣 *t'ien ti mai mai.*

THE middleman to find a purchaser first writes a *t'o yo* 託約 as an evidence of willingness to sell the property. In this deed the size of the house or the extent of the land offered for sale, and also the price wanted, must be stated. If the owner is at all an unreliable person he will probably be made to write a *yün yo* 允約 or a deed of willingness to sell, which he will have to sign in the presence of witnesses, lest he should turn round and blame the middlemen and get them into trouble. 425 432

The price should be fixed in the presence of the seller, purchaser and middlemen, 三面定價 *san mien ting chia*, but it is more commonly settled in the tea shop by the middlemen alone. After the price has been agreed upon,

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425 432 which is generally about half what was originally asked for, a small sum of money is paid down as an earnest and an agreement to that effect drawn up, *li ting yo* 立定約.

To draw up the permanent agreement, from which there is no departure, is called *li ta* 大 *yo*; in this agreement are included such details as *shang t'ien tsao tso chih chien* 上天造作之件 all that heaven produces connected with the land, such as trees, flowers, shrubs, fishes and wild animals; also *jên kung* 人工 *tsao tso chih chien*, all that man has made belonging to the building, etc.

It is very important that the kind of money to be used should be fixed. The middlemen see the amount in full paid over to the seller of the property, who takes the money with his own hands.

To give taxes according to the old standard under the changed name is *shui tsai yüan liang* 稅載原糧.

The buyer is allowed to take over the tenants and farm the land, *chiao tien kuo ching* 交佃過耕. The tenants have generally to be present when the money is paid over and their deposit on the land or houses deducted from the price which remains in the hands of the purchaser. A small feast is prepared for the middleman when the signature is being attached to the deeds. The seller at this juncture makes a fuss, and pretends not to be able to agree to the conditions and price, and ready money has very often to be added before this important signature can be procured. I have known many hours to be spent in wrangling over a bit of work which takes half a minute to complete.

Yo chieh hsia pai, 約界下碑 is to go round the boundaries of the property along with the middlemen and neighbouring landlords, who have to be invited to a feast; their presence is equivalent to their recognition of their new neighbour. The seller of property never comes to the feast, but a table will be sent to the home of the family. It is reckoned a loss of face to have to sell the family inheritance, and an occasion for pity too.

Ch'ê shên li wo 撤神離窩, to take down the family altar and leave the nest; as long as the idols are not removed the old landlord does not reckon to have left.

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In cases where it is necessary for two parties to have a copy of the agreement the two papers are written together and then divided. On the side of each is written the two characters 合同 *ho t'ung*. These two papers must be produced and fitted together in order to verify their genuineness. To give over the new title deeds to the new owner is *chiao hsin ch'i* 交新契; if the old deeds (*lao* 老 *ch'i*) are not produced and given up it must be so stated in the new agreement, and that hereafter they are only waste paper. 425 432

Any family division of inheritance agreements *fên kuan* 分關 are handed over to the new owner. A *fên kuan* is rather a shaky deed on which to risk a purchase; as the old agreement is sure to be in some person's hands, and that is the test of ownership. To take over the tenants who may be on the property is called *huan tien* 換佃. The main part of the price is generally put in a cash shop till certain things are done, and the buyer and seller in company with the witnesses then go to see the money given over.

To settle the percentage to be paid to creditors when the mortgages on the property are higher than the sale price is called *t'an tang chia* 攤當價. The payment of the middlemen, *hsieh chung* 謝中 is done by the seller; the usual rate being 2 per cent.; the purchaser also gives a present of a few taels to each person engaged. The title deeds are stamped on payment of the stamp duties, *kuo shui* 過稅. The cost before the revolution was about 20 per cent. Title deeds that are not stamped are no good in law.

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MORTGAGES 典當 *tien tang*.

To mortgage to the utmost value of the property, when the mortgagee has the right to farm the land, is *ying tang kuo ching* 硬當過耕. This is equivalent to a sale, but the mortgagee "saves his face" by not selling; or he is allowed to find tenants to farm the land; this is almost the same as the other. When the former owner re[illegible]ves the right to 426

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426 farm the land himself it is called *ti tang tzŭ ching* 地當自耕. This is reckoned a dangerous speculation, especially if the mortgagee is an unscrupulous man.

To change the rental into a mortgage; to add the deposit on property till it amounts to a mortgage is *chiu tien chia tang* 就佃加當.

To make the mortgage into a purchase by adding a little money (very probably more than the property is worth) is *chiu tang chia tang* 就當加當. To make the deposit of rental so heavy that it is really a mortgage, no rental or a nominal one is paid to the owner, but he saves his face by saying it is a rental. This is termed *ming tien an tang* 明佃暗當. Sometimes a property is mortgaged then rented back to live in, *tang ch'u tien hui* 當出佃回. The necessity of moving the family idols is thus avoided, but it is a method that causes much trouble afterwards.

To mortgage a second time owing to the original owner being unable to redeem the property is *chuan tang* 轉當.

Ting ta 頂打 or *ting tang* is a kind of mortgage which is more stringent than the ordinary kind, and is almost equivalent to a purchase, without it being so stated. These are more difficult to manage than a pure mortgage; a rental has to be paid, but it is almost impossible to turn the mortgagee out. The neighbours need to be notified of these proceedings to make them binding upon them. This of course means a feast.

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BEGGARS 乞丐 *ch'i kai.*

735 Some terms for beggars are:—

叫化子 *chiao hua tzŭ*; 討口子 *t'ao k'ou tzŭ*; 濫仗客 *lan chang k'ê.*

Few beggars are born in that class, but nearly all have come to beggary through laziness, gambling, opium, wine or calamity. Those who are poor through no fault of their own are pitiable, but the others are contemptible. These pests waylay the traveller and extort money; gather in crowds at funeral and marriage feasts; bellow for hours behind a gentleman's door with half-a-dozen dogs howling round them, or

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walk along the street with a stick wagging behind and the dogs hanging on to it. It is a fully organized profession, with its officers and king; a race which is difficult to reclaim; the saying runs 討得三天口官都不想做; 'After begging for three days they do not desire even an official position.' They won't work and don't desire to be lifted up, and are known as 方上的弟兄, or brethren of the four quarters, that is, they go everywhere to get a living. The king of the beggars is called *ta yao pa* 大么爸. He rises to this position by ability and public recognition and is generally negotiated with at feast times in order that beggars may not come and lie at the doors of the houses.

The beggars' resort or refuge is called 乞丐所 *ch'i kai so*, or 棲流所 *ch'i liu so*, or 孤老院 *ku lao yüan*. In order to get admission an official permit is required, and a record of entries is kept in the yamen. Some have official rice and winter clothing granted to them besides. In these refuges all kinds may be found, such as the widow, the aged and the orphan. In districts where no such place is provided they congregate in temple doorways, under bridges and arches. They collect all the rubbish of the country-side and eat such things as dead dogs, cats, and rats. Unwashed, uncombed and clothed in filthy rags they seem to reach the utmost limit of human degradation.

The place where the beggars' branch of the secret society meets is called 什坊堂 *shih fang t'ang*. It may be arranged for at any place, but the connection with the society is very real and wide-spread.

The beggars have a superstitious dread of the following words:—

不絕 *pu chi*, don't give; 狗咬 *kou yao*, the dog bites, 斷路 *tuan lu*, block the road; 短食 *tuan shih*, short of food.

The noise made by the beggars with their clappers at the door is called 打蓮花鬧 *ta lien hua nao*. This noise is also commonly made by the vagrant priests, who use a 彈板 *tan pan* to thrum on with the fingers. *Wo t'ao shan ch'ih* 惡討善喫, gotten by wickedness, eaten with good manners, this is what is said of beggars' manners.

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735 The beggars call the rice and wine given to them at feasts or New Year time *fa-ts'ai fan* and *fu-kuei chiu* 發財飯 and 富貴酒. It is a kind of good wish for the prosperity of the giver. 'New Year rice' is given to beggars on the first day of New Year; beside this some give New Year money, meat, dumplings, etc. If beggars are diligent at the New Year they can beg enough to keep them for a month or two.

After persons have given money or food to a beggar, the latter says that he has succeeded in instructing his son 訓子 *hsün tzŭ*. Such spectacles as are displayed in most Chinese streets, the displaying of maimed limbs, frost-bitten feet, knocking the head on the paving stones with a thud, candles and incense stuck in hands and shoulders, and anything which works on the feelings of the people are included by beggars under this heading of 'instructing their children.'

Ao men niu 遨悶牛, to follow the stupid ox, is said by beggars who pursue people on the roads asking for alms. To pursue a person on the road and repeatedly waylay him for money or to exact money from the person by blackmail, is called by the beggars, 'chasing the dog.'

A beggar will beset wealthy families and stay for hours at the door bellowing for food. The first time he gets food that day he says that it was his 'big son' 大的兒 *ta ti êrh* who gave it him; the second time it is the 'second son,' and so on. These things make the beggars hated by many people, and a class which is loathsome to behold becomes also repugnant to the kindest of hearts.

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ROBBERS 盜賊 *tao tsei.*

548 These are divided into several classes, the following being a few of them:

Flying thieves, 飛賊 *fei tsei.* These enter the house by going over the roof with a pole; their sandals being made of human hair. *In the day time they pretend to be sleepy, lazy* fellows, but when they go to steal they can fly over the beam or walk on the partition' 飛樑走壁 *fei liang tsou pi.*

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This kind of thief can get at the silver no matter where it is placed; and only takes silver and gold. He leaves the other things for a lower caste thief. It is generally believed that he has some dealings with evil spirits. When he goes out for a depredation it is spoken of as 出馬, or to take out the horses. 548

Shang fang tzŭ 上房子, to go on the roof. This class of thief enters by the roof and leaves by the door. At the door he has an assistant waiting to whom he hands his booty, who in turn gives it over to the carrier who runs with it.

Shun shou 順手, to take what lies to hand. This is done by people who in their own town are reckoned to be good and responsible citizens, but go from home to do business of this kind. The proverb has it that 黃鷺不打窩下食, 好賊不偷自家人, 'the eagle will not take the food of its own nest, and the thief will not steal from his own household.'

The local head of thieves gets a large share of the booty 坐地分肥 *tso ti fên fei.* When a thief comes to any district he makes arrangements with the local head of the thieves, who then becomes surety for him. When robbers are about to commit a robbery they always have a person acquainted with the house, called a *hsien tzŭ k'ê* 線子客 or spy. Hence the proverb which says *tsei wu chüeh t'ou pu ch'u* 賊無脚偷不出; 'a thief who has no footing cannot steal.'

Their first work is to count their men, to each of whom a cash-string is given, (these strings are counted on their return; if they are short one string they know that one man is wanting, and they may possibly go back to release him; unless they have reason to think that he is dead.) Oil is then spilt over a pile of cash paper, which is burned as an offering to the spirits, asking for success in their adventure. Brown paper is then soaked in oil and rosin, and made into small torches, which are lighted and stuck on the front of each person's hat. The men's faces are all blackened or made up with hideous colours. Each man has his work allotted. Some carry the battering ram or *niu êrh tzŭ* 牛兒子 for smashing open the door. Others carry hatchets and weapons for self-protection. Some are detailed to watch the

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548 four sides of the house, and give warning if help is arriving. The cry of *chang shui* 漲水 'the flood is rising,' is a sign that the neighbours have risen to protect the family. After the robbery is completed, there is what is known as *tien chiang pai hua* 點將擺花 count the men and display the booty. Any dead are carried away with them if possible, and disposed of in the most convenient way, for fear of leaving any trace of the origin of the band. The head of the gang gets 40 per cent. and the remaining 60 per cent. goes to the men who have done the work. The division is made after all expenses of the raid have been deducted.

Robbery by piercing a wall requires an instrument known as the *ao tao* 撥刀 or *ch'iao tao* 撬刀, a crowbar. After a hole has been pierced through the wall, a bamboo with a handful of straw tied on the end of it is pushed inside to see if the way is clear; all being well the thief crawls in feet first, for fear of getting a bang on the head, and so as to be able to to crawl quickly out again in case of alarm.

When a character of this sort reaches a strange place he will draw a picture on a blank wall, such as a head with a moustache on one side of the mouth only. Other particular classes of thieves draw the picture of a single hand or foot. The picture of a head without any hands means that the thief is in need of an assistant. When the local thieves see these they draw another figure of the same kind close to it giving secret directions as to where he will find a lodging and companions. The day-light thief is called a 爬兒 *pa êrh*, the night worker 黑腦殼 *hei nao-k'o*, black head. Pickpockets are known as *p'a ko êrh* 抓哥兒, *lao chua* 老抓 or *shua êrh* 刷兒, *hung p'an p'an* 紅盤盤, *hung lao piao* 紅老表 red-haired cousin, etc. The burglar who opens partitions 割壁 *ko pi*, carries a pair of strong scissors, and thus bamboo and lime partitions are easily taken out. Once inside the house he soon tears open the doors and prepares a way of escape. Even the dogs seem to have a wholesome fear of this class and dare not bark till after they have gone. A troublesome dog is poisoned by giving it human hair chopped very fine and rolled inside meat or fish. This seems to be fatal, as the animal can neither digest the dose nor vomit it.

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The art of the horse, pig and ox stealer is called *t'ai mên* 548
擡門, lifting the door. He carries, besides his fuse and other weapons, a tube of water which is poured into the wooden hinges of the door to keep them from squeaking. When a pig is the object of theft it is given *hua chiao* 花椒 or red pepper; this benumbs its mouth so that it cannot squeal, and is thus more easily carried out of the place. When an ox is stolen, as soon as it is outside the door, a man takes hold of each horn and another takes the tail; the man behind pricks the ox with a goad, making it run furiously and heedless of all obstacles away from the house. Horses are taken off in a similar manner. In stealing ducks or chickens the necks are seized and tied; while cats are put in a sack.

Thieves are naturally very superstitious. Many of them 548
carry on their person the wooden image of a dog with an iron 777
band round its nose, to keep it from barking or biting, as dogs are their chief fear and natural enemy. They are very much afraid of any combination of words having *fan* 飯 and *fa* 髮 in them. Even to eat rice is known by them as *ch'ao fên tzŭ* 摘粉子. Their chief object is to avoid detection; one might almost say that the only sin is the loss of face on being caught. They also have a superstitious dread of the following words: *ti chu* 抵注 to get up against; *ch'uang tao* 撞倒 to knock against, and *k'ung shou* 空手 empty-handed: a thief if he enters a house will do all in his power to carry something away with him, however small, as it is most unlucky for him to leave empty-handed; *ma tzŭ*, 馬子, an enemy: the master of the house is the natural enemy of the thief; *liang* 亮, light: their works being evil they hate the light. Each clique has a particular call by which it is known; some mew like a cat, others blow a bamboo whistle; others have a call like *wu hu*, while others have a song. Any householder hearing these sounds close by gives a warning to his household, and calls out for the thief to come in and he will give him a "light for his pipe;" with the mention of light the thief very often departs. In entering a tea shop they call for water, not for boiling water or hot water as other people do, as these expressions are used by them to indicate that trouble is coming. They also hate the words *pu shun shou* 不順手,

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548 777 that is, it won't come to hand. They also fear *pu tui t'ou* 不對頭, or unsuitable. The number four is never used by them as it is the same sound as 'trouble.' So on the 3rd and 4th of each month, also on the 14th and 24th they cease their depredations. Owing to the light of the moon, little or no work of their kind is done from the 3rd to the 16th of each moon, but with the exception of the 24th they go on almost unceasingly from that time to the end of the month. The thief also dreads the character *ch'ieh* 截, to to cut off, fearing that his head will be sliced off.

In carrying on his depredations whatever comes into his hand is reckoned to be his rightful property; but if a thief has got no stolen property in his possession it is impossible to impeach him; the saying runs 盜賊無贓硬如鐵樁 'a thief with no stolen property is hard as an iron bar,' and he will no brook any aspersion on his character. The saying also runs 拿賊要拿贓拿姦要拿雙 'catching a thief, catch his stolen property; catching adulterers, catch the pair.' No greater insult can be thrown at any family than to say that they are *nan tao nü ch'ang* 男盜女娼, the males thieves and the women harlots.

This class of men much resent another person putting their feet on the end of a stool while they are still sitting on it; the fear being that they will be locked up and made to sit down. They also resent anyone taking hold of the pipe while they are smoking, or taking hold of their queue while they are walking. They also fear any one standing on the bed to dress, or tilting any article on its side to get anything out, or lifting up the basin with the vegetables in it to pour some gravy over their rice.

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BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

SECRET SOCIETIES

During the past twenty years the writer's calling has often brought him into close contact with and even into sharp opposition to secret society organizations in Ssŭch'uan. The chief difficulty in studying such societies is, of course, that they are secret, and the divulging of details is likely to be severely punished. 575

The difficulty all missionary societies have had in getting a foothold in Ssŭch'uan is due to the Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行), or Confucian Society. The plots of the literati culminated in the riots of 1895. From that year till about 1902 new influences were brought into play by bringing the more lawless elements of society into action. This period might be called the Hypnotic Period; it includes the Yü Man-tzŭ rebellion of 1898, the Boxer upheaval of 1900, and the local Boxer trouble of 1902, when the Boxer bands even entered the provincial capital.

From 1902 a new phase begins, when the Ch'ien Tzŭ Hang (幟子行), or Tally Society, made a movement toward

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575 the Church to capture it for political purposes, both protective and aggressive. The period ended in the Revolution of 1911.

To be clear, it may be stated here that the Tally Society is the same as the Han Liu (漢流), or Ko Lao Hui (哥老會), and the period may be named the Han Liu period.

After 1911 those who had entered the Church for political reasons tried to get possession of Church property or to start self-governing causes of their own; but always for political or personal advantage. This might be called the Self-government Period.

The first three of the above periods exhibit phenomena important not only now, but acting even in remote antiquity.

The writer believes that this ancient West China fraternity originated in the Totemistic age. That age, which was one of magic, has left many traces, especially in these sodalities. The frequent mention of the dragon in the organization of the brotherhood abundantly proves its Totemistic origin. The leading Elder Brother is spoken of as the "Dragon's Head." The baser sort, who make a living by roving, are called "Rolling Dragons." And a score of similar instances might be given.

Not to go further back than the end of the Chou (周) dynasty, we may divide the society of the time into three classes: (i), followers of Confucius—the reform party; (ii), followers of Lao-Tzŭ—a mystical party; (iii), followers of Nature—a reactionary party that developed into the Han Liu fraternity. These three schools of thought can be distinctly seen in the secret society organizations of West China to-day.

The Confucian Society, Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行)

The School, or Society, is very ancient and has always borne an agnostic stamp, both in literature and religion.

The worship of Confucius is a very real thing in China, and the substitution of a tablet for an image, a change made by the Republic, is very superficial. But few, if any, of the Confucian schools have ever been satisfied with the worship

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of Confucius alone, but freely indulged in the worship of ancestors, and have invited the aid of the Shaman brethren when expedient or when sickness or death in the family made it necessary. Thus, the Confucian scholar may also be a follower of both the mystical and naturalistic schools.

It is readily understood that the class of persons who enter the Confucian Society is different in caste and calibre from those of other societies; but it must be remembered that the agreement is equally binding and the political consequences even more serious than in the case of other societies, and it has been the source of revolutionary activities of great importance.

The Confucian Society is the society *par excellence* of the official, scholar, and student. In its present form it dates at least from the T'ang dynasty, when the followers of the "Peach Orchard" trio refused to recognize the T'ang and clave to the Han (漢) and Liu (劉), and are called Han Liu (漢流).[1]

The Mystical or Hypnotic Sect, Chiao-fei (教匪)

The Hypnotic School has always been closely connected with the Taoist sect, with charms, trances, and spells of various kinds; and it may be that some of the exploits attributed to ancient heroes were done under hypnotic influence. The trances, etc., are brought about by regular training of mind and body, a rigid concentration of spirit, and complete submission of the being to the domination of some particular demon: when the training is complete the whole person is under the mesmeric control of the demon.

The rallying centre of these hypnotic sects is generally a living goddess of mercy, usually a girl of sixteen or eighteen or even younger; doubtless the remnant of a cruder, naturalistic system of great antiquity.

There is quite a long list of these sects which have caused insurrection and bloodshed in different parts of

(1) Though the characters are different some Chinese give this explanation of Han Liu.

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575 the country. These religious fanatics, *chiao fei*, have caused much more difficulty to the government than the ordinary *ku-fei* (嚳匪) (*v. inf.*) The latter rob for their sustenance, and having stolen enough they live luxuriously till there is need for another raid to get more funds. But the religious fanatics are of a very different character.

Such societies seek first by charms and vegetarian vows to win the rich and landed classes. They promise immortality as the reward of large liberality and abstinence from fornication, wine, and pork. The entrance fee is generally small, but members have only the common purse; even rice and clothing are held for the common use.

Having gained a footing among the rich, they next win over the village headmen, and finally the retainers of the district magistrate. When trouble arises, the magistrate may send to suppress it and may even raid the Society's headquarters; but care is taken that the propagandists are protected and escorted to their resorts in the southern mountains.

Such societies may differ in the charms they use and the idols they worship; but they have mesmeric hypnotism and fanatical trances as their common feature.

In this category are included the White Lotus Society (白蓮教), the Arabic (天方),[1] the Eight-Diagram Society (八卦), the Red Lantern Society (紅燈教), the United Fists Society (義和拳), the Big Sword Society (大刀會), the Lamp-wick Society (燈花教), and others.

The many rebellious movements and rebel leaders with which and with whom these Societies are connected will be found in history.

In Ssŭch'uan many people knew the Boxer arts before 1900, especially round such centres as Paoning (保寧), Mienchou (綿州), and Chin T'ang hsien (金堂); but there was not enough strength or organization for a rising.

The hypnotic arts are still practised in secret in different parts of the province, but more especially in the North, their

(1) This might mean "square heavens."

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original home. The vows used are many and various, but the chief are for the purification of the body and of the mouth. Their charms also are very abundant, the chief ones being the Kao Wang (高王符) charm and the Goddess of Mercy (觀音) charm. 575

In 1905 a hypnotic sect entered Ssŭch'uan from Shensi and disturbed the eastern and southern parts of the province. It was known as the Ch'ing Ch'a Chiao (清察教). Its charms were similar to those of the Red Lantern Society; but the vows were different and seem to have originated in the Yangtze provinces, for the "tea-planter's ballad" was used in the religious observances.

During the short reign of Hsüan T'ung a religious sect drilled and caused trouble in eastern Ssŭch'uan; but they never got out of control owing to the severe measures taken against them by the authorities.

The Reactionary School, or Han Liu (漢流)

This is our third great class of secret societies. It must be borne in mind that our division is by no means arbitrary. It is quite possible for a person to belong to all three classes; on the other hand there has sometimes been strife, especially between the Hypnotic and the Reactionary Schools.

Investigating the origin of this School we find it begins in hoary antiquity, and probably represents the most ancient demon worship. The class tenaciously holds to natural depravity, resists external reforms, and through the ages has made licentious liberty the chief ideal of life.

The heroes worshipped are the "Peach Orchard" trio of the Han dynasty; but they have also a system of Shamanism probably of much earlier date, and including all manner of sorceries' and wizards' art.

Among other terms the brethren call themselves *tsa-mên ti-hsiung* (咱們弟兄), we brethren. *Tsa-mên* is of northern origin and Shamanism had its origin in Northern Asia; hence I believe this brotherhood to be Asiatic Shamanism. This system of Shamanism has very wide ramifications in Central

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575 Asia, where neither race nor religion seems to debar any one from joining the secret conclaves. On the Tibetan border Chinese and aboriginals make sworn covenants for mutual protection and assistance in business matters. No Chinese could prosper in barter trade with Tibetans unless he was a member of this Society; he would most likely be robbed and killed on his first journey.

The sorcery practices which are such a feature in this brotherhood are presided over by a system of lay Taoist priests called *ho-chü-tao* (夥居道). These men, though knowing all the arts of the exorcist and much of the doctrine of Tao, are not celibates or hermits, as in the regular priesthood, but have their homes among men and around their ancestral tablets.

The Society delights in sorcery and wizardry, and on the slightest pretext members present one another with a "pacification concert." Such occasions as a sickness in the family, a slight bodily injury, an unlucky omen, etc., are seized on as excuses for a midnight orgy to expel some troublesome demon. At the close of such uproarious nocturnal performances the baser sort amuse themselves by committing robberies on their way home in the small hours.

The weird music connected with Shaman worship needs to be heard, for no pen can describe the uncanny effects; the drum of the temple, the blast of the trumpet, the conch horn of the wizard, the hooting cow's horns of the priests, the clash of cymbals, the crash of gongs, the howling of demon-oppressed people, the cry to departing spirits, are all directly or indirectly related to this brotherhood.

Many primitive and objectionable customs are still practised in the sect. Marriage by capture is by no means unknown, and to many it is the ideal method. Eating the liver and the heart of an enemy, or distributing parts of his body to distant places for others to eat; the sacrifice of human victims to the flags or to the spirit of a fallen comrade, are customs still practised. The Society has thus earned the name *ho-êrh-liu* (和而流), or loose profligates.

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The Ssŭch'uan Ku-lu-tsŭ (嘓嚕子)

The province was practically depopulated by the robber bands of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (李自成), Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠), Wang San-huai (王三槐), and others. Many were slaughtered, many fled. Afterwards immigrants from Hupei, Hunan, and other provinces occupied the deserted soil and bound themselves by oaths for mutual protection against remnants of robber bands or returning émigrés. 575

Many old inhabitants returned, to find their lands in poesession of strangers. Such people, the weak taking to beggary, the strong to robbery, together with the scattered remnants of the earlier robber bands, all together received the name of *ku-lu-tsŭ*.

This term is peculiar to Ssŭch'uan and it was contracted into *ku-fei* (嘓匪). The explanation of this is not satisfactory. The *Kuang Yün* (廣韻) says that *ku* resembles the sound of quacking and gabbling, while *lu* means flattering words such as beggars use. The *Chêng Tzŭ T'ung* (正字通) speaks of *tu-lu* (吐嚕) as meaning *k'o-hsi* (可惜), a term of pity. In some parts evilly disposed beggars are still called *tu-lu-tsŭ*, so it is possible that it is a term of pity, and meant, pity the poor aborigine. Some explain by saying the *ku-fei* were to be feared because of their number and character while the *lu-fei* were to pitied because of their extreme poverty. This explanation, which seems reasonable, makes the term *ku-lu-tsŭ* mean robbers and beggars; and it may have been applied by the Mongol and Manchu troops who came to the province to restore order.

As the Ch'ing dynasty gradually got control of the country the *ku-lu-tsŭ* were dispersed, and began to be spoken of as *p'i-fei* (痞匪), which means obstructionists. They were also jokingly called *ksien-ta-lang* (閒打浪), or idle wave beaters; this is now contracted to *ta-lang-trh*, and seems to mean one who lives by his wits or his luck.

These obstructionists lived in blue tents, and were used as entertainers at funerals or festivities. On such occasions they pitched their tents at the door of the dwelling house

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575 where they were invited and opened a gambling booth for the entertainment of the visitors.

Such entertainers were divided into two distinct classes, the red cash and the black cash fraternity. The latter made secret vows amid the sacrificial burnings of the incense hall, carried arms, and lived by burglaries. The red cash fraternity occupied themselves with slitting open cash bags or cutting off the last 200 cash on a string of cash. If any red cash brother got caught and was branded on the face he was at once degraded into the black cash brotherhood. These two classes exist to-day, the red cash people being gamblers and pickpockets by daylight while the black cash brethren live by burglary in the dark.[1]

The settlers from other provinces naturally hated all *ku-lu-tzŭ* and called them "rats" because of their nocturnal habits and because they so readily disappeared at the approach of the enemy. In the south of the province any one with the look of an aborigine is still called a rat. But the curse has come home to roost, for in Hupei and Hunan all Ssŭch'uanese are now called by this term, whatever their extraction. In retaliation the Hupei people in Ssŭch'uan are contemptuously termed "Hupei bean-curd."

In spite of government and settlers the *ku-lu-tzŭ* have never been exterminated, and they continue to style themselves the Han Liu.

The terms "Han Liu" and *ku-fei* seem synonymous, the former being used by the brethren, the latter being applied to them by the officials. The former term implies their wish to preserve the ancient Han ideals and aspirations as against Mongol and Manchu influences. The other term, *ku-fei*, indicates that the officials regard them as malcontents and opponents of law and order.

For many years before the Hsien Fêng reign (1851–62) the "Yellow River was at peace," that is, was free from rebellion. Then the *ku-fei* rose in revolt under the leadership

(1) The red and the black cash must not be confused with the red and the black flags, to be mentioned later.

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of Lan Ta-shun (藍大順) and Li-Tuan-ta (李短韃). The different characters of these two are shown by their nicknames, "Lan hurry up," and "Li go slowly." Though not Ssŭch'uanese they easily persuaded the *ku-fei* to join them against the Manchus. The revolt was quelled by Hunan troops under Viceroy Lo Wên-chung. The remnants of Lan's marauders were scattered in Tsung Ch'ing-chou, Kuan-hsien, and Tai-I hsien. These districts west of the Min River seem to have been also the chief refuge of Chang Hsien-chung's bands, which no doubt accounts for the lawless, ungovernable character of the population there.

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After Lo Wên-chung's coming the *ku-fei* began to be called *t'u-fei*, but the former term is still known and is sometimes applied to them by officials. The term *t'u* was used of the aboriginal tribes, and *fei* probably meant they were not fit to be classed as men, *fei-jên* (非人). This term, *fei-jên* (匪人), has been systematically applied to all aborigines all over China.

The meaning of Han Liu is also variously given; some regard it as meaning simply brigands; others say the name means the descendants of Liu Pei (劉備) of the Han dynasty; but it most likely means the descendants of the obstructives and outcasts of the Han period.

It may safely be said that there is now little or no difference between Han Liu, *ku-fei*, *t'u-fei*, *p'ao-ko* (胞哥), *ko-lao* (哥老), and *chiang-hu* (江湖); all are somehow linked up in one great fraternity. The prestige of some brethren extends over several provinces and it would be highly interesting to trace the connection between the Dragon throne and the rolling dragons of the provinces.

The Ko-lao-hui and the Han Liu. With the advent of Lo Wên-chung and the suppression of Lan Ta-shun's revolt about 1855, a new secret society organization seems to have been introduced into the province in the shape of the Ko-lao-hui. Some Chinese state that it was introduced by the government as a check to the Han Liu. It is more generally held, however, that Lo's Hunan braves brought it with them. Many of these soldiers settled in Ssŭch'uan and their brotherhood gradually amalgamated with that of the Han Liu. It would

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575 seem as if there was also a union with some piratical elements. The term *chiang-hu*, so often used, means "rivers and lakes" and is supposed to mean "rovers of the waters." The terms *to-pa-tsŭ* (拕把子), "helmsman"; *ma-t'ou* (碼頭), "anchorage"; *hai* (海), "sea"; *shui* (水), "water"; all seem to point to a piratical origin, but are in constant use in the fraternity.

The Ko-lao-hui was originally divided into eight lodges, each known by a distinctive character, as follows: (1) *jên* (仁), "benevolence"; (2) *i* (義), "rectitude"; (3) *li* (禮), "propriety"; (4) *chih* (智), "wisdom"; (5) *hsin* (信), "sincerity"; (6) *san-yüan* (三元), "the Taoist trinity"; (7) *ssŭ-hsi* (四喜) "four joys"; (8) *wu-fu* (五福), "five happinesses."

All recognize the Benevolent Lodge as being not only the senior, but also the aristocratic part of the brotherhood. Its members are called (清水胞哥) "clear-water womb-brothers"; their conduct is more enlightened and their customs more rigid than in the other lodges. This Benevolent Lodge is now amalgamated with the Western Lodge of ancient Han Liu, and I believe their character-marks are interchangeable.

In the second, or Rectitude Lodge, are massed the turbid-water (渾水) womb-brothers, probably the real Han Liu members; all the lawless elements in the district adjoining Chêngtu are mustered under this Rectitude mark.

In these districts, strange to say, a few belong to the Benevolent Lodge, the majority to the Rectitude Lodge, and the other lodges are mere empty names. In districts on the Yangtze, however, it is not so; there, some of the other lodges are fully occupied and organized; the Ko-lao-hui element seems the stronger there, while in the Chengtu districts the Han Liu element predominates.

Those in the Rectitude Lodge call the brethren of the Benevolent Lodge by the term "uncle." It is sometimes easy to mistake the sworn adoptive relationships for those of blood.

Each lodge has twelve grades of membership, *pai* (排) or *tai* (代).

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The first consists of the presiding elder (坐堂大爺), *tso t'ang ta yeh*, and the vice president, *t'i tiao* (提調) *ta yeh*. The former position is a very important one, since all believe that the success of their meetings rests on the virtues of their president. 575

The second grade is called *Wu shêng* (武聖). Few dare assume the responsibilities of this grade, for their lot in life will then be poor and mouldy and their luck mean and miserable. Some Buddhist or Taoist priests are generally found to shoulder the responsibilities.

The third grade is known as *Hsüan Hou* (桓侯) *san yeh*, Hsüan Hou being Chang Fei (張飛), of the "Peach Orchard" trio.

The fourth grade stands with no representative, in fact no one would be allowed to take a position under the grade even if willing. The cause is superstition; *ssü* (四), "four," is akin in sound to *shih* (事), "trouble," and is the same except in tone as *ssü* (死), "death."

The fifth grade is called *Kuan shih* (管事) *wu yeh*. This is a very important position, occupied by two men at each "anchorage," known as the red flag and the black flag managers (紅旗), and (黑旗), *Hung ch'i* and *hei ch'i Kuan shih*. Most power is in the hands of the former, while most of the drudgery falls to the latter, who is generally a man of inferior ability or one who has been degraded to that position for some misdemeanour. Sometimes, however, a rich man with plenty of money to lose and no brains for managing business may be made black flag leader. From the sixth grade downwards the grades are simply known by numbers. But number seven is another grade without a representative, its positions being mere empty names. This is owing to the character for "seven" being akin in sound to the character "to slice."

The eighth grade is called *lao pa* (老八), or *jao pa* (么八), and the last grade is called *lao jao* or *hsiao lao jao*.

Any one may buy his way to the top of the Society, *i pu têng t'ien* (一步登天), "rising to heaven at one step." Such a one enters the Benevolent Lodge as a senior brother, and is

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575 called *hsien p'ai* (閒排) *ta yeh* or "leisure-grade brother." Another term for such is *mao ting* (帽頂), or "cap top."

The entrance fee for one and all is 1,280 cash. A candidate, *hsin fu* (新福), must find some one to introduce him and also a guarantor for his good faith. All recruits first enter the grade *lao jao*, but those with ability soon get promoted. On entrance the introducer and guarantor must have presents, and all along the line superiors must be honoured and humoured with gifts. The rank and file of the Rectitude Lodge on meeting the elders of the Benevolent Lodge have to show respect by a three-fold kotow. This is called "one shot with three reports" (一砲三響), *i p'ao san hsiang*. If the knocks of the head on the ground are not distinctly heard it is considered a lack of reverence.

Meetings are generally held in out-of-the-way villages or in some large secluded temple. They are called *k'ai t'ang* (開堂), "to open the hall"; *shao hui* (燒會), "meeting to burn (incense?)"; *tso fang shou* (做方手), which probably means the "crossing of the hands to the four points of the compass"; *tso hsien shih* (做賢事), "practising the acts of the worthies."

These gatherings are generally held at the time of some festival such as the Single Sword Festival (單刀會), the 13th of the 5th moon; the Ch'ing Ming (清明) Festival, about April 5; the Yü Lan (盂蘭), Festival in the 7th moon; and at the New Year. In this way Society business may be done in better security and the officials are deceived. Expenses are met by contributions and entrance fees from novices, by fines for misdemeanours, etc. An elder brother of the Benevolent Lodge is generally invited to preside or "sit on the dragon's head" (坐龍頭), *tso lung t'ou*. He is treated with great respect and formality.

On a dais in the centre of the meeting place is a tablet to Kuan Yü, which is worshipped by all. Before the tablet swords are hung from the roof, and it is supposed that the fear of a sword falling on them will prevent people from worshipping with wrong motives.

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Younger members are detached to guard the entrances; they scrutinize every comer so as to guard against attack or surprise by the officials. 575

The red and the black flag leaders make orations, which are mere gibberish to the uninitiated; the list of members' names is presented on the dais and worshipped; the president reads aloud the rules of the Society; the novices are introduced by their guarantors to the *Kuan shih* of the 5th grade and he announces their nomination and reception into the lodge.

The following oath is then read: 我們今夜晚結拜一不當頭子二不當眼睛如有當頭子當眼睛照香而死照雞而亡. The meaning is roughly this: "We are met here in conclave to-night; if there should be any false ones come to spy may they die as this incense and perish as this fowl." The incense is then ignited and chopped in two; the chicken's head is chopped off, the blood drained into a bowl o[illegible]e, and all the company drink it.

The new members must then worship the tablet beneath the suspended blades, repeat the above oath and drink of the wine. Matters of discipline are attended to; some members are degraded and some expelled. Where time for repentance is allowed, the offender has to kneel before the tablet and apply a dagger to his thigh till the blood flows freely. This is called *p'u chiao-tao* (撲尖刀), "falling on the knife." The culprit may choose another way of showing penitence—by putting nails on the ground, points upward, and rolling on them naked till his body is bloody. This is called *Kun ting pan*, (滾釘板), "rolling on the nailed board."

The wretch to whom the tribunal refuses space for repentance is at once led out to some grove or other secluded spot and despatched with the sword; the body is thrown into the river or left to be devoured by dogs.

Those who have done meritorious service to the whole Society or for the senior brethren are raised in rank and honoured by the assembly.

The president then announces that the particular meeting will be known as such and such a hill or water or hall; this enables new members to refer to their initiation without

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575 divulging the place of meeting. The novices who first enter the Society and have their positions defined later are said "to first ascend the hill and then plant the willow." The reverse is said of those who before entering state what position they will hold; and it is these who provide the midnight feast for the assembly.

A member absenting himself from the meetings is punished by being reduced in rank for the second offence, and excluded from the Society for the third. This means he will no longer have the Society's protection; and though while law and order are maintained he may be safe, when there are disturbances he will most likely pay for broken vows with his life.

Each district has an "anchorage" (碼頭), *ma t'ou*, also known as *kung-k'ou* or *t'ang-k'ou* since the use of *kung-t'ang* (公堂) has been forbidden by law. Each anchorage has a resident elder living in the hall. These halls are often in the houses of the elder brother himself. He keeps a register of affiliated halls and of his own sworn brethren; he entertains guests from a distance and advises or helps brethren who appeal to him for protection or money. Members from other districts should notify their arrival; otherwise if they get into any trouble they will get no help till they have owned their fault. The elder brother of a hall has tremendous power; his orders (上頭), *shang-fu*, ought to be obeyed without questioning by every loyal Han Liu.

Certain classes, such as barbers, chairbearers, etc., are not allowed to enter the Society. Persons who try to pass themselves off as *chiang-hu* or pretend to higher rank than they really hold are punished by a special tribunal.

The book of rules of the Society is called *hai-ti-shu*, "book of the sea-bottom"; its chief tenets are filial piety, rectitude, benevolence and reverence.

The use of passwords is common. Without knowing the password an entrance might possibly be got into a secret meeting; but I am told it would be practically impossible for the offender to get out alive.

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Within the Rectitude Lodge there are cliques whose influence is wholly evil; these are called *hui-fei*, "Society rascals."

Women play a large part in the Society; leading women being called *nü-kuang-kun* (女光棍) or "female polished sticks." Youths have a juvenile society organized on the model of the adult Society and known as the *pang* (棒) *pang hui* or Cudgel Society. They exchange cards, make vows, conduct fights and organize petty persecutions of those whom they dislike.

Each anchorage has a *ying-p'in-hui* (迎賓) with a fund for the entertainment of visitors.

The salutations of the Society are very complex. The general term for them is *tiu-ch'ien-tzŭ* (丟簽子), or "casting the tally." Salutations to the chief, second, third, and fifth grades are by placing the hand on the shoulder, elbow, forearm or wrist. Between equals the salutation called "right and left twist (左右歪子), *tso-yu-wai-tzŭ*, is used. Thus the status of members can be recognized at once without enquiry.

A country robber is known as *pang-k'e*, "cudgel guest," and the keeper of a robber's den is called (窩戶) *wo-hu*. Such a keeper has great influence, and may be the helmsman of an anchorage. He receives a large share of the booty. Stolen goods are hidden for a time, then taken into the capital and pawned for a term of years. Later they are dyed and altered and sold to second-hand dealers. The helmsman is nearly always acquainted with the reasons for murders, arsons and robberies in his locality and with the means used.

I have learned on good authority that many people go from home ostensibly on business, but really for dishonourable purposes, for work they can do at a distance with a good conscience, though they would not degrade themselves by doing it near home. If they should happen to relieve of his goods some notable in the Society, the property will soon be restored if he applies in the proper quarter at once, before it is sold or pawned.

It must not be supposed that only the poor and illiterate compose the Han Liu Sodality: many sons of the country

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575 gentry join through love of money and adventure. Thus robberies are not made by the poor and half-starved so much 575 as by the strong and able-bodied who are in comfortable 577 circumstances. In fact, but for the connivance and help of the rich it would be impossible for the rogues to carry on their depredations. People say that when a robber gang is equipped for action and makes its appearance at dead of night it is a terrifying sight. Torches are fixed in their caps or hats, their faces are painted with hideous colors, they are armed with battering rams, swords, clubs, crowbars, and latterly with rifles and Mauser pistols. Their attack is sudden and determined, but at the slightest alarm they retire, carrying with them what silver and valuables they have been able to secure. Prior to the raid some servant has been bribed to reveal where the silver is kept.

If any of the gang should be caught, there is danger that secrets may be let out; but some of the descendants of Lan Ta-shun's bands will defy torture and scorn death. No officials can get their secrets either by torture or cajolery; and no severities used on them seem to have any moral effect on the rest of the gang; indeed it sometimes seems as though the more are killed the more the membership grows.

575 The chief Han Liu ideal is liberty, which means to them anarchy, selfishness and depravity, and it may be said that the Society is always "agin the government." They are under a kind of military rule, make their own laws and reserve all rights of interpreting and administering them.

There is, however, a growing tendency to social equality and the senior brother does not enjoy the same blind obedience as formerly. Among certain classes his word is no longer law. The tendency is to follow a popular man apart from his social standing; but such a man soon finds himself in a difficult and dangerous position.

In such an organization there must be jealousy and strife. Even in peaceful times deep enmity may exist on personal grounds, between two anchorages in the same street. These factions have been compared to two tigers in the same forest,—fighting must ensue. Suspicion and envy develop

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into hatred and murder. Officials take advantage and use one faction against another; then secrets are divulged, mutual recriminations follow, and hatred is engendered which may last for generations, one victim after another on both sides being murdered in revenge. A son's duty to avenge a parent's wrong cannot be shirked. 575

Such conditions produce in members a cruel and relentless disposition, and foster a suspicious and revengeful nature.

As already mentioned, the place held by women in this secret society is not a small one. Many are sworn members, and the mothers and wives are often able assistants of male members. They spy out the land, hide the booty and screen the guilty. It is a rare thing for a woman to be put to death for implication in robbery; and it must be remembered that the mother of adventurous sons will also rear daughters of a similar character, who in turn become the mothers of a new generation of desperate adventurers; and thus a constant succession is assured in spite of official reprisals on the males. Here lies a social problem of immense importance, which might well tax the heart and brain of some great statesman. If brute force could cure the moral and social ills of this people it would by this time have had some effect; but torture and capital punishment have proved futile, and nothing short of a moral and spiritual regeneration will change the Han Liu adventurer into a law-abiding citizen. 575 562

This regeneration seems especially necessary for the female population, for the saying, "She who rocks the cradle rules the world" is true in Western China—she who carries the baby rules the land. So long as we have a race of women vicious enough to murder their own offspring in large numbers, to bind their daughters' feet, to abet the men in every crime, so long we shall have a race of brigands and buccaneers to terrify the country at every opportunity.

The hypnotic sects work secretly with the wiliness of serpents till they gain a secure hold; the naturalistic sects are full of bluster and pantomime, yet their propaganda is secret and swift. When either of these elements gains the upper hand the whole district is made to quake. Their methods of black- 575

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575 mail are inimitably ingenious ; their revenge on traitors, swift and unswerving. Their cruelties to enemies are indescribable. When their passions are roused their victim will be hacked to pieces, each person cutting off just as much as he desires of the common enemy's flesh. The more daring and cunning he has been the more is his liver and gall wished for, since it is believed that by eating these one's own valour and cunning will be increased.

Before the Revolution of 1911 and the organization of the Railway League, the Society men always had to be reckoned with; but since that date their influence has been supreme, and no one dare give offence to them, however much grieved or injured. If a Society rascal is arrested neighbors dare not refuse to bail him out, and whole families may be ruined for the divulging of a secret. The best policy for all is to humour the members and avoid any action that would rouse their wrath.

The Railway League (同志會), *t'ung chih hui;* etc. The Han Liu, true to its ancient traditions, is still the enemy of all reform, and is ever ready for any pretext of making trouble. The proposal to introduce railways into the province caused the formation of the so-called Railway League, in Chinese, "The Society of united purpose for protection of the way." It was really an amalgamation of the Confucian Society with the Han Liu for the purpose of opposing a railway system financed by foreign capital. The new name should not mislead the student; it was simply a revival of the revolutionary brotherhood reinforced by the addition of the weaker Confucian Society. The League leaders were the Han Liu leading elder brothers, and the organization was the anchorage system of the Han Liu.

A rebellion broke out first in Kwan hsien and the other districts already specified as full of brigand stock. The lawless wretches carried devastation and anarchy wherever they marched. They got more than they expected or wanted, but at the downfall of the Manchus they immediately set up the Han Republic (大漢), Ta Han. With the new government

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many of these outlaws got wealth and were decorated with medals for services rendered to the country, were much honoured by the Republican party, and became honoured officials of the new government. At that period the people had no one to appeal to for redress, since a magistrate was less powerful than a robber; as the Chinese said, "Robbery was done according to law." The poor fled their homes and suffered terribly, and the rich were blackmailed and bullied without mercy. Only those who passed through that crisis know how paralyzing was the grip of the Han Liu octopus. 575

Later on such taunts were thrown at the Ssüch'uan Republican party that they determined to reform and started a new Society called the Hsi hua Kung hui (西華公會). The purpose was to dissolve the Railway League and then to eradicate the lawless elements of the Shê hui (社會) or Republican party, raising the rest to a higher standard of citizenship. A system of badges was instituted by which the senior brethren in each county might be recognized, and each clan head was made responsible for all of his name in his district.

Once more the Han Liu Society was faithful to itself, refused to acknowledge the new Society and declined to be reformed. The difficulty thus created was only relieved by an official order to dissolve all Secret Societies, making all alike illegal. The new Society melted its silver badges, but it seems impossible to hope for the extermination of the Han Liu, which, in spite of all adversity, has thriven for so many centuries. There have been later attempts at reform but they seem futile. The Society has entered into ninety per cent. of the homes, permeated all society, controlled well-nigh every institution in Western Shu and probably in a much wider area.

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BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

PUNISHMENTS (刑法), *hsing fa*

I. *Punishments not involving death* (活刑), *huo hsing.*

681 *Ch'ih* (笞), to beat with the small bamboo rod. This rod is about three feet long, and one inch wide, and is applied to the thighs over a space of about six inches. A few thousands of strokes may be given till the thigh bone is made bare. This punishment is inflicted mostly upon the thief. Scholars or dignitaries are exempt from this humiliation. A permanent scar is made which officials make a point of examining when investigating a case. The runners are sometimes bribed by friends to lay on lightly, or reduce the number of blows, or beat the ground. This is a parental form of correction and the prisoner has to thank the magistrate for inflicting it. Tartars, as the conquering race, were exempt from this punishment.

The heavy bamboo, *chang* (杖), about 4 feet long and about 4 inches wide, sometimes made of wood and at other times of bamboo. The punishment meted out varies from 80 to 200 blows. This chastisement is generally to the disobedient and unfilial. The prisoner is bound and held down while being beaten. Another kind of beating is called *t'ou hsing* (頭刑) or *mao pan* (茅板). The instrument used is a large bamboo split in two halves and not polished in the least ; a pile of bricks is made, over which the prisoner is bent and this instrument of correction applied to the buttocks. A few tens of blows may be sufficient to cause death. *Li pi chang hsia* (立斃杖下) means to die under the bamboo.

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There are three kinds of banishment: one is *liu* (流), transportation for a few hundreds of miles; this punishment is frequently inflicted on persons guilty of adultery, manslaughter, or incendiarism. *T'u* (徒) or *liu t'u* (流徒), is also transportation; but the punishment is often to be confined by night and free by day; this is called *tso t'u* (坐徒). The individual thus punished is neither reckoned worthy of death nor of life; a useless wastrel.

Ch'ung chün (充軍) is banishment beyond the Great Wall, or to the frontier military posts without any hope of a return. This is a heavy military punishment and mostly imposed upon officials and soldiers.

Penal servitude (監禁), *chien chin*, may be for three, eight or for twenty years, or for life. The life sentence is called *lao fan* (牢犯) or *lao chien*, and also *yung yüan* (永遠) *chien chin*. Prisoners on entering jail have their heads shaved, the hair afterwards being left to grow long. No barber is allowed in jail except at New Year times when some favored few may have their beards shaved. The only knife allowed in jail is a piece of broken crockery.

Criminals just taken into custody and awaiting trial, whose offences are slight, and who await the payment of fines or a surety to bail them out, are confined in a guardhouse, *ch'ia chin* (卡禁). A place of confinement better than the guardhouse, into which gentry and scholars are put while waiting for judgment or bail, is called in some cities *tai-chih so* (待質所); in others, *tzŭ-hsin so* (自新所), a penitentiary.

One of the most painful of beatings is termed *t'iao-tzŭ* (條子) or *niu chin* (牛筋), ox sinew stripes. It is inflicted mostly for indecent behaviour. Women are stripped of their upper garments and beaten across the shoulders and back, while men are stripped and suspended by the arms and beaten.

Sometimes a man is kept in custody in the inn, *ya pao tien* (押保店) till the matter is settled. The prisoner in this case has to feed the yamen underlings and give them sufficient opium; if he does not bribe them his chains will not be taken off at night.

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A form of punishment meted out to scholars and gentry is beating on the hands with a piece of polished board, such as is used in schools.

To beat on the cheek with a thong of leather fixed to a wooden handle is called *ta tsui pa* (打嘴巴). The instrument is shaped something like the sole of a Chinese shoe. By this punishment the teeth are not infrequently knocked out and the face swells to a great size.

The punishment called *yang pan* (仰板), to beat on the front of the thigh, is reserved for priests, nuns and loose women, and is administered in the public courtyard.

Cages in which prisoners are kept, *lung chin* (籠禁), are of several kinds. *Chan lung* (站籠) is a standing cage, the height of a man. The top is composed of two boards fitting exactly together, in the centre of which a round hole is cut, the size of a man's neck. The prisoner is put in, and this cover put on and nailed down. The prisoner can just manage to put his hand round and convey some food to his mouth. If he bribes the yamen runners he may get release at night, if not he may be left to stand all the night through.

The *tso* (坐) *lung* or *ai* (矮) *lung* is a kind of cage in which the prisoner may sit on a cross bar or put his legs through the bottom or walk slowly; the neck part is the same as the former.

The cat cage, *mao* (貓) *lung* is too low for the prisoner either to straighten his back or stretch his limbs. A month or two in this and he is turned into a deformed, useless creature. If food is stopped, as is frequently the case, the man dies very quickly. *Chia chin* (枷禁), the cangue, is a heavy wooden frame which divides in the centre into two halves, where a round hole is made to fit the neck. It is carried as a collar by the criminal. If food is allowed it is very difficult to convey it to the mouth. When food is forbidden the prisoner cannot survive more than a few days. The weight of the cangue varies from 20 to 100 catties.

There is also a double cangue for two people. This punishment is for brothers who quarrel, or in cases of adultery.

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These criminals are exposed to the public gaze with their offence written on the pillory. 681

There is even a three-hole cangue into which three people are fixed. This is generally inflicted on gamblers and the smart-fingered gentry.

The boy's cangue is used for boys addicted to gambling or who have entered the boys' secret society known as the 棒棒會.

The *chüeh p'ên* (脚盆) *chia* or *pan t'ou* (蟠頭) *chia*, foot tub or dish cangue, is light, and can easily be carried about the streets. Such is sometimes put on the tax gatherer when he fails to collect the taxes; and he carries it from market to market.

A chain is fastened to a heavy stone and the criminal is chained all day and released at night to sleep in the guard-house. This is *t'ieh lien shih têng* (鐵鍊石磴).

The hand cangue, *shou chia* (手枷), confines the hands as well as the head; the foot cangue, *chüeh* (脚) *chia*, is a wooden block round the two ankles; the wearer can move about slowly. The *yüan yang* (鴛鴦) *chia* confines one foot and one hand of each of two persons. The *yüan* and the *yang* are the mandarin drake and duck which never leave their mates.

Cutting off the ears, *hsüeh êrh to* (削耳朵), was a punishment in use up to the present year.

Branding on the forehead, *mei hsing* (墨刑), or *tz'ŭ tzŭ* (刺字), is an ancient punishment and was still in use until the revolution. A needle is used to prick the characters on the skin, then indigo is rubbed into the wound, and when healed the blue characters are seen. The punishment is generally inflicted on pickpockets and swindlers.

Ko chüeh chin (割脚筋), to cut the tendons at the back of the foot is also a very ancient punishment and is still practised. It is generally inflicted upon robbers only, as the man is lamed for life.

Another punishment is to carry an iron bar of from 30 to 40 catties in weight, *pei t'ieh kan* (背鐵杆). An iron ring is welded round the neck and the bar is attached to this with

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a chain. If the criminal bribes the blacksmith and runners he may get released from it at night. The man who has suffered this penalty often, bears the nick-name of *t'ieh kau* for life.

Other punishments are *ch'a erh chien* (插耳箭), to double the ears and put a bamboo needle through the cartilage; *ts'o ching* (剉脛), breaking the ankle bone, and the *t'ieh ch'ien* (鐵鉗), or iron tongs. This is an iron frame-work into which the hands and feet are fastened, and the whole is suspended from the neck; the part at the back of the neck being sharp, immediately the hands let go, or the feet move, it cuts the flesh. This is a punishment for the gambler.

II. *Fei hsing* (匪刑), or *k'o hsing* (酷刑), illegal punishments.

Ta chia kuan (打加官), putting on the mask, that is, to suffocate the criminal by putting several layers of paper soaked in lime water over the face. This is done by yamen runners at the wink of the official owing to the case being one of danger to himself and to the district.

Chêng cha pao (蒸鮓包). The unfortunate is put into a cage or pit, and covered up with quick-lime, water is then poured in and the man is roasted or boiled alive. In some cases fire crackers are wound round the body and set alight.

To light the candle; the criminal is chained to a heavy frame, his body is then wound with cotton wool, which is soaked with oil and lighted at the crown of the head.

III. *Death penalty.* (死刑) *Ssŭ hsing.*

Tiao kao lung (吊高籠), is to hang up in a cage by the neck. The cage has no bottom and stands about ten feet high. The neck is encircled by the top cover of the cage, the head being outside. Death comes very soon, and it is reckoned a light penalty because the body is not mutilated. Any district magistrate may use this method of execution and also *Yung k'ou chia* (擁口枷), or the clasp-throat cangue. This is a heavy oak pillory and is over 100 catties in weight.

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The neck is clasped tight and the frame is so large that food cannot be conveyed to the mouth; the criminal soon collapses and, with the fall, the neck is generally broken.

Death by strangling is called *chiao hsing* (絞刑). Three posts are fixed into the ground. To the centre one the criminal is tied, a rope with a running noose is put round his neck, and then one man pulls at each end of the rope, two strong pulls; the rope is then fastened to the side posts; then the doomed man gets a heavy kick in the abdomen and the breath is driven from his body by the rectum. This is most frequently administered to soldiers for breach of military laws.

To cut off the head of a person worthy of death after death has come from other causes, or to cut the corpse limb from limb, is called, *chua shih* (抓屍).

In the punishment called *ch'êng kan ch'êng jen* (秤桿秤人), to weigh a man on the scales, huge iron clamps are driven into the ribs on both sides of the backbone and a rope is attached. The unfortunate man is then raised over a cross beam to the height of about 8 or 10 feet from the ground, where he hangs suspended face downwards, and may live for two or three days.

The family of a rebel, whether official or civilian, is exterminated and his goods are confiscated. This is called *wa kên tuan miao* (挖根斷苗), or *chu tsu* (誅族).

Another punishment is to nail the living door god, *ting huo mên-shên* (釘活門神), that is, crucifixion. The criminal's hands and feet are nailed to a door or cross. The nails are made red-hot and driven through the palms of the hands and the front of the foot. Hot nails are used to staunch the bleeding. A hole is made through the back of the cross through which the queue is put to keep up the head. Sometimes the head is held up by nailing the skin on either side of the neck. The wretch may live two or three days unless he can bribe the yamen runners, through his friends, to give him a dose of opium. He is raised so high that a large crowd of people can stare at him. This punishment can be inflicted without reference to a superior officer, as it does not mutilate the bo

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681 *Ling ch'ih sui kuā* (凌遲碎剮), to hack in pieces. This punishment was, prior to the Revolution, inflicted on both men and women, usually for the murder of a parent or a husband. The criminal was tied to a stake at the crossing of two streets or on the execution ground; first the skin of the brow was cut and pulled over the eyes; then the nose, lips, ears, hands, arms, were taken from the body, then the sword pierced through the heart and the body was hewn in pieces. Formerly the flesh was roasted and the fat used to light the four gates of the city, the flesh and the bones cremated and the ashes scattered to the four winds. This punishment required the sanction of a senior officer, as it mutilated the body.

Beheading, *ta p'i* (大辟), is the utmost penalty of the law and the one most dreaded by the Chinese, who all shrink from the idea of becoming a headless ghost. To such an extent is this feared that a head is often sewn on immediately after execution unless it has to be exposed in the person's native village, *hsiao shou* (梟首). The executioner is sometimes bribed to leave a part of the neck unsevered. All such punishments must be sanctioned by the superior officers before they can be carried out. Therefore the whole case has to go through a great many different phases before the execution can take place. Such are as follows:

681 696 *K'ao wên* (考問), to investigate the case and obtain the person's own confession of guilt. Unfortunately this is very often got by torture. After the magistrate has obtained what he thinks sufficient evidence he must notify his superior officer, *hsiang ping* (詳稟), by an official dispatch, giving all details, after which the superior officer sends a deputy to investigate the confession, *ch'ing k'ou kung* (清口供). Much depends upon this man; if not well treated by the district magistrate he might get him into trouble by reporting unfavorably of his judgment. After the criminal has acknowledged his guilt (落供), *lo kung*, he has to dip his thumb in ink and make an impression on the official document.

The criminals hold a feast, *fên li chiu* (分離酒), just before midwinter, which is the general time for executions as

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at this season the death principle reigns throughout nature. This is a farewell feast to those about to die.

Shang chüeh liao shou chou (上鐐鎖手肘) is to put in fetters, hands and feet. As soon as the deputy has confirmed the district magistrate's sentence of death the criminal is chained, hands and feet.

The warrant of death is an official dispatch through which a nail is driven and bent, *ting feng* (釘封), and sealed. There is also a black tablet sent along with the warrant, which is carried into the gaol when the prisoners are taken out. This is called the *hei p'ai* (黑牌). Whenever the warrant arrives the yamen runners make a raid on the rope-makers for ropes to bind the prisoners, paying nothing; for days before an execution the rope-dealers display few, if any ropes, for fear they will be seized.

When the warrant arrives the official orders wine and food to be set before the doomed man. Sometimes abundance of wine and pork is supplied, at others, only a limited amount. Some drink themselves quite drunk and others only reach the tipsy stage.

Then the hands are bound behind the back and ropes put on the neck, and the tallies are stuck in the band of the criminal's lower garment at the back. These tallies are strips of bamboo a few feet in length and a few inches wide, on which are written the doomed man's name and crime. The characters are written with ink which has been mixed with tea. No teacher likes to use tea in mixing his ink as it is reckoned unlucky.

The fetters are knocked from the hands and feet. This is done by a blacksmith in the roughest way.

The assistant executioner, *t'i shou* (替手), holds the sword in front of the doomed man's face while the real executioner stands at the back to do his work.

The *kuei tzŭ shou* (劊子手), or executioner, belongs to the military yamen. His pay used to be 800 cash per head.

It is the duty of the military official, whose men do the work of execution, to witness it, *chien chan* (監斬).

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681 696 The district magistrate goes to the temple, burns incense and makes a declaration to the city god that he has not had these men beheaded for any personal spite or selfish ends, but simply because of their own evil deeds. Returning to his yamen, a heap of straw with crackers is set fire to at the entrance, through which he is carried at a furious pace, *kuo huo yen shan* (過火焰山) (passing the flame-hill), for fear any of the disembodied spirits of the men should have followed him. Many of these men vow before death that after death their chief work will be to kill the official. Hence these past months, during the rebellion, it was said that the soldiers of Hades were moving to help them, *yin ping tung liao* (陰兵動了). The people burned straw sandals by the thousand as an offering to these spirits.

After the executions are over the yamen runners arm themselves with clubs and go round and round the yamen, *p'an ya* (盤衙), and enter the official's private quarters, flourishing these clubs to drive away the evil spirits. They make their obeisance to the official, who in turn gives them a present.

Those remaining in gaol after the midwinter executions, as most probably they may live another year, have a feast together, *t'uan yüan chiu* (團圓酒).

If only one person should be left in the government prison, he may be strangled in prison, *chien hou chiao* (監候絞).

IV. *Torture, K'ao ta hsing* (拷打刑).

695 The following are a few of the methods used to extort confession, etc.:

Kuei t'ai ho (跪抬盒), to kneel in the carrying box. This instrument of torture takes its name from the box frame in which presents are carried from one place to another with one pole between two men. The prisoner is made to kneel in this box, sometimes on ashes, sometimes on broken glass or iron chains. A heavy weight is then placed upon the legs, pressing the knees down into the ashes. The hands are passed through the holes on either side and wedged in

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tightly. A string is then attached to one finger of each hand and pulled tightly outward. The back is covered with incense, which is lighted. This burning incense is often fanned till sometimes the fat drops on the ground. I have known the ribs and backbone to be exposed as the result of this burning. Sometimes long cuts in the flesh are made in the shape of a Chinese waistcoat, these are filled with incense and set fire to; this is called *ch'uan ling chia* (穿領架). The prisoner may stay for hours in this position while the magistrate does other business. When he has promised to confess, he is let down, but if his confessions are not enough he may be put in a second time. Many die as the result of this cruel treatment.

"The monkey moving the log." A high bench is placed in court. The criminal is stretched on it and his thumbs and toes tied to the bench; he is then swung underneath the bench, suspended by his thumbs and toes and a heavy weight is attached to the body. A candle is lit, the flame of which just touches the buttocks—*i o la* (坐蠟), or sitting on the candle.

Tso lan pan têng (坐懶板凳), to sit on the lazy stool. The criminal is made to sit on a stool with his back against a pillar. The legs are tied tightly at the knees and ankles and weights are attached; the hands are tied behind the back and to the pillar; a strong string or oftener a chain is tied round the head tightened with wedges—the *hua ku ku mao* (花箍箍帽), the flowery hat.

Tsan chih (拶指). Needles are stuck in, five under each nail, beginning with the second finger, then the forefinger and finally the other fingers. Both hands are done and this sometimes when the poor creature is kneeling in the *t'ai ho* as described above.

P'ao lo (炮烙) is to brand with hot irons or to place red-hot coins direct on the body.

Tien chih la (點指蠟), to roll the fingers in oil paper and set them on fire. This is what is called burning finger-candles.

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695 To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

627 697 *Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing* (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (團倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen*. On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they all returned within three days; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan*.

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shêng* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

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Again, all the lice, bugs, fleas, and other vermin that can be caught are let loose on his person and every other kind of filth which can be collected is all thrown on him. The unfortunate prisoner is bound with his nose over the manure bucket for a whole night. 627 697

A hollow bamboo or old sleeve of a garment is filled with filth from the manure pit, the novice is laid on his back and bound, while the other prisoners occupy themselves with blowing this on to the eyes, nostrils, and mouth of the helpless wretch, *ch'ui wu tu wu* (吹唔嘟唔). In the morning he is bound in the outer court of the prison and the filth of the prison cells poured over him.

Again, his hands and feet are tied to a pillar and the hair fastened to a cross beam in the roof; in this position he has to stand the whole night. This is *ying ko chia* (鸚鵡架), the parrot's perch.

He is stripped naked and hung up by a rope under the arms with the tips of the toes just touching the ground; he is then whipped by the company and his body swings from side to side like the wind bending the willow, *ta fêng pai liu* (打風擺柳). Or he is stripped and suspended by a rope round the waist, about three feet from the ground, and beaten; the body thus suspended resembles and is called a duck swimming in water, *tang hu ch'uan* (蕩湖船), to rock the lake boat. The novice is suspended from the roof by the four limbs in a small cell; he is then rocked from one side of the cell to the other, when different parts of the body get driven against the walls.

He is bound hand and foot and blindfolded, a red-hot goblet is then placed on the head; this is called wearing the iron hat.

He is put in a butt of dirty water with his hands and feet tied, with his nose and mouth above water. This is called soaking the water-gourd, *p'ao shui hu-lu* (泡水葫蘆).

To tie up the novice at the door for the night and forbid sleep or rest is called sticking up scrolls, *t'ieh tui-tzŭ* (貼對子), and to be hung up by the hair for the night with hands and

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feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên* (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate,

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

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A new appointment is announced in the Provincial Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *li hsü chih* (禮須知). If the money is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is also a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

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On a lucky day at a lucky hour the seals are handed over in the yamen inner court in the presence of the official underlings and public men. After this the yamen runners march round the outer court, jumping as they go, and then go in and *k'o t'ou* to the new official. This is to welcome him and to acknowledge his authority.

He sends cards to the important men and offices in the city, after which people call to pay their respects.

Then the roll of underlings is called, including the writers, yamen runners and country headmen. This is afterwards done monthly.

The grain in the government granaries has to be measured, *yüeh ts'ang* (閱倉), before the former official leaves; but sometimes an estimate is made and a sum of money paid over to cover deficiency.

The retiring magistrate must receive an acknowledgment that all has been duly handed over. Unless he produces this to his superior officer in the capital he will not get a new post.

The new man puts out a proclamation, *kuan fang* (關防), telling the public he has brought no relatives or friends with him and that they are not to be deceived by any professing to be such.

The former official is escorted out of the city, and the guilds and shopkeepers cover his sedan chair with red silk or cloth. If he has been popular a big umbrella, embellished with many people's names, may be given to him; tables are set out in the street with wine and sweets.

An examination is held for candidates for the attorneys' or copyists' places, *k'ao tai shu* (考代書). Successful candidates, about eight in each district, have to pay thirty taels before receiving their seals. They may have associates who pay part of the money and use the same seals. All lawsuits pass through these men's hands. An indictment is not received unless written on the official paper and stamped by the official attorney.

On certain fixed days, usually the 3rd and 8th of each moon, the large doors of the yamen are thrown open and the

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647 693 indictments by poor people are received without fees, *fang kao* (放告). Such are not received on other days unless on the 1st and 15th as the magistrate returns from worshipping at the temple.

A table hung in the yamen gives a list of cases and dates of trial.

There are three courts in a yamen. The outer, *ta t'ang* (大堂), is the imperial court; the second, or *erh t'ang*, is the district court and the inner, *hua t'ing* (花廳), is the magistrate's private court. Both when he takes his seat in the imperial court and when he adjourns the court, three guns are fired.

When a "coroners' inquest" is held a pavilion is put up for the magistrate and his retinue; his nose is filled with assafœtida, *o wei* (阿魏), and underlings carry incense. If the body is fresh the *wu tso* (仵作) simply calls out to the recorder the wounds, etc., on the body. In an important case, the magistrate himself examines what is said to be the fatal wound, *chih ming shang* (致命傷). If the body is decayed it is boiled in big pots, the bones are rubbed clean with cotton wool and the wounds show up on them! For such a case the *wu tso* has to call in experienced assistants. Some seventy or eighty different kinds of knives or instruments are brought into use; the bones of the body are counted and expected to number 360; the water-carriers are put on oath, since salt mixed with the water obliterates bruises on the bones.

If murder is suspected in a house and no traces can be seen, the room is shut up and thoroughly fumigated with mulberry leaves and the walls and floor are soaked with vinegar; then the blood will show up on the walls and even the position of the body may be clearly seen. This kind of inquest involves the expenditure of some thousands of taels and only the rich can indulge.

On returning from an inquest the magistrate in his chair goes through burning straw at his yamen entrance, to drive off noxious smells and evil spirits.

When there is a conflagration the magistrate must get up any hour of the night to assist. Underlings carry a

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huo kou (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water and dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing. 647 693

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'eng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy. 647 796

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農) (B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned [illegible] roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*) 647 681

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The collection of the land tax, *ti ting* (地丁), or *chêng liang* (正糧), is often managed by a semi-official dealer in taxes. He advances the money when necessary, at a high interest.

The tax is said to be two fen or candareens per *mou*, but it will often be two mace. In times of great distress it is remitted, *yu mien* (憂免), and also where land is silted up or washed away, *yung mien* (永免).

Besides the land tax there are the military expenses tax, *chün hsü* (軍需), and the willing contributions to government, *chüan shu* (捐輸). There is further a *pourboire*, or squeeze called *chin tieh* (津貼), and also *li chin* (厘金), or assessment on certain articles, etc.; thus the pig tax, which rose to 1,500 cash per pig; oil so much per *ts'ao* (槽) (120 catties); inns, so much per bed, etc.

Of late years a tax office, called *chin chüan* (津捐), has been opened in each county. A tax collector's position was reckoned much more lucrative than an ordinary district magistrate's.

Taxes in refined silver are sent to the capital under armed escort, all expenses being deducted.

Travelling expenses must be given to underlings of high officials passing through the district, and when a deputy official goes through he receives Tls. 50 besides travelling expenses.

Fuel and bedding must also be provided out of taxes to passing troops.

The train bands must present themselves, in uniform and with weapons, to answer the roll call.

Some headmen of "parishes" etc., must also appear. These are the *tsung pao* (總保), or head of a district; *t'uan shou* (團首), or head of 1,000 families; *chia chang* (甲長), head of 100 families; *p'ai shou* (牌首), head of 10 families; and *hua hu* (花戶), or head of each family. Only the first three need appear at review.

Each family is registered and is given a door-tablet with name and number in the family written on it; this costs about

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40 cash. The *tsung pao* is nominated by the people and appointed by the magistrate. The *t'uan shou* is elected by the "parish" and the *p'ai shou* by those concerned. Each reports to his superior, the *tsung pao* often having free access to the yamen. The *tsung pao* settles many local troubles and in lawsuits his word goes a long way; but bribery and injustice are very common. 647 651

The title deeds of newly purchased property have to be stamped, *yin ch'i* (印契), at the yamen; and the rate has risen to 2 per cent with 1,000 cash for the *ch'i wei* (契尾), a document sent to be kept in the provincial treasurer's yamen. Formerly an official about to leave office used to reduce the stamp fees, because all the money from this source went into his private purse; but latterly the tax-office has controlled this business.

The office of *lao tien* (老典) is sold for a term of five years. The price varies, of, course, in different places but in some places 3,000 taels are paid down with an annual payment of 1,000 taels: this belongs to the magistrate. In many places the gentry pay the incumbent 300 taels per annum, whether they have lawsuits or not, but if a guarantee against lawsuits is required much more is paid. These bureaus are where litigation is hatched and fostered, mismanaged and traded on, and the purchase money is very quickly recovered. 647

Hereditary pensions are paid to families of men who have done important service to the state, *fa yin hsi* (發廕襲).

The hereditary barons among the tribesmen, *t'u ssŭ* (土司), receive taxes from their people and pay tribute to the court.

There are four spring officials, *ch'un kuan* (春官), one for each city gate, whose duties are to superintend the making of the spring ox and driver, *mang shên* (芒神). On the coming in of spring, these men don Ming dynasty clothes and a high hat called *t'ieh sha mao* (鐵紗帽). They enter the magistrate's office, give congratulations, and receive food and wine, with silver medals for the year, then they leave the city, 647 796

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647 796 the magistrate following. In a selected field an old farmer and his wife await them. The magistrate ploughs his seven furrows, the farmer sows some grain, the wife bears a basket of food for him, and the couple receive a silver medal.

The post of *ch'un kuan* is bought for a fixed sum and may be held for life. It gets an annual payment from the magistrate. (See under *Four Seasons.*)

At the end of the year the official seals are sealed up and are brought into use again at the middle of the first moon. (See under *New Year.*)

647 The literary examinations, *k'ao k'o* (考課), have been much changed lately and much chaos has resulted; hence a few notes on the old system must suffice.

Chi (季)*k'o* examinations were held in the Academy at the four seasons, the subjects being penmanship and composition.

Monthly examinations, *yüeh* (月) *k'o*, were held to select students for the Academy. The Academy head master had great power and could degrade unworthy scholars after examinations, *shih k'o*.

The local gentry also held examinations in the country *hui* (會) *k'o*. Twice in three years an examination, *k'ao shih* (考試), was held to pick out the students fit to proceed to the prefectural examinations. The magistrate had to be shut in with the students in the examination hall, control the examination of the essays and publication of lists of passes.

No public business is done on the anniversaries of the deaths of former emperors, *shou chi ai* (守忌哀).

[796] On the anniversaries of the accession of former emperors, the magistrate wore court dress, worshipped the *wan sui p'ai*, but did not stop work. The birthdays of emperor, of empress, of empress-dowager and heir-apparent were similarly observed. At an emperor's death the magistrate had to sit in straw, *tso ts'ao* (坐草), for a certain period.

At the proper time a tablet is hung in the yamen announcing "No litigation in harvest time," *nung mang t'ing*

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sung (免忙停送). Another informs the public that corporal punishment is lightened on account of hot weather, *k'u jê chien hsing* (酷熱減刑).

Notices are also hung up when the official is busy with examination or has gone out on public business.

When sitting in court the three characters, 清慎勤 "pure, careful, diligent," are hung over the magistrate's head; and over the entrance to the imperial court in the yamen is inscribed 天理國法民情. "Heaven's rectitude, the country's laws, the people's rights."

A common saying is, "The yamen opens like the character 八; if you've right but no money, don't enter." Yet the Chinese are keen litigants and go to court on very slight grounds.

A magistrate must give up office for three years on his father's or mother's death, *ting yu* (丁憂) and *ting chien* (丁艱). Not to notify such death is *ch'i chün* (欺君), to deceive the emperor; to try to re-enter the official service before the three years are ended is *man ch'in* (慢親), cheating kindred.

Followers of the Yamen

There is a clear distinction between those who belong to the yamen and those who follow the official.

The bureau of civil affairs, *li fang* (吏房), attends to salaries and scholars' appointments, and keeps a list of graduates in the district and of those eligible for higher examinations.

It notifies the Imperial court when a scholar has attended all examinations till he is sixty years old; a degree is then given him, and if he goes on till he is eighty, he will receive a yellow riding-jacket and a dragon-headed walking-stick.

The bureau of revenue and population, *hu fang* (戶房), gathers taxes, counts the families and registers headmen. It gets a commission on the sale of property.

The bureau of rites, *li fang* (禮房). All cases of broken contracts, divorces, seduction, kidnapping, etc., come to this office. It also keeps a list of scholars without degrees.

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647 The military bureau, *ping fang* (兵房), attends to enlistment, drilling and feeding of soldiers, the housing of troops on the march, the arming and conduct of militia and the quarrels and lawsuits of the soldiery.

The bureau of works, *kung fang* (工房), looks after the city wall and gates and all public buildings and attends to disputes about boundaries and graveyards.

The granary bureau, *ts'ang fang* (倉房), is responsible for the public granaries, the buying and selling of rice and its distribution in time of famine or siege.

The tea and salt bureau, *yen ch'a fang* (鹽茶房). The trade is a monopoly in each city and the bureau looks after the revenue from this source.

The punishments bureau, *hsing fang* (刑房), attends to litigation about deaths by violence; the *wu tso* (仵作), is officially attached to it.

The litigation registry bureau, *ch'êng fa fang* (承發房), records all the indictments, etc., and is responsible for indictments passing up into the magistrate's hands.

The interpretation bureau, *i ch'ing fang* (夷情房), only exists in frontier districts, where the aboriginal tribes make it necessary.

Yamen Runners.

In Ch'ung ch'ing chou districts there are some 3,000, with 300 *ling pan* (領班), or superiors: there they control the literati. In Kuan hsien the case is reversed, because that district has produced two or three Han-lin scholars, thus raising the status of the literati. Ch'ung ch'ing has only produced *chin shih* (進士). The result is that the yamen runners' oppression is intolerable in one place while it may be mitigated in another.

Warrants may be given to a *ling pan* to call up an accused person, *huan p'iao* (喚票), or to apprehend him, *chü p'iao* (拘票), or for an immediate arrest, *ch'u ch'ien* (出籤), or to summon a man in public service to answer a charge of corruption, *ch'ien ch'uan* (籤傳), or to assemble gentry and public men for consultation, *ch'uan tan* (傳單).

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A tax-gatherer, *liang pan* (糧班), or his sons, may enter the literary examinations, but not the other yamen underlings. 647

The *hu pan* (戶班), or local runner, knows every person in his district and is used in making arrests.

The *p'u pan* (捕班) are the chief jailor's runners, for catching robbers, and the *tsao pan* (皁班), or *hou pan* (吼班), are the "black band" with tall hats, who run shouting before the magistrate's chair, when he goes out on public business.

There are various other bands, messengers, door-keepers, etc., etc.

There is an apprenticeship to this work and often the apprentice suffers for his master's mistakes. If he is beaten, the *ling pan* gives him 400 cash; if he is condemned to the cage he gets 100 per day and 300 cash on release; if he suffers capital punishment, the *ling pan* supports his widow. Many become yamen runners to escape the result of crime, thus eluding the law a little longer. An official can put runners to death and thinks very lightly of doing it.

In some districts there are women thus employed.

Judicial Cases.

A black clothes case, *ch'ing i an* (青衣案), is one where execution is certain as soon as the evidence has been given; generally robbery with violence. 695

A red clothes case, *hung i an* (紅衣案), is a difficult case, perhaps of murder; if the accused is clever he may, after years of imprisonment, gain his liberty. If the knife used in a murder cannot be produced the accused cannot be condemned.

Disputes about estates or marriages are called *chêng an* (正案). Petty quarrels are often pursued in the courts till a family is ruined in seeking justice or revenge.

Cases of rebellion or where human relationships are violated; a wife killing a husband, son killing a father, etc., are seldom dealt with in an open, regular way; they are settled in private, the criminal being done to death by the family clan. 627

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627 If a thief is killed while entering a house the householder is guiltless; but should he be killed after escaping a hundred yards or so, the killer may suffer for it. Sometimes a thief is killed first and the hole to enter the house is made afterwards. Sometimes a corpse is carried on to another man's land to get him into trouble. One who lends a knife for a murder may be convicted of murder.

Presenting petitions or indictments.

647 There are official, appointed copyists who prepare and stamp nearly all documents going to the official.

694 The *hung ping* (紅 稟), red petition, is a statement of public business, used in government circles only and costing only the price of the paper, since the government employees may write their own statements.

694 The *pai ping* (白 稟), petition on white paper, is used by headmen or heads of bureaus in notifying business to the official.

The *hung pai ping*, red and white petition; if the official keeps the red and returns the white it means approval, the reverse means that trouble may be looked for.

A petition has to pass through the hands of eighteen persons before reaching the magistrate, and as many more afterwards before it reaches the archives.

There are men who live by stirring up strife and lawsuits; they are called *sung kun* (訟 棍), pettifoggers, *ch'ien kou chiang* (牽 狗 匠), dogleaders, and other names.

The *yüan kao* (原 告), plaintiff, formerly paid some 3,200 cash official fees and the *pei kao* (被 告) an indefinite amount to the runners.

Eyewitnesses, *kan chêng* (干 證), are named in the indictment, but only after getting their consent.

An indictment or petition must be written on special, lined paper, *ta kê shih* (大 格 式), holding some 120 characters; it costs from 100 to 300 cash according to the official. A smaller sheet may be used by the poor. The magistrate keeps a copy, *fu chuang* (付 狀), for reference, if necessary, after he has left the district.

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A suit may often be stopped, *lan liu* (攔留), by payment of money even after the indictment has been written. In family quarrels this is common, even in life and death cases, as a mother-in-law beating to death her daughter-in-law. 694

Sometimes one goes straight to the magistrate and calls for redress of a grievance; he must come out or send a deputy; but the usual result is an order to present an indictment.

A first petition being rejected the litigant may try again, altering what the magistrate has objected to, adding necessary witnesses, etc.

Before going to a higher court there are eight ways in which a litigant may appeal to an official against his decision. Sending up documents to a higher court costs a great deal of money, both to the official and to the yamen bureaus.

Tzŭ kao (自稿) is a plea written by the petitioner himself; the language is generally forcible and the copyist adds these two characters.

Tzŭ ch'o (自戳) means stamped by himself. Sometimes a hand or a foot, but usually only the thumb, is put in the ink. The magistrate dreads such cases, for the petitioner will only be satisfied with a decision in his favor, and an appeal to a higher court is probable.

Sometimes litigants are requested to put thumbmarks to a document declaring each side will accept the magistrate's decision and end the case.

When a magistrate is about to leave, cases are sometimes withdrawn, *ch'ou an* (抽案), for fear he should unduly hasten a decision or should leave them undecided to a successor who may shelve them.

Signs of Authority, Followers, etc.

When the magistrate is judging a case a duplicate of the seal box is hung behind him. A jar of bamboos stands on the table; if he throws down one tally, it means a hundred blows; if he tumbles out all the tallies it means unlimited beating. There are other tallies for other uses; aud there is 695 693

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695 693 a box of vermilion ink for signing official documents. These things are called the official's life (性命), *hsing ming*, life, or his 衣, 飯, 碗 *i*, *fan*, *wan*, clothes, rice, and bowl.

647 693 On going out his sedan chair is carried by four men, he wears official garments, beads and hat; criers go before and men with boards on which are written his literary degrees and former offices; assistants follow on horseback, and every one, whether riding or on foot, must get out of the way as he passes.

The district magistrate is really the strongest official in a province and has life and death in his hands. He is called the father and mother official, *fu-mu kuan*, and *chêng t'ang* (正堂).

His first class confidential secretary is called *hsing min shih yeh* (刑民師爺) by the official and *hei pi* (黑筆) *shih yeh* by the people. He is also called *mu p'in* (幕賓), or district steward.

The tutor in the magistrate's family ranks with him; at a feast only one of them can be present as he must have the chief seat; the other has a table sent to his own quarters.

The *shu chi* (書記), or *t'ieh hsieh* (帖寫), letter-writer and indictment-maker for the official, is usually a student for the secretariat.

There is an apprentice to the secretary, *mao kai tzŭ shih yeh* (毛蓋子師爺).

Between the official and people is a middleman called *ta yeh* (大爺) *mên kao* (門稿) and other names. He is said to be the magistrate's throat since all business passes through him. His assistant is the *kuan an san yeh*, manager of law-suit documents.

The clerk who puts the red ink finishing touches on official papers is called *ch'ien ya* (簽押). When the seals are used the magistrate or his wife sits by to prevent their unauthorized use.

The *shui ch'i* (稅契) receives taxes on sales of property.

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The yamen food is in three grades; the official and secretaries have the first class, the *ta yeh* the second, the watchmen and other menials the third. 647 693

There are a few other employees in a yamen besides those above named.

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BOOK IV—THE SUPERNATURAL

CHAPTER I

SPIRIT RAPPING (請神), *ch'ing shên*

787 This is rather a game than any real intercourse with the spirits, but it is very difficult to fix the boundary between the two; worship and play seem to dovetail the one into the other.

To invite the table spirit, *cho-tzŭ shên* (桌子神): table rapping. One table is put face downwards on another with a common rice basin between them. A person then takes hold of each of the four corners of the upturned table, and tries to hold it steady. When the spirit comes the table moves up and down or turns round.

To invite the spirit of the carrying pole, *pien tan shên* (請扁擔神). The pole is laid across the table, two persons blindfolded hold the ends, and try to keep the pole down. When the spirit comes, the pole moves up and down in spite of them.

To invite the rake (*pa*, 筏) spirit. A youth sits with eyes blindfolded and holds a rake upright. The others burn incense and paper and invite the spirit of the rake to come and do the work for them. When the spirit comes the rake is moved and the fuel is gathered by the rake itself apart from human energy.

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To invite the spirit of the seventh virgin, *ch'i ku-niang* (七姑娘). She is said to be the seventh daughter of the Pearly Emperor, and is patronized by girls who want to know what kind of lot may be in store for them. The maiden who is inquiring sits with head covered while others burn incense and paper. 787

To look at the flowers, *kuan hua* (觀花). The girl who inquires for the others is set down in a quiet spot; others burn incense and candles to invite the spirit of the flower garden. She then goes in spirit and thus finds out under which tree the lot of her client is to be cast. If under the palm, fir, or soap trees, the lot will be a bitter one. If under the *kuei hua* the lot will be one of riches and honour. Under the camelia means happiness and peace; the cedar means long life and strength. The person who practises this art is paid for it by the clients.

To invite the spirit of the broom, *sao pa* (掃把) *shên*. The broom is put into a child's hands and the eyes blindfolded, paper and incense are burned and the spirit invited to help the child to sweep the floor. If the floor is not well swept, the child is beaten by the onlookers.

To invite the spirit of the earth bullock. Two youths are blindfolded and set down together. The spirit is invited and when it comes the two youths begin to knock each other's heads till some serious injury is inflicted. Eyes are knocked out, noses broken, and the youth is not infrequently injured for life. Parents forbid the practice, but it is still secretly done in secluded spots.

To invite the stool (*pan têng*, 板凳) god. Two children are blindfolded and set one at each end of a form to hold it down. The spirit is invited and when it comes the stool tilts up or turns round with the children sitting on it.

Ghosts.

Anathematizing the ghost, *chou hsiao shên tzŭ* (咒小神子), is done by such persons as the travelling fortune teller or the itinerant Taoist priest called a 遊方道士. He may go to a house on the excuse that he desires to tell a boy's fortune, 757 787

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757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master.
791 Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

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Sometimes large sums of money are paid to have a ghost taken out of the house, but twenty or thirty taels is quite a common price. If the person who let loose the ghost is invited to remove it, he will demand much more than another, but another can do it. When he does find the wooden idol it is burned and it is popularly believed that the person who let the ghost go will suffer, because the spirit will go and harass him. Most Chinese have a great dread of certain objects and houses which are supposed to be haunted, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can cut clear of this superstition; it should always be borne in mind that such things are very real to them, however silly they may appear to us. 754 775

The "Planchette."

To seek the counsel of the spirits by the aid of the stylus, *k'ung chung hsüan pi* (空中懸筆). Various forms of this cult have been in use for many centuries. The present mode is to make a string of silk thread or human hair and suspend it from the roof, with a pen made of peach or willow twig. Directly under this pen is placed a table covered with fine dry river-sand. Incense and paper are burned before the tablet of the stylus house god, the attention of the spirits called and their help besought. 787

When the spirits come the pencil moves and writes characters on the sand. If nonsense is written, the manager, *chi shou* (乩手), further invokes the spirits by the *k'o t'ou* (kotow) and more incense and paper burning, and when the pencil writes real characters one man reads aloud and another makes a record. Enquiring from a converted *chi shou* as to the possibility of falsifying these pencil motions, he declares that with this kind of stylus there is no trickery, but the pencil does not move without being invited and not always then, and seldom moves to advantage, but he has known it to write wonderfully true things.

The tablets written in the stylus house are of two different sorts, one to the celestials, the other to *lü tsu* (呂祖). They are as follows:

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787 天上地下蓬萊洞府仙真,純陽演正警化孚佑帝君.

The *t'ao chi liu pi* (桃箕柳筆) is a forked branch of a peach tree with willow twig fastened to the lower side of the single point; it resembles a bird with outspread wings and beak, and is supposed to contain the essence of seminal power and divine influence. Two men grasp the prongs of the stylus and hold it over the table of sand; the spirits are invoked and the stylus writes. This is a more degraded method than the former, as the two men who hold the prongs, if of one mind, can write almost anything they please. This form of the stylus is also known as *fu luan chiang chi* (扶鸞降乩).

The most degraded of magic pens is that used by one man, *tu jên mei pi* (獨人墨筆), who pleases himself what he writes.

Sometimes the magic pen will only write nonsense and then he has resort to the following charms to correct the trouble: *chua-hsien fu* (抓仙符), the grasp celestial charm; *chan kuei fu* (斬鬼符), behead-demon charm; *chu yao fu* (誅妖符), kill-demon charm. These charms are all burned before the tablet to the stylus house god.

Necromancy (交邪).

Tsou yin chiang hsiang (走陰降像), to enter Hades and obtain an image. This is done by a male devotee of some idol, whose eyes are blindfolded with five feet of red or black cloth. A charm is made and burned, and he has to drink part of the ashes mixed in water, after which he has to sit on a chair, while another person spatters a mouthful of the charm-water all over his person. This done, he opens his mouth and speaks what is believed to be the revelation from the spirits.

Ch'i shui k'an wan (起水看碗), to lift water and stare into the bowl. This is done by both sexes of all ages. The basin is filled with water, a charm is prepared and burned and the ashes mixed with the water. The reader of the spirits' decrees then stares into the basin and declares he sees and hears wonderful things belonging to another world.

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Ch'i kuang chao p'an (起光照盤), to make the light shine upon the platter. A platter is taken and the necessary charms burned and incantations made over it; it is then handed to the person seeking guidance and light, who is made to look therein, and he may be persuaded to believe that he sees something that will throw light on his path.

To call the immortals and question them as to the happiness or misery and final condition of the departed and as to whether they are able to help or hinder those at present living, is called *kuan hsien* (關仙).

To invite the spirits of departed ancestors, or deceased relatives, to enquire about their state in Hades is *kuan hun chien ch'in* (關魂見親). This is done much in the same way as in the first and second items under this heading.

In curing the demon-possessed, *shou fêng ta hsieh* (收瘋打邪), the demoniac is brought into the presence of the practitioner of the art; a jar is brought into the room and the witch makes many mysterious motions with the fingers, hands and arms. These motions are spoken of as the five-thunder occultism (五雷訣) and the nine-ox strength (九牛擤); by these the demon is supposed to be got into the jar, which is then covered with a white cloth, taken out and buried or carried home by the practitioner. This is an art which demands high payment, and I am informed that in some cases cures have been effected. Lunacy is always attributed to demon possession, and the lot of this unfortunate class is a very hard one indeed. They are often chained to the bed-post or pillar of the house and starved to death, or stoned out of the town by boys, driven from house and home by their relatives, and if violent they are beaten to death. If good-natured they are teased and mocked. They wander about in rags and filth, sleep in temples and caves and are often addicted to many of the lowest vices of mankind.

To divine as to whether a sickness will be fatal or not is called *p'an tuan chi hsiung* (判斷吉凶). The patient's head is covered, while charms, incense and paper are burned and the spirits besought to reveal their will regarding him.

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787 To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien féng shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

789 *Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu* (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tzŭ* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssŭ niang tzŭ (踹私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely of wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

782 *Ching t'an* (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shén* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much

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more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria: 782

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard. 782 776

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八蠻進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八 if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (踹索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand. 789

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登罈子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

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789 A woman balances a ladder on the palms of her hands, then a child threads each rung up and turns over the top and threads its way down again head downward. This is called *fan fei yün t'i* (番飛雲梯).

A bare table is covered with a cloth; after beating of drums and burning of incense and paper, the actor will ask if the guests have all come, and on being assured that they have arrived, the table-cloth is removed and there is displayed a fine, hot, ready-cooked feast.

A flower-pot is covered with a cloth and after some music and incantations the cloth is removed and a fine flowering orchid exposed to view. The same kind of trick is also done with a pot of earth in which a melon seed is sown.

The wooden frame which holds the fire basin is put down and covered with a cloth; and after music and incantations the cloth is removed, when a hot fire on the fire basin is exposed to view. Many are willing to pay large sums of money for instruction in this art.

An empty wine-glass is held in one hand and an empty jar in another and after a few motions and incantations wine is found emptied from the jar into the wine cup, and people are invited to drink.

A woman's embroidered shoe is manipulated in the hand, and it suddenly becomes a rabbit, pigeon, rat or other creature. The conjurer after a little seizes the animal and knocks it on the back of the head and it becomes a shoe once again in his hand.

A wisp of straw becomes changed into a rat. This is very much the same as the last.

Coloured paper is cut into strips and covered with a cloth. When the cloth is removed the strips of paper have been transformed into pretty lanterns already lighted.

A fan is torn to shreds. The conjurer then makes various motions with his hands and the fan is produced and opened up as good as new.

Paper is torn into small pieces and covered with a cloth; when the cloth is removed a swarm of hornets fly

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buzzing about, but as soon as they are caught they become pieces of paper again. 789

The leaves and twigs of a willow tree are broken into pieces and thrown into the river, where they appear to become fishes, but when caught they are simply the willow twigs.

A coin is placed on the upper side of a thick board with one hand and received on the lower side with the other.

A child is laid down with the stomach bent upwards, boxes full of heavy things are put on its stomach, then a man goes on to the top of the boxes, but still there is no sign of the distended stomach giving way under the weight.

A child is taken and rolled in red calico, the conjurer asks for money and, after a contribution has been given, a sword is displayed and the child yells, then another collection is taken up, after which the child's arm is cut off and thrown to the horrified crowd, and still another collection is taken up, then another arm is cut off and thrown out. The child is thus gradually dismembered before the gazing and credulous crowd, but the greatest wonder of all is that this child will be well and about the next day! This is generally the last and most exciting act of the conjurer in a place; for this he often gets large sums of money in collections.

Divination or Sorcery, Wu Shu (巫術).

A sorcerer is called *tuan kung* (端公); the classical name is *nan wu* (男巫), and the colloquial or slang name is *kuei hsiang yo* (鬼鄉約). 754 791

A witch is *tuan kung p'o* (端公婆), *tsou yin* (走陰) *p'o*, *shên hsien* (神仙) *p'o*, or *nü wu* (女巫) (a bookish name). One term may be common in one place while another will be used elsewhere.

Though the art of divination is much the same everywhere, still the Tibetan art is more intense than that practised by the Chinese sorcerers. The Tibetan sorcerer does all the Chinese do and some things extra. So before dealing with

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the subject as found among the Chinese we will notice the practices peculiar to the Tibetans.

A Tibetan sorcerer is called *man* (巫) *tuan kung*. The idol worshipped by him and used in his practice is a full-dressed lama or Buddhist Tibetan high priest.

When a demon is being exorcised a boiler is made red-hot and the afflicted person made to stand in it: it is believed that if his feet do not blister there is no hope of his recovery; or a red-hot chain is put round his neck with the same cheerful hope of blisters.

The sorcerer opens a vein in his own body and lets blood flow on to a cloth, which is given to sick persons to carry as a charm, *k'an hsüeh fu* (砍血符).

In Chinese sorcery an altar is set up, *shè sung* (設送), for the taking away of a disturbing demon from a sick person, and paper money is burned.

It is customary to worship a person's natal star in order to avert calamity or death. Each person is believed to have a star which influences him through life; and the stars are believed to be governed by the Dipper (*tou*), which is largely invoked by Taoist priests and sorcerers to avert death or other calamity, *jang hsing li tou* (禳星禮斗). When a person comes to a certain period in his life believed by fortune tellers and others to be unlucky, a sorcerer is called in to bridge over this difficult time. For people who have had an accident, or for homes where something unlucky has happened, also when a person has reached a great age, the friends and neighbours get up a subscription and present him with a night's incantations; they also present a joint petition to the king of Hades and stand surety for the person's good character and beg that many years may be added to his life. In this ceremony a tablet is written to the local god who joins the bridge of longevity (接限壽橋土地); to this tablet the younger generations *ko t'ou*. The work of the sorcerer is all done in the night. When chanting for the living, cow-horn trumpets are employed; but in wakes for the dead the conch-horn or sea-shell is used.

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Setting up the altar for the purpose of divination is an elaborate affair. A chart belonging to the sorcerer is hung up over the family gods; in this chart the *san ch'ing* (三清) have a prominent place. A bushel and a pint measure are filled with grain or dry river-sand, into which sand are stuck lighted candles and incense, all having been previously placed before the sorcerer's chart. The "three pure" are *t'ai ch'ing* (太清), *yü* (玉) *ch'ing* and *shang* (上) *ch'ing*, and are said to correspond to heaven, earth and man. A tablet to the five heads of demons or *wu ch'ang* (五猖) is put under the table; the tablet to all the poor spirits or 寒林 is put up outside the door. The writing being 寒林會上五音五姓孤魂由子等衆, "To the heads of the Society of the orphan spirits of all names and kinds."

To cleanse the altar the divining priests go with beating of gongs and blowing of trumpets to a stream or pool of water and bring back a vessel filled with clean water; this is called *ch'ing shui* (請水). The water is sprinkled all over the altar and vessels, after which the priest opens the ceremony by putting on his robes and worshipping the idols and tablets all round; this is spoken of as *k'ai t'an*, to open the altar.

The priest prepares a genealogy of the sick person, his name, residence, details of the sickness, etc., which is first read to the company and then despatched to the spirit world by burning.

After the despatch has been sent telling of the need, then the company waits to receive the return message from the spirit world.

The divining priest then enters the kitchen and asks the kitchen god to use his good offices on the sick person's behalf, while the family of the sufferer kneel in a row before the kitchen god to implore his assistance.

The repentance ode is chanted and a prayer for the healing of the disease; this is done amid the beating of gongs and drums, and the yelling of the priests who are ably assisted by the juveniles of the family.

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The priest next makes a number of charms, one to be worn on the person, another to be hung on the bed curtains, another for the bedroom door, and one is burned and the ashes put into a basin of water which has been cursed, and is drunk by the sick person. These charms are supposed to drive away the demons from the clothing, the bed and the inward man. This ceremony takes it as a foregone conclusion that all sickness is caused by demons.

After burning paper money in little or great quantities according to the ability of the family, the priest takes the clothes of the sick person and bears them, along with a tablet on which is written his name and genealogy, out to a place overlooking a hollow with water in it. Here the priests assisted by the relatives call back the spirit of the sick person from across the waters, repeating several times the following two sentences, *san hun kuei shên, ch'i p'ai fu t'i* (三魂歸身, 七魄附體); that is, may the three souls and seven spirits return to the body; then they finish up with a weird yell of "come back, come back." Of course when the sick man is in delirium it is believed that the soul has already left his body and gone wandering elsewhere.

Straw or reeds of any kind may be used to make an effigy, and paper clothing is made and put on it. Wine and rice are offered to it. A piece of paper money is ignited and applied to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Sometimes a needle is used to prick these four organs; all this is done with incantations, after which the effigy is supposed to become accursed as the substitute of the sick person. It is carried to the sick chamber and is addressed by the sorcerer as *mao ta lang* (茅大郎), great straw gentleman, or as *mao ta chieh* (茅大姐), great straw sister, according to the sex of the sick one. One sorcerer faces the effigy and questions it and another crouches behind it and answers the questions; while a third sits on a chair and pronounces judgement. The effigy is asked from whence he came; and for what purpose. The sorcerer from behind replies that he has come from a great distance purposely to be the substitute and bear the penalty of the sick person, whose name he gives.

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A vegetable knife, scales, three pairs of chopsticks, one charm, one sorcerer's tablet called a *shih tao* (師刀) or master's knife, are collected. The tablet and charm are the property of the sorcerer, while the other things belong to the family. These things the sorcerer gathers together in one hand, swings them round his head, and drops them behind his back; and then all the persons gather round and listen to the reading of the omens of these articles as they lie on the floor and give indications as to the outcome of the sickness. If the three pairs of chopsticks lie in order, recovery is considered to be probable. These chopsticks are spoken of as the *lu ma* (祿馬), emolument horses; if lying in order it means the patient will need them and use them.

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The scissors in this affair are known as the *chu ch'üeh* (朱雀), or red bird. Birds are all reckoned unlucky because their beaks are pointed, but birds with red patches or red beaks are much more so, and make trouble or even death in the family. The vegetable knife is spoken of as the white tiger (白虎). If the sharp edge of this knife should lie near the rope handle of the scales, it is reckoned to be a very unpropitious omen; as white is the sign of mourning and the tiger is the most ravenous of wild beasts. The scales are reckoned to be the sick man's body, and whatever falls near this is reckoned to be falling near the sick man himself. If the *ling p'ai* (令牌) or charm falls near the scales it is an indication that the spirits are protecting. The writing inside the tablet is said to be the Pearly Emperor's name. The arm jutting out with the three crosses is said to be the three pure ones, who are believed to be peculiarly fitted for the work of frightening away demons.

The next proceeding is to *fèn kua* (分卦), to read the diagrams. These are made of two pieces of bamboo which fit closely and exactly together. The two parts are thrown into the air; if the two flattened sides fall with their faces to the ground, that is called a *yin kua* (陰卦), female diagram; if the flat sides face upwards that is called a *yang kua* (陽卦), male diagram; if one flat and one round side lie upwards that is called a *shèn kua* (神卦), spirit diagram. The female diagram is reckoned very unlucky, while the male and spirit

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787 diagrams are reckoned lucky, especially the latter, and the
791 spirits are invoked repeatedly to give a *shên kua.*

754 At this juncture the sorcerer enters the sick chamber, taking the straw effigy and a mug containing an egg. The sick person draws a deep breath and blows into the mug, which is then covered with a white cloth and firmly tied with a string. The sick person then blows a deeply drawn breath on to the face of the straw effigy, and in this way it is believed that the sickness demon is put into the mug and his life put into the straw substitute, who suffers for him.

A paper tray on which are painted various kinds of demons and called the flowery plate is brought; the candles, incense and other signs of the proceeding are gathered and, together with the mug, are put on a sieve and carried with the effigy outside the door of the house; the sorcerers then put up charms on the bedroom door and in the kitchen. A basin of rice soaked in water, and another basin of dry rice is then put on the sieve; into the latter sticks of lighted incense and lighted candles are stuck; the whole is then carried out to a secluded place, where the effigy is burned; the mug containing the egg is buried and the incense and candles stuck into the ground; the rice is carried home by the sorcerer; the sieve and basins are taken home by the members of the family, but are thrown behind the outside courtyard door for three days before they dare take them inside the house, lest any evil influence should be clinging to them.

When the party returns from escorting out the evil influences, the sorcerer proceeds to take down his chart, burns incense and exhorts the family gods, packs up his sorcerer's paraphernalia, eats a hearty meal, counts the wages of divination and takes his departure.

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY

CHAPTER I

GODS OF WEALTH (財神), *Ts'ai Shên*

The god of wealth is a very important image in these parts, as the Chinese are exceedingly practical and their chief delight is to drive a good bargain; they revel in hairsplitting differences; a grin of satisfaction lights up the countenance when they are counting money and they may get black in the face with rage over a single cash worth of vegetables; a woman will disturb the whole street in order that the family night-soil may bring a few cash more. They have a system of banking and reckoning which goes down to the tenth of a brass cash; lending money for usury is a practice of long standing; the fixed official rate is two per cent. per month, but that rate is often surpassed and such exorbitant interest as forty cash per day for the loan of one thousand brass cash is often extorted. The pawn shops are well managed and the fixed official rate is 2½ per cent. per month. If a pawn shop is burned the owner is released from responsibility. In spring time many people put their winter clothing in the pawn shop as a place of safe keeping. The abacus is a very efficient instrument for reckoning, both speedy and accurate. The following are a few of the gods of wealth known in these parts:

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Wên (文) *ts'ai shên*, or *t'zŭ fu t'ien kuan* (賜福天官), the literary god of wealth; said to be Ko Tzŭ-i (郭子儀) of the Han dynasty, who is reputed to have had a hundred sons and a thousand grandsons living at the same time; he had

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776 also enormous family wealth. His image depicts him sitting on a chair, with a long white beard and white garments; he carries a sceptre as a sign of authority and on the sceptre are engraved the four characters (萬事如意), that is, everything shall be as you desire it.

Wu (武) *ts'ai shên;* or *Tsêng fu* (增福) *ts'ai shên*, the military god of wealth. The image depicts this god as riding on a tiger; he has a long black beard and coloured face; in his left hand he holds golden nails, which he gives to his devotees, in his right hand he holds a baton. This is commonly believed to be Chao Kung-ming (趙公明) of Ssŭch'uan fame, who became a celestial on the Ch'ing ch'êng shan (青城山) at Kwan Hsien.

Wei wei (危危) *ts'ai shên*, said to be the Mohammedan god of wealth. The two characters, or rather the pronunciation, is probably derived from the Arabic. It is said that the Mohammedans offer beef on his altar, and that the image is dressed like a Tibetan with a high-crowned hat. Some think that the characters have their derivation from the star (紫微星). Others think that there is a connection between this idol and the eight persons who, dressed as Tibetans, visit the houses at New Year time to bring good luck to the house. This custom is known as *ao nien* (鬧年), and coupled with it is the saying 八蠻進寶, that is, With the eight Tibetans comes wealth.

Ho ho êrh (和合二) *ts'ai shên;* the partnership god of wealth, depicted as two partners in business carrying a large coin between them. The real historical characters are said to be two rich business partners of the Han dynasty.

Fu lu (福祿) *ts'ai shên.* The god of happiness and emolument, mostly worshipped by the farmers and merchant classes.

Wu lu (五路) *ts'ai shên*, the god of wealth for five ways. These five roads are said to be the north, south, east, west and central; also said to be the three ways of making a livelihood (scholars, military, artisans), with hills and rivers; the last two, because the wealth of the country is largely deposited in them, and includes mining and fishing.

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Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year. 776

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜瞧), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this 751 778

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wood warded off demons. The present-day belief in charms probably arose from this custom and is very general, and the superstition regarding them very deep; they are used in almost every phase of life.

Charms to be carried on the person are made up of all kinds of material, and worn on the shoulder, back or breast, to protect from disease, demons and every evil influence; even a cross is worn by Chinese children to prevent them from being kidnapped or harmed by foreigners. A few years ago there was a great anti-cigarette movement over an extended area in Ssŭch'uan; vile rumours were circulated about foreigners breaking graves and extracting skulls to make cigarettes, and doubtless many graves were tampered with by evilly disposed persons, whose chief object was to get the jade ornaments worn by aged persons when buried. The rumours also had it that foreigners were castrating children, and this caused thousands of children in our district alone to wear huge white crosses sewn on the backs, shoulders or breasts of their clothing. Some children wore two or even three of these cross charms to prevent foreigners touching them. The idea has become widely diffused that foreigners have a superstitious dread of the cross and will not trample on it, and I have seen lads run in front and write a cross on the road and then stand aside to see if the foreigner would tread on it.

Shao hui t'un fu (燒灰吞符), the swallow-ashes charm. Another charm is commonly made up of incantations against demons, written on yellow paper. This is burned, the ashes mixed with clean water and swallowed.

Wu fang chên chai (五方鎮宅) *fu*, the charm which protects the five corners of the house. This charm concerns the living only, and is written on yellow paper and put at the four corners of the house, a fifth one being placed at the foot of the family altar in the centre of the room. It is believed to keep the house free from demons.

Wu fang tien mu (五方奠墓) *fu*, a charm for the five corners of a grave. This is prepared and burned by geomancers to give repose to the soul of the dead; it is buried at the four corners and at the foot of the tomb.

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There is a charm written by the descendants of Chang T'ien shih (張天師), of Lung hu shan (龍虎山) in Kiang-si; it is believed to be one of the most efficacious of charms for warding off demons and healing sickness. 751 778

There is also a charm written by Ling kuan (靈官). It is said that there are seventy-two idols bearing this name, all deified after the death of different individuals who, when living, had a reputation for driving out demons and warding off evil influences. This charm is widely used and almost universally believed in wherever I have had opportunity of observation; it is generally in the form of a picture, but is sometimes placed in a small box, with a spring lid, which being touched, the *ling kuan* flies out. This is a very fierce and dreadful looking thing, which is the chief reason for its being so widely used and universally trusted.

Chu yao chan kuai (誅妖斬怪) *fu*, the kill-ghost charm, is kept in haunted houses.

Chao ts'ai chü pao (招財聚寶) *fu*, the collect-wealth charm, is often made of yellow silk and hung in the centre of the chief room of the house, or it is painted yellow on white calico.

Hsüeh fu (血符), the blood charm, is made by the sorcerer, who wounds his own brow and breast and lets the blood flow on to a piece of calico which is given to a sick person to wear on his body. At execution times people dip calico into the blood of the victim, and wear it on their persons. Large cash are also taken and stained in the blood and worn as a protection against evil influences; this practice is most common among devotees of the Lo Lo and Honan chiao.

An t'ai (安胎) *fu*, the settle-fœtus charm, is used by women who fear miscarriage, or whose beds must be moved during pregnancy; it is mostly carried on the person or tied to the bed curtains, but sometimes it is burned and the ashes swallowed.

Ts'ui shêng (催生) *fu*, the hurry-birth charm. This charm is prepared by the midwife, burned, and the ashes

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swallowed; it is used in cases of protracted labour where complications have set in.

T'ao (桃) *fu*, the peach-wood charm, which is hung up on the outside of the chief door of the house on the last day of the Chinese year, is simply a slip of peach-wood, but is widely used, being considered very effectual in driving away demons.

Ai (艾) *fu*, the artemisia charm, is used on the 5th of the 5th moon; it is a bunch of artemisia hung over the door of the dwelling-house to ward off evil.

Shan chi chao fu, the pheasant and mirror charm; a picture of a pheasant is hung in the house opposite a mirror, and when the demon comes and looks into the mirror he sees the pheasant, fears being pecked from behind and forthwith flees. This is said to be a very ancient charm.

T'ai shan shih kan tang (泰山石敢當) *fu*, the *t'ai shan* charm, or the stone warden charm. A stone from Mount T'ai in Shantung is believed to have great power in warding off demons, though any local hard stone may be used; on it will be written the above characters, "The stone from Mount T'ai dares to oppose." It is used on the streets especially at quick turnings where demons are likely to strike against it. It is largely used in country dwelling-houses and on public roads.

K'ai t'ien fu, the open-heaven charm, used in divination when the heavens are slow in response to the prayers of the family.

Chieh hui (解穢) *fu*, the purification charm, is used to purify an impure well or filthy water buckets, the charm being burned and the ashes dropped into these places. It is also used in silkworm culture at times when the silkworms become yellow instead of white, the ashes being scattered over them.

P'o yü (破獄) *fu*, the open-hell charm, used at wakes to burst open the gates of Hades and release the imprisoned soul. Then the call-spirit charm 招魂 *chao hun fu* is used, to help the soul out of Hades.

Lien hua (煉化) *fu*, the purge or purifying charm; also called the suicide charm. If anyone threatens to commit

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suicide this charm is used to drive away the demon. It is also used after deaths to purge away the bad acts of the deceased. 751/778

Chao hsien fu, the call-fairy charm. It is said that each celestial has a particular charm.

Shê kuei (攝鬼) *fu*. The seize-demon charm is for haunted houses and is used both for wearing and for burning.

Ch'ien chiang (遣將) *fu*, the dispatch-general charm. It is believed that there are in the spirit world thirty-six *shuai* (帥) and seventy-two *chiang* (將) or generals; and this charm can command the help of all these to ward off an attack by evil spirits.

Wu kuei fu, the five-demon charm. It is believed that the four points of the compass have their particular evil influences and one which controls the centre. This charm wards off these evil influences.

Ch'i sha (七煞) *fu*, the seven baneful deaths charms. These seven deaths come from the following seven sources: heaven, earth, man, year, month, day, and hour.

San sha. The three baneful deaths come from the following sources, and are spoken of separately as *sui* (歲) *sha*, *ch'ieh* (刼) *sha*, *tsai* (災) *sha*, the evil influences of the year, robbery and calamity respectively.

Wu lei fu, the five-thunder charm, is used to break up an attack of ague or demon possession. It is burned and swallowed or worn on the person. The ague demons (擺子鬼) are said to be five in number, three cold and two hot; the two hot demons were originally named *mao* (毛), and the three cold ones named *chao* (趙). Legend has it that these five stole Lu pan's (魯班) hatchet and chisels and on being pursued, two fell into fire and were burned and three fell into the river and were drowned. The patient blackens the face, adding patches of red over the eyes and nose; a high cap is put on his head and he goes out with a club in his hand and stands motionless in an open place. Sometimes people who want medicine for ague dare not even whisper the name of *pai tsŭ* for fear that when they speak it, it will come; they will simply give a description of the disease and sometimes hardly

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751 778 that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han êrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符龍節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

776 DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shên*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

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houses, public offices and temples; the former is the picture of a civil official in the likeness of T'ien kuan, the latter, mostly seen on street doors, is generally a military official with shield and buckler, bow and arrows, ready for the fray.

T'ung tzŭ (童子) *mên shên*, the youthful door god, is the likeness of two youths with red cord tied round the hair.

Ho ho êrh hsien (和合二仙) *mên shên* is the door god of business partnership. It is a picture of four youths (two on either side of the picture), holding a large coin between them.

There is a female door god, *nü mên shên*; this is a picture of a woman, said to be one of the fairies.

Ch'in chün Hu shuai (秦軍胡帥), a picture of two military officials of the T'ang dynasty, one called Ch'in Shu pao and the other, Hu Ch'ing tê.

Lo chüeh (落脚) *mên shên*, a door god as large as the door. Only those in high office or with high degrees dare have this style of door god. Some have civil and others military officials in full dress painted or engraven on their doors the full height of the door.

Shên t'u yü li (神荼鬱壘), the mourning door god. In this case there is no picture, and all former door gods are washed or scraped off and the above four characters only are pasted two on each half of the door. Shên t'u and Yü li are said to be two brothers mourning for a parent.

P'an (蟠) *lung*, the coiled dragon door god, is only used on temple doors at the two season sacrifices. No private residence dare use it as it is typical of the emperor.

Hêng ho (哼哈) *êrh mên shên*, the Buddhist door gods, ferocious-looking, only to be seen on the doors of Buddhist temples. These two *hêng* and *ho*, are said to be parts of the goddess of mercy, who, on becoming a celestial, divided into seventy-two parts.

Tu chüeh shou (獨角獸), the unicorn door god, can only be used by official families.

Chi kung mên shên, the rooster door god. This is a very ancient one, probably of aboriginal origin, and still used by the tribesmen in the mountain districts west of Kuan hsien. The rooster is believed to drive away ants and chicken blood

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776 drives away demons, hence the widespread use of cock's blood on the prow and stern of boats on the Yangtse. The Ssŭ-ch'uanese say that their province is a *chi lung hsüeh* (雞籠穴), a chicken coop; that is, it is surrounded by mountains, and when a coop is full the first thing to be done is to seize some chickens and kill them. This has been what other provinces have done to Ssŭch'uan in the past and what is feared in the present. So whenever trouble breaks out, chickens are killed and eaten wholesale to avert if possible this calamity.

Wu fu p'êng shou (捧壽), the five happinesses complete in old age. These five blessings are age, riches, peace, virtue, happiness. In this charm the character *shou* for old age occupies the centre with five bats fluttering around it; the five bats represent the five happinesses (蝠 for 福).

THE GODDESS OF MERCY (觀音), *Kuan Yin.*

Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, is said to have been the third daughter of Miao Chuang wang (妙莊王), she and her sisters being styled as follows:

Ta chieh Wên Shu (大姊文殊), Erh chieh P'u Hsien (二姊普賢), San chieh Kuan Yin (三姊觀音).

Miao Chuang wang is of aboriginal origin, and legend has it that he migrated from the Indian border to Ssŭch'uan and settled in Sui-ling hsien at a temple called Pei ch'üeh ssŭ, where his daughters became nuns. The temple where they lived was burned down; probably by their father, because of the lewd lives they were living; but legend says that the three nuns were unharmed. The worship and deification of lust is not unknown in Ssŭch'uan even now. The presence of the harlots' quarters in the city of Kuan hsien is said to preserve the good luck of the city. A few years ago when the police pulled down their houses and drove them away, several things happened which were reckoned unlucky and all was put down to the disturbing of these bad places. In some temples obscene pictures are still to be found; and the worship of the tribesmen in the Wa si region is still a worship of evil passions.

The goddess holds in her left hand a small bottle of dry dew, containing the elixir of life, which carries people over the

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sea to the bliss beyond, while in her right hand she holds a willow twig. In all probability this goddess is none other than the Queen of Heaven, worshipped by the tribesmen and Tibetans. There are among the Chinese many forms of this goddess, a few of which are herewith given.

Shui Kuan Yin, the water goddess. This image is put up in wells and by river sides. The idea is that she purifies the water and makes it fit for food. Sometimes the priests make her devotees throw cash at the image till they strike the same spot as their own pain is situated in; after the devotees have gone the priests fish up the money for their own use.

Kao Wang (高王) Kuan Yin; this form of the goddess is said to be derived from Kao huan kuo wang (高歡國王), who is said to have been condemned to death, but he invited the goddess to chant a thousand pages of the Chiu k'u ching or Save from suffering classic; and when the day of execution came, the sword broke in two, and from that time onward the goddess claimed this name among her many others.

Ch'ien shou Kuan Yin, the thousand-hand goddess, the omnipotent one. The origin of this form of the goddess is said to have been with a certain princess whose father's hand was diseased (probably cancer); she poulticed it with meat daily; but not content with this, she went to the goddess and begged her to heal the hand, which she did; this princess was afterward made into the "thousand-hand goddess," whose image is covered all over with hands, which are believed to be extended in all directions for the saving of people from suffering.

Ch'ien yen Kuan Yin. The thousand-eye goddess, able to see everywhere; the omniscient one.

Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin, the son-giving goddess. To her shrine crowds of women resort every year. She is depicted holding a child in each arm and many more clinging about her.

Nan Kuan Yin, the male god of mercy. That is, by a process of divination she may be changed into a male. This god is also called the *tz'ŭ hang tao jên* (慈航道人) and is believed to have charge of the boat of compassion which ferries people over the difficulties of life.

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776 Fêng po-lang Kuan Yin, the goddess of the winds and waves, and of the boatmen, who stills the turbulent waters.

Chin kang shan huo Kuan Yin, the diamond hill fire goddess. She saves people from burning houses.

Pai i Kuan Yin, the white-robed goddess. She is believed to be willing to visit the very poorest of homes and help people in their poverty.

P'iao hai Kuan Yin, the cross-sea goddess.

Wu lei fa wang (法王) Kuan Yin, the goddess of the five thunders, which issue from each of the points of the compass and one from overhead.

Tzŭ chu lin chung Kuan Yin, the goddess of the red bamboo grove.

PRECINCT OR LOCAL GOD (土地神), *T'u ti shên.*

Pên chai (本宅) or Chia shên (家神) t'u ti, the domestic precinct god; whose shrine is situated at the foot of the heaven and earth tablet. His two servants are Chao ts'ai (招財) t'ung tzŭ and Chin pao (進寶) lang chün, a pair of youths who gather wealth. He is styled the Lord of the family and also the old man t'u ti. In Ssŭch'uan the 7th of the 7th moon is his birthday, and his worship is conducted inside the house. He is said to have originated in the Yuan dynasty at which time a *chia ta-tzu* (家搭子) or Mongol is said to have been billeted in each family; a conspiracy was formed and on the 30th of the 12th moon they were all killed. Afterwards the houses were haunted, and to pacify the spirits the slaughtered Mongol was made into the precinct god of the domestic altar, his duty being to keep away evil from the house. He is said to be a dwarf, and if on the 7th of the 7th moon there should be a rise in the river that is spoken of as *chang ai tzŭ shui* (漲矮子水) or the dwarf's flood, and it is regarded as a lucky omen.

Miao mên or Shan Mên t'u ti. The local god of the temple door. The following scrolls indicate what this idol expects: 進門先拜我,登殿莫欺吾. In entering first worship me. In ascending the altar don't deceive me.

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Ch'êng mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the city gate, is the deputy of the city god and one is placed at each city gate.

Ya shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the yamen. This shrine is usually inside the yamen and is patronized by the yamen runners and other public servants.

Chien ch'a (監察) t'u ti, the precinct god of the judgement hall. This idol is buried or covered with a flat stone in the centre of the first pavilion of the government office; the idea is that the idol is there to listen to the evidence given and the judgement pronounced.

Yang miao t'u ti or Ching sui fu jên, the precinct god of crops, looks after the growth of the grain; if caterpillars or other pests attack it, he goes to the rescue. The shrines are very common all over the country. The scrolls on his shrine are often thus: 作一方之保障, 佑四境以平安. The protector of whole district; keeping the four boundaries in place. If he fails in his duty it is not uncommon to see this idol beheaded, his shrine roofless and the headless body exposed to the weather as a punishment for his neglect. If the vegetable gardens are robbed he is blamed for it, or if slugs or moles eat the crops. Travellers suffering from sore feet or sore back put stones in front of these shrines all along the way, believing that they will get better for so doing.

Kao shan or Shan shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the hills who protects people from wild beasts.

Wu chin t'u ti, the precinct god of mines. He governs the five metals, viz., gold, silver, brass, iron, coal; the shrine is near the entrance to the mine.

Ho chieh (闔街) t'u ti; the precinct god of the street. His shrine may be at the end or in the middle of the street.

Ch'iao liang or Ch'iao t'ou t'u ti, the precinct god of bridges; if the bridge has a roof over it, the first name is used and the shrine is situated at the centre of the bridge; otherwise the shrine will be found at either end and the second name is used to designate it.

Yao mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the kiln; all lime, brick and tile kilns have this shrine at the entrance.

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Têng kan (燈 杆) t'u ti, the lamp-pole precinct god. At the New Year season, from the 7th to the 15th of the first moon, a pole is fastened to the top of a high tree near the house and a lantern hung out at night. Sometimes a pole is set up by itself and the lamp raised every night of the year; this is mostly in connection with temples and ancestral halls, but in both cases the idea is the same; first, to scatter the orphan and wandering spirits; second, it is a prayer to the Pearly Emperor for peace and plenty throughout the land.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS (神 會), *shên hui.*

The 輔 德 大 王 or 城 隍, *Ch'êng Huang*, the city god, is believed to be an exact counterpart of the civil official. His jurisdiction extends over all the spirit world, and his shrine is a miniature yamen; many people go to it to protest their innocency. The ridiculous side in idolatry may be seen in the temple of the city god, for here we find his wife, his son and heir, his bedroom and bedding and toilet requisites; the priest spreads out the bedding at night and folds it up in the morning. The city god's wife is styled *niang niang* which is a title given to an empress and much superior to *t'ai t'ai* which is the style used for the civil official's wife. On entering this temple, on the right hand is to be found the *p'an kuan* (判 官) or decider of fates in Hades, while on the opposite side is *hsiao kuei* (小 鬼) who is head thief-catcher or *ling pan* (領 班). Standing at the side in front are found the *kên pan* or lackeys, who are at his beck and call; while further down at the entrance are the *hou pan* (吼 班) or callers who go in front of the official; also in the temple court is to be found the precinct god of the yamen, *Ch'êng huang t'u ti.* This idol is worshipped by yamen people in general, while close by are the famous yamen runners, Ch'in San (秦 三) and Wu Ssŭ (吳 泗). Ch'in San is said to belong to the T'ang dynasty, Wu Ssŭ to Hsü Chên chün 許 眞 君; these are worshipped by yamen runners before embarking upon a difficult case. The chicken-footed god is a conspicuous idol, with black body and tongue hanging out; by his side are his wife and family. When yamen runners

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wanted to apprehend any one, they used to make vows to this hideous image and put opium on its mouth. The *ti fang shên* or local deity, who corresponds to the headman in the country, is close by; this deity knows where every demon resides. His body is white and, like the chicken-footed god, he has a wife and family around him and is worshipped by the yamen runners. In this temple there is also that unseemly idol known as *Ho ho wu ch'ang* (赫赫無常), to frighten people into remembering that their days on earth are uncertain, and if they do not repent their end will be destruction. In Kwan Hsien city temple there is a stone city god, which was dug up somewhere in the country; when it was brought to the city the magistrate refused to admit it, saying, as in each city there was only one magistrate, so likewise only one city god could be tolerated, but after a time it was admitted and placed in a corner of the temple. In the lower courts of the city god temple are the ten Buddhist hells, presided over by the *shih tien nien wang* (十殿閻王) or ten kings of Hades. These are supposed to give a history of the soul's travail from death till transmigration takes place. These are as follows:

秦廣王. The first of the ten hells, where the spirit goes at death. Here the records of lives are kept; if the individual is very good a pass is given into the Western paradise; if very bad, he is cast into the lowest abyss for ever; if he needs purging he is sent to the other nine kings of Hades and put through their sufferings and terrors till transmigration is reached. The pains in this first hell are hunger and thirst, and there is a mirror to show up the shortcomings of each person.

楚江王. In this court the unfilial have their limbs cut off or are sawn asunder. There are here sixteen minor places of punishment, among which are the black sand cloud hell, manure hell, impaled on pikes hell, hunger and thirst hell, burning thirst, blood hell, axe hell, grindstone hell, weigh up hell, chicken hell (where chickens peck their murderers), dust river hell, cut in pieces hell, double edged sword hell, fox and wolf hell, frost and ice hell. This hell is called the living hell.

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775 宋帝王. In this division of purgatory all have to pass over a bridge and many fall into the water; then there is the thousand knife hill, on which many fall and are impaled. There are sixteen minor places under this king; the following may be named. The salt hell, hemp rope and cangue hell, pierce ribs hell, scrape face hell, also extracting kidneys, liver, heart, eyes and skin alive hell; amputation of foot, finger and toe nails hell, suck blood hell, hang head downwards hell, break collar bone, break knee, etc. etc.

五官王. Here are to be found the oil caldron and fire pillar for adulterers. Under this king there are sixteen other hells, such as the slough hell, pikes, scalding, extracting marrow, crush bones, brush skin, nail skin, sit on needles, sear with hot iron, prick eyes, dust filling mouth, prick lips, pour medicine, slippery road and burying hells.

閻羅王. By the side of this king of Hades are placed two demons, one with a cow's and the other with a horse's head. Here is the cold ice, the sawing asunder and other sufferings, after which it is said that the wind of Hades flows on the broken and bruised spirits and makes them whole and ready for the next court.

卞城王. In this court is an iron bound city with no way out, and the tearing out of the tongues of those who have been liars. This is called the yelling hell.

泰山王. Here the god of thunder strikes some dead, while others are killed by heaping stones over them.

都市王. This is the dirty blood hell; many are ground on the grindstone; it is called the disturbed court and has sixteen minor places of punishment under it.

平等王. In this court those who have killed dogs are eaten by dogs, and those who have killed chickens are pecked by chickens, and those who have killed horses or oxen are tormented by them.

轉輪王. When the souls reach this stage they are given some soup, called *mi hu t'ang* (迷昏湯), which makes them forget their former sorrows and existence, and they are sent forth again into the world in all kinds of different forms. This is what is known as the revolving wheel of transmigration of souls.

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The festival of the city god is the greatest event of the year in most cities, and generally extends over one month, when theatricals are acted in honour of the event; and probably many hundreds of taels squandered in every city. In many of the market towns on the Ch'eng tu plain, city gods' temples are still tc be found, and the explanation is that these towns were formerly district cities with resident magistrates; they still keep their festivals on the old dates, which vary in almost every place. When the date approaches the residents and shopkeepers are visited by the heads of a society, and every house is asked to contribute to the expenses of the festival. The streets are decorated with coloured and embroidered cloth called *p'êng ts'ai*. A coolie wheels a barrow through the streets with a fire tub on which are burning the branches of the cedar tree or *pai chih* (柏枝) (these branches are widely used for disinfecting houses after disease). Following the wheelbarrow come the *p'an kuan* and the *t'u ti*; these go round on a tour of inspection to see that the streets are fit for the idol procession on the following day. This is spoken of as *sao chieh*, sweeping the streets.

Cho (捉) *han lin*, to seize the wild spirits. This is done by dressing a beggar as a demon, and placing him at a fixed point in the country. Certain persons dressed as runners of the city god go out and apprehend this person, put a chain round his neck and lead him into the city in triumph. Great crowds of people stand round to see this performance. The belief is that unless this is done trouble will break out at the theatricals during the month.

Ch'êng huang ch'u chia (城隍出駕), the city god goes for a ride. In front of this procession the following may be seen:

Ta chu (燭) *hui*, the big candle society, which provides a huge candle carried in front of the idol.

Ta hsiang (香) *hui*, the big incense society, which provides a large stick of incense to be carried between two men in the procession.

Yin ch'ai (陰差) *hui*, for providing runners, or men dressed as demons, to go before the idol. Those who act

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796 these parts are often people who have made a vow at the shrine. Among them are those who wear chains, or the cangue, or hang lamps on their flesh, or carry incense; some are dressed as the celestials of the eight caves (八洞神仙); others as the deciders of fates in Hades (四值功曹) and still others who *k'o t'ou* at each step as they go.

Luan chia (鑾駕) *hui*, or imperial carriage society. This displays various pewter articles carried high on poles; such as a man's hand, a melon, official seals, hatchet, spear, etc. These are to show forth the glory of the idol.

Tuan hsiang p'an (端香盤), to carry incense urns. The gentry and merchants dressed in their best clothing, wearing their official hats and high boots, walk in front of the idol, some carrying incense urns, others gold fishes or silver and other precious metals. The proper order in the procession is as follows: incense, flowers, lanterns, water, fruits, tea-leaves, cakes, precious stones, silver and pearls. These are all brought out as the people's offering to the city god.

The Lung têng hui, a dragon lantern society; Shih têng hui, the lion lantern society; Lung hu hui, the dragon tiger society; Chin hua hui, the gold flower society; Shih kung hui, the nourishment society, and many others join in the great throng, and thousands of people with sticks of incense in their hands follow in the idol procession. The celestials, 796 776 personified by men, who come out with the city god, are as follows:

Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓), a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. He is worshipped by the sick, and carries a sword for defence. The eight celestials are said to represent male and female, old and young, rich and honourable, poor and destitute.

Han Chung-li (漢鍾離). This celestial carries a fan with which he fans the souls of the departed in Hades and restores them to life.

Lan Ts'ai-ho (藍采和), said to be a woman, who carries a basket of flowers and assists florists.

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T'ieh Kuai-li (鐵拐李), believed to have been a beggar who died and rose again from the dead; he carries a crutch and a melon and is said to assist physicians. 796 776

Ts'ao Kuo-chu (曹國舅), said to have been a rich man; he wears official garments and hat, in his hands he carries castanets, and he is the patron of mummers and actors.

Chang Ko-lao (張果老), an old scholar who carries a bamboo pencil-case and ink pot and helps scholars to obtain a good style in writing.

Han Hsiang-tzŭ (韓相子), a youth who is said to have been the apprentice of Lü Tung-pin; he carries a flute and is the patron of musicians.

Ho Hsien-ku (何仙姑), a woman who stands on the floating petal of the lotus flower with a fly whip in her hand, and helps in house management.

Têng kan hui (燈竿會), lantern pole festival. The lanterns are of several kinds, such as *san kuan têng*, three lamps hung out at New Year time representing the Taoist trinity. 796

Wu ku têng, five lanterns lighted in a temporary building to represent the five kinds of grain and the desire for a good harvest.

Yen wo têng, wild goose lantern, a number of lanterns strung on a rope and hoisted high in the air to represent a flock of wild geese on the wing. In some places a pole is erected with cross poles every few feet on which lanterns are hung. These geese are believed to have the power of determining the seasons.

T'ien têng, a sky lantern. This is a single lantern erected in a temple and on river sides, kept lighted all the year round and called *wan nien têng*, ten-thousand-year lantern.

Han lin têng, the orphan spirits' lantern. This is a lantern lighted in a building prepared for the purpose, especially to lighten the benighted spirits.

Yü huang hui (玉皇會), the birthday of the Pearly Emperor, the 9th of the first moon; the Buddhist devotees worship him and offer gifts on the shrine.

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796 *Wên Ch'ang hui*, the festival of the god of literature, who is now one of the patron idols of the secret society, owing to the Confucius Society being gradually amalgamated with the larger Society. This is held on the 2nd of the 2nd moon.

Kuan yin hui, the birthday of the Goddess of Mercy, held on the 19th of the 2nd moon.

Hua shên hui, the birthday of the god of flowers, who is said to be Wu Tsê-t'ien (武則天) of the T'ang dynasty. The date is the 2nd of the 2nd moon.

Lao chün hui, the birthday of the founder of the Taoist sect, who is said to have been born at the Ch'ing yang kung near Ch'engtu, where a great annual fair is held in honour of his birthday on the 15th of the 2nd moon. This is perhaps the most famous fair in the province, large numbers of people go to worship at the shrine of the Sage and also at that of his mother, which is next door, and at the shrine of the celestial Chang san fêng of the Ming dynasty. Li lao chün is made more famous by being reputed to be the ancestor of Li Ping of irrigation fame.

San p'o hui (三婆會) the Goddess of Mercy festival. This is *san hsiao* (三霄) or the *Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin*; this birthday falls on the 3rd of the 3rd moon.

T'ung tzŭ hui, the baby festival. This is often held on the same day as the last-named feast; the custom of *ch'iang* (搶) *t'ung tzŭ*, scrambling for small images, is still carried out with great gusto.

Fo tsu hui (佛祖會), the birthday of Buddha, held on the 8th of the 4th moon.

Lü tsu hui, the birthday of one of the celestials, the god of the sorcerer, those who manage the magic pen.

Tung huang hui, the birthday of Yo Fei, who became the god of the eastern peak. This is a Taoist festival and is held on the 28th of the 3rd moon.

Tan tao (單刀) *hui*, the birthday of Kuan ti, ancestor of the Secret Society; being a native of Shansi the people toward the north make much of this festival.

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Lang chung (關 中) *hui*, the birthday of Chang Fei. This is the day for butchers, soldiers, and archers, and falls on the 22nd of the 3rd moon. 79%

Ts'ai shên hui, the birthday of the god of wealth, the patron deity of the silversmiths, cash shops, and business men in general.

Yüeh wang hui, the birthday of the god of medicine, worshipped by doctors and medicine shop keepers. This falls on the 28th of the 4th moon.

Wang yeh hui, the boatmens' god festival. Said to be Yang Ssŭ wang (楊 泗 王), of the Sung dynasty. His title is Chên Chiang wang (鎮 江 王); the date is the 6th of the 6th moon. The festival is kept by boatmen, raftsmen and all who trade on the waterways.

Ling tsu hui, the festival of the witch, wizard and sorcerer, on the 16th of the 6th moon.

Yen ti hui, the birthday of the god of fire; in some cities a great procession parades the streets on this date.

Lu pan (魯 班) *hui*, the birthday of Lu pan or the carpenters' god; said to have been the son of a statesman of Lu who lived in Ch'ü fou (曲 阜) about 500 B.C. He is said to have been clever at inventions and is now worshipped by carpenters, masons, hewers, sawyers, and carvers.

Lo (羅) *tsu hui*, the birthday of Lo tsu the barbers' god. On that day the barbers have one of their few holidays. It falls on the 13th of the 7th moon.

Ts'ai lun hui, the birthday of the paper-makers' god, a general holiday for the paper factory employees.

Mêng t'ien hui, the birthday of the pencil-makers' god. The workers have a holiday on this day.

San huang hui; this is the festival of the fortune tellers and quack doctors.

Hsuan yüan hui, festival of the tailors' god.

K'ung Tzŭ hui, the birthday of Confucius. In schools the tablet of Confucius is worshipped. Chair-bearers also worship the sage because they believe that he invented the sedan chair.

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796 *Ch'i pao hui*, the festival of the miners of gold, silver, brass, iron, pewter, coal and lime. This is a great feast; pigs are killed and crackers fired off in honour of the god of precious things.

Shan wang hui, the birthday of the god of the hills, worshipped by woodmen.

Ch'ai wang hui, the wheelbarrowmens' festival. Ch'ai was an ancient emperor who only ruled a few months. Barrowmen also worship Kuan ti who is said to have been a barrowman in youth.

Lao lang hui, the actors' festival.

Shuang ling hui, the yamen runners' festival. At this time the chicken-footed god and the local deity come out for an airing. This falls on the 4th of the 4th moon, and the yamen runners worship the above two deities who assist them in sifting out difficult cases.

Niu wang hui, the birthday of the ox king. The general holiday for oxen; few if any do any work on this day, the 1st of the 10th moon.

Ma wang hui, the birthday of the king of horses. Yamen runners and horse-fanciers make a good deal of this festival.

Tu K'ang (杜康), the festival of the god of wine, worshipped by the distillers of alcohol; I Ti (儀狄), who lived about the time of Hsia Yü wang is said to have been the first famous Chinese brewer, and he was executed lest his art should be propagated among the people.

Ma t'ou niang, the silk-worm god, worshipped by all who rear silk-worms.

Chien tu shên, the god of the professional gamblers. He is set on the table, in worship incense, candles and crackers are used, a chicken is killed and a bow made toward the table and the image.

Wên shên (瘟神), the god of pestilence. It is believed that he saw a demon poison the well, and jumped in and drowned himself to keep the people from drinking the water.

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Hsien nung shên, the farmers' god, said to be Chou Wên wang, the ancestor of Hou chi. Some people still write *Hou chi hsien nung* as a tablet and worship it.

T'ai tsŭ, the actors' god. Said to be T'ang Ming Huang, whose image is kept on a chair on the stage to keep the actors from laughing.

Chin ching (金精), the gold essence or silversmiths' god. The pure gold is believed to be a spirit.

Lu yü (陸羽), the tea growers' god. This was a personage belonging to the Sung dynasty who was able to grow good tea.

Ch'i yu (蚩尤), the salt god festival, said to be Hsüan yuan. Tradition has it that he was the first rebel, and his blood became salt.

Jih yu shên, the rambling god of the day who is believed to have only one foot.

Yeh yu shên, the rambling god of the night, who is believed to have only one hand.

Chiang t'ai kung, the fishermans' god, who is believed to be Chou Wên wang and the originator of idolatrous practices. Though a scholar, he fished till he was eighty years of age with a straight hook and rice as bait.

Fire and Pestilence Fast (醮會), *Chiao hui*

The feast of All Souls is held yearly from the first to the fourth moons, and is strongly believed in as a protection against fire and pestilence. It is called *Ta ch'ing chiao* (打清醮), *Wên ho* (瘟火) *chiao*, and *P'ing an* (平安) *chiao*.

The fast may last from four to fifteen days. There is no killing of pigs, oxen and chickens or any live stock, *chin t'u* (禁屠), and so rigid is the fast sometimes, that it is hardly possible to buy an egg.

Strings are stretched across the streets and yellow paper flags, with fringed edges and holes punched through them are displayed, *yang fan* (揚幡), to call the spirits to enter the hall of the fast.

A list of contributors to the expenses of the feast is made out, with the names of the priests invited, and the particular

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796 deities to be invoked. The altar is sometimes set up in a temple, but sometimes in a booth for the purpose. The idolatries practised and the rites performed are much the same as in sorcery. In each family the kitchen god is specially worshipped.

A boat is made of a bamboo frame covered with paper, for carrying away the demons of fire and plague. At the end of the feast it is carried out and destroyed. The following is the tablet pasted on the door of the temple where the fast bureau is situated; at the close it is carried away (火塲分遞四値功曹傳送土地) to the piazza where the offerings are burned, also to the spirits of the four points of the compass, and to the precinct god.

The tablet *Wên ho p'ai*, to the god of fire and pestilence is set up at the door of each house where they have contributed to the funds of the fast. It is presented by the managers of the fast and is carried out along with the other paraphernalia at the close: 當年太歲瘟火二部至德尊神各家本宅厨竈神君. To the spirit of pestilence and fire of the current year. To the kitchen god of each family.

Ch'ao fan (朝幡). To visit the streamers. Each 10 or 20 families besides having streamers stretched across the street, have a small flag staff set up in their vicinity, some 15 to 20 feet high; during the day a long yellow streamer is suspended from it, and at night a light is displayed there. The officiating Taoist sorcerer visits each of these poles morning and night throughout the fast. On the first visit he burns an official dispatch to the god of fire and pestilence, and afterwards burns paper each morning and evening and kneels and worships the fire spirit of the vicinity. The tablet written and pasted on the pole is as follows: 幡桿使者樹幟大神. To the angel of the pole, the great spirit who unfurls the flag.

It is said that this fast was instituted by a priest at Niang tzū ling named Ch'ên Chung-yen soon after the Chinese subjugated the Chin Ch'uan (金川) district; at that time, whole armies of Chinese and aboriginal troops were

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slaughtered, making the disembodied and orphan spirits very many; and this mode of appeasing them was adopted.

Each family who pays a contribution toward the expenses of the fast, also hands in at the same time the names and birthdays of the heads of the family to the officiating priest, who finds out from the Yü chang shêng shên (羽章生神), whether the year will be propitious for them or not, in order that precautions may be taken.

The names of contributors are sent by dispatch to the Pearly Emperor. This dispatch is burned in front of the fast bureau. Similarly, he receives a list of the classics chanted and the incantations done during the fast.

Two tablets are written and given to each family, one for the kitchen god, another for the fire and pestilence god. Candles and incense are also distributed to each family. The kitchen god in each household is worshipped by burning *ch'ien ma* cash horse (this is one difference from the ancestral worship where *chih ch'ien*, paper money is used); then the fire and pestilence boat begins to parade the streets.

Before the boat reaches the house a tub of water is placed in front of the door, and a lighted lamp is placed inside the tub; then someone blows out the lamp, which implies that the fire is extinguished. When the epidemic boat reaches each house a man with a broom goes and sweeps a little in front of each door, collects what remains of the tablet candles, incense, paper money, etc. and throws them into the boat; this is called *sao t'ang* (掃蕩). The boat, after fulfilling its purpose of collecting all the fire and demon influences of the district is then taken to the river side and set fire to, and pushed out on to the water which carries it quickly away.

To *san chên chai fu* (撒鎮宅符) is to give a charm of protection to each family which has part in the fast. A charm is written on yellow paper, of varying size. These character charms are all made up by sorcerers for the special purpose; they are the seal of the *san ch'ing*, of the Pearly Emperor, of *Tou k'ou* (斗口), or the *Ling kuan* charm.

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796 Small paper lamps which have been soaked in oil are then lit and sent off on the river in the dark to light the orphan spirits of the drowned.

Ch'ien sung shêng chia (餞送聖駕) is to disperse the spirits to their abode with an offering.

Food and warning are given to the demons *shih shih fang chieh* (施食放戒). A row of candles is set up by the wayside (this is called *ch'a lu cho* 插路燭) to lighten the demons to the spot. The candles are made of lengths of bamboo four or five feet high, and are sometimes eighty or more in number; they are wound round with paper soaked in oil and pitch. After they are lighted some rice gruel is placed at the foot of each candle; so that the spirits may have both light and food, along with the exhortation to repent and forsake their evil works. T'ang pa tzŭ are scattered sweetmeats, which are scrambled for and eaten by everybody; the belief being that they who eat them will be relieved from bad dreams and the danger of becoming crazy.

The idols of the temple where the fast has been held have to be pacified, lest they may have been offended or jealous; and this ends the yearly fast for preventing fire and pestilence.

A fast to the god of fire, Ta (打) *ho chiao*, is proclaimed when there has been a conflagration in the neighbourhood, or certain omens point to one being imminent. In the case of a conflagration the family in whose house it started may be fined and beaten by the official and people, kept from receiving any monetary help disbursed or may even be driven from the district. In cases of thieving during the conflagration the goods are rarely taken home for seven days till the danger of fire connected with them is quite removed. So great is the fear of fire that when distributing relief, no one will dare to take the relief unless they have really suffered, lest they themselves should be implicated. Those who are thus burned out of house and home are not allowed to enter any person's house for seven days, lest they should bring the fire demon with them; for this and the following things the fire demon has to be appeased.

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If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire. 787 777

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to :—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon. 796 782

Ch'ien sung huo hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

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A dragon made of light bamboo covered with green cloth is carried through the streets and into the homes of the people; each family receives it with incense, candles and paper, while the men who parade it are rewarded with money. Many of the incantations and ritual given under the fire and epidemic fast are practised in this also.

Again an epidemic boat is made, with a man *shao kung* (艄公) at the bows and a woman, *shao p'o*, to steer, while in the centre of the boat sits the demon. The beard of the fire demon is red, while that of the pestilence demon is green. The god of the pestilence is said to have been K'ang t'ien chün, whose tablet is as follows: 當年行瘟天子至德尊神. To the god of pestilence who governs the current year.

A fast of praying to heaven is held, *Lo* (羅) *t'ien* or *Ch'i* (祈) *t'ien ta chiao*, in times of distress or at regular intervals from three to fifteen years in different cities. When the fast is proclaimed it is generally a very rigid one, with much ritual, sorcery and chanting, and may last from seven to fifty days. During the recent rebellion, before the establishment of the republic, this fast was proclaimed in many places to ask for protection from the government soldiers.

Huang ch'ung (蝗蟲) *chiao* is a fast held in the country to keep the locusts and caterpillars from the crops. If this fast is held in a temple the local precinct god is notified by the burning of incense and putting up of fresh scrolls at his shrine. Five-coloured flags are put up at the corners of the field; this is said to be equivalent to invitation to the rooks to come and devour the pests. The old custom of walking round the fields beating a gong or drum is still to be found; it is said that the caterpillars fall to the ground at the sound. Farmers say that one of the chief benefits of a heavy thunderstorm is to make these pests drop off by the thousand.

FASTS FOR RAIN AND FINE WEATHER, (祈晴禱雨) *Chi ch'ing tao yü*

In times of drought or very wet weather the official issues a proclamation forbidding the butcher to kill pigs or oxen, chin tu (禁屠). The idea is that the taking of life is an offence against the gods.

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In times of drought an altar is put up at the Lung Wang miao, the temple of the dragon king. In times of flood it is erected at the Huo shên miao, the temple of the god of fire. At this altar the district magistrate makes obeisance morning and night.

When fasting for fine weather the north gate of the city is closed; when fasting for rain, the south gate; because it is said in the eight diagrams, the North belongs to water and the South to fire.

To shoot the mists, ta wu (打霧). In times of continued wet weather, soldiers are told of to shoot at the mists. The people put great faith in this practice.

In wet weather the official has to worship the sun tablet in some temple, and all the people have to worship a tablet to this luminary at the doors of their dwellings.

In times of drought the Dragon king is worshipped and each home has a tablet put up beseeching his help; also the water dragon is brought out. This is a plaited bamboo frame joined together with sackcloth, which is paraded through the streets by young men; each house prepares a bucket of water and a ladle and as the dragon passes it is drenched with water. Another method is to *hsiao kou*, to laugh at the dog. The custom has its origin in the saying, if you laugh at a dog the weather won't be fine. In times of desperation for lack of rain, a dog is dressed up as a bride, put in a chair and carried through the streets and every one laughs at it, hoping that by doing so rain may come.

Officials go barefooted and pray for rain; this is said to be an example of an official suffering for his people.

In some cases the Ch'êng huang or city god is stood in the sun. I have known of the district magistrate getting angry at the prolongation of the drought and demanding that the city god give him an explanation; he said, "You govern the dead, and I the living; let us both stand in the sun and the one whose head splits first must bear the blame of the drought." The result was that the idol's head was cracked by the sun.

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Men also go to the dragon pool and carry home a bucketful of water, which is worshipped at the altar. At the pool a chicken is sacrificed and its head thrown to the dragon. On the return journey twigs are stuck into the hair of those who go on this errand.

The *pang* (梆) *pang yü* or *wa* (娃) *wa yü*, is a human-headed fish, a kind of mermaid; it is caught and kept in a tank of water till the rain comes. This is a rare fish, but it has come under my notice on two or three occasions, when thousands of people have run mad after the creature.

When the magistrate is not in favour with the people, they may attack the yamen and demand water for fields or rain.

Another method is to throw the egg. A water butt is prepared and filled with water, and decked round with cedar and willow branches. An egg is selected, over which "thunder" incantations are read morning and evening for three days, after which it is thrown up into the air with the belief that the rain will accompany it on its downfall.

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BOOK VI. TIMES AND SEASONS (四季), *ssŭ ch'i*

THE SEASONS OF THE YEAR (二十四節)

Ying ch'un (迎春). Meeting the spring is the farmer's annual holiday. Great crowds go to the city to see the spring ox and the official procession. On the morning of the day, the various small officials of a district city make their way to the magistrate's office, where they get their pay for that day. Later in the forenoon, the magistrate, dressed as a court official, with 16 men bearing his chair and 16 pulling it, comes out in state. Even the yamen underlings ride horses and wear degreed men's hats on this occasion. They proceed to the east gate and meet spring in the form of an earthen ox and an image spoken of as the *mang shên* (芒神) or ox driver. The spring ox is taken to a field on the east of the city, attached to a plough and taken a few times up and down the field, with the magistrate after it; the magistrate then approaches the real plough and buffalo, which has been prepared and decorated for the purpose; this is called *kung ching* (躬耕), personal ploughing. After worshipping the spring ox and driver, he returns to his office by the south or west gate. That day he gives a feast to all his underlings who have congratulated him on being the priest of spring. This is the only day in many officials' lives when they really can be great. Sometimes he rides in an open chair with

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garlands of flowers and branches over and around him. The day costs him some hundreds of strings of cash and is one of the gala days of the year.

The ox is made by special instructions from the official, and great interest is taken in all the details of colour both of the ox and the driver. If the ox is yellow, the people say that the year will be a fruitful one, and a bumper harvest is expected. If it is red, fire and calamity will be rife; if white, mourning will be very plentiful; if green, plague will ravage the country; if black, sickness and disease will be plentiful. The spring will be early or late according as the tail is uplifted or downhanging. If the ox is lying down it is also an indication of a late spring. If the garments of the driver are stripped off and trousers tucked up then an early spring is expected, but if its shoes are on and down at the heels the spring will be late. If the clothing is properly on with girdle and garters complete, then the spring will be an ordinary one.

The ancient custom of making a mud ball in the shape of a drum during the winter and breaking it at the opening of spring *chi t'u ku* (擊土鼓) is probably the origin of the spring ox.

Li ch'un or *ta ch'un* is to begin spring. This is the day following the meeting of spring, and the crowd is much smaller. On this day the farmers will not sweep their floors for fear of sweeping away Mother Earth who has to bring forth her fruits, neither will they disturb her by sowing or digging. The spring ox and driver having been taken the day previous to the yamen court, the official, dressed again in the robes of the priest of spring, makes an offering to them, after which he strikes the first blow at the ox which is speedily demolished by the crowd and carried off to the homes and the fields of the people. The calf inside it is taken and carried to some family which has no sons. The driver is burned and the whole cleared out of sight and the ceremony is now over. Among the rustics all this is very important, and some even believe that if there was no spring ox there could hardly be any harvest.

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Yü shui (雨 水), spring rain. At this season flowers are transplanted and trees grafted. Aged people, who need to *chieh hsien* (接 限) do so with the greatest benefit, they believe, at this season. (See *Sorcery*.) 796 805

Ching chih (驚 蟄), the time of moving insects. At this season snakes come forth from hibernation and bees emerge from their hives. The silk-worms' eggs are now taken on to the bodies or into the beds of people, to be hatched.

Ch'un fên, spring equinox, a general holiday for farmers, called the master's gathering, 當 家 會. No one goes into his field or garden on that day lest he should be troubled with birds and insects through the year. On this date the king of birds is worshipped.

Ch'ing ming, clear brightness. At this season, great crowds of people visit the graveyards, *shang fên* (上 墳), and put flags on the graves. These flags are said to show the grave is still attended, but in some places their purpose is said to be to call the spirit. Incense and paper are burned, and food prepared at home is carried here and eaten picnic style. Many go to weep at the graves, but many more go for a day's pleasure, to drink wine and play at "Morra," and many become deeply intoxicated. It is believed that the departed ancestors present themselves and partake of the offered food. At the New Year and the 7th moon feast the spirits of the ancestors return to the home, but at this season, the living visit the habitations of the dead. In Kwan Hsien this feast is spoken of as *lao wa* (老 鴉) *hui*, or crows' festival.

At this time the city god goes to relieve the orphan spirits *shang ku* (賞 孤), by burning the cash paper. On his return journey, the district magistrate goes to meet the idol procession.

Han shih (寒 食) *chieh*, the cold food feast. This is an ancient feast held the day preceding *ch'ing ming*. Formerly no one lighted fires in the house on this day, in remembrance of a certain *Chieh Chih t'ui* (介 之 推) who was a henchman of one of the princes of the Lieh Kuo period. When on one occasion the prince was about to die of starvation, Chieh Chih

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t'ui cut off a piece of his own flesh and gave it to the prince to eat, and thus saved his life. When the prince got to the seat of power, he forgot his faithful henchman, whereupon he fled with his mother, having a willow twig stuck in his hat, to a certain Mien Shan 綿山. When the prince eventually recollected his friend and benefactor he sent men to seek him; Though it was reported that he was hidden on a certain mountain, they could not find him. So in desperation they set fire to the brushwood on the mountain to force him out, but he would not yield and was burned to death; and ever since that time some remembrance has been kept of him; though no one refrains from lighting a fire on that day as formerly, still many people wear a twig of the willow tree, either in the hat or hair, in remembrance of him.

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Ku yü, rice rain. This is the time when the rice seed bed is sown. Rain and sunshine are both needed at this time.

Li hsia, beginning of summer. Summer is believed to come from the south.

Hsiao man, small fullness. That is, the *hsiao ch'un* or spring crop is ready for reaping in order to clear the land for the summer crop.

Mang chung, hurrying to plant the rice crop. This is the busiest season of the year, with reaping and ploughing, harrowing and planting.

Hsia chih (夏至), the midsummer solstice. At this season the male and female principles are unequal and therefore have to be avoided.

The people now begin to count the days till the dog days or 三伏天 commence. If the three *fu* (伏) are complete, there will be 30 days, but they rarely are complete, the autumn coming in before these days have run through their course, but after autumn there are still twenty-four autumn tigers, 秋老虎, following on the *san fu*. In each Chinese moon there are three *kêng* (庚), that is, one in every ten days; after midsummer three of these *kêng* are counted and then the dog days begin, and may last from 21 to 29 days.

Hsiao shu, small heat, and *ta shu*, great heat; these two cover the period just spoken of as the dog days.

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Li ch'iu. The beginning of autumn, which is believed to come from the west. The people are pleased if it is very hot on this date as it means there will be dry grain in the granaries. Again, if this day should happen to be a *chia* (甲), it will rain for 120 days, if a *ping* (丙), it will be fine for that time. 805 221

Ch'u shu, the finish of the heat; after this date the water is drained from the general crop of rice.

Pai lu, white dew. Cool weather arrives.

Ch'iu fên, mid-autumn equinox.

Han lu, cold dew. At this season the farmers sow turnips, plant cabbages, sow tobacco seeds, the tobacco seedlings standing all through the winter, ready to be planted out in the spring.

Shuang chiang, descending frost. The military official goes out at this time to meet the frost which is said to appear as a horse-headed woman. This is the time when all nature dies, and the officials follow after Heaven's idea and carry out such executions as may be necessary.

Li tung, the beginning of the winter, which is believed to come from the north.

Hsiao hsüeh, small snow, and *Ta hsüeh*, great snow. These two periods cover a part of the winter in which it is said the pot cannot be heated.

Tung chih, midwinter. The ancients kept this as New Year. At this season the people worship their ancestors 姑祖, and the officials worship the tablet to the reigning emperor. This is said by many to be the root of the year. At this season the family hog is killed or the meat purchased with which the La jou (臘肉), or New Year bacon, is prepared. From midwinter begins the counting of the nines until eighty-one days is reached. In this connection the following stanzas are in common use: 805

The first and second nines, the hands are blown for cold.
The third and fourth nines, the frost kills pigs and dogs.
The fifth and sixth nines, the frost kills the old ox.

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805 The seventh and eighth nines, the hands still hug the clothes. Nine-nines are eighty-one, the farmer ploughs his land.

Hsiao han and *ta* (大) *han*, small cold and great cold. These two periods cover part of the eighty-one days of cold. This period has also a saying—小寒大寒凍死老蠻, small and great cold freeze the old aboriginal to death.

NEW YEAR (過年), *kuo nien*.

796 805 As soon as the last moon comes people begin to be anxious as to how they are to collect and pay off their debts; much scheming and quarrelling and even suicide is the outcome.

Tao ya (倒牙). The last meat day of the year. Workmen and apprentices are expected to receive pork twice each month; and an apprentice after he has eaten 72 of these pork feasts is supposed to be a full fledged workman. This is the last of these *tao ya* for that year and it falls on the 16th of the last moon.

On the 20th of the last moon the official seals up his official seals, *Fêng yin*. The seal is put on a table and incense and candles burned in its honour; the official then bows down and worships it. Afterwards it is taken and put into its own case; this case is then enclosed in two others which are locked and sealed, after which it is again worshipped and put away for the New Year holidays. During this period no important official business is transacted, except for cases of preserving peace and life.

K'ang (炕) *la jou*; smoking the New Year bacon has to be done after midwinter; if done before, the meat will not keep good. The poor buy a piece of pork and make their bacon; but the rich kill their own pigs. This is an important affair in the country districts; before the pig is brought forth for the slaughter the master of the house puts cash paper on the ground where the pig will be killed; three sticks of incense and two candles are stuck in the ground round about the spot. When the pig is brought forth the master of the house kneels and worships it, saying, "We are going to kill you for use at

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the New Year season, but in the next life may you become a man." After killing the animal the bucket containing the blood is taken and offered to the family gods, the cash paper on which some blood has dropped is placed on the family altar. This is called *hsien hsüeh ch'ien*, offering blood cash. The pig's blood, after being offered to the idol, is taken and made into black puddings.

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After the 20th of the 12th moon the evil influences which have been governing the year are removed, and any and every part of the house may be turned topsy-turvy; so the housewives take advantage of this liberty and have a house cleaning. After the dust is swept down, the windows are papered with fresh paper for the New Year season.

The kitchen god is sent off to make his yearly report to the Pearly Emperor. Before he goes sugar candy and tea are offered to him and some even make a written petition regarding the affairs of the family. This petition, called a *tsao shu*, kitchen god petition, is burned at his shrine. He is supposed to leave on the 23rd and come back on the 24th of the last moon, but in some places it is the last night of the New Year before the returning ceremony is observed; when he does come back there is much idolatry with a great deal of importance attached to the event.

Owing to business being largely suspended for some days, and the general need of money by everybody, great quantities of idolatrous and eatable supplies are laid in during the last week of the year. Among the rich plenty of sweetmeats are prepared in the home by a specially engaged cook.

Gratuities are given to servants and assistants at the close of the year.

About the 24th there is a feast to wind up the year, *t'uan* (團) *nien*, when the whole household is expected to be present. Before eating, the ancestral tablet is worshipped and the food is offered to the ancestors. It is implied that the spirits of the ancestors return to the home at this season; for this reason no outsider is permitted to partake of this meal, but friends and acquaintances are sometimes invited by the less superstitious.

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Spring scrolls, *ch'un tui-tzū*, are put up on either side of the door and on the lintel. A good business is done during the last few weeks by the scholars, who write scrolls for the small sum of from 12 to 30 cash per set.

Fresh door gods are pasted up by nearly every family.

Five sheets of lucky paper or tin foil, *hua ch'ien* or *hsi ch'ien*, are hung up over the door; these remain till business is about to be begun when they are taken down and burned.

The barbers are busy at this season, but after the 16th of the last moon many of the formalities of barbering are dispensed with and only that which is necessary to make a person clean is done in the barber's shop.

Paper clothing and money for the ancestors are burned on the last day of the old year.

In the hill districts the people go to the graves and invite the spirits of their ancestors to return on this last night of the year, when a fire is lighted for their comfort in the chief room of the house and offerings of food prepared for them; but even when the spirits are not invited their presence in the house is implied by every act.

To fire off crackers, *fang huo pao*, is part of almost every act of the New Year season.

On the last night of the year, the younger generations make obeisance to the elder, while the elders make the juveniles presents of money to pass the New Year season.

The rich also make presents to the poor, the gentry to officials: the officials to gentry, etc. The presents are carried in an open tray with a card accompanying. Official presents generally consist of pears, scented rice, oranges, tea and sea dainties. At this season such men as the keepers of the city gates, the night watchmen, street police, come with a present which is only for show and, in return, they expect their annual gratuities.

A card is taken round late on the last night of the year and pasted on the doors of friends and acquaintances; taking leave of the old year, *tz'ū nien t'ieh tzū* (辭年帖子), or *mên chien* (門箋). In the morning some doors are pretty well covered with them.

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Very early on the first morning of the year the head of each household goes outside his dwelling and offers paper and incense, tea and wine, to the New Year. 796 805

There is a custom of going out for a walk before dawn, *ch'u hsing* (出行), or *ch'u t'ien fang* (出天方). If any one is met, no words pass, and what one hears is an indication of what his year will bring of good or bad luck, peace or quarrelling. This custom is also spoken of as *chieh hsi shên*, to welcome the pleased spirit. The almanac tells the direction in which the spirit may be met.

Picture gods of wealth are taken round from door to door and sold for a few cash, the vendor using lucky words and good wishes for the year.

People mutually pay calls, *pai ta^nien*, on the 2nd of the moon, and receive and give cakes and sweetmeats.

On the 5th, newly married people go to visit their relatives, *pai hsin nien*. The 5th of the first moon is also known as *p'o wu* (破五), breaking the fifth, after which a good many people begin work and business.

At the New Year season everyone wears his best, and everyone tries to have something new for fear of otherwise becoming a beggar during the year. Flour balls or *t'ang yüan* (湯元) are eaten so that worldly affairs may be good "all round." Dough strips are eaten by almost everyone and are a favourite kind of present, because it "eats long," which may mean long life or abundance of wealth. In the same way stale rice is often eaten at this time, as it is a good omen of plenty in the barns for the coming year. Beggars are often given money on their first asking, as an omen that money will be easy during the year. See under *Superstitious Dread*.

Gambling, *tu po* (賭博), is one of the many curses that come to an idle Chinese population. Up to the 5th, no one pretends to try to stop it. After that date an official proclamation forbids it, but everyone knows this is merely for official self-protection in case of trouble; nearly everyone gambles at this season from the highest officials down to the poorest of the people, and many youths are ruined by it.

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The season is an opportunity for visiting, *tsou jên hu* (走人戶), much taken advantage of by the women and girls, who are largely confined to the house at other times of the year; no one goes empty-handed as that would be very unlucky; but presents of cakes, sweets, bacon, etc., are often handed round several times during this visiting season.

After the 5th some shops begin business, but very often only half the shutters are taken down. No credit is given and no past debts will be asked for. The first customer will be allowed to have the goods at his own price, as it would be unlucky to turn away the first comer without doing business.

A lamp is lighted at the door of each house. In some places the residents are fined if they neglect this custom; the idea is that if the streets are lighted no demon will come to do damage.

The Dragon Lantern festival is held on the 15th. A lantern in several lengths is made, with a head after the likeness of a dragon's. Each length is supported by a light pole and carried by a young, lusty fellow. The different lengths are joined together by red calico, and are swung round and round so as to appear somewhat like a worm writhing. The dragon is the king of the scaly tribe and hence is feared by all the demons. First it is carried to a temple and the idols are worshipped; afterwards it is paraded through the streets and carried into any courtyard that will receive it. The streets are lighted with many-coloured lanterns, and the dragon lantern, lighted up, is paraded round the streets with two men carrying a *pao* or precious thing in front. Huge crowds collect, and a rowdy evening is the result with much stealing, hustling and jolting. This is a very ancient custom, and the chief idea is that the dragon drives away pestilence.

The lion lantern, *shih têng*, is made up by two men walking with bent backs; one manages the head and the other the tail. A huge cloth with a lion's head painted on the front and a tail sewn to the other end makes the lion. After having visited the temples, the procession parades the streets with a priest in front leading the lion. The priest carries a brush in his hand. If invited, they enter any house to drive

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away pestilence. On the streets high platforms are made of square tables piled one on top of the other, and on these the lion-actors perform acrobatic feats of jumping, rolling over to the ground, standing on the head, etc.

The ox lantern is an ox-head painted on a bamboo sieve, with a cloth body and tail. It is used in country towns with the idea that it will bring a full harvest for that year.

A rabbit lantern is pulled along the street by two persons; one, dressed like a Tibetan, leads the rabbit, and another, dressed like a Tibetan woman, drives it. This is connected with the idea that the Tibetan is not only wealthy, but also brings in wealth.

There are also fish, turtle, tortoise, prawn and crab lanterns; the *ao shan* (鰲山) lantern has camphor mixed with the oil and sheds a pretty green light.

There are displays, which are both elaborate and expensive, of *yen ho chia* (烟火架), fireworks. In many of these fireworks much medicine is mixed with the oil; the idea seems to be the driving away of pestilence from the home or community.

The *ch'ing ch'un chiu* (請春酒) is a feast generally given by a landlord to his tenant farmers from the 5th to the 10th of the first moon. Sometimes it is held later and may even be in the second month.

Riddles are written and hung up over the door of the house, and in the light of the lantern festival, people guess the meaning and then, if right, jump up and pull them down; rewards of fruit and sweetmeats are often given to those who make a right guess.

At this time the people eat flour balls with treacle inside; these balls are now called *yüan hsiao* (元宵). There seems to be a kind of concert held in the home, and young men and maidens sing and trip in the form of the figure eight both on the street and in the home. The ballads they sing are called *nung an ko*, farmers' peaceful ballads; but they have now lost that ideal and have degenerated into mere *yin ko* (淫歌) sensual songs.

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Opening accounts, *k'ai chang*, is not done till after the *hsi ch'ien* (禧錢) has been burned. When this takes place much idolatry is observed, crackers fired off and all to get what is spoken of as *k'ai chi* (吉) *chang*, a lucky start in business for the New Year.

Official seals are released *k'ai yin* generally on the 19th of the first moon. A similar ceremony is observed as at the sealing up time.

To visit the graves of ancestors before the 15th of the first moon is called *shang nien fên;* this is done by those who for any reason were hindered from doing so during the last moon of the year. Those graves not attended to before the 15th are known as *yeh kuei fên* (野鬼墳). The reason graves are mostly repaired in the last moon is because the influences controlling the year are in abeyance during the last days of the old year.

To steal some person's vegetables, *t'ou ch'ing* (偷青) on the 15th of the first moon, is lucky.

Children return to school, *shang hsüeh*, any time after the 8th of the first moon ; they have to pay their respects to the master by bowing and knocking their heads, and giving a small present of money. In the case of a gentleman inviting a private tutor for his home he has to make a written agreement the year before as to what salary he will give and when and in what currency ; and what present he will give at the feasts. This is called *hsia p'in* (下聘). A common salary for a master of the old school is anything from 40 to 80 strings of cash with board and lodging, with few holidays except at the 5th and 7th moon feasts. When the time arrives to welcome a new tutor, the gentleman sends a chair and servant to escort him. On his arrival a feast is spread, the tablet to Confucius is worshipped by the head of the house with the three-fold *k'o t'ou*. The scholars must also bend and worship the tablet to the sage of learning and wisdom on beginning their studies.

Then (大人做生意, 娃娃檢狗屎) adults go to business and the children to gather dog manure. That is, every one must get to work.

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MIDSUMMER FEAST (端陽節), *tuan yang chieh* 796

This feast is held on the fifth of the fifth moon, this being the time when the sun is believed to be overhead, and the dragon festival is observed.

The story of Ch'ü yüan is well known: he was a statesman of Ch'u, accused to and cast off by his prince, he saw his country ruined, sat down and wrote the poem *Li sao* then went and committed suicide by drowning. The people oughtfor his body and afterwards started the dragon boat festival on this date to commemorate his merits. The dragon boat is long and narrow with a dragon's head and tail; it is well manned and simply flies over the water. In the centre of the boat is a drum, with a man to beat time to the rowers, a clown rises up and down making fierce grimaces, and armed men stand on the prow of the boat brandishing their weapons to frighten the demons so that they may give up Ch'ü Yüan. This festival has, however, become degraded by the influence of Sui Yang Ti (隋煬帝, A.D. 605), and is chiefly composed of and managed by the inconstant and vagabond set, who amuse themselves by throwing plums at the women of the crowd.

One of the ideals of this feast is to take a bath, *hsi tsao.* People wander round the country to find special herbs and different kinds of grasses, *yu pai ping* (遊百病), which are taken home and boiled and the concoction used for the healing of disease, or they are mashed into a salve for boils called *pai ts'ao kao* (膏). Others bathe in the water in which the herbs and grass have been boiled. Even prescriptions prepared on this day are believed to be more efficacious than those prepared on other days.

A small bag is carried near the breast in which incense, camphor, and other medicines are put to draw away disease; the shapes of these bags are varied, being like frogs, monkeys, tigers, and cats, or like a red pepper-corn.

Frequently the bodies of children are smeared all over with hartall wine, *hsiung huang chiu*, as it is believed it will protect from snake-bites.

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796 *Hsiung huang suan* (雄黄蒜), garlic dipped in a preparation of hartall, is hung at the door. Mashed garlic and hartall wine is sprinkled on the floor and door posts of the house to keep away snakes and ants; it is said that if a snake touches hartall its body will decompose. A few ounces of pork is dipped in this hartall and then hung up over the door.

This practice of hanging artemisia over the doorway seems to have some foundation in history. It is said that in the T'ang dynasty, a rebel, Huang Ts'ao (黄曹), who ravaged the country, captured a woman fleeing with two children; the woman carried the big child on her back and made the little one walk. The rebel chief asked the reason for this and she explained that the big one belonged to the elder brother of the family and the little one to herself, but the elder brother's child being the more important she carried it on her back. Seeing her piety he gave her a sprig of artemisia and sent her home, telling her to put the sprig over her door, and when the rebels came to the place they would not harm her.

Nearly every one stops work at least half a day, and in the afternoon houses are almost deserted, every one going out to the country to walk off their sickness. All business is suspended and theatricals are held in the country temples.

An old custom was to put millet in a cow's or sheep's horn *chüeh shu* (角黍), and drop it in the river to find Ch'ü Yüan. This custom has now changed into eating *tsung tzu* (粽子), or glutinous rice balls, rolled up in bamboo leaves. They are eaten by almost every family and are freely given as presents on this occasion.

It was a custom in Ch'êng-tu for men to throw plums at women of doubtful character; the plums were afterwards taken home in the hope that male issue might be given. The custom has been stopped for some years in Ch'êng-tu.

This is a time when teachers' salaries are due, and school fees paid. Teachers give scholars fans and scholars give money to the teachers. Presents are freely exchanged in many walks of life from the magistrate to the humblest citizen. People like to dress well at this feast, and policemen and beggars expect their gratuities. It almost seems as if it

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was the children's feast, because they get a great deal of attention at this time.

The image of Chang Tao-ling, the ancestor of the Taoist popes, a fierce-looking idol, is carried out in an open chair with a canopy to keep off the sun or rain.

He is said to be riding a tiger probably because of the *t'ien shih* (天師) belonging to Lung hu shan in Kiangsi province. When he comes out it is in style of an official, with umbrellas, flags, and boards as evidence of his position, but besides these, there are many persons dressed up as his underlings and assistants. Thus, two children, each on horseback, carry the credentials of the idol, *ch'ih shu* (勅書), and the seals of office.

P'an Kuan, the decider of fate in Hades, rides a horse in front of the idol. He is masked and in his hand he holds the book in which the fates are written. During the procession he is supposed to take note of all he sees and record it in the book.

The *T'u ti*, precinct god, rides behind the decider of fates and is supposed to impersonate the *Shan mên t'u ti*, who is said to control the demons of the city. On this day he comes out on a tour of inspection.

There are four judges of appeal in Hades, *ssŭ chih kung ts'ao* (四值功曹). One judge holds power for a year, another for a month, and another for a day, and the fourth for one Chinese hour (two hours). These are the messengers of the idol to run at his bidding and are all impersonated on this occasion.

The five thunders, *wu lei*, are represented by five men riding on horses with a frame and drum (for thunder) slung on their backs, with a chisel which represents lightning in one hand and a kind of clapper in the other.

The five poisonous creatures, *wu tu* (五毒), are snakes, toads, spiders, centipedes, and scorpions. These are made of paper and tin-foil and carried through the streets before the idol, alternating with the five thunders.

The chicken-footed god, *chi chüeh shên*, is represented by a man with a hideous mask and a garment covered with

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796 chickens' feathers. His mission is to call people to repentance. The true characters are said to be 機覺, and the meaning 知機警覺; that is, "know of this opportunity and repent."

Some persons paying their vows hang lamps on their bodies, *kua shên têng*. Thus, a son may have made a vow that if a sick parent got better he would walk in the procession of the idol with a certain number of lamps hung from his skin. This custom is said to be derived from the *jan têng Fo* (燃燈佛), the "light lamp Buddha"; when these men walk the streets a dozen or more persons walk alongside of them with split bamboos which they shake and rattle all the time to keep people from coming near their persons, as if they were sacred.

Others of less note pay vows by having a sword handle glued to the abdomen and the point glued to the backbone, giving the appearance of being stabbed through the body, *k'ai ch'ang p'o tu*. It is believed that this custom had its origin in the aboriginal tribes, who have an image of this kind.

Seventh Moon Feast (中元), *chung yuan*.

T'u ti (土地) *hui*, the birthday of the precinct god is celebrated on the 7th of the 7th moon. On that day new paper clothing is put on him and incense and candles are burnt at his shrine. The meats offered are afterwards eaten by the family. At all the temples there is careful observance of this day.

The *Yü lan* (盂蘭) *hui*, is a Buddhist festival observed on the 14th of this moon for the transmigration of orphan spirits. It is believed that the doors of Hades are opened and the imprisoned spirits set at large from the 10th to the 15th. Those who have no home to go to roam about the streets and country. Many people will not go out at night during these five days.

To give forth rules of behaviour to the freed demons, *fang chieh* (放戒), or *li yu küng chieh* (利幽公戒), the priests erect a stage with many lighted lanterns. Some chanting takes place at which the spirits are admonished to

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keep the laws, and the priest afterwards scatters *kuei tan tzŭ*, 796 which consists of bread and cakes. These the people scramble for and eat. After the 15th the spirits again return to their own place.

A sacrifice is made to the orphan spirits by the heads of guilds and societies. Sometimes over 100 taels is spent, and if the guild is rich even 1,000 taels may be lavished on these orphan spirits.

Wine, meat, and even whole tables of feasts are offered to the ancestors, who are said to return to the home at this season. This is one of the most binding of all the idolatrous festivals of the year.

The likenesses of departed ancestors are hung in the chief room of the house. Some keep paintings, others have busts. Some keep them always hanging, others only display them at this season.

All the necessities of the spirit world are burned in paper in huge piles in front of the doors about the 13th of the month. This is a very important affair in the eyes of the people. On the 15th cash paper is burned.

MIDAUTUMN FESTIVAL (中秋節), *chung ch'iu chieh*, The Eighth Moon Feast

This is the third time for collecting debts, equally important with the 5th moon, but of course less so than the time before the New Year.

Yüeh kuang hui is the moon festival. On the evening of the 15th the moon is worshipped. At this particular season the moon is said to give forth different kinds of light and some declare that the heavenly beings can be seen in the moon. It is also said that Wu Kang (吳剛) can be clearly seen at this time hacking away at the *Olea fragrans*, but the tree still stands. A lunar eclipse at this season is very unlucky.

Little round cakes are made called moon cakes, the centre of which is black, being made of lentils, boiled soft and then baked. Some cakes are white in the centre, being made

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796 with flour and sugar, some are red, made from flour and rose-water. At this time walnuts, pears, and pomegranates are presented, all being round like the moon, and it is hoped by offering these that the family affairs will be prosperous "all round."

Sha chia t'a tzŭ, "to kill the Manchu of the family," is an expression which, some say, refers to the Tartars of the Yüan dynasty, others say it refers to the Ch'ing dynasty. It is commonly believed that a Manchu was billeted in each home. A plot was made to kill them on the 15th of this moon, the secret sign being a ticket giving the date to be put inside the moon cakes. The plot was carried out, and the family Manchu became the *t'u ti* of the family. In this eighth moon the anniversary of his death is observed. The black hearts of the moon cakes are said to represent the hearts of the Tartars.

On the evening of the 15th children put a lighted stick of incense on to the end of a bamboo pole and lift it high in the air. This is called *shua hsing hsü* to play at stars. Similarly branches of the pumelo-tree are taken and sticks of lighted incense fixed to the twigs and held high in the air. This practice is now gradually falling into disuse.

This is the time when teachers' salaries are due and children take presents to them. The teacher gives the children pencils. The head of the beggars, the keeper of the city gate, and the night watchman all collect their dues from the shop-keepers and private residences. The fifth and eighth moon feasts and the New Year are the great feasts of the Chinese people.

THE NINTH MOON FEAST (重陽節), *Ch'ung yang chieh*

The ninth of the ninth moon is called *Ch'ung yang* or a double nine. Rice for distilling is mixed with chrysanthemums; the wine thus made has a good flavour, but any wine is supposed to be better when distilled on that date.

Bags filled with dogwood seeds are carried to protect from sickness and give long life. Scholars carry their food to

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some high place, where they make poetry and afterwards feast and drink wine. 796

The birthday of Hsü Ching yang (許旌陽) of Kiangsi is kept; he was an official in Ssŭch'uan and is now deified and worshipped in the Kiangsi guilds. Legend has it that he had a bamboo stick on which he rode each evening to his native province to visit his mother; she, disturbed by the frequency and suddenness of his visits, broke his magic stick, and it took him a full month to get back. Meanwhile his public business was in sad arrears and the country in disorder. So he got the precinct god of his yamen to help him.

The birthday of Chiu Huang is celebrated; he is one of the nine stars of the Northern Bushel. These first nine days of this moon are spoken of as the Chiu Huang (九皇). If it should rain on the first of the ninth moon, it is likely to rain the whole nine days. During these nine days most people eat pulse or herbs, and at eating-houses flags are exposed with *chiu huang su shih* (素食) written on them, "vegetarian food for the feast." At this time no animals are killed and yellow flags are hung up everywhere, much chanting is done, such classics being used as the *pei tou ching* or the *chiu huang ching*. The delusion is that those who abstain from eating meat on these days have as much merit as those who are vegetarian for life.

If the family has moved or repaired the house during the year a ceremony of *kung t'ien an shên*, "worship heaven and pacify the family altar," is believed to be necessary for the peace of the living and is called *Hsiang shih* (祥事), while *Tao ch'ang* (道場) is for the dead.

To *chieh shou* is to add life and length of days to another person. This has its origin in the time of the Three Kingdoms when a certain Chao Yüan worshipped the Northern Bushel and said that he was willing that years should be taken from his own life and added to his parents'. Now there is the custom at this season of worshipping the Northern Bushel in order to obtain long life. The constellation is believed to be the chariot of the Pearly Emperor and is situated in the centre of the sky and revolves once a year, the four

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seasons being subject to its influence, hence the ancient custom of meeting spring at the East, summer at the South, autumn at the West, and winter at the North.

On the evening of the ninth all trace of the feast is removed and burned at the door of the house, and soon the shambles are well stocked with pork and other flesh.

TENTH MOON FEAST (下元節), *hsia yüan chieh*

Shang yüan is the feast on the 15th of the 1st moon while *hsia yüan* is the feast on the 15th of the 10th moon. This probably has its origin in the time when the Chinese New Year was held about mid-winter.

On the 1st of this 10th moon is the festival of the Ox King, *niu wang hui*, the birthday of the king of oxen. This festival is reckoned very important in the country districts as the ox is said to be the foundation of all farming operations, and is therefore worshipped by many. In many of the temples and shrines chanting is carried on, theatricals and feasts are held in honour of the occasion. There is also a *ch'ang nien hui*, farm servants' fair. On this day theatricals are given; these gather people together at various temples, when some hiring is arranged between masters and servants.

The city god goes to the necropolis, where piles of paper money, houses, and clothing are burned as a provision for the orphan spirits during the cold weather.

On the first of the 10th moon, the city god's wife, accompanied by the city god, is carried out into the country to certain places which are said to be her maiden home, to pay her yearly visit to her parents. This is one of the most absurd of idolatrous practices.

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BOOK VII—PLAUSIBLE PRETENTIONS

(扯謊場) THE LIARS' MART (天話街), *T'ien hua chieh*

The above name is applied to the Yamen or temple courtyards or any place where there is concourse of people, and where the fortuneteller, geomancer, physiognomist, sorcerer and witch doctors have their stands. To try and follow these men into all the intricacies of their dark and crooked ways is impossible. It will be our plan to find out what they pretend to accomplish, under what pretences they obtain a living and how the people are fleeced by them. They are divided into classes; the first to mention is the business of the Startler, *Ching shêng i* (驚生意), under which the following take their places :—

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The *ts'ê tzŭ* (測字) tells fortunes by dissecting characters and putting them together again.

Suan ming (算命), the fortuneteller. This class differs from the former in that it may pretend to define a whole life, while those who dissect characters generally confine themselves to one particular matter. The fortunetellers are divided into two schools, one called the *chang chang tzŭ* (張張子), who tells a person's fortune and gives it to his client in writing; the other is known as the *t'ieh pan suan* (鐵板算), who are mostly blind, who after hearing the client tell the fortune *viva voce.*

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P'u kua (卜卦) is to forecast future events by means of the eight diagrams, to divine.

K'an hsiang (看相). The physiognomist makes the book *Liu chuang shên hsiang* (柳莊神相) by Shui Ching of the Han dynasty, or the *ma i* (麻衣) *hsiang* by Ch'ên Tuan of the Sung dynasty the basis of his art.

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The following are some of the things they pretend to be able to do:—

They guarantee that their clients will get by raffle the funds of the joint stock company. Several people join in a company when they want to get a larger sum together than they could otherwise do at one time, but by paying in monthly instalments they can manage it. The fund is raffled for each month at the home of one of their number. Some families who want the money quickly appeal to this class for assistance to get the lucky number.

They undertake the protection of a family from demons and snakes. They also fix the site of a dwelling house, the choice of a lucky day to begin building, and the lucky day for hoisting the top beam of the house.

They fix a lucky day for funerals, marriages and almost everything, by an appeal to the stars. Each day has a governing star and they decide whether the day star agrees with the birth star of the individual. This is one of the most common of the methods of fixing a lucky day, and it is done by what is known as the *fa chia*, one of the schools of geomancy.

They fix a lucky day by what is known as an appeal to the three things which harmonize; that is, heaven, earth, and man. This method is known as the *hsing chia* (形家), or *k'an yü* (堪輿) *chia*, and is another of the schools of geomancy.

Wu ho (合) and *liu ho*. They tell fortunes by an appeal to the five elements, gold, wood, water, fire and earth, or by an appeal to the four points of the compass with the zenith and nadir. These methods are used by fortunetellers and geomancers.

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They contract for the bringing of a lunatic to his right mind. 791 789

They arrange for the removal of a ghost from a house. If houses have uncanny sounds or have the reputation of being haunted or are troubled with snakes, insects or other vermin, the geomancer fixes a lucky day and invites a sorcerer to assist him drive out the pests or ghosts.

Divining by copper cash is called *Wên Wang kua.* On the side of the cash are Chinese characters, that side is known as *ma tzŭ* (麻子). The side with Manchu characters is known as the *mo êrh* (末兒). Three cash are used and the count kept as to how many *ma tzŭ* or *mo êrh* show in six throws of the coins.

Mei hua shu (梅花數), to divine by whatever the divining person may carry in the hand or on the person is known as *sui chi ying pien* (隨機應變), to answer as occasion demands.

They also divine by the use of the six *jên* (壬) or combinations in the sexagenary cycle ; by this method it is said that they can find out the name, dwelling place and likeness of a thief and where he has hidden the stolen goods, and other necessary details.

There is a method of divining invented by Shao K'ang-chieh of the Han dynasty. It was largely prophetic and dealt with the future of the country. Though this method is still used, few if any are able to understand it fully.

Ch'i mên tun chia (奇門遁甲), to divine by an appeal to the stars. This method is generally used in connection with prophetic prognostications.

Divining by the use of dominos is a method used to fix the dates for marriages, to find lost articles or a lost relative, or when wealth may be obtained.

The Itinerant Vendor 778

Pedlars sell spirit charms from such idols as the Ling kwan and the T'ien shih ; both are to prevent or to heal diseases. 443 789

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443 They sell the spirit cat which is the figure of a cat painted on paper with the charm 勅令, *chih ling*, written on it.
778 Also the pictures of Chung K'uei (鍾馗), which ward off
789 demons. He was a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. Scholars take his pictures to the examination boxes to keep away demons during the examinations.

They also sell pictures of the hills and valleys, of flowers and bamboos (generally as scrolls), of various birds and animals, also a well-known set of four Chinese pictures of fisherman, woodman, farmer and student.

Imitations of ancient styles of writing are also hawked about.

Mai hsin wên is the news vendor. Sometimes the news is purely of an idolatrous and superstitious nature, at others it is political and agitating.

Chu-ko Liang is believed to have written a number of prophetical sayings, which he had engraved on stone slabs and buried ; every now and then one of these is reported to have been dug up and the inscription printed in cheap book form and sold as reliable news. There is an unlimited supply of words and examples from the lives of eminent men printed and sold, as well as stories of the efficacious and healing power of the idols, or how these idols meted out retributions to the wicked, or prescribed a medicine to stop a plague.

Another work sold is the prophetical utterances of the celestials as contained in the *Kuan Yin ching* or the *T'ai Yang ching*.

Others sell *ch'uan su ko* (勸俗歌), ballads which exhort the people against gambling, wine and fornication, or illustrated booklets which describe the evils of opium.

Itinerant Buddhist and Taoist Priests, *Hsing chueh sêng* (行脚僧), and *Yu fang tao* (游方道)

792 It is commonly said that this class of persons will surely find some way of taking revenge if offended. It is also said that all the physiognomists belong to the palliative business and the palliatives come under the priests' rule. Their

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method of going round the country preying on the feelings and superstitions of the people is called by themselves "repairing the viscera temple" (修五臟廟). While doing this the priest goes from door to door and distributes his cards and a little later he comes back to collect the money from each house. 792

Mendicant priests go round the streets with a note-book and take the names of those who give subscriptions. Or they may sell pills at a high price, the profits going to the priesthood. A band of mendicant priests, seven or eight in number, will go through the streets, one carrying the idol, another the burning incense, singing, while another attends to the music, leaving the remainder to look after the collecting of money; some people give large sums to this class as a good speculation.

One class of priest often carries a kneeling-mat and a whip for driving away demons and wears a high crowned hat made of human hair and a yellow robe, which, when spread out, does for a sleeping coverlet. The sandals on his feet denote that he is a pilgrim, the staff in his hand is to beat the unruly; at one end of it is fixed a little spade with which he buries any unclean thing.

THE NINE STARTLERS (九驚), *chiu ching*

The first is *Mang Tzŭ* (蟒子) *ching*, the blind man who plays the guitar and tells fortunes. Next, *Liu* (流) *liu ching*, the rambling fortuneteller who bears a bamboo clapper and goes through the streets seeking for work. *Tsui* (嘴) *tzŭ ching* uses a bird of some kind to pick out a character from a box with which character he divines for his clients. *To* (朵) *to ching* divines from a character picked out by the client himself. The *Tai* (帶) *tzŭ ching* is a fortuneteller who carries the characters and explanation already written on his person. The *P'ing* (平) *ching* is a fortuneteller who sets up his stand and speaks about his trade and attracts customers. The *Lo* (挪) *ching* sings, and the *Hai* (海) *tzŭ ching* plays the harp as they practise their arts. The *Hua* (花) *hua ching* is a female fortuneteller. 791 787

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PHYSIOGNOMISTS (相師), *hsiang shih*

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Ma i (麻衣) *hsiang fa*, *Liu chuang* (柳莊) *hsiang fa* and *Ta ch'ing* (大清) *hsiang fa* are well-known books on this science.

Internal physiognomy is called *nei hsiang*, which includes a study of the fæces, voice, etc., and the external physiognomy, *w'ai hsiang*, includes a study of the bones; hair growing in ears, nose and eyebrows; colour of the face, etc.

Face physiognomy, *mien hsiang*, includes the study of the *San t'ing* (亭) *wu kuan*, the three divisions of the face and the five organs. The *san t'ing* are the *t'ien t'ing* or brow, the *chung t'ing* or nose, the *hsia t'ing* or chin.

Shou hsiang, or palmistry, deals with the *chiu kung* (九宮) or nine places where there is fulness round the palm of the hand, upon which much stress is laid.

The science is based on the following ten characters, which are supposed to represent ten types of Chinese face:—

Yu (由), weak brow; *chia* (甲), chin weak; *shên* (申) chin and brow weak; *t'ien* (田), lacking brow and chin; *t'ung* (同), mouth prominent, chin lacking; *wang* (王), equally balanced, jaw lacking; *yüan* (元), jaw strong, nose weak; *mu* (木), brow weak, jaw strong; *yung* (用), strong, but chin lacking; *fêng* (風), a strong face.

GEOMANCY (陰陽), *yin yang*

It is the geomancer's work to select the site for a house: the direction in which it faces must not disagree with the life star of the owner. He decides how and where the doors and windows are to be placed; and which way it should be approached; hardly ever by a straight road. He also selects lucky days for beginning the foundations, for beginning the carpentry work, for putting up the frame-work; and above all, the lucky day and hour for hoisting the top beam on the roof. On this occasion the workmen have extra money, a feast, and the rest of the day free from work. He fixes the position for a burying place, and the way a grave will face. Traffic in the

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vicinity of the grave is stopped lest the spirit be disturbed. It is reckoned very unlucky to tread on or through a family graveyard. 791 787

To decide how a protecting wall round a grave should be built and when it may be built is the geomancer's duty, and when earth can be put on the graves. The proverb runs, *chêng, san, wu, ch'i, chiu, mu shên tso ti shou;* In the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons, the spirit of the grave sits on the ground and guards; during these months no funerals of any importance are carried out and old graves are left severely alone.

He decides when the tombstone may be erected without disturbing the spirit of the grave, and fixes all the lucky times connected with a funeral. (See *Funerals.*)

Hsiu shêng chi (修生寄) is to prepare with the help of an astrologer the foundation for a grave before death, so as to be perfectly sure that it is all right; the coffin is often ready many years before.

Hsing chia is the astrologer who will look at the formation of a mountain before he will fix upon a grave. He makes much of the dragon, he uses the triad compass in his work. The triad is the *san ho* (三合), or heaven, earth and man.

Fa chia is the astrologer who simply decides the position of the grave, for prosperity to the progeny. He uses the eight-diagram compass. The *ts'ê* (擇) *chia* is an astrologer who simply decides lucky days, and is like the fortuneteller.

The following represents the transmigration or rotation of souls as far as the geomancer is concerned; hence his control over both the dwellings of the living and the dead. These stages are written on the above compass and used by both classes.

Born, 長生; washed, 沐浴; clothed, 冠帶; rank, 臨官; prosperity, 帝旺; aged, 衰; sick, 病; death, 死; buried, 墓; ended, 絕; conceived, 胎; nourished, 養.

To build a pagoda to make up a deficiency in the formation of the hills, or to break the monotony of a plain, in order that luck may attend the scholars of the district is called *p'ei fêng shui* (配風水) and *p'u wên fêng* (培文峯).

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These pagodas are all built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and almost always have an odd number of storeys, which is reckoned more lucky.

To dig a little on the wrong side is to transgress the geomantic influences, *fan fêng shui*. This is reckoned very serious, and must be counteracted, sometimes by buildings being pulled down or pieces added, doors and windows being closed up and fresh ones being opened.

A building erected hundreds of *li* distant may spoil the geomantic influences of a district or town.

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BOOK VIII—SUPERSTITIOUS DREAD

THINGS TO BE AVOIDED (忌 諱), *chi wei*

The first question of importance in Ssŭch'uan is how to gain a livelihood; the people say that every thing else is false, hunger only is real. But next to satisfying hunger, comes the great art of appeasing and hoodwinking demons. There can be little doubt that superstitious dread haunts most people from youth to old age. A young woman well known to us happened to overlay her child in the night, and next day she showed no signs of grief or trouble; on being pressed for a reason, she replied, "Oh, we must cheat the demon;" the idea being that if she had shown any sorrow, the demon would have come and taken the other child also. Much of the callous exterior of this people is not real, but put on for fear of demons. 784

Lucky days are chosen for almost every event of importance in life; beginning an education, starting on a journey, opening shop at New Year time, marriages, funerals, changing houses, repairing or building houses, will not only be begun on a lucky day, but in a lucky year. It has seemed to me that the day of a person's birth and the day of his death are the only events which they make no pretence at controlling. 777

Odd numbers are more lucky than even ones; for example, an odd number of days must elapse between a death

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777 and a funeral, and every seventh day is observed by the women as a time for weeping till seven times is reached, and the mourning in many cases ended.

The first and fifteenth are the recognized days for worship in the temple and in the home. The seventh moon of each year is the most idolatrous of the twelve, when the spirits of the family ancestors are supposed to return and share the feast of meat and wine. The pagoda of each city, which is said to be built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and intended to govern the literary welfare of the city, has, as far as I have seen, always got an odd number of storeys. The Chinese are not without their superstitious dread of the foreigner. I have been asked many times if I could see three feet into the ground; and the call, *Yang jèn tao pao* (洋人盜寶), indicates that they believe that our eyes have wondrous powers of finding treasure which they believe lies hidden in the earth. It is quite a common thing to meet a man on the road who will put his nose in his sleeve while passing lest he should smell the foreigner. The smell of the ink of a foreign book is unlucky in the house. The small print of foreign books will injure their eyes, foreigners' tea will bewitch them, etc. We shall now look at a few of the things to be avoided in classified order.

784 *Superstitions connected with the first day of the year.* On that day no one in the family may mention the words demon, tiger, cat, snake, monkey, suicide, blood, wounds, short-lived, death, sickness, son died, daughters departed, speechless, lost money ; also the following with a play on the double meaning of the words : *tuan lu*, short road, suicide; *tuan t'su*, to sever head from body ; *pu tsai*, lost, also meaning dead ; *pu hao*, not good, also meaning to be sick, etc.

On this first day the brooms of the house are carefully hidden for fear they may be used and sweep away the family inheritance. The scales for weighing vegetables are also hidden as the marks and figures make it resemble a snake. For any member of the household to have dishevelled hair on that day is very unlucky, as that is said to be how demons look, and is a bad omen for the New Year. The breaking of

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a rice basin or the spilling of water in the kitchen is a very unlucky thing and is taken to mean that the family affairs will be troubled. To have a house set on fire, or for any one to mention fire on the first day is a very unlucky thing.

Those who are in mourning will cast away their mourning weeds for the day; but will not pay calls on that day, for fear of disturbing the weeping god. No weeping is allowed in the family on that day lest it should last throughout the year. It is very unpropitious to quarrel, sing, lose or lend an article, to catch the clothing on anything and tear it, to give a ladleful of water, or even a light to light a neighbour's fire or lamp. No one will ask for the payment of an outstanding account on New Year's day for fear they may become beggars. Neither will they sell or allow anything to go out of the house for the same reason. Money is given to beggars on New Year's day, having been previously given out for the express purpose. The practice of sitting on another person's door-step is deeply resented by some families at all times; others do not forbid men, but they would be deeply insulted if women should sit there; but on New Year's day no one is allowed to sit there as it stops the flow of wealth and hinders the passage of the spirits to and from the house. On this day the bell on the idol's shrine must not be touched by strange hands; if an outsider should dare to disturb the family gods he will be severely dealt with for his trouble. To tell any person on New Year's day that he has *pei shih*, or turned his back on the times, is a very serious insult, as it means the family affairs will be unlucky throughout the year.

Continual fears of all classes. The proverb says, *chu lai ch'iung, kou lai fu:* the coming of a pig into the house betokens poverty, and the advent of a dog betokens riches; the reason given for this is that the pig only sleeps and eats, whereas the dog protects the family. But if a dog goes in and out of the house barking for no apparent cause this is reckoned to be very unlucky. It is said that a dog is an ancestor in another form and the name can be read on its belly; for this reason hardly anyone will kill a dog. This idea seems to have had its origin in the following. A dying man

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784 owed another family five hundred cash, which he promised to return and pay. Soon after his death a litter of puppies came into the house, and on the belly of one was written the name of the man to whom the money was owing; the puppy was given to him and his family became rich.

In connection with the pig there are some curious ideas, which seem to have been imported by Buddhism, such as the following: 曾見孫孫娶祖母爺皮弼鼓打諸親鍋內煮—Already I have seen the grandson marry the grandmother, and the grandfather's skin acting as a drum at the ceremony; while the whole of the friends (become pork) were boiling in the pot to be eaten at the feast. This is transmigration of souls in earnest! If a pig becomes unsettled and snorts in and out of the sty or gets out of the sty and away this is a very unlucky sign; as it may be that it is threatened with an attack of the pig's epidemic. For the last forty years the pigs have been smitten with a disease spoken of as the *huo yin tzŭ wên* (火印子瘟), or the fire-stamp epidemic; this disease is peculiar and is easily known by the large red marks all over the body of the pig just like the stamp from an official seal. The Chinese say that this is done by demons, and it is attributed to a movement among the soldiers of Hades, and for some years it has been feared that human beings would be afflicted by the epidemic. Is it possible that this is an attempt of the disembodied spirits to gain an entrance to the body of the pig? It is often said of a pig if it thrives well, that it is a *huan chang ti* (還帳的), that is, someone who owed them or their forefathers some money, come back in the form of a hog to repay the debt.

If a cat comes to the house it is a sign that the mourning clothes will soon be needed. If a cow comes it is also a bad omen; the fear is that some murder or accident involving life may happen, and therefore the animal is seized and kept till a fine is paid which is used to pacify the family gods and restore the peace of the house. The owner of the cow will also have to hang up a red cloth over the door of the dwelling and fire off crackers at the door as he departs with the animal.

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A horse is also very unlucky and will not be allowed to leave a house which it may have entered before the owner pays a fine. 784

If a cow trespasses on the ancestral graves it will also be liable to be seized and held till the spirits of the ancestors have been appeased. If a chicken comes to the house the chief fear is that people should know; thus honest people return it at once, but others either hasten to kill and eat it, or take steps to have it sold for fear of detection. When a chicken is lost the loser not infrequently suspects the right person, and will deliberately sit down and curse what is called the speckled cock, *ma hua chi chung*, or curse the spotted turtle, curse the pheasant red and curse the neighbours all round.

Chickens are often stolen by the street arabs, who kill them and make the feathers into feather dusters. The low class of inn where these rascals put up is called *chi mao tien*, chicken feather inn, so named because chickens are killed and feathers stored and manufactured there. 685

There is a saying which means Rather lend the chief room of a house to deposit a coffin, than lend it to anyone to hold a marriage in. A marriage and a funeral are both to be avoided unless the person belongs to the family, but a marriage held in the house is more unlucky than a funeral, and no one will allow it at any cost. 784 777

No woman from an outside family may sit on the door step of the chief room of the house. No woman who has been confined will be tolerated in another person's house till her forty days of purification have been accomplished; a woman during that time must certainly *tso yüeh* (坐月), sit one moon. No woman would dare to go near the chief room of her own house for the same length of time for fear of offending the idols.

No one may go to another person's home and weep, for fear of troubling the weeping spirit. Nor may anyone go with a fresh wound into another's house, as it is very unlucky.

When the white-necked crow makes a lot of cawing it is very unlucky; this bird is called the *kuei lao ya*, demon crow.

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777 When the cock goes crowing to bed or a hen crows in the
784 yard both are reckoned unlucky. A crowing hen is a sign of misfortune, or the female taking the place of the male as head of the family. Many date the beginning of China's troubles to the time when the late Empress Dowager usurped the authority of the empire.

The repeated changing of houses is very much deprecated, as it disturbs the ancestral altar and poverty comes to those who do this. Towards the end of the year in the cold weather no one will change house for fear he will not have a suitable place to worship his ancestors at New Year time.

If the kitchen pot rings or the kitchen fire puffs and blows it is very unlucky; it is generally believed to betoken the death or sickness of some of the young women of the family.

The farmer is very particular not to enter his fields on the spring equinox lest birds should make havoc among the growing grain; neither will he thatch his house on that date lest the birds destroy his thatch. Many of the farmer class will not eat beef; they say that the ox who has borne the yoke ought not to be killed; others say the cow is an unclean animal; others that she is unlucky, and still others are afraid of another ox coming to gore them. Farm labourers and coolies are very much afraid of rain falling on their hair, the fear being that each drop becomes transformed into a louse.

The following things are avoided according to the rotation of the sexagenary cycle. The ten stems are taken first and are as follows :—

甲 Do not open granaries; fear of poverty.
乙 Do not sow or plant; seed rots.
丙 Do not build; fear of fire or workmen ceasing work.
丁 Do not use the barber; fear of boils.
戊 Do not manage the sale of property.
己 Do not touch the graves of ancestors.
庚 Do not weave cloth or make ropes.
辛 Do not manufacture condiments.
壬 Do not change irrigating sluices.
癸 Refrain from litigation.

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The twelve branches are as follows :—

子 Do not enquire by divination.
丑 Do not buy hats and garters.
寅 Do not sacrifice to gods.
卯 Do not dig wells.
辰 Do not weep, for weeping may be protracted.
巳 Do not travel to a distance for fear of not coming back.
午 Do not thatch or make raincoats.
未 Do not eat medicine.
申 Do not sleep during the day.
酉 Do not receive guests.
戌 Do not eat dog flesh.
亥 Do not arrange marriage affairs.

The following are some of the things to be avoided by business men :—

In the early morning it is very unlucky to use the abacus, or to turn up the account books; but each morning the abacus is washed to clean away the assistants' malpractices; when the shop is opened and closed, the abacus is shaken violently to drive away demons. No one entering the shop may touch the abacus, such an act would be deeply resented by many. The abacus is not generally used for business purposes before breakfast. Anyone trying to force a reckoning before breakfast will be suspected of an evil intention.

Such common things as ears ringing, sneezing, hot ears, hot face, clothing caught and torn, heart quivering, all betoken family quarrels and general bad luck throughout the day or even the year. The upsetting of a basin of rice on the table or elsewhere is very unlucky, and to take any person's rice-steamer and empty it on the ground is one of the greatest insults that can be given to a family. The twitching of the eye-lashes has deep significance.

Brick and tile-makers have a superstitious dread of *hung* (紅), or red, as red bricks and tiles are not half the value of the black or grey coloured ones. The lime-kiln owner has a dread of the words *tao tsang* (倒臧), as this means that the limestone won't be burned through and will be returned to him.

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The iron foundry owner is afraid of the word *ma* (麻) as this indicates that his iron will not weld together properly. Barbers fear the words *ya pa* (芽 耙), that is, cutting their customers, who will then not come back. The butcher fears the two words *ko ch'i* (擱起), which means that his meat may be left unsold. Carpenters and masons have a superstitious dread of the two characters *tao fan*, empty out rice; lost the job. The rice shops dread the two characters *t'ing shih*, a stoppage of food, or indigestion. Tea and wine shop masters are afraid of the three characters *mai pu t'o* (賣不脫), can't sell it, and *shih pên* (十本), ten copies, which is the same sound as *shih pên* (失本), to become bankrupt. Boatmen are afraid of such words as *fan tao*, turn over; *tao*, to empty out, also *k'o ch'i*, to stick on mud; and *tang tao*, stopped. Hewers of wood have a dread of such words as the following: *ta tao*, struck, also *ch'ang shên*, to stretch out, and *pu tung*, inanimate. The pig dealer dreads the words *pu tui ts'ao* (槽), that is, the pig will not settle to eat; or the words *pu tui t'ou*, unsuitable. This is shown by the pig's tendency to whine and dig up the pig-sty.

The traveller dreads the words *pu hui lai*, not to return, just as he is about to start on a journey from home. The servant dreads the words *pu yao*, or we don't want you.

If a family has been robbed the people of the house, when filling up the hole made by the thieves in the wall, will bury some *fan*, rice, and some *fa*, hair, at the bottom of the hole in the wall, believing that the thief will *fan fa*, or break the law, the play being on the sound of the characters.

Woodmen are afraid of the following: *ho ch'a*, drink tea, as tea is the first thing offered to a swooning man; *ho t'ang*, drink soup, also *tao*, to upset, and *fên k'ai*, to separate, *ta p'o*, to split up, also *ch'ai p'o*, to tread to pieces, for fear one of their number should be killed.

In the paper factory the owner is in constant dread of the water being let off from the vats before the paper is ready to come out. He also fears the water getting sour; this is called *ma* (麻) *shui*, spoiled water. He also dreads *tuan pu ch'i lai*, or it cannot be lifted up, also *lan kao*, rotten in the

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vats, also *yin ch'i*, spoiled for lack of sun to dry it. If a woman during her forty days after confinement should venture near a paper factory, she will need to stand surety for the peace and prosperity of the factory for 120 days.

Fishermen dread the words *fan wang*, the net upset, also *chiao jao*, to implicate, by fishing up a human head or something else bad. The distiller dreads the words *huai kang*, that is, the butt is broken, as the wine will then lose its savour. He also fears *tuan tso*, which means that wine will be short weight.

On the fifth of the fifth moon every person reckons to lay aside work for a time ; the fear is that sickness may overtake them if they don't. On the fifteenth of the seventh moon no guests are kept in the house, as the spirits of the ancestors are expected back to partake of the family feast. No debts are collected at this feast as it is purely an ancestral worship feast, and the ancestors must have their dues paid to them. This is called *t'ao ya pa chang* (討 啞 吧 帳), the dumb asking for accounts to be paid. Perhaps readers may have noticed that in the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons funerals and marriages are very rare, and no official likes to go to a new position during these months unless he is absolutely forced to by circumstances.

The first-born son of the family is never allowed to talk to or play with a pregnant woman, for fear the child's spirit should be called to be the other woman's son. Some sick persons will not see people, *chi jên* (忌 人). Women avoid visitors on even days and men on odd days ; there is some superstitious dread that visitors might call away their spirits. At such times a bamboo with a flag on it is stuck outside the door, and people seeing it know not to enter the house.

When a new animal has been bought and taken home, a dirty person is not allowed to lead it into the stable, nor is a lazy person allowed to feed it, for fear the animal should get degraded through contact with them.

In arranging the position of a bed in a bed-room, it is never put facing the door as that is how a coffin is placed.

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784 On entering a tea-shop it is very unlucky to upset your own tea or to see a tea-cup upset by another.

777 [782] Boatmen, when starting on a journey, always choose a lucky day for the crew to come on board, the sacrifice to be made and the boat started. The sacrificial chicken is intoxicated before it is killed, wine being poured down its gullet; when slain, the blood is sprinkled on the prow of the boat and the feathers stuck to it as a witness of the transaction. On the journey demons are seen in the head winds and adverse currents, and when it is difficult to pull the boat over a rapid; rice is then thrown overboard to feed the hungry ghosts. The boatmen will rarely tell you how far they are from a certain place, lest the demons should know of their whereabouts, while the distance is generally given as so many stages. They will never tell you where they intend to stay for the night or how far away is an anchorage, lest the demons should waylay them. The custom of boatmen whistling and howling for the wind is a curious one and probably has to do with the idea that the spirits are in the wind and are helping them. In the bottom of each boat there is one division lower than the others, called the *t'ai p'ing ts'ang*, into which all the leakage water in the bottom of the boat is expected to flow, to be ladled out into the river; no one may shout or swear while in this division lest the boat should be wrecked. The words *kuai* (拐), and *ch'iung* (倾), are used to take the places of *huai* (壞), wreck, and *tao* (倒), to empty out. The exact number of trackers should never be counted for fear it should bring disaster. Boatmen never tread on the front of the boat, and care should be taken to avoid this as much as possible by any one. Boatmen always sleep across the boat and never dress standing on their bedding.

Woodmen employed in the forest never call any of their comrades by name before breakfast. Nor are they called to breakfast lest one of them should be called upon to die before the evening. Anyone daring to dress standing on his bed, or knocking his chopsticks together may be fined to the extent of food and tea for a meal, as these things indicate that the axe-head may slip off and kill someone. The water in which

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the vegetables were cooked must not be poured out until after the breakfast has been eaten, lest someone's blood should be spilt that day. Any of the unlucky words, such as have already been given, are not tolerated till after breakfast at least. Chair coolies do not like any one to step over the front bar of the sedan chair lest they should get sore shoulders; for women to do this is very unlucky; it is also very unlucky to step across a coolie's carrying pole, for the same reason. Coolies often throw their worn-out sandals on to the roof of the houses lest people should gather and burn them; when their feet would become blistered. Women are never allowed to sleep upstairs at a Chinese inn. If a man has no intention of selling his cow, he objects to anyone looking at it lest the animal should become unsettled and bellow or take sick and die. A horse may be looked at by a would-be purchaser, but the animal may not be ridden unless the owner is prepared to part with him. It is also reckoned unlucky to look at fat pigs with a view to purchase until the owner is prepared to part with them. A three-hoofed pig, a cow with three teats, or one with spots on its head, or with black marks under the tail or in the mouth is reckoned very unlucky. The advent of a flock of sparrows is a sign of poverty.

The advent of crows foreshadows luck and prosperity to the family; crows are reckoned filial birds because they cherish their aged. If they leave the family grove it betokens poverty and fire. Owls are reckoned to be unlucky because it is said that they devour their aged. It is said that the owl flies with his head exalted and his wickedness fills the heavens. Their call heralds death and fine weather. Magpies are reckoned to be lucky and filial birds. If the swallow's brood is five in number, it is reckoned that the floods will come in the fifth moon.

If a dog sneezes it is believed that fine weather is about to come. If you laugh at a dog it will rain. If a person is bitten by a dog he asks for a hair of the dog; this is singed and applied to the wound. To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is as bad if not worse than being actually bitten by one.

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784 If a person sneezes, the first thing he will say is "Who is
777 speaking about me?" If a person's ears ring, some evil is being spoken of him. If ears burn a law suit is impending. A burning face indicates the loss of property. The god of the bed is worshipped on the moving from one house to another, and when a new bed is brought, in order that peaceful slumbers may come to the family. Soldiers sharpen their swords once yearly on the thirteenth of the fifth moon. Kites are flown by men on the ninth of the ninth moon as a medium for carrying off evil influences from the home. If a kite should fall on any person's house it is reckoned to be very unlucky and no one would dare to go and claim it. Children often wear a small mirror on the front of their hats in order that the demons may see their ugly faces and depart.

If a man should dream that he has swallowed the sun and moon or pearls, he will eventually have a rich son. To dream of much water is to get great riches. To dream of fire is to get honours by learning. People who are troubled by evil dreams go and tie a knot on a shrub known as the *mêng hua*, dream flower. If an old man has a red nose it is the sign of the greatest happiness. If the house is infested with rats, many people keep what is called a *shên mao êrh*, or spirit cat, pasted up in the kitchen. This is also called a Kien chou (簡州) *mao êrh* because they are made at that place. This is simply the picture of a cat painted on a piece of yellow paper. It is reckoned very unlucky to howl or shout on a hill-top as a gale of wind and rain may follow.

The terror of the nine-headed monster (蠱) is great in some places. This would appear to be a flock of wild geese flying in the shape of the character nine. If these pass over a city at night many people rush out of doors to drive them off as it is believed that if it drops pus, the family will become poor; if it drops blood, the whole family will die.

The Chinese believe that there is such a monster and the contention of the heads for the ascendancy makes it drop blood.

789 Houses whose doors open on some public path sometimes have wooden screens set up in front of the doors to keep

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out demons. These screens are called *ch'a p'ing* (插 屏), stuck-in screen. When a house is troubled with sickness the neighbours often ask whose dirty demon has come hither to give trouble. 789

When a person has a hatred for another and is bent upon secret revenge, a straw effigy of the enemy is made and pricked in the eyes and nose with a needle, cursed and burned; it is believed that this will inflict sickness or even death upon the enemy and is spoken of as *shê yin chien* (射陰箭), shooting a secret arrow. Another way is to go to the temple of the city god, and accuse the person at the idol shrine; the indictment is written out and presented with candles and incense, after which it is burned to ashes. This is called *kao yin chuang* (告陰狀), making an indictment to Hades. When a dead child has been carried out of the house, the doorstep is sawn or hacked to indicate that the debt of some ancestor has now been paid in full. 754

Sometimes over the door of the house will be found written the two characters *i shan*, one good deed; being an abbreviation of the saying, "one good deed will cover a thousand bad ones." This is to deceive the demons and keep them out of the house. 789

Some haunted houses have a mirror hung up over the door, so that when the demon comes and sees his own face he will take fright and depart. Some parents use for their children what are known as tigers' pillows so as to frighten the demons.

On the eighth of the fourth moon there is a custom known as *chia mao ch'ung*, or marrying out the caterpillar. The idea is that caterpillars are females and in marrying them out they will leave this part of the country alone. A small red rosette is put up in the chief room of the house as an evidence. 佛生四月八,毛蟲今日嫁,嫁在深山去,永遠不歸家. On the eighth of the fourth moon was Buddha's birth. On that day caterpillars are married out. Married far into the mountain recesses never more to return.

At the spring equinox there is a custom known as *ching chüeh wang*, to reverence the king of birds. Rice loaves are

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789 made into which a pair of scissors is stuck, and the whole thing is displayed outside the house; this it is believed will keep the family in peace. In some places a huge paper bird is paraded round the streets with a crowd following, probably an imitation Phoenix Bird.

On the seventh of the seventh moon there is the custom known as *hsien kua*, to offer the melon. This is also the time when girls pray for ability, or *ch'i ch'iao* (巧). In some places women and girls take what is known as *ch'iao ya tzŭ*, or ability sprouts, which are really sprouted beans. The sprouts with a basin of water are taken before the shrine of the tutelary god, where incense and candles have been lit. Each girl takes one of the long sprouts, breaks it into small pieces and throws them into the basin of water, then waits to see if these form into the shape of a flower; if they do she will be clever at needlework.

On the first of the tenth moon there is a custom known as *hsien niu wang*, offering to the ox spirit. Rice cakes, *ch'i pa* (糍粑), are made and given to the ox, which is not supposed to do any work on that day. Anyone daring to work his animal will be cursed and told that he ought to become an ox in the next life. In many country homes the oxen are dressed and petted on this their birthday.

753 824 Hydrophobia (瘋狗傷人), *fêng kou shang jên*. It is said that the snake when about to hibernate eats of a herb called *ling chih ts'ao*, "boletus." At the time of moving insects (驚蟄), it comes forth from hibernation, and vomits a great amount of phlegm, *shê hsüan tu* (蛇漩毒), which smells very strongly. If a dog eats this or if individuals smell it, they are from a Chinese point of view doomed to an attack of hydrophobia. This herb if eaten by human beings makes them comatose, but after the effects have been slept off, it is believed that the individual will live to a great age. This disease of hydrophobia is to be found all the year round, but is most common in spring time when the oil plant is in flower, so much so that the saying runs The rape is in flower; mad dogs will make their appearance. But it is said that the disease among dogs has nothing to do with the rape

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plant, but with the snakes that come out about that particular season. 753 824

There is a small bamboo which grows on the hill-tops, whose root is black; when powdered this root is believed to cure persons bitten by a mad dog. The bamboos are also used as walking-sticks as it is believed that rabid dogs are afraid of this particular kind of bamboo. 755 753

When a dog has got rabies, it stops eating, drops its tail and pushes out its tongue, barks wildly, stiffens its neck and runs furiously; bites its own people and then runs outside to bite others. If it should bite at a person's shadow or sweep suddenly past anyone, they are in danger, and so is even the person who kills it, and must go through the treatment given for rabid dog bites. Nothing is said of these animals fearing water.

The poison from these bites is a terrible thing in the Chinese opinion; for they think the person bitten becomes impregnated with puppies and if these cannot be driven out with the fæces or urine, death is certain. The trouble may begin any time from seven to forty-nine days after the bite. But one is not reckoned safe till one hundred and twenty days have passed. When a person has been bitten the specialist is invited at once, who generally heals by contract. He expects nothing if the patient dies. The calf of the leg and flesh of the forearm are pounded by people in turn till the person is almost unconscious. This is done to bring the poison to a head. The mad dog is hunted and killed by some; the flesh taken and eaten, the skin made into a sleeping mat; the hair burned to ashes and applied to the wound, while medicine is taken every seven days for forty-nine days.

To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is believed by many to be as bad as the actual bite, and medicine is needed to counteract it. In fact, even to fear or see a dog of this kind is reckoned very dangerous and causes great superstitious dread.

When a person who has been bitten is getting sick, he becomes silent and the eyes become fixed, soon he barks like a dog, throws off his clothing and tears it to shreds, pulls out his hair, eats off his finger nails, runs off like a wild animal

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753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

Eclipses and Comets (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

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frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tzŭ (桑根紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

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The speckled snake, *ma pan* (麻斑), believed to be poisonous.

Wu shao (烏稍), a grey snake, reckoned to be poisonous.

Wu pang (蜂), a grey tailless snake or one whose tail does not taper like the other species. It boldly faces men and when attacked shows no inclination to flee.

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Chüeh shê and *shou kung* (守宮), the lizard. The Chinese fear these entering the tea-cups and leaving poison.

The snake's body is very cold, its teeth of the finest, its bite the most venomous. On seeing it every Chinese gets a fright, and generally speaking the belief is that they should be killed, with exceptions which will be given. The saying runs that if you see a snake and do not kill it, in the next life you will be dumb. Snakes in private homes and temples must not be killed. Those in private houses are believed to be the spirits of the ancestors come back in this form to present themselves to the family, and incense is often offered inviting them to go.

Those in temples are called *shên shê*, spirit snakes; it is said that the god of literature and the city god are snakes and come to receive the incense at the altar. It is said if one goes very early to the bedroom of the city god in his temple one will find two snakes asleep on the bed.

Besides this 眞武足踏龜蛇, the *chên wu* idol or *Liu Ch'ang shêng* has his foot on tortoise and snake, that is, he is able to subdue them.

Country people declare that by suddenly entering a bamboo grove a snakes' gathering, *shê hui*, may be seen; but on being disturbed they flee in all directions.

Snakes have a propensity for stealing living creatures such as chickens, rabbits, etc., and in so doing it is believed that the ancestor is only taking his due. Such are some of the ideas which run in the minds of the people regarding snakes, and we now turn to the king of the scaly tribe. The dragon bore nine sons something as follows:—

Hsieh chai (獬豸), a fabulous monster like a deer, which it is said can discriminate between right and wrong.

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Said to be the *shên yang*, or spirit sheep, which takes away seditious and disloyal intentions from the minds of the people. 825

T'ao t'ieh (饕餮). This is a monstrous tiger-like animal with horns. It ornaments every yamen entrance exactly facing the magistrate's office and is called *t'an* (貪) by the people. Opposite the animal is a picture of the sun, which the monster appears to be intent upon devouring. The sun is representative of the ruling emperor, and the picture is supposed to be a continual warning to the officials to avoid covetousness and rebellion. This monster also appears on old rice basins, etc., in the form of a head without the body or a headless trunk to warn people against the vice of gluttony. In the yamen entrance there is another picture of a crane and a deer; these face outward toward the people; the idea is that if the official is not avaricious there will be long life and spring on all sides, *lu ho t'ung ch'un* (鹿鶴同春). The people eat hartshorn in great quantities and at great expense, hoping for long life, as both the crane and the deer are believed to live to a great age.

Pi hsi (贔屭). A male and female tortoise borne down by affliction. This emblem is now largely used as a pedestal for tombstones, one head looking each way. The allusion is to the tortoise bearing its great burden of grief from which it cannot be relieved.

Lang pei (狼狽), a fabulous animal said to be a native of water regions, but it can be at home on land; it is popularly believed to have short hind legs, unsuitable for locomotion, so when it desires to move from one place to another it is necessary for two animals to be together, when one rides the other making use of the two pairs of fore legs. This combination is used as a symbol of two persons joined together for wickedness.

Kan (犴) is a monstrous scaly beast with one horn, the image of which is painted on the wall above the doors of jails, as a warning to people to repent of their evil deeds and not enter therein.

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825 The influence of the dragon is very far reaching; the saying runs (飛龍在天), *fei lung tsai t'ien*, the flying dragon is in heaven.

Ti mei lung shên is the dragon's pulse of the earth; the geomantic influence.

Hai lung wang, the dragon of the deep, who has his dwelling in the depths of the sea.

The wicked dragon: 惡龍難絆地頭蛇. The wicked dragon has difficulty in tripping up local snakes. A wicked emperor cannot overcome public opinion.

Another saying is, When the dragon moves a step even the grass renews its spring appearance.

Clouds follow the dragon and wind the tiger.

When a sage appears all nature stares.

If a snake bites a man there is a medicine to heal it, but if man bites man there is none. This latter half of the proverb refers to being wrongly involved in the law courts, a thing difficult indeed to heal; but a real human bite is also very difficult to cure, and they are not uncommon among the many quarrels of the people.

[*The end*]

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Social Change in Southwest China - Case Study 3

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MAGIC AND SCIENCE IN WESTERN YUNNAN

The Problem of Introducing Scientific Medicine in a Rustic Community

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FOREWORD

000 This is an intimate study of popular reactions to a cholera epidemic in a small rural town of Western Yunnan; but it is also something more. There was no panic; nor was the community coerced by an efficient public health service into the adoption of modern sanitary methods. Instead, the author found that many, even among the most ignorant, trusted the practitioners of modern medicine, had themselves inoculated and followed the hygienic prescriptions; he found that many of the best educated, men who had made money and had held public office, gave liberal support to the traditional measures taken to appease the gods. Reliance on prayer and reliance on modern preventive medicine did not divide the community; both were diffused over members of all classes and vocational groups.

It was this phenomenon, confirming previous observations made at the Peking Union Medical College, which set the writer to dig more deeply for an understanding of the processes by which old and new reliances become merged in the folk mind to form an integrated pattern of beliefs and rules of behavior. Prepared for this task by a thorough knowledge of the pertinent literature, he widened his inquiry, but testing each hypothesis against the concrete facts of the local epidemic situation, to encompass the impact of modern science as such upon a pre-industrial culture.

In one sense, the nature of that impact is much the same in rural China as it is in some rural area of the West that has not yet been touched to any extent by modern civilisation. Who does not know a social worker, a public health officer, or an agent of an agricultural extension department, who tries in vain to graft some proven scientific practice, result of much laboratory experiment and record-keeping, upon a system of established practices that rest on tradition and on faith? Such a man fails, not as he is wont to tell us, because of the resistance which he meets but much more because those who do not resist the results of scientific research absorb them in the total body of their reliances, making no clear distinction between rational knowledge and their heritage of mystic beliefs. In accepting a new practice they transform it to the extent necessitated by its absorption in the established body of traditions. Thus medicine and magic, in the interactions of a community distributed over a wide range of familiarity with old and new, become amalgamated. The old rites slowly change their form; the new norms are filled with the old content of folk experience.

A local study that leads tentatively to such far-reaching conclusions had, of course, even larger implications, as the author is not slow to point out. He challenges many of the prevalent policies of social reformers, both Chinese and foreign, who try to graft scientifically informed modern practices upon a social life ruled by tradition or superstition. He has the key, he thinks, to the explanation of much failure in Chinese efforts at agricultural improvement and education as well as medicine and public health. Even anthropologists (and he names some luminaries of that discipline) do not always realize the value of the body of traditions as the only means by which the community can - and in the minds of some of its leaders quite consciously, as he found, does - provide itself with that psychological stability which it needs both in normal times and in times of crisis.

The enforcement of public health measures through use of the state's police power may show transitory results; but if the desired practices (in such

[p. ii is blank]

000 matters as cleanliness or use of pure drinking water) are not integrated in the fabric of the established code as essential parts of a continuing usage, such measures are short-lived. People fall back into their old ways, not because they are stupid or reactionary, but because there is no satisfaction in fragments of information or prescription from a world that is not their own.

The individualistic approach, so dear to the Western social reformer, also falls short of the real task. It attempts to reform a community or a whole society by rescuing a few from the trammels of ancient superstitions so that they may become leaders among their fellows in their striving for a better life. All they achieve, very often, is to estrange such persons altogether from their native community.

Success, according to our author, beckons when the propagators of new ideas and better practices cease to regard themselves as engaged in a perpetual conflict with outdated uses and pre-scientific habits of mind. Instead of asking people to change their ways, the public health officer and others like him should accept these ways with the respect due to a folk wisdom handed down through the generations. Social custom is not a dead thing to be reconstructed or added to, but has a life that permeates all its parts, so that progress can be achieved only through the development of the whole.

The author's attitude, thus, is somewhat different from that which we in the West have come to expect in Western-trained Chinese sociologists. He is not averse, as many of them are - or used to be - to discuss beliefs and customs which, when they manifest themselves in contemporary China, have too often been used by foreign writers to libel the Chinese people as hopelessly given over to superstition and incapable of rational thinking. Those beliefs and customs, those behavior forms so strikingly in contrast with rationally conceived social codes, are precisely what we must study if the old failures of the modernist are not to be endlessly repeated.

There is no cultural isolationism here, nor a desire to retreat from modern reality, as so many European scholars have done in this generation, in a mystic appeal to blood and soil. On the contrary, Dr. Hsu goes farther than most of his contemporaries in demanding for China a complete social freedom as the essential condition of any sort of advance.

> "The development of support for public health measures and scientific medicine depends ultimately upon a sound mental attitude. And a sound mental attitude depends upon the general training in sound scientific reasoning. In a society of slavery, or of caste, or of fate, even with all the industrial development in the world, sound scientific reasoning can never really hope to take a permanent root."

Therefore he looks to a free and industrialized society and the kind of education which it alone affords as the crucible in which the conflict between magic and modern science will find its natural and inevitable solution - not in the victory of science over tradition but in the interweaving of both in a new pattern of customs and uses, of habits and ideas.

114 The present monograph is one of a number of intensive recent studies made in war-time China by a group of scholars concerned to implement

both theory and the shaping of practical programs of reform with concrete, even graphic, data on current social situations. All of them significantly illustrate widely prevalent conditions of social change. In each instance only the author is responsible for statements of fact and opinion contained in his contribution. The present study was first distributed in mimeographed form for private circulation in China through the generous assistance of the British Consulate-General in Kunming and the Branch of the Press Attaché's Office of the British Embassy in that city. The present edition, by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is intended, more especially, for distribution in North America. 114

W. L. HOLLAND
Research Secretary

September, 1943

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INTRODUCTION

It hardly needs to be pointed out that "superstition" and magic rule the life and conduct in pre-industrial communities the world over - much more than in modern industrialized communities. One use of such "superstition" and magic is for the cure or prevention of disease.(1) Such practices and ideas have been one of the main targets of Chinese reform in recent years. The current assumptions on this matter are that (1) "superstition" and magic have to be replaced entirely by scientific knowledge and practices - there can be no half way and (2) the chief problem confronting the reformer and the farmer alike is that of finance. When there is enough money to enable the people to acquire "better" things (e.g. modern measures of sanitation) to take the place of the old practices, the "better" things will prevail. This, it is said, is especially true if the practice concerned has little or nothing to do with moral standards.

Are these assumptions sound and workable? What is the nature of magic and "superstition"? What do modern social scientists have to say abou this problem?

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(1) Magic refers to the practice and "superstition" to the ideas behind the practice. The author is not concerned with a one-hundred percent distinction between magic and "superstition" on the one hand or between modern medicine and ideas about health on the other. Such a distinction, if carried to extreme limits, will, as far as one can see, be incapable of satisfactory application to facts; for by magic and "superstition" scientists refer to practices and beliefs which assume a causal relationship between two or more phenomena that is not demonstrable by any known methods of science. It is then evident that, considering the nature and limitations of modern science, there must be facts which are as yet not scientifically established, just as there have always been "facts" which have later turned out to be false assumptions. In other words, the respective domains of scientific knowledge and magical beliefs are not permanent but change as scientific methods gradually penetrate into the mysterious interior of reality. But for practical purposes, unless we wish to be over-argumentative, we shall have no difficulty in distinguishing the main body of scientific knowledge from the main body of magical beliefs. For example, no one will reasonably deny at present that burning amulets as a war effort is a magical practice just as no one will reasonably deny at present that the scientific way of treating most cancerous growths is by their surgical removal. Moreover, the distinction between magic and religion involves questions which do not concern us here.

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF MAGIC AND "SUPERSTITION"

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The point of departure is that many reformers have failed to realize that magic and "superstition" are part and parcel of the psycho-social-economic context in which they have arisen, just as present-day Western medicine and sanitary ideas (and science in general) have their appropriate psycho-social-economic background. If modern social scientists have made one definitive contribution on the nature of society it is that there is no isolated individual just as there is no isolated institution. The individual grows up and becomes a part of a group or groups deeply immersed in a body of traditions and rules of conduct. The institution is formed and functions among other institutions closely related to it and interwoven with each other.

This means that just as the individual cannot be removed from the group or groups in which he is a member without more or less serious consequences to the group or groups, the institution or established practice cannot be put out of existence without large or small disturbances, leading ultimately to breakdowns, to the group of institutions among which it functions as a part. What is more, while the individual may be removed from his group comparatively easily by force (such as imprisonment, exile, execution or excommunication), the removal of an institution or established practice (such as by iconoclastic destruction, governmental orders, or financial power) presents a far more difficult proposition, because an institution usually is deeply entrenched in a large number of minds. Under such circumstances any attempt at an outright omission of one institution without regard for its social context, even if another one is superior and well carved out to take its place, is unlikely to succeed.

Or we may review the matter in a somewhat different set of terminology. Modern anthropologists generally agree with Professor Malinowski that magic fills the gaps of science, i.e. magical practices occur at places where scientific knowledge is weakest. In other words, magical practices, which are the characteristic expression of one type of institutions, make up the vacancy left or unfilled by scientific practices, which are the characteristic expression of another type of institutions. If this conclusion is unconditionally true to the nature of the relation between magic and science in all states of a culture, then we should expect that when the points of weakness in our scientific knowledge are no longer weak magical practices can be replaced with a minimum of difficulties by the incoming practices based upon the newly discovered knowledge of science. To bring the argument home, if the conclusion that magic fills the gaps of science can unconditionally stand as it is, then when a scientific procedure which is known to be effective in the larger world can solve a medical problem which in a local community has usually been solved by magical means, the new procedure will automatically replace the traditional practice. But this prediction is not realized in fact, as may be seen in the case of "West Town",(2) a local community in the Tali area, Yunnan, where the author has been particularly fortunate in observing from beginning to end a cholera epidemic - how it affected the people, what preventive and curative measures were applied, and what ideas appeared to motivate their behavior.

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(2) For purposes of the present paper the town is called "West Town," hereafter to be written without the quotation mark. The names of persons and places of the locality are also altered.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchmen. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Crossey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through sons of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still vivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people.

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The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunnar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Hwang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'ang
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Yuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tso
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Tuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	19th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Chin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Some time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Pa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small alter just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through West Town and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ts'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

offended a local woman who was dispatching milk because the friend's wife washed the milk woman's measuring bowl before dipping it into the milk ... The milk woman's reason was that the bowl was carried on her body, just next to her under-clothes so it could not be dirty at all. 744 364 515

Ideas about public health are lacking. Sickly dogs are seen everywhere; donkeys, horses and mules make a mess freely on every street. Children and adults enjoy their conveniences in the main thoroughfares or around any corner of any lane. No one even bothers to clean up the streets. Often poor farmers or their children come to the streets to gather up the human and animal excretion for fertilizer in the fields. About three years ago the missionary college and the local middle school organized a joint campaign on public hygiene. Teachers and students of both institutions carried out a general cleaning up of all the streets of the town and killed about fifty homeless and sickly dogs. Quite a number of the local inhabitants lent support to the effort. At the same time public lectures were given in the main streets by some of the students on the importance and significance of the campaign. For a period of time following the campaign the town was free from obvious dirt heaps, etc. But the old way of life returned gradually. Today no one even recalls this campaign. 744 364

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CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY IN DISTRESS

164 The cholera epidemic came to West Town as to other localities in the area from Hsia Kuan on the Burma Road, and spread with the stream of refugees that steadily flowed into the town and villages.(6) It affected a wide area. In West Town it began at about the beginning of the Fourth Moon (about the tenth of May, 1942) and ended at about the end of the same month (about the tenth of June, 1942). Only a few deaths occurred at first; then heavier tolls were taken of the population. For a period of time even in the town itself there were six or seven deaths a day. The price of coffins rose from five hundred dollars to two or three thousand dollars each, and later coffins were practically unobtainable. Carpenters worked day and night. Funeral processions of various kinds became a common every-day sight. At night the streets, unlike before the onset of the epidemic, were practically empty. Darkness and silence ruled everywhere except in carpenters' shops where much activity was in evidence.

A. Cholera Prayer Meetings

751 796 The authority of the missionary college urged its students and faculty members to be injected immediately when two cases of cholera appeared in the local hospital.[1] But the general populace took little notice of it until about the seventh of the month. Prayer meetings then took place one after another. Such meetings took place not only in the center of the town but also in all the surrounding villages. Within the confines of the town at least several areas had such prayer meetings, in two places twice. Some of these are big events, employing at least three Taoist priests and three or four musicians in addition to a larger number of volunteer ushers and officers from the area. Others are smaller events with only one priest and no musician, in addition to a small number of ushers and officers. In each case there is a big or small altar covered with canvas, on which are displayed tablets or pictures of the various gods, the priests paraphernalia and quantities of offering to the gods. In the case of the one-priest affair the meeting usually lasted for one or two days. The larger affairs lasted three days and four nights each. The author had opportunity to watch such prayer meetings in several surrounding villages in addition to the those in the town itself. The following list gives the area and villages according to the order of the appearance of the prayer meetings: (See Diagram, Names of areas being represented by alphabet letters, arabic numbers indicate order of appearance of the prayer meetings).[2]

Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meeting.	Date (Lunar Calendar)	Number of Priests Engaged
1. A	7,8,9, 4th Moon	1 priest
2. B	About 9, 4th Moon	1 "
3. C	" 9, " "	1 "
4. D	8,9,10, " "	3 "
5. E	9,10, " "	1 "
6. F	10,11,12 " "	3 "
6. G	10,11, " "	1 "
7. H	12,13, " "	1 "

(6) When Burma fell.

1 [ON the first of the month--Analyst]
2 [See p. 10--Analyst]

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Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meetings	Date (Lunar) Calendar	Number of Priests Engaged
8. I	15,16,17, 4th Month	3 Priests
9. J	16,17,18 " "	(T'an Ching only)
9. K	16,17,18,19, 4th Moon	3 (with Wen God ceremony)
10. L	21,22, " "	1
11. M	About 20, " "	3
12. N	22,23,24, " "	3
12. O	22,23, " "	1
13. H	23,24,25, " "	5 (with Wen God ceremony)
14. P	About 25, " "	1
15. Q (Prayer and the ceremony of receiving a special goddess)	25,26,27, " "	3
16. R	1,2,3 5th Moon	5

(Altogether nineteen meetings are here recorded. See Diagram for the approximate location of each area.)

A complete description of the rites involved in these prayer meetings is impossible in the present paper. The author proposes here to state in outline form only (1) the main points of the rites, (2) the cost of the meetings, and (3) the meaning of the prayers.

1. The Main Points of the Rites

The most important thing is the work of the priests in reading their scriptures, reciting incantations, and burning petitions to the gods. In the smaller one-priest affairs the reading and reciting is done by the priest alone, with the accompaniment of the sound of a "wood fish" or a bell. In the larger three-priest affairs this is done in singing and reciting. The singing is accompanied by cymbals, bugles, and stringed instruments played by three or four accompanists who often join in the priests' chorus. This is done by three or four priests taking turns or together, from about 7:00 in the morning to about 11:00 or 12:00 in the evening, stopping for meals or for a pipe. Petition papers are burned to the various gods at one time or another. The burning of such papers involves many strenuous duck steps made in succession by three priests so that their faces are covered with perspiration. Both the scriptures and the petitions state that the people of the locality have deep sins and know that the gods are now showing their anger, but respectfully and tremblingly request the gods to withdraw the punishment, and that the people promise to obey the superior spirits forever. On the second evening of the prayer meeting the chief priest assumes the dress of a chief monk and sits on a lotus flower-shaped seat fixed on a high platform; while many boys and men hold their immediate ancestors' (usually father or mother) paper tablets and gradually push the latter over a cloth "bridge" towards the chief priest, as the latter performs various rituals. This is the ritual of "sitting the lotus" and is for giving blessing to the souls who have died of sudden illness or accidents (as a matter of fact, mostly deaths due to the epidemic). The third night is signified by a ritual spreading of porridge and paper money to homeless (i.e., descendent-less) spirits who may be about the place, along the [533]

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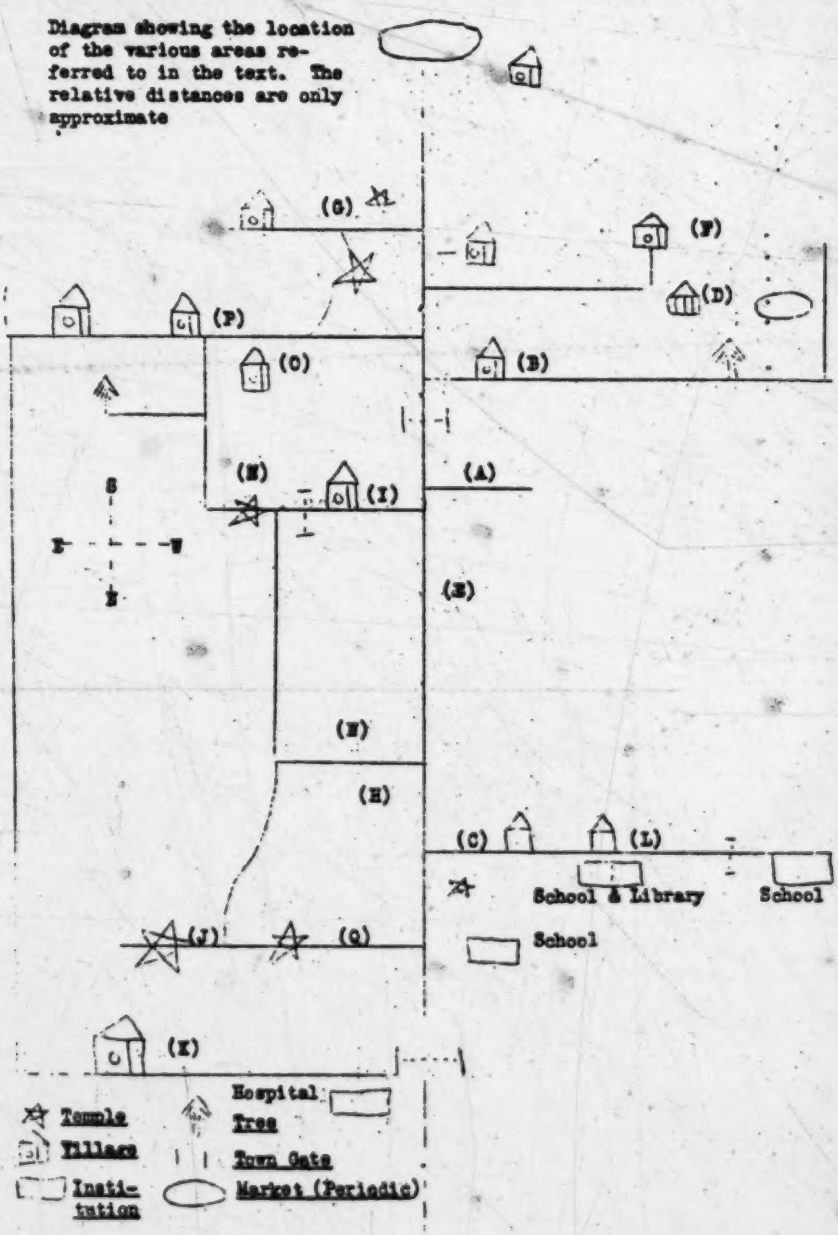
Diagram showing the location of the various areas referred to in the text. The relative distances are only approximate



streets leading away from the center of the town to the outer highway. The fourth night is chiefly occupied by rituals concerned with the Wen God (or the God of Epidemics). This god can release and arrest all evil spirits causing any form of epidemics. On this night his image (made of paper on a bamboo frame, about 15 feet high) is carried about in a torch procession formed by the chief priest and music players through the various streets of the town and its surrounding villages. In this way the god will have collected all those evil spirits and at about 1:00 a.m. the image of the god and a dragon boat (also made of paper and bamboo framework) full of paper ingots, rice, and other things are ritually taken out to the main highway about three li west of the town and burned. The Wen or epidemic is then regarded as having been sent away. (Only two prayer meetings include this Wen God ceremony.)

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The number of persons engaged in each of these affairs is impressive. In most cases the officers of a meeting are listed on a yellow sheet of paper and posted in advance on a wall near the meeting. The smallest number that came to the author's notice was about 12 and the largest number, as in a meeting which took place at Area I on the Diagram, was 77. A moderate list is as the following:

General Direction	10	Looking after offering	1
Management	8	Treasury	1
Receiving guests	1		
Looking after the food	1 or 2		
Worshipping on the altar	2	Inviting Guests	1
Arranging furniture	2	Cooking rice	3
In charge of incense and candles	1	Boiling tea	1
		Serving feast dishes	4-8
Looking after vinegar and charcoal	1	Serving tea	2-3
		Sprinkling porridge	2

The directors are elders or powerful personalities in the local area who do not actually have a close connection with the work of the meetings. The meetings are run by the managers, who are usually younger than the directors. It is difficult to form a clear picture as to who in fact sponsor these prayer meetings. In the Area I, e.g., some of the managers and elders got together and decided on the prayer meeting after a moment's discussion. In the Area E, one elder, who was later in the list of managers, was the moving spirit; discussion of some of the major points concerning the prayer meeting (such as the site) was first announced by him in a little yellow notice posted on the wall near the center of the street, and the others replied by calling upon him.

A scrutiny of some of the lists of officers in the various meetings reveals that generally speaking the managing, directing and worshipping duties are in the hands of older persons, while the works (cooking, serving food, offering, etc.) are on the shoulders of the younger people, professional or otherwise. The duty of serving tea is always done by boys. But it will be wrong to say that the older people start these prayer meetings. The latter are in the tradition no less than the customary organization in agriculture. Different members of a family may have different duties in, as well as ideas regarding, the sowing and planting of rice, but none of them will have any doubt as to the time, necessity and usual manner of the sowing and planting. So it is with these prayer meetings. Such meetings are such a deep-rooted institution that adult members of the community are familiar with their out-

751 line to an amazing extent. The author had spoken to many local persons about
796 these prayer meetings, in the beginning of the epidemic as well as after it was over. Not a single adult had any difficulty at all in grasping what was being asked about after the simplest possible reference was made.

In the above list two kinds of officers need a special word. First, the two officers who are in charge of Worshipping on the Altar. These are volunteers who take turns to kneel in front of the gods on the altar during the entire period of the priests' ritual activities. The man on such a duty holds with both of his hands in front of him a special incense bowl containing burning incense powder. In most meetings the duty falls on elderly people who are in the locality all the time. In the Area I, one of these officers was a clerk from the branch office of a governmentally owned savings bank in Paoshan, about 200 kilometers southwest of West Town on the Burma Road. He does not stay home normally. The idea is that he who is on this duty represents the community to show the gods the people's earnestness and sincerity in their appeal.

Secondly, from the latter part of the list it will be clear that there is some feasting. In regular prayer meetings of the community (for example on one of the birthdays of gods) the feasting is usually participated in by all members of the community who have joined the meeting. But in the cholera prayer meetings there is much less feasting. The priests and the music players have to be lavishly fed. So must be most of the volunteer officers. To visitors from this or other areas is served hot tea. Some of the volunteer tea-servers are pupils of the local middle school whose homes are located in the area in which the particular meeting had taken place.

On the walls near all such meetings, and in some cases on the walls of the entire area, are square posters of yellow paper with eight characters in red: "Pray and abstain from evils with all sincerity, clean up and avoid dirt absolutely." At the entrance to the larger prayer meetings, or at the ends of the street leading to them, are large couplets showing that good deeds and earnestness are essential for mobilizing the gods, or that the prayer meetings are a collective effort to propitiate the gods who may decide to forgive sins previously committed by the community.

2. Cost of the Prayer Meetings

556 In all the prayer meetings expenses are met by voluntary contributions.
796 The managers send out emissaries to solicit contributions, but a large proportion of the contributors send their contributions in money or in kind before being asked at all. Generally within a local area everybody knows what everybody else is worth, and the contributions are as a general rule proportionate to one's ability to contribute. Sometimes social position in the locality determines the amount one contributes. When the meeting is over the income, with a detailed list of the names of contributors and amounts they have contributed, and expenditures are posted in a public place. Usually the list puts the larger contributor's names first, but again social position of the contributor may be the first consideration. A person's name may appear in the lists of contributors of several prayer meetings just as it may appear in the lists of officers of several prayer meetings. This is either because the person owns shops or houses in the several areas or because his social prestige is important to the success of the meetings in question. In some cases the sum of contribution does not seem to be related at all to the contributor's social position

or to his wealth as compared with others in the same area. Thus two coffin-shop owners in one area (Area E) contributed between them a sum of two thousand and five hundred dollars and are the biggest contributors of the area. The reason is that they have suddenly made a lot of money through the epidemic. In order to make other people feel better and their newly acquired wealth more secure, they deem it best to give generously first to the popular cause. 556 796

There are others who refuse to contribute. These do not openly say that they disbelieve the cause but simply play a game of delayed action until the solicitors are tired of them. In none of the local areas is the proportion of such individuals large, and as far as the author is aware in only three areas are they found at all.

Then as to the actual cost of these meetings. The one meeting which cost the biggest sum took place at the center of the town (Area H). The sum is, in round numbers, fourteen thousand and nine hundred national dollars. The one which cost the least took place in Area B. The sum is about one hundred national dollars. The total publicly announced expenditure for nineteen meetings amounts to about $43,175. NC. 796

In order to realize the significance or insignificance of this figure it will be necessary to compare it with other figures on financial matters in the community. The average monthly expenditure of a family of three to eleven individuals was, according to a graduate from the refugee missionary college, about one hundred and twenty-five national dollars in the first half of 1940. Using this as a basis, when the rise of prices is taken into consideration, the corresponding amount in the first half of 1942 (when the cholera prayer meetings took place) should be from $548. to $1,096. (both in national currency).(7) It is thus clear that the amount expended on cholera prayers in 1942 would represent the average monthly expenditure of from 39 to 79 families of the locality. It is to be pointed out that, although the locality contains some outstandingly wealthy families which could afford to expend thirty thousand or a million dollars for a funeral the largest individual donation in these prayer meetings that came to the author's notice is two thousand and four hundred dollars. This means that the major part of the funds comes not from a few families but from many families.

On the other side of the picture we may mention that at no time had West Town's populace contributed more than one-fifth of the amount expended

(7) According to An Tze-ming: General Conditions of Economic Conditions in West Town (B.A. thesis, 1940), p. 120, 140 and 141. The number of sample families taken is small, so that the average on the expenditure is bound to be questionable. The figure $250.00 monthly is an impression rather than hard statistical fact. Taking 1936 price as 100, the price for the first half of 1940 was 1,848.38 (p. 141, ibid.), and for the first half of 1942, 8,060 to 16,120. Therefore the average monthly expenditure for the families for the first half of 1942 should be as stated in the text. (The sums are obtained by the following formula: (1) 250:1,848 - X:8,060, or (2) 250:1, 848 - X:16,120). One of the author's students in the same college (Mr. Hu Ju-hwai) had made a study of all butchers' families in West Town (May, 1942) and has found that most butchers smoke opium and their average family expenditure about doubles the results of the above calculation. However, this last mentioned study is based upon a special trade. The cost of opium may also have largely been responsible for the much larger average monthly expenditure. No definite conclusion can be drawn from it.

796 on these cholera prayer meetings to the cause of the War against the national enemy. The wealthiest family of the locality, after spending more than one million dollars on a funeral in West Town, gave fifty thousand dollars from their condolers' presents to the national cause and earned for themselves much publicity in the papers.

An analysis of the items of the expenditures shows that from about one-ninth to one-fourth of the total is paid to the priests and their musical and other assistants; from about one-half to two-thirds is expended on food for human beings as well as for the gods and spirits; and the rest is expended on paper money, incense, candles, fire crackers, paper works (image and dragon boats, etc.) and miscellaneous expenses.

796 The ordinary priest's wage for a working day is as follows:

793 Wage - $55.00; Tobacco - $5.00; rice (one sheng) - worth about $18.00; total - $78.00 NC.

465 For the chief priest in a prayer meeting the working day wage may be considerably more. In addition to the above he gets a larger share of the rice offered by those who want their newly deceased family members "uplifted" in the spirit world on the second night of the prayer meeting. In the larger meetings such a source of income is considerable. In the prayer meeting which took place in Area E, the author counted nineteen tables ritually "uplifted" on the second night, which meant that the priests would receive nineteen sheng of rice (or about three hundred and eighty dollars) for the meeting alone.

The priest's wage is very impressive when we compare it with the expenditures of the sample families mentioned above and with the wages of other workers in the community. The author only studied the work of the priests in the community to a very limited extent, so cannot say how many days the average priest works during a month. But when we consider the number of ritual occasions stated in Chapter II of this paper, the total number of the population, and the fact that there are not more than a hundred priests in the community(8) (the community refers to the town and its surrounding villages), we shall have a fair idea on the working opportunities of each priest. Now then, if we assume that each priest works for ten days a month, then his monthly income will at least amount to somewhere around five thousand national dollars.(9) The daily wage of a laborer on a farm around West Town, on the other hand, during rice-planting which occurred in the same month as the prayer meetings, was seven dollars to seven dollars and fifty cents a day plus board. That means that the laborer gets about 240 dollars plus food a month during the "busy period" on farms while the priest gets about twenty times that sum or more plus ten days of food a month. Food for a month per person, according to the best standards in West Town, was not more than three or four hundred national dollars during the corresponding period. The distance between the income of the priest and

(8) This figure may not be exact. It was obtained from the estimates of a few informants. The author's attempts at studying the census records of the sub-district government (which are not exact by any means) met with some unsurmounted obstacles at the time.

(9) For ordinary prayers of blessing and in funerals the wage may be less than that in these cholera prayer meetings.

that of the laborers and those sample families studied is large. His monthly income is even more than double the comparatively high income of the butchers. Probably this fact is responsible for making a larger percentage of them opium addicts than they would have been had their economic position been less favorable. The priests of West Town are undoubtedly a privileged class of people. 796 793 465

3. The Meaning of the Prayer Meetings

(a) The Priest's Explanations. - The author has spoken to three officiating priests of these prayer meetings, one of them the most famous priest in the locality, about the meaning of these prayers. Their explanation is the following: The epidemic[1] is caused by evil Wen spirits, spread forth by the Wen God to punish the people for their sinful deeds. The Wen God acts by order of the superior deities. In order to avert the disaster it is necessary to invoke the mercy of superior deities who will require the Wen God to retract the Wen spirits which he let loose earlier on. It is necessary to invoke as many superior deities as possible. The chief deities, worshipped in the center of the main altars, are the San Ch'ing, who are three deities in one, or Lao Tzo, the founder of Taoist religion.(10) More deities are invoked each day of the prayer meeting, so that a one-day prayer meeting can invoke only a much smaller number of deities than a two-day prayer meeting. The latter again is less effective than a three-day prayer meeting. Usually three days and four nights are an adequate duration, but for real perfection seven or eight more days will be desirable. 796 753

In order to move the deities it is necessary to show first of all that the people of the locality are moral and then that their hearts are absolutely earnest and that their request is extremely pressing. For this reason posters exhorting the people to take care of their moral qualities rather than anything else are essential. For the same reason in each prayer meeting one or more representatives must be chosen to perform a continuous worshipping duty (namely to kneel on the altar with an incense burner in hand during the entire length of the prayer meeting). For the same reason, too, it is necessary for each street as well as each village to have a separate prayer meeting. The petition papers burnt during the prayers are like petitions to our worldly officials. The various amulets and incantations used and performed respectively are special keys which the mortal does not comprehend but to which the deities will readily respond. The loud music by bugles, drum, cymbals, flute, bells, etc., as well as the singing and reading by the priests, are for the deities to hear. The louder the music and voice, the higher will they reach and consequently the easier and more quickly will the deities notice the distress of the area and the more swifty take actions for its relief.

Only a properly "qualified" priest can perform the duty of the prayer, and certain special inborn priests enjoy more such power than others who are less fortunate.

It is not necessary for every prayer meeting to include the "Wen-God-retracting-evil-Wen-spirits" ritual; one or two will be enough to fulfil the purpose. But more ritual actions are always a safer course to take than less ritual actions. The ritual of spreading rice porridge along the streets

(10) It will be interesting to note that this "three deities in one" tale is entirely based upon a traditional novel on deities called Feng Shen Pang (literally, List of Ordained Gods).

[1] [of cholera, in "West Town" -- Analyst]

796 leading to the main road away from the town or village is a measure to make
753 sure that all descendant-less spirits and those spirits who are the results of undue or accidental deaths will be sent away so that they will not be able to create trouble or wreck vengeance on innocent souls by means of the epidemic.

(b) The Worshippers' Explanations. - These explanations are neither
796 as precise nor as uniform as that of the priests. The word "worshipper" needs
753 a word of definition. The author cannot decide whose belief is genuine or firmer and whose is false or less firm. He can only use the criterion of
124 external behavior. In this way he regards as worshippers not only those who subscribe financially or by work to these prayer meetings but also those who do not belong to the few agencies of outside influence such as the college, the middle school and the hospital, and who do not exclusively resort to modern measures of sanitation and injection but passively take the prayer meetings as a matter of course.

In all, through personal inquiries, the investigator has collected about sixty statements. From a review of these statements he has been able to distinguish the following categories:

1. One type of statements gives the questioner the impression: "Why ask? Isn't it natural enough?" To this category belongs the answer given by the watcher of a public granary in the Temple of God of Literature in Area F. He said: "When there is general illness, there is prayer meeting." No amount of explanatory effort on the part of the investigator could make him give a different answer. He knows nothing about the prayers uttered by the priests. He is about 45 years of age and has a wife and children. He and his family have not had any injection. Another man, one of about fifty, a dye-shop keeper, is almost blind of trachoma. He was the sole person on worshipping duty in Area E prayer meeting. That means that the man knelt on the altar for three days and four evenings till 12:00 P.M. or later except for brief intermissions. The author had hoped that this man would have much to say about the prayer meeting but was disappointed to receive the following answer: "That (prayer meeting) is because there is Wen Sickness." He would not mention anything about ghosts or spirits at all. When the author pursued his query further, the man simply pulled up his trousers and showed the author his badly wounded knees, while remarking: "You see, both knees are sore from kneeling." The majority of this class of statements refer to the meetings by saying, "This is doing a good deed."

2. A second type of statements is more philosophical. It may be represented by the statement of a cloth and gold dealer of about 38 years of age, who used to travel among several western Yunnan and Burma cities like T'ong Yuah, Mynkyina, and Paoshan, and had returned to West Town just two months before the onset of the epidemic. He contributed the sum of fifteen dollars to the cholera prayer in his street. He said, "The prayer is good for appeasing the spirits so that the Wen will not continue. I give some money because I want to do my part, not for anything else." When the query was pursued further, the man turned to psychological terms: "You outsiders need not fear the epidemic or other catastrophe in a strange locality at all. When I went out into strange places I know nothing about their gods; I did not fear." "When you walk over a tomb and do not realize that it is a tomb, you are not afraid."

Regarding the doings of the priests in these prayer meetings he said, "Although I know how to read and write a little, I don't know what is

written in their (the priests') books. No scholars do - their Chiao (or creed) is a different one. ... We only pay them, and what they sing or pray are not matters for us to dictate. We just let them do what they deem necessary." 796 753 124

This man's attitude of indifference towards the priests' incantations and scripture-reading represents, in the author's opinion, that of a large number of the inhabitants toward these prayer meetings.

3. The third type of statements implies that who is or who is not struck by the epidemic is all a matter of fate (Chieh Shu), and that there is no really effective way of prevention or cure. It may best be illustrated by a man's statement concerning the medical powder which a Feng's Dispensary gave free of charge to all applicants. This powder is advertised by this dispensary throughout the town as very effective for curing cholera. One of the managers in the prayer meeting in Area E, a man of about forty-five, showed the author a packet of this powder which he carried in his pocket and asked the author to smell it. The stuff smelled like a combination of aromatic and incense. He and another older man agreed that the powder had been effective on some patients and entirely useless on others. Their explanation was that the question was one of fate and not of medicine or anything else. Yet somehow these two men seemed also to think that the medicines and the prayer meetings were not without their favorable effects. To prove the latter they pointed to the fact as evidence that by then (the beginning of the Fifth Moon) the force of the epidemic was gradually slackening.

4. The fourth class of statements gives one or more specific points of explanation. One man, about thirty years of age, a local shop assistant, said that the prayer meetings were for cleaning up the Wen atmosphere (or air). He did not mention spirits or ghosts until the author advanced to him the idea of "catching ghosts" in a doubtful manner. Then he said: "Yes, yes, they (the prayer meetings) are for uplifting and sending away (Ch'ao Tu) all those descendantless ghosts and spirits! There have indeed been too many deaths of late."

Another man, about twenty-five years of age, who is a laborer of some description said that "the prayer meetings are for providing something (like material comfort) for homeless spirits so that they will go away and not harm the living." (The idea is that each of these spirits, like those which are caused by undue deaths, will usually claim a substitute.)

5. The fifth and last class of statements is from individuals who are very much conscious of the outsider's difference in ideas and customs from their own and yet feel that they cannot raise themselves over and above the doings and affairs of their community. Thus a mason, about thirty-two years of age, named Yang, offered the author at first the idea that the prayer meetings were for uplifting and sending away ghosts and spirits which were descendantless, a statement practically the same as that given by the first man illustrating the fourth class of statements. But as the conversation developed the man suddenly smiled and said: "Of course all these are superstitions." (Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term).

Some statements from the only remaining Chu Jen in West Town, an aged man of about seventy and a highly honored soul among the populace, are even more striking. He first said that the prayer meetings were for the good of the community. Then he concluded, "Ah, Wen sickness, prayers and

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reading of sacred scriptures can keep it away?" "The prayer meetings can clean up the locality" (never mentioned a word about the ghosts or spirits). The author then intentionally echoed in a very affirmative tone: "Of course, the prayer meetings have cleared up the epidemic." Upon hearing this the old man instantly responded: "But all these are simply superstitions." (again Mr Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The author then explained to him, following Malinowski, that the true effect of these prayers might be to stabilize the community during a crisis, in which case they would have their proper function. He made no comment on the author's explanation. It might be that he failed to comprehend what was being said. It might also be that he understood it but did not know how to reply properly. But he simply went on to say that the meetings were "affairs" of the community, and as a personality of standing in the community he had to patronize them. He also mentioned that the community had this sort of prayer meetings on a large scale only once before, in the seventh year of the Republic (about twenty-three years ago) when another Wen broke out (not cholera, but headache and vomiting). This old man contributed twenty dollars to one prayer meeting and twenty-five dollars to another. (He is not at all wealthy.) He headed the list of directors in the prayer meeting which took place at Area H (center of the town) in which the highest single donation was $2,400.

This class of persons generally express, in one way or another, that they feel happier if they participate in the "affairs" of the community in the proper manner, whatever the outsider thinks about these "affairs". To this class also evidently belong some outstanding citizens of wealth in this community. The L. family, e.g. which is the chief supporter of the hospital and the middle school and the sole owner of the public library, spent over a million dollars for a pompous funeral in the traditional style and was the largest single contributor in at least two prayer meetings (one of which took place at the center of West Town). The R., another wealthy family, is also very much in the same position. A most interesting fact was observed in connection with a certain U. family which used to be the sixth or seventh wealthy family of the locality but which has been going down hill for some time. In a conversation Mrs. U. told the author that her family contributed five hundred national dollars to the cost of the prayer meeting in her street (Area E). But on examination of the list of contributors the author found that her husband's name was only associated with the insignificant sum of one hundred national dollars among donators of much larger sums.

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Incidents such as the last reveal that support lent to the prayer meetings is primarily a matter of social prestige, and the individual or family that has not been able to keep up with the expected level feels very much embarrassed.

An analysis of the conditions of these informants gives no definite impression as regards the significance of their age. The author had at first expected to find older people more conservative about the prayer meetings, giving more details, and the younger ones less so. This expectation is not met by the data. It is true that, as stated before, the elders and older people are in charge of the direction-managing and worshipping duties in practically all the prayer meetings. An inspection of some of the prayer meetings in session will also tell us that the spectators standing or sitting about the places of meeting during most hours of the day are either older people or children or older women. But such phenomenon is perhaps natural enough. The middle-aged or other able-bodied men and women have their work in shops, fields, and at home.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ta Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements begun to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

278 and (2) by Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine in the National Yunnan University, Kunming. Dr. Shen has also been kind enough to secure for the author
757 the aid of an old Chinese physician (trained in the traditional manner) in identifying certain drugs.[1] The results of this examination are given in the appendix to this paper.

Certain observations may be made on these prescriptions. First, in six out of eight prescriptions we find the item Lophanthus rugosus (Hue Hsiang) (about six to ten grams). This medicine is boiled with other ingredients and the juice thus obtained is drunk. According to both the old Chinese physician and the Codex of Chinese Drugs this medicine is good for stopping vomiting and for improving the digestive function. The latter volume further indicates that the drug is also good for stopping diarrhea abdominal pains, and cholera. The second thing to be observed is that one of the prescriptions which has been considered by one village as most effective contains one item only (Alumen usta or dehydrated potash alum) (composition, $K\ Al(SO_4)_2$ (see Part I of Appendix, Prescription No. 2).

Now, according to Manson's Tropical Diseases (edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935), one treatment of cholera is as follows:

"Kaolin, or bolus alba, as an intestinal astringent in large doses absorbs toxins, thus rendering them inert. It consists of Kaolin, 200 grams (7 oz.) in 400 cc (14 oz.) of water. This is a single dose, but if there is vomiting it may be repeated and sipped in small amounts at a time" (pp. 448-449) (Composition of Kaolin: $Al_2Si_2O_7 . 2H_2O$).

Dr. F. P. Shen informs the author that dehydrated potash alum (alumen usta) if used in the proper manner may serve the same absorptive purpose. He suggests however that in the local prescription the quantity of dehydrated potash alum is rather small (3.1249 gms.) and its dilution in a quantity of boiling water or soup will rather defeat its purpose.

Third, as regards the question of absorption. In the list which gives names of drugs required in two or more of the collected prescriptions we may find that at least seven drugs have to do with absorption, while seven drugs have the property of stopping vomiting or diarrhea. In another prescription which is considered most effective by the local people seven out of fourteen drugs have to do with absorption and eight have to do with stopping vomiting and diarrhea. This means that these drugs would at least be partially effective in beating down cholera. Fourth, some prescriptions are, from the point of view of modern medicine, irrelevent to the desired objective while others are detrimental to the prospect of cure. One example of the latter is the first prescription given in Part I of the Appendix. This prescription, while giving Chlorodynum (which is regarded by the modern physician as effective), also insists on the opening up of finger tips to let out blood (which Dr. Shen has been kind enough to inform the author may cause bad infection and render any further treatment of the patient by serum ineffective because of embolism.)

203 A word must be devoted to an extra advice contained in one of the
278 posters. This is a prescription which includes Alumen Usta as one among
757 fifteen other drugs, to be ground into powder and inhaled through the nostrils as well as taken in water. At one end of the paper the advertiser gives the following:

[1] [See p 52 -- Analyst]

"Those who are not sick ought to have anti-cholera injections, so as to prevent themselves from being infected." 203 278 757

The poster is lithographed and the advertiser says that his prescription was received from an "unworldly man" (usually a fairy) in the middle of the late Ch'ing Dynasty when a serious epidemic broke out in Kuei Chow Providence. He also says that his prescription is good for "72 kinds of Sa illness as well as for Sheep-wool Sa, Wen, Spasmatic feet Sa, etc." He calls the present epidemic Sa, but in his extra advice to people not yet attacked he uses the modern term Huo Luo (translation for the term cholera). He signs himself, "An old man of later happiness".

The author has not succeeded in finding out the composition of any of the ready-made cures in powder form, given freely to applicants. The stuff is to be inhaled through the nose or taken in water by mouth. These ready-made cures and the prescriptions are very popular. In Area E the author once met six or seven old officers of the prayer meeting who had in their possession some such powdered drugs given by one of the advertisers. They told the author that they inhaled a pinch of it from time to time as a precautionary measure. 757 278

The moral type of posters is usually long. It begins by stressing the importance of good deeds. Then it points out that the God of Wen has descended upon the people on the noon of the Fifth of the Fifth Moon to scrutinize their behavior and will give blessing to those who are good and disaster to those who are evil-hearted. One poster announces that the advice given in it was written in person by Kuan Kung, the Wary God of Wealth and a historical hero of the people (meaning that the words were given by the god when the latter was ritually invited). It says that those who offer incense, read scriptures and keep to vegetarian diet on the first and the fifteenth of every Moon will be free from disasters. In another section of the same poster the author of the poster says that he who after reading what has been stated in the poster will print another ten copies and disseminate them to the public will free his family from the epidemic and he who will print and disseminate 100 copies to the public will free his district from the epidemic; but he who after seeing the poster will do nothing about disseminating it or letting other people know about it will die of vomiting blood. 203 757

The reason for the trouble and expense given to such posters and charity in drugs is not complex. It is conceivable that the dispensary which gives out a special cure freely during the crisis may earn a name for itself of advantage to its later business transactions, but in a local community where people know each other intimately such a commercial technique is rather superfluous. The real reason, as far as the author has been able to ascertain, is verbalized in an exaggerated form in the last sentences of the poster just mentioned. Such charity is a kind of good; it goes on to one's "otherworldly" record and will be one more security on one's prosperity and health. This is clearly related in psychology to a fact mentioned in connection with the prayer meetings: There it has been made clear that in combating the epidemic, goodness of the heart and in deeds is essential. To this point indeed most posters allude in a way. In one poster the advertiser addresses the public as "Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters". It is clear that the epidemic has in a way drawn the people closer to each other and revived the communal feeling.

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The medical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end thatit is from "a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Wo and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The lime hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long lime line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with lime powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of lime powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved (12). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

1 [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason - to clean up the area for gods - is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets; the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offender will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental
Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1942)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.P.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhea-causing food.

744 784 mora leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area F) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

freely to applicants we may infer that such doings are not idle anthropological curiosities. We shall now mention the "Fairy Water" from a rock about ten li northwest of Tali and about thirty li away from West Town. The rock with the "water" is called Chiu Hu Ch'uan (or Nine Goddesses Spring) which is situated in a temple called Wu Wei Szu, (or Do Nothing Temple). All informants, among them several managers of the prayer meeting at Area E, testified to the author that the rock only produced "water" when there was an epidemic and was at all other times dry. As will be clear from the table showing the order of the prayer meetings, the one at Area E occurred at about the end of the epidemic, so when the several managers spoke to the author about this "water" they also pointed out: "You see, now the illness is lessening, so the water from the spring is about finished." Nobody, of course, ever went to check up on this tale. On account of some personal difficulties the author was not able to check on it either. During the entire epidemic this water was carried to West Town on pack horses and was sold at fifty cents a cup. People say that its effectiveness (both for prevention and cure) varies, but no one says that it is useless.

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One more fact is to be mentioned in this connection. At the prayer meeting in Area E, the managers (not the priests) gave expression to a novel idea which had not been seen anywhere else during the entire epidemic. The prayer meeting was held in an open square on one side of the street. There were the main altar, the middle altar and then a sort of gate with pine branches and couplets and two national flags. The street was still open to traffic, but just opposite, on the other side of the street, was built another altar-sort of structure. This was an artificial rock with tiny grottoes and elevations, "trees" and flowers in the grottoes and on the elevations: amidst its "trees" and flowers were various wooden, brass and porcelain images of gods and goddesses. (In the center was Buddha. There were two goddesses of Mercy, one wooden and the other porcelain) and dragons cut of paper. Attached to this structure were also several decorative couplets, and arches cut of paper-wrappers of fruit tins. The whole thing was evidently a hotch potch and formless collection created through a moment's fancy on the part of the worshippers. The interesting thing that concerns us here is the incense burner in front of the structure. From inside of this burner a continuous thin line of water welled up and shot into the air before falling into a receptacle on the ground. The device was perfectly simple. It was produced by fixing in the incense burner a tube which led to a barrelful of water on the second floor of the building behind the artificial rock. The water pressure is enough to produce this fountain-like effect. This "fountain" went on during the whole time of the prayer meeting and provided a spectacle for many curious men, women and children. The author was amazed by the following fact at first: One old woman approached the "fountain" with her young grandson. She took out a small cup from her pocket, received a cupful of the water and then drank some of it before letting her grandson finish it. She frowned a little after drinking the water. On being asked about the reason for drinking the stuff she said it was a "fairy water" and could guard its drinker against the epidemic!! The author afterwards noticed more women doing the same. Frankly, at first the author thought that the local people took a playful rather than serious attitude towards this rock structure with its midget fountain, but after observing behavior such as the above he has to modify his first impression. The similarity of the psychological background between the incense ash as medicine from certain temples (a common practice in the culture) is manifest. In a culture where a single almighty deity is inconceivable, any shrine set up by anyone enjoys a spiritual prestige unknown to the modern West.

C. Modern Precautions

751 The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures[1] stated
744 above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the
625 same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the "on God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chan Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

751 The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private indi-
203 viduals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

751 The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the mis-
743 sionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as
203 cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of victorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

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Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the absolute effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. X, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area X where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection: but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

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spirit one may have offended unintentionally after all," was his conclusion.

A local boy by the name of Yang is the author's friend. He is eighteen years of age and a third-year junior middle school pupil. He was the tea-server at the prayer meeting in Area I and was most enthusiastic when the author inquired about the rituals of this prayer meeting. He had two free injections in the local hospital. He told the author that the hospital only gave one injection and that he knew the college infirmary gave three. He believed that the hospital was being economical and that one injection alone would be ineffective. So he insisted on having two, by telling the hospital people that he would pay for the second one if he were refused it. He thought that injection was the only way to prevent one from getting cholera, but working in the prayer meeting gave him a good time. "Besides," he said, "My parents want me to be at the prayer meeting."

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The trader (formerly primary school teacher) mentioned in the above list, lives in a village south of the town and is thirty-six years of age. His mother is over seventy, and he has a wife and three children. His father recently died of cholera. At the time of the author's interview with him, the cholera prayer meeting in his village had just been over. All of his family members except his wife were injected. He firmly believed in the efficacy of the injection and told the author the following story to indicate the strength of his belief: At first his third son would not have the injection in spite of his persuasion. Then the boy became sick. The man then took the boy for an injection and some modern medicine. The boy was well at once. Paradoxically, he knows also that the injection is useless on a person after the cholera attack has already begun. He contributed fifty national dollars to the cause of the local prayer meeting and was one of its many officers.

Further detailed enumeration of all the thirty more cases is not necessary here. Though the cases studied are small in number and therefore from them a definite conclusion cannot be drawn, one or two impressions may be given. The author's primary impression from such a study is that the injection is <u>another</u> device against the epidemic, not the only device or even the most important one; it is a measure to be taken together with the other means of cure or prevention. To rely upon it alone, or any one thing alone, is thoroughly unwise. The cholera prayers are a thing that the community has always had and are a matter of course. For this reason the author found most of the children who (whether in school or not) were about the various prayer meetings had been injected, but most adults had not been injected. The parents do not mind having their children subjected to this novel device, but as for themselves, that is often a different question. It varies more with circumstances. The cook who with his wife runs the bachelors' mess for faculty members of the missionary college allowed his children and wife to take three injections at the college infirmary, but he himself absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter after the first dose. He said "It is too painful." His wife went for the injections only under pressure of some of the members of the mess, who threatened to discharge her if she refused. She is usually more pleasant than her husband.

Very few local women have had the injection. The ones whom the author had the opportunity of asking mostly also replied, "It is too painful." The woman who is included in the above list of injected persons is a widow and goes to meetings of temple prayers and other similar functions regularly, but she is also very inclined toward the outsider's ways of life. She owns a part of the house which is the Women's Dormitory of the missionary college

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomanal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1938, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

speculation. As years go by and if the external influence continues its pressure as it does now, an increasing proportion of the local population will undoubtedly take the modern injection, but they will not necessarily withdraw their support from the measures embodied in their ancestral traditions and customs. The modern injection will then, in the minds of the local people, be ranked side by side with the prayer meetings, the many native prescriptions, the food taboos, etc., and be carried out and received in the traditional manner and not in that of the modern ways of science.

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As the author travelled back from West Town to Kunming on a truck, he observed that in all towns along the road, and in Kunming itself, which the epidemic touched, prayer meetings similar to those prevalent in West Town took place. This fact shows that at least using prayer meetings to combat the epidemic is not peculiar to West Town.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

757 As stated before, all of the doings described in Chapter IV of this paper, happened within the duration of the epidemic - about one month. Some occurred simultaneously. For example, the dates of several prayer meetings overlapped each other. And the prayer meetings were held as the volunteer prescriptions and moral advice spread. Some are supplementary to others. For example, the purification of the air by smoke, the cleaning up of the streets, the abstinance from meat and fish, and the disuse of the streams for washing purposes were all supplementary to the prayer meetings. They are means of avoiding the displeasure of the gods whose help is being invoked.

[744] Cleanliness, both public and private, as the modern world understands it, is not customary. And the relation of cleanliness to the avoidance of "choleric bacteria" is not at all conceivable in the culture.

[784] The taboo on a large number of vegetables and fruit may be said to be based upon sanitary ideas of a sort, but it is a sort different from what the modern man is accustomed to think of as scientific knowledge.

Closer to modern knowledge are some of the medicinal prescriptions. The analysis of their composition, as we have seen, shows that many elements would be effective in beating down the disease. But other prescriptions may be entirely useless or even fatal to the patient. The method of opening up finger tips to let out blood, for example, leads to bad infection and may render futile any application of modern treatment by serum. The drinking of the so-called "fairy water" from a cave in a hill is another alarming example. It may simply increase the rate of infection to a tremendous extent, and provide stimulus to such practices, as we have seen, as drinking unboiled water springing from an incense burner converted into a fountain.

The situation may be further analysed, as in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM I

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Taboos on food (potato, string beans, turnip, all sour fruit, confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish, pumpkin, egg plant, etc.)	Ex.: "To please the gods" "To avoid making abdomen cold" Un.: Sanitation, or arrestation of the growth of the bacillus	Spiritual or Physical (the latter may be good or indifferent)
Taboo on dirt and animal and human soil in streets	Ex.: "To make the air and place clean for gods" Un.: Sanitation	Spiritual or Physical (the latter is definitely good)
Insistence on morals	Ex.: "To purify the heart and so please the gods"	Spiritual

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Diagram I (Continued)

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Prayer meetings	Ex: "To invoke the gods". "To ask them to forgive our sins", etc. "This is the proper communal way", etc.	Spiritual
Hanging cactus stalks, making hand-prints on doors, etc.	Ex.: "To stop ghosts from coming in", etc.	Spiritual
Medicinal prescriptions	Ex.: "To cure" Un.: Indifferent or defeating its own purpose	Physical (may be good, indifferent or bad)
Fairy water	Ex.: Cure and prevention Un.: Infection and death	Spiritual or Physical (the latter definitely bad)

Note: Ex. represents "expected results" while Un. represents "unexpected results".

As will be evident from a closer scrutiny of the data presented in the foregoing pages certain measures, though carried out for the benefit of the gods or spirits obviously also produce other results than the expected ones. And these results, from the scientific point of view, may either be good or bad or indifferent. The taboos on food, for example are for two ostensible reasons: to avoid displeasure of the gods (taboo on meat and fish) and to avoid "making the abdomen cold" (taboo on vegetables and fruit). The unexpected result of these taboos comes by virtue of two reasons: First, fruits are usually eaten without washing and peeling, while vegetables are often washed in the streams and then either eaten raw or not sufficiently cooked. By abstaining from most vegetables and all fruits the unsuspected result of sanitation is thus obvious. The taboo on fish and meat may produce a similar unsuspected result or it may be entirely irrelevent to the epidemic. Second, these taboos may produce an unexpected result on the prevention of the epidemic because of the behavior of the bacteria: According to Manson's Tropical Diseases, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. . . Meat broth, blood-serum nutrient gelatin and potato are all suitable culture media." (p. 440)

Now, isn't it obvious that by abstaining from potato and meat the local people have attained a genuinely valuable measure of prevention? The unexpected sanitary result of the taboo on dirt, etc., is obvious and needs no more comment. The drinking of "fairy water" is traditionally an undifferentiated physical or spiritual measure. It may lead to results directly opposite to the expected ones. The prescriptions may either be effective cures or disastrous. The other measures, such as the insistence on "morals", the prayer meetings, and the hanging of cactus stalks and the making of hand-prints on gates, etc., are, as far as we can see at present, without direct physical bearing on the epidemic. However, as the prayer meetings are the center around which the majority of the taboos operate, it may be said that such prayer meetings are also responsible for the unexpected beneficial physical results coming from the various taboos.

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All these[1] show that real knowledge is intertwined with false assumptions: but since all these doings are traditionally handed down, the two are not exactly and always distinguishable in the minds of the local folk at all. They show that, should we unconditionally agree with Prof. Malinowski that magic fills the gaps of science, our position will be quite untenable. The distinction between magic and science is a post-industrial product and is not present, the author believes, in most rustic cultures. In a rustic culture, assumptions based upon real knowledge are traditionally defined and built up no less than are assumptions of a magical nature. Both are habitual ways of conduct. In this manner magic, far from necessarily occurring at places where real knowledge is lacking, may indeed exist, flourish and operate side by side with sound scientific knowledge, for attaining the same general aims. This conclusion is made especially obvious when the culture is subjected to external pressure - as in West Town. Here we have a situation in which one line of action is traditionally defined and a mixture of magic and real knowledge, while another line of action is clearly based upon modern science and, as far as the moderns can see, contains no significant false assumptions. Can the new knowledge based upon scientific experiments replace the traditional mixture? The answer has already been given in the facts presented in the foregoing pages: It cannot. First, as we have seen, the use of either magic or real knowledge in the community comes from the same attitude of mind. Second, the traditional attitude which gives sanction to the local practices inevitably requires that when new practices present themselves they be added to the total list if they are not too strange and rejected. The addition is not to replace the old ones but to operate side by side with the others. The attitude behind practices based upon theories of modern medicine, on the other hand, is characterized by a vehement desire to replace the old practices completely. This attitude of mind is incomprehensible to the rustic mind.

Third, the native measures are largely of a communal nature. An examination of the diagram just given will show that the prayer meetings are the center and most other measures taken (such as the taboos on dirt, food, insistence on morals, drinking of "fairy water", etc.) are supplementary to them and form with them a whole conceptual and working system. These communal doings are part of the social organisation. They reveal the position of the individual in the community. They bind individuals of the community to one another. They are as important as other communal doings, either religious ones (such as shown in the annual cycle of religious occasions and many others) or social ones (such as the suppression of breach of customs, especially in the sexual domain). That the most literary man of the district (Mr. Chao) had to participate in more than one prayer meeting and yet failed to defend his position when asked by the outsider, that the two carpenters who made the most out of the epidemic had to subscribe very generously to the cause of the prayer meetings, and that the wealthiest family of the locality which had given shape to the modernized hospital and schools should also lend large financial support to these prayer meetings, are all indications of the true weight of the rustic practices. The last case is especially interesting. The family's support of two widely divergent types of institutions at the same time shows that both efforts do not involve a question of principles (whether magic or science) but are means by the traditional pattern to achieve the same social end, namely prestige in the community. That is why, although West Town has been subjected to so much influence from outside, as we have seen in Chapter II of this paper, still the traditional practices remain as firmly entrenched in the minds of the populace as ever.

1 [measures taken against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

The anti-choleric injection and other modern measures of sanitation, on the other hand, are without such root in the community. They have to come in by way of individual adjustments and not by way of communal transformation. It is this fact, the author thinks, which is responsible for the phenomenon that more children than adults have taken the injection. It is this fact also which is responsible for the circumstance that the older people are in directing positions in the prayer meetings. This fact also indicates that the modern injection will have to become another accepted way of doing things (whether it be magic or science as the outside observer conceives of it) in order to come into the community at all. For although individual adjustments may be comparatively easier to effect than a communal transformation, as long as the individual has to live and be a respectable member in the community he or she cannot afford to be indifferent or antagonistic towards the life, work and public affairs of the community. In such a case, individual refusal to participate in the communal undertakings means much more than an individual affair. The individual refuses to participate at the risk of being ostracized for by doing so he is thought to be endangering the entire community. 813 177

We have thus in a way reversed Professor Malinowski's position on the relation between magic and science. He took science for granted and conceived of magic as something secondary, to take up the places where science has failed. Professor Malinowski has lived and thought in the scientific era of European civilization, where magic in many spheres of life, such as technology and hygiene, is clearly distinguishable from the main body of knowledge based upon modern science. When we look at the matter from the point of view of the rustic culture the picture is entirely changed. For then science is no longer the general background; the background, usually a mixture of sound knowledge and magic, is clouded under the local traditions and habits, while the clearly defined scientific ideas and usages from outside will have to struggle for a foothold, taking up the places where the traditional mixture of real knowledge and magic has failed and being woven into this mixture.

There is a further question to be answered. Can we say that, following Malinowski, if some of the practices (such as the prayer meetings) do not seem to have any obvious physical bearing on the epidemic, they nevertheless provide the individual and the community with a means to psychological stability to tide over the crisis? The answer, as the author sees it, is neither in the positive nor in the negative because, after the foregoing analysis, the question does not in fact exist at all. All the practices so far analysed are traditional ways of meeting life's problems and situations and therefore undifferentiated as regards science or magic. The prayer meetings are as important as the taboos on food. The latter again are as important as one or other of the many medicinal prescriptions or the emphasis on "morale". Very often, to many individuals, all of these are again as important as the drinking of the "fairy water". That this is the characteristic mental attitude may be confirmed without difficulty in other walks of life. At a wedding, for example, the practices which we as investigators brand as magic (such as the custom that the bridegroom must face a certain direction when the bride's sedan chair comes in) exist side by side with others which we as investigators brand as real knowledge (such as the use of a sedan chair to carry the bride, or a particular way of displaying the dowry through the streets). On the Fifth of the Fifth Moon, a festival, each child or adult has some orpiment (As_2S_3) (mixed in water) smeared in earholes, nostrils and other vital parts of the body. This is to ensure that no worms or anything else should penetrate into the body through those openings. At the same time small brushes or mops made of 757

757 hemp dyed in different colors are hung on the body, to sweep away diseases throughout the coming year. Now, by chemical analysis we know that orpiment has disinfecting properties, and therefore the first practice has a scientific basis; but no science has yet told us the disease-cleaning property of a tiny hemp mop hung on the body. In the treatment of particular diseases we may observe the same thing. In West Town the traditional method of treating skin diseases, like scabies, is the following: (1) The women of the house, with the patient, go to a corner just outside the southern town gate and cook an afternoon meal in the open air. Then the meal is ready the eldest woman, leading the patient, makes an offering of food and incense and koutous with the patient in all directions. Some paper money is burned. Then the women have a meal together with the patient on the spot. (2) Before or after the above ritual the family prepares a kind of mixture consisting of Hwang Lien (Coptis teeta, Wall or Radix coptidis, containing Berberin ($C_{20}H_{17}NO_4$)) and lard, and smears it on the sores. The idea behind the offering is that a Ku Nai (goddess) is in control of all cases of the disease and has to be appeased. None of the women of whom the author inquired could give any definite relationship between the medicinal mixture and the offering. Some women simply answered: "Here we also believe in this." (This refers to the medicinal mixture.)

813 Now which type of practice provides psychological stability and which does not? Can we say that the prayer meetings provide an emotional outlet for the people more than do the many medicinal prescriptions? Can we say that the direction in which the bridegroom is sitting is of greater psychological importance than the use of the sedan chair? Can we say that the smearing of orpiment on the body on the Fifth of the Fifth Moon copes from a different kind of reasoning than does the carrying of tiny hemp mops on the same occasion? And finally, in the case of the treatment of the skin diseases, can we say that the offering-picnic satisfies the people's spiritual want more than does the particular kind of local therapeutics? Or to put the matter more plainly, is the method of wielding an axe in order to secure fuel for the kitchen any less important psychologically than the matter of putting a string of coins on the main beam (to ensure peacefulness) in the construction of a house (the practice is prevalent in the author's home village in southern Manchuria)? The author fails to see the desired distinctions and must repeat the observation that both the "scientific" acts and the acts based upon false assumptions are traditionally standardized behavior and are hardly distinguishable as one or the other in the minds of the majority of the people. Even in such a crisis as the present epidemic, the West Town populace's attitudes as a whole regarding it and their means to combat it are highly formal. The demand for an explanation from the ordinary folk of the community meets again and again with replies which may be summarized in the following unreflective statement: "When there is Wen (epidemic) we have these prayer meetings. We had prayer meetings on such a scale once before, in the Seventh year of the Republic, when another Wen broke out in our community."

When there is an untraditional happening of momentum such as a bombing or enemy invasion the people may either treat it as a traditional occurrence (the inhabitants of Lu Feng, Yunnan, set up prayer meetings against bombing in the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War[15] or ran into an

(15) The author is indebted for this information to Dr. H. T. Fei, who came across the occurrence while investigating in the area.

absolute panic because they are without means to deal with it.) (The inhabitants of West Town and of the Tali district in general were very much stirred up when Burma fell and a Japanese invasion was imminent in the spring of 1942. Many families began to move further north.) In the latter case the emotional tension is not relieved at all.

The behavior of West Town people and the conduct based upon modern scientific medicine in connection with the epidemic may therefore be summarized in the following diagram (Diagram II). In both types of behavior there is an aim and an expected result. The behavior is the means. In the traditional way, the epidemic is not felt unless deaths have occurred in considerable numbers. Then the epidemic is represented as a simple ailment falling upon the populace as a sort of punishment from the gods for unsatisfactory conduct. There is no effort to differentiate what kind of epidemic it is. And the ways of dealing with it are ready-made and a straight-forward matter - the prayer meetings, the taboos and other doings come by with a minimum of reflective effort or none at all. All these doings present an appearance of spontaneity. Every measure in outline and function is practically understood and known to all adults and is not a matter for dispute or discussion. The expected result is the end of the epidemic.

The way of modern medicine based upon experimental sciences is more complicated. The point of departure is the sudden discovery of a few cases of suspicious symptoms. Then there is an effort to determine the responsible bacteria, with the aid of the microscope. It is then decided that the cause is vibrio cholerae, and their is a sudden alarm of an impending epidemic. Steps to deal with this crisis are then decided upon. After the scientifically determined measures have been meticulously carried out, the modern public health officer may declare that the epidemic will probably end soon.

In either pattern of behavior a medium of the trouble is decided upon, the difference being that in one case the medium is found to be precisely vibrio cholerae, while in the other it is all and any god. In the modern pattern the effort of general cleanliness and prevention of infection is a highly deliberated matter, with the definite view of preventing the transmission of the bacteria. In the local pattern much the same effort is carried out during the crisis for the purpose of pleasing the gods. It is clear then, that the situation is not one of difference between magic on the one hand and science or real knowledge on the other, but one between a certain body of traditionally defined behavior based upon a mixture of knowledge and fantasy, on the one hand, and a certain other body of behavior based upon knowledge and ideas derived from experiments and observations through procedures of modern science, on the other. The first body of behavior has become a part of the indigenous culture, while the second body has just come from outside and is struggling for a foothold.

In the individual cases the traditional behavior pattern is somewhat different. The illness causes a person and his or her family to think in terms of a variety of causes - maybe the patient has displeased the gods; maybe it is his fate; or maybe the illness is simply a bodily trouble; but usually the causes are multiple. No effort, of course, is directed at determining the exact cause, but actions are taken on all known possibilities. Spirits are invoked, medicines taken, finger tips needled to let out blood, "fairy water" is drunk, fortune tellers are consulted, and so forth. Almost anything that presents the slightest suggestion of a cure, whether the information

813 comes from a qualified person or not, if the suggestion be not too drastically different from the traditional conceptions, may be accepted. In such a context the modern injection or medicine may be accepted - not through an understanding of the therapeutic principles by the accepting party but simply because it is another unknown power, whether it be magical or scientific.

DIAGRAM II

COMMUNAL (a. the traditional way; b. the scientific way)

Aim	Means		Result
a. Epidemic(to get rid of the Wen that causes many deaths).	Prayer meetings, taboos, etc. (There is no question that the cause is spirits or fate, but this is only understood, not discussed. Certain "cold" food may also be responsible for some individual cases of the illness.)		End of the epidemic
Aim	Means (1)	Means (2)	Result
b. Epidemic (to get rid of it)	What epidemic? (Cholera. The use of the microscope enables man to find out that it is caused by vibrio cholerae which multiply rapidly in optimum temperatures and in suitable media, etc.)	(1) Injection (using fluid containing 8 billion bacteria to the cc), etc. (2) control of transmission of bacteria by flies, water, natural ice, etc. (3) General sanitation, etc.*	The epidemic will end.

* Modern medical authorities think that "the forecasting of cholera epidemics has now become an actual possibility. Based upon statistics which have been subjected to modern scientific analysis, an outbreak of cholera can be predicted two to three months ahead." Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip E. Manson-Bahr, 1935, pp. 438-439.)

INDIVIDUAL

Aim	Means(1)	Means (2)	Result
a. Individual illness caused by Wen or cholera to be relieved.	Fate, Displeased gods, bodily trouble, accidental.(the various causes are not certain nor clearly defined.)	To invoke spirits, observe taboo on food, etc. Also, Medicine (any) Let open finger tips, Needling, any other means, including injection, drinking "fairy water", etc.	Cure or death
b. Individual attacked by sudden illness of certain symptoms	Infected by the prevalent bacteria.	Hospitalization of very serious cases. Other cases treated at home. One line of curative effort consistently followed. Stock disposed of, etc., etc.	There is a fair chance of cure.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF DATA FROM A WIDER FIELD

The inferences arrived at in the foregoing pages are three in number, namely, (1) medicine and practices based upon sound knowledge are usually mixed up with and not distinguishable from magical doings and ideas; (2) in case of illness the rustic folk will try various traditional cures one after another, rather indiscriminately, while the communal organizations take care of illnesses which affect the entire group in very much the same manner (i.e. depending upon multiple powers); and (3) even if modern measures are accepted to some extent the principles underlying such measures are either ignored by or incomprehensible to the common folk. 000

Such conclusions are far from being peculiar to West Town but may be confirmed by data from several non-Chinese areas on which reports are available. In East Africa, for example, we find the following in the excellent work of Professor and Mrs. R. Thurnwald:(16)

A. "The natives have a number of good therapeutics and efficient treatments based upon experience, although interwoven with magical ceremonies, superstitions and prejudices. The ailments were projected into the real or imagined surroundings, animals, hostile people, ancestors, spirits, and what not. There is less speculation about the manner in which the effect is accomplished than about the active connection of this or that moving-cause ... Generally, the cause is imagined as a spirit, is treated in the fashion of egocentric psychology, and is appeased by donations in food or the like. If these offerings do not entail success actions are begun to check the primary 'magic', i.e., 'counter-balancing magic'. Accidents of any kind, as breaking an arm or leg, are traced back to some malevolent causation of a man, spirit, and so on. In spite of such a 'projection' into the world beyond 'ego', a fully logical and efficient procedure ensues. The Shambala, for example, put the broken limb between sticks and are able to treat such cases excellently. It is different with sickness of another kind, when symptoms are not easily discernible. Then the operation of imaginative speculation starts and we encounter the method of treatment generally called 'magic'. For many diseases no cures exist except 'magic' manipulations. Diseases of infants are to be classed among them, and amulets, talismans, beads, etc., are meant to protect against those untoward evils by sorcery." (pp. 197-198)

B. In the last quotation we observe clearly the mixed nature of magic and medicine. In the next quotations we shall see that in case of illness the natives will try various traditional cures one after another before coming to the modern dispensary or doctor.

"It is, however, true that even pagan mothers begin to bring their children to the hospitals and to the missions, after their witch doctor has failed to cure them, though often too late." (p. 166)

"This refers particularly to the native women, who after many years of hospital work are reluctant to go there, mostly, only in exceptional cases, when no relief can be found at home any more. Often, therefore, it is too late for efficient help." (p. 199)

(16) Richard C. Thurnwald, Black and White in East Africa, 1935.

000 "To understand the amount of disease among the Africans the long lines of suffering human beings should be observed waiting for treatment. They have all, more or less, tried some 'magic' beforehand without success, and are now crowding the mission expecting some 'medicine', injections, bandaging and so forth." (p. 202)

C. The following quotations will show that the principles underlying the modern therapeutics for which the natives are applying are not only ignored by the common folk, but are often impossible even for most Christians and others who have gone through some sort of medical training to comprehend:

"It may be that they accept all that is told to them as a more efficient 'magic', and under the compulsion of pain have got used to and won confidence in the practices and devices of the stronger 'sorcerers'. If not exactly so, it must be recorded as a unanimous view of teachers and nurses that the reasons for a changed behavior, the observation of the prescriptions and advices given by the Europeans, are far more a consequence of the African's faith in the European himself than a clear insight into the conditions and the working process of diseases and their remedies. At least, until now few exceptions can be made in this respect." (p. 94)

"Of course, Christians are still under the spell of magic to some extent. In many cases, the mission has to convince their adherents to the contrary. All kinds of colds among the Chagga are considered as provoked by an evil spirit, notwithstanding thirty years of mission work there. The Chagga oppose the teaching that the wrong use of clothing (which is considered primarily as an ornament) is to a great extent responsible for lung diseases, inflammations, bronchitis, asthma, etc." (pp. 197-198)

"As emphasized repeatedly, in the present stage of adaptation the personal and human side of influence is paramount for the propagation of European hygiene. Therefore, the activity of the 'native dispensaries' seems to be inadequate because of the youth of these boys and their insufficient training (about six months in a hospital). Moreover, their control is not effective enough in the absence of European doctors. Dispensing of medicines implies a minimum of diagnosis which cannot be expected from the most talented boy of twenty or twenty-five years of age. They may be able to help in the bandaging of a sore, but they tend often to overstrain their importance and underrate their responsibility. Being themselves still under the spell of 'magic', they recur even to a native medicine-man for help in a difficult case." (pp. 202-203)

In Malaita, Solomon Islands, the picture as one may gather from the accounts of Dr. H. I. Hogbin,(17) is very similar to the above. There we find the same promiscuous application of cures and the same lack of understanding for the principles of modern therapeutics and health measures - even if the latter are resorted to.

"If a person is ill and magic has been tried in vain the relatives may take a small pig, or if this is unobtainable a fish, to the priest with a request that he will offer it to the immediate ancestors, perhaps the father and grandfather of the sick man, in the hope that they will use their influence to overcome the disease." (p. 108)

(17) H. Ian Hogbin: Experiments in Civilization, 1939.

More interesting is the reactionary use to which Christian Commandments and Confession is put in regard to healing of diseases: 000

"Health and success, and the promise of heaven ... are supposed to be the rewards of virtue; and disease and death, together with the assurance of hell, are punishments for vice." (p. 191)

"Persistence of good health is the only infallible sign of forgiveness ... Benjamin Akwa's assistant in the church at A'ara, Fafanda, had a bad attack of gastric malaria. I administered quinine, but as he was continually vomiting it was quite useless. After about the fourth day Akwa came to see him, and as he sat by the bed I heard him ask, 'What have you been doing?' Fafanda then confessed that he had coveted some coconut palms, and actually claimed them as his own, though he knew they belonged to a neighbor. The family gathered round, and Akwa went on his knees and asked God to take pity on the sufferer

"At the morning service on the following Sunday, Akwa announced the confession and led the congregation in prayer for Fafanda's forgiveness and recovery. Two days later the vomiting ceased, and by the end of the week the patient was back at his work. The villagers were convinced that the confession had been of greater value than my quinine." (p. 192)
(Several similar cases are also given in the same book.)

"Thus the instruction given today to refrain from spitting in the house is not obeyed because the people are unaware of how such diseases as tuberculosis are spread. It has also been reported that native dressers who have been trained to boil their instruments, without being told why this is necessary, have no compunction about wiping them with filthy rags afterwards." (p. 259)

The excuses which Dr. Hogbin has made in the last quotation for the natives' inability to comply with modern instructions are, in the present author's view, quite unnecessary. Had Dr. Hogbin been concerned with the actual instruction, he would have realized how impossible it is for a native who knows nothing about modern microscopic biology and who lives in a social context where spirits and morals are responsible for diseases, to comprehend the modern instruction and follow it closely and consistently.

In Samoa, as reported by Professor Keesing,[18] the similarity of conditions with those in East Africa and in West Term is even more obvious:

"Indeed, some white medical officers are beginning to take a less prejudiced attitude to certain Samoan 'cures'.

"We used to class all Samoan medical customs as 'bad', but recent experiments have set us thinking. Some remedies, based as they are on long experience of the island conditions, and of the curative properties of its plants and other products, seem good, and in some cases may actually become established in medical science. But it is very difficult to separate the good from the bad so that the power of the native doctor will have to be broken. The trained native doctors can be counted on to make the necessary adjustments." (p. 391)

(18) Felix M. Keesing, Modern Samoa, Its Government and Changing Life, 1934.

000 Then, "White doctors meet repeatedly with cases of illness and death where the only apparent cause is that cited by the Samoans or whispered as a secret to be hidden from the scoffing white man - the work of a spirit, breaking of a taboo, a sign of ancestral wrath, or some fatal omen of age-old portent." (p. 391)

"Sick people will be treated by native methods until just dying, and then taken to the hospital as a last resort, and where deaths occur in such instances the white authorities are allotted the blame; the phrase is not uncommon 'sick enough even to try papalagi ("western) medicine'. A patient may be removed from the hospital at a critical period because of some supernatural token or family occasion, and his death again blamed on the white treatment; or if the doctor refuses to allow him to be taken the whole village or a wide relationship group may refuse to use the hospital henceforth. Above all, there is the strong tendency always for the inertia of Samoan custom to reassert itself - 'the easy-going fa'aSamoa way creeps back as steadily as the tide over the reef'.

"A part-Samoan said: 'The Samoans took up the health ideas enthusiastically: they built latrines over the sea. After a time these fell into disrepair; a post collapsed: "I must fix that tomorrow"; thought the Samoan as he went back on the beach or in the bush. The same thing happened the next day. Then he decided that it was easier to go to the beach or bush than to make the repairs, and that anyway there was no difference - in the past that was the proper custom. A few rotting posts on the beach were soon all that was left of the latrine experiment in the village. So it goes with all the work for Samoan health.'" (p. 393)

And lastly, "Samoan medical lore, even in American Samoa where its practice is officially forbidden, is still a vivid element in everyday life. Much of the old knowledge continues to be passed down in the families and by specialists. These latter to an extent continue to practice and to receive remuneration in the Samoan way, only now more or less secretly, due to the disapproval of the authorities. They are not wholly defenceless, however, since they have been known to retaliate by terrifying whole communities into respecting a sa (taboo) placed by them on a dispensary or medical officer.

"'With all their fortunate associations with the hospitals and with the officials, many probably a majority, of the Samoans believe that their own crude drugs and harsh medical treatment are more efficacious... There is an inward dread of an unpleasant visitation of the spirit of one of their departed kin, who, in their opinion, may be angered at the innovation.'" (Quoted by Keesing, p. 390, from E. ", Gurr, "Samoan Hygiene" in Samoa Guardian, January 2, 1930)

Shortage of space prohibits quoting similar data from more w... The above quotations are self-evident. They indicate the very large difficulties involved in the transition from a traditional attitude to a comparatively scientific attitude toward diseases and health in general.

CHAPTER VI

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE INTO A RUSTIC COMMUNITY

Conscious efforts in seeking to propagate modern medicine and health measures in the various backward countries so far run along two lines: (a) the "dictatorial method" and (b) the "democratic method". These two terms are the author's own adoption and have nothing to do with their current usages. 751 578

(a) The "Dictatorial Method".

The first method is resorted to by governments which assume the role of Dieu Protecteur and require the people to follow their instructions and legislation with a minimum of, or no, explanation at all. The Yunnan Provincial Government tried this method. A friend of the author's, Mr. Chang Tze-ai, visited Tu Wei Hsien, Yunnan, during a time when the periodic markets failed to take place. Upon inquiry he found that the provincial health department was enforcing compulsory inoculation against typhoid and cholera, and the villagers evaded it by refusing to come to the market altogether. The Japanese authorities in Occupied China often enough have tried this method. And the British rulers in Africa have frequently required the clearing of bushes with compulsory labor or moving away whole villages in the tzetze fly area in order to exterminate the sickness of which the fly is the cause, or resorted to other measures equally drastic.

Are such measures fruitful? Yes and no. All such efforts undoubtedly achieve some results (the authorities in question may always be able to show figures of increase in hospital beds or equipment or of the number treated). Certain sanitary measures, such as the disinfection of water sources or the clearing away of tzetze fly bushes, are best done with some exercise of governmental power, but such efforts so far have neither secured a really widespread cooperation on the part of the peoples nor taken a deep root in the indigenous cultures. The peoples on whom such measures are imposed may decide to evade them, as some Chinese have done. They may retard the intended progress so that even enthusiastic ethnographers like Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald have to admit, after over thirty years of European administration and missionary work, that: 000

> "Both ways, those of old Africa and of modern Europe, are tried alternatively" (Op. cit., p. 98); or again, "Although the activities may not be fully understood, the health service has shattered the influence, of the sorcerer and magician. Of course, not entirely." (Ibid., p. 98)

In Samoa, where "more than a quarter-century of continuous and persistent work with the staff and resources, made possible through the cooperation of the Navy Department (U.S.A.),"[3] has been carried on, the results are, as we have seen in two quotations, far from satisfactory and have caused Professor Keesing to observe that,

> "The first enthusiastic assaults of the latter (modern medicine and public health measures) have made some headway, but the traditional forces, strong enough in Western society, have been little or very impermanently shaken. For the timebeing, therefore, there has been at many points a compromise.

000 Nowadays, the authorities of both areas are trying a new weapon - education. How effective this will be depends perhaps less on the health department directly than upon those whose task it is to reshape Sanoan mentality: the missions on the one hand, the school teachers on the other." (Op. cit., p. 395)

(b) The "Democratic Method"

This method is pursued by organizations and institutions of reform of private origin. The Chinese rural reform movement is one type. The various European missions abroad represent another type. These two types of organizations have a common starting point - the individual. By means, largely, of resources from abroad or other non-local origin, the Chinese rural reformers have been able, during the last ten years before the present war, to establish hospitals and many district dispensaries, with trained medical dispensers, over many areas of the country. The British and German missions in East Africa have had a much longer record, a much stronger support, and a much larger working force than the comparatively recent Chinese reform centers. Their work is fully described in the aforementioned volume by Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald. What are the results? Chinese rural reform has borne little fruit of significance in this respect. As soon as the outside support in finance and personnel is withdrawn, the communities return to their old, traditional course. The result of missionary medical work in East Africa is of similar or even greater uncertainty. Those who seriously adhere to European medical and health measures have to be the "detribalized" individuals (or an individual who no longer belongs to his or her own culture and community). As regards the mass of the people, we have seen how "the intricacies of the complication of irrational and rational thinking are a stumbling block for many women in attempting to understand measures of European medicine," how even trained medical dispensers and Christians fall back on magic, and how the main emphasis of European medical workers in Africa nowadays is on the winning of personal confidence in the physician and health officer. Such facts speak for themselves. The efficiency and permanency of the influences of these missionaries may again be seen from a sidelight, from the result of the non-medical instruction of the Jeanes School, which institution has impressed Mrs. Thurnwald very deeply:

> "The Jeanes School's goal is to make these women advance so far that in their home village they may be capable of influencing their co-villagers by a model family and household, that they may help the other, particularly Christian, women by the advice which they themselves have acquired, and by a display of practical methods and skill. Such instructions are an arduous task for most of them, particularly since they meet with the obstruction of the old generation of women. Most of them are unable to understand the methods used." (Black and White in East Africa, op. cit., pp. 203-204.)

Now if it is so difficult for instruction in simple home work by such a highly perfected institution as the Jeanes School to make much headway, how much more difficult will it be for instruction that bears even more intimately on people's life and death?

515 In West Town the author has seen numerous school children at home, spitting about, wiping faces with obviously unclean towels, eating fruit that has not been washed, taking no bath at all, etc., after being instructed in school not to spit, not to use a dirty towel, to wash before meals, to bathe

515

regularly, and so on. These children are not to blame. Their parents and guardians, relatives and friends who have not been so trained and have never been accustomed to these habits, will neither follow these "strange" ways nor respect them if the children tried to carry them out at home. These strange ways will most likely be suppressed, and if the children's education is discontinued after the primary school, the children themselves will usually grow up not very different in thought and behavior from their elders, although externally they may wear dresses, hats and shoes of a later style. This conclusion is indeed borne out by facts seen during the cholera epidemic, when many school boys and adults who had primary and secondary education took an active part in the prayer meetings and other communal doings to combat the epidemic. As long as they live where and as they are, they will, undoubtedly, when ill, continue to seek as many cures as possible.

The author does not hold the opinion that the European and Chinese governmental or private reform efforts have not left their marks, but he is far from being impressed by the marks thus left. Why have these methods not achieved results of significance? The answer is in every elementary textbook on sociology it has often enough been reiterated but has, unfortunately, often enough been forgotten even by remoted anthropologists dealing with colonial problems - that Man is a product of his culture and has to live as a member of a society. "There is no isolated individual just as there is no isolated institution." Individuals live by the habits they acquire as they grow up in their culture, just as institutions operate by the pattern they assume as they take shape among many other institutions. But not every one lives by habit to the same extent and in all spheres. In almost any society we may find two layers as regards mental attitude. The one layer is capable of more reflective efforts than the other. The superiority of a modern society over that of a rustic society lies in the fact that the former contains more elements capable of reflective thinking than does the other. But the point to be stressed is that the majority in both types of societies live by habit and not by reflection. Speaking in terms of medicine, theories are of secondary or no importance to the majority of patients either in modern Europe or in the rustic West Town. Cure is the primary and usually the only concern - the difference between the two groups of patients in this respect being that in modern Europe the habitual channel leading to cure is "to trust and ask a doctor", while in our rustic West Town the habitual channel leading to the same objective is "to appease the spirits and try all possible prescriptions." The scientific theories of medicine and of public health are the concern of the doctors and a few other professionals in the one society, just as in the other the prayers, rituals, amulets and principles of native therapeutics are in the hands of the priests and native practitioners.

The propagators of modern hygiene and scientific medicine have to decide whether or not they want a total conflict between two systems of theories (i.e. the rustic theory of spirits, etc., vs. the scientific theory of germs, etc., and suppression of the former by the latter) when they attempt to introduce modern medicine and public health measures into a rustic community, and then watch their efforts largely wasted under their own eyes. Indeed, such a conflict is what medical workers in the comparatively backward countries are asking for all the time. And then they complain about the slowness of their progress or, even worse, complain about the innate stupidity of the people whose conditions they are trying to better. They have entirely forgotten that even in the advanced Western countries they cannot bluntly ask people to change their habitual ways within a period of twenty or thirty years in the existing

000 social context. The author has seen European medical missionaries as well as Chinese medical upstarts condemning in toto all traditional ways and ideas of their patients. While working in the Peiping Union Medical College Hospital as a medical social worker from the years 1934 to 1936, the author had almost daily to deal with furious patients who had refused to cooperate in carrying out their treatments because some medical staff members had cursed them or otherwise shown gross discourtesy to them on account of their having, during their absence from the hospital, resorted to magic or other traditional practices of dealing with the ailment. Such medical students, though living in their mother country, never look at the social environment of their less fortunate sisters or brothers. In the end they settle in one of the big cities making their pot of money, while occasionally wondering why the country as a whole makes no progress in public health and scientific medicine. They will never understand. In the same way, medical missionaries who entirely ignore the measures provided in the rustic culture for dealing with an ailment will remain permanently on the outer fringe of the society into which they are trying to enter. If they are dealing with individual cases of illness they may be able to achieve results satisfactory to themselves with the detribilized individuals, and partial results with most others. If they attempt to touch upon ailments which affect their entire group, they may as well give up their efforts altogether.

It is perhaps unfortunate that modern medicine has been introduced into China largely by way of missionaries. The latter have undoubtedly been of some benefit to China, but the main trouble is that they and the students they have trained regard their system of cures with the firmness of the pilgrim's belief in the Bible.

It is conceivable that missionaries cannot allow their converts to adulterate their beliefs by indigenous religious ideas in which the converts have been brought up, though the author does not see how even that is to be realized. But the medical practitioners and missionaries need to realize that A doctor is not a preacher. The medical man's first duty is not to convert the patient or the community to his Western system of medical thought but how to introduce its fruits, Western medical practices, to a community immersed in a different mass of habits and conception. He has to understand thoroughly the medical aspect of the indigenous culture. By a careful analysis of the situation created by the epidemic in West Town, e.g., he will have seen that certain traditional measures are incompatible with scientific measures, some others are indifferent to them, and still others are helpful to them. He will also have seen that certain measures, though indifferent to modern medicine, are more deeply entrenched in the organization of the community than others. He will then be able intelligently to decide which traditional measures are to be encouraged, which to be discouraged, and which to be let alone or even utilized to the advantage of his efforts of improvement. In West Town, the author thinks, the prayer meetings and the taboos on food, etc., may, if means are found to incorporate them into the new measures, indeed contribute not inconsiderably to the furtherance of the modern health officer's desired end.

There is, however, a wider perspective. Having achieved this, the propagators of modern medicine and public health measures will merely have succeeded in creating certain new magics or new habitual and concrete ways of dealing with old problems for the rustic community, but not in inculcating in the mass of minds of the community the basic principles of modern health

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measures and scientific medicine. The new magics may increase in number and variety if the external pressure remains favorable but will be dropped when no longer easily available, or will often be resorted to in totally erroneous ways. Like the Malaita dressers, the people may know enough to boil their instruments but will have no compunction in wiping them afterwards with dirty rags. Before the basic principles are common knowledge, this manner of regarding the sanitary measures as relating only to certain fixed objects and not to others is inevitable. For habit is concrete and not rational. People in their habitual behavior know 'oughts' but do not have, nor concern themselves with, reasons for these 'oughts'. For these 'oughts' are, to them, adequate explanations of their behavior.

Generally speaking, there are three ways in which modern health measures and medicine come into contact with a community as a whole. They may come by way of financial and technical aid entirely from outside: they may come by way of donation from a few outstanding wealthy individuals of the community: or they may come partly by way of taxation and partly by contributions not only from a few outstanding wealthy individuals but also from numerous small donors in the population as well. The first is largely the missionary way and the way of certain Chinese rural reform workers in the years before the present war. The second describes the condition of West Town. The last is a common practice in any industrialized country of the West.

We have thus obtained a kind of index by which we may be able to tell how far a community has moved towards building up the conditions for receiving modern health measures and scientific medicine, not only as concrete habits but ultimately also in terms of their basic principles. The missionary way and the way of West Town are about the same - except that the first usually involves jealous conviction while the second is easily a novel means to an old end, with the hospitals and schools occupying the corresponding positions of some traditional good deeds. As soon as the sources of support are withdrawn the people will return to where they were.

The third situation is different. It is true that not every town in a modern industrialized European nation can be entirely self-supporting as regards measures of public health. The government has often a hand in shifting resources from one locality with a surplus to make up the deficiency of another. But the people in the latter locality do not wait passively for outside help. They contribute their part, too, however small this part may be. When the West Town populace supports the injection and other health measures as they do the prayer meetings then they are on a permanent road to utilising modern public health measures and scientific medicine. They do not have to be financially able to supply the entire need of the new provisions. Outstanding contributors within or without the community will still be important. The largest single donation to the cholera prayer meetings was two thousand and four hundred dollars, but the smallest donations included many fifty-cent, one dollar and two-dollar gifts. Only when people give to a cause of their own accord will they take such a cause seriously. But such a generalized support for the new measures on the part of the rustic population can never develop suddenly or by itself. If the medical missionaries, or the outstanding individuals, or even the government through its dictatorial powers, should aim at such a singular or sudden development, their efforts will necessarily fall far short of the desired results. For, each society is of many aspects, and the development of these aspects has to be more or less even. From our analysis of the situation created by the cholera epidemic in West Town and from our brief survey of conditions in several non-Chinese areas we have seen that

000 the question of scientific medicine and magic is primarily a matter of attitude. Assuming one attitude, the individual will follow one type of life; assuming another, his life will be a different one. But to use the word "assume" in this connection is really misleading. The individual has to grow up in a tradition which breeds one or the other attitude. If the individual grows up in the scientific tradition he will have opportunities of perceiving and experiencing the connection among certain diseases, certain germs, certain measures of sanitation and certain medical procedures and treatments. His experiences will not be confined to the relation between one disease and one measure to combat it alone; nor to relations between disorder and cure in the realm of health alone. He may be enabled to acquire a power of abstraction which will make his attitude towards all aspects of life similar. If an individual grows up in the non-scientific rustic tradition, on the other hand his mind is bound up in the folkways, and he will perceive and experience things in their concrete forms. Magic and real knowledge will come to him in their traditionally undifferentiated form, known to him as something to be carried out or depended upon when certain types of life's problem have presented themselves. Following this, he is not likely to have a reflective understanding in the therapeutic principles of any medicine or magic, which in turn leads him, when he is ill, to resort to all cures indiscriminately. For just as any individual who thinks diseases are caused by spirits will be regarded as abnormal in a modern society with its tradition of science, so any individual who thinks diseases are caused by invisible germs to be killed by disinfectant liquids will equally be regarded as insane in a society where the scientific tradition is absent.

Unless all aspects of a society are moving more or less together in the right direction, the artificial efforts to change one aspect - such as ideas about health and treatment of diseases - even by education, are not likely to achieve permanent results. The social waste in such efforts is bound to be tremendous.

How will all aspects of a society move in the right direction more or less together? The author's answer is: This must come ultimately by way of industrialization and social equality.

Industrialization enables the people to raise their standard of living as a whole, which means the desire for improvement on the one hand and the material ability to afford the improvement on the other. Industrialization will give expression to scientific experiments and supply stimulus and means for further scientific enterprises. And industrialization provides easier communication and draws people together. One characteristic of agricultural or pre-industrial societies is that each society is segmented into some more or less isolated small communities. This condition breeds intense conservation. It also emphasizes the concrete, for most members of the communities are apt to know each other intimately. The scope of the "we-group" is exceedingly small, and differences in customs are taken for granted. Easier communication and greater aggregates of human beings together provide ample opportunity for cultural contact, and therefore for reflective thinking about one's own rustic ways. This is the foundation of modern education, without which all efforts to better down conservation and non-scientific thinking will be in vain.

But all these opportunities for change may be useless, because of one flaw. The society has to be a "free" society, i.e., there must not be a caste structure of any sort, either like that in Africa, where the White and Black

do not mix together, have drastically different political and social rights and command unbelievably different wages and salaries for exactly the same work, or like that in India, with the Brahmins at the top and the "Untouchables" at the bottom. As has been made obvious in our foregoing analysis, introduction of public health measures and scientific medicine depends primarily upon a mental attitude. The development of mental attitude can never be restricted within one department of life alone and not extended to other departments of the same life. The superiority of the sciences of the present era over those of the preceding era is largely due to the fact that their technique has extended to a wider field of facts. What science it will be, the reader can imagine for himself, if its methods can be applied only to physics and not to chemistry, or to water in the river but not water in the kettle!

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So it is with human affairs. The development of support for public health measures and scientific medicine depends ultimately upon a sound mental attitude. And a sound mental attitude depends upon the general training in sound scientific reasoning. In a society of slavery, or of caste, or of fate, even with all the industrial development of the world, sound scientific reasoning can never really hope to take a permanent root.

Only in a free and industrialized society will education on a large scale (i.e. mass education) be possible and become of real social value, for then education will receive the support of the mass of the people. This education refers to education for all purposes, such as professions, crafts, citizenship, and not hygiene alone. For only when education leads people somewhere in their daily pursuits will the people take it seriously. When there is no appropriate industrial and commercial background to absorb the educated many, education will either be dropped readily, or if not dropped be responsible for serious disfigurement of the social structure. The latter was, indeed, the experience of Chinese society during the twenty odd years before the opening of the present Sino-Japanese War, when the school-educated suffered from unemployment while the traditional industries and commerce had need but no place for them.(19) When the people drop other sides of their education they will drop the hygiene side too. The farmers will have no patience with their educated children who can contribute nothing materially to work on the farm but who insist on the importance of ventilation or of keeping away flies.

The reader will note that the author has so far merely outlined the essential and ascertainable conditions for developing a consistent and favorable attitude towards modern public health measures and scientific medicine in any given culture, but such conditions, and the rational attitude accompanying them, are far from being fully realized even in the advanced countries of the West. As mentioned before, their common people's patronizing the modern physician and medicine is often as much a matter of unreflective habit as the rustic folk's dependence upon the priests and native doctors. It may be that the ideal conditions outlined above are never to be realized to the full extent, but the West is undoubtedly strides ahead of the rustic East in this respect. The propagators of modern medicine and health measures in the rustic cultures need to realize where their efforts are most valuable in the long run and will lead to permanent results, and must refrain from insisting on an outright conversion of the rustic folk to their system of beliefs and ideas. They are responsible for blazing the trail, before the more systematic betterment on a wider scale is made possible through the operation of the factors

(19) This problem is touched upon in the author's article, "China's New Social Spirit", Asia, XLII, 9, September, 1942, pp. 506-509.

000 specified above, and have to avoid becoming a stumbling-block in the ultimate transformation by their intolerant and ignorant attitude which causes on their part waste and disappointment, and on the part of the rustic folk suspicion and antagonism.

APPENDIX

Part 3

Three Prescriptions Locally Regarded as Most Effective

(1) Notice to the Public.

The present epidemic is, of course, pre-ordained in our fate. The symptoms of all patients appear, however, to be the same. These are vomiting, diarrhea, spasm, etc. These symptoms are those of cholera (Huo Luan, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The onset of the illness is a matter of a few minutes, and doctors (either Chinese or Western trained) may not arrive in time. From my personal experience, when illness comes, the best thing to do is to drink one small bottle (or half a bottle) of Pi La Sui or Sheng Ling Sui (both are forms of chlorodyne); at the same time take several tens of Mr. Ma Po-liang's Cholera Pills (Sa Ch'i Wan) (composition not known) and grind them into powder form. Put this powder on the tip of the patient's tongue and help the patient to swallow it with some boiling hot water. In this way the patient's illness will be half gone. Then you need to prick the Sa (a traditional term for cholera) and let out blood. Take first a thin hemp chord to tie each of the patient's fingers at the last joint. Use a needle to open up the flesh just above the finger nails and make them bleed. All fingers must be so opened, one by one. When blood has flowed out you will be able to tell the prognosis of the patient. If the blood is dark and thick the prognosis is bad. If the blood is fresh and thin the power of the illness is already slackening. In this way I cured my wife. I don't dare to be selfish and keep such a good cure to myself and have therefore decided to offer it to the public. I hope that this notice will receive the attention of all. It will be advisable for each family to purchase some of the aforementioned kinds of medicine (both liquid and pills) to prepare for a possible emergency. If there are poor people who cannot afford to buy such medicine they may come to my house, and I shall present them with some of the medicine. This is only an expression of a good will on my part. This notice is hereby respectfully presented to Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters, with many best wishes for their health, by,

Signed
(The 20th of the 4th Moon,
Lunar Calendar).

(2) Dehydrated potash alum (Alumen usta), one tenth of a Chien (about 3.1249 gms.), mix in boiling soup or water and drink; will cure instantly. Must not take rice or rice-water, or ginger. If one of these prohibitions is violated the patient will be hopeless.

From the famous physician in the army (not dated)

(3) Good prescription for emergency.

For vomiting, diarrhea, convulsion and cholera, the patient ought at once to drink the juice from boiling Elsholtzia Patrini Garcke (Latin) (Hsiang Hsu, Chinese). If the symptoms are augmented by fever and perspiration, add Lophanthus Rugosus (Hua Hsiang) to the boiling mixture.

(Neither signed nor dated)

PART II

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Drugs which Appear in Two or More of the Collected Local Prescriptions(20)

Lonhanthus yunnanensis, p. 1888. Function: promote digestion, stop vomiting: effective for cholera, etc.

Alnum nepa, pp. 694-696. Function: relieves fever, stops diarrhea: effective for cholera.

(Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine at the National Yunnan University, says that the drug is effective for absorption and adsorption just as Kaoline, if used in proper dosage.)

Peel of Sweet Orange, p. 1684. Function: Absorbs water, promotes perspiration, stops diarrhea and vomiting: effective for cholera.

Glycyrrhiza glabra, pp. 342-343. Function: Strengthens muscles, relieves abnormal hot or cold gas in the chest or abdomen, neutralizes poisons from all sources, etc.

Bupleurum falcatum, pp. 844-845. Function: relieves gas in the chest or abdomen, promotes digestion, relieves fever: especially effective for malaria, etc.

Atractylis ovata, Thunb., pp. 1574-1575. Function: promotes perspiration, absorbs water, helps digestion, etc. Also: with several other ingredients can be effective for cholera (p. 1579).

Alisma plantago, or Water Plantain, p. 1893. Function: absorbs water and relieves fever, stops diarrhea and vomiting, etc.

Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes), p. 1038. Function: relieves gas, promotes digestion, stops vomiting and diarrhea, etc.

Pinellia Tuberifera, p. 307 and p. 313. Function: absorbs water, stops vomit, stimulates the circulation of blood; effective for cholera, etc.

Siler divaricatum, B. et H., p. 666. Function: absorbs water: effective as a mild drug to stimulate perspiration, etc.

Cyperus longus, pp. 935-938. Function: smothers gas, relieves pains from different sources, helps digestion, etc.

Realgar, Orpiment, p. 1386. Function: absorbs water, kills worms, neutralizes all poisons, etc. etc.

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(20) The properties of these drugs are quoted from The Codex of Chinese Drugs, edited by the Society for the Study of Chinese Drugs (chief editor: C. J. Ch'en), 1935, in two volumes. The World Book Company, Shanghai. Preface by Dr. Y. C. Yen (President, Shanghai Medical College) and other notable personalities in both Western and Chinese medical fields. The number following each drug refers to these two volumes.

PART III

Drugs in the Prescription which is Locally Reported as Most Effective(21)

278
757

Perilla Nankinensis (Lour), pp. 1209-1210. Function: dispels cold, relieves gas in the abdomen: also effective for neutralizing poisons from fish or meat.

Plum Juice, p. 1738. Function: absorbs water, stops diarrhea and promotes urination, etc.

Pachyrhizus erosus, pp. 1484-1485. Function: stimulates saliva and relieves thirst, promotes perspiration and relieves fever: stops vomiting, etc.

Pistacia chinensis A.B.C., pp. 979-980. Function: dispels cold, relieves abdominal congestion, etc.

Magnolia officinalis, p. 416. Function: absorbs water, promotes digestion, relieves abdominal congestion: effective for cholera and sun stroke, etc.

Cortex aurantiorum (Latin) or Orange peel bark (English), p. 96. Function: stimulates the flowing of water (probably absorption of or expelling water), etc.

Poulbrum Cocos (Latin or Lycoperdon English), pp. 1066. Function: expels water, stimulates urination, etc.

There are altogether fifteen drugs in this prescription. The others are: Lophanthus rugosus, Alisma plantago, Bupleurum falcatum, Atractylis ovata, Thunb., Peel of Sweet Orange, Pinellia tuberifera, Cyperus longus, Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes). All of these drugs have been examined in Part II of this Appendix.

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(21) In Part II, seven drugs have to do with stopping vomiting or diarrhea, and seven with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water. In Part III, seven drugs have to do with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water, and eight drugs with stopping vomiting or diarrhea. The rest, as far as we can see, are irrelevant for purposes of curing cholera.

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

178, 113 Southwest China AF16

[For trends in the adoption of lack of adoption of modern Western medical science in the local Chinese community, see 4: Hsu, Category 116, pp. 2-53.]

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

YÜN-NAN

THE LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND THE YANGTZE

[p. i]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[p.ii]

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The lake and mountains of Ta-li Fu

[Frontispiece]
[facing p. iii]

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YUN-NAN

THE LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND THE YANGTZE

by

MAJOR H. R. DAVIES

52nd Oxfordshire Light Infantry

CAMBRIDGE:
at the University Press
1909

[p. iii]

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[p.iv]

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PREFACE

IN this work it has been my endeavour to write something that may be useful to the future traveller, and to those who are interested in the subject of through communication between India and China, and in the development of our trade in the latter country. I cannot claim that the book contains a number of amusing incidents or a thrilling narrative of adventure.

In the first three chapters I have considered, in a general manner, the subject of railway construction between India and the Yangtze, leaving to the Appendix a more detailed description of the proposed line, and some chapters on the nature and products of the country through which such a line would pass. In writing about the proposed railway, and in fact on all other subjects touched on in this book, the opinions expressed are merely my own personal view of the matter, and do not in any way represent the ideas of any department of the Government.

The main part of the book is taken up with an account of my own travels in Yün-nan and the neighbouring provinces. Of the 5,500 miles of road which I covered, almost exactly half was ground previously untrodden even by missionaries, while much of the remainder has not been previously described. This I have considered sufficient excuse for attempting to give some information which may be of value to the geographer and to the future traveller. Possibly, too, more may be learnt of the condition of a country from a narrative of travel than from the perusal of such details as are given in the Appendix.

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000 It will, perhaps, be noticed that my first journey was undertaken as long ago as 1894, and that my most recent travels in Western China were in 1900. It may, therefore, be objected that my information is too old to be of value. I do not think, however, that this will be found to be the case to any extent. The railway now being constructed by the French will doubtless introduce changes in the country it touches, but so far Yün-nan has been little affected by modern ideas, and the greater part of my routes have not since been traversed by any other traveller.

In Appendix VIII. will be found some account of the various tribes of Western China. Here I have in some places repeated what has already been said in the body of the book, for I have thought it best to make this as complete an account as I was able to give, so that those interested in the subject would not have to turn to other parts of the book.

I would call special attention to the map which will be found in the pocket of the cover. I have spent much time in its compilation and believe that it contains everything of value that has ever been published of that part of the country. A special note on its value and its limitations will be found in Appendix IX.

Though the actual account of travels is necessarily confined to the country which I saw myself, much of the more general information concerning the projected railway and the products of the province, and much of the material for the map, are the result of the labours of my companions, whose names will be found mentioned in the following pages. Our united journeys, not counting roads which we traversed twice, covered a distance of nearly 15,000 miles of land travelling.

In writing on the subject of the Yün-nan Railway I feel that I am only very indifferently carrying out a task which would naturally have been performed by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones, R.E., had not an untimely death cut short

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a most promising career. This officer had seen the country from both sides and was specially qualified to give an authoritative opinion, but no final report was ever received from him, for on his second journey he was murdered by Boxers. Besides the personal loss to those of us who worked with him, his early death has removed one who had already become an authority on railway questions in China.

The credit for the increase to our geographical knowledge of Western China which has resulted from our expeditions is due primarily to the Government of India and the Yün-nan Company. The former were entirely responsible for one expedition, and gave much help in the loan of surveyors, &c., in the two expeditions which were carried out by the enterprise of the Yün-nan Company.

My thanks are specially due to Captain C. G. W. Hunter, R.E., for his valuable assistance in the parts of this book which deal with railway questions. I am also much indebted to the War Office for permission to use the map of Yün-nan which accompanies this book. A large number of the photographs which illustrate this book are the work of the late Captain W. A. Watts-Jones, who was an excellent photographer. By the kindness of Mrs Watts-Jones I have been allowed to make use of them. My thanks are also due for leave to reproduce their photographs to Major C. H. D. Ryder, Mr J. S. Ker, Major G. C. Rigby, Major G. W. Johnson, Major M. E. Willoughby, and Captain E. W. Mahon.

H. R. DAVIES.

September 1908.

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CHAPTER I

YÜN-NAN AND ITS COMMUNICATIONS.

Situation of Yün-nan—Importance and interest of Yün-nan—Its communications.

To how many people does the name Yün-nan convey anything at all? Those who do not know in what part of the globe it is situated are ignorant in good company. For a distinguished official wishing to study the question of Yün-nan railways, sent for a map of Canada! He was surprised to find that they spelt the name Yukon. 000

Yün-nan must be looked for not in the neighbourhood of Klondike, but in the south-west corner of China. It is a province that deserves to be better known, for it has more than one claim on the attention of Englishmen. First of all it borders the eastern frontier of our Indian Empire for several hundred miles. Secondly, if India and the Yangtze are ever connected by railway, it is through Yün-nan that the line must pass. Add to this that the south-eastern part of the province borders the French colony of Tong-king, while its north-west corner just touches Tibet, and here at once is enough to make Yün-nan interesting politically and commercially. 131

But it is not only to the statesman and the merchant that Yün-nan will appeal. For the geographer and the explorer there are still many blank spaces on the map. To the geologist and the mining engineer its great mountain ranges must contain much of interest. For the ethnologist, above all, it is a wide field of research in which he might work for a lifetime and still leave much to be done by his successors. Nor has any systematic examination of the zoology or botany of the province as yet been made. There must be much interesting work for 000

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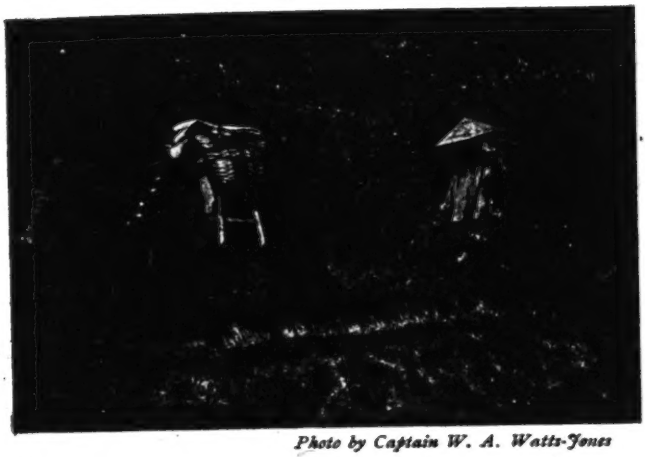

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A Yün-nan pack mule

Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

Plate I

[Face p. 2]

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000 the naturalist in a country which includes perpetual snows, temperate plateaus, and tropical forests.

Some of these subjects are touched on in the account of journeys through the province which forms the main part of this volume. But in the next few chapters it is with the question of railway communication with Yün-nan that I propose to deal.

The shape and size of the province can best be seen by a reference to the map which will be found in the pocket of the cover at the end of this book. Its position with reference to other countries and provinces can also be seen on the small inset map which accompanies this.

505 Yün-nan is not in itself a poor country, but it suffers from want of communications. The mountainous nature of the province makes the large rivers so full of rapids and boulders that they cannot be navigated, and the roads so difficult that quick land travelling is also impossible. There is no river in the interior of Yün-nan that is of any practical use for boats, much less for steamers, while the roads are merely mountain paths fit for no transport but pack mules and ponies. Moreover the distances from sea ports and even from navigable rivers are very great.

There are four main routes by which goods can reach Yün-nan.

(1) Up the Irrawaddy by steamer to Bhamo (lat. 24° 15′, long. 97° 15′) in the north of Burma, two days from the Yün-nan frontier.

(2) Through Tong-king by rail, from Haiphong to Lao-kai (lat. 22° 30′, long. 103° 57′) which is on the border of Yün-nan. This line is now being carried on by the French through Mêng-tzŭ to Yün-nan Fu and will soon be opened to Mêng-tzù.

(3) Up the West River from Canton by steamer and boat to Pai-sê T'ing[1] (lat. 23° 55′, long. 106°) in Kuang-hsi province, one day from the border of Yün-nan.

(4) Up the Yangtze by steamer to I-ch'ang and thence by boat to Sui Fu (lat. 28° 45′, long. 104° 35′), three days from the Yün-nan boundary.

Let us now take two places—Yün-nan Fu, the capital of the province (lat. 25°, long. 102° 45′), and Hsia-kuan near

[1] Also pronounced Pê-sê or Po-sê.

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505 Ta-li Fu, the centre of the richest part of Yün-nan (lat. 25° 35′, long. 100° 10′), and see how far they are situated from the nearest navigable river.

Yün-nan Fu is 505 miles from Bhamo, 240 miles from Lao-kai, 355 miles from Pai-sê T'ing, and 398 miles from Sui Fu.

Hsia-kuan is 280 miles from Bhamo, 467 miles from Lao-kai, 575 miles from Pai-sê T'ing, and 618 miles from Sui Fu.

Over these distances it must be remembered everything has to be carried on the backs of animals or men.

Moreover the four places to which navigation is possible by these four different river routes are of themselves quite unimportant. All merchandise from abroad has naturally to come from the sea ports, and the length of time occupied in carriage from the sea ports adds to the inaccessibility of Yün-nan to foreign goods.

505 497 Lao-kai, 1½ days by train from Haiphong is the best off in this respect. Bhamo comes next in point of nearness to the sea, being three days from Rangoon by train and steamer.

Pai-sê T'ing and Sui Fu are both situated at a great distance from the sea and the long up-river journey takes roughly speaking quite a month and a half from Canton and Shanghai respectively.

Taking again the two towns of Yün-nan Fu and Hsia-kuan and measuring the distance roughly in time we find that Yün-nan Fu is 39 to 46 days from Rangoon, 16 days from Haiphong, 67 days from Canton, and 70 days from Shanghai. Hsia-kuan is 24 to 31 days from Rangoon, 28 days from Haiphong, 82 days from Canton, and 85 days from Shanghai.

Here then is a province in which long distances and difficult transport make any large trade at present impossible. It is only by railways that the country can be developed. Unfortunately the same mountains which make the rivers unnavigable and the roads impassable for wheels, also render the construction of railways extremely difficult.

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CHAPTER II

RAILWAY PROJECTS FROM BURMA INTO CHINA.

Captain Sprye's proposals—Opening of Bhamo to steam navigation—Baber's opinions—Colquhoun's and Hallett's project—The Shan States—The railway to Lashio.

000 THE idea of drawing the trade of Western China towards Burma is by no means a new one. To Captain Sprye is due the credit of being the originator of the scheme, for as long ago as 1831 he drew attention to the advantages of our position in Burma as a means of attracting to our sea ports some of the commerce of the land-locked province of Yün-nan.

In those days railways were not thought of, and it was at first only the opening of a trade route that Captain Sprye proposed. In later years he advocated a survey for a railway line from Rangoon into Siam, and thence northward to Keng Tung and Keng Hung (lat. 22°, long. 100° 50′). Captain Sprye's proposals, though they had many supporters among the higher officials in British Burma, were not approved of by the Government of India, and nothing more was undertaken than a survey of a line from Rangoon northwards to Toungoo.

The Yün-nan railway question was again revived about 1867 when it became known that the Upper Irrawaddy could be navigated by steamers as far as Bhamo. This town is situated close to the Chinese frontier and it naturally suggested itself that this would be the best route for establishing a trade with Yün-nan. The road from Bhamo to Yün-nan Fu had not been explored by Europeans since the time of Marco Polo and it seems to have been hoped that a line for a railway might be found in this direction.

This idea was at once dispelled when the reports of Margary and Baber showed that the high mountain ranges

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and deep valleys which cross the road from T'êng-yüeh T'ing to Ta-li Fu would make the route quite impracticable for a railway. Baber's remarks were in some cases so emphatic as to create among those who had not studied the subject very deeply an impression that *any* railway through Yün-nan was impossible.

Of the high range between the Salween and the Shweli he remarks, "If British trade ever adopts this track we shall be delighted and astounded in about equal proportions." In another place he says, "By piercing half a dozen Mont Cenis tunnels and erecting a few Menai bridges, the road from Burma to Yün-nan Fu could doubtless be much improved."

Allowing for the slight exaggeration which no one will grudge to a writer of Baber's talents, this description does give an idea of the difficulties of parts of this road. But these remarks were made about the road from Bhamo viâ T'êng-yüeh T'ing and Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu, a line which no one now advocates as possible for a railway. If those who think Baber was therefore opposed to any railway construction in Yün-nan will look twenty lines beyond the last quotation, they will see that Baber himself suggests the very line of approach that has now been adopted[1].

About 1881 a fresh scheme, based on the proposals of Captain Sprye but differing somewhat in the line taken, was brought forward by Mr A. R. Colquhoun and Mr Holt S. Hallett. Their line was to start from Moulmein, a port which lies in Lower Burma at the mouth of the Salween. From there it was to run eastward to Raheng in Siam, and thence north up the Menam valley, and through Keng Tung and Keng Hung to Ssŭ-mao T'ing in the southern part of Yün-nan (lat. 22° 50′, long. 101°).

As far as the physical difficulties of the country are concerned, this was probably the best line that could be found, though from Ssŭ-mao onwards difficulties would begin. The principal objection to it was that it ran mainly through Siamese territory and would therefore do more to develop Siam than our own possessions. Still, as long as our rule extended only over Lower Burma, this line seemed

[1] Royal Geographical Society, *Supplementary Papers*, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 185, or *Parliamentary Report*, China, No. 3 (1878).

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000 the only means of getting communication with Western China.

The annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 changed all this. A railway had already been carried northwards from Rangoon as far as Toungoo, and by 1889 the extension to Mandalay was completed. Meanwhile the Shan States, which lie to the east of Burma and had been tributary to the Burmese king, were explored by our columns. They found here a peaceful trading population and our rule was established without any serious fighting.

The development of the Shan States then naturally engaged the attention of the Government. Surveys for a line were carried out by Mr Bagley, and the great engineering difficulties of the rise from the Irrawaddy plain were overcome. The line starting from Myohaung, a little south of Mandalay, passes through Maymyo and Thibaw to Lashio, the capital of the Northern Shan States (lat. 23°, long. 97° 45′). The railway was completed up to this point in 1902 and Lashio is still the terminus.

From here the line could easily be carried on to Möng Yaw and a survey has been made of the 75 miles which separate this place from Kun-long Ferry on the Salween (lat. 23° 25′, long. 98° 40′). Though the railway is likely to stop at Lashio for the present, it would doubtless be at once extended to Kun-long if the construction of a line through Yün-nan was undertaken.

The existence of this railway through the Shan States has much simplified the problem of communication with Yün-nan by definitely deciding the direction which such an extension should take[1]. Whatever may originally have been the merits of the proposals of Mr Colquhoun and Mr Hallett, their line cannot now compete with an extension of the Kun-long railway. From Moulmein to Ssŭ-mao T'ing is a distance of 700 miles: from Kun-long to Yün Chou (lat. 24° 30′, long. 100° 10′) is only 145 miles. Moreover Yün Chou is better placed than Ssŭ-mao for drawing the trade of Yün-nan.

[1] See, however, remarks on the projected Bhamo-T'êng-yüeh line, pp. 13—16.

CHAPTER III

THE YÜN-NAN RAILWAY

The Yün-nan Company's expedition—Its results—The purposes of the proposed Yün-nan Railway—Its extension to Ssŭ-ch'uan—Comparison of the Yün-nan Railway with a line to Ssŭ-ch'uan from the east—A through route from India to the Yangtze—French projects—Proposed extension of the British line to Yün Chou—The proposed Bhamo-T'êng-yüeh line—Can never become a through route to the Yangtze—Favourable situation of Yün Chou—Railway construction by the Chinese.

000

THE original proposers of the Yün-nan Railway had in their minds simply the drawing of the trade of that province towards Burma. It was then hardly realised that beyond Yün-nan lay a far richer and more populous province—that of Ssŭ-ch'uan. The eventual object of any railway scheme now proposed must be not merely the encouragement of local trade across the Burmese frontier, but the attainment of a through route from India to Ssŭ-ch'uan and to Eastern China.

It was with this view that in 1898 the Yün-nan Company determined to send out an expedition to reconnoitre for a railway line to connect Kun-long on the Burmese border with some point on the Upper Yangtze to which boats can ascend. Of this expedition I had the good fortune to be in charge, but I do not propose in this chapter to go into details, but merely to confine myself to the general conclusions arrived at.

An account of the composition of our party and our methods of working will be found on p. 114 and pp. 120, 121 and seq., and a description of the proposed line, and details about the geography, population and commerce of Yün-nan are given in the appendices at the end of this book.

All that will be necessary here then will be to state as shortly as possible the results of our work.

1. A reconnaissance was made for a railway starting from Kun-long on the Burmese frontier and reaching the

[p. 7]

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The Yangtze gorges

Photos by Captain E. W. Mahon

The Yangtze gorges

Plate II

[Face p. 8]

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000 Yangtze either at Sui Fu (lat. 28° 45′, long. 104° 35′) or at Na-ch'i Hsien (lat. 28° 45′, long. 105° 25′). [The route reconnoitred is shown on the map which accompanies this book.]

2. The total distance from Kun-long to the Yangtze is 1000 miles. The greater part of the line would traverse exceedingly difficult country, necessitating in places a grade as steep as one in 25 and possibly a few short lengths of rack. The total cost of a metre gauge line would be perhaps £15,000,000 to £20,000,000 and the time required for construction would be at least ten years.

3. Though there are great possibilities of future trade, the province of Yün-nan is, owing to bad communications, at present so little developed that the railway cannot be made as an immediately paying commercial speculation.

Under such circumstances commercial men are not likely to put their money into a scheme in a foreign country for which such a large sum would be required without any probability of a profit for some years. A guarantee from the British Government of even a low rate of interest would doubtless produce the necessary money. The question therefore resolves itself into this. Is it worth the while of the British Government to spend money on the construction of the whole or any part of the Yün-nan Railway?

The purposes of such a line would be twofold:

1. To draw the trade of Yün-nan towards Burma, and thereby prevent the trade of Western Yün-nan being taken from us by the French.

2. To reach the rich province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, there to connect in the future with the projected Hankow-Ch'êng-tu railway, thus forming a through route between India and Shanghai—a link in the grand trunk line which will doubtless some day connect Calais with Eastern China *viâ* India.

It will be convenient to consider first the second of these two objects. As far as the Ssŭ-ch'uan trade is concerned it does not seem likely that the Yün-nan Railway can compete in the more bulky class of goods against a line coming from the east. While the long, costly and risky boat journey up the Yangtze gorges remained the only means of bringing foreign goods into Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yün-nan Railway might

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000 have hoped to draw the trade of this province towards Burma. But now this state of things seems likely to come to an end, for Ssŭ-ch'uan in the course of a few years will probably be approached by a railway coming from the east.

To find a practicable line from Hankow to Ch'ung-k'ing and Ch'êng-tu has not been an easy task. Many routes were tried and found impracticable, but the perseverance of Colonel Manifold and those who worked with him[1] has overcome these difficulties, and a route has been discovered which is reported to be feasible.

Now cotton cloth and yarn are the principal imports into Ssŭ-ch'uan, and these come chiefly from Bombay. Let us therefore take Bombay as a starting-point and compare the two routes.

The approach to Ssŭ-ch'uan by the eastern line entails a somewhat long sea journey of 4,700 miles to Shanghai. But it would not always be necessary to break cargo here. For half the year large ocean-going ships can reach Hankow 600 miles up the Yangtze, and there is no season of the year when ships drawing 10 feet cannot navigate the river up to this point. Cargo could therefore be carried in sea-going ships straight from Bombay to Hankow.

From Hankow to Ch'êng-tu viâ Ch'ung-k'ing would be about 1,100 miles by rail. A direct railway from Hankow to Ch'êng-tu without touching Ch'ung-k'ing would materially shorten this distance, but as the line viâ Ch'ung-k'ing seems the more likely to be first constructed, it will be well to reckon the distance at 1,100 miles.

Taking now the Yün-nan route, the voyage by sea from Bombay to Rangoon is only 2,150 miles, but from Rangoon to Ch'êng-tu by rail would be some 1,600 miles.

Sea freights are so cheap compared to railway rates that these extra 550 miles of land travelling are likely to more than counterbalance the advantage of the shorter sea voyage. It should also be remembered that the cost of construction of the eastern line and its working expenses are likely to be less per mile than those of the Yün-nan Railway.

The construction however of the Hankow–Ch'êng-tu railway would cut both ways. Though it would probably

[1] Captain E. Barnardiston, R.E., and Captain E. W. S. Mahon, R.E.

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000 carry a large part of the trade of Ssŭ-ch'uan, it would at the same time add greatly to the traffic on the Yün-nan Railway, for the two lines together would form the shortest route between India and Eastern China.

This brings us to the question of a through railway route from India to China. In an age when railways are penetrating to the most out-of-the-way places in the earth, it is impossible to suppose that India and China—the two most populous countries in the world—will be content to remain side by side without being connected by railway. I think I am quite safe in asserting that any such railway must pass through Yün-nan.

I do not know that any route passing further to the north, through Tibet or Chinese Turkestan, has ever been suggested. The great height of the mountains and the very long stretches of extremely poor country would, I think, make any such project impracticable. We are then driven to the conclusion that it is only through Yün-nan that India can be linked to the Yangtze and to Eastern China[1].

Now the first railway to penetrate Yün-nan will undoubtedly be the French line from Tong-king (see map)[2], which is at the present moment actually in course of construction. When the French railway has reached Yün-nan Fu, the capital of the province, it is not likely to stop there. The country between Yün-nan Fu and the navigable part of the Yangtze is so difficult that I do not suggest that this part of the line would be immediately taken in hand. But there can be little doubt that extensions would eventually take place not only to the east, but also to the west.

A Frenchman who has been recently travelling in Yün-nan on an official mission points to Ta-li Fu as the goal of a western extension of the French railway, and places the future western limit of French influence and French commerce at the Mekong (long. 99° 30′)[3]. It must be remembered too in this connection that the country between Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu is on the whole less difficult for railway construction than most other parts of the province.

[1] For a discussion of some alternatives that have been proposed, see Appendix, pp. 326—329.
[2] A description of this line is given in the Appendix, pp. 330—331.
[3] *Voyage au Yünnan*, by G. Courtellemont, pp. 178 and 194.

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If then we are content to postpone the idea of constructing a railway from Burma into Yün-nan, the fact has to be faced that in the meantime the French will have got possession of all that part of the future Burma-Yangtze line which lies east of Ta-li Fu, or, to put it in figures, about 700 miles out of the total of 1000 miles will be in foreign hands. Moreover the trade of even Western Yün-nan, the richest part of the province, is likely to find its way to Tong-king instead of as at present to Burma. 000

As the owners of the Indian Empire and the possessors of by far the largest share of the foreign trade of China, we can hardly remain indifferent spectators of the construction by foreign powers of the connecting link between these two countries, nor can we well sit still and see the trade of Western Yün-nan snatched from our very doors.

I am not alluding here to political rivalry. The break-up of China which once seemed so imminent appears likely to be altogether avoided. If in spite of appearances such a catastrophe should take place, the political influence in any particular province will naturally go to those who have spent their money and labour in developing it.

But it is not on political grounds that I would base arguments in favour of the Yün-nan Railway. The construction by the French of their line from Tong-king to Yün-nan Fu and its subsequent extension both to the east and to the west are matters of most legitimate commercial enterprise. The most difficult part of the Yün-nan Railway would be that which lies between Yün-nan Fu and the Yangtze, and here, it must be remembered, the French are in no better a position than ourselves. Here both nations have to face the same difficulties. The French Government have not hesitated to give their support both moral and financial to the undertaking. If the British Government decline to follow this example, they must also be prepared to lose in the future the advantages of such a policy.

It is not my intention to pose as an adviser of the Government, but merely to state the facts. The Foreign Office have all the threads in their hands, and can best judge whether the expense would be justified by the end.

I would however remark that there is a middle course

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000 which I believe would be the best to adopt. I do not think that it would be necessary, or even desirable, that the whole line from the Burmese frontier to the Yangtze should be undertaken at once. Such a project is too vast to be carried through in any way but by gradual stages.

My suggestion is that for the present the Burma railway should be extended from Lashio to Kun-long, and the Yün-nan Railway constructed from Kun-long to Yün Chou.

This town could be reached in about 145 miles from Kun-long at a cost of about £1,500,000 to £2,000,000. It is the commercial centre of a district which suffers much from want of communications with good markets. An extension of our railway system to Yün Chou will bring within range of Burma many parts of Yün-nan hitherto inaccessible, and will materially shorten the distance to places which already trade with us.

At present nearly all our trade with Yün-nan comes through Bhamo. The following table gives the comparative distances from Bhamo and from Yün Chou to different places in Yün-nan.

	To Bhamo	To Yün Chou
From T'êng-yüeh T'ing	112	161
„ Yung-ch'ang Fu	173	100
„ Hsia-kuan (near Ta-li Fu)	271	109
„ Ch'u-hsiung Fu	394	232
„ Yün-nan Fu	491	329
„ Ssŭ-mao T'ing	434	185

But the improvement of the trade between Burma and Yün-nan would be only one object of this extension to Yün Chou. It would also be the first step in the joining by railway of India with Shanghai. Having thus given an earnest of our intention to connect Burma with Yün-nan Fu we should be in a position to enter into negotiation with the French for a joint construction of that part of the line which would join Yün-nan Fu to the Yangtze.

439 To come now to the question of the trade of Yün-nan. The most prosperous part of the province is that which comprises the series of fine plains which lie to the north, the east, and the south of Ta-li Fu (lat. 25° 42′, long. 100° 10′).

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The commercial centre of this region is Hsia-kuan, which lies eight miles south of Ta-li Fu. All this country and even places considerably to the east of this are at present supplied from Burma, for from Hsia-kuan to Lao-kai on the Tong-king border is considerably further than from Hsia-kuan to Bhamo. 439

When the French railway is completed from Tong-king to Yün-nan Fu while the Burma railway terminus is still at Lashio, this advantage will disappear. For from Hsia-kuan to Bhamo is 280 miles against 220 miles from Hsia-kuan to Yün-nan Fu. I have taken Hsia-kuan as an instance, but naturally with the trade of Hsia-kuan would also vanish that of other similarly situated places which lie nearer to Yün-nan Fu than to Bhamo or Lashio. 000

If we sit still and do nothing we shall therefore lose the trade of a great part of even Western Yün-nan. But if we construct our railway even as far as Yün Chou, we shall easily retain this, for from Hsia-kuan to Yün-nan Fu the French terminus is 220 miles, and from Hsia-kuan to Yün Chou 109 miles.

There is however another railway project which must be noticed here—the proposed line from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh (Momien) (lat. 25°, long. 98° 30′). A survey of this route has been made: the distance by the line that a railway would follow is 122 miles and the approximate cost is estimated at less than a million pounds[1].

Though there is no railway at present at Bhamo, this place is connected by river steamers with Rangoon and with the railway system of Burma at Katha, and would thus form a suitable starting-point for a railway into Yün-nan. It is moreover by the Bhamo route that most of the present trade between Yün-nan and Burma is carried on, and the line would thus have the advantage of following a well-established trade route.

The construction of a railway between Bhamo and T'êng-yüeh would be comparatively speaking an easy and cheap undertaking, and it would doubtless pay after a time.

[1] These are only preliminary estimates. The results of the final survey are not yet published.

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000 Taken by itself it would be a most useful line, but before committing ourselves to its construction and the abandonment of the Kun-long–Yün Chou route it is essential to ascertain whether an extension eastward to Hsia-kuan is possible.

In the north-east corner of the T'êng-yüeh plain there is a gap in the hills through which the line could probably reach the Shweli valley, but the high steep mountain chain that divides the Shweli from the Salween, and beyond this the valley of the Mekong running between wall-like ranges of hills, are likely to prove extremely difficult obstacles to the further progress of a railway. It would not however be safe to pronounce these obstacles insurmountable until the results of further reconnaissances of this country are made public.

A line to T'êng-yüeh only (if extension eastward proves impossible) not only does not get us any further in the joining of India and Eastern China, but it is extremely doubtful if it would be effective in retaining for us the trade of Hsia-kuan, a place which I have already mentioned as the most important commercial centre in Yün-nan. The distance from T'êng-yüeh to Hsia-kuan is 159 miles and from Yün-nan Fu to Hsia-kuan 220 miles. The balance of 61 miles is perhaps enough to ensure the retention of this trade for the present, but it must be borne in mind that the French by extending their line westward can bring the advantage in distance over to their side.

Moreover Yün Chou is much more favourably situated than T'êng-yüeh for increasing our trade with Yün-nan. T'êng-yüeh is already connected with Bhamo by a mule road which has been shortened and improved in the last few years. Were the railway extended to Yün Chou the trade between T'êng-yüeh and Bhamo would doubtless continue as usual. But Yün Chou is so situated as to be much nearer than T'êng-yüeh to many places which trade with us already, and to many more with which we at present have practically no dealings. Yün Chou has also the great advantage that, lying as it does far to the eastward of T'êng-yüeh, it is in a much better position than the latter town to compete with the French railway.

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The following table of distances will make this clear: 000

	Distance in miles to T'êng-yüeh	Distance in miles to Yün Chou
From Yung-ch'ang Fu	61	100
" Yün-lung Chou	122	180
" Hsia-kuan	159	109
" Li-chiang Fu	264	222
" Shun-ning Fu	137	24
" Ching-tung T'ing	263	102
" Mien-ning T'ing	216	55
" Wei-yüan T'ing	268	107
" Ssŭ-mao T'ing	346	185

It will be seen from this that Yung-ch'ang and Yün-lung are the only two places of any importance which are nearer to T'êng-yüeh than to Yün Chou, while in the case of Yung-ch'ang the distance between it and Yün Chou is so small that the Yün Chou railway would be very useful to that place.

Hsia-kuan, the centre of the richest part of Yün-nan, is brought considerably nearer, and the last five places can be brought into trading relations with us where they would hardly be affected by a line to T'êng-yüeh.

Still if it turns out that it is feasible to extend the T'êng-yüeh line to Hsia-kuan, this route certainly has some advantages. There is no denying the fact that the railway to T'êng-yüeh can be much more easily and cheaply constructed than that to Yün Chou. This undoubtedly makes it the more tempting project of the two to statesmen hampered by financial considerations. But, unless the possibility of an extension eastward is proved, it would seem well to think twice before committing ourselves to a merely local line, and renouncing the project of through communication between India and Eastern China.

To summarise shortly the conclusions arrived at:

1. The construction of the whole line from Kun-long to the Yangtze is too vast a project to be undertaken at once.

2. But if we are content to do nothing in the way of railway extension into Yün-nan, the French will in the

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000 future be in possession of the greater part of the line which will some day connect India with Eastern China, and will also be in a position to take from us the trade of Western Yün-nan.

3. To counteract this the Burma Railway should be extended from Lashio to Kun-long and the Yün-nan Railway constructed from Kun-long to Yün Chou, with a view to its gradual extension eastwards in the future.

4. If the proposed railway from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh can be extended eastward to Hsia-kuan it must prove a formidable rival scheme to the Kun-long route, but if T'êng-yüeh is to be the terminus it is likely to be ineffective in retaining the trade of even Western Yün-nan.

Before quitting the subject of railways in China, one more question must be touched on. The Chinese have in the last year or two evidently become alarmed at the power which they consider railway concessions are likely to give to foreigners in China. In many parts of the country agitations have been started with the object of getting all railway construction into Chinese hands. Nothing is more natural than that such ideas should prevail, but if foreign diplomatists are content to give way to these opinions, the opening up of China by railways is likely to be considerably delayed. The average Chinaman would be very chary of entrusting his capital to officials to build a railway; moreover the modest rate of interest paid by a railway company would not be at all likely to satisfy the trading instincts of the Chinese investor. So far the attempts of the officials to raise money for railway construction seem to have been a failure, and in one or two cases extra taxation has been suggested as the only means—a measure hardly likely to make railways popular.

Quite lately however (1907) the patriotic desire of the Chinese to construct railways themselves without the aid of either foreign capital or foreign engineers has in some provinces actually resulted in offers of considerable sums of money from leading merchants and others to be invested in railway construction. Whether the money would be forthcoming for such a hazardous investment as the Yün-nan railway must remain doubtful. However, an encouraging sign for

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the future is to be found in a recent application made by the Viceroy of Yün-nan for the services of an American-trained Chinese railway engineer. That all railways in China should eventually be constructed and worked by the Chinese is both natural and inevitable, and if the Chinese Government would undertake the construction of the line from the Burmese border to the Yangtze, it would be a satisfactory solution to all concerned. Two things are necessary—a sufficient number of skilled engineers, and some honest men to be in charge of the finances. Time will doubtless supply the former, but will honest men ever be found?

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CHAPTER IV

NAM-HKAM AND MÖNG MOW.

Chinese soldiers in the Kachin hills—Chinese officials arrive in Bhamo—Expedition to find the frontier "gates"—Good shooting—Nam-hkam—The Shan or Tai race—A widespread people—Their literature and language—A plain-dwelling race—The Möng Na sawbwa—Two thousand taels for a beard—The San-ta sawbwa—Möng Mow—An opium-smoking chief—Shan theatricals.

000 In the latter half of October, 1893, considerable stir was caused in Bhamo, the little frontier town of Burma, by the appearance of parties of Chinese soldiers in the Kachin Hills, which here divide the Irrawaddy plain from the Chinese province of Yün-nan. According to bazar rumour the Chinese had come to demand the districts of Bhamo and Momeit from the British Government, with the invasion of Burma by a Chinese army as the alternative in the event of a refusal.

Neither Burmans nor local Chinamen found any difficulty in believing this, and it is not to be wondered at that the prestige of the Chinese is still great in a part of the country that has in former times suffered much from their armies. Indeed, only a short time before the annexation of Upper Burma, Bhamo had been captured by a band of Chinese brigands and successfully held for a considerable time.

However on this occasion the fears of the inhabitants proved groundless, for it turned out that the Foreign Office had arranged with the Chinese Government that the latter were to send deputies to look for some "gates" which were said to have once marked the boundary between Burma and China. On the 3rd November the deputies themselves arrived in Bhamo, carried in sedan chairs, much to the amusement of the Burmese populace.

The frontier had not then been delimitated and the Chinese Government attached much importance to finding these "gates." So it was arranged that a mixed commission

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of British and Chinese should go out, to fix their position. Mr Warry, Chinese adviser to the Government of Burma, and Mr Martini, District Superintendent of Police, were accordingly deputed to go with the Chinese officials. An escort of 50 men of the 19th Yorkshire Regiment under Lieutenant Fife went as escort, and I accompanied the party as Intelligence Officer.

The Chinese deputies were P'êng, a Hu-nan man who had previously held official rank as a magistrate, and Yüeh, a small local official from T'êng-yüeh T'ing (Momien). They were also accompanied by the T'êng-yüeh telegraph clerk who, on the strength of his ability to send English messages by the Morse alphabet, came as interpreter. He struggled valiantly with the difficulties that English pronunciation presents to a Chinaman and was occasionally almost intelligible, but luckily Mr Warry's knowledge of Chinese rendered the clerk's services unnecessary in official communications.

We left Bhamo on the 17th November, and our search for the frontier "gates" took us through parts of the Kachin Hills and Northern Shan States which even in 1893 were well known and pretty thoroughly surveyed. I do not intend therefore to give any account of this part of our journey, which was only notable for some excellent shooting we got in the Shweli valley at Nam-hkam and Se-lan. Duck and geese formed the principal part of the bag, but we also shot hares, partridges (Chinese francolin), coolan (*grus cinerea*), snipe, solitary snipe, and woodcock.

We succeeded after some trouble in finding all three gates; the Hu-chü Kuan, the Tien-ma Kuan, and the Han-lung Kuan. The so-called gates, I should mention, are solidly built stone archways which perhaps originally had gates across them. They no doubt marked what was the frontier 200 years ago, but in their last war against China the Burmese regained a good deal of territory, and the present boundary has been rightly fixed without any reference to the position of the gates.

On the 7th January 1894 we found ourselves at Nam-hkam, our work finished, and the Chinese deputies invited Mr Warry and myself to go through a bit of Yün-nan with them.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

A Chinese Shan soldier

[Face p. 20]

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S 131 622 P 131 622 Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50' and longitude 97° 45'. It is in the Northern Shan States and is part of the large tract of country governed by the sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

S 361 P 361 The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields. This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan, and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

S 101 P 101 This very civilised and widely spread race call themselves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they formerly governed a wide extent of country in western Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

[1] T'u-sze (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.
[2] Or Méng-mao according to the system of transliterating Chinese.
[3] Lat. 28° 10', long. 100° 50'.

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name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

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All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

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Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans from very different countries can understand each other. I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

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They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

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S P 361 101 One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

S P 622 S P [291] Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'êng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

S P 302 622 Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

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and disappointed when told that there was no demand in England for hair dyes of that colour. Perhaps the lapse of time has by now given him his heart's desire.

The San-ta sawbwa was a much younger man, with a decidedly intelligent but rather shifty-looking face, much pitted with small-pox. He was extremely anxious to learn about western inventions, and was greatly struck with our tents and heliographs. He had not a very good reputation among the Shans and was said to have succeeded to the sawbwaship by putting one of his relatives out of the way. An account of his untimely end at the hands of the executioner will be found on a later page[1].

We had no escort of our own except a nominal one of a corporal and four men of the Yorkshire Regiment, whom we took more as a matter of dignity than from any anticipation of danger.

S P [291] S P [361]

Our second march took us into Möng Mow, the capital of the Chinese Shan State of that name. We were met about a mile from the town by some Chinese troops and by some of the Shan followers of the Möng Na and Möng Mow sawbwas. The Möng Na men looked very well in green sleeveless coats with a black border, and most of them were armed with breech-loaders. The town is built at the foot of the bare range of hills which bounds the Shweli valley on the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall in a very fair state of repair. The place was en fête at the time, as one of the Möng Na sawbwa's four sons was just going to be married to a daughter of the Möng Mow chief.

We halted the next day and went to pay a visit to the sawbwa. His palace was a very small tumble-down building, and the sawbwa himself a little shrivelled-up looking man, extremely nervous in the presence of the Chinese officials, and I believe almost incapable of managing his affairs through over-indulgence in opium[2].

S P 545

In the evening we went to an amateur theatrical performance, in which most of the parts were taken by members of the two sawbwas' families. The piece was in Shan, but was a translation from the Chinese, and was all sung to the monotonous tune of the Chinese theatre.

[1] See page 189.
[2] He died not long after our visit.

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CHAPTER V

MÖNG MOW TO MANWAING AND BHAMO.

Leave Möng Mow—A village of outlawed Chinese—An impenetrable hedge—The Möng Wan plain—The Chinese Shans—Their dress—The Möng Mow dress—Möng Wan—A boy sawbwa—The Ho-hsa chief—A fine old gentleman—La-hsa—A recent rebellion—The sawbwa in trouble—A pleasant unsophisticated old chief—The valley of Ho-hsa and La-hsa—Its A-ch'ang inhabitants—A distinct race from the Shans—The sawbwas of Chinese extraction—Man-waing—The Trade Protection Levy—A Chinese dinner—Playing *mora*—Margary's murder—Responsibility of officials for murders in China—Chinese soldiers—Cartridges that do not fit the rifles—A Panthay officer—Kachins' heads in baskets—Back to Bhamo.

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On the 11th we started for Möng Wan, the next Shan state to the north. Our road led over the hills which divide the Shweli from its tributary the Nam Wan, and entailed an ascent of about 2000 feet and a corresponding descent on the other side to Sang-hawng or Chang-fêng-kai, which is the only place in the Möng Wan plain where there are any Chinamen living.

They are many of them men who have made things too hot for themselves elsewhere and have fled from justice to this out-of-the-way corner where Chinese officials are not likely to trouble them. No Yün-nan Chinaman would come and live here from choice. The level of the plain, like that of the Shweli, is about 3000 feet, and it is therefore considered too unhealthy to live in during the hot part of the year by men so liable to fever as the Yün-nanese.

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The village is well defended by a very thick and broad hedge of a sort of thorny bush through which it would be impossible to penetrate without deliberately cutting a way. It is doubtless intended as a precaution against attack by the Kachins who inhabit the surrounding hills. I have seen the same sort of hedge round Wa villages, east of the Salween.

[p.24]

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The next day P'êng turned up in the morning looking rather solemn and said the head-man of the village had just reported that one of our columns from Bhamo had on the previous day burnt 28 Kachin villages, most of which he said belonged to Möng Wan. The Sang-hawng people are a pretty rough lot and had probably spoken their minds freely on the subject to P'êng, who was certainly in rather an unpleasant position with us as his guests. 000

Mr Warry promised to send a message to the column to find out what had really happened, and we started on our march. The affair had, as is usually the case in China, been enormously exaggerated. An answer from the column arrived in due course to say that a few houses of one village in our own territory had been burnt, as the inhabitants refused to acknowledge our rule by paying tribute.

We were taking things very easy, and on the 12th only did 7½ miles to the village of Kying-khan. The Möng Wan plain is some 20 miles long and averages five or six in breadth, with the Nam Wan running down the middle of it. The state is called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese and Mowun by the Burmans. There are plenty of duck, geese, snipe, and coolan here, but it is not quite such a good shooting ground as the Shweli valley which we had just left. S P 101

The inhabitants are the real Chinese Shans or Tai Che as they are called by the Shans further south, though they themselves prefer the name of Tai Nö or Northern Shans. Both men and women dress entirely in dark blue, the men wearing round turbans and short jackets and trousers barely reaching to the knee, while the women wear a petticoat of much the same cut as the Burmese longyee with a band of the same dark blue colour wound round the waist, and turbans somewhat of the shape of a cylinder standing up a foot or more high. S P 291

This is a different costume from that of the people of Nam-hkam and Möng Mow, who in dialect and customs are half way between the Southern and the Chinese Shans. The men of these two states usually wear the white turbans put on crooked and the enormously broad trousers of the Southern Shan, while the women have a dress peculiar to themselves, the turban much lower than that of the Chinese

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An A-ch'ang

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The boy sawbwa of Möng Wan

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[Face p. 26]

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S P 291 Shan women, and with coloured fringes hanging down on each side, while the petticoat is often of large checks of red, white and green.

S P 622 On the 13th a level road through numerous villages took us to Möng Wan, the capital of the state. We were met at the entrance to the town by the sawbwa, a boy of 10, and his two *amats* or ministers, one a Hu-nan Chinaman, the other a Möng Na Shan. All three made profound obeisances, and we went on into the town and were put up in a very good three-roomed brick house.

S P [361] [342] The place contains about 300 houses. Its narrow paved streets and closely-packed houses of soft brick make it look more like a Chinese town, but it is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. The sawbwa was at that time too young to take any part in the management of the state, and his mother, according to Shan custom, was acting as regent till he was old enough.

The next day, still marching in a northerly direction, we forded the Nam Wan, crossed the range of hills which divides the Shweli from the Taping basin at 5300 feet, descended very steeply into the Ho-hsa[1] valley, and crossed the Nam Hsa, a stream 15 yards wide, into the capital of the Ho-hsa state, a town of only 70 houses.

We were received by the sawbwa, a fine-looking old gentleman of 66, with a white moustache and quite a hooked nose. He is the same chief who is mentioned in Dr Anderson's book, *From Mandalay to Momien*, and he remembered all the names of the members of Colonel Sladen's expedition who had visited him in 1868. He said they had stayed with him a long time, and he appeared to have most pleasant recollections of their visit.

S P [302] On the 15th January a march of seven miles brought us to La-hsa, the capital of the other state into which the Nam Hsa plain is divided. The sawbwa, a man of 56, wore his beard as well as his hair plaited into a pigtail.

He had lately got into trouble with the Chinese authorities. A Shan priest, a native of Möng Cheng[2], a state lying east of the Salween, arrived in La-hsa, and on

[1] Called Hu-sa by the Chinese.
[2] Chên-k'ang in Chinese.

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S the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers
P found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With
622 these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son
S is fit to act as regent.
P
361 The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the
S hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on
P ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice culti-
[134] vation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is
[243] barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out
S every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States
P and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those
[463] who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S The chief claim to interest of these two states is that
101 they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

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The sawbwa of Ho-hsa

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The sawbwa of La-hsa

Plate V

[Face p.28]

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S 101

anywhere else. These are the Nga-ch'angs or A-ch'angs, called Chang by the Shans. These people's language is closely connected with Burmese, and is still more like the language of the Szi, Lashi, and Maru tribes[1] who inhabit the Kachin Hills. It has no resemblance to Shan, except the general likeness which connects all the Indo-Chinese languages. The A-ch'angs are often described as Ho-hsa Shans or, in Burmese, Maingtha Shans, and they have adopted Shan customs, dress, and religion so completely that they will even speak of themselves as Shans. But if further questioned they will always allow that they are not really of the Shan race. In feature too there is a noticeable difference between the two peoples.

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The A-ch'angs, however, are not the only inhabitants of this little valley. Its height above the sea is 4500 feet, and it is consequently cold enough and healthy enough for Chinamen to live in, and there are a great number of them in the valley, most of whom have been settled here for some generations. From what the sawbwas told me there are 4000 houses in the two states, of which perhaps a third are inhabited by Chinese or half Chinese families.

S P 622

The sawbwas are both of Chinese extraction. Their ancestors came from Ch'ung-ch'ing Fu (Ch'ung-k'ing) in eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan 400 or 500 years ago. They were sent by the Chinese Government to repress disturbances which had broken out on the border, and were rewarded for their services by being made rulers of these two states. The sawbwas of Möng Na, San-ta and Möng Ti (Nan-tien) are also of Chinese origin, while the Möng Wan and Möng Mow chiefs are genuine Shans. The whole of these sawbwas, however, intermarry with each others' families and have become practically Shans, and would not now call themselves Chinese.

On the 16th January we had an ascent of 1000 feet and a long and steep descent of nearly 3000 feet into the valley of the Taping, and crossed the river, a slow sandy stream 300 yards wide, by boat to the village of Manwaing[2].

[1] For vocabularies, see pocket in cover.

[2] This place is usually called by us by its Burmese name of Manwaing or Manwyne. Its proper Shan name is Man-ving, which has been corrupted by the Chinese into Man-yün.

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505 133 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by Chinamen, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

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P'êng Liu Wang

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Our hosts at Man-waing

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712 Government, the amount being deducted from the soldiers' pay. There were small forts garrisoned by these men all along the road from Manwaing to Nampaung.

262 The traders of Manwaing asked us to dinner one day, and the next evening we dined with Colonels Liu and Wang in the fort. Some of their dishes, such as birds' nest soup, are excellent; others are very much the reverse, pigs' insides often forming part of the menu.

524 Neither of the colonels was at all averse to drinking, and after dinner they played a game which consists in two players sitting opposite each other and simultaneously shooting out one or more fingers of one hand, at the same time shouting out a number. The player who shouts out correctly the total number of fingers shown by the two players wins, and the loser has to drink a glass of rice spirit as a forfeit. The game is, I believe, practically the same as the *mora* of the Italians.

682 On the 22nd January we set out westward for Bhamo, passing, about two miles out of Manwaing, the place where Margary of the Chinese Consular Service was murdered in 1875. He had just made a journey through from Shanghai to Bhamo and had gone back to Manwaing to make arrangements for Colonel Browne's expedition, which was just leaving Bhamo for T'êng-yüeh (Momien). While he was alone at Manwaing, when the main expedition was still on its way there, he was assassinated. Whoever the actual murderers may have been, there is little doubt that the deed was done by order of the Viceroy of Yün-nan.

In nine cases out of ten when Europeans are killed in China, the officials, if not the direct instigators, are really responsible for the murder, and could have stopped it if they had liked. The natives of a district very soon find out if their official is anti-foreign, and those who have the same leanings feel that they can act with safety. If every murder was followed by the decapitation of the official in whose district it took place, murders would cease. At present killing an Englishman is apt to prove a safe and agreeable pastime for evil-disposed Chinamen.

After three miles of flat going we began to climb the Kachin Hills and camped at 4,900 feet at the fort of Sare the headquarters of Colonel Wang, who commanded the Trade Protection Levy.

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713 Protection Levy. The soldiers[1] were chiefly from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan provinces. The men were good enough, but they were wretchedly armed. Among a hundred men one might see ten different sorts of weapon, from the most modern rifles to flint and steel muzzle-loaders. Cartridges are served out anyhow, and a man often gets ammunition that does not fit his rifle. They therefore like getting weapons of as big a bore as possible. A small cartridge wrapped round with rags or paper can be got into a big bore rifle and might go off, but a big cartridge with a small rifle is naturally hopeless.

712 On the 23rd a fairly good road, still through the hills, brought us to Shih-t'i, a fort commanded by Ma, a Panthay or Chinese Mahommedan, who formerly raised and commanded a band of men of his own and used to escort trading caravans through this part of the Kachin country, getting paid by the merchants. Now that the Chinese Government had taken over the safe-guarding of the road, he had been given the rank of an officer in the Trade Protection Levy.

Just before entering the fort we passed between two Kachins' heads in little baskets, stuck on poles on each side of the road. The Chinese told us they could not walk far from their forts alone. Only three or four months before this a Chinese non-commissioned officer had been murdered on the road.

At Sare P'êng, the Chinese deputy who had been with us all the time, left for Momien. He had been most civil and friendly, and we had got on excellently with him and were very sorry to part from him.

On the 24th a steep downhill road took us to the Nampaung, a mountain stream 30 yards wide, which forms the boundary between Burma and China, and we said good-bye to Colonels Liu and Wang and climbed up to the British fort, garrisoned then by a detachment of the 3rd Burma Infantry under Lieut. Whitehead. A hilly march to Myothit and a boat journey of 7½ hours down the Taping brought us into Bhamo on the 26th January, 1894.

[1] [garrison of Sare, Kachin Hills.-- Analyst]

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Photo by Major C. H. D. Ryder

Myothit

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge at Nam-li, between Myitkyina and Sadon

[Face p.32]

CHAPTER VI

Objects of my journey—Getting an interpreter—Mandalay to Myitkyina—Sadon—The Kachin hills.

000 My first journey into Yün-nan had been merely a short trip skirting along the Burmese border, but towards the close of 1894 I was ordered to make a more extended exploration in this part of China. It had been already decided that the railway going eastward from near Mandalay into the Shan States could, if it were thought worth while, be extended to a place called Kun-long (lat. 23° 25′, long. 98° 40′), a small Shan village on the left bank of the Salween. This place, though just within British territory, is only a few miles from the Chinese frontier, and is important as being the ferry by which the main road from Yün-nan to Mandalay crosses the Salween.

In former times a fair amount of trade came along this route, but since Mandalay and Bhamo have been connected by steamers, it has been almost entirely abandoned in favour of the Yün-nan-Ta-li-Bhamo road. The principal object of my journey was to get information about the different roads leading from Kun-long into China, and to try and estimate what chances there were of a revival of trade in this direction, and of extensions of the railway into China itself.

On the 6th December, 1894, I arrived in Mandalay, but was kept waiting there for some days owing to the non-arrival of my passport from Peking. I made use of the time in looking for a Chinese interpreter, and was fortunate in getting hold of a very good man, a Panthay or Chinese Mahommedan, Ma-ko-li by name, who could talk Burmese, and could read and write Chinese fairly well. I had

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000 previously tried to get a man in Rangoon, but I found all the Chinamen were afraid to come with me. They said if they went to Yün-nan with an Englishman their families would be at once imprisoned by the Chinese authorities. Ma-ko-li, however, had no such fears, and I found him all through my travels a most trustworthy man, not the least afraid of Chinese officials or anyone else.

Getting a good interpreter in China is a great difficulty. To do things correctly in one's dealings with officials one ought to have a man of the official or literary class. But such a man, besides wanting big pay, would in many ways be the greatest possible nuisance, and would think it quite beneath his position to travel in anything but a sedan chair. What I wanted was a man capable of climbing a hill top with me to question the local guide about the surrounding country. But the only people who ever walk in China are those who cannot afford to ride or be carried, and it would not do to have a man of the coolie class who could not read or write and knew nothing of etiquette. I think the best thing is to strike a mean and get an interpreter of the merchant class who, though not up in every detail of official etiquette, is fairly presentable and is capable of writing an intelligible letter.

By force of example it is quite possible to teach men of this sort the advantages of exercise. I have had two different interpreters in China. They both began by saying they had never walked a yard in their lives and would be quite incapable of getting through a day's march unless they rode the whole way. In a few months' time I would have backed them against most men as long-distance walkers over a rough country. In fact in my last journey my interpreter voluntarily gave up his pony, saying he preferred walking to riding, and did not want to be bothered by having to lead an animal. Chinamen are quite willing to take to our ways if we stick to them, and do not give in to their ideas, but to adopt their customs is naturally accepted as an acknowledgment of the superiority of Chinese ways.

My plans were to go to Ta-li Fu and from there down to Kun-long, then to strike eastwards to P'u-êrh Fu and Ssŭ-mao T'ing (lat. 22° 50′, long. 101°), returning probably by a road from P'u-êrh through Shun-ning Fu (lat. 24° 35′,

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000 long. 99° 55′) to Yung-ch'ang Fu, and back to Bhamo through Lung-ling T'ing (lat. 24° 35′, long. 98° 40′). The return journey by this particular route I was not, as will be seen subsequently, able to accomplish, as I had to take a shorter road to get back in time.

The ordinary road to Ta-li Fu is by Bhamo and T'êng-yüeh T'ing (Momien), a route which several travellers had already followed. So to see some unexplored country I decided to start from Myitkyina (lat. 25° 25′, long. 97° 25′) and go through Sadon and Chan-hsi (San-si) to T'êng-yüeh. As the Burma railway system was to be extended to Myitkyina, this road might also become of some importance in the future.

I left Mandalay on the 15th December for Bhamo, and went on from there by a small Government steamer up what is known as the "third defile" of the Irrawaddy, a magnificent rocky gorge which extends from Hsen-bo down to Bhamo, a distance of 42 miles. The river, which at Bhamo must be a mile wide, is here in one place compressed into a width of 60 yards, with a depth which no one has succeeded in plumbing. It is only navigable for steamers in the dry season, the current in the rains being too strong for anything to steam against. The journey at that time of year has to be done by native boat and is attended with some risk. Up-stream boats are towed, and it often takes a week and sometimes more to do this short distance. The down-stream journey is a matter of a few hours, but can only be attempted with experienced boatmen who live in the defile and thoroughly understand this part of the river. From Senbo on to Myitkyina, another 80 miles, is all plain sailing, and steamers run without difficulty all the year round. The existence of this defile, however, cut off Myitkyina from the rest of the world for half the year, and it was not till the railway was extended to that place in 1899 that this was remedied.

On the 24th December I arrived at Myitkyina, a village on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, which is the head-quarters of the most northerly district of Burma.

I halted here on Christmas Day to arrange about mules, and on the 26th crossed the Irrawaddy by ferry and started for Sadon, taking four days to do the 42 miles which separate this place from Myitkyina.

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Sadon is one of the principal posts among the Kachin Hills. It was established in the winter of 1891—1892, and there was a good deal of fighting in the neighbourhood during which several British officers lost their lives. In the following year (1892—1893) it was Sima, another fort further south, that was attacked, and a considerable number of troops and military police had to be brought into the Kachin Hills to relieve it. Since then the Kachins seem to have acknowledged themselves beaten, and as the Government does not interfere with them much, they have settled down to the new order of things fairly contentedly. It is now safe to travel nearly anywhere without escort. 000

The fort is at a height of 4,660 feet and was then garrisoned by two guns of a mountain battery and about 200 Gurkhas of the military police.

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CHAPTER VII

SADON TO T'ÊNG-YÜEH T'ING (MOMIEN).

Leave Sadon—A cold night—A frontier head-man—Cross the frontier—A fine view—Mêng-ka—A frontier fight—Pheasants—Correspondence with the San-si sawbwa—Leave Mêng-ka—San-si—Suspicions of the Chinese officials—Meeting with a Chinese officer—T'êng-yüeh—The walled cities of China—The names of T'êng-yüeh—Administration of a Chinese province—Military administration—Mr Jensen.

000 On the 4th January we left Sadon and made a short march of eight miles to the village of Sin-ngawp or Ch'ieh-ma-ho which though well on our side of the frontier is inhabited by Chinese. On the 5th, 10 miles of pretty stiff going brought us to the top of the high range which forms the Burma-China boundary. There is no village here, but some grassy country on the top gives plenty of room for camping.

This, like most places on the frontier, has several names. It is called Ch'ang-ti-fang by the Chinese, Phye-byang by the Kachins, and is marked as Sansi Gorge on the survey map. The Shans doubtless have yet another name for it. The height is over 9000 feet, and it is a decidedly cold place at this time of year. In shady places there was ice all day on the small streams, and it came on to freeze in earnest at four o'clock in the afternoon, so that at night my sponge was frozen hard inside a carefully closed up tent. As it turned out, this was the highest and coldest camp that I had in the whole of this journey, and I have noticed in subsequent travels that these hills about the frontier are extremely cold even when one does not camp at great heights.

In the camping ground I met several men of the Li-so tribe who had come from Mêng-ka (Möng Ka), a small circle of villages through which I should pass on my way to San-si. They told me the Mêng-ka head-man was out in the jungle near there cutting his crops, so I sent the Ch'ieh-

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ma-ho head-man, who had accompanied me, to see if he could find him and tell him I should be entering his village the next day. Just before dark he turned up. He is quite a jungle man, more like a superior Kachin sawbwa[1] than a Chinaman with official rank. He is known as the "Yang-hsing-kuan" which simply means "the official whose surname is Yang." His office is hereditary. It appears that an ancestor of his at some time or other conquered the original Li-so inhabitants for the Chinese Government, and as a reward he and his men were settled down there as soldier colonists, and the government of the place was given over to him and his descendants. The Li-sos and Chinese now live there together quite amicably, and no doubt the original settlers took Li-so wives, so that their descendants are as much Li-so by race as Chinese.

Yang said he had had no orders about my coming, but he made no difficulties and said he would go with me to Mêng-ka the next day.

The next morning, as I should be crossing the Chinese boundary, my escort of 15 military police returned to Sadon. My party now consisted of an interpreter, two Indian servants and a syce, and 10 Chinese baggage mules with two Chinamen and a Shan as mule drivers. For surveying instruments I should have much liked to have taken a plane-table, but knowing very little about China at the time I imagined that as I was the first traveller of recent years to enter China from the west, anything so conspicuous as surveying with a plane-table might arouse hostility and perhaps lead to the failure of the expedition. I was sorry afterwards that I had not taken one, and on subsequent journeys I always used this instrument. As it was, I had to survey with a prismatic compass, but I took care to keep drawing rough sketches of the country as I went along, so as to minimise the effect of being without a plane-table as much as possible. I also carried two aneroids, a boiling-point thermometer, and a 6-inch sextant and artificial

[1] The Shans and Burmese apply the title Sow-hpa or Sawbwa to the Kachin "duwa" or chief. But the Kachins are such an independent people that in many cases each village has its separate independent chief, and a Kachin sawbwa has never more than a few villages under him, so he is a much smaller man than a Shan sawbwa whose territory may run to thousands of square miles.

000 horizon with which I took latitudes every clear night. My maximum and minimum thermometers very soon got out of order and defied all my efforts to get them right again. The survey was done on a scale of four miles to the inch, and I tried as far as possible to get in all the country that came in sight rather than to put in with minute accuracy the part near the road.

133 Soon after leaving camp we crossed the actual water-shed which is presumably the boundary. They say there was formerly a boundary "gate" here called Shên-hu-kuan. From all this part of the road there are magnificent views of the surrounding country. To the south the hills near Sima are plainly visible. To the south-east in a nearer range of hills the gap is seen through which the road from Mêng-tien to San-ta passes, and beyond this gap is visible another range which is probably that which divides Möng Na from Ho-hsa. Far away to the east can be seen a high mountain chain which separates the Shweli from the Salween. To the north this range stretches away till it is hidden by the spurs of Tabu Pum; to the south it culminates in a very high and prominent conical hill called Kao-li-kung which is about 12,000 feet high. South of this the range seems to get lower very rapidly.

[162 241] A steep descent of 1,400 feet brought us into the little Mêng-ka paddy plain which is inhabited by Chinese and Li-sos. The land is all cultivated but is not fertile, and the people do not get much more than a bare living off it. The head-man put me up in his house and I determined to halt here over the 7th, so as to write to the San-si sawbwa to tell him I was coming the next day.

A Shan silversmith from San-ta was a fellow-guest in Yang's house—rather an intelligent man who professed great contempt for the Chinese of Mêng-ka. Certainly the Shans are in many ways a much more civilised race than the Chinese.

579 On the morning of the 7th news came in that a caravan of Chinese traders on their way from Manwaing to Mo-gaung had been attacked by Kachins at a place called Möng-lawng[1]. Six mules with their loads had been stolen,

[1] I believe this to be the Shan form of the name marked on the Survey of India map as Ma-lau.

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and four Chinamen wounded. In the afternoon one of the injured men was brought in with a bullet wound in his thigh. They had been going by rather an out-of-the-way road so as to avoid passing Sadon, where they are liable to be searched for opium. The main road is often avoided for this reason. 579

The Kachins who committed the dacoity were acknowledged by the Yang-hsing-kuan to be under him, but he did not trouble himself much about the matter. He told the Chinamen it was their own fault, that they ought to have come by the main road where he could have protected them, instead of trying to sneak through by a bypath, and that, at all events while I was with him, he could not trouble himself about such unimportant matters. I expect as a matter of fact Yang is not very keen on taking the part of outsiders against his own Kachin neighbours, and I should not be surprised if the Mêng-ka men did a little in the dacoity line themselves sometimes. At all events during my stay there several of the inhabitants came to me with bullets in different parts of their bodies which they wanted me to extract!

In the afternoon a letter arrived from the San-si sawbwa in answer to one I had written from Sadon on the 30th. He said he had written to T'êng-yüeh for orders but had not yet received a reply, and begged me to wait a little longer. In consequence of this letter I decided to halt one more day to allow him to answer the letter I had written the day before. I afterwards found that on the 5th, when I was encamped at Ch'ang-ti-fang, a Li-so had gone straight away to San-si and reported that an English officer was crossing the frontier with 200 infantry and 60 cavalry. The sawbwa was very much frightened and had at once written this letter asking me to wait. On the 8th yet another letter from the sawbwa saying there were some very bad Kachin villages on the road, and again begging me to wait till he got orders from T'êng-yüeh. To this I replied that I would halt at Mêng-ka for the 9th and 10th, but on the 11th should go to San-si. It was necessary to say positively that I should start on the 11th, or he might have kept me waiting here indefinitely, and my time was already too short to be wasted in that way. 000

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Kachin village

Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Entrance to a Kachin village

[Face p. 40]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Mêng-ka though only 5400 feet high is a decidedly cold place. There was ice every night on all standing water, and it did not melt till well on in the day. It was rather depressing having to halt these four days with a feeling of some uncertainty as to the future. The people, however, were exceedingly pleasant and friendly. They are in about the same state of civilisation as the Kachins, and are much to be preferred to the town Chinaman. The head-man, however, retains a little of the bad manners of the Chinese, and made himself rather a bore by spending long periods of time in my room examining all my things. He was much taken with my tooth-brush, and looked at me with pained surprise when I was just in time to prevent him from trying it on his own teeth.

It was during this enforced halt that I first came across pheasants. While I was out for a walk one day, unfortunately without a gun, a cock pheasant got up and flew away, crowing exactly like the English bird. This I subsequently found out is Stone's Pheasant (*Phasianus elegans*), a bird which is somewhat smaller than the English pheasant but very closely resembles it. They are fairly common in many parts of Yün-nan, but I did not shoot many as I had no time to go after them in an organized way.

On the 10th another letter from San-si arrived. The sawbwa had received orders from T'êng-yüeh which said that he was to do nothing to hinder me from coming by that road, but that, as no orders about me had been received from below, he was not to send out an escort to meet me; that if I did not like to wait till orders arrived I could come on, but that I should consider well that there were some bad Kachin villages on the road and that if I was attacked the sawbwa would not be held responsible.

I should have imagined that as I was coming with a Peking passport, he most decidedly *would* be responsible, but I was not going to waste any more time in arguing this point, and determined to stick to my intention of starting the next day. Yang had announced his intention of coming with me till I had got through the Kachin village, but on the morning of the 11th he did not turn up, deterred no doubt by learning the contents of the San-si sawbwa's letter. However he sent three men with me, carrying two guns and a spear between them.

b: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 As it turned out there were no difficulties on the way at all, and at Hpun-kaw, the only Kachin village actually on the road, I found the sawbwa sitting outside his house and went and talked to him for a minute or two. The road crosses the Irrawaddy-Taping watershed at 7000 feet some eight miles from Mêng-ka. At this point is one of the old frontier "gates" called Lao-kuan-ch'êng, which is still in a state of perfect preservation. It consists of two brick arches, each 15 feet high and four yards in length, with a thickness of brickwork of two feet, and a roadway five yards wide through them. The gate is said to have been built by a Chinese official called Wang-shang-shu. At present it marks the nominal boundary between Mêng-ka and San-si, though as a matter of fact the San-si sawbwa has no real authority over the Kachins in these hills. From here is a long steady descent to the San-si plain, during which an occasional glimpse can be got of the Si-na or Chih-na-pa valley which lies three or four miles to the north of San-si, separated from it by a spur which runs right down to the Taping.

On arriving at T'uan-p'o, the principal Shan village of San-si, I was told that the sawbwa was away and that I had better go on and sleep at Kuan-shang where there was a small Chinese official. So at Kuan-shang I pitched my tent and was soon surrounded by a crowd of sight-seers, an elderly man explaining that they had come to look, as they had never seen anyone like me before.

622 Soon after dark the official turned up. He was only a local head-man and was so uneducated that he had great difficulty in reading my passport. He coolly proposed that I should wait a few days in San-si, to enable him to write to T'êng-yüeh about me and get an answer. This I flatly declined to do, and after I had shown him my passport he had nothing more to say and soon afterwards went away. In the evening he told my interpreter that the sawbwa was not really away, but was, as I had suspected, anxious to avoid meeting me. Like all Chinese-Shan chiefs he is in great dread of the Chinese officials, and his unwillingness to see me must be put down to fear of doing something that would get him into trouble rather than to any want of civility. The sawbwa was in fact already

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622 looked on with suspicion by the Chinese Government, owing to a rebellion which his elder brother and predecessor started three years before. He is now only allowed to rule over the purely Shan villages of the State, those places in which there are any Chinamen living being administered by the Chinese head-man at Kuan-shang[1].

From the account given to my interpreter by this individual, my arrival on the boundary seems to have caused no small stir both at San-si and at T'êng-yüeh. The news was at once sent on to the T'êng-yüeh official, and the 50 soldiers who form the garrison of San-si were sent up to the Lao-kuan-ch'êng Gate and slept there a night. The excitement was not allayed till my messenger from Méng-ka arrived with the news that the 200 infantry and 60 cavalry had resolved themselves into 10 baggage mules and seven unarmed men.

162 The inhabitants of San-si are chiefly Shan, but there is
361 also a considerable Chinese population, amounting perhaps
to one sixth or one eighth of the whole. The Taping
133 river runs through the plain from north to south, and it is noticeable that the Shan villages on its right bank are all surrounded by walls, as a protection no doubt against the Kachins who inhabit the hills to the west. The San-si plain is in this latitude the eastern boundary of the Kachin country, the hills to the east of it being peopled by Chinese. The height of the plain is only 3,300 feet.

On the 12th January we crossed the Taping by ferry. The river averages 80 yards in width and at this time of year there are places where waist-deep fords can be found in it. A good deal of hill climbing brought us to the small village of Hsiao-ti-fang where we camped for the night. Here again there was unmelted ice all day, and the night was very cold.

361 This, like many of the frontier villages, was originally a military post placed here by the Chinese authorities to control the border tribes. They have now, however, been settled down as farmers for many generations, though I believe they still receive some small pay or remission of taxes from the Chinese Government. It is probably by

[1] I heard on a subsequent journey that San-si had been handed over to the Sawbwa of Mong Ti (Nan-tien), but do not know if this is true.

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military colonies that this part of Yün-nan was originally peopled by the Chinese. Throughout the T'êng-yüeh and Lung-ling districts the word used for a village is "chai," which really means a fortified post. 361

In the early morning of the 13th a letter was brought to me containing a telegram from the Deputy Commissioner at Bhamo asking me to wait a little, as the T'êng-yüeh authorities objected to my entering Yün-nan. I had already been in Yün-nan a week without any valid objection being offered to my proceeding, and I guessed that the real reason of the objections of the T'êng-yüeh authorities was the report that had been spread that I was coming in with a large force. I therefore decided to disregard this telegram and go on and see the T'êng-yüeh officials myself. 000

From Hsiao-ti-fang there is a steep climb to the top of a range at 8,300 feet. The descent on the other side ends with four or five miles of a deep gorge into the Mien-ch'in plain. While riding down this gorge I was met by a Chinese officer with a few men. He seemed suspicious and asked why I was coming by that road. I produced my passport and he became more civil and suggested that we should go on to Mien-ch'in and talk the matter over. He went on ahead, and when I arrived there he sent a civil message to say he would start early the next morning, taking with him a copy of my passport, and would leave four of his men to escort me in. He also added that he would come over himself and see me soon.

I anticipated his visit and went to call on him and found him very civil and even cordial in his manner. His name was Yang and he was staff officer to the general at T'êng-yüeh. He said he had met Margary at Sha-yang and had been friendly with a French priest who formerly lived at Yang-pi. He was apologetic about the way he had stopped me on the road, and said his object was to come on to San-si and prevent me being kept waiting there by the local officials. This was of course a polite fiction. No doubt the T'êng-yüeh authorities thought I was coming in without a passport, and had sent him to turn me back if such should be the case.

On the 14th we crossed a rocky ridge a few hundred feet high through small fields divided by stone walls, and 133

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133

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The T'êng-yüeh waterfall

Plate IX

[Face p. 44]

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133 descended into the flourishing little valley of Ho-shun-hsiang. The road turns up this valley and going through a short gorge between two low hills reaches the T'êng-yüeh plain, passing a splendid waterfall 100 feet high, by which the T'êng-yüeh river runs down into the Ho-shun-hsiang valley. Into the pool below this fall hundreds of Panthays are said to have been thrown after the final suppression of the Mahommedan rebellion.

I found an excellent place to pitch my tent near a white temple outside the north-west face of the city, but I very soon found out that pitching a tent near a Chinese town does not answer. Large crowds soon assembled, who though quiet enough after a time became a nuisance, and I always afterwards went to inns in Chinese cities.

712 T'êng-yüeh has been described in considerable detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, and there is now a British Consul there, so it will not be necessary to say much about it. It was, however, the first walled city I came across in China, and as all these walls are built in very much the same way, a description of it will answer, with variations in shape and measurements, for most other towns. It is nearly a square, each side about 1,200 yards long, and not, in the case of T'êng-yüeh, built square to the points of the compass but facing nearly north-west, north-east, etc. The wall is of brick, nearly 30 feet high and two feet thick, and backed up on the inside by an earth parapet 30 feet thick, and some six feet lower than the wall. This parapet, besides supporting the wall and giving solidity to the defences of the city, acts as a banquette for the defenders to stand on. The top part of the wall is deeply crenelated for men or small guns to fire from, and there is a loop-hole in each bit of high wall between the crenelations. Each face has a gate in it which is usually protected by a wall, similar to, but slightly smaller than, the main city wall, enclosing a square space in front of the gate. The entrance from outside leading into this space is placed in one of its side walls, and is not therefore directly opposite the main gate. These defences in front of the gates also flank the walls, and there are usually somewhat similar flanking defences at the corners and at intervals in other parts of the faces. In T'êng-yüeh there is on one side some remains of

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712 an old moat, but this is exceptional, for in Yün-nan it is rare to find a town with a moat round it. These walled cities are found all over China, built in much the same sort of way. The Chinese have found them extremely useful in the numerous rebellions which have taken place in that country. Even against modern armies the solidity of these defences would make them formidable obstacles if well defended, especially in a country like Yün-nan where nothing larger than mountain artillery could be brought against them.

361 T'êng-yüeh has another peculiarity which is characteristic of most Chinese towns, namely, that there are large open spaces and even fields within the city walls, while the principal shops and business houses are in the suburbs. This latter fact is probably to be accounted for by the rule which prevails throughout China that the city gates should be shut all night, so that people coming home late have to seek a lodging outside or to present the officer of the guard with a tip of perhaps as much as threepence to be allowed to go in. At T'êng-yüeh in fact many of the richest merchants do not live in the town at all, but at Ho-shun-hsiang, Yi-lo or one of the other large villages in the plain.

101 The real original name of T'êng-yüeh given it by the Shans, who no doubt inhabited it before the arrival of the Chinese, was Möng Myen, and by this name the Shans still know it. Momien, as the town is often called by Europeans, is merely the Burmese corruption of this. The origin of the Chinese name I discovered some years afterwards while travelling in a distant part of Yün-nan. Near Ch'ü-ching Fu, which lies to the east of the capital of the province, is a place called Yüeh-chou, formerly a town of the "chou" class. But as it has two other official towns within easy reach, one on each side of it, it was not considered necessary to keep it up, and it was reduced to the rank of a village, and Momien made an official town instead of it. The first syllable "t'êng" means to "fly away from" or "move away from," so that the name T'êng-yüeh Chou means "Moved away from Yüeh Chou." At present its official title is T'êng-yüeh T'ing, but the inhabitants of the place invariably refer to it as T'êng-yüeh Chou, and on the stone guide-posts, which one finds at nearly every cross-road about here, it is always called "the chou."

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The T'êng-yüeh plain

[Face p.46]

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631 These remarks about "t'ing" and "chou" will be unintelligible to the reader unacquainted with China, so it may be as well to give an idea of how a Chinese province is administered. First there is the Viceroy[1] (called *Tsung-tu* or *Chih-t'ai* in Chinese), who rules over the two provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. He is called the Yün-kuei Tsung-tu, his title being formed by combining the first syllables of the two provinces he rules—a process rather common in forming administrative titles in Chinese. The Viceroy's residence is at Yün-nan-Fu. Under him was formerly the Fu-t'ai or Governor of Yün-nan who also lived at the provincial capital, but this office has now been abolished as unnecessary, the Viceroy himself performing the duties for Yün-nan, while he is still assisted by a Governor for Kuei-chou. The whole province is divided up into five large administrative divisions called "tao," each under a "tao-t'ai." Each tao-t'ai again has under him two or more smaller divisions in charge of a "chih-fu" or "fu." In the province of Yün-nan there are 14 such divisions. The "fu" is again divided up into a few smaller districts of the other three classes of towns, the "t'ing," "chou," and "hsien."

In some cases, however, there are districts of the "t'ing" and "chou" classes which from their size or position are of special importance, and which are consequently created independent districts (called "chih-li-t'ing" or "chih-li-chou" in Chinese). These are not under any fu, and the official in charge corresponds direct with the tao-t'ai. It should also be noticed that each fu comprises in itself a hsien district, the hsien magistrate being in immediate charge of the town itself and the small district round it. This hsien district usually has a different name from the fu name, so that the town has two names. For instance, Ta-li Fu is also called T'ai-êrh Hsien. Towns can always be called either simply by their names or by their names with the class of town added on, but in conversation it is perhaps more usual to say simply Ta-li or T'êng-yüeh instead of Ta-li Fu or T'êng-yüeh T'ing. Before quitting the subject of civil administration it may be mentioned that there are four other important

[1] Perhaps Governor-General would be a better equivalent, for the Viceroy has no special powers to represent the Emperor.

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631 officials who live at Yün-nan Fu, viz.: the Fan-t'ai or treasurer, the Nieh-t'ai or provincial judge, the Liang-tao or grain-tax commissioner, and the Yen-tao or salt commissioner. These four with the Viceroy form a board to settle important matters.

701 The chief military authority in Yün-nan is the T'i-t'ai or provincial commander-in-chief, whose residence is not at the capital, but at Ta-li Fu. Under him are five officers of the rank of Chên-t'ai or general who have their headquarters at different places in the province and command large districts which do not necessarily correspond with the civil administrative divisions. Under them again are various officers distributed all over the province, their rank corresponding to the size or importance of the garrisons they command. The lowest military officials are those known as hsün-kuan (pronounced *sin-kuan* in western Yün-nan). These men correspond nearly to our police sergeants, and are placed in some of the large villages with from four to eight men under them, in charge of a small circle.

The soldiers are divided into regulars and irregulars. The former are locally recruited men, armed with any sort of weapon, and kept up principally for police purposes. They are hardly expected to do any fighting. The irregulars or "braves" are the men who are sent out where there is any fighting to be done. Many of them are recruited from other provinces, those in Yün-nan coming principally from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. They are the only part of the military forces who can be called soldiers[1].

206 On the 15th January, the day after my arrival in T'êng-yüeh, a Chinese telegraph clerk who knew a few words of English came to see me, and told me that Mr Jensen, a Dane in the Chinese telegraph service, was expected to arrive at T'êng-yüeh that day, and asked me to change my quarters to the telegraph office. He also told me that P'êng, the Chinese official who had accompanied us in our search for the "gates" the previous year, was now in charge of the T'êng-yüeh telegraph office. He knew nothing whatever of telegraphy, but this is considered a matter of no importance: in fact in many of the Chinese

[1] This was written before the formation of the Lu Chün, the modern army of China.

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206 telegraph offices there is installed as manager an expectant official for whom there is no better post going at the time. This manager has charge of the accounts of the office, and it is consequently unnecessary for the Chinese Government to give him much of a salary.

000 I went up with the clerk to see P'êng, who received me with great cordiality and invited me to breakfast. The breakfast I must say I did not altogether appreciate, though no doubt it was excellent from a Chinese point of view. The rice and cabbage were both eatable, but the lumps of fat pork were rather trying, and I had to go back to my tent and eat biscuits to take away the taste.

In the afternoon I moved up to the telegraph office, and soon afterwards Mr Jensen arrived. It was indeed a pleasure to meet a European and to talk English again. Mr Jensen had lived in Yün-nan since about 1886, and till the opening of Mêng-tzŭ as a treaty port in 1897 he remained the only non-missionary European in the province. He has in the course of his duties travelled many times along the main roads of Yün-nan, and many travellers who have passed through Yün-nan Fu are indebted to him for information and assistance, which he has been so ready to give. I should mention in justice to Mr Jensen that he was not responsible for the fact that the Yün-nan telegraph lines were out of order for nearly half the year. The upkeep of the line is in the hands of Chinese officials who embezzle the money which is intended for its repair. Mr Jensen was now on his way down to the Burmese frontier to connect the Chinese wire with our line at Nampaung.

I halted another day and went to call on the General, the chief civil magistrate, and on Yang, who had met me at Mien-ch'in. The magistrate had fever and I did not see him, but the General and his staff officer were both very civil, asked me to dinner, and returned my calls. The invitations to dinner I was rather glad to be able to excuse myself from on the plea of Mr Jensen's presence. Chinese dinners though well meant are rather a doubtful pleasure and last several hours.

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CHAPTER VIII

T'ÊNG-YÜEH TO YUNG-CH'ANG FU.

Leave T'êng-yüeh—An argument with the mule-men—My Chinese escort—Chinese paved roads—The Shweli—Iron chain suspension bridges—The Panthays—Their rebellion—A high range—The Salween—Its supposed unhealthiness—Inability of the Yünnanese to live below 4000 feet—The Yüng-ch'ang plain—The town—Calls on officials—The Chinese language and system of writing. 000

On the 17th of January I started for Ta-li Fu, not without some delay and difficulty, for the mule-men who were natives of T'êng-yüeh were in no hurry to leave. They turned up late, made various excuses, and finally said that the loads were too heavy and refused to tie them on to the mules. Having heard and read much of how amenable the Chinese are to moral force and reasoning powers, I thought this would be a good opportunity to test this theory, and asked P'êng if he would kindly intervene. A few quotations from the classics ought to have ended the matter at once, but I was grieved to find that P'êng's arguments had not the smallest effect. He finally began to dance up and down, made some terrible threats of what he would do in the loudest voice he could command and retired discomfited into the house.

The mule-men were sitting calmly down, evidently considering the day was won, and the large crowd of onlookers who had collected thought they had had something worth looking at this time. There was evidently only one thing to do. I took up my stick amidst looks of incredulous amusement from the spectators, and gave the head mule-man one or two whacks over the back. This remedy acted like magic. The mule-drivers began to tie up the loads with smiling alacrity, and during the whole of the rest of the journey I had no further trouble with them. They

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000 were only trying it on, and gave in at once with a good grace directly they found it did not answer.

It must not, however, be thought that I advocate an indiscriminate use of the stick. Nothing can be worse than thrashing a man without sufficient reason. But for the traveller in China it is to some extent a case of "every man his own policeman," especially in a place like western Yün-nan where at that time the nearest British Consul was at Ch'ung-k'ing, more than 1000 miles away.

I think there are two cases where a little physical force is desirable and even necessary, first if a man deliberately insults one, secondly if he refuses to carry out what he has undertaken to do. In the second case it is not the least necessary to hit hard enough to hurt him. I have found it quite enough just to show him that you are not going to be imposed on, and he accepts the situation at once. Chinamen who are not used to Europeans have such an opinion of their enormous superiority to us, that they are by no means pleasant people to get on with at first. Once let them know that you mean to have the upper hand, and it would be difficult to find more cheerful and willing men.

Mr Jensen was leaving the same day for Bhamo, so as our roads led in opposite directions we parted, to meet again, I am glad to say, in future years.

We were now out of unexplored country for the time. Our road from here on to Ta-li Fu is the same that has been followed by several travellers in recent years. Mr Baber's account of it is excellent. It is most interesting to read, and at the same time full of accurate information. His maps too are very good as far as they go, but unfortunately they are confined almost entirely to the actual road, so that one does not get from them an idea of the general lie of the country.

The road leads eastward across the T'êng-yüeh plain and ascends 2000 feet on to a range of hills, on the top of which it is a pleasure to find a considerable extent of open undulating country covered with grass and fern, a contrast to the usual knife-edge ridge of this part of Yün-nan. A steep descent took us to the village of Kan-lan-chai which lies in the valley of the Shweli, but at a considerable

elevation above the river. Here[1] I was very comfortably put up in a *hsing-t'ai*, which is the name for the rest-houses specially reserved for Chinese officials travelling. 000 485

We were now travelling with an official escort, consisting of two policemen sent by the magistrate, and two soldiers sent by the General. It is the invariable custom in western China for Europeans to be supplied with an escort of this sort. Some travellers appear to look on them as a nuisance, but I have not found them so. Their presence is specially useful in parts of the country previously untrodden by Europeans, as it lets the inhabitants know that one is travelling with the sanction of the Chinese Government. Without this the people in some places are quite ignorant enough to suppose the traveller to be the leader of a gang of robbers, or perhaps a fugitive from justice. On one occasion between San-si and T'êng-yüeh, my interpreter was asked quite seriously by an old countryman whether we had come to invade China. 000

Also I have found the escort very useful in getting rooms at an inn, and in various other small services which they are usually glad to perform, with the anticipation of course of a small reward at the end. The arms they carry are not of the sort to give one much respect for the Chinese army. Generally it is an old muzzle-loader, sometimes only a sword or a three-pronged spear. An opium-pipe is a necessity for most of them, and it is a common saying among the Chinese that this is the only weapon their soldiers know how to handle, the word *ch'iang* being used in Chinese for both a gun and an opium-pipe.

This day's march was my first experience of a Chinese paved road. The stones are of all shapes and sizes, with large spaces in between them, and the road seems specially designed to render both walking and riding equally unpleasant. The sharp stones hurt one's feet, and one slips down on the flat ones. To make things worse there were one or two showers of rain, which made the stones so slippery that the mules could hardly keep their footing. Wherever it is possible to avoid the paved road, tracks have been made alongside of it, by which one can get along at a fair pace. 491

[1] These roads exist all over China, and I suppose the

[Village of Kan-lan-chai, Shweli Valley -- Analyst]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Iron-chain bridge over the Shwell

Plate XI

[Face p.52]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491 total length of them must run to some hundreds of thousands of miles. When new they may be fairly good, but they are seldom repaired, and the Chinese proverb well describes them as "Good for ten years, and bad for ten thousand." It is always a great relief to get into some out-of-the-way part of the country where there is only what the Chinese contemptuously describe as an "earth road." These paved roads have their uses however in the rainy season, as the stones prevent the path becoming an impassable morass.

On the 18th January we crossed the Shweli by one of the famous iron-chain suspension bridges. There are a considerable number of these bridges in western China, especially in western and southern Yün-nan. The chains, which are usually ten or twelve in number, are solidly embedded in massive piers of brick or stone on each side of the river, and the roadway is made by planks laid across these. Loaded animals can cross them, and though they sway about a good deal, they will stand a lot of weight.

133 The river is some 40 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky bed. It does not come from any great distance, and in a subsequent journey I was able to fix the position of its source approximately. There is no actual flat plain in this part of its course, but to the west the slope is very gradual to the foot of the steep part of the hills three miles off, and there are numerous Chinese villages both up and down the valley. The river is called by many names. To the Burmese it is known as the Shweli, to the Chinese as the Lung-ch'uan Chiang, or more commonly as simply the Lung Chiang or Dragon River. The Shans call it the Nam Yang in the upper part of its course, but change its name to Nam Mow when it enters the Möng Mow plain.

From the river there is a stiff ascent, at first through the usual dried up grass and fern, and higher up through bamboo and tree jungle. We camped at the little Panthay village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u at 7,400 feet, and had a very hard frost at night.

563 Panthay is the name which we have adopted from the Burmese for the Mahommedans of Yün-nan. The Chinese name for Mahommedans is *hui-tzŭ* or *hui-hui*. The name

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563 Panthay has become fairly familiar to Europeans from the great Panthay rebellion which was the means of devastating and depopulating Yün-nan from 1854 to 1873, in
563 which latter year it was finally put down. The rebellion
669 began in a quarrel between Chinese and Mahommedan miners, in which the latter thought, probably with reason, that they did not get justice from the Chinese official who investigated the case. The two races are never very friendly, and the Panthays were quite ready to take up arms in hopes of turning Yün-nan or part of Yün-nan into a Mahommedan state where they would be independent of Chinese officials. They had a very good try for it, and for some years they held the greater part of the west of the province, with Ta-li as the capital. Finally the Chinese Government, having, with Gordon's assistance, put down the Taiping rebellion, were able to turn all their forces against the Panthays. Ta-li was taken by the treachery of a Mahommedan officer, and the rebellion brought to an end with the usual slaughter of thousands of the rebels.

The two races naturally hate each other and always will do so, but there is no enmity observable on the outside. A Chinaman and a Mahommedan meeting will always be quite civil to each other. The Mahommedanism of the Panthays is really a very nominal affair, and I do not suppose that Mahommedans so ignorant of their religion could be found anywhere. This ignorance is no doubt partly due to their being isolated among a non-Mahommedan people, but I think also partly to their Chinese origin, for a Chinaman is not by nature a religious man. Though there is doubtless a certain amount of Arab or Tartar blood among the Panthays, they have far more Chinese in them than anything else. I imagine most of their ancestors were Tartars or Turkomans who came into the province with Kublai Khan's armies, but these men must have married Chinese wives. Also many of the present Panthays have their origin from Chinese children who have been adopted by Mahommedans and brought up in that religion. In some cases one can tell a Mahommedan by his features, but very often they are undistinguishable from the Chinese.

563 Along the main road from T'êng-yüeh to Ta-li there

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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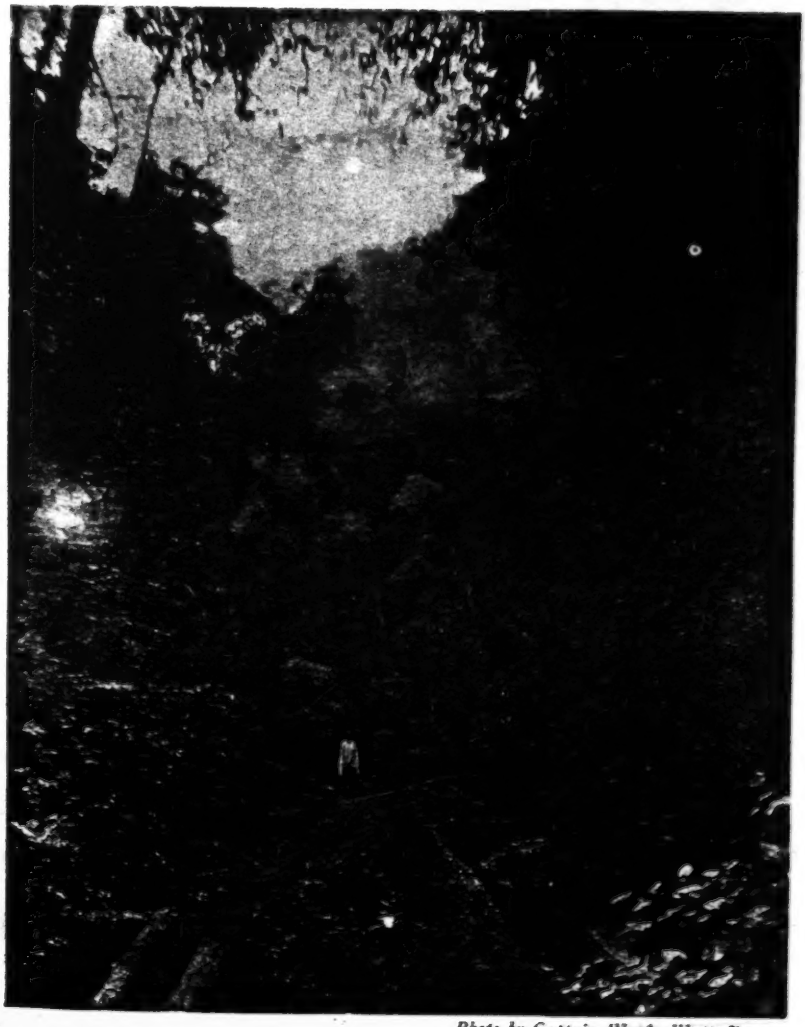

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Coming down to the Salween valley

Plate XII

[Face p. 54]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

563 is a considerable Mahommedan population, and they are found distributed all over the province, more in some districts than in others. Perhaps in Yung-ch'ang, Ta-li, and Yün Chou there is a larger proportion of Panthays than in other towns. Sometimes one finds Mahommedan colonies in very out of the way places, probably men who have taken refuge there after the suppression of the rebellion; and even in the Shan States within British territory there are two or three Panthay settlements.

No doubt the numbers of the Yün-nan Mahommedans were considerably thinned by wholesale massacres when the Chinese troops finally got the best of them, but I do not suppose they ever formed a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the province. At present I should say at a guess they would not amount to more than three per cent. of the total population. Mahommedans are distributed all over China, and I do not think there is any province which has none, but I believe the proportion in Yün-nan is greater than in any other province except Kan-su. It is often supposed that Chinese Mahommedans are more honest and straightforward than the real Chinamen, but from what I have seen of them I very much doubt if this is the case in Yün-nan: their customs and ways of thought are quite Chinese.

133 We had not reached the top of the range at T'ai-p'ing-p'u and our road on the 19th still led up till the Shweli-Salween watershed was crossed at a height of 8000 feet. The highest point of the range is a conical peak called Kao-li-kung which lies 10 or 12 miles to the north of the road and is some 12,000 feet high. The pass by which the road crosses is called *Fêng-k'ou, The Wind Pass*, and well merits its name. Here on each side of the road are stone walls which are said to have formerly supported an arch like those of the frontier "gates": this now forms the boundary between the T'êng-yüeh and Yung-ch'ang districts. I climbed up on to a little knoll to the north of the road to take some angles, and got an excellent view of the hills to the north, east and west: Tabu Pum and other prominent peaks near Sadon were clearly visible.

From the top we had a long bit of downhill to the valley of the Salween. The Chinese call this river the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S 133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is S 491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a S 501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo S 133 rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and 137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different 101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to 131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Major C. H. D. Ryder

Iron-chain bridge over the Salween

Plate XIII

[Face p. 56]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S P 131

tion[1]: there are a few Shan villages to the north scattered up the Salween valley for a distance of 40 miles or so, but eastward no more of this race are now met with, though they doubtless did originally inhabit this country before it was taken by the Chinese.

European travellers have made a great deal of the unhealthiness of the Salween valley, but it must be remembered that all their information came from the Chinese. Now the Chinaman of Yün-nan lives in such a high-lying healthy country that in lower-lying places he is probably more liable to fever than a man of any other race. A height of 4000 feet or thereabouts is the limit below which the Yünnanese cannot live and keep their health, and this is the reason why the Shans have been able to retain possession of many of the rich plains of south-western China, while the few Chinese who live in that part of the country lead an uncivilized existence on the hill-tops. One seldom finds Shans living above 4000 feet, not that they cannot stand the climate, but because the Chinese *can* stand it, and have therefore dispossessed the original owners. In a few places such as Nan-tien, which averages a little under 4000 feet, one finds the two races living together, the Chinese slowly and gradually swamping the Shans.

The Salween valley is not considered more feverish than Mong Hkwan, Nam-hkam, and other Shan States. The Yünnanese avoid all these places from March to November, but the Shans continue to live in them all the year round, and in a subsequent journey I came across a colony of Ssŭ-ch'uan Chinese living in this same Salween valley only 40 miles above the bridge. I do not suppose the Lu-chiang-pa, as the Chinese call the plain, is exactly a health resort, but I expect its unhealthiness has been much exaggerated.

S 825

The Chinese say it is exceedingly dangerous to swim mules across the river, as there is a beast in it, which they describe as being like a blanket and full of mouths, which

[1] It is true that in a subsequent journey I discovered Shans in the north of Yün-nan and even in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan, but in such small and isolated communities as to be scarcely worth counting, except as a curiosity. See p. 378.

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825 sucks animals down as they cross. Our mules were fortunate enough to get across without encountering this monster. It is perhaps hardly worth any naturalist's while to come out to investigate this strange animal. A Chinaman likes to have a story to account for anything that takes place. In the spring and early summer there would be a good deal of melted snow in the water of the river, while the climate of the valley would be extremely hot and close. The sudden change from hot air into cold water might well produce cramp.

[241] The next day, a good up-hill road brought us to P'u-p'iao, a little plain covered with villages and well cultivated with the winter crops—beans, wheat, and opium. On this march there is an alternative road to Yung-ch'ang, branching off from the village of Fang-ma-ch'ang; it is said to be shorter but more hilly than the main road which I took. Gill travelled by it, but Baber and most other travellers have come by the same road as myself. Baber mentions that he heard that the stream which runs through the P'u-p'iao plain falls into a lake, but the answers to all my enquiries were that it joins the Salween. On the Chinese map there is a small lake marked a few miles lower down, but it is shown as the source of a small tributary of the main stream.

Our road on the 21st rose to the top of a bare range at 7000 feet, and a little beyond this the Yung-ch'ang plain came in sight. The path descends to the plain at the village of A-shih-wo, just before reaching which a cave is passed in the hillside to the left which is said to go right through the hill and come out on the other side.

361 The plain of Yung-ch'ang Fu is about 18 miles long
312 and six miles wide, covered with villages and well cultivated; it is one of the largest and richest in the province. As in many other plains there is a summer crop of rice, and after the rice has been harvested in the autumn, the winter crops of beans, opium or wheat are put in. A good-sized stream running from north to south irrigates a great part of the plain, and water for this purpose is also collected in reservoirs where some of the side streams run down from the hills.

485 I put up at an inn in the middle of the town. The

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A crowd of sight-seers

[Face p. 58]

Plate XIV

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

485 accommodation in a Chinese inn is rough, but quite comfortable enough. One gets a small room with a table and a chair or two, and a plank bedstead. Going to an inn saves a lot of trouble, as the traveller can get firewood and hot water at once without difficulty, and also corn and straw for the mules. In Yung-ch'ang I found I was not bothered by the crowd, and was left alone as much as if I had been in my own house. This is by no means the case everywhere, and the inn yard is often densely packed with spectators. When this happens I should recommend the traveller to get an upstairs room where, as far as my experience goes, he will be quite free from molestation; it is in any case far easier to kick a man downstairs than to clear an inn yard which may have more than one entrance.

361 The town of Yung-ch'ang Fu I estimate to contain about 5000 houses. It was apparently originally a square, built at the foot of a little knoll which forms the end of a spur running down from the range to the west. It seems, however, to have struck some Chinese tactician that an enemy on this hill might make it unpleasant for the garrison of the town, and the northern and southern walls have been extended and bent round so as to meet each other and enclose this little knoll, though even with this the town still remains commanded at short range from the spur beyond. The flat part of the town is about half built over, the rest of the space being taken up with gardens. On the hill there are a few temples built among fir woods, and I actually put up a cock pheasant here within the city wall. This little hill is called Pao Shan and it is from this that Yung-ch'ang takes its *hsien* name of Pao-shan Hsien.

366 The main bazar street which runs from north to south
262 down the centre of the town is crowded all day and every day, but from the appearance of the place and from enquiries made, I do not think it is as large a trade centre as T'êng-yüeh. It is an excellent place for buying provisions: oranges, pears, pine-apples, carrots, cabbages, beans, radishes, and potato-like roots are to be got here, and doubtless several other sorts of vegetables and fruits at
251 other seasons. They also sell cured ducks and geese, not
262 unlike ham, but very salt; this industry is chiefly in the

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251/262 hands of the Mahommedans, who eat the cured birds as a substitute for the forbidden ham, of which Chinamen are so fond. What surprised me most was to find excellent sponge cakes sold here, and I subsequently found that these are to be got in all towns of any importance. The pears are enormous in size, but are more what we should call cooking pears, and are better stewed than raw.

000 I called on the Hsien and asked him to put me in communication with some of the leading merchants so that I might hear their views as to a railway to Kun-long. One merchant turned up and I had a talk with him, but I had unfortunately mentioned the same subject to the Fu. The consequence was that in the evening he sent to ask if my interpreter might go and see him. He told the interpreter that there were a lot of Panthays near Kun-long, the settlement of Pang-long amounting to 4000 houses (an enormous exaggeration), and that if the railway was made to Kun-long, the Panthays of Burma would join with those of Pang-long and raise rebellions in China. It does not follow that these are the views of the higher officials in China, but it is a good instance of the suspicious way that many of the Chinese look at things that he should consider the railway project as a deep-laid scheme for injuring China. The Fu has a great reputation for learning and is, I believe, a graduate of the Hanlin College. After this it is needless to say that I saw no more merchants.

Calling on Chinese officials is not a very amusing performance. Not that they are not civil. I only in one instance, which I will relate hereafter, met with any discourtesy. But their ideas and ours are very different, and I always wondered which of us was most bored by the interview. Besides, talking through an interpreter is always trying. In subsequent journeys, when I knew more Chinese, I used to speak to them myself sometimes. The usual result was that they could understand what I said but I could not always catch their answers. No man is allowed to be an official in his native province, so that one never hears the provincial peculiarities of the Yün-nan speech from any official in that province.

These provincial differences in the Mandarin dialect are not usually pronounced enough absolutely to prevent

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000 Chinamen from different Mandarin-speaking provinces from understanding each other, but are quite enough to puzzle a foreigner with only a slight acquaintance with the language. What is usually called the Mandarin dialect by Europeans (*kuan hua* in Chinese) is the official language of the Empire and is the language of the whole people in fourteen out of the eighteen provinces. Only in Kuang-tung, Fu-chien, eastern Chê-chiang, and the southern half of Chiang-su are other dialects heard.

These southern dialects are fairly numerous, and men from different parts of the same province may often be incomprehensible to each other. The difference between the Mandarin and these dialects is perhaps about the same as the difference between French and Spanish, that is to say that though they are nearly related to each other, the pronunciation of the words is so different that a Pekingese and a Cantonese cannot understand each other at all. The written characters are however the same, and men speaking quite different dialects can correspond with each other without difficulty. The reason of this is that Chinese is not written with an alphabet like most languages, but each character is a word, meaning some thing or some idea. Thus the character 福 would be pronounced "fu" by a Peking man, and "hok" by a Fu-chien man, but the meaning "happiness" would be the same to both. 人 would mean "man" in every dialect in China, though pronounced "jên" in Peking, "nying" in Shanghai, "jin" in Amoy, and "yan" in Canton.

The Chinese system of writing takes a long time to learn, and would not be so easily applied to inflected languages as to a language like Chinese where words do not change, but it has some advantages which alphabetic systems do not possess. If such a system were in use in Europe, learning to read and write one language would be learning to read and write all, and the literature of all civilised nations would be common property. On the whole, however, its inconveniences certainly outweigh its advantages.

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CHAPTER IX

YUNG-CH'ANG FU TO TA-LI FU.

Leave Yung-ch'ang—Chinese ignorance of topography—The Mekong—The Chinese New Year—Ch'ü-tung and Yung-p'ing—Four hilly marches—Lo-los—Yang-pi—The Ts'ang Shan—Hsia-kuan—Ta-li Fu—The Ming-chia—Industries—Missionaries—A New Year's festival.

On the 24th January we left Yung-ch'ang. The road 000
goes up and across the plain and ascends the usual bare hills from its north-east corner, finally following the bed of a stream up a narrow gorge to the top of the range at 7,800 feet. From here there is a slight descent to the little village of Ta-li-shao, where I pitched my tent, and my followers found shelter in a temple. Ta-li-shao is not to be recommended as a halting place. There is no inn, and the hillside is so steep that it is not easy to find room to pitch a tent. Shui-chai which is a good-sized village is only two miles further on, and would have been a better place to sleep at.

The stream which runs down the Yung-ch'ang plain is 133
shown on some maps as falling into the Mekong, but 823
Chinese maps give it as a tributary of the Salween, and this I ascertained on a subsequent journey to be correct. Towards the south end of the plain the river does make an easterly bend, and this has probably led some former traveller to suppose it ran into the Mekong. The Chinamen as usual were very vague about it. One of those that I asked said it ran into the Mekong, but that I was perfectly correct in saying that it joined the Salween eventually, as the former river was a tributary of the latter! This is a good specimen of the geographical knowledge of the Chinese. It is curious that, while Burmans, Shans, Kachins and other tribes are such excellent hands at topography,

[p.61]

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133 and can draw a good map with a stick on the ground, the
823 Chinese should be so lacking in this faculty, and will give one all sorts of geographical information which is obviously incorrect.

Our road on the 25th led gradually down hill as far as Shui-chai. From here the descent is down a narrow gorge with precipitous crags rising on each side. The path is zigzagged or it would be impossible for animals. Finally a bit of more gradual down-hill along the hillside brings one to the Mekong which is crossed by another of the iron-chain suspension bridges, the chains on the right bank being fastened round short pillars of natural rock cut out of the hillside.

133 The river averages from 80 to 100 yards in width, flowing with a strong current which renders it quite unnavigable. It runs between wall-like hills which rise almost sheer for 1,500 or 2000 feet and then slope more gradually back to the tops of the ranges. There is absolutely no level ground in the valley. This is characteristic of this river during its course through Yün-nan. I have subsequently seen it in several places and have found it much the same everywhere. The elevation at the bridge I made 3,900 feet, 1,700 feet higher than that of the Salween. After crossing, a very stiff ascent brought us to the long narrow village of
527 Sha-yang. It was the Chinese New Year's Eve, and every house had a young fir tree stuck up in front of the door. This is, I believe, the universal custom in Yün-nan, but it does not seem to obtain in eastern China.

New Year's Day is the great holiday of the Chinese year. It occurs during the months of January or February, but not on any fixed date in our calendar, for the length of the Chinese year does not correspond with ours. They have twelve months, six of them of thirty days and six of twenty-nine days, making 354 days in all. So to make it come right with the sun they have to reckon one of the months twice over every three years. The same system of an intercalary month is used in Burma, but the Burmese calendar does not correspond in other respects with that of the Chinese.

On New Year's Day all shops are shut and no business of any sort is done. The people all put on their best clothes, often hired from a pawnshop for the occasion, and

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go out and pay visits to their friends. Spending the day 527
paying calls does not sound very lively, but the Chinese are an extraordinarily sociable people and find great amusement in going to their neighbours' houses to talk and drink tea. Most people keep up the holiday for a few days, and there is not much business done for a fortnight after the New Year. It is quite contrary to Chinese custom to travel on New Year's Day, but both on this and subsequent occasions I found no difficulty in getting my Chinese followers to march. They were away from their own homes and had no friends in the place, so had no particular desire to stay and keep the New Year among strangers.

Our march on the 26th was as usual a hilly one. It began 000
with an ascent of 3,300 feet and a descent of 2,300 feet. After that another spur of 600 feet had to be crossed into the plain of Yung-p'ing Hsien. The first village reached [361]
is Ch'ü-tung, which contains about 600 houses inhabited chiefly by Panthays. The inn here was an exceptionally good one, kept by a lady who had originally been Chinese, but having the bad luck in her youth to be in some town captured by the rebels, had been forcibly converted to Mahommedanism and married to a Panthay. This incident did not seem to have affected her cheerfulness. The Chinese very soon resign themselves to circumstances. Certainly in this case it had happened twenty-five or thirty years ago, so she had had time to get over it.

The plain of Yung-p'ing only measures some four miles by two. The main road does not pass through the town, which, though the residence of the official, is a smaller place than Ch'ü-tung. On this march the snow-capped range of mountains near Ta-li Fu was visible for the first time.

The next four days took us from Sha-yang to Yang-pi, over a country in which there is absolutely no level ground. Sha-sung-shao, a little village among pine forests, was our sleeping place on the first day. On the 28th we crossed the range which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi river at a height a little over 8000 feet and descended to Huang-lien-p'u, which is built on a steep hillside shut in closely by hills on all sides. It contains a very good *hsing-t'ai* or Government rest-house, where we slept. [485]

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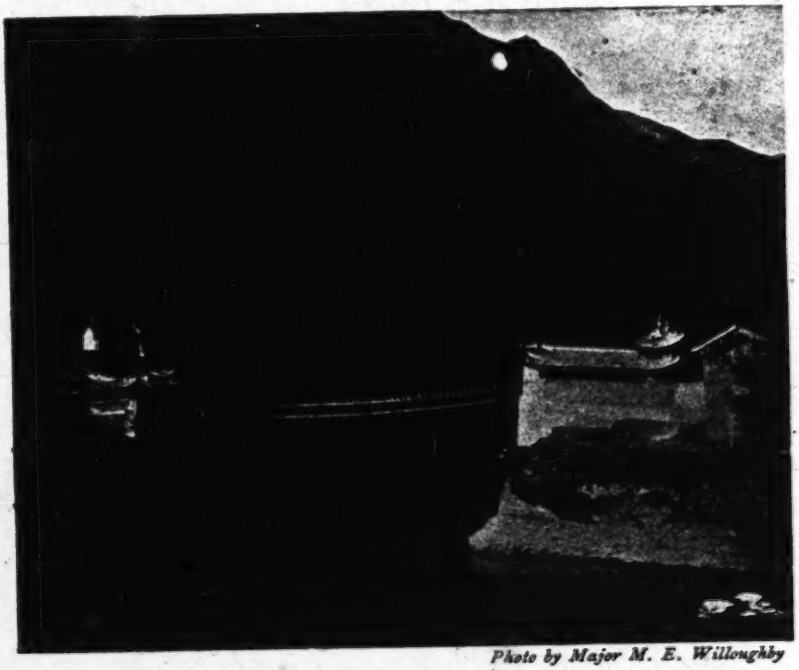

Photo by Major M. E. Willoughby

Iron-chain bridge over the Mekong

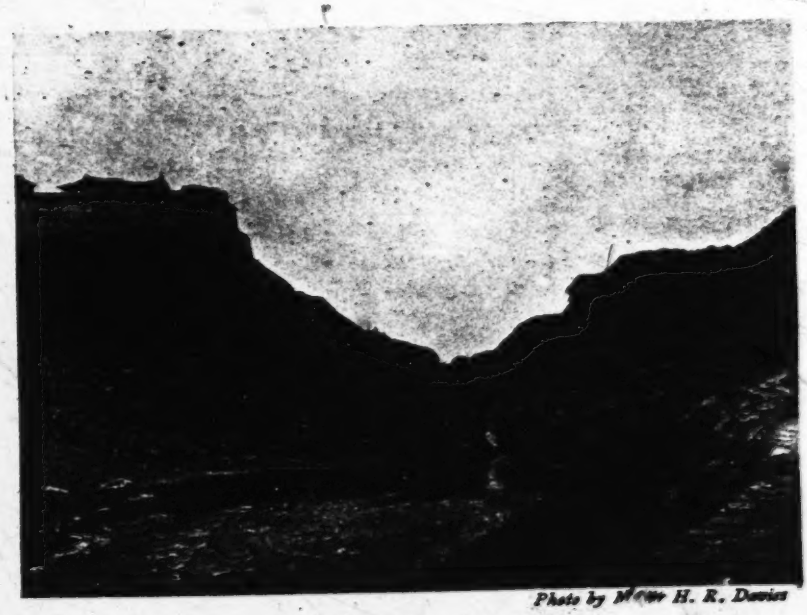

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

The Hsia-kuan Pass, near Ta-li Fu

[Face p. 64]

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000 On the next day the Shun-pi Ho was crossed by an iron-chain bridge, and a big spur traversed to T'ai-p'ing-p'u, a village inhabited by Lo-los, who have however adopted Chinese customs and the Chinese language. This was the first time I had come across this widely-spread tribe, though in my subsequent travels I saw a great deal of them.

The original village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u was down at the bottom of a valley, and the road used to go through it, but a few years ago a heavy flood carried away many of the houses, and most of the inhabitants moved to the present site half a mile up the hillside.

On the 30th we crossed a range at 8,350 feet and descended pretty steeply to Yang-pi, crossing the Yang-pi river by another iron-chain bridge just before entering the town. This stream, which is not navigated, is here 40 or
361 50 yards wide with a strong current. The town is built in two bits, each surrounded by a mud wall full of breaches, and has a good many Panthays among its population. It is a place of no importance, and is not an official town at all.

000 From Yang-pi to Ta-li in a straight line is a very short distance, but between these two places lies the Ts'ang Shan, by far the finest mountain range of Yün-nan, except perhaps some of those in the Tibetan part of the province. Its height is 14,000 feet, and it is so steep that no recognised road crosses it. There is, however, said to be a track over it by which animals can be got through, and I was sorry that neither in this nor in a subsequent visit to Ta-li could I find time to explore this path.

The main road makes a considerable circuit to the south and goes right round the southern end of the range. It follows down the left bank of the Yang-pi river for 10 miles and then turns up its tributary the Hsia-kuan Ho to Ho-chiang-p'u, where we slept on the 31st. The Yang-pi river has a tremendous current, but it is nothing compared with the Hsia-kuan Ho, which is a rushing torrent covered with foam all along, running in a gorge between steep, bare hills, which rise some thousands of feet above it on either side.

Our road of the 1st February crossed this stream by a wooden bridge and led up its left bank all the way to the

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000 town of Hsia-kuan. There is also a path up the right bank, but it does not seem to be much used. About a mile
712 short of the town are the famous Hsia-kuan forts. Here for 500 yards or so the valley narrows in and the sides become precipitous. The gorge is closed by two archways, one on each side of the stream, which completely block the roads. On the right bank there is in addition a small stone block-house, and a stone wall runs along the bank of the river up to the town so as to flank the roads down either bank. The whole would be very effectual against an enemy who came along the road, but there is nothing in the world to prevent men climbing the hills on either side a mile before coming to the "gate" and thus getting round and coming down on it from above.

The Hsia-kuan Ho, which is from 20 to 30 yards wide through most of its course, narrows down at the point where the archways are to a width of scarcely more than six feet. There is a big stone laid across it here, which it is said has been crossed by venturesome individuals, but the sides leading down to it are so steep and slippery that anyone attempting this feat would probably tumble in and be drowned. The current here is tremendous.

361 Hsia-kuan is a prosperous commercial town with a population of perhaps 10,000. There is no official here. Ta-li is the official town, and Hsia-kuan the business town. All the merchants live at Hsia-kuan and not at Ta-li, which lies a few miles off the main road from Yün-nan Fu to Burma.

On the 2nd February eight miles of perfectly level road brought us into Ta-li Fu. The road is unfortunately paved and the stone being volcanic is unusually slippery and most difficult to ride or walk over. The plain is some two miles wide, with the Ta-li lake to the east and the Ts'ang Shan mountains rising 7000 feet above it to the west. Villages are numerous, and between the road and the lake the plain is well cultivated, but on the left of the road it is chiefly stones and graves.

764 Graveyards in China are not the enclosed churchyards or cemeteries that we are accustomed to. Each family has its own burying-ground, and they are often in most picturesque places in the hills among fir woods. Round every town

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Êrh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

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These slabs are then framed and are sent all over China to be hung up on the walls of houses as ornaments. The marble is also in much request for tombstones. 316

Silver bracelets and other things are also made in the town, but there is nothing remarkable about the workmanship. Gold is another somewhat important article of trade: it is usually beaten into gold leaf and sent in this form to Burma where it is in much demand for gilding pagodas. 326 European goods come in through Bhamo, but they seemed very scarce, and were represented by a few cotton, calico, and woollen goods, needles, thread, and tinned milk. 439 Some Tibetan products, chiefly furs and medicines, also find their way to Ta-li. Most of this is brought down in April, in which month a great annual fair is held here which attracts thousands of strangers who come in to trade from all parts of the province.

Ta-li is an important place from the official point of view. It is the residence of the T'i-t'ai, who is commander-in-chief of all the troops in Yün-nan, and of a Tao-t'ai[1], who governs a very large district including the whole of the western part of the province right up to the Burmese border.

I stayed two days in Ta-li hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Smith. 346 The former was most kind in showing me all the sights of the place, which include several very fine temples. One of these on the road between Ta-li and Hsia-kuan was built in honour of Yang, the famous Chinese general who retook Ta-li from the Panthays and put an end to the rebellion. In it is an image of the great general 000 himself, extremely well done, and the old man in charge of the temple told us it was an excellent likeness. He seems to have been a remarkable man, very short in stature but extremely energetic and not much hampered by attention to official etiquette, so much so that he would even walk about the streets, instead of being carried in a sedan chair. Military mandarins often rather affect this disregard of etiquette, and put on what they consider a bluff, soldierlike manner, talking in a loud voice and so on. Possibly many of them are not very conversant with all the points of correct Chinese deportment, as they are often men of low origin.

[1] This Tao-t'ai is now said to have his official residence in T'êng-yüeh.

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797 Ta-li was the first place where I came across missionaries, but in subsequent journeys I met them in several places, and it was always the greatest pleasure to meet fellow-countrymen in these out-of-the-way spots. Some years later when I had the opportunity of visiting Shanghai and other treaty ports in eastern China I found a great prejudice existing against missionaries among some of the European merchant population. They are represented as men who have come out to China to better themselves, who live in good houses, are highly paid, and enjoy a life of comfortable idleness, always ready to leave their missions and take up any more lucrative occupation that may be offered them.

I am not prepared to defend every missionary in China, and it is possible that such men do exist, but I am convinced that they are, as far as those missionaries are concerned who work in the interior, rare exceptions. Their pay is small—indeed those who have private means receive none at all—and their furniture and food are of the plainest. To suppose they enter the mission as a money-making profession is absurd; and still more ridiculous to anyone who has travelled in the interior is the accusation that they lead pleasant, comfortable lives.

To live for years scores, and perhaps hundreds, of miles from any other European, surrounded by a population who cordially despise everything foreign, and in some places show their contempt in very disagreeable ways, is not the generally accepted idea of a pleasant life. Even travellers in China do not always find their path one of unalloyed pleasure, but they are always moving on and soon forget little unpleasantnesses. It is quite a different thing to settle down for years to an isolated life among the Chinese. Nor must it be forgotten that a missionary in the interior, far from gunboats and consuls, has always in the background the possibility of being rioted and perhaps murdered. The sad events of 1900 have shown that the risk to life that they run is by no means a small one.

As to their relations with the Chinese, they often find considerable difficulty in establishing new mission stations where the inhabitants do not know them and are consequently suspicious. Once established, their relations with

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the respectable inhabitants are generally friendly and even 797
cordial. It is true that beneath this there is in the minds of the Chinese a vein of suspicion, for it is difficult for a Chinaman to look on a European as the same kind of being as himself. But I do not believe that the bad feeling which exists in some of the more anti-foreign places is directed against him because he is a missionary, but because he is a European. The Chinese are not a race with any deep religious feeling, and are quite ready to let men follow whatever religion they please, but disinterestedness is rare among them and they consequently cannot understand men coming out to teach a new religion without any ulterior object. It is difficult for them to believe that it is not some insidious design of foreign governments to introduce western customs.

In the province of Yün-nan no great progress has so far been made in making converts, and they say the Yün-nanese are more difficult to convert than the people of other provinces. Moreover the English missionaries are generally very careful as to whom they allow to be baptized, and make it a rule to accept no man as a convert without a considerable period of probation. Whether their success in their own work be great or small, I believe that English missionaries, simply by living in the country, do a great deal to raise the character of Europeans in the estimation of the Chinese. To the Chinaman in his natural state, the European is thought of as an outer barbarian of grotesque appearance, scarcely belonging to the human race at all. An enormous majority of the Chinese have never seen any Europeans but missionaries, and on them therefore falls the task of trying to dispel these ideas. They wear Chinese dress and conform as far as possible to Chinese customs, so that in course of time the Chinese begin to feel that they are not an entirely different race of beings from themselves. Certainly I have found the people more civil and less inquisitive in places where there are missionaries than in places where there are none.

During my stay in Ta-li the curious festival called the 527
Yin-ch'un was held. This ceremony is performed annually in Yün-nan about the time of the Chinese New Year. It consists in carrying an earthen representation of a man and

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527 of a buffalo round the principal streets of the town for two or three hours. Inside the buffalo and the man are twelve little buffaloes and twelve little men, or should the year contain thirteen months, as it sometimes does, there are thirteen of them. The next day the two images are broken, and the little buffaloes and little men are taken out and one of each is presented to the principal officials and other leading men of the place, who have to make a money present in return. This ceremony appears to be a representation of the birth of the New Year. The particular colour that the man and the buffalo are to be painted each year is communicated officially from Peking.

132 The amount of snow to be found on the Ta-li mountains is a subject on which former travellers have differed, so I made enquiries about it. Mr Smith told me that the snow on the range is only visible from below during the winter months, but that in the deep ravines and crevices near the top of the range it is to be found all the year round, and it is brought down and sold in the town to cool water with in the hot weather. A little snow occasionally falls in the Ta-li plain, but it never lies long.

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CHAPTER X

TA-LI FU THROUGH SHUN-NING FU TO KUN-LONG FERRY.

Routes to Kun-long—Mêng-hua—The Mêng-hua Lo-los—The Yang-pi river again—Shooting—A-lu-shih—The Mekong—Shun-ning Fu—An obliging official—The Shans—Yün Chou—A five-horned buffalo—Mien-ning T'ing—Gradual absorption of the Shans by the Chinese—Diversity of tribes—Mêng-yung—Mêng-sa—Rivers running through mountains—Snow peaks—The Nam Ting valley—Mêng-ting—Kun-long—A halt—Meeting with Captain Eliott.

My next object was to travel along the road leading 000 from Ta-li to Kun-long ferry, to see if there seemed to be any chance of getting a practicable line for a railway between these two places, and to note the state of the present road and the amount of trade that went along it.

No one in Ta-li seemed ever to have heard of Kun-long, or at all events they did not know it by that name. But Shun-ning Fu would evidently lie in nearly the right line, so I determined to start for that place.

There are two ways of getting there from Ta-li, one the main road through Mêng-hua T'ing; the other crossing the north end of the Mêng-hua plain and turning off over the hills which lie to the west of it. The latter road is the shorter by one march, so I decided to go by it.

This, however, did not at all fall in with the ideas of the Ta-li officials. In China objections are always raised to a European traveller going by any but a main road. They sent a message to say that the road I proposed to follow was narrow and difficult, that nobody lived along it but savage Lo-los, that there were no places to put up and nothing to be got to eat. The traveller in China soon gets

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000 used to hearing objections of this sort raised, and it did not make me change my mind.

On the 5th February we left Ta-li and went back to Hsia-kuan, and on the 6th started for Shun-ning. The road leads up a big range, reaching the top at 8,700 feet. They say there is usually snow on this pass at this time of year, but the winter happened to be an exceptionally mild one. From here a long winding descent brought us into the northern end of the Mêng-hua plain at the village of Hsün-chien, where there is a particularly good inn.

133 The plain is some 25 miles long and three or four miles wide, with a small stream, which is the source of the Red River, running southwards down the middle of it. Its height [162] is about 6000 feet. The inhabitants are Chinese and Panthays, the latter being in considerable numbers but not in a majority. The town lies at the southern end of the plain, and I did not see it at this time, but passed through it in a subsequent journey in 1898[1].

175 Mêng-hua is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the scene of a deliberately planned murder, by which the Nan-chao kingdom was founded. At that time central Yün-nan was divided into six little states, but Pi-lo-ko, the prince of Mêng-hua, being a man of enterprising mind, invited his five royal neighbours to a feast. He had previously constructed a specially inflammable house of pine wood, and having made his guests dead drunk, set fire to the building and burnt them all. He thus combined the six kingdoms under his own rule and soon afterwards moved his capital to the Ta-li plain. This was in A.D. 731, and the kingdom continued with various changes of dynasty till it was subdued by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

000 The next morning the *ch'ai*[2] sent with me as escort divulged the fact that he was not after all to accompany me to Shun-ning, but was to go to Mêng-hua. It appears that the *Hsièn*[3] of Ta-li, after agreeing to send him with me to Shun-ning, had been subsequently struck by the great responsibility he was taking on himself in doing so, and had consulted on the matter with the *Fu*[4]. The result

[1] See p. 147. [2] Policeman. [3] Magistrate.
[4] The Fu district official, sometimes called the *prefect* by Europeans in China.

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of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Terraced fields in the Shun-ning Fu valley

241
311

Plate XVI

[Face p. 74]

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000 downhill passing a most remarkable temple, called Ch'a-fang-ssŭ, built on a ledge in a precipitous rock which rises sheer some 300 feet.

During this descent the Yang-pi River is seen on the left hand running most unexpectedly in a north-easterly direction. It makes a very sharp bend in this part of its course and afterwards again comes round into its original southerly direction. The Yang-pi is at the ferry 130 yards wide, with a moderate current, but a little lower down it gets squeezed in between the hills again, and becomes narrower, deeper, and more rapid. It is crossed by a rather shaky bamboo raft, and a few hundred yards of steep ascent brings one to Hsin-niu-kai, where there is a dilapidated official rest-house.

133 The people of this village are Chinese, not Lo-los, and from here on to Shun-ning the inhabitants are principally Chinamen. The height of the Yang-pi here is 3,900 feet, a fall of more than 1,200 feet from where we had last crossed [132] it on the Yung-ch'ang-Ta-li road. The climate at this low elevation is much warmer than most places in this part of the country and the opium crop was nearly ripe, whereas at Ta-li and other higher lying plains it was only just showing above the ground.

823 The river in this part of its course is not known to the Chinese as the Yang-pi Ho. The people here seem to have no name for it but call it vaguely the Ta Ho or Big River. In fact the Chinese very seldom give names to their rivers, but call them after the nearest town or important village through which they pass. Nearly all rivers thus have different names in different parts of their course. This according to our ideas of geography is extremely inconvenient, so I have thought it best to adhere to the name of Yang-pi River.

136 I had had scarcely any shooting so far, but on this march I first had an unsuccessful stalk after two barking deer, and afterwards shot a hen pheasant (*Phasianus elegans*), one of nine or ten that got up.

000 On the 11th we had an uphill road, climbing the Ta-chin Shan, a hill with a conspicuous pagoda on its summit. We left this pagoda on our left hand and followed a narrow path cut out of an almost precipitous hill-side to the village

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000 of A-lu-shih, which contains 150 houses—a large place for this hilly country. It is inhabited by a people with the bump of curiosity very largely developed.

The next morning we crossed the top of a range at 8,400 feet and from there dropped 3000 feet in three miles to Sung-lin-t'ang, a very small village which contains however a fairly good official rest-house. During this descent the green-coloured water of the Mekong was occasionally to be seen in the deep valley below.

On the 13th a further descent brought us to this river at an elevation of 3,400 feet above the sea. The valley is of exactly the same character as where it is crossed on the Yung-ch'ang–Ta-li road, the river running in a deep gorge, with steep, almost inaccessible, hills rising up from it. There is not an inch of level ground outside the river bed, which is from 80 to 100 yards wide, and is pretty well filled up with water. The current is strong, and rapids numerous.

491 We crossed by an iron-chain suspension bridge of the same type as those previously described. It is built where the river passes between two precipitous rocks, is 75 yards long, and consists of a plank roadway supported by 14 iron chains, the ends of which are embedded in brick piers. At that time the bridge was a little shaky and swayed about a good deal as one passed over it, and there was a man posted there to warn travellers that only one animal must pass over at a time. After crossing, the road turns westward and follows the river bank for some distance before ascending steeply to Hsin-ts'un, where we put up for the night.

On the 14th February we crossed another range and descended to the town of Shun-ning, always pronounced
241 Shun-ling by the Yünnanese. There is nothing to call
311 a plain here, but a fairly level strip of cultivated ground, half a mile in width, runs along a little stream called the Pei-ch'iao Ho, and tiers of terraced fields rise again above this on each side.

361 The town is built on the west side of the valley, on the lower spurs of the hills, and is about 5,400 feet above sea level. It is an irregular shaped polygonal a mile in perimeter, surrounded by a 15 feet brick wall backed up on the inside by the usual earth parapet. The space within

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Bridge in the Shun-ning Fu valley

[plate XVII]

[Face p. 76]

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361 the walls is fairly well filled with houses and contains some 600 or 700.

511 The whole town and district[1] are very poor, a fact to which the broken bridges and unrepaired roads testify. There does not seem to be a single merchant of any importance in the place, and mules and ponies are scarce. In fact there appears to be absolutely no trade in the district except in the necessaries of life, and the whole way from Ta-li to Shun-ning we did not meet a single mule caravan, or even a pedlar on foot.

The city magistrate came to see me in the evening and was very civil. He was a Chiang-hsi man and much more inclined to be obliging than the majority of Chinese officials. I halted a day at Shun-ning and went to call on the mandarins. The magistrate had never heard of Kun-long himself, but he got out his map and sent for men who knew the country, and did his best to help me. It appears there are two roads, one through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), and the other through Yün Chou and Mien-ning T'ing. The former was said to be the shorter, but is hilly and difficult. The Yün Chou route seemed to offer the best prospect of a possible railway line or trade route, so I decided to go by it.

712 There is only a very small garrison at Shun-ning. It was then commanded by an old white-moustached gentleman of 60, who had, however, only attained the rank of *Shou-pi* or lieutenant. So promotion is sometimes slow in the Chinese army. The military head-quarters of the Shun-ning district is at Mien-ning T'ing where there is a *Hsieh-t'ai* or colonel.

635 Shun-ning was originally a Shan state, and it is still known to Shans by its original name of Möng Hköng. It has now for a long time been a Chinese district, but the Shan or half Shan origin of the people is plainly visible in their features. So much like Shans did some of them appear to me that I stopped one man on the road and asked him if he was not a Shan, but he did not take it at all as a compliment, and his companions were much amused at the question.

000 One day at Shun-ning was quite enough, and I was glad to get out of the miserable one-storied inn in which we

[1] [Shun-ning -- Analyst]

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000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the
438 Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

294 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious
438 kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou
241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Wan-nien-chuang valley

[Face p. 78]

Plate XVIII

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Pai-i AE7

000 shed at 5,600 feet, one of the lowest points in this part of the range. From here we went by an equally gradual descent
S to T'ou-tao-shui, a little village in which a market is held
733 every five days. The small official in charge of the police here came to see me in the evening somewhat the worse for liquor, and I saw three or four other men in the same state, rather an unusual sight in China. Most Chinamen drink rice spirit, but they seem to know when they have had enough, and one seldom sees a drunken man.

From T'ou-tao-shui there are two roads on to Kun-long. The most direct route passes through Mêng-lai, but I took a longer and better road round by Mien-ning. The next day we had an easy march to Yi-wan-shui, and on the 20th we slept at La-tien-p'o, a village which lies on the Mêng-lai Ho, the main source of the Nam Ting. Still following
S up this stream we reached Mien-ning T'ing on the 22nd.
133 Since leaving Shun-ning the country and climate had been gradually changing, and we were now in a district more resembling the Shan States than the higher part of China we had hitherto been travelling in. The elevations
S of the hills are much lower, the climate considerably warmer,
[137] and the whole country is covered with jungle of a semi-tropical kind instead of the bare hills and pine forests of the districts further north.

S The Mien-ning plain is some seven miles long by three
361 miles wide. The town is built near the southern end of it on the left bank of the Mêng-lai Ho, a stream 30 yards wide and three or four feet deep, which runs down the middle of the plain from south to north. There is a great deal of vacant space inside the walls, and the town contains only 200 houses, but it is surrounded on all sides by suburbs amounting to another 300 or 400. The largest suburb is on the east, and this appears to be the chief commercial quarter, such as it is. The inns are miserable, and I found quarters in a good-sized temple, built by the Ssŭ-ch'uan
P residents of the place.

Mien-ning is always pronounced Mien-ling by the
177 inhabitants. It was originally a Shan state, and its proper Shan name is Möng Myen. There are still a great many of this race living here, but the Chinese are now in the majority, and the Shans are taking very much to Chinese

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Pa1-1 AE7

P
177 dress and customs, and even to the Chinese language. It is quite probable that in another generation or two they will all call themselves Chinamen, and the place will afford another instance of the absorption of the Shan by the Chinaman in places which are over 4000 feet high, and
S are therefore healthy enough for the Chinese of Yün-nan to
P live in.

438 We halted a day at Mien-ning to rest our pack mules. There is no trade in the place to speak of. There are a
S few small merchants who occasionally go with small mule
P caravans to Mêng-sa and the other Shan States in the
793 neighbourhood. In the morning I went up to the Shan
292 monastery and saw the priest, a native of Mien-ning, who had ten years before been on a visit to Rangoon to worship at the pagoda. He was dressed in the usual unorthodox fashion of the Chinese Shan priests, with a yellow robe covering both shoulders, a red cap on his head, and Chinese socks and shoes on his feet, a contravention in three respects of the rules of Burmese Buddhism, which ordain that one shoulder must be bare, that no head-
S covering may be worn, and that no shoe must be used
P which covers the top of the toes.

[733] Like many Chinese Shan priests he was an opium smoker and did not seem the least ashamed of it, as he got through three pipes while I was there. He told me that formerly the whole of this country was inhabited by Shans, but that now the Chinese were gradually ousting them. I noticed that even the priest himself, though he spoke Shan to me, would address his pupils in Chinese.

000 On the 24th February, 15 miles of somewhat up and down road took us to Ping-yüan-hsün. At the little village of Pang-mai which we passed on this march, in a pleasant valley covered with fir trees, is an isolated colony of Mêng-hua Lo-los, who emigrated from their own district a few generations ago. Their language I found to be nearly the same as that spoken at Wu-li-hei, but they are giving it up and are beginning to talk Chinese even among themselves. The women already tie up their feet in the Chinese fashion, and they will no doubt soon cease to call themselves Lo-los.

The next day, after three or four miles of level going,

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133

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Méng-sa plateau

Plate XIX

[Face p. 80]

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Pai-i AE7

000 we had a long descent of over 3000 feet to Wan-nien-chuang. This village is Chinese, but Se-pyek a mile further on is inhabited by Shans, among whom are included some Hküns, the branch of the Tai race who inhabit Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States.

There appear to be several Hkün families living among the Chinese Shans of this neighbourhood. How they had got here they did not seem to know. It may be conjectured that some rebellion in or invasion of their native
S state had compelled them to emigrate to such a distance.
P The Chinese name for this race of Shans is K'ên-tzŭ.

631 Wan-nien-chuang marks the boundary between the district of Mien-ning and the Shan State of Kêng-ma[1]. This is one of the largest of the Chinese Shan States and
S besides the Kêng-ma plain includes the districts of Mêng-
P sa, Mêng-yung and Mêng-chien[2]. We were now in a
[162] country in which there are very few Chinese. The plains are all inhabited by Shans, and the hills by Las, Lo-los, and La-hus, with a few scattered Chinese villages among them. The Lo-los are many of them of the Mêng-hua Lo-lo tribe. The Shans call them *Myen*, which is the usual Shan name for all branches of the Lo-lo race. The La-hus, called Lo-hei by the Chinese and Mu-hsö or Myen Mu-hsö by the Shans, inhabit a good deal of the country between
S the Salween and the Mekong, and stretch down into Keng
P Tung and northern Siam.

361 It rained a good deal in the night and the next morning, so we made a late start and did a short march of 7½ miles to Mêng-yung, a little Shan town of 180 houses surrounded by a mud wall. It is built on the right bank of a narrow stream running in a deep ravine. The plain is a very small one with little cultivation and contains no Shan villages except the town. I put up in a large well-built Shan monastery, and was an object of immense curiosity to the whole of the inhabitants of Mêng-yung.

000 Two marches from here brought us to Mêng-sa. The road there from Mang-hkü, where we slept on the 27th, after a little level going, begins to ascend up a narrow gorge by a paved road. Near the top it becomes steeper,

[1] Köng-ma in Shan.
[2] Möng Hsa, Möng Yawng, and Möng Kyen in Shan.

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000 and after passing the Chinese village of Ch'ing-mên-k'ou suddenly emerges through a gap in the hills into the plateau of Mêng-sa[1], which is 10 miles long by two or three miles wide, very bare and dry with little water in it. There
S are few irrigated fields, and consequently not many villages.
133 The small stream which waters the plateau comes in from the east close to the town, makes a bend round for two or three miles, and then runs straight into a range of hills, re-appearing again on the other side.

The disappearance of rivers into ranges of mountains is not at all an uncommon thing in Yün-nan and in the Shan States. I have seen four or five instances of it myself. One of the most remarkable occurs in the Taw-nio plateau near Kun-long ferry. Here all the streams run straight into a range of limestone hills, and come out the other side,
S crossing the Mêng-ting-Kunlong road, and falling into the
P Nam Ting.

[361] Mêng-sa is surrounded by a mud wall and contains
622 150 houses inhabited by Shans. Just before entering the town a dirty Chinese suburb of 50 houses is passed through. The younger brother of the Kêng-ma sawbwa lives here and governs the district. The sawbwa's son was also there at the time of my visit. He had been to Möng Cheng (Chên-k'ang) to be married, and was now on his way home with his bride, accompanied by a large train of followers on horseback.

The sawbwa had very civilly sent a man to meet me and to go with me as long as I was in his territory. He asked me to go round by the town of Kêng-ma, but I wanted to see the direct road to Kun-long and could not spare the time to make this detour. I was able to pay him
S a visit later on.
133 Looking back northward from the Mêng-sa plateau some fine snow-covered peaks were visible at no great distance off, in the range running down the right bank of the Nam Ting. This range is far the highest in this part of the country, and on a subsequent journey I calculated its height as nearly 11,500 feet.

000 Leaving Mêng-sa the next morning we climbed a big

[1] Möng-Hsa in Shan. Not to be confused with another Möng Hsa, a name often given to the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa (see p. 26).

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

River running into a hill in the Mêng-sa plateau

Plate XX

[Face p.82]

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000 range of hills and on the next day dropped steeply down to
S the Nam Ting valley at Mêng-chien. During this descent
361 we passed through the mixed La and Chinese village of Ta-chai. This contains 450 houses, and though it is a hill village is quite the largest place in this part of the Chinese Shan States. It has some very fine trees round it and the hillsides are well cultivated. It is noticeable that the Las
S and Was live in much larger villages than any other hill
P tribe of Yün-nan.

361 Mêng-chien or Möng Kyen is a small place of no importance, inhabited by Shans. Its height is only 1,850 feet, the Nam Ting valley being one of the lowest parts of Yün-nan. In this warm climate the fresh green grass was already several inches high, and our mules got better grazing than they had had for a long time.

On the 3rd and 4th of March our road was nearly level, leading down the Nam Ting valley, chiefly through pretty thick jungle, with occasionally a Shan village and a patch of rice cultivation where a tributary stream joins the main river. Finally we emerged into the Mêng-ting[1] plain, which is 10 miles long and three miles wide with the river running
S down its northern edge. There are several villages scattered
P about in it, each surrounded by fine clumps of bamboo.
162 The people are partly Chinese Shans and partly Southern
311 Shans, the former predominating; but the population is not very large and there is a good deal of land uncultivated.
S Mêng-ting is a very small state, and only the lower or
P western part of this plain belongs to it, the upper half being
361 part of Kêng-ma. The town which is unwalled is built in two bits, separated by a small tributary of the Nam Ting, the sawbwa's residence lying on the right bank, and the market village on the left bank. During the dry season it is visited by a good many Panthay traders from Panglong,
S and I saw a large bullock caravan which had come from
P Nam-hkam with salt fish and cotton clothes.

622 I proposed to go and see the sawbwa, but a message arrived to say that he was ill and not up to receiving visitors. As a matter of fact there was nothing whatever the matter with him, but being of rather a nervous dis-

[1] Also called Hun-ting by the Chinese. Möng Ting is its Shan name.

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position he did not want to run the risk of getting himself into trouble with the Chinese Government by being too friendly with a British officer. Many of these border chiefs have this feeling, and perhaps if they happen to be under an anti-foreign or reactionary official, there may be some reason for their fears.

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The next day we crossed the Nam Ting by ferry at Hpak-cheo and camped at Hwe-hpyen, a little Shan village in the jungle situated at the junction of the Nam Hpawng and the Nam Ting. On the 6th of March we crossed the border into British territory and camped at Nam-hu, a small Shan village surrounded by forest.

The next day I rode over to Kun-long expecting to find two months of mail letters waiting for me, only to learn that the letters had arrived a fortnight ago, but that as the men bringing them could hear no news of me, they had started back for Lashio the day before. As they only had one day's start there seemed a good chance of catching them, so through the head-man of the village I got two men to go after them, promising big pay if they brought the letters within three days. This entailed halting at Nam-hu longer than I had intended, but the time was not entirely wasted, as our mules were showing signs of the work they had done and wanted a rest badly. Four days later the men returned but brought only two letters with them. The rest of my mails had gone astray and I did not get them till my return to Burma more than two months later.

Kun-long I had previously seen in February, 1888, when I went there with the first British column[1] that visited the place. It had not changed at all since then. It is merely a Shan village of 30 houses entirely surrounded by thick forest. Its height above sea level is 1,800 feet. The Salween is here 180 yards wide and is crossed by three small dug-outs. The road that crosses by this ferry was formerly an important trade route, but for many years it has been little used. Its decline dates, I believe, from the time that steamers began to run on the Upper Irrawaddy. Bhamo then naturally became the destination of trading caravans from Yün-nan, as they thus avoided the long journey through the Shan States.

[1] The Northern Shan Column, commanded by Major Yates, R.A.

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000 I had intended to start again on the 11th March, but the evening before news came in that Captain Eliott, the Superintendent of the Northern Shan States, with several other officers was expected at Kun-long the next day. The opportunity was too good to be lost, so I halted one more day and rode out to Kun-long to see them, and to enjoy the pleasure of talking English again and hearing some news of the outer world. They had come from Theinni, and were going on through Tawnio, recrossing the Salween higher up.

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CHAPTER XI

KUN-LONG TO SSŬ-MAO.

Routes to Ssŭ-mao—A land governed by no one—Back to Mêng-ting—The Las and Was—The Mon-Annam race—A hilly march—Buddhist Lo-los—A Chinese fort—Fighting with the La-hus—A thunderstorm—Mêng-ying—Ch'üan-lo—A La-hu chief—P'u-mans—The Mekong again—Shan dress—The Wei-yüan Chiang—Shans from Chiang-hsi—Arrive at Ssŭ-mao.

My next object was to find a road leading eastward from Kun-long to Ssŭ-mao, the principal trading centre of southern Yün-nan. The country between these two places was quite unexplored by European travellers, and I could find no Shan or Chinaman who knew anything about it. However it seemed pretty certain that the road must pass near Mêng-ko (Möng Kaw)[1]. To this place there are two roads —one starting from Ho-pang, a village near Nam-hu on the left bank of the Nam Ting, the other going back to Mêng-ting by the route I had just come and then branching off south-east. The former is somewhat the shorter, but is more hilly than the other. Along both roads it seemed likely there would be some difficulty with the Las, through whose country they lie. Not that these particular Las are head-hunters, but they were at that time independent, both of us and of the Chinese, and might very likely resent the intrusion of strangers into their country.

While at Nam-hu, I went across the river one afternoon to Ho-pang to interview the *Heng*, the small Shan official. It was market day there, and I came across a Pang-long Panthay, a man called Ting-êrh-ko, whom my interpreter knew, so we went with him to the *Heng's* house. He said the direct road was a fairly good one and that the Las along it were not considered bad Las. However when I asked him to give me a man or two to show me the way,

[1] Lat. 23° 15′, long. 99° 15′.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Kun-long villag

Plate XXI

[Face p. 86]

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

S 136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a ST 177 village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

S ST 162 101 The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST and where the distinction between them lies.

197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the An-101 namese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

291 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the 301 neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

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trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

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In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

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Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Méng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

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coming, and were not prepared to act on the spur of the moment, so we passed quietly on after the usual Shan salutation, "Where have you come from?" had been given and answered on both sides. 000

On the range of hills to the west of Man-hpa we passed through two villages, Hkun-kaw and Pa-hka, inhabited by Lo-los who have adopted Shan Buddhism and have monasteries in their villages, the only instance I have ever come across of Buddhist Lo-los. The women's dress differs from that worn by those of their tribe who still inhabit the Mêng-hua district. In fact they have taken to dressing themselves almost, if not quite, like the La-hu[1] women, in black jackets, black skirts reaching to their knees, black cloth gaiters, and black turbans put on so as to leave a lot hanging down behind. For ornament they wear very large ring-shaped silver earrings.

Man-hpa lies a little to the north of the town of Mêng-ko (Möng kaw), while still higher up the Nam Tum valley lies Mêng-tung (Möng Tum). These two little Shan districts together with Mêng-sung (Möng Hsung), which lies a day's march further east, were formerly part of Kêng-ma. But, for some reason I did not learn, they quarrelled with the sawbwa of that state, and appealed to the Chinese mandarin at Chên-pien. The result was that this official took these districts over and governed them through a Shan chief who resided at Mêng-ko. 631

We left Mêng-sung on the 19th March and finding no village at a convenient distance camped out for the night on the banks of a little stream. Another 3½ miles the next morning brought us to the Chinese fort of Ai-shwai. This was one of several posts that had been established by the Chinese in this part of the country in the previous few years while they had been fighting the La-hus. 712

Formerly the Chinese Government did not trouble themselves about the wild tribes that inhabit this border tract, and they exercised very little authority over them. But since the annexation of Upper Burma they have adopted a

[1] It is possible that I was misinformed as to these people being Lo-los. They may have belonged to the cognate tribe of La-hus. The fact that they were Buddhists would however be equally remarkable whether they are La-hus or Lo-los.

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712 much more forward policy, probably through fear of British encroachments—fears which are quite groundless, as this [411] part of the country is of no value. The La-hus with their strong cross-bows and poisoned arrows made a stout resistance, and the Imperial troops were by no means uniformly victorious. But the Chinese Government, though they move slowly, are always eventually successful in their wars with less civilised tribes, and at the time of my visit most of the La-hus had submitted and the country seemed fairly peaceful.

The fort is built close to the La village of Ai-shwai and is surrounded by a high mud wall. The garrison was nominally 100 men, but there were really only 70 or 80, so that the officer in command might pocket the pay of the remainder.

I saw the lieutenant in command and went on, escorted by five of his men. A very steep up and down road brought us to the group of five La villages, which is called Nawng-hpaw by the Shans and Lung-t'ang-chai by the Chinese. Since leaving Man-hpa the country had changed a good deal. There was little or no thick jungle. The hills were bare and dry looking, and well cultivated by the Las and La-hus who inhabit them.

712 The next day we passed another Chinese fort. Its proper Shan name is Ho-sak or Nam-sak, corrupted into Nan-cha by the Chinese. Close to the fort was a small village with a wall round it, in which some of the married soldiers were living. Many of these had La-hu wives, and their principal occupation seemed to be growing opium. They will probably eventually settle down here as soldier-colonists, for it is from such colonies that much of the present Chinese population of Yün-nan has sprung.

I went in and saw the two officers. They complained that they were very much bored at having to live in this out-of-the-way place on the hill-tops, far away from all civilisation. They told me there had been a good deal of fighting about here a few years before, and that there had formerly been a large La-hu village at Nan-cha, which the Chinese had destroyed.

000 We continued our march the same day and had a descent of 3000 feet through fir woods. We had not gone

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far before a tremendous storm of thunder and hail burst over us. Many of the trees had been cut half through by woodcutters and they came crashing down in all directions. One fell just in front of our leading mule, not missing him by very much, and blocking the path completely, so that we had some difficulty in finding a way round. In the evening we got down to Hsia-mêng-ying, and found shelter in one of the buildings of a very fine Shan monastery built on a terrace and surrounded by a paved court-yard. The town is a large one for this part of the world, containing 250 houses, chiefly built of mud, and inhabited by Shans. 000

Our quarters were so comfortable that I halted here a day to give us an opportunity of drying our clothes, which had been drenched through by the thunder-storm the day before. This little district is called Möng Nyim by the Shans. It is divided into two small plains along the same river, one called Shang-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-nö, and the other Hsia-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-taü. These names simply mean Upper and Lower Möng Nyim respectively. The district is really part of Mêng-lien (Möng Lem), a Shan state which formerly paid tribute both to Burma and China, but has now, by agreement with the British Government, become Chinese territory. 631

Möng Nyim, however, is now no longer governed by the Möng Lem sawbwa, but was at the time of my visit directly under the Chinese official at Shun-ning, though it was not then quite settled whether it was to remain under Shun-ning or to form part of the newly established district of Chên-pien.

Living among the Shans of this plain is a small colony of twenty Panthay families who have been here for four or five generations. They have intermarried with the Shans, and now talk Shan among themselves, but still keep up the Mahommedan religion and have a mosque in their village. 563

After a day's rest we went on to Shang-mêng-ying, a smaller place than the lower town, though it is in this upper plain that the sawbwa lives. Möng Nyim lies at an elevation of only 3,300 feet, so the next day we had to climb the usual range of hills and in five miles reached Nan-wa, the headquarters of Colonel Li who was in command of all the troops in this district.

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000 I went in to see him and was most favourably impressed with him. He seems to have done a good deal in the pacification of this part of the country, and was much liked and respected both by his own men and by the Shans, La-hus and other inhabitants of the district. He wanted me to go round by Chên-pien as he said it was the best road, but I was too much pressed for time to make a circuit and decided to go by the more direct road through Ch'üan-lo.

361 Chên-pien T'ing is the new town that the Chinese have established as capital of the newly formed district of the same name. This district has been made up out of what were formerly parts of P'u-êrh and Shun-ning. But up till the last few years Chinese rule had been a very nominal affair in this country, which had been practically independent and split up into small states ruled by Shan, La-hu, and Wa chiefs. The new town is near Möng Lang, one of the districts of the Shan State of Mêng-lien or Möng Lem.

Colonel Li gave me an escort of eight men, among whom were four fine-looking Panthays who belonged to the Colonel's body-guard. We went on another six miles and camped out on top of the range at a height of 6,500 feet.

361 Two more marches brought us to Ch'üan-lo[1], which stands on a gently sloping terrace which extends about 1½ miles each way, and is well cultivated. The town is oval in shape, is surrounded by a mud wall and contains 631 some 250 houses. It was formerly the capital of a La-hu state, till about 1891 the Chinese Government made it the civil headquarters of the newly established Chên-pien district. The offices were however soon afterwards removed to the present town of Chên-pien. This was found very unhealthy, and at the time of my visit there was some idea of moving back again to Ch'üan-lo. The Chinese magistrate of the place has the rank of *Hsün-chien*, which is inferior to that of *Chih-hsien*, but I found him very pleasant and civil and far superior in intelligence to many officials I had met of much higher rank. He had been for some time at Mêng-tzŭ, the treaty port on the Tong-king border, and had met Europeans there.

[1] Called Chen-lawt by the Shans.

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The La-hu chief also still lives here and has a certain amount of authority. He is a quiet, simple-minded old gentleman, quite a jungle man. He told me that the Shans formerly inhabited this place, but four or five generations ago the La-hus came down from the neighbourhood of Mien-ning and drove them out. The Shans retired to Möng Lem, but there are still a few families of Shan descent living in the villages round.

The inhabitants of Ch'üan-lo and the neighbourhood seem now to be chiefly La-hus who have taken to Chinese customs, and who, many of them, now call themselves Chinamen. There are also a few real Chinese living in the town, but the total absence of curiosity among the people here soon made one realise that one was not among a Chinese population. Hardly a soul came to stare at me all day.

On the 27th of March we crossed a range of hills at a little over 6000 feet, and descended very steeply to the Mekong at the village of Nan-pei. The ferry village of this name where I camped is inhabited by La-hus, but the people of the main village of Nan-pei, which is 1½ miles short of the ferry, are P'u-mans, a tribe which is very much split up into small communities. They were apparently of the same family as the Las, Was, and Palaungs, but have become so scattered and isolated from each other that I have found some villages of them who have forgotten their own tongue and now talk the Wa, the Shan, or even the Chinese language.

The Mekong is here at an altitude of 2,300 feet, and runs, as usual with this river, between very steep hills with practically no level ground outside the river bed. I had great difficulty in finding room to pitch one small tent.

The next day we crossed the river in a large boat much resembling an English punt. At this time of year animals can be swum across, but in the rains the current is very strong, and this big boat is used to convey mules as well as men. The average width of this part of the Mekong is some 80 yards. Even in the dry season there is a fairly strong stream and the water is thick and muddy.

This ferry seems to be a good deal used. Quite a hundred mules crossed it while I was there, all carrying

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000 salt from the Wei-yüan[1] salt wells to districts in Möng Lem and Keng Hung. From the further bank of the river a long bit of up-hill brought us within sight of the Mêng-pan plain lying three or four miles off to the north. Our road however did not enter it but descended in an easterly direction to Mêng-lêng, a village with a mixed population of Chinese and Shans.

P 291 Here I first came across another change in the dress of the Shan women. The jacket, which is dark or light blue, is folded back across the front like a low cut waistcoat, and is tucked inside the petticoat which is usually of a greenish grey colour but occasionally dark blue. This is fastened round the waist by a strip of cloth which is often bright red. The turban is dark blue put on in a round shape and is much smaller than that worn by other Chinese Shans. The earrings they wear are large plain silver rings. This dress I found universal in Möng Pan (Mêng-pan), Möng Ka (Mêng-ka), Möng Waw (Wei-yüan), and other places east P [197] of the Mekong. The dialect of these trans-Mekong Shans also differs somewhat from that spoken elsewhere.

The men's dress is the usual dark blue. It is a noticeable fact that among the non-Chinese tribes of western China it is the women's dress that forms the distinguishing outward sign of the tribe. The men of all these races, with few exceptions, dress very much alike, the dark blue coat and trousers of the pattern worn by the lower classes of the Chinese being almost universal.

S 712 The next day we reached Mêng-chu, a place of 100 houses in a small plain. It is now inhabited by Chinamen and Panthays, but its name indicates its Shan origin and it is still under the Shan sawbwa of Mêng-pan, who is subordinate to the Chinese official of Wei-yüan. There is a Chinese garrison here of nominally 80 men under a *Shou-pi*.

000 Two days chiefly through fir woods in a hilly country inhabited by Chinamen brought us to the Wei-yüan Chiang[2], a river 60 yards wide and in the dry season only knee deep. It runs down from the town from which it takes its name, and eventually joins the Mekong. Its

[1] Called Möng Waw by the Shans.
[2] Called Nam Waw by the Shans.

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elevation here is only 2,500 feet, and the day was very close and hot with a thick mist which made surveying difficult. After crossing we ascended 1000 feet to Ch'ou-shui to camp.

The next day, 1st April, we crossed the river which, coming from the town of P'u-êrh, flows into the Wei-yüan Chiang a little below the crossing. It is here 30 yards wide and easily fordable in the dry weather. In the rains, however, it often becomes impassable, and, as there is no boat, travellers have nothing to do but to exercise patience and sit down on the river bank till the flood subsides. The hills about here were covered with wild raspberries just ripe, a yellow variety very common in the Shan States and in some parts of Yün-nan.

The next day we passed through the little village of Man-mu which is inhabited by Shans who came here from the province of Chiang-hsi seven generations ago. Their language is distinctly Shan, but it is a peculiar dialect and they have some difficulty in making themselves understood by the others of their race in the neighbourhood. They say they do not know why they came here and that they are the only Chiang-hsi Shans[1] in this part of the country. But they are quite positive that they did come from Chiang-hsi, which they describe as being three months' journey away.

That night we slept at the Lo-lo village of Na-ku and the next day, the 4th April, an easy march brought us into Ssŭ-mao.

[1] The Chung-chia of Kuei-chou are stated to be a mixture of Shan and Chinese, their ancestors on the Chinese side of the family having been soldiers who were natives of Chiang-hsi. It is possible that the villagers of Man-mu are Chung-chia who have emigrated here, but they did not tell me that they came from Kuei-chou.

000 S [137] S P 563 P 197

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A crowded street in Seū-mao

Photos by Major G. C. Rigby

Market in Seū-mao

[Face p. 96]

Plate XXII

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CHAPTER XII

SSŬ-MAO AND P'U-ÊRH.

The town and plain of Ssŭ-mao—A commercial centre—The famous P'u-êrh tea—Cotton—A treaty port—French travellers—A Tibetan caravan—The Ma-hei tribe—P'u-êrh—An official town—An uncivil official—A friendly Shan—Routes westward from P'u-êrh.

361 Ssŭ-mao T'ing was the first real Chinese town I had come across since leaving Mien-ning nearly six weeks before. It is built on the end of a low spur which runs down from the hills to the east of the plain and is surrounded by a 25 feet brick wall, about a mile in perimeter. Inside the city are some 1,300 houses, but the business quarter is in a large suburb of 1,700 houses outside the south gate. The plain is some 10 miles long by three miles wide, and is at an elevation of 4,800 feet. Like many other places in Yün-nan it was formerly a Shan state, and it is still known to the Shans by the name of Möng La.

438 245 It is, for Yün-nan, a large commercial centre, the trade being principally confined to tea and cotton, both of which commodities are brought from the Shan States which lie to the south. The tea, which under the name of P'u-êrh tea is famous for its good quality throughout the Chinese Empire, is grown in the hills from six to twelve marches south of the town, in the Chinese Shan State of Keng Hung, or Chiu-lung-chiang as it is called by the Chinese. The principal tea-growing centres that I could hear of are Yi-pang, Yi-wu, Yu-lo, Man-sa, and Man-la, all of which places are in Keng Hung territory to the east of the Mekong. The yearly output is estimated at 15,000 mule-loads, which would amount to some 900 tons. Its price averages about [434] three pounds for a rupee (1*s.* 4*d.*). The value of the annual export would then, if these figures are correct, amount roughly to 670,000 rupees, say £45,000.

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Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

A cotton caravan at Ssŭ-mao

Plate XXIII

[Face p. 97]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

438 274 The tea is made up into disc-shaped cakes some eight inches in diameter and one inch thick, weighing about 12 ozs. These cakes, which are called *yüan*, are then put together in packets of seven, placed one on top of the other, and done up with strips of the outer bark of bamboo. This packet is called a *t'ung*, and it is in this form that it is usually sold.

According to my informants, seven-tenths of the tea goes to Yün-nan Fu and is from there distributed over eastern Yün-nan, Ssŭ-ch'uan, and other provinces. A good deal of the remainder is sent to Ta-li and other places in western Yün-nan, and to Tibet.

438 248 As to the cotton I did not get any details, but the trade is certainly a large one. The principal cotton growing districts are in the Chinese Shan States of Keng Hung and Möng Lem, and the British Shan State of Keng Tung. The greater part of Yün-nan is too cold to admit of this crop being cultivated, and as the whole population is clothed in cotton material, the trade in this commodity is one of the 438 largest and most necessary in the province. Much of it comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan, whence it is imported both in the raw form, in yarn, and in cloth. Much Manchester and Indian yarn and some cloth also comes into the province from the Yangtze, from Bhamo, and from Mêng-tzŭ, the treaty port near the Tong-king frontier. But there is still a considerable trade in raw cotton from Burma *viâ* Bhamo, and from the Shan States *viâ* Ssŭ-mao. How long this import of the raw material will hold its own is a matter of doubt, as the superior convenience of the foreign yarn is making it yearly more popular, but there must always be a certain demand for raw cotton to be used in the padded coats so universally worn in cold weather.

000 I do not think that a railway or even a trade route has ever been proposed between Kun-long and Ssŭ-mao, but having been over this country by two different roads, I may say that I think a railway would be impracticable and useless, and I do not expect that there will ever be even a trade route. The country lying between these two places is very wild and mountainous, contains nothing that can really be called a town, and is sparsely inhabited, principally by hill-men who, whether Chinese or of other tribes, have

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000 few wants beyond the necessaries of life which they already possess. The Ssŭ-mao tea is not of a flavour to suit the European taste, and its sale will always be confined to China and Tibet, so there is no prospect of a trade in tea between Ssŭ-mao and Burma.

I do not suppose that anyone ever has or ever will make a trading journey between Kun-long and Ssŭ-mao, as the latter place is much more easily reached from Mêng-tzŭ by a mule road of 15 stages. As no one has ever proposed a road from Kun-long to Ssŭ-mao, these remarks may appear unnecessary, but I think in such a little known country negative information may be of use.

Since my visit Ssŭ-mao has been made a treaty port[1]. A French and an English consulate and a Chinese imperial maritime custom-house have been established there. I cannot imagine it will ever be of any use to foreign merchants, and I believe this has been found to be the case, as the two consuls have been withdrawn. However, much better information as to Ssŭ-mao and its trade than anything I was able to get together in the short visit I paid the place should be now available from consular and customs reports.

366 It was on the 3rd April that we arrived at Ssŭ-mao, and I halted there the next day to see something of the town. It is certainly a very busy place at this time of year, and the large market square in the southern suburb was full of mule caravans going out and coming in. The people I found exceptionally friendly, and I was not followed about by the usual mob of sightseers. I went to call on the officials and found them very civil too.

000 One of the mandarins told me that some French travellers were expected here very soon from Tong-king. He only knew their Chinese names, so it was difficult to guess who they might be. Long afterwards I found out that they were Prince Henri d'Orléans and his companions M. Roux and M. Briffaud, who were passing through Ssŭ-mao on a journey which ended in a fine piece of exploration of the very wild country that separates China from Assam.

[1] A "treaty port" in China is a place where foreign merchants are allowed to reside. It is not necessarily a port on the sea or even on a river, though it is only of recent years that there have been any inland "ports" away from navigable rivers.

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000 From Prince Henri's account of his travels they must have reached Ssŭ-mao the day after I left it.

On the 5th April we started northward for P'u-êrh. The road, which is fairly easy, crosses a range at 6,300 feet and descends to Na-k'o-li, where we slept. A Tibetan caravan of 300 or 400 mules, all laden with tea, was on the road going the same way as ourselves. They were natives of the Wei-hsi[1] district, and told me that there would be an unusual number of Tibetans at Ssŭ-mao that tea season as there was to be a big festival in Tibet the following year, when it would be necessary to make presents of tea to the Lamas. At night they fastened all their mules up very close together and had ferocious looking dogs on long ropes tied up all round to guard against thieves.

I found these men very pleasant, and subsequent experience proved that Tibetans in China and Chinamen in Tibet always are very friendly. No doubt the feeling of being isolated in the midst of strangers knocks some of their natural bumptiousness out of them. I have heard Englishmen in Rangoon expatiate on the pleasant manners of the Chinese. Perhaps they would think less of their manners if they had seen the Chinaman in his own country. It is, however, fair to add that a great deal of the apparent bad manners of the Chinese is unintentional. It comes natural to them, and they are not in the least aware that they are bad mannered.

563 291 On this march I came across a tribe which was new to me. They call themselves Pa-hawng, and the Chinese name for them is Ma-hei. They are distinguished from other tribes as usual by the women's dress, which consists of a short black jacket with silver ornaments hanging down over it from their necks, and black trousers reaching down to the knee. They plait their hair into a pig-tail and wear no sort of head-dress. The married women have a piece of cloth round their waists which hangs down over their trousers[2]. Their language is of the Lo-lo type.

631 On the 6th April 12½ miles of a road, which would be good if it was not paved, brought us into P'u-êrh Fu, the most important official town, as Ssŭ-mao is the chief

[1] Lat. 27° 10′, long. 99° 10′.

[2] See Plate LXXII, facing p. 394.

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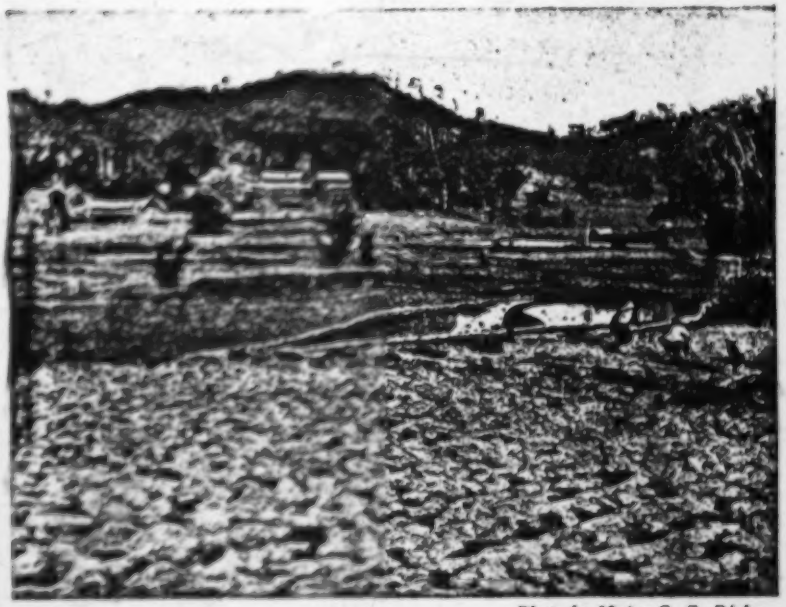

Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

Na-k'o-li

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Shans at Wei-yüan T'ing

[Face p. 100]

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631 commercial town, of this part of Yün-nan. It is surrounded by the usual wall and is said with its suburbs to contain 1,300 houses. It is the residence of the *Tao-t'ai* of one of the five administrative divisions of the province of Yün-nan, and also of a *Chên-t'ai* or General, but as a trading place it is of very small importance. Merchants usually avoid a town where there are mandarins of high rank. They prefer to live in a place of less position from an official point of view, where they will be less liable to be "squeezed."

000 I halted a day at P'u-êrh and went to call on the *Tao-t'ai* and *Chên-t'ai*, who were both very civil. On going, however, to the *Fu*, he had the rudeness to give me a seat on his right hand, a grave breach of Chinese etiquette, by which a visitor is always given the place of honour on the left. Not content with this, he proceeded to ask questions of my interpreter about me instead of speaking to me through the interpreter. There could be no doubt that his incivility was intentional, so I got up and left abruptly, plainly letting him see why I did so. The place one sits in seems a very trivial thing to us, but the Chinese attach great importance to such matters, and it does not do for the European traveller to be indifferent to these things. It could only have been meant as an insult, which it was one's duty to resent.

I must say I think this is the only occasion on which I found an official try this sort of thing on. A European passing through their district is of course always a nuisance to them and they cannot be expected to be really pleased to receive a foreign visitor, but I have usually found them outwardly quite civil.

After this I contented myself with sending my card to the rest of the mandarins. One of them, a colonel named Tao, came and returned my call. He was a Shan, not a Chinaman, and was of the family of the sawbwa of Möng Waw (Wei-yüan T'ing), but he had received a Chinese education and had made himself so useful to the Government that they had given him pretty high rank in the Chinese army. They have often made use of him when anything has had to be settled in Keng Hung or Möng Lem, and he has on two occasions come across our officials

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000 in the Shan States: in fact he had at the time just returned from meeting the Anglo-French Boundary Commission in Möng Hsing. Being a "barbarian," he had not the bad manners of the Chinese.

Having got to P'u-êrh I had seen the two roads leading from Kun-long to Ta-li and to Ssŭ-mao and P'u-êrh respectively. I had then intended to go through Shun-ning to Yung-ch'ang and then *viâ* Lung-ling to Bhamo. My orders, however, were to be back in Burma by the end of April or soon afterwards, and to make this round would have brought me well into June and into the middle of the rains. I decided therefore to take a road a little to the north of that by which I had just come, passing through Kêng-ma and thence to Bhamo by a somewhat roundabout route so as to keep in unexplored country as long as possible.

From P'u-êrh to Kêng-ma there are two roads, both meeting at Mêng-mêng. The shorter of the two passes through Mêng-chu and Mêng-pan, but this would lie very near the road by which I had just come. So I determined to take a somewhat longer and more northerly route *viâ* Wei-yüan and Mêng-ka, which would bring me through a country of which I had seen nothing before.

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CHAPTER XIII

P'U-ÊRH TO KÊNG-MA.

Road to Wei-yüan—A curiously built town—Salt wells—Mêng-ka—The Mekong at Ta-pêng ferry—The La-hus—Mêng-mêng—The P'u-mans—The Kêng-ma plateau—The sawbwa—Five-day markets—Variety of races—A native of Lucknow.

000 We left P'u-êrh on the 8th April, and reached Wei-yüan T'ing in five short marches. The country through which we passed is inhabited chiefly by Chinese with a few villages of Shans and Ma-hei. It is hilly of course, but perhaps the path is not quite so up and down as most Yün-nanese roads, though it certainly comprises an ascent of over 2000 feet from Mêng-nai to Yi-wan-shui, and a final descent of nearly 3000 feet into the Wei-yüan plain.

361 This town, which is called Möng Waw (i.e. mine country) by the Shans, is built in a plain some 12 miles long and three miles broad with the Nam Waw or Wei-yüan Chiang, a river some 80 yards wide but only three feet deep in the dry season, running down the middle of it from north to south.

The town is in three bits. First there is the original town, which is still surrounded by a brick wall but has now only a dozen small houses and one or two temples scattered about in it. Then there is the new town, which is built just to the north of and actually touching the old town, and is inhabited almost entirely by Shans, who form the bulk of the population of the plain.

Finally there is the Chinese quarter which consists of a temple and one street 500 yards long, built down close to the river bank. Here the Chinese officials and a few traders live. The reason given me for the abandonment of the old town was its unhealthiness, but why a new town built actually touching it should be more sanitary is difficult

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to understand. The place was originally a Shan state but has now become a *t'ing* under a regular Chinese official. 361

After my experience in P'u-êrh I had rather made up my mind to give up calling on officials, but the Wei-yüan *T'ing* came to see me himself soon after I arrived and was very friendly. The principal product of the place is salt. There are several mines in the valley of the Wei-yüan Chiang, and there is a good deal of trade in this commodity with the neighbouring districts. The elevation of the plain is about 3000 feet and the place is considered feverish by the Chinese. 317

Two more days crossing a range at 6,300 feet brought us on the 14th April to Mêng-ka[1], which, like Wei-yüan, was formerly a Shan state and still has a Shan sawbwa, though the place is now incorporated in the Wei-yüan district. The plain lies somewhat higher than that of Wei-yüan and, though some 15 miles long, is much cut up by rather high-lying ground, which cannot be irrigated and is uncultivated and covered with jungle. Mêng-ka is not a place of any importance, and there is little or no trade in it. The population of the place is Shan, but in the town itself there is a Chinese bazar village, and a few families of Panthays also live here. 000 563

I halted a day to rest the mules and left again on the 16th. Our road took us gradually up a range of 7000 feet, from which there is a magnificent view of the surrounding hills and of the course of the Mekong valley, which can be traced for a long way. The next day a very steep descent brought us to the Mekong which we crossed by a large punt-shaped ferry-boat to the mixed Shan and Chinese village of Ta-pêng or Ta-pong. The river is as usual shut in by very steep hills. It is about 100 yards wide, with a strong current and full of rapids, so much so that in the rains the ferry is sometimes impassable for a few days at a time. Probably this is also the case with other ferries over the Mekong. The height of the river at Ta-pêng is 2,800 feet. 000

On the 18th we had a very stiff piece of climbing, reaching the top of the range at 7,400 feet. From here the

[1] Möng Ka in Shan.

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000 road descends slightly and turns up another valley to the mixed Chinese and La-hu village of Man-nung[1], where there is an official with the rank of *Hsün-chien* and a guard of 10 Chinese soldiers. I put up in a good-sized temple, built to commemorate the names of the principal civil and military mandarins who took part in the fighting against the La-hus. At the time of my visit the La-hus had been completely subdued and there was no large Chinese garrison in this neighbourhood.

563 Two more days of hilly marching brought us to Mêng-mêng[2] on the 20th April. Since crossing the Mekong we had been again in a country in which the La-hus form the greater part of the population. This tribe is almost entirely confined to the tract between the Salween and the Mekong. Among them there is in this neighbourhood a sprinkling of Chinese and also some Was or Las. The Chinese and La-hus often live together in the same village, and the latter seem now quite reconciled to Chinese rule. Mêng-mêng is a Shan state which was formerly subject to Kêng-ma but is now practically independent, though they still pay a nominal tribute of gold and silver flowers. The plain is some seven miles long and inhabited by Shans except for one Chinese village, the people of which are emigrants from Ching-tung T'ing who came here five generations ago. The town is the largest Shan place anywhere in this neighbourhood and contains 400 houses. It is governed by a sawbwa who was at the time of my visit [241] a boy of 17. The plain is well cultivated and the people seem fairly well off, but their prosperity depends on their rice fields; there is little or no trade in the state.

We left the next day, some of the Shan officials very civilly riding out with me two or three miles of the way, and then leaving me an escort of 10 men to go on with us to Kêng-ma. We camped for the night at Ya-sai, a village [197] of 40 houses inhabited by Chinese and P'u-mans. These P'u-mans speak exactly the same language as the Las of this district, but they do not consider themselves as at all the same race as the Las, though they cannot offer any explanation as to how they have come to use the same language.

[1] Man-nawng is its proper Shan name.
[2] Möng Möng in Shan.

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language. The fact seems to be that the P'u-mans have 563
become so split up into small and isolated communities, that many of them have lost their own language. It was not till a subsequent journey in 1899 that I came across P'u-mans who had a language of their own[1].

On the 23rd April we arrived at Kêng-ma. The town 133
is built in a plateau, a most unusual formation for this part of Yün-nan, where one generally finds nothing but a series of ranges of mountains and comparatively narrow valleys. The plateau measures about 15 miles from north to south and half this distance across. To the east, separated from it by low hills, is the Nam Hpyit[2], while two other streams run across the plateau in a generally easterly direction and find their way through gaps in these hills into that river. It is along these two streams and their small tributaries [361]
that the greater number of the villages are situated, as they are here able to cultivate narrow strips of paddy. Most of the plateau consists of open grass land, lying too high to be irrigated and not much cultivated.

The town is pleasantly placed on rising ground, and 361
contains about 300 houses, built of mud or soft bricks. The climate is excellent, and I found it quite cool at this, the hottest time of the year, though the height is only 3,850 feet. The place seems prosperous, and there were a good many Chinese traders there, among whom I found the Panthay merchant whom I had seen in Yung-ch'ang[3]. He told me that since we last met he had spoken about the proposed railway extension to Kun-long to other traders, who all agreed that it would be an excellent thing for the trade of this part of China.

The sawbwa's son came to see me soon after my 622
arrival. Having reached the age of 25, he had now taken over the government of the state, his father retiring in his favour. This is an almost universal custom among Chinese Shans. The father, however, still remains the nominal head of the state, and the son is not recognised by the Chinese Government until the father dies. Kêng-ma is one of the largest and best governed Shan States in the province of Yün-nan.

[1] See p. 146. [2] Nan-p'i Ho in Chinese. [3] See p. 59.

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344 The next day I halted, and returned the sawbwa's call
366 in the morning. The palace was not a very imposing
438 structure but a new one was being built close to it. It was market day in Kêng-ma, and there was a very large attendance, including a good many Chinese traders selling cotton cloth, etc. Most of the European goods appear to come from Bhamo *viâ* Yung-ch'ang. The market is held every five days according to the almost invariable custom of Burma, the Shan States, and Yün-nan. Nearly the whole country-side comes into it to buy and sell, and on market day the roads are always crowded with people from the villages coming and going. It is an opportunity for them to display their best clothes, and in places where there are many different hill tribes the variety of costume is most picturesque.

563 In Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States, and probably in many other places, people of a dozen different races speaking a dozen different languages may be seen in one market place. The lingua franca by which they communicate with each other is generally Shan or Chinese or both, according to the locality. In Kêng-ma there was not any extraordinary variety of tribes. The people were chiefly Shans and Las, with a good many Chinese and a few La-hus. A native of India, a Lucknow Mahommedan, also came to see me. He was employed by the Pang-long Panthays to teach their children Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic. He told me he had been there three or four years and had a great many pupils, and that the rising generation would most of them know Hindustani.

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CHAPTER XIV

KÊNG-MA TO BHAMO *VIÂ* MANG-SHIH.

Route to Bhamo—The Nam Ting valley again—Lo-los who have become Chinese—Obstruction at Mêng-hung—A rabble army—The passport clears the way—The lawless population of Mêng-hung—The rebellion in Chên-k'ang—Basins with no outlet—The Salween at Han-kuai—Pin-ka and Hsiang-ta—The Mang-shih plain—A prosperous state—A travelled Shan—Supposed unhealthiness of the plain—Möng Chi—Möng Yang—Möng Hum—The Shan dread of Kachins—Through Kachin villages—The hospitable sawbwa of Ho-hsa—Wild strawberries—Telegraph office at Man-waing—Arrival at Bhamo.

FROM Kêng-ma the shortest way to Bhamo lies chiefly through Burmese territory, but it was no use wasting my Chinese passport by going over well-known ground. I decided therefore to strike off in a north-westerly direction to Mang-shih, and so round by Man-waing to Bhamo, thus keeping in unexplored country as long as possible.

Leaving Kêng-ma on the 25th April, we crossed a range at 6,550 feet, and after a 17 mile march camped at a little village a mile short of Mêng-chien, the place which we had passed through on the 2nd March. The next day we forded the Nam Ting, and for two days marched through a hilly country inhabited by people who are really Lo-los by origin, but have taken to Chinese customs and now use the Chinese language even in talking to each other. We were now in the territory of a sawbwa whose state is called Chên-k'ang by the Chinese and Möng Cheng by the Shans. At the boundary the Chên-k'ang people had built a small fort commanding the road, with a garrison of 10 or 12 Chinamen to keep bad characters from entering their country. We camped at Lung-cha, a place where roads branch off to the town of Chên-k'ang and to Mêng-hung. I was taking the latter route, so my Kêng-ma escort left me here to go on to

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000 Chên-k'ang and get fresh men sent across from there to meet me. The next day nine miles of very hilly going brought us to Ma-li-p'ing, a large village at an elevation of nearly 7000 feet, and consequently quite cool, almost cold in fact.

On the 29th I sent on early to Mêng-hung[1] to say I was coming, and about two miles short of the town I found a man waiting in the road. He had been sent out to ask me to go round by Chên-k'ang, as there were a lot of soldiers in Mêng-hung who had just returned from an expedition against some rebels. This would have meant a detour of two or three days, so I told him I could not do so and went on towards the town. My interpreter and myself rode on ahead of the mules, and soon came on the victorious army, a miscellaneous rabble of Las, Shans, and Chinamen, armed with guns and spears. An individual, who appeared to be some sort of officer, was sitting in the road and told us we could not go on, as the town was full of soldiers. I asked him who he was, but not getting any particular answer, rode on. He then followed us and said that if we persisted in going on he would get his men together and stop us by force. We took no notice of him and rode into the town without anyone hindering us. The proper headman was said to be away in Chên-k'ang, but finally an old man was produced. I showed him my passport, but no one had learning enough to read it, so my interpreter read it to them. After some consultation in their own La language they produced two men as guides, one of whom was half or three-quarters idiotic. Both of them said they did not know the way, so I went on without them, and told the old man I should report to the Chinese officials that I had shown my passport and been refused guides. I then looked round for the man who had threatened to stop us entering the town, but found he had disappeared about the time of the reading of the passport. We had no difficulty in finding the road by asking people we met, and we slept in a Chinaman's house at the village of K'a-fang.

[361] 563 Mêng-hung is a place of about 100 houses, surrounded by a wall. Its population is chiefly La, but there are a

[1] Mong Hom is the proper Shan name of this place.

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good many Chinamen living there too, and most of the 563
people appear to talk both languages. They are well
known as the biggest blackguards in this part of Yün-nan, 579
and many of them are wanted by the Chinese Government for murders and other crimes, but the country is so little under Chinese control that the officials are not very keen on trying to make arrests. On a subsequent journey I again had trouble at that very town[1], the only place in Yün-nan where I have ever encountered anything like organised opposition. Mêng-hung is in Chên-k'ang territory, but the sawbwa of the latter place finds it more than he can manage and has no real authority there.

The next day we reached Mêng-pun (Möng Pawn), a 361
Shan village of 40 houses, not to be confused with Mêng-p'êng (Möng Hpawng), a somewhat larger place a day's march off W.S.W. In the afternoon a man arrived who had been sent by the Chên-k'ang sawbwa to guide us on to Mang-shih. There had been a good deal of rain lately, and it fell heavily here at night.

The recent fighting from which the warriors I met at 669
Mêng-hung had just returned, was naturally the subject of conversation everywhere in this neighbourhood, and from enquiries made at different places I gathered the following as to its origin. About the year 1890 the late sawbwa of Chên-k'ang was going round his state, and while at the village of Ya-k'ou, which lies two or three marches south-west of the capital, he was murdered by his nephew Tao-lao-wu, who usurped the sawbwaship. He, however, only held it for a few days, as a Chinaman called Ma, who lives on the hills near Hsiao-mêng-t'ung (Möng Htawng), and is one of the principal head-men of the Chên-k'ang state, got some men together, marched on the capital, killed Tao-lao-wu, and dispersed his followers. The present sawbwa, who is the son of the murdered man, and was at that time only two years old, then became the nominal ruler of the state.

Since then the adherents of Tao-lao-wu had been constantly dacoiting in the western part of Chên-k'ang, near the Burmese border. The Chinese authorities accordingly

[1] See p. 136.

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669 gave orders that the sawbwas of Chên-k'ang, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, were to collect men and combine against the rebels. They seem to have been successful in dispersing them for the time, though I could not hear of much loss of life on either side. This is the story as given me, but, though there is nothing improbable in it, I will not be answerable for its correctness. A Chinaman always has a story to account for any circumstance he may be asked about, with an equally ready answer to any further questions that may be put to him.

133 The next day we continued our journey, crossing a range at 6,800 feet. On the top there are several basins, two of them of considerable size, with villages in them, the water of which has no outlet, the streams running into holes in the hills. In one of these, in which the village of T'ien-pa-chai is situated, the hole is not big enough to take all the water which comes down when the stream is swollen, so that in the rains a small lake is formed where it enters the hill.

On the 2nd May we had a steep bit of down-hill to the Salween, which is here 2,050 feet above sea level. We crossed it at Han-kuai ferry, which is just below the corner where the river begins to make its westerly bend. The Salween is here 120 yards wide with a strong current, and is crossed by one good-sized ferry-boat. The boatmen live at Han-kuai village, which is on the right bank, nearly 2000 feet above the river, up a very steep hill—an inconvenient arrangement for travellers arriving from the east, as they have to wait till the ferrymen choose to come. The usual custom is to fire a gun to attract their attention.

The next day a very hilly march, passing Möng Nawng[1], a small Shan plain with a swampy lake in it, brought us to Pin-ka, a plain five miles long, inhabited by Chinamen and under the jurisdiction of Lung-ling. Two more days of hilly marching in wet weather took us to Hsiang-ta, another little Chinese plain containing about 15 small villages, and on the 6th of May we descended to Möng Hkwan, an important Shan state, called Mang-shih by the Chinese.

The plain is watered by the Nam Hkwan, a tributary

[1] Mêng-nung in Chinese.

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Yang-jen-cn'ang, on the road from Nam-paung to man-waing

[Plate XXV]

[Face p. 112]

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753 men suffered from fever at all. These places are doubtless somewhat feverish, but the Chinese exaggerate their unhealthiness.

000 The next day we followed the plain down for some distance and then turned in a westerly direction over some grass land into Möng Chi, a district of Möng Hkwan lying along the narrow valley of the Nam Chi. The Chinese call it Hsien-kang.

On the 8th we climbed a range to a height of 6,500 feet, when at about nine o'clock it came on to rain very heavily, so, finding a large temple in the Chinese village of Ho-t'ou-ts'un, we stayed there for the night. On the 9th we descended to Möng Yang, another Shan district which forms part of the state of Möng Ti or Nan-tien. It consists of a plain seven miles long, lying along the valley of the Shweli, which is called the Nam Yang by the Shans in this part of its course. The river is here 60 yards wide, and is at this time of year easily fordable by men, but is just deep enough to wet the bottom of mule loads. Möng Yang is called Hsiao-lung-ch'uan by the Chinese; its height is 3,300 feet.

The next day we had a steep climb up a range 5,400 feet high and an equally steep descent to the valley of Möng Hüm, called Lo-pu-ssû-chuang or *the four turnip farms* in
231 Chinese, also a district of Möng Ti. This narrow plain we followed down for the rest of the day, passing numerous Shan villages full of large flocks of ducks and geese, which
000 feed in the sandy shallow bed of the Nam Hüm. We slept at Ung-lön, almost the last village in the plain. The headman here said he would give me no guide to Ho-hsa (Hu-sa) as the people were all afraid of the Kachins along the road. Luckily there happened to be two Ho-hsa men sleeping in the same monastery at Ung-lön, and I had no difficulty in getting them to act as guides, as they were going the same way themselves. Our road climbed to a height of 6,350 feet, passing the large Kachin village of Pang-sang. On top of the range is a lot of open grass land, and the road winds about in this for some miles, till the Möng Wan[1] plain comes in sight below. The road,

[1] Called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese, or sometimes Ta-lung-ch'uan to distinguish it from Hsiao-lung-ch'uan (Möng Yang).

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000 however, does not go down to it, but turns in a more westerly direction to Ning-kram, a Kachin village of the Maran tribe. The Kachins were somewhat surprised, as they naturally did not expect to see a European travelling about here, but I had no difficulty in convincing them that it was quite a friendly visit. The last time we had come across Kachins was on the 11th January, the day that we marched into Chan-hsi (San-si). This race is only met with near the Burmese border; they do not extend any distance into the interior of Yün-nan.

487 Our road the next day crossed the Nam Wan a mile or two above the head of the Möng Wan plain and then passed over another range of hills into the Ho-hsa valley. I had sent on to say I was coming and was most hospitably received by the sawbwa, who was then living in his old [136] capital at Se-kow. I found a good many spot-billed duck in the flooded rice fields here and also saw one snipe.

I could not spare the time to accept the sawbwa's invitation to stay on here a day or two, and started again the next morning, accompanied for part of the way by his eldest son. The range between the Nam Wan and the [137] Taping is crossed at 7,400 feet. Here I found a very nice sort of white wild strawberry growing, quite different from the tasteless red variety that one usually finds in this country. We descended into the Taping valley and crossed the river at Nawng-hsai ferry: it is 500 yards wide here, but at this time of the year not more than half the bed has any water in it and it is shallow enough to be fordable. We slept the night at the Shan monastery at Man-waing [200] or Man-yün. Since my last visit, telegraphic communication had been established by Mr Jensen between T'êng-yüeh and the Burmese frontier, and I found a telegraph station established here and was once more in touch with the outside world.

On the 15th of May we reached the frontier fort of Nam-paung, and in two more marches did the 32 miles which separate this post from Bhamo.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Wallis-Jones

A Shan village in the Kan-si plain

[Face p. 114]

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CHAPTER XV

BHAMO TO T'ÊNG-YÜEH.

Expedition to survey railway line—Division of our parties—Leave Bhamo—The Taping valley—Chan-ta—Kan-ngai—Nan-tien—Tibetan beggar pilgrims—Hostile reception at T'êng-yüeh—Refuge in the yamen—Calls on officials—The use of long nails—Meet my old interpreter—Causes of hostility of mob—Effectually quieted by the officials—Longitude by telegraph—Climate of T'êng-yüeh.

000 It was not till 1898 that I got another opportunity of travelling in Yün-nan. The importance of railway communication in China had by this time begun to be recognised, and the Yün-nan Company had been formed with sufficient capital to make a preliminary survey, to test the practicability of a line from Burma to the Yangtze. By an arrangement with the Government, British officers were to be employed in this work, and I was asked to take charge of the expedition.

We were divided into two parties. Captain E. Pottinger, R.A., with Lieutenant C. G. W. Hunter, R.E., and Mr Tucker, went to Shanghai, and ascending the Yangtze began the survey from the eastern end of the proposed line. Lieutenant W. A. Watts-Jones, R.E., and myself started from Burma and worked eastward. Mr J. Turner and Mr J. S. Ker, two civil engineers working for the Yün-nan Company, also belonged to our party; and the Survey of India, besides supplying us with four surveyors, also sent out Captain C. H. D. Ryder, R.E., with a survey party.

Watts-Jones and I arrived in Burma early in November 1898, and it was arranged that Turner and Ker, who had some other work to do first, should meet us near Kun-long ferry at the end of December. My former interpreter not being available, I engaged a new man—Huang-hsin-chai by name.

Ryder, Watts-Jones, and myself all left Bhamo together on the 16th November and went by the usual road to

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000 Man-waing[1]. The trade along this route is fairly large in the cold season, and we passed some 500 mules, loaded chiefly with walnuts, chestnuts, pears, dried figs, and a little silk and tobacco.

From Man-waing on to T'êng-yüeh is a well-known road, previously traversed by several travellers, and described in detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, though the learned doctor gets rather mixed in his names of places.

Ryder and Watts-Jones took the main road which crosses the Taping by one of the numerous ferries over this part of its course, and goes up that river's left bank. I took a somewhat longer route round by Chan-ta[2] where I was hospitably entertained by the sawbwa, and rejoined the rest of the party at Chiu-ch'êng (Old city), the former capital of the Kan-ai[3] state. The present town is off the main road in between the two branches of the Taping just above where they join. Here lives the long-bearded sawbwa with whom we had been so friendly on our expedition to find the boundary "gates," and I was sorry I could not spare the time to go and see him.

133 Our route so far, after leaving Man-waing, had lain
[361] through a plain several miles wide, well cultivated with rice fields, and full of prosperous Shan villages, the part on the right bank of the Taping being Chan-ta territory, and that on the left bank Kan-ai. The capital of the latter state is near the head of the plain, and above this, steep bare hills close in on the Nam Ti, the Shan name for the eastern Taping, the valley of which the road follows up.

In fifteen miles or so the valley again opens out into the comparatively narrow plain of Möng Ti, or Nan-tien
[563] as the Chinese call it. This is also a Shan state, but the climate being cool enough for Yün-nan Chinamen to live in, they are gradually settling there, and the population is
[63] now nearly as much Chinese as Shan. The sawbwa rules a large extent of territory including Möng Yang and Möng Hüm, and I believe he is also in charge of Chan-hsi, though of this I am not quite certain.

000 In this plain we passed an encampment of wandering

[1] See p. 30. [2] San-ta in Shan. [3] Möng Na in Shan.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Wade-Jones

Iron-chain bridge over the Nam Ti

Plate XXVII

[Face p.116]

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200 Tibetans who had apparently come out on a religious pilgrimage, binding themselves to get their living by begging. In this they seemed to have been very successful, as many of them were walking about with ducks under their arms. The same day we met my old friends P'êng and Colonel Liu, who had been with Mr Warry and myself on our first trip through Yün-nan. They were on their way to Nam-paung to meet our boundary demarcation party.

After leaving the Nan-tien plain our road still lay up the Nam Ti valley, but over an open rolling down country, crossing the river twice by stone bridges, and finally descending slightly into the town of T'êng-yüeh.

579 186 Here a very warm reception awaited us. Our baggage and servants had got ahead, and we found them surrounded by a hostile mob. The innkeepers had absolutely refused to let them in, and our Shan escort of two of the Nan-tien Sawbwa's men were naturally afraid to do anything in the face of a crowd of Chinamen.

Guided by one or two of the more friendly of the inhabitants we made our way towards the *T'ing's* yamen[1]. Our road lay right through the middle of the town, so getting the mules and servants in front of us, Ryder, Watts-Jones and myself came on behind as a rear-guard. The mob, increasing every moment, followed us, yelling, hooting, and throwing stones. When they pressed us too closely, we three who were riding would turn round and charge them. We had the satisfaction of catching one or two of them over the head and arms with our sticks, but they were wonderfully quick in getting away and the whole street would for a moment be almost clear, the people having disappeared into houses or down side streets. Then each time, as we turned round and went on after our mules, they would reassemble almost as quickly as they had vanished, and stones and bricks would again begin to fly about. In this somewhat unpleasant fashion we rode through T'êng-yüeh, and were very glad to reach a temple inside the *T'ing's* yamen where we were safe from the mob and found accommodation for ourselves and our animals.

We had I think all been hit by stones, but no one was

[1] i.e. the district magistrate's house.

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579 seriously hurt. The affair was not an organised riot, as they
186 did not know we were coming. It may be taken in fact more as a way of showing their dislike to those who have had the misfortune not to be born Chinamen, and as an expression of opinion that foreigners would be better advised to stay in their own country. Still this sort of thing may easily grow into more serious rioting, and I am strongly of opinion that Governments should take notice of even the smallest incidents of this kind where their subjects are the victims of attack by Chinese mobs.

It was unfortunate that our baggage had got ahead of us. Had we been there ourselves and insisted on being let into the inn, breaking in by force if necessary, we should have had no further trouble. A show of physical force at the outset is very effective in dealing with Chinamen. This is the only time that I have been stoned in a Chinese town, and in most places in Yün-nan the mob though inquisitive are not actively hostile.

Soon after our arrival my friend Yang-fa-yung who had on my previous journey met me at Mien-ch'ing, came to see us. He apologised for the conduct of the mob, said that he would have protected us if he had known we were coming, and that orders had been given out which would ensure us from any recurrence of such a thing. The loud voice and bluff military manner which this gallant officer assumed as in keeping with the character of a soldier, caused us much amusement.

The next day we called on the *T'ing*. We found him very civil and friendly and he apologised for the occurrences of the day before. He treated us to sweet biscuits and green chartreuse, so he is evidently making progress in his knowledge of Western customs!

302 What most struck my two companions, both new to China, was the length of his nails which, according to the custom of the literary classes, had been allowed to grow an inch or more beyond the tips of his fingers, to indicate that he was under no necessity to do any work with his hands. This custom may appear to us somewhat inconvenient, but we were soon to learn that it has its uses, for a fly having fallen into Watts-Jones's chartreuse, our host dipped his nail into the glass and deftly scooped it out!

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The T'êng-yüeh mandarin and his children

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Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A quiet street in T'êng-yüeh

Plate XXVIII

[Face p. 118]

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000 Staying with the *T'ing* I was very glad to find Wang, who had been magistrate at Shun-ning when I passed through there three years before, and had done much to help me in finding a road to Kun-long. He was now governing the neighbouring district of Lung-ling.

In the afternoon Ma-ko-li, my former interpreter, came to see me. He was employed in the Northern Shan States and was at the time on leave in T'êng-yüeh. He believed the hostility of the lower classes of T'êng-yüeh to be due to the recently concluded treaty by which that place was to be opened to foreign trade. The traders and mule drivers have an unfounded, but perhaps not unnatural, idea that the bread will be taken out of their mouths by foreigners. Their natural mistrust of everything foreign prevents their seeing that an increase of trade is likely to bring more work and more prosperity to all classes. We also heard that some European travellers who had passed through T'êng-yüeh in the last year or two had made themselves unpopular, but probably the said travellers have another side to the story.

We halted two days in T'êng-yüeh and walked about the town accompanied by a single policeman, without any molestation and without being even followed by a crowd, so the mandarin's orders had evidently been effectual. In the evening Ryder went to the telegraph office to take a longitude. He had previously arranged with Captain Pirie of the Survey of India to be ready at Bhamo for this purpose. A longitude taken by telegraph from some fixed point is more accurate than one obtained by any purely astronomical means. Latitudes are easily obtained with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes, but the determination of longitudes in countries that have not been triangulated is always a difficulty.

The mode of operation was as follows. First four observations, each of three stars to the west and three to the east, were taken with a theodolite to get the error of the watch. Then six series of five taps on the telegraph instrument were sent from each end, the exact time of sending and receiving each tap being carefully noted both by sender and receiver. To complete the operation six more stars were observed to again get the error of the watch, and thus, by noting its rate of gaining or losing, to

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000 find the exact time at the moment of the mean of all the taps. The difference between the mean of the times of sending the taps and the mean of the times of receiving them would, when corrected for the error of the watches, give the difference of time, and therefore the difference of longitude.

Subsequently, in this and the following winter, we took the longitudes of several other towns and by thus getting a few fixed points have I hope added materially to the accuracy of the map of Yün-nan.

132 The climate of T'êng-yüeh at this time of year we found extremely pleasant. It froze every night and was quite cold all day. Should a railway ever be made from Bhamo, it would be easy to find an excellent sanatorium for the people of Burma in the neighbourhood of T'êng-yüeh.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE UPPER SHWELI AND THE SALWEEN.

We split up and take different roads—Our surveying instruments—Hsi-lien—Good climate and beautiful country—A sheep and mule breeding village—Potter's wheel—Iron works—"Foreign devil"—The Hsi-lien plateau—Ma-li-pa—Iron mine—The Li-sos—Wolves—Ming-kuang—Lead and copper mines—The Shweli Valley—Description of bridge—Paper making—Mat making—A practicable line from T'êng-yüeh to the Shweli—Robbers and poisonous grass—A high pass—A mountain monastery—The Salween at Mêng-ku ferry—Variety of races—A fine view—The sleeping Buddha Temple—Chinese Buddhism—Arrive at Yung-ch'ang Fu.

000 It is naturally very much more pleasant to travel about China with companions of one's own race than to make the journey alone, but we felt that by keeping together we should only see a very small part of the country. Our object, besides finding the railway line, was to see as much as we could of the resources and means of communication of the province, and it was only by splitting up and taking different roads that we could make the best use of our time.

Watts-Jones naturally wanted to get on to the proposed railway line as soon as possible, so he started for Yün Chou. Ryder was to go with him as far as Yung-ch'ang and from there probably separate. I decided to go and look at Hsi-lien and Pei-lien, two districts north of T'êng-yüeh which were quite unexplored. Surveyor Lachman Jadu accompanied me.

We all used plane-tables and no objection to our surveying was ever offered by either officials or people. We carried sextants or theodolites to take the latitude by astronomical observations, and we each had a boiling-point thermometer and two aneroids to determine heights. For measuring the distances traversed we each took a solid-tyred bicycle wheel with a cyclometer attached to it and

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fitted with a handle to wheel along the road. These wheels 000
we found most accurate and satisfactory, and we all used them throughout our two seasons of surveying. Spare cyclometers had to be carried as they wear out in time.

On the 29th November I left T'êng-yüeh by the west gate and crossing a bare ridge by a low gap between two conspicuous peaks, descended into the fir-woods of the plateau country of Hsi-lien.

We slept at Mu-shui-ho, and found the country people extremely civil, a pleasant contrast to the T'êng-yüeh mob. One old gentleman was particularly communicative and offered to be my guide the next day to the mule and sheep breeding village of Lu-ts'ung-shan. We had a beautiful 361
walk there in the morning over undulating ground through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, the properties of different families being marked off by stone walls. The [245]
villages are quite hidden away in trees—peach, walnut, chestnut, plantain, golden bamboo, and the *tsung-pao* palm[1]. If a railway is ever made to T'êng-yüeh this plateau ought to become the hill station of Burma. Situated at 6000 feet above the sea in a beautiful well-watered country, I can imagine no more pleasant contrast with the scorching sun of Mandalay or the hot mugginess of Rangoon.

The simple villagers of Lu-ts'ung-shan I found rather 231
timid at first, frightened either of me or of the Chinese 438
soldier who accompanied me. But a more talkative man soon appeared. The sheep, it seems, are worth about two taels each (five rupees, or 6*s.* 4*d.*), and they use their wool for making rugs. They have tried taking the sheep to sell at Bhamo, but say that it does not pay. They cannot stand the warmer climate and want of grass in the Taping valley, and many of them die on the way. At present the mutton for Burma all comes from India, but with a railway to T'êng-yüeh, the want could no doubt be supplied from Yün-nan. The mule breeding here does not seem to be on a large scale. They get their donkeys from the province of Shen-hsi, and pay as much as 80 or 100 taels for them, a large price in this part of China.

Agricultural pursuits are not the only occupation of the 463

[1] See p. 77.

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A house in the Hsi-lien district

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Shweli near Kai-t'ou

Plate XXIX

[Face p. 122]

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463 people of Hsi-lien, for in the afternoon at the village of Wan-yao I found pottery works and a manufactory of iron
323 pans. The potter's wheel was made of one round stone revolving over another. The upper stone has a piece sticking up at the top and round this piece the clay is put. The potter then makes the stones revolve by working a treadle with his foot, and at the same time forms the clay with his hands. In three or four minutes he made a plate and two different sizes of cup. When the moulding is finished the things are put out in the sun to dry. Then comes the glazing. This process I did not see, but it was explained to me as follows:—The glazing stuff is made of rice husk and lime mixed together and heated and then mixed with water. Into this mixture the cups are put and are then baked in a kiln. The result is a greenish coloured glaze.

326 I then went on, accompanied by several villagers, to the iron works. Here they had a cylindrical-shaped furnace, three feet long and one foot in diameter, in which the iron
[376] was placed to melt. An ingenious use had been made of a little stream which flowed past the shed, to turn a horizontally placed water-wheel which worked the bellows for the furnace. Two pan-shaped clay moulds are then taken and one is fastened tightly down over the other, both with the convex side uppermost. The furnace is then tilted up a little so that the melted iron runs into a ladle, by means of which it is poured into a small hole in the upper mould, so that it fills up all the space between the two. It is left for a minute to solidify, and then the topmost mould is taken off and the pan that has been thus formed put on one side to cool.

186 While I was looking at this, one of the villagers came running up, grinning all over, and shouted out, "Is this a foreign devil?" He was immediately silenced by the others, and one could not take offence where evidently none was meant. The fact is that Chinamen among themselves nearly always allude to us as "Yang kuei-tzŭ," "Sea devil" or "Devil from across the sea," and many ignorant villagers would be puzzled to find any other name by which to call a European. The origin of this expression, I believe, dates from the first Chinese war of 1842. The Chinese

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186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. [376] The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

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327 when hardened by repeated heatings in the furnace it is made into hatchets, hoes, and tripod stands for cooking-pots.

563 To the north of T'ien-t'ang-kuan is a very interesting country inhabited by the Li-so tribe, which I should much have liked to explore. This race I have found scattered over a very wide extent of country, as far south as the Siamese border, and as far north as the Tibetan parts of Ssŭ-ch'uan and north-western Yün-nan. In the Kachin Hills and the Shan States they are split up into very small and scattered communities, living usually on the very tops of the hills. They originally occupied a good deal of the country to the west and north of T'êng-yüeh, and I have little doubt that the Chinamen of Hsi-lien and many of the neighbouring districts have more Li-so blood in them than Chinese. At present the only district in which the Li-sos form the bulk of the population seems to be the Salween valley from about Lat. 25° 30′ up to Lat. 27° 30′. Their language is closely connected with that of the Lo-los, and they are no doubt a branch of this widely-spread race. I have always found them, like the Lo-los, extremely pleasant and friendly.

Li-so is the Chinese name for this tribe. They call themselves Li-su, and the Kachins know them as Yaw-yen. In T'ien t'ang-kuan they now live on very good terms with their Chinese neighbours, but the remains of a wall round Ma-li-pa and an old two-storied stone tower close by suggest that there was a time when things were not so peaceful. Now-a-days the only enemies of the villagers are wolves, which they say hunt in large packs and will kill even big animals, such as ponies and cattle.

From Ma-li-pa I turned eastward, crossed a range at 8,700 feet by an extremely steep ascent and an equally abrupt descent, rendered more difficult by a drizzling rain. This brought us into the Ming-kuang plain which runs down the Mo-lo Ho in a valley half a mile wide.

328 We slept at the village of Hsiao-hsin-kai, and I found [316] men smelting lead close by. The lead is found in sand and this sand is first washed in a place prepared for the purpose in a small stream. The heaviest part of it which sinks is then taken away and smelted in the furnace. Both lead and

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copper are found in many places in the hills round the Ming-kuang valley, but the miners say it is very uncertain work. They sometimes are lucky and make a lot of money. At other times they do not get enough to pay for the license which they have to get from the Government. 328

From Ming-kuang, still keeping eastward, we crossed another range by an extremely bad road and reached the Shweli (Lung Chiang) valley. We crossed that river by a type of wooden bridge which is fairly common in Yün-nan. On each bank is a stone pier from which wooden props stick out at an upward angle of about 30°, supported partly by posts from below, and partly by two iron chains from above. A wooden roadway resting on these props stretches out some way across the river from each bank, and the middle part of the bridge is made of five whole trees laid across from the props on one side to the props on the other side.

The river is here some forty yards wide and may be considered as the main branch of the Shweli, though the Mo-lo Ho on which Hsiao-hsin-kai lies is not very much smaller. The Shweli valley in all this part of its course has only a very narrow strip of flat rice fields, but the slope to the hills on the east is very gradual for a breadth of two or three miles, and here there are many villages and a great deal of bean cultivation.

We slept at the large village of Kai-t'ou, the centre of a paper-making district. The paper is of the sort called *pai chih, white paper*, or sometimes *p'i-chih, bark paper*, and is manufactured out of the bark of the *kou* tree, a sort of mulberry, I believe. The bark is first steeped for a day, then boiled with lime, then washed to remove any particles of lime that may adhere to it. It is then pounded with heavy pestles, and the finest pieces are picked out and mixed with water in a large tub to form the pulp. A frame made of very finely split bamboo is then dipped in the water so that a little of the pulp sticks to the top of it. The frame is turned over on to a heap of sheets of paper and the pulp off it when dried becomes the soft white paper, which the Chinese use for writing on. 289

The next day travelling southwards down the Shweli valley we came to the village of Wa-tien which is the centre

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289 of another paper-making industry of a different kind. This is the *ts'ao chih* or *grass paper* as the Chinese call it, though it is really made of bamboo. The bamboo used is a small variety and only the young branches and shoots can be employed. The process is much the same as that just described except that the whole bamboo branch, not its bark only, is used. The sheets are finally pressed between boards and then dried in the sun. This *ts'ao chih* is a coarse brown paper only used for wrapping things in.

285 Still keeping down the Shweli we reached Ch'ü-ch'ih where we found yet another sort of manufacture going on. This is the making of a kind of mat which is famous in this part of China for its softness. They are made of a sort of thin reed. The process is carried out by two persons with a framework of strings stretched vertically. One man catches each piece of reed with a cleft stick and pushes it horizontally through all the strings, alternately under and over. As each reed is put in, the other man presses it down with a piece of wood which runs down the strings, so as to get it tight down on the reed below it.

000 From Ch'ü-ch'ih we went on still in a southerly direction over the range which separates the Shweli from the T'êng-yüeh plain. We had while in T'êng-yüeh noticed a low gap in the N.E. corner of the plain and I was anxious to examine it, as, if a railway was ever made to T'êng-yüeh, this gap would seem to be the best means of extending it further.

I found it fairly practicable, and a line could no doubt be made over it, but I do not think there would be any prospect whatever of a further easterly extension. I look on this part of the range between the Shweli and the Salween as an absolute bar to a railway. There would remain the chance of an extension down the Shweli valley to Nam-kham, but it would be by no means all plain sailing, as the numerous small tributaries of this river, with steep little spurs between them, not to mention occasional gorges, would entail much work in bridging and levelling.

From the T'êng-yüeh plain we turned back northwards and crossing to the left bank of the Shweli returned to Kai-t'ou by a slightly different road from that by which we had come. On our way down I had been obliged to leave

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my Chinese servant behind here as he was suffering from bronchitis and fever, brought on, I believe, by the rainy, misty weather which is most unusual at this season of the year. I found him quite recovered.

I now turned towards Yung-ch'ang Fu, but determined to keep in unexplored country by taking a route some way to the north of the T'êng-yüeh Yung-ch'ang main road. The mountain range which separates the Shweli from the Salween valley is here a very high one, nearly precipitous at the top so that there are only a few paths across it. I decided to take one known as the Ma-mien-kuan pass. This being rather an out-of-the-way road, I had all the usual stories told me to try and dissuade me from going that way. The tales this time took the form of accounts of the deeds of Li-so robbers and a description of a sort of poisonous shrub which would kill the mules if they ate it. This last has, I believe, some foundation, as the shrub was pointed out to me on the pass, but I cannot imagine that animals would eat it if there was any grass to be got. The pass has evidently a bad name as I had great difficulty in getting a guide. Only one man would come, and I had to pay him at the exorbitant rate of 10½*d.* a day.

It was not till the second day out of Kai-t'ou that we tackled the pass. From Shan-yao where we had slept, there is a pretty stiff climb to begin with, and then some down hill before the really bad part comes. In the last two miles there is an ascent of 2,500 feet to the top of the range, which I made about 10,500 feet above sea level.

Just before reaching the summit is a Buddhist monastery, where four or five Chinese monks live who give food gratis to travellers and look out for people who miss the road in the snow, which often falls heavily in January. They have a very substantial house, the lower story built of stone and the upper of wood. As a special favour I was taken into the inner court by the head monk, who said he did not usually let people inside. The door from one court to the other in the lower story is barred up by great beams, and to get in we had to climb a ladder, go round the upper storey, and get down again inside. This, they say, is a precaution against Li-so robbers. The monastery was extra-

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792 ordinarily dirty and so were the monks, but they certainly impressed me with their sincerity much more than the ordinary temple priest, who is often a great blackguard, and is usually held in no respect by his fellow-countrymen.

The descent on the eastern side of the pass was as bad as the ascent had been, and we had to go down 6000 feet to the village of Ssŭ-ling-kang before we could find any shelter or forage. We got in just after dark, our mules dead beat, having taken ten hours to do the march of fourteen miles.

The next day, the 16th December, we crossed the Salween at Mêng-ku ferry at an elevation of 2,550 feet, a drop of 8000 feet from the range we had crossed the day before. The river is here 100 yards wide, running with a current which precludes all idea of navigation. In some places the hills close right in on both sides, in other places there is half a mile or a mile width of rice cultivation. The valley has the warmer climate and denser vegetation of the Shan States—quite different from all the neighbouring [244] plains of Yün-nan. It is a mild enough climate to grow chillies, and it also produces persimmons which are sold dried like figs.

563 The population of this part of the country is small but varied. On the hills are Lo-los, Li-sos, and Chinese, while in the valley are Shans, and also Chinamen who most of them come from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yünnanese finding the place too hot and feverish. I do not think that the Shans extend up the Salween valley very much higher than this, for from all accounts one soon gets into a country ruled by semi-independent Li-so chiefs.

Four more marches through a very hilly country brought us to the top of the range which divides the Salween from its tributary, the Yung-ch'ang river. The road crosses it at 8,400 feet, and from the top is a fine view of range after range of beautiful mountains, the snow-capped Ts'ang 346 Shan, which overlooks Ta-li Fu, being clearly visible. We descended into the Yung-ch'ang plain and slept in a remarkable temple called the Shui-fu-ssŭ or Sleeping Buddha Temple. It is picturesquely placed at the foot of a jungle-covered spur with a piece of water in front of it. The inner shrine is a large natural cave, in which is the image

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of a sleeping figure from which the temple takes its name. 346

The walls were covered with inscriptions written up by different pilgrims, and I was surprised to find that many of them were written in Shan and even in Burmese. I imagine that this must be an old temple dating from the time when Yung-ch'ang[1] was inhabited by Shans. As a rule Burmans and Shans have very little respect for a Chinese temple. The degraded form of Buddhism practised by the Chinese does not appear to them anything like their own religion. They always speak of the Chinese as spirit-worshippers and do not consider them as fellow-Buddhists.

On the 21st December a few miles of level road brought us to Yung-ch'ang Fu, where we put up in an excellent inn.

[1] Wan-hsang is the Shan name for Yung-ch'ang. Probably the Chinese name is a corruption of this.

CHAPTER XVII

YUNG-CH'ANG-FU TO TAW-NIO AND KUN-LONG.

Through fir woods to Niu-wang—The Shih-tien plain—Yao-kuan—A temple of hideous images—Hilly going to Mêng-po-lo—Cotton grown—Mêng-p'êng—The Miao tribe—A crop of oranges—The British frontier post at Taw-nio—Meeting with Captain Johnson—No news of Turner and Ker—The Taw-nio district—The fort—Sport at Taw-nio—Theft by my servant—Kun-long—Tracking elephants—Arrival of Turner, Ker, and Scott.

000 LEAVING Yung-ch'ang by the south gate, we made two short marches through undulating country covered with fir woods to the large village of Niu-wang, where I found the inhabitants particularly inquisitive.

241 The next day our road lay through the very fertile plain of Shih-tien. This, like Yung-ch'ang and many other places in this part of Yün-nan, produces two crops in the year. The rice is harvested about October, and then the winter crops of opium, beans, peas, or wheat are put in. The Shih-tien plain also grows excellent tobacco and sugar-
[346] cane. We slept in a fine temple with a nice flower garden, and the walls ornamented with realistic pictures of the punishments in the Buddhist hell. The Hsün-chien, the small official here, was very friendly, and the people consequently as civil as they had been the reverse at Niu-wang.

From the Shih-tien plain an ascent of 1000 feet brought us on to a plateau country, with little hills covered with fir trees rising out of it 200 or 300 feet above the general
[241] level. In the hollows between these run little streams, along which are narrow strips of rice cultivation and a few scattered villages. At night we reached Yao-kuan, a large village, whose inhabitants allow their sense of curiosity to get the better of any small stock of manners that they may ever have possessed. We slept here in a temple which possesses the finest collection of hideous images that I have ever come across. [p. 130]

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We had two more days of hilly walking, with occasional glimpses of the Wan-tien plain below us to the east, and then turning in a westerly direction we went down 3000 feet to the little plain which the Chinese call Mêng-po-lo and the Shans Möng Maw. Here I pitched my tent in the courtyard of the Shan monastery which stands on the bank of the Yung-ch'ang river among magnificent trees.

This place lies at an elevation of 2,300 feet, and is not far above the river's junction with the Salween. The inhabitants are all Shans, and the plain very small and poor. It is only remarkable as being one of the few places in Yün-nan low enough to grow cotton. The crop is dependent on a good rainy season, and the amount produced is quite insignificant.

On the 27th December we forded the Yung-ch'ang river and had the usual stiff climb out of the valley. We travelled for three days over a very hilly country to Mêng-p'êng[1], a little plain containing three or four Chinese and one La village. There was also a recently constructed fort here with a small garrison of Chinese soldiers.

The country we had passed through between Mêng-po-lo and Mêng-p'êng is chiefly inhabited by Chinese and Lo-los, but we met on the road one day some people whose women I recognised by their white pleated kilts as belonging to the Miao tribe whom I had previously seen in the Southern Shan States. They told us there were only a few villages of their race in this neighbourhood, and that they had emigrated from Kuei-chou province thirty or forty years ago.

This tribe I have come across in many places scattered about Western China and the Shan States, though nowhere in very large communities. I have seen them as far north as the Tibetan State of Mi-li and as far south as Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States. Westward I have not heard of them beyond the neighbourhood of Taw-nio. All these people, I believe, originally come from the southern part of Kuei-chou province, where they still inhabit a large tract of country, ruled by semi-independent chiefs of their own race. Miao or Miao-tzŭ is the name the Chinese have

[1] Möng Hpawng in Shan.

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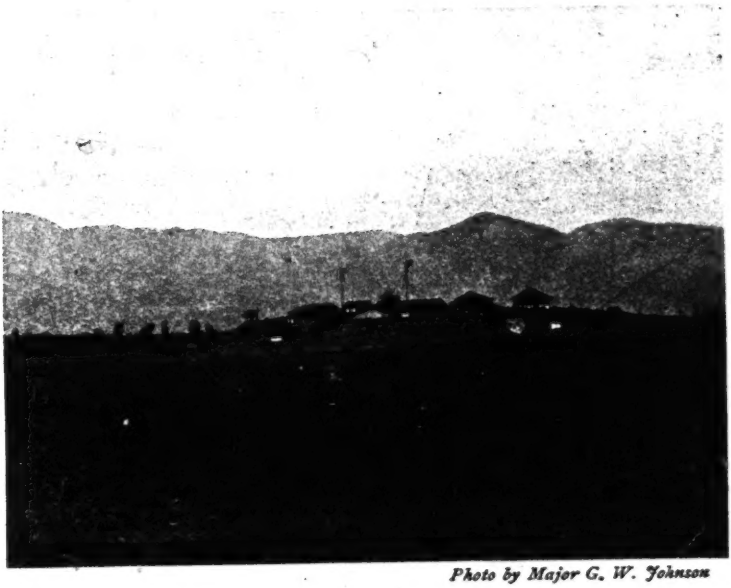

Photo by Major G. W. Johnson

Taw-nio Fort

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Ch'üan-kang ferry

Plate XXX

[Face p. 132]

563 given them, but they call themselves Mhong. I have always found them very pleasant and friendly.

From Mêng-p'êng it took us two days of fairly easy going through a country peopled chiefly by Shans and Las to reach Na-hsang, a Shan village just on the Chinese side [245] of the frontier. The village was full of orange trees, which were at this season covered with fruit—one of the prettiest crops conceivable.

000 The next day we crossed the boundary and reached Taw-nio, the British frontier fort, where I found Captain G. W. Johnson in command of the garrison of military police. Only those who have travelled alone in strange countries can fully understand what a pleasure it is to meet one of one's own race and talk English again. And indeed Captain Johnson himself had been leading as solitary a life as I had, for he was the only European in Taw-nio, and was dependent for his society on the rare visits paid by civilians or police officers from Lashio, the headquarters of the Northern Shan States, which lies 120 miles off to the west.

I fully expected to hear news here of Turner and Ker, but there was none forthcoming. It was of great importance that I should see them so as to arrange their future movements, so there was nothing for it but to wait till they came. I considered myself extremely fortunate in being able to make this enforced halt in a British fort and with such a pleasant host as Captain Johnson.

Taw-nio, or Ma-li-pa as the Chinese call it, is a frontier district which, though ruled by a Chinese chief, would have the strongest objection to being handed over to the Chinese empire. It forms part of the Shan State of Hsen-wi[1], and no doubt its inhabitants find that they have much more independence in their present position than they could hope for under Chinese officials, especially now that the mandarins have begun to interfere more and more in the affairs of the border States and to establish garrisons close to the British frontier.

The main part of Taw-nio consists of a grass plateau pleasantly dotted with patches of jungle. Villages are few

[1] Called Theinni by the Burmese, and Mu-pang by the Chinese.

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000 and small, but the population of the plateau and the surrounding hills is very varied, comprising Shans, Las, Chinese, Palaungs, Lo-los, Miao-tzŭ, and a few Kachins. The elevation is about 3,500 feet, and the climate, though not so cold as the more northern parts of Yün-nan, is pleasant enough. The population would doubtless be much greater if the country were not so dry, for much of the plateau is short of water and rice is consequently very little cultivated.

The whole plateau is some 12 miles long by four miles wide, and one of its most interesting features is that the streams which run across it find their way right through a range of limestone mountains, reappearing on the other side to fall into the Nam Ting.

The fort was of the usual type of the frontier posts of Burma. Lines of long-shaped huts for the sepoys, made of wood, with split bamboo flooring, and thatched with grass, the whole surrounded by a bullet-proof stockade.

The garrison was 75 men, a smaller number than would have been necessary among the Kachin population of the Bhamo frontier. For here in the Shan States there has never been much fighting. The Shans have a distinct aversion to any form of war, and it is only in the Wa country that there have been any hostilities to speak of. The Was have a rooted objection to strangers and have more than once given our small columns some trouble, but they do not appear to carry out their raids at any distance from their own hills.

For a time it was quite pleasant to have a rest and spend the day in shooting and reading newspapers. One could always go out in the afternoon and be pretty certain of getting something, and the game was quite varied. The Chinese francolin, the bamboo partridge, the grey quail, the Japanese quail, the jungle fowl, the pea-fowl, and in places a few teal and snipe were all to be found in the neighbourhood, and on one or two occasions we organised beats of the patches of jungle and killed a barking deer and saw sambur.

The truth of the old saying, "Idleness is the root of all evil," is nowhere more apparent than when the traveller is unfortunately compelled to make a long halt. The proverb

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000 was here exemplified by the conduct of my Chinese servant. He had served me well for two years in Burma and in India, and had been most useful in China, but the halt was too much for him. He took to drink, opium, and gambling, and was finally caught in the act of stealing my interpreter's property. I had no alternative but to get rid of him, and I imagined that being discharged in such an out-of-the-way place would be particularly inconvenient to him. Soon afterwards my pony and my cook's pony disappeared. The thief was never caught, but I have little doubt that my servant, Ma-chin-kuan, was the culprit. Annoying though the loss was, I could not help feeling some admiration for his daring method of extricating himself from his difficulties. A Chinaman is at his best when facing misfortune.

Soon after reaching Taw-nio I made a trip down to Kun-long with Captain Johnson. The distance is 28 miles, and we took two days to do it, ending with a very steep drop into the Salween valley. Kun-long had not changed in any way since my last visit. It still remains the same little Shan village buried in the jungle, with three shaky dug-outs on which to cross the river.

There is always a herd of elephants in this neighbourhood, and I spent three days after them, but with no success. The first day we did get on to the fairly fresh tracks of a tusker, but followed him a long way without getting any closer. On the other two days we did not find anything fresh enough to follow, though old tracks were abundant.

Pleasant though this life was for a time, I could not help feeling that I was wasting much valuable time in the best season of the year for travelling. Mr Turner and Mr Ker, who had been delayed from various causes, at length arrived, accompanied by Mr H. L. Scott, who had also been sent out by the Yün-nan Company to investigate commercial prospects. By the end of January we were ready to strike out into China again.

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CHAPTER XVIII

KUN-LONG TO YÜN CHOU *VIÂ* CHÊN-K'ANG.

Leave Taw-nio—A deserted village—A picturesque ferry—An up and down march—Stopped by armed men from Mêng-hung—Impervious to argument—Our final triumph—Chên-k'ang—A woman regent—A disorderly State—Snow-capped mountains—New Year's Day—Exorbitant wages—Variety of races—Shooting in Yün-nan—Nameless rivers—Yün Chou—A friendly mandarin—Sugar-making—The roads from Kun-long to Yün Chou.

On the 30th January I started off again with Mr Ker as my companion. We were making for Ta-li Fu, where we expected to hear news of Ryder and Watts-Jones, who had in December come down towards Kun-long, but had turned back northwards.

I had already been in 1895 along one road from Ta-li to Kun-long, so naturally took a different route this time in order to travel through unexplored country. The road we made up our minds to follow passes through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng) to Yün Chou, and from there, avoiding Shun-ning, goes more directly northward through Mêng-hua T'ing to Ta-li.

Our first march only took us back to Na-hsang, the place I had passed through on my way into Taw-nio. This village, which appeared quite prosperous a month before, we found almost entirely deserted. On enquiry we learned that some Chinese soldiers were expected there soon as escort to the boundary commission. No doubt these worthy villagers had had previous experience of Chinese troops and were determined to hide themselves and their property as much as possible.

From Na-hsang we turned off in an easterly direction and reached the Nam Hpawng at the village of Ch'üan-kang, which is inhabited by Buddhist Las. The little river

006 here runs between jungle-clad banks, and the scene at the ferry is most picturesque. A rope made of strong creepers is stretched across the stream and a small raft is fastened to this by a large ring, so that the ferrymen standing on the raft pull themselves along by hauling at the rope.

The crossing was not made without a little difficulty, for the ferrymen refused to move till they were paid in advance at an exorbitant rate. I applied the usual remedy of a tap or two on the back with my stick, and we got across without any further trouble except the unavoidable slowness of the process owing to the small size of the raft. From the ferry we had an ascent of 3000 feet in the first three miles, and some more hilly going after this to the Chinese village of T'ou-tao-shui.

The next day we experienced what was quite an extraordinarily up and down march even for Yün-nan. We first crossed a range which forms the boundary between the Chinese Shan States of Kêng-ma and Chên-k'ang, and after that we had three more distinct descents and ascents. We slept in a temple at Ts'ai-chia-chai, and could not help noticing the particularly obsequious manner of the head-man of the village, though we subsequently found that he had sent on messengers to Mêng-hung on purpose to get us stopped.

It may be remembered that Mêng-hung (Möng Hom) is the place which I had some difficulty in getting through in a former journey in 1895[1], so knowing the bad reputation of the people of this place, we rather expected to have some trouble. Our anticipations were not falsified, for after going a few miles we were met by fifteen or twenty men armed with guns, spears, and swords. Their leader, a villainous-looking Chinaman in a large bamboo hat, advanced and said he had orders from the head-man not to allow us to go by that road. We neither of us had our passports in our pockets, but we at once offered to undo our baggage and get them out. He said he did not care the least whether we had passports or whether we had not, that we might go round by Mien-ning or any other way we liked, but could not pass through Mêng-hung.

[1] See p. 108.

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I spent some time in arguing, asking whether the Mêng-hung *t'ou-jên*[1] or the Emperor of China, who had given us our passports, was the bigger man. Arguments and threats were alike useless. The man was not really uncivil, but was particularly obstinate and impervious to argument. He kept repeating "I have my orders and cannot depart from them." 000

"Will you shoot us if we go on?" I asked.

"No, I will not shoot you. I will simply make my men stop you."

I had some of the mules driven on to see how much in earnest he was, but they were immediately seized and stopped.

Finally we agreed to go back and camp at the village of A-a-shan, which was half a mile behind us. Arrived there, we had the passports read out, and our interpreters and the Mêng-hung men began a lengthy discussion which lasted into the evening. Our obstinate friend at length agreed to send a letter to the head-man telling him about the passports and asking for fresh orders.

A lot more men, Las and Chinamen, turned up in the course of the day, and I believe they had the greater part of the armed strength of Mêng-hung waiting for us a little further on in case we had attempted to force a way through. As Ker and I with our shot guns were the only armed men in the party, I need hardly say we had no intention of trying anything of this sort. Even apart from the hopelessness of forcing a way through a hostile country, I do not think a passport quite entitles one to do this, and I have always determined both in China and Tibet to use arms only as a last resort if actually attacked.

Some of these ruffians hung about our tents all day and even stayed on after dark, till we told them to be off, adding that we had loaded guns ready at night for the reception of thieves. They did not seem to appreciate this remark, but after a little hesitation they went, and we saw them no more. It is best to carry things with a high hand in China when one knows one is in the right.

The next morning some more men arrived, sent up by

[1] Head-man of a village.

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000 the head-man. They read our passports but did not appear particularly impressed with them, and said definitely that we could not pass through their territory. I told them we should go straight away to Mêng-p'êng, the nearest Chinese post, report to the officer there that the Emperor's passport had been disregarded, and come back with Chinese soldiers to punish them. They went outside and had another consultation and soon came back and said they had decided to let us go on. The threat of Chinese soldiers had won the day. Perhaps the Mêng-hung people had had experience of their ways.

We were very soon ready, much relieved to have got out of our difficulties. A downhill road took us past the town of Mêng-hung in about five miles. They were very anxious that we should not actually enter the town, and we did not press the point as I had already been there four years before and had found nothing so enchanting in it as to make me wish to visit it again.

Here to our great delight our friends left us, but we had not seen the last of them, for in the evening when we were settling down in a temple in the village of Man-kang, we were disgusted to see them turn up again. However it turned out that they had quite changed their tune. They appeared for some reason or other to be now frightened at what they had done, and were very apologetic.

On arriving at Ta-li Fu at the end of the month I reported the whole matter to the *tao-t'ai*[1]. He sent back an answer to say that Liu, the Mêng-hung head-man, was already wanted by the Chinese authorities for the murder of his brother and other crimes, and that now with this fresh charge against him he would certainly have him arrested. I do not know whether the *tao-t'ai* ever acted up to his word. I should be very much surprised if he did so.

631 The next day, the 5th February, a fairly level road brought us to Chên-k'ang, or Möng Cheng as the Shans call it. This is the capital of a large Shan State which comprises the unruly district of Mêng-hung within its borders. The old sawbwa was murdered some years before,

[1] The chief civil official of Ta-li.

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and his son at the time of our visit being only 12 years old, 631
his mother, according to Shan custom, ruled the country for him. The State comprises a great many Las, and many of the Chinamen are a decidedly rough lot, so that the old chieftainness finds her kingdom rather more than she can manage. It has an unenviable notoriety as a badly governed country where murders and rebellions are not uncommon, and it is compared very unfavourably with the neighbouring state of Kêng-ma.

The town, which contains some 300 houses, is built in 361
a small and poor plain at an elevation of 2,950 feet. It is 563
chiefly inhabited by Shans with a few Chinese, and the plain contains altogether about a dozen Shan villages. [438]
There is very little trade in the place. An occasional mule caravan from Ta-li or Yün Chou comes here to sell tea, iron pans, and other miscellaneous products of China, taking away with them opium which is grown by the Chinese villages on the surrounding hills, and seems to be the only export.

The sawbwa's Chinese secretary came to see us in the evening and was very apologetic about the behaviour of the Mêng-hung people. He described them as ignorant Las who would not listen to reason. I have no doubt the Chên-k'ang government stand in considerable dread of their lawless subjects.

The next day we marched across some low spurs into 000
Mêng-ti (Möng Ti in Shan)[1], another small Shan plain. One of the numerous people who came to see us (or, to be more accurate, to stare at us) had lived several years in Rangoon and could talk Burmese quite well.

On this march we had a very high snow-capped range of hills on our right, dividing the Salween basin, which we were in, from the valley of the Nam Ting. This is the same range I had seen from Mêng-sa in 1895, and we were now able to determine its height as about 11,500 feet, an elevation which, though not uncommon in the north of Yün-nan, towers far above any of the other ranges at this latitude.

[1] This place must not be confused with the larger place of the same name which is called Nan-tien by the Chinese and lies on the T'êng-yüeh-Bhamo road.

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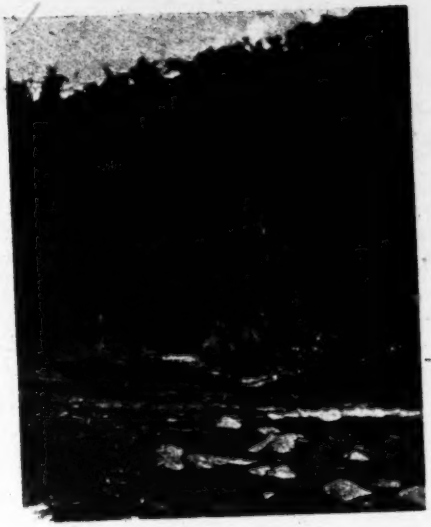
133



The Ya-lang Ho

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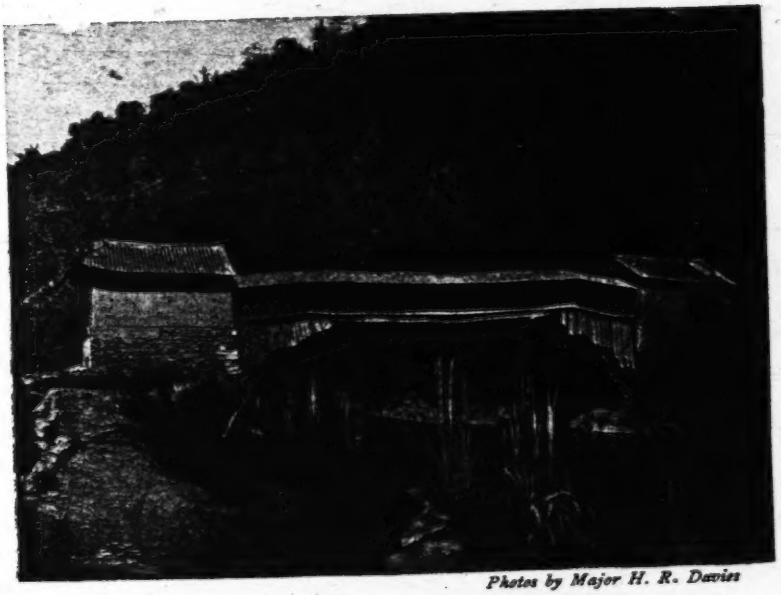

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Nan-ch'iao Ho

Plate XXXI

[Face p.140]

140 *Kun-long to Yün Chou* viâ *Chên-k'ang*

000 Leaving Möng Ti, we took two marches over a hilly and in places forest-clad country to arrive at Hsi-la, a village in a narrow paddy plain, whence a road to Shun-ning branches off from our route. This, like most of the neighbouring villages, is inhabited by Chinese, but we also saw some of the Miao tribe near here, and they told us there were a good many of their race living in the high range to the east.

We were now well out of the barren dried-up hills which are characteristic of the Chên-k'ang State, and our march from Hsi-la lay through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, alternating with well-cultivated hillsides. After ascending some way, a narrow gorge with precipitous hills on either side brought us to the top of the Salween-Mekong watershed, at a height of 6,600 feet. With a few more 137 miles of steep up and down over rough rocky ground we reached Ta-li-ssŭ, a little village in a steep-sided valley, where we found shelter in a temple. One discovery we made on this march was two trees growing among the fir forests which Ker recognised as cork trees. They were both young trees, 20 feet high or so, and we could not find any more, though it is true we had not time for a very thorough search.

000 The next day, the 10th February, was the Chinese New Year, a day on which no Chinaman will travel if he can help it. Our own followers having no friends in this out-of-the-way spot were quite willing to march on, but the difficulty was to get a guide. After much conversation we managed to engage a lad at the exorbitant rate of seven-pence for the day's work. He was not very willing to come, but his father, probably with an eye to handling some of his son's wages, said, "What's the use of your talking about keeping the New Year when you have got no money to keep it with?" and so the bargain was clinched.

We continued our journey through a fine hilly country, fording the Ya-lang Ho, a beautiful stream flowing through wooded banks. The population of these parts is very varied. The P'u-mans are the most numerous, and there are also Chinese, Lo-lo, and Miao villages. These P'u-mans, like other communities of this tribe that I have met, have forgotten their own language, and in this instance

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000 they have taken to talking Chinese among themselves. We met a party of them out with cross-bows and dogs to hunt sambur, which they say are fairly plentiful in the valley of the Ya-lang Ho.

We wished we had had time to halt a day or two and shoot, but we had come out to get through as much work as possible, and we had to go on. Yün-nan is certainly not a great shooting country, but its sporting capacity must not be judged by the small amount of shooting we were able to do. With leisure to halt whenever he wanted to, the traveller might certainly get some fair shooting in places.

136 Panthers, wild pig, wolves, sambur, and barking deer undoubtedly exist, and in Ssŭ-ch'uan I once saw a tiger[1]. Of small game the Lady Amherst pheasant and Stone's pheasant are fairly common, and in some of the lower-lying places there are Chinese francolin and Bamboo partridges. Hares I have seen, but I do not think they are at all common. Snipe I have shot occasionally, but have never seen very many of them. No doubt the duck shooting is the best form of sport to be got in Yün-nan. This is very good in the Ta-li lake and the country to the north of it and in several other places. It is probably worth nobody's while to come to Yün-nan on purpose to shoot, but the future traveller may, if he has leisure, manage to find some amusement and vary his diet.

000 The next day, after a steep descent of 2000 feet, we crossed the river which lower down at Yün Chou is called the Nan-ch'iao Ho. Like most Chinese streams it only retains its name for a short part of its course, and, where we crossed it, does not seem to have any particular name.

Curiously enough, though rivers are often nameless, bridges nearly always have names and these are generally written up on the bridge, sometimes also with a list of the persons who subscribed to build it and the amounts they gave. Rivers are generally called after the nearest bridge or the nearest important village, thus constantly changing their names.

The stream is here 40 yards wide with a depth of four or five feet, flowing swiftly over a rocky bed. The

[1] See p. 216.

5- Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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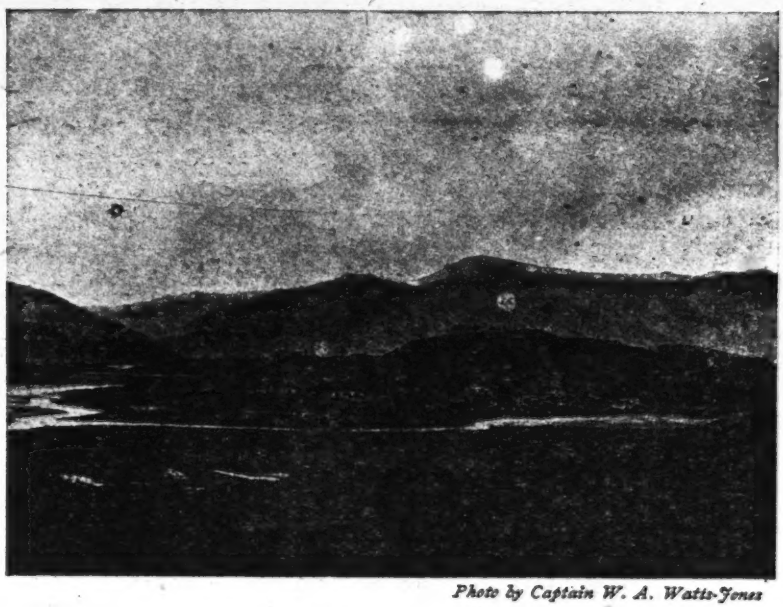

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Yün Chou from the east

624

Photo by Mr J. S. Ker

The Yün Chou mandarin and his family

Plate XXXII

[Face p. 142]

000 bridge, of which a photograph will be found, is a wooden one supported on beams stuck out slant-wise from stone piers. The road does not, as might have been expected, follow the river down to Yün Chou, but makes a short cut across a high range. We climbed part of the way up it and camped at Pa-pao-shan among fir woods.

On the 12th February we had a pretty stiff climb to the top of the range at 8,200 feet. There is a good deal of jungle as one gets higher, full of rhododendrons which were just out in flower. From the top a descent of 4000 feet and some flat going at the bottom took us into Yün Chou.

624 The mandarin here was particularly civil. We went to call on him the day after our arrival, and Ker took a photograph of him and his whole family. Even his wife appeared and formed one of the group, so the official is evidently a man without prejudices. His son, a youth of 16, bursting with curiosity and a thirst for knowledge, spent nearly his whole time in our room in the inn, minutely examining all our belongings and asking questions on every conceivable subject. No doubt he meant to make himself extremely agreeable, but as we had a lot of work to do we found him a bit of a bore.

The mandarin's civility was not, however, confined to pleasant words, for Ker's interpreter, happening to have his watch stolen, the thief was caught in a very short time, the watch recovered, and the culprit put in the stocks. The people of Yün Chou we also found very civil, and we could walk about the streets without attracting much attention. There are a great many Mahommedans here, and the Chinese Mahommedan I have generally found very friendly.

257 The place did not seem to have changed at all since my previous visit in 1895. Sugar cane is the most important thing grown, and the cutting and pressing of this crop were in full swing at the time of our visit. The presses consist of large wooden rollers, worked usually by a buffalo walking round and round after the manner of chaff-cutting machines in England. They manufacture brown sugar of the sort called *jaggery* or *goor* in India. They do not know how to refine it.

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Photo by Mr J. S. Ker

Bridge at Mêng-lang

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

[plate XXXIII] **Hsi-ch'ang ferry over the Mekong**

[Face p. 143]

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000 The road we had just come up from Kun-long to Yün Chou does not compare at all favourably with that I had followed down to Kun-long in 1895. It is in fact not used as a through trade route at all, and the whole way from Taw-nio to Yün Chou we did not meet a single loaded animal.

CHAPTER XIX

YÜN CHOU TO TA-LI FU.

Watts-Jones's line across the Mekong—Theatricals at Mêng-lang—Wild pig and pheasants—The Mekong at Hsi-chang ferry—Narrow paths—Falls of our mules—A Chinaman's pipe—P'u-mans—Exploring a pass—Panthay villages—An Arabic koran—A midnight thief—The Kung-lang valley—Hot springs—Mêng-hua T'ing—An anti-foreign town—Iron mine—Ta-li Fu—Mr Amundsen's travels—No news of Ryder or Watts-Jones.

000 At Yün Chou we had found a letter left there by Watts-Jones. He had discovered a practicable way across the Mekong *viâ* Mêng-lang and Kung-lang, but there were some passes to the east of the latter place which he had not had time to explore. It was possible that these might prove easier than the line he had found, so we determined to examine them on our way to Ta-li.

545 After two days' halt at Yün Chou we set out again, and had a fairly easy march to the village of Mêng-lang. Here New Year festivities were still going on, and we were invited to a theatrical performance in the village temple. The young men of the village had got themselves up as elephants, lions, stags, storks, and other animals. The disguise was most crude, and the performance consisted of dancing uninteresting dances and turning somersaults very badly. However the villagers were quite pleased, and we expressed our delight and surprise at the histrionic talent of the place and rewarded the performers with some lumps of silver. I should mention that in places where there is no regular theatre, temples are the recognised places for theatrical performances.

000 Leaving this village the next day we passed some sulphur springs with regular covered-in bathing tanks. [757] These hot springs are very common in Yün-nan and are much resorted to by rheumatic people. Quitting the main

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000 road to Ta-li Fu we climbed up to 8,300 feet, where on top of the range is a nice open country covered with fern and patches of tree jungle, an ideal place to find pheasants in if we had had time to go after them. There is no doubt game in this country, for while descending the forest-clad slopes on the other side, first a wild pig crossed the road, and soon afterwards two silver pheasants. We failed to get a shot at either.

On the 17th February we reached the Mekong at Hsi-ch'ang ferry. The river is here 100 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky and sandy bed which it fills. Its height is 3,250 feet, and though there is no flat ground, the river is rather less shut in by steep hills than in most places—a lucky circumstance as it is in this part of its course that the railway must run along it for some distance.

We were taken over by two large boats, each capable of holding eight mules. It is considered dangerous to swim animals across here, as the river is full of eddies and undercurrents. After crossing we climbed 2000 feet to the village of A-lo-kai. We were now in a very rough country, and our road up the Mekong valley the next day was so narrow that two of our mules had bad falls down the hill-side. A nervous mule when he sees a narrow place will often try to rush past it, and if his load catches a bit of projecting rock he is naturally thrown right off the road. It is wonderful how seldom they are hurt. I have seen a mule roll down a hillside for 200 yards or more and begin quietly grazing when he gets to the bottom. Probably their loads save them a good deal.

In this case the only damage done was the thorough soaking in a small stream of the whole of the effects of Ker's interpreter, much to that individual's indignation and to the amusement of the rest of our Chinamen. His damaged belongings included a lot of cigars which he had brought from Mandalay and which naturally could not be replaced in Yün-nan.

276 The Chinaman in his natural state smokes nothing but a pipe, which always has a stem of enormous length and a bowl which only holds enough tobacco for a few whiffs. He is therefore continually employed in relighting his pipe,

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276 and for this purpose keeps in his house a taper constantly smouldering. To blow this taper into a flame is quite an art. It requires a short quick puff, stopping very suddenly, and the European unused to such a thing finds considerable difficulty in managing it.

000 We camped at Hsiao-ch'in, which lies near the mouth of the side valley which we wished to explore. Here at last I found P'u-mans who knew their own language, and I took down a vocabulary from them[1]. It resembles the La and Wa languages, and I have little doubt that they are connected with these tribes, especially as they here call themselves Wa-la. P'u-man is only a name given to them by Shans and Chinamen.

Leaving our camp standing at Hsiao-ch'in, we started the next morning to explore the side valley which runs down from the high range to the east. In a few miles the view of the steep hills at the top of the range convinced us that this was no good for a railway, and that the route Watts-Jones had surveyed up the Kung-lang valley was the only likely way to get up out of the Mekong.

779 Our day was not, however, without interest, as we discovered that there are a good many Panthay villages in this out-of-the-way spot. On our way back we went in and had tea with the head-man of one of these. He told us that they had lived here for 16 or 17 generations, so if that is true they may be the descendants of some of Kublai Khan's soldiers. I asked them if they had korans in Arabic, and they at once produced one. The head-man said he could read it, but did not seem very anxious to give us a specimen of his Arabic scholarship. We thought it more polite not to press him, as he would have found it rather difficult to "save his face," if it turned out that he could not read a word.

000 We slept at Hsiao-ch'in again, and in the middle of the night were waked up by loud yells. It appears that one of the mule men had heard someone moving about on the hillside, and that when he shouted to know who it was, the man ran away. No doubt he was looking about to see what he could pick up, but he had not succeeded, as

[1] See vocabularies in pocket of cover.

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nothing was missing. Neither Ker nor I had been very favourably impressed with the appearance of our Panthay hosts of the afternoon, and we had a shrewd suspicion that some of them had paid us this midnight visit, though certainly there was nothing to prove it. 000

On the 20th we descended very steeply to the Mekong, but left the river again immediately by an equally abrupt ascent on to another spur, whence we again went down into the valley of the small Kung-lang river, which is followed up with a good deal of up and down to the village of that name. Here the valley widens out into a quarter of a mile width of paddy fields. The place contains about 80 houses and is the residence of a small official, a *hsün-chien.* The population of the village is Chinese, but the surrounding country is inhabited by P'u-mans and Lo-los, the former near the river, and the latter on the higher hills. Our road on this march had been even narrower than usual, with rocks jutting out in places. No less than seven of our mules fell down the hillside, but no greater damage was done than the smashing of a bottle of brandy.

We were now again on the high road from Yün Chou to Ta-li, which we had left at Mêng-lang. Three more days of the usual hilly marching took us to Mêng-hua T'ing. The top of the range to the south of this place is 8,500 feet, where our route crossed it, and from here we had a fine view of the town and plain beneath us, and of the snowy mountains of Ta-li beyond. Descending into the plain we passed some hot springs, with a large bathing tank. Where the water runs out of this, all the stones and earth are covered with a white salt-tasting deposit of which the water is evidently full.

Before entering the town we crossed a shallow sandy stream by a three-arched brick bridge. This is the head waters of the Red River of Tong-king. Mêng-hua contains about 1000 houses and is surrounded by a good stone wall. It has always been, for some reason or other, rather an anti-foreign place, and inn-keepers were not at all anxious to receive us. However we forced our way in, and the good man of the house thought it best to acquiesce in a *fait accompli.*

The plain like many others grows two crops; beans [241]
and opium are produced in some quantity.

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000 and opium are produced in some quantity.[1] European goods, such as cotton, cloth and thread, come by Bhamo,
439 T'êng-yüeh, and Ta-li. There is not much trade in the place, though we did on the march in meet some mules loaded with iron. This, they say, is produced in the Shuang-lung-tung mine, two days march off, in the direction of Yang-pi.

000 Continuing our journey on the following day up the Mêng-hua plain we struck into the road I had come down by in 1895[1], and followed this to Ta-li Fu, which we reached on the 26th of February. Here we were glad to find Mr and Mrs Graham of the China Inland Mission, and also Mr Amundsen, a Swedish missionary. The latter had just arrived from Ta-chien-lu[2], after a most interesting journey in which he had visited a great deal of previously unexplored country in Chinese Tibet. He has since given an account of his travels to the Royal Geographical Society[3].

Ryder and Watts-Jones had both passed through Ta-li some time before, and we expected that they would have left a letter for us. They had in fact done so, as we afterwards found out, but their Chinese servant had neglected to give it to Mr Graham, and we were consequently without certain news of them. All we could learn was that they had both gone north to Li-chiang Fu, and from there had separated, taking different routes for Ch'u-hsiung Fu (lat. 25°, long. 101° 35′). We therefore decided to take the main road to the latter place, as none of us had yet been along this route, though several former travellers had seen it.

[1] See p. 72.
[2] Lat. 30° 5′, long. 102° 10′.
[3] *Geographical Journal*, June 1900, and November 1900.

1 [into Mêng-hua village -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER XX

TA-LI FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Chao Chou—The Ming-chia tribe—Hung-ai—The capital of an ancient kingdom—Yün-nan Hsien—"Two foreign officials, one black and one white"—Meeting with Watts-Jones—His line for a railway—A region of lakes and ponds—Wild geese and duck—A bare dry sandstone country—Meeting with Ryder—Chên-an Chou—A poor town—Ch'u-hsiung Fu—A conservative population—Six Englishmen meet—Ker goes northward to the Yangtze—Woman falls into a well—Belief in medical knowledge of Europeans—Kuang-t'ung Hsien—A broken-down city wall—One name for natives of Europe and India—The Ta-li *tao-t'ai's* jurisdiction—Lu-fêng Hsien—An-ning Chou—Yün-nan Fu—Wretched inn—Europeans in Yün-nan Fu—The city and lake—The Arsenal—Two-man rifles—The climate of Yün-nan Fu.

After two days' halt at Ta-li, Ker and I started again on the 1st of March and, passing through Hsia-kuan, reached Chao Chou, a town of 600 houses near the S.E. corner of the big lake. It is a poor-looking place compared with Ta-li or Hsia-kuan, but it seems to be growing, as they had lately enclosed some additional space within its walls. The inhabitants, like those of the Ta-li plain, are chiefly of the Ming-chia tribe, though there are many Chinamen among them, especially in the town.

The next day a very gradual ascent brought us to the top of a low range, from which we descended somewhat steeply by a dangerously slippery paved road to a fine well-cultivated plain in which splendid crops of opium are grown. There is no official city here, and the principal place in the plain is the large market village of Hung-ai. We had now left the Min-chias behind and found ourselves again among a purely Chinese population. Hung-ai, "red precipice," was formerly called Pai-ai, "white precipice," and is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the capital of one of the old kingdoms destroyed by Pi-lo-ko in 749 A.D.

000 563 249 000 [p.149]

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A wayside tea-house on the Ta-li Fu-Yün-nan Fu road

[Plate XXXIV] [Face p. 150]

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000 On the 3rd we crossed another bare range into the Yün-nan Hsien plain. The road leaves the town a mile to the left, so we did not enter it, but passed the night at the village of Kou-ts'un-p'u. Yün-nan Hsien is a place of very small importance, and must not be confused with Yün-nan Fu, the capital of the province. The names of these places are identical, and as Yün-nan Fu is almost always spoken of as Yün-nan Sên[1], the two places are very likely to be mixed up by those not accustomed to the fine differences of sound of the Chinese language.

The next morning some heavy rain fell and the hills to the west were for a few hours white with snow. We had an almost level march through a plateau country among very low hills and small strips of cultivated land till we reached the Yün-nan-yi plain and, passing through the village of that name, put up in the top storey of a very large temple at Mu-pang-p'u.

We had the day before heard news of two foreign officials passing through Yün-nan Hsien. They were described as "one white and the other black," so we had little difficulty in recognising in this description Watts-Jones and his cook, who, being a Goa Portuguese, wore European clothes of sorts. By sending on a man with a letter we managed to catch him at the Ma-kai coal mine, which he had turned off the main road to look at, and the day after our arrival at Mu-pang-p'u he turned up.

These meetings in out-of-the-way places are always very pleasant, and we had much to talk about. Watts-Jones had found a practicable but difficult line for the railway to take. He had also with Ryder been up north to look for a line to the Upper Yangtze, and to examine the resources of the country north of Ta-li. They had reached Li-chiang Fu, which is the threshold of the Tibetan country of north-western Yün-nan, and from there, taking different routes, had turned southwards again, intending to meet at Ch'u-hsiung Fu. The country between Ta-li and Li-chiang they were delighted with. It is a region of lakes and fertile plains, and is agriculturally the richest part of Yün-nan.

312 The plains of Yün-nan Hsien and Yün-nan-yi which we

[1] *Shêng* (pronounced *sêng* or *sên* in Yün-nan) means a province, and is applied also to the capital of the province.

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312 had been passing through are, as far as I could see, entirely watered by lakes and ponds: there do not appear to be any running streams. They are much less fertile than the valleys further west, no doubt in consequence of the increased difficulty of irrigating the land where no running water is available.

136 What these plains lack in fertility is from the sportsman's point of view abundantly made up for by the quantities of geese and duck which one finds in the lakes. There were flocks of bar-headed geese all over the plain, and one could walk right up to within twenty or thirty yards of them before they would rise in a leisurely manner. Out of one flock I got six. Two fell to my first two barrels as they rose, and then the flock after flying round a short distance twice, again came over my head at close range, enabling me to get two more each time. This will seem incredible to those who know that very wary bird the wild goose, but I remember in India once, in the Aligarh district, finding a flock of these bar-headed geese equally tame. There was no sport in this, so when I had killed fifteen—enough to feast our followers for two or three days—I gave up shooting them.

However tame the geese may have been, the duck, though numerous, were by no means easy to get within shot of. The mallard and teal seem to be the commonest on the large lakes, and that small black and white duck called the tufted pochard on the smaller ponds.

From Mu-pang-p'u to Chên-nan Chou we took four days, moving very slowly, as Watts-Jones often had to leave the road and ascend hills so as to get a better view of the country. Our road led us at an average height of 7000 feet through a sandstone plateau country, with small hills rising up out of it, very dry and bare except for a few 241 little fir trees. Villages are not numerous, and the cultivation is chiefly confined to strips of beans, opium, and wheat along the narrow valleys.

000 Just before reaching Chên-nan Chou we had made a halt to put up the plane table, when Ryder suddenly appeared coming in by a road from the north. So after being separated for three and a half months we hit each other off to a yard. He had gone from Li-chiang eastward

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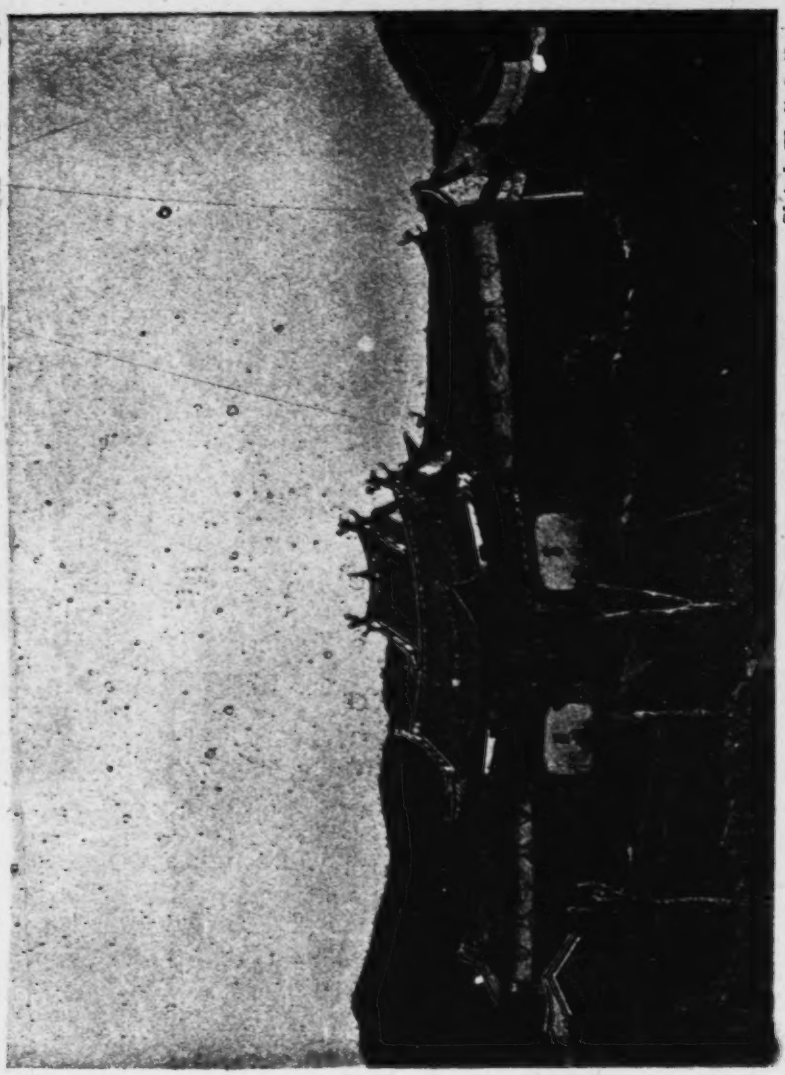

Photo by Mr Y. S. Ker

Temple at Mu-pang-p'u

[Plate XXXV] [Face p. 152]

000 to ung-pei T'ing, crossing the Yangtze by an iron chain bridge, thence turning south had recrossed that river by a ferry just above the mouth of the Ya-lung River and had come on through Ta-yao Hsien and Yao Chou.

361 Chên-nan Chou is considered one of the poorest towns in Yün-nan. It contains perhaps 500 houses, all very small. There is scarcely any trade in the place, and a great many Chên-nan men are obliged to hire themselves out as mule drivers in other places to get a livelihood.

Two easy days of level marching brought us to Ch'u-hsiung Fu, or Ts'u-hsiung Fu as it is invariably called in 186 Yün-nan. The people of this town are peculiarly con-177 servative and exclusive. They have such an objection to strangers that no inn is allowed within the city walls, and 206 no one from any other town is allowed to establish a shop. When the telegraph line was first taken through here, there was much commotion, and so determined was the opposition of the townspeople to this new-fangled means of communication that the telegraph office had to be put inside the Colonel's yamen, the only place where it would be safe from destruction.

One might expect such a conservative place to be very anti-foreign. But such is not the case. We found the people civil and friendly, and the missionaries who visit the place occasionally get on well with them, though they had so far failed to establish a permanent mission station here.

000 We put up at an excellent inn in the suburbs, with a very large upper-storey room, which was just what we wanted, as we had much work to do in putting our maps together, while our evenings were fully occupied in getting the longitude from Bhamo by telegraph. We were not the only Europeans in Ch'u-hsiung at the time, for we found two members of the China Inland Mission, Mr Nicholls and Mr Saunders, on a temporary visit here. On the day after our arrival we had quite a dinner-party to celebrate the meeting of six Englishmen in the middle of Yün-nan.

We halted four or five days at Ch'u-hsiung and re-arranged our plans. Watts-Jones started again on the 15th March to continue the survey for the line on to Yün-nan Fu. Ker, accompanied by Ram Sabad, one of

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Ryder's surveyors, went off northwards on the following day to explore the approaches to the Upper Yangtze, in view of a possible alternative line up the Chien-ch'ang valley[1]. Ryder and I were still at work on the maps and the corrections of the spelling of names so did not get off till the 17th. I took the main road to Yün-nan Fu, while Ryder, so as to survey fresh country, made a detour to the south by Nan-an Chou.

One incident that happened during our stay in Ch'u-hsiung shows that however much the Chinese may hate and despise us, they have a great opinion of our medical skill. We were disturbed one morning by some shouting and by people all running together towards the house opposite, and on going to see what was happening, found a woman had tumbled into a well. The water was not very deep, so they let a man down by a rope and he pulled her up. She had apparently fallen in head foremost and had a very bad cut on her forehead and was much shaken.

We were at once applied to for medicine, and we doctored her forehead quite successfully with iodoform and, at the special request of her relatives, came to re-bandage her wound every morning. It healed up well, but on the third day she suddenly became much worse. She had probably received some internal injury as she was coughing and spitting blood a great deal, and said her throat felt stopped up. She begged for some sort of medicine that would do her good, but unfortunately we had neither the knowledge nor the medicines to help her, and could do nothing more than give her cough pills, which would probably do no harm, in hopes that faith in the medicine might help the cure. In the afternoon, when she felt herself sinking, she told them to go and call the "foreign official," but she died before we could be sent for.

On the 17th, Ryder and I both started by our different roads for Yün-nan Fu. I took two easy marches, first down the valley of the Ch'u-hsiung River and then over a dry, sandy, uncultivated range of hills, to Kuang-t'ung Hsien, a poor town of 250 houses in a small plain. The city walls were broken down in several places, an unusual thing in Yün-nan.

[1] Lat. 27° to 28° 30′, long. 102° 15′.

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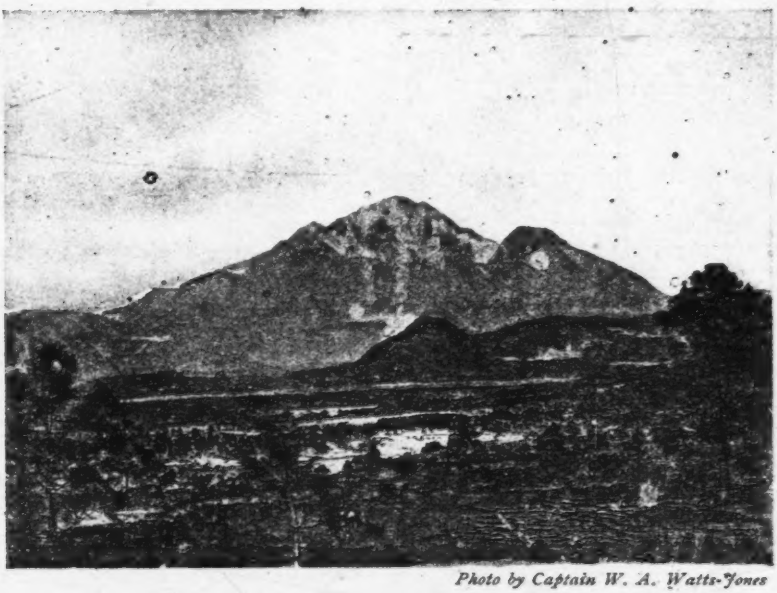

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Li-chiang Fu peak, 18,000 ft.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Yün-nan Fu

Plate XXXVI

[Face p. 154]

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000 The following day we reached the large village of Shê-tzŭ. I had been expecting to hear news of Watts-Jones, as he was in front of me on the same road, but I was certainly astonished when on enquiring from some travellers coming from the other direction they at once said, "Oh yes! There are *three* foreign officers just in front of you." Who the three were I could not imagine, till it dawned on me a little later that the three "officers" were my own two Indian servants and the surveyor's cook, who had got a little ahead of me with the baggage. In these secluded parts of China they do not make such fine distinctions as to have a separate name for Europeans and natives of India. They are all classed together as "Yang jên," "sea men."

The next day, however, at the little mountain village of Ta-tz'ŭ-ssŭ we did really catch up Watts-Jones, who had been obliged to make considerable detours to get a practicable line for the railway. On this march we crossed the Hsiang-shui Ho, "noisy water river," a swift-flowing mountain stream which forms the eastern boundary of the jurisdiction of the Ta-li *tao-t'ai*. To the west this official exercises authority up to the Burmese frontier, so his district is an extensive one.

On the 20th we descended to Lu-fêng Hsien, a small town in a fertile and well cultivated plain, and crossing another range at 6,550 feet, slept in a large temple on the hillside above the village of Yao-chan-kai. Two more marches over a rather monotonous country brought us into An-ning Chou. This town contains perhaps 600 houses scattered over a wide space, and enclosed by a miserable little wall only 10 feet high. We were joined a few miles short of the town by Ryder, and we also had the pleasure of meeting here a French priest who was on his way back to his own mission station from a visit to the bishop.

On the 24th March we reached Yün-nan Fu and put up in a very bad inn in the suburb outside the south gate. Curiously enough the inns in the capital are by no means good. We naturally made enquiries about the few Europeans[1] who live here, and soon made acquaintance with

[1] The European community is now (1908) much larger. British and French Consul-generals are now established here, and there are also some officials of the French railway now being constructed from Tong-king to Yün-nan Fu.

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000 Mr and Mrs Stevenson, and some other members of the China Inland Mission, who most kindly gave us much assistance in many ways. We were also fortunate enough to meet Mr Archibald Colquhoun, who has travelled much in China and other countries of the Far East, and had now come through Kuei-chou from the Yangtze and was on his way down to Tong-king. Mr Jensen, the Superintendent of Telegraphs, was away inspecting the line when we arrived, but soon afterwards came in. It was a great pleasure to renew acquaintance with him.

Our quarters at the inn were anything but pleasant, as the whole place smelt abominably, so Mr Stevenson kindly arranged that on Mr Colquhoun's departure we should go into the quarters he was occupying—a very nice little house in a small garden where we were free from all noise.

361 The town of Yün-nan Fu is by far the largest in the province. It is surrounded by a fine brick wall, 30 feet high, and measuring about 4½ miles round. As usual in Chinese cities, a very large part of the population live in the suburbs, which extend to a considerable distance round three sides of the town. I should estimate the population, including suburbs, to be about 80,000, but this is not much more than a guess and I will not guarantee its accuracy.

The plain extends some 35 miles to the south and contains several other towns, but a large part of it is 505 taken up by the K'un-yang Lake. There is a good deal of navigation by large sailing-boats on this lake, both for the conveyance of passengers and cargo, and by means of a canal things can be brought right up to the west gate of the city.

719 Mr Jensen took us one day to see the arsenal. This is in charge of Chinamen, who have learnt their work from Europeans at Nanking or Shanghai. They make Krupp guns, Nordenfeldts, and rifles and cartridges. The machinery was worked by steam, but they had no steam hammers, so that the work is not likely to be first-rate. What they were making principally at the time of our visit was an enormously heavy rifle, between six and seven feet long, for two men to fire. The man in front rests it on his shoulder while the man behind fires it. These weapons, they explained to us, are meant to defend the city walls.

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719 The nominal head of the arsenal was also in charge of the Yün-nan telegraphs. He was a stout, pleasant old Manchu gentleman, who did not pretend to know anything whatever about either telegraphs or arsenals.

132 The weather since we left Ch'u-hsiung had been getting a little warm, but in Yün-nan Fu we had quite a change. A heavy thunderstorm ended in a fall of snow, which lay on the ground two inches deep for some hours. The height of Yün-nan Fu I made 6,700 feet, and its climate is never hot, 85° in the shade being about the maximum summer temperature. There are frosts in winter, but no very severe weather is ever experienced.

CHAPTER XXI

YÜN-NAN FU TO WEI-NING CHOU.

News of Pottinger—The roads from Yün-nan Fu to the Yangtze—Alternative routes to Ch'ü-ching Fu—Difficulties in getting the longitude—The Yün-nan Fu plain—Rows of cypresses—Irrigation wheels—Carts in Eastern Yün-nan—The dialect of Yün-nan Fu—Ch'i-tien—The Yang-tsung Lake—Yi-liang Hsien—A dry plateau—Sandstone pillars—A fine bridge—Lu-liang Chou—A temple converted into an inn—Yüeh-chou—Ch'ü-ching Fu—Mr and Mrs Allen—A fine plain—Trade—Salt monopoly—Duck shooting—Proclamations about Pottinger—Abundance of coal—Hsüan-wei Chou—Meet Watts-Jones again—Death of Mr Tucker—Chinese hams—"Foreign devil"—Retaliation—The T'ang-t'ang copper mines—The K'o-tu Ho—Source of the Canton River—Enter Kuei-chou province—A copper mine—Price of ore—A biting wind from snow hills—Wei-ning Chou—Its mines—Dense mist—Origin of the name Yün-nan—Meet Pottinger—His difficulties from weather and hostility of natives—His fight with the Chinese—No further trouble—Return to Wei-ning—Mining machinery—Coining of cash—Chinese currency—Their banking system—Arrival of Hunter—Our plans for the future.

WHILE in Yün-nan Fu we were able to get into communication with Captain Pottinger by telegraph. He had been much delayed in his work by rainy and misty weather, and by the hostility of the Chinese in Ssŭ-ch'uan, so that he was still a march or two short of Pi-chieh Hsien (lat. 27° 20′, long. 105°). He was now going to work on towards Yün-nan Fu, so we hoped to meet him at Hsüan-wei (lat. 26° 15′, long. 104°) or Wei-ning (lat. 26° 50′, long. 104° 15′). 000

I should mention here that from Yün-nan Fu to the Yangtze there are two main roads. One goes through Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu, reaching the river at Hsü-chou Fu, or Sui Fu as it is more often called. The other, along which runs the telegraph line that links Yün-nan to the rest of China, passes through Ch'ü-ching Fu, Hsüan-wei Chou, and Wei-ning Chou, striking the Yangtze at Na-ch'i Hsien. It was this latter road that Pottinger

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000 had adopted as most likely to afford the easiest line for a railway, so that it was by this route that we set out to meet him.

As far as Ch'ü-ching there are two alternative roads, so Watts-Jones, leaving on the 30th March, took the main road through Ma-lung Chou, while I, starting four days later, went by a somewhat less frequented route through Yi-liang Hsien and Lu-liang Chou.

Ryder had so far failed to get the longitude of Yün-nan Fu from Bhamo, owing partly to the difficulty of getting a strong enough current over this distance of 500 miles of telegraph wire, and partly to the frequent occurrence of breaks, and to the general neglect of duty by the telegraph clerks, under the slack administration of the stout Manchu gentleman who presided over this department[1].

Ryder therefore decided to stay on in hopes of fixing this most important point. As it turned out, he waited there a month and had then to give it up as a bad job. However we were luckily able to get satisfactory observations in the following year.

On the 3rd of April I was able to get away and started off across the Yün-nan Fu plain. Several things here strike the traveller arriving from the west as new and peculiar. 312 The rows of cypress trees along the irrigation embankments are one of the most conspicuous features of this [406] part of the country; and the curious wheels which, worked by hand, draw the water up from the lakes and ponds into the irrigation channels, are not found in the plains of western Yün-nan, where nearly all the water is running. It is true indeed that these wheels are used in Yün-nan Hsien and other places west of the capital, but I have never seen them west of Ta-li.

493 But what struck me as most extraordinary was the use of carts. These I certainly did not expect to see in western China. I subsequently found them in use in nearly all the plains of eastern Yün-nan. They are very small and are drawn by one bullock or buffalo. They are only used for

[1] Mr Jensen was in no way responsible for the frequent breaks which occur in the Yün-nan telegraphs. His work was to keep the electrical instruments in order. The upkeep of the actual telegraph wire is in the hands of Chinese, who make as much money out of it as they can.

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farming operations and are not employed as a means of 493
transport along the roads. This is no doubt owing to the impossibility in most places of taking them from one plain to another, though by a little construction of roads it would not be difficult to open a good deal of eastern Yün-nan to wheeled traffic. On the whole it is decidedly less hilly than the western part of the province, though in places, such for instance as the road from Wei-ning to Tung-ch'uan, there are as steep hills as I have seen anywhere.

My Chinese followers were much amused by the un- 195
couth dialect of the inhabitants of the provincial capital. One would expect to hear the purest Chinese spoken in the chief city of the province, but such is not the case. They have a peculiar way of speaking which I believe they, as natives of the capital, consider to be the standard of excellence for the province, but this opinion is not shared by other Chinamen either of Yün-nan or of other parts of the empire.

My own impression, derived from hearing many Lo-los speak Chinese, is that their speech is simply Chinese spoken with a strong Lo-lo accent. The Yün-nan Fu plain 563
was, I believe, formerly a Lo-lo country, and there are many families of Lo-lo origin still living there. Whatever may be the truth about this, it is needless to say that the present inhabitants of the city would only receive with derision any suggestion which imputed to them a Lo-lo ancestry or a Lo-lo accent. This dialect is confined to the people of K'un-ming Hsien, the Hsien district of Yün-nan Fu.

Our first march out from the capital took us to the 000
small plain of Ch'i-tien. We made the usual late start, which I have always found it difficult to avoid in leaving a town after a few days' halt. Consequently, as the march was 18 miles and entailed crossing a range of hills, we did not reach our halting-place till after dark. I was now doing my own surveying, as Lachman Jadu, the surveyor who had been with me so far, stayed with Captain Ryder, so as eventually to return to India with him to help in compiling the maps.

On the 4th April, after crossing a low range, we descended to a fine lake called Yang-tsung Hai, and leaving

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000 it on our right, passed through the village of T'ang-ch'ih, in the middle of which is a hot sulphur spring and a bathing-tank, much frequented by the rheumatic. After this we crossed another range, and descended steeply to the Yi-liang plain, which lies at 5,300 feet, an exceptionally low level for this part of Yün-nan.

361 The town contains about 800 houses and is surrounded by the usual wall, but most of the inns and shops are in [436] a suburb outside the north gate. Their cotton and foreign goods reach them through Tong-king, and the only important local product is opium, which grows well here. The place is usually called Ni-liang by the Yün-nanese, and locally it is also known as Mi-liang.

The next day at the far edge of the plain we forded a river 70 yards wide, which runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, and then ascended on to a large plateau over which our route lay for the rest of the way to Lu-liang Chou.

133 This plateau ends to the north in a precipitous descent to the Ch'ü-ching River[1], while to the south the haze prevented me from seeing how far it extended. The general elevation averages well over 6000 feet, and it undulates so gently that carts are used all over it. There are a few fir trees in places, but the general character of the country is very bare and dry, with little rocky mounds rising out of it. Great pillars of sandstone rock 15 or 20 feet high standing in groups form a curious feature of the landscape, and might easily be taken for ruined buildings when seen [241] in the distance through the haze. The crops in this plateau are very poor and scanty: opium seems to grow better than anything else.

000 After two days and a half over this somewhat monotonous country, we again reached the Ch'ü-ching River. Crossing it by a fine thirteen-arch stone bridge, 120 yards long, we soon entered Lu-liang, which lies a little higher up on the right bank. The river here has a slow current and a depth of apparently three or four feet, but lower down between here and Yi-liang it seems to run in a deep gorge, and I could hear of no road up its banks in this part of its

[1] I do not think that the Chinese call the river by this name in this part of its course, but as it runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, I have thought best to so name it.

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course. This river I should mention is one of the sources of the West River of Canton. 000

Lu-liang Chou is one of the poorest towns I have seen, and is rather unlike the ordinary Chinese city, for, though it has a wall, the houses are much scattered about and the place is full of trees. There are scarcely any shops, and the people depend for their buying and selling on a market which is held every five days. 361

In spite of its poverty the town has a considerable reputation for scholarship, and many of its inhabitants are able to display over their doors the tablet which shows that they have taken a literary degree. We slept in a temple which an enterprising man had turned into an inn, and we were glad to find a watertight roof over us, for a very heavy thunderstorm burst in the evening.

From Lu-liang two level marches up the plain, through which the Ch'ü-ching River runs, brought us to Yüeh-chou. This is the place from which Momien derives its Chinese name of T'êng-Yüeh[1]. It still has walls round it, but is not now an official city, and much of the space inside it is taken up by fields, the main street of 200 houses being all that remains of the former town.

The next day, the 10th April, we reached Ch'ü-ching Fu, where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Allen of the China Inland Mission. The town, which stands at a height of 6,450 feet, contains about 1000 houses, and lies in one of the finest plains in Yün-nan. The plain is continuous from beyond Chan-yi Chou, a town lying north of Ch'ü-ching, down to below Lu-liang Chou, a total length of 50 miles, with an average width of five miles. The upper half of this plain, down to below Yüeh-chou, is very fertile, but nearer Lu-liang there are not so many irrigated fields and the crops are poor. I saw oats growing in one place near Ch'ü-ching, a crop I had not previously noticed in Yün-nan. I think it is only cultivated in the north-eastern part of the province. 241

Ch'ü-ching lies a little off the main road, and is not therefore a great trading place. Its principal industry is the weaving of cotton cloth from Indian yarn, which is im- 288 438

[1] See p. 45.

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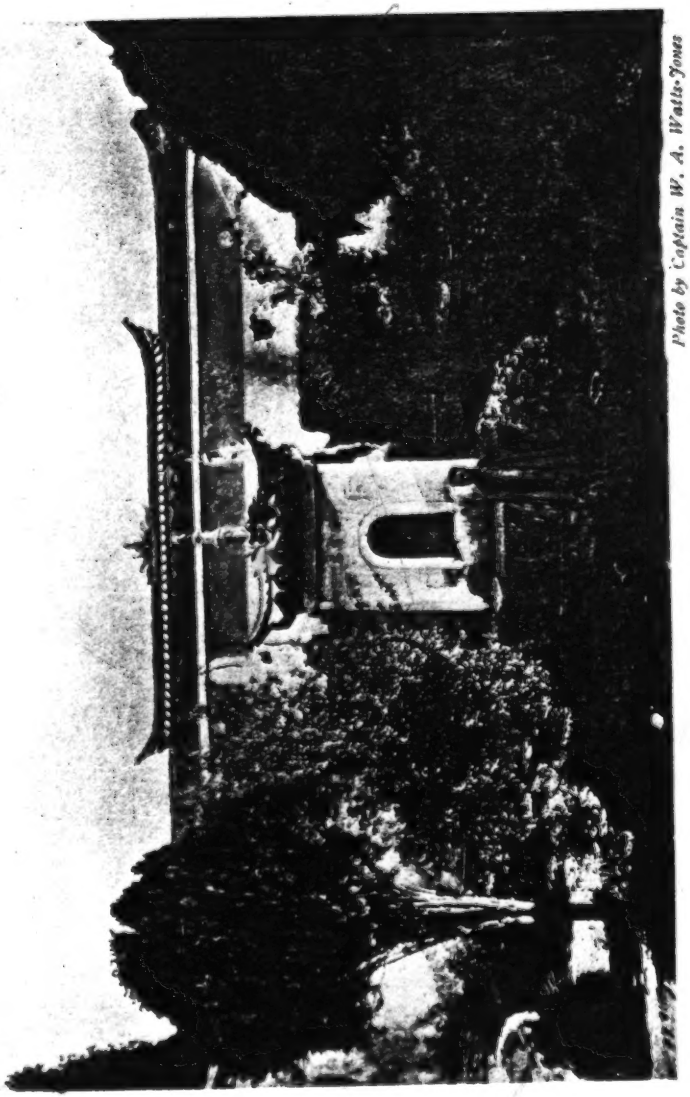

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Temple garden at Hsüan-wei Chou

Plate XXXVII

[Face p. 162]

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288 ported from Hong-kong, either through Tong-king or up
438 the West River to Pai-sê.

We had not seen much signs of trade on the road from Yün-nan Fu here, and indeed it was hardly to be expected, as we had not been on what is considered a main road. Coming from the east we had met perhaps 200 or 300 coolies carrying earthenware cups and jars to the capital, from a place called Mao-mao-shih not far from Yüeh-chou.

438 The caravans going the other way were confined chiefly
317 to mules loaded with salt. Yün-nan Fu is a great distributing centre of salt and tea. The former article comes from wells which lie north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu.

136 I had a little shooting in this Ch'ü-ching River plain. Near Lu-liang there were Brahminy ducks (Ruddy Sheldrake) feeding in the opium fields, and I found them quite easy to get up to. Baber also mentions that these birds are easy to approach in poppy fields. He suggests that they feed on the opium and get stupefied by it. This seems probable, as he is generally a very wary sort of duck. I also shot mallard, teal, and snipe in this plain, and near Ch'ü-ching got two widgeon out of a flock of a hundred or more on a small lake. This is the only time I have seen this duck in China.

000 Watts-Jones, who had, as I mentioned before, come by the main road through Ma-lung Chou, had passed through Ch'ü-ching on the 6th, so I was now following him on to Hsüan-wei.

Leaving Ch'ü-ching on the 11th we passed Chan-yi Chou, where our route rejoined the main road and the telegraph line. From here another very important road branches off eastward through P'ing-yi Hsien to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province. From Kuei-yang Fu one road turns northwards to Ch'ung-k'ing, and another continues eastward through Hu-nan, till it strikes the Yangtze at the T'ung-t'ing Lake.

We went on a little further and slept at Chiu-lung-shan in a temple on a little island between two branches of the Ch'ü-ching River. Here my interpreter discovered an official notice posted up, referring to Captain Pottinger's party having been obstructed in two places, and warning everyone against interference with him, as he was survey-

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000 ing for a railway with the sanction of the Chinese Government.

Passing Sung-lin, a village of two hundred houses with a mud wall round it, we took two days to reach Pan-ch'iao at the southern end of the Hsüan-wei plain. The country is undulating, and one passes through a series of little cultivated plateaus, with low rocky hills rising out of them, 316 and most of them without any running water. This part of Yün-nan is full of coal and hardly anything else is used as fuel. It is sold for 200 cash a cartload, which I calculate to be at about the rate of three shillings a ton.

000 On the 14th April I reached Hsüan-wei Chou, and found Watts-Jones there, established in a temple just inside the south gate. Here we were in telegraphic communication with the world again. Pottinger had arrived at Pi-chieh and hoped to meet us at Wei-ning Chou. We were very sorry to learn that Mr Tucker, who formed one of Pottinger's party, had returned to Ch'ung-k'ing suffering from pleurisy, and had died there of heart failure.

361 Hsüan-wei is a town of 800 houses and has two walls [316] round it, one inside the other. The plain in which it stands is a poor one, but the whole country round is full of coal mines which, with better means of communication, might 253 be extensively worked. Hsüan-wei is famous for its hams, which are excellent. Chinese hams vary very much. The best ones are very good, and this is the only form in which I ever ate pig in China.

After halting a day at Hsüan-wei, we left again on the 16th April, and soon found ourselves in a more hilly 186 country. In these parts the Chinese are in the habit of shouting out *yang kuei-tzŭ*, "foreign devil," an expression one does not hear very often in most parts of Yün-nan. In Hsüan-wei we had heard the little boys shouting it out as we walked about the town, but they took care to keep at a distance, and the Chinamen nearest us always wore a look of almost too complete innocence.

However our time for retaliation soon arrived. The day we left Hsüan-wei, Watts-Jones and I had walked on a little ahead and passed five or six Chinamen sitting by the roadside. Directly we had passed, we heard shouts of "yang kuei-tzŭ." We turned back at once and our

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Ferry over the K'o-tu Ho

Plate XXXVIII

[Face p. 164]

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. [316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

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312 here asked us to show them where to dig for water. The Chinese often credited us with the power of seeing what is under the earth. I suppose the idea is derived from embroidered narratives of the exploits of mining engineers.

The next march, over a dry, hilly country, brought us to Yao-chan, where we halted for a day as Watts-Jones had to go up a hill to the east to get a better idea of the 316 lie of the country. I took the opportunity to go up another hill to the west to do some surveying, and to visit a copper mine about two miles off.

This mine, they say, was formerly very productive and 2000 men are said to have found employment here. At the time of my visit there were not more than 100 miners at work. They live in little huts scattered about the valley, and there are three furnaces constantly kept burning to smelt the ore they dig out. The ore is mined out of the solid rock of which the hill is formed. There are no deep shafts: they cut caves out of the hillside, and the miners often live in the caves they are working in. They use hammers and iron wedges, and they say a man can get out a mule load of ore in two days. The ore varies a good deal in quality, and is sold for from two to seven mace a mule load. Taking a load as 130 lbs., this comes to from sixpence to one and ninepence for 100 lbs. The best ore is of a purple colour and is said to produce 10 per cent. of copper.

The lessee of the mine pays 500 or 600 taels a year to the Government for the right of smelting, and the miners are obliged to sell the ore to the lessee. The copper produced is sent to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province, and is there used for coining into cash.

132 The hill-tops in this part of the country rise to about 8000 feet, and they all had snow on them, which, combined with a biting north wind, made this one of the coldest days I have ever felt in western China.

361 On the 21st April we crossed a range, and skirting the edge of a large lake reached Wei-ning Chou, which is built on its further shore. The walls enclose a large space, but it is chiefly filled with temples, including a very large red Confucian temple. There are not more than 600 houses in the place, half within the walls and half without.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

On the Wei-ning plateau

Plate XXXIX

[Face p. 166]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 plain, and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung Fu and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal food of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants here and very little trade is done except in the necessaries of life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there are come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in the mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good communications these could no doubt be profitably worked. The height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very cold place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next day along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some more surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me over a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet for the water. I slept at Ssŭ-p'u at 8000 feet. For the last few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so that it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere traverse of the road. This is the sort of weather which is, I believe, prevalent throughout Ssŭ-ch'uan in the cold season. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," and it is natural to suppose that the province was so named as lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great part of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village of Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, was still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties in this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning and await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most difficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been for days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it absolutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do any useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 the natives of the country. A hundred men or so would collect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

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579 186 and fire at them with guns. Their shooting was so bad that no one was ever hit, and they would run away if attacked, but this sort of thing naturally interfered with survey operations. The officials were always friendly, and increased Pottinger's escort of Chinese soldiers to 150 men, 20 of whom were armed with mausers.

Even in Kuei-chou province on this side of Pi-chieh these attacks began again, and Pottinger warned them that if there was any more opposition to his movements he would fire on them. The next day they began rolling stones down again, and Pottinger and Hunter attacked them with the twenty mauser-armed Chinese soldiers. Three of the Chinese were killed, and there was after that no further trouble.

These disturbances were probably due to the rebellion of Yü-man-tzŭ, which spread over a great part of Ssŭ-ch'uan the year before, and had hardly been repressed at the time Pottinger was passing through that province.

We got back to Wei-ning in two days and found that Watts-Jones had also returned there. We put up in very good quarters in the mining office. They have a lot of boilers and other mining machinery here, which are the property of the Yün-nan Province Government, who have never used them and want to sell them, but are hardly likely to find a purchaser here.

436 We halted the next day to wait for Hunter, and went to call on the civil mandarin and on the general. The former showed us his mint where cash are coined. They are made of a mixture of copper, lead, and zinc which when melted is poured into a mould which makes 200 or 300 cash at once. Not many are coined here: most of the copper is sent to Kuei-yang, the capital of the province.

The price the Government give for copper is 11 taels for 100 catties. This comes to about threepence a pound, a price which, the mandarin says, is not enough to make copper-mining pay. This I can well believe. I have often wondered how cash could be coined so as not to cost more than they are worth as money, but no doubt at this price it can be done.

The cash is the only real coin that exists over the greater part of China. Roughly speaking its value is about a tenth

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436 of a farthing, so that it is impossible to take large sums about in this form. One has, therefore, to carry lumps of silver, which, in order to make small purchases, one has to weigh and exchange into cash at so many to a tael[1]. The exchange differs enormously in different towns of the same province even. I have in Yün-nan got as many as 1,400 cash for a tael and as few as 950. Sometimes too, to make it still more confusing, there are two sorts of cash, big and small, which naturally have different rates of exchange. Money-changers do a very profitable business, as in each string of 100 cash there are always two or three short. This is a recognised thing, and besides this legitimate profit, they make more by charging the unwary a higher rate than the market tariff.

The amount of silver which the traveller has to carry about with him, besides being a serious addition to the weight of his baggage, is always a source of anxiety. There is the danger of theft, and the possibility in a rough country of the box containing it tumbling into a river.
453 Happily it is not necessary to carry in silver the whole of the money necessary for a long expedition. There is an excellent system of banking throughout China, and credit notes obtained from Mandalay or Bhamo can be cashed at the branches of the same firm at Hsia-kuan, Yün-nan Fu and other places.

000 Hunter arrived on the evening of the 26th April, and we were able to make our plans for the future. The country between Wei-ning and the Yangtze had been found so difficult that it was necessary to see if a better line could be discovered by any other route. Pottinger and Hunter were therefore to go to Chên-hsiung Chou (lat. 27° 30′, long. 104° 45′) by different roads, and from there if possible to separate again and find different ways to the Yangtze. Watts-Jones was to strike across to Chao-t'ung Fu (lat. 27° 20′, long. 103° 40′) and on to the Yangtze at Sui Fu. Myself, I had to meet Turner and Ker at Yün-nan Fu, so I turned westwards again, taking the road for Tung-ch'uan Fu (lat. 26° 25′, long. 103° 10′), so as to see unexplored country.

[1] A Chinese weight of about 1⅓ oz., and worth at present about three shillings.

CHAPTER XXII

FROM WEI-NING CHOU BACK TO YÜN-NAN FU *VIÂ* TUNG-CH'UAN FU.

Part from Watts-Jones—Watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River—A mass of steep hills—White wax insect—The Niu-lan Chiang—Zinc smelting—Kung shan—Lead, silver, and zinc mines—Tung-ch'uan Fu—Weaving—Copper mines—The Yi-li Ho—A high plateau—Wooded country—Curious rice husking machine—Cuckoos—Hsün-tien Chou—Sung-ming Chou—Lose the way—Reach camp at dark—A country full of pheasants—Reach Yün-nan Fu—Meet Ker—Results of his explorations—Ryder's movements—Arrival of Turner.

WATTS-JONES and I left Wei-ning on the 27th April. 000 Our roads were the same for the first five miles, leading along the northern bank of the Wei-ning Lake, till we crossed its outlet by a bridge at Ta-ch'iao. Here we separated. My road led over undulating ground among clumps of fir trees to the little village of Shuang-lung-ch'iao where I pitched my tent.

On the 28th 18½ miles of hilly marching, over a country sparsely inhabited by Lo-los, brought us to Ch'ing-mo-ti. The next day we crossed a range at 8,150 feet and descended by a path, the last part of which was almost precipitous, to the small village of Ch'ia-hsi-ho.

The ridge crossed on this march is a spur running out from the main range which lies a few miles to the south and forms the watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River. I do not think I have ever seen such a mass of steep broken hills as this country presents. The hill-sides are 133 very barren and dry, and many of them are too steep to be 241 climbed, so that the roads have to follow the beds of streams. Maize is the chief thing grown by the few villages that there are.

This was the first district in which I came across the 231 white wax insect: most of the villages about here rear

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Carrying white wax insects

Plate XL [Face p. 170]

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231 them. They plant a particular sort of tree to breed them on. The insects consist of a soft brown shell full of a mass of very minute grubs. Some of these are kept for breeding and are put into little bundles of straw and fastened on to the tree. These little grubs after about a month come out of the shell and spread all over the tree. In a year's time each of these has produced its nest of grubs, and the crop is gathered and sold to men who come chiefly from Ssŭ-ch'uàn and Hu-nan. The price is 20 taels (about £3) for a man's load of 50 or 60 lbs. of insects.

The load being so valuable, great care is taken that the grubs should not be prematurely hatched out of their shell by the heat. The porters travel very quickly and only in the cool of the night. On arrival at their homes in Eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan or Hu-nan, they place the insects out on another sort of tree, and in course of time they come out of the shell and spread over the tree and produce wax. When the deposit is complete, as much as possible is scraped off, and the branches are then boiled so as to extract every particle of wax.

373 The white wax which these insects produce is much valued as it will stand a greater heat without melting than any other substance of this sort. It is used therefore principally in the manufacture of candles, as an outer coating to prevent the candle guttering. The gathering and selling of the crop of insects was in full swing as we passed through this part of the country at the end of April[1].

The next day we crossed the Niu-lan Chiang which is only 40 yards wide at the San-tao-kuai ferry but has a strong current and runs in a deep gorge. This river, which is the outlet of the Yang-lin Lake, is navigated by boats in some parts of its course. It forms here the boundary between Kuei-chou and Yün-nan, so that we were now again in the latter province after having been for the last twelve days in Kuei-chou.

328 The inhabitants of San-tao-kuai get their living by smelting zinc. The zinc ore is placed in conical shaped earthenware cups. When heated, the zinc rises from the ore in the shape of gas and collects on a sort of shelf inside

[1] For a full account of the White Wax Insect see Hosie's *Three Years in Western China*, Chapter XI.

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328 the cup near the top. The zinc is sold at about 1½*d.* for 1 lb., and is most of it sent to Yün-nan Fu to be mixed with copper to make cash.

After crossing the river we had a very steep climb of more than 3000 feet, reaching the top of the range at 8,600 feet and descending slightly to Kung-shan, a large mining village. The mine manager was a travelled man who had visited Shanghai, and I found him very civil.

316 Lead and zinc are the two chief minerals, and the lead ore also produces a small quantity of silver. I was told that the output of lead averages 400 lbs. in a day. The zinc is got out of very deep shafts, extending they say several *li*[1] into the hill-side. I did not test the exact accuracy of this statement, but I went a little way down one shaft and it certainly seemed to be a deep one. They are not sunk straight down but are sloped so that a man can walk down them, though the passage is so low that he has to keep in a bent position most of the way.

On the 1st May our road led us down a narrow valley to the Chê-hai plain, which is about seven miles long and contains a small lake and several villages. The next day after crossing a low range we reached Tung-ch'uan Fu where I was kindly put up by Mr and Mrs Grist and Dr Hicks,
288 the missionaries there. The official then at Tung-ch'uan was a very enterprising man who had established a manufactory of cotton cloth. The yarn is from Bombay, imported by Shanghai and the Yangtze. There was no European machinery: they used the ordinary Chinese looms.

361 The town walls of Tung-ch'uan do not enclose much space, but there are a good many people living outside the gates, and the whole town and suburbs must contain about 1000 houses. The population appear to be very friendly to foreigners.

241 The plain is some six miles long by three miles wide. It grows rice well, but the winter crops do not seem to
000 flourish, and the soil does not suit opium. Like Wei-ning

[1] The *li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Theoretically it is about 600 yds. but practically it varies in different parts of the country. In the hilly parts of Yün-nan it runs about five to the mile. Ten li may be usually taken as an hour's march, so that used in this way as a unit of time it is a very useful measure.

316 Like Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley

505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent

137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

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round in a circular furrow, into which the paddy was thrown. 407
It was worked by a water-wheel which revolved horizontally like a turbine, teeth being arranged all round the outer 376
edge of its top surface to catch the water.

We had heard cuckoos everywhere round us for the last 136
few days. The bird appears to be the same as the English cuckoo, and in western China as in England it makes its appearance in April, though I think in the Shan States I have heard it as early as March.

My mules went straight along the main road to Yang-kai 000
the next day, but I made a slight detour to see Hsün-tien Chou which lies a little off the road. It is a small, poor town in a rather well-cultivated plain with the upper waters of the Niu-lan Chiang running through it. The Tao-t'ai 631
of eastern Yün-nan has his residence here. His district comprises Chao-t'ung Fu, Tung-ch'uan Fu, and Ch'ü-ching Fu.

It rained most of the day and we did not reach Yang- 000
kai till seven in the evening, as the march with the circuit to Hsün-tien must have been 24 miles.

The next day we passed Sung-ming Chou which lies a mile to the right of the road[1]. The town is a small one, but it stands in a good plain, measuring about 10 miles each way. Exceptionally fine opium is grown here and at 249
Yang-kai. The poppy flower of Yün-nan is usually white, the next most common colour being mauve or purple. Scarlet poppies are occasionally seen but they are not common.

After crossing the plain the road leads over a lot of 000
uncultivated undulating ground. As there was some delay in changing our escort at Sung-ming, I went on without a guide. Going off to the right of the road to put up my plane-table, I tried to make a short cut back, and got on to the wrong path, a mistake which we did not discover till we met a man a mile or two on. We then struck across to the left but found so many well used tracks made by timber-hauling from the fir woods in front of us, that it was most difficult to pick out the right road. We could see no village and could find no one to ask the way of, and as it was

[1] What is considered the main road passes a little further to the east through Yang-lin, but the route I took is rather the more direct of the two.

1 [village of Liu-shu-ho -- Analyst]

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000 getting dark I began to think we were in for a dinnerless bed in the open. However on climbing on to a little ridge we were able to see some smoke which we made straight for. Luckily it turned out to be Shang-tui-lung, the very village we were to sleep at, and we found our mules arrived and tents pitched.

136 The following day, the 10th May, we started through a country full of pheasants, and crossing a range at 7000 feet, descended a little into the Yün-nan Fu plain and 000 reached the town in the evening. Mr Ker had also arrived the same day, so we were both in on the exact date that we had agreed to meet when we separated at Ch'u-hsiung in March. To keep up to time I had been obliged to do 65 miles in the last three days, longer marches than I have usually done when keeping up a survey, and longer indeed than pack mules would be capable of getting through in a continuous journey of several months.

Ker had been as far north as Hui-li Chou and had with Ram Sabad, one of the Survey of India surveyors, mapped a good deal of the very intricate country in that part of the Yangtze basin. His observations gave very small hope of finding a practicable line for a railway in that direction, and the correctness of his views was borne out by a further survey made in the following year.

Captain Ryder, I learnt from Mr Stevenson, the missionary here, had waited on a long time at Yün-nan Fu in hopes of getting the longitude, but finally had to give it up, and left on the 23rd April, going by a circuitous route through Lu-nan Chou and A-mi Chou to Mêng-tzŭ. From there he turned eastward to K'ai-hua Fu, and made his way thence by a direct road to Lao-kai on the Red River, the frontier town of Tong-king. From there he returned to India.

Ker and I had arranged to meet Turner at Yün-nan Fu, and we had not long to wait, for he came in two days after us. He had gone from Hui-li to Tung-ch'uan, and from there had come by the same road that I had followed to the capital.

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CHAPTER XXIII

YÜN-NAN FU TO THE RED RIVER.

Beginning of the rainy season—Ch'êng-kung Hsien—Chin-ning Chou—A lake country—Picturesque village—The T'ung-hai plain—Separate from Turner and Ker—Their subsequent travels in the rains—Impassable roads—The Chinese francolin—The Ch'ü Chiang valley—The Lin-an plain—An open plateau country—Mêng-tzŭ—Its European population—Attack on the foreign settlement—The trade of Mêng-tzŭ—Devil's punch-bowls—No inns—An unhealthy village—The Red River at Man-hao—Down the rapids by boat—A French fort—The French frontier.

FROM Yün-nan Fu I was to return to England *viâ* 000
Tong-king to report on the results of our expedition, while Mr Turner and Mr Ker were to make their way back to Burma. As however they wished to visit a gold mine at 316
T'a-lang T'ing, north-east of P'u-êrh, we all left Yün-nan Fu together.

We started on the 15th May in pouring rain, which made things most unpleasant, for in Yün-nan, as in Burma, the rainy season begins in the latter half of May. After an easy march down the plain which borders the K'un-yang Lake on its eastern side we reached the little town of Ch'êng-kung Hsien.

Continuing our march the next day down the same 361
plain we passed through Chin-ning Chou, a walled town of 700 houses, whose narrow street was densely packed with people, as we happened to strike it on a market day. We went on another six miles and slept at Hua-lo-ts'un, villages being as a rule pleasanter places to pass the night in than towns.

From here we left the basin of the K'un-yang Lake and 000
crossed a range at a low gap, descending to another large lake called Ch'êng-chiang Hai. The road leaves this on its left and, passing through the little town of Chiang-ch'uan, reaches Hai-mên-ch'iao. This village is picturesquely placed

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000 between the little Chiang-ch'uan Lake and the hills to the east of it, just at the point where a stream connecting it with the Ch'êng-chiang Hai forces its way through these hills.

The village has some nice trees and looks well from a distance: inside are the usual pigs and dirt. Its height is just under 6000 feet, the first time for six weeks I had camped at such a low elevation.

On the 18th, crossing a low range of hills, we descended to the lake of T'ung Hai, and, rounding its eastern end, reached the town of that name. The plain round the lake is well cultivated and there is a ring of large villages round it. The town though not very big is decidedly prosperous and has a good deal of trade. We found kerosine oil in general use here for lamps, a sign that we were approaching the civilisation of Tong-king.

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From here Turner and I separated, his road branching off in a more westerly direction. Ker had left us two days previously to find a way from Chin-ning to T'a-lang, thus getting more country surveyed than we otherwise should have done.

316 Turner and Ker met at T'a-lang and were able to visit the gold mine, which they found a productive one in spite of the very crude machinery used. After this they had a most trying journey over roads rendered nearly impassable by heavy rains. They followed up the course of the Pa-pien Chiang (Black River) for several days, turning westward from near the south end of the Ching-tung T'ing plain. Ker crossed the Mekong to Yün Chou, and from there went northward to Ta-li Fu, where he met Turner, who had come there by a more direct route. They did not reach Burma till August. Travelling in Yün-nan in the rains is not a pleasant experience. It was quite an exceptional circumstance for them not to be wet to the skin on every march, and their rate of progress was sometimes not more than a mile an hour.

136 It had rained almost unceasingly since we left Yün-nan Fu, so it was pleasant to start the next morning in fine weather, with the cheerful call of the Chinese francolin all round us. This bird closely resembles the painted partridge of southern India, and is the common partridge of Burma

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and of the Shan States and the lower lying valleys of Yün-nan; but I have never before or since seen it at anything like such a high elevation as 6,200 feet, which is about the height of the T'ung-hai plain. 136

Crossing a range of hills we descended steeply down a narrow gorge to the Ch'ü Chiang valley, which being only 4,800 feet is warm enough to grow sugar cane, a valuable product in Yün-nan. The river which waters this valley is 100 yards wide and is fordable at this time of year, being also crossed here by a wooden footbridge. Later on in the rains the water rises and mules have to cross by a bridge two miles lower down, just where the river leaves the plain. 249 000

I have reason to remember the footbridge, for the man who was in charge of my pony, so as not to wet his own feet, tried to lead him over the bridge. As it was made of narrow planks not very carefully joined together and the whole structure was decidedly shaky, the natural result was that the pony fell off it when he had got half way across. It was an anxious moment when I heard a shout from behind and looked back to see the pony hang for a moment and then fall. Luckily he was not hurt, though there was a considerable drop.

Our hopes of getting through the day dry were disappointed, as, before we could reach our night's quarters at Kuan-yi, a heavy thunderstorm burst, which wetted us to the skin in a few moments.

On the 20th May a march of 17 miles took us to Hsin-fang, a village in the Lin-an plain, where we put up in a temple. We were below 5000 feet here and in a much warmer climate than the traveller in Yün-nan is accustomed to, while the mosquitos reminded us that we were now in the rainy season. Luckily we had a clear night and I was able to take the latitude, the only observation I got between Yün-nan Fu and Tong-king.

The town of Lin-an Fu lies five miles off the road to the south and I had not time to visit it, but I made a slight detour the next morning to the top of a low spur, and I was able to fix its position.

The town is said to contain 1000 houses: it lies in a plain of considerable extent, but only narrow strips along 361 241

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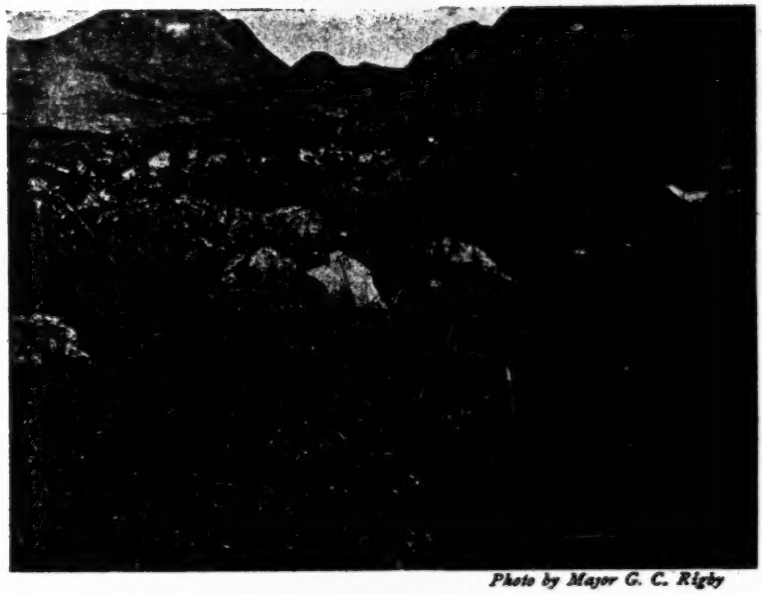

Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

Country between Mêng-tzŭ and Man-hao

Plate XLI [Face p. 178]

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361/ the two streams that water it are irrigated: the rest of the
241/ plain lies too high and is consequently little cultivated.
The natives of Lin-an, like those of T'êng-yüeh, have a
186 strong antipathy to anyone who has not had the good fortune to be born a Chinaman. So far do they carry their hatred of everything foreign that they even refuse to weave their cloth out of foreign yarn. They import their material for making clothes in the shape of raw cotton from the Shan States. Such at least was the case at the time of my visit.

Three days from Hsin-fang, over a fairly open plateau country, brought us to Mêng-tzŭ[1], where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Spinney of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

579 This place was only opened as a treaty port in 1889.
186 The foreign settlement is pleasantly situated outside the town, the European community at the time consisting, besides the Customs Staff, of a French consul, a doctor, and one French merchant. The well-built, well-furnished houses in which they lived made one feel that one was in civilisation once more.

Mêng-tzŭ was considered a very quiet place, and the inhabitants of the town were extremely civil and fairly free from curiosity. But only a short time after my visit the Europeans there had a very unpleasant awakening from their sense of security.

In the middle of the night the foreign settlement was attacked by a large armed mob recruited principally from the workers in the Ko-chiu tin mines. The foreign community, among whom at the time were several French officers, concentrated in the French Consulate and made good their defence. The rioters, however, killed two Chinese servants and burned or carried off everything from the remaining houses.

439 Mêng-tzŭ is a busy place for Yün-nan, and even though the rainy season had begun I must have met quite 1000 loaded mules since leaving T'ung-hai. They were most of them carrying cotton yarn imported from Bombay *viâ* Hong Kong. This Indian yarn is cheaper than the Man-

[1] Sometimes spelt Mêng-tsz' or Mong-tze.

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439 chester product and is rapidly supplanting the latter in western China.

The height of Mêng-tzŭ I made about 4,700 feet, and the climate is pleasantly cool. The inhabitants of the surrounding country belong principally to the P'u-la and other tribes, speaking dialects of the Lo-lo type.

133 After spending two very pleasant days here, I started for the Red River, taking three days to do the 30 miles which separate Mêng-tzŭ from Man-hao. The country passed through is curious, consisting chiefly of a mass of small basins with no outlet for the water. These "devil's punch-bowls" are characteristic of a great part of the eastern and south-eastern parts of Yün-nan.

485 Another curious and unpleasant feature of the road from Mêng-tzŭ to Man-hao is the entire absence of any sort of inn accommodation for men. There are large stables for mules at the recognised halting places, but no provision is apparently considered necessary for human beings who are so ill advised as to take a road which leads into countries outside the borders of the Middle Kingdom.

000 As it rained on and off, I had to sleep beside my mules on the first night, and on the second to squeeze into an extremely small temple already occupied by a tax collector and his clerk. The country passed through is very poor and thinly populated. The village of Yao-t'ou, where I slept my second night, is considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese, and is inhabited by Cantonese who have found their way there through Tong-king. Its height is over 4000 feet, but it is placed in a narrow valley much shut in by hills, which perhaps accounts for its bad reputation. The name Yao-t'ou means "shake head," and is said to have been given to it because everyone who sees it shakes his head in disapproval.

From here, after a little up hill, a very steep descent in pouring rain brought us down to the Red River at Man-hao at a height of 600 feet. The village contains 100 houses,
505 inhabited by Cantonese Chinamen and Shans. Small boats can go a considerable distance further up the river, but Man-hao is the limit for large boats and may be considered as practically the head of navigation.

Mr Spinney had kindly arranged about a boat, so I was

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[501] 505 able to leave Man-hao the same day. The boats are some 50 feet long and 10 feet wide across the middle. They are said to carry a load of 10,000 lbs. I found plenty of room in one for myself and five followers and our baggage, besides the six men who formed the crew. The boat is got along by rowing, the crew having occasional "easies" during which we drifted down at a good pace, as the current is strong.

Three and a half hours' rowing brought us to the village of Hsin-kai, where we halted for the night, as boats cannot run after dark owing to the rapids. It poured with rain all the night through, and the matting roof of the boat was by no means equal to keeping out such a torrent.

Starting again at dawn the next day we went on at a good pace, negotiating several rapids, in one of which the boat struck a rock, but without doing any damage. The first sign of the French was the tricolor flying over a small fort on the right bank. This was Lung-po, the frontier post in this direction. From here down to Lao-kai the Red River is the boundary between Tong-king and China.

At half-past one we reached Ho-k'ou, just 24 hours from Man-hao, but of this time we had spent nearly 12 hours tied up at Hsin-kai. Ho-k'ou is a village of 500 houses or so, and is the last place in China in this direction, Lao-kai, the French frontier station, being separated from it by the Nam Ti or Nan-hsi Ho, which here joins the left bank of the Red River.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THROUGH TONG-KING.

Ho-k'ou and Lao-kai—A French frontier station—The Foreign Legion—Arrival of M. Doumer the Governor-General—His rapid journey—Chinese view of his energy—A small stern-wheeler—Yenbay—Hospitality of French officers—Hanoi—Haiphong—A French ship with no French officers—The officials of Tong-king—The commerce of Haiphong—The finances of the colony—A cargo of pigs and chickens—Hong Kong—By P. and O. to Marseilles.

AT Ho-k'ou I was very kindly put up by Mr Bono, of the Chinese Maritime Customs. We crossed over to Lao-kai in the evening and I made the acquaintance of the Colonel commanding the district, who was very pleasant and asked us into the Military Club. 000

Lao-kai is quite a small place, containing perhaps 100 houses. A little above the town are some barracks and the commandant's house, and above these again a small fort. Beyond this there is very little; and low hills covered with jungle come down close to the barracks. On the opposite bank of the Red River is Kok-lio, and it is here that most of the garrison are quartered, consisting of a few companies of the Foreign Legion and of Annamite Tirailleurs.

All the part of Tong-king that lies above Yenbay was still under military administration. It had, however, by this time pretty well quieted down, and the credit for its pacification is given to Colonel Pennequin, who commanded and administered the district till a year or two before.

The Foreign Legion have done a great deal of the desultory fighting that has taken place since the French occupation of Tong-king. They consist in great part of Alsatians, Swiss, and Belgians, with a certain number of Germans, and a few men from nearly every country in Europe, Englishmen and Americans being fewer than

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almost any other nationality. There are even some Frenchmen among them, for very few questions are asked when a man is enlisted. Many of them are men of bad character, but they are kept under very strict discipline, and are good fighting material. The officers are French, and as the Foreign Legion sees a great deal of service, they have no difficulty in getting good officers to volunteer for this corps.

On the following day M. Doumer, the Governor-General of French Indo-China, arrived at Lao-kai, and there was great playing of bands and firing of salutes, followed by a torchlight procession in the evening. He was on his way to Yün-nan Fu to see the Viceroy of the province, chiefly I believe to arrange matters about the railway that the French are making from Tong-king. I had met a large party of their engineers between Mêng-tzŭ and Man-hao, and the preliminary survey for the line had been already done[1].

M. Doumer is a particularly energetic man, and he left the same night on his journey up the river, and I believe rode the distance from Man-hao to Yün-nan Fu in an extraordinarily short time. This display of energy would excite the admiration of a European, but unfortunately it is not calculated to impress the Chinese. For a high official to be in a hurry is not at all according to etiquette. His rapid movements probably gave them the impression that he was in some difficulty from which only the immediate assistance of the Viceroy of Yün-nan could extricate him.

The Governor-General's arrival was a fortunate event for me, as instead of waiting nearly a week for the next mail steamer I was able to get a passage down the river on the boat by which he had come up. The "Bao-ha," as she was named, was a small stern-wheeler 80 feet long and drawing only 60 centimetres. She was one of the steamers specially made for the navigation of the upper part of the Red River.

Leaving Lao-kai at eight in the morning we got through the 105 miles which separated us from Yenbay before dark in the evening. The river, 200 yards wide at Lao-kai,

[1] For an account of this line see pp. 330, 331.

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begins to broaden out to a width of a quarter of a mile a short distance above Yenbay, and the current here becomes perceptibly slower. The population appears to be sparse and hills covered with jungle come down to the river bank. Occasionally a small fort is passed and the steamer made some stops to take in or put down passengers. At Yenbay I was most hospitably entertained by the Colonel in command, who had formerly been A.D.C. to the Governor of Pondicherry and had travelled about India a good deal.

Leaving again the next day on a much larger stern-wheeler, the "Yün-nan," we reached Hanoi in 12 hours, including a stoppage of an hour when the steamer ran ashore on a sandbank. These river steamers are worked entirely by Tong-kingese, with a French purser to look after the passengers.

Hanoi, the capital of Tong-king, is a town of about 100,000 inhabitants with good broad streets and French built houses, a large hotel and a fair number of French shops. One sees very few carriages; everyone uses rickshaws.

The next evening we left for Haiphong. The steamers between Hanoi and Haiphong run by night and get through the journey down stream in 12 hours. They are very comfortable and have regular cabins which the upper river boats do not possess.

Arrived at Haiphong I was lucky enough to find a ship leaving the next day for Hong Kong. She was flying the tricolor, and when I went on board to ask what time she started, I naturally addressed the captain in French. The captain stared at the mate, and the mate stared at the captain: they evidently did not understand a word I said. This did not surprise me, so I was going to have another try, when one of them said, "Can't you speak English? We don't understand any French here." The captain it turned out was a Norwegian, and the two mates were both English. The only Frenchman on the ship was one of the engineers.

This state of things is rather characteristic of a French colony. It seems most difficult to get the right class of man to emigrate. The large number of officials that are

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000 sent out to administer Tong-king is a standing joke among the military and non-official part of the population. Doubtless some of these are able and energetic men, but from all accounts they do not all answer to this description.

Commercial men, too, do not seem very keen on coming out to French colonies, and the heavy duties levied do not tend to make trade here a very paying business. Haiphong is the principal commercial town of Tong-king, but the greater part of the business is done by two German firms. The imports consist largely of British goods transhipped from Hong Kong, and a great deal of Bombay yarn is thus brought through Tong-king into Yün-nan. The population of Haiphong is said to be 20,000, of which some 5000 are Chinamen.

Tong-king reminds one very much of Burma. The lower part, the delta of the Red River, is a large rice plain, with some higher-lying ground rising out of it. Further up the river the country becomes hilly and forest-clad. Financially the colony does not seem to have been a success. For many years a large annual grant had to be obtained from the French Government to keep things going. It was not till the arrival of M. Doumer as Governor-General in 1898 that Tong-king was able to pay its own way[1].

Leaving Haiphong on the evening of the 3rd June, we reached Hong Kong on the morning of the 7th. The actual time taken in this voyage was only 48 hours, but we called at Hoi-hou, in the island of Hai-nan, and were delayed here some time taking in a large cargo of pigs and chickens.

From Hong Kong I took the P. and O. for Marseilles, my Indian and Chinese followers leaving the ship at Singapore and returning thence to Rangoon.

[1] The colony has, I believe, progressed much since the time of my visit.

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CHAPTER XXV

MYITKYINA TO T'ÊNG-YÜEH *VIÂ* SIMA.

Our work of the previous year—Necessity for further explorations—Watts-Jones and Ker go to Ssŭ-ch'uan—Project of reaching Assam from China—Ryder's route—My route—Manifold's route—By rail to Myitkyina—Cross the Irrawaddy—The Nantabet—Bad ferries in Burma—The fort of Sima—Cross the frontier—A picturesque but inconvenient bridge—My followers—Our Gurkhas—The first Chinese village—Chan-ta—The sawbwa's fate—Three different accounts of it—Kan-ai—T'êng-yüeh—Mr Jamieson.

In our expedition of 1898–99 we had surveyed a considerable area of country and had examined a line for a railway from Burma to the Yangtze. But there still remained much work to be done. 000

In the first place it was not yet certain that the line we had reconnoitred was the best that could be found. There was still a possibility that the Chien-ch'ang valley[1] route might turn out to be an improvement on it, and it was therefore very essential to make a more thorough exploration of this part of the country than we had been able to do the previous year.

Besides this, Yün-nan is a large province, and though among us we had covered some thousands of miles of road, there still remained large districts about whose commercial and mining resources it would be useful to gain information. It was not therefore difficult to plan out journeys for another season, though some care and consideration was necessary to arrange our routes so as not to go over trodden ground.

Our party was not to be such a large one as that of the year before. Captain Watts-Jones and Mr Ker were both sent to Ssŭ-ch'uan this year to survey lines from the Yangtze to Ch'êng-tu, the capital of that province. But Ker was also to explore the eastern approach to the Chien-ch'ang valley route by following the road from Chia-ting Fu

[1] Lat. 27° to 28° 30′, long. 102° 15′.

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000 (lat. 29° 35′, long. 103° 45′) up the T'ung River valley. Captain Ryder was, however, very keen on another year's exploring in Yün-nan, and he and I were able to make our plans for seeing as much new country as possible.

I had for some time entertained an idea of trying to find a way across from China to Assam, near the sources of the Irrawaddy, a region very imperfectly explored, as Prince Henri d'Orléans's route lay to the south of it and that of A. K., the Indian surveyor, further to the north. The end of our explorations in Yün-nan seemed a good opportunity for putting this project into execution, and it was with this idea that Ryder and I arranged that in April, when our travels in Yün-nan were finished, we should meet at A-tun-tzŭ[1], a town in the extreme north-west corner of the province (lat. 28° 30′, long. 98° 55′). Here we were to be joined by Major C. C. Manifold, of the Indian Medical Service, with whom I had been in communication on this subject for some time.

Our plans for the five months' work that first lay before us in Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan were roughly as follows.

Ryder was to travel from T'êng-yüeh north-east to Yün-lung Chou; thence, avoiding previously surveyed routes, he was to make his way to Yün-nan Fu. From there he was to make a circuit to the south, visiting several important towns that we had not been able to see the year before, and to meet me at Yi-men Hsien, which lies three days south-west from the capital. After this he was to go westward to Ch'u-hsiung (lat. 25°, long. 101° 35′), and then turning north-east to find a way across to Tung-ch'uan Fu (lat. 26° 25′, long. 103° 10′) and on to Chao-t'ung Fu (lat. 27° 20′, long. 103° 40′). From there again turning west he was to find a fairly straight line to A-tun-tzŭ.

Myself, I was to survey the road from T'êng-yüeh to Lung-ling T'ing (lat. 24° 35′, long. 98° 40′), and from there find as straight a route as possible to Yün Chou (lat. 24° 30′, long. 100° 10′). Thence south-east to Wei-yüan, and, avoiding the direct P'u-erh road which I had traversed in 1895, strike off east to Hsin-fu (lat. 23° 40′, long. 101° 10′)

[1] Often spelt Atentze.

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on the Black River, and so down to P'u-erh (lat. 23° 5′, long. 101° 5′). From here up through T'a-lang, Hsin-p'ing (lat. 24° 5′, long. 102°), and Yi-mên to Yün-nan Fu. Starting again from the capital, my route was to lie northwards to survey the Chien-ch'ang valley and meet Ker at Yuëh-hsi T'ing (lat. 28° 40′, long. 102° 35′). From here I was to find as direct a road as possible westward to A-tun-tzŭ.

Our routes besides being mapped out so as to avoid as much as possible all country already surveyed, were also arranged so as to complete the longitudes by telegraph that Ryder had begun last year. He had then fixed T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang, Ta-li, and Ch'u-hsiung, but had not been able to get Yün-nan Fu. We were able this year to manage that Ryder should be at Yün-nan Fu while I was at P'u-êrh, and again that he should be at Ch'u-hsiung while I was at Yün-nan Fu. We were thus able to fix the position of both Yün-nan Fu and P'u-êrh Fu. Both results came out very satisfactorily, so that maps of Yün-nan can now be constructed on a much more secure basis than before.

Manifold was not able to start till very late in the season, and came nearly straight up from Burma to A-tun-tzŭ, getting in, however, a good deal of new country on his way up. His route lay from Yung-ch'ang Fu northwards to Yün-lung Chou, and thence north-east till he struck the Yangtze at Shih-ku (lat. 26° 50′, long. 99° 55′). From there he was to follow up Gill's route northward, but as it turned out he found this blocked by snow, and had to get to A-tun-tzŭ by the valley of the Mekong.

Leaving London in October, 1899, I reached Rangoon early in the following month and went up to Myitkyina by train, the railway having been opened in March of that year. Ryder, being unable to get mules at Myitkyina, had to start from Bhamo.

I had already been in by the main Bhamo route and by the Sadon route, so I determined this time to see new country by taking the road through Sima to Chan-ta[1]. The actual start has to be made from Waingmaw, a village on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, two miles below Myitkyina, and the process of getting baggage across by

[1] San-ta in Shan.

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Corner of Sima Fort

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Paknoi Hka

Plate XLII [Face p. 188]

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000 miserable little dug-outs was a long one, as the river is a good 500 yards wide.

On the 15th November I was able to make a start from Waingmaw. There is first 21 miles of level road over a grassy plain, almost uninhabited, to Kazu, a military police post near the foot of the hills. The crossing of the Nantabet River, 300 yards wide, caused considerable delay, as at the ferry there was only one small dug-out, not capable of taking more than three mule-loads at a time. The arrangements for crossing rivers in British territory, both in Burma and in the Shan States, compare very unfavourably with the excellent bridges and ferries one finds in China.

Two more short but hilly marches brought us to Sima, which is our frontier fort and is garrisoned by military police. The buildings, which were of the very inflammable split bamboo and thatch, were just about to be replaced by stone houses. I was hospitably entertained here by Mr Barnard, the civil officer of this part of the Kachin Hills, who was the only British officer in Sima at the moment.

Continuing our march the next day we crossed the Paknoi Hka[1], a stream which here forms the boundary between Burma and China. It is only 15 to 20 yards wide, but is full of rocks and has such a tremendous current that it is not fordable at this time of year. We had to cross by a picturesque but very shaky bamboo bridge, too narrow for loaded mules to pass, so that everything had to be taken off, and mules and loads brought across separately. We made our first camp in China about a mile beyond the Kachin village of Shirawkawng.

I had with me this year the same surveyor, Lachman Jadu, and the same interpreter, Huang-hsin-chai, as last year. It had also been arranged that Ryder, Manifold, and I should each bring with us two or three Gurkha sepoys, so that we should be able to defend ourselves if necessary in the wild country we might have to pass through in the last stage of our intended journey. These men were obtained through the Government of India from the military police

[1] *Hka* means a stream or river in the Kachin language.

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000 battalion at Myitkyina, and very useful indeed they proved, especially in the Tibetan part of our journey.

Two of these, Naik Seowlal Thapa and Doba Ram, accompanied me, and our party was completed by my Madrassi cook, a Chinese mule man promoted to be servant, and the surveyor's Khalassi cook. For our baggage we had 16 mules with Chinese drivers.

On the 20th November, we reached Mêng-lung, a village of hill Chinamen, the first Chinese we had come across, the inhabitants so far being all Kachins. As usual on this frontier range the night was a cold one, the thermometer falling to 21°. The next day we crossed the Irrawaddy-Taping watershed at a low place at 6,500 feet, and descended gradually to the Chan-ta plain. We slept at the village of Ho-pyek, as the road does not pass through the capital of the state.

687 Moreover a visit at this moment to the town of Chan-ta would not have been very opportune, as the sawbwa, my host of last year, had lately had his head cut off by the Chinese authorities.

The story as told me at Ho-pyek is as follows:—In the summer of 1899 a person appeared pretending to be the nephew of the sawbwa and the rightful heir to the throne. Possibly because they wished to get rid of the sawbwa, who had not a very good reputation, the Chinese officials at T'êng-yüeh took the part of the pretender. They marched some Chinese soldiers down to Chan-ta, and the sawbwa fled to the hills, where the Kachins received him and prepared to resist the Chinese. The officer in command, being apparently more of a diplomat than a warrior, did not like the idea of attacking Kachin stockades. He invited the sawbwa to come back to his capital, and said that in order to settle things in a friendly way they would lay the matter before a meeting of Shan sawbwas. The sawbwa was foolish enough to come in, and of course had his head cut off. The supposed nephew then reigned in his stead, but the Chinese soon afterwards found out that he was an impostor, and decapitated him too.

Now this sounded quite a circumstantial and probable story, but the next day, only a few miles off, I was to hear an equally circumstantial but absolutely different version of

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

The sawbwa of Chan-ta (San-ta)

Plate XLIII

[Face p. 190]

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687 the affair. Here they told me that a relation of the Chinese general at T'êng-yüeh asked the sawbwa to lend him some money, the loan being no doubt intended for the general himself. The sawbwa said he had no money to spare, and refused. A little while afterwards the general's relative or someone sent by him tried to break into the sawbwa's house and steal the money he wanted, but the thief was caught in the act and shot. Soon afterwards the general invited the sawbwa to go up to T'êng-yüeh, and asked him to dine with him. After dinner he had his head cut off.

A few days afterwards we heard from Mr Jamieson, the Consul at T'êng-yüeh, the Chinese official version of the case. This was that the sawbwa had been guilty of a series of crimes culminating with the murder of his old Chinese clerk. The T'êng-yüeh authorities therefore tried him, condemned him to death, and executed him.

Which of these three stories is the true one I will not venture to guess—probably none of them. The sawbwa had not a good reputation and possibly deserved his fate. But among the Shans whom I spoke to there was evidently a feeling that an injustice had been done, and the sawbwa's wife had gone down to Rangoon en route for Peking to complain to the emperor.

000 On the 22nd I meant to get to the new town of Kan-ai (Möng Na), where I was to meet Ryder, but being much delayed by taking a short cut which turned out a very bad road, and by crossing the Taping by ferry, we did not reach the Nam Ti till nightfall and then found this river unfordable. It was too dark and too late to look for a boat, so I had to return a mile or two and sleep in a Shan monastery, where the worthy monks were all hard at work smoking opium! Strict Buddhism does certainly not thrive in places which have come at all under Chinese influence.

The next morning I found Ryder in Chiu-ch'êng, the old town of Kan-ai. He had also been delayed by bad roads and had been able to get no further than this. So, as we heard that the road from the new town up the right bank of the Nam Ti was very bad for mules, we decided to stick to our last year's route. Three marches brought us to T'êng-yüeh on the 25th November.

Here we found Mr Jamieson, who had been appointed

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000 British Consul since our last visit to this town, and we spent most of our time with him. We found the people very quiet and friendly—a great contrast to the unpleasant reception we had met with the year before. Mr Jamieson had a little trouble when he first arrived, but soon established friendly relations. At the time of our visit he was just on the point of leaving to take up the appointment of Commercial Attaché in China. Unfortunately his place at T'êng-yüeh was not filled for some time, and Major Manifold, passing through here a few months later, experienced a very hostile reception[1].

Now however a British Consul and an officer of the Imperial Maritime Customs have been established here for some years.

See p. 255.

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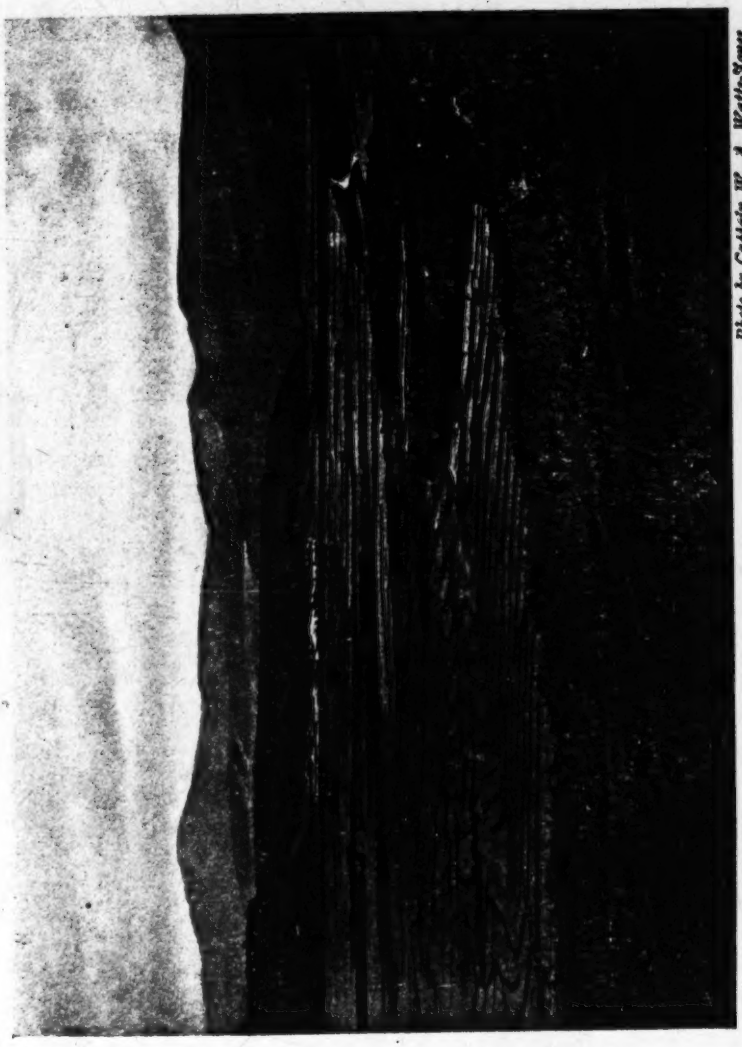

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Nan-tien plain

Plate XLIV

[Face p. 192]

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CHAPTER XXVI

T'ÊNG-YÜEH TO P'U-ÊRH.

Ryder starts for Yün-lung Chou—I start for Lung-ling T'ing—A charitable Buddhist monk—A hilly journey to the Shweli—Man-lo ferry—Am taken for Jamieson—Lung-ling—A direct route to Yün Chou—The Salween valley—Precipitous hills—P'an-chih-hua ferry—Lo-los—Yao-kuan again—A Mahommedan fort—The Yung-ch'ang River at Wan-tien—A Shan plain—Buckwheat—A hare—Ta-mêng-t'ung—Strike into our route of the year before—Yün Chou—Objections to my leaving the main road—Stories of rebellion—The Mêng-ma valley—A former Shan state—The Mekong at Ka-li ferry—The salt trade—The salt wells of Yün-nan—A retired highway man in charge of the district—A Mahommedan traitor—The Ching-ku valley—Tea growing—A woodcock—Deep sandstone chasms—Wei-yüan—Up the Wei-yüan River—A salt well—My drunken cook—An abominable road—The K'a-tu tribe—Hsin-fu—The Black River valley—Christmas with a coffin—Unpleasant climate—An uninteresting country—The Mo-hei salt wells—P'u-êrh—Difficulties of longitude by telegraph—Our final success—The treaty port of Ssŭ-mao—Mr Cary's invitation.

000 On the 27th November we set out again. Ryder took the road north-east to Yün-lung Chou, while I went south-east towards Lung-ling T'ing.

I did not take the direct road to that place, as this had been already surveyed by Captain H. B. Walker of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry the year before. To avoid known country I therefore retraced my steps to Nang-sung-kuan, our last camp before marching into T'êng-yüeh, and struck across eastward from there.

The first day out of Nang-sung-kuan proved an uphill march, and I got no further than the little hill monastery of Chai-t'ang, inhabited by a white-bearded Buddhist
792 priest. These monks, who live in the mountains far from any village, are very superior men to the ordinary priest of the village temple, and give themselves up to small works of charity, such as giving food or straw sandals to travellers.

000 In the morning, while still in the Nam Ti valley, I got a shot at some coolan (*grus cinerea*) and killed two with

[p. 192]

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000 one shot from my ·303. A lucky shot and the game was very welcome as a relief to perpetual chicken. The breast of this bird cooked like a beefsteak is excellent.

Three more days of hilly going brought us to Lung-ling. The Shweli is crossed by raft at Man-lo ferry, some eight miles short of the town. The Shweli valley here and the hills round it are principally inhabited by Chinamen, but there are a few scattered Shan villages and even some Las. The country was formerly Shan, and many of the villages retain their original Shan names.

At the river I met several officials on their way to settle the position of a new iron chain suspension bridge which they proposed building near here. One of these mandarins had been out with the Boundary Commission last year, and had learnt the accomplishment of shaking hands, a feat which he performed with right or left hand indifferently. He appeared overjoyed to see me, rather to my surprise, as I could not recollect ever having met him before. But it turned out after a little conversation that he had taken me for Jamieson. I do not think there is any resemblance between us, but I suppose all Europeans look much the same to Chinese eyes.

361 Lung-ling stands at a height of 5,200 feet and appears to contain about 800 houses, but the plain it stands in does not measure more than a square mile in extent. It is a poor place compared to T'êng-yüeh, and derives most of its prosperity from trade with Mang-shih (Möng Hkwan), Nam-hkam and other Shan states.

000 From here I purposed striking east by as direct a route as possible to Yün Chou. Mr H. L. Scott, of the Yün-nan Company, had the previous year taken what is considered the main road between these two places, *viâ* La-mêng ferry and Shih-tien; but this makes a considerable circuit to the north. I had heard of another ferry called P'an-chih-hua crossing the Salween lower down, and I determined to make for this place.

287 An easy march on the 2nd December took us to Mêng-
285 mao, a small Chinese plain of four or five villages, where they make a little coarse paper and weave mats out of rushes. This place must not be confused with the big
000 Mêng-mao on the Shweli, the Möng Mow of the Shans.

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000

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

The Salween at Chuan-shui ferry

Plate XLV

[Face p. 194]

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 177 [304] [249] We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who still use their own language, but have in other respects adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had been on my former visit. 712 In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation here is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state.
243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides.
136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese
622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

006 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them
435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12*s.* and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

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000 I found at Yün Chou the same mandarin whom I had met there the year before. He was very civil and friendly, but, like all Chinese officials, he wants the traveller to go on by a main road to the nearest town, so as to get rid as quickly as possible of the responsibility of having a foreigner in his district.

Now the road from here to Wei-yüan which I proposed to follow can by no means be considered as a *ta lu* or big road, so my ideas did not at all meet with the mandarin's approval. Accordingly in the evening he sent a message to my interpreter to say he would like to see him, and gravely informed him that there was a rebellion going on in Mêng-ma, a place I should have to pass through. Of course I knew this was pure fiction, and I sent an answer to say that if on nearing Mêng-ma I found anything going on I would take some other road. After this there were no more objections, and we left Yün Chou the next morning, climbing very steeply more than 3000 feet up a grass-covered range.

The following day we descended into the Mêng-ma valley, which we followed down for a day and a half. The width of cultivation only averages about 100 yards on either
137 side of the little river which waters it. The hills on both sides are covered with scrub jungle, which runs down to the edge of the fields, and the river in the middle is lined
361 with willow and other small trees. Along the foot of the hills are scattered at intervals little villages, each surrounded in the Shan fashion with its clump of cultivated bamboos. The Mêng-ma valley strikes one as being rather pretty at first, but its monotony begins to pall after a time.

631 Mêng-ma was formerly a Shan state, but is now administered directly by the Yün Chou mandarin. The representative of the sawbwa's family, with a few Shan households, still lives in the principal village, but he has now little power. In fact the Shans have been entirely absorbed by the Chinese, and the Shan language and other signs of Shan nationality have practically died out.

000 Turning out of this valley we crossed another range of hills, and on the 17th December, the fifth day out of Yün Chou, crossed the Mekong at Ka-li ferry. The river here has a strong current and is a little more than 100 yards

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wide, but the crossing did not take long, as the large punt-shaped boat would carry 10 mules at a time. 000

This ferry is a good deal used, as nearly all the salt for the Shun-ning and Yün Chou districts comes across here from the wells of Wei-yüan and Chên-yüan. I asked the salt depôt man at the ferry how much salt crossed this ferry in a year. With the usual readiness of a Chinaman he promptly replied, "300,000 mule-loads." "But this would make 800 loads a day all the year round," I ventured to suggest. And as there is no traffic in the rains, he had to acknowledge that he might have slightly over-estimated. From what I saw myself on the road I should think 8000 or 9000 mule-loads a year would be a fair estimate. 317

Salt is a very important article of trade in Yün-nan, as it is a Government monopoly, and none is allowed to be brought into the province from abroad. There are three parts of Yün-nan where salt is obtained. These are (1) Yün-lung Chou, which supplies north-western and a good deal of western Yün-nan, including T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang, and Ta-li; (2) Wei-yüan, Chên-yüan, and Ching-tung districts and Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh: these wells supply southern and south-eastern Yün-nan; (3) the country north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu: from here is supplied the northern part of the centre of the province, including the capital. The north-eastern corner of Yün-nan, including Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung obtains its salt from Ssû-ch'uan province. It is always officially laid down for each district where it is to get its salt from, and none is allowed to be brought from elsewhere.

After crossing the ferry we followed the river down for a little way and then climbed up to the village of T'uan-shan to sleep. We were now in the district of Ching-tung T'ing, but the bit of country round the ferry is in charge of a retired highway robber. A Mahommedan by religion, he naturally sided with his own people in the Panthay rebellion, but towards the end, being a prudent and far-seeing man, he recognised how things were going, and went over to the Chinese side. So zealous did he show himself in the slaying of his former brothers in arms, that the Chinese Government rewarded him by granting him official rank and a small piece of country to rule. Such instances 669

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a bridge in the Mêng-ma valley

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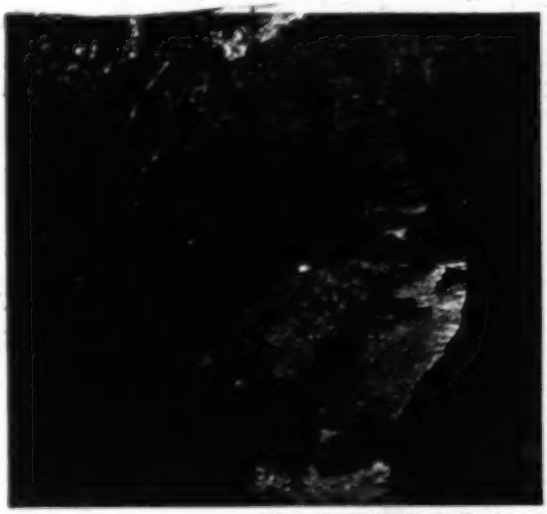

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The Ching-ku Ho

Plate XLVI

[Face p. 198]

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664 of treachery on the Mahommedan side were very common all through the rebellion.

After an uphill march on the 18th through jungle and
000 fir woods to the pleasant little hill village of Pai-yin-ch'in, we descended the next day to the Ching-ku Ho, which here runs through a curious valley, so much cut up by wooded spurs and deep sandstone ravines that it can hardly be called a plain. There is scarcely any flat ground, but there are a good many villages scattered along the valley, and the side streams are lined with terraced fields. The country reminds one very much of the upper part of the Shweli River.

245 There is a certain amount of tea grown on the hillsides here, at heights between 4,500 and 5,500 feet in a sandstone soil. It is not considered so good as that produced in the Shan state of Keng Hung, the famous P'u-êrh tea.

136 I shot a woodcock on the march which brought us into the Ching-ku valley. I have occasionally seen this bird in different parts of Yün-nan, and have met with it in May in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 Our route for the next day and a half still lay down the Ching-ku Ho, but the country is so broken by steep spurs running down to the river, that there is little actual flat going. The river is twice crossed. The first crossing is by a wooden bridge where the stream, though not 20 yards wide, runs in a tremendous chasm between cliffs 200 feet high. These extraordinarily deep ravines are characteristic of this valley.

We reached Wei-yüan on the 21st December, and I found the place in no way changed since my previous visit. From Wei-yüan to P'u-êrh is only four or five marches by the direct road, but I had been along this route in 1895. I therefore struck off in an easterly direction for Hsin-fu, a place near which Turner and Ker had come in to the P'u-êrh-Ta-li road in the previous season. From there by turning south to P'u-êrh I should be able to get in the only part of this important road that had not been surveyed by our parties.

Our route led northward for a day and a half up the Wei-yüan Chiang, along the road to Chên-yüan T'ing, which had been followed by Captain Wingate in 1895. The

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000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called
3/7 Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn
up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is
180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for
three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly im-
pregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed
with water and boiled afresh over and over again till
nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce
500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the
rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I
suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well
and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt
water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-
ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the
night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was
lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk
was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn
up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next
morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had
happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of
fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as
he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in
China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone
or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract
a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of
sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to
get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China
from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of
coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-
yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The
road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream
covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-
t'ung, a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called
197 Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to
the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the
tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

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000 The next day, the 24th, we crossed the watershed between the Mekong and the Black River at 7,500 feet, and on Christmas Day reached Hsin-fu. The village contains only 30 houses, and is built on the Pa-pien Ho, a river 50 yards wide, which is the upper part of the Black River of Tong-king.

753 The height of Hsin-fu is only 3,400 feet, and the whole of this part of the Black River valley has a bad reputation
764 for unhealthiness. The Hsün-chien, the small official who is in charge of the district, had just died and was in his coffin in the room of the temple I was sleeping in, awaiting removal to his native place for burial.

132 Certainly I did not find the Black River valley a pleasant climate even at this time of year. At night the thermometer would go down to 40°, and there would be a nasty cold mist till the sun broke through about ten o'clock, when it would become decidedly hot. But in justice to this valley I should mention that Turner and Ker were travelling in it for some days in the height of the rainy season, and that none of their party, which included several Chinamen, suffered at all from fever. So healthy are the great part of the uplands of Yün-nan, that the Chinese of that province are apt to condemn as unfit to live in any place where it is possible to get fever.

000 For two days from Hsin-fu we followed down the Pa-pien valley, but keeping generally some way off the actual river. An uninteresting country, very thinly populated by Chinese and K'a-tus. Later on in March and April there is a good deal of traffic in P'u-êrh tea along this road, but at this time of year there is no trade except in salt carried by men on foot from Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh.

3/7 Leaving the Pa-pien valley altogether on the 28th, we turned more westward and the next day reached Mo-hei, a large village with an important salt well which supplies a very large part of southern Yün-nan.

Here our route joined the main road from Yün-nan Fu to P'u-êrh Fu, and the next day, crossing a range at just over 6000 feet, we dropped down into the P'u-êrh plain.

206 The only apparent change in P'u-êrh since I was there five years before was the establishment of a telegraph
000 office. In the evening I spent several hours at the office

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trying to get the longitude from Ryder who had arrived at Yün-nan Fu, but the current proved to be not strong enough for direct communication between the two places. We tried again the next night, but with the same unsatisfactory result. On the third day I was just starting for T'a-lang in hopes that we might at all events fix that place, when I got a telegram from Ryder asking me to have one more try from P'u-êrh.

Happily we were successful on this occasion, and the result of our observations subsequently worked out well, so that we were able to celebrate New Year's Day of 1900 by fixing the position of P'u-êrh. It was fortunate indeed that Ryder's telegram reached me in time, for the very next day the line was broken, and when I got to T'a-lang a few days later I found communication with Yün-nan Fu still interrupted.

Since I was last in this part of the country five years before, Ssŭ-mao had been opened to foreign trade as a "treaty port," and English and French Consuls and some of the officials of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs were now established there.

Mr Carey, the acting British Consul, kindly telegraphed to me asking me to go down there for a few days. A very tempting invitation, but I had regretfully to decline. My work was mapped out for the next few months and I could not spare the time.

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CHAPTER XXVII

FROM P'U-ÊRH FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Leave P'u-êrh—Cross the Black River—A shaky iron chain bridge—T'ung-kuan—A slippery descent—The A-mei Chiang—T'a-lang-T'ing—Gold mine—The Wo-ni race—The K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o tribes—Their dress—A Lo-lo village—The Red River—Mo-sha—Shan women's costume—Non-Buddhist Shans—Flat-roofed houses—A steep climb—Perpetual mist—Hsin-p'ing Hsien—Curiosity of the population—Streets lined and roofs crowded—Lo-lo origin—Opium and sugar-cane—Good oranges—A dry country—Iron mine—Yi-mên Hsien—Meet Ryder—A plateau country—An-ning Chou—Duck shooting—Across the Yün-nan Fu lake—Reach Yün-nan Fu—The French in the capital—Attack on them by the Chinese—The English missionaries—Observations for longitude.

000 On the 2nd January, 1900, we left P'u-êrh for the capital of the province. Our first day took us back along the road by which we had come to Mo-hei. Our second march was somewhat more varied, for crossing a range at 6000 feet we descended to our old friend the Black River or Pa-pien Chiang. It is crossed by a very shaky iron chain bridge, which sways about so much that only three mules can pass over at a time with safety. The stream is here from 50 to 80 yards wide. Its strong current and occasional rapids make navigation impossible.

361 563 On the third day we reached T'ung-kuan, a big village pleasantly situated on a plateau with small jungle-covered hills rising out of it. The population about here is very mixed, including Lo-los, K'a-tus, Ma-heis, and a few Shans. The Chinese are decidedly in a minority, and perhaps it is due to this happy circumstance that the natives of T'ung-kuan have better manners than one usually finds in China.

000 A thunderstorm the next morning made it unpleasantly slippery along the steep downhill road which brought us to the A-mei Chiang, another source of the Black River and

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much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation 000
of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears 361
to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better 316
shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni 563
race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to [197]
each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from 291
the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The 563
dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

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Iron-chain bridge over the A-mei Chiang

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

K'a-tu women

Plate XLVII [Face p. 204]

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Pai-i AE7

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of about a foot, hanging down over their necks just after the fashion of the Kachin girls of the Burmese frontier. The K'a-tu women are distinguished from the other two tribes by wearing trousers, and by little metal ornaments which hang down from the front of their turbans. These three tribes are known to the Chinese by the name of Wo-ni.

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From T'a-lang the main road to the capital crosses the Red River at Yuän-chiang Chou and passes through Hsi-o and Hsin-hsing, but this route had been taken by Turner and Ker the previous year. To avoid known ground I took a road through Hsin-p'ing Hsien to Yi-mên-Hsien, passing through a piece of country quite blank on the maps.

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Our route led us in a northerly direction over the usual mountainous country, and on the second day we crossed the watershed of the Black River and Red River at 7,500 feet. Our camp that night was at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village inhabited by genuine Lo-los, not Wo-nis. They say they migrated here from the Ch'u-hsiung-Fu district three generations ago. Besides Lo-los there are Wo-nis in this part of the country, and also two other tribes, K'u-tsung[1] and Lo-pi, of whom I have never heard in other districts. I believe them to be connected with the Wo-ni race.

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We had been experiencing quite warm weather lately, and this hot climate seems to be a peculiarity of the Black River basin, for the morning at Ma-lu-t'ang, which lies on the Red River side of the watershed, was cold and frosty. In two more days we reached the Red River at Mo-sha. It is from 70 to 100 yards wide, flowing through bare reddish coloured hills, but just here passing through a plain four miles wide.

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This Mo-sha plain is at a level of only 1,650 feet, the lowest I have ever been in Yün-nan, except on the very borders of Burma or Tong-king. It is inhabited by Shans, who have however no sawbwa of their own. The women have a very peculiar dress, quite different to that of any Shans I have seen elsewhere. Their blue jackets have red cuffs, and they wear a red band of cloth round the waist. Both jacket and petticoat are much ornamented round the

[1] Not to be confused with Ku-tsung, a name the Chinese of Yün-nan apply to Tibetans.

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S P 291 edges with stripes of red, white, and yellow. To complete the costume a very short jacket similarly ornamented is also often worn over the other jacket.

S P 771 But the most remarkable thing about these Shans is that they are not Buddhists, but spirit worshippers. They are the only non-Buddhist Shans I have ever come across, except a few scattered families of the race whom I found in northern Yün-nan and in Tibetan Ssŭ-ch'uan. They have possibly lived so far from the influence of both Burma and Siam that Buddhism has never reached them. By Buddhism I do not of course refer to the religion of China, but to the Burmese form of Buddhism which is so universal among the Shans of Yün-nan.

S P 342 The houses at Mo-sha are built of soft mud bricks and have flat roofs made with timber, covered with earth. These flat roofs are a peculiarity of the Hsin-p'ing Hsien district, in which we had now arrived. Chinese, Lo-los, and Shans all build alike, and use their roofs to sit on, and also as a place to stack wood and straw. This style of building I do not remember to have seen anywhere else in Yün-nan. We slept at Ta-t'ien-fang, a village which lies up a little side valley, and is called Ho-nam-tok by the Shans.

S 132 The next morning, the 11th January, we had a very steep climb up to Chiu-ti-mo, the road at one time rising 1,400 feet in a mile. We were here wrapped in dense mist, which did not clear till just before sunset. The mist in the Red River valley is curious. Down in the plain the air is quite clear and dry. The bottom of the mist is at about 3000 feet in the morning, extending up to 5000 feet. It then gradually rises till its top reaches 7000 feet, and it does not disappear till late in the afternoon. Villages like Chiu-ti-mo, which are at about 5000 feet, live in almost perpetual damp and darkness, and the mist makes it very cold all day.

000 Crossing a range we reached Hsin-p'ing the next day. The place lies far from all main roads, and the populace had apparently never seen a European before[1]. They had got wind of our coming, and the whole population lined the

[1] M. Rocher I find visited this town in 1872.

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000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

361 The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials
563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese are of Lo-lo descent.

241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country, without much water in it that can be used for irrigation.
316 The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third day we reached Ssŭ-ch'êng, a village at 6000 feet, which has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last march we passed a small iron mine at a place called Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep one small furnace going.

361 From Ssŭ-ch'êng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mén-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

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Yi-mên was the place where Ryder and I had arranged 000
to meet, and he turned up the following day after dark, having done a 26 mile march. These meetings in out-of-the-way places are very pleasant, and we halted two days here together. Our pleasure, however, was considerably damped by the news of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso that Ryder had brought with him from Yün-nan Fu.

On the 21st January we set out again, Ryder for Ch'u-hsiung, myself for Yün-nan Fu. My road crossed the range which separates the basin of the Red River from that of the Yangtze at 7,350 feet, and then descended a little into a good sized pateau, with small hills rising out of it, very dry and therefore not much cultivated. We slept at Hsiao-lung-t'ang in a large temple pleasantly situated among trees.

The next day we reached An-ning Chou. The road lay 136
down the course of a small river on which were a good many duck. I got five—three merganser, one brahminy (ruddy sheldrake), and one spotbill. The merganser is fairly common in Yün-nan, and I have found them quite eatable in spite of the fishy look that the shape of his bill gives him.

At An-ning we joined into the main road by which 000
I had come from Ta-li the year before, and the next day we reached Yün-nan Fu. I cut off the last half of the march by taking a boat across the corner of the lake.

I was able to get the same comfortable quarters that we had lived in the previous year, and spent five days in the capital renewing acquaintance with Mr Stevenson and other missionary friends. Mr Jensen of the Telegraph Service, who had helped us so much before, had I was sorry to learn been laid up with rheumatism and had been obliged to take a trip home

I found the French very active in Yün-nan Fu. There were 10 or 12 Frenchmen in the capital at the time of my visit, all connected with the railway which is to run up into Yün-nan from Tong-king.

The French were not at all popular with the Chinese, 579
and there were even then signs that there was likely to 186
be trouble. This feeling culminated a few months later in

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a somewhat serious riot in which the French were attacked, and the English missionaries also had a very warm time of it. The riot was fortunately put down by the Chinese authorities without any European lives being lost.

Captain Ryder reached Ch'u-hsiung on the 25th, and we were able to observe for longitude, thus fixing the position of Yün-nan Fu and also of P'u-êrh, which we had so far only fixed relatively to the capital.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

ACROSS THE YANGTZE TO HUI-LI CHOU.

Plans for the future—The Chien-ch'ang valley line—The outlet of the Yün-nan Fu lake—Fu-min Hsien—Meet Ryder at Wu-ting Chou—Pheasants for dinner—Lu-ch'üan Hsien—The P'u-tu Ho—Shan villages—Their origin—A villainous road—Precipitous crags—Leaky ferry boat—Lo-lo village—A fine race—Snow—A large plateau—Fine waterfall—A hospitable Lo-lo—Cold weather—Descent to the Yangtze—Hung-mên-k'ou ferry—Steep gorges—The Ssŭ-ch'uan boundary—High hills—The Independent Lo-los—The Lo-lo cloak—The Hui-li stream—A deep chasm—Impracticable country for a railway—Hui-li Chou—Copper mine—Indigo.

My object now was to explore the part of the Yangtze near the southern end of the Chien-ch'ang valley, to see whether a line for a railway could be found in this direction that would be likely to prove better than that surveyed by Lieutenant Watts-Jones and Lieutenant Hunter in the previous season. It was first necessary to find a way from Yün-nan Fu to the Yangtze. The valley of the river which forms the outlet of the Yün-nan Fu lake seemed to offer the most likely line, and I accordingly started off northwards to examine the course of this stream. 000

My pony died suddenly while we were at Yün-nan Fu, but for £4 I was able to replace him, and we left the capital on the 29th January. A day and a half of fairly level going brought us to Fu-min Hsien, a small town in a well-cultivated plain, through which flows the river which I wished to follow down to the Yangtze. The next day, the third from the capital, we crossed a range at 7,400 feet, and passing over some undulating ground reached Wu-ting Chou, a poor town in a poor plain.

Here by arrangement I met Ryder. His route from Ch'u-hsiung to Tung-ch'uan must cross mine somewhere, so we thought it a good opportunity to meet again. I had marched in on the Chinese New Year's day, so felt bound

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Lower course of the P'u-tu Ho

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The Yangtze at Hung-mên-k'ou

Plate XLVIII

[Face p. 210]

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000 to halt the next day to allow my Chinese followers to enjoy the occasion. We were also able to celebrate our meeting by dining off pheasant, for I shot two on the first march out of the capital.

On the 2nd February we set out again, and for this march our routes lay along the same road. Passing the very small town of Lu-ch'üan Hsien, we crossed a range and descended into the little plain of Hsiao-ts'ang at 6050 feet.

The next morning a path down a narrow valley brought us again to the Yün-nan Fu lake river, which in this part of its course is known as the P'u-tu Ho. It is here 50 yards wide with a strong current and is at a level of 5000 feet. After crossing the ferry Ryder and I separated to meet two months afterwards at A-tun-tzŭ. His road climbed the hills to the east; mine, a very bad narrow track, led down the valley of the stream.

563 I was surprised to find that a few of the villages in this valley were inhabited by Shans, a race I certainly never expected to find so far north. They say they came here hundreds of years ago from Ava. This is rather vague, but possibly they came originally from some Shan state which was at that time tributary to Burma. No priest accompanied them in their migration, and they consequently have lost both their written language and their Buddhist religion. They still, however, speak Shan. It would be interesting to know how they got to this out of the way spot. They seem to have no idea themselves why they came or exactly where they came from[1].

000 The following day I was able to get some 18 miles further down the P'u-tu Ho by a villainous road, and slept at the village of Ch'ien-ch'ang[2]. Below this I could hear of no path descending the valley, and the view we got of 10 miles of precipitous crags bordering the river on both sides made it appear probable that this information was correct. Nothing could well be more unpromising for a railway than the whole of this lower part of the P'u-tu Ho.

[1] Garnier mentions Shans at the junction of the Ya-lung River and the Yangtze. I believe there are a certain number of villages of this race scattered about this part of the Yangtze valley. It is possible that they are the remnants of a former Shan population.

[2] Not to be confused with the Chien-ch'ang valley.

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000 It was unnecessary therefore to try to follow this stream any further, so I struck across N.W. for the Hung-mên-k'ou ferry over the Yangtze. A steep descent from Ch'ien-ch'ang brought us to the P'u-tu Ho at 3,900 feet, and we crossed it by an extremely leaky ferry-boat, which half filled with water in taking across the first load of baggage. However they caulked it with strips of bark and everything was safely got across. The mules swam, and though the river is only 50 or 60 yards wide, the current was strong enough to carry them down quite 100 yards before they could land on the far bank.

563 142 From the river we had a climb of nearly 4000 feet to the Lo-lo village of Ts'u-chü. These Lo-los are a much finer race than even the best of those that I had seen further south. They are very tall men, with straight noses and sharp features, and are evidently of the same race as the Independent Lo-los of Ssŭ-ch'uan. The difference of stature and feature between different Lo-lo tribes I attribute partly to climate and partly to the mixing of the more southern Lo-los with other races. Certainly the colder the climate in which one finds them living, the sharper are their features and the taller their stature. Ts'u-chü I found a very cold place, and the sun had not had power enough to melt the ice by three o'clock in the afternoon.

000 On the 6th February our road led up and down over spurs, the highest point reached being 8,500 feet; but I could only guess at the lie of the country as the clouds were right down on the hills, and in the morning fell for two or three hours in the form of snow. Finally we came down into a large undulating plateau, inhabited chiefly by Lo-los, with several large villages and a good deal of cultivation. We slept in a temple at San-ying-p'an, one of the principal villages.

Our next march lay across this plateau at an average level of about 8000 feet. The plateau is watered by the sources of the little river which we had crossed five days before in the Lu-ch'uän Hsien plain. I had a little shooting on this march, getting a few snipe, and a plover which to my eye was undistinguishable from the common green plover of England.

On the 8th February we still kept on the plateau for

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Waterfall in tributary of Yangtze

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Lo-los wearing the Lo-lo cloak

Plate XLIX

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000 some miles, and then came into a valley which runs by a most precipitous gorge into the Yangtze. Where the plateau ends is a fine waterfall, with a sheer drop of 200 feet. A strong wind was blowing at the time, which carried the spray off quite 100 yards, and the sun shining on this turned it into a magnificent rainbow.

The road cannot follow this valley down, but turning away to the east crosses a spur at nearly 10,000 feet, and descends to K'a-hsi, where I found a very hospitable Lo-lo head-man, who put me up in his house and offered me snuff.

132 In the morning when I got up the thermometer was down to 21°, and a bitterly cold wind and a slight fall of snow made us very glad to get down into the warmer climate of the Yangtze valley, which is at an elevation of 000 2,850 feet. The river makes a very sharp bend to the north here, not previously shown in any map, and it is at the extreme north corner of this bend that lies Hung-mên-k'ou, the ferry by which we crossed.

The width of water is about 150 yards, and the river runs with a strong current between banks which for 200 or 300 feet up from the water's edge are everywhere very steep and in most places precipitous. Even the road leading down to and up from the ferry is so steep and rocky that the mules found considerable difficulty in getting over it. The hills on each side rise to a height of 11,000 feet, and are extremely steep and a mass of rocks and stones, with a few little ledges where there is just room for a small village and a little cultivation. The very difficult nature of this part of the country quite accounts for the main road from Yün-nan Fu to Hui-li Chou making a considerable circuit to the west by Yüan-mou Hsien and Lung-kai Ferry.

After crossing in a large boat we went on three miles to Ta-p'ing-ti, the nearest village to the ferry. The Yangtze is here the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan, so we were now in the latter province. I have usually called the river the Yangtze as it is more convenient to call a river by the same name throughout its course. But to the Chinese it is here known as the Chin Chiang or Gold River. In Yün-nan Fu I have heard it called

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000 Chin-sha Chiang or Golden Sand River, but it does not seem to be known by this name to the people who live on its banks.

Following the Hui-li Chou road the next day for a few miles we reached the large village of T'ieh-chiang-ts'un. From here I turned off in a westerly direction to examine the country lying between Hui-li and the Yangtze with a view to seeing if there was any possible chance of a line for a railway. Our road took us among hills which command a magnificent view of the country all round, so that Lachman Jadu the surveyor was able to do a lot of work.

563 Ta-shih-p'êng where we slept is at an elevation of 8,800 feet. This village is inhabited by Lo-los who are an offshoot of the Independent Lo-los of the country further north, and came to their present village from the neighbourhood of Lei-po T'ing. The emigration took place a long time ago, and their dialect has somewhat changed, though they say that they and their northern fellow-tribesmen can still understand each other fairly well.

The son of the head-man was at the time of our visit away with a good many of the young men of the place, helping the Chinese in an expedition against some of the Independent Lo-los. They do not seem to have any objection to fighting against their kinsmen, but they say the latter are not really more turbulent than anyone else, but that they are led on to commit robberies and to disturb the country by outlawed Chinamen who have taken refuge among them.

291 Both men and women at Ta-shih-p'êng were wearing the Lo-lo cloak described by Baber. It is made of grey felt, which they weave themselves out of wool. It is fastened round the neck, has no sleeves, and hangs down to the knees. It must form an excellent protection against cold, rain, or snow.

000 For two more days I marched westward, examining carefully this very intricate country, and then turned north and crossed the stream which flows down from Hui-li Chou. Where I crossed it in the Hui-li plateau it runs in a curious chasm 1000 feet deep, with very steep sides of soft shale, and with no level ground at the bottom except the bed of

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000 the stream. Below the plateau it disappears into deep gorges among the hills bordering the Yangtze.

361 On the 14th February we reached Hui-li, a town of 3000 houses with a good wall round it. It has broad streets and is more prosperous looking than any of the towns of Yün-nan, except perhaps the capital of that pro-
438 vince. Its chief products are opium, tobacco, indigo, and
316 copper. The copper mine is at Lu-ch'ang, six miles south
249 of the town, and as Mr Ker had seen it the previous
386 year I did not visit it. Indigo is to be seen growing everywhere in the fields, covered over at this time of the year with straw to preserve it from the frost. The large tanks in which they mix the dye are found in nearly every village as well as in the town. The height of Hui-li I made 6,250 feet.

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CHAPTER XXIX

UP THE CHIEN-CH'ANG VALLEY.

Leave Hui-li Chou—The Yi-mên coal mine—Insect trees—Pai-kuo-wan—Mo-so-ying—The An-ning River—Mule falls off a bridge—A pleasant inn—Good view of a tiger—The Chien-ch'ang valley—Père Bourgain—The missionaries and the Chinese of Chien-ch'ang—French missionaries—French and English missionaries compared—Their methods of working—Their relations with officials—Ready help of both sects to travellers—Ning-yüan Fu—A Lo-lo army—"Stupid men not afraid of dying"—The T'ung-an-chou "Army Act"—Li-chou—Lu-ku—The Chien-ch'ang valley—Its crops, trade, and population—Theft at an inn—The Lo-lo country—Chinese forts—"Army regulations"—Têng-hsiang-ying—The Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass—Meet Ker and Hare at Yüeh-hsi T'ing—Impracticability of railway from Chia-ting Fu.

ALTHOUGH I was quite satisfied that a railway could not cross the Yangtze in this direction, I still had to keep my appointment to meet Mr Ker at Yüeh-hsi T'ing, and my journey through the Chien-ch'ang valley I felt would be by no means wasted. In fact no exploration of Yün-nan would be complete without a visit to this valley which though belonging to Ssŭ-ch'uan, runs right down into the former province. 000

Leaving Hui-li on the 15th February we followed up the plain by a gradually narrowing valley and crossed a pass to Yi-mên[1] which is a village of importance owing to its coal mine. We met quantities of mules, donkeys, and coolies carrying this coal towards Hui-li in the form of coke. All the smelting at the copper mines is done with this fuel. Another noticeable feature of this district is the "insect trees" on which are reared the white wax insect[2]. 316

From Yi-mên we crossed another steep spur and slept at Pai-kuo-wan, a village which stands at a little under 7000 feet, and is nearly twenty miles from Hui-li.

[1] Not to be confused with Yi-mên Hsien (p. 206).
[2] See p. 169.

[p. 215]

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000 The next day we followed down the narrow valley of a small stream by a hillside path with steep reddish coloured mountains rising on each side. We stayed for the night at Mo-so-ying, a village of perhaps 250 houses.

On the 17th, the third march from Hui-li, we reached the An-ning Ho which here varies from 50 to 100 yards in width and flows with a strong current. This is the stream which runs down the middle of the Chien-ch'ang valley, and for the next few days we followed it up.

At Chiu-chuan-ch'iao, where we had to cross a good-sized tributary of the main river, we found the stone bridge by which it is usually spanned was under repair, and we had to make use of a very temporary wooden structure made of rounded logs tied together. So rough was the arrangement that one of the mules fell off it and his load which contained most of my cartridges was soaked through. Luckily they were nearly all brass-cased, and were none the worse after being thoroughly dried.

We were now down at a level of 4,300 feet or so, and found the sun a little hot in the daytime though the hilltops all round had snow on them. We slept at T'ieh-chiang-fang where I was lucky enough to get a very nice room in an inn, with the An-ning Ho running right under the window.

136 Soon after starting the next morning we heard the roaring of a tiger in the hills to the west across the river. Though evidently he was not far off, we could not make him out for some time, but finally he came out and lay down on a big rock to sun himself. He was about 600 yards off on a steep hillside, and as there was no means of crossing the river which lay between him and us, it was impossible to get nearer to have a shot. The tiger did not seem the least disturbed by our watching him, nor by the presence of several people who were going along a path on his side of the river about 500 yards below him. I took out my field glasses and watched him for quite five minutes: he would sometimes get up and walk round for a few yards and then lie down again on the rock, flapping the end of his tail. Eventually he got up and walked away into the jungle. This is the first tiger I have seen or heard of in western China, though I have occasionally come across

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panthers' tracks. It is not often in any country that one would get such a good look at a tiger, and such an opportunity of observing his ways. 136

We were now well into the Chien-ch'ang valley. This part of it is not, however, a flat plain. In fact there is scarcely any really level ground, but between the hills on either side is a width of about a mile of gently sloping land which is cultivated in terraced fields. There are a fair number of villages, but this end of the valley does not strike one as extraordinarily rich. 241

We slept at Liang-lu-k'ou, a small village just opposite the town of Tê-ch'ang which is on the other side of the An-ning Ho, and is said to contain 700 houses. The river is here crossed by ferry in many places, and they were building an iron chain suspension bridge across it at Tê-ch'ang. 797

The next day I was overtaken on the march by a bearded horseman in Chinese dress whom I at once recognised as a French missionary. He turned out to be Père Bourgain who lives at Tê-ch'ang. We both slept at Huang-shui-t'ang, and had a very pleasant talk in the evening.

He is one of five priests who are established in this part of Ssū-ch'uan. They had had a good deal of trouble with the Chinese of this valley who are not very partial to Europeans, but the matter had been taken up and the missionaries had got the best of it, so the Chinamen were at present on their best behaviour. I certainly found them very civil the whole way up the Chien-ch'ang valley; and even in Ning-yüan Fu which has a very anti-foreign reputation I did not see any signs of unfriendliness.

Père Bourgain seems to have many converts, and has some even among the Lo-los, though he says it is very difficult to cure them of their habits of drunkenness.

It is impossible not to admire the zeal and unselfishness which induces the Catholic missionary to come to China there to spend the rest of his days in the cause of his religion, without any hope of ever seeing his native country again. For it is only in very rare instances that a Catholic missionary ever goes back to his own land. He makes up his mind from the beginning to live and die in China. Living alone, as most of them do, it is a very salutary rule that they have, that when possible every priest shall go and

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A French missionary and his congregation

Plate L

[Face p. 218]

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797 visit one of his confrères once every month, thus mitigating to some extent the feeling of being constantly alone among strangers.

I have during my travels met several French missionaries, and it has always been a great pleasure to talk with a man whom one feels to be a fellow-countryman, for it is only necessary to meet in a country like China, to realise how very much alike are the ways of thought of all Europeans. Many times on the Tibetan border we were much indebted to the French priests for their advice and assistance, always so willingly given.

It is interesting to compare the different methods of the French and English missionaries. The Catholics have been in the field for more than two centuries and at one time enjoyed much favour at the court of Peking. Consequently they have many adherents who have been Christians for centuries, and it is as much in the character of a parish priest as of a proselytiser that the French missionary comes to China. In fact I believe that most of them do not do any public preaching themselves with the view of making converts, but depute much of the work of the extension of their faith to Chinese preachers drawn from their congregations. Being able to go about without attracting much attention, and knowing their countrymen thoroughly, these Chinese preachers can no doubt do much good work.

The Protestant, on the contrary, finds in western China no ready-made congregation to minister to. He often, in fact, establishes himself in a town in which there is scarcely a single convert. He associates freely with Chinamen of all classes, propagating his religion to some extent by public preaching, but more perhaps by private conversations. The progress, as far as Yün-nan is concerned, is usually very slow, but this is partly due to the refusal of the missionaries to accept converts unless they are prepared to show by a period of probation that their conversion is genuine.

The Catholics are perhaps not quite so particular in this respect. The Protestant argues that by taking anyone who offers himself, they will often get men who simply hope to get some employment through the mission, or those who being engaged in a lawsuit expect that the influence of the missionary will enable them to win their case.

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797 The Catholic would answer that though a proselyte may fall far short of the standard of an ideal Christian, still, once include him in the Church, the influence of the priest will reform him or will at all events be able to bring up his children in the way they should go.

In their general attitude towards officials and people the French also differ much from the English missionaries. A French priest once remarked to me, "The only way to keep a Chinaman in order is to make him afraid of you." There is much truth in this remark, and for a traveller it is of much importance that he should do his best to enforce respect. But the object of a missionary is different from that of a traveller, and perhaps the French priests have carried the matter too far.

They have now successfully claimed official rank, and from all accounts are somewhat given to making their influence felt in cases where members of their congregation are concerned. This naturally gives offence to the Chinese officials, and brings unpopularity on the missionary. One must, however, admit that there is another side to this question: it would be very hard on a priest to have to see injustice inflicted on one of his congregation without doing anything to remedy it. However much officials may complain of the interference of priests, no one who knows Chinese mandarins will doubt that the action of the missionary is often in the interests of justice.

The Protestant missionaries adopt as a rule a different attitude. They refused the offer of official rank, which they had the right to claim when it was given to the Catholics. They try, in fact, to be friendly with those mandarins who show any inclination to be civil, but at the same time not to thrust themselves into official matters, and to do without the help of the mandarins as far as possible. Their idea is to conform as far as they are able to Chinese usages, and not to claim any special privileges.

I think that the Catholic system of making themselves feared ensures them greater respect outwardly and perhaps saves them from some of the insults and annoyances experienced by the Protestants. But perhaps, on the other hand, the Catholic in making himself feared also makes himself hated, and is apt to fare worse in any serious anti-foreign outbreak.

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797 In these remarks I hope I have said nothing which will give offence to either sect. I shall always remember the missionaries I have met in western China, both French and English, as men devoted to the cause they have taken up, and always ready to offer hospitality and assistance to the traveller.

000 Père Bourgain returned to Tê-ch'ang the next day, so I had not the pleasure of his company any further. Our march of 19 miles was somewhat monotonous, the plain broadening out and becoming more level. The weather which had been a little warm quite changed again, and the snow on the hillsides was very nearly down to the plain.

361 We slept at Ma-tao-tzū, and on the following morning, sending my mules straight on by the main road, I made a circuit myself to have a look at Ning-yüan Fu[1]. This town lies three or four miles to the east of the road, separated from it by a low spur which runs down from the eastern hills. It is consequently not so flourishing a place commercially as some of the smaller towns which lie right on the main road, but officially it is the most important town in the district. It must contain nearly 4000 houses and is surrounded by a good wall three miles or so in perimeter. Just to the east of the city is a good-sized lake some five miles long. The story is that there was formerly a town there which was destroyed when the lake was formed by an earthquake or some volcanic disturbance.

701 After leaving Ning-yüan I was passed on the road by a Lo-lo chief with some of his soldiers. He was the T'u-ssū[2] of T'ung-an-chou, a place I had passed through a little time before between the Yangtze and Hui-li Chou. A year or two before this he had got up a sort of rebellion against the Chinese authorities, but the Hui-li mandarin was considered by the Chinese Government as partly to blame for this outbreak, so the T'u-ssū was pardoned on condition that he would fight for the Chinese against the Independent Lo-los who had lately been raiding. This he was nothing loth to do, as he is what in the dialect of western China they call a "kuai jên," "a bad man," i.e. fond of fighting. So in the recent hostilities the Chinese troops had been held in reserve while the Lo-lo levies had

[1] Also called Chien-ch'ang Fu. Hence the name of this valley.
[2] Local chief.

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done most of the fighting for them. This is an arrangement that seems to suit everybody, for as the Chinese put it, "The Lo-los are stupid men who are not afraid of dying." 701

The T'u-ssū keeps up a small standing army, and every one of his men that I saw was armed with a breech-loader. He also appears to recognise the importance of discipline, for a man goes in front of his troops with a red placard on which is written the T'ung-an-chou "Army Act." 703

For not obeying bugle calls—To be beheaded.

For being drunk and fighting—To be put in the stocks.

For losing arms or ammunition—To be beheaded.

For destroying the property of civilians—To be beheaded.

For being absent at night—To be put in the stocks.

For gambling—To be put in the stocks.

For extorting money by threats—To be put in the stocks.

For taking a wrong rifle—To be put in the stocks.

For buying things and refusing to pay—To be put in the stocks.

We slept the night at Li-chou which in spite of its name is not an official town of the *chou* class, though it is a prosperous commercial place. 000

The following day, the 22nd February, we had another level march to the town of Lu-ku which is built where the two sources of the An-ning Ho meet, one coming down from Mien-ning Hsien, and the other and smaller branch from the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass.

I had now been along nearly the whole of the Chien-ch'ang valley and a little later, on my road to Mien-ning Hsien, I was able to see the rest of it, so I will summarise here my observations on it.

The plain stretches from a little beyond Mien-ning Hsien in the north down to the village of Hsin-kai-tzū in the south. It is, therefore, about 110 miles in length, but has not an average width of more than two miles. Its elevation at Mien-ning is 6,250 feet, and from this it slopes down by a scarcely perceptible descent to some 4,200 feet in the south. 133

Besides the two official cities of Ning-yuan Fu and 361

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Cormorant fishers in the Chien-ch'ang Valley

Plate LI

[Face p. 222]

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361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

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000 on the next day, the 23rd February, our road led up a very stony, little-cultivated valley hedged in by steep hills on
712 each side. Every mile or so along this road are little forts as a protection to travellers from Lo-lo raids, but they only have garrisons of two or three men each, and no one seems to anticipate any danger.

703 In one of these forts I saw some more regulations written up after the manner of those of the T'ung-an-chou army. They were as follows:—

If when ordered out to fight, any soldier says he is afraid to go—To be beheaded.

If a soldier gets too old to fight—To be discharged.

For smoking opium—To be discharged.

I have little doubt that nine-tenths of both officers and men are confirmed opium smokers.

361 Passing the little town of Mien-shan about halfway, we reached Têng-hsiang-ying in the afternoon. This is a
342 fortified village of some 150 houses, and is the head-quarters of the major who commands all the troops in the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. It is built just where the narrow valley gets still narrower, and is at a height of 7,850 feet, 2,200 feet above Lu-ku, though the rise is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. The roofs of the houses here are made of planks kept in their places by large stones placed on top of them. This is a style of roof I found not uncommon in parts of western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 On the 24th February we crossed the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. The top I made exactly 10,000 feet. There were only a few patches of snow in shady places, but the last three or four days had been sunny; no doubt in cloudy weather the whole top of the pass would be in snow at this time of year. The ascent from the south is very gradual. In fact it is, without exception, the easiest road up a high range that I have ever seen in western China. The descent on the northern side is however steep, the road falling at the rate of 1000 feet in a mile.

The top of the pass is in a saddle, so Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a hill 1000 feet higher and got a fairly good view of the country round. To the east is a mass of high and steep ranges inhabited by the Independent Lo-los.

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000I could see no villages on them, but possibly they build their houses in the valleys. To the north lay the Yüeh-hsi plain, but to the west one could only see a few miles, as high ranges hid the view.

We slept at Hsiao-shao and the next day had a level march into Yüeh-hsi. Fortunately I had sent my interpreter on ahead to look for an inn, for on arriving at the town he heard that Mr Ker had just left it. By sending a man after him he was able to catch him. It appears that a telegram I sent saying I could not be at Yüeh-hsi till the 25th had never reached him. Our original date of meeting had been arranged for the 20th, so that Ker, not knowing of any alteration, had waited five days, and had then started back for the nearest telegraph office to try and get news of me. Luckily he had made a late start that morning, so our meeting came off all right after all.

With Mr Ker was Dr Hare, a medical missionary of the Canadian Mission at Chia-ting Fu, who, having a liking for travel, had managed to get away for a short time to accompany Ker on his journey.

Two days we spent together very pleasantly, comparing notes on our journeys. Ker had found the line from Chia-ting to Yüeh-hsi as impracticable as I had that from Yün-nan Fu to Hui-li. Of news of the outer world they had no more than myself, and we were all in happy ignorance of Spion Kop.

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CHAPTER XXX

WESTWARD FROM MIEN-NING HSIEN. THE BENDS OF THE YA-LUNG.

Ker and Hare leave Yüeh-hsi—My future plans—Through a Tibetan country—Expected difficulties—Lie of the country—Return to Lu-ku—Mien-ning Hsien—Enquiries about roads—A Chinese map—A Chinese quarrel—Start off westward—A steep range—Timid Lo-los—Chaunting pilgrims—Mo-sos—Hsi-fan tribes—The Tibetan yell—A rough road—Death of a mule—The Ya-lung River—Its name—Lu-ning-ying—Enquiries about Mi-li—The bends of the Ya-lung—A precipitous mountain range—A difficult path—Slippery with ice—The Ya-lung again—Nó-po ferry—The Lo-p'u Hsi-fans—Their religion—The Miao-tzû—A more Tibetan country—Pagodas—Praying wheels worked by water—The cause of the bends of the Ya-lung—Enormous mountain mass—Lo-lo village—A Lo-lo chieftaine:s—Potatoes—A varied population—Cedar forests.

On the 28th February our pleasant meeting came to an end. Ker's road lay through Ya-chou to Ch'êng-tu, the capital of Ssû-ch'uan, and Hare had to return to Chia-ting. Myself, I had now finished with civilised China. My route lay westward over the mighty snowy ranges which, inhabited by Tibetan, or semi-Tibetan tribes, form the western part of the province of Ssû-ch'uan. 000

It was a more inspiriting prospect than the paved roads and dirty towns of the Chinese. It is true that the traveller in Yün-nan may often go many days or even weeks without seeing much of the Chinamen of the cities, and may make many pleasant marches among friendly aboriginal tribes and the no less friendly Chinamen of the hills. Still even in the most secluded spots he cannot but feel that he is in a country where Chinese customs have got the upper hand. The regions I was now going to visit, though nominally in the eighteen provinces of the Middle Kingdom, are really beyond the reach of Chinese law, and the very few Chinamen who ever penetrate into this country do so only on sufferance.

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000 I could not, however, disguise from myself that however pleasant it might be to get free of Chinamen, the absence of Chinese ideas of law and order might also increase my difficulties, and that perhaps the Peking passport with which I was provided would not always meet with the respect shown to it by a mandarin.

My purpose was to find as straight a way as possible from where I was at Yüeh-hsi to A-tun-tzū in the extreme north-west corner of Yün-nan. The trend of all the rivers and mountain ranges in the intervening country would certainly be from north to south, exactly across my path, and I had no anticipation of being able to find a very direct road. In fact my difficulties in this way began at once, for though Yüeh-hsi T'ing and Mien-ning Hsien are not very far apart in a straight line, there is nothing but a difficult footpath connecting the two places. I had, therefore, with my mule transport, to go back by the road I had come as far as Lu-ku, and then make a twenty mile march northward to Mien-ning.

361 This town is surrounded by a good wall, half a mile square, and judging by the crowded appearance of the streets, seems to be a thriving place. My first care on arriving was to try and get some information about my 000 route westwards. In the previous year I had heard from Mr Amundsen of the China Inland Mission of a place called Mi-li, which, from the position he placed it in, must lie more or less between Mien-ning and A-tun-tzū. No one in Mien-ning had ever heard of such a place, nor was my Chinese map of Ssū-ch'uan of any assistance, for this, though sufficiently accurate in the settled parts of the province, gets very vague in the more out of the way borderlands, in fact consists chiefly of blank spaces.

However the magistrate of the town was civilly inclined and lent me the official map of his district. On this was marked a place called Lu-ning-ying, which was known to the people of Mien-ning and was in the right direction, so for this place I determined to make.

579 Our last night in a Chinese city was made hideous by a particularly noisy dispute just outside the inn. It began as usual with vehement abuse shouted with extraordinary vigour by both combatants. This is generally both the

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beginning and the end of a Chinese quarrel, but on this occasion the usual peacemakers were not to the fore, and the words were succeeded by the sound of heavy blows resulting in one of the disputants falling down yelling and screaming. The conqueror, after enjoying his triumph for a short time, went away, and no sooner was he out of hearing than the defeated combatant, still lying on his back, began to kick his legs up and down on the ground like a naughty child, and for a good half-hour yelled abuse in unprintable language. 579

Our first march out of Mien-ning was a short one, for on arriving at Ha-ha-hsün, 9½ miles off, we found ourselves confronted by a big range of mountains, which our mules would scarcely have been equal to surmounting that day. 000

The next morning, the 5th March, a very steep rocky road took us to the top at 11,700 feet, the last 3000 feet of ascent being done in two miles. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a peak 600 feet higher and were rewarded with a fine view of big mountain ranges. The highest peaks were white, but there was not so much snow as I expected to see. We seemed to be passing through a spell of particularly fine weather. The descent on the western side of the pass was as steep as the ascent had been, and we spent the night at 7,600 feet in Ma-t'ou-shan, a village which consists of two large inns in a narrow valley, shut in by wall-like hills.

One or two unusual incidents had relieved the monotony of the day's march. As we were nearing the top of the pass, one of my Chinamen, who had got behind, came up and said he had seen some Lo-los hiding near the road we had just come along. It looked as if they were going to waylay our mules, so I was preparing to interview them with a gun and a rifle. But these preparations were needless, for just at this moment they all took up loads, put them on their backs, got back into the road, and went on down the hill. They were evidently harmless people, who, frightened at the sight of strange looking, strangely dressed men, had been hiding in the jungle to let us go by.

A little further on I became aware of a curious noise like the buzzing of bees, and having a lively horror of wild 788

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788 bees' nests bred of experience in Indian jungles, I was looking round to see where it came from. The noise got nearer and nearer, when six men suddenly appeared round the corner of a zigzag. It was not till I actually saw them that it dawned on me that the noise I had taken for the humming of bees proceeded really from human throats reciting prayers in a monotonous mumble. The deception was most perfect. Neither myself nor the Chinamen with me doubted when we first heard the noise that it was a 788 swarm of bees or hornets. The men belonged to the Mo-so tribe and were on a pilgrimage to a temple in the Chien-563 ch'ang valley. This is a race of men I have seen very little of. They appear roughly speaking to inhabit the country north of Li-chiang Fu, and from there westwards towards Wei-hsi and northwards nearly to A-tun-tzŭ. Most, if not all, of them have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Captain Ryder came across them in the town of Yung-ning (lat. 27° 45′, long. 100° 40′), where they constitute the bulk of the population. By the evidence of their language they are closely connected with the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo races.

The men we met would stop their chaunt for a moment to answer a question, but would begin again at once afterwards. We were evidently getting near a country under Tibetan influence. What Chinaman would think of reciting prayers as he went along the road?

563 The Mo-sos were not the only new race I was to see on this march, for soon afterwards we met some Hsi-fans, [263] carrying loads of a sort of spice called *hua-chiao*, which they grow extensively about here. Just after they had 201 passed us, the last of them, an elderly man, gave vent to his feelings in a loud noise in a high tone of voice, more like a shriek of forced laughter than anything else. I thought at first he was amused at something, possibly at my personal appearance. The Chinese guide said it was their way of singing—a somewhat vague explanation. It was a noise I often heard afterwards among Tibetans, and is simply a means of calling to each other when distance makes a loud yell necessary to attract attention. It sounds a most extraordinary noise at first, but one soon gets accustomed to 000 it in Tibet. One of my Gurkha sepoys told me the people

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in the Naga hills on the Assam borde. indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fans have adopted the religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside, and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese map of Ssŭ-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated, steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here to rest the mules and to get information about our future route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road, but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Tibetan pagodas

Plate LII

[Face p. 230]

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000 last an old man was produced who had been to a place called Mu-li, which he described as a large Tibetan town with a lot of lamas, lying eight days off to the west. This sounded right, and I afterwards found that, though I believe Mi-li is the correct Tibetan pronunciation, the place is always called Mu-li by the Chinese.

As long as we kept going westward, I knew we must reach A-tun-tzŭ eventually, so I determined to start for "Mu-li." Further enquiries as to the road elicited from the old man the astounding information that to get to Mu-li, which lay *west*, we should have to twice again cross the Ya-lung River, which was now running north and south only two miles *east* of us. I tried to persuade him that it must be two other rivers we had to cross, but he stuck to his point, and as other people corroborated him, I began to think there must be something in what he said. Eventually I found he was perfectly right. The river, the whole of whose course is approximately north and south, makes a sudden sharp curve round and for 40 miles flows from south to north, and then bending right round again continues in its original southerly direction. We had had the bad luck to strike it in the middle of this great bend, and so had to cross it three times.

The discovery was interesting geographically, as this bend is not shown on any Chinese or other map. Subsequently, in Shanghai, I met Dr R. L. Jack, who a few months afterwards had made a journey a little to the south of mine and had just missed the bend. He had been much puzzled by the lie of the country to the north of his route, and it was not till I told him of the bend that he was able to clear up the mystery.

Lu-ning-ying is the last place in this direction over which the Mien-ning official has any real control. There is a small military mandarin here who was very civil, as Chinamen usually are in out of the way places. He sent the local Hsi-fan chief with us to conduct us as far as the territory of the No-po chief, who was his next neighbour to the westward.

We left Lu-ning-ying on the 8th March. Straight in front of us to the west was a forbidding-looking range, culminating at the top in a nearly sheer precipice of 4000

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000 or 5000 feet. To turn the flank of this obstacle it was necessary to make a circuit to the south. Even this entailed a fairly trying climb, and we had ascended to over 12,000 feet before we reached the top.

The way down on the other side was no better. It began with stone steps and steep zigzags, and then got into a rough rocky ravine with water running down it, which sometimes flowed above ground and sometimes beneath it. On each side rose precipitous hills to thousands of feet above us—a very fine country to look at, but a little difficult for loaded mules, who slipped about a good deal on the ice which covered the road in shady places.

Finally we turned out of the ravine and reached a tumble-down inn just short of the Hsi-fan village of Chieh-hsing. There sure enough below us to the west was the Ya-lung River again, flowing from south to north, so I could no longer doubt the geographical information of the Lu-ning-ying people.

The direct route to the west was again blocked by a formidable mountain chain, which rises to a height of 10,000 feet on the other side of the Ya-lung. Our road consequently led up the valley of that river, but keeping some thousands of feet above its level. For two days we continued in this direction, crossing big spurs, with scarcely a level inch of road, through a country very sparsely populated by Hsi-fans and Chinese. On the second day we crossed the river by ferry and reached the village of No-po.

563 Here we were in Mi-li territory, for the No-po chief is only a small man under the Mi-li king. We were also among a different tribe, for though both are called Hsi-fan by the Chinese, the people of Lu-ning-ying district are Mu-nia, while the No-po villagers call themselves Lo-p'u. The former name is doubtless the same as the Menia of Baber, and the Manyak of Hodgson. The next day I came across two fresh Hsi-fan tribes, who are called Êrh-su and Balamin.

I had not time to get vocabularies from all these. Perhaps some of these names are only small tribal divisions, but there seemed no doubt that the Mu-nia and Lo-p'u spoke different languages. Neither of these tribes

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The Lo-lo chief's wife at Ma-huang-kou

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Miaos near the Ya-lung River

Plate LII.

[Face p. 232]

232 *Westward from Mien-ning Hsien. The*
Neither of these tribes
791 have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Their religion includes
563 the sacrifice of animals, I was assured by the people of No-po. The Hsi-fans I found everywhere most friendly. It is not till one gets into a country that is more under the thumb of the lamas, that obstruction begins.

563 Leaving No-po on the 11th March, we were obliged to make rather a short day as, after crossing one big spur, we still had the main range, with 6000 feet more of climbing, in front of us, and I did not think our mules would be equal to this. We slept at Mo-tzŭ-kou among the Miao-tzŭ or Mhong, a tribe which I have found scattered in small and widely dispersed communities all over western China. I had met some on the road the day before who had tried to emigrate southward, but had been driven away by the Lo-los, who considered the land in that part of the country to belong to them. In Kuei-chou province the Miao-tzŭ are very numerous and powerful, but here they are evidently too few to be able to afford to quarrel with their neighbours.

342 We were now getting into a more Tibetan country, and on this march saw for the first time pagodas and praying wheels. The former, some twelve feet or so high, were made of more or less conical-shaped heaps of stones with Tibetan inscriptions on them, and usually a wooden pole sticking out a little way at the top. It was a sort of rough version of the Burmese pagoda with its *hti*.

778 The praying wheel consisted of a cylinder about three feet long and one and a half feet across, made of leather, and said to contain religious writings. The cylinder was fixed on to the top of a little water wheel which, worked by a small stream, revolved continually. The whole was protected by a stone shed well roofed in. It was a work of merit, which must have cost a good deal of time and money to erect in this out of the way spot. These water praying wheels were fairly common in the Tibetan country we travelled through, and when we got into a thoroughly lama district the ordinary praying wheels turned by hand were to be seen in every house.

000 The next morning we crossed the big range, reaching the top at 13,200 feet, but to the north of the road the range attains a much greater elevation than this. The

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000 course of the Ya-lung can be traced from the top of this pass. Just where it makes its great bend to the north, its further progress southward is barred by an enormous mountain mass rising almost sheer from the river to a height
631 of thousands of feet. The country in that direction is under the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh[1], who is nominally subordinate to the Yën-yüan Hsien mandarin.

000 A steep descent to a little valley and another 1000 feet of uphill brought us to the Lo-lo village of Ma-huang-kou at 10,300 feet. The villagers were at first somewhat taken aback by the appearance of such curious-looking people, and were not much inclined to sell us anything. However the appearance of the chief's wife, a large proportioned lady of some 40 years, altered all this. She immediately turned out all the villagers, ordered them to sweep a place clean for my tent, and to bring us anything they had to sell. Her subjects soon became as friendly as they had previously been suspicious.

This country is so very poor that it is by no means easy to get enough to eat even for such a small party as we were. Corn of any sort was scarce and the mules came
244 off badly. I was more fortunate, as I found the people here grew potatoes—a luxury indeed to the traveller in China. It is usually only among hill tribes that one is occasionally able to get this vegetable. The Chinese do not seem to appreciate it, though it grows well in the few places where it is cultivated. I remember getting excellent potatoes in Tung-ch'uan Fu and T'ung-hai Hsien. They were, I believe, originally introduced into China by French missionaries, and in Yün-nan they are called *yang yü*, the foreign yam.

563 To illustrate the varied population of this country I may mention that for five days we had now slept among a different tribe each night—Mu-nia Hsi-fan, Chinese, Lo-p'u Hsi-fan, Miao-tzŭ, and Lo-lo. Each of these people's language is unintelligible to all the others. The *lingua franca* of the country here is still Chinese, though further west Tibetan was much more generally known.

[1] This place is described by Dr R. Logan Jack in *The Back Blocks of China*.

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137 Another hilly march the next day brought us to Mo-lien, which is also inhabited by Lo-los. Much of our road lay through very fine pine forest. This tree, called *sha-mu* by the Chinese, is much valued by them for making coffins, for the manufacture of which the best wood that a man can afford is always used. Among a Chinese population these forests would be of immense value, but here they are quite wasted. One sees magnificent trees cut down and burnt simply to get ashes to manure the fields with.

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CHAPTER XXXI

MI-LI, THE LAND OF THE YELLOW LAMA.

The San-ko-ya monastery—The eastern Tibetan—A tall straight-featured race—The Ya-lung again—Suspicious ferrymen—Our useless appeal to the lamas—Further negotiations—My interpreter wins the day with threats—We cross the river—Pé-tiao—Attempts to mislead us—A friendly monastery—Camp in the forest—Gold mining—Magnificent peaks—K'u-lu—Yaks—A cold night—Suspicious lamas—"Have you not come to dig for gold?"—The Chinese rank of the K'u-lu lama—A hospitable family—The reasons for Tibetan suspiciousness—An obstructive guide—We reduce him to reason—Interview with a lama—His objections overcome by the passport—The Mi-li river—A steep climb—Reach Mi-li after dark—A large monastery—Well-built houses—Tibetan and Chinese houses compared—Mr Amundsen's visit to Mi-li—The Mi-li prime minister—Present him with salad oil—Chinese traders—Gold washing—Extreme protectionist measures.

We had now been for four days within the boundaries of Huang La-ma Ti-fang, "the land of the yellow lama," as the Chinese often call the kingdom of Mi-li; but as yet we had seen no lamas and had not encountered the opposition from the Mi-li king which had been prophesied for us by the Chinese. The next day, however, this peaceful state of things was to come to an end, and we were to have our first experience of that suspicion and obstruction which, when continued day after day, are so wearing to the traveller in Tibetan countries. 000

Leaving Mo-lien we crossed the top of a ridge and began a long steep descent to the Ya-lung. A little way down from the top we came to San-ko-ya our first Tibetan monastery, a two-storied building of whitewashed stones, built all round a courtyard. Two of the lamas were sitting outside, and as they understood a little Chinese, we had some conversation. S ST 346

These Tibetans are very different from the Hsi-fans, and are, I think, also fairer in complexion than and superior S ST 142

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in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

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Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

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Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

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In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

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the river bank, and resumed negotiations with the ferrymen.

Huang-hsin-chai, my interpreter, had on more than one occasion proved himself useful in overcoming difficulties of this sort, and he was eventually so far successful that they agreed to let one or two of our Chinamen cross the next morning and argue the point with the chief on that bank of the river. Having settled this we loaded our baggage up again and went back, aided by the light of a full moon, to a place a mile or two off where there were a couple of houses from which we were able to buy corn for our mules.

The next morning my interpreter with one of our Chinamen went across taking my passport with him. It was an anxious time, as with the river in front of us and the ferry boat on the other side, we were so completely in their hands. I had, however, another plan in case the interpreter should fail. This was to go back some miles by the road we had come by, as if we intended to return, and then to turn off southwards by a road I had noted the day before to Wa-li ferry. Here I hoped we might have better luck, especially as it led to the territory of the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh, who was not likely to be so suspicious of strangers as the Mi-li lama king.

From our camp I anxiously watched Huang go up the steep hillside on the other side of the river to the chief's house. By great luck there happened to be a Chinaman from Yen-yüan Hsien staying the night there, and he was able to read the passport to that very suspicious individual. It took an hour's conversation, chiefly threats, to bring him to understand the consequences that would ensue if he disregarded the Emperor's passport. At last he gave way. The boat came over, and we went across and camped at Pê-tiao outside the chief's house, disregarding his inhospitable remark, that there was a much better camping ground half a mile further on.

The people were very suspicious and watched our camp all night. What they thought we were going to do I don't know. Tibetans do not trust each other very far, and seldom let a stranger sleep in their houses, so it is certainly not surprising that such very curious-looking people as

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609 myself and my Indian followers should be looked on as robbers, at all events till we had proved ourselves honest. However they sold us corn which was all I wanted.

The next morning our friend the Pé-tiao chief was very much on the alert. I saw him have a whispered conversation with our guide, evidently giving him some special orders. The result of the whispering was soon apparent. After going a short distance the guide tried to take us by a track that seemed to lead too far to the south. I sent Huang to a house close by and he found out from a little girl that our road led straight on westwards.

At this moment a lama who had been at Pé-tiao came up and began to protest vehemently that we were on the wrong road and that the guide was quite right. He was a stout middle-aged man and had evidently run up the hill after us, as his face was streaming with perspiration. One might have thought he was our best friend trying to save us from going wrong, but he overdid the part. It was impossible to believe in the sincerity of a man from a place where we had met with such a particularly cold reception.

After crossing a ridge we came to another place where two roads parted. Here our friend the lama again arrived on the scene and tried to persuade us to go to the right. A passing Chinaman put us right this time and in a few miles through fine forests we reached the monastery of Pa-érh.

This was one of the most friendly monasteries I ever came across. The head lama came out and I made Huang read the passport to him. This seemed to impress him very much and he sold us as much corn as we wanted, and also made me a present of some flour, rice, and dried meat for which he would take no payment.

The fat lama again turned up at this moment shouting out at the top of his voice "You can't get any corn here. There's your road." However when he found we had already established friendly relations, he quite appreciated the joke and joined in the laughter at his own expense. So we parted the best of friends.

Crossing another ridge at 12,700 feet, we went down 1000 feet lower and found a nice sheltered place in the forest to camp in, with good grazing for the mules.

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Continuing our journey the next day, the 17th March, we passed through splendid forests along the course of a stream in which we found a party of Tibetans digging for gold. Leaving this valley we ascended another range, reaching the top at 14,500 feet. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up 500 feet higher and got a fine view of the surrounding country. In the distance to the north-west of us, two magnificent snow-covered peaks towered above the rest to a height that I should estimate as quite 20,000 feet. 609

From here we descended to K'u-lu[1], a village of perhaps 60 houses and some large monasteries, the biggest place we had seen for many days. The lamas had evidently got news of our coming, for we found a man waiting for us who showed us a house, and room to camp round it, a little outside the main village. 361 609

K'u-lu was the most thoroughly Tibetan place we had yet come across, and it was here that I saw yaks for the first time. There was one tied up just outside our camp, which presented a curious appearance in the morning, covered with icicles hanging to its hair all over. So far I had been agreeably surprised with the warm temperature, for even at night there had only been a few degrees of frost, but here at K'u-lu at 12,500 feet it was decidedly colder, and the thermometer fell to 17°. 231 609 [32]

The people here are thoroughly Tibetan in manner and customs, and very few of them understand any Chinese. They live in large well-built stone houses, calculated no doubt to keep out the cold which is probably often more severe than we found it in March. 609 [342]

The lamas of K'u-lu were very suspicious. They asked me to halt a day so that we might talk things over and arrange for the continuance of my journey. I did not see what in the world we had to talk about and would not agree to this.

The next morning my interpreter went to the village to see about a guide, and was asked into the monastery by the head lama. He found that dignitary having an early break-

1 Mr Amundsen marks a place called Kang-u about where K'u-lu is. Probably Kang-u is the Tibetan and K'u-lu the Chinese name. See *Geographical Journal* for June 1900.

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609 fast and using a *gold plate* to eat off. Here was then the reason for the suspiciousness with which strangers are looked on in Mi-li. The country is probably rich in this metal, and the Mi-li lamas are determined to keep it for themselves.

"What have you really come for? Have you not come to dig for gold?" was the first question the lama put. Huang was able with perfect truth to assert that we did not know till the day before that there was any gold in Mi-li, and that we were merely passing through the country on our way to A-tun-tzû. With ready Chinese fluency he added that the English and Chinese nations were like brothers, that I was a very high official, and that if I was hindered in any way, they would get into very serious trouble with the authorities at Peking.

Whether they believed him or not they gave me a guide, and we were able to start, though as will subsequently appear the guide did not turn out a complete success.

It is interesting to note that though K'u-lu is such an insignificant place, the head lama has the rank of a *chik-t'ing*. The Chinese Government seem occasionally to confer these dignities on chiefs of non-Chinese tribes. This probably accounts for the appearance on many maps of Yung-ning, a small Mo-so town in north-western Yün-nan, as Yung-ning Fu. There is certainly no Chinese mandarin of *fu* rank there, and Chinese official language would describe the town as a *t'u-fu* or *aboriginal fu*, a place very inferior in importance to a regularly constituted *fu* district.

Leaving K'u-lu we crossed a pleasantly wooded spur and arrived in the afternoon at A-pê-ti, a village of a few scattered houses. In one of these we were most hospitably received by an elderly lady with a large family of sons and daughters, who helped to unload our mules and did everything they could for us.

Though the traveller in Tibet finds the inhabitants as a rule inhospitable if not actually hostile, I do not think that this is due so much to any real unfriendliness to strangers as to the suspicious attitude which the nature of the country naturally engenders. I believe the Tibetans to be

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on the whole a kindly and good-natured race. But law and order are by no means firmly established in their country, and it is no more than a necessary precaution that they should wish to know something about a stranger before they become too friendly or take him in as a guest. This is their feeling even towards travellers of their own race, and it was only natural that they should be still more suspicious of a party composed of Englishmen, natives of India, and Chinese, who might for all they knew have been brigands, and who at all events could give no reason for their journey which would appear satisfactory to Tibetan understandings.

However natural this attitude of suspicion may be, it gives a lot of trouble to the traveller, and we were to have some experience of this on the following day. After we had gone a short distance on our way to Mi-li the guide sent with us from K'u-lu, who had I thought gone back the day before, overtook us again. It struck me at once that he must have come on to hinder us, and it soon turned out that I was right. At the first village we reached, about three miles from our starting point, he proposed that we should halt for the night. When I indignantly refused, he began to argue, and said that the road to Mi-li went round to the north. This I knew was a lie. He then asked in an impertinent manner what my business was in Mi-li, and why I wanted to go there. As he was merely a guide with no authority to ask questions at all, I saw the time for action had arrived and gave him a whack or two over the back with my stick. My example was followed with what I thought almost unnecessary violence by Huang, my interpreter, and the Tibetan was very soon reduced to tears and groans. It appears that he had turned up at our camp of the previous night and tried to persuade the people not to sell us corn. Huang had heard of this. Hence his vigour in paying off old scores.

On the first sign of a fray, all the villagers had run away inside their houses and locked the doors, so we were left entirely alone with the completely humbled guide, who now walked meekly along with us on the direct road to Mi-li.

We had not gone very far when we found a lama with

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Mi-li

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Mi-li villager

Plate LIV

[Face p. 242]

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609 several followers sitting on the ground a little way off the road. He beckoned to me to come to him. I told him he could come to me if he had anything to say, and he accordingly did so.

"Where are you going and what have you come for?" was his first rather natural question. I told him I was passing through Mi-li on my way to A-tun-tzū. He began to demur to my going on to Mi-li, said the king was away at another monastery, and enquired what presents I had for his majesty. I said I had no particular business with the king to induce me to go out of my way to visit him, and that I had no presents for him. I then had my passport read to the lama. He understood Chinese well enough to realise that this document could not be disregarded, and had nothing more to say, so we went on.

[631] This part of the country is entirely under the influence of the Tibetan lamas, and no Chinese official ever comes near it, but still it is nominally part of the province of Ssū-ch'uan, so that a passport meets here with a respect that would not be shown it in the part of Tibet beyond the Chinese frontier.

000 A very long bit of downhill brought us to the Mi-li River[1] which we crossed by an excellent wooden bridge which had only just been finished, the old bridge having been swept away by a flood. The river is here at an elevation of 7,500 feet. Its general width is some 60 yards; it has a strong current and is too deep to be fordable.

It was now getting dark and I wanted to halt for the night at some houses near the bridge; but I found we could get no fodder for our mules here, so we had to climb 2000 feet of very steep hill to Mi-li which we did not reach till eight in the evening. The guide, who had been most willing and useful since his thrashing, was sent on ahead, and found us a house to put up with room for the mules underneath, so we got settled down pretty comfortably at last. It was a hard march of over twenty miles, and the

[1] Mr Amundsen gives Gya-yul Ch'u, "the river of China," as the Tibetan name of this stream. It seems probable that this is the same river that flows past Li-t'ang.

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last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

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A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

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I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

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of his coming to reach the Mi-li officials. The consequence was that he met with no obstruction, and was on the whole treated with courtesy and helped on his journey[1]. I must also say in justice to the Mi-li officials that after I had arrived at the capital and satisfied them that I was neither a robber nor a gold-seeker, I had no further trouble of any sort. It was doubtless my sudden and unannounced appearance on their eastern frontier which caused me to be viewed with suspicion at first.

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On the morning after our arrival, a crowd of people from the town turned up to have a look at the strangers and their property. A Tibetan crowd does not annoy one like a Chinese crowd. They are a better-mannered people than the Chinese and are satisfied with a look, without wanting to stand staring for hours.

Among the visitors was our lama friend of the day before. It appears he is a very big man in Mi-li; a sort of prime minister. He was fairly civil and gave me some tea and dried meat. I returned the compliment by presenting him with a bottle of salad oil. Directly he saw me coming towards him, he retired hastily out of sight into the stable, and when I followed him and gave him the bottle, he immediately hid it under his robe. He probably thought it was liquor, and was doubtless wofully disappointed when he opened it.

There are three or four Chinese traders living in Mi-li who say they came originally from the province of Shen-hsi. But they have become very much Tibetanised, and even speak Chinese with a Tibetan accent.

Chinamen are certainly not encouraged to settle in Mi-li. Mr Amundsen relates that a few years ago some Chinese came to wash for gold in Mi-li territory, but the Tibetan inhabitants in their zeal for the preservation of native industries, took the extreme protectionist measure of killing the intruders by rolling stones down the hillside on them. "Now," Mr Amundsen remarks, "none but Milians wash for gold!"

[1] Mr Amundsen gives an account of his journey in the *Geographical Journals* for June 1900 and November 1900.

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CHAPTER XXXII

MI-LI TO CHUNG-TIEN.

The road to A-tun-tû—Hot sunshine—Turns to snow and thunder—A camp in the forest—Caught in the snow—Reach a deserted hut—My Indian followers never complain—A downhill march—Forty miles of uninhabited country—Snow-blindness—A Tibetan bridge—Ran-da—An unpleasant camp in the snow—Our guides bolt—The path obliterated by snow—Guided to the road by a pagoda—A Tibetan reception at Ming-yu-ho—Closed doors—Alternative roads—A yak-grazing village—We are taken for robbers—But come to a friendly understanding—Breaking into Tibetan houses—An indefensible proceeding justified by results—Chung-tien—Its inhabitants—A priest-ridden country—Tibet unaffected by Chinese customs—Chinese absorption of other tribes—In Tibet Chinese become Tibetanised—Mandarins under the thumb of the lamas—Reasons for this—Buddhism and climate—The Chung-tien plain—A grazing country—A different race from the people of Mi-li—Their language the same as that of Lhasa—The word "Tibet."

I MADE many enquiries about the road from Mi-li to A-tun-tzû, and all my informants were agreed that it passed through Chung-tien. This no doubt is the usual road, but it makes a big circuit to the south. I should have much liked to strike off due west to try and find a more direct route, but I had to think of my engagement to meet Ryder and Manifold at the end of March. As it was, I was likely to be late, and could not risk embarking on a journey in which I might not improbably be brought up short by impassable snow or other obstacles. 000

So on the 20th March, the day after our arrival in Mi-li, we took the road to Chung-tien. Men and mules were thoroughly tired the day before, and I did not attempt to make an early start. We got off about eleven o'clock in hot sunshine, but an hour afterwards found ourselves climbing a hillside in a heavy storm of snow and thunder. Luckily it did not last long, and after crossing a 13,000 feet spur we reached a very pleasing camping ground on a

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The Mi-li lama prime minister

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

A tame yak

Plate LV

[Face p. 246]

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000 little stream in the middle of a beautiful forest, with abundant firewood and grass.

So far we had been very little troubled with bad weather, but we were now to experience the inconveniences of marching in snow. The next day we reached the top of the Ya-lung-Yangtze watershed at 15,300 feet. The snow already lay several inches deep, and in the afternoon it began to fall again with the accompaniment of a bitterly cold wind. The road still kept up on the ridge at an average height of 15,000 feet, and I persevered in hopes it would soon begin to descend and bring us into a warmer climate.

By six o'clock we had not got perceptibly lower, but luckily one of the guides knew of a deserted hut a little way off the path, and this we reached just at dark. The roof was full of holes, but there were dry corners to be found, and with this and two tents we all managed to get some sort of shelter. We were able to light fires and cook with melted snow, and the snow was not quite deep enough to prevent the mules grazing, so on the whole things might have been worse. My Indian followers, some of them men from the warmer parts of India, must have felt the cold keenly, but neither of cold nor of anything else did any of them ever complain.

Loading the mules with fingers numb from cold was rather a long operation the next morning, but once on the move things began to look more cheerful. In a couple of hours' marching we got out of the snow, and after 12 miles of continuous downhill reached Lei-lung, the first village we had seen since leaving Mi-li—an uninhabited stretch of nearly 40 miles.

The sun which shone brightly on our morning's march was very welcome after the dismal weather of the day before, but the glare which it caused from the snow had the unfortunate effect of giving several of my men snow-blindness. They suffered no pain from it, but everything looked dark to them. I had fortunately foreseen this contingency, and had in Yün-nan Fu bought several pairs of coloured spectacles which I now served out all round.

751 In sunny weather with snow on the ground it would be almost impossible to do a march in Tibet without some protection to the eyes. The Tibetans often use a sort of

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751 veil of horse-hair for this purpose, and they eagerly buy up the spectacles which Chinese traders occasionally bring in for sale. I once suffered slightly from snow-blindness myself, having imprudently started on a march without my coloured glasses. The effect was to make everything look purple, but it passed off after a few hours inside a house.

000 On the 23rd we still went on downhill, for a mile or two, to a river which here flows at the surprisingly low level of 6,200 feet. It is crossed by a bridge 50 yards long, made with layers of beams stuck out one over the other from both banks, with a span of planks in the middle, resting on the ends of these beams. This seems the common type of bridge in this part of the country, and I have seen several similar ones in Yün-nan. After passing the river, we crossed a spur and camped for the night at the little village of Tzū-lo.

The next day an unusually easy road brought us to Wei-jih, where with much difficulty I bought some maize for the mules and flour for the men. From here two roads branch off, both leading, they say, to Chung-tien. I took the more northerly of the two, as being the more likely to keep me longer on unsurveyed ground, away from Ryder's route from Yung-ning.

On the 25th we reached Ran-da, a very small village, where wheat was the only grain to be got for the mules. I should have halted here for the night if I had known what the road in front was like, but as not a soul in Ran-da knew a word of Chinese it was a little difficult to get information.

As it was, the day being still young, we pushed on. The next two miles entailed a climb of 2,750 feet, and at nightfall we found ourselves with exhausted mules forced to camp in a place so steep that one side of my tent was three feet higher than the other.

It began to snow soon after dark and went on steadily all night, so that there were several inches on the ground by daylight. The thermometer stood at 27° at seven o'clock in the morning—not extreme cold certainly, but quite enough to be very unpleasant when camping out in a snowstorm.

The two guides we had brought from Ran-da had had

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000 enough of it, and did a bolt in the night. Luckily in this country there are not many roads to choose from, and we followed the only one there was. After we had gone a mile, the snow became so deep that all traces of the path disappeared. However, as the country was open grass we were able to strike straight across in what seemed the right direction, passing a large collection of wooden huts and cattle pens, now entirely deserted and probably only used in the summer.

Soon afterwards I spotted on top of the ridge one of the small stone pagodas, such as are often built by the road side in this country. This turned out to be the case here, and we soon found ourselves on the right track again. The top of the range was reached at 14,900 feet, and descending through thick woods we gradually got out of the snow, and reached the village of Ming-yu-ho where we were able to enjoy the real pleasure of being warm once more.

609 Here we met with the usual Tibetan reception. All the inhabitants locked their doors, and looking out at us from top-storey windows, shouted that we should find an excellent camping-ground two miles further on. However finding one or two men who knew some Chinese, we got on speaking terms with them, and pitched our tents in the village.

000 From Ming-yu-ho a road goes off northward which, they say, leads to Li-t'ang. I should much have liked to have followed it for a little distance, and then to have turned off westward straight for A-tun-tzŭ, but the necessity for my being up to time in meeting Ryder and Manifold prevented me from trying any experiments of this sort. Moreover my men were getting shoeless and my mules beginning to knock up, and I could not risk the not improbable contingency of being brought up by uninhabited snowy mountains.

Taking the road to Chung-tien, therefore, we crossed a high range and descended to Ta-lung, a yak-grazing village, with a hundred or more of these animals. There was a good deal of snow on the ground where we crossed the range and very little more would have made it impassable. As it was, we had to unload our mules in one place, and carry the baggage for a short distance.

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At Ta-lung they are evidently unaccustomed to strangers, and they apparently took us for thieves. The good man of the house stood at his door shouting out, over and over again, "I've got nothing here, I've got nothing here." He was ably seconded by his wife, who yelled out what I suppose was abuse with violent gesticulations. It was too cold to stand upon ceremony, so I walked into the house, trusting to things calming down when our involuntary host could be made to understand that we had not come to rob him.

The man contented himself with feeble protests, but the lady was in a most pugnacious mood and attacked one of my Chinese coolies with a broom. I had some difficulty in preventing him from retaliating with the legs of the plane-table—a very formidable weapon. At this moment another man turned up who proved more sensible and understood a little Chinese. Friendly relations were soon established, and while most of my followers settled down in the house we had forcibly occupied, I was shown another, quite new and unoccupied, where I was very comfortable. The thermometer fell to 17° at night and there was a bitter wind blowing. It would have been unpleasantly cold in tents.

I have several times found it necessary to force my way into Tibetan houses, and occasionally even to push the owner somewhat violently on one side. A quite indefensible proceeding no doubt, but circumstances alter cases, and I have always found it justified by complete success. After getting inside my followers and myself proceed to make ourselves at home and adopt an attitude of passive resistance to any suggestions that we are unwelcome guests. When our host realises that we do no harm and produce money to pay for anything he can sell us, he becomes gradually less and less sulky, and by the evening we are on the best of terms.

I have once or twice come back a second time to a house which we have entered in this high-handed fashion, and have been received in the most friendly way. In countries where might is right, it is a necessity to assert oneself sometimes. The alternative would be sleeping out in the cold and getting no supplies.

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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the
S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.
ST The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a
302 sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan
191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak
S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.
ST Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct
631 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a
622 Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the
S large monastery which is situated a little further along the
ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be
[651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was
S certainly not friendly.
ST It is curious how little impression the civilisation and
177 customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

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take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

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S ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST 563 101 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

S ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

CHUNG-TIEN TO A-TUN-TZŬ.

News of Ryder—A country of swampy plains—The Yangtze at Pang-tzŭ-la ferry—Chinese hospitality—The Tung-ch'u-ling monastery—M. Renou's stay there in 1852—Meet Ryder—Pass blocked by snow—We tackle the pass—Difficulties of the mules—Mountain sickness—Reach A-tun-tzŭ—Its inhabitants—Arrival of Manifold—His journey—Surrounded by an angry mob at T'êng-yüeh—He is stopped by snow—His route up the Mekong valley—Halt at A-tun-tzŭ.

RYDER had passed through Chung-tien five days before, 000
so I had to follow his route from here on to A-tun-tzŭ. Chung-tien is a country of somewhat swampy plains in which the flocks and herds graze, and our first march to T'an-tui was a nearly level one.

The second day ended with a considerable drop to Hsien-to which lies at 7,600 feet, and the third march brought us to the Yangtze at the ferry which is called Pung-dje-ra by the Tibetans, and Pang-tzŭ-la by the Chinese. The river here averages 100 yards in width and is evidently very deep. Its height above the sea level I made 7,100 feet. The ferry-boat is one of the best I have seen in western China: it will take 15 mules across at a trip.

The village, which is on the right bank, contains 60 361
or 70 houses scattered over the hillside in the usual Tibetan fashion. The Chinese military official was away at Ta-li Fu, but I was very comfortably put up by his clerk in a large house furnished in the Chinese style. After a month 000
among Tibetans, it seemed almost like coming home again to be once more surrounded with chairs and tables, and to see the familiar Chinese scrolls on the walls and doors, and the little altar at one side of the room. It takes a little experience of the annoyances of Tibetan travel to make one appreciate Chinese hospitality.

The next day, the 1st April, we passed the monastery

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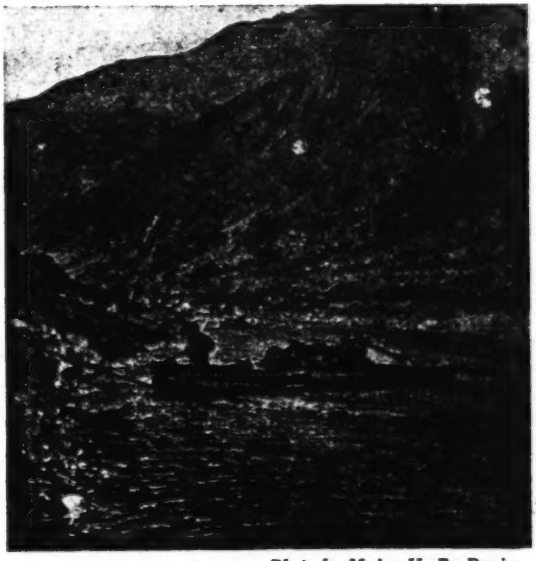

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Pang-tzŭ-la ferry over the Yangtze

Plate LVI

[Face p. 254]

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000 of Nrui-da or Tung-ch'u-ling which lies away on the hillside to the left of the road. This is a notable place 797 in the history of the French Mission, for it was here that M. Renou, the first missionary in this part of Tibet, passed ten months studying Tibetan in the year 1852. He lived disguised as a Chinese trader, and established most friendly relations with the principal lama.

000 We slept at Pê-kê and hardly had we started on the following morning when we met some of Ryder's mule-men on their way down to buy corn and straw. We learnt from them that his camp was a little way in front of us, and we soon reached it and found Ryder there.

He had arrived here a few days before, and finding the pass impracticable for animals, had gone on foot to A-tun-tzŭ, so as not to be late in our appointed meeting place. Finding neither Manifold nor myself there he had come back to get his mules over the pass.

We were camped here at 14,200 feet in about a foot of snow, but in this country there are curious thaws of patches of ground while there is deep snow elsewhere, so we were able to get fairly clear spaces for our tents.

The next day, the 3rd April, we tried the pass, and had a hard day's work. We started early so as to get over as much ground as possible while the snow was still frozen. Besides the main ridge there are two other big spurs to be crossed, so that it amounts to crossing three passes, the highest point being 15,500 feet. The snow was two or three feet deep, but was somewhat less in the actual path, as a Tibetan caravan had crossed the day before and trodden it down.

By midday it began to thaw, and my weak mules found considerable difficulty in getting along. They were constantly falling down, and we were all kept hard at work in undoing their loads and getting them on their legs again. To make it worse, we were at a height that made the slightest exertion painful owing to the difficulty of breathing. Several of our men got bad headaches from the rarified air. This mountain sickness I have usually found come on to a certain extent at 13,000 feet, but different passes seem to vary, and sometimes I have felt no bad effects even at 15,000 or 16,000 feet.

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000 After doing nine miles I found it hopeless to try and get the mules any further, and left some of the men with tents and bedding to camp with the mules for the night. Ryder's animals had been hired from Yün-nan Fu and so were comparatively fresh, and he was able to get on to the proper camping ground.

I went on and slept in his tent and returned in the morning to look after the animals. One mule had died in the night. It had been weak for some time and had not been carrying anything, but on the previous day I had been obliged to give it a load of straw for the animals to eat. The men, too, though they had their tent and bedding, had suffered a good deal from cold. It was their own fault: they had neglected to get in firewood the evening before, though there was plenty of it not far off. We reached A-tun-tzŭ a little before dark and managed to stow ourselves and animals away in two small inns.

361 A-tun-tzŭ is not a very large place. There is a fair sized monastery, but besides this it hardly contains a
563 hundred houses. It stands near the head of a narrow steeply-sloping valley surrounded by steep snow-covered hills. Its elevation above the sea we made 11,500 feet. The inhabitants of the town are many of them half Chinese, but the customs and language of the place are more Tibetan, though many of the people can talk Chinese as well[1].

000 Directly we arrived at A-tun-tzŭ a man came up with a letter which he had just brought in from Manifold, saying he expected to arrive in two or three days. He turned up on the 6th April, so we all met within six days of our appointed time. Manifold would have been here earlier but was delayed by circumstances.

Unluckily, as he was on the road from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh, a collision took place in the Kachin Hills between the military police and some Chinese soldiers who had trespassed on our side of the border. The news of this had reached T'êng-yüeh, and Manifold when he arrived there found himself surrounded by an angry mob. One of his men was assaulted, several of his things stolen, and it required all the influence of the officials of the place to

[1] A-tun-tzŭ is said to have been almost entirely destroyed by a landslip since our visit.

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000 prevent things becoming still more serious. To make matters worse his interpreter bolted.

A less determined traveller might well have been deterred from going on by such an unpleasant first experience of China, but Manifold was resolved to keep his appointment with us, and after four days' delay was able to continue his journey.

Arriving at Shih-ku[1] on the Yangtze without further obstacle he tried to take the route up the Yangtze valley which Gill had followed down.

There was, however, so much snow on the passes that he was obliged to give this up and make a circuit round to the south into the Mekong valley. It was by the road which runs up this river that he reached A-tun-tzŭ.

We halted a few days at A-tun-tzŭ getting information about the country and making arrangements for a fresh start. The weather continued cold. Snow would often fall in the night and would lie two or three inches deep in the morning, but the sun was strong enough to thaw it by the middle of the day.

[1] Lat. 26° 50′, long. 99° 55′.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE MEKONG VALLEY ON THE TIBETAN BORDER.

Our plans—The source of the Irrawaddy—A route through Tibet to Assam—Difficulties of the journey—Hostility of Tsa-rong—Our proposed route—Superfluous men and baggage sent to Burma—Our party—Leave A-tun-tzŭ—The Mekong—A rope bridge—Method of crossing—Not so dangerous as it looks—Our bargain with the owner of the bridge—He repudiates it—But is brought to reason—Two passes between the Mekong and the Salween—Both reported impassable—We try the Lon-dre pass—Through forest—Difficulties of the path—Fallen trees—Rain—Deep snow—Impracticable for mules—We turn back—3½ miles in 8½ hours—Accident to our clothes—A landslip—Return to A-tun-tzŭ—Start for Ya-k'a-lo—Liu-t'ou-chiang—Up the Mekong valley—Steep mountains—Valleys of green fields—Fine snowy range—Tibetan houses—Ya-k'a-lo—Salt wells—Pères Bourdonnec and Grandjean.

My original idea, formed a year or two before, had been 000 to find a route westward from A-tun-tzŭ to the sources of the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, and thence get to either Assam or Burma through Kam-ti or by any other route that might prove feasible. Prince Henri d'Orléans' road lay about 60 miles to the south of where he places the head waters of the river, so that the actual position of the source of the Irrawaddy had still to be fixed, and there was likely to be much wild country in that direction which would be an interesting field for exploration.

However, a more useful and more difficult route was suggested to me by Prince Henri's remarks on p. 220 of the French edition of his book. This was to find a way through a piece of Tibet and the Mishmi country into Assam. Here is a road which when Tibet is open to foreign commerce, ought to become one of the most important trade routes for tea and other goods. Moreover, as far as the Tibetan portion goes, it would be quite untrodden ground. Whereas, in taking the Irrawaddy road, it would have been difficult to avoid going partly over the same country as that traversed in 1895 by Prince Henri and his companions Roux and Briffaud.

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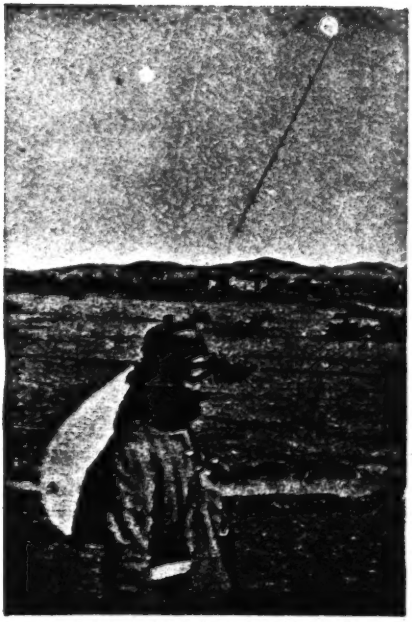

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Surveyor Lachman Jadh

Plate LVII

[Face p. 258]

000 The difficulties of the road we proposed to take were no doubt great. Prince Henri would have liked to have tried it, but having with him no men on whom he could thoroughly rely, he abandoned the idea, and contented himself with a journey among tribes less hostile to foreigners than the Tibetans. It might have been well if we had followed his example, for as will subsequently be seen our attempts ended in failure.

The road we wished to take passes through a place called Men-kong on the Salween. This is a large monastery in the Tibetan state of Tsa-rong, the people of which have a bad reputation. There was little doubt that if we went straight for Men-kong by the ordinary route through Ya-k'a-lo, the Tsa-rong lamas would have plenty of notice of our coming, and we should find every obstacle placed in our way.

Our plan, therefore, was to start off in a southerly direction, cross the Mekong, and take Prince Henri's route through Lon-dre, giving out that we intended to follow in his footsteps to Kam-ti[1]. Once across the Salween we meant to turn up the right bank of that river to Men-kong. We hoped by our move southward to put the Tsa-rong people off their guard, and we should by taking this road at all events ensure the crossing of the two big rivers in places outside Tibetan territory.

For a journey such as we were embarking on it was very necessary that we should have no superfluous men or animals. Our interpreters, surveyors, Chinese plane-table coolies—in fact all unnecessary followers were therefore sent back to Burma, travelling down the Mekong valley, and thence, *viâ* Wei-hsi, Yün-lung, and Yung-ch'ang, to Bhamo.

We had orginally among us brought up ten Gurkhas from the military police at Myit-kyi-na, but one was left behind sick by Manifold at Yün-lung Chou with another to look after him. A third sepoy had been suffering from bronchitis, and had to go back with our surveyors. This reduced them to the seven who accompanied us—Havildar Kuluman Bhazur, Naik Seowlal Thapa, Maidan Singh, Rup

[1] Kam-ti lies near the head-waters of the Nam Kiu or Ma-li Hka, the western branch of the Irrawaddy.

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000 Harkura, Doba Ram, Hastuman Bhazur, and Ranbir Thapa. Most useful these men proved in the difficulties that we encountered from bad roads and hostile Tibetans.

Our party, therefore, now consisted of our three selves, two Indian servants, seven Gurkhas, and three mule-drivers. One of the latter was Tibetan, and the other two were half Tibetan and half Chinese, who knowing both languages could act as interpreters. Ryder did the plane-table survey, and I took on my sextant to observe latitudes at night. We all marched on foot, our own ponies being used as baggage animals, of which we had eleven altogether. We could have done with less in a more inhabited country, but we were forced to provide for the contingency of having to carry a few days' supplies for man and beast.

By the 11th of April we were ready for a start and following down the A-tun-tzŭ stream to its mouth we slept on the banks of the Mekong at the village of Chia-pieh. This river is called Da Ch'u by the Tibetans. Its average width here is 60 or 70 yards, and its muddy waters run between steep mountain ranges with a very rapid current. Its height here is about 6000 feet.

Ten more miles down the Mekong valley the next day brought us to Yang-tsa where we had to cross the river and turn off westward. It was here that the party returning to Burma separated from us.

We were now to have our first experience of a Tibetan rope bridge. The rope, which is very thick and strong, is made of twisted bamboo. It is stretched across the river so that the end on the near side is much higher than the end on the far side. At each crossing place there are therefore necessarily two ropes, one to cross each way.

A piece of wood, about a foot long, hollowed out so as to fit on to the rope is placed on top of it. To each end of this piece of wood strong leather thongs are attached. The traveller is then tied into these thongs in a sitting position; they are passed up between his thighs, crossed over his chest and fastened off behind his neck. He is then let go and flies across the river at the speed of an express train. During the crossing the hands must be either placed over the piece of wood or must grasp the thongs near where they join the wood. If they touched the rope they would

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be cut to pieces by the friction. The sagging of the rope at the further end makes it necessary to pull oneself along by the rope for the last few yards, but in a well constructed bridge this distance is reduced to a minimum.

Mules and baggage are sent across in exactly the same manner, and the whole crossing did not take longer than it would have done by a ferry. For the animals a special sling with more strongly made thongs is used. The thongs are brought round from underneath, one just behind the fore legs and one just in front of the hind legs, and are tied together and finished off over the back. The mule is then swung off his legs, and goes across with his back hunched up and all four legs hanging helplessly down.

The bridge was 100 yards long and the river running at a great depth below with a tremendous current, so that the crossing looked a very formidable undertaking to anyone with a weak head. But I was agreeably surprised to find it not half as bad as it looked. It was in fact not an unpleasant sensation, very much like toboganning, but with a feeling of complete helplessness till the opposite bank was reached.

Our difficulties, in fact, were confined to the preliminary arrangements. First of all, of course, much time was wasted in bargaining as to what we were to pay. We finally came to an agreement on this point and paid over the money. No doubt what we gave was much more than the proper fare, and the head-man, encouraged by success, promptly repudiated the bargain and said he must have some more before they began work.

There was clearly only one way of getting across, so I hit him on the nose. Our followers joined in and after two or three Tibetans had been slightly injured, they became quite amenable and began to work well in getting us and our belongings across the river. Without this slight show of physical force we might have been there bargaining still.

The next day, the 13th of April, we crossed a big spur and reached Lon-dre. To the west of us lay the big mountain chain which separates the Mekong from the Salween. Two passes cross this part of the range, one going nearly due west, and the other crossing in a south-westerly direc-

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tion. We should have liked to have taken the former route, but we were told it was quite impracticable so early in the year, and from the view of the snows that we got in that direction this seemed extremely probable. 000

On arriving at Lon-dre we were to receive further bad news, for the villagers told us that the south-western pass was also covered with deep snow and that loaded animals could not possibly get through. We were determined, however, to see for ourselves and arranged to go on the next day.

The Lon-dre people appeared fairly friendly, but we had considerable difficulty in getting a guide from them. In fact we had to take one by force in the face of violent opposition from the female portion of his family. However when he had gone a mile or two he became quite resigned to his fate and made himself extremely useful.

The difficulties of the road were considerable. It was a narrow path through jungle, partly bamboo and partly magnificent forest trees, a country more resembling the Shan States than China or Tibet. The road had evidently not been used for months, and in several places trees had fallen across it. If these were small they could be cut through, but otherwise a path had to be made round them. Our progress was therefore slow, and after doing 5½ miles in 8 hours we camped in the jungle at 10,000 feet.

The next day our difficulties were increased by a steady downpour of rain which made the steep path so slippery that our animals could scarcely keep their feet. We soon came to the snow, and struggled on through it for a quarter of a mile. Men could walk on top of it, but the loaded mules sank in at once and had to be unloaded and pulled on to their legs. They were down again almost as soon as they were up, and we could make no progress at all.

We walked on and reconnoitred ahead and found the pass got worse and worse—very steep ground and soft snow three feet deep. It was quite impossible to get the animals over this and we had to give it up. We got back to our old camp in the evening after doing 3½ miles in 8½ hours—a hard day's work, constantly lifting loads and carrying them over bad places.

The rain subsided into a drizzle in the evening and we

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000 were able to light fires and dry our clothes, an operation that was not altogether successful as some of our things tumbled into the fire and got burnt. I had to do the rest of the journey with my knees showing through my knickerbockers and a large hole in my coat.

The next day we returned to Lon-dre in pouring rain and were very glad to get into a comfortable Tibetan house. In the middle of the night we were roused by a loud rumbling noise caused by a big landslip on the steep hillside on the other side of the stream on which Lon-dre is built. Tibetans sometimes get badly hurt by rocks rolling down the hillsides, and sites for houses have to be selected in places safe from landslips.

From Lon-dre we returned to A-tun-tzŭ by the same road we had come by. Our friends at the Yang-tsa rope bridge, with whom we had had the slight difference of opinion before, were extremely civil, and we had no difficulties this time. It poured steadily with rain day and night, and as we got towards the higher level of A-tun-tzŭ the rain turned to snow, and lay on the ground a few inches deep.

It was clear that we had arrived too early in the year to cross the passes leading westward, and our only course was to fill up the time as best we could till the snow melted. So after three days halt at A-tun-tzŭ, we started off again on the 23rd April, taking this time a northerly direction for Ya-k'a-lo.

About the middle of our first march we passed through the village of Dong. It is here that the direct road from Ba-t'ang, which Gill took, joins in. Beyond this we were on ground which, though often traversed by French missionaries, had never been surveyed.

The pass which separates A-tun-tzŭ from the Mekong is an easy one, and a long descent down a narrow valley brought us to that river at Liu-t'ou-chiang where there is a rope bridge on the direct road to Men-kong. The height of the Mekong here is 7,500 feet, so, if our observations are correct, there is a drop of 1,500 feet in the 20 miles between this point and Chia-pieh where we had previously struck the river[1].

[1] This difference of height seems too great to be likely. Probably our barometers and hypsometers were much affected by weather.

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The name Liu-t'ou-chiang is Chinese, meaning "bridge-head river," for *liu-tzŭ* is the name by which they call the rope bridges. 000

For five more days our road lay up the valley of the Mekong, but the going was by no means flat. The hills on both sides of the river are very steep and full of landslips, the formation being loose shale. The path keeps up on the hillside, rising in places to 10,000 feet or more, and continually crossing bare brown-looking spurs.

Between these spurs are little side streams running down from the snow-covered tops of the range, and in these little valleys the villages are prettily situated, surrounded by green fields of wheat and barley, and by pear and peach trees which were then in blossom. 245

The Mekong runs for the most part between steep banks and there is practically no flat ground along it. To the west is a fine snowy range, the highest peaks of which Ryder made about 20,000 feet by observations with the long-shaped clinometer.

The Tibetan inhabitants of this valley appear well off and live in an excellent climate where it does not get extremely cold. Their houses are well built, often of three storeys, the ground floor solidly constructed of stone, and the two upper floors usually of wood. The roofs are flat, made of large beams covered over with mud, and the upper storeys are built so that they cover less space than the storey below them; thus part of the roof of one storey forms a terrace or verandah to the storey above it. [132] 342

On the 28th of April we reached Ya-k'a-lo, a straggling village of 100 houses. The place is important because of its salt wells which supply all this part of the country. 317

On our second march out of A-tun-tzŭ we had already met one French missionary, Père Bourdonnec who was on his way to Tzŭ-ku (Tse-kou according to French orthography). At Ya-k'a-lo we were to have the pleasure of finding Père Grandjean who had come from Ba-t'ang to take Père Bourdonnec's place during his absence. He took much interest in our project of getting through to Assam, though he did not give us much hope of success. We are much indebted to him for the assistance and advice he was always so ready to give us. 000

CHAPTER XXXV

YA-K'A-LO TO BA-T'ANG.

Passes still blocked—Start for Ba-t'ang—Our mule-drivers bolt—They are replaced by Père Grandjean—Reasons for their flight—The Chia-la pass—Open rolling downs—A good shooting country—Eared pheasants—Blood pheasants—Hares and partridges—Shortness of cartridges—A freezing wind—Cold reception at Pa-mu-t'ang—Break into a house—And become good friends with the owner—Buttered tea—A dinner off turnips—A valley full of sheep—Pheasants and woodcock—The Yangtze again—Chu-pa-lung ferry—Ba-t'ang—The plain—The town and inhabitants—Chinese officials—The Tibetan chiefs—The French mission—Its destruction and re-establishment—Tibetan boots—A horse for two musical boxes and a pair of glasses—The climate of Ba-t'ang—Its crops—Its height—Manifold's operations for cataract.

000 RAIN continued to fall at intervals, and as rain in the valley would be snow on the hills, it was clearly useless to attempt the passes to the west for the present. We therefore determined to fill up the time by going to Ba-t'ang, especially as the first half of the road there had not been previously surveyed.

On the 30th April we left Ya-k'a-lo and made a short march by a gradual ascent up to La-ta-ting at 12,300 feet, just at the edge of the snow line at this time of year. The next day we halted to examine the pass in front of us, and finding it practicable we were preparing to climb it on the following morning. However at daylight the Gurkha havildar turned up with a long face to announce that the three mule-drivers had bolted in the night.

We sent off three Gurkhas at once to lie in wait on the A-tun-tzŭ road beyond Ya-k'a-lo, in hopes that the fugitives might stop a little at Ya-k'a-lo before going on. We soon afterwards started ourselves, but it was of course the easiest thing in the world for the mule-drivers to hide themselves, and we saw them no more.

[p.264]

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Arrived at Ya-k'a-lo we went to the French mission. 000
Père Grandjean could not suggest any way of capturing the runaways, but he offered to find three of his Christians as substitutes, and we were able to get back to La-ta-ting with them that evening. This was not the only kindly act of assistance that we received from Père Grandjean and his confrères on the Tibetan border.

At first we were at a loss to explain the sudden flight of our men, but one of the mission people said that news had just arrived that Tibetan soldiers were waiting to stop us at the place on the Ba-t'ang route where a road branches off to Garthok. A caravan had arrived at La-ta-ting the night before, and doubtless our mule-men had heard this from them and decided to bolt, though as a matter of fact we had no intention of taking the Garthok road.

On the 3rd of May we left La-ta-ting and crossed the Chia-la pass, which, though it is 15,600 feet high, had only a few inches of snow on it. Sleeping at Hnga-tsa, we went on the next morning, crossing the Chiang-ka River, here 30 yards wide, by a knee deep ford at the village of Tsong-en. This is the point where the direct road from A-tun-tzŭ to Ba-t'ang joins in. From here a gradual ascent up a narrow barren valley brought us on to a plateau country at Chia-ni-ting.

On the 5th our road lay over open rolling downs rising 136
to 14,500 feet. This is the best country for game that I have seen anywhere in western China. Large coveys of Eared Pheasants were constantly in sight. This is a magnificent bird as large as a goose, his whole body white with a dark green tail which looks black in the distance. He appears to live chiefly in the snow, or very near the snow line, and his loud harsh crow can be heard a mile off. He never flies if he can help it, but can make very good use of his legs, and so wary is he, that though we constantly saw them, we were never able to get within shot.

Another bird, more common if anything than the Eared Pheasant, is the Blood Pheasant. These birds also go about in large coveys, and have also the greatest objection to taking flight if they can possibly avoid it.

136 We found them chiefly in the woods just below the snow. Their general colour is a French grey very much like guinea fowl, but with some green feathers on the breast and sides, bright scarlet legs, and a fan-shaped tail with red feathers in it. This bird is not so wary as the other, and we shot a few, but they seem to be endowed with a wonderful capacity for carrying away shot.

Hares also were very plentiful here. They are a large kind, very much like the English hare, and much bigger than the Indian variety. Partridges I only saw once. This was near Tsong-en where I shot three out of a covey. They are the Sifan Partridge, and very much resemble the English bird on the back but are marked black and white on the breast.

We might have had really good sport here by beating the little valleys, but unfortunately we only had one gun among us and very few cartridges, so were obliged to confine ourselves to shooting for the pot.

000 A good deal of snow fell on this march, and it turned later on in the day into a regular blizzard with a piercingly cold wind which froze our faces and hands quite numb. We were glad therefore to descend a little from the bleak downs into the village of Pa-mu-t'ang[1]. Here we joined the main road from Lhasa to Peking, and from here to Ba-t'ang we followed in the footsteps of A. K., Gill, Bower, Rockhill, and Bonvalot.

It was near Pa-mu-t'ang a little way along the Lhasa road that the Tibetan soldiers were stationed to stop us, so the villagers not yet knowing which route we intended to take, naturally gave us rather a cold reception. Every door was locked, and we had to make a forcible entry. We picked out what seemed the best house, and Manifold was hoisted over the wall. Directly he landed in the court-yard inside, he was met by a huge Tibetan mastiff. These dogs are most formidable and are usually kept chained up, but this one had evidently been let loose for our benefit. Luckily the owner of the house had also come out when he found his wall being escaladed, and was induced to tie his dog up and to open the door.

[1] Called Bam-ding in Tibetan according to Rockhill. Marked in some maps as Bong-ting.

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As usual, we soon became the best of friends with the 272
people whose house we had so unceremoniously broken into. We were given a large room and regaled with buttered tea which we found excellent after our cold march. The combination of the hot tea and the caloric-producing butter is just the thing for a cold climate. After all there is nothing more incongruous in putting butter in tea than there is in putting milk in it.

The house was a very large one and the only obstacle 263
to our comfort was the horrible smell of an enormous cauldron of the coarsest kind of turnip which the people of the house were cooking as a delicacy for their dinner.

Our next march lay along a pleasant grassy valley 136
full of flocks of sheep. Passing K'on tzŭ-k'a[1] we crossed a little pass from which the Yangtze was visible, and descended a narrow valley to Te-ga-ting. The weather was bright and fine again and we saw a good deal of game, including some Stone's Pheasants (*Phasianus elegans*), and two woodcock, at one of which I made a disgraceful miss.

Continuing down the same valley the next morning we 000
reached the Yangtze and followed up the bank of that river to the Chu-pa-lung[2] ferry where we crossed to its left bank. The Yangtze is here from 100 to 150 yards wide, running with a strong current through very barren hills. The ferry-boat is a fine one and will take 15 mules across at once. The Tibetan name of the Yangtze is Dre Ch'u according to Rockhill. As pronounced locally it sounded to me like Nri Ch'ö or Ndri Ch'ö. The Mekong they call Da Ch'ö, and the Salween Chiama Ngö Ch'ö. The elevation of Chu-pa-lung is only 9000 feet, and the shade temperature rose as high as 70°.

On the 8th May we reached Ba-t'ang. The distance from Chu-pa-lung is nearly 20 miles but the road is an easy one. The Ba-t'ang plain was the biggest I had seen since leaving Chung-tien a month before. It measures 243
about two miles by one mile, and was beautifully green with crops of wheat and barley.

The town has some 200 houses, most of them of a good 361

[1] Rockhill's K'on-djin-k'a.
[2] Dru-ba-nang in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

The outskirts of Ba-t'ang

Plate LVIII [Face p. 268]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 [792] size, and has some approach to regular streets in it. The monastery is a fine one and is said to contain 1800 lamas. The population of the place is chiefly Tibetan but there are a good many men of Chinese descent who have intermarried with the natives of the country and become Tibetanised.

631 There are three Chinese officials in the town, one civil and two military. The latter command the small garrison of 70 soldiers and are not men of any rank. The civil mandarin is called the *liang-t'ai* and is practically a commissariat officer, his duties being to collect supplies for Chinese officials passing along the road.

None of these Chinese officers have any jurisdiction except over the Chinamen living in the town. The government of the state is in the hands of a hereditary Tibetan chief who has under him a second chief, while the lamas, here as everywhere in Tibet, have considerable influence in affairs of state[1].

797 A French Catholic mission has been established here for many years, and the missionaries have passed through many vicissitudes. In 1881 Père Brieux was murdered a few miles from the town. The Tibetan authorities put the crime down to brigands, but there seems little doubt that the murder was instigated by the Ba-t'ang lamas. In 1887 there was an organised rising of the Tibetans, the mission stations at Ba-t'ang, Ya-k'a-lo, and A-tun-tzŭ were burned, and M. Brieux's grave was desecrated.

For some time the work of the missionaries was at a standstill, but after long negotiations, supported by the French Government, they obtained full compensation, and their houses were rebuilt for them. The Viceroy of Ssŭ-ch'uan can evidently exercise his authority here when he likes, though in ordinary circumstances the Tibetans are left very much to themselves.

291 We spent three days in Ba-t'ang, employing the time in buying boots for ourselves and in getting an extra transport animal or two. The boots that Tibetans habit-

[1] Owing to a rebellion which took place about 1904 things have changed considerably in Ba-t'ang. There is now a Chinese garrison there, and the monastery is said to have been destroyed.

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291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

CHAPTER XXXVI

OUR ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE MEKONG.

Our plans for crossing the Mekong—From Ba-t'ang back to Ya-k'a-lo—The Da-ch'u rope bridge—Difficulties in getting slings—Manifold's successful stratagem—Cross the river—No slings for the mules—The bridge cut—Stoned by lamas—We retaliate with rifles—The lamas retire—A Gurkha badly hit—A disturbed night—A new plan for getting baggage across—The Tibetans collect to oppose us—And begin firing—Impossibility of getting mule slings—No means of getting mules across—No chance of getting through to Assam—Insurmountable physical difficulties—Forcible entry into Tibet not justified by our passports—The position of the French missionary—We are forced to give up our enterprise—Recross the Mekong—Difficulties of entering Tibet from this direction—The rivers form an insuperable obstacle—Stringent orders from Lhasa to allow no European to get through—Choice of routes—The Kam-ti route—The Salween route to Burma—We decide to go eastward to the Yangtze.

000 THE season was now advancing and we might soon expect that the passes to the west of the Mekong would be open, so after three days at Ba-t'ang we started back for Ya-k'a-lo.

Our plans were as follows. We meant to cross the Mekong at the Da-ch'u rope bridge close to Ya-k'a-lo, giving out that we were going back to A-tun-tzŭ by the road that leads down the right bank of the river and recrosses at Liu-t'ou-chiang.

We had an excellent excuse for taking this route, as small-pox had just broken out in the villages on the left bank. Moreover at Da-ch'u both sides of the river are in Chinese territory, so we ought to have no difficulty in crossing there.

We hoped to cross on the 19th May, and having previously collected six days' rations for man and beast, we intended to start off by moonlight at 2 a.m. on the 20th, and by making long marches try and get well into the country before the Tibetans could collect to stop us.

On the 12th May we left Ba-t'ang and took the same

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road we had come by, arriving at La-ta-ting on the 18th. We had engaged two fresh mule-men at Ba-t'ang, as we did not wish to take Père Grandjean's men into Tibet with us in case this should bring trouble on the mission. 000

Having got our supplies for six days, we marched to Ya-k'a-lo the next morning, and went on to the rope bridge which is two miles higher up the river. When we got there we found that the only house was on the other side of the Mekong. We shouted to them to bring the slings, but with no result. They had evidently had orders not to give them to us. It was now five o'clock in the evening, so we determined to go back to the village of Gön-ra to sleep the night, and take the opportunity of looking about for slings.

However, we had not got very far when we were called back to the bridge by shouts from Manifold. Thinking they would send the slings across to some yak-men who were on our side of the river, Manifold had hidden behind a rock and waited. His idea turned out a complete success, as two slings were sent across almost immediately, and by running up and threatening the yak drivers he was able to secure them. We all came back to the bridge, and Manifold and a Gurkha went across and sent us back two more slings which they found in the house on the other side.

We now had the means of getting men and baggage across, but unfortunately there were none of the larger slings that are necessary to cross mules. These were kept on the further bank in the village of Da-ch'u, a mile off up a steep hill.

By the time it was dark we had got a good many of our mule loads over, and our three selves with three Gurkhas and our two servants had also crossed to the further bank. But though the river is only 70 yards wide here, the current is too strong to swim animals over, and we were obliged to leave our mules with four Gurkhas to look after them on the left bank.

So far we had met with no more obstruction than is to be expected in any country inhabited by Tibetans; and, as both banks are here in Chinese territory, we did not anticipate any hostility.

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000 However we were soon to be undeceived on this point. We had just settled down in the house on the river bank when the Gurkhas we had left behind on the other side shouted across that the rope had been cut. We all came out of the house and were met by about a dozen lamas coming up from the bridge. Their leader said something in a threatening tone of voice and they began to pick up stones. Now stone throwing as practised in eastern Tibet is not an affair of pebbles: they use big bits of rock and being very strong men they throw them in a way calculated to kill a man, if they hit him fair.

We shouted back to the three Gurkhas who were in the house on our side, and they came out with their rifles. The Tibetans had meanwhile begun stone throwing. We fired a shot over their heads and afterwards two more shots, and the Tibetans fired one shot in return and then disappeared.

We had all been hit with the stones but not badly except the Gurkha naik, Seowlal Thapa, who was struck on the forehead with a large stone and also got a shot pellet through his lip. The blow on the forehead went very near fracturing his skull and made him blind for 10 days afterwards. Manifold got hold of the leader at one time and we might have caught him if anyone else had seen what was going on, but by this time it was so dark that we could not see each other.

We went back into the house and for the rest of the night one of ourselves and one Gurkha did sentry. Small parties of men came up to the house two or three times, but apparently not the same men who had attacked us, as they walked up unconcernedly, and went away at once when we told them to do so.

We were up at daylight the next morning and got to work at a new plan we had for getting our things across. It happened that there were a lot of bags of salt in the house all done up with ropes. We undid these and tied them together to make a rope, long enough to reach across the river. The Tibetans had only cut the bridge by which we had crossed, and the other bridge from the right to the left bank was still intact. We hoped, therefore, with the aid of our long rope to drag men and animals across this

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bridge. They could not cross without being dragged as the slope was the wrong way. 000

We were successful in getting some of the baggage across in this way and also one of the mule-men to act as interpreter. It seemed doubtful, however, whether the rope would be strong enough to drag the weight of a mule, while if the rope broke when the mule was in the middle, there might be considerable difficulty in ever getting him back to either bank. At all events, before we could even try the experiment, it was necessary to go to the village of Da-ch'u and try to get the mule slings.

However, about nine o'clock men began to collect all round on the hills which overlooked our house and also on the road leading down the Mekong. About 150 men were soon in position and they fired off 20 or 30 shots, probably more as a demonstration than with intent to hit us, as only one or two bullets came anywhere near. It was, therefore, quite evident that we should not be able to get the slings in a friendly way, nor should we be able to enter Tibet without fighting.

In going as far as Da-ch'u village to look for slings we should be quite within our rights as this place is in Chinese territory, but seeing the necessity of leaving a guard in the house with the wounded sepoy and the servants, and that our forces were split in two by the river, we should really have had no one left to go to the village with if the Tibetans made any resistance. Moreover, if we had been able to get to the village, it did not in the least follow that we should have succeeded in finding any slings.

Even if we had been successful in this, and had managed to get our mules across the river, we should have been scarcely any further advanced in getting through to Assam. All chance of getting well into Tibet before the inhabitants could collect to stop us was of course now quite out of the question. However badly armed and however unwarlike the Tibetans might be, it would scarcely be possible for us with eight rifles to march through the country if they were determined to stop us. Moreover, they had only to cut the rope bridges across the Salween and keep all boats on the opposite bank in order to defeat us even more effectually than they could have done by armed opposition.

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000 The physical difficulties alone were therefore pretty well insurmountable, but we had also to consider the fact that we had no right to thrust ourselves into Tibet by force of arms. Our passports extended only to China, and our intention had been to pass through this corner of Tibet only if it could be done by peaceable means.

So far we had never left Chinese territory, and we had been attacked in country through which we had a perfect right to travel. Our action had been entirely in self-defence, and we had an excellent case against our Tibetan assailants. Had we crossed the border, however, in spite of Tibetan opposition, we should have been entering on an unjustifiable raid, and we could have hoped for no support from the British Government.

One more reason against going on I must mention. We had to consider the position of the solitary French priest at Ya-k'a-lo. He had helped us in more ways than one and we were bound to consider what effect our action might have on him. Had we fought our way into Tibet, might not the Tibetans very reasonably avenge themselves on the French mission? For the inhabitants of these wild regions have not yet got beyond the stage of counting all Europeans as belonging to one tribe[1].

To give up our enterprise at its very outset was a most unpleasant decision to have to take, but we were forced to recognise that under the circumstances it was unavoidable. In fact I do not believe that it is possible, under present circumstances, to enter Tibet from this direction.

The Tibetans, who became quite friendly directly we decided to recross the river, told us that the orders from Lhasa to prevent the entry of European travellers were so stringent, that they would sooner run any risk from fighting than disobey them. However this may be, it is quite certain that they can always put an effectual stop to any attempts to enter their country by cutting the bridges, as they did in our case[2].

[1] I do not mean it to be inferred from this that either M. Grandjean or M. Bourdonnec ever suggested that any action on our part would compromise them. But we were none the less bound to consider their position.

[2] It is interesting in the light of recent events to discuss the question of the courage of the Tibetans. A French missionary who had lived for years among

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The Tibetans were probably much relieved when they learnt that we did not intend to go on. They came down and helped us to get our things across the bridge, and we recrossed and slept the night at Ya-k'a-lo. 000

We now had to consider what we should do next. The Lon-dre pass which we had tried in April would doubtless be open by this time, and by taking a route to the north of that of Prince Henri d'Orléans we might survey the sources of the eastern Irrawaddy and get as far as Kam-ti. But by that time the rains would have broken, and we should probably have had to stay there till October, as unbridged rivers would almost certainly prevent our getting through to Assam during the rains.

Another way would have been to go over the Lon-dre pass and then follow down the valley of the Salween to the neighbourhood of T'êng-yüeh. To do this we should have had to go back along a road already surveyed for eleven marches. Moreover the rainy season in Yün-nan was nearly due, and the Salween valley would doubtless become unhealthy, and its roads very likely prove impassable.

A third alternative was to turn eastward to the navigable part of the Yangtze, and so to Shanghai. This was the route we decided to take. The main road goes through Ba-t'ang, but to avoid known country as much as possible we determined to find a way through further to the south, and we eventually struck the main road near Li-t'ang.

them said to me "With fifty men you could march right through Tibet." I think most people who know them have gained this impression of their unwarlike character. An incident which occurred in the scuffle at the rope bridge led me to doubt the truth of this. A lama got hold of the muzzle of my rifle and would not let go though it was touching his body. I had only to pull the trigger to blow a large hole in his stomach. I was very unwilling to begin the killing, but might have had to fire to prevent his wresting the rifle from me, if Manifold had not pulled him off. In the fighting in 1904 the Tibetans seem to have shown no want of courage.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

YA-K'A-LO TO YA-RA-GONG.

Turn eastward—Shoot a musk deer—Our mule-drivers bolt—A paralytic soldier—Our disagreement with the Tsong-en people—Now quite friendly—Get fresh drivers from them—They speak no Chinese—Communication by signs—The process of bargaining—Our food in Tibet—No vegetables—Tibetan milk pails never washed—Rancid butter and beesmeat—Tsamba—Indian rupees—No small change—Tea—Leave the Ba-t'ang road—Our highest point—Snowstorm—Our mules exhausted—Our camp—Death of two mules—A short march to rest the animals—Ya-ra-no—A corner of Yün-nan—The Yangtze at Go-nia ferry—Bargaining about the fare—A friendly lama—Strong current—The mules swim—Summer weather—Steep ascent—Camp in the jungle—Abandon our tents to ease the mules—Ruian Dzong-tza—Some flat ground—Ya-ra-gong—Père Soulié—His friendly relations with the Tibetans—The Troi-gön monastery—Manifold operates on a lama for cataract—A living Buddha—Present him with Christmas cards—Manifold doctors his warts—The district of Ya-ra-gong—The wounded Gurkha gets worse—His recovery.

000 On the 21st May we started on our eastward journey and went back for two days on our old road to Ba-t'ang, reaching Hnga-tsa on the 22nd.

On the second of these two marches I shot a musk deer under rather curious circumstances. While trying to stalk a covey of snow-cock, I heard the noise of some animal moving in the jungle, and a minute or two later a musk deer came out and galloped past me. I fired both barrels of my shot gun loaded with ball with no result, but on running after the deer to see if he was hit, I soon came right up to him struggling about in some snow, and was able to get close up and kill him. His two hind legs, it turned out, were fastened together by an old snare and this, combined with the deep snow had brought him to a complete standstill. Neither of my first two shots had hit him.

On the night we slept at Hnga-tsa, our two Ba-t'ang mule-drivers took the opportunity to bolt. They had

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served us very well, and one of them had done all his marches with a badly ulcerated foot which would have stopped most men. However, they had evidently had enough of adventures, and did not care to follow us away from the main road which we were to leave the next day. 000

We had, from previous experience, anticipated that they might try and make off, and had fastened the court-yard door—the only entrance to the house—and put our Gurkhas to sleep in the doorway. But the muleteers had evidently made up their minds to go, and we found the marks where they had climbed from the roof of one of the outhouses over the wall, a sheer drop of 12 or 15 feet.

We felt a little stranded with no one who could speak any Chinese, but luckily at Tsong-en we found one of the Chinese soldiers who had come with us from Ba-t'ang. This warrior suffered from paralysis of one side of his face, and was such a wreck, that he could not do a day's march on foot, and had to commandeer a pony each morning from the village we slept in. Being unable to get a mount when we passed through Tsong-en on our march down, he had remained behind there and, finding the place comfortable, had made a prolonged stay.

On our way through Tsong-en before, we had had a difference of opinion with the villagers, arising really out of a misunderstanding about buying some things. However, as they took up stones and knocked one of our Gurkhas out of time with a rock in the stomach and smashed Manifold's wooden pistol case, we were obliged to retaliate with sticks and butt-ends and soon succeeded in dispersing them.

One might think that we should find Tsong-en a particularly hostile place after this, but on the contrary the villagers were evidently much impressed by the result of this encounter and were extremely pleasant and friendly. Consequently we had little difficulty, with the soldier as interpreter, in getting two men to go on with us as mule-drivers.

Neither of them could speak Chinese, so we took on the paralytic soldier to interpret, very much against his will. We kept a careful watch on him but he was too

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000 many for us in the end, and the next morning just as we were starting he managed to hide himself somewhere and we wasted an hour in an unsuccessful search. His flight, however, did not make any difference to our Tsong-en muleteers who showed no disposition to bolt and stuck to us till we got fresh men at Ya-ra-gong.

Neither of these men could, however, speak or understand any Chinese, and as we were now off the main road we were in a country where the villagers knew no language but their own. No doubt our ignorance of Tibetan prevented us to a certain extent from getting information about the country, but it was wonderful how little difference it made in the ordinary affairs of life. With the knowledge of the Tibetan for a few common words such as "barley," "chicken," "egg," etc., and the help of signs we never had any difficulty in explaining ourselves.

432 The bargaining was always done with the help of the string of beads which nearly every Tibetan carries. If we were buying barley, for instance, I would take the rosary off the seller's neck and count off 30 beads and give it back to him, meaning that I expected to get 30 measures of barley for a rupee. The Tibetan would eye it with feigned amusement at the cheap rate at which I expected to get his corn, and would count off 12 beads. So it went on, each of us getting gradually nearer to the other's price till finally the bargain was struck. This process was amusing enough the first time, but when it had to be gone through almost daily for each separate thing we bought, it became decidedly tedious.

262 In the way of food we did pretty well in our Tibetan journey. Chickens and eggs were to be got in every village and we occasionally bought a sheep and divided it with our followers. Wheat flour was obtainable in any place of importance, and we always carried enough with us to make chupatties with.

Vegetables were the chief difficulty. The Tibetans do not grow anything of this sort except occasionally a coarse kind of turnip. We had to depend in fact on anything eatable that we could find growing wild. Nettles we got in many places and found them excellent—very like spinach. On one occasion we came across some wild onions and had

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a great feast on them: in other places we got the villagers to pick for us the kinds of wild leaves which they knew to be edible. 262

Unlike the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races who never milk cows, the Tibetans are very fond of milk and butter, and these we were always able to buy. But Tibetan ideas of cleanliness are such as would horrify an English dairy farmer. The wooden buckets into which they milk the cows are *never* washed or cleaned in any way, and consequently the inside of them is thickly coated with a slimy white substance, the remains of the milk of years. The result of course is that directly the milk touches the bucket it turns sour. We were only able to get fresh milk by having the cows milked into our own cooking pots, but the butter made out of the Tibetans' milk was naturally very nasty. However, one gets used to anything, and the Tibetan climate gives one a healthy appetite. We soon resigned ourselves to eating our chupatties with rancid butter and with honey that was chiefly beesmeat. 234

The principal food of the Tibetans is "tsamba," which is made by roasting barley and then grinding it into flour. The Tibetan has only to mix a little of this with tea in the basin that he always carries in the breast of his coat, and he has a meal ready at once. We tried tsamba and found it excellent; we used to make it with hot water and eat it with milk like porridge. 262

The money used in this part of Tibet is the Indian rupee. They do not care about Chinese silver, and we converted all our silver into rupees at A-tun-tzŭ. Small change does not exist: there are no four anna or two anna pieces. So the Tibetans adopt the rough and ready expedient of chopping rupees into pieces with a big knife and a hammer. Besides rupees chopped some into three pieces, and some into four pieces, we also found it convenient to carry about some of the Chinese brick tea which is the universal beverage of Tibet. Tea is so indispensable to the Tibetans that the disc shaped "bricks" will pass current everywhere, and are often preferred to silver. 436

To return to our journey, we left the Ba-t'ang road at Tsong-en, and keeping down the bank of the Chiang-ka River we slept at the village of Bo-tsa.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Tibetans at Ya-ra-no

Plate LIX

[Face p.280]

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000 The next day, the 24th May, our road led steeply up a very big range, reaching the top at 16,300 feet, the highest point that we touched in our Tibetan travels. It rained all the morning, and as we got higher up the pass, the rain changed to a heavy snowstorm with a bitterly cold wind.

Two of our animals were quite done up by the stiff climb and the rarity of the air. We had to shove and drag them along a few yards at a time even though they had no loads or saddles on. We got one just over the pass and the other nearly up to the top, but then both of them lay down quite exhausted, bleeding from the mouth. We did our best to lift them up, but nothing short of carrying them could have got them on, and eventually we were obliged to abandon them, leaving a feed of barley within reach of each of them.

Ryder had gone on ahead to choose a place for a camp, and we got in just after dark. It was 2000 feet below the top of the pass and the snowfall had not been so heavy, so with plenty of wood and water and tents pitched we were fairly comfortable. Our poor mules fared badly as all the grass was covered with snow and they got nothing but the corn we had carried for them.

Manifold went back up the pass again with some men early on the following morning to look for the two mules, but found both of them dead. At our camp the thermometer had only fallen to 28°, but no doubt it had been much colder at the top of the pass. The mules had nothing the matter with them but could not get on the day before owing to difficulty of breathing in the rare air, and presumably they died of the cold and exhaustion combined.

On the 25th we were obliged to do a short march to give our animals time to graze, so after going barely five miles we halted at the village of Ya-ra or Ya-ra-no, where we got good shelter for man and beast.

This place is the capital of a small Tibetan district which, we were surprised to learn, is in Yün-nan, a corner of which province apparently runs up northward into Ssŭ-ch'uan, being bounded on the west by the range we had crossed the previous day and on the east by the Yangtze River. The height of Ya-ra is 11,000 feet, and the weather was quite fine and warm again.

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000 On the following morning we crossed a spur and then had a long downhill march to the Yangtze River which we struck at Go-nia ferry. A long argument ensued, conducted by signs, as to the price we were to pay for being ferried across. In this we were much assisted by a young lama who was particularly friendly and obliging. The bargain was at last concluded, and we all got across in the course of the afternoon.

The process of crossing was rather a long one, as, though the river is not more than 100 yards wide, the current is so strong that the raft is carried down 300 yards before it can reach the opposite bank: it then has to be dragged up stream again by a rope before it can make the return journey.

Mules had to be swum across, as the somewhat shaky raft was not strong enough to take them. The mules of Yün-nan are used to swimming rivers, and are simply driven into the water in a mob, one of the drivers being previously sent across to call them. We were rather anxious on this occasion as the stream was strong and some of the animals weak: however, they all got over, though one of them only just managed it.

We camped in the sand and rocks of the river bed on the further bank. The height of the Yangtze is here 8,600 feet, so we were again in summer weather. The thermometer reached 87° in the shade in the daytime, and at night only fell to 62°.

Our road up from the river the next day led us by a very steep ascent, at first through bare country and afterwards through pleasant forest land. We passed the two straggling villages of Go-nia and Pi-te, and camped in the jungle near two little pools of water.

The steep hill had told on our animals again, and we decided to relieve them by leaving our tents behind. We still stuck to our waterproof sheets so as to give us some sort of shelter, but some of the nights we spent in the open after this were the reverse of pleasant.

The next morning, the 28th May, we crossed another pass which, though 15,000 feet high had no snow on it. From here we descended to Ruian Dzong-tza, a rather flourishing village of 30 houses, with a few fields of flat ground round it—a rare sight indeed in this country.

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000 On the 29th an easy march up the side of a valley brought us to Ya-ra-gong. We put up in the village, and then went to the French mission station which lies a mile further on. The name of Père Soulié, the French priest here, was already familiar to us. He had in 1894 made a journey from Ta-chien-lu to Ya-k'a-lo through unexplored country, and had written an account of his travels for the Paris Geographical Society[1].

We halted two days in Ya-ra-gong, passing much of the time in the society of Père Soulié who has a great knowledge of this part of Tibet. He had been in Ya-ra-gong two or three years and had been occupied in building houses for himself and for the two families of Christian Tibetans that he had brought with him. He had also been negotiating for buying land: the Catholic missionaries usually do this so that they can settle down their converts in communities instead of having them scattered about.

The good father has established most friendly relations with all his neighbours, even with the lamas. These lamas belong to the red or old sect, whose members are always less hostile than are the yellow lamas of the reformed Tibetan church.

Manifold had several patients here, and on the second day of our halt we went with Père Soulié to the neighbouring monastery of Troi-gön where Manifold performed three operations for cataract, the patients being two old women and a lama.

792 The lamas were very civil and we went to see the *Tchreul-ko* or "Living Buddha." Most monasteries of importance are presided over by a *tchreul-ko*, who is selected when a child by the lamas as being a reincarnation of Buddha. He becomes an object of reverence to lamas and laymen, but does not necessarily take much part in the government of the monastery.

The "Living Buddha" at Troi-gön was a bright little boy of eleven years, who was allowed to have his sister brought up to the monastery every day to play with. I gave them some old Christmas cards which pleased them

[1] See *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, Vol. XVIII. Except his fellow-missionaries Père Soulié had seen no European since meeting Captain Bower in 1892. We were probably the last travellers he saw, as he was murdered by Tibetans in the rising of 1904.

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much, and Manifold gave the little boy some medicine for warts on his fingers. 792

Ya-ra-gong is the name really of a district under Ba-t'ang and not of any particular village, but this village may be considered as the headquarters of the district, as Troi-gön, the principal monastery, which contains 300 lamas, is here. The height of the house we put up in (which is somewhat lower than the French mission) we made 11,900 feet. The climate at this time of year was very pleasant. Père Soulié told us there was a rainy season beginning in June but that the rain is not very heavy or continuous. 631 132

We stayed at Ya-ra-gong rather longer than we intended as the Gurkha naik who had been hit by a stone at the Mēkong bridge was not going on very well. He had a good deal of fever and his head began to swell again. However, two days' rest did him a lot of good and he soon afterwards made a good recovery.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

YA-RA-GONG TO LI-T'ANG.

New mule-driver from Père Soulié—Rhododendrons—Shelter in a shepherd's hut—A wooded valley—Den-bo-nong—High range—Snow at night—Inadequate shelters—A pony breaks down—A wolf—Nomad shepherds—Cream cheeses—Camp under a rock—Steady drip of melted snow—A miserable night—A fine morning—Chong-tsa-gong—The pleasures of sleeping in a house—Reach the main road at Ra-nong—Wooded valley full of pheasants—Bleak granite plateau—Sleep in a yak-shed—A cold march to T'ou-t'ang—Fording the Li-t'ang River—A sad accident—Ranbir Thapa drowned—Impossibility of helping him—Efforts of Ryder and Manifold to get his body—A dangerously strong current—Li-t'ang—An uncultivated plain—Nomad camps—The town—The monastery—Anti-foreign lamas—Three French missionaries—News of Kimberley and Ladysmith.

000 On the 1st June we left Ya-ra-gong for Li-t'ang. Our two Tsong-en mule-drivers returned home, and Père Soulié kindly gave us one of his Christians to take their place. He knew no Chinese unfortunately, but he was an excellent worker and we were sorry to part with him when he left us at Li-t'ang.

After crossing the little Ya-ra-gong River we had a steep bit of uphill over a pass at 14,000 feet. From here we marched down a narrow valley covered with fir trees and rhododendron bushes. The latter were only just coming out into flower, though in the milder climate of southern Yün-nan they flower in February. It rained most of the day, and as we had thrown away our tents we expected to have to pass an unpleasant night. However, luckily we came on two shepherds' huts, so that we all got under good cover.

The next day we went on downhill to a little river, and followed its right bank down through beautiful forests of fir, cedar, birch, ilex, walnut, and other trees. At the end of the march we crossed the river by a wooden bridge to

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the village of Den-bo-nong, where we put up in the house of a man whom Père Soulié had spoken of as the rich man of the district: in spite of his wealth we found he could drive a very stiff bargain for anything he had to sell. 000

The next day, the 3rd June, our road turned somewhat abruptly in a northerly direction, reaching the broad top of a range by a very steep climb, the highest point being 16,000 feet.

We found a fairly sheltered camp in a little valley at 15,300 feet, and rigged up shelters with waterproof sheets. These were all right as long as it was fine, but were only moderately effective against the snow which began to fall at midnight and went steadily on. By doubling ourselves up in the middle of our beds we kept fairly dry, but all clothes we were not actually wearing were soaked.

The thermometer was down to freezing and snow still falling heavily when we got up on the 4th June soon after four o'clock. One of our ponies had given way the day before and had finally fallen down the hillside into some rhododendron jungle, from which we could not move him. So I started back in the early morning with two men to see if he was still alive.

We saw a wolf as we went back up the hill, but he was very wary and gave no chance of a shot. This was the only one we came across in Tibet, though I fancy they are fairly common. To our surprise we found the pony on his legs and brought him on, but in the afternoon, though carrying no load, he again broke down and had to be left with some nomad shepherds. 136

We caught up Ryder and Manifold at the midday halt in a well-watered valley, full of good grazing ground, on which were the ragged-looking tents of several nomad encampments. We entered into conversation with some of these wandering shepherds—at least as well as a total ignorance of each other's language would allow—and bought some cream cheeses from them. These were rancid, not to say rotten, but they formed a little variety in our somewhat monotonous diet. 000

Going on up this valley in steady rain we came at about three o'clock to a large overhanging rock, under which some shelter could be got. As the rain was just

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000 turning to snow we decided to halt there for the night. A rather miserable night it proved. Our firewood was too wet to be of much use for cooking, and the rock being limestone soon started a steady drip of melted snow. We slept with blankets over our faces to keep the drip off, and woke up in the morning with our beds covered with pools of ice-cold water.

The next morning was fine and with the sun shining and some hard walking we were able to get the circulation back into our chilled limbs. After crossing a range we descended a narrow wooded valley and eventually got to a river 40 yards wide, whose bank we followed up to Chong-tsa-gong, the first village we had seen for three days. It was indeed a pleasure to sleep in a house again after our experiences of the last two nights in the open.

The next day we followed up the same river, crossing it at Nṛen-da, and reaching Ra-nong[1] in the afternoon. Here we were on the Ba-t'ang-Li-t'ang road, and from here on to Ta-chien-lu we followed the main road along which several other travellers had preceded us.

136 Our road of the 7th took us up a pleasant wooded valley full of the large white Eared Pheasants, whose loud crowing could be heard for a long distance. We got gradually up on to a high-lying bleak grassy plateau, with rocky granite hills rising out of it. In the afternoon it came on to hail, and we were glad to find shelter in a solitary mud house called Ndzon-dza[2] into which we all managed to fit.

000 We ourselves slept in the yak-shed, which was built in the form of a verandah to the house. It was rather cold and smelt, but we found it lighter and less smoky than the solitary room of the house. The height of Ndzon-dza is 15,000 feet, and as it snowed at night and our roof was not water-tight, we woke up with our beds in pools of cold black-coloured water.

Marching through snow the next morning we passed a small lake, on which was a solitary pair of merganser, and ascended the Go-ra-la pass, 16,000 feet[3]. A very bleak,

[1] Called La-ma-ya by the Chinese.
[2] Rockhill's *Tsung-la*.
[3] 15,753 feet according to Gill.

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rocky, cold-looking country here, with no cultivation or population. The day was miserably cold with incessant rain, sleet, and snow, so after going about nine miles we put up at the Chinese post-house of T'ou-t'ang[1]. The roof was fairly water-tight—at least it did not leak everywhere. 000

On the 9th of June an easy march through a grass country full of hares brought us to Li-t'ang. On this day a sad accident occurred, by which one of our Gurkhas, Ranbir Thapa, lost his life.

The bridge across the Li-t'ang River was broken, so we had to ford it a little below. I had just seen three Tibetans cross it, so knew it was fordable. The river is about 50 yards wide and three feet deep, with a strong current, but by fording it cross-wise, half up stream, and walking slowly one could manage to keep one's legs.

Unfortunately Ranbir Thapa tried to help himself across by holding on to a mule's tail. The mule crossed quite straight, and when near the opposite bank got swept off his legs. Had the sepoy kept his hold on the animal's tail it would have been all right as the mule got to the shore, but he unfortunately let go. The current was very strong, and having once lost his feet he was carried down at a tremendous pace and very soon sank.

Only two men had by this time got to the further bank. The rest of us were still in the middle of the stream, helpless spectators of what was going on, as the current was so strong that we could only move at the very slowest pace. But even if every one had been on the other bank, I doubt if he could have been saved in such a strong stream.

When we got to the shore we ran down the bank and found his body caught up in a shallow place 300 yards below. By this time it was at least ten minutes since he had first sunk, and as his face was still under water, he must have been dead.

However, Ryder and Manifold, with a rope made out of a turban and a cummer-bund tied round them, at considerable risk to themselves, crossed the bit of strong current that separated us from where the Gurkha was lying. When they got there, the water was shallower and

[1] Jambut'ong in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

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000 they were able to stand without difficulty and to tie the rope to the body, but as we were pulling it across the rope broke and the body was again carried away.

We tied a stone to the rope and threw it across again to Ryder and Manifold, who got back to the shore in safety. We looked down stream some way but saw no more of the unfortunate Gurkha, and next morning Manifold with two men searched the river for several miles but was equally unsuccessful.

It was a sad business so near the end of our journey and we felt much depressed over it. It is, I am glad to say, the only time in my travels that any of my followers have met with any serious accident.

233 Li-t'ang stands in a plain 15 miles long and five miles [361] across at the widest part, but not an inch of it is cultivated. The whole is covered with grass, on which are many encampments of nomads with large herds of yaks and sheep. All grain and rice has to be brought from a distance. The height at the town we made 13,800 feet, a higher estimate than that given by other travellers[1].

361 The town contains some 300 houses, of which, at least, half are inhabited by Chinese or half-Chinese who have most of them been born here and have become very much Tibetanised, though they can all speak Chinese as well as Tibetan.

793 At one end of the town is a very large monastery, which is said to contain 3,700 lamas. As elsewhere in Tibet, the lamas are all-powerful, and the small Chinese official dare do nothing without their approval.

In Li-t'ang they are a particularly anti-foreign lot, and on the following day the head lama sent a message to us to say that he was not at all pleased at our coming, and that we must leave Li-t'ang that day. This we refused to do, and he then sent orders that no one was to sell us anything. However, the trading instincts of the Chinese were too strong to make this order effective. They dared not bring us anything openly, but at night after dark we got everything we wanted.

000 On our arrival at Li-t'ang we found three French

[1] Rockhill gives 12,914 feet: Hosie, 13,234 feet: Gill, 13,280 feet: Potosi, 13,330 feet: A. K., 13,400 feet.

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missionaries—Père Villesèche and two others—who had just come in from the opposite direction. All three were young men just out from France. One was on his way to Tzŭ-ku (Tse-kou) on the Mekong, another to the newly established mission station in the Salween valley, and the third to Ya-k'a-lo. 000

They brought us news of the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith and the occupation of Bloemfontein. This was nearly three months old, but for us it was quite the latest intelligence. Our last news before this had been what Manifold brought us to A-tun-tzŭ in April about Spion Kop.

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CHAPTER XXXIX

LI-T'ANG TO YA-CHOU FU *VIÂ* TA-CHIEN-LU.

Ho-ch'u-k'a—Gold washing—Hard frost in June—Hsi-ngo-lo—Cultivation again—Yak-loads of gunpowder for Lhasa—A stag's head—The Ya-lung at Ho-k'ou—A more Chinese country—Tung-ngo-lo—Mr Amundsen—Sell our mules—A level road—Green country—Ta-chien-lu—Its inhabitants—Missionaries English and French—Trade of Ta-chien-lu—Tea trade—Mr de Rosthorn's pamphlet—Enormous weights carried by coolies—Down the T'ung River—A short cut from Lu-ting-ch'iao—Well cultivated country—Ya-chou Fu—Mr Upcraft—End of our land journey.

000 On the 11th of June we left Li-t'ang and crossing the watershed between the Li-t'ang River and the Ya-lung by an easy pass we reached Ho-ch'u-k'a. The population of this village consists of 20 Chinese soldiers, who were very civil, as Chinamen always are in Tibet.

316 The last part of our march followed down a stream in which there was a lot of gold-washing going on. They build a wall or embankment so as to partially divert the course of the stream, and then dig up the sand in the part of the bed thus left dry. The sand is then washed on the system usually employed in western China. They pour the sand and water down a slanting wooden shoot, at the lower edge of which is a slight ledge sticking up. The sand containing the gold being heavier than the rest sinks in its passage down tne shoot and gets caught by the ledge.

000 There was a hard frost the next morning, the 12th June, and even small streams of running water were frozen over. We crossed two spurs both well over 15,000 feet and descended to Tsa-ma-lu-t'ung[1], a Chinese post of three houses beautifully situated in a narrow valley with steep forest-clad hills rising up from it on each side.

[1] Tsa-ma-ra-dong in Tibetan (*Rockhill*).

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Crossing another range the next day we descended to Hsi-ngo-lo, a scattered village in a small cultivated valley—the first fields we had seen since Ra-nong. All the country on both sides of Li-t'ang that we had been passing through was high-lying grass land with occasional nomad camps and herds of tame yaks[1]. 000

The height of Hsi-ngo-lo we made 12,000 feet, which agrees with Rockhill's determination. As a rule our heights are greater than Rockhill's, but correspond fairly well with Gill's.

On the 14th a stiff climb brought us on to an open grassy range at 15,000 feet, from which we descended a wooded valley to Ma-kê-tsung[2]. In the same village was sleeping a Chinese captain who was escorting 70 yak-loads of gunpowder to Lhasa.

Our road on the following day led us steeply downhill through a fine forest country to the Ya-lung River. There is probably some shooting to be got in this valley. In the house we slept in at Ma-kê-tsung was a good stag's head with points all up his horns, like the Kashmir stag. I imagine it to be Thorold's Deer (*Cervus albirostris*).

We crossed the Ya-lung (called Nya Ch'u by the Tibetans) in a large ferry-boat to the village of Ho-k'ou[3]. The river is here 80 yards wide with a very strong current, but backwaters near each bank assist the boat in crossing. The height we made 9,400 feet[4], and we found the climate quite hot, the thermometer reaching 87° in the shade.

Ho-k'ou is inhabited chiefly by Chinamen, and from here onwards the country becomes more Chinese. The Ya-lung River here forms the boundary between the state of Chia-la (Ta-chien-lu) and Li-t'ang, and it is only since 1703 that the *direct* rule of China has extended across this river. 631

Ascending a narrow valley through a fine forest country we reached Wo-lung-shih on the 16th, and on the 17th crossing a pass 15,400 feet high we descended into a well 000

[1] There are no wild yaks in this part of Tibet.
[2] Ma-gan-drong in Tibetan (*Rockhill*).
[3] Also called Chung-tu, and known to the Tibetans as Nya-ch'u-k'a.
[4] A.K. gives it as 8,410 feet; Rockhill as 8,518 feet; Hosie as 9,010 feet; and Gill as 9,222 feet.

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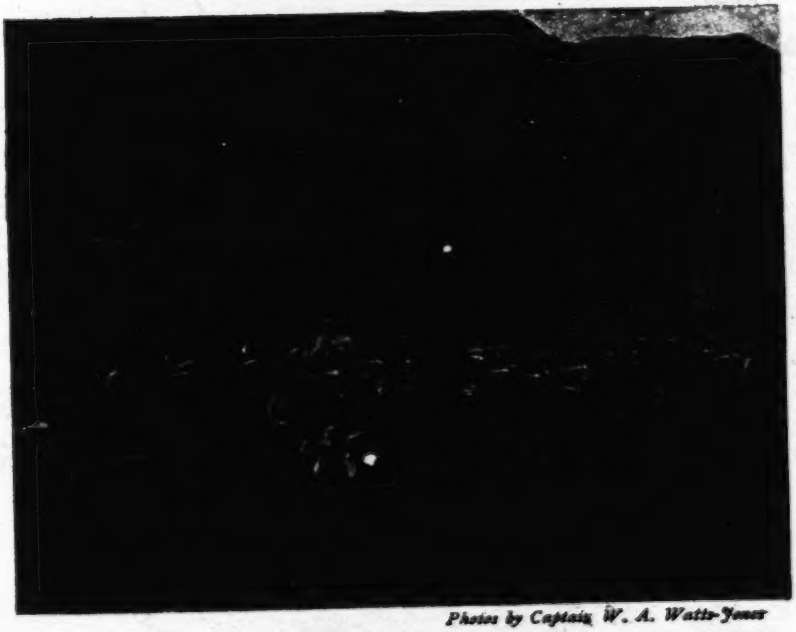
The bows of a Yangtze boat



Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Towing boats up the Yangtze gorges

Plate LX

[Face p. 292]

000 cultivated valley in which lies the straggling village of Tung-ngo-lo.

Here we found Mr Amundsen of the China Inland Mission whom I had met at Ta-li Fu in a previous journey. He had since then married and was now installed with Mrs Amundsen at Tung-ngo-lo. I have mentioned before his journey made in 1898 from Ta-chien-lu through Mi-li to Ta-li Fu.

We were now nearing a part of Ssŭ-ch'uan where baggage is usually carried by coolies, and pack animals are little used. Luckily we received an offer for our mules at Tung-ngo-lo, and we were glad to sell them, the purchaser undertaking to find animals for us to take our baggage as far as Ta-chien-lu.

These arrangements were quickly made, and we were able to push on again the next day. The march was a level one—an extraordinary circumstance indeed—our road leading down one valley and up another through a splendidly green country, partly grass and partly cultivated with wheat and barley.

We slept at Chang-k'o, near Ania, and the next day crossing the Gi-la Pass (15,000 feet) by a gradually rising path, we descended to Chê-to where we found a fairly good Chinese inn.

361 On the 20th June a short march down a narrow, very green valley brought us to Ta-chien-lu, or, as the Tibetans call it, Tar-chen-do. The town contains 800 houses and is shut closely into a narrow valley by high steep hills, the Chen River which is crossed by a bridge dividing the town into two parts. This is the end of Tibet, and the town looks more Chinese than Tibetan, though one sees a good many lamas in the place, and most of the Chinamen living here can talk Tibetan as well as their own language. In spite of its rather Chinese appearance, Ta-chien-lu is the capital of the Tibetan state of Chia-la.

485 We were surprised to find an excellent inn here, quite the best I have seen anywhere in China. We spent most of the day with the English missionaries, of whom there were four, though only one, Mr C. Polhill-Turner, was stationed here permanently.

000 He and I were old schoolfellows, though we had never

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000 known each other at Eton, for he was in the eleven while I was still a "lower boy" and would not have dared to address one who had attained such a distinguished position. After a few years in a cavalry regiment, he had thrown up his commission and come out to China as a missionary.

Two of the others whom we met were contemplating a journey further in to Tibet and hoped to establish a mission station at Ba-t'ang.

We also went to see Mgr Giraudeau, the Bishop of the French Tibetan mission, and thanked him for the many kindnesses we had received from the French missionaries.

366 Ta-chien-lu is the great trading mart of eastern Tibet. Furs, medicine, and musk are the exports to China, and tea is the principal import into Tibet. The amount of tea drunk in Tibet must be very large for the size of the population, for everyone, however poor, drinks it con-
245 stantly, in fact at every meal. A certain quantity of P'u-êrh tea is imported from Yün-nan, but by far the greater part of the tea for Tibet passes through Ta-chien-lu.

It is grown in western Ssŭ-ch'uan chiefly in the Ya-chou Fu district. All that is imported into Tibet is of a very coarse quality and is largely adulterated with sticks. The cost of carriage to distant parts of Tibet is so large that a good quality of tea could be sold there only at a prohibitive cost.

114 Mr A. de Rosthorn has published a pamphlet[1] on the
439 subject of the tea trade and this probably contains the most accurate information available. He estimates the weight of the annual import through Ta-chien-lu as 108,780 piculs, which comes to fourteen and a half million English pounds.

He discusses the question of whether tea can ever be profitably imported from Assam into Tibet, but comes to the conclusion that the Chinese tea, adulterated as it is with 65 per cent. of twigs and leaves of other plants, and sold at Ba-t'ang at 5½*d.* and at Lhasa at 11*d.* a pound will continue to hold its own, except possibly in parts of Tibet very remote from China.

[1] *On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssŭ-ch'uan*, by A. de Rosthorn. London, Luzac & Co., 1895.

482 The height of Ta-chien-lu we made 8,400 feet, which agrees well enough with the observations of other travellers.

We made no halt here but left again on the 21st, our things carried by coolies who having brought up heavy loads of tea made nothing of our light baggage. The weight the tea coolies carry is enormous. The ordinary load is about nine of the long shaped bundles: this would amount to from 190 to 215 lbs. But many coolies carry much more than this, and I saw two different men who were carrying seventeen. This, according to de Rosthorn's computation of the weight, would be at the very least 363 lbs.

It seems almost incredible that a man could do a hilly day's march with this weight on his back unless one has actually seen it. And yet the men are not particularly big nor do they look extraordinarily strong: they begin as children, and no doubt that has much to do with their ability to carry these huge loads.

If one loaded a mule as heavily he would undoubtedly break down. Mules are occasionally seen with a load of tea on them, but it is an accepted fact that the animal's load has to be much lighter than what would be carried by a man.

000 Our road followed down the right bank of the swift rocky river which is formed by the junction of the Tar and the Chen. This runs into the T'ung River or Yü-t'ung Ho as we found it called locally, and on the 22nd we kept down the bank of this latter river by an up and down road till we crossed it by an iron-chain suspension bridge into Lu-ting-ch'iao.

From here the main road makes a considerable circuit to the south, so we took a more direct mountain path which is said to save two days but is too steep for animals. The path led back up the left bank of the T'ung River for a short distance, and then turning off up a side valley with a very steep climb at the end of it, crossed the Ma-an-shan pass at 10,000 feet. This is more than 5000 feet above Lu-ting-ch'iao, for since leaving Ta-chien-lu we had got down to lower levels again.

It took us three long days altogether to cross the hilly country which separates Lu-ting-ch'iao from T'ien-ch'üan

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Chou which we reached on the 25th June. This was the first real Chinese town I had seen since leaving Mien-ning early in March. 000

A long hot march of 20 miles, crossing the Ya River twice by ferry, brought us into Ya-chou the next day. We were now in a well populated and thoroughly Chinese country. The hillsides right up to the top were covered with fields of maize, and every bit of ground capable of being irrigated was cultivated with rice.

Ya-chou is a pleasant town with a very friendly population, and we were hospitably put up by Mr and Mrs Upcraft of the American Baptist Mission. Mr Upcraft seemed to have made friends with everyone in the town, and walking through the streets with him he was continually greeted by all classes from mandarins to beggars.

We were now on the banks of the Ya River and were therefore in communication with Shanghai by water. Our long land journey was at an end, and we were not sorry to do the rest of our travels by boat, for so many months of walking up and down hill had made us somewhat stale. Since leaving Burma in November I had done 2,442 miles, and Ryder had done over 2,500.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Entrance to the Windbox Gorge

Plate LXI

[Face p. 296]

CHAPTER XL

YA-CHOU FU TO SHANGHAI.

By raft down the Ya River—Chia-ting Fu—Dr Hart and Dr Hare—News of taking of Ta-ku Forts—By boat to Ch'ung-k'ing—News of Admiral Seymour's expedition—Its possible effect on the Chinese—The scattered European community of Ch'ung-k'ing—The Consul's warnings to British subjects—By boat down the rapids—I-ch'ang—End of our travels.

502 Our journey from Ya-chou Fu to Chia-ting Fu was made by raft. The Ya River is full of rapids and shallows, so is not navigated by boats. The rafts, made of several layers of bamboo, though they occasionally get water over them, cannot sink and are able to do the down-stream journey much more quickly than it could be made by land. Arrived at Chia-ting the owner breaks up his raft, and sells the bamboos of which it is constructed.

We got a raft which held us and our followers comfortably, while the raised portion in the middle saved men and baggage from frequent wettings at the rapids. Leaving on the 28th June we reached Chia-ting early on the following morning. Navigation is not possible at night, so we tied up in the evening at the little town of Chia-chiang-Hsien. It took us altogether fourteen hours of actual rowing to get to Chia-ting. By land it would have been a journey of four days.

At Chia-ting we found Dr Hare of the Canadian Mission whom I had previously met in Yüeh-hsi. He and Dr Hart of the same mission kindly took us into their house, and gave us much assistance in our preparations for our boat journey.

We were anxious to get on now, so left Chia-ting again the next day. Just before starting a telegram arrived forwarded by raft from Ya-chou by Mr Upcraft giving us the

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502 news of the taking of the Ta-ku Forts by the European powers. We had heard at Ya-chou that things were looking warlike in the north.

In the evening we got off in two small boats of a sort called "pan-t'ou," ourselves and servants in one, and the Gurkhas in the other. Our way lay down the Min River as far as Sui Fu[1], and thence by the Yangtze to Ch'ung-ch'ing-Fu, better known spelt as Ch'ung-k'ing. The total distance from Chia-ting to Ch'ung-k'ing is about 350 miles, and the current being strong at this time of year we got down in three days—forty-two hours of actual rowing. On this part of the river the rapids are not very bad and navigation is fairly easy.

000 We reached Ch'ung-k'ing on the evening of the 3rd July, and went the next morning to see Mr Fraser, the British consul. He had just received serious news. The allies under Admiral Seymour had been unable to reach Peking, and had been obliged to fall back on Tientsin with considerable loss.

What effect this news might have on the minds of the Chinese it was impossible to say, and one could not help feeling much anxiety as to what would be the fate of isolated Europeans in out-of-the-way places.

Even in Ch'ung-k'ing no one knew that disturbances might not break out. There were altogether eighty Europeans there, including many women and children, and as there is no regular foreign settlement, they were living scattered about in the Chinese town. Both Mr Fraser and M. Bons d'Anty, the French Consul, thought they would get a few hours' notice of any impending riot, and the "Pioneer," the new steamer navigating the upper part of the river, had been kept here as a means of getting everyone away, should it become necessary to leave the place. The chief danger came from the Chinese soldiers, of whom 300 were armed with mausers.

A gunboat had been asked for by Mr Fraser, and the "Woodlark" was expected to arrive in a week or so. Mr Fraser asked us to stay on at Ch'ung-k'ing till its

[1] Hsü-chou Fu is the correct official name of this town, but the Chinese usually call it Sui Fu.

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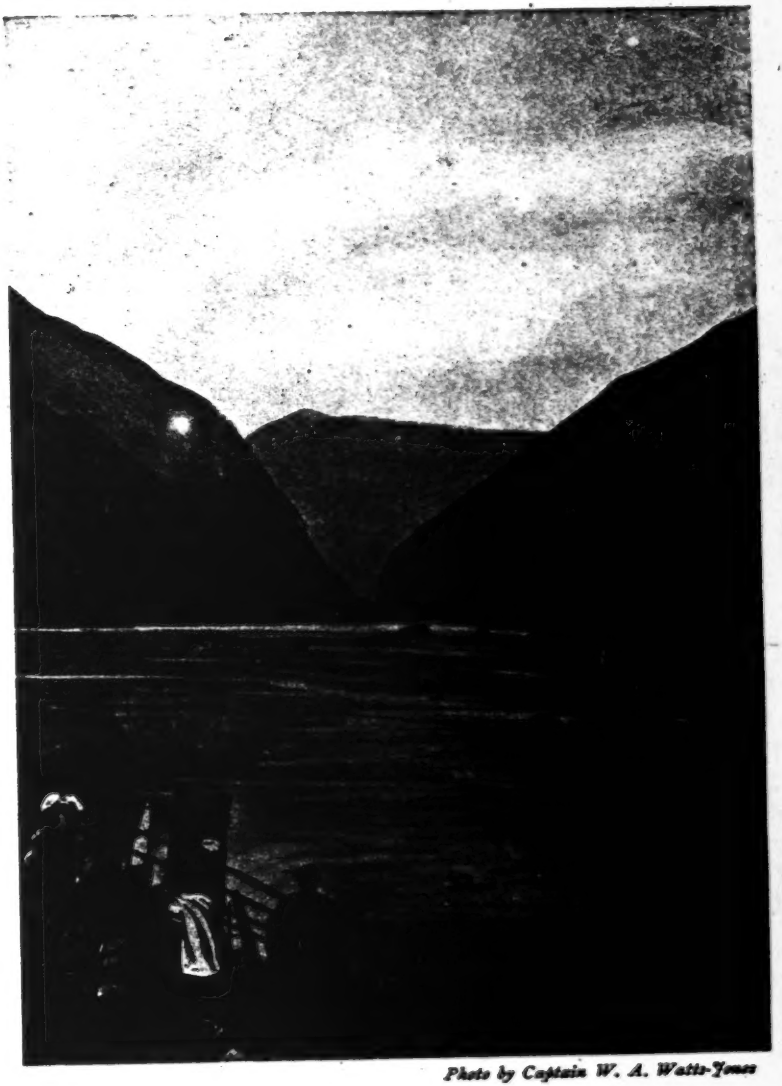

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Lower end of the Windbox Gorge

Plate LXII

[Face p. 298]

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000 arrival, and, though anxious to get on, we felt bound to do so. However the next day a telegram arrived saying the gunboat could not get up the rapids at this time of year.

As things still appeared quite quiet in Ch'ung-k'ing, we decided to leave, and Mr Fraser sent round to all British subjects advising them to take advantage of our escort to send their families down to Shanghai.

It was a difficult question for them to make up their minds about. To remain at Ch'ung-k'ing might mean exposing their families to the greatest dangers. But on the other hand they were most unwilling to abandon their work except under the most urgent necessity. Eventually one English missionary and his family, and the wife and child of the French doctor were the only people who accompanied us.

As events turned out, the whole Yangtze valley was kept free from Boxer disturbances by the efforts of the three viceroys who control the river provinces. But at that time nothing seemed more likely than that the Chinese, flushed by their temporary success in the north, would attack Europeans wherever they could find them. Mr Fraser was amply justified in his warnings to British subjects.

On the 7th July we left Ch'ung-k'ing in small house-boats called *k'ua-tzŭ* by the Chinese. They are about 50 feet long and have three small rooms in them. The captain stands up behind and steers, looking over the roof of the rooms. In front are the rowers, usually from eight to 12, according to the size of the boat. Right in the bows is the pilot with a large oar stuck straight out in front, and used as a sweep to assist in the steering in difficult places.

At this time of year the current is very strong, and navigation was exciting enough. In the whirlpools boats are often spun round and round three or four times before hard rowing gets them out. Going up stream there are a great many wrecks, chiefly due to the tow-rope breaking. Going down stream there are not so many accidents, but an exact knowledge of the river and great skill in managing the boat are necessary to avoid the numerous dangers from rapids, rocks, and whirlpools.

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000 The scenery of the Yangtze gorges is certainly magnificent, but perhaps coming as we did from the splendid mountains of western China, it struck us less than it would a traveller going up stream from the dead flat of Shanghai.

Four days, or fifty-two hours of actual rowing, brought us to I-ch'ang where we were hospitably put up by Mr Wilton, the Vice-Consul. Our travels were over. Before us lay the dreary monotony of steamers and civilisation.

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CHAPTER XLI

CAPTAIN WATTS-JONES' LAST JOURNEY.

000 THE name of Captain Watts-Jones has been often mentioned in this book, and it is to his energy and skill that a large part of the preliminary reconnaissance of the Yün-nan Railway is due. It is only fitting therefore that this account of work in connection with that railway should not be closed without some reference to the journey which resulted in his untimely death.

In the winter of 1899—1900 he was again sent out by the Yün-nan Company to obtain a more extended view of railway possibilities in China. The first part of his journey led him through little known parts of Hu-nan, a province of whose inhabitants he formed a very high opinion.

At the end of February, 1900, he arrived at Ch'ung-k'ing and until the beginning of April was engaged on a preliminary reconnaissance for a railway from this place to Ch'êng-tu, the capital of Ssŭ-ch'uan. After a stay here of three or four weeks he started northward for the province of Kan-su with Mr J. Grant Birch whose acquaintance he had made in Ch'êng-tu. Their intention was to go to Lan-chou, the capital of Kan-su, and from there to strike eastward for Peking. They reached Sung-pan T'ing in the middle of May and then went northwards across the *ts'ao-ti* or grass land over an almost unexplored country.

Writing on the 16th June from Pei-ta-p'u Watts-Jones thus describes the country they had come through :—"We had a glorious time coming across the grass land. We came with yaks and had Chinese tents from the Sung-pan General, which we made weatherproof and habitable by putting our waterproof sheets over them. The crossing

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was easy enough—for five days up a long flat valley, at first cultivated and then meadows with scrub timber. This led us up to 12,800 feet by a gradient that was never more than 1 in 50. Then up over a pass of 13,700 feet and down into a similar valley, but with pine woods, not the miserable firs of Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan, but 120-feet pines growing closely and evenly together, running right up the north slopes of the hills but never over the edge. Then another 13,700 feet pass and on to a plateau of nearly 12,000 feet. There we came to villages of shepherds of a curiously Red Indian type, speaking Tibetan. It is a glorious country, plains and low hills stretching away to the west and south as far as one can see in the clear light, miles and miles of blue and brown hills, none so steep that one could not ride up them, and with promise of plain and water in between. This country turns its back on the confused ranges of Ssŭ-ch'uan and drains towards the unknown west—towards the Yellow River or the Ya-lung?" Writing again from Lan-chou on the 22nd June, he says:—"We hear there has been a rising in Chih-li and the rebels have taken Pao-ting Fu."

From Lan-chou Captain Watts-Jones and Mr Birch started on a raft down the Yellow River for Ning-hsia. The river was high, and the boatmen losing control of the raft they ran on a rock which broke the raft in two. Watts-Jones and the boatmen who were in the fore part of the raft managed to save themselves by getting on to the rock. Mr Birch, who was inside in the hinder part of the raft at the time of the accident, was thrown into the water when the raft broke up and was carried away by the current and drowned. Watts-Jones and the boatmen managed to make the fore part of the raft serviceable again and got to shore.

Eventually Watts-Jones reached K'uei-hua-ch'êng in Shan-hsi province. By this time he had realised that the Boxer rising in Chih-li was a serious affair and that it was not possible to go on to Peking. He therefore made up his mind to go northward to Mongolia and find his way into Russian territory. He went to see the *tao-t'ai* of K'uei-hua on the subject, and was received in an apparently friendly manner, and asked to come again for a passport

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000 the next day. The *tao-t'ai* had meanwhile consulted with the Tartar General and the result of their deliberations was that they decided to carry out the orders of the Governor of the province to kill all Europeans. The next day when Captain Watts-Jones came to the yamen for his passport he was seized by the *tao-t'ai's* soldiers, taken outside and murdered.

It would perhaps be out of place to speak here of the personal loss suffered by Captain Watts-Jones' own family and friends in his early death. But as the leader of the expedition on which he worked on the reconnaissance for the Yün-nan Railway, I may perhaps be allowed to say that it would be scarcely possible to find anyone who worked so hard or who had so much natural aptitude for picking out the best line in a most intricate country. In the following year he greatly increased his knowledge of the country, and at the time of his death it may certainly be said that he was the best authority on the subject of railways in western China.

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APPENDIX I

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF YÜN-NAN.

THE main characteristic of the province of Yün-nan is that it is an extremely mountainous country. So small indeed are the areas of flat ground, that on a small scale map they are almost lost in the masses of hills. 133

Although the whole province is mountainous, different parts of it differ somewhat in the direction of the main ranges and in the general character of the country.

The western part of Yün-nan is furrowed by rivers, whose general course is from north to south. Taking them in order from the west, these are the Taping, the Shweli, the Salween, the Mekong, the Black River, and the Red River. Of these the first two and the last two have their sources in the province; but the Salween and the Mekong are rivers of great length, which run down from far in the interior of Tibet, and do not reach the sea till they have passed many hundreds of miles beyond the southern frontier of Yün-nan.

The basins of these six rivers, with their numerous tributaries, form a country of deep, narrow valleys and high mountain ranges running parallel to each other in a general north and south direction.

As the rivers and the principal affluents flow from north to south, it follows naturally that the heights of the mountains should gradually diminish as they run southward. In the extreme north-west corner of Yün-nan the country is thoroughly Tibetan: the tops of the ranges rise here to 15,000 or 20,000 feet, and the lowest river valleys are 7000 feet. From here heights decrease fairly regularly

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133 till the hill-tops run down to as low as 5000 feet in the south of the province[1].

Of the rivers which water this country some have cut much more deeply than others into the original plateau formation. The Salween, for instance, where it crosses the main road from Burma to Yün-nan Fu, at about the 25th line of latitude, runs at an elevation 2000 feet lower than the Shweli and the Mekong, which flow parallel to it at only a short distance.

This makes it difficult to speak generally of the relative heights of the mountain ranges above the valleys. Speaking very roughly, and including the large tributaries as well as the main rivers, it may be taken on an average that the valleys run at an elevation some 3000 or 4000 feet below the tops of the mountain chains which bound them.

This then is the general character of the western and southern parts of Yün-nan, but the eastern half of the province is of a somewhat different formation. The country is here more of the nature of a plateau, plains are more numerous, and many of them contain lakes of considerable extent. It would be a mistake to suppose that this part of the province is not mountainous, but it is on the whole less so than western Yün-nan. There are larger stretches of level country, and the ascents from the plains to the hill-tops are usually shorter.

Roughly speaking the western boundary of this plateau country may be taken as a line drawn from the Yangtze at Shih-ku (lat. 26° 50′, long. 99° 55′) southward to Ta-li Fu and thence south-east to Shih-ping Chou (lat. 23° 40′, long. 102° 35′). To the east the plateau character of the country is maintained up to the border of the province, and in the extreme south-east corner the country is in many parts broken up into numerous small basins from which the water has no outlet. To the north and north-east the plateau continues till it nears the Yangtze, when it breaks up into deep valleys which, bounded by almost precipitous mountains, run down into the great river.

The streams on the extreme western fringe of this

[1] As an exception to the general rule that the mountains of Yün-nan decrease in height as they run southwards, I may mention that there are peaks of over 11,000 feet in the extreme south-west corner of the province.

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plateau drain into the Mekong and the Red River, but the main part of the water of eastern Yün-nan flows into the Yangtze and into the upper waters of the West River of Canton. 133

The general direction of both these rivers is from west to east, but unlike western Yün-nan, where the tributaries follow the direction of the main streams, the affluents in eastern Yün-nan of these two big rivers join them more or less at right angles. Consequently, though the drainage of this part of the province eventually goes eastward, most of the lesser rivers and mountain ranges run north and south.

The rivers both in western and eastern Yün-nan run for the greater part of their courses through steep mountains, which sometimes form nearly precipitous gorges, and sometimes slope more gently up. Occasionally a valley widens out to a breadth of a few miles and forms a cultivated and thickly populated plain.

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APPENDIX II

THE AREA, POPULATION AND INHABITANTS OF YÜN-NAN.

131 ROUGH measurements on the map give the area of the province of Yün-nan as about 150,000 square miles, and this may be accepted as approximately correct.

161 To estimate the population is a far more difficult matter. It is probable that fifty years ago the numbers were greater than at the present day, for doubtless great loss of life and emigration to other provinces took place during the Panthay rebellion, which lasted from 1854 to 1873. Since then the province has slowly recovered, and while the indigenous population has increased, there has also been a constant and steadily increasing stream of immigration from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

After my second journey in Yün-nan I made a rough calculation of the density of population to the square mile over those tracts of country which I had surveyed the most thoroughly. In all of these I had noted the number of houses in the towns and villages, and I allowed an average of six persons to each house.

The result gave about 400 to the square mile in the plains, and 40 to the square mile in the hilly tracts. Taking the whole province I calculate that about one-fifteenth of the total area is plain land, and the remainder hills. This then would give 10,000 square miles with a population of 400 to the mile, and 140,000 square miles with a population of 40 to the mile.

$$10{,}000 \times 400 = 4{,}000{,}000 \text{ in the plains,}$$
$$140{,}000 \times 40 = 5{,}600{,}000 \text{ in the hills.}$$

Total population 9,600,000.

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My very rough methods of calculation naturally give only an approximate result, but in default of any better estimate the population of Yün-nan may be taken as about ten millions[1]. 161

This population is divided between very sparsely peopled mountains, which form the greater part of Yün-nan, and very thickly inhabited plains which, though they only comprise about a fifteenth of the area of the province, contains nearly half of its inhabitants. 162 563

In the plains the population is mainly Chinese[2], but not entirely so, for in the cold plateaus of the north-west are found Tibetans, while many of the low-lying plains of the south are inhabited by Shans. Moreover in the centre of the province some of the plains are peopled by Ming-chias, while an admixture of Lo-los is occasionally found. At a guess I should say that about four-fifths to nine-tenths of the population of the plains are Chinese, including under this name those who, even if of aboriginal extraction, are now in language and customs undistinguishable from the ruling race.

In the hills things are different. Here, as in the plains, one also finds the Chinese, and there is no large tract of country without Chinese villages in it. But living among them and forming the bulk of the hill population are numerous other tribes, each with its own language and its own customs[3].

In the north-west corner are Tibetans, and the semi-Tibetan Mo-so race. On the Burmese border are Kachins and Palaungs; also in the west of the province, but extending further into the interior, are the Li-sos; everywhere throughout Yün-nan are the Lo-los, a fine race and more numerous than any other hill tribe. Equally widely distributed are the Miaos, but they are only found in small and scattered communities. In the south-west, between the Salween and the Mekong, are the La-hus, who with their cross-bows and poisoned arrows proved formidable

[1] Some recent Chinese figures give Yün-nan a population of about 12,000,000, but these are said to be unreliable. The late Mr Litton, of the Consular Service, who had much experience of Yün-nan, estimated the number of inhabitants at 9,000,000.

[2] Among the Chinese I include the Panthays or Chinese Mahommedans.

[3] For details about these tribes see Appendix VIII.

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162 foes to the Chinese troops a few years ago. Near them
563 live the Was, many of whom are still unconquered and still carry on their head-hunting raids. Their relatives, the somewhat more civilised Las, occupy much of the country near the southern part of the Burma-Yün-nan frontier. In the south of Yün-nan are the P'u-mans; and further east are the Wo-nis and many other tribes speaking Lo-lo dialects. The Shans and Ming-chias I omit, as they are not properly speaking hill tribes but live in the plains and valleys.

To form an estimate of the relative numbers of the Chinese and non-Chinese population in the hills is a difficult task. With the possible exception of the Lo-los the Chinese would doubtless outnumber any *one* other tribe, but still there are many tracts of country where they are decidedly in the minority. To say that the Chinese form one-third of the inhabitants of the hills, and other tribes the remaining two-thirds would perhaps not be very wide of the mark. This is merely a rough estimate, the result of impressions gained from travelling over the country, and must be taken only for what it is worth.

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APPENDIX III

THE CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS OF YÜN-NAN.

In so large a province the nature of the country and the crops grown, naturally vary somewhat, but except in the north-west corner there is a sufficiently close general resemblance between other parts of Yün-nan. 132

Let us deal first therefore with this north-west corner which in the nature of the country and of its inhabitants is purely Tibetan, forming with western Ssŭ-ch'uan that part of Tibet which is directly under Chinese rule.

Southwards the Tibetan tract extends to about the 27th parallel of latitude. North of this line is a country of very high mountain ranges, the plains even rising to from 8000 to over 12,000 feet. The climate here is naturally colder than other parts of Yün-nan, and where heights extend from 6000 feet on the river banks to over 15,000 feet on the hill-tops, it varies much in different places. At the higher altitudes snow may fall in any month of the year, and many of the passes are liable to be blocked throughout April. In the plains the climate is less severe, but except in a shut-in river bed it never becomes hot.

Parts of this country, especially the tops of the mountains, are bare and barren, but a great deal of it is clothed in fine forests of cedar, fir, and other trees. Rice cultivation hardly exists here: even the plains are too high and cold to grow it. A certain amount of maize is cultivated, but even for this a fairly warm climate is necessary, and the bulk of the crops consist of wheat and barley. Peach, walnut and other fruit trees also exist. 241 137

The cereal products of this part of Yün-nan are however scanty and poor. It is essentially a grazing country, for good grass is to be found nearly the whole year round. 233

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233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssŭ-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssŭ-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

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is chiefly cultivated. Of the mountain ranges some are 137
rather bare, covered with grass or fern only; others are well clothed with fir woods, or at lower elevations with semi-tropical forests. To a traveller accustomed to the vast jungles of Burma, Yün-nan would appear a bare country, but it would seem well wooded when compared to the barren hills of the north-west frontier of India. It is in fact neither a very bare nor a very thickly wooded province. No doubt there was formerly much more forest, but the wants of the inhabitants in fire-wood and house-building have entailed much cutting of timber, which has never been replaced by planting. The amount of cultivation in the hills varies much according to the density of population and the fertility of the soil. In places nearly the whole hillside is fields; in other parts one may go for miles without seeing a clearing. In eastern Yün-nan especially the soil is often so dry and water so scarce that cultivation is hardly possible.

The principal crop of Yün-nan is rice. This is the 243
staple food of the Yünnanese, and it is only in very out-of-the-way hill villages that the people are too poor to afford it and have to live on maize or millet. All the plains that are capable of being irrigated are given up to rice cultivation throughout the summer.

The rice harvest is in October, and when this has been 249
reaped, a second crop of opium, wheat, or beans is in many 243
places sown for the winter.

I should estimate the relative quantities grown as about half opium[1] and a quarter each of wheat and beans. It is not, however, every plain that is capable of producing this second crop off the ground from which the rice has been reaped. When this cannot be done some of the plain land is usually kept unsown with rice, so as to be used for winter crops.

In the hills rice is also extensively grown. In many places the sides of the valleys can be dug into terraces and irrigated by the little hill streams, and here good crops are obtained. In less favourably situated localities the rice

[1] Since this was written, however, the opium crop has been considerably diminished, as Hsi Liang, the present Viceroy, caused all poppies near Yün-nan Fu to be pulled up in Dec. 1907. Along the main routes and for two or three days' journey round the capital scarcely any opium has been grown in 1907–8.

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243 crop is dependent on the rain for its water, and where
249 there is any jungle this is cut down and burnt, the wood ashes helping to manure the ground. Maize, millet and buckwheat are also grown on the hills, and opium is one of the chief things cultivated. This latter crop is an easy one to raise, and the produce finds a ready sale. Opium cultivation is certainly increasing in Yün-nan.

Among other agricultural products of the province may be mentioned tobacco, which is largely grown in many districts; tea which comes principally from the Chinese Shan States south of Ssŭ-mao; sesamum and other oil-producing seeds; hemp used for making rope; sugar which will only grow in the lower and warmer valleys; walnuts, persimmons, pears, peaches and other fruits, and many different kinds of vegetables.

231 As to livestock, there is nothing as big as what we should call a horse, but ponies and mules are kept everywhere. Pack animals are the principal means of transport in the province, so that they form a very necessary possession both to farmers and merchants.

To the farmer cattle and buffaloes also are essential as a means of ploughing his fields, for ponies and mules are never employed for this purpose. In the deep mud and water of the irrigated rice fields buffaloes are the only animals that can do the ploughing.

Unlike the Shans the Chinese do not use bullocks as pack animals. It is true that in out-of-the-way places a farmer may occasionally be seen taking his produce to market with a mule saddle fastened on to a bullock or cow, but this is exceptional. There are no trading caravans of bullocks. In some of the plains of eastern Yün-nan bullocks and buffaloes may be seen drawing small carts, but these can seldom find a road good enough to lead from one plain to another, and are only used for farming purposes.

262 Nor are cattle considered by the Chinese as of any use for food. The orthodox Chinaman does not kill cattle to eat, and it is only in towns which contain a good many Mahommedan inhabitants that beef can occasionally be got. As to milk it is practically unknown in China. A little is now sold in Yün-nan Fu, but it is only in the Tibetan corner of the province that cows are regularly milked.

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Sheep and goats are found in places all over the province, and in some districts in very large herds. The wool is sometimes made into felt rugs, but the Chinese do not know how to weave it into clothes. There is no reason why wool should not become an article of trade if better communications should make it saleable. Sheep are not sufficiently widely distributed to make mutton a common article of food anywhere. 231 [287]

Pork is the staple meat of Yün-nan, as of the rest of China, and pigs are kept everywhere both in towns and villages. It is a very poor man who cannot afford to mix some pork with his meal of rice. These two articles, with beans and cabbage, form the principal food of the Yünnanese. 262 231

As to the amount of livestock in the province I will not attempt to make any estimate. But as mules and ponies form nearly the only means of transport, buffaloes and cattle the only means of ploughing, and pigs the universal food of all classes, the numbers must be considerable. Moreover I do not think that the animals kept amount only to what is absolutely necessary for their owner. Many villagers own large flocks and herds, and the Yünnanese peasant is usually well off as far as possessions go, though he is not rich in money. The poverty of the poorer classes of the over-populated province of Ssŭ-ch'uan is almost unknown in Yün-nan. 231

We now come to mineral products. It is safe to say that there is no district in the province that does not contain mines, and with better communications Yün-nan might become one of the principal metal-producing countries of the world. 135

The most important mineral is *copper*, not only because copper mines are very numerous throughout the province, but because the *ch'ien* or cash, the only coin originally used by the Chinese, is made chiefly of this metal. The mines of Yün-nan supply a very large proportion of the copper used for coining, and as the value of the cash is about 400 to a shilling, and it is used throughout China, the demand for copper for this purpose alone is a very large one. 135 316

In the districts of Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu are the mines which are at present most productive, but

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135 copper mines are also worked in Yung-ch'ang Fu, Ta-li
316 Fu, Ch'u-hsiung Fu, Ching-tung T'ing, Li-chiang Fu, Yung-pei T'ing, Wu-ting Chou, Ch'êng-chiang Fu and other districts.

Two copper-mining districts outside Yün-nan also deserve mention here, as they both lie within reach of the proposed railway. One of these is Wei-ning Chou in Kuei-chou province, a town through which the reconnoitred route actually passes. The other is Hui-li Chou, in the part of Ssŭ-ch'uan which runs down into Yün-nan to the north of the capital of the province.

Equally important with copper from a Chinese point of view is *silver*, for though the copper cash is the universal coin, lumps of silver weighed out in taels form in many parts of China the chief means of payment for larger sums than can be conveniently paid in cash.

This metal is if anything more abundant than copper, and one can seldom travel far in Yün-nan without seeing or hearing of silver mines. I doubt if there is any large district in the province which does not produce silver. Many of these mines are well worked, and Yün-nan supplies much of the silver used in other parts of China.

Iron is one of the commonest metals found in Yün-nan, and the tools and other things made from local iron are of good quality.

Lead is also a common metal, and *zinc* is mined in many places. Both these are used for mixing with copper to make cash.

Gold is not so widely distributed as the other minerals. The most productive mine is near T'a-lang T'ing (lat. 23° 25′, long. 101° 40′); this pays well in spite of the very primitive means employed for extracting the metal. Washing for gold is carried on in many parts of the Upper Yangtze and its tributaries.

The principal *tin* mine is in the south of the province at Ko-chiu, to the west of Mêng-tzŭ, but tin is also found in the Tung-ch'uan Fu district and probably in other places.

[262] Among other products may be mentioned *gypsum*, which is used by the Chinese to mix with beans to make a sort of bean curd which is a common article of food; and

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sulphur and *alum*, both of which are extracted from hot springs which occur all over the province.

Salt also must not be forgotten. There are salt wells in many parts of Yün-nan, and the province supplies itself except the north-east corner which obtains its salt from Ssŭ-ch'uan. The working of the wells is a Government monopoly, so salt at present is not allowed to be imported from abroad[1].

Not least among the products of Yün-nan must be mentioned *marble*. From the quarries at Ta-li Fu is obtained a marble which is much used for tombstones and for ornamental work in houses. It is famous all over China, and with better means of transporting it to distant places the output would doubtless largely increase.

We now come to *coal*, the most important of all the products of the earth of Yün-nan, for on cheap fuel must largely depend the success of the mines. It is found in a great many places in the province, but varies much in quality. Some of it is very powdery and can only be used in the form of briquettes: in other places it is of good quality and can be obtained in large blocks. Even when the coal now in use is of inferior quality it does not follow that a better sort would not be found by mining deeper, for at present it is obtained principally from surface workings.

Coal is found in the neighbourhood of Ta-li Fu, and in several places between this town and Yün-nan Fu. Eastward from the capital it becomes still more abundant, and is found nearly all along the proposed railway line from here to the Yangtze. In the Hsüan-wei Chou district coal is almost the only kind of fuel that is used. Nor is it only near the line of the proposed railway that coal exists. It is mined in many places on the upper course of the Yangtze, and in several other districts of Yün-nan.

Of metals and of coal in Yün-nan it may be said that no examination of the mines has at present been made in a very detailed manner. If the railway is to be constructed it will be most essential that all mining districts anywhere within reach should be carefully examined, and a report made by experts as to the prospects of working them by machinery.

[1] For more details about the salt wells see p. 197.

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APPENDIX IV

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE YÜN-NAN RAILWAY.

000 We now come to the consideration of what the Yün-nan Railway is likely to find to carry, and this can best be discussed under four heads.

1. Exports to other provinces or countries.
2. Imports.
3. Goods carried within the province.
4. Passenger Traffic.

With regard to exports and imports it must be borne in mind that the railway if carried right through is not simply a line connecting Burma with Yün-nan, but is also a line connecting the Yangtze and eastern China with Yün-nan. Goods would therefore be imported and exported in both directions.

Another point which must be emphasised is that Yün-nan has a temperate climate, and Burma a tropical climate. The natural result is that each country can produce many things which are impossible in the other, and that each can thus supply many of the other's wants.

Exports. Let us deal first with *exports.* *Rice* though extensively cultivated is never likely to be exported, as it forms the staple food of the province.

243 *Wheat,* however, is on a different footing. It forms a quite unimportant part of the food of the province, as flour is used chiefly for making cakes and sweetmeats. It is not therefore at present very extensively grown[1], and its cultivation might be enormously increased if there was an easy means of transport to Burma, a country which at present gets all its flour from India.

[1] Owing to the restrictions on the poppy there was in 1907–8 a very large increase in the amount of wheat grown.

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Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssŭ-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Waite-Jones

A road leading up from the Nam Ting

Plate LXIII

[Face p. 318]

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316 doubtless with mining operations developed by a railway
439 there would be large exports to other provinces of China. At present there is an export trade of copper, zinc, and lead from Yün-nan to the Yangtze.

439 *Imports.* To come now to *imports.* Of these cotton
288 is by far the most important. The whole population of Yün-
291 nan is clothed in cotton clothes, and yet practically no cotton is grown in the province. The whole clothing of this part of China has therefore to be imported. It is brought in as raw cotton, as cotton yarn, and as cotton cloth; but the greater part of it comes as yarn and is woven into cloth in the province. Raw cotton will however always be a necessity, as in winter the Chinese wear wadded coats for warmth. The imported cotton cloth is usually too dear for the poorer classes, but is worn a great deal by those better off.

At present the chief weaving centre is at Hsin-hsing Chou (lat. 24° 20′, long. 102° 35′), and this has become firmly established owing to the treaty port at Mêng-tzŭ (Meng-tsz') having been opened before T'êng-yüeh (Momien). Weaving is, however, carried on at other places as well, and factories would spring up wherever a railway brought cotton yarn in cheaply.

In Ssŭ-ch'uan there is also a large population—estimated as at least 45,000,000—who are also almost entirely dependent for their cotton on outside sources. But with the probability of this province being connected by rail with Hankow in the near future, it is doubtful whether much of this traffic would be secured by the Yün-nan railway.

Woollen clothes are at present almost unknown at Yün-nan. It is doubtful perhaps if fashion would ever allow woollen coats to be worn in public instead of the universal wadded cotton garments. But this would probably not apply to sleeping in woollen blankets and wearing woollen underclothes.

000 *Leather* is an article that is not well made in China, and imported leather should find a sale. *Firewood* is scarce and dear in most parts of Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. In Burma there is an almost inexhaustible supply at a quarter the price. This may become an important article of trade, and *timber* should also be an import.

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Salt is at present imported into north-eastern Yün-nan from Tzŭ-liu-ching in Ssŭ-ch'uan.

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Finally there are many things which are almost necessaries of life in Europe that the Chinese would readily buy if increased trade gave them some surplus money with which to purchase them. The Chinaman is very willing to adopt new ideas, and to buy things that are new to him if he sees they are useful.

The late Mr G. Litton, in a consular report on Yün-nan, gave the following as articles likely to have an extended market:—"Cheap clocks and watches, mirrors, enamelled ironware, cheap ribbons and laces for trimmings, pocket knives, padlocks, umbrellas, leather belts, cigarettes, jade, coral, and amber." To these I would add lamps, kerosene oil, candles, glasses, fans, musical boxes, tinned milk, sugar, biscuits, and other groceries. It should be remembered also that the introduction of railways will lead to the opening up of mines, and consequently to a considerable import of mining machinery.

Goods carried within the province. Nearly every product of Yün-nan would be carried by the railway from one place to another within the province, for there is naturally much produce taken from country districts to Yün-nan Fu and other towns. Considerable quantities of rice would be carried in this way, and there must be a large trade in such articles as tea, sugar, salt, and tobacco, which are only produced in certain localities, though they are almost necessities of life everywhere. Firewood too should be carried in large quantities from the more wooded districts to the towns and to places where fuel is scarce.

With the mines well worked there would be a great demand for carriage not only of metals but of coal and other fuel.

Passenger traffic. The prospects of passenger traffic in Yün-nan would I think be good. The Chinaman is an enterprising man who does not hesitate to travel long distances for trade purposes, or to emigrate altogether to another part of the country if he thinks he can benefit himself by doing so.

As it is, the Chinese are quite accustomed to making journeys for business or pleasure, and there will be much

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000 moving about in the province if the railway is made. The increase of trade, the opening of mines, and the opportunities for settling in poorly populated districts ought to bring a large amount of passenger traffic to the railway. Especially if the line is carried through to Ssŭ-ch'uan will there be large numbers of immigrants from that province, the eastern portion of which is very densely populated.

In this short account of the class of traffic to be expected on the Yün-nan railway I have dwelt chiefly on products which already form articles of commerce. But it must be always borne in mind that the Yün-nan railway will eventually form a great highway between India and China.

Beyond Yün-nan lies Ssŭ-ch'uan, the largest and the richest province of the Chinese Empire, and beyond Ssŭ-ch'uan lies the whole of eastern China, the greatest trade mart of the world. It is hardly open to doubt that a great through traffic both in goods and passengers must spring up between Europe and India on the one hand, and China on the other.

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APPENDIX V

THE LINE OF THE PROPOSED RAILWAY.

THE brief description given in Appendix I of the physical characteristics of Yün-nan will convey some idea of the difficulties of railway construction in that province. It will be readily inferred from the above description that the western part of Yün-nan presents great difficulties, that the central plateau country is somewhat easier, and that obstacles again increase where the waters of the plateau of Yün-nan run down into the comparatively low level of the Yangtze. 000

That this should be so is unfortunate, for the greatest engineering obstacles are thus placed at the two ends of the line. So, whether it is begun from Burma or from the Yangtze, the first part of the construction will be undertaken in the face of great difficulties and at a considerable cost.

The whole line from Kun-long to the Yangtze may be roughly epitomised as follows :—The first 50 miles are easy, the next 250 miles decidedly difficult, then a stretch of 400 miles of fairly easy work, another 250 miles extremely difficult, and the last 50 miles to the Yangtze comparatively easy.

The reconnaissance for the railway was carried out by the late Captain W. A. Watts-Jones, R.E., and by Captain C. G. W. Hunter, R.E., with the object of determining the possibilities of railway construction through this country. The work was confined to about six months, so it will be readily understood that limits of time did not allow of more than a very rough preliminary reconnaissance of certain routes being made.

This being so, further exploration will doubtless suggest many alterations, and I do not therefore propose here to describe these routes very minutely, but merely to give

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Mekong on the Yün Chou-Ta-li Fu road

Plate LXIV

[Face p. 322]

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000 a general account of their principal features from a railway point of view.

From Kun-long (1,800 feet) the obvious entry into Yün-nan is by the valley of the Nam Ting. From the map it might be thought that this was an easy route for a railway to follow, and for the first 50 miles—as far as Mêng-chien—this is so. Above this, however, the river runs through steep-sided gorges and presents one of the most difficult pieces of construction in the whole line. But there is no help for this. The watershed between the Salween and the Mekong must be crossed somewhere, and the Nam Ting valley—difficult though it is—is likely to prove the most practicable way.

Leaving the Nam Ting valley at the most northerly point of the sharp bend made by the upper course of this river, the railway would cross the watershed at 5,600 feet, and descend to Yün Chou. This is the first Chinese town through which the line would pass, situated at a distance of 145 miles from Kun-long. Its height is 3,900 feet.

The next obstacle to the progress of the line is the Mekong—a very formidable river—for though its breadth is not more than 100 yards or so, it runs for the greater part of its course between high mountains of wall-like steepness. In very few places could a practicable route for a railway be found over its valley, and it is a fortunate circumstance that in the neighbourhood of Yün Chou a way across it has been discovered which is rather less difficult than might have been expected.

The railway would follow down the Nan-ch'iao Ho from Yün Chou to the Mekong (3,250 feet), turn up the Mekong for about 20 miles, and then up the tributary of that river which runs down past Kung-lang. This stream takes the line to the top of the range (7,500 feet) which forms the eastern limit of the Mekong valley. All this section would be difficult, especially the lower course of the Nan-ch'iao Ho and the Mekong[1].

[1] A study of the map might lead to the supposition that the line, having reached the Mekong, might be taken up that river and its tributary the Yang-pi Ho to Ta li Fu. Nothing, however, could be more erroneous than to suppose that the valleys of the big rivers of Yün-nan lend themselves to railway construction. They flow principally through such steep gorges that any great length of river line would be too costly to be practicable. Wherever circumstances render it imperative that the line should follow the valley of a large river, there are to be found the most expensive and difficult bits of construction.

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000 The railway would now descend into the basin of the Red River, and one branch of this river takes it down to Nan-chien, whence another branch affords a feasible route through Mi-tu to Yün-nan Hsien[1] (6,800 feet).

This town, which is reached at a distance of 295 miles from Kun-long, lies on the main road which joins Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu, Ta-li Fu itself being left some 40 miles off to the west. As Hsia-kuan, the commercial suburb of Ta-li Fu, is the most important trade centre of the province: a branch line was reconnoitred in this direction.

This branch would leave the main line at Mi-tu, and passing into the Hung-ai plain, would thence follow approximately the main road through Hsia-kuan to Ta-li Fu. From here it could be easily taken as far north as Lang-ch'iung Hsien. The distance from Mi-tu to Ta-li Fu would be 40 miles, and another 30 miles on to Lang-ch'iung Hsien. The whole branch would be easy construction except for the range west of Hung-ai, which presents considerable difficulty.

To return to the main line, we now begin a stretch of 400 miles of comparatively easy going, the line following approximately the main road through Ch'u-hsiung Fu, Yün-nan Fu, and Ch'ü-ching Fu to Hsüan-wei Chou. Unfortunately in this easier tract of country there are two places where it seems difficult to avoid using a steeper gradient than the 1 in 50, which can be maintained for the rest of this section. One of these difficult pieces is the length of 60 miles between the Yün-nan-yi plain and Sha-ch'iao[2], and the other consists of only five miles of difficult ascent east of Yao-chan-kai (lat. 25°, long. 102° 10′).

Yün-nan Fu, the capital of the province, is reached at 535 miles from Kun-long, and Hsüan-wei Chou at 690 miles.

At the north end of the Hsüan-wei plain the comparatively easy stretch of country which has been followed from Yün-nan Hsien comes to an end. Beyond this lies an intricate mass of mountain chains, while, to make matters worse, right across the route which the railway

[1] Not to be confused with Yün-nan Fu (or Yün-nan Shêng), the capital of the province.

[2] Sha-ch'iao lies about 10 miles by road north-west of Chên-nan Chou and six miles south-east of Ta-fu-ssü.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Héng Chiang

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Plate LXV

[Face p. 324]

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000 must follow, runs the K'o-tu Ho at an elevation from 1,500 to 2000 feet lower than that of the neighbouring valleys.

To quote Captain Watts-Jones's words :—" The country would be quite impossible for a railway were it not for one feature—the valleys are flat at the bottom and fairly broad, generally 50 to 150 yards, and seem to have no sudden drops. The stream spreads over perhaps half of the valley but is always very shallow. Fields a foot above the stream seem to escape injurious flooding." Taking advantage of this conformation of the ground, he was able to find a fairly practicable though no doubt very difficult route, chiefly following the river valleys to Wei-ning Chou (7,500 feet).

From this point—760 miles from Kun-long—two different routes were reconnoitred towards the Yangtze.

(1) *Viâ* Pi-chieh Hsien to Na-ch'i Hsien.
(2) *Viâ* Chao-t'ung Fu to Sui Fu.

To take first Number (1), between Wei-ning Chou and Yung-ning Hsien the country is extremely difficult. Some very heavy gradients are necessary to get over the ranges of hills, and the river valleys, often running through steep-sided gorges, do not lend themselves to railway construction. Should it be necessary to adopt this route, the work would be very expensive.

Yung-ning Hsien is 926 miles from Kun-long, and from here on to Na-ch'i Hsien on the Yangtze (50 miles) would for the most part be a comparatively easy bit of construction with no very steep gradients.

Number (2) would lie as far as Chao-t'ung Fu over open rolling downs, and there is only one difficult bit where at T'ao-tien-pa an affluent of the Niu-lan Chiang has cut out its valley below the level of the Chao-t'ung plain.

From Chao-t'ung Fu onwards the line would have to follow approximately the main road, that is to say, it must cross a low pass at the head of the Chao-t'ung plain, and thence follow down the banks of the Hêng Chiang to the Yangtze. The upper part of the Hêng is decidedly difficult, with a bad gradient and very steep side-slopes. Lower down the valley gradually improves, and where it debouches at An-pien there is a good place to bridge the Yangtze, and from here on to Sui Fu is quite easy.

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SUMMARY OF PRELIMINARY RECONNAISSANCE OF PROPOSED YÜN-NAN RAILWAY.

Miles	From	To	Ruling gradient	Remarks
0 to 55	Kun-long	Mêng-chien	1 in 100	Easy route up the Nam Ting valley.
55 to 110	Mêng-chien	Mêng-lai	1 in 100	Difficult owing to steep-sided gorges.
110 to 145	Mêng-lai	Yün Chou	1 in 30	Over the Salween-Mekong watershed. About 15 miles of the ruling gradient.
145 to 210	Yün Chou	Mouth of Kung-lang River	1 in 100	Down the Nan-ch'iao Ho and up the Mekong. Difficult owing to gorges. Line quite level for considerable part of this.
210 to 250	Mouth of Kung-lang River	Nan-chien	1 in 20	Over Mekong-Red River watershed. About 16 miles of the ruling gradient.
250 to 295	Nan-chien	Yün-nan Hsien	1 in 25	Down one branch of Red River and up another. Ruling gradient only for last 8 miles. Much of this section on 1 in 50.
295 to 325	Yün-nan Hsien	Yün-nan-yi	1 in 100	Over plains of Yün-nan Hsien and Yün-nan-yi.
325 to 385	Yün-nan-yi	Near Sha-ch'iao	1 in 25	Rather intricate country.
385 to 490	Near Sha-ch'iao	Yao-chan-kai	1 in 50	Two tunnels, one on each side of Kuang-t'ung Hsien.
490 to 495	Yao-chan-kai	For 5 miles	1 in 20	Very steep ascent for 5 miles.
495 to 690	5 miles E. of Yao-chan-kai	N. end of Hsüan-wei Chou plain	1 in 50	Fairly easy line. A tunnel E. of An-ning Chou. Yün-nan Fu passed at mile 535.
690 to 760	N. end of Hsüan-wei Chou plain	Wei-ning Chou	1 in 20	Difficult line with a tunnel E. of the Hsüan-wei plain and some difficult gorges.
760 to 870	Wei-ning Chou	Ta-kuan-lao	1 in 25	As far as Chao-t'ung Fu fairly easy except for one difficult bit near T'ao-tien-pa. From Chao-t'ung Fu down the Hêng Chiang by difficult gorges.
870 to 960	Ta-kuan-lao	Sui Fu	1 in 100	Fairly easy down the lower Hêng Chiang and the Yangtze. Bridge over Yangtze near Fu-pien.

ALTERNATIVE ROUTE FROM WEI-NING CHOU.

760 to 926	Wei-ning Chou	Yung-ning Hsien	1 in 12 rack	Difficult line through intricate country. Rack lines on 1 in 16 and 1 in 12 would be necessary for a few miles.
926 to 976	Yung-ning Hsien	Na-ch'i Hsien	1 in 50	Fairly easy line down the Yung-ning Ho.

BRANCH LINE FROM MI-TU THROUGH HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI FU TO LANG-CH'IUNG HSIEN.

70 miles	Mi-tu at mile 280	Lang-ch'iung Hsien	1 in 20	An easy line except for a steep ascent W. of Hung-ai where the ruling gradient is used for 6 miles. Most of the line is nearly level.

APPENDIX VI

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES DISCUSSED.

000 THE question will now naturally be asked whether the route that I have just described is the only possible one for a railway from Burma to the Yangtze. Three different alternatives to this route have been suggested by those who have studied the subject, and of these I will give a short account.

First there is the Chien-ch'ang valley route. This valley lies in the province of Ssŭ-ch'uan about long. 102° 15′ and stretches north and south from lat. 28° 40′ down to lat. 27°. It is fairly level and easy for a railway, and lies along the An-ning River which is a tributary of the left bank of the Yangtze.

It seemed possible that a feasible route might be found from the south to the Yangtze, and then up the An-ning River and down the T'ung River to Chia-ting-Fu (lat. 29° 35′, long. 103° 45′). We spent a considerable time in reconnoitring this route, and I do not think there is any doubt that it is impracticable.

It will be needless here therefore to spend much time in discussing the details. The river which runs northward from Ch'u-hsiung Fu, and the P'u-tu Ho which is the outlet of the Yün-nan Fu Lake, both seemed possible lines of approach to the Yangtze, and both proved too difficult for a railway.

A way down to the river was however found from Yün-nan Hsien (lat. 25° 30′, long. 100° 40′) to Chin-chiang-kai (lat. 26° 15′, long. 100° 35′). But having reached the Yangtze here, the line would have to leave it at once, for the gorges for 100 miles below this point are not practicable

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for a railway. A difficult route might be got following approximately the road to Yung-pei T'ing and rejoining the Yangtze at Ma-ch'ang (lat. 26° 35′, long. 101° 30′). The gorges of the lower Ya-lung and An-ning Rivers, which the railway would have to ascend to the Chien-ch'ang valley, are extremely difficult. The Chien-ch'ang valley itself is easy, and the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass north-east of Lu-ku might be just feasible.

So far the route may be considered as just within the bounds of practicability, but the gorges of the T'ung River by which it must descend to Chia-ting seem to preclude all idea of a railway.

Another alternative has been suggested, passing through Kuei-chou province to the T'ung-t'ing Lake in Hu-nan. This has the advantage of bringing the railway to the part of the Yangtze that is navigable for steamers, but to counterbalance this it does not touch Ssŭ-ch'uan, the richest and most populous province of China.

This line would leave the Yün-nan railway at Pi-chieh Hsien (lat. 27° 15′, long. 105°) and from there go eastwards through Kuei-yang Fu and Chên-yüan Fu to Hêng-chou Fu in Hu-nan. The route has not been examined for a railway, but Captain Watts-Jones made a study of the question and got much information about the nature of the country and the levels from travellers who had been over it. He came to the conclusion that it was probably impracticable.

This opinion cannot of course be taken as definitely settling the question, for Captain Watts-Jones had not himself seen the country and was dependent on the observations of others. It seems certain, however, that the 140 miles from Pi-chieh Hsien to Kuei-yang Fu is as difficult as, or possibly more difficult than, the 143 miles which separate Pi-chieh Hsien from Na-ch'i Hsien on the Yangtze.

This line through Kuei-chou may in fact be considered more as an extension of, than as an alternative to, the Yün-nan line. It branches off from the latter only 143 miles from its termination on the Yangtze, and would open up the provinces of Kuei-chou and Hu-nan, not that of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

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000 Another possible alternative has been suggested by a French officer, the late Lieutenant Grillières. He explored the course of the Niu-lan Chiang, the river which flows past Hsün-tien Chou (lat. 25° 30′, long. 103° 15′) and finally falls into the Yangtze. M. Grillières describes the valley of this river as much more practicable for a railway than has been generally supposed. Its lower course he considers, however, to be impracticable, and he would leave the Niu-lan at a point south of Chao-t'ung Fu and take the line through that town and thence down the Hêng Chiang by the route already described (p. 324).

M. Grillières has not published any full account of his travels, and without more details it is impossible to speak definitely of his proposals, but a line which would avoid the difficult country between Hsüan-wei Chou and Wei-ning Chou might be well worth further examination.

One more alternative may also be touched on, though I do not think it has been previously suggested by anyone, and I only mention it here to point out its disadvantages. It might be said, "If the French have the easiest route of penetration into Yün-nan, why not join our railway system in Burma to theirs in Tong-king and thus connect India and China?"

If such a line were taken through the Shan states to Tong-king, either from Lashio (lat. 22° 55′, long. 97° 45′) or through Keng Tung (lat. 21° 15′, long. 99° 35′), it would pass at right angles to the ranges through a mountainous country which would be likely to prove quite as difficult as Yün-nan. Moreover the country tapped by it would be a very poor one, and the distance to Yün-nan Fu considerably longer than by the Yün-nan route.

A better chance would be to carry the line considerably further south. The French already talk of constructing a railway from Vinh on the coast of Annam to Lakhon on the Mekong. To join this to Burma, *viâ* Korat, Ayudia, Raheng and Moulmein, would perhaps be feasible.

The objections to such a line are, however, obvious. The distance, roughly calculated, from Rangoon to Yün-nan Fu would be 1,500 or 1,600 miles against 1,100 miles by the Kun-long route. The line would naturally do nothing to develop western Yün-nan, nor would trade from

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Yün-nan or Ssŭ-ch'uan be brought to Burma, for it would get to Tong-king first. As a through means of communication between India and China it would have the great disadvantage of passing through a French colony, where duties might be levied on British goods. 000

The conclusion then seems to be that the reconnoitred route in its general outline is likely to prove to be the best as far as Yün-nan Fu.

Between this place and the Yangtze, however, much further reconnaissance must be undertaken before a route can be selected

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APPENDIX VII

THE FRENCH RAILWAY INTO YÜN-NAN.

000 THE proposed route of the British railway from Burma to the Yangtze has now been described, but it is necessary also to consider the French schemes for opening up the trade of Yün-nan. The French colony of Tong-king lies in a much better position than Burma for communication with Yün-nan Fu and with the eastern part of the province. Not only is the distance shorter, but the country is easier for a railway. A line has now been constructed from Haiphong, the sea-port of Tong-king, up the Red River valley to Lao-kai, on the frontier of Yün-nan, and this railway is now being carried on to Yün-nan Fu.

The line originally surveyed left the Red River at Hsin-kai, which lies above Lao-kai, passed through the "treaty-port" of Mêng-tzŭ, and followed the main road from there to Kuan-yi on the Ch'ü Chiang. Its further progress northward was here stopped by a high range, so the survey was carried westward up the Ch'ü Chiang, passing through Hsi-o Hsien and Hsin-hsing Chou to K'un-yang Chou, and from there round the east side of the lake to Yün-nan Fu.

Later surveys have, however, discovered a new route, which has superseded that originally adopted. The new route leaves the river at Lao-kai, following up the Nan-hsi Ho (or Nam Ti) and passing a few miles east of Mêng-tzŭ. From here it keeps to the east of the old survey, passing through A-mi Chou; thence following up the Pei-ta Ho to Yi-liang Hsien and so westward to Yün-nan Fu.

There seems no doubt that from the Red River to Mêng-tzŭ the new trace is superior to the old, though

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naturally this part of the line, rising from the low level of Tong-king to the high plateau of Yün-nan, must be the most difficult and expensive section, whichever route is adopted.

From Mêng-tzŭ onwards opinions have differed as to the line the railway should take. The old survey passes through a far richer country and touches several important towns, whereas the new line in the part between Mêng-tzŭ and Yi-liang Hsien taps very poor districts. This, however, is counterbalanced by a gain of 16 miles in length, and by a reduction of the ruling gradient from 1 in 29 in the old trace to 1 in 40 in the new.

As it has now been finally decided to adopt the new survey, this line has been shown on the map. The distance from Haiphong to Lao-kai is 248 miles, and from Lao-kai to Yün-nan Fu 287 miles—a total from the sea to Yün-nan Fu of 535 miles.

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APPENDIX VIII

THE TRIBES OF YÜN-NAN.

(*a*) Introductory.

Diversity of tribes and languages—Reasons to be found in physical character of country—Classification by languages.

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THE numerous non-Chinese tribes that the traveller encounters in western China, form perhaps one of the most interesting features of travel in that country. It is safe to assert that in hardly any other part of the world is there such a large variety of languages and dialects, as are to be heard in the country which lies between Assam and the eastern border of Yün-nan and in the Indo-Chinese countries to the south of this region.

The reason of this is not hard to find. It lies in the physical characteristics of the country. It is the high mountain ranges and the deep swift-flowing rivers that have brought about the differences in customs and language, and the innumerable tribal distinctions, which are so perplexing to the enquirer into Indo-Chinese ethnology.

A tribe has entered Yün-nan from their original Himalayan or Tibetan home, and after increasing in numbers have found the land they have settled on not equal to their wants. The natural result has been the emigration of part of the colony. The emigrants, having surmounted pathless mountains and crossed unbridged rivers on extemporised rafts, have found a new place to settle in, and have felt no inclination to undertake such a journey again to revisit their old home.

Being without a written character in which to preserve their traditions, cut off from all civilising influence of the outside world, and occupied merely in growing crops

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enough to support themselves, the recollection of their connection with their original ancestors has died out. It is not then surprising that they should now consider themselves a totally distinct race from the parent stock. Inter-tribal wars, and the practice of slave raiding so common among the wilder members of the Indo-Chinese family, have helped to still further widen the breach. In fact it may be considered remarkable that after being separated for hundreds, and perhaps in some cases for thousands, of years, the languages of two distant tribes of the same family should bear to each other the marked general resemblance which is still to be found.

The hilly nature of the country and the consequent lack of good means of communication has also naturally militated against the formation of any large kingdoms with effective control over the mountainous districts. Directly we get to a flat country with good roads and navigable rivers, we find the tribal distinctions disappear, and the whole of the inhabitants are welded into a homogeneous people under a settled government, speaking one language.

Burmese as heard throughout the Irrawaddy valley is the same everywhere. A traveller from Rangoon to Bhamo will find one language spoken throughout his journey, but an expedition of the same length in the hilly country to the east or to the west of the Irrawaddy valley would bring him into contact with twenty mutually unintelligible tongues.

The same state of things applies to Siam and Tong-king —one nation speaking one language in the flat country and a Tower of Babel in the hills.

It may be urged against this that a great part of Yün-nan *was* for at least five centuries actually one kingdom ruled by Shan dynasties, known to the Chinese as Nan-chao. But it must be remembered that the splitting up into different tribes of many of the races who inhabited the mountains had doubtless already taken place before such a comparatively recent date as the eighth century A.D. when Pi-lo-ko first combined the six ancient kingdoms of Yün-nan into one empire.

Moreover it is extremely unlikely that the Shans exercised much control over the hill tribes, or influenced to any

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631 extent their customs or language. It is in fact recorded in the Chinese chronicles that the Nan-chao empire had many wars with the races on their borders; within their own country, content with the possession of the fertile plains and valleys, they would naturally be inclined not to interfere much in the affairs of the neighbouring hillmen. Even at the present day, six and a half centuries after the Chinese conquest of Yün-nan, there are many remote parts of the province where no sign of Chinese officialdom is ever seen.

So far in fact from proving anything to the contrary, the Nan-chao empire affords a most striking testimony to the influence that a large kingdom with a settled government has on abolishing dialects and establishing a standard form of speech. For the different communities of the Shan race though living in the valleys, are just as much cut off from each other by steep mountain ranges and deep [197] rivers as are any of the hill tribes, and yet of all the Indo-Chinese families, the Shans are the only one whose language has not been split up into mutually unintelligible dialects.

From the sources of the Irrawaddy down to the Siamese border, and from Assam to Tong-king, a region measuring 600 miles each way and including the whole of the former Nan-chao empire, the language is practically the same. Dialects of course exist as they do in every country in the world, but a Shan born anywhere within these bounds will find himself able to carry on a conversation in parts of the country he has never heard of, hundreds of miles from his own home. And this it must be remembered is more than six hundred years after the fall of the Nan-chao dynasty, and among Shans who have had no recent political or commercial relations with each other.

563 197 Before entering into any description of the tribes of Yün-nan it will be well to make an attempt to reduce them to some sort of order, by arranging them in groups. The only way at present to do this is to classify them by their languages. That resemblance of language is not necessarily a proof of the relationship of two races is undoubtedly true. Conquest or other causes may have introduced an alien tongue. But if supported by probability and if not

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contradicted by historical facts or great physical diversity, connection of language may be accepted as affording a *prima facie* case for connection of race.

In considering the comparative philology of the tribes of Yün-nan it is not possible to confine oneself to the language of that province alone. The tongues of the Himalayan hill tribes, and of many other races of Indo-China, of China, and of Tibet have such an important bearing on the subject that some reference to them could not be omitted. I have, however, in the Tables of Vocabularies only alluded to the larger and more important of the groups of languages which lie outside our special sphere.

So little information has until the last few years been available about most of the Indo-Chinese tribes, that it is not surprising that the great professors of philology have not gone very deeply into the branch of their science that includes this region. It can be asserted with confidence that nothing has been written on this subject that does not contain errors, and the present attempt will doubtless be found equally open to such criticism.

The reason of this is in great part to be found in lack of sufficient reliable information. Much of the most valuable material for a thorough investigation exists in the dialects of rude and perhaps unknown tribes living in the most inaccessible countries. Grammars and dictionaries are available of only a quite minute proportion of the languages of western China and Indo-China. Of many dialects we have no knowledge at all, while others are only known through small vocabularies obtained by travellers, which must necessarily be somewhat inaccurate and incomplete.

It seems a pity that there should be no philologist to devote his attention to such comparatively untrodden ground. In Yün-nan alone there is plenty of work to last a man his lifetime. Frontier officials, consuls, and travellers have not the time to go into the subject in the thorough way that it demands.

In attempting a classification of the languages with which we are concerned, we are confronted at once with the initial difficulty of what name to give to the group.

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To call them *Turanian*, *Mongolian* or *Scythian* is to use too wide a term, for these names must also include the Tartar, Japanese and other languages, which, though of probably the same original stock, now differ widely in structure from those we are discussing. Hodgson used *Himalaic* as a name for this family, but as the enormous majority of the races who use these languages do not now live anywhere near the Himalayas, it seems to be not altogether appropriate. *Indo-Chinese* as a geographical term is fairly satisfactory as indicating the countries lying between India and China, but as the name of a group of languages it would seem to infer a connection with the languages of the plains of India which does not exist. Moreover Chinese itself must be included in this family of languages, and the term *Indo-Chinese* is here obviously inapplicable.

Polytonic is the name used in the Census of Burma 1891, and it is true that the use of different tones of voice to distinguish sounds which would otherwise be the same, is a marked characteristic of these languages, but at the same time both the Cambodian and Talain languages are said to be spoken without tones, so the name is not universally applicable. *Monosyllabic* is another term which alludes to a distinguishing characteristic which differentiates these languages from all others, and seems an unobjectionable name, but at the same time it does not in itself give any clue to the identity of the races to whose speech it is applied.

Captain C. J. Forbes, writing more than twenty years ago, suggested *Sinitic* as a suitable designation, and this seems the best general name that can be given to this family, alluding as it does to the largest and most prominent of the races that speak these languages.

Having adopted the linguistic classification of the tribes of Yün-nan as the only satisfactory means of reducing them to order, I will proceed to a consideration of the affinities of their languages, and will reserve for a future chapter descriptions of the dress, customs and other characteristics of these races.

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(*b*) The languages of Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

Classification of languages of Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan—The Mon-Khmer family—Shan or Tai family—Chinese family—Tibeto-Burman family.

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The following Table shows the languages of Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan classified under their families and groups :—

SINITIC LANGUAGES OF YÜN-NAN AND WESTERN SSŬ-CH'UAN.

I. Mon-Khmer Family	(i) Miao-Yao Group	1. Miao or Mhong 2. Yao
	(ii) Min-chia Group	1. Min-chia or Pe-tsŏ
	(iii) Wa-Palaung Group	1. Wa 2. La 3. P'u-ma 4. Palaung 5. K'a-mu
II. Shan Family		1. Shan or Tai and its dialects
III. Chinese Family		1. Chinese
IV. Tibeto-Burman Family	(i) Tibetan Group	1. Tibetan or Pĕ or Pŏ, including probably some Hsi-fan dialects
	(ii) Hsi-fan Group	1. Hsi-fan 2. Mo-so or Na-shi 3. Lu-tzŭ or A-nung
	(iii) Lo-lo Group	1. Lo-lo or Nei-su or Ngo-su 2. Li-so or Li-su 3. La-hu or Lo-hei 4. Wo-ni, under which I include Ma-hei, K'a-to, Pu-tu, Pi-o, A-k'a, San-su, K'u-ts'ung and other tribes of southern Yün-nan
	(iv) Burmese Group	1. A-ch'ang or Nga-ch'ang 2. Ma-ru 3. La-shi 4. Zi or A-ṣi
	(v) Kachin Group	1. Kachin or Ching-p'aw

Two tables of comparative vocabularies, one of the Mon-Khmer languages and the other of the Tibeto-Burman languages, will be found in the pocket of the cover of this book[1]. There are, however, some points

[1] Getting accurate vocabularies from uneducated tribesmen is a matter of some difficulty and there are doubtless some mistakes due to misunderstandings to be found in these vocabularies. The accurate transcription of the sounds of a language heard for the first time is also a matter of difficulty, not to say of impossibility. Luckily the minute differences of pronunciation very necessary for a conversational knowledge of the language are not absolutely essential for purposes of philological comparison.

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which will require more elucidation, and these I will proceed to deal with.

Mon-Khmer Languages.

To take first the Mon-Khmer, it has long been recognised that the Annamese, the Cambodian or Khmer and the Mon or Talain languages belong to the same family. The connection has been very clearly brought out by Captain C. J. Forbes in his *Languages of Further India*, published in 1881. Logan was I believe the first to classify Palaung as a Mon-Khmer language, and as the Wa-Palaung group have been placed in the Mon-Khmer family by Dr Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, the correctness of this classification is not likely to be disputed. If more evidence were required it can be looked for in the tables of vocabularies referred to above.

With the Miao-Yao group, however, the matter is different. Most writers have put these languages in a class by themselves and considered that they have little or no connection with the speech of their neighbours in Yün-nan. They cannot certainly be classified with the Shan, the Chinese, or the Tibeto-Burman. Their likeness to other Mon-Khmer languages is, it must be admitted, not a very close one, but I think the resemblance is enough to warrant their inclusion in this family. It must be remembered that the Miao and Yao are only quite recent immigrants into Yün-nan, and that therefore for a period which may probably be measured by thousands of years they have had no close connection with the Wa-Palaung group or with the Annamese, the Cambodians, or the Talains[1]. We cannot therefore expect to find the same resemblance of language between Yao and Wa that we find between Palaung and Wa, spoken as these latter are by two tribes who still live close together, and who were probably one and the same tribe when they arrived at their present locality.

[1] It is true that many Miao and still more numerous Yao (or Man as they are there called) now inhabit the hills of Tong-king, but this comparative proximity with the Annamese-speaking dwellers in the Tong-king delta is only a matter of the last century or two.

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COMPARISON OF MIAO AND YAO.

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English	Miao[1]	Yao
Man (human being)	Tan-neng, Tam-ming	To-mien
Son	To, T'am-t'ong	Ton
Eye	K'a-mwa, Mai	Moi
Hand	Apu	Pu
Cow	Nyaw, Nga	Ngong
Pig	Teng	Tong
Dog	Klie, Ko	Klu
Chicken	Ka, Kei	K'yi
Silver	Nya	Nian
River	Tiang	Tom
Paddy	Mblei	Blao
Cooked rice	Mao	Mai
Tree	Ndong	Ti-d'eang, Ti-ngiang
Fire	To	To
Wind	Chwa, Chiang	Jiao
Earth	Ta	Dao
Sun	Hno, Nai	Mo-noi
Moon	Hla	La
Big	Hlo	Tlo
Come	Ta	Tai
Go	Mong	Min
Drink	Ho	Hop
1	A, Yi	A, Yet
2	Ao	I
3	Pie, Po	Po
4	Pei, Plou	Plei
5	Pa	Pia
6	Chou	Chiu
7	Shiang, I	Sya, Ngi
8	Yi, Yik	Yet
9	Chio	Do
10	Ch'it	Chep

[1] The Miao words given in this column will not be found to correspond in every case with those in the Miao Vocabulary in the pocket of the cover of this book, as some have been taken from other Miao dialects.

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The grammar of Sinitic languages, where words do not change their form, resolves itself into the order in which the words are used. In this respect the Miao and Yao languages agree with the Mon-Khmer family, the order being

Noun before adjective,
Thing possessed before possessor (in genitive),
Subject before verb,
Verb before object.

Of the Miao language fairly full vocabularies are available. One of these, taken by myself near the Burmese border, is given in the tables of vocabularies, and others are to be found in Hosie's *Three Years in Western China* and Clark's *Kweichow and Yün-nan Provinces.*

Of Yao much less material is to be got, and the words I have used, only numbering some seventy, have been taken from vocabularies collected by Captain H. B. Walker in the Southern Shan States, by Prince Henri d'Orléans in Yün-nan, and by M. Souchières in Kuang-hsi province. A comparison of this small number of words with the Miao vocabularies leads to the conclusion that about half the words in the two languages are connected. Some of these words are herewith given side by side. In one or two cases such as the words for "silver" and "moon" there may have been borrowings from Shan or Tibeto-Burman neighbours, but on the whole the words seem distinctive and do not appear to be common to other languages.

In the next table I have endeavoured to show the connection between Miao and Yao on the one hand and the Mon-Khmer family on the other. The list might have been made somewhat longer but I have only put down what seemed the most striking examples. The number of words compared were about 160 in the case of Miao, and only 70 in Yao. Considering therefore the small number of words available for comparison, this table may perhaps be considered enough to establish a *prima facie* case for the inclusion of the Miao and Yao languages in the Mon-Khmer family. It is of course possible that some of the resemblances may be accidental, but on the other hand a more extended knowledge of both

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the Miao-Yao group and of the Wa-Palaung group will most likely lead to the discovery of the common origin of words which do not at first sight appear to be connected. It is to a great extent groping in the dark to compare languages of which one has no practical knowledge and of which even grammars and dictionaries are not available.

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COMPARISON OF MIAO AND YAO WITH THE MON-KHMER LANGUAGES.

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English	Miao	Yao	Mon-Khmer, the name of the particular language to which the word belongs being put in brackets
Man (human being)	Nai Tam-ming	To-mien	Mnih (*Talain*)
Father	—	Tia I-tie	A-ta (*P'u-man*) Te (*Wa*)
Son	To T'am-t'ong	Ton	Kon-trom (*Talain*) Kuan-t'ao (*La*)
Head	Tao-hao K'o	Ngong	Kdap (*Talain*) Dau (*Annamese*) Ken (*La, Palaung*) An-ngwa (*P'u-man*)
Eye	Mai K'a-mwa	Moi	Muh (*Talain*) Mu-ti (*P'u-man*) Tre-muk (*Stieng*) Chre-mo (*Cambodian*) Mui (*Annamese*) Mat (*K'a-mu*) Mat (*Banar*)
Tooth	Hna	—	Ngek (*Talain*)
Stomach	Ka-plang	—	Pung (*Talain*)
Foot	—	Sao	Sho (*La*) Tsu-awng (*K'a-mu*)
Hand	Tie	—	Teh (*La* & *K'a-mu*) Tai (*Palaung, Annamese*) Toa (*Talain*) Ti (*Banar, Stieng* & *Riang*)
House	Chei	—	Cha (*La*)
Cow	Liao	—	Klaow (*Talain*)
Buffalo	Tu	—	Trao (*Annamese*)
Dog	Klie	Klu	Kle (*Talain*)
Gold	Ko	—	Kri (*La* & *Palaung*)
Iron	Hlao	—	Hlak (*Palaung*)

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COMPARISON OF MIAO AND YAO WITH MON-KHMER LANGUAGES—*cont.*

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ENGLISH	MIAO	YAO	MON-KHMER
Tree	Ndong	Ti-dheang Ti-ngiang	Tang-he (*Palaung*) Tang-ke (*Riang*) Tnom (*Talain*) Tom (*Stieng*)
Day	Hno	Mo-noi	Tngoa (*Talain*) Ngay (*Cambodian*) Nge (*Annamese*)
Night	Pang	—	Mbön (*Wa*) Ptawm (*Talain*) P'o-p'un (*La*) A-pu (*P'u-man*)
Water	Tlie	—	Daik (*Talain*) Dak (*Stieng* & *Banar*) Doi (*So*) Do (*Soue*) Tuk (*Cambodian*)
Water	—	Wom	Ung (*P'u-man*) Om (*K'a-mu* & *Danaw*) Em (*Palaung*)
Earth	Pa-tie	Dao	Ka-tai (*Palaung*) Ka-te (*K'a-mu* & *Riang*) T'ui (*P'u-man*) Dat (*Annamese*) Dey (*Cambodian*) Daik (*Talain*)
Wind	Chwa	Jiao	Kya (*Talain*) K'yal (*Cambodian*) Gio (*Annamese*)
Sky	—	Long	Me-long (*So*) Plan (*Palaung*) Mplin (*Lameit*) Pleng (*Riang*)
River	Tiang	To Tom	Ton-le (*Cambodian*) Ta (*P'u-man*)
Cooked rice	Mao	Mai	Ma (*K'a-mu*) Bai (*Cambodian*) Byu (*Danaw*)
Good	Jong	—	Juan (*P'u-man*)
Heavy	Hnyang	—	Nang (*Annamese*) Tngon (*Cambodian*)
Light	She	—	Shöng (*La*) Sral (*Cambodian*) Sa (*Talain*)
White	Klo	—	Kwu (*Talain*)
Two	Pi	—	Ba (*Talain*)

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COMPARISON OF MIAO AND YAO WITH MON-KHMER LANGUAGES—*cont.*

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ENGLISH	MIAO	YAO	MON-KHMER
Three	Pie	Po	Ba (*Annamese*) Bey (*Cambodian*) Pi (*Talain*) Pei (*Stieng & So*)
Four	Plou	{Plei Pie}	P'on (*Wa & Palaung*) Pon (*La & Talain*) Pun (*P'u-man & Danaw*) Bon (*Annamese*)
Five	Pa	{Pla Pia}	Pram (*Stieng*) Buon (*Cambodian*) Bon (*Annamese*) P'an (*Palaung*)
Six	Cho Tiu	Chiu	Sao (*Annamese*) Sung (*So & Soue*) Trao (*Talain*) Taw (*Palaung & Lameit*) Twal (*Riang*) Tun (*Danaw*)
Nine	Chio	—	Chin (*Annamese*) Tchit (*Talain*)
Ten	Kao	—	Kao (*Wa & La*) Kö (*Palaung*) Skall (*Riang*)

Before quitting this subject one more point must be noticed. The Miao language appears to be on the whole nearer to the Talain than to any other language of the Mon-Khmer family. It is then a curious fact that the Miao call themselves Mhong and the Talains call themselves Mon. Without further evidence it would be a mistake to lay too much stress on the resemblance of name, for it might well be accidental. I do not know whether the Talains have any traditions as to how they came by their name or how long they have borne it.

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In venturing to place the Min-chia among the Mon-Khmer languages, I am supported by the authority of Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, who considers that the Mon-Khmer origin of the language is still traceable amongst the mass of borrowed words which now constitute the greater part of the vocabulary of this race. Min-chia is undoubtedly the most puzzling language of Yün-nan to

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563 classify. An examination which I have made of 100 words
197 gives the following result :—

Of Chinese origin	42
Of Tibeto-Burman origin . .	33
Of Mon-Khmer origin	23
Of Shan origin	2

This very mixed language is probably spoken by an equally mixed race. As the Min-chia have no near neighbours who speak languages of the Mon-Khmer type, it seems probable that their original tongue was of this family, and that it has since been much modified and altered by contact with their Tibeto-Burman neighbours the Mo-so and Lo-lo, and that they have also borrowed very largely from the Chinese who have settled amongst them.

If questioned as to the origin of his race, the Min-chia will usually reply that his ancestors came from Nan-king. This probably refers to the large settlements of men from eastern China which are known to have been made in Yün-nan during the Ming dynasty. These Chinese probably to a great extent mixed with the original owners of the soil, and have largely imposed their language on them. Certainly the language at present spoken by the Min-chia seems to consist very largely of corruptions from the Chinese, and they have even gone to the length of adopting the Chinese order of words, which in the position of the adjective and the genitive differs from that of the
[193] Mon-Khmer languages. The order as deduced from such expressions as *Man* (*male*), *Woman*, *Hair*, *Chicken's egg*, *Ride a horse* given in the table of vocabularies is

Adjective before noun,
Possessor before thing possessed,
Subject before verb,
Verb before object.

Whether a language of which three-quarters of the vocabulary and half the grammar belong to other types of speech, can still rightly be classed in the Mon-Khmer family is of course open to doubt, and must to some extent be a matter of opinion. It would certainly be difficult to classify it in any other family, and the only alternative

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The Tribes of Yün-nan

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COMPARISON OF MIN-CHIA WORDS WITH WORDS OF MON-KHMER LANGUAGES.

English	Min-chia	Mon-Khmer, with name of particular language in brackets
Father	A-te	I-tie (*Yao*) Te (*Wa*) A-ta (*P'u-man*)
Head	T'e (paw)	Tao (hao) (*Miao*) Dau (*Annamese*) Kdap (*Talain*)
Eye	Ngwe- (su)	Ngai (*Wa, La, Palaung & Riang*)
Trousers	Kwa-yo	Kla (*Wa*) K'o (*Cambodian*)
Pig	Te	Teng (*Miao*) Tong (*Yao*)
Copper	Hwe	Hlui (*Talain*)
Paddy	Sö	Srom (*Talain*) Srau (*Cambodian*)
Hot	U	U (*P'u-man*)
Cold	Kö	Kwet (*Wa*) Kwat (*La*) K'a (*P'u-man*) Kaw (*Palaung*)
Dry	Ka	K'wa (*Miao*) Kru (*Wa*) K'aw (*P'u-man*) K'o (*Annamese*)
One	A	A (*Yao*)
Two	Gaw	Kar (*Riang*)

English	Min-chia	Mon-Khmer
Speak	Ga	Ha (*Miao*) Ska (*Talain*)
Fly	Fu	Pu (*Wa*) P'wa (*P'u-man*) Pö (*Palaung*) Paw (*Talain*)
Stand	Djö	Ch'o (*Cambodian* Jong (*Wa*) Jang (*Palaung*)
Tie	Ba	Bak (*Palaung*) P'uk (*La*) Pyow (*Wa*) Buok (*Cambodian*) P'ö (*P'u-man*)
Pound	Te	Toa (*Miao*) Tuh (*Palaung*) T'u (*P'u-man*) Tang (*Wa*) Ta (*La*)
Cook	Dju	Cho (*Miao*)
Pierce	Ch'a	Chawk (*La*) Ch'u (*P'u-man*)
Be hurt	Sö	Sö (*Wa*) Sao (*La*) Shu (*P'u-man*) Saiow (*Palaung*) Su (*Riang*)

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seems to be to put it entirely by itself. It seems, however, probable that M. de Lacouperie's opinion that the language is of Mon-Khmer origin is correct, and in the accompanying vocabulary I have given some words for comparison. Besides the Min-chia vocabulary given in the tables, other lists of words are available from Prince Henri d'Orléans' *Du Tonkin aux Indes*, and from Mr Clark's *Kweichow and Yün-nan Provinces*.

Of the languages which I have classified as Wa-Palaung the only one that calls for notice is the P'u-man. Many travellers have considered the P'u-mans to be a Shan-speaking race, and there is no doubt that many of this tribe do speak dialects of Shan. But I have also come across P'u-mans who had no other language but Chinese. The fact seems to be that they have split up very much into small communities, and have in many cases become so isolated that they have adopted in their entirety the languages of their more powerful neighbours. The vocabulary given in the tables was taken by me from P'u-mans living in the valley of the Mekong, about 25 miles N.E. of Yün Chou. There were considerable numbers of this race in that part of the country, and they had no neighbours who spoke languages anything like their own. I think therefore that this vocabulary may be considered as a genuine example of the speech of the P'u-man race.

The Mon-Khmer vocabularies which will be found in the pocket of the cover of this book were obtained in the following localities, and were taken down by myself when not otherwise stated.

The Miao from near Taw-nio, just within the border of the Shan States, lat. 23° 40′, long. 98° 45′.

The Yao from the Southern Shan States taken by Captain H. B. Walker, with one or two words added from M. Souchières's vocabulary taken in Kuang-hsi province near the Tong-king border.

The Min-chia from a native of Yün-lung Chou, lat. 25° 50′, long. 99° 20′.

The Wa from near Mêng-mêng, lat. 23° 25′, long. 99° 50′.

The La from Taw-nio, lat. 23° 40′, long. 98° 45′.

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The P'u-man from the village of Hsiao-ch'in in the Mekong valley, lat. 24° 45′, long. 100° 25′.

The Palaung from the Nam-kham district of the Northern Shan States, about lat. 23° 50′, long. 97° 40′.

The K'a-mu from near Chieng Kong in French Laos, about lat. 20° 15′, long. 100° 25′.

The Talain, Annamese, and *Cambodian* from published dictionaries.

Shan Languages.

Of the Shan or Tai family I do not propose to give any vocabularies. The language can be studied in its Siamese, its Shan, or its Lao form from published books, and the more westerly dialects have been dealt with by Dr Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India.* The Shan language as spoken in Yün-nan does not present sufficient divergency from well known types as to make it worth while for philological purposes to give vocabularies.

Differences of dialect undoubtedly exist, but they are not sufficiently marked to make the language unintelligible to Shans from other countries. The following very incomplete notes as to these dialects may be of interest.

One dialect is spoken in all that part of Yün-nan which lies between the Burmese frontier and the Salween. Its principal peculiarities are the turning of the aspirated *k'* sound (*hk*) of the Shan States into a guttural like the German *ch*, the use of *f* instead of the aspirated *p'* (*hp*), the turning of the unaspirated *s* into *ch*, and the constant confusion of *l* and *n*, the latter being usually turned into the former. Besides this a certain number of words are used that are strange to the native of the Shan States, and some Chinese expressions have been adopted. This dialect sounds harsh and unpleasant to the ear compared with the speech of the Shan States.

Between the Salween and the Mekong, in the states of Kêng-ma and Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), a dialect is spoken which approximates very closely to that of Theinni and the Shan States in general. The harsh gutturals of the west of the Salween disappear, and the only peculiarity

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563 I noticed is a tendency to turn the sound *ai* into *oi*, thus
197 *kai*, *far*, becomes *koi*.

East of the Mekong, in Wei-yüan (Möng Waw), Mêng-pan, and Mêng-ka, another change of dialect takes place, but of this and the other Shan dialects of Yün-nan I am not able to give any details.

Chinese Languages.

The Chinese of Yün-nan is the Mandarin dialect, and it is spoken with sufficient accuracy to be quite intelligible to a native of Nanking or Peking. It is therefore of no value for philological purposes.

Diversity of dialect of course exists, but natives of the province have no difficulty in making themselves understood throughout Yün-nan. The only possible exception to this is the dialect spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of the provincial capital. Here a very uncouth speech prevails, possibly the result of a foreign accent derived from the original Lo-lo inhabitants of the Yün-nan Fu plain. Another dialect peculiar to one locality is that of the Yung-ch'ang Fu district. This is prevalent in a good deal of the country between the Salween and the Mekong. It is, however, not a mere rustic *patois*, but approaches more nearly than the speech of perhaps any other part of Yün-nan to the standard of pure Mandarin. The inhabitants of Yung-ch'ang claim that they originally came from the neighbourhood of Nanking, and that they have preserved the language of their forefathers unchanged.

To those interested in the study of local dialects of Chinese the following notes on the language spoken in the districts of T'êng-yüeh T'ing and Lung-ling T'ing may be of use. These districts are situated in the extreme west of Yün-nan and comprise most of the country between the Burmese border and the Salween. This is the only dialect of which I am able to give details.

Pronunciation.

563 *S* and *ts* when they are followed by *i* or *ü* do not as
197 in Pekingese change into *hs* and *ch* respectively, but retain
194 their original pronunciation as in the southern Mandarin.

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Words of this class are pronounced as spelt in Williams' Dictionary. 563

H and *k*, however, followed by *i* or *ü* change into *hs* and *ch* respectively as in Pekingese. 197 194

The final *ng* when preceded by *e* or *i* changes into *n*, thus—

Lêng is pronounced *lên*,
Ping „ „ *pin*.

An exception to this rule must, however, be made in the case of the syllables *fêng*, *mêng*, and *pêng*. Here the *ê* is pronounced as a *u* or more perhaps as a long *o*, and the sound of the *ng* is retained, thus—

Fêng is pronounced *fōng*,
Mêng „ „ *mōng*.

The sound of the modified *ü* becomes *i*, thus—

Lü is pronounced *li*,
Chü „ „ *chi*,
Yün „ „ *yin*.

When the *ü* is followed by *a*, the *a* has more the sound of an *e*, thus—

Chüan is pronounced *chien*.

The syllables *yüan* and *yüeh* are undistinguishable in sound from *yen* and *yeh* respectively.

U before *o* is not sounded, thus—

Shuo is pronounced *sho*,
Huo „ „ *ho*.

Tones.

The first tone is what its Chinese name *shang-ping* implies—a high even tone.

The second tone is a short jerked tone.

The third tone is an emphatic tone and has nearly the sound of the fourth tone in Pekingese, but is pronounced with a more steady emphasis and less jerk.

The fourth tone has the sound of the third tone in Pekingese.

The fifth tone has the same sound as the second tone, both being pronounced in a short jerked tone, thus—

Ho, *river*, is undistinguishable in sound from *ho* (*hoh*), *harmony*.

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Local pronunciations of words.

Chiao, foot, is pronounced *chio.*
Chieh, street or *market,* is pronounced *kai.*
Chieh or *chiai, boundary,* is pronounced *kai.*

Local words.

Nü[1] is used instead of the genitive *ti,* and is also used after verbs in the present or future tense, thus—

T'a nei ma, his horse.
T'a ch'i (ch'ü) nei, he is going.

The following local words are in common use:—

Ka, bad, worthless—used of men or things.
3

Ts'uan, quick.
2

Cha-shih, very.
2 5

Other provincialisms may exist, but on the whole the divergencies from the standard Mandarin dialect are probably smaller than are to be found in most of the local dialects of China. Many of the peculiarities noticed above have a very wide range over western China, and possibly over other parts of the country.

Tibeto-Burman Languages.

That the languages which I have placed in the table of Tibeto-Burman vocabularies belong to that family will not be questioned, but their arrangement in groups may be open to criticism or difference of opinion.

The Tibeto-Burman family is so large that some division into groups seems necessary. In the Tibetan group I have placed a language which seems to be merely a dialect of the speech of Lhasa with the addition of certain local words; a more intimate knowledge of the language of the Tibetans of Yün-nan would probably disclose an

[1] The small number under the word denotes its tone.

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even closer connection with the standard dialect of the Tibetan tongue. 563 197

In the Hsi-fan group I have included those languages which seem to be the result of Tibetan influence on tongues which were originally more of the type of the Lo-lo or of some other group of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Amongst the Lo-lo I have classed the La-hu, the Li-so and the Wo-ni, all three of which can scarcely be considered as more than dialects of some original Lo-lo tongue.

In the Burmese group I have placed four languages which are spoken in the Kachin Hills near the Burmese frontier of Yün-nan. These seem to have a distinctly closer connection with Burmese than with any Lo-lo language. For comparison with these I have given the P'ön—a rapidly dying language which is spoken on the part of the Irrawaddy immediately north of Bhamo—and Burmese both in its written and spoken form.

The Kachin group is only represented by one language —the Kachin or Ching-p'aw.

The vocabularies given in the table of Tibeto-Burmese languages were obtained in the following localities, and were taken down by myself, except when otherwise stated.

The *Written Tibetan* and *Standard Spoken Tibetan* from Henderson and Amundsen's book.

The Yün-nan Tibetan near Chung-tien, lat. 27° 50′, long. 99° 45′.

The Lu-tzŭ and Mo-so from M. Desgodins' vocabulary in *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géog. de Paris*, 6th series, vol. v (1873), p. 144.

The P'rü-mi Hsi-fan from near Mi-li, lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′.

The Mu-nia (*Menia*) *Hsi-fan* from the village of No-po on the Ya-lung Ho, lat. 28° 20′, long. 101° 40′.

The Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo from the village of Ta-shih-p'êng, lat. 26° 25′, long. 102° 30′.

The Mêng-hua Lo-lo from the village of Ho-ti near Mêng-hua T'ing, lat. 25° 10′, long. 100° 5′.

The Li-so from the Kachin Hills.

The La-hu from the village of Phaya Kili in northern Siam, lat. 20°, long. 99° 10′.

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The A-k'a from a vocabulary given in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, probably taken in the Shan state of Keng Tung.

The Ma-hei from the neighbourhood of Ssŭ-mao, lat. 22° 50′, long. 101°.

The A-ch'ang from Hu-sa (Ho-hsa), lat. 24° 30′, long. 97° 55′.

The Zi, Ma-ru, and La-shi from the Kachin Hills.

The Kachin from near Sadon in the Kachin Hills, lat. 25° 25′, long. 97° 55′.

The P'ön from a native of the "third defile" of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Sen-bo, about lat. 24° 30′, long. 97° 5′.

Some of my own vocabularies have been used in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, part i, vol. 1, and the same volume contains other Tibeto-Burman vocabularies. Valuable vocabularies of Hsi-fan and Lo-lo are also given by Baber in the *Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers*, vol. 1, p. 73.

In the written Burmese I have put *ts* and *ts'* for *s* and *s'* (*hs*). It seems probable that this was the original pronunciation of these two letters, and indeed in Judson's grammar the *ts* is given as the modern pronunciation. It is also possible that they may have been pronounced *ch* and *ch'*, as these sounds, where they occur in Pali words, are spelt *s* and *s'* (*hs*) in modern Burmese. For the spoken sound of *th* I have adopted *s'* as the most likely equivalent. Judson says that this sound was originally a sibilant: it is possible also that it may have been an *sh*. I have in all cases used the comma above the line after a letter to indicate that it is aspirated, instead of the official spelling which places an *h* before the letter[1].

[1] In the Government system of transliterating Burmese the *h* is placed before a letter to indicate an aspirate which is really sounded after the letter. The reason for this doubtless is that the English sounds of *th* (as in *thin*) and of *sh* also exist in Burmese. For the aspirated *t* and *s* it was therefore impossible to use *th* and *sh*. A way out of the difficulty was found by placing the *h* before the letter it qualifies, and the same system has for the sake of uniformity been carried out with *k* and *p*. This has, however, landed them in another difficulty, for there are some letters in Burmese which can have an *h* sound *before* them, so that the sounds *ht*, *hs*, *hk*, and *hp* have to be pronounced with the *h* following the other letter, and the sounds *hl*, *hm*, and *hn* with the *h* preceding the other letter. The official system, however, has certainly the advantage of calling attention to the aspirate, whereas the comma above the line is apt to be omitted by careless writers and printers.

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(*c*) The connection between the different families of Sinitic languages.

The Sinitic languages have two peculiarities which distinguish them from the other languages of the world. They are monosyllabic and isolating. That is to say that every original word of the language is a monosyllable, and that words do not change their form. That a number of languages, spoken by races with a physical resemblance to each other and inhabiting the same part of the globe, should also have such marked linguistic peculiarities would be almost enough without other proof to show their mutual connection.

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Beyond this, however, actual resemblance of vocabulary between the different families of Sinitic languages is by no means wanting. In published books on Chinese, Siamese, Shan, Burmese, and Tibetan we have ample material for a comparison of three of the great families, the Chinese, the Shan, and the Tibeto-Burman. That the result of such a comparison discloses a fairly close original connection between these three families is hardly open to question. Were we able to get at the languages spoken by the ancestors of these races thousands of years ago, it would probably be difficult to find words in any of these families which are *not* connected with words of the other two.

It is generally admitted now that the words of the Sinitic languages as spoken at the present day have been much shortened by a process of phonetic decay. A comparison of written Tibetan or Burmese with the present spoken languages, or of the old Chinese sounds with the modern Pekingese, goes to prove this. Words that originally began or ended with two or three consonants together have been whittled down to words of two or three letters: *brgyad* in written Tibetan is now pronounced *gye*, *brjod* has become *jod*, *lchags* has turned into *chag* or *cha*. In Chinese the modern Mandarin dialect has lost the final *k*, *t*, and *p* which are still retained in some of the older spoken dialects.

That the original ancestors of the Sinitic languages may have been polysyllabic, as contended by Professor de Lacouperie, seems probable. However this may be, their modern representatives are now monosyllabic or

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nearly so. There is, however, a great difference between different languages in the degree of decay which has taken place. In the written Tibetan and in some of the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo dialects words beginning with two or three consonants are fairly common, in spoken Burmese and Siamese they are comparatively rare, while in Shan and Chinese they have disappeared altogether[1].

It is those languages which still retain the initial double consonants which are of most value for showing the connection between words which would otherwise appear unlike. In the process of phonetic decay, the initial double consonant has been simplified into a single consonant, but it has often happened that one language has preferred one of these consonants and another sister-language has preferred the other. The result naturally is that two words which really have a common origin become totally dissimilar in sound.

To take a simple instance. The Shan word for boat is *hö*, the Siamese is *rua*. Now as Shan and Siamese are merely two dialects of the same tongue, and as there is a regular series of words in which the Shan *h* is replaced by the Siamese *r*, there can be no doubt whatever that *hö* and *rua* have the same origin. The process by which two such dissimilar sounds as *h* and *r* should be confused is not at first sight clear. The explanation, however, is simple. It is not a case of phonetic change from *h* to *r* or from *r* to *h*, but is the result of derivation from a common ancestor-word beginning with a double consonant, of which the Shans have preferred to retain one and the Siamese the other. If we turn to written Tibetan we find the word for boat is *G'ru*. The *g'* turns easily into a *k'* and the *k'* into an *h*. The original word before Shan and Siamese separated into dialects was doubtless *hrö* or *hrua* or some such sound. As an additional proof we have the Burmese word *hle* which is practically the same as *hrö*; for in nearly all the Sinitic languages *r* turns easily into *l*. To follow the word a little further, the Kachins and many other members of the Tibeto-Burman family have dropped the initial *h*. Thus the Kachin *li* is shown to have a common

[1] Such sounds as *ng* or *sh*, though written by us with two letters, cannot be considered as genuine double consonant sounds

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origin with the Shan *hö*, though outwardly there is no resemblance between the two words. 563

In the same way the Shan for *to love* is *hak*, the Siamese is *rak*. In written Burmese we have an older form *krok*. The Shans have taken one consonant slightly changed, and the Siamese have preferred the other. 197

It is of course not contended in either of these cases that the Shan and Siamese words are derived directly from Tibetan or Burmese, but merely that in the two latter languages older forms of some common ancestor have survived.

To continue the comparison of Shan and Siamese, we find *hot* is *hawn* in Shan and *rawn* in Siamese. Here the Palaung *hrang* gives the clue to the connection. *Field* is *hai* in Shan and *rai* in Siamese. In K'a-mu we find the word in the form of *hre*.

In both of these last two instances it is conceivable that the words may have been borrowed by Palaung and K'a-mu respectively from Shan or Siamese. This, however, would not affect the argument. It would be proof that the original word at the time it was borrowed had the initial double consonant *hr*.

The common derivation of apparently dissimilar words from older words beginning with double consonants is not, however, confined merely to the connection of Shan with Siamese. It is a principle which has I believe a very wide application throughout the Sinitic languages. Want of leisure has only allowed me to make a very superficial study of this subject, but the following instances will illustrate my meaning.

The Shan for *yellow* is *löng*, the Chinese is *huang*. The Siamese *hluang* supplies the connecting link.

In Talain the word for *stone* is *tmaw*, in Cambodian *tma*. Annamese retaining the first of these consonants has *da*, while Palaung retaining the second has *mao*.

In Karen the word for *bone* is *akrwe* or *krwi*. The Chinese retaining the first consonant has become *ku*, written Burmese retaining the second is *aro*.

Some rather more complicated derivations may well be given in the form of genealogical tables, the names of the languages being put in brackets.

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Mrul, wind (Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo)
Brum, „ („ another dialect)

Mp'yu (Mêng-hua Lo-lo)
Mbong (Kachin)

Mu (Lo-lo, another dialect)

Bong (Old Chinese)
Fong or *Fêng* (Chinese)

Rlung (Written Tibetan)
Lung (Spoken „)
Lom (Shan)
Lai (Zi)
Le (Burmese)

Without older forms to refer to, it would be difficult to see the connection between the Lo-lo *mu*, the Chinese *fêng*, and the Burmese *le*. It may be as well to repeat that I do not by any means mean to imply that the words above are derived from each other in the order they are placed, but merely that in the languages placed at the top more archaic forms of the original word have survived than in the languages at the bottom.

K'rawk, six (Written Burmese)
Ghlok, „ (Chung-chia Shan)

K'o (Mu-nia Hsi-fan)
K'u (Lo-lo)
Hu (Lo-lo, another dialect)
Hok (Shan)

Ruk (Haka Chin)
Lok (Siyin Chin)
Lok (Tong-king Shan)
Liu or *Lu* (Chinese)

Ch'auk (Spoken Burmese)
Sot or *Saw* (Karen)

Ch'ro (P'rü-mi Hsi-fan)
D'rug (Written Tibetan)
Dro (Ku-tsung)
Tuk (Spoken Tibetan)

Phonetic changes have here taken place, as well as the splitting of the initial double consonant. The *k* turning into a *ch* is a well-recognised fact in many Sinitic languages, and the *kr* and *gr* of written Tibetan always become *tr* and *dr* in the spoken tongue of Central Tibet. In this case the change has taken place before Tibetan became a written language, about the sixth century A.D., and for the oldest existing form of the word we have to go to written Burmese. It is possible that the P'rü-mi Hsi-fan *ch'ro* shows the intermediate stage by which *kr* has become *tr* in Tibetan and finally simply *t*.

Ljrö, four (Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo)
[illegible], „ (A Hsi-fan dialect)

Lö (Lo-lo, another dialect)
Li (Li-so)
Le (Burmese)

Jei (P'rü-mi Hsi-fan)
Zhi (Spoken Tibetan)
Zö (Mu-nia Hsi-fan)
Ssŭ (Chinese)
S'i (Shan)

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Kyawng, river (Written Burmese)
Kraung, „ (Taung-thu)

Kawng (Zayein Karen)	*Rawng* (Palaung & Riang)
Hawng (Shan)	*Lawng* (Danaw)
Ho (Chinese)	*Law* or *Lö* (Karen)

While the splitting of initial consonants has thus made the common origin of many words almost unrecognisable, great alterations in pronunciation have also been effected by gradual phonetic change. Some of these are still easily recognisable. It requires little effort of imagination to see that the northern Shan *ngo, a cow*, is the same as the southern Shan *wo*, and the Siamese *bo*.

When we come, however, to such words as the Burmese for *long*, which in the written language is *hrañ* and in the spoken tongue *she*, the connection is by no means obvious at first sight. The final consonant has here entirely disappeared. The dropping of final nasal consonants, with or without a modification of the vowel, is very common in Sinitic languages. It is still going on in Kachin, P'ön, and some of the Lo-lo dialects, while in some parts of China where the Mandarin dialect is spoken, such words as *shang* and *kuan* have become *sha* and *kua*. In Burmese there is a long series of words where the final *añ* of the written language has become *i* or *e* in modern speech.

This leaves us with the word as *hre*, but the letter *r* is now pronounced as a *y* in Burmese, and *hye* easily turns into *she* by a phonetic change which is also found in Chinese, where *hing* and *hien* have become *hsing* and *hsien* in modern Pekingese, the *hs* being used to transliterate a sound which closely resembles the Burmese *sh*. Without the written form of the Burmese it would have been impossible here to identify the spoken word *she* with the Tibetan *ring*.

Where such a great change can take place as that from *hrañ* to *she* in a few centuries of a language's history, a change only brought to light by the accident of the existence of the word in a written form—it is obvious that in many cases words must have been changed from their original form beyond all recognition. Moreover, as the very large majority of the Sinitic languages have never had any written character, the intermediate steps which have led

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563 to these phonetic changes must in many cases have been lost, and the chance of recognising the original connection
197 of words has thus disappeared.

The Connection between the Mon-Khmer Languages and the other Sinitic Languages.

That the Chinese, the Shan, and the Tibeto-Burman families are more closely connected with each other than with the Mon-Khmer family is no doubt true. It seems established that the Mon-Khmer-speaking races split off from the original stock at a very remote period and inhabited Indo-China and a large part of China before the first incursions of the Chinese or the Tibeto-Burman-speaking races. This fact which seems to rest on a fairly satisfactory historical basis would be enough to account for wide divergency in language.

Now the Mon-Khmer languages have the same distinguishing peculiarities as the Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, and Shan languages, and they are spoken by people with a strong physical resemblance to the races who speak these latter languages. The presumption that they are from the same original stock is therefore overwhelming.

In vocabulary, however, the modern representatives of the Mon-Khmer languages and the other Sinitic languages are so far apart, that it has been sometimes assumed that no connection can be traced. Doubtless owing to phonetic change and the splitting of initial double consonants many words have been altered beyond all hope of recognition, but a systematic study of the subject would, I believe, reveal many unsuspected resemblances.

It is a subject which I have found no time to pursue with the thoroughness which it demands, but the following desultory observations may be of interest.

563 *The word for sun :—*
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Mon-Khmer	Tibeto-Burman
Tngay (Talain)	*Nyi-ma* (Tibetan)
Se-ngai (Palaung)	*Ngi-me* (Mo-so)
Sy-ngai (Wa)	*Nye-dzö* (Lo-lo)
Nyi (P'u-man)	*Nyi-mav* (A-ch'ang)
Mo-noi (Yao)	*Mo-ni* (La-hu)
Hno (Miao)	*Ne* (Burmese)

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The word for *eye*:—

MON-KHMER

Mot (Talain)
Mat (K'a-mu)
Ka-mwa (Miao)
Me (Yao)
Kon-mat (Annamese)
Ngai (La, P'u-man, Palaung)

TIBETO-BURMAN

Myak or *Myet* (Burmese)
Myet-sao (Lo-lo)
Myaw (Zi)
Mik (Tibetan)
Me-si (La-hu)
Nie (Hsi-fan)
N'e-sö (Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo)
Ne-nö (A-k'a)

The word for *cow*:—

MON-KHMER

Bo (Annamese)
Boi (La)
Im-po (K'a-mu)
Ngong (Yao)
Nyaw (Miao)
Moi (Wa)
Mak (Palaung)

OTHER SINITIC LANGUAGES

B'a (Tibetan)
W'a (P'ön)
Nwa (Burmese)
No (A'ch'ang)
Ngo or *wo* (Shan)
Niu (Chinese)
Nu (La-hu)
Maw (A-k'a)

The word for *fish*:—

MON-KHMER

Ga or *K'a* (Palaung)
K'a (Talain, Annamese, Wa, La)

TIBETO-BURMAN

Nga (Burmese, Kachin, La-hu, A-k'a)

The word for *tiger*:—

MON-KHMER

K"la (Cambodian)
K'la (Talain)
La-wai (Palaung)
Ra-woi (Wa)

TIBETO-BURMAN

Ha-la (Ma-hei)
Ka-lat (P'ön)
Kya (Burmese)
Law (A-ch'ang, Ma-ru & Zi)
La-pa (Lo-lo)
La-ma (Li-so)

The word for *house*:—

MON-KHMER

K"ang (K'a-mu)
Kan (P'u-man)

TIBETO-BURMAN

K"ang-pa (Tibetan)
? gin (Burmese)

The word for *horse*:—

MON-KHMER

Im-prang (K'a-mu)
Im-byang (Palaung)
Brong (La)
Brum (Wa)

TIBETO-BURMAN

Mrang (Burmese) MYIN
Ku-mrang (Burmese)
Myang (Zi)
Mhang (A-ch'ang)

It is just possible that in this last instance the word has been borrowed from Burmese by the Las, Was and Palaungs. These three tribes, however, though they live within Burmese territory have little connection with the Burmese, and it would be difficult to find a La or Wa who had ever heard the Burmese language spoken. Much

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563 more is this the case with the K'a-mus who live in northern Siam and French Laos.
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The word for *boat*:—

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
K'lung (Talain)	*G'ru* (Tibetan)
Ka-le (Palaung)	*Rlo* (Lo-lo)
	Hle (Burmese)
	Law (A-k'a)

The word *boat* is very apt to be borrowed from other languages by tribes who live remote from navigable rivers. It is possible therefore that the Palaung *ka-le* is a corruption of the Burmese *hle*. The Talains, however, certainly live in a country where boats are used, and the resemblance of their word to the Tibetan is remarkable.

In the following words there seems to have been a splitting of the initial double consonant.

The word for *dog*:—

K'sö (Northern Lo-lo)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN, &C.
Ts'o (La)	*K'ö* (Lo-lo)
Sao (Palaung)	*Kou* (Chinese)
Saw (Wa & K'a-mu)	*K'we* (Burmese)
	Ch'ö (Mi-li Hsi-fan)
	Ts'ö (Yün-nan Tibetan)

The word for *hair*:—

Skra (Written Tibetan)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
K'lö (K'a-mu)	*Kya* (Yün-nan Tibetan)
Hök (La)	*K'a-ra* (Kachin)
Huk (Palaung)	*Sa-kaw* (A-k'a)
Gok (Talain)	*Che-k'u* (Ma-hei)
Sak (Cambodian)	*Sö* (La-hu)
Tok (Annamese)	*Sam* (Zi)
	S'an (Spoken Burmese)
	Tra (Spoken Tibetan)

The word for *gold*:—

G'ser (Written Tibetan)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
K're (Wa)	*Hrwe* (Written Burmese)
K'ri (La)	*Ha* (Mo-so)
K'yi (Palaung)	*K'ang* (Ma-ru)
Kyi (Min-chia)	*K'üng* (Zi)
Ko (Miao)	*Ser* (Spoken Tibetan)
Sam (Yao)	*Shwe* (Spoken Burmese)
	Se (A-ch'ang)
	Su (A-k'a)
	Shung (La-shi)
	Shain (P'ön)

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The word for *road*:—

Klung (Talain)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
Ka-ra (Wa)	*Gà* (Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo)
K'ra (La)	*Ka-ma* (Ma-hei)
	K'ar-hi (P'ön)
	Lam (Tibetan, Burmese, Kachin)

The word for *husked rice*:—

Sngu (Talain)
Sa-k'ao (Mêng-hua Lo-lo)
Sa-k'a (La-hu)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
Nk'u (P'u-man)	*Ngö* (Yün-nan Tibetan)
N-gow (Wa)	*M-ku* (Kachin)
La-kow (Palaung)	*S'an* (Burmese)
Ang-ka (Cambodian)	*Ts'en* (A-ch'ang)
Un-k'o (K'a-mu)	*Shin* (Zi)
Gao (Annamese)	
Kao (La)	

The word for *grass*:-

Rtswa (Written Tibetan)
Smau (Cambodian)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
La-si (P'u-man)	*Shö* (Mêng-hua Lo-lo)
Rip (Wa)	*Su* (Yün-nan Tibetan)
	Rju (Mu-nia Hsi-fan)
	Mrak (Written Burmese) (MYR
	Man (La-shi)
	Maw (La-hu)
	Mo (Li-so)

The word for *fire*:—

Mu-to (Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo)
Kmot (Talain)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
Ngu (Wa)	*Mi* (Burmese, Zi, Maru, La-shi)
Ngao (P'u-man)	*Me* (Tibetan)
To (Yao)	*Nyi* (Yün-nan Tibetan)
Shwa-to (Miao)	*A-mi* (La-hu)
	Ta-mi (P'ön)
	Te-ni (Lu-tzŭ)
	A-taw (Mêng-hua Lo-lo)
	A-t'o (Li-so)

The word for *earth*:—

Mu-dö (Mo-so)
Mi-di (Mêng-hua Lo-lo)
Mdö (Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-lo)

MON-KHMER	TIBETO-BURMAN
Dat (Annamese)	*Ta-myi* (Kachin)
Dey (Cambodian)	*Mre* (Written Burmese) MYEI
T'ui (P'u-man)	*Mi* (La-shi)
Ti (Talain)	*Mi-na* (Li-so)
Ka-tai (Palaung)	
Ka-te (K'a-mu)	
Pa-tie (Miao)	

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(d) The geographical distribution of the languages of Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

The main fact that stands out about the geographical distribution of the languages of this part of western China and Indo-China is that the Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in the north, and the Shan and Mon-Khmer languages in the south. The dividing line seems to be about the 25th parallel of latitude.

North of this line the languages spoken are almost solid Tibeto-Burman, the only notable exception being the Min-chia whose speech is probably, though not perhaps certainly, of the Mon-Khmer type. South of the 25° line we soon begin to come to speakers of Shan, and also to speakers of Palaung and other Mon-Khmer tongues.

It cannot, however, be said that the Tibeto-Burman languages disappear south of lat. 25°, for among the Shans and Mon-Khmers there are Lo-los, Wo-nis, La-hus, and A-k'as stretching down even into northern Siam, and forming in some districts a large part of the population. In Siam the 20th parallel of latitude is perhaps the southern border of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Below that I believe that languages of the Shan and Mon-Khmer type are almost exclusively spoken.

Turning eastward we find the neighbouring provinces of Kuei-chou and Kuang-hsi largely peopled by men of Shan, Miao, and Yao race, but not, as far as all information goes, by any Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes.

We thus find the Tibeto-Burman speaking races occupying almost entirely the country north of lat. 25° and stretching northwards right through Tibet. Southwards numerous offshoots of this race have spread as far as lat. 20°, but eastwards they do not seem to extend much beyond long. 105°. Westwards they are found throughout Burma, and in all the eastern parts of the Himalayas, even as far west as the part of this range which overlooks the Punjab. In Burma they have spread further south than in Siam, but in this connection it must be remarked that the inhabitants of much of Lower Burma are really Talain by race and that the Burmese language has only come into general use there in the last 100 years.

The Lo-los, La-hus, Li-sos, Kachins and other Tibeto-

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Burman speaking tribes always now move southward in their migrations. Taking with this fact the limited amount of their extension to the south and the east, it may probably be inferred that their original home was in the Himalayan ranges to the north and north-west of the present habitat of the most important branches of their race.

An interesting fact in connection with the Tibeto-Burman languages is the very close connection that exists between the speech of the Ma-rus, Zis, La-shis, A-ch'angs and P'öns on the one hand and the Burmese on the other. This is not the general likeness that the languages of the Lo-los and other Tibeto-Burman tribes have to Burmese, but is sufficiently close to warrant the belief that at some not very distant period these races spoke one tongue.

This fact may I think throw some light on the disputed point as to how the Burmese reached their present country. For beginning with the P'öns who live on the Irrawaddy just north of Bhamo we have a regular line of Zis, Ma-rus, and La-shis leading up to the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy. Above the confluence, the eastern branch is in fact almost entirely inhabited for a considerable distance by Ma-rus and La-shis while on the western branch these tribes do not, I believe, exist. The inference is that the Burmese came down the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy and that these tribes are stragglers left behind in the southerly migration of the main body of the race.

To come now to the Shan and Mon-Khmer speaking races, we have here tribes who for the most part do not extend north of lat. 25°, but are found in all the country south of this line right down to the sea. Westward the Palaungs stretch to about long. 97°, but west of this both the Shan and Mon-Khmer speaking races are only found in small and scattered communities, such as the Shans of the Chindwin, the Kamti Shans at the source of the western Irrawaddy, and the Khasias of Assam. Eastward, however, these two races extend certainly through the provinces of Kuei-chou and Kuang-hsi, and it seems probable that all China south of the Yangtze was once inhabited by men speaking languages of these two types, now for the most part transformed into Chinamen.

The inference then is that both the Shan and the

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Mon-Khmer speaking races have come from the east, pressed gradually out of the more eastern provinces of China by the slow advance of the Chinese, just as the Miao and Yao are at the present day being pressed into Tong-king and Indo-China by the same cause.

Professor Terrien de Lacouperie is of opinion that the Shan race was formed in China by contact of tribes from the north akin to the original Chinese with the Mon-Khmer inhabitants of China. However this may be, there seems no doubt from historical and other evidence that the Mon-Khmer speaking races arrived in Yün-nan and Indo-China long before the Shans.

Migrating gradually southwards the Mon-Khmer races have finally consolidated into large kingdoms in Tong-king, Annam, Cochin China, Cambodia, and Lower Burma. Those of this race who have not moved south have been driven into the hills by Shan, Chinese, and Tibeto-Burman conquerors, and we find among the hills of southern Yün-nan and of Indo-China a regular trail of tribes whose languages are akin to those of Annam and Lower Burma.

Beginning in the north with the Palaungs, the Las, Was, and La-was carry the trail down to the Talains of Lower Burma. Further east the Was and Tai-loi join on to the K'a-mus, Lameits, Stiengs, Banars and other Mon-Khmer tribes who extend down to Cochin China and Cambodia. While in the Tong-king direction, the P'u-mans, and K'a-mus form a connecting link between the Was and the Tongkingese.

(*e*) Relationship of language and relationship of race.

I have adopted as the only convenient method, the classification of the races of Yün-nan and western Ssû-ch'uan by their languages. The question then arises as to how much relationship of language also means relationship of race. This is a question which can probably never be fully answered. A systematic and comprehensive series of anthropological measurements of the different tribes might go far towards settling it. In the absence of evidence of this sort we can only judge by general physical resemblances and by such scraps of historical evidence as are available.

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All the evidence of history and tradition seems to point to the speakers of Mon-Khmer languages being the earliest established of the present inhabitants of southern Yün-nan and of Indo-China. When then we find tribes speaking languages of this family, it is a fair inference that they are connected by race with each other and that they have not been mixed to any great extent with the Shan, the Tibeto-Burman, and the Chinese races who have come into the country after them.

It is not, however, probable that the Mon-Khmer speaking race found the country uninhabited when they came into it, and there are many traces of the presence of a smaller and darker race in Indo-China. With this race the intruding Mon-Khmer tribes have no doubt mixed. If it is correct to suppose that the Miao and Yao speak languages of the Mon-Khmer family it may perhaps be inferred that these tribes are the original type of the Mon-Khmer race, and that the Was, K'a-mus and other tribes have got their darker and broader faces, and their smaller stature from admixture with some other race whom they found in southern Yün-nan and Indo-China.

If in the course of their migrations the Mon-Khmer speaking peoples have absorbed other races, it is also probable that they themselves have in some places been absorbed by later conquerors. To take for instance the Lo-los. This race where found in their original home in the mountains of western Ssû-ch'uan are a very tall, comparatively fair race, often with straight features. This type is sometimes seen even in the south of Yün-nan, but on the whole there is certainly a tendency to develop a darker, smaller type of man in the more southern of the Lo-lo speaking tribes. This is specially the case among the tribes whom I have classed together as Wo-nis, and there are some of these who are extremely small men. It seems therefore probable that the Lo-los in their migration southwards have mixed with Mon-Khmer tribes and even perhaps with other shorter and darker races, and that this mixture has produced the Wo-nis and other Lo-lo speaking tribes of southern Yün-nan. In fact in some cases there may perhaps be little or no admixture of Lo-lo blood, and non-Lo-lo tribes may have had the Lo-lo language imposed on them by a conquering race.

It seems possible in the same way that the La-hus,

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563 a race who speak a Lo-lo dialect, may be a mixture of Lo-lo with the neighbouring Wa race: while the Li-sos
197 are possibly also a hybrid race of Lo-los, though the mixture in this case may perhaps be not with the Mon-Khmer race, but with some Tibeto-Burman tribe such as the Kachins or the Marus.

563 These ideas are only based on probability, and it is much to be wished that anthropological measurements
144 should be taken of different tribes, so as to give credence to or to disprove these theories. The warmer climate of
197 southern Yün-nan, compared to the bleak mountains of western Ssŭ-ch'uan, may no doubt account to some extent for an alteration in the physical appearance of the inhabitants, but it seems doubtful if climate alone could effect such a change. It is impossible to believe that the Independent Lo-los of Ssŭ-ch'uan—a race taller than the people of any European country—can be of the same blood as some of the tribes of the south of Yün-nan. Equally impossible is it to doubt that the *languages* of the Lo-los of the north and the Wo-nis of the south are very closely related to each other.

563 The theory that the southern branches of the Lo-lo speaking tribes are mixed with other races seems the most
144 probable. At the same time another theory is possible. It may be that the more southerly type of Lo-lo is the real Lo-lo stock, and that the northern Lo-los and their neighbours the eastern Tibetans—also a tall, fair-skinned race—may have a large admixture of some Aryan or other foreign blood.

In the numerous migrations that have taken place in Asia, there seems nothing impossible in such a supposition. Some colour is given to this theory by the fact that of the Tibeto-Burman races only the eastern Tibetans and northern Lo-los have this very tall stature and comparatively fair or red complexion. The Burmese, the Chins, and the Kachins have all the more Mongolian features of the southern Lo-lo speaking races.

Perhaps it may be that both these theories are true. The northern Lo-los may have a mixture of Aryan blood and the southern Lo-lo-speaking races a mixture of Mon-Khmer blood.

To come now to the Shan race. The Shans in Yün-

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nan, as in the Shan States, live almost exclusively in the river valleys. Doubtless when they arrived in the country they now occupy, they found tribes of Mon-Khmer stock in possession. The majority of these were driven into the hills where they still live, but probably some were absorbed by the conquering Shans. 563 144

Also in modern times some of the Las, K'a-mus and other hill tribes have become Buddhists, and have to some extent taken to Shan customs and the Shan language. Intermarriages sometimes take place between the Shans and these Buddhist hill tribes.

On the whole, however, I think that the Shans have probably mixed less with other tribes than may have been the case with the Lo-los. Living as they do in the valleys, with an established Buddhist religion, a more or less settled government, and a comparatively high civilisation, the Shans are somewhat sharply distinguished from their neighbours. Probably then in most cases people who speak the Shan language have also a racial connection with each other.

With the Chinese the case is very different. The first connection of the Chinese with Yün-nan took place 2000 years ago, and no doubt Chinese influence has been more or less felt in that province ever since. 563 177

The migrations of Chinese into the province have sometimes taken the form of conquering armies, of military colonies, or of bands of immigrants sent by the Chinese Government from other parts of the empire. In other cases families or even individuals have come and settled among the non-Chinese tribes as traders or farmers. In all these cases the Chinese immigrants have doubtless intermarried with the original inhabitants, and a race of mixed blood, but of Chinese speech and customs, has thus grown up. After some generations this mixed race would always call themselves Chinamen, and would indignantly scout the idea of a descent from other tribes.

Besides this, as the influence and civilisation of the Chinese have spread, the neighbouring tribes have found it convenient to learn to speak the Chinese language, and to adopt to some extent Chinese customs. A time eventually comes when some of them begin to despise their own

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language, customs, and dress, and to take a pride in adopting Chinese ways. When this idea once gets hold of them, the time is not far distant when they will call themselves Chinamen. A race of Chinese thus grows up who have really no Chinese blood in them.

This process can still be seen going on in western China. One comes across tribes in all states of transformation. The Tibetans and Independent Lo-los of western Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Li-sos of the upper Salween valley, the head-hunting Was, and many of the Miao still stick to their own customs entirely, the men still wearing their own dress, or *undress* as it might in some cases be more correctly called.

The great majority, however, of the *men* of the tribes of western China have so far come under the influence of the Chinese as to adopt their dress. With the *women* the case is different, and the women's dress usually forms the distinctive mark by which tribes can be told apart.

After the adoption of Chinese dress by the men, their next step is the learning of the Chinese language. After a few more generations perhaps even the women will learn to speak Chinese, and gradually their own language drops out of use. This stage once reached, it does not take long for the tribe to become thoroughly Chinese in their ways, and when the women take to Chinese dress and to binding their feet, the transformation is complete. In a generation or two they will consider themselves pure Chinamen, and will be much offended if anyone suggests the contrary.

I have watched this process going on with Lo-los, Shans, Las, and P'u-mans, and no doubt it has taken place with nearly every tribe of western China. The Chinese of this part of the empire must therefore be considered a very mixed race, and the use of the Chinese language can by no means be considered as proof of identity of race with other Chinamen.

This process of absorption of other races by the Chinese has undoubtedly been going on all over China ever since the Chinese entered the country. Whatever the pure Chinamen may have been five thousand years ago, it seems historically certain that the Chinaman of the present

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day has grown up out of the gradual welding into one empire of Tartar tribes from the north, and of Mon-Khmer, Shan, and possibly to some extent Tibeto-Burman races who were originally in occupation of much of the country which has grown into China. 563 177

The great diversity of feature and of stature to be found among Chinamen from different parts of the empire is no doubt to be accounted for by original difference of race. At the present day everyone who speaks Chinese in his own house must be accepted as a Chinaman. The Chinese of Yün-nan are not therefore necessarily less pure Chinamen than their compatriots of other provinces, the difference being only that their absorption into the Chinese race has taken place at a later date than that of the inhabitants of most other parts of the empire.

(f) Description of the tribes of Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

The following notes on the tribes of western China are necessarily very incomplete. My journeys were not made with the object of collecting ethnological information, so that I could only give to this subject my spare moments. I have not as a rule attempted to give much detail about the customs and beliefs of these tribes, as it is difficult to get information of this sort of sufficient accuracy to be of value. Unless one has ample time to get to know the people thoroughly, and has opportunities of checking what one is told by further enquiries in different places, one may often get hold of inaccurate and misleading ideas. 563

I have therefore confined my enquiries chiefly to gaining some knowledge of the character of the language of the tribe and of its present geographical distribution. I have also noted some details of their dress and appearance, and other peculiarities which are apparent on the outside. More intimate details as to their habits and customs I have left to future observers, who may have better opportunities and more leisure to give to this subject the attention it deserves.

I take the tribes in the order in which they are given on page 337.

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Miaos near the Burmese frontier

Photos by Major G. W. Johnson

Miaos near the Burmese frontier

Plate LXVI

[Face p. 390]

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Miao or Mhong.

563 The *Miao* or *Miao-tzŭ*, as they are called by the Chinese, give themselves the name of *Mhong*. The Shans, 101 following the Chinese, call them *Meow* or *Hka*[1]*-meow*, and in some districts also speak of them as *Che-hpök*, *white Chinamen*, from their white clothes.

The real home of the Miao is in Kuei-chou province, and they probably also extend into Hu-nan. In fact many of the Chinese of these two provinces have doubtless much Miao blood in their veins.

In Yün-nan and western Ssŭ-ch'uan they are comparatively recent arrivals, and many of them only left their original homes in Kuei-chou three or four generations ago. They are certainly not numerous in either of these provinces, and there are very large tracts of country in which there are no Miao inhabitants, while in the districts where they exist, it is always in small communities that one finds them.

131 In Yün-nan they[1] are to be found, I believe, only in the southern part of the province, and they have extended into Tong-kng and also into the Shan State of Keng Tung (lat. 21° 15′, long. 99° 35′). The most westerly point that I have come across them is the neighbourhood of Taw-nio (lat. 23° 40′, long. 98° 45′). Through central and northern Yün-nan they do not seem to exist, but they reappear again to the north of this in western Ssŭ-ch'uan, where there are a few villages in the basin of the Ya-lung River (lat. 28° 15′, long. 101° 40′).

291 In dress the distinguishing mark of the Miao is the white kilt of their women. This garment reaches down to the knee and is pleated round the waist. I have also seen white jackets worn by both men and women, but dark blue jackets are perhaps commoner, and the men have adopted the short dark blue trousers of the Yün-nan Chinaman. Both sexes usually wear dark blue turbans, and the women often ornament their ears with large silver 411 rings. The men carry crossbows, with which they shoot poisoned arrows[2].

[1] *Hka* means "slave" in Shan and is often contemptuously added on to the names of hill tribes.

[2] See Plate LIII, facing p. 232.

[1] [i.e, the Miao--Analyst]

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142 The Miao are a race of medium height, with far more regular features than the Chinese. Many of their women would be considered handsome in any country in Europe. Their complexion is fair compared to most Chinese, and they often have red cheeks.

181 In Kuei-chou the Miao are said to have a great reputation as warriors, but in Yün-nan they are so scattered that they are always surrounded by more powerful neighbours and are not able to assert themselves. They are consequently somewhat shy and timid, and live usually in out-of-the-way places on the tops of the ranges. One very seldom comes across their villages anywhere near a frequented road.

I have found them an extremely pleasant people, quite ready to enter into conversation when they are satisfied that one is not a Chinese official.

Yao.

131 The headquarters of the Yao tribe is in the province of Kuang-hsi, and they probably also inhabit the neighbouring provinces of Kuei-chou, Hu-nan, and Kuang-tung. In Yün-nan they are, comparatively speaking, new-comers, and they are only to be found in the south-eastern and southern parts of that province. They have now spread in considerable numbers over the hilly parts of Tong-king, where they are known as *Man*, and a few are to be found in the Shan State of Keng Tung near the west bank of the Mekong. The Yaos seem to live entirely in the hills, but they are much more civilized and intelligent than some of their neighbours, and take a pride in being able to read a little Chinese.

I have not myself come across them in China, but have seen something of them in the state of Möng Hsing (lat. 21° 10′, long. 101° 10′) which now forms part of French Laos. Here they were of the tribe of Yaos called *Lan-ten*, and it was by this name that they were spoken of by the Shans.

[142] 291 In appearance they have a distinctly Chinese cast of countenance. The dress of the Lan-tens, both men and women, is dark blue. The women wear trousers and a long coat which has tails reaching down to the knee both in

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291 front and behind, but is slit up on each side. Under this another short coat is worn. The men wear short coats and trousers and blue turbans put on in a round shape.

411 The Lan-tens work in iron to some extent, and are able to make their own rough guns and swords. The guns
325 have short curved stocks like those of the Kachins. Their houses are made of wood, and the boards or split bamboos of which they are constructed are usually placed vertically.

Min-chia or Pe-tsö.

101 This tribe call themselves *Pe-tsö*, and are usually called *Min-chia* by the Chinese, but in the dialect of the T'éng-yüeh district they are often called *Min-ch'iang*.

197 In some parts of the upper Mekong valley they appear to be called *Lama-jên*. At least Prince Henri d'Orléans describes the Lama-jên as speaking a language closely connected with Min-chia, and mentions that they call themselves *Petseu*, which looks like a misprint for *Petseu*, or as I have transliterated it *Pe-tsö*. In another place Prince Henri describes the Lama-jên as a mixture of Min-chia and Chinese. Their language is at all events a dialect of Min-chia, and I think one is entitled to consider them as a tribe of that race[1].

131 The headquarters of the Min-chia race are the plain of Ta-li Fu (lat. 25° 40′, long. 100° 10′) and the country to the north of this nearly up to Li-chiang Fu. Eastward they are found in the Chao Chou plain, but not to the east of this, and southward they do not extend below the plain of Ta-li Fu. Westward the Mekong River may be taken as their boundary line. In the Yün-lung Chou district they are very numerous, and a few of them extend up the Mekong valley to the north of the latitude of Wei-hsi T'ing. They thus all live within a comparatively small area, and are not scattered all over western China like the Miaos and Lo-los.

177 I have myself only come across the Min-chia in the plains of Ta-li Fu and Chao Chou. Here they have come very much under Chinese influence, and have taken to

[1] See *Du Tonkin aux Indes*, French edition, pp. 161, 163, 357, 362.

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Chinese dress, except that their women do not as a rule bind their feet. Most of them can speak Chinese, but they still keep up their own language and usually talk Chinese with a foreign accent. Some of them, however, have studied the Chinese classics and have even taken their degree in the official examinations. 177

The Min-chia are an enterprising people and travel far in search of work, even finding their way to Burma in the cold season. They are very good as coolies, and can carry very heavy weights on their backs. 143

THE WA, LA, AND TAI LOI TRIBES.

The names *Wa*, *La*, and *Tai Loi* are really only the Shan names for tribes which are doubtless originally from one stock, but are now somewhat widely separated in customs and degree of civilisation. To the head-hunters and to other tribes which are still very uncivilised and are unpleasant neighbours they give the name of *Wa*. The civilised and friendly though non-Buddhist tribes they call *La*. And to those tribes who, though still living in the hills, have become Buddhists, they apply the name *Tai Loi*, i.e. *Hill Shans*. 101

It is not to be supposed that these tribes necessarily call themselves by these names, but those who have come in contact with the Shans will to some extent accept them, though in their own language they may have different names for themselves and may have a much more minute system of tribal sub-division. These Shan names, however, may serve as a useful means of distinguishing the different stages of civilisation of this race. But the definitions given above must not be taken as being absolutely rigid, for I have known quite civilised villages described as Wa, while the very rough inhabitants of Méng-hung (lat. 24°, long. 99° 15') are called Las.

In fact I have sometimes felt doubtful whether the distinction between La and Wa does not also depend to some extent on geographical position, for there is certainly a point, about lat. 23°, to the north of which they are called Las, and to the south of which, Was.

The real genuine wild Was occupy a very small piece 131

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131 of country between lat. 22° and 23°, extending westwards to the Salween and eastwards not much beyond the watershed of the Salween and the Mekong, a range which here forms the Chinese frontier. The greater part of them therefore live within Burmese territory.

North of the Wa country, their kinsmen the Las form the bulk of the hill population of the Chinese Shan States of Kêng-ma and Chên-k'ang, extending up to about lat. 24°. A few stragglers are even found north of this in the Shweli valley.

Southwards the Wa race extends through Keng Tung, where many of them have become Buddhists, and are therefore called Tai Loi by the Shans.

142 Physically the Las and Was are short and broad, and are decidedly darker and uglier than the other races of Yün-nan or the Shan States. On the whole they are not so pleasant and friendly as most other tribes, and are apt to look on a stranger as an enemy.

361 [342] The Was and Las build their houses of wood, and very often choose the top of a range or of a spur for the site of their villages. One characteristic of the race is to build very large villages, much larger than those of any other hill tribe. Villages of 100 houses are common, and I have come across at least one village of more than 400 houses. Among the head-hunters this is perhaps only a natural precaution, and the more civilised Las and Tai Loi have probably preserved this tradition of building large villages from the time that they themselves were as uncivilised as their neighbours.

114 I have not myself been through the country of the head-hunters, but an excellent description of this branch of the race will be found in the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, from the pen of Sir J. G. Scott[1].

291 The Las and Tai Loi I have come across chiefly in the Chinese Shan States of Kêng-ma and Chên-k'ang. Here the men dress in the universal dark blue of the Chinaman, but the women have a distinctive costume. They wear dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red, and with shell ornaments hanging down in front. Their skirts are

[1] *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, Part I. Vol. I. pp. 493—519.

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usually striped with red, blue, or yellow. Round their necks they wear very large plain silver rings. 291

The Tai Loi, who as stated above are distinguished from the Las by being Buddhists, have taken very much to Shan customs, and to some extent even talk the Shan language among themselves. If asked to what tribe they belong, they will usually say simply *Tai*, i.e. *Shans*, omitting the distinction of *Tai Loi*, i.e. *Hill Shans*, and will often deny the La origin, which is very plainly written on their features. 101 177

P'u-man.

P'u-man is the Chinese name for this tribe, and I think the Shans also call them so. In fact the word looks as if it might be of Shan origin. This name the P'u-mans will often accept as applied to themselves, but in at least one district I found they called themselves *Wa-la*. This latter name seems to support the evidence of their language that they are of the same stock as the Wa and La tribes. 101

The P'u-mans are only found in the south and south-eastern parts of Yün-nan, and as far as my experience goes they are much split up into small and scattered communities. This will probably account for the fact that they have in many places lost their own language and use the speech of their Chinese, Shan, or Wa neighbours. I was, however, lucky enough to find one district where they had a language of their own.

I have come across the P'u-man tribe about 30 miles N.E. of Yün Chou in the Mekong valley (about lat. 24° 45′, long. 100° 25′), but do not remember hearing of them anywhere north of this. The most westerly point at which I have seen them is near Kêng-ma (lat. 23° 30′, long. 99° 30′). East of this they are scattered over a good deal of the southern part of Yün-nan, and I have heard the natives of the Red River on the Tong-king border described as P'u-man, though they here speak a Shan dialect. 131

I am not aware that the P'u-mans have any distinctive dress. I have found them wearing much the same clothes as their neighbours, Chinese or Shan as the case may be. 291

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PALAUNG.

101 *Palaung* is the Burmese name for this tribe, and as they have become well known by this name it seems best to stick to it. They call themselves *Ru-mai*. The Shans usually speak of them as *Kon-loi*, i.e. *hill-men*, but they occasionally call them *Palawng*. The Chinese name for them is *Pêng-lung*, or more nearly *Pōng-lōng*, according to the Yün-nanese pronunciation.

131 The headquarters of the race is the state of Taung-baing, or Tawn-peng, often called Ch'a-shan or Tea Hills by the Chinese. The capital of this state is about lat. 23°, long. 97° 10′, and here there is a Palaung chief who rules the state. From here they have spread over a great deal of the northern part of the Shan States, and have extended northwards into the Chinese Shan States. The very large majority of this people live in Burmese territory, and in China they are never found any great distance from the Burmese-border. Northwards I do not think there are any Palaungs north of lat. 25°, and eastwards there are very few east of long. 99°.

771 361 The Palaungs are a quiet peaceable race, who have all adopted Buddhism and are in fact more fervent Buddhists than their Shan neighbours. They live in the hills, but in Nam-hkam and other places I have found their villages among the low grassy spurs just where the hills run down [342] into the rice plain. Their houses are built of wood raised on piles, and are usually of a more or less oval shape.

291 The men have adopted the dress of the Shans, wearing according to their locality the dress of the northern or the southern Shans. The women wear a blue jacket and skirt, not unlike that of the Kachins, and where they live among Kachins they also wear bands of cane round the waist. The turban, however, is different from that of the Kachin women, and does not stick up so high. They almost invariably wear blue gaiters, and their general appearance is far more tidy than that of the Kachin women.

177 In degree of civilisation the Palaungs differ somewhat. Those who live in Taung-baing consider themselves superior to others who live elsewhere, and here their state of civilisation is ~~scarcely~~ inferior to that of the Shans. They

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They[1] have no written character of their own, but many of them 177 read and write Shan. 212

Further north, in some parts of the Kachin Hills, one often finds Kachins and Palaungs living together in the same village. Here the state of civilisation is not so high and approximates more to that of the Kachins, but the Palaungs even here do not seem to have adopted the somewhat quarrelsome and truculent character of their Kachin neighbours. They remain for the most part a quiet peaceable race.

Shan or Tai[1].

The name which the Shan race give to themselves is 101 *Tai*, or *T'ai* as it is pronounced in Siam. This name seems very universal, and is used by nearly all the branches of the race. Our word *Shan* is the Burmese name for them, and variations of this name are applied to them by many other tribes: for instance, the Kachins, A-ch'angs, Zis, and La-shis, call them *Sam*, the Ma-ru name for them is *Sen*, the Palaung name *Tsem*, the Wa name *Shem*, and the Talains call them *Sem*. The origin of these names I have never heard explained.

The Shans of Yün-nan are called *Pai-yi* by the Chinese. *White barbarians* is Baber's explanation of the name, but this hardly seems probable. The character used by the Chinese for *pai* is not that which means *white*. If they did use the character for *white*, they would in Yün-nan pronounce it *peh*, not *pai*. Perhaps *pai* is merely a corruption of the Shan name *tai*.

The Shans are an extremely numerous and widely 131 spread race. To the west they extend into Assam. In fact, in the 13th century A.D. they conquered that country, but have to a great extent become merged in the Hindoo population, though there are still some communities of them who speak the Shan language. In Kam-ti at the source of the western branch of the Irrawaddy is another isolated group of the Shan race, and there are also Shans on the upper course of the Chindwin River.

Coming further east, the plains of Burma, north of

[1] See also Plates III and XXIV, facing pp. 20 and 100.

1 [the Palaung -- Analyst]

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A Chinese Shan market (Mêng-sa)

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Kam-ti Shans from the source of the Western Irrawaddy

Plate LXVII

[Face p. 378]

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131 about lat. 23°, are chiefly inhabited by men of Shan race, who in some districts are being gradually Burmanised and are taking to talking the Burmese language. Further east still are the Shan States, where the ruling population is Shan, and from here they have spread southwards into Siam, for the Siamese are merely a southern offshoot of the Shans, and the name *Siam* is probably a variation of the name given to them by the Burmese and other races.

Northwards the Shans do not in Yün-nan now spread very far, and there are no great number of them north of lat. 25°. Still they do exist north of this line, for they are to be found on the Yangtze and its tributaries in the part of that river which forms the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssū-ch'uan. I have also come across a few of this race further north than this, near Pê-tiao on the Ya-lung River, about lat. 28° 5′, long. 101° 30′.

In the east there can be no doubt that considerable numbers of Shans are to be found in the provinces of Kuei-chou, Kuang-hsi, and Kuang-tung. In fact in some parts of Kuang-hsi they probably form the greater part of the population. Exactly how far east the Shan race now extends is a question that there is not information enough to decide. It is probable that they at one time inhabited a great part of China south of the Yangtze, but many of
144 them have now been absorbed by the Chinese. The physical resemblance between the Shan and the Cantonese Chinaman is remarkable, and it seems likely that the latter is chiefly Shan in blood, though now pretty thoroughly imbued with Chinese customs and ways of thought.

Whether the Shans ever extended over the provinces of China which lie north of the Yangtze is a question that can probably never be settled. Professor Terrien de Lacouperie is of opinion that the Shan race was formed in the mountains between Ssū-ch'uan and Shen-hsi out of a mixture of some northern tribe akin to the Chinese with a race of Mon-Khmer stock. This may be so, but M. de Lacouperie does not appear to give any reasons for this opinion.

166 To come back to Yün-nan, there can be no doubt that those Shans who have not been absorbed by the Chinese, have been gradually driven southwards since the conquest

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166 of Yün-nan by the Mongol emperors of China in the 13th century A.D.

103 Ta-li Fu is known to have been the capital of the Shan empire which the Chinese call Nan-chao. The name *Ta-li* is probably of Shan origin, for the word in Shan could bear the meaning of *good ferry*, a very suitable name for a place situated at a ferry over the lake. *Mêng-hua* also has a distinctly Shan sound, and *Yung-ch'ang* is merely a corruption of *Wan-s'ang*, the name by which this place is still known to the Shans. The names of many other places have been altered out of recognition, for Möng K'öng has become Shun-ning; Möng Yü, Yün Chou; and Möng P'ö, P'u-êrh. These are all places which were once inhabited by Shans, but which now have become absolutely Chinese.

361 101 Probably the only reason why the Shans have been allowed to retain possession of any of the fertile valleys of Yün-nan is that the lower-lying places are feverish, and the Chinese find them too unhealthy to live in. The dividing line between Chinese and Shans comes at about 4000 feet. Above this height the valleys are healthy, and the Chinese have consequently settled there in sufficient numbers to absorb or drive out the Shans.

361 177 In some of these high-lying valleys the process is not yet complete. For instance, in Mien-ning T'ing (lat. 23° 50′, long. 100°), which is at a height of nearly 5000 feet, there are still many Shans living, the Shan women still retain their national dress, and there are still Shan Buddhist monasteries. But the Chinese, finding the place healthy, are now settling there in increasing numbers, and Chinese customs and language are making great headway. In 1895, when I visited the monastery there, I noticed that the Shan priest addressed the Shan boys in Chinese, and was himself a confirmed opium-smoker!

Again in places like Ssŭ-mao T'ing (lat. 22° 50′, long. 101°), at a height of 4,700 feet, and Mêng-ma (lat. 24° 10′, long. 100° 15′), at a height of 5,200 feet, though Chinese influence has now thoroughly asserted itself, there is still a small colony of Shans, destined no doubt to disappear in another generation or two.

Also in plains which are at a height of just about

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Photo by Captain W. A. Wells-Jones

Shan village on the Nam Ting

Plate LXVIII

[Face p. 380]

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361 4000 feet, such as Nan-tien (lat. 24° 50′, long. 98° 15′), there
177 is often a mixture of Chinese and Shans.

Below 4000 feet the valleys are almost entirely given up to the latter race. Here one often finds a very civilised community of Shans occupying the valleys, while any Chinamen who may live in the district lead an uncivilised existence on the hill-tops.

631 Politically the Shans, where they are numerous enough to have a chief of their own, live in a state of semi-independence. The chief is always subordinate to the Chinese district official, but the latter very often does not interfere much in their affairs.

142 The Shans are a short, well made people, with very distinct Mongolian features, and a yellow complexion, as fair or sometimes fairer than the Chinese. The young people of both sexes often have red cheeks.

181 They are a pleasant, amiable people, very easy to get on with as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. For on the whole they are a lazy race, though one finds among them some very energetic people. The Chinese Shans are generally harder working than the inhabitants of the Shan States, probably owing to the example of and competition with the Chinese.

438 In the Shan States most of the trade is carried on by
483 means of pack bullocks, and among the Chinese Shans these are sometimes used, though they also follow the Chinese custom of using mules and ponies. The Chinese Shans seem to be poorer than the Shan States Shans, and do not trade on the large scale of the latter. Probably the competition of the Chinese traders is too severe for them.

241 The Chinese Shans chiefly confine themselves to the
233 growing of rice and other crops, but they also keep pigs,
463 geese, ducks, and chickens in considerable quantities. Some of them are fairly good workmen as builders, carpenters, and blacksmiths.

101 Of the Shans of Yün-nan, the large majority belong to the division of that race which in the Shan States they call *Tai Che* (*Tai Hke*) or *Chinese Shans*. The Chinese Shans do not, however, generally use this name, but call themselves *Tai Nö* or *Northern Shans*, while they style the inhabitants of the Shan States not *Tai Long*, *Great*

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101 *Shans*, as these latter would call themselves, but *Tai Taü*, *Southern Shans*.

131 A few Tai Taü do exist in Yün-nan close to the Burmese border in Méng-ting (lat. 23° 30′, long. 99° 10′). And the Shan State of Méng Lien or Möng Lem (lat. 22° 20′, long. 99° 35′) is inhabited by Tai Lem, another small division of the race.

The most important branch of Shans, however, next to the Tai Nö are the *Lü*, who form the bulk of the population in the state of Keng Hung (lat. 22°, long. 100° 50′) and the neighbouring parts of southern Yün-nan. They are called *Shui Pai-yi*, *Water Shans*, by the Chinese. In the extreme south-east of Yün-nan there are other branches of the Shan race, called *Lung-jên*, *Sha-jên*, and other names by the Chinese.

114 The history of the Shan race, and an account of the manners and customs of the Shans of the Shan States are given very fully in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part I. Vol. 1. I shall therefore confine myself here to a few notes on the Shans of Yün-nan.

291 The dress of the Chinese Shan men consists always of the dark blue jacket and short trousers of the poorer Chinaman of Yün-nan. The women's dress, however, varies in different localities.

West of the Salween, the women are conspicuous by the size of their turbans, which appear to be nearly a foot high and get broader at the top. Jacket, skirt, and turban are all of the same dark blue colour.

East of the Salween, between that river and the Mekong, the women's turban is different. It is about the same size as that worn west of the river, but is put on in a different way, in a low oval shape, with the ends of the oval sticking out at each side.

197 Other differences are also noticeable between the Shans west of the Salween and those east of it. The dialect spoken in the west is very harsh and guttural, while that of the east approximates to the language of the southern Shans[1].

346 In the construction of their monasteries too they differ.

[1] See p. 347.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Northern Shan girl east of the Salween

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Southern Shan from Theinni

Plate LXIX

[Face p.382]

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346 In the west the *kyawng*, as it is called, is built of wood in the ordinary Burmese fashion, and is raised on piles, the priests living in the same building that they pray in. East of the Salween, the main part of the monastery, or *wat* as it is here called, is a large and sometimes handsome one-storied building, usually of brick, which contains images of Buddha, and is used only for devotional purposes. No one sleeps inside it, but there is often a sort of verandah in front of the main door where travellers can sleep. The priests live in small houses round the courtyard in which the main building is situated.

This latter style of monastery is exactly what one finds in northern Siam, and leads to the inference that the Shans west of the Salween received their Buddhism from Burma, and those east of the Salween from Siam.

291 East of the Mekong the same type of monastery prevails, but the dialect again changes, and the women's dress is different. Here the turban though still dark blue is much smaller and is put on in a round shape. The jacket, sometimes dark blue and sometimes light blue, is folded back across the front like a waistcoat and is tucked inside the skirt, the latter being fastened round the waist with a strip of cloth which is often red. The colour of the skirt is sometimes dark blue, but is more often of a general greenish grey colour. Large silver rings are worn in the ears.

Further east still, among the Shans of the Red River another new dress is met with. Here the women wear red bands round their waists and red cuffs to their jackets. Both jacket and skirt are much ornamented round the edges with red, and sometimes with white and yellow. A very short jacket is often worn over the other jacket—also much ornamented.

The dress of the Lü or Shui Pai-yi differs considerably from that of the Chinese Shans. The men wear blue clothes, but the bottom of the legs of their trousers and the sleeves of their jackets are ornamented with stripes of some lighter colour, and on their heads they usually wear yellow silk turbans. The Lü women wear light blue or dark blue jackets, and skirts striped horizontally with various colours, generally green or light blue at the bottom.

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291 Their turbans are dark blue with a gold fringe, and a silver ornament is often worn in the hair-knot.

Some description is also necessary of the dress of the southern Shans, for there are a few in Yün-nan. Here the men's dress is perhaps the most distinctive of the two. It consists of a very large turban put on crooked, generally white, and often surmounted by a big straw hat, a white jacket, and an enormously wide baggy pair of trousers, usually white or black. They bore their ears and stuff great pieces of folded paper into the hole, usually on one side only. The Chinese Shan men on the contrary, if they bore their ears at all, wear quite small earrings in both ears. The southern Shan women usually wear the white jacket and striped skirt of the Burmese.

212 771 The written character of the Chinese Shans appears to be the same everywhere, and does not differ widely from the alphabet used in the Shan States. The Chinese Shans, however, have two distinct forms of writing, one the alphabet used for all ordinary purposes, the other used exclusively for religious writings. The latter contains such letters as *d* and *g*, which do not occur in spoken Shan, and is really only a slightly modified form of the Burmese letters.

The Lü writing differs from that of the Chinese Shans and is very like that of the Laos of north Siam. It is fully described in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*.

It is a mistake to suppose, as has sometimes been stated, that *all* Shans have a written character and are Buddhists[1] by religion. This would be true if the name *Shan* were only applied to the inhabitants of the Shan States, but it is certainly not true of the whole Tai race. The fact seems to be that only those Shans who have come to some extent under Burmese and Siamese influence have either the Buddhist religion or a system of writing.

In Yün-nan the Shans are Buddhist at Wei-yüan T'ing (lat. 23° 30′, long. 100° 45′), but east of this at Mo-sha on the Red River, they have no knowledge of Buddhism or of writing. I doubt whether in the south-east of Yün-nan or in any of the provinces further eastward, there are

[1] I allude to the Burmese and Siamese forms of Buddhism, not to the corrupted form of that religion practised by the Chinese.

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212 any Shans who profess Burmese Buddhism or who have
771 a written character.

To the north also among the scattered Shans of the Upper Yangtze there is no sign either of Buddhism or of books. The two things would naturally go together, for Buddhism of the Burmese or Siamese type could hardly be carried on without a knowledge of how to read the religious books.

CHINESE[1]

177 Some remarks on the origin of the greater part of the Chinese of Yün-nan have already been made (pp. 367, 368). From this it will be clear that many of the Chinese are much mixed in race, and this fact, in Yün-nan as in other parts of the empire, no doubt accounts for peculiar local customs, which may exist. On the whole, however, the absorption of other races by the Chinese is a very thorough process, and the Chinese of Yün-nan conform to the customs of the rest of China.

TIBETAN.

101 The Tibetans call themselves *Pê*, or, as the sound might be better transliterated, *Pö*. The most correct Chinese name for this race is *Ts'ang-jên*, for *Ts'ang* or *Hsi-ts'ang* is the Chinese for Tibet. In western China, however, the Tibetans are more usually known by other names. In Ssŭ-ch'uan they call them *Man-tzŭ*, or more politely *Man-chia*, names which are also applied to the Lo-los in that province. In Yün-nan the most common name for a Tibetan is *Ku-tsung*.

131 The Tibetans inhabit only the extreme north-west corner of Yün-nan, the districts in fact of Chung-tien and A-tun-tzŭ. In Ssŭ-ch'uan they extend as far east as the

[1] The Chinese of Yün-nan generally call themselves *Han-jên*: it was probably in the Han dynasty that they first entered Yün-nan. The Li-sos call them *Hö*, the Min-chias, Ma-rus, and some of the Lo-los call them *Ha*, while the Wa name for them is *Haw*: these are probably all corruptions of *Han*. The Shans call them *Ch'e*, written *K'e*, and probably the same word as the Chinese *K'ê*, a guest or stranger, which may have been applied to the first immigrants into this part of China.

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Ya-lung River, and perhaps a little further. In both 131
provinces there is also, besides the real Tibetan country, a considerable stretch inhabited by the semi-Tibetan Hsi-fan and Mo-so. It is in fact difficult to say in some cases what the difference is between a Hsi-fan and a Tibetan. I have gone on the principle of calling Tibetan any people who speak a dialect of the language of Lhasa, and call themselves Pê or Pö.

The eastern Tibetan is a man of great stature and 142
physical strength, with a brick-red complexion and often very straight features, suggesting a mixture of some other blood than pure Mongolian[1].

They wear the long Tibetan coat tied in round the waist, 291
so that the breast of the coat acts as a pocket for carrying about food, basins, pipe, snuff-box, and a variety of other miscellaneous articles. Hanging down in front the Tibetan usually has some metal charms to protect him against bullets and other ills. On his head he wears a soft felt hat or sometimes a turban, and on his legs long felt boots reaching to the knee and soled with leather.

The women's dress varies considerably in different 301
places, but having failed to take any notes I cannot de- 302
scribe it from memory. Turquoise ornaments worn in the hair are a conspicuous feature. The method of doing the hair varies much in different places. In Chung-tien I have seen women with their hair plaited into several pig-tails: in other places they do their hair up. The Lhasa practice of smearing grease over their faces is by no means universal. I have seen women thus disfigured in Ba-t'ang, but they may have been Lhasa women.

The Tibetan houses are extremely well and solidly 342
built. They are usually of two or three storeys, the lower storey being of stone and the upper storeys often of mud or solid beams of wood. In many cases the upper storey covers less space than the lower, so that part of the roof of the lower storey forms a sort of verandah or terrace for the room above it. The houses are usually surrounded by a courtyard enclosed by a high wall, with a solidly constructed wooden door in it.

Barley is the chief crop grown by the Tibetans, though 243

[1] For photographs see Plates LV and LIX, facing pp. 246 and 280.

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243 wheat is also cultivated. Their food consists chiefly of *tsamba*, which is barley roasted and then ground into flour. The tsamba is mixed with water or with tea, and butter
252 is often added to it. Buttered tea is in fact one of the necessaries of life to the Tibetan. Except for this he has few luxuries: rice is almost unknown in many places, and sugar very dear and difficult to procure.

186 The characteristic of the Tibetans which chiefly strikes the traveller is their extreme suspiciousness of strangers. This is perhaps natural in a sparsely populated country, with no very settled government. When they are once satisfied that the traveller is not a robber, they usually prove themselves a kindly and hospitable people.

792 The Tibetan form of Buddhism prevails everywhere and both the Old or Red Lama sect and the Reformed or Yellow Lama sect are to be found, the latter predominating. The Lamas are extremely powerful, and as they comprise about half the male population they practically rule the country.

The Lamas do not by any means confine themselves to their religious duties. Many of them work at trades, and some of them appear to only spend part of their time in the monasteries, becoming at other times an ordinary *Black Man*, as the layman is called, and even marrying.

177 One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Tibetans is that they appear to be able to resist the absorbing power of the Chinese. In fact so far from becoming Chinamen, they are apt to turn the Chinaman into a Tibetan. The half-bred Chinese and Tibetan usually grows up in the religion and language of his Tibetan mother.

631 In the government of the country too the Chinese do
622 not seem to get the upper hand. In some districts, such as Chung-tien (lat. 27° 50′, long. 99° 45′), there is a regular Chinese official, of the rank of a *Chih-t'ing*, who has to be content to be an absolute nonentity in the district he is supposed to govern, the real rulers of the land being the Tibetan lamas.

Such a state of things has probably come about from two causes. First of all the Tibetans, having strong religious feelings and a very powerful priesthood, are thus bound together and can offer a much more united front to Chinese

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innovations than the majority of other tribes who are not 631
united by any such tie. Secondly, the very cold and un- 622
pleasant climate of Tibet has prevented the Chinese from coming into the country in large numbers or from bringing their women in, and they are thus never in a majority compared to the Tibetans. In the part of Tibet under Lhasa, Chinese women are not allowed by the Chinese government to enter.

Owing to a Tibetan rebellion at Ba-t'ang (lat. 30° [669]
long. 99°) in 904, in which some Chinese officials and four French missionaries were murdered, the Chinese Government seem to have awaked to the desirability of a firmer rule in that part of Tibet which is directly under Chinese officials. A high Chinese official has now been appointed to govern the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

Hsi-Fan.

Hsi-fan is merely a Chinese name meaning *western* 101
barbarian. It is applied by them to certain tribes which inhabit the borderland between China and Tibet, and may be accepted as a useful designation for these tribes.

Each of these tribes has its own name for itself, though it may turn out on further investigation that many of these names are merely clans of larger tribes. Much information on the Hsi-fan tribes is contained in Rockhill's *Land of the Lama* and in Baber's supplementary paper of the Royal Geographical Society. It cannot, however, be said that we have any very clear or comprehensive account of the tribal distinctions of the Hsi-fans.

Many of them, if not indistinguishable from Tibetans, are at all events completely Tibetan in religion and customs. In Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′), for instance, though they do not speak the same language as the Tibetans of Chung-tien, they are in other respects thoroughly Tibetan and are ruled by a lama king. In other places, for instance, at No-po (lat. 28° 20′, long. 101° 40′), the Hsi-fans are not Buddhists at all but have a religion of their own, which includes, I was assured, the sacrifice of animals. It is, I think, only the most easterly of the Hsi-fans who have escaped conversion to Tibetan Buddhism.

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Mo-sos at Li-chiang Fu

[482]

Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Mo-so women at Li-chiang Fu

Plate LXX

[Face p. 388]

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101 For a thorough understanding of the Hsi-fans we shall have to wait till some competent Tibetan scholar makes a systematic study of the subject on the spot.

142 The Hsi-fans vary no doubt in race, but on the whole they are not so tall as the genuine Tibetan and are darker in complexion. Where not under Tibetan influence they are a pleasant hospitable people to travel among, but those who have become Buddhists are apt to have their full share of Tibetan suspiciousness.

Mo-so.

101 The Mo-so call themselves *Na-shi* or *La-shi*. *Mo-so*
175 is the Chinese name for them and at Li-chiang Fu they
131 appear also to be called *Li-chia*.

They were originally an independent race who ruled a considerable extent of country in north-western Yün-nan. Their ancient capital was at Li-chiang Fu (lat. 26° 50′, long. 100° 10′), and they still form a large part of the population of this district and of the country to the north of it. Westward they extend to Wei-hsi T'ing (lat. 27° 10′, long. 99° 15′), and from here there are Mo-so villages mixed with the Tibetans up the Mekong as far as Ya-k'a-lo.

The Mo-sos are, I believe, all Buddhists of the Tibetan type. I have seen very little of this tribe, except of those who live mixed up with the Tibetans on the upper Mekong. Here they have become thoroughly Tibetan in customs.

Lu-tzŭ.

133 The Lu-tzŭ inhabit the part of the Salween valley
131 between about lat. 27° 30′ and 28° 30′.

Lu-tzŭ is the Chinese name for them, meaning simply *inhabitants of the Lu or Salween River*.

I have not seen this tribe and can give no account of them.

114 Information will be found in the writings of Desgodins and in Prince Henri d'Orléans' *Du Tonkin aux Indes*.

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Lo-lo.

101 The Lo-lo call themselves *Nei-su* or *Lei-su*[1] or *Ngo-su*. Their Chinese name is *Lo-lo* or more politely *Yi-chia*. But in Ssū-ch'uan they are more often called *Man-tzŭ* or *Man-chia*. The Shans call them *Myen*.

131 The real Lo-lo country is the Ta-liang Shan, a range of mountains which lies between the Chien-ch'ang valley and the Yangtze (about lat. 27° to 29°, long. 102° 30′ to 103° 30′). Here they still live under their own chiefs, independent of Chinese rule.

From here they have spread very widely over the neighbouring part of western Ssū-ch'uan, and southwards throughout the province of Yün-nan. They are certainly the most universal and widely-spread tribe of western China. Westward they are found on the Burmese border about lat. 23° 40′ and even just within Burmese territory. Eastwards they extend to the very extreme borders of Yün-nan and even into Kuei-chou province (lat. 27° 20′, long. 105°). Northward in Ssū-ch'uan they reach nearly if not quite to the 30th parallel of latitude. Southwards they have spread into the Ssū-mao district well below lat. 23°. Over a very large part of Yün-nan they form the bulk of the hill population, and they are certainly the most numerous of all the non-Chinese tribes in that province.

142 The Lo-los of Ssū-ch'uan are a very fine tall race, with comparatively fair complexions, and often with straight features, suggesting a mixture of Mongolian with some more straight-featured race[2]. Their appearance marks them as closely connected by race with the eastern Tibetans, the latter being if anything rather the bigger men of the two.

Further south in Yün-nan the pure Lo-lo type has perhaps somewhat deteriorated, but even here one often finds tall and fairly straight-featured people, and they are always a finer race physically than the Li-sos, La-hus, Wo-nis and other Lo-lo-speaking tribes.

291 The characteristic feature of the dress of the northern Lo-los is the felt cloak, which both men and women wear as

[1] In one place where Lo-los and Li-sos lived close together I found the Lo-los drew a sharp distinction between the Lei-su (themselves) and the Li-su (Li-sos).

[2] See also Plates XLIX and LIII, facing pp. 212 and 232.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Wales-Jones

Lo-lo women in Yün-nan

Plate LXXI

[Face p.390]

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291 a protection against the rain and the cold[1]. This is of a grey colour, is fastened round the neck and reaches below the knees.

622 Those Lo-los who live in the Ta-liang Shan are still ruled by their own chiefs and are independent of the Chinese Government. Among the Chinese they have a bad reputation as robbers and slave-raiders, and there can be no doubt that they do make frequent raids on their Chinese neighbours and that they sometimes carry off some of them as slaves. They are also said to be much given to drunkenness, and this is corroborated by the French missionaries of this part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

181 I have not been through any of the independent Lo-lo country, but from what I have seen of the same race of Lo-los on the outskirts of this country they are a very pleasant, hospitable race, and very easy to get on with. This description indeed applies to all the Lo-los I have met with both in Ssŭ-ch'uan and Yün-nan: it is always a pleasure to travel through country inhabited by this race and to put up in their villages.

A French traveller, M. Bonin, has been through some of the independent country and does not seem to have had any difficulty. Doubtless there are rough customers among the Lo-los who would think their natural enemy, the Chinaman, quite fair game to murder, enslave, or rob, but the European traveller whom they have no reason to dislike could, with proper arrangements with the chiefs, pass through their country with safety.

177 Of the Lo-los of Yün-nan there can be no doubt that many are being graduallly absorbed by the Chinese. I have come across villages in all stages of this process. Some have gone so far as to talk Chinese among themselves and to deny their Lo-lo origin. Still there are large numbers of this race who still retain their language and customs.

101 131 One of the largest of these tribes are the people whom the Chinese call *Mêng-hua Lo-lo* or *Mêng-hua Jên*. As their name indicates, they inhabit the district of Mêng-hua T'ing (lat. 25° 15′, long. 100° 20′); and they form almost the entire population of the hills of these parts. Southwards

[1] Much information about the Ssŭ-ch'uan Lo-los is given by Baber in the supplementary papers of the Royal Geographical Society.

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131
101 this branch of the race extend to the Yang-pi River, and a few scattered villages of them are found much further south.

291 The men here dress in Chinese fashion. The women
177 wear blue trousers with a blue skirt over them, both reaching to the knee: the jacket is of the same colour and has no sleeves. Chinese influence is gradually extending here: the men can all speak Chinese and some can read and write it. In a few more generations the Lo-lo language will very likely die out here.

241 These Mêng-hua Lo-los are a very prosperous race.
233 The hillsides are covered with cultivation, and they own large herds of ponies, mules, buffaloes, cattle, and goats.

Li-so.

101 The name by which these people call themselves is *Li-su*. This the Chinese have corrupted into *Li-so*. The Shan name is *Li-hsaw* which is merely another way of transliterating *Li-so*: the Shans also sometimes call them *Che-li*. The Kachin name for them is *Yaw-yen*.

131 The headquarters of the Li-so race is the basin of the Salween from about lat. 25° 30′ to 27° 30′. Eastwards they spread as far as the right bank of the Mekong and westwards into the basin of the Nmai Hka, the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy. They are also found in fairly large numbers down the China-Burma frontier to below the 25th parallel of latitude. It seems probable that the upper part of the valley of the Shwe-li or Lung Chiang north of T'êng-yüeh (lat. 25°, long. 98° 30′) was once inhabited by Li-sos who have now become Chinamen.

166 The Li-sos seem to be an enterprising race in the way of emigration, for many of them have wandered very far from their original home. They are to be found living in small and scattered communities throughout the part of the Kachin Hills which lies east of the Irrawaddy and throughout the Northern Shan States. They even extend into the Southern Shan State of Keng-tung; and near Möng Long (lat. 20° 55′, long. 101° 45′) in French Laos I have heard of a tribe called Che-di whom I believe to be Li-sos: for one Shan name for them is Che-li, and the *l* of the Shans often turns into *d* among the Laos.

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131 Over the greater part of central and eastern Yün-nan there are no Li-sos, for they are for the most part inhabitants of the western part of the province. A few of them have, however, wandered eastward and I have heard of them among the hills south of San-ying-p'an (lat. 26°, long. 102° 30′). Other travellers have reported their existence near Yung-pei T'ing (lat. 26° 45′, long. 100° 45′).

The real Li-sos in their natural, primitive state are to be found in the valley of the Salween north of lat. 26° 30′. The late Mr Litton of the Chinese Consular Service has travelled through this part of the Salween valley and found them quite uninfluenced by Chinese civilisation and living in a very primitive state of savagery. They do not, however, seem to have resented the intrusion of a European, and Mr Litton had no difficulties with them.

177 South of about lat. 26° 30′ the Li-sos have come more under Chinese influence, and it is noticeable even in the Shan States that the Li-sos are very Chinese in their customs, smoke opium, and keep the Chinese New Year. The men, too, even in places remote from the Chinese frontier, can still usually speak Chinese, and the Li-sos and the hill Chinamen intermarry.

361 Both in the Kachin Hills and in the Shan States the Li-sos live in very out-of-the-way places right on the tops of the ranges, among the dwarf bamboos and the very sources of the hill-streams—ideal spots for a quiet life, where scarcely even a wandering Kachin ever intrudes. Being weak in numbers they probably occupy these sites from necessity, not from choice, having to take what is left by their more powerful neighbours.

Here they are a quiet, pleasant people whom like the Miao one seldom comes across, as they live in such remote places.

La-hu.

101 *La-hu* is the name by which this tribe call themselves. The Chinese name for them is *Lo-hei*. The Shans call them *Mu-hsö* or *Myen Mu-hsö*. The word *Mu-hsö* in Shan means *hunter*.

[197] The language that these people talk is simply a dialect of Lo-lo.

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of Lo-lo, but the La-hus are a smaller race than the genuine Lo-los. As they live in the same part of the country as the Was and Las, it seems quite probable that they may be a half-bred race of Lo-lo and Wa. 101

The greater part of the La-hus live between lat. 22° 30′ and 23° 30′ in a region bounded on the west by the Salween and on the east by the Mekong. A few scattered villages extend to the north of this and there are a few La-hus east of the Mekong, but the greatest extensions have taken place southwards where some of this race have settled in the state of Keng Tung and even in northern Siam, in the neighbourhood of Möng Fang, about lat. 20°. 131

In China the men have taken to Chinese dress. The women still retain their tribal costume. This is a long coat reaching nearly down to the knees, trousers down to just below the knees, and gaiters, the whole very dark blue or black. The turban is also of the same colour, and is put on so as to leave a long piece hanging down behind. 291

The La-hus are a warlike race and have given the Chinese much trouble in conquering them. Some of them have firearms, but the national weapon is the cross-bow which is used with poisoned arrows. The cross-bows are very strong and well made: they cannot be strung without placing both feet on the bow and even then it is a considerable exertion. The arrows are made throughout of hard wood: instead of feathers little bits of leaf are used, and in the poisoned arrows these are coloured brown to distinguish them. In northern Siam where there is a good deal of big game, the La-hus shoot even bison and tigers with their cross-bows: an animal hit anywhere by a poisoned arrow dies within an hour or two. 181 411

Wo-ni.

Wo-ni is a general name given by the Chinese to a large number of tribes who live in southern Yün-nan and speak dialects of the Lo-lo language. It is a convenient term by which to denote those races who, while Lo-lo in language, are inferior to that race in physique and appearance. Among the tribes of this race whom I have come across are the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, Pi-o, Ma-hei, Lo-pi, and A-k'a. 101

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101 There are also K'u-tsung (not to be confused with Ku-tsung, Tibetan), San-su, P'u-la, and others.

The Wo-nis do not extend north of the 24th parallel of latitude and the real home of the tribe seems to be the district of T'a-lang T'ing (lat. 23° 25′, long. 101° 45′). Here they form the bulk of the population. They have migrated southwards in considerable numbers, and the A-k'as, the most southerly branch of the race, form a large part of the population of the hills of Keng Tung.

The three tribes who inhabit T'a-lang T'ing are the Pu-tu, the Pi-o, and the K'a-tu, or K'a-to as it is pro-
[197] nounced in some places. These three tribes speak dialects which are mutually intelligible to the others. The outward
291 sign of the tribe lies as usual in the women's dress. The Pu-tu and Pi-o women wear a coat reaching nearly to the knees and open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. With the Pu-tus this piece of cloth is buttoned on to the coat: with the Pi-os it is a separate piece fastened on underneath the coat. The skirt of both is open in front like the Burmese tamein. The
[302] turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back over the head and hangs down behind. The young unmarried girls, however, wear blue caps and cut their hair to a length of about a foot so that it hangs down over their necks. The coats and skirts of the Pu-tu women are always dark blue: those of the Pi-os are often white. As ornaments large silver earrings are worn.

The K'a-tu women differ from the Pu-tu and Pi-o in wearing trousers instead of skirts and in having a lot of little metal ornaments hanging down from the front of their turbans[1].

The Ma-hei, who call themselves *Pa-hawng*, also live in the T'a-lang district, and I have come across them also near Ssŭ-mao and P'u-êrh. The Ma-hei women's dress is black. They wear short jackets down to the waist, short trousers down to the knee, and, if married, a piece of cloth tied round the waist so as to hang down over the trousers. They wear nothing on their heads, and the hair is plaited
[301] into a pig-tail. They have silver ornaments hanging down from their necks in front of the jacket.

[1] See Plate XLVII, facing p. 204.

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Ma-hei women

Photos by Major G. C. Rigby

A-k'a woman

Plate LXXII [Face P. 395]

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101 The *A-k'as*, or *Kaws* as they are also called, are very numerous in the eastern part of Keng Tung and the adjoining parts of French Laos and southern Yün-nan.

291 The women wear a very short coat not reaching nearly down to the waist, and an equally short skirt which does not reach down to the knees. The head-dress is very peculiar, consisting of two bands of bamboo, one round the head and the other standing up at the back of the head; these two bands are hardly seen, as the whole is covered with dark blue cotton stuff ornamented with bits of silver.

262 A peculiarity of this tribe is that they eat dogs—not a common practice among the tribes of western China.

A-CH'ANG.

101 This tribe call themselves *A-ch'ang*, and the Chinese call them *A-ch'ang* or *Nga-ch'ang*. The Shans often call them *Tai Möng Hsa* or *Tai Hsa*, meaning *Shans of Möng Hsa*, which is the name of the country they live in. The Burmese adopting this name call them *Maing-tha Shan*, *Maing-tha* being merely the Burmese corruption of Möng Hsa.

131 The geographical distribution of the A-ch'angs presents no difficulties, for the whole race lives in one valley 14 miles long and two miles wide, situated about lat. 24° 25′, long. 97° 50′. This is divided into two small states called Ho-hsa (Hu-sa) and La-hsa (La-sa), each ruled by a chief, the whole being usually called Möng Hsa by the Shans.

To such an extent have the A-ch'angs adopted the dress, customs, and Buddhism of the Shans, that they will even sometimes speak of themselves as Shans, though on closer questioning they will admit that they really belong to
197 a distinct race. In feature they differ considerably from the Shans[1], and their language is totally distinct from Shan and
147 very closely connected with the Zi, La-shi, and Ma-ru languages. There are many of the Zi tribe living not far
101 off in the hills, and it seems probable that the A-ch'angs may really be Zis who have settled in a valley and taken to more civilised ways. That they are not Shans seems certain. The chiefs of both Ho-hsa and La-hsa were agreed on this point.

[1] See Plate IV, facing p. 26.

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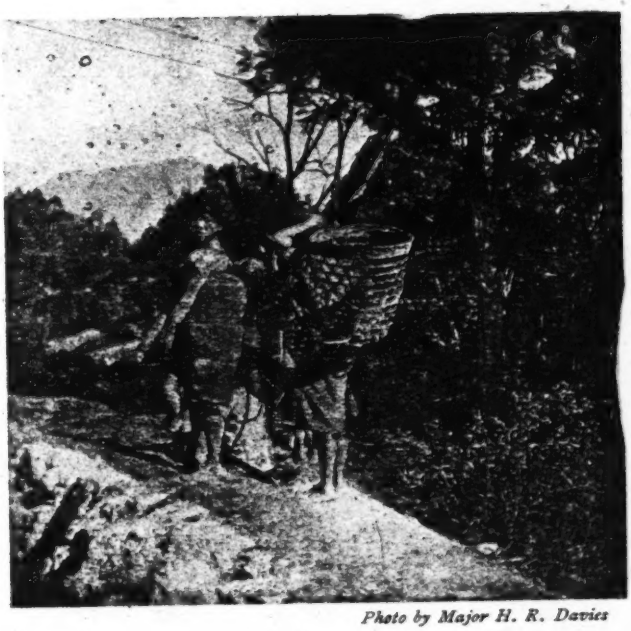

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Kachin women

Plate LXXIII

[Face p. 396]

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361 131 As Möng Hsa is 4,500 feet above the sea the Chinese have found it healthy enough to settle in and there are considerable numbers of them living there: many of them have intermarried with the A-ch'angs. There is a very large population for the size of the valley and every inch of the plain is cultivated, the villages being built round the foot of the hills so as not to take up ground that might be given to rice cultivation. The land, however, does not suffice for the population, and large numbers of the men go away for some months every winter to the Shan States and to Burma in search of work. They have a great reputation as builders, blacksmiths, and carpenters.

MA-RU.

101 The Ma-rus call themselves *Lawng*. The Zis and Lashis call them *La-lang* and *Lang* respectively. The Kachins call them *Ma-ru*, a name which the Shans pronounce *Ma-lu*.

131 The real Ma-ru country is to be found on the Nmai Hka or eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, extending from near its junction with the western branch up to at least lat. 27° and perhaps higher. South of this there are scattered villages of them through the eastern part of the Kachin Hills, and they reappear again in considerable numbers in the Northern Shan State of Hsen-wi, between lat. 23° and 24°. They only extend over the border into China in very small numbers.

This geographical distribution of the Ma-rus makes it probable that the Kachins came down the western branch of the Irrawaddy in their migration southward and thus left undisturbed the Ma-rus, who were still living on the eastern branch. Those Ma-rus, however, who had already migrated south before the arrival of the Kachins, were probably driven further south by the incursion of the latter and took refuge in the Northern Shan States, a country into which the Kachins have only intruded in the last generation or two.

114 On the genuine unadulterated Ma-ru, Captain Pottinger, who has travelled in their country, is the chief authority.

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114 Some of his remarks are quoted in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* to which I would refer the reader.

177 In the Kachin Hills the Ma-rus are generally found living in out-of-the-way places. They have taken very largely to the dress and customs of the Kachins, and in many cases are hardly distinguishable from them. The Kachins, however, look down on them because they eat dogs.

La-shi.

101 This tribe call themselves *Le-chi*. The Kachins call them *La-shi*.

131 The largest community of them is to be found in a stretch of country about lat. 25° 50′, long. 98° 20′. From here southward, villages of this tribe are to be found down the Burma-China frontier, and they extend into the Northern Shan States.

The La-shis are by tradition said to be the descendants of a Chinaman and a Ma-ru woman. Their language is almost the same as those of the Ma-rus and Zis, and no doubt these three tribes are intimately connected by race.

177 The La-shis, like the Ma-rus, have taken very much to Kachin customs and dress.

Zi or A-si.

101 The Zi call themselves *Tsai-wa*. They are called *A-tsi* by the Kachins, and *Zi* or *A-si* by the Burmese.

131 Scattered communities of them extend down the Burma-China frontier from about lat. 25° 30′ to lat. 24° and perhaps below this.

They often live in the close neighbourhood of the La-shis and the languages of these two tribes are nearly the same. The Zis, however, now belong to the Lepai, one of the regular tribes of the Kachins. I have, however, heard from Kachins that it is really only the chiefs who are Lepais. It therefore seems probable that the Zis may have been originally Ma-rus or La-shis who have been conquered by Lepai Kachins.

197 The Zis retain their own language, but otherwise seem to be undistinguishable from the Kachins.

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KACHIN[1].

101 The Kachins call themselves *Ching-p'aw*. The Burmese call them *Kachin*, the Shan name for them is *Hkang*. The Ma-rus call them *P'ow*, and the La-shis call them *P'ok*. The Chinese usually speak of them as *Yeh-jên*, i.e. *savages*, but if they want to be polite they call them *Shan-t'ou*, i.e. *hill-tops*.

131 The Kachins form the bulk of the population in the extreme north of Burma. To the west they extend to Assam, and to the south into the Shan States as far even as lat. 20° 30′. By far the largest proportion of them live in Burmese territory, but they also extend into western Yün-nan, though nowhere are they found further east than long. 99°.

114 They are a somewhat uncivilised and quarrelsome race,
186 not always given to respecting the rights of their neighbours. A large amount of information about the Kachins will be found in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, and I can add nothing to what is given there.

[1] See also Plate VIII, facing p. 40.

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APPENDIX IX

NOTE ON THE MAP.[1]

000 THE map of Yün-nan which accompanies this book is, I venture to think, the best general map of that province which has hitherto been produced. I would, however, hasten to add that it is very far indeed from being a complete or accurate survey. Its want of completeness will be at once apparent from the repeated occurrence of white spaces with the word "unsurveyed" written across them. As to its measure of accuracy, a description of the methods adopted will give an idea of how much dependence is to be placed on it.

The only part of the map which really merits the title of being a survey is that which has been triangulated and regularly surveyed by the Survey of India. This includes the part within Burmese territory up to, and in some cases rather beyond, the Chinese frontier.

Within Chinese territory the map is chiefly based on the work of British officers, sometimes working alone and sometimes accompanied by native surveyors of the Survey of India or Indian Intelligence.

In these journeys it was found impossible to carry on a triangulation in the limited time available. The survey was therefore done by a plane-table traverse, the end being kept in view of getting in as much country as possible rather than of making a minutely accurate survey of the actual road and its immediate surroundings. The scale used was 4 miles to 1 inch. Distances were in most cases measured with a cyclometer wheel.

The errors inseparable from working without triangulation points were kept in check by astronomical observations.

Latitudes were constantly taken with sextant or theodolite, and the errors of latitude on the map are not likely to be great.

[p. 399]

[Map is missing--Analyst]

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000 In *longitude* there is more room for error, but telegraphic longitudes were taken at T'êng-yüeh T'ing, Yung-ch'ang Fu, Ta-li Fu, Ch'u-hsiung Fu, Yün-nan Fu and P'u-êrh Fu. These are dependent on the Survey of India position of Bhamo. In the north-eastern part of the map, too, a chronometer longitude of Sui Fu was obtained from the navy.

Heights depend entirely on aneroid and boiling-point thermometer observations. As there was no station in the province to which these observations could be referred, they have been left uncorrected. Heights must therefore be considered as approximate only.

Besides the work of the Survey of India and of British officers, use has been made of all available material from other sources. This material varies very much in value. Some of it is evidently careful and accurate work, while in other cases it is the merest sketch on a very small scale.

The compilation of the map was all plain sailing as long as it consisted only in the reduction of the 4 miles to 1 inch sheets of the Survey of India. Difficulties began when other bits of survey published by different travellers had to be fitted in. These often did not agree with each other, and though great pains have been taken in the fitting, there must inevitably be some errors and distortions. The error of 2′ 27″ of longitude to which attention is called on all the Survey of India sheets has been corrected in this map, so longitudes will be found to differ from those of the Survey of India by this amount. In making the reduction, care has been taken in the selection of the places to be marked, that those should be included which are important owing either to their size or to their forming convenient stages in a road.

The Chinese names have been transliterated according to Wade's system. In some cases where travellers have spelt their names on no recognised system, the correct transliteration has been impossible and guesses have had to be made. It is hoped that all important places are correctly spelled, but there will certainly be mistakes in some of the village names. Only in one case has a deviation been knowingly made from Wade's system: this is in the Yün-nan word for *market*, which though pronounced *chieh* in

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Peking, becomes *kai* in western China, and has been so transliterated in this map. Other concessions to western pronunciation, such as *chio* instead of *chiao* for *foot*, and *ai* instead of *yai* for *precipice*, are sanctioned by Giles' dictionary. 000

On the *tribal names* (shown in red on the map) much care has been bestowed, and a large number of reports and books have been gone through to try and make them accurate. It is, however, impossible on a small scale map to show in detail the distribution of the tribes. There are often two or three different races living so mixed up together that nothing less than a map of sufficient scale to show every village would answer the purpose. This map must therefore only be considered as giving a general idea of the geographical distribution of the tribes. It is, moreover, very incomplete in this respect, as there are large tracts of country about the inhabitants of which there is no information. Only names of non-Chinese tribes have been inserted. The Chinese are found in greater or smaller numbers over nearly the whole of the part of the map which lies within Chinese territory and even over some of that across the frontier.

The scale of 20 miles to 1 inch was chosen as the largest on which it was possible to get the whole province into one sheet. A scale of $\frac{1}{1000000}$ would have made the map too large for this.

APPENDIX X

ITINERARY.

First Journey.

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
	From **Nam-hkam**		3500
8 January, 1894 ...	Mông-ping	7	3500
9 " " ...	Mêng-mao	12	3500
10 " " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Chang-fêng-kai	16	3100
12 " " ...	Kying-hkan...	7½	3100
13 " " ...	Lung-ch'uan (Mông Wan) ...	9	3100
14 " " ...	Hu-sa (Ho-hsa)	10½	4500
15 " " ...	La-hsa	7	4500
16 " " ...	**Man-yün** (Man-waing)	10	2750
17 to 21 " ...	Halt		
22 " " ...	Sa-re...	10	5250
23 " " ...	Shih-t'i	6	3900
24 " " ...	Nam-paung...	6	1200
25 " " ...	Myo-thit	14	400
26 " " ...	**Bhamo** (by boat)	23?	350

Second Journey.

1894	From **Myitkyina**		500
26 to 29 December...	Sa-don	42	4664
30 Dec. to 3 Jan. 1895	Halt		
4 January, 1895 ...	Ch'ieh-ma-ho	8	4700
5 " " ...	San-si gorge	10	8900
6 " " ...	Mêng-ka	10	5400
7 to 10 " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Chan-hsi (San-si)	17	3300
12 " " ...	Hsiao-ti-fang	9	6200
13 " " ...	Mien-ch'in	15	4500
14 " " ...	**T'êng-yüeh-T'ing**	8	5365
15 & 16 " ...	Halt		
17 " " ...	Kan-lan-chai	13	4800
18 " " ...	T'ai-p'ing-p'u	7	7400
19 " " ...	Lu-chiang-pa	11	2400
20 " " ...	P'u-p'iao	15	4500
21 " " ...	**Yung-ch'ang Fu**	15	5500
22 & 23 " ...	Halt		

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
24 January, 1895 ...	Ta-li-shao	13	7200
25 " " ...	Sha-yang	10	4800
26 " " ...	**Ch'ü-tung**	13	5250
27 " " ...	Sha-sung-shao	10	7350
28 " " ...	Huang-lien-p'u	10	5200
29 " " ...	T'ai-p'ing-p'u	10	7400
30 " " ...	Yang-pi	10	5150
31 " " ...	Ho-chiang-p'u	12	5050
1 February " ...	**Hsia-kuan**	10	6700
2 " " ...	**Ta-li Fu**	8	6700
3 & 4 " ...	Halt		
5 " " ...	Back to Hsia-kuan...	8	6700
6 " " ...	Hsün-chien	12	6250
7 " " ...	Wu-li-hei	13½	6850
8 " " ...	Ho-ti...	11	
9 " " ...	Hsi-hsin-chên	10½	7200
10 " " ...	Hsin-niu-kai	10	3900
11 " " ...	A-lu-shih	9½	6400
12 " " ...	Sung-lin-t'an	9	5250
13 " " ...	Hsin-ts'un	10	5850
14 " " ...	**Shun-ning Fu**	12½	5800
15 " " ...	Halt		
16 " " ...	Lo-t'ang	12	5000
17 " " ...	**Yün Chou**	11½	3800
18 " " ...	T'ou-tao-shui	14½	5100
19 " " ...	Yi-wan-shui	9½	5350
20 " " ...	La-tien-p'o	11½	
21 " " ...	Ta-niu-ch'êng	14	
22 " " ...	**Mien-ning T'ing**	5½	4980
23 " " ...	Halt		
24 " " ...	Ping-yüan-hsün	15	6500
25 " " ...	Wan-nien-chuang	10	3500
26 " " ...	Mêng-yung (Möng Yawng) ...	7½	3750
27 " " ...	Man-hkü	8½	3000
28 " " ...	Mêng-sa (Möng Hsa)	13	4550
1 March " ...	Hsiao-p'u-tzŭ	11	6800
2 " " ...	Mêng-chien	15	1850
3 " " ...	Sum-nö	13	1800
4 " " ...	**Mêng-ting**	8	1800
5 " " ...	Hwe-hpyen	8	1800
6 " " ...	Nam-hu	16½	1800
7 to 11 " ...	Halt		
12 & 13 " ...	Back to **Mêng-ting**	24½	1800
14 " " ...	Man-hsak	8½	3850
15 " " ...	Pang-maw	8	4300
16 " " ...	Hsi-nga	13½	4600
17 " " ...	Man-hpa	11½	4300
18 " " ...	Wan-kang (near Mêng-sung) ...	16½	3250
19 " " ...	Camp on Nam Tong-mi	12	5600
20 " " ...	Nawng-hpaw	10½	5850
21 " " ...	Hsia-mêng-yin	14½	3200
22 " " ...	Halt		
23 " " ...	Shang-mêng-yin	6	3350
24 " " ...	Camp on top of range	11¼	6450

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
25 March, 1895 ...	La-pa	13	5800
26 " " ...	**Ch'üan-lo**	9½	4350
27 " " ...	Nan-pei ferry	11½	2300
28 " " ...	Mêng-lêng	15	3800
29 " " ...	Mêng-chu	6	4850
30 " " ...	P'ing-chang	14	4600
31 " " ...	Chou-shui	13	3500
1 April " ...	Hsiao-hei-ch'in	13	3500
2 " " ...	Na-ku	7½	4850
3 " " ...	**Ssŭ-mao T'ing**	8¾	4700
4 " " ...	Halt		
5 " " ...	Na-k'o-li	12	4600
6 " " ...	**P'u-êrh Fu**	12½	4500
7 " " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	Hsi-sa	13	2650
9 " " ...	Man-ku	11	3650
10 " " ...	Camp on Ch'ing-shui Ho	13½	4200
11 " " ...	Lung-t'ang	8	5500
12 " " ...	**Wei-yüan T'ing**	8	3150
13 " " ...	Po-ling-t'an	16	5800
14 " " ...	Mêng-ka	16	3750
15 " " ...	Halt		
16 " " ...	Ko-t'i-t'ang	13	5650
17 " " ...	Ta-pêng	8	2800
18 " " ...	Man-nung	14	6150
19 " " ...	P'o-chio-chai	10	4800
20 " " ...	Mêng-mêng	7½	3850
21 " " ...	Ya-sai	8¼	6900
22 " " ...	Pang-long	12	5000
23 " " ...	**Kêng-ma**	14	3850
24 " " ...	Halt		
25 " " ...	Man-sawk	17	1900
26 " " ...	Hsai-hkau	8	5700
27 " " ...	Lung-cha	13	5450
28 " " ...	Ma-li-p'ing	9	6950
29 " " ...	K'a-fang	13	5400
30 " " ...	Mêng-pun	7	4150
1 May " ...	Lu-yin-t'ang...	13½	5000
2 " " ...	Han-kuai	6	3900
3 " " ...	P'in-ka	15	5600
4 " " ...	Camp near Ch'ên-chia-chai ...	11	7000
5 " " ...	Hsiang-ta	10	5700
6 " " ...	**Mang-shih** (Möng Hkwan) ...	10½	3350
7 " " ...	Na-hka	13	3950
8 " " ...	Ho-t'ou-ts'un	4	6400
9 " " ...	Ho-yang	12	3300
10 " " ...	Ung-lön	16	3650
11 " " ...	Ning-kram	12	5100
12 " " ...	Se-kao (near Hu-sa)	10½	4500
13 " " ...	**Man-yün** (Man-waing)	18	2750
14 " " ...	Sa-re	10	
15 " " ...	Nam-paung	12	1200
16 " " ...	Myo-thit	14	400
17 " " ...	**Bhamo**	18	350

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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THIRD JOURNEY.

Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
	From **Bhamo**		350
17 November, 1898...	Myothit	19¼	400
18 " " ...	Nampaung	12	1200
19 " " ...	Yang-jên-ch'ang	7	4900
20 " " ...	**Man-yün** (Man-waing)	13½	2750
21 " " ...	T'ai-p'ing-kai	11	2700
22 " " ...	Chan-ta (San-ta)	6½	2900
23 " " ...	Kan-ai (Chiu-ch'êng)	13	2850
24 " " ...	Tiao-kang	10¼	3500
25 " " ...	Nang-sung-kuan	13	3600
26 " " ...	**T'êng-yüeh T'ing** (Momien) ...	16	5365
27 & 28 " ...	Halt		
29 " " ...	Mu-shui-ho	11	6300
30 " " ...	Shun-chiang	6	5950
1 December, " ...	La-hsing-kai	12¼	5850
2 " " ...	Ma-li-pa	7½	6000
3 to 5 " ...	Halt		
6 " " ...	Hsiao-hsin-kai	11¾	6100
7 " " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	**Kai-t'ou**	10¼	5350
9 " " ...	Wa-tien	8	5100
10 " " ...	Ch'ü-ch'ih	8¾	5100
11 " " ...	Hai-k'ou	10	5700
12 " " ...	Chiang-tso	13¼	5400
13 " " ...	**Kai-t'ou**	14	5350
14 " " ...	Shan-yao	11	6750
15 " " ...	Ssŭ-ling-kan	14	4400
16 " " ...	Mêng-ku	5½	2550
17 " " ...	Hsiang-ts'ai-tien	8	5200
18 " " ...	Ma-lu-t'ang	10	5850
19 " " ...	Êrh-tao-ch'iao	8	7100
20 " " ...	Shui-fu-ssŭ	12½	5650
21 " " ...	**Yung-ch'ang Fu**	6½	5500
22 " " ...	Halt		
23 " " ...	Ta-kuan-shih	8	6550
24 " " ...	Niu-wang	10	5100
25 " " ...	Shih-tien	13	5000
26 " " ...	Yao-kuan	10½	6000
27 " " ...	Kun-tou-shui	13¼	5200
28 " " ...	Mêng-po-lo	7	2300
29 " " ...	Ya-t'ang	11¾	5200
30 " " ...	Hsiao-shih-ch'iao	14¼	5100
31 " " ...	Mêng-p'êng	17	3500
1 January, 1899 ...	Mêng-tui	13½	3250
2 " " ...	Na-hsang	14¼	3550
3 " " ...	**Ma-li-pa** (Taw-nio)	8¼	3500
4 to 7 " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	Nawng-long...	16	3500
9 " " ...	**Kun-long**	12	1800
10 to 12 " ...	Halt		
13 " " ...	Hung-tung-ling	13½	6200

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
14 January, 1899 ...	**Ma-li-pa**	14½	3500
15 to 29 „ ...	Halt		
30 „ „ ...	Na-hsang	8¼	3550
31 „ „ ...	Ch'üan-kang	14	2450
1 February „ ...	T'ou-tao-shui	6	5500
2 „ „ ...	Ts'ai-chia-chai	11	5800
3 „ „ ...	A-a-shan	7	6300
4 „ „ ...	Man-kang	9¾	5300
5 „ „ ...	**Chên-k'ang** (Möng Cheng) ...	13¾	2950
6 „ „ ...	Mêng-ti	9	2600
7 „ „ ...	Shan-kai	10	4650
8 „ „ ...	Hsi-la	8¼	3500
9 „ „ ...	Ta-li-ssŭ	14	5950
10 „ „ ...	Sung-shan	11¾	6300
11 „ „ ...	Pa-pao-shan...	9	6050
12 „ „ ...	**Yün Chou**	14	3800
13 & 14 „ ...	Halt		
15 „ „ ...	Mêng-lang	15	4150
16 „ „ ...	Hsin-ts'un	11	5700
17 „ „ ...	A-lo-kai	7	4150
18 „ „ ...	Hsiao-ch'in	10	4150
19 „ „ ...	Halt		
20 „ „ ...	Kung-lang	12½	5150
21 „ „ ...	Chi-lung	10	6500
22 „ „ ...	Miao-shan	11½	7650
23 „ „ ...	Mêng-hua T'ing	14¼	5950
24 „ „ ...	Hsün-chien	16¾	6250
25 „ „ ...	Hsia-kuan	12	6700
26 „ „ ...	**Ta-li Fu**	8	6700
27 & 28 „ ...	Halt		
1 March „ ...	**Chao Chou**	15½	6750
2 „ „ ...	Hung-ai	16¼	5950
3 „ „ ...	Kou-ts'un-p'u	12½	6800
4 „ „ ...	Mu-pang-p'u	14	6775
5 „ „ ...	Halt		
6 „ „ ...	P'u-p'êng	12½	7125
7 „ „ ...	T'ien-shêng-t'ang	8¼	7700
8 „ „ ...	Ta-fu-ssŭ	6¼	6800
9 „ „ ...	**Chên-nan Chou**	16	6300
10 „ „ ...	Ta-shih-p'u	14½	6300
11 „ „ ...	**Ch'u-hsiung Fu**	7	6150
12 to 16 „ ...	Halt		
17 „ „ ...	Hsiao-yao-chan	9	6250
18 „ „ ...	**Kuang-t'ung Hsien**	10	6300
19 „ „ ...	Shê-tzŭ	13	6100
20 „ „ ...	Ta-tz'ŭ-ssŭ	11	6900
21 „ „ ...	Yao-chan-kai	6¼	5700
22 „ „ ...	Lu-p'iao-kai...	11½	6500
23 „ „ ...	**An-ning Chou**	15¼	6300
24 „ „ ...	**Yün-nan Fu**	19¼	6400
25 Mar. to 2 Apr. ...	Halt		
3 April „ ...	Ch'i-tien	18	7050
4 „ „ ...	**Yi-liang Hsien**	15½	5300
5 „ „ ...	**Ta-shao**	10	6600

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
6 April, 1899 ...	A-yu-p'u	17	6500
7 " " ...	**Lu-liang Chou**	12	6200
8 " " ...	Pan-ch'iao	9	6200
9 " " ...	Yüeh-chou	16	6300
10 " " ...	**Ch'ü-ching Fu**	15½	6450
11 " " ...	Chiu-lung-shan	13½	6700
12 " " ...	Lan-yen-p'u	17½	7225
13 " " ...	Pan-ch'i[illegible]	17	6800
14 " " ...	**Hsüan-wei Chou**	10	6850
15 " " ...	Halt		
16 " " ...	Chiu-p'u-tzŭ...	18	6650
17 " " ...	Hsin-t'ien-p'u	9	7250
18 " " ...	Chan-p'o	10	6850
19 " " ...	Yao-chan	10	7050
20 " " ...	Halt		
21 " " ...	**Wei-ning Chou**	9	7500
22 " " ...	Ssŭ-p'u	13½	8000
23 " " ...	Hun-shui-t'ang	6	6600
24 & 25 " ...	Back to **Wei-ning Chou**	19½	7500
26 " " ...	Halt		
27 " " ...	Shuang-lung-ch'iao	10½	7225
28 " " ...	Ch'ing-mo-ti	18½	6925
29 " " ...	Chia-hsi-ho	13	6100
30 " " ...	Kung-shan	11	8425
1 May " ...	Ch'in-k'ou-t'ang	18½	7325
2 " " ...	**Tung-ch'uan Fu**	16	7250
3 " " ...	Ta-ch'iao	14	7550
4 " " ...	Shao-p'ai	11½	8100
5 " " ...	Lai-t'ou-p'o	12½	8500
6 " " ...	Hsiao-lung-t'an	18	7275
7 " " ...	Liu-shu-ho	12½	6825
8 " " ...	Yang-kai	21½	6350
9 " " ...	Shang-tui-lung	21	6500
10 " " ...	**Yün-nan Fu**	20	6400
11 to 14 " ...	Halt		
15 " " ...	**Ch'êng-kung Hsien**	12½	6325
16 " " ...	Hua-lo-ts'un	19	6500
17 " " ...	Hai-mên-ch'iao	17	5900
18 " " ...	**T'ung-hai Hsien**	20	6200
19 " " ...	Kuan-yi	14¾	5000
20 " " ...	Hsin-fang	17	4900
21 " " ...	Mien-tien	14	4900
22 " " ...	Chi-kai	17½	4550
23 " " ...	**Mêng-tzŭ Hsien**	15	4725
24 " " ...	Halt		
25 " " ...	A-san-chai	6¼	5350
26 " " ...	Yao-t'ou	17	4100
27 " " ...	**Man-hao**	6½	650
	Thence down Red River by boat and steamer.		

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FOURTH JOURNEY.

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
	From **Myitkyina**		500
15 November, 1899...	Nam-lông	7½	500
16 " " ...	Kazu	11¼	500
17 " " ...	Nkrang	11½	3675
18 " " ...	**Sima**	7	4525
19 " " ...	Shi-raw-kawng	9½	3950
20 " " ...	Mêng-lung	13	5900
21 " " ...	Ho-pyek	13½	2750
22 " " ...	Na-hseng	14	2800
23 " " ...	Tiao-kang	13	3500
24 " " ...	Nang-sung-kuan	13	3600
25 " " ...	**T'êng-yüeh T'ing** (Momien) ...	16	5365
26 " " ...	Halt		
27 " " ...	Back to Nang-sung-kuan	16	3600
28 " " ...	Chai-t'ang	8¾	6800
29 " " ...	Shan-tung	9¾	4800
30 " " ...	Man-p'a	12½	4650
1 December ...	**Lung-ling T'ing**	11	5200
2 " " ...	Mêng-mao	9½	6400
3 " " ...	Pai-ta	17½	4650
4 " " ...	Ma-lu-t'ang	8¾	4600
5 " " ...	Yao-kuan	15	6000
6 " " ...	Wan-tien	12¼	2400
7 " " ...	Kan-kou	11½	6100
8 " " ...	Ta-mêng-t'ung (Old)	13¾	3700
9 " " ...	Li-pa-sa	14¾	6200
10 " " ...	Li-ma-hsi	19¼	4800
11 " " ...	**Yün Chou**	16½	3800
12 " " ...	Halt		
13 " " ...	Hsiao-chu-ching	12½	6150
14 " " ...	Pan-ho	13¼	5250
15 " " ...	Chiang-chia-p'u	13¾	5650
16 " " ...	Pang-tung-kai	10½	4950
17 " " ...	T'uan-shan	8¾	3750
18 " " ...	Pai-yin-ch'in	10¾	6150
19 " " ...	Hou-yao (in Ching-ku plain) ...	12½	4650
20 " " ...	Lung-t'ang-kai	11	4550
21 " " ...	**Wei-yüan T'ing**	14	3150
22 " " ...	P'ing-chai	14	3350
23 " " ...	Têng-t'ung	16	4000
24 " " ...	Pa-t'ou	13½	6400
25 " " ...	**Hsin-fu**	11½	3400
26 " " ...	Man-lien	11½	3350
27 " " ...	Man-pieh	13¼	4500
28 " " ...	Mo-po	11¼	4400
29 " " ...	Mo-hei	13¾	4150
30 " " ...	**P'u-êrh Fu**	12	4500
31 Dec. & 1 Jan. 1900	Halt		
2 January " ...	Back to Mo-hei	12	4150
3 " " ...	Hsia-pa-pien	15	3150
4 " " ...	T'ung-kuan	9½	5200

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
5 January, 1900 ...	Chang-lu-p'ing	13¼	3300
6 " " ...	**T'a-lang T'ing**	15½	4600
7 " " ...	Yi-wan-shui	12¼	5600
8 " " ...	Ma-lu-t'ang	12¼	6950
9 " " ...	A-ku-lu	13	5100
10 " " ...	Ta-t'ien-fang	11	1700
11 " " ...	Chiu-ti-mo	7½	5100
12 " " ...	**Hsin-p ing Hsien**	16	5425
13 " " ...	Hsin-kai	10¼	5300
14 " " ...	Hu-lu-p'êng	12	6500
15 " " ...	Ssŭ-ch'êng	9½	6000
16 " " ...	P'u-pei	18	5400
17 " " ...	**Yi-mên Hsien**	4¾	5350
18 to 20 " ...	Halt		
21 " " ...	Hsiao-lung-t'ang	18½	6600
22 " " ...	**An-ning Chou**	18	6300
23 " " ...	**Yün-nan Fu**	19¼	6400
24 to 28 " ...	Halt		
29 " " ...	Êrh-ts'un	14½	6200
30 " " ...	Chê-pei	18¼	5900
31 " " ...	**Wu-ting Chou**	17	6000
1 February " ...	Halt		
2 " " ...	Hsiao-ts'ang	17½	6000
3 " " ...	Chiu-ts'un	9½	5800
4 " " ...	Ch'ien-ch'ang	21	5600
5 " " ...	Ts'u-chü	8½	7700
6 " " ...	San-ying-p'an	16	7900
7 " " ...	Chiao-hsi	14¾	7800
8 " " ...	K'a-hsi	16	7800
9 " " ...	Ta-p'ing-ti	13¾	3950
10 " " ...	Ta-shih-p'êng	11¾	8800
11 " " ...	Pai-tzŭ-t'ien	8	7000
12 " " ...	Suan-shui-ho	10	6350
13 " " ...	Chang-kuan-ch'ung	15	6200
14 " " ...	**Hui-li Chou**	13½	6300
15 " " ...	Pai-kuo-wan	19¼	7000
16 " " ...	Mo-so-ying	13	4800
17 " " ...	T'ieh-chiang-fang	17½	4400
18 " " ...	Liang-lu-k'ou	19¼	4700
19 " " ...	Huang-shui-t'ang	13¼	4950
20 " " ...	Ma-tao-tzŭ	19¼	4950
21 " " ...	Li-chou	20	5400
22 " " ...	Lu-ku	18½	5600
23 " " ...	Têng-hsiang-ying	19	7850
24 " " ...	Hsiao-shao	10¾	6900
25 " " ...	**Yüeh-hsi T'ing**	10¼	6100
26 & 27 " ...	Halt		
28 Feb. to 2 Mar. ...	Back to Lu-ku	40	5600
3 March " ...	**Mien-ning Hsien**	20	6200
4 " " ...	Ha-ha-hsün	9½	7400
5 " " ...	Ma-t'ou-shan	8	7600
6 " " ...	Lu-ning-ying	15½	6700
7 " " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	Chieh-hsing	9½	7400

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
9 March, 1900 ...	Hua-k'an	10¾	8100
10 " " ...	No-po	10½	6850
11 " " ...	Mo-tzŭ-kou	6¾	7450
12 " " ...	Ma-huang-kou	10	10300
13 " " ...	Mo-lien	9¾	10600
14 " " ...	San-ko-ya (Lower)	11¾	6850
15 " " ...	Pê-tiao	3	7400
16 " " ...	Camp west of Pa-êrh	11¼	11800
17 " " ...	K'u-lu	14½	12500
18 " " ...	A-pê-ti	15	8900
19 " " ...	Mi-li	20¼	9500
20 " " ...	Camp in forest	9	11800
21 " " ...	Camp at hut	15¾	14600
22 " " ...	Lei-lung	12	7050
23 " " ...	Tzŭ-lo	11¾	9500
24 " " ...	Camp near Wei-jih	15	8500
25 " " ...	Camp near Ran-da	13¼	13750
26 " " ...	Ming-yu-ho	9	9600
27 " " ...	Ta-lung	14¼	12300
28 " " ...	Chung-tien	19¼	11500
29 " " ...	T'an-tui	18¾	10200
30 " " ...	Hsien-to	18	7600
31 " " ...	Pang-tzŭ-la	12¼	7250
1 April " ...	Pê-kê	13¼	10500
2 " " ...	Camp in forest	6½	14200
3 " " ...	Camp	13	13800
4 " " ...	A-tun-tzŭ	8¾	11500
5 to 10 " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Chia-pieh	13½	8000
12 " " ...	Yang-tsa	10½	7000
13 " " ...	Londre	8¾	7800
14 " " ...	Camp in forest	5½	10000
15 " " ...	On and back to same camp ...	3½	10000
16 " " ...	Back to Londre	5½	7800
17 to 19 " ...	Back to A-tun-tzŭ	33¾	11500
20 to 22 " ...	Halt		
23 " " ...	Liu-t'ou-chiang	13½	7800
24 " " ...	Chiung-pu	12¼	10100
25 " " ...	Na-pu	13¼	8000
26 " " ...	Pa-mien	9	9300
27 " " ...	Pa-yung-ko	12½	11500
28 " " ...	Ya-k'a-lo	10¼	9500
29 " " ...	Halt		
30 " " ...	La-ta-ting	6½	12200
1 May " ...	Up pass and back to La-ta-ting ...	7	
2 " " ...	Ya-k'a-lo and back to La-ta-ting ...	13	
3 " " ...	Hnga-tsa	14¼	12200
4 " " ...	Chia-ni-ting	14	13500
5 " " ...	Pa-mu-t'ang	9¾	13200
6 " " ...	Te-ga-ting	15½	10200
7 " " ...	Chu-pa-lung	12¼	9000
8 " " ...	Ba-t'ang	19½	9400
9 to 11 " ...	Halt		
12 to 18 " ...	Back to La-ta-ting	85¼	12200

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
19 May, 1900 ...	Gönra rope bridge	8	8400
20 " " ...	Ya-k'a-lo	3½	9400
21 " " ...	Camp beyond La-ta-ting	7¼	13500
22 " " ...	Hnga-tsa	13	12200
23 " " ...	Bo-tsa	9¾	11300
24 " " ...	Camp in snow	11	14100
25 " " ...	Ya-ra-no	5	11000
26 " " ...	Go-nia ferry...	8¾	8600
27 " " ...	Camp in forest	9	12800
28 " " ...	Ruian-dzong-tza	14½	10200
29 " " ...	Ya-ra-gong	13¼	11900
30 & 31 " ...	Halt		
1 June " ...	Shepherd's hut	9½	12000
2 " " ...	Den-bo-nong	12	10200
3 " " ...	Camp on high range	11¾	15300
4 " " ...	Camp under rock	10¼	13800
5 " " ...	Chong-tsa-gong	12½	11600
6 " " ...	Ra-nong	15	12800
7 " " ...	Ndzon-dza	14	15000
8 " " ...	T'ou-t'ang	8¾	15000
9 " " ...	Li-t'ang	13½	13800
10 " " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Ho-ch'u-k'a	15	13300
12 " " ...	Tsa-ma-la-t'ung	14½	13300
13 " " ...	Hsi-ngo-lo	7½	12000
14 " " ...	Ma-kê-tsung	16½	12000
15 " " ...	Ho-k'ou	8	9400
16 " " ...	Wo-lung-shih	20	13400
17 " " ...	Tung-ngo-lo...	15	12050
18 " " ...	A-niang-pa	15	12500
19 " " ...	Chê-to	19½	11300
20 " " ...	Ta-chien-lu	9	8400
21 " " ...	Wa-ssû-kou	16½	5300
22 " " ...	Lu-ting-ch'iao	16¼	4850
23 " " ...	Ming-kan-shan	14½	6700
24 " " ...	Chu-shih-p'ing	16½	4000
25 " " ...	T'ien-ch'üan Chou...	20¼	3000
26 " " ...	Ya-chou Fu...	20½	2500
	Thence by raft down Ya River to Chia-ting Fu. By boat to I-chang, and steamer thence to Shanghai, arriving 19 July		

SUMMARY OF DISTANCES

1st journey	139 miles
2nd "	1313¼ "
3rd "	1659¼ "
4th "	2441 "
Total distance travelled by road ...	5553 miles

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[For information on routes and trails in Yun-nan see category 116, pp. 1-331.]

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The Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan[1]

Liao T'ai-ch'u

575 OF THE VARIOUS Chinese secret societies functioning in Szechuan province, the most prominent is the Ko Lao Hui (Brothers' Society). Its importance, especially in rural areas, is very great indeed. Involving many persons in all classes of society, it influences almost every aspect of daily life—social, political and economic. There are differing accounts of its origin. According to one theory, it was started as an offshoot of an older society. Another account attributes its creation to an underground movement opposed to the Manchu rulers of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912). Still another connects it with late Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing intellectuals who opposed the Manchus. In all likelihood, however, such a powerful society did not originate in response to a single stimulus. The factors which contributed decisively to the development of the Ko Lao Hui must have included loyalty to the Ming rulers (involving a glorification of self-sacrifice), difficulties of existence under the Ch'ing, and popular accounts of generous, brotherly acts performed by well-known figures in the past.

The Ko Lao Hui was probably founded in East China in the early Ch'ing period by persons of some education who were dissatisfied with Manchu rule. Its original aim was simple: opposition to the existing government. Members of different families and of different classes were welcomed and, as long as they supported this aim, were considered to be brothers. Equality and the eight virtues (filial piety, love for one's brothers and sisters, loyalty to one's superiors, faithfulness, courtesy, shame, probity, and righteous self-sacrifice), and especially the last virtue, *yi*[2] (which embraces both righteousness and generosity), were practiced religiously. At one period, characters representing these

[1] Part of the material on which these notes are based was collected during 1943-45 in the towns of Chung Yi and Chiu Li, in Chengtu district.

[2] *Yi* is highly honored in China. In the Ko Lao Hui, *yi* is regarded as symbolizing the unity of the society and the highest ideal of all members. *Ko Lao*, which means (older) brother, implies the idea of equality and *yi*.

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575 eight virtues were written inside members' gowns for purposes of identification.

As time passed and new members were admitted, the influence of the Ko Lao Hui spread and its activities grew more diversified, leading to an admixture of bad elements.[3] As a result of internal changes and oppression by the Ch'ing government (which knew of its existence and sought to liquidate it), the Ko Lao Hui moved gradually westward, following the course of the Yangtze River, and settled first in Hunan and Hupeh provinces and eventually in Szechuan. By the beginning of the present century, branches existed in most parts of Szechuan.

The Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan may be divided geographically into two main groups. The first comprises the branches on the Chengtu Plain, which includes 14 districts (*hsien*)—a total area of some 1,350 square miles within which are 1⅓ million acres of the richest agricultural land in China. This area is popularly regarded as the center of the Ko Lao Hui world:[4] it is estimated that 70 per cent of the male population belongs to the society. Members here are known for their interference in local (and, to some extent, provincial) political affairs, for their abandonment of most secret-society traditions, regulations and special terminology, and for their criminal activities.

The various branches in this area are in close touch with one another: they provide mutual assistance as need arises and cooperate in pursuing common policies even to the point of armed action. A branch is expected to harbor members of other branches who may have violated government laws and been forced to decamp from their own villages.[5] Since there is no over-all coordinating body above the branches, inter-branch cooperation is not always flawless. Nevertheless, information travels sufficiently speedily from branch to branch to enable them

[3] The admission, for example, of a large number of demobilized soldiers in Hunan province toward the end of the Ch'ing period greatly altered the original structure of the organization, extending and debasing its activities.

[4] In the small suburban community of Chung Yi, eight miles northwest of Chengtu city, 19 of the section heads (*pao chang*) are members of the society. In Chiu Li, another community three miles west of Chengtu, the village head (*hsiang chang*) himself is the leading member for the entire district of some 100 square miles.

[5] In December 1945 the branch in Chung Yi was taking care of a leader of a neighboring branch who, having disagreed with the government about a little matter of military conscription, had caused his subordinates to fire on certain government forces, killing a number of them. At Chung Yi he received royal treatment, enjoying good food and company as well as the respect of the local members.

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to function as though they were under a single command. Inter-branch relations are, however, becoming steadily less close; a program involving common action in an area larger than a district is rare nowadays. 575

The second main group of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan, less highly organized than the first, is situated along the Yangtze River. Limitations of space prevent consideration of this group in these notes.

EXACTLY WHEN Ko Lao Hui activities extended all over the Chengtu Plain is not known, but it is thought to have been some time in the late Ch'ing period. Now every district supports at least one branch of the society. Each branch, considered as a separate administrative unit, has its own (geographical) sphere of influence; members are not supposed to engage in society activities outside of its boundaries.

The highest post in a branch is that of director (*to pa tze,* literally "helmsman"). Not all directors are equally popular or prominent or of equal influence in society affairs. Certain directors owe their prominence to advanced age, exemplary moral conduct, or some other important attribute. A few of the most influential are active in public affairs and can make or break district, and even provincial, administration. The post of director is not strictly elective, but one may become director only with the approval of other members of one's branch.

Although all members are considered to be brothers of one family, eight or nine different ranks exist in each branch. (Minor differences in ranking are found among different branches.) Ranks are conferred originally by the director at the annual initiation ceremony. The rank or degree conferred depends on the recipient's general past experience, his education and his financial standing. But the mere attainment of high rank does not carry with it possession of any particular post.

Below the director are several officers, each assigned a particular function. For example, the vice-director is supposed to be a saintly figure who can settle disagreements between members by means of persuasion and good will rather than by invoking the "law". There are also two controllers or managers, one in charge of business within the branch and the other charged with inter-branch affairs. Except in administrative matters of prime importance, about which they must consult the director, these two officials run the branch: they look after its accounts and properties, arbitrate disagreements, keep records, organize the two grand annual assemblies, receive guests and visitors, etc.

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575 Inter-branch affairs may include such activities as the exchange of important information concerning changes in executive officers, deaths of members, expulsion of undesirables, attitudes toward specific government regulations (such as the conscription plan in 1944), invitations to attend functions, proposals for settling conflicts between branches or their members. Not long ago a member of one branch was for some reason severely beaten up by members of another. After prolonged negotiations, the latter branch gave an elaborate 16-table feast to express its apologies and regret, and the incident was thus amicably concluded.

Refugees[6] from other branches are received by the controller. On arriving, the refugee enters a convenient tea house, seats himself at a table on which he places a piece of pork, and orders a cup of tea or hot water. The keeper of the tea house, who is familiar with this ceremony, sends at once for the controller of the local branch. The latter appears speedily and puts a series of questions to the refugee who must reply in appropriate, extremely technical terms. If the refugee proves to be an offender against government (i.e., not against Ko Lao Hui) laws, the controller will offer him shelter, or sufficient funds, clothes and the like to enable him to reach another destination of his choice.

According to the formal constitution of the society, each branch has several officers in addition to those already mentioned. These include an official in charge of worship, a keeper of the seal, a protocol officer, a preparer of the budget, a supervisor of social affairs, a welfare officer for new members, a supervisor of punishments, an executioner, a guard, a watchman, ushers, etc. In reality, however, besides the director, vice-director and the two controllers, there are only one or two members who help in running the branch. Details of organization have been greatly simplified to accord with the present social environment of the Ko Lao Hui. Thus, the director may call on any other member to do errands for him. Except during the two grand meetings each year (when a temple or tea house is commandeered), society administration is carried on in the home of the director or of the controller concerned: an office in the modern sense does not exist. Most of the leading members spend their spare time in the tea houses gossiping with one another. If one does not know their habits, these men are hard to find.

[6] Usually these are men who, having violated some important government law, have thought it advisable to leave home for a while.

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The Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan

In addition to occasional executive conferences called to consider urgent matters and attended by a few important members, each branch holds two formal meetings every year. All members are expected to attend. 575

One of these assemblies, held on the thirteenth day of the fifth moon, is devoted to ceremonies involving admission of new members, promotion of old members, punishment of evil-doers, and, where executives have recently died, election of successors. The initiation ceremony is spectacular and takes place in a temple or tea house containing an altar decorated with portraits, statues or spirit tablets of Kuang Yün Chang, reputed to have been a founder of the Ko Lao Hui. Numerous lighted candles stand on the altar next to the sacrifices (usually meat, chicken and fruit); couplets celebrating the ideals of loyalty and sacrifice for a cause (*yi*) cover the walls on both sides of the altar.

Entering the hall, each candidate kowtows repeatedly before the altar to pay his respects to Kuang Yün Chang. Next he is catechized briefly by a controller. After having sworn to observe all the rules of the society and to treat his fellow-members like brothers, he turns and kowtows to the director, who occupies a prominent seat. The director, hiding his face behind a fan (perhaps to conceal his embarrassment at such an honor), announces the rank of the candidate, whereupon the latter expresses repeated thanks for the rank that has just been bestowed upon him. He then turns to other important members, bowing or kowtowing and indicating his joy. The candidate directs his final bows to his two sponsors and two guarantors.[7] Finally his name is entered on the record, and he is then accepted as a new member. The occasion ordinarily ends with mutual congratulations, the explosion of firecrackers, and a big feast given by the society or by a rich newcomer.

As a rule the new member receives a certificate of membership. This may contain, on the first page, the name and seal of the branch; on the second, a copy of Sun Yat-sen's will, surmounted by his portrait; on the third, a few lines of Chiang Kai-shek's teachings and his portrait; on the fourth, the society motto and the eight virtues; on the fifth, sig-

[7] A candidate must have four such old members to support his application for admission. In addition he has to pay an initiation fee, which in 1945 was approximately CNC$2,000.

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575 natures of the branch officials, followed by the name and rank of the recipient; and on the sixth page, the date of issuance.[8]

The second function of the "fifth-moon" assembly is promotion of members in rank. Promotions are granted most often in recognition of heroic or otherwise admirable behavior toward the community or the director, financial contributions to the society, assistance rendered to fellow members, and the like. Members in the upper ranks are much more apt to receive promotions than those of lower degree, who must remain back-benchers indefinitely. Having once gained the position of director, a man relinquishes the post only on his death. Incidentally, the death of a man of such importance as a director is mourned by the entire community, non-members as well as members. The mourning period lasts seven weeks.[9]

575 681 The third function of the "fifth-moon" meeting has to do with punishments of members. The Ko Lao Hui has an extensive code of regulations and disciplines, but the process of change which has affected other aspects of the society has also made this code more or less obsolete. The myriad regulations that were strictly enforced at one stage in the history of the Ko Lao Hui were designed to promote brotherhood, the observance of loyalty and *yi,* filial piety, a proper attitude toward women, patriotism, respect for the aged, and contempt for money. Nowadays there is a marked variation among different branches in the strictness with which rules are observed and infractions punished; the degree depends upon the ethical standards observed by the members in each branch. A man who has violated a regulation of the society is first reproved by the director of his branch or by his intimates. Serious crimes are dealt with at once through a meeting of a few prominent members without waiting for a grand assembly. In consequence, the cases considered at the grand assembly are usually only minor misdemeanors. These are discussed briefly before the director announces the punishment to be applied to each case.

Punishments are divided into several grades: death (by ignominious

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[8] This list illustrates the extent to which Ko Lao Hui ritual has accommodated itself to present-day fashions.

[9] After the death of a director in Chung Yi, a large building in the market center was set aside for mourning activities, while numberless couplets, expressing sorrow at the loss of a great leader, and pieces of white silk and sacrifices in the form of goods and money decorated the main street. Mourners came from great distances. Even Sun Yat-sen's death had not created such a stir.

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slow dismemberment, burial alive or shooting), beating with a rod, beating with a ruler, and public degradation (causing the culprit to kneel on a special bench in public with a red tape on his back describing his crime). Except for the death penalty, punishments are meted out with the intention of correcting rather than hurting members. No one likes to see a fellow-member punished. In fact, although punishments exist in name, in reality most miscreants receive only a warning or reproof. If a case is extremely serious, the criminal is "thrown away"—that is, shot. The society prefers to execute its own members instead of delivering them to the government, for the latter course implies an insult to the whole society. Expulsion from the branch may be substituted for the death penalty; in such an event, the criminal will not be taken in by any other branch.

The second grand assembly of the year, held on the thirtieth day of the twelfth moon, is a time of celebration and house-cleaning, with some gambling and opium-smoking on the side. Neither of these latter activities is regarded as criminal by the society; they bring in vast sums of money to the society exchequer. Since this assembly occurs at (Chinese) New Year, which is celebrated for at least two weeks, members have a grand opportunity for social intercourse. During this meeting there is usually discussion of general society policy and of financial reports, funds are collected from members according to their financial status, elections are held to fill vacant positions, and reports on recent important events are delivered. Often, too, promotions and demotions are announced; this is done particularly in the case of a branch that has more "good" than "bad" members. Steps taken to clear the branch of bad elements are announced, warnings are given to undesirables, and dates are set for the expulsion of major criminals. Every one sits down together to share the last meal of the year, thus symbolizing the unity and brotherhood which bind the members.

THERE ARE several reasons for the spread of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan, and for the extension of its activities into so many aspects of present-day society. For one thing, in a country such as China, where law enforcement does not extend to the small hamlets or individual farms, persons sharing similar interests are inclined to band together to protect those interests even though by doing so they may bring disaster upon others. The majority of members possessing real power in the Ko

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575 Lao Hui of the Chengtu Plain belong to the middle class. Each owns between five and eight acres of land, and derives his income directly or indirectly from the land on which he lives; in addition, he may own a store or two in the market center. These people regard the society as a form of social insurance which will guard the well-being of their families, benefit their business activities, and protect their properties from intrusion, alienation or undue taxation. Initially the Ko Lao Hui arose in response to ultra-conservative needs, for it maintains the social order, upholds accepted standards of behavior, and affords its members protection in case of disaster.[10] Such security is desired most in an area where lawlessness prevails and where provision for Western types of insurance—accident, personal or social—is lacking. The Ko Lao Hui is in fact a mutual assistance association, a means of safeguarding one's property and security through the protection of one's neighbors' property and security.

When a large number of middle-class people band together, they often gain a controlling voice in community affairs; whoever wishes to remain in the community must work either with or against them. As a result, members of the upper class are apt to cooperate with them; sometimes, indeed, because of their superior knowledge of administration, these upper-class representatives may assume the leadership in a society branch. Occasionally, well-educated and social-minded persons must participate in the activities of the society if they wish to remain and work in a community. Lower-class persons, too, discovering that they must depend on the society for a living, enter its lower ranks. The practice of *yi* offers the lower classes a form of insurance against personal misfortune. If a lower-class member falls sick or dies, his family will be looked after. In certain areas, tenants who are members of the Ko Lao Hui cannot be evicted no matter how often ownership of the land may change. If one obeys orders from above, one need have no fear of being unemployed; in the event that such orders contravene government laws, one can depend on being housed and fed and cared for in general
575 while being sought by the government. If a high-ranking member
681 commits a crime and is (for a wonder) energetically pursued by the

[10] In Chengtu in 1942 the author met a Ko Lao Hui member who, though he had lost all of his limbs and thus his earning power, was nevertheless enjoying the company of four young concubines in a large and well-appointed house. It transpired that his comfortable situation was due entirely to the assumption of his fellow-members that, since he had been a good brother in the society before his misfortune, he now merited the very best treatment.

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government, the society will provide and pay for a substitute to confess to the crime and to suffer the consequences in his stead. 575 681

Another reason for the continued existence of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan is the confusion and disorder which have prevailed there in recent years. During the war the central government, which had established its capital in Szechuan and was anxious to avoid unnecessary unrest, encouraged the provincial government in its lax administration. The attitude of compromise adopted toward most problems fostered the development of localism and gave the Ko Lao Hui an opportunity to increase the scope and variety of its activities to a point where it interfered with many aspects of government administration. In any case, government in Szechuan has been so corrupt for so long that the people have no confidence in it.[11] The war years simply aggravated popular dissatisfaction with and distrust of the government, so that any new official measure is received with suspicion. The people have become accustomed to managing their affairs and settling their disagreements by extra-governmental means. It is natural for them to turn to the local Ko Lao Hui branch director, who represents, in theory at least, the virtues of brotherhood, filial piety and proper behavior toward women. Thus the director has become not only the possessor of power but a symbol of righteousness as well. Disagreements between non-members of the society, as well as between members, are now commonly referred to him for settlement. 575 722

The Ko Lao Hui is not a political party, nor does it entertain any pretensions regarding the shaping of national policy—so long as the interests of its middle-class founders are not endangered. Thus far Ko Lao Hui political activities have remained defensive. Individual members may occupy important government posts, but the society as a whole remains aloof from Kuomintang party politics. The society has voiced sharp criticism of Communism, which it regards as inimical to middle-class interests. While adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude toward politics, 575 662

[11] The demobilization, in the closing years of the Sino-Japanese war, of many Szechuanese troops without adequate provision for their reemployment greatly swelled the number of undesirable members of the society, and in turn made things more difficult for the government. The possession by society members of an extraordinarily large number of small arms aggravates the situation. In the course of his investigation of two districts near Chengtu, the author learned that nearly every member of the Ko Lao Hui in those localities owned a pistol or a rifle. In Chengtu district one out of every two members possessed such arms without a license. Leaders not infrequently had late-model machine guns.

575 the Ko Lao Hui keeps the closest watch over government policy, especially where it considers its own interests to be concerned.

662 An illustration of how the Ko Lao Hui functions in this respect may be seen in the typical case of Huang Jun Chin, branch director in the village of Yuan T'ung. To the people who live in it, Yuan T'ung seems less a village than a country of which Huang is king. He owns some 400 acres of land and several thousand side arms which are borne by 3,000 men (all society members) directly under his command. In the county seat he and some of his men occupy a huge mansion fortified with machine-gun emplacements. Several close relatives hold important positions in the municipal and provincial governments. Although they are paid by the county government, two platoons of guards and policemen are armed with Huang's guns and are answerable to him alone. His men are also in the magistrate's office; in fact, the magistrate is no more than a figurehead whose function it is to transmit government orders to Huang and to await his instructions. The county administration takes no action without Huang's prior consent. He not only presides over the county council, but appoints all of its other members. Huang's case is typical of the power of the society which, though essentially non-political, frequently interferes with, and occasionally assumes direct control of, county government.[12]

575 Each branch of the society derives its regular income from a number of sources, of which opium dens are the most important. In one
548 locality there are ten such dens, each run by a different high-ranking member. Each must contribute a definite sum to the branch, as must the semi-secret gambling houses and brothels. Illegal transactions in prohibited goods such as arms, gasoline and other vital war materials are effected under the supervision and protection of the society, which collects a fee on each transaction. Another source of income is the "mar-
575 ket" where, though no goods are handled, such commodities as rape
437 seed, rice and the like are bought and sold in wholesale quantities; since no goods are in evidence, the government agent, if he is present, sees nothing on which to levy a tax, but the society, keeping a com-

[12] Of course, the society manifests its power in other ways. For example, local coal mines and salt works cannot move their products to market until they have paid the society large sums on each shipment. Before making tours of inspection in the districts of the Chengtu Plain, government officials are expected to notify, and to secure the protection of, Ko Lao Hui officials. This procedure is necessary because bandits, county guards and administrators are usually all members of the society.

plete record of transactions, collects a tax in place of the government.[13] 575 In addition, the Ko Lao Hui controls many inland communications in 437 the sense that it operates chains of control points similar to customs houses at which merchants and other travelers are stopped for contributions.

Other, irregular sources of income are more difficult to assess. Most 575 big stores within the territory of a branch must present gifts, in cash or in kind, either to the director or to the branch, several times each 674 year. The amount of the contribution depends on the size of the store. Special collections occur frequently and may affect not only businessmen but also landowners, who pay a certain amount on each acre. Although stealing, robbery and kidnapping are not openly encouraged by most branches, members who have committed such crimes usually go to their director and present the branch with a large portion of their gains in return for its protection. (One can usually regain a "lost" article if one knows the right person in the branch to turn to.) Some leaders of the Ko Lao Hui capitalize on the power of the society for private and selfish ends at the expense of non-members, or even of other members, but a portion of their profits are invariably devoted to the needs of the society.[14]

ONE OF THE most interesting aspects of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan 575 concerns the changes in its forms and activities which have taken place in recent years. Shifts in the needs and interests of communities in which the Ko Lao Hui exists have brought about changes in the motivation and spirit of the society. For example, patriotism—specifically, opposition to the Ch'ing rulers—is thought to have been the main motive for the original establishment of the Ko Lao Hui. But since the disappearance of the Ch'ings as rulers and of the Manchus as a

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[13] At one such "market" in 1945 the society branch collected CNC$200 on each *tan* (133 pounds) of rice sold. On an average day 300 *tan* might change hands, resulting in a rake-off, on rice sales alone, of some CNC$60,000. There are eight or nine "market" days each month.

[14] An illustration of how the society looks after its own was afforded by an incident which recently occurred one morning six miles outside of Chengtu. Three cotton dealers, carrying a huge sum of money, were set upon by three highwaymen (Ko Lao Hui members acting on instructions from one of their leaders). A company of road guards, chancing to come upon the scene just after the robbers had secured their loot, started a gun fight which lasted several hours and resulted in the wounding of several guards and the death of two guards and two of the robbers. The surviving robber escaped with the money, all of which was later set aside for the future welfare of the families of the two dead members.

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575 people apart, this source of inspiration has likewise vanished. Ideals of filial piety and of veneration for older persons, though still observed, have lost much of their former appeal as a result of the war and the infiltration of Western thought. On the other hand, *yi* and brotherhood, which are at the core of all Ko Lao Hui activities—particularly those involving social insurance and security—have not only remained cardinal principles of the society but are being observed with greater zeal than ever, largely because the security of the people is increasingly threatened by the present system of government.

575 A prominent characteristic of any secret society is the use of a special terminology by its members. For various reasons—to distinguish mem-
198 bers from non-members, to permit members to outwit government authorities, etc.—a secret society, especially in the early stages of development, finds it convenient to designate terms of its own making which differ sufficiently from common usage to enable members to communicate with one another without being understood by the uninitiate. At present, however, the Ko Lao Hui has come so far into the open that nearly everyone knows of its existence and may join it if he so desires. Since most of its activities are common knowledge, there is no longer a need for a secret language with which to conceal them. Instead, a number of new terms have been introduced into Ko Lao Hui parlance, indicating a certain adaptation to changing conditions of society.

575 The progressive relaxation of entrance requirements to a point where almost anyone may join has made for marked local dissimilarities. The
565 wholesale entrance into the Ko Lao Hui of local warlords, retired politicians, corrupt government officials and demobilized soldiers, few of whom are interested primarily in the social aims of the society, is causing the society to engage in an increasing number of undesirable activities while at the same time encouraging the tendency toward separatism among the branches. To a Ko Lao Hui member of the old school, such a trend represents degeneration which must result ultimately in complete separation and dissolution.

575 On the other hand, it is clear that the Ko Lao Hui will retain its power until something can be found to replace it. The government,
668 though well aware of the growing power and influence of the society, has done little to combat it beyond occasionally voicing expressions of alarm. Government officials have been forbidden to join the society, and

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students in government schools have been threatened with expulsion if they become members. But one may question the efficacy of a policy which ignores a manifestation of this kind while permitting it to grow stronger. Surely, it would be better to investigate the Ko Lao Hui—to discover why it exists, how it operates and what are its effects—and then to seek means of reforming it, of converting it into an effective force for improving the welfare of the people. For the *basic* principles of the Ko Lao Hui are not anti-social. And if the political situation in the province remains chaotic; if corruption in government continues; if unemployment, especially of demobilized soldiers, is not combated; if popular education remains completely inadequate; and if some sort of social insurance is not provided in the present period of rehabilitation; then, the people will certainly continue to look to the Ko Lao Hui for protection and for a livelihood.

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Chengtu, Szechuan, 1946

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The University of Chicago

THE AGRICULTURAL AND FORESTRY LAND-USE OF SZECHUAN BASIN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
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By
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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[p. i]

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PREFACE

121 Ever since the writer interested himself in the study of land-use, he has been eager to prepare a comprehensive account on the conditions of land-use in his native area, the Szechuan Basin. The present study is a result of that intention and it represents one of the series of studies the writer has planned along that line. The investigation, as herewith presented, is limited to an analysis of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Basin.

In addition to numerous journeys in the Szechuan Basin and to the many observations made in previous years, the writer undertook an air-reconnaissance flight over the Basin--from Hankow via Chungking to Chengtu--during the early summer of 1934. Since then, the writer has been in constant touch with the area by correspondence and has collected considerable amounts of valuable and elusive data from numerous sources. Moreover, every effort has been made and every caution taken to bring the data employed in the dissertation up to date from all the reliable sources available. It is, however, deeply regretted that the serious handicaps of the war have prevented the writer from making more recent reconnaissance surveys in the Basin.

000 Many friends and former colleagues have contributed to the completion of the present study. To Dr. H. R. Wei, Dean of the College of Science, and Chairman of the Department of Physics at the University of Nanking, (now at Chengtu); Professor C. S. Fang, Department of Botany of the College of Agriculture of the same institution; and Professor H. Y. Hu, Acting Chairman and Professor of the Department of Geography, National Central University, Chungking, the writer wishes to express his deep thanks and sincere gratitude for their generous assistance in securing valuable data and in furnishing much-needed documents. Grateful acknowledgments are also due to the writer's close friend, the Honorable T. S. Wang, Member of the National Senate (Legislative Yuan) of China, for having his efficient clerical staff compile and copy large amounts of valuable data from unpublished sources. To all these gentlemen, the writer wishes to present his deep thanks.

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000 Mr. M. C. Swen, Director of the Department of Cinematography of the University of Nanking, assisted the writer by supplying from his personal collection a number of photographs pertaining to the landscapes of the Basin. Mr. J. Thorp, Senior soil scientist of the United States Soil Survey and formerly of the Geological Survey of China, was most kind in furnishing many excellent photographs which he took during his visit to the Basin in 1935. Mr. Thorp also has generously permitted the writer to use part of his generalized soil map of China. To both Mr. Swen and Mr. Thorp the writer wishes to express his sincere thanks and gratitude.

Above all, the writer is greatly indebted to Dr. J. L. Buck, his teacher and friend at the College of Agriculture of the University of Nanking, for encouragement that led to study in the United States.

The writer wishes to express his deep appreciation and sincere gratitude to professors H. H. Barrows, Charles C. Colby, Wellington D. Jones, and Robert S. Platt of the staff of the Department of Geography at the University of Chicago for the generous assistance and valuable guidance they have given in the preparation of the manuscript. The writer is under special obligation to Professor Colby for help in organizing and editing the manuscript into its final form. Special acknowledgment also is due to Professor H. M. Leppard for his assistance in the construction and printing of many of the maps, charts, and photographs. In addition, the writer wishes to thank Dr. Charles Olmsted of the Department of Botany at the University of Chicago for his interesting instruction and stimulating viewpoints in connection with problems of land-use. It must be made perfectly clear, however, that none of these men mentioned above shares in any manner or is in any way responsible for whatever errors and shortcomings may appear in the present manuscript. For these, the writer, and the writer alone, is fully responsible.

Above all, as in everything else, the writer owes his greatest debt to his wife for her loyal support and unfailing encouragement without which the present work could never have been completed.

Charles Y. Hu

University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois
December, 1942

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CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

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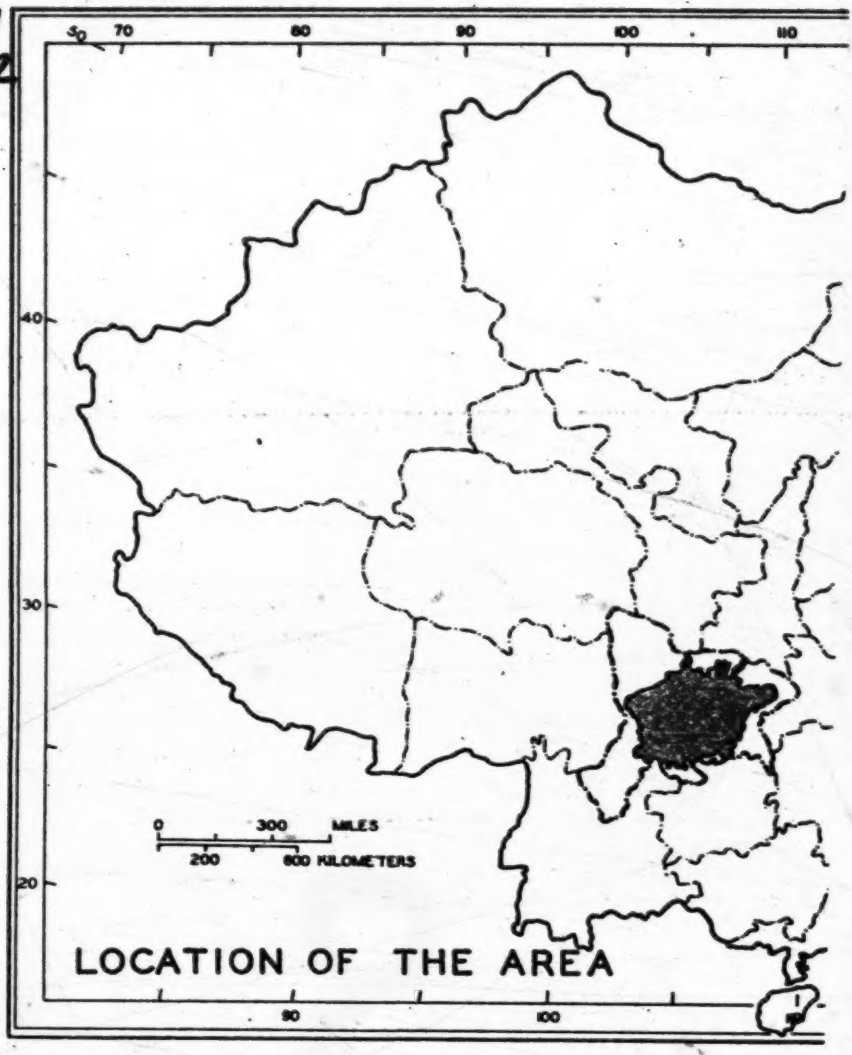

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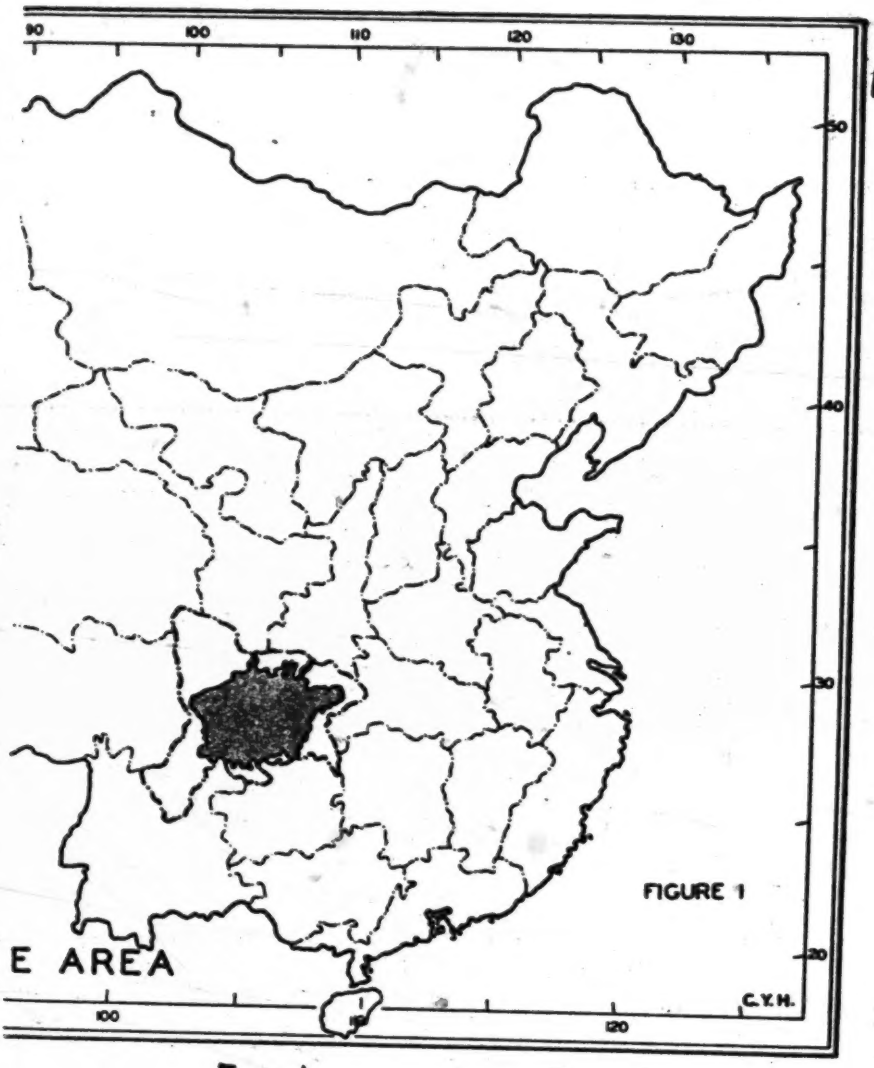

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166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of
439 the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere
312 else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

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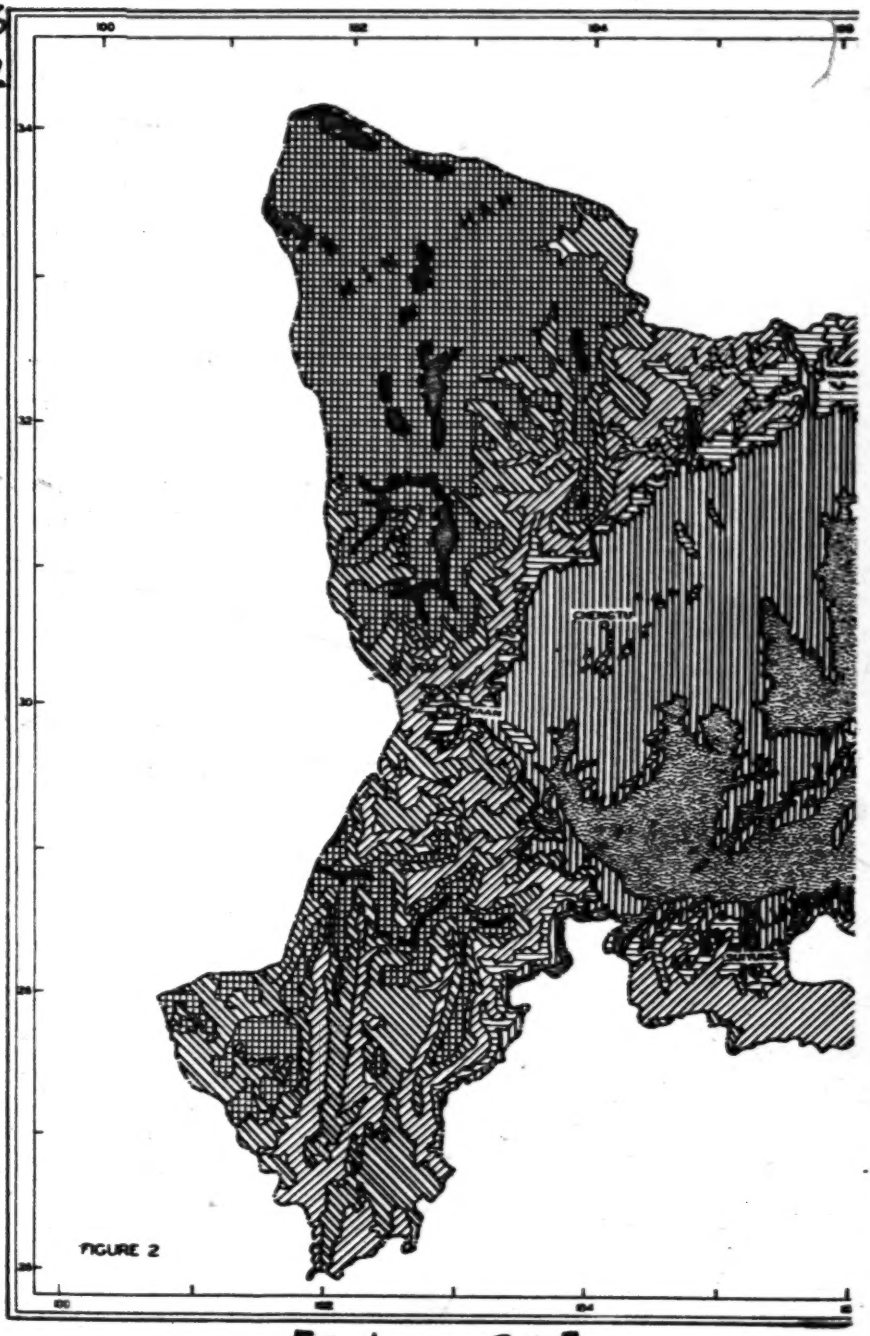

FIGURE 2

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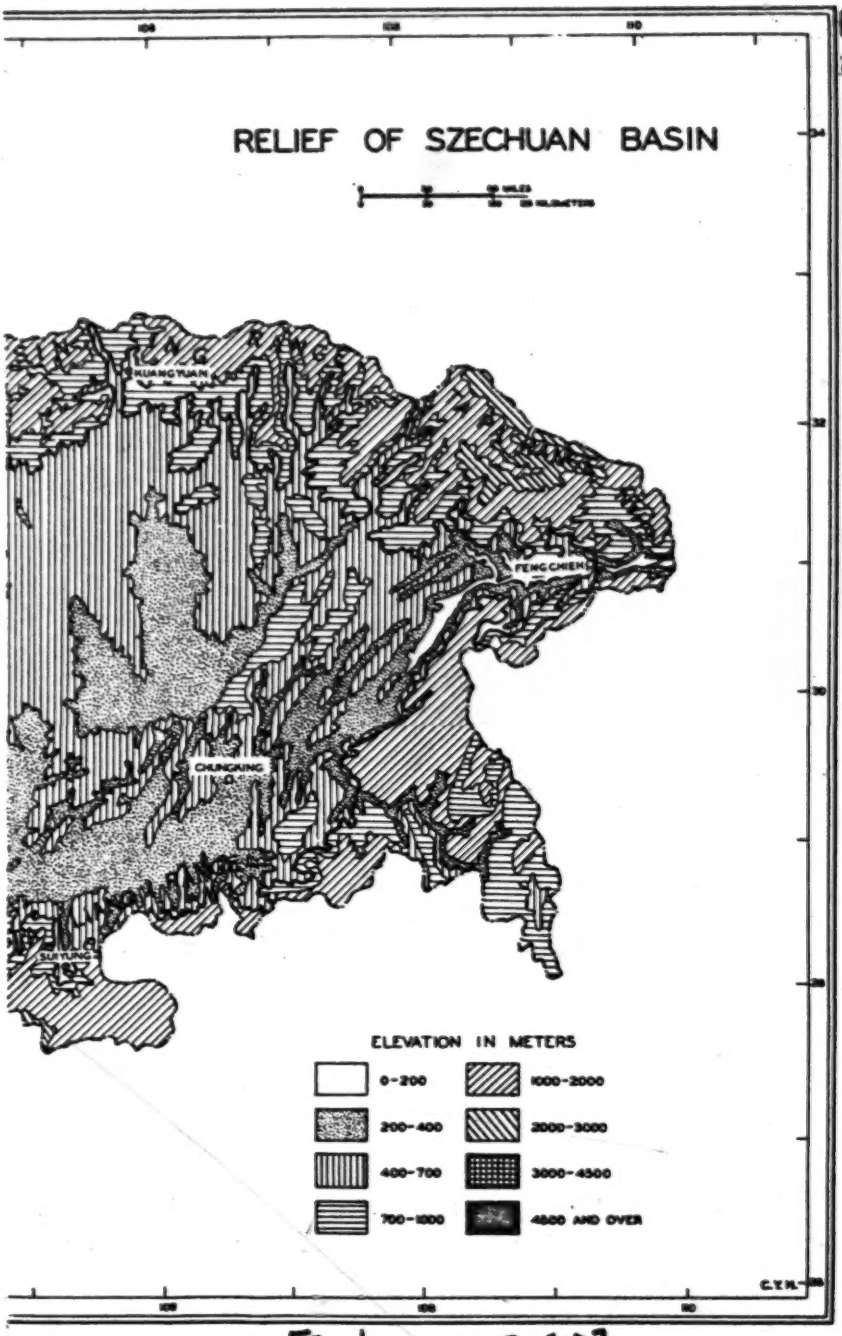

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to 33 degrees North. It has a mild winter with little or no frost 132
or snow, and a warm summer. The average annual precipitation in
most parts of the Basin is about 34 inches, with some rain in
every month. The summer months, however, have more rain than the
winter months. There is almost continuous high relative humidity,
and wind, on the whole, is conspicuous by its absence.[1]

The Basin is drained and practically bisected by the 133
Yangtse River. The Yangtse enters the Basin at the southwest and
leaves it at the northeast. Within the Basin, the Yangtse is fed
by three sets of tributaries--one from the north, one from the
northwest, and one from the south. The northern and northwestern
tributaries rise in the high mountains which rim the north and
northwestern part of the Basin, and their flow greatly exceeds
that of the southern set of tributaries. On the whole, the Basin,
with its hilly terrain, is well drained. In fact, problems of
erosion are much more acute than problems of drainage.

Generally speaking, the soils of the Basin fall into two 134
main groups. One is the extraordinarily fertile soil of the
Chengtu Plain and the other is the moderately fertile soil known
as the "purple-brown (forest)" type,[2] which dominates in most
parts of the Basin. The Chengtu Plain soil is derived from the
alluvial deposits of the Min River. The richness of this soil is
greatly enhanced by its annual renewal through the overflow of the
Min. The Chengtu Plain soil is noted for its very dark color,
great depth, and rich humus content. The "purple-brown" type, de-
veloped in deciduous forests growing on parental material derived
from the friable, cretaceous shales and sandstones, is only mod-
erately fertile for agricultural use. This soil is noted espe-
cially for its loose texture and easily-eroded qualities. Moreover,
this soil has a peculiar characteristic of absorbing and loosing
(evaporating) water quickly.[3] One evening's thick fog may cause
the whole depth of the surface soil to be thoroughly moistened and
saturated, whereas a continuation of clear sky for several days
may cause the soil to dry up and crack. In general, the "purple-

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Annual weather report (Szechuan, 1939), p. 29.

[2]J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China (1936), p. 200.

[3]H. Yu, "A Preliminary Observation of the Purple-Brown Soils of Szechuan Province," Soils Quarterly, January, 1941, p. 39.

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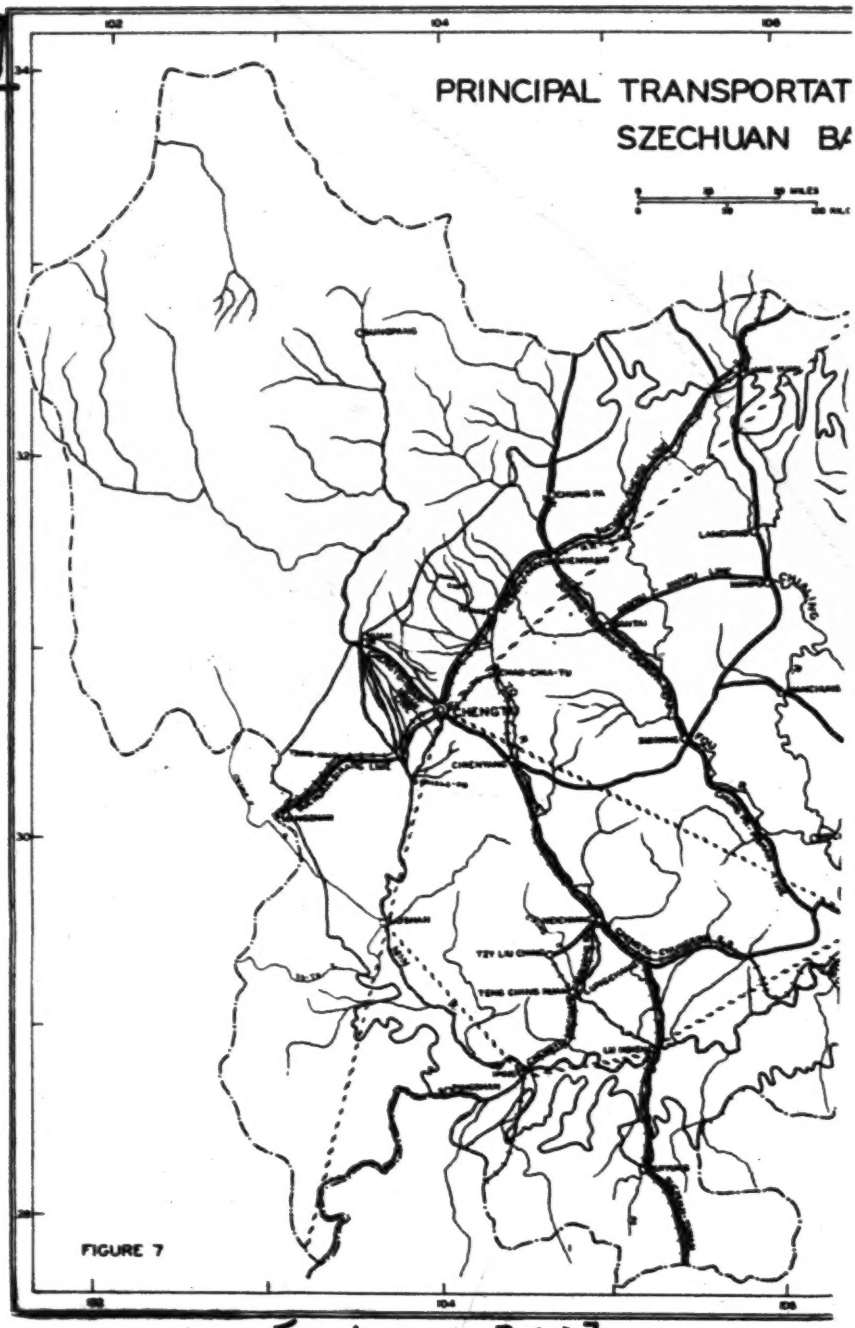

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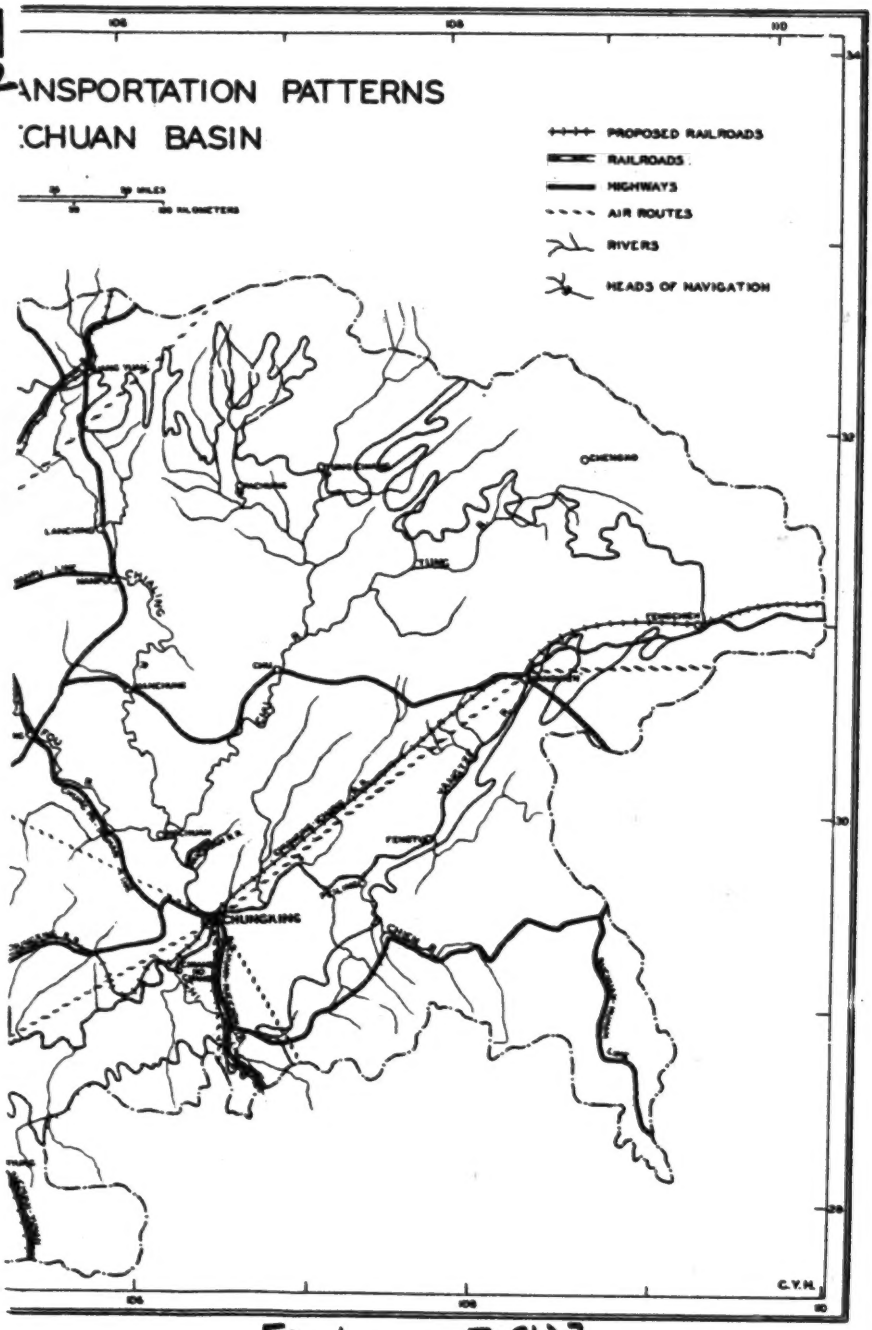

[End map 3 (b)]

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134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [139] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's settlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts 361 of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

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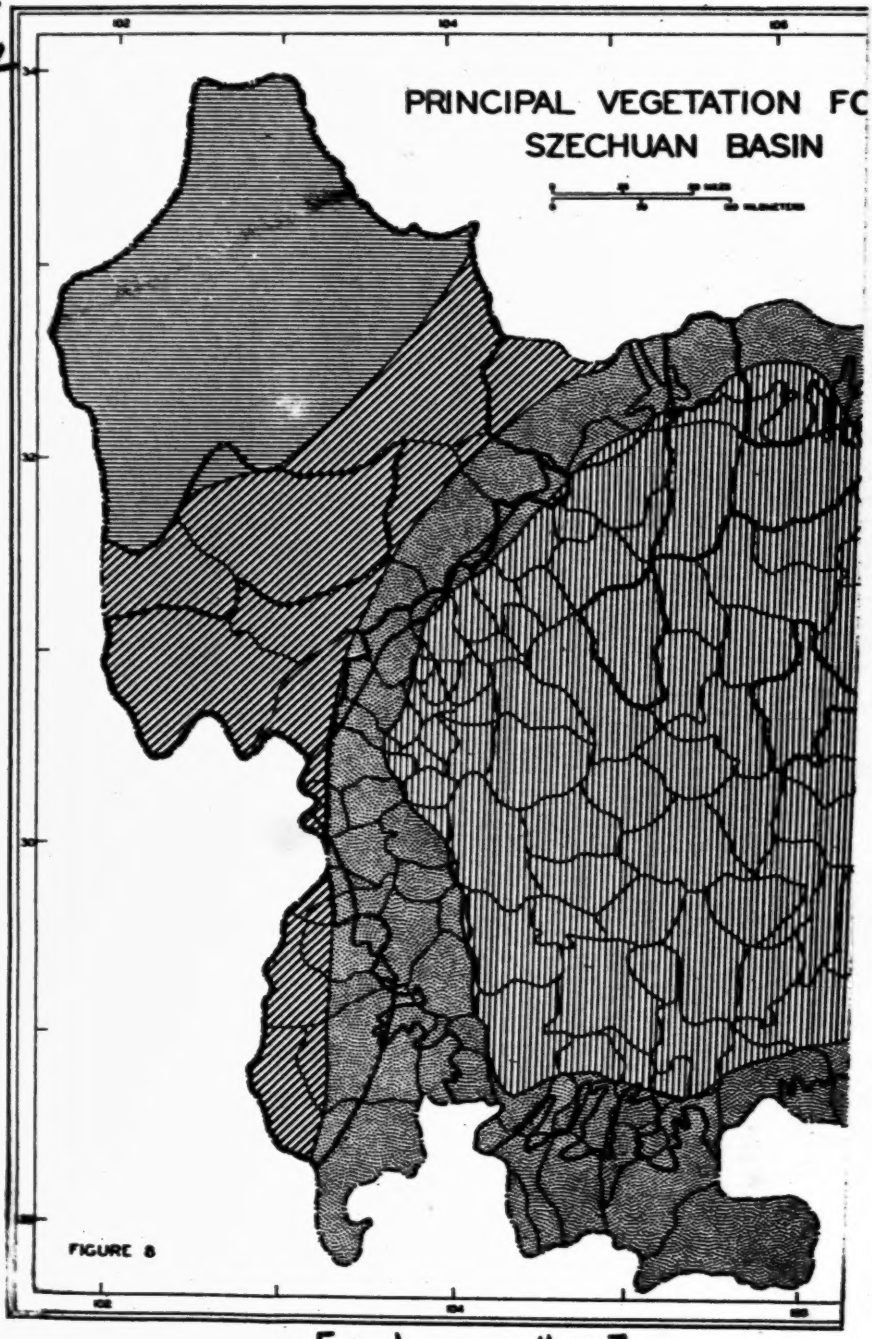

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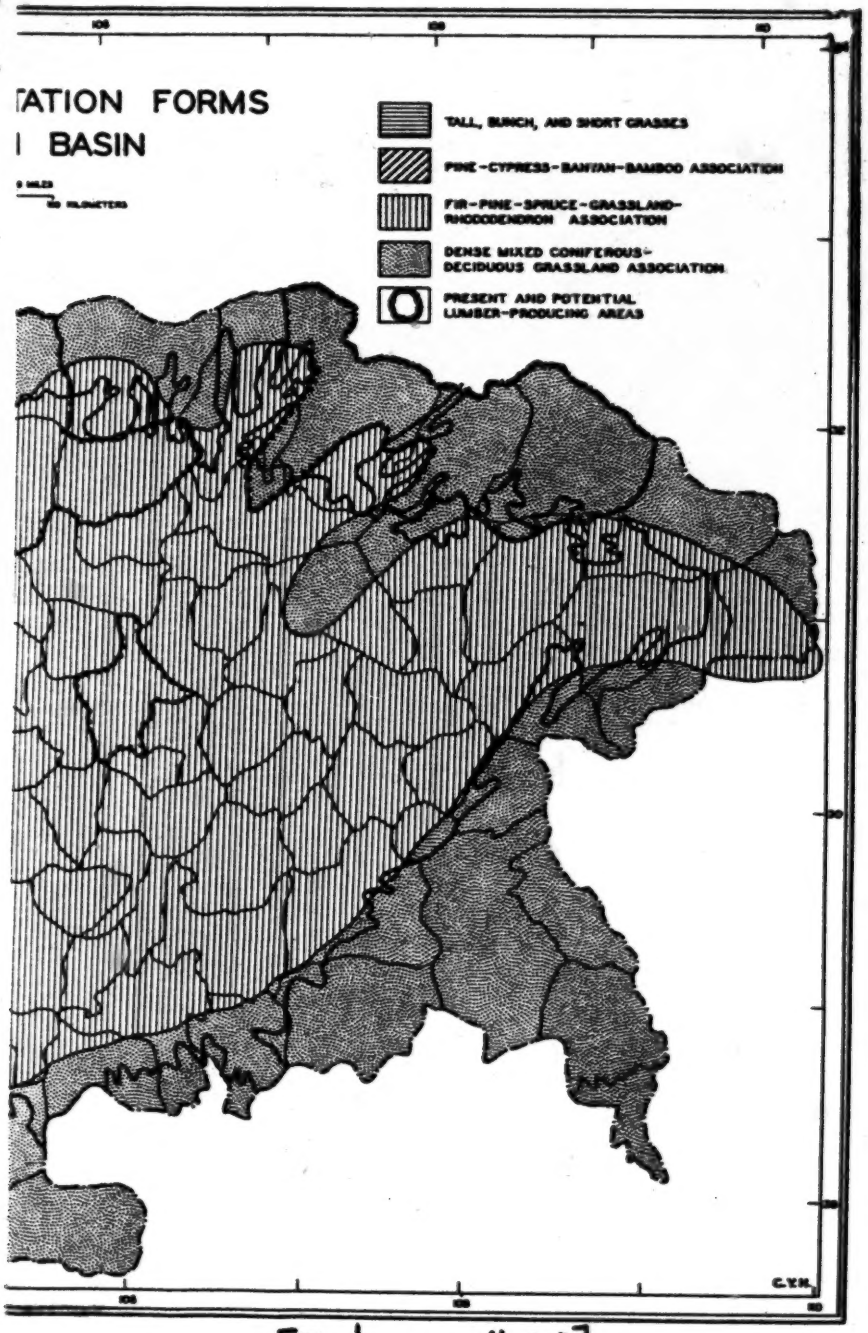

[End map 4 (b)]

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success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

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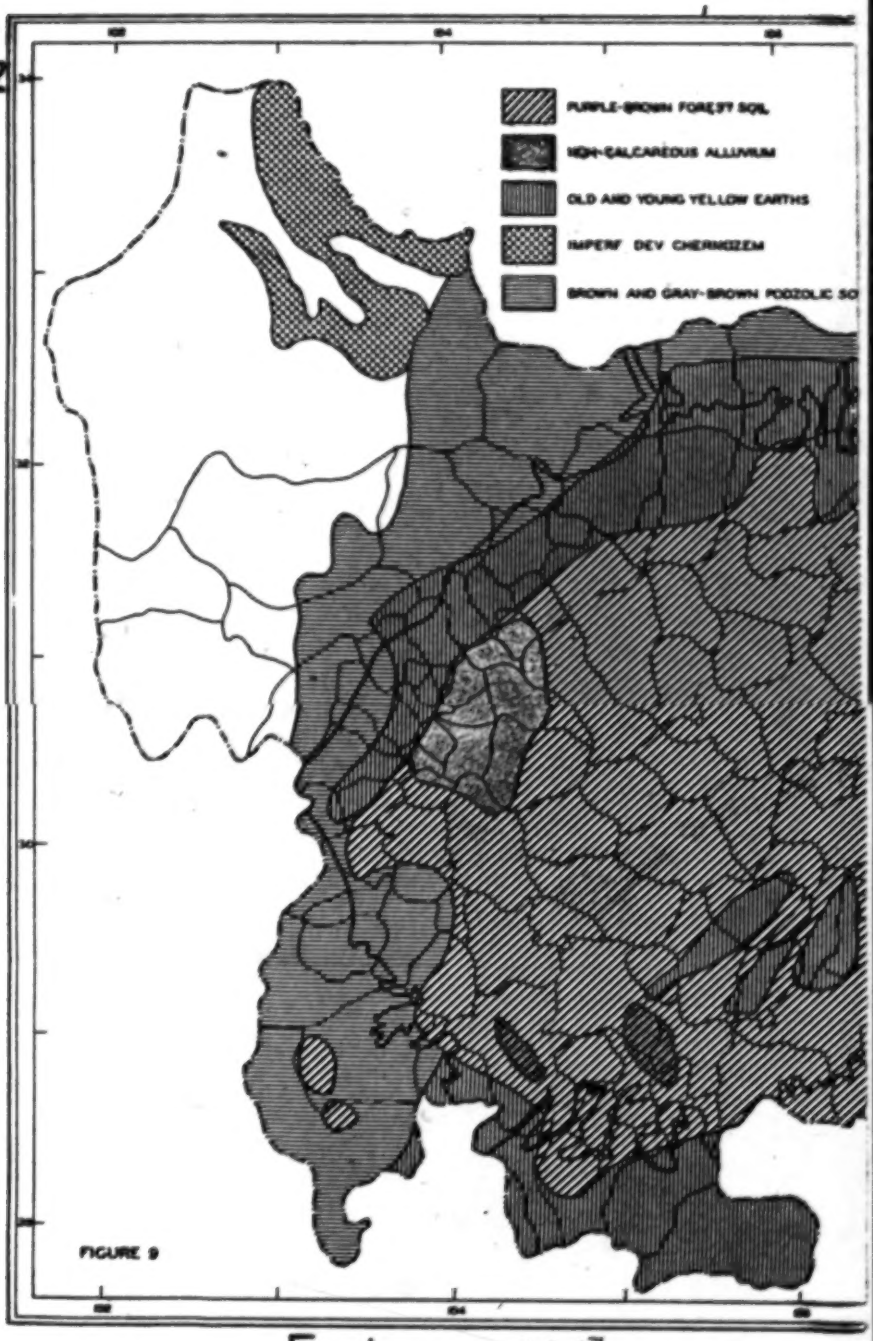

FIGURE 9

[End map 5(a)]

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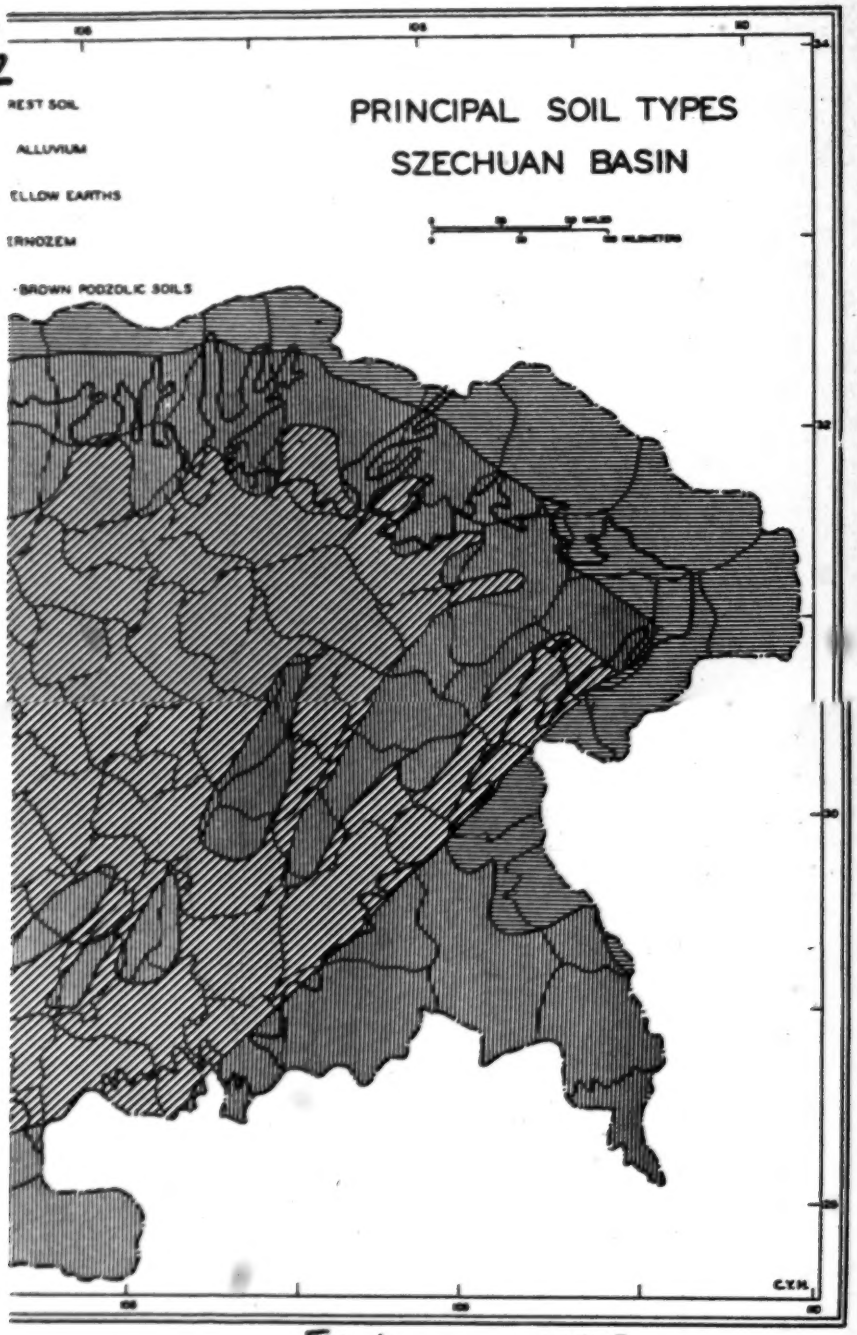

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823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these
241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural
433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about
433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

[386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

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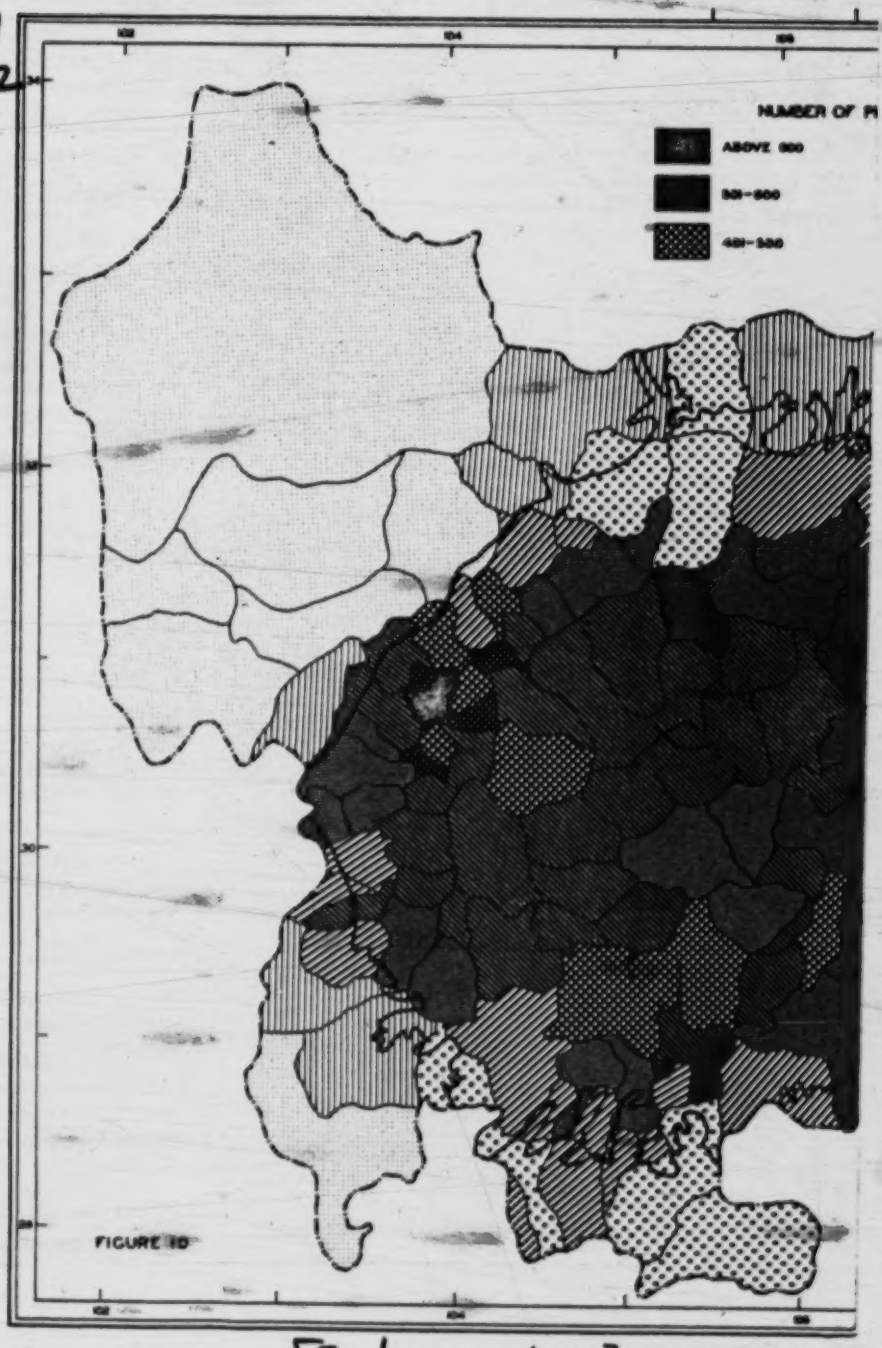

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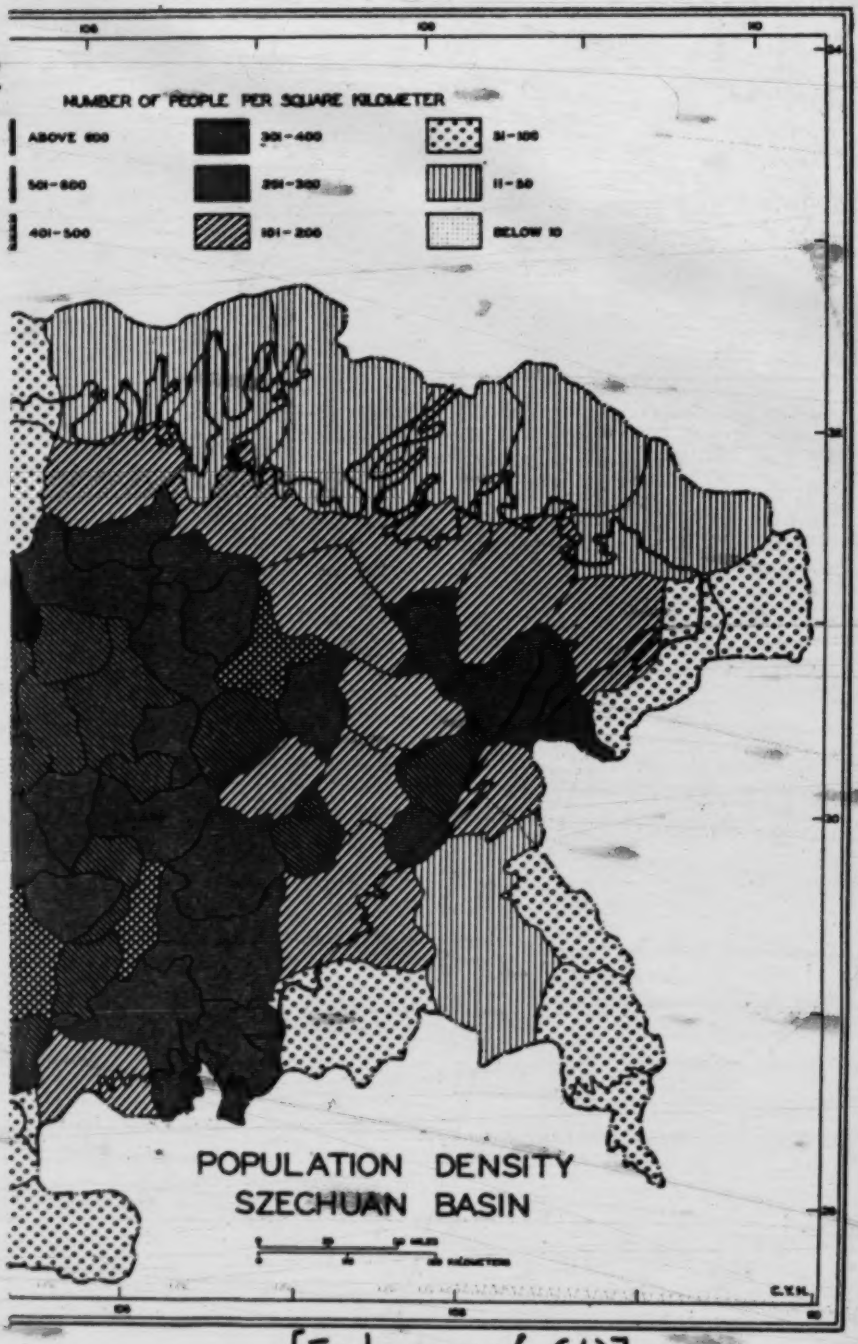

[End map 6 (b)]

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producer of both these key minerals among all the provinces of free China. 135

While it is true that Szechuan Basin is undoubtedly the most self-sufficient and prosperous agricultural region of China, many phases of its present agricultural and forestry land use cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory from the standpoint of modern technology and scientific development. As a matter of fact, the backwardness of some of the practices is appalling. Drastic measures of improvement are urgently needed. 242 313

The efficiency of the Basin's present agricultural land use has been handicapped greatly by many natural and cultural factors. Among these are the traditional "Tung Shui Tien" system; the undependable nature and marginal character of the hilly agriculture in many parts of the Basin; the presence of large tracts of unreclaimed vacant land (particularly at the peripheral areas of the Basin); ignorance of modern scientific methods of seed selection and plant-breeding (from the irrigated alluvial plain rice to the small millet of the non-irrigated eroded soils of the upper hills); the insufficiency and failure of cotton-culture in many parts of the Basin; the periodic or aperiodic famine in the more hilly areas due to the lack of the more drought-resistant crops; the serious nature of soil-creep in many hilly areas; the failure to modernize silk-culture; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with native herbs; and above all, the lack of satisfactory and efficient irrigation system in many terraced fields of the more hilly areas. 242

In forestry land use, the most noticeable difficulties are: the lack of long-range and far-sighted forestry policy and lumber exploitation; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with tung trees; the absence of well-organized and modern-equipped plantations in tung tree production; the lack of standardization of tung tree products; and the serious hazards (due to long and difficult hauling) of transporting the wax-insects in the white-wax tree industry. 313

Transportation both within and without the Basin has been made difficult by the swift flow of many of the streams and the ruggedness of the topography. Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than the issue of transportation. The solution of this problem will promote the efficiency of agricultural and forestry as well as other forms of land use in the Basin. 489

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[End map 7(a)]

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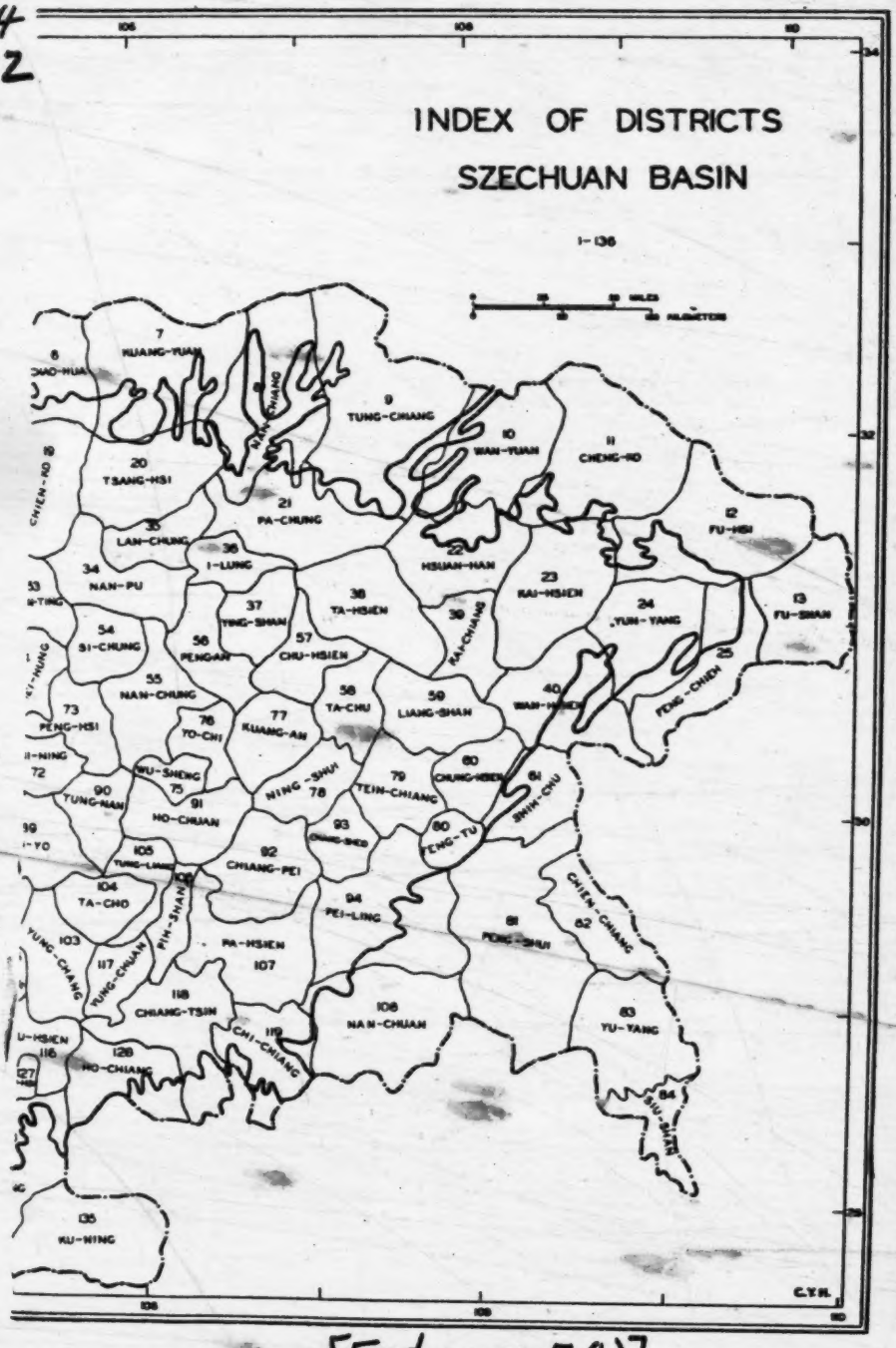

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178 922 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 654 241 Since the migration of the National government into the Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry resources of the Basin. 314 Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

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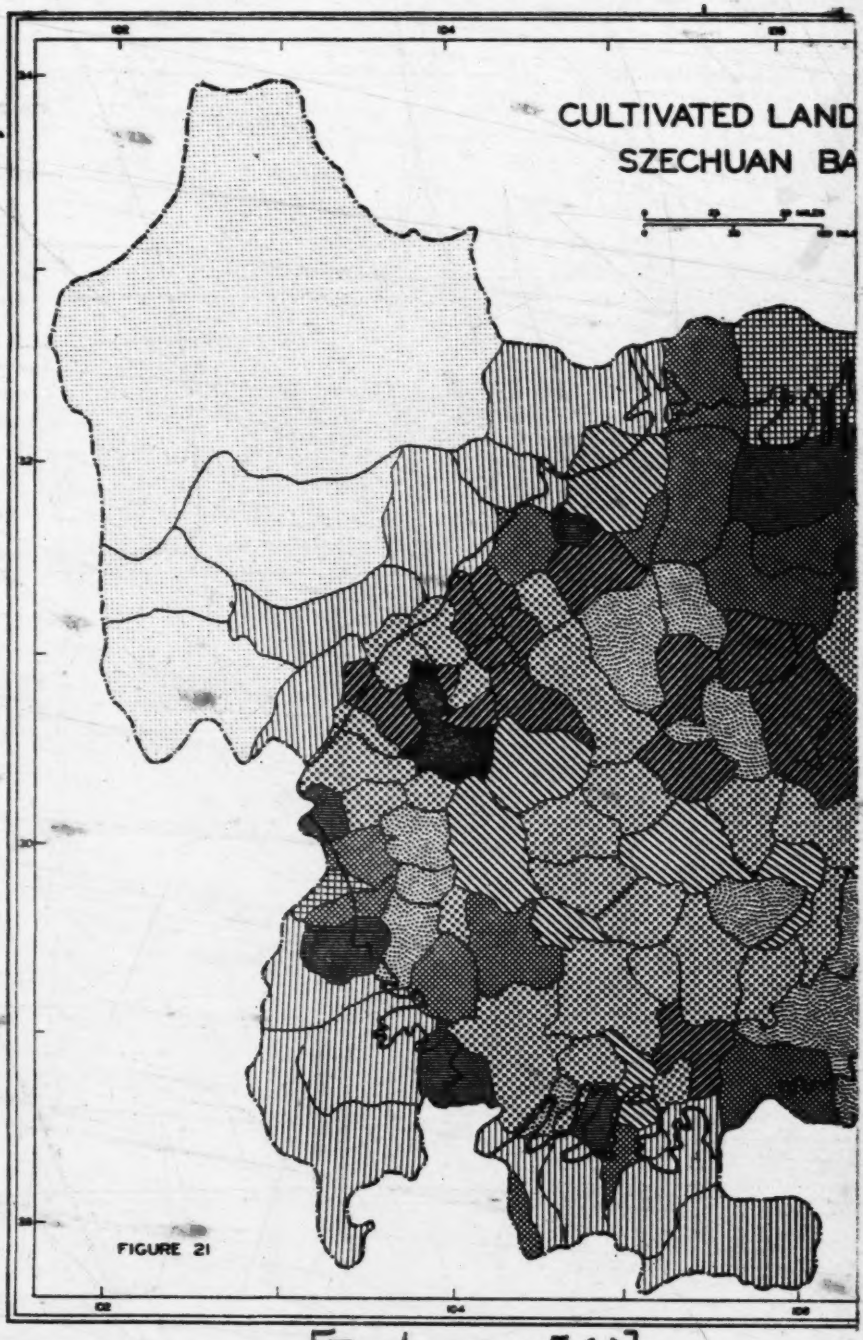

FIGURE 21

[End map 8(a)]

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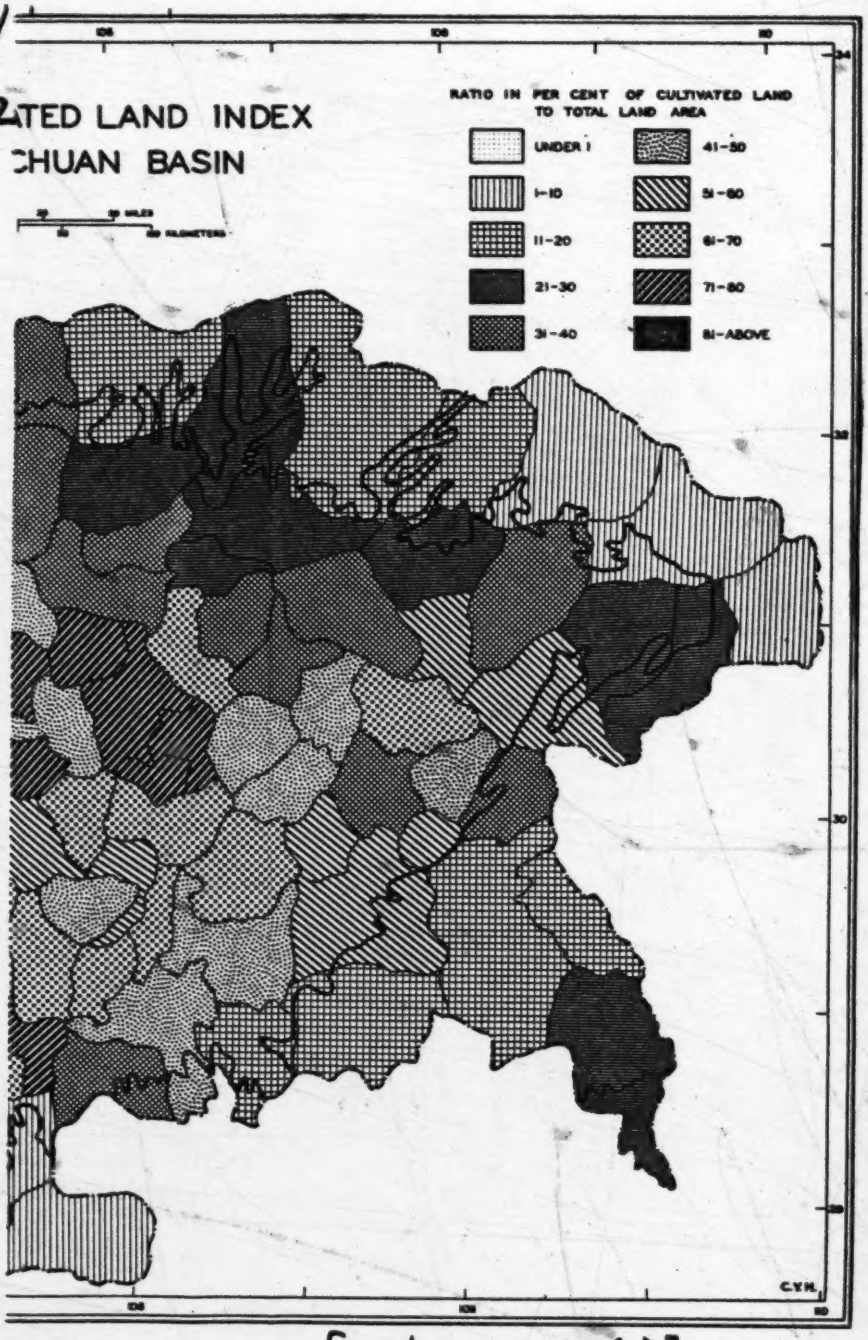

[End map 8(b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree 314
the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for
the white-wax tree industry.

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also 316
been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production 178
has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and
placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly develop-
ing into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home
of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present
the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing
capacity of all free China.

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of trans- 489
portation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous com-
mercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways
(some of them already under construction) have been projected; and
the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of
the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have
highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects
for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been
vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and
Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achieve-
ments and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the
satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem.

As to the future development of the Basin, one may ap- 133
proach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future pros-
pect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese
invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace
returns once more.

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin
is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a
unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate
combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing
season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal
and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a
southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protec- 241
tion against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the
Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-
sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against
invading forces than would otherwise be possible.

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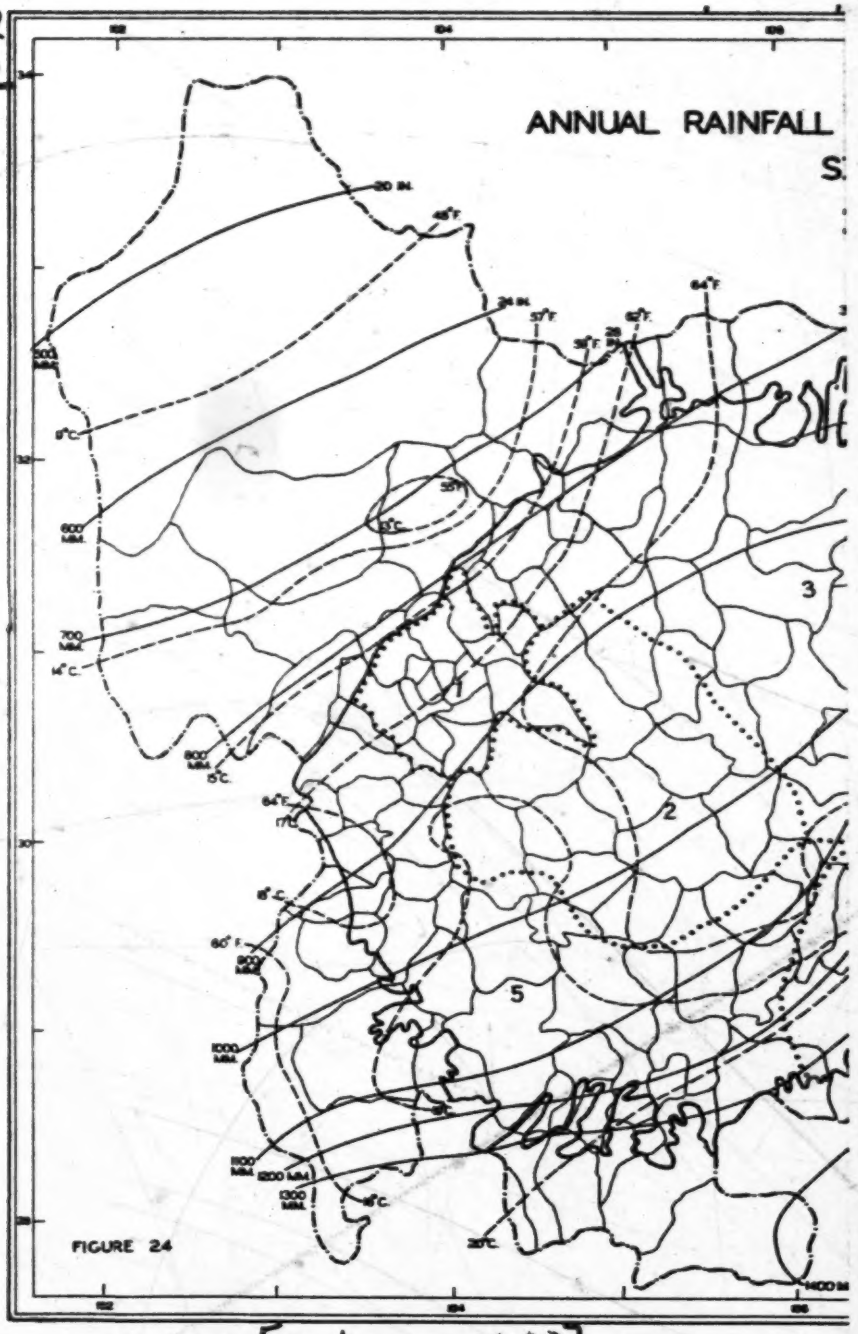

FIGURE 24

[End map 9 (a)]

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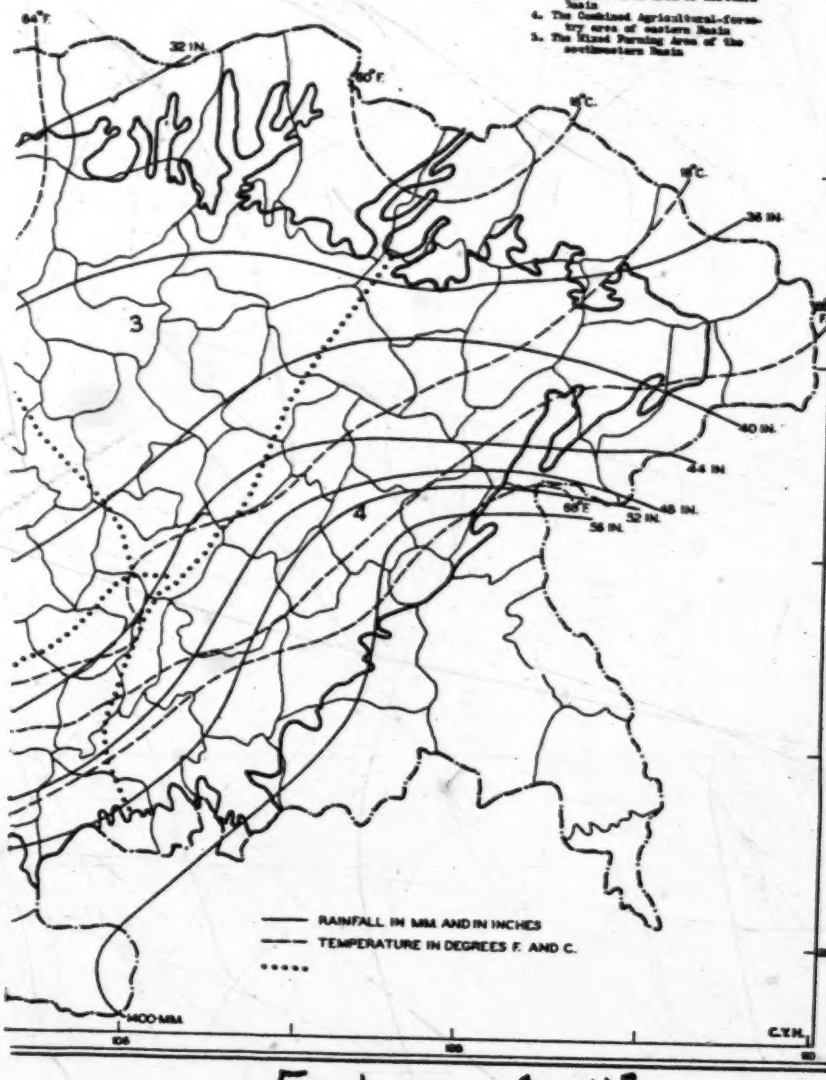
RAINFALL AND MARCH OF TEMPERATURE
SZECHUAN BASIN

Principal Agricultural Areas

1. The General Grain Farming Area of Chengtu Plain
2. The Specialized Commercial Agricultural area of Min-Pan Valleys
3. The Self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of northern basin
4. The Combined Agricultural-forestry area of eastern Basin
5. The Mixed Farming Area of the southwestern Basin



[End map 1 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133 Furthermore, the high strategic quality of the Basin's geographic position and its rugged topography have strengthened the Basin's capacity to serve as a citadel against military encroachment from outside. By virtue of its inland position, over 1,500 miles away from the coast, the Basin is reasonably protected from an enemy's navy attack, against which the rest of China is now almost completely helpless. Moreover, the Basin's rugged terrain and surrounding mountain ranges make land attack, even by modern mechanized forces, extremely difficult. Above all, thanks to the prevailing cloudiness in the Basin during most of the year, and to the presence of numerous rocky hillsides which can readily provide air-shelters, even modern air attacks have been reduced in intensity and effectiveness.

000 Taking all the above factors into consideration, Szechuan Basin is geographically better qualified than any other part of China to serve as a base for carrying on China's war of emancipation against barbaric invasion. It has served this purpose successfully many times during the historical past. No doubt, it will assume this important responsibility again. Being now better equipped and better prepared, the Basin will probably give an even more satisfactory account of itself this time. Time and space, history and geography, the two best friends of China, have always been at her side and have never failed her so far throughout her long existence as a great civilized nation. Undoubtedly, they will be with her this time. The Basin will again do its share to substantiate this truth.

As regards the second objective, the peace time future of the Basin is equally promising. With the diverse agricultural products, abundant forestry resources, and other assets, it should be sound national policy and good geographic division of labor to develop the Basin as a self-sufficient and well-endowed region in the vast space of China's interior. The development of the Basin will not only help to secure a more sound and well-balanced national economy in peace time, but also will provide a better preparation for national emergencies which may take place at any moment in this disturbing world. Such a development has been made particularly imperative in view of the recent opening-up of southwest China to the western world by way of the Indian Ocean. For the first time in her history, China has thus been brought into direct contact (by modern transportation) with the western world

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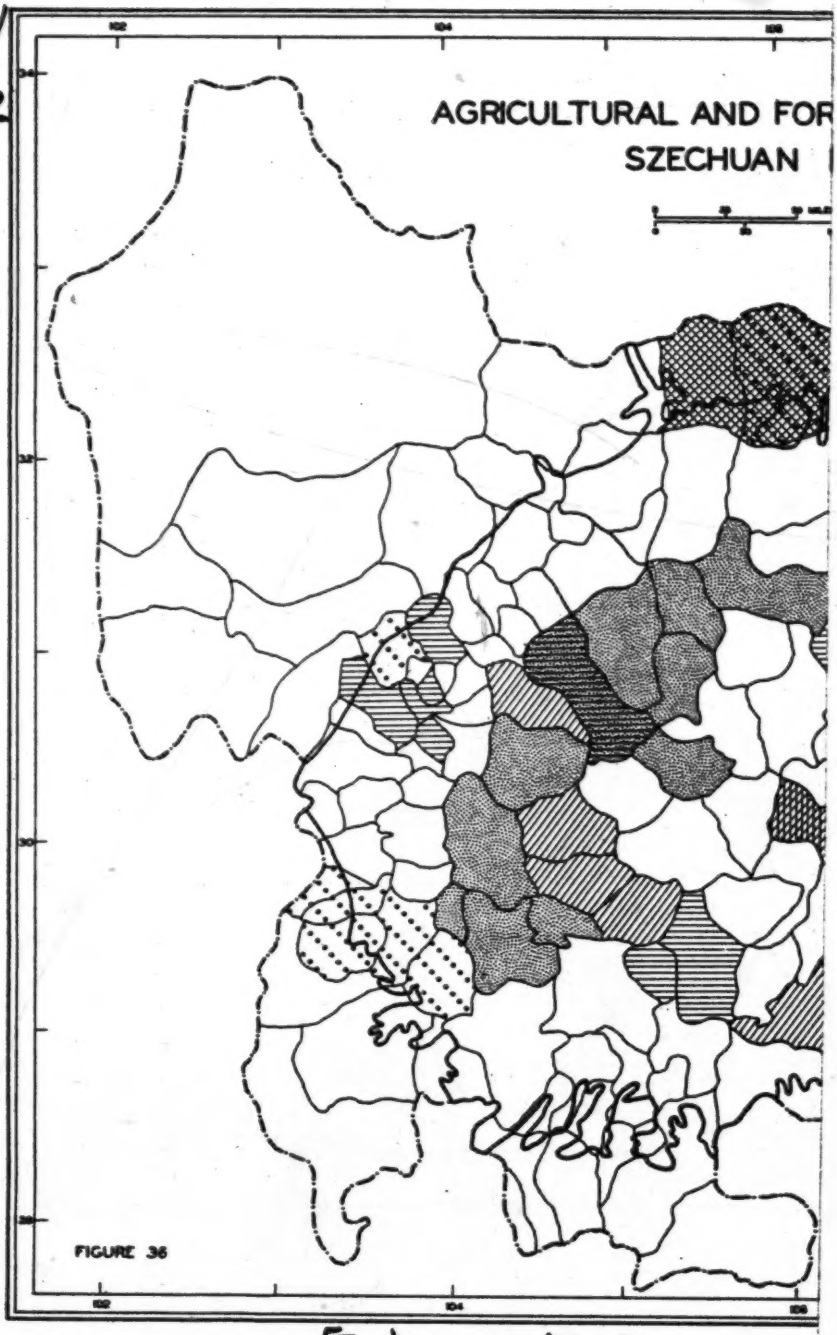

FIGURE 36

[End map 10(a)]

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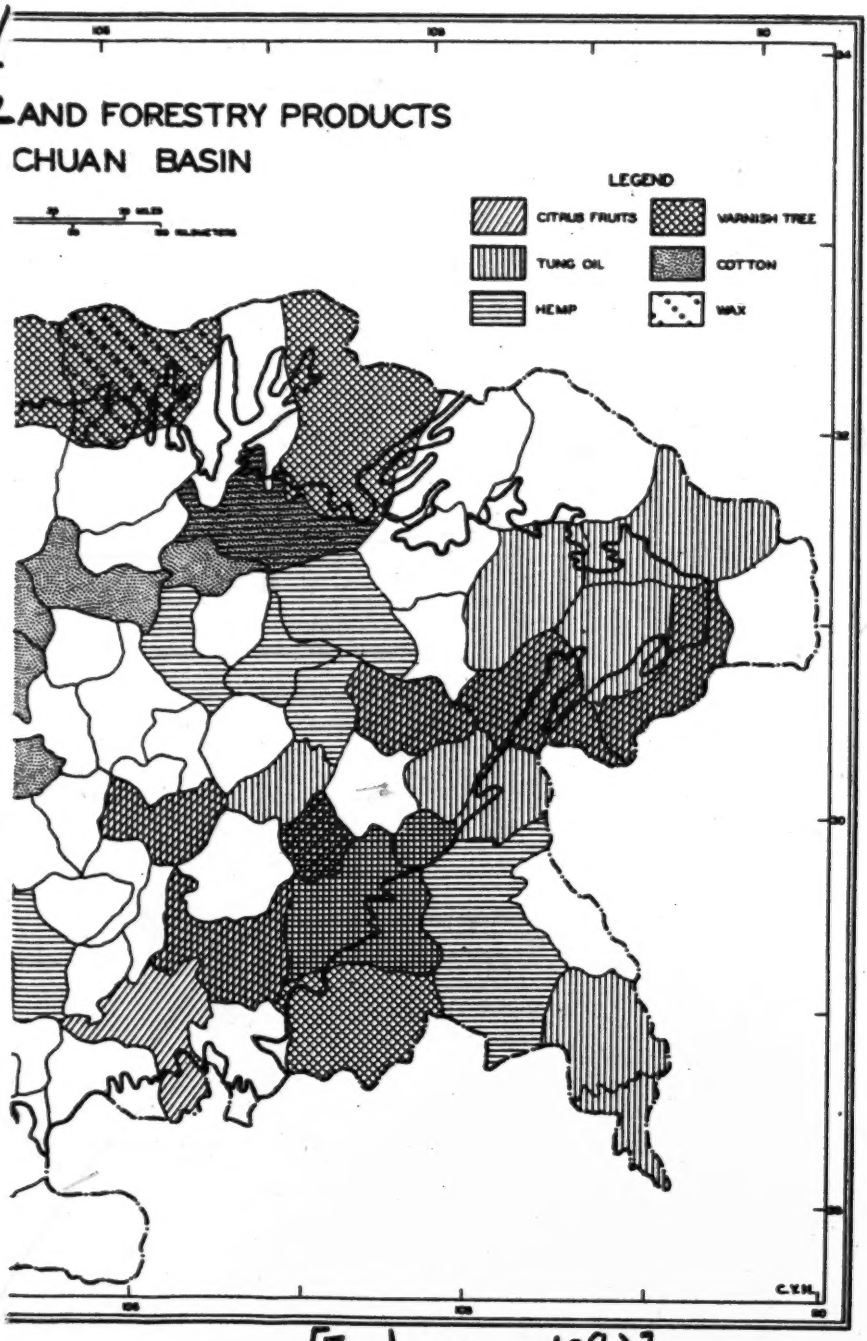
AND FORESTRY PRODUCTS
CHUAN BASIN



[End map 10(b)]

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through her back-door. It is probable that much if not most of the heavy flow of international trade will be diverted from the traditional Yangtse Gorge route to this back-door route through the Basin in the near future.[1]

Thus, whether in time of war or in time of peace, Szechuan Basin will be the natural center of activity among all the southwest provinces of China. It is indeed no exaggeration to say that both geographically and economically there is no other geographic region in all China than Szechuan Basin which is better qualified to play a vital role in carrying on the war against the invaders and in furthering the emergence of a New China.

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[1]The recent temporary successes of the Japanese along the southwest Pacific may delay this eventuality somewhat but will not alter the inevitable course of the region's future development. Geographers, being space-minded, should, at no time, lose the perspective of time.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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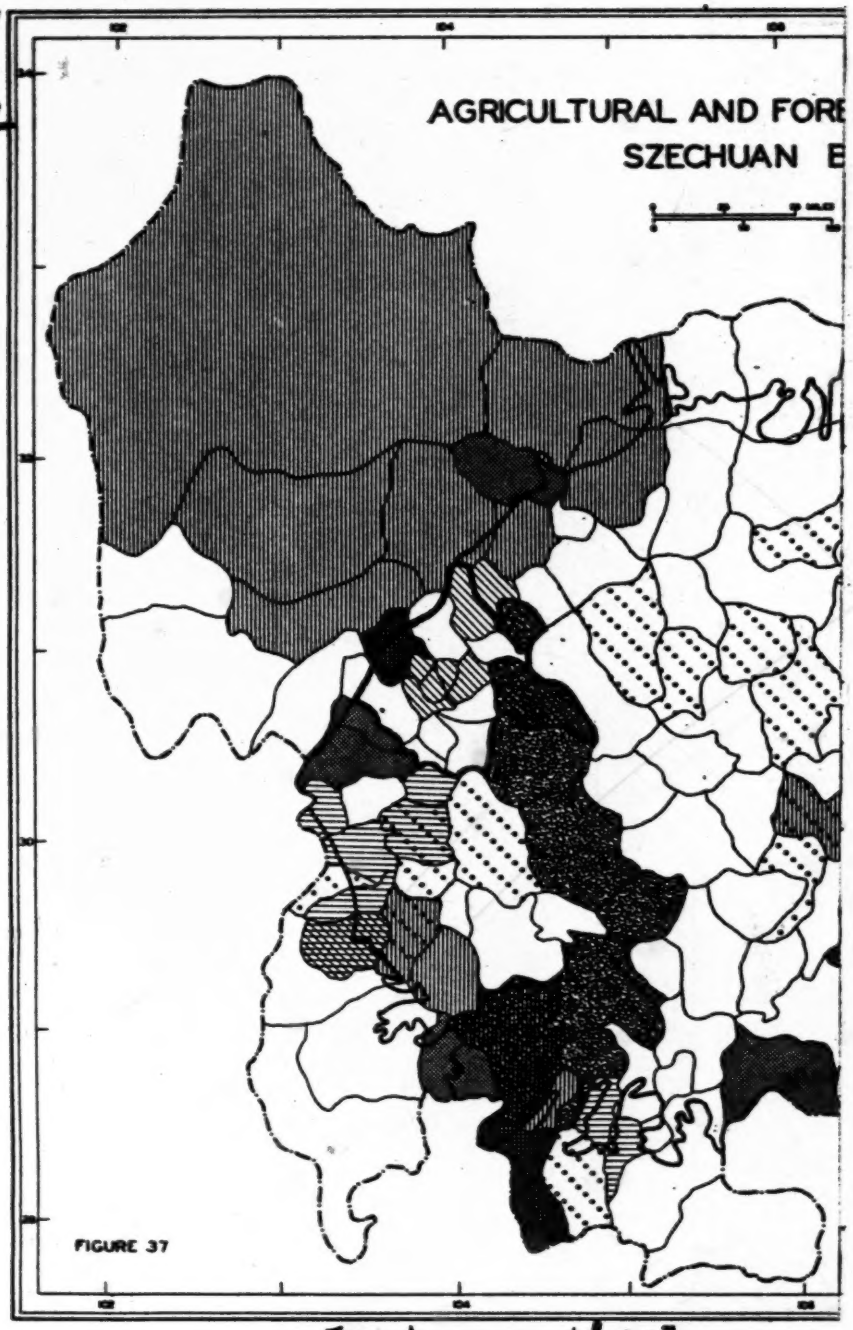

[End map 11 (a)]

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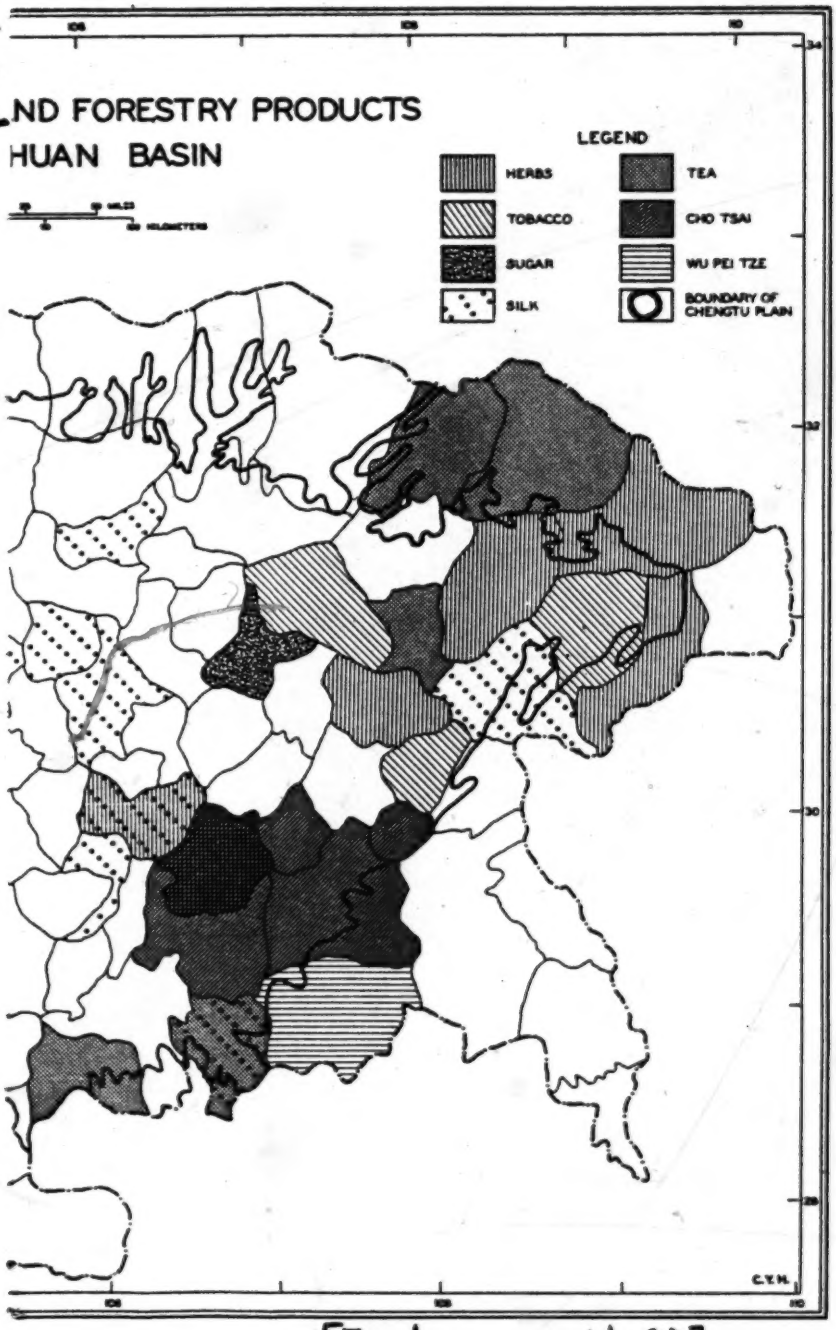

[End map 11 (b)]

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CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL PATTERNS OF SZECHUAN BASIN

101 Szechuan Basin, or Red Basin,[1] as it is commonly known to the western world, is located in southwest China (Fig. 1). It is one of the richest and the most distinctive geographic regions of China. Politically, Szechuan Basin belongs to the province of Szechuan. The word, Szechuan, meaning "four streams," refers to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse, namely, the Min, the To,

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[1]P. von Richtofen (Ergebnisse Eigener Reisen [China, 1912], III, 180) was the first western geographer to use this German name, "Das Rothes Becken," for this region. This was translated as "Red Basin" in English, and it has since become the official name for this region in all western geographical literature. It is a well-known fact that P. von Richtofen's original christening of this area was based primarily on the coloring of the dominant geological formations of cretaceous sandstones and shales. But, during recent years, upon closer examination and more careful study of the region, many students have expressed doubt as to the appropriateness of the name "Red Basin" for this region. First of all, from the standpoint of coloring of the geological formations, not all of them are "red" (cf. C. Y. Lee, "Development of the Upper Yangtse Valley," Bulletin Geol. Soc. of China, XIII, 107-17). As a matter of fact, the formations (sandstones and shales) range in color from grey, brown, yellow, buff red, and purple, to deep chocolate. Some observers even insist that in so far as the color of the soil (which is one of the important factors in agricultural land-use) is concerned, it is perhaps more appropriate to call this region the "Purple Basin" (cf. J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China [1936], p. 200). At least, it seems fair to say that this "Red Basin" is, after all, not all "red."

Secondly, from the standpoint of soil classification and soil coloring, the term "Red Basin" is particularly misleading and inappropriate. As Thorp has emphatically and rightly pointed out, the use of this term would tend to confuse the rich and fertile "red" soils of the Basin with those highly leached, infertile red soils of other parts of southwest China. In any case, in spite of the popularity it has long enjoyed in geographical literature, the name "Red Basin" seems to be obsolete and is no longer scientifically correct. Instead, the writer proposes to adopt the name "Szechuan Basin" (both Buck and Thorp have also used this name in their recent publications). This name not only does away with all the misunderstandings, as already pointed out, but also conveys, as we shall see later, the political provincial name and the prominent physiographic feature of the region, for "Szechuan" literally means "four streams."

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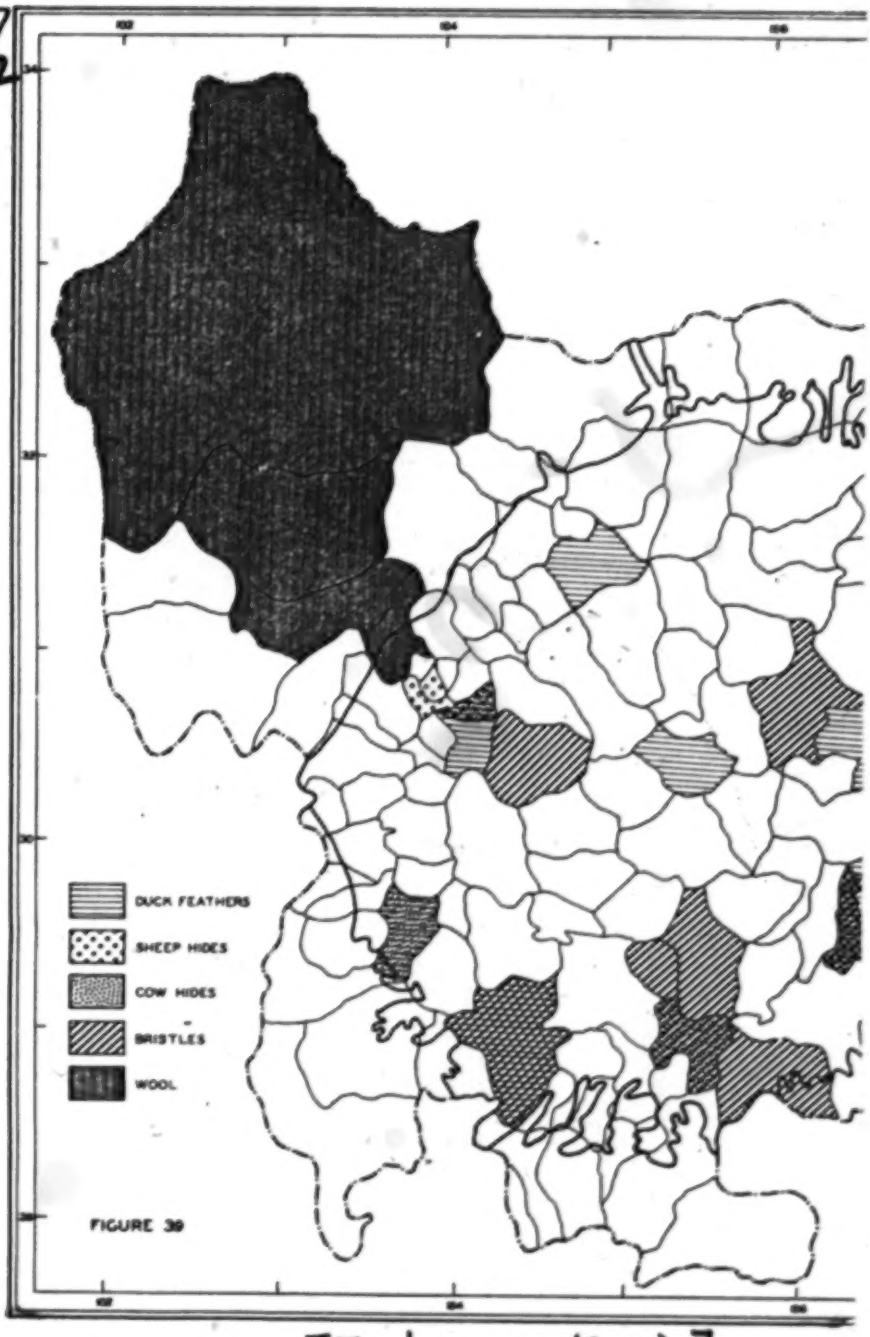

FIGURE 39

[End map 12(a)]

7: Hu K-5 (1914-) 1948 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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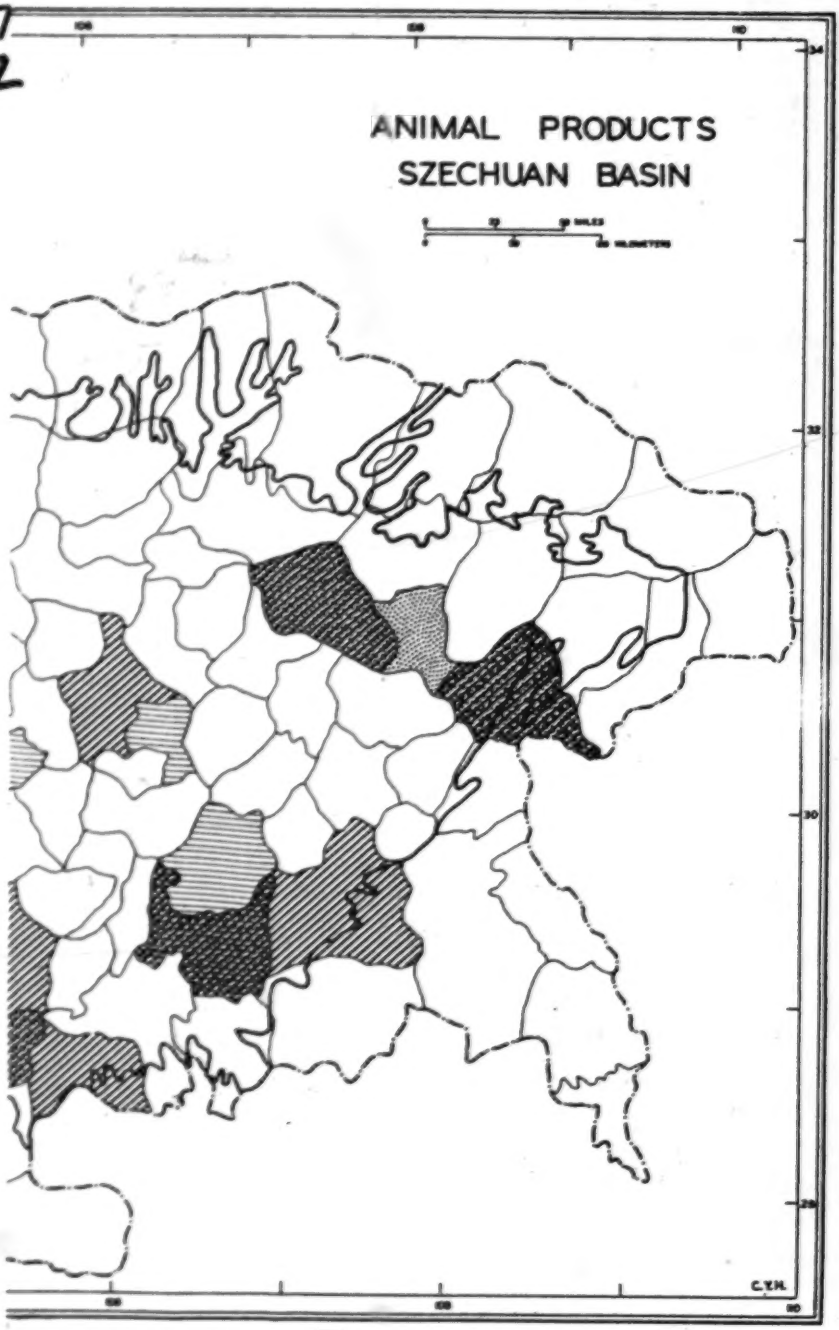

[End map 12 (4)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Fou, and the Chialing,[1] which flow from north to south through the province. 101

The term, Szechuan "Basin," as used in the present study, is not identical with the political unit of Szechuan "province." Moreover, it slightly differs from the area known as the "Red Basin" in western geographic literature. The latter is slightly larger and includes a small portion of Kwei-chow province to the south.

As a matter of fact the boundary lines of "Szechuan Basin" as defined in the present study are topographic in character. 131 After careful consideration of both physical and cultural patterns the 700-meter contour line (as the upper limit) was chosen as the line of demarcation.[2] In the actual drawing of the boundary line, however, some minor alterations have been made. For instance, where the selected contour crosses some of the minor narrow river valleys (such as the Chien and others), the boundary line is drawn at the middle-point of such valley rather than at the headwaters of the streams. Primarily this is done to exclude the extremely narrow strips of land in the headwater areas--lands in most places too steep for agricultural use. The total area of the Basin, thus delimited, is 146,842 square kilometers.[3] This figure is

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[1]Most writers give widely divergent names to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse from which the province, as well as the Basin, derives its name. Unfortunately, many of these names are inappropriate. Personally, the writer believes the four most important tributaries of the Yangtse (for reasons which will be explained in the later paragraphs) should be called the Min, the To, the Fou, and the Chialing rivers (cf. A. Hosie, Szechuan, Its Products, etc., p. 17; G. B. Cressey, China's Geographical Foundations, p. 312; L. D. Stamp, Asia [1935 ed.], p. 523; C. Y. Chang, Geography of China, II, 79; and W. D. Geil, Eighteen Capitals of China, p. 293.

[2]Arbitrary as this criterion may appear to be at first thought, it has, however, at least three distinctive merits. First, within the boundary of this chosen contour line, as we shall see later, there is a maximum coincidence between the physical and cultural patterns. Second, within this boundary there lies the most habitable and the most prosperous areas of the whole province; this is geographically significant and is particularly important from the standpoint of the study of agricultural land use. Third, this contour line, unlike many other boundaries commonly drawn to delimit the Basin, has the virtue of being a quantitative line. It furnishes a more concrete, if not a more accurate, basis for drawing the boundaries. So far as the writer is aware, no one has ever used a completely quantitative line to demarcate the boundaries of the Basin.

[3]Average of four planimeter readings.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

131 much smaller than the total assigned to the Basin by other investigators who use different criteria for its delimitation.[1]

The Basin, thus delimited (Fig. 2),[1] in its rough outline, is much like a trapezoid. The four angles of the trapezoid are marked approximately by the four well-known districts, namely, Kuang-yuan in the north, Ya-an[2] in the west, Sui-yung in the south, and Feng-chieh in the east (Fig. 2). The use of these four districts as the principal corner-posts of the Basin is not only topographically sound (i.e., they all lie within the limit of the same 700-meter contour line) but geographically accurate. For instance, northern Kuang-yuan marks approximately the northern limit of bamboo growths in the Basin.[3] Structurally, Feng-chieh, being at the head of the famous Yangtse gorges, marks approximately the eastern limit of the cretaceous formations in this part of China. Ya-an, strictly speaking, lies at a transitional zone between Chinese and Tibetan cultures; whereas Sui-yung is situated at a crossroad between the fertile Basin to the north and the desolate mountain areas of Kweichou to the south (Fig. 2).

161 The total population of Szechuan is estimated as between fifty million[4] and seventy million[5] persons. Since there is no official census, most students are rightly skeptical about the accuracy of these estimates. In 1937 the Bureau of Civilian Affairs of the Szechuan Provincial Government first undertook a fairly thorough survey of the total population of the province. According to this report (Population by Hsien, Appendix I, Table 1), the total population of the province is 48,436,624 persons.[6]

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[1] Cf. Cressey, op. cit., p. 312; J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China (1937), p. 79; Nai Tsiang Jen, Journal of China's Geographical Society, III, No. 4 (December, 1936), 727.

[2] This district, together with the other thirteen districts of southwest Szechuan, is now, by order of the National Government incorporated into the province of Sikang (Report of Szechuan Provincial Government [1940], p. 3).

[3] See Figure 8.

[4] Report of the Imperial Ministry of Interior (1898).

[5] Later in 1916, since the Republic, the report of the Ministry of Interior and the estimates of the Post Office both affirmed this number of seventy million persons (Report of the Viceroy of Szechuan [1910]).

[6] Bureau of Civilian Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[1] [See end map 2 -- Analyst]

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The total number of people in the province at the present time is estimated at about fifty-six million persons. This means an increase of seven or eight million inhabitants during the past few years as a result of the mass migration from the lower Yangtse Valley.[1] As the total land area of the province is 360,159 square kilometer[2] (excluding areas for districts recently incorporated under Sikang jurisdiction), this gives an average population density for the province as a whole of 135 persons per square kilometer. For the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study, the total population is approximately 43,000,000 persons.[3] Thus in the same manner, the average population density for the Basin proper is 285 persons per square kilometer. 161

The Szechuan Basin with its present population constitutes a miniature melting-pot within the great melting-pot of China. The influx of the new and many heterogeneous groups of immigrants into the Basin (especially since the famous massacre of the Chang Hsien Chung of late Ming dynasty) brought with it many new ideas and new techniques, particularly in connection with agricultural practices. This later fact helps to account, as we shall see later, for the present heterogeneity of its agricultural landscape.

A. Major Natural Elements of the Basin

1. Surface Configuration

The Szechuan Basin is a great synclinal depression surrounded by moderate to high mountains. The "basin" character of this area is demonstrated graphically by two cross-section profiles, one drawn along the line 30.30 N. parallel (Fig. 3) and the other along the 106 E. Meridian (Fig. 4). As these profiles show, the land slopes toward the center of the Basin from all directions. This is particularly conspicuous from north and northwest to south and southeast, as is further evidenced by the direction of the northwest-southeast flow of the main tributaries of the Yangtse (Fig. 5). 133

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[1] Report of Chungking Municipality (1940).

[2] Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Bureau of Military Survey (1939).

[3] This figure is arrived at by the writer by subtracting population of all Hsien (counties) lying outside of the boundaries of the Basin as delimited in the present study.

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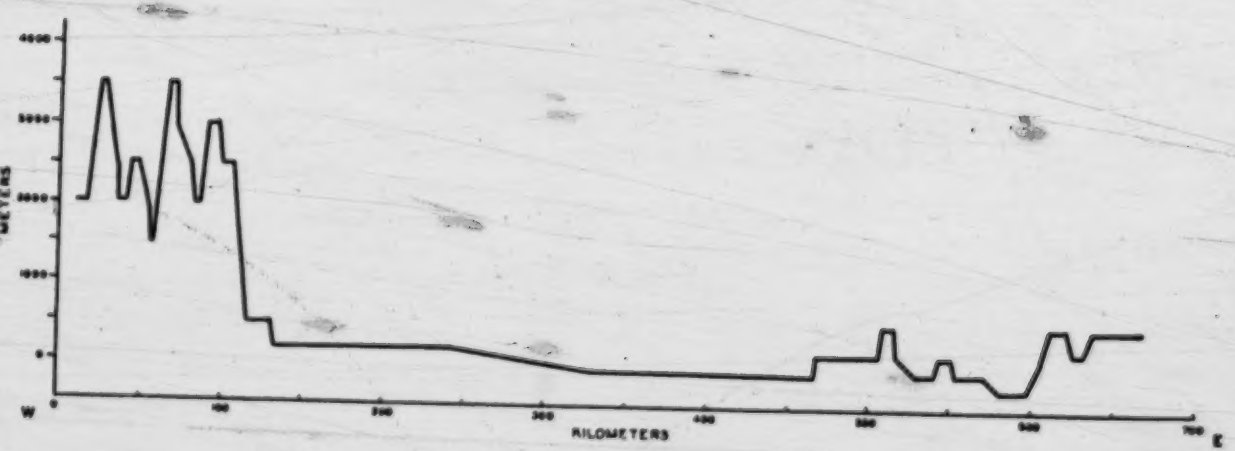
FIGURE 3

PROFILE OF SZECHUAN BASIN

SECTION AT 30°30' DEGREES
NORTH LATITUDE

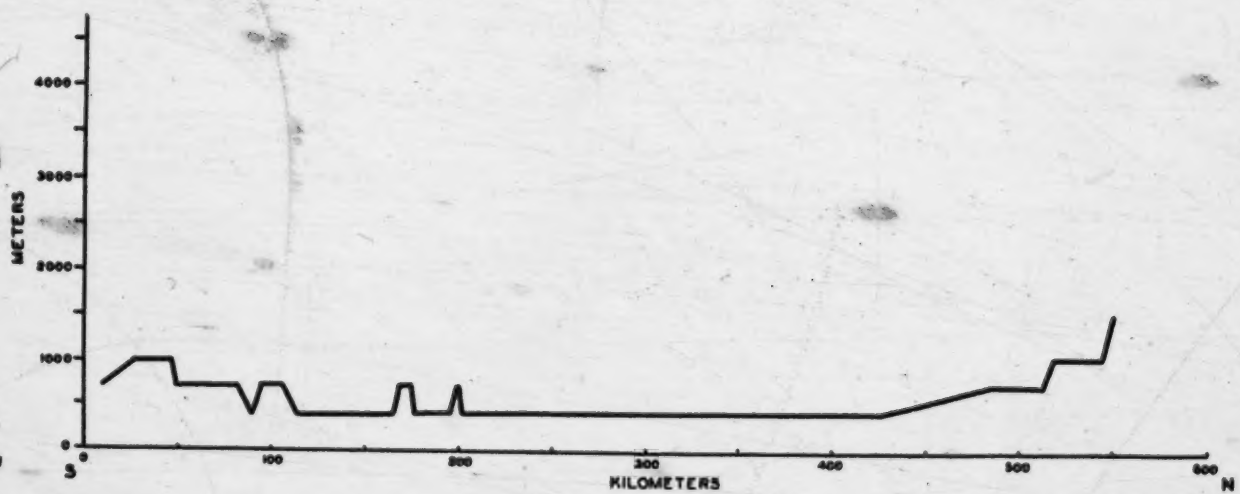


[Face p. 15 (a)]

FIGURE 4

PROFILE OF SZECHUAN BASIN

SECTION AT 108 DEGREES EAST LONGITUDE



[Face p. 15 (b)]

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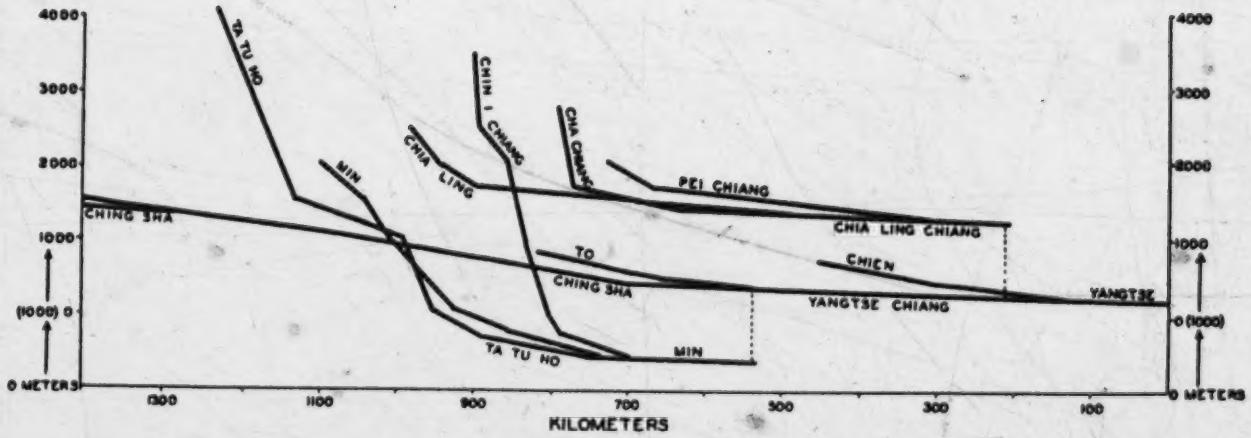
FIGURE 5

PROFILES OF PRINCIPAL STREAMS
SZECHUAN BASIN



[Face p.15(c)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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The surface configuration of the Basin is dominated by numerous rolling, dome-shaped or flat-topped (mesa-like) hills (Fig. 6) of various magnitudes. They look much like graves--only on a larger scale--and are formed mainly by beds of cretaceous sandstone and shale. These hills are, in general, not over 100 meters in height, but in most instances, the lower ones are less than 50 meters high. Commonly they are isolated from each other and do not form any regular system or pattern. The local relief between these hills varies from locality to locality, and differs according to the relative magnitudes of the hills themselves.[1]

Another striking topographic feature of the Basin is the presence of a number of anticlinal ridges, which are formed by the resistant limestones and sandstones of the Triassic, Jurassic, and even Permian periods. Most of these anticlines possess an axial trend of a northeast-southwest direction, being in most cases parallel to the bases of the trapezoid (Fig. 2). Many of them are open and symmetrical anticlines of considerable linear extension.[2]

Aside from some narrow strips of valley bottom lands found in the To, the Chialing, and the Fou river valleys, the most impressive scene in the Basin's surface configuration is the famous rich Chengtu Plain (Fig. 2), the only large continuous tract of flattish land in the whole Basin. This plain offers a striking contrast to the hilly or mountainous configuration of the rest of the Basin. It is a bona fide clear-cut geographic sub-unit within the Basin. It possesses a distinct geographic personality of its own and represents one of the most prosperous agricultural regions of the whole Basin.

2. Drainage Patterns

From the air, the principal drainage pattern of the Basin looks roughly like a netted-veined leaf with the Yangtse conspicuous as its midrib, and the main tributaries, both north and south,

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[1]Unfortunately, on a map drawn at the present scale shown here (1:2,000,000) and with the large contour intervals (200-1,500 meters), this local relief cannot be clearly visualized. The map (Fig. 2) does show, however, that the south central areas are of lower elevation, and have more continuous flattish surface than those to the north of the Basin.

[2]Y. T. Chao and T. K. Huang, Geol. of the Tsinling Shan and Szechuan (Geol. Survey, China; Memoirs Ser. A., No. 9, 1931), p. 39.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133 as its branch veins. The distribution of these veins seems, however, to be somewhat unilateral with the heavier concentration of streams in the upper, or northern, half of the leaf (Fig. 7).

The drainage pattern of the Basin possesses some distinctive and readily observable characteristics. One is the close relationship between the direction of flow of the streams and the local geological structures. First of all, most of the streams (particularly those in the areas with the folded structure) flow either at the bottom of a syncline or on top of an anticline, especially if the latter happens to be composed of less resistant formations than those which are present in the surrounding area.[1] Second, when a river transverses the longitudinal axis of resistant anticline ridges, in most cases at right angles, steep gorges are characteristic. This is particularly true in the case of the Yangtse and the Chialing rivers. Third, practically every river in the Basin has a number of terraces lying above the present level of high water. Each of these terraces probably represents a stage when river erosion was quiescent at the particular locality in which the terrace occurs. Rivers were rejuvenated after each of these stages of terrace development and their flood plains channeled to new depths. For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh, at the head of the gorges, following the Yangtse, extend a number of terraces of different magnitudes and heights, ranging from 15 to 50 meters. Particularly these terraces of the 50-meter-high are of great significance in the location of towns and villages.[2] The great city Chungking, as well as the urban centers of Feng-chieh and Yun-yang, for example, are located on these 50-meter-high river terraces. Cities of lesser magnitudes like Chung-hsien, Pei-ling, and others are located on the 20-meter-high terraces.

3. Vegetation Forms

137 The Basin is well known for its rich plant life. Vegetation forms peculiar to all climates, ranging from tropical palms to sub-polar firs, flourish in close juxtaposition and in great profusion. Generally speaking, however, there are three major

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[1] Chao, op. cit., p. 26.

[2] W. H. Wong, "Notes on a Journey to Szechuan," Chinese Geographical Magazine, XIX, No. 4 (1931), 9.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

areas of vegetation associations within the Basin[1] (Fig. 8). They are, first, the pine-cypress-banyan-bamboo association, occupying a large portion of the central and southern part of the Basin; second, the dense mixed coniferous-deciduous--mainly chestnuts (Castanea), oak (Quercus), and sweet gum (Liquidambar)--grassland associations, occupying the highland areas surrounding the Basin; and third, the coniferous (composed of mainly the Genera Abies, Picea, Tsuga, and Larix) grassland-Rhododendron associations, occupying a large part of the western Basin. 137

Particularly in the third of the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraph altitudinal zonation of vegetation is clearly shown.[2] As a rule the forests are on higher levels, whereas the intermediate slopes are covered with grass vegetation. Northwest of the Basin there lies the well-known "prairie" area, including both the tall bunch and short grasses (mostly stipa and some thick sods of Avena and Festuca) developed on the degenerated chernozem soils of the Sung-pan districts.

4. Soils

As soils will be discussed in more detail in connection with the agricultural land use, only the principal soil regions will be mentioned at this point. Generally speaking, there are three soil regions of major significance in the Basin[3] (Fig. 9), namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, distributed in most parts of the Basin, (2) the non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils mainly in Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, and (3) the slightly to moderately podsolized old and young yellow earths found in the peripheral highland and anticlinal ridge areas of the Basin. 134

B. Major Elements in the Cultural Landscape of the Basin

1. Population Patterns

The most striking feature of the population pattern of the Szechuan Basin is that with the exception of the areas around 162

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[1] C. S. Fang, Personal correspondence, April 16, 1941.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China, Plate 1, 1936.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

162 Chengtu Plain, the population density decreases from the interior of the Basin toward its fringes (Fig. 10).[1a] This generalization is more nearly true in the northern part than in the southern part of the Basin.

In most cases, the average population density of peripheral Hsiens, as previously mentioned, ranges between 11 and 50 persons per square kilometer. This density is much lower than that in the interior areas of the Basin (Fig. 10). Such a condition clearly demonstrates one very significant fact, that is, the close adjustment of population to relief in Szechuan Basin. As already pointed out, the general topography of the Basin tends to be more rugged as one moves from the interior of the Basin toward its periphery. A comparison of the Relief Map (Fig. 2) and the population density map (Fig. 10) emphasizes the remarkably high degree of coincidence between these two patterns. In other words, in areas where the surface configuration is more rugged (as in the fringing areas of the Basin) the population density is lower than in the more nearly level areas.

The actual population distribution and population densities of the Basin, owing to the great diversity of its topography, soil, climate, agricultural and other products are by no means uniform. Generally speaking, the Basin displays five densely populated areas, namely, the Chengtu Plain, the central and lower To River Valley, the south central industrial area, the central and lower Fou River Valley, and the discontinuous areas of Chu-hsien-Chung-hsien-Changshou areas in the eastern Basin (Fig. 10). As we shall see subsequently these five densely populated areas correspond fairly closely with the five principal agricultural areas of the Basin.[1] The first two are the richest two agricultural regions of the Basin.

The Chengtu Plain--the first of the five densely peopled areas--with its flat topography, ever-renewed fertile soil, and excellent irrigation systems, is the most prosperous agricultural area, and has the highest population density within the Basin. The average density is more than 500 persons per square kilometer. In some districts the average density runs as high as 600 persons or more per kilometer. These include the districts of Pi-hsien, Hsing-fang, and Wenchiang, west of Chengtu (Fig. 10 and also Fig.11 on index map of Hsien). Here, in addition to the rice culture

[1]See Figure 24.

[1a] [See end map 6 -- Analyst]

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which is universal throughout the Chengtu Plain, the specialization and the extensive production of tobacco[1] (reputed to be the finest in China for cigar-making) has increased the returns from farming and made possible this unusually high population density. The only districts of the Plain, which have comparatively lower population densities (below 350 persons per square kilometer) are Tsung-ching and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 10). The explanation for this situation lies mainly in the fact that these two districts have higher local relief and are handicapped by insufficient water for irrigation. For instance, on account of the lack of irrigation, rice is not widely grown in Tsung-ching. But, on the whole, in so far as the population density and the capacity for agricultural production are concerned, Chengtu Plain compares favorably with the Delta area of the Yangtse.[2]

The rich horticultural and sugar cane producing area[3] of the upper central To River Valley constitutes the second high population density area of the Basin (Fig. 10). Here, the average density is around 400 persons per square kilometer. With its comparatively flattish topography--probably the flattest next to Chengtu Plain--and its rich sugar cane production, the lower and central To Valley is agriculturally one of the most prosperous areas of the Basin.

The south central industrial area, including the districts of Fu-shun, Lung-chang, Yung-chang, and Pih-shan represents the third of the high-population-density areas (Fig. 10). Here lies the world-famous salt-brine mining district of the Basin. This is perhaps the only important industrial center of the whole Basin. It is reported that in Tze-kung area alone, there are more than 400,000 people, two-thirds of whom are said to be engaged in salt production and other manufacturing activities. In addition to salt, large quantities of coal are produced. The average population density in this area is well over 400 persons per square kilometer.

The central and lower Fou River Valley, including the districts of San-tai, Shei-hung, Sui-ning, Peng-hsi, and Nan-chang,

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[1]See Figure 37.

[2]P. M. Roxby, "The Distribution of Population in China," Geographical Review, XV, No. 1 (1925), 1-24 (Map).

[3]See also Figure 37.

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162 noted for their specialization and rich production of the famous yellow silk and for cotton and herbs, is the fourth densely peopled area. The average density in this area exceeds 350 persons per square kilometer. This area represents the richest agricultural part of the northern Basin.

The fifth area with a high density of population consists of a discontinuous tract of districts, including Chu-hsien, Chung-hsien, and Chang-shou north and east of Chung-king. These districts lie within the longitudinal anticline areas of the Basin, and in most places their topography is mountainous and rugged. The population density in this section of the Basin, as a whole, is low (Fig. 10). The exceptionally high population density of the discontinuous tracts mentioned above (with an average density of over 300 persons per square kilometer) probably is due to the rapidly increasing development of tung tree and coal productions during the recent years. This development has increased considerably the population-support capacity of these districts, as compared to the surrounding areas.

Outside of these five high population density areas, most of the districts of the Basin have a population density of about 250 to 350 persons per square kilometer. This approaches the average density (285 persons per square kilometer) for the Basin as a whole. In general, this average density is comparatively lower than the average density of the lower Yangtse Delta area, but is somewhat higher than the rural area of North China.[1]

Although many agriculturalists[2] classify Szechuan Basin as a "rice region," actually, on account of its rugged topography and deficient water supply, only a part of the hilly areas are used for rice culture. These are the "ti-tien" or ladder lands (terraces). On the other hand, considerable portions of these lands are devoted to unirrigated or "dry" crops, such as corn, potatoes, kaoliang, wheat, barley, millet, and others. This fact explains perhaps why the Basin, as a whole, in so far as population density is concerned, lies at a midway position between the higher densities of the rice region of the Yangtse Delta and the lower densities of the wheat region of North China.

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[1] Hu, op. cit., p. 26.

[2] Buck, op. cit., p. 78.

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2. Settlement Forms and House Types

Aside from large urban units (with population of 100,000 or over) which will be discussed later, the principal settlement forms of Szechuan Basin may be classified as follows, namely, the Hsien capitals, the villages (with aggregated hamlets), and the isolated farmsteads.

The Hsien capitals, corresponding somewhat to the County seats of the United States, often have a population of between 10,000 to 30,000 persons or more. Most of these Hsien capitals are the centers of activities of a Hsien (district). Some of them are situated along the river valleys, some on river terraces, and some at the saddle of two hills. The spacing of the Hsien capitals varies greatly in different sections of the Basin, depending upon the local topography, the rural economy, or other factors. As a rule, however, they are about 30 miles apart from one another.

Like other rural areas of China, the most common settlement form in Szechuan Basin is the village with clustered (aggregated) hamlets. But unlike many parts of rural China, Szechuan Basin contains comparatively few large villages of this type. In large measure this exceptional condition is related to the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. This is particularly so in the east and north of the Basin where hill country prevails. In the comparatively flatter and more heavily populated districts in the south central part of the Basin and in Chengtu Plain, however, large village settlements with aggregated hamlets are quite common.

The permanent population of a village settlement may vary from twenty or thirty to three or four hundred families, depending upon the location and prosperity of the district. It is rare, however, for a village to exceed seven or eight hundred families or a total population of three to four thousand persons.

In many cases the village settlments, if local topography permits, are rather closely spaced. In the most densely inhabited areas, they are at no point more than five miles away from one another. In the less densely settled areas, villages may be more than 15 miles apart.

The isolated farmstead is another common settlement form in the Szechuan Basin. These are of two sub-types: one localized in Chengtu Plain and the other distributed through the various

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361 hilly parts of the Basin. In the former the farmsteads are more closely spaced than are the farmsteads of the hilly areas. Each of the sub-types is sharply different from the other in structures and in general appearance.

342 361 In Chengtu Plain, most isolated farmsteads have fairly well-spaced compounds. As a rule, the structures of these farmsteads have only one story. The walls are made of mud or plaster and the roofs are either thatched with straw or made of tiles. In most cases the layout of these buildings is either "U" or square in shape (Fig. 12). Commonly they include the living quarters, animal and poultry barn, grain and straw storage quarters, implement houses, and are surrounded by high white-washed walls. Most of the farm houses are well-shaded by trees, such as the cypress, the bamboo, and the nammu and other fruit trees (Fig. 13).

In the more hilly sections of the Basin, particularly in its peripheral areas, isolated farms are found perched on the flat surface of hills. The spacing of these isolated farmsteads is by no means regular and it is everywhere in harmony with the rugged and dissected local topography. Most of the structures in these areas are shabby-looking, flimsy affairs, of very poor quality. In most cases they have mud or brushed walls. Corn-stalks are a common covering for the roof, since both straw and rice stalks are scarce in the hilly areas and have to be brought in from the plains.

In so far as the outward appearance is concerned, most of the houses in the Szechuan Basin are characterized by projecting eaves, gracefully recurved roofs, and rich, elaborate, and well-designed roof ornaments. It is interesting to note that these characteristics are made possible because of three favorable natural conditions in the Basin. First, there is little wind in the Basin and wind storms are practically unknown, thus the fragile and extraordinarily beautiful structures and decorations need little or no protection from wind. Second, there is practically no snow to weigh down and pry off a delicate projecting eave. Third, the fact that there are frequent misty rains in the Basin makes it necessary for practical purposes to project the roof eaves over the walls in order to provide protection from the rain.

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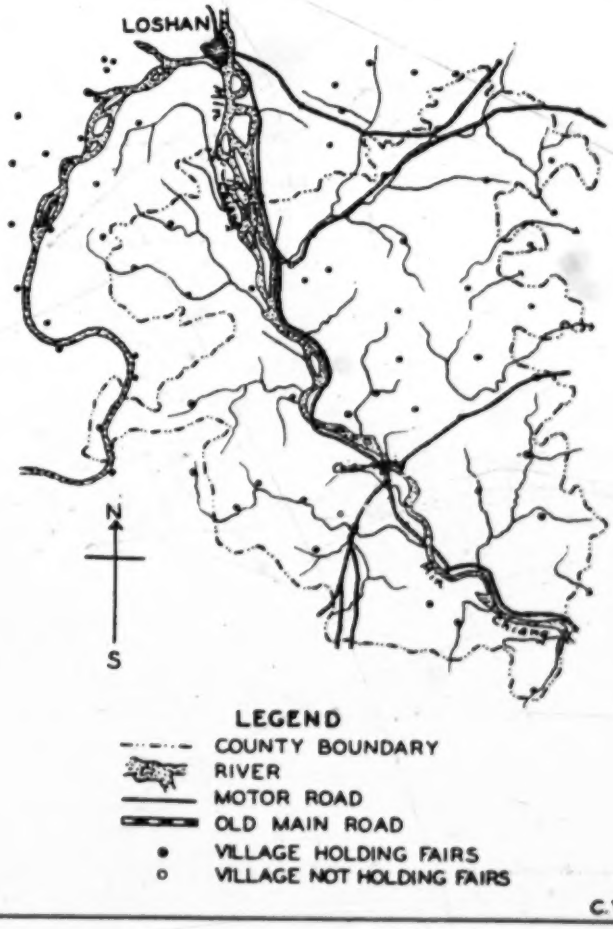
FIGURE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGE FAIRS
CHIEN WEI, SZECHUAN



Adapted from Spencer, J. E. Econ. Geog., Jan. 1940.

[Face p. 24]

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3. The Village Fair--An Important Rural Institution of the Basin

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The village fair is an important institution in the rural life of the Szechuan Basin. Such fairs, though quite common in many rural parts of China, are especially widespread and colorful in the Basin, and command great geographical interest. On account of the rugged and dissected topography, and consequently the detached character of the settlement forms in many parts of the Basin, there has been a greater and a more urgent need for some such institution than in much of China.

In many cases the village fair, locally known as "Chang" or enclosure, is the sole place where farmers living in isolated farmsteads and small detached settlements buy and sell their products. The village fair, therefore, is one of the most vital channels of rural economy in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the more hilly areas.

Ordinarily, the sites of the fairs are chosen on the more spacious and flat areas. On account of the scarcity of such areas in many parts of the Basin, however, most of the village fairs are rather limited in extent and consequently over-crowded. Normally they are either on the flat tops of moderate hills, or at the saddle or divide of two hills. In many cases they are held at places where temple grounds are available. The fairs are commonly spaced about 10 li (one li equals approximately a third of a mile) apart, and seldom are separated by more than 30 li. The spacing depends upon the local topography and the conditions of settlement. Because there is no means of transportation in many parts of the Basin, the ideal spacing is at a distance of less than twenty li, i.e., within walking distance of each other, so that the farmers in the areas between the fairs can make a round trip within one day. In most cases, as in the Chien Wei district of the western Basin, the interval between the village fair is about four or five miles, or a little over fifteen li[1] (Fig. 14).

The fairs are run on a definite schedule of dates, the frequency of which depends upon the volume of business the village commands. The usual schedules are 1-4-7, 2-5-8, or 3-6-9 days, alternating from place to place so as to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of the various areas nearby. The sequence and the

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[1] J. E. Spencer, "The Szechuan Village Fair," Econ. Geog., XVI, No. 1 (1940), 54.

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frequency of fair days is so adjusted as to reduce competition among the neighboring localities and to afford the greatest advantages to both buyers and sellers. The smooth operation of these schedules illustrates the type of local cooperation which is common in this part of China. 366 443

The typical village fair includes a grain merchant, a butcher, several tea houses, a few oil merchants, some firewood booths, vegetable booth, poultry stands, wandering native doctors, dentists, and fortune tellers. In spite of the extremely small area occupied by the fair grounds, it is interesting to note that a kind of system of automatic zoning has come into effect. For instance, it is almost a rule that the grain markets are located at the temple or other spacious grounds, whereas the tea houses, fortune tellers, and the wandering native doctors and dentists always occupy the center areas of the fair.

4. Farms and Field Patterns

One of the most striking features of the farms of the Basin is the predominance of terraced cultivated fields. Probably nowhere else in all China--with the possible exception of the loessial northwest--does one find the use of slope lands and the building of terraces so universal and so highly perfected as in the Szechuan Basin. Most of the low, round, amphitheater-like hills of the Basin are terraced and cultivated. 311 241

The terraced steps are of various widths. Each terrace rises above the preceding one (Fig. 15) and in many cases is faced by a wall of bare sandstones or shales. Each terrace is irrigated from the one below by a small stream of water regulated generally by some simple lifting device, such as a windless, driven by men or animal power. Generally speaking, most of these terraced fields are irregular, depending upon the specific land forms. In Chengtu Plain the fields tend to be rather square or oblong in shape, but most of them have irregular forms, owing to the need of fitting them into irrigation systems. In general, the units of the fields in Chengtu Plain, on account of its more continuous flat topography, are much larger than those in other parts of the Basin.

In the Basin, all land to be planted in rice, whether terraced or otherwise, is put, if possible, under water--generally a little over one foot deep--for the rice season. The field boundaries in most cases follow the natural elevations.

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241 If one may admit color as one of the elements of the landscape of a region, one certainly cannot ignore it in the agricultural landscape of the Szechuan Basin. In fact the unusual combination of color in the agricultural areas adds much to the charm of the Basin. The bright red, purple, and chocolate-tints of the soil, the fresh-green of the grain crops, vegetables, and flowers, the brilliant yellow of the rape, the white-but-spattered-with-yellow-and-pink flowers of the tung trees, the snow-white color of the white-wax trees, and many other colors silhouetted against the ever-present dark-green background of the luxurious vegetation throughout the Basin, all add to its special picturesqueness.

231 The normal assortment of livestock life on the farms is a second noticeable feature of the rural scene in the Basin. Fowls, geese, ducks, pigs, bees are especially prevalent. Horses and mules are few. Oxen and water-buffalos are the most important animals on the farm. The buffalos particularly serve in various capacities, such as to plough and to burrow the rice fields, to mill the grains, to press the oils, and to perform a hundred and one other duties. Aside from human beings, they are really the other important "flesh-motors" of the Basin. On the farms, herds and herds of such bulky, slow-moving, long-horned buffalos may frequently be seen (Fig. 16).

235 Duck rearing is another activity of importance (Fig. 17), particularly in the Chengtu Plain. During the months of November and December one may see enormous flocks of ducks being driven slowly over the flooded paddy fields of Chengtu Plain. They feed on the aquatic life in the waters as they are driven along. In two or three months the flocks arrive at Chengtu, fat for market, and at no one's expense!

5. The Character and Distribution of Cities and Towns

361 One of the outstanding features of the urban settlements of the Basin is that most of the relatively important urban units of the Basin are situated on the terraces near the banks of the principal streams (Fig. 7). For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh up to I-ping, following the Yangtse Valley, one may count no less than fifteen of these urban units, including the most populous cities and trading towns of the Basin (Fig. 7). The

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localization of cities in the valleys also holds true for nearly all the main tributaries of the Yangtse, such as the Chialing, the To, and the Min to the north, and the Chi-chiang and the Chien-chiang to the south. Particularly, wherever two major streams converge, a big urban conglomeration is always found. The most noticeable examples are Chungking at the confluence of the Yangtse and the Chialing; Lu-Hsien on the Yangtse and the To rivers; I-ping on the Yangtse and the Min; Lo-shan on the Tatu and the Min rivers; Pei-ling on the Yangtse and the Chien rivers; and Ho-chuan on the Chialing and the Fou-Chu rivers (Fig. 7). 361

It is almost a rule that most towns are situated on the small river terraces, whereas the big urban conglomerations are invariably localized on the broad and high water terraces or at a confluence of two big rivers. This situation is due mainly to the fact that in a region like Szechuan Basin, where water transportation is a vital factor, it is only natural that urban centers should occupy sites accessible to water transport. Even though many of the streams are not fully navigable at all times during the year, the river valleys offer the lines of least resistance and furnish the easiest means of access to the interior of the Basin.

The principal disadvantages of the urban settlements on river terraces are the limited areas of the sites, thus hindering an adequate development of the town patterns. Furthermore, with the great fluctuation of the high- and low-water levels in most of the rivers of the Basin, as we shall see later, the hazards for flood are great. This latter fact has accounted for the presence of houses perched on awkward looking understructures of poles and posts. These difficulties are particularly apparent in the sections of the cities situated on the lower (20-meter-high) terraces of the rivers.

The spacing of the big urban units, generally not over 100 kilometers and often less, depends upon many conditions including the length of the navigability of the streams, the level of the terrace where they are situated, and the relative extent and prosperity of the hinterland of each of the urban units.

In their outer appearance, most of the urban units in the Basin are compactly built. In general, the houses have only one story. There are no yards or sidewalks in front of the houses and thus the houses abut the streets. The streets, in their turn, 363

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363 are narrow, in most cases not over eight to ten feet wide, and are paved with limestone slabs. The arrangement of streets, as a rule, is in harmony with local topography and with the general pattern of the settlement in question.

361 Like many other long settled and unplanned urban communities in the Orient, most of the urban centers in the Basin have no sharp delineation in their functional areas. In fact, many of the functional areas are so juxtaposed and intermixed that it is almost impossible to describe them.

366 Taking Chengtu, for example, the city, in so far as division of functional areas is concerned, is so undifferentiated that nearly the whole city may be considered as predominantly residential in function. This may even be true in some of the so-called business streets, because there are always families living behind shops and stores on the business streets. The matter is further complicated by the fact that families behind these shops may also carry on some handicraft manufacturing activities. Thus, business, residential, and manufacturing functions are all present in one area. Nevertheless, in many cases, one type of establishment or operation unit (such as shops, factories, residences, etc.) is so conspicuous that "functional cores"[1] may be recognized with relative ease, even though the delimitation of the "boundaries" of these "functional cores" cannot be made sharply.

361 An impressive feature of the urban scene of the Basin is that every city has a city wall. Although many cities have recently torn down their walls as a symbol of modernization, many of them still keep this age-old feudalistic structure. The city walls, made of bricks, are in general about 45 feet high and 3 feet wide. Owing to the absence of tall buildings in most of the urban areas, the city wall affords an ideal panoramic view of the city.

505 6. Transportation Patterns of the Basin

a) The major water routes.--Water routes are by far the most important means of transportation in the Basin. There are, all told, large and small, navigable and otherwise, 270 streams

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[1]By "functional core" is here defined as a conspicuous clustering-together of a number of establishments or operation units which perform a specific or principal function in that area or locality.

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in the Basin, with a total length of 22,000 li.[1] Among them, the mighty Yangtse is, of course, the most significant. The Yangtse River traverses the entire width of the Basin in a southwest to northeast direction. It is the spinal cord of the whole stream system.

In so far as its use for transportation in the Basin is concerned, the Yangtse may be divided into two sections, namely, the I-Chang--Chungking section and the Chungking--I-Ping section (Fig. 7). In the first section, between I-Chang in the east and Chungking in the west, with a total distance of 912 kilometers, boats of three-meter draught may navigate during the high-water season (between May and November). Boats of two-meter draught or less ply this section during the whole year. In the second section, between Chungking and I-ping, with a total distance of 463 kilometers, boats with two-meter draught or less can navigate during high water, while boats of shallower draught (one meter or less) may navigate the whole course during low water.[2] I-ping is, for all practical purposes, the western-most point of navigation on the Yangtse (Fig. 7), although steamboats have made trial voyages as far as Ping Shan, twenty-five miles to the west of I-ping. Up to now, no river steamer has come regularly to this head of navigation.

The Yangtse is, for all practical purposes, the only important highway and the sole exit for the tremendous flow of goods from the Basin to the outside world. If the Basin be thought of as a bottle, the gorges of the Yangtse are certainly its vital neck. It is almost unimaginable that the Basin could have ever functioned as a prosperous geographic region without this generous gift of nature.

Of course, with the increasing growths of railroads and air transports in the Basin, the dominant position of the Yangtse may be somewhat affected. It is, however, fairly safe to say that in spite of these developments, the river probably will continue to play its significant role in the Basin for a long time to come. This prediction is based on the relative cheapness (though slow and difficult) of the river transport, the bulky nature of the commodities (largely agricultural and forestry), and the great

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[1] Shen, op. cit., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 37.

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505 difficulties (due to the rugged topography) of building other means of transportation in the Basin.

The harnessing of this mighty, swift, and treacherous stream by men for their own benefit, however, has been by no means an easy task. It is certainly not a story without excitement. There are tremendous difficulties involved in negotiating the world-famous Yangtse gorges, the numerous shoals, the whirlpools, and the rapids at intervals along the course of this mighty water-
501 way. For centuries, the Chinese, with their slow-moving but colorful junks, have battled patiently and painstakingly with the perilous river. It was not until 1898, after experimenting for nearly two decades, led by a brave Englishmen, Captain A. Little and later followed by the tireless effort of many energetic Chinese leaders in the Basin, that the first modern steamboat successfully passed through the gorges and arrived at Chungking.[1] Three years later, in 1901, a trial voyage farthest west to Sui-fu (I-Ping) was successful.

It was not until 1909, ten years after the first trial voyage, that suitable, shallow, and specially-designed vessels with a sufficiently large carrying capacity were put into use and regular steam navigation on the upper Yangtse became commercially possible. Since then, the development has been phenomenal. In 1919 there were only about 220 steamers of all tonnage-classes, totalling 55,000 odd tons, plying the upper Yangtse between the I-Chang and I-Ping section. But by 1936 the number of steamers totalled 2,140, with a total tonnage of 760,000 tons.[2]

The growth of steam navigation on the Yangtse resulted in the rapid and almost complete disappearance of the old colorful Chinese junks on the upper Yangtse. In 1894, a peak year in junk traffic, there were altogether 2,900 junks, with a total tonnage of over 100,000 tons. By 1925, thirty years later, only one junk, with a tonnage of 20 tons, was reported in the river traffic of the upper Yangtse.

505 Of all the navigable tributaries of the Yangtse, the Chialing River system is by far the most important. At Chungking the Yangtse is joined on its left bank by this important tributary, the so-called "little river." This is made up of three streams

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[1] L. C. Cheng, "The Waterways in Szechuan," Journal of Geog. Society of China, VI (1939), 7.

[2] Shen, op. cit., p. 38.

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which units at Ho-Chuan (Fig. 7). The Chialing River and its tributaries drain a fan-shaped area with an extent of a little over 160,000 square kilometers, or about a third of the total area of the province.[1] Aside from the Yangtse, the Chialing system is one of the most vital arteries of transportation in the Basin. Agriculturally, this area is not so prosperous as that of the Chengtu Plain or the To River area. Its average population density is likewise not so dense as those of the later two areas (Fig. 10), but, nevertheless, this area is rich in the production of herbs, tung tree and other forestry products, all of which are moved to markets by river transportation.

The importance of the Chialing drainage system is due to its navigability for long distances. The eastern-most branch, the Chu River (Fig. 7), is navigable, for small craft, up to some 40 miles north of Tung-hsiang-hsien. The central branch, the Chialing itself, is navigable, for fairly large boats, to Kuang-yuan, extending far into southern Kansu. Ships laden with herbs and other agricultural products descend to Kuang Yuan from Pikou in the province of Kansu. The western-most branch, the Fou River, is navigable up to Chung-pa, and one of its western tributaries taps the northeastern corner of Chengtu Plain (Fig. 7). The Chialing system is thus the greatest collecting and distributing center of the agricultural and forestry products in the Basin.

The Min River is noted not only for supplying water to the famous irrigation system of Chengtu Plain but also for its great significance for transportation purposes. In so far as navigation is concerned, the Min River may be divided into three parts (Fig. 7). The section between Kuan-hsien and Chengtu is navigable to small flat-bottomed junks all year round (Fig. 7). The section between Chengtu and Lo-shan is navigable to boats with a capacity of 50 to 60 tons all year round; recently the trial voyage by the Ming Seng Company, with steamers of 200 tons and in less than one-foot draught, has been successful. It is announced that this route will be opened as a regular commercial route in the very near future. Finally, the section between Lo-shan and I-ping, a distance of 160 kilometer, may be negotiated during the high-water season (June to November) by steamers with one to two-feet draught.[2]

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[1] Chang, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] Shen, op. cit., p. 56.

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505 Here, in the Min River drainage area, one finds a region of the richest agricultural production (with the highest cultivation-land index) and has the highest population density of the whole Basin (Figs. 21 and 10).

Among all the main tributaries of the Yangtse, the To River possesses the richest hinterland and has the most diverse agricultural and horticultural products. The To River, formerly known as the twin river of the Min, is composed of two branches: one is the Mien Yang Ho, originating in the Chiu Ting mountains, and the other, the Pai Tiao and Pu Yang rivers, tributaries of the Min. Both of these branches meet at Chao Chia Tu (Fig. 7) where, for all practical purposes, is situated the head of navigation of the whole To system. From Chao Chia Tu to Lu Hsien, the confluence of the To and the Yangtse, with a total of a little over 280 kilometers, junks with 50 to 60 tons capacity may ply all the year round. Between Lu-hsien and Fu-shun, steamers with one-to two-feet draught may negotiate during high water.

491 b) Highway patterns.--Next to the waterways, the highways furnish the most important channels of transportation in the Basin. The era of modern highway building in the Basin was first initiated in 1925, when a group of European-trained young Szechuanese engineers returned home and advised strongly the undertaking of such a program. The first highway completed was between Chengtu and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 7). But it was not until 1935, after the political unification of the Basin and the establishment of the provincial Bureau of Highway Construction, that the highway building program was carefully launched and systematically coordinated.

On account of the thoroughly dissected topography and the presence of numerous anticlinal ridges, together with the easily weathered rock structures, the building of highways in the Basin is not without serious difficulties. The constant threat of landslides, the presence of numerous steep slope and hairpin turns, and the necessity of building many solid embankments, make the building and maintenance of highways in the Basin both costly and hazardous.

At the end of 1940, more than 6,400 kilometers of highways were completed within the Basin. In fact of the province's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. These include six trunk inter-provincial lines and a number

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of other important lines within the Basin (Fig. 7). Four more trunk lines are still under construction.[1] 491

The highway system of the Basin was laid out with Chengtu as its center. The six trunk inter-provincial lines, most of them radiating from Chengtu, include the Szechuan-Shensi, Szechuan-Kweichou, Szechuan-Hunan, Szechuan-Hupeh, Szechuan-Sikang, and Szechuan-Yunnan lines (Fig. 7).

Among the inter-provincial trunk highways, the Szechuan-Kweichou line is at present the most significant. This is mainly because of the fact that the northern section of this highway, from Chengtu to Chungking (with a distance of 450 kilometers), also forms a part of the Chengtu-Chungking highway. Thus it is also one of the principal arteries of transportation within the Basin. Moreover, it is through this vital channel (the Szechuan-Kweichou highway) that the urgently needed war materials from abroad, and the flow of Szechuan agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, tung oil, and others, for exports to the western world, are now transported (Fig. 18). This route now plays exactly the same vital role as the Yangtse gorges route did in the pre-war days. Its importance, indeed, cannot be over-exaggerated, so long as the present war against the invaders continues.

Other important highway lines within the Basin include Mei-chiang-Tzeliuching, the Chengtu-Kuan-hsien, the Chung-Pa-Pishan, and the Santai-Mienyang lines (Fig. 7). The last line is particularly important because it forms part of a through route running north and south within the Basin.

c) The principal rail-line.--In all of Szechuan Basin there is only one "toy" railway, 120 li long (Fig. 19), running between Hsi-shan and Pai-miao-tze. It was constructed with 20-pound rails and a 24-inch gauge.[2] This line, known as the Pai-chuan Railway (Fig. 7), was erected in 1929. Its chief function is to facilitate carrying coal from Lung Wang Tung and Pai-Chuan mines to the nearby urban markets of Chungking. Up to now no railway of any significance has penetrated the Basin. 496

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[1] Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Highway Statistics (1940), p. 46.

[2] H. R. Issac, "The Only Railway in Szechuan," Far Eastern Review, XXVII, No. 9 (1931), 551-54.

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499 The need for railroads in the Basin is most urgent and the clamor for railroad construction is loud. Already there are four projected railroads, namely, the Chengtu-Chungking, the Tzeliuching-Luhsien, the Chengtu-Paochi, and the Chengtu-Kuming lines (Fig. 7).[a] The Chengtu-Chungking projected line is already under construction. This line, after its completion, will link the rich agricultural Chengtu Plain and the growing industrial Chungking area. Furthermore, the completion of the Tzeliuching-Luhsien line will bring forth a more efficient operation of the vital brine-salt industry of the Basin.

509 d) The major air-routes.--If highway development in Szechuan Basin is still in its childhood, airway development is in its infancy. It was not until 1932, only about ten short years ago, at the initiation of the Shanghai-Chengtu air-line, that the Basin first experienced commercial air service. Since then, commercial flying in the Basin has been growing steadily. The original Shanghai-Chengtu Line has suspended operation since 1938 on account of the war.

There are now five principal air lines in the Basin, namely, the Chungking-Hongkong (now extended only to Kunming after the Japanese occupation of Hongkong in December, 1941), Chengtu-Sian, Chengtu-Kunming, Chungking-Chengtu, and Chungking-Loshan lines. Among them, the Chungking-Hongkong (now to Kunming) and Chengtu-Sian lines are the most important.[1]

All the above air-lines are engaged principally in passenger and mail service. Freight capacity is still very limited. In so far as use for cargo transportation is concerned, the present air-line facilities are far from satisfactory. The airways of Szechuan are at best only a symbol of modernization, but the growth has been phenomenal and the future outlook is promising. The cultural and educational value of the air traffic to the inhabitants of the Basin is certainly tremendous.

489 e) The relation of transportation to the agricultural land-use in the Basin.--Among all the regional problems of Szechuan
435 Basin, none is more important and more acute than that of transportation. The poor transportation has hampered in more than one way the efficiency of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use.

In the first place, the difficult and therefore costly transportation has prevented farmers in the Basin from earning as

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan, op. cit., p. 52.

[a] [see end map 3 - Analyst]

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much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 miles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

[1]One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

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316 Basin produces annually about 4,000,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of iron, and 100,000 ounces of placer gold.[1]

317 The production of brine-salt is the most important mining activity of the Basin. Brine salt is almost synonymous with Szechuan Basin in China. The Basin is the only region in all China to produce this commodity. Normally, the annual output of pure salt in the Basin is about 8,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133 lbs.), with a total value between 30 to 35 million dollars (Yuan).

The salt-brine belt consists of a tract somewhat rectangular in shape, extending from the northern limit of the Basin adjoining Shensi to the Yangtse River at Lu-hsien on the east and to the Min River at Chien-wei on the west. Generally speaking, this belt lies north of the Yangtse and west of the Chialing River. But scattered brine fields are also found as far as the Feng-chieh districts, almost at the eastern-most edge of the Basin. The most important producing areas of brine-salt are, however, confined to the south central part of the Basin, particularly in the area between the lower Min and To rivers. Among all the producing areas, the Tze-Kung is the most noted (Fig. 20).

288 289 323 The Basin's manufacturing development has been greatly benefited by the presence of numerous agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, cotton, hemp, sugar cane, tung tree, wood pulp, and others. Long before the introduction of modern manufacturing, handicrafts of various kinds, relying principally upon the local raw materials, have been established in the Basin. At present, the most important manufacturing activities include cotton-weaving, silk-weaving, hemp-weaving, paper-making, glass-making, and tung-oil-refining.[2] The principal manufacturing centers of the Basin are located in the Tzeliuching, Chungking, and Lo-shan areas, where water transportation is most convenient.

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[1] Seen, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] H. N. Wong, "The Prospect and Economic Reconstruction of Szechuan," South West China Review, II, No. 3 (1940), 4.

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CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURAL LAND-USE

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Agriculture is the principal form of land-use of the Szechuan Basin. Among all the agricultural regions of China, the Basin is not only one of her richest regions but also, with its greatest diversity and widest range of agricultural products, the Basin represents almost a miniature China. Moreover, it is estimated that approximately 85 per cent of the people gainfully employed in the Basin are engaged either directly or indirectly in agricultural pursuits.[1] In the present treatment of the problem of agricultural land-use in the Szechuan Basin, major attention will be directed to the following points, namely, the land as chief natural resource of the Basin, distinctive features of its agricultural land-use, agricultural land-use in relation to natural elements of the Basin, the principal agricultural areas of the Basin, and the Basin's chief agricultural products.

A. Land: Chief Natural Resources of Szechuan Basin

1. Cultivation-Index and Areal Pattern Thereof

According to the latest report of the Bureau of Military Surveys of Szechuan Province, the total land area of the province is 360,159 square kilometers.[2] The area of the Basin as delimited in the present study is 146,842 square kilometers. The total area under cultivation, for the province as a whole--according to the report (1939) of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research--is 103,632 square kilometers (Table 2); for the Basin proper (as delimited) it is 68,240 square kilometers. This means the province as a whole has a cultivation-index (ratio of cultivated land to

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[1] Bureau of Interior Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[2] Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Bureau of Military Surveys (1939).

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total land area) of about 30 per cent, whereas the cultivation-index for the Basin proper runs slightly over 45 per cent. Considering its hilly and dissected topography, this cultivation-index figure for the Basin is fairly high, in fact it compares favorably with some of the flatter and more fertile areas in other parts of China.[1]

The cultivation-index, however, varies greatly in different parts of the Basin. Some areas have an index much higher than 45 per cent, whereas other districts fall far short of it. The peripheral areas of the Basin have a rather low index, ranging between 11 and 20 per cent (Fig. 21). In Chengtu Plain the cultivation-index runs as high as 70 to 80 per cent. In some of the districts of the Plain, particularly in Pi-hsien, Hsin-ching, Wen Chiang, Shuan-liu, and Hua-yang in the southwestern part of the Plain, the figure is even higher than this. On the other hand, in many other districts, including Pei-chuan, Ping-wu, Miao-hsien, Cheng-ko, and Fu-hsi in the northern, northwestern, and northeastern fringes of the Basin, the cultivation-index runs as low as 3 to 5 per cent. Between these two extremes, most of the south central and eastern parts of the Basin have an index ranging between 30 and 50 per cent. Generally speaking, the cultivation-index of the south central districts is somewhat above the general average for the Basin as a whole, whereas the eastern districts fall short of it. The districts on the northern, northeastern, and eastern fringes of the Basin, such as Kuang-yuan, Nanchiang, Wan-yuan, Yun-yang, and Feng-chieh, which have an index of 15 to 20 per cent (Fig. 21), are far below the general average for the Basin as a whole.

These differences in the cultivation-index are clearly explainable if one bears in mind the layout of land forms of the Basin. As in the case of population pattern, the factor of topography plays a very important part. It is almost startling to note the high degree of coincidence which the three maps showing relief, population density, and cultivation-index (constructed from three different sources of data) bear to one another.

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[1] Buck's study reports that the cultivation-index for the Yangtse Rice-wheat area as a whole is 35 per cent, but for the Yangtse Delta alone, the figure is 100 per cent (op. cit., p. 68). In the same study, Buck reports that the cultivation-index for the North-China Plain to be 68 per cent (op. cit., p. 62).

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2. Major Types of Land-Use

a) General statement.--Concerning the classification of main types of land-use in the Basin, there are no official statistics available. It is, however, estimated[1] that 32 per cent of the total land area is used for farming and its related purposes; 22 per cent for forests, brush, and other undergrowths, particularly bamboo; 3 per cent for graves and graveyards; 2 per cent for pasture; 2 per cent for grasses grown for fuel; 2 per cent for temple grounds; and 37 per cent for miscellaneous uses (including "huang-ti," wild lands or waste lands). These estimates, although no better than cautious guesses, do furnish a general picture as to land-uses and their relative significance.

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To a western student of agriculture or geographer this relatively high percentage of total land used for graveyards and temple grounds, and this extremely low percentage in permanent pasture, may seem incomprehensible. Probably here lies one of the most fundamental differences not only between Chinese and western agricultural systems, but also between the two respective cultures. The high percentage of wild or waste land is also striking. This is partly a result of the rugged topography, limited water supply, and poor soil conditions in many sections of the Basin. It also is partly, perhaps mainly, a result of the incessant civil warfare which has prevailed in the Basin during the last twenty years. This misfortune has laid waste to thousands of acres of productive farm lands, and has rendered farm economy bankrupt.

b) Uses of crop land.--It is reported that the total land in crop in the year 1937, for the province as a whole, amounted to 108,174,564 mow (one mow equals one-sixth of an acre), of which 44,952,366 mow, or 43 per cent, were used for "shui-tien" (irrigated fields) or rice paddy fields, and 63,222,198 mow, or 57 per cent, for "hang-tien" (unirrigated fields) or dry-crop lands.[2] With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, such as the To and Pou, where a large portion of the crop lands are used for irrigated paddy fields, most of the districts of the Basin, particularly the hilly areas, are generally occupied

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[1] Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Land Statistics (1937), pp. 83-85.

[2] Bureau of Reconstruction, Agricultural Section, Szechuan Provincial Government, Crop-land Statistics (1937).

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by "hang-ti" or unirrigated "dry" fields.

Dividing the total crop area by the total number of people in the province gives an average of about 2.5 mow of crop land per person. This is very small. It is also calculated that the average size of farm in Szechuan is about 16.3 mow,[1] which is slightly smaller than the average farm in north China (say, for Shantung province, 19 mow), but is much larger than the average size of farm in south or central China (say, for instance, Hunan province 12 mow).[2] The size of the average agricultural land-holding reflects the medium position of the Szechuan Basin.

The most interesting thing about these farms in the Basin lies, however, not so much in their small size but rather in the manner and the intensity with which they are being used. According to Buck,[3] 89.3 per cent of the total farm area in the "Szechuan Rice region" is used for crops; 4 per cent for farmsteads; 4.7 per cent for roads and graves; 0.7 per cent for wooded pastures; 0.7 per cent for forests; 0.4 per cent for pasture land; 0.1 for productive water area; and 0.1 for fuel grasses.

B. Distinctive Features of Agricultural Land-Use in Szechuan Basin

Nyhus, in his study of agricultural regions of China, classified Szechuan as the "west China" region.[4] Buck grouped Szechuan as the "Szechuan Rice" area.[5] Both of these classifications are widely known in the west and have often been quoted in western geographic literatures.[6] However, both of them seem to neglect the most unique features of agricultural practice in the

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[1]Buck's finding for the "most usual size" of farm in the "Szechuan Rice region" is 2.4 acres, or approximately 14.4 mow, which is slightly lower than the figure arrived here (op. cit., p. 269).

[2]Bureau of Statistics, National Government, China, Agricultural Statistics (Nanking, 1933), p. 41.

[3]Buck, op. cit., p. 172.

[4]Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Regions of China (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., 1931) (maps).

[5]Buck, op. cit., p. 27 (map).

[6]G. B. Cressey, "The Agricultural Regions of Asia," Economic Geography, Vol. X (1934).

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Basin. Particularly, Wyhua' classification of Szechuan as the "west China region," which includes large heterogeneous areas with diversified agricultural practice (for instance, Yunnan), fails to bring the agricultural land-use of the Basin into a sharp focus. Buck's treatment, in spite of the rich quantitative data he assembled, is handicapped by the lack of sufficient descriptive materials. Statistics alone, without comprehensive case descriptions, furnish only a dry skeleton which is of limited interest. In his contact with the agricultural practice in the Basin during the past years, the author feels there are a number of unique agricultural practices in the Basin which deserve special mention. 241 311

1. Extraordinary Diversity of Agricultural Products and Intensity of Land-Use

First of all, the agricultural system of Szechuan Basin is marked both by its extreme diversity of products and by the extraordinary intensity of its land-use. Although the Basin is generally noted and is commonly classified as a "rice region," (and rice is undoubtedly the predominant crop here), a more characteristic feature of its agriculture system is the production of many other unirrigated crops, particularly corn, potatoes, kaoliang, and millet. Nowhere in China, perhaps with the possible exception of Yunnan and Kwangtung provinces, have corn and potatoes become so significant in agricultural production as in the Basin. Moreover, nowhere else in China, perhaps beside the North China Plain and Manchuria, have kaoliang, millet, and soy beans been so widely cultivated as here. It is even more surprising to note that horticultural products so diverse as Lung yen (Euphoria longana), li chi (Litchi chinensis), sugar cane, and citrus fruits of tropical south China, and the best quality pears and persimmons of temperate cold north China are all found growing together here. Agriculturally and horticulturally, here in the Basin, one finds all of China represented in a miniature form. 241

2. The "Tung-Shui-Tien" System

Another characteristic agricultural practice here is the so-called "Tung-shui-tien" system, literally meaning "winter-storing-water field." In spite of the favorable climate and the fertile soil, and contrary to the popular belief of many western agriculturalists and geographers, large tracts of "ti-tien,"

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241 terraced fields (estimated as high as 25 to 50 per cent of the total rice fields) are left fallow during the whole winter season. They are used for storage of water needed in the paddy fields the following spring. This peculiar situation is brought about by at least three factors: (a) Topographically, most of these "ti-tien," terraced fields, are of fairly high elevation, ranging from 50 to 100 meters or higher, and to secure water for irrigation is rather difficult. Thus it is found necessary to collect and store enough water at the lower terraces whenever possible during the winter for the spring crop. (b) On account of the mild climate of the Basin, and the lack of snowfall, the larvae of some harmful agricultural insects cannot be frozen to death. Storing water on the fields helps to kill off the insect pest for the spring crop season. (c) Because of the difficult transportation conditions and the prohibitive cost of transporting bulky fertilizers (consisting mainly of night soils and oil cakes) from one part to another within the Basin, and in order to conserve soil fertility and to safeguard a satisfactory summer crop, it is imperative to let these terraced hilly fields lie fallow during the winter season.[1]

This unfortunate age-old practice of the Basin has hampered greatly the efficiency of its agricultural land-use. During recent years, many modern Chinese agriculturalists have seriously challenged the wisdom of this inefficient practice. Numerous suggestions have been made to correct it. One of the most interesting methods[2] recently devised is the construction of high retaining walls around these water-storing fields so as to increase their

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[1]Mr. E. F. Chen, of the College of Agriculture, University of Nanking (now at Chengtu), has recently conducted a series of experiments for testing the efficiency (in yields) of land-use on two sets of such terraced lands--one on which water was stored and which allowed to lie idle, while the other was cultivated. He found that fields in fallow gave a 69 per cent greater yield. This result, of course, seems to give an experimental justification for this peculiar practice. It is, however, only the result of a single experiment, and cannot be said to be the last word on this whole important problem. It is perhaps necessary to continue such experiments on various types of land with different physical qualities over a period of years before any significant conclusions can be drawn (cf. China's Soil Quarterly, I, No. 3 (1941), 33-38.

[2]L. F. Chao, "The Present Conditions and Future Programs of Agriculture and Forestry of Szechuan," Southwest China Review, III, No. 1 (1941), 17.

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capacity to hold water. By so doing, considerable horizontal space (terraced fields) can be saved and made available for winter crops. 241

3. Rotation Systems and Inter-culture

Third, although inter-culture is an old favorite agricultural practice, universally adopted in all parts of China, nowhere does one find its practice so extensively carried out and so religiously followed by farmers as in this region. For instance, in cotton culture, the inter-planting with beans, corn, and other field crops, has been followed so extensively that it has almost ruined the cotton plant itself. Many agriculturalists have even cited this factor as one of the most important in the decline of cotton culture here. It is not unusual to observe, even on the tops of narrow dikes separating the rice fields, single rows of beans or other crops. Another common practice in inter-culture here is to plant beans, peas, or rape between rows of wheat.

4. Methods of Fertilization and Soil Culture

In most areas of the Basin, the purple-brown soil is only moderately fertile. In order to assure a good crop, fertilization is essentially necessary. There are a number of methods of soil fertilization practiced in the Basin. First of all, manuring is practiced at all times for all crops. Nothing is wasted which would tend to enrich the land. Sewage from cities and villages is carried long distances in buckets or in tubs to the fields, and nowhere else in the world is human excrement so highly valued and laboriously collected as is in the Basin. Besides, stable manure, potash-burned stubble, roots, weeds, rice husks, animal hairs, and anything that is otherwise valueless is collected and heaped together for purposes of fertilizing the soil.

The methods of fertilizer composting used here are different from those used in many other parts of China. The general procedure is to put all waste organic matters into a large heap, and to moisten the heap slightly to permit decomposition. Usually this slow decomposition takes months. But, recently, special yeast bacteria have been developed by the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research to hasten this process. Now it takes only three

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weeks for decomposition.[1] By this method very little nitrogen is lost. The heap may be turned several times until the decomposition is complete and the fertilizer is ready for use in the field. Moreover, this process also increases the efficiency of the fertilizer in its usefulness to the plant.

Again, the manner of application of the fertilizer here is perhaps even more painstaking than the ways of preparation and composting. Sometimes a cupful of liquid manure or night soil is given to each plant at the period of its critical growth so as to secure the maximum efficiency.

The Basin also produces a number of oil-yielding plants and trees, such as rape, ground-nuts, beans, sesame, cotton, tung tree, and others, whose seeds and nuts, after the oil has been extracted, furnish refuse cakes of great value for soil fertilization purposes.

Another characteristic practice here is the widespread use of green-manuring by applying a special species of legume plant, locally known as "lu-tiao," (astragalus sinenses). This practice is particularly popular with farmers near the Chengtu Plain. According to the reports of recent experiments, conducted by the Central Agricultural Experimental Station, this plant yields the highest nitrogen content of any fertilizer. The government has been trying to encourage more farmers both in the southern and central part of the Basin to adopt this practice.

Second, soil culture has been widely practiced in the Basin. One practice is the so-called "Tiao-ho-po," which literally means "clean left-overs of the river banks." During the winter, in the low-water season, farmers living along the numerous small river valleys gouge the river bank and carry back to their fields in baskets the overflowing alluvial deposits. Due to the steep slope of many terraced fields and the high tilting of the rock structures, soil creep is very common. Thus a considerable portion of rich organic matter and surface soils from the hilly areas have been slipped down to lower land levels. It is a common scene to see farmers salvage these "fugitive soils" caught in pockets at the lower hillsides due to summer freshets or other erosional forces by carrying them back (during the summer season) in baskets to their upper hill fields. In many occasions one may find farmers

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[1] Ibid., p. 21.

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actually paving the bare rocks with fresh soils they have secured from the river channels and trying to grow crops on them. This is bona fide soil culture. Consequently, the soil profile here is very confused so that any use of it as a criterion for soil classification is most difficult. In fact, in many places here, soils are almost completely lacking in any profile. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that considerable areas of soil here are, either directly or indirectly, humanly induced.

Moreover, on account of the shallowness of the soil and the soft friable character of the underlying cretaceous shales and sandstones, the farmers, in their everyday operations actually dig into the underlying rocks to hasten their weathering and decomposition so that more fresh soils can be "cultured."

5. Special Terracing Practices

Probably nowhere in China has a higher and more extensive utilization of slope land been made than in Szechuan Basin. Most of the hillsides are terraced into a series of gigantic steps. Many mountains have been terraced up to the summits. These terraces are commonly long narrow strips of land, and in many cases have rather steep slopes. Sometimes land with slopes as high as 60 degrees or more is terraced and used for cultivation. Intricate irrigation systems are established between these terraces. Whenever water is available, rice is cultivated in the fields. Praising these practices, one competent and sympathetic western observer once remarked:

> These devices (terracing), combined with the untiring, patient industry of the people, have converted an incipient "bad land" into a rich and fertile region of terraced fields. In no part of China that I have visited are the people entitled to greater praise for their meritorious agricultural accomplishment than throughout this Red Basin.[1]

However, on account of the steep slope of many of these terraced fields, as well as the failure to practice contour-planting, serious soil creep has been induced. This constitutes one of the most serious forms of soil erosion here.

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., I, 67.

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C. Agricultural Land-Use in Relation to Natural Elements

1. Agricultural Land-Use and Climatic Conditions

132 Szechuan Basin has a unique climate. This climate is dictated more by its topography than by its latitudinal position.[1] To be specific, there are three chief factors affecting the climate: (1) the location in the interior of an extensive continent and a minimum of marine influence; (2) the surrounding high mountain ranges (these afford protection particularly against the strong Siberian and central Asiatic winds [by the Tsing-ling range to the north], as well as considerable protection against the monsoon [by the Taliang-shan and the Hsiao-Liang-shan to the south]); (3) the relatively high elevation above the sea (the average is about 1,250 feet and thus the Basin's summer climate is tempered considerably). The combined operation of these three factors has accounted for the exceptionally mild (for its latitude), cloudy, humid, and almost windless Szechuan climate. Especially the "Basin" character (surrounded by lofty ranges) of the Basin has cut down considerably the intensity of solar radiation and consequently the low evaporation rate. The two foregoing factors, in turn, cause the always cloudy skies and humid weather in the Basin.

The actual climatic conditions of the Szechuan Basin may be understood by separately considering "temperature," "rainfall," "evaporation and humidity."[2]

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[1]The Basin's northern-most boundary lies at latitude 32 N., corresponding to the latitude of Nanking; and its southern-most boundary lies at 26 N., corresponding to Foochow along the south China coast.

[2]The weather record throughout the Basin is rather a recent affair. With the exception of Chungking, which has a record of over forty years (kept by Customs) and Chengtu, which has a record of a little over ten years, most of the stations were established only during the last few years. In 1936, the Bureau of Reconstruction of the Szechuan Provincial Government established weather stations at Lo-shan, Nei-chiang, and Suining. Later, in 1937, more weather stations were established at Wan-hsien, I-ping, Ta-hsien, Yu-hsien, Lu-hsien, Ya-an, O-mei, and Sung-pang. The ultimate objective of this program is to establish, if possible, one weather station at each Hsien (district) throughout the province. The lack of long-range weather data has handicapped considerably any satisfactory discussion of the climate of the Basin. But, in spite of this fact, the present data, as presented here (Fig. 24), do give us a much better idea of what the climatic conditions of the Basin are than otherwise could have been possible.

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a) Temperature.--First of all, the temperature varies considerably within the Basin. The isotherm of the average annual temperature, running in a northwest-southeast direction, in most cases decreases from northwest to southeast (Fig. 24). The temperature is usually mild, as compared with other places having the same latitude. For instance, in the coldest month (January), Chengtu has an average temperature of 5.5 degrees C. (42° F.) (Fig. 22); and the January average for Chungking runs as high as 8.8 degrees C. (48° F.) (Fig. 23 and Table 3). These temperature readings are much higher than places of approximately the same latitude or points even slightly farther north in other parts of China.[1] The average for the hottest months through most parts of the Basin is generally around 28-29 degrees C. (82-84° F.). Thus the typical annual average range is about 4.4 degrees C. (40° F.). The record for the hottest day in the Basin seldom runs higher than 35 degrees C. (95° F.), and the coldest day very rarely drops below freezing. This gives an absolute annual range of about 15.5 degrees C. (60° F.). In most parts of the Basin, the average annual temperature is between 17 and 18 degrees C. (62 and 64° F.) (Fig. 24).

According to the reports of the last ten years (1929-39), Chengtu had an average of about ten days of frost per year, while Chungking had an average of only two days of frost during the same period. For the Basin as a whole (with the exception of isolated hilly areas), the frost-free season, or the growing season, is about 340 days per year. But many parts of the Basin are practically frost-free all the year round. The mildness of the climate certainly has a great deal to do with the agricultural prosperity of the Basin.

b) Rainfall.--Rainfall is a second major element in the climate of the Szechuan Basin. The total annual rainfall throughout the Basin is fairly sufficient for agricultural production. It ranges from 500 millimeters in the northwest to 1,400 millimeters in the southeast (Fig. 24). There are some exceptional cases at the fringes of the Basin. The wettest place on record

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[1] Shanghai, 3.3° C.; Nanking, 2.2° C.; Hankow, 2.9° C.; Changsha, 4.1° C.; Sankow, 1.2° C.; Wenchow, 7.2° C.; all these cities of about approximately the same latitude or slightly higher northward have lower January averages in temperature than that of both Chungking and Chengtu (cf. Report of the Central Meteorological Station [Nanking, 1936]).

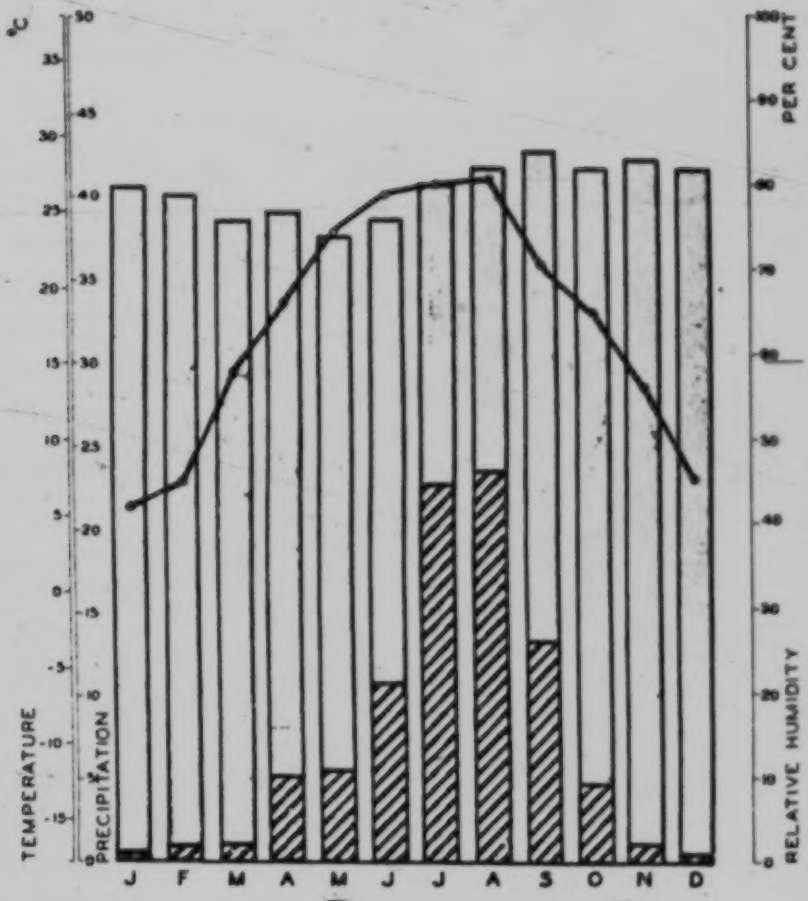
7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 22

132

CLIMATIC DATA OF CHENGTU

1929-1939



[Face p.47(a)]

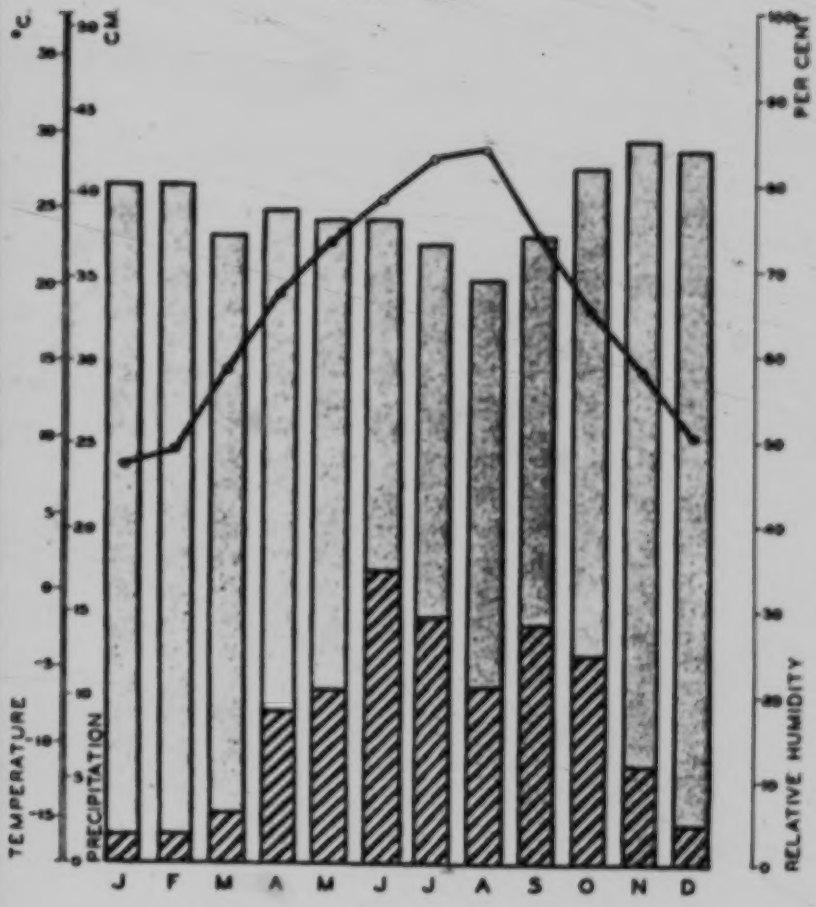
7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 23

CLIMATIC DATA OF CHUNGKING

1913 - 1939

132



[Face p. 47 (b)]

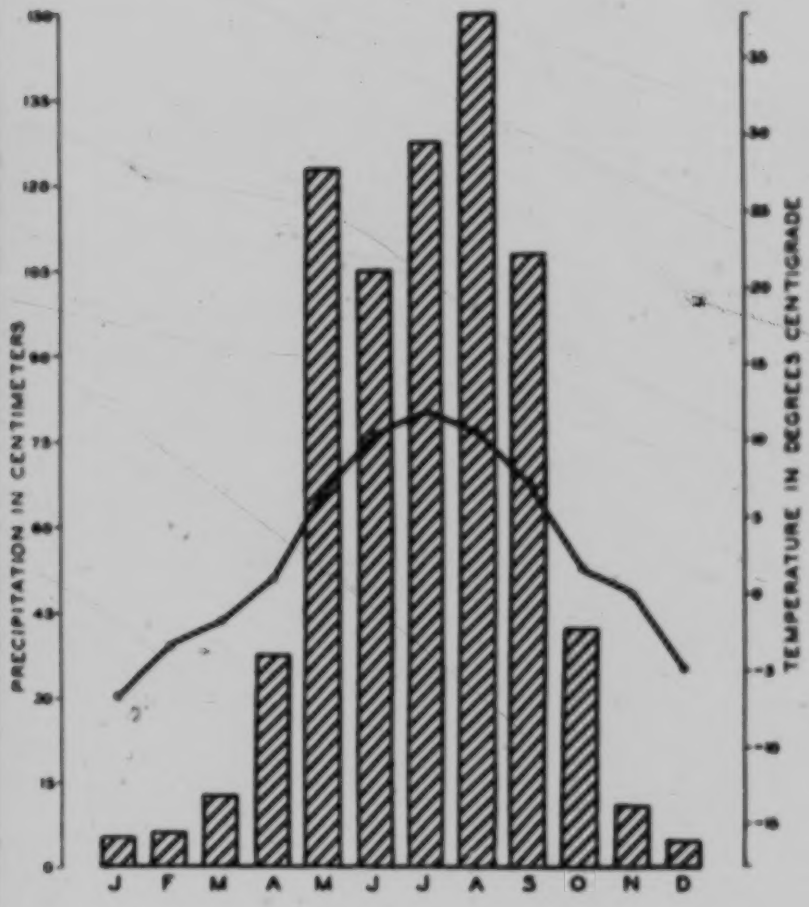
7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 25

132

CLIMATIC DATA OF OMEISHAN

1932 - 1933



[Face p. 48]

7; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

132 (on the basis of the record of thirteen months, 1932-33), is Omei Shan, which is over 3,000 meters in elevation and has a total annual rainfall of over 7,700 millimeters (Fig. 23).[1]

The isohets generally have a northwest to southeast direction. The amount of rainfall increases from northwest to southeast (Fig. 24). In the northern part of Sun-pang district, the rainfall runs as low as 500 millimeters, while in the areas of Peng-shui, Feng-tu, Yu-yang, and Siu-shan the rainfall runs as high as 1,400 millimeters (Fig. 24). The average annual rainfall in most parts of the Basin is between 850 and 950 millimeters (34-38 inches) or thereabouts.

A major portion of the rainfall comes during the summer. However, unlike many other parts of China, particularly the lower and central Yangtze Valley, which is dominated by the monsoon influence, the summer rainy season in the Basin is much longer, and the rainfall is much more evenly distributed throughout the year. For example, the rainy season of Chungking (Table 3) begins generally about the early part of April and ends in the later part of October. The seasonal distribution (in percentage) of annual rainfall in Chungking is as follows (Table 3): Spring, 26 per cent; summer, 41 per cent; autumn, 28 per cent; and winter, 5 per cent. The rainy season is thus definitely longer than in the areas of the central and lower Yangtze Valley.

Moreover, the manner of rainfall and the number of rainy days is even more significant than the total amount and the seasonal distribution. In the Basin the rainfall seldom comes in torrent, but generally falls in a moderate flow, almost in a mist. Consequently, with the given amount of rainfall, the rainy days are many and long-drawn out (Table 3). For instance, in Chungking, Chengtu, and many other areas of the Basin, during the rainy season, generally between the later part of May and the early part of September, the rainy and cloudy days may run as many as 15-20 days per month (Table 3).

c) Evaporation and humidity.--Ordinarily, in most parts of the Basin, noted for its cloudiness and known as the "cloudy province," the sky remains overcast most (over 70 per cent) of the time during the year. Sun is a rarity in this part of the world. The proverb, "shu chuan fei jih," literally meaning "the Szechuan

[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Annual Weather Report (1936).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF18 Southwest China AF18

132 dog barks at the sun," is a good testimony to the truth of this generalization. Here, the air is still, and the evaporation rate is low most of the time.

These natural phenomena have a vital practical importance to the prosperity of the agricultural land-use in the Basin. The penetrating and soaking effect of the misty rain on the friable and soft sandstones and shales has hastened weathering and quickened soil renewal. On the other hand, the loose, friable, and shallow purple-brown soils of the Basin are singularly susceptible to torrential rain and quick evaporation.[1] Given a south-China type of summer rainfall, coupled with a north-China type of winter sunshine, the Szechuan Basin, instead of being one of the richest agricultural regions of China, would long since have been denuded into a desolate and unpeopled wasteland.

On the whole, the rainfall is fairly reliable throughout the Basin. Famines are rare, though drought sometimes threatens fields in more hilly areas.

Finally, the climate of Szechuan Basin is noted for its exceptionally high relative humidity. Chungking has an annual average of 78 per cent, and Chengtu of 80 per cent (Table 3). This high humidity, especially in winter, reduces the demand for rainfall during that season. The same is true, in a lesser degree for the summer. Foggy and cloudy days are especially frequent, particularly during the winter season. Chungking has an average of 162 rainy and many more cloudy days during the year (Table 3). In the present air-raid "civilization," high prevalence of cloudiness certainly constitutes one of the great geographic assets of the Basin.

d) Wind velocity.--With the exception of very high hilly areas, the almost complete lack of wind in many parts of the Basin is striking. In most places, the wind velocity averages less than two miles per hour or about one meter per second (Table 3). For instance, in Chengtu city, it is a common experience for the residents there to pass several days without hearing a window rattle, or without observing a breeze strong enough even to change the direction of the smoke! This situation has its geographic significance. Besides its effect on the constructi

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[1] H. Yu, "A Preliminary Observation of the Purple-Brown Soils of Szechuan Province," Soil Quarterly, January, 1941, pp. 39-41.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 26

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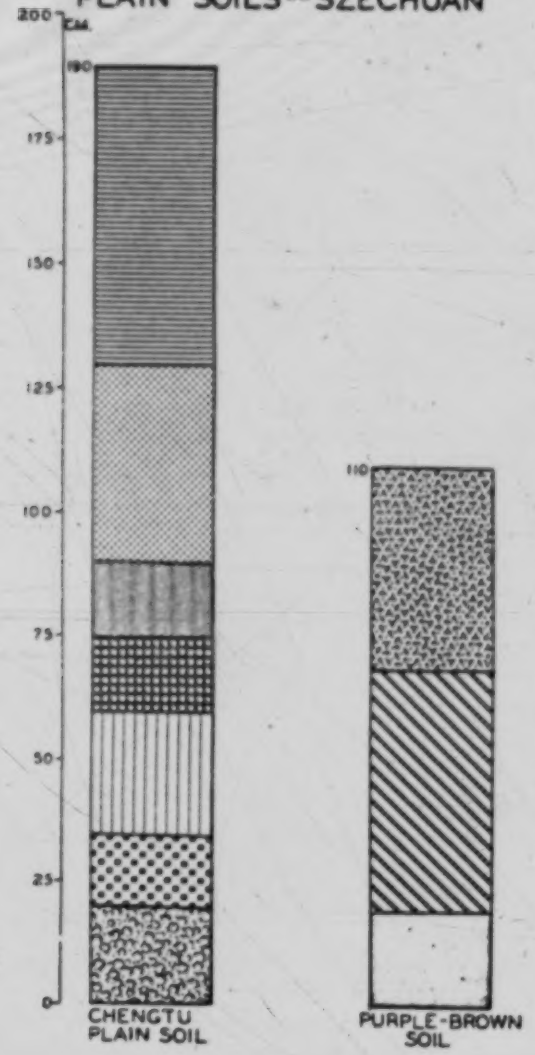
TYPICAL PROFILES OF THE PURPLE-BROWN AND CHENGTU PLAIN SOILS--SZECHUAN



[Face p. 50]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and style of the house-types of Szechuan, as already mentioned, it has a dominant influence on many special agricultural products here. The notable example is the production of white wax. 132

In short, the unique Szechuan climate, characterized by moderate rainfall, high average annual temperature (long growing season), high humidity, low evaporation, and virtual absence of wind, is almost ideal for agricultural production.

2. Agricultural Land-Use and Soils

The soil of Szechuan Basin is unique not only by virtue of its red and purple color, which first gave the region its name,[1] but also because of its penetrating, loose structure, its quick formation and renewal, and its relatively high fertility. Generally speaking, there are three major soil groups within the Basin, namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, which are distributed in most parts of the Basin; (2) non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils, which are concentrated principally at Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys; (3) the slightly to moderately podsolized old and young yellow soils, which are found in the peripheral highlands, as well as in the longitudinal anticline areas of the Basin (Fig. 9). 134

a) Purple-brown (forest) soils.--According to Thorp,[2] who first made a reconnaissance study of soil conditions in the Basin, and who first offered the generalized map showing the boundaries of various soil groups, the characteristic purple-brown soils consist of slightly acid or neutral, purplish brown, or reddish surface soils, 15 to 50 centimeters thick, underlain by purple clay or clay loam soils, whose depths are seldom over two feet.[3] The color varies, depending upon the parental materials. In the western and southern part of Szechuan Basin the soils of this group are frequently reddish purple or reddish brown in color, following the color of their parent rocks. The soils are moderately rich in mineral plant foods, and are particularly tillable.

One of the most interesting physical properties of this group of soils, as recently reported through several experimental

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[1] Richtofen, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Thorp, op. cit., chaps. ix-xii.

[3] Ibid., pp. 202-204.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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studies,[1] is the rapid rate of absorbing and losing water. It is commonly observed that one evening's thick fog may cause the whole depth of the surface soil to be thoroughly moistened, while a half day's torrential rain may cause the soil to be completely saturated and washed out. On account of this quick rate of absorption the soil can hold little water, and therefore cannot stand a high rate of evaporation. Anyone who has visited the farms here can testify to the fact that after a few continuous clear days the soil often becomes dry and cracked. According to Yu, in June, 1940, after a continuous clear sky for seven days, the water content of this purple-brown soil was so depleted that corn crops withered and suffered a 50 per cent loss that season.[2] A typical soil profile of the purple-brown soil is shown in the accompanying diagram (Fig. 26).[3]

The purple-brown soil in most places occurs on the undulating or rolling topography of hilly lands of various heights, ranging from 8 to 10 meters to several hundred meters. The areas with purple-brown soils have been terraced and planted in rice whenever water could be obtained for irrigation. In many places, rice paddies reach the tops of the hills. In case these fields cannot be irrigated, they are used for all "dry" (unirrigated) crops, such as sweet potatoes, wheat, corn, broad beans, and others.

b) Non-calcareous alluvial soils.--Secondly, from the standpoint of agricultural land-use, the most important soil group, though covering relatively a much smaller area than the purple-brown soil, is the non-calcareous rice paddy soils of the Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys. They are formed mainly by the alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soils (chernozem areas) washed down from the Tibetan Borderlands. Generally speaking, in their outer appearance, these soils look very much like soils one commonly sees in the Lower Yangtse Valley. In many places they are dark in color and are mottled in rust. Their textures are fairly heavy and hold water very well. There are also large areas of these rice paddy soils of Chengtu Plain which

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[1] Yu, op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Data from Thorp, op. cit., p. 200.

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LEGEND FOR FIGURE 26*

Chungking Clay Loam
(Purple-Brown Soil)

Horizon	Depth (Cm.)	Descriptions
A	0- 20	Brownish purple, very friable, and finely granular, moderately porous, loamy clay containing a high percentage of worm excrements. Slightly acid.
B	20- 70	Light reddish purple, friable, medium granular clay which also contains many worm excrements.
C	70-110	Reddish purple soft shale of clay texture. Reaction approximately neutral.

Chengtu Plain Soil

Horizon	Depth (Cm.)	Descriptions
1	0- 20	Dark grey and rust-mottled, friable and porous silty clay.
2	20- 35	Similar to above but slightly lighter colored.
3	35- 60	Reddish yellow and light grey, mottled, stiff clay with a few pores. The soil shrinks considerably while drying. A few small lime and iron concretions.
4	60- 75	Medium grey clay or heavy clay with a few rust specks. The material is stiff and shrinks very much on drying. It contains a few dark brown iron concretions from 1 mm. to 1 cm. in diameter.
5	75- 90	Grey and dark brown mottled, mottled, friable clay with moderate shrinkage when drying. Contains a few soft iron concretions.
6	90-130	Dark brown clay with a few grey streaks.
7	130-190	Dark brown and olive-drab, mottled, loamy clay with friable consistency and a few dark brown concretions.

*Data from Thorp, op. cit., pp. 200 and 387.

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show but little evidence of podsolization.[1] A typical profile of this soil is shown below (Fig. 26).[2] These soils are used principally for rice production and some other crops, such as wheat, tobacco, and various kinds of vegetables. It is necessary to emphasize again the extreme fertility of these soils and the significant part they have played in the agricultural success of the Basin. 134

Besides the rice paddy soils, on the low hills and high river terraces of part of western Szechuan Basin, particularly in the vicinity north of Chengtu, there are small patches of dark greyish brown coarse soils. Many soil scientists prefer to call these soils "Chengtu Clay."[3] Some people believe these "Chengtu clays" were probably true loesses at one time but have lost their columnar structure and are now characterized by prismatic and cloddy structure.[4]

c) Podsolized old yellow earth.--Third, the gray-brown yellow soils occupying the surrounding hills of the Basin are generally less fertile and are agriculturally unimportant.

d) Other soils.--On account of the unique geological structure and rock formations of the Basin, one peculiar form of soil erosion has been extensively developed here. With the alternating beds of purple sandstones and shales which have been recently folded and deeply eroded, and in places where the surface slopes of such smooth rock formations correspond to the slopes of hills, soil creep is easily induced. Many times the thin surface soils have been completely removed, leaving only bare rocks. In the case of shales, on account of their comparatively rugged surface, the situation is less grave. Soil creep constitutes one of the most serious problems of agricultural land-use in the Basin, and challenges immediate attention.

3. Agricultural Land-Use and Topography

133 311

With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor comparatively broad river valleys (such as the To and Fou River

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[1] Ibid., p. 121. [2] Ibid., p. 391. [3] Ibid., p. 387.

[4] J. Thorp and D. Dye, "The Chengtu Clays, Deposits of Possible Loessal Origin in Western and Northwestern Szechuan Basin," Bul. of the Geol. Soc. of China, X, No. 2 (1936), 225-46.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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valleys) most of the agricultural lands of the Basin are found on the terraced fields of the innumerable small undulating rolling hills which are found everywhere in the Basin.

In the many small valleys there is generally very little bottom land along the courses of the streams. These streams, as a rule, have deep channels and abrupt banks of sandstones and gravel-conglomerate. But, wherever such bottom lands exist at all, they are extremely fertile. They are, in most cases, terraced for rice culture, provided water can be secured. It is not unusual to observe that tracts after tracts of rice and other crop fields have been terraced along the steep banks of these small valleys.

Generally speaking, the agricultural fields, according to the popular classification commonly used by local peasants, consist of four principal categories, namely, (1) Pa Tien, or plain fields, i.e., fields around the smooth level, flattish fields or broad river bottoms; (2) Kou Tien, or valley fields, within narrow river valleys; (3) Ti Tien, or ladder fields, i.e., terraced fields along hills or any other steep lands; and (4) Shan Tu, or hilly "earth," i.e., detached fragmentary lots on hills or mountains which are too rugged and too difficult for terracing and for cultivation purposes. The relative value of these four classes of land, of course, decreases in the order named. It is particularly interesting to note that the first three categories are real "fields" whereas the fourth is merely "tu" or "earth."

Fields devoted to categories (1) and (2), and some portions of category (3) are in most cases used for wet crops (rice) whereas large portions of categories (3) and (4) are confined to dry (unirrigated) crops. The difference between these two types of land, both in the manner of utilization and in their relative value, is as sharp as the difference between pasture land and farm land in western agriculture.

In short, here in the Basin the topography furnishes one of the dominating forces in shaping many of its geographic patterns. First of all, it practically dictates the whole climatic regime of the region, which, in turn, affects the soil conditions. And all three operate in combination to account for the present patterns of agricultural land-use.

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4. Agricultural Land-Use and Water Resources

a) Importance of irrigation in the Basin.--A prominent German authority on the agrarian economy of China once pointedly remarked: "Everywhere in China irrigation is an indispensable condition for the intensive agriculture on which Chinese agrarian society is based, just as coal and iron are an indispensable condition to the industrial society on which modern capitalism is based."[1] This statement is particularly applicable to the situation in Szechuan Basin. Here, in spite of the moderate rainfall and low evaporation, the need for irrigation is essential for the success of many crops, especially rice.

b) Principal methods of irrigation in the Basin.--There are many different kinds of irrigation practices in the Basin. Each of these methods is equipped with a different device, and is adjusted to local topography and to the local source of water supply. Generally speaking, the methods may be classified under five main groups:

(1) Grade or gravity irrigation.--This practice involves the division and diversion of the upper reaches of a river of comparatively moderate grade into small branches. Such branches are led, by the force of gravity, into valley fields at a lower level and then arranged so that they drain back into the main river farther down stream. This method is practiced in nearly every part of the Basin where a valley plain can be found, since the grade of most streams here is appreciable. The method is particularly widely practiced in the areas along the lower Min River, between the Peng-shan and Lo-shan districts.

(2) Wind-wheel irrigation.--In areas where rivers have deeply eroded channels, frequently as deep as 30 to 40 feet below the surrounding land in the soft sandstones, and where the grade is great, the swift-flowing streams are utilized to lift the water for irrigation use by bamboo water-wheels. These undershot irrigation water-wheels, with delicate structures of bamboo buckets on their periphery, can raise water into a flume from 30 to 75 feet above the level of the stream (Fig. 27). They are particularly popular in the Tung-chuan and Tze-li[illegible]ng areas of the Lower To River Valley.

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[1] K. A. Wittfogel, Wirtschaft und Gesselschaft Chinas; versuch der Wissenschaftlichen analyse einer grossen asiatichen agragesselschaft (1931), p. 229.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

312 (3) The "Lung-ku-chiao" or "dragon-bone-chariot" irrigation method.--In areas where the water flow is not sufficient to turn water-wheels, the old "dragon-bone-chariot," or the foot-power water elevator, which is found in many other parts of China, is used. It is a long, narrow wooden trough affair, open at both ends, with one end submerged in the water, and equipped with a chain of wooden pedals. It is a sort of step-up device, like a western escalator, operated by the foot-power of usually two or more persons. The water is lifted from one field to another of higher level. This device is also commonly used in hilly areas to lift water between terraced rice fields. It is particularly popular in the Kuang-hang and Te-yang districts.

(4) Storing-water-field or reservoir field irrigation.--As already explained, throughout the hilly areas of the Basin, it is a common practice to store water in fields during the winter season for spring or summer crops. As rainfall in the Basin is highly seasonal, some reservoir for the run-off from the immediately adjacent hills is necessary. Certain fields, in hollows well up the sides of slopes of terraced lands, are set aside as reservoirs. They are kept as nearly full as possible to tide the farmers over the periods between rains and between crops. This method, of course, necessitates the husbanding of all the rain water and run-off during the fall season in order to lead them into these field reservoirs.

(5) Ditch or canal irrigation.--This method involves the tapping of a stream at its upper reaches and then branching it into multitudes of anatomized channels and ditches for irrigation purposes. This system is by far the most important in the Basin. It is practiced in a number of river deltas, such as the To, the Pou, and the Min. The outstanding example is the Tu-chiang-yen works (Fig. 28) on the Min River in Chengtu Plain. A detailed discussion of this great work and its significance to the agricultural land-use of the Basin will be made later in connection with the agricultural area of Chengtu Plain.

D. Principal Agricultural Areas of Szechuan Basin

241 On the basis of crop association, relative prosperity of agricultural production, general appearance of agricultural landscape, use of water for agricultural purposes, and the degree of commercialization of agricultural production, the Basin may be

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roughly divided into five principal agricultural areas (Fig. 24), 241
namely, (1) the general grain farming area of Chengtu Plain; (2) the specialized "commercial" agricultural area of lower To-Fou valleys; (3) the self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of the northern Basin; (4) the combined agricultural and forestry area of the eastern Basin; and (5) the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin.

1. The General Grain Farming Area of Chengtu Plain

Among all the five agricultural areas of the Basin, the general grain farming area of the Chengtu Plain is by far the most important. Here the principal crops are rice and wheat, supplemented by rape seed and tobacco.

As the heart is to the human body, Chengtu Plain is to Szechuan Basin. Chengtu Plain is one of the richest, most fertile, and best known geographic regions of all China. With its mild climate, level topography, fertile and self-renewing soil, the ingenious ancient irrigation systems, and the diversity of agricultural products, Chengtu Plain is destined to be not only the granary of the Basin but also the par excellence "Eden of the Flowery Republic." Strictly speaking, Chengtu Plain is a highly fertile level oasis within a huge "mountain-desert."

a) Name and location of the Plain.--Geographically, the 133
term "Chengtu Plain," by which this region is now known, is not accurate, and is, in fact, somewhat misleading. Chengtu, the capital and the wealthiest city of the whole Basin, from which the Plain now derives its name, is, in fact, an "effect" or a "result," but not a "cause." Strictly speaking, the "Plain" might be more correct, or even more appropriate geographically, to assume the name, "the Min River Plain." It is the presence of the mighty Min, with its incessant life-promoting water-supply and the rich alluvial deposits it brings down, that made the prosperity of the city of Chengtu and of the whole Plain possible. It is interesting to note that unlike historic events, geographic names do not always follow the law of "cause and effect." The river made the plain, and the plain made the city, but now the plain takes its name from the city.

Chengtu Plain is situated at the northwest corner of Szechuan Basin. It is formed by a complex of piedmont alluvial fans built by the deposits of the Min River. Physiographically,

133 it is a clear-cut geographic sub-region within the clear-cut geographic region of Szechuan Basin. Like the latter, Chengtu Plain is practically surrounded by mountains (Fig. 2). To the north and northwest, the Plain is bounded by the lofty Chiu Ting Range, which, on clear days, looks like a high wall in front of the Plain. To the east and southeast, the Plain is bounded by the famous Lung Chuen-I anticlines, a low and uniform range (Fig. 2).

b) Layout and extent.---In rough outline, the Plain is in the shape of a somewhat long and narrow triangle.[1] Its longest dimension, from Chiang-ko in the south to Hsao-shui-ho, beyond Hienchu Hsien, in the north, is about 120 kilometers. Its widest dimension, from Chao-chia-tu in the east to Huan-hsien in the west, lying almost in a straight line, is about 85 kilometers (Fig. 7). From Tsung-Nai in the extreme southwest to Te-yang-hsien in the northeast, the distance is about 115 kilometers (Fig. 7). The circumferential boundaries are very irregular. The total area is about 6,000 square kilometers. Chengtu, the provincial capital, and fourteen other walled cities, are situated in this Plain, together with many unwalled towns of large size. Farmhouses dot the Plain in every direction.

Chengtu Plain is genetically an alluvial delta, built up by deposits from the Min River, but structurally it assumes a basin-like shape surrounded by mountains. This fact is indicated by the direction of the flow of the Min River. The Plain has an elevation ranging from 1,500 feet above sea level in the south and east, to 2,100 feet in the west and northwest. Its average elevation is estimated to be 1800 feet above the sea.[2]

c) Geological deposits and soils.---Geologically, the Plain is of very recent origin. The alluvial deposits (Fig. 29) of the Plain are seldom over 60 meters deep, below which depths are found the famous conglomerate formations of the Basin.[3] At Pen-hsien and in many other places it is reported that the surface deposits are only 12 meters in depth. But in Chengtu district the alluvial

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[1]See Figure 37.

[2]Chao and Huang, Geology of the Tsinling Shan and Szechuan (Geological Survey, China; Memoirs Ser. A., No. 9, 1931), p. 18.

[3]G. Barbour, Physiographic History of the Yangtse (China Geological Society; Geological Memoirs Ser. A., No. 14, 1938); and Chao, "Geological Notes on Szechuan," Bulletin Geological Society (China), VIII, 143.

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deposits are generally about 5 to 7 meters deep.[1] It is estimated by some geologists that the rate of the alluvial deposition in Chengtu Plain is at the rate of one foot per century.[2] This assertion and calculation is independently evidenced by recent archaeological excavations near the vicinity of Chengtu. Burial objects of unmistakably Early Han dynasty were discovered at a depth of about seven meters (or about 21 feet).[3] In other words, the geological time of these deposits corresponds fairly closely with the historical times as manifested in the age of the buried Han objects, i.e., both are about 2,100 years old. If both of these assertions are correct, i.e., the deposition at the rate of one foot per hundred years, and the maximum deposit being not over 60 meters (or 180 feet) deep, the age of this celebrated rich Chengtu Plain can be no more than 20,000 years. 133

It is interesting to note that as late as the Han dynasty, large parts of the Chengtu Plain were still swampy in nature. This is evidenced by the fact that the most prosperous settlements at that time were not in Chengtu and its surrounding cities, but rather at Ling Tsung (the present Tsung Nai) and the more elevated hilly areas of the Plain.[4]

In addition to the rich, young alluvial deposits, Cheng-tu Plain is further favored, as we shall see later, by the excellent and ingenious irrigation systems, devised by the revered Li Ping and his son about 2,200 years ago. These irrigation systems freed this Plain once and for all from the danger of drought and flood. Here, multitudes of canals and ditches, filled with irrigation water, run through the rice paddy, fields, vegetable tracts, and flower gardens. Through some ingenious devices, as we shall see later, silts are dug off and the principal channels cleared once every year.

The Plain has the further advantage of being watered by streams rising in the mountains where the rainfall is much heavier than that in the Plains, and where the water-supply from snow 311 133

[1] Ibid., p. 38.

[2] D. S. Dye, Journal of West China Border Research, IV (1931), 104.

[3] C. T. Shan, "Archaeological Report on the Excavations of Chengtu Plain Areas," Cultural Research Monograph (University of Nanking, 1939). (Unpublished manuscript.)

[4] Hua Yang Kuo Chih, Chuan 2, p. 15.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

311 melting during the summer is reliable. At Kuan-hsien, where the
133 torrent of the Min first enters the Plain and is taken under human control, the waters are divided into several large canals, each of which is subdivided in turn into innumerable smaller canals and ditches. The life-giving waters are impounded by dams, stone revetments, and other devices, and are held for irrigation purposes. The irrigation of the Plain has another advantage in that the soils are seldom troubled by salt and fine mud which often clog irrigated soils in other areas; because the considerable rainfall in Chengtu Plain, with an annual average of about 900 millimeters, is sufficient to prevent such clogging.

134 The soils of Chengtu Plain consist principally of the dark and dark-grey paddy soils. They are formed mainly from alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soil (chernozem) of the Tibetan border-land and Kokonor (Fig. 9) by the mighty Min River. The natural richness of these soils is enhanced even further by the annual renewal. Because of this fact, soils of the Plain, unlike the paddy soils of many other parts of China, are not strongly podzolized.[1] However, the soil conditions do not appear to be uniform throughout the whole Plain. In fact, there are considerable differences in texture, color, and profile according to slight differences in local relief.[2] For instance, in the upper Min River region, as in Kuan-hsien, the soil texture is much coarser than in the lower Plain areas.[3]

One of the most interesting practices in connection with soil culture in the farms of Chengtu Plain, is the building of little stone wing dams or projections along the stream banks out into the water. Behind these projections, the streams, in the course of a back eddy, deposit silt and sand, which are frequently rich, particularly in organic matters. All these mud accumulations are carefully dug out and carried in baskets to the fields. Many times muddy waters have been led into basins or rice paddies in order that fine fertile silt might be precipitated on the fields.

241 d) Agricultural products of Chengtu Plain.--The Plain is
433 noted for its diversity of agricultural products. It produces

[1] Thorp, op. cit., p. 391.

[2] Ibid., p. 387.

[3] Ibid.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

three and sometimes four crops a year. It is estimated that the annual output of farm products alone include rice, 15,000,000 piculs; wheat, 8,000,000 piculs; other cereals, 2,000,000 piculs; rape seed, 500,000 piculs; tobacco, 700,000 piculs; plus medicinal herbs, vegetables, and other farm products. The total value of all these products at pre-war prices was a little over 180,000,000 dollars, or 45 dollars per capita for the Plain. This production represents about 15 per cent of the total volume of agricultural produce of the whole province, while the area of the Plain is only about one-sixty-seventh of the total area of the province. In other words, the Chengtu Plain produces ten times as much per unit area than the rest of the Basin. 241 433

e) Farms and fields.--Among the farm areas of the Basin, Chengtu Plain has the largest average farm. According to a survey by Professor Brown and M. L. Li, the rented farms average 30.1 mow, and the owned farms average 73.1 mow.[1] These figures are almost twice as large as the average size of farms in the Basin as a whole.[2] They are, in fact, even larger than the largest average size of farm in North China.[3] This, of course, means additional wealth and more prosperity. This undoubtedly has accounted for the large farmstead and the well-kept farms throughout the Plain (Fig. 12). Moreover, unlike other parts of the Basin, most of the farms here are not so detached. In general, the individual fields of Chengtu Plain farms are larger. According to the same survey, the average field is 3.36 mow,[4] which is three times as large as that of the hilly areas in the Basin.[5] Larger fields are made possible, of course, by the flatter topography and better water-supply here. 423 241 311

f) Marketing of agricultural products.--The marketing of the diverse agricultural products of the Plain is interesting. Marketing is done mainly in the nearby towns or cities throughout the year. The Plain is dotted with market towns, so that all 437

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[1]H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Fifty Farms on the Chengtu Plain," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1-59.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Buck, op. cit., p. 273.

[4]Brown and Li, op. cit., p. 28.

[5]H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Farms of Mountain Omei Areas," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1059-76.

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437 farms here are within a few miles of a market. Each town has usually three or four market days per week, which alternate with those of the neighboring towns. The larger places have a daily
437 market. The produce is usually carried on men's backs on shoulder poles, or loaded on wheelbarrows. The noise of the wheelbarrows
489 on the stone-paved roads in the quiet of the early morning is as genuinely Chengtu Plain as many of its other unique landscape features. This peculiar noise, together with that much-advertised smell of night soil in the oriental farm fields, adds another unique double feature to the already too-colorful Chengtu-Plain landscape.

Moreover, in spite of the obstruction of irrigation dams, the extensive inter-communicating canal systems in the Plain help provide channels by way of which many of the villagers in the Plain can send their produce (such as vegetables, fruits, poultry, pork, and other products) to the city or to other towns by boat. And at the same time they bring home their purchases by the same conveyance. The canals thus facilitate considerably the otherwise very difficult transportation conditions. Here reminds one of the similar scene, though on a much smaller scale, which is commonly seen in the Great-Lake Canal regions (such as the Wu-shih and Soochow areas) of the Lower Yangtse Delta.

226 g) Practice of aqui-culture.--Because there are thousands of acres of ponds and water-covered paddy fields in Chengtu Plain, aqui-culture is also practiced here. The principal activity along this line is fishing--for fish, frogs, snails, and crabs. Cormorant fishing is particularly characteristic. Because the Min River and other streams in this area are fairly clear during some months of the year, the fish can be easily seen as they hurry upstream to spawn. Thus, the cormorant catch is generally very successful here. Other phases of aqui-culture include digging for aquatic plants, such as lotus seeds, water chestnuts (Trapa natsus), and Calladum, which are all delicacies to the people here.

162 Chengtu Plain occupies an area of approximately 6,000 square kilometers, about one-twenty-fifth of the total area of the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study. But it has a population of more than 4,000,000 people, or about one-twelfth of the total population of the province. The average population density of Chengtu Plain is a little over 700 persons per square kilometer, or nearly 1,800 persons per square mile. Nowhere in

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China, with the possible exception of the Lower Yangtse Delta region, is the average population density so high. It is, of course, made possible only by the tremendous productivity and the intensity of agricultural land-use in the Plain. 162

h) Irrigation works of Chengtu Plain--Tu Chiang Yen as the nerve center.--The Tu-chiang-yen irrigation works, built 2,200 years ago, when applied science was yet unknown in Europe, is one of China's best known ancient engineering feats, and is one of the two oldest irrigation works in all China. It is this system which is largely responsible for the fertility of Chengtu Plain, commonly known in Chinese history as the "Heavenly country." It is also because of this system that this "Heavenly country" has experienced only 17 minor droughts and floods in the last twenty-two centuries. 312

(1) Historical development.--The Tu-chiang-yen system was devised to harness the waters of the mighty Min[1] on their way down from the Tibetan Plateau in order to irrigate the farm-lands in 14 districts of western Szechuan Basin. According to Shih-Chi, in the earliest Chinese historical Annals,[2] the system was first constructed by General Li Ping and his son, in 316 B.C., immediately after the conquest of Szechuan (then the Shu State) by the feudal Chin State (Shensi). The annals read: "In Shu (Szechuan), the governor cut a canal through Chengtu to connect the navigable rivers in the region into one system."[3]

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[1]We owe to the Ming explorer and geographer, Hsu Hsia Ke (1586-1641) the first appreciation of the actual relationship between the present Yangtse and its tributaries, as understood today. It is interesting to note that prior to his clarification, the Chinese for centuries, regarded the Min, because of its huge volume and torrential flow, as the upper stream of the Yangtse itself. It was not until Hsu Hsia Ke, who first ascended the Yangtse, that it became an established fact that the Ching Sha River was the upstream of the Yangtse itself. This was about one century earlier than the Jesuit Fathers who first compiled the Celebrated Atlas of Imperial China (cf. V. K. Ting, "Hsu Hsia Ke, Explorer and Geographer," New China Review, III [1921], 336-37).

[2]Ssu Ma Chien, Historical Annals, Vol. XXIX, Books on Rivers and Canals, p. 2.

[3]During recent years, a number of students of the subject have refused to accept the fact that Li Ping was the builder of the system, and have asserted that a man named Pieh Ning or Kai King (a minister of the Shu State) initiated these irrigation works, several hundred years before Li Ping. They contend that Li Ping only extended the system and improved it, but did not

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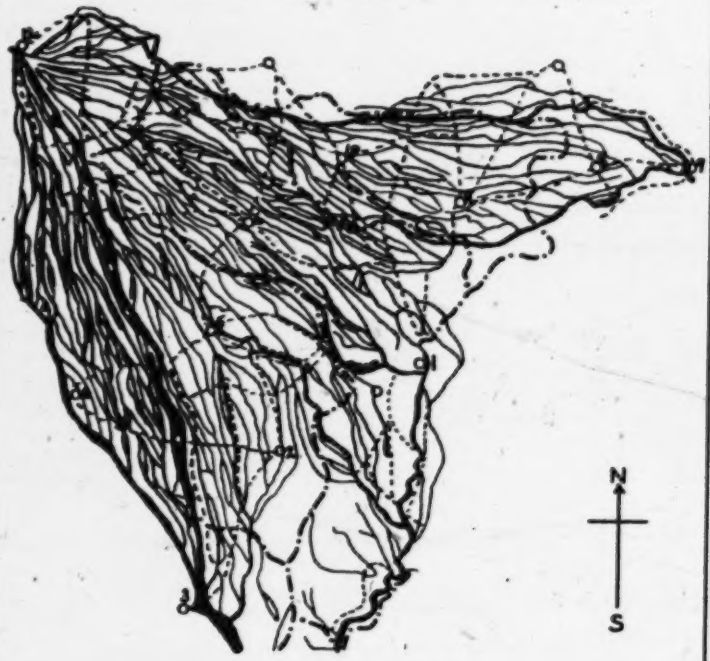
FIGURE 30

PRINCIPAL IRRIGATION CHANNELS CHENGTU PLAIN

1. Chengtu
2. Shuan-liu
3. Sin-tsing
4. Tsung-ching
5. Wen-chiang
6. Pi-hsien
7. Sin-tu
8. Ching-tang
9. Chao-chin-tu
10. Sing-fang
11. Tsung-nin
12. Kuan-hsien



LEGEND

o DISTRICT CAPITAL

DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

IRRIGATION CHANNELS

ROADS

0 10 MILE

0 10 KILOMETER

C.Y.H.

Data from the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan

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(2) Layout and extensions.--The whole Tu-chiang-yen system, with its pivotal point at Kuan-hsien where the torrent of the Min first enters the Plain, is roughly triangular in shape (Fig. 30). With Kuan-hsien as the apex, and the line from Chengtu to Sin-tsin as the base of the triangle, the system covers an area of 3,500 square kilometers, or 5,200,000 mow, which is much smaller than the total area of Chengtu Plain. It includes altogether fourteen districts, namely, Kuan-hsien, Pi-hsien, Peng-hsien, Tsungning, Sin-fang, Kwang-hang, Chin-tang, Chengtu, Sin-tu, Wen-chiang, Hua-yang, Tsung-ching, Shuan-liu, and Sin-tsin (Figs. 30 and 37). From Kuan-hsien to Sin-tsin and Chengtu, the drop is rather gradual and uniform, averaging about seven to eight meters per kilometers, a grade of hardly half a degree, or less than one per cent[1] (Fig. 5). This moderate and even slope has proved to be very favorable for building irrigation channels.

The system is divided by Tu-chiang ("Fish Mouth")[2] breakwater, an inverted V-shaped dike (Fig. 31). At Kuan-hsien, the river is divided into two main channels, the Nei-chiang (inner river) and Wai-chiang (outer river). The Wai-chiang is the main channel of the Min River. It is further divided into five channels, which are, from west to east, the Sha Kou, Hei Shih, Cheng Nai, Chiang An, and Ching Ma streams (Fig. 30). All these channels, with the exception of the last, flow nearly due south. Together with their more than 158 subdivided canals,[3] they carry water to farms in the seven districts of Kuan-hsien, Pi-hsien, Wen-chiang, Shuan-liu, Hua-yang, Tsung-ching, and Sin-tsin. Finally, all these channels of the Wai-chiang join at Chiang-ko, about forty-five miles south of the city of Cheng-tu.

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initiate it. This view, however, is not widely accepted in China (cf. Chang Chu's work entitled "Shu Chih" [the Gazeteers of Shu State], a work of Chin dynasty [265-419 A.D.] and a series of articles by J. Vale, "Irrigation Works of Chengtu Plain," Journal of North China. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXXIII (1900), 105-19, and XXXVI (1905), 36-50.

[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, A Report of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works (1933).

[2]Ibid., p. 28.

[3]S. F. Swen, "The Engineering Works of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Project," Topographical Magazine, VII, No. 6 (1931), 18-27.

FIGURE 31

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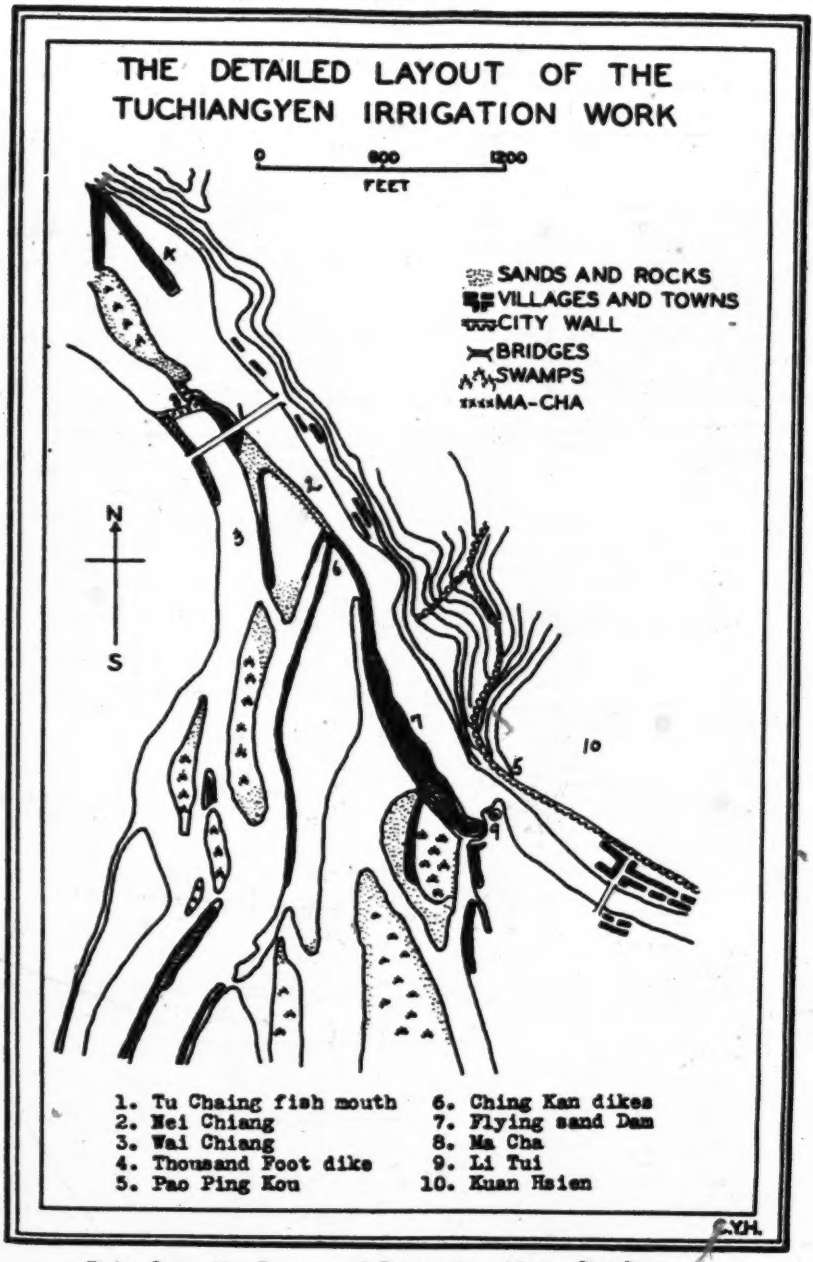

Data from the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan

[Face p. 65]

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The Nei-chiang is divided into three channels, which are, in the south to north order, the Chou Ma, Pai Tiao, and Pu-yang streams (Fig. 30). The most southerly one, the Chou Ma stream, flows nearly due east and irrigates the districts of Pi-hsien and Cheng-tu. The central one, the Pai Tiao stream, flows northeast, and irrigates the western and northern parts of the above-named districts. Branches of these two streams flow past the south and north walls of Chengtu city, uniting near the east gate of the city. The northern-most channel, the Pu Yang stream, flows towards Peng-hsien, and then southeastward past the Kwang-hang district. At Chao-chiao-tu of Ching-tang (Fig. 30), the Pu Yang stream, together with numerous anatomizing canals, forms the headwaters of the To River and flows due south past the famous salt well areas of Tzu-liu-ching, and finally enters the Yangtse at Lu-hsien (Fig. 7). These three main channels of the Nei-chiang are further divided into more than 130 canals,[1] which are used to irrigate farms in eleven districts of Kuan-hsien, Tsung-ning, Peng-hsien, Sin-tu, Sin-fang, Ching-tang, Kwang-hang, Cheng-tu, Pi-hsien, and Hua-yang.

The natural tendency is for the Wai-chiang to get more of the flow, while the Nei-chiang gets less. But the human effort has been to reverse this tendency, so that more water may be available for irrigation purposes in the Nei-chiang. At present, the ratio of the flow is about 60 per cent to the Nei-chiang and only 40 per cent to the Wai-chiang.[2]

The nerve center of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works, from the Pai Chang Ti, the "Thousand Foot Dike," at the north, down to Pao Ping Ko Cliff at the south (Fig. 31), extends for a total length of approximately 4 li. The "Thousand Foot Dike," at the northern-most end of the works, was built of heavy gravel stones and rocks (taken from local hills), to direct the current to the Tu Chiang Yen "Fish Mouth" below it. Behind this dike, a 500-meter bamboo suspension bridge, the "An-Lang-Chiao," or the "Pacifying Wave bridge," spans the river. Under the bridge is the Tu Chiang Yen "Fish Mouth" breakwater, which, as already mentioned, serves as the pivotal point (in an inverted V-shape) at

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[1] Ibid., p. 21.

[2] T. M. Pao, "The Irrigation Works of Chengtu Plain," Nankai University Publication (1938), p. 36.

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312 which the flow of the main river is split into two principal channels, the Wai-chiang (the outer river) and the Nei-chiang (the inner river) (Fig. 30). This breakwater was originally built of rocks, protected by baskets of egg-shaped gravels, but was rebuilt in 1935 of rock and reinforced concrete.

Besides the "Fish Mouth" breakwater, there are two long dikes, known as the Ching-Kan-Ti (Indestructible Buddha Dikes), made of large stones, to control the direction of the flow (Fig. 31). Two additional dikes, the Fei Sha Yen, made of baskets of gravels, serve as overflow dams to divert excess water in the spring from the inner river to the outer river, and to redivert it in the dry season from the outer river to the inner river.[1]

The entire system requires annual repairs and dredging, and a thorough dredging every five years, besides occasional emergency repairs. The annual dredging takes place in winter when the river is low. A dam is constructed across the mouth of the outer river. Water is prevented from rushing into this channel by means of baskets of stones held together by wooden tripods and protected by reeds and clay (Fig. 32). After the outer river has been dredged and repaired, a similar dam is erected across the mouth of the inner river. Known locally as "Ma-Cha," these tripods are eight to ten meters high, and are made of local materials. From 40 to 50 such tripods are needed to stop the flow of the outer river, and 60 to 70 tripods are required for the inner river.[2] At the beginning of April, when all repair and dredging work is completed, the dam is opened simply by cutting the tripods and removing the reeds.

At the foot of the western wall of Kuan-hsien city, in the southern extension of the Tu Chiang Yen Works, Li Ping cut a channel through the rocky Litui hills (Fig. 31). This channel, known as Pao Ping Ko, the "precious bottle-neck," which it indeed is, serves as an outflow for the Nei-chiang channels, and is another key point of the whole Tu Chiang Yen Works. It holds the fierce rush for an instant and deflects it at a sharp angle to the north. Water marks are cut on the Pao Ping Ko Cliff. And in the bottom of the river a little above the Cliff, there is an iron

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[1] Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works (1933), p. 26.

[2] C. S. Mao, Irrigation Works of Chengtu Plain (1934), p. 18.

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bar to indicate the depth of dredging required each year.

Aside from being noted for the virtue of being easily-built and easily-maintained, the original construction of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works has the special merit of making use of the local cheap raw materials, such as bamboo and rocks, for its entire construction. Besides the "Ma-Cha" tripods, Tu Chiang Yen calls for the use of local materials in the construction of gravel basket containers which are also necessary for the irrigation works. A special "white shell bamboo" produced in the hills about 50 kilometers west of Kuan-hsien and famous for its strength, is used for these containers. The "white shell bamboo" groves are not allowed to be cut for any other purpose. The bamboo is rafted to Kuan-hsien and made into baskets 30 feet long and 1.7 feet in diameter, weighing 100 catties.[1] Filled with gravel, they are placed at the outer sides of the dikes and dams to protect them against rapid currents. These baskets hold together easily and stay intact in spite of the wash. They have proved their special effectiveness for hundreds of years. They have been used ever since the Wan Li period of the Ming dynasty.[2]

In the excellent upkeep of these age-old irrigation works, which have been operating successfully for thousands of years, the engineers have all followed faithfully a few terse instructions enunciated by the original builder. These are: "Shen Tao Tan, Ti Tso Yen, Yu Wan Chieh Chih, Feng Chen Chou Hsin," literally meaning "Keep the dikes low, dig the channel deep; straighten out the curves, gouge out the center." These words, now carved in big letters (Fig. 33) on a monument at the Shrine for Li Ping and his son, echo the wisdom of this great hydraulic engineer.

The long success of this unique irrigation project is known throughout China, and has often been lauded by Chinese writers. But it was F. von Richtofen, the eminent German geographer, who first publicized its excellence to the western world.[3]

The works are now managed by the Tu Chiang Yen Construction Engineering Administration of the Szechuan Provincial Reconstruction Bureau. Besides directing the annual dredging and

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[1] Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works, op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Fan Tsan Yang, et al., Szechuan Tung Chih (Gazetteers of Szechuan Province), Chuan 146, p. 8.

[3] Richtofen, op. cit., pp. 228-34.

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372 repairs, this Administration has also introduced numerous modern technological improvements in order to increase the durability and effectiveness of the project.

Recently, a hydrographic station has been established at the Erh Wang Shrine by the Administration to study the flow of the Min River. Projects are under way to harness the river's maximum flow of 9,500 cubic meters per second[1] to generate electricity for the Chengtu Plain. Two small hydro-electric plants are in operation at Chengtu and Ching-tang.[2] The Administration is contemplating building a 12,650 kilowatt power plant at Kuan-hsien. A 23-kilometer canal will be cut to link the Inner and Outer rivers between Wen-chiang and Chengtu to maintain the Chengtu city water-supply and navigation between the two rivers. The Administration also has plans for the dredging of the existing canals and the digging of new ones to control more effectively the flow in both rivers, and to repair the tributary creeks to increase by another 600,000 mow the farms irrigated by the system, and eventually bring the entire Chengtu Plain under irrigation.

Among all the geographic features of Szechuan Basin, the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works holds the key to the sustained prosperity of the agricultural land-use of the Basin, particularly of Chengtu Plain. Indeed, it commands the special attention of all geographers.

2. The Specialized "Commercial" Agricultural Area of Lower To-Fou Valleys

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Comparing to the General Grain Farming area of Chengtu Plain, this agricultural area of Lower To-Fou valleys (Fig. 24) is noted by its specialized "commercial" products, such as sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and citrus fruits. About 85 per cent of the Basin's total production of sugar-cane, 65 per cent

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[1] Pao, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] According to the recent (1935) survey by Huang Hui, a prominent hydraulic engineer of the National Reconstruction Commission, it is highly feasible to develop multiple purpose water-power projects in the upper reaches of the Min, where the present source of irrigation water originates. These projects, if established, would also benefit the irrigation works, particularly by lightening the annual dredging work and reducing the operation costs (cf. section on "Potential Water-Power Development of Szechuan," Report of Chinese Engineer's Association Investigation of Szechuan (1936).

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of its total cotton, and 55 per cent of its silk are produced here in this agricultural area.

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With its combined and greatly varied agricultural and horticultural products, this area compares favorably (in terms of agricultural prosperity) to that of the Chengtu Plain. But, however, unlike the Chengtu Plain, the agricultural land-use of this area is greatly handicapped by its insufficient supply of water for irrigation. This defect is largely due to the prevalence of the high porosity of the bed rocks[1] in this area, where water cannot be accumulated and stored up for irrigation purposes. This condition is especially detrimental to rice culture which requires flooded fields. Consequently, in many districts of this area, the plantation of rice is greatly limited. This factor, in turn, reduces considerably the agricultural prosperity of the area.

In so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, the adjustment to topography, soil conditions, and water supply here is conspicuous. In general, nearly all the alluvial lands along the river banks are used for rice, sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and other crops. On the saddle areas between hills, if the surface soil and bed rocks are not too loose or porous, paddy fields are always the rule. In the more hilly areas, where water cannot be stored for rice culture, potatoes, rape, wheat, kaoliang, and beans are the dominant crops.

Among all the agricultural areas of the Basin, this area of the lower To-Fou valleys is the most highly commercialized. For instance, in one district, Sui-ning alone, over 65 per cent of its cultivable land is devoted to cotton culture, whereas in Tze Chung district over half of its cultivated land is used for sugar-cane culture. In the actual rural economy, here, more than in any other agricultural area, farmers think more in terms of their "cash crops." This development brings up a very interesting problem in this agricultural area, that is, its insufficiency of food supply. Consequently, considerable amounts of foodstuffs are brought into here from the nearby Chengtu Plain area.

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area includes its high population density (Fig. 10) and rich salt deposits. [317]

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[1] T. S. Chen, "Geol. Structure of Central Szechuan," Geol. Bi-monthly, IV, No. 6 (1939), 35.

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3. The Self-sufficient Subsistent Agricultural Area of the Northern Basin

241 North of Santai in the west and Ho-chuan in the east (Fig. 24), almost in a straight line, lies the self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of the northern Basin. This agricultural area is characterized by its more rugged and dissected topography, more irregular hills, and higher local reliefs. These conditions are particularly true in the northern half of the area at the vicinity of the upper Fou and Chialing valleys.

The most interesting aspect of this agricultural area, as its name implies, is its ultra self-sufficient and subsistent character of its agricultural practices. Although most of the agricultural areas of the Basin are principally subsistent in nature, the present agricultural area of the northern Basin represents the most extreme case.

Here, in crop association, no single crop is particularly predominant. Most of the farms produce a little of everything within a greatly varied assortment of crops. These crops are completely for home use. In general, potatoes, wheat, rice, barley, millet, rape, beans, kaoliang, corn are the common crops on farms. This peculiar situation is conditioned by two factors, namely, the extremely dissected topography and the peculiarly friable rock structure. The dissected topography causes the extremely detached character of the settlement forms (consisting of isolated farmsteads perched on various hillocks), whereas the friable rock structure with numerous fall lines, makes the available river transportation very difficult. Therefore, these conditions make it even more difficult for farmers in this area to communicate with the outside world and thus accentuate their self-sufficient agricultural economy.

134 The soil condition of this area is also interesting. With the exception of a few narrow detached stretches of alluvial soils along the river banks, and some yellow earths at its northern periphery, the soils of this area is consisted of principally the unique "purple-brown" type of the Szechuan Basin (Fig. 9). In fact, the distribution of this fertile soil here is so uniform and continuous that this self-sufficient agricultural area of the northern Basin should be properly called the "genuine" purple-brown soil region of the whole Basin.[1]

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[1]Chu, op. cit., p. 46.

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Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 24) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

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241 311 Moreover, on account of the high ground water-tables here, the drainage conditions on these trough lands are very poor. These trough lands are sometimes used for wheat, hemp, rice, rape, or kaoliang, depending upon water conditions. But the productivity of these marginal agricultural lands are, in general, very low.

The second principal source of agricultural land-use here is developed on the more gentle slopes of the numerous synclines in this area. Here the slopes are terraced into rice, wheat, or potato fields. The drainage conditions are, in general, better than those in the trough lands of the anticlines. Considerable portions of the cultivated fields are used for Ta ma (hemp) and Tso Tsai (vegetable) cultures which are the two most spectacular agricultural products of this area.

314 The most outstanding feature of this agricultural area, as its name suggests, is the predominance of the forestry product, the tung oil. On the steep slopes or at the edge of the anticlines, where the soils are extremely shallow, great numbers of tung trees are planted. Especially during the past decade, stimulated by the increasing demand, the plantation of tung trees has been grown in leaps and bounds. This area alone now contributes about three-fourths of the total production of tung oil production of all the Basin. In one district, Ning-shui alone, it produces about 52 per cent of the total tung tree production of the Basin. This factor has increased greatly the population-support capacity for this agricultural area and also helps to explain the presence of a few detached high population density areas here (Fig. 10).

135 Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area is that here lies about 65 per cent of the total coal reserve (Pa-hsien and Chiang-peh) and about 45 per cent of the total iron reserve (Chi-chiang and Nanchuan) of the whole Basin.[1] This remarkable fact suggests that in the future days to come, this agricultural area may abandon its present modest pursuits in agricultural and forestry production, and will soon take an unchallenged leadership in the growing industrial and manufacturing development of the Basin.

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[1] W. C. Chang, "The Iron and Coal Resources of Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, V, No. 5 (1934), 35.

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5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Fou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Fou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, sugar-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

312 rich water supply by the Yangtse, the Min, and other rivers. Numerous channels are built here, for instance, such as the Wu Tung-chiao and Chien Wei districts. But contrary to the practice of Chengtu Plain, and for reasons unknown, very few of these channels are used for irrigation purposes. Instead, they are principally for transportation use.

135 Other interesting features of this agricultural area include its well-balanced endowment with mineral resources. Neither like the Chengtu Plain area of western Basin--where little or no mineral deposits are found--nor similar to the anticlinal areas of the eastern Basin--where is located the largest concentration of the Basin's mineral deposits, especially coal and iron--this area is rather well-balanced in various kinds of mineral deposits. In fact, this area is reasonably rich in every one of the strategic minerals, including salt, coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, and aluminum. Especially the salt production is the richest and the most important at present (Fig. 20).

241 In agricultural richness and productivity, this agricul-
433 tural area of southwestern Basin, as a whole, compares favorably with that of the specialized commercial agricultural area of the lower To-Fou valleys. This fact is evidenced by the fine, well-kept farmsteads here (Fig. 34). In terms of population density, this area also stands out as one of the five high densely populated areas of the Basin (Fig. 10).

E. Agricultural Products

241 The Szechuanese commonly claim that anything which is produced on earth may be found in the Basin. At least it is safe to say that there is scarcely an article grown in China which is not produced here in abundance. First of all, the summer field crops include rice, corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, potato, millet, kaoliang, cotton, beans of all kinds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The winter crops include principally wheat, rape, beans, peas, and many others.

1. Common Food Crops

243 a) Rice.--Rice (oryza sativa) is the master crop of the Basin. It normally occupies 43,000,000 mow, or 42 per cent of the

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total cropped area.[1] With the exception only of Kuangtung province, Szechuan leads all China in rice production, and has a total annual output of between 140,000,000 and 180,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133.4 pounds). Rice is produced on all the valley bottom lands and lower terraces in every district of the Basin where water supply is sufficient. There are three principal rice-producing areas, namely, the Chengtu Plain of western Szechuan Basin, the Sui-yung-Lu-hsien area of the southern Basin, and the Sui-ning-Tung-nan area of northwest Szechuan Basin.

In Chengtu Plain, with the exception only of Tsungching where no efficient irrigation water connections have yet been effected, nearly all the districts normally devote 80 per cent or more of their cultivated area to this king-crop--rice. In the other areas, which are more representative of average conditions in the Basin as a whole, the rice crop generally accounts for 25 to 40 per cent of the total cultivated area.

But whenever and wherever natural conditions (particularly water supply) permit, rice always has the right of way. In fact, the whole crop system of the Basin is so synchronized that rice always claims the first place. For instance, in the Chengtu Plain area, winter crops such as wheat and beans are often stripped of their foliage during the early spring in order to hasten their maturity so that rice may be planted in time.

Generally speaking, there are three principal varieties of rice planted in the Basin, namely, the irrigated, the upland, and the "double-growth" (Tsai Seng Tao) varieties. The irrigated variety, including the so-called early-mature and the later varieties, are the most important and are widespread throughout the Basin, whereas the cultivation of the upland variety is limited to the Shih-fang, Jen-shou, Hung-yao, and Kao-hsien areas.

The Tsai Seng Tao or "double-growth" variety, although confined now to only one district in Feng-chieh, almost at the eastern edge of the Basin, is an interesting crop. This variety has the unique characteristic of producing two crops yearly on the same plant. Like other rice plants, this variety is generally seeded in the last quarter of March, transplanted in the middle of May, and harvested for the first time in the latter part of August.

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 93.

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243 After the first harvest, the land is tilled and refertilized, and the plant continues to grow until the middle of October, when a second harvest from the same plant may be made. The most surprising thing is that, as it is reported, this second crop often even supersedes the first in quality.

The cultivation of this Tsai-seng-tao variety of rice is one of the most efficient uses of land for rice-cultivation, particularly in those hilly areas where the so-called "tung-shui-tien" (winter-storing-water-field) system is practiced. Recently, the Central Bureau of Agricultural Research, for the purpose of increasing land-use efficiency in rice-cultivation, launched a vigorous program for extending the cultivation of this variety in other areas of the Basin.[1]

The maturing season of the rice crop varies between ninety and one hundred days, depending upon topography, climate, local agricultural practices, and the specific variety used. The seeding season may vary from the early part of March in the southern Basin to about the middle of April in the north. Consequently the harvest season follows the same trend, varying between the later part of July to the middle part of September. Here the operation of both the latitudinal and topographical influences is evident. Ordinarily, besides the aquatic habit, rice requires constant tillage, with repeated heavy manuring from time to time in order to secure a full crop. The plant usually occupies the ground from the latter part of May until early September.

One of the most serious problems in connection with agricultural land-use for rice culture, as already mentioned, is the practice of the so-called "Tung-shui-tien" system. Under this system the land is used for only four or five months during the year. This limited use is particularly unjustifiable in view of the favorable climatic conditions (the long growing season) and at the same time the urgent need for enough food to supply the millions of inhabitants. In the Basin there are over eight months which have an average temperature of 10 degrees C. (Table 3). Moreover, during the months of rice-growing period, the average monthly temperature is over 20 degrees C. (Table 3). Thus, climatically, there is every possibility for two crops of rice a

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[1]Chao, op. cit., p. 23.

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FIGURE 35

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION SZECHUAN BASIN

1930 - 1935 AVERAGE

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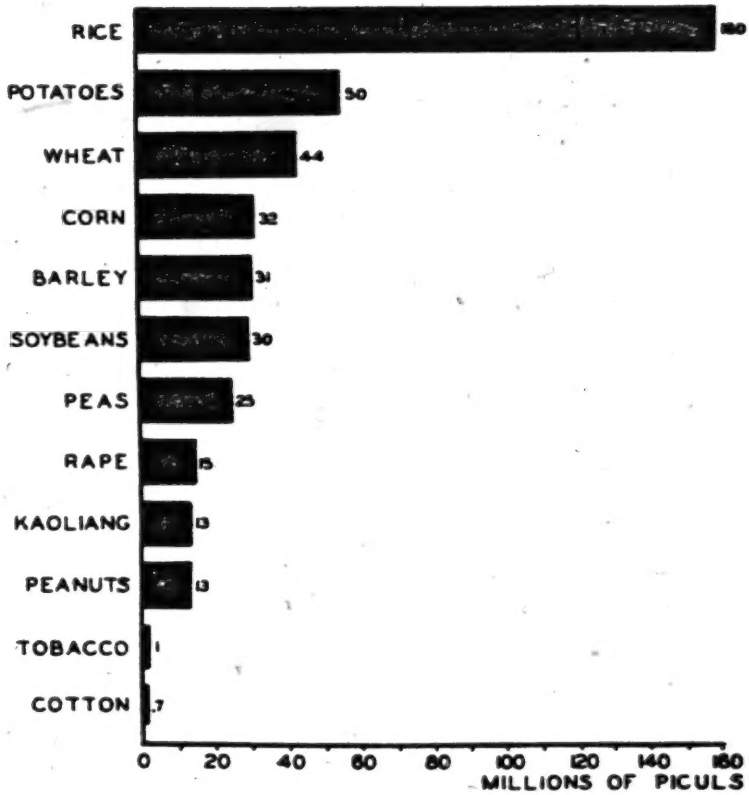

[Face p. 77]

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year. Recently, the Central Bureau of Agricultural Research has been working feverishly to solve this problem.

It is interesting to note in this connection that contrary to the belief of many western agriculturalists and geographers, the age-old practice of rice-culture in Szechuan Basin, as in China as a whole, possesses many inherent virtues. First of all, not to mention the high yields the rice gives,[1] which are necessary to feed the millions, rice culture is the most effective means of preventing soil-erosion and conserving soil fertility. Moreover, since the rice fields are flooded during much of the growing season, rice cultivation has an important effect in checking floods. Third, wet-flooded rice-culture generally slows down the erosion of the soil, even more effectively than forest covering. On account of the topography of the Basin, this point is particularly significant. Finally, the abundance of water at times insures the land against becoming gummed up due to an excess of salts as in desert regions.

b) Corn.--With the exception of rice, corn or maize (Zea Mays) is the most important summer crop in the Basin. It usually occupies about 12,000,000 mow, or 12 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Basin. The Basin ranks first in all China in corn production, and normally has a total annual output of 32,000,000 piculs[2] (Fig. 35). Among all the crops in the Basin, corn is the most unusual and has a romantic story of considerable geographic interest.[3] Like potatoes and tobacco, corn is of American origin and was introduced to China only during the last century by some Catholic priests during a serious famine in the Basin.[4] Maize was raised on the hills near Wei-chao in 1857, less than one hundred years ago.[5] It has now become one of the

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[1]With the exception of potatoes, the rice yield is the highest among all crops in China (cf. Buck, op. cit., p. 226).

[2]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Szechuan Provincial Government, Agricultural Statistics (Lung Ching Pao Kao, 1939), p. 94.

[3]It is interesting to note that corn, known by its Chinese name as "Yu Shu Chu," literally meaning the "jade grain from Shu" (the old name for Szechuan), was probably first introduced into Szechuan and later spread from there to other parts of China. This is evidenced by the Chinese name it now bears.

[4]Gazetteers of Szechuan, XXVI, 8.

[5]Gazetteers of Wei Cheo (1892 ed.), III, 28.

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most important food crops, constituting 8 per cent of the total food supply for the population here, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of the Basin. Its juicy shoots are also widely used as feed for pig-rearing in the hilly areas northwest of Chengtu Plain. 243

Corn is the staple summer crop in the more hilly areas which do not hold reservoir water. It is also the principal crop in areas where swift streams debouch upon the plain and where the soils are too sandy to hold water for paddy. Moreover, wherever the slopes are too steep or the gullies too narrow, and the soils are too thin for other food crops, a few stands of corn are always found. Many times the slopes where the corn is planted are so steep that one wonders how the farmers ever manage to sow and reap the crop. With the exception of a few districts like Si-Chung and Yung-chang, which for reasons unknown produce very little corn, corn is cultivated in nearly every district of the Basin. This is particularly so in the southern peripheral areas of the Basin where several crops may be harvested yearly.

c) Potatoes.--The third most important summer crop of the Basin is the potato (Solanum tuberosum). It normally occupies about 6,000,000 mow, or about 6 per cent of the total crop area. On account of the high yield, the Basin leads all China in potato production, and has an annual output of 56,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). Potatoes, like corn, are also of American origin and were introduced into the Basin only about seventy years ago.[1] They are now universally cultivated throughout the Basin, especially on the upper hill terraces. More than any other province in China (with the possible exception of Kwangtung), potatoes here serve as a very important source of human food, constituting about 9 per cent of the total food supply, particularly in the northwestern and southern hilly areas of the Basin. Sometimes they are also used as feed for pigs. It is reported that on account of the extraordinarily high starch content in the potatoes produced here, an increasing portion of the crop is being used in the manufacture of alcohol and other fuel supplies for war-use during recent years. 244

d) Kaoliang and other summer crops.--The other important common summer food crops in the Basin include kaoliang (Sorghum Vulgare) and a great variety of soy beans (Glycine hispida). Each

[1] Gazetteers of Ping Shan, I, 8.

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244 occupies about 4,000,000 mow, or 4 per cent of the total crop land. Kaoliang, sometimes called false millet, is a staple dry crop on hilly lands. It is noted for its special capacity to be without water for a long time (longer than corn) without drying to death. The choice of these two crops by farmers for a certain [273] area often depends on this point. Besides being used widely for human consumption, as well as for livestock feed, kaoliang is used mainly (between 70 and 80 per cent of the total crop) for the manufacture of wine, the famous kaoliang wine. This last use proves to be particularly advantageous to the farmers because wine can be transported to far distant markets when the sale of bulky grains, owing to prohibitive transportation costs, is difficult.

243 e) Wheat.--The most important winter food crop is wheat (Triticum Sativum). It normally occupies about 15,000,000 mow, or 17 per cent of the total crop area, and the Basin has an annual output of 44,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). The Basin is the fifth largest wheat producer in all China. With the exception of the Chien-chiang district (which for reasons unknown does not produce wheat), wheat is produced as a winter food crop in nearly all parts of the Basin, particularly in the districts around Chengtu Plain. The wheat prefers the more clayey soils of the Basin, and gives a particularly good yield.

The crop matures generally in 150 to 170 days. In most parts of the Basin, the field is seeded in the middle of October and the harvest takes place in the early part of May, depending upon the latitudinal position, as well as the topography of the area. Next to rice, wheat is the most important food crop of the Basin, contributing 12 per cent of the total food supply. It is eaten in the form of "mien" (noodles) or in other forms of dumplings.

249 f) Rape seed.--The Basin leads all China, both in area and in total annual production of rape (Brassica juncea; a winter crop). Normally it occupies an area of 11,000,000 mow, or about 10 per cent of the total crop area, and the annual output is 15,000,000 piculs[1] (Fig. 35). From the rape seed, oil is extracted for cooking and many other purposes. The seed cakes also furnish

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[1]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Agricultural Statistics (1939), p. 97.

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a very important source of fertilizer. It is the most important source of vegetable oil supply of the Basin. Recently, research projects have been launched by the Central Chemical Research Bureau of China to study the possibility of using rape-seed oil for manufacturing synthetic petroleum and other motor oils for war use. 249

g) Barley and other winter crops.--Other important winter crops in the Basin include barley (Hordeum vulgare), buckwheat (Polygonum fagopyrum), and a great number of species of peas (Pisum Sativum). Barley normally occupies about 12,000,000 mow, or 11 per cent of the total crop area. Second in all China, the Basin's annual total output of barley normally amounts to 31,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). Barley, like buckwheat, is an important dry winter crop on hilly lands in the northern part of the Basin. These crops generally do not require heavy soil, and call for little fertilization. The total acreage in various kinds of peas and beans is usually about 10,000,000 mow, or about 9 per cent of the total crop area. They grow both on hilly and plain areas throughout the Basin. But in plain areas they are used mainly for inter-culture purposes, with wheat and other crops. 243

2. Special Agricultural Products

a) Cotton.--China's "cotton-belt" lies north of the Yangtse. South of the Yangtse, comparatively little cotton is produced. Geographically, Szechuan Basin lies in a southernmost position among all the provinces north of the Yangtse and is therefore in an intermediate position so far as cotton production is concerned (Fig. 1). The most important cotton producing districts in the Basin lie between latitude 29 degrees and 32 degrees N. Particularly the heaviest concentration is at 31 degrees N., around the districts of the upper Fou River Valley, such as Suining, Shei-hung, Santai, Chung-chiang, and Yen-ting (Fig. 36). These five districts accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the total crop in 1936 (Table 4). 248

In these areas the total annual rainfall generally runs below 1,000 millimeters (Fig. 24). Most of the rain falls during the summer, but there is also considerable rainfall in the early autumn (Table 5). This distribution of rainfall, as we shall see later, is not very satisfactory for cotton production. The soil conditions, however, are quite favorable for cotton production.

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248 The soils are mainly alluvial, on flattish valley-bottom lands. In these districts the cotton acreage sometimes occupies as much as 70 per cent of the total crop area. Most of the cotton produced here consists of a number of American varieties (Delfos, Trice, etc.).

The second principal cotton-producing area is found in the hills of the lower To River Valley, in the districts of Chien-yang, Yung-hsien, and Wei-yuan (Fig. 36), where the native varieties are dominant.

The third cotton-producing area is along the hilly slope lands of the lower Min River, in the districts of Jen-shou and Ching-yen (Fig. 36), where native cotton is the principal variety.

The fourth cotton-producing area is in the lower Chialing River Valley, particularly in Nan-pu, Pa-chung, and I-lung.

The total acreage in cotton in the Basin is generally estimated to be about 2,200,000 mow. The total annual output is about 600,000 piculs,[1] (Table 4), which falls far short of the need of the Basin. (It is estimated that the Basin requires 1,500,000 piculs of cotton annually, averaging 3 ching of cotton per person.) This shortage accounts for the ever-increasing import of cotton yarns and cotton piece goods by the Basin every year. The cotton shortage now constitutes one of the most serious problems of the Basin's agricultural land-use.

There are four reasons for this failure to produce enough cotton for the needs of the Basin. First of all, climatically, the high rainfall in many parts of the Basin, during the autumn months of September and October, generally hinders the maturity of the cotton bolls and induces serious insect pests. According to the record of the meteorological station at Sui-ning,[2] the mean annual temperature is 17.9 degrees C. (64°F.), the absolute minimum during the year is 2.2 degrees C. (39.6°F.), and the maximum absolute during the year is 37.7 degrees C. (98°F.). The average annual rainfall is 929 millimeters. January has a minimum rainfall of 4.7 millimeters, while August has the high maximum rainfall of 227 millimeters (Table 5).

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[1]The 1936 production falls far short of this figure due to the serious drought of that year.

[2]Annual Meteorological Report of Sui-ning Station (1937), pp. 38-39.

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Generally speaking, the total annual rainfall here is sufficient for cotton production. But the fact that so much of it (about 22 per cent of the total annual rainfall) falls during the months of September and October (Table 5), with an average of only five clear days during this period (Table 5), is particularly detrimental to cotton production, especially to the maturing of the cotton bolls. It is reported that as much as 50 per cent of the cotton bolls are often destroyed by this heavy rain. Thus the problem of extending cotton production in the Basin lies not so much in the limitations of the soil as in the limitations of the climate, particularly of the rainfall regime.

One of the methods to be adopted to overcome this climatic limitation upon cotton production is to select early-maturing species of cotton. Since the temperature during April in most parts of the Basin is already high enough for cotton and if the cotton plant can be planted at this time (instead of in June, as is the usual practice here), the crop may be harvested early, before the heavy autumn rains set in. On the whole, so far as the climatic conditions are concerned, the northern part of the Basin is more suitable for cotton production than the southern part.

The second reason for the failure to produce enough cotton in the Szechuan Basin is that the sandstone soils, which prevail in most parts of the Basin, are considered unsuitable for the cultivation of cotton. Cotton-production is consequently limited chiefly to small alluvial areas or to the hilly sections, where the soils are generally too thin and infertile for cotton production.[1]

Third, the cotton is planted relatively late in the year. Cotton is a summer crop here, and is generally planted after the harvest of the winter crops, which may be either wheat or barley. This practice seems to be a little late for the cotton plant, and is particularly unsatisfactory in the case of the imported American variety. The late planting thus hampers growth and production.

Fourth, the heterogeneity and the inferior quality of the native strains of cotton have hampered greatly its successful production. And finally, the traditional practice of inter-culture

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[1]Hou, "Notes on the Cotton Soils on Sui-ning Area, Szechuan," Soil Quarterly, I, No. 3 (January, 1941), 6.

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248 of cotton with other crops, such as corn, soy beans, potatoes, pepper, and others, has been found especially undesirable. The inter-culture with corn is particularly disastrous to the cotton, because the corn has heavy foliage and competes keenly with the cotton plant for sunlight and moisture. All these factors, whether individually or in combination, have contributed to the failure of cotton culture in the Basin.

Recently, on account of the pressing need for increasing clothing materials, the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research has undertaken rigorous projects to improve the unhappy situation. By the beginning of 1940 the Bureau had extended the cotton promotion program over fifty-seven districts of the Basin, with particular emphasis on the cultivation of imported varieties, such as Delfos, Trice, and some improved local strains. Some of these varieties possess the special virtue of maturing early, before the autumn rains set in and injure the bolls. Cotton control stations have been established in a number of key points (such as Sui-ning, Shei-hung, and Santai) in order to avoid hybridization and to preserve the purity of the improved strains.[1] Moreover, special measures have been taken to discourage the old practice of inter-culture in cotton planting.

249 b) Tobacco.--Tobacco (Nicotiana tobocum), or "Yen," as the Chinese call it, like corn and potatoes, is another plant which had its origin in the New World. It was transplanted to China around 1540 and was first cultivated in the Basin about 1750.[2] The Basin normally produces about one-fourth (an average of 1,500,000 piculs) of all the tobacco produced in China.[3] It is reported that tobacco is produced in fifty-seven districts of the Basin. The principal producing areas are in Chengtu Plain, and there are special concentrations in the districts of Shih-fang, Pi-hsien, Sin-tu, and Ching-tang (Fig. 37). Other important producing centers include Mei Shan in the south, and Mien-chu in the north at the edge of the Chengtu Plain. The Chengtu Plain area generally accounts for about 60 per cent of the total production of tobacco in the Basin (Table 6).

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 86.

[2] Gazetteers of Pi-hsien, III, 4.

[3] The production figure for 1936 (Table 6) is lower than that for other years due to a serious drought that year.

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Generally speaking, the principal tobacco-producing areas lie between 29 and 32 degrees North latitude (Fig. 37). In these areas the average temperature for the coldest month (January) ranges between 5.8 degrees C. (43°F.)--at Wen-chiang--in the north, and 12.7 degrees C. (55°F.)--at Mei Shan--in the south. The lowest temperature ever recorded is about 2 degrees C. (36°F.). The rainfall throughout the growing season is sufficient (over 40 inches yearly), and the average relative humidity throughout the year is between 75 and 80 per cent[1] (Table 8). These climatic conditions are considered favorable for tobacco growth.

Moreover, the unfailing supply of irrigation water from the Tu-chiang-yen Works has insured even further the sufficiency of the water supply for tobacco production. The soil conditions are also favorable. The soils range from clay loam to loose sandy loam of sufficient depth. In spite of the high relative fertility of these soils, the tobacco fields in Chengtu Plain require heavy fertilization. The application of "lu-tiao" (Astraglus sinensis) as green manure, plowed under during the early spring, is most common.

Tobacco is usually a spring crop within the rice-belt of Chengtu Plain. The seeds are sown in late October and the crop harvested by mid-June. This practice usually delays the seeding-season of rice by two or three weeks (as rice is a summer crop here, following immediately after the tobacco). Consequently, both the yield and the quality of the rice crop are often reduced, the yield sometimes by as much as 20 to 30 per cent. This conflict between tobacco and rice constitutes one of the most serious problems of the tobacco- and rice-producing areas here. Recently, the local Agricultural Experimental Station conducted a number of experiments with a view to selecting an early-maturing variety of tobacco so that it might not hamper the growth of the rice. There is an old saying among the peasants here: "Shih nien tsao, chiu nien hao," literally meaning, "ten years early, nine years prosperous." This vividly expresses the need for an early-maturing variety of tobacco.

On account of the heavy drain which the tobacco crop exerts on soil fertility, rotation systems, commonly with corn, soy beans,

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Meteorological Report (1938).

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249 or peanuts, are practiced in most tobacco-growing areas. Only in the districts of Sin-tu and Shih-fang, in the heart of Chengtu Plain, where soil conditions are especially fertile, has tobacco-cultivation been carried on from year to year without rotation.

The best tobacco leaves are produced in the Shih-fang and Sin-tu districts. They are fine in quality, fragrant in flavor, and are almost ideal for making cigars and cigarettes. The poorest products come from Mien-Chu and Te-yang. Besides supplying the local demand, tobacco leaves and products find their markets in Shensi, Kansu, Yunnan, and Kweichow provinces, and even as far away as parts of Central Asia and Russian Turkestan.

c) Sugar cane.--The method of refining sugar from sugar cane was first imported into China from India during the early part of the Tang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). As early as the reign of Emperor Tai Tsung of Tang dynasty, there was a monk named Tsou, who initiated sugar cane cultivation in the Nan-chung district of the north central Basin.[1] Since then, the production of sugar-cane (Saccharum officinarum) has been steadily developed into a very important agricultural enterprise, particularly around the To River Valley.

The sugar-cane crop thrives well only in a warm, humid climate, ranging from tropical to sub-tropical. During its growing season, the average temperature must be around 20 degrees C. (68°F.), and the average annual rainfall about 1,500 millimeters. At the time of maturity, the temperature must be relatively cool, and the humidity must be low.[2] In most areas of the Basin where sugar cane is produced, the local climatic conditions fall short of these requirements. Instead of having an average annual temperature of 30 degrees C. (86°F.) or 25 degrees C. (77°F.), as in Java and Cuba, respectively, where the most important sugar-cane producing areas of the world are located, the maximum annual average temperature of the Basin is only 17.9 degrees C. (68°F.) (Fig. 24). This temperature is far too low for satisfactory sugar-cane growth. Even compared with the other sugar-cane growing areas in China, such as Kwangtung and Fukien provinces,

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[1] Gazetteers of Nanchung District, IV, 6.

[2] Y. C. Chen, "A Discussion on Improved Methods for Cultivation of Sugar-cane in Szechuan Province," Szechuan Reconstruction Monthly, IV, No. 8 (1933), 29.

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Szechuan Basin has a much shorter summer season and a lower minimum winter temperature.[1]

As a result of this climatic limitation, it is impossible for sugar cane in the Basin to flower. This fact, of course, eliminates at once the possibility of bi-sexual breeding. All the native varieties are therefore produced by asexual reproduction. The tips of the sugar cane crop are cut down in the winter and are buried underground. When spring comes, these shoots are planted. This practice handicaps seriously any attempt to improve the breed. Moreover, while sugar cane in Java and Cuba may continue to grow and produce for two and three years or more, such growth is impossible here in the Basin. The lack of irrigation facilities in most of the sugar-cane fields in the hilly areas has further handicapped its successful growth.

Sugar cane generally thrives better on sandy loam soils (Fig. 38) than on clay loams. In the Basin it is, however, planted on both types of soil. It is reported by farmers of these areas that sugar cane grown in the more hilly areas, where the loose, sandy loams predominate, has a much higher sugar content than that grown on the "Pa-ti," or alluvial plains, where clay loam is the chief soil type. Thus, about two-thirds of all the hilly lands of Tze-chow and Nei-chiang are devoted to sugar cane. However, because good irrigation facilities are lacking in many parts of these hilly areas, many sugar-cane fields suffer serious droughts when natural rainfall falls short.

Rotation systems are commonly adopted by sugar cane growers. The most common practice is yearly alternation of sugar cane with corn, kaoliang, or peanuts. Sugar cane is generally a summer crop. During the winter season, sugar cane fields may be used for wheat, rape, or peas, or may be left to lie fallow.

Although sugar cane is reported to be grown in forty-four districts throughout the Basin (Table 7), the principal producing

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[1]The average temperature of May-September for Canton is above 26 degrees C. (79°F.); for Amoy (Fukien), June-September is above 26 degrees C. (79°F.); but for Chungking, the average temperature for the period between only July and August is above 26 degrees C. (79°F.), whereas for the period of May-September is only 25.8 degrees C. This, of course, means a shorter summer, at Chungking. Moreover, the winter minimum for Canton (January) is 13.1 degrees C. (55.6°F.); for Amoy (January) 12.2 degrees C. (54°F.); and for Chungking (January) only 8.8 degrees C. (47.8°F.) (cf. Annual Report of the Central Meteorological Bureau [1934], p. 32).

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249 areas are concentrated mainly in five districts of the To River Valley, namely, Nei-chiang, Tze-chung, Tze-yang, Chien-yang, and Fu-shun (Fig. 37). In 1936 these five districts alone accounted for 73 per cent of the total crop (Table 7).

There are two principal kinds of sugar cane produced here, namely, the red cane and the white cane. The red cane is used for chewing purposes, whereas the white is used mainly for sugar-extraction. Unfortunately, because of the poor quality of the cane and the inefficient methods of refining, the local sugar production is not only small in quantity (pure sugar production only about 1,000,000 catties), but also poor in quality. Consequently, in the face of keen competition from high-quality imported sugar, the sugar produced in the Basin (with the exception of Chieh-tang sugar, a specially treated medicinal sugar which normally finds its principal markets in the I-chang and Hankow areas) has been driven out of the former inter-provincial markets, such as Yunnan and Kweichow. Moreover, the local sugar cannot even maintain its foothold in the local market. This fact is evidenced by the increasing import of foreign sugar into the Basin.

Sugar cane and cotton constitute two of the most acute problems in agricultural land-use in the Basin. Recently, various programs have been launched by the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research in order to improve this situation. Sugar cane improvement stations have been established in the Nei-Chiang, Tze-yang, and Chien-yang districts. A large number of foreign species have been transplanted from Java and Cuba. It was recently discovered that the species P.O.J. 2878 and P.O.J. 2725, selected from Java breeds, adapt specially well to local environmental conditions in the Basin. They have a 5 per cent higher sugar content than most of the native species. Rigorous attempts are being made to extend these two species among the Basin farmers.[1]

248 d) Hemp.--The two principal species of hemp produced in the Szechuan Basin, namely, the "chu-ma" (Corchorus capsularies) (or ramie, China grass, as it is popularly known in the west), and "hou-ma" (Cannabis sativa), or fire-hemp, as it is called locally. These two species, being produced in different areas with widely different physical requirements, are used for entirely different purposes. The "chu-ma" is further divided into two kinds--the

[1]Chen, op. cit., p. 22.

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green and the white. The producing areas of green chu-ma are confined mainly to the districts of Ta-hsien, Chu-hsien, Ta-chu, Peng-an, and Pa-chung, in the Chu River Valley in the eastern part of the Basin, and to the districts of Peng-shui and Pei-ling in the southern part of the Basin (Fig. 36). The white chu-ma is produced mainly in the Nei-chiang, Lung-chang, and Yung-chang districts, where it is noted for its fine quality. The total production of the two kinds of chu-ma amounts to 40,000 piculs annually. The "hou-ma" is produced principally in the districts of Wen-chiang, Pi-hsien, Shuan-liu, and Tsung-ching, west of the Chengtu Plain (Fig. 36). The total production is a little over 100,000 piculs annually.

The Chu-ma hemp survives especially well on the sandy loams of well-drained slopes, whereas the "hou-ma" hemp is produced in plain areas. Both species require a warm, humid climate and protection from wind during the growing season. They also demand a clear, dry season during the time when the fiber matures. In the heart of the "hou-ma" hemp-growing area around Chengtu Plain, in the districts of Pi-hsien, Wen-chiang, and Shuan-liu, for example, the average January and February temperatures lie between 5 and 10 degrees C. (Table 9), and the lowest minimum temperature during these two months seldom falls below 2 degrees C. (36° F.). From March through June, i.e., during the period of growth and maturity, the average temperature of these districts gradually increases, ranging between 12 and 26 degrees C. (54° and 79° F.). The relative humidity between January and June is always above the 70-per-cent mark[1] (Table 9). These climatic conditions are especially favorable for the hemp plant.

However, the rainfall in April and May, usually between 10 and 20 centimeters, seems to be a little low for the growing season.[2] In Wen Chiang, for example, the rainfall for these two months is only a little over 10 centimeters, and the rainfall at Pi-hsien for the same months is only slightly over 17 centimeters (Table 9). Fortunately, this scarcity of rainfall is remedied by

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Meteorological Bureau (1939), p. 19. (Unfortunately, many stations here do not have complete records for all months, thus rendering the interpretation more difficult.)

[2]Ibid., p. 21.

248 the water-supply of the nearby Tu-chiang-yen irrigation works. Hou-ma hemp is a spring crop. The seeds are sown in February, and the plants harvested in the middle of June, just as soon as they commence to flower. The stems are allowed to grow close together, and to reach eight feet or more in height. The culms are reaped, stripped of their leaves.

One of the most interesting practices in connection with Hou-ma hemp culture in these areas is the extremely intensive cultivation of the soil-beds. There is an old saying among the Hou-ma farmers, "Till nine times for hemp." This cultivation is necessary mainly because the roots of the young hemp plant, which are especially tender and weak, may be hampered in their proper growth if the soil bed is heavy. The use of "lu-tiao" (Astragalus sinensis) as green manure is also quite common here.

With the exception only of the Wen-chiang district, rotation with rape or wheat is commonly practiced by the hou-ma farmers of Chengtu Plain.

The uses and markets of hou-ma and chu-ma are just as different as their methods of culture and their physical requirements. In the case of chu-ma hemp, the white variety is used in the manufacture of the famous "hsia-pu," or summer cloth, which is well known over all parts of China, as well as in Korea and Japan. It has a particularly wide market in Hopeh, Shensi, Shangtung Honan, and Kwangtung provinces. It has also been shipped in considerable quantity to Korea and Japan. The green chu-ma hemp is all exported in the raw form to Japan and to France, for the manufacture of artificial silk. The hou-ma is used principally for rope-making, cordages, grain sacks, salt-bags, and military sacks. These products have their chief markets within the Basin, particularly in the salt-producing areas of Tze-liu-ching.

3. Special Agricultural and Horticultural Products

245 a) Citrus fruits.--Among all the sub-tropical products in the Basin, citrus fruits, especially oranges, have the widest range in geographical distribution. From Ching-Tang at the north to as far as Chiang-tsin at the south, nearly all the districts south of latitude 31 degrees N. produce citrus fruits. The most important centers of citrus fruit production are, however, confined to a few districts, namely, the Ho-chuan of the middle Chialing River, Chiang-tsin and Pa-hsien along the Yangtse,

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Ching-tang, Chien-yang, Tze-chung, and Nei-chiang of the upper and lower To River Valley, and Chang-shou and Wan-hsien in the east of the Basin (Fig. 36). These few districts generally account for over 80 per cent of the total crop (Table 10). The production of grapefruit is concentrated in the districts of Liang-shan, Chang-shou, and Feng-chieh. The total acreage in citrus fruit cultivation is generally estimated to be approximately 70,000 mow (Table 10), with 1,600,000 trees and a total production of some 200,000,000 fruits.[1]

Of all the tropical plants grown in the Basin, the introduction and cultivation of citrus fruits has the earliest history. As early as the Chin dynasty (265-419 A.D.), citrus fruits were reported grown here.[2] Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), after the wholesale massacre of the original population of the Basin by the rebels Chang and Li, and with the influx of large numbers of immigrants from the tropical provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, a great number of new species of citrus fruits were brought in, and the acreage was greatly extended.

Two of the most serious problems in citrus fruit production here are the relatively high perishability of the local fruit and the absence of quick and efficient transportation facilities. It is reported that sometimes as high as 25 to 40 per cent of the total crop has been spoiled before the fruit could be shipped to distant markets. This is particularly true with the "hung-chu" or red oranges (citrus aurantium), which comprises about 85 per cent of the total citrus fruit crop. The "huang-ko," yellow peeled oranges and grapefruits, which comprise only 15 per cent of the total crop, are less perishable, and can better withstand long distance hauling. In general, the farmers have to sell the fruit as fast as it is picked. Normally this means that they have to sell it cheaply. For example, at Chungking, during the picking season, one can buy as many as 200 oranges for only one silver dollar, whereas at Hankow, approximately 650 miles away, the same dollar will purchase only 8 or 9 pieces of the imported oranges! This difference in price is certainly astonishing.

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[1] C. L. Chung, "Some Problems Regarding the Cultivation of Citrus Fruits in Szechuan Basin," Szechuan Reconstruction Weekly, III, No. 7 (1932), 16.

[2] Hua Yang Kuo Chih (Gazetteers of Hua-yang), Chuan 2, p. 8.

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245 At present, the farthest markets to which the citrus fruit of the basin can be safely and profitably shipped are at I-chang and Sha-shih, which are only about four hundred miles away.

The difficulties of marketing the fresh "hung-chu" red oranges are so great that many farmers find it more to their advantage to let the fruit rot in the fields and to sell the orange peel for medicinal purposes. The difficulty of marketing handicaps seriously the agricultural economy of these orange-producing areas. Recently, the Szechuan Provincial Agricultural Experimental Station established several breeding stations in Chiang-tsin and Ho-chuan, with a view to selecting breeds of the less perishable species of "huang-ko" or yellow oranges. At the same time, various canning plants have been recently established in the producing areas to manufacture canned orange juice and other canned fruit products. Both of these measures will undoubtedly help to relieve the grave situation.

b) Tea.--Tea (Camellia thea) is recorded to have been cultivated in Szechuan Basin during the Early Han dynasty (202 B.C. to 25 A.D.).[1] However, it did not become a common beverage among all classes in the Basin until the sixth and seventh centuries.[2] There are now some forty districts in the Basin reported to be producing tea of one kind or another (Table 11). The three principal tea-producing areas of the Basin (Fig. 37) are the western area, including Pei-chuan, Kuan-hsien, Ta-I, and Tsung-nai; the eastern area, including the Wan-yuan, Ksi-chiang, and Cheng-ko districts; and the southern area, including Ho-chiang, Yun-nien, and Ping-shan. Among these, the western area is by far the most important in both the quantity and the quality of the tea produced. The total tea acreage is normally about 300,000 mow, and has an annual output of about 120,000 piculs (Table 11).[3]

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[1]Quoted by an article entitled "The Production and Market of Tea at Kuan-hsien Area," Szechuan Econ. Monthly, VIII, No. 3 (1937), 87.

[2]A cup of tea in China, taken not primarily to assuage thirst, is a thing to play with, to set before a guest, and to talk over. The tea house, a unique Chinese institution, which is found in Szechuan Basin perhaps more than in any other province of China, is much more than a club. It is a meeting place where business talks are generally carried on, rumors are spread, and gossip about one's friends is tossed about. The tea house is a vital factor in the social and cultural life here.

[3]Bureau of Agricultural Research, "Statistics on the Production of Tea," Szechuan Economic Monthly, VIII, No. 1 (1936), 58.

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As in many other parts of China, tea cultivation here is primarily a by-profession of farmers, and very few large plantations are found. It is reported that there are more than 35,000 farming families engaged in producing tea.

Perhaps nowhere else in China has tea been produced in so many grades and prepared in so many forms as here in the Basin. The grades range from the most handsomely packed silver-needle green tea of finest aroma to the most roughly-wrapped ugly-looking brick tea. This range is made available in order to meet the varied demands of widely different markets. The most important export tea markets of the Basin are the regions of Tibet, Sikang, and Kokonor. The Basin supplies nearly all the demand of these areas, which normally totals more than six million dollars per year.

Nevertheless, this small but profitable trade may soon be denied to the Basin. It is greatly feared that keen Indian competition is growing and threatening the Basin's export tea trade to Tibet. In fact, the competition of Indian tea even now extends from Tibet to the Sikang markets. Geographically, the Indian tea is in a more favorable position to compete for the Tibetan tea market than tea from the Basin. For example, from Darjeeling to Lhasa it is only about 350 miles, while from Kan-ting (Tachien-lu), the principal collecting point of the Basin's tea on its way to Tibet, to Lhasa is twice that distance (nearly 700 miles) and requires sometimes two months' journey. Moreover, the physical difficulties of transportation in the Basin are also greater. This favorable geographic position of India is further evidenced by the fact that a considerable portion of the herbs from the Tibetan highlands are now being exported through the Darjeeling route.

The tea for the export markets comes largely from the western and southern producing areas. Normally Kuan-hsien is the collection-point and Sung-pang the distribution point of all tea from the western producing areas, whereas Yaan and Kan-ting (Tachien-lu) serve in the same capacity for the southern producing areas. The tea for these distant markets is generally wrapped in 60-pound or 80-pound packages and is transported principally on men's backs.

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c) Medicinal herbs.--Szechuan Basin has long been noted in China, in fact in the whole Far East, for its production of a

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249 great variety of vegetable drugs. There are six principal producing areas in the Basin (Fig. 37): (1) the western area, including Sung-pang, Li-fang, Miao-hsien, and Wen-chuan, with Kuan-hsien as the chief collecting and distributing center; (2) the southern area, including I-ping, Ching-fu, Kao-hsien, and Yun-nien, with I-ping as the trading center; (3) the southwest area, including Lo-shan and Chien-wei, with Yaan as the trading center; (4) the northern area, including Chiang-yu, Ping-wu, and An-hsien, with Chung-pa as the trading center; (5) the districts of the Chisling River area, with Ho-chuan as the trading center; herbs from southern Shensi and Kansu also pass through Ho-chuan; and (6) the eastern area, consisting of Kai-hsien, Fu-hsi, Feng-chieh, Kai-chiang, and Liang-shan districts.

249 278 Of these six principal herb-producing areas, the western area is by far the most important. It generally accounts for one-third of the Basin's total production. The medicinal herbs are found in the hilly and more mountainous areas in the Basin, and grow under a great variety of climatic and soil conditions. But, as a rule, the herbs especially thrive well on the more rugged mountain slopes and in the cooler climates.

It is reported that as many as two hundred or more different kinds of herbs (including both cultivated and wild species) are produced in the Basin and its surrounding areas.[1] And seventy-nine of them are prominent in inter-provincial and export trade. Many have been of high value to the Chinese for ages. Recently, some of them have been used extensively even by western peoples, particularly the well-known ma-huang (ephedrine), licorice, Ta-huang (medicinal rhubarb), Huang-nien (coptis chinensis), and many others.

One of the most serious problems in herb production in the Basin is that of bringing more of the valuable wild herbs under cultivation so as to stabilize the production and bring down its costs. It is reported that many formerly valuable wild species of herbs, as a result of human disturbances and reckless exploitation, are now nearly extinct.[2]

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[1] T. H. Cheng, "The Herb as an Important Product of Szechuan," Chinese Science Monthly, XVIII, No. 1 (1932), 28-32.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

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Prior to the Republic (1912) the export of medicinal herbs, together with silk and tung-oil, formed the backbone of the export trade of the Basin. Herbs alone generally accounted for between 15 and 20 million dollars yearly. But recently, on account of the constant warfare and heavy taxation, as well as the increasing competition of western drugs, the herb trade has reached a low point; in 1936 the total value of herbs exported amounted only to some 7 million dollars. 249 278

Chungking is normally the biggest center for transhipment of herbs to outside markets. It is not only the point of convergence of the herb products of the six main producing areas, but also herbs from northern Kweichou and southern Shensi (by the Chialing and Chi waterways, respectively), are shipped via Chungking, on their way to lower Yangtse markets. Thus, for a long time, Chungking has been known as the "jackpot" of the herb trade of the Far East. The principal domestic markets for the Basin's herbs include Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kwang-tung, Honan, Hunan, and Hupeh provinces, whereas the chief foreign buyers are Japan, French Indo-China, and France.

d) Cho Tsai or pickled (fermented) vegetable.--Cho Tsai, or pickled vegetable, is another unique product of Szechuan Basin, which is the only region in China where this food is produced. Cho Tsai has long been regarded as a great delicacy and a tasty seasoning for cooking in various parts of China, particularly in the lower Yangtse Valley and the North China Plain, as well as in Japan and countries of the South Sea Islands. Large quantities of this delicacy (some two or three million dollars' worth) are exported yearly to these areas from the Basin. 244

The principal producing areas of Cho Tsai are in the east of the Basin, particularly in Pei-Ling, Feng-tu, Chang-shou, Chiang-peh, and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 37). The products from Pei-Ling and Lo-Chih (Chiang-peh) are especially famous.

This vegetable, locally known as Ching Tsai, being a species of chard, thrives well in a wide range of soil conditions. It requires good drainage. The plant is ordinarily seeded in September after the reaping of the summer crops; and the harvest takes place some time around January or February. During its growing season it requires a humid, mild climate. In many localities it forms a very satisfactory rotation crop with rice.

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244 251 The process of preparing Cho Tsai is interesting. It is dried (by solar radiation), specially treated with salt and other ingredients (somewhat fermented), seasoned with pepper, and packed in air-tight tanks for export. Like Sunkist oranges from California in the United States, this unique product, "Szechuan Cho Tsai," has been for years the best advertisement for the name of "Szechuan" in many parts of the Far East.

4. Livestock Production and Special Animal Products

231 This term, livestock production or animal husbandry, has a special meaning as used in oriental agriculture. Livestock production here in the Basin, like in many other parts of China, is concerned only with the quick-growing food stock, the species that are easily cared for and do not require special feed. These normally include pigs, chickens, ducks, and some geese. While some cattle and sheep are raised here, they are seldom used for dairy products as in the West.

According to the recent report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, for every one hundred farming families in Szechuan Basin there are 40 water buffalos, 17 head of cattle, 2 horses, 39 goats, 2 sheep, 169 pigs, 366 chickens, 149 ducks, and 20 geese.[1]

237 a) Bristles.--In the western commercial world, bristles, like silk and tea, during the past years has always been associated with China. The principal producer of this well known Chinese product is Szechuan Basin. Normally the Basin supplies about one-fourth of the total export of all Chinese bristles, including 15,000 piculs of black and 4,000 piculs of white bristles. Among all the outstanding exports from the Basin, bristles is the only one that has always maintained a predominant position. It now alone comprises about one-fourth of the total value of the export trade of the Basin.[2]

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 42.

[2] The export of bristles has jumped from eighth to fourth place in China's foreign trade since 1939, next only to raw silk, egg products, and tungsten. Szechuan Basin has been the largest producer, contributing about 40 per cent of the total export of this product (cf. J. H. Huang, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Bristles of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941).

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Pig-raising is a common side-line of all farms in the Basin. Bristles are produced in nearly every district of the Basin. But the most important producing centers are I-ping, Pa-hsien, Nan-chung, Chien-yang, Yung-chang, and Lung-chang (Fig. 39). Most of these districts produce black bristles. Yung-chang and Lung-chang alone are noted for their excellent white bristles. They are particularly well known for their brilliance, length, and strength and have long held at a premium in the international market. The black bristles produced at Ho-chuan, Nan-chung, Ta-hsien, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39) along the Chialing River Valley are the best on account of their special brilliance. 237

The bristle-collecting season in the Basin extends generally from November to April, i.e., throughout the cold season. Generally no business is done during the rest of the year. This is mainly because the bristles grown during the hot weather are said to be soft and useless for manufacturing purposes. The Szechuan bristles, on account of their great strength, elasticity, brilliance, and relative immunity to moisture, are of a particularly high quality, and have long enjoyed a favorable reputation throughout the world. The best foreign buyers are the United States, which normally takes 30 per cent of the total exports; France and Japan, each taking about 20 per cent; and Germany and Great Britain, each taking about 15 per cent of the total exports. The principal use of the Basin's bristles in the United States are for tooth- and other high-grade brushes. But with the recent introduction of manufacturing bristles for such purposes in the United States, the prospect of this commodity, in so far as export is concerned, remains somewhat uncertain. 237 439

b) Sheep and cow hides.--While most of the provinces in China produce either water buffalos (as in South China) or oxen (yellow cattle) (as in north China), Szechuan Basin produces both. Among all the interior provinces in China, Szechuan Basin is the most important in the production of cow hides. The areas around Chengtu, Lo-shan, Lu-hsien, Pa-hsien, and Wan-hsien (Fig. 39) are particularly important. The cow hides produced in Chengtu Plain, owing to the good pasture nearby, are especially abundant in quantity and superior in quality. It is estimated that the annual output of cow hides, including both the water buffalo and the yellow cow, is approximately 50,000 piculs. Formerly, on account of the lack of tanning establishments in the 237

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237 Basin, 70 to 80 per cent of the total production was exported as raw materials. But during recent years, since the rapid growth of local tanning industries, the hides are mainly used for manufacturing shoes, boxes, and other leather products consumed in the Basin.

Besides, the buffalo horns are also commonly utilized in Chengtu and other districts for the manufacture of a great variety of articles for everyday household use.

c) Sheep hides and wool.--There are two kinds of sheep hides produced in the Basin, namely, the garment-making hide, produced in the Sung-Pan area at the northwest edge of the Basin, and the leather-making hides, produced in the Chengtu and Wan-hsien areas (Fig. 39). Normally, the total annual output of sheep hides is around 30,000 piculs. In 1935 the Basin exported 1,500,000 sheep hides, at a value of $1,500,000.[1] Normally, the United States takes about 40 per cent of the total export, with Great Britain, Japan, Germany, and France following in order.

A large quantity of wool, totaling nearly 40,000 piculs annually, is produced in the Basin. Sung-pan, Li-fan, Wen-chuan, and other districts at the west and northwest edge of the Basin are the principal producing centers (Fig. 39). Nearly 85 per cent of the total production of wool is shipped down the Yangtse in raw material form. It is either exported directly to Great Britain or sold to local mills in Shanghai for manufacturing purposes.

231 d) Silk.--Szechuan Basin has long been well known in all China for its production of yellow silk. The Basin is second only to the two most important silk-producing provinces of China--Chekiang and Kwangtung. Normally, the Basin produces about 20 per cent of the total silk production of all China, and has an annual output of 30,000 piculs.[2] In the past, silk has always been the leading export of the Basin. In 1930, a peak year, the total export amounted to 20 million dollars, which constituted 15 per cent of the total export silk trade of all China in that year.[3] But recently, on account of inefficient methods of

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[1] Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Szechuan Provincial Government, Agricultural Statistics (1935).

[2] T. S. Fan, "The Past and Future of the Silk-worm Industry of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 6 (1933), 34-42.

[3] China's Inspector-General of Customs, Analysis of Foreign Trade of China (1930).

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production and lack of uniformity in the product, together with the general world economic depression, Szechuan silk has suffered a great setback. In 1936, only about one million dollars' worth of Szechuan silk was exported. Of all the agricultural products of the Basin, the decline of silk is perhaps the most tragic.

There are three chief silk-producing areas in the Basin (Fig. 39): (1) The northern area, including Santai, Nanchung, Lan-chung, Si-chung, and nearby districts; normally accounts for about 40 per cent of the total production of the Basin, totaling about 15,000 piculs.[1] Here, particularly in the district of Santai, the world-famous Szechuan yellow silk is produced. (2) The southern and southwestern area includes Lo-shan, Mei-shan, Ching-shen, Fu-shun, Jen-shou, and Chi-chiang districts. Among them, Lo-shan is particularly well-known both as a producer of raw silk and as a large manufacturing center of silk piece goods. In 1936 Lo-shan alone accounted for over 20 per cent of the Basin's total silk production. (3) The eastern and south-central area includes Ho-chuan, Tung-liang, and Wan-hsien districts (Fig. 39). Normally, they each have an annual output of a little over 4,000 piculs.

There are two main species of silkworm raised in the Basin, namely, the Antheraea pernyi, a wild species, and the Bombyx mori, the regular mulberry-fed domesticated species.[2] The wild species is fed on the leaves of "cha shu" (Cudrania triloba) or scrub oak. In the Chi-chiang and Chi-hsien districts to the south, and Lanchung (Paoning) and Nanchung districts to the north, a considerable quantity of silk is obtained from this wild species. It is commonly claimed that worms of this wild species have the following advantages over the domesticated species: (1) the leaves of the Cha-shu (Cudrania triloba) come out a little earlier than the mulberry leaves and are usually cheaper in price; (2) the silk produced is tougher and stronger in texture; (3) the worms give more silk; and (4) two crops are possible yearly. This practice of raising the wild silkworm is particularly popular in the southern area, where Cha-shu trees are especially common.

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[1]The production figure of 1936 (Table 12) is low due to dwindling of export markets.

[2]C. H. Chiang, The Raw Silk, a Principal Product of Szechuan (1936), p. 39.

231 *In spite of what has been said above, the silk* produced by the wild species is, on the whole, inferior in quality and is negligent in quantity in the Basin. The major portion of silk produced in the Basin, about 80 per cent of the total, is derived from the regularly mulberry-fed, domesticated species--the Bombyx mori.

Silkworm rearing takes place twice a year in Szechuan Basin, as against only once a year in many other parts of Free China. It is carried on principally as a side-line by individual farmers. No large organized enterprise for silk-raising has ever been attempted. This accounts for the low efficiency in the methods of production and is mainly responsible for the meteoric downfall of the industry during the past few years in the face of serious Japanese competition in the overseas silk markets.

654 231 Recently, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of the Szechuan Provincial Government, in view of this grave situation and the serious effects it has on the general agricultural economy of the Basin, has taken rigorous measures to improve the methods of silk production. A number of silk-raising experimental stations and breeding centers have been established throughout the silk-producing areas, particularly in Nan-chung, Lo-shan, and Santai districts. In each district, numerous sub-stations have been organized to guide the farmers in silkworm raising, mulberry growing, and silk-making. Lo-shan alone has fifteen such stations. Other projects have also been launched to furnish more modern equipment and to organize the whole silk-production industry on a scientific basis.

231 438 Szechuan silk made a bid for world fame about eleven years ago in 1930, when 4,000 piculs were exported via Shanghai. This favorable condition was maintained for several years. Then a slump occurred due to the competition of Japanese silk and the increasing use of rayon. The war has presented a magnificent opportunity to revive sericulture in the Basin, while the boycott of the Japanese product in America since the American-Japanese war has now further stimulated export of silk from Free China. Szechuan today remains the only big silk center in the interior, as the silk colonies in Yunnan, Sikang, and Shensi are only beginning to export. With the growing American demand for Chinese silk, the Szechuan Silk Corporation is doing its best to increase its output.

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The principal overseas market for Szechuan silk at present (shortly before the war) is in the United States, France, and Burma. For exports to the first two markets, silk is normally shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for overseas transhipment, whereas silk for the Burma market ordinarily goes by way of the Lo-shan-I-ping via Kunming, Yunnan route. The difficulty of transportation by way of the latter route is stupendous. Ordinarily it takes at least three to four months, by human carriers, for one trip from Lo-shan to Rangoon, Burma, and the transportation costs sometimes run as high as two-fifths of the value of the goods themselves. Unless transportation facilities along this route are improved, no matter how strongly the Burmese favor Szechuan silk, as has been the case thus far, the silk trade between Szechuan and Burma will always remain greatly limited. 231 438

Besides the difficulty of transportation, silk production in the Basin is now confronted by new handicaps. Silkworm rearing, formerly a profitable supplementary rural industry, has now given way to the production of grains (many mulberry fields have been converted into grain fields) which have been commanding high prices during recent years as a result of the increasing demand for foodstuffs due to the war.

e) Duck feathers and other products.--One cannot very well close this section on livestock production of the Szechuan Basin without mentioning another interesting product--duck feathers. The Basin normally has a total of over fifteen million ducks.[1] They are especially concentrated in the districts around Chengtu Plain, Lo-shan, I-ping, Yo-chi, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39). Besides the wide use of the meat for food by the natives, the feathers are especially valued by the wealthy people for use in making light, warm and soft comforters, filling pillow cases and quilts, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and a number of other uses. 237 [235]

The total production of duck feathers is estimated to be approximately 10,000 piculs annually. Approximately 70 per cent of the total product is shipped to markets overseas. Before the war, France was the leading customer, taking 30 per cent of the total export, with the United States and Great Britain each taking 20 per cent, and Germany and Japan each taking about 10 per cent. 237 439

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 63.

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F. Conclusions on Agricultural Land-Use

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Agricultural land-use of Szechuan Basin emphasizes the diversity of its agricultural products and the intensiveness of its land-use. The diversified topography, the great variation in availability of water supply, the different degrees of alluviation in different parts of the Basin, and above all, the high population density, all have contributed to the uniquely different agricultural landscapes in various parts of the Basin. The sharp difference between the appearance of Chengtu Plain and the rest of the Basin is particularly striking.

Geographically, it is interesting to note that in this area people with limited technological knowledge at their disposal have struggled through long ages of painstaking experiment, successes and failure, by trial and error, to find out the most effective way to wrest a living from the none-too-favorable environment. For ages, the Szechuanese have employed their ingenuity, their patience, and their tremendous man-power in trying to utilize every available spot of land for whatever type of crops would grow under its particular physical qualities.

The tremendous work of terracing; the diversified methods and ingenious devices for irrigation; the unique methods of soil culture, green manure, and fertilization composting; the complicated systems of rotating crops; the synchronization of the seasons of planting of various crops; and the elaborate and widespread practices of inter-culture, are all good examples of the effort to attain intensive agricultural land-use and greater production.

Here, in the Szechuan Basin, one finds a most distinctive case of how man and Nature have worked together, hand in hand, and it is plain that the vast human effort has served as the most important single factor in shaping the present patterns of agricultural land-use. The building and maintenance of various kinds of irrigation works, the terracing of huge hills into minute steps the various practices of soil culture (such as carrying soil from lower slopes to higher fields), all these in the absence of mechanical power, require a tremendous army of labor. In addition, there are the stupendous and astounding job of transforming the dry fields in winter crops (such as wheat, beans, etc.) into wet fields for rice, and transplanting millions of young rice plants (one by one, by hand), within the short period of two weeks

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in early spring every year. Such agricultural practices and such intensive use of land as now prevail here in the Basin can only be maintained by abundant and cheap labor. In fact, it is the pressure of large numbers of men on the land that has resulted in the unique pattern of agricultural land-use here. 311 241

Owing to the crowded population, to the limited land area, and to the extremely low standard of living, it is imperative to the Szechuanese that every inch of land which is cultivable at all be brought under cultivation. Many times, of course, this means very low production efficiency per capita.

The crop systems in the Basin are so adjusted and so synchronized as to utilize each piece of land to the maximum. For instance, if physical conditions, particularly water supply, permit, rice is always the preferred crop. If rice cannot be grown, the next best crop, such as wheat, corn, millet, or barley, will be planted. If even these crops are impossible, still other crops will be grown, and the land put to some productive use. The simple truth is that here millions of mouths have to be fed, and the Szechuanese absolutely cannot afford to let their land lie idle if this can be avoided in any way. Given the known physical assets, with the available technological knowledge, one may fairly say that the Szechuanese, so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, have made a shrewd "deal" with their physical surroundings. Another people with the same equipment, under the same conditions, both physical and cultural, perhaps could not have done in any way materially different from the Szechuanese.

Nevertheless, in spite of all that has been said above, the agricultural land-use of Szechuan Basin, especially in the light of modern technological development and in the face of modern scientific agriculture, cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory. As a matter of fact, many of the Basin's practices in agricultural land-use are miserably inefficient and call for drastic and immediate improvement. The extreme heterogeneity of the seed of nearly all the field crops, the lack of scientific seed selection and plant-breeding station, the marginal character and low efficiency of the production in many hilly areas, the lack of good drought-resistant crops in areas where natural rainfall is undependable, the failure in cotton-culture, the financial inability to obtain modern complete chemical fertilizers, the wasteful practices of the so-called "winter-storing-water-field"

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system, and above all, the inefficiency of many of the superfluous ditches and irrigation works, are notable examples. The successful solution of any of these problems will undoubtedly bring about a higher efficiency in the agricultural land-use of the Basin.

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CHAPTER IV

FORESTRY LAND-USE

A. Principal Lumber-Producing Areas and Lumber Products

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Most of the forested areas of the Szechuan Basin are rather detached in nature and are composed of small original growths high in timber value. Exceptions to this generalization include the relatively small areas west and northwest of the Chengtu Plain, the dense coniferous-deciduous association (including mainly the genera of Abies, Pica, Tsuga, Larix, Castanea, Quercus, and Liquidambar), and the areas along the upper Tung River Valley (Fig. 8). Taking the province as a whole, including the mountainous areas surrounding the Basin, the forest area of Szechuan is estimated to contain about 26 per cent of the total land area of the province, some 360,159 square kilometers.[1]

Generally speaking, there are five principal lumber-producing areas in the province (Fig. 8). Each of them is characterized by a reasonably good potential supply of lumber and by a production of some special species. The five areas are: (1) the upper Min River area, including Sung-pang, Miao-hsien, Miao-kung, and Wen-chuan districts. This area is dominated by pines, lien-shan (Abies), yun-shan (Picea), tieh-shan (Tsuga) and chang (Cinnamomum); (2) the Ching-I River Valley, including Tien-chuan, Pao-hsin, and Yaan. It is dominated by Chih Shan (Cunninghania Lanceolata), Yao Hu Tao (Juglaus Cathayensis), Ching Kang Li (Quercus Glauca), and others; (3) the Ta-tu River Valley, including Yueh-tsuin, Han-yuan, and O-pien. This valley is dominated also by Tiao Shan (Picea Brachytyla), Tien Shan (Tsuga Yunanensis), chu (Castanopsis), Kao (Lithocarpus), muho (Schima), and many others;[2] (4) the Tung River Valley area, including Tung-chiang,

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[1] Special Report on the Forestry of Szechuan, National Central University Publication (1936).

[2] Chen Wan Chung, Report of a Survey on Forestry of the Ta-tu River and Min River Areas (1936), p. 14.

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137 Nan-chung, Cheng-ko, and Wan-yuan districts. This area is dominated by pines, banyans (Fig. 40), and cypresses, which, however, are not of very high timber value; and (5) the northwestern hilly area of the Basin, including Santai, and Chien-ko, Pai-chuan districts. This area of hilly country is dominated by pines, cypresses, some Nanmu, and some firs (Fig. 8).

313 137 Of the five areas mentioned, the Ta-tu River Valley and the Ching-I River area are by far the most important. Here virgin forests of great timber value are in abundance. Both are now under development by government and private interests. These forests will prove especially valuable for the many immediate needs in the Basin, such as construction on the Chengtu-Chungking Railway line, mining, and paper-making. Some logging activities are carried on in nearby camps, and the timber sawed is used by local towns and villages. But, however, large portions of the lumber produced are made into rafts and floated down the swift Ta-tu and Min rivers. A few saw mills, equipped with simple traditional devices, are located at Chengtu and Loshan. The wood sawed, transported either by small native boats or frequently on men's backs, found its market in various parts of the Basin, especially in the urban areas of Chengtu, Loshan, Luhsien, and other cities. Sometimes, however, such lumber finds its way as far as Chungking and other eastern areas where imported lumber often dominated the market.

The Szechuan Basin contains at least thirty different kinds of trees of high timber value in the Basin.[1] These include such outstanding and well known Chinese conifers as the Pai shu or cypress (cypressus funebris), the Ma Wei sung (Pinus massoniana), the Chia Shan (Cunninghamia lanceolata), the Ying Tsung (Abies delavayi), the Ne Tiao Shan (Picea ascendens), Hsiang Peh Sha (Juniperus Saltuaria), and a number of outstanding hard woods, such as the Nanmu (Machilu nanmu), the chestnut (Castanopsis), the Hu-tao (Juglaus rigia), the Chang (cinnamonuna camphora), and the Chu li shu (Quercus serrata).

Among all the foregoing species the Chia-shan, Ma Wei Sung, Nanmu, Hu-tao, and Pai shu are the most important. They are the most common sources of timber supply for the Basin. The

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[1] Pei Chi Heng, A Survey of the Timber Trees of Szechuan Province (1937), 26.

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Chia Shan (Cunninghamia lanceolata) deserves special mention as it is the most common tree for all-round use in the Basin. Not only because of its wide distribution throughout the Basin, particularly on the mountainous areas bordering the northwestern corner of the Chengtu Plain, but also because of its special adaptability and quick growth on the cretaceous sandstone soils, this tree has proved especially popular among farmers in the Basin. It generally grows from 80 to 120 feet tall and has a very straight stem. After the trees are cut down, this conifer reproduces itself by sprouts from the old stumps, requiring no seeding or nursery cultivation. The bark is commonly employed for roofing purposes. The wood is light, fragrant, and easily worked. For general building purposes, house-fitting, indoor carpentry, and boat-building, it is the most esteemed of all Chinese timbers. It is also in great demand for coffin-making, the fragrant properties of the wood being believed to act as a preservative.

Besides the Chia Shan, the most unique, if not the most commonly used tree, is the Nanmu (Michilus Nanmu). It is one of the most valuable broad-leaf evergreen hardwoods, comprising several species of Lauraceae. The timber is close-grained, fragrant, greenish or brownish in color, easily worked, and very durable.[1] It is the most highly prized timber for high-grade construction purposes, such as for the pillars and beams of palaces, temples, and other important structures. It is also used in the best grade furniture and cabinet work, and is commonly sought by the wealthy Chinese for making their coffins. It is among the most graceful and beautiful evergreens in the Basin. The trees are somewhat localized and are found particularly in abundance in the Min River Valley, near Chengtu Plain and some western hilly areas of the Plain where there is a dependable water supply near the irrigation streams.

In addition to the trees of the foregoing timbered areas, the bamboo thickets constitute another important source of timber supply in the Basin. The bamboo is a fast-growing plant and has many different species. The vegetative bodies and growths of the bamboo differ in these different species. Bamboo varies from the dwarf shrub of about 10 feet tall, with a diameter of 3-4 inches,

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[1] Pei Chi Heng, op. cit., p. 42.

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313 as in the case of Kuang Ying bamboo, to giant tree of well over
137 80 feet in height and with a diameter over 12 inches, as in the case of Nan Chu and Tze Chu bamboos. They often grow in thickets, groves or clumps and usually have a golden, yellow or dark green foliage and with broad sheaths. There are numerous slender stems developed around the large clumps and the principal stems. The stems are hollow inside, have many joints, and often have thick wood which furnishes the most useful part of the plant.

Bamboo has a fairly wide range of habitat and grows well under different kinds of physical conditions.[1] The principal habitats of the bamboo are in alluvial areas near streams, around farmsteads, and not infrequently on sandy soils at the hill slopes.

[262 285] The usefulness of the bamboo is indeed limitless. First of all, the tender bamboo shoots are used as a vegetable, and serve as one of the most famous Chinese delicacies. The smaller stems are used for paper-making, textile-weaving, making of boxes, baskets, chopsticks, and light house utensils and furniture, whereas the large stems are used for the construction of irrigation wheels, salt brine and gas tubes, boats, bridges, carpentry, and numerous other industrial purposes. All in all, it was once reported that the bamboos are used in more than six hundred different ways in the Basin.[2] Thus the bamboo, to be sure, plays a very important role in the economy of the Basin. Above all, the bamboo, on account of its growths of matted fibrous roots, is proved most effective in holding soil and preventing soil erosion in many hilly areas of the Basin.

There are few large bamboo plantations in the Basin. Most farmers have small patches of bamboo thickets or groves around their farmsteads. The bamboo products are used principally for the farmer's own needs and any surplus left is sold to handicraft manufacturers of the nearby areas.

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[1]Generally speaking, bamboos cannot stand up very well under drought conditions. North of Kuang Yuan, for instance, on account of the lack of sufficient moisture, and possibly also because of lower temperature during the winter, no bamboo is grown (Fig. 8). Also, generally, very little bamboo growths are found around high altitudes of probably over 5,000 feet above sea level in the Basin.

[2]T. F. Hou, "The Conditions of Salt Fields at Tze-liu-ching and Kung Ching, Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, VIII, No. 6 (1937), 59.

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B. The Tung Tree Production

The tung-oil tree "belt" of China lies in the area between 22 and 33 degrees north latitude, and 100 and 120 degrees longitude east. Within this area is included the whole province of Szechuan (Fig. 1) and, in fact, normally Szechuan produces about a third of the total annual production of tung oil in China. It is commonly asserted that Szechuan Basin possesses the most favorable natural environment for growing the Tung tree. Certainly, it is the most distinctive and the best known product of Szechuan Basin. The Tung tree now occupies a vitally important position in the economy of the Basin as is evidenced by the fact that it comprised as much as 65 per cent of the total export trade of the Basin in 1940.[1]

1. Physical Requirements for Tung Tree Production

The mild, almost frostless winter, the moderate rainfall, the high humidity and cloudiness, and the high summer temperatures all are favorable to the growth of the Tung tree in the Szechuan Basin.[2] The customary sudden drop of temperature in the early spring for a short period just at the time of flowering of the Tung trees, locally known as "tung tung hua," or "frozen tung flower weather," the cause of which is not yet known, is considered especially favorable for the growth of Tung trees. This common assertion has recently been confirmed by American experts who have compared the results of Tung-tree growth in Florida with that in the Basin.[3]

The Tung tree is essentially a hill-side plant. It thrives well on the most rocky sites, on the poorest and thinnest soils, and with a minimum annual rainfall of 29 inches. Anyone who has traversed the gorges above the Yangtse may notice these low-growing, flat-topped Tung trees, clinging to the rocky banks on soil no more than a few inches deep. The Tung tree is noted for its capacity to withstand drought and this and other conditions fit

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[1] K. K. Yen, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Tung Oil of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941, p. 27.

[2] Hu Liu, "The Production of Tung Oil in Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, III, No. 6 (1932), 13-21.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

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137 it wonderfully well into the general topography, soil, and climatic conditions of the Basin.

2. Principal Producing Areas

314 137 The Tung trees grow over wide areas of the Basin, but the three principal producing regions are: (1) the Yangtse area, including Ning-shui, Yun-yang, Wan-hsien, Kai-hsien, Chung-hsien, and Feng-chieh districts; (2) the Chien and Chi River areas, including Yu, Siu-shan, and Pei-ling districts; (3) the Chialing River area, including Ho-chuan and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 36). Among them, the Yangtse Valley area, especially the districts near the anticline belt, is by far the most important.

[433] The total annual production of tung oil is estimated to be about 760,000 piculs.[1] In 1936, Ning-shui, one of the districts which makes up the first of the three principal producing areas, led all the districts with a total annual production of 180,000 piculs; Chung-hsien, of the same producing area, in the second place, produced 140,000 piculs; and Yun-yang produced 100,000 piculs (Table 13).

The Tung trees (Aleurites fordii) which grow in the Basin are of two kinds--Chai tung, or fuel tung, and mi-tung, or rice tung. The Chai tung is taller in height, generally around 20 to 25 feet, and has rougher and larger branches. The fruit contains fewer seeds (only three to five) than the Mi tung, and thus has less oil content. Hence, very few Chai tung trees are planted here.

The Mi tung tree, the major kind planted in the Szechuan Basin, is shorter in height (about 15 feet or less) and is highly ornamental in flower and foliage. The flowers, produced in great profusion during April, are usually white, stained with pink and yellow markings. These are followed always by green apple-like fruits, which are hidden among the large, glossy, heart-shaped leaves and generally ripen between August and September. Each fruit usually contains five to seven seeds. The Tung trees begin to bear fruit in their fourth year, and their period of

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[1] C. S. Chang, The Tung Oil of Szechuan (Ming Seng Co., 1936), p. 18. But the most recent report gave the total acreage of Tung tree for 1940 as 1,150,000 mow and with an annual production of 1,140,000 piculs (cf. Yen, op. cit., p. 31). This is, of course, a little unusual and is due to the war time boom production.

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greatest production is from the eighth to the sixteenth year. A decline in productivity begins with the seventeenth year. Thus there is a local saying, "The seventeenth year is the limit for the Tung Tree." 314 137

The tung seed-collecting season varies from locality to locality in the Basin, but, on the whole, comes in the middle of September. After the green fruit is picked, it is piled into heaps and covered with straw or grass. The heat thus generated quickly rots the fleshy part of the fruit and the seeds are removed. They are then roasted,[1] ground, steamed, and pressed, like other oil-producing seeds. All of these processes are done with very simple equipment and at low efficiency. The roasting and steaming are done by burning of charcoal or coal, whereas the pressing and grounding are all done by animal power. The product, which amounts to about 40 per cent of the weight of the seed, is a brown and somewhat watery oil. It is sent to the nearby local plants for refining, and then packed in wooden tubs and bamboo baskets to be shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for export abroad.

In the economy of the Szechuan Basin the Tung tree figures as a natural mountain product. Usually, the trees are left to grow wild; very little attempt is made by the farmers to cultivate them. Only during recent years, following the continuous success in the export trade, have a large number of Tung tree plantations and nurseries been organized and scientific methods applied to cultivation and production. The best known plantations are the I-shui at Wan-hsien, and the Jen-ho at Pi-shan. Each comprises from 200,000 to 300,000 trees. Both have met with phenomenal success during the past few years. An increasing number of such plantations, sponsored either by the government or by private interests, have recently been organized.[2] 245

3. Transportation and Marketing of Tung Oil

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The present war has greatly stimulated the production of tung oil in Szechuan and has brought drastic changes in the

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[1]Roasting is, however, not essential and is not practiced by all farmers.

[2]Chao, op. cit., p. 21.

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marketing and transportation of the product. Prior to the war, Wan-hsien, between Chungking and Hankow, was the most important shipping center for Szechuan tung oil, as well as other products. Its importance was due to its geographical location on the main waterway to Shanghai via Hankow. But, however, since the fall of Wu-Chang-Hankow tri-cities and consequently the close of the gorges route to the east due to the enemy's blockade, this route of transhipment of tung oil has been greatly shifted. Now, Chungking, because of its new political importance and because it is the starting point of new highways in southwest China, has become the most vital concentration point and the sole exporting center of tung oil. While in 1935-36 the oil sent to Chungking for transhipment (totaling 150,000 quintals) was only three-fourths that sent to Wan-hsien, the 1938 figures for Chungking showed an increase to 350,000 quintals.[1] The amount sent to Wan-hsien, on the other hand, dropped to 150,000 quintals,[2] only a little over one-third that sent to Chungking. Districts that formerly sold their oil through Wan-hsien now turn their products over to the purchasing agents of the Foreign Trade Commission at Chungking.[3] This newly created concern, with the cooperation of both government and private interests, collects the processed oil and exports it abroad by way of the Kweichou-Szechuan highway (Fig. 18) through the back door of China.

In 1938, 42.9 per cent of the local oil came from points east and south of Chungking, 24.4 per cent from places along the Chialing and Chu rivers, 14.2 per cent from the Chien and Wu River valleys, 17.1 per cent from points along the Yangtse above the city of Chungking, and the remaining 1.4 per cent from other places.[4] This kind of tung oil concentration and shipment is consistent with the general patterns of its production, because the principal tung-oil-producing areas, as already mentioned, are concentrated in the districts both north and south of Chungking, and in the upper Chialing and Chien River Valley areas.

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[1] Foo-hsing Trade Corporation, Trade Report (1939), p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] Ibid., p. 38.

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

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Tung oil is widely used in the modern industrial world. 314
It has been proved particularly invaluable in making high grade paints, in boat-building, and in the manufacturing of many other water-proof products. The refuse cake, chemically a complete 387
fertilizer, is valued highly by the farmers of the Basin for fertilization purposes. It is used especially for the dry crop 314
fields, such as corn, kaoliang, and other crops, but is very seldom applied to the rice-fields. It is reported that these tung-cake fertilizers are particularly suitable to the corn crop.[1] [388]
The shells of the tung seed, together with rice and soy bean stalks, burned and treated, are commonly used to prepare a cheap soap for the local farming families.

China now produces about 85 per cent of the total world 439
supply of Tung oil, and the production of Szechuan Basin alone 314
accounts for about 40 per cent of the total tung oil export of all China. The best customer was the United States, which, before the war, took on an average about half of the total production. Other customers were Germany, with about 25 per cent of the total; England, with about 15 per cent; and France, Italy, and Japan, each with about 5 per cent of the total annual export.

From the standpoint of the agricultural economy of the Basin, the production of tung oil is vitally significant. Even apart from the huge amount of cash income it brings in the export market, the value of the refuse cake for fertilization, and other industrial purposes, such as the manufacturing of soap, the total value of the Tung tree to the farmers of the Basin is incalculable. Hence, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has recently launched an ambitious ten-year expansion program to boost the Basin's Tung-tree production. It aims to increase the present yearly production of oil from 400,000 quintals to 1,000,000 quintals. At the same time, the Foreign Trade Commission together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry have a five-year plan for increasing tung-oil production in Szechuan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi to 650,000 quintals per year. In addition to existing Tung trees, according to the five-year plan, Szechuan is to plant Tung trees on an additional 500,000 mow of land as a necessary step in the expansion program.[2]

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[1] Y. J. Hsiao, "A Study of the Agricultural Practices of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 7 (1933), 6.

[2] Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan, Annual Report (1940), p. 76.

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4. Future Outlook of Tung Tree Production

000 In spite of the fact that Szechuan Basin has now virtually a monopoly in the production and trade in tung oil, and in spite of the increasing demand for tung oil in many modern industries, both in China and in the international market, the future prospect of tung-oil production in the Basin remains uncertain. With the traditional conservatism in agricultural practices, the lack of efficient scientific management, and the lack of standardization in the product, one, particularly one who is familiar with the tragic outcome of many of China's outstanding products in the international market in the past, cannot but withhold his optimism for the future of tung oil. It may well be asked whether this celebrated product may not have the same tragic fate as silk and tea, of which China once also had the monopoly in international trade. This skepticism is particularly justified in view of the widespread cultivation of the Tung tree in Florida in the United States, and in British South Africa,[1] and the potential competition implied in days to come. As a matter of fact, the future position of tung oil in the Basin, in so far as its export is concerned, is precarious and uncertain. But, however, with the growing industrial expansion in a forthcoming new China and with its increasing usefulness for numerous industrial purposes, as well as the growing popularity of the tung cakes for fertilizers, the tung-oil plantation of the Basin may perhaps look forward with some degree of confidence in its expansion programs and success in the near future.

In order to meet the anticipated keen international competition in Tung tree production, it is imperative that certain essential measures of improvement be taken immediately by the growers of Tung trees in the Basin. Among other things, the extension of the cultivated Tung tree acreage at the expense of the traditional "wild" production, should claim first attention. The establishment of large-scale, well-organized, and modern-equipped Tung tree plantations is absolutely necessary. Moreover, the selection and improvement of seeds, improved methods of cultivation and fertilization, increased efficiency of the native oil-pressing techniques, wider use of more modern appliances and

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[1] "Recent Developments in the Vegetable Oil Industries," Geographical Review, XXVI (1936), 334-35.

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equipment, and the standardization of the finished product are most important.[1] 000

Recently, realizing the necessity of such improvements, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has established four model Tung tree experimental stations at Pei-ling, Nan-chung, Ning-shui, and Wan-hsien districts in order to direct the essential improvement work. With the author's experience among the tung farmers in the Basin, he feels strongly that it is probably wiser for the Agricultural authorities here to carry on the improvement work along the lines suggested above rather than aiming merely to boost the present acreage. Successful modern commercial agricultural production means high quality, as well as quantity. It would be heart-breaking to witness the same tragic fate befall the Tung tree, generously favored as it is by the Basin's physical conditions, that befell China's silk and tea. Nature has already done her part, and it is now up to man to do his. 314 654

C. The Wax Tree Production

1. The White Wax Tree

White wax, produced by the secretions of tiny insects, locally known as Pai-lou-chung (Coccus pela), on a number of wax trees or shrubs, is another unique forestry product of the Szechuan Basin. The so-called wax trees or shrubs consist of over ten species, including both conifers and broad-leafed hardwoods. One particular species of conifer, locally known as Pai-Lou-Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis), is the most important and the most common species on which the wax insects are raised. 314

There are two main species of wax insects: Shan Ti Tsung, or the hilly insects, including breeds produced in Hui-li, Hei-chang, Ning-yuan,[2] and Kuan-hsien districts, and Pa-Tsung, or insects of the plain areas, including breeds produced in O-mei, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Hung-ya districts (Fig. 36). Generally speaking, the plain insects are inferior in quality and are not used for breeding purposes. Also, it is reported[3] that in the 136

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[1] Chao, op. cit., p. 24.

[2] Hui-li, Hsi-chang, and Ning-yuan districts are now under the jurisdiction of Sikang province.

[3] Ho, op. cit., p. 15.

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136 neighborhood of Lo-shan and other districts to the north, the insects cannot survive the winter. Each year the wax tree growers have to dispatch special messengers on foot to secure eggs or breeds of insects from the hilly regions, particularly the Chien Chang area in the Ning-yuan district of southern Sikang province, which is about 250 miles distant from the principal wax-producing centers at Lo-shan.

Owing to the long distance involved, and the slow and difficult transportation conditions, as well as the great variation in climatic conditions between the warm insect-producing southern areas and the cool wax-tree-growing districts to the north, there is involved great risk in transporting these insect breeds. The carriers travel night and day, and generally the trip is covered in sixteen to twenty days, for this is the period during which the eggs are expected to hatch. Once the little larvae start crawling around, the carriers have no alternative but to throw them away. This alternative, of course, means great financial losses to the wax-tree growers, and has become one of the most serious problems of the wax-tree industry in the Basin.

237 The principal wax-producing areas are concentrated in the southwest of the Basin, particularly in the districts of O-mei, Hung-ya, Chia-chiang, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 36). The total production of white wax in the Basin varies with the climatic conditions. Wind and rain are very much dreaded, particularly at the season when the insects are in suspension. These insects, exposed as they are on the tender branches of wax trees of one or two years' growth, are too weak to resist strong wind or heavy rain.

Normally, the total annual production is around 20,000 piculs. But during recent years, the total production has amounted to only 5,000 piculs, about a fourth of the usual production. This present sharp decrease in white-wax production is, however, due not so much to climatic adversity as to political instability and heavy taxation in the Basin. The greatest enemy of white-wax production in Szechuan Basin is the stupendously difficult conditions of transportation. The newly completed Szechuan-Yunnan western highway will undoubtedly relieve the transportation difficulty, and will accelerate the development of the industry in the Basin.

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The most commonly cultivated white-wax tree, the Pai Lou Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis) is a fast-growing tree of medium size. In outer appearance it is very much like a willow tree but generally not as tall (Fig. 41). It prefers a mild and humid climate. It grows readily from cuttings of the one- or two-year-old branches of the mother tree. After three or four years the tree is suitable in size for wax production. It furnishes a rich sap, which by itself is of no value and is used to nourish the insect. The metamorphosis of the wax insect is similar to that of the silkworm. From egg it becomes larva, pupa, and eventually adult. It takes one year to complete its life cycle. It is the male larva which produces the wax, while the female merely lays eggs to carry on the line. The present strain in Ning-yuan district is said to be five hundred years old.

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During the early spring the eggs of the insects wrapped in leaves of the Tung or some other tree, with holes pierced for air, are suspended on the branches of the wax tree to hatch. Generally, the insect prefers the tender young branches of two- or three-year-old trees, of which the sap is rich and the epidermis of the branches is soft enough for the young insects to break through. Within forty to fifty days after the eggs are hatched the wax appears upon the tree and gradually increases until the early autumn (September), when the harvest begins. The snow-white wax accumulated on the main branches is scraped down with sharp knives, while the wax on small twigs is cut down with the twigs. The wax is then steamed and refined two or three times, until the pure white wax is precipitated.

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The white wax has a wide scope of uses, including candles, glazing for paper, silk, furniture polish, coating for pills, models, polish for valuable metal utensils to prevent oxidation, and many medicinal purposes. The residue from white-wax refining is often used for fertilizers. Formerly, about 80 per cent of the total product was exported to Japan and the United States. But it now finds its markets in the interior provinces, particularly in Kansu and Shensi. It is reported that Chinese wax is superior[1] to any other wax produced in the world because it has no smell and leaves no stain whatsoever. Of particular importance

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[1] J. S. Ho, "The Wax Tree Culture and Its Problems in Szechuan," Chinese Reconstruction Weekly, XI, No. 6 (1940), 11-18.

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237 is its high melting point--83 degrees centigrade. It is said that Thomas Edison used this white wax from Szechuan Basin to make his first gramophone records, which have since given pleasure to so many people in all parts of the world.[1]

2. Yellow Wax Production

In addition to white wax, the Szechuan Basin also produces a considerable amount of yellow wax from bee hives. According to Buck, Szechuan farmers lead all China in the average number of bee hives per farm.[2] They are particularly important in the districts of Kuang-yuan and Kuan-hsien, in the north and west of the Basin (Fig. 36). The total production is generally estimated to be around 34,000 piculs, with Kuang-yuan, as the leading producer, accounting for a fourth of the total production. The yellow wax, like the white, is used mainly for candles, furniture polish, models, and many medicinal purposes. But, unlike the white wax, it is consumed principally within the Basin.

D. The Varnish Tree Production

314 Lacquer and lacquer wares in Szechuan have been famous ever since the early Han dynasty. The main producing areas are in the districts of Kuang-yuan, Chao-hua, and Tung-chiang, to the north, and Nan-chuan to the south (Fig. 36). The northern areas are the most important. The total annual production is approximately 4,000 piculs.

The varnish is obtained by tapping the stems of the tree (Rhus vernicefera), locally known as Tsi Shu, by making horizontal incisions in the bark. Generally, these incisions are first made and the tapping begun when the tree is seven years old and has attained a diameter of six inches. Two years are allowed to elapse before the same tree is tapped again. The tapping season commonly begins in late June or early July, at the time corresponding with the opening of the flower, and continues throughout the summer. The sap, as it is exuded, is pure white in color, but quickly oxidizes to a grayish-white, and finally to black. To prevent this oxidation, the crude varnish is covered as soon as possible with layers of oil paper.

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[1] Ibid., p. 17. [2] Buck, op. cit., p. 248.

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Prior to the war a major portion of the raw varnish, about 90 per cent of the total, was exported to Japan. But now it is largely consumed within the Basin for manufacturing numerous lacquer wares, for which the Basin is famous in China. 314

E. General Conclusions 313

The discussion of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Szechuan Basin in the foregoing chapters has revealed in sharp relief three significant facts, namely: First, the dominance of the agricultural and forestry land-use in the general economy of the Szechuan Basin is not only the most striking fact but the most illuminating concept in the geography of the Basin. The very fact that the Basin has the greatest diversity of agricultural products and is almost a miniature China in agricultural production typifies its extreme agricultural richness. Moreover, the astounding figures that about 85 per cent of the total population is engaged in agricultural pursuits and over 60 per cent of the Basin's export is derived from one single forestry product, the Tung tree oil, demonstrates clearly the ever-close bond between the well-being of the people in the Basin and its agricultural and forestry land-use. In addition, it is recently revealed that the Basin supplies about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire fighting force of China, comprising well over five million strong. This single fact alone bears witness to the vital part the Basin now plays in China's total war effort. Among other things, this rich agricultural and forestry production of the Basin is undoubtedly one of the most important factors, perhaps the determining one, which has induced the National Government of China to select the Szechuan Basin as the principal base of operation against the present invasion.

The second conclusion deserving special attention is the close correlation of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use to its environmental factors. The adjustments of agricultural practices to physical environment here are both genuine and many. To mention a few striking examples, the minute terraced fields, the intricate irrigation systems, the wide range and great diversity of agricultural and horticultural products, the numerous practices in soil culture and crop rotations, and the wide use of bamboos are related respectively to the topography, water supply, climate, soil, and vegetation of the Basin. Especially the lack

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313 of modern technological knowledge has accentuated this relationship and has made this relationship appear overwhelming and somewhat one-sided. For instance, owing to the lack of breeding of drought-resistant varieties of crops, the hilly agriculture of the Basin has always remained precarious. Moreover, the limited engineering knowledge has prevented the farmer from obtaining a higher efficiency in their numerous irrigation works. But with the forthcoming introduction of modern technology and scientific agriculture, all these difficulties will be greatly alleviated and the Szechuanese will be able to secure a more efficient agricultural and forestry land-use and to enter into a more harmonious and reciprocal relationship with their physical environment.

Lastly, the evident trends of the rapid transformation and innovation in the various practices of the agricultural and forestry land-use, induced and intensified by the war, is a third important fact which deserves emphasis. Virtually, the Basin is now undergoing an economic and technological revolution. With the rapid influx of a great number of people with modern ideas from the lower Yangtse, there is an urgent call for greater efficiency in all phases of land-use in the Basin. Not to mention the phenomenal progress made along the manufacturing, mining, transportation and other lines, the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use has been undergoing rapid transformation and achieving unprecedented progress. For instance, the revolutionary remedial measures regarding the traditional age-old Tung-shui-tien field system, the introduction and wide extension of the Tsa-Seng-Tao variety of rice, the drastic steps taken toward the cultures of cotton, sugar cane, tea, tobacco, and silk, and the various improvements and experimental works in connection with Tung trees and herbs, have already shattered to a great extent the fundamental structure of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Basin. In view of the present trend of development, it is perhaps safe to say that irrespective of the outcome of the present struggle in China, the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Szechuan Basin will usher in a new era of higher efficiency and more prosperous development in the time to come.

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APPENDIX I

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(TABLES 1-14)

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TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION AND POPULATION DENSITY
OF SZECHUAN BASIN (1937)
(By Hsien)

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Population	Population Density (No. of Persons per Sq. Kilometer)
1. Ching-Hua.....	2,875	11,151	4
2. Li-Fan.....	11,984	22,749	2
3. Miao-Hsien.....	6,453	33,462	5
4. Pai-Chuan.....	1,716	28,313	16
5. Ping-Wu.....	6,079	79,243	13
6. Chao-Hua.....	1,541	104,197	67
7. Kuang-Yuan.....	6,151	140,572	23
8. Nan-Chiang.....	4,686	169,572	36
9. Tung-Chiang.....	4,980	238,421	47
10. Wan-Yuan.....	4,117	154,000	37
11. Cheng-Ko.....	4,307	60,861	14
12. Fu-Hsi.....	3,516	141,856	45
13. Fu-Shan.....	2,646	148,270	56
14. Miao-Kung.....	18,734	23,675	2
15. Wen-Chuan.....	3,242	18,594	6
16. An-Hsien.....	1,428	175,165	122
17. Chang-Ming.....	939	106,578	113
18. Chiang-Yu.....	2.651	239.577	91
19. Chien-Ko.....	3,457	275,344	80
20. Tsang-Hsi.....	2,399	259,243	108
21. Pa-Chung.....	4,737	540,453	114
22. Hsuan-Han.....	4,340	444,669	102
23. Kai-Hsien.....	3,700	662,481	179
24. Yun-Yang.....	3,369	517,398	154
25. Feng-Chieh.....	4,457	357,746	80
26. Pao-Hsin.....	1,679	21,022	13
27. Kuan-Hsien.....	989	306,812	319
28. Peng-Hsien.....	895	374,599	417
29. Shih-Fang.....	746	212,890	283
30. Kien-Chu.....	638	275,760	430
31. Lo-Chiang.....	699	154,042	222
32. Kien-Yang.....	1,565	431,878	275
33. Tzu-Tung.....	595	166,586	278
34. Nan-Pu.....	2,922	711,508	244
35. Nan-Chung.....	1,481	379,696	256
36. I-Lung.....	1,578	331,686	211
37. Ying-Shan.....	1,764	442,980	251
38. Ta-Hsien.....	3,549	615,198	173
39. Kai-Chiang.....	1,040	209,605	202
40. Wan-Hsien.....	3,667	780,787	213
41. Tsung-Nai.....	1,503	394,769	263
42. Ta-I.....	1,081	289,163	267
43. Tsung-Ching.....	1,116	393,333	352
44. Wen-Chiang.....	251	173,988	693
45. Tsung-Nin.....	178	92,014	516
46. Pi-Hsien.....	273	184,922	677

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TABLE 1—Continued

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Population	Population Density (No. of Persons per Sq. Kilometer)
47. Shin-Fang.....	159	102,685	646
48. Sin-Tu.....	344	145,770	420
49. Kuang-Han.....	499	268,561	538
50. Te-Yang.....	512	203,632	400
51. Chung-Chiang.....	2,458	927,952	377
52. San-Tai.....	2,733	959,632	352
53. Yen-Ting.....	1,237	320,087	258
54. Si-Chung.....	999	356,301	357
55. Nan-Chung.....	2,636	900,590	340
56. Peng-An.....	1,638	363,240	222
57. Chu-Hsien.....	1,657	728,049	439
58. Ta-Chu.....	1,826	418,139	230
59. Liang-Shan.....	2,408	416,790	170
60. Chung-Hsien.....	1,569	501,220	319
61. Shih-Chu.....	2,071	184,627	89
62. Ming-Shan.....	622	134,819	217
63. Pu-Chiang.....	501	129,135	258
64. Sin-Tsing.....	316	160,909	509
65. Peng-Shan.....	425	160,008	377
66. Shuan-Liu.....	288	134,716	467
67. Hua-Yang.....	957	378,330	395
68. Cheng-Tu.....	246	125,491	510
Cheng-Tu Municip.	41	496,128	12,101
69. Ching-Tan.....	1,411	558,357	397
70. Chien-Yang.....	2,502	1,026,158	411
71. Lo-Chi.....	1,158	447,354	387
72. Siu-Ning.....	1,814	703,152	388
73. Peng-Hsi.....	1,974	718,603	364
74. Shei-Hung.....	1,399	546,760	391
75. Wu-Sheng.....	1,079	358,342	332
76. Yo-Chi.....	1,859	556,690	300
77. Kuang-An.....	1,707	630,800	371
78. Liang-Shui.....	1,897	365,756	193
79. Tien-Chiang.....	1,706	299,110	170
80. Feng-Tu.....	858	224,442	88
81. Peng-Shui.....	9,131	207,777	23
82. Chien-Chiang.....	2,237	115,681	52
83. Yu-Yang.....	3,665	362,357	98
84. Siu-Shan.....	1,440	125,648	87
85. Tang-Ling.....	724	89,539	124
86. Mei-Shan.....	1,035	395,586	382
87. Jen-Shou.....	2,516	998,404	397
88. Tzu-Yang.....	1,733	591,491	340
89. An-Yo.....	2,769	760,020	275
90. Tung-Nan.....	1,751	402,957	230
91. Ho-Chuan.....	2,840	807,395	284
92. Chiang-Pei.....	2,472	662,718	278
93. Chang-Sheo.....	1,138	389,422	342
94. Pei-Ling.....	5,520	1,026,758	186
95. Hung-Ya.....	1,523	202,946	135

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TABLE 1—Continued

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Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Population	Population Density (No. of Persons per Sq. Kilometer)
96. Chia-Chiang.....	420	160,032	381
97. Ching-Shen.....	409	124,695	304
98. Ching-Yen.....	628	192,954	307
99. Yung-Hsien.....	1,965	593,929	302
100. Wei-Yuan.....	781	259,736	332
101. Tzu-Chung.....	1,905	731,856	384
102. Nei-Chiang.....	1,599	600,146	374
103. Yung-Chang.....	899	367,513	409
104. Ta-Cho.....	1,316	395,279	300
105. Tung-Liang.....	1,479	497,587	337
106. Pih-Shan.....	811	332,603	410
107. Pa-Hsien.....	3,312	911,492	275
107a. Chung-King Municip.....	94	453,427	4,824
108. Nan-Chuan.....	3,029	293,344	97
109. O-Pien.....	2,738	50,175	18
110. O-Mei.....	1,272	144,454	113
111. Lo-Shan.....	1,867	389,306	208
112. Chien-Wei.....	1,954	516,502	260
113. I-Ping.....	4,230	802,924	189
114. Pu-Shun.....	2,207	953,487	432
115. Lung-Chang.....	761	318,842	419
116. Lu-Hsien.....	2,913	954,649	328
117. Yung-Chuan.....	1,288	390,020	302
118. Chiang-Tsin.....	3,253	840,368	258
119. Chi-Chiang.....	1,839	406,270	221
120. Lei-Po.....	4,814	19,622	4
121. Ma-Pien.....	2,624	32,925	13
122. Ping-Shan.....	2,891	264,217	91
123. Kao-Hsien.....	1,394	139,482	100
124. Ching-Fu.....	1,077	174,113	162
125. Nan-Hsi.....	957	254,051	265
126. Chiang-An.....	740	213,262	288
127. Nei-Hsi.....	477	72,468	147
128. Ho-Chiang.....	2,329	383,771	165
129. Yung-Lien.....	342	62,246	182
130. Chi-Hsien.....	1,197	129,747	108
131. Chang-Ning.....	1,295	219,576	169
132. Hsing-Wen.....	526	63,763	121
133. Ku-Sung.....	598	100,040	167
134. Siu-Yung.....	2,916	286,046	98
135. Ku-Ning.....	5,589	362,210	65
136. Sung-Pan.....	50,139	22,533	2
Total.....	360,159	48,436,624	135

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TABLE 2

INDEX OF CULTIVATED LAND TO TOTAL LAND AREA
IN SZECHUAN BASIN (1939)

311

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Cultivated Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Ratio of (3) to (2) in Per Cent
1. Ching-Hua.....	2,875	85	0.3
2. Li-Fan.....	9,667	24	0.2
3. Miao-Hsien.....	4,940	203	4.0
4. Pai-Chuan.....	1,716	57	3.0
5. Ping-Wu.....	6,097	198	3.0
6. Chao-Hua.....	1,541	523	34.0
7. Kuang-Yuan.....	6,151	923	15.0
8. Nan-Chiang.....	4,686	1,045	22.0
9. Tung-Chiang.....	4,980	996	20.0
10. Wan-Yuan.....	4,117	527	13.0
11. Cheng-Ko.....	4,307	215	5.0
12. Fu-Hsi.....	3,156	158	5.0
13. Fu-Shan.....	2,646	265	10.0
14. Miao-Kung.....	18,734	23	0.1
15. Wen-Chuan.....	3,378	34	1.0
16. An-Hsien.....	1,428	500	35.0
17. Chang-Ming.....	939	188	21.0
18. Chiang-Yu.....	2,651	1,398	53.0
19. Chien-Ko.....	3,457	1,069	31.0
20. Tsang-Hsi.....	2,399	719	30.0
21. Pa-Chung.....	4,737	1,128	24.0
22. Hsuan-Han.....	4,340	1,302	30.0
23. Kai-Hsien.....	3,700	1,295	35.0
24. Yun-Yang.....	3,369	842	25.0
25. Feng-Chieh.....	4,457	1,114	25.0
26. Pao-Hsin.....	1,679	56	3.0
27. Kuan-Hsien.....	989	692	70.0
28. Peng-Hsien.....	895	627	70.0
29. Shih-Feng.....	746	597	80.0
30. Mien-Chu.....	638	510	80.0
31. Lo-Chiang.....	699	489	70.0
32. Mien-Yang.....	1,565	1,174	75.0
33. Tzu-Tung.....	595	208	35.0
34. Nan-Pu.....	2,922	979	33.0
35. Nan-Chung.....	1,481	518	35.0
36. I-Lung.....	1,578	394	25.0
37. Ying-Shan.....	1,764	648	37.0
38. Ta-Hsien.....	3,549	1,242	35.0
39. Kai-Chiang.....	1,040	624	60.0
40. Wan-Hsien.....	3,667	2,200	60.0
41. Tsung-Nai.....	1,503	1,052	69.0
42. Ta-I.....	1,081	757	70.0
43. Tsung-Ching.....	1,116	837	75.0
44. Wen-Chiang.....	251	213	85.0
45. Tsung-Nin.....	178	151	85.0
46. Pi-Hsien.....	273	232	85.0
47. Sin-Fang.....	159	116	73.0

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TABLE 2—Continued

311

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Cultivated Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Ratio of (3) to (2) in Per Cent
48. Sin-Tu.....	344	236	70.0
49. Kuang-Han.....	499	399	80.0
50. Te-Yang.....	512	410	80.0
51. Chung-Chiang.....	2,458	1,615	66.0
52. San-Tai.....	2,733	1,366	50.0
53. Yen-Ting.....	595	208	35.0
54. Si-Chung.....	999	749	75.0
55. Nan-Chung.....	2,636	1,978	75.0
56. Peng-An.....	1,638	1,147	70.0
57. Chu-Hsien.....	1,657	647	39.0
58. Ta-Chu.....	1,826	913	50.0
59. Liang-Shan.....	2,408	1,686	70.0
60. Chung-Hsien.....	1,569	785	50.0
61. Shih-Chu.....	2,071	632	31.0
62. Ming-Shan.....	622	159	26.0
63. Pu-Chiang.....	501	320	64.0
64. Sin-Tsing.....	316	268	85.0
65. Peng-Shan.....	425	298	70.0
66. Shuan-Liu.....	288	244	85.0
67. Hua-Yang.....	957	813	85.0
68. Cheng-Tu.....	246	208	80.0
69. Ching-Tan.....	1,411	1,129	80.0
70. Chien-Yang.....	2,502	1,501	60.0
71. Lo-Chi.....	1,158	810	70.0
72. Siu-Ning.....	1,814	1,451	80.0
73. Peng-Hsi.....	1,974	987	50.0
74. Shei-Hung.....	1,399	1,042	74.0
75. Wu-Cheng.....	1,079	863	80.0
76. Yo-Chi.....	1,859	1,394	75.0
77. Kuang-An.....	1,707	854	50.0
78. Liang-Shui.....	1,897	894	47.0
79. Tien-Chiang.....	8,865	597	6.8
80. Peng-Tu.....	858	478	56.0
81. Peng-Shui.....	9,131	1,117	15.0
82. Chien-Chiang.....	2,237	336	15.0
83. Yu-Yang.....	3,665	1,078	29.0
84. Siu-Shan.....	1,440	432	30.0
85. Tang-Ling.....	724	289	40.0
86. Mei-Shan.....	1,035	517	50.0
87. Jen-Shou.....	2,516	1,510	60.0
88. Tzu-Yang.....	1,733	1,213	70.0
89. An-Yo.....	2,768	1,661	60.0
90. Tung-Nan.....	1,751	1,225	70.0
91. Ho-Chuan.....	2,840	1,989	70.0
92. Chiang-Pei.....	2,472	1,730	70.0
93. Chang-Sheo.....	1,138	667	56.0
94. Pei-Ling.....	5,520	3,312	60.0
95. Hung-Ya.....	1,523	228	15.0
96. Chia-Chiang.....	420	128	31.0
97. Ching-Shen.....	409	205	50.0

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TABLE 2—Continued

311

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq.Kilometer)	Total Cultivated Area (In Sq.Kilometer)	Ratio of (3) to (2) in Per Cent
98. Ching-Yen.....	628	408	65.0
99. Yung-Hsien.....	1,965	786	40.0
100. Wei-Yuan.....	781	482	60.0
101. Tzu-Chung.....	1,905	1,324	70.0
102. Lei-Chiang.....	1,599	1,119	70.0
103. Yung-Chang.....	899	629	70.0
104. Ta-Cho.....	1,316	658	50.0
105. Tung-Liang.....	1,497	898	60.0
106. Pih-Shan.....	8,111	568	7.0
107. Pa-Hsien.....	3,312	1,656	50.0
108. Nan-Chuan.....	3,029	382	13.0
109. O-Pien.....	2,738	237	9.0
110. O-Mei.....	1,272	367	29.0
111. Lo-Shan.....	1,867	933	50.0
112. Chien-Wei.....	1,954	684	35.0
113. I-Ping.....	4,230	2,961	70.0
114. Fu-Shun.....	2,207	1,544	70.0
115. Lung-Chang.....	761	496	66.0
116. Lu-Hsien.....	2,913	2,185	75.0
117. Yung-Chuan.....	1,288	902	70.0
118. Chiang-Tsin.....	3,253	1,626	50.0
119. Chi-Chiang.....	1,839	276	15.0
120. Lei-Po.....	4,814	481	10.0
121. Ma-Pien.....	2,624	136	5.0
122. Ping-Shan.....	2,891	848	29.0
123. Kao-Hsien.....	1,394	120	9.0
124. Ching-Fu.....	1,077	538	50.0
125. Nan-Hsi.....	957	680	75.0
126. Chiang-An.....	740	447	60.0
127. Nou-Hsi.....	477	344	72.0
128. Ho-Chiang.....	2,329	797	34.0
129. Yung-Lien.....	342	122	36.0
130. Chi-Hsien.....	1,197	104	9.0
131. Chang-Ning.....	1,295	307	24.0
132. Hsing-Wen.....	526	195	37.0
133. Ku-Sung.....	598	167	28.0
134. Siu-Yung.....	2,916	114	4.0
135. Ku-Ning.....	5,589	381	7.0
136. Sung-Pan.....	50,139	20	0.04
Total.....	360,159	100,787	28.9

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TABLE 3

CLIMATIC DATA OF CHENGTU AND CHUNGKING

Month	Average Monthly Temperature (In Cent.)	Total Precipitation by Month (In Mm.)	Frequency of Rain (Days)	Humidity (o/o)	Wind Velocity M.S.
Chengtu (1929-1939)					
January..	5.5	5.1	4	80	1.22
February.	6.6	8.1	5	79	1.37
March....	14.5	8.6	4	76	1.61
April....	19.3	50.0	9	77	1.35
May.....	23.5	58.2	9	74	1.59
June.....	25.7	104.6	13	76	1.63
July.....	26.7	224.4	12	80	1.47
August...	26.8	230.5	12	82	1.48
September	21.6	130.1	16	84	1.06
October..	18.3	50.2	14	82	1.16
November.	13.8	10.2	4	83	.87
December.	7.2	4.6	2	81	.67
Total..	17.5	884.6	104	80	1.29
Chungking (1913-1939)					
January..	8.8	16.9	8	80	1.1
February.	9.9	17.3	10	80	1.1
March....	14.3	31.1	12	74	1.3
April....	19.7	91.1	16	77	1.3
May.....	23.0	103.2	16	76	1.3
June.....	25.6	172.8	19	76	1.2
July.....	28.2	144.2	12	73	1.1
August...	29.2	102.6	10	69	.9
September	23.3	140.1	16	74	1.0
October..	18.3	124.7	20	82	1.1
November.	14.7	57.2	13	85	1.1
December.	10.2	23.7	10	84	1.1
Total..	18.8	1024.9	162	78	1.2

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 4

PRODUCTION OF COTTON IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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248

Name of District	Cultivated Area (In Mow)	Total Production (In Piculs)	Percentage of Total Production
Sui-Ning.....	387,335	60,374	20.1
Shei-Hung.....	322,380	59,458	19.8
Jen-Shou.....	275,416	26,025	8.6
San-Tai.....	146,318	23,670	7.8
I-Lung.....	120,309	17,265	5.7
Nan-Pu.....	114,226	15,318	5.1
Chien-Yang.....	118,950	15,249	5.0
Pa-Chung.....	76,747	15,082	5.0
Chung-Chiang....	79,402	12,480	4.1
Yen-Ting.....	123,710	10,272	3.4
Yung-Hsien.....	49,448	7,063	2.3
Lo-Chi.....	36,676	6,693	2.2
Ching-Tan.....	59,876	5,389	1.7
Peng-Hsi.....	25,628	3,692	1.2
Fu-Shun.....	24,683	3,393	1.1
Nan-Chung.....	7,500	2,653	.8
Tung-Nan.....	19,960	1,996	.6
Wei-Yuan.....	17,860	1,917	.6
Feng-Chieh.....	6,800	1,623	.5
Lu-Hsien.....	19,958	1,605	.5
Yun-Yang.....	1,025	1,544	.5
Peng-An.....	14,596	1,167	.3
Ho-Chiang.....	3,450	1,158	.3
Tzu-Yuang.....	13,725	945	.3
Chiang-An.....	11,492	864	.2
Nan-Ch'ung.....	6,424	628	.2
Tzu-Chung.....	7,179	527	.1
An-Yo.....	1,677	352	.1
Si-Chung.....	6,008	324	.1
I-Ping.....	5,000	300	.09
Lo-Chiang.....	3,725	267	.08
Nou-Hsi.....	993	187	.06
Chang-Ning.....	3,000	168	.05
Ching-Fu.....	440	147	.04
Nan-Hsi.....	1,889	113	.03
Ching-Yen.....	1,474	98	.03
Lei-Chiang.....	1,416	97	.03
Chien-Wei.....	1,520	97	.03
Lung-Chang.....	792	44	.01
Chia-Chiang.....	408	35	.01
Total.....	2,119,415	300,279	100.00

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 5

RAINFALL CONDITIONS OF SUINING (COTTON PRODUCING CENTER) SZECHUAN
(1936-1937 Average)

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248

Month	Amount of Rain (In Mm.)	Average Number of Days			
		Clear	Partly Cloudy	Cloudy	Rainy
January.....	4.7	3	13	12	5
February.....	14.5	5	3	15	5
March.....	21.8	4	16	4	7
April.....	44.4	7	8	7	13
May.....	86.5	1	10	5	15
June.....	108.5	2	5	5	18
July.....	201.5	3	7	7	14
August.....	227.0	3	6	4	18
September.....	146.0	1	2	4	23
October.....	52.6	4	2	11	14
November.....	11.3	4	9	12	5
December.....	10.9	3	4	16	8
Total.....	929.7	40	85	102	145

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 6

PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO IN SZECHUAN (1936)

249
433
277

Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Shih-Fang.....	290,000	48.3
Pi-Hsien.....	80,079	13.3
Mien-Chu.....	75,000	12.5
Sin-Tu.....	45,578	7.6
Wen-Chiang.....	40,000	6.6
Tsung-Nin.....	15,000	2.5
Chung-Hsien.....	6,300	1.5
Ching-Tang.....	6,000	1.0
Ta-Hsien.....	5,473	.9
Sin-Fang.....	4,900	.8
Yun-Yang.....	4,500	.7
Tung-Nan.....	4,500	.7
Sui-Ning.....	3,500	.5
Chia-Chiang.....	3,500	.5
Kuan-Hsien.....	2,300	.3
Chi-Chiang.....	1,600	.2
Chu-Hsien.....	1,590	.2
Siu-Shan.....	1,360	.2
Nei-Shan.....	1,250	.2
Te-Yang.....	1,200	.2
Nou-Hsi.....	800	.1
Liang-Shan.....	750	.1
Peng-Hsi.....	700	.1
Cheng-Tu.....	426	.07
Chung-Ching.....	410	.06
Chiang-An.....	400	.06
Peng-An.....	400	.06
Hsin-Wen.....	300	.05
Yung-Lien.....	300	.05
Nan-Hsi.....	200	.03
Kao-Hsien.....	200	.03
Pa-Hsien.....	120	.02
Ching-Yen.....	120	.02
Kai-Chiang.....	120	.02
Wu-Sheng.....	115	.01
Chien-Wei.....	100	.01
Hsuan-Han.....	100	.01
Chien-Chiang.....	30	.005
Total.....	599,221	100.000

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 7

SUGAR PRODUCTION IN SZECHUAN (1936)

249
433
263

Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Nei-Chiang	625,000	24.6
Tzu-Chung	625,000	24.6
Chien-Yang	225,000	8.8
Fu-Shun	200,000	7.9
Tzu-Yang	175,000	6.9
Chu-Hsien	100,000	3.9
I-Ping	70,000	2.9
Ching-Tang	60,000	2.3
Nan-Hsi	50,000	1.9
Te-Yang	50,000	1.9
Wei-Yuan	48,900	1.9
Lung-Chang	37,500	1.4
Kuang-Han	30,000	1.1
Jen-Shou	27,225	1.0
Kuang-An	25,000	.9
Tsung-Nai	25,000	.9
Chien-Wei	24,250	.9
	15,000	.5
Mei-Shan	10,000	.3
Sui-Ning	10,000	.3
Shih-Fang	10,000	.3
Sin-Tsing	8,000	.3
Ching-Fu	7,900	.3
Lu-Hsien	7,500	.2
Chi-Hsien	7,500	.2
Yung-Hsien	6,500	.2
Chiang-An	5,000	.1
Kai-Hsien	5,000	.1
Kao-Hsien	3,000	.1
Nou-Hsi	3,000	.1
Ho-Chuan	3,000	.1
Wan-Hsien	3,000	.1
Chiang-Tsin	2,800	.1
Ping-Shan	2,500	.09
Chang-Ning	2,500	.09
Ching-Shen	2,400	.09
Wu-Sheng	2,375	.09
Lo-Chiang	1,875	.09
Peng-Shan	1,795	.06
Lei-Po	1,650	.06
Tung-Nan	1,547	.06
Ho-Chiang	1,500	.06
Mien-Chu	1,400	.05
Yo-Chi	1,250	.04
Tung-Liang	1,000	.03
Total	2,526,867	100.00

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 8

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF TOBACCO-PRODUCING CENTERS OF SZECHUAN
(1936-1938 Average)

249
132

Name of District	Climatic Conditions	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Mei-Shan.....	Temperature (C.)	12.7	14.8	15.2	20.9	23.9
	Humidity (o/o)	77.8	76.1	69.3	68.6	75.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	3.0	....	32.0	56.8	108.5
Lo-Shan.....	Temperature (C.)	7.4	10.2	14.8	19.4	23.3
	Humidity (o/o)	70.1	70.0	58.9	64.6	64.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	1.6	15.0	15.9	64.5	141.2
Chia-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	8.6	11.2	....	20.7	28.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.2	79.0	....	75.5	75.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	2.8	4.7	....	31.0	51.1
Wen-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	5.8	9.1	12.6	18.7	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	77.4	75.8	72.4	72.0	71.7
	Rainfall (mm.)	8.2	23.0	9.3	4.8	102.0
Sin-Tu.....	Temperature (C.)	6.9	9.3	13.3	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	88.9	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	2.0	11.4	5.6	85.0	112.5
Ching-Tan.....	Temperature (C.)	....	7.1	....	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	14.3	....	29.7	.....
Mien-Chu.....	Temperature (C.)	....	8.6	13.2	18.2	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	81.1	73.0	71.0	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	4.0	15.7	24.2	.....
Te-Yang.....	Temperature (C.)	6.3	10.1	14.6	19.9	24.1
	Humidity (o/o)	81.1	73.2	64.6	62.7	66.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	11.0	10.3	3.0	27.6	94.9
Shih-Fang.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	19.1	22.7
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	81.2	77.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	21.5	118.6
Pi-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	6.1	7.8	14.0	18.8	22.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.5	75.6	72.9	70.9	73.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.2	10.5	9.8	31.6	145.3

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TABLE 8—Continued

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132

June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	Average
26.5	27.9	27.6	24.4	21.3	15.2	9.4	233.2	19.4
77.8	82.1	70.4	79.9	76.5	73.2	78.1	904.2	75.4
124.1	354.0	366.2	41.3	7.4	1.9	12.8	1047.7	....
24.0	26.1	26.4	22.1	18.7	12.1	9.0	203.5	17.7
75.6	70.2	82.3	84.6	79.1	75.1	80.5	885.1	73.7
81.6	166.4	52.1	216.9	89.1	20.0	21.8	.....	....
24.8	27.5	27.7	23.7	19.1	12.8	9.5	.....	....
77.3	78.5	86.1	.....	....	82.7	88.9	.....	....
101.3	205.7	220.7	116.9	42.2	16.9	40.3	.....	....
24.3	20.0	26.7	22.0	18.2	10.6	3.4	204.8	17.1
78.3	81.8	81.3	82.8	80.9	78.6	76.0	929.0	77.4
161.2	461.6	172.0	205.0	86.4	18.5	9.5	1221.6	....
.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	8.6	.....	....
.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	58.4	.....	....
70.0	368.0	126.7	217.5	25.0	3.0	....	1027.5	....
25.1	26.5	.....	22.5	18.5	11.5	8.8	.....	....
78.2	77.7	.....	84.3	80.8	81.3	85.5	.....	....
27.5	263.4	.....	111.5	28.6	5.3	15.0	.....	....
24.3	26.9	27.6	21.5	17.8	10.4	6.6	.....	....
81.9	85.5	84.5	80.8	87.2	88.5	....	.....	....
88.6	424.1	318.7	157.8	44.7	26.9	....	.....	....
21.9	25.4	29.0	22.2	19.0	13.5	9.3	218.3	18.2
78.9	75.1	73.5	80.3	....	77.8	79.3	.....	....
78.0	28.8	67.2	12.8	....	15.2	13.4	.....	....
23.9	25.9	27.3	22.2	18.4	10.8	8.7	.....	....
82.9	81.6	82.4	84.6	79.8	78.3	78.6	.....	....
144.6	48.2	155.1	239.5	21.3	24.0	5.1	.....	....
24.6	25.8	27.1	21.7	18.1	11.5	8.3	260.7	17.2
80.4	83.2	83.4	83.8	82.5	81.9	80.0	943.6	78.6
134.9	311.1	515.1	245.0	30.5	11.8	9.7	1455.5	....

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TABLE 9

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEMP-PRODUCING DISTRICTS
OF SZECHUAN
(1936-1938 Average)

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132

Name of District	Climatic Conditions	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Wen-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	5.8	9.1	12.6	18.7	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	77.4	75.8	72.4	72.6	71.7
	Rainfall (mm.)	8.2	23.0	9.3	4.8	102.0
Tsung-Ching.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	....	24.6
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	79.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	....	40.0
Kuan-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	19.4	22.7
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	65.3	63.1
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	49.6	100.8
Pi-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	6.1	7.8	14.0	18.8	22.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.5	75.6	72.9	70.9	78.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.2	10.5	9.8	31.6	145.3
Shuan-Liu.....	Temperature (C.)	6.6	8.3	13.6	18.7	23.0
	Humidity (o/o)	89.8	84.6	75.3	76.4	79.1
	Rainfall (mm.)	.5	10.7	7.1	31.1	70.0
Sin-Tsing.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	....	.....
Peng-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	5.9	....	....	....	24.6
	Humidity (o/o)	89.5	....	....	....	66.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.8	....	....	....	137.2
Tsung-Ning.....	Temperature (C.)	5.6	8.7	12.4	18.3	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	82.8	84.7	82.1	79.5	79.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	5.4	6.6	20.2	11.3	160.5

TABLE 9—Continued

248
132

June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	Average
24.3	26.0	26.7	22.0	18.0	10.6	8.4	204.8	17.1
78.3	81.8	81.8	82.8	80.9	78.6	76.0	929.0	77.4
161.2	461.6	172.0	205.0	46.4	18.5	9.5	1221.6	....
25.6	27.0	27.5	22.9	19.3	11.6	9.1	.....	....
84.4	88.3	.....	.....	81.3	83.9	80.7	.....	....
54.0	440.0	.....	446.7	150.1	51.2	10.7	.....	....
24.6	25.4	26.9	20.7	19.4	12.2	7.8	.....	....
71.1	79.4	.....	85.9	.....	69.6	66.5	.....	....
188.2	878.7	456.5	244.6	187.7	57.3	32.3	.....	....
24.6	25.8	27.1	21.7	18.1	11.5	8.3	206.7	17.2
80.4	83.2	83.4	83.8	82.5	81.9	80.0	943.6	78.6
184.9	311.1	515.1	245.0	30.5	11.8	9.7	1455.5	....
24.8	25.8	27.2	22.3	18.4	11.4	8.7	208.8	17.4
86.6	.....	87.6	88.5	86.0	85.2	88.3	.....	....
51.2	447.8	197.2	163.7	45.2	10.6	7.8	1042.0	....
26.4	27.1	28.0	23.2	19.1	11.9	9.3	.....	....
74.2	80.5	79.8	83.1	77.5	75.5	79.7	.....	....
106.9	378.5	337.1	175.9	34.4	16.0	17.4	.....	....
23.5	28.6	27.5	22.2	17.8	10.9	9.0	.....	....
78.9	72.8	.....	84.5	84.6	79.8	82.0	.....	....
53.0	46.7	54.0	76.3	20.9	17.3	5.5	.....	....
23.8	25.6	27.5	22.6	18.5	10.5	8.6	.....	....
85.7	.....	87.8	.....	88.2	88.6	81.9	.....	....
89.7	168.3	69.5	82.8	70.6	13.8	23.2	.....	....

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TABLE 10

PRODUCTION OF CITRUS FRUITS IN SZECHUAN (1936)

245
433

Name of District	Cultivated Area (Mow)	Number of Trees	Total Amount of Production (Pieces)	Per Cent
Ho-Chuan.....	13,366	410,000	45,200,000	22.3
Chiang-Tsin.....	8,334	200,000	36,200,000	17.8
Pa-Hsien.....	8,500	170,000	23,500,000	11.5
Ching-Tang.....	7,611	195,000	20,300,000	10.0
Chang-Shou.....	8,200	160,000	15,050,000	7.4
Nei-Chiang.....	3,000	60,000	12,000,000	5.9
Wan-Hsien.....	2,334	56,000	10,000,000	4.9
Tzu-Yang.....	2,400	40,000	9,000,000	4.4
Tzu-Chung.....	2,000	40,000	7,500,000	3.7
Chien-Yang.....	1,000	20,000	5,000,000	2.4
Peng-Hsi.....	2,500	60,000	4,030,000	1.9
I-Ping.....	3,824	15,000	4,000,000	1.9
Nan-Chung.....	3,000	60,000	3,600,000	1.7
Kuang-Han.....	1,000	20,000	2,000,000	.9
Chu-Hsien.....	500	10,000	2,000,000	.9
Lu-Hsien.....	500	10,000	2,000,000	.9
Tien-Chiang.....	650	16,000	280,000	.1
Feng-Chieh.....	127	2,046	170,000	.08
Sui-Ning.....	250	5,000	120,000	.05
Pih-Shan.....	200	5,000	100,000	.04
Lung-Chang.....	126	2,500	80,000	.03
Ta-Chu.....	100	3,000	50,000	.02
Total.....	69,522	1,559,546	202,180,000	100.00

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 11

PRODUCTION OF TEA IN SZECHUAN (1936)

245
433
272

Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Ya-An	20,000	17.3
Kuan-Hsien	16,452	14.2
Ta-I	12,000	10.4
Pai-Chuan	10,800	9.3
Ho-Chiang	10,000	8.6
Yung-Ching	10,000	8.6
Kao-Hsien	6,000	5.1
Tsung-Nai	5,000	4.3
Cheng-Ko	3,000	2.5
Yung-Lien	2,500	2.1
Ping-Shan	2,000	1.7
Wan-Yuan	2,000	1.7
Tien-Chuen	1,700	1.4
An-Hsien	1,600	1.3
Chi-Chiang	1,500	1.2
Ping-Wu	1,500	1.2
Ching-Shen	1,500	1.2
Chien-Wei	1,500	1.2
Liang-Shan	1,320	1.1
O-Mei	1,050	.9
Ma-Pien	955	.8
Ta-Hsien	500	.4
Nan-Chuan	500	.4
Chia-Chiang	500	.4
Mien-Chu	300	.2
Yung-Hsien	214	.1
Hsing-Wen	200	.1
Hsuan-Han	200	.1
Tung-Liang	120	.1
Chien-Chiang	85	.07
O-Pien	80	.07
Chung-Hsien	78	.06
Han-Yuan	60	.05
Kuang-An	54	.04
Tien-Chiang	40	.03
Chang-Ning	35	.03
Nou-Hsi	30	.02
Kai-Chiang	25	.02
Ming-Shan	20	.01
Pu-Chiang	20	.01
Siu-Shan	16	.01
Tang-Ling	4	.003
Wen-Chuan	3	.002
Total	115,461	100.000

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TABLE 12

PRODUCTION OF SILK IN SZECHUAN (1936)

231
433

Name of District	Total Amount of Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Lo-Shan.....	1,834	21.4
San-Tai.....	1,000	11.7
Si-Chung.....	986	11.5
Ho-Chuan.....	952	11.1
Tung-Liang.....	900	10.5
Fu-Shun.....	443	5.1
Shei-Hung.....	400	4.6
Hung-Ya.....	313	3.6
Ching-Shen.....	313	3.6
Lan-Chung.....	300	3.5
Chi-Hsien.....	227	2.6
Yung-Lien.....	200	2.3
Nan-Ch'ung.....	156	1.8
Tzu-Tung.....	110	1.2
Mien-Yang.....	87	1.0
Chien-Wei.....	80	.9
Han-Yuan.....	80	.9
Tang-Ling.....	50	.5
Ping-Shan.....	38	.4
Ma-Pien.....	14	.1
O-Mei.....	13	.1
Ho-Chiang.....	13	.1
Chao-Hua.....	12	.1
Kao-Hsien.....	11	.1
Total.....	8,532	100.0

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 13

PRODUCTION OF TUNG OIL IN SZECHUAN (1936)

Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs	Per Cent of Total
Ning-Shui.....	185,000	24.2
Chung-Hsien.....	140,000	18.3
Yun-Yang.....	100,000	13.1
Wan-Hsien.....	60,000	7.8
Siu-Shan.....	50,000	6.5
Feng-Tu.....	40,000	5.5
Feng-Chieh.....	20,000	2.6
Fu-Hsi.....	10,000	1.3
Liang-Shan.....	10,000	1.3
Chang-Shou.....	10,000	1.3
Shih-Chu.....	10,000	1.3
Pei-Ling.....	10,000	1.3
Ho-Chuan.....	8,000	1.0
Yu-Yang.....	8,000	1.0
Hsuan-Han.....	6,000	.7
Lu-Hsien.....	6,000	.7
Ta-Chu.....	6,000	.7
Fu-Shan.....	5,000	.6
Kai-Hsien.....	5,000	.6
Tien-Chiang.....	5,000	.6
Nan-Chuan.....	5,000	.6
Kai-Chiang.....	4,000	.5
Wu-Sheng.....	4,000	.5
Ta-Hsien.....	4,000	.5
I-Ping.....	4,000	.5
Lo-Shen.....	4,000	.5
Ping-Shan.....	4,000	.5
Chiang-Tsin.....	3,000	.3
Ho-Chiang.....	3,000	.3
Chu-Hsien.....	3,000	.3
Yen-Ting.....	3,000	.3
Si-Chung.....	3,000	.3
Kuang-An.....	3,000	.3
Wan-Yuan.....	3,000	.3
Nan-Chung.....	3,000	.3
Yung-Hsien.....	2,000	.2
Pa-Hsien.....	2,000	.2
Chiang-Yu.....	2,000	.2
Siu-Ning.....	2,000	.2
Peng-Hsi.....	2,000	.2
Nan-Pu.....	2,000	.2
Peng-Shui.....	1,000	.1
Chien-Chiang.....	1,000	.1
Chi-Chiang.....	1,000	.1
Total.....	[redacted]	100.0

414
433
388

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TABLE 14

PRODUCTION OF SALT IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total Production
Pu-Sun-Yung-Chang.....	3,674,365	51.2
Chien-Wei.....	684,534	9.5
Lo-Shan.....	464,508	6.4
Yun-Yang.....	408,367	5.6
Nan-Pu-Nan-Chung.....	248,130	3.4
Shei-Hung-Peng-Hsi.....	218,050	3.0
San-Tai.....	211,124	2.9
Peng-Hsi.....	206,252	2.8
Lo-Chi.....	181,389	2.5
Shei-Hung.....	134,690	1.8
Sui-Ning.....	133,039	1.8
Ching-Yen.....	119,349	1.6
Mien-Yang.....	108,815	1.5
Si-Chung.....	64,814	.9
Yen-Ting.....	55,118	.7
Chien-Yang.....	55,051	.7
Feng-Chieh.....	51,313	.7
Tzu-Chung.....	43,035	.5
Kai-Hsien.....	39,775	.5
Peng-Shui.....	32,675	.4
Chung-Chiang.....	27,553	.3
Chung-Hsien.....	8,827	.1
Ta-Cho.....	3,799	.05
Total.....	7,174,572	100.00

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APPENDIX II

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INDEX OF NAMES OF DISTRICTS (HSIEN) OF SZECHUAN BASIN (ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY)

Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11	Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11
An-Hsien.....	16	Pu-Shun.....	114
An-Yo.....	89	Ho-Chiang.....	128
Chang-Ming.....	17	Ho-Chuan.....	91
Chang-Ning.....	131	Hsin-Wen.....	132
Chang-Sheo.....	93	Hsuan.....	22
Chao-Hua.....	6	Hua-Yang.....	67
Cheng-Ko.....	11	Hung-Ya.....	95
Cheng-Tu.....	68	I-Lung.....	36
Chi-Chiang.....	119	I-Ping.....	113
Chi-Hsien.....	130	Jen-Shou.....	87
Chia-Chiang.....	96	Kai-Chiang.....	39
Chiang-An.....	126	Kai-Hsien.....	23
Chiang-Pei.....	92	Kao-Hsien.....	123
Chiang-Tsin.....	118	Ku-Ning.....	135
Chiang-Yu.....	18	Ku-Sung.....	133
Chien-Chiang.....	82	Kuan-Hsien.....	27
Chien-Ko.....	19	Kuang-An.....	77
Chien-Wei.....	112	Kuang-Han.....	49
Chien-Yang.....	70	Kuang-Yuan.....	7
Ching-Fu.....	124	Lan-Chung.....	35
Ching-Hua.....	1	Lei-Po.....	120
Ching-Shen.....	97	Li-Fang.....	2
Ching-Tang.....	69	Liang-Shan.....	59
Ching-Yen.....	98	Lo-Chi.....	71
Chu-Hsien.....	57	Lo-Chiang.....	31
Chung-Chiang.....	51	Lo-Shan.....	111
Chung-Hsien.....	60	Lu-Hsien.....	116
Feng-Chieh.....	25	Lung-Chang.....	115
Feng-Tu.....	80	Ma-Pien.....	121
Fu-Hsi.....	12	Mei-Shan.....	86
Fu-Shan.....	13	Miao-Hsien.....	3

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Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11	Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11
Miao-Kung.....	14	Sin-Tu.....	48
Mien-Chu.....	30	Siu-Shan.....	84
Mien-Yang.....	32	Sui-Ning.....	72
Ming-Shan.....	62	Sui-Yung.....	134
Nan-Chiang.....	8	Sung-Pan.....	136
Nan-Chuan.....	108	Ta-Cho.....	104
Nan-Chung.....	55	Ta-Chu.....	58
Nan-Hsi.....	125	Ta-Hsien.....	38
Nan-Pu.....	34	Ta-I.....	42
Nei-Chiang.....	102	Tang-Ling.....	85
Ning-Shui.....	78	Te-Yang.....	50
Nou-Hsi.....	127	Tien-Chiang.....	79
O-Mei.....	110	Tsang-Hsi.....	20
O-Pien.....	109	Tsung-Ching.....	43
Pa-Chung.....	21	Tsung-Nai.....	41
Pa-Hsien.....	107	Tsung-Nin.....	45.
Pao-Hsien.....	26	Tung-Chiang.....	9
Pei-Chuan.....	4	Tung-Liang.....	105
Pei-Ling.....	94	Tung-Nan.....	90
Peng-An.....	56	Tzu-Chung.....	101
Peng-hsi.....	73	Tzu-Tung.....	33
Peng-Hsien.....	28	Tzu-Yang.....	88
Peng-Shan.....	65	Wan-Hsien.....	40
Peng-Shui.....	81	Wan-Yuan.....	10
Pi-Hsien.....	46	Wei-Yuan.....	100
Pih-Shan.....	106	Wen-Chiang.....	44
Ping-Shan.....	122	Wen-Chuan.....	15
Ping-Wu.....	5	Wu-Sheng.....	75
Pu-Chiang.....	63	Yen-Ting.....	53
San-Tai.....	52	Ying-Shan.....	37
Shei-Hung.....	74	Yo-Chi.....	76
Shih-Chu.....	61	Yu-Yang.....	83
Shih-Fang.....	29	Yun-Lien.....	129
Shuan-Liu.....	66	Yun-Yang.....	24
Si-Chung.....	54	Yung-Chang.....	103
Sin-Fang.....	47	Yung-Chuan.....	117
Sin-Tsing.....	64	Yung-Hsien.....	99

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PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the Southwest China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally, official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreove

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PREFACE

121 101 The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

127 Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

114 My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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INTRODUCTION

It hardly needs to be pointed out that "superstition" and magic rule the life and conduct in pre-industrial communities the world over - much more than in modern industrialized communities. One use of such "superstition" and magic is for the cure or prevention of disease.(1) Such practices and ideas have been one of the main targets of Chinese reform in recent years. The current assumptions on this matter are that (1) "superstition" and magic have to be replaced entirely by scientific knowledge and practices - there can be no half way and (2) the chief problem confronting the reformer and the farmer alike is that of finance. When there is enough money to enable the people to acquire "better" things (e.g. modern measures of sanitation) to take the place of the old practices, the "better" things will prevail. This, it is said, is especially true if the practice concerned has little or nothing to do with moral standards.

Are these assumptions sound and workable? What is the nature of magic and "superstition"? What do modern social scientists have to say about this problem?

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(1) Magic refers to the practice and "superstition" to the ideas behind the practice. The author is not concerned with a one-hundred percent distinction between magic and "superstition" on the one hand or between modern medicine and ideas about health on the other. Such a distinction, if carried to extreme limits, will, as far as she can see, be incapable of satisfactory application to facts; for by magic and "superstition" scientists refer to practices and beliefs which assume a causal relationship between two or more phenomena that is not demonstrable by any known methods of science. It is then evident that, considering the nature and limitations of modern science, there must be facts which are as yet not scientifically established, just as there have always been "facts" which have later turned out to be false assumptions. In other words, the respective domains of scientific knowledge and magical beliefs are not permanent but change as scientific methods gradually penetrate into the mysterious interior of reality. But for practical purposes, unless we wish to be over-argumentative, we shall have no difficulty in distinguishing the main body of scientific knowledge from the main body of magical beliefs. For example, no one will reasonably deny at present that burning amulets as a war effort is a magical practice just as no one will reasonably deny at present that the scientific way of treating most cancerous growths is by their surgical removal. Moreover, the distinction between magic and religion involves questions which do not concern us here.

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF MAGIC AND "SUPERSTITION"

The point of departure is that many reformers have failed to realize that magic and "superstition" are part and parcel of the psycho-social-economic context in which they have arisen, just as present-day Western medicine and sanitary ideas (and science in general) have their appropriate psycho-social-economic background. If modern social scientists have made one definitive contribution on the nature of society it is that there is no isolated individual just as there is no isolated institution. The individual grows up and becomes a part of a group or groups deeply immersed in a body of traditions and rules of conduct. The institution is formed and functions among other institutions closely related to it and interwoven with each other.

This means that just as the individual cannot be removed from the group or groups in which he is a member without more or less serious consequences to the group or groups, the institution or established practice cannot be put out of existence without large or small disturbances, leading ultimately to breakdowns, to the group of institutions among which it functions as a part. What is more, while the individual may be removed from his group comparatively easily by force (such as imprisonment, exile, execution or excommunication), the removal of an institution or established practice (such as by iconoclastic destruction, governmental orders, or financial power) presents a far more difficult proposition, because an institution usually is deeply entrenched in a large number of minds. Under such circumstances any attempt at an outright omission of one institution without regard for its social context, even if another one is superior and well carved out to take its place, is unlikely to succeed.

Or we may review the matter in a somewhat different set of terminology. Modern anthropologists generally agree with Professor Malinowski that magic fills the gaps of science, i.e. magical practices occur at places where scientific knowledge is weakest. In other words, magical practices, which are the characteristic expression of one type of institutions, make up the vacancy left or unfilled by scientific practices, which are the characteristic expression of another type of institutions. If this conclusion is unconditionally true to the nature of the relation between magic and science in all states of a culture, then we should expect that when the points of weakness in our scientific knowledge are no longer weak magical practices can be replaced with a minimum of difficulties by the incoming practices based upon the newly discovered knowledge of science. To bring the argument home, if the conclusion that magic fills the gaps of science can unconditionally stand as it is, then when a scientific procedure which is known to be effective in the larger world can solve a medical problem which in a local community has usually been solved by magical means, the new procedure will automatically replace the traditional practice. But this prediction is not realized in fact, as may be seen in the case of "West Town",(2) a local community in the Tali area, Yunnan, where the author has been particularly fortunate in observing from beginning to end a cholera epidemic - how it affected the people, what preventive and curative measures were applied, and what ideas appeared to motivate their behavior.

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(2) For purposes of the present paper the town is called "West Town," hereafter to be written without the quotation mark. The names of persons and places of the locality are also altered.

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PREFACE

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Ever since the writer interested himself in the study of land-use, he has been eager to prepare a comprehensive account on the conditions of land-use in his native area, the Szechuan Basin. The present study is a result of that intention and it represents one of the series of studies the writer has planned along that line. The investigation, as herewith presented, is limited to an analysis of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Basin.

In addition to numerous journeys in the Szechuan Basin and to the many observations made in previous years, the writer undertook an air-reconnaissance flight over the Basin--from Hankow via Chungking to Chengtu--during the early summer of 1934. Since then, the writer has been in constant touch with the area by correspondence and has collected considerable amounts of valuable and elusive data from numerous sources. Moreover, every effort has been made and every caution taken to bring the data employed in the dissertation up to date from all the reliable sources available. It is, however, deeply regretted that the serious handicaps of the war have prevented the writer from making more recent reconnaissance surveys in the Basin.

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Many friends and former colleagues have contributed to the completion of the present study. To Dr. H. R. Wei, Dean of the College of Science, and Chairman of the Department of Physics at the University of Nanking, (now at Chengtu); Professor C. S. Fang, Department of Botany of the College of Agriculture of the same institution; and Professor H. Y. Hu, Acting Chairman and Professor of the Department of Geography, National Central University, Chungking, the writer wishes to express his deep thanks and sincere gratitude for their generous assistance in securing valuable data and in furnishing much-needed documents. Grateful acknowledgments are also due to the writer's close friend, the Honorable T. S. Wang, Member of the National Senate (Legislative Yuan) of China, for having his efficient clerical staff compile and copy large amounts of valuable data from unpublished sources. To all these gentlemen, the writer wishes to present his deep thanks.

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CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

796 leading to the main road away from the town or village is a measure to make
753 sure that all descendent-less spirits and those spirits who are the results of undue or accidental deaths will be sent away so that they will not be able to create trouble or wreck vengeance on innocent souls by means of the epidemic.

(b) The Worshippers' Explanations. - These explanations are neither
796 as precise nor as uniform as that of the priests. The word "worshipper" needs
753 a word of definition. The author cannot decide whose belief is genuine or firmer and whose is false or less firm. He can only use the criterion of
124 external behavior. In this way he regards as worshippers not only those who subscribe financially or by work to these prayer meetings but also those who do not belong to the few agencies of outside influence such as the college, the middle school and the hospital, and who do not exclusively resort to modern measures of sanitation and injection but passively take the prayer meetings as a matter of course.

In all, through personal inquiries, the investigator has collected about sixty statements. From a review of these statements he has been able to distinguish the following catagories:

1. One type of statements gives the questioner the impression: "Why ask? Isn't it natural enough?" To this category belongs the answer given by the watcher of a public granary in the Temple of God of Literature in Area F. He said: "When there is general illness, there is prayer meeting." No amount of explanatory effort on the part of the investigator could make him give a different answer. He knows nothing about the prayers uttered by the priests. He is about 45 years of age and has a wife and children. He and his family have not had any injection. Another man, one of about fifty, a dye-shop keeper, is almost blind of trachoma. He was the sole person on worshipping duty in Area E prayer meeting. That means that the man knelt on the altar for three days and four evenings till 12:00 P.M. or later except for brief intermissions. The author had hoped that this man would have much to say about the prayer meeting but was disappointed to receive the following answer: "That (prayer meeting) is because there is Wen Sickness." He would not mention anything about ghosts or spirits at all. When the author pursued his query further, the man simply pulled up his trousers and showed the author his badly wounded knees, while remarking: "You see, both knees are sore from kneeling." The majority of this class of statements refer to the meetings by saying, "This is doing a good deed."

2. A second type of statements is more philosophical. It may be represented by the statement of a cloth and gold dealer of about 38 years of age, who used to travel among several western Yunnan and Burma cities like T'eng Yueh, Mynkyina, and Paoshan, and had returned to West Town just two months before the onset of the epidemic. He contributed the sum of fifteen dollars to the cholera prayer in his street. He said, "The prayer is good for appeasing the spirits so that the Wen will not continue. I give some money because I want to do my part, not for anything else." When the query was pursued further, the man turned to psychological terms: "You outsiders need not fear the epidemic or other catastrophe in a strange locality at all. When I went out into strange places I knew nothing about their gods; I did not fear." "When you walk over a tomb and do not realize that it is a tomb, you are not afraid."

Regarding the doings of the priests in these prayer meetings he said, "Although I know how to read and write a little, I don't know what is

written in their (the priests') books. No scholars do - their Chiao (or creed) is a different one. ... We only pay them, and what they sing or pray are not matters for us to dictate. We just let them do what they deem necessary." 796 753 124

This man's attitude of indifference towards the priests' incantations and scripture-reading represents, in the author's opinion, that of a large number of the inhabitants toward these prayer meetings.

3. The third type of statements implies that who is or who is not struck by the epidemic is all a matter of fate (Chieh Shu), and that there is no really effective way of prevention or cure. It may best be illustrated by a man's statement concerning the medical powder which a Feng's Dispensary gave free of charge to all applicants. This powder is advertised by this dispensary throughout the town as very effective for curing cholera. One of the managers in the prayer meeting in Area E, a man of about forty-five, showed the author a packet of this powder which he carried in his pocket and asked the author to smell it. The stuff smelled like a combination of aromatic and incense. He and another older man agreed that the powder had been effective on some patients and entirely useless on others. Their explanation was that the question was one of fate and not of medicine or anything else. Yet somehow these two men seemed also to think that the medicines and the prayer meetings were not without their favorable effects. To prove the latter they pointed to the fact as evidence that by then (the beginning of the Fifth Moon) the force of the epidemic was gradually slackening.

4. The fourth class of statements gives one or more specific points of explanation. One man, about thirty years of age, a local shop assistant, said that the prayer meetings were for cleaning up the Wen atmosphere (or air). He did not mention spirits or ghosts until the author advanced to him the idea of "catching ghosts" in a doubtful manner. Then he said: "Yes, yes, they (the prayer meetings) are for uplifting and sending away (Ch'ao Tu) all those descendantless ghosts and spirits! There have indeed been too many deaths of late."

Another man, about twenty-five years of age, who is a laborer of some description said that "the prayer meetings are for providing something (like material comfort) for homeless spirits so that they will go away and not harm the living." (The idea is that each of these spirits, like those which are caused by undue deaths, will usually claim a substitute.)

5. The fifth and last class of statements is from individuals who are very much conscious of the outsider's difference in ideas and customs from their own and yet feel that they cannot raise themselves over and above the doings and affairs of their community. Thus a mason, about thirty-two years of age, named Yang, offered the author at first the idea that the prayer meetings were for uplifting and sending away ghosts and spirits which were descendantless, a statement practically the same as that given by the first man illustrating the fourth class of statements. But as the conversation developed the man suddenly smiled and said: "Of course all those are superstitions." (Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term).

Some statements from the only remaining Chu Jen in West Town, an aged man of about seventy and a highly honored soul among the populace, are even more striking. He first said that the prayer meetings were for the good of the community. Then he concluded, "Ah, Wen sickness, prayers and

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reading of sacred scriptures can keep it away". "The prayer meetings can clean up the locality" (never mentioned a word about the ghosts or spirits). The author then intentionally echoed in a very affirmative tone: "Of course, the prayer meetings have cleared up the epidemic." Upon hearing this the old man instantly responded: "But all these are simply superstitions." (again Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The author then explained to him, following Malinowski, that the true effect of these prayers might be to stabilize the community during a crisis, in which case they would have their proper function. He made no comment on the author's explanation. It might be that he failed to comprehend what was being said. It might also be that he understood it but did not know how to reply properly. But he simply went on to say that the meetings were "affairs" of the community, and as a personality of standing in the community he had to patronize them. He also mentioned that the community had this sort of prayer meetings on a large scale only once before, in the seventh year of the Republic (about twenty-three years ago) when another Wen broke out (not cholera, but headache and vomiting). This old man contributed twenty dollars to one prayer meeting and twenty-five dollars to another. (He is not at all wealthy.) He headed the list of directors in the prayer meeting which took place at Area H (center of the town) in which the highest single donation was $2,400.

This class of persons generally express, in one way or another, that they feel happier if they participate in the "affairs" of the community in the proper manner, whatever the outsider thinks about these "affairs". To this class also evidently belong some outstanding citizens of wealth in this community. The L. family, e.g. which is the chief supporter of the hospital and the middle school and the sole owner of the public library, spent over a million dollars for a pompous funeral in the traditional style and was the largest single contributor in at least two prayer meetings (one of which took place at the center of West Town). The R., another wealthy family, is also very much in the same position. A most interesting fact was observed in connection with a certain U. family which used to be the sixth or seventh wealthy family of the locality but which has been going down hill for some time. In a conversation Mrs. U. told the author that her family contributed five hundred national dollars to the cost of the prayer meeting in her street (Area E). But on examination of the list of contributors the author found that her husband's name was only associated with the insignificant sum of one hundred national dollars among donators of much larger sums.

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Incidents such as the last reveal that support lent to the prayer meetings is primarily a matter of social prestige, and the individual or family that has not been able to keep up with the expected level feels very much embarrassed.

An analysis of the conditions of these informants gives no definite impression as regards the significance of their age. The author had at first expected to find older people more conservative about the prayer meetings, giving more details, and the younger ones less so. This expectation is not met by the data. It is true that, as stated before, the elders and older people are in charge of the direction-managing and worshipping duties in practically all the prayer meetings. An inspection of some of the prayer meetings in session will also tell us that the spectators standing or sitting about the places of meeting during most hours of the day are either older people or children or older women. But such phenomenon is perhaps natural enough. The middle-aged or other able-bodied men and women have their work in shops, fields, and at home.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ta Tueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Men, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

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spirit one may have offended unintentionally after all," was his conclusion.

A local boy by the name of Yang is the author's friend. He is eighteen years of age and a third-year junior middle school pupil. He was the tea-server at the prayer meeting in Area I and was most enthusiastic when the author inquired about the rituals of this prayer meeting. He had two free injections in the local hospital. He told the author that the hospital only gave one injection and that he knew the college infirmary gave three. He believed that the hospital was being economical and that one injection alone would be ineffective. So he insisted on having two, by telling the hospital people that he would pay for the second one if he were refused it. He thought that injection was the only way to prevent one from getting cholera, but working in the prayer meeting gave him a good time. "Besides," he said, "My parents want me to be at the prayer meeting."

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The trader (formerly primary school teacher) mentioned in the above list, lives in a village south of the town and is thirty-six years of age. His mother is over seventy, and he has a wife and three children. His father recently died of cholera. At the time of the author's interview with him, the cholera prayer meeting in his village had just been over. All of his family members except his wife were injected. He firmly believed in the efficacy of the injection and told the author the following story to indicate the strength of his belief: At first his third son would not have the injection in spite of his persuasion. Then the boy became sick. The man then took the boy for an injection and some modern medicine. The boy was well at once. Paradoxically, he knows also that the injection is useless on a person after the cholera attack has already begun. He contributed fifty national dollars to the cause of the local prayer meeting and was one of its many officers.

Further detailed enumeration of all the thirty more cases is not necessary here. Though the cases studied are small in number and therefore from them a definite conclusion cannot be drawn, one or two impressions may be given. The author's primary impression from such a study is that the injection is <u>another</u> device against the epidemic, not the only device or even the most important one; it is a measure to be taken together with the other means of cure or prevention. To rely upon it alone, or any one thing alone, is thoroughly unwise. The cholera prayers are a thing that the community has always had and are a matter of course. For this reason the author found most of the children who (whether in school or not) were about the various prayer meetings had been injected, but most adults had not been injected. The parents do not mind having their children subjected to this novel device, but as for themselves, that is often a different question. It varies more with circumstances. The cook who with his wife runs the bachelors' mess for faculty members of the missionary college allowed his children and wife to take three injections at the college infirmary, but he himself absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter after the first dose. He said "It is too painful." His wife went for the injections only under pressure of some of the members of the mess, who threatened to discharge her if she refused. She is usually more pleasant than her husband.

Very few local women have had the injection. The ones whom the author had the opportunity of asking mostly also replied, "It is too painful." The woman who is included in the above list of injected persons is a widow and goes to meetings of temple prayers and other similar functions regularly, but she is also very inclined toward the outsider's ways of life. She owns a part of the house which is the Women's Dormitory of the missionary college

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomanal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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PREFACE

121 The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West
101 China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

127 Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

114 My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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114 on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

● 127 The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

000 The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the National Geographic Society of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944–1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants.

PREFACE

000 These studies were never intended for public consumption, but for personal benefit and enlightenment; and it was only at the request of several friends, coupled with the fear of permanent loss owing to the disturbed state of the country, that I was induced to submit them for publication. The object of the studies was to obtain the Chinese view point concerning the many mysterious customs and practices which perplexed me in daily intercourse with this people. In order to attain this end two things have had to be rigorously guarded against—first, an adverse spirit of criticism, which closes up every avenue of information; and second, the danger of being content when only personal curiosity is satisfied instead of trying to see things as the Chinese see them.

127 It should be stated that no foreign text books have been studied; questions of a scientific, ethnological and comparative nature have been set aside in order to present the local view of the subject in hand. The writer does not claim to have fully attained his end or to have exhausted the information obtainable on any given subject; while variations may be found in almost every county in the province, to say nothing of the whole of China.

The little city of Kwan Hsien, which lies 40 miles to the north-west of Chengtu in the province of Szechuan, is the hub of "The Tibetan Foothills." It was from this centre, so richly endowed with natural beauty, so famous for its ancient yet efficient irrigation system, so crowded with a teeming cosmopolitan population, that these pages were gradually compiled.

The whole of the subject matter contained in this volume has passed through the pages of the "New China Review," under the editorship of Mr. Samuel Couling to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude for editing the MS. and correcting the proofs. If the printing, numbering and colour of paper should not be quite uniform all readers will kindly consider the difficulty under which the Editor has laboured while putting these papers through his magazine.

JAMES HUTSON

Chengtu, January, 1921. [v] [iv blank]

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The maps were made by myself in the field, using as a basis the excellent map of Yün-nan by Major Davies, and the sketch map of the region of the upper Salwin, the Trun River, Mekong and Yangtze, published by the late Dr. Handel-Mazzetti.

The altitudes of towns, villages, rivers, passes, etc., are based on aneroid and hypsometer readings, while those of inaccessible peaks are approximate only. In certain instances, heights of mountains as determined by others, such as those of the snow peaks of the Yü-lung Shan, have been adopted.

I have endeavored to give the Na-khi name for every place, mountain, valley, meadow or crag in the area occupied by the Na-khi tribe. In regions where they live together with Chinese, Tibetans or other tribespeople, names of places, etc., are given as far as ascertainable, in those languages also.

Now, a few words as to the orthography of Chinese as well as Na-khi and Tibetan names employed in this work:

I have followed the Wade-Giles system of romanization throughout the work, with the exception of certain words which are pronounced differently in Yün-nan, as *ngai* (cliff) for *yen*, *kai* (market, street) instead of *chieh* and a few others which are indicated in their respective places. I have not followed the spelling of geographic names adopted by the Chinese Government Postal Service, but in some instances I have added them in parenthesis, while for words like Yangtze, the spelling generally in use has been adhered to. Tibetan names have been given in Tibetan script wherever possible; the transcription and romanization employed is that of Sir Basil John Gould, with certain modifications. In a few instances, it was not possible to ascertain the Tibetan orthography of names of places, etc., situated in remote and sparsely inhabited regions where the natives were illiterate. Even most lamas are ignorant of the proper spelling of Tibetan names. In nearly every instance, Chinese characters follow proper names, as well as geographic names, and in parenthesis follows the spelling of place names used on the maps of Major Davies and Handel-Mazzetti to facilitate their identification. For the pronunciation of Na-khi words the notes on pages xix–xx, below, are to be consulted.

Mr. B. Armstrong Claytor of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, has prepared the index.

J. F. Rock

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Summer, 1945

Note: Handel-Mazzetti published in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna (Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Bd. 97), a map and description of Li-chiang, and parts of the Mekong, Salwin, and Irrawadi. It includes the Yangtze loop, Chung-tien and its dependencies. As guides and collectors he had with him Na-khi from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö. All Na-khi, as well as most Yünnanese, are unable to pronounce final consonants, as *n* or *ng*. The spelling, therefore, of place names, etc., on his map is very bad. In addition he adopted the German romanization for the Chinese names mispronounced by the Na-khi, and the result is far from happy. The names of the Li-chiang snow peak may here serve as an example. Handel-Mazzetti gives it as Satsetö; this is not a Na-khi name, but the purely Chinese term *Shan-tzu* 山子 (a fan) and *tou* 陡 (steep, vertical). He gives the name Satseto as if it were a Na-khi one. Along with the Na-khi and Chinese names which I shall quote, will be put in parenthesis those given by Handel-Mazzetti (abbreviated to H-M).

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 The Southwest China Region, comprising the provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow, is adjacent to Chinghai, Kansu, and Shensi provinces in the north across the Tanglha, Min, and Tapa mountain ranges. In the east it shares a boundary with Hupeh, Hunan, and Kwangsi provinces. The western limit of this region is an arbitrary line drawn vertically across the Tibetan massif to separate this region from Tibet.[1] This region defines China's southern frontier bordering upon Indochina and Burma. It lies between 21° and 34° North latitude, and 97° and 110° East longitude, covering an area of 1,146,345 square kilometers (442,600 sq. mi.) in which lives a population of 98,195,110, or about 16.9 per cent of China's total population.

I. TOPOGRAPHY

133 A. Mountains and Rivers

The elevation of the Southwest Region is quite high in the northwest, somewhat lower in

1. *Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly]*, April 1955, pp. 15-16. For details of political subdivisions, see chapter on Structure of Government.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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101 tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the pro.ınce is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

131 The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

162 In the area covered by map no. 1[1], the Na-khi live in scattered villages
131 alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

194 Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na-* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory for·rly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

000 In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

1[see end map 1, cat 116 ;-- Analyst]

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PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG

101 *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (PLATE 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (瀾江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

[131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上棒可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

361 *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

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633 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business,
361 thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

● 131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong
101 to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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CHAPTER V

The Li-chiang Territory within the Yangtze Loop

The Yangtze River after cutting its way through the snow range in a north-eastern direction turns northwards at Ta-ku headed off by the limestone range of Dzu-ku nv-lv which merges into La-pao Shan. Hua-ti-yi nv-lv is an extension of the range and is the highest part of the backbone in the north. At Shang Feng-k'o the river turns due south. Deep and long gorges extend east into the Yangtze as the central mountain mass is closer to the western bend of the loop than the eastern. 137* 133* 481*

The territory north of Li-chiang in the Yangtze loop is quite narrow in comparison to the great triangle which the river encloses. The southern and eastern part of the triangle is inhabited by Na-khi, but the northern part is exclusively occupied by Tibetans. Both banks of the river to the west of the triangle up to Ch'i-tsung are however peopled by Na-khi. [31]

The Li-chiang snow range occupies the western and central part of the loop; it is here pierced by the Yangtze which bulges considerably into the land and is then forced north by the range mentioned previously.

The land within the loop from Li-chiang to Shang Feng-k'o is six stages long and exceedingly mountainous. With the exception of the Li-chiang plain which extends to the foot of the snow range, there is no level land within the loop, save scattered alpine meadows, the longest of which is Nga-ba. As one travels over the high mountains, mostly densely forested, one gains occasional glimpses of the Yangtze on both sides, especially in the northern part of the loop on the road to Shang Feng-k'o 上俸可 (Upper Feng-k'o). On the trail to Feng-k'o 俸可, however, one is forced to travel for about half a day along the barren, rocky slopes of the eastern part of the loop. Coming from Shang Feng-k'o, at the apex of the loop, the trail leads over the central mountain mass, leaving the Yangtze on both sides, without entering either valley.

It is possible to reach Ta-ku 打鼓 from the central mountain spurs within the loop, by a narrow trail from two different places, one being Mba-yi-wûa (Place where there is sugar) called Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 in Chinese, and the other T'o-k'ö-ahĕr, called in Chinese Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 (Long pine flat). The trail is negotiable to pedestrians only.

The only large settlements within this territory and north of the Li-chiang plain are at La-bpu (Chinese, La-pao 拉寶), Fu-k'o (Chinese, Feng-k'o), and Nda-gv (Chinese, Ta-ku). The remaining villages are scattered and consist of a few families only.

1. FROM HEI-SHUI TO LA-PAO LI

We have followed the main trail from Nga-ba as far as Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, where a small path leads to the heights of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and shall continue north from the bluff overlooking the Hei-shui.

Leaving the pine forest behind, the trail descends from Gyi-nà mbu-gkv into

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prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily. 487* 133* 137*

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shër, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shër, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-!u-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes). 634 173 131

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (ch. 117, fol. 20a)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 岩門) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.] 634 173

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大貴 [the Li-chiang records

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant. Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Sze-ch'uan.

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbēr-ddēr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [348] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 董旺.

634 173 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 嶲州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
● 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nä Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S ST [184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S ST of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S ST finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortu-
[579] nately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

S 631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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north. Were it not for the absence of water, a more beautiful camping spot would be difficult to find.

To the east of the Ha-ba snow range, the northern limit of Jade dragon Mountain, is a beautiful, gravelly plain called Sho-ko dü, with dense pine forest extending to the foot of the range. Our trail leads across the plain to where it is flanked by a broad spur or hill-side 900 feet high. This spur closes the entire plain to the north, and resembles a huge lava flow of enormous thickness, but is, of course, composed of limestone like the rest of that region. The track ascends the spur more or less gradually through wonderful forest of *Pinus yünnanensis* to the summit, which is at 9,900 feet elevation (PLATE 130).

From the top of this spur we look down into a peculiar bowl-shaped depression hemmed in on the west by the Ha-ba snow peaks, in the north by a high spur, and in the east by another spur, but with an outlet, thus forming really a valley which leads out to the Yangtze. In this bowl-like depression is situated the scattered hamlet of 30 families called Ha-ba. We descend over the spur, which on its northern slope is mainly forested with the Yün-nan white pine (*Pinus Armandi*), while the yellow pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*) covers the southern and drier slopes. The former pine is more moisture-loving and thus chooses the northern slopes where the snow does not melt so quickly. Here on this spur there are also several springs and small ponds. *Tsuga* (hemlock trees) occur in the ravines.

The trail leads down to a meadow crossed by a crystal-clear stream, and makes a sharp turn straight to the foot-hills of the Ha-ba Snow peak (PLATE 131). Here in a marvellous grove of hemlock trees (*Tsuga yünnanensis*) and tall white pines, a spring gushes forth from under the huge limestone boulders of which the foot-hills are composed. To the Na-khi of Ha-ba this is a place sacred to the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits), whom they propitiate. They hold here an annual fair on the 8th day of the second moon, when crowds come to worship, and when their sorcerers perform the *Ssu-gu* ceremony, that is, the propitiation of the serpent spirits and the Garuḍa, whom they call Dtu-p'ér Khyu-t'khyu.

5. FROM HA-BA TO BBÉR-DDÉR

[131] *The Bbér-ddér territory.* — Bbér-ddér, is purely Na-khi and the people still live in their primitive state uncontaminated by Chinese manners and customs. This is due to the almost inaccessible location of their territory protected in the east by the Yangtze in its deep gorges, and in the west by snow peaks and ranges, the passes of which are closed for several months in the year. It is a world of its own.

Bbér-ddér is a large, sloping, triangular basin, bordered in the west by the Ta-ra mountains, which are a continuation of the Ha-ba ndshér nv-lv Range extending north to south. The pass Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門坎 is its western outlet. In the north it is bounded by the mountains of A-nä-ngv[1] (H-M.,

[1] A-nä Ngyu also A-nä-ngv after a Na-khi village by that name, in Chinese An-nan-ku (Mountain of the village of An-nan-ku-ch'ang 安南古場), is 100 li south-east of Chung-tien and is also called Pei-ti Shan. In the winter and spring the mountain is covered with snow. Sixty li south of it is a *ling-ch'uan* ("mysterious spring"). This refers to the carbonate of lime spring at Bbér-ddér or Pei-ti. In the south A-nä-ngv adjoins the Ha-ba ndshér nv-lv

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101 Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

*133 The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

132 *133 The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 漾江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

● 131 To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

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3. THE DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

To the east of the city of Wei-hsi the territory[1] adjoins Li-chiang, a distance of 70 li; the great Li-ti-p'ing Range connects the two territories. In the south it adjoins the T'o-chih ta-ch'iao 拖枝大橋 (T'o-chih is south-west of Lu-tien, and the Ta-ch'iao is a bridge over the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 on which T'o-chih the Na-khi T'o-dtü, [H-M., Todschü], is situated.[8] The Yung-ch'un Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Han-sou Shan which belongs to Li-chiang. It is 25 li distant from Wei-hsi. In the west the territory adjoins I-wan-shui 一碗水 and Jih-teng-ts'un 日登村, which belong to Lan-p'ing [probably the Shih-teng 石登 of the Chinese Yün-nan military map]. In the north it adjoins the A-tun-tzu border at the village of Ta-shih-t'ou-ts'un 大石頭村, on the east bank of the Mekong, south of Tz'u-chung 茨中. North-north-east it adjoins Chung-tien and Te-jung 德榮[9] of the Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 in Ssu-ch'uan, as well as adjoining on Pa-an 巴安 and several hsien of Ssu-ch'uan. North-north-west it borders on Tz'u-k'ai 茨開, where there is a deputy magistrate. On the west it borders on the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (球江), the eastern branch of the Irrawadi of the Burma border. In the north it adjoins the Tibetan province of Ch'a-wa-lung 察瓦龍 (Tsha-wa-rong). Its width from east to west is 70 li and its length from south to north is 405 li.

These boundary notes have been taken from the *Wei-hsi Ti-li-chih* 維西地理誌 (Geographical records of Wei-hsi) which adds that the southern part of the district is the narrowest and that it was quite broad in the north.

The *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 26b, states the distances as follows: 70 li east to the Li-chiang district border; 1,080 li west to Ch'a-wa-kang 察瓦岡 in Tibet (this is in Tsha-wa-rong, south-eastern Tibet *see* page 198); south to the Li-chiang border, a distance of 25 li; north to the Chung-tien border, 310 li; south-east to the Li-chiang border, 70 li; south-west to the Li-chiang border, 70 li. North-east to the Chung-tien border, 320 li; north-west to the Chung-tien border, 720 li.

4. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO WEI-HSI

South of Chü-tien the Yangtze receives a tributary called Hsin-i Ho 新移河, of which one source is on the south-eastern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing, and not the La-pa Shan as the Yün-nan military map would make us believe. The stream is better known as the Chü-tien Ho[10]. A bridge of stone slabs

[8] North of T'o-chih, is the hamlet of A-dü which is all Na-khi, while T'o-chih is said to be Hsi-fan.

[9] Also written 得榮. It is in the realm of the Ba-thang T'u-ssu (Pa-t'ang) 巴塘土司 in Hsi-k'ang. The Hsiang-ch'eng country was also in the territory of the Ba-thang chief, but was made a magistracy called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣 in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and the T'u-ssu (chief) was abolished. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese control the region. Rather, since the abolishing of the chieftainship (that is, the native hereditary governor) the Hsiang-ch'eng have become lawless and independent. The region is now in Hsi-k'ang and not Ssu-ch'uan.

[10] The Chü-tien Ho, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 35, has its source in the Han-sou Shan, 400 li north-west of Li-chiang. All the Lu-tien waters join it and to-

[1] [i.e. Wei-hsi District -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

1. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

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The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒俄河 pronounced Lɛ-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜覺 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 巴耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

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Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧蒗; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-li-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 鳳河 or Shang-feng-k'o 上鳳河.

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shamanism religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhër-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhër-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhër-khi or Zhër-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhër* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhër-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhër-so" — son or child of Zhër; the name Zhër-di (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhër-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

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131 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like
136 Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about
241 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

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[346] The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is sit-
ST uated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain
361 (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Bua-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting out-
ST side settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the
[282] people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (nchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little
ST stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making
295 genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhynchu*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake dipper themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dzu or Gol-dzu. Two species are found, *Podiceps nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis* SWINH. collected first in the province of Shensi. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-li-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the shelduck (called Mba-shi-mba-lu-me by the Na-khi), *Nyroca fuligula*, *Nyroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatrensis milne-edwardsii* DAVID. It is known to the Na-khi as Yü, in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-hä (Female serow with the blue mane).

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CHAPTER VI

YUNG-NING LAKE AND TSO-SO TERRITORY

1. LU-KU HU (YUNG-NING LAKE)

The Yung-ning Lake (called Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 in Chinese and by the Li-chiang Na-khi La-t'a Ḳhü) is known to the Yung-ning people as Lo-shu Khü.[1] This magnificent sheet of water is divided almost in half by a long peninsula, broad where it projects from the land and narrowing to a sharp point; this peninsula is called T'u-bbu and extends from north-east to south-west into the lake. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border passes through the lake, cutting off the south-western point of the peninsula. A ravine extending down the western face of the wooded spur is the border. By far the larger part of this beautiful lake is in Yün-nan as are also three of the five islands scattered over it.[2] The smallest island is west of the Yün-nan border and is called Nyi-se. It is an oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and only a short distance from the northern shore between the villages of Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr, the Chinese Lo-shui 瀘水 or Hsiao 小 (Small) Lo-shui. 133 131

Immediately beyond is the border of the Yung-ning — Mu-li — Tso-so territory. Here is a boundary stone, erected in the 17th year, second moon and 27th day of Chia-ch'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty (April 8th, 1812), which denotes the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning. On one side is inscribed the above date, and on the western face of the stone is inscribed 雲南永寧土司東北界至此 (Up to here is the Yün-nan Yung-ning T'u-ssu north-east border); on the eastern face is engraved 四川木裏土司西南界至此 (Up to here is the Ssu-ch'uan — Mu-li T'u-ssu south-west border).

Strange to say, the Mu-li King possesses a strip of land on the north shore of the lake, three li long; it consists of a spur and a bay, with a valley extending west-north-west, a continuation of the bay. The spur is bare, the soil red; it extends from a white limestone bluff on Lion mountain to the bank of the lake. In the lake, just beyond the little peninsula which forms the narrow bay belonging to Mu-li, is a triangular island called A-na-wa, once a part of the projecting spur which forms the bay. This island also belongs to the Mu-li lama King. The ridge is semicircular in outline and is part of a crater wall, the island of A-na-wa being a remnant of the other half of the crater.

Legendary origin. — At the foot of the ridge near the frontier is a huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Ḳhü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake came forth). It is believed that here the lake has its source. A legend connected 823

[1] This may be in imitation of Lo-shui, two villages by that name situated near the lake shore. The two villages in question are called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi and Lū-khi.

[2] Part of the northern, and all of the western and southern shore of the lake is in Yung-ning, Yün-nan territory, while the eastern end and a short stretch of the northern shore, where it joins the eastern, is in Ssu-ch'uan. The peninsula of T'u-bbu, with the exception of the south-west end, is also in Ssu-ch'uan.

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also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 會理, Hui-wu 會無, Yao chou 姚州 and Ma-hu 馬湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui. 173

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yüeh-lu 月魯. 173

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 岑槃. On the south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsün 牟尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 弄贊.[14] Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. 131

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border[15] 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 棚土坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒勃海[16] of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司[17] subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military *So* (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 瀘寧營 (Military district of Lu-ning) of the district of Mien-ning 冕寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu.

[14] Yüeh-lu stands for Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsün is I Mou-hsün, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

[15] This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

[16] This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

[17] There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chün-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la written lChags-la ལྕགས་ལ; its ruler had the title of rgyal-po རྒྱལ་པོ or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.

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173 North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yün-nan and the border
131 of the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua 理化].

"The distance from Yen-yüan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yüan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso 大作 [18] was situated between T'ai-teng 泰登 and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh 瓜別 and Mu-li, crossed by the Jo Shui 若水 [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅龍江 which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh].

"The district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣 was changed and made subordinate to Yün-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yün-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source.[19] It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yüan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien 姑復縣 [20] lay in the south of Yen-yüan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo 羅果 and No-lung 糯弄.[21]

[18] Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui 繩水 [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui 孫水 (*see* further discussion of the name Sui 遂). According to the *Mien-ning hsien chih* 冕寧縣志 ch. 2, fol. 22, Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

[19] Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the *Shui tao t'i kang* 水道提綱 is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

[20] The last edition of the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420–478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the *Shui-ching chu* (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yüan and east of Li-chiang.

[21] The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yün-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-

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"According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 瀝河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung]. 173 131

In the T'ang dynasty. — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 嶲州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 姚州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

Under the Mongols. — "In the Yüan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利賣,[a] the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西盧 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

Under the Ming dynasty. — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yen-ching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 鹽中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

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proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

[a] Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yüan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yüan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利賣傑勒 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-ho Shan 斛婆和山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 30 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 蕊庫 barbarians dwelled there.

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173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[52] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[53] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[54] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 邛 and of Chiang 莊 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[52] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 邛都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[53] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[54] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

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2. MA-LA 馬喇

101 Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 馬喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la[5] and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 擺夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yüan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yüan District Records calls them P'o 僰, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the T'u-jen 土人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 禹穴羌.[6]

"They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 僰, the radical of which is *jen* 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犭 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

● 131 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叵笮甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 稀鵝. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-chiang fu 澄江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yün-nan.

"The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所箐 and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 高 of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崖 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂箐, a distance of 70 li,

[5] In the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-yi k'ao* (see p. 437 n. 3) pp. 36b–37a, there is also mentioned a Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu, 瓦剌長官司. His territory lay 350 li south-west of the Yen-ching garrison. It relates that the family name of the native official was A 阿 and that the first ancestor of the family was a native of that place. In the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) he returned to allegiance, assisted with the revenue and acquired merit whereupon he was given the rank of Chang-kuan which his sons and grandsons inherited. He paid 150 piculs of food supplies which were allotted to the garrison. His territory adjoined Pei-sheng chou (now Yung-sheng hsien the former Yung-pei) in Yün-nan. At the time of the composing of the above records the Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu's name was A Sung 阿宋. On a map accompanying the text, the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu is to the north-west of Yen-ching wei.

[6] Yü-hsüeh is the name of a defile in the Wu mountains 巫山 which gives passage to the waters of the Yangtze. The mountain is east of Wu-shan hsien 巫山縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The waters of the Yangtze pass east through the gorges of the Wu Mountains (*Chiu-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 397, fol. 6b).

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adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7] 131

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official." 651

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 麼多. 131

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (*Senior native deputy official.*) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9] 173

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌鋪鋪 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

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173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿繪鑑, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文寶, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子鋪 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿柏古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

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65/ hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[12] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 錄馬六槽."[13]

131 The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

173 *Imperial audiences and tribute.*—"In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 伏苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ⅙ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (*Chiliarch*).—"Lang Chün-wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

[12] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[13] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州鋪 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

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173 The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu 喇鴻酋. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai 左所土寨, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai 獨戈寨, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai 姑祿土寨 [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [*See also* Tso-so T'u-ssu *under* Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

●131 173 "The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所土千戶 is 120 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la 阿所拉 and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州[20] and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa 八 and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州[21] governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]; south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿呢達嘉 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan; west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung[22] at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 鶯家莊. The edition of 1733

[20] Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

[21] At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 倉, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 倉三嘉 was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 魯魯, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 蒲家.

[22] Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.

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gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 131 (Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so 德昌所. It is possible 173 that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, — so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893.

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 *tan* of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22.011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Genealogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八羲 was the first ancestor 173 of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chai) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch).

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yün-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yün-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yün-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-

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173 minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠.

The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 斗).

8. CH'IEN-SO 前所

173 131 "The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波果 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出猪村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khin Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position.

It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 褚都村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-

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ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border. 173 131

Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu. — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so. 173

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, *see* Ch'ien-so *under* Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 小橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 押克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*]. 173 131

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (*q.v.*), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border

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173 100 li to the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k'o 雅雅克山, a distance of
131 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different *So* under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch'uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

"The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 迷雅. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople."

173 *Genealogy of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "Pai Ma-t'a 白馬塔 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

"Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T'a, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Ch'ien-lung (1744).

"Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father's position in the 54th year of Ch'ien-lung (1789).

"Pai Kuo-hsien 白國賢, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 17th year of Chia-ch'ing (1812).

"Pai T'ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

"Pai T'ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 賢, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

"Pai Huai-hsing 白懷興, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father's position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

"Pai Chung-yo 白鐘岳 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.

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CHAPTER I

YÜN-NAN AND ITS COMMUNICATIONS.

Situation of Yün-nan—Importance and interest of Yün-nan—Its communications.

To how many people does the name Yün-nan convey anything at all? Those who do not know in what part of the globe it is situated are ignorant in good company. For a distinguished official wishing to study the question of Yün-nan railways, sent for a map of Canada! He was surprised to find that they spelt the name Yukon.

Yün-nan must be looked for not in the neighbourhood of Klondike, but in the south-west corner of China. It is a province that deserves to be better known, for it has more than one claim on the attention of Englishmen. First of all it borders the eastern frontier of our Indian Empire for several hundred miles. Secondly, if India and the Yangtze are ever connected by railway, it is through Yün-nan that the line must pass. Add to this that the south-eastern part of the province borders the French colony of Tong-king, while its north-west corner just touches Tibet, and here at once is enough to make Yün-nan interesting politically and commercially.

But it is not only to the statesman and the merchant that Yün-nan will appeal. For the geographer and the explorer there are still many blank spaces on the map. To the geologist and the mining engineer its great mountain ranges must contain much of interest. For the ethnologist, above all, it is a wide field of research in which he might work for a lifetime and still leave much to be done by his successors. Nor has any systematic examination of the zoology or botany of the province as yet been made. There must be much interesting work for

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●131 Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50′
622 and longitude 97° 45′. It is in the Northern Shan States
P and is part of the large tract of country governed by the
131 sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its
more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a
622 hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

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361 The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles
P long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields.
This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan,
361 and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

This very civilised and widely spread race call them-
S selves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while
101 the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the
P only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they
formerly governed a wide extent of country in western
101 Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

[1] T'u-ssü (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.
[2] Or Möng-mao according to the system of transliterating Chinese.
[3] Lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′.

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505 133 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

• 131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by Chinamen, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

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S 133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
S 501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S 133 rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
P 131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

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Pai-i AE7

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tion[1]: there are a few Shan villages to the north scattered up the Salween valley for a distance of 40 miles or so, but eastward no more of this race are now met with, though they doubtless did originally inhabit this country before it was taken by the Chinese.

European travellers have made a great deal of the unhealthiness of the Salween valley, but it must be remembered that all their information came from the Chinese. Now the Chinaman of Yün-nan lives in such a high-lying healthy country that in lower-lying places he is probably more liable to fever than a man of any other race. A height of 4000 feet or thereabouts is the limit below which the Yünnanese cannot live and keep their health, and this is the reason why the Shans have been able to retain possession of many of the rich plains of south-western China, while the few Chinese who live in that part of the country lead an uncivilized existence on the hill-tops. One seldom finds Shans living above 4000 feet, not that they cannot stand the climate, but because the Chinese *can* stand it, and have therefore dispossessed the original owners. In a few places such as Nan-tien, which averages a little under 4000 feet, one finds the two races living together, the Chinese slowly and gradually swamping the Shans.

The Salween valley is not considered more feverish than Mong Hkwan, Nam-hkam, and other Shan States. The Yünnanese avoid all these places from March to November, but the Shans continue to live in them all the year round, and in a subsequent journey I came across a colony of Ssŭ-ch'uan Chinese living in this same Salween valley only 40 miles above the bridge. I do not suppose the Lu-chiang-pa, as the Chinese call the plain, is exactly a health resort, but I expect its unhealthiness has been much exaggerated.

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The Chinese say it is exceedingly dangerous to swim mules across the river, as there is a beast in it, which they describe as being like a blanket and full of mouths, which

[1] It is true that in a subsequent journey I discovered Shans in the north of Yün-nan and even in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan, but in such small and isolated communities as to be scarcely worth counting, except as a curiosity. See p. 378.

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of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. [316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

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APPENDIX II

THE AREA, POPULATION AND INHABITANTS OF YÜN-NAN.

131 ROUGH measurements on the map give the area of the province of Yün-nan as about 150,000 square miles, and this may be accepted as approximately correct.

161 To estimate the population is a far more difficult matter. It is probable that fifty years ago the numbers were greater than at the present day, for doubtless great loss of life and emigration to other provinces took place during the Panthay rebellion, which lasted from 1854 to 1873. Since then the province has slowly recovered, and while the indigenous population has increased, there has also been a constant and steadily increasing stream of immigration from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

After my second journey in Yün-nan I made a rough calculation of the density of population to the square mile over those tracts of country which I had surveyed the most thoroughly. In all of these I had noted the number of houses in the towns and villages, and I allowed an average of six persons to each house.

The result gave about 400 to the square mile in the plains, and 40 to the square mile in the hilly tracts. Taking the whole province I calculate that about one-fifteenth of the total area is plain land, and the remainder hills. This then would give 10,000 square miles with a population of 400 to the mile, and 140,000 square miles with a population of 40 to the mile.

$$10{,}000 \times 400 = 4{,}000{,}000 \text{ in the plains,}$$
$$140{,}000 \times 40 = 5{,}600{,}000 \text{ in the hills.}$$

Total population 9,600,000.

[p. 306]

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CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

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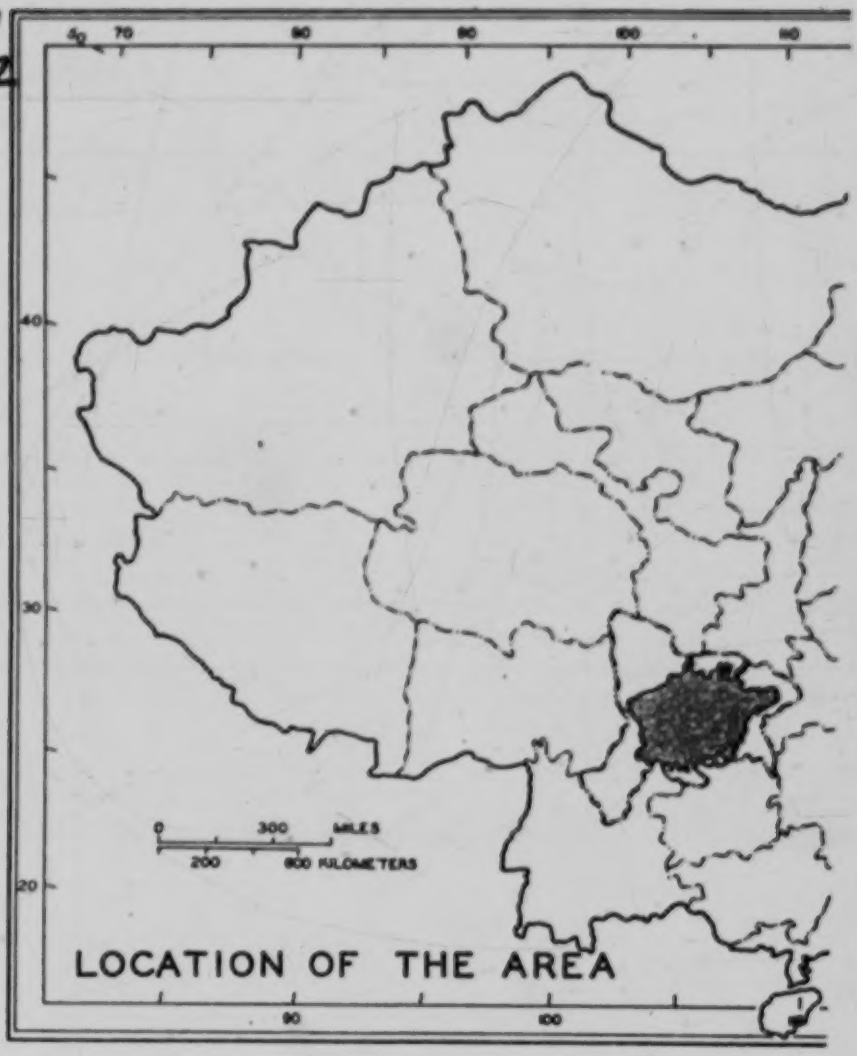

[End map 1 (a)]

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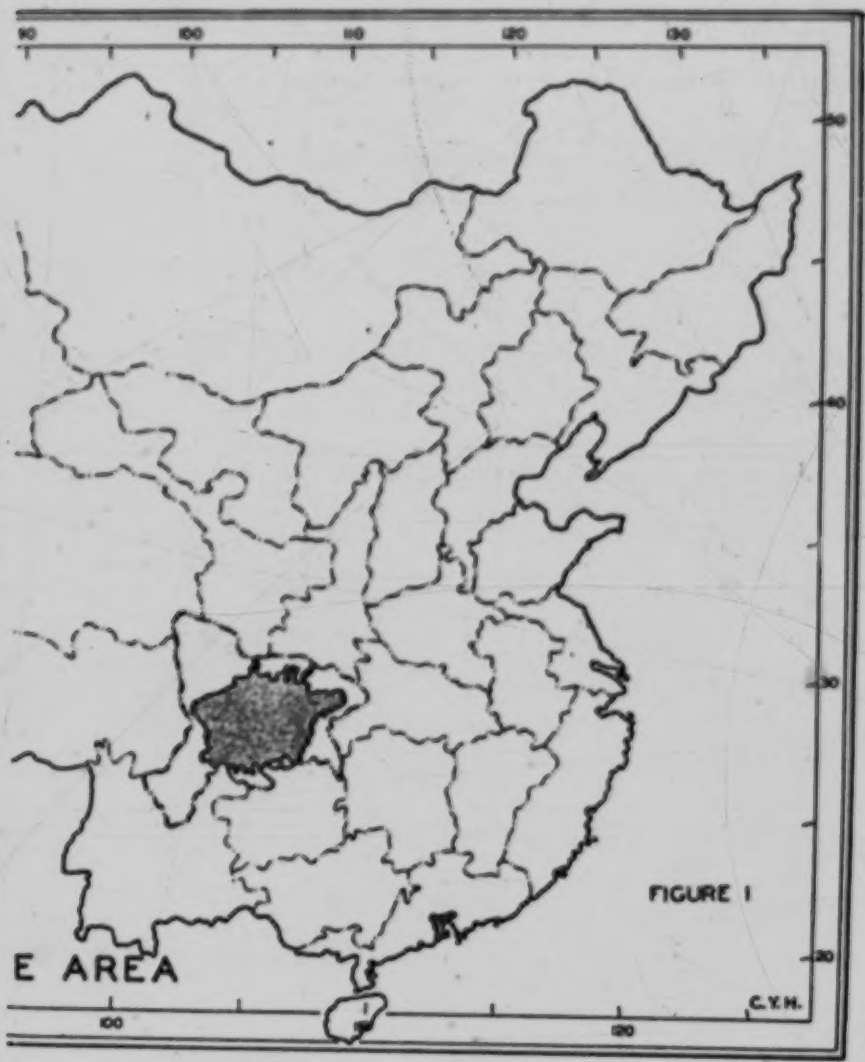

[End map 1 (b)]

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the Fou, and the Chialing,[1] which flow from north to south through the province. 101

The term, Szechuan "Basin," as used in the present study, is not identical with the political unit of Szechuan "province." Moreover, it slightly differs from the area known as the "Red Basin" in western geographic literature. The latter is slightly larger and includes a small portion of Kwei-chow province to the south.

As a matter of fact the boundary lines of "Szechuan Basin" as defined in the present study are topographic in character. After careful consideration of both physical and cultural patterns the 700-meter contour line (as the upper limit) was chosen as the line of demarcation.[2] In the actual drawing of the boundary line, however, some minor alterations have been made. For instance, where the selected contour crosses some of the minor narrow river valleys (such as the Chien and others), the boundary line is drawn at the middle-point of such valley rather than at the headwaters of the streams. Primarily this is done to exclude the extremely narrow strips of land in the headwater areas--lands in most places too steep for agricultural use. The total area of the Basin, thus delimited, is 146,842 square kilometers.[3] This figure is 131

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[1]Most writers give widely divergent names to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse from which the province, as well as the Basin, derives its name. Unfortunately, many of these names are inappropriate. Personally, the writer believes the four most important tributaries of the Yangtse (for reasons which will be explained in the later paragraphs) should be called the Min, the To, the Fou, and the Chialing rivers (cf. A. Hosie, Szechuan, Its Products, etc., p. 17; G. B. Cressey, China's Geographical Foundations, p. 312; L. D. Stamp, Asia [1935 ed.], p. 523; C. Y. Chang, Geography of China, II, 79; and W. D. Geil, Eighteen Capitals of China, p. 293.

[2]Arbitrary as this criterion may appear to be at first thought, it has, however, at least three distinctive merits. First, within the boundary of this chosen contour line, as we shall see later, there is a maximum coincidence between the physical and cultural patterns. Second, within this boundary there lies the most habitable and the most prosperous areas of the whole province; this is geographically significant and is particularly important from the standpoint of the study of agricultural land use. Third, this contour line, unlike many other boundaries commonly drawn to delimit the Basin, has the virtue of being a quantitative line. It furnishes a more concrete, if not a more accurate, basis for drawing the boundaries. So far as the writer is aware, no one has ever used a completely quantitative line to demarcate the boundaries of the Basin.

[3]Average of four planimeter readings.

131 much smaller than the total assigned to the Basin by other investigators who use different criteria for its delimitation.[1]

The Basin, thus delimited (Fig. 2),[1] in its rough outline, is much like a trapezoid. The four angles of the trapezoid are marked approximately by the four well-known districts, namely, Kuang-yuan in the north, Ya-an[2] in the west, Sui-yung in the south, and Feng-chieh in the east (Fig. 2). The use of these four districts as the principal corner-posts of the Basin is not only topographically sound (i.e., they all lie within the limit of the same 700-meter contour line) but geographically accurate. For instance, northern Kuang-yuan marks approximately the northern limit of bamboo growths in the Basin.[3] Structurally, Feng-chieh, being at the head of the famous Yangtse gorges, marks approximately the eastern limit of the cretaceous formations in this part of China. Ya-an, strictly speaking, lies at a transitional zone between Chinese and Tibetan cultures; whereas Sui-yung is situated at a crossroad between the fertile Basin to the north and the desolate mountain areas of Kweichou to the south (Fig. 2).

161 The total population of Szechuan is estimated as between fifty million[4] and seventy million[5] persons. Since there is no official census, most students are rightly skeptical about the accuracy of these estimates. In 1937 the Bureau of Civilian Affairs of the Szechuan Provincial Government first undertook a fairly thorough survey of the total population of the province. According to this report (Population by Hsien, Appendix I, Table 1), the total population of the province is 48,436,624 persons.[6]

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[1] Cf. Cressey, op. cit., p. 312; J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China (1937), p. 79; Nai Tsiang Jen, Journal of China's Geographical Society, III, No. 4 (December, 1936), 727.

[2] This district, together with the other thirteen districts of southwest Szechuan, is now, by order of the National Government, incorporated into the province of Sikang (Report of Szechuan Provincial Government [1940], p. 3).

[3] See Figure 8.

[4] Report of the Imperial Ministry of Interior (1898).

[5] Later in 1916, since the Republic, the report of the Ministry of Interior and the estimates of the Post Office both affirmed this number of seventy million persons (Report of the Viceroy of Szechuan [1910]).

[6] Bureau of Civilian Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[1] [See end map 2 -- Analyst]

6: Tafel--334 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet A31
S.W.China AF16

in Ta tsien lu an entire month because of the miscarried remittance of my German-Asiatic bank. This time quickly passed with visits among the gracious and ever-hospitable missionaries, with hunting excursions into the magnificent wooded mountains to track down the cerus and the wonderful budorcas, and finally with an infection which I had contracted. I was always sick when I came down from the pure air of Tibet into the first Chinese city. /Fig. 7 appears on p. 211 in original text./

CHAPTER XV

/212/ Through the Land of the Gold River

The readers of this diary, wearied by the long journey, will now want to lay the book aside. But outside in the clear, free air of Ta tsien lu no weariness was to be felt. I was by no means sated with the wild nomadic life. Nor did I feel any desire to travel home by way of one of the comfortable or at least relatively comfortable and safe Chinese military roads. Spring had just begun again. The winter ice in the Tibetan rivers and brooks had disappeared. Buds were bursting. High up meadows and pastures were resplendent with succulent green and thousands of bright-colored flowers bordered the gushing, crystal-clear springs. In such a situation others may think of home! But at this time Tibet is at its most magnificent. Besides that, my East Tibetan impressions could not be rounded off without including the entire ethnographic border toward the provinces of Szechwan and Kansu. Moreover, up in Lanchow fu my collections were waiting, my photographic plates and notebooks of my Hoang Ho and Tschang tang journey, all of which had to be brought to the coast.

On all our maps the province of Szechwan is - as I have mentioned - shown to extend far to the west, and large parts of East Tibet therefore encroach on Chinese or Szechwan land. In this way places which the Chinese trader and artisan reaches only at the risk of his life appear to be just as much a part of Szechwan as the fertile and densely populated rice plain of Tscheng fu. Actually, however, the extension on the map of the western border of this province represents only the sphere of influence of the government of Tscheng tu fu, of the official who is at the same time the political connecting

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link between Peking and Lhasa (1). The question as to where today

1. As everyone knows, the main purpose of Tobden Dalai Lama's visit in Peking in 1908 was to effect for himself and his government direct reports to the throne and direct subordination to Peking, thereby circumventing the Chinese resident minister of Lhasa and the governor of Tscheng tu fu. But the Manchurian government could never make up its mind to do this and regarded all the land west of Szechwan as domains of this province.

the actual, the ethnographic and national boundary lies between Tibetans and Chinese is not touched and has until now remained an open question in our literature.

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According to the Bretschneider and Stieler map as well as the map of the Russian General Staff, which have gathered together the best of what has hitherto been known, it looked as though all the country north of Ta tsien lu had been pretty thoroughly explored, and yet only von Rosthorn and Armand David had made short notes about it. Chinese river and road maps had /213/ formed the bases for these maps and on closer examination the mountains between the large rivers were put in at the discretion of the cartographers. A few questions to natives who were acquainted with the locality sufficed to establish the fact that with respect to names of places and tribes there is great uncertainty, not to say confusion on all maps, and that a journey thither would soon take me into terra incognita. My wish to end up by visiting these regions grew more and more lively. Only after my expedition did a few English missionaries and especially the unfortunate Lieutenant Brooke (1) roam through these regions and afterward

1. see pp. 129 and 130.

report on them. (2) In my time the missions in Ta tsien lu knew

2. Fergusson, Adventure, Sport and Travel on the Tibetan Steppes. London 1911.

about the country north of the city only that it was called "Kin tschuan," "Valleys of the Gold Rivers" and that it was extremely difficult to travel through it because of its deep ravines, and that a particular language is spoken there which is neither Chinese nor

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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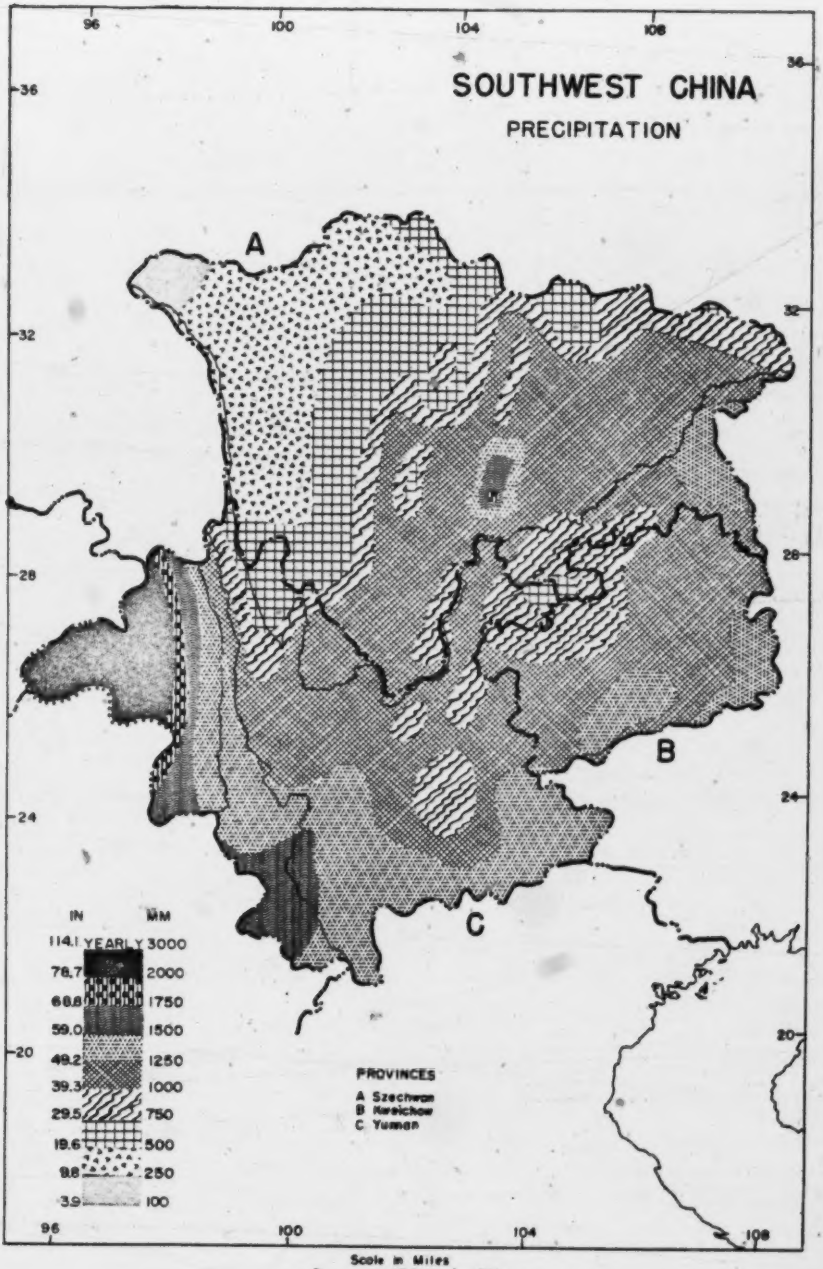

[facing p. 1(b)]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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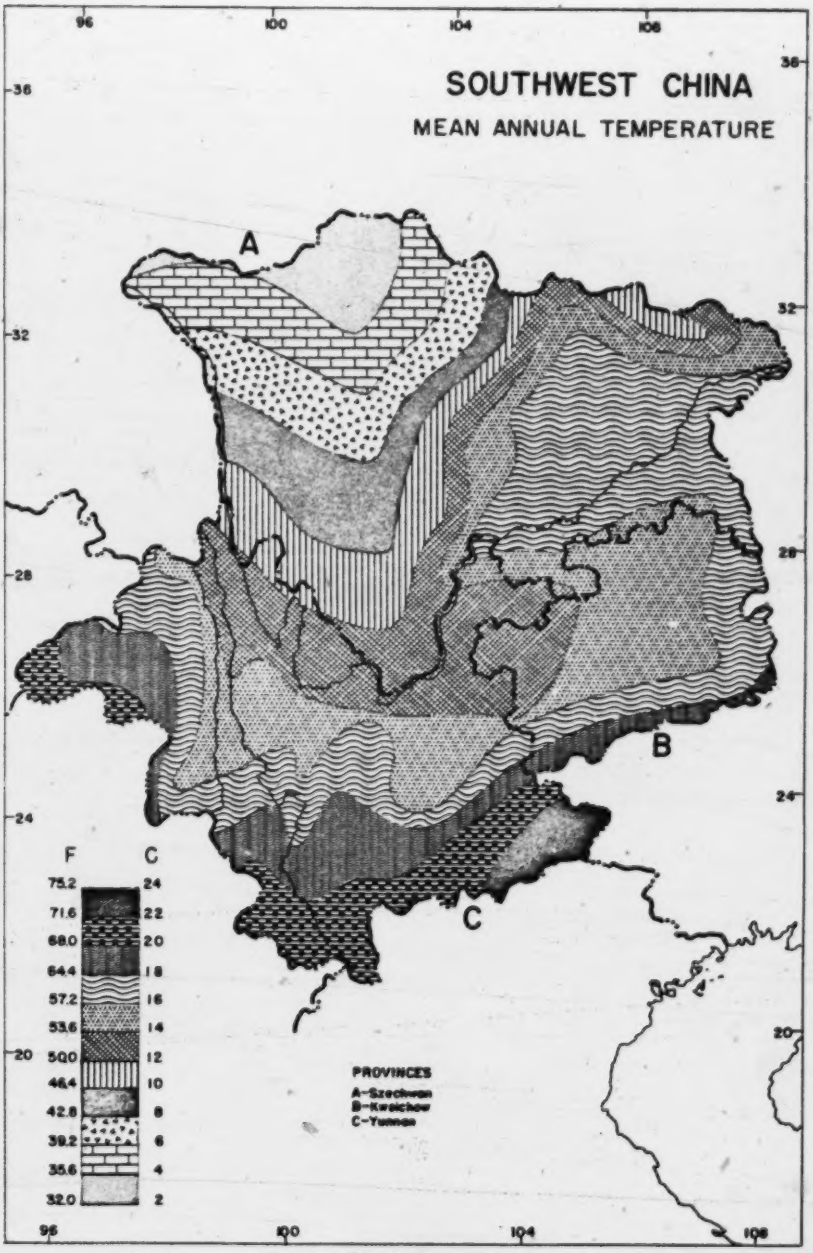

[facing p. 1 (c)]

133 the riparian "rice-bowl" section of Hunan
311 Province to the east. The Chung-pa Plain, northeast of Chengtu in the same province, is
133 another extensive flatland. Outside the basin, the plains are scattered and consist of high valleys between towering mountains or "grasslands" on the Tibet-Sikang highland. The expansive valley around Kweiyang, provincial capital of Kweichow, for example, is about 1,000 meters (3,200 ft.) above sea level. Similar in nature is the Kunming plain, except that it rises to a height of 2,000 meters (6,400 ft.). Farther north are the flat stretches around Pa-an (or Pa-t'ang) on the former Ch'ang-tu--Sikang border, which is an open section of the Golden Sand River valley, rising 2,600-3,000 meters (8,360-9,600 ft.).[7] Many small lakes are found in these plains. The Szechwan Basin, with its lattice work of waterways, is without lakes, but Yunnan, Kweichow, and the former Sikang Province have many. Ts'ao-hai Lake in Kweichow and Erh-hai and T'ien-ch'ih lakes in Yunnan, are noted bodies of water. Warm springs also abound in these two provinces.

132 C. Climate

The climatic zones in this region are best

7. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

/32 described in terms of relative elevation. This is especially true in western Szechwan, where warmer climatic conditions are noted in the valleys below 1,500 meters (4,800 ft.), and the few rare land depressions about 900 meters (2,880 ft.) show semitropical characteristics. Places averaging 3,000 meters (9,600 ft.) in elevation are cool, and no warm season can be observed at 4,800 meters (15,360 ft.) and above.[8]

On the highland wind and rain come in their own peculiar manner. During the day the wind blows down the valley but reverses its direction at dusk. Hailstorms frequently accompany the wind.[9] Flat grasslands offer no shelter when howling gusts strike with resounding violence. Travelers, who must camp in the open because few villages are within a day's walking distance of each other, find that it is an ordeal to keep their tents from being snatched away. Winds usually start in mid-morning and rapidly gain in velocity after the noon hour, making it most unpleasant for travelers who must fight the wind and breathe the thin air at altitudes of 6,000-7,000 meters (19,200-22,400 ft.).

The heaviest annual rainfall of 1,790 millimeters (70 in.) is recorded in the lower

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8. Ibid., pp. 30-36.

9. Fang Te, Sui-chün Ju Tsang Chi [Entering Tibet with the Army], Peking, Kung-jen ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 41.

•/32 Ya-lung River valley, with the greatest amount falling during June-September. North of the Ya-lung River the precipitation decreases; it reaches 300 millimeters (about 12 in.) in the high northwestern grasslands.[10]

In southwestern Yunnan the V-shaped river valleys become more pronounced, and in some places it is over two miles from the top of the mountain to the bottom of the valley. Near the bottoms of these valleys the climate is tropical. Wind rarely visits the surface of the rivers, leaving the air there stagnant and sultry; bacteria and disease carriers thrive.[11] Central and eastern Yunnan areas enjoy moderate weather all year long. The entire province of Kweichow is in the temperate zone; snow is rarely seen in winter except on high mountain peaks, and even the hottest summer days allow the comfort of cool mornings and evenings. Rain in this zone averages between 1,000 and 1,500 millimeters (39-58 in.) a year, the greatest amount falling in summer. The almost perpetually blue skies of Yunnan are in sharp contrast to the dull skies of Kweichow which are so often hidden under a grey overcast.

The Szechwan Basin is well known for its

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10. Cressey, op. cit., p. 384.
11. Chiang Chün-chang, op. cit., pp. 30-36.

132 fog which blankets the entire area from October through April. As soon as the fog lifts, it is summer. Warm days, with temperatures around 26° C (78° F), continue for five months. Sufficient rainfall (about 1,000-1,800 mm. or 39-70 in.) throughout the year makes the basin well suited for farming.

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Table 1. Climate at Selected Localities*

Locality	Average Temperature (F) January	Average Temperature (F) July	Rainfall (inches) Annual Average	Rainfall (inches) Rainy Season
Kung-ko (on border between Yunnan and former Sikang)	24	64	42	June-July
K'ang-ting (in central-east of former Sikang)	30	69	75	June-July
Sung-p'an (northwestern Szechwan)	27	60	35	July
Chengtu (on Szechwan Plain)	45	78	55	July-August

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Table 1. (continued)

Kunming (lake region of Yunnan)	48	73	42	July-August
T'eng-ch'ung (western Yunnan)	27	69	59	June-August
Kweiyang (central Kweichow)	37	72	48	September-October

* Based on Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Ko Sui-ch'eng, op. cit., chap IV, p. 102, chap. III, p. 241; Cressey, op. cit., pp. 76-79; Mei Hsin-ju, Hsi-k'ang [Sikang], Nanking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1939, p. 10.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

rising to over 20,000 feet into an azure sky, while Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv rears its snowy head high over the crags and pinnacles forming the last of the spur to the west, at the foot of which the Yangtze roars some 10,000 feet or more below, ever carving a deeper and deeper gorge. Range upon range is visible, as well as the Yangtze in its trench at Ta-ku after it emerges from the gorge between Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv and the crags of 'A-ts'an-gko. 133* 137* 487*

From 15,500 feet on, the grade is gentle and the going is good. We continue on the top of the wide spur leading to the broad peak, over thousands of tiny, loose, sharp limestone rocks. The entire surface of the hard limestone has been split into myriads of fragments by the action of the ice. The wall of rock which forms the eastern part of the gorge is cleaved several feet deep into a forest of columns as if the entire surface had been chopped up with a giant's axe. From the summit down to 17,000 feet the broad spur is buried beneath a massive glacier, the ice lying in folds like the train of a wedding garment (PLATE 87). The rocks here change in shape, resembling angular sticks several feet in length, and only about two inches in width. They lie about parallel to each other, having been split by the action of severe frosts and ice. Quartz is not uncommon here, also iron-bearing rock and pure white marble. The ascent to the summit of this mountain can easily be accomplished, one needs only follow the western outer edge or rampart which hems in the glacier, and which is usually free of snow. The only obstacles are the terrific gales which blow over these mountains, whirling the snow in huge columns like smoke into the air. If one wishes to ascend Gyi-nà nv-lv, camp should be pitched in the gorge west of it, on a broad shelf or terrace, suitable for a camp, a little below 16,000 feet. At 14,500 feet and even higher we found *Lerwa Lerwa major* on the rocky, barren waste and also several snow chickens, *Tetragallus tibetanus henrici*, neither hitherto recorded from Yün-nan.

6. THE REGION BETWEEN TA-KU (NDA-GV) AND GKO-NDZA-GKV

Ta-ku and the many small villages belonging to it are collectively called Ta-chü li 大具里. Ta-ku itself is situated on a fan-shaped plain mainly composed of conglomerate. To the west the plain is bordered by the Gyi-nà nv-lv and the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河. The Yangtze emerges here from the terrific gorge which it has cut for itself through the Li-chiang snow range, and flows east for a short distance through the conglomerate plain and then north at the foot of a mighty range — the Dzu-k'u nv-lv as it is called by the Na-khi of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr. The plain through which the Yangtze flows, 600 feet below the main village of Ta-ku, drops in terraces towards the river. It is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, except for a few Chinese settlers. The climate is warm enough for two crops to mature in one year. Wheat, panicled millet (*shu* 黍), cotton, rice and maize are grown. Out of the millet stalks they make sugar known as Sha-t'ang 砂糖. *Cannabis sativa*, the *ma* 麻 (hemp plant) which the Na-khi call *ssaw*, is much cultivated, especially the female plant which gives better fibre and which they call *ssaw-mă*. 133* [132] 241

Ta-ku is 140 li north of Li-chiang. To the west of the village is a large spring called Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 (Dragon spring); in the days of a native official, its water was conveyed in irrigation ditches to the higher fields. Near the [132] 133* 137*

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101 Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

*133 The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

● 132 *133 The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 漾江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

131 To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

nese. He was the descendant of a military officer placed there by the ancient Na-khi chiefs to rule the district.[25] His son has now succeeded him. His power extends to the Ch'iu Chiang 沐江, whence the Ch'iu-tzu 沐子 tribe pay him tribute-taxes in kind.[26] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* mentions as first ancestor a certain Wang Lien 王連 who ruled as sergeant at K'ang-p'u, (see page 296); the Wang family apparently moved to Yeh-chih later. 622

Following along the sandy stream-bed on the edge of the fields for about two li, we reach the hamlet of Yeh-chih. The T'u-ssu has a very spacious mansion and was a very hospitable host, and a friend of the foreigner. Mr. George Forrest, the English botanist, owed his life to him when he was pursued by the lamas of A-tun-tzu and other lamaseries in 1905, and even saw the venerable Père Dubernard murdered in cold blood at Tz'u-ku, where the Catholic mission used to be. At the time of my visit in 1923 the T'u-ssu was 65 years of age. In the rear of his yamen is a private chapel, where a lama prays and beats the drum and blows his conchshell for the spiritual benefit of the T'u-ssu and his household. 487* 133* 137*

East of Yeh-chih is a peculiar mountain range, purple in color and much eroded. It is the Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山 (White cliff Mountain) which extends from north of Yeh-chih to below K'ang-p'u. To the west of Yeh-chih, forming the Mekong — Salween divide, is the Nu Shan 怒山, which extends from north of Yeh-chih to south of Wei-hsi. The southern part of this mountain, back of the hamlet of Fu-ch'uan 富川, on the west bank of the Mekong, is known as Fu-ch'uan Shan. North of Fu-ch'uan is the hamlet of Ch'i-p'u 其普. The Fu-ch'uan Shan is a wonderful botanical collecting ground, as is the entire Mekong — Salween divide in Yün-nan and Tibet. It is south of the Wei-hsi district border.

The climate of Yeh-chih is warm, but in the three winter months all the surrounding mountains are covered with snow, which even in the spring does not melt. In September heavy frosts begin, but the climate of Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, is much hotter in the summertime. 132

[25] PÈRE F. GORÉ in his *Notes sur les Marches Tibétaines*, Hanoi, 1923, p. 47, calls him Nou Koua, chief of the Nou or Lou-tseu. This is, however, erroneous, for Mun-kwua is a Na-khi term meaning "Soldier Governor." There were only two Mun-kwua, one at Yeh-chih, the other at O-yü on the Zho Chhu and they were the highest-ranking officials after the chief at Li-chiang.

[26] The father of the late Mun-kwua was a great friend of the conqueror of the Ta-li Mohammedans, the famous Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科. He was assassinated in 1871 while carrying out the latter's orders to subjugate the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, one stage south of A-tun-tzu. Although the Chinese revenged his death, it was not sufficient for the new Mun-kwua, the son of the victim, for he called out 2,000 Li-su who, prior to marching forth, drank fresh bull's blood, swearing vengeance. They brought destruction to all the villages controlled by the Hung-p'o lamas to within sight of the village of Tz'u-ku 茨故, but spared the Christians and the Catholic missions. They drove off the flocks of the peasants and the latter they carried off into slavery.

All foreigners who passed through Yeh-chih have only kind words and praise for the Mun-kwua. T. T. COOPER, who travelled through his territory in 1868 when Ta-li was in the hands of the Moslems, and when his way south was barred, enjoyed the hospitality of the father of the late Mun-kwua Wang Tsan-ch'en, and has the highest praise for him and his relatives. Even the Catholic priests, when expelled from Tz'u-ku, found refuge with the Mun-kwua, who was their friend.

8: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

527 of a buffalo round the principal streets of the town for two or three hours. Inside the buffalo and the man are twelve little buffaloes and twelve little men, or should the year contain thirteen months, as it sometimes does, there are thirteen of them. The next day the two images are broken, and the little buffaloes and little men are taken out and one of each is presented to the principal officials and other leading men of the place, who have to make a money present in return. This ceremony appears to be a representation of the birth of the New Year. The particular colour that the man and the buffalo are to be painted each year is communicated officially from Peking.

132 The amount of snow to be found on the Ta-li mountains is a subject on which former travellers have differed, so I made enquiries about it. Mr Smith told me that the snow on the range is only visible from below during the winter months, but that in the deep ravines and crevices near the top of the range it is to be found all the year round, and it is brought down and sold in the town to cool water with in the hot weather. A little snow occasionally falls in the Ta-li plain, but it never lies long.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

downhill passing a most remarkable temple, called Ch'a-fang-ssŭ, built on a ledge in a precipitous rock which rises sheer some 300 feet.

During this descent the Yang-pi River is seen on the left hand running most unexpectedly in a north-easterly direction. It makes a very sharp bend in this part of its course and afterwards again comes round into its original southerly direction. The Yang-pi is at the ferry 130 yards wide, with a moderate current, but a little lower down it gets squeezed in between the hills again, and becomes narrower, deeper, and more rapid. It is crossed by a rather shaky bamboo raft, and a few hundred yards of steep ascent brings one to Hsin-niu-kai, where there is a dilapidated official rest-house.

133 The people of this village are Chinese, not Lo-los, and from here on to Shun-ning the inhabitants are principally Chinamen. The height of the Yang-pi here is 3,900 feet, a fall of more than 1,200 feet from where we had last crossed [132] it on the Yung-ch'ang-Ta-li road. The climate at this low elevation is much warmer than most places in this part of the country and the opium crop was nearly ripe, whereas at Ta-li and other higher lying plains it was only just showing above the ground.

823 The river in this part of its course is not known to the Chinese as the Yang-pi Ho. The people here seem to have no name for it but call it vaguely the Ta Ho or Big River. In fact the Chinese very seldom give names to their rivers, but call them after the nearest town or important village through which they pass. Nearly all rivers thus have different names in different parts of their course. This according to our ideas of geography is extremely inconvenient, so I have thought it best to adhere to the name of Yang-pi River.

136 I had had scarcely any shooting so far, but on this march I first had an unsuccessful stalk after two barking deer, and afterwards shot a hen pheasant (*Phasianus elegans*), one of nine or ten that got up.

000 On the 11th we had an uphill road, climbing the Ta-chin Shan, a hill with a conspicuous pagoda on its summit. We left this pagoda on our left hand and followed a narrow path cut out of an almost precipitous hill-side to the village

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 find the exact time at the moment of the mean of all the taps. The difference between the mean of the times of sending the taps and the mean of the times of receiving them would, when corrected for the error of the watches, give the difference of time, and therefore the difference of longitude.

Subsequently, in this and the following winter, we took the longitudes of several other towns and by thus getting a few fixed points have I hope added materially to the accuracy of the map of Yün-nan.

• 132 The climate of T'êng-yüeh at this time of year we found extremely pleasant. It froze every night and was quite cold all day. Should a railway ever be made from Bhamo, it would be easy to find an excellent sanatorium for the people of Burma in the neighbourhood of T'êng-yüeh.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

719 The nominal head of the arsenal was also in charge of the Yün-nan telegraphs. He was a stout, pleasant old Manchu gentleman, who did not pretend to know anything whatever about either telegraphs or arsenals.

132 The weather since we left Ch'u-hsiung had been getting a little warm, but in Yün-nan Fu we had quite a change. A heavy thunderstorm ended in a fall of snow, which lay on the ground two inches deep for some hours. The height of Yün-nan Fu I made 6,700 feet, and its climate is never hot, 85° in the shade being about the maximum summer temperature. There are frosts in winter, but no very severe weather is ever experienced.

312 here asked us to show them where to dig for water. The Chinese often credited us with the power of seeing what is under the earth. I suppose the idea is derived from embroidered narratives of the exploits of mining engineers.

The next march, over a dry, hilly country, brought us to Yao-chan, where we halted for a day as Watts-Jones had to go up a hill to the east to get a better idea of the 316 lie of the country. I took the opportunity to go up another hill to the west to do some surveying, and to visit a copper mine about two miles off.

This mine, they say, was formerly very productive and 2000 men are said to have found employment here. At the time of my visit there were not more than 100 miners at work. They live in little huts scattered about the valley, and there are three furnaces constantly kept burning to smelt the ore they dig out. The ore is mined out of the solid rock of which the hill is formed. There are no deep shafts: they cut caves out of the hillside, and the miners often live in the caves they are working in. They use hammers and iron wedges, and they say a man can get out a mule load of ore in two days. The ore varies a good deal in quality, and is sold for from two to seven mace a mule load. Taking a load as 130 lbs., this comes to from sixpence to one and ninepence for 100 lbs. The best ore is of a purple colour and is said to produce 10 per cent. of copper.

The lessee of the mine pays 500 or 600 taels a year to the Government for the right of smelting, and the miners are obliged to sell the ore to the lessee. The copper produced is sent to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province, and is there used for coining into cash.

• 132 The hill-tops in this part of the country rise to about 8000 feet, and they all had snow on them, which, combined with a biting north wind, made this one of the coldest days I have ever felt in western China.

361 On the 21st April we crossed a range, and skirting the edge of a large lake reached Wei-ning Chou, which is built on its further shore. The walls enclose a large space, but it is chiefly filled with temples, including a very large red Confucian temple. There are not more than 600 houses in the place, half within the walls and half without.

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361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 plain, and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung Fu and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal food of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants here and very little trade is done except in the necessaries of life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there are come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in the mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good communications these could no doubt be profitably worked. The height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very cold place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next day along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some more surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me over a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet for the water. I slept at Ssŭ-p'u at 8000 feet. For the last few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so that it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere traverse of the road. This is the sort of weather which is, I believe, prevalent throughout Ssŭ-ch'uan in the cold season. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," and it is natural to suppose that the province was so named as lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great part of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village of Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, was still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties in this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning and await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most difficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been for days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it absolutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do any useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 the natives of the country. A hundred men or so would collect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

316 Lake Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley
505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent
137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

000 The next day, the 24th, we crossed the watershed between the Mekong and the Black River at 7,500 feet, and on Christmas Day reached Hsin-fu. The village contains only 30 houses, and is built on the Pa-pien Ho, a river 50 yards wide, which is the upper part of the Black River of Tong-king.

753 The height of Hsin-fu is only 3,400 feet, and the whole of this part of the Black River valley has a bad reputation
764 for unhealthiness. The Hsün-chien, the small official who is in charge of the district, had just died and was in his coffin in the room of the temple I was sleeping in, awaiting removal to his native place for burial.

132 Certainly I did not find the Black River valley a pleasant climate even at this time of year. At night the thermometer would go down to 40°, and there would be a nasty cold mist till the sun broke through about ten o'clock, when it would become decidedly hot. But in justice to this valley I should mention that Turner and Ker were travelling in it for some days in the height of the rainy season, and that none of their party, which included several Chinamen, suffered at all from fever. So healthy are the great part of the uplands of Yün-nan, that the Chinese of that province are apt to condemn as unfit to live in any place where it is possible to get fever.

000 For two days from Hsin-fu we followed down the Pa-pien valley, but keeping generally some way off the actual river. An uninteresting country, very thinly populated by Chinese and K'a-tus. Later on in March and April there is a good deal of traffic in P'u-êrh tea along this road, but at this time of year there is no trade except in salt carried by men on foot from Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh.

317 Leaving the Pa-pien valley altogether on the 28th, we turned more westward and the next day reached Mo-hei, a large village with an important salt well which supplies a very large part of southern Yün-nan.

Here our route joined the main road from Yün-nan Fu to P'u-êrh Fu, and the next day, crossing a range at just over 6000 feet, we dropped down into the P'u-êrh plain.

206 The only apparent change in P'u-êrh since I was there five years before was the establishment of a telegraph
000 office. In the evening I spent several hours at the office

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Pai-i AE7

S 291 563 of about a foot, hanging down over their necks just after the fashion of the Kachin girls of the Burmese frontier. The K'a-tu women are distinguished from the other two tribes by wearing trousers, and by little metal ornaments which hang down from the front of their turbans. These three tribes are known to the Chinese by the name of Wo-ni.

000 From T'a-lang the main road to the capital crosses the Red River at Yuän-chiang Chou and passes through Hsi-o and Hsin-hsing, but this route had been taken by Turner and Ker the previous year. To avoid known ground I took a road through Hsin-p'ing Hsien to Yi-mên-Hsien, passing through a piece of country quite blank on the maps.

S 563 Our route led us in a northerly direction over the usual mountainous country, and on the second day we crossed the watershed of the Black River and Red River at 7,500 feet. Our camp that night was at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village inhabited by genuine Lo-los, not Wo-nis. They say they migrated here from the Ch'u-hsiung-Fu district three generations ago. Besides Lo-los there are Wo-nis in this part of the country, and also two other tribes, K'u-tsung[1] and Lo-pi, of whom I have never heard in other districts. S I believe them to be connected with the Wo-ni race.

• 132 We had been experiencing quite warm weather lately, and this hot climate seems to be a peculiarity of the Black River basin, for the morning at Ma-lu-t'ang, which lies on the Red River side of the watershed, was cold and frosty. In two more days we reached the Red River at Mo-sha. It is from 70 to 100 yards wide, flowing through bare reddish coloured hills, but just here passing through a S plain four miles wide.

P 291 This Mo-sha plain is at a level of only 1,650 feet, the lowest I have ever been in Yün-nan, except on the very borders of Burma or Tong-king. It is inhabited by Shans, who have however no sawbwa of their own. The women have a very peculiar dress, quite different to that of any Shans I have seen elsewhere. Their blue jackets have red cuffs, and they wear a red band of cloth round the waist. Both jacket and petticoat are much ornamented round the

[1] Not to be confused with Ku-tsung, a name the Chinese of Yün-nan apply to Tibetans.

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S P 291

edges with stripes of red, white, and yellow. To complete the costume a very short jacket similarly ornamented is also often worn over the other jacket.

S P 771

But the most remarkable thing about these Shans is that they are not Buddhists, but spirit worshippers. They are the only non-Buddhist Shans I have ever come across, except a few scattered families of the race whom I found in northern Yün-nan and in Tibetan Ssŭ-ch'uan. They have possibly lived so far from the influence of both Burma and Siam that Buddhism has never reached them. By Buddhism I do not of course refer to the religion of China, but to the Burmese form of Buddhism which is so universal among the Shans of Yün-nan.

S P 342

The houses at Mo-sha are built of soft mud bricks and have flat roofs made with timber, covered with earth. These flat roofs are a peculiarity of the Hsin-p'ing Hsien district, in which we had now arrived. Chinese, Lo-los, and Shans all build alike, and use their roofs to sit on, and also as a place to stack wood and straw. This style of building I do not remember to have seen anywhere else in Yün-nan. We slept at Ta-t'ien-fang, a village which lies up a little side valley, and is called Ho-nam-tok by the Shans.

S 132

The next morning, the 11th January, we had a very steep climb up to Chiu-ti-mo, the road at one time rising 1,400 feet in a mile. We were here wrapped in dense mist, which did not clear till just before sunset. The mist in the Red River valley is curious. Down in the plain the air is quite clear and dry. The bottom of the mist is at about 3000 feet in the morning, extending up to 5000 feet. It then gradually rises till its top reaches 7000 feet, and it does not disappear till late in the afternoon. Villages like Chiu-ti-mo, which are at about 5000 feet, live in almost perpetual damp and darkness, and the mist makes it very cold all day.

000

Crossing a range we reached Hsin-p'ing the next day. The place lies far from all main roads, and the populace had apparently never seen a European before[1]. They had got wind of our coming, and the whole population lined the

[1] M. Rocher I find visited this town in 1872.

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000 some miles, and then came into a valley which runs by a most precipitous gorge into the Yangtze. Where the plateau ends is a fine waterfall, with a sheer drop of 200 feet. A strong wind was blowing at the time, which carried the spray off quite 100 yards, and the sun shining on this turned it into a magnificent rainbow.

The road cannot follow this valley down, but turning away to the east crosses a spur at nearly 10,000 feet, and descends to K'a-hsi, where I found a very hospitable Lo-lo head-man, who put me up in his house and offered me snuff.

•132 In the morning when I got up the thermometer was down to 21°, and a bitterly cold wind and a slight fall of snow made us very glad to get down into the warmer climate of the Yangtze valley, which is at an elevation of 000 2,850 feet. The river makes a very sharp bend to the north here, not previously shown in any map, and it is at the extreme north corner of this bend that lies Hung-mên-k'ou, the ferry by which we crossed.

The width of water is about 150 yards, and the river runs with a strong current between banks which for 200 or 300 feet up from the water's edge are everywhere very steep and in most places precipitous. Even the road leading down to and up from the ferry is so steep and rocky that the mules found considerable difficulty in getting over it. The hills on each side rise to a height of 11,000 feet, and are extremely steep and a mass of rocks and stones, with a few little ledges where there is just room for a small village and a little cultivation. The very difficult nature of this part of the country quite accounts for the main road from Yün-nan Fu to Hui-li Chou making a considerable circuit to the west by Yüan-mou Hsien and Lung-kai Ferry.

After crossing in a large boat we went on three miles to Ta-p'ing-ti, the nearest village to the ferry. The Yangtze is here the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan, so we were now in the latter province. I have usually called the river the Yangtze as it is more convenient to call a river by the same name throughout its course. But to the Chinese it is here known as the Chin Chiang or Gold River. In Yün-nan Fu I have heard it called

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Continuing our journey the next day, the 17th March, 609
we passed through splendid forests along the course of a stream in which we found a party of Tibetans digging for gold. Leaving this valley we ascended another range, reaching the top at 14,500 feet. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up 500 feet higher and got a fine view of the surrounding country. In the distance to the north-west of us, two magnificent snow-covered peaks towered above the rest to a height that I should estimate as quite 20,000 feet.

From here we descended to K'u-lu[1], a village of perhaps 361
60 houses and some large monasteries, the biggest place 609
we had seen for many days. The lamas had evidently got news of our coming, for we found a man waiting for us who showed us a house, and room to camp round it, a little outside the main village.

K'u-lu was the most thoroughly Tibetan place we had 231
yet come across, and it was here that I saw yaks for the first 609
time. There was one tied up just outside our camp, which presented a curious appearance in the morning, covered with icicles hanging to its hair all over. So far I had been [32]
agreeably surprised with the warm temperature, for even at night there had only been a few degrees of frost, but here at K'u-lu at 12,500 feet it was decidedly colder, and the thermometer fell to 17°.

The people here are thoroughly Tibetan in manners 609
and customs, and very few of them understand any Chinese. They live in large well-built stone houses, calculated no [342]
doubt to keep out the cold which is probably often more severe than we found it in March.

The lamas of K'u-lu were very suspicious. They asked me to halt a day so that we might talk things over and arrange for the continuance of my journey. I did not see what in the world we had to talk about and would not agree to this.

The next morning my interpreter went to the village to see about a guide, and was asked into the monastery by the head lama. He found that dignitary having an early break-

[1] Mr Amundsen marks a place called Kang-u about where K'u-lu is. Probably Kang-u is the Tibetan and K'u-lu the Chinese name. See *Geographical Journal* for June 1900.

The name Liu-t'ou-chiang is Chinese, meaning "bridge-head river," for *liu-tzŭ* is the name by which they call the rope bridges. 000

For five more days our road lay up the valley of the Mekong, but the going was by no means flat. The hills on both sides of the river are very steep and full of landslips, the formation being loose shale. The path keeps up on the hillside, rising in places to 10,000 feet or more, and continually crossing bare brown-looking spurs.

Between these spurs are little side streams running down from the snow-covered tops of the range, and in these little valleys the villages are prettily situated, surrounded by green fields of wheat and barley, and by pear and peach trees which were then in blossom. 245

The Mekong runs for the most part between steep banks and there is practically no flat ground along it. To the west is a fine snowy range, the highest peaks of which Ryder made about 20,000 feet by observations with the long-shaped clinometer.

The Tibetan inhabitants of this valley appear well off and live in an excellent climate where it does not get extremely cold. Their houses are well built, often of three storeys, the ground floor solidly constructed of stone, and the two upper floors usually of wood. The roofs are flat, made of large beams covered over with mud, and the upper storeys are built so that they cover less space than the storey below them; thus part of the roof of one storey forms a terrace or verandah to the storey above it. [132] 342

On the 28th of April we reached Ya-k'a-lo, a straggling village of 100 houses. The place is important because of its salt wells which supply all this part of the country. 317

On our second march out of A-tun-tzŭ we had already met one French missionary, Père Bourdonnec who was on his way to Tzŭ-ku (Tse-kou according to French orthography). At Ya-k'a-lo we were to have the pleasure of finding Père Grandjean who had come from Ba-t'ang to take Père Bourdonnec's place during his absence. He took much interest in our project of getting through to Assam, though he did not give us much hope of success. We are much indebted to him for the assistance and advice he was always so ready to give us. 000

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291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

•132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

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much, and Manifold gave the little boy some medicine for warts on his fingers. 792

Ya-ra-gong is the name really of a district under Ba-t'ang and not of any particular village, but this village may be considered as the headquarters of the district, as Troi-gön, the principal monastery, which contains 300 lamas, is here. The height of the house we put up in (which is somewhat lower than the French mission) we made 11,900 feet. The climate at this time of year was very pleasant. Père Soulié told us there was a rainy season beginning in June but that the rain is not very heavy or continuous. 631 132

We stayed at Ya-ra-gong rather longer than we intended as the Gurkha naik who had been hit by a stone at the Mekong bridge was not going on very well. He had a good deal of fever and his head began to swell again. However, two days' rest did him a lot of good and he soon afterwards made a good recovery.

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APPENDIX III

THE CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS OF YÜN-NAN.

In so large a province the nature of the country and the crops grown, naturally vary somewhat, but except in the north-west corner there is a sufficiently close general resemblance between other parts of Yün-nan. 132

Let us deal first therefore with this north-west corner which in the nature of the country and of its inhabitants is purely Tibetan, forming with western Ssŭ-ch'uan that part of Tibet which is directly under Chinese rule.

Southwards the Tibetan tract extends to about the 27th parallel of latitude. North of this line is a country of very high mountain ranges, the plains even rising to from 8000 to over 12,000 feet. The climate here is naturally colder than other parts of Yün-nan, and where heights extend from 6000 feet on the river banks to over 15,000 feet on the hill-tops, it varies much in different places. At the higher altitudes snow may fall in any month of the year, and many of the passes are liable to be blocked throughout April. In the plains the climate is less severe, but except in a shut-in river bed it never becomes hot.

Parts of this country, especially the tops of the mountains, are bare and barren, but a great deal of it is clothed in fine forests of cedar, fir, and other trees. Rice cultivation hardly exists here: even the plains are too high and cold to grow it. A certain amount of maize is cultivated, but even for this a fairly warm climate is necessary, and the bulk of the crops consist of wheat and barley. Peach, walnut and other fruit trees also exist. 241 137

The cereal products of this part of Yün-nan are however scanty and poor. It is essentially a grazing country, for good grass is to be found nearly the whole year round. 233

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166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 439 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 312 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

•132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

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to 33 degrees North. It has a mild winter with little or no frost 132
or snow, and a warm summer. The average annual precipitation in most parts of the Basin is about 34 inches, with some rain in every month. The summer months, however, have more rain than the winter months. There is almost continuous high relative humidity, and wind, on the whole, is conspicuous by its absence.[1]

The Basin is drained and practically bisected by the 133
Yangtse River. The Yangtse enters the Basin at the southwest and leaves it at the northeast. Within the Basin, the Yangtse is fed by three sets of tributaries--one from the north, one from the northwest, and one from the south. The northern and northwestern tributaries rise in the high mountains which rim the north and northwestern part of the Basin, and their flow greatly exceeds that of the southern set of tributaries. On the whole, the Basin, with its hilly terrain, is well drained. In fact, problems of erosion are much more acute than problems of drainage.

Generally speaking, the soils of the Basin fall into two 134
main groups. One is the extraordinarily fertile soil of the Chengtu Plain and the other is the moderately fertile soil known as the "purple-brown (forest)" type,[2] which dominates in most parts of the Basin. The Chengtu Plain soil is derived from the alluvial deposits of the Min River. The richness of this soil is greatly enhanced by its annual renewal through the overflow of the Min. The Chengtu Plain soil is noted for its very dark color, great depth, and rich humus content. The "purple-brown" type, developed in deciduous forests growing on parental material derived from the friable, cretaceous shales and sandstones, is only moderately fertile for agricultural use. This soil is noted especially for its loose texture and easily-eroded qualities. Moreover, this soil has a peculiar characteristic of absorbing and loosing (evaporating) water quickly.[3] One evening's thick fog may cause the whole depth of the surface soil to be thoroughly moistened and saturated, whereas a continuation of clear sky for several days may cause the soil to dry up and crack. In general, the "purple-

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Annual weather report (Szechuan, 1939), p. 29.

[2]J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China (1936), p. 200.

[3]H. Yu, "A Preliminary Observation of the Purple-Brown Soils of Szechuan Province," Soils Quarterly, January, 1941, p. 39.

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success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

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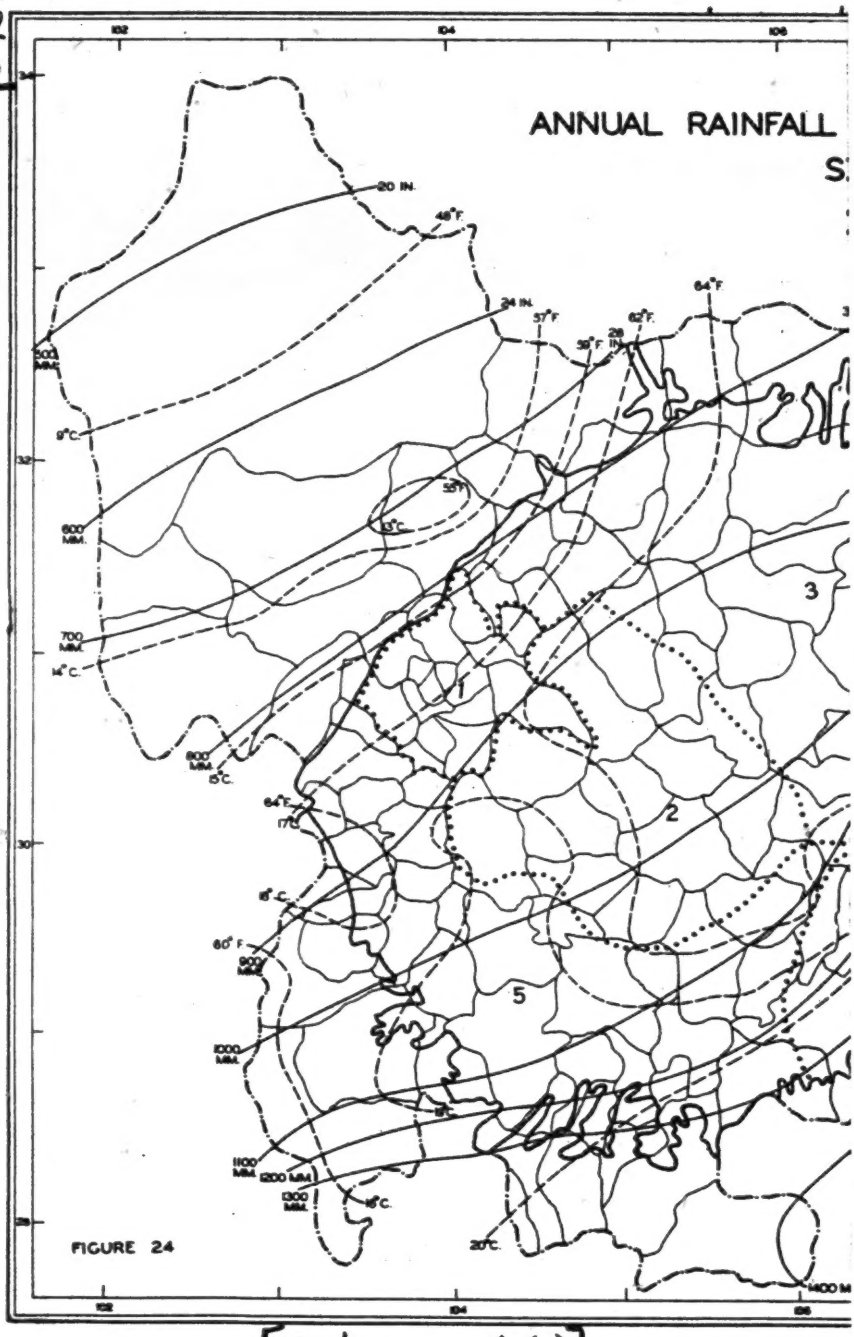

FIGURE 24

[End map 9 (a)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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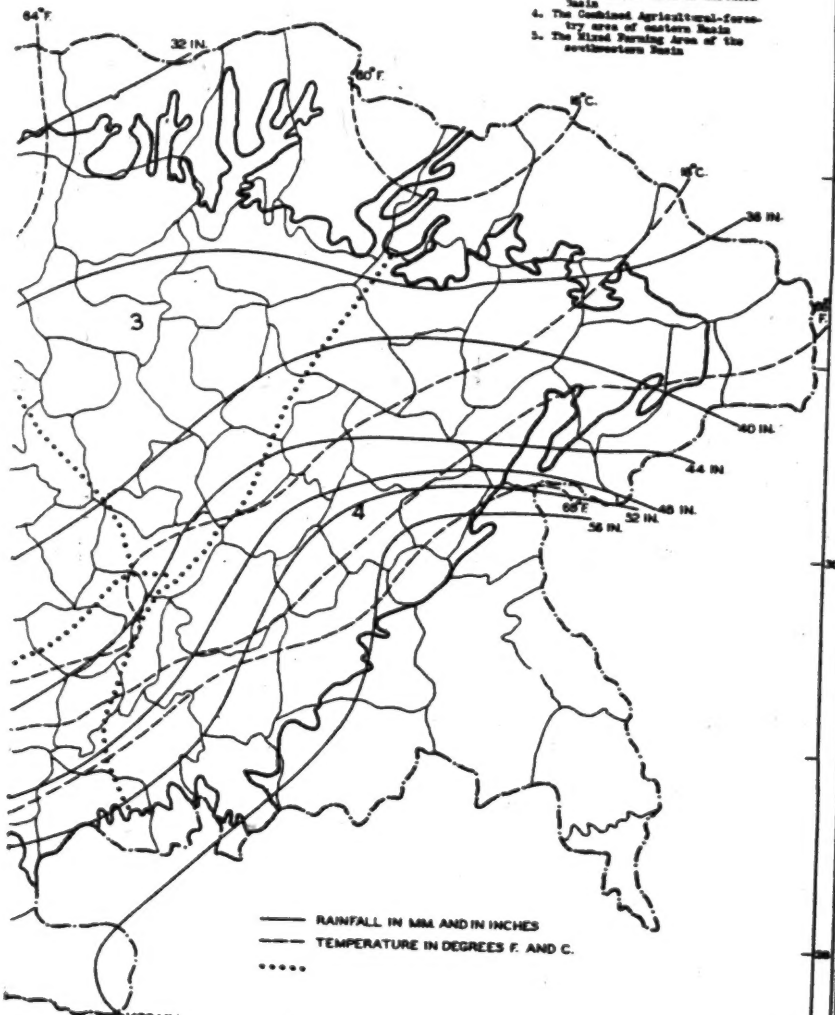
RAINFALL AND MARCH OF TEMPERATURE
SZECHUAN BASIN

Principal Agricultural Areas

1. The General Grain Farming Area of Chengtu Plain
2. The Specialized Commercial Agricultural area of Yu-Pen Valleys
3. The Self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of northern Basin
4. The Combined Agricultural-forestry area of eastern Basin
5. The Mixed Farming Area of the southwestern Basin



[End map 1 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

C. Agricultural Land-Use in Relation to Natural Elements

1. Agricultural Land-Use and Climatic Conditions

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Szechuan Basin has a unique climate. This climate is dictated more by its topography than by its latitudinal position.[1] To be specific, there are three chief factors affecting the climate: (1) the location in the interior of an extensive continent and a minimum of marine influence; (2) the surrounding high mountain ranges (these afford protection particularly against the strong Siberian and central Asiatic winds [by the Tsing-ling range to the north], as well as considerable protection against the monsoon [by the Taliang-shan and the Hsiao-Liang-shan to the south]); (3) the relatively high elevation above the sea (the average is about 1,250 feet and thus the Basin's summer climate is tempered considerably). The combined operation of these three factors has accounted for the exceptionally mild (for its latitude), cloudy, humid, and almost windless Szechuan climate. Especially the "Basin" character (surrounded by lofty ranges) of the Basin has cut down considerably the intensity of solar radiation and consequently the low evaporation rate. The two foregoing factors, in turn, cause the always cloudy skies and humid weather in the Basin.

The actual climatic conditions of the Szechuan Basin may be understood by separately considering "temperature," "rainfall," "evaporation and humidity."[2]

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[1]The Basin's northern-most boundary lies at latitude 32 N., corresponding to the latitude of Nanking; and its southern-most boundary lies at 26 N., corresponding to Foochow along the south China coast.

[2]The weather record throughout the Basin is rather a recent affair. With the exception of Chungking, which has a record of over forty years (kept by Customs) and Chengtu, which has a record of a little over ten years, most of the stations were established only during the last few years. In 1936, the Bureau of Reconstruction of the Szechuan Provincial Government established weather stations at Lo-shan, Nei-chiang, and Suining. Later, in 1937, more weather stations were established at Wan-hsien, I-ping, Ta-hsien, Yu-hsien, Lu-hsien, Ya-an, O-mei, and Sung-pang. The ultimate objective of this program is to establish, if possible, one weather station at each Hsien (district) throughout the province. The lack of long-range weather data has handicapped considerably any satisfactory discussion of the climate of the Basin. But, in spite of this fact, the present data, as presented here (Fig. 24), do give us a much better idea of what the climatic conditions of the Basin are than otherwise could have been possible.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

a) Temperature.--First of all, the temperature varies considerably within the Basin. The isotherm of the average annual temperature, running in a northwest-southeast direction, in most cases decreases from northwest to southeast (Fig. 24). The temperature is usually mild, as compared with other places having the same latitude. For instance, in the coldest month (January), Chengtu has an average temperature of 5.5 degrees C. (42° F.) (Fig. 22); and the January average for Chungking runs as high as 8.8 degrees C. (48° F.) (Fig. 23 and Table 3). These temperature readings are much higher than places of approximately the same latitude or points even slightly farther north in other parts of China.[1] The average for the hottest months through most parts of the Basin is generally around 28-29 degrees C. (82-84° F.). Thus the typical annual average range is about 4.4 degrees C. (40° F.). The record for the hottest day in the Basin seldom runs higher than 35 degrees C. (95° F.), and the coldest day very rarely drops below freezing. This gives an absolute annual range of about 15.5 degrees C. (60° F.). In most parts of the Basin, the average annual temperature is between 17 and 18 degrees C. (62 and 64° F.) (Fig. 24). 132

According to the reports of the last ten years (1929-39), Chengtu had an average of about ten days of frost per year, while Chungking had an average of only two days of frost during the same period. For the Basin as a whole (with the exception of isolated hilly areas), the frost-free season, or the growing season, is about 340 days per year. But many parts of the Basin are practically frost-free all the year round. The mildness of the climate certainly has a great deal to do with the agricultural prosperity of the Basin.

b) Rainfall.--Rainfall is a second major element in the climate of the Szechuan Basin. The total annual rainfall throughout the Basin is fairly sufficient for agricultural production. It ranges from 500 millimeters in the northwest to 1,400 millimeters in the southeast (Fig. 24). There are some exceptional cases at the fringes of the Basin. The wettest place on record

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[1] Shanghai, 3.3° C.; Nanking, 2.2° C.; Hankow, 2.9° C.; Changsha, 4.1° C.; Hankow, 1.2° C.; Wenchow, 7.2° C.; all these cities of about approximately the same latitude or slightly higher northward have lower January averages in temperature than that of both Chungking and Chengtu (cf. Report of the Central Meteorological Station [Nanking, 1936]).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 22

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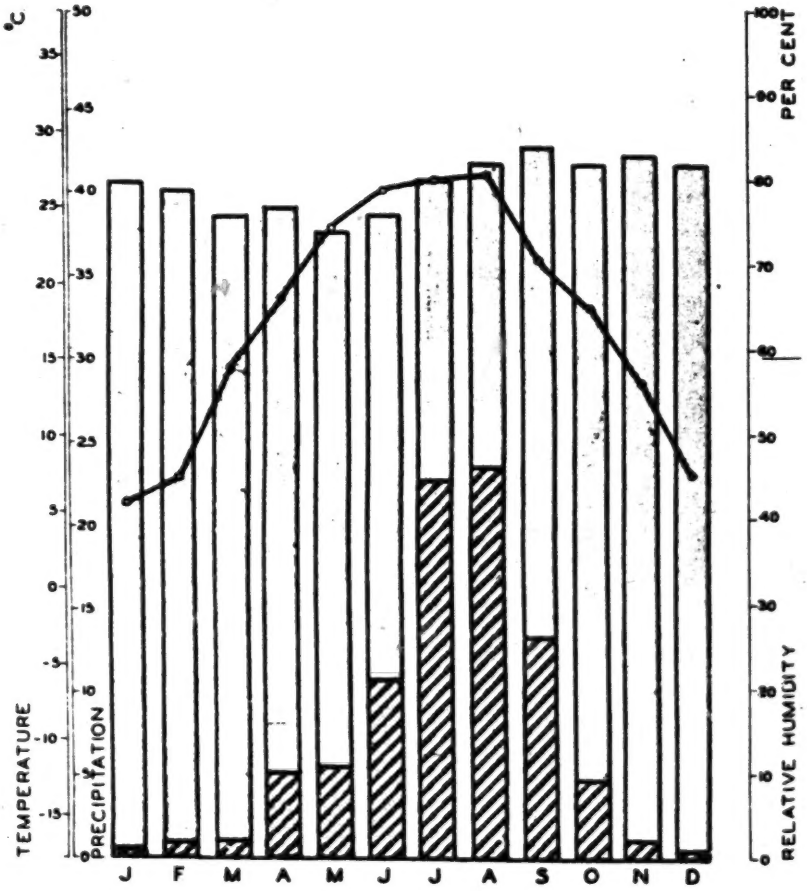
CLIMATIC DATA OF CHENGTU

1929-1939



[Face p.47(a)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 23

CLIMATIC DATA OF CHUNGKING

1913 - 1939

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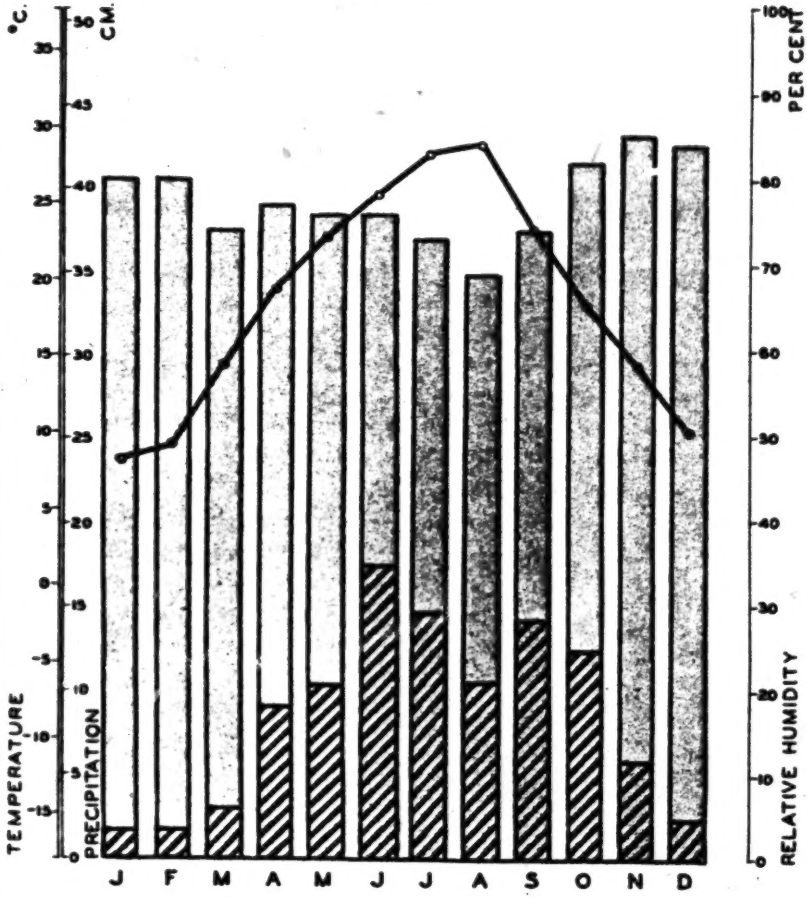

[Face p. 47 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 25

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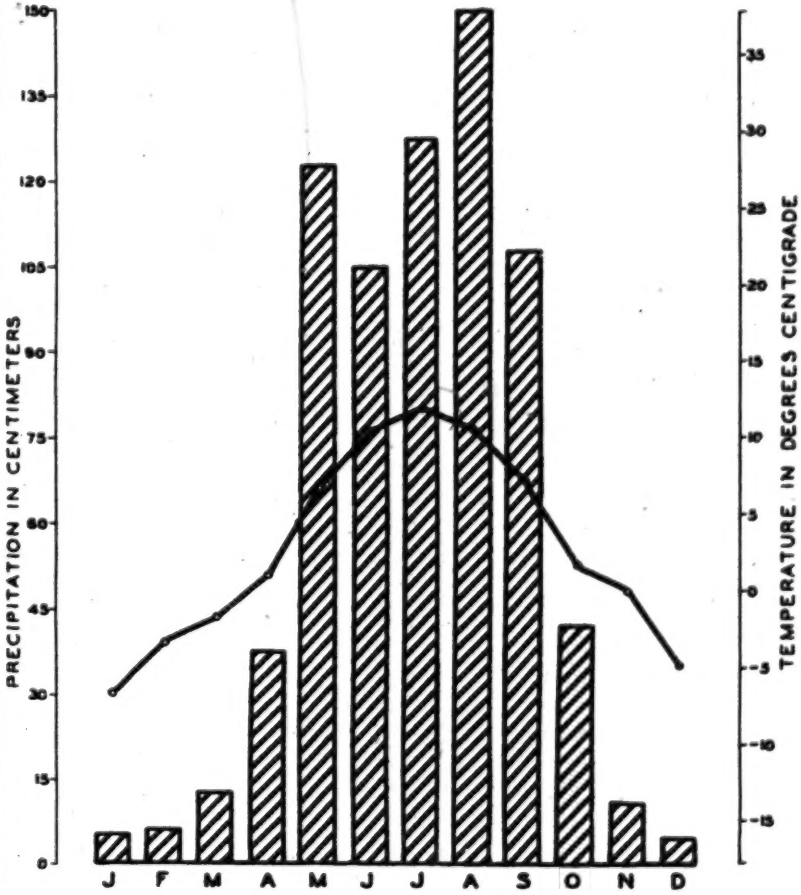
CLIMATIC DATA OF OMEISHAN

1932 - 1933



[Face p. 48]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•132 (on the basis of the record of thirteen months, 1932-33), is Omei Shan, which is over 3,000 meters in elevation and has a total annual rainfall of over 7,700 millimeters (Fig. 25).[1]

The isohets generally have a northwest to southeast direction. The amount of rainfall increases from northwest to southeast (Fig. 24). In the northern part of Sun-pang district, the rainfall runs as low as 500 millimeters, while in the areas of Peng-shui, Feng-tu, Yu-yang, and Siu-shan the rainfall runs as high as 1,400 millimeters (Fig. 24). The average annual rainfall in most parts of the Basin is between 850 and 950 millimeters (34-38 inches) or thereabouts.

A major portion of the rainfall comes during the summer. However, unlike many other parts of China, particularly the lower and central Yangtse Valley, which is dominated by the monsoon influence, the summer rainy season in the Basin is much longer, and the rainfall is much more evenly distributed throughout the year. For example, the rainy season of Chungking (Table 3) begins generally about the early part of April and ends in the later part of October. The seasonal distribution (in percentage) of annual rainfall in Chungking is as follows (Table 3): Spring, 26 per cent; summer, 41 per cent; autumn, 28 per cent; and winter, 5 per cent. The rainy season is thus definitely longer than in the areas of the central and lower Yangtse Valley.

Moreover, the manner of rainfall and the number of rainy days is even more significant than the total amount and the seasonal distribution. In the Basin the rainfall seldom comes in torrent, but generally falls in a moderate flow, almost in a mist. Consequently, with the given amount of rainfall, the rainy days are many and long-drawn out (Table 3). For instance, in Chungking, Chengtu, and many other areas of the Basin, during the rainy season, generally between the later part of May and the early part of September, the rainy and cloudy days may run as many as 15-20 days per month (Table 3).

c) Evaporation and humidity.--Ordinarily, in most parts of the Basin, noted for its cloudiness and known as the "cloudy province," the sky remains overcast most (over 70 per cent) of the time during the year. Sun is a rarity in this part of the world. The proverb, "shu chuan fei jih," literally meaning "the Szechuan

[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Annual Weather Report (1936).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

132 dog barks at the sun," is a good testimony to the truth of this generalization. Here, the air is still, and the evaporation rate is low most of the time.

These natural phenomena have a vital practical importance to the prosperity of the agricultural land-use in the Basin. The penetrating and soaking effect of the misty rain on the friable and soft sandstones and shales has hastened weathering and quickened soil renewal. On the other hand, the loose, friable, and shallow purple-brown soils of the Basin are singularly susceptible to torrential rain and quick evaporation.[1] Given a south-China type of summer rainfall, coupled with a north-China type of winter-sunshine, the Szechuan Basin, instead of being one of the richest agricultural regions of China, would long since have been denuded into a desolate and unpeopled wasteland.

On the whole, the rainfall is fairly reliable throughout the Basin. Famines are rare, though drought sometimes threatens fields in more hilly areas.

Finally, the climate of Szechuan Basin is noted for its exceptionally high relative humidity. Chungking has an annual average of 78 per cent, and Chengtu of 80 per cent (Table 3). This high humidity, especially in winter, reduces the demand for rainfall during that season. The same is true, in a lesser degree for the summer. Foggy and cloudy days are especially frequent, particularly during the winter season. Chungking has an average of 162 rainy and many more cloudy days during the year (Table 3). In the present air-raid "civilization," high prevalence of cloudiness certainly constitutes one of the great geographic assets of the Basin.

d) Wind velocity.--With the exception of very high hilly areas, the almost complete lack of wind in many parts of the Basin is striking. In most places, the wind velocity averages less than two miles per hour or about one meter per second (Table 3). For instance, in Chengtu city, it is a common experience for the residents there to pass several days without hearing a window rattle, or without observing a breeze strong enough even to change the direction of the smoke! This situation has its geographic significance. Besides its effect on the constructio

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[1] H. Yu, "A Preliminary Observation of the Purple-Brown Soils of Szechuan Province," Soil Quarterly, January, 1941, pp. 39-41.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and style of the house-types of Szechuan, as already mentioned, it has a dominant influence on many special agricultural products here. The notable example is the production of white wax. 132

In short, the unique Szechuan climate, characterized by moderate rainfall, high average annual temperature (long growing season), high humidity, low evaporation, and virtual absence of wind, is almost ideal for agricultural production.

2. Agricultural Land-Use and Soils

The soil of Szechuan Basin is unique not only by virtue of its red and purple color, which first gave the region its name,[1] but also because of its penetrating, loose structure, its quick formation and renewal, and its relatively high fertility. Generally speaking, there are three major soil groups within the Basin, namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, which are distributed in most parts of the Basin; (2) non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils, which are concentrated principally at Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys; (3) the slightly to moderately podsolized old and young yellow soils, which are found in the peripheral highlands, as well as in the longitudinal anticline areas of the Basin (Fig. 9). 134

a) Purple-brown (forest) soils.--According to Thorp,[2] who first made a reconnaissance study of soil conditions in the Basin, and who first offered the generalized map showing the boundaries of various soil groups, the characteristic purple-brown soils consist of slightly acid or neutral, purplish brown, or reddish surface soils, 15 to 50 centimeters thick, underlain by purple clay or clay loam soils, whose depths are seldom over two feet.[3] The color varies, depending upon the parental materials. In the western and southern part of Szechuan Basin the soils of this group are frequently reddish purple or reddish brown in color, following the color of their parent rocks. The soils are moderately rich in mineral plant foods, and are particularly tillable.

One of the most interesting physical properties of this group of soils, as recently reported through several experimental

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[1] Richtofen, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Thorp, op. cit., chaps. ix-xii.

[3] Ibid., pp. 202-204.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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TABLE 3

CLIMATIC DATA OF CHENGTU AND CHUNGKING

Month	Average Monthly Temperature (In Cent.)	Total Precipitation by Month (In Mm.)	Frequency of Rain (Days)	Humidity (o/o)	Wind Velocity M.S.
Chengtu (1929-1939)					
January..	5.5	5.1	4	80	1.22
February.	6.6	8.1	5	79	1.37
March....	14.5	8.6	4	76	1.61
April....	19.3	50.0	9	77	1.35
May.....	23.5	58.2	9	74	1.59
June.....	25.7	104.6	13	76	1.63
July.....	26.7	224.4	12	80	1.47
August...	26.8	230.5	12	82	1.48
September	21.6	130.1	16	84	1.06
October..	18.3	50.2	14	82	1.16
November.	13.8	10.2	4	83	.87
December.	7.2	4.6	2	81	.67
Total..	17.5	884.6	104	80	1.29
Chungking (1913-1939)					
January..	8.8	16.9	8	80	1.1
February.	9.9	17.3	10	80	1.1
March....	14.3	31.1	12	74	1.3
April....	19.7	91.1	16	77	1.3
May.....	23.0	103.2	16	76	1.3
June.....	25.6	172.8	19	76	1.2
July.....	28.2	144.2	12	73	1.1
August...	29.2	102.6	10	69	.9
September	23.3	140.1	16	74	1.0
October..	18.3	124.7	20	82	1.1
November.	14.7	57.2	13	85	1.1
December.	10.2	23.7	10	84	1.1
Total..	18.8	1024.9	162	78	1.2

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TABLE 5

RAINFALL CONDITIONS OF SUINING (COTTON PRODUCING CENTER) SZECHUAN
(1936-1937 Average)

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Month	Amount of Rain (In Mm.)	Average Number of Days			
		Clear	Partly Cloudy	Cloudy	Rainy
January.....	4.7	3	13	12	5
February.....	14.5	5	3	15	5
March.....	21.8	4	16	4	7
April.....	44.4	7	8	7	13
May.....	86.5	1	10	5	15
June.....	108.5	2	5	5	18
July.....	201.5	3	7	7	14
August.....	227.0	3	6	4	18
September.....	146.0	1	2	4	23
October.....	52.6	4	2	11	14
November.....	11.3	4	9	12	5
December.....	10.9	3	4	16	8
Total.....	929.7	40	85	102	145

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 8

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF TOBACCO-PRODUCING CENTERS OF SZECHUAN
(1936-1938 Average)

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Name of District	Climatic Conditions	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Mei-Shan.....	Temperature (C.)	12.7	14.8	15.2	20.9	23.9
	Humidity (o/o)	77.8	76.1	69.3	68.6	75.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	3.0	....	32.0	56.8	108.5
Lo-Shan.....	Temperature (C.)	7.4	10.2	14.8	19.4	23.3
	Humidity (o/o)	70.1	70.0	58.9	64.6	64.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	1.6	15.0	15.9	64.5	141.2
Chia-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	8.6	11.2	....	20.7	28.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.2	79.0	....	75.5	75.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	2.8	4.7	....	31.0	51.1
Wen-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	5.8	9.1	12.6	18.7	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	77.4	75.8	72.4	72.0	71.7
	Rainfall (mm.)	8.2	23.0	9.3	4.8	102.0
Sin-Tu.....	Temperature (C.)	6.9	9.3	13.3	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	88.9	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	2.0	11.4	5.6	85.0	112.5
Ching-Tan.....	Temperature (C.)	....	7.1	....	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	14.3	....	29.7	.....
Mien-Chu.....	Temperature (C.)	....	8.6	13.2	18.2	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	81.1	73.0	71.0	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	4.0	15.7	24.2	.....
Te-Yang.....	Temperature (C.)	6.3	10.1	14.6	19.9	24.1
	Humidity (o/o)	81.1	73.2	64.6	62.7	66.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	11.0	10.3	3.0	27.6	94.9
Shih-Fang.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	19.1	22.7
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	81.2	77.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	21.5	118.6
Pi-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	6.1	7.8	14.0	18.8	22.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.5	75.6	72.9	70.9	73.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.2	10.5	9.8	31.6	145.3

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 8—Continued

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June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	Average
26.5	27.9	27.6	24.4	21.3	15.2	9.4	233.2	19.4
77.8	82.1	70.4	79.9	76.5	73.2	78.1	904.2	75.4
124.1	354.0	366.2	41.3	7.4	1.9	12.8	1047.7	....
24.0	26.1	26.4	22.1	18.7	12.1	9.0	203.5	17.7
75.6	70.2	82.3	84.6	79.1	75.1	80.5	885.1	73.7
81.6	166.4	52.1	216.9	89.1	20.0	21.8	.....	....
24.8	27.5	27.7	23.7	19.1	12.8	9.5	.....	....
77.3	78.5	86.1	.....	....	82.7	88.9	.....	....
101.3	205.7	220.7	116.9	42.2	16.9	40.3	.....	....
24.3	20.0	26.7	22.0	18.2	10.6	3.4	204.8	17.1
78.3	81.8	81.3	82.8	80.9	78.6	76.0	929.0	77.4
161.2	461.6	172.0	205.0	86.4	18.5	9.5	1221.6	....
.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	8.6	.....	....
.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	58.4	.....	....
70.0	368.0	126.7	217.5	25.0	3.0	....	1027.5	....
25.1	26.5	.....	22.5	18.5	11.5	8.8	.....	....
78.2	77.7	.....	84.3	80.8	81.3	85.5	.....	....
27.5	263.4	.....	111.5	28.6	5.3	15.0	.....	....
24.3	26.9	27.6	21.5	17.8	10.4	6.6	.....	....
81.9	85.5	84.5	80.8	87.2	88.5	....	.....	....
88.6	424.1	318.7	157.8	44.7	26.9	....	.....	....
21.9	25.4	29.0	22.2	19.0	13.5	9.3	218.3	18.2
78.9	75.1	73.5	80.3	....	77.8	79.3	.....	....
78.0	28.8	67.2	12.8	....	15.2	13.4	.....	....
23.9	25.9	27.3	22.2	18.4	10.8	8.7	.....	....
82.9	81.6	82.4	84.6	79.8	78.3	78.6	.....	....
144.6	48.2	155.1	239.5	21.3	24.0	5.1	.....	....
24.6	25.8	27.1	21.7	18.1	11.5	8.3	260.7	17.2
80.4	83.2	83.4	83.8	82.5	81.9	80.0	943.6	78.6
134.9	311.1	515.1	245.0	30.5	11.8	9.7	1455.5	....

Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 9

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEMP-PRODUCING DISTRICTS
OF SZECHUAN
(1936-1938 Average)

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Name of District	Climatic Conditions	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Wen-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	5.8	9.1	12.6	18.7	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	77.4	75.8	72.4	72.6	71.7
	Rainfall (mm.)	8.2	23.0	9.3	4.8	102.0
Tsung-Ching.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	....	24.6
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	79.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	....	40.0
Kuan-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	19.4	22.7
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	65.3	63.1
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	49.6	100.8
Pi-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	6.1	7.8	14.0	18.8	22.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.5	75.6	72.9	70.9	78.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.2	10.5	9.8	31.6	145.3
Shuan-Liu.....	Temperature (C.)	6.6	8.3	13.6	18.7	23.0
	Humidity (o/o)	89.8	84.6	75.3	76.4	79.1
	Rainfall (mm.)	.5	10.7	7.1	31.1	70.0
Sin-Tsing.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	....	.....
Peng-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	5.9	....	....	....	24.6
	Humidity (o/o)	89.5	....	....	....	66.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.8	....	....	....	137.2
Tsung-Ning.....	Temperature (C.)	5.6	8.7	12.4	18.3	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	82.8	84.7	82.1	79.5	79.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	5.4	6.6	20.2	11.3	160.5

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 9—Continued

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132

June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	Average
24.3	26.0	26.7	22.0	18.0	10.6	8.4	204.8	17.1
78.3	81.8	81.8	82.8	80.9	78.6	76.0	929.0	77.4
161.2	461.6	172.0	205.0	46.4	18.5	9.5	1221.6	....
25.6	27.0	27.5	22.9	19.3	11.6	9.1	.....	....
84.4	88.3	.....	.....	81.3	83.9	80.7	.....	....
54.0	440.0	.....	446.7	150.1	51.2	10.7	.....	....
24.6	25.4	26.9	20.7	19.4	12.2	7.8	.....	....
71.1	79.4	.....	85.9	.....	69.6	66.5	.....	....
188.2	878.7	456.5	244.6	187.7	57.3	32.3	.....	....
24.6	25.8	27.1	21.7	18.1	11.5	8.3	206.7	17.2
80.4	83.2	83.4	83.8	82.5	81.9	80.0	943.6	78.6
184.9	311.1	515.1	245.0	30.5	11.8	9.7	1455.5	....
24.8	25.8	27.2	22.3	18.4	11.4	8.7	208.8	17.4
86.6	.....	87.6	88.5	86.0	85.2	88.3	.....	....
51.2	447.8	197.2	163.7	45.2	10.6	7.8	1042.0	....
26.4	27.1	28.0	23.2	19.1	11.9	9.3	.....	....
74.2	80.5	79.8	83.1	77.5	75.5	79.7	.....	....
106.9	378.5	337.1	175.9	34.4	16.0	17.4	.....	....
23.5	28.6	27.5	22.2	17.8	10.9	9.0	.....	....
78.9	72.8	.....	84.5	84.6	79.8	82.0	.....	....
53.0	46.7	54.0	76.3	20.9	17.3	5.5	.....	....
23.8	25.6	27.5	22.6	18.5	10.5	8.6	.....	....
85.7	.....	87.8	.....	88.2	88.6	81.9	.....	....
89.7	168.3	69.5	82.8	70.6	13.8	23.2	.....	....

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137 that bear spruce forests up to 4,500 meters, whereas the peaks, many of which rise up well above 5,000 meters, are treeless and were completely covered with snow when I saw them (Plate XXX).

132 In the entire upper Yangtze Valley many fields are laid out on countless artificial terraces all the way up the slopes, but today they are abandoned, and have been for a long time, so that large trees and underbrush have grown up. Some people said the reason for this may be attributed to the many wars and disputes that have reduced the population so much during the last century /170/ so that today these fields are no longer needed. However, this assertion seemed to be contradicted by the fact that these abandoned sites can be observed over too large an area and almost as far as Dawo, that is, in entirely different states. Other people said that increasing drought conditions accounted for the abandoned fields; they did not yield enough. This may be true because the fields are almost always on a southern slope which dries out in the sun. Throughout Tibet as well as in the Himalayas, as I have already mentioned, stands of forests are well developed only on the northern slopes (1), and thus we may realize

1. This may be observed in the north as far as the Tien Shan and Altai, and in the Altai it was already observed by the Chinese philosopher Ch'ang ch'un when, in July 1221, he rode over the Tsch'ang sung pass on his journey to the court of Genghis Khan.

what an important factor the drying quality of the sun is. The second explanation is therefore probably the correct one, because, as far as I could see, the abandoned acres were not capable of being irrigated and depended on natural rainfall. In some places, however, as for instance on the border between Dergi and Ling gose, I did get the impression that the border feuds had depleted the population and resulted in the abandonment of the acres. In the valley between Nan dyi gomba and Gose gomba there were many ruins of houses next to destroyed fields. But the most recent changes have taken place only in the course of the last half century. (2)

2. Father Desgodins who spent a long life in South Tibet, said in 1875 already that the population of Southeast Tibet was decreasing. He blamed the endless disputes, but above all, the strictness of the Gelugba sect.

T 789

valley and stick the twigs in the middle of their fields next to a white stone which represents the heart, three twigs for each field and one at each of the corners. In summer when the grain is ripening the hail exorcisers live in the mountains for weeks at a time and exorcise each thunder cloud that comes up. The underlying idea is that hail always comes from the mountain spirits of the big forest mountains, and that these spirits fight each other with hail stones, but they can be appeased through the exorcism of a competent Bönbo. If in the course of the year hail does not strike the harvest, the exorciser gets up to 100 or 200 pounds of wheat from the farmers. If there has been hail he gets nothing or only a scolding because he is no good; indeed, in some regions he must make up part of the damage and is whipped besides.

T 788

joined in a long litany accompanied by hand-clapping and tongue-clicking, that lasted for half an hour. As usual, the guests also took part.

C 132

/199/ During our ride on April 28 there was a downpour that penetrated everything and lasted thirty-six hours in all. All objects were covered with thick, dripping clouds of fog and all mountains higher than 4,200 meters were covered with a thick layer of snow. It was typical monsoon weather. The southeast air currents now began to unload their ballast of water on the high mountains. Now the first green tips of grass on the pastures next to the fields finally began to show.

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At the pass my new horse gave out and before the day ended two ula horses lay stretched out. The soldiers had been using them from Tschanggu on to transport a few packs belonging to the government. So my private horses had to help out with this government transport.

On another night my soldiers found lodgings for me in the house of the bailiff of Basmi. The Chinese title for gentlemen of this kind is tu be hu. This building, too, had been destroyed, except for the foundation walls, during the last attack of the Tschantui. It was therefore an entirely new house and the rooms were all still very clean. The floor and ceiling were planked and the windows covered with paper. On the walls pictures of holy scenes and imaginary hunts were painted. I had not before seen such a clean and healthy dwelling in the provinces of Kansu and Shensi (Plate XLIV).

T 792

Quite near Basmi there flourished up until a few years ago a monastery called Tsebtschir (rdyibtsen), which had been leveled to

During my stay there was an old Chinese physician in Ma tang, who for more than a lifetime had traveled through here each year and who was well-known among young and old. He was a smallpox specialist and on his travels applied the old Chinese method of variolation. In small bamboo tubes he kept human pock lymph with which he "inoculated" or, more accurately, infected, all children up to 12 years that were brought to him, for 300 cash. He put a few drops of his liquid into each child's nose whereupon the children fell ill of smallpox (variola, or, in the native language, dabram) after four or six days and had up to one or two dozen pock efflorescences on their faces or on their chests. He always got his lymph back on his journeys by pricking open individual pustules before they dried up, and gathering the contents. He chose sick persons who had as few eruptions as possible, but beside that he thinned out the lymph with water. The man's opinion was that by means of this dilution he had first of all succeeded in preventing the severe pox among his patients and that they recovered within a week. I was told that throughout Kin tschuan this variolation method is practiced and that if only part of the children in a village are "inoculated" and the rest become infected without having been treated by the specialist, then the ones who were not vaccinated had severe cases of smallpox, a true variola; furthermore, that the variolation caused much severer symptoms among adults than among children under 12. TC 751

My long-drawn-out wait for the messengers of the Li fan yamen was interrupted by several excursions to the nearest mountains, whenever the weather permitted. As a rule it rained many hours every day, if not all day and all through the night. The time of the summer solstice means the rainy season for the entire eastern Tibet, especially for the southern portions. For days the sky is covered with rain clouds; and scraps of fog, the worst enemies of topographers, hang low in the valleys. If I climbed south from my campsite up the Tsche kou (eat-bitterness) Pass and from there to the nearest mountains I reached the flat mountain formation a little beyond 4,250 meters the base, from which rose the row of peaks with their slopes of rock fragments and isolated snow patches. I stood on meadows there which were smoothly sloped, broken with swamps and dotted with rounded knolls (roches moutonnées). But already below 4,000 meters, at 3,700 meters, the valley floors widened and were more trough-shaped than at the market place of Ma tang, which still lies wedged in, causing cold in winter and lack of sun, about which the inhabitants complain bitterly. Beginning with 3,700 meters most of C 132 C 133

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

133

[facing p. 1 (d_1)]

•133 1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF 16

[facing p. 1 (d2)]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 The Southwest China Region, comprising the provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow, is adjacent to Chinghai, Kansu, and Shensi provinces in the north across the Tanglha, Min, and Tapa mountain ranges. In the east it shares a boundary with Hupeh, Hunan, and Kwangsi provinces. The western limit of this region is an arbitrary line drawn vertically across the Tibetan massif to separate this region from Tibet.[1] This region defines China's southern frontier bordering upon Indochina and Burma. It lies between 21° and 34° North latitude, and 97° and 110° East longitude, covering an area of 1,146,345 square kilometers (442,600 sq. mi.) in which lives a population of 98,195,110, or about 16.9 per cent of China's total population.

I. TOPOGRAPHY

133 A. Mountains and Rivers

The elevation of the Southwest Region is quite high in the northwest, somewhat lower in

1. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], April 1955, pp. 15-16. For details of political subdivisions, see chapter on Structure of Government.

133 the south, much lower in the southeast, and at its lowest point in the northeast (the Szechwan Basin). Because of the particular features of these mountains and rivers and their relative positions, it seems best to discuss them together.

The mountains and rivers in this region appear to originate in the same general area in the northwest. The mighty Tanglha Range, with summits over 7,000 meters (22,400 ft.) high, enters this region from northeastern Tibet and spreads south. The even mightier Himalaya and Nyenchentanglha ranges extend into this region just below the Tanglha, bending south to join the jagged tableland of western Yunnan Province. The rivers are sandwiched between these north-south mountain ranges. Between the Himalaya and the Nyenchentanglha ranges run the middle reaches of the Brahmaputra River, locally known as Yalutsangpu, which turns due south and leaves China between 95° and 96° East longitude. Out of the Tanglha Range flows the Nu River (the Angry River, the upper reaches of the Salween) which fills the deep gully between the Poshula Range (also known as Tan-ta, and its southern portion in Yunnan, as Kao-li-kung) and the Nu Range (the Angry Mountain, also known as T'a-nien-t'a-weng). To the east of the Nu Range and parallel to it across another dividing river (the Lan-ts'ang, upper reaches of the Mekong River) lies the Ning-ching Range. Its southern extension in Yunnan Province is called the Yün-ling.

133 The famous Yangtze River washes the eastern foot of the Ning-ching Range, but in this section the river is referred to as the Chin-sha River (Golden Sand River). Between the Golden Sand River and the Ya-lung River (another name for it is the Nya) is the Sha-lu-li Mountain. Flanking the former Sikang-Szechwan provincial border are the Ta-hsüeh and the Ch'iung-lai ranges. The southern finger of the Ta-hsüeh Range is Che-to Mountain, which has the highest peak in this region (Minya Konka, 7,700 m. or 22,400 ft.). The southern extension of the Ch'iung-lai is Ta-liang Mountain, home of the Yi minority. The little appendage protruding west from the middle of the Ch'iung-lai Range forms the celebrated O-mei Mountain which, although only 3,035 meters (9,712 ft.) high, is the most famous sacred mountain in West China and the site of hundreds of temples.

The mountains so far mentioned all run northwest-south. Other mountains of less magnitude violate this general pattern: the Wu-meng in northeastern and the Liu-shao in eastern Yunnan Province, both extensions of the Yün-ling mentioned above, and the Min-shan mass in northwestern Szechwan Province, which with the Ts-pa form the northern wall of this province. The Wu-shan Range guards the northeastern gate of this region through which the Yangtze River flows in a series of gorges (the awe-inspiring gorges of the Yangtze, about 170 km.

133 or 105 mi. in length).[2] In Kweichow Province, Lou-shan Mountain increases the elevation of the land in the north as does Yün-wu Mountain in the land to the southeast. Compared with the mountains to the northwest, these mountains are but minor elevations on the edge of this expanse of tableland.

Framed by high mountains the rivers thus far mentioned are separate systems, each running its own course northwest-south, with the exception of the Golden Sand, which ends its southward course in northwestern Yunnan and curves back and forth before reaching the Pacific Ocean some 3,000 miles east. The Golden Sand (or Yangtze) River system is the most extensive, receiving the Ya-lung in the former Sikang Province and four other sizable rivers (Ta-tu, Min, Fu, and Chia-ling) in Szechwan Province. There are very few tributaries of the Yangtze on its southern bank apart from the Wu River issuing from central Kweichow Province. There is a theory supported by geologic findings that centuries ago the Golden Sand River did not curve back as it entered northwestern Yunnan Province, but continued southeast to the Gulf of Tonkin by way of the Red River. The present course of the Golden Sand River in northwestern

2. Huang Yen-p'ei, Shu Tao [Szechwan Roads], Shanghai, K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1936, p. 23.

133 Yunnan remains very close to the source of the Yüan River (upper reaches of the Red River). At one point the two rivers are only a few miles apart and there is no towering division to keep them from flowing into each other.[3] It is also said that after the Golden Sand changed its course to the east and abandoned the Red River, it filled the Szechwan land depression and made a huge lake. The gorges in the Wu-shan Mountain provide an outlet for the river.

The mountain ranges in the western portion of this region are high, rising from intervening elevated valleys up to 4,000 meters (12,000 ft.) above sea level. They are rugged, desolate, and cold, with the snow lines between 4,000 and 6,000 meters (12,800-19,200 ft.), depending on local precipitation.

Lack of reliable surveys has caused geographers to consult travel notes which often contain hearsay information about the names of certain mountains and their systems. In addition, there is the matter of local dialects which makes it extremely difficult to arrive at a commonly acceptable translation of certain names.[4] The name of the Ta-hsüeh Range, for

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3. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 61.

4. George B. Cressey, China's Geographic Foundations, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1934, pp. 37-38, p. 274.

133 example, means "Big Snow." But local people in many communities use the same name when they refer to other mountains. The name Himalaya, incidentally, is Tibetan for "Snow Mountain."[5]

The rivers on the west side of this region are turbulent flows and objects of fear and superstition to the aborigines. Bamboo-cable bridges and buffalo-skin rafts are dangerous and impractical means for crossing these rivers. In this connection, accounts of the construction of the Hui-t'ung Bridge on the "Stilwell Road" in western Yunnan and the Communist epic crossing of the Ta-tu River in eastern Sikang during the 1934-35 Long March should be recalled. P tions of the rivers in Szechwan Province, where wooden junks serve as local transport, are navigable; other rivers in this region are not.

B. Plains and Lakes

133 311 The Chengtu Plain, heart of the Szechwan Basin, is undoubtedly the largest area of level land in this region -- 6,000-7,000 square kilometers (2,280-2,680 sq. mi.).[6] It is extensively cultivated, and its productivity equals

5. Ko Sui-ch'eng, Chung-kuo Ti-li Hsin Chih [New Geography of China], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1950, chap. IX, p. 243.

6. Chiang Chün-chang, Hsi-nan Ching-chi Ti-li [The Economic Geography of Southwest China], Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1946, pp. 9-25.

133 the riparian "rice-bowl" section of Hunan
311 Province to the east. The Chung-pa Plain, northeast of Chengtu in the same province, is
133 another extensive flatland. Outside the basin, the plains are scattered and consist of high valleys between towering mountains or "grasslands" on the Tibet-Sikang highland. The expansive valley around Kweiyang, provincial capital of Kweichow, for example, is about 1,000 meters (3,200 ft.) above sea level. Similar in nature is the Kunming plain, except that it rises to a height of 2,000 meters (6,400 ft.). Farther north are the flat stretches around Pa-an (or Pa-t'ang) on the former Ch'ang-tu--Sikang border, which is an open section of the Golden Sand River valley, rising 2,600-3,000 meters (8,360-9,600 ft.).[7] Many small lakes are found in these plains. The Szechwan Basin, with its lattice work of waterways, is without lakes, but Yunnan, Kweichow, and the former Sikang Province have many. Ts'ao-hai Lake in Kweichow and Erh-hai and T'ien-ch'ih lakes in Yunnan, are noted bodies of water. Warm springs also abound in these two provinces.

132 C. Climate

The climatic zones in this region are best

7. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

2: Rock

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[For data on Topography, Flora and Routes, see Category 116, pp. 217-354, 388-428.]

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133

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

SHAN-TZU-TOU, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山頂白水河

Photographed from an elevation of 10,500 feet, from a ridge overlooking the upper Pai-shui or White water, the Gyi-p'ér of the Na-khi. The main glacier on the eastern slopes is the source of the Gyi-p'ér. The trees in foreground are pines and spruces, the pale foliaged trees poplars in autumn garb. On the higher slopes are firs and spruces, the lighter-colored trees, larches.

[Frontispiece]

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

● 133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 蠻些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482] [438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

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173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡 [10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 禍慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133 487 137 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u 草鋪 (Grass-shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(驃)標 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

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feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance.

Lu-feng [11] is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 拾資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province.

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

[11] In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿鵬甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏婆蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937–1094) by I-sheng 義聲, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智升. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341–1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

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487 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trenca, enters a ravine descend-
137 ing to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-
133 kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of
[579] densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-
quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then gov-
ernor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dis-
persed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-
[317] ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were
[483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their fore-heads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七舖, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路談. [The character *t'an* 談 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 談 *shan*, and 撿 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路談千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回蹬關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗舖, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subjett to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 直力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 紅江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 楊起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

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361 487 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 罨碌. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明量 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.

● 133 137 Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石鋪 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢糧橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard. [317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閤. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 俗富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓橦 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹爲憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

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487 until we reach the village of Pan-ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-
133 nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a
137 stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普湧 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 苴力鋪, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where
133 lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li
485 from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher
133 pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and ex-
137 posed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with [243] wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the 139 stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the 133 neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief 487 Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession.

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普泡.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not con- [342] tain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain [243] brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[17] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are

[17] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers, the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is
[316] mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩子 is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村鋪, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華硐 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江鋪, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

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(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 業鏡湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li.

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買鋪, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).[20]

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village

[20] Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文案洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649–902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 崖 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (*see* p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 甸. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522–1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 龍峪那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (*see* p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the former Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋羅, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 彷彌潛, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (*Lang-k'ung hsien chih lüeh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

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487 the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against
731 the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is
133 at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called
137 Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-
[508] ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables.

487 *Twelfth stage.* — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州
133 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu
137 is 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 蒙化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[21] marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[22]

[731] We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[21] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung wu (1381).

[22] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 泰國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 33 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 5a, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

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of about 600 houses, but quite forlorn and empty.[23] The plain is wide but is hemmed in on the north by a broad, conical hill, partly wooded. Five li beyond Feng-i (Chao chou) we come to the hamlet of Shih-pi-t'ou 石壁頭 and the peaceful temple at the foot of the cliff, called Fei-lai Ssu,[24] which is the regular caravan halting-place, as there are no inns with stables in Chao chou.

Thirteenth stage. — From Fei-lai Ssu to Hsia-kuan 下關 (Lower pass) and Ta-li 大理 is a distance of 25 and 50 li respectively (55 li from Chao chou).

Near the end of the plain, at the foot of a wooded conical hill, the trail makes a complete right angle to the west, and one is fronted by the magnificent Tien-ts'ang Shan 點苍山 (Starred azure Mountain), commonly called Ts'ang Shan,[25] snow-streaked half-way down its slopes; its height is 14,000 feet. We

[23] In ancient days Chao chou had no wall. The first earth wall was built in the second year of Ming Hung-chih (1480). It was 3 li in circumference, 13 feet high, and 5 feet thick. Several times at various periods the wall collapsed and was last rebuilt in 1805. Prior to the Han dynasty, Chao chou was in the State of K'un-mi 昆彌. During the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–24 A.D.), it belonged to Yün-nan hsien. K'un-mi was the name of a family who ruled over that State — hence K'un-mi Kuo — but nothing is known regarding their succession. Afterwards the Lo-lo man 羅羅蠻 dwelt there. In the T'ang dynas y it was the iand of K'un chou 昆州. Subsequently it was called Chao chou chien 趙州縣. Later it was called Chao chün 趙郡 and Chao chou. In the time of the Tuan family it was called T'ien-shui chün 天水郡. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it was the Chao chien ch'ien-hu 趙縣千戶. During Yüan Chih-yüan (1264–1294) it was called Chao chou subject to the circuit of Ta-li. In the Ming dynasty the name remained unchanged. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, Chao chou was first captured; and when the Ming troops attacked the region they first took Chao chou and then the two strategic forts, the Hsia and Shang Kuan. The district derived its name from a certain Chao K'ang 趙康 who was sent to reside there by the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

[24] The temple received its name from a legend which relates that an image of a Buddha came flying through the air. It is situated at the foot of Yü-lung Shan 浴龍山 (Mountain of the bathing dragon), also known as Su-lung Shan 宿龍山 (Resting dragon Mountain), and is five li north of Chao chou. Another temple called T'u-chu Miao 土主廟 (Temple of the local lord) is in the same village. It was rebuilt during the period Cheng-t'ung 正統 (1436–1449).

[25] The Ts'ang Shan is also called Ling-chiu Shan 靈鷲山, named so after a peak in India called Gṛdhrakūṭa on which vultures had their nests: literally, "Vulture Peak." The Indian mountain, which is now called Giddore, is near Rājagṛha, famous for its vultures and caverns inhabited by ascetics, where Piśuna, or Māra, in the shape of a vulture, hindered the meditation of Ananda (EITEL). It has 19 peaks, and 18 streams descend from it. In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 (784), of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗, I-mou-hsün of the Meng family, who was ruler of Ta-li, conferred upon it the title of Chung-yo 中岳 (Central sacred Mountain). During the reign of Hung-wu, Lan Yü 藍玉, second commander of the left wing of the army and marquis of Yung-ch'ang, attacked Ta-li He sent his soldiers west of the Ts'ang Shan and ordered them to climb it from the west and implant his flag on the highest peak. When the people of Ta-li saw the flag they fled. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 5, fol. 1b, states that it is 3 li west of the city and that it extends for over 100 li from north to south, like a wall. The *Han Shu* calls it the Hsieh-lung Yün-nan Shan 邪龍雲南山 and compares it to the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 of Fu-feng 扶風, Shen-si. Clouds often encircle the mountain like a jade girdle, hence people speak of it as the Jade girdle (mountain). Each of its nineteen peaks has a special name, for all are different. Enumerated from south to north beginning with the one above Hsia-kuan and adjoining the T'ien-sheng ch'iao, they are: K'o-yang 蒼洋; Ma-erh 馬耳 Horse ear, Fo-t'ou 佛頭 or Buddha head, Sheng-ying 聖應, Ma-lung 馬龍 or Horse dragon, Yü-chü 玉局, the Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 or Dragon spring, and the Central Peak or Chung-ho feng 中和峯. Then follow the Kuan-yin 觀音, or Goddess of

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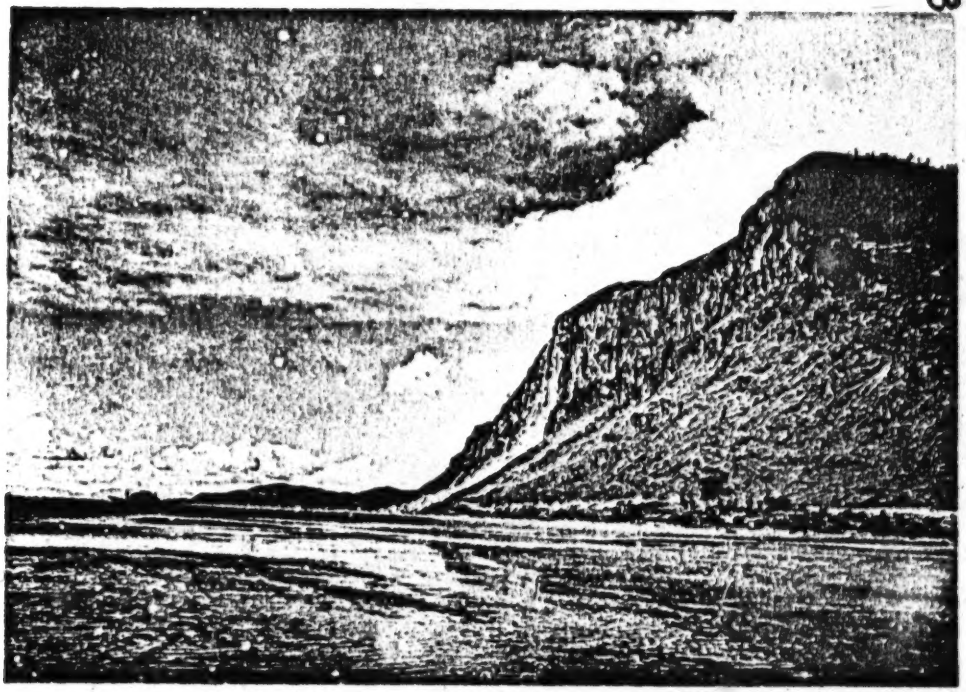

PLATE I.—THE NORTHERN END OF TIEN CH'IH, THE YÜN-NAN LAKE

滇池北端

This part of the lake is commonly known as Ts'ao Hai 草海 or Grass Lake. It also goes by the name of K'un-ming Ch'ih 昆明池 or K'un-ming Lake. Bordering the lake to the west is the famous Lo-han Shan 羅漢山 popularly called Hsi Shan 西山.

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487 pass through miserable hamlets nearly destroyed by the earthquake, and over
133 a sandy trail which skirts the hill-sides, leaving to our right the southern end
137 of the Erh Hai 洱海 (Erh Lake), that is, the Ta-li Lake (PLATE 4). On Davies' *Map of Yün-nan* the distance to Hsia-kuan does not appear to be more than 15 li, in comparison to the stretch from Hsia-kuan to Ta-li; the scale is quite out of proportion. The actual distance from Chao chou to Hsia-kuan is 30 li, and from there to Ta-li 25 li.

Hsia-kuan is situated on a hill-side and is visible from afar; elevation 6,900 feet. It is the business town of western central Yün-nan, while Ta-li is the residential town and the seat of the officials. The Hsia Kuan has another name — the Lung-wei Kuan 龍尾關 (Dragon-tail Pass). This, as well as the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper pass, also called Lung-shou Kuan 龍首關, Dragon-head Pass) were constructed by P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣 in the 29th year of K'ai-yüan 開元 (741). He was the first ruler or King of Nan-chao and the fourth of the Ta Meng or the Great Meng dynasty. The first kingdom of the Ta Meng was called the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔.

Passing through the walled town with its narrow streets, we cross the Hei-lung ch'iao 黑龍橋 (Black dragon bridge), over the Hsia-kuan Ho (Hsia-kuan River),[26] the outlet of the Erh Lake,[27] and ascend the steep grade over the slippery pavement of the suburbs of Hsia-kuan.

Mercy Peak, the Ying-lo 應樂, the Hsüeh-jen 雪人 or Snow-man Peak, the Lan-teng 蘭燈 or Orchid Peak, the San-yang 三陽, the Ho-yün 鶴雲, the Pai-yün 白雲, or White cloud, the Lien-hua 蓮花 or Lotus Peak, the Wu-t'ai 五臺 or Five Terraces, the Ts'ang-lang 滄浪 and last the Yün-lung 雲弄, directly above the Shang-kuan.

[26] The Hsia-kuan Ho, where it enters the defile in the Tien-ts'ang Range, is called the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream); beyond it is called the Ho-chiang Ho 合江河, after a village by that name in the gorge. It flows as the Ho-chiang Ho into the Yang-pi River 漾濞江.

[27] The Ta-li Lake, which is 90 li long and from 9 to 21 li wide, is a beautiful sheet of water. To the east it is bordered by reddish, bare, rather low hills, the region being called Tung-hai 東海 (East lake). The lake is also called the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (West Erh Stream), and is east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣, the present Ta-li hsien or Ta-li district. It is also known as the Yeh-yü Shui 檡榆水 (Waters of Yeh-yü) — Yeh-yü being the ancient name of Ta-li. [The Yeh-yü of the Han epoch is 10 li south-east of the present-day Ta-li and is identical with the village of Yang-ho-p'u 楊和鋪, where its foundations, or remnants, are still visible. The region now belongs to the district of T'ai ho hsien. During the Han dynasty it was subject to Yün-nan hsien 雲南縣, now called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣, pronounced in Yün-nan, Ch'ien-yün hsien.] The origin of the name Yeh-yü is traced to a large forest of elms, called *yü-shu* 榆樹 in Chinese. [*Ulmus pumila var. pilosa* Rehd. is quite common on the eastern slopes of the Tien-ts'ang Shan.] The elm forest existed in ancient days at the outlet of the Ta-li Lake at Hsia-kuan, by the T'ien-sheng ch'iao 天生橋 (Natural bridge), a natural stone bridge which spans the outlet of the lake. It was so dense that it was always dark and no one could pass there. To the south of the bridge is a stele which records that it was there that Chu-ko Liang captured Meng-huo 孟獲. The stele is dated Kuang-hsü *ping-wu* 丙午 (1906).

Still other names for the Ta-li Lake are Hsi-erh Hai 西洱海 and Erh Shui 洱水.

The source of the lake is in the Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山 in the north of Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣. Flowing south it passes east of Lang-k'ung hsien and Teng ch'uan chou 鄧川州 and thence enters the borders of T'ai-ho hsien, where it is called Hsi-erh Ho. From the Tien-ts'ang Shan, which lies to the west, 18 affluents descend into the stream, which thus enlarged forms the Erh Hai. Its outlet is at Hsia-kuan as has already been described.

The shape of the lake is that of a human ear, *erh* 耳, hence the name Erh Hai. Its cir-

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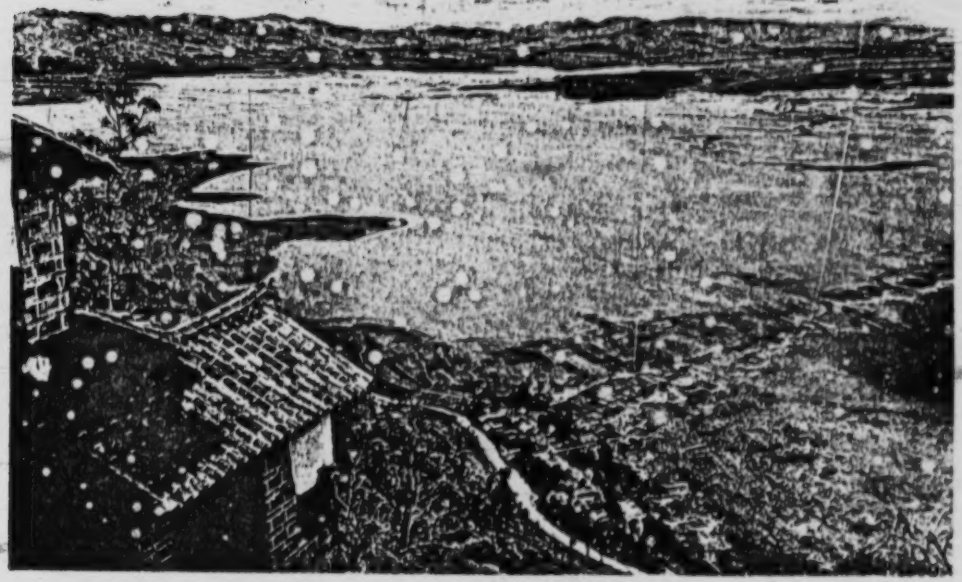

PLATE 3.—TIEN CH'IH SERN FROM HSI SHAN

自西山望滇池

Looking east from Lo-han Ssu 羅漢寺 the main temple on Hsi Shan 西山 across the northern end of the Tien Ch'ih; K'un-ming is in the extreme upper right. The division of the actual Tien or K'un-ming Ch'ih and the Ta'ao Hai or Grass Lake can be seen in the lower right. The lake is at an elevation of 6,400 feet.

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[964] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

137 133 487

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

[291]

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5). In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和鋪.

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Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音塘 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里塘 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but the dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇基明. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahisattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*maha*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[See p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[24] is of great historic interest, but does not come [508] within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川[25] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.
137 The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結巴 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙洋, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[24] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta Li 大理. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta-Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[25] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p. 28 F. -- Analyst]

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Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,[36] the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,[37] crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 溪水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

[36] At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

[37] In the Han dynasty, Teng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 葉榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 滕倍州, dependent on Yao chou 嶲州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 滕覃詔 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the *t'an* 覃 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 溪水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 羅時江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

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487 133 137 Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, brings us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal[38] which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌苴河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge[39] over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler. [317] Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,[40] also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Halfway up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.[41] On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,[42] formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

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executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no descendants.

[38] This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

[39] This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王翰, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457–1464).

[40] The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou-ching 雲居井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 50 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

[41] This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

[42] During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

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Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent. 489 133 137

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山舖, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most [243] abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw [438] hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li.

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan [135] 火藥山 [44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound-

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 佛 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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487 133 137 ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour, after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

579 Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

487 133 137 *Sixteenth stage.* — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li. Elevation 7,800 feet.

From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662–1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 [45] (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple [46] nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yünnanensis*, Alnus, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, Berberis, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

[45] The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748–778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b–6a).

[46] The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行庵 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

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lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it. 487 133 137

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyu in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan). [317]

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semi-circle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — Jade dragon Mountain), although it is already visible

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487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
● 133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called
137 Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[322] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 義督羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 睒 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窰村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍睒 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 義督睒 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 義督千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 義督 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

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p'ing-ts'un 太平村, Liu-chia-teng 劉家登 and Tien-hsin-ch'iao 甸心橋. The village of Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨 is not on the Chien-ch'uan plain but beyond a narrow ravine, the slopes of which are covered with pines. Opposite the village, in a lovely pine forest, are numerous graves. This or the village of Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河 is the regular lunch-stop for the day. Five li from this village will bring us to the end of the stage, the village of Chiu-ho 九河 (Nine streams),[48] but there are still the villages of Chiang-tung 江東 and Wen-mu-ho 文木河 to be passed. Ere reaching Chiu-ho there is a beautiful isolated hill with a lovely forest of oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and thence we travel along the foot of a rocky hill entering the long valley which leads to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. Chiu-ho is situated on a low spur at an elevation of 8,150 feet. It is a miserable hamlet with a single dilapidated temple. Caravans bound for Li-chiang usually prefer to go beyond it to the hamlet of Tu-wo 杜娥 also called Tu-wu 杜吳 on Chinese maps (Na-khi, Dtu-wùa).

We have now arrived at the border of the Li-chiang district, to which the village of Chiu-ho belongs. South of it is Chien-ch'uan territory.

[48] Chiu-ho is called in Na-khi, Gkyi-wùa; and Kuan-shang 關上, at the end of the valley which extends north of Chiu-ho, is called Gkyi-wùa Ts'o-k'ö.

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CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

487 *Eighteenth stage.* — From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li.
● 133 Elevation, 8,200 feet.
137 From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,[1] the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (*see* description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'ö), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndĕr (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round,
[243] wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).[2] These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

[1] The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'ö). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei mou 錯魁謀. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

[2] "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

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stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 拉史坝. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 487 133 137

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets.

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See: San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神庙 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇史坝 (also written 拉史坝). The caravan-stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet. [312]

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Khü (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of 101

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CHAPTER II

General History of the Region

173 The following pages are translations of the *Yen-ko* 沿革 (Successive changes) in the history of Li-chiang and the territory to which it belonged, according to the *Li chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 12b.

Between 298 and 262 B.C., we briefly recall, Chuang Ch'iao, a general of the State of Ch'u, invaded the region and established the Kingdom of Tien (*see* pp. 5-6 for details of this period).

In the fifth year of Han Wu Ti and the period of Yüan-kuang 元光 (130 B.C.) "the Emperor appointed Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, the Chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 (Lieutenant-General), and the Fu-shih 副使 (Assistant Commissioner) Wang Jan-yü 王然于, and others to proceed with the Imperial Insignia to the Hsi-i (Western barbarians). Thereupon the different rulers of the Jan-mang 冉駹[1] and Yeh-yü 楪榆[2] petitioned to become subjects of the

[1] The regions to the north of Tso-tu 筰都, on the western border of the State of Shu, comprised at the time of the Han dynasty a certain number of tribes, governed by their great chiefs. Among them the Jan-mang occupied first rank. Originally there were two tribes, the Jan and the Mang. The Jan-mang changed their residence occasionally in search of pasturage. They advanced up to the western frontier of the State of Shu. In the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of the Emperor Wu Ti (111 B.C.) their territories were united into a *chün* 郡 (a territorial division), which received the name of Wen-shan 汶山. — That is what the *Mou chou chih* says in ch. 1, fol. 7a.

The *Wen-chih chi lüeh* 後志紀略, ch. 1, fol. 4b, says that in the Han dynasty their territory was called Mien-ssu hsien 綿虒縣, subject to Shu Chün 蜀郡. In the Eastern Han it became the Mien-ssu tao 道, while in the Shu Han it became the Wen-shan Chün 汶山郡. This is the territory of the present Mou hsien 茂縣 in the Min valley, six stages north of Ch'eng-tu, on the north-west border of Ssu-ch'uan. The Wen Mountain, which has given the name to the district, is north-west of Mou chou. On Chinese maps showing the domain of the Fighting States the mountain is situated on the extreme north-western border of the State of Shu, and south of the T'ao Ho 洮河 and the Min Shan 岷山 in the present The-wu or The-wo 旦兩 (The-bu) country 氐布 (T'ieh-pu). In the Great Geography of China it is considered the Min Shan, but not the Ku Min Shan 古岷山 (Old Min Shan), which is apparently the one in Kansu. The *Wen chih chi lüeh* says that the Yu kung 禹貢 Min Shan 岷山 leads to the *Chiang* 江 (Yangtze), and the *Shih Chi* 史記 states that the Min Shan is the Wen Shan 汶山.

133 The Kan-su Min Shan is a distinct range for the most part composed of grey limestone only the eastern part is conglomerate. To the north of it flows the T'ao River 洮河 and to the south of it the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江 or Pai-lung Chiang 白龍江. Many lateral valleys debouch into these rivers north and south respectively, their sources being among the crags of the Min Shan. The valley of the Pai-shui Chiang is quite broad and fertile especially in its central part. Thus the Min Shan is a distinct and separate range. Of course the entire region is mountainous but the mountains are much lower both to the north and to the south of the Min Shan; they are mere hills in comparison, especially those to the north of it. In the extreme eastern end the limestone extends across the Pai-shui Chiang Valley and there the river flows in a narrow chasm. It is here that the Min Shan connects with the range to the south where two streams, the To-erh-ku Ho 多兒谷河 and the A-hsia-ku Ho 阿夏谷河 join the Pai shui Chiang coming from the south and having their source in the range over which a pass called the Yang-pu Shan-k'ou 楊布山口 leads into Ssu-ch'uan; the pass is the border between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan. From here long valleys lead

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Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 作 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

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south as the Ta-shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. Rock, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓杠嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-hing Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西傾山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[2] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 故姬 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu 建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定作 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大作 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 姑復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木裏 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 作 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定作縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 作都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 作 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 巂 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

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173 At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,[18] and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties. — In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,[19] to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晉寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420–478), Ch'i 齊 (479–501), Liang 梁 (502–556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳紀 (557–589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty. — In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽[20] to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河,[21] to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

[18] Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'i 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

[19] In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chun 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

[20] According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

133 312 [21] The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 霸谷山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

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teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien. 173

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649–764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.[22] He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).[23]

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'iung [but read *k'ung* in Yünnan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賺詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙巂詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,[24] received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣[25] requesting that he

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through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449). They burst ten times between 1691–1775. 312 133

[22] The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關). 173

[23] The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649–902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

[24] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

[25] P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 邏盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 52. — THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

麗江縣白沙鄉

The Hsiang or Commune of Pai-sha, looking south-east from the trail to Här-lär-gkv. Lower left, the village of Dü-gkv or Yü-lung-ts un; the building embowered in the grove of tall trees to the right of village is the Pei-yo Miao. See Plate 61.

[p.108 D]

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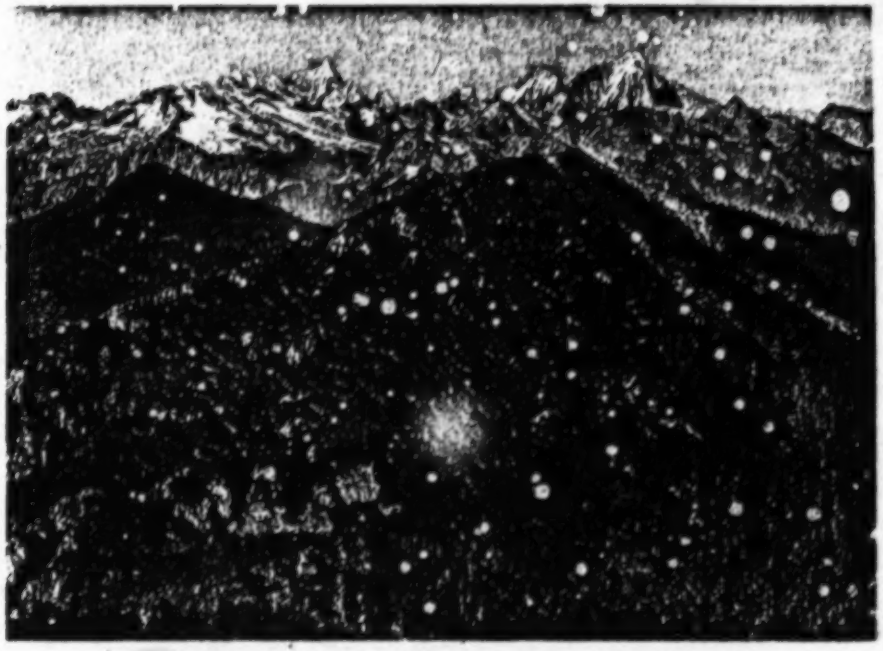

PLATE 55.—THE THREE PROTECTING LORDS, THE GANGKAR-LING SNOW PEAKS

雪嶺三護法神 岡拉仁波切 木雅

The Gangkar Rinsun gompo, the Three Protectors. The three peaks rise from a plateau 17,000 feet in height. From left to right they are: Jambyang, Chenrezig, Chhana-dorje. Photographed from an elevation of 14,900 feet west of Mt. Nu-tai-ga, in Mu-li; Hsi-k'ang. See also Plates 56, 57, 58, 59.

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[P. 108 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 56. — MOUNT CHHAMA-DORJE, THE HOLDER OF THE THUNDERBOLT OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

[illegible] (峰) 山

As seen from a ridge near Dra-go-tse, elevation 15,350 ft. Approximately 21,000 ft. in height.

[p. 108 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 57. — MOUNT JAMEYANG, THE GOD OF LEARNING OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢噶嶺文殊山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. Approximately 21,000 feet in height.

[p. 108 I]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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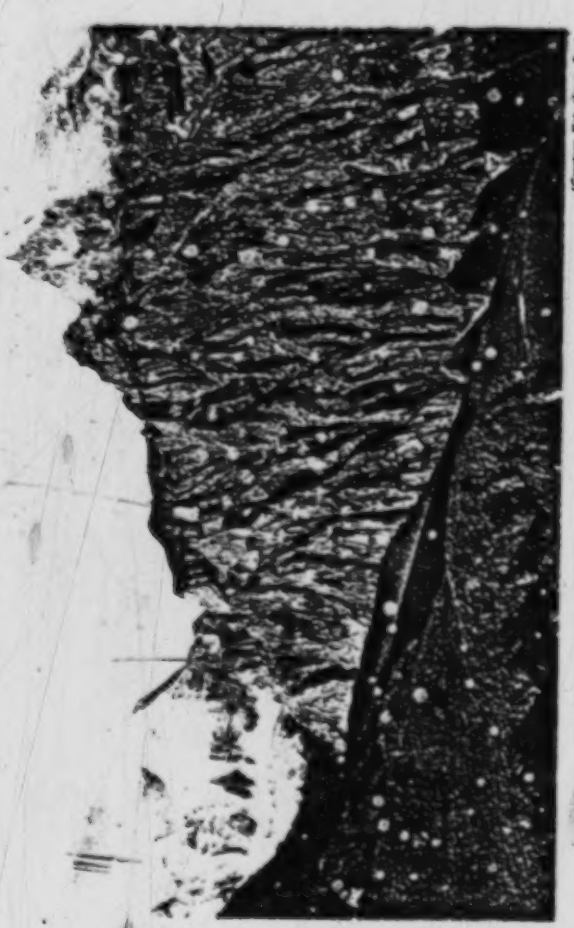

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 58.—JAGGEDNESS AND CRENULATION OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

Photographed from Bayu Camp, elevation 17,500 feet.

[p. 108 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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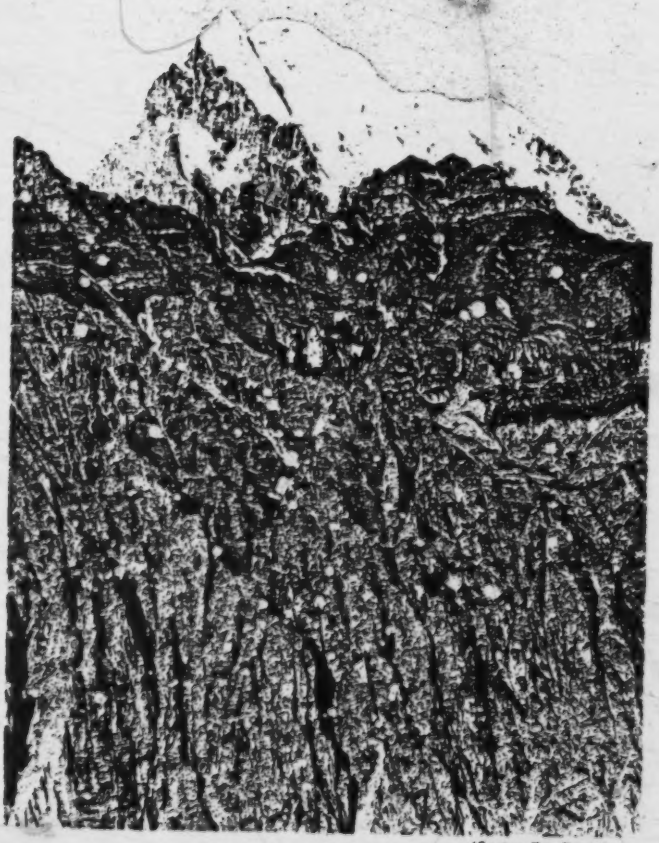

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 59. — MOUNT CHENREZIG OR KUAN-YIN, THE GODDESS OF MERCY OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

觀音山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. The deeply eroded cliff is porphyry and is not part of the main peak, a deep gorge separates the mountain from the cliff. It is the highest of the three peaks and probably 21,500 feet in height.

[p. 108 K]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 60. — MINYA GANGKAR, THE MINYA SNOW PEAK

雅 砻 明 雪 峰 大 雪 山

The highest peak of the Minya Gangkar Snow range, altitude 24,900 feet. Photographed from a ridge overlooking Bü Chhu Lung-pa east of Yü-lung-shih from an elevation of 16,500 feet.

[p.108 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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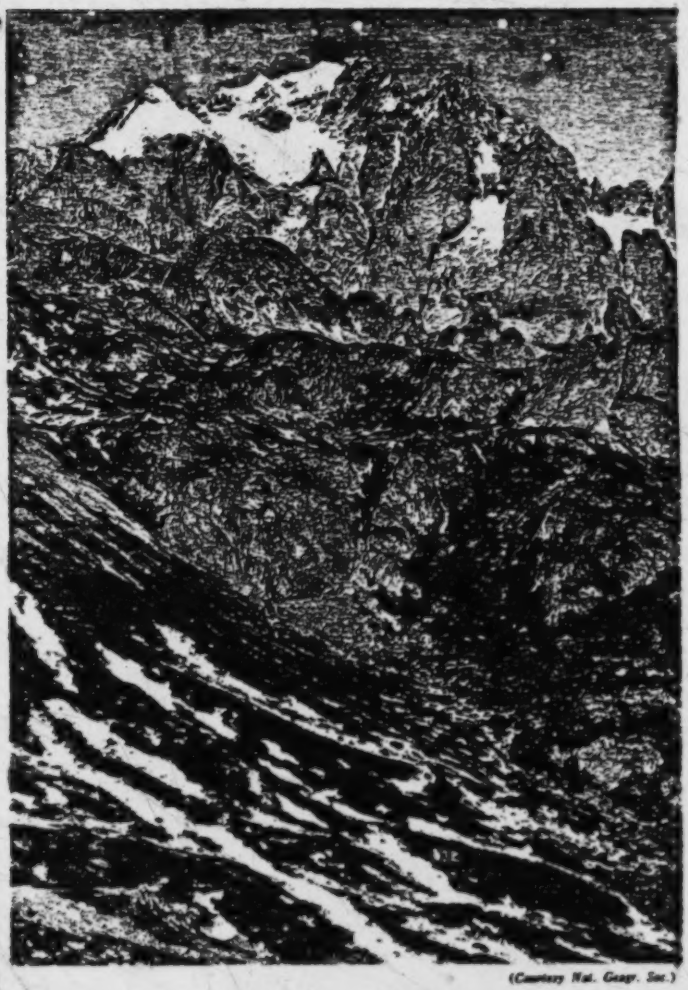

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 68. — THE LIMESTONE MASS OF SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉 龍 山 獅 子 頭 山 峰

View from near the edge of Sa-ba lo-gkv gorge looking west. The dark patches in the foreground are *Rhododendron prostratum* growing on the scree. Between the main peak and the rugged limestone mass beyond the scree lies the 4,500 feet deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. Photographed from an elevation of 15,500 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 70. — THE GORGE SA-BA LO-GEV

The gorge which has no outlet was once glacier-filled; it is now waterless except in its upper part. Forest of spruce and Rhododendron which give way to firs higher up in the gorge. The glacier in the upper right descends from the highest peak, Shan-tzu-tou; its snout is now at the extreme head of the gorge. Photographed from La-so-gko-dshwua elevation 12,300 feet, and 300 feet above the floor of the gorge. The leafless trees in the foreground are larches (*Larix Potaninii*).

[p.140 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 71. — THE SA-BA GORGE

圖 巴 沙 峽

The mighty gorge once filled with a glacier is now dry and the limestone floor is sparingly covered with *Pinus yunnanensis*. It extends east from about the center of the snow range, south of the Yangtse. A similar gorge (Gyi-p'ie k'a) but longer, extends west from the other side of the range in contraposition of Sa-ba; it is 1,650 feet lower than Sa-ba. The broad rocky mass above the pine-covered spur (left) is Gpö-gko 'a-k'ö; La-so-gko-dzwnk is near the head (top) of the pine-covered spur whence Plate 70 was taken.

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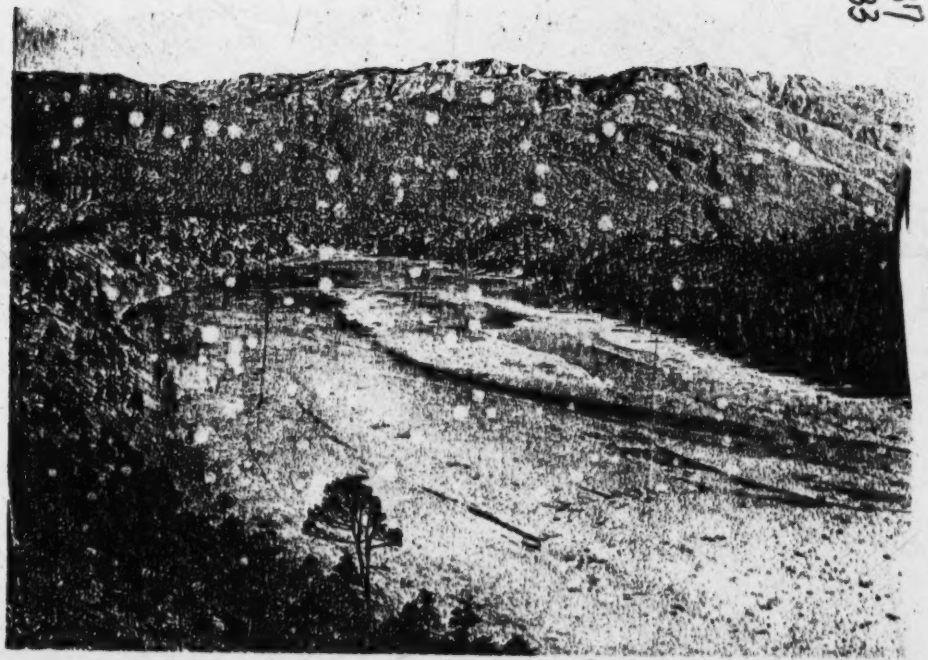

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 72. — SA-BA DÜ-LA-LO, THE NORTHEASTERN BRANCH OF SA-BA

The floor of this part of Sa-ba is composed of almost pure marl; the encircling moraines are covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. The distance from Sa-ba lo-gkv, the head of the gorge, to the end of Sa-ba dü-la-lo is over three miles. The glacier which once filled this gorge has now retreated to its very head.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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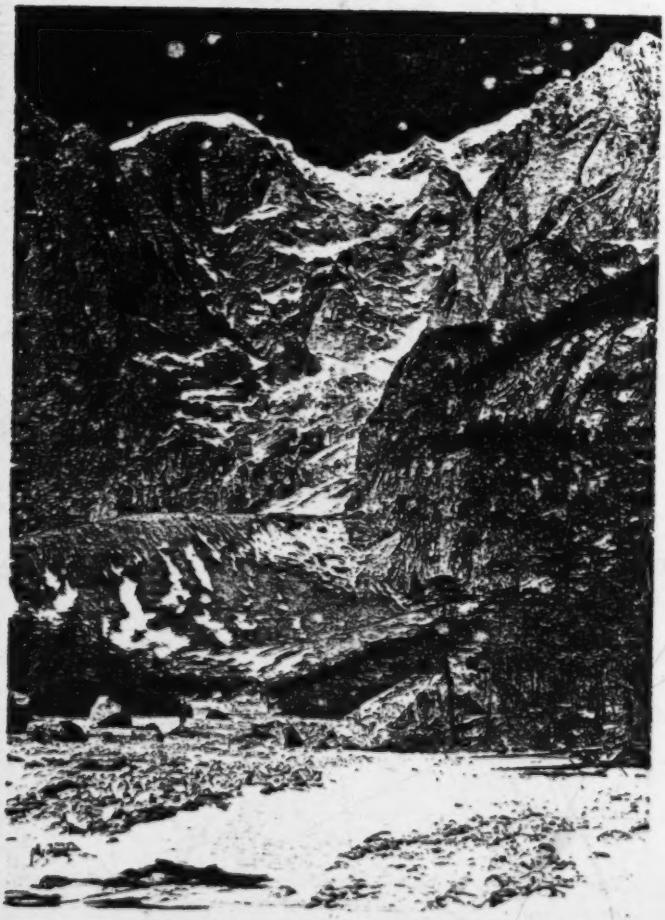

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 75. — THE GLACIER AT THE HEAD OF SA-BA LO-GKV

The glacier which once filled Sa-ba is fed by the avalanches of ice and snow from Shan-tzu-tou visible in the picture. In the summer waterfalls tumble over the limestone cliffs which form the head of Sa-ba or Sa-ba lo-gkv. Elevation of glacier 13,250 feet.

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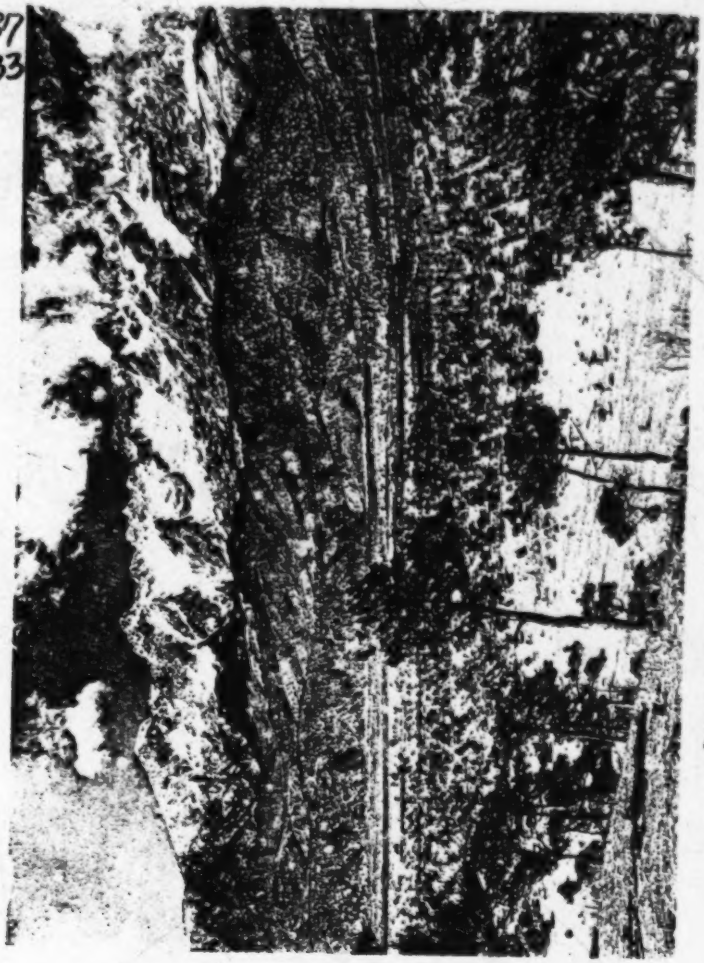

PLATE 77. — SOUTHERN END OF THE YU-LUNG SHAN IN WINTER SNOW

玉龍山南麓

View across the upper end of the Li-chiang plain from the eastern limestone range at Dza-dza mlo. The trees are all pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*). The first snow-covered crag (left) is Hua-li-bpu. The others are called first half Nv-lv-na, the second Nv-lv-p'ér (black and white silver rocks) owing to the black and white scree which descend from the crags.

[p.140 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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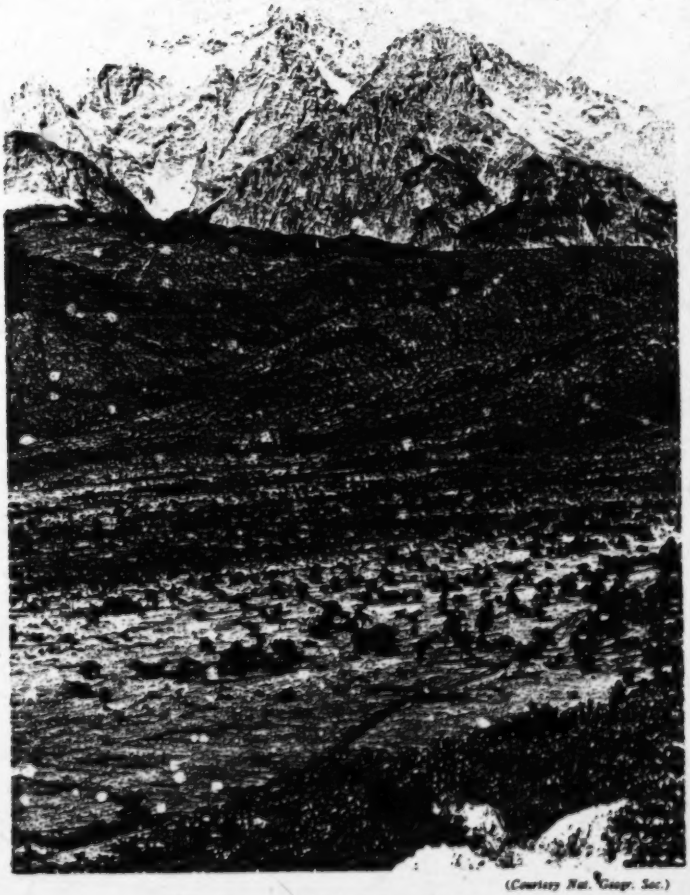

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 78.— MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山扇子頭

View from Dza-dza mbu (Dshi-hō gyi-tsi) across northern end of Li-chiang plain and west to Shan-tzu-tou. The Sa-ba gorge is beyond the diagonal spur. Pine trees on plain; scrub oak and limestone in foreground. Where the lowest snow field seems to join the spur is La-so-gko-dshwuā.

[p.140 N]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 79. — NGA-BA, THE ANCIENT BED OF AN ICE LAKE

玉龍山乾海子，古冰湖底子

Situated at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan, elevation 10,500 feet. The trees on the grassy plain are pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which higher up give way to poplars (*Populus Bonatii*) and larches (*Larix Potaninii*). The first peak (left) is Ch'wua-lo-gku: the second Sa-ba nv-lv; the third Shan-tzu-tou. Note the man on horseback in lower right.

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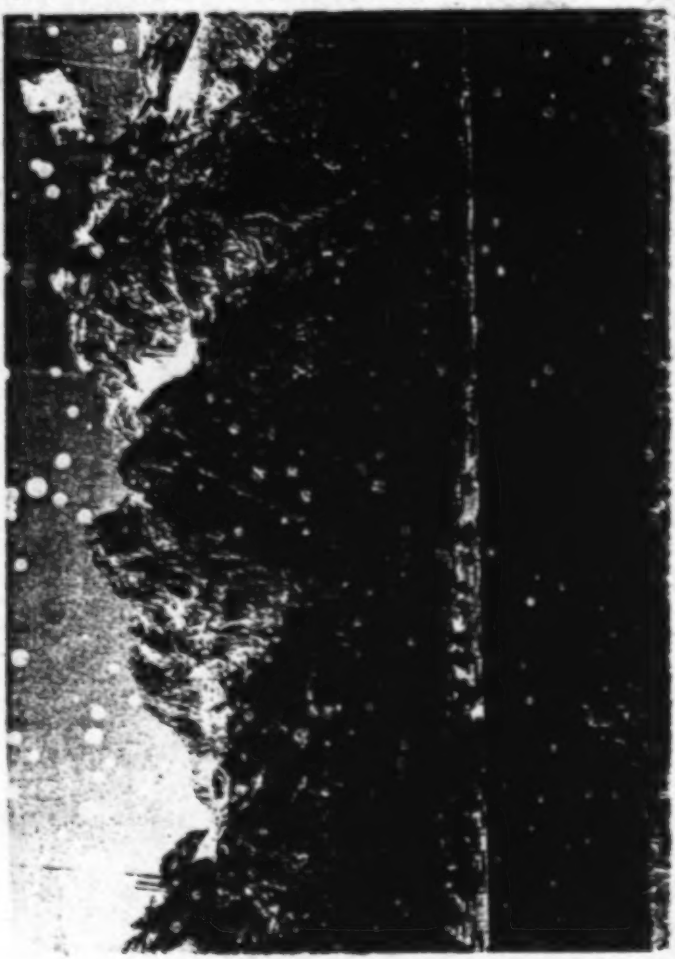

(Courtesy Pat. Gen. Int.)

PLATE 16.—NIAN-PA THROUGHOUT INTO A RIVER LAKE

Only during summers of exceptional heavy rains does a lake form at Nian-ba; by spring, however, the waters disappear entirely. The author's camp can be seen on lake shore (center). The central peak is Nian-ba proper; the far peak Ga-ma-ri.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 83. — THE WHITE WATER GLACIER STREAM

玉龍山白水河

Looking up the Pai-shui stream, the Gyi-p'er of the Na-khi, from an ancient stone bridge, elevation 10,000 feet. Spruces, willows and rhododendrons line the stream-bed. The rocky mass on the left is Nga-ba nv-lv; the higher snow-covered peak, Gyi-nä nv-lv.

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Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest Chin AF16

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PLATE 84. — NOA-SI GEN, THE LOVELIEST OF ALPINE MEADOWS

Situated on a spur overlooking Pal-shut, at an elevation of 10,700 feet. The mighty mountain near Shan-tzu-tsu with its glacier which feeds the Pal-shut, overshadows the meadow. Forests of tall spruces (*Picea Mikongensis*) surround it. The author camped here for weeks translating Na-khi literature.

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PLATE 63.—THE THREE HUNDRED PASS GORGE, SZ-SU

As seen from Wei-an plain, elevation 10,100 feet. Spruce forest near the base of the mountain, fire on the central slopes. In the summer numerous waterfalls descend over the limestone cliffs, while in the winter the snows are blown off the summit ridge.

[p.156 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 86. — LOOKING SOUTH ALONG THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉 龍 山

The grassy downs extend to Yu-k'o-lo, a gulch at the foot of Gyi-nà nv-lv. The trees are Abies, the only survivors of extensive forests which covered this region. Shan-tsu-tou in the distance (left). Gyi-nà nv-lv in immediate background.

[p. 156 F]

PLATE 87.—ON THE SUMMIT SLOPES OF GYI-NÀ SO-LO

基 本 山 之 頂 坡 雪 景

The broad summit ridge is buried in its upper part by a glacier which extends north; many beautiful alpine plants live in the crevices of the limestone rocks. West of the mountain and parallel to it is the 'A-ta'an-gho range, see plate 89.
Photographed looking south from an elevation of 16,000 feet.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 68.—THE CONFLUENCE OF THE CHIEN-T'AI HO AND THE YANGTSE NEAR TA-KU

建 瞻 河 合 流 處 之 大 渡

The Chien-t'ai Ho has its source in the glaciers of Mt. Gyi-ni Ne-le and the 'A-ti'ngko Range; its greyish-white waters debouch into the Yangtse near Ta-ku.

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PLATE 89.—THE SOUTHERN PEAKS OF 'A-TA'AN-GZO

* 雪 山, * 公 山, * 果 山

The first is A-szu nv-lv or Mu-kung Shan, it is the second highest peak of the Yü-lung Shan; the second is A-ku nv-lv or Mu-kung Shan; the third A-mbu nv-lv or Mu-kao Shan. In foreground the summit slopes of Gyi-nk nv-lv. The Yangtze flows more than 10,000 feet below the peaks.

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PLATE 96.—THE NORTHERN CRAGS OF 'A-TA'-SE-GO

玉 龍 山 之 北 麓 圖

The Yangtze flows several thousand feet below these crags, a continuation of the peaks shown on Plate 84. The last broad peak (extreme right), the fourth highest of the Yü-lung Shan in Hsi-ka county (Hsi-pei Shan 西北山); it is separated from the crags by the Yangtze, which here cuts through the snow range and forms the 'A-ta-ngko gorge. The trees on the slopes are Abies.

[p. 172 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 98. — MOUNT GYI-NÄ NY-LY AND THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO RANGE

As seen from near Mha-yi-wän. The broad mountain mass (left) is Gyi-nä ny-ly; the peaks and crags behind form the 'A-ts'an-gko range back of which the Yangtze flows in a gorge more than 10,000 feet deep. Fine forest in foreground. *See* also Plates 89 and 90.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 100. — THE YANGTSE AT LA-PAO LOOKING DOWNSTREAM

The river which flows in a magnificent gorge separates La-pao (right) from Yung-ning (left). The village of La-bpu 'A-k'o with its terraced fields is visible in lower center of picture. Photographed from summit of La-bpu mbu 10,700 feet elevation, looking south.

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PLATE 103. — THE YANGTZE — GV-HO-GU GORGE

瀘 下 關 金 沙 江 峽 口

Beyond the gorge is the district of La-pao where Kublai Khan first fought the Mo-so (Na-khi) December, 1253. He was opposed by them at a pass called Hsieh-shan-men Kuan, west (right) of the Gv-ho-gu gorge. The triangular peak beyond the gorge (center) is La-hpu mbu.

[p. 172-a]

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PLATE 104.—IN THE GO-BO-GU YANGTZE GORGE

雲貴金沙江臥波谷

Pines and oaks cling to the vertical walls forming the Go-bo-gu gorge in which the Yangtze roars several thousand feet below the summit crags. Photographed from a bluff in the Gko-mâ ravine, elevation 8,000 feet. The gorge separates the Fang-k'o from the La-pao district.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER II

1. The Mountains of Li-chiang

according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*

(上 ch. 4, fols. 23A–24B)

Wu-lieh Shan 吳烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. 842
On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 娘娘廟, where barren 778
women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children.

Tung Shan 東山 [1] (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the 133
east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city.

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,[2] also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wûa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (Plates 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple 778
called P'u-te t'an 普德壇,[3] built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the 774

[1] To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-ma*, (Tibetan, *gtor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

[2] San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

[3] The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muan-bpö d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

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T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

Chih Shan 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子崖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

Ma-tso-shu Shan 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

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khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po

দ্ৰ্ঘ্ৰ্ম্মুগ্ৰ্পো], *i.e.*, the purple mountain of Jang-Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明具, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 [6] is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dyansty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 [7] is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [8] flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

[6] There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dü-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

[7] This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 雒均山 and La-chün Shan 剌均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 雒均山 is 20 li north-west of the old Lan chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 剌鉤山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈞. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the pastures pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu-niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling-ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石賴江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

[8] It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

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133 *Hsüeh-p'an Shan* 雪盤山 (Snow basin Mountain) is situated 200 li south-west of Li-chiang, and 10 li west from the ancient Lan chou. It has 12 separate peaks, and snow remains throughout the four seasons [there are, however, no glaciers on the mountain, which is 14,000 feet in height].

[列] The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is now better known as the Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt road Mountain), as all the salt from the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 wells is brought over this mountain to Chien-ch'uan, etc. On the latest Yün-nan military map, published in 1928, the Hsüeh-p'an Shan extends east of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 for about 120 li, about 50 li north of Lan-p'ing and 70 li south, making a curve. In the same range is a mountain marked Fu-yüan Shan 福源山, extending somewhat north-east. I believe that this mountain is identical with the peaks known as Yen-lu Shan, and is the central part of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan.

How accurate Chinese geographical accounts are as to distances can be judged from the following statement found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 4, fol. 51b: "The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is 200 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang, and 10 li west of the ancient Lan chou [present Lan-p'ing]"; On p. 35a, it states that "the ancient Lan chou is 360 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang." We have here a difference of 160 li; furthermore the Hsüeh-p'an Shan is not west, but east of Lan-p'ing. By stating it is 10 li distant from Lan chou, one would expect a definite mountain and not a range about 120 li long. There is a high mountain mass just about 20 li east of Lan-p'ing, and that is the Yen-lu Shan (Handel-Mazzetti's Ye-lu-schan). I crossed that mountain three times and know whereof I speak.

About the Fu-yüan Shan the same source states that it is 250 li west of Li-chiang, yet this mountain is in the center of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan. Again, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that the Yen-lu Shan is south of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan and reaches to the border of Yün-lung. On its southern slopes rises the Ta-lang Ho 大朗河, which flows south-west into the Pi Chiang 沘江. [This is the river which flows past Yün-lung and is marked as the Lo-ma Ho on Major Davies' map.]

Fu-yüan Shan 福源山 (Lucky spring Mountain) is 250 li west of Li-chiang and at the north border of Lan-p'ing. The mountain extends south-east over 50 li.

Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (Piebald horse Mountain) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and near the south-east border of the ancient Chü-chin chou 巨津州, the present Chü-tien. On one of the cliffs is a rock resembling a piebald horse, whence the name. In ancient days the people of the Mo-so chao called their country the Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 after that mountain. (*See* History of Li-chiang, p. 95.)

Han-sou Shan 漢搜山 is 500 li west of Li-chiang and close to the Shu-miao 樹苗汛 guard-house, north-west of the ancient Chü-chin chou. It is a spur or branch of the Lao-chün Shan. On its summit are three lakes, each five *mou* wide, or a little less than an English acre, and of unknown depth. [This mountain is south of present-day Lu-tien 魯甸.]

Feng-lo Ta-shan 風羅大山 is over 700 li west of Li-chiang; it forms the western valley wall of the Mekong or Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, and extends to

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Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), forming the divide between the Nu-tzu 怒子 [9] and the Mekong.

Ko-le Shan 葛樂山 is 420 li west of Li-chiang and forms the eastern valley wall of the Mekong, west of the present Lan-p'ing. It is composed of two parallel mountains, each with three distinct peaks overlooking the Mekong.

Nu-huon Shan 怒獾山 is 190 li west of the Li-chiang district. From its slopes rises the T'ung-tien Ho 通甸河. [The T'ung-tien Ho is the southernmost branch of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江.] It flows past T'ung-tien, and debouches into the Mekong at Sha-tien 沙甸. [This place is south of Shu-miao 樹苗, which is the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border.]

Shih-ho Shan 十和山 is 20 li north-west of Li-chiang. At its foot is a village called Shih-ho-ts'un 十和村. [This is in the sub-district of Shu-ho; Na-khi: Shwua-wûa.]

La-pa Shan (Na-khi: La-ba Ngyu) is 160 li west-north-west of Li-chiang. It is also called Feng-shui-ling 分水嶺. The Shih-ku Stream (Na-khi: Pa-tzu gyi, or La-ba pa-tzu gyi) has its source on the eastern slopes and flows at Shih-ku into the Yangtze. Handel-Mazzetti calls this mountain "Lo-tue schan." This is a mistake and his informer evidently had Lao-chün Shan in mind, which is also called Lo-chün Shan.

2. JADE DRAGON MOUNTAIN, OR YÜ-LUNG SHAN 玉龍山 THE LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE (PLATE 54)

This beautiful mountain range, consisting of three main peaks, extends from north to south; in its northern part it is cut through by the Yangtze, which separates the third peak (Ha-ba ndshêr nv-lv) from the two southern peaks. The gorge which divides the range is known as 'A-ts'an gko and is described elsewhere (pp. 256–282).[10]

The southernmost is the highest peak and dominates the Li-chiang plain. It is known as Shan-tzu-tou 扇子陡, for its fluted face, the outspread snow ridges below the summit resemble an opened fan held upright. Shan-tzu-tou is 19,800 feet high.

The second peak, but not the second highest of the mountain mass of which it is a part, is commonly called Gyi-nâ lo-gkv (H.-M., Dyinaloko) which really means "Inside the black water valley." It may be better described as Gyi-nâ nv-lv (Black water snow peak); [the literal translation of *nv-lv* is silver rocks, by which the Na-khi denote a snow peak.] This peak differs greatly from the highest one of the range, and is somewhat further east than Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as on Handel-Mazzetti's map.

West, and parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nâ nv-lv, but connected at the very top by a spur from which a deep valley extends north, is a

[9] The Nu-tzu (Lu-tzu 黑子), are a tribe inhabiting the upper Salween in Yün-nan territory, hence the Salween — Mekong divide is meant.

[10] The Yü-lung Shan is also called Sung Hsüeh-shan 雪雪山 (Lofty Snow mountain), and Fa Hsüeh-ling 之雪嶺 (Peerless Snow peak).

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133 range of ice-crowned peaks exactly like those of Shan-tzu-tou. The last of these peaks at the head of the valley is higher than Gyi-nä nv-lv, hitherto considered the second highest peak of the Jade-dragon mountain. It is of about the same height as Shan-tzu-tou. This parallel range is often spoken of by the Na-khi as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv (Snow peaks of 'A-ts'an-gko), and I have adopted the name for the ice-crowned peaks, the southernmost of which is the second highest, with Gyi-nä nv-lv third, and Ha-bu ndahêr nv-lv fourth of the Li-chiang snow range.

There are many snow peaks in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan, some of which are higher than the Li-chiang range and like the latter they also extend from north to south. Directly north of Li-chiang, in the new province of Hsi-k'ang 西康, is a large snow range called Gangs-dkar Rigs-gsum-mgon-po (pronounced Gangkar risum gompo), (PLATE 55), also known as the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) snow range (Kung-ka-ling Hsüeh-Shan 貢噶嶺雪山 in Chinese). (PLATES 55, 56, 57, 58, 59). It is composed of three isolated peaks which rise from a high plateau and form a triangle,[11] but they extend from west to east, and are directly north of the Yangtze loop. The river Zho Chhu (Iron River; Wu-liang Ho 無量河 of the Chinese) flows at the foot of the range and debouches into the Yangtze at the apex of the loop (PLATE 105). The entire Gangkar-ling range and the Zho Chhu were once under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs, in particular during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619). There are extensive Na-khi villages, collectively called O-yü, the inhabitants of which are descendants of the Na-khi soldiers who once guarded the region.

There is one other range not marked on any map, and that is Mu-ti Gangkar (Mu-ti Gangs-dkar)[12] which lies east of the Ya-lung 雅龍 in Hsi-k'ang. It is about 19,000 feet in height and glacier-crowned; the western face of the mountain is in Mu-li 木里 (Mi-li in Hsi-fan, Mä-li in Na-khi) territory; it also extends from north to south, with the Ya-lung flowing at its foot, in a gorge 11,500 feet deep, and 1,300 feet higher than the Yangtze.

361 Still farther north is the Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar[13] (Minya Konka as I baptized it) (PLATE 60). It is north-east of the Mu-ti Gangkar range and south-west of
134 Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐, in Hsi-k'ang. Although Na-khi are supposed to live near Ta-chien-lu, in all my travels in that region I have not come across any of their villages. The farthest north are those on the Tibetan side north of Yar-kha-lo and in Mu-li territory near the Yün-nan border. These will be described in their respective places.

135 The Li-chiang Records state that besides being called the Yü-lung Shan, the Li-chiang snow range is also called Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺 and is covered with eternal snow, visible for a hundred li or more. Half-way up the mountain is said to be a pond, but the only pond known to me on this snow range is at the foot of the last and southernmost crag, called Hua-li-bpu (H–M., Ünlupe).

[11] The three peaks are named after the Lamaist trimurti Rigs-gsum mgon-po ཤེས་ནས་ཀུན་ལ་ཁྱབ་པ (The Three Lords), defenders of Lamaism, *i.e.*, Chenrezig (Spyan-ras-gzigs), Jambyang (Hjam-dbyangs) and Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje).

[12] ལྷ་ཀ་ཐང

[13] ཨ་ཁ་ཐང

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PLATE 105. — THE CONFLUENCE OF THE YANGTZE AND THE ZHO CHIU

金沙江與雅礱江匯合處

The Zho Chiu or Wu-jiang Ho enters the Yangtze at the apex of the loop. Li-chiang, Yung-ning and Chung-tien territories meet here.

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(Courtesy Pal. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 106.—THE WESTERN ARM OF THE YANGTSE LOOP

金沙江西支河曲

The Yangtse makes two sharp bends ere reaching the apex near Shang Fung-k'o. Photographed from the central spur elevation 9,400 feet. Pines cover the hillsides.

[p. 188 B]

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 109. — THE EASTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP

The river flows here in a deep gorge which separates Li-chiang from Yung-ning territory. The bend seen in the picture is north of Feng-k'o. The high mountain in the distance is Wu-ho over 15,000 feet in height. Photographed from an elevation 10,100 feet. Pines in foreground.

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PLATE 108. — THE YANGTZE NEAR P'A-LO

金沙江巴羅

The river (looking upstream) flows here in an arid gorge; the Li-su hamlet of P'a-lo (Chinese Pa-lo), also called Tse-mi, can be seen on the steep slopes above the alluvial fan, about center of picture. Left is Li-chiang, right, Yung-ning territory. Photographed from a bluff elevation 6,800 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 109. — THE YANGTZE AT CHIANG-WAI

江 外 渡 口

This arid gorge is dreary and a waste of rock and grass. A ferry plies here between Ba-yi-gkv in Yung-ning and Chiang-wai (Da-dö-gku) in Li-chiang territory (left). The latter village can be seen on the slopes (left margin of picture). La-bpu mbu whence Plate 100 was taken is beyond the gorge, about center (left) of picture.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 110. — THE ONLY BRIDGE ACROSS THE YANGTSE

金龍橋渡

The Chin-lung ch'iao (Golden dragon bridge) spans the Yangtse at Tzu-li-chiang. The village above the bridge is called Chin-lung-ch'iao-ts'un or Gku-k'o-ndu in Na-khi. The mountains on the other side of the river are in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) territory.

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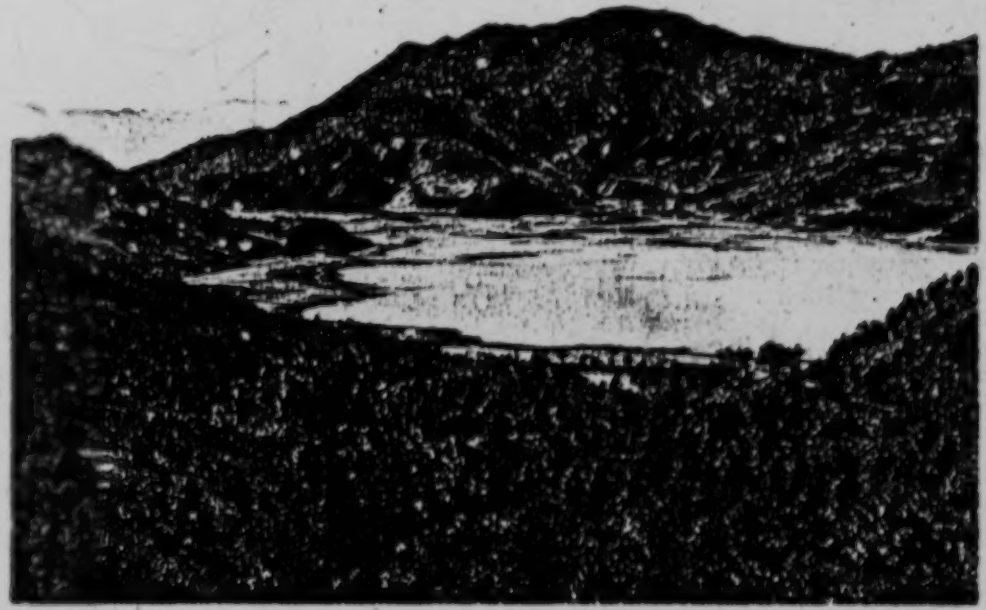

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 113. — GRAW-NGAW LAKE

龍 海 子

The lake, situated at the southwestern end of the Yü-lung Shan, has a subterranean outlet. In the summer the meadows surrounding it are a blaze of color. It is the home of *Primula Vialii* and many other lovely flowers. Pines in foreground. Elevation of lake 10,500 feet.

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PLATE 115 — THE YANGTSE AT GOÔ-LO

The river is here considerably broad; at the foot of the mountain mass, overshadowed by the snowpeak Ha-ba nshêr nv-iv, the Yangtse makes a sharp bend to the right and cuts through the Yü-lung Shan.

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PLATE 117. — THE ENTRANCE TO 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

金沙江入玉龍山峽

The Yangtze entering the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge which it has carved for itself through the Yü-lung Shan. Left, Chung-tien; right, Li-chiang territory. In the winter, the dry season, sand islands appear in the riverbed. Photographed from a terrace south of La-tsa-ku, Chung-tien district.

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PLATE 118. — CONFLUENCE OF THE CHUNG-CHIANG HO AND YANGTZE

金沙江與中江匯合後

The Chung-chiang Ho or Yü-ndo gyi descends from the highlands of Chung-tien and debouches into the Yangtse where the latter enters the great 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Looking south, upstream; Li-chiang territory left, Chung-tien territory right.

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PLATE 119.—THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE NEAR NO-YÜ

金沙江玉龍山峽谷內

The river flows placidly at the foot of stupendous limestone cliffs opposite No-yü. In the deep lateral ravine called Muan-gko-hsi a few Li-su families eke out a precarious existence.

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PLATE 120. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雲 月 角 峽 峽

Looking south-west, back towards the entrance of the gorge from a lateral spur or bluff, 8,000 feet elevation. Pines in foreground.

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133 This pond, which only exists in the summer, is called Tsu-k'aw-khü; when it is full it descends as a waterfall over a vertical cliff several hundred feet high, the water having cut a terrific, narrow channel in the rock. This waterfall is called 'A-nggü-t'an (Floor of the split cliff).

The name Yü-lung Shan was first mentioned by Pauthier in *L'Universe* (*Chine*) in 1837,[14] and appears on the Chinese maps and in Chinese geographies as well as in the Li-chiang Records. The following appears in the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 113, fols. 15a–16b.

"The Yü-lung Shan is situated 20 li north-west of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. It is also known as Sung hsüeh-shan 聳雪山 (Lofty snow mountain) and commonly as Hsüeh-shan. The entire range extends for about 100 li, and about ten high peaks rise to the skies. It looks down on the Li Shui 麗水 (Beautiful River) [Yangtze]. The snow which accumulates during the summer never melts. Its cliffs rise to the height of 10,000 jen 仞 [one *jen* = 8 feet]. If one looks at it from beyond 1,000 li, it seems as near as the distance between a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches. It is connected with the mountains of Sung chou 松州 of Ssu-ch'uan."[15]

The Meng family 蒙氏 (of the Nan-chao Kingdom) bestowed the name of Pei-yo 北嶽 (North sacred Mountain) upon it, and also called it Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺.

133 175 During the reign of T'ang Te Tsung, period Cheng-yüan (785–804) Wei Kao agreed with Yün-nan to attack jointly the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and drove them beyond Yün-ling 雲嶺, that is beyond the Hsüeh-ling (Li-chiang snow range).

In the beginning of the Yüan Chih-shun 元至順 (1330) period, one of the rulers of Yün-nan, T'u-chien 禿堅,[16] and others rebelled against the Mongol

[14] On p. 7 of his work a list is given of all the snow mountains of China, which is headed by Yün-nan. The fifth mountain mentioned is the Li-chiang snow range, and he states: "Siuè chan (montagne de neige) ou Yu-loung-chan, 26° 33′–97°. Cette montagne colossale est visible à une distance très-considérable; elle est couronnée par plusieurs glaciers élevés."

[15] This is the present day Sung-pan hsien 松潘縣 in the extreme north-west of Ssu-ch'uan. It is, of course, not connected with the mountains of that district, unless one considers all mountains to be so connected.

[16] The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fols. 55a–57a, states: "History relates that T'u-chien and the Wan-hu 萬戶 (Rulers of 10,000 families) Po-hu 伯忽 and A-ho 阿禾 rebelled and attacked Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路, (the circuit of Chung-ch'ing = Yün-nan fu), and killed the secretary of the judicial commissioner, whereupon he called himself King of Yün-nan. This happened in the third moon of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun of Yüan Wen Tsung 元文宗." The *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史, ch. 22, fol. 1a, says that T'u-chien rebelled in the first moon of the spring *ting-ssu* 丁巳 of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun (January 24th, 1330); he made himself King of Yün-nan in the second moon *chia-wu* 甲午 (March 2nd, 1330). Po-hu became the Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 (Assistant minister) and A-ho became the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State). In the fifth moon the Yün-nan Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使, Lu-yü 祿余 [he was the native official of Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung hsien 昭通縣 in north-east Yün-nan], rebelled and joined T'u-chien.

"History further relates that Lu-yü acquired merit by killing T'u-chien. He thereupon was made Hsing-sheng ts'an-chih-cheng ssu 行省參知政事.

"The Lo-lo and all the savages who had joined T'u-chien started rebellions everywhere and the P'ing-chang T'ieh-mu-erh Pu-hua 帖木兒不花 [grandson of Kublai] met his death.

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133 175 dynasty, and the Ssu-ch'uan army was ordered to punish them. In the defiles of the Hsüeh-shan they defeated the army of the Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯.[17] According to the *Tien-chih* 滇志, I-mou-hsün proclaimed himself Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) in the fourth year of T'ang Cheng-yüan (788) and under pretext bestowed titles on five mountains, and four rivers. The eastern one, or Tung-yo, is called Chiang-yün-lu Sung-wai Lung Shan 江雲露松外龍山 and is situated 280 li north-east of the chou (department) of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸州 in the prefecture of Wu-ting 武定府, adjoining the border of Tung-ch'uan fu 東川府, Ssu-ch'uan (now Hui-tse 惠澤 in Yün-nan); it is also called Wu-meng Shan 烏蒙山, Yün-lung Shan 雲龍山 and Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山.[18] The northern part of this range overlooks the Yangtze. Its twelve great steep peaks, extend for more than 70 li. In the twentieth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (546) the military governor of Sui chou 嶲州, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, said that the various Man beyond Sung, i.e., Sung-wai, only temporarily submitted and later revolted again. He petitioned the government to attack them in order to open the road to Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (Ta-li Lake) and India. This he was permitted to do. The following year the government sent Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 to mobilize the army of the 12 chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and punish the various Man of Sung-wai. Over 100,000 barbarians were killed and captured. Thereupon the various Man, severely frightened, dispersed to live in the valleys of the mountains. An envoy was then sent to Hsi-erh Ho, who, by proclamation, ordered the native leaders to submit. The chief Meng-yü 蒙羽 of Sung-wai was also ordered to pay tribute to the T'ang dynasty.

Afterwards T'u-chien's younger brother Pi-la-tu-mi-shih 必剌都迷失 and his whole family drowned themselves in the Lake (Yün-nan fu Lake). Two more of his younger brothers and his three sons were captured and executed while Lu-yü fled and all the rest were pacified."

[17] The Lo-lo-ssu were the aborigines ruled by a native chief who lived one li east of Chien-ch'ang 建昌, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. The *T'u-i k'ao* 土彝考 says that during the period Yüan Chih-cheng (1341–1367) there was established the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai-fu 宣慰司都元帥府 of the Lo-lo, the Meng-ch'ing 蒙慶 and of other places. They and their chief dispersed and lived to the west of the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河. The grandson of the Lo-lo-ssu Hsüan-wei-ssu, An-p'u-pu 安普卜 by name, submitted with all his people in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371). He was given the title of T'u-chi-hui-shih 土指揮使 and ordered to administer the affairs of the military station of Chien-ch'ang (wei). He was, however, given neither letters patent nor a seal. He controlled territory 15 horse-stages in extent and ruled nine tribes, viz.: P'o-jen 婆人, Lo-lo 倮倮, Pai-i 白彝, Hsi-fan 西番, Mo-so 麼些, Lu-lu 猺獠, Mongols, Mohammedans and Yü-jen 漁人. The Lo-lo were the most refractory and all these tribes scattered to the mountain valleys. The territory extended for more than 1,000 li each way; north to the Ta-tu Ho, south to the Yangtze, east to Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung), and west to Yen-ching 鹽井, the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣. The grandson six generations after him died without issue and the tribes all rebelled. The stronger lorded it over the weaker, and feuds caused constant murder, until all was quiet again after a long lapse of time.

[18] The *Tung-ch'uan fu chih*, ch. 4, fol. 5a, states that the mountain is 200 li south-west of the city of Tung-ch'uan, and is also called Yün-lung Shan 雲弄山. From Hsün-tien 尋甸 and Ch'e-hu 車湖 a branch extends 300 li as far as San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. Much snow remains on the mountain, hence it is called snow mountain. It is also called Wu-lung Shan 烏龍山. This name appeared first in the western Han dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Chiang-yün-lu Shan. Now it is known as Wu-lung-hsüeh-shan 五龍雪山. It is very steep and imposing, its 12 peaks extending through the clouds. On its summit is a lake called Hui-niao Hu 惠鳥湖.

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The South mountain, or Nan-yo 南嶽, is called Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 and is situated 80 li north of the prefectural city of Ching-tung 景東府. It is also known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山. The West mountain, or Hsi-yo, is the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山, and the North mountain, or Pei-yo, is the Yü-lung Shan. The Central mountain, or Chung-yo, is the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 west of Ta-li. Although the east and south mountains are not very important, yet they are quite the largest in their respective districts. 133

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* confirms that in the middle of the reign of Cheng-yüan (794) Wei Kao made an agreement with the Nan-chao Kingdom to attack the T'u-fan and drove them from the Hsüeh-ling, *i.e.*, snow mountain. The army of the Lo-lo-ssu was defeated at the snow mountain by the troops of Ssu-ch'uan at the beginning of the period Chih-shun (1330) of the Yüan dynasty. This snow mountain is none other than that of Li-chiang. A branch of it extends south, and this is the Ts'ui-wei Shan 翠微山. Still further lies the Sleeping elephant Mountain or Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 at the foot of which the Lung-wang Miao is situated. This branch ends at Yü-ho-ts'un 玉河村.

3. THE MOUNTAIN GOD AND THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO

Nearly every snow peak in Tibet has a name, it is usually that of a spirit or deity belonging to the protective type which deity is often believed to dwell within the peak. The Li-chiang snow range does not seem to have any other but Chinese names, which would indicate and confirm the belief that the Na-khi were immigrants in that region. The many Na-khi names which the various alpine meadows, forests, etc., on the slopes of the snow range bear, were given by Na-khi shepherds who were obliged to move their flocks of sheep from one little meadow to another. The shepherds are mostly children, directed by their parents as where to pasture their flocks, and this necessitates names for these places. But proper Na-khi names in the true sense of the word for the range or individual peaks do not exist. 103

The name of the highest peak is a Chinese one, though it is true that it is also called in Na-khi, Boa-shi nv-lv. *Nv-lv* means silver rock, hence snow mountain, and Boa-shi is the Na-khi name for the market-place Pai-sha-kai situated between Li-chiang and the last village, Nv-lv-k'ö, on the north-western branch of the plain, at the foot of the range. But the name is only a few hundred years old and relates to an episode when the Boa (Hsi-fan 西番), from the north, invaded Na-khi territory and were killed (*shi* = dead) there by the Na-khi.

However, the Li-chiang snow range does represent a spirit or deity, and the deity in this case is not a local one, but one which had its origin in the far north, the grass-lands of Eastern Tibet whence the Na-khi migrated south during the latter part of the Han dynasty. Thus the name of Sa-ddo, the Tibetan Sa-tham, was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and applied in all probability first to the Li-chiang snow range, or rather the spirit of Sa-ddo was made the mountain god and protector of the Na-khi settlers. Only later as the town of Li-chiang came into being was the name Sa-tham extended to it.[19] We see

[19] It must be stated, however, that according to SIR CHARLES BELL and his Lhasa informant, Ge-sar is said to have lived during the reign of the Tibetan King To-to-ri nyen-tsen in the

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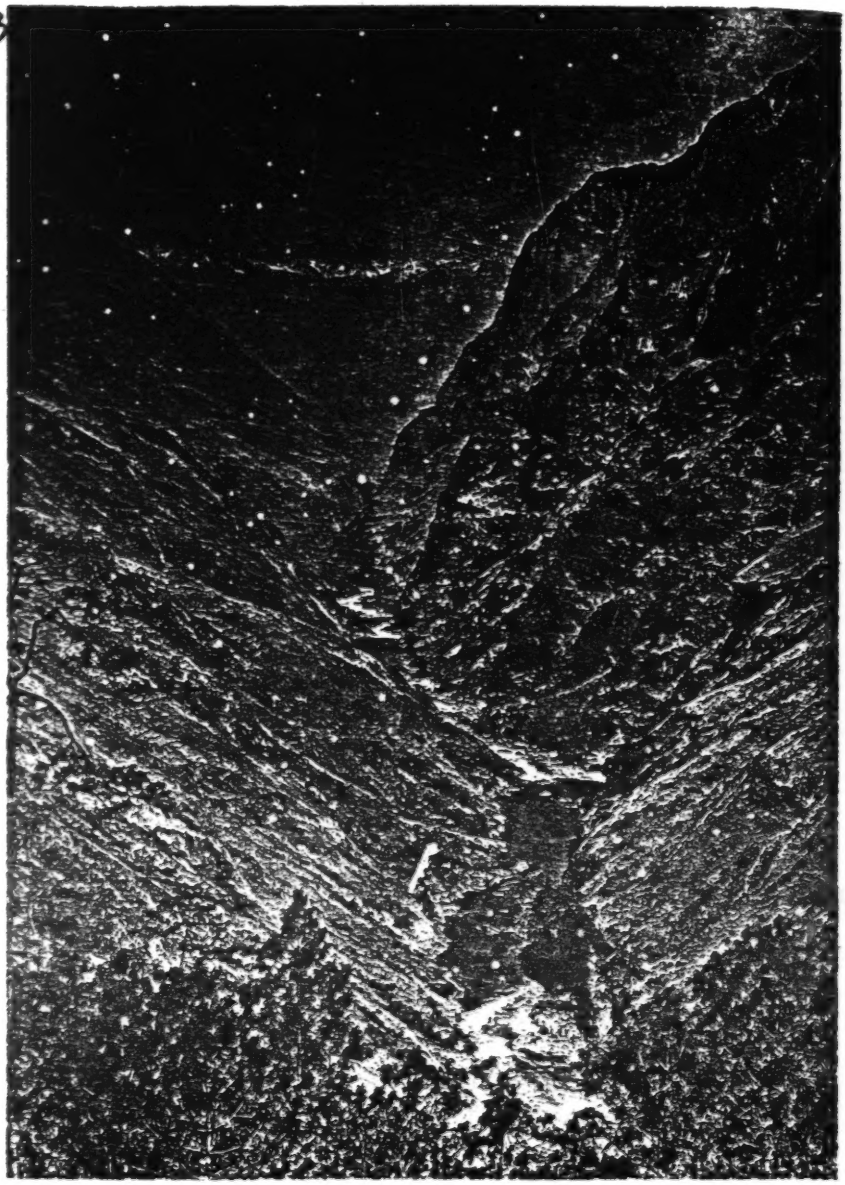

PLATE 121. — THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅 昌 角 峽 區

Looking north-east, downstream, from a bluff 8,000 feet elevation whence plate 120 was taken. There are in all 34 rapids in the gorge. The Yangtze strikes the snow-capped range Dzu-ku nv-lv (visible in center of picture), and flows north. Pines in foreground.

[p. 220 A]

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133

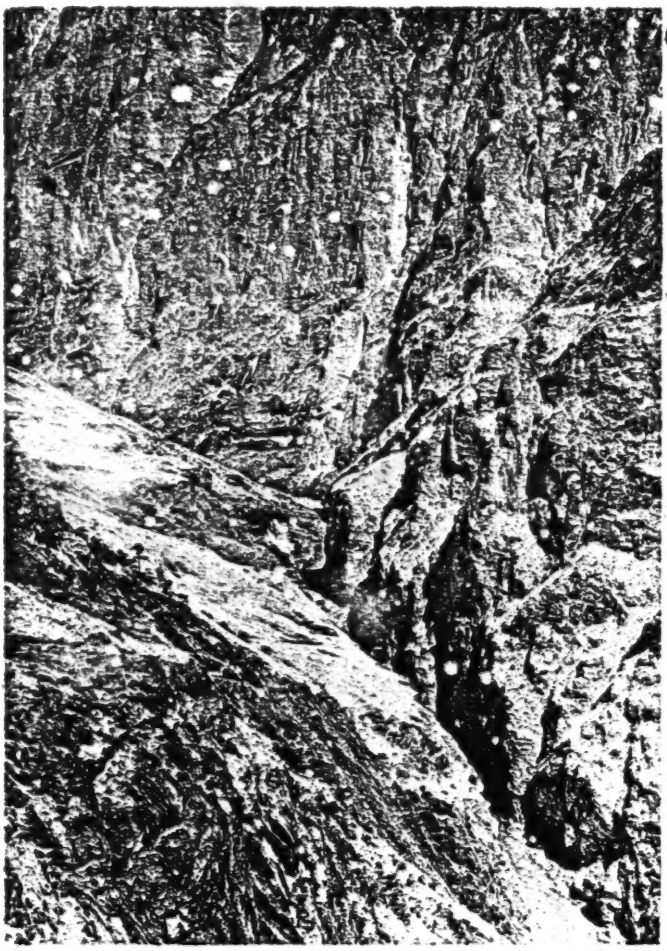

PLATE 123.—THE YANGTZE IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GEO GORGE

金 沙 江 金 沙 江

The river is a narrow blue-green ribbon only a few yards wide, but very deep. The famous Hu-t'iao-t'an or Tiger-leap rapid is visible in the center of the picture. Photographed (with front-lens removed) from a lateral spur elevation 8,350 feet

[p. 220C]

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PLATE 124. — THE CELEBRATED HU-T'IAO-T'AN OR TIGER-LEAP RAPID

金沙江虎跳峽

The narrowest part of the Yangtse in the entire 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. It is so narrow that a tiger could jump from wall to wall, hence the name. The rock is old limestone.

[p. 220 D]

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PLATE 125.—THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GEO GORGE LOOKING UPSTREAM FROM NEAR THE HU-T'IAO-T'AN

金 沙 江 虎 跳 峽

In this stretch, the river is one succession of rapids; in the summer or early spring, the volume of water is immense and tons of water are thrown up into the air at every rapid.

[p. 220 E]

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PLATE 126. — THE PINNACLED LIMESTONE WALL OF THE YANGTZE GORGE OPPOSITE TA-SHEN-KOU

雄峯峭壁對大深溝

The right bank of the Yangtze is hemmed in by the vertical cliffs of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge.

[p.220F]

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PLATE 127. — THE END OF THE TRAIL IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

寒波嶺山口

The gap called Han-p'o-ling is at an elevation of 10,000 feet; there is a sheer drop of over 4,000 feet to the Yangtze. Rhododendrons and pines cling to the vertical wall of rock.

[p. 220G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 128. — VIEW INTO THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

麗 江 角 金 沙 江 峽 谷

From near the Han-p'o-ling gap the Yangtze, roaring 4,000 feet below, appears as a small stream, a solid wall of limestone rock rises thousands of feet vertically from the Li-chiang side of the river.

[p.220H]

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PLATE 129. — THE YANGTZE IN THE TA-KU PLAIN

金沙江進入打鼓壩

After emerging from the 'A-ts'ag-gko gorge the Yangtse flows across the conglomerate plain at Ta-ku. Photographed a little north of Han-p'o-ling gap, elevation 10,000 feet. The village of Ta-ku is on the terrace upper right. Pines in foreground.

[p. 220-I]

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PLATE 131.—HA-BA NDSHÊR NV-LV, THE FOURTH HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

哈巴大雪山

As seen from a spur called Wa-'a mbu in the Ha-ba district, elevation 9,250 feet. The peak is 18,700 feet in height.

[p. 220 K]

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Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3

PLATE 135.—THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BBĚR-P'ĚR-DTĚR

北地聖泉

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *k'o-byu* on which are painted various *Lü-mun* or Nāga, serpent spirits, whom the dto-mbo propitiate.

[p. 220-0]
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 136.—THE SINTER TERRACES OF BRÊR-P'ÊR-DTÊR

北地泉鈣華

The carbonate of lime-bearing waters of the spring shown on plate 135, have built these marvelous terraces and basins. They are composed of thousands of thin layers of carbonate of lime deposited by the water which flows noiselessly over them. The entire terrace, where covered by the water, is of a rich cream color.

[p. 220 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133

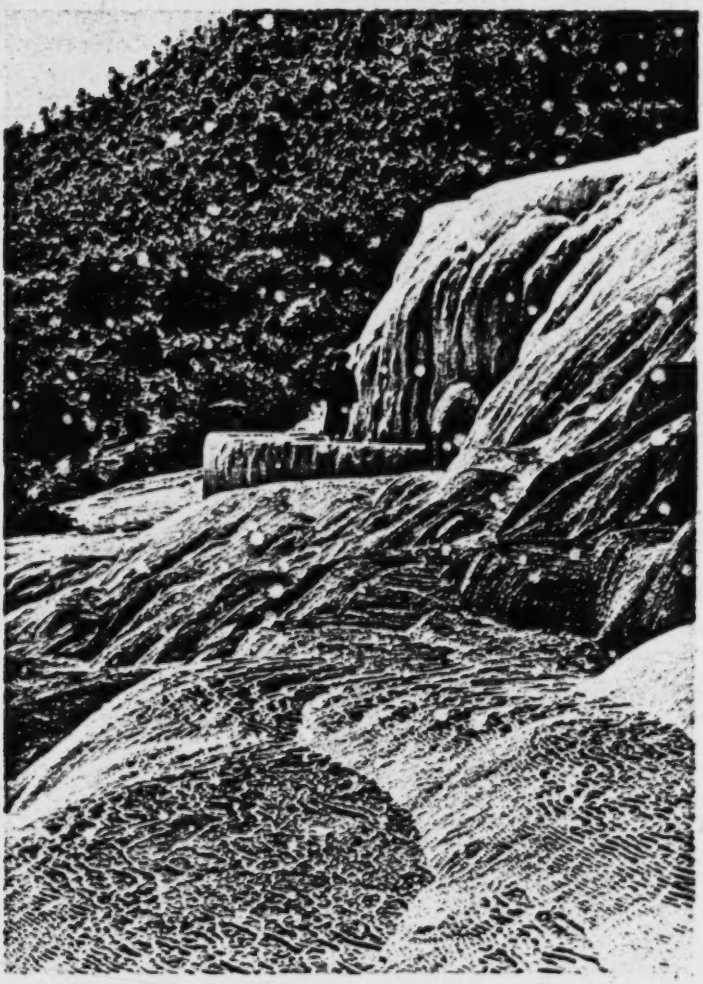

PLATE 137. — THE SINTER CASCADES AND BASINS OF BRÊR-P'ER-DTÊR

北 塔 泉 瀑 盆

Stalagmites and stalagtites are formed here. Every ripple and wavelet leaves its cast behind, forever building.

[p. 244A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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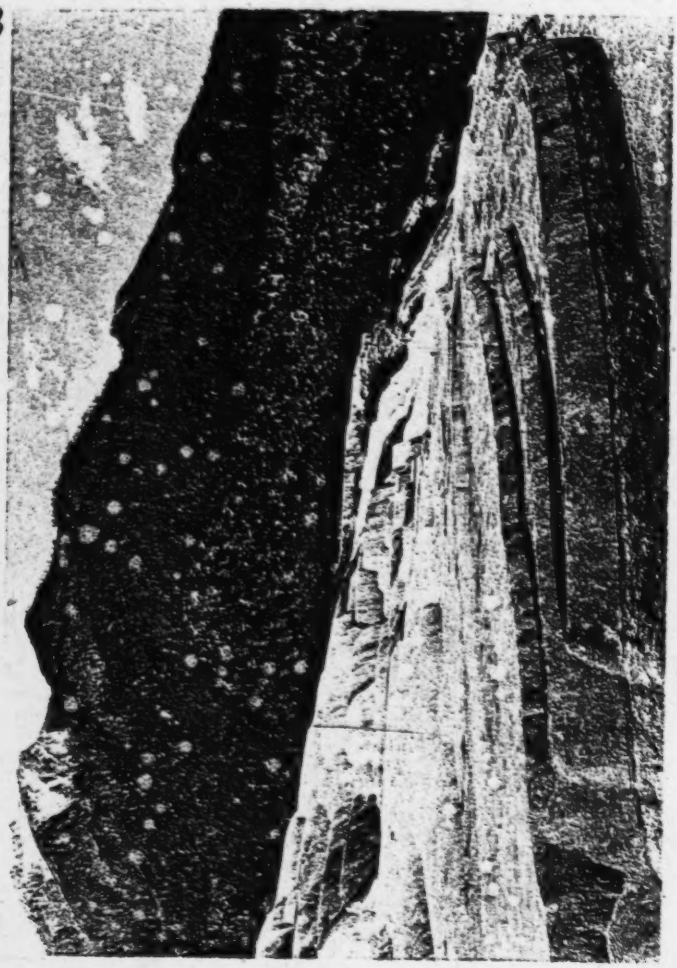

PLATE 138.—THE SINTER TERRACES OF BEIS-PEI-PEN

北 泉 噴 塞

They have the aspect of artificial terraced ricefields. The basins are shallow and contain bluish-white water and thousands of pisolites.

[p.244 B]

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PLATE 139. — SINTER BUTTRESSES SUPPORT THE TERRACES OF BIEN-P'EN-OTÈN

北邊彌勒佛腹圍物像

Near the base of the hill covered by the Sinter terraces, are huge bulging buttresses mostly hollow. The one on the left is called Mi-le-fo as it resembles the huge belly of the Chinese God of Wealth. Here sterile women come to pray and burn incense.

133

[p. 244 c]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
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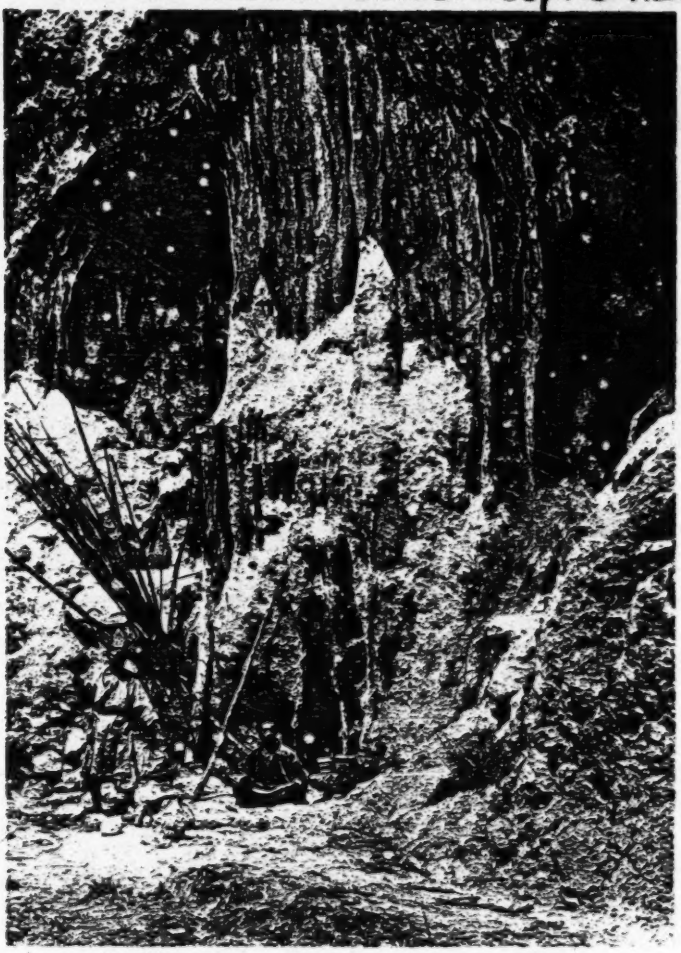

PLATE 140.—THE SACRED GROTTO SHI-LO NE-K'O

多巴黑洛黑洞

It is the wish of every Na-khi Dto-mba to visit, at least once, this sacred grotto where their teacher used to dwell. Two dto-mbas are performing a religious rite.

[p. 244 D]

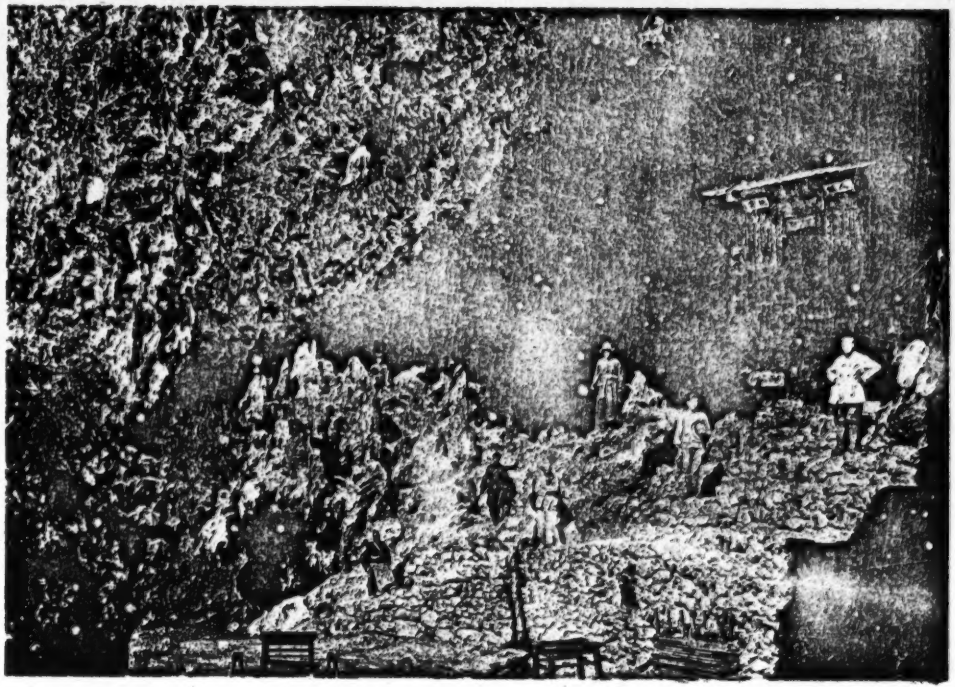

PLATE 145. — THE T'AI-TZU (TUNG) CAVE

阿著朋太子洞

Aw-wùn-wùn, a brother of Sa-ddo, is said to have lived in this cave on the western side of the Li-chiang snow range. His name is also given to the cave.

[p.944 I]

PLATE 149. — THE BULKY MASS 'A-TS'AN-GKO NV-LV

雲入巻首角雄影玉龍山

Flying at a height of 17,000 feet our plane, the K'un-ming, entered the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The range called 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv forms a huge limestone pyramid with a vertical drop to the Yangtse of more than 10,000 feet. Gyi-nä nv-lv to left, Shan-tsu-tou in center (background).

[p. 244 M]

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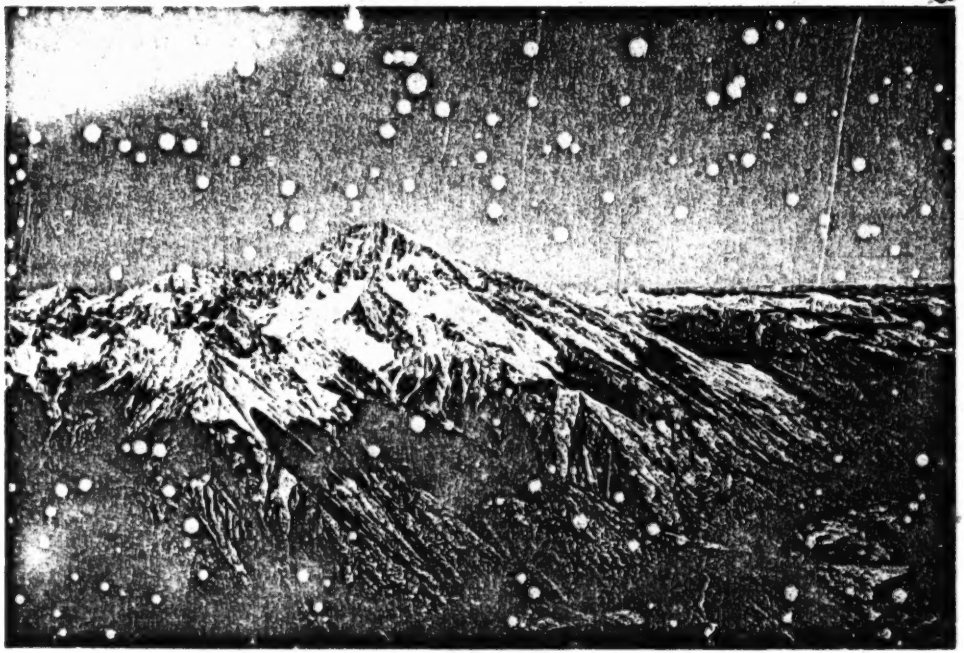

PLATE 150. — HA-BA NDSHÊR NV-LV AS SEEN FROM OUR PLANE

飛機攝影哈巴大雪山

Our plane approached this peak at a speed of 120 miles an hour, flying at an altitude of 16,000 feet. Ha-ba district is at its foot (lower left). The Chung-tien snow mountains in the distance. Ha-pa Shan is 18,700 feet and is the fourth highest peak of the Yü-lung Shan.

[p. 244 N]

PLATE 151. — THE PEAK OF HA-BA NDSHÊR NV-LV OR HA-PA SHAN

飛機攝影哈巴大雪山

Our plane flying at 17,000 feet, enters the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Fierce winds sweeping through the gorge caused our plane to flutter through it like a piece of paper. This picture shows the southern face of the mountain which is 18,700 feet in height.

133

[p. 244-0]

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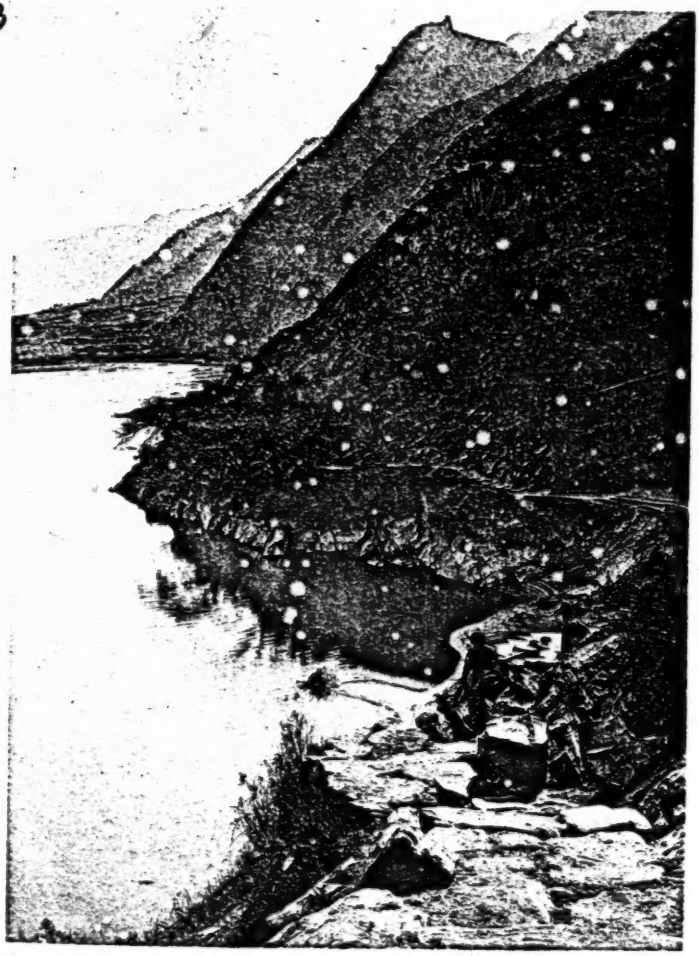

PLATE 153. — THE YANGTZE NEAR SHIH-MEN-KUAN

金沙江石門關

The trail [illegible] Shih-men-kuan is very difficult to negotiate especially in the summer when it is flooded by the Yangtze. In the distance immediately back of Shih-men-kuan is a steep conical mountain crowned by a temple.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 154.—THE VARIOUS NEAR NIEH-LI

金沙江彎曲形狀圖

The large bend of the river is actually between the villages of Shang-ko-lau and Ts'u-k'ai. Photographed from a bluff north of Shang-ko-lau, 11 stages north of Shih-lu.

[p. 298 B]

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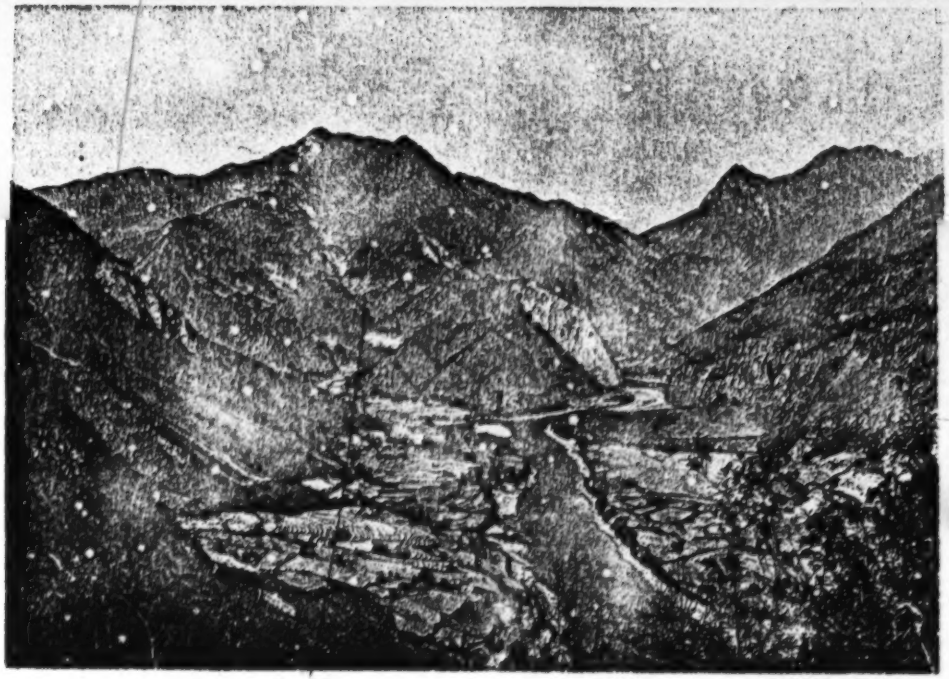

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 155. — THE T'A-CH'ENG KUAN, ONE OF THE MOST HISTORIC PASSES OF NORTHWESTERN YÜN-NAN

金沙江塔城關北面關口

The T'a-ch'eng Kuan is now the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border. In the T'ang dynasty and prior to it, it was the Na-khi — Tibetan border. An iron-chain bridge once spanned the Yangtze here. This bridge was destroyed in 794 A.D. Photographed from the top of the pass, also called Kuan-p'o, elevation 8,000 feet, looking north to Ch'i-tsung, visible to the left.

[p. 298 C]

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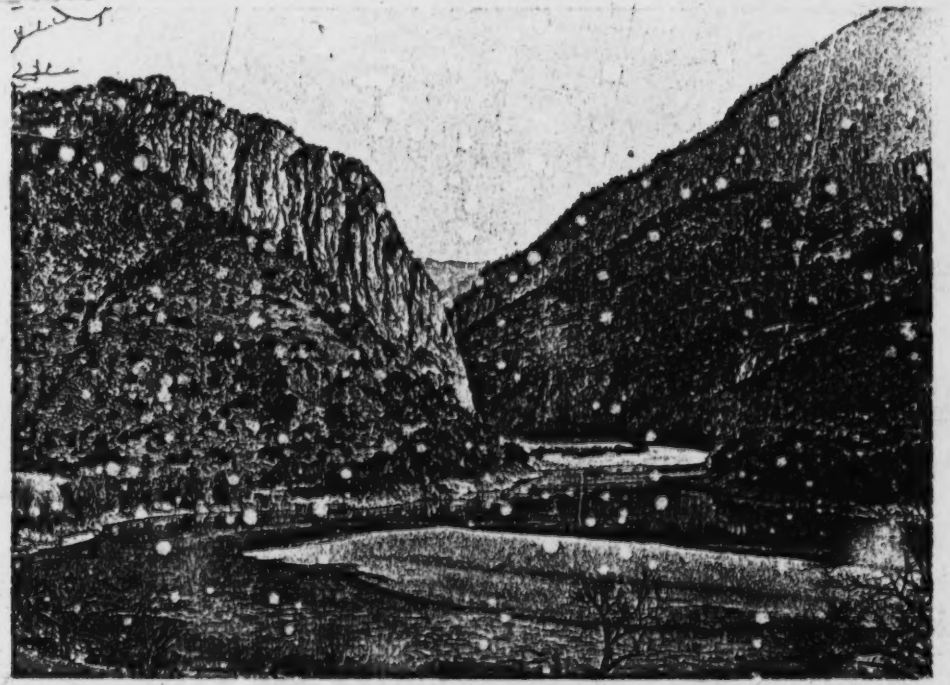


(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

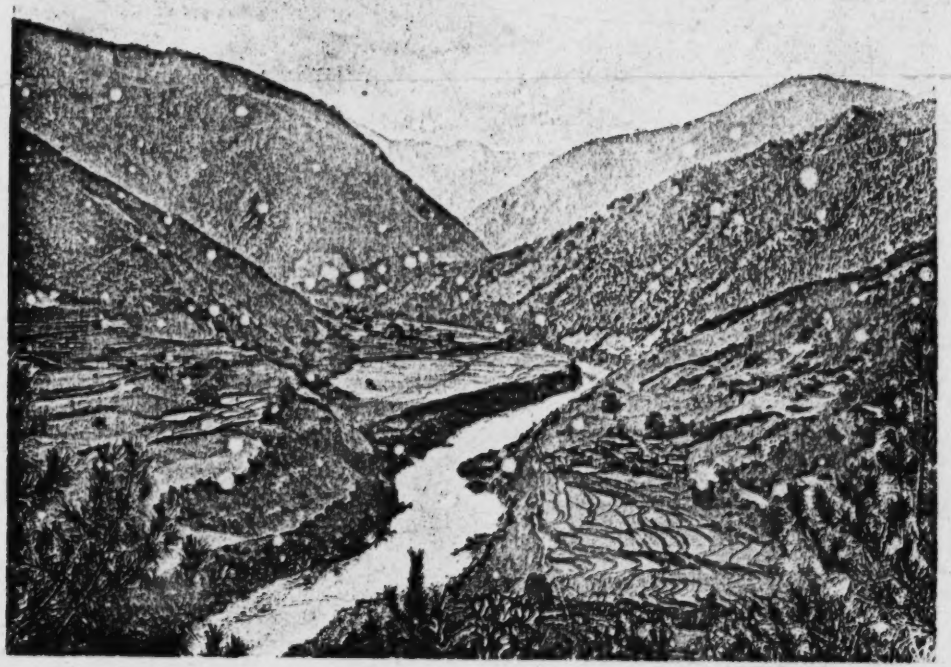
PLATE 156. — THE YANGTSE AT CH'I-TSUNG

古時麗江北部交界處

The defile is the ethnic border between the Na-khi and Tibetans. The river flows through arid gorges and is still the border between Chung-tien and Wei-hsi — Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) as far as T'o-hsien 陀縣. From there on it becomes the border between Te-ch'in and Hsi-k'ang.

[p. 298 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 161.—THE MEKONG NEAR THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LO-NDU

瀾滄江哪德納西

Photographed, looking upstream, from a lateral spur immediately north of Ba-dü. The village of Lo-ndu is visible to the right on a terrace above the Mekong.

[p. 298 I]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China A16

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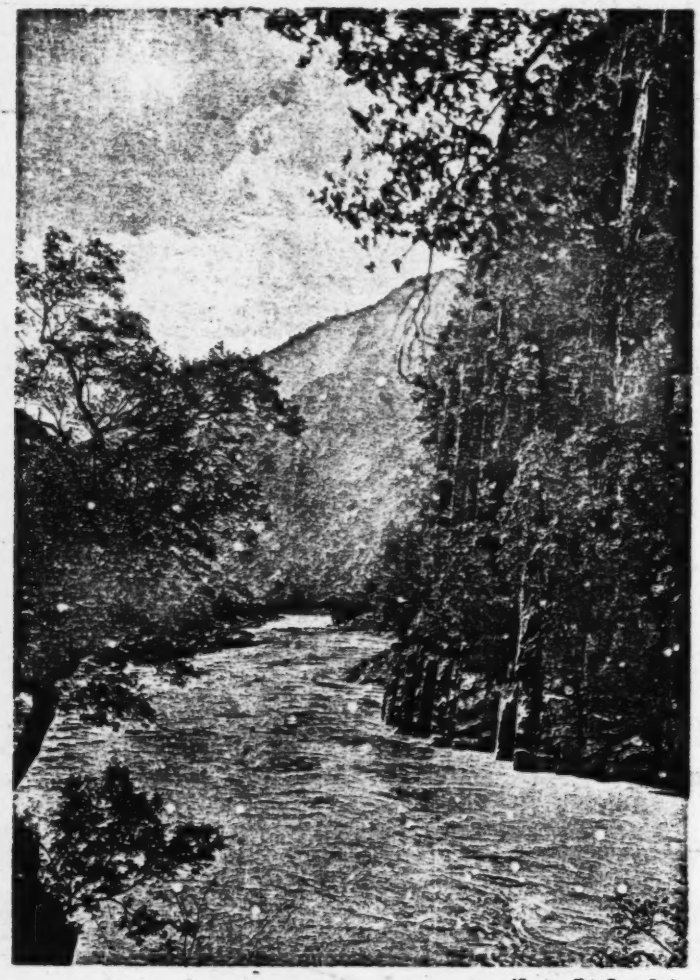

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 163. — THE MEKONG GORGE NEAR THE-YI-P'O

瀾滄江哲理坡峽谷

Formidable rapids preclude any attempt at navigation. On the steep walls of the gorge grow Junipers and Cypresses.

[p. 298 K]

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 167.—THE MEKONG NORTH OF YANG-TSA

梭盤在金沙江北

The Valley of the Mekong between Yang-tsa and Yeh-tsi is an arid trench. Note the trail built up against the cliff. Owing to constant rockslides the Chinese have given this part of the gorge the name of "Hill of the shuttle rock."

[p. 298-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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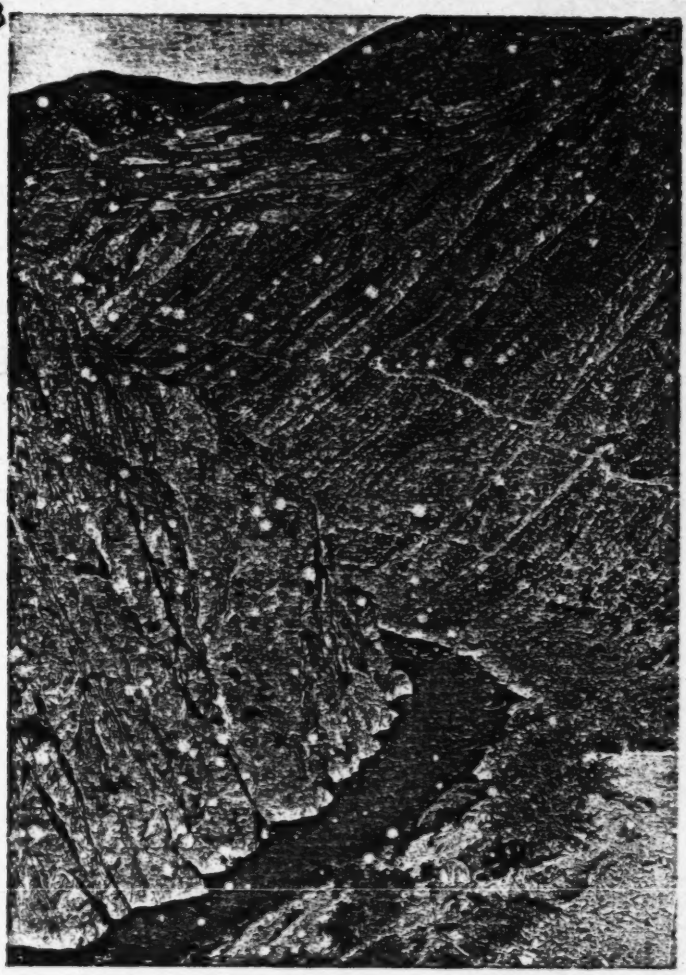

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 168.—THE ME-KONG NEAR NGUN-YA, LOOKING UPSTREAM

瀾滄江某金鴨

The caravan trail which leads to Ngun-ya is visible on the east slope of the arid gorge. The Mekong, is of a blue green, especially in the winter. The bushes are *Sophora vicifolia* and *Bauhinia densiflora*.

[p. 298 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China . AF16

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.*)

PLATE 171.—MOUNT ME-TEE-MO, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE

雅克大雪山，與梅大雪山之最高峯

The peak is approximately 21,000 feet — in height. Photographed from an elevation of 9,500 feet, above the village Ch'i-tzu-shih in the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley.

[p. 330 C]

●133

[p.330 D]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

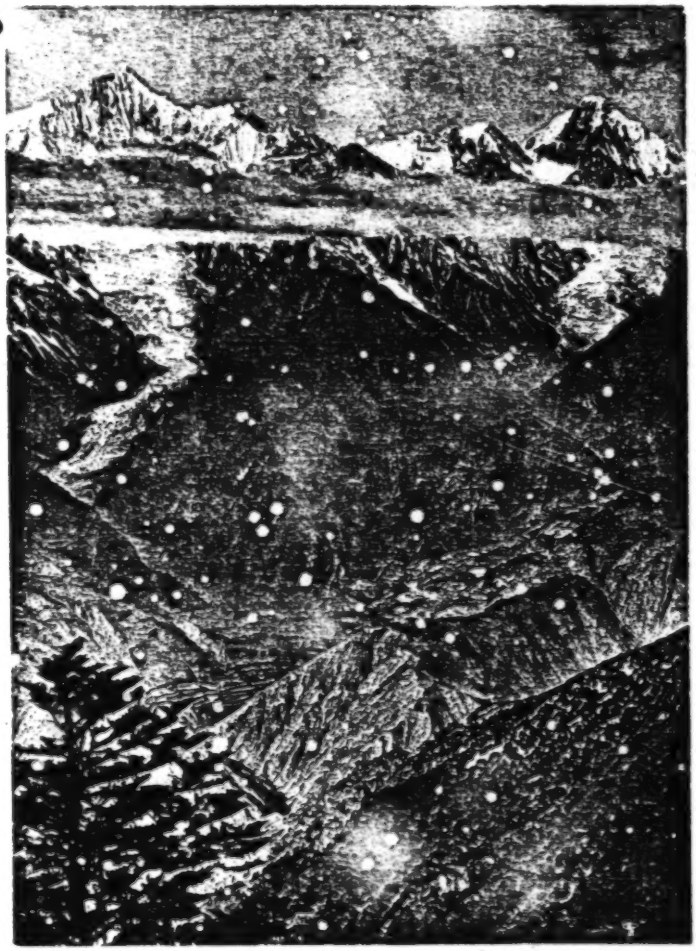
PLATE 172.—THE TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU) AS SEEN FROM THE DRU LA, ELEVATION 12,500 FEET

德欽（阿墩子）城，自德欽山背望

To the right on the hillside is the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu. In the background Pai-mang Shan.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 133



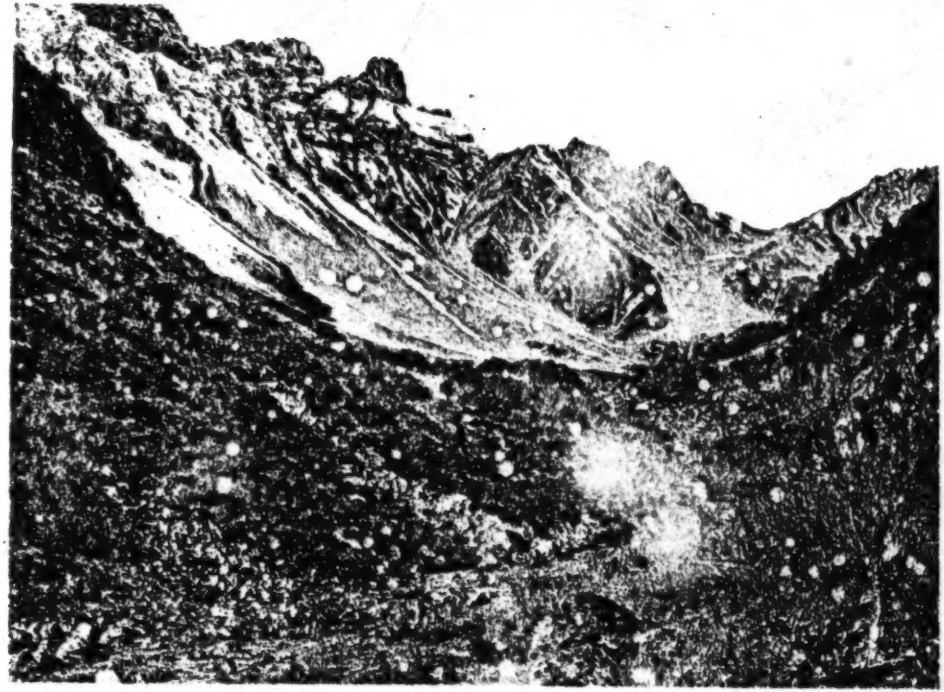
(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 174. — KHA-WA-KAR-PO, THE CENTRAL PEAK OF THE RANGE

雲南方面的梅大雪山

This magnificent range whose glaciers descend deep into the Mekong valley, forms the Yün-nan — Tibet border. Abies in foreground. Photographed from Mount Drong-go, west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu).

[p. 330 F]



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 177.—T[illegible]ED DO-KAR LA

多卡拉雪[illegible]山隘道界

The "Pass of the White Rock" is at the head of the Valley at an elevation of 14,500 feet. Masses of Rhododendron in foreground.

[p. 330 I]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 178.—LOOKING TOWARD YÜN-NAN FROM THE DO-KAR LA

自多卡望雲南境

View down the Do-kar La valley; the range in the distance is the Mekong—Yangtze divide.

[p. 330 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 179.—THE MOUNTAINS OF TSHA-MDO

View west from the Do-kar La into Tsha range; the range in the background is the Drö-su Chhu—Salween divide in Lha-sa—controlled Tibet.

[p. 330 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

●133

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 180. — THE DESCENT INTO TSHA-RONG SOUTHEASTERN TIBET

多卡拉翻西藏路

In 118 zigzags the trail leads from the Do-kar La into the Drö-su Chhu valley of Tsha-rong.

[p. 330 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 181.—THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO PEAK VIEWED FROM TEKA-RONG, TIBET

[illegible]

Looking east up Dö-chu-pu-drin valley towards the massive Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid. Spruces and firs cling to the limestone cliffs.

[p.330 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high."

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 186. — THE VALLEY OF THE SALWEEN

怒江谷，阿拉山脊與怒江間

Looking west from the Nying-ser La, elevation 12,400 feet, into the Salween valley. The central spur (lower right) is A-lo-lo-shu; the snow-covered range is the Salween — Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang) divide. Abies (firs) and Rhododendrons in foreground.

[p.362 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 133

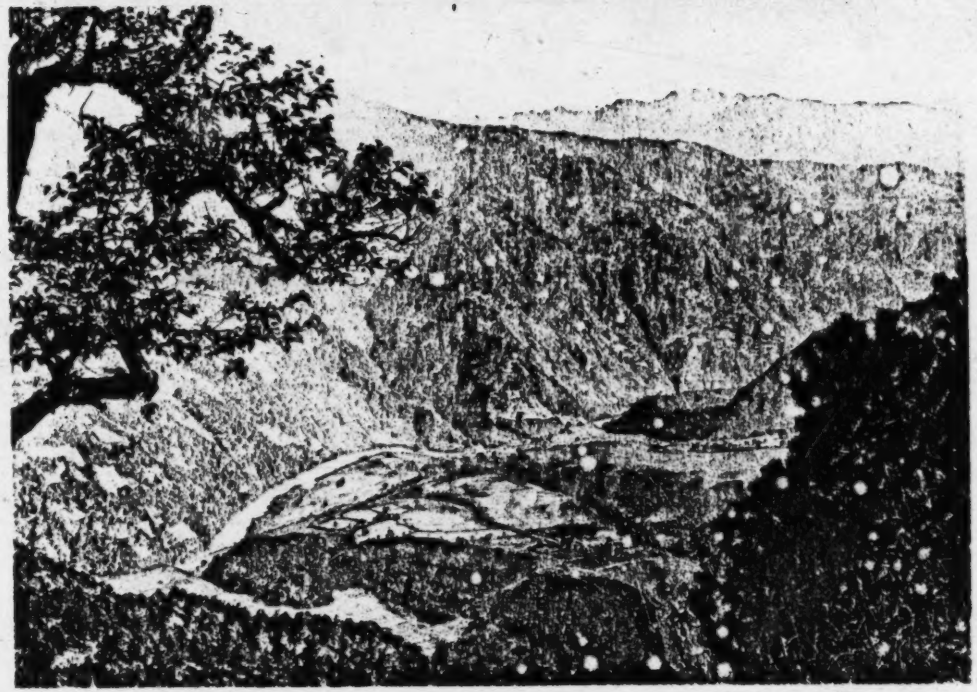
PLATE 190.—THE SALWEEN RIVER AS SEEN FROM A-LO-LA-KHA (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

怒江，阿洛拉卡之景

The river, flowing south in its narrow trench; seen from an elevation of 8,000 ft. on the western slopes of A-lo-la-kha above Chang-ta (Cho-la) and south of Ch'ang-p'o-t'ung.

[p. 362 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 193. — CH'ANG-P'U-T'UNG IN THE SALWEEN VALLEY

菖蒲桶怒江岸

The village is situated on a wedge-shaped terrace, at an elevation of 6.000 feet. Photographed looking south-east toward the Mekong — Salween divide.

[p. 362-I]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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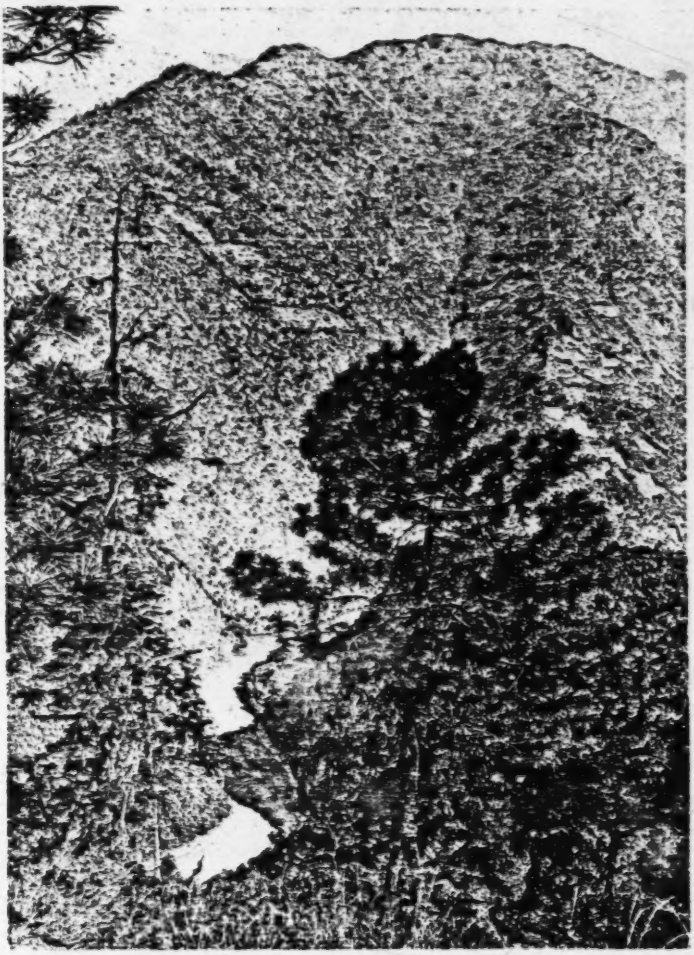

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 194.— THE MARBLE GORGE OF THE SALWEEN

瀘藏橋西江峽谷

North of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung the Salween flows through a beautiful marble gorge, it is the gateway to South-eastern Tibet or Tsha-rong. Pines in foreground.

[p. 362 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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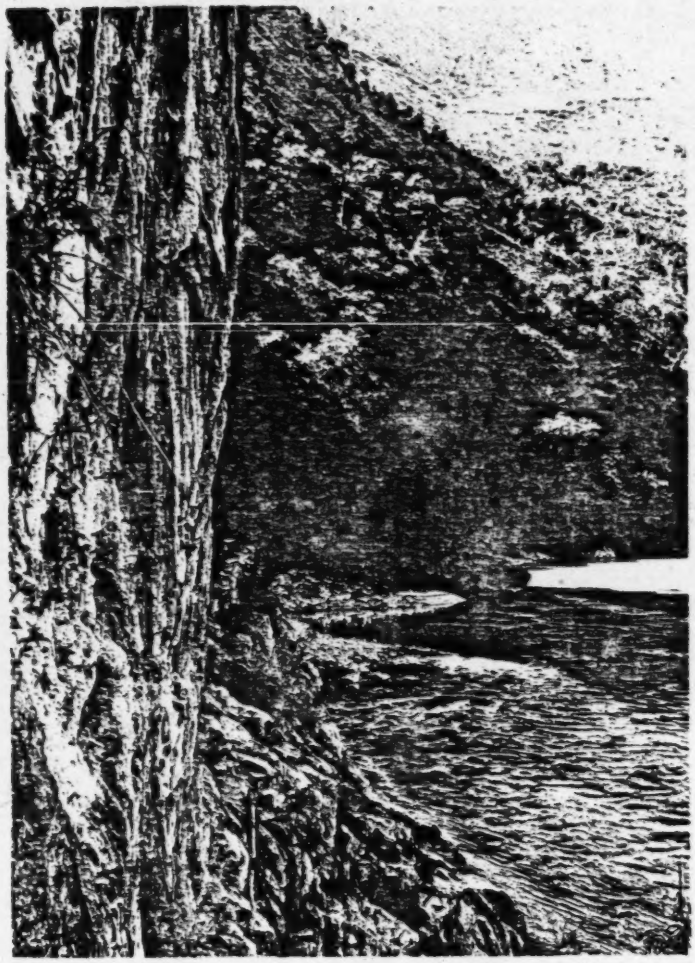


(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 195. — WITHIN THE SALWEEN MARBLE GORGE

怒江峽谷中的大理石峽

The trail through the gorge is on the left and consists of a few sticks visible in the picture. The Salween valley is here densely forested with tropical, evergreen trees and palms, which higher up give way to pines, spruces, firs and finally alpine meadows studded with gorgeous flowers. The bright stream of light on the Salween is the mouth of the Ssu-chi-t'ung.

[p. 362 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 133

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 196. — MOUNT KE-NYI-CHUM-PO OF THE SALWEEN — IRRAWADI DIVIDE

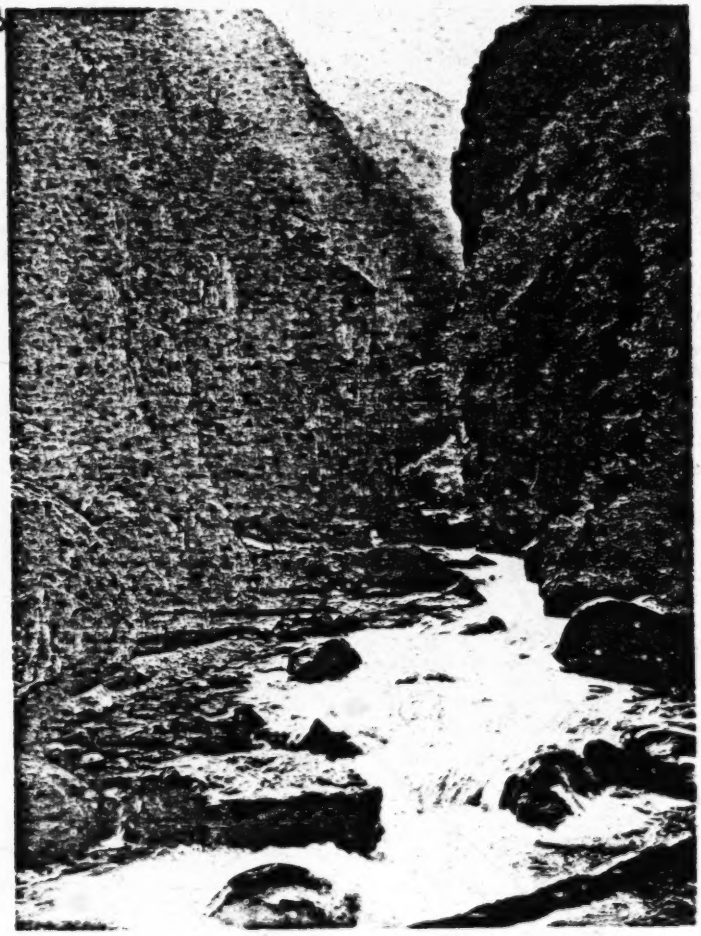
喜馬拉雅山

This snowpeak is a little north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung at about latitude 28° 2'. A pass called the Gom-pa La leads to the Ch'iu Chiang or Trun, still in Yün-nan. The tremendous gorge at the foot of the mountain mass is Ssu-chi-t'ung. This is the home of *Taiwania cryptomerioides*.

[p. 362-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 200.—THE DO-KAR LA STREAM AT ITS CONFLUENCE WITH THE MEKONG

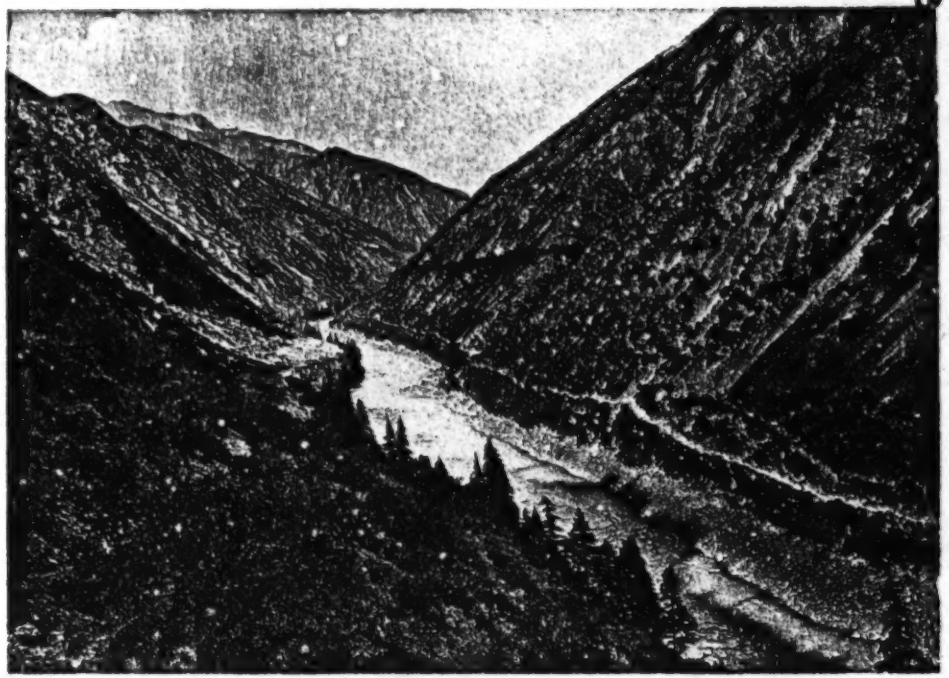
多卡拉河口

The Do-kar La Stream is joined by the Lung-dre Stream below Lung-dre and united they enter the Mekong at an elevation of 7,300 feet.

[p. 362-N]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 133



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 201. — THE MEKONG NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE DO-KAR LA STREAM

瀾滄江近多卡拉河口

The Mekong in its arid gorge, looking up stream (north) from its west bank. The trees lining the river bank in the immediate foreground are Cypresses (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*).

[p. 394-A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

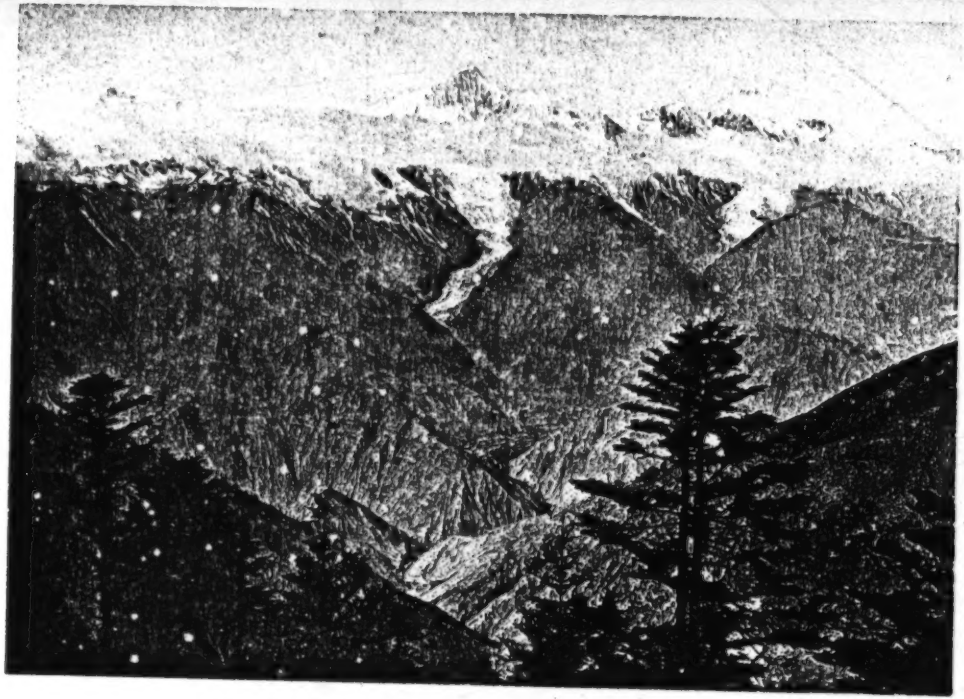


PLATE 203.—THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE AS SEEN FROM PAI-MANG SHAN (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

四輞大雪山今塞山白輞山望見

Next to Me-tse-mo, the central peak Kha-wa-kar-po, whence the range derives its name, is the most beautiful. Me-tse-mo is not visible, it is to the south of the range here pictured. The last peak (right) is Si-go-dum.

133

[p. 394 c]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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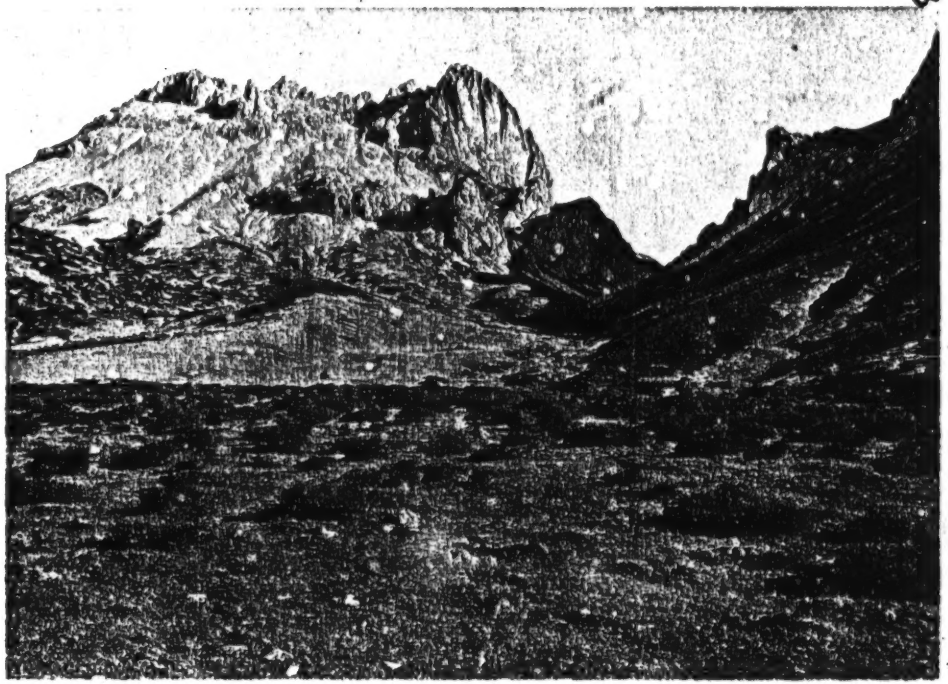

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 204. — THE HIGHEST PASS ACROSS THE PAI-MANG SHAN

白 望 (白 馬) 拉

The pass is 15,800 feet above sea-level; to the west facing this view are the snow and glacier-crowned peaks of Pai-mang Shan, to the east (in background) bare yellow massive crags of rhyolite. The low bushes in foreground are *Rhododendron tapetiforme*.

[p. 394-D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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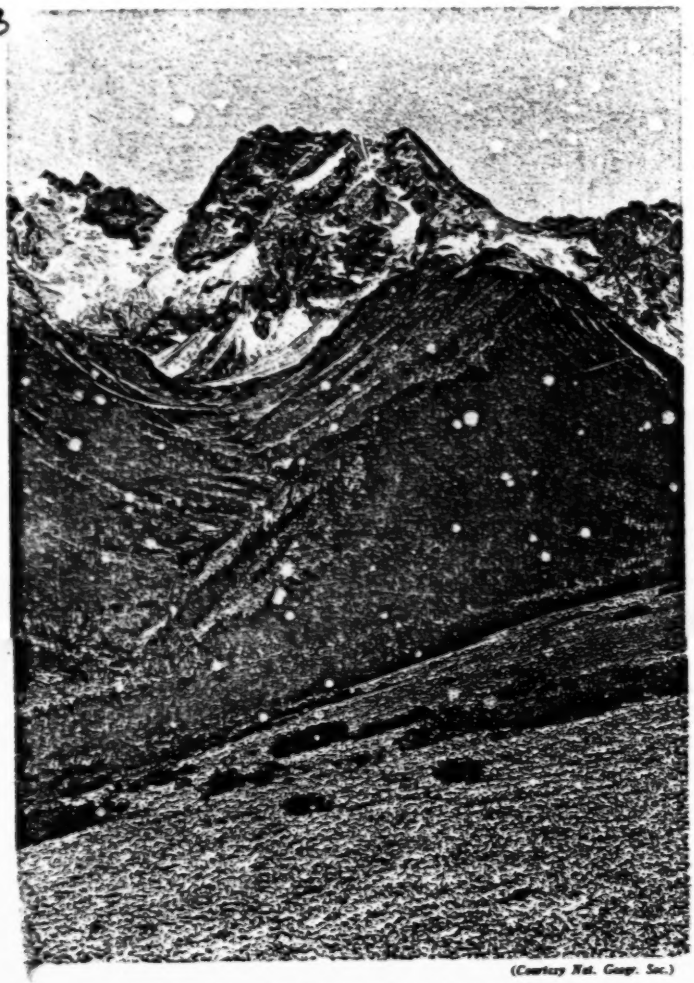

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 205. — THE HIGHEST PEAK OF PAI-MANG SHAN

白 茫 山

The peak is 20,000 feet in height and mainly composed of granite. Photographed with front lens removed, looking west from an elevation of 15,000 feet.

[p. 394 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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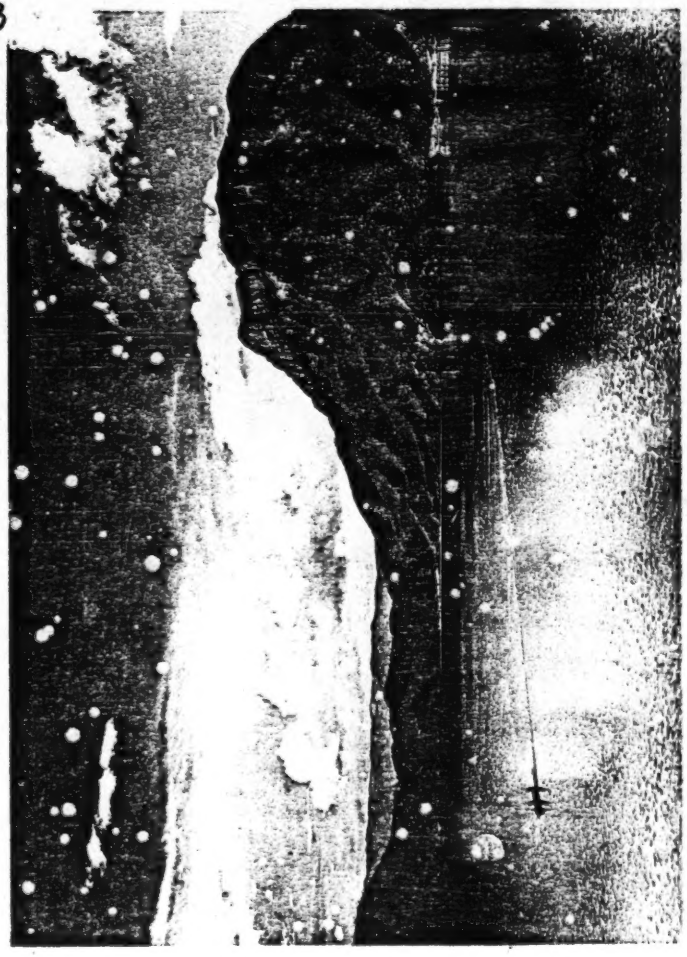


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

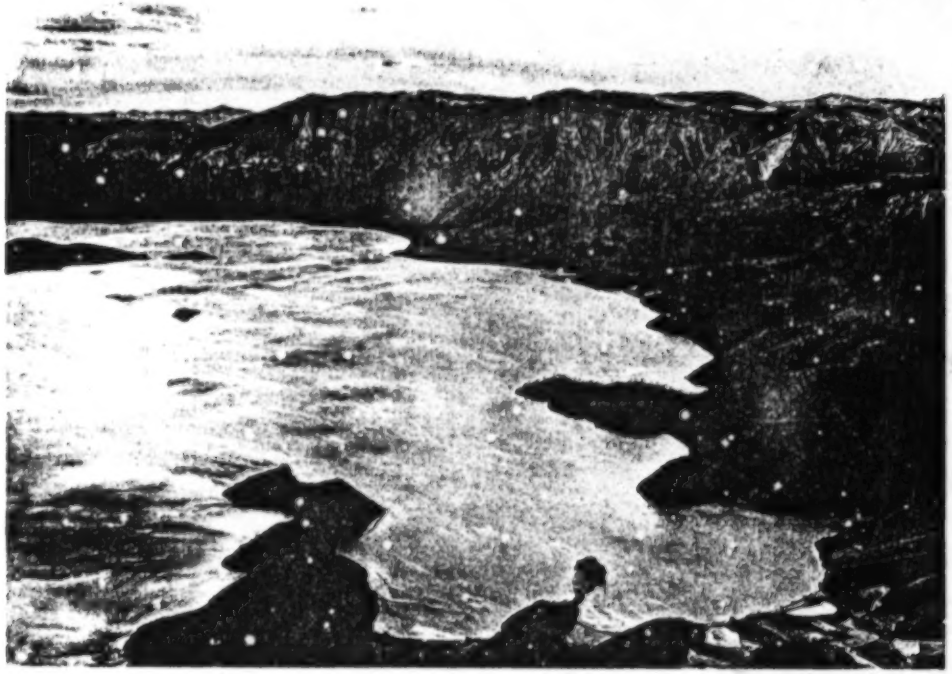
PLATE 216. — THE LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN OR SHIH-T'OU SHAN

獅頭山與湖沽湖

The southern end of Seng-ge ga-mu is broad and massive hence the Chinese call it Lion-head. It is 13,100 feet in height and rises 3,600 feet above the lake. At the foot of the upper limestone cliffs is a large cave.

[p.410-H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 217. — THE WESTERN END OF THE YUNG-NING LAKE

雲寧湖由獅頭山頂望望

As seen from the summit of Lion Mountain, elevation 13,100 feet. The lake is 3,600 feet below the peak. Extreme left T'u-bbu peninsula; separated by a channel is the island of Hie-wu-be; below it the island of Nyo-ro-p'u. At h[illegible] of picture the village of Hli-ki on the small peninsula.

[p. 410-I]

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Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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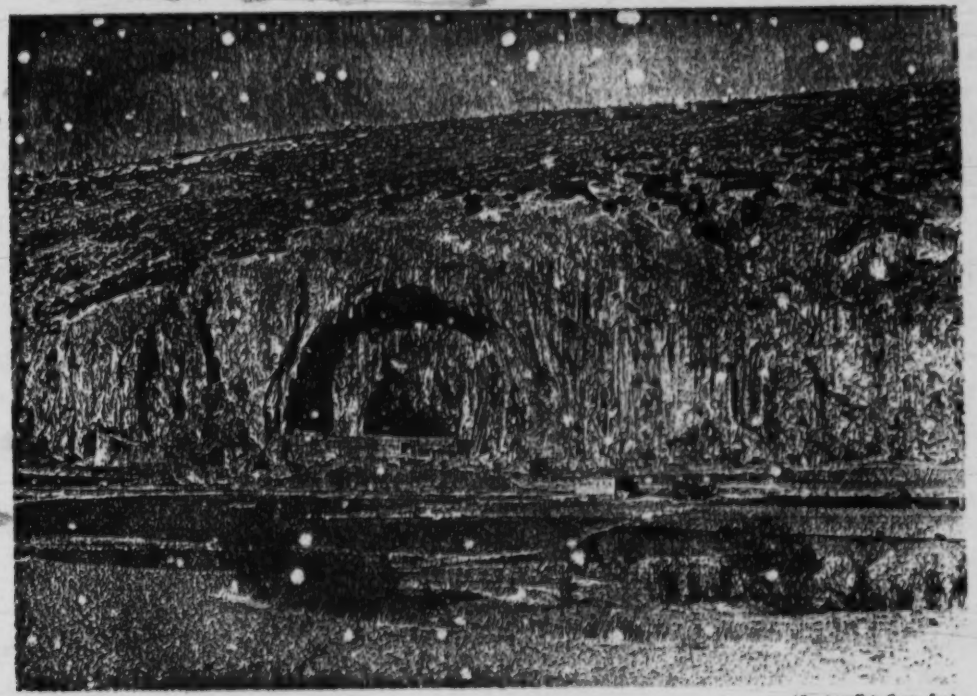

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 219. — SHIH-TZU-WAN OR LION'S COVE

獅子灣雲南永寧四川南廣交界

This solid limestone mountain covered with scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) is in Ch'ien-so territory, Ssu-ch'uan; the small stream flowing in front, is the Yün-nan (Yung-ning) — Ssu-ch'uan border. Chinese squatters have settled in the cave.

[p. 410-K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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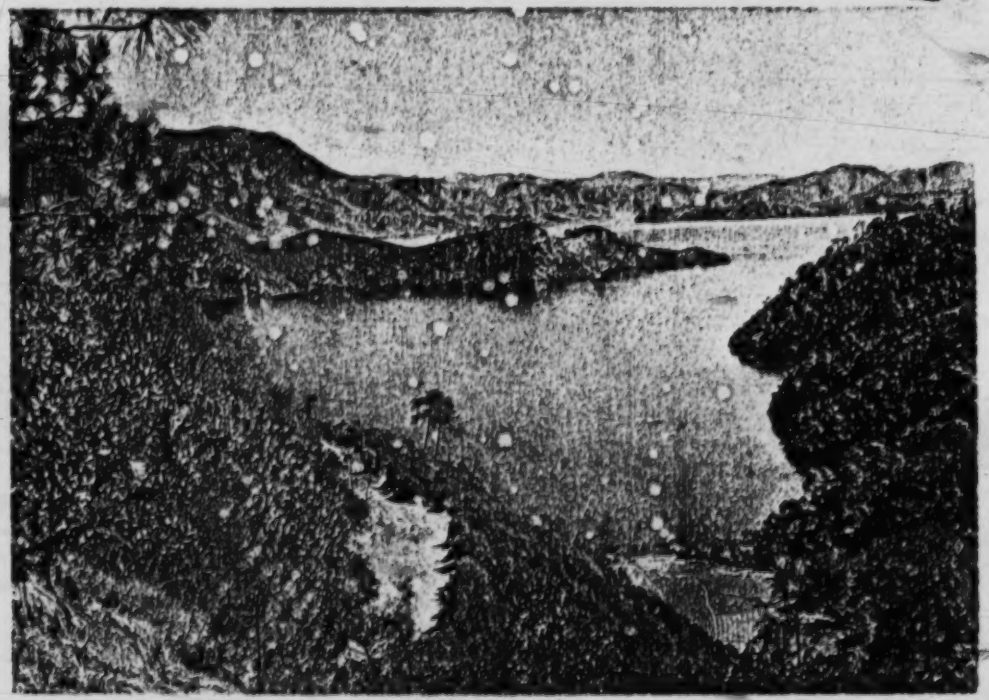


PLATE 240. — THE NORTHERN SHORE OF YUNG-NING LAKE

永寧湖北岸，左岸松竹林

The trail in the foreground leads to the village of Hli-ki near the foot of Lion Mountain. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border is beyond (east) the long, wooded peninsula. The trees covering the lake-encircling hills are mainly pines and oaks. Tso-so T u-ssu territory in the background.

[p.426 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卭 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

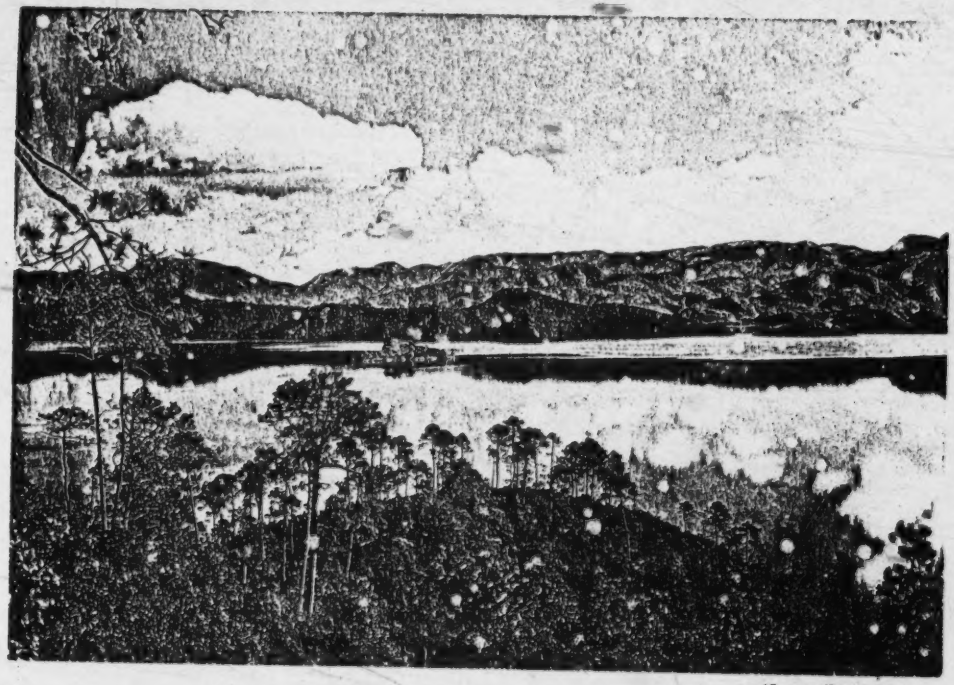
During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卭都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 243.—THE YUNG-NING LAKE WITH THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P'U

永寧湖沿海望東所，湖中木羅島

Looking east from the pine covered hills encircling the west shore of the lake. Beyond Nyo-ro-p'u is the long peninsula called T'u-bbu; separated from the latter by a channel is the island of Hlawu-be. The mountains in the distance (center) are in Tso-so land, Ssu-ch'uan.

[p. 458 c]

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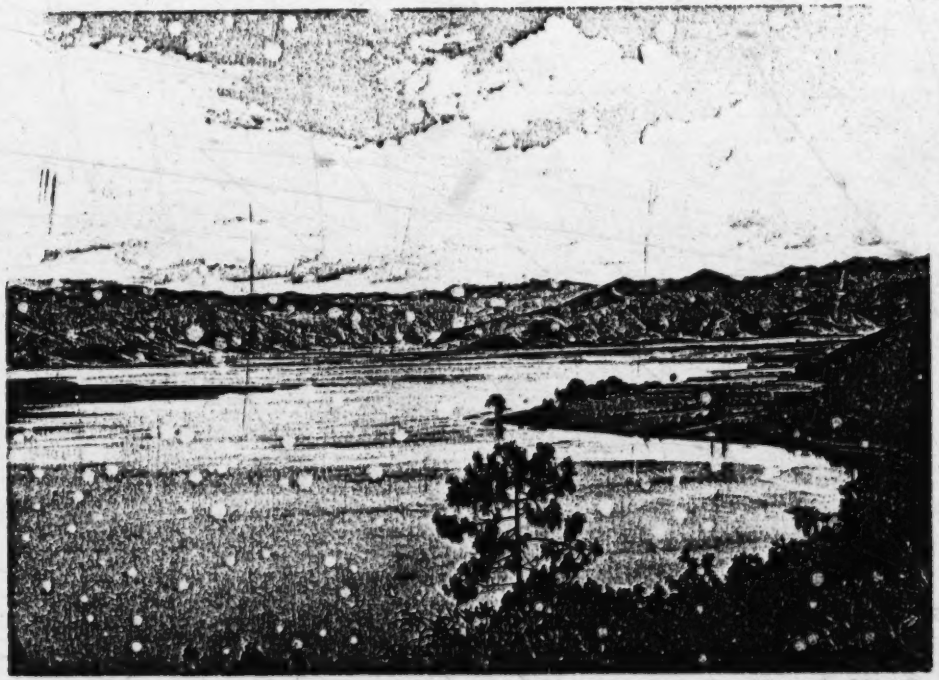
2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 133

[p.458-J]



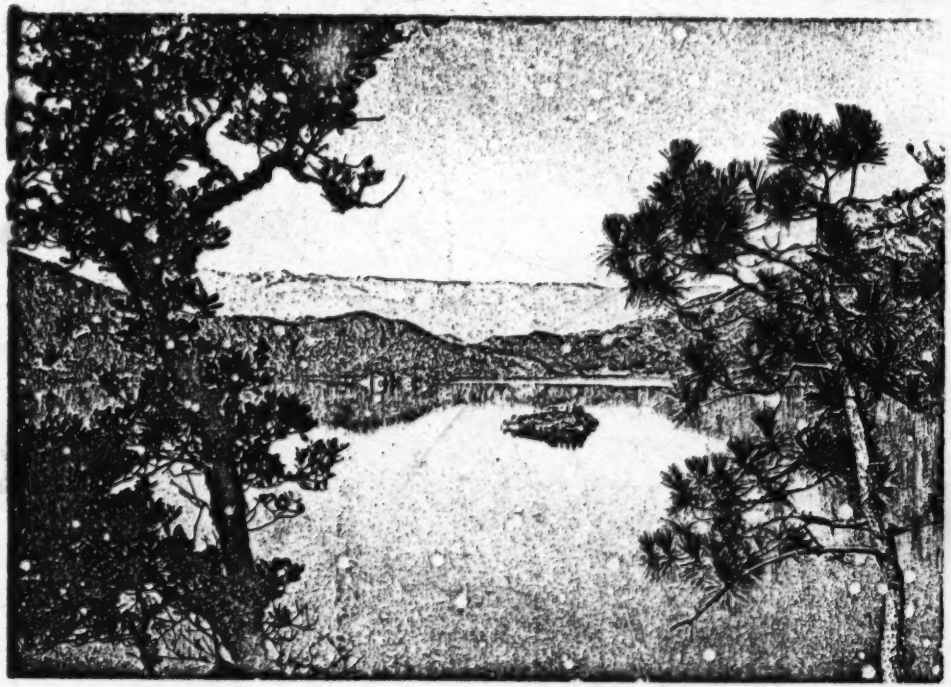
(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 250. — THE SOUTHEASTERN END OF YUNG-NING LAKE

永寧湖的東南岸，水所流出處

The outlet of the lake is through the broad valley in the Tso-so mountains in the distance. The little village on the lake shore beyond the first bay is in Yün-nan. Pines in foreground.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 251. — YUNG-NING LAKE AND NYO-RO-P'U ISLAND AS SEEN FROM THE T'U-BBU PENINSULA

自永寧渡法國上看牛島望西南，湖中水草島

Looking west from T'u-bbu, Nyo-ro-p'u appears like a majestic liner floating on a calm sea. Left Oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*; right *Pinus yünnanensis*.

[p. 458-K]

1330

2: Rock
487, 491, 133, 101, 361

AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]

A	B
C	D
E	F
G	H

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101
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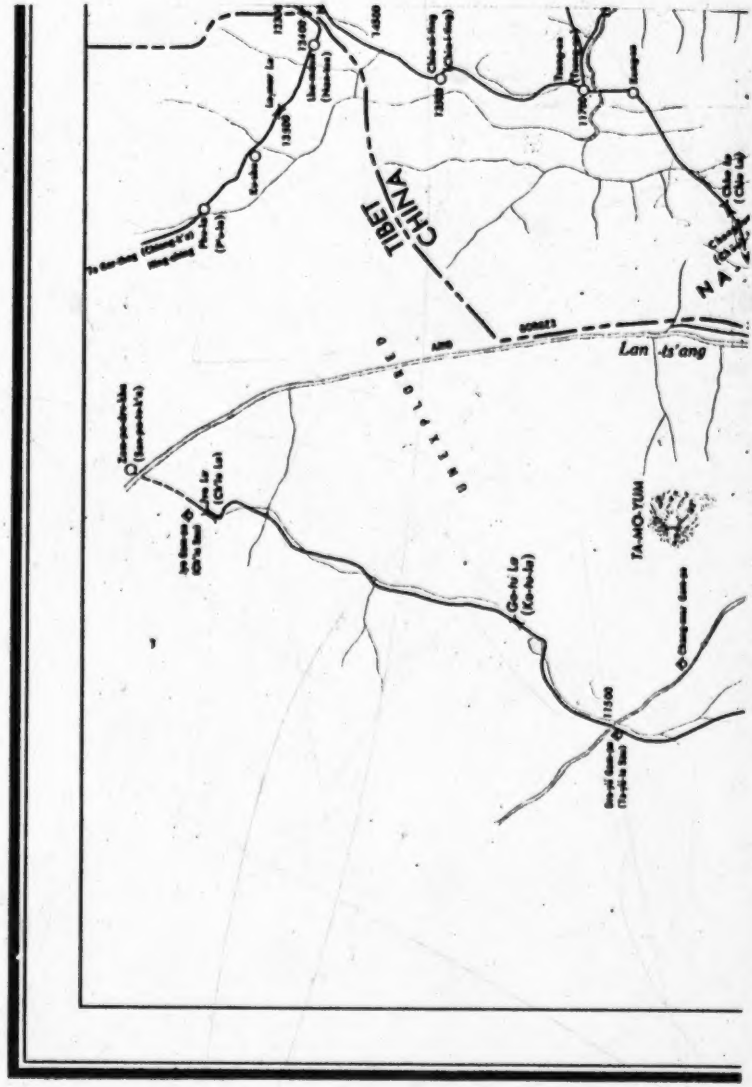
133
491

TE-CH'IN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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• 133
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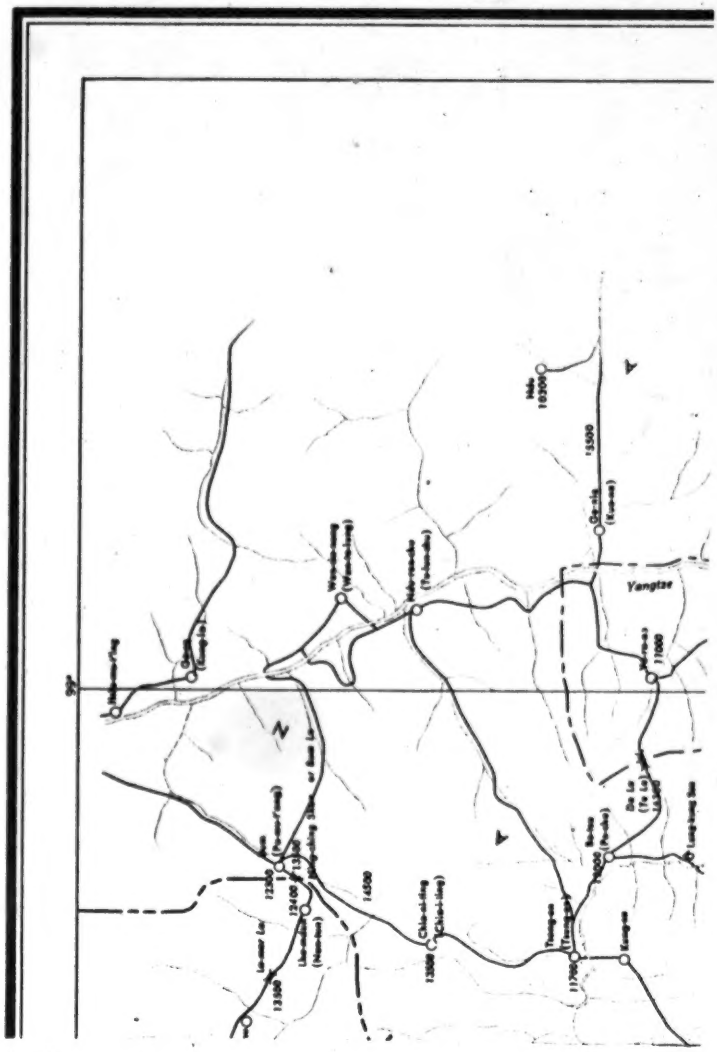
SHEET I OF IV

A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

-CH'IN


Yangtze
Hsia
10500
12500
Ch'ang
(Kuang)
Wan-hsien
(Wan-hsien)
Ho-ch'uan
(Ho-ch'uan)
Ch'ang
(Kuang)
Ch'ang
(Ch'ang)
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(Ch'ang)
Ch'ang
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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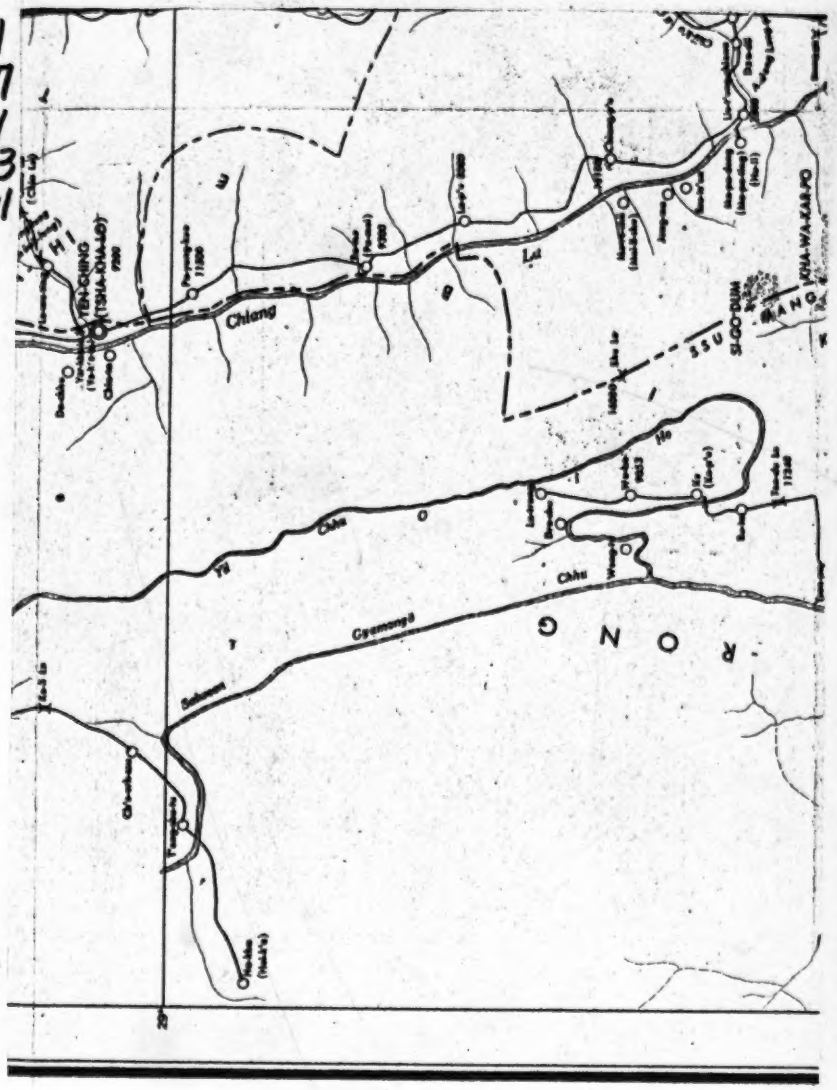
● 133
491


Chiang
Lui
Chu
Chu
Chu

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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• 133
491

[End map I E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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133
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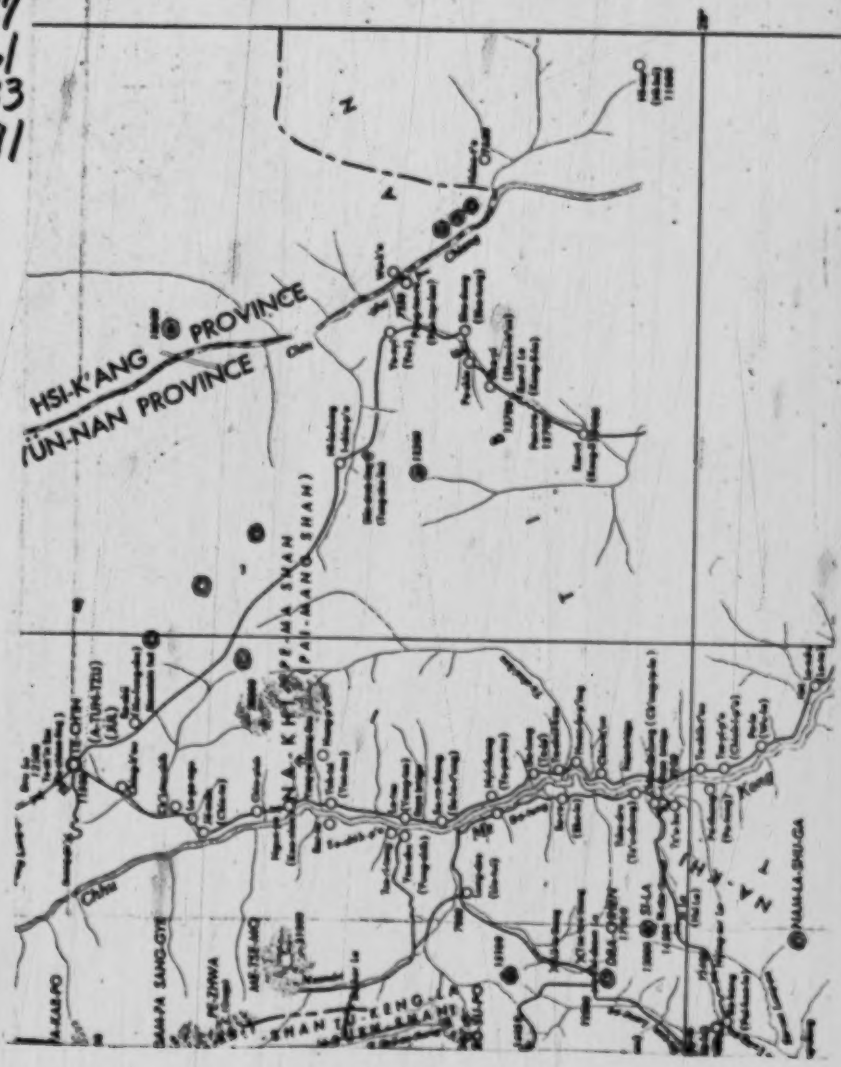

[End map I F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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361
133
491

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 10 0 10 20 30 40

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPRO

LEGEND

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN

[End-map I G]

101
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361
133
1941

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 6 9 12 15 Miles

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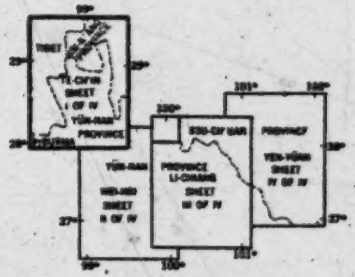
ARMY MAP SERVICE, U.S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D.C., 144382
1947

INDEX TO SHEETS



CTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA

N2750-E9800/150x130

[End map I H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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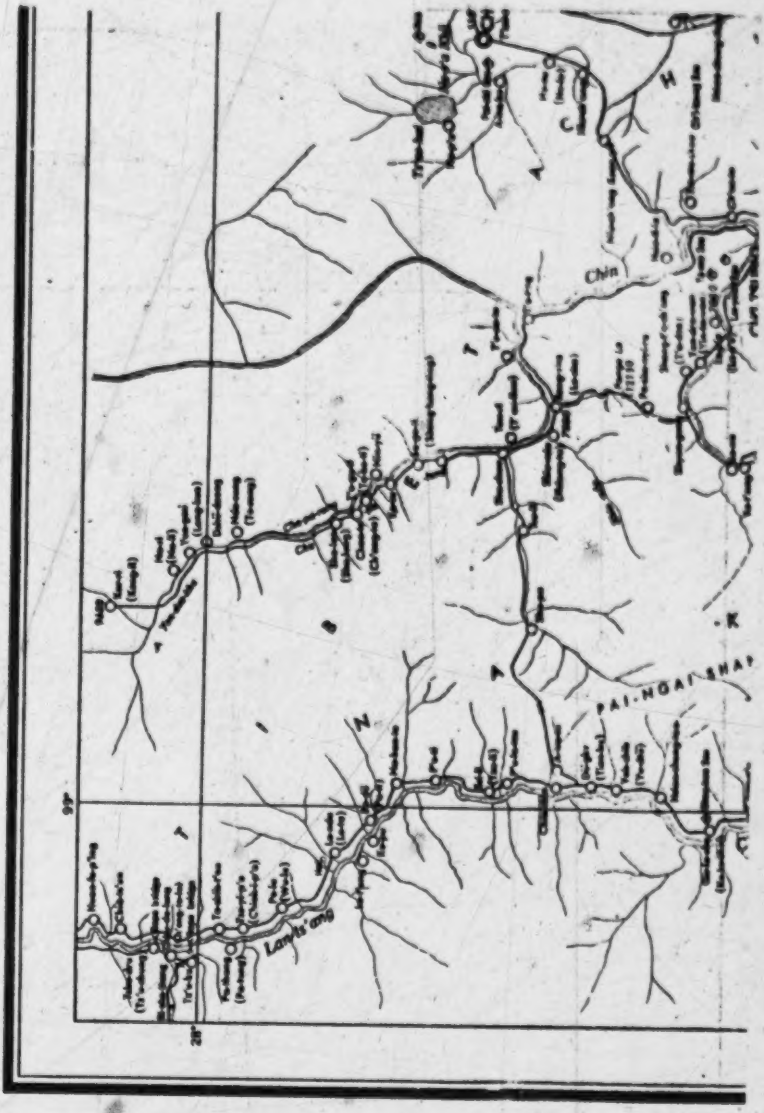
WEI-HSI



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map II A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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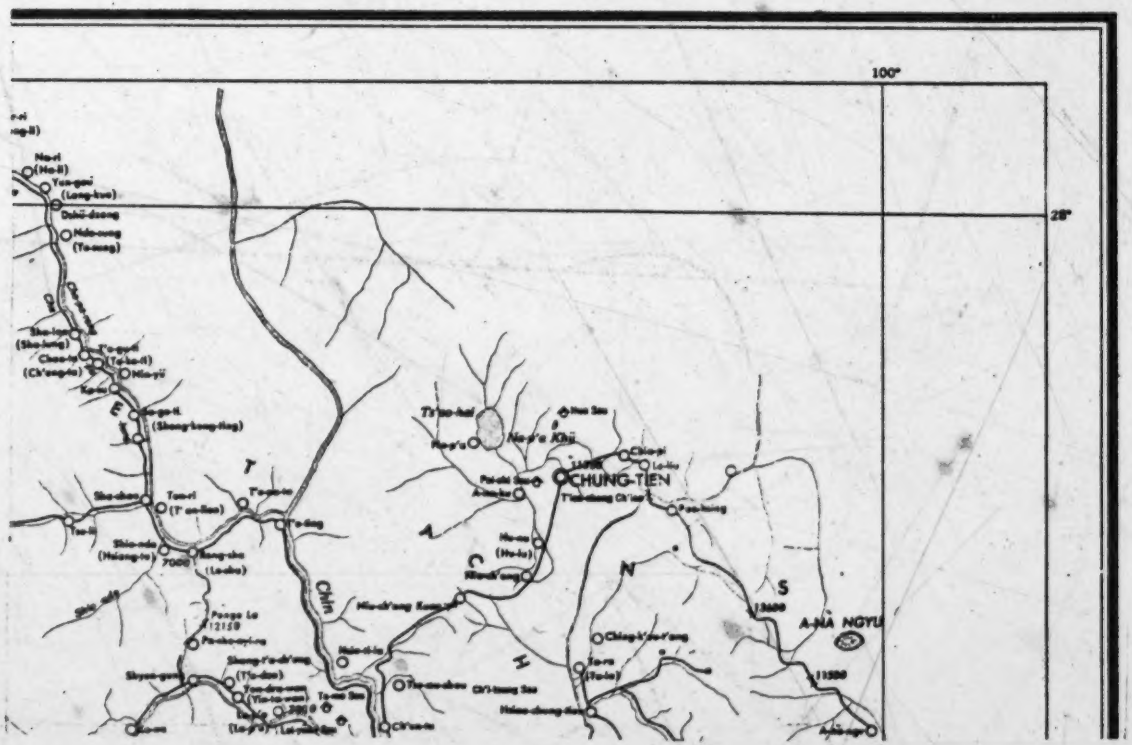
491

WEI-HSI

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET II OF IV

A.M.S. L406



[End map II B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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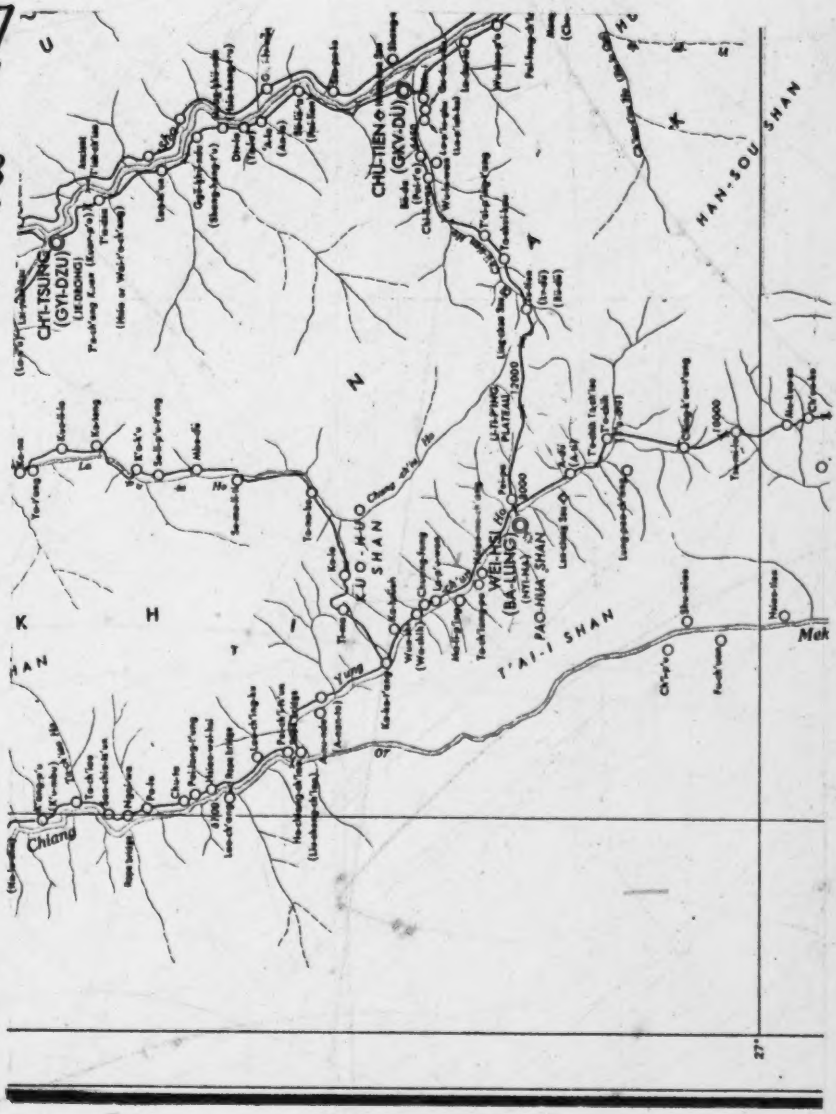

[End map II C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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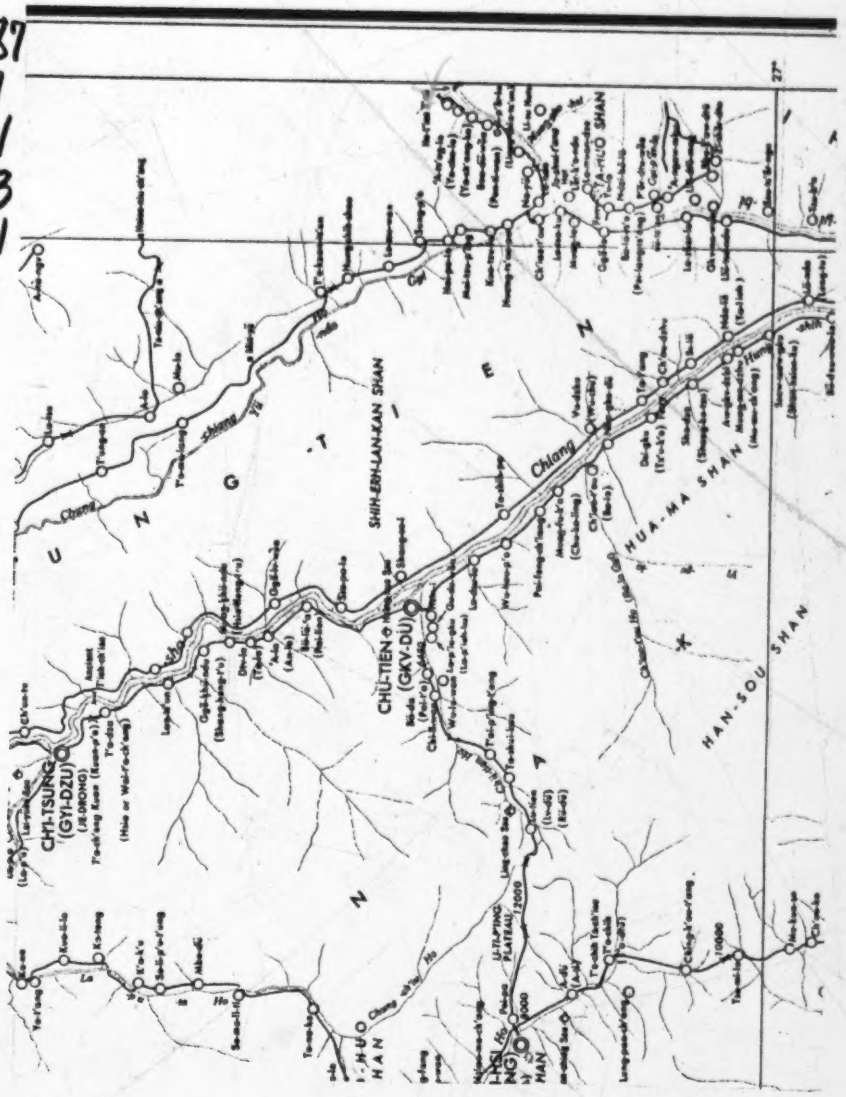

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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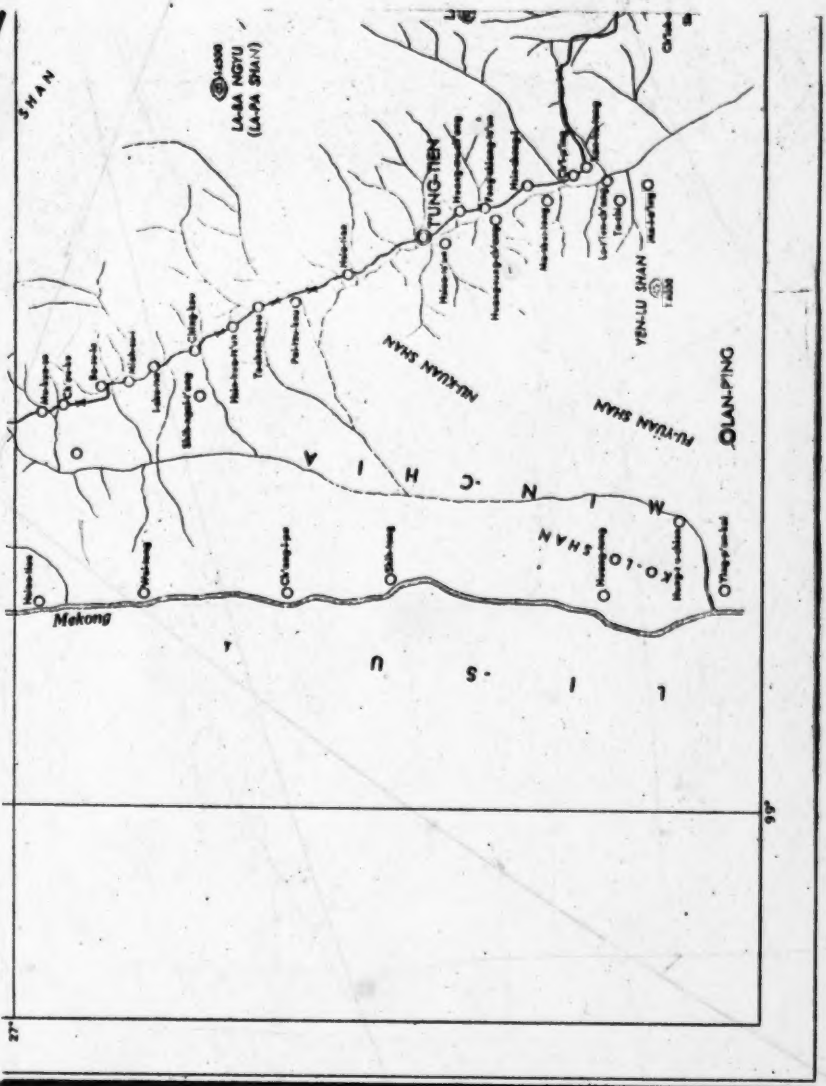

[End map II E]

2: *Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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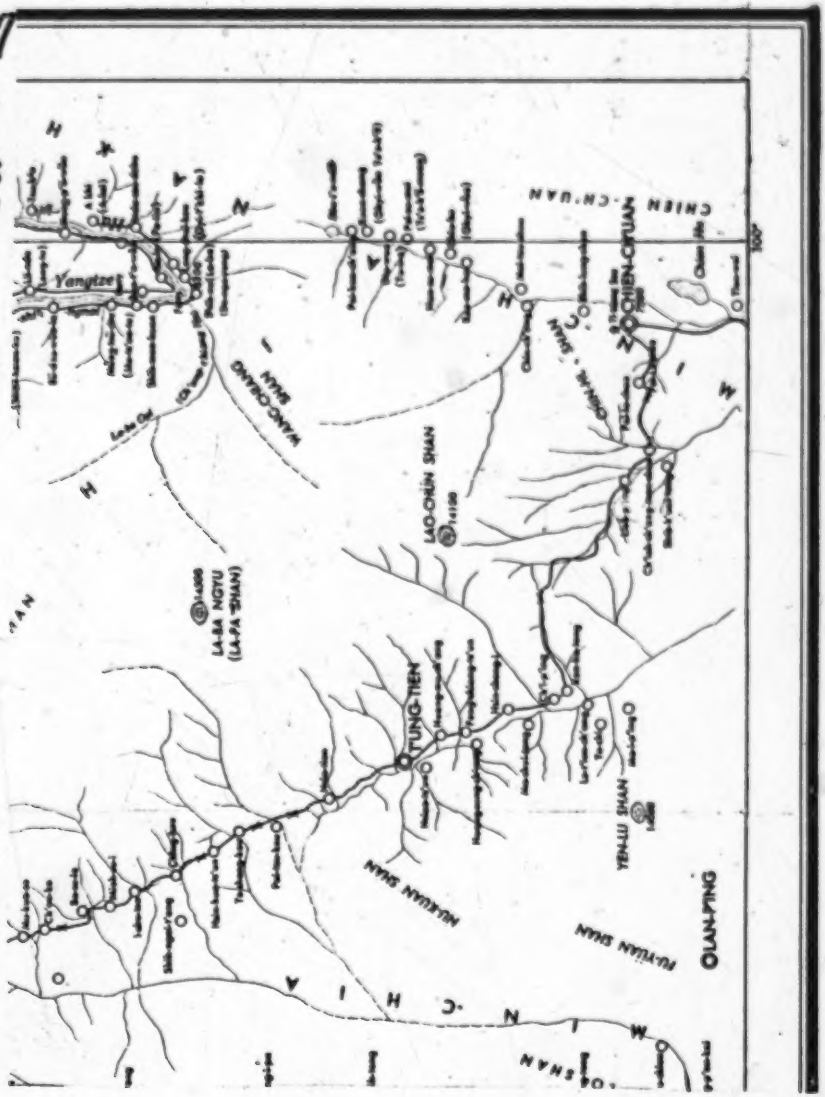

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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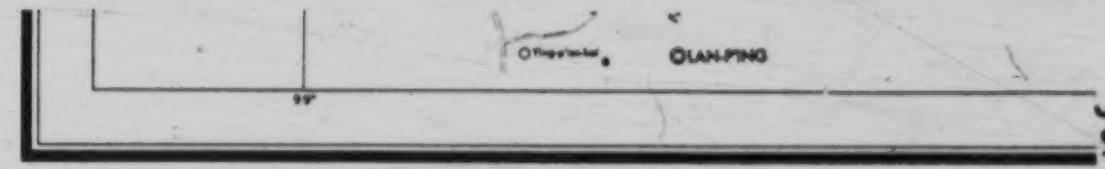
361



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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Km

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Pass with spot height in feet — 15300
Pass with glacier
Gorge
Ferry — Ferry
Chain bridge — Chain
Chain bridge (removed) — Chain
Rope bridge — Rope
Skull wooden bridge — Wooden
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring — Hot
Lake
Island in river
Solar terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

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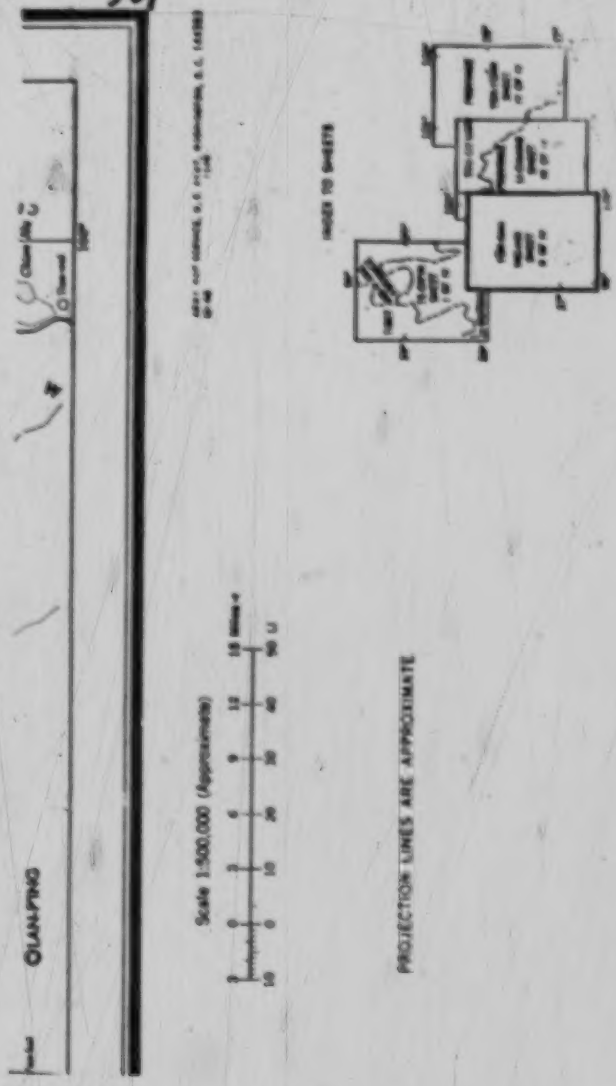

[End map II H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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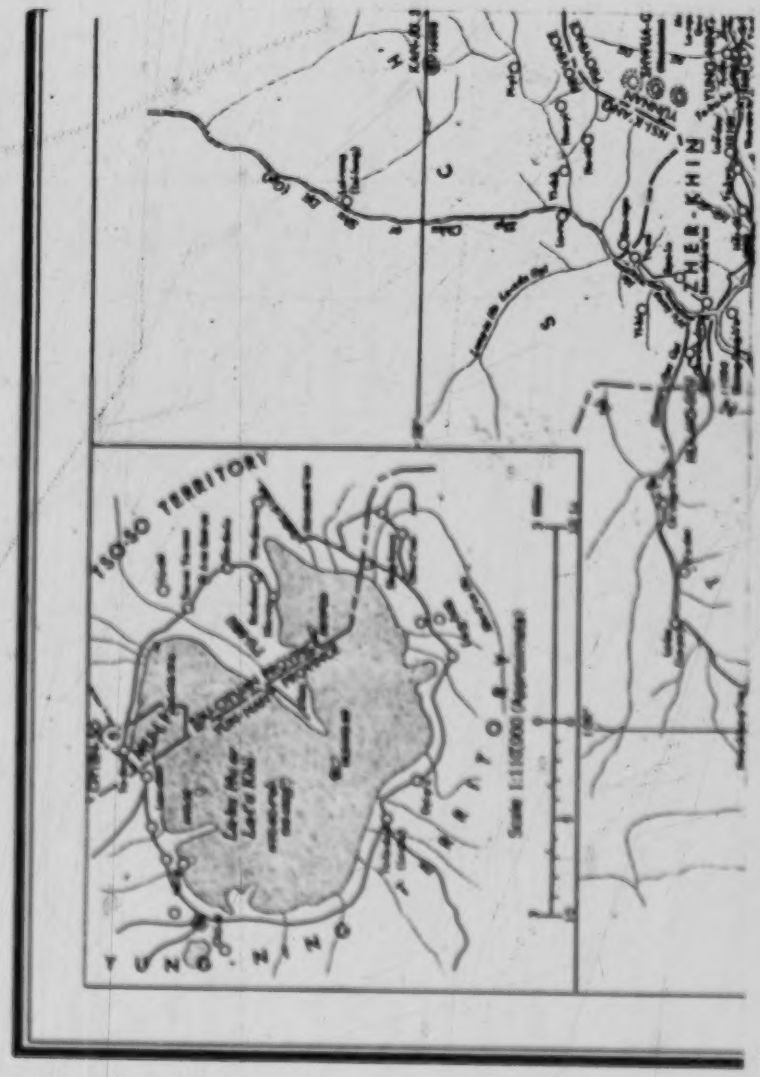
LI-CHIANG



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map III A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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LI-CHIANG

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

A.M.S. L406

[End map III B]

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361

[End map III C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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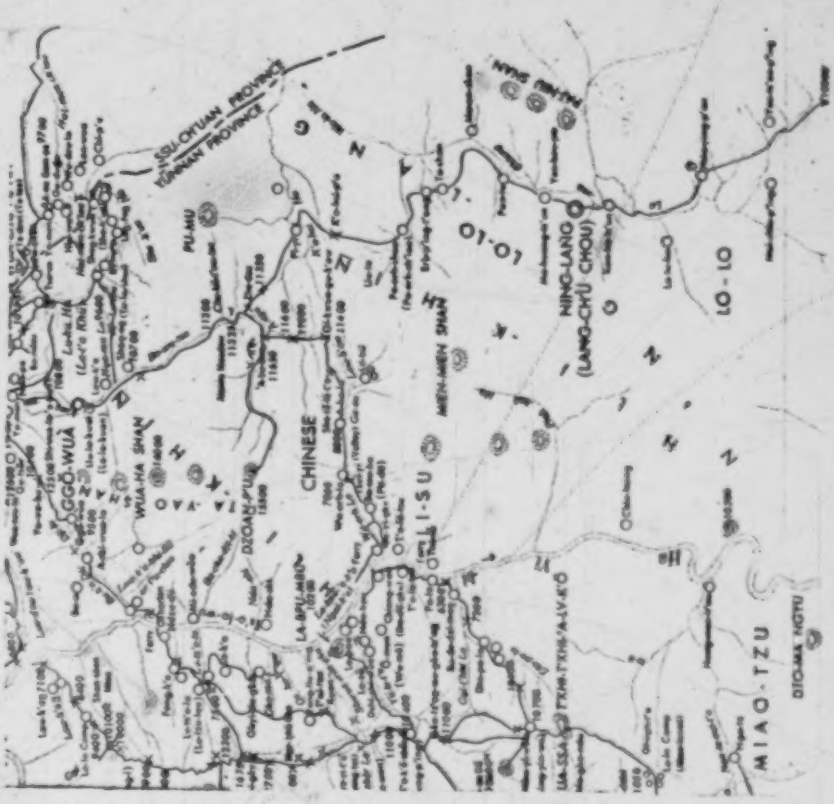

[End map III D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III E]

1. Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III F]

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provinces
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lake settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain fort
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Solar terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

2. Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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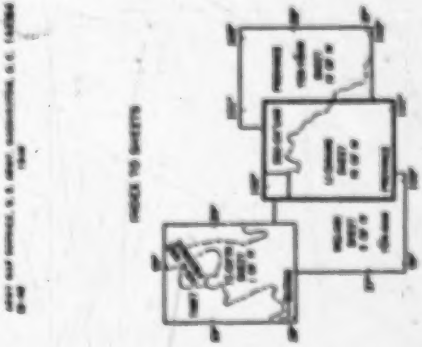

LI-CHIANG, CHINA
N2630-E9950/145x110

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III H]

2. Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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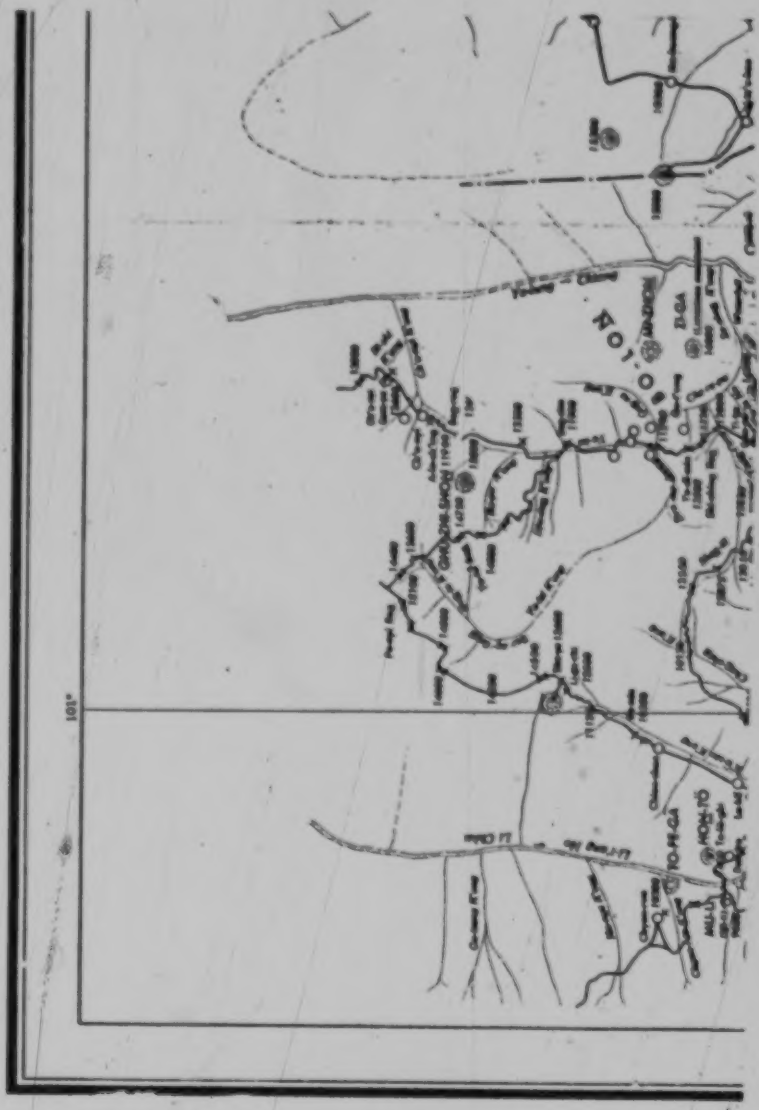
YEN-YUAN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map IV A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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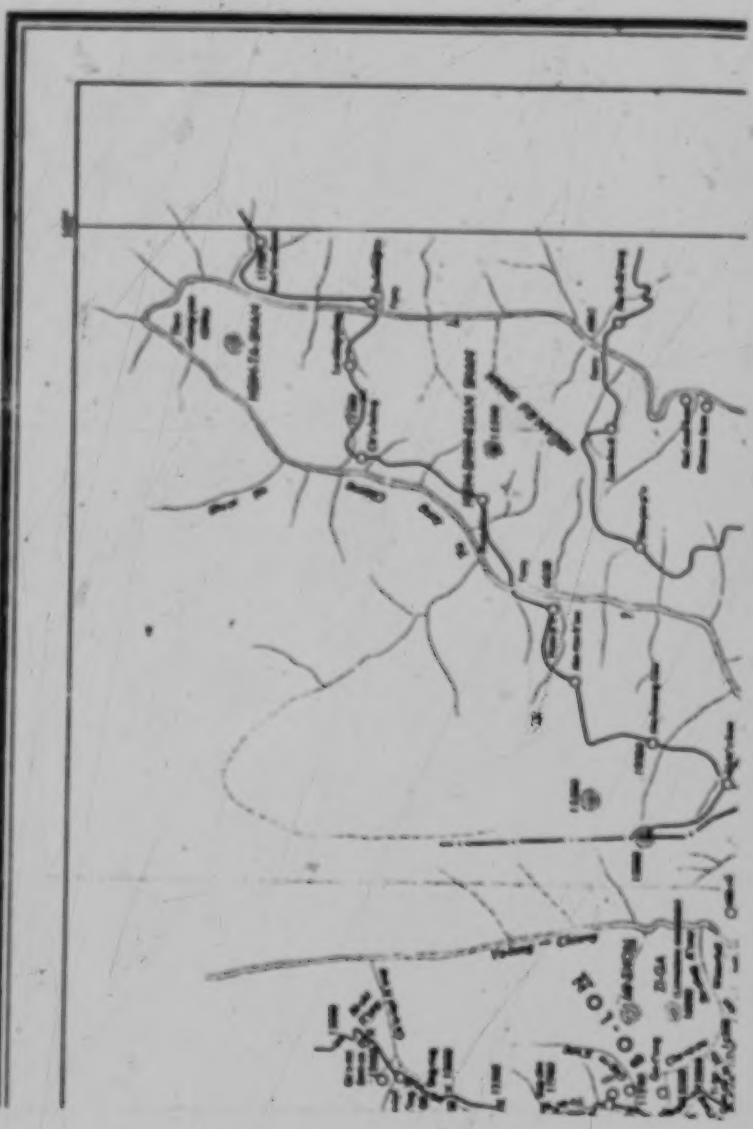
SHEET IV OF IV
A.M.S. L.608

FIRST EDITION—AMS T

YEN-YUAN



[End map IV B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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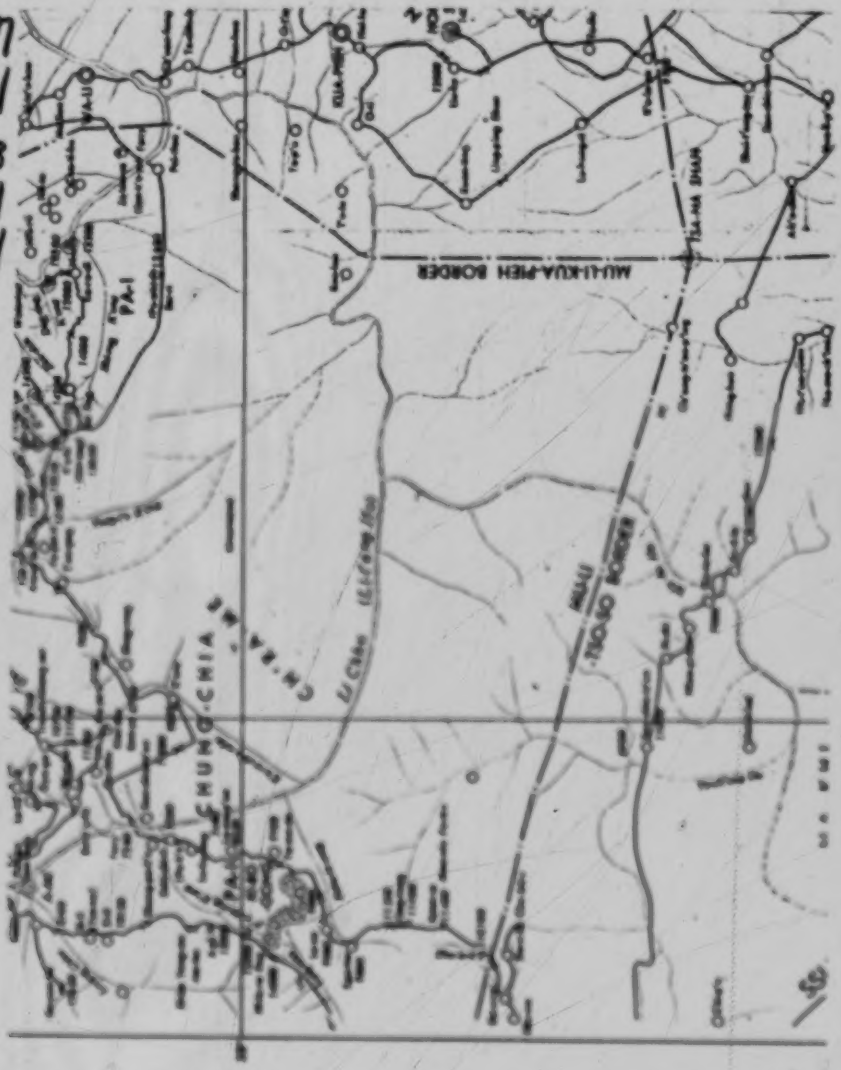

[End map IV C]

C: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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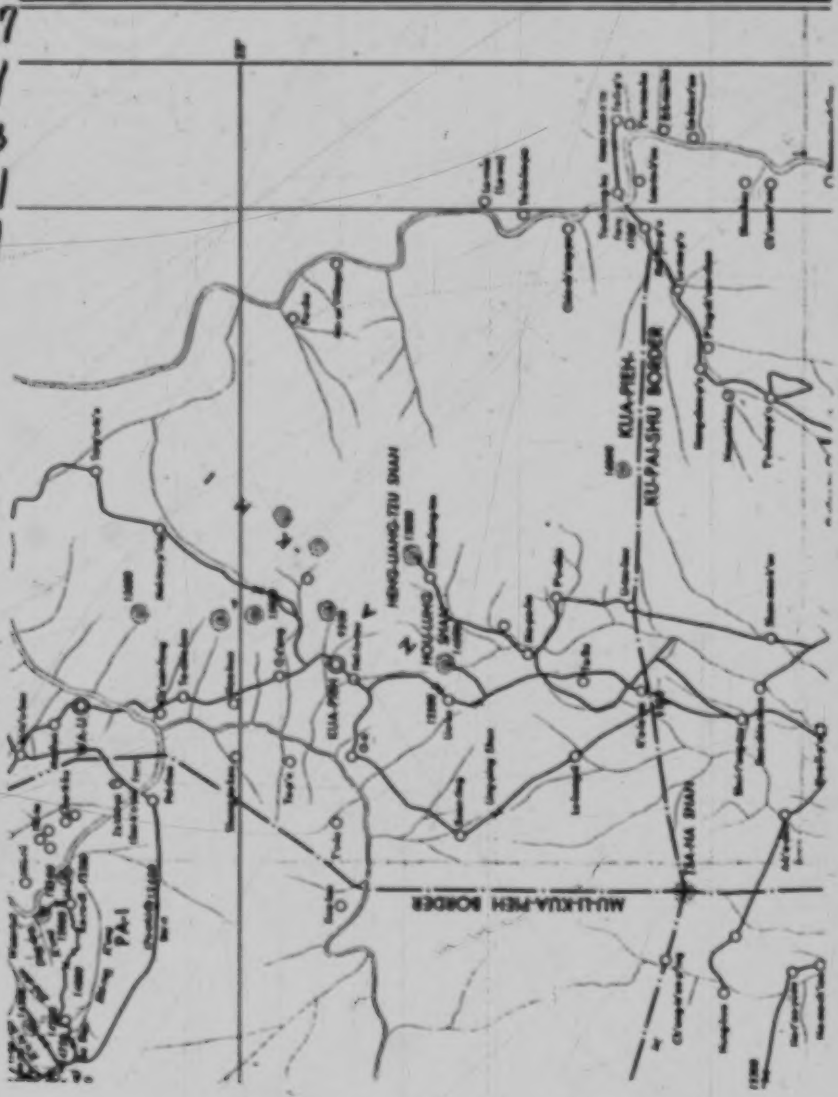

[End map IV D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map IV E]

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[End map IV F]

2. Rock, K-5 (1934-)1947) AF16 Southwest China AF16

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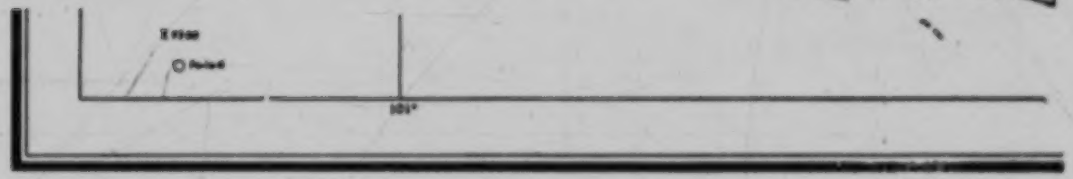

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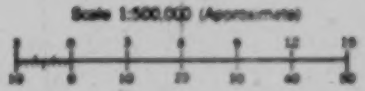
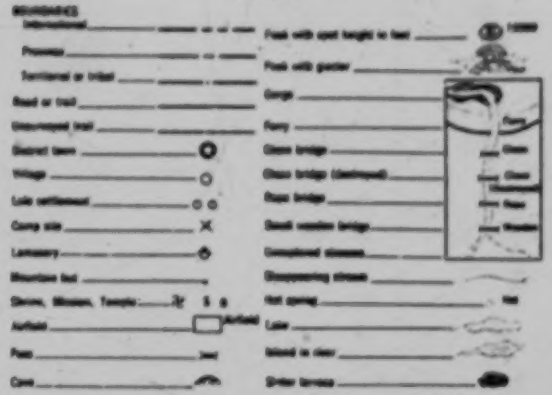


PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

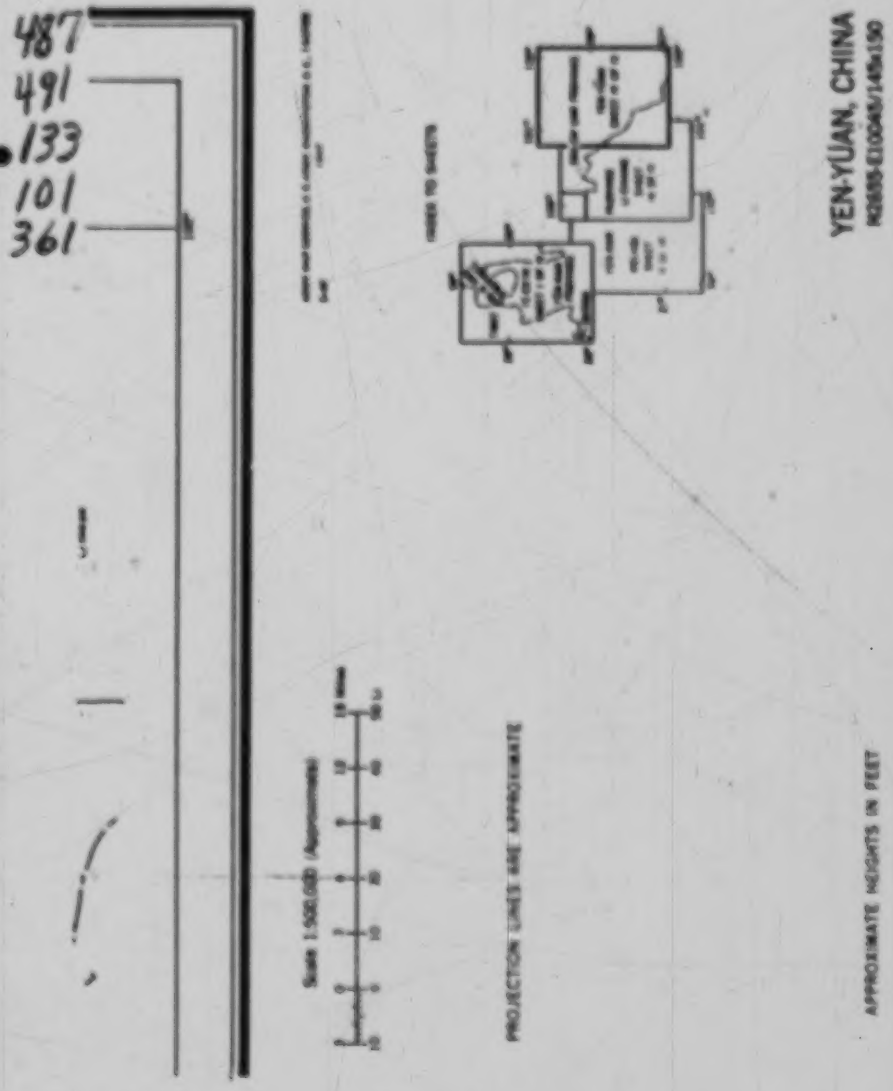
LEGEND



APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



487
491
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361

[End map IV H]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

505 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to
133 the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by China-men, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 horizon with which I took latitudes every clear night. My maximum and minimum thermometers very soon got out of order and defied all my efforts to get them right again. The survey was done on a scale of four miles to the inch, and I tried as far as possible to get in all the country that came in sight rather than to put in with minute accuracy the part near the road.

●133 Soon after leaving camp we crossed the actual watershed which is presumably the boundary. They say there was formerly a boundary "gate" here called Shên-hu-kuan. From all this part of the road there are magnificent views of the surrounding country. To the south the hills near Sima are plainly visible. To the south-east in a nearer range of hills the gap is seen through which the road from Mêng-tien to San-ta passes, and beyond this gap is visible another range which is probably that which divides Möng Na from Ho-hsa. Far away to the east can be seen a high mountain chain which separates the Shweli from the Salween. To the north this range stretches away till it is hidden by the spurs of Tabu Pum; to the south it culminates in a very high and prominent conical hill called Kao-li-kung which is about 12,000 feet high. South of this the range seems to get lower very rapidly.

[162 241] A steep descent of 1,400 feet brought us into the little Mêng-ka paddy plain which is inhabited by Chinese and Li-sos. The land is all cultivated but is not fertile, and the people do not get much more than a bare living off it. The head-man put me up in his house and I determined to halt here over the 7th, so as to write to the San-si sawbwa to tell him I was coming the next day.

A Shan silversmith from San-ta was a fellow-guest in Yang's house—rather an intelligent man who professed great contempt for the Chinese of Mêng-ka. Certainly the Shans are in many ways a much more civilised race than the Chinese.

579 On the morning of the 7th news came in that a caravan of Chinese traders on their way from Manwaing to Mogaung had been attacked by Kachins at a place called Möng-lawng[1]. Six mules with their loads had been stolen,

[1] I believe this to be the Shan form of the name marked on the Survey of India map as Ma-[illegible].

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

622 looked on with suspicion by the Chinese Government, owing to a rebellion which his elder brother and predecessor started three years before. He is now only allowed to rule over the purely Shan villages of the State, those places in which there are any Chinamen living being administered by the Chinese head-man at Kuan-shang[1].

From the account given to my interpreter by this individual, my arrival on the boundary seems to have caused no small stir both at San-si and at T'êng-yüeh. The news was at once sent on to the T'êng-yüeh official, and the 50 soldiers who form the garrison of San-si were sent up to the Lao-kuan-ch'êng Gate and slept there a night. The excitement was not allayed till my messenger from Mêng-ka arrived with the news that the 200 infantry and 60 cavalry had resolved themselves into 10 baggage mules and seven unarmed men.

162 The inhabitants of San-si are chiefly Shan, but there is
361 also a considerable Chinese population, amounting perhaps
to one sixth or one eighth of the whole. The Taping
•133 river runs through the plain from north to south, and it is noticeable that the Shan villages on its right bank are all surrounded by walls, as a protection no doubt against the Kachins who inhabit the hills to the west. The San-si plain is in this latitude the eastern boundary of the Kachin country, the hills to the east of it being peopled by Chinese. The height of the plain is only 3,300 feet.

On the 12th January we crossed the Taping by ferry. The river averages 80 yards in width and at this time of year there are places where waist-deep fords can be found in it. A good deal of hill climbing brought us to the small village of Hsiao-ti-fang where we camped for the night. Here again there was unmelted ice all day, and the night was very cold.

361 This, like many of the frontier villages, was originally a military post placed here by the Chinese authorities to control the border tribes. They have now, however, been settled down as farmers for many generations, though I believe they still receive some small pay or remission of taxes from the Chinese Government. It is probably by

[1] I heard on a subsequent journey that San-si had been handed over to the Sawbwa of Mong Ti (Nan-tien), but do not know if this is true.

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military colonies that this part of Yün-nan was originally peopled by the Chinese. Throughout the T'êng-yüeh and Lung-ling districts the word used for a village is "chai," which really means a fortified post. 361

In the early morning of the 13th a letter was brought to me containing a telegram from the Deputy Commissioner at Bhamo asking me to wait a little, as the T'êng-yüeh authorities objected to my entering Yün-nan. I had already been in Yün-nan a week without any valid objection being offered to my proceeding, and I guessed that the real reason of the objections of the T'êng-yüeh authorities was the report that had been spread that I was coming in with a large force. I therefore decided to disregard this telegram and go on and see the T'êng-yüeh officials myself. 000

From Hsiao-ti-fang there is a steep climb to the top of a range at 8,300 feet. The descent on the other side ends with four or five miles of a deep gorge into the Mien-ch'in plain. While riding down this gorge I was met by a Chinese officer with a few men. He seemed suspicious and asked why I was coming by that road. I produced my passport and he became more civil and suggested that we should go on to Mien-ch'in and talk the matter over. He went on ahead, and when I arrived there he sent a civil message to say he would start early the next morning, taking with him a copy of my passport, and would leave four of his men to escort me in. He also added that he would come over himself and see me soon.

I anticipated his visit and went to call on him and found him very civil and even cordial in his manner. His name was Yang and he was staff officer to the general at T'êng-yüeh. He said he had met Margary at Sha-yang and had been friendly with a French priest who formerly lived at Yang-pi. He was apologetic about the way he had stopped me on the road, and said his object was to come on to San-si and prevent me being kept waiting there by the local officials. This was of course a polite fiction. No doubt the T'êng-yüeh authorities thought I was coming in without a passport, and had sent him to turn me back if such should be the case.

On the 14th we crossed a rocky ridge a few hundred feet high through small fields divided by stone walls, and 133

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The T'êng-yüeh waterfall

Plate IX

[Face p. 44]

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133 descended into the flourishing little valley of Ho-shun-hsiang. The road turns up this valley and going through a short gorge between two low hills reaches the T'êng-yüeh plain, passing a splendid waterfall 100 feet high, by which the T'êng-yüeh river runs down into the Ho-shun-hsiang valley. Into the pool below this fall hundreds of Panthays are said to have been thrown after the final suppression of the Mahommedan rebellion.

I found an excellent place to pitch my tent near a white temple outside the north-west face of the city, but I very soon found out that pitching a tent near a Chinese town does not answer. Large crowds soon assembled, who though quiet enough after a time became a nuisance, and I always afterwards went to inns in Chinese cities.

712 T'êng-yüeh has been described in considerable detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, and there is now a British Consul there, so it will not be necessary to say much about it. It was, however, the first walled city I came across in China, and as all these walls are built in very much the same way, a description of it will answer, with variations in shape and measurements, for most other towns. It is nearly a square, each side about 1,200 yards long, and not, in the case of T'êng-yüeh, built square to the points of the compass but facing nearly north-west, north-east, etc. The wall is of brick, nearly 30 feet high and two feet thick, and backed up on the inside by an earth parapet 30 feet thick, and some six feet lower than the wall. This parapet, besides supporting the wall and giving solidity to the defences of the city, acts as a banquette for the defenders to stand on. The top part of the wall is deeply crenelated for men or small guns to fire from. and there is a loop-hole in each bit of high wall between the crenelations. Each face has a gate in it which is usually protected by a wall, similar to, but slightly smaller than, the main city wall, enclosing a square space in front of the gate. The entrance from outside leading into this space is placed in one of its side walls, and is not therefore directly opposite the main gate. These defences in front of the gates also flank the walls, and there are usually somewhat similar flanking defences at the corners and at intervals in other parts of the faces. In T'êng-yüeh there is on one side some remains of

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491 total length of them must run to some hundreds of thousands of miles. When new they may be fairly good, but they are seldom repaired, and the Chinese proverb well describes them as "Good for ten years, and bad for ten thousand." It is always a great relief to get into some out-of-the-way part of the country where there is only what the Chinese contemptuously describe as an "earth road." These paved roads have their uses however in the rainy season, as the stones prevent the path becoming an impassable morass.

On the 18th January we crossed the Shweli by one of the famous iron-chain suspension bridges. There are a considerable number of these bridges in western China, especially in western and southern Yün-nan. The chains, which are usually ten or twelve in number, are solidly embedded in massive piers of brick or stone on each side of the river, and the roadway is made by planks laid across these. Loaded animals can cross them, and though they sway about a good deal, they will stand a lot of weight.

•133 The river is some 40 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky bed. It does not come from any great distance, and in a subsequent journey I was able to fix the position of its source approximately. There is no actual flat plain in this part of its course, but to the west the slope is very gradual to the foot of the steep part of the hills three miles off, and there are numerous Chinese villages both up and down the valley. The river is called by many names. To the Burmese it is known as the Shweli, to the Chinese as the Lung-ch'uan Chiang, or more commonly as simply the Lung Chiang or Dragon River. The Shans call it the Nam Yang in the upper part of its course, but change its name to Nam Mow when it enters the Möng Mow plain.

From the river there is a stiff ascent, at first through the usual dried up grass and fern, and higher up through bamboo and tree jungle. We camped at the little Panthay village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u at 7,400 feet, and had a very hard frost at night.

563 Panthay is the name which we have adopted from the Burmese for the Mahommedans of Yün-nan. The Chinese name for Mahommedans is *hui-tzŭ* or *hui-hui*. The name

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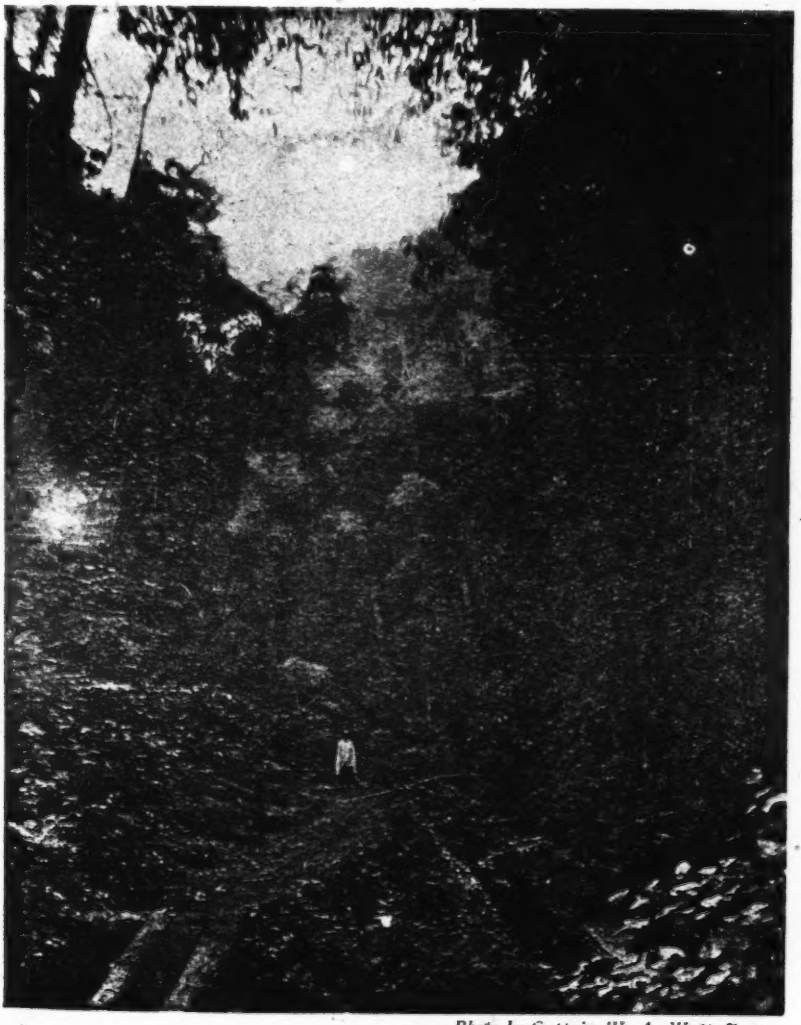

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Coming down to the Salween valley

[Face p. 54]

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563 is a considerable Mahommedan population, and they are found distributed all over the province, more in some districts than in others. Perhaps in Yung-ch'ang, Ta-li, and Yün Chou there is a larger proportion of Panthays than in other towns. Sometimes one finds Mahommedan colonies in very out of the way places, probably men who have taken refuge there after the suppression of the rebellion; and even in the Shan States within British territory there are two or three Panthay settlements.

No doubt the numbers of the Yün-nan Mahommedans were considerably thinned by wholesale massacres when the Chinese troops finally got the best of them, but I do not suppose they ever formed a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the province. At present I should say at a guess they would not amount to more than three per cent. of the total population. Mahommedans are distributed all over China, and I do not think there is any province which has none, but I believe the proportion in Yün-nan is greater than in any other province except Kan-su. It is often supposed that Chinese Mahommedans are more honest and straightforward than the real Chinamen, but from what I have seen of them I very much doubt if this is the case in Yün-nan: their customs and ways of thought are quite Chinese.

• 133 We had not reached the top of the range at T'ai-p'ing-p'u and our road on the 19th still led up till the Shweli-Salween watershed was crossed at a height of 8000 feet. The highest point of the range is a conical peak called Kao-li-kung which lies 10 or 12 miles to the north of the road and is some 12,000 feet high. The pass by which the road crosses is called *Fêng-k'ou, The Wind Pass*, and well merits its name. Here on each side of the road are stone walls which are said to have formerly supported an arch like those of the frontier "gates": this now forms the boundary between the T'êng-yüeh and Yung-ch'ang districts. I climbed up on to a little knoll to the north of the road to take some angles, and got an excellent view of the hills to the north, east and west: Tabu Pum and other prominent peaks near Sadon were clearly visible.

From the top we had a long bit of downhill to the valley of the Salween. The Chinese call this river the

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Pai-i AE7

S
133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not under-
S taken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a
133 single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

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CHAPTER IX

YUNG-CH'ANG FU TO TA-LI FU.

Leave Yung-ch'ang—Chinese ignorance of topography—The Mekong—The Chinese New Year—Ch'ü-tung and Yung-p'ing—Four hilly marches—Lo-los—Yang-pi—The Ts'ang Shan—Hsia-kuan—Ta-li Fu—The Ming-chia—Industries—Missionaries—A New Year's festival.

On the 24th January we left Yung-ch'ang. The road goes up and across the plain and ascends the usual bare hills from its north-east corner, finally following the bed of a stream up a narrow gorge to the top of the range at 7,800 feet. From here there is a slight descent to the little village of Ta-li-shao, where I pitched my tent, and my followers found shelter in a temple. Ta-li-shao is not to be recommended as a halting place. There is no inn, and the hillside is so steep that it is not easy to find room to pitch a tent. Shui-chai which is a good-sized village is only two miles further on, and would have been a better place to sleep at.

The stream which runs down the Yung-ch'ang plain is shown on some maps as falling into the Mekong, but Chinese maps give it as a tributary of the Salween, and this I ascertained on a subsequent journey to be correct. Towards the south end of the plain the river does make an easterly bend, and this has probably led some former traveller to suppose it ran into the Mekong. The Chinamen as usual were very vague about it. One of those that I asked said it ran into the Mekong, but that I was perfectly correct in saying that it joined the Salween eventually, as the former river was a tributary of the latter! This is a good specimen of the geographical knowledge of the Chinese. It is curious that, while Burmans, Shans, Kachins and other tribes are such excellent hands at topography,

000 133 823 [p.61]

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•133 823 and can draw a good map with a stick on the ground, the Chinese should be so lacking in this faculty, and will give one all sorts of geographical information which is obviously incorrect.

Our road on the 25th led gradually down hill as far as Shui-chai. From here the descent is down a narrow gorge with precipitous crags rising on each side. The path is zigzagged or it would be impossible for animals. Finally a bit of more gradual down-hill along the hillside brings one to the Mekong which is crossed by another of the iron-chain suspension bridges, the chains on the right bank being fastened round short pillars of natural rock cut out of the hillside.

133 The river averages from 80 to 100 yards in width, flowing with a strong current which renders it quite unnavigable. It runs between wall-like hills which rise almost sheer for 1,500 or 2000 feet and then slope more gradually back to the tops of the ranges. There is absolutely no level ground in the valley. This is characteristic of this river during its course through Yün-nan. I have subsequently seen it in several places and have found it much the same everywhere. The elevation at the bridge I made 3,900 feet, 1,700 feet higher than that of the Salween. After crossing, a very stiff ascent brought us to the long narrow village of 527 Sha-yang. It was the Chinese New Year's Eve, and every house had a young fir tree stuck up in front of the door. This is, I believe, the universal custom in Yün-nan, but it does not seem to obtain in eastern China.

New Year's Day is the great holiday of the Chinese year. It occurs during the months of January or February, but not on any fixed date in our calendar, for the length of the Chinese year does not correspond with ours. They have twelve months, six of them of thirty days and six of twenty-nine days, making 354 days in all. So to make it come right with the sun they have to reckon one of the months twice over every three years. The same system of an intercalary month is used in Burma, but the Burmese calendar does not correspond in other respects with that of the Chinese.

On New Year's Day all shops are shut and no business of any sort is done. The people all put on their best clothes, often hired from a pawnshop for the occasion, and

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764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Erh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

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000 used to hearing objections of this sort raised, and it did not make me change my mind.

On the 5th February we left Ta-li and went back to Hsia-kuan, and on the 6th started for Shun-ning. The road leads up a big range, reaching the top at 8,700 feet. They say there is usually snow on this pass at this time of year, but the winter happened to be an exceptionally mild one. From here a long winding descent brought us into the northern end of the Mêng-hua plain at the village of Hsün-chien, where there is a particularly good inn.

•133 The plain is some 25 miles long and three or four miles wide, with a small stream, which is the source of the Red River, running southwards down the middle of it. Its height [162] is about 6000 feet. The inhabitants are Chinese and Panthays, the latter being in considerable numbers but not in a majority. The town lies at the southern end of the plain, and I did not see it at this time, but passed through it in a subsequent journey in 1898[1].

175 Mêng-hua is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the scene of a deliberately planned murder, by which the Nan-chao kingdom was founded. At that time central Yün-nan was divided into six little states, but Pi-lo-ko, the prince of Mêng-hua, being a man of enterprising mind, invited his five royal neighbours to a feast. He had previously constructed a specially inflammable house of pine wood, and having made his guests dead drunk, set fire to the building and burnt them all. He thus combined the six kingdoms under his own rule and soon afterwards moved his capital to the Ta-li plain. This was in A.D. 731, and the kingdom continued with various changes of dynasty till it was subdued by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

000 The next morning the *ch'ai*[2] sent with me as escort divulged the fact that he was not after all to accompany me to Shun-ning, but was to go to Mêng-hua. It appears that the *Hsièn*[3] of Ta-li, after agreeing to send him with me to Shun-ning, had been subsequently struck by the great responsibility he was taking on himself in doing so, and had consulted on the matter with the *Fu*[4]. The result

[1] See p. 147. [2] Policeman. [3] Magistrate.
[4] The Fu district official, sometimes called the *prefect* by Europeans in China.

000 downhill passing a most remarkable temple, called Ch'a-fang-ssŭ, built on a ledge in a precipitous rock which rises sheer some 300 feet.

During this descent the Yang-pi River is seen on the left hand running most unexpectedly in a north-easterly direction. It makes a very sharp bend in this part of its course and afterwards again comes round into its original southerly direction. The Yang-pi is at the ferry 130 yards wide, with a moderate current, but a little lower down it gets squeezed in between the hills again, and becomes narrower, deeper, and more rapid. It is crossed by a rather shaky bamboo raft, and a few hundred yards of steep ascent brings one to Hsin-niu-kai, where there is a dilapidated official rest-house.

• 133 The people of this village are Chinese, not Lo-los, and from here on to Shun-ning the inhabitants are principally Chinamen. The height of the Yang-pi here is 3,900 feet, a fall of more than 1,200 feet from where we had last crossed [132] it on the Yung-ch'ang-Ta-li road. The climate at this low elevation is much warmer than most places in this part of the country and the opium crop was nearly ripe, whereas at Ta-li and other higher lying plains it was only just showing above the ground.

823 The river in this part of its course is not known to the Chinese as the Yang-pi Ho. The people here seem to have no name for it but call it vaguely the Ta Ho or Big River. In fact the Chinese very seldom give names to their rivers, but call them after the nearest town or important village through which they pass. Nearly all rivers thus have different names in different parts of their course. This according to our ideas of geography is extremely inconvenient, so I have thought it best to adhere to the name of Yang-pi River.

136 I had had scarcely any shooting so far, but on this march I first had an unsuccessful stalk after two barking deer, and afterwards shot a hen pheasant (*Phasianus elegans*), one of nine or ten that got up.

000 On the 11th we had an uphill road, climbing the Ta-chin Shan, a hill with a conspicuous pagoda on its summit. We left this pagoda on our left hand and followed a narrow path cut out of an almost precipitous hill-side to the village

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Captain W. A. Wallis-Jones

The Wan-nien-chuang valley

[Face p. 78]

Plate XVIII

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

000 shed at 5,600 feet, one of the lowest points in this part of the range. From here we went by an equally gradual descent
S to T'ou-tao-shui, a little village in which a market is held
733 every five days. The small official in charge of the police here came to see me in the evening somewhat the worse for liquor, and I saw three or four other men in the same state, rather an unusual sight in China. Most Chinamen drink rice spirit, but they seem to know when they have had enough, and one seldom sees a drunken man.

From T'ou-tao-shui there are two roads on to Kun-long. The most direct route passes through Mêng-lai, but I took a longer and better road round by Mien-ning. The next day we had an easy march to Yi-wan-shui, and on the 20th we slept at La-tien-p'o, a village which lies on the Mêng-lai Ho, the main source of the Nam Ting. Still following
S up this stream we reached Mien-ning T'ing on the 22nd.

●133 Since leaving Shun-ning the country and climate had been gradually changing, and we were now in a district more resembling the Shan States than the higher part of China we had hitherto been travelling in. The elevations
S of the hills are much lower, the climate considerably warmer,
[137] and the whole country is covered with jungle of a semi-tropical kind instead of the bare hills and pine forests of the districts further north.

S The Mien-ning plain is some seven miles long by three
361 miles wide. The town is built near the southern end of it on the left bank of the Mêng-lai Ho, a stream 30 yards wide and three or four feet deep, which runs down the middle of the plain from south to north. There is a great deal of vacant space inside the walls, and the town contains only 200 houses, but it is surrounded on all sides by suburbs amounting to another 300 or 400. The largest suburb is on the east, and this appears to be the chief commercial quarter, such as it is. The inns are miserable, and I found quarters in a good-sized temple, built by the Ssŭ-ch'uan
P residents of the place.

Mien-ning is always pronounced Mien-ling by the
177 inhabitants. It was originally a Shan state, and its proper Shan name is Möng Myen. There are still a great many of this race living here, but the Chinese are now in the majority, and the Shans are taking very much to Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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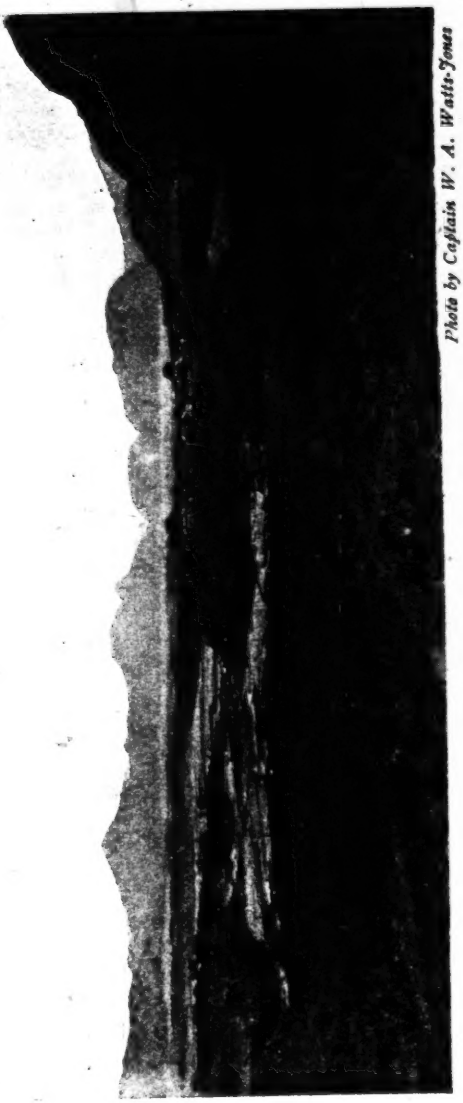

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Méng-sa plateau

Plate XIX

[Face p. 80]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

000 and after passing the Chinese village of Ch'ing-mên-k'ou suddenly emerges through a gap in the hills into the plateau of Mêng-sa[1], which is 10 miles long by two or three miles wide, very bare and dry with little water in it. There S are few irrigated fields, and consequently not many villages. 133 The small stream which waters the plateau comes in from the east close to the town, makes a bend round for two or three miles, and then runs straight into a range of hills, re-appearing again on the other side.

The disappearance of rivers into ranges of mountains is not at all an uncommon thing in Yün-nan and in the Shan States. I have seen four or five instances of it myself. One of the most remarkable occurs in the Taw-nio plateau near Kun-long ferry. Here all the streams run straight into a range of limestone hills, and come out the other side, S crossing the Mêng-ting-Kunlong road, and falling into the P Nam Ting.

[361] Mêng-sa is surrounded by a mud wall and contains 622 150 houses inhabited by Shans. Just before entering the town a dirty Chinese suburb of 50 houses is passed through. The younger brother of the Kêng-ma sawbwa lives here and governs the district. The sawbwa's son was also there at the time of my visit. He had been to Möng Cheng (Chên-k'ang) to be married, and was now on his way home with his bride, accompanied by a large train of followers on horseback.

The sawbwa had very civilly sent a man to meet me and to go with me as long as I was in his territory. He asked me to go round by the town of Kêng-ma, but I wanted to see the direct road to Kun-long and could not spare the time to make this detour. I was able to pay him S a visit later on.

133 Looking back northward from the Mêng-sa plateau some fine snow-covered peaks were visible at no great distance off, in the range running down the right bank of the Nam Ting. This range is far the highest in this part of the country, and on a subsequent journey I calculated its height as nearly 11,500 feet.

000 Leaving Mêng-sa the next morning we climbed a big

[1] Möng-Hsa in Shan. Not to be confused with another Möng Hsa, a name often given to the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa (see p. 26).

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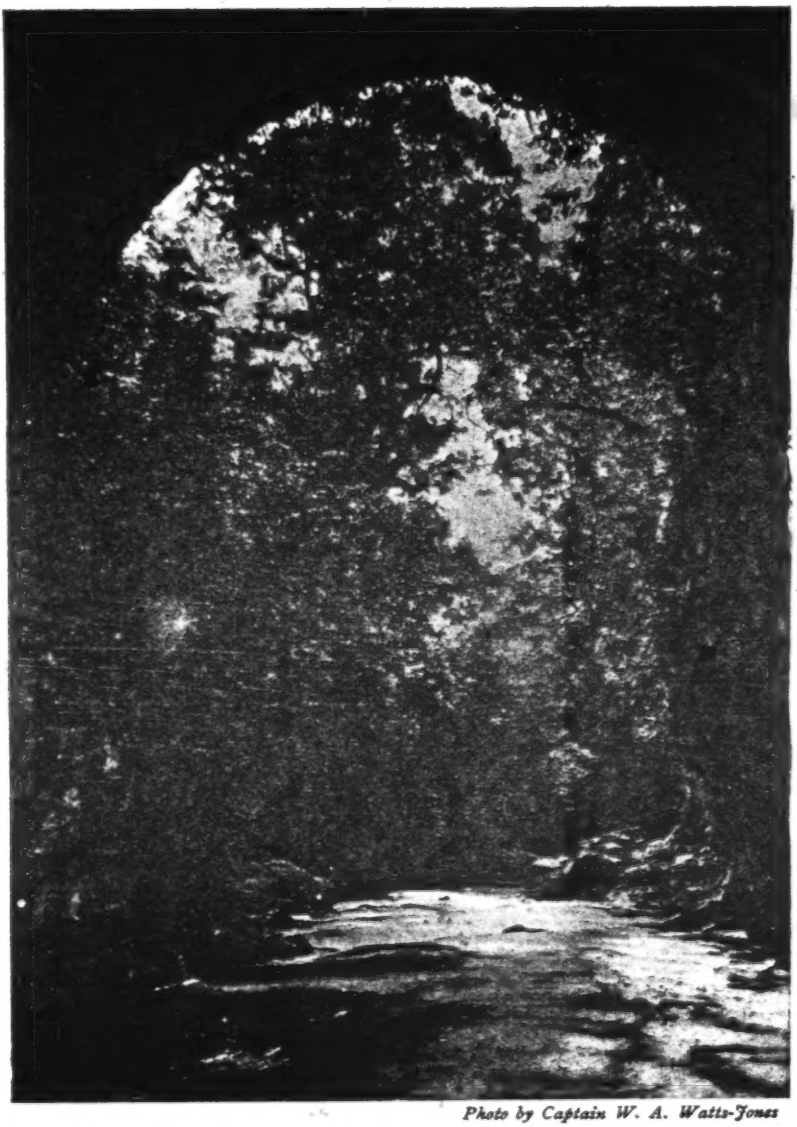


Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

River running into a hill in the Mêng-sa plateau

Plate XX

[Face p.82]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The La-hu chief also still lives here and has a certain 622
amount of authority. He is a quiet, simple-minded old gentleman, quite a jungle man. He told me that the Shans 563
formerly inhabited this place, but four or five generations ago the La-hus came down from the neighbourhood of Mien-ning and drove them out. The Shans retired to Möng Lem, but there are still a few families of Shan descent living in the villages round.

The inhabitants of Ch'üan-lo and the neighbourhood seem now to be chiefly La-hus who have taken to Chinese customs, and who, many of them, now call themselves Chinamen. There are also a few real Chinese living in the town, but the total absence of curiosity among the people here soon made one realise that one was not among a Chinese population. Hardly a soul came to stare at me all day.

On the 27th of March we crossed a range of hills at a little over 6000 feet, and descended very steeply to the Mekong at the village of Nan-pei. The ferry village of this name where I camped is inhabited by La-hus, but the people of the main village of Nan-pei, which is 1½ miles short of the ferry, are P'u-mans, a tribe which is very much split up into small communities. They were apparently of the same family as the Las, Was, and Palaungs, but have become so scattered and isolated from each other that I have found some villages of them who have forgotten their own tongue and now talk the Wa, the Shan, or even the Chinese language.

The Mekong is here at an altitude of 2,300 feet, and 133
runs, as usual with this river, between very steep hills with practically no level ground outside the river bed. I had great difficulty in finding room to pitch one small tent.

The next day we crossed the river in a large boat much resembling an English punt. At this time of year animals can be swum across, but in the rains the current is very strong, and this big boat is used to convey mules as well as men. The average width of this part of the Mekong is some 80 yards. Even in the dry season there is a fairly strong stream and the water is thick and muddy.

This ferry seems to be a good deal used. Quite a 000
hundred mules crossed it while I was there, all carrying

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

language. The fact seems to be that the P'u-mans have 563
become so split up into small and isolated communities, that many of them have lost their own language. It was not till a subsequent journey in 1899 that I came across P'u-mans who had a language of their own[1].

On the 23rd April we arrived at Kêng-ma. The town 133
is built in a plateau, a most unusual formation for this part of Yün-nan, where one generally finds nothing but a series of ranges of mountains and comparatively narrow valleys. The plateau measures about 15 miles from north to south and half this distance across. To the east, separated from it by low hills, is the Nam Hpyit[2], while two other streams run across the plateau in a generally easterly direction and find their way through gaps in these hills into that river. It is along these two streams and their small tributaries [361]
that the greater number of the villages are situated, as they are here able to cultivate narrow strips of paddy. Most of the plateau consists of open grass land, lying too high to be irrigated and not much cultivated.

The town is pleasantly placed on rising ground, and 361
contains about 300 houses, built of mud or soft bricks. The climate is excellent, and I found it quite cool at this, the hottest time of the year, though the height is only 3,850 feet. The place seems prosperous, and there were a good many Chinese traders there, among whom I found the Panthay merchant whom I had seen in Yung-ch'ang[3]. He told me that since we last met he had spoken about the proposed railway extension to Kun-long to other traders, who all agreed that it would be an excellent thing for the trade of this part of China.

The sawbwa's son came to see me soon after my 622
arrival. Having reached the age of 25, he had now taken over the government of the state, his father retiring in his favour. This is an almost universal custom among Chinese Shans. The father, however, still remains the nominal head of the state, and the son is not recognised by the Chinese Government until the father dies. Kêng-ma is one of the largest and best governed Shan States in the province of Yün-nan.

[1] See p. 146. [2] Nan-p'i Ho in Chinese. [3] See p. 59.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

669 gave orders that the sawbwas of Chên-k'ang, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, were to collect men and combine against the rebels. They seem to have been successful in dispersing them for the time, though I could not hear of much loss of life on either side. This is the story as given me, but, though there is nothing improbable in it, I will not be answerable for its correctness. A Chinaman always has a story to account for any circumstance he may be asked about, with an equally ready answer to any further questions that may be put to him.

•133 The next day we continued our journey, crossing a range at 6,800 feet. On the top there are several basins, two of them of considerable size, with villages in them, the water of which has no outlet, the streams running into holes in the hills. In one of these, in which the village of T'ien-pa-chai is situated, the hole is not big enough to take all the water which comes down when the stream is swollen, so that in the rains a small lake is formed where it enters the hill.

On the 2nd May we had a steep bit of down-hill to the Salween, which is here 2,050 feet above sea level. We crossed it at Han-kuai ferry, which is just below the corner where the river begins to make its westerly bend. The Salween is here 120 yards wide with a strong current, and is crossed by one good-sized ferry-boat. The boatmen live at Han-kuai village, which is on the right bank, nearly 2000 feet above the river, up a very steep hill—an inconvenient arrangement for travellers arriving from the east, as they have to wait till the ferrymen choose to come. The usual custom is to fire a gun to attract their attention.

The next day a very hilly march, passing Möng Nawng[1], a small Shan plain with a swampy lake in it, brought us to Pin-ka, a plain five miles long, inhabited by Chinamen and under the jurisdiction of Lung-ling. Two more days of hilly marching in wet weather took us to Hsiang-ta, another little Chinese plain containing about 15 small villages, and on the 6th of May we descended to Möng Hkwan, an important Shan state, called Mang-shih by the Chinese.

The plain is watered by the Nam Hkwan, a tributary

[1] Mêng-nung in Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

5: Davies, G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Man-waing[1]. The trade along this route is fairly large in the cold season, and we passed some 500 mules, loaded chiefly with walnuts, chestnuts, pears, dried figs, and a little silk and tobacco.

From Man-waing on to T'êng-yüeh is a well-known road, previously traversed by several travellers, and described in detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, though the learned doctor gets rather mixed in his names of places.

Ryder and Watts-Jones took the main road which crosses the Taping by one of the numerous ferries over this part of its course, and goes up that river's left bank. I took a somewhat longer route round by Chan-ta[2] where I was hospitably entertained by the sawbwa, and rejoined the rest of the party at Chiu-ch'êng (Old city), the former capital of the Kan-ai[3] state. The present town is off the main road in between the two branches of the Taping just above where they join. Here lives the long-bearded sawbwa with whom we had been so friendly on our expedition to find the boundary "gates," and I was sorry I could not spare the time to go and see him.

•133 Our route so far, after leaving Man-waing, had lain
[361] through a plain several miles wide, well cultivated with rice fields, and full of prosperous Shan villages, the part on the right bank of the Taping being Chan-ta territory, and that on the left bank Kan-ai. The capital of the latter state is near the head of the plain, and above this, steep bare hills close in on the Nam Ti, the Shan name for the eastern Taping, the valley of which the road follows up.

In fifteen miles or so the valley again opens out into the comparatively narrow plain of Möng Ti, or Nan-tien
[563] as the Chinese call it. This is also a Shan state, but the climate being cool enough for Yün-nan Chinamen to live in, they are gradually settling there, and the population is
[631] now nearly as much Chinese as Shan. The sawbwa rules a large extent of territory including Möng Yang and Möng Hüm, and I believe he is also in charge of Chan-hsi, though of this I am not quite certain.

000 In this plain we passed an encampment of wandering

[1] See p. 30. [2] San-ta in Shan. [3] Möng Na in Shan.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the • 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

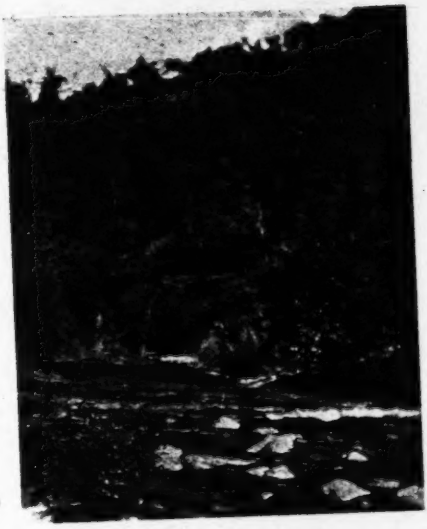
From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of [376] the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

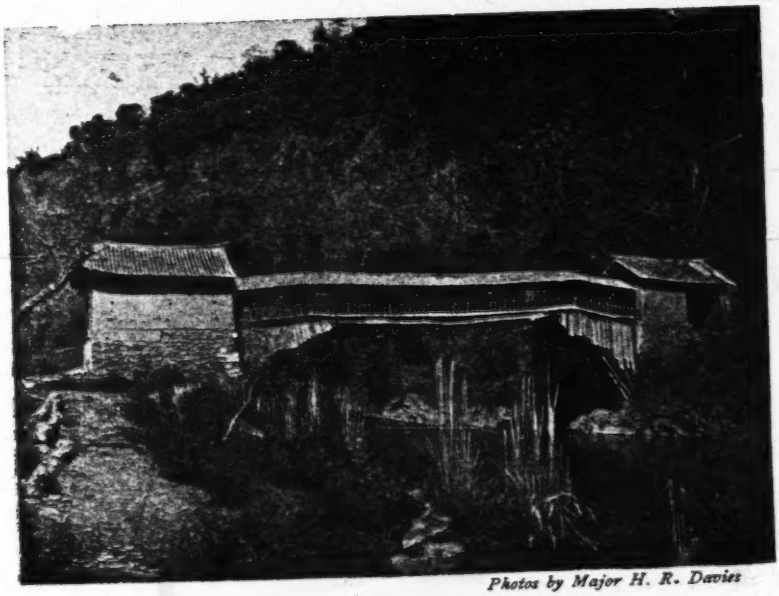
5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133



The Ya-lang Ho

491



Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Nan-ch'iao Ho

Plate XXXI

[Face p.140]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133

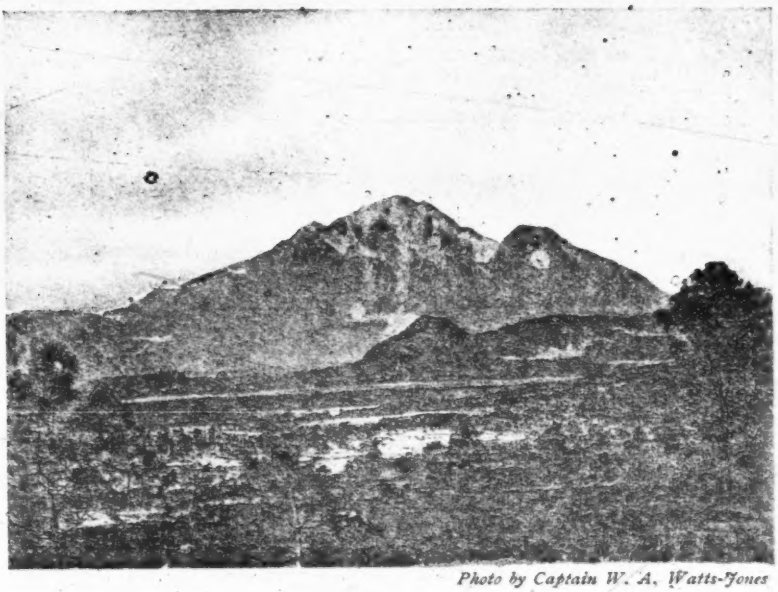


Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Li-chiang Fu peak, 18,000 ft.

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342

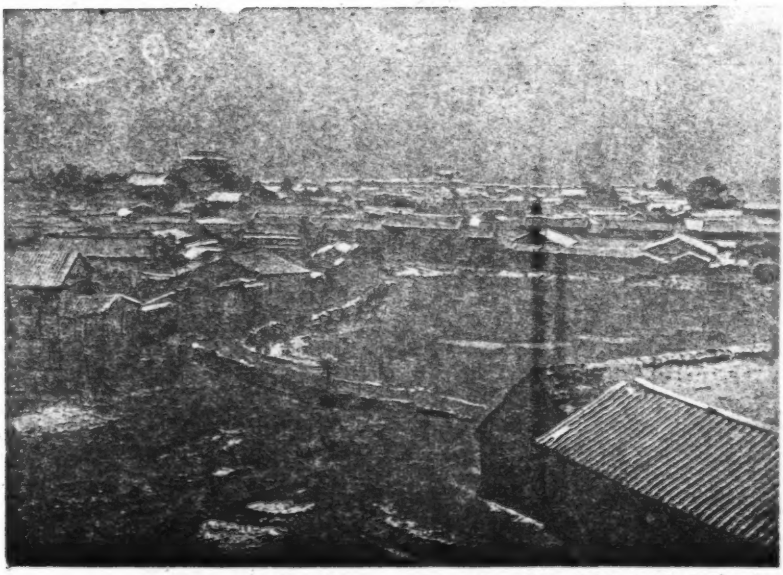


Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Yün-nan Fu

Plate XXXVI

[Face p. 154]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 it on our right, passed through the village of T'ang-ch'ih, in the middle of which is a hot sulphur spring and a bathing-tank, much frequented by the rheumatic. After this we crossed another range, and descended steeply to the Yi-liang plain, which lies at 5,300 feet, an exceptionally low level for this part of Yün-nan.

361 [436] The town contains about 800 houses and is surrounded by the usual wall, but most of the inns and shops are in a suburb outside the north gate. Their cotton and foreign goods reach them through Tong-king, and the only important local product is opium, which grows well here. The place is usually called Ni-liang by the Yün-nanese, and locally it is also known as Mi-liang.

The next day at the far edge of the plain we forded a river 70 yards wide, which runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, and then ascended on to a large plateau over which our route lay for the rest of the way to Lu-liang Chou.

• 133 This plateau ends to the north in a precipitous descent to the Ch'ü-ching River[1], while to the south the haze prevented me from seeing how far it extended. The general elevation averages well over 6000 feet, and it undulates so gently that carts are used all over it. There are a few fir trees in places, but the general character of the country is very bare and dry, with little rocky mounds rising out of it. Great pillars of sandstone rock 15 or 20 feet high standing in groups form a curious feature of the landscape, and might easily be taken for ruined buildings when seen [241] in the distance through the haze. The crops in this plateau are very poor and scanty: opium seems to grow better than anything else.

000 After two days and a half over this somewhat monotonous country, we again reached the Ch'ü-ching River. Crossing it by a fine thirteen-arch stone bridge, 120 yards long, we soon entered Lu-liang, which lies a little higher up on the right bank. The river here has a slow current and a depth of apparently three or four feet, but lower down between here and Yi-liang it seems to run in a deep gorge, and I could hear of no road up its banks in this part of its

[1] I do not think that the Chinese call the river by this name in this part of its course, but as it runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, I have thought best to so name it.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•133

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

On the Wei-ning plateau

Fla XXXIX

[Face p. 166]

CHAPTER XXII

FROM WEI-NING CHOU BACK TO YÜN-NAN FU *VIÂ* TUNG-CH'UAN FU.

Part from Watts-Jones—Watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River—A mass of steep hills—White wax insect—The Niu-lan Chiang—Zinc smelting—Kung shan—Lead, silver, and zinc mines—Tung-ch'uan Fu—Weaving—Copper mines—The Yi-li Ho—A high plateau—Wooded country—Curious rice husking machine—Cuckoos—Hsün-tien Chou—Sung-ming Chou—Lose the way—Reach camp at dark—A country full of pheasants—Reach Yün-nan Fu—Meet Ker—Results of his explorations—Ryder's movements—Arrival of Turner.

WATTS-JONES and I left Wei-ning on the 27th April. 000 Our roads were the same for the first five miles, leading along the northern bank of the Wei-ning Lake, till we crossed its outlet by a bridge at Ta-ch'iao. Here we separated. My road led over undulating ground among clumps of fir trees to the little village of Shuang-lung-ch'iao where I pitched my tent.

On the 28th 18½ miles of hilly marching, over a country sparsely inhabited by Lo-los, brought us to Ch'ing-mo-ti. The next day we crossed a range at 8,150 feet and descended by a path, the last part of which was almost precipitous, to the small village of Ch'ia-hsi-ho.

The ridge crossed on this march is a spur running out from the main range which lies a few miles to the south and forms the watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River. I do not think I have ever seen such a mass of steep broken hills as this country presents. The hill-sides are 133 very barren and dry, and many of them are too steep to be 241 climbed, so that the roads have to follow the beds of streams. Maize is the chief thing grown by the few villages that there are.

This was the first district in which I came across the 231 white wax insect: most of the villages about here rear

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133

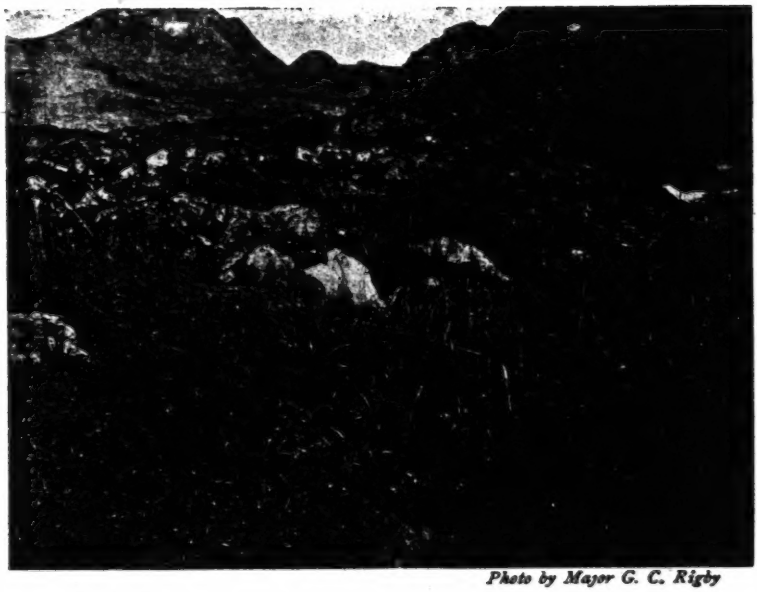


Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

Country between Mêng-tzŭ and Man-hao

Plate XLI [Face p. 178]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

439 chester product and is rapidly supplanting the latter in western China.

The height of Mêng-tzŭ I made about 4,700 feet, and the climate is pleasantly cool. The inhabitants of the surrounding country belong principally to the P'u-la and other tribes, speaking dialects of the Lo-lo type.

•133 After spending two very pleasant days here, I started for the Red River, taking three days to do the 30 miles which separate Mêng-tzŭ from Man-hao. The country passed through is curious, consisting chiefly of a mass of small basins with no outlet for the water. These "devil's punch-bowls" are characteristic of a great part of the eastern and south-eastern parts of Yün-nan.

485 Another curious and unpleasant feature of the road from Mêng-tzŭ to Man-hao is the entire absence of any sort of inn accommodation for men. There are large stables for mules at the recognised halting places, but no provision is apparently considered necessary for human beings who are so ill advised as to take a road which leads into countries outside the borders of the Middle Kingdom.

000 As it rained on and off, I had to sleep beside my mules on the first night, and on the second to squeeze into an extremely small temple already occupied by a tax collector and his clerk. The country passed through is very poor and thinly populated. The village of Yao-t'ou, where I slept my second night, is considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese, and is inhabited by Cantonese who have found their way there through Tong-king. Its height is over 4000 feet, but it is placed in a narrow valley much shut in by hills, which perhaps accounts for its bad reputation. The name Yao-t'ou means "shake head," and is said to have been given to it because everyone who sees it shakes his head in disapproval.

From here, after a little up hill, a very steep descent in pouring rain brought us down to the Red River at Man-hao at a height of 600 feet. The village contains 100 houses,
505 inhabited by Cantonese Chinamen and Shans. Small boats can go a considerable distance further up the river, but Man-hao is the limit for large boats and may be considered as practically the head of navigation.

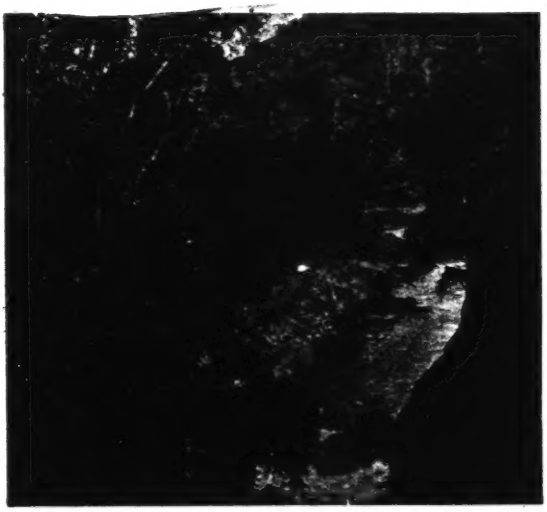
Mr Spinney had kindly arranged about a boat, so I was

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

A bridge in the Mêng-ma valley

• 133



Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The Ching-ku Ho

Plate XLVI

[Face p. 198]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

done most of the fighting for them. This is an arrangement that seems to suit everybody, for as the Chinese put it, "The Lo-los are stupid men who are not afraid of dying." 701

The T'u-ssŭ keeps up a small standing army, and every one of his men that I saw was armed with a breech-loader. He also appears to recognise the importance of discipline, for a man goes in front of his troops with a red placard on which is written the T'ung-an-chou "Army Act." 703

For not obeying bugle calls—To be beheaded.

For being drunk and fighting—To be put in the stocks.

For losing arms or ammunition—To be beheaded.

For destroying the property of civilians—To be beheaded.

For being absent at night—To be put in the stocks.

For gambling—To be put in the stocks.

For extorting money by threats—To be put in the stocks.

For taking a wrong rifle—To be put in the stocks.

For buying things and refusing to pay—To be put in the stocks.

We slept the night at Li-chou which in spite of its name is not an official town of the *chou* class, though it is a prosperous commercial place. 000

The following day, the 22nd February, we had another level march to the town of Lu-ku which is built where the two sources of the An-ning Ho meet, one coming down from Mien-ning Hsien, and the other and smaller branch from the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass.

I had now been along nearly the whole of the Chien-ch'ang valley and a little later, on my road to Mien-ning Hsien, I was able to see the rest of it, so I will summarise here my observations on it.

The plain stretches from a little beyond Mien-ning Hsien in the north down to the village of Hsin-kai-tzŭ in the south. It is, therefore, about 110 miles in length, but has not an average width of more than two miles. Its elevation at Mien-ning is 6,250 feet, and from this it slopes down by a scarcely perceptible descent to some 4,200 feet in the south. 133

Besides the two official cities of Ning-yuan Fu and 361

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

5: Davies : G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies • 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

APPENDIX I

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF YÜN-NAN.

THE main characteristic of the province of Yün-nan is that it is an extremely mountainous country. So small indeed are the areas of flat ground, that on a small scale map they are almost lost in the masses of hills. 133

Although the whole province is mountainous, different parts of it differ somewhat in the direction of the main ranges and in the general character of the country.

The western part of Yün-nan is furrowed by rivers, whose general course is from north to south. Taking them in order from the west, these are the Taping, the Shweli, the Salween, the Mekong, the Black River, and the Red River. Of these the first two and the last two have their sources in the province; but the Salween and the Mekong are rivers of great length, which run down from far in the interior of Tibet, and do not reach the sea till they have passed many hundreds of miles beyond the southern frontier of Yün-nan.

The basins of these six rivers, with their numerous tributaries, form a country of deep, narrow valleys and high mountain ranges running parallel to each other in a general north and south direction.

As the rivers and the principal affluents flow from north to south, it follows naturally that the heights of the mountains should gradually diminish as they run southward. In the extreme north-west corner of Yün-nan the country is thoroughly Tibetan: the tops of the ranges rise here to 15,000 or 20,000 feet, and the lowest river valleys are 7000 feet. From here heights decrease fairly regularly

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133 till the hill-tops run down to as low as 5000 feet in the south of the province[1].

Of the rivers which water this country some have cut much more deeply than others into the original plateau formation. The Salween, for instance, where it crosses the main road from Burma to Yün-nan Fu, at about the 25th line of latitude, runs at an elevation 2000 feet lower than the Shweli and the Mekong, which flow parallel to it at only a short distance.

This makes it difficult to speak generally of the relative heights of the mountain ranges above the valleys. Speaking very roughly, and including the large tributaries as well as the main rivers, it may be taken on an average that the valleys run at an elevation some 3000 or 4000 feet below the tops of the mountain chains which bound them.

This then is the general character of the western and southern parts of Yün-nan, but the eastern half of the province is of a somewhat different formation. The country is here more of the nature of a plateau, plains are more numerous, and many of them contain lakes of considerable extent. It would be a mistake to suppose that this part of the province is not mountainous, but it is on the whole less so than western Yün-nan. There are larger stretches of level country, and the ascents from the plains to the hill-tops are usually shorter.

Roughly speaking the western boundary of this plateau country may be taken as a line drawn from the Yangtze at Shih-ku (lat. 26° 50′, long. 99° 55′) southward to Ta-li Fu and thence south-east to Shih-ping Chou (lat. 23° 40′, long. 102° 35′). To the east the plateau character of the country is maintained up to the border of the province, and in the extreme south-east corner the country is in many parts broken up into numerous small basins from which the water has no outlet. To the north and north-east the plateau continues till it nears the Yangtze, when it breaks up into deep valleys which, bounded by almost precipitous mountains, run down into the great river.

The streams on the extreme western fringe of this

[1] As an exception to the general rule that the mountains of Yün-nan decrease in height as they run southwards, I may mention that there are peaks of over 11,000 feet in the extreme south-west corner of the province.

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plateau drain into the Mekong and the Red River, but the main part of the water of eastern Yün-nan flows into the Yangtze and into the upper waters of the West River of Canton. 133

The general direction of both these rivers is from west to east, but unlike western Yün-nan, where the tributaries follow the direction of the main streams, the affluents in eastern Yün-nan of these two big rivers join them more or less at right angles. Consequently, though the drainage of this part of the province eventually goes eastward, most of the lesser rivers and mountain ranges run north and south.

The rivers both in western and eastern Yün-nan run for the greater part of their courses through steep mountains, which sometimes form nearly precipitous gorges, and sometimes slope more gently up. Occasionally a valley widens out to a breadth of a few miles and forms a cultivated and thickly populated plain.

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233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssŭ-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

• 133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssŭ-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Héng Chiang

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Plate LXV

[Face p. 324]

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SUMMARY OF PRELIMINARY RECONNAISSANCE OF PROPOSED YÜN-NAN RAILWAY.

Miles	From	To	Ruling gradient	Remarks
0 to 55	Kun-long	Mêng-chien	1 in 100	Easy route up the Nam Ting valley.
55 to 110	Mêng-chien	Mêng-lai	1 in 100	Difficult owing to steep-sided gorges.
110 to 145	Mêng-lai	Yün Chou	1 in 30	Over the Salween-Mekong watershed. About 15 miles of the ruling gradient.
145 to 210	Yün Chou	Mouth of Kung-lang River	1 in 100	Down the Nan-ch'iao Ho and up the Mekong. Difficult owing to gorges. Line quite level for considerable part of this.
210 to 250	Mouth of Kung-lang River	Nan-chien	1 in 20	Over Mekong-Red River watershed. About 16 miles of the ruling gradient.
250 to 295	Nan-chien	Yün-nan Hsien	1 in 25	Down one branch of Red River and up another. Ruling gradient only for last 8 miles. Much of this section on 1 in 50.
295 to 325	Yün-nan Hsien	Yün-nan-yi	1 in 100	Over plains of Yün-nan Hsien and Yün-nan-yi.
325 to 385	Yün-nan-yi	Near Sha-ch'iao	1 in 25	Rather intricate country.
385 to 490	Near Sha-ch'iao	Yao-chan-kai	1 in 50	Two tunnels, one on each side of Kuang-t'ung Hsien.
490 to 495	Yao-chan-kai	For 5 miles	1 in 20	Very steep ascent for 5 miles.
495 to 690	5 miles E. of Yao-chan-kai	N. end of Hsüan-wei Chou plain	1 in 50	Fairly easy line. A tunnel E. of An-ning Chou. Yün-nan Fu passed at mile 535.
690 to 760	N. end of Hsüan-wei Chou plain	Wei-ning Chou	1 in 20	Difficult line with a tunnel E. of the Hsüan-wei plain and some difficult gorges.
760 to 870	Wei-ning Chou	Ta-kuan-lao	1 in 25	As far as Chao-t'ung Fu fairly easy except for one difficult bit near T'ao-tien-pa. From Chao-t'ung Fu down the Hêng Chiang by difficult gorges.
870 to 960	Ta-kuan-lao	Sui Fu	1 in 100	Fairly easy down the lower Hêng Chiang and the Yangtze. Bridge over Yangtze near An-pien.
ALTERNATIVE ROUTE FROM WEI-NING CHOU.				
760 to 926	Wei-ning Chou	Yung-ning Hsien	1 in 12 rack	Difficult line through intricate country. Rack lines on 1 in 16 and 1 in 12 would be necessary for a few miles.
926 to 976	Yung-ning Hsien	Na-ch'i Hsien	1 in 50	Fairly easy line down the Yung-ning Ho.
BRANCH LINE FROM MI-TU THROUGH HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI FU TO LANG-CH'IUNG HSIEN.				
70 miles	Mi-tu at mile 280	Lang-ch'iung Hsien	1 in 20	An easy line except for a steep ascent W. of Hung-ai where the ruling gradient is used for 6 miles. Most of the line is nearly level.

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APPENDIX X

ITINERARY.

First Journey.

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
	From **Nam-hkam**		3500
8 January, 1894 ...	Möng-ping	7	3500
9 " " ...	Mêng-mao	13	3500
10 " " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Chang-fêng-kai	16	3100
12 " " ...	Kying-hkan...	7½	3100
13 " " ...	Lung-ch'uan (Möng Wan) ...	9	3100
14 " " ...	Hu-sa (Ho-hsa)	10½	4500
15 " " ...	La-hsa	7	4500
16 " " ...	**Man-yün** (Man-waing)	10	2750
17 to 21 " ...	Halt		
22 " " ...	Sa-re...	10	5250
23 " " ...	Shih-t'i	6	3900
24 " " ...	Nam-paung...	6	1200
25. " " ...	Myo-thit	14	400
26 " " ...	**Bhamo** (by boat)	23?	350

Second Journey.

1894	From **Myitkyina**		500
26 to 29 December...	Sa-don	42	4664
30 Dec. to 3 Jan. 1895	Halt		
4 January, 1895 ...	Ch'ieh-ma-ho	8	4700
5 " " ...	San-si gorge	10	8900
6 " " ...	Mêng-ka	10	5400
7 to 10 " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Chan-hsi (San-si)	17	3300
12 " " ...	Hsiao-ti-fang	9	6200
13 " " ...	Mien-ch'in	15	4500
14 " " ...	**T'êng-yüeh-T'ing**	8	5365
15 & 16 " ...	Halt		
17 " " ...	Kan-lan-chai	13	4800
18 " " ...	T'ai-p'ing-p'u	7	7400
19 " " ...	Lu-chiang-pa	11	2400
20 " " ...	P'u-p'iao	15	4500
21 " " ...	**Yung-ch'ang Fu**	15	5500
22 & 23 " ...	Halt		

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
24 January, 1895 ...	Ta-li-shao	13	7200
25 " " ...	Sha-yang	10	4800
26 " " ...	**Ch'ü-tung**	13	5250
27 " " ...	Sha-sung-shao	10	7350
28 " " ...	Huang-lien-p'u	10	5200
29 " " ...	T'ai-p'ing-p'u	10	7400
30 " " ...	Yang-pi	10	5150
31 " " ...	Ho-chiang-p'u	12	5050
1 February " ...	**Hsia-kuan**	10	6700
2 " " ...	**Ta-li Fu**	8	6700
3 & 4 " ...	Halt		
5 " " ...	Back to Hsia-kuan...	8	6700
6 " " ...	Hsün-chien	12	6250
7 " " ...	Wu-li-hei	13½	6850
8 " " ...	Ho-ti...	11	
9 " " ...	Hsi-hsin-chên	10½	7200
10 " " ...	Hsin-niu-kai	10	3900
11 " " ...	A-lu-shih	9½	6400
12 " " ...	Sung-lin-t'an	9	5250
13 " " ...	Hsin-ts'un	10	5850
14 " " ...	**Shun-ning Fu**	12½	5800
15 " " ...	Halt		
16 " " ...	Lo-t'ang	12	5000
17 " " ...	**Yün Chou**	11½	3800
18 " " ...	T'ou-tao-shui	14½	5100
19 " " ...	Yi-wan-shui	9½	5350
20 " " ...	La-tien-p'o	11½	
21 " " ...	Ta-niu-ch'êng	14	
22 " " ...	**Mien-ning T'ing**	5½	4980
23 " " ...	Halt		
24 " " ...	Ping-yüan-hsün	15	6500
25 " " ...	Wan-nien-chuang	10	3500
26 " " ...	Mêng-yung (Möng Yawng) ...	7½	3750
27 " " ...	Man-hkü	8½	3000
28 " " ...	Mêng-sa (Möng Hsa)	13	4550
1 March " ...	Hsiao-p'u-tzŭ	11	6800
2 " " ...	Mêng-chien	15	1850
3 " " ...	Sum-nö	13	1800
4 " " ...	**Mêng-ting**	8	1800
5 " " ...	Hwe-hpyen	8	1800
6 " " ...	Nam-hu	16½	1800
7 to 11 " ...	Halt		
12 & 13 " ...	Back to **Mêng-ting**	24½	1800
14 " " ...	Man-hsak	8½	3850
15 " " ...	Pang-maw	8	4300
16 " " ...	Hsi-nga	13½	4600
17 " " ...	Man-hpa	11½	4300
18 " " ...	Wan-kang (near Mêng-sung) ...	16½	3250
19 " " ...	Camp on Nam Tong-mi	12	5600
20 " " ...	Nawng-hpaw	10½	5850
21 " " ...	Hsia-mêng-yin	14½	3200
22 " " ...	Halt		
23 " " ...	Shang-mêng-yin	6	3350
24 " " ...	Camp on top of range	11¼	6450

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
25 March, 1895 ...	La-pa	13	5800
26 " " ...	**Ch'üan-lo**	9½	4350
27 " " ...	Nan-pei ferry	11½	2300
28 " " ...	Mêng-lêng	15	3800
29 " " ...	Mêng-chu	6	4850
30 " " ...	P'ing-chang	14	4600
31 " " ...	Chou-shui	13	3500
1 April " ...	Hsiao-hei-ch'in	13	3500
2 " " ...	Na-ku	7½	4850
3 " " ...	**Ssü-mao T'ing**	8¾	4700
4 " " ...	Halt		
5 " " ...	Na-k'o-li	12	4600
6 " " ...	**P'u-êrh Fu**	12½	4500
7 " " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	Hsi-sa	13	2650
9 " " ...	Man-ku	11	3650
10 " " ...	Camp on Ch'ing-shui Ho	13½	4200
11 " " ...	Lung-t'ang	8	5500
12 " " ...	**Wei-yüan T'ing**	8	3150
13 " " ...	Po-ling-t'an	16	5800
14 " " ...	Mêng-ka	16	3750
15 " " ...	Halt		
16 " " ...	Ko-t'i-t'ang	13	5650
17 " " ...	Ta-pêng	8	2800
18 " " ...	Man-nung	14	6150
19 " " ...	P'o-chio-chai	10	4800
20 " " ...	Mêng-mêng	7½	3850
21 " " ...	Ya-sai	8¼	6900
22 " " ...	Pang-long	12	5000
23 " " ...	**Kêng-ma**	14	3850
24 " " ...	Halt		
25 " " ...	Man-sawk	17	1900
26 " " ...	Hsai-hkau	8	5700
27 " " ...	Lung-cha	13	5450
28 " " ...	Ma-li-p'ing	9	6950
29 " " ...	K'a-fang	13	5400
30 " " ...	Mêng-pun	7	4150
1 May " ...	Lu-yin-t'ang	13½	5000
2 " " ...	Han-kuai	6	3900
3 " " ...	P'in-ka	15	5600
4 " " ...	Camp near Ch'ên-chia-chai ...	11	7000
5 " " ...	Hsiang-ta	10	5700
6 " " ...	**Mang-shih** (Möng Hkwan) ...	10½	3350
7 " " ...	Na-hka	13	3950
8 " " ...	Ho-t'ou-ts'un	4	6400
9 " " ...	Ho-yang	12	3300
10 " " ...	Ung-lön	16	3650
11 " " ...	Ning-kram	12	5100
12 " " ...	Se-kao (near Hu-sa)	10½	4500
13 " " ...	**Man-yün** (Man-waing)	18	2750
14 " " ...	Sa-re	10	
15 " " ...	Nam-paung	12	1200
16 " " ...	Myo-thit	14	400
17 " " ...	**Bhamo**	18	350

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THIRD JOURNEY.

Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
	From **Bhamo**		350
17 November, 1898...	Myothit	19¼	400
18 " " ...	Nampaung	12	1200
19 " " ...	Yang-jên-ch'ang	7	4900
20 " " ...	**Man-yün** (Man-waing)	13½	2750
21 " " ...	T'ai-p'ing-kai	11	2700
22 " " ...	Chan-ta (San-ta)	6½	2900
23 " " ...	Kan-ai (Chiu-ch'êng)	13	2850
24 " " ...	Tiao-kang	10¼	3500
25 " " ...	Nang-sung-kuan	13	3600
26 " " ...	**T'êng-yüeh T'ing** (Momien) ...	16	5365
27 & 28 " ...	Halt		
29 " " ...	Mu-shui-ho	11	6300
30 " " ...	Shun-chiang	6	5950
1 December " ...	La-hsing-kai	12¼	5850
2 " " ...	Ma-li-pa	7½	6000
3 to 5 " ...	Halt		
6 " " ...	Hsiao-hsin-kai	11¾	6100
7 " " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	**Kai-t'ou**	10¼	5350
9 " " ...	Wa-tien	8	5100
10 " " ...	Ch'ü-ch'ih	8¾	5100
11 " " ...	Hai-k'ou	10	5700
12 " " ...	Chiang-tso	13¼	5400
13 " " ...	**Kai-t'ou**	14	5350
14 " " ...	Shan-yao	11	6750
15 " " ...	Ssŭ-ling-kan	14	4400
16 " " ...	Mêng-ku	5½	2550
17 " " ...	Hsiang-ts'ai-tien	8	5200
18 " " ...	Ma-lu-t'ang	10	5850
19 " " ...	Êrh-tao-ch'iao	8	7100
20 " " ...	Shui-fu-ssŭ	12½	5650
21 " " ...	**Yung-ch'ang Fu**	6½	5500
22 " " ...	Halt		
23 " " ...	Ta-kuan-shih	8	6550
24 " " ...	Niu-wang	10	5100
25 " " ...	Shih-tien	13	5000
26 " " ...	Yao-kuan	10½	6000
27 " " ...	Kun-tou-shui	13¼	5200
28 " " ...	Mêng-po-lo	7	2300
29 " " ...	Ya-t'ang	11¾	5200
30 " " ...	Hsiao-shih-ch'iao	14¼	5100
31 " " ...	Mêng-p'êng	17	3500
1 January, 1899 ...	Mêng-tui	13½	3250
2 " " ...	Na-hsang	14¼	3550
3 " " ...	**Ma-li-pa** (Taw-nio)	8¼	3500
4 to 7 " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	Nawng-long...	16	3500
9 " " ...	**Kun-long**	12	1800
10 to 12 " ...	Halt		
13 " " ...	Hung-tung-ling	13½	6200

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
14 January, 1899 ...	**Ma-li-pa**	14½	3500
15 to 29 " ...	Halt		
30 " " ...	Na-hsang	8¼	3550
31 " " ...	Ch'üan-kang	14	2450
1 February " ...	T'ou-tao-shui	6	5500
2 " " ...	Ts'ai-chia-chai	11	5800
3 " " ...	A-a-shan	7	6300
4 " " ...	Man-kang	9¾	5300
5 " " ...	**Chên-k'ang** (Möng Cheng) ...	13¾	2950
6 " " ...	Mêng-ti	9	2600
7 " " ...	Shan-kai	10	4650
8 " " ...	Hsi-la	8¼	3500
9 " " ...	Ta-li-ssŭ	14	5950
10 " " ...	Sung-shan	11¾	6300
11 " " ...	Pa-pao-shan...	9	6050
12 " " ...	**Yün Chou**	14	3800
13 & 14 " ...	Halt		
15 " " ...	Mêng-lang	15	4150
16 " " ...	Hsin-ts'un	11	5700
17 " " ...	A-lo-kai	7	4150
18 " " ...	Hsiao-ch'in	10	4150
19 " " ...	Halt		
20 " " ...	Kung-lang	12½	5150
21 " " ...	Chi-lung	10	6500
22 " " ...	Miao-shan	11½	7650
23 " " ...	**Mêng-hua T'ing**	14¼	5950
24 " " ...	Hsün-chien	16¼	6250
25 " " ...	**Hsia-kuan**	12	6700
26 " " ...	**Ta-li Fu**	8	6700
27 & 28 " ...	Halt		
1 March " ...	**Chao Chou**	15½	6750
2 " " ...	Hung-ai	16½	5950
3 " " ...	Kou-ts'un-p'u	12½	6800
4 " " ...	Mu-pang-p'u	14	6775
5 " " ...	Halt		
6 " " ...	P'u-p'êng	12½	7125
7 " " ...	T'ien-shêng-t'ang	8¼	7700
8 " " ...	Ta-fu-ssŭ	6¼	6800
9 " " ...	**Chên-nan Chou**	16	6300
10 " " ...	Ta-shih-p'u	14½	6300
11 " " ...	**Ch'u-hsiung Fu**	7	6150
12 to 16 " ...	Halt		
17 " " ...	Hsiao-yao-chan	9	6250
18 " " ...	**Kuang-t'ung Hsien**	10	6300
19 " " ...	Shê-tzŭ	13	6100
20 " " ...	Ta-tz'ŭ-ssŭ	11	6900
21 " " ...	Yao-chan-kai	6¼	5700
22 " " ...	Lu-p'iao-kai...	11½	6500
23 " " ...	**An-ning Chou**	15½	6300
24 " " ...	**Yün-nan Fu**	19¼	6400
25 Mar. to 2 Apr. ...	Halt		
3 April " ...	Ch'i-tien	18	7050
4 " " ...	**Yi-liang Hsien**	15½	5300
5 " " ...	**Ta-shao**	10	6600

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
6 April, 1899 ...	A-yu-p'u	17	6500
7 " " ...	**Lu-liang Chou**	12	6200
8 " " ...	Pan-ch'iao	9	6200
9 " " ...	Yüeh-chou	16	6300
10 " " ...	**Ch'ü-ching Fu**	15½	6450
11 " " ...	Chiu-lung-shan	13½	6700
12 " " ...	Lan-yen-p'u	17½	7225
13 " " ...	Pan-ch'iao	17	6800
14 " " ...	**Hsüan-wei Chou**	10	6850
15 " " ...	Halt		
16 " " ...	Chiu-p'u-tzŭ	18	6650
17 " " ...	Hsin-t'ien-p'u	9	7250
18 " " ...	Chan-p'o	10	6850
19 " " ...	Yao-chan	10	7050
20 " " ...	Halt		
21 " " ...	**Wei-ning Chou**	9	7500
22 " " ...	Ssŭ-p'u	13½	8000
23 " " ...	Hun-shui-t'ang	6	6600
24 & 25 " ...	Back to **Wei-ning Chou**	19½	7500
26 " " ...	Halt		
27 " " ...	Shuang-lung-ch'iao	10½	7225
28 " " ...	Ch'ing-mo-ti	18½	6925
29 " " ...	Chia-hsi-ho	13	6100
30 " " ...	Kung-shan	11	8425
1 May " ...	Ch'in-k'ou-t'ang	18½	7325
2 " " ...	**Tung-ch'uan Fu**	16	7250
3 " " ...	Ta-ch'iao	14	7550
4 " " ...	Shao-p'ai	11½	8100
5 " " ...	Lai-t'ou-p'o	12½	8500
6 " " ...	Hsiao-lung-t'an	18	7275
7 " " ...	Liu-shu-ho	12½	6825
8 " " ...	Yang-kai	21½	6350
9 " " ...	Shang-tui-lung	21	6500
10 " " ...	**Yün-nan Fu**	20	6400
11 to 14 " ...	Halt		
15 " " ...	**Ch'êng-kung Hsien**	12½	6325
16 " " ...	Hua-lo-ts'un	19	6500
17 " " ...	Hai-mên-ch'iao	17	5900
18 " " ...	**T'ung-hai Hsien**	20	6200
19 " " ...	Kuan-yi	14¾	5000
20 " " ...	Hsin-fang	17	4900
21 " " ...	Mien-tien	14	4900
22 " " ...	Chi-kai	17½	4550
23 " " ...	**Mêng-tzŭ Hsien**	15	4725
24 " " ...	Halt		
25 " " ...	A-san-chai	6¼	5350
26 " " ...	Yao-t'ou	17	4100
27 " " ...	**Man-hao**	6½	650
	Thence down Red River by boat and steamer.		

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FOURTH JOURNEY.

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
	From **Myitkyina**		500
15 November, 1899...	Nam-long	7½	500
16 " " ...	Kazu	11¼	500
17 " " ...	Nkrang	11½	3675
18 " " ...	**Sima**	7	4525
19 " " ...	Shi-raw-kawng	9½	3950
20 " " ...	Mêng-lung	13	5900
21 " " ...	Ho-pyek	13½	2750
22 " " ...	Na-hseng	14	2800
23 " " ...	Tiao-kang	13	3500
24 " " ...	Nang-sung-kuan	13	3600
25 " " ...	**T'êng-yüeh T'ing** (Momien) ...	16	5365
26 " " ...	Halt		
27 " " ...	Back to Nang-sung-kuan	16	3600
28 " " ...	Chai-t'ang	8¾	6800
29 " " ...	Shan-tung	9¼	4800
30 " " ...	Man-p'a	12½	4650
1 December ...	**Lung-ling T'ing**	11	5200
2 " " ...	Mêng-mao	9½	6400
3 " " ...	Pai-ta	17½	4650
4 " " ...	Ma-lu-t'ang	8¾	4600
5 " " ...	Yao-kuan	15	6000
6 " " ...	Wan-tien	12¼	2400
7 " " ...	Kan-kou	11¼	6100
8 " " ...	Ta-mêng-t'ung (Old)	13¾	3700
9 " " ...	Li-pa-sa	14½	6200
10 " " ...	Li-ma-hsi	19¼	4800
11 " " ...	**Yün Chou**	16½	3800
12 " " ...	Halt		
13 " " ...	Hsiao-chu-ching	12½	6150
14 " " ...	Pan-ho	13¼	5250
15 " " ...	Chiang-chia-p'u	13¾	5650
16 " " ...	Pang-tung-kai	10¾	4950
17 " " ...	T'uan-shan	8¾	3750
18 " " ...	Pai-yin-ch'in	10¾	6150
19 " " ...	Hou-yao (in Ching-ku plain) ...	12½	4650
20 " " ...	Lung-t'ang-kai	11	4550
21 " " ...	**Wei-yüan T'ing**	14	3150
22 " " ...	P'ing-chai	14	3350
23 " " ...	Têng-t'ung	16	4000
24 " " ...	Pa-t'ou	13½	6400
25 " " ...	**Hsin-fu**	11¼	3400
26 " " ...	Man-lien	11¼	3350
27 " " ...	Man-pieh	13¼	4500
28 " " ...	Mo-po	11¼	4400
29 " " ...	Mo-hei	13¼	4150
30 " " ...	**P'u-êrh Fu**	12	4500
31 Dec. & 1 Jan. 1900	Halt		
2 January " ...	Back to Mo-hei	12	4150
3 " " ...	Hsia-pa-pien	15	3150
4 " " ...	T'ung-kuan	9½	5200

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
5 January, 1900 ...	Chang-lu-p'ing	13¼	3300
6 " " ...	**T'a-lang T'ing**	15½	4600
7 " " ...	Yi-wan-shui	12¼	5600
8 " " ...	Ma-lu-t'ang	12¼	6950
9 " " ...	A-ku-lu	13	5100
10 " " ...	Ta-t'ien-fang	11	1700
11 " " ...	Chiu-ti-mo	7½	5100
12 " " ...	**Hsin-p ing Hsien**	16	5425
13 " " ...	Hsin-kai	10¼	5300
14 " " ...	Hu-lu-p'êng	12	6500
15 " " ...	Ssŭ-ch'êng	9½	6000
16 " " ...	P'u-pei	18	5400
17 " " ...	**Yi-mên Hsien**	4¾	5350
18 to 20 " ...	Halt		
21 " " ...	Hsiao-lung-t'ang	18½	6600
22 " " ...	**An-ning Chou**	18	6300
23 " " ...	**Yün-nan Fu**	19¼	6400
24 to 28 " ...	Halt		
29 " " ...	Êrh-ts'un	14½	6200
30 " " ...	Chê-pei	18¼	5900
31 " " ...	**Wu-ting Chou**	17	6000
1 February " ...	Halt		
2 " " ...	Hsiao-ts'ang	17½	6000
3 " " ...	Chiu-ts'un	9½	5800
4 " " ...	Ch'ien-ch'ang	21	5600
5 " " ...	Ts'u-chü	8½	7700
6 " " ...	San-yîng-p'an	16	7900
7 " " ...	Chiao-hsi	14¾	7800
8 " " ...	K'a-hsi	16	7800
9 " " ...	Ta-p'ing-ti	13¾	3950
10 " " ...	Ta-shih-p'êng	11¾	8800
11 " " ...	Pai-tzŭ-t'ien	8	7000
12 " " ...	Suan-shui-ho	10	6350
13 " " ...	Chang-kuan-ch'ung	15	6200
14 " " ...	**Hui-li Chou**...	13½	6300
15 " " ...	Pai-kuo-wan	19¼	7000
16 " " ...	Mo-so-ying	13	4800
17 " " ...	T'ieh-chiang-fang	17½	4400
18 " " ...	Liang-lu-k'ou	19¼	4700
19 " " ...	Huang-shui-t'ang	13¼	4950
20 " " ...	Ma-tao-tzŭ	19¼	4950
21 " " ...	Li-chou	20	5400
22 " " ...	Lu-ku	18½	5600
23 " " ...	Têng-hsiang-ying	19	7850
24 " " ...	Hsiao-shao	10¾	6900
25 " " ...	**Yüeh-hsi T'ing**	10¼	6100
26 & 27 " ...	Halt		
28 Feb. to 2 Mar. ...	Back to Lu-ku	40	5600
3 March " ...	**Mien-ning Hsien**	20	6200
4 " " ...	Ha-ha-hsün	9½	7400
5 " " ...	Ma-t'ou-shan	8	7600
6 " " ...	Lu-ning-ying	15½	6700
7 " " ...	Halt		
8 " " ...	Chieh-hsing	9½	7400

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
9 March, 1900 ...	Hua-k'an	10¾	8100
10 " " ...	No-po	10½	6850
11 " " ...	Mo-tzŭ-kou	6¾	7450
12 " " ...	Ma-huang-kou	10	10300
13 " " ...	Mo-lien	9¾	10600
14 " " ...	San-ko-ya (Lower)	11¾	6850
15 " " ...	Pê-tiao	3	7400
16 " " ...	Camp west of Pa-êrh	11¼	11800
17 " " ...	K'u-lu	14½	12500
18 " " ...	A-pê-ti	15	8900
19 " " ...	Mi-li	20¼	9500
20 " " ...	Camp in forest	9	11800
21 " " ...	Camp at hut	15¾	14600
22 " " ...	Lei-lung	12	7050
23 " " ...	Tzŭ-lo	11¾	9500
24 " " ...	Camp near Wei-jih	15	8500
25 " " ...	Camp near Ran-da...	13¼	13750
26 " " ...	Ming-yu-ho	9	9600
27 " " ...	Ta-lung	14¼	12300
28 " " ...	Chung-tien	19¼	11500
29 " " ...	T'an-tui	18¾	10200
30 " " ...	Hsien-to	18	7600
31 " " ...	Pang-tzŭ-la	12¼	7250
1 April " ...	Pê-kê...	13¼	10500
2 " " ...	Camp in forest	6½	14200
3 " " ...	Camp	13	13800
4 " " ...	A-tun-tzŭ	8¾	11500
5 to 10 " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Chia-pieh	13½	8000
12 " " ...	Yang-tsa	10½	7000
13 " " ...	Londre	8¾	7800
14 " " ...	Camp in forest	5½	10000
15 " " ...	On and back to same camp ...	3½	10000
16 " " ...	Back to Londre	5½	7800
17 to 19 " ...	Back to A-tun-tzŭ...	33¾	11500
20 to 22 " ...	Halt		
23 " " ...	Liu-t'ou-chiang	13½	7800
24 " " ...	Chiung-pu	12¼	10100
25 " " ...	Na-pu	13¼	8000
26 " " ...	Pa-mien	9	9300
27 " " ...	Pa-yung-ko	12½	11500
28 " " ...	Ya-k'a-lo	10¼	9500
29 " " ...	Halt		
30 " " ...	La-ta-ting	6½	12200
1 May " ...	Up pass and back to La-ta-ting ...	7	
2 " " ...	Ya-k'a-lo and back to La-ta-ting...	13	
3 " " ...	Hnga-tsa	14¼	12200
4 " " ...	Chia-ni-ting	14	13500
5 " " ...	Pa-mu-t'ang	9¾	13200
6 " " ...	Te-ga-ting	15½	10200
7 " " ...	Chu-pa-lung...	12¼	9000
8 " " ...	Ba-t'ang	19½	9400
9 to 11 " ...	Halt		
12 to 18 " ...	Back to La-ta-ting	85¼	12200

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Date	Place	Miles	Height in feet
19 May, 1900 ...	Gönra rope bridge	8	8400
20 " " ...	Ya-k'a-lo	3½	9400
21 " " ...	Camp beyond La-ta-ting	7¾	13500
22 " " ...	Hnga-tsa	13	12200
23 " " ...	Bo-tsa	9¾	11300
24 " " ...	Camp in snow	11	14100
25 " " ...	Ya-ra-no	5	11000
26 " " ...	Go-nia ferry...	8¾	8600
27 " " ...	Camp in forest	9	12800
28 " " ...	Ruian-dzong-tza	14½	10200
29 " " ...	Ya-ra-gong	13¼	11900
30 & 31 " ...	Halt		
1 June " ...	Shepherd's hut	9½	12000
2 " " ...	Den-bo-nong	12	10200
3 " " ...	Camp on high range	11¾	15300
4 " " ...	Camp under rock	10¼	13800
5 " " ...	Chong-tsa-gong	12½	11600
6 " " ...	Ra-nong	15	12800
7 " " ...	Ndzon-dza	14	15000
8 " " ...	T'ou-t'ang	8¾	15000
9 " " ...	Li-t'ang	13½	13800
10 " " ...	Halt		
11 " " ...	Ho-ch'u-k'a	15	13300
12 " " ...	Tsa-ma-la-t'ung	14½	13300
13 " " ...	Hsi-ngo-lo	7½	12000
14 " " ...	Ma-kê-tsung	16½	12000
15 " " ...	Ho-k'ou	8	9400
16 " " ...	Wo-lung-shih	20	13400
17 " " ...	Tung-ngo-lo...	15	12050
18 " " ...	A-niang-pa	15	12500
19 " " ...	Chê-to	19½	11300
20 " " ...	Ta-chien-lu	9	8400
21 " " ...	Wa-ssŭ-kou	16½	5300
22 " " ...	Lu-ting-ch'iao	16¼	4850
23 " " ...	Ming-kan-shan	14½	6700
24 " " ...	Chu-shih-p'ing	16½	4000
25 " " ...	T'ien-ch'üan Chou...	20¼	3000
26 " " ...	Ya-chou Fu...	20½	2500
	Thence by raft down Ya River to Chia-ting Fu. By boat to I-chang, and steamer thence to Shanghai, arriving 19 July		

SUMMARY OF DISTANCES

1st journey	139 miles
2nd "	1313¼ "
3rd "	1659¾ "
4th "	2441 "
Total distance travelled by road ...	5553 miles

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166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 439 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 312 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

• 133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

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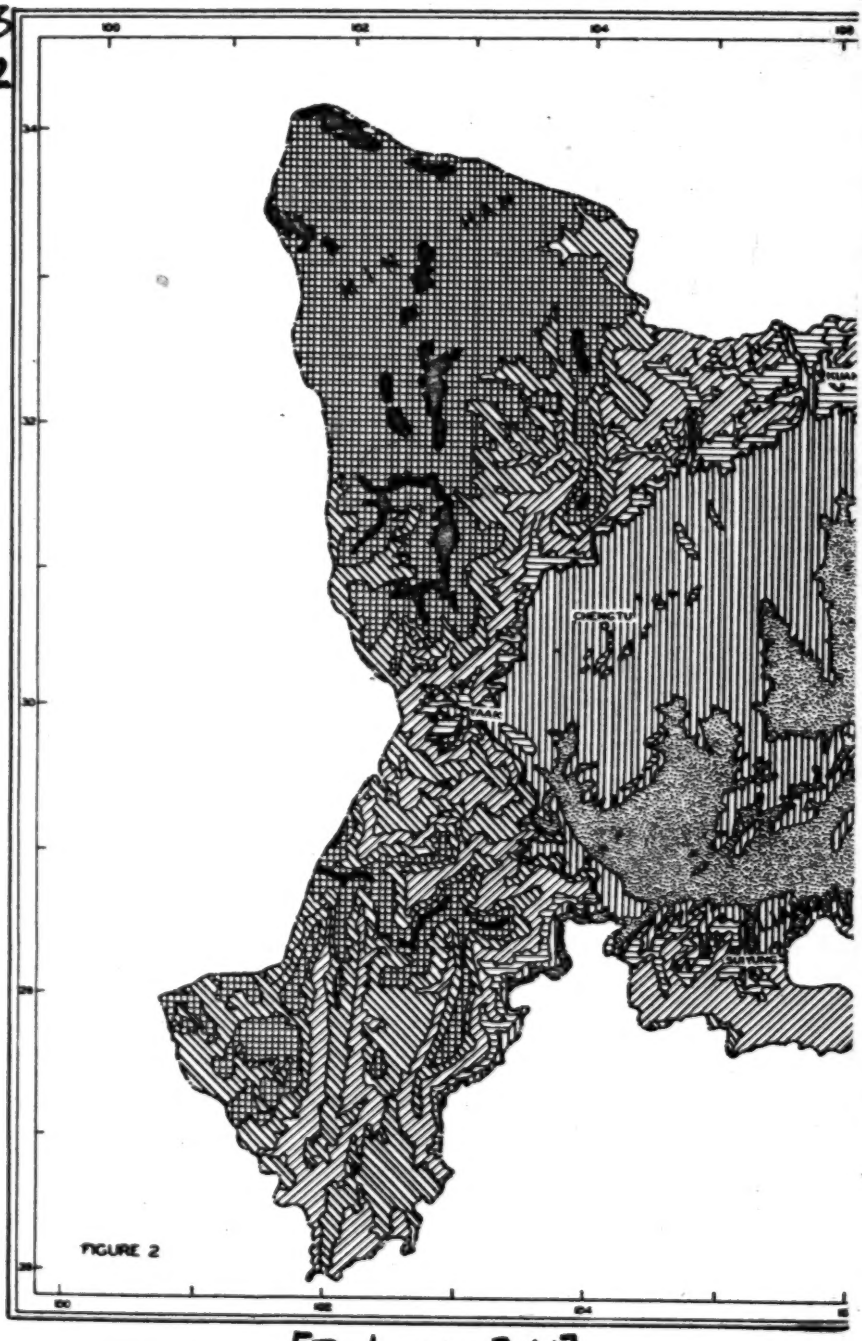

FIGURE 2

[End map 2 (a)]

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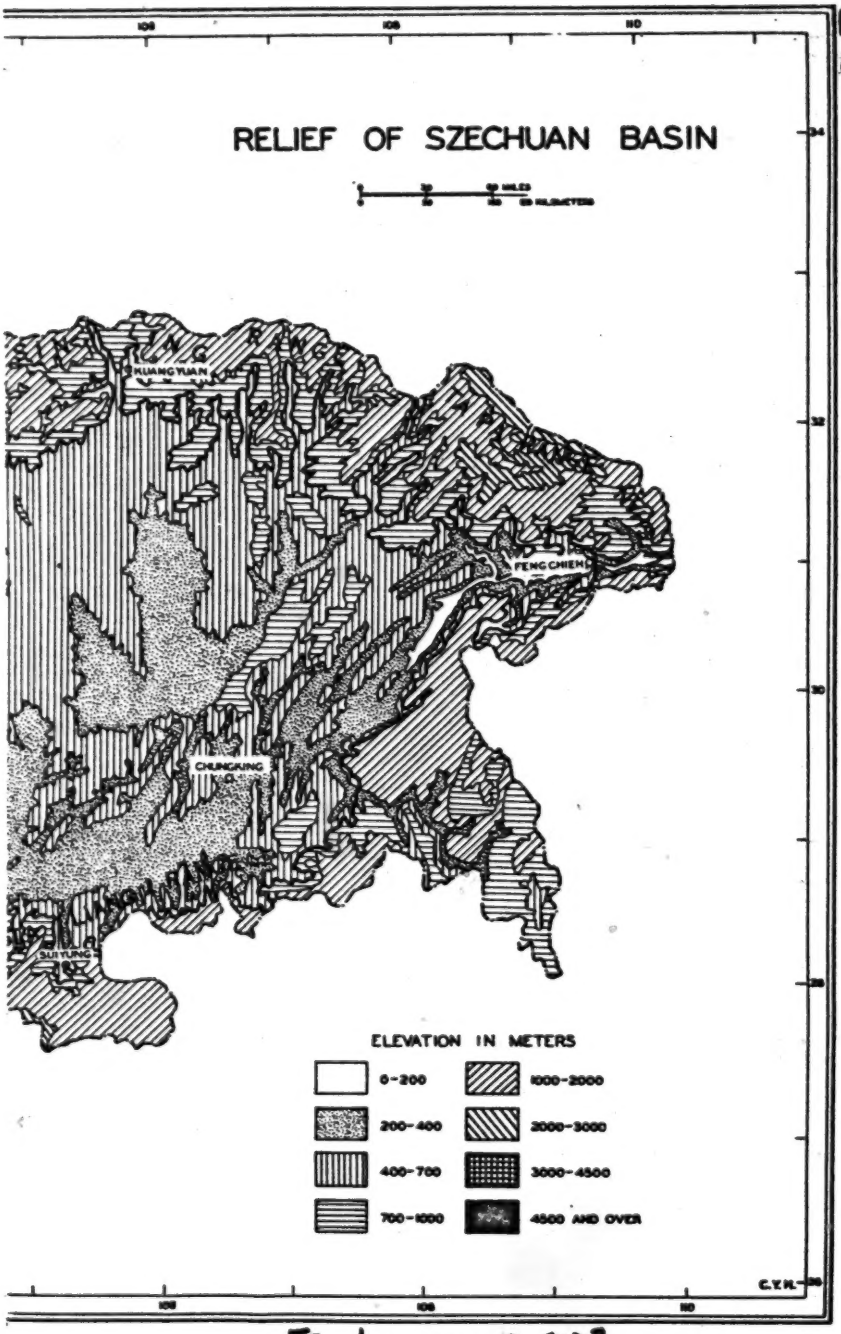

[End map 2 (b)]

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to 33 degrees North. It has a mild winter with little or no frost 132
or snow, and a warm summer. The average annual precipitation in
most parts of the Basin is about 34 inches, with some rain in
every month. The summer months, however, have more rain than the
winter months. There is almost continuous high relative humidity,
and wind, on the whole, is conspicuous by its absence.[1]

The Basin is drained and practically bisected by the 133
Yangtse River. The Yangtse enters the Basin at the southwest and
leaves it at the northeast. Within the Basin, the Yangtse is fed
by three sets of tributaries--one from the north, one from the
northwest, and one from the south. The northern and northwestern
tributaries rise in the high mountains which rim the north and
northwestern part of the Basin, and their flow greatly exceeds
that of the southern set of tributaries. On the whole, the Basin,
with its hilly terrain, is well drained. In fact, problems of
erosion are much more acute than problems of drainage.

Generally speaking, the soils of the Basin fall into two 134
main groups. One is the extraordinarily fertile soil of the
Chengtu Plain and the other is the moderately fertile soil known
as the "purple-brown (forest)" type,[2] which dominates in most
parts of the Basin. The Chengtu Plain soil is derived from the
alluvial deposits of the Min River. The richness of this soil is
greatly enhanced by its annual renewal through the overflow of the
Min. The Chengtu Plain soil is noted for its very dark color,
great depth, and rich humus content. The "purple-brown" type, de-
veloped in deciduous forests growing on parental material derived
from the friable, cretaceous shales and sandstones, is only mod-
erately fertile for agricultural use. This soil is noted espe-
cially for its loose texture and easily-eroded qualities. Moreover,
this soil has a peculiar characteristic of absorbing and loosing
(evaporating) water quickly.[3] One evening's thick fog may cause
the whole depth of the surface soil to be thoroughly moistened and
saturated, whereas a continuation of clear sky for several days
may cause the soil to dry up and crack. In general, the "purple-

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Annual weather report (Szechuan, 1939), p. 29.

[2]J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China (1936), p. 200.

[3]H. Yu, "A Preliminary Observation of the Purple-Brown Soils of Szechuan Province," Soils Quarterly, January, 1941, p. 39.

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134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [131] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

•133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's settlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts 361 of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

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the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for the white-wax tree industry. 314

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly developing into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing capacity of all free China. 316 178

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of transportation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous commercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways (some of them already under construction) have been projected; and the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achievements and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem. 489

As to the future development of the Basin, one may approach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future prospect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace returns once more. 133

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protection against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against invading forces than would otherwise be possible. 241

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• 133 Furthermore, the high strategic quality of the Basin's geographic position and its rugged topography have strengthened the Basin's capacity to serve as a citadel against military encroachment from outside. By virtue of its inland position, over 1,500 miles away from the coast, the Basin is reasonably protected from an enemy's navy attack, against which the rest of China is now almost completely helpless. Moreover, the Basin's rugged terrain and surrounding mountain ranges make land attack, even by modern mechanized forces, extremely difficult. Above all, thanks to the prevailing cloudiness in the Basin during most of the year, and to the presence of numerous rocky hillsides which can readily provide air-shelters, even modern air attacks have been reduced in intensity and effectiveness.

000 Taking all the above factors into consideration, Szechuan Basin is geographically better qualified than any other part of China to serve as a base for carrying on China's war of emancipation against barbaric invasion. It has served this purpose successfully many times during the historical past. No doubt, it will assume this important responsibility again. Being now better equipped and better prepared, the Basin will probably give an even more satisfactory account of itself this time. Time and space, history and geography, the two best friends of China, have always been at her side and have never failed her so far throughout her long existence as a great civilized nation. Undoubtedly, they will be with her this time. The Basin will again do its share to substantiate this truth.

As regards the second objective, the peace time future of the Basin is equally promising. With the diverse agricultural products, abundant forestry resources, and other assets, it should be sound national policy and good geographic division of labor to develop the Basin as a self-sufficient and well-endowed region in the vast space of China's interior. The development of the Basin will not only help to secure a more sound and well-balanced national economy in peace time, but also will provide a better preparation for national emergencies which may take place at any moment in this disturbing world. Such a development has been made particularly imperative in view of the recent opening-up of southwest China to the western world by way of the Indian Ocean. For the first time in her history, China has thus been brought into direct contact (by modern transportation) with the western world

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The total number of people in the province at the present time is estimated at about fifty-six million persons. This means an increase of seven or eight million inhabitants during the past few years as a result of the mass migration from the lower Yangtse Valley.[1] As the total land area of the province is 360,159 square kilometer[2] (excluding areas for districts recently incorporated under Sikang jurisdiction), this gives an average population density for the province as a whole of 135 persons per square kilometer. For the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study, the total population is approximately 43,000,000 persons.[3] Thus in the same manner, the average population density for the Basin proper is 285 persons per square kilometer. 161

The Szechuan Basin with its present population constitutes a miniature melting-pot within the great melting-pot of China. The influx of the new and many heterogeneous groups of immigrants into the Basin (especially since the famous massacre of the Chang Hsien Chung of late Ming dynasty) brought with it many new ideas and new techniques, particularly in connection with agricultural practices. This later fact helps to account, as we shall see later, for the present heterogeneity of its agricultural landscape.

A. Major Natural Elements of the Basin

1. Surface Configuration

The Szechuan Basin is a great synclinal depression surrounded by moderate to high mountains. The "basin" character of this area is demonstrated graphically by two cross-section profiles, one drawn along the line 30.30 N. parallel (Fig. 3) and the other along the 106 E. Meridian (Fig. 4). As these profiles show, the land slopes toward the center of the Basin from all directions. This is particularly conspicuous from north and northwest to south and southeast, as is further evidenced by the direction of the northwest-southeast flow of the main tributaries of the Yangtse (Fig. 5). 133

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[1] Report of Chungking Municipality (1940).

[2] Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Bureau of Military Survey (1939).

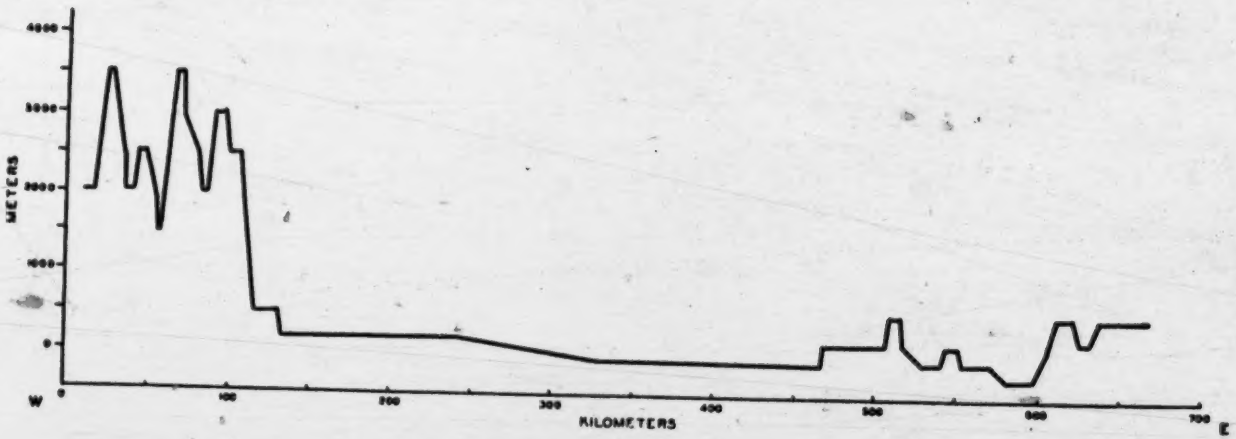
[3] This figure is arrived at by the writer by subtracting population of all Hsien (counties) lying outside of the boundaries of the Basin as delimited in the present study.

• 133

FIGURE 3

PROFILE OF SZECHUAN BASIN

SECTION AT 30°30′ DEGREES
NORTH LATITUDE

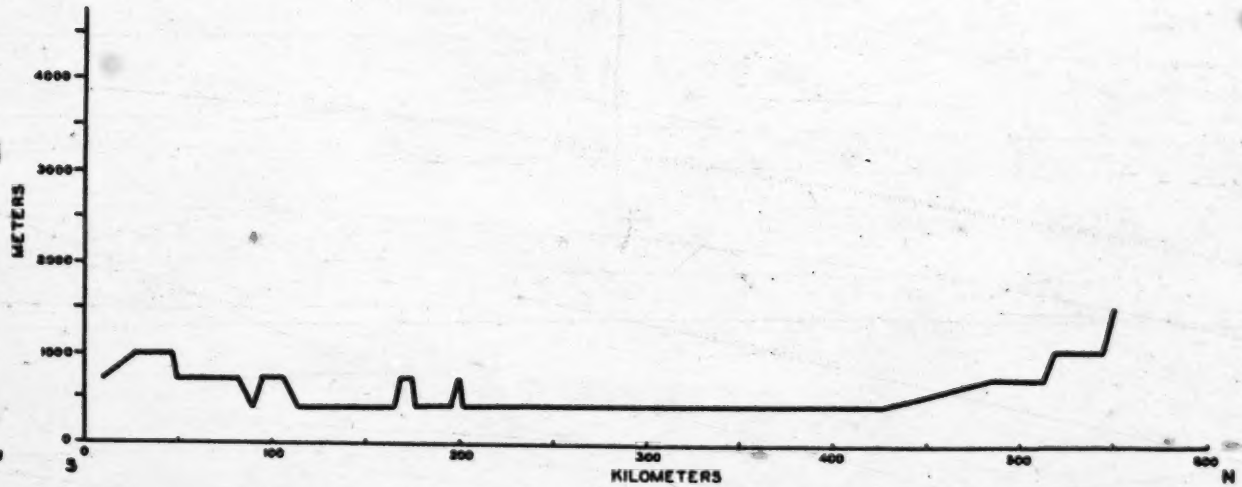


[Face p. 15 (a)]

FIGURE 4

PROFILE OF SZECHUAN BASIN

SECTION AT 108 DEGREES EAST LONGITUDE



[Face p. 15 (b)]

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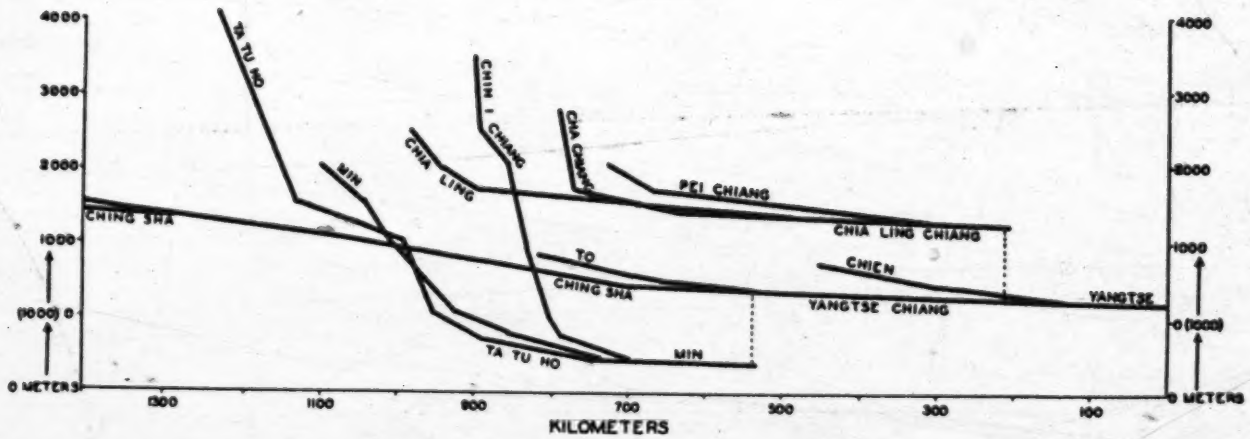
FIGURE 5

PROFILES OF PRINCIPAL STREAMS
SZECHUAN BASIN



[Face p. 15 (c)]

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The surface configuration of the Basin is dominated by numerous rolling, dome-shaped or flat-topped (mesa-like) hills (Fig. 6) of various magnitudes. They look much like graves--only on a larger scale--and are formed mainly by beds of cretaceous sandstone and shale. These hills are, in general, not over 100 meters in height, but in most instances, the lower ones are less than 50 meters high. Commonly they are isolated from each other and do not form any regular system or pattern. The local relief between these hills varies from locality to locality, and differs according to the relative magnitudes of the hills themselves.[1]

Another striking topographic feature of the Basin is the presence of a number of anticlinal ridges, which are formed by the resistant limestones and sandstones of the Triassic, Jurassic, and even Permian periods. Most of these anticlines possess an axial trend of a northeast-southwest direction, being in most cases parallel to the bases of the trapezoid (Fig. 2). Many of them are open and symmetrical anticlines of considerable linear extension.[2]

Aside from some narrow strips of valley bottom lands found in the To, the Chialing, and the Fou river valleys, the most impressive scene in the Basin's surface configuration is the famous rich Chengtu Plain (Fig. 2), the only large continuous tract of flattish land in the whole Basin. This plain offers a striking contrast to the hilly or mountainous configuration of the rest of the Basin. It is a bona fide clear-cut geographic sub-unit within the Basin. It possesses a distinct geographic personality of its own and represents one of the most prosperous agricultural regions of the whole Basin.

2. Drainage Patterns

From the air, the principal drainage pattern of the Basin looks roughly like a netted-veined leaf with the Yangtse conspicuous as its midrib, and the main tributaries, both north and south,

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[1]Unfortunately, on a map drawn at the present scale shown here (1:2,000,000) and with the large contour intervals (200-1,500 meters), this local relief cannot be clearly visualized. The map (Fig. 2) does show, however, that the south central areas are of lower elevation, and have more continuous flattish surface than those to the north of the Basin.

[2]Y. T. Chao and T. K. Huang, Geol. of the Tsinling Shan and Szechuan (Geol. Survey, China; Memoirs Ser. A., No. 9, 1931), p. 39.

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●133 as its branch veins. The distribution of these veins seems, however, to be somewhat unilateral with the heavier concentration of streams in the upper, or northern, half of the leaf (Fig. 7).

The drainage pattern of the Basin possesses some distinctive and readily observable characteristics. One is the close relationship between the direction of flow of the streams and the local geological structures. First of all, most of the streams (particularly those in the areas with the folded structure) flow either at the bottom of a syncline or on top of an anticline, especially if the latter happens to be composed of less resistant formations than those which are present in the surrounding area.[1] Second, when a river transverses the longitudinal axis of resistant anticline ridges, in most cases at right angles, steep gorges are characteristic. This is particularly true in the case of the Yangtse and the Chialing rivers. Third, practically every river in the Basin has a number of terraces lying above the present level of high water. Each of these terraces probably represents a stage when river erosion was quiescent at the particular locality in which the terrace occurs. Rivers were rejuvenated after each of these stages of terrace development and their flood plains channeled to new depths. For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh, at the head of the gorges, following the Yangtse, extend a number of terraces of different magnitudes and heights, ranging from 15 to 50 meters. Particularly these terraces of the 50-meter-high are of great significance in the location of towns and villages.[2] The great city Chungking, as well as the urban centers of Feng-chieh and Yun-yang, for example, are located on these 50-meter-high river terraces. Cities of lesser magnitudes like Chung-hsien, Pei-ling, and others are located on the 20-meter-high terraces.

3. Vegetation Forms

137 The Basin is well known for its rich plant life. Vegetation forms peculiar to all climates, ranging from tropical palms to sub-polar firs, flourish in close juxtaposition and in great profusion. Generally speaking, however, there are three major

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[1] Chao, op. cit., p. 26.

[2] W. H. Wong, "Notes on a Journey to Szechuan," Chinese Geographical Magazine, XIX, No. 4 (1931), 9.

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show but little evidence of podsolization.[1] A typical profile of this soil is shown below (Fig. 26).[2] These soils are used principally for rice production and some other crops, such as wheat, tobacco, and various kinds of vegetables. It is necessary to emphasize again the extreme fertility of these soils and the significant part they have played in the agricultural success of the Basin. 134

Besides the rice paddy soils, on the low hills and high river terraces of part of western Szechuan Basin, particularly in the vicinity north of Chengtu, there are small patches of dark grayish brown coarse soils. Many soil scientists prefer to call these soils "Chengtu Clay."[3] Some people believe these "Chengtu clays" were probably true loesses at one time but have lost their columnar structure and are now characterized by prismatic and cloddy structure.[4]

c) Podzolized old yellow earth.--Third, the gray-brown yellow soils occupying the surrounding hills of the Basin are generally less fertile and are agriculturally unimportant.

d) Other soils.--On account of the unique geological structure and rock formations of the Basin, one peculiar form of soil erosion has been extensively developed here. With the alternating beds of purple sandstones and shales which have been recently folded and deeply eroded, and in places where the surface slopes of such smooth rock formations correspond to the slopes of hills, soil creep is easily induced. Many times the thin surface soils have been completely removed, leaving only bare rocks. In the case of shales, on account of their comparatively rugged surface, the situation is less grave. Soil creep constitutes one of the most serious problems of agricultural land-use in the Basin, and challenges immediate attention.

3. Agricultural Land-Use and Topography

With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor comparatively broad river valleys (such as the To and Fou River 133 311

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[1] Ibid., p. 121. [2] Ibid., p. 391. [3] Ibid., p. 387.

[4] J. Thorp and D. Dye, "The Chengtu Clays, Deposits of Possible Loessal Origin in Western and Northwestern Szechuan Basin," Bul. of the Geol. Soc. of China, X, No. 2 (1936), 225-46.

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valleys) most of the agricultural lands of the Basin are found on the terraced fields of the innumerable small undulating rolling hills which are found everywhere in the Basin.

In the many small valleys there is generally very little bottom land along the courses of the streams. These streams, as a rule, have deep channels and abrupt banks of sandstones and gravel-conglomerate. But, wherever such bottom lands exist at all, they are extremely fertile. They are, in most cases, terraced for rice culture, provided water can be secured. It is not unusual to observe that tracts after tracts of rice and other crop fields have been terraced along the steep banks of these small valleys.

Generally speaking, the agricultural fields, according to the popular classification commonly used by local peasants, consist of four principal categories, namely, (1) Pa Tien, or plain fields, i.e., fields around the smooth level, flattish fields or broad river bottoms; (2) Kou Tien, or valley fields, within narrow river valleys; (3) Ti Tien, or ladder fields, i.e., terraced fields along hills or any other steep lands; and (4) Shan Tu, or hilly "earth," i.e., detached fragmentary lots on hills or mountains which are too rugged and too difficult for terracing and for cultivation purposes. The relative value of these four classes of land, of course, decreases in the order named. It is particularly interesting to note that the first three categories are real "fields" whereas the fourth is merely "tu" or "earth."

Fields devoted to categories (1) and (2), and some portions of category (3) are in most cases used for wet crops (rice) whereas large portions of categories (3) and (4) are confined to dry (unirrigated) crops. The difference between these two types of land, both in the manner of utilization and in their relative value, is as sharp as the difference between pasture land and farm land in western agriculture.

In short, here in the Basin the topography furnishes one of the dominating forces in shaping many of its geographic patterns. First of all, it practically dictates the whole climatic regime of the region, which, in turn, affects the soil conditions. And all three operate in combination to account for the present patterns of agricultural land-use.

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roughly divided into five principal agricultural areas (Fig. 24), 241
namely, (1) the general grain farming area of Chengtu Plain; (2) the specialized "commercial" agricultural area of lower To-Fou valleys; (3) the self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of the northern Basin; (4) the combined agricultural and forestry area of the eastern Basin; and (5) the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin.

1. The General Grain Farming Area of Chengtu Plain

Among all the five agricultural areas of the Basin, the general grain farming area of the Chengtu Plain is by far the most important. Here the principal crops are rice and wheat, supplemented by rape seed and tobacco.

As the heart is to the human body, Chengtu Plain is to Szechuan Basin. Chengtu Plain is one of the richest, most fertile, and best known geographic regions of all China. With its mild climate, level topography, fertile and self-renewing soil, the ingenious ancient irrigation systems, and the diversity of agricultural products, Chengtu Plain is destined to be not only the granary of the Basin but also the par excellence "Eden of the Flowery Republic." Strictly speaking, Chengtu Plain is a highly fertile level oasis within a huge "mountain-desert."

a) Name and location of the Plain.--Geographically, the 1330
term "Chengtu Plain," by which this region is now known, is not accurate, and is, in fact, somewhat misleading. Chengtu, the capital and the wealthiest city of the whole Basin, from which the Plain now derives its name, is, in fact, an "effect" or a "result," but not a "cause." Strictly speaking, the "Plain" might be more correct, or even more appropriate geographically, to assume the name, "the Min River Plain." It is the presence of the mighty Min, with its incessant life-promoting water-supply and the rich alluvial deposits it brings down, that made the prosperity of the city of Chengtu and of the whole Plain possible. It is interesting to note that unlike historic events, geographic names do not always follow the law of "cause and effect." The river made the plain, and the plain made the city, but now the plain takes its name from the city.

Chengtu Plain is situated at the northwest corner of Szechuan Basin. It is formed by a complex of piedmont alluvial fans built by the deposits of the Min River. Physiographically,

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133 it is a clear-cut geographic sub-region within the clear-cut geographic region of Szechuan Basin. Like the latter, Chengtu Plain is practically surrounded by mountains (Fig. 2). To the north and northwest, the Plain is bounded by the lofty Chiu Ting Range, which, on clear days, looks like a high wall in front of the Plain. To the east and southeast, the Plain is bounded by the famous Lung Chuen-I anticlines, a low and uniform range (Fig. 2).

b) Layout and extent.--In rough outline, the Plain is in the shape of a somewhat long and narrow triangle.[1] Its longest dimension, from Chiang-ko in the south to Hsao-shui-ho, beyond Mienchu Hsien, in the north, is about 120 kilometers. Its widest dimension, from Chao-chia-tu in the east to Kuan-hsien in the west, lying almost in a straight line, is about 85 kilometers (Fig. 7). From Tsung-Nai in the extreme southwest to Te-yang-hsien in the northeast, the distance is about 115 kilometers (Fig. 7). The circumferential boundaries are very irregular. The total area is about 6,000 square kilometers. Chengtu, the provincial capital, and fourteen other walled cities, are situated in this Plain, together with many unwalled towns of large size. Farmhouses dot the Plain in every direction.

Chengtu Plain is genetically an alluvial delta, built up by deposits from the Min River, but structurally it assumes a basin-like shape surrounded by mountains. This fact is indicated by the direction of the flow of the Min River. The Plain has an elevation ranging from 1,500 feet above sea level in the south and east, to 2,100 feet in the west and northwest. Its average elevation is estimated to be 1800 feet above the sea.[2]

c) Geological deposits and soils.--Geologically, the Plain is of very recent origin. The alluvial deposits (Fig. 29) of the Plain are seldom over 60 meters deep, below which depths are found the famous conglomerate formations of the Basin.[3] At Pen-hsien and in many other places it is reported that the surface deposits are only 12 meters in depth. But in Chengtu district the alluvial

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[1] See Figure 37.

[2] Chao and Huang, Geology of the Tsinling Shan and Szechuan (Geological Survey, China; Memoirs Ser. A., No. 9, 1931), p. 18.

[3] G. Barbour, Physiographic History of the Yangtse (China Geological Society; Geological Memoirs Ser. A., No. 14, 1935); and Chao, "Geological Notes on Szechuan," Bulletin Geological Society (China), VIII, 143.

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deposits are generally about 5 to 7 meters deep.[1] It is estimated by some geologists that the rate of the alluvial deposition in Chengtu Plain is at the rate of one foot per century.[2] This assertion and calculation is independently evidenced by recent archaeological excavations near the vicinity of Chengtu. Burial objects of unmistakably Early Han dynasty were discovered at a depth of about seven meters (or about 21 feet).[3] In other words, the geological time of these deposits corresponds fairly closely with the historical times as manifested in the age of the buried Han objects, i.e., both are about 2,100 years old. If both of these assertions are correct, i.e., the deposition at the rate of one foot per hundred years, and the maximum deposit being not over 60 meters (or 180 feet) deep, the age of this celebrated rich Chengtu Plain can be no more than 20,000 years. 133

It is interesting to note that as late as the Han dynasty, large parts of the Chengtu Plain were still swampy in nature. This is evidenced by the fact that the most prosperous settlements at that time were not in Chengtu and its surrounding cities, but rather at Ling Tsung (the present Tsung Nai) and the more elevated hilly areas of the Plain.[4]

In addition to the rich, young alluvial deposits, Cheng-tu Plain is further favored, as we shall see later, by the excellent and ingenious irrigation systems, devised by the revered Li Ping and his son about 2,200 years ago. These irrigation systems freed this Plain once and for all from the danger of drought and flood. Here, multitudes of canals and ditches, filled with irrigation water, run through the rice paddy, fields, vegetable tracts, and flower gardens. Through some ingenious devices, as we shall see later, silts are dug off and the principal channels cleared once every year.

The Plain has the further advantage of being watered by streams rising in the mountains where the rainfall is much heavier than that in the Plains, and where the water-supply from snow 311 133

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[1] Ibid., p. 38.

[2] D. S. Dye, Journal of West China Border Research, IV (1931), 104.

[3] C. T. Shan, "Archaeological Report on the Excavations of Chengtu Plain Areas," Cultural Research Monograph (University of Nanking, 1939). (Unpublished manuscript.)

[4] Hua Yang Kuo Chih, Chuan 2, p. 15.

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311 133 melting during the summer is reliable. At Kuan-hsien, where the torrent of the Min first enters the Plain and is taken under human control, the waters are divided into several large canals, each of which is subdivided in turn into innumerable smaller canals and ditches. The life-giving waters are impounded by dams, stone revetments, and other devices, and are held for irrigation purposes. The irrigation of the Plain has another advantage in that the soils are seldom troubled by salt and fine mud which often clog irrigated soils in other areas; because the considerable rainfall in Chengtu Plain, with an annual average of about 900 millimeters, is sufficient to prevent such clogging.

134 The soils of Chengtu Plain consist principally of the dark and dark-gray paddy soils. They are formed mainly from alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soil (chernozem) of the Tibetan border-land and Kokonor (Fig. 9) by the mighty Min River. The natural richness of these soils is enhanced even further by the annual renewal. Because of this fact, soils of the Plain, unlike the paddy soils of many other parts of China, are not strongly podzolized.[1] However, the soil conditions do not appear to be uniform throughout the whole Plain. In fact, there are considerable differences in texture, color, and profile according to slight differences in local relief.[2] For instance, in the upper Min River region, as in Kuan-hsien, the soil texture is much coarser than in the lower Plain areas.[3]

One of the most interesting practices in connection with soil culture in the farms of Chengtu Plain, is the building of little stone wing dams or projections along the stream banks out into the water. Behind these projections, the streams, in the course of a back eddy, deposit silt and sand, which are frequently rich, particularly in organic matters. All these mud accumulations are carefully dug out and carried in baskets to the fields. Many times muddy waters have been led into basins or rice paddies in order that fine fertile silt might be precipitated on the fields.

241 433 d) Agricultural products of Chengtu Plain.--The Plain is noted for its diversity of agricultural products. It produces

[1] Thorp, op. cit., p. 391.

[2] Ibid., p. 387.

[3] Ibid.

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5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Fou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Fou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, sugar-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

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Hu, and the Ying-hsing Hu.[11]

6. The Hsi-k'ang Tibetan Plateau Lands

While Hsi-k'ang is somewhat peripheral to our present study, the close relationship to western Ssu-ch'uan and northern Yun-nan of eastern Tibet or Kam (Hsi-k'ang means "Western Kam") makes it desirable to examine its geographical situation. In any event the valleys of the Ya-lung Chiang, the An-ning Ho, and the Ta-tu Ho with its tributaries the Ta-chin Ch'uan (Great Gold River) and Hsiao Chin Ch'uan (Little Gold River) have figured since ancient times in Chinese history, and Lhasa has never had any real claim to the high plateau country east of the Chin-sha Chiang. The boundary between Tibet and China settled by the Manchu Emperor and the Tibetans in 1727 and lasting down to 1910 ran from the Mekong just north of A-t'un-tzu, crossed northward into the Chin-sha Chiang valley and followed the water divide between the Chin-sha and the upper Mekong sources to the Kokonor Territory.[12]

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Photo 4. Shuang-chiang, Yun-nan Province (23° 29' N, 99° 50' E)

In this panorama, the viewer looks northwestward along the ridge of the Pang-ma Shan, the highest point of which culminates at the 10,608 feet high Liang Shan in the left center background. The large forest remnant in the foreground is on the southern end of the Pang-ma Shan just northwest of Shuang-chiang town. Here is dramatically contrasted the dense forest vegetation that once covered all of South China with the denuded slopes that comprise the large percentage of South China mountainland today. The slash-burn, shifting cultivators that comprise the mountain tribes are largely responsible for this situation, although ultimately the cause is attributable to the pressure of the Han-Chinese who have crowded out the mountain tribes and prevented natural regrowth to take place. While the mountain tribes prefer their cool heights, the Pa-yi basin dwellers are found usually only in the low, hot valleys such as that at the right of the photo where the low fields may be flooded for wet-rice cultivation.

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mometer in the 40's and 50's, with frequent light but prolonged drizzling rains that create chilly, uncomfortable sensible temperatures. Almost year-round plant cultivation occurs in most of the Basin, so that Ling-nan and Ssu-ch'uan have much in common. In the plateau lands of Kuei-chou, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang, a different situation prevails. Some of the basin-lands of Kuei-chou share the high humidity and other climatic characteristics of Ssu-ch'uan, but the mountain lands and slopes are cool moist areas with rather poor soils, frequently shrouded in fog.

The Yun-nan Plateau, on the other hand, emerges above the winter mantle of cloud that covers Ssu-ch'uan and has a delightful winter climate like that of North China in late spring. The high altitude of over 6500 feet makes for mild sunshiney winters and cool summers in spite of fairly high rainfall and the low latitudes. At Ho-k'ou where the Yuan or Red River runs out of the provinte into Vietnam, the rainfall averages 48 inches annually. At T'eng-ch'ung (T'e-g-yueh) near the Bhamo frontier of Burma, the rainfall rises to 58 inches per year. In the central lake basin area as exemplified by K'un-ming, the rainfall is reduced to 40 inches, decreasing northwestward with the increasing altitudes and increasing distances from the seas. At Li-chiang near the Hsi-k'ang border, the rainfall drops to 26 inches annually.[14]

While the plateau heights provide a pleasant and invigorating climate, there is a sudden change in the lower altitudes of the deep ravines and basin lands under 4300

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Photo 5. Lu-ku Lake, Hsi-k'ang Province (27° 43' N, 100° 48' E)

At Lu-ku Lake in the center background, the viewer sees the picture of the eroded surface of the eastern part of the Tibetan High Plateau. Known as Cham, this part of the high plateau was constituted the province of Hsi-k'ang by the Manchu Government in 1906. It is inhabited by East Tibetan peoples such as the Fan, Nakhi and Ku-tsung. Han-Chinese settlers find the land inhospitable for their culture, since the elevations even in the lower parts seen in this photo are between 10,000-15,000 feet. The still relatively level surfaces of the plateau in the foreground are deeply gashed by the snow-flanked ravines. On the central one are cultivated fields of Tibetan tribes.

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175 prising this area. The famous engineer, Li Ping, was sent to administer Shu as governor, and it was at this time that Li Ping and his son developed the Kuan Hsien irrigation system still operating today.[5]

According to Hsu, the fact that the Chuang people of present-day Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan, Kuei-chou, and Kuang-hsi still sacrifice to the two irrigation deities gives added proof that the Southwestern Yi of Han times included the Pa and Shu peoples in their group. The indigenous Chuang of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi do not honor these deities, however, and this would indicate that their migration there must have occurred prior to the end of the Chou Dynasty and the Warring States Period. It also points to the far-reaching spread of Shu-shan culture, while other cultural ties indicate that the indigenous Chuang of Ling-nan are of the same stock as those of Pa and Shu.

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Photo 6. Lu Hsien, Ssu-ch'uan Province (28°54' N, 105° 27' E)

133 311 When the Chin-sha Chiang runs out of Yun-nan to become the Yang-tzu River, it enters a great basin that once contained a vast inland sea in what is now Ssu-ch'uan Province. With long erosion considerable unevenness has developed that makes the local sandstone topography precipitous but without great elevation differences. From the air the eroded sea-bed aspect can be perceived without much imagination, an aspect that is supported by the meandering character of the streams. This is seen not only in the great bends of the mighty Yang-tzu, but also in the small tributary between two of the Yang-tzu bends. A surprisingly large proportion of the basin surface, therefore, is under cultivation to support in Ssu-ch'uan the largest provincial population in China. From dry-cropped flat-topped lake-bottom remnants standing along the sky-line, tiered paddy fields lead step-like down to the river floodplains. In B.C. times, this was part of the prosperous T'ai kingdom of Shu. The foreground shows the important Han-Chinese city of Lu Hsien where the road from Ch'ung-ch'ing to K'un-ming crosses the Yang-tzu. This was one of the last territories yielded up by the southward moving early T'ai migrants en route to the Kuei-chou and Yun-nan basin lands.

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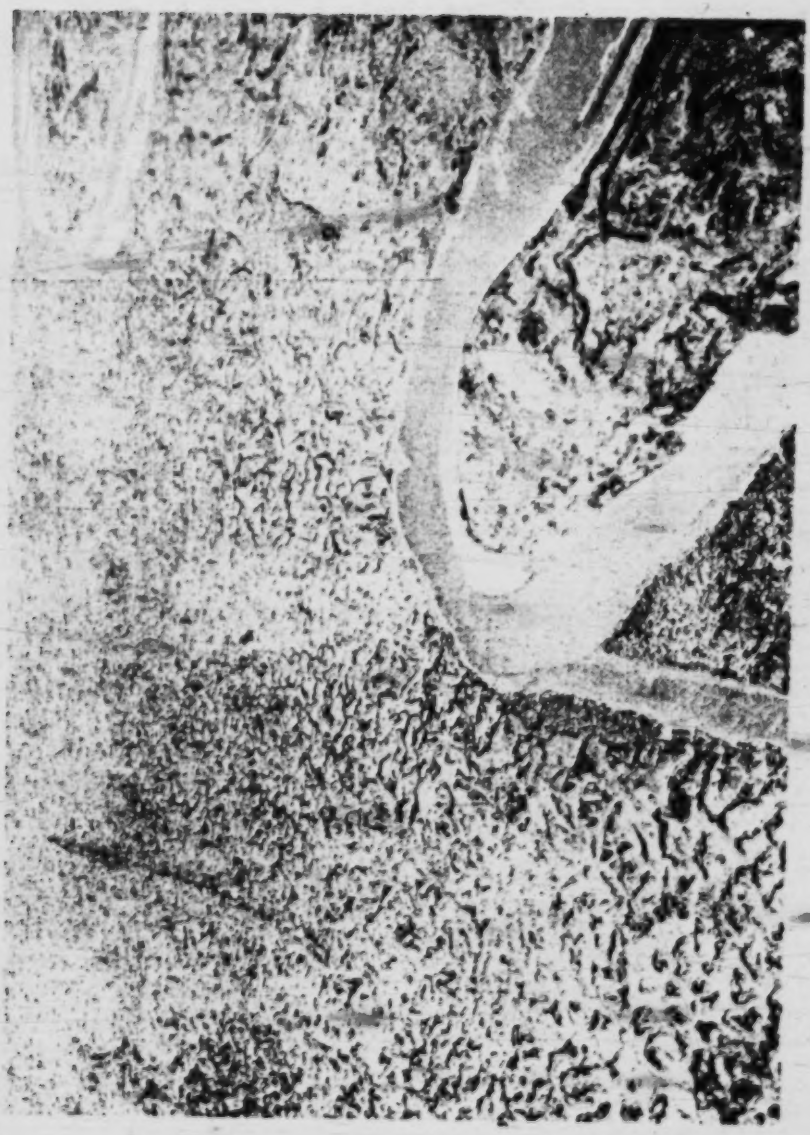

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

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and southwest China. In the eastern part of Hsi-k'ang the valley of the An-ning Ho, a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang just before the latter joins the Chin-sha (Upper Yang-tzu) River, early became an important military route for southward-reaching conquerors. This route not only is fashioned for north-south travel, but provides a large rice basin where the present capital city, Hsi-ch'ang is located. It is doubtful that this was ever occupied by T'ai people, for this is in the midst of the Lolo country.

Undoubtedly the Kuei-chou plateau and mountain land played an important role in the separate development of the two principal directions of the T'ai thrust, that is, the thrust up the Yang-tzu into the Yun-nan lake basins, and the thrust southward into Ling-nan and the land of Nan-Yueh, present-day Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. These two regions have had significant early T'ai political organizations and they are still important centers of the T'ai remnants within China. Their historical development differed. Ling-nan was in the direct path of the Ch'in thrust for empire, and the T'ai had been here for many centuries before the Ch'in. Yun-nan, on the other hand, was probably entered by the T'ai only shortly before the Ch'in unified the

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Photo 8. Ts'ao Hu, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

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Ts'ao Hu in central Kuei-chou Province is one of the two lakes of a significant size in Kuei-chou, the other being in southwestern Kuei-chou near the Kuang-hsi border. This lake basin lies along one of the most important routes connecting Ssu-ch'uan Province with Yun-nan Province. It contains one of the few relatively large paddy areas in Kuei-chou and was early a Han-Chinese administrative center and military base for the conquest and control of the Miao and Lolo tribes of the province. The far left shore of Ts'ao Hu seen here from the west is the site of Wei-ning, the district seat and one of the larger towns of the province. Prior to Han-Chinese entry to this part of China, rice-farming T'ai tribes occupied the basin, while Lolo tribes farmed the surrounding mountains. With the increasing southwestward push of the Han-Chinese, the T'ai tribes migrated farther toward the southwest frontiers.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China

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2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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Pai-i AE7

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enfeoffing him King of Yun-nan with the rank of T'e-chin, the title Duke of Yueh State and Prefect-creating General. Moreover, the Emperor bestowed a new name, Kuei-yi (Convert to Righteousness) upon P'i-lo-ko. The son of P'i-lo-ko was enfeoffed General of the Right Command, General of the Left Body-guard, Expectant of the T'e-chin Rank, General of Cavalry and, to top it all, the Emperor gave him the title: Pillar of State. Emperor Hsuan Tsung after A.D. 742 received P'i-lo-ko's grandson Feng-chia-yi in audience, conferred on him the title Hung-lu-ch'ing (rank given travelers of high status), and gave him an

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Photo 9. Ta-li, Yun-nan Province (25° 42' N, 100° 9' E)

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Erh Hai (Ear Lake), 7000 feet in elevation, and the plain of Ta-li in western Yun-nan is viewed here from above the 14,000 feet high Ch'ien-ts'ang Shan west of the lake. Ta-li City, visible as the rectangular walled patch in the center of the lake plain, is the western rival of K'un-ming, capital of Yun-nan Province. The plain is about 30 miles long and 3-4 miles wide. Narrow passages at the north and south ends are strategically bounded by the towering Ch'ien-ts'ang and the lake edge, the southern entrance being through a canyon and across the bridge over the lake outlet. Early T'ai chieftains built their kingdom of Nan-chao upon this base and expanded the state to encompass most of the Yun-nan and Kuei-chou plateau lands. The state withstood Han-Chinese conquest for nine centuries, but was brought to its end by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan.

The population of the Ta-li Plain for the most part are the Min-chia tribes who have successfully maintained their hold against displacement by the Han-Chinese. Highly Sinicized themselves, the Min-chia are being rapidly absorbed into the mainstream of the Han-Chinese culture. A small number among them have been converted to Mohammedanism, but most of them are Buddhists.

The Burma Road passes the southern approach to Erh Hai where the fortress town of Hsia-kuan guards the plain. From the northern end a motor road runs to Li-chiang between the great loop of the Chin-sha Chiang. The Ta-li Plain thus occupies a very strategic position in the communications of western Yun-nan.

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2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China

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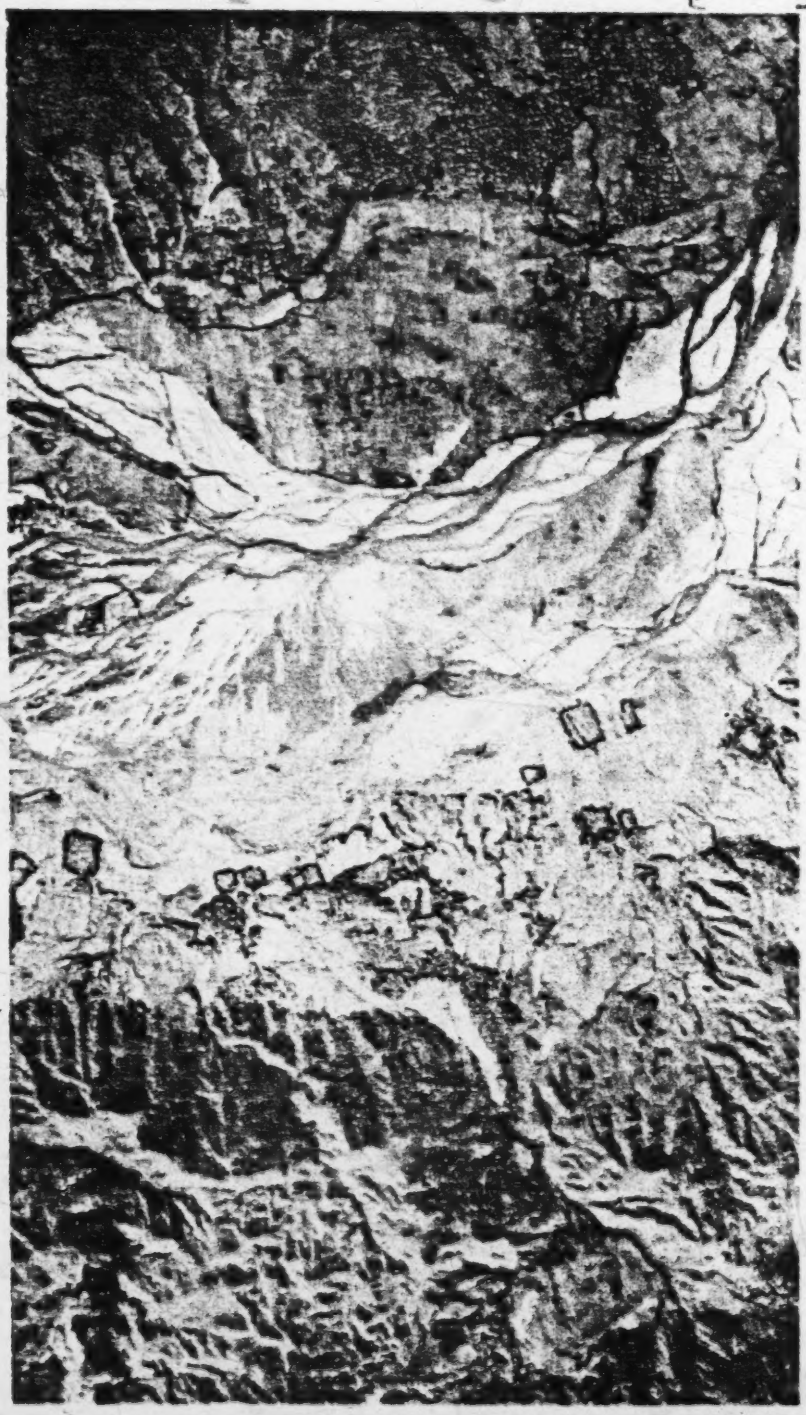

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao
Southwest China AF16

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districts, there also are some Blue Miao in the districts of Ching Hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning and Ch'eng-pu. A large part of northwest Hu-nan, however, in 1951 constituted the Communist West Hu-nan Miao autonomous region (See Map 31). In Lu-chi and Kan-ch'eng districts there also are some Ch'i-lao tribes. The Miao in Kuang-hsi are mostly found in the borderland region where Kuang-hsi meets Hu-nan, Kuei-chou and Yun-nan. They are found in sixteen districts: Ling-yun, Pai-ssu, Tung-kuang, Ssu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Ssu-en, Yi-pei, Lo-ch'eng, Jung Hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lien, and Chen-pien.[34]

Most of the Kuang-hsi Miao have migrated there in modern times, those on the Kuang-hsi Yun-nan borders most recently. While there are many varieties, mostly they are White, Flowery and Black Miao. Miao also have migrated into Ssu-ch'uan near the Kuei-chou border. In southeastern Ssu-ch'uan where Hu-nan and Kuei-chou meet it, the Red Miao inhabit the districts of Yu-yang and Hsiu-shan, White and Flowery Miao are found in the districts of Kao Hsien, Kung Hsien, Hsing-wen, Chang-ning, and Yun-lien. The White Miao outnumber the Flowery Miao, so this is called the White Miao habitat. A few

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Photo 12. Lo-tien, Kuei-chou Province (25°25' N, 106°44' E)

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Kuei-chou and the western parts of Kuang-hsi Provinces are well eroded plateaus whose sandstone formations are run through by limestone rock belts here shown in striking contrast to the sandstone in the foreground. The limestone belt is darker owing to its heavier cover of vegetation, which in turn reflects the greater sterility and droughtiness of the limestone surface for agricultural crops. Caverns, disappearing and reappearing streams are frequent in the limestone region with its characteristic steep-walled formations made famous in Chinese art by Sung Dynasty painters. In contrast to the dwellings and cultivated fields on the broad, sweeping and gentler slopes of the sandstone, the limestone hills appear devoid of cultivation and human habitation. The inhabitants here are probably mostly Chung-chia tribesmen having T'ai afinities. The habitat is not attractive to Han-Chinese farmers who are scarce here.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Shan-Thai AL3
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twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wu-tei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey, in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Sh 669

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

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In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma. The northward-looking view is from approximately above Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area constitutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yun-nan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo. It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

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2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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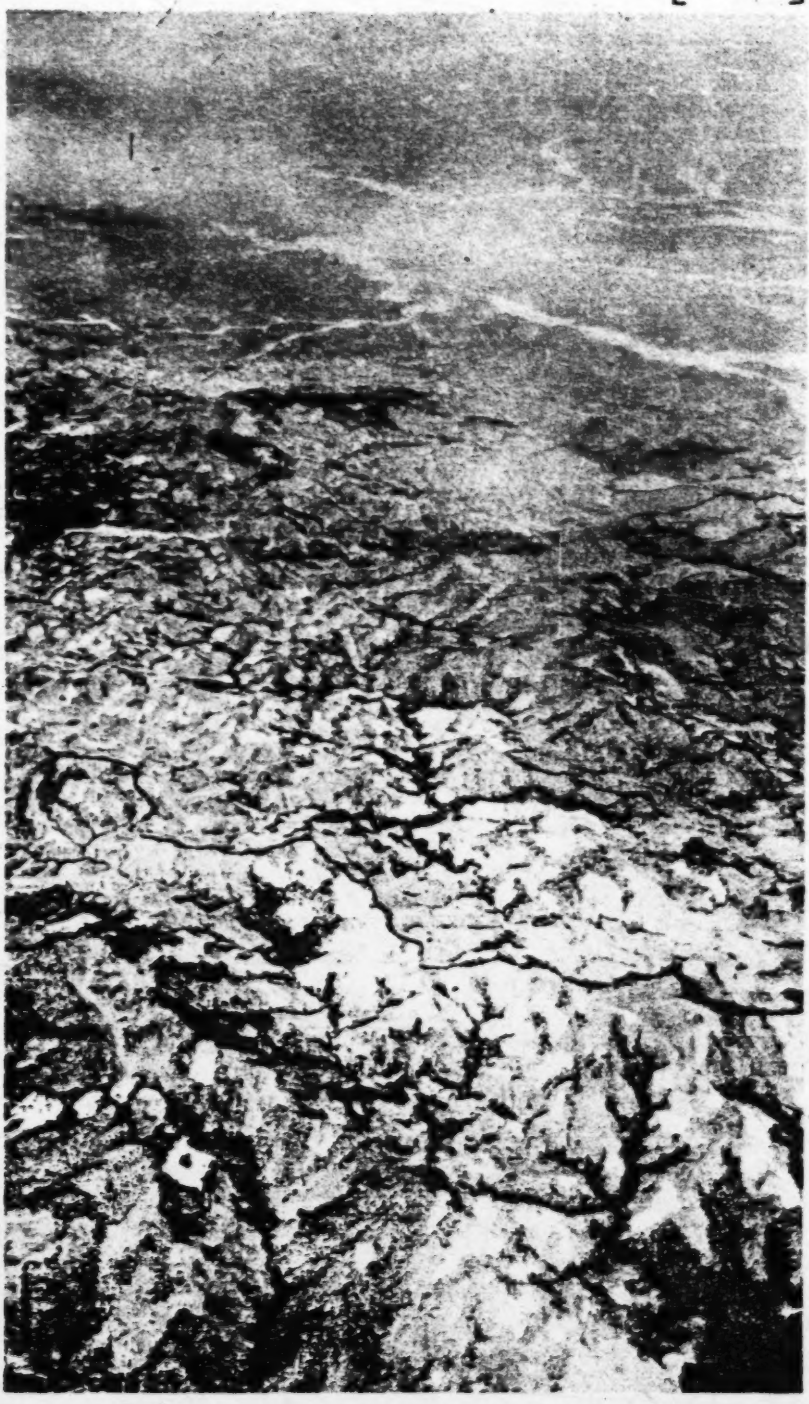

6: Tafel--264 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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On April 4 we went over the pass of Chima t'ang, across a plateau of 4,265 meters which one reaches by a gradual ascent over a moraine covered with naka and between gigantic erratic boulders of granite (Plate XXXII). At my right (toward the south) I had a jagged mountain chain, for the most part hidden behind whirling clouds of snow and hail, and visible only for seconds at a time. It had isolated mounds and peaks that were 700-800 meters higher than the pass. At the left (toward the north) there were long mountain ridges with pastures which reminded me of the monotonous chains of peaks and the greenish-gray sandstone and slate of the Ngolok lands and the green chaos of hills along the Ma Chu. C 133

The Chima t'ang region is regarded as the worst for robbers between Dscherku ndo and Hor Gantse, for the uninhabited wilderness is the favorite place for lurking Ling gose, Li tang, and Ngolok bandits. They attack the traveler and rob him to their hearts' content, down to his shirt. On April 3, therefore, a large company of merchants from Horba and Schensi had joined me near Dschadschi gomba. They had been waiting there for reinforcement. All of them were armed to the teeth and well mounted. They also had two oxen which - as the Chinese agent Wang da later revealed to me - carried two bags full of musk and gold dust worth 14,000 marks. (3) T 674

3. After a preliminary pass and behind the actual Chima t'ang there is a descent of a few hundred meters east-southeast into a valley in which a few dozen tents and yak herds were to be seen. From my companions I learned that they belonged to genuine Ngolok from the Hantsien Doba tribe who have rented this region from the Ling gose. It was people of this same Doba tribe who /171/ prevented us from sleeping on the night of September 14-15, 1904 on the banks of the Hwang Ho, and did not go home until they had lost their leader. The families who were settled here had separated from the main tribe on account of some difference of opinion. They had their own state and had no intention of being absorbed into the Ling gose tribe. T 361

/171/ On a second pass that was hardly lower than the first, I was caught by a violent snowstorm in the afternoon. It exhausted the animals to such an extent that I was forced to untie their packs in the midst of the storm, and to rest. At noon the thermometer stood at -2°, at night it was -6°. Since I no longer had a winter coat, the 000

T 777 braided and around its neck hangs a red or black tassel and a little silvery bell.

C 133 On the southeast side of the Muri La only the upper part of the slope is steep (Plate XXXIII). Six kilometers below the pass lies the Yü lung Ts'o Lake. It is about five kilometers in circumference and was formed by /173/ glaciers which have now disappeared. In this part of Tibet there are no larger lakes to be found. The Yü lung Valley soon becomes a few kilometers wider. On the left there was pasture land. In lateral ravines we occasionally saw small tent villages. C 137 On the right there were beginnings of forests, spruce and pine of great beauty, that grew up to 4,100 meters altitude, but that always kept to the northern slopes and were not found on the valley bottom.

T 438 On our next few marches we met 400 to 500 yaks carrying tea, and on April 9 we passed as many as 900 yaks. The caravans usually set out very early in the morning and are already making a rest-stop by 10 or even 9 o'clock. It takes five months in this way for a bail of tea to get from Ta tsien lu to Lhasa and thousands of waterways are crossed.

T 792 On April 7 we camped beside Yangtze gomba (Säge gomba) a small monastery of the Nima faith, containing 80 monks. Very near it there is another monastery of this sect and that is set in between tall spruce and limestone rocks. One of the gelong served me butter tea in his cell.

C 137 On April 8 we camped beside a slope on which a forest fire had been raging for days and which had already caused a great deal of damage. It was the largest I saw in Tibet. Several square kilometers of the most beautiful virgin forest had fallen a victim to the elements and was totally destroyed. Every day one sees traces of forest fires but no one pays any attention to the fires. Most of them are caused by careless travelers or native shepherds in the dry winter season. They are practically never fought, but simply left to burn themselves out.

C 133 At noon on April 9 we left the Yülung Chu Valley (Plate XXXI). It extends due southeast for practically 50 kilometers and all the way there is a broad, sumptuous floor of pastures. Then suddenly it became deeper and began turning to the north and northeast whereas the road continued in the old direction, along the furrow to the southeast. In the end the river was 20 paces wide and one meter deep. It was now only 3,575 meters high.

The next campsite lay in a veritable park landscape (Plate XXXV) C
at 3,800 meters with a very beautiful view of the snow-capped chain 137
of mountains in the south. Unfortunately the alpine flowers were still in hibernation. But the many seed pods and remnants of huge edelweiss, of hundreds of kinds of primroses, of orchids, rhododendron and gentian were evidence of how beautiful and colorful it must be here in June and July.

On April 10, amid clear sunshine, we crossed another pass, 4,100 C
meters high, from which there was a sudden and surprising view of the 133
magnificent mountains of Rungwatsun and Amne Rala. The new layer of snow had melted far up, as a result of the sun of the last few days. The dark ridges of primary rock stood out clear and sharp against the sparkling blue of the sky. The steep slopes of the peaks glistened with eternal snows and ice crevices, glacier fragments and seracs, furrowed avalanches, and walls of snow beckoned and called to my alpine heart (Plate XXXVI). But I had to remain below on the almost flat moraine at 4,000 meters and guard the caravan. We set up camp amid the huge masses of moraine that extend many kilometers north of the high chain, and that /174/ have covered with granite boulders the sandstone and limestone that was pushed down from the north centuries ago against the wall of primary rock. On this day the maximum temperature was +16.5°, and the minimum at night was -4°.

At noon the next day we rode past a picturesque hermitage. Tschora T
yunka, that stood on a limestone cliff and was inhabited by 14 nuns, 792
"ani." A loquacious old man told us with much head-shaking about "those crazy women." He said that for five years a beautiful maiden has lived there on the cliff, who turned down the best matrimonial offers because she wanted to spend her time praying and serving God. In her ambition to imitate the male priests, she had forbidden every male creature from coming near her cell.

At an altitude of 3,700 meters fields begin to appear. The first T
village lay at 3,600 meters. The main road led straight through it. 361
The houses were all two-storied with flat roofs and were not very close together. W.W. Rockhill came through here in 1889 and from his book I learned that the natives of this region were particularly hostile to strangers, so we rode rather quickly through the first settlement that numbered 25 houses. To the questions "Where from?" and "Where to?" Da Tschang simply replied with some short, every-day lie.

The village lies at the head of a large, wide plain stretching to the east, and is the seat of a community chief. It belongs to the Dergi kingdom. Not far to the south a large brook comes out of a

S.W.China AF16

133 The Da Chu Valley - I also heard it called Tschuwo Chu - extends in a straight line toward the southeast, constantly following the stratification of the sandstone slabs which are again steep here and pressed together vertically. The old road with its countless holes and stone debris continues to keep to the right side of the valley. Like the course of the valley, it aims straight for its goal. Only the muddy stream winds around the peaks that rise up 1,000 meters from the valley and touches sometimes the right, sometimes the left side of the valley. Sometimes it is wedged in between detritus mounds and fragments that a tributary brook thrusts in its way, then again by projecting rock terraces consisting of hard stone slabs, until it becomes /188/ a narrow "valley within a valley." On the valley terraces above the stream there are fields and farms spread out and bushes and hedges
137 separate the individual fields. The flora - in the middle of April everything was still in its winter sleep even here in the south which has a latitude corresponding to that of lower Egypt - was rich, even abundant here at an altitude of 3,500 - 3,300 meters, compared with what I had come across shortly before. There were pastures with thick grass on the southern slopes of the valley, and they reached almost up to the peaks. The northern valley walls, however, were covered with dark spruce forests with wild, tangled underbrush, magnificent hideouts for small and large bush rangers, so that I was glad to know that the Chinese were the real masters here. After the long rides I had taken with my rifle under my arm, I felt as safe as though I were in Abraham's bosom.

579 Deeply cut forest ravines lead off the road toward the south. In all the larger ones there are winding paths leading into the parallel Dsa Chu Valley to the Tschantui. "Two years ago, before our present da ien came to Hor Tschanggu, one could not ride so peaceably along this road," the soldiers told me. "The Tschantui from the south and the Khorgan and Loko from the north made sudden attacks on every caravan carrying goods. Every month there were people killed. But Wu da jen formed his own militia, set up agents and native guards everywhere who announce the approach of all suspicious-looking gangs with fire and smoke signals. Neither the Tschantui nor the Ngolok-Khorgan dare make a sudden attack any more." However, I also learned on another occasion that not a year had passed since the last big attack. At that time 70 mules along with their packs were driven away into the Ngolok country. Not only the Khorgan through whose country I passed in 1904, but also the Ngaba robbers were well known here.

•133

The sacred Lhamortse. (Seen from the Dschedola.)

T 792

business as their male colleagues whose sanctuary is loaded with glistening gold ornaments and symbols. (2)

C 133 361

2. North of Tschanggu is the opening of the large Niba Valley, and, according to the mandarin, if one travels up it one reaches the community of Loko on the first day, on the second Säko, then Dschema Zakun, Zenyi, Aubanyi, Audschenyi, Ladiao, and Datama. The first three towns are dependent on Ho lu (Hor) Tschanggu and presumably permanent /194/ settlements. The rest consist of nomads. Southeast of Loko is Urko (Chinese: Yü ko Tu se) which extends a day's journey to the north of Dawo. Five days' journey from Tschanggu through the Niba Valley is Waschu Konggan (also called Ngolok-Khorgan) whose chieftain Gado was a very proud man and the chief opponent of the Lu ho tenn mandarins. In 1906 he was furnished with 100 horsemen from Upper Ngaba, all dressed in thick padded silk jackets, so that he could appear more haughtily at a lawsuit against Wu.

C 133

On an excursion up the mountains to the southwest of Tschanggu, I went five kilometers (aerial line) where I reached an altitude of 4,820 meters. The mountains bordering on Tschantui are a few hundred meters higher, but they do not have sharply divided forms. A little over 4,000 meters I noticed a terrace, the formation of which I attributed to old glaciers. The rocks of the peaks consisted of granite. Metamorphosed, blackish slate was pressed against these with a stratification of N 55-60° W; but the strata seemed to yield against their will to a more meridional direction. From the peak I could see no higher mountain range to the north and east, but even there the average height of the peaks is not far below that of Mont Blanc. On my walk rhododendron bushes accompanied me almost up to the peak.

/194/ All three settlements lie on an embankment of detritus covered with loess and loam, which came from the southern mountains. Not far from the castle this shifting mass is cut in two by a torrential brook and forms steep detritus slopes which produce a landslide each year. In order to avoid destruction the monks have placed a large Lab rtse above the slope and set up many prayer

pennants on top. But it seems that the good earth spirits have still not calmed the raging brook. S 133

From Tschanggu to the next larger town, Dawo, the Tibetan estimates three to four days' travel, from there to Ta tsien lu ting, to the seat of the first more important Chinese mandarin, six days. I traveled this distance which has since then been traveled by several missionaries and even by the German consul in Tscheng tu fu, in the customary length of time and shall therefore word my account briefly. The road follows the course of the Da Chu southeast as far as Dawo, and even beyond that keeps to this direction. Whereas the river breaks through the mountain chain at the right of it and then joins the Dsa Chu, the road leads over a number of crests, over altitudes of between 4,000 and 4,200 meters and at the Dschedo la joins the second larger thoroughfare of Southeastern Tibet, the Lhasa road, which passes through Li tang and Ba tang. C 487

In Tschanggu I was given three soldiers to accompany me. They were supposed to get salaries and supplies from Ta tsien lu for Wu. They were joined by two Tibetan aristocrats with some baggage, who were planning to bring a suit before the Ting in Ta tsien lu (Plate XLI). Thus I traveled very comfortably. T 484

On April 23 we again crossed the Da Chu which had become so large, having been joined by a number of tributary brooks, that, in spite of the seasonal low water, one could only cross in round leather boats (Plate XLIII). On the opposite shore, just as we were putting the bridles on our horses and mules that had been obliged to swim across, a Tibetan who was dressed halfway like a European, marched up to me and behind him a real European soon appeared carrying a large bright sunshade. I had completely forgotten how we Europeans look and was startled by the strangeness of our skin, our tropical helmets, our European, close-fitting suits and snow white ties. But positively frightening /195/ seemed to me our sky-blue eyes. A breath from an entirely different world and from an era that ought not yet to be, suddenly was wafted toward me. Mr. Amundsen, the active member of the Christian Bible Society was about to undertake a large expedition to Dergi. For several years he has devoted his entire strength to filling in the gap in Tibet's medieval culture. Loaded on a large number of yaks he carried voluminous chests containing thousands of editions of the Gospels in the Tibetan language, which he intended to distribute and sell to the inhabitants. At last I heard news about Europe again. But we only talked for five minutes. For five minutes I looked into another world but then our companions urged us on and T 797

T 797 the leather bowl carrying the Rev. Amundsen pushed off from land. Again I saw only unwashed, broad-nosed, bronze faces and fantastically bright-colored clothes, all of which had before seemed so natural to me. I had become so accustomed to the cut and color of these clothes that it was not until now that I realized this was something foreign.

C •133 342 T 342 At the ferrying place the Tschanggu tenn kwan Wu had six native soldiers stationed and six more were at a small pass beyond it where not long before banditry had produced such monstrosities that the merchants dared to go only in bands of 60 strong when they transported their musk to China. In August 1904 (Kuangsü thirtieth year, seventh month, around the seventeenth day) these districts were struck by violent earthquakes over a period of several days, which caused the Tibetan buildings to collapse like a pack of cards. Not a single house between Tschanggu and Dawo was unharmed. The things that had been built up again were made by Chinese craftsmen. There were now stone walls to replace the old ones made of pebbles and loam, and the beams and supports were mortised properly, a thing which was unknown in local architecture.

C 133 The monastery and the town of Dawo were the hardest hit by the earthquakes. There was little to be seen of the monastery during my visit. When the columns of the temple swayed in the tremors, the monks had dashed into their sanctuary in order to exhort their gods, and especially their god Tamdin, through prayers to cease with their visitation. As a result, 40 monks had been killed by the falling temple. The roof plunged down so heavily on the worthy geslong, as though the structure had been a mouse trap with a brick on it. Earthquakes seem to be frequent in the border countries of Tibet. In the eighteenth Kuang sü year, that is 1892, the monastery ngGatag (Taining) which is a good day's journey southeast of Dawo, was completely destroyed. In 1896 Tschungkor gomba near Dschoma lhagan was ruined. I was also told of catastrophes at Li tang and Ba tang (1870), all of which occurred within the last generation.

T 361 797 Dawo again belongs to the Kungsar-Mazar tu se. (1) However,

1. Dawo or Dao, written sDao, is pronounced sTagu in the Kin tschuan dialect; the monastery is called sDao nimtsu gomba.

there are about 150 Chinese families living here, besides Tibetans. The former have, in the last few years, strangely enough, become

With the wealth of larger mammals there is, of course, a corresponding increase in the number of species of birds and insects which are unknown farther inland and higher up. C 136

The landscape which I saw along the road could not adequately explain this change. At the Heka Pass (Chinese: Sung lin kow) which I crossed the day after I left Dawo I again encountered extensive plateau steppes with smoothly sloping moraines which were reminiscent of the Ba tang Valley near Dscherku ndo and were similarly inhabited by tent nomads. Only the low large river valleys between the plateaus - which the tea route avoids as much as possible - account for the rich vegetation and bring about the abundance of living creatures. C 133 T 361

On the other side of the Heka Pass I left the land of Hor and came into the Ming tscheng tu se or the Dschagla (lDschagsla) rgyalbo. I was now in that large kingdom that has been able to maintain itself to this day as a result of well-timed surrender and great flexibility, in spite of the oppressive yoke of China and Manchuria, although its chief city Ta tsien lu ting has at once become China's key to the whole of Central and West Tibet. T 631

Below the Heka Pass, still in the midst of the belt of willows, the Ming tscheng king had just completed a tiao fang (Tibetan: dzong), a medieval fortress. It was a square stone structure covered with loam, four stories high with only loopholes toward the outside. He stationed one of his aristocratic bailiffs there. The soldiers and people living in the vicinity told me that the fort served as a defense against new attacks of the yellow hord of Tschantui monks. The missionaries of Ta tsien lu called it a refuge of the king against the power of the Chinese overlords, who were becoming more and more arrogant. The new fort stands in the middle of the broad trough-shaped valley like a sentry house, without taking much advantage of the terrain, and this is telling evidence of its builders' conceptions of war. T 712

/198/ Like many small kings of East Tibet, the Dschagla rgyalbo is a conservative in religious matters. For him the Nima sect is the most important. But in his valleys are to be found many remnants of the old Bönbo. My very first quarters in Ming tscheng were in the house of a Bönbo chief, and not far from it were numerous Bönbo sanctuaries. However, repeated attacks of the Tschantui had destroyed most of them in the course of the last decades and everywhere I came across ruins, burned houses and temples (1) (Plate XLIV). The T 795

1. In the 1860s there was still a large Bönbo sanctuary

(mKanbo) of the monastery who was at the same time a sort of representative of the Dewa schung later complained against the mandarins before the throne in Peking and received indemnity for a greater part of his loss, so that the monks have since then been able to rebuild their monastery. T 579 792

The chief town along with the monastery is 10 kilometers north of Basmi. At the time there were 400-500 gold washers working there.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Manchu had a largish garrison in ngGatag and from 1728-1734 they moved the Dalai Lama there in order to protect him from the influences of the Kalmuk of Ili and from a new attack from the north. It was always surprisingly easy for the Kalmuk to attack and conquer Lhasa, traveling from Ili on the Russian-Siberian border through the Lob desert and across the barren Tschang tang. In all, they sent four successful military expeditions across the Tschang tang. It is therefore very understandable that the English-Indian government keeps its eyes on Central Tibet and does not regard it as impossible that some day an unpleasant opponent from the north might gain a foothold in that glacis which India considers Tibet to be. Given some practical experience and knowledge of the locale it is always possible for a division of 5,000-6,000 horsemen to reach Lhasa by way of the Tschang tang, whereas the Himalaya passes are open only in summer. T 175

/200/ Most of the tea caravans that travel from Ta tsien lu to Gantse and farther inland take the road through Tai ning. It necessitates setting up camp in the open several times, whereas on the western route one can halt every evening in the house of another chief of the district, i.e., a tu be hu (tu be fu) and enjoy lodgings that are sometimes quite magnificent and include picturesque castles with thick square or multilateral towers. For example, the tower of Tschamba dzong vividly reminded me of several of our oldest belfries and seems at one time to have been used for this purpose. T 487 485

The western route which I followed leads over terraces of boulders and broken stones. They are much cut up by valley fissures but nevertheless belong to a continuous plateau of 4,000-4,250 meters altitude. I struck good weather and for two days the peaks of the C 133

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133 Dschara re (Zarsun) and the Hai tse Shan massif (Vol. I, Plate XLIV) at my left with their present-day vestigial glaciers appeared in all their splendor. The main peak was 2,000 meters above the road. Far in the distance to the south one could see the sacred giants of the Bogungga (Plate XLV) that are much more than 6,000 meters high, while toward the west and the Li tang country there extended a steppe plateau of 4,000 meters inestimably far into the horizon. Nowhere could one see a point or peak there in the west. There was good pasture land on an endless almost level stretch, on which myriads of yaks could graze. But this plain is also just an illusion. Not only the Nya Chu (Ya lung kiang) but all its countless tributaries as well have torn up this land in a thousand places and gutted it deeply. (1)

1. On the Ta tsien lu - Ba tang road the Ya lung Kiang is only 2,730 meters high.

It is the land of Minyang where pastures are to be found as well as grain fields in the valleys, which to a large extent must supply the city of Ta /201/ tsien lu. Just beyond is the plateau of Li tang.

487 We were supposed to arrive in Ta tsien lu on May 3. From the Dzong Tschamba to Ta tsien lu is considered a day's journey, albeit a long day. However, on account of the poor condition of my animals I put in another bivouac (Plate XLV). It turned out to be a cold and damp night and we were covered with a thick layer of hoar frost, something that is unusual in the interior of Tibet. At five o'clock in the morning, when it had grown light, I rode after the others. I was just an hour's ride from the Dschedo La Pass. At six o'clock I stood on this last big pass, the actual boundary pass between Tibet and China. An endless chain of mules passed me there. One animal after another panted under a load of two bales of rice sewed in leather. They were all small, skinny beasts but they could climb like cats. The drivers were subjects of the Dschagla king and were rendering compulsory service in the form of ula with their animals. It was imperial rice, and the convoy consisted of Chinese troops that were still in the field beyond Li tang, around Ba tang and in Siang tscheng. Just at the Dschedo Pass I had run into the large Tibetan military road that leads from Ta tsien lu via Li tang, Ba tang, Dschraya and Tsiamdo to Lhasa, along which for centuries invading armies moved.

000 Even the imperial telegraph line led over the bleak saddle of

Even the imperial telegraph line led over the S.W. China AF 16 bleak saddle of 206
the Dschedo la and its 4,390-meter altitude. (1) The line had

1. Kreitner-Szechenyi 4,499 meters; Rockhill 4,365 meters (14,320 feet); Gill 4,425 meters (14,515 feet; War office map 15,000 feet.

just been completed as far as Ba tang. My Hsining men who had never before seen a telegraph line had to conduct a detailed investigation. Of course, they had long since heard that one could send a whole letter over the wires, but they had the most adventuresome ideas as to how this was done. They wanted to cut the wire and see what the hollow space inside looked like. Shortly after I had dissuaded them from this wild idea we met a telegraph sentry consisting of six men strong. They were looking for a damaged wire because the service had been interrupted the day before. It seemed a miracle to me that one could telegraph at all at the time because hardly any of the insulators on the poles were intact. The Tibetans regarded them as a particularly suitable target for their guns as well as for their beloved stone slings.

Beyond the Dschedo Pass the eye first of all falls on bare rocky 133
ridges and on broad, planed-out and dry ravine bottoms. The peaks in the vicinity of the pass rise above 5,000 meters. They are all still below the boundary of perpetual snow and one could discover on them only scattered white spots. However, when one descends the steep, uneven military road which was paved many years ago, and when one has turned the corner and reached an eroded ravine bottom, then suddenly gigantic fields of perpetual snow sparkle in the south (Plate XLVI). In front of these in the depths nestles the Dschedo Valley with the little village of Dschedo, an important stopping place for the night for people coming from below. Before one 137
reaches this town one crosses the wide rhododendron zone /202/ which, with its large white and pink blossoms, extends down from 4,500 to 3,800 meters. The large blossoms were just opening and the steep mountain slopes sometimes formed a vertiable sea of blossoms. Long before one reaches Dschedo one is within the boundary of mountain forests, and the amount of moisture which the monsoon must unload in these border mountains has caused an almost impenetrable jungle to develop on both sides of the valley, on the northern as well as southern slopes.

Near Dschedo the ravine which is used by the road abandons its 000
southeasterly direction and turns due east, and now all at once there

my knowing it, because I was traveling too slowly for them. While I was off hunting pheasants my luggage was torn from my animals with nervous haste and loaded on the ula. I saw evil spirits that I had myself evoked, but I did not know how I might become my own master again without having them run away from me at the next corner of a mountain. 000

/215/ June 5. The weather continued to be rainy as on the previous days. We had to keep to our tents one whole day. Snow and rain ceaselessly whipped against the cotton walls. We were wrapped in a thick cloud of fog and not a spot in my tent remained dry. The soldiers left for good, cursing and scolding about the cold and my journey. Only after a week they showed up again to receive their tips.

June 6. The great highway that leads from Ta tsien lu to Tai ning runs east of the high Dschara re over a not very high and moderately steep mountain pass which the Chinese call "Hai tse Shan" because of a small lake on the pass. They have built a lodge below this pass, called "new inn" (hsin dien). The house is distinguished by the fact that in it one always finds an open, warming fire and warm smoke. However, the wanderer who is not enthusiastic about steamed, tasteless corn cakes, seeks in vain for some nourishment. T 485

In order to get to Kin tschuan from here one must turn right at the hsin dien and cross the eastern mountain chain. This second pass is called "Da po Shan" which may be translated as "mountain with the big ascent." It leads up to a saddle-shaped pass of 4,370 meters and is extraordinarily steep on its west side which leads down toward hsin dien. On the day before we had an additional snowfall of 50 centimeters - I was very much astonished at the large amount of snow that spring can bring in these latitudes. It took us almost the whole day to overcome the difference in elevation of 700 meters and man as well as beast arrived at the top completely exhausted. T 487

On the Da po Shan I experienced for the first time in many days a sparklingly clear morning and for every step that we had ploughed upward through the deep snow, we were rewarded by a beautiful alpine panorama on the Tai ning road on the other side (see Vol. I, Plate XLIV). From the wide basin-shaped valley that opened up, black and devoid of snow, and that extended perfectly straight from hsin dien to Ta tsien lu, there arose countless snow-capped peaks, sparkling fields of eternal snow and sharp rock ridges, and above all, in supreme alpine majesty, the sacred Dschara re. At the extremities of the valley under the snow could even be discovered lustreless C 133

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133

gray, hard glacial ice. Here, too, however, the glaciers are really only miniature glaciers and, as in our native Alpine valleys, only the weak embryos of the ice masses teeming with power, that once reshaped the mountain masses into their present-day large outlines and made the valleys U-shaped and more passable for human beings and animal herds.

Beyond the Da po Shan the way soon leads into thick copses of rhododendron and into a broad valley shaped like an amphitheater. But soon there comes a steeper valley covered with fine old timber.
OOO We pitched camp at the first dry spot where some grass for the animals beckoned. Scarcely had we unloaded when I fell asleep from weariness for we had all been obliged to exert our full power to help the animals drag their packs through the snow. When I awakened not very long after I was plagued by a wicked pain in both eyes, which gave me no peace. My servants said that it was still daytime and the sun was high in the heavens but for me night had come. I had become snow-blind to such an extent that I could with no amount of effort /216/ raise my eyelids. I lay in the dark tent and kicked my legs like a child, when the pain from my conjunctivitis was too great. A little black bear of the species ursus tibetanus that I had owned for four weeks and that walked about freely in the camp and at night tried to crawl under my covers, was my nurse and whiled away the time for me. He growled and scolded when I became too restless on my bed of pain, and scratched and bit in all friendliness if I touched him somwhat ungently and unmercifully as I tossed about. But he always bit me in a touchingly gentle way, not wanting to hurt me, just as a dog does that plays with its master. For a day and a half I was obliged to stay in the camp. Then at last the swelling had receded sufficiently that I could pry open my eyelids somewhat with my fingers and could recognize the necessary remedy in my medicine chest.

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361

Our trek on June 10 down along the same brook and through dense woods brought us to the town of Mao niu gu or, Tibetan: Brismed, 2,800 meters. The village is inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese and shows quite a number of old fortress towers. From the right as well as the left a rather large torrential stream flowed into our valley, and where it joined the water was so deep that it could not at any point
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be crossed. The forest was beautiful, high and dense. There were only isolated clearings where there had been forest fires during the winter. Old spruce trees are rare here; birches, poplars, oaks and maple predominate. Lilac trees stood in full bloom. The many

6: Tafel--345 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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PlateLII.

/216D/

133

The Little Gold River and Tschorten sa gomba.

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Small temple with tutelary gods (Hsiao kin tschuan).

T 361 On June 12 I reached the town of Romi (rong mi) Tschanggu, a settlement of 300 houses on the banks of the large Gold River, the Da kin tschuan (pronounced: Tschin tschuan) Ho, in the native tongue: mNiëngun. The town is inhabited by many Chinese. A Chinese official (tai ye) as well as a tu be hu, bailiff of the Dschagla King have their residence here. The town is the market place for the district and is situated at the place where the valley of my approach from the Da po Shan runs into the large Gold River and, for a short stretch, turns away from its general meridional direction and toward the east. Here I saw many Tibetan women and girls wearing heavy silver jewelry rings and brooches and red coral which are plaited into their crown of black braids. The women are always short but vigorously built, and are considerably smaller than the native men who are also not tall. Their faces are broad and broad-boned and yet many of the girls may be called quite pretty. The outstanding article of clothing is their pleated, coarse, dark brown skirt which they make from the wool of their black sheep, and which resembles very much the dress of the women of Lolo.

T 301 291

T 361 On the steep slopes of the mountains round about Tschanggu, around the shops which are huddled against each other, around the inns and yamen and the one-story Chinese houses, arise the tower structures of the Tibetans, the individual country estates. The natives here still speak a Tibetan that resembles that of Ta tsien lu or Lhasa. The place is very warm. The Chinese wild fan palm is already found here. The altitude is only 1,985 meters.

T 197

T 231 The mountain range with its yellow rock precipices towers steep and sky-high beyond the dull roaring Kin tschuan ho. Nowhere around Romi Tschanggu does the eye rest on a level field. Horses, donkeys, and cattle have grown very lean even under Tibetan care, and all domestic animals are dwarfish, especially the horses which are strikingly narrow-chested and small-boned. And among people there are surprisingly many who have goiters.

T [164]

C 133 A quarter hour below Romi Tschanggu a large bamboo suspension bridge leads across the Gold River. It connects with the valley of the Little Gold River (Chinese: hsiao kin tschuan ho), whose waters unite with the already imposing river of the Da or Great Kin tschuan Ho, two kilometers farther to the east. Below this juncture the river is called Tung Ho by the Chinese, or also Yü tung Ho - after the Yü tung tribe (1) - and later also Da tu Ho, i.e., the Great Ferry River.

DOD 1. This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between

6: Tafel--359 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Plate LIV.

/224B/

●133

Valley and fork in the road above Mu gung ting (left to Fu pien, right to Kwan hsien).

T 721 C 133

in the eastern part of Somo, are in a sort of condition of vassalage toward him and pressed him to settle. It had become a matter of honor for him as feudal lord to receive restitution for the murdered men.

Nevertheless, my good Fu pien soldiers did accompany me as far as Tschoktsi where I arrived on June 30. My journey took me past Mu tsch'eng (Sumdo), a small monastery with few houses near the timber line (1), and then across the flat Mumbi pass beyond which I

1. The timber line is here at about 3,900-4,000 meters. Mu ch'eng or Sumdo lies at 3,540 meters and is the place where in 1749 and again in 1774 the Chinese penetrated the valley of the Great Gold River. From there it is only 60 li to the borders of Hsü tsching. The road is wide and easy to travel and is for this reason preferred by the trade caravans between Hsü tsching, Leu and Ts'a kou, Li fan fu, Tscheng tu.

was again obliged to descend into narrow wooded ravines. On top of the pass (4,060 meters) there are ruins of fortifications that appear among snow-white rhododendron blossoms. From a point 4,410 meters high close by the road I saw an enchantingly beautiful sunset. The blood-red ball of the sun sank behind a wilderness of thousands upon thousands of bare, black jagged peaks, both large and small. It poured over all of them in a final farewell with such a flood of light that I forgot measure and distance and seemed to be gazing to the very end of the world, across a world where there was not an inch of level ground, but only crags and peaks and ridges. In the south, in the direction of the kingdom of Mu ping and the left side of the Great Gold River Valley, the peaks rose so high that they showed extensive snow fields. In the west, also, in the direction of the lands of the Tschoskiab rgyalbo, but also toward the northwest, toward Ngaba, from whence a large ravine-valley runs toward the Valley of the Great Gold River in a N 40° W direction, nothing could be seen but peaks and spikes. The lower boundary of the snow patches begins at about 4,600 meters. The larger elevations everywhere grew out of a compact mountain base of an average of 4,000-4,200 meters. /243/ Within this the large valleys lay like deep, narrow rents and fissures filled with woods, in which human beings live.

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133

I set up my next encampment on a small meadow 2,745 meters high, at the banks of a magnificent river which, I was told, bore the name of Somo Chu or Kargu Chu. This Kargu Chu is one of the chief headwaters of the Great Gold River. I found there a deep V-shaped valley running from east to west. The second headwater, a somewhat swifter river, comes from the Ngaba territory and is said to join it barely 20 kilometers to the west (below). This can only be the river course the valley channel of which I had already seen from high up. (1) At 40° W it follows the general strike of the greenish

1. The Ngaba Chu is said to flow from Ngaba Tsenda to Ngabe Metsang and farther down alongside it lies Ts'arima, then Warats'argo (the linguistic frontier of the Hsi fan and Kin tschuan languages) Tserh'ka. Tsam tang, Itoh'gomba, Schirh'dsong gomba, and rDo Tir Chu tschen gomba.

gray rock strata of the Permokarbons. The confluence is in the territory of the Sung kang rgyalbo ("s" like the French "z"), in a kingdom headed by a woman.

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712

Startlingly picturesque lay the old mountain retreat of the Tschoktsi rgyalbo in front of the door of my tent, with its many verandas and other exterior constructions which hung like dovecotes on the old, crumbling masonry. Its octagonal fortress tower beside the many-storied castle - it is said to have become crooked as a result of an earthquake - reminds one of the tschiao or deivo of the warriors of the liberation (Plate LVII). But not only the princes today still feel the need of building tall structures in Kin tschuan, every single estate owner and farmer has a tower building. The ordinary farm houses are square and three, four, and even five stories high, built of field stones and tapering off toward the top. They always stand irregularly in small groups (Plate LVI and LVIII). The back of the house which is at the same time usually the north side is one story higher than the front and is covered with a saddle-shaped shingled roof, weighted with stones, the ridge of which runs from front to back, giving the house the appearance of old Swiss houses. However, the shingled roof is always but loosely connected with the rest of the house; it is only meant for the years of peace and for the heavy summer rains. Since it rests only on a light framework of beams, it can be easily thrown overboard as soon as a state of open warfare exists. Then the farmer is in possession of a small stone fortress. Under the

6: Tafel--405 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet

Plate LXII.

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/248 (B-1)/

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Loess landscape, terraced loess fields and loess ravines on the road between Ho tschou and Tao Ho.

Valley of the Little Gold River with road to Romi Tschanggu

Hsin gai tse. Mu gung ting. Ying pan gai.

6: Tafel--406 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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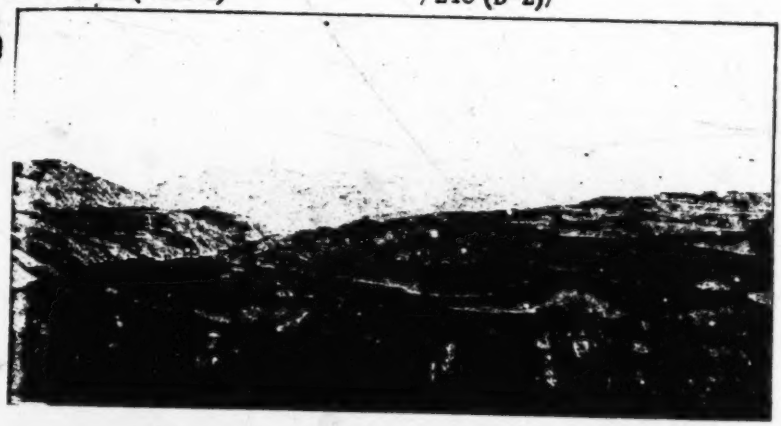
Plate LXII (cont'd) /248 (B-2)/

• 133



During my stay there was an old Chinese physician in Ma tang, who for more than a lifetime had traveled through here each year and who was well-known among young and old. He was a smallpox specialist and on his travels applied the old Chinese method of variolation. In small bamboo tubes he kept human pock lymph with which he "inoculated" or, more accurately, infected, all children up to 12 years that were brought to him, for 300 cash. He put a few drops of his liquid into each child's nose whereupon the children fell ill of smallpox (variola, or, in the native language, dabram) after four or six days and had up to one or two dozen pock efflorescences on their faces or on their chests. He always got his lymph back on his journeys by pricking open individual pustules before they dried up, and gathering the contents. He chose sick persons who had as few eruptions as possible, but beside that he thinned out the lymph with water. The man's opinion was that by means of this dilution he had first of all succeeded in preventing the severe pox among his patients and that they recovered within a week. I was told that throughout Kin tschuan this variolation method is practiced and that if only part of the children in a village are "inoculated" and the rest become infected without having been treated by the specialist, then the ones who were not vaccinated had severe cases of smallpox, a true variola; furthermore, that the variolation caused much severer symptoms among adults than among children under 12. TC 251

My long-drawn-out wait for the messengers of the Li fan yamen was interrupted by several excursions to the nearest mountains, whenever the weather permitted. As a rule it rained many hours every day, if not all day and all through the night. The time of the summer solstice means the rainy season for the entire eastern Tibet, especially for the southern portions. For days the sky is covered with rain clouds; and scraps of fog, the worst enemies of topographers, hang low in the valleys. If I climbed south from my campsite up the Tsche kou (eat-bitterness) Pass and from there to the nearest mountains I reached the flat mountain formation a little beyond 4,250 meters the base, from which rose the row of peaks with their slopes of rock fragments and isolated snow patches. I stood on meadows there which were smoothly sloped, broken with swamps and dotted with rounded knolls (roches moutonnées). But already below 4,000 meters, at 3,700 meters, the valley floors widened and were more trough-shaped than at the market place of Ma tang, which still lies wedged in, causing cold in winter and lack of sun, about which the inhabitants complain bitterly. Beginning with 3,700 meters most of C 132 C 133

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• 133 the valleys take on a character which indicates that they were formed by agents very different from the torrential streams which today carry on their undermining work of erosion. In the upper parts of the ravines I could often observe here a terraced ascent of the valley floors, in which each level brought about a widening of the valley.

/250/ Shimmering vertical slabs of greenish-gray sandstone mixed with isolated streaks of limestone and with a strike of N 40° W to N 50° W here form the basic rock, and on the plateaus at 4,200 to 4,400 meters, just as in the region of the headwaters of the Hwang Ho, one walks over bands of quartz and strata heads that often project, as sharp as a knife, out of the thin surface cover of detritus. At almost right angles to the strike of the rock - N 20° E - one sees countless clefts and fissures in these heights, barren of vegetation. The direction of these clefts (N 10° to 20° E) always plays an important rôle in East Tibet and on the entire edge of the Tibetan Highlands opposite the point where the red basin of Szechwan breaks through, as well as on the terraced edge of Liu pan Shan-Lo Shan (in Kansu), on the Ala Shan and even in the mountains of Shansi. The latter were the determining factor in the north-south course of the Hwang Ho, which we discussed in Chapter II. In such clefts and fissures the huge Tibetan mountain folds, the entire Kuen lun, sink eastward into the depths. In some places the crack is so high at the edge that has broken off that we see "step faults" forming, as for instance, at the boundary of the Szechwan basin. But usually it is only a question of a barely noticeable sliding off and sinking, and to me it has the appearance as though the mighty block of the large Kuen lun rump were, in the main, only twisted toward the east and the N 20° E cleft were comparable with the small oblique fissures and cracks of a glacial stream. Many longitudinal valleys at the uppermost part of the Hwang Ho follow clefts that run N 20° E, and east of Ma tang and throughout Kin tschuan the rivers and streams often follow this direction of the clefts, and have eaten their way into the depths at an angle almost perpendicular to the strike of the rock strata.

000 I waited until July 15 in Ma tang. That was as long as my patience held out. On the morning of this day I could no longer be held back. Free as a bird, I again set out for the "Ts'ao ti." Soon after my arrival in Ma tang, it is true, I had heard that two yamen couriers from Li fan fu had got through and had marched on in the direction of the Somo castle bearing some written document concerning my journey. I had already let my hopes run high, but another six days went by and I neither saw nor heard anything more about

them. They had vanished somewhere. On one of the last days I had 000
met the Nirba of the Somo King in the village and he had again announced to me that the King refused to do anything for me. He had never granted Chinese, to say nothing of foreigners, free escort through the territories of his vassals, and he said that I should travel alone just as all Tao tschou Hui hui did.

Besides my Brdyal, I had taken a man from Somo and a Kretschiu boy from Ma tang to accompany me on my new journey; the former was called Ts'an Rarschdan, the latter, an attractive, good boy, called himself Yangsen. We left camp at seven o'clock, rode past the houses of Ma tang where my little train of six horses and five mules were joined by a Ho tschou Mohammedan and a merchant by the name of Ma who rode a lively, well cared-for little horse. We recrossed the old bridge to the right side of the valley of the Somo River and then up the mountain, following the winding, big, noisy torrent. During the first hour the valley is still very narrow, but alongside the ditch which is bordered by a magnificent spruce forest, there now runs a good and well-worn, broad yak road, /251/ the upkeep of which is taken care of by the Ma tang merchants in the interests of their trade. In brief succession we met two yak caravans with 100 animals, carrying wool and skins. Half-naked men from the steppes, such as I had not met since I left Dergi drove the animals swiftly past us. The goods belonged to a Sung pan Mohammedan. The drivers came from Khorgan. Once again they were genuine, bad Ngolok.

After two hours we came to the little town of Karlang where there T 361
are eight sprawling houses. Not far from it at the left lies the modest Bönbo monastery of Kang mer gomba. On the left bank, opposite, there C 133
were still a few farms and barley fields. But the other bank, meanwhile, had become much more devoid of trees. Later the bottom of the valley opened up more; the slopes became less steep and the woods on our side noticeably more dwarfed. The river valley had now reached a height of 3,300 meters. The nomad country had begun.

Three hours traveling above Ma tang the yak road turns away from T 491
the right bank. A bridge built in the national style, the last and the one situated highest up, brings the road across to the other side. But this one, too, had succumbed to the summer rains of this year. Its northern abutment had been undermined. Its cantilever, artfully constructed of stone blocks and pile work, had settled a little and the three spruce trunks that spanned the river had slid off and been

T 278 Their daily earnings are said to amount to 20 to 30 taelcents and at best, 70 taelcents. A pound (600 grams) of be mu (Tibetan: Gar lo), for example, consists of 3,000 to 4,000 small roots, white bulbs of the Coelogyne Henryi, which must be found and dug out one by one. In Ma tang and Li fan a pound costs up to two taels. The little roots are a Chinese culinary delicacy.

C 133 I had a splendid view from a rise along the road. Far to the south and the southwest I was given a farewell greeting by the large black Somo Mountains with their numerous peaks which consist of green argillite sandstone and rise 5,000 meters upward. From the Ma tang region they extended far to the northwest so that 80 to 100 kilometers from my vantage point they looked as though they would continue into Tibet with a more east-west strike. They are the eastern ends of the Ba yen ka la Shan of Chinese cartography. (1) In front of

C [103]

1. Ba yen ka la schan is a designation borrowed from the Mongolian. Ba yen (Mongolian: bayan) means "rich"; ka la (Mongolian: khara) means "black." In Chinese geographies and even in their primers these words have for a long time referred to the mountain range forming the water shed between the Yangtze Kiang and the Hwang Ho within Tibet. It would therefore be wrong to try to introduce a new name.

them and extending immeasurably far to the north there is a green jungle of hills and mounds, valley plains and small mountain chains. There was not a single mountain there, as far as /258/ the eye could reach on that clear day, which was higher than 4,400 meters. This section of high plateau cut up into hilly country, is today the water shed between the large Yangtze and the Hwang Ho. It is only very gradually - as I noticed on my previous journeys - that the land gets higher toward the west, so that near Horkurma, finally, the floors of the deepest valleys reach up beyond 4,200 and 4,300 meters and the mountains up to 4,600 to 4,700 meters. All this country is the home of the free and audacious Ngolok and their countless fat yak herds.

In back of me, in the east, in the direction of China, there were somewhat higher mountains. There was granite to be found there and it formed a few peaks of close to 5,000 meters. Glacial marks were unmistakably visible even in this hard granite. All the valleys there were shaped like broad troughs and the entrances of the valleys revealed basin-shaped bottoms. In the meadows beside the tent village

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of Upper Zanskar there were still to be found large erratic boulders which came from these highlands in the east. 133

On our journey we again were obliged to struggle with the worst swamps, and the way was badly marked. For long stretches it was completely unrecognizable. Added to the strenuousness of breaking through the tough mud, there were seas of boulders which became dangerous for the legs of the animals because of countless crevices and deep fissures. In the afternoon the caravan halted, completely exhausted, in a naka field on a mountain slope.

July 20. I did not sleep very much during the night, because I was sure we were going to be visited by some of the root-diggers and I was bracing myself for the visit. According to my experience, I could expect them at either of two times: as soon as darkness set in or not until around midnight when the moon would have disappeared behind the granite peaks. 000

I sat in the doorway of my tent keeping myself awake by a violent effort, and my thoughts flew far, far across the whole continent of Asia to my home from which I had again had no message for such a long time, and no newspaper. Now and then a southerly breeze blew over me. The horses rattled their leg chains as though they were chained convicts. A night bird interrupted my revery and brought me back to my loneliness with a start. Some little feathered friend was suddenly awakened, chirped with fright two or three times. Then for a half hour nothing could be heard but the grains of sand driven by the wind. It seemed to me as though I could see as well as in broad daylight. The thousands of round pools below me shone like shiny dollars in the cold light of the moon. In the pale stillness the smoothly polished, loose granite blocks do not cease conjuring up phantoms before me, which again and again dance noiselessly down the mountain side.

Finally the moon began to sink. Scraps of dense fog drifted from the west into my valley. In a few minutes we were enveloped in blackest night. I now lay in wait, more tense than ever.

Again and again I rubbed my eyes, as though by doing so I could better penetrate the darkness. But soon my restless thoughts wandered off again, into the future and into the past. Suddenly old Tschimo who had been curled up close beside me, snoring, got up and for a long time sniffed in the direction of the valley, then took a few leisurely steps forward, looked about again and then disappeared without a sound into the darkness. If only dogs could talk! Perhaps she only sniffed some game! A roaming wolf may have driven the

600 antilopes into the valley. /259/ Now Neh'ere comes up to me. He is fawning, he wants to lick my hand, a thing he considers necessary to do several times each night. Suddenly it seems as though he had been given a blow, and with loud barks he runs after the old bitch into the valley. A hundred meters in front of me are two large pools. From that direction comes a splashing sound as though a heavy body were sliding into the water and in the same direction - isn't that the light of a firefly I see? - In rapid succession I fire three sharp alarm shots. They are only meant to say "watch out" and to give due notice that someone is on the alert. Thereupon the spashing sound becomes plainer down below in the pools and amid the ugly howling of the dogs I hear a few obscene Chinese swear words. Soon all is again quiet as the grave. And thus it remained until dawn. I arose late and set out for my saddle in the mountain which lay at an altitude of 4,390 meters, buried between bare granite crags of 400 and 500 meters (Plate LVIII).

C 133 From this saddle there extended a giant trough of granite due northeast. It was 30 kilometers long. All the lateral valleys which ran down from the surrounding granite mountains came to an abrupt end 150 meters above the floor of the main valley, and all the water they conveyed had to run in shallow, narrow channels down the walls of the trough-shaped valley. On the slopes and in the broad bottom of the valley round granite boulders formed expanses of rock alternating with moors, which made it very difficult for the caravan to make headway. Every quarter hour some animal would get stuck or slide down the round cliffs and into a rock fissure from whence it had to be pulled out and reloaded. We found no habitation here and no trace even of temporary dwellings. It seems that only occasionally people pass through the valley. Only marmots and countless rabbits inhabit the tall grass of the pastures and the many beautiful larch woods (Plate LIX).

C 137 On July 21 the woods gradually grew more dense. When we came to a point just below 3,700 meters the valley floor became narrower and more like a ravine, and the tall spruce timbers became an absolutely impenetrable virgin forest. At 3,600 meters - we had just a moment ago come across sandstone with a N 70° W strike - we found pastures between the forests and soon after four black tents. The way now became a well-worn path, but it went on for a long distance, so that it was three in the afternoon before we arrived at the first houses of Merge. Barley, oats and potato fields appeared in the midst of the pine forest, and two-story houses covered with shingles and

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000 Much as I respected the viewpoint of the mandarins, I could not see why I should not travel a path that hundreds of merchants took every year.

361 While my new preparations were going on I had ample time to become acquainted with the city of Sung pan ting. China has only three first-class outpost towns toward Tibet: Ta tsien lu, Sung pan, and Hsining. Strictly speaking, all three of them are on non-Chinese territory. They are the termini of military roads along which the Chinese have settled; on the branch roads, in the nearest forest ravines and mountain valleys, the Tibetan princes are still fighting for recognition and to maintain their individuality. All three cities are also important centers of Tibetan commerce and it is characteristic for all of them that this commerce is largely in Mohammedan hands.

Ta tsien lu is built extremely close, and slippery flagstones and stone steps make it difficult to ride horseback. It resembles a South Chinese city where the pedestrian, the porter, sets the pace. Hsining fu is a North Chinese type of city. /276/ It has extremely wide, dusty streets running between low houses of tile and loam. In its style of architecture Sung pan ting occupies a place exactly in the middle. There the valley of the Min kian which flows in mighty waves from north to south, is almost a half kilometer wide and the river makes a large loop from the left to right of the valley (Plate LXI). In the valley, just as in Fu pien, one finds traces of contaminated loess, and this again on the west side of the valley, i.e., the side which is protected against the winter storms from the west. (1) The road that

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1. As though the west winds of winter had deposited their dust masses in the protection of the mountains and the diminishing eddies of air, in the recoil after the impact against the opposite wall of the valley.

/Fig. 13 appears on p. 276 of original text. / leads up from the lowland of Szechwan and that has kept to the left side of the valley from Kwan hsien on, here crosses the Min. Wooden rafts can navigate the magnificent river, but not yet any boats. The two shores are connected by a large covered wooden bridge with small shops on it like a Ponte Rialto, and around it lies the strong-walled city. As usual, the walls consist of thick tiles filled in with earth. On the west side it continues up a steep incline of the low foothills and ends high at the top in a temple, so that it would require tremendous masses of

T 291 302 [142] jewelry, the men with braids or short hair. Their eyelids do not have a distinct fold and their eyes are straight. The women were uncombed and had blond or faded brownish tresses. It is exceptional for them to have the blue-black hair of which the Chinese are always so proud. T 463 They are the same type as the Yao tse of Hunan. They are a poor race, a remnant of the original Chinese inhabitants, who make a meager living with a few pieces of copper, gather grass on the mountains and sell it to the people of the city, and who now here, now T 674 there, seek and find a regular pariah livelihood. If there has been pillaging or a theft, every man from Sung pan says quite thoughtfully: "A Bo lo tse has again committed a crime." At the time of my visit the chief of this tribe, whose land lies south and southwest of Karlong in the lateral valleys of the Lo hoa River which comes down from Merge, was a captive in the yamen of the ting. He was discovered to have been privy to the robbery of a Chinese merchant, had allegedly approved of the theft on the one hand, but had also wanted to make a few purchases in the city. On one of his visits to the market he was arrested and without much ado put into prison by the Chinese. T 197 Linguistically, the Bo lo tse belong to the barbaric peoples of the Chinese border, who must be classed among the Tibetan language family. The Bo lo tse language is most closely related to that of Ts'a ka lao. C 563 The border Chinese maintain that they can clearly recognize a member of each tribe by his dress, the type of weave, the cut and the lacing; but I was unable to find anyone who could really give me accurate information about this, which he had not gathered from hearsay. Most of the so-called experts were content to tell me: "The Bo lo tse are thieves and robbers and not one of them is going to enter my house."

C 133 East of Sung pan ting the mountain peaks rise higher than in the west, in actual Tibet. There the Schar Dong re (or Schar Derung re) which the Chinese call Hsüä bau, rises up to 6,000 meters and reaches up to the realm of perpetual snow and ice. However, the kingdom begins a few hundred meters below the peak in the same geographical latitude as the city of Tripolis. The Schar Dong re is rather isolated and is therefore regarded as very sacred and considered a brother of the Amne Machin. T 792 788 Surrounding it are a number of Tibetan monasteries, such as the Ka tschung gomba, to which the devout flock even from the distant Ngolok country and from Ta tsien lu, in the sixth Tibetan or Chinese month (April-May). They also come for the reskor, that is, to encircle the entire mountain which takes three days. In the /278/ late fall and during the winter the inhabitants of the steppes wander through Sung pan ting to the sacred O mi Shan in the southern part of the province.

T 487

latter already belong to the Dschoni tu se.

always very nervous. When we came to /284/ a more dense wood he sent his Tibetans ahead as scouts in order to have them search the bushes, and within an hour he often announced six times to me: "It's not safe here." "We had better not speak so loudly here." "It would be well if I cocked my gun here."

C 133

After that the way became steeper, there were more and more bends in the valley until we stood in front of a steep slope of 200 meters, formed of sand and rubble, not unlike the remnant of a moraine. But even this steep slope caused no difficulties. When we arrived at the top - we had reached an altitude of 3,860 meters - we had a far view to the north-northwest. From our vantage point a broad valley plain studded with thousands of pools opened up - a yung like the Ma yung and Tso' ngombo yung in the north - framed by green hills. It was as yet impossible to see where this valley plain begins to dip. But a large lab rtse with hundreds of poles carrying small flags and bits of wool up in front on the steep edge showed that we had reached an important point. The Tibetans call it Gari La. It was - as I later convinced myself - the water shed between the Yangtze Kiang and the Hwang Ho. We stayed here a brief half hour; my Tschang La men (Bönbo followers) threw lung schda papers (see Fig. 18, Vol. I, p. 548) into the air and stuck a new flag into the pass lab rtse. This little flag had previously fluttered gaily on the fork of one of their guns and had been brought along especially for the god of this pass, a particularly mighty mountain spirit.

We followed the grassy plain. The entire country, mountain and valley, was a single succulent green prairie. The grass of these pastures was soft, and the hard stalks of the grass of Tsaidam and the Koko Nor were not to be found. In many places the earth was boggy and black or looked like a naka field. As we rode on we found the source of a small, clear brook which soon began to twist and turn this way and that in thousands of bends. The soldier from Tschang La, Tschemo Tscho called it the Re Chu. This plateau was also uninhabited. Nowhere were there settlers to be seen, nowhere did an old tardo (tab rdo) appear, or did we discover remains of old nomad colonies. Our way wound around swamps just as the brook meandered about in the most fantastic curves. The valley floor of the Re Chu consisted of deep marshes on which we could not set foot with our animals. We were obliged to ride along the foot of the hills, and thereby lost a great deal of time. But even so, the animals were

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133 completely exhausted from constantly breaking through.

On August 26 we rode for only two hours. We saw not a soul anywhere. Not a single wild animal, not even a little fox or an antilope was to be glimpsed in the numerous ravines and gullies. The brook in our valley had become a small river and was 12 meters wide; the valley, too, had constantly grown wider. Our new campsite lay in the Niendorba Plain which showed absolutely no signs of habitation. Not far from it a road track runs due west over a very flat pass. If one follows it, one can in five days reach Ngaba Metsang (Middle Ngaba) with its houses and fruitful fields of loess and its 12 sub-tribe nomads.

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669 Here I asked to be told about the punitive expedition of 1902 against Ngaba. It furnished a whole day's subject of conversation for my companions, for they had all taken part in it. This "war" had also begun in the customary fashion. The chief - with the title of rgyalbo - /285/ of Ngaba Metsang had robbed merchants from Sung pan ting and at their complaint before the ting he had not given up his plunder. He felt so secure in the midst of his barley fields and stone houses that from now on he let himself be addressed as "emperor" (gong ma). Thus the Sung pan yamen, with the approval of the central government, levied troops and sent 800 men up into the Ts'ao ti, under the command of three majors. The troops were apparently well armed and their weapons consisted of newly-acquired Mauser and Hotchkiss guns; but not a man of them had any idea of how to handle the guns. It was not considered necessary to drill the troops, nor did it occur to the officers to let their motley crew, of which only a very few had ever had a gun in their hands, practice a few shots at a target. A few of the Tschang La men had secretly aimed their new weapons at some stones and had for this been given 50 blows in the place that is usually covered with trousers. Again the idea was to proceed in typical Asiatic-Chinese fashion and only bluff. In spite of the poor roads, the gentlemen majors let themselves be carried into the field by their subordinates in sedan chairs. Everything went smoothly until they came within 50 li of Ngaba where they set up a fortified encampment.

The officers thought they could negotiate with Ngaba from their encampment, and when the Ngaba chief did not appear for this, 500 horsemen were sent ahead to invite him. But that is exactly what the Fan tse had been waiting for. They marched into the field, allegedly 1,700 to 2,000 men strong. Their horsemen were dressed in coats of mail and thickly padded jackets which gave very good protection against ordinary bullets. The Chinese horsemen who were supposed to fetch the chieftain and who had been told as a matter of encouragement

II. SOIL AND VEGETATION

.134 The soil in the Szechwan plain is mainly a combination of eroded dark red sandstone, yellow shale, and limestone. Underneath is a layer of clay High fertility of this type of soil is attributed to its rich mineral contents that are easily absorbable for plants and not easily washed away by erosion. Red soil of various ages cover most of the land in Yunnan Province. This type of soil shares a number of properties with common clay. In western Szechwan and western Yunnan, where the mountains are, one can find thick layers of dark grey soil, the comparatively high acidity of which is a result of abundant coniferous woods. In the former province of Sikang, the top soil is thin, often deep dark brown or black in color, and of the plateau-grassland type.

137 Vegetation in this region can generally be divided into categories according to the altitude of the land. Along the Yangtze River in Szechwan Province, fruits like the orange and the peach, and trees like the bamboo and the palm, grow easily. On the hills up to 5,000 feet in elevation around the Szechwan plain are found oaks, evergreens, and ferns; sweet potato and maize are also planted. On higher mountains in western Szechwan and some parts of Yunnan, coniferous forests thrive magnificently, with shrubs of the rhododendron family carpeting the foothills. Dwarf juniper and flowering herbs cover the meadows at 11,550 to 15,500 feet. At still higher

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 flows along its eastern margin — *k'a* being a ravine. The Chinese name of the
*137 hamlet is Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村. Formerly it was known as San-chia-ts'un 三家村, as originally only three families lived there. To-day there are eighteen.

The most northerly village on this part of the plain, situated at the actual foot of the snow range at an elevation of 9,400 feet, is Nv-lv-k'ö, consisting of about 100 families (PLATES 74, 75, 76).

South of Wùa-dtv k'o-dü, on the main road to Li-chiang and east of Pai-sha, is the hamlet T'a-bbu-d'a, called in Chinese T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村. T'a-bbu-d'a was originally one of the 12 *d'a* (residences) owned by the Mu family. It was the place where they worshipped their ancestors; when performed in the sixth moon, the service was known as *T'a-bpö*. To the east of T'a-bbu-d'a is a small hamlet of seven or eight families called Nda-la-k'o-dyü, also belonging to Mu-tu-ts'un.

Another larger village consisting of over 100 families, called Nyi-mä-t'u-ts'an in Na-khi, and in Chinese, Hsiang-yang-ts'un 向陽村 (Facing the sun village), is north-east of Pai-sha.

241 Rice cannot be cultivated on this northern part of the Li-chiang plain, as
[134] the soil is too stony and there is not enough water to irrigate the fields, furthermore the altitude is too great. The Na-khi plant wheat, maize, potatoes, barley, oats, beans and peas also the rape-turnip *Brassica rapa depressa* which they call *ngyu* (the *man-ching* 蔓菁 of the Chinese). The tuber itself is called
[249] *'a-k'ö*. Opium was also grown for Chinese consumption. South of and in the actual neighborhood of Li-chiang, opium was grown in the spring, and rice during the rainy season.

Gv-bö, in Chinese, Chiu-tzu-hai 九子海 (Nine lakes) is a district lying east of the long limestone spur which hems in this part of the plain. It has been settled only recently. Peasants from the village of Pai-sha-kai have started homesteads and planted fields. Previous to the settling of the Na-khi, a few Li-su and Lo-lo had built their poor huts there and carried on cultivation. The Chinese name is derived from the several circular basins which are filled with water all the year round.

*133 The range in which is situated Gv-bö, better known as Gv-bö la-zhěr gko [the
*137 name appears also in Na-khi literature, and has reference to the tigers which once roamed in its forests and meadows: *la* = tiger, *zhěr* = sound, noise, *gko* = alpine meadow], is composed of old limestone. The sharp rocks projecting through the mass of scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), give it a peculiar aspect. The highest point of this range is the triangular peak Lv-zhěr-dsu (H-M., Lajatso), approximately 12,000 feet in height. The best approach is from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Ssaw-ssu-k'a, whence the ascent can be accomplished in about three hours. From its summit one obtains a glorious view of the entire Yü-lung Shan, that is, the part south of the Yangtze gorge. The northern end of the Li-chiang plain is covered with low pines and oaks (PLATES 77, 78), especially scrub oak; many herbaceous plants with beautiful flowers form lovely carpets in the summer months, and enliven the otherwise grey, stony waste.

Immediately east of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö is a low, circular mound, looking for all the world like an extinct volcanic cone. It is known to the Na-khi
000 as La-lo-dtò-gkv, including a small ravine to the north of it. On the top of this

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

7.45 A.M. Yün-nan time, sailing first over the ancient city of K'un-ming, after which it gradually rose to 9,000 feet elevation and during the next half hour climbed to 13,000 feet. 133*

Beneath us were hills, mostly bare, though here and there covered with pine trees. The country below was like a sea disturbed by a terrific gale, resembling huge waves. At 8.10 A.M. we passed the town of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣, flying over it at 12,000 feet elevation. Twenty minutes afterwards we flew over Yüan-mou 元謀 and Ma-kai 馬街 (Horse market), at an elevation of 13,000 feet. To our right we saw mountains north and north-east of Wu-ting 武定, populated by Miaos. Far away to the north was the Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, land of the independent Lo-lo. Deep erosion met the eye everywhere, red soil, bare hills and small plains. From this region, we first sighted the snow range 150 miles away as the crow flies. The atmosphere was clear and the peaks stood out sharply. At 9 A.M. we were flying at 14,000 feet above sea-level. [134]

From here, looking north-north-west, we could see 170 miles away the Gangkar-ling peaks, over 20,000 feet in height, and first explored by me in the spring and summer of 1928 (PLATES 55 to 59). To the south and somewhat to the west of us was the 14,000 feet Ts'ang-shan Range, which flanks the Ta-li Lake (Erh Hai).

At 9.10 A.M. we crossed over the Yangtze at an elevation of 15,000 feet, the river a mere ribbon, a streak of brilliant green hurrying across the Yün-nan plateau in its arid bright red gorge. Directly to the west and south of the snow range, and extending from north to south, distant 160 miles, we saw the Mekong — Salween and Salween — Irrawadi divides the latter further south forms the Yün-nan — Burma border, and the former further north the Yün-nan — Tibet border, with Lhasa four flying hours, or 600 miles, distant. To the north-west of the Li-chiang Range the snow mountains which encircle the Chung-tien plateau stood out clearly in the crystal atmosphere.

By 9.30 A.M. we were again nearing the Yangtze further west and crossed one of its many bends and turns. To the south lay the town of Yung-pei, now called Yung-sheng (Eternal victory), on a long plain, and 15 miles to the south of it the lake of Ch'eng Hai 澄海, a sheet of blue water about 26 miles in circumference. From here we flew straight north, but east of the district of Tung-shan (Tung-shan li 東山里) and parallel to the snow range, which stood out in all its glory, covered deeply with a mantle of white. Truly it seemed to float in the atmosphere like a sleeping dragon, enshrouded in purest snow, its sharp peaks and crags piercing the deep blue sky. An aura of majesty encompassed it; overawing all; its neighboring hills lay crowded about as loving children gather around their mother.

Nearly 20,000 feet its peaks tower into the heavens and yet the ever-hastening waters of the Yangtze and time have conquered it.

We continued our flight in a northerly direction till we came abreast the exit of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge, flanked by the peaks and crags of the snow range. Up to here flying was more or less smooth, only now and then, while passing over the deep Yangtze valley, were we somewhat tossed about.

We flew to the north of Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), and nearing T'o-k'ö-shër (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), we turned west over the alluvial

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 military map gives Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 below San-kai-tzu (Shang-ko-tzu) and
*133 opposite Lä-ndo (Leng-tu), while in reality it is beyond Dsi-gku, which itself
*137 is some distance north of San-kai-tzu.

Between Ssaw-ssaw-gku and Dsi-gku, or Dsi-gkv as the Li-chiang Na-khi pronounce it, are several villages, as Muan-ssu-dzhu (H-M., Musödso), or Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場 in Chinese, on the Li-chiang side of the river; and on the east bank, or Chung-tien side, the hamlets of Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打烈; H-M., Ta-lä), and north of it the village of Ss or Ss(ĕr)-lä (H-M., Sa-lä), and north of this, also on the Chung-tien side of the river, the village of Ch'ou-dzhu (H-M., Tschödjio).

[134] Near Dsi-gku the soil is red, and sandstone and mica abound. Opposite the large village of Ta-t'ang 大塘 on the Chung-tien side, the mountain-sides
[241] slope gently toward the Yangtze. Here along the river cultivation is carried on, while above the fields are dense pine forests, extending into a valley and up the steep mountain slopes on the Li-chiang side. The fields bear crops of millet and maize and, on the slopes above, rice. A large grove of lovely old oaks, through which the trail leads, relieves the monotony of the sandy fields. Here, near the village of Vu-dzhu (H-M., Mudschuo; the Chinese Wu-chu 梧竹), situated on the Chung-tien side, is a long island.

The scenery is weird and lonely, especially where the trail enters groves of Castanopsis, quercus (oaks) and pines; the mountain slopes are steep and huge boulders lie about everywhere. On the opposite side a narrow, dark valley debouches into the Yangtze at the hamlet of Nda-gka-dü. Five li beyond bring us to the village of Ba-lo (Chinese Pa-lo 巴瀘) at the mouth of a long, broad valley, almost as broad as that of the Yangtze itself. An iron chain-bridge spans the Ba-lo gyi which issues from the broad valley. It has two branches, the northern one carrying the larger stream; in the southern branch, called Yi-gv lo, are situated about ten villages.

Ba-lo itself is called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 in Chinese (Bridge-head) on account of the iron chain-bridge which spans the Ba-lo gyi. This is, however, not the iron chain-bridge (T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋) which figures so largely in all the battles fought between the Na-khi and Tibetans, nor where the Mongols and the Ming soldiers fought when conquering the territory for China. Ba-lo itself is one of the dreariest spots imaginable and compares unfavorably even with villages situated in the lonely Pa-pien Ho 把邊河 valley in the south of Yün-
[505] nan. Altogether three ferries ply across the Yangtze between Shih-ku and Ch'iao-t'ou: one at Shih-ku, where, since my last visit, a crude row-boat, such as is commonly used in this primitive part of the world, has taken the place of the raft; one at Müen-tsü-dtu; and one at Dsi-gkv.

The trail leads over the iron chain-bridge across the Ba-lo gyi,[24] and climbs the slippery rocks on the other side, leading along the steep, rocky bank down to the plain and the village of Muan-fu-k'o (Chu-ko-ling 諸葛嶺).

[24] Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河. Its source is over 200 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern slopes of the Han-sou Shan. It flows by the guard-station of Ch'iao-t'ou into the Yangtze. The bridge which spans it is called the P'ing-cheng ch'iao 平政橋; it was first built in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737) by magistrate Chiang Ch'iao-sun 蔣喬孫. It was destroyed by fire in the first moon of the fifth year (1740) and rebuilt by magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣 in the seventh year (1742).

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S P 622 the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son is fit to act as regent.

S P 361 The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice cultivation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S P [134] [243] S P [463]

S 101 The chief claim to interest of these two states is that they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

to 33 degrees North. It has a mild winter with little or no frost or snow, and a warm summer. The average annual precipitation in most parts of the Basin is about 34 inches, with some rain in every month. The summer months, however, have more rain than the winter months. There is almost continuous high relative humidity, and wind, on the whole, is conspicuous by its absence.[1] 132

The Basin is drained and practically bisected by the Yangtse River. The Yangtse enters the Basin at the southwest and leaves it at the northeast. Within the Basin, the Yangtse is fed by three sets of tributaries--one from the north, one from the northwest, and one from the south. The northern and northwestern tributaries rise in the high mountains which rim the north and northwestern part of the Basin, and their flow greatly exceeds that of the southern set of tributaries. On the whole, the Basin, with its hilly terrain, is well drained. In fact, problems of erosion are much more acute than problems of drainage. 133

Generally speaking, the soils of the Basin fall into two main groups. One is the extraordinarily fertile soil of the Chengtu Plain and the other is the moderately fertile soil known as the "purple-brown (forest)" type,[2] which dominates in most parts of the Basin. The Chengtu Plain soil is derived from the alluvial deposits of the Min River. The richness of this soil is greatly enhanced by its annual renewal through the overflow of the Min. The Chengtu Plain soil is noted for its very dark color, great depth, and rich humus content. The "purple-brown" type, developed in deciduous forests growing on parental material derived from the friable, cretaceous shales and sandstones, is only moderately fertile for agricultural use. This soil is noted especially for its loose texture and easily-eroded qualities. Moreover, this soil has a peculiar characteristic of absorbing and loosing (evaporating) water quickly.[3] One evening's thick fog may cause the whole depth of the surface soil to be thoroughly moistened and saturated, whereas a continuation of clear sky for several days may cause the soil to dry up and crack. In general, the "purple- 134

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[1] Bureau of Reconstruction, Annual weather report (Szechuan, 1939), p. 29.

[2] J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China (1936), p. 200.

[3] H. Yu, "A Preliminary Observation of the Purple-Brown Soils of Szechuan Province," Soils Quarterly, January, 1941, p. 39.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [137] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's settlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts 361 of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF18 Southwest China AF18

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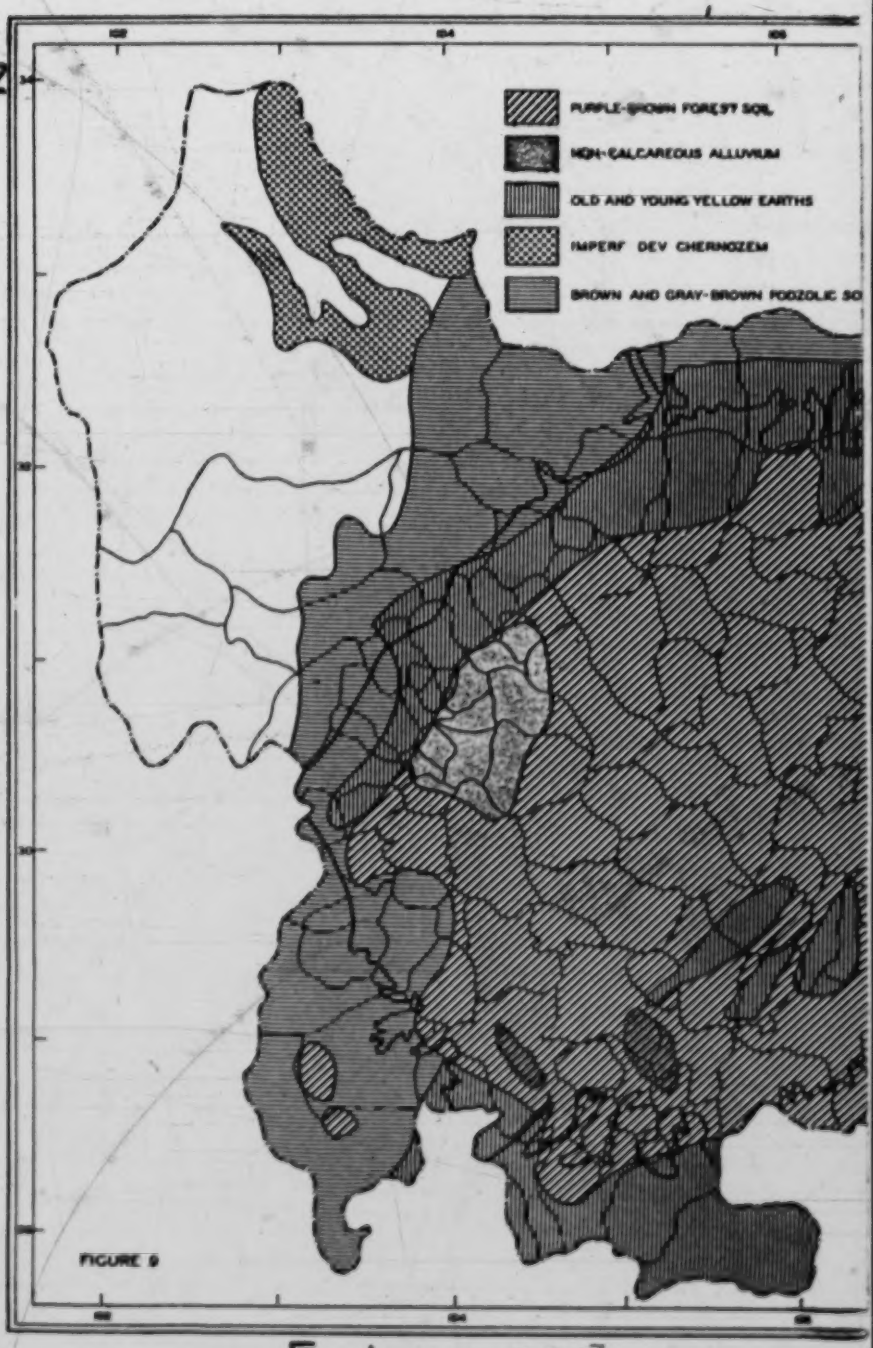

FIGURE 9

[End map 5(a)]

7; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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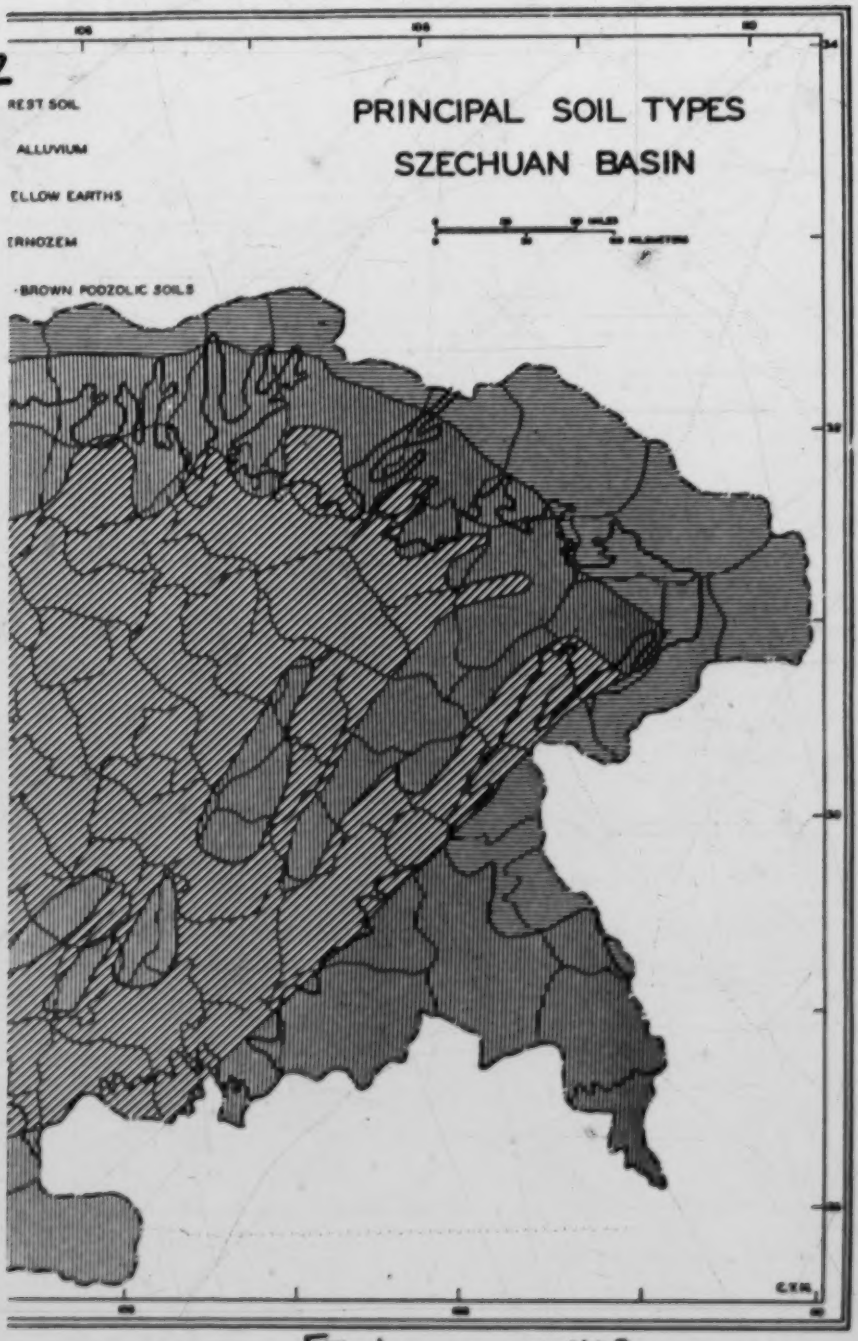

[End map 5 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

areas of vegetation associations within the Basin[1] (Fig. 8). They are, first, the pine-cypress-banyan-bamboo association, occupying a large portion of the central and southern part of the Basin; second, the dense mixed coniferous-deciduous--mainly chestnuts (Castanea), oak (Quercus), and sweet gum (Liquidambar)--grassland associations, occupying the highland areas surrounding the Basin; and third, the coniferous (composed of mainly the Genera Abies, Picea, Tsuga, and Larix) grassland-Rhododendron associations, occupying a large part of the western Basin. 137

Particularly in the third of the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraph altitudinal zonation of vegetation is clearly shown.[2] As a rule the forests are on higher levels, whereas the intermediate slopes are covered with grass vegetation. Northwest of the Basin there lies the well-known "prairie" area, including both the tall bunch and short grasses (mostly stipa and some thick sods of Avena and Festuca) developed on the degenerated chernozem soils of the Sung-pan districts.

4. Soils

As soils will be discussed in more detail in connection with the agricultural land use, only the principal soil regions will be mentioned at this point. Generally speaking, there are three soil regions of major significance in the Basin[3] (Fig. 9), namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, distributed in most parts of the Basin, (2) the non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils mainly in Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, and (3) the slightly to moderately podsolised old and young yellow earths found in the peripheral highland and anticlinal ridge areas of the Basin. 134

B. Major Elements in the Cultural Landscape of the Basin

1. Population Patterns

The most striking feature of the population pattern of the Szechuan Basin is that with the exception of the areas around 162

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[1] C. S. Fang, Personal correspondence, April 16, 1941.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China, Plate 1, 1936.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 26

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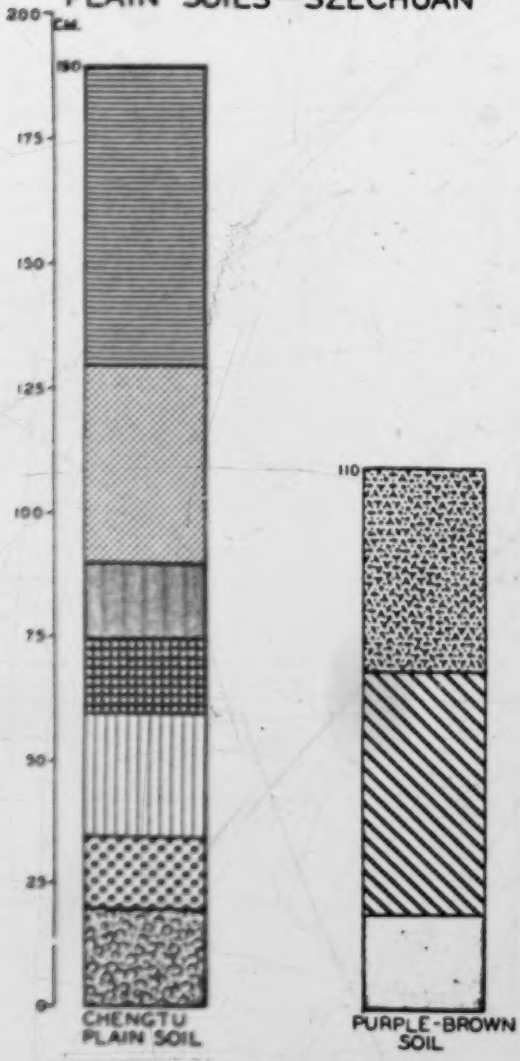
TYPICAL PROFILES OF THE PURPLE-BROWN AND CHENGTU PLAIN SOILS--SZECHUAN



[Face p. 50]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and style of the house-types of Szechuan, as already mentioned, it has a dominant influence on many special agricultural products here. The notable example is the production of white wax. 132

In short, the unique Szechuan climate, characterized by moderate rainfall, high average annual temperature (long growing season), high humidity, low evaporation, and virtual absence of wind, is almost ideal for agricultural production.

2. Agricultural Land-Use and Soils

The soil of Szechuan Basin is unique not only by virtue of its red and purple color, which first gave the region its name,[1] but also because of its penetrating, loose structure, its quick formation and renewal, and its relatively high fertility. Generally speaking, there are three major soil groups within the Basin, namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, which are distributed in most parts of the Basin; (2) non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils, which are concentrated principally at Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys; (3) the slightly to moderately podsolized old and young yellow soils, which are found in the peripheral highlands, as well as in the longitudinal anticline areas of the Basin (Fig. 9). 134 ●

a) Purple-brown (forest) soils.--According to Thorp,[2] who first made a reconnaissance study of soil conditions in the Basin, and who first offered the generalized map showing the boundaries of various soil groups, the characteristic purple-brown soils consist of slightly acid or neutral, purplish brown, or reddish surface soils, 15 to 50 centimeters thick, underlain by purple clay or clay loam soils, whose depths are seldom over two feet.[3] The color varies, depending upon the parental materials. In the western and southern part of Szechuan Basin the soils of this group are frequently reddish purple or reddish brown in color, following the color of their parent rocks. The soils are moderately rich in mineral plant foods, and are particularly tillable.

One of the most interesting physical properties of this group of soils, as recently reported through several experimental

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[1] Richtofen, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Thorp, op. cit., chaps. ix-xii.

[3] Ibid., pp. 202-204.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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studies,[1] is the rapid rate of absorbing and losing water. It is commonly observed that one evening's thick fog may cause the whole depth of the surface soil to be thoroughly moistened, while a half day's torrential rain may cause the soil to be completely saturated and washed out. On account of this quick rate of absorption the soil can hold little water, and therefore cannot stand a high rate of evaporation. Anyone who has visited the farms here can testify to the fact that after a few continuous clear days the soil often becomes dry and cracked. According to Yu, in June, 1940, after a continuous clear sky for seven days, the water content of this purple-brown soil was so depleted that corn crops withered and suffered a 50 per cent loss that season.[2] A typical soil profile of the purple-brown soil is shown in the accompanying diagram (Fig. 26).[3]

The purple-brown soil in most places occurs on the undulating or rolling topography of hilly lands of various heights, ranging from 8 to 10 meters to several hundred meters. The areas with purple-brown soils have been terraced and planted in rice whenever water could be obtained for irrigation. In many places, rice paddies reach the tops of the hills. In case these fields cannot be irrigated, they are used for all "dry" (unirrigated) crops, such as sweet potatoes, wheat, corn, broad beans, and others.

b) Non-calcareous alluvial soils.--Secondly, from the standpoint of agricultural land-use, the most important soil group, though covering relatively a much smaller area than the purple-brown soil, is the non-calcareous rice paddy soils of the Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys. They are formed mainly by the alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soils (chernozem areas) washed down from the Tibetan Borderlands. Generally speaking, in their outer appearance, these soils look very much like soils one commonly sees in the Lower Yangtse Valley. In many places they are dark in color and are mottled in rust. Their textures are fairly heavy and hold water very well. There are also large areas of these rice paddy soils of Chengtu Plain which

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[1] Yu, op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Data from Thorp, op. cit., p. 200.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

LEGEND FOR FIGURE 26*

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Chungking Clay Loam
(Purple-Brown Soil)

Horizon	Depth (Cm.)	Descriptions
A	0- 20	Brownish purple, very friable, and finely granular, moderately porous, loamy clay containing a high percentage of worm excrements. Slightly acid.
B	20- 70	Light reddish purple, friable, medium granular clay which also contains many worm excrements.
C	70-110	Reddish purple soft shale of clay texture. Reaction approximately neutral.

Chengtu Plain Soil

Horizon	Depth (Cm.)	Descriptions
1	0- 20	Dark gray and rust-mottled, friable and porous silty clay.
2	20- 35	Similar to above but slightly lighter colored.
3	35- 60	Reddish yellow and light gray, mottled, stiff clay with a few pores. The soil shrinks considerably while drying. A few small lime and iron concretions.
4	60- 75	Medium gray clay or heavy clay with a few rust specks. The material is stiff and shrinks very much on drying. It contains a few dark brown iron concretions from 1 mm. to 1 cm. in diameter.
5	75- 90	Gray and dark brown mottled, mottled, friable clay with moderate shrinkage when drying. Contains a few soft iron concretions.
6	90-130	Dark brown clay with a few gray streaks.
7	130-190	Dark brown and olive-drab, mottled, loamy clay with friable consistency and a few dark brown concretions.

*Data from Thorp, op. cit., pp. 200 and 387.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

show but little evidence of podsolization.[1] A typical profile of this soil is shown below (Fig. 26).[2] These soils are used principally for rice production and some other crops, such as wheat, tobacco, and various kinds of vegetables. It is necessary to emphasize again the extreme fertility of these soils and the significant part they have played in the agricultural success of the Basin. 134

Besides the rice paddy soils, on the low hills and high river terraces of part of western Szechuan Basin, particularly in the vicinity north of Chengtu, there are small patches of dark grayish brown coarse soils. Many soil scientists prefer to call these soils "Chengtu Clay."[3] Some people believe these "Chengtu clays" were probably true loesses at one time but have lost their columnar structure and are now characterized by prismatic and cloddy structure.[4]

c) Podzolized old yellow earth.--Third, the gray-brown yellow soils occupying the surrounding hills of the Basin are generally less fertile and are agriculturally unimportant.

d) Other soils.--On account of the unique geological structure and rock formations of the Basin, one peculiar form of soil erosion has been extensively developed here. With the alternating beds of purple sandstones and shales which have been recently folded and deeply eroded, and in places where the surface slopes of such smooth rock formations correspond to the slopes of hills, soil creep is easily induced. Many times the thin surface soils have been completely removed, leaving only bare rocks. In the case of shales, on account of their comparatively rugged surface, the situation is less grave. Soil creep constitutes one of the most serious problems of agricultural land-use in the Basin, and challenges immediate attention.

3. Agricultural Land-Use and Topography

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With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor comparatively broad river valleys (such as the To and Fou River

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[1] Ibid., p. 121. [2] Ibid., p. 391. [3] Ibid., p. 387.

[4] J. Thorp and D. Dye, "The Chengtu Clays, Deposits of Possible Loessal Origin in Western and Northwestern Szechuan Basin," Bul. of the Geol. Soc. of China, X, No. 2 (1936), 225-46.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

311 133 melting during the summer is reliable. At Kuan-hsien, where the torrent of the Min first enters the Plain and is taken under human control, the waters are divided into several large canals, each of which is subdivided in turn into innumerable smaller canals and ditches. The life-giving waters are impounded by dams, stone revetments, and other devices, and are held for irrigation purposes. The irrigation of the Plain has another advantage in that the soils are seldom troubled by salt and fine mud which often clog irrigated soils in other areas; because the considerable rainfall in Chengtu Plain, with an annual average of about 900 millimeters, is sufficient to prevent such clogging.

•134 The soils of Chengtu Plain consist principally of the dark and dark-gray paddy soils. They are formed mainly from alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soil (chernozem) of the Tibetan border-land and Kokonor (Fig. 9) by the mighty Min River. The natural richness of these soils is enhanced even further by the annual renewal. Because of this fact, soils of the Plain, unlike the paddy soils of many other parts of China, are not strongly podzolized.[1] However, the soil conditions do not appear to be uniform throughout the whole Plain. In fact, there are considerable differences in texture, color, and profile according to slight differences in local relief.[2] For instance, in the upper Min River region, as in Kuan-hsien, the soil texture is much coarser than in the lower Plain areas.[3]

One of the most interesting practices in connection with soil culture in the farms of Chengtu Plain, is the building of little stone wing dams or projections along the stream banks out into the water. Behind these projections, the streams, in the course of a back eddy, deposit silt and sand, which are frequently rich, particularly in organic matters. All these mud accumulations are carefully dug out and carried in baskets to the fields. Many times muddy waters have been led into basins or rice paddies in order that fine fertile silt might be precipitated on the fields.

241 433 d) Agricultural products of Chengtu Plain.--The Plain is noted for its diversity of agricultural products. It produces

[1] Thorp, op. cit., p. 391.

[2] Ibid., p. 387.

[3] Ibid.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

3. The Self-sufficient Subsistent Agricultural Area of the Northern Basin

241 North of Santai in the west and Ho-chuan in the east (Fig. 24), almost in a straight line, lies the self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of the northern Basin. This agricultural area is characterized by its more rugged and dissected topography, more irregular hills, and higher local reliefs. These conditions are particularly true in the northern half of the area at the vicinity of the upper Fou and Chialing valleys.

The most interesting aspect of this agricultural area, as its name implies, is its ultra self-sufficient and subsistent character of its agricultural practices. Although most of the agricultural areas of the Basin are principally subsistent in nature, the present agricultural area of the northern Basin represents the most extreme case.

Here, in crop association, no single crop is particularly predominant. Most of the farms produce a little of everything within a greatly varied assortment of crops. These crops are completely for home use. In general, potatoes, wheat, rice, barley, millet, rape, beans, kaoliang, corn are the common crops on farms. This peculiar situation is conditioned by two factors, namely, the extremely dissected topography and the peculiarly friable rock structure. The dissected topography causes the extremely detached character of the settlement forms (consisting of isolated farmsteads perched on various hillocks), whereas the friable rock structure with numerous fall lines, makes the available river transportation very difficult. Therefore, these conditions make it even more difficult for farmers in this area to communicate with the outside world and thus accentuate their self-sufficient agricultural economy.

134 The soil condition of this area is also interesting. With the exception of a few narrow detached stretches of alluvial soils along the river banks, and some yellow earths at its northern periphery, the soils of this area is consisted of principally the unique "purple-brown" type of the Szechuan Basin (Fig. 9). In fact, the distribution of this fertile soil here is so uniform and continuous that this self-sufficient agricultural area of the northern Basin should be properly called the "genuine" purple-brown soil region of the whole Basin.[1]

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[1]Chu, op. cit., p. 46.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 24) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Fou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Fou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, suger-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

"They will not dare, they will only threaten." 000

"They will attack. They are Horba monks who are notorious for their quarrelsomeness. There are five of you and eight of us (a lieutenant, a Tung sche and six soldiers). We have only muskets whereas the lamas have a good deal more than 1,000 fighting monks and many modern repeater guns. "Of course," he added, "if I had 250 men with modern guns, then I could be in command here. But inasmuch as I am given only 10 of actually 50 soldiers (four of them he had apparently stuffed in his pocket and eaten), I am myself merely tolerated here and not much better off than you are."

Since I had very little hope, actually, of seeing the Gantse monasteries and studying them, I yielded to the wishes of the Chinese and rode past Gantse on the road due south. C 134

Near the ferry there arose a chain of hills which even from a distance had betrayed the fact that they were loess, because of their pale yellow color. There was a steep path leading up from our campsite and when we reached the top, the valley of Hor Gantse lay before us. It extends north from the Dsa Chu and is wide and fertile. Terraces of loess and hollows in the loess showed fertile yellow earth down to 20 meters, and owing only to this a rich cultural oasis has been established here in the midst of wild mountains, and castles and lama monasteries have been able to spread themselves out here.

First we passed an estate of the Mazar Tuse family, and then one large structure after another appeared on either hand. "Here the Mazar family spend their summers, there /179/ a cousin of theirs lives. Over there lives the hutukhtu of the big monastery of Lhaba gomba," explained my cicerone and lieutenant who, touchingly enough, stayed beside me all day long and accompanied me on almost all my gambols. On a promontory in the eastern part of the valley he showed me a larger lama establishment of the Gelugba sect which was presumably a Chinese sanctuary of the Tang period and had been established by one of the Chinese princesses who was married to a Tibetan king. Lu ming yang explained that the picture of the princess and her minister was shown to this day and held in esteem. Unfortunately I could not discover whether in reality it was not just a Tara picture and thus one of the common portrayals of Wen tscheng, the Chinese wife of the Tibetan Emperor Srong btsan sgam bo (Chinese: Tschi tsung lung tsan), the daughter of Emperor Tai tsung (627-750) of the Tang dynasty, along with the Minister Gar gdon btsan. The marriage of Wen tscheng (Wen tschun) took place around the year 636. The soldiers told me she was Tschou tschun niang niang and maintained that this picture T 561 T 532

6: Tafel--445 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

S.W. China AF16

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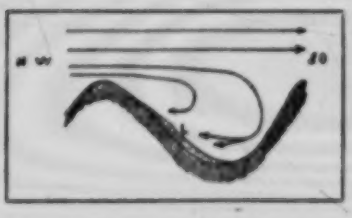

Fig. 13

Diagram showing how loess dust is deposited in the border-valleys of East Tibet during winter storms; "L" indicates "loess"; arrows indicate direction of winds.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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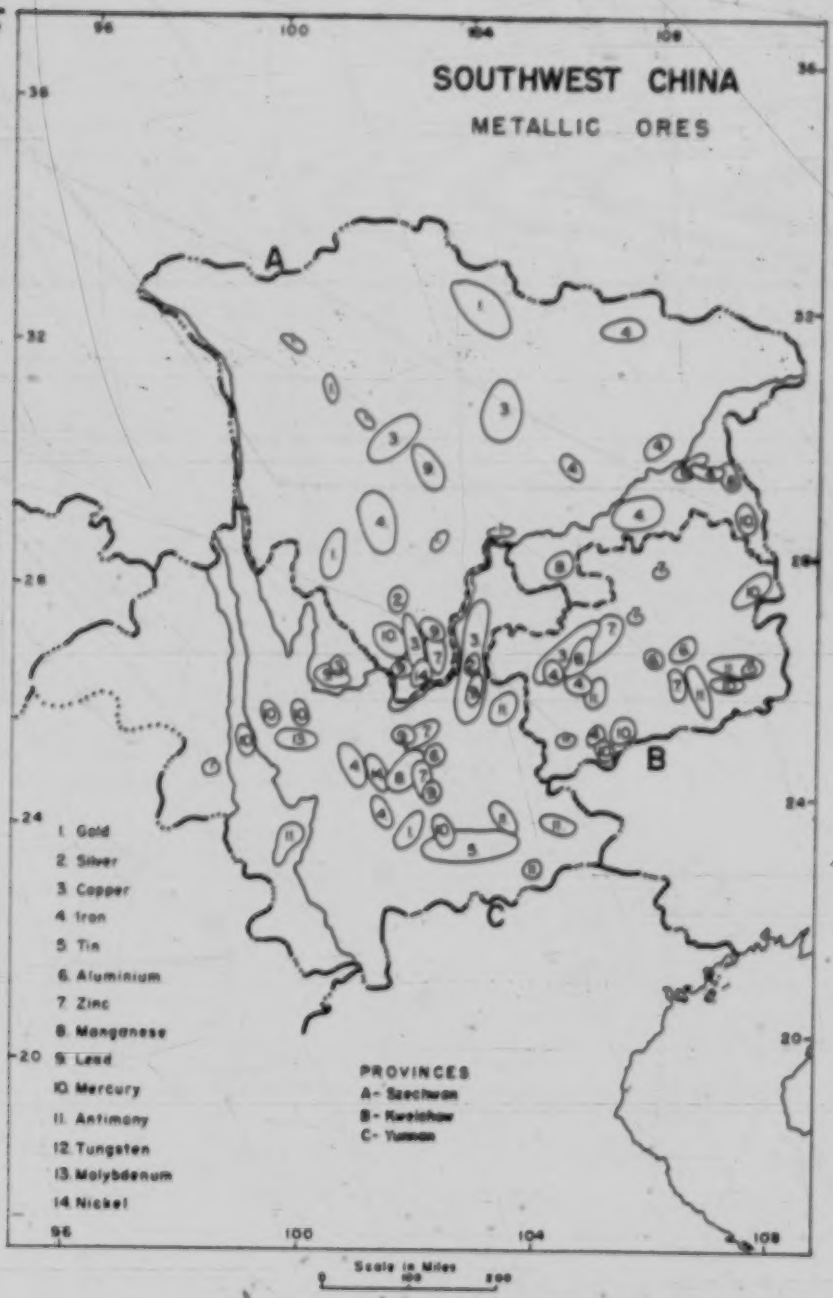

[facing p. 774 (a)]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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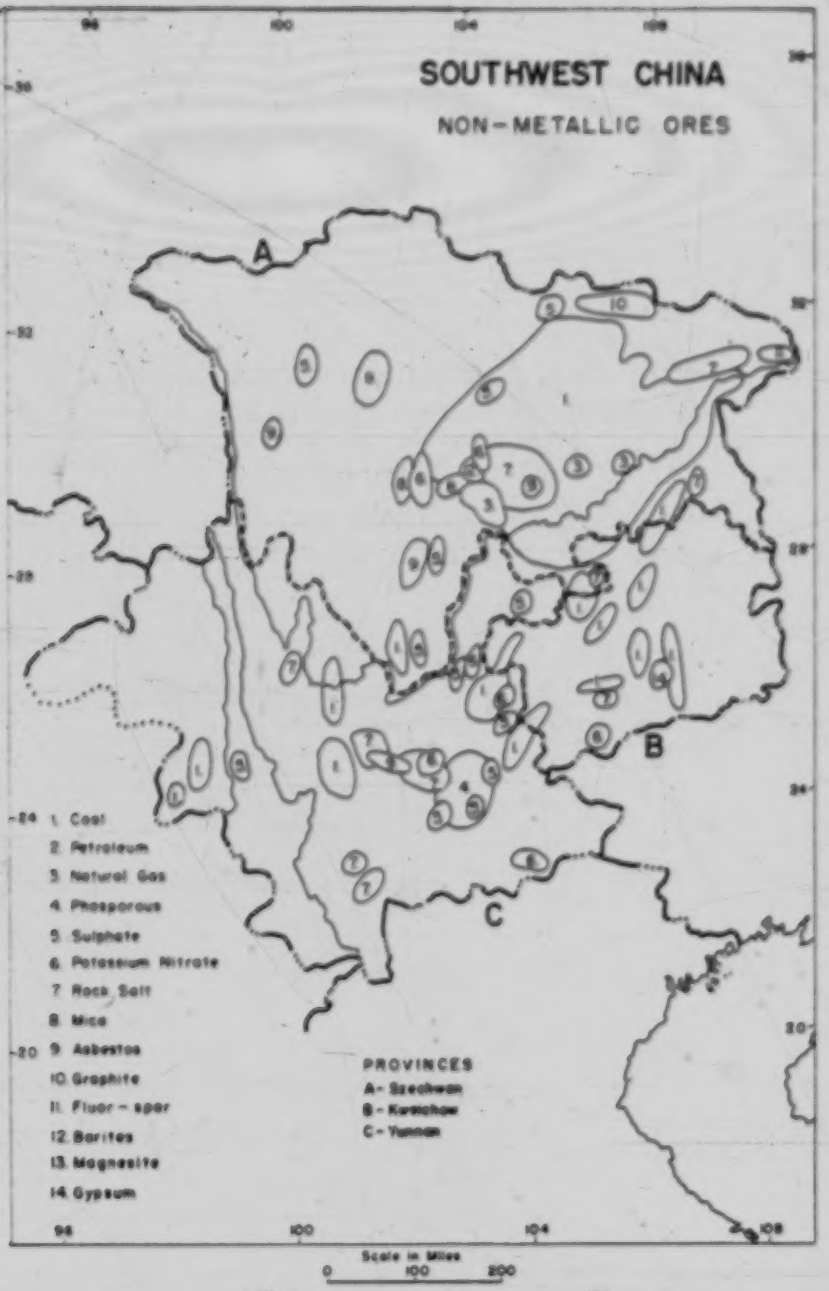

[facing p.774(b)]

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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327 standard and narrow gauge rails for the construction and repair of railroads in the Southwest Region.

C. Production of Coal

316 135 In terms of the coal resources of the entire country, reserves and production in Southwest China are small (See Table 3).

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 3. China's Coal Production
(in 1,000 metric tons)

	1934		1946	
East China	1,619	(4.7%)	1,160	(6.8%)
South China	501	(1.5)	130	(0.8)
Southwest China	863	(2.6)	2,310	(13.5)
North China	16,876	(49.4)	7,177	(41.8)
Northwest China	487	(1.5)	1,409	(8.2)
Northeast China (Manchuria)	12,000	(35.0)	4,182	(24.4)
Central China	1,828	(5.4)	790	(4.6)

* Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, p. 684; The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China, 1948; and China Handbook, 1937-1945, pp. 398-90.

316 Szechwan Province has the largest known coal
135 reserve in the region, and Sikang the smallest. Geological data on coal reserves in Sikang are incomplete. Szechwan leads the provinces of the Southwest Region in the production of bituminous coal (See Table 4).

1;Stanford U; S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 4. Estimated Coal Reserve in Southwest China*
(in million metric tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Lignite	Total	Per cent of National Total
Szechwan	293	3,540	-	3,833	1.46%
Yunnan	77	1,542	694	2,313	.88
Kweichow	822	1,696	-	2,518	.96
Sikang	3	501	27	531	.20
Total - Southwest China				9,195	3.51%
- China, including Manchuria	45,281	216,021	4,012	265,314	100.00%

* Based on data published in China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 389.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted]
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D. Production of Copper

135 Copper deposits are found in most of the provinces in China, but Southwest China has the greatest share of the nation's total reserve. According to studies made by the National Geological Survey of China in the 1940's, the estimate copper reserves and their geographical distribution are as follows:

Table 5. China's Estimated Copper Reserves* (in thousand metric tons)

Region	Province	Reserve
Southwest	Yunnan	270
	Sikang	261
	Szechwan	27
	Kweichow	178
Central-South	Hupeh	18
	Hunan (with Fukien)	200
North	Shansi	4
Northeast	Liaoning	5
Total		964

* China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 393. Difference between total and sum of individual figures results when figures are founded to nearest whole number.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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.328 Yunnan, Szechwan, and Sikang are centers of China's copper production. During the 1940s, several modern copper refineries using the electrolytic process were operating in Southwest China. They treated ore mined in the region and refined it to a product of 99.95 per cent purity. China's copper production during 1938-45, accounted for largely by the Southwest Region, was as follows:

Table 6. China's Production of Copper* (in metric tons)

Year	Production
1938	477
1939	1,886
1940	2,318
1941	1,591
1942	1,266
1943	500
1944	930
1945	1,179

* Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, pp. 28-29.

E. Production of Antimony

•135 Another important mineral resource in the Southwest Region is antimony, of which

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135 China has been the largest producer in the world. As shown in Table 7, about 14.7 per cent of China's total antimony reserve is in the Southwest Region, and 13.4 per cent of China's total antimony reserve is in the province of Kweichow.

Table 7. China's Estimated Antimony Reserves* (in metric tons)

Province	Reserves	
	Tonnage	Per cent of National Total
Szechwan	-	-
Yunnan	48,000	1.26
Kweichow	509,790	13.41
Sikang	-	-
Total -Southwest China	557,790	14.67
- China	3,802,850	100.00

* China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 394.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947, AF16 Southwest China AF16

Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the 489
ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but
nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the 133
bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River 137
receives an affluent.

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山鋪, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most [243]
abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying
furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw [438]
hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li.

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan [135]
火藥山[44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound-

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 碧 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 墓頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] [65] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both [792] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-[797] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and [463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged [438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich [135] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu [346] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of [197] the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] [illegible] [10] [illegible]

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the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

S 316 135

The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang 吳兆棠 submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang 東昇廠, also Pai-niu ch'ang 白牛廠. At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers (池) or smelters going [the word *ch'ih* 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every *ch'ih* from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssŭ-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssŭ-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Sheep and goats are found in places all over the province, and in some districts in very large herds. The wool is sometimes made into felt rugs, but the Chinese do not know how to weave it into clothes. There is no reason why wool should not become an article of trade if better communications should make it saleable. Sheep are not sufficiently widely distributed to make mutton a common article of food anywhere. 231 [287]

Pork is the staple meat of Yün-nan, as of the rest of China, and pigs are kept everywhere both in towns and villages. It is a very poor man who cannot afford to mix some pork with his meal of rice. These two articles, with beans and cabbage, form the principal food of the Yünnanese. 262 231

As to the amount of livestock in the province I will not attempt to make any estimate. But as mules and ponies form nearly the only means of transport, buffaloes and cattle the only means of ploughing, and pigs the universal food of all classes, the numbers must be considerable. Moreover I do not think that the animals kept amount only to what is absolutely necessary for their owner. Many villagers own large flocks and herds, and the Yünnanese peasant is usually well off as far as possessions go, though he is not rich in money. The poverty of the poorer classes of the over-populated province of Ssŭ-ch'uan is almost unknown in Yün-nan. 231

We now come to mineral products. It is safe to say that there is no district in the province that does not contain mines, and with better communications Yün-nan might become one of the principal metal-producing countries of the world. 135

The most important mineral is *copper*, not only because copper mines are very numerous throughout the province, but because the *ch'ien* or cash, the only coin originally used by the Chinese, is made chiefly of this metal. The mines of Yün-nan supply a very large proportion of the copper used for coining, and as the value of the cash is about 400 to a shilling, and it is used throughout China, the demand for copper for this purpose alone is a very large one. 135 316

In the districts of Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu are the mines which are at present most productive, but

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•135 316 copper mines are also worked in Yung-ch'ang Fu, Ta-li Fu, Ch'u-hsiung Fu, Ching-tung T'ing, Li-chiang Fu, Yung-pei T'ing, Wu-ting Chou, Ch'êng-chiang Fu and other districts.

Two copper-mining districts outside Yün-nan also deserve mention here, as they both lie within reach of the proposed railway. One of these is Wei-ning Chou in Kuei-chou province, a town through which the reconnoitred route actually passes. The other is Hui-li Chou, in the part of Ssŭ-ch'uan which runs down into Yün-nan to the north of the capital of the province.

Equally important with copper from a Chinese point of view is *silver*, for though the copper cash is the universal coin, lumps of silver weighed out in taels form in many parts of China the chief means of payment for larger sums than can be conveniently paid in cash.

This metal is if anything more abundant than copper, and one can seldom travel far in Yün-nan without seeing or hearing of silver mines. I doubt if there is any large district in the province which does not produce silver. Many of these mines are well worked, and Yün-nan supplies much of the silver used in other parts of China.

Iron is one of the commonest metals found in Yün-nan, and the tools and other things made from local iron are of good quality.

Lead is also a common metal, and *zinc* is mined in many places. Both these are used for mixing with copper to make cash.

Gold is not so widely distributed as the other minerals. The most productive mine is near T'a-lang T'ing (lat. 23° 25′, long. 101° 40′); this pays well in spite of the very primitive means employed for extracting the metal. Washing for gold is carried on in many parts of the Upper Yangtze and its tributaries.

The principal *tin* mine is in the south of the province at Ko-chiu, to the west of Mêng-tzŭ, but tin is also found in the Tung-ch'uan Fu district and probably in other places.

[262] Among other products may be mentioned *gypsum*, which is used by the Chinese to mix with beans to make a sort of bean curd which is a common article of food; and

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

135• 316 [317]

sulphur and *alum*, both of which are extracted from hot springs which occur all over the province.

Salt also must not be forgotten. There are salt wells in many parts of Yün-nan, and the province supplies itself except the north-east corner which obtains its salt from Ssŭ-ch'uan. The working of the wells is a Government monopoly, so salt at present is not allowed to be imported from abroad[1].

Not least among the products of Yün-nan must be mentioned *marble*. From the quarries at Ta-li Fu is obtained a marble which is much used for tombstones and for ornamental work in houses. It is famous all over China, and with better means of transporting it to distant places the output would doubtless largely increase.

We now come to *coal*, the most important of all the products of the earth of Yün-nan, for on cheap fuel must largely depend the success of the mines. It is found in a great many places in the province, but varies much in quality. Some of it is very powdery and can only be used in the form of briquettes: in other places it is of good quality and can be obtained in large blocks. Even when the coal now in use is of inferior quality it does not follow that a better sort would not be found by mining deeper, for at present it is obtained principally from surface workings.

Coal is found in the neighbourhood of Ta-li Fu, and in several places between this town and Yün-nan Fu. Eastward from the capital it becomes still more abundant, and is found nearly all along the proposed railway line from here to the Yangtze. In the Hsüan-wei Chou district coal is almost the only kind of fuel that is used. Nor is it only near the line of the proposed railway that coal exists. It is mined in many places on the upper course of the Yangtze, and in several other districts of Yün-nan.

Of metals and of coal in Yün-nan it may be said that no examination of the mines has at present been made in a very detailed manner. If the railway is to be constructed it will be most essential that all mining districts anywhere within reach should be carefully examined, and a report made by experts as to the prospects of working them by machinery.

[1] For more details about the salt wells see p. 197.

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823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these 241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural 433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about 433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

[386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

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producer of both these key minerals among all the provinces of free China. 135

While it is true that Szechuan Basin is undoubtedly the most self-sufficient and prosperous agricultural region of China, many phases of its present agricultural and forestry land use cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory from the standpoint of modern technology and scientific development. As a matter of fact, the backwardness of some of the practices is appalling. Drastic measures of improvement are urgently needed. 242 313

The efficiency of the Basin's present agricultural land use has been handicapped greatly by many natural and cultural factors. Among these are the traditional "Tung Shui Tien" system; the undependable nature and marginal character of the hilly agriculture in many parts of the Basin; the presence of large tracts of unreclaimed vacant land (particularly at the peripheral areas of the Basin); ignorance of modern scientific methods of seed selection and plant-breeding (from the irrigated alluvial plain rice to the small millet of the non-irrigated eroded soils of the upper hills); the insufficiency and failure of cotton-culture in many parts of the Basin; the periodic or aperiodic famine in the more hilly areas due to the lack of the more drought-resistant crops; the serious nature of soil-creep in many hilly areas; the failure to modernize silk-culture; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with native herbs; and above all, the lack of satisfactory and efficient irrigation system in many terraced fields of the more hilly areas. 242

In forestry land use, the most noticeable difficulties are: the lack of long-range and far-sighted forestry policy and lumber exploitation; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with tung trees; the absence of well-organized and modern-equipped plantations in tung tree production; the lack of standardization of tung tree products; and the serious hazards (due to long and difficult hauling) of transporting the wax-insects in the white-wax tree industry. 313

Transportation both within and without the Basin has been made difficult by the swift flow of many of the streams and the ruggedness of the topography. Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than the issue of transportation. The solution of this problem will promote the efficiency of agricultural and forestry as well as other forms of land use in the Basin. 489

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much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 moles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

[1]One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

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241 311 Moreover, on account of the high ground water-tables here, the drainage conditions on these trough lands are very poor. These trough lands are sometimes used for wheat, hemp, rice, rape, or kaoliang, depending upon water conditions. But the productivity of these marginal agricultural lands are, in general, very low.

The second principal source of agricultural land-use here is developed on the more gentle slopes of the numerous synclines in this area. Here the slopes are terraced into rice, wheat, or potato fields. The drainage conditions are, in general, better than those in the trough lands of the anticlines. Considerable portions of the cultivated fields are used for Ta ma (hemp) and Tso Tsai (vegetable) cultures which are the two most spectacular agricultural products of this area.

314 The most outstanding feature of this agricultural area, as its name suggests, is the predominance of the forestry product, the tung oil. On the steep slopes or at the edge of the anticlines, where the soils are extremely shallow, great numbers of tung trees are planted. Especially during the past decade, stimulated by the increasing demand, the plantation of tung trees has been grown in leaps and bounds. This area alone now contributes about three-fourths of the total production of tung oil production of all the Basin. In one district, Ning-shui alone, it produces about 52 per cent of the total tung tree production of the Basin. This factor has increased greatly the population-support capacity for this agricultural area and also helps to explain the presence of a few detached high population density areas here (Fig. 10).

•135 Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area is that here lies about 65 per cent of the total coal reserve (Pa-hsien and Chiang-peh) and about 45 per cent of the total iron reserve (Chi-chiang and Nanchuan) of the whole Basin.[1] This remarkable fact suggests that in the future days to come, this agricultural area may abandon its present modest pursuits in agricultural and forestry production, and will soon take an unchallenged leadership in the growing industrial and manufacturing development of the Basin.

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[1] W. C. Chang, "The Iron and Coal Resources of Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, V, No. 5 (1934), 35.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Fou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Fou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, sugar-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

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312 rich water supply by the Yangtse, the Min, and other rivers. Numerous channels are built here, for instance, such as the Wu Tung-chiso and Chien Wei districts. But contrary to the practice of Chengtu Plain, and for reasons unknown, very few of these channels are used for irrigation purposes. Instead, they are principally for transportation use.

•135 Other interesting features of this agricultural area include its well-balanced endowment with mineral resources. Neither like the Chengtu Plain area of western Basin--where little or no mineral deposits are found--nor similar to the anticlinal areas of the eastern Basin--where is located the largest concentration of the Basin's mineral deposits, especially coal and iron--this area is rather well-balanced in various kinds of mineral deposits. In fact, this area is reasonably rich in every one of the strategic minerals, including salt, coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, and aluminum. Especially the salt production is the richest and the most important at present (Fig. 20).

241 433 In agricultural richness and productivity, this agricultural area of southwestern Basin, as a whole, compares favorably with that of the specialized commercial agricultural area of the lower To-Pou valleys. This fact is evidenced by the fine, well-kept farmsteads here (Fig. 34). In terms of population density, this area also stands out as one of the five high densely populated areas of the Basin (Fig. 10).

E. Agricultural Products

241 The Szechuanese commonly claim that anything which is produced on earth may be found in the Basin. At least it is safe to say that there is scarcely an article grown in China which is not produced here in abundance. First of all, the summer field crops include rice, corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, potato, millet, kaoliang, cotton, beans of all kinds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The winter crops include principally wheat, rape, beans, peas, and many others.

1. Common Food Crops

243 a) Rice.--Rice (oryza sativa) is the master crop of the Basin. It normally occupies 43,000,000 mow, or 42 per cent of the

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 but separated by a black limestone spur, the ground is composed of gravel
*137 and resembles small terraced fields. These are called Khi-llü-p'u-dshwuà ([Terraced] rice-field partition). This is the depression at the foot of Nv-lv-na and Nv-lv-p'ĕr. Here in the gravel and scree grows the peculiar composite resembling a shako, *Saussurea laniceps* H-M., formerly mistaken for the Himalayan species *S. gossipiphora* (PLATE 67).

[136] The lovely alpine meadow of Gko-zo-mbu, commonly known as Ma-huang pa-tzu 馬皇巴子 in Chinese (Leech meadow) on account of the leeches which abound there in the summer, is surrounded by beautiful fir trees (*Abies Forrestii*) with dark greenish-black needles, silvery beneath. These exude a delicious fragrance of balsam. Here grow also wonderful rhododendrons and primulas, and in the summer the meadow is often one mass of *Strobilanthes versicolor*, with bluish-purple flowers. Above the meadow and the encircling forest to the north-west is a hanging meadow with a mass of limestone rocks hidden in the grass. Crossing the little stream of A-nùn-t'khü-k'ö, a trail leads first to a spot called Zhwua-mä-shi-gkv, with a spring, and thence to the steep, rocky slopes of P'ĕr-dshwuà-k'u-k'ö (Gate to the white barrier).

Opposite, to the east, is Ho-san yi-gkv, a high, limestone crag 15,500 feet in height, with long scree and talus slopes. A Buddhist priest once spent a night on the top, hence the name, Where the priest slept (*ho-shang* 和尚, priest). The name is half Chinese and half Na-khi. Beyond P'ĕr-dshwuà-k'u-k'ö is another lovely meadow, 14,500 feet in elevation, known as P'ĕr-dshwuà. In the month of July it is covered with the most beautiful alpine flowers and prostrate rhododendrons (*Rhododendron prostratum*) with large salver-shaped, wine-colored blossoms. From here one can ascend still higher to 17,000 feet and look down upon Ho-san yi-gkv; the region is called P'ĕr-dshwuà-gkv-lu.

The tremendous gorge of Sa-ba lo-gkv (H-M., Lo-kü) which extends to the very foot of the vertical limestone wall beneath Shan-tzu-tou, stops one's progress (PLATE 68). On the edge of the gorge, which is 4,500 feet deep, lie masses of loose boulders; one passes over a pile of rock, split by the action of ice into thousands of fragments, and then over a talus slope, the last stretch of which leads to the brink of the overhanging crags composed of loose, flat limestone slabs. The edge appears crenellated, due to dislodged boulders which found their way to the depths below. Avalanches of rock and ice from the hanging glacier below Shan-tzu-tou descend continuously into the gorge, and the resulting roar reverberates like distant thunder from the abyss below. Huge boulders are precariously balanced on the edge of the gorge and the lightest touch dislodges them. Here at 17,000 feet is the limit of vegetation. At this height we find the beautiful turquoise-blue-flowered crucifer *Solmslaubachia pulcherrima* growing between limestone rocks, while on the screes and among loose rock occur shako-like species of Saussureas (*S. laniceps*, *S. leucoma*), their flowers buried in a conical mass of cotton which rises from rosettes of prostrate leaves.

Halfway up the mountain mass of Ho-san yi-gkv is a belt of fir forest called Nv-lv boa-gkü (Belt of the snow range), and to its north a broad talus slope descends steeply into a valley or, rather, ravine called Zhwua-k'o lo (Gorge where the horse was killed). On this long talus slope is a broad strip of black fir forest growing for some distance down into the ravine. The latter leads

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Emerging from the pine forest we come to an *obo* [10] (*shi-zhi* in Na-khi) at the head of the trail which leads into Pai-shui. The first part of the trail takes us to a small meadow and depression called Hoa-gkyi lo,[11] surrounded by *Picea likiangensis*, and thence down to the stream-bed, spanned by a stone-bridge: elevation 9,970 feet. The stream-bed is lined with spruces, willows and rhododendrons. On the northern bank, and somewhat above it, is a beautiful meadow surrounded by spruce forest which, next to Nda-za gko, is one of the finest camping places in this region. It is known as Gyi-p'ĕr k'a-k'o, elevation 10,000 feet. 133* 137* 487*

The Pai-shui (White water) has its source in the hanging glacier overlooking Nga-ba, and it is rightly so called, for it is of a bluish-white, intensified by the white limestone rocks over which it flows. It is a beautiful stream with tall spruces lining its bank (PLATE 83) as if planted there, and for background the grand peaks of Jade-dragon Mountain crowned with eternal snow. Words fail to describe the beauty of the scene. Here is Nature still undisturbed, here roam bears, deer, leopard, stags and pheasants, in the majestic forest and over meadows starred with myriads of flowers. [135]

Two lateral streams join Pai-shui near its head, the Pai-shui itself is fed by the glacier which spreads out like a fan over the rocks polished by the ice. Here at the head of the stream-bed the elevation is 11,000 feet and the mountain wall rises abruptly, the slopes to the left and right being forested with larches, while above them somber firs cling to the steep declivities, their dark green foliage contrasting sharply with the light-grey limestone scree.

On the spur which separates Pai-shui from the parallel-flowing Hei-shui 黑水 (Black water), called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, rising in the third highest peak, Gyi-nà nv-lv, is situated one of the finest meadows on the entire range. It is called Nda-za gko, elevation 10,700 feet (PLATE 84). There are two approaches to this loveliest of all the meadows, hidden in dense forest on this lateral spur which appears too narrow to harbor such an extensive place.

One approach is by the Pai-shui valley, the trail ascending the northern valley wall; the second is up the broad slope of the pine-covered spur which separates Pai-shui from Hei-shui. The steep trail leads at right angles from the main road into the pine forest, the dividing spur being known as Gyi-p'ĕr mbu in Na-khi and Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 in Chinese, for once upon a time a shrine dedicated to the mountain spirits existed here. Once over the steep slope the trail crosses a rocky flat covered with pines and low, shrubby oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), to a narrow meadow called Nda-za gko dü-man, flanked on the north by a spur with a bluff known as Ting-hsiang 釘像 gkv; the last word is Na-khi and meaning "there," while the Chinese characters refer to the shape of the bluff, which resembles a nail.

From this little meadow it is only a short distance to the magnificent one of Nda-za gko. To the south the spur enclosing it is covered with forest composed of spruces 100 to 150 feet tall and firs, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

[10] *Obo* is a Tibetan-Mongol word and denotes a cairn, a pyramidal pile of rocks on a pass. The Tibetans call it *la-rdsas* (pronounced la-dse).

[11] The *Hoa-gkyi* is an herb (*Oxyria sinensis*) with reddish stems and white flowers, the leaves of which are cooked and fed to pigs.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbĕr-ddĕr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wùa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ö (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF 16

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PLATE 147.—MANY FLYING SQUIRRELS INHABIT THE T'AI-TZU (TUNG) CAVE

太子洞飛鼠

Several species inhabited the recesses of the cave. The largest here figured is *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis;* after dark they volplaned from the cave onto tall trees to feed on leaves.

[p. 244 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Large Macacus monkeys inhabit the central part of this valley. They move in companies, settle in the fields of the neighboring villages, and eat the crops of the farmers, especially those of broad beans and turnips. [136] 137*

Some distance below T'ai-tzu tung a narrow trail leads down into the deep gorge Gyi-p'ĕr k'a with walls vertical in places, the lower slopes mainly forested with oaks and pines. Here on the western side there is no glacier moraine and the forests extend to the very foot of the cliffs. To where the trail descends into the gorge there is no sign of water, but immediately below the trail there is a tremendous drop in the stream-bed, and from the rock wall a huge volume of water issues, forming a large stream which debouches into the Yangtze at the village of Lü-ts'an. 133* 487*

From where the path (coming from T'ai-tzu tung) strikes the white, waterless stream-bed to the head of the Gyi-p'ĕr lo gorge is a distance of 10 li. A terrace densely forested is to the south of it, and a woodman's trail leads to the foot of the limestone cliffs at the head of the valley.

From the summit of Shan-tzu-tou two small dying glaciers descend onto the sloping rock wall but are not to be compared to those on the eastern slope of the range. Here the peak itself looks insignificant, due to the small quantity of snow and the absence of the lower peaks and promontories which make the eastern side so beautiful. The slopes of Gyi-p'ĕr lo are densely forested with spruces, hemlocks, and giant rhododendrons 40 feet tall with trunks two feet in diameter.

Bears live in this gorge, as their fresh tracks testified, while huge flying squirrels dwell in the recesses of the T'ai-tzu tung. These are reddish-brown in color with a very pale fawn-colored back; they are known scientifically as *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis*, and to the Na-khi as Fu-chung-p'i, which is apparently a mispronunciation of the Chinese Fei-ch'u-p'i 飛鼠皮. During the daytime it was impossible to find them in the caves, but at night they volplaned out of them onto tall trees growing in front, where they fed on the green leaves. With a torchlight pointed up into the trees, their red eyes glowed like live coals, and thus they could easily be shot down (PLATE 147). 136 ●

Trails lead from across the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a gorge to the forests and bluffs at 10,300 feet elevation to the north, whence beautiful views can be had both up (PLATE 148) and down the Yangtze, up the Yü-ndo gyi (Chung-tien River) to the north, to A-hsi on the Yangtze in the south, and, even beyond, the little lake Bbu-t'u-ndĕr in the valley at Kuan-shang 關上 is visible. 487*

From T'ai-tzu tung a lower trail leads up the Yangtze valley past the village of Ggŏ-ndĕr in a circular depression, the floor of which forms a small lake or pond, and thence over pine forested spurs and along wide curves and ravines to the village of Muan-ndĕr (Lower pond, in contradistinction to Ggŏ-ndĕr or Upper pond).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou.[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

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The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅姿 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獠, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆丘陵. The P'u 僕 and Lu 獠 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 蛤羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 旄牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越巂羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 參蛤羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

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The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361

The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

ST [282] ST 295

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found, *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

[p. 410]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF

579 To the north-west of Yung-ning dwell the c..law Tibetans of the Kung-ka-ling 貢噶嶺 and Hsiang-ch'eng countries, .ho are ever bent on robbing; to the east and south are the insurgent savage Lo-lo whom it is impossible for the Chinese, or the degenerate smaller T'u-ssu on the Ssu-ch'uan side of the lake and Yung-ning, to control. In addition to the raids perpetrated by these wild tribes, an occasional military rebel, like the former chairman of the Yün-nan Provincial Government Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, who having been turned out, attempted to regain control of the province, settles with his hordes like locusts on this beautiful, but otherwise poor region. He and his hungry soldiers impoverished the peasants and forced their headmen or chiefs, on pain of death, to contribute not only food but money for their support.

The good old Tsung-kuan was always busy, he detested any one who smoked opium and had no good word for such. His righteous anger was aroused when an official order came from the Yün-nan Government in 1931 forcing his people to grow opium. He was a wise man and his counsel was always in demand. The neighboring chiefs in Ssu-ch'uan, and the Lang-ch'ü chief to the south-east of his territory, always asked his assistance when in trouble, for he was greatly respected on account of his sense of justice, and unimpeachable character. It was a great loss not only to Yung-ning and Yün-nan, but to all the poor and troubled chiefs, his neighbors, whose burden he helped carry, when he passed away on the 28th day of the second (intercalary) fifth moon of the 22nd year of the Republic (July 20th, 1933).

*133 136 *Lion Mountain.* — One of the most conspicuous landmarks which confront the lake on the north, is the southern face of Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain; Seng-ge ga-mu). The latter is a Tibetan word Seng-ge dKarmo (White Lioness), *Seng-ge* meaning lion, *dkar* white, and *mo* female. It is the Chinese Kan-mu Shan. In Na-khi it is called Gko-mun Ngyu (Hawk Mountain). This mountain is mirrored in the lake, its broad face representing the lion's head (PLATE 244), while its body extends to the north, the long western slopes of it forming the eastern boundary of the Yung-ning plain. No hunting is permitted, and here roam many bears who live on the oaks, and often come to the fields of the villages and eat their broad beans and peas. Deer, stags, blue sheep, serow, and goral roam over its rocky slopes and cliffs. The goddess Kar-mo is pictured riding a hind (PLATE 245). Two shrines have been erected to her in Yung-ning, one on the western slopes of the mountain which bears her name, and one on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 246).

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invaded Yung-ning territory, burnt its peaceful homes, driven off 1,600 head of livestock, and killed a number of peasants. This state of affairs is only attributable to the short-sightedness of certain Chinese militarists who, personally kill or order the killing of inoffensive native rulers who alone are able to control these wild border tribes. The murder of the Mu-li King is a case in point, and is directly responsible for the invasion of Yung-ning by the Gangkar-ling outlaws. It is true that some of the T'u-ssu are not fit to rule, but this degeneration has been brought about by the opium habit and the latter again by the forced growing of opium by the Chinese authorities for the sake of revenue. Tribespeople usually do not smoke opium and would never grow it were they not at times forced to and heavily fined should they refuse to grow it, plus being taxed for what they could grow. Happily those days are past.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 downhill passing a most remarkable temple, called Ch'a-fang-ssŭ, built on a ledge in a precipitous rock which rises sheer some 300 feet.

During this descent the Yang-pi River is seen on the left hand running most unexpectedly in a north-easterly direction. It makes a very sharp bend in this part of its course and afterwards again comes round into its original southerly direction. The Yang-pi is at the ferry 130 yards wide, with a moderate current, but a little lower down it gets squeezed in between the hills again, and becomes narrower, deeper, and more rapid. It is crossed by a rather shaky bamboo raft, and a few hundred yards of steep ascent brings one to Hsin-niu-kai, where there is a dilapidated official rest-house.

133 The people of this village are Chinese, not Lo-los, and from here on to Shun-ning the inhabitants are principally Chinamen. The height of the Yang-pi here is 3,900 feet, a fall of more than 1,200 feet from where we had last crossed [132] it on the Yung-ch'ang-Ta-li road. The climate at this low elevation is much warmer than most places in this part of the country and the opium crop was nearly ripe, whereas at Ta-li and other higher lying plains it was only just showing above the ground.

823 The river in this part of its course is not known to the Chinese as the Yang-pi Ho. The people here seem to have no name for it but call it vaguely the Ta Ho or Big River. In fact the Chinese very seldom give names to their rivers, but call them after the nearest town or important village through which they pass. Nearly all rivers thus have different names in different parts of their course. This according to our ideas of geography is extremely inconvenient, so I have thought it best to adhere to the name of Yang-pi River.

• 136 I had had scarcely any shooting so far, but on this march I first had an unsuccessful stalk after two barking deer, and afterwards shot a hen pheasant (*Phasianus elegans*), one of nine or ten that got up.

000 On the 11th we had an uphill road, climbing the Ta-chin Shan, a hill with a conspicuous pagoda on its summit. We left this pagoda on our left hand and followed a narrow path cut out of an almost precipitous hill-side to the village

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000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

S 136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a ST 177 village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

S ST 162 101 The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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000 however, does not go down to it, but turns in a more westerly direction to Ning-kram, a Kachin village of the Maran tribe. The Kachins were somewhat surprised, as they naturally did not expect to see a European travelling about here, but I had no difficulty in convincing them that it was quite a friendly visit. The last time we had come across Kachins was on the 11th January, the day that we marched into Chan-hsi (San-si). This race is only met with near the Burmese border; they do not extend any distance into the interior of Yün-nan.

487 Our road the next day crossed the Nam Wan a mile or two above the head of the Möng Wan plain and then passed over another range of hills into the Ho-hsa valley. I had sent on to say I was coming and was most hospitably received by the sawbwa, who was then living in his old [136] capital at Se-kow. I found a good many spot-billed duck in the flooded rice fields here and also saw one snipe.

I could not spare the time to accept the sawbwa's invitation to stay on here a day or two, and started again the next morning, accompanied for part of the way by his eldest son. The range between the Nam Wan and the [137] Taping is crossed at 7,400 feet. Here I found a very nice sort of white wild strawberry growing, quite different from the tasteless red variety that one usually finds in this country. We descended into the Taping valley and crossed the river at Nawng-hsai ferry: it is 500 yards wide here, but at this time of the year not more than half the bed has any water in it and it is shallow enough to be fordable. We slept the night at the Shan monastery at Man-waing [206] or Man-yün. Since my last visit, telegraphic communication had been established by Mr Jensen between T'êng-yüeh and the Burmese frontier, and I found a telegraph station established here and was once more in touch with the outside world.

On the 15th of May we reached the frontier fort of Nam-paung, and in two more marches did the 32 miles which separate this post from Bhamo.

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000 they have taken to talking Chinese among themselves. We met a party of them out with cross-bows and dogs to hunt sambur, which they say are fairly plentiful in the valley of the Ya-lang Ho.

We wished we had had time to halt a day or two and shoot, but we had come out to get through as much work as possible, and we had to go on. Yün-nan is certainly not a great shooting country, but its sporting capacity must not be judged by the small amount of shooting we were able to do. With leisure to halt whenever he wanted to, the traveller might certainly get some fair shooting in places.

• 136 Panthers, wild pig, wolves, sambur, and barking deer undoubtedly exist, and in Ssu-ch'uan I once saw a tiger[1]. Of small game the Lady Amherst pheasant and Stone's pheasant are fairly common, and in some of the lower-lying places there are Chinese francolin and Bamboo partridges. Hares I have seen, but I do not think they are at all common. Snipe I have shot occasionally, but have never seen very many of them. No doubt the duck shooting is the best form of sport to be got in Yün-nan. This is very good in the Ta-li lake and the country to the north of it and in several other places. It is probably worth nobody's while to come to Yün-nan on purpose to shoot, but the future traveller may, if he has leisure, manage to find some amusement and vary his diet.

000 The next day, after a steep descent of 2000 feet, we crossed the river which lower down at Yün Chou is called the Nan-ch'iao Ho. Like most Chinese streams it only retains its name for a short part of its course, and, where we crossed it, does not seem to have any particular name.

Curiously enough, though rivers are often nameless, bridges nearly always have names and these are generally written up on the bridge, sometimes also with a list of the persons who subscribed to build it and the amounts they gave. Rivers are generally called after the nearest bridge or the nearest important village, thus constantly changing their names.

The stream is here 40 yards wide with a depth of four or five feet, flowing swiftly over a rocky bed. The

[1] See p. 216.

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312 had been passing through are, as far as I could see, entirely watered by lakes and ponds: there do not appear to be any running streams. They are much less fertile than the valleys further west, no doubt in consequence of the increased difficulty of irrigating the land where no running water is available.

136 What these plains lack in fertility is from the sportsman's point of view abundantly made up for by the quantities of geese and duck which one finds in the lakes. There were flocks of bar-headed geese all over the plain, and one could walk right up to within twenty or thirty yards of them before they would rise in a leisurely manner. Out of one flock I got six. Two fell to my first two barrels as they rose, and then the flock after flying round a short distance twice, again came over my head at close range, enabling me to get two more each time. This will seem incredible to those who know that very wary bird the wild goose, but I remember in India once, in the Aligarh district, finding a flock of these bar-headed geese equally tame. There was no sport in this, so when I had killed fifteen—enough to feast our followers for two or three days—I gave up shooting them.

However tame the geese may have been, the duck, though numerous, were by no means easy to get within shot of. The mallard and teal seem to be the commonest on the large lakes, and that small black and white duck called the tufted pochard on the smaller ponds.

From Mu-pang-p'u to Chên-nan Chou we took four days, moving very slowly, as Watts-Jones often had to leave the road and ascend hills so as to get a better view of the country. Our road led us at an average height of 7000 feet through a sandstone plateau country, with small hills rising up out of it, very dry and bare except for a few
241 little fir trees. Villages are not numerous, and the cultivation is chiefly confined to strips of beans, opium, and wheat along the narrow valleys.

000 Just before reaching Chên-nan Chou we had made a halt to put up the plane table, when Ryder suddenly appeared coming in by a road from the north. So after being separated for three and a half months we hit each other off to a yard. He had gone from Li-chiang eastward

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288 ported from Hong-kong either through Tong-king or up
438 the West River to Pai-sê.

We had not seen much signs of trade on the road from Yün-nan Fu here, and indeed it was hardly to be expected, as we had not been on what is considered a main road. Coming from the east we had met perhaps 200 or 300 coolies carrying earthenware cups and jars to the capital, from a place called Mao-mao-shih not far from Yüeh-chou.

438 The caravans going the other way were confined chiefly
317 to mules loaded with salt. Yün-nan Fu is a great distributing centre of salt and tea. The former article comes from wells which lie north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu.

136 I had a little shooting in this Ch'ü-ching River plain. Near Lu-liang there were Brahminy ducks (Ruddy Sheldrake) feeding in the opium fields, and I found them quite easy to get up to. Baber also mentions that these birds are easy to approach in poppy fields. He suggests that they feed on the opium and get stupefied by it. This seems probable, as he is generally a very wary sort of duck. I also shot mallard, teal, and snipe in this plain, and near Ch'ü-ching got two widgeon out of a flock of a hundred or more on a small lake. This is the only time I have seen this duck in China.

000 Watts-Jones, who had, as I mentioned before, come by the main road through Ma-lung Chou, had passed through Ch'ü-ching on the 6th, so I was now following him on to Hsüan-wei.

Leaving Ch'ü-ching on the 11th we passed Chan-yi Chou, where our route rejoined the main road and the telegraph line. From here another very important road branches off eastward through P'ing-yi Hsien to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province. From Kuei-yang Fu one road turns northwards to Ch'ung-k'ing, and another continues eastward through Hu-nan, till it strikes the Yangtze at the T'ung-t'ing Lake.

We went on a little further and slept at Chiu-lung-shan in a temple on a little island between two branches of the Ch'ü-ching River. Here my interpreter discovered an official notice posted up, referring to Captain Pottinger's party having been obstructed in two places, and warning everyone against interference with him, as he was survey-

round in a circular furrow, into which the paddy was thrown. 407
It was worked by a water-wheel which revolved horizontally
like a turbine, teeth being arranged all round the outer 376
edge of its top surface to catch the water.

We had heard cuckoos everywhere round us for the last 136
few days. The bird appears to be the same as the English
cuckoo, and in western China as in England it makes its
appearance in April, though I think in the Shan States I
have heard it as early as March.

My mules went straight along the main road to Yang-kai 000
the next day, but I made a slight detour to see Hsün-tien
Chou which lies a little off the road. It is a small, poor
town in a rather well-cultivated plain with the upper waters
of the Niu-lan Chiang running through it. The Tao-t'ai 631
of eastern Yün-nan has his residence here. His district
comprises Chao-t'ung Fu, Tung-ch'uan Fu, and Ch'ü-
ching Fu.

It rained most of the day and we did not reach Yang- 000
kai till seven in the evening, as the march with the circuit to
Hsün-tien must have been 24 miles.

The next day we passed Sung-ming Chou which lies a
mile to the right of the road[1]. The town is a small one,
but it stands in a good plain, measuring about 10 miles
each way. Exceptionally fine opium is grown here and at 249
Yang-kai. The poppy flower of Yün-nan is usually white,
the next most common colour being mauve or purple.
Scarlet poppies are occasionally seen but they are not
common.

After crossing the plain the road leads over a lot of 000
uncultivated undulating ground. As there was some delay
in changing our escort at Sung-ming, I went on without a
guide. Going off to the right of the road to put up my
plane-table, I tried to make a short cut back, and got on to
the wrong path, a mistake which we did not discover till we
met a man a mile or two on. We then struck across to the
left but found so many well used tracks made by timber-
hauling from the fir woods in front of us, that it was most
difficult to pick out the right road. We could see no village
and could find no one to ask the way of, and as it was

[1] What is considered the main road passes a little further to the east through Yang-lin, but the route I took is rather the more direct of the two.

1 [village of Liu-shu-ho -- Analyst]

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000 getting dark I began to think we were in for a dinnerless bed in the open. However on climbing on to a little ridge we were able to see some smoke which we made straight for. Luckily it turned out to be Shang-tui-lung, the very village we were to sleep at, and we found our mules arrived and tents pitched.

136 The following day, the 10th May, we started through a country full of pheasants, and crossing a range at 7000 feet, descended a little into the Yün-nan Fu plain and 000 reached the town in the evening. Mr Ker had also arrived the same day, so we were both in on the exact date that we had agreed to meet when we separated at Ch'u-hsiung in March. To keep up to time I had been obliged to do 65 miles in the last three days, longer marches than I have usually done when keeping up a survey, and longer indeed than pack mules would be capable of getting through in a continuous journey of several months.

Ker had been as far north as Hui-li Chou and had with Ram Sabad, one of the Survey of India surveyors, mapped a good deal of the very intricate country in that part of the Yangtze basin. His observations gave very small hope of finding a practicable line for a railway in that direction, and the correctness of his views was borne out by a further survey made in the following year.

Captain Ryder, I learnt from Mr Stevenson, the missionary here, had waited on a long time at Yün-nan Fu in hopes of getting the longitude, but finally had to give it up, and left on the 23rd April, going by a circuitous route through Lu-nan Chou and A-mi Chou to Mêng-tzŭ. From there he turned eastward to K'ai-hua Fu, and made his way thence by a direct road to Lao-kai on the Red River, the frontier town of Tong-king. From there he returned to India.

Ker and I had arranged to meet Turner at Yün-nan Fu, and we had not long to wait, for he came in two days after us. He had gone from Hui-li to Tung-ch'uan, and from there had come by the same road that I had followed to the capital.

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000 between the little Chiang-ch'uan Lake and the hills to the east of it, just at the point where a stream connecting it with the Ch'êng-chiang Hai forces its way through these hills.

The village has some nice trees and looks well from a distance: inside are the usual pigs and dirt. Its height is just under 6000 feet, the first time for six weeks I had camped at such a low elevation.

On the 18th, crossing a low range of hills, we descended to the lake of T'ung Hai, and, rounding its eastern end, reached the town of that name. The plain round the lake is well cultivated and there is a ring of large villages round it. The town though not very big is decidedly prosperous and has a good deal of trade. We found kerosine oil in general use here for lamps, a sign that we were approaching the civilisation of Tong-king.

241
373

From here Turner and I separated, his road branching off in a more westerly direction. Ker had left us two days previously to find a way from Chin-ning to T'a-lang, thus getting more country surveyed than we otherwise should have done.

316 Turner and Ker met at T'a-lang and were able to visit the gold mine, which they found a productive one in spite of the very crude machinery used. After this they had a most trying journey over roads rendered nearly impassable by heavy rains. They followed up the course of the Pa-pien Chiang (Black River) for several days, turning westward from near the south end of the Ching-tung T'ing plain. Ker crossed the Mekong to Yün Chou, and from there went northward to Ta-li Fu, where he met Turner, who had come there by a more direct route. They did not reach Burma till August. Travelling in Yün-nan in the rains is not a pleasant experience. It was quite an exceptional circumstance for them not to be wet to the skin on every march, and their rate of progress was sometimes not more than a mile an hour.

• 136 It had rained almost unceasingly since we left Yün-nan Fu, so it was pleasant to start the next morning in fine weather, with the cheerful call of the Chinese francolin all round us. This bird closely resembles the painted partridge of southern India, and is the common partridge of Burma

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and of the Shan States and the lower lying valleys of Yün-nan; but I have never before or since seen it at anything like such a high elevation as 6,200 feet, which is about the height of the T'ung-hai plain. 136

Crossing a range of hills we descended steeply down a narrow gorge to the Ch'ü Chiang valley, which being only 4,800 feet is warm enough to grow sugar cane, a valuable product in Yün-nan. The river which waters this valley is 100 yards wide and is fordable at this time of year, being also crossed here by a wooden footbridge. Later on in the rains the water rises and mules have to cross by a bridge two miles lower down, just where the river leaves the plain. 249 000

I have reason to remember the footbridge, for the man who was in charge of my pony, so as not to wet his own feet, tried to lead him over the bridge. As it was made of narrow planks not very carefully joined together and the whole structure was decidedly shaky, the natural result was that the pony fell off it when he had got half way across. It was an anxious moment when I heard a shout from behind and looked back to see the pony hang for a moment and then fall. Luckily he was not hurt, though there was a considerable drop.

Our hopes of getting through the day dry were disappointed, as, before we could reach our night's quarters at Kuan-yi, a heavy thunderstorm burst, which wetted us to the skin in a few moments.

On the 20th May a march of 17 miles took us to Hsin-fang, a village in the Lin-an plain, where we put up in a temple. We were below 5000 feet here and in a much warmer climate than the traveller in Yün-nan is accustomed to, while the mosquitos reminded us that we were now in the rainy season. Luckily we had a clear night and I was able to take the latitude, the only observation I got between Yün-nan Fu and Tong-king.

The town of Lin-an Fu lies five miles off the road to the south and I had not time to visit it, but I made a slight detour the next morning to the top of a low spur, and I was able to fix its position.

The town is said to contain 1000 houses: it lies in a plain of considerable extent, but only narrow strips along 361 241

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000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation he e is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state.
243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides.
• 136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese
622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

006 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them
435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12*s.* and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

669 of treachery on the Mahommedan side were very common all through the rebellion.

After an uphill march on the 18th through jungle and 000 fir woods to the pleasant little hill village of Pai-yin-ch'in, we descended the next day to the Ching-ku Ho, which here runs through a curious valley, so much cut up by wooded spurs and deep sandstone ravines that it can hardly be called a plain. There is scarcely any flat ground, but there are a good many villages scattered along the valley, and the side streams are lined with terraced fields. The country reminds one very much of the upper part of the Shweli River.

245 There is a certain amount of tea grown on the hillsides here, at heights between 4,500 and 5,500 feet in a sandstone soil. It is not considered so good as that produced in the Shan state of Keng Hung, the famous P'u-êrh tea.

• 136 I shot a woodcock on the march which brought us into the Ching-ku valley. I have occasionally seen this bird in different parts of Yün-nan, and have met with it in May in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 Our route for the next day and a half still lay down the Ching-ku Ho, but the country is so broken by steep spurs running down to the river, that there is little actual flat going. The river is twice crossed. The first crossing is by a wooden bridge where the stream, though not 20 yards wide, runs in a tremendous chasm between cliffs 200 feet high. These extraordinarily deep ravines are characteristic of this valley.

We reached Wei-yüan on the 21st December, and I found the place in no way changed since my previous visit. From Wei-yüan to P'u-êrh is only four or five marches by the direct road, but I had been along this route in 1895. I therefore struck off in an easterly direction for Hsin-fu, a place near which Turner and Ker had come in to the P'u-êrh-Ta-li road in the previous season. From there by turning south to P'u-êrh I should be able to get in the only part of this important road that had not been surveyed by our parties.

Our route led northward for a day and a half up the Wei-yüan Chiang, along the road to Chên-yüan T'ing, which had been followed by Captain Wingate in 1895. The

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Yi-mên was the place where Ryder and I had arranged to meet, and he turned up the following day after dark, having done a 26 mile march. These meetings in out-of-the-way places are very pleasant, and we halted two days here together. Our pleasure, however, was considerably damped by the news of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso that Ryder had brought with him from Yün-nan Fu. 000

On the 21st January we set out again, Ryder for Ch'u-hsiung, myself for Yün-nan Fu. My road crossed the range which separates the basin of the Red River from that of the Yangtze at 7,350 feet, and then descended a little into a good sized plateau, with small hills rising out of it, very dry and, therefore not much cultivated. We slept at Hsiao-lung-t'ang in a large temple pleasantly situated among trees.

The next day we reached An-ning Chou. The road lay down the course of a small river on which were a good many duck. I got five—three merganser, one brahminy (ruddy sheldrake), and one spotbill. The merganser is fairly common in Yün-nan, and I have found them quite eatable in spite of the fishy look that the shape of his bill gives him. 1360

At An-ning we joined into the main road by which I had come from Ta-li the year before, and the next day we reached Yün-nan Fu. I cut off the last half of the march by taking a boat across the corner of the lake. 000

I was able to get the same comfortable quarters that we had lived in the previous year, and spent five days in the capital renewing acquaintance with Mr Stevenson and other missionary friends. Mr Jensen of the Telegraph Service, who had helped us so much before, had I was sorry to learn been laid up with rheumatism and had been obliged to take a trip home.

I found the French very active in Yün-nan Fu. There were 10 or 12 Frenchmen in the capital at the time of my visit, all connected with the railway which is to run up into Yün-nan from Tong-king.

The French were not at all popular with the Chinese, and there were even then signs that there was likely to be trouble. This feeling culminated a few months later in 579 186

000 The next day we followed down the narrow valley of a small stream by a hillside path with steep reddish coloured mountains rising on each side. We stayed for the night at Mo-so-ying, a village of perhaps 250 houses.

On the 17th, the third march from Hui-li, we reached the An-ning Ho which here varies from 50 to 100 yards in width and flows with a strong current. This is the stream which runs down the middle of the Chien-ch'ang valley, and for the next few days we followed it up.

At Chiu-chuan-ch'iao, where we had to cross a good-sized tributary of the main river, we found the stone bridge by which it is usually spanned was under repair, and we had to make use of a very temporary wooden structure made of rounded logs tied together. So rough was the arrangement that one of the mules fell off it and his load which contained most of my cartridges was soaked through. Luckily they were nearly all brass-cased, and were none the worse after being thoroughly dried.

We were now down at a level of 4,300 feet or so, and found the sun a little hot in the daytime though the hilltops all round had snow on them. We slept at T'ieh-chiang-fang where I was lucky enough to get a very nice room in an inn, with the An-ning Ho running right under the window.

•136 Soon after starting the next morning we heard the roaring of a tiger in the hills to the west across the river. Though evidently he was not far off, we could not make him out for some time, but finally he came out and lay down on a big rock to sun himself. He was about 600 yards off on a steep hillside, and as there was no means of crossing the river which lay between him and us, it was impossible to get nearer to have a shot. The tiger did not seem the least disturbed by our watching him, nor by the presence of several people who were going along a path on his side of the river about 500 yards below him. I took out my field glasses and watched him for quite five minutes: he would sometimes get up and walk round for a few yards and then lie down again on the rock, flapping the end of his tail. Eventually he got up and walked away into the jungle. This is the first tiger I have seen or heard of in western China, though I have occasionally come across

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

panthers' tracks. It is not often in any country that one would get such a good look at a tiger, and such an opportunity of observing his ways. 136●

We were now well into the Chien-ch'ang valley. This part of it is not, however, a flat plain. In fact there is scarcely any really level ground, but between the hills on either side is a width of about a mile of gently sloping land which is cultivated in terraced fields. There are a fair number of villages, but this end of the valley does not strike one as extraordinarily rich. 241

We slept at Liang-lu-k'ou, a small village just opposite the town of Tê-ch'ang which is on the other side of the An-ning Ho, and is said to contain 700 houses. The river is here crossed by ferry in many places, and they were building an iron chain suspension bridge across it at Tê-ch'ang. 797

The next day I was overtaken on the march by a bearded horseman in Chinese dress whom I at once recognised as a French missionary. He turned out to be Père Bourgain who lives at Tê-ch'ang. We both slept at Huang-shui-t'ang, and had a very pleasant talk in the evening.

He is one of five priests who are established in this part of Ssŭ-ch'uan. They had had a good deal of trouble with the Chinese of this valley who are not very partial to Europeans, but the matter had been taken up and the missionaries had got the best of it, so the Chinamen were at present on their best behaviour. I certainly found them very civil the whole way up the Chien-ch'ang valley; and even in Ning-yüan Fu which has a very anti-foreign reputation I did not see any signs of unfriendliness.

Père Bourgain seems to have many converts, and has some even among the Lo-los, though he says it is very difficult to cure them of their habits of drunkenness.

It is impossible not to admire the zeal and unselfishness which induces the Catholic missionary to come to China there to spend the rest of his days in the cause of his religion, without any hope of ever seeing his native country again. For it is only in very rare instances that a Catholic missionary ever goes back to his own land. He makes up his mind from the beginning to live and die in China. Living alone, as most of them do, it is a very salutary rule that they have, that when possible every priest shall go and

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Arrived at Ya-k'a-lo we went to the French mission. 000
Père Grandjean could not suggest any way of capturing the runaways, but he offered to find three of his Christians as substitutes, and we were able to get back to La-ta-ting with them that evening. This was not the only kindly act of assistance that we received from Père Grandjean and his confrères on the Tibetan border.

At first we were at a loss to explain the sudden flight of our men, but one of the mission people said that news had just arrived that Tibetan soldiers were waiting to stop us at the place on the Ba-t'ang route where a road branches off to Garthok. A caravan had arrived at La-ta-ting the night before, and doubtless our mule-men had heard this from them and decided to bolt, though as a matter of fact we had no intention of taking the Garthok road.

On the 3rd of May we left La-ta-ting and crossed the Chia-la pass, which, though it is 15,600 feet high, had only a few inches of snow on it. Sleeping at Hnga-tsa, we went on the next morning, crossing the Chiang-ka River, here 30 yards wide, by a knee deep ford at the village of Tsong-en. This is the point where the direct road from A-tun-tzŭ to Ba-t'ang joins in. From here a gradual ascent up a narrow barren valley brought us on to a plateau country at Chia-ni-ting.

On the 5th our road lay over open rolling downs rising 136 •
to 14,500 feet. This is the best country for game that I have seen anywhere in western China. Large coveys of Eared Pheasants were constantly in sight. This is a magnificent bird as large as a goose, his whole body white with a dark green tail which looks black in the distance. He appears to live chiefly in the snow, or very near the snow line, and his loud harsh crow can be heard a mile off. He never flies if he can help it, but can make very good use of his legs, and so wary is he, that though we constantly saw them, we were never able to get within shot.

Another bird, more common if anything than the Eared Pheasant, is the Blood Pheasant. These birds also go about in large coveys, and have also the greatest objection to taking flight if they can possibly avoid it.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•136 We found them chiefly in the woods just below the snow. Their general colour is a French grey very much like guinea fowl, but with some green feathers on the breast and sides, bright scarlet legs, and a fan-shaped tail with red feathers in it. This bird is not so wary as the other, and we shot a few, but they seem to be endowed with a wonderful capacity for carrying away shot.

Hares also were very plentiful here. They are a large kind, very much like the English hare, and much bigger than the Indian variety. Partridges I only saw once. This was near Tsong-en where I shot three out of a covey. They are the Sifan Partridge, and very much resemble the English bird on the back but are marked black and white on the breast.

We might have had really good sport here by beating the little valleys, but unfortunately we only had one gun among us and very few cartridges, so were obliged to confine ourselves to shooting for the pot.

000 A good deal of snow fell on this march, and it turned later on in the day into a regular blizzard with a piercingly cold wind which froze our faces and hands quite numb. We were glad therefore to descend a little from the bleak downs into the village of Pa-mu-t'ang[1]. Here we joined the main road from Lhasa to Peking, and from here to Ba-t'ang we followed in the footsteps of A. K., Gill, Bower, Rockhill, and Bonvalot.

It was near Pa-mu-t'ang a little way along the Lhasa road that the Tibetan soldiers were stationed to stop us, so the villagers not yet knowing which route we intended to take, naturally gave us rather a cold reception. Every door was locked, and we had to make a forcible entry. We picked out what seemed the best house, and Manifold was hoisted over the wall. Directly he landed in the court-yard inside, he was met by a huge Tibetan mastiff. These dogs are most formidable and are usually kept chained up, but this one had evidently been let loose for our benefit. Luckily the owner of the house had also come out when he found his wall being escaladed, and was induced to tie his dog up and to open the door.

[1] Called Bam-ding in Tibetan according to Rockhill. Marked in some maps as Bong-ting.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

As usual, we soon became the best of friends with the people whose house we had so unceremoniously broken into. We were given a large room and regaled with buttered tea which we found excellent after our cold march. The combination of the hot tea and the caloric-producing butter is just the thing for a cold climate. After all there is nothing more incongruous in putting butter in tea than there is in putting milk in it. 272

The house was a very large one and the only obstacle to our comfort was the horrible smell of an enormous cauldron of the coarsest kind of turnip which the people of the house were cooking as a delicacy for their dinner. 263

Our next march lay along a pleasant grassy valley full of flocks of sheep. Passing K'on tzŭ-k'a[1] we crossed a little pass from which the Yangtze was visible, and descended a narrow valley to Te-ga-ting. The weather was bright and fine again and we saw a good deal of game, including some Stone's Pheasants (*Phasianus elegans*), and two woodcock, at one of which I made a disgraceful miss. 136•

Continuing down the same valley the next morning we reached the Yangtze and followed up the bank of that river to the Chu-pa-lung[2] ferry where we crossed to its left bank. The Yangtze is here from 100 to 150 yards wide, running with a strong current through very barren hills. The ferry-boat is a fine one and will take 15 mules across at once. The Tibetan name of the Yangtze is Dre Ch'u according to Rockhill. As pronounced locally it sounded to me like Nri Ch'ö or Ndri Ch'ö. The Mekong they call Da Ch'ö, and the Salween Chiama Ngö Ch'ö. The elevation of Chu-pa-lung is only 9000 feet, and the shade temperature rose as high as 70°. 000

On the 8th May we reached Ba-t'ang. The distance from Chu-pa-lung is nearly 20 miles but the road is an easy one. The Ba-t'ang plain was the biggest I had seen since leaving Chung-tien a month before. It measures about two miles by one mile, and was beautifully green with crops of wheat and barley. 243

The town has some 200 houses, most of them of a good 361

[1] Rockhill's K'on-djin-k'a.
[2] Dru-ba-nang in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the village of Den-bo-nong, where we put up in the house of a man whom Père Soulié had spoken of as the rich man of the district: in spite of his wealth we found he could drive a very stiff bargain for anything he had to sell. 000

The next day, the 3rd June, our road turned somewhat abruptly in a northerly direction, reaching the broad top of a range by a very steep climb, the highest point being 16,000 feet.

We found a fairly sheltered camp in a little valley at 15,300 feet, and rigged up shelters with waterproof sheets. These were all right as long as it was fine, but were only moderately effective against the snow which began to fall at midnight and went steadily on. By doubling ourselves up in the middle of our beds we kept fairly dry, but all clothes we were not actually wearing were soaked.

The thermometer was down to freezing and snow still falling heavily when we got up on the 4th June soon after four o'clock. One of our ponies had given way the day before and had finally fallen down the hillside into some rhododendron jungle, from which we could not move him. So I started back in the early morning with two men to see if he was still alive.

We saw a wolf as we went back up the hill, but he was very wary and gave no chance of a shot. This was the only one we came across in Tibet, though I fancy they are fairly common. To our surprise we found the pony on his legs and brought him on, but in the afternoon, though carrying no load, he again broke down and had to be left with some nomad shepherds. 136

We caught up Ryder and Manifold at the midday halt in a well-watered valley, full of good grazing ground, on which were the ragged-looking tents of several nomad encampments. We entered into conversation with some of these wandering shepherds—at least as well as a total ignorance of each other's language would allow—and bought some cream cheeses from them. These were rancid, not to say rotten, but they formed a little variety in our somewhat monotonous diet. 000

Going on up this valley in steady rain we came at about three o'clock to a large overhanging rock, under which some shelter could be got. As the rain was just

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 turning to snow we decided to halt there for the night. A rather miserable night it proved. Our firewood was too wet to be of much use for cooking, and the rock being limestone soon started a steady drip of melted snow. We slept with blankets over our faces to keep the drip off, and woke up in the morning with our beds covered with pools of ice-cold water.

The next morning was fine and with the sun shining and some hard walking we were able to get the circulation back into our chilled limbs. After crossing a range we descended a narrow wooded valley and eventually got to a river 40 yards wide, whose bank we followed up to Chong-tsa-gong, the first village we had seen for three days. It was indeed a pleasure to sleep in a house again after our experiences of the last two nights in the open.

The next day we followed up the same river, crossing it at Nren-da, and reaching Ra-nong[1] in the afternoon. Here we were on the Ba-t'ang-Li-t'ang road, and from here on to Ta-chien-lu we followed the main road along which several other travellers had preceded us.

•136 Our road of the 7th took us up a pleasant wooded valley full of the large white Eared Pheasants, whose loud crowing could be heard for a long distance. We got gradually up on to a high-lying bleak grassy plateau, with rocky granite hills rising out of it. In the afternoon it came on to hail, and we were glad to find shelter in a solitary mud house called Ndzon-dza[2] into which we all managed to fit.

000 We ourselves slept in the yak-shed, which was built in the form of a verandah to the house. It was rather cold and smelt, but we found it lighter and less smoky than the solitary room of the house. The height of Ndzon-dza is 15,000 feet, and as it snowed at night and our roof was not water-tight, we woke up with our beds in pools of cold black-coloured water.

Marching through snow the next morning we passed a small lake, on which was a solitary pair of merganser, and ascended the Go-ra-la pass, 16,000 feet[3]. A very bleak,

[1] Called La-ma-ya by the Chinese.
[2] Rockhill's *Tsung-ta*.
[3] 15,753 feet according to Gill.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

equipment, and the standardization of the finished product are most important.[1] 000

Recently, realizing the necessity of such improvements, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has established four model Tung tree experimental stations at Pei-ling, Nan-chung, Ning-shui, and Wan-hsien districts in order to direct the essential improvement work. With the author's experience among the tung farmers in the Basin, he feels strongly that it is probably wiser for the Agricultural authorities here to carry on the improvement work along the lines suggested above rather than aiming merely to boost the present acreage. Successful modern commercial agricultural production means high quality, as well as quantity. It would be heart-breaking to witness the same tragic fate befall the Tung tree, generously favored as it is by the Basin's physical conditions, that befell China's silk and tea. Nature has already done her part, and it is now up to man to do his. 314 654

C. The Wax Tree Production

1. The White Wax Tree

White wax, produced by the secretions of tiny insects, locally known as Pai-lou-chung (Coccus pela), on a number of wax trees or shrubs, is another unique forestry product of the Szechuan Basin. The so-called wax trees or shrubs consist of over ten species, including both conifers and broad-leafed hardwoods. One particular species of conifer, locally known as Pai-Lou-Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis), is the most important and the most common species on which the wax insects are raised. 314

There are two main species of wax insects: Shan Ti Tsung, or the hilly insects, including breeds produced in Hui-li, Hei-chang, Ning-yuan,[2] and Kuan-hsien districts, and Pa-Tsung, or insects of the plain areas, including breeds produced in O-mei, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Hung-ya districts (Fig. 36). Generally speaking, the plain insects are inferior in quality and are not used for breeding purposes. Also, it is reported[3] that in the 136 ●

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[1] Chao, op. cit., p. 24.

[2] Hui-li, Hsi-chang, and Ning-yuan districts are now under the jurisdiction of Sikang province.

[3] Ho, op. cit., p. 15.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

136 neighborhood of Lo-shan and other districts to the north, the insects cannot survive the winter. Each year the wax tree growers have to dispatch special messengers on foot to secure eggs or breeds of insects from the hilly regions, particularly the Chien Chang area in the Ning-yuan district of southern Sikang province, which is about 250 miles distant from the principal wax-producing centers at Lo-shan.

Owing to the long distance involved, and the slow and difficult transportation conditions, as well as the great variation in climatic conditions between the warm insect-producing southern areas and the cool wax-tree-growing districts to the north, there is involved great risk in transporting these insect breeds. The carriers travel night and day, and generally the trip is covered in sixteen to twenty days, for this is the period during which the eggs are expected to hatch. Once the little larvae start crawling around, the carriers have no alternative but to throw them away. This alternative, of course, means great financial losses to the wax-tree growers, and has become one of the most serious problems of the wax-tree industry in the Basin.

237 The principal wax-producing areas are concentrated in the southwest of the Basin, particularly in the districts of O-mei, Hung-ya, Chia-chiang, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 36). The total production of white wax in the Basin varies with the climatic conditions. Wind and rain are very much dreaded, particularly at the season when the insects are in suspension. These insects, exposed as they are on the tender branches of wax trees of one or two years' growth, are too weak to resist strong wind or heavy rain.

Normally, the total annual production is around 20,000 piculs. But during recent years, the total production has amounted to only 5,000 piculs, about a fourth of the usual production. This present sharp decrease in white-wax production is, however, due not so much to climatic adversity as to political instability and heavy taxation in the Basin. The greatest enemy of white-wax production in Szechuan Basin is the stupendously difficult conditions of transportation. The newly completed Szechuan-Yunnan western highway will undoubtedly relieve the transportation difficulty, and will accelerate the development of the industry in the Basin.

largely Catholic and evangelical; I was told this was because of land disputes. The manor house was a bailiff's house which had just been rebuilt after the earthquake. /196/ I had no sooner reached it and dismounted when several of the Christians paid me a visit. When they learned that I was not a missionary they made no bones about the fact that they had set up their ancient gods in their back rooms. (1) T 361 797

1. In Dawo four soldiers were stationed;in Tschanggu eight; in Tschuwo one; in Gantse six, all together supposedly 500 men!

The location of Dawo is in many respects similar to that of Hor Gantse (Plate XLII). In both places a larger river cuts through the southern mountain chain, making a narrow gorge, and in both places there is a widening of the valley just above the place where the river cuts through, which makes possible farming and culture generally. From here the Dawo or Tschanggu River (here called Schogre Chu) flows toward the southwest and joins the Ya lung. Dawo is only 3,040 meters above sea level. The nearest mountains which, close to the south of Tschanggu reach heights of over 5,000 meters, are somewhat lower here. Dawo is also a center of the musk trade. The region around the place yields annually about 4,000 sacks; Tschantui is supposed to send 3,000. T 361 T [B37]

The valley of the Niugre Chu which one follows in the same direction as before, is at first also wide and full of groups of houses. On the mountain slopes there are also artificial terraces, many of which are covered with trees that are many decades old, indicating here, too, traces of former extensive agriculture. (2)

2. If one follows the large Dawo Chu or Schogre tschu downstream, one reaches Wa ör gu after two days, then Minyag which is already in the Ming tscheng tu se district. After seven days one gets to Nya tschü ka or the Chinese Hokow on the road between Li tang and Ta tsien lu.

On April 26 I spent the night in the village of Godscha which lies in the middle of a primeval forest. In a small clearing at twilight I saw about 20 monkeys scratching for sweet roots. The macacos were considerably larger than the well-known African long-tailed monkeys. Their thick fur made them look very squat. On all sides C 136

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•136 they had set up guards that gave warning at the slightest sound. Here the animals had much greater respect for humans than at Dergi where people would never harm a monkey, in order to keep from committing an unnecessary sin. I saw many more of them here than in the forests of Dergi and Ling. They are seen here in troops of 40 and seem to undertake great journeys.

Just as I was about to fire on the apes I discovered that I had a competitor. Between the dense stalks of mountain bamboo, with a coat that could hardly be distinguished from the leaves and branches, a large panther came creeping up, aiming for the macacos. I stalked him for another step, then he crouched preparatory to leaping and - a shot from my rifle felled him. The monkeys screamed and then I saw an old fox running toward the ancient spruces. And all this wild game was roaming about next to the road, a few thousand paces from a settlement.

The peaks of the great Southeast Tibetan mountain chain are scarcely lower than those of Central Tibet. There are even some extensive regions covered with steppes. Nevertheless the fauna is different not only in the /197/ lower valleys. As far as fauna was concerned I had reached another geographical zone here which had many species related to the eastern Himalayas and Assam. There was a greater number of species but fewer animals. Not a single species compared with the countless buffalo and wild-ass herds of the highland of Central Tibet with its more arctic climate. The yellow-brown ursus lagomyarius is in the south replaced by the so-called ursus tibetanus which is somewhat larger than its northern brother and is completely black with the exception of frequently brownish ear tips and a small white band at the throat. Because of the extension of its habitat it might better be called the Chinese bear. Panthers replace wolves in these regions as the most feared herd robbers. They are especially dangerous to dogs, so that the natives prefer to use dogs as bait for their panther traps. The three or four kinds of antelopes of the Tschang tang are here replaced by mountain sheep and wild goats (Cerus, Pseudovis nayans, Capricornis, Budorcas). Only the deer species, among them the musk deer, are found throughout, from Tsaidam as far as the Himalayas. However they never go up to the steppes at 4,200 meters, but even in North Tibet keep to the upper bush- and timberline. The high ridges around Tschanggu and Dawo are also the beginning of the region of the snow leopard (the irbis), so that even an untrained eye can see four different kinds of cats (felis uncia, felis pardus fontanieri, felis tristis, felis pallida).

With the wealth of larger mammals there is, of course, a corresponding increase in the number of species of birds and insects which are unknown farther inland and higher up. C 136

The landscape which I saw along the road could not adequately explain this change. At the Heka Pass (Chinese: Sung lin kow) which I crossed the day after I left Dawo I again encountered extensive plateau steppes with smoothly sloping moraines which were reminiscent of the Ba tang Valley near Dscherku ndo and were similarly inhabited by tent nomads. Only the low large river valleys between the plateaus - which the tea route avoids as much as possible - account for the rich vegetation and bring about the abundance of living creatures. C 133 T 361

On the other side of the Heka Pass I left the land of Hor and came into the Ming tscheng tu se or the Dschagla (lDschagsla) rgyalbo. I was now in that large kingdom that has been able to maintain itself to this day as a result of well-timed surrender and great flexibility, in spite of the oppressive yoke of China and Manchuria, although its chief city Ta tsien lu ting has at once become China's key to the whole of Central and West Tibet. T 631

Below the Heka Pass, still in the midst of the belt of willows, the Ming tscheng king had just completed a tiao fang (Tibetan: dzong), a medieval fortress. It was a square stone structure covered with loam, four stories high with only loopholes toward the outside. He stationed one of his aristocratic bailiffs there. The soldiers and people living in the vicinity told me that the fort served as a defense against new attacks of the yellow hord of Tschantui monks. The missionaries of Ta tsien lu called it a refuge of the king against the power of the Chinese overlords, who were becoming more and more arrogant. The new fort stands in the middle of the broad trough-shaped valley like a sentry house, without taking much advantage of the terrain, and this is telling evidence of its builders' conceptions of war. T 712

/198/ Like many small kings of East Tibet, the Dschagla rgyalbo is a conservative in religious matters. For him the Nima sect is the most important. But in his valleys are to be found many remnants of the old Bönbo. My very first quarters in Ming tscheng were in the house of a Bönbo chief, and not far from it were numerous Bönbo sanctuaries. However, repeated attacks of the Tschantui had destroyed most of them in the course of the last decades and everywhere I came across ruins, burned houses and temples (1) (Plate XLIV). The T 795

1. In the 1860s there was still a large Bönbo sanctuary

strawberries and strawberry blossoms reminded me of the German forests. We did not see any game except foxes and now and then a band of monkeys that fled from branch to branch with a great deal of noise. C 137 [136]

Many of the Hsining horses which were not used to the narrow and slippery paths, fell down the embankment, and always delayed us at the countless shaky bridges. At each bridge the packs had to be unloaded and carried over individually by us humans, while the animals were held at the head and tail and half lifted and half shoved across to the other shore. Fortunately not one of the horses was in such good spirits while this was going on that it felt like making wanton capers. A few of the bridges that were 30 paces long were made of only a single plank which lay only a handbreadth on the spars that extended from the banks of the river. At every step the planks bent and swayed so that the horses could hardly keep on their feet unaided. Four meters below, the cataract tore, roared and foamed. My old bitch Tschimo always got dizzy and when everyone else had crossed she cautiously crossed the plank on her belly. 000

Beginning at 2,400 meters the settlements in the narrow wooded valley began to grow denser. For a long time there were only isolated farms and small groups of houses, most of which in the narrow valley bottom are inhabited by Chinese colonists. They squat in miserable straw huts, whereas the Tibetans occupy stone houses on the steep clearings of the slopes. They have here remained wealthy land owners. But for how long? The Tibetans plant little corn, but a great deal of barley and wheat. The Chinese in the bottom of the valley plant corn almost exclusively and are traders. C T 361 241

Every afternoon toward two o'clock we made camp upon some /Plates XLIX, L, LI, and LII appear between pp. 216 and 217 in the original text. / /217/ small clearing. The animals always found some food in the woods and were also fed with corn and tsamba which we had brought from Ta tsien lu. Most of these clearings originated as a result of forest fires. At all of them were to be found the familiar three stones (tab rdo) which had served previous travelers as a cooking place. These are also regarded by the natives here as the home of some hearth god who wishes to be well treated. Woe to him who touches the three stones with his foot who carelessly drops the kettle and perhaps spills its hot contents on the three stones or on the fire! Without doubt luck will be against him from that moment on! C T 777

II. SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The soil in the Szechwan plain is mainly a combination of eroded dark red sandstone, yellow shale, and limestone. Underneath is a layer of clay High fertility of this type of soil is attributed to its rich mineral contents that are easily absorbable for plants and not easily washed away by erosion. Red soil of various ages cover most of the land in Yunnan Province. This type of soil shares a number of properties with common clay. In western Szechwan and western Yunnan, where the mountains are, one can find thick layers of dark grey soil, the comparatively high acidity of which is a result of abundant coniferous woods. In the former province of Sikang, the top soil is thin, often deep dark brown or black in color, and of the plateau-grassland type.

•137 Vegetation in this region can generally be divided into categories according to the altitude of the land. Along the Yangtze River in Szechwan Province, fruits like the orange and the peach, and trees like the bamboo and the palm, grow easily. On the hills up to 5,000 feet in elevation around the Szechwan plain are found oaks, evergreens, and ferns; sweet potato and maize are also planted. On higher mountains in western Szechwan and some parts of Yunnan, coniferous forests thrive magnificently, with shrubs of the rhododendron family carpeting the foothills. Dwarf juniper and flowering herbs cover the meadows at 11,550 to 15,500 feet. At still higher

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

•137 altitudes, vegetation dwindles, and only cushion herbs survive at places sheltered from freezing winds.

III. IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[12]

487 Szechwan Province is the western gate of the region, and the Yangtze River gorges guard the western entrance to Szechwan. Local transportation in Szechwan depended largely on the Yangtze River and its tributaries until the recent highway and railway development increased shipping
504 facilities in the province. Szechwan's largest river ports are Chungking and Wanhsien. Located at the conflux of the Chia-ling and Yangtze rivers, Chungking controls the inland trade of the eastern half of the province. During World War II, Chungking served as a temporary national capital, expanding to accommodate government agencies and industrial plants relocated from East China. About 200 miles downriver from Chungking is Wanhsien, one of the treaty ports open to foreign trade in 1902. Through Wanhsien is exported the bulk of Szechwan's famous tung oil output. Another river port, Lu-chou, is approximately

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12. Ch'en Yu-ch'in, Ch'uan-yu Man-chi [Random Notes on Travel in Szechwan], Nanking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1934, Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

• [3] 744 757 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

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13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 42-43.

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[For data on Topography, Flora and Routes, see Category 116, pp. 217-354, 388-428.]

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173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡 [10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133 487 137 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u 草鋪 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(狸)標 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

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feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance.

Lu-feng [11] is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 拾資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province.

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

[11] In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿鵬甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏婆蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937–1094) by I-sheng 義聲, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341–1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

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487 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descending to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-
137 kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of
133 densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-
[579] quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then governor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dispersed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-
[317] ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were
[483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their foreheads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七舖, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路談. [The character *t'an* 談 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 暹 *shan*, and 撿 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路談千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回蹬關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 直力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 虹江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 陽起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

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361 487 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 峨祿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明量 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 133 137 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.

Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石鋪 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢樑橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard. [317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain. and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閤. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 裕富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓橦 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹伟憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

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487 until we reach the village of Pan-ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-
133 nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a
137 stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普湧 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 苴力鋪, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where
133 lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li
485 from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher
133 pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and ex-
137 posed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession. [243] 139 133 487

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湧.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not contain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[17] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are [362] [243]

[17] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers,
the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is
[316] mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩 *f.* is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村鋪, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江鋪, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉鏡湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li. 137 133 487

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買鋪, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).[20]

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village 731 137 133 487

[20] Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文案洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649–902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 僰 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (*see* p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 甸. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522–1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 隴鈾那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (*see* p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the former Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋羅, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 傍彌千, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (*Lang-k'ung hsien chih lüeh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

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487 the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against
731 the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is
133 at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called
● 137 Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-
[508] ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables.

487 *Twelfth stage.* — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州
133 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu
137 is 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 蒙化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[21] marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[22]

[731] We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[21] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung wu (1381).

[22] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 太國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 33 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 52, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

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of about 600 houses, but quite forlorn and empty.[23] The plain is wide but is hemmed in on the north by a broad, conical hill, partly wooded. Five li beyond Feng-i (Chao chou) we come to the hamlet of Shih-pi-t'ou 石壁頭 and the peaceful temple at the foot of the cliff, called Fei-lai Ssu,[24] which is the regular caravan halting-place, as there are no inns with stables in Chao chou.

Thirteenth stage. — From Fei-lai Ssu to Hsia-kuan 下關 (Lower pass) and Ta-li 大理 is a distance of 25 and 50 li respectively (55 li from Chao chou).

Near the end of the plain, at the foot of a wooded conical hill, the trail makes a complete right angle to the west, and one is fronted by the magnificent Tien-ts'ang Shan 點苍山 (Starred azure Mountain), commonly called Ts'ang Shan,[25] snow-streaked half-way down its slopes; its height is 14,000 feet. We

[23] In ancient days Chao chou had no wall. The first earth wall was built in the second year of Ming Hung-chih (1480). It was 3 li in circumference, 13 feet high, and 5 feet thick. Several times at various periods the wall collapsed and was last rebuilt in 1805. Prior to the Han dynasty, Chao chou was in the State of K'un-mi 昆彌. During the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–24 A.D.), it belonged to Yün-nan hsien. K'un-mi was the name of a family who ruled over that State — hence K'un-mi Kuo — but nothing is known regarding their succession. Afterwards the Lo-lo man 蘿落蠻 dwelt there. In the T'ang dynas y it was the iand of K'un chou 昆州. Subsequently it was called Chao chou chien 趙州縣. Later it was called Chao chün 趙郡 and Chao chou. In the time of the Tuan family it was called T'ien-shui chün 天水郡. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it was the Chao chien ch'ien-hu 趙縣千戶. During Yüan Chih-yüan (1264–1294) it was called Chao chou subject to the circuit of Ta-li. In the Ming dynasty the name remained unchanged. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, Chao chou was first captured; and when the Ming troops attacked the region they first took Chao chou and then the two strategic forts, the Hsia and Shang Kuan. The district derived its name from a certain Chao K'ang 趙康 who was sent to reside there by the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

[24] The temple received its name from a legend which relates that an image of a Buddha came flying through the air. It is situated at the foot of Yü-lung Shan 蓄龍山 (Mountain of the bathing dragon), also known as Su-lung Shan 宿龍山 (Resting dragon Mountain), and is five li north of Chao chou. Another temple called T'u-chu Miao 土主廟 (Temple of the local lord) is in the same village. It was rebuilt during the period Cheng-t'ung 正統 (1436–1449).

[25] The Ts'ang Shan is also called Ling-chiu Shan 靈鷲山, named so after a peak in India called Gṛdhrakūṭa on which vultures had their nests: literally, "Vulture Peak." The Indian mountain, which is now called Giddore, is near Rājagṛha, famous for its vultures and caverns inhabited by ascetics, where Piśuna, or Māra, in the shape of a vulture, hindered the meditation of Ananda (EITEL). It has 19 peaks, and 18 streams descend from it. In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 (784), of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗, I-mou-hsün of the Meng family, who was ruler of Ta-li, conferred upon it the title of Chung-yo 中岳 (Central sacred Mountain). During the reign of Hung-wu, Lan Yü 藍玉, second commander of the left wing of the army and marquis of Yung-ch'ang, attacked Ta-li He sent his soldiers west of the Ts'ang Shan and ordered them to climb it from the west and implant his flag on the highest peak. When the people of Ta-li saw the flag they fled. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 5, fol. 1b, states that it is 3 li west of the city and that it extends for over 100 li from north to south, like a wall. The *Han Shu* calls it the Hsieh-lung Yün-nan Shan 邪龍雲南山 and compares it to the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 of Fu-feng 扶風, Shensi. Clouds often encircle the mountain like a jade girdle, hence people speak of it as the Jade girdle (mountain). Each of its nineteen peaks has a special name, for all are different. Enumerated from south to north beginning with the one above Hsia-kuan and adjoining the T'ien-sheng ch'iao, they are: K'o-yang 苛羊, Ma-erh 馬耳 Horse ear, Fo-t'ou 佛頭 or Buddha head, Sheng-ying 聖應, Ma-lung 馬龍 or Horse dragon, Yü-chü 玉局, the Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 or Dragon spring, and the Central Peak or Chung-ho feng 中和峯. Then follow the Kuan-yin 觀音, or Goddess of

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487 133 137 pass through miserable hamlets nearly destroyed by the earthquake, and over a sandy trail which skirts the hill-sides, leaving to our right the southern end of the Erh Hai 洱海 (Erh Lake), that is, the Ta-li Lake (PLATE 4). On Davies' *Map of Yün-nan* the distance to Hsia-kuan does not appear to be more than 15 li, in comparison to the stretch from Hsia-kuan to Ta-li; the scale is quite out of proportion. The actual distance from Chao chou to Hsia-kuan is 30 li, and from there to Ta-li 25 li.

Hsia-kuan is situated on a hill-side and is visible from afar; elevation 6,900 feet. It is the business town of western central Yün-nan, while Ta-li is the residential town and the seat of the officials. The Hsia Kuan has another name — the Lung-wei Kuan 龍尾關 (Dragon-tail Pass). This, as well as the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper pass, also called Lung-shou Kuan 龍首關, Dragon-head Pass) were constructed by P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣 in the 29th year of K'ai-yüan 開元 (741). He was the first ruler or King of Nan-chao and the fourth of the Ta Meng or the Great Meng dynasty. The first kingdom of the Ta Meng was called the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔.

Passing through the walled town with its narrow streets, we cross the Hei-lung ch'iao 黑龍橋 (Black dragon bridge), over the Hsia-kuan Ho (Hsia-kuan River),[26] the outlet of the Erh Lake,[27] and ascend the steep grade over the slippery pavement of the suburbs of Hsia-kuan.

Mercy Peak, the Ying-lo 應樂, the Hsüeh-jen 雪人 or Snow-man Peak, the Lan-feng 蘭峯 or Orchid Peak, the San-yang 三陽, the Ho-yün 鶴雲, the Pai-yün 白雲, or White cloud, the Lien-hua 蓮花 or Lotus Peak, the Wu-t'ai 五臺 or Five Terraces, the Ts'ang-lang 滄浪 and last the Yün-lung 雲弄, directly above the Shang-kuan.

[26] The Hsia-kuan Ho, where it enters the defile in the Tien-ts'ang Range, is called the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream); beyond it is called the Ho-chiang Ho 合江河, after a village by that name in the gorge. It flows as the Ho-chiang Ho into the Yang-pi River 漾濞江.

[27] The Ta-li Lake, which is 90 li long and from 9 to 21 li wide, is a beautiful sheet of water. To the east it is bordered by reddish, bare, rather low hills, the region being called Tung-hai 東海 (East lake). The lake is also called the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (West Erh Stream), and is east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣, the present Ta-li hsien or Ta-li district. It is also known as the Yeh-yü Shui 葉榆水 (Waters of Yeh-yü) — Yeh-yü being the ancient name of Ta-li. [The Yeh-yü of the Han epoch is 10 li south-east of the present-day Ta-li and is identical with the village of Yang-ho-p'u 楊和鋪, where its foundations, or remnants, are still visible. The region now belongs to the district of T'ai ho hsien. During the Han dynasty it was subject to Yün-nan hsien 雲南縣, now called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣, pronounced in Yün-nan, Ch'ien-yün hsien.] The origin of the name Yeh-yü is traced to a large forest of elms, called *yü-shu* 榆樹 in Chinese. [*Ulmus pumila var. pilosa* Rehd. is quite common on the eastern slopes of the Tien-ts'ang Shan.] The elm forest existed in ancient days at the outlet of the Ta-li Lake at Hsia-kuan, by the T'ien-sheng ch'iao 天生橋 (Natural bridge), a natural stone bridge which spans the outlet of the lake. It was so dense that it was always dark and no one could pass there. To the south of the bridge is a stele which records that it was there that Chu-ko Liang captured Meng-huo 孟獲. The stele is dated Kuang-hsü *ping-wu* 丙午 (1906).

Still other names for the Ta-li Lake are Hsi-erh Hai 西洱海 and Erh Shui 洱水.

The source of the lake is in the Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山 in the north of Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣. Flowing south it passes east of Lang-k'ung hsien and Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州 and thence enters the borders of T'ai-ho hsien, where it is called Hsi-erh Ho. From the Tien-ts'ang Shan, which lies to the west, 18 affluents descend into the stream, which thus enlarged forms the Erh Hai. Its outlet is at Hsia-kuan as has already been described.

The shape of the lake is that of a human ear, *erh* 耳, hence the name Erh Hai. Its cir-

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[1964] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

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Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

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Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5). In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音塘 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里塘 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but the dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[See p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6) are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come
E08 within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 [35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the
137 Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙泙, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta Li 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 滕川.

1 [see p.28 F. -- Analyst]

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Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,[36] the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,[37] crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 溪水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

[36] At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

[37] In the Han dynasty, ´ eng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 葉榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 騰衝州, dependent on Yao chou 姚州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 騰談詔 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the *t'an* 談 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 溪水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 羅時江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

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487 133 137 Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, bring us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal[38] which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌苴河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge[39] over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler. [317] Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,[40] also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Halfway up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.[41] On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,[42] formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

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executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no descendants.

[38] This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

[39] This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王綱, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457–1464).

[40] The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou ching 喬后井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 30 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

[41] This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

[42] During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

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Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent. 489 133 137

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山鋪, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li. [243] [438]

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan 火藥山 [44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound- [135]

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 碧 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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487 ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from
133 the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour,
137 after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

579 Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

487 *Sixteenth stage.* — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li.
133 Elevation 7,800 feet.
137 From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662–1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 [45] (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple [46] nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yünnanensis*, Alnus, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, Berberis, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

[45] The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748–778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b–6a).

[46] The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行庵 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

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lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it. 487 133 137

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyu in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Bonvalel-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan). [317]

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semi-circle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — Jade dragon Mountain), although it is already visible

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487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
137 Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[322] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羲賢羅城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 睑 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窑村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍睑 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羲賢睑 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羲賢千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羲賢 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

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p'ing-ts'un 太平村, Liu-chia-teng 劉家登 and Tien-hsin-ch'iao 甸心橋. The village of Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨 is not on the Chien-ch'uan plain but beyond a narrow ravine, the slopes of which are covered with pines. Opposite the village, in a lovely pine forest, are numerous graves. This or the village of Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河 is the regular lunch-stop for the day. Five li from this village will bring us to the end of the stage, the village of Chiu-ho 九河 (Nine streams),[48] but there are still the villages of Chiang-tung 江東 and Wen-mu-ho 文木河 to be passed. Ere reaching Chiu-ho there is a beautiful isolated hill with a lovely forest of oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and thence we travel along the foot of a rocky hill entering the long valley which leads to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. Chiu-ho is situated on a low spur at an elevation of 8,150 feet. It is a miserable hamlet with a single dilapidated temple. Caravans bound for Li-chiang usually prefer to go beyond it to the hamlet of Tu-wo 杜娥 also called Tu-wu 杜吳 on Chinese maps (Na-khi, Dtu-wùa).

We have now arrived at the border of the Li-chiang district, to which the village of Chiu-ho belongs. South of it is Chien-ch'uan territory.

[48] Chiu-ho is called in Na-khi, Gkyi-wùa; and Kuan-shang 關上, at the end of the valley which extends north of Chiu-ho, is called Gkyi-wùa Ts'o-k'ö.

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CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

487 133 137 *Eighteenth stage.* — From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation, 8,200 feet.

From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,[1] the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (*see* description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'ö), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndĕr (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鉄架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round, [243] wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).[2] These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

[1] The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'ö). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei mou 錯鬼謀. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

[2] "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

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stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 拉史塔. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 487 133 137

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets.

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See*: *San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神庙 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇史塔 (also written 拉史塔). The caravan-stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet. [312]

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Ḳhü (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of 101

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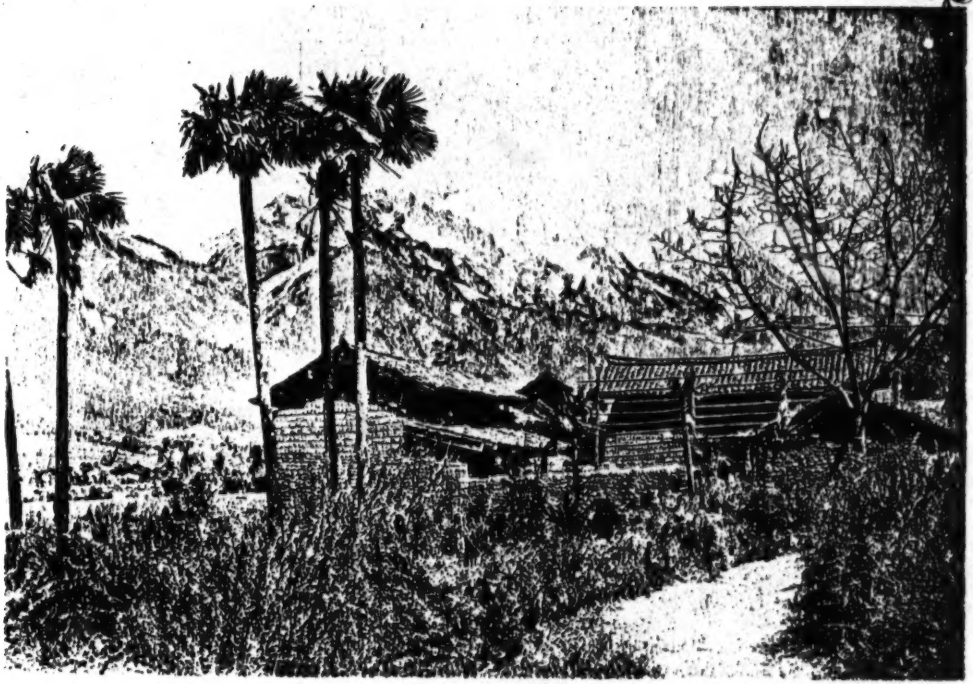

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 66. — MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山尖子頭

The highest peak of Yü-lung Shan as seen from the village of Lü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (in foreground) in the li of Pai-sha. To the left fan palms (*Trachycarpus Fortunei*), to the right a leafless walnut tree. The rack in front of the house is used for drying grain, turnips, etc.

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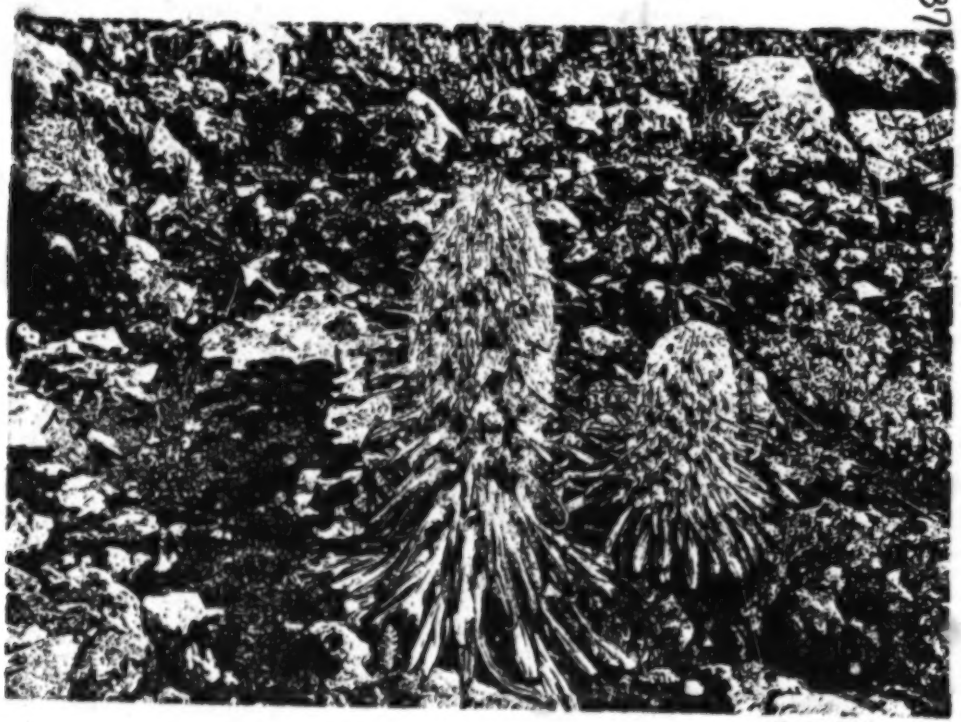

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 67. — SAUSSUREA LANICEPS H-M.

The last of the alpine composites growing among limestone rocks at an elevation of 15,000 feet, at Khi-lili-p'u-dshwuh, eastern slopes of the Yü-lang Shan.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 69. — THE ALPINE MEADOW OF MAN-DEU-GKV

In the foreground *Rhododendron Traillianum* trees with *Abies Forrestii*. The forested spur on the other side of the meadow is Ghügh-bö lo and the ravine in the extreme upper left Zhwua-k'o lo. Elevation 11,000 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 70. — THE GORGE SA-BA LO-GEV

薩巴羅古峽谷

The gorge which has no outlet was once glacier-filled; it is now waterless except in its upper part. Forest of spruce and Rhododendron which give way to firs higher up fill the gorge. The glacier in the upper right descends from the highest peak, Shan-tzu-tou. Its snout is now at the extreme head of the gorge. Photographed from La-so-gko-dshwua elevation 12,500 feet, and 300 feet above the floor of the gorge. The leafless trees in the foreground are larches (*Larix Potaninii*).

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 71. — THE SA-BA GORGE

薩巴峽谷

The mighty gorge once filled with a glacier is now dry and the limestone floor is sparingly covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. It extends east from about the center of the snow range, south of the Yangtze. A similar gorge (Gyi-p'ér k'a) but longer, extends west from the other side of the range in contraposition of Sa-ba; it is 2,650 feet lower than Sa-ba. The broad rocky mass above the pine-covered spur (left) is Ggô-gko 'a-k'ö; La-so-gko-dshwuh is near the head (top) of the pine-covered spur whence Plate 70 was taken.

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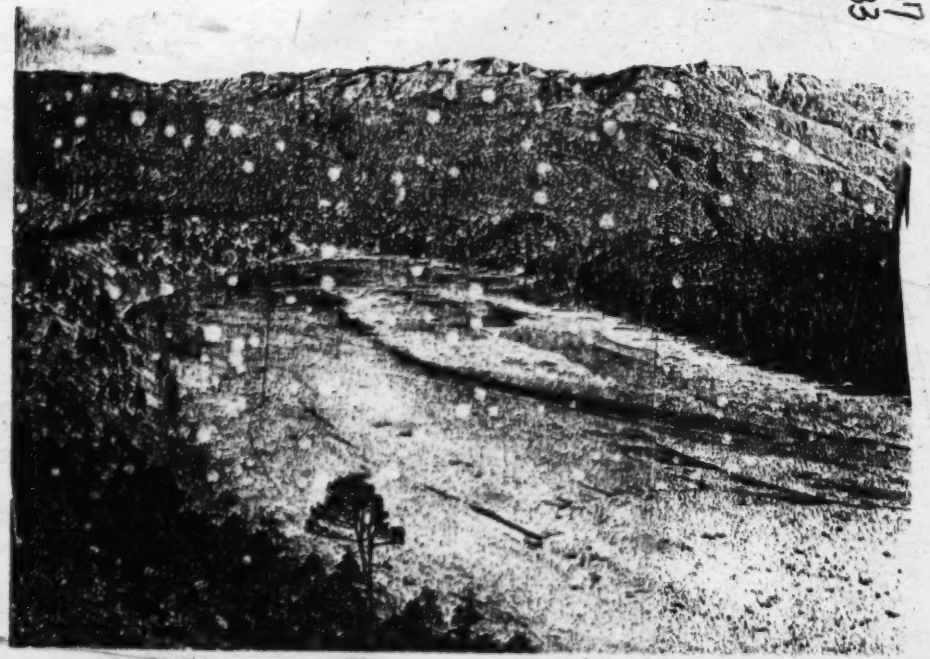

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 73. — SA-BA-DÜ-LA-LO, THE NORTHEASTERN BRANCH OF SA-BA

The floor of this part of Sa-ba is composed of almost pure marl; the encircling moraines are covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. The distance from Sa-ba lo-gkv, the head of the gorge, to the end of Sa-ba dü-la-lo is over three miles. The glacier which once filled this gorge has now retreated to its very head.

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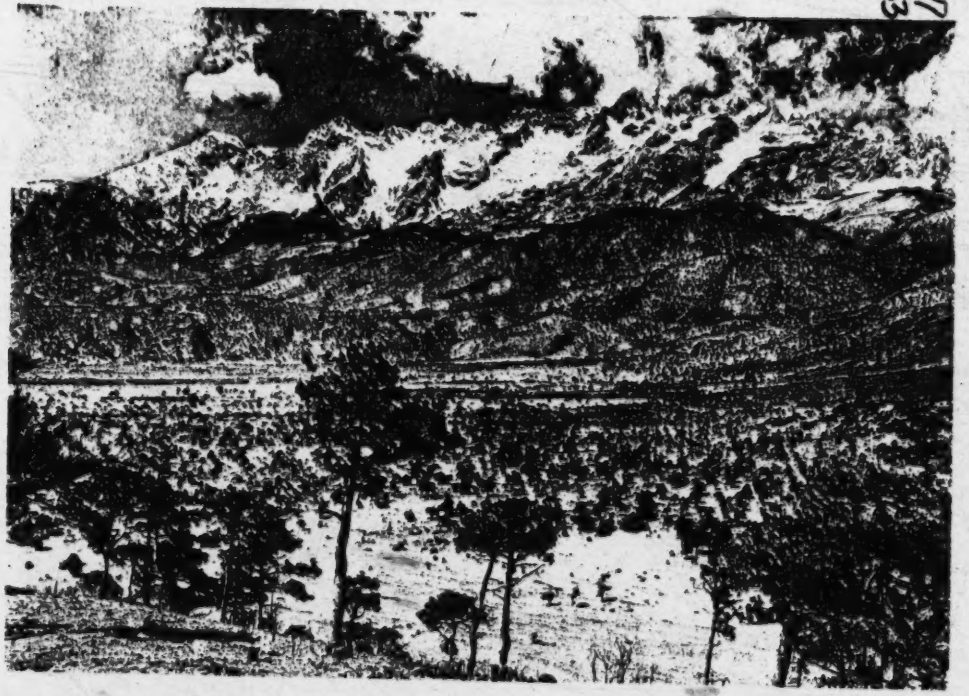

PLATE 77. — SOUTHERN END OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN IN WINTER SNOW

玉龍山南支嶺

View across the upper end of the Li-chiang plain from the eastern limestone range at Dza-dza mbu. The trees are all pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The first snow-covered crag (left) is Hua-lä-bpu. The others are called first half Nv-lv-na, the second Nv-lv-p'ĕr (black and white silver rocks) owing to the black and white scree which descend from the crags.

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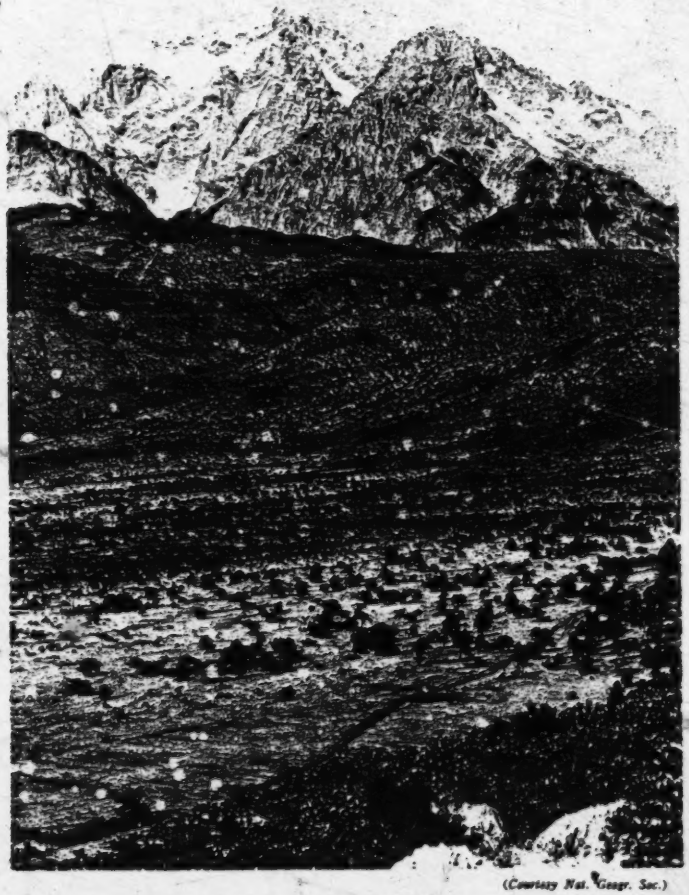

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 78.— MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉 龍 山 獅 子 頭

View from Dza-dza mbu (Dshi-hō gyi-ts'i) across northern end of Li-chiang plain and west to Shan-tzu-tou. The Sa-ba gorge is beyond the diagonal spur. Pine trees on plain; scrub oak and limestone in foreground. Where the lowest snow field seems to join the spur is La-so-gko-dshwuā.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 79. — NGA-BA, THE ANCIENT BED OF AN ICE LAKE

玉龍山峨巴子，古冰湖底子

Situated at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan, elevation 10,500 feet. The trees on the grassy plain are pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which higher up give way to poplars (*Populus Bonatii*) and larches (*Larix Potaninii*). The first peak (left) is Ch'wua-lo-gku; the second Sa-ba nv-lv; the third Shan-tzu-tou. Note the man on horseback in lower right.

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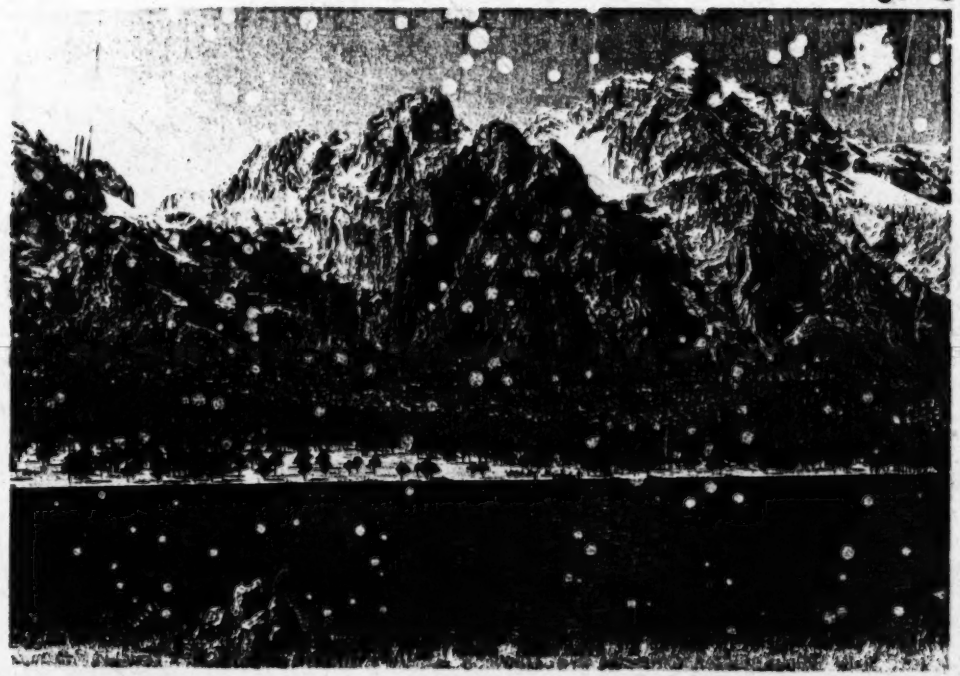

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 80. — NGA-BA TRANSFORMED INTO A BLUE LAKE

乾海子變成青海

Only during summers of exceptional heavy rains does a lake form at Nga-ba; by spring, however, the waters disappear entirely. The author's camp can be seen on lake shore (center). The central peak is Nga-ba nv-lv; the last peak Gyi-nà nv-lv.

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PLATE 84. — NDA-ZA OKO, THE LOVELIEST OF ALPINE MEADOWS

Situated on a spur overlooking Pai-shui, at an elevation of 10,700 feet. The mighty mountain mass Shan-tzu-tou with its glacier which feeds the Pai-shui, overshadows the meadow. Forests of tall spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) surround it. The author camped here for weeks translating Na-khi literature.

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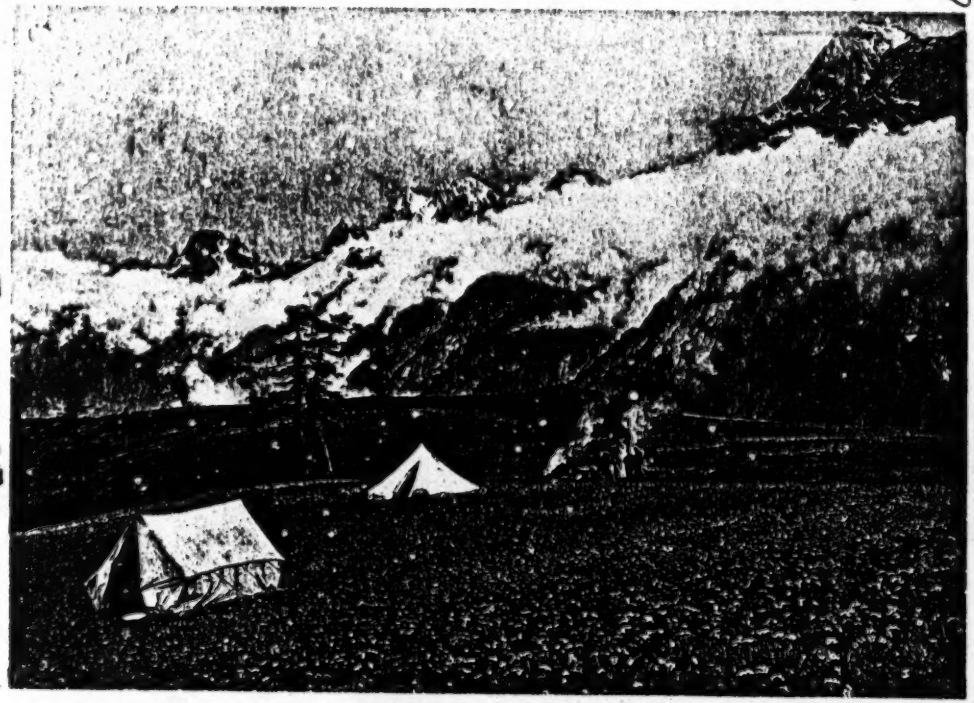

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 91. — THE ALPINE REGION GV-SSU-GKO DÜ-MAN

玉龍高山牧場

The author's camp in a sea of Anemones, Primulas, ground orchids and other alpine flowers. The region was formerly covered with dense fir forest, a few trees have still survived. The peak in center is Shan-tzu-tou; the one in extreme upper right, Gyi-nà nv-lv. Photographed after a midday storm. Elevation 12,500 feet.

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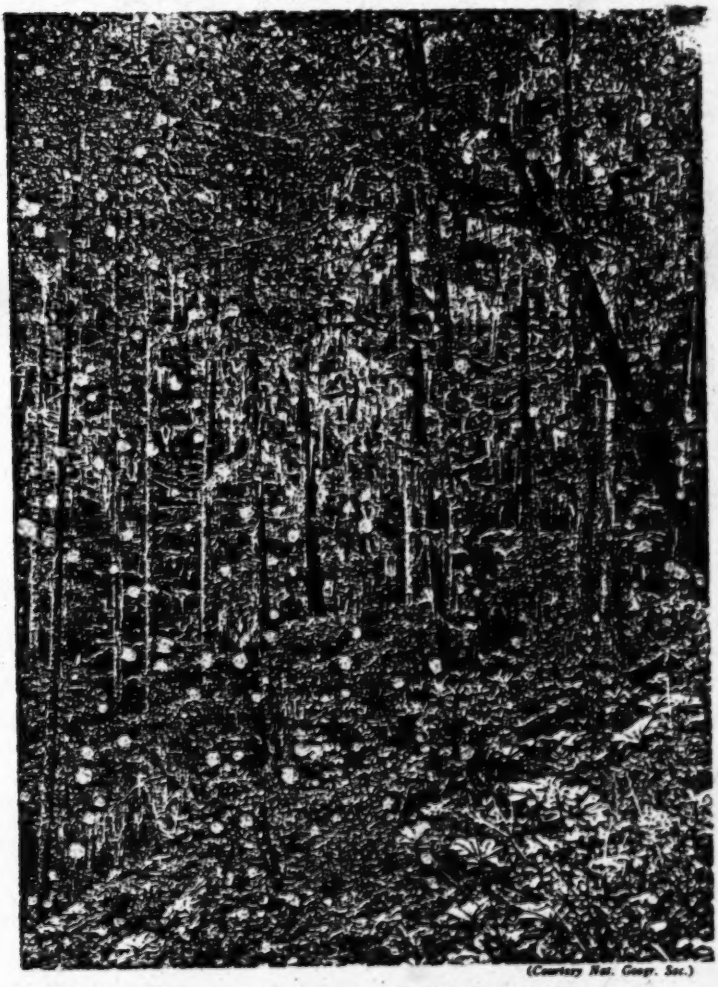

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 92.—VIRGIN, MIXED FOREST ON THE EASTERN SLOPES OF YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山東麓混交原始林

Forest of evergreen and deciduous trees covers the mountain slope between Hei-shui and Ta-ku at an elevation of 10,000 to 10,700 feet. The trees are mainly *Pinus yunnanensis*, *Pinus Armandi*, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, *Tsuga yunnanensis*, Acer, Sorbus, etc. The undergrowth is formed by *Rhododendron decorum* and *Rhod. rubiginosum*, Lonicera and *Rodgersia pinnata* (lower left). The lichen *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 93. — THE PINE FOREST OF GHÜGH-T'O WANTONLY DESTROYED BY LO-LO THIEVES

[illegible]

Lo-lo squatters set fire to this forest which burned for weeks, enshrouding the land in clouds of smoke. The Lo-lo are the enemy of every tree, and wherever they settle they cause wanton destruction. Since the Lo-lo have been driven out some ten years ago, the forest is gradually coming back again.

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khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po], *i.e.*, the purple mountain of Jang = Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sā-bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明具, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 [6] is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dyansty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 [7] is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [8] flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

[6] There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dü-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

[7] This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 and La-chün Shan 剌均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 is 20 li north-west of the old Lan chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 剌鉤山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈞. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the natives pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu-niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling-ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石來江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

[8] It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

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PLATE 130. — PINE FOREST IN THE HA-BA DISTRICT

哈巴森林

Unlike the Lo-lo, the Na-khi are lovers of trees and disturb the forests as little as necessary. The trees are *Pinus yunnanensis*.

[p. 220 J]

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PLATE 133.—THE MOUNTAINS OF GRO-GO NORTHEAST OF BATA-GOLA

The range is snow-covered in winter only and its highest peak is 15,420 feet. Photographed from near TAM-GO in Ha-ba, elevation 9,000 feet. The forests are composed mainly of pines and oaks.

[p. 220 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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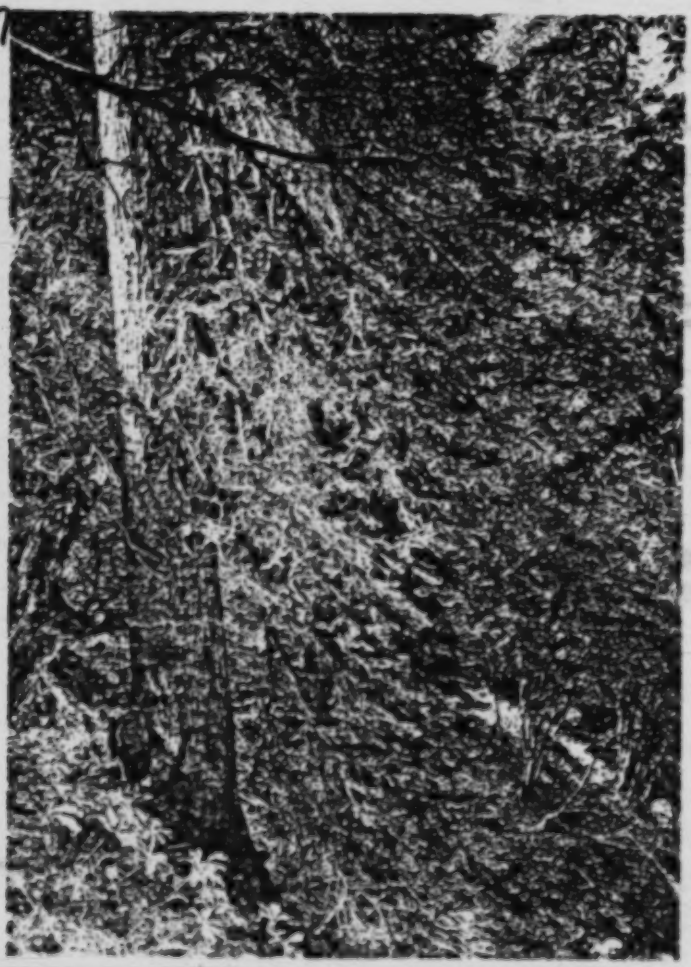

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 184. — ABIES CHENGIENSIS, THE TALLEST CONIFER BELOW THE SI LA

大 果 冷 杉 下

With Birches, Hemlocks (Tsuga), Maples and many other trees, this magnificent fir forms lovely forests on the eastern slopes of the Mekong — Salween divide at an elevation of 9,000 to 10,000 feet.

[p. 330 P]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 185. — FIRS AND RHODODENDRONS BELOW THE SI LA

夕拉下杜鵑林與冷杉

At an elevation of 11,000 feet, at the foot of the Si La we meet with pure stands of *Abies Delavayi* with undergrowth of *Rhododendron levistratum*. The snowy pyramid in center is Mt. Ira-chhen which flanks the Zhi-dzom La. Eastern slopes of Mekong — Salween divide.

[p. 362 A]

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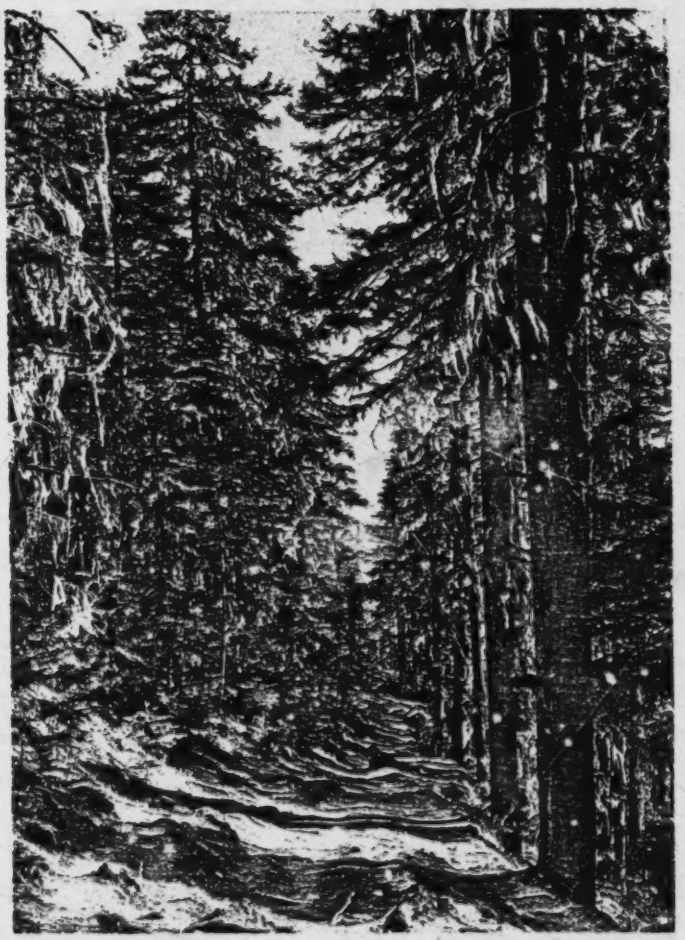

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 206. — THE ROAD TO TUNG-CHU-LIN THROUGH MAGNIFICENT SPRUCE FOREST

東竹林路虎尾松林

Picea complanata with *Rhododendron Wardii* as undergrowth forms pure stands at 12,000 feet, north of Tung-chu-lin Lamasery. *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

[p.394-F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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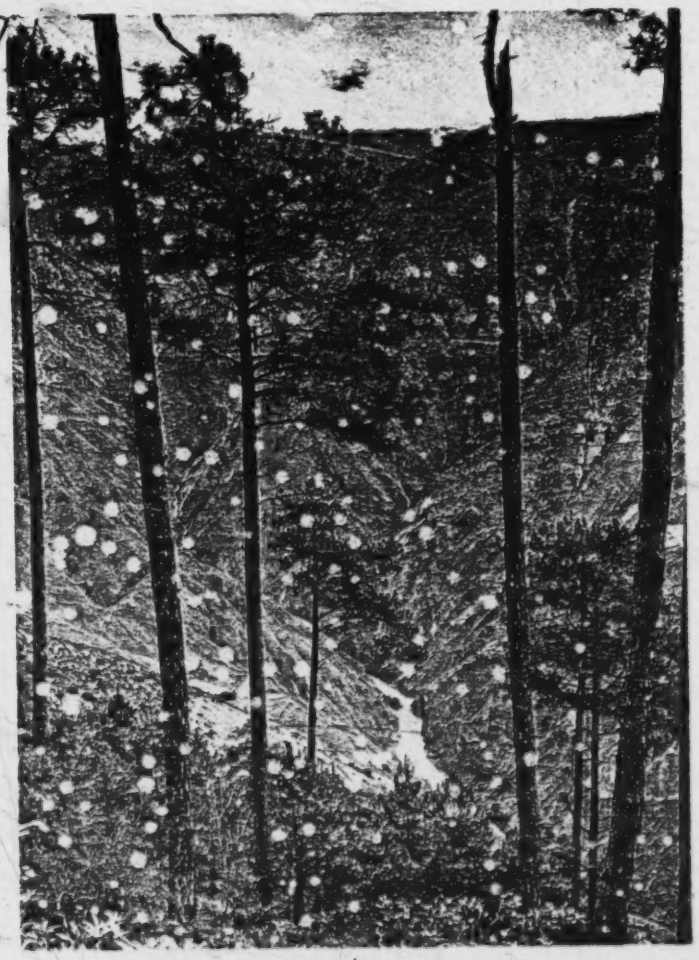

PLATE 218. — THE EASTERN BRANCH OF THE WU-LIANG HO OR ZHO CHHU IN MU-LI TERRITORY

木 雅 貢 布 縣 地 方 金 沙 江 東 支 流

The Zho Chhu or Shu Gyi of the Na-khi has its source at Na-pu and flowing parallel to the Li Chhu or Li-t'ang River, joins the main Wu-liang Ho some ten miles above its confluence with the Yangtze; *see* Plate 105. Photographed from an elevation of 12,000 feet, between the villages of Ga-ro and Dze-ru, Mu-li Territory

[p.410-J]

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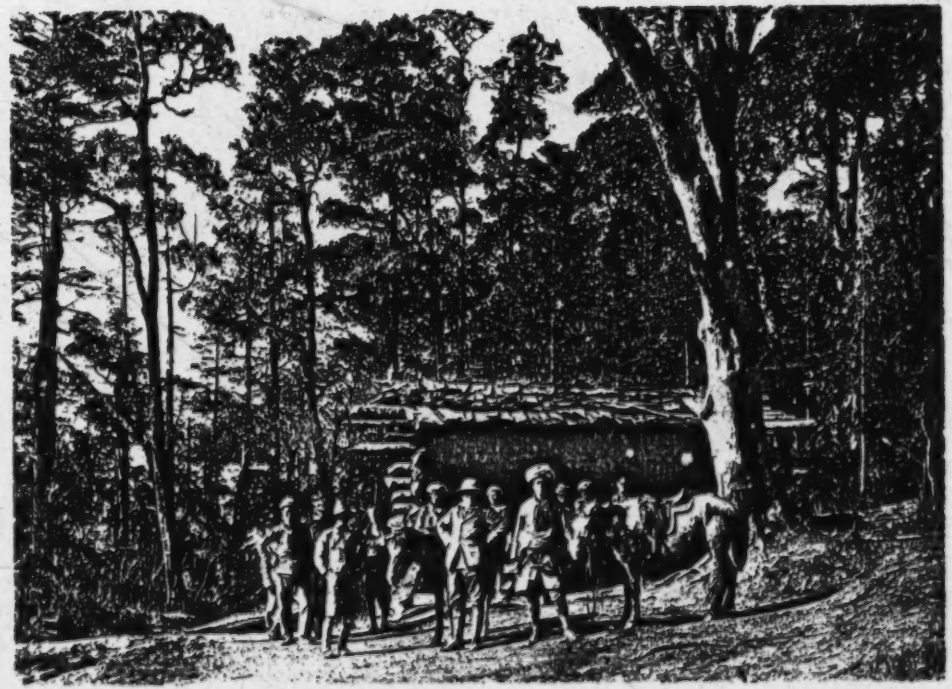

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 230. — YO-WA-BU PASS OVER THE TA-YAO SHAN

永華大樂山山口

The author's entourage on Yo-wa-bu Pass in front of the Li-su guard station. It is the most important pass over Ta-yao Shan, on the caravan route to Yung-ning from Feng-k'o, on the Yangtze.

[p. 426-F]

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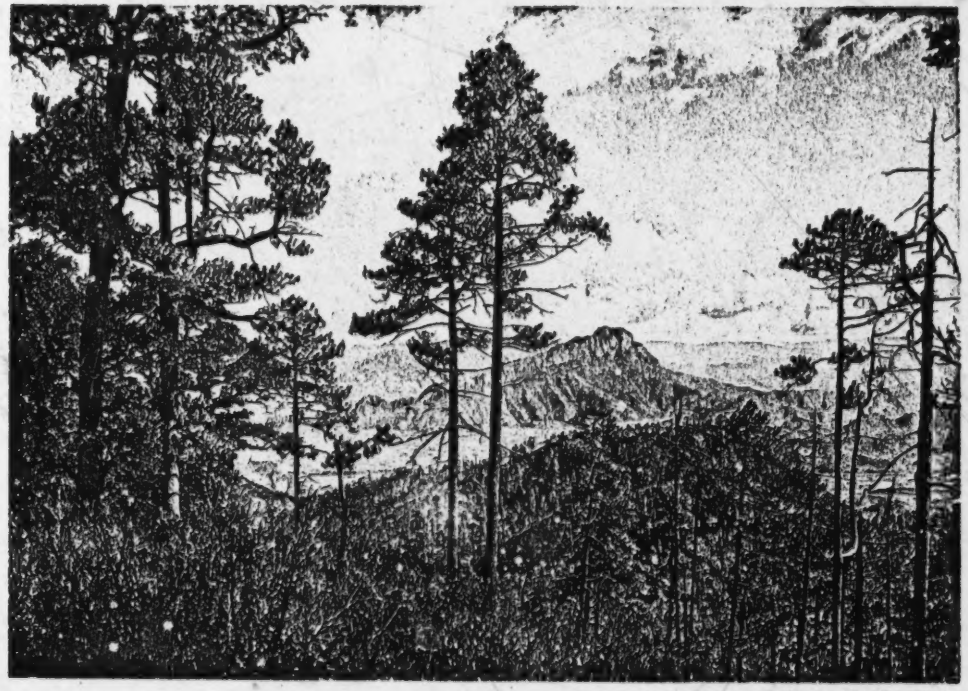

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 237. — VIEW OVER YUNG-NING AND LION MOUNTAIN FROM EAST OF TO-KA-BO PASS

自永寧西山眺東面，獅子山背景

Photographed looking east from an elevation of 12,200 feet. A trail leads here west over To-ka-bo Pass to Hër-dü and San-chiang-k'ou at the apex of the Yangtze loop. Pines, spruces, poplars and rhododendrons in foreground.

[p.426 M]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 240. — THE NORTHERN SHORE OF YUNG-NING LAKE

永寧湖北岸，立岸線竹叢

The trail in the foreground leads to the village of Hli-ki near the foot of Lion Mountain. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border is beyond (east) the long, wooded peninsula. The trees covering the lake-encircling hills are mainly pines and oaks. Tso-so T'u-ssu territory in the background.

[p. 426 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
● 137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卭 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卭都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-su-ssu 四川行司. There were two classes of Fan savages—Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tzŭ (桑根紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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The speckled snake, *ma pan* (麻斑), believed to be poisonous.

Wu shao (烏稍), a grey snake, reckoned to be poisonous.

Wu pang (蟒), a grey tailless snake or one whose tail does not taper like the other species. It boldly faces men and when attacked shows no inclination to flee.

825

Chüeh shê and *shou kung* (守宮), the lizard. The Chinese fear these entering the tea-cups and leaving poison.

The snake's body is very cold, its teeth of the finest, its bite the most venomous. On seeing it every Chinese gets a fright, and generally speaking the belief is that they should be killed, with exceptions which will be given. The saying runs that if you see a snake and do not kill it, in the next life you will be dumb. Snakes in private homes and temples must not be killed. Those in private houses are believed to be the spirits of the ancestors come back in this form to present themselves to the family, and incense is often offered inviting them to go.

Those in temples are called *shên shê*, spirit snakes; it is said that the god of literature and the city god are snakes and come to receive the incense at the altar. It is said if one goes very early to the bedroom of the city god in his temple one will find two snakes asleep on the bed.

Besides this 眞武足踏龜蛇, the *chên wu* idol or *Liu Ch'ang shêng* has his foot on tortoise and snake, that is, he is able to subdue them.

Country people declare that by suddenly entering a bamboo grove a snakes' gathering, *shê hui*, may be seen; but on being disturbed they flee in all directions.

Snakes have a propensity for stealing living creatures such as chickens, rabbits, etc., and in so doing it is believed that the ancestor is only taking his due. Such are some of the ideas which run in the minds of the people regarding snakes, and we now turn to the king of the scaly tribe. The dragon bore nine sons something as follows:—

Hsieh chai (獬豸), a fabulous monster like a deer, which it is said can discriminate between right and wrong.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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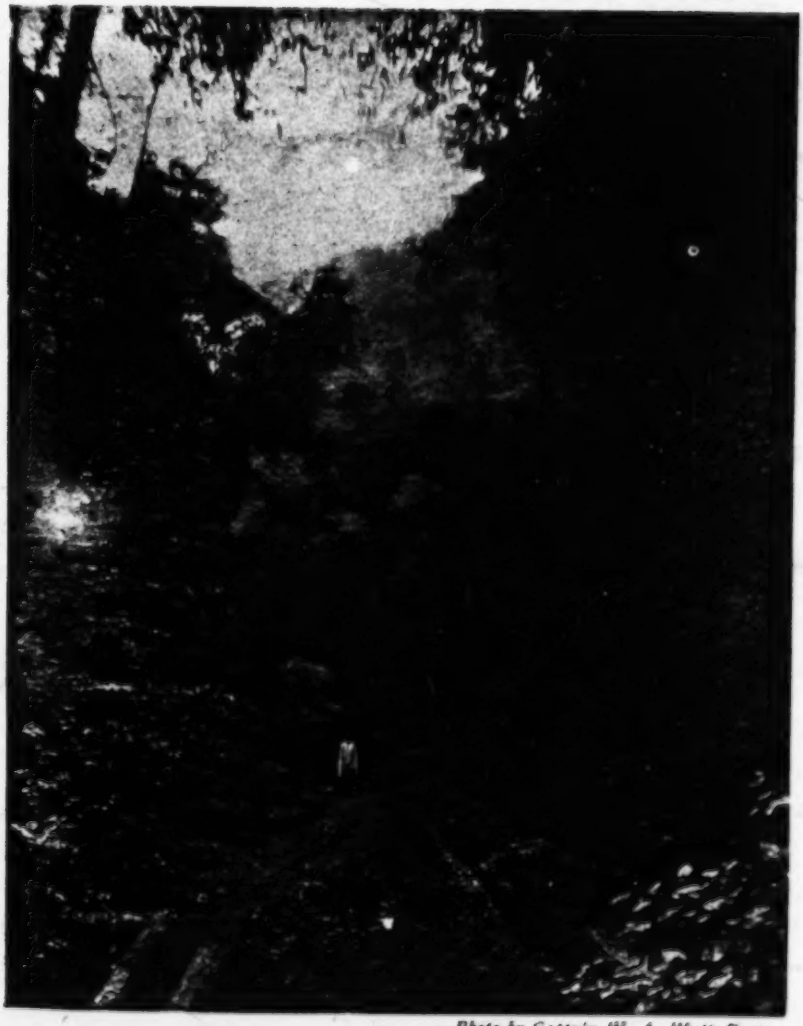

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Coming down to the Salween valley

Plate XII

[Face p.54]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S 133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
S 501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a
133 single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
● 137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

000 shed at 5,600 feet, one of the lowest points in this part of the range. From here we went by an equally gradual descent
S to T'ou-tao-shui, a little village in which a market is held
733 every five days. The small official in charge of the police here came to see me in the evening somewhat the worse for liquor, and I saw three or four other men in the same state, rather an unusual sight in China. Most Chinamen drink rice spirit, but they seem to know when they have had enough, and one seldom sees a drunken man.

From T'ou-tao-shui there are two roads on to Kun-long. The most direct route passes through Mêng-lai, but I took a longer and better road round by Mien-ning. The next day we had an easy march to Yi-wan-shui, and on the 20th we slept at La-tien-p'o, a village which lies on the Mêng-lai Ho, the main source of the Nam Ting. Still following
S up this stream we reached Mien-ning T'ing on the 22nd.
133 Since leaving Shun-ning the country and climate had been gradually changing, and we were now in a district more resembling the Shan States than the higher part of China we had hitherto been travelling in. The elevations
S of the hills are much lower, the climate considerably warmer,
[137] and the whole country is covered with jungle of a semi-tropical kind instead of the bare hills and pine forests of the districts further north.

S The Mien-ning plain is some seven miles long by three
361 miles wide. The town is built near the southern end of it on the left bank of the Mêng-lai Ho, a stream 30 yards wide and three or four feet deep, which runs down the middle of the plain from south to north. There is a great deal of vacant space inside the walls, and the town contains only 200 houses, but it is surrounded on all sides by suburbs amounting to another 300 or 400. The largest suburb is on the east, and this appears to be the chief commercial quarter, such as it is. The inns are miserable, and I found quarters in a good-sized temple, built by the Ssū-ch'uan
P residents of the place.

Mien-ning is always pronounced Mien-ling by the
177 inhabitants. It was originally a Shan state, and its proper Shan name is Möng Myen. There are still a great many of this race living here, but the Chinese are now in the majority, and the Shans are taking very much to Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

elevation here is only 2,500 feet, and the day was very close and hot with a thick mist which made surveying difficult. After crossing we ascended 1000 feet to Ch'ou-shui to camp.

The next day, 1st April, we crossed the river which, coming from the town of P'u-êrh, flows into the Wei-yüan Chiang a little below the crossing. It is here 30 yards wide and easily fordable in the dry weather. In the rains, however, it often becomes impassable, and, as there is no boat, travellers have nothing to do but to exercise patience and sit down on the river bank till the flood subsides. The hills about here were covered with wild raspberries just ripe, a yellow variety very common in the Shan States and in some parts of Yün-nan.

The next day we passed through the little village of Man-mu which is inhabited by Shans who came here from the province of Chiang-hsi seven generations ago. Their language is distinctly Shan, but it is a peculiar dialect and they have some difficulty in making themselves understood by the others of their race in the neighbourhood. They say they do not know why they came here and that they are the only Chiang-hsi Shans[1] in this part of the country. But they are quite positive that they did come from Chiang-hsi, which they describe as being three months' journey away.

That night we slept at the Lo-lo village of Na-ku and the next day, the 4th April, an easy march brought us into Ssŭ-mao.

[1] The Chung-chia of Kuei-chou are stated to be a mixture of Shan and Chinese, their ancestors on the Chinese side of the family having been soldiers who were natives of Chiang-hsi. It is possible that the villagers of Man-mu are Chung-chia who have emigrated here, but they did not tell me that they came from Kuei-chou.

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5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 however, does not go down to it, but turns in a more westerly direction to Ning-kram, a Kachin village of the Maran tribe. The Kachins were somewhat surprised, as they naturally did not expect to see a European travelling about here, but I had no difficulty in convincing them that it was quite a friendly visit. The last time we had come across Kachins was on the 11th January, the day that we marched into Chan-hsi (San-si). This race is only met with near the Burmese border; they do not extend any distance into the interior of Yün-nan.

487 Our road the next day crossed the Nam Wan a mile or two above the head of the Möng Wan plain and then passed over another range of hills into the Ho-hsa valley. I had sent on to say I was coming and was most hospitably received by the sawbwa, who was then living in his old [136] capital at Se-kow. I found a good many spot-billed duck in the flooded rice fields here and also saw one snipe.

I could not spare the time to accept the sawbwa's invitation to stay on here a day or two, and started again the next morning, accompanied for part of the way by his eldest son. The range between the Nam Wan and the [137] Taping is crossed at 7,400 feet. Here I found a very nice sort of white wild strawberry growing, quite different from the tasteless red variety that one usually finds in this country. We descended into the Taping valley and crossed the river at Nawng-hsai ferry: it is 500 yards wide here, but at this time of the year not more than half the bed has any water in it and it is shallow enough to be fordable. We slept the night at the Shan monastery at Man-waing [206] or Man-yün. Since my last visit, telegraphic communication had been established by Mr Jensen between T'êng-yüeh and the Burmese frontier, and I found a telegraph station established here and was once more in touch with the outside world.

On the 15th of May we reached the frontier fort of Nam-paung, and in two more marches did the 32 miles which separate this post from Bhamo.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

my Chinese servant behind here as he was suffering from bronchitis and fever, brought on, I believe, by the rainy, misty weather which is most unusual at this season of the year. I found him quite recovered. 000

I now turned towards Yung-ch'ang Fu, but determined to keep in unexplored country by taking a route some way to the north of the T'êng-yüeh Yung-ch'ang main road. The mountain range which separates the Shweli from the Salween valley is here a very high one, nearly precipitous at the top so that there are only a few paths across it. I decided to take one known as the Ma-mien-kuan pass. This being rather an out-of-the-way road, I had all the usual stories told me to try and dissuade me from going that way. The tales this time took the form of accounts of the deeds of Li-so robbers and a description of a sort of poisonous shrub which would kill the mules if they ate it. This last has, I believe, some foundation, as the shrub was pointed out to me on the pass, but I cannot imagine that animals would eat it if there was any grass to be got. The pass has evidently a bad name as I had great difficulty in getting a guide. Only one man would come, and I had to pay him at the exorbitant rate of 10½*d.* a day. 137 • 000

It was not till the second day out of Kai-t'ou that we tackled the pass. From Shan-yao where we had slept, there is a pretty stiff climb to begin with, and then some down hill before the really bad part comes. In the last two miles there is an ascent of 2,500 feet to the top of the range, which I made about 10,500 feet above sea level.

Just before reaching the summit is a Buddhist monastery, where four or five Chinese monks live who give food gratis to travellers and look out for people who miss the road in the snow, which often falls heavily in January. They have a very substantial house, the lower story built of stone and the upper of wood. As a special favour I was taken into the inner court by the head monk, who said he did not usually let people inside. The door from one court to the other in the lower story is barred up by great beams, and to get in we had to climb a ladder, go round the upper storey, and get down again inside. This, they say, is a precaution against Li-so robbers. The monastery was extra- 792 [346]

140 *Kun-long to Yün Chou* viâ *Chên-k'ang*

000 Leaving Möng Ti, we took two marches over a hilly and in places forest-clad country to arrive at Hsi-la, a village in a narrow paddy plain, whence a road to Shun-ning branches off from our route. This, like most of the neighbouring villages, is inhabited by Chinese, but we also saw some of the Miao tribe near here, and they told us there were a good many of their race living in the high range to the east.

We were now well out of the barren dried-up hills which are characteristic of the Chên-k'ang State, and our march from Hsi-la lay through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, alternating with well-cultivated hillsides. After ascending some way, a narrow gorge with precipitous hills on either side brought us to the top of the Salween-Mekong watershed, at a height of 6,600 feet. With a few more miles of steep up and down over rough rocky ground we reached Ta-li-ssû, a little village in a steep-sided valley, where we found shelter in a temple. One discovery we made on this march was two trees growing among the fir forests which Ker recognised as cork trees. They were both young trees, 20 feet high or so, and we could not find any more, though it is true we had not time for a very thorough search.

• 137

000 The next day, the 10th February, was the Chinese New Year, a day on which no Chinaman will travel if he can help it. Our own followers having no friends in this out-of-the-way spot were quite willing to march on, but the difficulty was to get a guide. After much conversation we managed to engage a lad at the exorbitant rate of seven-pence for the day's work. He was not very willing to come, but his father, probably with an eye to handling some of his son's wages, said, "What's the use of your talking about keeping the New Year when you have got no money to keep it with?" and so the bargain was clinched.

We continued our journey through a fine hilly country, fording the Ya-lang Ho, a beautiful stream flowing through wooded banks. The population of these parts is very varied. The P'u-mans are the most numerous, and there are also Chinese, Lo-lo, and Miao villages. These P'u-mans, like other communities of this tribe that I have met, have forgotten their own language, and in this instance

316 Like Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley

505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent

137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 I found at Yün Chou the same mandarin whom I had met there the year before. He was very civil and friendly, but, like all Chinese officials, he wants the traveller to go on by a main road to the nearest town, so as to get rid as quickly as possible of the responsibility of having a foreigner in his district.

Now the road from here to Wei-yüan which I proposed to follow can by no means be considered as a *ta lu* or big road, so my ideas did not at all meet with the mandarin's approval. Accordingly in the evening he sent a message to my interpreter to say he would like to see him, and gravely informed him that there was a rebellion going on in Mêng-ma, a place I should have to pass through. Of course I knew this was pure fiction, and I sent an answer to say that if on nearing Mêng-ma I found anything going on I would take some other road. After this there were no more objections, and we left Yün Chou the next morning, climbing very steeply more than 3000 feet up a grass-covered range.

The following day we descended into the Mêng-ma valley, which we followed down for a day and a half. The width of cultivation only averages about 100 yards on either
137 side of the little river which waters it. The hills on both sides are covered with scrub jungle, which runs down to the edge of the fields, and the river in the middle is lined
361 with willow and other small trees. Along the foot of the hills are scattered at intervals little villages, each surrounded in the Shan fashion with its clump of cultivated bamboos. The Mêng-ma valley strikes one as being rather pretty at first, but its monotony begins to pall after a time.

631 Mêng-ma was formerly a Shan state, but is now administered directly by the Yün Chou mandarin. The representative of the sawbwa's family, with a few Shan households, still lives in the principal village, but he has now little power. In fact the Shans have been entirely absorbed by the Chinese, and the Shan language and other signs of Shan nationality have practically died out.

000 Turning out of this valley we crossed another range of hills, and on the 17th December, the fifth day out of Yün Chou, crossed the Mekong at Ka-li ferry. The river here has a strong current and is a little more than 100 yards

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•137 Another hilly march the next day brought us to Mo-lien, which is also inhabited by Lo-los. Much of our road lay through very fine pine forest. This tree, called *sha-mu* by the Chinese, is much valued by them for making coffins, for the manufacture of which the best wood that a man can afford is always used. Among a Chinese population these forests would be of immense value, but here they are quite wasted. One sees magnificent trees cut down and burnt simply to get ashes to manure the fields with.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

APPENDIX III

THE CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS OF YÜN-NAN.

In so large a province the nature of the country and the crops grown, naturally vary somewhat, but except in the north-west corner there is a sufficiently close general resemblance between other parts of Yün-nan. 132

Let us deal first therefore with this north-west corner which in the nature of the country and of its inhabitants is purely Tibetan, forming with western Ssŭ-ch'uan that part of Tibet which is directly under Chinese rule.

Southwards the Tibetan tract extends to about the 27th parallel of latitude. North of this line is a country of very high mountain ranges, the plains even rising to from 8000 to over 12,000 feet. The climate here is naturally colder than other parts of Yün-nan, and where heights extend from 6000 feet on the river banks to over 15,000 feet on the hill-tops, it varies much in different places. At the higher altitudes snow may fall in any month of the year, and many of the passes are liable to be blocked throughout April. In the plains the climate is less severe, but except in a shut-in river bed it never becomes hot.

Parts of this country, especially the tops of the mountains, are bare and barren, but a great deal of it is clothed in fine forests of cedar, fir, and other trees. Rice cultivation hardly exists here: even the plains are too high and cold to grow it. A certain amount of maize is cultivated, but even for this a fairly warm climate is necessary, and the bulk of the crops consist of wheat and barley. Peach, walnut and other fruit trees also exist. 241 137

The cereal products of this part of Yün-nan are however scanty and poor. It is essentially a grazing country, for good grass is to be found nearly the whole year round. 233

[p. 309]

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233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssū-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssū-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

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is chiefly cultivated. Of the mountain ranges some are rather bare, covered with grass or fern only; others are well clothed with fir woods, or at lower elevations with semi-tropical forests. To a traveller accustomed to the vast jungles of Burma, Yün-nan would appear a bare country, but it would seem well wooded when compared to the barren hills of the north-west frontier of India. It is in fact neither a very bare nor a very thickly wooded province. No doubt there was formerly much more forest, but the wants of the inhabitants in fire-wood and house-building have entailed much cutting of timber, which has never been replaced by planting. The amount of cultivation in the hills varies much according to the density of population and the fertility of the soil. In places nearly the whole hillside is fields; in other parts one may go for miles without seeing a clearing. In eastern Yün-nan especially the soil is often so dry and water so scarce that cultivation is hardly possible.

The principal crop of Yün-nan is rice. This is the staple food of the Yünnanese, and it is only in very out-of-the-way hill villages that the people are too poor to afford it and have to live on maize or millet. All the plains that are capable of being irrigated are given up to rice cultivation throughout the summer.

The rice harvest is in October, and when this has been reaped, a second crop of opium, wheat, or beans is in many places sown for the winter.

I should estimate the relative quantities grown as about half opium[1] and a quarter each of wheat and beans. It is not, however, every plain that is capable of producing this second crop off the ground from which the rice has been reaped. When this cannot be done some of the plain land is usually kept unsown with rice, so as to be used for winter crops.

In the hills rice is also extensively grown. In many places the sides of the valleys can be dug into terraces and irrigated by the little hill streams, and here good crops are obtained. In less favourably situated localities the rice

[1] Since this was written, however, the opium crop has been considerably diminished, as Hsi Liang, the present Viceroy, caused all poppies near Yün-nan Fu to be pulled up in Dec. 1907. Along the main routes and for two or three days' journey round the capital scarcely any opium has been grown in 1907–8.

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134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [131] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's settlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts 361 of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

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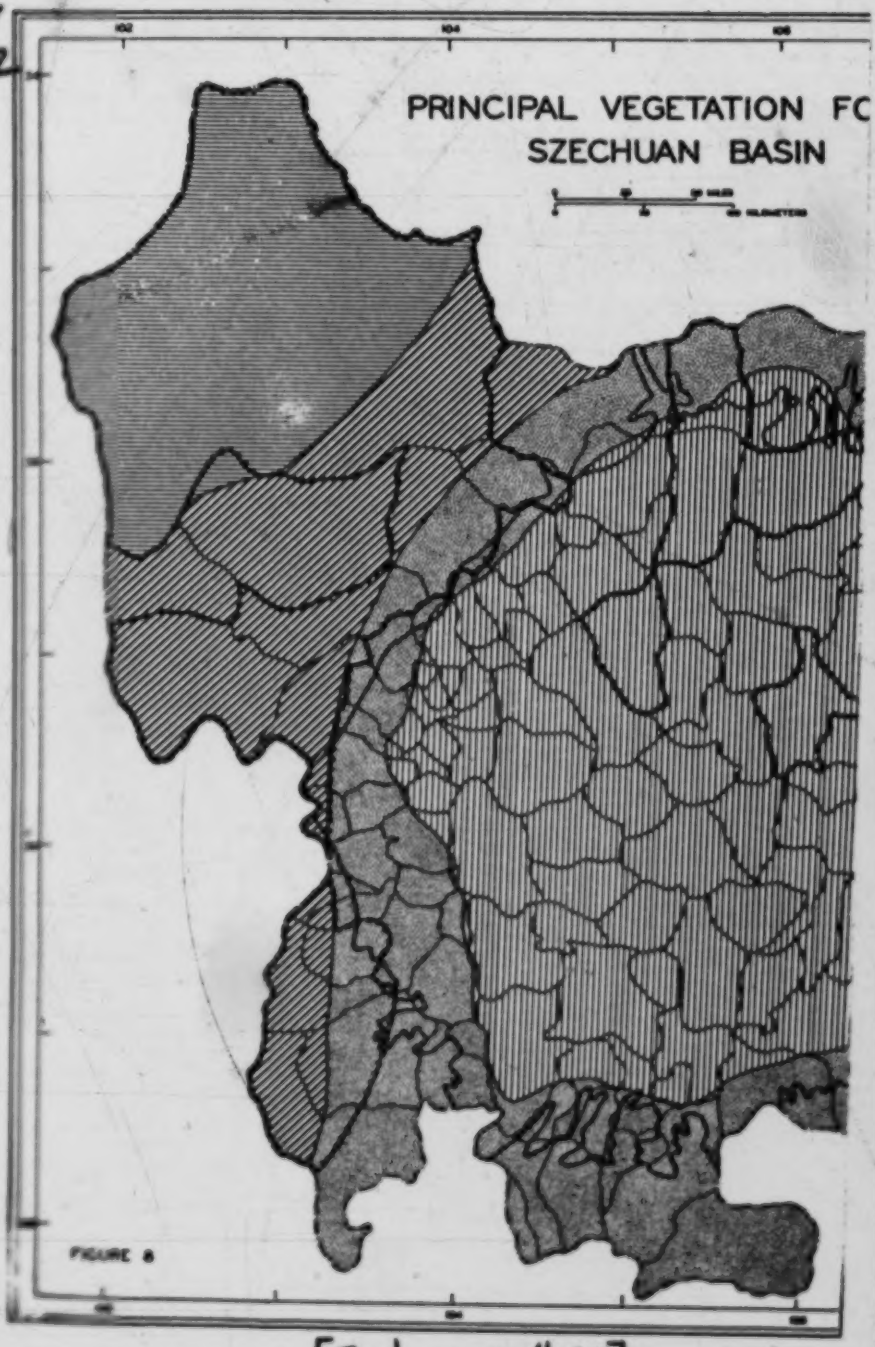

[End map 4 (a)]

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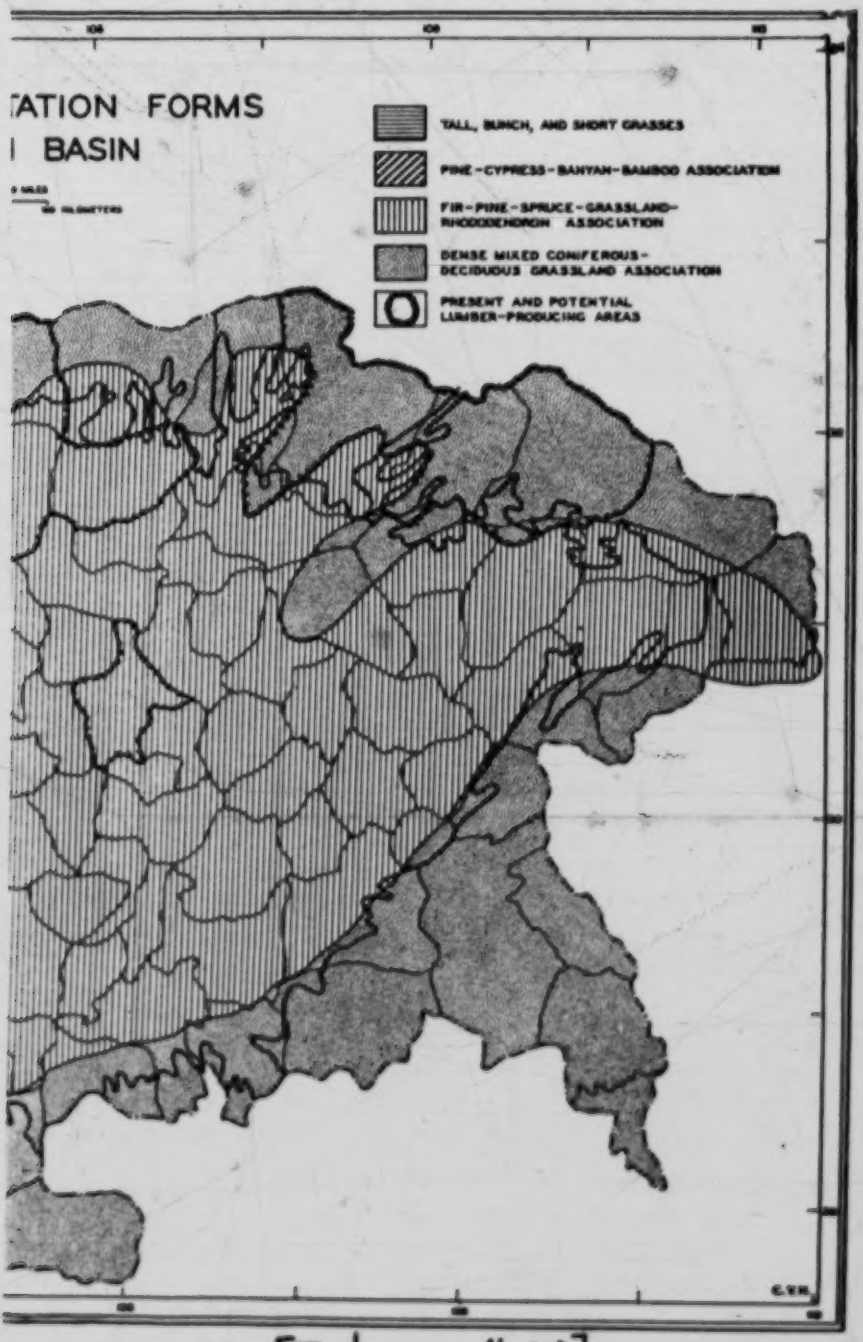

[End map 4 (b)]

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133 as its branch veins. The distribution of these veins seems, however, to be somewhat unilateral with the heavier concentration of streams in the upper, or northern, half of the leaf (Fig. 7).

The drainage pattern of the Basin possesses some distinctive and readily observable characteristics. One is the close relationship between the direction of flow of the streams and the local geological structures. First of all, most of the streams (particularly those in the areas with the folded structure) flow either at the bottom of a syncline or on top of an anticline, especially if the latter happens to be composed of less resistant formations than those which are present in the surrounding area.[1] Second, when a river transverses the longitudinal axis of resistant anticline ridges, in most cases at right angles, steep gorges are characteristic. This is particularly true in the case of the Yangtse and the Chialing rivers. Third, practically every river in the Basin has a number of terraces lying above the present level of high water. Each of these terraces probably represents a stage when river erosion was quiescent at the particular locality in which the terrace occurs. Rivers were rejuvenated after each of these stages of terrace development and their flood plains channeled to new depths. For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh, at the head of the gorges, following the Yangtse, extend a number of terraces of different magnitudes and heights, ranging from 15 to 50 meters. Particularly these terraces of the 50-meter-high are of great significance in the location of towns and villages.[2] The great city Chungking, as well as the urban centers of Feng-chieh and Yun-yang, for example, are located on these 50-meter-high river terraces. Cities of lesser magnitudes like Chung-hsien, Pei-ling, and others are located on the 20-meter-high terraces.

3. Vegetation Forms

•137 The Basin is well known for its rich plant life. Vegetation forms peculiar to all climates, ranging from tropical palms to sub-polar firs, flourish in close juxtaposition and in great profusion. Generally speaking, however, there are three major

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[1] Chao, op. cit., p. 26.

[2] B. H. Rong, "Notes on a Journey to Szechuan," Chinese Geographical Magazine, XIX, No. 4 (1931), 9.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

areas of vegetation associations within the Basin[1] (Fig. 8). They are, first, the pine-cypress-banyan-bamboo association, occupying a large portion of the central and southern part of the Basin; second, the dense mixed coniferous-deciduous--mainly chestnuts (Castanea), oak (Quercus), and sweet gum (Liquidambar)--grassland associations, occupying the highland areas surrounding the Basin; and third, the coniferous (composed of mainly the Genera Abies, Picea, Tsuga, and Larix) grassland-Rhododendron associations, occupying a large part of the western Basin. 137

Particularly in the third of the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraph altitudinal zonation of vegetation is clearly shown.[2] As a rule the forests are on higher levels, whereas the intermediate slopes are covered with grass vegetation. Northwest of the Basin there lies the well-known "prairie" area, including both the tall bunch and short grasses (mostly stipa and some thick sods of Avena and Festuca) developed on the degenerated chernozem soils of the Sung-pan districts.

4. Soils

As soils will be discussed in more detail in connection with the agricultural land use, only the principal soil regions will be mentioned at this point. Generally speaking, there are three soil regions of major significance in the Basin[3] (Fig. 9), namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, distributed in most parts of the Basin, (2) the non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils mainly in Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, and (3) the slightly to moderately podsolized old and young yellow earths found in the peripheral highland and anticlinal ridge areas of the Basin. 134

B. Major Elements in the Cultural Landscape of the Basin

1. Population Patterns

The most striking feature of the population pattern of the Szechuan Basin is that with the exception of the areas around 162

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[1] C. S. Fang, Personal correspondence, April 16, 1941.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China, Plate 1, 1936.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 26) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

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CHAPTER IV

FORESTRY LAND-USE

A. Principal Lumber-Producing Areas and Lumber Products

Most of the forested areas of the Szechuan Basin are rather detached in nature and are composed of small original growths high in timber value. Exceptions to this generalization include the relatively small areas west and northwest of the Chengtu Plain, the dense coniferous-deciduous association (including mainly the genera of Abies, Pice, Tsuga, Larix, Castanea, Quercus, and Liquidamber), and the areas along the upper Tung River Valley (Fig. 8). Taking the province as a whole, including the mountainous areas surrounding the Basin, the forest area of Szechuan is estimated to contain about 26 per cent of the total land area of the province, some 360,159 square kilometers.[1]

Generally speaking, there are five principal lumber-producing areas in the province (Fig. 8). Each of them is characterized by a reasonably good potential supply of lumber and by a production of some special species. The five areas are: (1) the upper Min River area, including Sung-pang, Miao-hsien, Miao-kung, and Wen-chuan districts. This area is dominated by pines, lien-shan (Abies), yun-shan (Picea), tieh-shan (Tsuga) and chang (Cinnamomum); (2) the Ching-I River Valley, including Tien-chuan, Pao-hsin, and Yaan. It is dominated by Chih Shan (Cunninghamia Lanceolata), Yao Hu Tao (Juglans Cathayensis), Ching Kang Li (Quercus Glauca), and others; (3) the Ta-tu River Valley, including Tuoh-tsuin, Han-yuan, and O-pien. This valley is dominated also by Tiao Shan (Picea Brachytyla), Tien Shan (Tsuga Yunanensis), chu (Castanopsis), Kao (Lithocarpus), muho (Schima), and many others;[2] (4) the Tung River Valley area, including Tung-chiang,

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[1] Special Report on the Forestry of Szechuan, National Central University Publication (1936).

[2] Chen Wan Chung, Report of a Survey on Forestry of the Ta-tu River and Min River Areas (1936), p. 14.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•137 Nan-chung, Cheng-ko, and Wan-yuan districts. This area is dominated by pines, banyans (Fig. 40), and cypresses, which, however, are not of very high timber value; and (5) the northwestern hilly area of the Basin, including Santai, and Chien-ke, Pai-chuan districts. This area of hilly country is dominated by pines, cypresses, some Nanmu, and some firs (Fig. 8).

313 137 Of the five areas mentioned, the Ta-tu River Valley and the Ching-I River area are by far the most important. Here virgin forests of great timber value are in abundance. Both are now under development by government and private interests. These forests will prove especially valuable for the many immediate needs in the Basin, such as construction on the Chengtu-Chungking Railway line, mining, and paper-making. Some logging activities are carried on in nearby camps, and the timber sawed is used by local towns and villages. But, however, large portions of the lumber produced are made into rafts and floated down the swift Ta-tu and Min rivers. A few saw mills, equipped with simple traditional devices, are located at Chengtu and Loshan. The wood sawed, transported either by small native boats or frequently on men's backs, found its market in various parts of the Basin, especially in the urban areas of Chengtu, Loshan, Luhsien, and other cities. Sometimes, however, such lumber finds its way as far as Chungking and other eastern areas where imported lumber often dominated the market.

The Szechuan Basin contains at least thirty different kinds of trees of high timber value in the Basin.[1] These include such outstanding and well known Chinese conifers as the Pai shu or cypress (cypressus funebris), the Ma Wei sung (Pinus massoniana), the Chia Shan (Cunninghamia lanceolata), the Ying Tsung (Abies delavayi), the Ma Tiao Shan (Picea ascendens), Heiang Peh Sha (Juniperus Saltuaria), and a number of outstanding hard woods, such as the Nanmu (Machilu nanmu), the chestnut (Castanopsis), the Hu-tao (Juglaus rigia), the Chang (cinnamonuna camphora), and the Chu li shu (Quercus serrata).

Among all the foregoing species the Chia-shan, Ma Wei Sung, Nanmu, Hu-tao, and Pai shu are the most important. They are the most common sources of timber supply for the Basin. The

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[1] Pei Chi Heng, A Survey of the Timber Trees of Szechuen Province (1937), p. 26.

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Chia Shan (Cunninghamia lanceolata) deserves special mention as it is the most common tree for all-round use in the Basin. Not only because of its wide distribution throughout the Basin, particularly on the mountainous areas bordering the northwestern corner of the Chengtu Plain, but also because of its special adaptability and quick growth on the cretaceous sandstone soils, this tree has proved especially popular among farmers in the Basin. It generally grows from 80 to 120 feet tall and has a very straight stem. After the trees are cut down, this conifer reproduces itself by sprouts from the old stumps, requiring no seeding or nursery cultivation. The bark is commonly employed for roofing purposes. The wood is light, fragrant, and easily worked. For general building purposes, house-fitting, indoor carpentry, and boat-building, it is the most esteemed of all Chinese timbers. It is also in great demand for coffin-making, the fragrant properties of the wood being believed to act as a preservative.

Besides the Chia Shan, the most unique, if not the most commonly used tree, is the Nanmu (Michilus Nanmu). It is one of the most valuable broad-leaf evergreen hardwoods, comprising several species of Lauraceae. The timber is close-grained, fragrant, greenish or brownish in color, easily worked, and very durable.[1] It is the most highly prized timber for high-grade construction purposes, such as for the pillars and beams of palaces, temples, and other important structures. It is also used in the best grade furniture and cabinet work, and is commonly sought by the wealthy Chinese for making their coffins. It is among the most graceful and beautiful evergreens in the Basin. The trees are somewhat localized and are found particularly in abundance in the Min River Valley, near Chengtu Plain and some western hilly areas of the Plain where there is a dependable water supply near the irrigation streams.

In addition to the trees of the foregoing timbered areas, the bamboo thickets constitute another important source of timber supply in the Basin. The bamboo is a fast-growing plant and has many different species. The vegetative bodies and growths of the bamboo differ in these different species. Bamboo varies from the dwarf shrub of about 10 feet tall, with a diameter of 3-4 inches,

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[1] Pei Chi Heng, op. cit., p. 42.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

313 as in the case of Kuang Ying bamboo, to giant tree of well over
137 80 feet in height and with a diameter over 12 inches, as in the case of Nan Chu and Tze Chu bamboos. They often grow in thickets, groves or clumps and usually have a golden, yellow or dark green foliage and with broad sheaths. There are numerous slender stems developed around the large clumps and the principal stems. The stems are hollow inside, have many joints, and often have thick wood which furnishes the most useful part of the plant.

Bamboo has a fairly wide range of habitat and grows well under different kinds of physical conditions.[1] The principal habitats of the bamboo are in alluvial areas near streams, around farmsteads, and not infrequently on sandy soils at the hill slopes.

[262 285] The usefulness of the bamboo is indeed limitless. First of all, the tender bamboo shoots are used as a vegetable, and serve as one of the most famous Chinese delicacies. The smaller stems are used for paper-making, textile-weaving, making of boxes, baskets, chopsticks, and light house utensils and furniture, whereas the large stems are used for the construction of irrigation wheels, salt brine and gas tubes, boats, bridges, carpentry, and numerous other industrial purposes. All in all, it was once reported that the bamboos are used in more than six hundred different ways in the Basin.[2] Thus the bamboo, to be sure, plays a very important role in the economy of the Basin. Above all, the bamboo, on account of its growths of matted fibrous roots, is proved most effective in holding soil and preventing soil erosion in many hilly areas of the Basin.

There are few large bamboo plantations in the Basin. Most farmers have small patches of bamboo thickets or groves around their farmsteads. The bamboo products are used principally for the farmer's own needs and any surplus left is sold to handicraft manufacturers of the nearby areas.

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[1]Generally speaking, bamboos cannot stand up very well under drought conditions. North of Kuang Yuan, for instance, on account of the lack of sufficient moisture, and possibly also because of lower temperature during the winter, no bamboo is grown (Fig. 8). Also, generally, very little bamboo growths are found around high altitudes of probably over 5,000 feet above sea level in the Basin.

[2]T. F. Hou, "The Conditions of Salt Fields at Tze-liu-ching and Kung Ching, Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, VIII, No. 6 (1937), 59.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

B. The Tung Tree Production

The tung-oil tree "belt" of China lies in the area between 22 and 33 degrees north latitude, and 100 and 120 degrees longitude east. Within this area is included the whole province of Szechuan (Fig. 1) and, in fact, normally Szechuan produces about a third of the total annual production of tung oil in China. It is commonly asserted that Szechuan Basin possesses the most favorable natural environment for growing the Tung tree. Certainly, it is the most distinctive and the best known product of Szechuan Basin. The Tung tree now occupies a vitally important position in the economy of the Basin as is evidenced by the fact that it comprised as much as 65 per cent of the total export trade of the Basin in 1940.[1] 137

1. Physical Requirements for Tung Tree Production

The mild, almost frostless winter, the moderate rainfall, the high humidity and cloudiness, and the high summer temperatures all are favorable to the growth of the Tung tree in the Szechuan Basin.[2] The customary sudden drop of temperature in the early spring for a short period just at the time of flowering of the Tung trees, locally known as "tung tung hua," or "frozen tung flower weather," the cause of which is not yet known, is considered especially favorable for the growth of Tung trees. This common assertion has recently been confirmed by American experts who have compared the results of Tung-tree growth in Florida with that in the Basin.[3]

The Tung tree is essentially a hill-side plant. It thrives well on the most rocky sites, on the poorest and thinnest soils, and with a minimum annual rainfall of 29 inches. Anyone who has traversed the gorges above the Yangtse may notice these low-growing, flat-topped Tung trees, clinging to the rocky banks on soil no more than a few inches deep. The Tung tree is noted for its capacity to withstand drought and this and other conditions fit

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[1] K. K. Yen, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Tung Oil of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941, p. 27.

[2] Wu Liu, "The Production of Tung Oil in Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, III, No. 6 (1932), 13-21.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

137 it wonderfully well into the general topography, soil, and climatic conditions of the Basin.

2. Principal Producing Areas

314 137 The Tung trees grow over wide areas of the Basin, but the three principal producing regions are: (1) the Yangtse area, including Ning-shui, Yun-yang, Wan-hsien, Kai-hsien, Chung-hsien, and Feng-chieh districts; (2) the Chien and Chi River areas, including Yu, Siu-shan, and Pei-ling districts; (3) the Chialing River area, including Ho-chuan and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 36). Among them, the Yangtse Valley area, especially the districts near the anticline belt, is by far the most important.

[433] The total annual production of tung oil is estimated to be about 760,000 piculs.[1] In 1936, Ning-shui, one of the districts which makes up the first of the three principal producing areas, led all the districts with a total annual production of 180,000 piculs; Chung-hsien, of the same producing area, in the second place, produced 140,000 piculs; and Yun-yang produced 100,000 piculs (Table 13).

The Tung trees (Aleurites fordii) which grow in the Basin are of two kinds--Chai tung, or fuel tung, and mi-tung, or rice tung. The Chai tung is taller in height, generally around 20 to 25 feet, and has rougher and larger branches. The fruit contains fewer seeds (only three to five) than the Mi tung, and thus has less oil content. Hence, very few Chai tung trees are planted here.

The Mi tung tree, the major kind planted in the Szechuan Basin, is shorter in height (about 15 feet or less) and is highly ornamental in flower and foliage. The flowers, produced in great profusion during April, are usually white, stained with pink and yellow markings. These are followed always by green apple-like fruits, which are hidden among the large, glossy, heart-shaped leaves and generally ripen between August and September. Each fruit usually contains five to seven seeds. The Tung trees begin to bear fruit in their fourth year, and their period of

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[1] C. S. Chang, The Tung Oil of Szechuan (Ming Seng Co., 1936), p. 18. But the most recent report gave the total acreage of Tung tree for 1940 as 1,150,000 mow and with an annual production of 1,140,000 piculs (cf. Yen, op. cit., p. 31). This is, of course, a little unusual and is due to the war time boom production.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

greatest production is from the eighth to the sixteenth year. A decline in productivity begins with the seventeenth year. Thus there is a local saying, "The seventeenth year is the limit for the Tung Tree." 314 137

The tung seed-collecting season varies from locality to locality in the Basin, but, on the whole, comes in the middle of September. After the green fruit is picked, it is piled into heaps and covered with straw or grass. The heat thus generated quickly rots the fleshy part of the fruit and the seeds are removed. They are then roasted,[1] ground, steamed, and pressed, like other oil-producing seeds. All of these processes are done with very simple equipment and at low efficiency. The roasting and steaming are done by burning of charcoal or coal, whereas the pressing and grounding are all done by animal power. The product, which amounts to about 40 per cent of the weight of the seed, is a brown and somewhat watery oil. It is sent to the nearby local plants for refining, and then packed in wooden tubs and bamboo baskets to be shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for export abroad.

In the economy of the Szechuan Basin the Tung tree figures as a natural mountain product. Usually, the trees are left to grow wild; very little attempt is made by the farmers to cultivate them. Only during recent years, following the continuous success in the export trade, have a large number of Tung tree plantations and nurseries been organized and scientific methods applied to cultivation and production. The best known plantations are the I-shui at Wan-hsien, and the Jen-ho at Pi-shan. Each comprises from 200,000 to 300,000 trees. Both have met with phenomenal success during the past few years. An increasing number of such plantations, sponsored either by the government or by private interests, have recently been organized.[2] 245

3. Transportation and Marketing of Tung Oil

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The present war has greatly stimulated the production of tung oil in Szechuan and has brought drastic changes in the

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[1]Roasting is, however, not essential and is not practiced by all farmers.

[2]Chao, op. cit., p. 21.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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Hu, and the Ying-hsing Hu.[11]

6. The Hsi-k'ang Tibetan Plateau Lands

While Hsi-k'ang is somewhat peripheral to our present study, the close relationship to western Ssu-ch'uan and northern Yun-nan of eastern Tibet or Kam (Hsi-k'ang means "Western Kam") makes it desirable to examine its geographical situation. In any event the valleys of the Ya-lung Chiang, the An-ning Ho, and the Ta-tu Ho with its tributaries the Ta-chin Ch'uan (Great Gold River) and Hsiao Chin Ch'uan (Little Gold River) have figured since ancient times in Chinese history, and Lhasa has never had any real claim to the high plateau country east of the Chin-sha Chiang. The boundary between Tibet and China settled by the Manchu Emperor and the Tibetans in 1727 and lasting down to 1910 ran from the Mekong just north of A-t'un-tzu, crossed northward into the Chin-sha Chiang valley and followed the water divide between the Chin-sha and the upper Mekong sources to the Kokonor Territory.[12]

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Photo 4. Shuang-chiang, Yun-nan Province (23° 29' N, 99° 50' E)

In this panorama, the viewer looks northwestward along the ridge of the Pang-ma Shan, the highest point of which culminates at the 10,608 feet high Liang Shan in the left center background. The large forest remnant in the foreground is on the southern end of the Pang-ma Shan just northwest of Shuang-chiang town. Here is dramatically contrasted the dense forest vegetation that once covered all of South China with the denuded slopes that comprise the large percentage of South China mountainland today. The slash-burn, shifting cultivators that comprise the mountain tribes are largely responsible for this situation, although ultimately the cause is attributable to the pressure of the Han-Chinese who have crowded out the mountain tribes and prevented natural regrowth to take place. While the mountain tribes prefer their cool heights, the Pa-yi basin dwellers are found usually only in the low, hot valleys such as that at the right of the photo where the low fields may be flooded for wet-rice cultivation.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China

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[p. 23]

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T 792 between pp. 168 and 169 in original text. / /169/ Anyone on the Koko Nor or in Tsaidam who has a particularly good sword, sees to it that it comes from Dergi gon tschen.

The monastery as well as the princely residence of Dergi gon tschen lie five days' journey below Dschoma lhagan on the left (eastern) side of the Yangtze, a short day's ride from the river, and seem to be difficult to reach from the north. (1) On March 31, I stayed a whole day

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1. In the Atlas de la Chine by d'Anville, Paris 1785, the monastery Tschonkor is indicated in this region.

in Antu Dschomba not far from Dschoma lhagan, in order to get guides to take me to Dschoma lhagan. There were people who offered to do so, but they all assured me that I could not reach it from this side with my pack animals and boxes because the paths were so narrow that pack animals would fall headlong. Since I did not get any carriers, I had to give up this idea, too.

C 487 Below Dschoma lhagan the Dre Chu-Yangtze enters a narrow valley as it breaks through a large mountain ridge in a more southerly direction. But the large road maintains the southwest direction that it has taken for several days. Immediately behind Dschoma lhagan (Chinese: Kwan yin miao) it again ascends a considerable height, and here only cattle raising can be carried on.

T 243 On our next trek (April 1) we passed several smaller monasteries that stood close to the road. After seven hours of travel we reached Nan dyi, a number of settlements consisting of seven or eight stone houses. The people were friendly, invited us to live among them and also sold us barley. They asked when the "Pe lang" was coming. Around this time the farmers are still threshing with their flail on their threshing floor which is always on the flat roof of the house. In order to clean the grain they do not use a winnowing shovel like the Chinese, for instance, but pour the grain on the floor several times, letting the mountain wind carry off the chaff.

C 103 On the second day, beyond a pass, we came upon the kingdom of Ling gose that is supposed to derive its name from King Gesar's Ling or gLing. It is independent, so to speak, and has its own dyalbo (rgyalbo). The latter lives in Gose gomba and his home is a not very princely-looking stone house.

C 137 From the road we could see in the south and southwest, about one and a half days' journey from Dschoma lhagan, the valley of the Yangtze Kiang, although we did not once catch a glimpse of the river which is wedged in between rocks. Beyond the valley there are crests

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137 that bear spruce forests up to 4,500 meters, whereas the peaks, many of which rise up well above 5,000 meters, are treeless and were completely covered with snow when I saw them (Plate XXX).

132 In the entire upper Yangtze Valley many fields are laid out on countless artificial terraces all the way up the slopes, but today they are abandoned, and have been for a long time, so that large trees and underbrush have grown up. Some people said the reason for this may be attributed to the many wars and disputes that have reduced the population so much during the last century /170/ so that today these fields are no longer needed. However, this assertion seemed to be contradicted by the fact that these abandoned sites can be observed over too large an area and almost as far as Dawo, that is, in entirely different states. Other people said that increasing drought conditions accounted for the abandoned fields; they did not yield enough. This may be true because the fields are almost always on a southern slope which dries out in the sun. Throughout Tibet as well as in the Himalayas, as I have already mentioned, stands of forests are well developed only on the northern slopes (1), and thus we may realize

1. This may be observed in the north as far as the Tien Shan and Altai, and in the Altai it was already observed by the Chinese philosopher Ch'ang ch'un when, in July 1221, he rode over the Tsch'ang sung pass on his journey to the court of Genghis Khan.

what an important factor the drying quality of the sun is. The second explanation is therefore probably the correct one, because, as far as I could see, the abandoned acres were not capable of being irrigated and depended on natural rainfall. In some places, however, as for instance on the border between Dergi and Ling gose, I did get the impression that the border feuds had depleted the population and resulted in the abandonment of the acres. In the valley between Nan dyi gomba and Gose gomba there were many ruins of houses next to destroyed fields. But the most recent changes have taken place only in the course of the last half century. (2)

2. Father Desgodins who spent a long life in South Tibet, said in 1875 already that the population of Southeast Tibet was decreasing. He blamed the endless disputes, but above all, the strictness of the Gelugba sect.

T 777 braided and around its neck hangs a red or black tassel and a little silvery bell.

C 133 On the southeast side of the Muri La only the upper part of the slope is steep (Plate XXXIII). Six kilometers below the pass lies the Yü lung Ts'o Lake. It is about five kilometers in circumference and was formed by /173/ glaciers which have now disappeared. In this part of Tibet there are no larger lakes to be found. The Yü lung Valley soon becomes a few kilometers wider. On the left there was pasture land. In lateral ravines we occasionally saw small tent villages. On the right there were beginnings of forests, spruce and

C 137 pine of great beauty, that grew up to 4,100 meters altitude, but that always kept to the northern slopes and were not found on the valley bottom.

T 438 On our next few marches we met 400 to 500 yaks carrying tea, and on April 9 we passed as many as 900 yaks. The caravans usually set out very early in the morning and are already making a rest-stop by 10 or even 9 o'clock. It takes five months in this way for a bail of tea to get from Ta tsien lu to Lhasa and thousands of waterways are crossed.

T 792 On April 7 we camped beside Yangtze gomba (Säge gomba) a small monastery of the Nima faith, containing 80 monks. Very near it there is another monastery of this sect and that is set in between tall spruce and limestone rocks. One of the gelong served me butter tea in his cell.

C 137 On April 8 we camped beside a slope on which a forest fire had been raging for days and which had already caused a great deal of damage. It was the largest I saw in Tibet. Several square kilometers of the most beautiful virgin forest had fallen a victim to the elements and was totally destroyed. Every day one sees traces of forest fires but no one pays any attention to the fires. Most of them are caused by careless travelers or native shepherds in the dry winter season. They are practically never fought, but simply left to burn themselves out.

C 133 At noon on April 9 we left the Yülung Chu Valley (Plate XXXI). It extends due southeast for practically 50 kilometers and all the way there is a broad, sumptuous floor of pastures. Then suddenly it became deeper and began turning to the north and northeast whereas the road continued in the old direction, along the furrow to the southeast. In the end the river was 20 paces wide and one meter deep. It was now only 3,575 meters high.

The next campsite lay in a veritable park landscape (Plate XXXV) at 3,800 meters with a very beautiful view of the snow-capped chain of mountains in the south. Unfortunately the alpine flowers were still in hibernation. But the many seed pods and remnants of huge edelweiss, of hundreds of kinds of primroses, of orchids, rhododendron and gentian were evidence of how beautiful and colorful it must be here in June and July. C 137

On April 10, amid clear sunshine, we crossed another pass, 4,100 meters high, from which there was a sudden and surprising view of the magnificent mountains of Rungwatsun and Amne Rala. The new layer of snow had melted far up, as a result of the sun of the last few days. The dark ridges of primary rock stood out clear and sharp against the sparkling blue of the sky. The steep slopes of the peaks glistened with eternal snows and ice crevices, glacier fragments and seracs, furrowed avalanches, and walls of snow beckoned and called to my alpine heart (Plate XXXVI). But I had to remain below on the almost flat moraine at 4,000 meters and guard the caravan. We set up camp amid the huge masses of moraine that extend many kilometers north of the high chain, and that /174/ have covered with granite boulders the sandstone and limestone that was pushed down from the north centuries ago against the wall of primary rock. On this day the maximum temperature was +16.5°, and the minimum at night was -4°. C 133

At noon the next day we rode past a picturesque hermitage, Tschora yunka, that stood on a limestone cliff and was inhabited by 14 nuns, "ani." A loquacious old man told us with much head-shaking about "those crazy women." He said that for five years a beautiful maiden has lived there on the cliff, who turned down the best matrimonial offers because she wanted to spend her time praying and serving God. In her ambition to imitate the male priests, she had forbidden every male creature from coming near her cell. T 792

At an altitude of 3,700 meters fields begin to appear. The first village lay at 3,600 meters. The main road led straight through it. The houses were all two-storied with flat roofs and were not very close together. W.W. Rockhill came through here in 1889 and from his book I learned that the natives of this region were particularly hostile to strangers, so we rode rather quickly through the first settlement that numbered 25 houses. To the questions "Where from?" and "Where to?" Da Tschang simply replied with some short, every-day lie. T 361

The village lies at the head of a large, wide plain stretching to the east, and is the seat of a community chief. It belongs to the Dergi kingdom. Not far to the south a large brook comes out of a

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133 The Da Chu Valley - I also heard it called Tschuwo Chu - extends in a straight line toward the southeast, constantly following the stratification of the sandstone slabs which are again steep here and pressed together vertically. The old road with its countless holes and stone debris continues to keep to the right side of the valley. Like the course of the valley, it aims straight for its goal. Only the muddy stream winds around the peaks that rise up 1,000 meters from the valley and touches sometimes the right, sometimes the left side of the valley. Sometimes it is wedged in between detritus mounds and fragments that a tributary brook thrusts in its way, then again by projecting rock terraces consisting of hard stone slabs, until it becomes /188/ a narrow "valley within a valley." On the valley terraces above the stream there are fields and farms spread out and bushes and hedges
• 137 separate the individual fields. The flora - in the middle of April everything was still in its winter sleep even here in the south which has a latitude corresponding to that of lower Egypt - was rich, even abundant here at an altitude of 3,500 - 3,300 meters, compared with what I had come across shortly before. There were pastures with thick grass on the southern slopes of the valley, and they reached almost up to the peaks. The northern valley walls, however, were covered with dark spruce forests with wild, tangled underbrush, magnificent hideouts for small and large bush rangers, so that I was glad to know that the Chinese were the real masters here. After the long rides I had taken with my rifle under my arm, I felt as safe as though I were in Abraham's bosom.

579 Deeply cut forest ravines lead off the road toward the south. In all the larger ones there are winding paths leading into the parallel Dsa Chu Valley to the Tschantui. "Two years ago, before our present da jen came to Hor Tschanggu, one could not ride so peaceably along this road," the soldiers told me. "The Tschantui from the south and the Khorgan and Loko from the north made sudden attacks on every caravan carrying goods. Every month there were people killed. But Wu da jen formed his own militia, set up agents and native guards everywhere who announce the approach of all suspicious-looking gangs with fire and smoke signals. Neither the Tschantui nor the Ngolok-Khorgan dare make a sudden attack any more." However, I also learned on another occasion that not a year had passed since the last big attack. At that time 70 mules along with their packs were driven away into the Ngolok country. Not only the Khorgan through whose country I passed in 1904, but also the Ngaba robbers were well known here.

Even the imperial telegraph line led over the bleak saddle of S.W. China AF 16 206
the Dschedo la and its 4,390-meter altitude. (1) The line had

1. Kreitner-Szechenyi 4,499 meters; Rockhill 4,365 meters (14,320 feet); Gill 4,425 meters (14,515 feet; War office map 15,000 feet.

just been completed as far as Ba tang. My Hsining men who had never before seen a telegraph line had to conduct a detailed investigation. Of course, they had long since heard that one could send a whole letter over the wires, but they had the most adventuresome ideas as to how this was done. They wanted to cut the wire and see what the hollow space inside looked like. Shortly after I had dissuaded them from this wild idea we met a telegraph sentry consisting of six men strong. They were looking for a damaged wire because the service had been interrupted the day before. It seemed a miracle to me that one could telegraph at all at the time because hardly any of the insulators on the poles were intact. The Tibetans regarded them as a particularly suitable target for their guns as well as for their beloved stone slings.

Beyond the Dschedo Pass the eye first of all falls on bare rocky 133
ridges and on broad, planed-out and dry ravine bottoms. The peaks in the vicinity of the pass rise above 5,000 meters. They are all still below the boundary of perpetual snow and one could discover on them only scattered white spots. However, when one descends the steep, uneven military road which was paved many years ago, and when one has turned the corner and reached an eroded ravine bottom, then suddenly gigantic fields of perpetual snow sparkle in the south (Plate XLVI). In front of these in the depths nestles the Dschedo Valley with the little village of Dschedo, an important stopping place for the night for people coming from below. Before one 137
reaches this town one crosses the wide rhododendron zone /202/ which, with its large white and pink blossoms, extends down from 4,500 to 3,800 meters. The large blossoms were just opening and the steep mountain slopes sometimes formed a vertiable sea of blossoms. Long before one reaches Dschedo one is within the boundary of mountain forests, and the amount of moisture which the monsoon must unload in these border mountains has caused an almost impenetrable jungle to develop on both sides of the valley, on the northern as well as southern slopes.

Near Dschedo the ravine which is used by the road abandons its 000
southeasterly direction and turns due east, and now all at once there

C 133 gray, hard glacial ice. Here, too, however, the glaciers are really only miniature glaciers and, as in our native Alpine valleys, only the weak embryos of the ice masses teeming with power, that once reshaped the mountain masses into their present-day large outlines and made the valleys U-shaped and more passable for human beings and animal herds.

Beyond the Da po Shan the way soon leads into thick copses of rhododendron and into a broad valley shaped like an amphitheater. But soon there comes a steeper valley covered with fine old timber. ODD We pitched camp at the first dry spot where some grass for the animals beckoned. Scarcely had we unloaded when I fell asleep from weariness-for we had all been obliged to exert our full power to help the animals drag their packs through the snow. When I awakened not very long after I was plagued by a wicked pain in both eyes, which gave me no peace. My servants said that it was still daytime and the sun was high in the heavens but for me night had come. I had become snow-blind to such an extent that I could with no amount of effort /216/ raise my eyelids. I lay in the dark tent and kicked my legs like a child, when the pain from my conjunctivitis was too great. A little black bear of the species ursus tibetanus that I had owned for four weeks and that walked about freely in the camp and at night tried to crawl under my covers, was my nurse and whiled away the time for me. He growled and scolded when I became too restless on my bed of pain, and scratched and bit in all friendliness if I touched him somwhat ungently and unmercifully as I tossed about. But he always bit me in a touchingly gentle way, not wanting to hurt me, just as a dog does that plays with its master. For a day and a half I was obliged to stay in the camp. Then at last the swelling had receded sufficiently that I could pry open my eyelids somewhat with my fingers and could recognize the necessary remedy in my medicine chest.

E 361 Our trek on June 10 down along the same brook and through dense woods brought us to the town of Mao niu gu or, Tibetan: Brismed, 2,800 meters. The village is inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese and shows quite a number of old fortress towers. From the right as well as the left a rather large torrential stream flowed into our valley, and where it joined the water was so deep that it could not at any point be crossed. The forest was beautiful, high and dense. There were only isolated clearings where there had been forest fires during the winter. Old spruce trees are rare here; birches, poplars, oaks and maple predominate. Lilac trees stood in full bloom. The many

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strawberries and strawberry blossoms reminded me of the German forests. We did not see any game except foxes and now and then a band of monkeys that fled from branch to branch with a great deal of noise. C 137 [136]

Many of the Hsining horses which were not used to the narrow and slippery paths, fell down the embankment, and always delayed us at the countless shaky bridges. At each bridge the packs had to be unloaded and carried over individually by us humans, while the animals were held at the head and tail and half lifted and half shoved across to the other shore. Fortunately not one of the horses was in such good spirits while this was going on that it felt like making wanton capers. A few of the bridges that were 30 paces long were made of only a single plank which lay only a handbreadth on the spars that extended from the banks of the river. At every step the planks bent and swayed so that the horses could hardly keep on their feet unaided. Four meters below, the cataract tore, roared and foamed. My old bitch Tschimo always got dizzy and when everyone else had crossed she cautiously crossed the plank on her belly. 000

Beginning at 2,400 meters the settlements in the narrow wooded valley began to grow denser. For a long time there were only isolated farms and small groups of houses, most of which in the narrow valley bottom are inhabited by Chinese colonists. They squat in miserable straw huts, whereas the Tibetans occupy stone houses on the steep clearings of the slopes. They have here remained wealthy land owners. But for how long? The Tibetans plant little corn, but a great deal of barley and wheat. The Chinese in the bottom of the valley plant corn almost exclusively and are traders. C T 361 241

Every afternoon toward two o'clock we made camp upon some /Plates XLIX, L, LI, and LII appear between pp. 216 and 217 in the original text./ /217/ small clearing. The animals always found some food in the woods and were also fed with corn and tsamba which we had brought from Ta tsien lu. Most of these clearings originated as a result of forest fires. At all of them were to be found the familiar three stones (tab rdo) which had served previous travelers as a cooking place. These are also regarded by the natives here as the home of some hearth god who wishes to be well treated. Woe to him who touches the three stones with his foot who carelessly drops the kettle and perhaps spills its hot contents on the three stones or on the fire! Without doubt luck will be against him from that moment on! C T 777

clouds hung down into the valley. At the same time the maximum temperature rose to plus 14°. I found the moisture very annoying, but Brdyal did not seem to be the least impressed by it. "The rain is not nearly as heavy as it is in the south where I come from. It is now the sixth (Chinese) month; in the seventh and eighth it rains even more in Menia (Minyag), near Ta tsien lu, for instance." I heard that down there it does not get dry until the ninth month, but this seems to me extreme for the Tibetan climate. Farther north the rainy season ends much sooner. 000

On our new day's march (from seven until half past two o'clock) the landscape continued to be hilly with grass pastures a foot high, filled with the loveliest flowers. The valley floor was 300 meters wide in the middle and on the right side there occurred, now and then, unbroken sections of tall timber that rose up suddenly. The sharp demarcation of these little forests /254/ always challenged one to speculate as to their origin. The difference in moisture between the north and south slopes is not an adequate explanation. It seems to me that accidental and also artificially-induced forest fires are chiefly to blame for this condition. The Tibetan nomad, like every shepherd, is the sworn enemy of all forests. He wants only grassy plains for himself, on which he can let his large herds disport themselves. He heedlessly burns down the forest wherever he finds it, because he needs it for nothing but his tent poles; for fuel he finds it more convenient to use the dung from his animals. Now, wherever the tall timbers are destroyed, the young shoots - as we have seen it happen in old Turkish territories - do not readily attain a great height the second time. The herds of cattle do not perhaps preclude a moderately tall and thick bushy growth, but forests are never again established. Before man spread himself out in the Tibetan highlands the virgin forest undoubtedly continued unbroken to a point much higher up than it reaches today. In its virgin state the land probably presented a very different aspect and may for this reason alone have had a more moist climate. Whoever has seen the tall timbers on the Tschümong Chu (Vol. I, Plate LXII) that are still preserved in hidden ravines or has found the isolated old pines in the South Koko Nor Mountains, will probably agree with me that in all probability extensive forests existed there in the not too distant past, which covered the prairies of today, and that it must have been man who destroyed them and allowed only a few to remain as "witnesses." C 137.

On the long stretch to Middle Zanskar, which leads straight as a die to the northwest, I saw only three times a group of three tents T 492

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000 antilopes into the valley. /259/ Now Neh'ere comes up to me. He is fawning, he wants to lick my hand, a thing he considers necessary to do several times each night. Suddenly it seems as though he had been given a blow, and with loud barks he runs after the old bitch into the valley. A hundred meters in front of me are two large pools. From that direction comes a splashing sound as though a heavy body were sliding into the water and in the same direction - isn't that the light of a firefly I see? - In rapid succession I fire three sharp alarm shots. They are only meant to say "watch out" and to give due notice that someone is on the alert. Thereupon the spashing sound becomes plainer down below in the pools and amid the ugly howling of the dogs I hear a few obscene Chinese swear words. Soon all is again quiet as the grave. And thus it remained until dawn. I arose late and set out for my saddle in the mountain which lay at an altitude of 4,390 meters, buried between bare granite crags of 400 and 500 meters (Plate LVIII).

C 133 From this saddle there extended a giant trough of granite due northeast. It was 30 kilometers long. All the lateral valleys which ran down from the surrounding granite mountains came to an abrupt end 150 meters above the floor of the main valley, and all the water they conveyed had to run in shallow, narrow channels down the walls of the trough-shaped valley. On the slopes and in the broad bottom of the valley round granite boulders formed expanses of rock alternating with moors, which made it very difficult for the caravan to make headway. Every quarter hour some animal would get stuck or slide down the round cliffs and into a rock fissure from whence it had to be pulled out and reloaded. We found no habitation here and no trace even of temporary dwellings. It seems that only occasionally people pass through the valley. Only marmots and countless rabbits inhabit the tall grass of the pastures and the many beautiful larch woods (Plate LIX).

C •137 On July 21 the woods gradually grew more dense. When we came to a point just below 3,700 meters the valley floor became narrower and more like a ravine, and the tall spruce timbers became an absolutely impenetrable virgin forest. At 3,600 meters - we had just a moment ago come across sandstone with a N 70° W strike - we found pastures between the forests and soon after four black tents. The way T 361 now became a well-worn path, but it went on for a long distance, so that it was three in the afternoon before we arrived at the first T [341] houses of Merge. Barley, oats and potato fields appeared in the midst of the pine forest, and two-story houses covered with shingles and

Sr Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-I AE7

name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans from very different countries can understand each other. I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

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000 It was unnecessary therefore to try to follow this stream any further, so I struck across N.W. for the Hung-mên-k'ou ferry over the Yangtze. A steep descent from Ch'ien-ch'ang brought us to the P'u-tu Ho at 3,900 feet, and we crossed it by an extremely leaky ferry-boat, which half filled with water in taking across the first load of baggage. However they caulked it with strips of bark and everything was safely got across. The mules swam, and though the river is only 50 or 60 yards wide, the current was strong enough to carry them down quite 100 yards before they could land on the far bank.

563 .142 From the river we had a climb of nearly 4000 feet to the Lo-lo village of Ts'u-chü. These Lo-los are a much finer race than even the best of those that I had seen further south. They are very tall men, with straight noses and sharp features, and are evidently of the same race as the Independent Lo-los of Ssŭ-ch'uan. The difference of stature and feature between different Lo-lo tribes I attribute partly to climate and partly to the mixing of the more southern Lo-los with other races. Certainly the colder the climate in which one finds them living, the sharper are their features and the taller their stature. Ts'u-chü I found a very cold place, and the sun had not had power enough to melt the ice by three o'clock in the afternoon.

000 On the 6th February our road led up and down over spurs, the highest point reached being 8,500 feet; but I could only guess at the lie of the country as the clouds were right down on the hills, and in the morning fell for two or three hours in the form of snow. Finally we came down into a large undulating plateau, inhabited chiefly by Lo-los, with several large villages and a good deal of cultivation. We slept in a temple at San-ying-p'an, one of the principal villages.

Our next march lay across this plateau at an average level of about 8000 feet. The plateau is watered by the sources of the little river which we had crossed five days before in the Lu-ch'uän Hsien plain. I had a little shooting on this march, getting a few snipe, and a plover which to my eye was undistinguishable from the common green plover of England.

On the 8th February we still kept on the plateau for

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CHAPTER XXXI

MI-LI, THE LAND OF THE YELLOW LAMA.

The San-ko-ya monastery—The eastern Tibetan—A tall straight-featured race—The Ya-lung again—Suspicious ferrymen—Our useless appeal to the lamas—Further negotiations—My interpreter wins the day with threats—We cross the river—Pê-tiao—Attempts to mislead us—A friendly monastery—Camp in the forest—Gold mining—Magnificent peaks—K'u-lu—Yaks—A cold night—Suspicious lamas—"Have you not come to dig for gold?"—The Chinese rank of the K'u-lu lama—A hospitable family—The reasons for Tibetan suspiciousness—An obstructive guide—We reduce him to reason—Interview with a lama—His objections overcome by the passport—The Mi-li river—A steep climb—Reach Mi-li after dark—A large monastery—Well-built houses—Tibetan and Chinese houses compared—Mr Amundsen's visit to Mi-li—The Mi-li prime minister—Present him with salad oil—Chinese traders—Gold washing—Extreme protectionist measures.

We had now been for four days within the boundaries of Huang La-ma Ti-fang, "the land of the yellow lama," as the Chinese often call the kingdom of Mi-li; but as yet we had seen no lamas and had not encountered the opposition from the Mi-li king which had been prophesied for us by the Chinese. The next day, however, this peaceful state of things was to come to an end, and we were to have our first experience of that suspicion and obstruction which, when continued day after day, are so wearing to the traveller in Tibetan countries.

Leaving Mo-lien we crossed the top of a ridge and began a long steep descent to the Ya-lung. A little way down from the top we came to San-ko-ya our first Tibetan monastery, a two-storied building of whitewashed stones, built all round a courtyard. Two of the lamas were sitting outside, and as they understood a little Chinese, we had some conversation.

These Tibetans are very different from the Hsi-fans, and are, I think, also fairer in complexion than and superior

000 S ST 346 S ST 142
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S ST 142

in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

S 609

Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

S ST 788 609

Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

S 609

In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 沘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍 [3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the 197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled 193 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the 101 present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. [302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 擲, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 沘 is read *ts'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 沘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 駱馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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*487 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700
*133 feet in height.
*137 Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,450 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-hoa-t'an (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

[342] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses
[315] of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their
[291] garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together
[147] haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a
[342] giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

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rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil with bushes of Cotoneaster, wild pears, and scrub-pines. 487* 133* 137*

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in Bběr-dděr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wùa, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first Bběr-dděr Na-khi, a most painfully polite people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-cloth trousers and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. [576] [147] [291] [302]

From Bu-du-wùa, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wùa, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr. — From Bpu-wùa we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr and are at an elevation of 8,650 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called Bběr-p'ěr-dshi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water. 133*

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

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arch bridge by a small hamlet consisting of a few houses. The trail leads on the east bank of the stream along the foot of a rocky mountain slope composed of reddish-purple boulders. The vegetation consists mainly of bushes such as Corylus and Escholtzia. The mountains rise to about 2,000 feet on the west bank, and 3,000 feet on the east bank, with secondary parallel ridges. Terraced rice-fields extend along the banks, but well above the river. On the west bank is situated the village of Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬廠. Here the slopes of the mountain are covered with tall forests of *Pinus yünnanensis*. One li beyond we come to a few houses which compose the village of Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍壩, also situated on the west bank. The river winds considerably, passing through a small rocky defile, the trail following downstream on the east bank. The path becomes narrower and almost impassable due to many wash-outs and projecting boulders. About a hundred feet above the stream on the west bank is the hamlet of Ma-li-p'ing 麻梨坪. 487* 133* 137*

We cross a small tributary and follow the ever-narrowing trail, which in places is really perilous, winding up and down and around hill-sides, then again through groves of oaks and *Cornus capitata* trees, pears, Rhamnus, and Berberis, until we come to the poorest village so far encountered; it is called La-p'u-wan 腊普灣 (also written 刺普灣). Soon we come to another village called Chuang-fang 庄房; here the river is very narrow and strewn with huge boulders, a wooden bridge crossing it. The hamlet is on the east bank almost at the level of the river-bed. A little over a li brings us to the Tibetan village of Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石). About 30 li to the west of this place a quicksilver mine is said to exist. Red sandstone and gray grits with patches of manganese dioxide and iron oxide are to be found at Wua-shih (GREGORY). [316]

The valley becomes considerably narrower with rather steep slopes.

Ka-ka-t'ang village. — Ten li more and we arrive at the narrow, filthy conglomeration of huts and pigsties which calls itself the village of Ka-ka-t'ang 戛戛塘. Near the entrance to the village is a spring enclosed in a square rock basin over which a tiny Lung-wang shrine had been built. Fish swam peacefully in it. The inhabitants nearly all have goitres, some of extraordinary size, almost as large as the head itself. [361] [147]

From Ka-ka-t'ang a trail leads east across a pass and along the valley of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河 to La-p'u. The Chung-ch'iu Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing and flows first parallel with the Yung-ch'un Ho and then turns straight north there it is called La-p'u Ta-ho; it bends east at La-p'u, and debouches into the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung 其宗. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan gives its source south of Pong-tse-ra and ignores two high passes between Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄 and La-p'u, thus making the stream flow over the passes south, instead of from south to north. Davies' map is here also completely wrong, for the two sources of his stream, one in the Kar-ri La and the other in the Ponge La, a pass 12,150 feet in height, flow together on the map, but have no outlet. The Yon-dze-khà, which is the Tibetan name of the stream, rises in the Pai-mang Shan and flows south, but above Rong-sha (Lo-she 洛舍); it then flows east and debouches into the Yangtze.

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*487 thence to Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 situated on a bend of the great river. Twenty
*133 li beyond Huan-fu-p'ing we come to an exceedingly narrow part of the
*37 Mekong gorge, arid in the extreme, and scarcely more than a trench. The trail which leads through the gorge is passable for porters only, while the mule caravans pass over the mountain-side at its entrance, emerging near Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu 大壩子). This gorge is called Do-lung[42] in Tibetan, and To-lo 多洛 in Chinese. The trail is one of the worst on the entire stretch to A-tun-tzu, and is simply an echelon, built by means of slender props against the cliff, a sort of trestle-work spanning a chasm. Where the Mekong enters the gorge there is a fierce rapid but in the gorge itself the river flows placidly enough. Nyi-thang[43] called To-lo-t'ang 多洛塘 in Chinese, is a Tibetan village situated on a flat spur north of the Do-lung gorge, and consists of a few houses only (PLATE 165).

[436] Money is here valueless, for the peasants of this area will sell nothing, but are willing to exchange grain or other victuals for salt and coarse Chinese tea, two commodities unobtainable in this region. The peasants are much [147] afflicted with goitre.

From here one has the first glimpse of the mighty promontory of the Kha-wa-kar-po[44] range, Mt. Me-tse-mo,[45] the southernmost and highest mountain of that magnificent divide. On a manuscript map of the district of A-tun-tzu in the Provincial Library at K'un-ming, the range is marked Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 庸支雪山, after a village called Yung-chih, situated on the eastern slopes, and on the west bank of the Mekong. The northern end of the same range is marked as Tu-ch'ü-ling hsüeh-shan 都取嶺雪山. Mt. Me-tse-mo is a wonderful dome, standing separately and projecting from the rest of the range; it is covered with immense masses of snow, with buttresses on each side at the base of the peak. In the early hour of dawn the dome looked a death-like grey, cold and forbidding, but as soon as the sun shone on its almost vertical snow-fields it turned to a rich pink, while the Mekong valley was still sleeping in deep, gloomy shadows.

The trail leads past a narrow lateral gorge and then opposite the Lung-dre canyon which debouches from the west, misty and mysterious, into the Mekong. Up Lung-dre gorge a trail leads to the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-hdzom-la)[46] and to the Salween.

Yang-tsa village. — Cypress trees (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*) line the Mekong river banks; the valley becomes narrower and more arid, the walls steep and furrowed by huge land-slides. The hamlet of Se-ra-thang (Se-lo-t'ung 色勒通) is here situated on a small meadow with the mountain walls rising steeply back of it. A few li beyond and the scenery is still more arid save for the cypress trees; not far beyond is the village of Yang-tsa 羊咱, also called La-tsa 拉咱, a few scattered houses among boulders. Three rope-bridges are stretched across the river here (PLATE 166). In the autumn

[42] rDo-lung རྡོ་ལུང (Rock valley). [43] ཉི་ཐང Nyi-thang or gNyis-thang གཉིས་ཐང

[44] Khwa-dkar-po ཁ་དཀར་པོ or Kha-wa-dkar-po gangs-ri [45] sMad-rtse-mo སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

[46] bZhi-hdzom-la བཞི་འཛོམ་ལ

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has its source on the western slopes of Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 (also written 芒 and 鋩), which are visible through Yeh-tsi valley. Part of the waters of its stream are led by ditches to the village, which is inhabited by Tibetans only. The sky is an azure blue, the atmosphere crystal clear, making every rock stand out sharply defined.

In this valley is situated the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, called Yang-pa-chen-ling (Yangs-pa-chan-gling,[50] Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺), which belongs to the Yellow sect, perhaps so named after a monastery in northern Tibet of the same name. It is, however, also the name of a city in Magadha on the site of modern Allahabad. The lamasery was built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753). Hung-p'o is known in Tibetan as Ngü-phu,[51] from *dngul*, silver, and *phu*, the upper part of a sloping valley. There are also two villages called Hung-po, one north and one south of the lamasery.

Ngun-ya village. — Beyond Yeh-tsi we cross a spur and follow along the now more gently sloping hill-side, past another gap, and arrive at the village of Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 果念); this is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, and is the last pure Na-khi village in north-west Yün-nan. There are, however, other villages inhabited either wholly or in part by Na-khi, across the Yün-nan border in Hsi-k'ang.

At Ngun-ya, or Gun-ya, the Mekong flows in a deep trench imprisoned by steep rock walls. It makes a sharp curve to the east, flows through a defile and encircles the spur on the southern slopes of which Ngun-ya is situated; it makes in fact a double horseshoe bend. (PLATES 168). Beyond Ngun-ya it flows through a very narrow gorge with a tributary descending through a rocky, arid canyon with the pinnacles of the high mountains visible in the distance.

[394] Fuel is scarce here, the nearest wooded mountain being Pai-mang Shan to the east. The people of Ngun-ya are very friendly and helpful to the traveler, quite a contrast to the surly attitude of the people of Yeh-tsi. They are, [147] however, sorely afflicted with goitre. On the road one meets now only Tibetans, stalwart fellows who greet one with upturned hands raised to about the chest — survival of an ancient custom to show that the hands hold no arms.

[712] All along the Mekong on small promontories are more or less ruined watch-towers built of mud bricks (PLATE 169) their walls pierced with loop-holes. It used to be, and still is, the belief that these towers were built by the ancient Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pe (Mu Sen-pe, as it is pronounced by the Na-khi). But, as has already been related, they were not erected by the Na-khi rulers but by the T'u-fan, against the invasion of Na-khi soldiers led by their chiefs. These towers are to be found all along the Chinese — Tibetan, not political, but ethnic border. They are common north in Mu-li, on the Zho Chhu, on the hills in the Li-t'ang River valley, on the Ya-lung, and in the region of Chiu-lung hsien 九龍縣, south of Ta-chien-lu. They form, in fact, an ethnic boundary line from the Mekong to the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河.

From the gorge beyond Ngun-ya the trail again climbs the rocky, steep

[50] ཡངས་པ་ཅན་གླིང [51] dNgul-phu དངུལ་ཕུ

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133*

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bbĕr-ddĕr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 [156] [291]

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bbĕr-ddĕr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bbĕr-ddĕr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bbĕr-ddĕr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] 778 [191]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bbĕr-ddĕr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bbĕr-ddĕr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ĕr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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North China AF12
East China AF15
South China AF17
Southwest China AF16 •
Central China AF14

[For information on population density as of the 1953 Census, see AF13 Northwest China, 1: Washington, cat. 116, pp. 114-115.]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION, DENSITY, AND GROWTH

A. Distribution

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The 1953 nationwide census yielded a set of population figures by province. At the time the census figures were being compiled, the Southwest China Region comprised the four provinces of Szechwan, Sikang, Yunnan, and Kweichow. Sikang Province in 1953, however, was not the same as Sikang in the 1940's. Before 1953, Sikiang had been divided in two; only the eastern half retained the name of Sikang Province; the western half was renamed Ch'ang-tu District. Thus the population figure announced in the official communique actually reflected only a part of the pre-Communist province of Sikang. When the results were announced, the Bureau of Census grouped the Ch'ang-tu District population with that of Tibet. On July 30, 1955, the First People's Congress in Peking passed a resolution to abolish the province of Sikang and incorporate its territory into Szechwan Province.[1] This latest move does not

1. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955, p. 1.

635 161 affect the figure of the total population in the Southwest China Region, because Sikang and Szechwan provinces had been included in the 1953 census figure for this region; nevertheless, it changes the distribution according to the political subdivisions of Southwest China as follows:

161 Table 1. Population Distribution in Southwest China *

Kweichow Province	15,037,310
Szechwan Province	65,685,063
Yunnan Province	17,472,737
Regional Total	98,195,110

*Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1; Sikang population is included in Szechwan.

Among all the regions of China, this region ranks third in population and fourth in size of area.

161 659 The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast upon these figures on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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were employed. (2) Before the results of the census were announced, responsible Communist quarters had already instituted a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and even the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work at various government levels.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by Communist officials were all under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, estimates were stepped up to around 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have intentionally exaggerated the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until evidence proving fabrication is discovered, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and hereto only direct nationwide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following points: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electorate,

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2. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, March 31, 1954, p. 1.

3. Tsui-chin Ch'i-ko-yüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Last Seven Months], Taipei, the Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 22-23.

161 delegates and their representation in the "basic-
659 level election" for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) The fact that scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available, roughly covering all parts of China, should serve to indicate the geographic extent if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census-taking was carried out. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 had begun their study on population, and it appears correct to say that the Peking regime had exercised considerable discretion in checking the 1953 census against the previously released figures. (4) Only a comparatively small portion of the 1953 population figures (about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of census-taking." (5) The above cited commique also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. After rechecking 9 per cent (or 52,950,000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, the duplicates amounted to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.255 per cent.

B. Density

161 From the figures in Table 1 it is apparent that Szechwan Province, the richest and only

4. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, pp. 13-22.

76/ extensive plain in Southwest China, is the most populous province in this region and, for that matter, also the most populous among all the provinces of China. The following table, showing density of population, also indicates the unequal distribution among the provinces.

Table 2. Density of Population in Southwest China

	Per Sq. Km.	Per Sq. Mile
Kweichow	88.45	229.08
Szechwan	118.06	305.77
Yunnan	41.60	107.74
Regional Average	85.66	221.85

* 1953 census and Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953; area figure for Szechwan Province has been adjusted to include Sikang Province but exclude the Ch'ang-tu District

The regional average of 221.85 per square mile ranks fourth among China's regions. Within the region, Szechwan Province tops the list, with 305.77 per square mile. It is necessary to

16 point out that earlier works on China's population have assigned greater density figures to Szechwan, although the total population of Szechwan Province was computed at a smaller figure. This sudden change was caused by the inclusion in Szechwan of what was the former Sikang Province, which according to the 1953 census, had only three and one quarter million people in its approximately 100,000 square mile territory.

The density of population varies greatly within this region. In the agriculturally rich Chengtu Basin and along the Yangtze River in Szechwan Province, there are places where over 1,000 people are crowded in a square mile of land, making it as congested as the Yangtze River Delta in East China. On the other hand, no more than one or two persons may be found in many a square mile in the mountains of westernmost Szechwan.

Another comparison may be made of the Southwest China Region and the region in India comprising Punjab, Rajputana, Hyderabad, Bombay, the Northwestern Frontier, the Central Provinces, and Berar, whose total area approximates that of the Southwest China Region. The topographical and climatic features of the two areas are also comparable. The comparison shows that Southwest China is even more crowded than its corresponding region in India, which has an

161 average population density of 172.31 per square mile.[5]

C. Growth

Population figures published before 1953 for this region, as well as for other regions, were estimates and partial census enumerations. The necessary margin of error that acompanies any work of estimation plus the re-demarcation of provincial boundaries tends to reduce the validity of earlier population figures as bases for comparative studies of the population trend in this region. The following table makes use of two sets of earlier figures selected not because of their known accuracy, but because they are the only recent data available.

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5. K. Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, Princeton University Press, 1951.

1; Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Table 3. Growth of Population in Southwest China Region*

	1948	1951	1953
Kweichow	10,173,750	13,000,000	15,037,310
Sikang	1,696,600	3,306,738	3,381,064
Szechwan	47,437,387	56,000,000	62,303,999
Yunnan	9,065,921	17,000,000	17,474,737
Regional Total	68,373,658	89,306,738	98,195,110

*The 1948 figures, from Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Abstracts of the Republic of China], Taipei, Executive Yüan, Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts & Statistics, 1955, pp. 20-21. The 1951 figures, from Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u. The 1953 figures, from the 1953 census announced in Kuang-ming Jih-pao. Note here the province of Sikang has not yet been incorporated into Szechwan.

161 If the figures in Table 3 have any accuracy, the net population gain for this region over the five-year period of 1948-53 would be almost 20,000,000, or 30 per cent, a figure far too high to be credible. The Communist government tends to accept this rapid rate of growth and attributes it to increased economic stability and improved social conditions which raise the birth rate and induce people to return to their native towns and villages, but it is far more likely that the figures are an inaccurate reflection of growth in population. The second result, of course, can hardly be established since the increase in population is nationwide and the rate of growth appears to be fairly uniform among all the regions. Perhaps if we examine a few other figures for the province of Szechwan, we will find some pattern:

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 4. Population of Szechwan

Year	Population
A.D. 221	900,000
263	940,000
1578	3,102,073
1812	21,453,678
1911	50,217,030
1928	54,000,000
1937	49,948,943
1939	46,403,006

*Cheng Li-chen, Ssu-ch'uan Hsin Ti-chih [New Gazeteer of Szechwan], Shanghai, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1947, pp. 10, 304; Lou Yün-lin, Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1940, pp. 36, 47-49; Hu Huan-yung, Ssu-ch'uan Ti-li [The Geography of Szechwan], Chungking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1938, pp. 102-10.

Although the population in Szechwan doubled in the nineteenth century, it remained stable from the 1930's until the Communist occupation. Unless the frequent civil wars in Szechwan have had a strong, restrictive effect on the population of the province, it would seem that World War II, which was not fought on the soil of Szechwan, should have added to the population by driving more people into Szechwan from Japanese-occupied

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

provinces. The only reasonable conclusion that can be drawn is that the estimated census figures in Table 4 are too crude to be relied on for a study of the exact rate of growth of Szechwan's population. One thing, however, should not be overlooked, and that is the fact that previous census-takers failed to include women or children in their population figures.

The New China News Agency reported from Chengtu, Szechwan's provincial capital, on June 14, 1954, that from 1948 to 1953 the population in Szechwan[6] increased by 12,900,000. This apparently is based on a figure for 1948 other than the one cited in Table 3; otherwise the increase would be a great deal higher than the national average rate of increase. However, in the same New China News Agency dispatch, it is said that 7,888,000 babies have been born since "liberation" in 139 of Szechwan's 154 municipalities and hsien. With infant mortality taken into consideration, this would indicate that anywhere from three and four million people of the above-mentioned 12,900,000 population increase for Szechwan during 1948-53 were not born in Szechwan but migrated to that province.

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6. Quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, U. S. Consulate-General, No. 834, June 14, 1954, pp. 20-21.

161 To substantiate official reports, the Census Bureau at Peking released some scattered information on various localities. The growth of population was studied, for example, by taking one hsiang (group of villages) from each of 17 hsien in Szechwan. On July 1, 1953, the total population of the designated village groups stood at 144,981. Sixty days later, the same communities showed[7] an aggregate net gain of 581. The rate of increase in this random sampling of communities thus amounts to approximately 24 per thousand, or about 2.4 per cent per annum.

Or take the population growth at Nan-pu hsien, one of the more populous counties in Szechwan. In the twelve months immediately preceding the census, 29,561 babies were born to Nan-pu's 789,000 people, which would give a birth rate of approximately 3.7 per cent.[8]

From these available samplings, it may be safe to conclude that in default of detailed information on population movements, the natural rate of increase in this region is close to the national average.

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7. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, March 30, 1954, p. 1.
8. Loc. cit.

with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the patterns of village life common to the old settled Szechwan plain and the more recently colonized areas of the Southwest? We shall sketch these before discussing the variations represented by urban life.

A. The Pattern of Village Life

First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Szechwan in 1946 the average farm was 3.9 acres, and the average square mile provided food for 650 people. In Kweichow the average farm was 3.2 acres, in Yunnan 3.1. [1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit

1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China, New York, 1955, pp. 105, 178. The richest part of Szechwan, the Chengtu plain, has a population density of 2,300 people per square mile. Ibid., p. 178. As we consider the pattern of agricultural life in the Southwest, the following data on the nature and distribution of farming throughout the area should be kept

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
361 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[466] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[1] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
369 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
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13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.
14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China, and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486, or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

23 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

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Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒吸河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

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Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

[p. 388]

361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

•161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

APPENDIX II

THE AREA, POPULATION AND INHABITANTS OF YÜN-NAN.

131 ROUGH measurements on the map give the area of the province of Yün-nan as about 150,000 square miles, and this may be accepted as approximately correct.

161 To estimate the population is a far more difficult matter. It is probable that fifty years ago the numbers were greater than at the present day, for doubtless great loss of life and emigration to other provinces took place during the Panthay rebellion, which lasted from 1854 to 1873. Since then the province has slowly recovered, and while the indigenous population has increased, there has also been a constant and steadily increasing stream of immigration from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

After my second journey in Yün-nan I made a rough calculation of the density of population to the square mile over those tracts of country which I had surveyed the most thoroughly. In all of these I had noted the number of houses in the towns and villages, and I allowed an average of six persons to each house.

The result gave about 400 to the square mile in the plains, and 40 to the square mile in the hilly tracts. Taking the whole province I calculate that about one-fifteenth of the total area is plain land, and the remainder hills. This then would give 10,000 square miles with a population of 400 to the mile, and 140,000 square miles with a population of 40 to the mile.

$$10{,}000 \times 400 = 4{,}000{,}000 \text{ in the plains,}$$
$$140{,}000 \times 40 = 5{,}600{,}000 \text{ in the hills.}$$

Total population 9,600,000.

[p. 306]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

My very rough methods of calculation naturally give only an approximate result, but in default of any better estimate the population of Yün-nan may be taken as about ten millions[1]. 161

This population is divided between very sparsely peopled mountains, which form the greater part of Yün-nan, and very thickly inhabited plains which, though they only comprise about a fifteenth of the area of the province, contains nearly half of its inhabitants. 162 563

In the plains the population is mainly Chinese[2], but not entirely so, for in the cold plateaus of the north-west are found Tibetans, while many of the low-lying plains of the south are inhabited by Shans. Moreover in the centre of the province some of the plains are peopled by Ming-chias, while an admixture of Lo-los is occasionally found. At a guess I should say that about four-fifths to nine-tenths of the population of the plains are Chinese, including under this name those who, even if of aboriginal extraction, are now in language and customs undistinguishable from the ruling race.

In the hills things are different. Here, as in the plains, one also finds the Chinese, and there is no large tract of country without Chinese villages in it. But living among them and forming the bulk of the hill population are numerous other tribes, each with its own language and its own customs[3].

In the north-west corner are Tibetans, and the semi-Tibetan Mo-so race. On the Burmese border are Kachins and Palaungs; also in the west of the province, but extending further into the interior, are the Li-sos; everywhere throughout Yün-nan are the Lo-los, a fine race and more numerous than any other hill tribe. Equally widely distributed are the Miaos, but they are only found in small and scattered communities. In the south-west, between the Salween and the Mekong, are the La-hus, who with their cross-bows and poisoned arrows proved formidable

[1] Some recent Chinese figures give Yün-nan a population of about 12,000,000, but these are said to be unreliable. The late Mr Litton, of the Consular Service, who had much experience of Yün-nan, estimated the number of inhabitants at 9,000,000.

[2] Among the Chinese I include the Panthays or Chinese Mahommedans.

[3] For details about these tribes see Appendix VIII.

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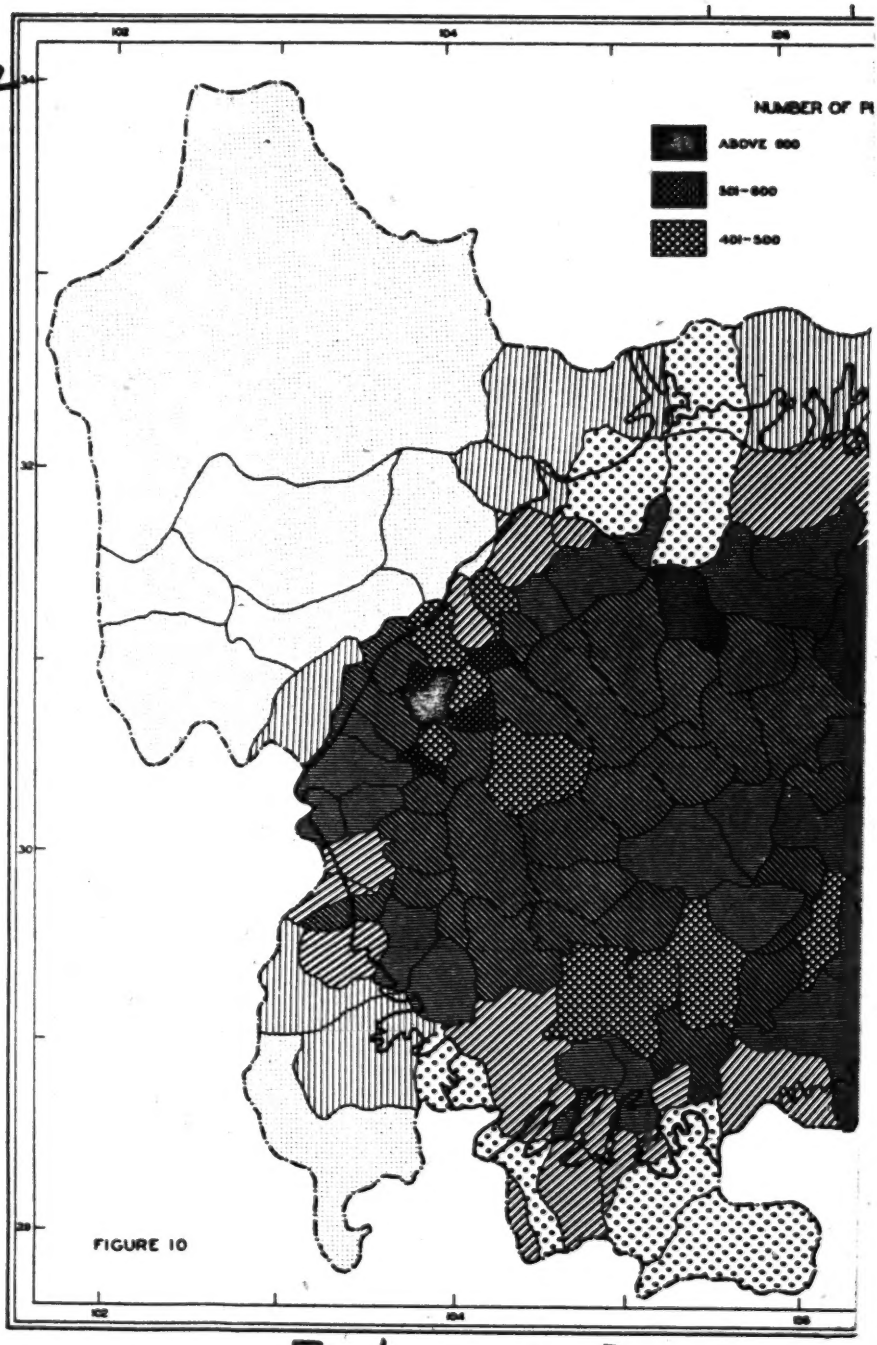

FIGURE 10

[End map 6 (a)]

?: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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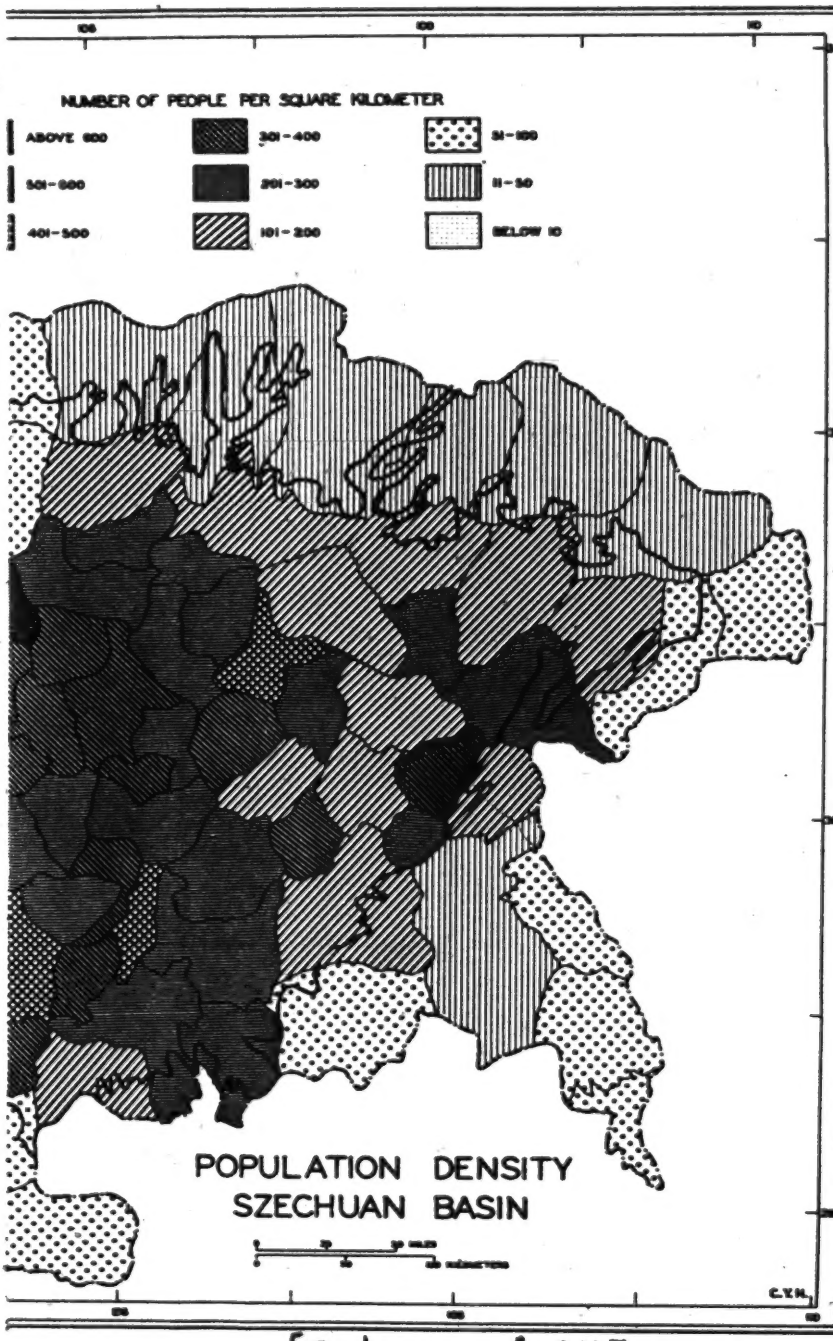

[End map 6 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

131 much smaller than the total assigned to the Basin by other investigators who use different criteria for its delimitation.[1]

The Basin, thus delimited (Fig. 2),[1] in its rough outline, is much like a trapezoid. The four angles of the trapezoid are marked approximately by the four well-known districts, namely, Kuang-yuan in the north, Ya-an[2] in the west, Sui-yung in the south, and Feng-chieh in the east (Fig. 2). The use of these four districts as the principal corner-posts of the Basin is not only topographically sound (i.e., they all lie within the limit of the same 700-meter contour line) but geographically accurate. For instance, northern Kuang-yuan marks approximately the northern limit of bamboo growths in the Basin.[3] Structurally, Feng-chieh, being at the head of the famous Yangtse gorges, marks approximately the eastern limit of the cretaceous formations in this part of China. Ya-an, strictly speaking, lies at a transitional zone between Chinese and Tibetan cultures; whereas Sui-yung is situated at a crossroad between the fertile Basin to the north and the desolate mountain areas of Kweichou to the south (Fig. 2).

• 161 The total population of Szechuan is estimated as between fifty million[4] and seventy million[5] persons. Since there is no official census, most students are rightly skeptical about the accuracy of these estimates. In 1937 the Bureau of Civilian Affairs of the Szechuan Provincial Government first undertook a fairly thorough survey of the total population of the province. According to this report (Population by Hsien, Appendix I, Table 1), the total population of the province is 48,436,624 persons.[6]

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[1]Cf. Cressey, op. cit., p. 312; J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China (1937), p. 79; Nai Tsiang Jen, Journal of China's Geographical Society, III, No. 4 (December, 1936), 727.

[2]This district, together with the other thirteen districts of southwest Szechuan, is now, by order of the National Government incorporated into the province of Sikang (Report of Szechuan Provincial Government [1940], p. 3).

[3]See Figure 8.

[4]Report of the Imperial Ministry of Interior (1898).

[5]Later in 1916, since the Republic, the report of the Ministry of Interior and the estimates of the Post Office both affirmed this number of seventy million persons (Report of the Viceroy of Szechuan [1910]).

[6]Bureau of Civilian Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[1] [See end map 2 -- Analyst]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The total number of people in the province at the present time is estimated at about fifty-six million persons. This means an increase of seven or eight million inhabitants during the past few years as a result of the mass migration from the lower Yangtse Valley.[1] As the total land area of the province is 360,159 square kilometer[2] (excluding areas for districts recently incorporated under Sikang jurisdiction), this gives an average population density for the province as a whole of 135 persons per square kilometer. For the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study, the total population is approximately 43,000,000 persons.[3] Thus in the same manner, the average population density for the Basin proper is 285 persons per square kilometer. 161

The Szechuan Basin with its present population constitutes a miniature melting-pot within the great melting-pot of China. The influx of the new and many heterogeneous groups of immigrants into the Basin (especially since the famous massacre of the Chang Hsien Chung of late Ming dynasty) brought with it many new ideas and new techniques, particularly in connection with agricultural practices. This later fact helps to account, as we shall see later, for the present heterogeneity of its agricultural landscape.

A. Major Natural Elements of the Basin

1. Surface Configuration

The Szechuan Basin is a great synclinal depression surrounded by moderate to high mountains. The "basin" character of this area is demonstrated graphically by two cross-section profiles, one drawn along the line 30.30 N. parallel (Fig. 3) and the other along the 106 E. Meridian (Fig. 4). As these profiles show, the land slopes toward the center of the Basin from all directions. This is particularly conspicuous from north and northwest to south and southeast, as is further evidenced by the direction of the northwest-southeast flow of the main tributaries of the Yangtse (Fig. 5). 133

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[1] Report of Chungking Municipality (1940).

[2] Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Bureau of Military Survey (1939).

[3] This figure is arrived at by the writer by subtracting population of all Hsien (counties) lying outside of the boundaries of the Basin as delimited in the present study.

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TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION AND POPULATION DENSITY
OF SZECHUAN BASIN (1937)
(By Hsien)

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Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Population	Population Density (No. of Persons per Sq. Kilometer)
1. Ching-Hua.....	2,875	11,151	4
2. Li-Fan.....	11,984	22,749	2
3. Miao-Hsien.....	6,453	33,462	5
4. Pai-Chuan.....	1,716	28,313	16
5. Ping-Wu.....	6,079	79,243	13
6. Chao-Hua.....	1,541	104,197	67
7. Kuang-Yuan.....	6,151	140,572	23
8. Nan-Chiang.....	4,686	169,572	36
9. Tung-Chiang.....	4,980	238,421	47
10. Wan-Yuan.....	4,117	154,000	37
11. Cheng-Ko.....	4,307	60,861	14
12. Fu-Hsi.....	3,516	141,856	45
13. Fu-Shan.....	2,646	148,270	56
14. Miao-Kung.....	18,734	23,675	2
15. Wen-Chuan.....	3,242	18,594	6
16. An-Hsien.....	1,428	175,165	122
17. Chang-Ning.....	939	106,578	113
18. Chiang-Yu.....	2,651	239,577	91
19. Chien-Ko.....	3,457	275,344	80
20. Tsang-Hsi.....	2,399	259,243	108
21. Pa-Chung.....	4,737	540,453	114
22. Hsuan-Han.....	4,340	444,669	102
23. Kai-Hsien.....	3,700	662,481	179
24. Yun-Yang.....	3,369	517,398	154
25. Feng-Chieh.....	4,457	357,746	80
26. Pao-Hsin.....	1,679	21,022	13
27. Kuan-Hsien.....	989	306,812	319
28. Peng-Hsien.....	895	374,599	417
29. Shih-Fang.....	746	212,890	283
30. Mien-Chu.....	638	275,760	430
31. Lo-Chiang.....	699	154,042	222
32. Mien-Yang.....	1,565	431,878	275
33. Tzu-Tung.....	595	166,586	278
34. Nan-Pu.....	2,922	711,508	244
35. Nan-Chung.....	1,481	379,696	256
36. I-Lung.....	1,578	331,686	211
37. Ying-Shan.....	1,764	442,980	251
38. Ta-Hsien.....	3,549	615,198	173
39. Kai-Chiang.....	1,040	209,605	202
40. Wan-Hsien.....	3,667	780,787	213
41. Tsung-Nai.....	1,503	394,769	263
42. Ta-I.....	1,081	289,163	267
43. Tsung-Ching.....	1,116	393,333	352
44. Wen-Chiang.....	251	173,988	693
45. Tsung-Nin.....	178	92,014	516
46. Pi-Hsien.....	273	184,922	677

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TABLE 1—Continued

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Population	Population Density (No. of Persons per Sq. Kilometer)
47. Shin-Fang.....	159	102,885	646
48. Sin-Tu.....	344	145,770	420
49. Kuang-Han.....	499	268,561	538
50. Te-Yang.....	512	203,632	400
51. Chung-Chiang.....	2,458	927,952	377
52. San-Tai.....	2,733	959,632	352
53. Yen-Ting.....	1,237	320,087	258
54. Si-Chung.....	999	356,301	357
55. Nan-Chung.....	2,636	900,590	340
56. Peng-An.....	1,638	363,240	222
57. Chu-Hsien.....	1,657	728,049	439
58. Ta-Chu.....	1,826	418,139	230
59. Liang-Shan.....	2,408	416,790	170
60. Chung-Hsien.....	1,569	501,220	319
61. Shih-Chu.....	2,071	184,627	89
62. Ming-Shan.....	622	134,819	217
63. Pu-Chiang.....	501	129,135	258
64. Sin-Tsing.....	316	160,909	509
65. Peng-Shan.....	425	160,008	377
66. Shuan-Liu.....	288	134,716	467
67. Hua-Yang.....	957	378,330	395
68. Cheng-Tu.....	246	125,491	510
Cheng-Tu Municip.	41	496,128	12,101
69. Ching-Tan.....	1,411	535,357	397
70. Chien-Yang.....	2,502	1,026,158	411
71. Lo-Chi.....	1,158	447,354	387
72. Siu-Ning.....	1,814	703,152	388
73. Peng-Hsi.....	1,974	718,603	364
74. Shei-Hung.....	1,399	546,760	391
75. Wu-Sheng.....	1,079	358,342	332
76. Yo-Chi.....	1,859	556,690	300
77. Kuang-An.....	1,707	630,800	371
78. Liang-Shui.....	1,897	365,756	193
79. Tien-Chiang.....	1,706	299,110	170
80. Feng-Tu.....	858	224,442	88
81. Peng-Shui.....	9,131	207,777	23
82. Chien-Chiang.....	2,237	115,681	52
83. Yu-Yang.....	3,665	362,357	98
84. Siu-Shan.....	1,440	125,648	87
85. Tang-Ling.....	724	89,539	124
86. Mei-Shan.....	1,035	395,586	382
87. Jen-Shou.....	2,516	998,404	397
88. Tzu-Yang.....	1,733	591,491	340
89. An-Yo.....	2,769	760,020	275
90. Tung-Nan.....	1,751	402,957	230
91. Ho-Chuan.....	2,840	807,395	284
92. Chiang-Pei.....	2,472	662,718	278
93. Chang-Sheo.....	1,138	389,422	342
94. Pei-Ling.....	5,520	1,026,758	186
95. Hung-Ya.....	1,523	202,946	135

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 1—Continued

161

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Population	Population Density (No. of Persons per Sq. Kilometer)
96. Chia-Chiang.....	420	160,032	381
97. Ching-Shen.....	409	124,695	304
98. Ching-Yen.....	628	192,954	307
99. Yung-Hsien.....	1,965	593,929	302
100. Wei-Yuan.....	781	259,736	332
101. Tzu-Chung.....	1,905	731,856	384
102. Nei-Chiang.....	1,599	600,146	374
103. Yung-Chang.....	899	367,513	409
104. Ta-Cho.....	1,316	395,279	300
105. Tung-Liang.....	1,479	497,587	337
106. Pih-Shan.....	811	332,603	410
107. Pa-Hsien.....	3,312	911,492	275
107a. Chung-King Municip.....	94	453,427	4,824
108. Nan-Chuan.....	3,029	293,344	97
109. O-Pien.....	2,738	50,175	18
110. O-Mei.....	1,272	144,454	113
111. Lo-Shan.....	1,867	389,306	208
112. Chien-Wei.....	1,954	516,502	260
113. I-Ping.....	4,230	802,924	189
114. Pu-Shun.....	2,207	953,487	432
115. Lung-Chang.....	761	318,842	419
116. Lu-Hsien.....	2,913	954,649	328
117. Yung-Chuan.....	1,288	390,020	302
118. Chiang-Tsin.....	3,253	840,368	258
119. Chi-Chiang.....	1,839	406,270	221
120. Lei-Po.....	4,814	19,622	4
121. Ma-Pien.....	2,624	32,925	13
122. Ping-Shan.....	2,891	264,217	91
123. Kao-Hsien.....	1,394	139,482	100
124. Ching-Fu.....	1,077	174,113	162
125. Nan-Hsi.....	957	254,051	265
126. Chiang-An.....	740	213,262	288
127. Nei-Hsi.....	477	72,468	147
128. Ho-Chiang.....	2,329	383,771	165
129. Yung-Lien.....	342	62,246	182
130. Chi-Hsien.....	1,197	129,747	108
131. Chang-Ning.....	1,295	219,576	169
132. Hsing-Wen.....	526	63,763	121
133. Ku-Sung.....	598	100,040	167
134. Siu-Yung.....	2,916	286,046	98
135. Ku-Ning.....	5,589	362,210	65
136. Sung-Pan.....	50,139	22,533	2
Total.....	360,159	48,436,624	135

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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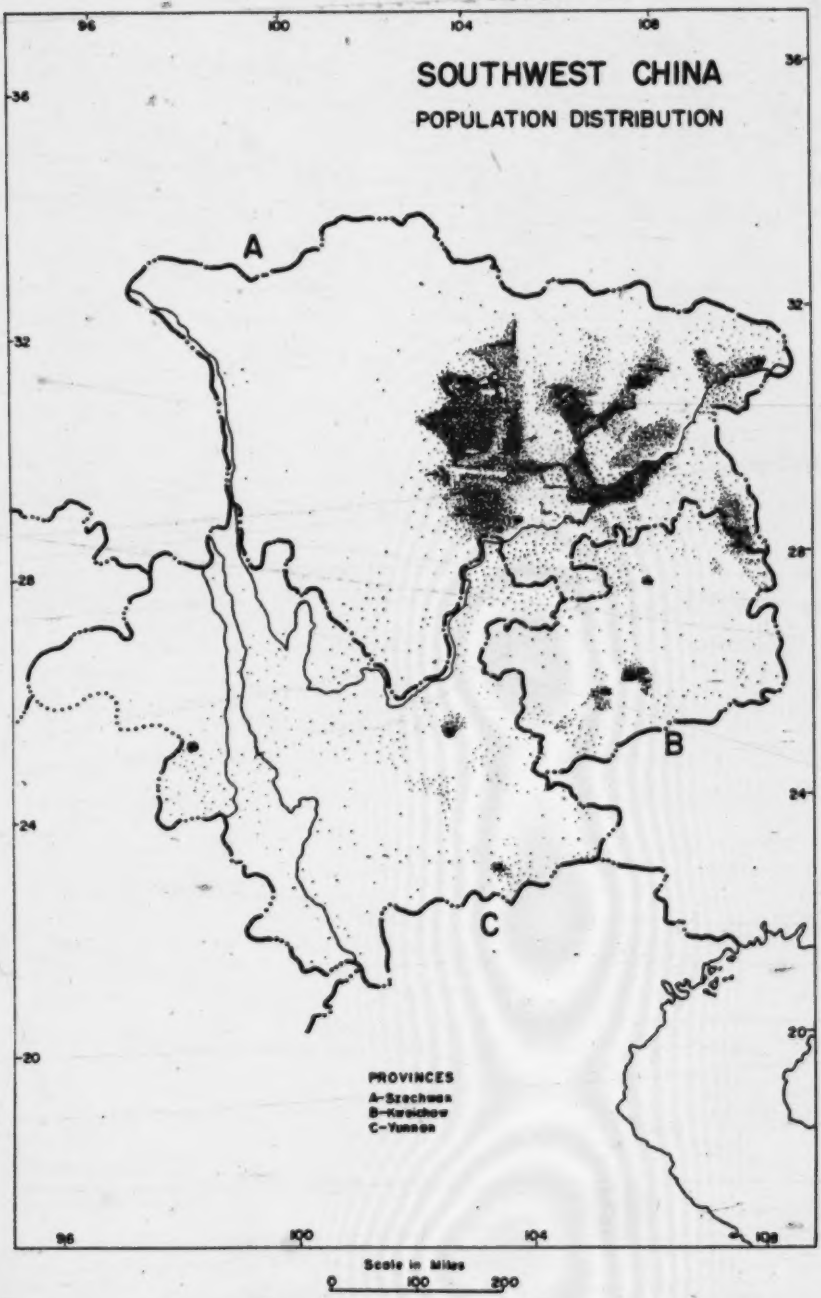

[facing p. 54]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

II. COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

A. Age Groups

162 The young and middle-aged groups constitute the preponderant section of population in the Southwest Region. The 1953 census showed that of the 747,000 people in Chengtu, Szechwan Province, 380,000 (58 per cent) were 18-45 years of age. And in Nan-pu hsien, youths of 18 and under stood as high as 44 per cent of the total.[9] The situations in many other localities in the Southwest China Region are similar. An earlier study of the population in Yunnan communities arrived at very close percentage figures. The information collected was evaluated and tables were compiled which showed that the 15-44 age group stood at 46.91 per cent in the Kunming Lake region (the central region of Yunnan Province) and 42.71 per cent at Ch'eng-kung.[10] The Chinese study was completed in 1942; a comparable study in the United States was compiled for the year 1930 and gives the national average for the same age group as 47.7 per cent.

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9. Ibid.

10. Chen Ta, Population in Modern China, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 85-86.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

B. Sex Ratio

962 The national average sex ration is 51.82 per cent for males and 48.18 per cent for females, or 107.55 males for every 100 females. Because no regional breakdown on sex ratio has been announced since the completion of the 1953 census, the latest information available is offered for reference:

Table 5. Sex Ratio of Southwest China Population (1948)
(Number of males per hundred females)

Kweichow	100.56
Sikang	100.67
Szechwan	104.73
Yunnan	100.82
Regional Average	103.47

*Statistical Abstracts of the Republic of China, pp. 20-21.

If the 1948 ratio still holds, it means that the Southwest Region has a higher ratio of women than the national average, and this could be the result of several conditions: (1) frequent civil wars in this region, reducing the number of men rather than the number of women. (2) reduction of the practice of female infanticide, because in

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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this region women have proved their usefulness by participation in farm work; and (3) the drain of able-bodied males during World War II when China depended almost exclusively on this region for troop replacements. (4) possible under-reporting of figures for males, who were attempting to dodge the draft.

C. Rural and Urban Composition

The result of the 1953 census shows that there has been a rapid increase in urban population, particularly in metropolitan and industrial centers. While in this region there are fewer large industrial capitals comparable to those in the Northeast and Central South regions, cities like Chengtu do bear evidence of this population trend. On the national scene, the increase in urban population is impressive, amounting to 40 per cent in certain cities as compared to their 1950 figures. The total population of the China Mainland is divided into 13.25 per cent for urban and 86.74 per cent for rural.[11] However this percentage is clearly based on dissimilar criteria for "urban" and "rural" than those used in the Nationalist estimates of 1947:

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11. People's Daily, Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 3.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 6. Rural and Urban Population in Southwest China (1947)

	Rural	Urban
Kweichow	6,182,000	3,911,750
Sikang	1,668,000	28,600
Szechwan	38,957,000	8,481,387
Yunnan	7,169,000	1,896,921
Regional	53,976,000	14,397,658

*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien [The China Yearbook], Taipei, Chung-hua Min-kuo nien-chien she, 1953, p. 34.

According to Table 6, the percentage of rural population for this region in 1947 was only 75.72 per cent, which is in closer agreement with earlier statistics[12] on scattered localities in this region, such as the province of Yunnan, which had a "rural" population of 70.96 per cent in the early 1930's. As we have noted, there is a difference between the Communist and Nationalist criteria for "urban" and "rural". The Nationalist government have traditionally used the farming population for "rural," while the Communist authorities are apparently drawing

12. Yun-nan-sheng Nung-ts'un Tiao-ch'a [Survey of Villages in Yunnan Province], p. 12.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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the line between communities with populations above or below a certain unspecified number.

D. Occupational Composition

The breakdown of the population by profession has not been released by the government on the China Mainland; not even fragmentary information, either national or regional, is available. Earlier studies also fall short of completeness. The following data on the population of Yunnan in the early 1930's, while outdated, may offer some information on the occupations of the people in this region. Yunnan appears to be a medium between the rich Chengtu Basin in Szechwan and the thinly populated mountains of former Sikang Province.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 SW China AF16

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Table 7. The Occupational Breakdown of Yunnan Population (1935)*

	Percent
Farmers	43.74
Workers	12.73
Merchants	3.04
Students, teachers	0.78
Government, army	1.01
Housewives	29.04
Self-employed†	0.19
Unemployed	6.32
Totally disabled	2.42
Others#	0.72

† Includes artists, physicians, lawyers, etc.

Includes gambling house operators and members of other professions not socially condoned.

* Yün-nan-sheng Nung-ts'un Tiao-ch'a [Survey of Yunnan Villages], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, pp. 13-14.

E. Some Earlier Observations

The Bureau of Statistics of the Central Government at Nanking in 1948 released the results of some cross-section surveys of China's population. The data was collected mainly before and during World War II in the Southwest China

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Region. The following excerpts may furnish some additional points for comparison:[13]

1. Population surveys of fifteen municipalities and hsien in the Southwest China Region from 1933-44 showed that on the basis of the age breakdown the population of this region as a whole was of a "stable" nature and only slightly inclined toward the "increasing type."

2. The same surveys also disclosed that while the sex ratio in these representative communities was generally well balanced before World War II began, the picture was quite noticeably altered during the war when the number of able-bodied males decreased sharply. This might have been caused by intensified conscription and by the falsification of reports on age in order to evade conscription.

3. The married population averaged 63-78.23 per cent of the total marriageable population. Out of the total population, those with middle-school education amounted to less than 2 per cent and those with college education, below 1 per cent.

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13. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 50-65.

162 4. A separate survey conducted during January-June 1947 in two large cities in this region further indicated that the age of fathers at the birth of first child was 20-35, and for mothers, 20-25. The mortality rate was highest in the 0-5 and 50-60 age groups. Pulmonary and typhoid diseases took the heaviest toll.'

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

166 The Southwest Region is singular in China's history of internal migration in that it has seen two large-scale migrations into this region within the past five hundred years. The first mass migration took place when the population of Szechwan Province was nearly exterminated during the chaos that marked the end of the Ming Dynasty (circa A.D. 1640). The succeeding authorities decreed migrations from Hunan and Hupeh provinces east of this region and encouraged voluntary migration from any area by promising land to the settlers. Over 1,700,000 settlers were recorded in the period[14] 1667-1707. [722] The second mass migration occurred after the 1937 Japanese invasion of China, when a huge number of people fled the northern and the coastal provinces west of this region. The latter migration is discussed in Chen Ta's Population of Modern China, which includes an analysis of

14. Lou Yün-lin, op. cit., p. 36.

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in the four provinces in Southwest China. Some of the groups are said to have migrated from Tibet; others, driven from their lands by the Han Chinese, sought refuge in the Southwest. The Han Chinese came later, and are now chiefly found in the plains and more accessible valleys.

These peoples, forming successive migratory waves from different parts of the continent, developed for a long time side by side without much intermingling. Cut off by high mountain ridges and unnavigable rivers, many have preserved their original languages and ancient customs, which are still in use today.

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162 There are more than 35 million people belonging to non-Han ethnic groups in China, constituting 6 per cent of the total national population and occupying more than one-half of the national territory.[1] Of the ten ethnic groups each having more than one million people, the Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Pu-yi, and Hui are represented in the Southwest in large numbers. The Southwest alone has 20 to 21 million people belonging to non-Han ethnic groups, constituting 20 per cent of the total regional population, and more significantly, dwelling along more than 3,000 miles of the national boundary.[2]

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1. Communique of "Results of Census and Registration of China's Population," Current Background, No. 301, Nov. 1, 1954, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General.

2. Wang, Wei-chou, "Hsi-nan Min-tsu Kung-tso Ch'ing-hsing" ["The State of the Nationalities Work in the Southwest"] , Min-tsu Cheng-t'se Wen-hsien Hui-pien [Compendium of Writings on Nationalities Policies] , Peking, Jen-min chu-pan-she, 1953, p.124.

II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later. 563 162 177

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials. 563 167

B. Sikang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

423 landowners, and less than 3 per cent in the hands of the middle and poor peasants.[5] He came to the conclusion that as 40,000 people out of a total population of 57,400,000 were on the verge of starvation, the policy of Mao Tse-tung was justified and should be carried out.

745 162 In this period it was also found that there was a large number of persons in Southwest China who depended upon the government for a living. Teng Hsiao-p'ing reported on April 11, 1950 that there were 900,000 disbanded Kuomintang soldiers, 400,000 old civil service men, and 700,000 Communist soldiers. He emphasized that if they were not well-fed, a state of disorder might result.[6] The Communists considered the collection of a grain levy on the whole population in order to feed the armies and the civil service men as the most urgent need at this time.

669 The Communists were greatly concerned that the Kuomintang members would make trouble. Their fears were confirmed when the rebellion led by Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, two Kuomintang generals, took place in Kunming. Part of the 2nd and 4th field armies were sent from southern Kwangsi to Yunnan, and the rebellion was quickly stamped out, although the rebel leaders succeeded in escaping to the border of Burma.

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5. Ibid., p. 1006.

6. Ibid., p. 991.

178 Another problem was the number of steel
plants and textile mills which had been estab-
499 lished in the Southwest during war against
653 Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950
had produced a depression, and industry and com-
merce could no longer maintain themselves. As
a remedy the Communists proposed the con-
struction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad.
In spite of the great financial difficulties in which
the Communist central government was involved
at that time, it was decided to invest an amount
of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice
for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties
for railroad construction. These projects stimu-
lated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical
engineering industries and the economic condition
of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region was
162 that of the national minorities which amounted,
according to the latest census and the report
of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities,
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans
in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

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The Southwest China region is formed of four provinces - Szechwan, called "the heavenly kingdom"; Sikang, an area of awesome mountains and dense forests; Yunnan, home of many different brother nationalities; and Kweichow, the settlement of the Miaos. The topography varies considerably, the climate is as variable, and crops are raised in abundance. The Red Basin in Szechwan, watered by the Yangtze and its tributaries, is especially fertile, and the Chengtu plain is one of the most famous rice producing areas in China. In addition to being the richest province for grain production in Southwest China, Szechwan also produces large quantities of cotton, tung oil, sugar cane, silk, rapeseed, and fruit.

II. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

• 162

The total population of Southwest China is a little over 98 million,[1] according to a

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

162 census completed by the Communists in June 1953. If we assume the ratio of rural and urban populations to be 87 to 13, the rural population in the Southwest Region in 1953 was approximately 85 million.[2] A comparison 311 of the rural population and the total amount of cultivated land in this region in the years 1946 and 1953 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Cultivated Land and Rural Population of Southwest China*

Unit = 1,000. S = shih-mou. A = acres.

Province	Year	Cultivated Land	Rural Population	Farm Households	Shih-mou (acres) per Household	Shih-mou (acres) per Capita
Szechwan	1946	151,437 S (25,239 A)	38,957	6,352	23.8 S (3.9 A)	3.9 S (0.6 A)
	1953	151,674 S (25,279 A)	54,204	8,930	16.9 S (2.8 A)	2.8 S (0.5 A)
Sikang	1946	4,011 S (668 A)	1,668	278	14.5 S (2.4 A)	2.4 S (0.4 A)
	1953	4,111 S (685 A)	2,942	485	8.5 S (1.4 A)	1.4 S (0.2 A)
Yunnan	1946	26,215 S (4,369 A)	7,169	1,384	18.9 S (3.2 A)	3.7 S (0.6 A)
	1953	26,375 S (4,396 A)	15,201	3,005	8.7 S (1.5 A)	1.7 S (0.3 A)
Kweichow	1946	23,173 S (3,862 A)	6,182	1,193	19.4 S (3.2 A)	3.7 S (0.6 A)
	1953	23,273 S (3,879 A)	13,082	2,586	9.0 S (1.5 A)	1.8 S (0.3 A)
		Total	Total	Total	Average	Average
	1946	204,836 S (34,138 A)	53,976	9,207	19.1 S (3.2 A)	3.4 S (0.6 A)
	1953	205,433 S (34,239 A)	85,429	15,006	10.8 S (1.8 A)	1.9 S (0.3 A)

* For 1946 data, Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking, 1948, pp. 70-71. For 1953 data, Communist census of 1953 and Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, 1953, pp. 42-46.

2. Ibid.

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Table 5. **Population in Terms of Equivalent "Adult Males"***

Province	Population	Population in Equivalent "Adult Males"
Szechwan	62,303,999	51,089,279
Sikang	3,381,064	2,772,473
Yunnan	17,472,737	14,327,644
Kweichow	15,037,310	12,330,594
Total	98,195,110	80,519,990

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient of 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work, China's Food and Population, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101 tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

131 The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

162 In the area covered by map no. 1,[1] the Na-khi live in scattered villages
131 alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

174 Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

000 In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

1 [see end map 1, cat 116 ; -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 obliterated in many places, making the passage of a loaded mule very
*133 dangerous. This valley becomes a canyon lower down to where it debouches
*137 into the Yangtze.

We arrive at a bluff where a beautiful vista opens towards the Yangtze and the terrific rock gate, the Gv-ho-gu gorge. This part of the valley resembles an amphitheater, on whose gentle terraced slopes a tiny hamlet also called Ggŏ-wùa is situated. Above the village under immense maple trees, one of seven feet in diameter, is a lovely clear crystal spring. The [162] peasants are all Lü-khi or Hli-khin, save one family which is Chinese. They migrated to this place from Chiang-hsi (Kiangsi) five generations ago.

Following the Yangtze to Feng-k'o. — From the lower Ggŏ-wùa we ascend an arid, scrub-covered terrain to a pass, and then descend over a most terrible trail of only a hand's width. Some ten years ago the entire, almost vertical mountain-side, several hundred feet in height, slid down into the valley carrying with it a small hamlet situated on a terrace high above the old trail. Man and beast perished, only one or two houses remained standing. The entire mountain-side in this valley is loose gravel, broken shale and schist. The trail is indeed a dangerous one and difficult to negotiate on account of constant landslides. After skirting this perilous place, we ascend gradually to another tiny hamlet of a few huts, called A-shi-wua-lo. The trail now leads to a pass and a circular depression, the bed of an old pond at an elevation of 8,800 feet (PLATE 232) whence we can overlook the entire Yangtze valley. The mountains, whose slopes are covered with *Heteropogon contortus* grass, are here dissected into many deep gorges, which debouch into the terrific canyon along which our trail leads. The walls drop almost vertically to the narrow valley floor, which sends foaming torrents into the Yangtze; the whole scenery is of indescribable magnificence.

Steeply we descend over the grassy spur along a narrow ravine, one trail leading down into it, while another leads along its crest. To the right (north) on a little terrace nestled against the steep mountains is the hamlet of Ba-a at 6,500 feet elevation. This trail is a terror to the muleteers; in wet weather it is as slippery as ice, on account of the yellow clay of which the hills are here composed. The heat is intense in the middle of the day, there is no shade as the hills are devoid of trees and only covered with the reddish-brown Heteropogon grass.

We come to the hamlet of Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-djü or Pu-chio 卜脚 or 卜喃]. The hamlet is divided into two parts by the valley called Bu-k'o and its torrent, which descends from Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan), Yo-wa-bu and Ggŏ-wùa valley. A small hamlet called Wùa-sha-lo is situated in the ravine. Here the peasants speak both Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so or Hli-dü. Below Law-k'a-khi-llü there is a fierce rapid in the Yangtze which here makes a bend in its narrow canyon. The trail leads down to the torrent of the Bu-k'o dji which must be forded, an impossible feat in the rainy season. From here it is 10 li over the grassy slopes to the Feng-k'o ferry. A Tibetan (mchhod-rten ཨཆོད་རྟེན) chhorten [the equiva-

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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anywhere else. These are the Nga-ch'angs or A-ch'angs, called Chang by the Shans. These people's language is closely connected with Burmese, and is still more like the language of the Szi, Lashi, and Maru tribes[1] who inhabit the Kachin Hills. It has no resemblance to Shan, except the general likeness which connects all the Indo-Chinese languages. The A-ch'angs are often described as Ho-hsa Shans or, in Burmese, Maingtha Shans, and they have adopted Shan customs, dress, and religion so completely that they will even speak of themselves as Shans. But if further questioned they will always allow that they are not really of the Shan race. In feature too there is a noticeable difference between the two peoples.

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The A-ch'angs, however, are not the only inhabitants of this little valley. Its height above the sea is 4500 feet, and it is consequently cold enough and healthy enough for Chinamen to live in, and there are a great number of them in the valley, most of whom have been settled here for some generations. From what the sawbwas told me there are 4000 houses in the two states, of which perhaps a third are inhabited by Chinese or half Chinese families.

S P 622

The sawbwas are both of Chinese extraction. Their ancestors came from Ch'ung-ch'ing Fu (Ch'ung-k'ing) in eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan 400 or 500 years ago. They were sent by the Chinese Government to repress disturbances which had broken out on the border, and were rewarded for their services by being made rulers of these two states. The sawbwas of Möng Na, San-ta and Möng Ti (Nan-tien) are also of Chinese origin, while the Möng Wan and Möng Mow chiefs are genuine Shans. The whole of these sawbwas, however, intermarry with each others' families and have become practically Shans, and would not now call themselves Chinese.

On the 16th January we had an ascent of 1000 feet and a long and steep descent of nearly 3000 feet into the valley of the Taping, and crossed the river, a slow sandy stream 300 yards wide, by boat to the village of Manwaing[2].

[1] For vocabularies, see pocket in cover.

[2] This place is usually called by us by its Burmese name of Manwaing or Manwyne. Its proper Shan name is Man-ving, which has been corrupted by the Chinese into Man-yün.

000 horizon with which I took latitudes every clear night. My maximum and minimum thermometers very soon got out of order and defied all my efforts to get them right again. The survey was done on a scale of four miles to the inch, and I tried as far as possible to get in all the country that came in sight rather than to put in with minute accuracy the part near the road.

133 Soon after leaving camp we crossed the actual water-shed which is presumably the boundary. They say there was formerly a boundary "gate" here called Shên-hu-kuan. From all this part of the road there are magnificent views of the surrounding country. To the south the hills near Sima are plainly visible. To the south-east in a nearer range of hills the gap is seen through which the road from Mêng-tien to San-ta passes, and beyond this gap is visible another range which is probably that which divides Möng Na from Ho-hsa. Far away to the east can be seen a high mountain chain which separates the Shweli from the Salween. To the north this range stretches away till it is hidden by the spurs of Tabu Pum; to the south it culminates in a very high and prominent conical hill called Kao-li-kung which is about 12,000 feet high. South of this the range seems to get lower very rapidly.

[162] [241] A steep descent of 1,400 feet brought us into the little Mêng-ka paddy plain which is inhabited by Chinese and Li-sos. The land is all cultivated but is not fertile, and the people do not get much more than a bare living off it. The head-man put me up in his house and I determined to halt here over the 7th, so as to write to the San-si sawbwa to tell him I was coming the next day.

A Shan silversmith from San-ta was a fellow-guest in Yang's house—rather an intelligent man who professed great contempt for the Chinese of Mêng-ka. Certainly the Shans are in many ways a much more civilised race than the Chinese.

579 On the morning of the 7th news came in that a caravan of Chinese traders on their way from Manwaing to Mogaung had been attacked by Kachins at a place called Möng-lawng[1]. Six mules with their loads had been stolen,

[1] I believe this to be the Shan form of the name marked on the Survey of India map as Ma-lau.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

622 looked on with suspicion by the Chinese Government, owing to a rebellion which his elder brother and predecessor started three years before. He is now only allowed to rule over the purely Shan villages of the State, those places in which there are any Chinamen living being administered by the Chinese head-man at Kuan-shang[1].

From the account given to my interpreter by this individual, my arrival on the boundary seems to have caused no small stir both at San-si and at T'êng-yüeh. The news was at once sent on to the T'êng-yüeh official, and the 50 soldiers who form the garrison of San-si were sent up to the Lao-kuan-ch'êng Gate and slept there a night. The excitement was not allayed till my messenger from Méng-ka arrived with the news that the 200 infantry and 60 cavalry had resolved themselves into 10 baggage mules and seven unarmed men.

•162 The inhabitants of San-si are chiefly Shan, but there is
361 also a considerable Chinese population, amounting perhaps
to one sixth or one eighth of the whole. The Taping
133 river runs through the plain from north to south, and it is noticeable that the Shan villages on its right bank are all surrounded by walls, as a protection no doubt against the Kachins who inhabit the hills to the west. The San-si plain is in this latitude the eastern boundary of the Kachin country, the hills to the east of it being peopled by Chinese. The height of the plain is only 3,300 feet.

On the 12th January we crossed the Taping by ferry. The river averages 80 yards in width and at this time of year there are places where waist-deep fords can be found in it. A good deal of hill climbing brought us to the small village of Hsiao-ti-fang where we camped for the night. Here again there was unmelted ice all day, and the night was very cold.

361 This, like many of the frontier villages, was originally a military post placed here by the Chinese authorities to control the border tribes. They have now, however, been settled down as farmers for many generations, though I believe they still receive some small pay or remission of taxes from the Chinese Government. It is probably by

[1] I heard on a subsequent journey that San-si had been handed over to the Sawbwa of Mong Ti (Nan-tien), but do not know if this is true.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 used to hearing objections of this sort raised, and it did not make me change my mind.

On the 5th February we left Ta-li and went back to Hsia-kuan, and on the 6th started for Shun-ning. The road leads up a big range, reaching the top at 8,700 feet. They say there is usually snow on this pass at this time of year, but the winter happened to be an exceptionally mild one. From here a long winding descent brought us into the northern end of the Mêng-hua plain at the village of Hsün-chien, where there is a particularly good inn.

133 The plain is some 25 miles long and three or four miles wide, with a small stream, which is the source of the Red River, running southwards down the middle of it. Its height [162] is about 6000 feet. The inhabitants are Chinese and Panthays, the latter being in considerable numbers but not in a majority. The town lies at the southern end of the plain, and I did not see it at this time, but passed through it in a subsequent journey in 1898[1].

175 Mêng-hua is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the scene of a deliberately planned murder, by which the Nan-chao kingdom was founded. At that time central Yün-nan was divided into six little states, but Pi-lo-ko, the prince of Mêng-hua, being a man of enterprising mind, invited his five royal neighbours to a feast. He had previously constructed a specially inflammable house of pine wood, and having made his guests dead drunk, set fire to the building and burnt them all. He thus combined the six kingdoms under his own rule and soon afterwards moved his capital to the Ta-li plain. This was in A.D. 731, and the kingdom continued with various changes of dynasty till it was subdued by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

000 The next morning the *ch'ai*[2] sent with me as escort divulged the fact that he was not after all to accompany me to Shun-ning, but was to go to Mêng-hua. It appears that the *Hsièn*[3] of Ta-li, after agreeing to send him with me to Shun-ning, had been subsequently struck by the great responsibility he was taking on himself in doing so, and had consulted on the matter with the *Fu*[4]. The result

[1] See p. 147. [2] Policeman. [3] Magistrate.
[4] The Fu district official, sometimes called the *prefect* by Europeans in China.

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000 we had a long descent of over 3000 feet to Wan-nien-chuang. This village is Chinese, but Se-pyek a mile further on is inhabited by Shans, among whom are included some Hküns, the branch of the Tai race who inhabit Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States.

There appear to be several Hkün families living among the Chinese Shans of this neighbourhood. How they had got here they did not seem to know. It may be conjectured that some rebellion in or invasion of their native
S state had compelled them to emigrate to such a distance.
P The Chinese name for this race of Shans is K'ên-tzŭ.

631 Wan-nien-chuang marks the boundary between the district of Mien-ning and the Shan State of Kêng-ma[1]. This is one of the largest of the Chinese Shan States and
S besides the Kêng-ma plain includes the districts of Mêng-
P sa, Mêng-yung and Mêng-chien[2]. We were now in a
[162] country in which there are very few Chinese. The plains are all inhabited by Shans, and the hills by Las, Lo-los, and La-hus, with a few scattered Chinese villages among them. The Lo-los are many of them of the Mêng-hua Lo-lo tribe. The Shans call them *Myen*, which is the usual Shan name for all branches of the Lo-lo race. The La-hus, called Lo-hei by the Chinese and Mu-hsö or Myen Mu-hsö by the Shans, inhabit a good deal of the country between
S the Salween and the Mekong, and stretch down into Keng
P Tung and northern Siam.

361 It rained a good deal in the night and the next morning, so we made a late start and did a short march of 7½ miles to Mêng-yung, a little Shan town of 180 houses surrounded by a mud wall. It is built on the right bank of a narrow stream running in a deep ravine. The plain is a very small one with little cultivation and contains no Shan villages except the town. I put up in a large well-built Shan monastery, and was an object of immense curiosity to the whole of the inhabitants of Mêng-yung.

000 Two marches from here brought us to Mêng-sa. The road there from Mang-hkü, where we slept on the 27th, after a little level going, begins to ascend up a narrow gorge by a paved road. Near the top it becomes steeper,

[1] Köng-ma in Shan.
[2] Möng Hsa, Möng Yawng, and Möng Kyen in Shan.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 •
Pai-1 AE7

range of hills and on the next day dropped steeply down to the Nam Ting valley at Mêng-chien. During this descent we passed through the mixed La and Chinese village of Ta-chai. This contains 450 houses, and though it is a hill village is quite the largest place in this part of the Chinese Shan States. It has some very fine trees round it and the hillsides are well cultivated. It is noticeable that the Las and Was live in much larger villages than any other hill tribe of Yün-nan.

Mêng-chien or Möng Kyen is a small place of no importance, inhabited by Shans. Its height is only 1,850 feet, the Nam Ting valley being one of the lowest parts of Yün-nan. In this warm climate the fresh green grass was already several inches high, and our mules got better grazing than they had had for a long time.

On the 3rd and 4th of March our road was nearly level, leading down the Nam Ting valley, chiefly through pretty thick jungle, with occasionally a Shan village and a patch of rice cultivation where a tributary stream joins the main river. Finally we emerged into the Mêng-ting[1] plain, which is 10 miles long and three miles wide with the river running down its northern edge. There are several villages scattered about in it, each surrounded by fine clumps of bamboo. The people are partly Chinese Shans and partly Southern Shans, the former predominating; but the population is not very large and there is a good deal of land uncultivated. Mêng-ting is a very small state, and only the lower or western part of this plain belongs to it, the upper half being part of Kêng-ma. The town which is unwalled is built in two bits, separated by a small tributary of the Nam Ting, the sawbwa's residence lying on the right bank, and the market village on the left bank. During the dry season it is visited by a good many Panthay traders from Panglong, and I saw a large bullock caravan which had come from Nam-hkam with salt fish and cotton clothes.

I proposed to go and see the sawbwa, but a message arrived to say that he was ill and not up to receiving visitors. As a matter of fact there was nothing whatever the matter with him, but being of rather a nervous dis-

[1] Also called Hun-ting by the Chinese. Möng Ting is its Shan name.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

My very rough methods of calculation naturally give only an approximate result, but in default of any better estimate the population of Yün-nan may be taken as about ten millions[1]. 161

This population is divided between very sparsely peopled mountains, which form the greater part of Yün-nan, and very thickly inhabited plains which, though they only comprise about a fifteenth of the area of the province, contains nearly half of its inhabitants. 162 563

In the plains the population is mainly Chinese[2], but not entirely so, for in the cold plateaus of the north-west are found Tibetans, while many of the low-lying plains of the south are inhabited by Shans. Moreover in the centre of the province some of the plains are peopled by Ming-chias, while an admixture of Lo-los is occasionally found. At a guess I should say that about four-fifths to nine-tenths of the population of the plains are Chinese, including under this name those who, even if of aboriginal extraction, are now in language and customs undistinguishable from the ruling race.

In the hills things are different. Here, as in the plains, one also finds the Chinese, and there is no large tract of country without Chinese villages in it. But living among them and forming the bulk of the hill population are numerous other tribes, each with its own language and its own customs[3].

In the north-west corner are Tibetans, and the semi-Tibetan Mo-so race. On the Burmese border are Kachins and Palaungs; also in the west of the province, but extending further into the interior, are the Li-sos; everywhere throughout Yün-nan are the Lo-los, a fine race and more numerous than any other hill tribe. Equally widely distributed are the Miaos, but they are only found in small and scattered communities. In the south-west, between the Salween and the Mekong, are the La-hus, who with their cross-bows and poisoned arrows proved formidable

[1] Some recent Chinese figures give Yün-nan a population of about 12,000,000, but these are said to be unreliable. The late Mr Litton, of the Consular Service, who had much experience of Yün-nan, estimated the number of inhabitants at 9,000,000.

[2] Among the Chinese I include the Panthays or Chinese Mahommedans.

[3] For details about these tribes see Appendix VIII.

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

162 foes to the Chinese troops a few years ago. Near them
563 live the Was, many of whom are still unconquered and still carry on their head-hunting raids. Their relatives, the somewhat more civilised Las, occupy much of the country near the southern part of the Burma-Yün-nan frontier. In the south of Yün-nan are the P'u-mans; and further east are the Wo-nis and many other tribes speaking Lo-lo dialects. The Shans and Ming-chias I omit, as they are not properly speaking hill tribes but live in the plains and valleys.

To form an estimate of the relative numbers of the Chinese and non-Chinese population in the hills is a difficult task. With the possible exception of the Lo-los the Chinese would doubtless outnumber any *one* other tribe, but still there are many tracts of country where they are decidedly in the minority. To say that the Chinese form one-third of the inhabitants of the hills, and other tribes the remaining two-thirds would perhaps not be very wide of the mark. This is merely a rough estimate, the result of impressions gained from travelling over the country, and must be taken only for what it is worth.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

areas of vegetation associations within the Basin[1] (Fig. 8). They are, first, the pine-cypress-banyan-bamboo association, occupying a large portion of the central and southern part of the Basin; second, the dense mixed coniferous-deciduous--mainly chestnuts (Castanea), oak (Quercus), and sweet gum (Liquidambar)--grassland associations, occupying the highland areas surrounding the Basin; and third, the coniferous (composed of mainly the Genera Abies, Picea, Tsuga, and Larix) grassland-Rhododendron associations, occupying a large part of the western Basin. 137

Particularly in the third of the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraph altitudinal zonation of vegetation is clearly shown.[2] As a rule the forests are on higher levels, whereas the intermediate slopes are covered with grass vegetation. Northwest of the Basin there lies the well-known "prairie" area, including both the tall bunch and short grasses (mostly stipa and some thick sods of Avena and Festuca) developed on the degenerated chernozem soils of the Sung-pan districts.

4. Soils

As soils will be discussed in more detail in connection with the agricultural land use, only the principal soil regions will be mentioned at this point. Generally speaking, there are three soil regions of major significance in the Basin[3] (Fig. 9), namely, (1) the purple-brown (forest) soils, distributed in most parts of the Basin, (2) the non-calcareous alluvium and rice paddy soils mainly in Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, and (3) the slightly to moderately podsolized old and young yellow earths found in the peripheral highland and anticlinal ridge areas of the Basin. 134

B. Major Elements in the Cultural Landscape of the Basin

1. Population Patterns

The most striking feature of the population pattern of the Szechuan Basin is that with the exception of the areas around 162

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[1] C. S. Fang, Personal correspondence, April 16, 1941.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. Thorp, Soil Geography of China, Plate 1, 1936.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

●162 Chengtu Plain, the population density decreases from the interior of the Basin toward its fringes (Fig. 10).[1a] This generalization is more nearly true in the northern part than in the southern part of the Basin.

In most cases, the average population density of peripheral Hsiens, as previously mentioned, ranges between 11 and 50 persons per square kilometer. This density is much lower than that in the interior areas of the Basin (Fig. 10). Such a condition clearly demonstrates one very significant fact, that is, the close adjustment of population to relief in Szechuan Basin. As already pointed out, the general topography of the Basin tends to be more rugged as one moves from the interior of the Basin toward its periphery. A comparison of the Relief Map (Fig. 2) and the population density map (Fig. 10) emphasizes the remarkably high degree of coincidence between these two patterns. In other words, in areas where the surface configuration is more rugged (as in the fringing areas of the Basin) the population density is lower than in the more nearly level areas.

The actual population distribution and population densities of the Basin, owing to the great diversity of its topography, soil, climate, agricultural and other products are by no means uniform. Generally speaking, the Basin displays five densely populated areas, namely, the Chengtu Plain, the central and lower To River Valley, the south central industrial area, the central and lower Fou River Valley, and the discontinuous areas of Chu-hsien-Chung-hsien-Changshou areas in the eastern Basin (Fig. 10). As we shall see subsequently these five densely populated areas correspond fairly closely with the five principal agricultural areas of the Basin.[1] The first two are the richest two agricultural regions of the Basin.

The Chengtu Plain--the first of the five densely peopled areas--with its flat topography, ever-renewed fertile soil, and excellent irrigation systems, is the most prosperous agricultural area, and has the highest population density within the Basin. The average density is more than 500 persons per square kilometer. In some districts the average density runs as high as 600 persons or more per kilometer. These include the districts of Pi-hsien, Hsing-fang, and Wenchiang, west of Chengtu (Fig. 10 and also Fig.11 on index map of Hsien). Here, in addition to the rice culture

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[1]See Figure 24.

[1a] [See end map 6 -- Analyst]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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which is universal throughout the Chengtu Plain, the specialization and the extensive production of tobacco[1] (reputed to be the finest in China for cigar-making) has increased the returns from farming and made possible this unusually high population density. The only districts of the Plain, which have comparatively lower population densities (below 350 persons per square kilometer) are Tsung-ching and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 10). The explanation for this situation lies mainly in the fact that these two districts have higher local relief and are handicapped by insufficient water for irrigation. For instance, on account of the lack of irrigation, rice is not widely grown in Tsung-ching. But, on the whole, in so far as the population density and the capacity for agricultural production are concerned, Chengtu Plain compares favorably with the Delta area of the Yangtse.[2]

The rich horticultural and sugar cane producing area[3] of the upper central To River Valley constitutes the second high population density area of the Basin (Fig. 10). Here, the average density is around 400 persons per square kilometer. With its comparatively flattish topography--probably the flattest next to Chengtu Plain--and its rich sugar cane production, the lower and central To Valley is agriculturally one of the most prosperous areas of the Basin.

The south central industrial area, including the districts of Fu-shun, Lung-chang, Yung-chang, and Pih-shan represents the third of the high-population-density areas (Fig. 10). Here lies the world-famous salt-brine mining district of the Basin. This is perhaps the only important industrial center of the whole Basin. It is reported that in Tze-kung area alone, there are more than 400,000 people, two-thirds of whom are said to be engaged in salt production and other manufacturing activities. In addition to salt, large quantities of coal are produced. The average population density in this area is well over 400 persons per square kilometer.

The central and lower Fou River Valley, including the districts of San-tai, Shei-hung, Sui-ning, Peng-hsi, and Nan-chung,

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[1] See Figure 37.

[2] P. M. Roxby, "The Distribution of Population in China," Geographical Review, XV, No. 1 (1925), 1-24 (Map).

[3] See also Figure 37.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

162 noted for their specialization and rich production of the famous yellow silk and for cotton and herbs, is the fourth densely peopled area. The average density in this area exceeds 350 persons per square kilometer. This area represents the richest agricultural part of the northern Basin.

The fifth area with a high density of population consists of a discontinuous tract of districts, including Chu-hsien, Chung-hsien, and Chang-shou north and east of Chung-king. These districts lie within the longitudinal anticline areas of the Basin, and in most places their topography is mountainous and rugged. The population density in this section of the Basin, as a whole, is low (Fig. 10). The exceptionally high population density of the discontinuous tracts mentioned above (with an average density of over 300 persons per square kilometer) probably is due to the rapidly increasing development of tung tree and coal productions during the recent years. This development has increased considerably the population-support capacity of these districts, as compared to the surrounding areas.

Outside of these five high population density areas, most of the districts of the Basin have a population density of about 250 to 350 persons per square kilometer. This approaches the average density (285 persons per square kilometer) for the Basin as a whole. In general, this average density is comparatively lower than the average density of the lower Yangtse Delta area, but is somewhat higher than the rural area of North China.[1]

Although many agriculturalists[2] classify Szechuan Basin as a "rice region," actually, on account of its rugged topography and deficient water supply, only a part of the hilly areas are used for rice culture. These are the "ti-tien" or ladder lands (terraces). On the other hand, considerable portions of these lands are devoted to unirrigated or "dry" crops, such as corn, potatoes, kaoliang, wheat, barley, millet, and others. This fact explains perhaps why the Basin, as a whole, in so far as population density is concerned, lies at a midway position between the higher densities of the rice region of the Yangtse Delta and the lower densities of the wheat region of North China.

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[1]Hu, op. cit., p. 26.

[2]Buck, op. cit., p. 78.

437 farms here are within a few miles of a market. Each town has usually three or four market days per week, which alternate with those of the neighboring towns. The larger places have a daily
437 market. The produce is usually carried on men's backs on shoulder poles, or loaded on wheelbarrows. The noise of the wheelbarrows
489 on the stone-paved roads in the quiet of the early morning is as genuinely Chengtu Plain as many of its other unique landscape features. This peculiar noise, together with that much-advertised smell of night soil in the oriental farm fields, adds another unique double feature to the already too-colorful Chengtu-Plain landscape.

Moreover, in spite of the obstruction of irrigation dams, the extensive inter-communicating canal systems in the Plain help provide channels by way of which many of the villagers in the Plain can send their produce (such as vegetables, fruits, poultry, pork, and other products) to the city or to other towns by boat. And at the same time they bring home their purchases by the same conveyance. The canals thus facilitate considerably the otherwise very difficult transportation conditions. Here reminds one of the similar scene, though on a much smaller scale, which is commonly seen in the Great-Lake Canal regions (such as the Wu-shih and Soochow areas) of the Lower Yangtse Delta.

226 g) Practice of aqui-culture.--Because there are thousands of acres of ponds and water-covered paddy fields in Chengtu Plain, aqui-culture is also practiced here. The principal activity along this line is fishing--for fish, frogs, snails, and crabs. Cormorant fishing is particularly characteristic. Because the Min River and other streams in this area are fairly clear during some months of the year, the fish can be easily seen as they hurry upstream to spawn. Thus, the cormorant catch is generally very successful here. Other phases of aqui-culture include digging for aquatic plants, such as lotus seeds, water chestnuts (Trapa nateus), and Calladum, which are all delicacies to the people here.

● 162 Chengtu Plain occupies an area of approximately 6,000 square kilometers, about one-twenty-fifth of the total area of the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study. But it has a population of more than 4,000,000 people, or about one-twelfth of the total population of the province. The average population density of Chengtu Plain is a little over 700 persons per square kilometer, or nearly 1,800 persons per square mile. Nowhere in

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

China, with the possible exception of the Lower Yangtse Delta region, is the average population density so high. It is, of course, made possible only by the tremendous productivity and the intensity of agricultural land-use in the Plain. 162

h) Irrigation works of Chengtu Plain--Tu Chiang Yen as the nerve center.--The Tu-chiang-yen irrigation works, built 2,200 years ago, when applied science was yet unknown in Europe, is one of China's best known ancient engineering feats, and is one of the two oldest irrigation works in all China. It is this system which is largely responsible for the fertility of Chengtu Plain, commonly known in Chinese history as the "Heavenly country." It is also because of this system that this "Heavenly country" has experienced only 17 minor droughts and floods in the last twenty-two centuries. 312

(1) Historical development.--The Tu-chiang-yen system was devised to harness the waters of the mighty Min[1] on their way down from the Tibetan Plateau in order to irrigate the farm-lands in 14 districts of western Szechuan Basin. According to Shih-Chi, in the earliest Chinese historical Annals,[2] the system was first constructed by General Li Ping and his son, in 316 B.C., immediately after the conquest of Szechuan (then the Shu State) by the feudal Chin State (Shensi). The annals read: "In Shu (Szechuan), the governor cut a canal through Chengtu to connect the navigable rivers in the region into one system."[3]

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[1]We owe to the Ming explorer and geographer, Hsu Hsia Ke (1586-1641) the first appreciation of the actual relationship between the present Yangtse and its tributaries, as understood today. It is interesting to note that prior to his clarification, the Chinese for centuries, regarded the Min, because of its huge volume and torrential flow, as the upper stream of the Yangtse itself. It was not until Hsu Hsia Ke, who first ascended the Yangtse, that it became an established fact that the Ching Sha River was the upstream of the Yangtse itself. This was about one century earlier than the Jesuit Fathers who first compiled the Celebrated Atlas of Imperial China (cf. V. K. Ting, "Hsu Hsia Ke, Explorer and Geographer," New China Review, III [1921], 336-37).

[2]Ssu Ma Chien, Historical Annals, Vol. XXIX, Books on Rivers and Canals, p. 2.

[3]During recent years, a number of students of the subject have refused to accept the fact that Li Ping was the builder of the system, and have asserted that a man named Pieh Ning or Kai King (a minister of the Shu State) initiated these irrigation works, several hundred years before Li Ping. They contend that Li Ping only extended the system and improved it, but did not

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 24) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Southwest China AF16

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mometer in the 40's and 50's, with frequent light but prolonged drizzling rains that create chilly, uncomfortable sensible temperatures. Almost year-round plant cultivation occurs in most of the Basin, so that Ling-nan and Ssu-ch'uan have much in common. In the plateau lands of Kuei-chou, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang, a different situation prevails. Some of the basin-lands of Kuei-chou share the high humidity and other climatic characteristics of Ssu-ch'uan, but the mountain lands and slopes are cool moist areas with rather poor soils, frequently shrouded in fog.

The Yun-nan Plateau, on the other hand, emerges above the winter mantle of cloud that covers Ssu-ch'uan and has a delightful winter climate like that of North China in late spring. The high altitude of over 6500 feet makes for mild sunshiney winters and cool summers in spite of fairly high rainfall and the low latitudes. At Ho-k'ou where the Yuan or Red River runs out of the provinte into Vietnam, the rainfall averages 48 inches annually. At T'eng-ch'ung (T'e-g-yueh) near the Bhamo frontier of Burma, the rainfall rises to 58 inches per year. In the central lake basin area as exemplified by K'un-ming, the rainfall is reduced to 40 inches, decreasing northwestward with the increasing altitudes and increasing distances from the seas. At Li-chiang near the Hsi-k'ang border, the rainfall drops to 26 inches annually.[14]

While the plateau heights provide a pleasant and invigorating climate, there is a sudden change in the lower altitudes of the deep ravines and basin lands under 4300

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Photo 5. Lu-ku Lake, Hsi-k'ang Province (27°43' N, 100° 48' E)

At Lu-ku Lake in the center background, the viewer sees the picture of the eroded surface of the eastern part of the Tibetan High Plateau. Known as Cham, this part of the high plateau was constituted the province of Hsi-k'ang by the Manchu Government in 1906. It is inhabited by East Tibetan peoples such as the Fan, Nakhi and Ku-tsung. Han-Chinese settlers find the land inhospitable for their culture, since the elevations even in the lower parts seen in this photo are between 10,000-15,000 feet. The still relatively level surfaces of the plateau in the foreground are deeply gashed by the snow-flanked ravines. On the central one are cultivated fields of Tibetan tribes.

744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given [751] to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.

8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744 563 164 was reported that the minority groups in both the Southwest and the Central-South suffered from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. In Yunnan Province in 1950, from 64 to 94 per cent of the children of the minority peoples were affected with enlargement of the spleen, and 39 per cent had malarial parasites in their blood. The basic measures proposed for the improvement of health conditions in the minority nationalities were the establishment of additional public health agencies and the training of additional health workers.[9]

744 563 Two years later, twenty-five mobile health corps units had been formed and were serving the minority nationalities areas in Southwest China, according to Communist sources. Not only were the treatments and preventive injections said to have been administered free, but the dissemination of modern methods of sanitation and education in hygiene were the responsibility of these traveling medical workers. A special effort was made to train members of minority groups as health workers among their own people. Incomplete statistics for 1949-52

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9. Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, pp. 5-7.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 race becomes higher in one place, causing the water to desert its old terrace and to flow over the hill in another direction, to build anew. The whole hill is therefore covered with ancient basins and terraces, some much broken and covered with vegetation and of a dark grey, resembling the hide of an elephant. Some of the circular basins are fully 20 feet broad, yet are only a foot or less deep, growing ever taller like stalagmites, which they really are, with the only difference that instead of shedding all the water, they retain a quantity in a shallow, broad basin. (PLATES 136, 137, 138.)

One part of the terrace is especially high, forming a large, bulging promontory resembling the fat-bellied god of the Chinese, Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛, whose name it bears (PLATE 139). Below the bulge is a natural slit in the limestone which communicates with the interior. Here barren women come to pray for children, burning incense before the opening.

In the shallow sinter basins, as well as in the furrows and corrugations of the terraces over which the water flows, there are to be found millions of pisolites or oölites, resembling the roe of fish. These are formed around minute algæ which are the nuclei of the pisolites. They are not exactly round, but somewhat oblong and flattened and never thicker than the depth of the water which flows over them. They differ notably from pisolites known from similar sinter basins and terraces, as those of Madagascar and the Yellowstone of America. Instead of being composed of concentric rings, they are dichotomously branched. They are constantly rolled back and forth by the flowing water; the basins are full of them, though they never grow larger than a pea.[13]

778 The natives and their sorcerers look upon this terrace as sacred and as being the property of the Llü-mun, the equivalent of the Chinese dragon kings and the Tibetan Lu (serpent spirits; written kLu). *K'o-byu* offerings adorn the spring (PLATE 135), as also paper streamers, saplings, etc. Under the trees is a stone altar on which the Dto-mba (priests) burn pine branches and incense, while they chant incantations to propitiate the Llü-mun. They have a special ceremony called *Ssu-gv*, during which many books are chanted and many objects offered to propitiate the serpent spirits. The books of this ceremony, as well as those belonging to numerous other ceremonies performed by the Na-khi, I have translated and these will form two separate volumes.

*133 The spring and terraces have no connection with the deep ravine and valley 312 which encircle this hill; the water is forced up to the surface from hundreds of feet below. It forms the water-supply of most of the villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr. [164] Goitre is very prevalent, but the inhabitants should never suffer from indigestion. The water is conveyed to the villages first in a ditch and then in wooden flumes which, after having been in use for a certain time, have a most curious appearance. The ditches are encrusted with lime and the flumes have become so filled with it that the boards merely serve as support for the limestone which has been built up above the edge and bulges over the boards. The water thus flows in a limestone trough several inches above the original flume. At Gu-dû the water empties from the flume to the ground. Here the mouths of the hollowed out logs which serve as troughs look as if they were covered with icicles. The main stream of water has formed a stalactite, while from the ground

[13] DR. HOFFET, of the Geological Service of Indo-China, kindly analysed these pisolites for me.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY IN DISTRESS

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The cholera epidemic came to West Town as to other localities in the area from Hsia Kuan on the Burma Road, and spread with the stream of refugees that steadily flowed into the town and villages.(6) It affected a wide area. In West Town it began at about the beginning of the Fourth Moon (about the tenth of May, 1942) and ended at about the end of the same month (about the tenth of June, 1942). Only a few deaths occurred at first; then heavier tolls were taken of the population. For a period of time even in the town itself there were six or seven deaths a day. The price of coffins rose from five hundred dollars to two or three thousand dollars each, and later coffins were practically unobtainable. Carpenters worked day and night. Funeral processions of various kinds became a common every-day sight. At night the streets, unlike before the onset of the epidemic, were practically empty. Darkness and silence ruled everywhere except in carpenters' shops where much activity was in evidence.

A. Cholera Prayer Meetings

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The authority of the missionary college urged its students and faculty members to be injected immediately when two cases of cholera appeared in the local hospital.[1] But the general populace took little notice of it until about the seventh of the month. Prayer meetings then took place one after another. Such meetings took place not only in the center of the town but also in all the surrounding villages. Within the confines of the town at least several areas had such prayer meetings, in two places twice. Some of these are big events, employing at least three Taoist priests and three or four musicians in addition to a larger number of volunteer ushers and officers from the area. Others are smaller events with only one priest and no musician, in addition to a small number of ushers and officers. In each case there is a big or small altar covered with canvas, on which are displayed tablets or pictures of the various gods, the priests paraphernalia and quantities of offering to the gods. In the case of the one-priest affair the meeting usually lasted for one or two days. The larger affairs lasted three days and four nights each. The author had opportunity to watch such prayer meetings in several surrounding villages in addition to the those in the town itself. The following list gives the area and villages according to the order of the appearance of the prayer meetings: (See Diagram, Names of areas being represented by alphabet letters, arabic numbers indicate order of appearance of the prayer meetings).[2]

Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meeting.	Date (Lunar Calendar)	Number of Priests Engaged
1. A	7,8,9, 4th Moon	1 priest
2. B	About 9, 4th Moon	1 "
3. C	" 9, " "	1 "
4. D	8,9,10, " "	3 "
5. E	9,10, " "	1 "
6. F	10,11,12 " "	3 "
6. G	10,11, " "	1 "
7. H	12,13, " "	1 "

(6) When Burma fell.

[1] [ON the first of the month--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 10-- Analyst]

162 4. A separate survey conducted during January-June 1947 in two large cities in this region further indicated that the age of fathers at the birth of first child was 20-35, and for mothers, 20-25. The mortality rate was highest in the 0-5 and 50-60 age groups. Pulmonary and typhoid diseases took the heaviest toll.'

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

• 166 The Southwest Region is singular in China's history of internal migration in that it has seen two large-scale migrations into this region within the past five hundred years. The first mass migration took place when the population of Szechwan Province was nearly exterminated during the chaos that marked the end of the Ming Dynasty (circa A.D. 1640). The succeeding authorities decreed migrations from Hunan and Hupeh provinces east of this region and encouraged voluntary migration from any area by promising land to the settlers. Over 1,700,000 settlers were recorded in the period[14] 1667-1707. [722] The second mass migration occurred after the 1937 Japanese invasion of China, when a huge number of people fled the northern and the coastal provinces west of this region. The latter migration is discussed in Chen Ta's Population of Modern China, which includes an analysis of

14. Lou Yün-lin, op. cit., p. 36.

•166 the influence of more technically advanced easterners on the life of the local population. The first migration restocked the population in the Southwest Region; the second migration was less permanent, with the majority of the migrants returning to their native places upon the conclusion of World War II. However, not a few of these easterners have remained and made their homes in this region.

166 178 After 1949, the Communist program of industrialization concentrated upon the Northeast and Central South regions, but this does not mean that the Southwest Region is totally neglected. Many of the industrial establishments temporarily arranged to house the plants evacuated from the north and the east during the Sino-Japanese War have been retained and brought into the master plan for development of this region. Of 156 major industrial units involved in the Chinese Communists' first Five-Year Plan, over 19 per cent are located in this region.[15] The two steel plants in Chungking, the tin mining center in Yunnan Province, and the ordnance plant in Chengtu are undoubtedly attracting many workers and contributing to the rapid increase in population in such centers.

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15. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955.

166 Among the large construction projects which have been drawing thousands of people into this region are the Szechwan-Sikang and Sikang-Tibet highways, both reported to have been opened to traffic in the summer of 1954. The railway between Chungking and Chengtu in Szechwan Province has been completed, but another rail line connecting Szechwan Province with the north is still under construction. In addition, the Communists have been organizing people from more crowded places to settle on the grasslands and in mountain valleys in northwestern Szechwan and the western part of former Sikang Province. Reports are available in the Communist press on the progress of new villages where recent settlers are "making the barren mountains bloom ." Although the dimensions of these organized migrations cannot be measured, reports couched in general terms should at least suggest one of the population trends in this region.

175 1280 A.D.) dynasties. In the Ch'ing (1644-1912 A.D.)
167 dynasty more than 200,000 Han Chinese went to
Sikang as refugees, criminals, laborers, and ad-
166 venturers. Shortly after 1910, about 70,000 to 80,000 Han Chinese went from Szechwan to Sikang as merchants. Pa-an (Pa-t'ang), at the center of the province, and K'ang-ting, in the eastern part of the province, have more Han Chinese than other cities in Sikang.[5]

C. Yunnan

175 The first Han Chinese invasion into Yunnan took place in 225 A.D. during the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-266 A.D.). The next Han-Chinese attack during the T'ang dynasty was repulsed by a powerful Thai people organized as the Tali Kingdom of Nan Chao. This kingdom, however, was conquered by the army of Kublai Khan in 1253. The most important campaigns undertaken by the Han Chinese in Yunnan occurred in the Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing dynasties. Some large families in Central

3. Lou, Yun-lin, Sze-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941, pp. 35-36.

4. It is said that this policy of the Manchu government was pursuant to rebel Chang Hsien-chung's wanton killing in Szechwan at the end of the Ming dynasty which had nearly depleted the population there. See chapter on Historical Background.

5. Ch'en, Chung-wei Hsi-k'ang Wen-ti [The Sikang Problem], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1930, pp. 85-90.

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 369 565 The traditional rural village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 166 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land together with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
166 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
178 was especially true after Confucian training had
871 been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

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11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

●166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 439 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 312 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

S.W. China AF16

872 each pupil bellowed. "If he doesn't bellow, he isn't learning, but chattering or making mischief."

The mandarin pays for the upkeep of this school. The children live and eat in the castle and bring only their sleeping blankets and in winter a coal brazier from home. "The lessons are conducted according to the new Western style," the teacher told me. Every hour there was a short pause and every day there was physical exercise. If the teacher wanted to begin or interrupt the lessons he drummed on a hollow tree trunk, just like a South Sea Islander.

241 166 The mandarin was also obliged to distribute seeds to the Chinese immigrants; and because the last few years there had been poor harvests he had to order tsamba from Dawo and Romi Tschanggu and rice from the city of Ya tschou. (1) Otherwise all the colonists would have

1. The price for barley in Tschanggu was exactly 15 times as much as in Hsining fu.

long since gone home to China. The colonization here, unlike that of Mongolia, is sponsored by the government. A few years ago 100 families were established here; they had land as well as free seeds, schools for their children and complete freedom from taxes for the first years. And yet conditions were so unfavorable that more than half of them had already gone back and there were only 40 Chinese families left.

651 From the Tibetan families the mandarin gets free escort (ula) and compulsory military service, besides 2.5 Candareen (tael cents) a year. Thus, his income is slight and during each meal Wu da lao ye complained when it came to the rice and rice wine that in this post he had to supply a great deal (presumably 2,000 taels annually).

353 The hall in which my first reception had taken place was also the dining hall where the mandarin, his first secretary, the teacher and /Plates XLV, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII appear between pp. 192 and 193 in the original text./ /193/ I were served. (1) Already in

[262] 1. Wu tschin hsü Da lao ye had even had Chinese pigs brought from the lowlands for slaughtering because he thought the Tibetan species which is raised throughout Hor in large quantities, was too fleshy and tasted bad. The Hor Tibetans eat their pork sometimes raw and sometimes cooked.

Tibetan times it had been a room for festive occasions. On the paneling of the walls and ceiling were painted garlands of flowers and hunting scenes in fiery colors. During the meal Tibetans who had some kind of request, were admitted. Scarcely were they inside when they threw themselves on the floor and the Chinese interpreter reported their request. It was seldom that the petitioners dared raise an objection. After the mandarin had curtly given his reply they murmured a feeble "O laso! laso!", bowed their heads, closed their eyes, lifted their hands, pressing the palms together, to their foreheads and again lowered their heads to the dirty floor. This was also the way the interviews of the poorer Tibetan aristocracy were conducted, which angered these people very much. C 353 C 576

The floor plan of the castle in Tschanggu resembled the manor house of Puiling, except that the proportions were larger. The building is rectangular with a flat roof of loam, and has four wings that are built around an inner court. There are five stories, all of which are supported by trunks of spruce. Only the strong outer wall is made of stone and in it there are only a few small windows in the fifth story. In times of distress, half the tribe with women and children could be housed there. This building, like all Tibetan houses, has no foundation walls. The walls are built around the many wooden supports and beams of the interior, just as a tent wall is erected, and are not held in place in the ground. C 344

The village of Tschanggu clusters around the manor house at the edge of the slope. Many of its houses lay in ruins, those that are left are inhabited by Chinese. These people, colonists, whom the Manchu government has transplanted here, mostly have Tibetan wives and the style of architecture is completely Tibetan. The town looked peaceful but ugly. The colonists had planted vegetable beds out of which rose stone ruins, testifying to recent wars and suffering. C 361 166

The Tschanggu monastery is not more than 15 minutes away from the castle. The temples and the upper story of the priests' dwellings are built of wooden beams, as is common in South Tibet, and everything is nicely painted in gay colors. The entire grounds are surrounded by a low wall. (Plate XLVI). It seems designed more to maintain order and decorum among the inhabitants than as a defense against armed enemies. On a hunting trip I also happened to become acquainted with the convent of Tschanggu, which is only a few kilometers distant in a lateral ravine. It houses over a hundred nuns in miserable huts. No gold roofs make it visible from afar, no wall protects the huts from the outside. The nuns do not seem to do as good T 792 346 T 792

175 of the Wine-cup" -- a small group devoted to
538 serious drinking and metaphysical flights of Taoist and Buddhist fancy.[12] Both men suffered misfortune and privation during their lives, but Li Po sought to escape them by retreat into a romantic world, unlike Tu Fu, whose poetry often expresses suffering in moving terms. Both men are acclaimed by the Communists. Tu Fu's concern with his own and the world's miseries has been interpreted by the Communists as evidence of his anti-feudalistic feeling, and the current regime has lauded him and his poetry while making his home in Chengtu into a national shrine.[13]

Another famous exponent of Chinese culture from Szechwan was Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036-1101). He has a high place among the great names of Chinese philosophy, literature, and caligraphy. His philosophic writings -- committed to no orthodoxy and searching for the truth in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism -- were long influential in China and Japan as well.[14]

C. Development of Chinese Settlement and Direct Control

•167 Large-scale settlement of Yunnan and Kwei-
175 chow by Han Chinese and the extension of Chinese central authority in these provinces and Szechwan became a Chinese policy with the Ming Dynasty. Under its rule, mass migration into western Szechwan and the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau was effected on a planned basis. One of the initial

12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.219-220.
13. S.C.M.P., 840, p. 41.
14. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp.264,267.

175 acts of the first Ming emperor Hung Wu (Chu
167 Yüan-chang) was to remove most of the population of the Nanking area to Yunnan. Thereafter, armies recruited largely from the Yangtze Valley were settled in agricultural colonies throughout the fertile regions of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Fortifications were established at strategic points in the three provinces. Control and colonization in other areas of the Southwest Region were facilitated by commercial and civilian agencies. These acts made possible the establishment of Kweichow as a province under Chinese administrative control.[15]

175 The incorporation of Yunnan, Kweichow,
636 and Szechwan into the Chinese Empire did not mean the imposition of effective control by the central government throughout these provinces. The Han Dynasty policy of indirect administration of non-Han Chinese areas through local rulers was formalized under the Ming Dynasty by the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system. Under it, local rulers were confirmed or established as hereditary t'u-ssu (local agents of the government) with various ranks in tribal areas. About one-third of these local chieftains were natives of the areas they controlled, another third were tribal leaders not native to the locality under their command, and the remaining third were Han Chinese, most of whom had adopted the customs of the subject tribal people.[16]

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15. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 180-85,192-200.

16. On the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system and the extension of Chinese control in the Southwest Region,see ibid., pp. 221-66.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 167 563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

175 669 563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being [167] suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later. 563 162 177

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials. 563 167

B. Sikang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

175 1280 A.D.) dynasties. In the Ch'ing (1644-1912 A.D.)
967 dynasty more than 200,000 Han Chinese went to
Sikang as refugees, criminals, laborers, and ad-
166 venturers. Shortly after 1910, about 70,000 to 80,000 Han Chinese went from Szechwan to Sikang as merchants. Pa-an (Pa-t'ang), at the center of the province, and K'ang-ting, in the eastern part of the province, have more Han Chinese than other cities in Sikang.[5]

C. Yunnan

175 The first Han Chinese invasion into Yunnan took place in 225 A.D. during the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-266 A.D.). The next Han-Chinese attack during the T'ang dynasty was repulsed by a powerful Thai people organized as the Tali Kingdom of Nan Chao. This kingdom, however, was conquered by the army of Kublai Khan in 1253. The most important campaigns undertaken by the Han Chinese in Yunnan occurred in the Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing dynasties. Some large families in Central

3. Lou, Yun-lin, Sze-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941, pp. 35-36.

4. It is said that this policy of the Manchu government was pursuant to rebel Chang Hsien-chung's wanton killing in Szechwan at the end of the Ming dynasty which had nearly depleted the population there. See chapter on Historical Background.

5. Ch'en, Chung-wei Hsi-k'ang Wen-ti [The Sikang Problem], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1930, pp. 85-90.

China were compelled to colonize Yunnan early in the Ming dynasty, and most of the Ming garrison soldiers were from the vicinity of the Yellow River and the Yangtze. Among the Han Chinese immigrants were criminals and refugees.[6]

D. Kweichow

The ancestors of the small number of native Han Chinese in this province were soldiers left behind in the wake of earlier military campaigns. Their descendants, speaking the old dialect (or a modification of it) their forebears brought into the country, now form separate communities. They are sturdy and industrious, and generally own the land they cultivate, but they are regarded by the immigrant Han Chinese in much the same category as the Miao and the Pu-yi. The native Han Chinese, in the course of time, have been absorbed into the non-Han Chinese and the immigrant Han Chinese groups. The immigrant Han Chinese came after Kweichow was made a province of the Manchu Empire. Most of them claimed Kiangsi as their old home. In recent years, however, nearly all the Han Chinese immigrants have come from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, particularly Szechwan.[7]

(For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese in this region, see chapters on Social Structure and Family.)

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6. Wilhelm Credner, Cultural and Geographical Observations Made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region with Special Regard to the Nan-Chao Problem, Bangkok, The Siam Society, 1935, pp. 12-13.

7. Samuel R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in Southwest China, London, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., China Inland Mission, 1911, p. 11.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

CHAPTER V

MÖNG MOW TO MANWAING AND BHAMO.

Leave Möng Mow—A village of outlawed Chinese—An impenetrable hedge—The Möng Wan plain—The Chinese Shans—Their dress—The Möng Mow dress—Möng Wan—A boy sawbwa—The Ho-hsa chief—A fine old gentleman—La-hsa—A recent rebellion—The sawbwa in trouble—A pleasant unsophisticated old chief—The valley of Ho-hsa and La-hsa—Its A-ch'ang inhabitants—A distinct race from the Shans—The sawbwas of Chinese extraction—Man-waing—The Trade Protection Levy—A Chinese dinner—Playing *mora*—Margary's murder—Responsibility of officials for murders in China—Chinese soldiers—Cartridges that do not fit the rifles—A Panthay officer—Kachins' heads in baskets—Back to Bhamo.

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On the 11th we started for Möng Wan, the next Shan state to the north. Our road led over the hills which divide the Shweli from its tributary the Nam Wan, and entailed an ascent of about 2000 feet and a corresponding descent on the other side to Sang-hawng or Chang-fêng-kai, which is the only place in the Möng Wan plain where there are any Chinamen living.

They are many of them men who have made things too hot for themselves elsewhere and have fled from justice to this out-of-the-way corner where Chinese officials are not likely to trouble them. No Yün-nan Chinaman would come and live here from choice. The level of the plain, like that of the Shweli, is about 3000 feet, and it is therefore considered too unhealthy to live in during the hot part of the year by men so liable to fever as the Yün-nanese.

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The village is well defended by a very thick and broad hedge of a sort of thorny bush through which it would be impossible to penetrate without deliberately cutting a way. It is doubtless intended as a precaution against attack by the Kachins who inhabit the surrounding hills. I have seen the same sort of hedge round Wa villages, east of the Salween.

[p.24]

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

/17 cont./

M *101 C 563 from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution M *101 131 C 563 of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M 167 648 C 563 ● 167 Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

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directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

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Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

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families, many of whom have a far better income than if they had joined a rich monastery where they are only sent into the families when their turn comes on the monastery lists.

Up until the latter years of the seventeenth century the Tibetan royal house of the Dyala dyalbo or (written lDschagsla rgyalbo) enjoyed unrestricted rule over their kingdom which even today is sizable, extending from the Nya Chu (Ya lung Kiang) up to the large Gold River (Tung Ho, Da tu Ho) and at the Lu ting kiao bridge (built in 1701) bordering on the district of Ya tschou fu and the small Tibetan kingdoms of Leng pien and Schen pien tu se. These have become almost completely Chinese in manner and customs; having cleverly estimated the existing balance of power they yielded to the superiority of the Manchu Emperors when the latter showed a desire to conquer Tibet. They always kept the road open, but thereby made enemies of the Dalai Lama and his Dewa schung.

Meanwhile thousands of Chinese colonists have migrated into the country, bought lands along the road, and from Lu ting kiao to Ta tsien lu on the Lu ho one meets practically only Chinese who pay taxes to their Chinese officials, so that today the Kingdom of Ming tscheng begins only at Ta tsien lu. (2) The city of Ta tsien lu has

2. The right banks of the Tung Ho and the Lu Ho Valley are under the jurisdiction of the Tsa li Ts'ien hu, a chief bailiff of Ming tscheng who, today, however, has very little to say there.

become the chief support of Chinese power in Tibet. But it is a positive miracle and evidence of a special gift that the old Dschagla kings are in existence at all, that so far they have been able to maintain themselves, and that they have never lost patience.

For his Tibetans the king is to this day absolute ruler and in the lateral valleys off the large military road only he and his bailiffs rule. In Ta tsien lu itself he still has certain tax rights with regard to the tea trade. Indeed, the freedom of movement which the Chinese government allows him is often quite astonishing. Around the year 1900 when the second son of the former ruler was the king recognized by Peking and when he quarreled with his younger brother, the present king, over his inheritance, the monastery of Dordyi dschak, the Chinese mandarins did not interfere with the quarrel and quietly went their way even though night after night in front of the city gates bullets were exchanged between the adherents of the two

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Chapter III

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CHINESE TRIBAL MOVEMENTS AND MIGRATIONS

1. Pa and Shu Peoples of Ssu-ch'uan

173 The origins of all the various peoples of China, as with those of all the other nations of the earth, are usually traced back as far as documentary history leads them and from there into the realms first of quasi-history and then into that of mythology. In China, fairly reliable documentary history begins with the Chou Dynasty at about 1122 B.C. Quasi-history takes one back to perhaps before the second thousand years B.C. A great many Chinese historical scholars are willing to accept as historical fact the existence of the so-called Yellow Emperor who is supposed to have become the ruler of the Han-Chinese in B.C. 2697. Moreover, they see historical cross-reference support for many of the circumstances and events of his time. The accounts of such an early period are included here as a partial introduction to the Chinese view of the historical development of the southern peoples and are not presented as facts accepted by the author. These early accounts are important because they figure in the mythological origins of many of the non-Han tribes as well as in the thinking of the Han-Chinese about their relationship with the non-Han tribes people.

174 171 The earliest cultural center of South China appears to be in Ssu-ch'uan (See Photo 8) at a time contemporary with or even preceding the first appearance of Han-Chinese culture in the Yellow River Valley. Eberhard called this the Pa culture, but Hsu Sung-shih equated it with the Shu-shan culture and included Pa in it. What their culture was like cannot be ascertained, said Hsu[1], although some excavations in Ssu-ch'uan give a few meager indications.[2] Eberhard drew certain tentative conclusions about it on the basis of the few documentary facts available.[3] Figures of animals, people, warriors, servants, girls, all types of household articles, reliefs, and glazed grave-bricks showing stilt-houses and leaf or thatched roofs

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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174 convinced Eickstedt of a definite T'ai cultural tie-up with
171 the ancient Pa and Shu. Ancient writings of the Pa people were discovered on a stone tablet at Sui-ling in Ssu-ch'uan under an uprooted tree. Beautiful decorated clay vessels attributed to the Po-jen tribes have been dug up in western Ssu-ch'uan graves in the richly arranged burial grounds in the vicinity of Sui-fu. The coffins here were set up on steep rocks and pegged down, a type of "burial" observed by the present author in the Pa-yi (T'ai) region of western Yun-nan in 1940.

175 The ancient histories do not term the Pa and Shu peoples the Hsi-nan-i (Southwestern Barbarians) because the latter term derives from the Han period, whereas the state of Pa and Shu were established long before the Han rulers reached the southwest tribes. Nevertheless, said Hsu Sung-shih,[4] the tribes of Pa and Shu were of the same group as those of the Southwest.

The Pa state is supposed to have originated at the same time as the Shu state, that is, prior to B.C. 3000 and the time of the mythical Three Kings. One of the Three Kings was Jen Huang who was said to be one of nine brothers. Jen Huang is reported to have divided up the country into nine provinces of which he occupied the central one, while each of the other brothers occupied an outlying province. (The division into nine divisions probably is related to the feudal land division system of ancient China, where a square of land would be divided by the double crossed-lines of tick-tack-toe, thus making nine equal squares. The middle one would be occupied by the landlord or feudal lord, with the outlying ones occupied by fief-holders.)

One of the nine spheres of government was supposed to be the territory including the two states of Pa and Shu, which were presumably fiefs of Jen Huang (See Photo 6). For long generations the feudal state of Shu was the cock-of-the-walk in southwest China, and its culture is stated to have reached brilliant heights at an early period. The Yellow Emperor is stated to have got for his son, Ch'ang-i, a wife from the Shu-shan Clan, and the first-born of this pair became Emperor K'u (Ti K'u) (B.C. 2435-2365). One of Ch'ang-i's sons also married a Shu-shan wife. Furthermore, the homeland of the great Yü also is said to have been in the territory of the Shu-shan Clan. It is evident that if these were historical facts, the Shu State had very intimate connections with the Yellow River civilization. Its power surpassed that of Pa. Its territory is reported

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To go a step further, the modern Siamese of Thailand are also of the same cultural stock as these people of Pa and Shu.

Hsu pointed to a possible significant connection in the use of the character Chü (in the term "Marquis Chü"), in a so-called Chü-lan Kingdom during the Ch'in and Han periods, and in the name of a city Yang-chü-mi in the Ta-li area of Yun-nan during the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'ang period. This seems to him to show that possibly the same peoples occupied parts of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Kuei-chou during these early periods.[6] This is very hypothetical, of course.

2. Noteworthy Aspects of Shu-shan Culture

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Certain noteworthy aspects of Shu-shan culture must claim our attention:

(1) The use of the two characters "shu" and "shan" in "Shu-shan" gives some indication of the nature of the landscape in which the Shu-shan people devised their livelihood and may have a bearing upon their type of land-use. The Shan Hai Ching (ancient classic) says that the original character for "shu" meant "slushy mud". It also says that the state of Shu had three marshy streams termed the "San-shu" or "Three Marshes". It would appear then, that "Shu-shan" means marshes surrounding hills and indicates a low-lying, wet landscape adapted to wet-rice growth and cultivation. This type of landscape is precisely the kind associated with the wet-rice culture of the T'ai ethnic groups throughout history.

(2) A second noteworthy aspect of Shu-shan culture is that it developed the art of silk making. Shu-shan had an early ruler called Ts'an-ts'ung, a name meaning "silk-worm grove." The Lu Shih (Lu History) has shown that this was the same as the Ts'an Kingdom or Silkworm State of olden times. Myth also has it that Fu-hsi raised silk-worms and mulberry. The Huang-ti Nei-chuan notes that the Yellow Emperor beheaded Chih Yu, and the Silkworm God made him a presentation of silk. The Huang-t'u Yao-chien states that Fu-hsi developed silk, and that the ancestor of the Lei of Hsi-ling encouraged the raising of silk-worms. In the site of the old I-shui Hsien, south of present-day Sung-p'an in northwest Ssu-ch'uan, there are some mounds called "the Silkworm Mounds" which appear to correspond with the Hsi-ling ("western tombs") from where the silkworms were reportedly derived.

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173 some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdang-phyug[9] (pronounced Khentrül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

*133 On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned.

172 The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

342 On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yün-nan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. *See:* J. F. ROCK, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

173 Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he

[9] ཨ་མཁན་ལྷ་ཕྲུལ་ཀློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་བདང་ཕྱུག

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER I

TERRITORY BETWEEN K'UN-MING (YÜN-NAN FU) AND LI-CHIANG

It would seem superfluous to give here the stages and a description of the road to Ta-li, which has been described by travellers too numerous to mention. But practically none give the names with the Chinese characters. And as the romanization adopted by them depended on their nationality — English, French or German — the resulting spelling has not always been a happy one. It is for this reason that I shall describe briefly the route from K'un-ming, via Ta-li 大理, to Li-chiang 麗江, and also give historical accounts of the various towns encountered *en route*, beginning with K'un-ming, our starting point. 487

Although no one will ever again use the old caravan road to Ta-li except muleteers — and these only for a few years more — as a motor-road has been built to Ta-li and its extension to Li-chiang is almost completed, I have thought it wise to give this description of the old caravan road as a matter of historic interest.

1. — HISTORY OF YÜN-NAN FU

Yün-nan fu was the land south of the Liang Chou 梁州 of Yü Kung 禹貢. 173 In the time of the Yin 殷 (also called Shang 商) and Chou 周 dynasties, it was outside their borders and was inhabited by the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (Southwestern barbarians). There dwelled the P'o 僰, Chiu 鳩, Liao 獠, Li 慄 (Piao 標), Lo 倮 (Naked), Tu 毒, Lu 猶, and Ngo or O 噩, and all the tribes of the Wu-man 烏蠻. In the Fighting States period, Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 of Ch'u 楚 seized the land, assumed the kingship of their territory and called it Tien Kuo 滇國.

Tien Kuo. — There seems to be some discrepancy as regards the actual establishing of the Tien Kuo. Chavannes, in his introduction to the *Mémoires historiques*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXIV, states that King Wei 威王 of Ch'u, who reigned from 339–329 B.C., sent General Chuang Ch'iao to conquer the region which is the present K'un-ming. Owing to his inability to return to Ch'u the latter installed himself on the borders of lake Tien and named his kingdom after the lake, Tien Kuo (Kingdom of Tien) (Plate 2).

The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 1, pp. 6b–7b, quoting from the *Shih Chi* 史記, says that, in the time of King Wei of Ch'u, General Chuang Ch'iao was sent with his soldiers to follow the Chiang 江 (Yangtze), and seize the territory to the west of Pa 巴, Shu 蜀 and Ch'ien-chung. General Chuang was the descendant of King Chuang (Wang) of Ch'u 莊王 (613–591 B.C.). (The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* has quite a discussion about this statement that Chuang Ch'iao was the descendant of Chuang Wang). Chuang arrived at lake Tien; near it was level ground, 300 li square, consisting of fertile soil. Several thousand li were occupied by the soldiers, who overawed the country, which thus became subject to Ch'u.

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173 When the General intended returning to report (to his king) he found that Ch'in had attacked Ch'u, Pa and Ch'ien-chung. The road was thus closed. He sent one of his generals, Hsiao Pu 小卜, to tranquilize the savages to the west of Tien. Unable to return to Ch'u, he began building the walled city of Chü-lan 苴蘭 and resided there. Chü-lan ch'eng was in the prefecture of Ku-ch'ang 谷昌 and was seven li north of K'un-ming hsien — other books say over 10 li from Yün-nan fu.

The *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) states that in the time of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang 頃襄王, Chuang Hao 莊豪 was King of Tien.

According to the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* 漢書, the time when Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan was during the reign of King Wei of Ch'u (339–329 B.C.), and not during the reign of King Ch'ing Hsiang of Ch'u (289–262 B.C.).

Although the Li-chiang Records state explicitly that it was after Ssu-ma Ts'o had attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung (which was in 280 B.C.), the exact date of the establishing of Tien Kuo is, therefore, left undetermined.[1]

K'un-ming (*Yün-nan fu*). — In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien submitted, and at first there was established the I-chou Chün 益州郡.[2] (A *chün* 郡 was a territorial division of the Han empire beginning 221 B.C.) In the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Shu Han (A.D. 225), I-chou Chün was changed to Chien-ning 建寧 which controlled also Wei hsien 味縣 (this was 15 li west of the city of Nan-ning, or Nan-ning ch'eng 南寧城, the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, to the east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu), distant seven stages).

[1] The dates given by EMILE ROCHER in his "Histoire des princes du Yün-nan" in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. X (1899), p. 1, as regards the early history of Yün-nan, are completely untrustworthy, for he says, "About the beginning of our era the prince of the Kingdom of Ch'u sent an ambassador by the name of Chuang Ch'iao, etc., to Yün-nan to which he gave the name of Tien." Now the State of Ch'u came to an end in 223 B.C., which is hardly "about the beginning of our era."

The next king of whom any record exists, although it is very little, is Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, of whom the Li-chiang Records relate that "at first Han Wu Ti sent envoys to Tien [Yün-nan] to interview King Ch'ang Ch'iang." Wu Ti ruled from 140 to 87 B.C., so Ch'ang Ch'iang's reign in Yün-nan must fall into that period and not A.D. 20 as Rocher states.

In the *Hsi-nan-i Lieh-chuan* of the *Shih Chi* it is stated that Ch'ang Ch'iang, the King of Tien, led all his people to allegiance in the second year of the period Yüan-feng (109 B.C.). Thereupon he was given an official seal, authorizing him to continue to govern his people as their king.

Among the south-western savages there were about one hundred chieftains among whom only those of Yeh-lang and Tien received official seals authorizing them to be kings. The State of Ch'in exterminated the kings of all the other States except the King of Tien who was a descendant of Ch'u. When the Han dynasty launched an expedition against the south-western savages, all the barbarian States were exterminated except Tien, the king of which remained a favourite of the emperor. We learn that Ch'ang Ch'iang, King of Tien, appeared first in Chinese history in the first year of the period Yüan-shou (122 B.C.). — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 117, fol. 2a and b.

[2] In I-chou Chün during the reign of Wu Ti, in the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 there were founded 24 hsien, of which the first was Tien-ch'ih 滇池. This Tien-ch'ih is the present-day Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣. The second was Shuang-pai 雙柏, the present I-men hsien 易門縣; the third was T'ung-lao 同勞, the Yüeh chou 越州, of the present Nan-ning, later abandoned, etc. Under the Later Han, I-chou Chün had 17 walled cities, the first again being Tien-ch'ih. All these belonged to Yün-nan. — (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 4b). *See* p. 8.

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In the second year of the period Yung-an 永安 (305) in the reign of Chin Hui Ti 惠帝, Chien-ning was enlarged and Ning-chou Chün 寧州郡 was established. In the second year of the period Yung-chia 永嘉 of Chin Huai Ti 懷帝 (308), Ning chou was changed to Chin-ning Chün 晉寧郡. Both the Sung 宋 (420–478) and Ch'i 齊 (479–501) called it by the same name. During the Liang 梁 (502–56) and Ch'en 陳 (557–589) dynasties the name Chin-ning Chün was abolished. In the beginning of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581) there was established K'un chou 昆州, which was subsequently abolished. — *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

However, in the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618) it was re-established as K'un chou, but subject to the Yao chou Tsung-kuan-fu 姚州總管府 (Fu-Governor of Yao chou, north of Chen-nan chou). In the fourth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (630) it was changed and made subject to the Tu-tu-fu 都督府 (Governor-General) of Jung chou 戎州.[3]

Towards the end of T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was abolished by the Nan-chao Kingdom. In the fifth year of Kuang-te 廣德 (767),[4] Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, a prince of the Meng family 蒙氏, added a wall and called the town T'o-tung ch'eng 拓東城, as in the east of Nan-chao (Ta-li) the Meng princes had established the *chieh-tu* of T'o-tung. It was intended to open up the land of T'o-tung which was one of six *chieh-tu* 節度,[5] namely, T'o-tung, Lung-tung 弄棟 (present-day Yüan-mou 元謀), Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (now called Pao-shan 保山), Yin-sheng 銀生 (present-day Ching-tung 景東), Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and Lu-shui 瀘水. T'o-tung ch'eng is the K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) of to-day.

Ch'üan-feng-t'o 劵豐拓, a grandchild of the sixth generation of Feng-ch'ieh-i, changed the name T'o-tung ch'eng to Shan-shan fu 鄯闡府. Hsün-ho-ch'üan 尋閣勸 (in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* he is called Hsün-ko-ch'üan 尋閣勸), the seventh Nan-chao King (808–809), renamed T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城, and made it the Hsi-ching 西京 or Western capital, calling Shan-shan the Eastern capital. Lung-shun 隆舜, 12th Nan-chao King (877–897), changed the Hsi-ching 西京 (Western capital) to the Chung-tu 中都 (Central capital); and the Tung-ching 東京 (Eastern capital) he called the Shang-tu 上都 (Upper capital). In the time of the Tuan family, Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇[6] governed Shan-shan and his descendants lived there.

In the beginning of the Yüan 元 (Mongol) dynasty (1253) was established the Shan-shan wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Shan-shan city of 10,000 families). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 32, fol. 3b, however, states that in the fifth year of

[3] Jung chou is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (formerly called Hsü-chou fu 叙州府 and Sui-fu) of Ssu-ch'uan. It was first known as Jung chou in the 10th year of Ta-t'ung 大同 of the Liang dynasty (544).

[4] This should probably read the second year of Ta-li 大歷, as there were only two years of the period Kuang-te, though the emperor was the same. The date may, however, be wrong, as the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* gives the second year of Kuang-te, which is 764.

[5] *Chieh-tu* was the office of an Imperial Commissioner.

[6] Kao Chih-sheng was marquis of Yo (hou) 岳侯. He was promoted in 1063 to T'ai-pao 太保 (Grand Protector of the Hereditary Prince), and invested with the title of marquis of Te (hou) 德侯. Later he was promoted marquis of Shan-shan 鄯闡侯, the title to be inherited by his descendants.

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173 Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1255) Shan-shan was divided into four Wan-hu fu or four cities of 10,000 families each. In the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1276) it was changed to Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路 (Circuit of Chung-ch'ing).

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the name was changed to Yün-nan fu 雲南府, which then ruled over four chou and nine hsien.

Ed. Chavannes, in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. 6 (1905), p. 4, raises the question as to the identity of Shan-shan 善闡 and concludes that it is not to be identified with Yün-nan fu. He is inclined to accept the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* where it states that T'o tung is the present-day P'ing-ting hsiang 平定鄉, north of K'un-yang chou 昆陽州 in Yün-nan fu. K'un-yang chou is on the south-western point of K'un-yang Lake. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chi kao*, Vol. 8, ch. 3, fol. 9a, states explicitly that T'o-tung ch'eng is the Yün-nan fu of to-day, and that it was also called Shan-shan fu.

Another reference, however, is in Vol. 14, ch. 14, fol. 5b, of the same Chinese work, where it says that the ancient Ya-ch'ih ch'eng 押赤城, which Chavannes accepts as the present-day Yün-nan fu, was 20 li south-east of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣. Lo-tz'u hsien is north-west of Fu-min 富民, so this would mean that Ya-ch'ih ch'eng was between Lo-tz'u hsien and Fu-min.[7]

172 173 *The city wall.* — The wall of K'un-ming (the ancient T'o-tung ch'eng), was first built by Feng-ch'ieh-i[8] in the second year of Kuang-te 廣德 (764) (*see* p. 13, note 4), though according to tradition it is the ancient wall built by Chuang Ch'iao, first king of Tien Kuo.

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the wall was replaced by a brick wall nine and three-tenths li in circumference, 29 feet and 2 inches high, and having six gates, each with a tower.

[7] If this were true the town could not have been surrounded by water on three sides. From many of the Chinese records it seems apparent that Ya-ch'ih and Shan-shan were two different cities. Ya-ch'ih was the capital of the Wu man. We read in the *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史 (New Mongol History), ch. 122, fol. 6b, that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai attacked the Wu man (Black savages), then the territory of the Lo pu 羅部 (Lo tribe who dwelt at Lo-tz'u hsien), and defeated Kao-hua 高華, the chief of the Man. He then advanced on the city of Ya-ch'ih (it actually says Ch'ih-ya which is a misprint). Three sides of the city are on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih (K'un-ming Lake). He employed *pao* 砲 (machines for throwing heavy stones), attacked its north gate and set fire to it. He was however unable to take it. In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fol. 22a, it states that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai divided his army and took the adjacent capital Shan-shan. He then turned around and attacked the Shui ch'eng 水城 of the Wu man Ho-la-chang 合剌章, etc. Further on it relates that he advanced on Ya-ch'ih, a city on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih and surrounded on three sides by water.

Shan-shan has survived in the K'un-ming of to-day while Ya-ch'ih has completely disappeared. The Na-khi however call K'un-ming, to this day, Yi-chi or rather Yi-ch'i, which seems to be the Ya-ch'ih of the Mongols, but they may be referring to the capital of the Wu-man with which they were classed by the Chinese.

The temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu 筇竹寺 (Temple of the Ch'iung bamboo [a variety of bamboo with great many knots]) situated 20 li west of K'un-ming on the Yü-an Shan 玉案山 (Jade-table Mountain) was built by Kao Kuang 高光 of Shan-shan about 638, so the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* relates. A stele in the same temple which bears the date of May 15, 1316, and which has only recently come to light, bears two inscriptions, a Chinese and a Mongol. The former states that the priest Hsüan Chien 玄鑒 holds forth in the temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu of Yün-nan Ya-ch'ih.

[8] He was the son of Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 who ruled over the Nan-chao Kingdom from 748 to 788.

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In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 麼些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482 438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

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173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡[10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133 487 137 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u 草鋪 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(樊)鏢 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

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Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 俗富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 宏治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段紫桐 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹伟憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has *four gates with towers. There is however no moat.* When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

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PLATE 9. — YEH-YEH, ANCESTOR OF THE MU FAMILY

葉葉一家祖

Yeh-yeh is considered the first ancestor according to the Second Genealogical Chronicle. He arrived in Li-chiang during the reign of Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125).

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PLATE 10.—AN ANCIENT NAKHI MANUSCRIPT

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mbiv ssaw* relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 27. *First* and *Second* and *Third* *sentence* on page 28.

[p. 28 J]

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PLATE 11. — AN ANCIENT NAGHI MOVEMENT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 28. *Fourth sentence; Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh sentence* in part on page 29.

[p. 28 K]

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PLATE 11. — THE SECOND GENERATION. Ming-pao A-10150

中 興 宝 二 年 4

The Ming-pao A-listing of the Second Chamberlain

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PLATE 13.—THE THREE GENERATIONS. A TSUNG A-LIANG

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PLATE 14.—THE FOURTH GENERATION, A-1336 A-NU

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PLATE 15.—THE FIFTH GENERATION, A-NU A-LEH

[p. 28-0]

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PLATE 16.—THE SIXTH GENERATION, A-LIEH A-CHIA

阿烈阿甲六世

[p. 28 P]

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[764] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-
fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-
137 hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in
133 the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and
487 brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves.
Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake].
[291] Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5).[1] In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和鋪.

173 Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 織文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聲寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音堂 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里堂 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but th dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*maha*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[1] [see p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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173 about the history of this region, which, however, does not come within the scope of this work. It is my hope some time to write a history and geography of the entire province, when this particular region will be fully treated.

361 *The city of Ta-li.* — Fifteen li bring us to the city of Ta-li, elevation 7,000 feet.[31] It is built on the sloping plain between the Ts'ang Shan Range and the

173 [31] In the days of Yü Kung 禹貢 Ta-li was the land south of the division of Liang (Liang Chou 梁州). In the Han dynasty, Wu Ti 武帝 (140–87 B.C.) opened up the land of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians), and created the territory of I-chou Chün. In the Later Han dynasty (25–220) Ta-li belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. Under the Minor Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡, *i.e.*, the region of the ancient Yün-nan hsien, south-east of Ta-li and Chao chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty 晉 (265) it remained unchanged. During the reign of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307–312) it was divided and the district of Tung-ho-yang Chün 東河陽郡 was established. The *Sung Shu* 宋書 states that in the fifth year of Yung-chia of Chin (311) the Tz'u-shih 刺史 (Governor), Wang Sun 王遜 of Ning chou 寧州 (the modern Lin-an 臨安, south of K'un-ming), divided Yung-ch'ang and Yün-nan and established the Chün of Tung-ho-yang to control two prefectures, namely, Tung-ho-yang and Yeh-yü 葉榆. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties Ta-li remained unchanged. At the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (about 555–556) it fell into the hands of the Man (savages). In the fourth year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (621), K'un-mi sent an envoy and they submitted. In the seventh year of T'ang Wu-te (624) the Emperor caused the land of Yün-nan chou to be administered. (It was called Yün-nan chou when the Meng family gained control over it. Another name for it was K'un-mi 昆彌.)

The K'un-mi of the *T'ang Shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty) is the K'un-ming 昆明 of the Han dynasty, which lay west of the Ts'uan-man (Ts'uan or Lo-lo savages); it became the land of Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) it became K'uang chou 匡州. After the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756) it came under the control of Nan-chao, and the Nan-chao Kingdom established its capital in this place; it was also called the Western capital. Later it was changed to Chung-tu 中都, or Central capital. In the time of Shih Chin 石晉 (Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 is here meant, the first Emperor of the Later Chin 後晉 dynasty who ruled from 936–942, his reigning title being T'ien-fu 天福) the Tuan family possessed this land and called it Ta-li Kuo 大理國. (The Ta-li Kuo existed from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung, 憲宗 (1253) it was brought to submission. In the sixth year (1256) were established the Shang 上 (Upper) and Hsia 下 (Lower) Wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Cities of 10,000 families). In the seventh year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1270) they became the Ta-li Lu 大理路 (Circuit of Ta-li). In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) it was again changed to Ta-li fu 大理府, controlling four chou, three hsien, and one Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司.

So much for the history of Ta-li, which has been translated from the *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 1a and 1b.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* ch. 24, fol. 6a, states that the Ta-li ch'eng was near the suburbs of T'ai-ho ch'eng, and was the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城 which in turn was the Grand Ya-men of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The *T'ang Shu Ti-li chih* states that it was twenty li from T'ai-ho ch'eng. In the 14th year of T'ang Ta-li 大歷 (779) I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom built the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城. The *Ta-li hsien chih kao* ch. 3, fol. 6a, however states that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng is the present district city (Ta-li) and that I-mou-hsün during the reign of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 794) robbed Hsi-ch'uan 西川, suffering defeat he returned and being afraid, he built the tamped wall of Yang-chü-mieh, fifteen li long and broad. He changed his residence to this place and changed the name to Ta-li.

We further read that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng was situated below the central peak of the Ts'ang Shan and was the ancient Yeh-yü ch'eng. The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* ch. 上 fol. 12, states that P'i-lo-ko built Yang-chü-mieh north of T'ai-ho ch'eng in the second year of T'ien-pao (743). The *Man-shu* fol. 23, states that originally all the Ho-man 河蠻 dwelt at T'ai-ho ch'eng, Ta-li ch'eng 大理城 and Yang chü-mieh. In the twenty-fifth year of K'ai-yüan (737) Meng Kuei-i 蒙歸義 (P'i-lo-ko) drove out the Ho-man and took possession of

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lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are 361
two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second south-
ern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built 344
by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐祐,[n] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In
it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh
(Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The
Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-
hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have
been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元
(1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua 344
lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks 731
of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger cen-
tral pagoda a gilded bronze Garuḍa, which the people called a duck, fell from
the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe
was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model [539]
of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-
nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his
friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were 344
erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the
military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[o] Around the pagodas have

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T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem 173
that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[n] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 權. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[o] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hsi* 乙酉, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yüan-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chiu-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 龔陶惠義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hsi* 乙酉 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 沘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] 197 The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 193 101 [302] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 漂 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 蟹, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 21′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 沘 is read *ts'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 沘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 毘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 駱馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people). 539 173 101

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common.

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'lu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'lao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

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PLATE 17.—THE SEVENTH GENERATION, ACHIA A (MU TU)

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Plate 18.—The Eighth Generation, Mo Ch'o

[p.43 B]

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PLATE 19.—THE NINETH GENERATION, MU TU

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PLATE 16 — THE TEMPLE GRADUATION, MT. EMEI

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PLATE II.—"THE EARTHEN GOVERNOR." NU CHIN

[p.43 E]

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PLATE 22.—THE TWELFTH GENERATION, MU TSU

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PLATE 13.—THE THUNDERER GENERATING MU TIAN

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PLATE 14.—THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION, MU KUNG

木公十四世孫

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PLATE 25.—THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION. MU KUO

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Fig. 16.—The Surrender Ceremony. Mu Tung

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PLATE 17.—THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION, MU WANG

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PLATE 28. — THE EIGHTEENTH GENERATION, MU CH'ING

木青十八世孫

[p.43 L]

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PLATE 29. — THE NINETEENTH GENERATION. MU TSENG

第十九世 (白生木) 增木

He was also known as Mu Sheng-pai and was the most famous of the Na-khi rulers.

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PLATE 30. — MEMORIAL GATE OF THE MU FAMILY, LI-CHIANG

麗江木氏石牌坊

This gate or *P'ai-fang* stands in front of the former official residence of the Na-khi chiefs. The inscription *Chung I* 忠義 Loyalty and Righteousness was presented — 1620 by Ming Emperor Shen Tsung (Wan-li) to Mu Tseng. In the upper panel are the two characters *Sheng-chi* 聖旨 meaning Imperial decree. The Yamen is now used as the district's public primary school.

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PLATE 31. — THE TWENTIETH GENERATION, MU I

木 第 二 十 代 者

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PLATE 32. — THE TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION OF THE SECOND CHRONICLE. MU YU

第二本氏族譜二十一世考本

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PART II

THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

"Records of Li-chiang"

173 The following brief historical account of the Li-chiang district has been taken mainly from the Records of the prefecture of Li-chiang (*Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 麗江府志略), which is dated the 15th day of the third moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty 大清乾 (April 9th, 1743). It was written by the Li-chiang magistrate, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣, whose literary name was Wei T'ing 未亭. He was a native of An-iu 安福 in Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi) and received the degree of Doctor in 1718. He took office as magistrate of Li-chiang in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736). He was evidently still holding that office when he wrote the Records as he figures as the last magistrate in that work. A preface was written to it by the Inspector, or Hsün-ch'a 巡察 for the Western political Division or I-hsi Tao (滇西道), Chu Feng-ying 朱鳳英, dated the 1st day of the tenth moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 16th, 1743). Another preface was written by Chang Yün-sui 張允隨. He was a Chinese Bordered Yellow Bannerman, and previous to becoming Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou, he held many minor positions, such as magistrate of Ch'u-hsiung, and provincial treasurer of Kuei-chou. These are the first and only records ever written of Li-chiang, both before and after it came under complete Chinese jurisdiction in 1723. There exist, as far as I am aware, only two copies of these records. One is in Li-chiang, in the joint possession of two families, the other is in the Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai) Catholic Mission Library (Shang-hai Hsü-chia-hui T'ien-chu t'ang-ts'ang-shu lou 上海徐家匯天主堂藏書樓). Through the kindness of the late Mr. Mu Shu 木樞, a descendant of the old Na-khi chiefs residing in Li-chiang, I obtained the loan of the record in Li-chiang for the purpose of having it copied. It is not in the Yün-nan Government Library, but the Pei-ping National Library and the Peiping Palace Library possess the second half of the work in manuscript form.[1]

In the general introduction we meet with these pompous opening sentences: "The great enterprise of turning a frontier, barren and desolate, into a civilized country within a short space of time, can never be accomplished by one or two

[1] The records I found in Li-chiang were in very bad condition, they were printed on very thin paper and many characters had become illegible. I therefore had the Zi-ka-wei Li-chiang records copied, through the kindness of the late Rev. P. C. Baumert, Librarian. In the Department of Education in Li-chiang there is a manuscript copy of a Li-chiang hsien chih which has never been printed, it dates from the 10th year of Kuang-hsü (1884). I had it copied in 1941 but it was lost with the translations of over 700 Mo-so manuscripts, Tibetan books and other rare mss., in the Arabian Sea due to enemy action in the spring of 1944.

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173 subjects only of our Imperial Court. In order to accomplish this arduous task, it is first necessary to appoint a reputable subject, well-experienced in governing, as magistrate of the chief city, one who, through careful management and deep study, will educate the people and correct their customs. Only then will our excellent culture of hundreds and thousands of generations, find root in that land, grow luxuriantly, and unfold its first brilliant flower."

It is said of the writer of the record, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan, that in his leisure time he would call on old scholars of the neighborhood and try to collect from them all remaining manuscripts relating to the history of this district, also maps, and literature about its mountains and rivers, biographies, etc. This enabled him to write the first record of Li-chiang in two *chüan* 卷, an Upper 上 and a Lower 下, each consisting of six chapters. The printing blocks of these records were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. It is very strange that no magistrate since 1736 had the time or interest to keep these records up to date, and issue a new edition, as Li-chiang is one of the most interesting regions and certainly the most beautiful of the entire province.

Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan says that Li-chiang had been part of the Chinese Empire since the days of the Yüan dynasty, and was at the time he wrote (1743) a safe rampart of the western frontier of Yün-nan. He tells us that the officials of the Yüan and Ming dynasties had adopted only a vague policy in ruling the district and did nothing to mitigate the pain and misery of its people. And, furthermore, "that it had been said that instead of naturalizing them (the Na-khi) into Chinese, those Chinese officials who governed them were themselves naturalized by the Barbarians." The record further states that "the people were employed by their magistrates to do transport work, open the jungle, and become soldiers to fight the bloodiest battles and to sacrifice their lives for the safety of our country. Not a single word of comfort and encouragement, nor any show of mercy or grace, had ever been delivered to these people by past officials." Thus reads Kuan's indictment of the officials who ruled Li-chiang. Kuan held his post under the Manchu regime, and therefore it is easy to see why he enlarges on the benefits the people derived from the Imperial Manchu rule, and why he says that they (the Na-khi) "are now of one mind and of one voice." And this was said to have been due "to the great influence, inspiration, benevolence and mercy exhibited by the Manchu dynasty for 60 years." This was written 20 years after the Chinese had taken over the administration of Li-chiang.

Their magistrate asks these questions: "Why did the Barbarians apply for naturalization in 1723? Why did they not remain in their peaceful barbarian state?" And he answers them with this phrase: "*They had been attracted by the Imperial Benevolence as animals are attracted by sweet grass.*" He closes his preface by stating that "he dare not say that he established anything for these people, but that the bright future and the hopes of Li-chiang will certainly depend upon future capable magistrates of *superior quality.*"

The viceroy in his preface states that "prior to the nationalization of Li-chiang, its native chieftains or local magistrates oppressed the people, they were violent, cruel, greedy and lustful." It is given as a fact that the chief had the right and privilege to deflower any bride, who could only return to her legal, newly-wed husband after having spent three days with the chief.

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It was this latter violence which the people could bear the least and which caused them to apply for naturalization. The viceroy closes his preface by saying that "he is pleased to see that the Imperial Rule has spread its influence even to this farthest and *desolate* land, whose people are living a quiet life, and who lack nothing to satisfy their desires." 173

It is doubtful, however, if the pious hopes expressed by Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan have ever been fulfilled.

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CHAPTER II

General History of the Region

173 The following pages are translations of the *Yen-ko* 沿革 (Successive changes) in the history of Li-chiang and the territory to which it belonged, according to the *Li chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 12b.

Between 298 and 262 B.C., we briefly recall, Chuang Ch'iao, a general of the State of Ch'u, invaded the region and established the Kingdom of Tien (*see* pp. 5-6 for details of this period).

In the fifth year of Han Wu Ti and the period of Yüan-kuang 元光 (130 B.C.) "the Emperor appointed Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, the Chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 (Lieutenant-General), and the Fu-shih 副使 (Assistant Commissioner) Wang Jan-yü 王然于, and others to proceed with the Imperial Insignia to the Hsi-i (Western barbarians). Thereupon the different rulers of the Jan-mang 冉駹[1] and Yeh-yü 檀柱[2] petitioned to become subjects of the

[1] The regions to the north of Tso-tu 作都, on the western border of the State of Shu, comprised at the time of the Han dynasty a certain number of tribes, governed by their great chiefs. Among them the Jan-mang occupied first rank. Originally there were two tribes, the Jan and the Mang. The Jan-mang changed their residence occasionally in search of pasturage. They advanced up to the western frontier of the State of Shu. In the sixth year of Yuan-ting 元鼎 of the Emperor Wu Ti (111 B.C.) their territories were united into a *chün* 郡 (a territorial division), which received the name of Wen-shan 汶山. — That is what the *Mou chou chih* says in ch. 1, fol. 7a.

The *Wen-chih chi lüeh* 文獻記略, ch. 1, fol. 4b, says that in the Han dynasty their territory was called Mien-ssu hsien 綿虒縣, subject to Shu Chün 蜀郡. In the Eastern Han it became the Mien-ssu tao 綿虒道, while in the Shu Han it became the Wen-shan Chun 汶山郡. This is the territory of the present Mou hsien 茂縣 in the Min valley, six stages north of Ch'eng-tu, on the north-west border of Ssu ch'uan. The Wen Mountain, which has given the name to the district, is north-west of Mou chou. On Chinese maps showing the domain of the Fighting States the mountain is situated on the extreme north-western border of the State of Shu, and south of the T'ao Ho 洮河 and the Min Shan 岷山 in the present The-wu or The-wo 董吾 (Tie-bu) country 氐部 (T'ieh-pu). In the Great Geography of China it is considered the Min Shan, but not the Ku Min Shan 古岷山 (Old Min Shan), which is apparently the one in Kansu. The *Wen chih chi lüeh* says that the Yu kung 禹貢 Min Shan 岷山 leads to the *Chiang* 江 (Yangtze), and the *Shih Chi* 史記 states that the Min Shan is the Wen Shan 汶山.

133 The Kan-su Min Shan is a distinct range for the most part composed of grey limestone only the eastern part is conglomerate. To the north of it flows the T'ao River 洮河 and to the south of it the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江 or Pai-lung Chiang 白龍江. Many lateral valleys debouch into these rivers north and south respectively, their sources being among the crags of the Min Shan. The valley of the Pai-shui Chiang is quite broad and fertile especially in its central part. Thus the Min Shan is a distinct and separate range. Of course the entire region is mountainous but the mountains are much lower both to the north and to the south of the Min Shan; they are mere hills in comparison, especially those to the north of it. In the extreme eastern end the limestone extends across the Pai-shui Chiang Valley and there the river flows in a narrow chasm. It is here that the Min Shan connects with the range to the south where two streams, the To-erh-ku Ho 多兒谷河 and the A-hsia-ku Ho 阿夏谷河 join the Pai shui Chiang coming from the south and having their source in the range over which a pass called the Yang-pu Shan-k'ou 楊布山口 leads into Ssu-ch'uan; the pass is the border between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan. From here long valleys lead

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Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 作 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

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south as the Ta shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. Rock, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓杠嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-ling Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西青山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[2] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yu. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 筰夠 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu 建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定作 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 冕寧縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大作 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 姑復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木裏 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 作 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定作縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 作都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 作 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 巂 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

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173 郭昌 and Wei Kuang 衛廣[4] were ordered to subjugate the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷[5] who had not yet been humiliated and brought into subjection. At that time the king of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) returned to allegiance and was given a royal seal. His land was made into the State of I chou 益州郡.

At first Emperor Wu Ti sent messengers to Tien to seek a way to the Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國 (India — the region of the basin of the Sindh River or Indus). Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, King of Tien,[6] asked the messengers: "Which kingdom is the greater, the kingdom of Han, or my kingdom?" When the messengers returned and reported this question to the Son of Heaven, he was angered at the disloyal words, and caused a lake to be dug in the south-west of the Imperial city of Ch'ang-an 長安[7] in the same shape as the lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu lake) for the purpose of carrying on manœuvers on the water. In the meantime the kingdom of Tien was attacked and pacified, and the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 was established, to which the hsien of Ting-tso 定作縣 (Li-chiang) belonged. A short time afterwards another envoy was sent, but communications with K'un-ming were again interrupted.

During that time, Jen-kuo 仁果,[8] descendant of King Pai-fan 白飯 of T'ien-

[4] These two generals were sent to war with K'un-ming because the latter repeatedly obstructed the road to the envoys of Han. They decapitated several ten thousand and made many prisoners, after which they left. In spite of this, the Han envoys, which later were again sent to K'un-ming, met with hostility in Yün-nan, and no Han embassy ever managed to pass through K'un-ming. — From the *Shih* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 12a.

[5] There were three regional barbarian tribes: the Hsi-nan-i, Hsi-i, and Nan-i (South-western, Western, and Southern barbarians respectively). There is a statement in the *Tien-yün li-nien-chuan*, ch. 2, fol. 8b, that the K'un-ming-i 昆明夷 are the present-day Mo-so and Li-su of Li-chiang, actually those outside of T'a-ch'eng 塔城, La-p'u 喇普 and other places west of the Yangtze, on the road to Tibet from Yün-nan, etc. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 400, fol. 5a, states that the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty was afterwards captured by the Man-i. During the reign of Chou Wu Ti 周武帝 (561–578) there was established Ting-tso chen 鎮. In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619), the district or hsien of K'un-ming was established in the *chen*. The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 2b states that there were three K'un-ming. The *Han Shu* says K'un-ming extended from T'ung-shih 桐門 north-east to Yeh-yü (Ta-li); this is the Sui 巂 (Sui chou) K'un-ming and is the present Pao-shan 保山 — Yung-ping 永平 (south-west of Ta-li). In the second year of T'ang Wu-te (619) Sui chou established a K'un-ming hsien which is the Ssu-ch'uan Yen-yüan hsien of to-day. The third was one of three *chou*, viz.: Yin 殷, Tsung 總, Tun 敦州; but which one is now not known. None of these three K'un-ming, however, is identical with the present-day K'un-ming, the former Yün-nan fu.

[6] As Wu Ti ruled from 140–87 B.C., Ch'ang Ch'iang must have been King of Tien during that period. In the Hsi-nan-i of the *Ch'ien-Han Shu* 前漢書, ch. 95, fol. 3b, the name of the King of Tien is given as Tang Ch'iang 莋羌. The sending of these messengers to India via the Kingdom of Tien took place between the first and fourth year of Yüan-shou 元狩 (122–119 B.C.), for it states that after four years, that is, after 119 B.C., the road to K'un-ming 昆明 (Yün-nan) was closed.

[7] Hsi-an fu on the Wei Shui 渭水 in the present province of Shensi.

[8] As the King of Tien, Ch'ang Ch'iang, was entirely engrossed in the Buddhist religion and cared nothing for affairs of state, the peasants made Jen-kuo King of Pai-ngai. Jen-kuo was a descendant of Pai-fan Wang, whose name meant "white rice."

Jen-kuo now governed Pai-ngai (the present Hung-ngai 紅崖), and as both he and Ch'ang Ch'iang contended for the kingdom, Han Wu Ti afterwards established Jen-kuo as ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國. SAINSON, in his translation of the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, makes a mistake in translating the word *t'ui* as "to expel, chase"; *t'ui* in this instance means "to

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chu Kuo 天竺國 (India), was elected by the masses as King of Tien. He established his capital at the city of Pai-ngai and called his kingdom Pai-tzu Kuo. Thus the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 family came to an end. 173

In the 12th year of the period Yung-p'ing 永平 of Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 69), Liu-mao 劉毛, King of Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國,[9] submitted to the Imperial rule, and his kingdom became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (Records of the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang), ch. 9, fol. 1b, states that

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elect, to promote." He translates the passage 仁果者爲衆所推立於白崖, by "Jen-kouo, chassé par son peuple, s'était établi à Pai-yai," while it should read, "Jen-kuo, elected by his people, established himself at Pai-ai."

[9] The founder of the Ai-lao Kingdom was Chiu-lung 九隆. The State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, now called Pao-shan hsien 保山縣, between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 (the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝) was the ancient Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國. Its name was derived from Ai-lao Shan 哀牢山. This mountain is 20 li east of Yung-ch'ang fu (Pao-shan hsien), and it is also called T'ien-ching Shan 天井山. The Barbarian, Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, of the State of Ai-lao, went fishing in lake Chiu-lung 九龍池 (also called I-lo Ch'ih 昌蘿池) and was drowned. His wife, Sha-i 沙壹, who lived on the slopes of Ai-lao Shan, went to weep on the shore of the lake. She was struck by a floating log, felt affected, and after ten months gave birth to a son — and in all to ten sons.

Afterwards she conducted her ten sons to the shore of the lake. The log changed into a dragon and said to her, "Where are my sons?" Nine of the ten sons were frightened and ran away. The youngest remained, and the dragon licked its back. In the language of the Ai-lo man (savages), *chiu* 九 meant "back" and *lung* 隆 "to sit" or "to keep one's seat." It is from this that the family name Chiu-lung 九隆 originated.

Another tradition relates that the woman Sha-i was fishing for herself when she was struck by the log, etc.; and that at the foot of Ai-lao Shan there lived another woman, by the name of Nu-po-hsi 女波喜, who gave birth to ten daughters. These latter became the wives of the Chiu family brothers. They established ten clans, as follows: Tung 董, Hung 洪, Tuan 段, Shih 施, Ho 何, Wang 王, Chang 張, Yang 楊, Li 李 and Chao 趙. They multiplied, so that there were many grandchildren, and they all lived on the mountain of Chiu-lung 九龍山. This mountain is seven li south-west of Yung-ch'ang; according to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, it is west of Pao-shan hsien, 10 li outside the Lung-ch'üan men 龍泉門 (Dragon-spring gate).

The *Pei-cheng-chih* says Yüan-lung 元隆 instead of Chiu-lung, apparently a misprint.

After the death of Chiu-lung, his direct descendants inherited the sovereignty from generation to generation. Later some of the brothers separated and established smaller States. The subjects of these princes dwelled in valleys and ravines, protected by the mountains and streams. They later separated into 99 tribes, from whom originated the Nan-chao (Kingdom).

To return to Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, who was also known as Meng-chü-tu 蒙巨兜: He was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 俄蒙巨. The latter, who had nine sons, was himself the son of P'iao-chü-ti 驃巨低, also known as A-yü Wang (Aśoka the Sorrowless), sovereign of the Indian kingdom of Magadha, and his wife Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙魁.

Ti-meng-chu, as related, had nine sons; the first was Meng-chü-fu-lo 蒙巨附羅, who was the ancestor of the Sixteen Kingdoms. The second, Meng-chü-lien 蒙巨廉, was ancestor of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans); the third, Meng-chü-no 蒙巨諾, of the Han-jen 漢人 (Chinese); the fourth, Meng-chü-ch'ou 蒙巨酬, of the Tung man 東蠻 (Eastern savages). The fifth son, Meng-chü-tu 蒙巨兜, had 12 sons: seven were saints, five were sages, and they were the ancestors of the Meng family. The sixth son, Meng-chu-t'o 蒙巨陀, was the ancestor of the Shih-tzu Kuo 獅子國 (Lion Kingdom) — Simha or Simhala (Ceylon). The seventh, Meng-chü-lin 蒙巨林, was the ancestor of Chiao-chih Kuo 交趾國 (the Hanoi region in Tonkin); the eighth, Meng-chü-sung 蒙巨頌, of Jen-kuo 仁果, ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國; the ninth, Meng-chü-ch'u 蒙巨囚, of the Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians), that is, the Tai (Shan), who occupy the lower regions in southern Yün-nan, which begin at from 4,000 feet down.

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● 173 "in the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties it was the land of Jung chou 戎州, and that outside this south-west border was Ai-lao Kuo, originally called An-lo Kuo 安樂國, and in the language of the barbarians incorrectly called Ai-lao." It says further that it was spoken of as Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國. It was the kingdom west of Shu 蜀, the present-day Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang). [According to this, Pao-shan is identical with Shen-tu Kuo, always considered to be a name for India, and especially for the region of the basin of the Indus]. The Chiu-lung family lived there, and had no intercourse with China.

Under the Han dynasty. — In the first year of the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of Han Wu Ti (122 B.C.), the land of the south-western barbarians was opened, and the first connection was with Po-nan. The district of Pu-wei 不韋縣 was then established under the Chün of I chou 益州郡. In the first year of Yung-p'ing 永平 of the Later Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 58) the different barbarians revolted again. Thereupon the magistrate Chang Hsi 張喜 of I chou punished and pacified them. There was then established the Chün of Lan ts'ang 蘭滄郡 and the two hsien of Po-nan 博南[10] and Ai-lao 哀牢.[11] In the 12th year of the same emperor (69), in the spring, Ai-lao submitted and their territory became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang 永昌郡 to which were ceded six additional hsien from the western part of the Chün of I chou 益州.[12] The above-mentioned six hsien were called: Pu-wei 不韋, Sui-t'ang 嶲唐, Pi-su 比蘇, Yeh-yü, Hsieh-lung 邪龍 and Yün-nan.[13] At that time Li-chiang belonged to Hsieh-lung hsien 邪龍縣.

In the second year of the period Chien-ch'u 建初 of Han Chang Ti 章帝 (A.D. 77), Lui-lao 類牢, son of Liu-mao 柳貌 (ancient King of the Ai-lao), rebelled. Lu-ch'eng 鹵承, leader of the K'un-ming-man 昆明蠻 (K'un-ming

[10–11] Po-nan was east of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. The latter was 170 li north-east of Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang), between the latter city and Ta-li. Ai-lao hsien was south-west of Yung-ch'ang and was the ancient (Ngai) Ai lao wang's kingdom. The *Ta-ch'ing I-tung-chih* (Great Geography of the Chinese Empire) says it is east of Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan hsien 保山縣).

[12] The *Tien hsiao chi*, fol. 15b, states: "I chou is the Ch'eng-tu of Ssu-ch'uan. Wu-hou (Chu-ko Liang) said that I chou was very difficult to control. Han Wu Ti (in the 2nd year of Yüan-feng, 109 B.C.) took the kingdom of Tien 滇王國, and established I-chou Chün; this is the region between K'un-ming and Ta-li. The *Han chih* 漢志 states that I chou was divided and Yung-ch'ang Chün was established but was still part of I chou. The I chou of Tien (Yün-nan) was first, and the I chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) was established later by Liu Yen 劉焉 (about the 3rd year of Chung-p'ing 中平, A.D. 186), who was its governor. (Liu Yen was a native of Ching-ling 竟陵 and lived on the mountains of Yang-ch'eng 陽城山. He later moved from Mien-chu 綿竹 in Ssu-ch'uan to Ch'eng-tu whence he governed I chou). Later people only knew of the Ssu-ch'uan I chou, and did not know that the first or earlier I chou existed in Yün-nan."

[13] The first hsien, Pu-wei, is identical with the present-day Pao-shan hsien 保山縣 (Yung-ch'ang), and was north-west of Yung-ch'ang fu. It ceased to exist in the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265). Sui-t'ang was situated in the present Yün-lung hsien 雲龍縣, and so was Pi-su hsien. The former was south of Yün-lung, and the latter was west of it. As regards Sui-t'ang, D'Hervey de Saint-Denys in his part translation of Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung kao* 馬端臨, 文獻通考, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine meridionaux*, p. 176, says, "Territoire actuel de Li-kiang," which is wrong. Yeh-yü was south-east of the present Ta-li fu. Hsieh-lung was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山, the present La-pao 拉寶 (Na-khi, La-bpu) north of Li-chiang within the Yangtze loop. Yün-nan hsien is 100 li south-east of Feng-i 鳳儀 (Chao chou 趙州) and is the Hsiang-yün 祥雲 of to-day.

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savages), recruited many soldiers and with the combined forces of many other States attacked Lui-lao at Po-nan 博南 in the Chün of Yung-ch'ang, where the latter was defeated and slain. The Emperor then conferred on Lu-ch'eng the honorary title of P'o-lu-p'ang-i hou 破壞旁邑侯 (Marquis of the conquered frontier districts).

The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (ed. 1785), ch. 5, fol. 1b, states: "In the first year of the period Chien-ch'u (76) Lui-lao, King of the Ai-lao, killed the magistrate. Wang Hsün 王巽, prefect of Yüeh-sui 越巂, recruited 20,000 soldiers from Yeh-yü (Ta-li) and Ai-lao. He attacked Po-nan and burnt all its houses. In the following year (77) the various barbarians competed with one another in attacking Lui-lao, who was there defeated and killed. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 31, fol. 5a, it says that Lu-ch'eng assisted Wang Hsün's recruiting of soldiers.

During the Three Kingdoms. — In the third year of Shu Han Chien-hsing 建興 (225) Yung-k'ai 雍闓, leader of I chou, rebelled and, slaying the T'ai-shou 太守 (prefect), submitted in person to the Imperial rule of the Kingdom of Wu 吳 (222–280), one of the Three Kingdoms 三國. On a southern expedition, Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 [14] crossed the Lu Shui 瀘水 [15] with his troops from Yüeh-sui 越巂, marched to Pai-ngai, killed Yung-k'ai 雍闓 and captured Meng-huo 孟獲.[16]

The followers of Meng-huo besieged Li-hui 李恢 at K'un-ming. In the meantime Chu-ko Liang quartered his troops on the bank of the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween), on the border of Li-chiang district, and subjugated I chou, Yung-ch'ang, Tsang-ko and Yüeh-sui.[17] I chou was then changed into Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡; the Commandery of Yün-nan 雲南郡 was also established, and both Chien-ning and Yung-ch'ang were placed under its administrative control.

[14] Born in 181, died 234; a native of Shan-tung. He returned from this southern expedition to subdue the border tribes, even reaching Burma in January, 226, or the twelfth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing.

[15] The Lu Shui is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅龍江, also known as Chin Chiang 金江; its ancient name is Jo Shui 若水. The *Tu-shih Fang-yu chih-yao*, ch. 66, fol. 22a, states that Chu-ko Liang crossed the Lu Shui in the fifth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing (June–July, 225). The fifth moon commenced in that year on June 24th.

[16] Yung-k'ai, the leader or chief of I chou (Yün-nan), and his cunning servants, killed Wang Ang 王昂, prefect of Chien-ning 建寧, and made his submission to the State of Wu 吳, one of the Three Kingdoms; thereupon the King of Wu, Sun Ch'üan 孫權, nominated Yung-k'ai prefect of Yung-ch'ang, but Chu-ko Liang, who was sent against the tribes of the south by the Shu Han 蜀漢, killed Yung-k'ai. Meng-huo was a prince who had rebelled against the State of Shu, and was in league with Yung-k'ai, hence Chu-ko Liang took him prisoner. It was this Meng-huo who had been captured seven times and released seven times by Chu-ko Liang. Overcome by the generosity of the latter, he led his wife, brother and relatives to the Marquis's tent and submitted, saying: "I and my son and son's sons will remember your grace, and will be loyal." Chu-ko Liang confirmed Meng and his family in their princedom.

[17] I-chou Chün comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan; Yung-ch'ang Chün, the territory of the present Pao-shan hsien 保山縣; Tsang-ko comprised parts of Kuei-chou 貴州 and eastern Yün-nan, such as Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, Lo-p'ing 羅平, Lu-liang chou 陸涼州 and Chan-i chou 霑益州; Yüeh-sui, the region of the Chien-ch'ang valley 建昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. Li-chiang belonged to the latter and was then called Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣.

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173 At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑納, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,[18] and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties. — In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,[19] to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晉寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420–478), Ch'i 齊 (479–501), Liang 梁 (502–556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳紀 (557–589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty. — In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽[20] to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河,[21] to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

[18] Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'i 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

[19] In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chun 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

[20] According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

133 312 [21] The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

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teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien. 173

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649–764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.[22] He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).[23]

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'iung [but read *k'ung* in Yünnan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賺詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙巂詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,[24] received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣[25] requesting that he

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through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449). They burst ten times between 1691–1775. 312 133

[22] The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關). 173

[23] The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649–902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

[24] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

[25] P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 邏盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

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173 petition the Emperor on his behalf to permit the combining of the other five chao with his into one kingdom. The Emperor sanctioned his petition. At that time Po-ch'ung 波衝,[26] King of Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Li-chiang), was murdered by Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求, a violent chieftain. The land of the five kingdoms combined was then given to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 (779), Ko-lo-feng[27] died and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, succeeded to the throne. He allied himself with the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans) and invaded China. The Emperor then sent Li Sheng 李晟,[28] the Shen-ts'e-tu chiang 神策都將 (General of divine strategy), to defeat him.

In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 of Emperor Te Tsung 德宗 (784), I-mou-hsün changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-li Kuo 大理國 (this is the first appearance of the name Ta-li; *see* Note 34, p. 32). He usurped the Imperial right to confer the titles of Wu-yo 五嶽 (the five sacred mountains) and Ssu-tu 四瀆 (the four rivers of China) on his own five mountains and four rivers respectively. He thus conferred on the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點苍山 (which extends from north to south, west of Ta-li and its lake), the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central Yo); on the Chiang-yün-lu Shan 祥雲祿山, at the border of Tung-ch'uan 東川 in north-eastern Yün-nan, the title of Tung-yo 東嶽 (Eastern Yo); on the Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山, better known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山 on the borders of Yin-sheng-pu 銀生部,[29] the title of Nan-yo 南嶽 (Southern Yo); on the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山,[30] on the borders of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the title of Hsi-yo 西嶽 (Western Yo); on Yü-

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place in the 18th year of K'ai-yüan (730 instead of 728). P'i-lo-ko then made himself King of the Nan-ch (Nan-chao Wang 南詔王). The *Tien-hsi* under chapter *Tien-ku* 典故 (Traditions), fol. 35a, states that at the end of the K'ai-yüan period (about 741) P'i-lo-ko pursued the Ho-man 河蠻 (River savages) and captured T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城 (under Ho-man must be understood the dwellers along the shores of the Hsi-erh Ho or Ta-li Lake). He bribed the Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih, Wang Yu, to petition the Emperor on his behalf to unite the Liu chao into one kingdom. The date given here does not agree with that of the previously mentioned work.

[26] Po-ch'ung was the founder of Yüeh-hsi chao, which was also called Mo-so chao 磨些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom). He resided at Sui chou 嶲州, the present Li-chiang. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 17b, states that the wife of Po-ch'ung was very beautiful and that Chang Hsün-ch'iu had immoral intercourse with her. It was on that account that he killed her husband, Po-ch'ung. The Nan-chao King reported this to Wang Yü, who came to Yao chou 巂州 (this was in the southernmost part of Chien-nan, adjoining the Nan-chao Kingdom). They succeeded by a ruse in getting Chang Hsün-ch'iu to come to Yao chou, where they killed him. The land of Mo-so chao was then given to Nan-chao.

[27] Ko-lo-feng was the son of P'i-lo-ko. He ascended the throne of Nan-chao at the age of 36, in the seventh year of T'ien-pao 天寶 (748). I-mou-hsün was 24 years of age when he ascended the throne of Nan-chao in 778, one year prior to his grandfather's demise. He transferred his capital to Shih-ch'eng 史城 (the latter is 40 li north of Ta-li and is the present-day Hsi-chou 喜洲, inhabited by Min-chia). It was also known as Ta-li ch'eng 大理城.

[28] Li Sheng was a native of Lin-t'ao 臨洮, Kan-su. He was 18 years of age when he joined the army and six Chinese feet tall. He was fearless and courageous.

[29] The present-day Ching-tung 景東 on the Ta Ho 大河 (Chung-ch'uan Ho 中川河).

[30] On the Chinese map it is called the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎貢山 and also Mo-p'an Shan 摩盤山, and is 120 li east of T'eng-ch'ung. It extends from north to south, west of the Salween River.

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lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain, or Li-chiang snow range), he conferred the title of Pei-yo 北岳 (Northern Yo). On each of the five mountains he built a temple to the mountain-spirit, and a San-huang miao 三皇廟 (Temple to the three emperors — the Three primordial sovereigns: Fu Hsi 伏羲, Shen Nung 神農 and Huang Ti 黃帝). Sacrifices were offered to them on the respective festivals of the four seasons (See also Part III, Ch. II, The Jade dragon Mountain, etc., p. 187–191). On the four great rivers of Yün-nan, the Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong), the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of golden sand or Yangtze), the Hei-hui Chiang 黑惠江, better known as Yang-pi Chiang 漾濞江, which is a tributary of the Mekong and has its source south-west of Li-chiang, and the Lu Chiang 潞江 (Salween), he bestowed the title of the Ssu Tu 四渎 (Four great rivers).

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元 (793) I-mou-hsün sent messengers to the Emperor applying for permission to make a surprise attack on the T'u-fan 吐蕃 in concert with Wei Kao 韋皋.[31] Thereupon he was appointed King of Yün-nan by Imperial decree. In the 10th year (794) Wei Kao employed I-mou-hsün's troops to attack the Tibetans and thoroughly defeated them. He cut the Iron Bridge, captured sixteen cities, and made prisoner five Tibetan kings whom he presented as captives of war at the Imperial Court. (The T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋, Iron Bridge, is in the Chü-tien 巨甸 area the former Chü-chin chou 巨津州 in the Li-chiang district.)

Meanwhile the T'u-fan tried to enlist soldiers in the Nan-chao Kingdom. I-mou-hsün deceived them by saying he was weak and his army numbered few, and so he could only send 5,000 soldiers to comply with their request. At the same time he secretly led several ten thousand soldiers, following at the heels of the Tibetans. He routed them completely at Shen-ch'uan 神川[32] (the territory of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of the Cheng-yüan period (799) Wei Kao and the Nan-chao Kingdom again defeated the T'u-fan at the Iron Bridge.

In the second year of the period T'ai-ho 太和 (828), Wang Tso-tien 王嵯巔,[33]

[31] Wei Kao was a native of Wan-nien hsien 萬年縣 in the prefecture of Ching-chao (fu) 京兆府, the present Hsi-an in Shensi. Wan-nien hsien was established in the fu of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) in the 2nd year of Ming Ti of the northern Chou dynasty (A.D. 558). He was born in 745, and according to the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, ch. 236, fol. 25a, he died in the eighth moon *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 of the 1st year of Shun Tsung period Yung-cheng 順宗永貞 (September 13th, 805). O. Franke in his *Geschichte des Chin. Reich.* III: 307, says he died in 806, in the year in which Shun Tsung started his reign. Now Shun Tsung ascended the throne on the day *ping-shen* 丙申, that is the 26th of the first moon of the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (February 28th, 805). He adopted Yung-cheng as his reign title on the day *hsin-ch'ou* 辛丑 of the eighth moon (September 1st, 805), he abdicated the same month, and died on the day *chia-shen* 甲申, of the first moon of the first year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (February 11th, 806). Wei Kao ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans.

[32] According to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 22a, the part north of Chü-chin chou 巨津州 (the present region of Chü-tien 巨甸) of the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) was also called Shen-ch'uan 神川. This name was only applied to that territory and stretch of the river during the T'ang dynasty.

[33] Wang Tso-tien was a Chieh-tu-shih (Imperial commissioner) of Lung-tung 弄棟. This latter place was north of Yao chou where there was an ancient walled town; during the Han dynasty it was the district of Lung-tung 弄棟縣. It was inhabited by Man (savages). I-mou-hsün pacified the region. Wang Tso-tien received many valuable gifts from the

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173 a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, plundered and invaded the three chou cities, as Chiung 邛 (west of Ch'eng-tu 成都 in Ssu-ch'uan); Jung 戎 (in the Chien-nan 劍南 district of Ssu-ch'uan during the T'ang dynasty, and the present-day I-pin 宜賓 [Hsü chou 叙州]); and Sui 巂 (also in the ancient Chien-nan district of Ssu-ch'uan, the present-day Yüeh-sui 越巂 in the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley).

He also plundered Ch'eng-tu and entered its territory.

In the fourth year of T'ai-ho (830), Li Te-yü 李德裕[34] was appointed Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih 西川節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Hsi-ch'uan.[35] He constructed the city walls of Chang-i 佐義城, Yü-wu 望海城 and Jo-yüan 弱遠, which were considered important strategical points. He restored the Chiung-lai Pass 邛崍關 (this pass is 80 li west of the hsien city of Jung-ching 榮經縣 in the district of Ya chou in Ssu-ch'uan; it was the dividing line between the Chiung 邛 and Tso 筰 tribes) which he returned to the control of Sui chou 巂州. He also governed the affairs of T'ai-teng 台登 (the territory of Li-chiang). Li-chiang belonged to the same territory but was, of course, not identical with T'ai-teng hsien. The latter was in the district of Sui chou and was part of the present day Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣, north of Ning-yüan fu (Hsi-ch'ang 西昌).

In the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天復, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (902) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣,[36] the Ch'ing-p'ing kuan 清平官 (Incorruptible tranquilizing official), of the Nan-chao Kingdom, killed his master Shun-hua-chen 舜化貞 and, destroying the Meng family, usurped the throne and called his kingdom the Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great excelling peaceful Kingdom).

In the first year of the period T'ien-ch'eng 天成 of T'ang Ming Tsung 明宗 (926), Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 of Tung-ch'uan 東川,[37] killed Cheng Lung-t'an 鄭隆亶, grandson of Cheng Mai-ssu, and

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Nan-chao King, Ch'uan-li-sheng 勸利聖, who even accorded him his own family name Meng, and invested him with the title of T'ai-yung 太容. This, in the language of the barbarians, meant T'ai-hsiung 太兄 (Great or beloved elder brother). This latter explanation can be found in the *Tien-yun li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 4, fol. 40b. In the same work it states, fol. 40a, that Wang Tso-tien killed Ch'uan-lung sheng 勸龍晟, King of Nan-chao and elder brother of Ch'uan-li-sheng, who succeeded him on the throne. The former was licentious and oppressed the people, and it was on account of his tyranny that his minister killed him. In 810 he was disgraced by the king, but later pardoned for all his crimes. — *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. I, fol. 20b.

[34] Li Te-yü was a native of Chao-chun 趙郡 and for a time was governor of the modern Ch'eng-tu, Ssu-ch'uan. He was also president of the Board of War, but later was impeached and banished to Ai chou 崖州 (Yai chou, in Kuang-tung), where he died (GILES).

[35] The Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih was also called the Chien-nan Hsi-ch'uan 劍南西川, etc.; he governed Ch'eng-tu fu, and many chou cities, as, for example, Jung chou, Chiung chou 邛州, Sui chou 巂州, Tieh chou 疊州 (south of the Kan-su Min Shan 岷山 in the valley of the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江, the present T'ieh-pu 疊布 country), and others.

[36] He was first a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, and ascended the throne at the age of 42. He ruled from 902 to 910. His reign title was An-kuo 安國 (Peaceful kingdom) and his capital Ta-li.

Shun-hua-chen was the last Nan-chao King of the Meng family. He ascended the throne at the age of 21, and ruled from 897 to 902.

[37] The latter comprised parts of Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan; the present Hui-tse 會澤 (Tung-ch'uan) in north-east Yün-nan was the southern part of the Tung-ch'uan of the T'ang dynasty.

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made his Imperial attendant, Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, King of Nan-chao. He changed the dynastic title to Ta T'ien-hsing 大天興; it was also called Hsing-yüan Kuo 興源國. The dynasty lasted only one year. 173

In the third year of T'ien-ch'eng (928) Yang Kan-cheng deposed Chao Shan-cheng and made himself King of Nan-chao, and called his dynasty and kingdom Ta I-ning, or Ta I-ning Kuo 大義寧國. This dynasty lasted until 937. In 929 he called his reign Hsing-sheng 興聖 and later Ta-ming 大明.

Under the Later Chin dynasty. — In the first year of the period of T'ien-fu 天福 of Hou Chin Kao Tsu 高祖 (936), Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平, the Chieh-tu-shih of T'ung-hai 通海 (this prefecture is 150 li north of Lin-an fu 臨安府, the present-day Chien-shui 建水 of evil repute, and east-south-east of K'un-ming), commenced military operations to punish Yang Kan-cheng. In the third year (938), Tuan Ssu-p'ing[35] made himself King of Nan-chao and changed the dynastic title to Ta-li 大理.

Under the Sung dynasty. — In the third year of the period Ch'ien-te 乾德 of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (965), Wang Ch'üan-pin 王全斌[39] offered a map of Yün-nan to the Emperor and requested his orders to conquer Yün-nan, but in vain.

After Wang Ch'üan-pin had subdued Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) he wished to use his military prestige to conquer Yün-nan, therefore he again offered the map to the Emperor. However, T'ai Tsu, who well understood the source of the trouble suffered by the T'ang dynasty, made a mark with his jade axe on the

[35] In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 64a, it states that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished Yang Kan-cheng. The latter was defeated and made his way to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh, four stages north-east of the latter) and committed suicide by strangulation. It further states that he was a tyrant, and oppressed the people, and was thus disliked by Chinese and aborigines. It was for this reason that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished him. Yang Kan-cheng sent his five younger brothers to attack Tuan, but they were unsuccessful.

Strange to say, the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 1, fol. 32b, records that Tuan Ssu-p'ing, after he became king, forgave Yang Kan-cheng and that the latter became a Buddhist monk.

Tuan Ssu-ping ruled until 944. He was 44 years old when he made himself king. His reign title was Wen-te 文德 and his capital Ta-li fu. His posthumous title was T'ai-tsu sheng-shen Wen-wu Huang-ti 太祖聖神文武皇帝. The Ta-li dynasty had 14 rulers and lasted until 1094.

The ancestors of Tuan Ssu-p'ing, according to the Nan-chao History, were natives of Wu-wei 武威郡, the region now forming the prefectural city of Liang chou 涼州 in north-west Kan-su. The *Pei-cheng-chih* says that his ancestors came from Kuang-wei 廣威, south-east of Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su, which belonged to the Chün of Wu-wei. [Wu-wei hsien is only 60 li from the Mongolian border.] Since the revolution Liang chou has again been changed to Wu-wei hsien.

For generations these ancestors were generals of the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom. Tuan Ssu-p'ing was the sixth generation after Tuan Chien-wei 段檢巍, who defeated the troops of the T'ang dynasty in 754 near the Ta-li Lake and the Tien-ts'ang Mountains 點蒼山.

[39] Wang Ch'üan-pin, according to the *Sung Shih* (Sung Dynastic History), ch. 255, fol. 13b, was a native of T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣 in Ping chou 并州 (T'ai-yüan, Shan-hsi 山西 province). He was a military commander who conquered Shu 蜀 after which he intended to take Yün-nan. The Emperor admonished him saying: "The barbarians will obey us without the use of soldiers and without conquering them."

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113 map, where the Ta-tu River 大渡河[40] was shown, saying: "Beyond this point the land is no longer my territory." Hence Yün-nan became detached from the Chinese Empire and the Tuan family usurped the throne of Nan-chao for 300 years. During that time Li-chiang had been occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 酋酋,[41] leader of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi). The chief who ruled about that time (965) among the Mo-so is given as O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟北.

Under the Yüan (Mongols). — In the fourth year of the period of Shun-yu 淳祐 of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1244), the Mongolian troops attacked Ling Kuan 靈關 (Ling Pass).[42] In the battle, Kao Ho 高禾,[43] a Ta-li 大理 general, was killed. After the battle the Mongolian troops withdrew.

In the 12th year of Shun-yu (1252), the Mongols sent troops under Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈), the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Imperial younger brother), to attack Ta-li 大理 (13 stages west of K'un-ming). He led his troops from Lin-t'ao 臨洮[44] across T'u-fan 吐蕃 country to Li-chiang. As the Mongols respected the customs of the people wherever they went, the people turned to allegiance in all sincerity. They then established the civil office of Ch'a-han-chang 茶罕章管民官[45] in Li-chiang.

In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 of Yüan Shih Tsu 世祖 (Kublai Khan)

[40] The Ta-tu Ho, with the Ya Ho 雅河, is an affluent of the Min River 岷江. Their confluence is at Chia-ting 嘉定 in Ssu-ch'uan. The source of the Ta-tu Ho is to the north-west of Li-fan t'ing 理番廳 in the Ch'iang 羌 tribal lands of north-west Ssu-ch'uan. It receives affluents from the south-west, such as the Ta-chien-lu Stream. On foreign maps it appears as the T'ung Ho 通河.

[41] In the First Chronicle of the Mu family, the name Ts'u-ts'u appears as Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Muan-zä was the name of Ts'u-ts'u's father (*see* pp. 80–81). According to the First Mu Chronicle, however, Ts'u-ts'u lived 12 generations before Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 who, between 674–675, became Governor of Li-chiang.

[42] The Ling Pass is north-north-west of Ya chou in the prefecture of Lu-shan hsien 盧山縣, and 60 li distant from the hsien city. In the Han dynasty it belonged to Yüeh-sui 越巂, to which Li-chiang was subject.

[43] Kao Ho was a general of the Nan-chao army under Hsiang-hsing 祥興, King of the Hou Ta-li Kuo 後大理國 (Nan-chao Kingdom) who ruled from 1238–1251. He sent Kao Ho to fight the Mongols; in the battle the latter lost his life.

[44] Lin-t'ao was in Kan-su, and identical with Ti-tao 狄道 which lately was renamed Lin-t'ao 臨洮.

[45] Ch'a-han-chang is the Chinese transcription of the Mongol Chagh'an jang and means White Jang or Mo so. The first word *Chagh'an* is Mongol, the second *Jang* is Tibetan and is their term for the Mo-so.

Kowalewski in his *Dictionaire Mongol-Russe-Français* Vol. III: 2081a, under *tsaghan* states that the word means white, and that it is also a mourning dress or a white dress, also a white hemp sash or girdle. The Na-khi to this day still wear trousers and coats of white hemp, also white girdles of the same material (homespun). It may be that on account of their dress the Mongols called them Chagh'an jang or White Jang. Pelliot suggests that the word Jang is perhaps identical with the Chinese Ts'uan of which there were two tribes the White and Black, the former lived to the west of Yün-nan fu and were not classed as Lo-lo, the latter lived in the region of Yün-nan fu and to the east of it; these the Mongols called Kara jang and were classed by the Chinese as Lo-lo. However both the Lo-lo and Mo-so (Na-khi) are called Wu-man or Black barbarians by the Chinese.

The word *jang* is often pronounced *jung* and may have some relation to the Chinese Jung 戎 under which term the wild tribes of the west were understood. In the *Dictionaire thibétain-latin-français par les Missionaires Catholiques du Thibet*, p. 351, it states that the hJangs, or Jang as the word is pronounced, are a tribe living in the north-western part of the province

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(1271), the office of Ch'a-han-chang was changed into that of Li-chiang Hsüan-wei-ssu 麗江宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Li-chiang). 173

In the 13th year of the same reign (1276) the office was changed to the Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang Lu — Li-chiang Circuit).

In the 22nd year of the same reign (1285) the magistracy of the fu-city was abolished, and there was established the office of the Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (a title given to chieftains of the Western Frontier), which controlled 1,000 Mo-so households (蠻夷千戶), and ruled over one fu-city, namely Pei-sheng 北勝 (the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝, recently known as Yung-pei 永北 and four stages east of Li-chiang), and seven chou-cities, namely: Shun chou 順州 (east of Li-chiang and also known as Niu-t'an 牛潭); Lang-ch'ü 浪穹 (east of Li-chiang district between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng [Yung-pei]); Yung-ning 永寧, the ancient name of which was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭潭 (north of Lang-ch'ü and south of Mu-li 木裏, Hsi-k'ang, separated from the Li-chiang district by the Yangtze); T'ung-an 通安 (east of Li-chiang city on the eastern part of the Li-chiang plain, now obsolete); Lan chou 蘭州 (west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and east of the Mekong); Chü-chin 巨津 (north-west of Li-chiang, on the Yangtze, north of Shih-ku 石鼓 and near the present Chü-tien 巨甸, but now obsolete); and Pao-shan 寶山 (the present-day La-pao 剌寶, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang). Also one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi 臨西, west of the ancient Chü-chin chou, to which it belonged; west of Lin-hsi was the land of the T'u-fan. Later the city belonged to Wei-hsi; it was 460 li west of Li-chiang and was set up in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), but is now obsolete.

Under the Ming dynasty. — In the autumn of the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381), Fu Yu-te 傅友德,[46] marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川, was appointed by the Emperor as Cheng-nan chiang-chün 征南將軍 (General of the Southern Expedition); Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平, were both appointed as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Vice-Generals) to attack Yün-nan.

In the spring of the 15th year (1382), Ta li was conquered, and the troops

of Yün-nan, whose principal city is Sa-tham (Li-chiang). Their Chinese name is Mo-so and they call themselves Nashi (Na-khi). Sa-tham is the Tibetan name of Li-chiang and is also the name of a king with whom the famous Ge-sar fought battles. The former was the King of Jang — written in Tibetan, Byang (The North). It would seem that *byang* (read *jang*) is in all probability the correct rendering and explanation of the word. (*See* p. 192).

Since this was penned I have learned from Mr. Rolf Stein who is occupied with the translating of Ge sar legends, that he found in a manuscript of the Ge-sar saga the King Sa-tham styled as "Byang Sa-tham rgyal-po," *i.e.* Sa-tham King of the North.

[46] Fu Yu-te's ancestors were natives of Su chou 宿州 in An-hui 安徽. Later they settled in Tang-shan 碭山 in Chiang su 江蘇 (Kiangsu). Assisted by Mu Ying, who was also a native of An-hui and who in 1384 became governor of Yün-nan, and Lan Yü, another An-hui man, Fu Yu te attacked Yün-nan with 300,000 infantry and cavalry. He came by way of Kuei-chou 貴州 where the Miao 苗 tribes made their submission A great battle was fought at Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and on the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江 which flows to the north of Ch'ü-ching. All the barbarians of Tung-ch'uan 東川 and Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung 昭通, submitted. Over 30,000 Wu-sa 烏撒, tribespeople who lived in the west-north-west of Kuei-chou and who had revolted, were decapitated. Wu-sa was a district adjoining Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and its inhabitants belonged to the Mang tribe 芒部.

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173 of the victors passing by the different roads of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang, broke through Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone gate Pass).[47]

In the same year the magistracy of the fu-city of Li-chiang was established, and as A-te 阿得 was the first to submit to the conquerors he was appointed magistrate and was given the surname Mu 木.[48] Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei), was demoted to a chou-city 州, and Yung-ning, Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Lan chou and Shun chou 順州 were placed under the fu city of Ho-ch'ing (south of Li-chiang, 80 li distant).

In the 17th year (1384), Lan chou was again brought under the control of Li-chiang fu; thus the latter controlled, in all, four chou-cities, the aforesaid Lan chou, T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, and Pao-shan 寶山, also one magistracy or hsien city, namely Lin-hsi.

In the 31st year of Hung-wu (1398), Li-chiang fu's name was changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang).

Under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. — In the 16th year of Shun-chih 順治 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1659), the territory of Yün-nan was annexed to the Chinese Empire. The magistracies of the four chou-cities of T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin were abolished. Only one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi, remained under the fu-city of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), A-chih-li 阿知立, A-chung-chü 阿仲苴, Ho Jih-chia 和日嘉 and A-pao-t'a 阿寶他[49] of the Mo-so tribe of Li-chiang city, went to the provincial capital and applied for the appointment of Chinese officials. Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, Viceroy of Yün-nan, and Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, the Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Provincial Governor), proposed to the Emperor that a transferable fu-magistrate be established in Li-chiang, and that the hereditary office of native fu-magistrate be demoted to that of T'u T'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native Sub-prefect).

648 *Under the Republic.* — To-day magistrates are still appointed by the Commissioner of the Interior, now called Min-cheng-t'ing 民政廳; the office of native sub-prefect still exists, but the present incumbent has neither voice nor power. He controls a few peasants on the land which he still possesses, but his holdings are being gradually reduced. Only recently his former peasants in the region of Nga-tz(u) became subject to the magistrate of Li-chiang and the territory included in the sixth ch'ü (sub-district) of Li-chiang. This sixth ch'ü comprises the northern part of the Yangtze loop, Nga-tz(u) being in Tung-shan li 東山里.

[47] The Shih-men Kuan is a strategic pass on the Yangtze where the river narrows considerably, the trail following the river at the foot of vertical cliffs. It is only a short distance north of Shih-ku 石鼓 where the Yangtze makes a sharp bend, some 85 li to the west of Li-chiang. (*See* Geographical description, p. 285.)

[48] He was the seventh generation of the Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang. His full name was A-chia A-te 阿甲阿得, his official name being Mu Te 木得 (*see* the Historical Genealogies of the Na-khi Chiefs, pp. 99–101).

[49] Their Na-khi (Mo-so) names were: Aw-dzhi-lĕr, Aw-ndo-zo and Aw-bpo-t'a. The Chinese characters are the transcription of the Na-khi sounds. The name Ho Jih-chia is one of Chinese adoption, and not a Na-khi name, save for the family name Ho, which every Na-khi peasant bore. The name A 阿 belonged to the ruling family.

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CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LI-CHIANG

Prior to the time of the San Tai 三代, the three ancient dynasties, Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 (2205–256 B.C.), no references can be found about Li-chiang. The Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶲郡, to which Li-chiang belonged, was established in the reign of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 (140–87 B.C.). 173

The Chün of Yüeh-sui was also called Chiung-tso K'un-ming 邛筰昆明, and Li-chiang was in Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣. During the Chin 晉, T'ang and Sung dynasties (265–1278), its name was repeatedly changed, but its territory remained occupied by the native chiefs. Although in the Yüan and Ming dynasties (1260–1643) States and magistracies had been established there, and prefects and civil officials sent to rule the territory, the real power remained in the hands of the native chiefs; the Imperial rule was nominal only.

The Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 10b, state that in ancient times Li-chiang was the land of Huang-fu 荒服 whose frontier adjoined the territory of the T'u-fan 吐蕃.[1] In history it is spoken of as the land of Sui K'un-ming 嶲昆明.

In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), it belonged to both the States of Yüeh-sui and I chou.

In the Later Han dynasty (25–220), it belonged to the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. In the Shu Han (221–264) (established in Ssu-ch'uan), it belonged to the State of Chien-ning 建寧.

In the Chin 晉 dynasty (265–316), it belonged to Hsi-ning chou 西寧州. In the Sui dynasty (581–617), it belonged to Sui chou. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618), its name was changed from Ting-tso 定筰 to K'un-ming, subject to Sui chou. Later it became the land of the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi), (also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國).

During the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804), Li-chiang was occupied by the Meng family (rulers of the Nan-chao Kingdom), and the office of Li-shui Chieh-tu-shih 麗水節度使 (Imperial Commissioner of Li-shui district) was established.

In the Sung dynasty (960–1126), it was occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 醋醋, leader of the Mo-so-man whom the Tuan family could not control. (The Tuan family ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), when the Imperial troops crossed the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of Golden Sand, or Yangtze) to attack Ta-li, the Mo-so

[1] In the second volume of The Tribute of Yü, *Yü-kung hsia* 禹貢下, ch. IV, pass. 22, we read: "Wu-pai li Huang-fu, san-pai li man, erh-pai li liu, 五百里荒服, 三百里蠻, 二百里流." This, J. LEGGE in his *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 147, translates "Five hundred li *the most remote*, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred li were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred li by criminals undergoing the greater banishment." The 500-li Huang-fu are the last of the domains. It was called Huang-fu with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 li in every direction beyond the fourth domain.

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173 tribes, trusting in their defenses, refused to submit. In the fourth year (1254), however, they were conquered, and the office of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil governor of Ch'a-han-chang) was established for them. In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1271) the office was changed to that of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner). In the 13th year (1276) the name of the district was changed to Li-chiang Lu and a Chün-min tsung-kuan-fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil governor's Yamen) was established. In the 22nd year (1285) the fu-magistracy was abolished and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 was substituted for it, between the cities of T'ung-an 通安 and Chü-chin 巨津. It controlled one fu-city, seven-chou cities, and one-hsien city.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the office was changed to Li-chiang fu (prefecture of Li-chiang), and later was again changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang). The control of the various chou-cities was divided: four of them, Shun chou 順州, Pei-sheng 北勝, Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü came under the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing; while T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin 巨津, and the hsien-city of Lin-hsi became subject to Li-chiang.

In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) the fu-magistracy was retained, but the four chou-cities were abolished and became merged in the magistracy of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), Li-chiang was brought under direct control of the Yün-nan Pu-cheng-ssu 雲南布政司 (Yün-nan Provincial treasurer).

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 1, fols. 26b–27b, while giving much the same historical data as found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and other geographical works by Chinese authors, yet contains certain statements which are of more than passing interest, and these I append here.

The Tien Commentary (*Tien-hsi*) states that Li-chiang was the southern border of the State of Liang (Liang chou 梁州), one of the nine chou or great divisions of the Empire instituted by Yü Kung 禹貢 (2205 B.C.), which comprised Ssu-ch'uan, parts of Shensi, Kan-su and Hu-pei.

During the Later Han dynasty (25–220), Li-chiang belonged to the State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and its ancient name was Pai-lang ti 白狼地 (Land of Pai-lang, or of the White Wolf). In the 17th year of Yung-p'ing 永平 (A.D. 74), the King of Pai-lang[2] composed a poem of three verses in which he extolled the merits and virtues of the Han dynasty.

[2] During the period Yung-p'ing 永平 (58–75), Chu Fu 朱輔, Governor of I chou, proclaimed the virtues of the Han, whereupon Pai-lang Wang 白狼王 (King of the Pai-lang), whose tribe, like the P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄 and T'ang-tsou 唐菆, dwelled west of Wen Shan 汶山, came with over 100 others to pay tribute. They were considered barbarians from outside the borders of the Mao-niu-i 旄牛夷 (Yak barbarians). The latter dwelled north-west of Li-chou so 黎州所 (Sub-military station of Li chou), which was in the magistracy of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The P'an-mu Kuo 盤木國 (Kingdom of the P'an-mu tribe) was west of Mou chou 茂州. The Pai-lang Kingdom comprised apparently the region of the present Mu-li 木裏 Lama State, as well as the Wu-so 瓦所 territory (*see* p. 453). In ancient days Yung-ning, north-east of Li-chiang, which was under the Mo-so chiefs of Li-

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The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱輔 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang." 193

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 in the Han, Sui 隋 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages). — *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.[3]

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chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

[3] It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet [101] *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-zo* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ĕr-zo* or the Sons of P'ĕr (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O.*, *T.* XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. *See* also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81.

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi *yi* means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (900–247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475–440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a–b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. Tchang, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. Legge. A. Tschepe, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491–477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476–443 B.C.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GENEALOGICAL CHRONICLES OF THE MU FAMILY 木氏

173 *Chang Chih-shun's Introduction to the First Chronicle.* — The history of Li-chiang is intimately connected with that of its ruling chiefs and therefore a genealogical chronicle of the latter, full of historical information, much of which is not found in print, is here given in translation from a Chinese manuscript dating from the year 1516, and still in the possession of the descendants of the old Na-khi Kings or Chiefs, the Mu family of Li-chiang. The introduction to the work, written by Chang Chih-shun 張志淳,[1] a native of Yung-ch'ang and scholar of the degree of Doctor, consists mainly of eulogies of the Mu family and especially of Mu Kung 木松, who was the eldest son of Mu Ting 木定, native prefect of Li-chiang.

Mu Kung was the 14th generation counting from Yeh-yeh. He was born in 1494, took office in 1527, and died in 1553; he started the family chronicle, to which Chang Chih-shun wrote a preface, on December 27th, 1516. That is the first and complete genealogical chronicle, but it is not illustrated; we shall presently speak of another.

Chang Chih-shun's literary name was Chin-chih 進之. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih*, ch. 42, fol. 3a, tells us that he was a native of the sub-district of Chin-ch'ih (Chin-ch'ih ssu 金齒司).[2] He graduated as *chin shih* in the year 1484. Because he wrote two books, called *Nan-yüan-chi* 南園集 and *Nan-yüan man-lu* 南園漫錄, he is known as Chang Nan-yüan. He died at the age of 81.

In his introduction to the official chronicle of the Mu family, he states that Mu Kung had a good friend by the name of Kao 高, a native of Ho-ch'ing, who was the younger brother of an official who hailed from an old and honorable official family.[3] They helped each other in securing all the ancient records about the customs of their native place, and encouraged each other in literary pursuits and in the building up of moral character.

The official record was completed up to the rule of Mu Ting 木定, father of the author who, with his friend Kao, had compiled it by the year 1516, for

[1] Chang Chih-shun was magistrate of Yung-ch'ang, of which he was a native. His given name was Nan-yüan 南園; his official designation was Hu-pu Shih-lang 戶部侍郎 (Vice-president of the Board of Revenue). He wrote four books: *Man-lu* 漫錄; *Hsü-lu* 續錄; *Yung-ch'ang Erh-fang chi* 永昌二芳記; and *Ming-shih fu-chiao fang-chuan* 明史附焦芳傳.

[2] As regards Chin-ch'ih (District of Golden teeth) the *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* states that it was not Yung-ch'ang. Chin-ch'ih was 2,000 li outside the borders of Yung-ch'ang. It was the Yin-sheng tien 銀生甸 of the ancient Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 (this is the present-day Wu-liang Shan 無量山, 90 li north of Ching-tung 景東 and 10 stages south of Ta-li). The *Kang-mu* 綱目 states that it adjoined Pa-pai hsi-fu 八百媳婦 (the present-day Chieng-mai in northern Siam). In the Yüan dynasty there was established Chin-ch'ih 金齒, and Pai-i 百彝; all these circuits and Yung-ch'ang were then subject to the Ta-li circuit.

[3] Members of the Kao family, originally natives of Ho-ch'ing, settled in Li-chiang, or rather T'ung-an chou, during the reign of Mu Shen 木泰 (1434–41). They became hereditary native sub-magistrates of T'ung-an 通安.

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the Yung-ch'ang magistrate says in his preface that he had read it, and that it was compiled by Mu Kung personally. 173

The magistrate states that "He learned that the first ancestor of Mu Kung was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. That from the latter to the period of Shang-yüan 上元 of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗 (674), there were six generations to his descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became Governor of San-tien (Li-chiang), or the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管.

"From Ch'iu-yang to his descendant Meng-wang 蒙王, who bore the official title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit), there were four generations; from Meng-wang to Mu Kung there were 24 generations.

"Throughout these generations, many dynasties such as the T'ang, Wu-tai 五代, Sung, and Yüan, had succeeded each other, but the changes could neither influence nor impede the growth of the Mu family in which some were dukes, some marquises, others generals and commanders-in-chief."

The magistrate continues: "In the Ming dynasty, in the year when the Imperial court sent its Pacification Commissioners to the frontier lands of Yün-nan, this family exhibited such hospitality and loyalty to them that His Majesty the Emperor (in 1382) conferred on them the surname Mu, renewed their official letters patent and ordered them to rule their people with hereditary official authority. Mu Kung's grandfather, by name Mu T'ai 木泰, laid special stress on moral character, and for that reason had no concubines, and thus set a good example to the later generations. He encouraged his people to study, and abolished official corruption."

He defines the genealogical chronicle as, "A historical work, a complete narrative of their military achievements, official appointments, ranks, traditions, etc."

He then tells us of the Imperial policy in regard to outlying regions. "Owing to bad communications and natural barriers, this land (Li-chiang) is separated far from Imperial rule. Thus it is advisable to make the native leader of this people their ruler. He is given an official seal by the Emperor and also the hereditary right to control the land and its people. His political principles would have to suit the customs of his people. Such privileges are not accorded simply as a reward for merit acquired, but form part of a special policy of the government applied to suit the circumstances of the people. This means that their manners and customs are so different from ours, that the Emperor is obliged to allow the native rulers to maintain their hereditary right."

He concludes his introductory remarks by saying: "Descendants can never be dependent on their hereditary rights only, in order to keep their official positions and rule their States and people. There must be something more important than this. I therefore hope that Mu Kung, besides his honorable attempt to write this official record for the enlightenment of his family, will try to perform other and more significant works, and improve the people's lot, so that the descendants of his family will thereby be enabled to multiply and prosper for ever."

The abbreviated and illustrated or Second Chronicle.— In the *T'oung-pao*, 1912: XIII, p. 555, under the title *Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang*, Ed. Chavannes published a translation of a genealogical

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173 chronicle of the Mo-so (Na-khi) chiefs whose capital was at Li-chiang in western Yün-nan. This chronicle, which is written in Chinese and illustrated with the portraits of these chiefs, is in the possession of their descendants, who still bear the family name, Mu. M. Jaques Bacot, during his two journeys to Li-chiang in 1907 and 1909, saw this illustrated chronicle and had it copied. He also employed a Na-khi artist, a relative of the Mu family, to copy the portraits accompanying the text. These copies of the portraits he published in his work *Les Mo-So* (Leide, 1913) and not photographs of the actual paintings which accompany the manuscript. Bacot published 26 portraits, while the genealogy when I saw it in 1931 contained 30 portraits, representing 29 Na-khi chiefs. The 28th generation was figured twice, representing Mu Han 木漢 in his youth and then again later in life, his face showing pock-marks.

No text accompanies the four last portraits.

This chronicle commences with Yeh-yeh 爺爺, as the first generation, who arrived at the Li-chiang snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). At the end of the chronicle of the first generation, or Yeh-yeh's, there is a sentence which states that besides this record there exists another, carefully prepared and complete. Bacot, apparently unable to read Chinese, was unaware of the existence of this second and more complete chronicle of the Na-khi chiefs.

The same sentence is repeated at the end of the biography of the second generation, or Nien-pao A-tsung's 年保阿宗. The introduction to the illustrated chronicle was written by Yang Shen 楊慎, who is better known by his surname Sheng-an 升菴. He was banished to Yün-nan in the year 1524. He died of dissipation in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (August 3rd–September 1st, 1559). The introduction, dated November 9th, 1545, was not translated by Chavannes, but discussed in his paper. Bacot, in his work *Les Mo-so*, reprinted Chavannes' discussion.

The complete or First Chronicle. — During my sojourn in Li-chiang in the year 1931–1932, I repeatedly visited the Mu family at their official residence and was gladly shown the second chronicle of their illustrious ancestors, the same chronicle which had been shown to Bacot. I photographed both the text and the portraits (which are here reproduced), and further had the same artist who made copies for Bacot to paint copies of the portraits in the original size for me. This copy of the illustrated chronicle, carefully bound and certified by the present Tu-t'ung-p'an, is now in the Library of Congress in Washington. On closely examining the text I found, as previously mentioned, the sentences regarding the existence of a more complete and detailed genealogical chronicle of the Na-khi Kings. When questioned about it, the late Mu Shu 木樞, fourth son of the late Na-khi chief, Mu Yin 木蔭 (style, Ch'un-t'ing 椿亭), who administered the affairs of the family and its estate, very willingly brought for my inspection from the ancestral shrine, this earlier chronicle which antedates the illustrated one by 29 years. He also kindly allowed me to have it copied.

The introduction to this chronicle by Chang Chih-shun has already been given at the beginning of this chapter. Chang also wrote the introduction to the illustrated genealogical chronicle (Bacot's) and sent it on to Yang Shen, who added a preface. In the illustrated chronicle his *hao* is wrongly given as

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Nan-kuo, an error copied by Chavannes; it is Nan-yüan, as explained on page 66. 173

Chang's introduction is dated the 11th year of Cheng-te 正德, the 5th of the twelfth moon (December 27, 1516).

Chavannes in his introduction states that Yang Shen ascribes the origin of the Mu family to a much earlier date than does the chronicle copied by Bacot. He further says that Yang believed that the Mu family could trace their ancestors to a certain Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te 武德 (618–626) of the T'ang dynasty, after which he enumerates 20 generations to Mu Te 木得, who was the first chief of Li-chiang to bear the family name Mu.

Chavannes was surprised to find in Yang Shen's introduction the mention of these 20 generations before Mu Te, and he further says, "Why do these 16 generations not figure in the chronicle?" In the one seen by Bacot, Mu Te figures as the seventh generation, while the third generation corresponds to the 18th in Yang Shen's list in the introduction.

This mystery of the 20 generations preceding Mu Te is now cleared up by the appearance of the more complete non-illustrated chronicle, which from now on I shall designate as the First Chronicle, and the abridged illustrated one as the Second Chronicle.

The Na-khi manuscripts. — In the First Chronicle appear not only the 20 generations mentioned in Yang Shen's introduction, but also 15 earlier generations which are more or less legendary. These legendary ancestors and their wives are fully described in several Na-khi manuscripts written in their pictographic script. The names of the male ancestors appear in a manuscript called *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which is recited during the ceremony called *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping of Heaven), performed in a place especially set aside for that purpose and called by them *Muan-bpö d'a*. They also appear in another manuscript called *Wua-bpa-ts'u*, chanted at the Wua-bpa-ts'u ceremony. The names of the female ancestors are given in a manuscript called *K'wuo-shou* of the Ssu-dsu (marriage ceremony).

The names of the early ancestors enumerated in Chinese in the chronicle must have been copied from these Na-khi manuscripts. I have numerous manuscripts of *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw* and *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u*[4] and also others in which these ancestors and their wives are enumerated, but the names of the females are not always the same, and in each of the manuscripts they have a different ancestor as their spouse. Some ancestors had apparently more than one wife, as the names of other females appear as their wives, though not more than one name at a time. It is possible that each wife possessed more than one name. The wife of Ō Gkaw-lä, for instance, is always given as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi, instead of Gyi-ssu-mun-lu as appears in the chronicle.

The present descendants of the Mu family of Li-chiang could not explain

[4] The former relates to the period preceding the flood, and is the story of creation in which the egg, as in the ancient Bön stories, plays a great part; the latter is the story of the flood and the regeneration of the Na-khi race through their ancestor, Ts'o-dze-llü-ghügh, and his wife, Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi. [See my article: "The Story of the Flood in the Literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi) tribe" in *Journal West China Border Research Society*, Vol. VII (1935), 64–80.]

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173 the meaning of the Chinese characters, especially of the introductory part of the legendary ancestors, the Chinese text being unintelligible. Not until I began translating with my Na-khi sorcerers the *K'wuo-shou* manuscript, and that called *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw* of the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, did I realize that the particular Chinese text of the chronicle followed the Na-khi words and represented part of the story related in these books (manuscripts). In some instances the phonetic value of the Chinese characters render Na-khi words only, and their ideographic value had to be discarded, while in others the meaning of the character had to be read in Na-khi and the phonetic value rejected. The reason for this mixture of phonetic and translation rendering is the phonetic paucity of Chinese. Where the sound complex of a word could not be rendered it was translated. The story the Chinese text thus told was the same as in the *Muan-bpö* book, *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw*.

Stone-tablet in the Mu family cemetery at Si-li-wùa. — At a place called Si-li-wùa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦), south-east of Li-chiang about 10 li distant, there is a large *pei*, or stone-tablet, at the end of a row of graves pointing east. This is one of the burial grounds of the Mu family. The larger one is at Tung-kuan 東關, 30 li from Li-chiang. There, certain chiefs are buried, beginning with the 24th generation, Mu Chung 木鍾, who died on September 6th, 1725. All the predecessors of Mu Chung were cremated and their graves do not exist, although the bones and ashes were supposed to have been interred near the village of Boa-shi. On the stone-tablet, about six feet by three, which stands at Si-li-wùa among the graves of the minor members of the Mu family, there is engraved an abridged copy of the First Chronicle. It begins with the legendary ancestors and their origin and states: "Since nothing is known of Yeh-ku-nien, we respectfully call Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 our first ancestor."

Thus Ch'iu-yang appears also in the First Chronicle as the first ancestor after Yeh-ku-nien. In the center of the stone-tablet there is engraved in large characters: "Yang-po-na 陽伯那[5] at the foot of the exalted[6] Yü-lung Shan. The first ancestor of the Mu family [was] Ch'iu-yang; his true wife [was] Mi-chün-Hsi-shu 彌均羲叔. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, K'un-ming (which was then Li-chiang) became merged with Sui chou and during the reign of T'ang Kao Tsung 唐高宗, Shang-yüan 上元, (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-chün-kuan 三甸總軍管 (Military Governor of San-tien district)." This same legend appears under Ch'iu-yang in the Chronicle, but with the omission of the word 軍, military.

[5] DEVERIA in his work, *La frontière sino-annamite*, states in a footnote on p. 101 that "the word *pa-na* according to a Chinese and Pa-yi vocabulary, signified *residence* or *li* 里." This would coincide with the title of the Chronicle, the words *po* 伯, *pa* 八, or *par* 板 being simply the Chinese transcription of native words. The words *pai* 擺, *pa* 八, *po* 伯, *pai* 白, *po* 伯, *pai* 百 are interchangeable phonetically and are used in transcribing the names of tribes and places in Chinese. It is possible that the word Po-na being of Shan or Min-chia 民家 origin was in usage among the Na-khi in the past. Yang 陽 stands for the name of the first ancestor; the foot of the Li-chiang snow range (Yü-lung Shan) was his residence. In fact, an ancient residence existed at the foot of the snow range a short distance north of the last village on the Li-chiang plain, called Nv-lv-k'ö. The place is now known as Kwuà-d'a (Kwuà-d'a gko-lo) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 219).

[6] On the stele it is written 高 (exalted, great). In the First Chronicle the character *ling* 靈 (spiritual, divine) is used instead.

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While the First Chronicle counts Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿宗 as the second generation, the inscription on the stone tablet counts Yang-yin-tu-ku 陽音都谷.[7] 103

On the stone-tablet the name of the first ancestor, Ch'iu-yang, is placed in the center, the names of the even numbered generations to the left of it and the uneven to the right.

The tablet is dated Tao-kuang 道光, 22nd year, the first moon, 17th day (February 26th, 1842).

The first generation of the Second Chronicle, namely Yeh-yeh, is omitted entirely both in the First Chronicle and on the stone-tablet. The probable reason was that Yeh-yeh was an outsider, a stranger from Mongolia, who was said to have floated down the Chin River on a log. When he arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 (in Na-khi, Bä-lä-ts'o)[8] a chief by the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku 美陶阿古 of the village of Pai-sha 白沙 (Boa-shi in Na-khi),[9] saw that his features were not those of an ordinary man and so he gave him his daughter in marriage. There were five village chiefs who put Yeh-yeh at their head. At that time, a certain Nien-lo Nien-pao 年樂年保 (it should read Mou 牟 instead of Nien 年), who had given himself the title of General-in-Chief, adopted the son of Yeh-yeh as his successor.

In the First Chronicle it is stated that Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保 and Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和[10] of the Later Ta-li 後大理 Kingdom were called Generals-in-Chief.

The First Chronicle is silent as regards Yeh-yeh, while the Second Chronicle speaks of Yeh-yeh's son having been adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao; the son took the name of his adopted father and thus appears in the First Chronicle as the second generation under the name Mou-pao A-tsung, and Nien-pao A-tsung in the Second Chronicle.

Oral traditions of Li-chiang. — It is strange indeed that the First Chronicle ignores Yeh-yeh entirely and names Ch'iu-yang the first generation and Mou-pao A-tsung the second generation, although there are 14 generations between them. As regards Yeh-yeh there are several traditions current in Li-chiang, and these are probably nearer the truth than the more or less legendary figure of the Second Chronicle.

[7] In the First Chronicle Yang-yin-tu-ku follows Ch'iu-yang, but Mu-pao A-tsung is nevertheless marked as second generation, although 14 other generations are intermediate.

[8] This is the Bä-lä-tsʅr or Bä-la-ts'o of the Na-khi; the village is situated in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿溪). CHAVANNES translates this "the Northern Lan-ts'ang or Mekong," the Chinese characters, Pei-lang-ts'ang, being simply a phonetic rendering of the Na-khi name of the village Bä-lä-ts'o, in ancient days called Bä-lä-tsʅr. BACOT in his book, *Le Tibet révolté*, p. 306, makes the same mistake, for he says: "Le Fleuve Bleu n'a peut-être pas toujours eu son cours actuel. L'histoire fabuleuse du premier roi Moso de Likiang laisserait supposer qu'il communiquait autrefois avec le Mekong."

[9] CHAVANNES uses Pai-sha as part of the name of the chief. It is a village situated half-way between the Li-chiang snow range and Li-chiang proper. The Chinese Pai-sha is a phonetic rendering of Boa-shi (Dead Hsi-fan) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 222).

[10] Under Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和, Ho Yü 和譽 must be understood here, who was the son of Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳. Ho was the second king of the Later Ta-li dynasty which ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom. He ascended the throne in 1108, and ruled 39 years.

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173 The following stories about Yeh-yeh's origin are told in Li-chiang: —

When Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan)[11] marched with his troops through Yün-nan down the Yangtze to attack the Burmese, he encountered heavy snow in north-west Yün-nan and was thus delayed for three months. He stayed with the headman of a village who had a very beautiful daughter who always remained at home. He wanted her to become his wife and told her that when he had fought and conquered the Burmese he would come back and claim her. A long time elapsed, and the girl was still waiting for her lover to return. In the meantime she had given birth to a son. As her lover did not return to claim her, she tied her child to a piece of wood and sent it floating down the river (Yangtze), while she drowned herself.

Later Hu-pi-lieh returned and enquired about his love. He was then informed that she had drowned herself and that her son had been picked up at a place called Bä-lä-tsĕr (now Bä-lä-ts'o). The village of Bä-lä-ts'o is in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The meaning of the name is: *Bä* from *Bä-tsi-zi* = man, *lä* = come, *tsĕr* = to take something out of the water. As it was there that the child was fished out of the water, the fact was commemorated by giving the particular village nearby the above name; Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name.

Thereupon, it is said, Hu-pi-lieh conferred on the child a hereditary title and made him Prince of the Na-khi. He thus became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings. This would also explain his Mongol origin. In the Second Chronicle nothing is said of Yeh-yeh's mother, only that his son was adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao, and that he himself came from Mongolia floating down on a juniper log, and that when he reached a certain place he was picked up, the place being afterwards known as Bä-lä-ts'o.

[11] MARCO POLO, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Yule, Vol. 2, ch. 52, p. 101, describes the battles fought by the Great Khan against the King of Mien 緬. He mentions the Mohammedan general and calls him Nescradin. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the capital of Karajang. His name was Nazir-ed-din; his father was the first to introduce coffins into Yün-nan, and also go-betweens at betrothals. He caused reservoirs to be built against drought. He built the first Wen Miao 文廟 (Confucian Temple) in Yün-nan. His name was Sai-tien-ch'ih-shan-ssu-ting 賽典赤贍思丁 (Sai-yin-o-te-ch'i 賽音阿德齊, in *Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*), he was a native of Bokhara and died at the age of 69, in the 16th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1279) after having been in Yün-nan six years, where he was governor. His son, Nazir-ed-din, died in the 29th year of Chih-yüan (1292) in Yün-nan, leaving 12 sons (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 125, fol. 1a–4a).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, in his book, *The Beginnings of Writing*, p. 182, § 268, states: "Mo-so soldiers under the command of a Mohammedan general, Nazir-ed-din, aided the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277."

Regarding the wars fought by Kublai Khan with the Burmese, the Mongol History (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 210, fol. 1a) has the following to say: "Mien Kuo 緬國 is the land of the Hsi-nan-i (barbarians of the South-west). In the eighth year of Chih-yüan (1271) the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai fu 宣慰司都元帥府 the Yamen of the Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capitals of Ta-li, Shan-shan (the present K'un-ming; Shan-shan was established during the T'ang dynasty) and other circuits sent Ch'i-t'a-t'e-t'o-yin 奇塔特托音 and other envoys to Mien 緬 (Burma) to proclaim an edict to their king that he should become tributary to the Empire."

In the 14th year (1277) in the tenth moon (November), Yün-nan fu sent the local Provincial Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capital, Ni-ya-ssu-la-ting 尼雅斯拉丁 (Nazir-ed-din) to lead an army composed of Mongols, Ts'uan (Lo-lo), P'o (Shan) and Mo-so (Na-khi) — over 3,440 men — to attack Mien.

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Another story relates how a Na-khi girl, by the name of Nda-lä-wua-ssaw-mi, had an illegitimate child which she tied to a piece of wood and threw into the Yangtze. The boy was fished out of the river at Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi and became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings.

Bacot in his work, p. 118, relates another legend taken from a Na-khi manuscript. The village he mentions is not Bache, but Boa-shi, as previously explained. To complete the biography I add herewith that part of the Second Chronicle which deals with Yeh-yeh.

Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor according to the Second Chronicle. — The founder and first ancestor of the Mu family listed in the Second Chronicle was called Yeh-yeh 爺爺 (Plate 9). "He arrived at the snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). He was originally a Mongol from the Western Region. At first he arranged a niche in a rock cliff in the K'un-lun Mountains 崑崙山 and there delighted in the rules of the East and in the Buddhist religion, and the entire day remained seated in deep meditation. Suddenly there arose a Chiao-lung 蛟龍 [dragon — a roaring torrent of water and mud is supposed to be caused by a Chiao-lung] [12] accompanied by thunder and rain; at that moment he mounted a large fragrant tree (washed down with the rocks and debris) and floated away into the Chin Chiang 金江 (Yangtze). He arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang. When the barbarians saw him from a distance they marvelled, and called all their people together from afar to meet him. He then mounted the river bank. At that time there was a certain Hsien-t'ao A-ku from Pai-sha [13] who was the head or chief of the barbarians. He saw signs of nobility on the face and in the bearing of Yeh-yeh; he also noticed his calmness and imperturbability [retiring attitude] and marvelled greatly in his heart. Thereupon he gave him his daughter in marriage. The common people rose to invite the stranger to select a place in their midst for worship. But it was their intention that he should dwell apart. At that time there were five village chiefs, one called Kan-lo-mu-tu 干羅睦督, (*see*: p. 96), a second Tien-ch'i-hsüan 甸起選, a third A-niang-hui 阿娘揮 [this is a Chinese rendering of the Na-khi-name, A-nyu-khü], a fourth La-wan 剌宛, and a fifth Wa-chün 瓦均.[14] A [-ku] intended to make Yeh-yeh their chief. At that time Nien-lo

[12] The Dragon in China and Japan by Dr. M. W. De Visser in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam* N. R. Deel XIII, no. 2.

The Kiao lung 蛟龍 pp. 76–79. De Visser states on page 79 that "The *Kiao* belongs to the same kind as the *lung*. Its shape resembles that of a snake and yet it has four legs and a thin neck. Around its neck it has a white necklace. The big *kiao* are several spans thick. They are born from eggs. Their eyebrows are united (交) reason why they are called *kiao* 蛟." In the *Shan Hai Ching*, sect. Nan shan Ching 南山經, ch. 1, p. 11a, it says that they live in special mountain rivulets.

[13] Pai-sha 白沙 is the name of a li 里 (commune), also of a village 20 li north of Li-chiang which used to be the seat of the Na-khi Kings before they moved to Li-chiang. In Na-khi it is called Boa-shi (Dead Boa or Hsi-fan). Bacot calls it Bache; it is thus not part of the name of the man Hsien-t'ao A-ku 僕陶阿古, but the village whence he hailed from.

[14] Chavannes here uses the word *yün* 云 as part of the name of the second and third chiefs, and adds the word 阿 on to the name of the fifth, viz: 云甸起選 Yun-tien-k'i-siuan, 云阿娘揮 Yun-a-niang-houei, 剌宛 La-wan, 瓦均阿 Wa-kiun-a, the original text reads: 一云干羅睦督, 二云甸起選, 三云阿娘揮, 四云剌宛, 五云瓦均, 阿乃願崇爺爺爲五家之長. The character 阿 refers to A-ku (Hsien-t'ao A-ku).

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173 Nien-pao 年宝 年保 called himself by the title General-in-Chief. To Yeh-yeh was born a son who was given the name A-tsung 阿琮.[15] When he was born he was superior to other people. Nien-lo Nien-pao saw that he was not like others. He protected him and made him his successor and hereditary General-in-Chief. He thought that when the root was deep the tree would be strong, and that a deep spring will flow to a great distance [will be inexhaustible]. Those who wish to examine and trace the affairs of the founder and of each of the ancient and present-day generations of the clan, can find them in this [chronicle]. His true wife was A-shih 阿氏 [in Na-khi, O-shi]."

The last sentence reads: "In the text information is provided in part. A detailed account of the remainder is in another Genealogy." (The first one is here meant.)

The three memorial stones at the Mu ancestral seat at Li-chiang. — In addition to the two chronicles cited, there is extant a separate biography of Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was the father of the most famous of all the Na-khi Kings (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was born in 1569 and died in 1597, at 28 years of age. This biography was written at the request of his son Mu Tseng, better known as Mu Sheng-pai, by a Han-lin scholar, Chang Pang-chi 張邦紀 by name, in the period Wan-li, and engraved on a large stone-tablet; the latter was erected by his son Mu Tseng in the 40th year of Wan-li (1612). This memorial stone is set into the garden wall of the official residence of the Mu family in Li-chiang. Mu Ch'ing's *hao* 號, both in the First Chronicle and in the one engraved on the stele, is Sung-ho 松鶴 and not Ho-sung as given in the Second Chronicle and so recorded by Chavannes.

This particular tablet simply extols the virtue, ability, and merit of Mu Ch'ing, but adds nothing of historical value. The writer of the Biography was a Han-lin scholar who lived 10,000 li from Li-chiang, and had been requested by messenger to write it for Mu Tseng.

The second tablet is a biography of Mu Kung 木公 whose surname was Wan-sung 萬松; he was born in 1494 and died in 1553. It was written by his son Mu Kao 木高, engraved on a stele, and erected first in the ancestral temple of the Mu family in the 33rd year of Ming Chia-ching (1554), but is now set in the garden wall of the family residence. Like the first tablet it is a eulogy only and adds nothing of historical value. Mu Kao calls himself here the 35th generation of the Mu family.

The third tablet is a biography of Mu Tung 木東 of the 16th generation, written by his son Mu Wang 木旺. It was erected in the Mu family ancestral hall of military merit by his son in the eighth year of Ming Wan-li in the first moon (1580).

Printed records: The "Huang-Ming En-lün-lu" at Pai-sha-kai. — Besides the two manuscript copies of the genealogical chronicles kept by the Mu

[15] Apparently the entire story of the arrival of Yeh-yeh is a myth. He probably never existed. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that Mai-tsung 麥宗, which is the equivalent to A-tsung, arrived in Li-chiang at the end of the Sung dynasty, that is, at the end of the reign of Emperor Li Tsung 理宗, about 1253. It also states that he was a native of Hsi Yü 西域 (Central Asia), and that the natives of Li-chiang elected him as their chief. Thus he could not have been the son of Yeh-yeh. In another place in the same record it is said that he was Yeh-yeh's son and when seven years old could read, etc.

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family in their Li-chiang residence, the yamen of their ancestors, there has recently come to light a printed record of the letters patent of the Mu family. 173

There exists a branch of the Mu family of Li-chiang which does not reside in that city but in a village 20 li to the north of it, namely, in the lower part of the mart Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街); the village is known as Mbe-lü in Na-khi, and Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 in Chinese. The owner of this printed copy of the Mu family letters patent is a certain Mu Wen-lan 木文蘭, a descendant of Aw-dzhi-lĕr (A-chih-li 阿知立), who was a member of the same Mu family which furnished the native magistrates of Li-chiang. It was this Aw-dzhi-lĕr who lodged a complaint against the Mu chiefs of Li-chiang with the viceroy of Yün-nan, and thus caused the chiefs to be demoted to a much inferior position, and their land to be taken over. This naturally created a family feud, and although it happened 223 years ago the wound is not yet healed.

The Li-chiang Mu family, who must have been aware of the existence of this printed record, never breathed a word to me about it, until I came accidentally to know of it. The book is called *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* 皇明恩綸錄 (Records of the gracious words of the Imperial Ming). It was printed in the winter of the second year of Ming Lung-wu (1646). This Emperor was a fugitive and was killed in the eighth moon of 1646. The Records commence with the native T'u-kuan A-te 阿得 (Li-chiang native official A-te), who ruled from 1383 to November 11th, 1390, as fu-magistrate of Li-chiang, although prior to the advent of the Ming dynasty he was a Chih-chou 知州 (chou-magistrate) of T'ung-an 通安, east of Li-chiang. The book gives the official letters received during the reign of each incumbent, that is the gracious words sent to them by the ruling Emperors. It ends with the military and civil magistrate of Li-chiang, Mu I 木懿, who ruled from 1624 to 1673. The last entries relate to the two wives of Mu I. The final date on the last page is Ts'ung-cheng 崇禎, the 12th year, which corresponds to our 1639. The book is really a printed record of all the letters patent received by the Na-khi chiefs from the various Emperors, the first one being dated the 15th year of Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖, period Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) and the last 1639, covering a period of 257 years. The record is complementary to the two chronicles, as it gives verbatim the text of the various letters patent. There are certain differences between the printed Ming letters patent and those in the genealogical chronicle. Attention to these differences is called in their respective places.

The scrolls in the Mu reception hall at Li-chiang. — There is also extant a biography of the six most important Na-khi chiefs, Mu Kung, Mu Kao, Mu Tung, Mu Wang, Mu Ch'ing and Mu Tseng. It is written on red scrolls and is displayed on the walls of the reception hall in the Mu family residence. It is of a eulogistic nature only, and was written by Feng Shih-k'o 馮時可, though no date is given. The biography was inscribed on the scrolls by the descendant Mu K'un 木坤, as told by Mu Yin 木蔭, in the 27th year of Kuang-hsü (1901). All these I had copied and translated, but as they do not add much of historical value, only the First and most complete genealogical Chronicle is here translated.

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CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHRONICLE

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

1. THE DESCENT OF MAN

173 The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu dsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-na* 玉龍山靈脚陽伯那 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-sun ta-tsu huan-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族宦譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mběr ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mběr* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It is chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

173 It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mběr ssaw*), or the Creation
173 of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the
764 form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony. There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-

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PLATE 33. — THE TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION, MU YAO

木瑤二十二世孫

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PLATE 34.—THE TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. MU HSING

本圖二十三世 牧興

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PLATE 35.—THE TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. MU CHUNG

第廿四世 穆忠 本圖二十四世

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PLATE 36.— THE INSCRIPTION AT HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

玉龍山雪松村碑銘

The inscription commemorates the nationalization in 1723 of the land of the Na-khi hereditary prefect into a Chinese prefecture. The large characters were written by Yang Pi, the first magistrate appointed. The limestone cliff is back of the village of Hsüeh-sung-ts'un at Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain or Li-chiang snow range).

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PLATE 37.—THE TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. MU TE

木德二十五世孫

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PLATE 38. — THE TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. MU HSIU

* 第 二 十 六 世 秀

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PLATE 39.—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. MU JUI

* 卷 二 十 七 世 祖

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PLATE 40. — THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. MU HAN

木 第 二 十 八 世 祖

[p. 76 H]

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PLATE 41. — THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. MU CHING

木 景 二 十 九 世 考

[p. 76 I]

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PLATE 42. — THE THIRTIETH GENERATION. MU YIN

木 蔭 三 十 代 考

[p.76 J]

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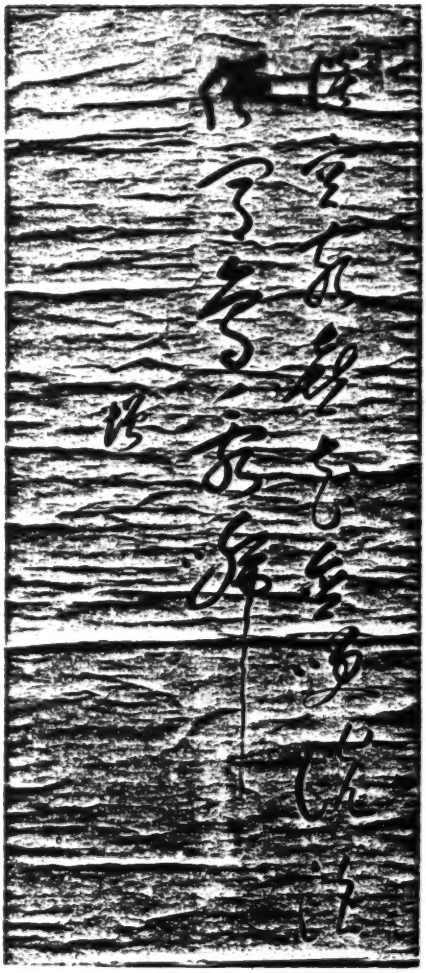

PLATE 45. — SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

木生自手為書畫

談空客喜花含笑 When the guests are delighted at my discussions of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;

說法僧聞鳥囀哥 While the monks are listening to my preaching of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly outside. The small character to left is Tseng 曾.

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PLATE 46.—THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

僧在竹房半簾月 The priest meditates in his bamboo hut whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴陰松徑滿林蒼 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the somberness of the pine tree glade.

The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).

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173 ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit. The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by some-
773 one in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with:
764 "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan-bpö d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-zä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

212 *First sentence.* — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-*
173 *ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnü-gkv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbär ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:

The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bû), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nāga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan-llü-ndaw-gyi (Ḳhu). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草俸地能俸 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 甫 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

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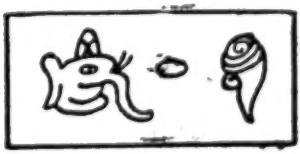
meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it. The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:

We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dü* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character 孵 *feng*, a much more common one than *fu* 孵, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

Third sentence. — 蛋殼似白 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-gv-fu-gv*. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of Ts'o-zä was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. Zä is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have the ceremony called *Za-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *Gv* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last *gv* means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:



Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *gv* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompters only.

Fourth sentence. — 似白熱 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*, in Na-khi: *Gv-fu-gv-lv-gv*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became," or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character *lü* 熱 represents the Na-khi word *lv*, hot; the last character 似 is the Na-khi *gv* = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):

The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch-shell; the second upper is *gv*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lv* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

Fifth sentence. — 似白氣熱 *Ku-lü-ch'i-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-lv-ssou-lv-gv*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot

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egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus: 212 173

The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lv* (rocks) is borrowed for *lv* = hot, and *gv* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *gv* = egg and the second time as *gv* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂露呂古 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssaw-lv-ndshēr-lv-gv*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]." or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lv* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshēr*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lv* = hot; and *ku* for *gv* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:

The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshēr*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lv* = rock stands for hot, and the last *gv* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點古 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshēr-lv-ch'wua-t'o-gv*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshēr* = dew; *lü* = *lv* = hot; *liu* = *ch'wua* = six; *tien* = *t'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *gv* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:

The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一點海娘丁 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddü-t'o-khü-nyu-ndēr*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *ndēr* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

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212 unable to pronounce final consonants; *ti .g* = *ti* coming closest to their word *ndĕr*. In pictographs it is written:

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The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshĕr*, dewdrop, the lower *ḳhü*, lake, sea.

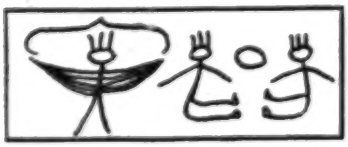
Ninth sentence. — 海失海美古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ḳhü-shi-ḳhü-zä-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *Ḳhü-zä* came forth," or from the golden lake was born Ḳhü-zä. Apparently the first human being was called Ḳhü-zä. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake Ḳhü-zä, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih* In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:

The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *ḳhü* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit Zä which here is, however, a phonetic only, *ḳhü* = lake being read twice, the second time as a phonetic. It is part of the name of the first being Ḳhü-zä. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海美剌美古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ḳhü-zä-la-zä-gv*, which means literally: "From Ḳhü-zä La-zä succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:

The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zä*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *Ḳhü-zä* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 剌美天美古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zä-muan-zä-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zä Muan-zä came forth," or, La-zä was succeeded by Muan-zä. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muan* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muan* is part of the name Muan-zä. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muan-zä*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muan*. Below is the spirit *Zä* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

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position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Ts'u-ts'u was the son of Muan-zä, the father's name always preceding the son's. 212 173

From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 during the reign of Kao Tsung, Shang-yüan 高宗上元 (674–675)

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung 天漢從從; Na-khi: Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. The Na-khi word *muan* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, K'uei-tu-mu-shu 虧都母書; Na-khi: K'ö-dtu-mun-ssu.

Second. — Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang 從從從羊; Na-khi: Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the Na-khi *yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:

The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu 當青青書; Nakhi: Dta-ts'ä-ts'ä-ssu.

Third. — Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao 從羊從交; Na-khi: Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu; written in pictographs thus:

The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, Chi-li-chi-shu 集里集書; Na-khi: Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu.

Fourth. — Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien 從交交漢; Na-khi: Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze. He married the celestial woman, A-chün-ngai-shu 阿均岩書; Na-khi: A-dzi-ssä-ssu.

The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The Na-khi *ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

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first character *ngoi* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read *ssŭ*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交萸比萸; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:

Kgyü (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *sŭ* a spirit, *dzi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *sŭ*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dzi*. The symbol also stands for "man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dzi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:

The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dtu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbĕr* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比萸草萸; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:

The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father, the second half, his own name, is represented by *is'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, whom the Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He had a common origin with the *llü-mun* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.[1] The symbol is that of a *llü-mun* (serpent spirit). Note the head-dress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).

[1] In a manuscript entitled *K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr-mä* belonging to the *Sru-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the Llü-mun (Nāga) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the Llü-mun was called K'ö-ddu-gv-ssu-mä and the mother of the Na-khi K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr mä. The name of the father is not given.

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The character *zä* is here read *dze*.

Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 爲揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-ḳhü-lä-ssu. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus: 212 173

Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *ḳhü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 草莢里爲爲; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ĕr-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpō-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.[3]

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh's name is written thus:

The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蒲蒲; Na-khi: Ts'ä-ḳhü-bu-bu (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.

To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里爲糯于; Na-khi: Llü-ghügh Noṇ-ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hō-noṇ. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *n* according to usage. They will say for *no* 糯, as in this instance, *noṇ* instead of a clear *no*. Llü-ghügh Noṇ-ō married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳鍾; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

[3] (*See* "The Origin of the Tso-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39–52 [1936].)

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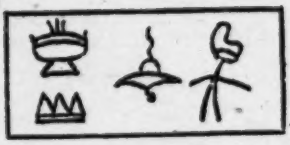
woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.



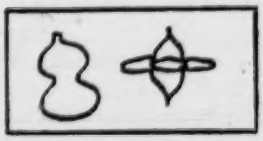
The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *wu* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dsu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯于南伴普; Na-khi: Non̲-ō Na-bä-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssä-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 敕女敕他剌魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:

The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Non̲ (Llü-ghügh Non̲-ō of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 伴普于; Na-khi: Bä-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:

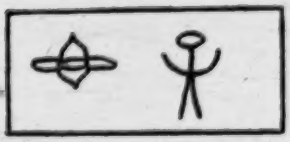


The first symbol is read *Bä-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ö*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bä-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木魯; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:

The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dtu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbĕr*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥來; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lä. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read *Ō* and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lä*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

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He married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-ssu-mu-lu 戟女戟思母魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-mun-lv. Her name is written: 212 173

The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *mun* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

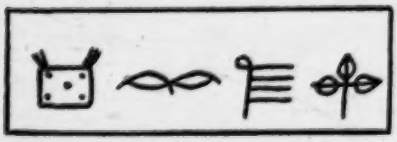
Ō Gkaw-lä figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called *Khi-nv* is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lä Ts'ü, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ō-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lä Ts'ü soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, *i.e.*, redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ō-shĕr*. It is the key-book to the *Khi nv* funeral ceremony.

In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ō Gkaw-lä is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The characters serve as phonetics only.

His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ü* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. He was married to Chi-nü-chi-chung 戟女戟鍾; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who separated into four clans, the Ssu (束 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mä (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,090 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* - a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs; the fourth, *mä*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü's wife is written:

The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 60b, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 束葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family 173

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173 木氏, originated from the Yeh clan. The two other clans, Mä and Ho (Mai 賈, Ho 禾), dwelled outside on the mountains and in the Yangtze valley."

In a book belonging to the *Non-bbu*, or *No-bbu* ceremony, the four clans are mentioned: "The Mä clan lived at Mä-ssä-t'a-wua-p'ĕr, the Ho at Ho-dsu-lv-na-wùa, the Ssu at Ssu-bbue-lv-lä-wùa and the Yu at Llü-shwua-yu-gkaw-la."

The family name for the common people was Ho, then and now written 和. This Chinese character was selected for the following reasons: It can be analysed into ノ口木. When the radical *p'ieh* is placed on top of the character *mu* 木 representing the family name of the chiefs, it becomes *ho* 禾 (grain); and by adding *k'ou* 口 (mouth) it becomes *ho* 和, which the peasants explain as feeding the mouths of the Mu family, hence the peasants of the Mu chiefs. Many of the people now calling themselves Ho were originally outsiders who, out of fear of the Na-khi chiefs, called themselves by this name to make believe that they were natives of Li-chiang, as they would otherwise have been driven out or suppressed.

It was during the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), that the Na-khi chiefs were given the family name Mu 木, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 2, fol. 18b. The Mu family did not allow the people who had charge of their affairs, and whose name was Mu by virtue of belonging to their family, to retain that name. If they represented the third generation they could use the name A 阿, the old family name of the Na-khi chiefs. If they represented the fifth generation they were given the name Ho 和. Outsiders coming to Li-chiang to settle had to call themselves Ho 和, therefore all the peasants were so named. After the country came under direct Chinese rule and the native magistrates ceased to exist in 1723, the peasants could readopt their old family names, and new settlers could keep their own names.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh and his wife Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi had three sons and, according to Na-khi manuscripts, they were collectively called Ghügh-khü ssu-zo-yi; the first-born became the ancestor of the Tibetans and lived at La-sa-t'o-k'ö-p'ĕr, his wife's name being P'ĕr-mi; the second was the Na-khi ancestor, his wife's name being Wu-mi-wu-dsu. According to the genealogy he was called Llü-ghügh Non-ō and figures as the Na-khi descendant of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He dwelled at Dzi-yu-lü-gv-ō, that is, the "man born who dwelled in the center." The third son was the ancestor of the Lä-bbu (the Chinese Min-chia 民家). His wife's name was Ssa-mi, and he dwelled at Zhi-zaw-man.

In one of the Na-khi funeral songs, called *Mun-ndz(ĕr)-ä-lä-dzhu*, occurs the passage: "Bu-lv zhi-zaw-man, Lä-bbu ä-ssi mun," meaning, "At the tail-end of the shepherd's trail the father of the Lä-bbu died." Now the Lä-bbu are the Min-chia of the Ta-li plain and neighborhood. *Zhi-zaw-man* = the end of the road, that is, where the road from the Na-khi highlands ends and that of the plain commences.

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CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORICAL GENERATIONS OF THE NA-KHI KINGS

1. YÜEH-SUI CHAO

After the name of Ko-lai Ch'iu (Gkaw-lä Ts'ü of the Na-khi) there appears the following statement in the genealogy: 173

FIRST GENERATION. — The first ancestor was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. He was a Mo-so 摩娑 of the T'ang dynasty. Eleven generations previous to Yeh-ku-nien, during the Eastern Han (the land) was made the Yüeh-sui chao 越嶲詔, Yüeh-sui Kingdom — *chao* meaning king. Six generations after Yeh-ku-nien it was changed to Tso-kuo chao 筰國詔, and Ting-tso-hsien 定筰縣 (district of Ting-tso; this included the land of the present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan). It was changed to K'un-ming 昆明 and (the ruler) promoted to K'un-ming Tsung-chün-kuan 昆明總軍官 (Commander-in-Chief of K'un-ming). To the ancestor Yeh-ku-nien in the time of T'ang Wu-te (618–626) and to the descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽,[1] there were in all 17 generations.

2. TSO-KUO CHAO

Ch'iu-yang 秋陽: In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty K'un-ming was merged with Sui chou 嶲州. During the reign of Kao Tsung 高宗, in the period of Shang-yüan 上元 (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 (Governor of San-tien).[2] His wife's name was Mi-chün-hsi-shu 彌均習鼠.

[1] According to the introduction written by Yang Shen to the Second Chronicle, Yeh-ku-nien was a military official during the reign of T'ang Wu-te, and Ch'iu-yang took office in the period of Shang-yüan of T'ang Kao Tsung (674–675). His successor Yang-ku took office in the period of T'ien-pao of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 天寶玄宗 (742–755).

It is however stated in the Chronicle, more correctly in the introduction of Chang Chih-shun, that counting from Yeh-ku-nien to Ch'iu-yang, there were six hereditary rulers. The time which elapsed during these six rulers is only about 56 years. If the rulers represented six generations then the time is certainly insufficient. The records do not appear to be authentic; this seems to be confirmed by the statement on the memorial stone in the Mu burial ground that nothing is known about Yeh-ku-nien.

[2] In the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), Yeh-ku-nien is mentioned as Yeh-ku-cha 葉古乍. It states that he conquered the territory east of Li-chiang at the foot of the snow range, anciently called San-t'an 三鬼 and which was inhabited by the savages called P'u-hsieh 僕繇. The same statement occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* under the now obsolete name of T'ung-an chou 通安州 (*which see*), situated three li east of the present city of Li-chiang. Its former name was San-t'an, the P'u-hsieh-man (here written 僕繇蠻) dwelled there, and Yeh-ku-nien of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) conquered the territory. *See*: Addendum page 471.

The name San-t'an is apparently identical with the Tibetan name of Li-chiang, which is Sa-tham (Na-khi, Sa-ddo). The latter is the name of the mountain god of the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Li-chiang snow range), who is also the patron spirit of the Na-khi. San-tien was east of T'ung-an chou. San-tien and San-t'an could not have been far apart and probably the two places are identical.

As to the P'u-hsieh savages mentioned at the beginning of the note the *Yün-nan T'ung-*

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173 *Yang-yin Tu-ku* 陽音都谷:[3] During the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 in the period of K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741, actually 730) the Liu chao 六詔 (Six Kingdoms) were united into one which was called the Nan-chao Kingdom 南詔. Yang-yin Tu-ku became the San-tien Tsung-kuan, and hence turned his allegiance to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–755), Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳, King of Nan-chao, rebelled against the Imperial rule of T'ang and invaded Sui chou 嶲州. Ku commanded the vanguard of the Nan-chao troops. On account of his merit in capturing Cheng Hui 鄭回,[4] district magistrate of Hsi-lu 西瀘 of

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chih, ch. 199, fol. 1a, states that "Wu Wang 武王 [of the Chou 周 dynasty, 1122–1116 B.C.] held a great assembly at Meng-chin 孟津 [in the present-day Huai-ch'ing fu 懷慶府, Ho-nan], at which men of Yung 庸, Shu 蜀, Ch'iang 羌, Mou 髳, Wei 微, Lu 盧, P'eng 彭 and P'u 濮 were present. Among these tribes were three from Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), namely the Mou, Wei and P'u. The P'u alone flourished." Later they became more and more numerous. Meng-chin (the ford of Meng) was on the Yellow river in Ho-nan. (See "The Books of Chou 周," "The Great Declaration 泰誓"; also "The Speech at Mu 牧誓." J. LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 281, 301 respectively.) The names of the tribes here enumerated are those of the Hsi-nan-i pa-kuo ming 西南夷八國名, *i.e.*, those of the eight kingdoms of the rude tribes on the west and south.

West of the village or market-place of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街 of the Chinese), 20 li north of Li-chiang, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range, there is a village called 'A-k'ö (At the foot of the cliff). Its Chinese name is Ngai-chio 岩脚, but it is now more often spoken of as An-chüeh 安覺. On the cliff behind this village, there is an inscription (approachable only with a ladder) in the shape of a seven-character poem, which states that there at the foot of the cliff was the dwelling of the sacred lords (of the Mu family 木氏) of San-tien.

This was the first settlement of the Na-khi Kings. The stone platform where their houses stood and the old pillars of a temple are still visible.

The place is called 'A-k'ö d'a. The Mu family had 12 *d'a* (places of residence). There is a song chanted by the old Na-khi peasants which tells of these *d'a* of their ancient chiefs. (*See*: note 155, p. 148.) The Tai words *po-na* 伯那 or *pa-na* 八那 have apparently the same meaning as the Na-khi word *d'a*. The headings to the First Chronicle, as well as to the inscription on the memorial stone in the Mu family burial-ground, where the foot of the divine (exalted) Yü-lung Shan is mentioned as the *po-na* (residence) of Yang (Ch'iu-yang — Ch'iu being his father's name, Yang his own), have apparently reference to this first dwelling of the Na-khi chiefs at 'A-k'ö d'a, which is literally at the foot of the snow range. Ch'iu-yang, according to the Chronicle was the first ruler of San-tien, and it is very likely that 'A-k'ö d'a was his first place of residence.

There are two Chinese inscriptions and one in Tibetan on the cliff The oldest dates from the 13th year of Ming Chia-ching: "Written by Mu Kao 木高, after carefully bathing and qualified to become hereditary chief of the 38th generation [he was on that date 19 years old], in the Spring, the third moon and 12th day (April 24th, 1534)."

The first sentence tells of the origin of the Mu family in the following words: *Mu-shih yüan-yüan Yüeh Han lai* 木氏淵源越漢來, "The Mu family's origin is from Yüeh [Sui] Han dynasty." (The western part of Ssu-ch'uan during the Han dynasty comprised two *Chün*, I chou 益州 and Yüeh-sui 越巂. It was from the latter that the Mu family hailed according to the inscription above mentioned.)

The second inscription, also in a seven-character poem, was written by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung 木公 of the 37th generation and is dated the 15th day of the first moon of the 15th year of Chia-ching (February 16th, 1536). It tells of the extensive forests on all sides, like evening smoke settling over the landscape. These, alas, have now disappeared.

[3] This is the Yang-ku 陽谷 of the Second Chronicle of Yang Shen's list.

[4] Cheng Hui was a native of Hsiang chou 相州 in the circuit of Ho-pei 河北道 (the present-day Ho-pei Province). He was a scholar, and the magistrate of Hsi-lu in Sui chou 嶲州, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan.

After his capture, Ko-lo-feng and his son, Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, treated him like a teacher — According to the *Ta-li hsien chih kao*, ch. 11, fol. 27b.

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the T'ang dynasty, he was promoted by the Nan-chao Kingdom to the position of Tsung-tu Yüan-shuai 總督元帥 (Viceroy and Generalissimo). His wife was named A-shih A-hui 阿室阿揮 (in Na-khi, A-shi A-khü). 173

Tu-ku La-chü 都谷剌具: In the 10th year of the period of T'ien-pao (751) of T'ang, the Nan-chao Kingdom defeated the Imperial army at the Hsi-erh River 西洱河, Yün-nan,[5] and invaded the office of the Governor-general of Yün-nan province. It now began to proclaim itself the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). As Chü acquired much merit by joining the punitive expeditions of the Nan-chao, it was approved that he succeed his father as Viceroy and Generalissimo. His wife was named A-shih A-yao 阿室阿堯.

La-chü P'u-meng 剌具普蒙: In the first year of the period of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (785), there was newly established the office of Chieh-tu shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner), to which Meng was appointed by the Emperor in the district of Li-shui 麗水 (the present Li-chiang). His wife was named A-shih T'ieh-nü 阿室僭女.

P'u-meng P'u-wang 普蒙普王: He succeeded his father as Imperial commissioner of Li-shui. In the third year of the period of Cheng-yüan (787), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋, King of Nan-chao, submitted to the Imperial court, but secretly still had connections with the T'u-fan 吐番. The Imperial court suspected this and instructed Wang to put restrictions on them. Meanwhile, a number of T'u-fan chiefs were enticed to attend a great banquet given by Wang in their honor in the temple called the Tien-ts'ang Shan-miao 點蒼山廟[6] of Ta-li. When they were drunk, he killed them all.

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan of T'ang Te Tsung (793), Wang guided the Imperial general Wei Kao 韋皐[7] with borrowed Nan-chao troops against the T'u-fan. The latter were then utterly defeated.

In the 10th year (794) Wang broke down the iron bridge at Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass). In the meantime, he captured 16 cities of the T'u-fan Kingdom and made captive its five princes. On account of the military merit achieved in this expedition, the Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit). His wife was named A-shih Chieh-chieh-yü-lu-lu 阿室節節于魯祿.

This might be said to have been the most prosperous age of the Mu family.

[5] The Hsi-erh Ho is the Ta-li Lake as well as the stream entering the lake in the north, and so is the exit of the lake at Hsia-kuan 下關.

[6] This is Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen Tz'u 點蒼山神祠 (Shrine of the Spirit of the Tien-ts'ang Range). It is situated three li west of T'ai-ho hsien in Ta-li district. For a detailed account of the decapitation of the Tibetan envoys see *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 17b; also SAINSON's translation, p. 52. It was in the shrine of the Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen (Tz'u) that I-mou-hsün swore allegiance to the T'ang empire.

[7] Wei Kao was a general in the T'ang dynasty who lived between 745–805. He ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans. He is said to have killed 480,000 of them in battle, also 1,500 generals, and beheaded 5,000 prisoners. He was a native of Ching-chao 京兆 in Shensi: his literary name was Ch'eng-wu 城武. The *Ch'in-ting chiu T'ang shu* 欽定舊唐書, ch. 140, p. 3, states that he sent a judge by name Ts'ui Tso-shih 崔佐時 to the Nan-chao Kingdom; he reached the Man Kuo 蠻國 (country of the savages) and its capital, Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 羊苴咩城, the present Ta-li 大理. There he met its king, I-mou-hsün, who begged him to cut off the T'u-fan.

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173 *P'u-wang La-wan* 普王剌完: He inherited his father's title of Duke of military merit; his wife was named A-shih Wei-yu-yü-lü-neng 阿室爲由于呂能 (in Na-khi. A-shi Ghügh-yu-ö-lv-nnü).

La-wan Hsi-nei 剌完西內: In the reign of Hsien Tsung 憲宗, period Yüan-ho 元和 (806–820), the name of his kingdom was changed to Yüeh-hsi 越析, and he was appointed as its Chün-min Tsung-kuan 軍民總管 (Military and Civil governor). He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Han-nü 阿室漢女.

3. YÜEH-HSI CHAO

Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o 西內西可:[8] In the reign of Wen Tsung 文宗, period T'ai-ho 太和 (827–835), the Nan-chao Kingdom rebelled against the Imperial court, and invaded several districts in the State of Shu 蜀. Thenceforward it had no more connection with the empire. K'o still maintained his throne as King of the Yüeh-hsi chao and the title Chün-min Tsung-kuan. His wife was named A-shih P'u-mi 阿室蒲彌.

From now on, it became more and more difficult to control Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o and he was therefore left to himself; the Nan-chao Kingdom merely tried to keep him in restraint.

Hsi-k'o La-t'u 西可剌土:[9] In the fourth year of I Tsung 懿宗, period Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (863), on account of merit acquired by helping the Nan-chao Kingdom to invade Chiao-chih 交趾 (Tonkin, region of Hanoi), he was appointed as Wu-hsün Kung of the Yüeh-hsi Kingdom.

In the fourth year of the period Ch'ien-ning 乾寧, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (897), owing to the murder of the King of Nan-chao[10] by a man named Yang Teng 楊登, T'u was demoted to be Wu-hsün Hou 武勳侯 (Marquis of military merit) instead of duke.

In the first year of the period Kuang-hua 光化, of Chao Tsung 昭宗 (898), when Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞, son of Lung-shun 隆舜,[11] ascended the throne of Nan-chao, T'u was again promoted to his original position of Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Ko-nü 阿室哥女.

La-t'u O-chün 剌土俄均: In the second year of the period T'ien fu 天復, of Chao Tsung (902), Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣[12] usurped the throne of Nan-

[8] He is the ninth of Yang Shen's list and is there called Nung-k'o 濃可.

[9] He is the 10th of Yang Shen's list, where he is called K'o-t'ung 可同.

[10] The King of Nan-chao who was murdered by Yang Teng was Lung-shun 隆舜. His usurped posthumous title was Hsüan Wu Ti 宣武帝. He was the 12th king of the Ta Meng Kuo (Ta Meng dynasty) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He began his rule in 877 when he was 17 years old and changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-feng-min Kuo 大封民國. He was murdered in Yün-nan fu after ruling for 20 years.

[11] Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞 of Nan-chao ascended the throne in 897 when he was 21 years old. In the eleventh moon of 899 he killed Yang Teng, murderer of his father, and all his family. He died in 902 leaving a little son eight months old. He was the last ruler of the house of Meng 蒙, there being 13 generations from the founder, Prince Hsi-nu-lo 細奴羅.

[12] Cheng Mai-ssu was a cruel and ambitious man. He killed Shun-hua-cheng's son and exterminated the Meng family and all its relatives. He was a Chinese, and formerly held

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chao, destroyed the Meng royal family and called his kingdom Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great Ch'ang-ho Kingdom). Thenceforward Chün had no more connection with the Cheng family 鄭氏. He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Hsien-lu 阿室羨魯 and gave birth to six sons, named Mou-chü 牟具, Mou-tao 牟刀, Mou-ku 牟古, Mou-tai 牟歹, Mou-lai 牟來 and Mou-t'ung 牟通. Each of them became the chief of a clan.

O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具: He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Chü-chung 阿室具中.

Mou-chü Mou-hsi 牟具牟西: In the reign of Sung Cheng Tsung 貞宗 (998–1022) his official title was changed to that of Wu-ying Hou 武英侯 (Marquis of military heroism). His wife was named A-shih-chiao 阿室交.

4. MO-SO CHAO

Mou-hsi Mou-ts'o 牟西牟磋: In the period of Chih-ho 至和 of Sung Jen Tsung 仁宗 (1054–1055) he was made the supreme chief of the Mo-so chao 摩娑詔. At that time, though the Tuan family 段氏[13] was becoming very powerful (at Ta-li), it was never able to bring Ts'o to submission. His wife was named A-shih Yü-li 阿室于里.

Mou-ts'o Mou-lo 牟磋牟樂: In the period of Cheng-ho 政和 of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1111–1117), he succeeded his father as supreme chief. His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌睦.

Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保: Together with Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和 he bore the title of General-in-Chief. His wife's name was A-shih-nü 阿室女.

5. FROM THE SECOND TO SIXTH GENERATION

SECOND GENERATION. — *Mou-pao A-tsung* 牟保阿琮 (PLATE 12): At the age of seven he could read Chinese characters without having been taught by a teacher. When he was full-grown, he understood the languages of the different tribes, and could read the Chinese classics written by the ancient philosophers. He was therefore regarded by all his people as a man possessing supernatural powers. In addition to that, he first invented the characters of his own tribal language.[14]

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office in Ssu-ch'uan. On account of his evil deeds, he had to flee to Yün-nan, and there found employment. He secured much power under Shun-hua-cheng and became First Grand Secretary. After exterminating the Meng family (800 members), he made himself King of Nan-chao at the age of 42, in the second year of T'ien-fu in the twelfth moon (actually January, 903). He died in September, 910, after having ruled eight years.

[13] The Tuan family founded the Ta-li Kingdom, which existed from 937 to 1094 under 14 successive rulers.

[14] The Na-khi possess two types of writing, a pictographic and a syllabic (phonetic); the latter consists of more or less simple characters which the *dto-mba* (priests) call *Ggö-ba*. They resemble simple Chinese and also Lo-lo (No-su) characters, and were supposed to have been invented by the disciples of Dto-mba Shi-lo, the founder of Na-khi Shamanism (also the founder of Bön, the ancient pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet). Dto-mba Shi-lo's disciples were called Di-tz Ggö-ba. The first two syllables are of Chinese origin, viz: *ti-tzu*

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173 Once he happened to go to the Yü-lung Shan and there saw a large stone basin full of clear water. He drank of it and heard some birds singing in the clouds. He thus came to understand the language of birds and beasts. All his people were greatly surprised at his wonderful talents, so that his fame reached the ear of Tuan 段, King of Ta-li. The latter did not believe the rumours about him, but sent messengers to him and invited him to his palace. On his arrival, the king requested him earnestly to tell him the meaning of the noise of some crows which were flying about at that moment. Tsung said: "The crows say, 'There is a dead horse lying at the other side of this mountain. Let us go to eat it.'" In another moment two doves were cooing. The king asked him to interpret their meaning. He replied: "One of them said, 'There is much ripe barley growing on that hill-side. Would you like to go and feed on it?' The other replied, 'No, we cannot do so, because there are eagles nesting on the branches of the cypress trees over there.'" The king actually sent men to see whether there were really eagles, and they returned and confirmed that what Tsung had said was true. He tested him repeatedly, but he made not a single mistake, and the king began to respect him and offered him many gifts.

One day it happened that the king destroyed a swallow's nest under the eaves of his palace, and taking the young swallows, put them secretly into one of his sleeves. He pretended to enquire of Tsung why the parent swallows were making so much noise around the eaves. He answered him saying: "The swallows are blaming you, and prophesying that the reign of your royal house will soon draw to an end, and are inquiring why you do not try to build up your character, instead of destroying their nest." On hearing this, the king was displeased. Meanwhile, a certain book dropped from heaven into the sea, out of which a dragon showed its head, presenting the book hanging from one of its horns. Some men fetched the book and offered it to the king. Its contents were unintelligible to him. One of his subjects suggested that they should ask the sage Tsung to explain it. Thus he was again welcomed to the palace, and reading the book through, interpreted it as saying: "Some ten years later, Mongol soldiers will come down to Ta-li, etc." After that prophecy, Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), of the Yüan dynasty, led his troops in person to conquer Ta-li, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the heavenly book.

While Tsung was still alive, the different clans of the Mo-so royal family divided themselves into several small States, and competed with one another for supreme power. Afterwards, however, they were all overcome by his sincerity, fame and virtue, so much so that they united and paid homage to him as their only king. Hence we see Heaven really had a definite purpose in choosing this particular man to lay this foundation for their royal throne, and to hand down blessings to the obedient and virtuous descendants of their families, by first showing them his own faithfulness and benevolence.

(disciple) 弟子, *ggö-ba* (to rise to the dance). Very few *dto-mba* are able to read the *Ggö-ba* script, while all can read the pictographs. The latter were invented considerably later than the *Ggö-ba* script which, it is my belief, was brought by them from their home in the far north, the grasslands of Tibet. Thus their written (syllabic) language has degenerated rather than developed. The pictographic script was developed in their present home, for the symbols used represent birds, insects, wild animals and plants, indigenous to Li-chiang or north-west Yün-nan in general.

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Later two more States, the Shan-shan Kingdom 善闡國 and Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏,[15] also acknowledged Tsung as their prophet and sage. Oh! this proves why the lineage of the Mu family is enabled to maintain its everlasting existence, and again explains to us the old saying: "The princely man can found and hand down an inheritance for hundreds and thousands of generations." 173

Tsung's wife was named A-shih-ch'iu 阿室秋, and was the noble daughter of the Hsien-t'ao family 蒹陶氏.[16] She gave birth to one son named Liang 良, who succeeded to his father's throne.

THIRD GENERATION. — *A-tsung A-liang* 阿琮阿良 (PLATE 13): As the only son of Tsung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the first year of the reign of Li Tsung 理宗, period Pao-yu 寶祐 (1253), of the Southern Sung dynasty, Emperor Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1251–1259), of the Mongols, ordered his royal brother named Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai), later Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of China (1260–1279), to conquer Ta-li in person. Liang went to welcome the soldiers at the mouth of the La-pa River 剌巴江.[17] On account of his kind hospitality and proper courtesy to them, Kublai conferred on Liang the honorary title of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil Governor of the Ch'a-han-chang [White Jang]), gave him two suits of official uniforms, one official hat made of yellow wool with a jade button embedded in gold plate on the top, and two assistants, one to precede and one to follow him. He also received an official girdle and pair of top-boots. These presents were sent to him by two official secretaries who walked in procession along the street in his honor.

[15] Under Shan-shan Kuo, Yün-nan must be understood, for Shan-shan fu was the name of the capital (the present K'un-ming) during the rule of the Nan-chao King Ch'üan-feng-yu 勸豐佑 (824–859).

Wu-ssu-tsang was the Ming dynasty designation for the present Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet), whose capital is Lha-sa.

[16] Hsien-t'ao was the family name of a Mo-so chief of Pai-sha 白沙 (the Na-khi Boa-shi), who gave his daughter in marriage to Yeh-yeh (*which see*).

[17] There are two La-pa Chiang k'ou (Mouth of the La-pa River), one only 80 li distant from Li-chiang, and the other 7 stages from that city, at Yung-ning. The one mentioned in the Chronicle is at the foot of the spur on which Shih-ku 石鼓 is situated and where the La-pa Chiang debouches into the Yangtze, west of Li-chiang. This river is called La-ba gyi in Na-khi (Waters of La-ba) because the river has its source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba), and also because La-ba is the Na-khi name of Shih-ku. Besides being known as La-pa Chiang 剌巴江, the stream is also called Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 (The river which rushes into the Yangtze) by the Chinese. As the Chronicle states that Liang met the Mongol soldiers at the mouth of the La-ba River, and not Kublai Khan himself, it must be taken for granted that he went to the La-ba Stream which enters the Yangtze at Shih-ku, only one day's journey from Li-chiang. To enter Li-chiang territory proper coming from the Yen-tang region, one must cross the La-ba Stream where it debouches into the Yangtze at Shih-ku, and where an iron chain-bridge spans it. It is by this route that Wu-lan-ha-ta led his army corps. Thus it becomes fairly certain that Liang met Wu-lan-ha-ta and his soldiers at Shih-ku, and not Kublai Khan with his cavalry at Yung-ning, where is situated the other La-ba Chiang k'ou. It is not likely that Liang would go seven days from his own district to meet a doubtful foe.

The other La-pa Chiang-k'ou (mouth of the river La-pa) passes at Yung-ning through the meadow La-pa-ddü (Chinese, Jih-yüeh ho 日月和 or Union of the Sun and Moon) where Kublai camped with his army (PLATE 212). It has its source in a grassy, swampy plateau, elevation 11,600 feet, to the south of Yung-ning 永寧. The stream, as with most water-

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173 Meanwhile, they took the city of Chü-nin chou 巨津州 by storm, and at the walled village of Pan-kung-ho 半空和 he made prisoner the brigand leader A-t'a-la 阿塔剌. On account of this achievement, he was promoted to the position of Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu 茶罕章宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang). He then captured the village of Ta-ko 大各 and also participated in conquering Ta-li, where they made the powerful chief Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智 prisoner. In reward for his splendid military service, he was again promoted by the Mongols to be Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the right wing of the army of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai 兀良合台, the famous Mongol Commander-in-Chief, and was given a battle-axe and a golden tiger-head shield. Later, Wu-liang-ho-t'ai returned to Ta-li to guard that station,

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courses in China, has several names. Its source is called A-ngu; where it enters the forested valley it becomes the Bo-wu-tsu; still further north near the village of Mu-dri it becomes the Bu-llu dji and as such passes through a narrow rocky defile and flows as the La-pa Ho (La-pa dji) through the meadow where Kublai camped with his army. The exit of a stream through a defile is spoken of as a *k'ou* 口 (mouth). The stream beyond the meadow is called the Hli dji (Waters of Hli, the native name of Yung-ning), Hli dü (Land of Hli), and (on Chinese maps) the K'ai-chi Ho, from the village of K'ai-chi 開基, past which the river flows on to the Yung-ning plain. The stream receives many affluents and debouches into the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河), which in turn flows into the Li-t'ang River 裏塘河 (*see* Geographical Part: Yung-ning).

It is precisely at the meadow of La-pa-ddü, where Kublai camped with his army, that the Yung-ning chiefs will escort visitors, and that lamas starting out on a long journey will camp, although only about two li from the Yung-ning monastery.

As to Kublai Khan's campaign and his march through Mo-so (Na-khi) land, the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), printed in Chiang-su 江蘇 in the 13th year of T'ung-chih (1874), ch. 4, p. 1b, states that Hsien Tsung 憲宗 ordered the attack on Yün-nan. On the day 丙午 of the seventh moon of the second year (August 30, 1252) the expedition went westwards from Ma-ya 馬牙. In the eighth moon of the 3rd year (1253) the army was dispatched to camp at Lin-t'ao 臨洮 (this is the present Ti-tao on the T'ao River 洮河 in west Kan-su). The officers I-la-chu 伊拉珠 (玉律虎), Wang Chün-hou 王君侯 and Wang Chien 王鑑 were sent in advance to Ta-li (to make known the Imperial command), but they were not successful. On the day 壬寅 of the ninth moon (October 20th, 1253), the army camped at T'a-la 塔拉 (the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 上, fol. 44a, calls it T'e-la 忒剌), and thence they separated, going by three different routes. Wu-lan-ha-ta 烏蘭哈達 (兀良合帶), led the army corps of the west, following the Yen-tang 晏當 road; Prince Ch'a-han-i-chao-erh 察罕伊兆爾 (抄合也只烈) conducted the army of the east by way of the land of the Pai-man 白蠻; the Imperial brother led by the middle route. The Li-chiang Records state, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 35b, that the ancient Yen-tang was outside the western border of Li-chiang in uncontrolled territory. T'e-lieh 忒列 was within the land of the T'u-fan. The land of the Pai-man is the present-day Yao-an fu 姚安府, which is north of Chen-nan 鎮南 and seven and a half stages west of K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

Hu-pi-lieh's cavalry came by Yüeh-sui and crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) in the Pei-sheng 北勝 district (to which Yung-ning belongs).

On the day 乙丑 of the ninth moon (October 23rd) the Mongols arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 蠻陀城, where they left their baggage and chariots. On the day 丙午 of the tenth moon (October 24th), they crossed the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河 and marched over mountains and through valleys for over 2,000 li, until they arrived on the Chin-sha Chiang. On inflated skins and rafts they crossed to Mo-so (territory). The chief of the Man came to welcome them and made his submission (their land was north of Ta-li, over 400 li distant). On the day 辛卯 of the eleventh moon (December 8th, 1253) Hu-pi-lieh sent I-la-chu 伊拉珠 and two other envoys to Ta-li. They were killed by Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, the Nan-chao King. On the day 丁酉 (December 14th), the army arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭寨 in the land of the Pai-man 白蠻, whose military chief came forth to submit. His nephew resisted,

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while Liang went back to the Mo-so Kingdom to rule as its king. Again, His Majesty the Emperor presented him with the following words of praise: *T'ien-mu-cheng-chi* 添睦貞吉 (Increase of peace and happiness). After wards he took by storm the T'ieh ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.[18]

In the period Chih-yüan 至元 of Yün Shih Tsu 世祖 (1264–1294), the Emperor gave Liang a silver seal weighing 48 taels, which authorized his appointment to the office of T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 (Field-Marshal in command of Armies of all routes). The territories under his control were named Yüeh-hsi Chün 越析郡, Po-hsing fu 伯興府, Yung-ning fu 永寧府, Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, Lang-ch'ü chou 浪蘧州, Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯,

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and they captured and killed him, but did not molest the people. On December 17th (1253) they camped at San-tien 三甸 (Li-chiang) (*see* pp. 391–393).

On December 18th the Pai-man brought presents. On the day 丙辰 of the twelfth moon (January 2nd, 1254) the army besieged the city of Ta-li.

The Pai-man mentioned here are in all probability the Mo-so, and Pai-man is a translation of the Mongol Cha-han-chang (White Jang), or, perhaps, the Pai-lan-man (White Wolf savages), after whom the Li-chiang territory was once called. The Pai-man Ta-kuo chai 打郭寨 was in Na-khi territory and is undoubtedly identical with the present-day Ta-ku 打鼓, a group of villages on a small plain on the Yangtze, two days north of Li-chiang. This would also tally with the time it took the Mongol army to reach San-tien. They arrived at Ta-kuo-chai on December 14th, and were camping at San-tien on December 17th, allowing from the 15th to the 17th to reach there. Certainly the Pai-man of Yao-an are not meant here.

As to the place where Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze, the *Yüan Shih*, ch. 61, fol. 7a, has the following to say: "Pao-shan (La-pao) is east of the snow range (Yü-lung Shan); the Li Chiang (Li River = Yangtze) comes from the west and encircles it on three sides (it is within the Yangtze loop) like a girdle. In ancient days the Mo-so-man dwelt there; the first Mo-so came from Lou-t'ou 樓頭 (Lü dü = Yung-ning, *which see*), they had dwelt at Pao-shan for twenty generations (at the time of the Mongol invasion). When Shih Tsu 世祖 was engaged on his expedition against the Ta-li Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭, and passed by Lo-pang 羅邦; he arrived at the villages of Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍 and Ta-kuei 大匯. All these places came under the sub-district of Pao-shan 寶山. The headmen of these four places submitted to Kublai Khan, who called their villages Cha-han-hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of [the period] Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) the seven places of Ta-kuei became the Pao-shan hsien 寶山縣 (magistracy of Pao-shan)."

The ancient Pao-shan, according to the Li-chiang Records, was 240 li east of the present city of Li-chiang (north-east is correct). It was in the western part of the Chün of Yüeh-sui of the Han dynasty. In the Latter Han it belonged to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and in the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by the Mo-so-man 摩些蠻. According to the map in the second volume of the Li-chiang Records, ch. 2, fols. 2b–3a, Pao-shan is within the Yangtze loop and comprises the region between the present Feng-k'ou and La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶), colloquially called La-po in Na-khi. According to this, Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze coming from Yung-ning at the place where the Yangtze is still crossed, namely at what is now called Feng-k'o 俸可 (*see* Geographical Part, p. 238). The name Lo-pang apparently represents the Na-khi La-bpu or La-po; Lo-ssu-wei is probably Lv-tso-lo; and the Pien-t'ou is P'u-dyu, where one crosses from Yung-ning to Feng-k'o, another name for P'u-dyu being Law-k'a-khi-llü. Ta-kuei was a small place where, during the T'ang dynasty, seven brothers of the Mo-so man had settled.

[18] According to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 42b, Hua-ma Kuo, was the district of Chü-chin chou, and it was there that Emperor Shih Tsu (Kublai) had his outposts.

In Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b, the Li-chiang Records speak of a Hua-ma Shan 花馬山. This mountain is situated 350 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern border of the

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173 Pai-lang 白狼, P'an-mu 槃木, I-liao 夷獠, etc. As to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府,[19] it had been brought under the control of his Mo-so Kingdom for many generations beginning with the T'ang dynasty, therefore it is not mentioned here.

Since the 11th year of the Chih-yüan period (1274) Liang had repeatedly received Imperial mandates conferring on him various degrees of honor and the dragon-design medal. His Majesty the Emperor also conferred on him the honorary title of Chin-tzu-kuang-lu ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫 (Minister of the Imperial court in the principal first official rank), and the additional honorary title of T'ung-chün-ssu 統軍司 (Field-Marshal), together with the right to use the same ceremonies as the three chief commissioners of the whole province. His wife was named A-shih Yü-hsien 阿室于先, and was the daughter of Kan-lo-mu-t'u 干羅木土 (perhaps a descendant of Kan-lo-mu-tu, *see* p. 73). On her was conferred the honorary title of Kuo fu-jen 國夫人 (Wife of the official of the principal first rank). She gave birth to three sons, named Hu 胡, Chieh 節 and Nai 耐. The eldest son, A-hu, succeeded to his father's throne.[1]

FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-liang A-hu* 阿良阿胡 (PLATE 14): As the eldest son of Liang, he succeeded his father as Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) he was appointed as Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan and assumed the hereditary office of Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the first year of the period Yüan-cheng 元貞, of the reign of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (1295), the Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor and the distinguished dragon-design medal, together with the honorary titles of Cheng-feng ta-fu 正奉大夫 and Hu-chün Hsüan-wei-ssu 護軍宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of military affairs). His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌母, the daughter of Ho-hui Ho-mi 和揮和迷 of the Hsien-t'ao family 羨陶氏

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ancient Chü-chin chou. On the cliff there is a rock of variegated colors in the shape of a horse. Anciently the Mo-so Kingdom called itself Hua-ma Kuo from the piebald stone on the cliff. In the First Chronicle it is called 華 Hua-ma Kuo. The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 上, fol. 1b, column 2 relates that Yüeh-hsi chao was established by Po-ch'ung 波衝 and was also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo. This was during the reign of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (713–755). Po-ch'ung must have been the predecessor of Yang-yin Tu-ku 陽音都谷, for the latter was the first San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 in the Six kingdoms (Liu chao 六詔), and the six chao were only united after the murder of Po-ch'ung by the violent chieftain Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求; this was in 738, the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元. There is still in existence a village called T'a-dza in Na-khi and T'a-ch'eng 塔城 in Chinese, both meaning "pagoda city." This T'a-dza was the walled city (*dza* = a wall) of Hua-ma Kuo.

[19] Of the above-mentioned places, Yüeh-hsi is Li-chiang; at the end of the period of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was captured by the Tibetans. Afterwards it belonged to Nan-chao. During the Mongol dynasty (1277) it became Yen-ching 鹽井 (Salt-well) of Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in south-west Ssu-ch'uan. Po-hsing fu, also written 柏興 and 柏興府, where the Mo-so once dwelled, was the Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣 of the Han dynasty, governed by Yüeh-sui. Yung-ning is north-east of Li-chiang to the north-east of the Yangtze loop; Pei-sheng fu is the district and city of Yung-pei 永北, now called Yung-sheng 永勝; Lang-ch'ü chou is between Yung-sheng and Yung-ning, a territory still ruled by a Mo-so (Na-khi) chief. Lo-lo-ssu was ruled by a military commissioner, and was in Chien-ch'ang 建昌 (Hsi-ch'ang) in Ssu-ch'uan; the Pai-lang and P'an-mu were tribes who were later ruled by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang), the Pai-lang belonging with their land to Li-chiang territory according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 5, fol. 69a; while the P'an-mu dwelled west of Mou chou 茂州 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan. Ho-ch'ing is a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang.

1 [see p. 28 N-- Analyst]

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(local chiefs of Pai-sha). On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen 郡夫人. She gave birth to one son, named A-lieh 阿烈, who succeeded to his father's throne. His second wife gave birth to one son named A-chi 阿吉. 173

FIFTH GENERATION. — *A-hu A-lieh* 阿胡阿烈 (PLATE 15): As the elder son of Hu, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 13th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347)[20] there was established in his kingdom the new office of Li-chiang Lu Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 麗江路軍民總管府. Under this authority he controlled one fu-city called Pei-sheng 北勝; seven chou cities called T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, Pao-shan 寶山,[21] Lan chou 蘭州,[22] Yung-ning 永寧, Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖 and Shun chou 順州;[23] and one hsien city called Lin-hsi 臨西.[24]

In the 15th year of the same emperor (1349) (actually 8th year of the period Chih-cheng 至正), he appointed his brother A-chi 阿吉 as Chü-tien Chün-min kuan min-kuan 巨甸軍民管民官 and An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Governor of military and civil affairs, and Chieftain of the frontier lands) of the place called Chü-tien 巨甸.

On Lieh the Emperor conferred various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, and the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 and Ch'ing ch'e tu-yü Tsung-kuan-fu 輕車都尉總管府 (Governor of the fu-magistracy of the sixth order of nobility). His wife was named A-shih Chang-meng-a-chia 阿室丈蒙阿加, daughter of La-pa La-t'u 剌巴剌土. On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen. She gave birth to one son named A-chia 阿甲, who succeeded to his father's throne.

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[20] The period Chih-yüan lasted only to 1340, but the succeeding period, Chih-cheng 至正, of the same Emperor, has been ignored and Chih-yüan continued by the writer of the two Chronicles.

[21] Pao-shan was north-east of Li-chiang and north-east of the present Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 (Mba-yi-wùa in Na-khi); it is 240 li from Li-chiang and is the present La-pao. It is a district of many villages, among the mountains of the Yangtze loop and on the west bank of the Yangtze, where a large village is situated called La-bpu 'a-k'o. The village of T'o-k'ö-shër (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese) belongs to the La-pao district — the Na-khi name means "Long foot of the pine," because there is a large pine grove on a high hill; and the Chinese name means "Long pine flat." North of La-pao the Yangtze flows through a terrific gorge, a tremendous rock defile called Gv-ho-gu. In the rock of the cliff west of it which forms the T'ai-tzu Kuan (*q.v.*), the Mu family is said to have carved the following characters, 剌寶太子關手伸摩得天 *La-pao t'ai-tzu kuan shou-shen mo-te t'ien* = [On] the La-pao pass of the heir apparent, the raised hand may feel Heaven.

[22] Lan chou is the present-day Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, 360 li south-west of Li-chiang.

[23] Shun chou is 120 li west of Yung-sheng 永勝 and east of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty it was a dependency of Ho-ch'ing. It was called Niu-t'an 牛潭 during the T'ang.

[24] The obsolete Lin-hsi was north-west of the secondary prefecture of Chü-chin. The latter was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. On a map published during the Ming dynasty in 1643 Lin-hsi is placed north of the T'ieh ch'iao (Iron bridge), which itself was 130 li north of Chü-chin. Lin-hsi was a hsien-city 460 li from Li-chiang and was inhabited entirely by Na-khi. In the 15th year of Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) Lin hsi was ruled by Li-chiang, and later came under Wei-hsi 維西.

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173 After careful examination, we learn that when A-tsung A-liang became Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan, it was the fourth year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1254). In the fourth year of the period Chung-t'ung 中統 of Emperor Shih Tsu (1263) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu. In the ninth year, period Chih-yüan (1272), the Emperor conferred on him a silver seal, and appointed him T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 Field Marshal in command of All Routes of the Armies.

A-liang A-hu became Ch'a-han-chang, and succeeded his father as hereditary Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Vice-Commander-in-Chief), and in the 25th year of the same reign (1288) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the Ch'a-han-chang).

In the first year of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗, period Ta-te 大德 (1297), the interior of China was in a disturbed condition. At that time Liang Wang 梁王, a prince of the Yüan dynasty, became ruler of Shan-shan 鄯闡 [25] and divided his territory with another ruler named Tuan Kuang 段光.[26] Prince Liang also invaded two other States called Ch'ieh-hsi-t'ai 且西台 and Yao-yüeh-ssu 遙越甲.

During the reign of T'ai Ting Ti 泰定帝 (1324–1328), on account of bad communications and natural barriers, we cannot secure much historical information about A-hu A-lieh. However, we know that in the eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan 至元 (1342), he became Pacification commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang.

From the ninth year of Shih Tsu 世祖, period Chih-yüan (1272), to the 13th year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347), were only 67 years,[27] and there had ruled in China ten emperors of the Yüan dynasty, but during that period the Mu family had only descended three generations.

The eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1342), was the second year of the period Chih-cheng 至正 (1342). The 13th year of Chih-yüan (1347) was the seventh year of Chih-cheng (1347) (*see* note 20 on p. 97).

With regard to the official ranks mentioned, according to the system of the Yüan dynasty, Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 宣慰使司 (Pacification commissioner) was equal to the secondary second rank. Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 [Chieftain of the (Yün-nan) frontier tribes] and the Vice-Chieftain were each equal to the principal third rank. An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Chieftain of the [Yün-nan] frontier tribes — similar to the above-mentioned Hsüan-fu-ssu) was equal to the same rank. Chu-lu Tsung-kuan-fu 諸路總管府 (fu-governor of the various dis-

[25] Liang Wang was King (*Wang*) of Yün-nan; his full name was Pa-tsa-la-wa-cih-mi 巴剌瓦爾密. He was the descendant of the fifth son of Kublai Khan, who was called Hu-ko-ch'ih 忽哥赤 and was King of Yün-nan. Shan-shan 鄯闡 is the present K'un-ming. The first character for Shan is wrong and so is the one on page 93.

[26] Tuan Kuang was ruler of western Yün-nan. He was the ninth hereditary governor of Ta-li fu. He took office in 1333 and divided his territory with Prince Liang in 1334. The latter attacked him in 1335 at Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺. This is a high mountain pass between Chao chou 趙州 and Hung-ngai 紅崖 on the K'un-ming Ta-li road and was then called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山. Liang was defeated and afterwards bribed Tuan's cook who poisoned his master in 1345.

[27] The chronicle says 67 years had elapsed between the ninth year of Shih Tsu and the 13th year of Shun Ti, but actually 75 years had elapsed between those two dates.

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tricts) was equal to the secondary third rank. The offices of Chih-chou 知州 and Shang-chou 上州 (Magistrate of a chou-city) were each equal to the secondary fourth rank. The above references are given for clear understanding.

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SIXTH GENERATION. — *A-lieh A-chia* 阿烈阿甲 (PLATE 16): He was also named Yüan Te 元德 and, as the eldest son of Lieh, succeeded to his father's throne. In the 22nd year of Shun Ti (Chih-yüan) (1356) (actually the 16th year of Chih-cheng), the fu-magistracy was abolished, and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu was established in its stead. It was later changed into the office of the magistracy of T'ung-an chou. The Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, the honorary title of Ch'ao-ch'ing ta-fu Ch'i-tu-yü 朝請大夫騎都尉 (Minister of the Imperial audience, and the seventh order of nobility), and appointed him as Chief magistrate of the chou-city, with the addition of the principal third rank. His wife was named A-shih-yüan 阿室圓 (also, Chü-mu 佉母). She was the daughter of A-tu 阿都, Yu-ch'eng 右丞 (Junior deputy) of the Mongol family Hu-i-p'u-tu 胡以普都 of Chien-ch'uan 劍川.[28] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to four sons, named A-te 阿得, A-chü 阿佉, A-ya 阿牙 and A-chien 阿見. His second wife gave birth to three sons, named A-ts'ung 阿從, A-tai 阿歹 and A-ch'ang 阿昌. The eldest son, A-te, succeeded to his father's throne.

[The graves of the different ancestors of the 21 generations mentioned above are all located on the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain). Twice a year, in the winter and summer, the Mu family still offers sacrifices to them, in accordance with traditional custom. As to the graves of the different ancestors of the following seven generations, it built temples to them, and still regularly offers sacrifices to them.]

6. FROM THE SEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH GENERATION

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-chia A-te* 阿甲阿得 (PLATE 17): He was the magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Te 木得, he was also named Tzu-jan 自然 and Heng-chung 恆忠. He was the eldest son of Chia. In the last reign of the Yüan dynasty, he became Chih-chou 知州 (Magistrate) of the chou-city of T'ung-an and later he was promoted to the position of Li-chiang Hsüan-fu-ssu fu-shih 麗江宣撫司副使 (Vice-Chieftain of the district of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the Celestial army (Chinese army) came to the southern part of China, and conquered Ta-li and many other cities. Te was the first to lead his troops to swear allegiance to Fu Yu-te 傅友德, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern expedition, Ying-kuo Kung 潁國公 (Duke of Ying-kuo), and T'ai-tzu T'ai-shih 太子太師 (Grand preceptor to the Heir Apparent). Fu and other military leaders made a report to the Emperor on behalf of Te. His Majesty was so pleased that he conferred on him the surname Mu 木, and ordered him to work together with Fu at headquarters, waiting for suitable appointments.

[28] Chien-ch'uan 劍川 is a walled city between Ta-li and Li-chiang. It is 210 li from Ta-li.

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173 I append here the Imperial decree of Hung-wu conferring on A-te the surname Mu, according to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*:

"Through the protection of God, the manifestation of the supernatural forces of the seas and mountains, and the many virtues of my ancestors, fifteen years have peacefully elapsed since my accession to the Throne, and almost all lands of the world have come within the Imperial map. But the different barbarians of the South-west, deceived by Liang Wang[19] of Yün-nan, and relying upon the altitude of their native place and the remoteness of their land from my throne, disobeyed my Imperial orders and instructions. For this reason I especially ordered Fu Yu-te, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern punitive expedition 征南將軍, and marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川; Lan Yü 藍玉, Assistant Commander-in-Chief 副將軍, and marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌侯; and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing, to lead 300,000 mail-clad soldiers — the cavalry and infantry advancing all together — to punish them for insubordination. No sooner did the Imperial army reach their land than the chief criminals were captured. As you, A-te, Native official of Li-chiang, were the first to lead his followers to submit as an example to the barbarians, your loyalty to me was clearly established.

"Moreover I appreciate your learning as expressed in the memorial submitted by you through your envoy some time ago. Thus I confer upon you the surname Mu, and order you to listen to General Fu in so far as he may propose to give you an official position, and to lead you in the accomplishing of meritorious acts in the future, so that you may gain glory for yourself.

"Be careful enough not to forget what I have said, forever.

"In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382)."

In the 16th year of the same period (1383), Fu instructed Mu Te to re-establish Li-chiang as a fu-city, and appointed him as its magistrate. In the second moon of the same year (March, 1383), he joined the army of the Southern expedition, and helped the Commander-in-Chief to conquer the village of Fu-kuang-chai 佛光寨[20] where the Junior prefect P'u Yen-tu 普顏篤, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, burned himself to death.

In the third moon (April, 1383), the great chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan tribes 西番 intended to lead his troops to capture the region of Pai-lang-ts'ang 白浪滄[21] in the district of Li-chiang. Te ordered his eldest son, A-ch'u 阿初, to lead his own troops against them, and force them to retreat. In the eighth moon (September), Te attacked Pei-sheng fu 北勝府 and made captive its native chief, the usurping P'ing-chang 平章 (Controller), Kao

[19] The Liang Wang 梁王 was a descendant of the fifth son of Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 巴剌瓦爾密. The Yüan emperors bestowed on him the title King Liang of Yün-nan. When he was pursued by the Ming forces he fled to Chin-ning chou 晉寧州 to the village of Hu-na-chai 胡納寨 where he burnt his Imperial robes and drove his wife and children into the Lake of Yün-nan (Tien Ch'ih 滇池) to die. Liang himself then jumped into the lake. After the prince's death, the senior and junior deputies Ta Ti 達的 and Lü Erh 驢兒 hanged themselves.

[20] Fu-kuang-chai is 30 li north of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 or 20 li east of Ta-li Lang-k'ung (ch'lung) hsien 大理浪穹縣, the present-day Erh-yüan 洱源.

[21] Pai-lang-ts'ang is the Na-khi Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) under Li-chiang (*vide* origin of Yeh-yeh, p. 71, note 8; p. 72).

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Sheng-hsün 高生尋, descendant of Kao Ta-hui 高大惠.[22] Later Kao Sheng-hsün was killed by the I 夷 (Lo-lo), who offered his head to Te. Pei-sheng fu was thereafter changed into four chou-cities. Again, by joining the army of the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, and under the service of Commander Tung 董指揮, Te succeeded in capturing Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass), T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron bridge city), and many other places. His military exploits on this expedition were made known to the Emperor by a special report. In the ninth moon (September–October) Te was summoned to the Imperial court to an audience with the Emperor, and to pay tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (Hung-wu) was so pleased with his military services that he conferred on him Imperial letters patent, appointing him as hereditary T'u-kuan chih-fu 土官知府 (Hereditary native magistrate) of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and giving him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫, with orders to safely defend Shih-men Kuan, and to resist the advance of the Fan-ta 番韃 (Nomads). A complete set of official uniforms, made of coloured satin and embroidered with golden flowers, was given him; also a golden-flowered belt with four Chinese characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), engraved on the central badge, six silver ingots, and a silver medal designed with the character *Ling* 令 and weighing 20 taels.

In the 17th year of the same period (1384), Te ordered his son, A-ch'u, to attack and capture the Tao-k'ou 刀寇 (Knife brigands). He was so victorious in this expedition that the Emperor rewarded him with many silver ingots. In the 19th year (1386), A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chü-chin 巨津, rebelled against the Imperial rule by attacking Stone-gate Pass and other villages. Te and A-ch'u led their troops to join the expedition of Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, Marquis of Chi-an 吉安侯, and succeeded in capturing the villages of Stone-gate Pass, as well as the place called Meng-ku-ho 蒙古和. A-nu-ts'ung then fled with his men to the Hsi-fan. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December, 1386–January, 1387), the brigand leader returned to Chü-chin chou. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), he was captured alive, and was brought a prisoner to the headquarters of Commander-in-Chief Fu and there executed.

Te was born in the fourth year of the reign of Yüan Wu Tsung 武宗 (Chih-ta 至大) (1311), and died on the 6th day of the tenth moon of the 23rd year of Ming Hung-wu (November 11th, 1390). His wife was named A-shih-she 阿室社, daughter of Ho Lüeh-ko 和略哥 (the Second Chronicle gives the name Ho Lüeh-k'o 可), Chao-mo 照磨 (Commissary of records) of San-pi-ts'un 三必村. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to three sons, named Ch'u 初, K'uei 魁 and Ssu 寺. His second wife, A-shih-mi 阿室彌, gave birth to one son, named Ch'i 七. His eldest son, A-ch'u, succeeded to his throne.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *A-le A-ch'u* 阿得阿初 (PLATE 18): Native magistrate of the fu-city. His official name was Mu Ch'u 木初, and he was also named Ch'i-yüan 啓元 and Shih-ch'un 始春. As the eldest son of Te, he suc-

[22] Kao Ta-hui was governor of the commandery Shan-chü 善巨郡 which was the later Pei-sheng and the present Yung-sheng 永勝.

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173 ceeded to his father's throne. Before his accession to the throne, in the 16th year of Ming Hung-wu (1383), on account of his merit in defeating Chief Pu-chieh 卜封 of the Hsi-fan, Commander-in-Chief Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, proposed to the emperor to appoint him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men. In the second tenth moon (November–December) of the 17th year of the same period (1384), the proposal was approved by the Imperial Board of Civil Office, which issued a dispatch bearing the character *Chung* 忠, No. 3, appointing him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men, together with the additional duty of Leader of 100 families, as a test. In the eleventh moon (December, 1384–January, 1385) he entered on his duties.

In the twelfth moon (January, 1385), the native magistrate of Pao-shan chou 寶山州 became recalcitrant. Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station, and settled the trouble by means of skilful strategem, capturing many stockaded villages in the mountains of that district, and restoring the people to their peaceful pursuits. Later in the same year, La-mi-ju-chi 剌密如吉, the native magistrate, again occupied the mountain districts, starting a new rebellion. Ch'u led his troops thither to attack them and the aforesaid districts were again recovered. The captives taken and the brigands killed in that fight numbered more than 20. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), Yang-nu 楊奴, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, and others were guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u hastened there with government troops to punish them, and made them all prisoners. In the eighth moon (September–October) of the same year, the usurping Commander-in-Chief, Pao-chu 保朱[33] of Chien-ch'uan, was also guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u proceeded with the Military governor Cheng Hsiang 鄭祥 of Ta-li military station, succeeded in capturing Pao-chu, and then put him to death.

In the third moon of the 21st year of Hung-wu (April, 1388), Ch'u led his native troops to join the army of the Commander-in-Chief Mu Chao-ching Ying 沐昭靖英,[34] Prince of Ch'ien-ning 黔寧王 and Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, and attacked the two cities of Ching-tung 景東[35] and Ting-pien hsien 定邊縣.[36] He then captured these two cities, killed the powerful leaders of the Po-i savages 伯夷蠻,[37] took and executed many prisoners, such as Tao Ssu-lang 刀斯浪, etc.

In the 24th year of Hung-wu (1391), Ch'u received an official dispatch bearing the character *Ting* 定, No. 504, from the office of the Military governor

[33] In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the name is written Chu-pao 朱保. He usurped the rank of Yüan-shuai 元帥.

[34] This is the Mu Ying who was given the posthumous title of King of Ch'ien-ning and the appellation of Chao-ching 昭靖 (Glorious and peaceful). As the titles given were retroactive they are used here as if he bore them while alive.

[35] Ching-tung is a town on the Black River the upper part of which is known as the Chung-ch'uan Ho (*q.v.*), 10 stages south of Hsia-kuan and Ta-li, in south central Yün-nan.

[36] Ting-pien hsien is south of Meng-hua 蒙化 and is the present Nan-chien 南漢. It is situated at the confluence of the Meng-hua and Nan-chien Streams, the Meng-hua Ho 蒙化河 being the Red River. Nan-chien is really situated on the north bank of the Nan-chien Ho. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of the P'u-lo-man 蒲羅蠻.

[37] The Pa-i, Shan or Tai, who inhabit southern Yün-nan, are meant here.

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of the Right army 右軍都督, informing him that his hereditary right had been confirmed and duly approved by the Emperor. On the 18th day of the fifth moon (June 20th) he assumed his official position, succeeding his father. In the eleventh moon (November–December), he went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the second moon of the 25th year of the same period (February 23rd–March 23rd, 1392), he was given Imperial letters patent bearing the character *Chia* 甲, No. 697, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy. He was then rewarded by the Emperor with many rich gifts and sent back in honor. 173

In the ninth moon (September 17th–October 16th) of the same year, by serving under the Military governor Feng Ch'eng 馮誠, he captured Yung-ning chou 永寧州[48] and took by storm Pai-chiao 白交[49] and other villages adjacent to the border of Lang-ch'ü 瀾滄.[50] He then forced the brigands to retreat, captured their leader, Pu-pa-ju-chia 卜八如甲, and forced the headman La-t'a 剌塔 of the village of Shui-chai 水寨 to submit with his people. In the 26th year of the same period (1393), Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 of the La-ma family 剌馬氏,[51] native magistrate of the Salt-well Sub-military station of Tso-so 左所 in Ssu-ch'uan, conspired to start a rebellion. Ch'u and the Military Governor Ho Fu 何福,[52] Marquis of Ning-yüan 寧遠侯, were both in reserve to help the government troops. In the first moon of the 27th year of the same period (February, 1394), the rebel Chia-ha-la of Tso-so invaded the two cities of Pei-sheng and Lang-ch'ü. Ch'u helped Mu Ch'un 沐春,[53] Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, by leading his troops thither, and recovered these two cities. They then established the Lan-ts'ang military

[48] Yung-ning is the present semi-independent magistracy north-east of Li-chiang and the Yangtze.

[49] Pai-chiao is the present Pai-chiao pa 白交壩, or Pai-chio pa 白角壩, which adjoins Yung-ning territory.

[50] Lang-ch'ü chou is south of Yung-ning and west of the Wo-lo Ho (River) about half-way between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei 永北). It is the Ning-lang 寧蒗 of to-day; *see* Chap. VII, p. 429.

[51] La is the family name of the present ruling T'u-ssu 土司 (chief) of the Tso-so 左所 country east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan. The La family is of the Mo-so tribe but most of its subjects are Lo-lo. Tso-so land is separated from Yung-ning territory partly by the Yung-ning Lake, known to the Na-khi as La-t'a Khü. The main village of Tso-so, where the chief's yamen is situated, is called To-shi (To-she-chai 多舍寨). La-t'a was a native of Tso-so territory and its headman. He had a son called La-ma-fei 剌馬非 who paid tribute, whereupon he was given the title of Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶 (Assistant chiliarch). According to the *Ming-Shih* Chia-ha-la's territory was Po-hsing 柏興, the present Yen-yüan hsien; he was the native chief of the Mo-so tung or cave (dwelling) Mo-so. (*See* also Part VI, Ch. II. 6, Tso-so, page 463.)

[52] Ho Fu was a native of Feng-yang 鳳陽 in An-hui. He came, together with Fu Yu-te, to attack Yün-nan.

[53] He was the son of Mu Ying who died in the 25th year of Hung-wu, the sixth moon and *hing-mao* 丁卯 day (July 7th, 1392). Mu Ch'un 沐春 inherited the rank of Chen-shou 鎮守 (Guardian) of Yün-nan. (*Chen-shou* was the title of a Tartar General). He ruled the *Chen* (Principality) for seven years and died at the age of 36.

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M3 station 鹽井衛 for the purposes of defence. In the same year, Ch'u joined the military expedition of the Military governor Ch'ü Neng 瞿能, and succeeded in pacifying the rebels. Later he transported military provisions to the Salt-well military station.[44] In the eleventh moon (December) of the same year, Pa-t'a-kan 八塔干, Ho-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-headman)[45] of Lan chou 蘭州, became recalcitrant and unruly. Ch'u led his own troops to fight him; he captured and killed more than 100 brigands, and restored the tribes to their peaceful pursuits.

In the ninth moon of the 30th year of Hung-wu (September 22nd–October 20th, 1397), Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station to attack Ko-shih 革石,[46] A-nao-wa 阿惱瓦, and a few other villages. They captured the rebel bandits and made the pretending P'ing-chang 平章, Chia-ha-la, prisoner. In the eleventh moon (November–December), there was newly established the Government of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang, to which an official seal, character *I* 以, No. 87, was issued by the Imperial court. This government was intended by the Imperial order to safeguard the village of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, to check the advance of the Hsi-fan, to arrange all things to fit the circumstances, and to embody all matters in one unit, in order that national prestige might be enhanced. In the ninth moon of the 31st year of the same period (October, 1398), Ch'u helped the Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'un 沐春, General of punitive expeditions, Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠祥公, to attack the Po-i 伯夷. They besieged the city of Lu-ch'uan 瀘川,[47] and made the brigand leader Tao-kan-meng 刀幹孟 prisoner [a native chief of Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien 平緬 who had rebelled and ousted Ssu-lün-fa 思倫發, the Hsüan-wei-shih of Lu-ch'uan. His territory was in P'iao-t'an 壁談 (name for the eastern part of Burma)]. When he returned from this expedition, he was given many silver ingots and other rich gifts by the provincial authorities. In the 35th year of the same period (1402)[48] he sent his eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor, who gave him also many silver ingots and sent him back honored.

In the second year of Ming Yung-lo (1404) Ch'u led his troops to Chü-chin

[44] Yen-ching wei 鹽井衛 (Salt-well military station) corresponds to the sub-prefecture of Yen-yüan 鹽源, which in turn is dependent on the prefecture of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan) in Ssu-ch'uan.

[45] A *Ho-t'ou* is a small village official, lower than a headman. The name *ho-t'ou*, which actually means a scullion, has also reference to his entertaining any official who may come to the village.

[46] The name of the village is Ko-shih, not Tsin-ko-che as CHAVANNES gives the name in the translation of the Second Chronicle. The word *tsin* (*chin* 進) here means to advance (they advanced on Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Na-khi A-na-wüa). These villages are in Tao-so and Mu-li 木里 territories respectively.

[47] Lu-ch'uan is the present-day Lung-ch'uan 龍川, 140 li south-west of T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰冲. It is called Mong-wan in Shan, and is situated on the Nam-wan River; in Chinese its name is Nan-wan Ho 南碗河. According to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 498, fol. 2b, Lung-ch'uan belonged to Burma during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619), and later reverted to China. The Pai-man 白蠻 (Pa-i or Shan) dwell there.

[48] This should read the fourth year of Chien-wen 建文 of Hui Ti 惠帝 (1402), for T'ai Tsu (Hung-wu) died on the 24 of June, 1398.

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chou 巨津州 and relieved A-chi 阿敕, native magistrate of that city, from the siege of the Hsi-fan brigands, whose chief, A-niang-yün 阿娘匀, was forced to retreat with his men. Many other officials and people who had been taken captive by these brigands were thus released. In the fourth moon of the third year of the same period (May, 1405), he ordered his brother, A-ssu 阿寺,[49] to accompany the Imperial messenger and Eunuch Yang Lin 欽差內官楊鎮, together with the pacified Hsi-fan representatives, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor. In the tenth moon (October–November) he himself prepared presents consisting of horses and native products, and went with some of his subordinates to the capital to pay tribute. His Majesty gave him many silver ingots and sent him back much honored. In the fifth moon of the fourth year of the same period (May–June, 1406), he received a dispatch from Commander-in-Chief Mu 沐, instructing him to accompany Chu Ch'eng 朱程 the Chih-hui-shih 指揮使 of the Chen-fu-ssu 鎮撫司 of Chin-i wei 錦衣衛 (the military station of Chin-i) to the land of the Hsi-fan, to establish two An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification officers) in the *tao* 道 of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, the Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何塲, and the Chang-kuan-ssu of Ni-na[50] for the purpose of urging the I-fan (Wild tribes) to go and pay tribute to the Imperial court, news of which was reported to the Emperor on Ch'u's behalf. He was then given Imperial dispatches instructing him to safeguard the land. The Emperor also conferred upon him a golden shield with an inscription of four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), in reward for his military exploits in Chü-chin 巨津, Lin-hsi 臨西, Mao-niu-chai 毛牛寨, Pao-shan chou 寶山州, Lan chou 蘭州, the Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江 (Mekong), etc.

In the fifth year of Ming Yung-lo (1407) His Majesty conferred on Ch'u the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 中憲大夫 (Minister of the principal fourth rank) and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy, by an Imperial order, containing dispatches: *I* 義, No. 76, and *Chia* 甲, No. 809. In the tenth moon (November) of the same year, Ch'u ordered his eldest son, A-t'u, to search for a golden shield in the household of A-chi 阿吉, a native official and An-fu-ssu, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, and forward it directly to the Yünnan Provincial Treasurer.

In the fifth moon of the eighth year of the same period (June, 1410), he went himself to Pao-shan chou 寶山州, and to the villages of Pai-ti 白的[51] and Yüan-shih-wa 元始瓦 and many other places, and succeeded in persuading the village headman, A-yung-mu 阿容目, to furnish a number of laborers each year to serve the government, commencing from that year. He then sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court; the Emperor gave him an Imperial receipt, and sent them back with many gifts and highly honored. In the fourth moon of the 10th year of the same period (May–June, 1412), he prepared tribute consisting of horses and many native products, and requested his official secretary,

[49] He was Ch'u's second younger brother and was called Mu Sheng 木聲.

[50] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na and the Tibetan Nī-nag — the district of Wei-hsi 維西, northwest of Li-chiang and east of the Mekong.

[51] The Chinese Pai-ti is the Na-khi district of Bbēr-ddēr west of the Yangtze loop; BACOT's Be-djri should read Mbe-ddu, "Village large," or large village; one of the eight villages of Bbēr-ddēr is meant. (*See* p. 262.)

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173 A-t'a 阿他, to offer them to the Emperor, who conferred on Ch'u's father, A-te 阿得, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, on his mother the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen 太恭人, and on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the respective Imperial orders. *Chia* 甲, No. 997; *Chia* 甲, No. 998; and *Chia* 甲, No. 999. When these orders were delivered to their official residence, they all expressed their hearty thanks, kneeling down in the direction of the Imperial throne.

Meanwhile, on account of his military merit gained by helping Mu Ch'un in his expedition to settle the affairs of the cities of Ching-tung 景東, Yung-ning 永寧 and Lang-ch'ü 浪穹, etc., and by helping the Military governor Ho Ch'ü 何瞿 in his expedition to attack the Salt-well military station of Ssu-ch'uan, and to capture the rebels La-ma-jen-tsu 剌馬仁祖 and Chia-ha-la alive, after taking the villages of Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Emperor issued him a decree *I* 乙, No. 110, promoting him one rank higher, and conferring on him a golden girdle with the four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), together with many other gifts listed in detail in the book of the Hereditary rights of the Mu family [the *Huang-Ming En-lun-lu*]. In the 14th year of the same period (1416), after he had been promoted in rank by the Emperor's special grace, he was permitted to retire, and transferred his official seal to his heir, Mu T'u 木土, to preserve the hereditary right.

Ch'u was born in the fifth year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1345) and died in the twelfth moon of the first year of Ming Hung-hsi (January, 1426). His wife was named A-shih A-mu-hsiang 阿室阿木相 (her official name was A-shih-sa 阿室撒), daughter of A-mu 阿木 (Mu-hsien 木仙), who was native leader of 1,000 households of T'ung-an chou. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named T'u 土, Niang 娘, Chi 戟, Chia 迦, Chün 均, Hsing 興 and Hui 匯.

His second wife was named A-shih-lo 阿室羅, daughter of the Chang-kuan-ssu of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場. She gave birth to one son, named Mu 目. His third wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里. She gave birth to one son, named Pao 保. His fourth wife was named A-shih-yang 阿室羊. She gave birth to two sons, named Tu 都 and Hsi 希.

His eldest son, A t'u 阿土, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Ming Cheng t'ung (1440), the Emperor conferred on Ch'u, on account of the military merit of his grandson, two more posthumous honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 767, and on his wife, A-shih-sa, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen 淑人 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 768.

NINTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'u A-t'u* 阿初阿土 (PLATE 19): His official name was Mu T'u 木土; he was also named Yang-min 養民 (Yü-min 育民). As the eldest son of Ch'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 17th year of Yung-lo (1419) he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute. He lodged at the Board of Civil Office. In the tenth moon (October–November) of the same year, the aforesaid Board applied for him to the Emperor, who sanctioned his hereditary right in due time, and presented him with many silver ingots and satin garments and sent him back highly honored. He also received Imperial letters

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patent *Wen* 文, No. 5708, whereupon he assumed his official duties in the first moon (January 15th–February 13th) of the same period (1420). In the following year (1421), His Majesty, yielding to popular opinion, conferred on him Imperial letters patent, stating that thereafter he was only to be ordered to proclaim the Imperial will, but not to be transferred on any occasion. In the 21st year of the same period (1423), he ordered his official secretary, Mu Mi 木彌, and the sergeant Yang Chung-li 楊仲禮 and many others to pay tribute at the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for (new) letters patent. He was then given the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 115. On his wife, A-hu 阿護, was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 116.

In the third year of Ming Hsüan-te (1428), owing to the frequent inroads by A-k'uei-chang 阿虧丈 at Shih-men Kuan (Stone-gate Pass), T'u led his men to attack and capture him. The country was then taken, and many new roads and ferries were built by him to facilitate communications. In the first moon (January 21st–February 19th) of the eighth year of the same period (1433), he assembled his troops, and in the second moon (February 20th–March 20th) captured the village of Lüeh-shao 掠梢, which then acknowledged its allegiance. Again, in the third moon (March 21st–April 19th), the Yung-ning Fan brigands 番賊 carried off magistrate A-jih 阿日 of Pao-shan chou 寶山州. T'u led his troops himself, and recovered him from the hands of the brigands through many stratagems.

T'u was born in the 24th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝 (Chih-cheng 至正) (1364), and died on the 24th day of the fourth moon in the 8th year of Ming Hsüan-te (May 13th, 1433). His wife was named A-shih-fu 阿室甫 (her official name was Kao Shih-hu 高氏護), daughter of Kao Chung 高仲, native magistrate of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.[52] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named Ti 地, Chung 仲, I 義, Ch'ang 昌, Shu 恕 Chü 苴 and Hui 揮. His eldest son, A-ti, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Cheng-t'ung (1440), on account of the military merit of his son A-ti, the Emperor conferred on T'u the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial order *Wu* 戊, No. 769 and *Wu* 戊, No. 770, respectively.

While T'u was still living, he published a proclamation to the district of Pai-sha li 白沙里, forbidding the officials to graze their cattle on the people's crops. Once cattle belonging to officials were eating the peasants' crops. Those who witnessed this wondered why the officials did not remove their cattle. T'u learned of this, and immediately ordered the buffaloes or cows to be killed and offered as a solemn sacrifice in the Pei-yo Temple 北嶽神祠 (*see* Sa-ddo *or* Pei-yo). The whole of the beef was divided among the people for food. Thus all his subjects were made obedient to his laws and regulations. Henceforth, it became their custom every year to make contributions to the Pai-yo Temple out of the sales of their cattle, for the purpose of offering regularly a similar sacrifice.

[52] Ho-ch'ing, a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang, formerly belonged to the Li-chiang district under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs. Its inhabitants are mostly Lä-bbu (Min-chia

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113 TENTH GENERATION. — *A-t'u A-ti* 阿土阿地 (PLATE 20): His official name was Mu Shen 木森. He was also named Sheng-jung 升榮 and Ta-lin 大林. As the eldest son of T'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the ninth year of Ming Hsüan-te (1434) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed by the Imperial decree *Wen* 文, No. 154, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 13th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 17th, 1434), he assumed his official duties. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), he led his troops with Commander-in-Chief Mu Chung 沐忠 (Mu Ching-sheng 沐敬晟),[53] Prince of Ting-yüan 定遠王, to settle the trouble at Lu-ch'uan 瀘川 caused by Burmese brigands. During the expedition, the armies from the various sections of the country were anything but brave, and many deserted, except the Li-chiang troops who proved their valor by first venturing across the river and then burning seven of the enemy's camps, capturing one leader alive, and chopping off 16 heads. They captured two elephants, and decapitated 24 prisoners in another lot. Ti was thereupon rewarded by the Imperial court with a silver bowl, a flower-design shield, many pieces of silk and satin, etc.

In the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1439), he again joined the government troops and decapitated 20 of the enemy. This time he was similarly rewarded, and, in addition, Mu Chung, Prince of Ting-yüan of the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou government, gave him a farmstead in the village of Sha-ch'iao 沙橋.[54] In the fifth moon of the fifth year of the same period (June, 1440), on account of his merit gained by conquering Lu-ch'uan, the General historiographer Wang Chung-i kung-i 王忠毅公驥,[55] Marquis of Ching-yüan 靖遠侯, made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then rewarded him with several pieces of colored satin and many other gifts.

In the ninth moon (October 26th–November 25th), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and requested some of his servants to offer them as tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for an Imperial patent. After certain investigations were made by the Board about his merit, the Emperor granted his request, and gave him the letters patent *Wu* 戊, No. 771, conferring on him the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu, Tzu-chih-shao-yin 資治少尹 (Assistant junior intendant of a circuit), and Yün-nan Pu-cheng-shih-ssu Ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司參政 (Counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer). His ancestors, two generations before him, received various posthumous honors from the Emperor. He assumed his official duties in the capital of Yün-nan. Although he had returned to his native place,

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民家) tribespeople, only a few Na-khi being among its population. It is not 350 li southeast of Li-chiang as CHAVANNES states without giving his source of information.

[53] The title *Chung-ching* 忠敬 was a posthumous one. After returning with his troops from Lu-ch'uan to Ch'u-hsiung he died in 1439. Of the Mu 沐 family, 16 generations ruled in Yün-nan, the first one being Mu Ying 沐英. They were military governors of Yün-nan and ruled that province like a feudal fief.

[54] Sha-ch'iao is eight stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road, and a distance of 575 li from the provincial capital.

[55] His name was Wang I 王驥 and his appellation Shang-te 尚德. He was a native of Shu-lu 東鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Chih-li. He was of tall stature and imposing appearance. He died at the age of 83. The title *Chung-i* 忠毅 was a posthumous one.

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173 his official seat was reserved in the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer. On his wife, A-shih-li 阿室里, was conferred by separate Imperial letters patent, *Wu* 戊, No. 772, the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the same year, the office of Governor of Yün-nan was first established, and was filled by the Yün-nan Tu-yü-shih 雲南都御史丁 (Imperial grand censor) Ting who wrote an inscription for him in praise of his past merit and to encourage him in future service. In the sixth year of the same period (1441), he led his troops to assist Commander-in-Chief Wang Chung-i kung-i, Marquis of Ching-yüan, on his expedition against Lu-ch'uan. Ti gained considerable merit by taking 16 prisoners, capturing one elephant, and attacking Ssu-jen-fa 思任發,[56] headman of the village of Cha (chai) 柵寨.

He was born in the 34th year of Hung-wu (1401),[57] and died in the twelfth moon of the 6th year of the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (January 12th–February 10th, 1442). His wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里, and was the daughter of A-su 阿俗, Hsün-chien 巡檢 (Sub-district deputy magistrate) of Mu-pao 木保.[58] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named Hsi 習, Na 那 and T'a 他. His second wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, gave birth to one son, named Jih 日. His third wife gave birth to one son, named A-nü 阿女.

A-hsi succeeded his father.

ELEVENTH GENERATION.—*A-ti A-hsi* 阿地阿習 (PLATE 21): His official name was Mu Ch'in 木嶔. He was also named Wei-kao 惟高 and Chün-ch'iao 峻霄. As the eldest son of Ti, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the seventh year of Cheng-t'ung (1442) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed, and he received official letters patent issued by the Imperial court through the office of the Yün-nan Viceroy 總督, Wang 王, Grand historiographer of the Board of military affairs and Ta-li ssu-ch'ing 大理寺卿, Director of the Grand Court of Revision. On the 10th day of the third moon of the same year (April 20th, 1442), Hsi assumed his official duties. In the second year of Ching-t'ai (1451), when the Hsi-fan brigands 西番 invaded Chü-chin chou 巨津州, he personally led his troops against them. On this expedition he decapitated 42 brigands and took 26 prisoners.

In the sixth moon of the 3rd year of the same period (June 17th–July 16th, 1452), Lo Wen-k'ai 羅文凱, hereditary magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, was murdered by brigands. Hsi was instructed by the government to devise plans to capture them. He succeeded in taking ten of them prisoner, including their leader Lo-hao 羅好.

A-yung-t'a 阿容他, leader of another group of brigands, led over 300 men to plunder the people. Hsi took his own troops to attack them and captured 18 brigands, including their leader Ho-cha 和札; at another time he took 12 prisoners. In the sixth year (1455), Pao-shan chou, Pai-ti, and a few other

[56] Ssu-jen-fa was the native chief of Lu-ch'uan who had revolted. After the attack on Lu-ch'uan, he escaped. Cha-chai was his stockaded village.

[57] This should read the third year of Chien-wen (1401), as Hung-wu's reign ended with his 31st year.

[58] Mu-pao li is a commune consisting of several villages about 20 li south-west of Li-chiang. The leading village is Muan-shwua-wùa.

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173 places were looted by the Fan brigands under the command of their leader Tao-jih-pu-t'a 刀日卜他 and his son A-su 阿俗. Hsi personally led his troops and made four prisoners, killing eight other brigands. Thus A-su surrendered, and Hsi arranged to find him and his men a place to live in. In the second year of T'ien-shun (1458), Yen-chung-chang 鹽仲丈, chief of the Hsi-fan brigands, cruelly plundered some of the frontier districts, whither Hsi sent his troops to pursue them. Five brigands were killed, and four were made prisoners. In the fourth year (1460), A-su again occupied Pao-shan chou with his men. Hsi sent his troops thither and killed 23 of his remaining followers. In the same year, Hsi sent men to pay tribute to the Emperor, and in the following year, the latter conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, by Imperial letters patent *Hsin* 信, No. 23. On his wife, Kao-shih-shan 高氏善, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the sixth year of T'ien-shun (1462), he conquered the villages of La-pao 剌寶,[59] Lu-p'u-wa-chai 魯普瓦寨, Shu-lo 鼠羅,[60] Ni-lo 你羅 and Chan-p'u-wa 占普瓦. In the eighth year (1464), he conquered the villages of Shu-lo 鼠羅, La-lo 剌羅, Ai-na-wa 岩那瓦, Li-feng 里俸, Chien-neng-wa 見能瓦 and Mei-shih-wa 梅矢瓦.

In the fourth year of Ch'eng-hua (1468), he conquered the villages of Ni-na 你那,[61] Mu-lai-ko 母來各, Tang-wa 當瓦, Pen-tu-wa 本都瓦 and Ai-tien 岩甸. In the sixth year (1470), he conquered the villages of Ni-na, Wei-hsi, Hsia-chieh 下接, Chü-chia-wa 具加瓦, Hsiang-pi-wa 相必瓦, La-mu-wa 剌木瓦 and La-ho-ch'ang 剌何塲. In the 18th year (1482), he conquered the villages of Chao-k'o 照可, Ch'i-tsung 其宗,[62] La-p'u 剌普,[63] Chün-li-ch'ang 均里塲, Ch'i-li-ch'ü-ting 其立佉丁, etc. In the 19th year (1483), he con-

[59] La-pao is identical with the ancient Pao-shan, three stages north of Li-chiang. Lu-p'u-wa-chai (stockaded village of Lu-p'u-wa), is the Na-khi (Lv) Lu-p'ěr-wùa to the north of La-bpu mbu, a peak overlooking the Yangtze (*which see*). *Wùa* is a Na-khi term for a group of houses or hamlet, the Chinese *wa* 瓦 is its phonetic equivalent.

[60] Shu-lo is the name of a region and village which the Hsi-fan call Shen-dzong; it is in Mu-li territory, in south-west Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang). An iron chain bridge once spanned the Shu Gyi (Iron River) at that particular spot; the name Shen-dzong means "iron bridge" in Hsi-fan. The river is called Zho Chhu in Hsi-fan (KINGDON WARD calls it Shu-lo Ho [*Shu-lo* is Na-khi for "iron valley" and *ho* is the Chinese for river] and HANDEL-MAZZETTI, Dou tschu). This latter is a misnomer, he apparently confounds it with the Tong Chhu, an affluent of the Zho Chhu which has its source in the Kung-ka-ling 貢嘎嶺 (Mt. Jambyang [hJam-dbyangs]) peaks. The Zho Chhu has its source at Na-wu (called Nabu by MAJOR DAVIES), 10 days to the north of Shen-dzong, and not in the Kung-ka-ling peaks, as heretofore believed.

The valley of the central Zho Chhu is inhabited by a tribe called the Shu-khin (Iron people), named after the river; they speak a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan, but their language is understood neither by the Na-khi nor the Hsi-fan. They are said to be descendants of soldiers placed there as guards by the Na-khi chiefs — like the inhabitants of the village of O-yü on the same river further south, who, however, still speak pure Na-khi.

The lower stretch of the Zho Chhu is inhabited by a related tribe called the Zhĕr-khin — see my article on the Zhĕr-khin tribe in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. III, 1938; pp. 172–188.

[61] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na, or the Chinese prefectural city of Wei-hsi. The other names apparently are those of villages in Nyi-na (Wei-hsi) district.

[62-63] Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u are two villages, called in Na-khi Gyi-dzu and La-p'o; the former is situated on the west bank of the Yangtze at the confluence of the La-p'u Ho, which has its source north of the Li-ti-p'ing — the Yangtze-Mekong divide. La-p'o is situated on the south bank of the stream, about 20 li from Ch'i-tsung.

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quered the villages of Chung-tien 忠甸 and Tsao-wa 早瓦. In the 20th year (1484), the villages of Chung-tien and Tsan-lo 僭羅 surrendered of their own accord.

Hsi was born in the fourth year of Hsüan-te, *chi-yu* 己酉 (1429), and died on the 24th day of the eighth moon in the 21st year of Ming Ch'eng-hua (October 2nd, 1485). His wife was named A-shih-shun 阿室順, and her official name was Kuan-yin-shan 觀音善, daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of Ho-ch'ing. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named Ya 牙, Ti 的, Chu 住 and Pao 寶. His second wife, Kuan-yin-fu-cheng 觀音福珍, daughter of the Kao family, gave birth to two sons, named Tz'u 東 and Su 俗. His third wife, A-shih-niang 阿室娘, daughter of the Sub-district deputy magistrate of Mu-pao 木保, gave birth to five sons, named Chi 吉, Sha 沙, Lu 祿, T'a 他 and Chien 見. His fourth wife, A-shih-kuei 阿室桂, daughter of the Yang family 楊氏 of Shun-t'ang 順塘, gave birth to two sons, named Lo 樂 and Ti 的. In all he had 13 sons. His eldest son, A-ya, succeeded him.

TWELFTH GENERATION. — *A-hsi A-ya* 阿習阿牙 (PLATE 22): His official name was Mu T'ai 木泰. He was also named Pen-an 本安 and Kai-sheng 介聖. As the eldest son of Mu Ch'in, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 21st year of Ch'eng-hua (1485) A-chia-nan-pa 阿加南八, leader of the Fan brigands, invaded Pai-tien 白甸 [64] and many other villages, whither Ya personally led his troops in pursuit; he decapitated five brigands and defeated the rest. In the 22nd year of the same period (1486), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered the village of Chü-kung 苴公 in Shu-lo.

In the 23rd year (1487), the brigands returned with stronger forces. Ya rearranged his troops, and terrible fighting took place in the mountains near the mouth of the Ha-pa Chiang 哈巴江 (Ha-pa River).[65] He decapitated fifteen of the brigands, and took six prisoners. Taking advantage of his victory, he pursued them to the village of K'o-tsung 可琮, where they intended to offer resistance, but he again defeated them and decapitated 72, holding 18 prisoners for trial. Afterwards, the brigands, who hid in the village of Wu-ya 吾牙, scattered out of fear, and those who had been captured by the brigands, were all again restored to their daily pursuits. The two chief officials of Yün-nan, the Provincial Treasurer and the Brigadier-General, gave him many rolls of satin and a flower-design shield as a reward for his meritorious achievements on that expedition.

In the same year, Ya conquered the village of Yü-yang 于楊 in Shu-lo,

[64] Pai-tien is a small town or village south-west of Wei-hsi on the west bank of the Mekong, but situated along the foot-hills. The crest of the range, which here forms the divide between the Mekong and Salween, is, on British maps, the Yün-nan and Burma border, but on the Chinese military map of 1928 the border not only includes the Salween valley but also the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (eastern branch of the Irrawadi), the latter is correct.

[65] This river descends from Ha-pa Shan (Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshĕr-nv-lv) in Chung-tien 中甸 territory, and flows through the land of a native chief who bears the title of Pa-tsung 把總. His territory is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba and in Chinese Ha-pa. The stream flows through a broad valley past several villages into the Yangtze, but near its confluence is confined in a deep rocky gorge.

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173 while the village of Pieh-tien 別甸 surrendered of its own accord. In the 24th year (1488) (actually first year of Hung-chih) he included the latter village in Shu-lo territory.

In the second year of Hung-chih (1489), Ya conquered the village of Chia-jih 加日 in Chao-k'o 照可, and captured the lower part of Shih-t'ou-k'an 石頭坎 in the same district. In the third year (1490), A-chia-nan-li 阿加南立, leader of the Fan brigands, ruthlessly plundered many villages of the district of Chü-chin 巨津, whither Ya personally led his troops, attacking him three times. He took 89 prisoners, while many brigands drowned themselves in the river. He then conquered the villages of Pa-lo 巴羅, and Ngai-(Yen-)wa 岩瓦 in Ni-na (Wei-hsi district). In the fourth year (1491), he conquered the villages of T'o-san 托散 and Ch'ü-yü 佉玉 of Chung-tien as well as Chün-chi-yü 均集玉.

In the first year of Hung-chih (1488), Ya had received official letters patent *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 888, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and on the 2nd day of the second first moon of the same year (February 14th, 1488), he assumed his official duties. In the fifth year (1492), he conquered the villages of K'ung-li-yü 空立玉 in Chung-tien, while Chien-sha-ko 見沙各 and the village of T'o-ch'i-lo 托其羅 in Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the sixth year (1493), he conquered the village of Sheng-hou-yü 生後玉 in Chung-tien. In the same year, Chü-te 具得, leader of the Hsi fan brigands, caused trouble in the neighborhood of the village of Lang-o 貰峨[66] of the city of Pei-sheng chou 北勝州 by secretly conspiring against the government with the wild Fan 野番 brigands, whose abode was on the borders of Ssu-ch'uan. Ya was instructed by the three chief officials of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops to settle that affair. On his arrival, he devised many plans, and at last succeeded in enticing 35 of the Hsi-fan brigands and Kan-t'ieh 干鐵, their leader, to come out of their retreat. He thereupon took them prisoner, and at the same time sent his troops to pursue the rest. Later, three of the above-mentioned prisoners committed murder, and they were compelled to pay an indemnity in accordance with the usual custom. The money thus obtained was used to pay the plundered soldiers and people. Ya then took hand-prints of the aforesaid Fan brigands, and had them carved on wooden blocks for preservation in his office. This case was reported to the two chief officials, the Yün-nan Provincial Treasurer and Brigadier-General; the Imperial Eunuchs gave him many presents of colored satin, a flower-design shield, and many silver ingots. A special official was ordered to send all these things, and he received them. Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief, Mu Tsung 沐琮,[67] General of the Southern expedition 征南將軍, Imperial tutor, Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國公 and Duke of Wu-hsi 武信公, reported on his behalf to the Emperor, who then gave him all the land pertaining to the village of Sha-lan 沙闌村, near the city of Pei-sheng chou (the present Yung-sheng). Henceforth that village was to be called by the new name of Feng-ti-chuang 奉地庄 (Feng-ti farm), and was to be

[66] Lang-o is south-east of Yung-pei 永北 (Yung-sheng), near a little lake called Ts'ao Hai 草海 (Grass Lake); it is directly west of the small town Jen-li 仁里, which is situated on the west bank of a small stream called I-ch'a Ho 夷察河 which flows into the Yangtze.

[67] He was the son of Mu Pin 沐斌, the grandson of Mu Sheng, and the great-grandson of Mu Ying 沐英, who all had governed Yün-nan.

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handed down to his descendants for ever. In the same year, Ya conquered the following villages of Chung-tien: Ch'ieh-tsan 伽僧, Hsi-li-ch'ü 西里佉, Ta-tang 大當 and Hsiang-ko 香各.

In the ninth year (1496), he conquered the village of Nien-yü 年玉 of Chung-tien, and established the village of Ai-na-wa. In the 10th year (1497), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor gave him many silver ingots together with many other gifts, and conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his wife, A-shih-kuei 阿氏貴, the honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial decree *Yin* 寅, No. 18.

In the 11th year (1498), Ya conquered the villages of Wa-jih-wa 瓦日瓦 of Chung-tien, and Hsi-li-wa 西里瓦, and La-chia-wa 剌甲瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 12th year (1499), he conquered Chung-tien, and established the villages of Ta-nien-yü-wa 大年玉瓦, and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Feng-lu-wa 俸魯瓦 of Ni-na, Ku-p'u-wa 古普瓦 of Shu-lo, Pu-wa 卜瓦, P'ing-k'ou-tien 平口甸, Mu-jo-tien 母若甸, Chia-san-yen-wa 加散岩瓦 and Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦. In the 13th year (1500), he conquered the villages of Mi-la-yen-wa 迷剌岩瓦 and Ch'ü-na-wa 佉納瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 14th year (1501), he conquered the villages of Li-yao-ko 立堯各 of Ni-na, and Yü-la 玉剌. In the same year, the brigands of Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the 15th year (1502), he conquered the villages of Hui-ch'ü 揮佉 of Chung-tien, La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦, Shou-li-wa 手立瓦, and T'o-p'u-wa 托普瓦 of Ni-na.

Ya was born on the 15th day of the sixth moon of the 6th year of Ching-t'ai (July 29th, 1455), and died on the 21st day of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of Hung-chih (December 20th, 1502). His wife was named A-shih-chüan 阿室卷, and her official name was A-shih Shan-kuei 阿室善貴. She was the daughter of magistrate A 阿 of the chou-city of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川.[68] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named A-ch'iu 阿秋, A-chung 阿鍾, A-yü 阿于 and A-lien 阿連. The eldest son, A-ch'iu, succeeded to his father's throne.

For reference, it is said that Mai Tsung 麥琮, one of the ancestors of the Mu family, once accepted an invitation of the King of Ta-li. On his way home, he felt that he had lost his spiritual power. He then went to the Yü-lung Shan, intending to drink some of the spiritual water out of the stone basin (*see* p. 92), but searching everywhere, he could not find it. For a moment he happened to take a rest under a rock. He unconsciously planted his bamboo staff into the ground. Suddenly he found that the earth was becoming softer and softer, while the bamboo staff had grown 11 joints taller than it had been before. In a little while branches and leaves sprouted luxuriantly. He then began to understand and said: "I have not yet lost my spiritual power, but I must have committed a sin. Eleven generations later, I shall be reborn to accomplish my destinies." A few days afterwards he died.

Counting from the time of Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮 (Mai Tsung) to A-hsi A-ya (Pen-an) exactly eleven generations have passed. Ya was born a genius.

[68] Teng-ch'uan is one stage north of Ta-li, a distance of 90 li.

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173 Without being taught by anybody, he could read the pictographs of the Na-khi language invented by his ancestor Mai Tsung. In addition, he did much to cause our Mu family to prosper by following the virtuous examples of his ancestors. Ya was probably Mai Tsung reborn, and the prophecy made by Tsung in his life was perhaps true. I think this is what Buddha said about "the theory of cause and effect," and about "the theory of transmigration of a man's three lives."

THIRTEENTH GENERATION.—*A-ya A-ch'iu* 阿牙阿秋 (PLATE 23): His official name was Mu Ting 木定. He was also named Ching-chih 靜之. As the eldest son of Mu T'ai 木泰, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 16th year of Hung-chih (1503) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the 17th year (1504), he received his Official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1107, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and in the fifth moon and the 13th day of the same year (June 24th, 1504), he took up the duties of his office. In the third year of Cheng-te (1508), he conquered the villages of Ts'ung-chung 從仲 and T'ien-lung 天龍 of Ni-na. In the fourth year (1509), he conquered Ni-na, A-te-chiu 阿得會 and other places. In the fifth year (1510), he sent horses and native products to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu [the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* says Chang-shun ta-fu] and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his deceased wife, Kao-shih-hsiang 高氏香, the honorary posthumous title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Kao-shih 高氏, also the honorary title of Kung-jen by Imperial decree, *Chih* 智, No. 908.

In the same year, the village of T'ao-mu 陶目 surrendered of its own accord. In the seventh year (1512), the villages of Ping-so-li 并索立 and Ta-hsiang-tien 大香甸 turned to his allegiance. In the eighth year (1513), he conquered the villages of Na-ku 那古, Ya-lieh-wa 牙烈瓦 and Lu-mi 魯彌 of Shu-lo; in the ninth year (1514), those of Pan-lo-wa 伴羅瓦 and Shih-wa 失瓦; in the 10th year (1515), the villages of Chieh-lo 節落 and Mei-shih-wa 梅失瓦, while the villages of Kuang-shih 光失 and Pan-tien 伴甸 surrendered of their own accord. In the 11th year (1516), he conquered the village of Kan-na-wa 干那瓦 of Chung-tien, and gained a victory over the villages of Li-yu 立由 and Tao-tsai 刀才. In the 12th year (1517), he conquered the villages of Ko-niang 各娘 and La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦 of Ni-na, also Ch'ang-an 長安 of Shu-lo, and in the 14th year (1519), the village of A-t'ao ts'un 阿陶村 of Ni-na. In the 15th year (1520), he conquered the villages of K'uei-tien 虧甸 and Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 of Chung-tien, and in the 16th year (1521), the villages of Ma-wa 麻瓦 of Yung-ning and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦 of Shu-lo.

In the first year of Chia-ching (1522), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Wa-t'o 瓦托 and Chu-ko-wa 處可瓦 of Shu-lo, and also Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦 of Yung-ning. In the second year (1523), he again conquered the village of Ma-wa of Yung-ning. In the fourth year (1525), he conquered the villages of T'ao-so 陶索 of Ni-na, Yeh-yin 也音 and Mu-sheng 木勝 of Shu-lo. On account of his relieving the siege of the neighbouring district of Yung-ning, the Brigadier-General and the Viceroy of Yün-nan conjointly inscribed a scroll for him in memory of his remarkable deeds, and presented him with a flower-

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design shield. In the same year, he conquered the following villages of Ni-na: Ch'ien-pao 欠保, Wu-ts'un 五村, La-chia 剌加, and Shih-ts'un 失村. In the fifth year (1526), he conquered the upper part of the village of Lo-na-ts'un 羅那村 of Chao-k'o, and the lower part of the village of Li-hsi 立西,[69] also the village of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, and the village of Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching 鹽井.[70]

Ch'iu was born on the 23rd day of the twelfth moon of the 12th year of Ch'eng-hua (January 7th, 1477), and died on the 2nd day of the eighth moon of the 5th year of Chia-ching (September 8th, 1526).

His wife, A-shih-hsiang 阿室香, was a daughter of the Kao family 高氏, her father being-magistrate of Pei-sheng chou. Her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou-miao-hsiang 高氏延壽妙香. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-kung 阿公, A-shan 阿山 and A-tsung 阿琮. His second wife was named A-shih-ching 阿室井, and her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou 高氏延壽. On her was conferred the same honorary title as that of his first wife. She gave birth to four sons, named A-mu 阿木, A-chü 阿苴, A-chi 阿戟 and A-ts'ung 阿從. His eldest son, A-kung, succeeded to the throne.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'iu A-kung* 阿秋阿公 (PLATE 24): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kung 木公,[71] he was also named Shu-ch'ing 恕卿, Hsüeh-shan 雪山 and Wan-sung 萬松. As the eldest son of Mu Ting, he succeeded to his father's throne.

In the sixth year of Chia-ching (1527), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching, T'ao-so 陶索, Hsi-yüan 西原 and Ch'ien-tien 欠甸. In the same year, two men, named An 安 of Hsün 尋[72] and Feng 鳳, rebelled, and in the seventh year (1528), they invaded the province, and even besieged the provincial capital. Kung gained

[69] The village of Li-hsi, now written 立西, is west of Wei-hsi in the valley of the Salween.

[70] Yen-ching is the present Yen-yüan 鹽源 in Ssu-ch'uan, under whose jurisdiction are the Wu-so 五所 and the Mu-li King.

[71] It was Mu Kung who, as a young man, before he became the native magistrate of Li-chiang, compiled this and the Illustrated Chronicle with the help of his friend Kao. He also wrote a collection of poems entitled *Hsüeh-shan Shih-chi* 雪山詩集, (Collection of Poems by Hsüeh-shan, which was Mu Kung's given name). One hundred and fourteen of his poems were printed in a small volume called *Hsüeh-shan Shih-hsüan* 雪山詩選 (Selections of Poems by Hsüeh-shan). A preface was written to these poems by Yang Shen 楊慎, dated Chia-ching 己酉, the 6th month, 24th day (July 18th, 1549). The Li-chiang Records state that Yang Shen chose 114 of the poems and called them a "Selection of Poems" by Hsüeh-shan.

[72] The names of the two rebels were An-ch'üan 安銓 and Feng Ch'ao-wen 鳳朝文. The former was a native of Hsün-tien 尋甸, north-east of K'un-ming, in the prefecture of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and the latter of Wu-ting 武定, north of K'un-ming. In both places they held positions as hereditary native officials (*t'u-ssu* 土司). The two joined forces and attacked Yün-nan fu (K'un-ming), burning the north-east gate. They took Sung-ming 嵩明, Yang-lin 楊林 and Ma-lung chou 馬龍州.

The *Ma-lung chou chih* 馬龍州志, ch. 2, fol. 24b–25a, states that in the 7th year of Chia-ching (1528) the Wu-ting and Hsün-tien T'u-ch'iu 土酋 (Native chiefs) rebelled. At first the Jen-te fu 仁德府 (Native officials) An-yang 安洋 and An-nai 安迺 continuously rebelled, whereupon a transferable official was placed at Hsün-tien. When the fu-magistrate collected the annual taxes in grain, he undressed and beat the wife and son of An-ch'üan and im-

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173 great merit by sending his troops to relieve this siege. The Commander-in-Chief, Mu Ming-ching-kung Chao-hsün 沐敏靖公詔勳,[73] General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, reported on his behalf to the Emperor to have his exploits registered for reward.

In the eighth year (1529), Kung conquered and rebuilt the villages of Ta-hai 大海 [74] and Hai-lo 海螺 of Yung-ning. In the ninth year (1530), through application and recommendations made to the Emperor on his behalf by Wu Wen-ting 伍文定, Imperial censor of the Board of Military Office, and by the chief officials of Yün-nan, he received his official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1056, issued by the Board of Civil Office. In the fourth moon of the same year (April 27th–May 26th, 1530), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Tang-ho 當何 and Chüan-na 卷那 of Chao-k'o, and the village of Chia-kuang-ting 加光丁. In the 10th year (1531), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Tang-tsung 當琮, T'ien-sheng 天勝寨, Hsiao-chai 小寨 and Kuang-shih-chai 光世寨 of Shu-lo.

In the 13th year (1534), he selected gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. In the 15th year (1536), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy by official letters patent, *I* 義, No. 278. An Imperial scroll was also given him, bearing the four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Concord and tranquility of my frontier). He also received many pieces of colored satin and silver ingots. On his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, was conferred the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶, the same honorary title.

In the 14th year (1535), he conquered the villages of Nien-ko 年各 and Nien-nao 年惱 of Chung-tien, while the village of Chia-kuang-ch'ü-pa 加光佉巴 surrendered of its own accord. In the 15th year (1536), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chu 天柱 of Ni-na, T'ieh-chu 鐵柱 and Hsiang-va 香押 of Shu-lo, and pacified the villages of T'ien-pao 天保, Chin-

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prisoned them. Thereupon An-ch'üan united with the Wu-ting barbarian (*man*) Feng Ch'ao-wen and rebelled. They then killed 13 officials of Hsün-tien and Wu-ting; 20,000 soldiers joined them and they burnt and looted the city (*ch'eng* 城). The city Jen-te (fu) was established under the Yüan dynasty as Jen-ti Wan-hu-fu 仁地萬戶府, but was later changed to Jen-te fu. The old city wall is 5 li east of the Hsün-tien hsien of to-day. Under the Ming dynasty it was changed to Hsün-tien Chün-min fu 尋甸軍民府 (Military and civil magistracy of Hsün-tien). It is now governed by Hsün-tien hsien. The *Sung-ming chiu-chih* 嵩明舊志, ch. 3, fol. 11b–12a, says that in the 6th year of Chia-ching (1527) An-ch'üan rebelled. He was killed by Governor Fu Hsi 傅習 of Yün-nan. His men were defeated and went to Sung-ming, which they captured. They killed two majors, Wang Sheng 王昇 and T'ang Kung 唐功. For further reference, *see*: ÉD. CHAVANNES "Trois inscriptions relevées par M. Charria" (II-Notice sur les chefs aborigènes du district de Wou-ting 武定 in *T'oung-pao* Vol. 7, 1906, pp. 681–689), where the rebellion is described in detail.

[73] Mu Chao-hsün was his proper name. The title of Duke of Ming-ching was conferred on him posthumously. He was the son of K'un 昆 who at the age of 14 became Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國, Kuei-chou province. He died at the age of 40.

[74] This must refer to the villages around the lake of Yung-ning, called La-t'a Khü in Na-khi. Half of the lake is in Yün-nan and half in Ssu-ch'uan. Various villages are grouped along the shores of the lake and the foot of the encircling mountains.

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chu 金柱 and Li-t'o 里托. In the 16th year (1537), he conquered the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 of Chung-tien. In the 19th year (1540), Annam 安南 rebelled against the Imperial rule. Kung assembled his troops, preparing for active service with the government forces. He was instructed by Mao 毛,[75] Imperial censor of the Board of military office, to remain in reserve for the time being, but to select beforehand certain roads for troop movement, and to await mobilization. Meanwhile, His Majesty rewarded him with a silver wine-cup, weighing 10 taels, to be handed down to his descendants as a priceless treasure.

In the 24th year (1545), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Sheng-hsin 勝新, also T'ien-pao 天保. In the 26th year (1547), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui and Sheng-pao 勝保. In the 27th year (1548), he conquered T'ien-kao 天高 village and Ch'ang-sheng 長勝 of Ni-na. He then ordered his eldest son, A-mu 阿木, to lead his troops to capture Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 [76] and to subdue the villages of Kung-ts'u 鑛粗,[77] Tang-lai 當來 and Lu-ku 魯古. In the 28th year (1549), he ordered A-mu to lead his troops to subdue the villages of Kan-t'ao 干陶 and Ko-pan-pa 各伴巴 of Chung-tien. In the 32nd year (1553), he himself conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-sheng 天生 of Chung-tien.

Kung was born on the 10th day of the seventh moon of the 7th year of Hung-chih (August 10th, 1494), and died on the 10th day of the ninth moon of the 32nd year of Chia-ching (October 16th, 1553). His first wife, A-shih-meng 阿室蒙, was the daughter of magistrate Feng 鳳 of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定,[78] and her official name was Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to one son, named A-mu 阿目, who succeeded to the throne. His second wife was named A-shih-yü 阿室于, and her official name was Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶. She gave birth to two sons, named A-chia 阿價 and A-t'ui 阿退 respectively. In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), on account of his son's merit, His Majesty conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 and on his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen.

7. FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH GENERATION

FIFTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-kung A-mu* 阿公阿目 (PLATE 25): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kao 木高.[79] He was also named Shou-kuei 守貴, Tuan-feng 端峯 and Chiu-chiang 九江.

[75] Mao Po-wen 毛伯温 was minister of war and in 1539 headed the troops who were to punish Annam. He was a native of Chi-shui 吉水 of Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi).

[76] Mao-ch'ü-ko belonged to the district of Lin-hsi 臨西.

[77] Kung-tsu 鑛粗 is the way it is written in the inscription on the stone-drum of Shih-ku 石鼓, for the translation of which see p. 283.

[78] Wu-ting is a town three stages north of K'un-ming. Both his wives were daughters of Feng Chao-ming 鳳朝明 whose native name was I-lu 奚祿. He was the second hereditary native prefect bearing the name Feng. The family name of his ancestors was originally A 阿; this was changed to Feng in 1488 by Imperial order. His first ancestor was A-erh 阿爾 who was given the chieftainship of the Lo-wu tribe 羅婺部 by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsing 段智興, during Sung Hsiao Tsung 宋孝宗, period Shun-hsi 淳熙 (1174–1189). — From the *Wu-ting chou chih* ch. 3, fol. 49a.

[79] It was Mu Kao who in 1548 won the victory over the Tibetans which is described on the stone-drum at Shih-ku, engraved in October, 1561. *See* pages 282–285.

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173 As the eldest son he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chieh 天接 and Huang-chin-ch'iao 黃金橋 of Ni-na. In the 34th year (1555), the application recommending him as the legal successor to his father's throne of the fu-magistracy of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang was duly sanctioned by the Emperor. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Na-shui 那水 and T'ien-chang 天掌 of Shu-lo, while the village of Li-ko 立各 surrendered of its own accord.

In the 35th year (1556), A-mu received his official letters patent, *Chi* 急, No. 4946, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 9th day of the second moon of the same year (March 19th, 1556) he assumed his official duties. In the 38th year (1559), numerous brigands, led by a man named Ku-p'u 孤蒲, besieged the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 in Chung-tien. On the receipt of an urgent message, A-mu ordered his elder son, A-tu 阿都, to lead his troops to raise the siege. His son killed many brigands and gained a great victory.

On the 9th day of the sixth moon of the 39th year (July 2nd, 1560), he instructed capable subordinates to prepare a budget for wages of workmen required for certain large constructions. On account of this service, the Department of works of the Yün-nan Viceroy conferred on him the third rank of civil official, and applied on his behalf to the Board of Civil Office for its confirmation and for Imperial letters patent. In accordance with the usual custom, he selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court. To assist him the three chief officials of Yün-nan gave him 10 men's rations out of the provincial granary, and 10 transport horses for the journey to the Imperial capital. On the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 40th year (September 16th, 1561), he himself applied to the Board of Civil Office for the confirmation of his third rank of civil official and for Imperial letters patent.

The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu, together with the following commendatory words, "You have been loyal to your nation; you have honored your parents by cutting off flesh from your own arm, to be used as medicine in curing their illness; you have civilized the frontier lands; you have shown your power by safely defending your State against the Pei-fan 北番 (tribes of the north). Speaking of the fame of your virtue, you are perfect both in loyalty and in filial piety. As to your reputation for knowledge, you are well-learned both in literature and in military science. Now We have the pleasure to confer on you specially the third rank of a civil official, and allow your official degree to be classed in the same order as those of Our nine ministers, and your hereditary right of nobility to be preserved in your Ch'iao-mu 喬木 for ever and ever." On his wife, Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. The above-mentioned titles were all conferred by the Imperial patent *Hsin*, 信, No. 877. Again, His Majesty gave him four characters, *Ch'iao Mu Shih Chia* 喬木世家 [80] (The ancient,

[80] 喬木世家, of these four characters the first two are from the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (Book of poetry), Book I, 9th ode, stanza 1, 南有喬木 — "In the south there are stately trees." These characters were selected as the family name of the Li-chiang chiefs is Mu 木 (tree) and because they lived in the south of the Empire.

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honorable and exalted Mu family), and permitted him to erect an arch in front of his house with these four Chinese characters carved on it. 173

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 22a–b, in transmitting the official appointments and gifts, the Emperor in his decree wrote as follows:

"Succeeding under Heaven's decree to the throne, We command as follows:

"So far as We know Our Empire, according to the Imperial system is just like a family. For this reason those near and those from afar are treated alike regarding the appointment of officials and the bestowing of titles. This in order to broaden the principle of tranquility throughout Our Empire and to exhibit the law of encouragement.

"Mu Kao, hereditary native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang and Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, if you examine your ancestry, will recall that your forebears were promoted to be prefects. They accomplished many meritorious acts, and as Imperial subjects, from generation to generation, all respectfully performed the duty of defending the Imperial border. By your merit you can make your family as glorious as before, devoting yourself with sincerity to the State. . . . The people on the Imperial border were influenced by your instructions, and the northern barbarians were repressed by your acknowledged power. Speaking about your fame based on your virtue, We believe you to be both loyal and filial. Praising you for your ability, We appreciate that you are versed both in letters and in military affairs.

"Thus We confer upon you an Imperial patent by which you will be promoted to the third official rank, and occupy a seat among the nine ministers, so as to show Our esteem for you. We hope that you will exert yourself to keep the peace of Our State. Defend your native place, and comfort and instruct your people. Reverently receive the Imperial bounty sanctioned with Our Imperial seal, and keep your ancient family noble forever. Be reverent!"

The Emperor again commands as follows:

"According to the State law of recompensing one for merit, if a title is conferred on a husband, a favor must be extended to his wife. This to emphasize the principle of the five human relationships (五倫) and to strengthen the law of inheritance.

"Tso-shih, wife of Mu Kao . . . , you were endowed with virtue and came from a family of rank and position. As you are diligent in helping your husband, you obtained a reputation of lofty virtue. We especially confer upon you the title of Shu-jen by an Imperial patent. Receive this silken [Imperial] bounty and glorify your sex forever!

"Given in the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), *Hsin* 信, No. 877."

The Emperor also presented him with three pieces of colored satin and 600 silver ingots, he also sent back 10 men's rations taken from the provincial granary and the 10 transport horses given him by the three chief officials of Yün-nan. All these things arrived safely at the fu-magistracy. On the 7th day of the eighth moon of the same year (September 15th, 1561), when the gifts were delivered to him at his office, he expressed his sincere thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. The complete list, in detail, of the rest of the Imperial gifts may now be found in the book of Hereditary Rights.

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173 In the 43rd year (1564), he ordered his son, A-tu, to relieve the village of Sheng-pao 勝保 and, by sending his troops still farther, he also conquered the villages of Chin-chia-la 金加剌 and Ch'iu-kuang 秋光 of the district of Shu-lo. In the 44th year (1565), he conquered the villages of Ts'o-ko 磋各 and Li-ya-ti 立壓地 of Ni-na. In the fifth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (May 27th–June 26th, 1568), he ordered A-tu to settle the affairs of the rebel Ku-p'u 蠱蒲 by attacking him in his retreat in the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Ko-li 各立. This his son carried out successfully.

Mu was born on the 22nd day of the first moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (February 5th, 1515), and died on the 11th day of the eleventh moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing (November 29th, 1568). His wife, A-shih-mao 阿實毛, was the daughter of magistrate Tso 左, of the fu-magistracy of Meng-hua 蒙化府,[81] and her official name was Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to two sons, A-tu and A-ch'un 阿春 of which the elder succeeded to the throne.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-mu-A-tu* 阿目阿都 (PLATE 26): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tung 木東, and he was also named Chen-yang 震陽, Wen-yen 文巖 and Yü-hua 鬱華. As the elder son of Mu Kao 木高, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he ordered all the people of his different districts to help him kill the brigand leader Ku-p'u 蠱蒲, whose followers were then thoroughly defeated and dispersed. In the fourth year (1570), he sent his troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of Ni-na, where he was victorious. In the same year, he received his official letters patent *Chi* 敕, No. 32, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 18th day of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 13th, 1571), he assumed his official duties, and then conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-hsi 天喜 of Ni-na. In the sixth year (1572), Hsiang-tao 相刀,[82] leader of the Tibetan tribes of the village of Li-kan-mao 利干毛 of Ni-na, knelt before him and repented his former crimes.

In the second year of Wan-li (1574), Tu selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, to express his thanks to the Emperor for his grace, and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the same year, he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Lei-sheng 雷勝. In the third year (1575), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and on his wife, Kao-shih-hsien 高氏賢, the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, also on his second wife, Meng-shih-fu 孟氏富, the same honorary title, by the Imperial patent *Chih* 制, No. 104. The Emperor also gave him four Chinese characters, *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (Screen

[81] Her ancestor was a certain Tso-ch'ing-lo 左青羅 who was native associate magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧 in the Yüan dynasty. His descendant Tso-ho 左禾 became the Huo-t'ou 火頭 of nine tribes and the interpreter of Shun-ning chief in the Ming dynasty. He was made a chou-magistrate of Meng-hua 蒙化 in the 3rd year of Yung-lo (1405) because he persuaded a rebel by name Kao Ta-hui 高大惠 to submit. The office then became hereditary — *Meng-hua fu chih* 蒙化府志, ch. 4, fol. 19a.

[82] CHAVANNES gives the name as Hsiang-tao Hu-mu 相刀胡目. The words *Hu-mu* (Eye of the barbarians) refer to his being the leader of the Tibetans of the village of Li kan-mao of the district of Nyi-na (Ni-na). This epithet occurs on the stone-drum inscription at Shih-ku.

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of my north-western frontier), and permitted him to build an arch for his house bearing these four characters. He also presented him with three pieces of colored satin, and 600 silver ingots, and paid his men travelling expenses equal to the salary of two men, provisions for 12 men, and four horses for their journey home. On the 21st day of the tenth moon of the same year (November 22nd, 1575), when the gifts had been delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. 173

In the same year, he in person led his troops against the village of La-ch'lu-kuang 斜秋光, and ordered his eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, to advance on the villages of Na-ch'i-yin 那汀音 and Ni-pao 倪保, where they gained a great victory, beheading over 400 brigands and taking over 300 prisoners. In the fifth year (1577), the Fan brigands invaded the border of the village of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 [53] in the Ni-na district, whither he ordered A-sheng to attack them with his troops. The brigands were prepared to resist him, in that they already had mustered several ten thousand men who occupied as their headquarters the villages of A-hsi 阿西 and Chi-chü-ngai (yen) 鳥瓜岩 at the mouth of the Tao-na-ting-asu River 刀那丁思江.

At first A-sheng's army lost the battle, and was forced to retreat from its defensive line. Thus, the brigands became bolder and stronger. A-sheng then ordered his troops to be courageous and divided them into four camps. Meanwhile, they proved their valor by assaulting the two villages of strategic importance, and capturing or killing over 1,000 brigands. All the hidden retreats of the enemy were at last taken. No sooner did his troops advance on Niang-ti 娘的, Kuo-tsung 果宗, Ts'ao-na-mu 彥那目, Ch'un-kan 春干, T'ao-ch'i-wei 陶汀尾, A-hsi-ni 阿西倪 and Wang-lüeh-shao 王那哨, than all these desolate places surrendered of their own accord. In the seventh year (1579), Tu established the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, Sheng-lieh 勝烈 and Feng-yang 鳳陽.

Tu was born on the 26th day of the ninth moon of the 13th year, *chia-wu* 甲午, of Chia-ching (November 1st, 1534), and died on the 18th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year, *chi-mao* 己卯, of Wan-li (December 6th, 1579). His wife, A-shih-lu 阿室魯, was the daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou,[54] and her official name was Kao-shih-hsien

[53] Mao-ch'ü-ko was in the district of Lin-hsi, and the latter belonged to Ni-na (Nyi-na), the present Wei-hsi.

[54] Her first ancestor was Kao Pin-hsiang 高賓鄉; he was the first native magistrate of Pei-sheng (Pei-sheng T'u-chih-chou 北勝土知州) during the Yüan dynasty. Owing to meritorious services, Yün-nan officials bestowed on him the title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫. He died in the 13th year of Ming Hung-wu (1380). Her father was Kao Te 高德, the ninth hereditary native magistrate of Pei-sheng. He took office in the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554) — *Yung-pei T'ing chih*, ch. 3, fols. 33b and 34b.

The first native official (magistrate) of Shun-ning, which is 320 li south-south-west of Ta-li, was Meng-hung 猛興. He was the descendant of Meng-yu 孟獲 who was chief of the P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages), the P'u 濮 of ancient times; *see* note 95. The latter inhabit besides Shun-ning, Ching-tung 景東, P'u-erh 普洱 and neighboring regions. They came under Chinese rule during the Mongol dynasty. When Meng-yu submitted to the Chinese empire in the time of the Mongol dynasty (in the first year of the period T'ien-li of Emperor Ming Tsung, 1329) his name was officially changed to Meng 猛 (Fierce and brave). — *See* also *Shun-ning fu chih*, ed. 1725, ch. 5, fol. 26a. Meng-hung was authorised to rule in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Later his people stopped paying taxes, quarrelled and killed

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173 高氏嫡. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-sheng 阿勝, A-ch'eng 阿成 and A-hsien 阿先. His second wife, A-shih-hui 阿氏輝, was the daughter of magistrate Meng 孟 of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧, and her official name was Meng-shih-fu 孟氏富. Tu's eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, succeeded to the throne.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-lu A-sheng* 阿都阿勝 (PLATE 27): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Wang 木旺. He was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春, Yü-lung 玉龍 and K'un-kang 坤崗.[86] As the eldest son of Mu Tung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the eighth year of Wan Li (1580), his hereditary right of fu-magistrate was duly recommended and confirmed. In the ninth year (1581), he received his official letters patent *Chi* 令, No. 58, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 21st day of the third moon of the same year (April 23rd, 1581), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he established the villages of Li-hsi-ko 立習各 and T'ien-ling 天靈 of Chao-k'o. In the 10th year (1582), the soldiers of the Wu-so 五所[88] of the Yung-ning 永寧 district burned and destroyed 27 small villages of Shu-lo. In the first moon of the same year, he personally led his troops to the attack and forced them to retreat to the interior of Yung-ning. In the eighth moon of the same year, he again led his main troops, and divided them into several battalions, to advance by different routes. On his arrival at the village of Tao-li 刀立 of Shu-lo, the headman of Tso-so 左所 assembled many soldiers to lay siege to his military headquarters. He victoriously raised that siege and defeated them completely. With his triumphant troops, he again attacked and conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, P'u-la 普剌 and Chia-wa 加瓦. In the 11th year (1583), on account of the rebellion of the Hsi-k'ou 西寇, western robbers, he supplied the government with 1,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. In the same year, he personally led his troops to invade Yung-ning and conquered the villages of A-lo 阿羅 and Kuang-li 光立, where he captured magistrate A-hsiung 阿雄[87] of the fu-magistracy, together with his followers, but did not kill them. In the 12th year (1584), the remaining followers of A-hsiung joined the brigands of the five So (Wu-so) districts, and again besieged the village of Hsiang-shui and also Kuang-shih 光世. Sheng personally raised the siege, and defeated them completely. He then conquered the village of Hsiang-shui-wa 香水瓦 and established the village of T'ien-yu 天佑.

In the same year, a punitive expedition was carried on against Burma 緬, and this time he supplied the government troops with 2,000 taels of silver. In the 13th year (1585), he selected horses and native products, and sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court to thank the Emperor for his grace, and to

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one another. In consequence, a Ta-li military official attacked and conquered them, after which a transferable official was installed.

[86] In the Second Chronicle it is written Shen-kang 神崗.

[88] The Wu-so 五所, who were once under Yung-ning, are the five districts ruled by Na-khi T'u-ssu, or Chiefs, belonging now to south-west Ssu-ch'uan (*see* Wu-so).

[87] A-hsiung was of the eighth generation of the A 阿 family of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu 永寧土司; he took office in the second year of Wan-li (1574), succeeding his brother A-ying 阿英. He died in 1586. (*See* Genealogy of the Yung-ning chiefs, p. 367.)

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apply for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty gave him three valuable gifts, and sent his men back with an official reply.

In the 14th year (1586), he established the village of Hsiang-chu 香柱. After that, he marched with his men to La-t'a 剌他,[88] and captured all the land of the villages of Hsiang-shui, Chi-mai 敍賈, Lo-hsiang 羅相 and Chang-ming-yüan 丈明原. In the 15th year (1587), he captured and killed the brigand leaders A-chüan 阿卷 and La-mao-chia 剌毛加 of the Tso-so[89] district. In the 16th year (1588), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pu-wa 卜瓦 and Pao-chih 寶之. In the same year, the Hsi-fan tribes of La-t'a conspired with the people of Wu-so to besiege the village of Hsiang-chu. Immediately he led his troops to raise the siege, and gained a great victory over the enemy. In the same year governor Hsiao 蕭 of Yün-nan joined three other chief officials of this province, to submit a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧, the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 931. In the second moon of the 17th year (March 16th–April 14th, 1589), when the Imperial dispatch was delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the same year, he rebuilt the village of Chün-lu-wa 均魯瓦 of the district of Chao-k'o. In the 19th year (1591), he rebuilt the iron-chain bridge of the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na.[90] In the 20th year (1592), he built the wall of the village of Chao-ts'ang 昭蒼 of the Ni-na district. In the 21st year (1593), he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui and P'u-pao 普保. In the 22nd year (1594), he rebuilt the walls of the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Pu-hsi 卜習 In the same year, Burmese brigands plundered the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰,[91] whither he led his troops to relieve the people, forcing the brigands to retreat. In the 23rd year (1595), he rebuilt the villages of Tsung-che 宗者 and Yin-chu 銀柱寨 of the Ni-na district. In the fourth year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1631), on account of his grandson's military merit, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, together with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor, *see* note 96), and on his wife, Lo-shih 羅氏, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen. [The *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 40a, states that the Emperor gave him, in addition, the posthumous title of Junior treasurer in the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury.]

Sheng was born on the 1st day of the ninth moon of the 30th year of Chia-ching (September 30th, 1551) and died on the 13th day of the fifth moon of the

[88] La-t'a 剌他 is the Na-khi name of the Tso-so district, from the T'u-ssu's family name, which is La 喇.

[89] In the 15th year of Yung-lo, the headman of Tso-so was called La-ma-lei 喇馬勒. The name in the Chronicle is written 剌, but it should be 喇.

[90] There is no iron rope or chain-bridge in the Wei-hsi district to-day, unless the district to the south between Lan-p'ing and Yün-lung was included in Ni-na in those days. There are several iron chain-bridges over the Pi Chiang 枇江, marked Lo-ma Ho on MAJOR DAVIES' map.

[91] The towns of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 in south-western Yün-nan are here meant.

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173 24th year of Wan-li (June 8th, 1596). His wife, A-shih-neng 阿資能, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅 [46] of the magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧. She gave birth to three sons, named A-chai 阿宅, A-hsi 阿希 and A-hsiang 阿鄉. The eldest, A-chai, succeeded to the throne.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 35b, the Emperor in his Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 554, states as follows:

"As you, Mu Wang, aimed at pacifying the rebellion, you unfortunately lost your life on the battle-field. Your great fidelity to Us cannot be obliterated from Our memory. You are indeed a pattern of manly honor. For this reason We give you an Imperial patent by which you receive the title of Chung-shun ta-fu and Junior counsellor to the provincial governor of Yün-nan."

All this is not mentioned in the Genealogical Chronicles. It would appear, according to the Emperor's opening sentences, that Mu Wang lost his life on the battle-field while suppressing a rebellion.

EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-sheng A-chai* 阿勝阿宅 (PLATE 28): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Ch'ing 木青. He was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生, Ch'iao-yo 鑣岳 and Sung-ho 松鶴. As the eldest son of Mu Wang, he succeeded to his father's throne. Before his hereditary right was confirmed, in the 20th year of Wan-li (1592), the Li-su 力蘇 [47] tribes of Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 plundered some government salt from the office of the Salt magistrate of Wu-ching 五井 (Five Salt-wells). He received a dispatch, issued by Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'ang-tsu 沐昌祚,[48] Ch'ien-kuo Wu-ch'i-g kung 黔國武靖公, General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, with the joint signatures of two other chief officials of Yün-nan, instructing him to settle this trouble. He personally led his troops thither and, defeating the enemy, he decapitated 83 of the brigands. Thus, he was honorably rewarded with a flower-design shield and many other gifts.

[46] The first native official of Lan chou was called Lo-k'o 羅客, and was a native of Lan chou. In the Mongol dynasty he was made a Wan-hu 萬戶 (chief of 10,000 families). During the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he made his submission with all his people. On account of military merit he was made a T'u chih-chou 土知州 (native sub-prefect). One of his successors, by name Lo-ts'ai 羅才, in company with Mu Ch'u 木初 (8th generation), attacked the Po-i 白夷 [chief] Tao-ch'ien-meng 刀千孟 and during this campaign he acquired merit. The office then became hereditary until Lo-ts'an 羅璨, who ruled in the capacity of a T'u-she 土舍 (native resident) but his hereditary right was not recognized — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 143, p. 6a.

[47] The Li-su 傈僳, or 力蘇, are aborigines who inhabit the south-western part of the province of Yün-nan, especially the region around Yün-lung. They do not form any particular agglomeration in Yün-nan, but are distributed over the entire province, some Li-su villages occurring even in Yung-ning territory, north-east of Li-chiang. Yün-lung is a prefectural city situated on the Pi Chiang 瀘江, also called the Lo-ma Ho 羅馬河, and is north-east of T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝). In the Li-chiang prefecture they dwell at the entrance to the Yangtse gorge of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain), on the steep cliffs of 'A-ts'an-gko. Near them, at La-muan-dze, dwells another tribe called the Chung-chia 仲家. They came originally from Kuang-hsi (Kwangsi).

[48] Mu Ch'ang-tsu was military governor of Yün-nan and hereditary Duke of Kuei-chou (Ch'ien-kuo). He was the son of Ch'ao 沐朝, who was dismissed from office in the sixth year of Lung-ch'ing (1572) on account of misconduct.

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In the 24th year (1596), Chai's hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. He then assumed his official duties. In the 25th year (1597) when the towns of Ta-hou chou 大俄州 [*] and Shun-ning 順寧 rebelled, he assisted by supplying 4,000 taels of silver for soldiers' pay. 173

In the 34th year (1606), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen by Imperial patent, *I* 翼, No. 284. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627), the Emperor gave permission to his son to build for his mother, Lo-shih, an arch in honor of her chastity. In the fourth year of Ts'ung-cheng (1631), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor again conferred on him a posthumous honorary official degree — that of the second rank and honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor), [**] and on his wife, Lo-shih, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent, *Jen* 仁, No. 4.

[It is related of Mu Ch'ing that he was tired of life and committed suicide on the Li-chiang snow range].

According to the *Hwang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 27a–b, in transmitting the decree giving Mu Ch'ing his posthumous rank the Emperor wrote as follows:

"Mu Ch'ing, you are the father of Mu Tseng, Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. On account of your son's merit, I confer upon you the posthumous titles of Chung-hsien ta-fu and Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. Though you could not keep your body alive, yet you had a good son. You became more renowned because you lost your life. Your spirit may seek to receive this. Receive this blessing and exert your strength in the nether world."

Chai was born on the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 3rd year of Lung-ch'ing (September 18th, 1569), and died on the 15th day of the tenth moon of the 25th year of Wan-li (November 23rd, 1597). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿實加, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅, of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ch'un. She gave birth to one son, named Sau 守, who succeeded to the throne.

NINETEENTH GENERATION. — *A-chai A-szu* 阿宅阿守 (PLATE 29): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tseng 木增. He was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青, Hua-yo 華岳 and Sheng-pai 生白 (pronounced Sen-pe in Yün-nan). As the only son of Mu Chai 木宅, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 26th year of Wan-li (1598), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

In the same year, the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao 阿丈剌毛, of the

[*] The ancient Ta-hou chou was 150 li south-east of Shun-ning. In olden days it was the land of the Man-i 蠻夷 (Barbarians). Their chief was called Meng-yu 孟獲 and belonged to the P'u-man 蒲蠻 tribe. They submitted during the reign of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1260–1263) of the Mongol dynasty.

In the 25th year of Wan-li (1597) the name was changed to Yün chou 雲州; to-day it is called Yün hsien 雲縣.

[**] Under the Ming dynasty a Pu-cheng shih was a governor of a province, but now the title refers to a provincial treasurer.

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173 village of Hsiang-shui [87] rebelled. He led a punitive expedition against him, and defeated him thoroughly. In the 27th year (1599), he attacked the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-yao 好堯, where he gained a great victory. In the 28th year (1600), he submitted a report to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned his hereditary right, and presented him with his official letters patent *Chi* 敕, No. 10, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 10th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 18th, 1600), he assumed his official duties. He captured the brigand leader Pi-li 畢哩 at the village of T'ao-tien 陶甸 in the district of Chung-tien. In the 29th year (1601), he fell upon the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui, P'u-wa 蒲瓦 and Hao-yao, where he attained a great victory. He then sent troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the district of Ni-na, where he won a great victory. In the same year, he fought the rebels of the village of Shu-lo (west of Mu-li 木里), and was victorious on that expedition. Again, he charged the rebels of the allied villages of Hsiang-shui, Tso-so and Hao-tien 好甸, where he captured and killed the disobedient resident, Hsi-yüan-chü 阿原苴.

In the third moon of the 30th year (April 22nd–May 20th, 1602), he won a great victory at the village of Shun-ta 順大. He carefully examined the merits and demerits of his men on that expedition, and varied their pay accordingly. The Emperor also rewarded him with 20 taels of silver. He then fought the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-tien at the mouth of the Tang-ting River 當丁江, where he was again victorious. In the 31st year (1603), he repaired the Yung-chen bridge 永鎮橋 of the Ni-na salt-well 倪那鹽井.[88] In the same year, Ssu killed the brigand leader P'i-li 毘哩 in the village of Shu-lo. In the 33rd year (1605), in the district of Hsiang-shui, he decapitated the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao on the bank of the Pa-hu River 巴胡江.

In the 34th year (1606), in accordance with the usual official regulations, he sent his envoys to the Imperial court to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then favoured him with a reply through the medium of the Board of Civil Office. In the sixth moon (July 5th–August 3rd) of the same year, the aforesaid Board issued him Imperial letters patent, conferring on his father, Mu Ch'ing, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of magistrate of the fu-magistracy, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen. Again, the Board conferred on him the same honorary title as that of his father, and on his wife, Lu-shih-fan 魯氏蘩, the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the Imperial patent *I* 敕, No. 283. In the second moon of the 35th year (February 26th–March 27th, 1607), he expressed

[87] This was in the present-day Tso-so territory east of Yung-ning, and in south-west Szu-ch'uan.

Under the Nan-chao Kingdom, the Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 of to-day was called Hsiang-ch'eng chün 香城郡, the first part of the name of the village being apparently derived from that district, to which Hsiang-shui belonged.

[88] The river on which the city of Ni-na is situated is called the Yung-ch'ün Ho 永寧河 (River of eternal spring). The salt-well here mentioned as belonging to the Ni-na (Wei-hsi) district, can only be the *La-chi-ming* 喇基明 salt-well which, however, is not in the Wei-hsi district at the present time. La-chi-ming is west of Lao-p'ing 鐐坪, which once belonged to Li-chiang.

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his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. 173

In the 37th year (1609), he led his troops in person to the villages of Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of the Chung-tien district, where the brigand leader Ku-p'u 瓜瀑 with his followers knelt before him. In the 40th year (1612), he ordered his troops to assault the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the Ni-na district, over which he gained a great victory. In the 41st year (1613), he fought against the brigands of the village of Pa-t'o of the Chao-k'o district, where he was victorious. In the 43rd year (1615), he seized three Ta-tzu 達子 (Tartars), and sent them directly, together with the heads of the brigands and some captured military weapons, to the three chief officials of Yün-nan, to be registered for merit. In the 44th year (1616), he conquered the village of Lu-pa-ting 骨巴丁 of Shu-lo. In the 45th year (1617), he again ordered his troops to attack the village of Pa-t'o, where he was victorious. In the 46th year (1618), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of the Emperor, who presented him and his wife with many pieces of fine hemp, silk, colored satin, gauze, socks and boots, and authorized him by a special Imperial decree to defend the frontier lands. He received all these things in good condition.

In the same year, as the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 in Feng-t'ien 奉天 was greatly alarmed [on account of Manchus?], he transported directly to the Board of revenue 10,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. The fund was transferred on his behalf to the Board of war for the registration of merit. His Majesty ordered the matter to be carefully printed in a special record, and published as a good example to all the officials in the whole country. At the same time the Board of Civil Office sent him a reply, conferring on him an Imperial official dress of the third rank, and a reward of silver coins worth 30 taels. In the 47th year (1619), he instructed the five divisions of the village of Pa-t'o to supply a certain number of laborers for government work. In the 48th year (1620),[99] he sent 1,200 taels of silver to the Imperial capital to buy cavalry horses for the Imperial military service. His Majesty presented him with two Chinese characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness) (PLATE 30). In the same year, by using persuasion, he brought Jih-yin-a-chün 日骨阿鈞 of Hsiang-shui into submission.

In the same year, when Emperor Kuang Tsung of the Ming dynasty changed the year-title to T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌 succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高氏懋 in the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou, but their official secretary, named Kao Lan 高蘭, conspired to usurp that same magistracy for himself. Seu was instructed to settle the affair. Thereupon he led his troops to that city and took prisoner the chief culprit Kao Lan and many of his followers. For that service, he was rewarded with a flower-design medal

[99] Shen Tsung (Wan-li) died on the 21st day of the seventh moon in the 48th year of his reign (August 18th, 1620). His son Kuang Tsung, who ascended the throne in the same year, adopting the reign title T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, died after having reigned for less than six weeks, on the 1st day of the ninth moon (September 26th, 1620). He was followed by his son Hsi Tsung 熹宗, who, in the ninth moon of the same year, ascended the throne, adopting the reign title of T'ien-ch'i. The latter, however, commenced in 1621.

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173 and many other valuable gifts. In the second year of T'ien-ch'i (1622), the tribal chief She 奢[100] of Ssu-ch'uan rebelled against the Imperial rule; Ssu transported a large sum of money to pay the government soldiers for his suppression.

Thus, the governor of Yün-nan rewarded him with a gilt flower-design silver medal and many pieces of colored satin. His Majesty again presented him with a suit of official dress of the third rank, 30 taels of silver, and two (rolls) of hemp and silk. In the same year, Ssu sent envoys to the Imperial capital to offer ten suggestions to the Emperor, and to contribute 1,000 taels of silver to be used on behalf of those who had either sacrificed their lives in the war or had been remarkable for their loyalty or filial piety. The Imperial court praised him as a loyal official. The Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that His Majesty had promoted him to the position of Yün-nan Pu-cheng shih-ssu Yu-ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司右參政 (Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor). On the 14th day of the third moon of the 3rd year (April 13th, 1623), he respectfully accepted the appointment. In the fourth year (1624), he resigned from official life.

In the fifth year (1625), he contributed to the government, 1,000 taels of silver for soldiers' rations and transported this fund to the provincial treasurer of Yün-nan. At the same time he sent men to the Imperial capital to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, and on his wife, Lu-shih 陸氏, the honorary title of Shu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 555. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honorary titles by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 9th day of the fourth moon of the 6th year (May 4th, 1626), he expressed his thanks for the Emperor's grace by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the same year, he provided many laborers for the government corvée, and taking advantage of this, he applied to the Emperor for an honor to be conferred on his mother for her marital fidelity. In the seventh year (1627), His Majesty permitted him to build an arch in memory of her chastity. In the first year of Ch'ung-cheng (1628), Governor Min 閔[101] of Yün-nan made a report on his behalf to the Emperor for the purpose of recommending and praising his past deeds.

In the same year, he was instructed to lead his troops to the city of Yün-lung,[102] where he took prisoner 13 brigand leaders. He then forwarded to the

[100] This tribal chief's name was She Ch'ung-ming 奢崇明, he was hereditary Hsüan-fu-shih 宣撫使 of Yung-ning, Ssu-ch'uan, and belonged to the Lo-lo tribe 羅羅. The She family first submitted to Chinese rule during the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398). Ch'ung-ming was only distantly connected with the She family. Yung-ning (not to be confused with the Yung-ning of north-west Yün-nan) belonged previously to Kuei-chou and forms now the sub-prefectural city of Hsü-yung 敘永 in Ssu-ch'uan. (Latitude 28° 08′, longitude 105° 18′. PLAYFAIR). — From the *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a; and *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 2b, and ch. 2, fol. 24b.

[101] The governor's name was Min Meng-te 閔夢得. He ruled over Yün-nan and Kuei-chou.

[102] Yün-lung is situated on the banks of the Pi Chiang 瀾江 (latitude 25° 54′, longitude 99° 36′. PLAYFAIR. MAJOR DAVIES gives latitude 25° 50′, longitude 99° 50′.) It is mainly inhabited by the Min-chia 民家 tribe.

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Yün-nan government many military weapons which he had captured. In the third year (1630), he rebuilt the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na district and the bridges of Ch'ing-lung 青龍 and Wei-yüan 威遠,[103] and also helped the Imperial capital and Kuei-chou province with considerable funds to pay the soldiers, and transported the money directly to the Board. Thus the Yün-nan Viceroy Chu 朱[104] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who promoted him to the position of Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury in the fifth moon of the 4th year of Ch'ung-cheng (May 31st–June 28th, 1631), and conferred on him the additional honorary titles of T'ung-feng ta-fu, and Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury, and on his wife, Lu-shih, the honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 4. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honors by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 4th day of the fourth moon of the 5th year (May 22nd, 1632), he expressed his thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the seventh year (1634) the local scholars of the city of Ho-ch'ing invited him to attend a great feast. 173

In the 10th year (1637), he recovered the village of Yang-li 楊立 of Chao-k'o district. He sent many laborers to work on the Imperial tombs, and transported a contribution of 500 taels of silver to the Imperial court. In the eighth moon of the 13th year of Ch'ung-cheng (September 16th–October 14th, 1640), the Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that the Emperor had promoted him to the position of Senior treasurer of the Ssu-ch'uan provincial treasury, and had permitted him to build an arch in the Yün-nan provincial capital in honor of his loyal deeds, as an example and in order to give encouragement to other tribal chiefs of all other provinces. His Majesty then presented him again with flower-design silks, a sheep and wine,[105] which were delivered with the Imperial dispatches to the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, which ordered messengers to take the presents to him, whereupon he reverently received them.

In the same year, Ssu rebuilt the village of Na-ya 那牙 of the Ni-na salt-well. In the 15th year (1642), the Fan-i 番夷 (Hsi-fan and Lo-lo) tribes of Lang-ch'ü 浪穹,[106] Tang-wa 當瓦[107] and Chih-tien 知甸, and the Li-su, tribes of the

[103] Ch'ing-lung is a small town south of Ching-tung, and is near the Black River, (Pa-pien Ho or Pa-pien Chiang 把邊江); Wei-yüan (latitude 23° 30′, longitude 100° 45′) is a town north-west of P'u-erh, situated on the west bank of the Pa-ching Ho 巴登河, which flows into the Mekong. Wei-yüan is now called Ching-ku 登谷. It is near a salt-well called Hsiang-yen ching 香鹽井 (Fragrant Salt-well).

[104] The Viceroy's name was Chu Hsieh-yüan 朱燮元. He was a native of Shan-yin 山陰 in Che-chiang 浙江 (Chekiang), and received a doctor's degree in 1584. His first appointment was as judge of the administrative court of Ta-li — *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a.

[105] In ancient days it was the custom to give a present of a sheep and a jar of wine.

[106] Lan-ch'ü is the territory of a Na-khi T'u-ssu south of Yung-ning and north of Yung-pei; the latter town is four stages east of Li-chiang.

[107] Probably the Tong-wa Tibetans are meant, who live north of Chung-tien. The Tong-wa to this day still make raids on Chung-tien and on the territory to the south of it. In 1933 they came in large numbers and held Chung-tien for some time, as a base from which to rob

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113 four mountains of Pi-shuo 必勺 surrendered of their own accord. In the 16th year (1643), Li Yung-chen 李永鎮,[108] leader of 100 households of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川,[109] and his brothers started a riot and murdered the magistrate of that city. Ssu was instructed to settle this affair, and succeeded in making them all prisoners and sending them to the office of the Yün-nan viceroy. In the 17th year (1644),[110] he contributed labor towards government works, and supported the Imperial court in Nanking with large sums of money to be used for the urgent need of paying the soldiers. His Majesty then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing 太僕寺正卿 (Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

In the first year of Hung-kuang (1645),[111] he was ordered to attack the city of Lang-ch'ü, whither he led his troops and settled the trouble caused by its obstinate rebels. In the same year, he was instructed by an Imperial messenger to recruit Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) soldiers. Meanwhile, on account of his merit in supplying funds for the pay of soldiers, the Imperial censor Ch'en 陳 sent some officials to present him with satin, embroidered with golden flowers and woven with four-clawed dragons, which he accepted with great respect. In the fourth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (May 15th–June 12th, 1646), the Board of Civil Office informed him that the Emperor had sanctioned his promotion to the rank of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing, and had given him a special note, sending greetings to his whole family.

Ssu was born on the 17th day of the eighth moon of the 15th year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1587), and died on the 1st day of the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (September 9th, 1646). His wife, A-shih-yü 阿室于, was the daughter of magistrate Lu-hua-kao 錄華誥 of Ning chou 寧州,[112] and her

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the neighboring districts. In 1942 over 5,000 Tibetans came and held Chung-tien for a considerable time, till they were driven off by being bombed by Yün-nan military planes.

[108] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 142, fol. 34b, and the *Tien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, ch. 109, fol. 21b, both give the name as Yang Yung-chen 楊永鎮 instead of Li 李 Yung-chen.

[109] The city of Chien-ch'uan is two days south of Li-chiang Latitude 26° 29′, longitude 99° 54′. (PLAYFAIR).

[110] This should read the first year of the Ch'ing Emperor Shun-chih 順治 (1644) The Mu family remained loyal to the very last to the House of Ming.

[111] According to the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 3a–b, Fu Wang 福王 (Prince Fu) assumed the reigning title of Hung-kuang 弘光 in Chiang-nan 江南 (An-hui and Chiang-su [Kiangsu]) in the second year of Shun-chih 順治, in which year he died. He was followed by Prince T'ang 唐王, who ruled in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) as Lung-wu 隆武.

[112] Lu-hua-kao was the native magistrate (T'u-ssu 土司) of Ning chou. His ancestor, P'u-chieh 普傑, during the Mongol dynasty was Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) of Tien-t'ing 甸町, which was five li north-east of T'ung-hai hsien 通海縣, which in turn was 150 li north-east of Lin-an fu 臨安府. In the Ming dynasty there appears a certain Lung-sheng 弄聲, who with the opening of Yün-nan at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) acquired merit and was given the family name Lu 錄; he was appointed native sub-*magistrate of Ning chou in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Ning chou was a secondary* prefecture north of Lin-an fu, to which it belonged. The name Ning chou dates from the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (Kublai Khan) (1276). At the end of the period of T'ien-pao (about 755), Ning chou was captured by the Man [Savages], when it was called Lang-k'uang 浪穹, though the tribes called it Han-lung 漢隆 in their language. Ning chou is the

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official name was Lu-shih-fan 祿氏樊. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. His second wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-hui 阿室輝, gave birth to his eldest son, named A-ch'un 阿春, who succeeded to his father's throne. His third wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-ko 阿室哥, or A-shih-jung 阿室榮, gave birth to three sons, named A-hsien 阿先, A-pao 阿寶, and A-jen 阿仁.

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8. FROM THE TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION

TWENTIETH GENERATION. — *A-ssu A-ch'un* 阿寺阿春 (PLATE 31): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy.[113] His official name was Mu I 木懿. He was also named K'un-lun 崑崙 and T'ai-mei 台美. As the eldest son of Mu Tseng, he succeeded to his father's throne. Since his childhood, he had possessed a wonderful intellect. He was a man full of love and respect, and had great courage and wisdom. His father Tseng loved him greatly. In the fourth year of T'ien-ch'i (1624), when his father retired to Chih Shan 芝山 [114] to rest and care for his health, his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

Every morning, just when the cock began to crow, he would first comb his hair and wash his face, and would then wait quietly at the door of his father's bedroom to pay his respects. Deferentially he would request his father to advise him in the solving of important problems. He would then beg leave to take his breakfast, and would afterwards carry his father's advice into effect. In the sixth moon of the 9th year of Ch'ung-cheng (July 3rd–July 31st inclusive, 1636) the Pi-li 必哩 [115] Fan-man assembled many brigands, and plundered

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present-day Li hsien 黎縣, the name being revived from the T'ang dynasty (eighth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 [634]) when it was called Li chou 黎州.

The *T'ung-hai hsien chih*, ch. 3, fol. 14a, says that the ruins of the city of Tien-t'ing of the Han dynasty are north of the city of T'ung-hai. The Meng family established there a Tu-tu fu 都督府. The Tuan family established the office of Chieh-tu-shih and changed the name of the city to Hsiu-shan chün 秀山郡 and then to T'ung-hai chün 通海郡. During the Yüan dynasty a Hsüan-wei-ssu was established.

[113] As already remarked on p. 66, Chang Chih-shun says the Genealogical Chronicle was compiled by Mu Kung before he succeeded to his father, Mu Ting 木定, and was finished by 1516. It will be noted that up to Mu Tseng (Mu Sheng-pai) inclusive, the number of the generation is always given, Mu Tseng being the 19th. Beginning with A-ch'un (Mu I), the number of the generation is omitted. It would appear that up to the end of the 19th generation the Chronicle was considered complete, for a colophon now to be found at the end of the Chronicle which has been extended to include the 24th generation, is dated 1648 and 1650; this colophon must first have been placed at the end of the 19th generation (Mu Tseng, who died in 1646). The compilation of the Chronicle experienced an interruption through the imprisonment of Mu I by Wu San-kuei. The greater part was compiled by Mu Kung, and after him must have been kept up by his son and grandsons, etc. There is no additional colophon to tell us who compiled the rest of the Chronicle.

[114] Chih Shan is on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, west of the village of Pai-aha 白沙, Boa-shi (*see* Geographical Part p. 184).

[115] Pi-li is apparently identical with the Tibetan tribe Pi-lieh 必烈. Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖, who in his travels came to Li-chiang in 1639, states in his work *Hsia-k'e-yu-chi* 徐霞客遊記, 1929 ed., Shanghai, ch. 12, fols. 20b–21a, that the Pi-lieh and Hu-ku 胡谷 Tibetans established themselves on the northern border of Li-chiang in the year *chia-hsü* 甲戌 (1634). Previously the aboriginal tribe Ying-ch'üan 鷹犬 (hired ruffians), who, subject to the Pi-lieh tribe, was guilty of crimes against the prince of the Pi-lieh, fled and established itself

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173 ruthlessly the frontier of Yün-nan province. Ch'un was instructed by his father to lead his main troops to attack them, and crossing the river (Yangtze), went with his men in a northerly direction. Hearing of his arrival with troops at P'u-wa 普瓦, Pi-li dispersed with his followers to far-away desert places without engaging in fight. Thus Ch'un gained a great victory, and the affair was settled.

In the 10th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1637), Ch'un carefully prepared gifts of horses and native products and, in accordance with the usual custom, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent.

In the city of Lang-ch'ü at that time, there lived a man by the name of A Yung-nien 阿永年, who failed to secure the position of chou-magistrate of the city, and in revenge murdered his rival, Fen-ju 焚如. So Ch'un was instructed by both the viceroy and the governor of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops in order to punish the usurper, who was then utterly defeated. In the meantime, some of his followers offered his head to Ch'un, and in this way he settled the whole affair without much difficulty. His merit resulting from this expedition was afterwards reported to the Emperor, who ordered that thereafter the city of Lang-ch'ü [116] be annexed to the territory of Li-chiang.

In the 12th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1639), the Emperor conferred on Ch'un the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor, and, according to the usual custom, presented him with rolls of hemp and silk and many silver ingots. On his father, Mu Tseng, was conferred the additional honorary title of the Ssu-ch'uan Senior provincial treasurer. He himself was permitted to build an arch in the provincial capital in honor of his deeds and engrave thereon the four characters, *I Fu Chung Cheng* 登篤忠貞 (Progress, Sincerity, Loyalty, Uprightness).

Meanwhile, on account of the urgent need of money for military purposes, he contributed to the Imperial court for soldiers' rations all the funds collected for the building of the arch. In the 16th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1643), the Yün-nan Civil Governor, Wu Chao-yüan 吳兆元,[117] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, describing all his past deeds and his character of loyalty, obedi-

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on the Li-chiang frontier where it committed many piracies, etc. In 1635 the chief of Li-chiang sent his soldiers to oust the brigands, but they were defeated.

The territory of the Pi-lieh tribe was said to have been two months' journey north of Li-chiang. This explains the statement in the Chronicle that they dispersed to far-away desert places without engaging in battle. (*See also* CHAVANNES, Documents Historiques et géographiques in *T'oung-pao* Vol. XIII, p. 630; and in BACOT *Les Mo-so* p. 192). Hsü's statement and the one in the Chronicle do not coincide and it is quite probable that Hsü's account is the correct one — the Mu family being too proud to acknowledge defeat. Yet, it is stated (page 126) that Mu Tseng killed the brigand leader Pi-li [whose followers apparently adopted his name for their tribe] in Shu-lo in 1603.

[116] Lang-ch'ü is ruled by a T'u-ssu whose name is A 阿. His territory is now under the magistracy of Yung-sheng.

[117] He was a native of *P'u-t'ien* 蒲田 in *Fu-chien* 福建 (*Fukien*) and held the degree of *Chin-shih* 進士. He was first Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Governor) of Yün-nan at the end of the reign of Ch'ung-cheng (1643). Later he became Governor General. — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 190, fols. 18a-b.

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ence, purity and honesty. The Board of Civil Office sent the governor a reply, informing him that the Emperor had granted that Mu I should inherit his father's honorary ttles of Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Junior provincial treasurer, as an example, and to give encouragement to the chiefs of all the otier frontier districts. In the 17th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1644),[118] the Emperor promoted his father, Mu Tseng, to the rank of Senior provincial treasurer together with the additional honorary title of Minister of the Imperial droves and permitted him to erect an arch in honor of his deeds with the following four characters, *Wei Lieh Chiu Ch'ing* 位列九卿 (Ranked among My nine ministers) displayed on it. Unfortunately, in the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647), duringthe rebellion of the Liu-k'ou 流寇 (Roving bandits)[119] this arch and all the gdd, silver, official documents and Imperial letters patent given to this familyby the different emperors of past dynasties, and by many of the inhabitants of the region, were either burned or plundered, only the lives of the people beingspared. However, after the cloudy days had passed, the bright sun appeared again.

In the 16th yearof Shun-chih (1659) of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Emperor sent his great Imperial army to Yün-nan to exterminate these wild brigands. After they had been utterly defeated, the poor people living in this district again began to enjoy life. When the Imperial army reached Yün-nan, Mu I was the first to submit to the Imperial order, and petitioned the Imperial generals about the miserable condition of his people. On the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 17th year of Shun-chih (December 30th, 1660), the Board of Civil Office issued him an official dispatch and an official seal, appointing him magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He went with all the representatives of his people some distance beyond his city to receive the abovementioned dispatch and seal, showing great deference to the Emperor by burning incense and prostrating a hundred times before the Imperial envoys.

[118] Huai Tsung (Ch'ungcheng) committed suicide on Wan-sui Shan 萬歲山 at dawn on the 19th day of the third moon of the 17th year of his reign (April 25th, 1644). So the orders for the promotions of Mu must have been issued either the latter part of the 16th year, or the very beginning of the 17th year — more probably the 16th year — the letters patent reaching Li-chiang during the 17th year.

[119] The Liu-k'ou (Roving bandits) were the hordes of the bandit chiefs Li Tsu-ch'eng 李自成 and Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠. The former was the famous rebel who captured Peking when the last of the Ming Emperors hanged himself on Wan-sui Shan. He was a native of Mi-chih 米脂 in Shensi (*see* GILES, *Biographical Dictionary* No. 1226).

Li's followers overran the country. In the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647) a bandit chief by name Sha Ting-chou 沙定洲, a native chief of Annam, with his men came for the second time to attack Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 (seven stages west of K'un-ming). When he heard that the Roving Bandits had reached Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), he turned back; this was in the first moon of the 4th year ofShun-chih (1647). In the fourth moon of the same year (May 5th–June 2nd) Sun K'o-wang 孫可望, another leader of the Roving Bandits, and his associates entered Yün-nan. He came via I-liang 宜良 and took the capital, Yün-nan fu. He minted Ta Shun 大順 money ["a Shun was the dynastic title of the rebel Li Tzu-ch'eng who had made himself emperor and called his reign Yung-ch'ang 永昌]. It was Sun K'o-wang who changed the name of the province and capital city from Yün-nan sheng 雲南省 to Yün-hsing sheng 雲興省, and Yün-nan fu to K'un-ming fu 昆明府, and K'un-ming hsien 昆明縣 to K'un-hai hsien 昆海縣. (For further reference, see *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 9–20.) *See also* E. HAUER, Li Tzŭ-Ch'êng und Chang Hsien-Chung in: *Asia Major*, Vol. 2, pp. 256–290, and No. 3, pp. 267–287.

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173 Immediately after that, he assumed his official duties. Obeying the gracious Imperial order, he succeeded his father as magistrate of the city, and ruled his people well. He was considered the founder of the State of Li-chiang of the present Ch'ing dynasty.

In course of time, the rebel Wu (Wu San-kuei 吳三桂)[120] came to Yün-nan, and revolted against the Imperial rule by conspiring with the T'u-fan 吐番. As the district of Li-chiang was strongly defended and justly ruled by Mu I, the latter incurred the wrath of the prince, who hated him thoroughly. In the sixth year *ting-wei* 丁未 of K'ang-hsi (1667), Wu unexpectedly ordered Ch'un to enlist 1,000 native soldiers, to enter his (Wu's) service, but Ch'un refused to obey the command. Seizing this as pretext, Wu searched his official residence and took away a golden seal by which the successive Emperors of the Yüan dynasty had authorized his family to rule and defend this frontier land. Also a silver seal, issued to his family by the three chief officials of this province he confiscated. In the following year (1668), Wu ceded to the T'u-fan, for the purpose of reconciling them, five large districts lying beyond the valley of the Li Chiang (Yangtze), called Chao-k'o, Ni-na Hsiang-lo, Shu-lo and Chung-tien,[121] which originally had been under the rule of the Mu family. Moreover, Wu charged Mu I with the responsibility of making good the lost taxes. In the eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1669), Governor Li 李[122] of Yün-nan submitted a

[120] Concerning the history of Wu San-kuei, *see*: HAENICH, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas, in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 14 (1913), pp. 1–129. *See* also GILES, *B.D.* No. 2342.

Wu San-kuei was a native of Liao-tung, and at the end of the Ming dynasty was engaged as military commander resisting the advance of the Manchus. He ruled over Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, where he was semi-independent. In 1674 he threw off his allegiance and incited other feudatory princes to rebellion.

According to the *Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 20, fol. 41b, Wu San-kuei died of dysentery and choking on the 17th day of the eighth moon in the 17th year of K'ang-hsi (October 2nd, 1678). This happened at Heng chou 衡州 in Hu-nan. In the 16th year (1677) he gave La-p'u 剌普 in north-western Yün-nan to the Mongols to win their support. His reign title was Chao-wu 昭武. His grandson, Wu shih-fan 吳世璠, took the title of Emperor and called his reign Hung-hua 洪化. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 6a, states that Wu San-kuei died in the tenth moon (November 14th–December 13th inclusive). His body was brought back to Yün-nan by Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱, his general, and deposited in the An-fu yüan 安阜園 (a garden also called Yeh-yüan 野園), which was outside the north wall of Yün-nan fu, according to the *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3a. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the Yeh-yüan was built by Wu San-kuei. It is also said that his body was thrown into the Yang-tsung Hai 陽宗海, the present-day Ming Hu 明湖, which is the lake visible from the railroad south of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) after descending from the K'un-ming plain.

[121] Chao-k'o (昭可 or 昭河) is supposed to have been a district east of Wei-hsi. Ni-na (Na-khi, Nyi-na) is Wei-hsi.

Hsiang-lo is the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, a small village situated in Mu-li territory in a valley among limestone mountains to the east of Mt. Ki-bo sKi-hbo(ཁྱི་ཧྲ), a high range in the Yangtze — Ya-lung watershed between Yün-nan and Mu-li Hsi-k'ang. A pass leads over this range called Hi-lo-ra ran and it is to the north of this pass that Hsiang-lo is situated.

Shu-lo is in the valley of the Zho Chhu (Shu Gyi). On the Chinese maps it is written So-lo 索洛 and the river is called Wu-liang Ho 烏梁河. It is the Shen-dzong of the Hsi-fan in Mu-li territory, south-west Hsi-k'ang. In this valley can still be seen the watch-towers, or blockhouses, erected by the Na-khi chiefs. (For Chung-tien, *see* pp. 248–252.)

[122] The governor's name was Li T'ien-yü 李天育; he was a native of Shun-t'ien 順天 (Peking). He became Governor of Yün-nan in 1668, and was an honest and upright official. Wu San-

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recommendation on his behalf to the Emperor, who released him from the burden of that taxation. 173

During all this time, many native chiefs of Yün-nan, great and small, vied with one another to obtain favours from Wu, by accepting his illegal appointments and quickly changing their official letters patent. Mu I alone stood firm and kept aloof, without wavering in the slightest. Wu searched him repeatedly and severely for his official documents, but he refused to deliver them up to him and intentionally made excuses. His main purpose was to bequeath them to his descendants, in order to manifest his loyalty and righteousness to the Imperial court. Thus the rebel Wu hated him the more, and secretly ordered him to conspire with the T'u-fan. He, however, defended his own territory and remained firm in his contention.

Now the only way left for Wu was to compel him to resign from his position, and to appoint Mu Ching 木靖, his eldest son and legal heir, to the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang and to attend to the affairs of this district. At last he accused Mu I of secretly conspiring with the T'u-fan to cause trouble. By thus falsely accusing him, he had him arrested and sent to Yün-nan fu, where he remained imprisoned for seven years, and nearly died. Fortunately, our August Emperor finally realized the incomparable loyalty of this native subject, who had suffered so much so far away from the Imperial court, and had him released from imprisonment, and reinstated in his original hereditary position. He maintained his magistracy up to the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (1673), when Wu started another rebellion, and intentionally brought much harm upon the Mu family by again presenting the T'u-fan kingdom with that territory belonging to Mu I called Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, situated within the valley of the Li Chiang, and by charging Mu I with the burden of making good the loss in taxes. It was in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694) that Viceroy Fan 范 [133] of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou proposed to the Emperor to have him excused from this heavy burden of taxation.

Although all of Ch'un's past heroic deeds, and the merits he had acquired in his life, never had been rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, none of his descendants ever forgot them. They orally passed on his praises, as if they had been engraved on a stone monument for posterity. He lived to over 80 years. His children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren lived together with him under the same roof, in all four generations. His happiness was thus not comparable to that of the common people. He was born on the 15th day of the fifth moon of the 36th year of Wan-li (June 26th, 1608), and died on the last day of the first moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (March 17th, 1692). His wife, Lu-shih-kuan 禄氏琯, was the daughter of an official family of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定.[134] On her was conferred the posthumous

kuei memorialized the throne to deport people of Tien (Yün-nan) to other places, but Governor T'ien-yü opposed him and the people were left in peace.

[133] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳. He was a Han-chün 漢軍, that is, a descendant of a native of North China who had joined the Manchu invaders against the Ming. He was also a Bannerman of the first rank of the Bordered yellow banner (Hsiang-huang ch'i 鑲黃旗). He became Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686.

[134] There was no such family at Wu-ting holding the position of native magistrate. The hereditary native magistracy of Wu-ting belonged to the Feng 鳳 family. The office of

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173 honorary title of Shu-jen of the second rank. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-ching 木靖 and Mu-yu 木樾. His second wife, Lu-shih-jui 祿氏瑞, was a daughter of the same official family from the same fu-magistracy as his first wife. On her was conferred the same honorary title. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-chan 木旃 and Mu-hsi 木㪅.

TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION. — *A-ch'un A-su* 阿春阿俗:[125] Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu-Ching 木靖, and he was also named Hsiao-ts'ang 曉蒼 and Wen-ming 文明. As the eldest son of Ch'un, he succeeded to his father's throne.

Since childhood, his character had been one of modesty and simplicity. He was very fond of studying the ancient Chinese classics and poetries. Every day he buried himself among the hundreds and thousands of volumes of old books kept in his library, where he would sit for hours to meditate and appreciate their contents. He read all the old books and manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father and his ancestors, and had them all carved (on wooden blocks) and printed as records, or arranged into literary essays, in order that they be handed down as valuable legacies to his children and later generations. Whenever he heard of famous scholars or sages, he would call on them at their residence, and hold agreeable conversations with them. He never failed to treat them with deference, inviting them to be his teachers, and showering

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T'u-ssu of Wu-ting was abolished in the 35th year of Wan-li (1607). Neither was there a Chinese official by the name of Lu who held the post of magistrate of Wu-ting. No such name occurs in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* or *Wu-ting chou chih*.

[125] Mu Ching in this Chronicle is given as the 21st generation, while in the Second Chronicle his younger brother Mu Yu 木樾 (*see* PLATE 32), also called Chün-chang 君章, and with the surname Chih-an 治安, is listed as the 21st generation.

Mu Ching became hereditary T'u-ssu on the 12th of April, 1669, or rather he assumed the position only, for he died on the 16th of August, 1671, before the Imperial letters patent arrived. The Second Chronicle states that he died in the 11th year of K'ang-hsi (1672). I presume the First Chronicle to be correct, for it gives the month and day.

In the Second Chronicle Mu Ching is entirely omitted and his younger brother, Mu Yu, is named as the successor to Mu I, who in the meantime had been in prison in Yün-nan fu. This younger son is listed as the 21st generation; he was born on the 15th day of the first moon in the 1st year of Ts'ung-cheng (February 14th, 1628) between the hours of 11 P.M. and 1 A.M., and died on the 15th day of the seventh moon of the 43rd year of K'ang-hsi (August 15th, 1704) between the hours of 9 and 11 P.M. CHAVANNES gives 1688.

The Second Chronicle states that in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680) Mu Yu became ill and turned the affairs of office over to his son Mu Yao 木堯, who was the nephew of Mu Ching 木靖, although his grandfather Mu I was still alive. Yet we read further on that, on the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688), his son was given an Imperial dispatch which conferred on his father the posthumous title of Chung-hsien ta-fu. There is certainly an error in this date for this would make his son apply to the Emperor for a posthumous title for his father sixteen years before the latter's death. The dates should either be transposed or the following explanation adopted: The First Chronicle does not give the date of Mu Yu's death, but simply states that the Emperor conferred on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu on the same date as given in the Second Chronicle. It seems very probable that the title was bestowed on him before his death and on the date given, *i.e.*, 1688, or eight years after his retirement. The error is then in the Second Chronicle in the statement that the title was conferred posthumously. The other alternative would be to transpose the dates. CHAVANNES, who does not mention these discrepancies, merely takes the earlier date as that of his death, although on that date the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu (*see* also p. 141, second paragraph).

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upon them his richest gifts. He was, indeed, a man of high literary attainment and with a heart at ease. Later on he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Buddhism, and understood thoroughly the most difficult allusions.

In the later years of his life, he studied many Tibetan Buddhist classics, from which he acquired a clear understanding and spiritual inspiration. In the third moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (April 1st–29th, 1669), the Yün-nan provincial treasurer sent him an official dispatch enclosing his official letters patent issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 12th day of the third moon of the same year (April 12th, 1669), he assumed his official duties. Whenever he met his tribespeople, he would advise them to build up their character, and practice loyalty and filial piety, and encouraged them to follow the examples given in the ancient classics. He was always kind-hearted and merciful to everybody, and never punished his people severely by means of whips. He hated those who liked to talk about cruel and unlawful punishment.

He was not fortunate enough to have an heir, therefore he adopted his nephew Mu Yao 木堯 as his own son and legal heir. On the 2nd day of the seventh moon of the 10th year of K'ang-hsi (August 6th, 1671), he died unexpectedly before the Imperial letters patent arrived. He was born on the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year of T'ien-chi (January 5th, 1628). His wife, T'ao-shih-i 陶氏怡, was the daughter of the native magistrate of Ching-tung 景東.[136]

TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. — *A-su A-wei* 阿俗阿胃 (PLATE 33): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Yao 木堯. He was also named Chung-sung 中嵩 and Hua-yo 華嶽. He was the eldest son of Mu Yu 木儒, who was the younger brother of Mu Ching 木靖. As he was adopted by his uncle Mu Ching as his legal heir, he succeeded to his uncle's throne. He was gifted with loyalty and filial piety and was very resolute and wise. Immediately after the death of his adopted father and in accordance with the latter's will, his official secretaries and the tribespeople wished that he should succeed him. But he wept bitterly in mourning dress, saying to his people: "Loyal subjects must be found in the household of obedient sons. Our family has bequeathed to its children the teachings of loyalty and filial piety as valuable legacies for many generations. Is it right for a son to enjoy a life of wealth and honor, and leave his father to suffer poverty and humiliation? If I could carry out my own wish, I should first make my father ruler of this kingdom,[137] and

[136] During Mu Ying's 沐英 incumbency (he was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384), T'ao-o 陶俄 was the first Ching-tung native magistrate. His father was a certain A-chih-lu 阿只魯, who lived during the Mongol dynasty, and controlled several districts among which Wei-yüan 威遠 was one. His name was A-t'ao-o 阿陶俄, which was changed to T'ao in the 17th year of Hung-wu (1384). T'ao-shih-i's father was probably T'ao-hsi 陶喜, who became native magistrate of Ching-tung in the 11th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1638). — From *Ching-tung hsien chih hao*, ch. 5, fols. 49a–50a.

[137] As already mentioned, in the Second Chronicle Mu Yu is figured as the successor to Mu I instead of Mu Ching, who is given in the First Chronicle. The latter cannot very well be considered to have been native magistrate of Li-chiang, as he died before he had received his appointment, although he was the legal heir. He selected his younger brother's son to succeed him. The latter, however, refused to assume the position while his father was still alive. As his father was actually appointed, he rightly takes the place of his elder brother Mu Ching in the later Chronicle.

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173 then myself." All the tribespeople shouted with joy, praising and obeying him.

In the meantime, he explained in detail why his father, as the brother of his adopted father, should succeed to his position as magistrate of this district, and how he himself would enter into a bond with his father to help carry on the important responsibility of managing the affairs of his people. He sent the same explanation in the form of a petition to the Yün-nan Viceroy Li, who forwarded his proposal to the Emperor and duly obtained for him an Imperial reply, which praised his most filial action, and permitted his father to inherit this magistracy, and to enjoy this offical honor for six years. After a certain period his father resigned from official life. Mu Yao then assumed his father's position as his legal heir, but in doing so he still expressed considerable sorrow both in manner and in words, and acted as if he were unwilling to do so.

At that time, the rebel Wu occupied the capital of Yün-nan as his most important strategical post, but Mu Yao remained loyal to the Imperial rule, and never obeyed his command. In addition to this, he secretly investigated Wu's followers, and sent information privately by his headman to Yung-lüeh Chiang-chün Chao 勇略將軍趙 (the Brave and conquering general Chao),[128] in Ssu-ch'uan province, and in all sincerity volunteered to help his army. Chao sent him a secret reply containing words of praise and encouragement. At the same time, Mu Yao sent the same information to Wang 王, General in defense of the military station of Chien-ch'ang 建昌;[29] he then quickly assembled many of his tribesmen at the Ch'iu-t'ang Pass 丘塘關,[130] and there built stone barricades to check the advance of the enemy.

On the 25th day of the seventh moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (August 10th, 1680), Brigadier-general Wang 總鎮府王 and Vice Brigadier-general Wang 標副總府王, under the Yung-lüeh general, both instructed him to enlist quickly 2,000 native soldiers to be ready for the march against the enemy. In case he should experience difficulty in transporting the soldiers' provisions from other parts of Yün-nan at a distance of 1,000 li, he had to find other means of providing the Imperial army with provisions so that the expedition should be successful. The generals promised him that, after it was settled, they would report his merit to the Emperor, and request that the cost of the

[128] Chao Liang-tung 趙良棟 was a native of Ning-hsia 寧夏, Kan-su. He was Commander-in-Chief (T'i-tu 提督) of Ning-hsia in 1676. In the year 1680 Wu San-kuei's followers took Ssu-ch'uan, and it was at that time that he was sent with an army to destroy the rebels. His title was "The Brave and Conquering General." He was appointed viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou on February 27th, 1680, on account of the merit he had acquired in capturing Ch'eng-tu — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 34b–35a.

It was while *en route* from Shan-hsi to Yün-nan that he was met by Mu Yao's messenger in Ssu-ch'uan. He died in 1697. The *Ning-hsia fu chih*, ch. 13, fols. 25a–27a, has a great deal to say about this general.

[129] Chien-ch'ang is a long, fertile valley in Ssu-ch'uan, north of K'un-ming. Its capital is *Hsi-ch'ang* 西昌, the former Ning-yüan fu.

[130] The Ch'iu-t'ang Kuan, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 26b, is 25 li south of Li-chiang. It is the entrance to Li-chiang. In front of it are two mountains, one on each side, and the road passing through the center is very difficult to negotiate. A guard-station on the pass was once repaired by the native magistrate, who inscribed on it four characters: *Pao-I T'ien-Hsi* 保又天西 (Protect the West).

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rice, which he had advanced to them, be twice repaid, and they would also see that all his heroic deeds were carefully recorded. Again, the Yung-lüeh general and Yün-nan Viceroy Chao sent him a secret note saying that his former report had been duly received, and that his loyalty and righteousness had been acknowledged. M3

On the 26th day of the second eighth moon (October 18th, 1680) of the same year, the viceroy again instructed him to gather his troops secretly from far and near, and employ them either as guides, or in preparing boats, soldiers' rations and fodder, and promised that his merit in being the vanguard of this expedition would be reported in detail to the Emperor. His Majesty would be requested to show him additional grace and reward him abundantly. Later, the viceroy wrote to Mu Yao again saying he had heard that Mu Yao had rendered good service to the great Imperial army under difficult circumstances, on its arrival in Yün-nan to recover its capital from the enemy. He also told him that he was aware of his brave and fearless fighting *en route* to Yün-nan fu, and how sincerely he had volunteered his services to the headquarters of the Imperial army. He informed him that the Emperor had ordered the Ku-shan-pei-tzu 固山貝子,[131] Chang T'ai 章泰, the Ting-yüan p'ing-k'ou ta chiang-chün 定遠平寇大將軍 (Great general of the far Southern punitive expedition), to reward him justly according to his own discretion; also that the viceroy himself was rewarding him in advance.

On the 28th day of the fourth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (June 15th, 1681), the viceroy reported to the Emperor on his behalf, who then gave him an additional official seal and official letters patent, ordering him to manage all his military affairs properly and to defend the frontier to the best of his ability. On the 23rd day of the fifth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (July 8th, 1681), he again received an Imperial order through the service of the Ku-shan-pei-tzu, Chang T'ai, informing him that the Emperor had greatly appreciated his loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to the nation, in devoting his efforts to the mustering of his troops for purposes of defense; and that now he (the Great general) had specially instructed General Hsi 將軍希, Provincial Commander-in-Chief Sang 提督桑, and the volunteer general Wang Hui 投誠將軍王會, together with a certain Pai Lin-sheng 白麟生, to lead the most powerful Imperial troops, both Manchu and Chinese, to the city of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 [132] and against the rebel Wu.[133] Mu Yao was instructed to do all

[131] Ku-shan-pei-tzu is the Manchu Ku-sai Bei-tzu (*Ku-sai* signifying *Banner*) and designates an Imperial prince of the fourth order. Chang T'ai led his great army to Yün-nan. His soldiers at that time were quartered in the Kuei-hua Temple 歸化寺. Meanwhile, the robbers decided to hold out against the Imperial forces, and to await the arrival of their own reinforcements from the west. The robber chief, Kuo Chuang-t'u 郭壯圖 (whose wife was the daughter of Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan 吳世璠), however, did not listen to this advice and made a sortie with his troops and attacked Chang T'ai. All the Imperial forces under the various generals and the viceroy Chao Liang-tung attacked them in return. The elephants in the regiment of the robbers suddenly stampeded and drove their army into the Chin-chih Ho 金汁河. (This stream is also called Chin-leng Ho 金鈎河. According to the *Yün-nan fu chih* it is 10 li east of Yün-nan fu.) *Only 27 soldiers of the robber Kuo* Chuang-t'u escaped and entered the city — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 104, fol. 2a.

[132] The rebel general Ma Pao 馬寶 (robber) had fled from the eastern part of Yün-nan (Hsün-tien 尋甸) to Ch'u-hsiung, whither the officers Hsi Fu 希福 and Sang Ko 桑格 followed

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173 in his power to levy his own troops, in order to prepare for the defense of his territory. In case the rebel Wu and his brigand followers should flee to his district, he should help the Imperial army to check them, and co-operate with it in order to destroy the brigands. The merit he would thereby acquire would again be greatly rewarded by the Imperial court. Thereupon, Mu Yao recruited more then 10,000 tribesmen, and organized them into a defensive corps and awaited the approach of the brigands. There happened to escape at that time to his post at Li-chiang, over 10,000 brigands led by seven rebel generals, among whom was Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱,[134] who intended to steal a march across the river for the purpose of conspiring with the T'u-fan to rise against the government.

Mu Yao secretly ordered some men to pretend to be native guides to show the rebels the road to Tibet, but at the same time instructed the wild Li-su tribe to hide in ambush in all the wild places west of the Lan-ts'ang River (Mekong). He personally led his troops of over 10,000 tribal soldiers, following the brigands step by step; he succeeded in capturing and killing many of them with their horses, whose corpses were strewn along the highway. When he had pursued them beyond the river, the enemy had scarcely half of their number left, and those remaining tried to escape as best they could. Their only road lay either up steep cliffs and over the unsurmountable peaks which surrounded them, or along the large river blocking them in front. Those who tried to escape by climbing up creepers which grew on the cliffs were all killed by the Li-su. At last, the brigand leader Hu Kuo-chu with his confederates was in great despair, and he committed suicide. Mu Yao secured much ammunition and many military weapons, also two dead elephants. He made a detailed report about this expedition to the Great General [Ku-shan-pei-tzu] Chang T'ai. Thereupon His Excellency the Sui-yüan general and Viceroy Ts'ai 綏遠將軍總督部院蔡,[135] and His Excellency the Yün-nan Governor Yin

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them and engaged them in battle at Lü-ho 呂合 (60 li west of Ch'u-hsiung and seven stages west of K'un-ming).

The following notes may be of interest regarding the persons mentioned here:

Ma Pao was a native of Shensi and from the beginning a rebel leader. He submitted to Wu San-kuei in 1659 and became his most loyal follower. In the 15th year of K'ang-hsi (1676) he fought the Imperial troops and relieved Ch'ang-sha. After the death of Wu San-kuei he passed through Kuei-chou *en route* to Ssu-ch'uan where he tried to stop the advance of the Imperial troops. In 1681 when Yün-nan fu was besieged, he was defeated by General Hsi Fu and forced to surrender. In the autumn of the same year he was executed.

Sang Ko (Sangge) was a Manchurian Bannerman belonging to the Plain White banner. He was in the vanguard on the march to Yün-nan via south Hu-nan. In 1681 he was recalled to Peking. He died in 1699. (*See* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*)

[133] This is Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan.

[134] Hu Kuo-chu was a general under Wu San-kuei. He was first defeated by Chao Liang-tung in the Chien-ch'ang valley. Hu Kuo-chu was later sent to Ssu-ch'uan with other generals to try and persuade that province to join again the cause of the rebels. In this they succeeded and captured various districts. Hu Kuo-chu's troops dispersed after the fall of Hsü chou in Ssu-ch'uan, and he himself fled to Li-chiang where he hid in the high mountains (Yü-lung Shan). Later, on December 19th, 1681, Hsi Fu found him in Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 (south-west of Ta-li on the Pi Chiang), where he was surrounded. To avoid capture he committed suicide by strangulation.

[135] His name was Ts'ai Yü-jung 蔡毓榮. He was a Han-chün and a Bordered white flag

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173 尹,[126] both affixed their signatures in a proposal to the Emperor that his hereditary right be confirmed.

In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (May 15th–June 12th, 1684), in accordance with instructions given by the Yün-nan Governor Wang 王,[127] the Provincial treasurer sent Mu Yao an official dispatch issued by the Board of Civil Office, conferring on him the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (v.s.), he accepted his hereditary position. In the same moon, on account of rheumatism, he could no longer look after the affairs of his people, and offered to resign from official life.

According to established custom, Mu Hsing 木興, his eldest son and legal heir, inherited his position. On the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688),[128] the Emperor conferred on his father, Mu Yu, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'ing 羅氏淸, daughter of a native family of Lan chou,[129] was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by special Imperial patent. Mu Yao's mother gave birth to five sons, named Yao 堯, Sheng 聖, Tuan 端, Huang 潢 and Chung 忠. His father's second wife also gave birth to five sons, named Ch'eng 成, Wen 紋, Kuang 光, Cheng 貞 and Man 滿.

Mu Yao received once more Imperial letters patent for himself, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He was born on the 6th day of the sixth moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (July 7th, 1647), and died on the 28th day of the eighth moon of the 47th year of K'ang-hsi (October 11th, 1708). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿氏加, was the daughter of the native magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安.[130]

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bannerman. In the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (1670) he became viceroy of Sze-ch'uan, Hu-nan and Hu-pe. One year later a separate viceroy was appointed for Sze-ch'uan and Ts'ai remained viceroy for Hu-nan and Hu-pe only. In the 21st year (1682) he became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. Together with his son Lin 林 he was sent into exile for crimes committed, and died there in 1699 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 35a–b.

[126] His name was Yin P'i 尹壁. He was still governor of Yün-nan in 1681, when Wang Chi-wen was his provincial treasurer.

[127] His name was Wang Chi-wen 王繼文; he succeeded Yin P'i as governor of Yün-nan. He was a Chinese-Bordered yellow bannerman; in 1674 he became Provincial treasurer of Yün-nan, and Governor of Yün-nan in 1681. He was appointed Viceroy in 1691. He died in 1703.

[128] *See* p. 136, Note 125.

[129] The first ancestor of this family was Lo-k'o 羅克, a native of Lan chou. He was the leader of 10,000 families during the Mongol dynasty. In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he led all his people to submission. On account of merit acquired during military exploits he was made native sub-magistrate. Lan chou, the present Lan-p'ing, is 360 li south-west of Li-chiang. During the Mongol dynasty it was in the Circuit of Li-chiang. Under the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), it belonged to Ho-ch'ing and afterwards again to Li-chiang. Lo-ts'an 羅鑽 was the last native sub-magistrate. His successors were merely called Hsi-t'u-shu 世土官 (Hereditary local residents) — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. Ji, ch. 6, fol. 61a.

[130] The first ancestor of the Kao family mentioned in Chinese records is a certain Kao Ming-

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173 On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen of the fourth principal rank. Her official name was Kao-shih-ning 高氏寧. She gave birth to four sons, named Kuei 貴,[141] Hsing 興, Hung 弘 and Chung 鍾. His second wife, Li-shih 李氏, gave birth to four sons, named Chih 枝, Ch'üan 全, Ting 定 and Hui 惠.

Although Mu Yao's merits were not properly rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, yet his fame reached the four corners of the nation. He had proved himself both loyal and righteous to his country. When he was dying, he called his eldest son to his bedside, and handed him a large parcel containing his official seals, dispatches, and diplomas given him by the different emperors, and instructed him to keep them as valuable legacies for his children and those of later generations.

TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. — *A-wei A-hui* 阿爲阿輝[142] (PLATE 34): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Hsing 木興. He was also named Wei-hsin 維新 and Hsüeh-ch'eng 雪城. He was the second son of Wei (Mu Yao), and succeeded to his father's throne. He was mentally well-endowed, very widely read and had carefully studied all the ancient classics. When full-grown, he understood thoroughly how to manage political affairs. A very sociable man, he attracted numerous friends from all directions. He often strengthened his friendships by widely circulating his poems and specimens of his calligraphy, which he presented to famous scholars and ministers of high rank, who were his contemporaries. The Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Governor-general, Chiang 雲南貴州都督蔣,[143] saw his poems and calligraphy and was much surprised at his wonderful skill.

When Chiang had leisure, he used to request Mu Hsing to write poems and scrolls for him, in return for which he presented him with many gifts. For these Hui also repaid him with presents. Thus their friendship became truly intimate and lasting. On the 6th day of the fifth moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (June 20th, 1692), the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan 總督雲貴都統范,[144] sent him an official dispatch, enclosing a diploma, issued on

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ch'ing 高明清. The seventh generation after him was a certain Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥, who was sent by Tuan 段 (Hsing-chi 興智), King of Nan-chao, to stop the troops of Kublai Khan and prevent them from crossing into the Nan-chao Kingdom. Being unable to do this, he fled to his native home at Yao-an. He was captured by the Mongols and decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓, the main south gate of Ta-li.

Yao-an is a sub-prefecture under Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, and is north of Chen-nan (chou) 鎮南州, now a hsien. The latter is six and a half stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

[141] Kuei died in early manhood before marriage.

[142] His Chinese name is a transcription of his Na-khi name, Aw-wla Aw-hu.

[143] There was a Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi 蔣陳錫, who ruled in Yün-nan in 1717, but his name does not appear in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*. The *Tien-yün li-shiw chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 34b, states that Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi suppressed a rebellion among the Wu-ting chiefs in 1718. According to the *Chung-kuo Jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* 中國人名大辭典, p. 1540, he was a K'ang-hsi Chin-shih and Governor General of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He was sent to Tibet to comfort and feast the (victorious) troops, but he died of illness within a hundred li of the Tibetan border.

[144] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳; he was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman, and became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686. It was he who brought

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the 4th day of the fifth moon of the same year (June 18th, 1692) by the Board of Civil Office, ordering him to succeed to his father's position. In the same moon, he assumed his official position. Since he had no legal heir, he adopted the son of his younger brother Mu Hung 木弘, named Mu Ch'ung 木崇, as his own son. He held his position for 28 years; under his rule all his people enjoyed happiness and contentment and proved most obedient to his will. His excellent reputation had spread everywhere. 173

In the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706), a tribe called the Lu-man 爐蠻[145] started a rebellion. Viceroy Chiang secretly instructed the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang to investigate this matter. As it was not safe for the Chinese to travel into those tribal lands, the viceroy again ordered Mu Hsing to select capable natives of his own land and to send them to Ni-t'ang 尼塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) to investigate carefully the real conditions of the rebelling tribes. Furthermore, those men should return quickly to render a true report to the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang. In this mission, Mu Hsing proved himself not only careful and moderate, but also most patriotic in defending the frontier territory of our empire. In the same year, he contributed some money for the building of the Confucian temple in our city, and did not begrudge 1,000 ounces of silver for opening public schools and engaging teachers.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial army launched a punitive expedition against Tibet by way of Yün-nan. Mu Hsing showed his unusual loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to our nation by making a careful report to the government and offering voluntarily 2,000 of his native soldiers to be enlisted against Tibet. In the eighth moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (September 2nd–October 1st inclusive, 1720), he received an official dispatch from the two chief officials of Yün-nan, the viceroy and the governor, sanctioning his application to keep 1,000 of his native soldiers as a reserve force, and to enlist 1,000 more for immediate service. He was also appointed by them as Superintendent of military affairs, to lead personally 500 native soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his own command, to serve as builders of military stations and bridges along the road, defenders of the important ferries, spies and guides to show the way, and carriers of military provisions. An additional dispatch by the above-mentioned officials was given to his son and legal heir, Mu Ch'ung, who was appointed major to accompany this expedition, and ordered to be in charge of 500 native veteran soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his command. He was to serve under His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu 欽差都統伍[146] as vanguard of the front lines, and as builder of

out the first Ch'ing edition of *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan). He died in 1714 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fol. 35b.

[145] The term Lu-man is derived from Lu 爐 the last character in the name of the town Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐 (now K'ang-ting 康定) on the Tibetan border, capital of Hsi-k'ang. The term comprised the Tibetans living between Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang 裏塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (now Li-hua 裏化 and Pa-an 巴安 in Hsi-k'ang 西康) in the Tibetan Marches.

[146] His name was Wu Ko 伍哥 (Uge). He led, in company with the Assistant Commander-in-Chief Wu Na-ha 吳納哈, 1,000 Manchu soldiers, while the regiments of Li-chiang, Ho-ch'ing and Yung-pei were headed by Major-general Chao K'un 趙坤 (who later became gov-

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173 roads along the mountain passes, and of bridges over the streams. The above-mentioned dispatches were duly approved by the aforesaid officials.

In the meantime, Mu Hsing transported military provisions from the different military stations to the battle fronts. Arrived at La-p'u, he rearranged their system of transport. At La-p'u, there was a headman named Pa-sung 巴松, who had suppressed their official dispatches, and prevented their soldiers' rations from being forwarded, whereby they found it difficult to advance any further. Mu Hsing's native soldiers therefore killed him and recovered many of the dispatches. The reason why the Imperial soldiers, both Manchu and Chinese, suffered from want of rations in Tibet, was entirely due to Pa-sung, who had stopped the transport of supplies. On his arrival at A-tun-tzu 阿敦子, Mu Hsing learned that Pa-sung had been one of the most intimate subordinates of Nien 年, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan.[147]

While Mu Hsing was trembling with fear, he received a secret dispatch from the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy Chiang, in which was enclosed a copy of a false report written by the Ssu-ch'uan viceroy to the Yün-nan viceroy full of accusations against him. Thus he was very much frightened, and became so ill that he could neither eat nor drink. At last his health declined, so that he died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (December 8th, 1720), after he had been carried home in the tenth moon (October 31st–November 29th inclusive) of the same year.

As mentioned above, his son, Mu Ch'ung, accompanied the army of the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu on his expedition, and served under him as vanguard in the front lines. He suffered considerably from exposure on snow-covered mountains, and endured heavy frost. Thus he contracted rheumatism which later developed into a serious case of dropsy. On the 30th day of the second moon of the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (April 15th, 1722) he died, after returning home from this expedition, in spite of treatment

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ernor of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou). Ma Hui-po 馬會伯 led 1,500 Green banner troops plus 500 Li-chiang Mo-so soldiers. They were to cross the Yangtze and unite with the Ssu-ch'uan troops on their march on Tsang 藏 (Tibet) — *Tien-yüan li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 37a.

See also E. HAENISCH, "Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas," *T'oung Pao*, 1911, Vol. 12, pp. 107–235, 375–424. On p. 402, HAENISCH translates from the *Tung-hua-lu* 東華錄, ch. 29, which I render here from the German: General Uge left Yün-nan on the 12th day of the second moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (March 20th, 1720). Uge reports: "As I received a communication from Mu Hsing, native Prefect of Li-chiang fu, asking my permission to accompany me, and at the same time placing his contingents at my disposal, I selected 500 men from his native troops, which I placed under the command of the sons of Mu Hsing and ordered them to join the campaign of our army."

[147] His name was Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states, ch. 105, fol. 9b, that he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721) (*see* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*, p. 404). He was opposed to the placing of Pa-t'ang and Li-t'ang under the native magistrate of Li-chiang and memorialized the throne to have these two places remain under the rule of Ssu-ch'uan. He sent a subordinate general, Yo Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪, with troops to Li-t'ang, who was to join the Yün-nan troops on the march to Lha-sa. This general was one of the most renowned. He rushed ahead without waiting for the great army, and with his small detachment captured Lha-sa. It is due to him that the entire military operation, from the advance march from Pa-t'ang to the capture of Lha-sa, took only four months (May 19th–September 20th, 1720). *See* also CHAVANNES, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, p. 634.

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by the most skilful doctors. Thus both father and son sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation. 173

Although the merit they had acquired was not properly recognised or rewarded by the Imperial court, yet it has been remembered and praised by our people until the present time. There is an old saying that so far as loyalty is concerned, an official should bend his body and exhaust his energy in the service of the State, and only death shall put a stop to it. Both father and son were worthy to receive this praise. Mu Hsing was born on the 13th day of the third moon of the 6th year of K'ang-hsi (April 5th, 1667), and died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of the same period (December 8th, 1720). In the 42nd year of K'ang-hsi (1703), when Mu Hsing was still alive, he respectfully received, by the grace of the Emperor, Imperial letters patent conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu together with the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his wife, Lu-shih-lung 陸氏陸, daughter of the official Lu 陸 family of the city of Wu-ting 武定, the honorary title of Kung-jen. As he had no son, he adopted his nephew, Lieutenant-colonel Mu Ch'ung, as his legal heir. The latter's wife, Kao Shih-ch'eng-yü 高氏成玉, daughter of the Kao family, native chiefs of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶, also had no son.

TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-hsi A-chu* 阿錫阿住[168] (PLATE 35): Hereditary native Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Chung 木鍾; he was also named Yün-lin 雲林 and Yung-mou 永茂.

He was the fourth son of Mu Yao, and succeeded to his brother's throne. Since his childhood, he had been very simple, gentle and quiet in mind. He never was obstinate or disobedient. He was, therefore, much respected and liked by his people both inside and outside his household. At the age of six, Kao Ying-ying 高穎穎,[169] native sub-magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安, heard of his pure and gentle character, and invited him to his yamen for the purpose of giving him a perfect education. Kao saw that he was never fond of wasting his time by indulging in games. He consented to give him his daughter in marriage, and treated him as if he were his own son. After some years, Mu Chung begged leave to return home to attend the Imperial examination, but Kao was so fond of him that he could not bear being separated from him. Mu Chung then married Kao's daughter in his father-in-law's yamen.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial court sent a punitive expedition against Tibet and his elder brother and his nephew both lost their lives in battle. His country had no one to look after the affairs of its people; their official secretaries, therefore, invited Mu Chung to return to his own country, and made him administrator of all its military and civil affairs. In controlling the affairs of his fu-magistracy, he never neglected to follow the example of the best teaching of his ancestors. He had a very pleasant dis-

[168] He is called Aw-khö Aw-dzu in Na-khi, of which the Chinese is a phonetic transcription.

[169] From the time of the Ming dynasty the members of his family have been hereditary sub-prefects of Yao-an. He revised the *Chi-tzu Shan-chih* (Records of the famous Chi-tzu Shan 雞足山 [north-east of Ta-li]), and co-operated in writing the famous work called *Tien-lei* 典類.

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173 position and was therefore liked by his townspeople. Because he was the younger brother of Mu Hsing born of the same parents, and was the uncle of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 of the same blood, therefore in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722), after his brother and his nephew had died of illness, all his people joined to append their signatures to a recommendation on his behalf to the Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Viceroy Chang 張允隨總督.[150] He was thereupon appointed to look after the affairs of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. The viceroy sent him a short note saying that, as soon as his family record was submitted to the governor as evidence, his hereditary right would be duly recommended and confirmed by official letters patent.

After having been in office for a little over 40 days, there unexpectedly appeared a man by the name of A-chih-li 阿知立,[151] of the same Mu family. He, with some others, perceiving the bad state of affairs in this fu-magistracy caused by the deaths of Mu Hsing and his [adopted] son [actually his nephew] Mu Ch'ung, and seeing also that the official seal was securely packed, quickly seized the opportunity at once to accuse the late Mu Hsing to the governor. They unearthed old complaints and brought them forward anew. There were certain headmen who, during Mu Hsing's rule, had been organised by a few leaders of this district, and these men pretended to perform public services for the people. They called themselves the Wu hu 五虎 and Shih-sau piao 十四斑 (Five tigers and Fourteen tiger stripes or Tiger-cats) Party.[152]

These leaders, during the absence of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 and his father (actually uncle) Mu Hsing, while on service with the military expedition, tried in every possible way to rob the people of their wealth in the name of the Mu family, and, under the disguise of reformers, satisfied their selfish ends. Although there was little truth in the accusations which they brought, the Viceroy and Governor Kao 總督高[153] did not wait to examine carefully these false

[150] His name was Chang Wen-hsuan 張文煊. He was a native of Shensi and held the military degree of doctor. Although he is here called the Yün-nan — Kwei-chou Governor (雲貴), he was actually Viceroy since 1720.

[151] Aw-dahi-lêr is the Na-khi name of the person who accused Mu Chung at the Yün-nan viceroy's yamen in Yün-nan fu. He lived in the village of Bua-shi mbe-lü (central village of Pai-sha li), a little south of Pai-sha-kai; the hamlet consists of peasants called Mu 木, descendants of Aw-dahi-lêr. In the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 2, ch. 3, fol. 17a, it states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), the native A-chih-li, with Aw-ado-so (A-chung-chü 阿仲宣), Ho Ji-chia 和日嘉, and Aw-bpu-t'o (A-pao-t'o 阿寶陀), went to Yün-nan fu to accuse Mu Chung and implored and begged the Viceroy Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, and the Governor of the province, Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, to nationalize Li-chiang, and establish a Liu-kuan chih-fu 流官知府 (transferable prefect) and reduce the native prefect to a native syndic or advocate.

[152] The *piao* is also a mythical animal (called Gkü in Na-khi) which is supposed to be able to overcome a tiger.

[153] His name was K... Ch'i-cho 高其倬. He became viceroy in the first year of K'ang-hsi (1722). He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 130, fols. 7b-8a, states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) he memorialized the throne that the bad system of hereditary Tu-sau should be abolished. His reason was that several headmen or chiefs (four in number) had gathered around them many followers and had robbed Yün-chiang. Three hundred and twenty-six native village headmen also had rebelled, and he sent soldiers to suppress them. The Chung-tien Lo-ma, also the Tibetan headmen, led 3,500 families to submission. During the incumbency of Kao as Viceroy, the Governor of Yün-nan was Yang Ming-shih 楊名時.

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leaders of the people, but, in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), suddenly made a report to the Emperor, saying that Mu Hsing had been very covetous and cruel during his official life, and that even now his people were still accusing him. 173

He also reported that Mu Chung's 木鍾 reputation had suffered badly in his native place. Consequently the district should be nationalized, and the title of its ruler, formerly T'u chih-fu 土知府 (Native magistrate of the fu-magistracy) should be changed into Liu chih-fu 流知府 transferable prefect. Further, that the title Liu t'ung-pan 流通判 (Naturalized sub-prefect) should now be changed to T'u t'ung-pan 土通判 (Native sub-prefect). This report was duly registered and confirmed by the Emperor, and the district became nationalized on the 27th day of the fourth moon of the same year (May 31st, 1723).

After Mu Chung's return from Yao-an to Li-chiang he was busy day and night with military affairs without interruption. Since Mu Chung had assumed his official duties only for about 40 days, how could it suddenly be said that his reputation was bad? It is quite plain that he was unjustly accused by his people. Finally it became known that Viceroy Kao of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou had been for a long time an intimate friend of Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯, Viceroy of Seu-ch'uan. On receiving the accusation made by A-chih-li against Mu Hsing and Mu Chung 木鍾, Kao planned secretly to take revenge for the murder of Pa-sung 巴松, who was the most favorite subordinate of Nien Keng-yao. At that time, when the members of the Mu family learned that their district was to be reorganized, all tried their best to seize official positions, and acquire some power for themselves. Mu Chung was thus left alone, his influence vanished and he could do nothing. He lived patiently without showing the slightest anger. In the same year, a new magistrate named Yang 楊[104] was appointed to rule the district of Li-chiang. On his

[104] His full name was Yang Pi 楊毘 (this character is also read P'ieh), and he was a Hao-chün Cheng-huang-ch'i 鑲黃正黃旗 (Chinese Plain yellow bannerman) of the literary degree *Chüen-sheng* 監生 (the lowest degree to be obtained by purchase throughout the Empire). In the first year of Yung-cheng he was appointed Commissioner, or Collector, of revenue of the province of Hu-nan. Afterwards in the same year he became the first magistrate of Li-chiang. A memorial stone bearing the name of Yang Pi, whom it honors, stands outside the last village adjoining Li-chiang on the road leading west and to the small air field.

On the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range, back of the village of N'v-lo-k'ö (Hsieh-tung-ts'un 雪東村) and immediately behind the present Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple) of that village (it is the last village on the western branch of the plain, at the foot of the snow range), there is a limestone wall or cliff called Ch'wu-gyi-gh'v-lu 'a-gko. *Ch'wu-gyi-gh'v-lu* (lit., control water inside), a place where issues a beautiful spring which was controlled by a headman; *'a-gko* = cliff amongst. On this cliff is engraved the name of the first magistrate, Yang Pi, who assumed the position of Li-chiang magistrate in 1723. The cliff is called in Chinese, *Yü Chu Ch'ing T'ien* 玉柱擎天 (Jade-pillar which upholds [bears] the sky); this may have been intended as a metaphor for "a statesman who upholds the country." The words 玉柱擎天 are engraved in the center of the cliff in huge characters (p. 149 and PLATE 56). To the left side of the main inscription are the characters 雍正四年歲在甲寅中春題 "In the second year of Yung-cheng *chia-yin* (1724), in the spring, the prefect of Li [chiang], Yang Pi of Hsiang-p'ing [Hsiang-p'ing hsien was in Feng-t'ien fu 奉天府 or Mukden] wrote this [central] inscription." At the base of the cliff are the characters *Yü Pi Chin Ch'uan* 玉壁金川 (Jade Wall and Golden Stream). Reference is here made to the snow range (Jade dragon Mountain), which rises like an enormous wall above

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173 arrival at this place, not only did he not investigate the robberies committed by "The Five tigers and the Fourteen piao party," but he appointed those evil-doers as secretaries of the six sub-bureaux in his yamen and as Hsiang-yao 鄉約 (village headmen).

By using these men as his tools, Yang tried to search out all the possible mistakes made by the Mu family. At last they discovered a case. At the period when Mu Wei-hsin (Mu Hsing) was busily occupied with his allotted military duty, he could not find time to collect the land and grain taxes from the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan and send the revenue to the Provincial treasurer. He thus neglected the collecting of taxes for four years. Mu Chung 木鍾 was therefore instructed to go to Chien-ch'uan to clear up the account. In the meantime, the magistrate of that chou-city was secretly instructed by the new magistrate of Li-chiang to confine him privately. The judge P'an Ch'ao-sen (shih) 潘朝士, whom he employed to look after his judicial affairs, was also arrested and imprisoned. His secretary was forced by means of severe tortures to hand over the official documents which Pa-sung had suppressed with orders to burn them all. His family was then carefully searched and compelled to deliver all the deeds and evidences of their ancestors' landed property. All official documents and dispatches concerning their past generations were ordered to be burned. Happily, his wife, Kao, was a well-educated woman, and could read and write Chinese very well, so that she secretly hid in a strong, safe place, all their Imperial letters patent, and the various medals and proofs given to them by the different emperors, in honor of past merits acquired by their ancestors in the service of the Imperial court.

As the rest of the documents and accounts of this district were burned, nothing could be discovered regarding the quantity of rice and the amount of money kept for public purposes, and stolen by the above-mentioned evil leaders of the people, and appropriated to their own use. In addition, the searchers never credited and put into account that quantity of military rice which had become mildewed and rotten in the barns.

They made a report to the viceroy, who instructed Mu Chung to deliver the exact and entire amount of official property, the public rice and money, without taking into consideration the damage that had been done in the past. Again, the governor instructed the new magistrate to make him pay the balance of over 10,000 taels of silver, which was due from Mu Hsing and his (adopted) son Mu Ch'ung 木崇 to the Provincial treasurer during their official tenure. The new magistrate, taking as an excuse this shortage of payment owed by the Mu family to the government, confiscated Mu Chung's 木鍾 private lands and the buildings thereon which were bequeathed to him by his ancestors. These amounted in all to 12 residences.[50]

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the Chin-ch'uan (Golden Stream — the Yangtse or Chin-sha Chiang, *i.e.*, River of golden sand).

To the right of these characters, engraved in a horizontal line, come the small characters. *Yung-cheng ping-wu hsin ssu* 雍正丙午辛巳: "On a summer day in the year *ping-wu* of Yung-cheng [1726]." *Ch'ang-shan Nieh Jui fi shu* 長山聶瑞璽書: "This theme was written by the assistant prefect Nieh Jui." The name of this person is not to be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung chih*.

[50] These residences (*fu* in Na-khi) were distributed over the Li-chiang plain. The furthest

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雍正甲辰春麗郡守裏平楊嵇題書

玉柱擎天

雍正丙午夏日
丞郡聶璚
題書

玉壁金川

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CLIFF OF GKWUA-GYI-GKV-LU 'A-GKO

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173 The confiscated houses were used as quarters for the soldiers and offices for the new magistrate, and for other public purposes. With regard to Mu Chung's ancestral landed property, the searchers divided it into two classes. First that which had already been sold or mortgaged to other people by his ancestors, with official deeds or proofs, and second that which had not been sold. From the first they tried to get additional payment, while the second was all confiscated by the government. His servants, house-stewards, and private secretaries were all discharged and forced to return to their native villages, to make their living by raising live-stock. The grazing lands were rented out, in order to obtain money to be used in the district for public purposes.

The investigators again questioned and interrogated his wife, Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and tried to make her hand over all their heirlooms of precious objects and valuable trinkets, but she replied that she had been in Li-chiang only for a short time, and had never seen a single precious thing bequeathed to them by the ancestors of the Mu family. What she now possessed had all been given to her by her parents at her marriage. She again said that those things kept by Wei-hsin Kung 維新公 (Lord Wei-hsin) (Mu Hsing) were all taken away by his wife, Ho-shih, while the legacies preserved by Lord Shih-ch'iao 世喬公 (Mu Ch'ung 木崇) were all given to his wife Kao-shih 高氏 (Kao-ch'eng-yü 高成玉). The searchers thought that what she said was true, and found no means to deprive her of her possessions. They gradually stopped their misdoings and felt satisfied with what they had obtained. They then falsified the ancestral records of the Mu family, and invented at their pleasure many false reports, which they sent to the governor. They only gave back to Kao-shih the book containing copies of all the official seals of the ancestors of the Mu family, and directed her and her husband to keep it for themselves for ever.

During this time Mu Chung was still detained in Chien-ch'uan. As soon as he learned that all his property had been confiscated by the government, he stamped his feet and beat his breast in great anxiety. From that time on, he could not eat at all, and gradually became seriously ill with vomiting. He was

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north was Kwuâ-d'a, at the foot of the snow range to the north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪松村). The twelve 'd'a or 'Ts'ä-'nyi-'d'a were as follows: 'Ggö-'dgyü-'hoa-'tkhi 'd'a was the residence of the Na-khi ruler in Li-chiang proper; the upper or 'Ggö 'd'a 'Aw-'lv 'd'a was situated at Pai-sha 白沙 or Boa-shi; the lower or 'Müäg 'd'a 'Sau-'chêr 'd'a was back of the present Ministry of Education; 'Law-'shi 'dtv-'ngv 'd'a; 'Mbu-'tkhye 'd'a was situated below the Mu family temple at Sai-li-wüa; 'Wüa-'nag 'd'a at Sai-li proper; 'Shwua-'wüa-'ds 'd'a near the village of Shu-ho 束河 to the north-west; 'Müag-'bbu-'ggö 'd'a, 'Müag-'bbu-'lü 'd'a and 'Müag-'bbu-'müäg 'd'a (these three apparently count as one), they are the upper, central and lower 'Müag-'bbu 'd'a and are situated on the eastern slopes of Sä-bpi shêr nv-lv or Wen-pi Shan near the lamasery 'Müag-'bbu-'nä (*see* pp. 176 and 185) hence the name. 'A-'k'ö 'd'a the first and oldest residence of the Mu family, see page 88; 'Kwuä 'd'a situated by the village of 'Nv-'lv-k'ö, also known as 'Kwua 'd'a 'Ch'wua-'ts'o 'd'a where the stags danced; 'T'aw-'bpö 'd'a or 'T'aw-'bbu 'd'a because there they performed the ceremony of 'T'aw-'bpö and last 'Lü-'khü 'wüa-'wüa 'd'a situated near a small lake called 'Lü-'khü or Central lake, the Chinese Chung-hai 中海; to the east of this artificial lake is the small airfield which is lower than the lake and therefore useless because it is swampy. Near it is an artificial hill about 50 feet high, more like a pyramid in outline, this is called 'Saw-'ngaw-'wüa it is 6 li distant from the village of 'Lü-'khü; there is also a circular temple called 'Lü-'khü-'wüa-'wüa, 'wüa-'wüa meaning round. On 'Saw-'ngaw-'wüa the Na-khi chiefs caused beacon fires to be lighted when they wished to call the people together. (*See also* p. 156, note 8, and p. 219.)

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sometimes dizzy and fainted without uttering a word; day after day he lay in his bed in a dying condition. In the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (1725), he was carried to his house in his native place, and died three days after he had reached home. 173

His tenure of office as native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of this district, and T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect) lasted altogether for two years only. During that time he had trouble within and without, and suffered so much that he was in tears all day, and held his head with his hands till he went to his grave. But the trouble had not been caused by Mu Chung himself. Whether he was right or wrong in his conduct is left to the judgment of his posterity, in fair conscience. He was born on the 17th day of the seventh moon of the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (August 24th, 1687), and died on the 30th day of the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (September 6th, 1725). On the 3rd day of the ninth moon of the 13th year of Yung-cheng (October 18th, 1735), by a special Imperial decree of grace, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ch'eng-te-lang 承德郎, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of An-jen 安人. She was named Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and was the daughter of sub-magistrate Kao 高同知, of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安. She gave birth to one son, named officially Mu Te 木德. His second wife, A-shih 阿氏, gave birth to two sons, named Mu Ming 木明 and Mu Chia 木嘉.

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This closes the detailed account of the First Chronicle.

It is followed by the entire family tree of the Mu family beginning with Mu Te 木科, who lived from 1311 to 1390, and ending with Mu Te 木德 who was the last of the native prefects of Li-chiang. This is followed by a colophon the translation of which is at the end of the following chapter, the family tree for lack of space being omitted here.

The Historical Genealogies

Continued from the Second Chronicle

In order that the records of the Mu family be as complete as possible, the data missing in the First Chronicle are here supplied from the Second, though already partly translated and published in French by Edouard Chavannes.

Twenty-fifth to thirty-third generation

TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. — Mu Te 木德 (PLATE 37): His literary name was Fang-sheng 芳聲 and his given name Nien-tsu 念祖. He was the son of Yün-lin 孟林 (Mu Chung 木鍾). When the latter assumed his position, there appeared Aw-dahi-lêr who lodged false accusations against him. This man succeeded in having the native magistracy abolished and Mu Chung's property confiscated by the government. All the property and gifts accumulated by their ancestors through many generations vanished completely. Mu Chung had no longer any home, and 40 days or so after having assumed the position of T'ung-p'an, in which he had been neither confirmed nor appointed, he died.

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173 At that time Fang-sheng was nine years old in his home many had died, and he mourned bitterly.

He became hereditary T'ung-p'an at the age of nine, but his existence was precarious, his house like an empty jar, and he was poor and desolate. Yet he prospered and was apt and clever. Heaven gave him courage and understanding. He met Wan Hsien-yen 萬憲彥,[156] a *Chin-shih* 進士 of the city of Shih-p'ing 石屏,[157] who became his tutor and instructor. He studied the classics and readily grasped their meaning. His mother, Kao-shih, showed him all the ancient documents, ancestral papers and books which she had secretly preserved. He borrowed money and bettered the condition of his home, secured clothing and sufficient food. He consecrated all his efforts to retrieve his family after the reverses which had stricken it. When he was grown up and had gained both in courage and in knowledge, he submitted official reports to the different high provincial authorities, petitioning them to help ameliorate his condition. He went several times to the provincial capital, and thus wearied himself and nearly exhausted his energy. But he was not afraid of difficulties and dangers, and tried his best to create a favorable impression at official headquarters.

The viceroy invited him to an audience and granted him the native official farm and rice rent, in the form of 150 Imperial piculs of rice, and ordered him to visit [call upon] the Bureau of granary [at the four seasons] four times a year to take delivery. After that he had enough food for his morning and evening meal. He then obtained taxes in grain from the farms of Yung-pei, Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and La-pao 蜡寶, and did not lose his office and influence. He trusted the profound grace of the viceroy, and obtained from the glorious Imperial court abundant help. Afterwards he subscribed towards the building of a Yü-yin lou 玉音樓,[158] where he prostrated himself to show his loyalty.

He repaired his residence and rebuilt the old ancestral hall to express his filial piety. He sold the copper utensils of his ancestors and gave the proceeds to the students, and defrayed their expenses to promote literature. All praised his moral qualities and profound instruction. After his death the Imperial Government bestowed on him the title of Hereditary assistant sub-prefect of Li-chiang 世襲麗江府通判. He lived to the age of 64. He was born in the 53rd year of K'ang-hsi, the 4th day of the fourth moon (May 17th, 1714), at the hour of noon. He died in the 42nd year of Ch'ien-lung, the 7th day of the sixth moon (July 11th, 1777) at the hour of *ch'en* 辰 (7–8 A.M.). His wife was Kao-

[156] Wan Hsien-yen was a native of Shih-p'ing who became a *chin-shih* in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721). In the second year of Yung-cheng (1724) he came to Li-chiang. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), on account of his special excellence (*Chi-i* 異異, *i.e.*, deserving of special merit) he was appointed to the magistracy of Ching-yen 井研 in Sze-ch'uan.

[157] Shih-p'ing is now a magistracy in the district of Chien-shui (Lin-an 臨安), south of K'un-ming.

[158] There is a Yü-yin lou (tower) in Li-chiang. It stands to the left of the T'ung-p'an yamen. This particular tower was built in the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619) by Mu Tseng (19th generation) of the Mu family. — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1., ch. 4, fol. 36a. Yung-cheng received from the throne an Imperial tablet on which were inscribed (carved) the 11 characters, *T'ien Yen Chih Ch'ih* 天顏咫尺, *Hsiang Wei Ch'i Li* 香煙奇麗, *Chiu Yü Tien Hsi* 雲雨滇西, which may be translated: Close to the Imperial face (an intimate adviser of the Emperor, as close as a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches); magnificent and beautiful; and the best known in the west of Tien (Yün-nan).

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shih-shun-ying 高氏順英, and she was the niece of Kao Hou-te 高厚德, native sub-prefect of Yao-an.[159] She was given the posthumous title of An-jen. To him were born two sons, the second was called Mu Haiu 木海, and he inherited his father's position. His first-born was Mu K'un 木坤, who died of illness at the age of 20, while at school. 173

Of some of the remaining generations only their names are known, of others their names, dates of birth, and death.

TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. — Mu Haiu 木海 (PLATE 38): His literary name was Chen-yo 振岳. Neither his date of birth nor death is given.

TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. — Mu Jui 木睿 (PLATE 39).

TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. — Mu Han 木漢 (PLATE 40): His literary name was Ying-yün 映雲.

TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. — Mu Ching 木景 (PLATE 41): His literary name was Ching-yang 景陽 and his given name Shu-tung 樹東.

THIRTIETH GENERATION. — Mu Yin 木榮 (PLATE 42): His literary name was Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭. He was born in the year *jen-hsü* 壬戌 of T'ung-chih (1862). He died in the eighth year of the Republic (1919).

THIRTY-FIRST GENERATION. — Mu Piao 木標: His literary name was Chien-i 建儀, and his given name Po-fan 伯藩. He was born in the year *chia-shen* 甲申 of Kuang-hsü (1884), and died in the 17th year of the Republic (1928).

THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. — Mu Ch'iung 木瓊 (PLATE 43): His literary title is P'ei-ming 佩明 and his given name Shao-fan 紹藩. He was born in the year *mou-shen* 戊申 of Kuang-hsü, the second moon and 2nd day (March 4th, 1908), at the hour of *mao* 卯 (5–7 A.M.). He is the present T'u t'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native assistant sub-prefect), but without any power whatsoever.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION. — Mu Sung-k'uei 木松奎, also written 奎魁: He was born in the 18th year of the Republic, tenth moon, 7th day (November 7th, 1929), at the hour of *shen* 申 (3–5 P.M.).

[159] His ancestor was a certain Kao Chin 高金 who during the Ming dynasty became native sub-prefect. Kao Hou-te was the son of Kao Ying-hou 高映侯 who held the same position during the K'ang-hsi period. Kao Hou-te because of certain affairs was banished to Chiang-nan and the hereditary office ceased to exist. — *Yao chou chih*, ed. 1885, ch. 5, fol. 47a.

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CHAPTER VII

Colophon and Notes to the Genealogical Records of the Na-khi Chiefs

COLOPHON TO THE FIRST CHRONICLE

●173 In examining the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) we learn that at the beginning, when Li-chiang first belonged to Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom), it possessed no definite name.

The ancestors of the Mu family originally lived in Tso Kuo 筰國[1] (Tso Kingdom); in the Chou 周 (1122–255 B.C.) and Ch'in 秦 (255–206 B.C.) dynasties there are no records about this family. Beginning with the Han 漢 (206 B.C.–A.D. 221) and Chin 晉 (265–420) dynasties, down to the T'ang 唐 (618–907), the family existed for many generations.

The Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi Kingdom) was originally one of the Liu chao (Six Kingdoms).

At the close of the Sung dynasty, there lived in the Mu family a man by the name of Mai-tsung 麥宗,[2] who was very wise and lived to a ripe old age. He was endowed by Heaven with special intellect. There are narratives of him in the records. As to his ability and virtue, he was superior to the rest of the people and was therefore honored by them all. Unfortunately, at that time there was not much cultural development among these people, and although this man possessed a virtuous character and had accomplished much, nothing has been recorded about him. He begot Liang 良; Liang begot Wu 兀; Wu begot Liang 兆; Liang begot Chia 甲; Chia begot Te 科.

In the Yüan dynasty, this family enjoyed peace, and its deeds filled many shining pages in its history. When the Ming dynasty was founded (1368) and the first Emperor selected Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking) as Imperial capital, Chia of the Mu family knew immediately that the divine order of the succession of the Imperial throne had been established. He therefore sent his son with a number of envoys to Nanking to offer a map of their native land.

[1] The Tso-tu Kuo was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷筰都國 (Tso-tu Kingdom of the western barbarians). Han Wu Ti incorporated that territory in his empire and established the district of Tso-tu (Tso-tu hsien 筰都縣). In the sixth year of the period Yüan-ting 元鼎 (111 B.C.) it became the Ch'en-li Chün 沉黎郡. During the Sui dynasty it was called Han-yüan 嚴源, which is 30 li south of the present-day Ch'ing-ch'i 青溪, governed by Ya-an 雅安 (Ya chou 雅州) in Ssu-ch'uan. To-day it is again called Han-yüan hsien.

Ma Tuan-lin is more precise in his *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 320, fol. 5b, for he states that during the Han dynasty there were about 10 principalities north-east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, of which the Tso-tu was the most powerful. He amplifies this by saying "the Tso-tu of Hsi 徙." Hsi was east of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州, the present-day T'ien-ch'üan hsien, west of Ya-an. Although in other works he is quoted verbatim, the character *Hsi* 徙 is omitted. In a note it states that Hsi was made a hsien (district) during the Han dynasty, belonging to Shu Chün 蜀郡.

[2] The Li-chiang Records state that Mai-tsung was a man from west of the borders of China and that he came to Li-chiang at the end of the reign of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1253). The natives elected him as their chief. His son met Kublai Khan's army in the first year of Pao-yu 寶祐 of Sung Li Tsung (1253).

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In the 15th year of the Ming dynasty (1382), Te acknowledged his allegiance to the Imperial rule, and T'ai Tsu, the first Ming Emperor, admiring his action, conferred on his family the surname Mu 木, and, by separate letters patent, granted him the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. Te then conquered the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge), guarded the Shih-men 石門 (Stone-gate Pass), and was given by the Emperor an official robe, a *hu* 笏 (tablet),[3] and a golden belt.

Te begot a son by the name of Ch'u 初. The latter joined the Meng-chien 蒙嶮 (the present Meng-hua hsien) Southern expedition, and succeeded in capturing the city of Lu-ch'uan (in the south), and opened Yung-ning 永寧 (in the north). He conquered Yen-ching 鹽井,[4] a salt-well in the east, and thus gained considerable military merit. The Emperor gave him a gold medal and a gold belt, and granted him the power to rule over the territory of the Jung 戎 tribe[5] (on the frontier).

Ch'u begot T'u 土, to whom the Emperor in a special order, granted his family the title of hereditary prefect to rule its native land. He authorized it only to proclaim the Imperial will to the people, who could not be conscripted for other places.

T'u begot Shen 森, who gained great military merit by joining the punitive expedition of Secretary of State, Wang Chi 王驥,[6] who attacked the city of Lu-ch'uan 瀘川 and was then promoted by Imperial order to the honorary position of Ts'an-cheng 參政 (State adviser). On his ancestors, male and female, the Emperor conferred various posthumous honorary titles. The merit of this family was also made manifest by the Yün-nan governor Ting 丁.[7]

Shen begot Ch'in 欽; Ch'in begot T'ai 泰. They all bore the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, conferred on them by the Emperor. T'ai was a man of wonderful ability and thoroughly understood the science of divination according to the diagrams (*I Ching*, the Book of Changes), and Chinese philosophy. He was both martial and keen on literature. Thus he brought great glory and prosperity to his family.

[3] The *hu* was a tablet made either of bamboo, jade or ivory, and was held before the breast at audiences of the Emperor (GILES, *Chinese Dictionary* No. 4962).

[4] The present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[5] The Jung are considered the wild tribes of the west. There are many different clans, or rather, tribes, of Jung, among which the Na-khi were reckoned. The Hsi-jung (Western Jung) dwelled in north-western Kan-su and extended into the State of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) where they inhabited the district of Yüeh-sui 越巂 and the ancient Ch'en-li 沈黎 in Tso-tu Kuo (the present-day Han-yüan hsien 漢源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan).

The Hsi-i of the Tso-tu Kingdom are apparently identical with the Hsi-jung of Ch'en-li, for the territory is one and the same.

[6] Wang Chi later became viceroy of Yün-nan. He was a native of Shu-lo 束鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Ho-pei. His literary name was Shang-te 尚德. In the sixth year of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1441), the Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使 of Lu-ch'uan, by name Ssu-jen-fa 思任發, rebelled. Wang Chi was unable to suppress him at first. He attacked Lu-ch'uan three times, and only then routed the robbers and destroyed their stronghold — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fol. 13a.

[7] His name was Ting Hsüan 丁璇 and he was a native of Shang-yüan 上元 in Chiang-su (Kiangsu). He also fought Lu-ch'uan, after which he was promoted to a Senior vice-presidency of the censorate.

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173 T'ai begot Ting 定, who helped his neighbouring districts by restoring peace; his merit was great, but he did not bring it to notice.

Ting begot Mu Kung 木公, whose old age was spent at the foot of the Hsüeh-shan 雪山[8] (Snow mountain). There he buried himself among his books, in order to understand thoroughly the ancient literary allusions. He and a man named Chang 張, who lived on the Yü Shan 玉山 near the city of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and a third man named Tso 左, living on the Huang Shan 黃山 of Meng-hua 蒙化, were known at that time as the Three famous mountain scholars. The T'ai-shih 太史 (Imperial historiographer), by the name of Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修,[9] and many other scholars were his most intimate literary friends.

His literary works were made known to the later generations, and his scholarly fame was respected throughout our kingdom. His military merit, achieved for the Imperial court, was so great that His Majesty the Emperor personally wrote for him [an inscription of] four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 鎮寧邊境 (Peaceful defender of My frontier-land), and in addition the Emperor gave him many other rich gifts. He devoted much time to the compiling of two copies of his ancestral record, describing all the honorary titles and glorious deeds of his family, beginning from his first ancestor down to his son. He built an ancestral temple in honor and for the worship of his ancestors. These were two of the chief things he accomplished to express his filial piety. For his family record, Chang Chih-shun 張志淳, president of one of the six Imperial boards and native of Yung-ch'ang and Yang Shen 楊慎, Imperial historiographer and native of (Hsin-tu) Ch'eng-tu 成都, each wrote a preface.

Mu Kung begot Mu Kao 木高, who was also named Shou-kuei 守貴. From childhood, he was clever in strategy. At 31 years of age he extirpated the rebels and conquered the village of Hsiang-lo 香羅. Later, he gained a great victory over the village of Mao-ch'ü 毛俱, and completely defeated the T'u-fan 吐番. Then again he conquered Kan-t'ao 干陶, and established some villages at Wei-yüan 威遠. His father, Mu Kung, was so pleased with his heroic deeds that he took out the gold medals and gold belt, and many other objects given to his ancestors by the different Emperors of the successive dynasties, and handed them to him, saying: "Follow the examples of your ancestors, and be loyal to your nation."

When his father became a widower, Mu Kao selected a beautiful girl, and offered her to him as a concubine. His father was well pleased and on excellent terms with him. In this we find the cause of the good luck which attended him. On account of curing his father of his illness with flesh cut from his own

[8] The Li-chiang snow mountain is meant. At the foot of the range on its eastern slopes, north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is a large grove of spruce trees, the remains of a large forest which in the time of Mu Kung covered the region. There stood a residence, one of the 12 homes possessed by the Mu family. The place was and is still known as Kwuk-d'a. To-day a small temple with statues of Buddha stands beneath the spruces. The temple dates back to the Ming dynasty. The temple has lately been dismantled, the beautiful murals dating back to the Ming dynasty destroyed and the building converted into a forestry station.

[9] He is better known as Yang Shen 楊慎. It was he who wrote an introduction to the Chronicle of the Mu family. He had been banished for life to Yung-ch'ang in south-west Yün-nan. (See page 162.)

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173 limb, his glory became known to the world. The Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, and the same posthumous honor was also conferred on his ancestors. Again, the Emperor sent him a message containing the following words of praise: "As to your fame and virtue, you have been both filial and loyal; with regard to your popularity and ability, you have been perfect, both in literary works and in military achievements." In the winter of *ting-mao* 丁卯 (1567), when he received the sad news of the death of the Emperor,[10] he lamented so much that he was unable to rise from his bed. In the following year he resigned from official life.

Mu Kao begot Mu Tung 木東, who was also named Chen-yang 震陽. In the 38th, year of Chia-ching (1559), Tung was ordered by his father to attack the Fan brigands 番寇, whereupon he defeated them completely. In the years *ping-yin* 丙寅 (1566) and *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 (1568), he repeatedly gained great military merit. His father gave him also many Imperial gifts, bequeathed to them by their ancestors. In the third year of Wan-li (1575), Mu Tung crossed the river Ta-ch'ung 打冲[11] (in Tso-so 左所 territory) to attack the Fan brigands of Ta-tu 大渡. The Emperor then permitted him to build an arch in his native place with the following characters carved on it: *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (My Northwestern barrier). He usually tried to investigate the condition of the farmers, and helped their husbandry with money. In his leisure hours, his parlour was full of guests and friends. He would be deeply interested in writing poetry and would indulge in drinking wine with all of his guests. In the year *mou-yin* 戊寅 (1578) he lamented so much over the death of his mother that he died in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 (1579).

Mu Tung begot Mu Wang 木旺, who was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Yü-lung 玉龍. In the fifth year of Wan-li (1577), Wang became the legal heir of his father. He was impetuous and terrible in his actions, and succeeded in completely defeating the Fan brigands. At the time when he assumed his official duties, the Wu-so 五所[12] secretly conspired against him. He quickly discovered their evil plans and destroyed them at once. After that, he became the more experienced and hardened in military service, wherefore he was able in his later life to conquer more territory. He was presented with an Imperial credential containing the following words of admiration: *Chung Kuo Heng Yüan* 忠國恒垣, "Your loyalty to your nation has been as strong as everlasting battlements."

Mu Wang begot Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生 and Ch'iao-yo 喬岳. Ch'ing was well versed in the Six Chinese Classics, and was very skilful in calligraphy, which he wrote on paper with the strokes of each character resembling the shape of "old pine-trees and ancient cranes." Hence the poetic name given him was Sung-ho 松鶴 (Pine-tree and the crane).

[10] The Emperor Shih Tsung (Chia-ching) died on January 23rd, 1567 (the 14th day of the twelfth moon of the 45th year of his reign) on returning from the Western Park to the Palace, in his 60th year.

[11] Ta-ch'ung Ho is the Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country of south-west Sze-ch'uan; a branch of it is the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake. It flows into the Li-t'ang River which in turn flows into the Ya-lung. On the Chinese map of Yün-nan the Li-t'ang River does not exist and the Ta-ch'ung Ho flows into the Ya-lung.

[12] The Five So 所 (T'u-mu), in south-west Sze-ch'uan, which see.

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173 Immediately after he had assumed his official duties, he contributed considerable funds for military purposes. He was, however, very pessimistic and, travelling on the white clouds, he became an immortal, and his spirit is still known to exist.[13]

Mu Ch'ing begot Mu Tseng 木增, who was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青, I-hsin 益新 and Hua-yo 華岳. At the age of 11, he lost his father, and became the legal heir. In Wan-li *chi-hsi* 萬曆己亥 (1599), he supplied food to the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰.[14] In the year *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1600), he helped the city of Po chou 播州[15] in its difficulties.

In the year *jen-yin* 任寅 (1602), he submitted a report to the Emperor about the affairs of West China and was commended by His Majesty. In the year *ping-wu* 丙午 (1606), he received an Imperial patent by which the Emperor conferred on his ancestors various posthumous degrees of honor. In the year *i-mao* 乙卯 (1615), his capture of the Three Tartar leaders (San-ta-k'uei 三韃鬼) and the Seu-ma 司馬 (prefect), was recorded as worthy of merit. In the year *mou-wu* 戊午 (1618), he went to pay tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of celebrating the peaceful and blessed 46th anniversary of the reign of His Majesty the Emperor Shen Tsung, who gave him many valuable gifts, and conferred on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen. Again, he opened up new land, and contributed the products therefrom for soldiers' rations required in Liao (Feng-t'ien). For this reason he was especially promoted to the position of an official of the third rank. In the year *keng-yin* (this should read *keng-shen* 庚申) (1620) he offered money to the Emperor to buy horses, whereupon His Majesty praised him with the two characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness). He then was ordered to exterminate Kao-lan 高蘭,[16] the rebel of Pei-sheng 北勝. He was then presented with a gold belt. In the period period T'ien-ch'i *jen-hsü* 天啓壬戌 (1622), the tribal chief She 奢 of Shu (Seu-ch'uan) revolted and Mu Tseng contributed funds towards his suppression. Hence he was given the additional honorary official title of the third rank, as well as a suit of official dress of the same rank.

He then applied to the Emperor for permission to retire from official life. He addressed to the Emperor a memorial containing ten suggestions in connection with awards; the memorial was composed in such a way that it might have been written by any great official of the Imperial court. Meanwhile, he requested the Emperor to allow him to offer sacrifice to the two great heroes,

[13] Tradition relates that he went up the Li-chiang snow range to a peak called Ho-ang yi-ghv, a prominent limestone crag covered with scree, whence he never returned. Apparently he committed suicide. It is very common for the Na-khi to commit suicide on the snow range, especially lovers. Such couples committing suicide together are said in the Na-khi language to have committed *Yu-ve*. (See my article, "The Romance of K'a-mi-gv-mi-ghyi" in *BEFE-O* T. XXXIX. 1939, pp. 1-155.)

[14] Yung-ch'ang and T'eng-yüeh in south-west Yün-nan.

[15] Po chou is the present Tsun-i hsien 遵義縣 in Kuei-chou province.

[16] Kao-lan refused to recognize the authority of Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌, the new chief of Pei-sheng, who had succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高世茂, and rebelled; Mu Tseng took him prisoner and executed him. Kao-lan was a nephew of Kao Shih-mou who died in 1620.

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Chang Ch'ian 張銓 and Ho T'ing-k'uei 何廷魁,[17] and also contributed funds to relieve the families of the generals and soldiers who had been killed on the battlefields. 173

The Emperor praised him with the two characters of *Chung Chin* 忠謹 (Loyal and Patriotic), and promoted his official position to Ts'an-fan 參藩 (Administrator of the frontier lands). In the year 1624 he bequeathed his official position to his eldest son. In the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625) he again contributed to the court additional funds for the pay of soldiers, and received then letters patent in honor of his grandparents. In 1627 he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, and applied accordingly for an Imperial banner in honor of his mother's chastity. The Tu-yü 都御 (Imperial censor) Min 閔 also sent a recommendation to the Emperor on his behalf. In the year *keng-wu* 庚午 (1630) he remitted considerable funds to assist in the military expenditure of Kuei-chou, and transported money for the pay of soldiers to the Ta-ssu-nung 大司農 (Minister in charge of the Board of agriculture).

In the year *hsin-wei* 辛未 (1631) His Majesty promoted him to the honorary position of Yu-fang-po 右方伯 (Junior provincial treasurer), and the same honor was also conferred posthumously on his ancestors for three generations back. As the district school in the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 was destroyed by fire, he contributed money to rebuild it. In the year *jen-shen* 壬申 (1632) the work of building this school was completed. In the year *ting-ch'ou* 丁丑 (1637) he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, for which he was specially decorated by the Emperor. In the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1640) he was appointed as Tso-fang-po 左方伯 (Senior provincial treasurer). The Emperor issued an edict praising him with the following four characters: *I Tu Chung Chang* 篤毅忠貞 (Progressive, Faithful, Loyal and Upright), and gave him permission to build an arch in the capital city of this province, in memory of his deeds. But instead he saved the expenses required in building this arch and, in the year 1644, contributed the money to the court for soldiers' rations. When the Emperor Hung-kuang (1644)[18] ascended the throne in Nanking, he conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ch'ing 太僕卿 (Imperial grand steward). In the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (1645) both father and son, as well as other members of the Mu family, contributed funds for the pay of soldiers. Ch'en 陳, the Imperial messenger, sent a report to the Emperor on his behalf, whereupon the latter bestowed on both father and son various pieces of satin

[17] Chang Ch'ian 張銓 (this is the way the name is written in the *Ming Shih*) and Ho T'ing-k'uei are listed in that history under the characters *Chung I* 忠義. Mu Tseng also received these two characters, but he is not listed, probably because he was considered a barbarian.

Chang Ch'ian received the degree of doctor in 1604. He fought in Yün-nan under Fu Yu-te, especially at Yung-ning 永寧, Ch'i-ching 奇靖, and P'u-ting 普定 in Kuei-chou, to suppress the aborigines. He was given the title of Marquis of Yung-ting 永定. Ho T'ing-k'uei was a native of the military station of Wei-yüan 威遠 in Shan-hsi (Shansi). He received the degree of doctor in 1601. He became a fu-magistrate in Ho-nan. He and another official, by name Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰, who would not obey him, lost the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 (Feng-t'ien) to the Manchu army who attacked it. He took his seal and with his two wives jumped into a well, with him died six male and female servants (*Ming Shih*, ch. 291, fols. 1a and b).

[18] Hung-kuang 弘光 was a descendant of the last of the Ming Emperors who, when the Manchus established themselves in Peking, fled to Nanking where he set up his court.

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173 embroidered with Mahoraga and golden flowers (for ceremonial robes worn by mandarins).

Mu Tseng was born to be loyal, filial, benevolent and righteous. He honored his mother, named Lo 羅, and his wife's relatives, and respected worthy people. In his leisure hours, he was always seen with a book in his hand, reading. He was the author of various books, which were made known by the commendations of many scholars. Again, he applied to the Imperial court for the Fa-pao 法寶 (Treasures of the Law [Dharmaratna]) to pray for peace for the frontier. He printed many Tibetan Buddhist books and used them to teach the tribes-people. He built a temple on Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山,[19] and a bridge at Lu-feng 綠豐.[20]

Mu Tseng was both liberal and magnanimous and helped to build the road which led to Ssu-ch'uan. All his deeds of benevolence may be read in detail from the Family Record, whose preface has been written by Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, the Imperial historiographer. The legal heirs of the Mu family have succeeded one another as the rulers of this district for 27 generations, and their family has descended for 32 generations to the present Mu Yao. Mu Tseng had no brothers. His mother selected a virtuous wife for him, who gave birth to four sons.

Mu I 木懿, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's official position and was also named T'ai-mei 台美 and K'un-lun 崑崙. In the beginning of the period

[19] This is the famous sacred Buddhist Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山 (Chicken-foot Mountain), which is also called Chiu-ch'ü Shan 九龍山 and is 40 li west of Pin-ch'uan hsien 賓川縣, adjoining the borders of T'ai-ho hsien and Teng-ch'uan hsien. Its summit resembles a lotus flower. Its name was derived from a sacred Buddhist mountain of India, the "Chicken-foot Mountain" (Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri), which is seven miles south-east of Gaya and known as the abode of Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉尊, a disciple of Buddha and a native of Magadha. He is said to come at various intervals to dwell on Chi-tsu Shan, and in 1931 it was proclaimed he had taken up his residence on that mountain. Consequently, all the Tibetans of the neighbourhood, and the Na-khi from Yung-ning, flocked there on pilgrimage. At the foot of Ch'a-p'ing Shan 茶屏山 (a part of Chi-tsu Shan) is a temple dedicated to Kāśyapa and containing his image, which was placed therein during the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–755). The temple is called Chia-yeh Tien 迦葉殿 (Kāśyapa Hall) and also Chia-sha Tien, 袈裟殿 (Temple of the Buddhist priest's garment). Kāśyapa was one of the main disciples of Buddha, but according to another conception a forerunner of Gautama; he is said to lie undecayed in Mt. Kukkuṭa-pāda near Gaya. When Maitreya the coming Buddha will leave his palace he will betake himself to that mountain, will open it in a mysterious manner, and will there receive from Kāśyapa Buddha's robe. Thereupon miraculous fire will consume the undecayed body of Kāśyapa so that neither bones nor ashes will remain. (Grünwedel.)

Mu Tseng also built the Hai-t'an Ssu 慈湾寺, which stands on the Man-yüeh Shan 滿月山 (Mountain of the full moon), in the year *Ting-szu* 丁巳 of Wan-li (1617). In 1624 the Emperor gave him the Tibetan Classics and bestowed on his temple the name of Hai-t'an shan Ssu 慈湾山寺. In 1629 he built the Fa-yün Ko 法雲閣, and in it placed the Classics. In 1631 his son Mu I added to it and embellished the temple so much that it was looked upon as the finest on the mountain. (The gate to the temple and the *ko* 閣 or pavilion were rebuilt by Mu Yao 木堯.)

Again during the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619), Mu Tseng built the Hua-yen Ko 華嚴閣, in a temple of the same name, and placed the Tibetan Classics in the pavilion. In 1597 the pavilion was destroyed by fire — *Chi-tsu Shan chih*, K'ang-hsi edition, 31st year, eighth moon (September 11th–October 9th, 1692), ch. 4, fols. 4b–5b.

[20] This bridge is called Ch'i-ming ch'iao 啓明橋 and is situated 15 li south of Lu-feng; it was built by Mu Tseng in the period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627).

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of T'ien-ch'i 天啓, in the year *chia-tzu* 甲子 (1624) he assumed his official duties. Whenever he had to deal with political questions, he did not venture to settle them alone without going to his father for advice. After the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625), when his father was getting on in years, he did his best to serve him according to the principle of filial piety. He carefully compiled the genealogy of his family, to manifest to its members the glory of their ancestors. This record is indeed the fruit of loyalty and filial piety and is the crystallization of the thought of its distinguished members. Its accomplishment is due to a long-sustained effort. I am now requested to write a postscript in continuation of the main record written by the Imperial historiographer Yang. As I am quite an ignorant man, I feel unworthy to accept this honor. Nevertheless, as I am now in the service of this family, and know very well that its members have been loyal and obedient subjects of the Imperial throne of the Great Ming dynasty, and because their heroic deeds of glory can easily be described in detail from what I have seen and heard, I should do my best to further this work, and dare not refuse to perform this duty. Although Li-chiang is a small, barren, and desolate land, yet its sovereignty has been kept in the hands of the Mu family without interruption from the Sung (960–1278) to the present Ming dynasty (1308–1644). Is it not because the ancestors of this family have been under the protection of Heaven?

* * *

"To the above record a colophon was written by Chu Kuei-lin 朱桂林,[31] Shang-tung provincial treasurer, descendant of the Prince of Lu (Shan-tung) and defender of the frontier, on an auspicious day of the third moon of the spring season of the year *mou-tzu* 戊子 of T'ien Wang 天王 (March 24th–April 23rd, 1648).

"Corrected by Liang Chih-chieh 梁之杰,[32] native of the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 and a scholar of the second degree in retirement, in the winter of the year *keng-yin* 庚寅 (1650)."

NOTE ON MU TSENG

The most outstanding and most progressive of the native prefects of Li-chiang was undoubtedly Mu Tseng 木增, who was and is best known in Na-khi as Muan-ssä-bä (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was always spoken of, however, as Mu T'ien-wang 木天王 (Celestial king Mu). He was born in 1587, took office in 1598, and died in 1646. He was a devout Buddhist, and welcomed the Karma-pa lamas; a branch of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, who later established lamaseries in the Li-chiang district. He himself was initiated in the Buddhist monkhood, as a painting, of him as a monk with rosary testifies; it is now in the

[31] Owing to the remoteness of Li-chiang and the lack of communication, the people of that distant region were not aware of the change of dynasty which had taken place four years previously to the date of the colophon.

Believing that the Ming dynasty, of which they had been loyal subjects, was still in power, but not knowing what Emperor had ascended the Imperial throne, the writer dated his colophon *To Ming T'ien Wang sui mou-tzu* (In the year *mou-tzu* [1648] of the Celestial King of the Great Ming dynasty).

[32] He became a *K'o* 科 (scholar of the second degree) in 1633.

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173 possession of his descendants, the present Mu family of Li-chiang. It is a large scroll, beautifully painted in somber tones, and his figure is crowned by an image in gold of Amitabha (PLATE 44). A biography of him, written on scrolls, tells that although the Mu family had long been converted to Buddhism, it was Mu Sheng-pai who had acquired the highest spiritual achievement in the Mahāyāna doctrine.

On Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山, situated north-east of the Ta-li Lake in a range of mountains, he erected in 1615 a pavilion called the Ts'ang-ching Ko 藏經閣 in the temple Hua-yen Ssu 華嚴寺, in which he deposited a set of the Buddhist Tripitaka. In 1617 he built a copper temple called Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, and erected in its interior a hall called Wan-shou Tien 萬壽殿 (Hall of Ten thousand ages). In 1628 he solicited the Chinese court for a set of the Tripitaka for the purpose of depositing it in that hall. In recognition of this service the monks of the Hsi-t'an Ssu consecrated a chapel to Mu Sheng-pai, which is known as the Chapel of Prefect Mu 木太守祠.

In the lamasery of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 (Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林; in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-lü) situated on Chih Shan 芝山, on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, and west of the village of Boa-shi, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街, is a small shrine with a statue of Mu Sheng-pai in a sitting posture.

He was a poet and an author, and was considered an excellent calligraphist. Unfortunately the printing blocks of his books, with many other objects of value, were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. The Mu family was able to save by hiding in caves only the most precious and valued objects, such as certain books written by him, and a few scrolls which testify to his ability as a calligraphist. Two of these scrolls are reproduced here (PLATES 45–46). They are signed Tseng 曾 and Sheng-pai Tao-jen 生白道人 (Sheng-pai the Buddhist, seeking after *bodhi*, or enlightenment respectively). The two scrolls are not complimentary but represent two individual couplets. The scrolls read:

T'an K'ung K'e Hsi Hua Han Hsiao 談空客喜花含笑
Shuo Fa Seng Wen Niao Luan T'i 說法僧聞鳥亂啼

Seng Tsai Chu Fang Pan Lien Yueh 僧在竹房半簾月
Ho Ch'i Sung Ching Man Lou T'ai 鶴棲松徑滿樓苔

THE SHRINE OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER YANG SHEN 楊慎

Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, better known as Yang Shen and Sheng-an 升菴, was a great friend of the Mu family. He helped them with their family records and wrote an introduction to the Second Illustrated Chronicle.

Yang Shen was born in 1488 and was the son of Yang T'ing-ho 楊廷和, a minister of State. His native place was Hsin-tu 新都 in the prefecture of Cheng-tu 成都, capital of Ssu-ch'uan. At the age of 24 he was already a Chü-jen 舉人 (Provincial graduate Bachelor of Arts), the second literary degree. In the 6th year of Cheng-te 正德 (1511) he was first in the palace examination, and became historiographer in the Han-lin. He died at the age of 72, in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching (August, 1559) after he had lived

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the last few years of his life dissipating and drinking. He had written over one hundred different collections of essays, and was considered the first poet of his time. During the reign of Hsi Tsung, period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627), he was canonized as Wen Hsien 文憲. Mu Kung and Mu Kao, the 14th and 15th generations of Na-khi chiefs, were his contemporaries and literary friends, and at the request of Mu Kao, the compiler of the Mu Chronicles, he wrote an introduction to the Second Chronicle.

* * *

Beautifully situated at the foot of the western hills which hem in the plain and lake of K'un-ming, is the Temple of P'u-hsien (Ssu) 普賢寺.[28] Adjoining it to the south, with a separate entrance, facing east over the lovely lake is the shrine of Mao Yü 毛玉 and Yang Shen (PLATE 47). The shrine is in good repair and on the altar between ancestral tablets there sits enthroned a figure with a very human and jovial expression, representing Yang Shen (PLATE 48), so different from the stiff and severe-looking deified emperors one encounters in Chinese temples. Walled-in in the enclosure of the court are several memorial stones giving the history of the shrine and also something of the life of Yang Shen himself, as well as of his father Yang T'ing-ho, and of his friend Mao Yü,[29] a native of K'un-ming and high official of Nan-ching (Nanking).

Over the entrance to the shrine is the following inscription: *Mao Yang erh kung ts'u* 毛楊二公祠 (Shrine of the two Lords Mao and Yang). In the center of the court is a very old Cycad (*Cycas revoluta*), and to the right and somewhat below it is a stone bearing the two characters *Hai-chuang* 海莊 (Villa by the sea).[30] The shrine has been built apparently at the same spot where Yang Shen

[28] The Temple of P'u-hsien is situated west of the city of K'un-ming in the li 里 of Kao-yao 高耀 (pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan). The actual date of its first construction seems to be unknown, as the records state it was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, the 1st year of Cheng-hua (1465), and completed in the winter of 1466. It is located at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain), a northern spur of Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, more commonly known as Hsi Shan 西山. The Pi-chi Shan faces the Chin-ma Shan 金馬山 (Golden horse Mountain) in the east. It is the Temple of P'u-hsien or Samanta Bhadra, who rides an elephant, and whose seat of worship is on Mt. O-mei in Ssu-ch'uan.

[29] Mao Yü received the degree of doctor in 1505. He was chosen to be Chi-shih-hung 給事中 (Junior metropolitan censor) of the Li-k'o 吏科 (Section of personnel) of Nanking. He had a villa at the foot of Pi-chi Shan. He was among those who remonstrated with the Emperor at the east gate of the palace, whereupon he was imprisoned together with Yang Shen and unfortunately bamboozed to death. His ancestral tablet reposes with that of Yang Shen (PLATE 49) on the altar of the shrine. He left ten volumes of memorials addressed to the Emperor.

[30] At the base of the small stone bearing the two large characters *Hai-chuang* a brief note is engraved which reads as follows:

"Records state that Hai-chuang is below Kao-yao Shan. Yang Shen sojourned there. He built the Pi-yao, a beautiful dwelling where he used to rest. Time has flown quickly and many generations have passed, and nothing has remained [of the villa]. The natives of the land themselves had practically no knowledge of the name Hai-chuang. Therefore this stone-tablet has been erected so that the same may not be forgotten.

"Written by hou-hsüeh (your pupil) Lin Sung 林松, also Ch'ien Mu-ling 錢穆齋, in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 of the period Chia-ch'ing, in the autumn in the seventh moon (August 21st to September 19th, 1819).

Lin Sung, whose literary name was Yü-t'ien 玉田, was a native of K'un-ming; during

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had built himself a villa and where he carried on his literary activities whenever he resided in Yün-nan fu. Yün-nan became enriched by Yang Shen's involuntary residence, for he wrote many essays on this province, one of the best known being his *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom). The preface to the latter work is dated: "The autumn, the eighth moon, of the 29th year of Chia-ching" (September 11th–October 10th, 1550). We let the records found engraved on the memorial stones within the court, and here translated for the first time, speak for themselves:

Historical Record of the Shrine of Yang Shen

"Emperor Shih Tsung, in the first year of his reign [the first year of the period Chia-ching 嘉靖, 1522] wanted to confer an honorary title on Prince Hsing Hsien 興獻 [father of Shih Tsung], but the ministers at the court were of the opinion that this should not be done. More than 100 officials remonstrated tearfully with the Emperor at the Tso-shun men 左順門, of the palace. As a result of this demonstration which angered the Emperor, more than 90 of the remonstrators were bamboo'd, among whom was Lord Fan 范, a native of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden). [This was Fan Tsung 范鏜 the great-grandfather of Fan Ch'eng-hsün who became viceroy of Yün-nan in 1686, and who rebuilt the Yang Shen shrine; his interest and feeling for Yang Shen were heightened because his great-grandfather was bamboo'd to death at the same time as Yang Shen received his bamboo'ing, from which he, however, recovered]. Lord Mao 毛 of Tien-nan 滇南 (Yün-nan) and Lord Yang Chieh-fu 楊界夫 and his son Yang Shen-an, natives of Hsin-tu, were also bamboo'd. At that time Yang Shen-an, being the first successful Chin-shih 進士 [graduate of the doctors' degree] served as historiographer, while his father occupied an important position at the court. All died under the bamboo except father and son natives of Hsin-tu. It was because Heaven wanted to preserve loyal and reproving persons.

"First Yang Shen was charged with the duty of guarding the Chinese frontier at Yen-men 雁門, and Wen-chung Kung 文忠公 (the posthumous title of Yang Chieh-fu, his father) was dismissed from office. Yen-men [in Shansi] was at that time a barren and desolate land and would have made Lord Yang exceedingly poor. The Emperor, however, still bore a grudge against him and exiled him to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 instead of to Yen-men. Oh, how severe the punishment was!

"As Lord Yang, a son of good family, was thoroughly versed in the books of Cheng Shu 正樞 and K'ao-t'ing 考亭,[20] it is clear to us that he could not be

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the reign of Tao-kuang he became a Sui-kung 歲貢 (3rd rank certificate from middle school). Ch'ien Mu-ling was also a native of K'un-ming, and became a Chü-jen (Provincial graduate) in *mou-yu* 戊午 of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798); he died at 54 years of age.

[20] Cheng Shu or Ch'eng I 程頤 (1033–1107) was a native of Lo-yang in Ho-nan. He was tutor of the Emperor Che Tsung 哲宗. He had many enemies at the court; in 1097 he was sent to take up a post in Sze-ch'uan and was later recalled to be reinstated in the Imperial academy. In 1103 he was again in trouble and finally retired. In 1241 his tablet was admitted to the Confucian temple. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 280.

K'ao-t'ing or Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) was a native of Fukien and received the doctor's degree at the age of 19. He was accused of sedition, of magic, breaches of loyalty and filial

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honored with high official rank. Moreover, the previously mentioned incident was a matter which concerned the conventions of the State. Hence there would be nothing of importance for the historiographer to examine in a thousand autumns [years] to come. At the risk of his life he fought for right, even disregarding the relationship of father and son.

"He then entered the barbarian world like a vagrant and homeless man. He improved the savage customs and taught those wearing mallet-shaped hair-knots and dressed in colored clothes, to understand the respect due the Emperor and elders. The reason why Heaven decreed he should not die under the bamboo was in order that the people on the deserted and remote border might express their gratitude for his kindness.

"When Lord Yang was first exiled to Yung-ch'ang many people felt concern for him. Yet he peacefully discussed Chinese philosophy with barbarian boys of the Mien 緬 (Burma) and the P'o tribes 僰. He discussed with them the peculiarities of the various mountains and the seas in every corner. Sometimes, while wearing a double hair-lock and flowers, arrayed in a crimson gown and with a powdered face, he would talk about *Tao* 道 (the Way) and poetry with his pupils. This simply means that he gave thought to the 'orchid of the Hsiang 湘蘭' and the 'iris of the Li 澧芷.'[27] He wanted to follow the example of Ch'ü Yüan,[28] until now people have spoken of this as an interesting story.

"At the death of Wen-chung Kung (his father) Yang Shen received the Emperor's permission to return home to attend to his duties connected with the burial of his father. Later on, because he had earned the displeasure of a certain high official, he was ordered to return to Yün-nan. As a result he died a sad death.

"Alas! When literary men are in trouble, it is very difficult for them to pay

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piety, of seducing nuns, etc. At first these attacks were unsuccessful, but at length he was deprived of all honors and of his official posts. He was later partly reinstated, but was too old to re-enter official life. He revised Sau-ma Kuang's history, which under the title of *T'ung-chien kan-mu* 通鑑綱目 became the standard history of China. He was called K'ao-t'ing after the place where he resided. K'ao-t'ing was south-west of Chien-yang hsien 建陽縣 in Fu-chien (Fukien).

[27] The Hsiang is a large tributary of the Yangtse; it flows through Hu-nan. The Li is also a river of Hu-nan, being an affluent of the Tung-t'ing Lake. The allusion is to be found in the poem *Li-sao* 離騷 (Falling into trouble) written by Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, or Ch'ü P'ing 屈平.

[28] Ch'ü Yüan was a native of Ying 郢 in the ancient State of Ch'u (Hu-pei). He was born in 332 B.C. and died in 295. He is famous throughout China as the type of a loyal minister. He enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign until impeached through the intrigues of rivals. It was then he composed the famous poem *Li-sao*, which is an allegorical description of his search after a prince who will listen to good counsels in government. After he had sunk still deeper in disfavor, and being tired of life, he went to the bank of the Mi-lo River. There he met a fisherman who accosted him saying: "Are you not his Excellency the Minister? What has brought you to this pass?" "The world," replied Ch'ü Yüan, "is foul, and I alone am clean. There they are all drunk, while I alone am sober. So I am dismissed." "Ah!" said the fisherman, "the true sage does not quarrel with his environment, but adapts himself to it. If, as you say, the world is foul, why not leap into the tide and make it clean? If all men are drunk, why not drink with them and teach them to avoid excess?" The fisherman rowed away and Ch'ü Yüan clasped a big rock and plunged into the waters of the Mi-lo 汨羅. — From Giles, *B. D.*, No. 503.

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173 heed to their own fame and fidelity. Although Yang Shen was both clever and wise, he was unable to hold his position as historiographer.

"Confucianism was poorly developed in the barbarian and deserted borderland. As soon as Yang Shen took upon himself the responsibility of educating the people, the literary men of Yün-nan began to esteem politeness and righteousness. They offered sacrifice to Lord Yang at Pi-yao 狴鷂[19] and established a Shu-yüan 書院 (College) there in his memory, in order that the spirit of Lord Yang may roam at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 狴鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain)[20] and not vanish into the void in the Liu chao 六詔 [the six kingdoms which comprised Nan-chao 南詔], like vapor or creepers in the wild fields.

"Is it not true that Heaven spared him and decreed for him to lay the foundation of Confucianism [in Yün-nan] for hundreds and thousands of years to come?

"From the year *chia-yin* 甲寅 (1674) onward the rebellious Fan [Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled that year against the Ch'ing dynasty] savages had recklessly outraged all rules of propriety. The borderland was ravaged by wolves [troops or savages] and fire. Mountains, rivers, grass and trees, temples and pagodas in Yün-nan were destroyed. Even the place where the spirit of Yang Shen lived was overgrown with filbert trees, weeds, thorn-bushes, and ravaged by wild fire and will-o'-the-wisp.

"Long after the suppression of the rebellion the Chih-fu 制府, Lord Fan 范[21] of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden) was ordered to take charge of the South-west. He visited all the mountains, rivers, famous places, mysterious regions and relics of Yün-nan. While passing by the ruins of Pi-yao and making inquiries at the gravestone of the Mao family 毛氏, he saw the grave of Yang Shen[22] among the ruined and fallen walls. As he stood there meditating sorrowfully on Lord Yang's loyalty, simplicity, intelligence and fidelity, he could not help recalling the time when Lord Yang knelt on the ground at the Tao-shun palace gate.

"Thereupon Lord Fan engaged workmen and collected material for the construction of a hall. He bought a portrait of Yang Shen on which he inscribed

[19] The word *Pi* refers to Pi-chi Shan, the Jade-fowl Mountain famous in Yün-nan history, and the word *Yao*, pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan, refers to the village Kao ch'iao 高橋, near which the temple and ancestral hall is situated at the foot of Pi-chi Shan.

[20] The Pi-chi Shan and its counterpart, the Chin-ma Shan (Gold horse Mountain), are famous in Yün-nan. The range from the village of Kao-yao (ch'iao) to the Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, commonly called Hsi Shan 西山 (Western hills), is known as Pi-chi Ta-shan 狴鷄大山 (Great Pi-chi Mountain). There is also a Kao-yao Shan 高橋山 which is to the right of Pi-chi Shan and actually a part of it. The shrine of Yang Shen, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 12, fol. 10a, is at the foot of Kao-yao Shan.

[21] Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳 was a Chinese Yellow-bordered bannerman. In the 25th year of K'ang-hsi (1686) he became viceroy of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He left Yün-nan in 1704 to take up a higher post at the court. He died in 1714.

[22] Yang Shen is, however, not buried in Yün-nan. His body was taken back to his native place Hsin-tu in Szu-ch'uan. According to the *Chiu-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 385, fol. 18b, his grave is to the right of that of his grandfather Yang Ch'un 楊春, one li west of the city of Hsin-tu, outside the Hsi Kuan 西關 (West Pass), where his father is also buried. The burial-ground is several li in circumference. See also the *Hsin-tu hsien chih*, ed. 1926, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

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a eulogy, and to which he offered sacrifices in the hall. Because of this, the people as well as retired scholars again revered Lord Yang's influence and reputation; they also appreciated Lord Fan's filial piety, loyalty to the State and the encouragement he gave to scholars. The people dwelling in the far-off and deserted border region thus learned to know the meaning of paying respect to former worthies. 173

"They particularly rejoiced that on account of Lord Yang's exertions the defense of the State became as strong as a wall of metal and moats filled with scalding liquid. How admirably Lord Fan had acted!

"I have been in charge of the Salt Tax for three years without being properly qualified, and have often followed Lord Fan's advice. Having perceived that the filial heart of Lord Fan was worthy of imitation, how could I not rejoicingly take the responsibility of writing on his behalf the biography of Lord Yang?

"Thereupon I, Lords Hsü 昇, Yüan 元 and Nieh chang 臬長 [chiefs of the court], bought a property of 300 acres, the produce of which is to be devoted to sacrifices to Lord Yang.

"Written by Wang Chao 王曜,[a] native of Wan-p'ing 宛平 [a district in Ho-pei], in the period K'ang-hsi, the year *keng-wu* 庚午, Chung-tung 仲冬, the 2nd day (December 2nd, 1690)."

The T'ai-shih Ts'u 太史祠, *Shrine of the Historiographer*
(According to the *Old Yün-nan T'ung-chih*)

"The shrine is situated at Kao-yao-ts'un 高耀村, west of the city of Yün-nan fu, and is dedicated to Yang Shen, Historiographer of the Ming dynasty. It was built by Liu Chih-lung 劉之龍, Fu-cheng-shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[b] during the Wan li period (1573–1619). Later on it was rebuilt and then fell again into disrepair. In the 28th year of K'ang hsi (1689) it was rebuilt by the viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün, who also bought some fields the produce of which was to be devoted to sacrifices to Yang Shen. 172 173

Selections from "A Historical Account of the Pi-yao College by Viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün"

"During Lord Yang's exile in Yün-nan he had lived here and there: in Po-nan 博南, Lan-chin 蘭津, Ts'ang-erh 蒼洱 and Chin-pi 金碧.[c] He had many 173

[a] He took charge of the Yün-nan Salt Tax in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). He was a Yin-sheng 蔭生 (Honorary Licentiate).

[b] Liu Chih-lung was a native of Fu-shun 富順, a district city in Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 in Szu-ch'uan. He held the degree of doctor.

[c] Po-nan must refer to Po-nan Shan, a mountain between Yung-p'ing 永平 and the Mekong, on the highway to Yung-ch'ang to which place Yang Shen had been exiled. The pass over this mountain is 8,150 feet above sea level. From there the trail leads to the village of Sha-yang 沙羊 and down to the Mekong where an iron chain-bridge spans it. This is apparently the place called Lan-chin, the ancient ford on the Mekong. On the slopes of Po-nan Shan at an elevation of 7,300 feet, 18 li from Sha-yang, there stands a temple called Yung-kuo

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113 different lodgings. Wherever he stayed he le' and encouraged young people. Thus the scholars of Yün-nan all tried to follow his example. Even after his death they continued to admire him and offered sacrifices to him at the foot of Pi-chi Shan, where Yang Shen had built a house for himself to carry on his literary activities. As time went on, the hall fell into neglect, although it had been repaired many times.

"After I took up my residence in this land, I inquired about the remains of Chai-hsien 謫仙* and mourned the ruins of Hai-chuang 海莊, the villa by the sea. Seeing that they had almost vanished, I became quite sad. Thus I ordered Lord Yang's shrine to be rebuilt on the right side of P'u-hsien Szu. . . . After it had been completed I wrote of it as follows:

Szu 寺. In that temple, situated in a large grove of wild chestnuts (*Castanea mollissima*), on the lonely slopes, far away from any human habitation, I spent a very peaceful night from October 2nd to the morning of October 3rd, 1922. Here in the court of the temple grew a large magnificentcous tree which proved to be a new species: *Michelia lanceolata* Wilson.

The temple dates from the Ming dynasty, as an old bell cast during that dynasty, and hanging in the vestibule of the temple, testifies. Two large stone-tablets stand to the left of it. On the main tablet is inscribed the same story which occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 7, fol. 6ya, about the song "Singing while crossing the Mekong" (*T'u Lan-ts'ang ko* 渡蘭滄歌). In the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 it is said that in the time of Han Ming Ti (58–75) a road was opened over the Pu-nan Shan to where the Mekong could be forded. Travellers thought it difficult and thus sang the following: "The virtue of the Han dynasty was so far-reaching that for the benefit of others a road was opened to the wild regions over the Pu-nan Shan via Lan-chin to where the Mekong could be forded."

The memorial stone further states that the mountain is also called Chin-lang 金浪, and that another but wrongly applied name is Ting-tang Shan 叮噹山. This name also appears in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edit. 1894, ch. 98, fol. 9a. There it relates that the temple used to be situated on the summit of that mountain, and that it was built by the Buddhist priest Shu Ch'ang 蜀常. In the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1697) the magistrate Ch'eng I 程宜 removed the temple to a terrace on the slopes of the same mountain. Yang Shen himself according to the memorial stone, confirms that the name Ting-tang Shan is incorrect. At the end of the Ming dynasty, we learn from the same stone, that Prince Chin 晉王 (Sun K'o-wang 孫可望) and Li Ting-kuo 李定國 (an adopted son of the robber Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠) fought Manchu troops on this mountain. In the reign of Ming Yung-li 明永曆 (1647) Chin Wang inscribed four characters on a wooden tablet: *Ning Hsi Ch'an Szu* 寧西禪寺, "Buddhist temple of the peaceful West."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 24, fol. 15a, states: "According to the old *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the mountain is situated 45 li west of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. It is also called Chin-lang tien 金浪巔, and is commonly misnamed Ting-tang Shan 丁當山. It is 20 li high and has many steep slopes and cliffs. It serves as an important passage to the Western Frontier. The hsien of Pu-nan was named after it during the Han dynasty. It is the present Yung-p'ing hsien. The *Ming I-t'ung chih* 明一統志 says: "It is the mountain over which Han Wu Ti [140–87 B.C.] opened a road. The P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages) go in and out of their land by way of this mountain. In ancient days the Nan-chao Kingdom sent a general on a punitive expedition against Burma. His soldiers sent back gold and other treasures over this mountain where they were met by robbers. After the death of the general a temple was built called the Chin-li. ~-tien shan-shen Ts'u 金浪巔山神祠. At the foot of its northern slope is a spring which is the source of the Hua-ch'iao Ho 花橋河 (Flower bridge River)."

The *Tien-lüeh* 滇略 says: "On the mountain is an iron column." Lan-chin refers to the ford on the Mekong previously mentioned, while Ts'ang-erh refers to the Ts'ang Shan west of Ta-li, and the Erh Hai or Ta-li Lake. *Chin* is the first word in the name of the Golden horse Mountain, Chin-ma Shan, to the east of K'un-ming, and *Pi* is the first word in the Pi-chi Shan (Jade-fowl Mountain) at the foot of which Yang Shen had built himself a house.

* *Chai-hsien* means to be banished to earth from heaven; this has reference to Yang Shen's banishment from the Imperial court to the savage regions of south-western Yün-nan.

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"'Pi-yao College was originally the name given by Lord Yang to the villa of the Mao family. The villa exists no more. But as the mountain has not changed its color, and the place has not changed its name, I give the name of the former villa to the shrine, thereby commemorating the fidelity of Lord Mao.'" 193

Quoted from the inscription on a large memorial stone walled-in in the south enclosure of the court of the shrine. The beginning of the text is somewhat hidden by the wall, and the stone is cracked in three places. The same text can, however, be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 88, fols. 17b–18b.

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source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku, and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板垻村, Lo-lo-chai 羅羅寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 羅鍋清.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 卢甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

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173 634 any size to what is now Li-chiang was T'ung-an, for the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that in ancient days there stood only the native yamen or palace, without a wall. In 1650 T'ung-an chou was abolished and absorbed by Li-chiang.

Li-chiang still meant only the magistracy of Li-chiang, for it says in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* that the Circuit of Li-chiang was changed to a magistracy in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). However a district is always named after its largest town. As to when the actual town of Li-chiang came into being, the records keep strangely silent.

The first wall began to be built in 1723. Li-chiang has now no wall and a remnant of it only exists to-day around the ruined yamen.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fols. 34b–35a, states that T'ung-an chou, now no longer existing, was three li east of Li-chiang fu.[5] Its ancient name was San-t'an. The P'u hsieh man 僕僰蠻 (P'u-hsieh savages) dwelled there. They were followed by the Mo-so-man, Ye-ku-nien, who conquered it by force. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it was the land of Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣, subordinate to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) the name Ting-tso was changed to K'un-ming 昆明, subordinate to Sui chou 巂州. It was raised later to K'un-ming Chün 昆明軍 (military district of K'un-ming). After the reign of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 756) it became the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao 越嶲蠻蒙詔 (Mo-so Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi). In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) of the Yüan dynasty, it submitted to the Empire. In the fourth year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1263), Mai-liang (a Na-khi chief called A-liang 阿梁 in the Mu Chronicle) was made civil governor of San-t'an 三鈷管民官. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) T'ung-an chou was established under the Circuit of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty there were no changes. In the Ch'ing dynasty it was reduced and merged with Li-chiang fu.

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 19b, has the following to say about T'ung-an chou:

"It is now to the east and near the suburb of the governing fu-city [Li-chiang]. In ancient days it was in the land of Tso Kuo 笮國 and its name was San-t'an. The Man (Savages) called it Yang-ch'ü-t'ou 陽苴鬪 [this name I have found in no other work relating to this district]. In the Han dynasty it became the land of Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣, subordinate to the commandery of Yüeh-sui. In the T'ang dynasty Ting-tso was altered to K'un-ming, belonging to Sui chou. It was raised to K'un-ming Chün and became the land of K'un-ming. After the reign of T'ien-pao, about 756, it was conquered by the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao. Afterwards it was absorbed by Nan-chao. In the Sung dynasty (960–1252) the P'u-hsieh man[6] dwelled there. [Apparently in

[5] E. Chavannes in his "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" in *T'oung Pao* and in Bacot "*Les Mo-so*" p. 164 states that according to the *Yüan Shih* the administrative sent of T'ung-an chou is east of (the) Li-chiang at the foot of the snow mountain. This is correct as far as the statement goes; I believe however that the river Li Chiang (Yangtze) is not meant but the town of Li-chiang. As T'ung-an chou was within the loop of the Yangtze, it could be called either west or east of the Yangtze. The Li-chiang records are quite explicit and state that T'ung-an chou was three li east of the town (Li-chiang), and the map accompanying these records shows it there. Therefore the river Li Chiang could not have been meant. The Yangtze, either west or east, is more than seventy li from Li-chiang.

[6] These were two tribes, the P'u and Hsieh. All the different works I have consulted mention

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ancient days it was the land of the P'u-hsieh tribes, who were defeated by the Mo-so Ye-ku-nien during the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 618–626.] They were ruled by the Mo-so chiefs until the Sung dynasty when the P'u-hsieh again gained the upper hand." 193 634

[This will explain the gap in the Chronicle of the Na-khi kings who during the period between 1101–1125, start again with the stranger from Mon-

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the various P'u tribes, but there is no P'u-hsieh tribe. The Hsieh supposedly were a different clan, who dwelt together with the P'u in the land which now comprises Li-chiang and were the original inhabitants of the country. Chinese records speak of two tribes as residing in the Li-chiang district, viz., the Mo-so (hsieh) erh-chung man 摩些二種蠻. Are we to understand that the Mo are the Mo-so and the Hsieh the tribe formerly associated with the P'u? Both are spoken of in Chinese works as the Mo-man 摩蠻 and Hsieh-man 斜蠻.

I propose here a conjecture which may serve as a basis for further investigation.

I have held the opinion that the Mo-so (Mo-hsieh) and the Na-khi are identical, that the former is their Chinese name and the latter their own tribal name. After much thought and research on my part this assertion I have come to doubt for the following reasons:

First the Chinese chronicles never mention the name Na or Na-hsieh, but they state that there were two tribes, the Mo and the Hsieh, the character used is pronounced "*so*" when it refers to the tribe, according to the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. They also mention the P'u and Hsieh who were the aborigines of the district of Li-chiang. However, nowhere are the Hsieh separately mentioned and I have come to believe that the Chinese word *hsieh* is merely a transcription of the Mo-so word "*Khi*" which sounds like hsi, but the initial is actually a palatal German "*ch*." *Khi* in Mo-so (or Na-khi) means "man" (not man = male). Therefore they would have been spoken of as the P'u-khi and the Mo-khi, the people of the P'u and the Mo (tribes).

As to the Na-khi the people of the Na tribe, they were a branch of the Ch'iang and migrated south from their home in northeastern Tibet. They settled among the P'u and Mo. The P'u were driven into the hills and the Mo and Na occupied or kept to the plains and valleys.

The Na were apparently not numerous but they had a religious literature and the name Na = black was perhaps given them by the Mo-so because they were darker skinned than the aborigines of the Li-chiang territory. They adopted the Mo-so language and were gradually absorbed by the Mo-so. Yet the religious cult of the immigrants, the Bön Shamanism plus their own demonolatry, was adopted as the religion of the people of the Mo-so (hsieh) tribe by their chiefs. It is difficult to trace the original culture of the Mo-so, it was probably the same as that of the Lo-lo their neighbors, who with them are classed as Wu-man = Black barbarians by the Chinese.

There are two types of writing in vogue in Li-chiang, a syllabic phonetic type, very similar to that of the Lo-lo script, and a pictographic. The former, of which little is known nowadays, may have been the script of the Mo-so, while the pictographic script was that invented by the Na-khi, both being read in Mo-so with an admixture of Na-khi. The language now spoken in Yung-ning may be the aboriginal Mo-so tongue, yet they have no written language. It is also possible that the syllabic type of writing was brought by the Na-khi and was discarded later in favor of the pictographic much easier to remember than the syllabic.

Certain primitive ceremonies as the propitiation of Heaven or Muan-bpö, at the performance of which neither books or priests are needed, show that there is more than one tribe involved. Yet there exist ancient Na-khi manuscripts pertaining to the Muan-bpö cult: the texts reveal that the ceremony is akin to that performed by the Ch'iang and therefore is of Na-khi and not Mo so origin. A modified Muan bpö was later adopted by all the different tribes or clans and this would explain the discontinuance of the use of priests and books, for the former only can read. All the people bearing the family name Ho, which is considered a genuine Na-khi name, perform their Muan-bpö at a different time than the families bearing the Chinese-sounding family names of Cheo, Yang, Wang, etc. It is here that we may learn who is Mo-so and who is Na-khi. However all the non Chinese people of the Li-chiang district, irrespective of family name, call themselves Na-khi, while the name Mo-so is resented.

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golia called Yeh-yeh as the first generation of their line (*see* Chapter VI, pp. 71, 73). The kings were called Ta-ch'in-chang 大酋長 (Great chiefs of the tribe).]

"Afterwards the Mo-so conquered that territory. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) a civil official was established to govern San-t'an. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) that name was changed to T'ung-an chou. It remained unaltered during the Ming dynasty. The native sub-magistracy (T'u-chou), controlling the families of 13 li, was in charge of a sub-prefect of the Kao family." The family were originally natives of Ho-ch'ing. Kao Ch'ing 高清, who was the son of Kao Seu 高遂, a native of Ho-ch'ing, was sub-magistrate of T'ung-an chou during the reign of the Na-khi chief Mu Shen 木神 (1434–1441). He had married the daughter of Mu Shen, who survived him by 54 years. His son, Kao Lu 高祿, became hereditary T'ung-an sub-prefect. Thus it appears that the first place in the Li-chiang district was San-t'an, which during the reign of Kublai Khan became the T'ung-an chou. The latter place must have been near the suburbs of what is to-day Li-chiang. Apparently Li-chiang grew up slowly, and was an unimportant place until it absorbed T'ung-an.

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103 thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

173 The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 551b. "*Tribus et regionis nom. in N.W. provincias Sinae. Vum-mew. cuj. urbs principalis est* Sa-tham *seu* Ly-Kiang-fou. *Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et* Nashi *ab ipsismet incolis*, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan." Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (*See* J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48–49; also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 57.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage* (1902), p. II, states that, strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndêr-tkhyu-bpa-la-lhu, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein, a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. of Roerich.

173 814 The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated, have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. Sarat Chandra Das gives 541 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-bsan); Schlagintweit in his "*Die Konige von Tibet*, p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-tshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. Waddell, in his *Buddhism of Tibet (Lamaism)*, p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang 羌, of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an 三耶), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960–1126). In the *Yuan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang 麥良, also called A-liang 阿良, was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan 三耶管民官. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-haich tribe dwelled there.

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may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given. 173 814

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel[20] that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618-913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北岳廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[21] The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wûa-wûa (A-wu-wûa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wûa in La-shih-pa 硬巴峪, to the west of Li-chiang (*see* Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth. [178]

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His 173

[20] *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

[21] This is the Tibetan rGya-sde ཤ ད. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40′, to the western confines of the principality of Chha-mdo (Chhab-mdo), *circa* longitude 96° 25′ E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuḍa). In the Na-khi religion the Garuḍa plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'ér Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

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173 appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦景帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北岳定國安邦景帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-si Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪西北岳安邦景帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

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even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥忠[20] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man, of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rainstorm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北岳定國安邦景帝.

[20] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

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346 782 173 *The Pei-yo Temple.* — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩普三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃起熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1404–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大利 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

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T'ang dynasty (779), I-mou-hsün[*] removed to the town of Yang-chien-chü 羊苴咩[*] and changed the name of the year to Shang-yüan. It was not until the latter part of the Ming dynasty that the name of Pei-yo (North sacred Mountain) was bestowed on the Jade-dragon. He is prayed to under the name of 'Auspicious god spirit of Yo.'

"Therefore a temple was built at the foot of the mountain. When the chiefs, officials, and peasants humbly worshipped in the temple, the god was always efficacious and answered every prayer. The temple stood majestically, its hall high and deep, in a dense forest, striking awe in everybody who beheld it. All people made obeisance to the god. In the year *i-wei* 乙未 of Chia-ching of the Ming dynasty (1535), our prefect Mu Kung, having perceived a supernatural vision, engaged workmen to rebuild the temple, making everything look as new. This was only achieved through the devoted sincerety of our Prince.

"Oh! sacred god! Bless our people, defend our territory and protect the descendants of the Mu family for hundreds of thousands of years, so that they may continue to worship thee just as we do in the present day."

"Written on an Auspicious Day in the Spring,

By the Prefect Mu Kung"[**]

The second memorial stone. — This stone, dating from 1748, is entitled: Tablet recording the dedication of sacrificial fields of the Pei-yo Temple:

"The snow mountain stands straight through the clouds. [Clothed] with perpetual snow, it is the most wonderful view in Yün-nan. It is well known that this mountain has been miraculous. Since the name Pei-yo was conferred upon it by the Yüan dynasty, the border region has been glorified by the presence of another Heng Shan 恒山 [the author means the North sacred mountain of Shansi]. In the Ming dynasty the Mu family was appointed by the Throne as hereditary lords of the land, to guard this territory and to be responsible for the offering of sacrifices in the temple in recognition of military exploits. It is traceable from tradition that the power of the god was often relied upon in the defense and development of the territory. The present

[*] I-mou-hsün the sixth ruler of the Nan-chao Kingdom, ascended the throne at the age of 24 in the 13th year of Ta-li (778) and the following year changed the title of his reign to Chien-lung 建隆 and afterwards to Shang-yüan 上元. The inscription states that this happened in the 14th year of Tai Tsung; now the 14th year of Ta-li commenced on January 22nd, 779, and did not end until February 12th, 780; so it is possible, as no definite date is given, that it could have been in the beginning of 780. His capital was the present Ta-li.

[*] This is synonymous with Yang-chü-mieh 羊苴咩 and Yang-chien, which is the present Ta-li.

[**] It was the custom, even to the present time, for the ruling T'u-ssu (chief) of the Na-khi to come to the Pei-yo Temple on the 8th day of the second moon to worship Sa-ddo. In olden days when the Na-khi chiefs were the native prefects of Li-chiang, and they came to the temple to worship, none of the peasants were allowed to remain in the neighborhood, still less in the temple. It is believed that Sa-ddo was born in the sheep year, and so on a sheep day in the second moon the Na-khi peasants flock to the temple by the thousand. Much wine is drunk and many brawls ensue, as gambling takes place on that day.

[**] He was born in 1494, began his rule in 1527 and died in 1553.

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Emperor made the frontier region a cultured place, and changed the tribespeople to a cultured race. Just and upright officials followed one another. A city wall and offices were built, farming and planting of mulberry trees were encouraged. If rain impeded work, or a drought brought hardship on the farmers, the god was always beneficent whenever prayers were offered. A rule was therefore made to sacrifice to him in the spring and autumn in token of the people's indebtedness to the deity.

"I am a mediocre and rustic native. In the reign of K'ang-hsi, in the winter of *chi-hsi* 己亥 (1719), I was under orders of Governor Chiang 蔣 to lead the native troops and follow the vanguard of Lieutenant-general Wu Yung 伍雍 to Chung-tien to ascertain the condition of the road. In the year of *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1720), I was promoted to second captain. I led more than 500 native soldiers to follow Lieutenant-general Wu Wu 伍吳 in the western campaign and approached Lo-lung-tsung 洛龍宗. Then an Imperial decree was received to the effect that the insurgents be pacified along the highway between Ch'a-wa-kang 察瓦崗 [19] and Kung-pu 工布; that roads be built and that food supplies be escorted. Upon the return of the troops I had a boat-bridge made at the Mu-lo 木骨 ferry.

"In the spring of *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 (1724) of the reign of Yung-cheng, I was instructed by governor Kao 高 to lead the native troops to co-operate with Commander Ho 郝 in advancing westward as far as Chia-lang 甲浪,[20] whence we were ordered to proceed to Ch'a-wa-peng 察哇崩 [and] Ta-pa-shu 打巴樹 to deal with the rebels. After the rebel chieftain Chia-sung-weng 加松翁 and his followers were executed, I moved back to Ch'a-mu-tao 茶木道.[21] In the autumn of the year *i-szu* 乙巳 (1725), I was promoted garrison commander

[19] Lo-lung-tsung 洛龍(雍)宗 (in Tibetan Lho Dzong 罗宗 or Lho-rong Dzong 罗宗) is the farthest west that Ho Kuo-chu, our tribal captain, penetrated with his Na-khi troops. It is on the main highway to Lha-sa from Chha-mdo (Ch'ang-tu 昌都) and west and south of the Salween (the Salween flows here east and then south). Ch'a-wa-kang is to the east of Lo-lung-tsung 730 li distant. From A-tun-tzu in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan to Ch'a-wa-kang is a distance of 1,188 li.

The territory of Kung-pu is south-east of Chiang-ta 江達, the present T'ai-chao 太昭. It is under the control of a T'u-mu (chief) and is west of the old Tibet — Hsi-k'ang border, and north of the Ya-ru-tsang-po (Ya-ru-gtsang-po), the Chinese Ya-lu-tsang-pu Chiang 雅魯藏布江, which becomes the Brahmaputra.

The Mu-lo ferry our captain mentions is identical with the Mu-lung 木龍 of the maps. It is on the left bank of the O-i River 阿宜河, the Ui Chhu (written Dbui Chhu) of the Tibetans, a tributary of the Salween in the south-easternmost province of Tibet, Tsha-wa-rong 茶瓦隆.

[20] The *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lun* 西藏通覽, fols. 117b–110a, gives the stages from A-tun-tzu to Ch'a-wa-kang: A-tun-tzu to Mereshü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹), 160 li; thence to Chia-lang, 230 li; thence to Pi-t'u 必兔, 120 li, and to Ch'a-wa-kang, 678 li, a total of 1,188 li. One road leads from Chung-tien, Yün-nan, to Tibet via Feng-tzu-lan, Ch'a-wa-peng and Lo-lung-tsung.

[21] Ch'a-mu-tao is identical with Ch'a-mu-to 察木多, or Ch'ang-tu 昌都 [its ancient names were K'o-mu 喀木 and K'ang 康], the Tibetan Chhab-mdo (Confluence of [two] waters). It is situated in the triangle formed by the two branches of the Mekong; the eastern branch is called Tza-ch'u Ho 雜曲河, and the western branch Ang-ch'u Ho 昂曲河, the word *ho* (stream) is superfluous, for the word *ch'u* is equivalent to *chhu*, the Tibetan for river. They are the Dza Chhu and Ngom Chhu of the Tibetans, the former being the real Mekong and the latter a tributary. South of the confluence, in Yün-nan, the river is called La Chhu.

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and had charge of the regular troops. I had hardly withdrawn the troops when the governor's order again came in *ping-wu* 丙午 (1726) that I lead troops to follow Brigadier-general Nan 南 in taking up the garrison post at Ch'a-mu-tao. We did not return until the summer of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (1729). 173

"In the autumn of the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 (1730), Governor Ngo [O] 鄂 started a campaign to extirpate the insurgent Lo 倮 [Lo-lo] of Wu-tung 烏東 [Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and Tung-ch'uan are meant], and I was again ordered to coöperate with Commander Chang 張 at Tung-ch'uan and to recapture Ch'iao-chia 巧家.[32] We pursued the rebels to the Niu-lan Chiang 牛欄江,[33] where we built a bridge and crossed at night. We reached Wu-meng 烏蒙[34] and Lu-tien[35] 魯甸 and captured the rebel chief Weng Chü-tsu 翁居祖 and others. After that our troops were stationed at Tung-ch'uan until the spring of *hsin-hai* 辛亥 (1731), when we returned.

"During the autumn of the year *jen-tsu* 壬子 (1732), Governor Kao ordered me to lead the native troops to follow Brigadier-general Yang 楊 to proceed to Hsin-p'ing 新平[36] to capture fortresses. We searched the mountains and fought the rebels at Man-kan-pa 漫干壩[37] and defeated them. In the winter I was again ordered to mobilize troops to coöperate with Major Ha 哈 in marching down to Ssu-mao 思茅 and Pu-erh 普洱.[38] We advanced to Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江[39] and attacked Meng-lieh 猛烈[40] and La-tsung 猪崇. We at last captured the lairs of the robbers. It was not until the autumn of the next year that we returned in triumph.

"Now, incompetent as I am, I have been frequently cited for military exploits in the South-west. These could not have been accomplished had it not been for the prestige of the country and the bravery of the tribal troops. When we slept during snowy nights, using our spears for pillows, or when we attacked fortresses on a malarial river, the god was said to have appeared at our

[32] Tung-ch'uan is in eastern Yün-nan and Ch'iao-chia in the Tung-ch'uan district, is situated on the east bank of the Yangtze which here forms the border between Yün-nan and Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, the independent Lo-lo country in Ssu-ch'uan.

[33] The Niu-lan Chiang forms the border between the Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung magistracies in eastern Yün-nan. The river has its source near Yang-lin 楊林 and flows into the Yangtze near Hsiao-niu-lan 小牛欄.

[34] Wu-meng is the present Chao-t'ung. It was thus called in the T'ang dynasty (618–906) and was inhabited by Man or Lo-lo tribespeople. In the Ming dynasty it was called Wu-meng fu and belonged to Ssu-ch'uan. It became Yün-nan territory in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) and became known as Chao-t'ung in the ninth year (1731).

[35] Lu-tien is south-west of Chao-t'ung, near a small lake called Ma-ch'ang Hai 馬廠海.

[36] Hsin-p'ing is directly north of Yüan-chiang 元江, south-west of K'un-ming.

[37] Man-kan-pa, also called Man-kan, is north-west of Hsin-p'ing between two spurs of the Ch'e-ts'ung Mountains 徹叢山.

[38] Ssu-mao and Pu-erh are two stages apart in the southern part of Yün-nan.

[39] Chiu-lung-chiang is equivalent to Ch'o-li 車里, inhabited by Tai or Shan people on the Mekong in the Hsip-song-pa-na near the Burmese border.

[40] Meng-lieh is on the Mekong, but in Burmese territory and north of Meng (Muang) Hsing in French Laos.

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M3

critical moments, in the form of white horses, and sometimes to have assisted us with supernatural banners and soldiers. There were countless occasions when the god manifested his miraculous power. When we fought the rebels close to their lairs at La-tsung, they tried to assail our camps at night. They said themselves that they were prevented from approaching our camps by a a god with a long beard and round eyes, leading ferocious beasts around the camps.

"There were many Chinese as well as tribal soldiers in our ranks who also saw the miracle. They unanimously realise that it was the appearance of the god of the sacred mountain. I am further convinced that what I had heard was not inaccurate after all.

"When the heavenly soldiers saved our people from floods and drought, there was already established the practice of regular worship in the temple. I myself have been sheltered on numerous occasions, so how can I forget the kindness of the god? I therefore dedicate to him two fields adjacent to the temple. The fields are situated in Shan-jen li 山人里 [1] bordering on K'ai-mai 開賣 [2] on the east, the field of Ho Ts'e-pao 和冊寶 [Ho-mbö-bo is the Na-khi name] on the south, and to the rear of the field of Ho Pao-shan 和寶山 on the north-west.' Every year the amount of 0.034 silver taels shall be paid to the priest Ho Ti-chu 和地住 [this is a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ho-ddü-dzu] of the temple. The fields shall be cultivated and the proceeds therefrom shall be spent in keeping lamps (lighted) in the temple. In this way the illustrious virtue of the god may be perpetuated with the snow mountain.

"Written on an auspicious day in the spring in the 13th year of *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 in the reign of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty (1748)."

> "Reverently written by Ho Kuo-chu 和國柱, of the Prefecture of Li-chiang, second captain of the tribal troops, promoted one rank for meritorious military services and with two Records of Merit."

This translation shows how far the Na-khi troops were sent under their officers to fight, not only in the snow mountains of Tibet, but also in the malarial regions of Burma, and in the eastern and southern-most parts of Yünnan.

[1] The words Shan-jen-li are a transcription of the Na-khi name, Saw-zhi-lü.

[2] This is a transcription of the Na-khi words, K'a mag = the tail-end of the ravine.

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*133 hardly ever be persuaded to spend the night there. They are even afraid to
*137 cross that place alone by day. When escorting the spirits of their ancestors north, to their ancestral homes where the cranes lay their eggs, in the distant grass-lands of the Ko-ko Nor, they believe that if their souls once pass Mbĕr-ò-gko-ho all is well. The cave and narrow ravine which leads north out of Mbĕr-ò-gko-ho is called Ds'i-p'a 'a-k'o (Goat-face cliff cave). Beyond the cave was in ancient days a huge forest; the place is still known as Mbĕr-ò-bi-mä (Vast forest of Mbĕr-ò). The trail, lined by pines and spruces, now merges into a white, rocky road, full of clinker-like limestone; this is called Nga-ba lv-t'khye-ō (Narrowing stony throat of Nga-ba). A short distance beyond we emerge onto the southern end of Nga-ba, covered with pines and spruces.

4. NGA-BA DEPRESSION

Nga-ba is a large basin-like depression at the foot of the eastern slopes of the snow range at an elevation of 10,500 feet. It extends from the northern slopes of the Sa-ba moraine to the edge of Pai-shui 白水 or Gyi-p'ĕr k'a (not to be mistaken for the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a of the western slopes) (PLATE 79).

Nga-ba, once the bed of an ice lake, is now usually dry, except in summers of unusual rain when the greater part becomes a beautiful blue sheet of water in which the snow range is reflected (PLATE 80). Nga-ba is over two miles in length and bounded on the east by forested limestone hills, the trees being mainly pines. To the west of the basin are great forests of pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which merge into dense forests of spruces, *Picea likiangensis* of large size predominating. These in turn give way to forests of larches (*Larix Potaninii*), with undergrowth of *Arundinaria*, or cane-brake, a small slender bamboo, rhododendrons, etc. Above the larches are patches of *Abies Forrestii*, easily distinguished by their dark foliage.

The region of pine forests is known as Nga-ba t'o-k'o (*t'o*, pine tree, *k'o*, land, ground); the slopes forested with spruce and larch are called Llü-na-bi-gkv (Where the forests of the black spruces are) these forests furnish the Na-khi with timber used in the construction of their houses. The pine and larch logs are transported on very primitive two-wheeled contrivances (PLATE 81).

173 It was on this meadow that the Hli-khin[7] and Hsi-fan warriors of Yung-ning camped with their chiefs ready to attack Li-chiang. Tradition relates that the sister of one of the Na-khi chiefs,[8] who was given in marriage to the chief of the Hli-khin tribe, instigated the attack, suggesting the day of Ch'ing-ming 清明[9] when all the male Na-khi would be away visiting the graves to

[7] The Hli-khin (people of Hli, or Hli dü, or Yung-ning) are a branch of the Na-khi speaking a Na-khi dialect (*see* section on Yung-ning).

[8] It was Mu Ting who gave one of his four sisters, the eldest, called Mu Shih-hsien 木氏先, to the Yung-ning chief, A-ch'o 阿朴, in marriage. In the chronicle it relates that Mu Ting conquered Yung-ning between 1521–1523, and this would coincide with the Yung-ning Chronicle, in which it is stated that the chief A-ch'o came to power in the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (1484), succeeding his elder brother. The name *Boa-shi*, however, dates back to the Sung dynasty (*see* Chapter III, 4), and therefore the incident here related must have happened much earlier.

[9] Ch'ing-ming falls either in the second or third moon, oftener in the third moon, usually about April 5th. On that day the people visit the graves and make food offerings to their

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173 worship their dead. The Hli-khin and Hsi-fan people came down from the north and camped at Nga-ba, which the Hli-khin people call Gha-ba dü. A great mounted host had assembled on this huge meadow and before the attack staged a war dance, dressed in armor (PLATE 82) and bearing swords, lances, cross-bows and poisoned arrows. Below Nga-ba, on the northern end of the plain, is 'A-lo, or 'A-man-ndv, the plain covered with razor-sharp limestone outcroppings resembling a rough lava flow (*see* p. 220). Their charge, at 'A-lo was delayed by the sharp rocks which cut the feet of their horses, laming them. The delay lost them the battle, for when they arrived twenty li north of Li-chiang they were met by the Na-khi chief's army and annihilated, every Hsi-fan being decapitated. The place is known to this day as Boa-shi (Dead Boa, or Hsi-fan) and the scene of the decapitation is called Lv-wùa-k'ö (Place where the rocks are piled up). For every decapitated head a stone was thrown on the spot, till a considerable pile accumulated; the tumulus still exists. Another Lv-wùa-k'ö lies one li south of the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un) and is also known as Ḳhü-wùa-k'ö (*ḳhü* = lake), referring to the immense pool of blood of the executed.

The Na-khi chief then brought his traitorous sister to Li-chiang. On the artificial islet of Yü-hu Ḳhü, or Bi-ndu Ḳhü, he imprisoned her in a cage, feeding her with dry barley flour, but giving her no water whatever: surrounded by water she died of thirst. So much for historic events in Nga-ba.

*133 Several spurs with intervening meadows separate Nga-ba from the northern
*137 end of the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain. The first peak, a massive limestone mountain, which flanks the southern end of Nga-ba on the west, is the same which guards the entrance to Sa-balo-gkv, namely Ch'wua-lo-gku; it once bore a glacier on its eastern face. Behind the latter is a still higher mountain mass which I have named Sa-ba nv-lv (PLATE 79). At its foot in the spruce forest issues a spring and a streamlet which disappears underground on its way down the hill-side. The spring is called Gyi-k'aw-k'ö of Llü-na-bi-gkv.

*137 The trail, which leads through the forest on the middle slopes of the moun-
*133 tain, passes a small meadow called Bpü-gkaw-k'o-man below a small valley
*487 and spring known as Bpü-gkaw-gkv-k'wuà. Between the main peak and the nameless mountain mass is a ravine densely forested with fir at its apex; the ravine and meadow with luscious grass where the shepherds herd their flocks of sheep, are called Ō-hār ba (Turquoise meadow), while the spur separating it on the north from Pai-shui bears the name Ō-hār mbu-gkv (Turquoise spur) and overlooks the glacier valley Pai-shui.

On the eastern mountain slopes of Nga-ba there is a meadow called Nga-ba tsi-mä gko, east of the trail leading to the hamlets of Nga-tz inhabited by Na-khi as well as Miao-tzu 苗子. The latter are immigrants from Kuei-chou. From the northern end of Nga-ba a trail leads through forest, after crossing a ravine which issues from the mountains to the east of Nga-ba and is called Nga-ba lua-mba-k'o. There Tibetans often camp and herd their yak, selling the butter in the Li-chiang market.

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dead. The Na-khi buried the ashes of their cremated dead, and placed a stone before the circular mound.

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prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily. 487* 133* 137*

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shĕr, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shĕr, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes). 634 173 131

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (ch. 117, fol. 20a)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 岩可) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.] 634 173

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大匱 [the Li-chiang records

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant, Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

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634 173 state that the ruins of it are still in existence and are east of Pao-shan chou]. The other six were called Lo-pang 羅邦 [this may be the origin of the Na-khi name La-bpu], Lo-ssu (also called Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍), Ngai-ch'ang 礙場 [perhaps the present Ngai-k'o, or Na-khi 'A-k'o, south of Pao-shan chou in La-bpu (PLATE 100)], Pien-t'ou 卞頭, Tang-po-lo 當波羅 [undoubtedly the present-day Dto-bpo lo, or Chinese Tung-po-lo 東波落, in the li of La-pao], and, finally, Tang-lang-chiang 當郎將.

It is recorded that these seven brothers separated and resided each in a village. When Kublai Khan came in 1253 to attack Ta-li, that is, the Nan-chao Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭 and came to Lo-pang and thence to Lo-ssu-wei and Ta-kuei, etc. Their headman submitted and their villages received the name of Ch'a-han hu-lu-han.[4] In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) the district of Pao-shan was created and in the 16th year (1279) Pao-shan was raised to a chou.

La-bpu is an ancient historical region. The first Na-khi chief migrated to this district from Lou-t'ou 樓頭, that is, the present Yung-ning, which the Na-khi call to this day Lü dü (Land of the Lü). More than 20 generations of his descendants succeeded him. The name Pao has been retained to this day in its present appellation of La-pao, which the Na-khi call La-bpu.

[So much for the historical part available.]

3. FROM T'O-K'Ö-SHĚR TO THE FENG-K'O FERRY

*133 *137 *487 La-bpu proper is a triangular basin, sloping steeply towards the Yangtze, and is separated from T'o-k'ö-shĕr by a limestone spur. It is composed of many Na-khi hamlets, such as Dshi-shi-wùa, Nda-bpu, La-zä, etc. The mountain spur forming the western wall of the Yangtze gorge is pierced by the Yü-lv-t'o (La-bpu Stream) which divides the La-bpu basin, and flows east through a deep rock gate (Shih-men 石門) into the Yangtze. A trail leads through this terrific ravine to the banks of the Yangtze, 500 feet above which is situated the village of La-bpu 'A-k'o (Ngai-k'o), built on both banks of the La-bpu Stream. The trail into La-bpu from T'o-k'ö-shĕr crosses a gap, elevation 10,400 feet, over the separating spur. It then descends steeply into a deep valley which leads to the La-bpu villages. To the north is a huge limestone mountain with cliffs; it is here that the T'ai-tzu Kuan is situated.

Instead of descending to the ravine bottom we skirt the northern mountainside high above the gorge through groves of pine, oak and pear trees, a typical xerophytic vegetation such as one encounters elsewhere in the Yangtze valley. Flocks of parrots disport themselves in the pine groves, but other birds are scarce. The trail is narrow and is obliterated in places by landslides. The schistous rocks are split into small fragments. In and out winds the trail at 8,400 feet elevation, skirting lateral ravines, the largest of which, called Ssi-

[4] It seems that the name was originally Ho-lo-ko 和囉哥, and was rendered by the Mongols, Hu-lu-han; the *I-t'ung chih* states that the old Mongol name was corrected to Ho-lo-ko. The name Ho 和 is a distinct Na-khi family name. All Na-khi were known as Ho who did not belong to the ruling class. The Na-khi chief of the seven villages, of which Ta-kuei was the largest, who submitted to Kublai Khan, was apparently called Ho-lo-k'a, and as he belonged to the tribe which the Mongols called Ch'a-han-jang (White Jang) they gave his district the name Ch'a-han hu-lu-han, transcribing his name in Mongol fashion.

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [548] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states 173 that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 靡州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納. 173

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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346 *hsin-yu* 辛酉 (1561)[8] the native prefe . Mu Kao pacified the T'u-fan and engraved the hymns of his victories on the drum. (This is from the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, p. 35b.)

173 Chavannes translated the inscriptions into French from a copy (rubbing) brought back by Bacot. I give here an independent English translation of the original.

3. THE STONE-DRUM INSCRIPTIONS OF SHIH-KU

The inscription of 1548. — The Song of Universal Peace

"When we had received our orders to go on a punitive expedition against the wild tribes, everything went off propitiously. By virtue of bountiful blessings from Heaven we had an overplus of luck.

"The people of the country, supporting their old men, came to return to allegiance. The former subjects came leading their youngsters by the hand to behold the glorious aspect of the country. By refraining from killing, in order to spare the inhabitants, considerable good works were performed; by applying military strategy to gain victories, both virtue and prestige were achieved. With the flags to shade the sun the accumulated clouds became colorful, and when blood dripped from the swords and spears the cold blades had proved their sharpness. When the bugle[9] sounded the command to advance to the north, the courage of the Huns fell. If shields and spears were pointed westward the enemy lost his wits. Benevolent words transform a region like the grass bows under the passage of the wind; superior steeds [of noble blood] travelling over the country, are like the hoar-frost illuminated by the sun.

"Bravery in war and military resourcefulness are as unfathomable as God, and thus no man should endeavor to wholly comprehend them.

"Fierce as the leopards we overran the land, and the enemy could not withstand us.

"Loyalty we rendered to our Holy Sovereign, and we pacified the frontier lands. For ever our black army[10] will stand guard over a territory of 10,000 li."

The Song of the Conquerors

"Within two years we have carried victory east and west of the River [the Yangtze]. The neighing of our steeds of war was heard thousands of li

[8] CHAVANNES was quite correct in surmising that the inscription of 1548 could not have been engraved in that year, as it records campaigns executed during the years 1548–1549. He says, "et si les deux inscriptions n'ont pas été toutes deux gravées en 1561." According to the Li-chiang chronicle they were both cut in 1561.

[9] *Hao ling* 號令: by this is understood an order to an army to advance, for example, by means of a certain bugle.

[10] Wu-shih 烏師 (Black army).

CHAVANNES in his translation of the song remarks that in no literary text had he found an explanation of the epithet Wu 烏 applied to soldiers.

The explanation seems simple. The Li-chiang soldiers were not Chinese, but Mo-so who call themselves Na-khi and whom the Chinese class under the Wu-man 烏蠻 (Black barbarians), hence the term Wu-shih.

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away. The region was so cold that water froze and frost formed in the sixth moon. The wind was biting, and during the three months of the autumn the mists and the rains obscured the view. Snowflakes were as large as the palm of the hand. It rained from morning to night. With the wind blowing like arrows, the roads and passes were covered with frozen snow. By spreading sand over the frozen trail cattle and horses could pass over them.

"The horses of the brigands marched southward crossing the River, and invaded our frontier territory of Lin-hsi;[11] but the Celestial soldiers guarded the borders. The orders of their officers were like thunderbolts and lightning, and the rebels having lost their courage had no time to gather their flags. They fled, helping each other across the river and leaving behind saddled horses, riderless, and sacks of grain. The garments of the brigands and sacks [of grain] covered the battle-field. Our soldiers vied with one another in tearing away the tents of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 [Barbarians, Huns]. Some crept on all fours and, carrying their spears and arrows reversed, surrendered. Our advancing soldiers shook like a thunderbolt the spirit of Shan-yü 單于 [the head of the Tibetan brigands, is meant, used metaphorically here].[12]

"Heads were heaped up like hills, blood flowed like rivers and buff-coats and rattan shields filled up hollows and ditches.

"To conquer the barbarians we have now passed the years of *shen* 申 and *yu* 酉. [The years *wu-shen* 戊申 and 己酉 *chi-yu* of Chia-ching or 27th and 28th, corresponding to 1548 and 1549, are meant.] Now in the deserts there are no more traces of the foxes and the leopards. [The Tibetan brigands had been conquered and are thus symbolized.]

"A metal tablet 300 feet high was erected to commemorate the exploits of the gallant general of the Ming dynasty. The returning soldiers brought back a great victory and their joyous songs resounded like the waves of the ocean. The flags reflected the sun, and the East and the South were made red by them, the brass drums sounded like thunder, which penetrated to the West and the North.

"The resourcefulness of our braves exceeded that of Kuan Chung 管仲.[13] Our men of talent showed to the world a shrewdness worthy of Wu (and) Sun 武孫.[14]

[11] Lin-hsi 臨西 is the present-day Wei-hsi hsien.

[12] Shan-yü according to Ma Tuan-lin is equivalent to the modern Khan. Shan-yü has the meaning of vast, extensive. The first Shan-yü mentioned in the *Han Shu* ch. 94, fol. 5a was a Hsiung-nu by name T'ou-man 頭曼. In his wars against the Ch'in 秦 (255–207 B.C.) he was not victorious. Thereafter he retired to the north where he lived for more than ten years. His son and heir apparent was called Mo-t'u 冒頓 (209–175 B.C.). There were many Shan-yü who were the kings of the Hsiung-nu.

[13] Kuan Chung, also known as Kuan I-wu 管夷吾, died in 645 B.C. He was a native of the state of Ch'i 齊, whose minister he became in 685 B.C.

[14] This should in all probability read Sun Wu instead of Wu Sun. Sun Wu also called Sun-tzu 孫子 was a native of the State of Ch'i 齊. He wrote a treatise on the art of war (*Ping-fa* 兵法) and his name is usually associated with that of Wu Ch'i 吳起 as the two masters of the science of tactics and strategy. It may however stand for Wu 吳 and Sun, but in that case the writer used the wrong character Wu 武 instead of Wu 吳. The latter was a native

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173 "We have annihilated 400 camps of dogs and sheep [the Tibetans are here meant], and swept away 5,000 villages of the barbarians. The wind having blown the wicked clouds away, both the sky and earth were made serene. The sun having conquered the mountain which barred his way, the heights and the valleys were made bright. We returned to submit this to our sagacious Lord of the Ming dynasty; we, with the entire universe, rejoice in this universal peace."

The Moon on the West River

"The chiefs leading a million brave soldiers, their majestic air like that of a tiger and of a plumed bird bent on exterminating, they struck and roared like the thunder. Who dares to disobey! The prisoners of the North and the barbarians of the West, the jackal and the dog who had offended Heaven, earth and the gods, this day we have entirely swept away, and suppressed those offensive beings.

"We shall enjoy a superabundant prosperity and peace in perpetuity."

"Written in tune as if drunken with peace. *A Toast to Universal Peace.*

"The three armies have decapitated the wicked barbarians, the supreme chief is beaten with the ivory drumstick. The heads of the dogs lay covering the ground, piled up as at the Feng and Yü 封嵎.[15] Our military virtue was made to rebound; the streams of blood eddied around the armor and ○○.[16] The bodies of the slaughtered lay so thick that our horses could not move, the prowess of our soldiers was such that the western corner was pacified. Their names are sung through the ages."

"In the great Ming dynasty, Chia-ching, the 27th year (1548), when the dragon was in the attitude *wu-shen* 戊申 on an auspicious day in the middle of Spring, our great general, the pacificator of the West, the lord of the purple gold, sung this while playing on his sword [illegible] on a musical instrument."

The inscription of 1561.— Records of Great Exploits and Great Victories

"If an exploit is not outstanding, one's fame cannot be achieved; if virtue is not conspicuous, one's standing cannot be established. As exploit means loyalty to the king, and virtue means filial piety to the parents, one can obtain

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of the State of Wei 衛 who died in 381 B.C. He had studied the art of war in the State of Lu 魯 and gained great proficiency therein.

Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 1825 gives Sun Wu, using the wrong character *wu* 吳, it should be *wu* 武. The biography of Sun Wu may be found in the *Shih Chi*, ch. 65, fol. 1a.

[15] The mountains of Feng and Yü are in the province of Che-chiang, and there, in the days of Confucius, a gigantic bone pile existed. Feng Shan is 18 li from the hsien city of Wu-k'ang 武康. A prince of the Wang-mang 汪芒 family dwelled on the Feng Yü mountains. In the T'ang dynasty the mountains were called Fang-feng Shan 防風山 and Yü Shan 禹山. The latter is 2 li south-east of Feng Shan.

[16] Two Chinese characters have been defaced and hence illegible.

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exploit through loyalty, and virtue through filial piety. Be loyal after you have become noble, and you shall keep the hereditary rank; be filial after you have become wealthy, and you shall retain the position permanently. Within the four seas, in China as well as in foreign countries, the great virtue of loyalty and filial piety constitutes the universal ruling force, from which people derive blessings, glories and perpetual inheritance. Heaven helps human beings to attain their aims, and would be moved by their consciousness. 173

"In the year *wu-shen* 戊申 (1548) the Tibetan robbers depredated the territory of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 of the district of Lin-hsi.[17] My honorable father ordered me, his eldest son, Mu Kao, to take command and lead the brave soldiers to exterminate the bandits. In the same year, the eighth moon and 9th day (September 10th, 1548) we arrived at Li-kan-mao 利干毛. Before the sun had risen we advanced on the retreating brigand soldiers numbering more than 200,000; over 2,800 of them were decapitated. Success was as easy as the splitting of bamboos. Our troops advanced as far as Kung-tsu 礦租 before we returned.

"Upon reporting the victory to the three high provincial officials, the superiors bestowed golden medals, golden flowers, colorful satins, cows and wine to reward the rank and file; and gave to my honorable father the farms (of the great victor) of Mu-chien and A-hsi,[18] 1,000 taels of gold, and 10,000 of silver, ten pairs of various sorts of silk gauzes, satins, damasks, and lustrines, one gold goblet, one pair of gold fruit trays, one complete set of gold medals, and a gold necklet bearing the inscription, "With a sincere heart you have responded for the benefit of the Empire," one pair of golden flowers, one golden belt, one set of golden saddles, and one white horse.

"In the eighth moon of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (August 23rd to September 20th, 1549) when the Tibetans again invaded the border region of Chao-k'o 昭可 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of Chü-chin 巨津,[19] orders were given me, Mu Kao,

[17] The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 38, ch. 71, p. 6a, writes Mao-ch'ü-kung 毛佉公, and states that it came under Wei-hsi 維西 (formerly called Lin-hsi) and that from Wei-hsi to A-te-chiu 阿德因 were six stages, and from the latter to T'ien-chu-chai 天柱寨 were three stages, and thence to Mao-ch'ü-kung another three stages, and from the latter place to Tibet 54 stages. Mao-ch'ü-ko was, therefore, 12 stages from Wei-hsi, it is not stated in what direction but probably towards A-tun-tzu.

Lin-hsi was north-west of Li-chiang 460 li. The district was created in the Yüan dynasty in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277). To the west of Lin-hsi was the T'u-fan territory.

CHAVANNES says that in the Mu Chronicle the name Mao-ch'ü-ko appears twice, in the 14th and 16th generations. In the second instance it is preceded by the words Ni-na. Nyi-na is the Na-khi name of Wei-hsi.

[18] Mu-chien 木堅 is a district east of Li-chiang comprising a number of villages. It is called in Na-khi, Ss-ngyi; Mu-chien is a translation of the words Ss-ngyi (Durable wood). A-hsi is a village as well as a district on the Yangtze west of Li-chiang and north-east of Shih-ku. The words used here are: ta-sheng chuang 大勝庄 = farm-steads of the great victor, *i.e.* the farms belonging to the great victorious Mu family.

[19] Chü-chin is now obsolete. It was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an 羅波九睒; west of it was the T'u-fan district. The great chiefs of the Mo-so lived there for generations. In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), in the Chiu-t'an 九睒, was established Chü-chin chou, but belonging to Li-chiang Lu 麗江路 (Li-chiang Circuit).

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●173 to mobilize a large force to proceed to Pa-t'o-chai 巴托寨. There we fought and the brigands received a crushing defeat, with over a thousand of them beheaded by our forces, and innumerable more drowned in the river. After that our troops marched to Kan-to-kuang 干朵光 and other peaceful regions, in order to soothe and pacify the people ere they returned.

"The success was again reported to the superiors and a reward similar to that of the previous occasion was bestowed on my venerable father as before.

"My venerable father said, 'He who practises benevolence has no enemy. He who plans strategy in his tent assures victory a thousand li distant. The Mu family has for generations been the protecting barrier of the Ming empire.

" 'It maintained peace with firmness in the entire region. If in the south of Tien 滇 [Yün-nan] the chickens and dogs are not afraid, and if the army and the people live in peace, is that not, in brief, due to the grace of the Mu family?

" 'In order to show publicly his loyal heart, a vassal worthy of the name, whether asleep or while eating, must never forget [what he owes to the sovereign]; therefore my sons and grandsons shall wear the golden belt embossed with the flowers which was bestowed on us in recompense by Imperial decree and which bears the words, 'To a loyal heart which responded for the benefit of the Empire,' and hereditarily shall defend Li-chiang.'

"As lofty as the height of the North Sacred Mountain, and as vast as the expanse of the South Sea [so be the majesty of the Mu family]. We have engraved this inscription on this stone in order that it may be handed down to posterity

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Poetry says:

"In recompensing the favors of the Empire, he brandished a pair of swords, and the wind and the rain were made to whirl busily. When he brandished a single sword, devils and spirits would hide away. With his heroism the frontier regions were kept in strict order; the cold brightness of his sword penetrated the constellations of the Cow-herd and the Great Bear. He had been the key to a stone gate in hereditarily defending the territory of the Ming dynasty."

This is now followed by the Song of Peace:

The Toast to Universal Peace

"We inscribed the ode about the great victories; we have composed with joy the rhymes about universal peace; for the three armies when the merits gained by each one were repeatedly discussed, it was a rare and beautiful spectacle. The brocaded silk garments, in front and behind, were singularly

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The iron chain-bridge was the point of friendly intercourse between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'u-fan, and on that account it was called Ta-chin-tu 大津渡 (Great ford) (over the Yangtze). Hence also Chü (the great) chin (ford or mart). *See* page 389.

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harmonious. The red hue of the banners reflected the first movements of the sun; the merry songs were heard a hundred li away. 173

"In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561) when the dragon was in the attitude of *hsin-yu* 辛酉, in the ninth moon (October 9th to November 6th) on an auspicious day, the civil and military prefect of Li-chiang, hereditary T'u-ssu [native chief], received by Imperial decree and favor promotion to the grade of mandarin of the third rank, and a dignity similar to the nine ministers was bestowed by the supplementary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 [vice-minister, ○○○], MU KAO of the hereditary Mu family ○○."

4. FROM SHIH-KU TO CHÜ-TIEN 石鼓 巨甸

From Shih-ku the trail descends to the Ch'ung-chiang Ho (Major Davies' Hsi-mi Ho), the Pa-tzu gyi (La-ba gyi) of the Na-khi. Old willows line the banks of the stream, while a covered wooden bridge, the posts held together by crudely forged chains, spans it.[20] Arrived at the Yangtze (the Chinese Ch'ang Chiang 長江 or Long River) we follow its western bank under the shade of giant willows which have weathered many a flood. The river is here very broad and its waters a silvery gray; it is decidedly picturesque where it turns to the east and then north, to cut through the Li-chiang Snow range. The fields are of a rich sandy loam and bear excellent crops of rice and maize much finer in every way than on the upper slopes. 487* 133* 137* [243]

We now enter the wide river valley and lose sight of the spur on which Shih-ku is situated. The mountains rise steeply on both sides of the valley floor, exposing reddish-yellow sandstone; the grassy slopes support scattered pine trees with long drooping branches. A few li over a sandy road through broad maize-fields, bring us to the hamlet of Shih-men-kuan 石門關[21] (Stone gate pass); diagonally opposite on the east bank of the river is the hamlet of Boa-t'a-wùa (H-M., Botauo). This is a historic spot. A native Supervisor (Hsün-chien 巡檢) was established here in the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) of the Yüan dynasty, but later abolished. In ancient days it belonged to the district of Chü-chin and to the village La-pa-ts'un 刺巴村 (the present Shih-ku, for the latter is called La-ba in Na-khi). Many battles have been fought here against the T'u-fan who dwelled to the north of it. It was the battle-ground of the T'ang, as well as of the Mongol and the Ming generals.[22]

[20] The bridge is called Lai-yüan ch'iao 來遠橋, and is also known by the name of Tiao-ch'iao-kuan 弔橋關; and was built in the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739).

[21] The distances from Li-chiang to Chü-tien and beyond are given as follows in the Li-chiang records, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34: from Li-chiang to Shih-ku 77 li, to Shih-men-kuan 20 li, to Ch'iao-t'ou 70 li, to the large village of Chü-tien 70 li, to T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關) 90 li.

[22] In the ninth year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (793), P'u-wang 苴王, a Na-khi chief, guided the T'ang troops under General Wei Kao 韋皋 to fight the T'u-fan at Shih-men-kuan and defeated them (*see* Mu Chronicle, p. 95).

In 1382 Fu Yu-te 傅友德, a Ming general, was sent to conquer south-west China for the Empire. It was then that the Na-khi chief Mu Te submitted and guided Fu Yu-te's troops to subdue the Tibetans who had resisted at Shih-men-kuan. In 1385 the native chief of

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broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou,[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

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The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅姿 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獠, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆九陰. The P'u 濮 and Lu 獠 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 蠍羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 旄牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越巂羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 彡姐羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

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established in the Chiu-t'an 九賧 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü-chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麗江路). During the Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang. 173 101

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T'ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang, in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 汛 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü-tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白連 (White lotus), and Bä-lä-'a in Na-khi (H-M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of 'A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅; H-M., Dolö). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggŏ-lv-wùa (H-M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second. 487* 133* 137*

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-khü-ndu (Lower Khü-ndu; Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggŏ-khü-ndu (Upper Khü-ndu; Shang-heng-t'u 上亨土; H-M., Go-henda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 龍巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the

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CHAPTER II

WEI-HSI 維西

I. THE WEI-HSI RECORDS

173 According to the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, and the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* 維西聞見錄 (Transcription or records of things heard and seen about Wei-hsi), ch. 18, fol. 1, Wei-hsi was outside the border of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan). It was incorporated with Li-chiang and its territory ruled by the (Li-chiang) T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect)[1].

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, p. 44b, states that, "In the T'ang dynasty, the T'u-fan T'ieh-ch'iao 吐蕃鐵橋 was the territory of a Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner). In the Mongol dynasty it became the territory of the Li-chiang Circuit, and in the Ming dynasty that of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. At the change of the dynasty, Wu 吳 (Wu San-kuei) rebelled and later his grandson gave the land to the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it belonged to Ho-ch'ing fu. A T'ung-p'an of the latter place was transferred to reside there and to protect their territory. In another line on the same page it says that a Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-class assistant department magistrate) from Chien-ch'uan chou 劍川州, a town to the south of Li-chiang resided there with a garrison.

"Wei-hsi t'ing was the Lin-hsi hsien of the Yüan dynasty. It was in the northwest, and was the land of the T'u-fan.

"In the Ming dynasty the native magistrate sent his soldiers to improve the land; its existence dates from that time."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that Wei-hsi became part of the empire during the Ming dynasty. During the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) it was under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) a transferable official was appointed there. Nothing is known of the previous successive changes in the Wei-hsi district.

The Wei-hsi Geographical Records state that from the Han dynasty to the Sung dynasty nothing is known about it. In the Yüan dynasty it adjoined the border of Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.

No records of the climate or customs of the territory were kept.

814 In the year *chi-ch'ou* 己丑 of Ch'ien-lung (1769), a certain Yü Ch'ing-
173 ch'ang 余慶長 filled the function of T'ung-p'an at Wei-hsi. Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, who was his younger brother and had the rank of Kung-sheng 貢生 (Senior licentiate) lived with him in the yamen. He enquired about the past from the old native officials, and also from such as could speak Chinese, and thus he acquired considerable knowledge. Yü Ch'ing-yüan composed the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* already quoted, and it is due to him that we have any records at all about this interesting region, its people, customs, etc.

[1] The office of T'ung-p'an of Li-chiang was established in 1723. The Na-khi T'u-chih-fu (Native prefect) was reduced at that time to assistant prefect of the second class.

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"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) Wei-hsi was the eastern border of the T'u-fan, and prior to the Ming dynasty there were no records. During the reign of Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) the Li-chiang native prefect of the Mu family[2] gradually became powerful and led his Mo-so soldiers to attack the T'u-fan. The latter then built several hundred watch-towers to resist them, and guarded and strongly fortified all important places, such as the villages of Liu-ts'un 六村, La-p'u 剌普, and Ch'i-tsung. The Mu family made a huge battering-ram and, pulling it after them, struck their watch-towers, causing them to collapse. All their important places were then captured, and the people butchered. After that the Mo-so tribespeople were brought to rule over them. From the north of Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄[3] they came to submit. Thereupon Wei-hsi and Chung-tien and the villages of Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) and Li-t'ang 裏塘 [the present-day Pa-an 巴安 and Li-hua 裏化] now governed by Ssu-ch'uan [Hsi-k'ang], became part of the empire. The Mu family collected the land tax, and this was reported to the throne. In the 13th year of K'ang-hsi (1674) Wu San-kuei rebelled; when his grandchild, Shih-fan 世璠, was defeated, he ceded the region north of Ch'i-tsung and presented it to Ch'ing-hai 青海 (that is, Koko Nor), and asked them to come to his rescue. Wei-hsi was again lost to the Tibetans. After several years it was again retaken. Those territories which belonged to Ssu-ch'uan were kept in restraint by native officials. The affairs of the Dalai Lama, who was greatly respected by the dynasty, were not interfered with.

"In the 7th year of Yung-cheng (1729), the families of north-western Yün-nan were divided and some were placed under the rule of Ho-ch'ing fu. The Ho-ch'ing T'ung-p'an was transferred to rule them and he established himself in the city (Wei-hsi). One thousand soldiers were also placed there under the control of a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel). To seven old headmen was given the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總, and to three the rank of T'u-pa-tsung 土把總.

"In the 19th year of Ch'ien-lung (1754) the administrative seat of the country bordering on Li-chiang was changed and placed under Li-chiang fu."[4]

2. THE NATIVE OFFICIALS

The Wei-hsi Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 T'u-pa-tsung ruled over La-jih 喇日, La-p'u-wan 喇普灣, Lo-chi-ku 樂吉古, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西, and other villages. His ancestors lived at Yu-i-ts'un 由義村, from which village it is 60 li east to Ch'i-tsung La-p'u; 15 li south to La-p'u-wan; west, 100 li to the Nu-ti 怒地, the region of the Nu-tzu tribe, who live on the Salween; 200 li north to the village of Chih-yeh-ts'un 枝葉村 [this should read Yeh-chih-ts'un].

His first ancestor was Chao-mu 趙謨. In the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung

[2] This was Mu Tseng, who fought many battles against the Tibetans of Nyi-na, which is the Na-khi name for Wei-hsi (*see* Mu chronicle, p. 126–27). He was born in 1587 and died in 1646.

[3] Also written Peng 崩 instead of Pen.

[4] *Pei-cheng-chih* ch. 18, fol. 1a–2a, and 17, fol. 84a.

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173 (1742), the Li-su robbers rose, and so he joined the army, and fighting them with energy he acquired merit, and was appointed hereditary Yen-chiang 沿江 T'u-pa-tsung (Native sergeant of the Mekong river bank). The office was handed down to Kuo-chün 國俊; after his death Hsin 信 inherited the office. After the latter's death Chao-chang 朝璋 inherited. He died in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). His son Wei 渭 died of illness in the army. His grandson Chiu-hsi 九錫 assumed the position.

* * *

There was established what was called the Northern circuit and the Western circuit on the Mekong. The Northern circuit (Pei-lu) was ruled over by a T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). His ancestral seat was the territory of K'ang-p'u 康普 and extended east to K'ang-p'u Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, 30 li; [5] south to the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween) 50 li; west to Wo-lu-ngai ch'iao 窩路巖橋, 30 li; north to Ngai-wa-ngai ch'iao 巖瓦巖橋, 70 li.

His first ancestor was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, who governed the affairs of Kung-lung 工龍. He led his drilled soldiers to attack the Li-su robbers, whereupon he acquired merit, and was rewarded with the office of hereditary T'u-ch'ien-tsung. The office was handed on to Shih-lu 世祿. The latter was succeeded by Liang-pi 良弼. After his death, his son Wen-han 文翰 assumed the position. The present T'u-ch'ien-tsung is the Nan T'uan-shou 喃團首 (Nan, head of the Militia).

The Western circuit (Hsi-lu 西路) was ruled by a T'u-pa-tsung (sergeant) who lived hereditarily at K'ang-p'u village 康普村. His territory extended to the east 10 li from the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong); south 15 li to Kan-lan-mu 橄欖木; west to the Salween (Nu-tzu Chiang 怒子江), 150 li, and north to Cha-lo-ching 渣洛箐, 80 li. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) Wang-lien 王連 captured and chained many prisoners and assisted in extirpating the Li-su robbers. He died in battle.

A memorial being granted, the hereditary title of Hsi-lu T'u-pa-tsung (Sergeant of the Western circuit) was transmitted to his son Shih-chio 世爵. The latter transmitted it to Jung 榮. In the military duties connected with the subjection of Yün chou 雲州 [6] and Ta-yao 大姚 [7] he acquired merit. He was rewarded with the Lan-ling 藍翎 (Raven plume) and also the rank of Shou-pei 守備 (Second Captain). Jung died and his son Chi-jen 吉仁 inherited the position.

[634] Wei-hsi district has to-day a total of twenty-one t'u-ssu or native officials.

[5] This mountain, written more correctly Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山, extends from north to south and east of a lower parallel range which hems in the Mekong. Valleys extend to the Mekong at various places. The range stretches north towards Tung-chu-lin and forms the western valley wall of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河.

[6] Yün chou, now called Yün hsien, is south of Hsia-kuan and Meng-hua about six to seven stages.

[7] Ta-yao is north-west of Ch'u-hsiung about four stages, and about eight stages from the capital via the northern route, Wu-ting, Fu-min 武定富民.

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6. THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE YEH-CHIH T'U-SSU.

●173 Through the courtesy of Mr. Yü Te-chün 俞德浚 a Chinese botanist who recently visited Yeh-chih, I have come into the possession of a copy of the genealogical record of the Wang family 王氏 of Yeh-chih. This record has been jealously guarded by the present T'u-ssu of Yeh-chih, who even declared not to possess any. The record is not flattering and this may account for his reluctancy to reveal it. The Wang family which since the death of the late T'u-ssu has degenerated, exercises now only a nominal control over the district. The record is brief and full of hostile remarks about certain members of the family. It was written by Li Wen-ch'üan 李蘊泉 alias Li Yü-lien 李玉濂 a Chinese, who was the tutor and secretary of the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 also known as Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相. Both T'u-ssu and secretary were living at the time of my visit in October 1923, while leading an expedition in south-eastern Tibet for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D.C. Besides the Genealogical record here published, there exists apparently another one, but that is not available and may be no more extant.

It is most curious that so little is known about the male line of the Wang family, for the first two rulers mentioned are women. The first is a mother-in-law of the female tribal chiliarch, and the second is her daughter-in-law. The husband of the latter was presumably an outsider and is therefore not mentioned in the family record.

Introduction to the Genealogical Record. — Li Yü-lien, B.A., was requested by the T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en to compose this record, so we are told in the introductory remarks, which are as follows:

"There have been eight generations from the first ancestor to Hsiang 相 (Wang Kuo-hsiang). During that period some of the forefathers, leading a patriotic life, achieved much in the way of reclaiming waste lands, erecting temples and lamaseries; also in the construction of bridges. Others again distinguished themselves in military exploits. Among those who were repeatedly rewarded with medals and other decorations, mention may be made of the ancestor of the fourth generation on whom was bestowed an honorary tablet by the viceroy. The writer's (the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en) own father (T'ing-chao 廷詔) was promoted from a Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant) to a Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Lieutenant) and Shou-pei 守備 (Second captain). On him was also bestowed the third grade peacock feather, as well as a tablet bearing the inscription Wei Kuo Chüan Ch'ü 爲國捐軀 (You gave your life for your country). Unfortunately he died suddenly while serving his country, as a result of a quarrel among the brothers in the family. The Li-chiang prefect Chu 朱[27] sent a eulogy for his funeral.

The writer's third uncle by the name of Hsüan 選, who harbored evil intentions, wanted a share of the property, kept on causing trouble until the case was finally brought before a court. Unexpectedly the writer's false uncle

[27] Chu Ch'ing-ch'un 朱慶椿 became Li-chiang Chih-fu 知府 or prefect in the eleventh year of Hsien-feng 咸豐 (1861).

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T'ing-tso 廷佐, who followed the bad example of the other uncle [28] caused incessant trouble. 173

Now several decades have elapsed and the writer's age is almost seventy. It is still remembered that the writer was treated like a dog or a sheep by his two wolf-like uncles who were bent on exterminating him. Moreover, the second and fourth uncles, who were lamas, trying to dig up the rats and catch the birds, compelled us to give them a portion of the family property and issue a title deed to cover their share. In consequence the family tie with them was severed.

Alas! Is it conceivable that my mortal body should have undergone so many upheavals of the world? The only consolation I have lies in the prosperity the family has gradually enjoyed by virtue of the secret blessings from the ancestors.

After the family residence was destroyed by fire, a new and more elaborate building was erected in its place. Farmsteads have been established at such villages as Pa-ti 巴滴, Tzu-li 子里, East Pai-man-lo 東白滿羅 and West Pai-man-lo 西白滿羅, To-lo 多猓 and Lung-t'o-lo 弄它洛. Difficulties were often experienced in arranging weddings and funerals. In handling official business and in dealing with public affairs, much was left to be desired. Putting my hand over my heart in self examination, I do not know how much energy has been spent over these matters.

Now I have sons and many nephews, and ere long the grandsons will themselves have children of their own. Time certainly flies and I am much moved by the fact that the span of life is merely like a dream.

I have requested Mr. Li Yü-lien, B.A., to compose this article. It is not intended to add anything to the glories already existing, but merely to state the facts so that a part of the grandeur of the past may still be seen by posterity."

"On a lucky day in the fourth lunar month, in the seventh year of the Republic of China (May 10th–June 9th, 1918).

Recorded by Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相 (Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣). Composed and written by Li Yü-lien (Li Wen-ch'üan) tutor 西席 to the ancient Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 (Kingdom of the piebald horse."

Genealogical Record of the Wang family.

FIRST GENERATION. — *Ho-niang* 禾娘: The mother-in-law of the female tribal lieutenant Chih-ming 志明. Her daughter-in-law Chih-ming was brave and loyal and alone succeeded her husband in office and opened up Wei-hsi 維西. Unfortunately her husband died early, survived by a daughter. Ho-niang and her son's wife carried on extensive philanthropic work by erecting six temples which they endowed with land and fields. They rehabilitated

[28] The text actually says: ch'ui-hsien 垂涎 = (whose) mouth watered. As an old saying goes, 'who will quietly let another man snore beside his own bed'? A lawsuit was filed against him at the office of the prefect and the case was appealed to the office of the Tao-yin 道尹 and then to the viceroy. Complaint was made against the designs of the said false uncle and his son who intended to confuse our ancestral line by the admission of persons of different surnames. The case was finally settled when a definite verdict was issued for each party to abide by its documentary evidence.

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113 the estates belonging to the various petty tribal officers, and clearly defined the boundaries of the properties of the inhabitants, and erected a city wall.

In the 15th or 16th year of Yung-cheng[29] (A.D. 1737 or 1738) they requested that the tribal system be changed to the Chinese system and that an office for the pacification of the tribespeople be established.

It may be mentioned that since the founding of the Republic, Wei-hsi has been made into a district.

SECOND GENERATION. — *Wang A-chih* 王阿芝: Daughter of Ho-niang, left K'ang-p'u for Yeh-chih where her surname was changed to Wang. She had no son but only a daughter who was married to Tsai-hsi 再錫. The latter lived with her in her family. Like her mother she inherited the hereditary position and increased the family property by the reclamation of waste land.

(The name of the daughter does not appear in the record, neither did she succeed her mother).

THIRD GENERATION. — *Wang Tsai-hsi* 王再錫: The son-in-law of Wang A-chih. He had two sons. No reference can be found in the family genealogy as to his birth place. However he succeeded his mother-in-law holding the same position and was known to be upright and unselfish. He was kind to the people.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *Wang An* 王安: The eldest son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He was sincere and honest by nature. He was systematic in performing official duties and efficient in tranquilizing the people. His superiors appreciated his ability and all the people liked to obey his orders. It was a pity that he did not live long. He had two sons Ch'ao-tung 朝棟 and Ch'ao-fu 朝輔.

Wang Ting 王定: The second son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He had two daughters, their names are not given; one of them was married to Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌 of Tien-ku 甸古,[30] who lived in his wife's family.

He was kind and righteous. Both the Chinese and tribespeople liked him. The viceroy presented him with an honorary tablet bearing the inscription: Hsing Tui Ku Ch'u 行敦古處 = Your character is sterling.

FIFTH GENERATION. — *Wang Ch'ao-tung* 王朝棟: The eldest son of Wang An died early. A man whose original name was Chao 趙 was taken into the family, which named him P'u 璞; Wang Ch'ao-tung's daughter was given him in marriage. It is impossible to ascertain whence P'u's father Chao Kuo-chün 趙國俊 had come from.[31]

[29] Yung-cheng ruled for thirteen years only; it should read the 2nd or 3rd year of Ch'ien-lung.

[30] Tien-ku is the Na-khi Dü-gkv; it is north of Yeh-chih.

[31] Chao Kuo-chün was the Yen-chiang t'u-pa-tsung 沿江土把總 the native sergeant of the Mekong river bank. His first ancestor was Chao Mu 趙穆 who was appointed to the above position in the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1742); he had been victorious over Li-su robbers of Ngai-wa-lo 巖瓦落. Chao Hsin 趙信, the son of Chao Kuo-chün inherited the

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Wang Ch'ao-fu 王朝輔: The second son of Wang An. He had no son but only two daughters. He was a prudent and industrious young man. He often shared the sufferings and joys of his servants. Villagers and members of his clan admired him for his industry and foresight. 173

Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌: He married one of the daughters of Wang Ting; originally his personal name was Shih-ch'ang. Since he married one of the Wang daughters and lived with the Wang family, he should not have kept the surname Ho. It is also impossible to say why T'ien-chio 天爵 was called the son and heir. It is believed that perhaps at the time of succeeding to the hereditary title, the recorder played a trick and caused an erroneous entry. It will be noted that Ho Shih-ch'ang was the second son-in-law of Wang Ting and that T'ien-chio was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu. Why was he still called son in the records? The land register of the ancestor of the fourth generation was somewhat obscure and contradictory in this respect.

SIXTH GENERATION. — *Wang P'u* 王璞: He came to Yeh-chih from Wei-hsi and married the daughter of Wang Ch'ao-tung. He had two sons but no daughter. The names of his two sons were Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Wan-nien 萬年.

Wang T'ien-chio 王天爵: He was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu and had four sons and two daughters. His sons were named: T'ing-chao 廷詔; Ming-chüeh 明覺, he was the Chang-chiao 掌教 (Wielder of supreme religious authority) of Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺; T'ing-hsüan 廷選 and Te-tu 得度, the latter was a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. The eldest daughter was married to the Wang family of K'ang-p'u [32] and the second daughter was married to the Ho family of Tien-ku. T'ien-chio's parents had died when he was still young. Game huntin ; was his hobby. When he grew into manhood he was prudent and kind. He built the Hsien-jen tung 仙人洞 or the cave of the immortals and the Lo-tzu bridge 猓子橋. He did much in the reclamation of land and in mining.

Wang T'ien-lu 王天祿: He was T'ien-chio's younger brother, who was the adopted son of Ho Hui-tsu 禾輝祖. He was the assistant tribal officer of Yeh-chih. His false (spurious) younger brother, T'ien-kuei 天貴 was the father of the spurious uncle T'ing-tso 廷佐. The family register showed that the spurious father was given a share of the property and that his son was married to the daughter of the Sang family 桑氏 at Kung-shui 共水,[33] and lived in the wife's family.

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position. He was followed by his son Chao Ch'ao-chang 趙朝璋 who was killed in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). See also chapter: Wei-hsi native officials. — From: *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 145, fol. 33b.

[32] It would appear that there was a Wang family at K'ang-p'u which had nothing to do with the Wang family of Yeh-chih. The former was the native Pa-tsung of the Western circuit of Hsi-lu 西路. This Pa-tsung and the Pa-tsung of Northern circuit or Pei-lu 北路 named Nan 南 resided at K'ang-p'u. Now only the Nan family resides at K'ang-p'u. There is also a Lin-ch'eng t'u pa-tsung 臨城土把總 by the name Wang who lives thirty li east of Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 at Yung-an-ts'un 永安村.

[33] The members of the Sang family were T'u-pa-tsungs of A-tun-tzu, dating to the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

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●123 It could not be understood why he started a lawsuit to get a share of the property. He would not have left his wife and children and come to T'o-pa-k'o 拖八科, had there not been a prospect of snatching a further portion of the family property.

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wan-ch'un* 王萬春 and *Wang Wan-nien* 王萬年: They were the elder and second sons of Wang P'u, and became the adopted sons of T'ing-hsüan 廷選, the third son of T'ien-chio. They should have been able to get along with others amicably but after their cousin was assassinated at Hung-p'o 紅坡, they at first attempted in vain to encroach upon the property; later they instituted a lawsuit with a view of seizing the property. It was a great pity that they had no consideration for their sister-in-law and nephews, who were thus exposed to starvation.

Wang T'ing-chao 王廷詔: He was the eldest son of T'ien-chio. He was brave and resourceful by instinct. He won victories in suppressing the Mohammedan uprising led by Tu 杜. Five of the districts under the Li-chiang prefect sent tablets bearing the inscriptions: Li Yüan Pao Chang 麗垣保障 = the Bulwark of Li-chiang, and Wei Kuo Wei Min 爲國爲民 = for the Country and for the People, etc. He was later instructed by Yang Wu-min 楊武愍 (General Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科 of Ta-li fame) to urge the people to pay the military tax, but he was unfortunately murdered by the wicked lamas. Prefect Chu 朱 a former prefect of Li-chiang and Li 李 the prefect then in office, sent eulogies for his funeral. One of the eulogies was engraved on his tombstone.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *Wang Kuo-hsiang* 王國相 (PLATE 160): He was the eldest son of Wang T'ing-chao. He was clever when young and skilled in painting. While he has enjoyed Heaven's blessing, he has been prudent and modest. He has continued the good works of his ancestors in such projects as building highways, repairing bridges, erecting temples and developing waste land. Most of his achievements have already been recorded in the new family genealogy. He has started to accumulate funds for constructing a rope-bridge and ferries. He is most congenial when dealing with the people, and has been quite successful in teaching his sons, grandsons, younger brothers and nephews. The composer of this article has been in his employ for over a decade and is well aware of his enjoyment of prosperity, good reputation and ripe old age. All necessary enterprises have been carried out in all speediness. It may be appropriate to present him with the following eulogies: A noble pair of brothers and a good father and son. He had four brothers named Kuo-tung 國棟; Kuo-liang 國樑; Teng-tzu 登子 [he was a lama of Shou-kuo Ssu] and Kuo-ts'ai 國材. His brother Kuo-tung became a member of the Ho family; he had seven daughters and one son Ho Hou-pen 禾厚本. Kuo-liang had one daughter and one son by name Wen-min 文敏. Kuo-ts'ai had one daughter and three sons: Wen-ch'ang 文敞 who became the Chang-chiao of Shou-kuo Ssu, Wen-fu 文敷 and Wen-huan 文煥 who became a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. Wang Kuo-hsiang had three daughters and three sons. The first born is Wang Wen-cheng 王文政, then Wen-shu 文淑 who died in childhood, and Wen-tien 文敷.

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Wang Kuo-cheng 王國楨: Was the son of Wang T'ing-hsüan [The assertions made by the author of this genealogy are so uncomplimentary that they are here omitted. Suffice it to say that the clan has degenerated and that opium has played its part in the downfall of the family]. 173

NINTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wen-cheng* 王文政: Is the eldest son of Wang Kuo-hsiang and is the present ruler of Yeh-chih. He exercises however little authority and it is doubtful if his son will ever inherit the office. He is the father of three sons and one daughter. The sons are named: Wang Chia-lu 王嘉祿, Wang Chia-jui 王嘉瑞 and Wang Chia-pi 王嘉弼. Wang Wen-cheng has since died and his son Wang Chia-lu has succeeded him.

Concluding remarks. — When the Genealogical record was written, Wang Kuo-hsiang was the eighth generation of rulers, but the seventh who ruled at Yeh-chih, for the first generation lived at Wei-hsi. In fact the town is said to have been opened by Chih-ming who also is said to have built the city wall. The first reference to Na-khi being given charge of the region of Wei-hsi, the ancient Lin-hsi and the Na-khi Nyi-na, occurs in the Mu family Chronicle during the rule of A-te A-chu, the eighth generation, in the year 1406.

Recently K'ang-p'u has been attached to Yeh-chih and now forms only a chü 局; the T'u-ssu has lost part of his authority and is only permitted to collect taxes from the Li-su living in the mountains and from Na-khi villages. He administers about 800 families in all.

7. FROM YEH-CHIH PLAIN TO TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

After leaving the Yeh-chih T'u-ssu's yamen we cross the Yeh-chih stream and climb high above the Mekong, passing the village of Tien-ku 甸古, the Dü-gkv of the Na-khi. The trail is again very narrow, covered by landslides and often dropping vertically into the Mekong, which runs like a mill-race. We next pass the village of 'A-wùa (Ngai-wa),[34] skirting sandstone bluffs, the slopes of which are covered with oak and walnut, while on the terraced slopes near the village maize, rice and tobacco are cultivated. The villages next passed are P'u-lo-tzu 普羅子[35] (H.-M., Palonso) and Ssi-li the Chinese Tzu-li 子里, each near a lateral stream. The Mekong beyond the last village makes a sharp curve, due to the resistance of the conglomerate, and ahead on a bluff is visible the hamlet of P'u-ti 普地. After crossing over a long wooden bridge a tributary between two vertical cliffs, two li more bring us to the village of Na-kan-to 那干多, and, near another bend of the river, to the village of Ba-dü, (Pa-ti 巴滴 or 巴的), distance 65 li from Yeh-chih. Ba-dü is a pure Na-khi village, situated at the foot of a hill forested with pines; opposite on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ku-pu 故布. 487* 133* 137*

Skirting the village of Ba-dü, we come to the hamlet of Lo-ndu (PLATES 161, 162) (Lo-ta 猓達 in Chinese; MAJ. D., Nan-tao), and follow the curves

[34] The Chinese Yen-wa 鹽瓦, pronounced Ngai-wa in Yün-nan.

[35] In Tibetan Ba-glang-tsho ཕ་གླང་མཚོ, pronounced Ba-lang-tsho.

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346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

792 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*487 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed
*133 with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys
*437 until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra) [7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子闌

•173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 慕頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角壩, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 了拉郎 villages.

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ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (Gorè).

[7] 奔子闌 [8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tun-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

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The T'u-ch'ien-tsung hereditarily resides at Pen-tzu-lan; his territory extends east to the Hsi-k'ang—Tibetan border and the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, 20 li; south to T'o-ting 拖頂 of the Wei-hsi border, 240 li; west to I-chia-p'eng 一家棚 of the Wei-hsi border, 150 li; north to Wei-hsi and the Ba-thang border, 500 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Shen-weng 神翁. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the native office was changed and naturalized, and the memorial for his appointment as hereditary native lieutenant was approved by the Throne. He guarded the important borders of Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang)—Tibet. The office was handed down to the son of San-chia-ch'i-li 三家七里 (his Tibetan name transcribed), whose name was changed to Wang Shih-ch'ang 王世昌. Shih-ch'ang died and his son Ch'en 臣 inherited the office. After the latter's death his son Wan-nien 萬年 assumed the position in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834). The present ruler is Wang Chao-lin 王兆麟. 173

The T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the native lieutenant, restrained the Man-i (barbarians). They governed and guarded the important frontiers. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the hereditary rank of the T'u-pa-tsung was approved. His first ancestor was Pieh-ma 別馬, but afterwards his name was changed to Po 柏. The office was transmitted to Po-hui 柏輝. Hui died and Mou 茂 inherited the office. Mou died and his son Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青 inherited the office in the first year of Kuang-hsü (1875).

According to the *Wei-hsi Wen-Chien lu*, "Pen-tzu-lan is situated on the banks of the Yangtze; the territory is narrow and difficult and the mountains high. In the summer the heat is intense, while on the tops of the mountains there is much snow; in the winter the cold is severe.

"At Pen-tzu-lan are said to grow five trees called *Tsang-t'ao* 藏桃. The leaves are like those of willows, the flowers are deep red and the petals are like those of a peach. It flowers in the 12th moon, the flowers are large and long; in the third moon the flowers drop, and in the sixth moon the fruit is ripe, and red as a peach. The taste is astringent and the fruit not edible. If one wishes to eat it, it must be treated like the *Hu-t'ao* 胡桃.[9] The kernel is fragrant and sweet. Tradition relates that during the reign of K'ang-hsi the territory belonged to Ch'ing-hai 青海; the headman of that region came to Pen-tzu-lan and took the seeds back with him to Ch'ing-hai [Koko Nor], but they would not grow."

4. ACROSS KAR-RI LA (PASS) OF KENG-LI LA 更里拉

Continuing our journey we come to three converging gorges in the center of which is a large, massive, pyramidal mountain, clothed in its upper third 487* 133* 137*

[9] *Hu-t'ao* is the earliest designation in Chinese for the walnut and means the peach of the *Hu*. Hu was the Chinese name for the Iranians. The term *Ho-t'ao* 核桃 is a later one for the walnut and means seed peach, or the peach containing a kernel (LAUFER *Sino-Iranica*). The *Tsang-t'ao* is very possibly the almond (*Prunus amygdalus*) but the latter has not yet been found in China. What the Chinese call *Hsing-jen* 杏仁 is not the almond but the kernels of the apricot — although genuine almonds, because they resemble the seeds of the apricot, are also called *Hsing-jen*. The only almond occurring in China is a wild species known as *Prunus tangutica* and occurs in western Kan-su along the T'ao River as a thorny shrub, where I collected it in 1925 and 1926.

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PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

History and Boundaries of Yung-ning 永寧

1. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning. 101 173

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi) [1] family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A. [551]

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 麗化 (Li-t'ang 麗塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

[1] The name *Hli-khin* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi.* The Hli-khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhĕr-khin.

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as Mu-li 木裏 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the present Ch'ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k'-ang and partly in Ssu-ch'uan. The T'u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family 喇氏 which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多; Chhab-mdo)[2] in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ).[3] He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: "Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work." The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: "If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity." The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po[4] (The first Mu-li T'ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T'u-pai-hu 土百戶 and T'u-ch'ien-hu 土千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* that the Tso-so and Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:

[2] ཆ�དོ

[3] His name was rJe-blo-gros-chhos-skyong རྗེ་བློ་གྲོས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང

[4] ཨུལི་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་དང་པོ

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"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approved he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh 巴洱 or 八耳 in the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief."[5] His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu 六藏瓹都 a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs ཐུ་ཏོབ་བློ་བཟང, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob. 101 173

Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 項.[6] (PLATE

[5] The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ĕr, the Na-khi Mbĕr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri written hBar-ri ཧཔར་རི; it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (ཧཔར་རི་ལྡན). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced *dän* or *den*; its final n is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu 枯魯 or K'ang-wu 康坞 (in Tibetan, Khe-'ong ཁེ་ཧོང). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bsod-nams-dar-rgyas-gling བདེ་བ་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང is situated.

[6] The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. *Hsüan* simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of *wei*, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-p'u 李章甫 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The late Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命 自在佛敏吉呼圖克圖一等文虎章現任川邊佛教會長陸軍中將獨世雲木裏宣慰司開惠鹽源 "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 項此稱扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorific: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei chün ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu 木裏宣慰司兼理務指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍兩鹽九龍防司令部.

At Min-chi 敏吉 a small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa ཨ་ལ་ཤོག་པ, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs rnam-sprul ཇམ་དཔྱངས་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ. (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan ཀྲགས་པ་བསམ་གཏན), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (his captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-

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101 211). Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning, for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 攏打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, *i.e.*, the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 樓頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-dü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv dü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; *yi* stands for the name of the Yangtze, *gv* is a box in Na-khi, and *dü* means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (*See also* Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 嘛洛; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.[7]

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shöh and the Hli-khin, Lä-mö or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nòh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

173 The *Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih* 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b–34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: "The Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a

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signed and as the lay male line of the Hang family has died out, the son of the sister of the late Mu-li King by name Hang Sung-tien-ch'un-p'in 項松典椿品 whose father is a Mo-la-shog Tibetan and the commander-in-chief of the late Mu-li King's forces has now been selected as ruler of Mu-li.

[7] The *Hsi-ning fu hsin-chih* 西寧府新志, ch. 19, fol. 1a, states that the Hsi-fan are synonymous with the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 tribes and that they are very numerous, extending from Kan-su to Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. This statement would indicate that the Hsi-ch'iang are the ancestors of the Hsi-fan, similar to the Mao-niu Yüeh-sui Ch'iang who are probably the ancestors of the Mo-so or Na-khi. It would appear that most of the tribes whose language classes them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock, as the Lo-lo, Hsi-fan, Na-khi etc., are really descendants of the great Ch'iang 羌 race which became widely scattered and split into several clans or tribes, each adopting the name of their leader for the name of the tribe, thus, losing their identity as Ch'iang.

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frontier district of Yün-nan, adjoining Ssu-ch'uan and the land of the T'u-fan. Its ancient name was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭陁 and is also known as Ta-lan Mo-hsieh 答藍麼麼.[8] At the close of the Han 漢 dynasty [about A.D. 24] the Yung-ning A T'u-ssu's ancestor — Ni-yüeh-wu 泥月烏 — pacified the T'u-fan and settled in their land."[9] (The *Tien-hsi* Vol. 2, fol. 10a calls him Tsu (祖)-ni-yüeh-wu and states that he was a chief of the Mo-so man). "In the T'ang dynasty it belonged to the Nan-chao Kingdom under the rule of the Meng family (649–902). After that it was occupied by the Mo-so man [Na-khi] but later again recovered. In the Sung dynasty it belonged to the Ta-li 大理 dynasty under the rule of the Tuan family (937–1094).

"In the Yüan dynasty, Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈 sojourned [with his troops] at Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和" (PLATE 212). This place is called in Hli-khin, La-pa-ddü; it is a meadow about one and a half li west of the Yung-ning Lamasery; the Hli gyi (Hli River) crosses the meadow in the center. The southern part of the meadow is called Jih (Sun) and the northern part of the meadow Yüeh (Moon) and collectively Jih-yüeh-ho (Union of the sun and moon). The late Tsung-kuan 總管 of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan 阿雲山 or A To-ch'i 阿奪奇 (PLATE 213), often told me that Kublai Khan camped there with his army. The Tsung-kuan and his relatives used always to escort me as far as this place when I left Yung-ning for Li-chiang. He said that from time immemorial, when anyone started on a voyage from Yung-ning, the first place to camp would be at Jih-yüeh-ho. He himself was proud of his Mongol origin, for he was a descendant of one of the Mongol officers left by Kublai Khan in Yung-ning to govern that territory.

"In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed to the

[8] This is apparently in imitation of the Tibetan name of Yung-ning which is Thar-lam, meaning the "road to Nirvana," which also the Chinese name Yung-ning (Eternal peace) indicates. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call it Ta-long. The Yung-pei Records write it 麼 instead of 些 or 彝, which is the correct character meaning the Thar-lam of the Mo-so or Mo-hsieh tribe.

[9] We have here the first record of the settlement of the Mo-so and their chief Ni-yüeh-wu who must have been accompanied by a horde of his tribe, otherwise he could not have dislodged the Tibetans and settled in their land which bore the name of Thar-lam, the Tibetan name of Yung-ning to this day. This was said to have taken place about A.D. 24. We further learn from the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, as well as from the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History) that the first chief of the Mo-so to settle south-west of the Yangtze, that is within the Yangtze loop, came from the present Yung-ning, then called Lou-t'ou; he himself was called Po-ch'ung 波衝. He settled in what was afterwards called the district of Pao-shan, 寶山 the present La-pao, 245 li north of Li-chiang and 150 li south-west of Yung-ning. He founded the Mo-so Kingdom (Yüeh-hsi chao) during the T'ang dynasty in the early part of the eighth century and called his kingdom Mo-so chao and also Hua-ma Kuo, 花馬國. We learn from the Li-chiang Records that he was murdered in the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (A.D. 738). According to the Nan-chao Records he dwelled at Sui chou 嶲州, which was the name of Li-chiang during the T'ang dynasty, changed later to K'un-ming hsien. He may have been one of the seven Mo-so brothers who established themselves at La-pao during the Eastern T'ang (Tung T'ang 東唐) dynasty.

We thus learn that the Mo-so reached the region of Yung-ning — Li-chiang, or the present north-west of Yün-nan, at the close of the Han dynasty about A.D. 24. It is possible that the Mo-so man afterwards went south of Yung-ning, and that Po-ch'ung founded the Mo-so Kingdom only after Mo-so had long been settled among the P'u and Hsieh tribes and in what is now the Li-chiang district.

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173 empire. [The old *Tien-hsi* says that Ho-tzu 和字, who was the 31st generation after Ni-yüeh-wu, submitted in that year to the empire; but the new edition of the *Tien-hsi* omits this.] The *Yüan Shih* ch. 61, fol. 9a states the same, adding that in the 16th year of Chih-yüan (1279) it was changed to a chou 州.

"In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), the office of Ch'a-yen-kuan 茶鹽管 [the Yung-pei Record says Ch'a-lan-kuan 茶藍管 and the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih*: 'Ta-lan kuan-min-kuan 荅藍管民管', or the civil official of Ta-lan which is correct] was established. In the 16th year the office was abolished and the department of Yung-ning in the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝府 was established. In the Ming dynasty during the period of Hung-wu (1368–1398) it became subject to the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) it was changed and made subject to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) 瀾滄衛; in the fourth year of Yung-lo (1406) it was changed again to Yung-ning fu, to which belonged the Ssu-ch'uan Chang-kuan-ssu 四川長官司. The native official received the title of prefect and a seal of office, also a letter ordering him to restrain his tribal people. Thereupon the Ssu-ch'uan Tso-so T'u-ssu, by name La-ma-fei 喇嗎非,[10] occupied the territory and killed Pu-sa 卜撒 the father and his son [the Yung-ning T'u-ssu and his son]. His wife then accused him before the Chen-shou 鎮守 (Defense commissioner). Thereupon La-ma-fei was arrested and was ordered to be sent to the capital but he died on the road. The territory was again delimitated. Pu-sa's younger brother, Nan-pa 南八, then took charge of the Tso-so T'u-ssu's affairs.

"During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449), all the wild tribes of Yen-ching [east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan] advanced to attack him. The native [prefect] official could not prevent them from doing so, and thus he petitioned that a prefect and sub-prefect be established and a yamen built in the Lan-ts'ang wei-ch'eng 瀾滄衛城 (walled town of the military station of Lan-ts'ang). The latter then held the district and governed it from a distance.

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (1698), Pei-sheng chou was changed and raised to the fu-city of Yung-pei; the sub-prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning was changed to the sub-prefect of fu-city of Yung-pei and the native prefect of Yung-ning (Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu) was made subject to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The T'u-ssu was delegated to rule in the

[10] The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 15, fol. 20a, says Ma-la-fei instead of La-ma-fei. This is a mistake. There is a 馬喇 (vice-headman or Fu-chang-kuan-ssu) by the name A, but he is not to be confused with the Tso-so T'u-ssu called La-ma-fei. The A T'u-ssu or T'u-kuan of Ma-la was a Pa-i 擺夷 tribesman and not a Mo-so or Na-khi. The Ma-la territory adjoined the land of the Yün-nan Pei-sheng T'u-ssu Chang 章土司. The same work (ch. 9, fols. 70b–71a) states further that "in the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1429) Shih-pu-la-fei 矢不剌非 of the barbarian village of Yung-ning, conspired with Ma-la-fei the native official of the Ssu-ch'uan Salt-well military station, to kill Ko-chi-pa-ho. They were then pacified by the Imperial army. Thereupon Pu-sa was ordered to succeed to the title of prefect of Yung-ning. Later, he (Pu-sa), was also killed by Shih-pu-la-fei. After his death, his younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position. In the second year of Cheng-t'ung (1437) Ma-la-fei was attacked by Nan-pa, who recovered Wu-chieh 烏師 [this is probably Wu-chio 烏角 near Yung-ning in Mu-li Hsi-k'ang] and other stockaded villages. It is said that Nan-pa was also killed by Ma-la-fei."

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Yüan dynasty but without documentary evidence, and only when Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉 came on to the scene in the Ming dynasty was there conferred upon him by letters patent the office of Yung-ning T'u-chih-chou 永寧土知州 (Native Department magistrate of Yung-ning). In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) when high officials came to Yün-nan fu, the T'u-ssu led his people to confer with them, whereupon he was appointed to the position of T'u-chih-fu 土知府, which until this day remains a hereditary post without change." 173

THE FOUR CHANG-KUAN-SSU DISTRICTS

As regards the four districts ruled by the four Chang-kuan-ssu (native headmen) under the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning, the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 497, fol. 5b, states that they were established in the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo; (the personal records of the A family, chiefs of Yung-ning, state the 24th day of the fourth moon and 4th year of Yung-lo (May 25th, 1402). Later they belonged to the Yün-nan Yung-ning wei 雲南永寧衛. The four Chang-kuan-ssu were all Hsi-fan officials, by name A 阿. After the reign of Cheng-t'ung 正統, about 1450, the Yen-ching native chiefs seized the territory by force. The four native officials then ceased to exist (were abolished). Apparently the entire region was a lawless one, and the Yung-ning chiefs, being unable to rule it, later turned the land over as a gift to the Incarnation of Chha-mdo, as related elsewhere. It appears that the lawless Wu-so (Five So), especially the Tso-so who made inroads into Yung-ning, and killed the son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, possessed themselves of the four territories, the Yung-ning chiefs retaining only a nominal control. Thus it became part of Ssu-ch'uan. The Chha-mdo Incarnation later by converting the inhabitants to the Yellow Lama Church subdued them, and succeeded in establishing his steward, a man of Mongol origin, as the temporal ruler of what is now Mu-li. It is significant that the Tso-so, who were apparently the ringleaders in the seizing of the territory, and did not look with favor on the establishing of the Yellow Church, refused to be converted, and remained to this day adherents of the Shamanist Bön sect, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

5. YUNG-PEI RECORDS, CH. 2

In another volume (ch. 2, fol. 1a–5a) of the Yung-pei Records much of the foregoing is repeated regarding Yung-ning and adjacent territory with the exception of the following, which is of historic interest: "The Yung-pei district was between the borders of Yün-nan and the State of Shu [western Ssu-ch'uan] and in ancient times was between Yüeh-sui and I chou. In those days it had many names which cannot now be determined nor what part of the country they represented.

"It is stated that Tien-sheng 滇省 [Yün-nan] was in the realm of Yü-kung 禹貢 (2200 B.C.) called Liang chou. Ch'eng-wang 成王 of the Chou dynasty (1115–1079 B.C.) united Liang 梁 with the State of Yung and called it Yung chou 雍州 or the department of Yung. Yung-pei was subject to Yung chou; it was west of the province of Tien 滇.

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173 "In the period of the Contending States 戰國 (Commenced 480? or 468?–247 B.C.) it belonged to the land of Pai-kuo 白國地 (Land of the White Kingdom).

"In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 25) the land northwest of the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge; *see* p. 25) was occupied by the Shih-man 施蠻 (Shih barbarians).[11]

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) in the 11th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (795),[12] I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom took by force the land of the Man, called Pei-fang t'an 北方賧 [the present-day Yung-sheng]. He deported the P'o-jen 僰人 of the K'un-mi Ho 昆彌河,[13] [they are the Shan or Pa-i, who dwelled in the Pai-kuo 白國 or Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, established during Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 about 121 B.C., the founder of which was Jen-kuo], the Lo-lo 猓猡, and the Li-(su)hsieh 勞苴 [14] to people that territory, and called it Chien-ch'iang 劍羌 and also Ch'eng-chieh t'an (district of Ch'eng-chieh); later he changed the name to Shan-chü Chün 善巨郡 (Commandery of Shan-chü).

"During the Five Dynasties 五代 (907–960) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣 rebelled against the house of Meng 蒙氏; Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞 and Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 succeeded one another by force and murder, so that there was not a peaceful day.

"In the Sung dynasty (960–1127) the house of Tuan 段氏 occupied Ta-li, and changed the name Shan-chü Chün to Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡, and placed Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 to keep it in order. The Kao family 高氏 thus dwelled there for many generations.[15]

In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), Kao Chün 高俊 [16] submitted to the Imperial rule. In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) the territory of Shih shou 施州 was established. In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Pei-sheng shou 北勝州. In the 24th year (1287) it was raised to the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng fu, and Yung-ning

[11] The Shih-man inhabited the third of the six *Chao* which comprised the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom). Their territory was the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, of which Shih-wang-ch'ien 施望欠 was the founder; it was situated on the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河 and the mountains of Meng-tz'u-ho Shan 蒙次和山 in Lang-kung (ch'iung) 浪穹縣 (north of Ta-li).

[12] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* gives the 15th year (799) instead of the 11th (795). Ch. 7, fol. 30 of the Yung-pei Records gives also the 15th year. The same record also states that later the Ch'eng-chieh t'an 成偈賧 was created. In the time of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (712–755) [this is wrong, it should read the second year of T'ien-fu 天福 (937)] Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 (he ruled from 937–944 and was the founder of the Ta-li Kuo 大理國 of the Nan-chao Kingdom) conquered Nan-chao, changed the name of Ch'eng-chieh t'an and created the Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡. (In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, Vol. 10, fol. 16b, it says that in the Sung dynasty the Ta-li Tuan family created the Ch'eng-chi-chen and Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 was placed to govern it or keep it in order and subjection.)

[13] The word 僰 is written 僰 in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史.

[14] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says the Mo-so 摩些 instead of Li-su. This latter name is usually written 力些 or 猓猡.

[15] The Kao family succeeded the Tuan family on the throne of Ta-li under the name of the Ta-chung Kuo 大中國 (1094–1096).

[16] Kao Chün according to the Mongol history, ch. 61, fol. 6a, was the chief of Pei-sheng.

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173 chou was made subject to the military and civil Hsüan-fu-ssu of the Li-chiang Circuit 麗江路軍民宣撫司 and to be governed by him.

"In the Ming dynasty, the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), Kao Ts'e 高策 [17] led his people to submit to the empire. In the 17th year (1384) a Pei-sheng chou liu-kuan chih-chou 北勝州流官知州 (Pei-sheng transferable Department magistrate) was established and Kao Ts'e was appointed native Department magistrate. He was to govern the I-min 夷民 (wild tribes) and his Pei-sheng chou was made subject to the military and civil magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) the Lan-ts'ang wei military and civil tribal chieftaincy was established and was ordered to take charge of the district 州, which became joined to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei).[18]

"In the sixth year of Cheng-t'ung (1441) this was changed, and the Yün-nan pu-cheng-shih-ssu 雲南布政使司 (Yün-nan provincial governor) together with the Wei (military station) was to govern it. Again Lang-ch'ü chou 漾濞州 (Lang-ch'ü district) subject to the Wei, was made dependent on the Yün-nan-tu Chih-hui-shih-ssu 雲南都指揮使司 (Yün-nan capital Tribal government).

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), there was established the Pei-sheng ying (cantonment). In the fifth year of K'ang-hsi (1666), Pei-sheng chou was placed under Ta-li fu, and there was added to it and established the Yung-pei chen 永北鎮 (Yung-pei brigades)."

In the 22nd year (1683) it was changed to Yung-pei hsieh 協 territorial regiment. In the 26th year (1687) Lan-ts'ang wei was abolished and all the collected taxes were taken and brought into the chou (district). In the 31st year (1692) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳, examined the frontier and reported to the Emperor that it was an important and strategic land, and Pei-sheng chou was made the Chih-li chou 直隸州 (Independent department) reporting direct to the provincial government. Later it was changed back to Yung-pei chen. In the 37th year (1698) the Pei-sheng chih-li chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei (Yung-pei fu 永北府) and the Yung-ning t'ung chih 同知 (sub-prefect) was changed to the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect under whose rule the hereditary Yung-ning native prefect was placed. In the 38th year (1699) Shun chou 順州 subject to Ho-ch'ing fu was also placed under the rule of the sub-prefect.

"In the 32nd year of Ch'ien-lung (1767) the fu-magistracy was changed and was made an independent sub-prefecture or chih-li-t'ing 直隸廳 subject to I-hsi tao 迤西道.[19]

"In the 35th year (1770) the Chen 鎮 or brigade was changed into a Ying or battalion, governed by a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel), subject to the Ho-li chen 鶴麗鎮 (Ho-ch'ing–Li-chiang brigades).

[17] Kao Ts'e was the son of Kao Pin-hsiang 高斌祥, native prefect of Pei-sheng during the Yüan dynasty, who, when he made his submission to the Ming dynasty, was reduced to a superintendent or prefect of the second class.

[18] The ancient military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) is the present city of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) according to the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fol. 6b.

[19] I-hsi is a circuit in the west of Yün-nan comprising Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei, Li-chiang, and Meng-hua, but in reality it comprises the entire west of Yün-nan beginning west of K'un-ming.

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173 "In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 [20] and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪 [21] subject to it

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 慶保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫,[22] had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Hua-jung-chuang 華榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b–4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [*i.e.*, the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

101 Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 囉水 and She-k'ua 奢跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡,[23] 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜脚村 [24] [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-llü and P'u-dyü of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) [25] of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

[20] Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

[21] The present Hua-p'ing 華坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

[22] He was the joint o. sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章齡高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

[23] On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡茂坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 寧蒗.

[24] In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 蒲角.

[25] ཇོག་ལྗོངས་དགོན་པ།

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CHAPTER II

Family Chronicles of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu

In the possession of the family of the present Yung-ning chiefs there are two brief chronicles written in Chinese and in manuscript form. One of these chronicles begins with the first ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi, who makes his appearance in local history in the year 1381, when he submitted to the Ming dynasty with all his subjects; it ends with A Heng-fang of the 19th generation, born on May 7th, 1830. The second chronicle is an abridged account of the first and ends with the present T'u-ssu, A Min-han 阿民漢, great-grandson of A Heng-fang. 173●

The late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan (Governor) (Plate 213), a close relative of the T'u-ssu, claimed, like the rest of the A family of Yung-ning (Plate 214), to be of Mongol origin and descendant of a Mongol officer or officers left by Kublai Khan to rule Yung-ning, when on his conquest of Yün-nan in 1253. The A family has always told me that they considered themselves Mongols, and their build and physiognomy bear out their statement. The first ancestor who appears in their biographical history at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1381, does not bear a Mongol but a genuine Na-khi name. The name P'u-dtu is distinctly Na-khi, and is the term for a closely braided basket which does not leak. It is also perhaps a clan name, for the Na-khi of Li-chiang are divided into the P'u-dtu, Gv-hö, Gv-ndza and other clans. Each clan performs its special propitiation of Heaven (Muan-bpö) (Plate 65) on specified days in the first moon, the date varying for each clan. The origin of the names or their real meaning is now no more ascertainable.

1. Chronicle according to the 19th descendant, A Heng-fang

"An official family record of the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Heng-fang.

Pu-tu-ko-chi, the first ancestor: "My Personal Deposition:

"I, the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan 雲南永寧府, named A Heng-fang 阿恒芳, aged fifty-eight, having a purple-colored face with a small beard, being a subordinate official of the magistracy of the directly ruled t'ing-city of Yung-pei 永北廳, state in my evidence that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉. In the 14th year of the period of Ming Hung-wu (1381), this ancestor submitted to the Imperial rule with all his subjects of the chou-city of Yung-ning. The application of his submission was duly sent to the Emperor, who reappointed Pu-tu-ko-chi as prefect of the city of Yung-ning to govern all his tribespeople, and to defend his whole territory in the same way as he had done before. Meanwhile, this ancestor died of illness in his official residence, and the case was duly reported to the Imperial court.

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The second generation: My ancestor of the second generation was named Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八合 and, as the son of the previous prefect, succeeded to his father's position, and pacified all the land to his southern boundaries. In the 12th moon of the third year of Ming Yung-lo (December, 1405–January, 1406) he led the Huo-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-heads) of the four villages of Hsiang-lo 香羅,[1] Ko-tien 革甸, Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之 and La-tz'u-ho 剌次和, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a 板必他, Tz'u-lang 次郎, Pu-chi-fen 卜吉分 and A-chih-chü 阿只苴, to the Imperial capital to have audience with the Emperor.

On the 24th of the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo (May 12th, 1406) Ko-chi-pa-ho received an Imperial despatch, which ordered his chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫 (Functionary of the third class honor), and appointed him also as the local prefect of Yung-ning. In the territory of the four villages Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 (Senior village officials) were established, and they were all put under his rule.

"To his subordinates, that is Pan-pi-t'a and the other three fire-heads, the Emperor gave four letters patent and five official seals, conferring on each of them the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fifth rank); he appointed each of them also as the vice-senior officials of their respective villages. The Emperor again appointed Ko-chih-pa-ho as prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, and gave him a golden belt, inlaid with flowers befitting his official rank, and engraved in its center, with the four Chinese characters *K'o Tu Chung Cheng* 克篤忠貞 (Capable of continued loyalty and uprightness). All these Imperial letters patent and appointments were duly received and read with expressions of thanks for the grace of the Emperor. This ancestor Ko-chih-pa-ho died in office on account of old age and a certain illness.

Third generation: "On the 15th of the ninth moon of the 12th year of Yung-lo (1414),[2] my ancestor of the third generation, named Pu-sa 卜撒, succeeded to his father's position, and assumed his official duties in due time. On a certain night of the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October, 1417) his territory was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei 剌馬非, rebel chief and tribal official of the Tso-so Salt-well garrison, Yen-ching wei Tso-so 鹽井衛左所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan, who killed Pu-sa. On the 24th of the sixth moon of the 21st year of Yung-lo (July 31st, 1423), Nan-pa 南八, second son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, succeeded to his brother Pu-sa's position as the local prefect. He assumed his official duties in due time; meanwhile, a part of his territory was again boldly invaded and occupied by a tribal chief of the Salt-well garrison Wu-so 鹽井衛五所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan.[3]

[1] Hsiang-lo, according to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 23–24, was 150 li north of Yung-ning, Ko-tien 120 li north-west, Wa-lu-chih 280 li north, and La-tz'u-ho 240 li north-east of Yung-ning. At the latter place a senior official whose name was A, resided in the third year of Yung-lo (1405).

[2] That year had two ninth moons, so he could have assumed his position either on September 28th, 1414, or October 28th of that year.

[3] The Wu-so (Five So) are five semi-independent chieftains, who rule to this day their

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This case was accordingly reported to the Brigade-General and the two Provincial Commissioners, who duly attended to the matter. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), an application was made on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and established two transferable officials, namely a sub-prefect and a chief secretary, in the prefect's yamen. Their official residences were built in the city of Lan-ts'ang wei. They took charge of the official seals and defended their territory.

Fourth to tenth generation: "Ancestor Nan-pa died in office of illness, and thereupon A-chü 阿苴, of the fourth generation, succeeded to his father's position as the local prefect on the 18th of the sixth moon of the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (July 28th, 1458). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (September 12th, 1484), A-ch'o 阿綽, blood-brother of A-chü, succeeded to his brother's position as the local prefect. He died of illness. On the 9th of the second moon of the 9th year of Hung-chih 弘治 (February 22nd, 1496), A-kuei 阿[illegible], of the fifth generation, succeeded to his father A-cho's position as local prefect. He died in office of illness, and on the 14th of the sixth moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (July 24th, 1515), A-hui 阿暉, of the sixth generation, succeeded to his father A-kuei's position as local prefect. There were born A-ho 阿和 and A-che 阿哲, of the seventh generation. On the 16th of the sixth moon of the 9th year of Chia-ching (July 10th, 1530), A-hui died of illness, and on the 24th of the fourth moon of the 19th year of Chia-ching (May 29th, 1540), A-ho succeeded to his father A-hui's position as local prefect. While in office he begot A-ying 阿英 and A-hsiung 阿雄. A-ho died of illness, and A-ying, his elder son and ancestor of the eighth generation, succeeded to his father's position as local prefect on the 5th day of the ninth moon, the 36th year of Chia-ching (September 27th, 1557). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 5th of the ninth moon of the 2nd year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1574), A-hsiung, second son of A-ho, succeeded to his brother A-ying's position as local prefect. A-hsiung left no heir, and A-pu 阿卜, elder son of A-ho's blood-brother A-che, should have succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect, but on account of his ill-health he was unable to do so. In the 14th year of Wan-li (1586), A-hsiung died of illness and A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠, elder son of A-pu, had the right to succeed to his position. On the 9th of the third moon of the 19th year of Wan-li (1591),[4] A Ch'eng-chung, ancestor of the ninth generation, succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect. During his tenure of office there was born to him A-ch'üan 阿銓. In the 38th year of Wan-li (1610), A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, succeeded to his father's position as local prefect. On the 5th of the sixth moon of the 42nd year of Wan-li (July 11th, 1614), he assumed his official duties. In the 8th year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1635), he begot A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒. A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, died of illness in his official residence, and A Chen-ch'i, of the 11th generation, succeeded to his father A-ch'üan's position as local prefect.

various territories in the south-west corner of Ssu-ch'uan; two of them, the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so, adjoin Yung-ning on the east.

[4] In that year there were two third moons. The date for the first third moon is April 2nd, 1591, and for the second, May 1st, 1591.

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173 *Eleventh and twelfth generation:* "In the fourth moon of the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih (May–June, 1659), when the Imperial troops came to Yün-nan, A Chen-ch'i sent messengers to them, and returned to allegiance. He was then permitted to rule his district as usual. In the meantime he received an Imperial note, informing him that all the tribal chiefs of the province of Yün-nan had followed his example by returning to allegiance. On account of the merit he had thus acquired the Board of Civil Office issued him special instructions, stating that he had been definitely appointed local prefect. The appointment was duly received and he assumed his official duties accordingly. In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), he begot A T'ing-k'un 阿庭錕. He died of illness on the 2nd of the eighth moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (August 27th, 1669). In the third moon of the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (April–May, 1670), the Provincial Governor sent an application on behalf of A T'ing-k'un to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and permitted him to succeed his father A Chen-ch'i in the position of local prefect.

Wu San-kuei's Revolt: "In the eleventh moon of the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1673), when the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government, A T'ing-k'un was forced to hand over his Imperial appointment, and an illegal appointment was then issued by Wu, compelling him to rule his district as before and to restrain the Fan 番 and I 夷 (Tibetans and Lo-lo). On the the 19th of the fourth moon of the 14th year of K'ang-hsi (May 13th, 1675), during his tenure of office he begot A Chin-hui 阿錦輝. In the eighth moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680), A T'ing-k'un, hearing that the troops of the present Imperial court had restored the province of Ssu-ch'uan, sent special messengers to the town of Chien-ch'ang chen 建昌鎮 and first offered to return to allegiance by putting himself under the command of the Yung-lüeh General 勇畧將軍, to whom accordingly he handed the illegal appointment. In the seventh moon of the 21st year of K'ang-hsi (August, 1682), Viceroy Ts'ai 督部堂蔡 holding the additional title of Sui-yüan General 綏遠將軍, issued him an official dispatch, ordering him to assume his official duties, to restrain all his aborigines, and to rule his district. In the first moon of the 24th year of K'ang-hsi (February, 1685), Viceroy Ts'ai sent a nomination on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and issued him official letters patent. In the same moon of the same year, A T'ing-k'un received his official appointment, and obeyed the Imperial order by assuming his official duties in due time. In the eleventh moon of the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1698), he received instructions from the Board of Civil Office, ordering the chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, and to be under the control of the fu-city of Yung-pei; he was bidden to do his official duties as usual, in restraining the aborigines and paying his land taxes to the government.

Thirteenth generation: "In the sixth moon of the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (July–August, 1705), A T'ing-k'un, on account of his suffering from chronic rheumatism, was unable to perform his official duties. He therefore applied for permission to resign, and A Chin-hui 阿錦輝, ancestor of the 13th generation and elder son of A T'ing-k'un, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the fourth moon of the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (May, 1706),

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through the courtesy of the Provincial Treasurer his case was reported in detail to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who put their joint signatures to an application on his behalf which they forwarded to the Board. On the 20th of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1707) the Board favoured A Chin-hui by issuing him letters patent as local prefect, which he duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. In the eighth moon of the 50th year of K'ang-hsi (September–October, 1711), he suffered from a paralytic stroke, which was found incurable. On the 20th of the eleventh moon of the same year (December 29th, 1711), he died of illness while still in office. 173

"A Hsi-yüan 阿錫遠, elder son of A Chin-hui, became thus the rightful heir to his father's position. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated his blood-uncle, A Chin-hsien 阿錦先, to comfort and support the orphan, and to assist in managing local affairs. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), A Hsi-yüan came of age. On the 13th of the ninth moon of the 1st year of Yung-cheng (October 11th, 1723) while the application requesting his right of inheritance was being prepared, he died suddenly of illness. His death was due to a natural cause, and the news was reported clearly to the court. He left neither an heir nor any blood-brothers. The case was investigated and it was proved that the local official secretary, A Chin-hsien, was in truth the blood-brother of A Chin-hui. Now, A Hsi-yüan was dead, therefore A Chin-hsien, ancestor of the 13th generation, was the rightful successor to his brother's position as ruler of this district. There were no corrupt practices at all in this matter. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) applications were sent to the Provincial Government, requesting that he be permitted to succeed his brother, A Chin-hui, in the position of local prefect. On the 26th of the third intercalary moon of the 5th year of Yung-cheng (May 16th, 1727), the Viceroy sent his nomination to the Board of Civil Office, which then issued him letters patent, appointing him local prefect, and authorizing him to assume his official duties. On the 2nd of the first moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1727) he suffered from heart trouble and gout, which was found to be incurable, and on the 4th of the fourth moon of the same year (May 24th, 1727) he died as the result of his illness.

Fourteenth generation: "A Yu-wei 阿有威, ancestor of the 14th generation and elder son of A Chin-hsien, was examined by the Provincial Treasurer, and found to be the rightful heir and successor to his father's position. The case was duly reported on his behalf to both Viceroy and Provincial Governor, who then joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Board, which issued official letters patent in his favor appointing him local prefect. This was on the 20th of the third moon of the 6th year of Yung-cheng (April 28th, 1728). The appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties.

"In the sixth moon of the same year (July), the Nung tribe 獞人 rebelled against the government. A Yuiwei was instructed by Defence Commissioner Liu 柳 of Yung-pei to send his local militiamen to exterminate the rebels. A Yu-wei selected 300 men to join the government troops, and advanced with them to La-ju-wo 腊汝窩, where they assisted each other in carrying on a

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173 campaign against the robbers. Pursuing the rebels to Tso-so territory, they captured the leader of the brigands alive. In the twelfth moon of the 11th year of Yung-cheng (January, 1734), the Emperor rewarded the headman of the militia with 16 taels of silver, and each of the 299 militiamen with one tael and two candareens of silver. In receiving this reward, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor. In the fifth moon of the 10th year of Yung-cheng (June–July, 1732), on account of a certain massacre caused through mutual enmity among the tribespeople, Defence Commissioner Liu of Yung-pei instructed A Yu-wei to send his local militiamen to assist the government troops in their campaign to exterminate those robbers. He accordingly selected 500 local volunteers, and advanced with them to the place of fighting. Owing to his careful planning and cooperating with the government troops, the leader of the Hsi-fan robbers, named Cha-shih-teng 乍實等, was captured alive. After withdrawing his own troops, he received instructions from the Emperor, who rewarded Ch'i-k'o-ch'u 岂可初, headman of the militia, with 26⅔ taels of silver, and each of the 499 militiamen with a silver medal. In the tenth moon of the 1st year of Ch'ien-lung (November, 1736), he respectfully received a gracious Imperial mandate, stating that all those chiefs and local prefects governing the tribespeople of Yün-nan province who wished to apply for hereditary rank, were requested to do so by sending a careful report, together with their nominations to the Emperor. Ancestor A Yu-wei reported in conformity with the usual regulations to the Imperial court, which then issued him two Imperial mandates, one conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 忠憲大夫 (Functionary of the fourth class honor) and the other appointing him local prefect. While in office there were born to him two sons named A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌 and A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌 respectively.

Fifteenth generation: "In the fourth moon of the 5th year of Ch'ien-lung (April 26th–May 24th, 1740), A Yu-wei died of illness; therefore in accordance with the usual custom A Shih-ch'ang, his elder son, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the tenth moon of the 6th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 8th–December 7th, 1741) the Provincial Treasurer reported on A Shih-ch'ang's behalf to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who again joined their signatures in his favor to nominate him to the Emperor. In the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747), official letters patent were issued to him, appointing him local [native] prefect. The latter were duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. On the 23rd of the second moon of the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (March 30, 1769), A Shih-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-pi 阿良弼, his elder son and ancestor of the 16th generation, became the rightful heir and successor. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated Chang-shih 章氏, mother of A Liang-pi, to comfort and support him [the minor]. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) he died of illness without having succeeded to his father's position and left no heir. The Provincial Treasurer 布政司 Ch'ien 錢 investigated this matter carefully in his favor and reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy 督部堂 Chang 彰 and the Provincial Governor 撫部院 Na 納, asking them to permit A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌, blood-uncle of A

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Liang-pi, to inherit the office. It was known that A Ch'i-ch'ang was the second son of the late native prefect A Yu-wei by his first wife Chang-shih, therefore it was found in order for A Ch'i-ch'ang to succeed to his brother's position. Meanwhile, nominations were sent in his favor to the Emperor, who issued him official letters patent, appointing him local prefect. On the 9th of the ninth moon of the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (October 16th, 1771), the appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties, to rule over his district, and to restrain the aborigines.

Sixteenth generation: "On the 20th of the second moon of the 1st year of Chia-ch'ing (March 28th, 1796), A Ch'i-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-fu 阿良輔, ancestor of the 16th generation and elder son of A ch'i-ch'ang by his first wife A-shih 阿氏, became the rightful heir to the position. On the 29th of the third moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing (April 25th, 1797), the Provincial Treasurer Ch'en 陳 reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy Lo 勒 and the Provincial Governor Chiang 江, who, favoring him, sent his nomination to the Emperor, and asked permission for him to assume his hereditary post. Official letters patent were then issued to him, appointing him native prefect. On the 12th of the third moon of the 3rd year of Chia-ch'ing (April 27th, 1798), the said appointment was received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. Sometime before this, in the 1st year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796), the wild Lo-lo robbers of Wei-yüan 威遠 created trouble.

The Provincial Governor sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating those wild tribes. A Liang-fu 阿良輔 selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a captain to lead them. They were to join the government troops, and advanced to the place of trouble in order to assist in this campaign. On account of the excellent service rendered by the militiamen in putting the Lo-los to the sword, both the captain and the men were rewarded by all the high authorities of the military headquarters with silver medals, cows and wine. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor again relieved the relatives of the killed and wounded militiamen in the war, by granting them an indemnity of 80 taels of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor.

"In the sixth intercalary moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing, (July 24th-August 21, 1797), the Chung Miao 狆苗 [5] of Nan-lung 南龍 committed unlawful acts, and the Viceroy Lo 勒 sent dispatches to all chiefs, ordering them to send the militiamen under their command to join the government troops, in order to reduce those tribes to submission. A Liang-fu selected 50 men of his militia, and appointed a headman to command them, and advanced with them to assist in attacking the enemy. Meanwhile he was again instructed to send his militia to assist in the attack. This time he selected 30 men and appointed a headman to command them and to accompany the government troops and assist in conquering the tribes. On account of this meritorious service, both the headman and the militia were rewarded with

[5] Either the Hei-chung-miao 黑狆苗 or the Chung-chia 狆家 and Miao-tzu 苗子 tribes are meant, all of which live in the province of Kuei-chou where Nan-lung is situated.

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173 silver medals, silver ingots, cows and wine, which gifts were duly received and distributed to them all. This time, each of the headman of the militia was rewarded with six taels of silver, and three taels of silver to repair their clothing. Before they started on their journey, each of them was paid two taels of silver for the support of his home. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor relieved relatives of the killed and wounded in the war by granting them an indemnity of a considerable amount of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks. Meanwhile, A Liang-fu was instructed by the government to attend to certain military affairs at Wei-hsi 維西; this task he accomplished without the slightest fault or delay. On the 20th of the ninth moon of the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (October 22nd, 1815), A Liang-fu, ancestor of the 16th generation, suffered from a cold which was then found to be incurable. On the 29th of the same moon of the same year, (October 31st), he succumbed to his illness.

Seventeenth generation: "A Hui-yüan 阿會元, ancestor of the 17th generation and elder son of A Liang-fu by his first wife Chang-shih 章氏, had reached maturity, and was, therefore, found to be the rightful heir to his father's position. In the first moon of the 21st year of Chia-ch'ing, (February, 1816), the Provincial Treasurer Han 韓 reported in his favor to both the Viceroy Po 伯 and the Provincial Governor Ch'en 陳, who again joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Emperor, who then issued him an official dispatch, appointing him as the native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. On the 25th of the first moon of the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (March 12th, 1817), letters patent were duly received which authorized him to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes to the government.

"In the first year of the period of Tao-kuang (1821), Lo-lo robbers created trouble in the district of Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪,[6] in the territory ruled over by two aboriginal chiefs named Kao 高 and Chang 章 respectively. A Hui-yüan received instructions from the Viceroy, stating that the Emperor had approved his report, and that government troops of the two provinces Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan would shortly be dispatched to capture or exterminate those robbers. No sooner had he received this information, than the Superintendent of Military Affairs and Intendant of the Circuit of West Yün-nan 迤西道 named Hsieh 謝, and the Sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to guard all important passes and prevent the robbers crossing them. A Hui-yüan accordingly selected 300 volunteers and appointed a headman to command them to meet the enemy. He was again instructed to transport rations for the soldiers and to furnish provisions to the chair-coolies and horses. These services he performed without the slightest delay.

"In the 25th year of the period of Tao-kuang (1845), when the Mohammedan robbers of Mi-tu 彌渡[7] and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble, he

[6] Chiu-ya-p'ing is the present day Hua-p'ing 華坪 and is east of Yung-sheng on the Yung-sheng–K'un-ming highway.

[7] Mi-tu is 30 li south of Hung-ngai and two and a half days south-east of Ta-li. Yung-

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was instructed by Sub-prefect Liu 劉 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen to escort the soldiers' rations. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them in order to escort the transport of the soldiers' rations to the Military Commissariat of the city of Ta-li. The rations were delivered safely to that bureau and without delay.

In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), Yao Shan 藥山,[8] a region under the rule of the chief of Lang-ch'ü was made unsafe by bands of highway robbers. A Hui-yüan was therefore instructed by sub-prefect Hsiung 熊 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen and attack the brigands. He selected 300 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order that they might advance and join the government troops to ward off the brigands. Again, he was instructed to superintend the transporting of the soldiers' rations, and to find chair-coolies and horses. He performed these services without delinquency or delay. While in office, there was born his first son, A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, who was duly reported to the government for registration.

"Now, when A Yü-hsing had reached maturity, he was found to be the rightful successor to his father's position. However, owing to pressing affairs and bad communications, he was prevented from sending his report to the government and could not apply for his right of inheritance. In the sixth moon of the eighth year of Hsien-feng (July 11th-August 8th, 1858), hairy rebels created trouble at Tali.[9] The Provincial Commander-in-Chief 提督軍門 Ch'u 褚 sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to assist the government troops in exterminating the rebels. A Hui-yüan imme liately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to ward off the enemy. He was again instructed to raise funds to pay the soldiers, and he duly delivered the same safely to the General Military Commissariat of the city of Yung-pei 永北軍需總局. In the first moon of the 11th year of Hsien-feng, (February 10th-March 10th, 1861) the hairy rebels came to Yung-pei. Sub-prefect Hu 胡 of Yung-pei sent him an order to mobilize his troops to exterminate the robbers. He then selected 300 militia and a headman and sent them against the rebels. He was also ordered to send funds for the pay of soldiers. In the seventh

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ch'ang (Pao-shan 保山) is in the south-west of Yün-nan four stages north-east of T'eng-yüeh on the highway between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝).

[8] Yao Shan (Medicine Mountain) is a high range which extends from north to south, west and south of Yung-hing. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

[9] The so-called hairy rebels here mentioned are none other than the Mohammedans of Ta-li. The *Yung-pei chih-li t'ing chih* ch. 3, fol. 59b relates that in the sixth year and eighth moon of Hsien-feng (August 30th-September 28th, 1856), the Mohammedans of Ta-li rebelled. In the battle with the rebels, magistrate Mao Yü-ch'eng 毛玉成, who led the native troops, was killed. The Moslem robbers of the western district thereupon captured Ta-li and also Yung-ch'ang where they established themselves. The Moslem native, by name Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀, was made their chief and took the title of Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. They allowed their hair to grow long, cast a false seal, appointed illegal officials, and hoisted their own flag, white in color. They also changed their type of garments and headgear, and established a false calendar.

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173 month of the same year, the city of Yung-pei was captured by the hairy rebels. Sub-prefect Wu 吳 of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to join the government troops, in order to attack the enemy. He was again instructed to secure military rice. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 500 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in attacking and exterminating the robbers. He performed these services without delay. In the tenth moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-chih (November 11th–December 10th, 1863), he again attacked the lair of the robbers at Yung-ch'eng 永城.[10] He also received an urgent dispatch from sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei, instructing him to mobilize his militia and to secure military rice. He accordingly selected 200 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in exterminating the robbers. In the 4th year of T'ung-chih (1865), on account of the robbers attacking the city of Yung-ch'ang, sub-prefect Ts'ao 曹 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, instructing him to order his militiamen to assault the city of Yung-ch'ang. Ancestor A Hui-yüan selected 300 volunteers to assist in this campaign. He was then instructed to raise 2,000 taels for military purposes; this amount he paid without delay. On the 10th of the first moon of the 6th year of T'ung-chih (February 14th, 1867), being advanced in years, he became ill. From this illness he never recovered. On the 28th of the same moon (March 4th) he died in office. The date of his death was carefully reported to sub-prefect Na 納 of the city of Yung-pei, who forwarded the same on his behalf to the government for registration.

Eighteenth generation: "After certain investigations, it was found that A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, ancestor of the 18th generation, was the elder son of native prefect A Hui-yüan of the fu-city of Yung-ning by his first wife, A-shih 阿氏. He was born on the 16th of the second moon of the 16th year of Chia-ch'ing (March 10th, 1811), therefore A Yü-hsing was the rightful heir to his father's position. Since he did not formally apply for his right of inheritance, he was given only an ordinary appointment. He received the same in due time, and was thus authorized to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribespeople, and pay the land taxes. In the eleventh moon of the 8th year of T'ung-chih (December 3rd, 1869–January 1st, 1870), while the city of Yung-ch'ang was being attacked, he received an urgent dispatch from each of the high authorities, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen and assist in exterminating the robbers. He was also instructed to secure chair-coolies and military rice, etc. My father, A Yü-hsing, personally led his militiamen to render assistance in exterminating the robbers. As he travelled through many humid regions, his limbs became afflicted with gout.

"At that time he was already 60 years of age, and, since he was unable to perform his official duties, he applied for permission to resign, and requested that his elder son A Heng-fang 阿恆芳 be allowed to succeed him. This was duly reported to sub-prefect Kuo 郭 of the city of Yung-pei. While documents were being drawn up on his behalf by sub-prefect Kuo asking each of

[10] That is Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng 永勝, four stages east of Li-chiang.

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the high authorities to consent to his right of inheritance, on account of his father's old age, ill-health, and retirement, this sub-prefect died in office of illness, hence the documents could not be forwarded to the government.

Nineteenth generation: "In truth, my name is A Heng-fang, and I was born by A-shih 阿氏, my mother and the first wife of my father, A Yü-hsing, on the 15th of the fourth moon of the 10th year of Tao-kuang (May 6th, 1830). I am the elder son of my father, therefore I am the rightful heir and successor to his position. This had not been reported to the government, although I had reached majority and am eligible to inherit my father's position. Therefore I sent on the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (September 18th–October 16th, 1876), my personal depositions to sub-prefect Wu 吳 of the city of Yung-pei, containing a careful description of my physical features, ancestral history, official seal-print, the geographic maps of my territory, and other evidences, in the form of a statistical table. I had hoped that he would report on my behalf to Intendant Hsiung 熊 of the Circuit of West Yün-nan, who would in turn report on my behalf to the Provincial Treasurer, who would report to both the Viceroy Liu 劉, and the Provincial Governor Tu 杜. The latter were to nominate me to the Emperor, requesting him to grant me the right to assume my ancestors' hereditary position. I also sent most respectfully my report to the Emperor. On the 3rd of the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (April 23rd, 1879) I received from sub-prefect Hu 胡 of the city of Yung-pei an official diploma together with an official dispatch, informing me that letters patent had been issued on behalf of the native prefect A Heng-fang of the fu-city of Yung-ning on the 13th of the second moon of the 4th year of Kuang-hsü (March 16th, 1878) by the Board of Civil Office, but it was delivered through the Board of War and Viceroy Liu. I immediately wrote a reply acknowledging the receipt of these letters patent authorizing me to assume my official duties, rule over my district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes. I am now still holding this position. My first wife was named Ch'eng-shih 程氏, and gave birth to my elder son, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, on the 26th of the first moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (February 20th, 1876). On account of his minority, he is now unable to rule over this district, but he has already been registered to succeed me in the future.[11] This is here added simply for the purpose of rendering a clear and complete statement." [12]

2. ACCORDING TO THE 22ND DESCENDANT, A MIN-HAN

"An official family record of the Native prefects of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Min-han.

"On account of services rendered in supplying military rice in the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th,

[11] This was the late retired T'u-ssu (Chief) of Yung-ning. He died in the summer of 1938.

[12] Here follows a statement regarding the four boundaries of Yung-ning, which are practically the same as described on p. 364.

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173 1930), Colonel Kao Yin-huai 高蔭槐 did me the favour of requesting the Provincial Government to grant me the right of inheritance. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931), Provincial Chairman Lung 龍主席 sent me a dispatch approving the said request, and I, A Min-han, descendant of the 22nd generation of my clan, am thus authorized to succeed to my ancestral position. I have two brothers named A Min-chu 阿民柱 and A Min-fan 阿民藩 respectively.

"My Personal Deposition:

"I, the native prefect A Min-han 阿民漢 of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the hsien-city of Yung-pei, state that I am now 22 years of age,[13] of middle stature, white-faced and beardless, and that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi. In the reign of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398), this ancestor submitted himself and the people of his chou-city of Yung-ning to the Imperial rule, and the Emperor approved his request and appointed him native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning, in order that he could rule over the Fan-i 番夷 (barbarous tribes) and defend his territory. Ko-chi-pa-ho, my ancestor of the second generation, conquered the southern frontier of our district. On account of this service, he was promoted to the position of native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. Thenceforth, one generation succeeded the other till A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒, my ancestor of the eleventh generation, who, submitting to the Imperial rule in the reign of Shun-chih of the Ch'ing 清 dynasty (1644–1661), was then appointed to rule over his district and permitted to assume his hereditary position as native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning.

Twentieth generation: "This position was inherited by many generations till the time of A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who is of the 20th generation, and who is my grandfather. In the 20th year of Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty (1894), he succeeded to his father's position. At that time he sent a statement to the provincial authorities, petitioning them to permit his elder son A Chan-k'o 阿占科 to be his rightful successor. On the 26th of the eighth moon of the 12th year of the Chinese Republic (October 6th, 1923),[14] my father A Chan-k'o unfortunately died of illness. Since I was the elder son of A Chan-k'o and the grandson of A Ying-jui, a report was sent to the magistrate of the hsien-city of Yung-pei, asking that my right of inheritance be confirmed.

Twenty-second generation: "In the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th, 1930), Colonel Kao of the 3rd regiment report d in my favour to Lung Yün 龍雲, Chairman of the Provin-

[13] This is not correct, for he was born in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung 宣統 (1910). Even reckoning the Chinese way, he would be only 21 and not 22 years of age.

[14] This is incorrect, as A Chan-k'o was alive on February 5th, 1924, the Chinese New Year of the 13th year of the Republic, when he received me at the yamen of Yung-ning with his father A Ying-jui who was then still living.

In the family tree of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu it gives the date of the demise of A Chan-k'o as the eighth moon of the 16th year of the Republic, and if he died on the 26th of the eighth moon of that year this would be equivalent to the 21st of September, 1927, which is probably correct.

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cial Government, requesting him to grant me the right of inheritance and to issue me an official appointment. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931) I received the appointment. As my grandfather A Ying-jui is old and feeble, he applied for permission to resign, which was duly approved and registered. On the first of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 19th, 1931), after receiving my appointment, I succeeded to his position and assumed my official duties. All that I have stated in my deposition is true and without mistake. I hope you will fully acquaint yourself with the foregoing. 173

"My Official Title:

"My official title is 'The Hereditary Native Prefect A Min-han of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the hsien-city of Yung-pei.' "

3. ACCORDING TO THE YUNG-PEI CHIH-LI T'ING CHIH

The *Yung-pei Chih-li t'ing chih* gives in ch. 3, pp. 36b–41a, a brief account of the family history of the ruling T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. There are certain discrepancies between the personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs and those published in the Yung-pei Records, and a translation of the latter is here given, for comparison. The first personal records are in manuscript form and are in the possession of the Yung-ning chiefs, who kindly permitted me to have them copied. The second, printed in the official gazetteer of Yung-pei, under whose jurisdiction Yung-ning comes, is long out of print and only one copy is available in K'un-ming, and not accessible to every one. [Two copies of this work, besides the very rare *Yung-pei fu chih*, are in my private library.] A translation of the records pertaining to Yung-ning and the other Na-khi T'u-ssu and their territory, is here appended.

In the Ming dynasty:

Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉: He held the position of native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning. In the 14th year of the period of Hung-wu (1381), he and all his subjects submitted to the government, which appointed him native prefect of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year of the same period (1396), his district became subordinate to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (Lan-ts'ang wei 瀾滄衛).

Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八合: Son of the former, succeeded to his father's position as prefect of their chou-city. In the third year of Yung-lo (1401), he governed the four places called Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December 22nd 1405–January 19th, 1406), his fire-heads (headmen) of the Hsi-fan tribe, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a, Pu-lang 布郎,[15] Pu-chi-fen and A-chih-chü, went to the capital to have audience with the Emperor, who was so pleased with them that in the fourth year of the same reign (1402), he sent Imperial letters patent to Ko-chi-pa-ho, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city

[15] In the personal family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is given as Tz'u-lang 夫郎. The territory of these former four officials belongs now to Mu-li.

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173 of Yung-ning. He also conferred on him the additional honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu (Functionary of the third class honor). In his four subordinate villages, namely Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior officials) were established, while on each of the fire-heads, Pan-pi-t'a, etc., was conferred the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fourth rank), by five Imperial mandates and six official seals.[16] He was also given a golden belt inlaid with silver flowers, and carved with four Chinese characters: *K'o Tu Chung Ch'eng* 克篤忠誠[17] (Capable of continued loyalty and honesty), by a separate Imperial mandate. In the eighth moon of the same year (September 12th–October 11th, 1406), he obeyed the Imperial order by changing his chou-city to a fu-city, and assumed his official duties in due time, governing the four senior officials of the four places, Hsiang-lo, etc., as his subordinates. In the 10th year of the same reign (1412), the Emperor conferred on his father Pu-tu-ko-chi the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu, and on both his mother A-ta 阿大 and his wife Chia-shih 甲失 the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人.

Pu-sa 卜撒: In the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413)[18] he succeeded to his father's position as prefect of the fu-city. In the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October 10th–November 8th, 1417), on a certain night, his district was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei, the native official of the Tso-so Salt-well military station in the province of Ssu-ch'uan, and Pu-sa was murdered. His younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position.

Nan-pa 南八: In the 21st year of Yung-lo (1423), after he had succeeded to his brother's position, his district was again boldly invaded and occupied by the local Wu-so chiefs of Ssu-ch'uan. Both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor sent men to investigate this matter on his behalf. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), reports were submitted to the Emperor, who duly granted his requests by appointing two additional officials, a transferable sub-prefect, and a transferable secretary of records at the military station of Lan-ts'ang. An official yamen was then built for their use within that city. These two officials took charge of the seals and defended their territory.

A-chü 阿苴: Son of Nan-pa. In the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (1458), he succeeded to the position of prefect of the fu-city. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-ch'o 阿綽: Younger brother of A-chü, succeeded him in the second year of Ch'eng-hua (1466).[19]

[16] The manuscript family records of the Yung-ning chiefs mention only four credentials and five seals.

[17] In the Yung-ning family records of the T'u-ssu the last character is *cheng* 貞.

[18] In the private family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the date is given as the 12th year (1414).

[19] The personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the date as the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Cheng-hua (September 12th, 1484).

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A-kuei 阿貴: Son of A-ch'o, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hung-chih (1496). 173

A-hui 阿暉: Son of A-kuei, succeeded the latter in the 10th year of Cheng-te (1515).

A-ho 阿和: Son of A-hui, succeeded him in the 10th year of Chia-ching (1531).[20]

A-ying 阿英: Son of A-ho, succeeded him in the 36th year of Chia-ching (1557). He left no heir.

A-hsiung 阿雄: Younger brother of A-ying. In the second year of Wan-li (1574), he assumed office. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-pu 阿卜: Elder son of his younger brother A-che 阿哲, of the same mother, succeeded him. Meanwhile, on account of A-pu's ill-health, A Ch'eng-chung, his elder son, assumed office.

A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠: He succeeded to the official position in the 19th year of Wan-li (1591).

A-ch'üan 阿銓: Son of A Ch'eng-chung, succeeded to his position in the 42nd year of the reign of Wan-li (1614).

In the Ch'ing dynasty:

A Chen-ling 阿鎮麟:[21] Son of A-ch'üan. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) as the Imperial troops reached Yün-nan, he and his subordinates submitted to the Imperial rule. He was then ordered to rule over his district. Meanwhile, the Board of Civil Office issued him official letters patent, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city.

A T'ing-k'un 阿庭錕: Son of A Chen-ling, assumed office in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670). In the 12th year of the same reign (1673) the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government. In the 19th year (1680), when the Imperial troops recovered Yün-nan, he went with his subordinates to Ssu-ch'uan, and there made his submission to the Imperial rule. In the 24th year (1685) he received an official dispatch ordering him to assume his official duties. In the 37th year (1698), instructions were received ordering the chou-city of Pei-sheng to be changed to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The fu-city of Yung-ning was then made subordinate to the fu-city of Yung-pei. A T'ing-k'un was also instructed to rule over his district and to restrain the tribespeople as heretofore.

A Chin-hui 阿錦輝: Elder son of A T'ing-k'un, succeeded to the latter's position in the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706). He died of illness and left no heir.

A Chin-hsien 阿錦先: Younger brother of A Chin-hui, succeeded him in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727).

[20] The private records give the 19th year (1540).

[21] In the private records the name is given as ch'i 麒 instead of ling 麟.

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173 *A Yu-wei* 阿有威: Son of A Chin-hsien, succeeded him in the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728). In the sixth moon (July) of the same year, owing to the rebellion of the Nung 獠 tribe he was instructed by Brigade-General 總鎮 Liu 柳 to send his militia to the lair at La-ju to exterminate the robbers. He was then rewarded with certain gifts. In the 10th year of the same reign (1732), murders took place among Hsi-fan tribespeople who had rebelled; he was instructed by Brigade-General Liu to order his militiamen to join the government troops, and assist in exterminating the rebels. Meanwhile, he succeeded in capturing the Hsi-fan (leader) Cha-shih-teng 乍實等 of Liao-tu 料度. He was then rewarded by the Emperor for his military services. In the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), two Imperial dispatches of grace were sent to him, conferring on him certain honorary titles.

A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌: Son of A Yu-wei, who died when his son was only seven years old. His mother, Chang-shih, supported and comforted the orphan A Shih-ch'ang, and assisted in managing the affairs of their district. In the 15th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1750)[22] he had reached majority and applied for permission to succeed to his father's position.

A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌: Second son of A Yu-wei, succeeded his brother in the 36th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1771).

A Liang-fu 阿良輔: Elder son of A Ch'i-ch'ang, succeeded him in the 3rd year of the period Chia-ch'ing (1708). In the first year of the same period (1796), before he succeeded to his father's position, certain tribal brigands created trouble at the city of Wei-yüan 威遠,[23] whereupon he was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating the brigands. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service. Again, in the 2nd year of the same reign (1797), some Chung-miao (tribespeople), of the city of Nan-lung 南龍[24] of the province of Kuei-chou, rebelled against the government; he was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating the rebels. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service.

A Hui-yüan 阿會元: Son of A Liang-fu, succeeded him in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817). In the first year of the reign of Tao-kuang (1821) some tribal brigands created trouble. He was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in guarding them. In the 25th year of the same reign (1845) certain Mohammedan brigands of Mi-tu 彌渡 and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble. He was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating them. In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853) highway robbers made Yao Shan 藥山, a mountain range under the jurisdiction of the T'u-ssu of Lang-ch'ü, unsafe. He was instructed to send his militiamen to guard against

[22] The private records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747).

[23] Wei-yüan is in Yün-nan and 340 li north-west of P'u-erh 普洱, latitude 23° 29′, longitude 100° 55′. It came under P'u-erh fu in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

[24] Nan-lung is the ancient name of the present An-lung 安龍 formerly also called Hsing-i fu 興義府. It received the latter name in the second year of Chia-ch'ing (1797). Latitude 25° 15′, longitude 106°.

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them. He was also ordered to secure chair-coolies and horses and to supply military provisions. Meanwhile, during the rebellion of the brigand Tu 杜,[25] he was repeatedly instructed to send his militiamen to render help in exterminating the rebels, and to supply military rice and other provisions in order to assist in carrying on this campaign. 173

A Yü-hsing 阿毓興: Elder son of A Hui-yüan. During his tenure of office his district was much disturbed, and therefore he found no opportunity to apply for the right of inheritance. He was given only an ordinary certificate of appointment to office which authorized him to command his militiamen and to assist in exterminating brigands. Meanwhile, he suffered from gout, and thereupon applied for retirement.

A Heng-fang 阿恆芳: Elder son of A Yühsing. Owing to his father's old age, illness, and his having resigned from office he applied for the right to succeed him. In the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (1879) an official diploma was delivered to him, and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. In the 19th year of the same reign (1893) he retired from office.

A Ying-jui 阿應瑞: Elder son of A Heng-fang (PLATE 214). Owing to his father's resignation, he applied for the right of inheritance. In the 22nd year of the same reign (1896) his request was duly approved by the Emperor, who then issued him an official diploma and authorized him to assume his official duties. [He died in 1938 and his grandson, A Min-han 阿民漢, has succeeded him as native prefect of Yung-ning.]

[25] His name was Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀. He was a Mohammedan headman (shou 首). Later he called himself Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. He was a leader of the Mohammedan rebellion.

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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mā-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

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*487 Hli-dü language the place is known as La-pa-ddü (pronounced La-pa-tri)
●173 and consists of a meadow traversed by the Hli gyi. Here on the banks of this stream, Kublai Khan camped; his army camped on the broad flat plateau above the stream to the east. He sojourned here ere he pushed on south, crossing the Yangtze near Feng-k'o, and storming the first Na-khi settlement at La-pao. At the present T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 or Hsüeh-shan shih-men Kuan 雪山石門關 (Snow mountain gate Pass) he fought his first battle with the Mo-so. (PLATE 103).

The historic Mongol camp was not far from the wooden bridge which spans the Hli gyi at the village of Ba-chü. One crosses it on the way to the summit of Mt. Yo-wa-bu and to Feng-k'o on the Yangtze. The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 30b, state:

173 "After the Sung and at the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, in the 2nd year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1252) the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Royal brother) Hu-pi-lieh received orders to attack Nan-chao. He sojourned [camped] at Jih-yüeh-ho."

The Tuan 段氏 family sent Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥[5] to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. The Mongol generals Wan-yen 完顏 (elsewhere called Po 伯 yen),[6] Pu-hua hu-erh 不花虎兒 and others watched (the two river banks).

Hu-pi-lieh supplied them with skin bags on which they crossed the river. The soldiers of Kao T'ai-hsiang fled and he was captured. He refused to be humiliated and was therefore executed. He was decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓 [South gate tower] of Ta-li fu. About the crossing of the Yangtze by Hu-pi-lieh and his army, the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, 上 ch. 4, fol. 35, has the following to say under the heading *Chiu yen-tang Lu* 舊宕當路 (Circuit of the ancient Yen-tang): "It was situated west of Li-chiang outside the frontier. In the beginning of Pao-yu 寶祐 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1252) the Mongols came to attack Ta-li. T'e-lieh 忒烈[7] was in the T'u-fan country and there the army divided. One went by the west road which was the Yen-tang road, one went by the east road into the Pai-man country (land of the white barbarians), which is the present Yao-an hsien 姚安縣. General Hu-pi-lieh led the cavalry by the middle

[5] Kao T'ai-hsiang was appointed prime minister of the Ho-li Kuo 合理國 dynasty by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsiang 段智祥 in 1237.

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Kao T'ai-hsiang was sent to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. Opposite them the Mongol generals Po-yen 伯顏, Pu-hua-hu-erh-tun 不花虎兒敦 and others, fearlessly observed the two sides of the river. Hu-pi-lieh ordered them to cross the river and to attack the T'u-fan and advanced on the Mo-ti 摩荻 (Mo-so).

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 109, translates this passage wrongly thus: "Battant les T'ou-fan a Tche-ma-ti, il déboucha à Che-men et passa" (to attack the T'u-fan at Tse-ma-ti, etc.); the Chinese text reads: 攻吐番摩荻出石門. The word *chih* 攻 means to advance, to go forward, and Mo-ti is a name given the Na-khi or Mo-so. The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 32, fol. 28, states that the Mongols (under) Hu-pi-lieh brought to submission the Mo-ti (Mo-so), emerged from the Shih-men 石門 (Rock gate) (PLATE 103) and passed on.

[6] He is the Bayan of Marco Polo and was Kublai Khan's most famous lieutenant. *See* GILES *Biographical Dictionary* 1663.

[7] The Mongol History writes T'a-la 塔拉 and T'e-la 忒剌.

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road from Yüeh-sui 越嶲 to cross the Chin-sha Chiang which is in Pei-sheng chou.[8] The army divided before it reached the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河, considerably to the north of the Yangtze and north-east of Li-chiang. Wu-liang-ho-tai 兀良合帶 led by the west road from Yen-tang Lu, Prince Ch'ao-ho-yeh-chih-lieh 抄合也只烈 led his army by the east road and the land of the Pai-man.[9] Hu-pi-lieh, leading his cavalry by the middle road, arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城 on the day *i-ssu* 乙巳 the 29th day of the ninth moon, the 3rd year of Hsien Tsung (October 23rd, 1253; Sainson translates 乙巳 as "Les uns et les autres" and does not give the date). They left their heavy baggage behind and in the tenth moon they crossed the Ta-to Ho. In the eleventh moon they arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭砦 (*see* Mu Chronicle, A-tsung A-liang 阿琮阿良).

Ta-yao Shan. — Leaving Jih-yüeh-ho, the trail follows the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho for a short distance, then winds up and down over the pine-covered foot-hills of the range which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze. Climbing the steep, densely forested mountain-side through spruces, firs, rhododendrons, etc., we reach the summit pass called Yo-wa-bu, 12,500 feet elevation (PLATE 230). Here on this pass, a flat expanse covered with a wonderful forest of Abies, Picea, Tsuga, with canebrake undergrowth, is a log cabin inhabited by Li-su guards armed with cross-bows (PLATE 231). They are always on the look-out for roving bandits and run to Yung-ning to notify the chief of the approach of robbers or report their movements. The entire mountain is called Ta-yao Shan 大藥山 (Great medicine Mountain). It extends east of the Yangtze to the Tsui-yi valley, its south-eastern part is controlled by the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu. In the second year of Hsien-feng (1852) this latter part of the mountain was the stronghold of a bandit horde. The distance from Yung-ning to the summit pass is 27 li. From the pass we descend steeply over a rocky trail through majestic forest of spruce and hemlock, some 100 feet or more in height, associated with fir, oak, maple, red birch, wild cherry and undergrowth of rhododendrons, Berberis, Ribes, Spiræa, willows, Ligustrum, Lonicera and cane-brake; the best preserved part of this forest is at 11,000 feet elevation.

Lower down, the forest gives way to pine, till we emerge in a valley by a little hamlet and fields called Ggŏ-wùa 22.5 li from the Yo-wa-bu Pass, or a total of 51.5 li from Yung-ning.

Ggŏ-wùa and the Dji lo (valley). — Gwŏ-wùa (Upper dwelling) is situated at the head of a fairly broad valley at an elevation of 9,500 feet, exactly the height of Yung-ning. The valley is called the Gyi or Dji lo (Water valley). Its slopes are pine-covered. The trail descends to the stream which we cross over a wooden bridge, then climbs along the northern valley wall composed of loose schist which moves at the gentlest step. The trail is

[8] Pei-sheng chou is the district of Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng; the Yangtze separates the two hsien, Li-chiang and Yung-sheng. Yung-ning is under the latter's jurisdiction.

[9] This is the present Yao-an hsien, north of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming, (according to the Li-chiang Records).

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ST 295 ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

S 361 Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-ngua, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K'ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-chü. Behind the village of K'ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K'ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginko tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T'U-SSU YAMEN

S *487 *133 *137 West of K'ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-ddü of the Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji [3] and Bu-llu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dzoan-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T'o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K'ai-chi where the stream is known as K'ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (*Sophora japonica*, the Na-khi Li-law ndzĕr) stand at the entrance which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. The present S 173 T'u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民漢 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1382). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T'u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui's father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T'u-ssu of Yung-ning.

*S *487 *133 *137 From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu.

[3] The words *sä dji* (Li-chiang Na-khi, *sä gyi*) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.

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823 with this bluff relates that in ancient days before the existence of the lake there lived in a rock cave (now under the water at this bluff) a huge fish. The people tried to pull this giant out of the cave, but could not move it. They then employed nine yak, tugging a rope tied to the fish's tail. When they had pulled the fish out, a tremendous volume of water poured forth, forming the present lake. The area now occupied by the lake is said to have been a large plain on which many yaks grazed.

Another story relates how a deaf and dumb yak herder saw under the rock at the foot of the bluff, a water-hole which was plugged up with a huge fish. Daily he cut off a piece of this fish for food. One day the other yak herders found out whence he secured his fish. Thereupon they used yak, and in the above described manner pulled out the fish.

173 *Yung-pei t'ing Records.* — The Yung-pei t'ing Records state that where now the lake is there was once upon a time a hsien called Lu-ku hsien 瀘沽縣. In ch. 2, fol. 4b, it relates that: "The *Yüan-shih ti-li chih* 元史地理志 (Geographical Records of the Mongol History) states that Lu-ku hsien, (magistracy of Lu-ku) was subject to Li chou 禮州 of Chien-ch'ang Lu 建昌路 (Circuit of Chien-ch'ang, [the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 or Ning-yüan fu 寧遠府 in Ssu-ch'uan]). The Lo-lo-man (Lo-lo savages) dwelled there. On the arrival of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649) they found that of all the feudatory tribes the Lo-lo had been the first settlers, and so the Wu-man chief was placed in charge of Pei-ch'eng 北城[3] [the Lo-lo belong to the Wu-man or Black barbarians]. They gradually became flourishing and numerous and thus they called themselves the Lo-lan pu 落蘭部 or Lo-lan tribe; they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.

"P'u-te 蒲德, who was their descendant, sent his nephew Chien-tai 建帶 to make his submission. Later he turned against his uncle and killed him. He himself then said: 'I am a great chief,' and the entire tribe joined him. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) he was pacified [suppressed].

"A Ch'ien-hu 千戶 [official ruling over 1,000 families] was then established. In the 13th year (1276) he was promoted to a Wan-hu 萬戶 [official ruling over 10,000 families]. In the 19th year (1282) the office was changed into a magistracy (hsien), but it is not known when it became part of the chün 郡 (of Yung-pei). Now the Lu-ku Lake is said to have been their land, that is, where the lake is now was their land."[4]

[3] The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 401, fol. 4b, states Tz'u-ch'eng 此城 instead of Pei-ch'eng. By the former the town or *ch'eng* of Lu-ku is meant and by the latter the city of Yung-pei or Pei-sheng; which is correct is difficult to say, but it seems probable that Lu-ku hsien is meant. The Lo-lo settled there and called themselves Lo-lan pu.

[4] It is quite possible that in ancient days the lake and the surrounding territory belonged to Lu-ku hsien; Lu-ku hsien was established by the Mongols in 1278, and the name Lu-ku has survived in the name of the Yung-ning Lake to the present day. We find the name Lu-ku Shui 瀘沽水 in the Mongol History but whether it was a river or lake is not mentioned; it is possible that Lu-ku Shui was the ancient name of the Ya-lung which is known as the Lu Shui 瀘水. Furthermore the Mongol History states that Li chou which governed Lu-ku hsien was east of the Lu-ku Shui, which would then be correct. There is, however, a gross error in the map of the Ning-yüan (Hsi-ch'ang hsien) district in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (Topographical Records of Ssu-ch'uan). There the Ya-lung River is called the

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The Yung-pei Records further state in ch. 1, fol. 30b, that the lake is also called Lu-k'u Hai 鼠窟海 [the word *k'u* means a cave or a hole in the ground]; and that it possesses three islands. [In reality it has five, three in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan.] 173●

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 7, fol. 5a, says that the western part of the lake, ruled by Yung-ning, is called Lu-k'u Hai, in the center is a small mountain called Shui-chai 水寨, on this island the T'u-ssu built a stronghold. Its outlet is at Hai-men-ch'iao 海門橋 (Lake gate bridge), the water flowing into the Ta-ch'ung Ho in Ssu-ch'uan, [that is in the Tso-so country]. The circumference of the lake is 100 li [not following the shores of the long peninsula called T'u-bbu].

Description of the lake. — The Yung-ning Lake is without exception the finest sheet of water in the whole of Yün-nan; a more beautiful setting it is difficult to imagine. Its water is as clear as crystal, of a deep blue, which shades into purple at the foot of the wooded hills. It is surrounded by forested mountains whose sides are furrowed by deep ravines and whose little streams find their way into the lake. The quiet and peace which reigns here is indeed wonderful; the islets float like ships on a placid sea; all is serene, indeed a fitting place for gods to dwell (PLATE 243). It was my good fortune to visit this lake at many different times from 1924 to 1942 and to spend happy weeks on the lovely island of Nyo-ro-p'u, the only one of the islands belonging to Yün-nan which is inhabited. The lake is uniformly deep and flat-bottomed, the average depth being 220 English feet. Its elevation is 9,600 feet above sea level and 100 feet higher than the Yung-ning plain. 133*

Hospitality of Yung-ning chiefs. — The hospitality of the Yung-ning chiefs, especially of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain) was unsurpassed. Friendliness personified, A Yün-shan made one really feel welcome. Yet peaceful as the lake and the surrounding country appear, its inhabitants have experienced bitter and stormy days and undoubtedly will continue to experience them.[5]

Ta-ch'ung Ho to where it debouches into the Yangtze. The Ta-ch'ung Ho, as explained by me elsewhere, is an affluent of the Li-t'ang River, and the latter a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang 雅隆江. On another map the upper part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho is called the Ya-lung Chiang. The real Ta-ch'ung Ho (called Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country) is thus marked on the map mentioned as Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河.

In the text, ch. 15, fol. 29a, of the same work, it states that the Jo Shui 若水 is identical with the Lu Shui and that another name for both is Ta-ch'ung Ho; from this it can be seen that the Ya-lung is also called Lu Shui.

On page 34b, the Yangtze is, however, also called the Jo Shui, and is made to flow into the Lu Shui or Ya-lung, which is also given as Jo Shui.

Thus it is impossible to take any given location of a place seriously, especially when stated east or west of such and such a river, for it is next to impossible to decide which river is meant.

We find mention made of a Lu-ku Ho which is probably identical with the Lu-ku Shui; this Lu-ku Ho is made to flow into the Yangtze. It does, however, state that the Lu-ku Ho flows south-east of Mien-ning 冕寧 into the territory of Hui-li 會理, and this makes it the An-ning Ho 安寧河 which flows, however, into the Ya-lung (Chin Chiang 金江) and not into the Yangtze.

[5] Since this was written the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) Tibetan outlaws have again

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ter of the north-western half of the lake and exactly ten li from Hli-ki; Hle-wu-be, off the south-western point of T'u-bbu peninsula and separated from the latter by a channel breast-deep; and the third Nyi-se, a mere oblong rock, probably once fallen from the heights above or part of the rocky shore of the lake. It is covered with scrub vegetation. Of the two Ssu-ch'uan islets one is called Bu-wua and belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu; it is in the south-eastern half of the lake close to the slopes of the T'u-bbu peninsula. The second is called A-na-wa and belongs to the Mu-li lama King (PLATE 255). It is a small islet situated south-east of the spur of Ta-dzui which forms the bay in the Mu-li part of the lake-shore. 133*

Nyo-ro-p'u. — (PLATES 251, 252). Nyo-ro-p'u, which the Hli-khin people call Khyo-ō-on and the Na-khi Khü-wua-gku, is the most important strategically, as it is out of the range of rifle bullets, being located in the center of the lake. It is 100 feet in height and is surrounded by a wall with watch-towers and loop-holes, to ward off attacks by possible bandits. Furthermore, to prevent landing anywhere on the island, large pine trees have been sunk around the island, the base of the trees resting on the shore the branches sticking out of the water (PLATE 252). It is impracticable for any row-boat to approach the island save on the west side, where there is a regular landing place, a channel between sunken pine trees. There are also only two gates in the wall, one at the landing on the west shore, and one opposite on the east shore. The highest point, 100 feet above the lake, is at the southern end. The western side is nearly a straight line, and is 813 feet long; the eastern side is convex and measures 1,083 feet; the north point of the island is 66 feet across and the south point 40 feet, giving the island a total circumference of 2,002 feet. The northern crest is long and narrow with a small path leading to a lovely little tea or rest-house. The island has only been recently again inhabited (since 1920) when the late Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan, brother-in-law of the chief, built a residence first on the northern slope, and then a larger and massive house on the highest point after levelling off the top of the island. Here at least his family could be safe from the attacks of the Gangkar-ling bandits, who more than once came to Yung-ning to loot and burn. No rifle shot can reach the island and as there are no other boats available except those owned by him, it is impossible for any one to approach it; furthermore the Tibetans, having a holy fear of water, would never venture on the lake. From behind the loop-holes in the solid wall, any enemy could be held at bay. The island serves also as a treasure-house for all valuables, such as silver ceremonial utensils, butter lamps, etc., used in the lama ceremonies. All the valuable brocade dresses with gold and silver spangles, valuable Tibetan paintings, heirlooms, etc., not only of the Yung-ning chief, but also the treasures belonging to the Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü) chief to the south of Yung-ning, are kept in safety on the island. I was often told that it held over 100 horseloads of treasure. 133* 712

On this island were born the last three children of the Tsung-kuan's last marriage (PLATES 253, 254); the youngest son, born in 1927, was, during my visit to Yung-ning in 1931–1932, declared by Lhasa to be the third incarnation of a Huo-fu (Living Buddha) of Dre-pung Lamasery, situated 173

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173 some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdang-phyug[9] (pronounced Khentrül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

*133 On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned.

172 The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

342 On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yün-nan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. *See:* J. F. ROCK, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

173 Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he

[9] མཁན་སྤྲུལ་ཀློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་བདག་ཕྱུག

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173 chose to spend the last years of his life. After the Japanese had taken T'eng-ch'ung in south-west Yün-nan it was rumoured in the summer of 1942, that they were on their way to Ta-li. In order to avoid falling into their hands I left Li-chiang intending to make my way north through Mu-li to K'ang-ting. I stopped *en route* at Yung-ning but owing to a severe illness was prevented from carrying out my plan. I visited the island of Nyo-ro-p'u and stayed there about ten days. I enquired of the two last born sons of the late Tsung-kuan, who were living on the island with their mother, where their father's grave was. To my greatest astonishment they replied that they did not know. I then asked a lama who said his ashes are buried on the island of Hle-wu-be. I then requested the two sons to accompany me to the island to visit their father's grave; to this they consented. We rowed over with a lama who took us up to the broad part of the spur, back of the ancient tower-ruin of the days of Mu Sheng-pai, and there found two graves, one that of a lama (on the south edge of the spur) and the other north of it that of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan. Not even a stone marked the spot, only a few rocks and thorny branches covered a small circular depression, yet his remains had been buried there since 1933. The two sons who had never visited the grave amused themselves elsewhere while I meditated at the resting place of my old friend. The boys had rowed by there nearly every day with their Lo-lo dogs when on their way hunting in the forests around the lake, but did not even enquire where their father was buried.

The present Yung-ning Tsung-kuan is the second son of the late A Yün-shan; he was selected by his father and previously acted for him on various occasions. His name is A-pi 阿琵 in Chinese, and A-p'a-du-dji in the Mo-so Hli-khin language.

*133 *137 *Hle-wu-be.* — The island of Hle-wu-be is situated off the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula and is the oldest inhabited island in the lake. It is in line with, and south three li of the island of Nyo-ro-p'u, and separated from T'u-bbu by a narrow channel about four feet deep. It is densely wooded with pines and other trees, and covered with vines such as climbing Lonicera, etc. Near the center of the island is an ancient lama temple with a low hut for a priest or hermit, hidden in trees and shrubbery. In the sixth moon the peasants of Hli-khin land (Yung-ning) come to this islet to pray in the temple.

Many birds have made their home on this peaceful spot, as it is now uninhabited. On its very top is the ruin of an old watch-tower built by the Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pai, (1587–1646). Little remains but about 15 feet of the tower in which a tree had taken root, grown to large size but has now died and crumbled. This island is better wooded than the rest as it has remained uninhabited for a century or more. The trees extend to the water's edge, forming a jungle; two trails lead to the top, one from the northern slope and one from the eastern, on both sides being a landing-place for canoes.

Ny-se and A-na-wa. — The island of Nyi-se is a low oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and, like Hle-wu-be, close to the mainland. This holds also good for the islands of A-na-wa and Bu-wua, the latter being still closer

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133 to the shore than the former. A-na-wa is the smaller of the two Ssu-ch'uan
137 islands; the top is rocky and bare, only the eastern and northern shores are wooded with willows. (PLATE 255)

Bu-wua. — Bu-wua, which belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu, has a residence and Bön lama Temple on its summit. It forms a broad triangle and its slopes are wooded. It is not used as a residence like Nyo-ro-p'u but merely as a place of refuge for the Tso-so chief and his family at the approach of either Tibetan or Lo-lo bandits.

T'u-bbu peninsula. — There remains now the long T'u-bbu peninsula. This latter discharges a stream from its central portion eastwards, which flows past the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung) and, united with the Hai-men-ch'iao, flows into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. The peninsula, which is about ten li in length, is densely wooded with pines and oaks. The last third or south-western end of this land tongue is in Yün-nan, the remainder in Ssu-ch'uan. A small ravine on its north-western slope, with a hut where a Chinese family has settled, is the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan. The slopes are very steep and rocky and covered with scrub oaks and pines. Its highest
173 point is in Yün-nan. Near the end of the peninsula the top is more or less broad and there can still be seen the remains of a house once inhabited by the proud Na-khi war-lord, MuT'ien-wang 木天王, the "Celestial King Mu," as Mu Tseng used to be styled 300 years ago. Now the remnants of the walls are moss covered and damp, buried in forest of oak and pine. All the glory of the past has vanished. To-day not a vestige remains of the power once held by the Na-khi chiefs in the days of the Ming, when they reached their height in Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Tseng); their descendants a counterpart of the ruins on this peninsula, live in poverty in the Li-chiang district, without a trace of the martial spirit which characterized their noble ancestors.

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101 with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) t'.e chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

173 The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.[1] In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐國公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿各, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿珀, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿洪, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鑾, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿岐鳳, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿逵, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬曆 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尚義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the distr t. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659), owing to the ravages of the troops, he lost his letters patent, seal, and documents. Later Wu San-kuei rebelled, and, although he did not again receive official certificates, he assumed office.

[1] In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-magistrate).

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Then came A Ssu-tsu 阿嗣祖, son of the former. In the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (1692) he gratefully received from the provincial ruler Ma 馬, the official title of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). He also appointed him to rule over the Fan and I 番夷 barbarians and savages [Tibetans and Lo-lo are meant], and allowed him to collect taxes. 173

He died without sons and his younger brother, A Ssu-hsien 阿嗣賢, followed him, having received from fu-magistrate Li 李 permission to assume the position. In the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (1705) he received from the Board of Frontiers a commission to be the native chief and to rule his district.

Then followed A T'eng-lung 阿騰龍, who was the former's first-born. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720) his father died, and in the 60th year (1721) he assumed his father's position. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) he received orders from General Liu 柳 to come to La-ju-wo 腊肉窩 to join the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan military officials, to capture the bandit chief Liao-ma-ch'e 了馬車. He endured many hardships, became ill and died.

Afterwards followed A Feng-t'ai 阿逢泰, son of T'eng-lung. At his father's death he was still a minor. The magistrate of Yung-pei, Shih Hsiang 石詳 by name, arranged to have his paternal grandmother [of the La family], look after the affairs of office and also after the orphan grandchild. In the 13th year of Ch'ien-lung (1748) he reached his majority and was then asked to assume his father's position.

After him came A Ch'i-chi 阿其吉, his son. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy Te 德 ordered him to assume his father's position. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) he was ordered to assemble his native troops and his headmen and to lead them to Wei-yüan,[2] where there was trouble. Later he led his troops to Nan-lung[3] to attack the Chung and Miao tribes. Afterwards they were again sent to Wei-hsi.[4] He acquired merit on these expeditions, and was given a silver medal, cattle and wine.

Then followed A Erh-fu 阿爾福, the son of A Ch'i-chi. In the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809) Viceroy Chang 章 ordered him to assume his father's position.

Then followed A Wei-chu 阿爲柱, the former's first-born. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) Viceroy Po 伯 sent him letters patent. In the 10th year of Tao-kuang (1830) he asked for permission to assume his hereditary position. In the 22nd year (1842) he received from the Executive Office an official commission and a copper seal, and thereupon assumed his official position. In the 27th year (1847) he led the native troops to Yen-yüan hsien in Ssu-ch'uan where he captured the Moslem rebel Hai-pa-wang 海壩王. His military exploits were recorded. In the 29th year (1849) he repaired the wall of his city (Lang-ch'ü chou). He received from his su-

[2] Wei-yüan was in the district of P'u-erh, north-west of that city in the south of Yün-nan. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Yin-sheng fu 銀生府; in the Yüan it was known as Wei-yüan. It is the present Ching-ku 景谷 on the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河 which flows into the Mekong.

[3] Nan-lung is in the province of Kuei-chou.

[4] Wei-hsi is in the north-west of Yün-nan.

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173 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尙文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsü 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲雁) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position."[5]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

567 661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yünnan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

[5] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the T'u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

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PART VI

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT RECORDS

The District of Yen-yüan 鹽源 (Salt-well) is situated in so[redacted]rn Ssu-ch'uan and south-east of Hsi-k'ang 西康. 101

The Yen-yüan magistracy comprises a considerable area [redacted]ed by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderatingly [redacted]; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascend[redacted]y. Yen-yüan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yün-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch'uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yün-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yüan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.[1] Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five *So* (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* 四川通志 (General Topography of Ssu-ch'uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* 嘉慶一統志). 173

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* 鹽源縣志 (Yen-yüan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.[2] A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935–1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

[1] He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch'un-p'in 項扎巴松典棒品.

[2] The *Pei-p'ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T'u-shu-kuan* 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.

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173 work is not in manuscript, but is a block-print consisting of six *pen* 本. It is not divided throughout into numbered chapters, and its pages are numbered in part; an index (*mu-lu* 目錄) is also lacking. Furthermore, pages are missing here and there throughout the six volumes. There are no maps.

I have lately come into the possession of a copy of the Yen-yüan Records through the kindness of the Mu-li ruler. The same pages are missing as in the Peiping copy, which would indicate that the printing blocks representing these pages have been lost and not the pages themselves.

The first preface is dated the 17th year of Kuang-hsü (1891) while the second preface is dated the 19th year of Kuang-hsü (1893). The Record was compiled by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu Chün-yün 吳郡雲 and Ku P'ei-yüan 辜培源, who was a Chien-sheng 監生 (Collegian of the Imperial Academy).

This work has enabled me to give here a detailed account of the genealogical history of the native Mo-so chiefs and the history of the territory they rule; a general account of the history and topography of the entire region under the jurisdiction of Yen-yüan is also added. I have only been able to make extensive visits to the territory of three, namely Mu-li, Tso-so and Ch'ien-so.

An account of the Mu-li lama King or Pacification Commissioner, his genealogical records and the history and geographical account of his kingdom, is reserved for a separate work which will include also Hsi-k'ang or the Tibetan Marches.

1. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Past and present designations. — The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 1, states that: "The land of Yen-yüan is in the extreme south-west of China. At one of its frontiers there is a salt lake. This land is also called Tso 筰 and possesses a clear [salt] spring which is indeed a treasure. In the Yüan dynasty this land was called *Jun* 閏 (Extra) as if it were a small piece of land added to the empire. In the Ming dynasty it was called a *Ching* 井 (Well) as if it had been an insignificant territory.

"Since the time of the Han dynasty this territory had been captured several times but could not be retained as part of the Chinese empire. At times it was rejected by the Imperial Court and later could not again be recovered, not even by force. Yet for several thousand years it has retained its beauty and mysteries. The emperor tried to acquaint the tribes peoples with Confucianism and graced them with virtues. They looked upon this as a constellation which supplied them with food.

"Therefore the first name given to this land was Yüan 源 (Source of a spring). The intention was that the people should keep firmly impressed in their mind the stream of the Imperial grace and not sever their connection with it.

Establishment between Hsia and Han dynasties. — "According to the Yü-kung 禹貢 (Tribute of Yü) of the Hsia dynasty 夏 (2205–2197 B.C.) which governed the province of Liang chou, the land of Yen-yüan hsien was situated outside its south-west frontier. In the 30th year of Nan Wang 赧王

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of the Chou dynasty 周 (285 B.C.) the State of Ch'in 秦 appointed a prefect to govern the land of Shu [Ssu-ch'uan] and called it Tso 筰, which is the first appearance of the name in the History of China. At the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.) there was established Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣 (district of Ting-tso) in the same territory, subordinate to the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 and ruled by an official bearing the title of Tu-yü 都尉.[3]

Under Shu Han, Chin, Sung, and Northern Chou. — "Under the various dynasties which followed, as the Shu Han, Chin and Sung, the name as well as the policy towards it remained unchanged. In the Ch'i 齊 dynasty (479–501) the land was lost to the Liao 獠 tribes.[4] In the second year of T'ien-ho 天和 of the Northern Chou dynasty 北周 (567) the Principality of Ting-tso 定筰鎮 was established there.

Under T'ang and Sung. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the hsien of K'un-ming 昆明縣 was established subject to the department of Sui 巂州. Afterwards the Meng family 蒙氏 of the Nan-chao Kingdom made it to Chün 郡 of Hsiang-ch'eng 香城. In the Sung dynasty (960–1126) it was nominally kept in restraint (by the emperor) but was really controlled by the Ta-li Kingdom which called it the Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸.

Under Yüan. — "In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it became the land of the Lo-lan tribe [Lo-lan pu; the Lo-lan tribe and Lo-lo are identical. *see* p. 416]. In the 10th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) it acknowledged allegiance to the empire. In the 14th year (1277) the Yen-ching Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch of Yen-ching) was established. In the 15th year (1278) there was created the department of Chin 金州 (Chin chou), later demoted to the district of Chin 金縣 or Chin hsien.

"In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Jun-yen chou 閏鹽州 and made subordinate to Te-p'ing Lu 德平路 (Circuit of Te-p'ing). In the 27th year (1290) the chou was made into a hsien and the prefecture of Po-hsing 柏興府 was established.[5]

[3] In the National Library of Peiping (now temporarily in the safe-keeping of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.) there is extant the 3d. volume of a rare work entitled: *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* 四川土夷考 published in the Wan-li period (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, the other volumes have unfortunately been lost. This work (the 3d. chapter) deals in part with Yen-yüan and the Wu-so 五所, and I give here translations as far as they concern us here. As regards Yen-yüan it states under the heading Yen-ching wei t'u shou 鹽井衛圖說 on p. 36b, "According (to records) Yen-ching wei under the Han dynasty was the land of Ting-tso hsien of the Chün of Yüeh-sui. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty it was called Po-hsing fu 柏興府. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so 柏興千戶所 and afterwards was again changed to Yen-ching wei, or the military garrison of Yen-ching."

According to Ma Tuan-lin the Liao are a tribe of barbarians or (Man) mentioned in antiquity. Their original home was in the region situated between Liang chou and I chou. From Han-chung 漢中 [parts of Shensi and Ssu-ch'uan] they penetrated to Chiung 邛 and Tso (Ssu-ch'uan and the region of Yen-yüan).

[4] The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 15, fol. 30a, states the name Po-hsing was applied to it because of the dense forest of Sung Po 松柏 pines and cypresses [junipers or *Thuja orientalis* could also be meant] which existed there on a mountain called Po-lin Shan 柏林山

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173 "This town was made subordinate to a Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) belonging to the Lo-lo tribe.

Under Ming. — "In the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) the same name was retained as well as the policy towards it, but it was later changed to Po-hsing chou. In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so 柏興千戶所 (Petty military station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subordinate to the Wei of Chien-ch'ang 建昌衛. In the 27th year (1394) the Wei of Yen-ching was established and its ruler was given the title of Chün min chih-hui shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and civil leader of the native tribes).

Under Ch'ing. — "At the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) it was still called Yen-ching wei. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) the office of the Military Station was abolished and the hsien of Yen-yüan was established in its stead, subordinate to the fu-city of Ning-yüan 寧遠府.

2. SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Under Han. — "In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) there was established the hsien of Ting-tso. In the sixth year of Yüan-feng 元封 (105 B.C.) the land of Chiung and Tso was changed into the Chün of Ch'en-li 沈黎郡.[6] In the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.) Ch'en-li was abolished and two Tu-yü 都尉 (Captains) were appointed, one to govern Mao-niu 牛旄 and to control the foreign Ch'iang 羌 tribes, and the other to govern Ch'ing-i 青衣 and to control the people of Han (Chinese), at that time Ting-tso was subject to the Tu-yü of Mao-niu.[7]

(Cypress forest Mountain) 10 li south of the city of Yen-yüan. The color of the forest was beautiful and the trees tall, touching heaven. It was surrounded by the Lung Shui (Dragon River) and was the border of Tien (Yün-nan) and Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and the land where the Chinese and barbarians met.

The old *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (of 1733), ch. 27, fols. 13b–14a, states that in ancient times the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 (Mo-so) dwelled where Po-hsing was. At the end of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶, about A.D. 755, it was captured by the T'u-fan. In 1273 the chief of the Mo-sha tribe of Yen-ching submitted to the empire.

In 1280 there were established P'u-lo chou 普樂州 and Jun-yen chou 潤雅州 and in 1290 the two were united and made the Jun-yen hsien or Jun-yen district, of which the prefectural city was Po-hsing (fu).

[6] E. CHAVANNES in Vol. 1, Introduction to *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, p. LXXXVIII, states that Ch'en-li (Tchen-li) was the ancient territory of the principate of Tso, and is the present prefecture of Li-chiang.

The *Chia-ch'ing I t'ung-chi*, ch. 403, fol. 1b, states that Ch'en-li was south-east of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 and was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷作都國 (Kingdom of Tso-tu of the Western Barbarians). According to the *Shih Chi* 史記 (Historical Records), Hsi-Tso-tu 徙作都 was the largest of the 10 tribal chieftain territories situated to the north-east of Sui 嶲.

In the Han dynasty the Marquis of Tso 作侯 was murdered and Tso-tu was changed to Ch'en-li Chün. The latter was, however, abolished in the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.). During the Chin dynasty it was again established by dividing Han-chia 漢嘉 (the present Ming-shan hsien 名山縣 under Ya-chou fu 雅州府). The name of Ch'en-li does not appear in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*.

[7] Mao-niu hsien is the territory south of the present Ch'ing-ch'i hsien under Ya-chou fu.

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"Then there was established the hsien or district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣.[8] The name Sui-chiu was derived from the name of a mountain. According to the *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經, the Sheng Shui 繩水 has its source in the Pa-sui Mountain 巴遂山. According to the *Hua-yang chih* 華陽志, in Sui-chiu there is a hsien and a river called Sheng Shui. 173

Under the Three Kingdoms and Shu Han period. — "During the period of the Shu Han dynasty of the Three Kingdoms (221–265) it was called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien. In the (two) Chin dynasties (265–419) it was also called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien but was changed and made subject to Yün-nan Chün,[9] which was later again abolished. In the Sung dynasty of the house of Liu 宋劉 (420–478) it was again called Ting-tso hsien. In the Ch'i, Liang and Pei Chou 齊梁北周 dynasties (479–580) it had the following designations:

"In the Ch'i dynasty it was the Liao Chün 獠郡 of Yüeh-sui, and the hsien of Ting-tso was subject to the latter.[10]

"In the Liang dynasty, Ting-tso hsien was again established, subordinate to Sui chou. Later it fell into the hands of its aggressors. In the Later [northern] Chou the Principality of Ting-tso was established.

Under T'ang. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the district of K'un-ming was created, subject to Sui-chou. Afterwards it ceased to exist as the Nan-chao Kingdom captured it. The latter established in its stead the Chün of Hsiang-ch'eng.

"In the seventh year (624) there was established the chou of Hsi-yü 西豫. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) its name was changed to

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In the *Han Shu* it relates that the descendants of the Ch'iang chief Wu-i 光無弋 established separate tribes of which one was the Mao-niu tribe [or Yak tribe who apparently were nomads herding yak (Mao-niu)]. They were the Yüeh-sui Ch'iang. This Tu-yü resided in Mao-niu and was the ruler of the barbarians who lived outside the border. In the second year of Yen-kuang 延光 (A.D. 123) of the Eastern Han, the tribes of Mao-niu rebelled and attacked Ling Kuan 靈關. [This pass is 60 li north-west of Lu-shan hsien 盧山縣 and adjoins the border of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州. It led over the Ling Shan and was considered of great strategic importance as one guard is said to be able to hold up 100 attackers. It adjoined the border of the Pai-lang 白狼 barbarians; it was like the belt of the Fan and Man tribes.] They were then attacked by Chang Ch'iao 張喬 who defeated them. [He was a native of Nan-yang 南陽 in Ho-nan and was a hereditary official appointed during An Ti 安帝 (107–125).]

The ch'ing-i hsien (district of Ch'ing-i) is the land to the north of the present-day Ya-an hsien 雅安縣.

According to the *Ya-chou fu chih*, ch. 3, fol. 34b, Ch'ing-i hsien was originally the kingdom of the Ch'ing-i Ch'iang 青衣羌. In 201 B.C., that is the sixth year of Kao Tsu of the Han dynasty, it was first opened and the district of Ch'ing-i established. It then belonged to the Chün of Shu 蜀郡.

[8] In the Western Han dynasty it was a district in the Chün of Yüeh-sui. In the Chin 晉 dynasty it was a hsien in Ning chou 寧州 in the Chün of Yün-nan 雲南郡. It is the land to the west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien of Ssu-ch'uan.

[9] Yün-nan Chün was 80 li south of Yün-nan hsien, subject to Ta-li fu, Yün-nan province. It is the present day Hsiang-yün 鄉雲 (pronounced Ch'iang-yün in Yün-nan), two and a half stages east of Ta-li.

[10] The hsien was abolished as the Liao tribes captured it.

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173 Chi-mi Mi chou 羈縻靡州 (Chi-mi [11] of Mi chou); [it was north-west of Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 in Yün-nan] it controlled two districts, Mo-yü 磨豫 [12] and Ch'i-pu 七部.

"Afterwards they were abolished.

"Then there was established the hsien of Ch'ang-ming 昌明縣 [13] subject to Sui chou.

"At the end of the reign of Cheng-kuan (649) there were established one chou, namely Lao chou 牢州 and three hsien, Sung-wai 松外, Hsün-sheng 尋聲, and Lin-k'ai 林開.

"At the beginning of the reign of Yung-hui 永徽 (650), the chou was abolished and the (three) hsien demoted and included in Ch'ang-ming hsien. Afterwards it was again abolished.

Under Sung and Yüan. — "At the beginning of the Sung dynasty (960) the territory was subject to a Chi-mi, but afterwards the Ta-li Tuan Shih 大理段氏 [ruling house of Tuan of Ta-li (Yün-nan)] conquered it by force, and changed its name to Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the Yüan dynasty the fu-city of Po-hsing was established. In the 17th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1280) the chou of Jun-yen 閏彥州 was founded and in the 27th year (1290) it was demoted to a hsien, and then in the hsien was established a fu-city 府 subject to the Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing Hsüan-wei-ssu 羅羅蒙慶宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing).

"In the 15th year of Chih-yüan (1278) there was established the chou-city of Chin 金州. Afterwards it was demoted and made a hsien, namely Chin hsien, subject to the fu-city of Po-hsing.

Under Ming. — "In the Ming dynasty there was established the Yen-ching wei (Salt-well military station). In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed and made the Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so (Military sub-station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subject to the Chien-ch'ang military station. In the 27th year it was changed and the Yen-ching Wei Chün-min Chih-hui-shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and Civil Leader of the native tribes of the military Station of Yen-ching) was established, subject to the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司 (mobile captain); thereafter Chin hsien was abolished.

"Yen-yüan was called Ting-tso and in ancient days belonged to Sui chou. Yet Tso itself is not Yen-yüan, for Sung, Mou, Ch'en-li Chin-ch'uan, and Wei-tsang 松, 茂, 沈黎, 金川, 衛藏, all these were called Tso. But strange to say our district [Yen-yüan] is generally believed to, have been the territory of Tso. [Li-chiang also belonged to Ting-tso in the Han dynasty]. Yen-yüan, did not represent the whole of Sui 嶲, for the territory of Sui

[11] During the T'ang dynasty dependencies of the empire were ruled by indigenous chiefs and this type of local government, of which there were ninety-two, was called Chi-mi tu-tu fu 羈縻都督府. Chi-mi-chou 羈縻州 was the designation of a prefecture of a tributary state ruled by a native prince. *See* R. DES ROTOURS, Les grand fonctionnaires de provinces en Chine sous la dynastie des T'ang in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 25, 1928, p. 243.

[12] Mo-yü was a district also called Chi-mi as was Mi chou. It is the land of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

[13] This hsien belonged to Chien-nan Tao 劍南道 (Circuit of Chien-nan) and was subject to Sui chou. It was south-west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

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also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 會理, Hui-wu 會無, Yao chou 姚州 and Ma-hu 馬湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui. 173

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yüeh-lu 月魯. 173

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 岑槃. On the south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsün 牟尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 弄贊.[14] Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. 131

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border[15] 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 綳土坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒勃海[16] of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司[17] subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military *So* (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 瀘寧營 (Military district of Lu-ning) of the district of Mien-ning 冕寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu.

[14] Yüeh-lu stands for Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsün is I Mou-hsün, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

[15] This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

[16] This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

[17] There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chün-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la written lChags-la ཡུ་ཀ་ལ; its ruler had the title of rgyal-po རྒྱལ་པོ or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.

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173 North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yün-nan and the border
131 of the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua 理化].

"The distance from Yen-yüan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yüan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso 大作 [18] was situated between T'ai-teng 臺登 and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh 瓜別 and Mu-li, crossed by the Jo Shui 若水 [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅瀧江 which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh].

"The district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣 was changed and made subordinate to Yün-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yün-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source.[19] It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yüan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien 姑復縣 [20] lay in the south of Yen-yüan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo 猓果 and No-lung 糯弄.[21]

[18] Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui 繩水 [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui 孫水 (*see* further discussion of the name Sui 槽). According to the *Mien-ning hsien chih* 冕寧縣志 ch. 2, fol. 2a, Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

[19] Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the *Shui tao t'i kang* 水道提綱 is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

[20] The last edition of the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420–478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the *Shui-ching chu* (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yüan and east of Li-chiang.

[21] The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yün-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-

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"According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 岔河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung]. 173 131

In the T'ang dynasty. — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 靡州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 牢州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

Under the Mongols. — "In the Yüan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利竇,[22] the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西瀘 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

Under the Ming dynasty. — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yen-ching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 鹽中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

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proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

[22] Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yüan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yüan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利竇揭勒 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-ho Shan 斛婆和山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 30 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 茹庫 barbarians dwelled there.

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173 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-
131 ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving
137 the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land.
133 This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卭 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was
101 established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卭都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

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貞元 (799) the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 韋臯 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the *Yüan Shih*, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Chün 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獹獹 and Ju-k'u 茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅斯宣慰司.[26] The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

[26] The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: P'o-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans).

All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 大渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.

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●173 101 to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the *I-t'ung chih* was situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty.

"According to the *Shu Chih* 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially in the Biography of Chang I 張嶷傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso, T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the *Chün* 郡 [perhaps here translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑[27] of the (Pai 白) Lang 狼 and Chiu 舅 the King of P'an-mu 槃木 were angry and disliked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The *Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty* state that Ting-tso hsien was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Barbarians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of them all. The *Hua-yang kuo chih* states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu Shui 瀘水 on the border of Pin-kan 賓剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白摩沙夷 dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 察罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武候 (Marquis of Wu) (181–234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'un-ming belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the *Yüan ho chih* 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to Sui chou 嶲州. K'un-ming was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. *See* PLATES 162, 164]. For example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo ropes were stretched. The character *tso* 筰 is equivalent to the character

[27] The *Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 槃木國 was west of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國, which is the present territory lying to the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順慶府 in Ssu-ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.

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chiao 茭 (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.[28] 173 101

Sui-chiu. — "It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yüeh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 勝門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134–87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — "According to the Records of the Chiu T'ang (Old T'ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 戎州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 姚州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yüan.

The obsolete Ch'ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai,[29] *Hsün-sheng* 尋聲 *and Lin-k'ai.* — "According to the *I-t'ung chih* these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T'ang History the land of Ch'ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k'ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch'ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T'ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 70 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch'ang explained. — "According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch'u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch'ang-li

[28] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* states that *tso* is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. In the *Shou-wen* 說文 it is said to be equivalent to *chiao* which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of *wei* 葦 (reed) was called *chiao*.]

[29] The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 松州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch'uan 東川 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 絳雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sung-wai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch'uan, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.

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173 101 長利, Kao-wang 高望 and Shih-ch'ang 始昌, in [the Chün of] Yüeh-sui.[30] It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their cities [*ch'ang* meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 巂 most of the cities were called *ch'ang*, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 鹽中, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh belonged to K'un-ming.

"It is possible that all the districts south-west of Yen-ching, as A-so-la 阿所拉,[31] Tso-so. Mu-li, Chung-so, and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (*or chou*). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K'u-lu 枯櫓, also called K'ang-wu 康塢 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'i 蘇祁, P'u-chai 僕寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-lu 西瀘, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 遏戎; all these were important garrison towns.[32]

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羌浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

[30] These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

[31] The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

[32] Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 顏慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.

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Yang-p'eng ling 楊蓬嶺, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan 俄準館. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173● 101

Jun-yen chou. — "Jun-yen chou was the land of K'un-ming of the T'ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P'u-lo chou. — "P'u-lo chou 普樂州 was to the north of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州.[33] Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou. — "The Hsi-yü chou 西豫州, or Mo-yü hsien 磨豫縣, and the hsien of Ch'i-pu 七部. At the beginning of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo 姜磨 and Shu-mo 戍磨 respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung 鹽中 there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch'i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t'ou tien (or Lo-lan pu 落蘭部). — "According to the *Fang-yü chih yao*, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu 馬剌長官司 or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p'u 鎮西堡 and Ta-ch'ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu chou 瀘州 and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching 中所鹽井.[34]

[33] P'u-chi was 150 li south-west of Hsi-ch'ang. The aborigines called it Kan-tien 玕甸 and the Lu-lu Man lived there for generations.

[34] The military substation of the chiliarch of Chung-tso, that is the Chung-so and Tso-so Ch'ien-hu of the garrison service of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦中左千戶所 was 160 li north-east of Yen-ching wei and during the Mongol dynasty was the land of Lu chou of the Circuit of Chien-ch'ang. During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398) a So (military substation) was established, but was later changed into five So, subject to Chien-ch'ang. The Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu was given to the family La 喇氏 in perpetuity.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted and the latter's son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch (Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶). Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

The land of the other four So adjoined Li-chiang and Yung-ning territory. The native official of the house of Mu of Li-chiang encroached on their territory so that half of it was lost to them. All the others submitted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and were given official positions, as the Yu-so chiliarch Pa 八, the Chung-so chiliarch La 剌, the Ch'ien-so chiliarch 阿, the Hou-so chiliarch Pai 白. Later they were encroached upon and devoured by Li-chiang as a silkworm gnaws on the mulberry leaves.

In the *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu*, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character *cheng* 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon). Lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征) 月魯帖木兒 Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character *yüeh* is taken from his name and made to read "first moon," in the second the character *yüeh* is left as part of his name and the first character is read *cheng*, "to attack, to subjugate."

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year

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173 101 *Yen Chung-tso so.* — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 河西 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho [35] it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yüan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏.[36] Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yüan only. Yen-yüan is also spoken of as Sui 嶲, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yün-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yüan."

The magistrate who compiled the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145–86–74? B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yüan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui 嶲 is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh 越, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of

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of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two *yüeh*, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

[35] The *Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

[36] Wai-tsang was really the land of the Ch'iang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 禹貢. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ bKra-shis-lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsang 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong ཀྱལ་རོང).

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Yüeh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

"The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it *Tso*. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a *sheng* 繩 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

"The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [*Sui* is also read *Hsi*]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔. The character *hsi* 析 is similar in sound to the character *sui* 嶲 or to the sound of the character 徙 *hsi*. In the *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.[37]

"The character *hsi* 徙 is but another way of writing the character *sui* 嶲 but the character *hsi* 析 is an erroneous one.

"This would surely indicate that the Yüeh-sui 越嶲 is the Sheng-sui 繩嶲, (that is, the Yangtze).

"All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 敍府 may be called Sui 嶲, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yüeh 越.

"In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

"The word *Tso* was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yüeh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters *mai* 邁 and *yao* 遙 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

"The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 嶲水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.[38]

[37] Hsi-tso, according to the same work, comprised two kingdoms. Hsi hsien 徙縣 was in Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan), Tso hsien 筰縣 was in Yüeh-sui. Tso chou was originally outside the borders of Hsi Shu 西蜀 (Western Shu), and was called the Miao Ch'iang Sui 苗羌嶲. It was the Ya chou Chiung-lai Shan 雅州邛崍山; originally it was called Chiung-tso Shan 邛筰山 and was the border of the ancient Chiung and Tso people.

According to the *Ya chou fu chih*, ch. 2, fol. 42b, this mountain is five li north of the district of Ch'ing-hsi 清溪縣. The road over it is a very difficult one.

[38] This is indirectly correct for most of the streams flow into the Li-t'ang River, the latter into the Ya-lung, and it in turn flows into the Yangtze.

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173 "Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan
101 were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang 嶲江, but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."

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S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 S households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

ST 651 "The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the S Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' ST rations.

101 "There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).* — "The
● 173 first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

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whereupon he received an official seal and Imperial letters patent appointing him as the ruler of Kua-pieh. 173

"Chi Chio-pu 己角補 was the eldest son of P'o 迫 by his first wife. In the 55th year of K'ang-hsi (1716) he succeeded his father as T'u-ssu. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the Fan [Hsi-fan] brigands of Yü-o 魚窩 he acquired merit, and was rewarded with 300 taels of silver. In the 11th year (1733) he again joined the Imperial army, attacking the Fan bandits of Erh-ssu 兒斯. He captured the rebel Wu-sha-chia 烏沙甲 and more than 10 bandits. He was granted more than 600 taels of silver and promoted to a higher official rank.

"Chi Lien-kuei 己聯貴, the eldest son of Pu 補 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 25th year of Ch'ien-lung (1760).

"Chi Shao-hsien 已紹先, the eldest son of Kuei 貴 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

"Chi Kuang-tsung 己光宗, the eldest son of Hsien 先 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).[5]

"Chi Kuo-fu 己國富, eldest son of Tsung 宗 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (1815). In the 23rd year of Tao-kuang (1843) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the brigand chief Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒 he acquired merit, and received the *Lan-ling* 藍翎 [Blue plume, a raven's feather conferred as a reward for services upon officials below the sixth grade. GILES, No. 6732].

"In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan 張大脚板 (Chang with the big feet) of Yün-nan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he was ordered by the government to lead his troops to exterminate them. He then received the peacock's feather instead of the former Blue Plume. In the 11th year (1861) the brigand leader Ma Jung-hsien 馬榮先 and his followers burned and looted Mien-hua-ti 棉花地 in the district of Yen-yüan. Fu joined the Imperial army and by subjugating the brigands he acquired merit and was promoted to the second official rank. In the third year of T'ung-chih (1864) he retired from his official post.

"Chi T'ien-hsi 己天錫 was the eldest son of Fu 富 by his first wife. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he succeeded to his father's position. In the sixth year (1867) he led his own troops to build defense works and to exterminate the Yün-nan bandits. On this account the Emperor conferred on him the honorific title of Pa-t'u-lu 巴圖魯 (Strong and brave; [*Baturu* is a decoration rewarded for military prowess and bestowed only on such as already have the peacock's feather]).

"Chi T'ing-liang 己廷樑, son of the brother of Hsi 錫, succeeded to his uncle's position in the 15th year of Kuang-hsü 光緒 (1889).[6]

[5] He is the An-fu-ssu (Pacification Commissioner) mentioned in the second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816).

[6] It was this T'u-ssu who was murdered with his entire family, excepting his eldest son, by the Lo-lo of Kua-pieh in January, 1924.

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adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7] 131

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official." 651

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 彌多. 131

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (*Senior native deputy official.*) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9] 173

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌鋪鋪 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

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173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿繪徤, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文蕷, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子堡 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿迫古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

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651 hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[12] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 祿馬六槽."[13]

131 The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

●173 *Imperial audiences and tribute.*—"In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 茯苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ⅕ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (*Chiliarch*).—"Lang Chün-wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

[12] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[13] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州壩 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

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M3 "Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, eldest son of the legal wife of Pao, succeeded to his father's position in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784).

"Lang T'ing-hsi 郎廷璽, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded his father in the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling chiliarch of Ku-po-shu].

"Lang T'ing-fang 郎廷芳, son of the brother of Hsi by the legal wife, succeeded to the position in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821).

"Lang Ying-sheng 郎應陞, eldest son of the legal wife of Fang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the 22nd year (1842) on account of his meritorious services rendered in suppressing the brigand Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒, he was rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume. In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the Yün-nan brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he joined the Imperial troops to attack Chang. After the expedition he was rewarded with the peacock's feather. In the 10th year of Hsien-feng (1860) the Yün-nan brigand Ma Jung-hsien and others escaped and disturbed the peace at Mien-hua-ti in the district of Yen-yüan. On account of his meritorious services in that campaign the Emperor promoted him to the third official rank.

"Lang Ch'ao-ting 郎朝鼎, eldest son of the legal wife of Sheng, succeeded to his father's position in the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

"Lang Jui-lin 郎瑞麟, eldest son of the legal wife of Ting." [He was apparently T'u-ssu at the time of the compiling of the Yen-yüan Records; no further notes as to his assumption of office, etc., are given.] The present Ku-po-shu native chiliarch is Lang Chih-pang 郎治邦.

The Ku-po-shu census of 1834 revealed a population of 585 households consisting of 1,461 tribespeople.

4. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE SO KUO

"Of the So Kuo 所國, the first to be established were the Chung and Tso which formed one *So*. Now they are divided into five *So* and are known as the Wu-so, subject to the magistracy of Yen-yüan, formerly called the Yen-ching wei. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 whose old remnants are the present military transport circuit-post of Sha-p'ing 沙平. In the Yüan dynasty it was the territory of Lu chou 瀘州 in the Chien-ch'ang Circuit" [14] (*Yen-yüan hsien chih*).

5. CHUNG-SO 中所

"The seat of the chief of Chung-so [15] is 100 li from the district town of Yen-yüan.

[14] The now obsolete Lu chou was 25 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present-day Hsi-ch'ang hsien. The savages who dwelt there called it Sha-ch'eng-chien 沙城檢.

[15] The home of the Chung-so chief is situated on the mountain-side above the village of Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草壩, a distance of 135 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and about 60 li from Yen-ching. The mountains around there are inhabited by Lo-lo tribespeople who live in rude pine-log huts. The mountains are covered with pine forest with undergrowth of *Rhododendron decorum*.

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"The eastern border of Chung-so extends to the A-kuo Ho 阿果河, a distance of 15 li, adjoining the border of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井; the southern border extends to the village of No-lung 糯弄, adjoining the boundary of the Yün-nan district of Ta-yao, a distance of 400 li; to the west the border extends to the summit of the Ko-na-ssu Mountains 格納思山, a distance of 100 li, adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district. To the north the border extends to the banks of the Ta Ho, 大河 a distance of 60 li, adjoining the territory of the Tso-so native chiliarch. The circumference of the entire Chung-so territory is 575 li.[16] The chief controls 50 villages inhabited by native tribes [I-min 夷民]. [Lo-lo, Mo-so and Hsi-fan are here meant.] 1730

"The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu pays taxes in kind amounting to 19 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat. This is forwarded to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In addition he pays a land improvement tax of 15.66 taels' silver to the magistrate of Yen-yüan."

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1733) the borders of Chung-so extend east to A-ko 阿各 (the edition of 1816 states A-ko Ho or A-ko Stream); south to Sa-che 撒者; west to the border of Ku-mu 古木; north to Mi-i 迷易.[17]

"He controls 820 households of tribespeople [the edition of 1816 states, 485 families].

Imperial tribute and rewards. — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the second-class native chiefs of the aborigines were commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Thereupon La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相 went to Peking in person and took with him the following articles of tribute: A brass Buddha sitting on a silver throne and weighing 8.10 taels, five *Ha-ta* 哈達 [the Tibetan Khatag (written Kha-btags)],[18] weighing two catties; five China-roots [*Fu-ling*] weighing 27 catties and 8 taels; five boxes of *Ch'ang-p'u* (*Acorus* roots) weighing five catties; five foxskins weighing 4 catties; five bear galls weighing 7.7 taels, and five pockets of musk weighing 3.15 taels. These articles he presented to the Emperor, who honoured him with the button of the fourth rank. Hereafter when commanded to have audi-

[16] *See* note 7 on page 457.

[17] At Mi-i there is a native chiliarch whose family name is An 安. His ancestor was An Wen 安文 who also submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi. This chiliarch resides and rules over a district called Li-ch'i chou 雲溪州 under the prefecture of Hui-li.

The *Ming Shih*, ch. 311, fol. 16a, states that the native official Ch'ien-hu of Mi-i was called Hsien 賢. His first ancestor was a native of Ching-tung 景東, Yün-nan, and belonged to the P'o tribe 僕種. The above is also recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of Ming Wan-li (1573–1620). But it adds that the name of his distant ancestor was A 阿 and that the latter possessed no fields in Ching-tung. He lead his tribesmen and migrated to Mi-i where they possessed themselves of fields and stayed. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) he followed the army, attacked and advanced on Tung-ch'uan and Mang-pu where he killed the robbers. Having thereby acquired merit he then submitted and left for the capital where the Emperor appointed him hereditary assistant chiliarch of Mi-i-so.

[18] Presentation or salutation scarfs made of silk; the longest and best are presented to high officials; they carry respect according to their quality, color and length.

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173 ence, he either went himself or sent his representatives and was always rewarded with precious gifts.[19]

Genealogy of the Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La Jui-lin 喇瑞麟 returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent and ordered him to reside in Chung-so and administer its affairs as the native Ch'ien-hu. He belonged to the Mo-so tribe.

"La Chün-jung 喇君榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Lin, succeeded to his father's position in the 15th year of Ch'ien-lung (1750).

"La Yung-chung 喇用中, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Ch'ien-lung (1755).

"La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"La Ying-han 喇英翰, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsiang, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Chia-ch'ing (1804). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling T'u-ssu of Chung-so.] In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821) he was ordered to join the punitive expedition against the Yün-nan wild tribes. He was afterwards rewarded with the fourth class official button.

"La Wen-ch'ing 喇文清, eldest son of the legal wife of Han, succeeded to his father's position in the third year of Tao-kuang (1823). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) the Yün-nan bandit chief Chang Ta-chio-pan and his followers disturbed the peace. He led his own militia, pursued the brigands and helped exterminate them all, whereupon the Emperor rewarded him with the peacock plume.

"La Pang-tso 喇邦佐, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ing, succeeded to his father's position in the first year of T'ung-chih (1862). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) the Yün-nan brigands besieged Yen-yüan, whereupon he led his own soldiers, raised defence works and helped to exterminate the bandits. The Emperor thereupon conferred on him the additional rank of Brigadier-General.

"La Shu-t'ung 喇淑統, nephew of Tso. He was appointed as the rightful heir and succeeded to his uncle's position. [No date is given of his assuming the office of Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so.]

"The present (1940) Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so is La Ch'eng-chieh 喇成傑.

"In the Chung-so territory are two stockaded villages of importance. One is called Shui-tz'u-wa-chai 水次凹寨 and the other Ch'e-ch'iu-chai 扯邱寨. Another village is called La-t'a-chai 喇踏寨.

[19] The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* p. 38a states: The Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu's family name is La 剌; his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He submitted to the Imperial rule and extirpating the brigands he acquired merit and received the hereditary rank of Assistant Chiliarch. In previous years he paid tribute in horses and received the Imperial command to remain at his post and lend assistance to the postal courier. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan and was repeatedly raided. The land originally under his jurisdiction was narrow and closely hemmed in. There were barely a hundred tribesmen and their position was isolated and weak, but they defended themselves energetically. The present resident (written in the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty [1573–1620]) La Shu-tsu 剌述祖 continues the clan according to the law of inheritance.

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"The census of 1834 held in the Chung-so territory revealed a population of 485 households composed of 1,283 tribespeople." 173

6. TSO-SO 左所

"The seat of the T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so 左所土千戶 is 240 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is formed by the Mountain Sha-ta-wa-t'a-erh (Shan) 沙打回塔耳山 and adjoins the boundary of the district of Yen-yüan, a distance of 400 li. The southern border is at Pa-ch'iu 巴邱 and adjoins the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district, a distance of 120 li. The western border adjoins the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory distant 30 li. The northern border adjoins the border of the Pacification Commissioner's territory of Kua-pieh 120 li [and also that of Mu-li]. The entire territory has a circumference of 670 li, extending from north to south 240 li and from east to west 430 li.

"He rules over 1,001 families of tribespeople [who are mostly Mo-so, or, to be correct, Hli-khin or Lü-khi, a branch of the Na-khi, also Lo-lo and Hsi-fan].

"The Tso-so chief pays taxes in kind amounting to 70 *tan* of buckwheat. This is delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. He controls also the native chief of Pi-chü-lu. The latter place is also known as Nan-yang-chai 南陽寨."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* pp. 37a–37b relates of the Tso-so territory as follows:

"The family of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch) is La 剌, his distant ancestor La-t'a 剌他 was a native of that place. In the 25th year of the period Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la planned a revolt but were reduced to submission. La-t'a returned allegiance, established a great army at Yen-ching wei and repeatedly attacked the robbers; he acquired merit and pacified the people.

The second generation ancestor La-ma-fei went in audience with the Emperor and paid tribute in horses which he sent to the capital. He was thereupon promoted to hereditary Native Assistant chiliarch of Tso-so of Yen-ching wei.

In the 11th year of the period Yung-lo (1413) he was promoted by Imperial decree hereditary Cheng Ch'ien-hu, his descendants have inherited the title without interruption. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou of Yün-nan. He had a strong force of soldiers and horses. Recently (this was written in the Wan-li period [1573–1620]) his territory was seized by the Li-chiang fu native official Mu Wang 木旺 (*see* Page 122). Yung-ning fu also encroached on its borders and appropriated it and the tribesmen agreed to leave. The present resident (Wan-li period *v.s.*) La-ma-kao 剌馬高 in his youth was an orphan and helpless to cope with the situation, but now that he has reached maturity he is rich, brave and shrewd and protects his inheritance."

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (edition 1733) states that the eastern border is at the mouth of the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 [a branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho],

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173 south to the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu of Yün-nan; west to the borders of the territory of Yung-ning, Yün-nan; and north to the border of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. At the time of the publication of this topography (1733) he ruled over 1,201 households. The Topography published in 1816 states that he rules over 525 households.

The ancestor of the Tso-so T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman, by name La-t'a 喇塔 (also written 他). According to the statement of the present Tso-so chief his first ancestor was called La-ma-t'a 喇馬塔. His territory to this day is called La-t'a and the Yung-ning Lake, the eastern half of which is in his domain, is known to the Mo-so as La-t'a Khü (La-t'a Lake).

Under the Mongols and Mings. — Little or nothing is know as to the history of this region prior to the Ming dynasty, save that it was conquered by Kublai Khan in 1253. He left officers in Yung-ning to rule the territory, which then was subject to Yung-ning and the latter in turn subject to the rulers of Li-chiang (*see* History of Yung-ning).

The *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that in the first moon of the 25th year of Hung-wu (January 25th-February 22nd, 1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 and the native, La-t'a 喇他 submitted to the empire and obeyed. The *Ming Shih* 明史, ch. 311, fols. 14a-b, states that Chia-ha-la was a Mo-so-tung 麼些洞 native chief. [In the ancient literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi), written in pictographs, it relates of their dwelling in caves]. It was not until towards the close of the period Hung-wu of the first Ming Emperor (1368–1398) that Yün-nan and especially the south-western part of China including the territory in question was subjugated.

It remained a last stronghold of the Mongols. The Yung-ning chiefs to this day pride themselves on their Mongol origin. Female relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were given in marriage to the aboriginal Mo-so native chiefs of Tso-so, called La-t'a.

The first Tso-so to visit the capital of the Ming empire, then Nanking, was the son of La-t'a or La-ma-t'a, called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. He made his submission and paid tribute. The Ming History relates that when the Imperial troops had captured Chien-ch'ang, Chia-ha-la was appointed a captain. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol military commander, resisted and with his followers tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops who had begun the subjection of the South-west. All his followers were killed, and he escaped to Po-hsing chou [the present-day Yen-yüan hsien], at that time ruled by Chia-ha-la. On the arrival of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, Chia-ha-la also rebelled. They were pursued by the Imperial troops who had commissioned a certain Pai-hu 百戶 (Centurion) by the name of Mao-hai 毛海 to arrange for their capture. He succeeded not only in capturing Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, but also his son P'an-po 胖伯. Their followers thereupon made their submission; Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and his son were taken to the capital and executed. Chia-ha-la was also captured and executed because he had also rebelled. This happened in the last (31st) year of Hung-wu (1392). It appears that the Chung-so and Tso-so chiefs also assisted in the capture of

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Chia-ha-la, although it is stated that he was actually captured by Hsü K'ai 徐凱, a military commander. 173

At that time Chung-so and Tso-so had not yet been divided and were under the rule of a T'u-ch'ien-hu whose name was La-wu 剌兀. His son, who went later to pay tribute, was then appointed Fu-ch'ien-hu and not until the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) did he become officially T'u-ch'ien-hu. Thus the office of the Chung-tso T'u-ch'ien-hu had its beginning in that year. It was shortly afterwards that the Mu family (the chiefs) of Li-chiang encroached on the territory of the *So* and the latter lost about half of their domain.

Genealogy of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La shih-ying 喇世英 was the first T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so. He was a Mo-so tribesman and submitted to the Ch'ing dynasty in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710). Thereupon the Emperor issued him letters patent and an official seal and ordered him to reside in the native village of To-she 多舍寨 in Tso-so territory as its native chieftain of one thousand (families).

"La Nan-chung 喇南仲, eldest son of the legal wife of Ying, succeeded to his father's position in the 52nd year of K'ang-hsi (1713). In the 60th year (1721) he joined the Imperial troops to attack the Fan tribes [Hsi-fan, *i.e.*, Mu-li natives of La-ju-o 腊汝窩; the Yung-pei Records write La-jou-o 腊肉窩] and succeeded in capturing the bandit chief Liao-ma-erh-ch'e 了馬兒車. On account of the meritorious service thus rendered he was rewarded with the fourth official rank and the appropriate official robes, plus 150 taels of silver.

"In the third year of Yung-cheng (1725) he again joined the Imperial troops to attack the bandits of Yung-ning in Yün-nan. [The Yung-ning people are neighbors of the Tso-so and belong to the same tribe, yet they have always hated each other and in the various chronicles they call each other bandits.] He succeeded in capturing the bandit leader and 37 of his followers. In the 10th year (1732) he was rewarded with robes and button of the third official rank, also a court dress and cap used in Imperial audience, and a pinto horse.

"La Kuang-yüan 喇光遠, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 23rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1758).

"La Kuo-yü 喇國玉, first legal grandson of Yüan, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788)."

One generation is here apparently missing, namely the father of Te whose name must have been La (?) tsung 喇○宗.

"La Pang-te 喇邦德, eldest son of Tsung 宗, succeeded to his father's position in the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih the Yün-nan bandits besieged the town of Yen-yüan [Mohammedan rebels are here meant; they had even gone to Mu-li and slaughtered the lamas of Wa-chin]. He raised a military contingent and defense works and assisted in exterminating the bandits. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the second rank.

"La Cheng-hsiang 喇楨祥, eldest son of the legal wife of Te, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870)."

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173 The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu 喇鴻翥. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai 左所土寨, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai 獨些寨, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai 沽瀘土寨 [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [*See also* Tso-so T'u-ssu *under* Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

131 "The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所土千戶 is 120 li from Yen-
173 yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la 阿所拉 and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州[20] and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa 八 and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州[21] governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]; south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿呢哈呷 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan; west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung[22] at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 應家庄. The edition of 1733

[20] Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

[21] At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 吉, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 吉三嘉 was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 猡猡, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 蒲家.

[22] Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.

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gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so 德昌所. It is possible that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, — so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893. 131 173

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 *tan* of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22.011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Genealogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八羲 was the first ancestor of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chai) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch). 173

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yün-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yün-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yün-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-

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173 minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠.

The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 得).

8. CH'IEN-SO 前所

173 "The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from
131 Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波菓 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出猪村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khin Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position.

It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 褚都村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-

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ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border. 173 131

Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu. — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so. 173

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, *see* Ch'ien-so *under* Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 小橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 押克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*]. 173 131

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (*q.v.*), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border

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173 131 100 li to the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山頂, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k'o 雅押克山, a distance of 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different *So* under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch'uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

"The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 迷雅寨. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople."

173 *Genealogy of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "Pai Ma-t'a 白馬塔 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

"Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T'a, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Ch'ien-lung (1744).

"Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father's position in the 54th year of Ch'ien-lung (1789).

"Pai Kuo-hsien 白國賢, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 17th year of Chia-ch'ing (1812).

"Pai T'ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

"Pai T'ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 賢, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

"Pai Huai-hsing 白懷馨, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father's position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

"Pai Chung-yo 白鐘嶽 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.

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ADDENDUM

After I had written this book I returned in 1940 to Li-chiang in north-western Yün-nan to continue my investigations on the literature of the Na-khi tribe. While translating manuscripts and discussing with my dto-mbas (Na-khi priests) the aboriginal inhabitants, the P'u 濮 tribe of Li-chiang which had been conquered by Ye-ku-nien chief of the Mo-so-man, I learned that the P'u are identical with the Boa, the Chinese Hsi-fan of Mu-li 木裏. 173

In Na-khi manuscripts they are called ˢP'u-ˢmi which is a transcription of P'ron-mö by which name they designate themselves in Mu-li, while Boa is a derogatory name the Na-khi have given them. Before the arrival of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in Li-chiang the ˢP'u-ˢmi occupied the entire Li-chiang territory, but were conquered during the T'ang dynasty by Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te (618–626), or rather who held office during that time. The ˢP'u-ˢmi were driven by them to the north as well as into the mountains in the various *li* of the district of Li-chiang where they can still be found as in Nan-shan, Hsiang-ko li, etc., while the Na-khi occupied the plains and valleys.

During the Sung dynasty (*see* page 180–81) the ˢP'u again gained control of their former territory till the advent of Yeh-yeh in 1101 A.D.

The Boa or ˢP'u-ˢmi together with the Hli-khin of Yung-ning once more tried to invade Li-chiang about 1521 but they were utterly defeated and most of them were decapitated at a place now known as Boa-shi or dead Boa, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街.

In a book of the ˢDto ˢna ˢk'ö ceremony called ˢT'u ˢlü it speaks of the ˢP'u as follows: ˢGhügh ˢmuan ˢngyü ˢnnü, ˢndzĕr ˢssä ˢdzu; ˢDzi ˢmuan ˢndsu ˢnnü, ˢP'u ˢssä ˢndsu; ˢP'u ˢndsu ˢhaw ˢmuan ˢshu, ˢGhügh ˢhaw ˢndzĕr ˢmuan ˢshu.

Translated this reads: Before the birds were, the trees had been born; before the ˢDzi (Na-khi are meant) had settled, the P'u were settled; where the ˢP'u had settled it was unnecessary to look for food (elsewhere), neither did the birds have to look for a roost. In another manuscript called ˢÖ-ˢyu-ˢngv-ˢszi-ˢyi of the ˢZhi ˢmä funeral ceremony it relates that the ˢP'u ate raw meat and that they also ate their dead. That the ˢP'u must have been a very primitive people is borne out by the present living condition of their descendants in Mu-li where they form the main population. I have observed them eating carrion honey-combed by maggots of the thickness and size of a man's finger.

Little is known of their language which is very different from the other tribal languages; they have no written language but the lamas among them have employed the Tibetan script for it.

[p. 471] [p. 472 is blank]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[34]

CHAPTER V

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR 家神 *

778 THE domestic altar is called *chia k'an hsiang huo* 家龕香火 or *shên k'an* 神龕 or *shên kuei* 櫃; on the upper part is an incense pot; in the niche or cupboard is *t'u ti* 土地 the precinct god. This shrine is the last thing to leave the house when the habitants remove, and as long as it is there the owner of it claims to be in possession. When he removes the cupboard he invites the domestic gods to follow him, *ch'ing chia-shên* 請家神, the colloquial for worshipping them being *kung* 供 *chia-shên*.

778 173 The Heaven and Earth tablet 天地君親師 *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih* is dedicated to Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestors and Teachers. It is said this tablet originated with Ssŭ tzŭ Yen wang 四子燕王 of the Han dynasty. Before he became emperor he fled before soldiers seeking to kill him, but stopped at the request of some friendly folk who asked him to write a tablet for the family altar. He wrote the above five characters, and explained that "Heaven has a covering grace, Earth a supporting grace," and so on.

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* This chapter appeared in the *Journal* of the North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1918, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Council. Numerous alterations will be noticed.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Another account says they were written by 漢班超 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have done it, but the former story is the more generally believed. 778 173

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet. 778 769

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t'ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t'ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k'ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *sü* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k'un* 昆, *jêng* 礽, *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

[p. 55]

Chapter III

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CHINESE TRIBAL MOVEMENTS AND MIGRATIONS

1. Pa and Shu Peoples of Ssu-ch'uan

173 The origins of all the various peoples of China, as with those of all the other nations of the earth, are usually traced back as far as documentary history leads them and from there into the realms first of quasi-history and then into that of mythology. In China, fairly reliable documentary history begins with the Chou Dynasty at about 1122 B.C. Quasi-history takes one back to perhaps before the second thousand years B.C. A great many Chinese historical scholars are willing to accept as historical fact the existence of the so-called Yellow Emperor who is supposed to have become the ruler of the Han-Chinese in B.C. 2697. Moreover, they see historical cross-reference support for many of the circumstances and events of his time. The accounts of such an early period are included here as a partial introduction to the Chinese view of the historical development of the southern peoples and are not presented as facts accepted by the author. These early accounts are important because they figure in the mythological origins of many of the non-Han tribes as well as in the thinking of the Han-Chinese about their relationship with the non-Han tribes people.

174 171 The earliest cultural center of South China appears to be in Ssu-ch'uan (See Photo 8) at a time contemporary with or even preceding the first appearance of Han-Chinese culture in the Yellow River Valley. Eberhard called this the Pa culture, but Hsu Sung-shih equated it with the Shu-shan culture and included Pa in it. What their culture was like cannot be ascertained, said Hsu[1], although some excavations in Ssu-ch'uan give a few meager indications.[2] Eberhard drew certain tentative conclusions about it on the basis of the few documentary facts available.[3] Figures of animals, people, warriors, servants, girls, all types of household articles, reliefs, and glazed grave-bricks showing stilt-houses and leaf or thatched roofs

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101 tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

131 The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

162 131 In the area covered by map no. 1,[1] the Na-khi live in scattered villages alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

● 174 Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

000 In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

1 [see end map 1, cat 116 ;-- Analyst]

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Southwest china AF16

[p. 55]

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174 convinced Eickstedt of a definite T'ai cultural tie-up with
171 the ancient Pa and Shu. Ancient writings of the Pa people were discovered on a stone tablet at Sui-ling in Ssu-ch'uan under an uprooted tree. Beautiful decorated clay vessels attributed to the Po-jen tribes have been dug up in western Ssu-ch'uan graves in the richly arranged burial grounds in the vicinity of Sui-fu. The coffins here were set up on steep rocks and pegged down, a type of "burial" observed by the present author in the Pa-yi (T'ai) region of western Yun-nan in 1940.

175 The ancient histories do not term the Pa and Shu peoples the Hsi-nan-i (Southwestern Barbarians) because the latter term derives from the Han period, whereas the state of Pa and Shu were established long before the Han rulers reached the southwest tribes. Nevertheless, said Hsu Sung-shih,[4] the tribes of Pa and Shu were of the same group as those of the Southwest.

The Pa state is supposed to have originated at the same time as the Shu state, that is, prior to B.C. 3000 and the time of the mythical Three Kings. One of the Three Kings was Jen Huang who was said to be one of nine brothers. Jen Huang is reported to have divided up the country into nine provinces of which he occupied the central one, while each of the other brothers occupied an outlying province. (The division into nine divisions probably is related to the feudal land division system of ancient China, where a square of land would be divided by the double crossed-lines of tick-tack-toe, thus making nine equal squares. The middle one would be occupied by the landlord or feudal lord, with the outlying ones occupied by fief-holders.)

One of the nine spheres of government was supposed to be the territory including the two states of Pa and Shu, which were presumably fiefs of Jen Huang (See Photo 6). For long generations the feudal state of Shu was the cock-of-the-walk in southwest China, and its culture is stated to have reached brilliant heights at an early period. The Yellow Emperor is stated to have got for his son, Ch'ang-i, a wife from the Shu-shan Clan, and the first-born of this pair became Emperor K'u (Ti K'u) (B.C. 2435-2365). One of Ch'ang-i's sons also married a Shu-shan wife. Furthermore, the homeland of the great Yü also is said to have been in the territory of the Shu-shan Clan. It is evident that if these were historical facts, the Shu State had very intimate connections with the Yellow River civilization. Its power surpassed that of Pa. Its territory is reported

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
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II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Introduction of Chinese Culture

175 The legendary history of China records close relations between the Pa and Shu tribal states of the Chengtu Plain in Szechwan and the mythical Chinese emperors in the Yellow River area of North China, from which the mainstream of Chinese civilization spread south. In the historical period, the tribal kingdoms participated in the campaign of the founder of the Chou Dynasty (c. 1030-221 B.C.) which overthrew the first unified state in China -- the Shang (c. 1520-c. 1030 B.C.).[3] However, the Chinese culture did not begin to exert real influence in the Southwest Region until just before the establishment of the first Chinese Empire under the Ch'in Dynasty (221-206 B.C.).[4]

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3. Harold Wiens, China's March toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 55-62. On early cultural development in the Southwest Region see Ibid., pp. 29-129.

4. On the development of Chinese civilization from prehistoric times through the founding of the Ch'in Dynasty see Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-68; Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., rev. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 32-84. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1954, pp.73-98, summarizes both foregoing presentations and other [cont'd

175 In the struggle for hegemony over all China among the petty states of the former Chou domains, the Southwest Region played a key role. During the fourth century B. C., eastern Szechwan became a part of the principality of Ch'u, which dominated the Yangtze River plain from what is now Chungking to the sea. At about the same time, the state of Ch'in expanded from its base in Shensi into the Chengtu Plain. The maneuver cut off a Ch'u military expedition seeking new territories in Kweichow and Yunnan, and it turned back to the Kunming region of Yunnan to establish the kingdom of Tien under the army's leader, Chuang Ch'iao.[5]

More important, the occupation of the forme Pa and Shu territories by Ch'in helped it to vastly expand its economic resources, outflank and defeat Ch'u in the final struggle for power, and become the founder of the first Chinese Empire in 221 B.C. The victory of Ch'in was in large part due to the broadening of its agricultural base through the development of the Chengtu Plain. Large numbers of people from the original domain in Shensi were transported to the more productive Szechwan plain, and its potential began to be realized at the end of the fourth century by the construction of a still functioning irrigation system

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modern scholarship on China's early development.

5. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

975 initiated by the Ch'in governor Li Ping.[6] The longer range results of Ch'in's development of the Chengtu Plain was to make it a continuing center of Chinese agriculture, civilization, and population up to the present day.

The great Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 220) initiated the policy of indirect rule in the frontier areas of the Southwest Region. Tribal territories were formed into political departments and districts. With the exception of those on the Chengtu Plain, they continued to be under the real control of their former tribal chieftains. The local rulers recognized the Han emperor as an overlord, a relationship enforced by imperial military expeditions when not accepted voluntarily by reason of the prestige of the Han Empire and its bestowal of gifts and titles. Among the most powerful local rulers who accepted the vassal relationship voluntarily were the kings of Tien in Yunnan and of Yeh-lang in western Kweichow.[7]

The policy of indirect rule over most of Kweichow, Yunnan, and eastern and western Szechwan was followed by subsequent dynasties until nearly the end of the fourteenth century. During that time, less than 20 per cent of the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau, the area most suitable to Chinese agriculture aside from the Chengtu Plain, was occupied by Han Chinese people.[8]

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6. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 96. In late 1954, the Communist press reported that the two-thousand year old irrigation

[continued next page]

175 However, many of the semi-autonomous tribes adopted administrative and cultural elements from the Chinese civilization when it was politically unified and powerful. Whenever the empire showed signs of weakness or was in eclipse, the tribal peoples broke away from Chinese influence.

B. Separatism in the Southwest

The chaos in the Southwest Region following the collapse of the Han Dynasty was resolved by the genius of the prime minister of the Shu Han Dynasty (221-264), recognized by the Chinese as the legitimate dynasty among the Three Kingdoms which ruled a divided empire after A.D. 220. Established on the Chengtu Plain, the Shu Han ruled most of Yunnan and Kweichow. The famous prime minister Chu-ko Liang set up an administrative system whereby central Szechwan and some of the surrounding Sinified areas of the central plateau of Yunnan-Kweichow were organized into districts under the direct rule of the capital at Chengtu. Outlying areas in Yunnan were tied to the kingdom by overlord-vassal

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[continued] system in Szechwan was being expanded: S.C.M.P., 941, p. 39.

7. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 147-8.

8. Ibid., p. 185.

175 arrangements which permitted the chieftains to retain real power in the tribal territories. Chu-ko Liang's firm but fair treatment of the distant tribes gained their respect and admiration. His reputation is still high among the Wa (K'a-wa) tribes of southwestern Yunnan.[9]

A less Sinified and longer lasting independent state was established in the Southwest Region during the middle of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906). The small tribe of Nan-chao in the Ta-li Plain of western Yunnan expanded under the leadership of P'i-lo-ko and the encouragement of the T'ang administration to extend control over most of Yunnan and Sikang. This movement was sanctioned by the T'ang because Nan-chao emulated Chinese administration and culture while performing the vital function of containing the threat of rampant Tibetan nomads on the western borders of the empire.

When a T'ang minister insulted the second ruler of the Nan-chao, Ko-lo-feng, he broke with the dynasty and founded an independent kingdom in 750. In the next century and a half, the Nan-chao threatened the existence of the T'ang, spread into Kweichow, and repeatedly invaded Szechwan and areas outside the Southwest Region to the north and south. During this time, the independent kingdom was absorbing Chinese culture through plunder, captives, and inter-marriage. The assimilation

9. Ibid., pp. 148-50.

175 was so thorough that the Min-chia (Pai-man) trbies of the Ta-li Plain show a close affinity to Chinese culture today.[10]

In conquering the Chinese Empire of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the Mongols outflanked it by striking through the Ta-li kingdom. Central Yunnan was made desolate by the invasion, but remnants of the Ta-li state survived as vassals of the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty (1279-1368) until the conquest of Yunnan by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in 1382. The province was incorporated into the Chinese Empire by the Mongols, who installed as governor a Mohamedan Tartar from Bukhara. Under the adopted Chinese name of Sai Tien-ch'i, he repopulated central and western Yunnan by inviting in Mohamedans from Northwest China. As a result, the province has become a secondary Chinese center of Mohamedanism.[11]

175 558 While most of the Southwest continued as an undeveloped and unassimilated frontier area, the thoroughly Sinified Red Basin in Szechwan was contributing to Chinese civilization some of its greatest exponents in the arts, philosophy, and statecraft. No Chinese poet has ever surpassed the work of Li Po (c. 700-762), whose birthplace is disputed but thought to be in Szechwan, and his frequent companion in bacchic revels, Tu Fu 712-770), more certainly a native of the province. Both men were for a time favorites at the T'ang court and were among the "Eight Immortals

10. Ibid., pp. 142, 157-62.

11. Ibid., pp. 162-64, 184.

175 of the Wine-cup" -- a small group devoted to
538 serious drinking and metaphysical flights of Taoist and Buddhist fancy.[12] Both men suffered misfortune and privation during their lives, but Li Po sought to escape them by retreat into a romantic world, unlike Tu Fu, whose poetry often expresses suffering in moving terms. Both men are acclaimed by the Communists. Tu Fu's concern with his own and the world's miseries has been interpreted by the Communists as evidence of his anti-feudalistic feeling, and the current regime has lauded him and his poetry while making his home in Chengtu into a national shrine.[13]

Another famous exponent of Chinese culture from Szechwan was Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036-1101). He has a high place among the great names of Chinese philosophy, literature, and caligraphy. His philosophic writings -- committed to no orthodoxy and searching for the truth in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism -- were long influential in China and Japan as well.[14]

C. Development of Chinese Settlement and Direct Control

167 Large-scale settlement of Yunnan and Kwei-
175 chow by Han Chinese and the extension of Chinese central authority in these provinces and Szechwan became a Chinese policy with the Ming Dynasty. Under its rule, mass migration into western Szechwan and the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau was effected on a planned basis. One of the initial

12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.219-220.
13. S.C.M.P., 840, p. 41.
14. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp.264,267.

175 167 acts of the first Ming emperor Hung Wu (Chu Yüan-chang) was to remove most of the population of the Nanking area to Yunnan. Thereafter, armies recruited largely from the Yangtze Valley were settled in agricultural colonies throughout the fertile regions of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Fortifications were established at strategic points in the three provinces. Control and colonization in other areas of the Southwest Region were facilitated by commercial and civilian agencies. These acts made possible the establishment of Kweichow as a province under Chinese administrative control.[15]

175 636 The incorporation of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan into the Chinese Empire did not mean the imposition of effective control by the central government throughout these provinces. The Han Dynasty policy of indirect administration of non-Han Chinese areas through local rulers was formalized under the Ming Dynasty by the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system. Under it, local rulers were confirmed or established as hereditary t'u-ssu (local agents of the government) with various ranks in tribal areas. About one-third of these local chieftains were natives of the areas they controlled, another third were tribal leaders not native to the locality under their command, and the remaining third were Han Chinese, most of whom had adopted the customs of the subject tribal people.[16]

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15. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 180-85, 192-200.

16. On the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system and the extension of Chinese control in the Southwest Region, see ibid., pp. 221-66.

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Some progress in extending direct control over former tribal areas was made by the Ming Dynasty through its program of planned settlement and military action. However, the Ming administration oscillated between a policy of leaving non-Han Chinese areas to their own devices and eliminating t'u-ssu power by military force. The latter policy was most consistently and successfully pursued in Kweichow.

A more persistent attempt to bring the whole Southwest under Chinese administration was pursued by the Ch'ing Dynasty. Under the Republic (1912-1949), the extension of Chinese administration was handicapped by internal revolution, external interference, and warlord rule until the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Chungking in 1938. By the end of the anti-Japanese Resistance War in 1945, some progress in further integrating the Southwest Region into the Chinese political system had been made, but the t'u-ssu and lesser tribal chiefs still exercising real power numbered more than one hundred in Szechwan, more than one hundred and fifty in Yunnan, and over one hundred in Sikang.[17] The continuance since then of local independence in the Southwest is reflected in the announcement that 220 autonomous local governments had been established in the region by the Communist regime up to September 1954.[18]

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The extension of central authority in the

17. Ibid., pp. 240-41.
18. People's China, Peking, Sept.1,1954,p.23

175 Southwest was complicated by the lack of respect
636 toward each other of the Han Chinese and the
563 tribal people. People who refused to adopt the Chinese culture were habitually regarded as inferior by the Chinese. On the other hand, the frontier area did not attract the best officials or Chinese people. Representatives of the central government tended to be second-raters inclined toward indolence, graft, corruption, and oppressive tactics toward the tribal people. Petty artisans and merchants made yearly trips to the frontier areas looking for quick profit by any means, while the more permanent Chinese settlers in the non-Han Chinese areas were often refugees and displaced persons who lived at a lower level than their non-Han Chinese neighbors. From the tribesmen, who respected strength and straightforwardness, such official and non-official representatives of the Chinese earned only contempt and resentment.[19]

Another factor which made the abolition of local autonomy difficult was that the t'u-ssu and lesser chieftains often had the respect of their subjects, entrenched position, and the armed strength to resist anything but a full-scale invasion by the central authority. In many places where hsien government was established by the Ch'ing or Republican central authorities, real power remained in the hands of the t'u-ssu or village headmen.[20]

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19. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 251-53.
20. Ibid., pp. 248-50.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 167 563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

175 669 563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being [167] suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

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975 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,
669 outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese
563 central government occurred further to the
798 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. *Cf. Eberhard*, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

[continued next page]

B. The Western Military and Missionary Impact

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The initial effect in the Southwest Region of Western intrusion was the new influence brought to bear on the relation between the tribesmen and Han Chinese authorities by French penetration of Indo-China and British operations in Burma and Tibet. Annam, Tongkin, and Burma were all tributary kingdoms of the Chinese Empire until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until the coming of the West, their borders with Yunnan were of little consequence to either kingdoms or the empire. The frontier area was rugged terrain inhabited by semi-independent tribes that had no consciousness of political demarcations and that moved freely back and forth across the vague boundary line. With French penetration of Annam and Tongkin and English advances into Upper Burma in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, all these tributary states were wrested away from Chinese suzerainty by force. Their borders and the loyalty of the tribal inhabitants of the frontier region then became matters of prime importance. If China pressed too hard for control or discipline of the tribes commissioned to guard the frontier, they had an alternative to Chinese rule and the means to blackmail the central authorities into more conciliatory treatment.

The Chinese frustration on the frontier was compounded by the inroads of France and England into the Southwestern provinces. Both Western powers in consolidating their position in the former Chinese tributary kingdoms

195 simultaneously enforced demands for the rights
636 of trade, mining development, railroad building,
563 and missionary settlement in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow. The foreign economic and missionary representatives were a constant source of irritation and fear for the Chinese and tribal inhabitants. Their periodic outbreaks of violence against the Westerners constituted excuses for forcing concessions from the Chinese government, causing it real fear that the provinces might eventually be alienated from its control.

By the twentieth century, Britain in Burma was emulating the old Chinese frontier policy of indirect control over the tribal elements. In controlling upper Burma as a defensive outpost of the English colonial empire in India, England left the t'u-ssu intact, subsidized them, and enlisted their sympathy in every way possible. What could happen when the Chinese government failed to follow a similar program was made evident in 1910. An attempt in that year by the Ch'ing Dynasty bureaucracy in Yunnan to punish the tyranny of a t'u-ssu of the P'ien-ma area led to his defection to the British and their occupation of the northwestern corner of the province.[24]

The Chinese have never been reconciled to the loss, and both the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime claim the upper salient

24. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 254-57.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian [illegible] into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

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Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 635 563 669 The revolt was still in progress when the Communists passed through the Southwest Region on their "Long March." Approaching northwestern Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sungp'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

635 669 175 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175 imperial era served to perpetuate these conditions
635 during the Republican period that followed. What
669 part the region played in the revolutionary ferment that marked much of China south of the Yangtze River from 1911 to 1928 was characterized by greedy provincialism and military expediency rather than by national aspiration and political idealism.

An immediate and direct cause of the revolution that overthrew the imperial regime was the outbreak in Szechwan during September 1911 of strikes and violence against the central government when it attempted to take over from the province the financing and construction of the Hankow-Szechwan Railway. However, the Chinese do not mark this event as the start of the 1911 Revolution, because the Szechwan outburst was not motivated by anti-dynastic feeling. Rather, the resistance was an outgrowth of jealous provincialism and, apparently, the hope of local investors in the mismanaged and corrupt provincial venture into railway building that the central government could be coerced into replacing their financial losses.[31] When the dynasty showed
175 hesitancy in dealing with the Szechwan outbreak,
669 revolutionary politicians elsewhere in China made another and successful bid, after more than a decade of abortive attempts, to establish republican government in China. The premature explosion of a bomb on October 10, 1911 at the Hankow (Hupeh) headquarters

31. On the Szechwan outbreak see Harley F. MacNair, China in Revolution; An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 28-29.

175 669 of one group plotting to overthrow the dynasty is celebrated as the beginning of the republican revolution.

Both the outbreak of open warfare between the die-hard revolutionaries and the dynasty, opportunistic militarists in the Southwest Region as elsewhere in China were ready to take advantage of the situation to promote their own interests. Ts'ai Ao (Ts'ai O), a Ch'ing military commander in Yunnan, was the strong man of the Southwest Region. His troops quickly eliminated the Ch'ing adherents in the province and in neighoring Kweichow and Szechwan. As a reward for his contribution to the success of the revolution, he was made military governor of Yunnan under the new republic. A follower of the reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao rather than the revolutionist Sun Yat-sen, Ts'ai stood aside in the struggle for power which soon developed between the parliamentary-minded supporters of Sun Yat-sen and the dictatorial-minded president of the republic, Yüan Shih-k'ai. After Yuan had won the battle by dissolving parliament and crushing its adherents' attempt at resistance, Ts'ai was persuaded to move to Peking and take a nominal part in Yüan's increasingly more personalized government. When in 1915 Yüan attempted to cap his dominance of the central government by making himself emperor, Ts'ai fled the capital by way of Japan and returned to Yunnan in December to institute a rebellion that cost his life but eventually forced Yüan to relinquish his ambition and lose his hold on China south of the Yangtze River before he died in June 1916.[32]

32. Ibid., pp. 42-44.

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After Ts'ai's death, his place of leadership and influence in the region and national affairs was aspired to by T'ang Chi-yao, a native of Yunnan and supporter of Sun Yat-sen. Along with other military strong men, he supported the various ephemeral governments established in Canton with Sun's real or nominal leadership between 1918 and 1924. They claimed varying jurisdictions -- always over Kwangtung and Kwangsi, generally over Yunnan and Kweichow, and sometimes over Szechwan and other provinces south of the Yangtze River. On Sun's death following the revitalization and strengthening of the Kuomintang with Soviet Union guidance and material aid, T'ang made a bid for the dead leader's mantle. The Yunnan militarist adopted the title of vice-generalissimo of the Kuomintang armies, a post which had been offered him before Sun's death. T'ang's amibitious move and his command of a combined Yunnan-Kwangsi army posed a threat to the largely Kwangtung military force and leadership of the Kuomintang. Within six weeks of Sun's death, the Yunnan-Kwangsi army was decimated and T'ang forced into retirement.[33]

Thereafter, the Southwest was splintered into petty domains dominated by a number of minor warlords. The influence of the revolution as of the

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33. Ibid., pp. 64-68, 95-96.

175 669 [66] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

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000 new regime in Southwest China.[34]

D. New Influences in the War of Resistance against Japan

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177 With the removal of the Chinese national capital to Chungking in 1938, the heyday of central government authority in the Southwest Region was reached. The Kuomintang and its government officials were concentrated in the wartime capital and exerted lesser control in scattered areas throughout the Southwest. Through these party and government officials, such mass organizations as the San-min Chu-i Youth Corps, and a secret police network, the Nationalist Government came closer to ruling the region than had any previous central political authority.

Accompanying the new political influence were the novel effects of the influx of professional and academic people, students, and business men from the more modern cities of the maritime provinces. Industrialization mushroomed, especially in Chungking; and that city with Chengtu and Kunming became the temporary home of displaced universities. Rural co-operative and education movements in scattered areas of the Southwest acquainted thousands of peasants for the first time with some of the new social, economic, and political ideas that had been current in the coastal cities

34. On Lung Yan, see Paul M.A.Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941,p. 101;Herbert Freyne, Free China's New Deal, NY, Macmillan Co., 1945, p.169; and T. H. White, Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, NY, William Sloane Associates,Inc.,1946.

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of China for about a quarter of a century. The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

From the beginning of the exodus to Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

The intellectual impact may have made
177 a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

Both the organized rural education move-
668 ment and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

175 1280 A.D.) dynasties. In the Ch'ing (1644-1912 A.D.)
167 dynasty more than 200,000 Han Chinese went to
Sikang as refugees, criminals, laborers, and ad-
166 venturers. Shortly after 1910, about 70,000 to 80,000 Han Chinese went from Szechwan to Sikang as merchants. Pa-an (Pa-t'ang), at the center of the province, and K'ang-ting, in the eastern part of the province, have more Han Chinese than other cities in Sikang.[5]

C. Yunnan

175 The first Han Chinese invasion into Yunnan took place in 225 A.D. during the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-266 A.D.). The next Han-Chinese attack during the T'ang dynasty was repulsed by a powerful Thai people organized as the Tali Kingdom of Nan Chao. This kingdom, however, was conquered by the army of Kublai Khan in 1253. The most important campaigns undertaken by the Han Chinese in Yunnan occurred in the Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing dynasties. Some large families in Central

3. Lou, Yun-lin, Sze-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941, pp. 35-36.

4. It is said that this policy of the Manchu government was pursuant to rebel Chang Hsien-chung's wanton killing in Szechwan at the end of the Ming dynasty which had nearly depleted the population there. See chapter on Historical Background.

5. Ch'en, Chung-wei Hsi-k'ang Wen-ti [The Sikang Problem], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1930, pp. 85-90.

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of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 *tribe.* — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 葷粥), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 34, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 22–52, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 濮蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 陝州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

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175 101 he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.[3]

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 巔, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

[3] The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298–293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 409, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 滰河水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 滰河 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 月 or 水 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'ü-ch'ing ch'ü-wen chi* 屈翰墨文集, ch. 2, fol. 1–2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Aśoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頌, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

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as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 琴. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-(Ch'in-)chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsang-ko* 牂柯 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that this may not be so. As regards the name Tsang-ko 牂柯, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as Tsang-ko. A footnote says that *tsang-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 牂 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平越, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂柯郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called Ping-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

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175 101 Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480–403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kuo: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122–117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越巂 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 滇江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th–April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang [4] where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

[4] It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 蠻蘇 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅鍵甸. The P'o (Po)-man 僰蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 蠻宗部, Hsiu-chih 休利部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 澄江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b–5a, says that because T'u-mo-

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The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.[5]

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊愼, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熜 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高橋 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177–184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

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chih 段英祖 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 叢蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

[5] P. M. Tchang, s.j., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

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The province of Yün-nan. — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin-an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713–755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛羅皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li 487
The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur 133
covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of 137
Castanopsis Delavayi, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on 175
which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 487
回燈關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd
year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 133
明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan- 137
shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are 487
on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path 133
sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, 137
creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石潤鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000 361

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, 487
it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 直力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 虹江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 陽起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

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133 This pond, which only exists in the summer, is called Tsu-k'aw-khü; when it is full it descends as a waterfall over a vertical cliff several hundred feet high, the water having cut a terrific, narrow channel in the rock. This waterfall is called 'A-nggü-t'an (Floor of the split cliff).

The name Yü-lung Shan was first mentioned by Pauthier in *L'Universe (Chine)* in 1837,[14] and appears on the Chinese maps and in Chinese geographies as well as in the Li-chiang Records. The following appears in the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 113, fols. 15a–16b.

"The Yü-lung Shan is situated 20 li north-west of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. It is also known as Sung hsüeh-shan 崇雪山 (Lofty snow mountain) and commonly as Hsüeh-shan. The entire range extends for about 100 li, and about ten high peaks rise to the skies. It looks down on the Li Shui 麗水 (Beautiful River) [Yangtze]. The snow which accumulates during the summer never melts. Its cliffs rise to the height of 10,000 jen 仞 [one *jen* = 8 feet]. If one looks at it from beyond 1,000 li, it seems as near as the distance between a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches. It is connected with the mountains of Sung chou 松州 of Ssu-ch'uan."[15]

The Meng family 蒙氏 (of the Nan-chao Kingdom) bestowed the name of Pei-yo 北岳 (North sacred Mountain) upon it, and also called it Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺.

133 175 During the reign of T'ang Te Tsung, period Cheng-yüan (785–804) Wei Kao agreed with Yün-nan to attack jointly the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and drove them beyond Yün-ling 雲嶺, that is beyond the Hsüeh-ling (Li-chiang snow range).

In the beginning of the Yüan Chih-shun 元至順 (1330) period, one of the rulers of Yün-nan, T'u-chien 禿堅,[16] and others rebelled against the Mongol

[14] On p. 7 of his work a list is given of all the snow mountains of China, which is headed by Yün-nan. The fifth mountain mentioned is the Li-chiang snow range, and he states: "Siuè chan (montagne de neige) ou Yu-loung-chan, 26° 33′–97°. Cette montagne colossale est visible à une distance très-considérable; elle est couronnée par plusieurs glaciers élevés."

[15] This is the present day Sung-pan hsien 松潘縣 in the extreme north-west of Ssu-ch'uan. It is, of course, not connected with the mountains of that district, unless one considers all mountains to be so connected.

[16] The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fols. 55a–57a, states: "History relates that T'u-chien and the Wan-hu 萬戶 (Rulers of 10,000 families) Po-hu 伯忽 and A-ho 阿禾 rebelled and attacked Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路, (the circuit of Chung-ch'ing = Yün-nan fu), and killed the secretary of the judicial commissioner, whereupon he called himself King of Yün-nan. This happened in the third moon of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun of Yüan Wen Tsung 元文宗." The *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史, ch. 22, fol. 1a, says that T'u-chien rebelled in the first moon of the spring *ting-szu* 丁巳 of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun (January 24th, 1330); he made himself King of Yün-nan in the second moon *chia-wu* 甲午 (March 2nd, 1330). Po-hu became the Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 (Assistant minister) and A-ho became the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State). In the fifth moon the Yün-nan Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使, Lu-yü 鹿俞 [he was the native official of Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung hsien 昭通縣 in north-east Yün-nan], rebelled and joined T'u-chien.

"History further relates that Lu-yü acquired merit by killing T'u-chien. He thereupon was made Hsing-sheng ts'an-chih-cheng ssu 行省參知政事.

"The Lo-lo and all the savages who had joined T'u-chien started rebellions everywhere and the P'ing-chang T'ieh-mu-erh Pu-hua 鐵木兒不花 [grandson of Kublai] met his death.

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133 175 dynasty, and the Ssu-ch'uan army was ordered to punish them. In the defiles of the Hsüeh-shan they defeated the army of the Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯.[17] According to the *Tien-chih* 滇志, I-mou-hsün proclaimed himself Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) in the fourth year of T'ang Cheng-yüan (788) and under pretext bestowed titles on five mountains, and four rivers. The eastern one, or Tung-yo, is called Chiang-yün-lu Sung-wai Lung Shan 江雲露松外龍山 and is situated 280 li north-east of the chou (department) of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸州 in the prefecture of Wu-ting 武定府, adjoining the border of Tung-ch'uan fu 東川府, Ssu-ch'uan (now Hui-tse 惠澤 in Yün-nan); it is also called Wu-meng Shan 烏蒙山, Yün-lung Shan 雲龍山 and Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山.[18] The northern part of this range overlooks the Yangtze. Its twelve great steep peaks, extend for more than 70 li. In the twentieth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (546) the military governor of Sui chou 嶲州, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, said that the various Man beyond Sung, i.e., Sung-wai, only temporarily submitted and later revolted again. He petitioned the government to attack them in order to open the road to Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (Ta-li Lake) and India. This he was permitted to do. The following year the government sent Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 to mobilize the army of the 12 chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and punish the various Man of Sung-wai. Over 100,000 barbarians were killed and captured. Thereupon the various Man, severely frightened, dispersed to live in the valleys of the mountains. An envoy was then sent to Hsi-erh Ho, who, by proclamation, ordered the native leaders to submit. The chief Meng-yü 蒙羽 of Sung-wai was also ordered to pay tribute to the T'ang dynasty.

Afterwards T'u-chien's younger brother Pi-la-tu-mi-shih 必剌都迷失 and his whole family drowned themselves in the Lake (Yün-nan fu Lake). Two more of his younger brothers and his three sons were captured and executed while Lu-yü fled and all the rest were pacified."

[17] The Lo-lo-ssu were the aborigines ruled by a native chief who lived one li east of Chien-ch'ang 建昌, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. The *T'u-i k'ao* 土彝考 says that during the period Yüan Chih-cheng (1341–1367) there was established the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai-fu 宣慰司都元帥府 of the Lo-lo, the Meng-ch'ing 蒙慶 and of other places. They and their chief dispersed and lived to the west of the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河. The grandson of the Lo-lo-ssu Hsüan-wei-ssu, An-p'u-pu 安普卜 by name, submitted with all his people in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371). He was given the title of T'u-chi-hui-shih 土指揮使 and ordered to administer the affairs of the military station of Chien-ch'ang (wei). He was, however, given neither letters patent nor a seal. He controlled territory 15 horse-stages in extent and ruled nine tribes, viz.: P'o-jen 婆人, Lo-lo 羅羅, Pai-i 白彝, Hsi-lan 西番, Mo-so 麼些, Lu-lu 魯魯, Mongols, Mohammedans and Yü-jen 漁人. The Lo-lo were the most refractory and all these tribes scattered to the mountain valleys. The territory extended for more than 1,000 li each way; north to the Ta-tu Ho, south to the Yangtze, east to Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung), and west to Yen-ching 鹽井, the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣. The grandson six generations after him died without issue and the tribes all rebelled. The stronger lorded it over the weaker, and feuds caused constant murder, until all was quiet again after a long lapse of time.

[18] The *Tung-ch'uan fu chih*, ch. 4, fol. 5a, states that the mountain is 200 li south-west of the city of Tung-ch'uan, and is also called Yün-lung Shan 雲弄山. From Hsün-tien 尋甸 and Ch'e-hu 車湖 a branch extends 300 li as far as San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. Much snow remains on the mountain, hence it is called snow mountain. It is also called Wu-lung Shan 烏龍山. This name appeared first in the western Han dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Chiang-yün-lu Shan. Now it is known as Wu-lung-hsüeh-shan 烏龍雪山. It is very steep and imposing, its 12 peaks extending through the clouds. On its summit is a lake called Hui-niao Hu 惠鳥湖.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 used to hearing objections of this sort raised, and it did not make me change my mind.

On the 5th February we left Ta-li and went back to Hsia-kuan, and on the 6th started for Shun-ning. The road leads up a big range, reaching the top at 8,700 feet. They say there is usually snow on this pass at this time of year, but the winter happened to be an exceptionally mild one. From here a long winding descent brought us into the northern end of the Mêng-hua plain at the village of Hsün-chien, where there is a particularly good inn.

133 The plain is some 25 miles long and three or four miles wide, with a small stream, which is the source of the Red River, running southwards down the middle of it. Its height [162] is about 6000 feet. The inhabitants are Chinese and Panthays, the latter being in considerable numbers but not in a majority. The town lies at the southern end of the plain, and I did not see it at this time, but passed through it in a subsequent journey in 1898[1].

•175 Mêng-hua is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the scene of a deliberately planned murder, by which the Nan-chao kingdom was founded. At that time central Yün-nan was divided into six little states, but Pi-lo-ko, the prince of Mêng-hua, being a man of enterprising mind, invited his five royal neighbours to a feast. He had previously constructed a specially inflammable house of pine wood, and having made his guests dead drunk, set fire to the building and burnt them all. He thus combined the six kingdoms under his own rule and soon afterwards moved his capital to the Ta-li plain. This was in A.D. 731, and the kingdom continued with various changes of dynasty till it was subdued by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

000 The next morning the *ch'ai*[2] sent with me as escort divulged the fact that he was not after all to accompany me to Shun-ning, but was to go to Mêng-hua. It appears that the *Hsièn*[3] of Ta-li, after agreeing to send him with me to Shun-ning, had been subsequently struck by the great responsibility he was taking on himself in doing so, and had consulted on the matter with the *Fu*[4]. The result

[1] See p. 147. [2] Policeman. [3] Magistrate.
[4] The Fu district official, sometimes called the *prefect* by Europeans in China.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

• 175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

174 convinced Eickstedt of a definite T'ai cultural tie-up with
171 the ancient Pa and Shu. Ancient writings of the Pa people were discovered on a stone tablet at Sui-ling in Ssu-ch'uan under an uprooted tree. Beautiful decorated clay vessels attributed to the Po-jen tribes have been dug up in western Ssu-ch'uan graves in the richly arranged burial grounds in the vicinity of Sui-fu. The coffins here were set up on steep rocks and pegged down, a type of "burial" observed by the present author in the Pa-yi (T'ai) region of western Yun-nan in 1940.

175 The ancient histories do not term the Pa and Shu peoples the Hsi-nan-i (Southwestern Barbarians) because the latter term derives from the Han period, whereas the state of Pa and Shu were established long before the Han rulers reached the southwest tribes. Nevertheless, said Hsu Sung-shih,[4] the tribes of Pa and Shu were of the same group as those of the Southwest.

The Pa state is supposed to have originated at the same time as the Shu state, that is, prior to B.C. 3000 and the time of the mythical Three Kings. One of the Three Kings was Jen Huang who was said to be one of nine brothers. Jen Huang is reported to have divided up the country into nine provinces of which he occupied the central one, while each of the other brothers occupied an outlying province. (The division into nine divisions probably is related to the feudal land division system of ancient China, where a square of land would be divided by the double crossed-lines of tick-tack-toe, thus making nine equal squares. The middle one would be occupied by the landlord or feudal lord, with the outlying ones occupied by fief-holders.)

One of the nine spheres of government was supposed to be the territory including the two states of Pa and Shu, which were presumably fiefs of Jen Huang (See Photo 6). For long generations the feudal state of Shu was the cock-of-the-walk in southwest China, and its culture is stated to have reached brilliant heights at an early period. The Yellow Emperor is stated to have got for his son, Ch'ang-i, a wife from the Shu-shan Clan, and the first-born of this pair became Emperor K'u (Ti K'u) (B.C. 2435-2365). One of Ch'ang-i's sons also married a Shu-shan wife. Furthermore, the homeland of the great Yü also is said to have been in the territory of the Shu-shan Clan. It is evident that if these were historical facts, the Shu State had very intimate connections with the Yellow River civilization. Its power surpassed that of Pa. Its territory is reported

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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to have included Pao-ch'eng District, west of Han-chung in southern Shen-hsi, as its northern limit. In the southwest, it extended to include present Lu-shan District in Hsi-k'ang, the area of Li-fan Hsien, and, generally, the drainage of the Min River as far up as Mao Hsien. In the southeast it included northeastern Yun-nan and northwestern Kuei-chou.

The Pa State also was of large extent. On the east, it reached to present Feng-chieh District, while to the west, it extended to I-pin on the Yang-tzu River. To the north, Pa included Han-chung in southern Shen-hsi. The historical texts state that the great Yü got his wife from the T'u-shan Clan of Pa. T'u-shan was in Chiang-pei District in the Ch'ung-ch'ing vicinity.

When the great Yü reportedly assembled the princes to a conclave, Pa is supposed to have been one of the attending states. In historical times when Wu Wang, founder of the Chou Dynasty (B.C. 1122-1155) campaigned to overthrow the last Shang ruler, Chou Hsin, Shu joined the alliance, and Pa sent an army to the final Battle of Mu-yeh. The peoples of Pa included the P'u, the Tsung, the Chü, the Kung-nu, the Jang, the Yi, and the Tan. The people of Shu included the Tien, the Liao, the P'o, and also the P'u and the Tsung.

Pa was strong enough to invade Ch'u, the central Yang-tzu Valley state, in the 18th year of Duke Chuang of Lu, while in the 16th year of Duke Wen of Lu, Pa joined an alliance with Ch'in and Ch'u states to destroy the Kingdom of Yung. Pa enjoyed great prosperity for a time, but came to its downfall in a struggle with Shu in which both Pa and Shu were subjugated by the rising Ch'in state which later established the Ch'in Dynasty, first "unifier of China." Pa and Shu had been enemies for many generations. During the time of Emperor Hsien Wang of the Chou (B.C.368-320), the Marquis Chü was at odds with his brother, the King of Shu. He secretly made friends with the King of Pa and finally fled to the latter's court when his brother attacked him. Marquis Chü appealed to the King of Pa to help him against his brother, and the King of Pa appealed in turn to King Hui-wen of the Ch'in. The latter readily marched southward across the Ch'in-ling Mountains into Ssu-ch'uan and destroyed Shu, turning thereafter upon Pa and subjugating it also. From both of these former kingdoms he made Han-chung Chün (Han-chung Department). Ssu-ma Ts'o, his minister, was given a marquisate com-

175 prising this area. The famous engineer, Li Ping, was sent to administer Shu as governor, and it was at this time that Li Ping and his son developed the Kuan Hsien irrigation system still operating today.[5]

According to Hsu, the fact that the Chuang people of present-day Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan, Kuei-chou, and Kuang-hsi still sacrifice to the two irrigation deities gives added proof that the Southwestern Yi of Han times included the Pa and Shu peoples in their group. The indigenous Chuang of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi do not honor these deities, however, and this would indicate that their migration there must have occurred prior to the end of the Chou Dynasty and the Warring States Period. It also points to the far-reaching spread of Shu-shan culture, while other cultural ties indicate that the indigenous Chuang of Ling-nan are of the same stock as those of Pa and Shu.

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Photo 6. Lu Hsien, Ssu-ch'uan Province (28°54' N, 105° 27' E)

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When the Chin-sha Chiang runs out of Yun-nan to become the Yang-tzu River, it enters a great basin that once contained a vast inland sea in what is now Ssu-ch'uan Province. With long erosion considerable unevenness has developed that makes the local sandstone topography precipitous but without great elevation differences. From the air the eroded sea-bed aspect can be perceived without much imagination, an aspect that is supported by the meandering character of the streams. This is seen not only in the great bends of the mighty Yang-tzu, but also in the small tributary between two of the Yang-tzu bends. A surprisingly large proportion of the basin surface, therefore, is under cultivation to support in Ssu-ch'uan the largest provincial population in China. From dry-cropped flat-topped lake-bottom remnants standing along the sky-line, tiered paddy fields lead step-like down to the river floodplains. In B.C. times, this was part of the prosperous T'ai kingdom of Shu. The foreground shows the important Han-Chinese city of Lu Hsien where the road from Ch'ung-ch'ing to K'un-ming crosses the Yang-tzu. This was one of the last territories yielded up by the southward moving early T'ai migrants en route to the Kuei-chou and Yun-nan basin lands.

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To go a step further, the modern Siamese of Thailand are also of the same cultural stock as these people of Pa and Shu.

Hsu pointed to a possible significant connection in the use of the character Chü (in the term "Marquis Chü"), in a so-called Chü-lan Kingdom during the Ch'in and Han periods, and in the name of a city Yang-chü-mi in the Ta-li area of Yun-nan during the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'ang period. This seems to him to show that possibly the same peoples occupied parts of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Kuei-chou during these early periods.[6] This is very hypothetical, of course.

2. Noteworthy Aspects of Shu-shan Culture

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Certain noteworthy aspects of Shu-shan culture must claim our attention:

(1) The use of the two characters "shu" and "shan" in "Shu-shan" gives some indication of the nature of the landscape in which the Shu-shan people devised their livelihood and may have a bearing upon their type of land-use. The Shan Hai Ching (ancient classic) says that the original character for "shu" meant "slushy mud". It also says that the state of Shu had three marshy streams termed the "San-shu" or "Three Marshes". It would appear then, that "Shu-shan" means marshes surrounding hills and indicates a low-lying, wet landscape adapted to wet-rice growth and cultivation. This type of landscape is precisely the kind associated with the wet-rice culture of the T'ai ethnic groups throughout history.

(2) A second noteworthy aspect of Shu-shan culture is that it developed the art of silk making. Shu-shan had an early ruler called Ts'an-ts'ung, a name meaning "silk-worm grove." The Lu Shih (Lu History) has shown that this was the same as the Ts'an Kingdom or Silkworm State of olden times. Myth also has it that Fu-hsi raised silk-worms and mulberry. The Huang-ti Nei-chuan notes that the Yellow Emperor beheaded Chih Yu, and the Silkworm God made him a presentation of silk. The Huang-t'u Yao-chien states that Fu-hsi developed silk, and that the ancestor of the Lei of Hsi-ling encouraged the raising of silk-worms. In the site of the old I-shui Hsien, south of present-day Sung-p'an in northwest Ssu-ch'uan, there are some mounds called "the Silkworm Mounds" which appear to correspond with the Hsi-ling ("western tombs") from where the silkworms were reportedly derived.

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and southwest China. In the eastern part of Hsi-k'ang the valley of the An-ning Ho, a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang just before the latter joins the Chin-sha (Upper Yang-tzu) River, early became an important military route for southward-reaching conquerors. This route not only is fashioned for north-south travel, but provides a large rice basin where the present capital city, Hsi-ch'ang is located. It is doubtful that this was ever occupied by T'ai people, for this is in the midst of the Lolo country.

Undoubtedly the Kuei-chou plateau and mountain land played an important role in the separate development of the two principal directions of the T'ai thrust, that is, the thrust up the Yang-tzu into the Yun-nan lake basins, and the thrust southward into Ling-nan and the land of Nan-Yueh, present-day Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. These two regions have had significant early T'ai political organizations and they are still important centers of the T'ai remnants within China. Their historical development differed. Ling-nan was in the direct path of the Ch'in thrust for empire, and the T'ai had been here for many centuries before the Ch'in. Yun-nan, on the other hand, was probably entered by the T'ai only shortly before the Ch'in unified the

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Photo 8. Ts'ao Hu, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

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Ts'ao Hu in central Kuei-chou Province is one of the two lakes of a significant size in Kuei-chou, the other being in southwestern Kuei-chou near the Kuang-hsi border. This lake basin lies along one of the most important routes connecting Ssu-ch'uan Province with Yun-nan Province. It contains one of the few relatively large paddy areas in Kuei-chou and was early a Han-Chinese administrative center and military base for the conquest and control of the Miao and Lolo tribes of the province. The far left shore of Ts'ao Hu seen here from the west is the site of Wei-ning, the district seat and one of the larger towns of the province. Prior to Han-Chinese entry to this part of China, rice-farming T'ai tribes occupied the basin, while Lolo tribes farmed the surrounding mountains. With the increasing southwestward push of the Han-Chinese, the T'ai tribes migrated farther toward the southwest frontiers.

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enfeoffing him King of Yun-nan with the rank of T'e-chin, the title Duke of Yueh State and Prefect-creating General. Moreover, the Emperor bestowed a new name, Kuei-yi (Convert to Righteousness) upon P'i-lo-ko. The son of P'i-lo-ko was enfeoffed General of the Right Command, General of the Left Body-guard, Expectant of the T'e-chin Rank, General of Cavalry and, to top it all, the Emperor gave him the title: Pillar of State. Emperor Hsuan Tsung after A.D. 742 received P'i-lo-ko's grandson Feng-chia-yi in audience, conferred on him the title Hung-lu-ch'ing (rank given travelers of high status), and gave him an

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Photo 9. Ta-li, Yun-nan Province (25°42' N, 100°9' E

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Erh Hai (Ear Lake), 7000 feet in elevation, and the plain of Ta-li in western Yun-nan is viewed here from above the 14,000 feet high Ch'ien-ts'ang Shan west of the lake. Ta-li City, visible as the rectangular walled patch in the center of the lake plain, is the western rival of K'un-ming, capital of Yun-nan Province. The plain is about 30 miles long and 3-4 miles wide. Narrow passages at the north and south ends are strategically bounded by the towering Ch'ien-ts'ang and the lake edge, the southern entrance being through a canyon and across the bridge over the lake outlet. Early T'ai chieftains built their kingdom of Nan-chao upon this base and expanded the state to encompass most of the Yun-nan and Kuei-chou plateau lands. The state withstood Han-Chinese conquest for nine centuries, but was brought to its end by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan.

The population of the Ta-li Plain for the most part are the Min-chia tribes who have successfully maintained their hold against displacement by the Han-Chinese. Highly Sinicized themselves, the Min-chia are being rapidly absorbed into the mainstream of the Han-Chinese culture. A small number among them have been converted to Mohammedanism, but most of them are Buddhists.

The Burma Road passes the southern approach to Erh Hai where the fortress town of Hsia-kuan guards the plain. From the northern end a motor road runs to Li-chiang between the great loop of the Chin-sha Chiang. The Ta-li Plain thus occupies a very strategic position in the communications of western Yun-nan.

000 said and what he thought never corresponded. He often said to me: "A clever man never speaks the truth!" (1) /Plates XLI, XLII, XLIII,

1. Two and one-half years later I accidentally learned that Da Tschang was knocking about in his native country, gay and in high spirits. He had brought home a new Tibetan squaw from Dscherku ndo.

C 487 and XLIV appear between pp. 184 and 185 in the original text. /
/185/ Near Puiling the big tea route leaves the Dsa Chu Valley in order to follow the nearest eastern longitudinal valley parallel to it. However, the Dsa Chu, like the Yangtze Kiang below Dschoma lhagan, at first breaks through the southern chains of mountains. At the place where it breaks through there is very little room beside it, and, it is said that pack animals cannot follow the river. The soldiers said that even riding horses had fallen headlong one time when they were going downstream. However, there is constant traffic on foot along the river to the populous and war-like Nyarong (Chinese: Tschan tui). (1)

1. If one goes from Hor Gantse down the Dsa Chu Valley - so the soldiers told me - one gets to Sade on the left bank the first day, and on the second to Zba, on the third, to Dagelo, then to Sana and Bur where the fortress of the chief official of the Dewa schung of Lhasa is supposed to stand. After another day Gur is reached. From the chief town in Tschan tui one estimates four days to Tschanggu and six days to Litang. In the entire Nyarong there are two higher officials from Lhasa. J. Bacot in Le Tibet revolté, Paris 1912, calls Rounon and not Bur the chief town of Nyarong. He, unfortunately, also did not succeed in visiting the chief town.

C/T •175 631 As was mentioned before, the Hyarong is subordinate to officials appointed by Lhasa. In 1863-1864 during the Tai ping rebellion when the whole kingdom was in a state of fermentation, an ambitious Nyarong prince tried to free himself like the Ngolok, and carried on a terrific war of destruction against the Chinese and against all those who sided with the Chinese. At the request of the Peking government and pressure from Dergi, the Dewa schung (sdeba gschung) of Lhasa

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suppressed this rebellion, and since then Lhasa rules here. (2) The

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2. The General sent from Lhasa was named Bonroba, or, according to Rockhill, Punropa. He came from Kin tschuan and ruled in Nyarong and Litang from 1864-1877 like a sovereign prince. But Lhasa finally recalled him when he became too powerful, under the pretext of placing him in the highest offices in Central Tibet. Soon after his arrival in Lhasa he and all the members of his family were poisoned (see also Baber, Researches in the Interior of China, 1882). Dergi which was also very much humbled by Bonroba, has since then again enjoyed its former liberty. Like the small independent kingdoms of Ling-Gose and Lhada, it has only to pay a small tax for the maintenance of the Central Tibetan garrison in Nyarong (Tschantui). This tax is annually collected by officers of the garrison.

officials, high lama princes of the church, change office every three years and maintain bodyguards which the surrounding tribes must furnish and also, in part, pay for.

The Nyarong Valley extends more than 100 kilometers north and south and is warm and fertile because it is at a relatively low altitude. T 361 Well populated lateral valleys join it on the east and west. The country has more than 12,000 square kilometers. Administratively it is divided into and upper, middle, and lower territory.

Inasmuch as Nyarong is ruled by the Deba schung, the yellow sect naturally plays first fiddle there today. T 798 A scourge for the entire surrounding country even in ancient times, it is now a stronghold of the yellow reformed church and able warriors as well as militarily efficient monks have constantly undertaken veritable crusades into the neighing countries, during the last decades, in order primarily to eradicate the ancient Bönbo faiths and win recognition for their own doctrine as the only one bringing salvation.

A gentle rise leads from Puiling (3,425 meters) to the next /186/ T 792 pass which is only 4,050 meters high. We crossed it in a few hours and stood on the banks of the Da Chu which, smaller than the Dsa Tschü, is somewhat comparable to our Swabian lower Neckar, and comes from the northwest. At no place does it fill out the broad channel of the valley. Before we reached its banks we saw on the left the monastery of Dyoro which, like the rest of the monasteries of the

his post two secretaries, a cook and four servants from the lowland; the Chinese never take their wives along when they go so far into the interior of Tibet. But he was loaded down with so many goods that at first I took him to be a wholesale merchant. He had put all his cash into tea and cotton and of course traveled on ula which was furnished by the subjects of the Ming tscheng tu se. Since he had brought along only wooden saddles and no saddle blankets and did not want to lose time, the Chinese servants forced the ula men to strap the sharp-edged saddles on the bare backs of the poor animals. Tears were streaming down the faces of the Tibetans and they threw themselves on their knees in front of the Chinese, but the gentlemen rode mercilessly off without saddle padding. They were, after all, only ula animals!

After the Leang tai, officers from Yünnan and Hunan moved into my hotel. Every day new reinforcements arrived from down below. From dawn to dusk recruits were drilled in the temples and yamen, there were exercises in the handling of arms and there was target practice. The soldiers were armed with old European repeater guns and made a good impression. (1)

1. The punitive expedition of the Anglo-Indian government which was carried out with such forbearance was a reply to the challenging refusal of the Dalai Lama. It came to an end in August 1904, under Younghusband with his entry into Lhasa and the Potala. Therewith the weakness of the Chinese position in those lands was clearly proven. In order to regulate matters at last, the Peking court sent off a special minister in 1904 whose duty it was to introduce a more rigid rule. Before this minister Feng had set foot on the actual land of the Dewa schung of Lhasa, however, he was shot in April 1905, along with his band of riders by the Dschraba of the Ba tang monastery. The monks of the Gelugba sect no longer wanted the Chinese to gain supreme authority. The rebellion spread rapidly toward Li tang and the Mekong and Yangtze Valley and as far as Aten tse in the northern part of Yünnan.

The active Tschao ör fong who was at that time still dao tai - during the Chinese revolution he was well-known governor of Szechwan and as such was beheaded in 1912 in the streets of Tscheng tu fu by the Kuo ming

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tang party - was sent off to save the situation. The tribes of Ba tang and environs were condemned to annihilation (mieh tu). Szechwan sent ahead 10,000 men by way of Ta tsien lu and a general of the advance guard defeated the Tibetans on the plateau of Li tang. The Tibetan lama sympathized with those from Ba tang and did not seem loathe to join their kampo at the head of the rebels. Tschao or fong had one monastery after another captured and hardly had he entered Ba tang when its large monastery was also burned; to this day it is not known whether it was set on fire by the soldiers or by the monks themselves. The two kings (deba) of Ba tang who, as laymen, had remained neutral, he had beheaded. The two deba of Li tang were dethroned. One of them fled to the interior of Tibet, the other took poison.

Meanwhile the war-loving monks had retired to the mountain monastery of Sang pi ling in Siang tscheng, the Schangdreh province in the southeast, where supposedly they had enough provisions to last for 10 years. The monastery had become virtually impregnable because of an enclosing wall with eight projecting towers, and Ba tang and Sang pi ling monks competed for a common victory against the hated Chinese. Tschao or fong was obliged to besiege this monastery for half a year. His assaults were all in vain. He had had cannon dragged through the labyrinth of mountains without result. The ten-foot-thick walls seemed impregnable. The monks even made sorties on the mountain on which the Chinese artillery were stationed. After a few months the besiegers were worse off than the besieged who often mockingly threw tsamba balls toward their attackers. The Chinese /208/ soldiers stood their ground only reluctantly because of the murderous, or at least for them unaccustomed climate and because of the irregular provisioning. Tschao kept his army together only by a reign of terror. He had hundreds of deserters beheaded.

For months miners had to assault the fortress, against whom the monks constructed counter-mines. Finally the water supply of the besieged was made uncertain, and one night a messenger was caught by the Chinese

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who had been sent to ask for help from another monastery. After a few days Tschao sent an answer to the monastery and told the besieged that during a certain night Tibetan auxiliary troops would appear at the monastery gate and would the monks let them slip through the gate. But that night Tschao sent his best soldiers dressed in Tibetan disguise to the gate, and since there was no moon the other soldiers could follow behind the ones in disguise. The monks unsuspectingly opened their barred gate and after one gate was taken by the Chinese, the entire monastery was soon overcome. Everyone who did not succeed in escaping into the mountains under cover of night was murdered. In the confusion all the disguised Chinese were also slain. Not a single prisoner was spared. According to the report of an eye-witness the rebel heads lay scattered about "like pebbles on the banks of a brook." Five hundred cätties of severed ears were sent as trophies in 1906 from Ba tang to Tscheng tu fu, although there was always only one ear per head cut off.

With this the power of the war-like Gelugba Brotherhood was broken within the Chinese-Tibetan border countries. According to official reports 75 percent of the male population were said to have been killed. Actually at least one-quarter of the male population lost their lives. The majority of the survivors escaped into the mountains and into Lhasa territory.

The central government now went to work to make the territory of Ba tang and Li tang Chinese. Colonists were brought from the over-populated lowland, schools and road stations were opened and new rice-field canals were dug in the valley of Ba tang. However, the Chinese army when it had returned to Ba tang, continued to suffer from mass desertions. A band of more than 100 men murdered their own officer at the beginning of 1907, in order to get at the supply of munitions, and as a result it became a menace to the entire region. Rumors about this new difficulty of the Chinese government, of course exaggerated and distorted buzzed back and forth along the big tea route when I traveled between Ka ts'a and Gantse.

In the year 1909, as a result of Tschao ör fong's energy, the Chinese became complete masters of the situation

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from Ta tsien lu by way of Li tang-Ba tang and Tsiamdo from Lhari as far up as Lhasa and Schigatse. In vain Tobden Dalai Lama attempted to match the reins of government after he returned from Peking and Gum bum to the Potala in the year 1909. When his intrigues against the Chinese rulers were uncovered, he saw that, as before, his salvation lay in flight. This time he rode head over heels to India. His gracious reception by England is well-known. There he was permitted to undertake various journeys, in order to keep from getting bored and had a chance to widen his horizon. However, in Peking the question seems to have been considered for some time whether the Dalai Lama could be deposed like a king or high priest; in the eyes of the Tibetans of course a vain question!

At this time China was maintaining 3,500 Tibetan and 1,200 Chinese mercenaries in Lhasa, Tashelhunpo, Ting re and a smaller force in Tsiamdo, Dschraya, Ba tang and Li tang. In Dschraya (Chinese: Da yue) also, Tschao ér fong sought to colonize his compatriots and establish rice fields. However, all these colonizing attempts were from the beginning not very successful. Although the colonists received free /209/ transportation, free tools, houses, schools and seeds, most of them wandered back to their homes after a year, and those that remained largely succumbed to the climate.

Meanwhile the Chinese revolution broke out. All that the Manchu government had built up was lost to ambitious Chinese youth within one night. Soon after the outbreak of the confusion the Dalai Lama was able to return to Lhasa and has since then again become unrestricted ruler in political matters as well. Not only Lhasa, but also Lharigo, Tsiamdo, Dschraya and Ba tang, again fell into the hands of the monkish despots. When there was a rebellion of the monks the imperial troops in Central Tibet were in part pushed out toward India, those of anterior Tibet were obliged to move from the highlands into the plain in order to fight the revolution. Not far from Ya tschou fu they were defeated and turned back to Tibet once more in a defeated state. In the meantime all the fetters of discipline were

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loosened. They finished off by plundering Ta tsien lu and thereupon took off their uniforms and dispersed. The victorious republicans followed on their heels, ravaged the unfortunate inhabitants anew, beheaded the younger brother of the King of Dschagla who had faithfully clung to the old regime and had followed the rest into the plains. The King himself remained hidden for months in the mountains, and did not dare return to his residence which the fighting Chinese had set on fire. Since then the fight is raging in the vicinity of Li tang and Tibet is waiting until another Son of Heaven has fought his way up through the predominance of irrationality, and restored order in China.

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/208/ However, Ta tsien lu is not only the point of departure for war-like expeditions of conquest and the key to Tibet. It is not only the base for Chinese politics in Lhasa. Dartsendo, the Chinese Ta tsien lu, is the largest market town of the whole of Tibet. On my way from Dscherku ndo I met thousands upon thousands of animals, all of whom were loaded down with bales of tea, /209/ all of which had been bought in Dartsendo. Tea is the article of trade which here is by far the most important. Several Chinese wholesale merchants quoted to me the amount of tea that is brought up within a year and here sold to the Tibetans at 7,000,000 cätties, i.e., about 4,500,000 kilograms. (1)

1. I was baffled by this small figure. En route I had figured out, judging from the number of pack animals that I met, that 4,000 tons go by way of Gantse into the interior. However, I estimated that the amount that goes to Ba tang and Li tang and farther inland is at least the same. Attempts have been made to draw inferences about the population of Tibet from the size of the tea trade, but we must not forget that poor Tibetans drink the decoction from any kind of plant in place of the Chinese tea which is always expensive because of the cost of transport. Consul General A. Hosie in his Report Presented to the Parliament, August 1905, puts the figures, on the basis, of accurate estimates, at 8,533,000 cätties worth 948,591 taels, and places the total value of cotton goods, silk and khadar exported to Tibet, at

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south to the seat of the Tu se or rgyalbo of Mu ping (Tibetan: dschumba), that is, to the native king who has received the highest Chinese title among all Tibetan aristocrats and secular rulers. Thus, he is one into whose kingdom the Chinese have penetrated most deeply and intensively and who is next in line to becoming a John Lackland, giving way entirely to the Chinese.

There are good reasons why the Chinese have settled in larger numbers in Hsin gai, Mu gung and Ying gai and why they have moved the center of administration thither. There is no other place far and near suitable for a populous settlement. Since I had left Hor Gantse I had not found so many fields in such close proximity. Fifty and a hundred meters above the river which is wedged in between rock walls, the valley spreads out in terraces (Plate LXII) which permit extensive plantings, particularly of corn and also of wheat, beans and buckwheat. (1)

C 241

C [435]

1. Corn forms the chief nourishment of the inhabitants. At the time of my visit the price of one cattie (600 grams), according to existing exchange, was seven pfennig, whereas in Ta tsien lu a cattie was 25 pfennig and shortly thereafter the prices constantly rose in Ta tsien lu. It is true, Ta tsien lu had to get all its food supplies from the lowland, in fact some things are carried thither from Ya tschou fu on the backs of human beings.

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Mu gung ör fu ting is the administrator and judge of the so-called western Miao tse countries which were subdued and became subject to the Manchu Emperor Kien lung only after two great and bloody wars during the years 1747-49. The decisive and final victory came in the years between 1771 and 1776. It is only since that time that they have come under the Chinese administrative system and been opened up to Chinese colonization and mass invasion. (2) The administrative district of the Mu gung ting is

2. De Mailla, Histoire g. de la Chine, Paris 1780, Vol. XI, p. 589 ff., mistakenly counted these Tibetans from present-day Mu gung ting among the primitive people of Miao tse /223/ and for this reason we still find the history of their conquest in many new history books under the Miao tse wars. D.M. confines himself

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almost entirely to the period 1774-1776 and the end in Peking.

very extensive, /223/ for his domain includes not only the Valley of the Little Gold River, the Tsanla of the natives (High Tibetan: btsanlha, Chinese: hsiao kin /pronounced tschin/ tschuan) along the entire length of which I traveled from Romi Tschanggu to Mu ch'eng (Tibetan: Sumdo), a distance of 133 kilometers, but also the Valley of the Great Gold River above Romi Tschanggu, the old kingdom of Rardan (today known among the natives as rDyarong /rgyarong, meaning the extensive or Chinese Valley/, High Tibetan: Chu tschen /meaning large body of water/, Chinese: da Kin tschuan and Hsü tsching). Directly on the large Gold River above the narrowest point in the river, some 50 kilometers above Romi Tschanggu, an empire had arisen in the 18th century, which had become the mightiest native state far and wide and which fell only when the ambitious Manchu Emperor Kien lung raised a mighty army to subdue it and called out his elite troops and Manchu from the distant northeast.

The Rardan kingdom on the large Gold River, far from Chinese cultural arteries, could easily have maintained itself to this day if its rulers, just at the time of the final flowering and the greatest bellicosity of the Manchu Dynasty, had not acted particularly heedlessly and harrassed their neighbors by seizing their lands, so that these people constantly called on the Emperor for help and, in the end, supported the imperial army in every possible way. The battles with the high-spirited Rardan gentlemen occupy considerable space in the Scheng wu dyi, the chronicle of the wars of the Manchu Dynasty written in Chinese. The second and decisive war was even treated and published in 120 pamphlets in the Manchurian language. (1)

1. From these E. Haenisch is now in process of putting together a rather large excerpt which he expects to publish in the not too distant future. I am also indebted to him for more specific dates and a revision of the history of this territory.

From this we learn that our territory of Kin tschuan was said to have formed a district of Kin tschuan hsien as far back as the Sui Dynasty (589-618), and in the subsequent Tang period to have belonged to the district of Wei tschou (2) which today no longer exists, while in

2. According to Playfair, Cities and Towns of China

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this district lay in the northwest of Min tschuan, in the Min district, and not far from present-day Mou (Mao) chou above Kwan hsien. Probably ancient Wei chou is identical with the market town of Wei tschou in the district of Wen tschuan hs. which lies at the mouth of the Li fan River in the Min ho.

E 631 175 •

the Ming period it belonged under the administration of the official of Ts'a kou (in the Li fan fu) (3). However, I suspect that this earlier

3. Li fan fu along with Ts'a kou is the next frontier district office north of Mu gung ting to which are joined Mao chou, mentioned above in footnote 2, and then Sung pan ting.

Chinese dominion was always limited to certain favorably-disposed trade customs by means of which Chinese traders were permitted to visit the native kingdom in order to buy drugs and the natives, in turn, could barter what they needed in rice and tea and other luxury articles in the Chinese lowland. In the Ming period all chiefs of the region, like the chiefs of the Koko Nor countries, had received Chinese official seals and titles from Emperor Hung Wu, and the Manchu had /224/ repeated this custom. In 1650 the Prince of Tsanla, among others, recognized the supremacy of the Chinese and became tu se of Kin tschuan. In 1666 a gentleman from Great Kin tschuan with the title of Kia lo ba (? rgyalbo) received a seal from the hand of Emperor Kang hi. The rulers of this region had originated from one kingdom, as was the case in Hor on the western border. In these countries practically the same dialect was spoken (the Kin tschuan language or rgyarong sge). In the course of time this kingdom had been divided into nine tu se or kingdoms. (1) The last of

1. The Tibetans speak of the rdyarong dyalkak dyurdyi (i.e., rgyarong rgyalkak btschobrgye), meaning the 18 rDyarong rulers.

T 619

Colborne Baber, "Travels and Researches," Royal Geographical Society suppl. pap., London 1882, p. 81 and 93 ff. has given by far the most detailed account of this region, although he only touched it. He also speaks of 18 tribes of which he heard. However, he makes quite a heterogeneous grouping: "Dji-la which equals Ming-

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cheng; Mu-p'ing equals Djum-ba; Djia-k'a /?/; Wo-je or Go-je; Rapten which includes Tsen-la; Tamba equals Tang-pa; So-mung, Capt. Gill's Su-mu; Djiu-tse /? my Choktsi or my Krechiu/; Zur-ga, most likely Sung-kang and Gill's Ru-kan; Tchro-shiop, undoubtedly Ch'o-sui-chia-pu; Pa-ung or Pa-wang; Tchratin /?/; Ge-shie; Ma-zu or Ma-ze; Kung-sar, Pe-re /? my Beri/. Tchran-go; Dje-gu /? my Dergi/. By far the greater number of these names are easily identified with those heard by me. After Baber dwells on the fact that up to his own day geographers did not know these valleys, he reminds the reader of the sensation caused by the Kin tschuan war throughout Tibet and of the words of the dPaldan Yese Pantschen Lama of Tashelhunpo (see Markham. Narratives of the Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet, p. 159). On February 25, 1775 Bogle heard: "The Chinese having at length by means of an immense army subdued Ribdyen Gyripo"; Ribdyen, Rapten seems to be only the High Tibetan form of the name of a tribe or dynasty which sounds like "Rardan" in the Kin tschuan dialect.

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these kings was the rgyalbo of Rardan (Tibetan: tschü tschen, i.e., great body of water, Chinese: Great Kin tschuan) who was by far the mightiest and the one having the greatest number of subjects. The next mightiest who temporarily and until 1723 had even been the greatest and had ruled Tschü tschen was the Tsanla rgyalbo (High Tibetan: btsan lha in written form), the King of Little Kin tschuan who had his powrang, his palaces, near Senggersung (2) and near

2. "S" like the French "z."

present-day Mu gung and Hsin gai tse. (3)

T 622

3. The third most powerful one was the Tschoskiab rgyalbo who lived in the Great Gold River Valley above Tschü tschen, and whom I have mentioned on p. 285, in dealing with the disputes of the Hor princes who border him on the west. He is now the greatest despot of all because he is farthest from the Chinese. Adjoining his country is that of the little Damba rgyalbo, that of the

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Sungkak ("S" like the French "z") or Rung (Sung) kang, and still farther up the Tschoktsi rgyalbo rules, and finally comes the Somo rgyalbo. On the Great Gold River below Tschü tschen was and is the land of the Ba ti (pronounced: Badi) tu se (in the language of the natives Brasdi rgyalbo), then that of Bawang and in the west, in a long lateral valley, that of rGechitsa (rGebschiwtsas). Other rgyalbo of this region who, at the time of the Emperor Kien lung, complained about the wantonness of the Tschü tschen rgyalbo, and who along with the Chinese, made war on him and as a result rule to this day, are the rgyalbo of Woksche (Wokdsche), the one from Wa se, from Mu ping and the Dschagla (Ming tscheng) of Ta tsien lu to whom Romi Tschanggu belongs. The tu se of Wa se sits on the way to China between Mu gung ting and Kwan hsien and has consequently become quite Chinese.

T 622

In all the ravines of the country there stood castles (dsong, Chinese: kwan tsch'ai tse) made of stone and decorated with stone towers, that looked menacingly down into the valleys from inaccessible mountains and from spurs of mountains. All narrow passages of the large valley gorges and all boundary roads were blocked off with ditches and walls and /225/ countless slender towers of stone, the tschiao (Chinese) or tiao. Battering against these stone towers, against the artificial and natural fortifications, a particularly proud master race grew up here. To this day especially the pride of the old masters of the Rardan kingdom is still remembered. Confident of the strength of their populace - probably the country was at that time very much overpopulated because the Bönbo faith still largely predominated and not the Gelugba sect with its celibacy - the Rardan ba set out once again to form one kingdom and unite all nine principalities. The very small princes of Brasdi and Bawang submitted without major battles and payed tribute. The larger ones, however, would not submit to Rardan. They called on the Chinese for help and the latter, true to their well-tested principle "divide and conquer," could not permit a united, powerful kingdom in this region and supported the enemies of the Rardan ba.

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According to the chroniclers, the wars began as a result of the fact that in 1746 the Rardan King Schalben set out against Tsanla and brought Tsewang, the king of Tsanla, under his dominion. Then

/Plates LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI appear between pp. 224 and 225 in original text./

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in 1747 Schalben occupied parts of the rGechitsa and Ming tscheng Kingdom. At that time and since the conquest of Lhasa (see p. 223 the Chinese government maintained a garrison in Tai ning (see p. 316), and it attempted first of all to restore order, but Schalben paid no attention to it. Thus, gradually 40,000 men of the "green" Chinese banner were brought together to fight Schalben, but in vain. The Chinese kept suffering defeats. On account of them an imperial prince and a general of long standing were given short shrift. Duke Na tschin was obliged to kill himself with the ancestral sword; General Tschang kwang se who was governor general of Szechwan, was executed in Peking. After the loss of many thousands of men, the imperial court was finally (1749) satisfied when the Rardan returned only their conquests to their neighboring princes and when a somewhat honorable peace was brought about through the mediation of General Yo, the conqueror of Lhasa (in the year 1720) who worked from the North, from Tschoktsi. The castles as well as the entire control in the large Gold River Valley at that time remained untouched by the Chinese.

In 1756 Rardan interfered in quarrels which this time had begun in the Hor states between the Kungsar and the Mazar families. Rardan joined Tschoskiab on the side of Mazar, while rGechitsa, Dergi, the lords of Tschan tui and the Kungsar were all related and stood together. In this conflict Damdung, the king's castle of rGechitsa, was assaulted by Rardan and Tschoskiab, whereupon the tu se of Ming tscheng also intervened. In the west the castles of Mazar were taken by the Dergi and Mazar fled to the Tschan tui. After some time, however, the Chinese officers succeeded in restoring peace by persuasion and in restoring the old state of ownership (see p. 281).

In 1759, after a mutual wedding celebration, Rardan and rGechitsa again came to blows. The smaller kingdom of rGechitsa was almost completely subjugated by the Rardan, just as the small kingdoms of Brasdi (Bati) and Bawang were. At that time Rardan was ruled by a king named Langka, a nephew of Schalben. Thereupon Ts'a kou, Tschoktsi, Tschoskiab and Damba were united as a result of Chinese diplomacy and threatened Rardan from the north. Mu ping, Tsanla and Ming tscheng attacked from the south and within a year freed the rGechitsa once again.

In 1771 Sonam (bSodnams), the son of the Rardan King Langka (written: Nam mka in Tibetan), persuaded Senggisang who was the son of old King Tsewang of Tsanla and who had joined him, to rob his neighbors on the east, the Woksche, of their land. Sonam

himself again attempted to take away rGechitsa and Romi Tschanggu (the Ming tscheng district). The Emperor held the Governor General of Szechwan responsible for this "betrayal" and demanded that he commit suicide. Thereupon he sent forth two generals in 1772, one of whom captured Tsanla by way of Kwan hsien and the land of the Woksche, and forced Sanggisang to flee to the Rardan. Old King Tsewang over whose head Senggisang /226/ had called forth the war, was dragged to Peking as prisoner. /The second division, the one from the south, had earlier in that year suffered a defeat and had lost almost 3,000 men in battle with the Tsanla. / After the conquest of the Tsanla Kingdom Peking was in doubt as to whether it should undertake the struggle against Rardan. But the 21-year-old Rardan King Sonam stirred up the Tsanla once more and they made a surprise attack on a division of 20,000 Chinese (not counting the grain-bearing coolies) who had set out from Kwan hsien and stood at the Mu gu mu Pass in Tsanla. More than 3,000 men fell and the rest were scattered to the four winds. Because of this the Emperor had King Tsewang torn to pieces in a street in Peking, and then sent the General of the Guards Akuei and a crack regiment from Kirin, which was equipped with the most modern firearms. He formed a northern division which operated from Somo and Tschoktsi and Tschoskiab, in conjunction with the troops of these kings, and an eastern division which advanced from Kwan hsien together with the Wa se and Woksche to Tsanla, and finally a southern division which attacked the west side of the river together with Ming tscheng and rGechitsa. Nevertheless, in spite of the rather rapid reoccupation of Tsanla, there was only slow progress. Tower after tower and castle after castle had to be besieged and taken (Plate LI). Everywhere there was stubborn resistance. In the reports of the generals there is talk of 300 and more stone towers which the natives had erected on a mountainside and that had to be captured if the troops wanted to advance in the valley. The most important castles or powrang of the Rardan country were Gelengge, Leu (or Lewu, Chinese: Le wu wei) and Ka ör ya or, according to the Manchurian accounts. Garai (Karai, according to de Mailla; and Ka ör ya in Chinese, which seems to me to be the present-day Guar nge /Tibetan/ or the Chinese Tsung hoa, or which at least was situated near it). But it took years of constant struggle before the Chinese-Manchurian armies with their Tibetan auxiliaries had worked their way up to these chief places. Whenever a group of fortifications had been captured, a new group was encountered on the mountain immediately behind it. Gelengge did not fall until the fifth month of

I
1775

the year 1775; the royal castle of Leu was finally shattered and set on fire in the night of August 15, 1775 by the Chinese artillery. (1)

1. De Mailla, Histoire..... reports that Generalissimo Akuei, on account of the narrow, winding mountain paths, cast his guns on the spot from bronze and iron bars which his coolie army carried along behind him. This method was retained by the Chinese in their many mountain wars and rebellions until after the middle of the 19th century.

But the resistance was thereby not in the least weakened. The accounts list another dozen and a half fortresses that had to be captured, one after the other, before the armies could finally surround the southern one of the two castles of the King, Guar nge (Chinese: Ka ör ya, Manchurian: Karaï) on the seventeenth day of the twelfth Chinese month in the year 1775. After another dozen fortified places had been captured, among them Marbang, the town at the boundary of Bati, the Chinese commanders-in-chief united all their troops around Guar nge and at last, on the fourth day of the second month during the forty-first year of the reign of Kien lung (1776) it was announced to the Emperor that the royal castle of Guar nge had also fallen. After a siege lasting more than 40 days King Sonam could hold out no longer. Langka and Senggisang had died earlier. He surrendered - in the end their supplies had run out and their water had been cut off - together with his brothers and wives and - a garrison of 2,000 men. Therewith the Rardan Kingdom was destroyed and the whole of Kin tschuan lay at the feet of the Chinese. The message announcing the surrender was sent by express courier and, according to the Scheng wu dyi, is said to have been in Peking in the hands of the King within eight (!) days, and, according to the same source, the war must have cost 70 million taels, more than twice as much as the destruction of the Kalmuken kingdom in the Dungari and the conquest of Turkestan a few years before.

Chinese-Manchurian reasoning naturally showed no mercy toward the defeated heroes. In the old Kingdom of the Middle it was always a question of rebels when anyone anywhere in the world held a different opinion from the rulers on the dragon throne. King Sonam was taken to Peking as a prisoner /227/ and there - as the Rardan ba today relate - he was wrapped in cotton batting, oil was poured over

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him and he was burned alive. (1)

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1. According to de Mailla, Sonam had General Wen fu who was captured in Mu gung, burned alive. Sonam himself (see p. 595 , Vol. II) was tortured and cut to pieces after a big celebration in the palace, along with his brother, an aunt, several other relatives and his ministers 20 persons in all; 19 others were merely beheaded, 16 imprisoned for life, 52 sold into slavery at Ili; 138 Tibetan leaders were distributed as servants in Mongolia and Manchuria.

C 361 631

The dynasty in Rardan was exterminated like that of Tsanla. But in their original countries Chinese colonists settled, and, beginning with the town of Marbang on the border of Bati, there are today the following flourishing Chinese settlements: Tsung hoa (near the old Guar nge with at present about 600 Chinese families), farther north Lhasding (the market town of the monastery of Kwan hoa se /Yung dshung lha sden/ with 30 families of Chinese), then Tu song (Doksum with at present about 300 families of Chinese), Dshietse (40 Chinese families), Hsü tsching (Ngargu, 1,000 Chinese families). These settlements are under the control of two tai ye (secretaries, one in Tsung hoa and one in Hsü tsching), while next to them in the lateral valleys, under the control of probably a dozen hereditary native officials, the so-called "Darro" (Chinese: schu be meaning captain or ts'ien hu meaning lord of 1,000, and tsien tsung meaning lieutenant or be hu meaning lord of 100) and the so-called tschungro (hereditary officers, Chinese: tsch'ai schu), a remnant of the Rardan tribe has been preserved and they keep alive the memory of the glorious fall of their ancient freedom. (2) There are about 2,500 Chinese

2. Darro corresponds to the "deba" of Inner Tibet; Tschungro corresponds to schel ngo. In Rardan there are today two ts'ien hu, one in Leu and the other in sBedung west of the river. There are also Darro in Brasdi (Bati), Tschoskiab and Somo. Their sons are called deresi.

families living there today and about an equal number of Tibetans. In the old days there were possibly 6,000-7,000 families of Tibetans with hardly more than 10,000 warriors. Conditions are similar in Tsanla. There Chinese colonies have arisen (3) in Yo ts'a,

3. Since 1779 there exists the office of a ting of Mu

175 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,
669 outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese
563 central government occurred further to the
798 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

• 177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

[continued next page]

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The Southwest Region felt the impact of the West later and less profoundly than the regions of China bordering on the Pacicic Ocean. Western military might made an initial impress on the region but was not followed by the broad penetration of new material and ideological forces that changed so much of the environment and thinking in the maritime provinces. The bureaucracy of the Ch'ing Dynasty was succeeded by the warlords of [669] the Republican period. They maintained their power under the Nationalist Government and effectively blocked the wide dissemination of revolutionary doctrine in the Southwestern provinces, while playing along in the power struggle of the twentieth century revolutionary period. Only under the wartime needs and influence of the Nationalist Government in Chungking did the Southwest experience a growth of largely small-scale industrialization, the dissemination of new political and social ideas devoid of revolutionary content, and an advance in direct control by the central political authority.

[Footnote 23 continued]

interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H. B. Morse, op. cit.; and John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yü Teng, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the following pages are taken from these sources.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

000 new regime in Southwest China.[34]

D. New Influences in the War of Resistance against Japan

175 177 With the removal of the Chinese national capital to Chungking in 1938, the heyday of central government authority in the Southwest Region was reached. The Kuomintang and its government officials were concentrated in the wartime capital and exerted lesser control in scattered areas throughout the Southwest. Through these party and government officials, such mass organizations as the San-min Chu-i Youth Corps, and a secret police network, the Nationalist Government came closer to ruling the region than had any previous central political authority.

Accompanying the new political influence were the novel effects of the influx of professional and academic people, students, and business men from the more modern cities of the maritime provinces. Industrialization mushroomed, especially in Chungking; and that city with Chengtu and Kunming became the temporary home of displaced universities. Rural co-operative and education movements in scattered areas of the Southwest acquainted thousands of peasants for the first time with some of the new social, economic, and political ideas that had been current in the coastal cities

34. On Lung Yan, see Paul M.A.Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, p. 101; Herbert Freyne, Free China's New Deal, N.Y., Macmillan Co., 1945, p.169; and T. H. White, Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, N.Y., William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946.

175 of China for about a quarter of a century.
177 The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

175 From the beginning of the exodus to
186 Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals
563 from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education movement and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

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II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later. 563 162 177

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials. 563 167

B. Sikang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

Annex "A," Aubparagraph lh,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

•177 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere, but local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. In Southwest 101 China, the Red basin is the oldest center of "Chinese" civilization. Yunnan and Kweichow remained in the status of colonies for many centuries after Chinese culture had taken root in Szechwan. Thus one might say that there are in the Southwest two distinctive types of sub-cultures: one is the older culture of the area surrounding Chengtu, and the other encompasses the remainder of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow and has been forged out of the interactions -- over the last few centuries -- between indigenous cultures and the culture of the invading Chinese. There is then as high a cultural diversity in this region as in any other major region of China.

177 There are other factors which give to
311 much of the area we are now considering
563 important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
241 west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
621 culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
621 easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

779 Southwest today. But some trends should be
563 noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the goverment, and the youth will tend in time to become more Communist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit communities in the Southwest will probably
779 proceed apace. The Communist government
563 boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth
177 now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and chü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955; SCMP, 1067, p. 23.

57. Ibid.

779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are
references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

58. Ibid.

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nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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177 in medical education, in many fields of
779 technical education, in women's education, and
797 in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

797 Protestant missions began in the ports of
779 the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of co-operatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

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•177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

177 565 184 foreign missionaries. In Southwest China, foreign churches were seen only in a few larger cities. The presence of American troops in Kunming, Chengtu, and a few other cities where military installations were located during the war against Japan made possible a different view of the foreigner. The farmer's reaction to the sight of a swashbuckling American soldier was generally puzzlement, envy, and a measure of disapproval. But on the whole, very few farmers in this region have had much experience with foreigners, nor did anti-foreign uprisings in the past directly involve the Southwestern farmer. The frightening image of "Western imperialism" created by Communist propaganda organs, therefore, is likely to pose no meaningful threat to these long-isolated people. The majority of the farmers in this region are not concerned with the fate of foreign missionaries in Communist China.

565 184 The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring more land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer's hopes for obtaining land are strictly limited, his interest turns to finding ways in which his children, through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young people from peasant families have been absorbed into the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

I. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

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131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
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[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled
771 many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

● 177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortu-
[579] nately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through sons of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still vivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people. 177 [626] 797 177

The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Hwang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'eng
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Yuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tzo
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Tuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

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All these[1] show that real knowledge is intertwined with false assumptions: but since all these doings are traditionally handed down, the two are not exactly and always distinguishable in the minds of the local folk at all. They show that, should we unconditionally agree with Prof. Malinowski that magic fills the gaps of science, our position will be quite untenable. The distinction between magic and science is a post-industrial product and is not present, the author believes, in most rustic cultures. In a rustic culture, assumptions based upon real knowledge are traditionally defined and built up no less than are assumptions of a magical nature. Both are habitual ways of conduct. In this manner magic, far from necessarily occurring at places where real knowledge is lacking, may indeed exist, flourish and operate side by side with sound scientific knowledge, for attaining the same general aims. This conclusion is made especially obvious when the culture is subjected to external pressure - as in West Town. Here we have a situation in which one line of action is traditionally defined and a mixture of magic and real knowledge, while another line of action is clearly based upon modern science and, as far as the moderns can see, contains no significant false assumptions. Can the new knowledge based upon scientific experiments replace the traditional mixture? The answer has already been given in the facts presented in the foregoing pages: It cannot. First, as we have seen, the use of either magic or real knowledge in the community comes from the same attitude of mind. Second, the traditional attitude which gives sanction to the local practices inevitably requires that when new practices present themselves they be added to the total list if they are not too strange and rejected. The addition is not to replace the old ones but to operate side by side with the others. The attitude behind practices based upon theories of modern medicine, on the other hand, is characterized by a vehement desire to replace the old practices completely. This attitude of mind is incomprehensible to the rustic mind.

Third, the native measures are largely of a communal nature. An examination of the diagram just given will show that the prayer meetings are the center and most other measures taken (such as the taboos on dirt, food, insistence on morals, drinking of "fairy water", etc.) are supplementary to them and form with them a whole conceptual and working system. These communal doings are part of the social organisation. They reveal the position of the individual in the community. They bind individuals of the community to one another. They are as important as other communal doings, either religious ones (such as shown in the annual cycle of religious occasions and many others) or social ones (such as the suppression of breach of customs, especially in the sexual domain). That the most literary man of the district (Mr. Chao) had to participate in more than one prayer meeting and yet failed to defend his position when asked by the outsider, that the two carpenters who made the most out of the epidemic had to subscribe very generously to the cause of the prayer meetings, and that the wealthiest family of the locality which had given shape to the modernized hospital and schools should also lend large financial support to these prayer meetings, are all indications of the true weight of the rustic practices. The last case is especially interesting. The family's support of two widely divergent types of institutions at the same time shows that both efforts do not involve a question of principles (whether magic or science) but are means by the traditional pattern to achieve the same social end, namely prestige in the community. That is why, although West Town has been subjected to so much influence from outside, as we have seen in Chapter II of this paper, still the traditional practices remain as firmly entrenched in the minds of the populace as ever.

1 [measures taken against epidemic cholera -- Analys]

The anti-cholera injection and other modern measures of sanitation, on the other hand, are without such root in the community. They have to come in by way of individual adjustments and not by way of communal transformation. It is this fact, the author thinks, which is responsible for the phenomenon that more children than adults have taken the injection. It is this fact also which is responsible for the circumstance that the older people are in directing positions in the prayer meetings. This fact also indicates that the modern injection will have to become another accepted way of doing things (whether it be magic or science as the outside observer conceives of it) in order to come into the community at all. For although individual adjustments may be comparatively easier to effect than a communal transformation, as long as the individual has to live and be a respectable member in the community he or she cannot afford to be indifferent or antagonistic towards the life, work and public affairs of the community. In such a case, individual refusal to participate in the communal undertakings means much more than an individual affair. The individual refuses to participate at the risk of being ostracized for by doing so he is thought to be endangering the entire community. 813 177

We have thus in a way reversed Professor Malinowski's position on the relation between magic and science. He took science for granted and conceived of magic as something secondary, to take up the places where science has failed. Professor Malinowski has lived and thought in the scientific era of European civilization, where magic in many spheres of life, such as technology and hygiene, is clearly distinguishable from the main body of knowledge based upon modern science. When we look at the matter from the point of view of the rustic culture the picture is entirely changed. For then science is no longer the general background; the background, usually a mixture of sound knowledge and magic, is cloaked under the local traditions and habits, while the clearly defined scientific ideas and usages from outside will have to struggle for a foothold, taking up the places where the traditional mixture of real knowledge and magic has failed and being woven into this mixture.

There is a further question to be answered. Can we say that, following Malinowski, if some of the practices (such as the prayer meetings) do not seem to have any obvious physical bearing on the epidemic, they nevertheless provide the individual and the community with a means to psychological stability to tide over the crisis? The answer, as the author sees it, is neither in the positive nor in the negative because, after the foregoing analysis, the question does not in fact exist at all. All the practices so far analyzed are traditional ways of meeting life's problems and situations and therefore undifferentiated as regards science or magic. The prayer meetings are as important as the taboos on food. The latter again are as important as one or other of the many medicinal prescriptions or the emphasis on "morals". Very often, to many individuals, all of these are again as important as the drinking of the "fairy water". That this is the characteristic mental attitude may be confirmed without difficulty in other walks of life. At a wedding, for example, the practices which we as investigators brand as magic (such as the custom that the bridegroom must face a certain direction when the bride's sedan chair comes in) exist side by side with others which we as investigators brand as real knowledge (such as the use of a sedan chair to carry the bride, or a particular way of displaying the dowry through the streets). On the Fifth of the Fifth Moon, a festival, each child or adult has some orpiment (As_2S_3) (mixed in water) smeared in earholes, nostrils and other vital parts of the body. This is to ensure that no worms or anything else should penetrate into the body through those openings. At the same time small brushes or mops made of 757

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu

000 to ang-pei T'ing, crossing the Yangtze by an iron chain bridge, thence turning south had recrossed that river by a ferry just above the mouth of the Ya-lung River and had come on through Ta-yao Hsien and Yao Chou.

361 Chên-nan Chou is considered one of the poorest towns in Yün-nan. It contains perhaps 500 houses, all very small. There is scarcely any trade in the place, and a great many Chên-nan men are obliged to hire themselves out as mule drivers in other places to get a livelihood.

Two easy days of level marching brought us to Ch'u-hsiung Fu, or Ts'u-hsiung Fu as it is invariably called in Yün-nan. The people of this town are peculiarly conservative and exclusive. They have such an objection to strangers that no inn is allowed within the city walls, and no one from any other town is allowed to establish a shop. When the telegraph line was first taken through here, there was much commotion, and so determined was the opposition of the townspeople to this new-fangled means of communication that the telegraph office had to be put inside the Colonel's yamen, the only place where it would be safe from destruction.

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One might expect such a conservative place to be very anti-foreign. But such is not the case. We found the people civil and friendly, and the missionaries who visit the place occasionally get on well with them, though they had so far failed to establish a permanent mission station here.

000 We put up at an excellent inn in the suburbs, with a very large upper-storey room, which was just what we wanted, as we had much work to do in putting our maps together, while our evenings were fully occupied in getting the longitude from Bhamo by telegraph. We were not the only Europeans in Ch'u-hsiung at the time, for we found two members of the China Inland Mission, Mr Nicholls and Mr Saunders, on a temporary visit here. On the day after our arrival we had quite a dinner-party to celebrate the meeting of six Englishmen in the middle of Yün-nan.

We halted four or five days at Ch'u-hsiung and re-arranged our plans. Watts-Jones started again on the 15th March to continue the survey for the line on to Yün-nan Fu. Ker, accompanied by Ram Sabad, one of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four •177 others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who [304] still use their own language, but have in other respects adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women [249] binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had 712 been on my former visit. In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the
S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.
ST The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a
302 sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan
191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak
S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.
ST Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct
631 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a
622 Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the
S large monastery which is situated a little further along the
ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be
[651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was
S certainly not friendly.
ST It is curious how little impression the civilisation and
• 177 customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress Gradually they will

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take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

178, 113 Southwest China AF16

[For trends in the adoption of lack of adoption of modern Western medical science in the local Chinese community, see 4: Hsu, Category 116, pp. 2-53.]

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education movement and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

166 the influence of more technically advanced easterners on the life of the local population. The first migration restocked the population in the Southwest Region; the second migration was less permanent, with the majority of the migrants returning to their native places upon the conclusion of World War II. However, not a few of these easterners have remained and made their homes in this region.

166 178 After 1949, the Communist program of industrialization concentrated upon the Northeast and Central South regions, but this does not mean that the Southwest Region is totally neglected. Many of the industrial establishments temporarily arranged to house the plants evacuated from the north and the east during the Sino-Japanese War have been retained and brought into the master plan for development of this region. Of 156 major industrial units involved in the Chinese Communists' first Five-Year Plan, over 19 per cent are located in this region.[15] The two steel plants in Chungking, the tin mining center in Yunnan Province, and the ordnance plant in Chengtu are undoubtedly attracting many workers and contributing to the rapid increase in population in such centers.

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15. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955.

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 369 565 The traditional rural village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 166 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land together with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
166 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
178 was especially true after Confucian training had
871 been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

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11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

178 and intelligible to the younger generation than the
871 classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, it at least had taught him not to be resigned to his lot, but to look to the future rather
178 than to the past for betterment. With the in-
871 crease of schools, there emerged in the cities
565 a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together; and with their newly established organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although frequently dependent for subsistence on their families, students had nothing to do with the cultivation or management
178 of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to
565 find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast with the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions in the ruling elite class, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social nobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social rôles were less clearly defined; sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status

178 565 in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 565 668 Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in the new schools, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 701 874 555 565 During this period of social and political disorder, military men began to gain power, obtaining offices by virtue of their military success. Rather than despising the military as the older scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

596 were allotted each member according to his needs, as they were determined by the head of the house and permitted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred among the upper-class families. Gentry-officials and merchants were often away from home; they frequently had personal income from salaries or business, from which they met their expenses without resorting to the family treasury.

The family and its extensions in China also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or desrving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business systems in the twentieth century.

III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

A. Influence of Modern Technology

596 178 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately

596 178 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those cities. The same influences also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

596 491 198 361 Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China.

178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

871 offered to a broader segment of the population in
178 the decade before World War II. New social,
596 political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press.
489 Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or
596 more away from the nearest great city were
178 brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

668 An even more disturbing influence on the
178 old way of life was the increasing spread of revo-
596 lutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

596 678 In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was undermined. He was still needed at home to carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

369 596 178 562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship

369 continued to give a greater primacy to males in
596 the family, but the ability of daughters to earn
178 a wage enhanced their value to the family and
562 made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted, however, that women of farming and laboring families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

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178 While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in high school were willing to answer the question as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal,: acting "against the trend of the time"; as "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling, smoking opium and frequenting brotherls Mothers were more gently and less often criticized but they were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mah-jong, quarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society

6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

596 178 has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by foreign firms or government services headed by foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successsively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve as the social and political training ground of China. The political parties and modern schools, particularly the colleges and universities, now began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911.

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

178 596 No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 671 582 In reconstructing Chinese society, the Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater immediate success.[9]

Eassentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

(1)...The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.

(2)...The abolition of the feudal system

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, Aug.1955, pp.515-32.

[9. and 10. next page]

563 596 too various to describe in this chapter.[36] Under the Communists, the tribal peoples have been given special treatment, and the uniqueness of their social systems has been largely preserved.[37] No attempt was made to implement the new Marriage Law in the ethnic minority autonomous areas established by the new regime.

178 In the twentieth century, family patterns among the Chinese people of the Southwest Region have largely followed the forms of traditional China before the beginning of industrialization and the resulting outgrowth of revolutionary social and political forces.[38] The customs and practices of the Chinese people long established on the Chengtu Plain and of immigrants, mostly from the Yangtze River provinces of the Central-South and East China regions, were little disturbed by modern trends until the capital of the Nationalist Government was moved to Chungking during the war with Japan. Previously, Western-style commerce and industry had made little progress in the region, the intrusion of modern trends from other parts of China had been barred by the lack of railway and highway links with the outside world, and warlord rule had perpetuated traditional values and practices. One significant modern influence that had made its way into the region was modern education at the universities, especially in the

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36. The chapter on Ethnic Groups describes some of the major social characteristics of the principal indigenous tribes.

37. See Fei Hsiao-t'ung, "Minority Groups in Kweichow Province," C.B., 150, pp.8-15.

38. On the family in the Southwest Region, see Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1948; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, China's [cont'd]

178 provincial capital of Chengtu and its vicinity.
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Just before the war, transportation sys-
178 tems began to bring the Southwest Region into contact with the rest of China. The wartime needs of the Nationalist Government led to the beginning of modern industrial and commercial development within the region and the exploration and development of its mineral resources. Refugee students and professors from other parts of China were scattered in makeshift unversities throughout the Southwest Region. Many of the educated group made determined efforts to filter to the people some of the new political and social ideas derived from Chinese contact with the West through the mesh of the Kuomintang wartime censorship. Some refugee intellectuals were enlisted in the rural reconstruction program, headed by James Yen, who attempted in scattered rural areas to improve literacy, agricultural methods, and living habits and to spread new social and political ideas. Although stripped of their former revolutionary content, they contained within them the seeds of change in family and other areas of life.[39]

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178 The results of these innovations in the Southwest Region appear to have been minor and ephemeral, but it is still too early to assay their long-range and lasting effects. The influences of the intellectuals and of the personnel of the rural

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39. On the rural reconstruction program see Paul M. A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic.] : A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 218-22.

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reconstruction program probably cut deepest because of the patriotic eagerness and sincerity with which many of the educated group sought communication with the peasants, understanding of their problems, and the elevation of their social and political life and outlook. Industrial influences seem to have been less penetrating. Manufacturing plants were generally small, decentralized operations most centered in the wartime capital. Refugees from the modern cities stayed close to Chungking and viewed the permanent residents with contempt. The factories, the immigrants who supervised them, and the modern habits of the recent arrivals from the western cities were in turn looked on with suspicion and dislike by the older inhabitants. As soon as the war was over, many of the war-born industries were discontinued and the urban immigrants moved back to the industrialized centers of the East with their ammeniti for modern living. However, some of the new factories remained open after the war, the mining possibilities of the region had begun to be explored and developed, and permanent changes with closer links to the rest of China were underway before the Communists entered the Southwest Region.[40]

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40. On the Southwest in wartime see Linebarger, op. cit., pp 218-34; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder Out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946 pp. 3-19, 54-72, and passim.

178 The Communist government, with its penchant for regimentation and passion for industrialization, is exerting a more intense and pervasive influence on the region. If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. The youth of the region will probably prove less resistant and more in favor of the "new order," as has been true elsewhere in China. But as the young people are emancipated from the old family restriction, they are likely to manifest the tendencies, already evident in the youth of the eastern cities, toward individualism and romanticism in love and marriage which pose a problem of equal calibre for the new rulers of China.

235 authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

178 311 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintegrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

178 Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of

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2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London 1951, p. 111. H.L. Richardson, commenting in 1942 on Szechwan -- usually regarded as a fertile and prosperous province -- says: "The condition of the individual farmers is less happy than the prosperity of the Province as a whole would suggest, and the pressure of the whole population on the supplies of food and other agricultural products, such as cotton, is very intense." Cressey, op. cit., pp. 178-79.

178 change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

221 527 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is devoted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The village is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many

181 There have been profound changes in
178 basic attitudes over the last century and particularly during the last five years. Change has been brought about by two factors. The first is the disintegration of the old social and political order resulting from its failure to adapt itself to the problems and pressures of the modern world. Consequently, people became critical of the older attitudes and, in increasing numbers, adopted newer "modern" attitudes and values which were considered better suited to a modern China. The second is the power of the Communist state which, in the last five years, has been used to inculcate a new and uniform set of values and attitudes.

181 These two factors are closely inter- related.
668 Thus, the Communists have been making a sympathetic use of individual and group-dissatisfaction with the old order to inspire and promote the acceptance of the new attitudes and values; the latter's appeal has been particularly strong with youth -- especially adolescents -- and with women who have been taught to regard the old social order as tyrannical and oppressive. The following will illustrate this last point:

> Co-operative agriculture has
> organization,
> and women are not left out.
> In the old society we were badly
> mistreated,
> but the new society teaches friend-
> ship and love.[29]

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29 Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [Three-character Classic for Women], Hsin-hua Publishing House, 1950, p.21. Three-character rhymed verses [cont'd next page]

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of others [the group] : this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43]

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation

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In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

44. Cf. Anon., "The 'Struggle Meeting' in Communist China," Far Eastern Notes, No. 1. April 21, 1952.

178 181 668

regarded as cyclical. Out of their careful adjustment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of Nature, Chinese-farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was not seen a the end of the line but as a return to childhood -- not in the sense of "second childhood" but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When empire has long been unified it will invariably be divided." [45]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbook Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight-line change

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45. San-kuo Chih Yen-i, [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms], translated by Prewitt-Taylor.

178 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu
181 Shao-ch'i:
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> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."[46]

The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change. Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, not that of cause and effect. Night follows day, but day is not the cause of night.[47] Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can actively participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results.

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46. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background, No. 159, Jan. 31, 1952, p. 18.

47. Bunzel-Weakland, p. 31.

178 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

668 181

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

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D. Authority and the Individual

577 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

596 In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bride, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

572 The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

181 The two patterns -- paternal domination and
572 fraternal association -- are reflected in political
596 life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

181 When the old social order began to break up
578 under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52] 181 178

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; in doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations. 181 668

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories 181 668 596

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k;
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

771 Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

•[178] With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, 771 as they gained more and more rights and conces- 148 sions from a weakening China, demanded and

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nearby farms. In Hangchow, some 1,800 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22] We have few details on the fate of the Buddhist clergy in the Southwest.

There are occasional reports of Buddhist ceremonies, such as the celebration of the Buddha's birth day.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer

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22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

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779 to resist totalitarianism or the trend of the
178 times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[24]

III. TAOISM

779 Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purposes to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism

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24. The outstanding example is Chü-tsan -- a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religious, and social work -- the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü-tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. also, Chü-tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

575 Farmers active in secret societies, which
565 are traditionally opposed to government control,
184 may have a different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) sect was reported active as late as the summer of 1955 and apparently has survived Communist efforts to stamp it out. Other secret societies are of minor importance in comparison with those operating in Central-South or East China

II. URBAN WORKERS

565 Southwest China had been backward in indus-
178 trial development until the late 1930's when
184 some industrial plants were moved from the coastal areas to places like Chungking and Wanhsien in Szechwan Province. Even as late as 1952 there were still very few industrial workers in this region. Most of them were not organized until after 1949 and were not involved in earlier political movements. Before unionization, industrial workers in Southwest China had no greater national feeling than was commong among the farmers.

565 The Communists' avowed attempt to raise
184 the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learned of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the New China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions, also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most

178 Another problem was the number of steel
499 plants and textile mills which had been estab-
653 lished in the Southwest during war against Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and commerce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimulated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region was
162 that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

635 August 1-8, 1955 and was attended by 650 members consisting of Chinese, Tibetans, Chuangs, Yi's and Miaos. Li Ching-ch'üan, Chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Government, made a report on the work of the past two years and the important tasks to be done in the coming winter and spring. He referred to improvements in agriculture and industry, giving the following figures for 1952 as 100:

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Industries	1953	199.11
	1954	307.9 estimated
Agriculture	1953	86 %
	1954	6 %

There were 34 national and local factories and mines in the region, 604 agricultural co-operatives and 990,000 mutual-aid teams. In the same report he claimed that the people of Szechwan supported the building of the railroads from Chungking to Chengtu and from Chengtu to Pao-chi, and also the surveying of oil fields in Szechwan.

635 With regard to the tasks of the coming winter and spring, he asked the people of Szechwan to try to reach the goal for the second year of the five-year plan. Li's report was passed. Another report on the Constitutional draft was made by Governor Li. After a serious debate, it was given a unanimous support. Finally, 87 delegates to the National Congress were elected with Chu Teh at the head of the list.[8]

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8. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, August 10, 1952.

II. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

433 Despite the program of expansion during World War II, industrial development in Southwest China is minor compared to that in the maritime provinces (See Table 9).[1]

433 178 Before 1940, there were few modern factories in the Southwest. After the removal of the Nationalist Government to Chungking, an attempt was made to expand industrial production in the Southwest provinces to meet China's wartime needs and lessen the threat of inflation to the economy of Free China. Although the result fell short of the intended objective, a comparatively substantial increase in industrial production occurred in the provinces of the Southwest Region. The government itself owned many industries and offered subsidies to private enterprises. Continued price increases as a result of inflation and the lack of outside competition as a result of wartime blockade encouraged further expansion. After the war ended, many so-called "extra-marginal" firms went bankrupt. Some government enterprises were abandoned in order that personnel could be transferred to more efficient plants as they became available in other sections of the country, particularly in Manchuria and Formosa. Because of these changes, it is possible that industrial production in Southwest China decreased during the postwar years.

[1] [Table 9 is missing -- Analyst]

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3f,
Economic Background

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE */

178 Prior to World War II, few modern industries had been developed in Southwest China. There were no spinning mills or cotton textile plants, for example. Power plants in the region produced only 17,000 kilowatts of electricity, an amount so low that it discouraged further industrial development. Only after the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Szechwan and the subsequent arrival of industrial equipment salvaged from East and Central China was it possible for a modern industrial society to develop. Factories were rapidly constructed, and some 10,000 skilled laborers migrated to Southwest China. Most of these factories were poorly built, had insufficient equipment, were inadequately financed, and encountered difficulty in maintaining operations under the impact of inflation during the war years. After the war, those industries which had survived were forced out of business by the press of competition from east coast cities and foreign markets.

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*/ Unless otherwise indicated, information in this chapter is supplied by Dr. K. N. Chang, consultant and author of chapter, from private sources.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Crossey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

7h Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

178 722 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 654 241 Since the migration of the National government into the Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry resources of the Basin. 314 Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree 314
the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for
the white-wax tree industry.

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also 316
been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production 178
has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and
placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly developing
into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home
of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present
the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing
capacity of all free China.

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of transportation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous commercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways (some of them already under construction) have been projected; and the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achievements and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem. 489

As to the future development of the Basin, one may approach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future prospect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace returns once more. 133

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protection against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against invading forces than would otherwise be possible. 241

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181 Despite the grim struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[12] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and established merchant families.
632 The county seats (hsien capitals) were the
369 centers for tax collection and administration of

12. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

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178 There have been profound changes in basic attitudes over the last century and particularly during the last five years. Change has been brought about by two factors. The first is the disintegration of the old social and political order resulting from its failure to adapt itself to the problems and pressures of the modern world. Consequently, people became critical of the older attitudes and, in increasing numbers, adopted newer "modern" attitudes and values which were considered better suited to a modern China. The second is the power of the Communist state which, in the last five years, has been used to inculcate a new and uniform set of values and attitudes.

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668 These two factors are closely inter- related. Thus, the Communists have been making a sympathetic use of individual and group-dissatisfaction with the old order to inspire and promote the acceptance of the new attitudes and values; the latter's appeal has been particularly strong with youth -- especially adolescents -- and with women who have been taught to regard the old social order as tyrannical and oppressive. The following will illustrate this last point:

> Co-operative agriculture has
> organization,
> and women are not left out.
> In the old society we were badly
> mistreated,
> but the new society teaches friend-
> ship and love.[29]

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29 Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [Three-character Classic for Women], Hsin-hua Publishing House, 1950, p.21. Three-character rhymed verses [cont'd next page]

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In addition to capitalizing on discontent, the Communists have been making a peculiar use of traditional attitudes and values. Certain values from the old order still have a strong emotional appeal for the Chinese people. And the Communists seek to make the new order more acceptable by associating some of its elements with selected elements from the traditional culture. For example, they insist that as a guiding principle of personal behavior the idea of "struggle" (tou-cheng) must replace that of "harmony" (ho).[30] People are taught to struggle for self-perfection and to engage in class struggle, in the struggle for a new China, and in the struggle against deviation even when this involves attacking their friends. This is utterly contrary to the old ideal of harmony in personal relations, an ideal that means in practice a comfortable adjustment to one's natural and human environments. Yet in urging all to struggle, the Communists insist that the ultimate goal of all struggle is the Ta-t'ung ching-yü -- the traditional utopian ideal of a harmonious, frictionless social order.[31]

[29. from previous page] were widely used in traditional China for the indoctrination of the young.

30. Cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Struggle vs. Harmony: Symbols of Competing Values in Modern China," World Politics, Vol. VI (Oct. 1953) pp. 31-44.

31. Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship, 3rd. ed., Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1950, pp. 16-17. For Mao, of course, this term means ultimate world-wide Communist utopia.

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In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

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A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

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32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

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of others [the group] : this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43]

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation

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In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

44. Cf. Anon., "The 'Struggle Meeting' in Communist China," Far Eastern Notes, No. 1. April 21, 1952.

178 regarded as cyclical. Out of their careful adjust-
181 ment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of
668 Nature, Chinese-farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was not seen a the end of the line but as a return to childhood -- not in the sense of "second childhood" but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When empire has long been unified it will invariably be divided." [45]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbook Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight-line change

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45. San-kuo Chih Yen-i, [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms], translated by Prewitt-Taylor.

178 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu
181 Shao-ch'i:
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> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."[46]

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48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

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596 life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

181 When the old social order began to break up
178 under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52]

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; in doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations.

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

596 181 668 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

572 668 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

576 668 643 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us....[54]

Another praises his paternal care for his people

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

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As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yüan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u-pan-she, Wuhan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

181 "a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says:
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Our great fatherland-
We should pay it the same filial
reverence,
As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial] Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng [Yantze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has the baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

181 one looks to state and Party health agencies, but
668 responsibility for the care of the aged devolves
596 upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourages the equal co-operation pattern

[61. and 62. on following page]

181 associated with the old image of brotherhood
668 and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly
596 subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission to absolute paternalistic authority and the subordination of the individual to the group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

577 In traditional China, "face" meant one's
668 moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethical norms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are 'counterrevolutionaries', the child should treat them as enemies.

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46 (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p.46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

181 The attitudes of an individual, although conditioned by the environment in which he lives and influenced by the persons with whom he comes in contact, are subject to changes that are well-nigh unpredictable; he may simultaneously adopt diametrically opposed attitudes without being aware of inconsistency. This circumstance, coupled with China's multitudinous regions and groups of people of varying characteristics, makes the task of gauging the attitudes of the Chinese people an exceedingly risky one at best. The Chinese, in general, are traditionally less outspoken than Americans. However, since attitudes manifest themselves in reactions and some of the reactions of the Chinese people are observable even in official Communist announcements, a few very general and broad conclusions may be drawn. In this discussion, attention is focused on the attitudes of the various groups of Chinese toward their country, the Communist government, and the ambitions and aspirations of the individual.

In sociological studies, occupational stratification is one recognized criterion for analyzing any society. In adopting this approach for our discussion, we do not propose to overlook the significance of grouping people according to other equally valid criteria, such as age, sex, and income. Older people, for example, are generally more conservative, less willing to

181 adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

565 184 The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but nonexistent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. Especially in Southwest China, where warlords ruled until the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, the development of a national feeling among the farmers has been late and slow. However, the cessation 565 722 of what used to be perpetual skirmishes between 184 warlords and the presence of a single centralized authority during World War II furnished many farmers in this region with a basis on which to form a concept of nationalism. Although no part of Southwest China was overrun by Japanese troops, the experiences of enemy bombings, anti-Japanese propaganda, and contact with refugees made

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S P 101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P 212 191 All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary P 177 language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, 212 where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, 191 though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans S from very different countries can understand each other. P I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had 771 little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. [142] A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have 181 anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

565 other hand, because of the existence of extended
596 families and the clan structure, less fortunate
428 members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

183 The scholar ideal. Learning was much es-
565 teemed, especially when combined with wealth.
555 The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indicative of the respect all Chinese had for learning was the popular saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[6] The emphasis

6. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China, Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be oversimple, it indicates that the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected
[continued next page]

183 565 555 on learning was buttressed by the imperial examination system, the means by which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal in education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their sons in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of the son's eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the familes, be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills and

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6. [continued] ...by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-75.

183 commercial activity. Therefore, if a scholar
565 did not pass the examination, or having passed
555 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

The scholars, therefore, are not to be regarded as a separate class or a separate occupational group, except as they relied for their livelihood on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government, and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only a way to added prestige.

The road to status and wealth through edcation and government service was often by-passed

183 in time of chaos; then military skills would enable
565 individuals to obtain high positions in the bureau-
555 cracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity to acquire learning under tutelage of well-known scholars due to their parents' wealth.

C. Social Organizations

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Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In the rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

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596 of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that characterize the family in Southwest China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

594 596 565 183 The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

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2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

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32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

183 Bad conduct was not, as in the West, violation of the laws of God but deviation from the age-old norms of acceptable social behavior. Specifically, behavior was categorized as "bad" if it went against such prescribed norms as the following: (1) hsiao, filial submission to fathers and elders; (2) chung, loyal and submissive devotion to superiors; (3) hsin, good faith among friends and associates; (4) jen, benevolence or fellow-feeling which should inform all social relationships; (5) i, righteousness in one's dealings with others; (6) li [good form], accepted procedures in human relations; (7) lien, integrity; and (8) ch'ih, sense of shame.

The laws of imperial China provided heavy punishments for violations of these norms; the most heinous crimes were those against hsiao, filial submission. Yet the ideal in the application of law was not blindfold justice but punishment administered with due regard for "human feelings [jen-ch'ing] and for the specific circumstances surrounding the crime. This attitude is illustrated in the old proverb: "There is one thing worse than a dishonest official and that is an honest official," which

[32. continued] as it had been for centuries, "the foundation stone...of social organization, ...the measuring stick of all behavior and of the worth of the individual.

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expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforcement of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings." [33] The criteria for judging behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

In traditional Chinese goodness could be cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

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The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society." [34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

33. Ruth Bunzel and John Weakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

183 ideas; some have been discarded, others have been taken over with little adaptation; still others linger 668 between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage" of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create a favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling

35. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family," Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao-chi, quoted in David S. Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium, Thought and Officialdom in China, Univ. of Chicago Press, early 1956.

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of happiness -- this is the highest expression of Communist morality..."[37]

This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others" (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grieves before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)[38]

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37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member" in Compton, op. cit., p. 110. Nivison, op. cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op. cit., pp. 108-55. Traditional sources are identified in Nivison, op.cit., p. 19-20.

•183 668 To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who sought to improve themselves, Books on filial piety were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[39] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[40] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of

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39. Liu Shao-ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo" [Party Nature and Private Life] in Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p. 76, note 16.

183 history and environment and becomes capable of working creatively for the aims of the new society. 168 This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[41] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[42]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communists is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid onself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the early form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ...we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should listen for the response

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.
42. [next page]

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of others [the group] : this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43]

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation

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In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

44. Cf. Anon., "The 'Struggle Meeting' in Communist China," Far Eastern Notes, No. 1. April 21, 1952.

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdominal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
[redacted]

II. BASIC ATTITUDES

•184 One of the principal reasons for the stability and long life of the old order in China was its social homogeneity. The imperial government fostered uniformity of attitudes and values, and Chinese statesmen believed this to be a more binding, durable, and cheaper cement for the imperial order than government coercion. Old China was primarily a way of life, a system of values and attitudes, and on this premise the state was organized. A foreigner who wished to become "naturalized" had only to show that he accepted Chinese attitudes and values; this he did by adopting Chinese dress and speech and patterns of behavior.

This characteristic of the old order is one of the reasons why we find no important regional variations in basic attitudes. The other reason is that the Communist government is as determined, in enforcing a uniformity of values and attitudes, and far more resourceful, than was the imperial government of the past.

There are, however, certain local variations in temperament and ethos which affect, to a minor degree, the basic attitudes and values. A few of these will be noted. For the variant attitudes and values of ethnic and religious minorities, see the chapters on Ethnic Groups and Religion.

Annex "A," Subparagraph li,
Sociological Background

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

538 184 Intellectual and artistic expression is interpreted in this chapter to mean the communication of ideals and ideas through creative and academic writing, painting, the plastic arts, dancing, and music.

The Chinese written language is the vehicle for official business and creative expression in all parts of China. Therefore the bulk of the creative and academic writing of the Southwest Region of China does not differ from that produced in China as a whole. In the past cultural activities originating in Peking and Shanghai stirred up cities like Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming in the Southwest as well; and the support from these citie gave cultural movements originating in coastal [722] cities a national appearance. During the war with Japan, these Southwestern cities became wartime Chinese cultural centers, as the sites of the wartime campuses of the best Chinese universities. The identification of the bulk of the creative and academic writings of the Southwest with that of the Chinese nation is particularly true today when the nation is ruled by a centralized government and when all cultural innovations emanate from Peking.

538 The Chinese, especially the Chinese Communists often speak of literature and the arts as *one*. In the Communists' policy statements, what pertains

181 adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

565 184 The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but nonexistent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. Especially in Southwest China, where warlords ruled until the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, the development of a national feeling among the farmers 565 has been late and slow. However, the cessation 722 of what used to be perpetual skirmishes between 184 warlords and the presence of a single centralized authority during World War II furnished many farmers in this region with a basis on which to form a concept of nationalism. Although no part of Southwest China was overrun by Japanese troops, the experiences of enemy bombings, anti-Japanese propaganda, and contact with refugees made

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of cooperatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

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177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

199 565 184 foreign missionaries. In Southwest China, foreign churches were seen only in a few larger cities. The presence of American troops in Kunming, Chengtu, and a few other cities where military installations were located during the war against Japan made possible a different view of the foreigner. The farmer's reaction to the sight of a swashbuckling American soldier was generally puzzlement, envy, and a measure of disapproval. But on the whole, very few farmers in this region have had much experience with foreigners, nor did anti-foreign uprisings in the past directly involve the Southwestern farmer. The frightening image of "Western imperialism" created by Communist propaganda organs, therefore, is likely to pose no meaningful threat to these long-isolated people. The majority of the farmers in this region are not concerned with the fate of foreign missionaries in Communist China.

565 184 The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring more land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer's hopes for obtaining land are strictly limited, his interest turns to finding ways in which his children, through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young people from peasant families have been absorbed into the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which

575 Farmers active in secret societies, which
565 are traditionally opposed to government control,
184 may have a different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) sect was reported active as late as the summer of 1955 and apparently has survived Communist efforts to stamp it out. Other secret societies are of minor importance in comparison with those operating in Central-South or East China

II. URBAN WORKERS

565 Southwest China had been backward in indus-
178 trial development until the late 1930's when
184 some industrial plants were moved from the coastal areas to places like Chungking and Wanhsien in Szechwan Province. Even as late as 1952 there were still very few industrial workers in this region. Most of them were not organized until after 1949 and were not involved in earlier political movements. Before unionization, industrial workers in Southwest China had no greater national feeling than was commong among the farmers.

565 The Communists' avowed attempt to raise
184 the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learned of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the New China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions, also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most

565 184 of these benefits are limited and there have been only a small number of beneficiaries.

565 466 184 On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial increase in the standard of living, a harsher work schedule and loss of leisure time, and growing disillusionment as it becomes obvious that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the New China. The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against overwork and overly rigid demands upon the time and temper of the laborer indicate that the laboring class is not necessarily most productive under pressure. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new, Communist-fostered managerial class, which, for whatever reasons, receives more benefits than does manual labor.

565 648 Foreign advisers had been employed in many Chinese factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to recognizing the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. There is no evidence to suggest that many Russian technicians or advisers are employed in factories in this region, or that those employed have caused resentment among the native workers.

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The Chinese worker has not abandoned his aspiration of personal advancement in the material sense. The promotion of the young and ambitious to serve in the huge government bureaucracy may satisfy some of the workers, but the lack of a substantial increase in their standard of living will lead many to feel that their aspirations cannot be fulfilled under the Communist regi me.

III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class," hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectuals may differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some of them at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of power among the nations. After five years of Communist

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rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified. But on the negative side, severe restrictions on intellectual freedom have been imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a feeling of insecurity among many of the intellectual group.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government, the principal means to wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal amibitons, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly welcomed. So far, the vast underdeveloped areas in Southwest China have offered a great challenge to the educated, and many who accepted assignments in such areas have been reported to feel that they finally have started contributing to the welfare of their country. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist govern-

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ment has been guilty of misassignments which have caused dissatisfaction and open criticism in the Communist press.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among most of the students. Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to entirely suppress a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in the regime less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

VI. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-businessmen and manufacturers, who made up the larger part of China's urban population continue to exist in reduced numbers. The merchant has always occupied an inferior position in the traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new, and an industrialist's position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had been forced to operate under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days, are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers

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except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese market and caused dislocation in the Chinese economy.

Under the Peking regime, businessmen and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small businessmen and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the "New Democracy," and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist society which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of and regulation by state enterprises. There is evidence that the businessmen and manufacturers, accustomed as they are to government interference, are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government increasingly harsh and ever more difficult to evade. In Southwest China, this mood may not be easily discernible since there are fewer large commercial and industrial centers.

If profit has been the most common motive among businessmen and manufacturers, under present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their amibitons. Some members of this class who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by co-operating with

565 184 the Communist regime. In this connection, the Communists have appointed a few erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

Ad additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on export trade. Southwest China has a few traditionally profitable export commodities, such as tung-oil, hog bristles, and foodstuffs. Now that the government has virtually completed its monopoly of export trade, the merchants are denied of the opportunity to take part in this lucrative undertaking.

V. WOMEN

562 184 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition is so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their rights in pre-Communist days; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have thus assumed more active roles in society are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness similar to that of men

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of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of nationalism.

How much improvement in the status of women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to participate in political activities and industry; they are provided with facilities for child care and adult education, as well as other welfare benefits if they will join the working force. If the increase in the number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women are reluctant to work in factories and those who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized Marriage Law in Communist China embodies nothing new in principle but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is unprecedented. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the Marriage Law in the chapter on Family).

Law in the chapter on Family).

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Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

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A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

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Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

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minority groups. Traditionally isolated to varying degrees, these groups had been given little reason to feel favorably disposed toward a central government in China: in their eyes, a central authority appeared a threat to their traditional way of life. Until it has been proven that by identifying themselves as a part of the "greater" Chinese community they would be in a better position to realize their aspirations, it would be difficult for these groups to share the national feelings of the Han-Chinese.

The Communist government has been trying to cultivate a feeling of kinship between all the ethnic groups and to assimilate the minority nationals without provoking their resentment. Preferential treatment has been extedned minority nationals who left their villages for the Han-Chinese areas. Manyof the ethnic minorities have been granted "aubnomous" status by the Central People's Government to win their support. Schools have been established and languages designed for the minority groups so that Communist ideology can be taught to them. Special efforts have been madeto publicize the achievements of individuals belonging to such groups. All these measures are meant to foster a favorable attitude among the minority groups toward the Peking regime.

It is impossible tomeasure the success or failure of the Communist policy toward the minority groups at this stage. However, it appears reasonable to say that the Communists have been doing more to win support from these groups than to alienate them.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

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In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes have significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that they are regimented by a well-controlled machine. High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of Party loyalty and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far there has been no indication that their feelings have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the top Communist leaders in Southwest China have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. Those who contributed to the victory of the Communists received assignment commensurate with their service, and they seem to remain active and content with their positions.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to repeatedly prove their loyalty to the Communist regime. The fact that the Party relies

165 on close surveillance and an atmosphere of
184 fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction and dissidence within the Party ranks. The expansion of a bureaucracy necessitates the promotion of numerous lower-level Party functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. Even former warlords who has chosen to co-operate with the Communists have been assigned government positions without true authority, but which at least insure their livelihood and prestige. A sense of insecurity may continue to affect some members of this group, but as time goes on they will consolidate their positions in the "new" society.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which extends to all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

184 Russia are two major causes of dissatisfaction among the Chinese people. Regimentation, when carried to the extreme, provokes the resistance of the people. Subservience to Russia destroys the spirit of nationalism which the Communists have been trying to cultivate in China. Vigorous and continuous government efforts to promote friendship with Russia through the extensive Sino-Soviet Frendship Association is an indirect admission that anti-Russian feeling either already exists or can easily develop.

The general patterns of attitudes we have discussed can serve only as indications of the prevailing social mood among various groups. Sociologists agree that it is difficult to predict group response. This, it appears, must apply to a study of a people so various in temperament as the Chinese.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle. S ST

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious 771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lamâ temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here. S ST

[764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks. S ST

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, *unfortu*- [579] nately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives. S

631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1936, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

IV. DEGREE OF AUDITORY INTELLIGIBILITY

197 Although it is rather difficult to point out the exact degree of mutual auditory intelligibility of the languages and dialects spoken in this region, the previous section dealing with their distinguishing features should have made it reasonably clear that non-Chinese languages, although not entirely free from Chinese influences, bear little resemblance to the Chinese dialects. Hence they are not intelligible to the Chinese-speaking people of the region. Furthermore, they are sufficiently different from one another to be mutual unintelligible.

Speakers of Southwestern Mandarin generally have a great deal of difficulty in trying to understand Hakka. However, since speakers of Hakka in this region are able to converse in Southwestern Mandarin also, there is no insurmountable barrier between them and speakers of Southwestern Mandarin.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YU

197 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese,
●185 and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

197 185 launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

212 The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

212 to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 Attempts to introduce language reforms
185 in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average person to learn, and in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective

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when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses.

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University.

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In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai^{2}) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai^{3}) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai^{4}) "to sell".

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinzua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of

212 learning to read and write Chinese much easier
185 and less time-consuming. For example, 纔 ts'ai "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron", to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplication that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y.C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of

their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters, and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the language of a people cannot be artifically changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language to combat illiteracy. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communists promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"[3] to substantiate their argument.

The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem] , Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung] , Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch"u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and [contd]

212 185 spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Politica terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already used in handwriting by the people. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua,

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Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

212 a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces.
185 Ch'i publicized the use of "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. Phonetic symbols are employed as an aid to pronunciation. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committe announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] By January 1956, the number of simplified characters approved by the committee and already in use by many publications had increased to 260. At the same time the committee also announced the standardized forms of 810 characters, of which many irregular forms had been in use.[7]

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5. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Jan. 19. 1956, p. 3.

8. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yu-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp. 458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit. pp. 131-34. [see next page]

[redacted]

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications, with a total circulation of about 500,000 on the market.[8] There is evidence that such publications are still available in Southwest China today.

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There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation. On October 5, 1951 the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization. It has also been advocated that Chinese be written horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first Chinese regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions of this practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and the New China Monthly began printing their texts horizontally in January 1955. The People's Daily and a few other journals followed suit in January 1956.

As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create or improve their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Southwest China, the Tai

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

212 •185 script used by the minority nationality groups around Pao-shan in Yunnan Province was standardized in December 1952.[10] Many other non-Chinese languages in this region are receiving equal attention.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few larger cities in Southwest China like Chungking and Chengtu. In Kunming (Yunnan Province) and several towns on the old Yunnan-Indochina Railway where French influence was discernible, French was an understandable language among a small segment of population in commercial and educated circles. Compared with other Western languages English was popular in Southwest China because of the contact with English-speaking visitors and the inclusion of English in school curricula. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Although some college students could read a printed item in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

10. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 29, 1953, p. 3.

596 in the Southwest Region. Far more likely, the
671 region would have been mentioned in reports on
582 the areas "least progressive" in family reform, had the Communists cared to publicize such conditions in 1955. But the report on the "advanced areas" gives some indication of the best the Communists have been able to do in places where they have been long estabished. According to the commitee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90 to 95 per cent of the homes and "bad" in only 5 to 10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10 to 15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The commitee announcement added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer oppressed, beaten, or scolded, but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[26]

C. Reorientation of Family Reform

596 No rapid change in traditional family
183 attitudes and practices in the Southwest Region is likely to have occurred to date. The all-out effort to revolutionize the Chinese family in the spring of 1953 has not been repeated. Soon after the 1953 campaign, decreasing emphasis was given by the regime to quick implementation of the new Marriage Law. Family reform was made a continuing part of the everyday work of the various

26. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

Party and state organizations. The complaint of the Party since then has been that the cadres are not taking the work seriously.[27]

There are indications that by 1953 the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[28] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations are becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations are tabulated.

A shift in pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to women were not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[29]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal

27. Ibid., p. 4.
28. China News Analysis, No. 5, p.2.
29. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

596 185 and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

596 185 369 In the cities where modern influence had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual reference to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

596 and devotion to self- interest. They had re-
185 spectively given rise to the sins of marriage
369 based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts" was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955. In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors, "to place love in a secondary position in one's life," is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking.

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31. SCMP, 1022, p. 4.

32. Ibid., pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

596 185 369 As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 575 467 A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its [582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 575 582 Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

economy and will eventually disappear after the transformation from the capitalist economy to the socialist economy is completed in the future. 464

During the period from 1952 to 1952, 354,297 unemployed workers registered with the local governments in the Southwest Region. By October 1952, about 76 per cent of the registrants had found work through their own efforts or through government agencies. The Communist methods of unemployment relief included "substitution of work for relief," "increased production and self-help," and a "back-to-the-village" drive. Most of the unemployed urban workers in the Southwest Region were recruited to build railways, highways, and other public works in large cities such as Chungking, Chengtu, and Kungming. Only 15 per cent of the unemployed workers received direct relief in the region.[35]

VIII. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE WORKERS OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

The industry of Southwest China is still largely in the handicraft stage. The first Five-Year Plan initiated by the Communists in 1953 contained no major projects for the region. None of the small-scale factories and mines play any significant parts in the plan. Despite these facts, 185

35. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 29, p. 2 and Sept. 30, p. 2, 1952.

185 in 1953 and 1954 the workers in the Southwest had to respond to the demand of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for renewed labor emulation drives and increased efforts to raise production. Reports of increased production in the region during the first three years of the plan were scattered, indicating that the workers in the Southwest have not been carrying a major load in Communist reconstruction under the plan.

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178 722 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

•185 654 241 Since the migration of the National government into the Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry resources of the Basin. 314 Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

175 of China for about a quarter of a century.
177 The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

175 From the beginning of the exodus to
178 Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals
563 from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

178 Both the organized rural education movement and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

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871 563 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000 [665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 563 186 The Communists claimed that their policy of providing educational opportunities for minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Tibetans who had apparently come out on a religious pilgrimage, binding themselves to get their living by begging. In this they seemed to have been very successful, as many of them were walking about with ducks under their arms. The same day we met my old friends P'êng and Colonel Liu, who had been with Mr Warry and myself on our first trip through Yün-nan. They were on their way to Nam-paung to meet our boundary demarcation party.

After leaving the Nan-tien plain our road still lay up the Nam Ti valley, but over an open rolling down country, crossing the river twice by stone bridges, and finally descending slightly into the town of T'êng-yüeh.

579 Here a very warm reception awaited us. Our baggage
•186 and servants had got ahead, and we found them surrounded by a hostile mob. The innkeepers had absolutely refused to let them in, and our Shan escort of two of the Nan-tien Sawbwa's men were naturally afraid to do anything in the face of a crowd of Chinamen.

Guided by one or two of the more friendly of the inhabitants we made our way towards the *T'ing's* yamen[1]. Our road lay right through the middle of the town, so getting the mules and servants in front of us, Ryder, Watts-Jones and myself came on behind as a rear-guard. The mob, increasing every moment, followed us, yelling, hooting, and throwing stones. When they pressed us too closely, we three who were riding would turn round and charge them. We had the satisfaction of catching one or two of them over the head and arms with our sticks, but they were wonderfully quick in getting away and the whole street would for a moment be almost clear, the people having disappeared into houses or down side streets. Then each time, as we turned round and went on after our mules, they would reassemble almost as quickly as they had vanished, and stones and bricks would again begin to fly about. In this somewhat unpleasant fashion we rode through T'êng-yüeh, and were very glad to reach a temple inside the *T'ing's* yamen where we were safe from the mob and found accommodation for ourselves and our animals.

We had I think all been hit by stones, but no one was

[1] i.e. the district magistrate's house.

Sc Davies G-S (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

579 seriously hurt. The affair was not an organised riot, as they did not know we were coming. It may be taken in fact
•186 more as a way of showing their dislike to those who have had the misfortune not to be born Chinamen, and as an expression of opinion that foreigners would be better advised to stay in their own country. Still this sort of thing may easily grow into more serious rioting, and I am strongly of opinion that Governments should take notice of even the smallest incidents of this kind where their subjects are the victims of attack by Chinese mobs.

It was unfortunate that our baggage had got ahead of us. Had we been there ourselves and insisted on being let into the inn, breaking in by force if necessary, we should have had no further trouble. A show of physical force at the outset is very effective in dealing with Chinamen. This is the only time that I have been stoned in a Chinese town, and in most places in Yün-nan the mob though inquisitive are not actively hostile.

Soon after our arrival my friend Yang-fa-yung who had on my previous journey met me at Mien-ch'ing, came to see us. He apologised for the conduct of the mob, said that he would have protected us if he had known we were coming, and that orders had been given out which would ensure us from any recurrence of such a thing. The loud voice and bluff military manner which this gallant officer assumed as in keeping with the character of a soldier, caused us much amusement.

The next day we called on the *T'ing*. We found him very civil and friendly and he apologised for the occurrences of the day before. He treated us to sweet biscuits and green chartreuse, so he is evidently making progress in his knowledge of Western customs!

302 What most struck my two companions, both new to China, was the length of his nails which, according to the custom of the literary classes, had been allowed to grow an inch or more beyond the tips of his fingers, to indicate that he was under no necessity to do any work with his hands. This custom may appear to us somewhat inconvenient, but we were soon to learn that it has its uses, for a fly having fallen into Watts-Jones's chartreuse, our host dipped his nail into the glass and deftly scooped it out!

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

463 people of Hsi-lien, for in the afternoon at the village of Wan-yao I found pottery works and a manufactory of iron
323 pans. The potter's wheel was made of one round stone revolving over another. The upper stone has a piece sticking up at the top and round this piece the clay is put. The potter then makes the stones revolve by working a treadle with his foot, and at the same time forms the clay with his hands. In three or four minutes he made a plate and two different sizes of cup. When the moulding is finished the things are put out in the sun to dry. Then comes the glazing. This process I did not see, but it was explained to me as follows:—The glazing stuff is made of rice husk and lime mixed together and heated and then mixed with water. Into this mixture the cups are put and are then baked in a kiln. The result is a greenish coloured glaze.

326 I then went on, accompanied by several villagers, to the iron works. Here they had a cylindrical-shaped furnace, three feet long and one foot in diameter, in which the iron
[376] was placed to melt. An ingenious use had been made of a little stream which flowed past the shed, to turn a horizontally placed water-wheel which worked the bellows for the furnace. Two pan-shaped clay moulds are then taken and one is fastened tightly down over the other, both with the convex side uppermost. The furnace is then tilted up a little so that the melted iron runs into a ladle, by means of which it is poured into a small hole in the upper mould, so that it fills up all the space between the two. It is left for a minute to solidify, and then the topmost mould is taken off and the pan that has been thus formed put on one side to cool.

•186 While I was looking at this, one of the villagers came running up, grinning all over, and shouted out, "Is this a foreign devil?" He was immediately silenced by the others, and one could not take offence where evidently none was meant. The fact is that Chinamen among themselves nearly always allude to us as "Yang kuei-tzŭ," "Sea devil" or "Devil from across the sea," and many ignorant villagers would be puzzled to find any other name by which to call a European. The origin of this expression, I believe, dates from the first Chinese war of 1842. The Chinese

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186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river, then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of [376] the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu

000 to T'ang-pei T'ing, crossing the Yangtze by an iron chain bridge, thence turning south had recrossed that river by a ferry just above the mouth of the Ya-lung River and had come on through Ta-yao Hsien and Yao Chou.

361 Chên-nan Chou is considered one of the poorest towns in Yün-nan. It contains perhaps 500 houses, all very small. There is scarcely any trade in the place, and a great many Chên-nan men are obliged to hire themselves out as mule drivers in other places to get a livelihood.

Two easy days of level marching brought us to Ch'u-hsiung Fu, or Ts'u-hsiung Fu as it is invariably called in Yün-nan. The people of this town are peculiarly conservative and exclusive. They have such an objection to strangers that no inn is allowed within the city walls, and no one from any other town is allowed to establish a shop. When the telegraph line was first taken through here, there was much commotion, and so determined was the opposition of the townspeople to this new-fangled means of communication that the telegraph office had to be put inside the Colonel's yamen, the only place where it would be safe from destruction.

•186 177 206

One might expect such a conservative place to be very anti-foreign. But such is not the case. We found the people civil and friendly, and the missionaries who visit the place occasionally get on well with them, though they had so far failed to establish a permanent mission station here.

000 We put up at an excellent inn in the suburbs, with a very large upper-storey room, which was just what we wanted, as we had much work to do in putting our maps together, while our evenings were fully occupied in getting the longitude from Bhamo by telegraph. We were not the only Europeans in Ch'u-hsiung at the time, for we found two members of the China Inland Mission, Mr Nicholls and Mr Saunders, on a temporary visit here. On the day after our arrival we had quite a dinner-party to celebrate the meeting of six Englishmen in the middle of Yün-nan.

We halted four or five days at Ch'u-hsiung and re-arranged our plans. Watts-Jones started again on the 15th March to continue the survey for the line on to Yün-nan Fu. Ker, accompanied by Ram Sabad, one of

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 ing for a railway with the sanction of the Chinese Government.

Passing Sung-lin, a village of two hundred houses with a mud wall round it, we took two days to reach Pan-ch'iao at the southern end of the Hsüan-wei plain. The country is undulating, and one passes through a series of little cultivated plateaus, with low rocky hills rising out of them, 316 and most of them without any running water. This part of Yün-nan is full of coal and hardly anything else is used as fuel. It is sold for 200 cash a cartload, which I calculate to be at about the rate of three shillings a ton.

000 On the 14th April I reached Hsüan-wei Chou, and found Watts-Jones there, established in a temple just inside the south gate. Here we were in telegraphic communication with the world again. Pottinger had arrived at Pi-chieh and hoped to meet us at Wei-ning Chou. We were very sorry to learn that Mr Tucker, who formed one of Pottinger's party, had returned to Ch'ung-k'ing suffering from pleurisy, and had died there of heart failure.

361 Hsüan-wei is a town of 800 houses and has two walls [316] round it, one inside the other. The plain in which it stands is a poor one, but the whole country round is full of coal mines which, with better means of communication, might 253 be extensively worked. Hsüan-wei is famous for its hams, which are excellent. Chinese hams vary very much. The best ones are very good, and this is the only form in which I ever ate pig in China.

After halting a day at Hsüan-wei, we left again on the 16th April, and soon found ourselves in a more hilly 186 country. In these parts the Chinese are in the habit of shouting out *yang kuei-tzŭ*, "foreign devil," an expression one does not hear very often in most parts of Yün-nan. In Hsüan-wei we had heard the little boys shouting it out as we walked about the town, but they took care to keep at a distance, and the Chinamen nearest us always wore a look of almost too complete innocence.

However our time for retaliation soon arrived. The day we left Hsüan-wei, Watts-Jones and I had walked on a little ahead and passed five or six Chinamen sitting by the roadside. Directly we had passed, we heard shouts of "yang kuei-tzŭ." We turned back at once and our

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. [316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 n. and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal d of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants e and very little trade is done except in the necessaries life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from -ch'uan.

316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good nmunications these could no doubt be profitably worked. e height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very d place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some re surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me er a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet the water. I slept at Ssū-p'u at 8000 feet. For the t few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so t it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere verse of the road. This is the sort of weather which I believe, prevalent throughout Ssū-ch'uan in the cold ason. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," d it is natural to suppose that the province was so named lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssū- uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great rt of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, s still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning d await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most ficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it solutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do y useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 e natives of the country. A hundred men or so would llect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

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and fire at them with guns. Their shooting was so bad that no one was ever hit, and they would run away if attacked, but this sort of thing naturally interfered with survey operations. The officials were always friendly, and increased Pottinger's escort of Chinese soldiers to 150 men, 20 of whom were armed with mausers.

Even in Kuei-chou province on this side of Pi-chieh these attacks began again, and Pottinger warned them that if there was any more opposition to his movements he would fire on them. The next day they began rolling stones down again, and Pottinger and Hunter attacked them with the twenty mauser-armed Chinese soldiers. Three of the Chinese were killed, and there was after that no further trouble.

These disturbances were probably due to the rebellion of Yü-man-tzü, which spread over a great part of Ssü-ch'uan the year before, and had hardly been repressed at the time Pottinger was passing through that province.

We got back to Wei-ning in two days and found that Watts-Jones had also returned there. We put up in very good quarters in the mining office. They have a lot of boilers and other mining machinery here, which are the property of the Yün-nan Province Government, who have never used them and want to sell them, but are hardly likely to find a purchaser here.

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We halted the next day to wait for Hunter, and went to call on the civil mandarin and on the general. The former showed us his mint where cash are coined. They are made of a mixture of copper, lead, and zinc which when melted is poured into a mould which makes 200 or 300 cash at once. Not many are coined here: most of the copper is sent to Kuei-yang, the capital of the province.

The price the Government give for copper is 11 taels for 100 catties. This comes to about threepence a pound, a price which, the mandarin says, is not enough to make copper-mining pay. This I can well believe. I have often wondered how cash could be coined so as not to cost more than they are worth as money, but no doubt at this price it can be done.

The cash is the only real coin that exists over the greater part of China. Roughly speaking its value is about a tenth

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361 the two streams that water it are irrigated: the rest of the
241 plain lies too high and is consequently little cultivated.
The natives of Lin-an, like those of T'êng-yüeh, have a
186 strong antipathy to anyone who has not had the good fortune to be born a Chinaman. So far do they carry their hatred of everything foreign that they even refuse to weave their cloth out of foreign yarn. They import their material for making clothes in the shape of raw cotton from the Shan States. Such at least was the case at the time of my visit.

Three days from Hsin-fang, over a fairly open plateau country, brought us to Mêng-tzû[1], where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Spinney of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

579 This place was only opened as a treaty port in 1889.
186 The foreign settlement is pleasantly situated outside the town, the European community at the time consisting, besides the Customs Staff, of a French consul, a doctor, and one French merchant. The well-built, well-furnished houses in which they lived made one feel that one was in civilisation once more.

Mêng-tzû was considered a very quiet place, and the inhabitants of the town were extremely civil and fairly free from curiosity. But only a short time after my visit the Europeans there had a very unpleasant awakening from their sense of security.

In the middle of the night the foreign settlement was attacked by a large armed mob recruited principally from the workers in the Ko-chiu tin mines. The foreign community, among whom at the time were several French officers, concentrated in the French Consulate and made good their defence. The rioters, however, killed two Chinese servants and burned or carried off everything from the remaining houses.

439 Mêng-tzû is a busy place for Yün-nan, and even though the rainy season had begun I must have met quite 1000 loaded mules since leaving T'ung-hai. They were most of them carrying cotton yarn imported from Bombay *viâ* Hong Kong. This Indian yarn is cheaper than the Man-

[1] Sometimes spelt Mêng-tsz' or Mong-tze.

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Yi-mên was the place where Ryder and I had arranged to meet, and he turned up the following day after dark, having done a 26 mile march. These meetings in out-of-the-way places are very pleasant, and we halted two days here together. Our pleasure, however, was considerably damped by the news of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso that Ryder had brought with him from Yün-nan Fu. 000

On the 21st January we set out again, Ryder for Ch'u-hsiung, myself for Yün-nan Fu. My road crossed the range which separates the basin of the Red River from that of the Yangtze at 7,350 feet, and then descended a little into a good sized plateau, with small hills rising out of it, very dry and therefore not much cultivated. We slept at Hsiao-lung-t'ang in a large temple pleasantly situated among trees.

The next day we reached An-ning Chou. The road lay down the course of a small river on which were a good many duck. I got five—three merganser, one brahminy (ruddy sheldrake), and one spotbill. The merganser is fairly common in Yün-nan, and I have found them quite eatable in spite of the fishy look that the shape of his bill gives him. 136

At An-ning we joined into the main road by which I had come from Ta-li the year before, and the next day we reached Yün-nan Fu. I cut off the last half of the march by taking a boat across the corner of the lake. 000

I was able to get the same comfortable quarters that we had lived in the previous year, and spent five days in the capital renewing acquaintance with Mr Stevenson and other missionary friends. Mr Jensen of the Telegraph Service, who had helped us so much before, had I was sorry to learn been laid up with rheumatism and had been obliged to take a trip home.

I found the French very active in Yün-nan Fu. There were 10 or 12 Frenchmen in the capital at the time of my visit, all connected with the railway which is to run up into Yün-nan from Tong-king.

The French were not at all popular with the Chinese, and there were even then signs that there was likely to be trouble. This feeling culminated a few months later in 579 186

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579 a somewhat serious riot in which the French were attacked, and the English missionaries also had a very warm time of
•186 it. The riot was fortunately put down by the Chinese authorities without any European lives being lost.

Captain Ryder reached Ch'u-hsiung on the 25th, and we were able to observe for longitude, thus fixing the position of Yün-nan Fu and also of P'u-êrh, which we had so far only fixed relatively to the capital.

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script used by the minority nationality groups around Pao-shan in Yunnan Province was standardized in December 1952.[10] Many other non-Chinese languages in this region are receiving equal attention.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few larger cities in Southwest China like Chungking and Chengtu. In Kunming (Yunnan Province) and several towns on the old Yunnan-Indochina Railway where French influence was discernible, French was an understandable language among a small segment of population in commercial and educated circles. Compared with other Western languages English was popular in Southwest China because of the contact with English-speaking visitors and the inclusion of English in school curricula. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Although some college students could read a printed item in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

10. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 29, 1953, p. 3.

191 The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except for advanced specialized studies. But as late as 1953, knowledge of simple English was still required for enrollment in college.[11] It appears reasonable to assume that the number of senior middle school (secondary school) and college students able to read or speak English has not changed. Foreign language instruction has been eliminated from the curricula of junior middle schools and primary schools.[12] Although the study of Russian has been encouraged by the Communists, it is doubtful if much has been achieved during the past five years.

There is no statistical information on the number of people able to read or speak English in Southwest China, but if the curricula for senior middle schools and colleges are any indication then there cannot possibly be more than 35,000 with this ability.[13] As to the number of people in this region who can speak or read other Western languages, there is even less information to serve as a basis for conjecture.

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11. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao [Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954], Hong Kong, Hsüeh-sheng shu-tien, 1954, p. 98-100.

12. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü Kung-tso [Communist Education in the Past Five Years], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 16.

13. Total number of senior middle school graduates in China (1949-53) was 216.000. 17-18 per cent reported in Southwest Region. People's Handbook, 1955, p. 571-73.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133*

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bběr-dděr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 [156] [291]

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bběr-dděr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bběr-dděr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bběr-dděr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) 778

meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] [191]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bběr-dděr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bběr-dděr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bběr-p'ěr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ěr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiae* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 ●
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S P 101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P 212 191 P 177 212 191 All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

S P 771 Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans from very different countries can understand each other. I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P [142] 181 They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

194 5. There are six to seven tones, two of which
197 are derived from the ancient "entering" tone and associated with final p, t, and k.

C. Kam-Tai

Kam-tai, like the other two major non-Chinese dialect groups spoken in this region, belongs to the extensive Sin-Tibetan family which includes Chinese dialects. The Sino-Tibetan language family, generally speaking, is: (a) monosyllabic -- the ultimate constituents of the language are all monosyllabic; (b) tonal -- when normally stressed, the pattern of pitch of a syllable determines its meaning; (c) uninflectional forms virtually do not exist. The special characteristics of Kam-Tai can be further described as follows:

1. It has eight or more tones. This results from the development into two tones of each of the four tones in ancient Sino-Tibetan languages.

2. There are pre-glottalized voiced consonants, such as b and d. This is especially true of Kam dialects.

3. Consonant clusters are preserved, in Tai, but they do not appear as initials in Kam dialects.

4. Long and short vowels are differentiated.

[193] 5. Word order, in some respects, is different from Chinese dialects. For example, hao jen (good man) in Chinese becomes jen hao in Kam-Tai.

Next to Northern Mandarin, Southwestern Mandarin is the largest dialect group in China in terms of the number of people who speak it and the area which it covers. Like Northern Mandarin, its dialects are fairly homogeneous. The following are some of its characteristics: 197

1. The initials n and l are not distinguished except in some Yunnan dialects. However, there is a tendency to treat these two sounds as conditioned variants or partially conditioned variants of a sound unit. That is to say, l is heard before mid and low vowels while n is heard before high vowels; or, although either n or l may occur as free variants before mid and low vowels, n occurs regularly before high vowels. 197 194

2. There are no retroflex sounds because such sounds are replaced by dental sibilants; thus Northern Mandarin chu (pig) becomes tsu, shan (mountain) becomes san.

3. The guttural nasal ng usually precedes the Northern Mandarin zero-initial when the latter is not a high vowel. Thus, words pronounced like ai (to love), e (forehead), and en (favor) of Northern Mandarin, become ngai, nge, and ngen, respectively.

4. When initial h precedes a syllabic u, it is changed to f; thus, Northern Mandarin hu (tiger) becomes fu.

5. The common Northern Mandarin unrounded back vowel ə̂, found in such words as kə̂, sometimes also written ko. (elder brother), hə̂, or ho (river), is replaced by a rounded o generally.

The same back vowel in other Northern Mandarin words such as te (to obtain), se (color), che (this), k'e (guest), etc., is replaced by a front vowel e (which sounds like a in chaotic) in many dialects in this region.

6. Northern Mandarin final uo is replaced by ue in such words as kuo (nation) and huo (or), which become kue and hue respectively in Southwestern Mandarin.

7. Northern Mandarin final üeh is replaced by io in such words as hsüeh (to learn) and chüeh (to become aware), which become hsio and chio respectively in Southwestern Mandarin.

8. There is only one final nasal, n, after the vowels ə, i, u.

9. The four tones of Northern Mandarin are described as high-level, high-rising, low-dipping, and high-falling; most of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects have a tonal pattern consisting of the high-level, low slightly falling, falling, and rising tones.

10. Within this dialect group, the following local variations are observed:

a) Dialects spoken in some areas along the upper reaches of the Yangtze River have preserved the ancient "entering" tone, which is generally associated with a "lax" vowel. Thus these dialects have five, instead of four, tones.

197 b) In certain areas, the common diphthing
194 ie is changed to the simple vowel i; thus Northern Mandarin chieh (elder sister) becomes chi.

c) Some dialects in Yunnan and Kweichow lack the rounded high front vowel ü ; thus Northern Mandarin nü (woman) becomes ni, and chü (to dwell) becomes chi.

B. Hakka

All Hakka people in Szechwan Province are bilingual; they speak Hakka at home and Southwestern Mandarin outside their village. Although they believe that Hakka remains their "ancestors' language," it actually has been very much influenced by Southwestern Mandarin and has lost many of its features except the following:

1. Many aspirated initials are substituted for unaspirated initials; thus Northern Mandarin tu (to cross a river) becomes t'u, and tso (to sit) becomes ts'o.

2. The initial v replaces the zero-initial u in Northern Mandarin; thus Northern Mandarin wu (house) becomes vu, and wan (ten thousand) becomes van.

3. There is no ü sound except in a few words apparently borrowed from Mandarin.

4. In many words, the diphthong oi replaces the Northern Mandarin ai, and the final on replaces an; thus Northern Mandarin kai (should) becomes koi, and an (dark) becomes on.

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197 6. Certain dialects, such as those spoken by the Pai-yi people in southern Yunnan, have preserved aspirated consonants as initials.

7. Examples of Kam-Tai sounds are given below:

	Kam	Tai (as spoken in southern Yunnan)	Tai (as spoken in eastern Yunnan)
palm	fa	p'a	va
eye	da	t'a	ta
fish	mum	pja	pla
egg	tai	kjai	klai

D. Miao-Yao

Earlier scholars have grouped Yao with Tai described above, and Miao with the Mon-Khmer language family. However, further comparative studies have shown that a greater affinity exists between Miao and Yao and that there seems to be more reason to group these two as a separate branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. This group has the following common features:

1. In Miao there is no final consonant except the guttural nasal ng and rarely the dental nasal n. But final consonants m, n, ng, and p, t, k are common in Yao dialects.

2. Initial consonant clusters are common in Miao, especially pre-nasalized ones such as mp, nt, mpl, mpr, etc., but rare in Yao.

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3. Gutturals and uvulars in the initial position are differentiated in Miao.

4. Many words in Yao are borrowed from either Chinese or Tai.

5. The following are examples of Miao and Yao words as spoken by different groups of the frontier peoples.

	Miao		Yao	
water	ong	ai	wam	vom
door	tong	tai	keng	keng
house	pla	pra	piau	piau
to die	tu	to	tai	tai

E. Tibetan-Burmese (Tibeto-Burman)

The use of prefixes, syllabic or assyllabic, and the subject-object-verb word order are common features of this group. In comparison with Kam-Tai, this group has a much simpler tonal pattern. Four sub-groups of Tibetan-Burmese are spoken in this region:

1. Tibetan

a) Unlike the Tibetan spoken in Tibet, this sub-group has preserved the prefixes and final consonants of ancient Tibetan.

b) Each word has two forms, "common" and "honorific"; the latter is used when the speaker wishes to be polite. For example:

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
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	Common	Honorific
eye	mig	spyan
nose	sna	shangs
mouth	kha	zhal

2. Lolo-Moso This sub-group includes a number of aboriginal languages and has a complicated initial system. In addition to the common initials, there are also pre-nasalized voiced stops and affricatives such as mb, nd, ndz, ngg, etc.

3. Kachin The only general characteristic so far ascertained of the people who speak this sub-group is that they tend to pronounce the prefixes as separate syllables.

197 4. Others Small minority nationality groups inhabiting the Yunnan-Burma border zone speak a variety of dialects. Information on these minor dialects has been extremely scanty and it is generally assumed that they belong to the Burmese branch of the Tibetan-Burmese group.

F. Other Non-Chinese Dialect Groups

A number of non-Chinese dialects, which are not sub-groups of the Sino-Tibetan family, are also spoken in this region. The Palaung (with about 5,000 population), Puman (14,000 population), and Wa (about 56,000 population) each has its own dialect. These dialects are related to the Peguan (or Mon) language spoken in Burma and the Cambodian (or Khmer) language spoken in Indo-China. Linguistically they come under the Palaung-Wa group which uses more affixes than dialects of the Sino-Tibetan family.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

farming operations and are not employed as a means of 493
transport along the roads. This is no doubt owing to the impossibility in most places of taking them from one plain to another, though by a little construction of roads it would not be difficult to open a good deal of eastern Yün-nan to wheeled traffic. On the whole it is decidedly less hilly than the western part of the province, though in places, such for instance as the road from Wei-ning to Tung-ch'uan, there are as steep hills as I have seen anywhere.

My Chinese followers were much amused by the un- 195
couth dialect of the inhabitants of the provincial capital. One would expect to hear the purest Chinese spoken in the chief city of the province, but such is not the case. They have a peculiar way of speaking which I believe they, as natives of the capital, consider to be the standard of excellence for the province, but this opinion is not shared by other Chinamen either of Yün-nan or of other parts of the empire.

My own impression, derived from hearing many Lo-los speak Chinese, is that their speech is simply Chinese spoken with a strong Lo-lo accent. The Yün-nan Fu plain 563
was, I believe, formerly a Lo-lo country, and there are many families of Lo-lo origin still living there. Whatever may be the truth about this, it is needless to say that the present inhabitants of the city would only receive with derision any suggestion which imputed to them a Lo-lo ancestry or a Lo-lo accent. This dialect is confined to the people of K'un-ming Hsien, the Hsien district of Yün-nan Fu.

Our first march out from the capital took us to the 000
small plain of Ch'i-tien. We made the usual late start, which I have always found it difficult to avoid in leaving a town after a few days' halt. Consequently, as the march was 18 miles and entailed crossing a range of hills, we did not reach our halting-place till after dark. I was now doing my own surveying, as Lachman Jadu, the surveyor who had been with me so far, stayed with Captain Ryder, so as eventually to return to India with him to help in compiling the maps.

On the 4th April, after crossing a low range, we descended to a fine lake called Yang-tsung Hai, and leaving

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S 252 *Mi-li to Chung-tien*

ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST 563 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from 101 those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pō. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or S "upper[1]."

ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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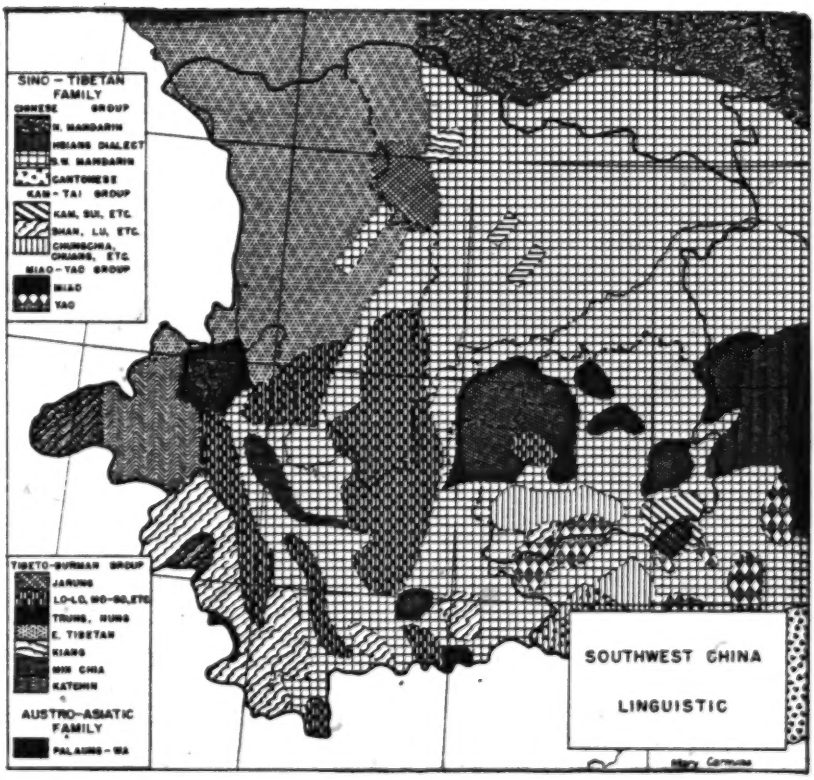

[facing p. 92]

Annex "A," Subparagraph le,
Sociological Background

LANGUAGE

I. MAJOR DIALECT GROUPS AND DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKERS

197 Only two Chinese dialect groups, Southwestern Mandarin and Hakka, are spoken in this region, and the former is by far the most popular. But a good number of non-Chinese dialects are spoken by the people in the Southwestern frontier areas. The distribution of these dialects is as follows:

Southwestern Mandarin -- spoken by approximately 80,000,000 throughout this region.

Hakka -- spoken by several million people in a few scattered districts near Chengtu in Szechwan Province.

Kam-Tai -- about 5,000,000 speakers in southern and southeastern Kweichow and eastern, western, and southern Yunnan.

Miao-Yao -- about 2,500,000 speakers in Kweichow and the mountainous areas in Yunnan.

Tibeto-Burman -- about 3,000,000 speakers in western Szechwan and the mountainous areas in Yunnan.

II. DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS

A. Southwestern Mandarin

Next to Northern Mandarin, Southwestern Mandarin is the largest dialect group in China in terms of the number of people who speak it and the area which it covers. Like Northern Mandarin, its dialects are fairly homogeneous. The following are some of its characteristics: 197

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2. There are no retroflex sounds because such sounds are replaced by dental sibilants; thus Northern Mandarin chu (pig) becomes tsu, shan (mountain) becomes san.

3. The guttural nasal ng usually precedes the Northern Mandarin zero-initial when the latter is not a high vowel. Thus, words pronounced like ai (to love), e (forehead), and en (favor) of Northern Mandarin, become ngai, nge, and ngen, respectively.

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door	tong	tai	keng	keng
house	pla	pra	piau	piau
to die	tu	to	tai	tai

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nose	sna	shangs
mouth	kha	zhal

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IV. DEGREE OF AUDITORY INTELLIGIBILITY

197 Although it is rather difficult to point out the exact degree of mutual auditory intelligibility of the languages and dialects spoken in this region, the previous section dealing with their distinguishing features should have made it reasonably clear that non-Chinese languages, although not entirely free from Chinese influences, bear little resemblance to the Chinese dialects. Hence they are not intelligible to the Chinese-speaking people of the region. Furthermore, they are sufficiently different from one another to be mutual unintelligible.

Speakers of Southwestern Mandarin generally have a great deal of difficulty in trying to understand Hakka. However, since speakers of Hakka in this region are able to converse in Southwestern Mandarin also, there is no insurmountable barrier between them and speakers of Southwestern Mandarin.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YU

197 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese,
185 and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was

197 launched to unify the national language, and a
185 system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

212 The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 沘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the
197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled
193 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the
101 present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan].
[302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 槥, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 沘 is read *tz'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 沘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 泚, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 駱馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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water. Their[1] language is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 僰人. Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind."

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪桐, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 出大 (H-M., Djüta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩怒. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa 岩瓦. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a bluff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500–2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Šhou-kuo Ssu lamasery. — We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普, called K'u-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 500 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 喃. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his

[1] [i.e, the La-mao -- Analyst]

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 慕頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[65] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[792] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[797] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few
[463] merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[438] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged
[135] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
[346] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich
[197] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

* [illegible] * [illegible]

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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262 mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief's family for lack of
251 storage space. When wanted the *Buchĕr* is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

*487 There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning
*133 to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the
*137 direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndĕr, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or *obo*, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Ch'ien-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

[97] Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-dyu (Wu-chio 烏角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (PLATE 242).

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST and where the distinction between them lies.

197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the An-101 namese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

291 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the 301 neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

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000 road descends slightly and turns up another valley to the mixed Chinese and La-hu village of Man-nung[1], where there is an official with the rank of *Hsün-chien* and a guard of 10 Chinese soldiers. I put up in a good-sized temple, built to commemorate the names of the principal civil and military mandarins who took part in the fighting against the La-hus. At the time of my visit the La-hus had been completely subdued and there was no large Chinese garrison in this neighbourhood.

563 Two more days of hilly marching brought us to Mêng-mêng[2] on the 20th April. Since crossing the Mekong we had been again in a country in which the La-hus form the greater part of the population. This tribe is almost entirely confined to the tract between the Salween and the Mekong. Among them there is in this neighbourhood a sprinkling of Chinese and also some Was or Las. The Chinese and La-hus often live together in the same village, and the latter seem now quite reconciled to Chinese rule. Mêng-mêng is a Shan state which was formerly subject to Kêng-ma but is now practically independent, though they still pay a nominal tribute of gold and silver flowers. The plain is some seven miles long and inhabited by Shans except for one Chinese village, the people of which are emigrants from Ching-tung T'ing who came here five generations ago. The town is the largest Shan place anywhere in this neighbourhood and contains 400 houses. It is governed by a sawbwa who was at the time of my visit [241] a boy of 17. The plain is well cultivated and the people seem fairly well off, but their prosperity depends on their rice fields; there is little or no trade in the state.

We left the next day, some of the Shan officials very civilly riding out with me two or three miles of the way, and then leaving me an escort of 10 men to go on with us to Kêng-ma. We camped for the night at Ya-sai, a village [197] of 40 houses inhabited by Chinese and P'u-mans. These P'u-mans speak exactly the same language as the Las of this district, but they do not consider themselves as at all the same race as the Las, though they cannot offer any explanation as to how they have come to use the same language.

[1] Man-nawng is its proper Shan name.
[2] Möng Möng in Shan.

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000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
317 march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is 180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly impregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed with water and boiled afresh over and over again till nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce 500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-
197 t'ung, a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

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much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before. 000

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker. 361 316

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was. 563 [197]

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length 291 563

This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between
my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the 101
Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung
ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong
mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are [197]
under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a
language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people
from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to
have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the
next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants
are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo
of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a cer-
tain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh
Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival dur- [52]
ing which they light fires on all the mountains, amid
great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the coun-
try from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the [73]
natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a
cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered
as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one
of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith,
but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the
cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned
up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the
river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the [462]
strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even
loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on
one's back they carry fastened to a band on their fore-
head.

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River up- 491
stream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

539 The farm servant.—

清早起來就上山 At the dawn of day he goes up the hill,
搭把鋤頭把地翻 Carrying a mattock to till the ground;
世人沒我長年苦 The farm servant's lot is bitter indeed,
臉朝黃土背朝天 With his back to the sky and face to the mud.

CRIES 口號 *k'ou hao.*

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198 The cry used to call a pig when at large is *liu, liu, liu,* 嘍. A pig is also called a *liu*, and a man is cursed by being so called.

The call for chickens is *chu, chu, chu,* 祝. Formerly 屠雞翁 Chu chi wêng was a famous chicken fancier and breeder, and the chickens are called after him.

Liao, liao, liao, 喚, is the call used to call the ducks from the pond. It is said to be an abbreviation of *lai-a,* 來啊.

Wa-êrh, wa-êrh, 娃兒, is the cry used to call in the goose. Some say it is *wo-êrh,* 鵝兒. Others think the call is an imitation of the bird's own cry.

The call to the dog when there is any scavenging to be done is *oh ngo, oh ngo,* 啊哦. In driving the dog away the common "hist, hist" is used.

The cry used to call the sheep is *mieh, mieh, mieh,* 咩. This is spoken in a low tone and is believed to be like the bleat of a sheep. Sometimes it is "*meh, meh,*" like the bleat of a lamb. The call used to frighten the sheep, *t'u êrh,* 吐爾, is also used to frighten birds from the grain, and is likened to the whizzing of a stone through the air at a great speed. When the cry is uttered a stone or a whip very often accompanies the sound. This *t'u êrh* is very freely called after foreigners, and is not a good omen. The connection is in the sound of the two characters, *yang* 羊 sheep, and *yang* 洋 of the sea, foreigner.

Sun êrh 猻兒 is the call used for a monkey. It means a small monkey.

Mi, mi, 咪, is the call used to bring the cat to eat its food.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

198

Wa, wa, 哇, is the call used to make mules and oxen stand still. The aboriginal tribes have names for each mule in the caravan.

Ch'a, ch'a, 吒, is the sound used when driving an ox or mule. Horses do not seem to be so addressed.

When ploughing the following are the cries used to the ox; *chuan ying* 轉英 turn round; *shang* 上 *ying* go on the sward, and *hsia* 下 *ying* go in the furrow; *ts'ai kou* 踩溝 go along the furrow.

Noises made by hawkers, etc., are as follows; the oilseller beats a small gong, *ch'iao tang tang* 敲鐺; the bean-curd seller strikes a hollow bamboo *pang pang* 梆; the condiment seller strikes a brass mirror *yün pan* 雲板; the tinker or scissor-grinder shakes clappers of iron *yao ching kuei* 搖驚閨 'to arouse the women-folk'; the castrater strikes a gong *ma lo* 馬鑼 of the same size as the *tang tang*, but with a stronger sound; the itinerant fortune-teller beats two pieces of bamboo together, *san ts'ai pan* 三才板; the pedlar rings a bell, *p'eng tang ku* 弸鐺鼓, and the vendor of sticking-plaster sounds a fish drum, *ta yü ku* 打漁鼓.

6:Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 people apart, this source of inspiration has likewise vanished. Ideals of filial piety and of veneration for older persons, though still observed, have lost much of their former appeal as a result of the war and the infiltration of Western thought. On the other hand, *yi* and brotherhood, which are at the core of all Ko Lao Hui activities—particularly those involving social insurance and security—have not only remained cardinal principles of the society but are being observed with greater zeal than ever, largely because the security of the people is increasingly threatened by the present system of government.

575 A prominent characteristic of any secret society is the use of a special terminology by its members. For various reasons—to distinguish mem-
148 bers from non-members, to permit members to outwit government authorities, etc.—a secret society, especially in the early stages of development, finds it convenient to designate terms of its own making which differ sufficiently from common usage to enable members to communicate with one another without being understood by the uninitiate. At present, however, the Ko Lao Hui has come so far into the open that nearly everyone knows of its existence and may join it if he so desires. Since most of its activities are common knowledge, there is no longer a need for a secret language with which to conceal them. Instead, a number of new terms have been introduced into Ko Lao Hui parlance, indicating a certain adaptation to changing conditions of society.

575 The progressive relaxation of entrance requirements to a point where almost anyone may join has made for marked local dissimilarities. The
565 wholesale entrance into the Ko Lao Hui of local warlords, retired politicians, corrupt government officials and demobilized soldiers, few of whom are interested primarily in the social aims of the society, is causing the society to engage in an increasing number of undesirable activities while at the same time encouraging the tendency toward separatism among the branches. To a Ko Lao Hui member of the old school, such a trend represents degeneration which must result ultimately in complete separation and dissolution.

575 On the other hand, it is clear that the Ko Lao Hui will retain its power until something can be found to replace it. The government,
668 though well aware of the growing power and influence of the society, has done little to combat it beyond occasionally voicing expressions of alarm. Government officials have been forbidden to join the society, and

788 bees' nests bred of experience in Indian jungles, I was looking round to see where it came from. The noise got nearer and nearer, when six men suddenly appeared round the corner of a zigzag. It was not till I actually saw them that it dawned on me that the noise I had taken for the humming of bees proceeded really from human throats reciting prayers in a monotonous mumble. The deception was most perfect. Neither myself nor the Chinamen with me doubted when we first heard the noise that it was a 788 swarm of bees or hornets. The men belonged to the Mo-so tribe and were on a pilgrimage to a temple in the Chien-563 ch'ang valley. This is a race of men I have seen very little of. They appear roughly speaking to inhabit the country north of Li-chiang Fu, and from there westwards towards Wei-hsi and northwards nearly to A-tun-tzŭ. Most, if not all, of them have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Captain Ryder came across them in the town of Yung-ning (lat. 27° 45′, long. 100° 40′), where they constitute the bulk of the population. By the evidence of their language they are closely connected with the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo races.

The men we met would stop their chaunt for a moment to answer a question, but would begin again at once afterwards. We were evidently getting near a country under Tibetan influence. What Chinaman would think of reciting prayers as he went along the road?

563 The Mo-sos were not the only new race I was to see on this march, for soon afterwards we met some Hsi-fans, [263] carrying loads of a sort of spice called *hua-chiao*, which they grow extensively about here. Just after they had •201 passed us, the last of them, an elderly man, gave vent to his feelings in a loud noise in a high tone of voice, more like a shriek of forced laughter than anything else. I thought at first he was amused at something, possibly at my personal appearance. The Chinese guide said it was their way of singing—a somewhat vague explanation. It was a noise I often heard afterwards among Tibetans, and is simply a means of calling to each other when distance makes a loud yell necessary to attract attention. It sounds a most extraordinary noise at first, but one soon gets accustomed to 000 it in Tibet. One of my Gurkha sepoys told me the people

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

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214 563 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953, quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

27. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25,'53, p3.
28. New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

gather around him wherever he goes. About 1,000 of these couriers were on duty in Szechwan Province in January 1955,[31] but there is no information available on how many such couriers there are altogether in Southwest China. 203

There are also popular science programs designed to educate the public in basic scientific knowledge. But in comparison with East and North China, this region is lagging behind in the development of this type of program, for it has yet to report the establishment of any "science education center."

D. Application and Effectiveness of the Press as a Propaganda Medium

Having thus examined the organization and operation of the Communist press in this region, let us see how the Communists have made use of the press for propaganda propaganda purposes, and if their effort has been successful. However, because the Communist experiment with the press in this region is still new and information on it is even more scarce than that of the other regions, our findings can hardly be expected to be too conclusive. At any rate the following observations on the characteristics of the Communist press in Southwest China are made with a view to providing some understanding of the problems involved. While some of these characteristics may tend to hamper the response of the people in the region to 204 208

31. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 26.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Discussions are held 講評書 *chiang p'ing shu*, generally in a tea shop or open courtyard, when some ancient character's merits and demerits are discussed, with a good deal of sarcasm and dramatic contortion; the speech is often lewd and the characters of many of the speakers are of the lowest; in fact many are libertines, with some wit and humour to cloak their wickedness. 521

A news vendor who carries a stool and books round with him is called 上馬冊冊 *shang ma ts'ê ts'ê*; he stands on the stool and sells his literature, which has a bearing on current events; his sign is a pair of chopsticks. 203

A news vendor of the yellow press is called 下馬 *hsia ma ts'ê ts'ê*. He travels round and carries a flag of yellow or sometimes white paper on which are written the latest sensations. He visits the towns and markets, and to this kind of individual many false rumours are to be traced. He stands on the ground as compared with the former who stands on a stool.

On the birthday of the goddess of Mercy Kuan-yin or other festival there are often mixed gatherings in the temples to hear the Buddhist doctrines preached. The crowds are often of the lowest type. 796

* * *

PURCHASE OF PROPERTY 田地買賣 *t'ien ti mai mai.*

THE middleman to find a purchaser first writes a *t'o yo* 託約 as an evidence of willingness to sell the property. In this deed the size of the house or the extent of the land offered for sale, and also the price wanted, must be stated. If the owner is at all an unreliable person he will probably be made to write a *yün yo* 允約 or a deed of willingness to sell, which he will have to sign in the presence of witnesses, lest he should turn round and blame the middlemen and get them into trouble. 425 432

The price should be fixed in the presence of the seller, purchaser and middlemen, 三面定價 *san mien ting chia*, but it is more commonly settled in the tea shop by the middlemen alone. After the price has been agreed upon,

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ta Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

278 757 and (2) by Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine in the National Yunnan University, Kunming. Dr. Shen has also been kind enough to secure for the author the aid of an old Chinese physician (trained in the traditional manner) in identifying certain drugs.[1] The results of this examination are given in the appendix to this paper.

Certain observations may be made on these prescriptions. First, in six out of eight prescriptions we find the item Lophanthus rugosus (Hue Hsiang) (about six to ten grams). This medicine is boiled with other ingredients and the juice thus obtained is drunk. According to both the old Chinese physician and the Codex of Chinese Drugs this medicine is good for stopping vomiting and for improving the digestive function. The latter volume further indicates that the drug is also good for stopping diarrhea abdominal pains, and cholera. The second thing to be observed is that one of the prescriptions which has been considered by one village as most effective contains one item only (Alumen usta or dehydrated potash alum) (composition, $K\ Al(SO_4)_2$ (see Part I of Appendix, Prescription No. 2).

Now, according to Manson's Tropical Diseases (edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935), one treatment of cholera is as follows:

"Kaolin, or bolus alba, as an intestinal astringent in large doses absorbs toxins, thus rendering them inert. It consists of Kaolin, 200 grams (7 oz.) in 400 cc (14 oz.) of water. This is a single dose, but if there is vomiting it may be repeated and sipped in small amounts at a time" (pp. 448-449) (Composition of Kaolin: $Al_2Si_2O_7 \cdot 2H_2O$).

Dr. F. P. Shen informs the author that dehydrated potash alum (alumen usta) if used in the proper manner may serve the same absorptive purpose. He suggests however that in the local prescription the quantity of dehydrated potash alum is rather small (3.1249 gms.) and its dilution in a quantity of boiling water or soup will rather defeat its purpose.

Third, as regards the question of absorption. In the list which gives names of drugs required in two or more of the collected prescriptions we may find that at least seven drugs have to do with absorption, while seven drugs have the property of stopping vomiting or diarrhea. In another prescription which is considered most effective by the local people seven out of fourteen drugs have to do with absorption and eight have to do with stopping vomiting and diarrhea. This means that these drugs would at least be partially effective in beating down cholera. Fourth, some prescriptions are, from the point of view of modern medicine, irrelevent to the desired objective while others are detrimental to the prospect of cure. One example of the latter is the first prescription given in Part I of the Appendix. This prescription, while giving Chlorodynum (which is regarded by the modern physician as effective), also insists on the opening up of finger tips to let out blood (which Dr. Shen has been kind enough to inform the author may cause bad infection and render any further treatment of the patient by serum ineffective because of embolism.)

203 278 757 A word must be devoted to an extra advice contained in one of the posters. This is a prescription which includes Alumen Usta as one among fifteen other drugs, to be ground into powder and inhaled through the nostrils as well as taken in water. At one end of the paper the advertiser gives the following:

[1] [See p. 52 -- Analyst]

"Those who are not sick ought to have anti-cholera injections, so as to prevent themselves from being infected." 203 278 757

The poster is lithographed and the advertiser says that his prescription was received from an "unworldly man" (usually a fairy) in the middle of the late Ch'ing Dynasty when a serious epidemic broke out in Kuei Chow Providence. He also says that his prescription is good for "72 kinds of Sa illness as well as for Sheep-wool Sa, Wen, Spasmatic feet Sa, etc." He calls the present epidemic Sa, but in his extra advice to people not yet attacked he uses the modern term Huo Lan (translation for the term cholera). He signs himself, "An old man of later happiness".

The author has not succeeded in finding out the composition of any of the ready-made cures in powder form, given freely to applicants. The stuff is to be inhaled through the nose or taken in water by mouth. These ready-made cures and the prescriptions are very popular. In Area E the author once met six or seven old officers of the prayer meeting who had in their possession some such powdered drugs given by one of the advertisers. They told the author that they inhaled a pinch of it from time to time as a precautionary measure. 757 278

The moral type of posters is usually long. It begins by stressing the importance of good deeds. Then it points out that the God of Wen has descended upon the people on the noon of the Fifth of the Fifth Moon to scrutinize their behavior and will give blessing to those who are good and disaster to those who are evil-hearted. One poster announces that the advice given in it was written in person by Kuan Kung, the Wary God of Wealth and a historical hero of the people (meaning that the words were given by the god when the latter was ritually invited). It says that those who offer incense, read scriptures and keep to vegetarian diet on the first and the fifteenth of every Moon will be free from disasters. In another section of the same poster the author of the poster says that he who after reading what has been stated in the poster will print another ten copies and disseminate them to the public will free his family from the epidemic and he who will print and disseminate 100 copies to the public will free his district from the epidemic; but he who after seeing the poster will do nothing about disseminating it or letting other people know about it will die of vomiting blood. 203 757

The reason for the trouble and expense given to such posters and charity in drugs is not complex. It is conceivable that the dispensary which gives out a special cure freely during the crisis may earn a name for itself of advantage to its later business transactions, but in a local community where people know each other intimately such a commercial technique is rather superfluous. The real reason, as far as the author has been able to ascertain, is verbalized in an exaggerated form in the last sentences of the poster just mentioned. Such charity is a kind of good; it goes on to one's "otherworldly" record and will be one more security on one's prosperity and health. This is clearly related in psychology to a fact mentioned in connection with the prayer meetings: There it has been made clear that in combating the epidemic, goodness of the heart and in deeds is essential. To this point indeed most posters allude in a way. In one poster the advertiser addresses the public as "Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters". It is clear that the epidemic has in a way drawn the people closer to each other and revived the communal feeling.

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The medical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end thatit is from "a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Ho and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The line hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long time line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with lime powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of lime powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved (12). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason - to clean up the area for gods - is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets; the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offender will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental
Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1942)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.P.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhea-causing food.

C. Modern Precautions

751 The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures[1] stated above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the
744 same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of pre-
625 cautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

751 The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private indi-
203 viduals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

751 The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the mis-
743 sionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities
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[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

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Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the <u>absolute</u> effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. H, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection; but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

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APPENDIX

Part I

Three Prescriptions Locally Regarded As Most Effective

(1) Notice to the Public.

The present epidemic is, of course, pre-ordained in our fate. The symptoms of all patients appear, however, to be the same. These are vomiting, diarrhea, spasm, etc. These symptoms are those of cholera (Hua Luan, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The onset of the illness is a matter of a few minutes, and doctors (either Chinese or Western trained) may not arrive in time. From my personal experience, when illness comes, the best thing to do is to drink one small bottle (or half a bottle) of Bi La Sui or Sheng Ling Sui (both are forms of chlorodynum). At the same time take several tens of Mr. Ma Po-liang's Cholera Pills (Sa Ch'i Wan) (composition not known) and grind them into powder form. Put this powder on the tip of the patient's tongue and help the patient to swallow it with some boiling hot water. In this way the patient's illness will be half gone. Then you need to prick the Sa (a traditional term for cholera) and let out blood. Take first a thin hemp chord to tie each of the patient's fingers at the last joint. Use a needle to open up the flesh just above the finger nails and make them bleed. All fingers must be so opened, one by one. When blood has flowed out you will be able to tell the prognosis of the patient. If the blood is dark and thick the prognosis is bad. If the blood is fresh and thin the power of the illness is already slackening. In this way I cured my wife. I don't dare to be selfish and keep such a good cure to myself and have therefore decided to offer it to the public. I hope that this notice will receive the attention of all. It will be advisable for each family to purchase some of the aforementioned kinds of medicine (both liquid and pills) to prepare for a possible emergency. If there are poor people who cannot afford to buy such medicine they may come to my house, and I shall present them with some of the medicine. This is only an expression of a good will on my part. This notice is hereby respectfully presented to Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters, with many best wishes for their health, by,

Signed
(The 20th of the 4th Moon,
Lunar Calendar).

(2) Dehydrated potash alum (Alumen usta), one tenth of a Chien (about 3.1249 gms.), mix in boiling soup or water and drink; will cure instantly. Must not take rice or rice-water, or ginger. If one of these prohibitions is violated the patient will be hopeless.

From the famous physician in the army (not dated)

(3) Good prescription for emergency.
For vomiting, diarrhea, convulsion and cholera, the patient ought at once to drink the juice from boiling Elsholtria Patrini Garcke (Latin) (Hsiang Hsu, Chinese). If the symptoms are augmented by fever and perspiration, add Lophanthus Rugosus (Hua Hsiang) to the boiling mixture.

(Neither signed nor dated)

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798 Apparently this organization has had only limited
795 success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2
797 per cent went over to the "reform church";
779 many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

798 From October 1952 on there was less
797 persecution of Catholics, although between
January 1951 and November 1953 the number
779 of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

797 Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy
797 than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another
204 index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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of the region had a total of 9 periodicals, while the province of Hopei alone had 40.[71] The following table indicates the number of Catholics and the distribution of Catholic centers in the Southwest:[72]

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71. Cf. R. Lowenthal, The Religious Periodical Press in China, Peking, 1940, p. 8.

72. Figures on Catholics are from Annuaire des missions catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939. Distribution of Catholic centers from Monsterleet, pp. 16-17.

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798 regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of
797 the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of the church in China is dark indeed.

204 Southwest China was a relatively late
797 and underdeveloped field of missionary effort; it suffered from the tendency of Protestant missions to concentrate in the coastal and easily accessible provinces. The distribution of Protestant periodicals serves to illustrate this fact. Between 1914 and 1937, 18 Protestant journals were established in the southwestern provinces (none in Kweichow). During the same period 124 were started in Kiangsu -- most of them probably in Shanghai -- and 115 in Kwangtung --
797 most of them probably in Canton. The following table shows the distribution of Protestants in the three provinces of the Southwest.[87]

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87. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages appear to be far too high and would yield a larger number of Protestants than the churches ever claimed.

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747 [204] activities have been in Shanghai.[16] Beginning in January 1952, the China Welfare Institute has published an international, propaganda-disseminating, bimonthly magazine, China Reconstructs, in the English language.

The Chinese People's National Committee for the Defense of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 in Peking, in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of this organization is also Soong Ching-ling. The policy of this committee, apart from the promotion of child welfare, was defined as anti-imperialisism and the defense of world peace.[17]

A group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association in 1948. The Communist regime brought this organization under their control and then moved it to Peking in 1951. In August 1953, a conference of the workers was called, and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. It is reported that tuberculosis prevention units all over the country are affiliated with this organization.[18]

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16. Ibid., pp. 397-398; Relief Work, pp. 8 - 9.
17. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 260-61.
18. Ibid., p. 398; Relief Work, pp.8-9.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. SCOPE OF DISCUSSION

208 In Communist China, public information lays a heavy stress on propaganda and education. As is true of all Communist countries, the Chinese People's Republic is guided by the inviolable principle that all facts and issues must be selected and interpreted in the light of Marxist theories and whatever the current Party line dictates. Limited by source materials of a regional character, the following discussion on public information and propaganda in Southwest China will attempt to cover only the basic facts about the formal structure, operations, and government control of the principal media of mass communication in the region. Wherever possible, exemplary cases in each medium will be included.

II. PRESS

A. News Services

204 Before the Communists occupied the Southwest China Region, the nationalist government-operated Central News Agency played a leading part in supplying the newspapers in this area with materials. Services of foreign press associations were available. Dispatches from such

204 major institutions as the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Reuters of England, Agence France, and Tass frequently appeared in local newspapers. Until shortly before the Communist offensive against the Nationalist bastion of Szechwan Province towards the end of 1949, the Chinese Communist official outlet, the New China News Agency, was also operating in Chungking, Chengtu, and a few other large cities in this region. This last news service was subject to varying degrees of government suppression as the Nationalist-Communist conflict blew hot and cold throughout World War II and subsequent years.

Immediately upon the occupation of Southwest China, the Communists moved to expand the New China News Agency. The Kuomintang Central News Agency went out of business. One after another, American and European news service representatives packed up and left. Within months the New China News Agency became the sole news-gathering agency in this region. Under the direct control of the Information Administration in Peking, this Communist news agency established its branches in both military and civil subdivisions:

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Table 1. Hierarchy of the New China News Agency */

	Branch Headquarters	Branch Office	Section	Correspondence Center	Liaison Office
Civil	Region	Province	Municipal	Hsien	Hsiang
Military	Field Army Corps	Army	Regiment	Battalion	Company

*/ Jen Chung, "Lun Chung-kung Ti Hsin-wen Kung-tso" ["The Chinese Communist Press"], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 29, 1954, pp. 7-9.

•204 Although the organization of the New China News Agency is essentially the same in all regions, in Southwest China the agency's branches attached to the armed forces are most extensively developed. A large number of troops have been engaged in road building in western Szechwan Province (former Sikang Province) and Tibet, and publicity given the accomplishments of the People's Liberation Army in developing the long-neglected land of Southwest China will not only help to sustain the soldiers' morale but will give support to Peking's theory of national reconstruction, Soviet-styled.

The organization of the New China News Agency is highly centralized. Through the chain of command shown in Table 1, every staff member is placed under rigid government and Party control. Careful selection of correspondents is only the first step the agency adopts to ensure the allegiance of its employees to the government and the Party. According to some anti-Communist sources, correspondents must submit ideas and outlines for approval before writing them. The finished articles go through another thorough screening before they are released. [1]

Another news agency, the China News Service was established in October 1952, with branches in Southwest China. The head of this agency, Chin Chung-hua, was a member of the East China Military and Political Committee (supreme authority in this region until 1954) and

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1. Jen Chung, "Chung-kung Pao-chih Ti Nei-yung Chi An-p'ai" ["The Contents and Formats of the Chinese Communist Newspapers"] , ibid. No. 71, May 10, 1954, pp. 14-15.

204 vice-chairman of the Cultural Department under the committee. The agency serves as an interpreter of events in China for foreign consumption; its branches in this region are not active.

B. Newspapers

1. Pre-Communist Newspapers.

Compared with the North and East China regions, Southwest China had been slow in newspaper development until the early 1940's when the war against Japan caused many journalistic institutions and personnel to move from the coastal areas to the interior. No statistics are available on the number of newspapers and their circulations in the period before the Communist occupation. However, a survey of available files shows that there were at least forty-three newspapers in this region under the Nationalist Government. Their distribution was as follows:

Table 2. Newspapers in Southwest China

Place of Publication	Number
Szechwan Province	31
Kweichow Province	7
Yunnan Province	3
Sikang Province	2
Total	43

*/ Compiled from the collection at the Hoover Library, Stanford University.

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With few exceptions, the newspapers listed in Table 2 were in operation during 1946-47. Of the thirty-one papers published in Szechwan, seventeen were in the city of Chungking and eleven in Chengtu. Six of the Kweichow papers were printed in the provincial capital of Kweiyang. The two papers in Sikang Province were published in Hsi-ch'ang, which was incorporated into Szechwan in July 1955. Only five of these papers can be identified as Nationalist Party organs, and only one was a Communist organ per se. Some were irregularly published periodicals, with the appearance of tabloid newspapers. Since these newspapers formed the basis for the development of the Communist daily press, a representative sampling is selected for brief review.

a) Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] . This was one of the largest newspapers in pre-Communist China, with branches in several large cities in China. Labeled "the New York Times of China," it at one time appeared under the masthead, L'Impartial. During and immediately after World War II, this daily offered conservative and impartial news coverage, reflecting its editorial policy. In 1946, when Wang Wen-pin succeeded Ts'ao Ku-ping as published, L' Impartial was dropped from its masthead and Ta-kung Pao remained. This newspaper was printed in Chungking, China's capital during World War II. A table, giving a percentage breakdown of contents of a typical issue in January 1949, is included to show the coverage offered by the Ta-kung Pao, before the Communists began to use it as a medium of propaganda.

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Table 3. Contents of Ta-kung Pao (January 1949) */

Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorial	3.5
Foreign News	6.2
National News	13.3
Regional News	12.1
Local News	3.4
Features	4.7
Letters to editor	2.3
Graphic materials	0.0
Advertising	50.0
Market news	4.5

*/ Compiled from files at Hoover Library

The Ta-kung Pao regularly published four pages a day; the size of the page was 14' x 20', divided into fourteen horizontal columns, using for the text "new No. 5" type, about one-fourth the size of the type used in the Chinese dailies now published in America. Among all the dailies available in Southwest China during World War II, this paper probably gave the most thorough news coverage, printing news briefs compiled from the major wire services. Toward the end of 1948, the paper was critical of the Kuomintang economic policy, but continued to support the government in its fight against the Communists. After the

204 Communist occupation of Southwest China, the Ta-kung Pao in Chungking was suspended, but its branches carried on in those cities unoccupied by the Communists.

Most of the major dailies in this region during World War II imitated the physical appearance of the Ta-kung Pao.

b) Kuei-chou Shang-pao. The Kweichow Commercial Daily copied the format of the Ta-kung Pao. Established in 1940, it remained the leading daily in Kweichow Province until 1949. Its editorial policy was conservative, and it put strong emphasis on economic and commercial news. Editor Lai Yung-ch'u retired from publishing immediately after the Communists came to power and has not been heard of since.

c) Tien-tung Jih-pao. The Eastern Yunnan Daily, published in Chao-t'ung, is a typical example of the smaller tabloid which flourished in Southwest China prior to the Communist conquest. Most of these tabloids were predominantly local in character, and a large segment of the reading public in outlying districts relied on them for news of local interest. A table, giving a percentage breakdown of contents of a typical issue in May 1947, is included to show the coverage offered by the Tien-tung Jih-pao before the Communists appeared.

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Table 4. Contents of Tien-tung Jih-pao (May 1947)*

Type of Material	Percentage
Editorial	6
Foreign News	7
National News	13
Local news	19
Features	25
Commercial News	5
Advertising	25

*/ Compiled from files at the Hoover Library

The Tien-tung Jih -pao was a four-page paper, 13' x 9'. For a tabloid of this kind, the space devoted to foreign news offered unusually broad coverage and increased its appeal to readers of varying educational backgrounds. The feature columns, as a rule, contained literary works, a common characteristic of many pre-Communist papers. The editorials paid particular attention to local political matters, the efficiency of the local government, and the organization of local groups, with strong anti-Communist overtones. Editor Li Ping-ch'ang has not appeared on the regional political scene since 1949. It is not known if the paper continues in operation.

2. Communist Newspapers

a) Development and Control

204 The occupation of Southwest China was not complete until the end of 1949 when the evacuation of the Nationalists gave the Communists control of this region. The only daily published by the Communists, Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], with headquarters in Chungking, has ceased publication. If there were clandestine pro-Communist papers in this region, they had difficulty in publishing under strict surveillance. Immediately after the Communists took over the administration of this region, an organized effort was made to "convert" the independent papers to Communism and expand official Party organs. By July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee (the supreme authority in this region at that time), was in a position to claim success. He urged newspaper publishers to "face reality, get closer to the masses, and strengthen their criticism and self-criticism work." [2] Ch'u reported that as of July 1950, seven government-operated newspapers were being published in this region. Four of these were at the administrative level (under province but above hsien) and two were designed for the workers exclusively. The circulation of the seven papers

2. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports] , Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1003.

totaled 90,000. In addition the armed forces units 204 stationed in this region published their own papers, and six newspapers, with a total circulation of about 20,000, were operated by private interests.[3] The total circulation of the newspapers in Southwest China amounted to 193,000. There was a daily paper for one out of every 400 persons in Southwest China in 1950.

An incomplete survey in August 1951 showed that thirty-five papers were in operation on the administrative level, and in northern and southern Szechwan Province alone, fifty-four hsien level newspapers were being published. The total circulation figure had jumped from under 200,000 persons in Southwest China in 1951 to over 450,000. There was a daily paper for one out of every 200 individuals at that time. There were also privately published newspaper not forced to suspend operations, and these non-government newspapers[4] had a total circulation of about 20,000.

By September 1952, the total number of newspapers in this region had increased to 234, of which 18 were at the regional and provincial levels,

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3. Ibid., p. 1002.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951.

204 33 at the administrative level, and 183 at the hsien level. The aggregate circulation figure for all the regional and provincial papers was 600,000; no information on the circulation of the other 216 papers is available.[5] It is not certain whether these figures included any non-government organ, but it is presumed that no "independent" voices existed in the midst of a government-controlled press.

204 563 The inauguration of a Tibetan-language newspaper on June 10, 1953 in northern Szechwan may prove to be of far-reaching significance. Named Min-chiang Pao [Min River Daily], this paper is intended for the Tibetan minority population inhabiting the upper reaches of the Min River. The first issue of the paper appeared in tabloid form, and carrying a portrait of Mao Tse-tung and messages from officials of the Tibetan Autonomous Area in Szechwan Province. The paper was to appear every five days.[6] Establishment of minority-language newspapers is in line with Peking's policy toward the non-Chinese speaking ethnic groups on the Mainland. Unfortunately no sample of this paper is available for analysis.

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5. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

6. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 593, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 19, 1953, p. 20.

204 In January 1954, there were eight newspapers on the administrative district level in Szechwan Province alone. Six of these were intended to serve the farming population and one was the above-mentioned Min River Daily. The total circulation of these papers was about 80,000. Thirty-six papers were published at mining centers and factories near Chungking, where a number of others were published.[7] The exact number of hsien newspapers printed in this province are unknown.

The total number of newspapers published [439] in Southwest China today are unknown. The Communists began tightening their control on export of newspapers in the winter of 1951. By the spring of 1953, all but a few official and national newspapers were placed on the contraband list. Since then it has been extremely difficult to secure accurate statistics on the press in any region of China. Although the over-all policy of the regime has been to expand newspaper publishing, with the ultimate goal of a newspaper at each political level from the province to the village, there have been modifications in the execution of this policy during the past six years. Under the pretext of economy, some papers have been merged, and some new periodicals have been inaugurated. If the total national figures are any indication, the number of newspapers published currently in Southwest China is about

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7. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, January 17, 1954.

204 the same as in 1952.[8]

As to the general line adopted by the editors of these newspapers, the Communist press has made it clear in a statement on the role played by the newspapers in Southwest China: "Gradually the papers on the administrative district level have become the tool with which local party cadres and those at industrial centers keep contact with and educate the masses.[9]

Among the twenty-eight major newspapers of Mainland China listed in the 1955 People's Handbook, the following four are in Southwest China:

Table 5. Major Newspapers in Southwest China (1955) *

Name	Place of Publication
Ssu-ch'uan Jih-pao [Szechwan Daily]	Chengtu
Yun-nan Jih-pao [Yunnan Daily]	Kunming
Hsin-ch'ien Jih-pao [New Kweichow Daily]	Kweiyang
Hsi-k'ang Jih-pao [Sikang Daily]	Ya-nan

*/ People's Handbook, 1955, p. 553.

8. There were 276 newspapers at administrative district level in China in 1952. In 1953, the figure dropped to 260. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 554.

9. People's Daily, Peking, January 17, 1954.

204 None of the papers in Table 5 are available for this investigation. However, one of the most influential Party newspapers, New China Daily, was exported until July 1953. It was first published in Chungking in 1938, when the Nationalists and Communists joined in the "united front" against Japan, and continued in operation until 1947 when the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists brought about its suspension. In December 1949, it resumed publication and functioned as the official organ of the Communist Party in Southwest China until its dissolution sometimes after 1953 when the Szechwan Daily succeeded it as the official organ for the entire region.[10] After the abolition of the "greater administrative regions" in the summer of 1954, the People's Daily (the Pravda of China), published in Peking, was reprinted in Southwest China and served as the leading Party organ for this region as well as for the entire country.

b) Contents and Readership

A table giving an average percentage breakdown of contents of typical issues of the New China Daily is included to show the coverage offered.

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10. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan under Communist Rule], Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, January 24, 1954, p. 27.

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Table 6. Content of the New China Daily (June-July 1953) */

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Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorial	5.6
Foreign news	14.3
National news	16.2
Regional news	25.1
Local news	4.7
Features	18.7
Letters to the editor	3.5
Graphic materials	1.2
Advertising	9.9
Market news	0.8

*/ Compiled from the file at the Hoover Library

The editorials in the New China Daily are often reports from the People's Daily in Peking. They are long-winded harangues on such current subjects as "Open the Way to a Peaceful Settlement in Korea" (June 10, 1953, p. 1), and "Strive to Better Raise Our Younger Generation" (June 2, 1953, p. 1). The paper itself also prints shorter editorial comment; for example, "A Positive Attitude Should Be Adopted toward the Workers' Rationalization Suggestions" (June 9, 1953, p. 2), which appears side by side with a news item depicting how a worker's suggestion to increase efficiency was ignored. This same news item also

204 serves as an illustration of how a local issue is treated by the New China Daily, which, as a rule, carries very few local items.

In the above issues of this newspaper, most of the foreign news items deal with the peace talks in Korea. In the national and regional news columns, economic reconstruction and preparation for the imminent general election (which took place in 1954) are central themes. It is interesting to point out that the news items often resemble feature stories. Both are usually lengthy and contain much editorializing. Even the headlines are long and opinionating statements. However, compared with many major newspapers in other regions the New China Daily appears to be more carefully edited and few phrases directly glorifying Mao Tse-tung and his regime have found their way into the headlines. In the news items, the traditional western journalist's "what-where-when-how" approach is missing.

There is no society column in the New China Daily of Chungking, unless the commencement speech at the local party cadres school, or the report on the proceedings at a local factory mass meeting can be so considered. There is no sports page; news items having any bearing on physical education are either speeches by the Director of the Physical Education Department or brief statistical summaries of athletic events without any "color material." Crime and murder news is positively ruled out. Fires and other disasters appear in the paper only when they contain possible "sabotage" angles to be exploited

for propaganda effect. What little space allocated to advertising is taken up by government agencies' announcements and few commercial classified advertisements. Display advertisements, however modest, are a rare item. 204

The potential of graphic materials is being fully exploited within the paper's physical limitations which, at least in 1953, did not allow elaborate illustrations. Photographs are used. In the June 2, 1953 issue, for instance, seven pictures appear on different pages, all contributing to the timely occasion of Children's Day. The captions are so phrased as to depict the "Life of Lucky Children in the Mao Tse-tung Era."

The "letters to the editor" column is a common feature for amny newspapers on the China Mainland. Sometimes the New China Daily carries a digest of several letters on the same subject; at other times the paper prefaces several letters on the same subject with a critical analysis or reply; at still other times the paper merely prints its editorial reply without reproducing the letters. None of the criticisms touch upon the basic policy of the Communists. If a letter is critical of a particular government agency, the concerned agency is given space to reply in a subsequent issue. Such criticism on occasion can constitute a basis for action on a high level to correct the condition criticized. Once the Southwest Construction Bureau was forced to adopt a measure to improve its personnel training program as a result of a critical letter printed in the New China Daily.[11]

11. New China Daily, Chungking, May 28, 1953, p.2.

204 The New China Daily was regularly published in four pages, size 14" x 20", divided into seven horizontal columns. The text was printed with old "size No. 5" type, which was slightly larger than the new "size No. 5" type used in pre-Communist press. Typographically, the New China Daily was an improvement over its predecessors before 1949 in this region. An interesting feature in the make-up of this paper was the two ear-boxes on the front page. The left ear was always a digest of the day's important news, and the right ear was occupied by a photograph showing, in most cases, a construction project.

It is possible that most of the larger newspapers in Southwest China today are fashioned after the New China Daily. Some of the hsien newspapers presumably are printed in the tabloid form, of which no sample is available. However, one may study the physical appearance of the tabloids described in the foregoing sections of this discussion to derive an approximate picture of what may be in circulation now in Southwest China.

c) Distribution and Sales

Subscriptions to the major newspapers in Southwest China are handled through either the local post offices or the China Publications Distribution Company, a government-supervised organization, which has branches throughout Mainland China. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of allowing the smaller local papers to manage their own subscriptions and sales. If subscribed through the post office,

204 the paper is delivered together with the mail. Street sale constitutes a part of the distribution, through the existing book stores and sidewalk stands which will be discussed in the section "Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books." There is no evidence of news hawkers or delivery boys who, before 1949, used to roam the streets in Southwest China.

The circulation figures of the newspapers and methods of distribution are misleading if one attempts to use them to gauge the readership of the press in Southwest China. Each subscription and each copy purchased on the street may be shared by dozens of readers. Most of the schools include newspaper reading in their regular curricula. Factories and government offices organize newspaper reading and discussion groups. The newspapers all run "social service departments" to provide guidance for these reading groups. The New China Daily particularly has a reputation for its activities in fostering these groups. The paper sends news analysts to preside at reading sessions. In outlying areas where the public is mostly illiterate, the news analyst reads and explains the content of the paper to his audience. He also works in collaboration with the "propaganda officers" and "radio receiving officers" who are responsible for putting out blackboard or wall newspapers.

The street sale price of the New China Daily in 1953 was JMP 600. This was the price for five to ten ounces of rice, or three ounces of pork at that time. The government makes an effort

204 to keep down the price of all publications so that they can be more readily available to larger numbers of readers. At the same time, Communist authorities in Southwest China are following the national practice of making the newspapers self-supporting. The reason of the move is not only economy, but the belief that if the papers are sufficiently "popularized," they will have enough support from the masses, making government subsidy unnecessary. By October 1951, official reports showed that except three dailies -- the North Szechwan, South Szechwan, Sikang -- all the newspapers in this region had been paying their own bills.[12]

C. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

1. Reorganization of Publication and Distribution

204 214 In pre-Communist days, publication of magazines and printing of books were, in most cases, two separate enterprises. Local magazines were operated by private groups and printed in local printing plants found in such larger cities as Chengtu and Chungking in Szechwan Province, Kunming in Yunnan Province, and Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. National magazines were distributed through local book stores. There was little book printing done in this region until the Sino-Japanese war when many eastern China publishers moved west. Many national book publishers had branches in Southwest China. Most notable of these were the Commercial Press, and the Chung-hua, Shih-chieh, K'ai-ming, Sheng-

12. New China Daily, Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 huo, Erh-t'ung, and Cheng-chung bookstores.
214 Shortly before the Sino-Japanese war started, the Communist New China Bookstore also began to establish branch outlets in this region.

214 After 1949, the Communist policy for the publishing industry was "centralization and specialization." Publishing facilities were centralized, and each consolidated firm was required to specialize in one field of publication. National distributors were established to handle the sales. With publication and distribution clearly divided, the Communists believed that it would then become possible to control the entire publishing industry by means of a rigid quota system. In Southwest China, control of publication and distribution rested with the Cultural and Educational Mission. Extensive merging eliminated the majority of small publishers. The official New China Bookstore played a leading part in reorganizing the larger ones. The existing branches of formerly independent national publishers followed the policies of their headquarters in North and East China and effected a complete overhaul of management and personnel policies. Most of these publishing houses entered into partnership with government interests. By July 1950, the New China Bookstore already had in this region seven branch offices and thirty-two stores, all directly responsible to their regional headquarters in Chungking.[13] The number of branch stores of this firm increased rapidly to sixty-two in this region

13. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1002.

214 The figures in Table 8 are all based on Communist claims, and they have to be examined with caution as exaggerations may be involved. One thing does emerge quite clearly from them. The Communists in Southwest China are relaying on national publishers to supply books, and official attention is concentrated on distribution. The figures for "number of copies distributed" in Table 8, therefore, do not reflect the quantity of books and magazines "printed" in Southwest China; a good portion of the items sold in this region are apparently shipped in from North or East China. Some sources even say that "no major publishers in this area are permitted separately to publish any books."[21] While this may mean that most of the publishers in Southwest China are reprinting books prepared by national publishers, it does not preclude the possibility of some publishers still continuing to print items of regional interest with government approval. A survey of available sources reveals that the following regional publications were available in Southwest China in 1953:

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21. Szechwan under Communist Rule, loc.cit., (p. 27).

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

Table 9. Major Regional Magazines Advertised in Southwest China (1953) */

Name	Type	Publisher	Price
Hsi-nan Wen-i [Southwest Literature]	Monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	JMP $2,500
Hsi-nan Fu-nü [Southwest Women]	Monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	- - -
Hsi-nan Ch'ing-nien [Southwest Youth]	Biweekly	Southwest Youth Publ. Co.	JMP $1,300
Ta-chung Hua-pao [Popular Pictorial]	Semi-monthly	- - -	JMP $700
Shuo-ku Ch'ang-chin [Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today]	Semi-monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	- - -

*/ Compiled from New China Daily, Chungking, January 1953 issues.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
~~AF 16~~

In addition to those listed in Table 9, there were undoubtedly many more lesser regional magazines which failed to compete for attention in a regional newspaper's advertising columns. On the other hand, many major national magazines were listed, such as People's Pictorial, New Reconstruction, Study, and the Chinese version of For A Lasting Peace and For A People's Democracy. The prices listed in Table 9 may be compared with the price for rice, about JMP$700 a pound, and pork, about JMP$2,850 a pound, in 1953 in Chungking.

3. Contents and Readership

Textbook distributors, in the Southwest China Region, have been doing a profitable business. Next to textbooks, popular literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets have been and resumably still are easiest items to sell.[22] One of the typical booklets is the "March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet," published by the Southwest People's Publishing Company in 1952.[23] It

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22. A national survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped the list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol.I, No. 5, Peking, March 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature, with 1673 titles, ranked first among all categories of books published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

23. T'a-p'o Hsüeh-shan Chin-chün Hsi-ts'ang [March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet], Chungking, Hsi-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952.

204 Clues to the contents of the magazines in this region are found in their titles which often specificy the reader groups for which the publications are intended. The titles of the articles are also self-explanatory. The "Good News for Our Mother Country," in Southwest Literature, No. 13, eulogizes the achievements of Communist China; the "Hero's Blood Nurtures Flowers of Victory" in Southwest Women, No. 19, praises patriotism of the Chinese dead on Korean battlefields, thus giving consolation to their widows who may be reading this magazine at home. The "Sing and Cheer for 1953" in Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today, No. 24, recounts Communist success in 1952 and entertains a rosy prospect for the new year. The Popular Pictorial in its first 1953 issue is loaded with news photographs, showing, of course, the promising side of every subject, and "New Year" paintings designed for the readers to clip off and use for decorative purposes. These paintings are a good propaganda medium of which a fuller discussion is presented in the chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions."

214 207 Are the people in Southwest China reading these books and pamphlets? According to Table 8, about one out of four persons during the first half of 1951; and about one out of two persons bought three copies during the period of July 1951 to September 1952. This is better than the records available for both Central-South and East China for the same periods. (In Central-South China,

gather around him wherever he goes. About 1,000 of these couriers were on duty in Szechwan Province in January 1955,[31] but there is no information available on how many such couriers there are altogether in Southwest China. 203

There are also popular science programs designed to educate the public in basic scientific knowledge. But in comparison with East and North China, this region is lagging behind in the development of this type of program, for it has yet to report the establishment of any "science education center."

D. Application and Effectiveness of the Press as a Propaganda Medium

Having thus examined the organization and operation of the Communist press in this region, let us see how the Communists have made use of the press for propaganda propaganda purposes, and if their effort has been successful. However, because the Communist experiment with the press in this region is still new and information on it is even more scarce than that of the other regions, our findings can hardly be expected to be too conclusive. At any rate the following observations on the characteristics of the Communist press in Southwest China are made with a view to providing some understanding of the problems involved. While some of these characteristics may tend to hamper the response of the people in the region to 204 208

31. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 26.

204 the press operated by the Communists, others
208 may enhance it.

1. As a part of their reorganization of the press, the Communists in Southwest China have started a concerted drive to "reform" the thought of the newspapermen. A salvo is fired at the traditional beliefs of the journalists, and a new professional standard established. The new standard is to report the facts selected and interpreted for the sole purpose of educating the readers to support government policy. As a result, the body of information the public receives via the newspapers is restricted to only what the government deems fit for public consumption. The same standard applies to magazines, books and other publications. Writers are subject to the same screening and indoctrination. Those who have failed to be converted simply have to give up writing as a profession.

Although in this region there has been no incident involving severe penalty meted out to politically "undesirable" writers, the execution of six journalists in Canton in 1951 has produced far-reaching repercussions and will remain as a warning to those who tend to deviate from the official party line. Subsequent literary purges that time and again jolted the literary circles in China will also contribute to the submissiveness of writers. (For a more detailed discussion on literary purges, see chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions.") The response of the press to every turn of the political wind is instantaneous and done with amazing efficiency.

204 As soon as Peking decides to weed out wavering
208 elements from the party ranks, regional newspapers will pick up the message and splash it all over their front pages. The next day local papers will follow suit. In the course of a week pamphlets harping on the same theme will flood the book market. Throughout the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, the "Resist-America-Air-Korea Movement, the "Anti-American-German-Warfare" Movement, and the "Oppose American Effort to Revive Japanese Militarism" Movement, the press in Southwest China answered the call as quickly as the newspapers and pamphlets in any other regions of China.

2. The Communists are always keenly aware of the importance of making newspapers easy to swallow for the masses. Early in their underground days they made a motto of O. A. Piatnitskii's utterance that "revolutionary newspapers must be written in plain and popular language so that they can be understood by the masses."[32] In Southwest China, where public education has been even less developed than in North or East China, the newspapers catering to uneducated and semi-educated readers are making a special effort to carry out the long-established policy of "explaining the political problems in the simplest possible terms."[33]

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32. A translation of this article appears in Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], Jan.15,1932. Osip Aronovich Piatnitskii, who wrote such standard treatises on Communist propaganda and agitation as the World Economic Crisis: the Revolutionary Upsurge

[continued next page]

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208 Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, took pride in announcing in 1951 that this policy was observed in the development of the southwestern press. Not only did the newspapers strive to move closer to the masses, Ch'u said, but the books published also went more than half-way to meet the needs of workers, farmers, and soldiers.[34] In most of the publications, local expressions and trade jargons are freely adopted. To a person trained in classical Chinese and accustomed to reading the serious writing of pre-Communist days, the new language of the Communist press would sound strange if not unintelligible. Yet the new language style, accentuated by the occasional use of words and expressions of minority-languages, could possibly increase the popular appeal of the newspapers. One other factor that contributes to the effectiveness of the press as a whole is the Communist drive to eliminate illiteracy. In the reading classes, mimeographed news bulletins, wall newspapers, and other handy means of news communication are employed. Although these

[32. continued] and the Tasks of the Communist Parties, and World Communists in Action, was idolized by the Chinese Bolsheviks in the early 1930's.

33. Red Flag, March 10, 1932.

34. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 smaller papers are not as elaborate as the New
208 China Daily of Chungking, they contain the same basic political messages in boiled-down versions. This seems to coincide with Lenin's theory that an "agitator uses a few words to present a single idea." [35] Anybody studying the Communist press at work will do well to remember the enticement to a semi-illiterate person of a printed message he vaguely understands. He will want to read it again and again until he feels that he has understood it fully. The ability to read has always been highly treasured in China. (See chapters on "Family" and "Social Structure.") Thus, Communist propaganda has been contributing a great deal to whetting the intellectual appetite of the semi-illiterate class in this region as a whole.

3. It would be misleading to compare the Chinese Communist press with the U. S. press and to judge the former's effectiveness accordingly. To begin with, the Chinese Communist press has never permeated community life to the same degree that the U. S. press has. Except for a small section of China's urban population, no Chinese will feel that he has missed something if he has no morning paper to read at the breakfast table. However, it may be said that the Communists in this region are helping the people to cultivate a newspaper reading habit by means

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35. David Shub, Lenin, New York, The American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1954, p. 31.

204 of organizing news paper reading groups and
208 other encouragements. The reading of newspapers or having newspapers read and explained to him is exciting to the average peasant on a Szechwan farm or in the western Yunnan mountains. Since he has no previous experience which he can compare with the present one, he will hardly know what else there is to be desired in a newspaper other than what he finds there. Compared with North and East China, the Southwest has an even smaller sophisticated population. To the unsophisticated, the press in Southwest China is conveying a good deal of new information.

4. While the Communists are feeding the public with their diatribes, using the press as a spoon, they are also bringing to the public a considerable amount of much-needed rudimentary knowledge on the natural sciences, public health, and sanitation. This may not particularly be true of the New China Daily because it has as its primary mission the interpretation of government policy to the public. But as an established policy, the Communists have been assigning local papers the duty of carrying special columns devoted to various popular sciences and technical subjects suitable for their readers. In addition, there is at least one magazine for each of the population segments in Southwest China; for youths there is the Southwest Youth Biweekly; for women, the Southwest Women Monthly; for mechanical workers, the Mechanical Worker, etc. For each periodical on a certain subject, there are dozens of pamphlets published every year to reach readers of varying

204 degrees of education. The propaganda angle in
208 most of these publications is obvious. Even the most technical treatises do not neglect to contrast the present with the past. The past is treated with disdain and its shortcomings are blamed on the "reactionary Kuomintang" or "American imperialism." The present, however, is praised and excessive credit is given to Mao Tse-tung or Russia.

5. Another general criticism voiced by anti-Communist elements is that the newspaper in Communist China as a whole contains very little timely news. With the Communist system of censorship and double-checking, news dispatches are often delayed before they reach the press. However, it must be noted that lack of promptness in reporting news may not seriously impair the effectiveness of the controlled press in South China as a medium of propaganda; many of the readers are unsophisticated, and to them the Communist press, regardless of its content, possesses a great appeal because it is something new and exciting.

6. Two developments may impair the effectiveness of the press in Southwest China. One is the lavish use of statistical data to support or refute an issue. Although so far no gross inaccuracies have been discovered in the major newspapers here, cases involving inaccurate reporting have

204 208 been exposed in the Central-South China press.[36] Bent on propagandizing as it does, the Southwest China press is always faced with the danger of carrying propaganda too far. As the reader in time becomes more sophisticated, inaccurate reports will destroy his confidence in the press. The Communists claim that they are trying to be careful. They have even gone so far as to standardize the usage of punctuation marks, something which has never attracted the attention of the Chinese press.[37] The other development is the action taken by the Communists in Southwest China in response to a Peking order to restrict the circulation of local newspapers to their own respective districts only.[38] According to anti-Communists sources, this move is designed to "hide the deplorable conditions of one locality from the knowledge of those in another locality." The Communists explain it on the grounds of economy and planned distribution. Whatever the true reason is, this move will, in the long run, tend to impair the effectiveness of the press when newspapers cannot freely circulate from one place to another. Books and pamphlets in this region seem to be free from this restriction.

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36. The expose of inaccuracy in the New Hunan Daily, a major regional paper in Central-South China, was printed in Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 22, 1954.

37. People's Daily, Peking, September 26, 1951.

38. Central News Agency dispatch quoted in Review of Hong Kong Chinese Press, No. 174, American Consulate-General, Sept. 19-20, 1953.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Crossey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the new scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient
178 ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But
743 in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds,
871 one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely
492 known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected
205 with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

631 officials who live at Yün-nan Fu, viz.: the Fan-t'ai or treasurer, the Nieh-t'ai or provincial judge, the Liang-tao or grain-tax commissioner, and the Yen-tao or salt commissioner. These four with the Viceroy form a board to settle important matters.

701 The chief military authority in Yün-nan is the T'i-t'ai or provincial commander-in-chief, whose residence is not at the capital, but at Ta-li Fu. Under him are five officers of the rank of Chên-t'ai or general who have their headquarters at different places in the province and command large districts which do not necessarily correspond with the civil administrative divisions. Under them again are various officers distributed all over the province, their rank corresponding to the size or importance of the garrisons they command. The lowest military officials are those known as hsün-kuan (pronounced *sin-kuan* in western Yün-nan). These men correspond nearly to our police sergeants, and are placed in some of the large villages with from four to eight men under them, in charge of a small circle.

The soldiers are divided into regulars and irregulars. The former are locally recruited men, armed with any sort of weapon, and kept up principally for police purposes. They are hardly expected to do any fighting. The irregulars or "braves" are the men who are sent out where there is any fighting to be done. Many of them are recruited from other provinces, those in Yün-nan coming principally from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. They are the only part of the military forces who can be called soldiers[1].

• 206 On the 15th January, the day after my arrival in T'êng-yüeh, a Chinese telegraph clerk who knew a few words of English came to see me, and told me that Mr Jensen, a Dane in the Chinese telegraph service, was expected to arrive at T'êng-yüeh that day, and asked me to change my quarters to the telegraph office. He also told me that P'êng, the Chinese official who had accompanied us in our search for the "gates" the previous year, was now in charge of the T'êng-yüeh telegraph office. He knew nothing whatever of telegraphy, but this is considered a matter of no importance: in fact in many of the Chinese

[1] This was written before the formation of the Lu Chün, the modern army of China.

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•206 telegraph offices there is installed as manager an expectant official for whom there is no better post going at the time. This manager has charge of the accounts of the office, and it is consequently unnecessary for the Chinese Government to give him much of a salary.

000 I went up with the clerk to see P'êng, who received me with great cordiality and invited me to breakfast. The breakfast I must say I did not altogether appreciate, though no doubt it was excellent from a Chinese point of view. The rice and cabbage were both eatable, but the lumps of fat pork were rather trying, and I had to go back to my tent and eat biscuits to take away the taste.

In the afternoon I moved up to the telegraph office, and soon afterwards Mr Jensen arrived. It was indeed a pleasure to meet a European and to talk English again. Mr Jensen had lived in Yün-nan since about 1886, and till the opening of Mêng-tzŭ as a treaty port in 1897 he remained the only non-missionary European in the province. He has in the course of his duties travelled many times along the main roads of Yün-nan, and many travellers who have passed through Yün-nan Fu are indebted to him for information and assistance, which he has been so ready to give. I should mention in justice to Mr Jensen that he was not responsible for the fact that the Yün-nan telegraph lines were out of order for nearly half the year. The upkeep of the line is in the hands of Chinese officials who embezzle the money which is intended for its repair. Mr Jensen was now on his way down to the Burmese frontier to connect the Chinese wire with our line at Nampaung.

I halted another day and went to call on the General, the chief civil magistrate, and on Yang, who had met me at Mien-ch'in. The magistrate had fever and I did not see him, but the General and his staff officer were both very civil, asked me to dinner, and returned my calls. The invitations to dinner I was rather glad to be able to excuse myself from on the plea of Mr Jensen's presence. Chinese dinners though well meant are rather a doubtful pleasure and last several hours.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 however, does not go down to it, but turns in a more westerly direction to Ning-kram, a Kachin village of the Maran tribe. The Kachins were somewhat surprised, as they naturally did not expect to see a European travelling about here, but I had no difficulty in convincing them that it was quite a friendly visit. The last time we had come across Kachins was on the 11th January, the day that we marched into Chan-hsi (San-si). This race is only met with near the Burmese border; they do not extend any distance into the interior of Yün-nan.

487 Our road the next day crossed the Nam Wan a mile or two above the head of the Möng Wan plain and then passed over another range of hills into the Ho-hsa valley. I had sent on to say I was coming and was most hospitably received by the sawbwa, who was then living in his old [136] capital at Se-kow. I found a good many spot-billed duck in the flooded rice fields here and also saw one snipe.

I could not spare the time to accept the sawbwa's invitation to stay on here a day or two, and started again the next morning, accompanied for part of the way by his eldest son. The range between the Nam Wan and the [137] Taping is crossed at 7,400 feet. Here I found a very nice sort of white wild strawberry growing, quite different from the tasteless red variety that one usually finds in this country. We descended into the Taping valley and crossed the river at Nawng-hsai ferry: it is 500 yards wide here, but at this time of the year not more than half the bed has any water in it and it is shallow enough to be fordable. We slept the night at the Shan monastery at Man-waing • [206] or Man-yün. Since my last visit, telegraphic communication had been established by Mr Jensen between T'êng-yüeh and the Burmese frontier, and I found a telegraph station established here and was once more in touch with the outside world.

On the 15th of May we reached the frontier fort of Nam-paung, and in two more marches did the 32 miles which separate this post from Bhamo.

Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu

000 to ang-pei T'ing, crossing the Yangtze by an iron chain bridge, thence turning south had recrossed that river by a ferry just above the mouth of the Ya-lung River and had come on through Ta-yao Hsien and Yao Chou.

361 Chên-nan Chou is considered one of the poorest towns in Yün-nan. It contains perhaps 500 houses, all very small. There is scarcely any trade in the place, and a great many Chên-nan men are obliged to hire themselves out as mule drivers in other places to get a livelihood.

Two easy days of level marching brought us to Ch'u-hsiung Fu, or Ts'u-hsiung Fu as it is invariably called in 186 Yün-nan. The people of this town are peculiarly con- 177 servative and exclusive. They have such an objection to strangers that no inn is allowed within the city walls, and 206 no one from any other town is allowed to establish a shop. When the telegraph line was first taken through here, there was much commotion, and so determined was the opposition of the townspeople to this new-fangled means of communication that the telegraph office had to be put inside the Colonel's yamen, the only place where it would be safe from destruction.

One might expect such a conservative place to be very anti-foreign. But such is not the case. We found the people civil and friendly, and the missionaries who visit the place occasionally get on well with them, though they had so far failed to establish a permanent mission station here.

000 We put up at an excellent inn in the suburbs, with a very large upper-storey room, which was just what we wanted, as we had much work to do in putting our maps together, while our evenings were fully occupied in getting the longitude from Bhamo by telegraph. We were not the only Europeans in Ch'u-hsiung at the time, for we found two members of the China Inland Mission, Mr Nicholls and Mr Saunders, on a temporary visit here. On the day after our arrival we had quite a dinner-party to celebrate the meeting of six Englishmen in the middle of Yün-nan.

We halted four or five days at Ch'u-hsiung and re-arranged our plans. Watts-Jones started again on the 15th March to continue the survey for the line on to Yün-nan Fu. Ker, accompanied by Ram Sabad, one of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 The next day, the 24th, we crossed the watershed between the Mekong and the Black River at 7,500 feet, and on Christmas Day reached Hsin-fu. The village contains only 30 houses, and is built on the Pa-pien Ho, a river 50 yards wide, which is the upper part of the Black River of Tong-king.

753 The height of Hsin-fu is only 3,400 feet, and the whole of this part of the Black River valley has a bad reputation
764 for unhealthiness. The Hsün-chien, the small official who is in charge of the district, had just died and was in his coffin in the room of the temple I was sleeping in, awaiting removal to his native place for burial.

132 Certainly I did not find the Black River valley a pleasant climate even at this time of year. At night the thermometer would go down to 40°, and there would be a nasty cold mist till the sun broke through about ten o'clock, when it would become decidedly hot. But in justice to this valley I should mention that Turner and Ker were travelling in it for some days in the height of the rainy season, and that none of their party, which included several Chinamen, suffered at all from fever. So healthy are the great part of the uplands of Yün-nan, that the Chinese of that province are apt to condemn as unfit to live in any place where it is possible to get fever.

000 For two days from Hsin-fu we followed down the Pa-pien valley, but keeping generally some way off the actual river. An uninteresting country, very thinly populated by Chinese and K'a-tus. Later on in March and April there is a good deal of traffic in P'u-êrh tea along this road, but at this time of year there is no trade except in salt carried by men on foot from Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh.

3/7 Leaving the Pa-pien valley altogether on the 28th, we turned more westward and the next day reached Mo-hei, a large village with an important salt well which supplies a very large part of southern Yün-nan.

Here our route joined the main road from Yün-nan Fu to P'u-êrh Fu, and the next day, crossing a range at just over 6000 feet, we dropped down into the P'u-êrh plain.

• 206 The only apparent change in P'u-êrh since I was there five years before was the establishment of a telegraph
000 office. In the evening I spent several hours at the office

Even the imperial telegraph line led over the S.W. China AF 16 bleak saddle of 206
the Dschedo la and its 4,390-meter altitude. (1) The line had

1. Kreitner-Szechenyi 4,499 meters; Rockhill 4,365 meters (14,320 feet); Gill 4,425 meters (14,515 feet; War office map 15,000 feet.

just been completed as far as Ba tang. My Hsining men who had never before seen a telegraph line had to conduct a detailed investigation. Of course, they had long since heard that one could send a whole letter over the wires, but they had the most adventuresome ideas as to how this was done. They wanted to cut the wire and see what the hollow space inside looked like. Shortly after I had dissuaded them from this wild idea we met a telegraph sentry consisting of six men strong. They were looking for a damaged wire because the service had been interrupted the day before. It seemed a miracle to me that one could telegraph at all at the time because hardly any of the insulators on the poles were intact. The Tibetans regarded them as a particularly suitable target for their guns as well as for their beloved stone slings.

Beyond the Dschedo Pass the eye first of all falls on bare rocky 133
ridges and on broad, planed-out and dry ravine bottoms. The peaks in the vicinity of the pass rise above 5,000 meters. They are all still below the boundary of perpetual snow and one could discover on them only scattered white spots. However, when one descends the steep, uneven military road which was paved many years ago, and when one has turned the corner and reached an eroded ravine bottom, then suddenly gigantic fields of perpetual snow sparkle in the south (Plate XLVI). In front of these in the depths nestles the Dschedo Valley with the little village of Dschedo, an important stopping place for the night for people coming from below. Before one 137
reaches this town one crosses the wide rhododendron zone /202/ which, with its large white and pink blossoms, extends down from 4,500 to 3,800 meters. The large blossoms were just opening and the steep mountain slopes sometimes formed a vertiable sea of blossoms. Long before one reaches Dschedo one is within the boundary of mountain forests, and the amount of moisture which the monsoon must unload in these border mountains has caused an almost impenetrable jungle to develop on both sides of the valley, on the northern as well as southern slopes.

Near Dschedo the ravine which is used by the road abandons its 000
southeasterly direction and turns due east, and now all at once there

III. RADIO

A. Facilities and Control

•207 The development of radio networks in Southwest China followed a series of official directives. Upon the establishment of the Peking regime in 1949, the Common Program, which formed the basis of Communist China's "constituion," specifies that "People's radio and publication work shall be developed."[39] Immediately after that, a central agency in charge of radio administration was established in Peking. In April 1950 the Information Administration at Peking issued a directive on the "establishment of radiobroadcast receiving networks." Based on this directive, provincial and special administrative district authorities in Southwest China issued in the same year their announcements on how to establish radiobroadcast receiving networks. On July 27, 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, reported that "one of the most important tasks for the Southwest is to strive for improvement in the content of radio programs, expand receiving networks step by step, increase radio facilities and supplies, so that radio can and will become an essential tool by means of which the government can direct all its functions in this region."[40] Ch'u was the official interpreter of

39. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

40. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1003.

207 government policy on radio, and his interpretation made it unmistakably clear how and for what purpose radio networks in the Southwest China Region were to be developed.

According to these announcements, radio networks (broadcasting as well as receiving) were to come under the joint jurisdiction of the local People's government, the Communist Party's local branches, and the regional radio station which directly received instructions from the Central People's Radio Station in Peking. Since the abolition of the regional administrations in June 1954, it is presumed that provincial and municipal radio stations have been directly responsible to Peking while still subject to control by local People's governments and Communist Party branch offices.

The multiple system of control is necessary, in the eyes of the Communists, because the Peking regime and regional authorities have made it amply clear that radio is one of the most effective instruments of mass education to prepare the masses for "socialist construction of China."

One characteristic of radio control in China and other Communist countries is its extent, covering not only the broadcasting networks but receiving stations as well. Organizing "receiving stations" may serve two purposes; one is to ameliorate the shortage of facilities, the other is to insure that available facilities are used in the way approved by the government. The services of private radio owners are enlisted by the government

207 to expand the radio network. These owners are called "friends of the radio." They receive free radio program announcements from the government and some free maintenance services. In turn they are expected to reciprocate by reporting the listener's reactions to the government. Each of these private radio owners may serve as a receiving station, or as a nucleus for a listener's group, if the owner has already registered with the government. Communist authorities also appoint official radio receiving officers in each military unit, government office, school, and in other institutions.

Receiving stations are established on the hsien (county), city, hsiang (group of villages), and village levels. Within a larger city, more than one station may be maintained on the public square, at the public library, in factories, and other places. Outlying industrial and mining districts also may have them. Each complete receiving station is equipped with a radio set and manned by a monitor (called a "receiving officer"), who monitors news and other important broadcasts, and a technician responsible for maintaining the set.

As a supplement to the receiving stations, whose audiences may be limited in number, there are public address systems either directly hooked up to the radio receiving sets or operating separately. The Communists call these public address systems "wire broadcast" (one type of radio

207 diffusion exchange) in contradistinction to "wireless." When a "wire broadcasting" station operates separately, the receiving officer organizes a separate program based on the news and important broadcasts he has monitored. To these materials he then adds whatever caters to local needs. In a large factory, the public address system may have a number of loudspeakers distributed among the departments on the premises.

The receiving officer at a station which has no supplementary public address systems is usually required to run a news bulletin. Such a bulletin may be issued from once a day to twice a week, and the method of publication depends on the location of the station and the audience it serves. Sometimes the radio receiving officer may also be required to prepare a "blackboard newspaper," which involves his transcription on a conspicuously-placed blackboard of the news items he has monitored from the radio.[41]

A few terms in connection with the Communist radio work may be somewhat puzzling to Western observers. Lieh-ch'e Kuang-po [broadcast on the train] is a "wire broadcasting" system installed on the train for the benefit of the passengers. T'u Kuang-po [native broadcast] and

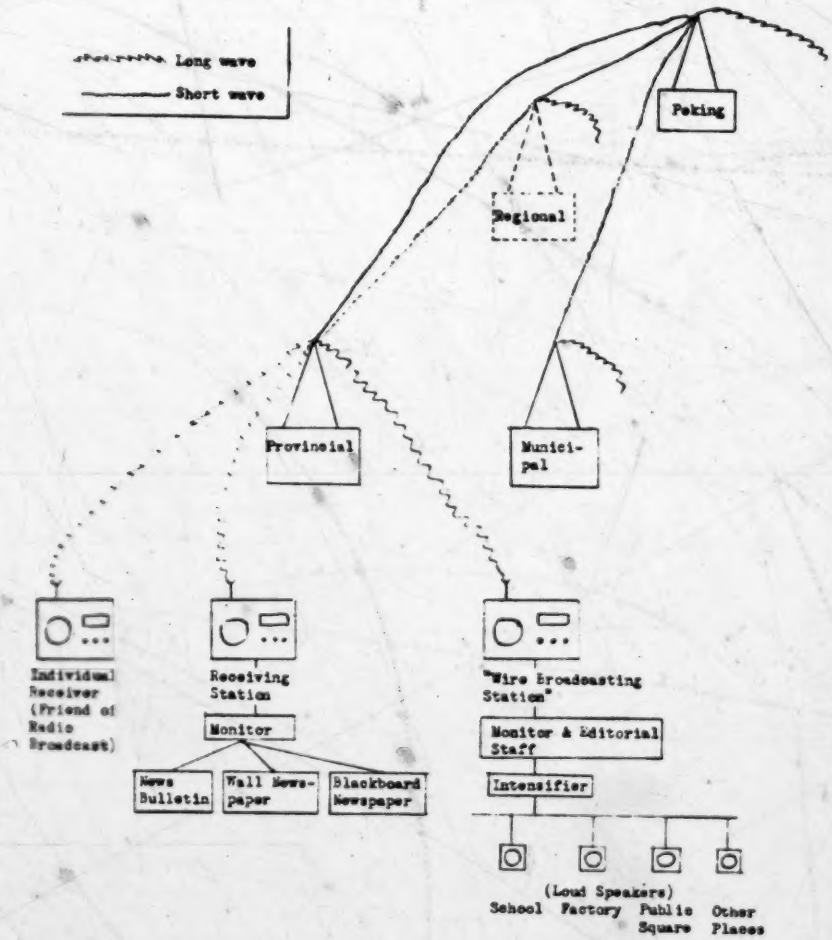
41. For regulations governing radio receiving officers, see People's Daily, Peking, April 30, 1950.

207 Wu-ting Kuang-po [rooftop broadcast] are but Communist cadres shouting at the top of their voices the monitored news items through megaphones (trumpet funnels). When they do so at a street corner, they are performing "native broadcasting." If they do so on rooftops, they are performing "rooftop broadcasting." These cadres are identified with "propaganda officers," about whom more will be said later. All these forms of broadcasting are in use in Southwest China.

The relationship between these broadcasting stations and receivers, and the chain of control, can be illustrated by the following chart:

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

RADIO BROADCASTING AND RECEIVING IN COMMUNIST CHINA



Similar receiving arrangements are repeated at all levels.

(Facing p. 655)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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In 1947, the following seven stations were broadcasting in this region:

Table 10. Radio Stations in Southwest China (1947)*/

Name	Location	Call Signal	Kilocycles
Kunming	Kunming, Yunnan	XPRA	700; 6,404
Chungking	Chungking, Szechwan	XGOB	1,200
International	Chungking, Szechwan	XGOY	9,658; 11,913; 15,170;7,153
Ku-sheng	Chungking, Szechwan	XLDA	1,340
P'ei-tu	Chungking, Szechwan	XLDB	950
Kweichow	Kweiyang, Kweichow	XPPA	9,430;1,000
Chengtu	Chengtu, Szechwan	XGOG	560

*/ Chung-hua Nien-chien [China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, pp. 1956-63.

After the Communist occupation, there was no immediate report from this region on the re-organization of the broadcasting stations. Other reports, however, indicated that some stations were apparently taken over

207 and operated by the Communists in 1950. Among the major stations operating in China, the 1952 People's Handbook listed the Southwest Regional Station and the Chungking People's Station for this region.[42] Programs of the two above-mentioned stations also appeared in Southwest regional newspapers in 1952. On October 1, 1952, a third station -- the Szechwan People's Station -- started broadcasting.[43] The announcement failed to indicate the location of this station. As a rule, such provincial stations are located in provincial capitals; thus the Szechwan People's Station could be the successor to the Chengtu Station of 1947. Since the Communist policy of expanding radio networks appears to have been in effect during the past five years, there is reason to believe that at least one major broadcasting station has been operating in each province. The former province of Sikang is an exception. It never had a radio broadcasting station and now, having been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955, it apparently must be relying on the Szechwan Station for radio broadcasting.

Two reasons may account for the fact that the Communists are in no great hurry to establish many broadcasting stations. One is Peking's policy favoring rapid expansion of major, well-controlled media of information.

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42. *Jen-min Shou-ts'e* [*People's Handbook*], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.436.

43. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 This has been true with the press where the government promotes circulation of large official papers while voicing caution from time to time against "blind expansion" of small local newspapers. A larger number of broadcasting stations, like newspapers, will present a more complicated problem of control. The other reason is the shortage of facilities. With these limitations, the Communists have been placing emphasis on the establishment of receiving stations in their policy of expanding radio work. In January 1951, every administrative district and hsien, except in certain areas of Yunnan Province, was reported to have at least one receiving station in operation. In Szechwan and Kweichow provinces, 256 such stations were established. This number does not include those in the two provincial capitals of Chengtu and Kweiyang. Where there was electricity, "wire broadcasting" stations were already functioning.[44]

By September 1952, officials in Southwest China claimed that a receiving network had been completed for the entire region. Even in northwestern Sezechwan in the remote hsien of Sung-p'an, there was one such station in each subdistrict. Eight hundred receiving officers manned these stations in the region, maintaining over 100 mimeographed news bulletins and about 20,000 blackboard newspapers.[45]

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44. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

45. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

207 Newspaper advertisements in this region show that in 1953 basic facilities for radio reception were available in the market. Four- and five-tube receiving sets, operating on either direct or alternating current, were for sale in Chungking. Batteries, loud-speakers, and microphones could also be bought. Some of these supplies were possibly manufactured in Chungking.[46]

There is no later information on radio facilities in this region,[47] but the expansion of receiving stations is believed to be still in progress.

B. Operation and Audience

207 208 The programs of these broadcasting stations are organized to deliver and explain

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46. Ibid., January 1, 1953, p. 5.

47. Some statistics on radio in China, however, are available. In March 1953, there were 20,591 receiving stations, 15,850 listening groups, and 32,667 receiving officers. In addition, there were many special listening groups of women, children, and neighborhood units organized in special districts. Over 85 per cent (or about 1,800) of the nation's hsien have such stations, including minority banners and leagues. Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po-wang," ["The Radio Network in Communist China"], China Weekly, No. 65, March 29, 1954, pp.10-12.

207 political messages to the audiences. The
208 pattern is fixed and changes in content occur in accordance with the commands of central authorities. If the current issue is "Resist-America-Aid-Korea," then everything on the programs is anti-American propaganda. If it is "Production Emulation to Greet Labor Day," then every speech or news item has something to do with model workers and heroes. The following table is a survey of the programs presented by the Southwest Regional People's Broadcasting Station and the Chungking Municipal People's Broadcasting Station in June 1953:

Table 11. Radio Programs in Southwest China (1953) */

Program (daily)	Time (in minutes) Southwest	Chungking
Rebroadcast of Peking program and nat'l hookup	90	90
Lessons in Russian	60	60
Literature	45	75
News	15	15
People's Liberation Army programs	105	--
Music, announcements	35	95
Calisthenics	---	20
Women, children, and other programs	---	30
Tibetan-language program	20	--
Total	370	385

207 208 */ New China Daily, Chungking, May 31, 1953, p. 4.

In 1953, the stations in this region were broadcasting twice or three times a day. The regional station was on the air from 6:00 to 7:00 and from 18:10 to 23:20, broadcasting on 570 and 6,154 kilocycles. The Chungking Municipal Station's schedule was 6:00-7:35; 15:50-17:00; and 18:50-22:30, on 1,300 kilocycles. Common to both stations were the rebroadcasts of Peking programs, consisting of "important" speeches by high government officials and lectures. When a national campaign like the preparation for the general election in 1953-1954 was on, a portion of radio time would be devoted entirely to a national hookup organized and controlled by the Central People's Station in Peking. Studying Russian has been in vogue in Mainland China, hence the daily allocation of almost one-sixth of broadcasting time to this purpose. Literature programs included reading of poems and stories whose central theme never varied from praising the working class and the achievement of the Communist regime. Since many "news" items were covered in the rebroadcasts and other special programs, the comparatively small portion of time devoted to news reporting was used to give summaries only. In our foregoing discussion of the press, it has been shown how news items in Communist China resemble feature stories; the same difficult exists when one attempt

207 to draw the line between news and other features
208 on the radio program. The initial musical number to start the day's broadcasting was either "All Red the East," or "We Sing for Our Motherland," the two most popular tunes in Communist China. There was no evidence of the use of works by western composers on the prgrams in this region, although in 1953 the stations in Shanghai featured the works of Beethoven. Local operas and plays were occasionally used to fill the music hours.

"Liberation Army" and Tibetan-language programs were special features of the regional station for Southwest China. Correspondence from writers assigned to army units on the Sikang-Tibet Highway constituted the bulk of the materials broadcast for regional and even national consumption. "How our Troops Conquered the Difficulties in Building the Sikang-Tibet Highway," "Our Recreational Club in the Liberation Army," and "Learn from the Russian Army,"[48] were some of the common subjects presented on the Army program. On this program, brief items of news were also read. Radio monitors attached to the Army used these news reports to run their mimeographed or wall newspapers for the troops. The Tibetan-language hour was designed to serve the minority nationals in northwestern Szechwan Province. It consisted of summaries of the day's important items.

Calisthenic lessons were broadcast early in the morning, while special programs catering

48. New China Daily, Chungking, June 4, 10, 2, 1953, p. 3.

207 to women, children, and other groups were left
208 to the municipal station which served a more limited audience. The regional station also went on a slightly different schedule on Sundays to present more music and plays. The municipal station featured "dance music" on Saturday nights, but there is no report of the type of music used for dancing. In addition, the municipal station also broadcast a lengthy "worker's program" twice a day, except Sundays. A typical item on the "worker's program" was a speech by a labor hero. For instance, there was one by Yang Hu-k'un entitled "My Experience of Participating in the Seventh All-China Conference of the Federation of Labor Unions."[49] To entertain the workers, the program carried "live" broadcasts direct from the theaters on Saturday nights.

Like the content of the press in this region, the radio programs in 1953 also laid heavy stress on "economic reconstruction." Even the children's programs devoted considerable time to such a propaganda item as "My Father Has Become a Model Laborer," broadcast by Chou Ting-kuo, member of the Communist Young Pioneers.[50] Fairy tales and folk tales of both oriental and occidental origins were generally so

49. Ibid., June 3, 1953, p. 3.

50. Ibid., June 5, 1953, p. 3.

207 doctored as to carry the message of "how to be-
208 have like good children of Chairman Mao Tse-tung," or "how to help our parents to construct a socialist China." No commercials or "soap operas" were allowed on any program in this region

The program of the Szechwan People's Broadcasting Station, inaugurated on October 1, 1952, was arranged in the same pattern. One interesting item was the "propaganda officer's"[51] hour, which provided the official propaganda personnel a radio forum to clarify the political issues of the day. The Szechwan station operated on 980 and 1,350 kilocycles.

C. Application and Effectiveness of Radio as a Propaganda Medium

The Communists in Southwest China claim that their radio networks, with minor shortcomings noted, have been a success. To evaluate this claim, it is necessary to take into consideration the following observations:

1. The control of radio broadcasting in this region has been complete. Since there were not as many independent stations in this region as in East China at the time of Communist occupation, the problem of reorganizing the stations in Southwest China was a relatively simple one. However, since every step from broadcasting to receiving is directly and closely supervised by the government and the Party, the entire system could easily be

51. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 brought under effective control. However, the
208 first sign of anxiety was visible at the First National Radiobroadcast Workers' Conference held in Peking from December 1 to 11, 1952. Among the dangerous trends pointed out at the conference were the following: (a) the editorial departments of radio stations failed to establish a close tie with the masses; (b) the issues raised in the programs did not sufficiently reflect life in reality; (c) there were wide gaps in overall planning and technical guidance.[52] To remedy the situation, the conference concluded, . . . more regimentation and centralization were needed in radio work. Hence, there seems to be little possibility for any local station to use its own initiative; if it tried, it would be accused of "deviation" and subject to severe penalties.

2. Lack of facilities remains a stumbling block to expansion of radio work. In addition to such measures as "wire broadcasting station," radio news bulletins, blackboard and wall newspapers, the Communist in Southwest China have been following the nation-wide practice of sending mobile radio teams to the countryside. These mobile teams carry radio sets with them and, upon reaching a village, organize listening groups to hear some of the special programs. Such a measure has proven effective when the Communists have a special campaign to carry out. In

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52. Chin Ta-k'ai, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

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the cities, similar listening groups are also organized to support any campaign. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" Movement, "good results" were reported in Chungking and its vicinity. One admitted drawback was that these listening groups would break up as soon as the special campaign was over. Better organization is needed if any lasting effect is to be expected of the propaganda, according to report.

3. The Communists in Southwest China assign only trusted Party members to key positions in the radio network, but there are apparently not enough well-trained personnel (technical and otherwise) to meet the need. As a result, each provincial broadcasting station has been conducting its own personnel training program. While much may have already been done to improve them, these training programs, begun in 1950-51, leave much to be desired. Many of the radio receiving officers are given only two months of training. During such a short period, these candidates are supposed to "elevate the level of their political understanding and formulate a new revolutionary outlook on life!" Actually, some of the trained receiving officers have failed even to acquaint themselves with standard Mandarin pronunciation and intonation. This has resulted in their inability to monitor correctly the messages broadcast from Peking or from provincial stations. Radio technicians are, in most cases, given a six-month training course. Their doubtful competence, plus the shortage of radio parts, has subsequently caused many receiving stations to stop operation.

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4. One success of the Communist radio program is to be found among the students, particularly among the younger ones. At school, radio listening, like newspaper reading, has been made part of the regular curriculum. With Communist Youth Corps members acting as leaders, daily news items are discussed and analyzed with a view to guiding the thinking of the students in the direction of favoring the Communist regime. When the fall of Seoul was broadcast in 1951, receiving officers were directed to explain the setback as a strategic necessity, not as a sign of defeat, lest the students become skeptical of the Communist slogan, "The U. S. is but a paper tiger." There is evidence that most of the students are quite willing to accept such Communist propaganda and are enthusiastic about their Communist leaders.

5. The national hookup programs to support propaganda campaigns are probably the most effective broadcasts. Co-ordinated with the press, these radio programs are given advance notice and the masses are psychologically prepared for them. During the land reform, this technique was employed to agitate the people to rise against the landlords. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" and the subsequent "Germ Warfare" campaigns, students and soldiers were encouraged to tell over the radio their sentiments toward "American warmongers." When the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns were being promoted, citizens were urged to report on "corrupt officials" and inefficiency in government agencies. According to Communist statistics, from March 1

207 to May 31, 1951, the forty-nine People's broad-
208 casting stations throughout Mainland China organized 389 such national or regional hookup broadcasts. Over 36,000,000 people were said to have listened to the programs and the stations received 186,000 letters, telegrams, and telephone calls as evidence of favorable response.[53] Photographs are available in Communist publications, showing old peasant women crying under a loud speaker which is supposedly relaying a live broadcast of how a "People's enemy" is brought before a mass trial, or a youth shouting in response to the radio's call for additional manpower to suppress counterrevolutionaries, or a young country girl beaming broadly upon hearing the news of the promulgation of the new marriage law. These pictures, of course, could be other than what the captions claim. But there is no denying that the Communists have resorted to every conceivable means of mass persuasion and that radio is being fully exploited in Communist China for propaganda purposes.

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53. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, October 1951, (no pagination).

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/For information on the influence of Communist propaganda over Chinese literary and humanistic activity, see category 116, pp. 227-241/

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own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the "New Order" have been moving through the countryside. The old exchange of visits with relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[25]

The seasonal pilgrimage, in company, to some famous shrine also has its Communist counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[26] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[27]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function

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25. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid. Also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21. We have no data on this for the Southwest.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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665 of at least 200 people, in order to supply two
666 or three representatives. A voter-qualification examination board is established; only those who pass the examination may receive the electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level directly control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the Party representatives and representatives of mass organizations within the election committee.

Although the election of the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of hsiang or a town deputy may be conducted byeither secret ballot or a show of hands (Article 55).

665 During the period prior to the general
• 208 elections of 1953 and 1954, the Party
666 accelerated its program of propagandaand indoctrination. Every phase of the campaign was designed to induce mass participation and greater adherence to Communist values and objectives. Szechwan was the center of an especially intense propaganda campaign.[66]

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66. New China Daily, May 16, 1953, p. 1; also May 30, 1953, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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665 Fifty nine thousand election handbooks were
666 distributed by some 180,000 specially trained
208 propagandists, many of them members of the Szechwan Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Among other devices used were 34 mobile motion picture projection teams, 400 slide-projector units, innumerable "cultural" exhibits, and periodic radio
665 broadcasts. Election personnel were chosen
668 from various Party, governmental, and mass organizations. Students also were widely used. For example, in Kweichow some 400 students of political science and law, together with several hundred graduates of the Provincial Institue of Nationalists, served as election officers.[67]

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. In all provinces, between one-fourth and one-third of the deputies elected to the Provincial People's Congresses were members of the Communist Party.[68] Most non-Party deputies enthusiastically supported the Party's program. It would seem that, like most elections in Communist states, the general elections of 1953 and 1954 were

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67. Ibid., May 19, 1953, p. 3.

68. People's Daily, March 21, 1954, p. 3; also April 28, 1954, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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constantly patrolled, and each village near the
651 right-of-way must maintain a specially
701 organized force for this purpose and participate in the guard duty for a 72-hour period every month.[40] In addition, the village maintains a militia in which all the young residents must serve. Besides training or participating in the unit's cultural and indoctrination activities, the militia patrols key areas in the village, guards government grain, helps in loading it for shipment, and assists in keeping the village free of bandits. Misuse of the militia by the Southwest China Military Command in 1953 was criticized as having wasted 24,700 man-hours per day.[41]

Similar public and military services are required of city dwellers. They must engage in military training, participate in the local military unit's cultural and organizational activities, and serve on patrols in their own or neighboring areas whenever needed.

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208 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations

40. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 4.
41. Report of the Second Southwest China Militia Conference, Ibid., May 20, 1953, p.1.

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208 have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not outbreaks of violence. To some extent, at least, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The regime seeks to offset disaffection by emphasizing in its propaganda the necessity and patriotism of individual sacrifice for the national welfare. If some non-vital aspect of the Communist program occasions bitter and widespread complaint, the regime bends to public opinion and institutes changes. Wherever possible, the Communists attempt to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public. Nevertheless, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

B. Tension within Organizations

578 The use of various overlapping control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directive has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party,

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. SCOPE OF DISCUSSION

208 In Communist China, public information lays a heavy stress on propaganda and education. As is true of all Communist countries, the Chinese People's Republic is guided by the inviolable principle that all facts and issues must be selected and interpreted in the light of Marxist theories and whatever the current Party line dictates. Limited by source materials of a regional character, the following discussion on public information and propaganda in Southwest China will attempt to cover only the basic facts about the formal structure, operations, and government control of the principal media of mass communication in the region. Wherever possible, exemplary cases in each medium will be included.

II. PRESS

A. News Services

204 Before the Communists occupied the Southwest China Region, the nationalist government-operated Central News Agency played a leading part in supplying the newspapers in this area with materials. Services of foreign press associations were available. Dispatches from such

214 814 is a collection of articles by different authors, as collective authorship has become a fad in Communist China. About a hundred pages is the average length of most of these booklets, and 5" x 7", the usual size of their format. A few photographic illustrations at the beginning of the work depict the "peaceful liberation of Tibet" and the scenes along the route traveled by the Communists army. The picture showing how Communists Army cadres give medical treatment to the native people is a tell-tale selection reflecting the purpose of the whole booklet. In the preface, the editorial department of the publisher states that the publication is designed to show the "greatness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's troops, and their contribution to the Tibetan people." Depsite its minor flaws, the book seems to be well prepared, well presented, and very readable to people with a basic command of Chinese.

214 208 Subheadings such as "The Kindness [of the Communist Army] Is as Deep as the Ocean" on page 94, and "Our Tibetan Brothers and We Have Become One Family" on Page 92, need no elaboration on their propaganda slant. There is a good deal of excellent descriptive material, emotion-packed, sweeping, and touchingly vivid. An objective evaluation of such writings cannot but lead to the conclusion that the propaganda pens of trained Communist writers are skillfully used and, judging by this particular sample, the writers seem to have a sincere feeling for the subjects they are treating in the book.

204 Clues to the contents of the magazines in this region are found in their titles which often specificy the reader groups for which the publications are intended. The titles of the articles are also self-explanatory. The "Good News for Our Mother Country," in Southwest Literature, No. 13, eulogizes the achievements of Communist China; the "Hero's Blood Nurtures Flowers of Victory" in Southwest Women, No. 19, praises patriotism of the Chinese dead on Korean battlefields, thus giving consolation to their widows who may be reading this magazine at home. The "Sing and Cheer for 1953" in Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today, No. 24, recounts Communist success in 1952 and entertains a rosy prospect for the new year. The Popular Pictorial in its first 1953 issue is loaded with news photographs, showing, of course, the promising side of every subject,and "New Year" paintings designed for the readers to clip off and use for decorative purposes. These paintings are a good propaganda medium of which a fuller discussion is presented in the chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions."

214 207 Are the people in Southwest China reading these books and pamphlets? According to Table 8, about one out of four persons during the first half of 1951; and about one out of two persons bought three copies during the period of July 1951 to September 1952. This is better than the records available for both Central-South and East China for the same periods. (In Central-South China,

[redacted]

214 about one out of ten persons bought a copy during
208 the twelve months from September 1949 to August 1950. In East China, one out of eight person bought an item during April-November 1950.) Again, these figures may reflect gross exaggerations for propaganda effect. Anti-Communist press reports have given accounts of how the mainland people bought books and newspapers under duress.[24] Some of these reports may have factual bases as the Communist cadres, intent on carrying out Peking's orders, abused the book promotion program by cajoling the people into purchasing the publications. Nevertheless these cases did not involve the minority of the book buyers. Three days before the third volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works appeared in Chungking bookstores, the New China Bookstore posted an advance announcement. According to the Enlightenment Daily of Peking, "crowds of readers rushed to the New China Bookstore in Chungking at the break of dawn on April 10, 1953 to await their chance to buy the book."[25]

Such manifestations of enthusiasm on the part of the book buyers may not be a common occurrence in Southwest China, as the Communists would like to have the world believe, but undoubtedly the books are read and understood at least by the literate segment of the population. Among the minority peoples in western Szechwan and southwestern Yunnan, books printed in their own languages have been rare. Consequently, Communist books printed in such languages have little

24. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 27.

25. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 11, 1953, p. 1.

214 208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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214 363 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

gather around him wherever he goes. About 1,000 of these couriers were on duty in Szechwan Province in January 1955,[31] but there is no information available on how many such couriers there are altogether in Southwest China. 203

There are also popular science programs designed to educate the public in basic scientific knowledge. But in comparison with East and North China, this region is lagging behind in the development of this type of program, for it has yet to report the establishment of any "science education center."

D. Application and Effectiveness of the Press as a Propaganda Medium

Having thus examined the organization and operation of the Communist press in this region, let us see how the Communists have made use of the press for propaganda propaganda purposes, and if their effort has been successful. However, because the Communist experiment with the press in this region is still new and information on it is even more scarce than that of the other regions, our findings can hardly be expected to be too conclusive. At any rate the following observations on the characteristics of the Communist press in Southwest China are made with a view to providing some understanding of the problems involved. While some of these characteristics may tend to hamper the response of the people in the region to 204 208

31. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 26.

204 the press operated by the Communists, others
208 may enhance it.

1. As a part of their reorganization of the press, the Communists in Southwest China have started a concerted drive to "reform" the thought of the newspapermen. A salvo is fired at the traditional beliefs of the journalists, and a new professional standard established. The new standard is to report the facts selected and interpreted for the sole purpose of educating the readers to support government policy. As a result, the body of information the public receives via the newspapers is restricted to only what the government deems fit for public consumption. The same standard applies to magazines, books and other publications. Writers are subject to the same screening and indoctrination. Those who have failed to be converted simply have to give up writing as a profession.

Although in this region there has been no incident involving severe penalty meted out to politically "undesirable" writers, the execution of six journalists in Canton in 1951 has produced far-reaching repercussions and will remain as a warning to those who tend to deviate from the official party line. Subsequent literary purges that time and again jolted the literary circles in China will also contribute to the submissiveness of writers. (For a more detailed discussion on literary purges, see chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions.") The response of the press to every turn of the political wind is instantaneous and done with amazing efficiency.

204 As soon as Peking decides to weed out wavering
208 elements from the party ranks, regional newspapers will pick up the message and splash it all over their front pages. The next day local papers will follow suit. In the course of a week pamphlets harping on the same theme will flood the book market. Throughout the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, the "Resist-America-Air-Korea Movement, the "Anti-American-German-Warfare" Movement, and the "Oppose American Effort to Revive Japanese Militarism" Movement, the press in Southwest China answered the call as quickly as the newspapers and pamphlets in any other regions of China.

2. The Communists are always keenly aware of the importance of making newspapers easy to swallow for the masses. Early in their underground days they made a motto of O. A. Piatnitskii's utterance that "revolutionary newspapers must be written in plain and popular language so that they can be understood by the masses."[32] In Southwest China, where public education has been even less developed than in North or East China, the newspapers catering to uneducated and semi-educated readers are making a special effort to carry out the long-established policy of "explaining the political problems in the simplest possible terms."[33]

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32. A translation of this article appears in Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], Jan.15,1932. Osip Aronovich Piatnitskii, who wrote such standard treatises on Communist propaganda and agitation as the World Economic Crisis: the Revolutionary Upsurge

[continued next page]

[redacted]

204 208 Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, took pride in announcing in 1951 that this policy was observed in the development of the southwestern press. Not only did the newspapers strive to move closer to the masses, Ch'u said, but the books published also went more than half-way to meet the needs of workers, farmers, and soldiers.[34] In most of the publications, local expressions and trade jargons are freely adopted. To a person trained in classical Chinese and accustomed to reading the serious writing of pre-Communist days, the new language of the Communist press would sound strange if not unintelligible. Yet the new language style, accentuated by the occasional use of words and expressions of minority-languages, could possibly increase the popular appeal of the newspapers. One other factor that contributes to the effectiveness of the press as a whole is the Communist drive to eliminate illiteracy. In the reading classes, mimeographed news bulletins, wall newspapers, and other handy means of news communication are employed. Although these

[32. continued] and the Tasks of the Communist Parties, and World Communists in Action, was idolized by the Chinese Bolsheviks in the early 1930's.

33. Red Flag, March 10, 1932.

34. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 smaller papers are not as elaborate as the New
208 China Daily of Chungking, they contain the same basic political messages in boiled-down versions. This seems to coincide with Lenin's theory that an "agitator uses a few words to present a single idea." [35] Anybody studying the Communist press at work will do well to remember the enticement to a semi-illiterate person of a printed message he vaguely understands. He will want to read it again and again until he feels that he has understood it fully. The ability to read has always been highly treasured in China. (See chapters on "Family" and "Social Structure.") Thus, Communist propaganda has been contributing a great deal to whetting the intellectual appetite of the semi-illiterate class in this region as a whole.

3. It would be misleading to compare the Chinese Communist press with the U. S. press and to judge the former's effectiveness accordingly. To begin with, the Chinese Communist press has never permeated community life to the same degree that the U. S. press has. Except for a small section of China's urban population, no Chinese will feel that he has missed something if he has no morning paper to read at the breakfast table. However, it may be said that the Communists in this region are helping the people to cultivate a newspaper reading habit by means

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35. David Shub, Lenin, New York, The American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1954, p. 31.

204 of organizing news paper reading groups and
208 other encouragements. The reading of newspapers or having newspapers read and explained to him is exciting to the average peasant on a Szechwan farm or in the western Yunnan mountains. Since he has no previous experience which he can compare with the present one, he will hardly know what else there is to be desired in a newspaper other than what he finds there. Compared with North and East China, the Southwest has an even smaller sophisticated population. To the unsophisticated, the press in Southwest China is conveying a good deal of new information.

4. While the Communists are feeding the public with their diatribes, using the press as a spoon, they are also bringing to the public a considerable amount of much-needed rudimentary knowledge on the natural sciences, public health, and sanitation. This may not particularly be true of the New China Daily because it has as its primary mission the interpretation of government policy to the public. But as an established policy, the Communists have been assigning local papers the duty of carrying special columns devoted to various popular sciences and technical subjects suitable for their readers. In addition, there is at least one magazine for each of the population segments in Southwest China; for youths there is the Southwest Youth Biweekly; for women, the Southwest Women Monthly; for mechanical workers, the Mechanical Worker, etc. For each periodical on a certain subject, there are dozens of pamphlets published every year to reach readers of varying

204 degrees of education. The propaganda angle in
208 most of these publications is obvious. Even the most technical treatises do not neglect to contrast the present with the past. The past is treated with disdain and its shortcomings are blamed on the "reactionary Kuomintang" or "American imperialism." The present, however, is praised and excessive credit is given to Mao Tse-tung or Russia.

5. Another general criticism voiced by anti-Communist elements is that the newspaper in Communist China as a whole contains very little timely news. With the Communist system of censorship and double-checking, news dispatches are often delayed before they reach the press. However, it must be noted that lack of promptness in reporting news may not seriously impair the effectiveness of the controlled press in South China as a medium of propaganda; many of the readers are unsophisticated, and to them the Communist press, regardless of its content, possesses a great appeal because it is something new and exciting.

6. Two developments may impair the effectiveness of the press in Southwest China. One is the lavish use of statistical data to support or refute an issue. Although so far no gross inaccuracies have been discovered in the major newspapers here, cases involving inaccurate reporting have

204 been exposed in the Central-South China press.[36]
208 Bent on propagandizing as it does, the Southwest China press is always faced with the danger of carrying propaganda too far. As the reader in time becomes more sophisticated, inaccurate reports will destroy his confidence in the press. The Communists claim that they are trying to be careful. They have even gone so far as to standardize the usage of punctuation marks, something which has never attracted the attention of the Chinese press.[37] The other development is the action taken by the Communists in Southwest China in response to a Peking order to restrict the circulation of local newspapers to their own respective districts only.[38] According to anti-Communists sources, this move is designed to "hide the deplorable conditions of one locality from the knowledge of those in another locality." The Communists explain it on the grounds of economy and planned distribution. Whatever the true reason is, this move will, in the long run, tend to impair the effectiveness of the press when newspapers cannot freely circulate from one place to another. Books and pamphlets in this region seem to be free from this restriction.

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36. The expose of inaccuracy in the New Hunan Daily, a major regional paper in Central-South China, was printed in Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 22, 1954.

37. People's Daily, Peking, September 26, 1951.

38. Central News Agency dispatch quoted in Review of Hong Kong Chinese Press, No. 174, American Consulate-General, Sept. 19-20, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S4-5, 1956 AF 16 SW China AF 16
[redacted]

207 Newspaper advertisements in this region show that in 1953 basic facilities for radio reception were available in the market. Four- and five-tube receiving sets, operating on either direct or alternating current, were for sale in Chungking. Batteries, loud-speakers, and microphones could also be bought. Some of these supplies were possibly manufactured in Chungking.[46]

There is no later information on radio facilities in this region,[47] but the expansion of receiving stations is believed to be still in progress.

B. Operation and Audience

207 & 208 The programs of these broadcasting stations are organized to deliver and explain

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46. Ibid., January 1, 1953, p. 5.

47. Some statistics on radio in China, however, are available. In March 1953, there were 20,591 receiving stations, 15,850 listening groups, and 32,667 receiving officers. In addition, there were many special listening groups of women, children, and neighborhood units organized in special districts. Over 85 per cent (or about 1,800) of the nation's hsien have such stations, including minority banners and leagues. Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po-wang," ["The Radio Network in Communist China"], China Weekly, No. 65, March 29, 1954, pp.10-12.

207 political messages to the audiences. The
208 pattern is fixed and changes in content occur in accordance with the commands of central authorities. If the current issue is "Resist-America-Aid-Korea," then everything on the programs is anti-American propaganda. If it is "Production Emulation to Greet Labor Day," then every speech or news item has something to do with model workers and heroes. The following table is a survey of the programs presented by the Southwest Regional People's Broadcasting Station and the Chungking Municipal People's Broadcasting Station in June 1953:

Table 11. Radio Programs in Southwest China (1953) */

Program (daily)	Time (in minutes) Southwest	Chungking
Rebroadcast of Peking program and nat'l hookup	90	90
Lessons in Russian	60	60
Literature	45	75
News	15	15
People's Liberation Army programs	105	--
Music, announcements	35	95
Calisthenics	---	20
Women, children, and other programs	---	30
Tibetan-language program	20	--
Total	370	385

207 */ New China Daily, Chungking, May 31,
208 1953, p. 4.

In 1953, the stations in this region were broadcasting twice or three times a day. The regional station was on the air from 6:00 to 7:00 and from 18:10 to 23:20, broadcasting on 570 and 6,154 kilocycles. The Chungking Municipal Station's schedule was 6:00-7:35; 15:50-17:00; and 18:50-22:30, on 1,300 kilocycles. Common to both stations were the rebroadcasts of Peking programs, consisting of "important" speeches by high government officials and lectures. When a national campaign like the preparation for the general election in 1953-1954 was on, a portion of radio time would be devoted entirely to a national hookup organized and controlled by the Central People's Station in Peking. Studying Russian has been in vogue in Mainland China, hence the daily allocation of almost one-sixth of broadcasting time to this purpose. Literature programs included reading of poems and stories whose central theme never varied from praising the working class and the achievement of the Communist regime. Since many "news" items were covered in the rebroadcasts and other special programs, the comparatively small portion of time devoted to news reporting was used to give summaries only. In our foregoing discussion of the press, it has been shown how news items in Communist China resemble feature stories; the same difficult exists when one attempts

207 to draw the line between news and other features
208 on the radio program. The initial musical number to start the day's broadcasting was either "All Red the East," or "We Sing for Our Motherland," the two most popular tunes in Communist China. There was no evidence of the use of works by western composers on the prgrams in this region, although in 1953 the stations in Shanghai featured the works of Beethoven. Local operas and plays were occasionally used to fill the music hours.

"Liberation Army" and Tibetan-language programs were special features of the regional station for Southwest China. Correspondence from writers assigned to army units on the Sikang-Tibet Highway constituted the bulk of the materials broadcast for regional and even national consumption. "How our Troops Conquered the Difficulties in Building the Sikang-Tibet Highway," "Our Recreational Club in the Liberation Army," and "Learn from the Russian Army,"[48] were some of the common subjects presented on the Army program. On this program, brief items of news were also read. Radio monitors attached to the Army used these news reports to run their mimeographed or wall newspapers for the troops. The Tibetan-language hour was designed to serve the minority nationals in northwestern Szechwan Province. It consisted of summaries of the day's important items.

Calisthenic lessons were broadcast early in the morning, while special programs catering

48. New China Daily, Chungking, June 4, 10, 2, 1953, p. 3.

207 to women, children, and other groups were left
208 to the municipal station which served a more limited audience. The regional station also went on a slightly different schedule on Sundays to present more music and plays. The municipal station featured "dance music" on Saturday nights, but there is no report of the type of music used for dancing. In addition, the municipal station also broadcast a lengthy "worker's program" twice a day, except Sundays. A typical item on the "worker's program" was a speech by a labor hero. For instance, there was one by Yang Hu-k'un entitled "My Experience of Participating in the Seventh All-China Conference of the Federation of Labor Unions."[49] To entertain the workers, the program carried "live" broadcasts direct from the theaters on Saturday nights.

Like the content of the press in this region, the radio programs in 1953 also laid heavy stress on "economic reconstruction." Even the children's programs devoted considerable time to such a propaganda item as "My Father Has Become a Model Laborer," broadcast by Chou Ting-kuo, member of the Communist Young Pioneers.[50] Fairy tales and folk tales of both oriental and occidental origins were generally so

49. Ibid., June 3, 1953, p. 3.

50. Ibid., June 5, 1953, p. 3.

207 doctored as to carry the message of "how to be-
208 have like good children of Chairman Mao Tse-tung," or "how to help our parents to construct a socialist China." No commercials or "soap operas" were allowed on any program in this region.

The program of the Szechwan People's Broadcasting Station, inaugurated on October 1, 1952, was arranged in the same pattern. One interesting item was the "propaganda officer's"[51] hour, which provided the official propaganda personnel a radio forum to clarify the political issues of the day. The Szechwan station operated on 980 and 1,350 kilocycles.

C. Application and Effectiveness of Radio as a Propaganda Medium

The Communists in Southwest China claim that their radio networks, with minor shortcomings noted, have been a success. To evaluate this claim, it is necessary to take into consideration the following observations:

1. The control of radio broadcasting in this region has been complete. Since there were not as many independent stations in this region as in East China at the time of Communist occupation, the problem of reorganizing the stations in Southwest China was a relatively simple one. However, since every step from broadcasting to receiving is directly and closely supervised by the government and the Party, the entire system could easily be

51. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 brought under effective control. However, the
208 first sign of anxiety was visible at the First National Radiobroadcast Workers' Conference held in Peking from December 1 to 11, 1952. Among the dangerous trends pointed out at the conference were the following: (a) the editorial departments of radio stations failed to establish a close tie with the masses; (b) the issues raised in the programs did not sufficiently reflect life in reality; (c) there were wide gaps in overall planning and technical guidance.[52] To remedy the situation, the conference concluded, more regimentation and centralization were needed in radio work. Hence, there seems to be little possibility for any local station to use its own initiative; if it tried, it would be accused of "deviation" and subject to severe penalties.

2. Lack of facilities remains a stumbling block to expansion of radio work. In addition to such measures as "wire broadcasting station," radio news bulletins, blackboard and wall newspapers, the Communist in Southwest China have been following the nation-wide practice of sending mobile radio teams to the countryside. These mobile teams carry radio sets with them and, upon reaching a village, organize listening groups to hear some of the special programs. Such a measure has proven effective when the Communists have a special campaign to carry out. In

52. Chin Ta-k'ai, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

207 the cities, similar listening groups are also
208 organized to support any campaign. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" Movement, "good results" were reported in Chungking and its vicinity. One admitted drawback was that these listening groups would break up as soon as the special campaign was over. Better organization is needed if any lasting effect is to be expected of the propaganda, according to report.

3. The Communists in Southwest China assign only trusted Party members to key positions in the radio network, but there are apparently not enough well-trained personnel (technical and otherwise) to meet the need. As a result, each provincial broadcasting station has been conducting its own personnel training program. While much may have already been done to improve them, these training programs, begun in 1950-51, leave much to be desired. Many of the radio receiving officers are given only two months of training. During such a short period, these candidates are supposed to "elevate the level of their political understanding and formulate a new revolutionary outlook on life." Actually, some of the trained receiving officers have failed even to acquaint themselves with standard Mandarin pronunciation and intonation. This has resulted in their inability to monitor correctly the messages broadcast from Peking or from provincial stations. Radio technicians are, in most cases, given a six-month training course. Their doubtful competence, plus the shortage of radio parts, has subsequently caused many receiving stations to stop operation.

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4. One success of the Communist radio program is to be found among the students, particularly among the younger ones. At school, radio listening, like newspaper reading, has been made part of the regular curriculum. With Communist Youth Corps members acting as leaders, daily news items are discussed and analyzed with a view to guiding the thinking of the students in the direction of favoring the Communist regime. When the fall of Seoul was broadcast in 1951, receiving officers were directed to explain the setback as a strategic necessity, not as a sign of defeat, lest the students become skeptical of the Communist slogan, "The U. S. is but a paper tiger." There is evidence that most of the students are quite willing to accept such Communist propaganda and are enthusiastic about their Communist leaders.

5. The national hookup programs to support propaganda campaigns are probably the most effective broadcasts. Co-ordinated with the press, these radio programs are given advance notice and the masses are psychologically prepared for them. During the land reform, this technique was employed to agitate the people to rise against the landlords. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" and the subsequent "Germ Warfare" campaigns, students and soldiers were encouraged to tell over the radio their sentiments toward "American warmongers." When the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns were being promoted, citizens were urged to report on "corrupt officials" and inefficiency in government agencies. According to Communist statistics, from March 1

207 to May 31, 1951, the forty-nine People's broad-
208 casting stations throughout Mainland China organized 389 such national or regional hookup broadcasts. Over 36,000,000 people were said to have listened to the programs and the stations received 186,000 letters, telegrams, and telephone calls as evidence of favorable response.[53] Photographs are available in Communist publications, showing old peasant women crying under a loud speaker which is supposedly relaying a live broadcast of how a "People's enemy" is brought before a mass trial, or a youth shouting in response to the radio's call for additional manpower to suppress counterrevolutionaries, or a young country girl beaming broadly upon hearing the news of the promulgation of the new marriage law. These pictures, of course, could be other than what the captions claim. But there is no denying that the Communists have resorted to every conceivable means of mass persuasion and that radio is being fully exploited in Communist China for propaganda purposes.

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53. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, October 1951, (no pagination).

slides on a large scale, but in 1953 such equipment was advertised for sale in the New China Daily of Chungking. Slides on maternity hygiene, public health, educational subjects, and current events were available in the market at that time. A set of 36 slides was sold for JMP$130,000 (about US$26, official rate) which was equivalent to the price of 200 pounds of rice.[67] 546

Phonograph records are used at the cultural centers and recreational clubs, but not as extensively as lantern slides and radio sets. They were also available in Chungking in 1953 for JMP$16,000 (about US$3.20) each, or about the price of 23 pounds of rice.

V. MASS ORGANIZATIONS AS MEDIA OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

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The Communists are fond of using the word "network" for activities pertaining to public information and propaganda. Already discussed in this study are the news-gathering network, radio network, library and book distribution network, and motion picture showing and cultural center network. Included in the Communist term of "cultural network", however, are many mass organizations contributing to the dissemination of public information, education, and propaganda.[68]

One of these organizations is the Sino-Russian Friendship Association. Established on October 5, 1949, in Peking, it expanded rapidly and by February 1952 had 64,200 large and small branches

[next page for 67. and 68.]

575 with a total membership of 23,000,000.[69] Under
208 the direction of Liu Shao-ch'i (chi), whose position in the party hierarchy is said to be only next to that of Mao Tse-tung, this association, through its omnipresent branches, has been organizing, indoctrinating, and propagandizing people of all professions. It holds small group gatherings in which Soviet theories and practices are presented, discussed, and analyzed, while its members and their friends are urged to emulate their Soviet comrades. Whenever there is a national propaganda campaign, the association mobilizes all its branches to give concerted support to the effort.

Since detailed discussion on mass organizations in China is presented in a separate chapter in this handbook, no attempt is made here to mention the names of all the major ones and to discuss their activities. Suffice it to say that these organizations all have their own "cultural departments" which in reality are information and propaganda units. Generally speaking, the "cultural network" of an average-size hsien may easily consist of as many as 4,000 units with more than 30,000

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67. Ibid., January 17, 1953, p. 3.

68. A list of 96 such national mass organizations is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 7-8.

69. People's Handbook, 1952, p. 258.

575 people actively partici pating.[70] Although these
208 statistics may not be true of many of the sparsely populated hsien in Southwest China, the scope of the Communist public information program and the effectiveness of the Communist propaganda machine is not to be underestimated.

V. PERSONAL CONTACT

208 Any study of public information and propaganda in Communist China would be sadly incomplete if the important part played by personal contact were ignored. Personal contact actually has been an effective tool in the dissemination of public information and propaganda in a country like China where a preponderant percentage of the population is illiterate.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on January 1, 1951 issued a directive on the "Establishment of a Propaganda Network Aimed at the Masses." Among other things the directive pointed out that: (1) In the past propaganda work had been neglected, and no per manent personnel had been assigned to conduct person-to-person propaganda to counteract rumors and clarify government policies. (2) All Party branches from that day on would assign propaganda officers, and all guiding agencies in the Party would appoint reporting officers, while enthusiastic activists, although non-Party members, might also be appointed as propaganda officers. (3) Under the direction of the Party, propaganda officers would conduct propaganda by means of

70. Chao Ts'ung, op. cit., p. 36.

708 personal contact and report the people's reactions and responses to the proper authorities. (4) Reporting officers were required to make political reports to mass meetings at least once every two months, and their reports had to be first cleared by Party authorities.[71]

Execution of the above directive in Southwest China resulted in the registration of 85,000 propaganda officers by December 1951.[72] A different Communist source claimed that by the end of November 1951, incomplete surveys showed that there were already 2,086 reporting officers and 86,349 propaganda officers in this region.[73] By September 1952 the number of propaganda officers had increased to 158,000.[74] In the summer of 1953, Sezchwan Province alone reported that there were altogether 180,000 propaganda officers at work.[75] At about the same time, Communist authorities began to strengthen

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71. Chien-li Hsüan-ch'uan-wang [Establish Propaganda Network], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 1-6.

72. People's Handbook 1952, pp. 436-437.

73. New China Daily, Chungking, December 23, 1951.

74. Chin Ta-k'ai "Chung-kung Hsuan-ch'uan-wang Ti Fa-chan Chi Ch'i P'o-ch'an" ["The Development and Bankruptcy of the Chinese Communist Propaganda Network"] , China Weekly, No. 70, May 3, 1954, p. 11.

75. People's Daily, Peking, May 29, 1953, p. 1.

208 the system of personal propaganda by establishing what might be described as "coaching stations" for propaganda officers. At these stations propaganda officers met twice a month, each session lasting about two hours. With the help of experienced coaches, the propaganda officers received on-the-spot instruction on how to disseminate propaganda and how to make their argument convincing to the people. Unfortunately, there is no information available on the exact number of such coaching stations in this region.

Anti-Communist sources claim that the establishment of such "coaching stations" is evidence of the collapse of the Communist person-to-person propaganda system.[76] Communist reports, however, maintain that propaganda and reporting officers have come to be regarded by the people as "information bureaus" that know all the answers. They are also being referred to as "thought doctors," and "messengers of Chairman Mao Tse-tung." If these appellations really reflect the high esteem that the people have for these propaganda agents, then the Communist claim that personal contact "has exerted decisive influence on the masses in the campaigns to suppress counter-revolutionaries, carry out land reform, resist America and aid Korea, and increase production" is perhaps not entirely unreliable.[77]

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76. Chin Ta-k'ai, op. cit., p. 12.
77. People's Handbook 1952, pp. 436-37.

208 The significance of the part played by personal contact in the Communist propaganda scheme is well expressed in an editorial of the People's Daily. The Party has been relying on separate propaganda campaigns to achieve the goals, the editorial said. At first, Party members thought that personal contact was essential to the successful dissemination of propaganda. Now everybody admits that "propaganda officers are trail-blazers without whom nothing can be undertaken."[78]

VII. CONCLUSION

A. The Massiveness of the System

208 666 The Chinese Communist propaganda machine makes use of all types of media which are coordinated to function effectively. Once a decision is made by the top members of the Party hierarchy, it will be transmitted to Party and government agencies at lower levels for execution. Then a sort of chain reaction will begin. Take the 1954 general election, for instance. The decision was made in Peking in early 1953. By May all the provinces had already organized special committees

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78. People's Daily, Peking, 1953, p. 1.

208 666 to carry it out. Meanwhile from Peking came detailed instructions embodied in the General Election Handbook, of which 1,380,000 c pies were distributed throughout the country. Discussions on the forthcoming election filled the pages of the press and consumed the bulk of radio time of all the major broadcasting stations. Provincial authorities further printed thousands of pamphlets for distribution. The Shantung provincial branch of the New China Bookstore alone handled more than 16,000 copies of these pamphlets in the first half of May 1953. By June all the propaganda officers were mobilized, briefed on the subject, and assigned to work. In Szechwan Province, 180,000 propaganda officers worked feverishly. More than 400 lantern slide teams took to the back roads and side roads of the province; about 440 cultural centers staged co-ordinated programs.[79] Every unit of the public information and propaganda system was put to work. It was claimed that, mainly on the basis of this immense propaganda campaign, the turnout of the election was close to 90 per cent of the nation's total eligible voters. Such a claim might have been exaggerated, but the effectiveness of such an intense campaign 208 should not be totally discredited. After all, during China's War of Resistance against Japan, the propaganda teams organized by the Nationalists succeeded, in 1938-40 at least, in making the villagers of western Szechwan aware of the national leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, and the grave situation

79. People's Daily, Peking, May 29, 1953, p. 1.

208 created by the war that was threatening the very life of their own country.

B. The Thoroughness of Operation

Western journalists who visited the Communist areas during the brief lulls in the Nationalist-Communist war were surprised to find that the grade school children were quite familiar with Communist political jargon. Such an achievement is perhaps to be accounted for by the thoroughness of Communist indoctrination and propaganda. As soon as a child is old enough to be taught, he is subject to persistent Communist indoctrination. The first words he learns in grade school are "the Chinese Communist Party" and from then on he is taught to live for and think in terms of Communism. He would be an exceptional person if he could escape from becoming a devout Communist upon reaching adulthood. Perhaps occasionally from the older generation he will detect opinions or behavior at variance with Communist standards, but in Communist China the old and wise are dying out, and in twenty years they will be replaced by the new generation which has been thoroughly trained in Communist concepts and practices. It is the new generation that will run the country.

C. Prospects of Success or Failure of Communist Public Information and Propaganda

Are the people in Southwest China convinced by the Communists now? In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems that the majority of the -

208 people are willing to go along with their Communist leaders, or, for that matter, with any leader who has brought about a measure of order and stability to their community after so many years of chaos. As to the remainder of the population, it is difficult to gauge their feelings accurately, since so few Chinese have escaped from the Mainland to reveal their sentiments to the outside world. But if from this region there had been such refugees, it would still be risky for us to rely completely on their words for the measure of popular reaction in Southwest China to Communist propaganda. After all, refugees' stories, as has been proven before, usually are highly subjective and often tend to convert individual experiences into questionable generalizations.

It is also difficult to say how much counter-propaganda, if a way is found to bring it to Southwest China, will be enough to offset the Communist balance there. However, there is at least one danger that will confront the Communists in the future. After the masses have been taught to read and write, they are likely to become curious about the outside world and want to know more about it. The people in the Soviet Union now seem to be curious about the West after 38 years of Communist indoctrination and propaganda and total blackout of outside news.[80] Communist China is traveling on the path that the Soviet Union has trod. It is only reasonable to assume that the Chinese people

80. "Mr. Kleiner's Russia," Newsweek, September 5, 1955, p. 17.

208 will someday demand the right to satisfy their curiosity about the outside world, news of which has been denied them for so long.

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

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Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the <u>absolute</u> effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. N, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection; but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

751 757

197 185 launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

•212 The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

1. Pictographs

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Chinese characters are traditionally classified into six main categories, the first of which is pictographs. The characters in this category all originated from simple pictures: jih ⊙(now written 日)is the character for "the sun"; yüeh ☽ (now written 月) is the character for "the moon," etc. However, they have long lost their function of picturing things and have become merely conventionalized visual symbols of spoken words.

2. Ideographs

The second category is that of the ideographs, which are characters indicating in a diagrammatic manner simple ideas, as shang 上 for "up, above," hsia 下 for "down, below," i 一 for "one", erh 二 for "two," san 三 for "three,", etc. Pictographs and ideographs, presumably bases of ancient Chinese characters, however, amount to only one-tenth of the entire stock of China's written symbols.

3. Compound Ideographs

The third category is that of the compound ideographs or characters whose meanings are determined by the combined meanings of their component parts, as ming 明, which is a combination of the "sun" and "moon", stands for "bright"; hsin 信, which is a combination of "man" and "word," hence, the "words of a man" stands for "honesty."

4. Phonetic Loan Characters

212 The fourth category is that of phonetic loan characters. These characters were all borrowed from existing words homophonous with the new ones for which written symbols had to be coined. For example, when a written symbol had to be created for the new word lai, meaning "to come," instead of resorting to pictographic or ideographic devices for the coining of such a symbol, the old character 來, meaning "barley," also similarly pronounced, was borrowed for that purpose. Often such a borrowed character displaced the original source. Thus, 來 is now used exclusively to mean "to come" rather than "barley." Simiarly, ch'i 其, the third personal pronoun, is now used invariably as such rather than as a symbol for "basket," the meaning of the original word similarly written and similarly pronounced.

5. Phonetic Compounds

Phonetic compounds constitute the fifth and perhaps the most numerous category of Chinese characters. They consist of two portions, a "signific" or meaning portion, and a "phonetic" or pronunciation portion. The former reveals the general meaning while the latter indicates the pronunciation of the compound. Thus, jan 燃 "to burn" has huo 火 "fire" as its signific, and jan 然 "so, thus" as its phonetic. Similarly, t'ang 糖 "sugar" has mi 米 "rice, cereal" as its signific, and t'ang 唐 "bold talk" as its phonetic. It may be pointed out here that the phonetic element of such compounds may or may not have been a "phonetic loan compound," that the pronunciation of the phonetic may or may not be

212 exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

6. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old"' others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

B. Non-Chinese Written Languages

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563 To varying degrees of completeness and adequacy, some of the non-Chinese languages spoken in this region have their own scripts:

1. The Pai-yi ethnic minority groups, speaking Kam-Tai dialects, use two systems of writing. One is the Shan alphabet derived from the Burmese alphabet and the other is closely related to the Siamese alphabet.

2. Speakers of Miao-Yao have no script of their own, but attempts have been made by some Western missionaries to adapt the Latin alphabet to these dialects for the translation of the Bible.

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3. A writing system derived from a certain ancient Indic alphabet of the seventh century is used by the Tibetan-speaking people in this region in their religious writings.

4. The Lo^lo people use a phonetic script, mainly for religious writings. The phonetic symbols resemble Chinese characters and can be written either vertically or horizontally.

5. A primitive "hieroglyphic" script is in use among the Moso-speaking people. The system has yet to be standardized and is neither adequate nor effective as a written medium of communication. More recently an effort has been made to adopt a phonetic alphabet to replace the "hieroglyphic" symbols. The new phonetic alphabet resembles that of the Lo^lo script.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

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It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese

212 to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

212 185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average person to learn, and in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective

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when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses.

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University.

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In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai^2) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai^3) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai^4) "to sell".

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinzua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of

212 learning to read and write Chinese much easier
185 and less time-consuming. For example, 纔 ts'ai "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron", to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplication that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y.C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of

212 125 their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters, and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the language of a people cannot be artifically changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language to combat illiteracy. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communists promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"[3] to substantiate their argument.

The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's

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1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch"u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and [contd]

212 185 spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already used in handwriting by the people. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua,

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Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

212 185 a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces. Ch'i publicized the use of "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. Phonetic symbols are employed as an aid to pronunciation. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committe announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] By January 1956, the number of simplified characters approved by the committee and already in use by many publications had increased to 260. At the same time the committee also announced the standardized forms of 810 characters, of which many irregular forms had been in use.[7]

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5. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News] , New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin] , San Francisco, Jan. 19. 1956, p. 3.

8. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yu-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language] , Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp. 458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit. pp. 131-34. [see next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications, with a total circulation of about 500,000 on the market.[8] There is evidence that such publications are still available in Southwest China today.

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There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation. On October 5, 1951 the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization. It has also been advocated that Chinese be written horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first Chinese regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions of this practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and the New China Monthly began printing their texts horizontally in January 1955. The People's Daily and a few other journals followed suit in January 1956.

As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create or improve their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Southwest China, the Tai

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952] , Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

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script used by the minority nationality groups around Pao-shan in Yunnan Province was standardized in December 1952.[10] Many other non-Chinese languages in this region are receiving equal attention.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few larger cities in Southwest China like Chungking and Chengtu. In Kunming (Yunnan Province) and several towns on the old Yunnan-Indochina Railway where French influence was discernible, French was an understandable language among a small segment of population in commercial and educated circles. Compared with other Western languages English was popular in Southwest China because of the contact with English-speaking visitors and the inclusion of English in school curricula. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Although some college students could read a printed item in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

10. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 29, 1953, p. 3.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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PLATE 10.—AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

古麼西麼印文字書

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mbér zaw*, relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 77. *First pot-wer*; *Second* and *Third sentence* on page 78.

[p. 28 J]

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PLATE 11.—AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 78, *Fourth sentence; Fifth, Sixth,* and *Seventh sentence* in part on page 79.

[p. 28 K]

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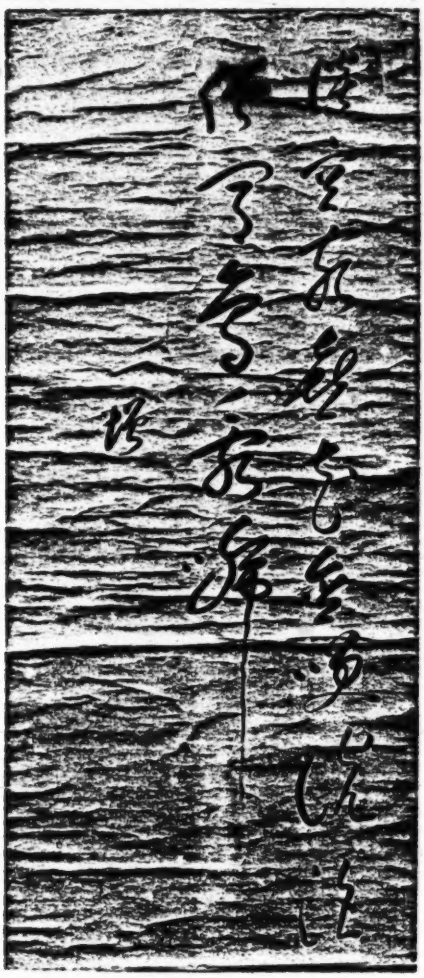

PLATE 45. — SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

木 生 白 手 為 對 聽

談空客喜花含笑 When the guests are delighted at my discussions of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;

說法僧聞鳥亂啼 While the monks are listening to my preaching of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly outside. The small character to left is Tseng 曾.

[p. 76 M]

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PLATE 46. — THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

僧在竹房半簾月 The priest meditates in his bamboo hut whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴陰松裡滿樓空 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the somberness of the pine tree glade.

The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).

[p. 76 N]

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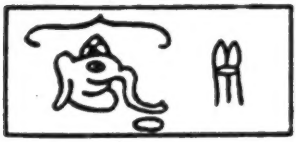
173 ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit.
773 The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by some-
764 one in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with: "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan-bpö d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-zä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

212 *First sentence.* — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-*
173 *ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnü-gkv.* It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbär ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:



The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bû), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nāga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan-llü-ndaw-gyi (Khu). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草佛地能佛 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu.* The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 鬥 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

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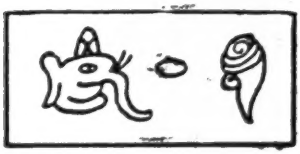
meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it. The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:

We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dü* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character 峰 *feng*, a much more common one than *fu* 甫, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

Third sentence. — 𐌀𐌉𐌀𐌉𐌀𐌉 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-gv-fu-gv*. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of Ts'o-zä was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. Zä is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have the ceremony called *Zä-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *Gv* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last *gv* means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:



Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *gv* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompters only.

Fourth sentence. — 𐌉𐌀𐌉𐌀𐌉𐌀 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*, in Na-khi: *Gv-fu-gv-lv-gv*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became," or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character *lü* 𐌀 represents the Na-khi word *lv*, hot; the last character 𐌉 is the Na-khi *gv* = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):

The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch-shell; the second upper is *gv*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lv* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

Fifth sentence. — 𐌉𐌀𐌀𐌉𐌀𐌉 *Ku-lü-ch'i-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-lv-ssau-lv-gv*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot

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egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus: 212 173

The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lv* (rocks) is borrowed for *lv* = hot, and *gv* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *gv* = egg and the second time as *gv* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂露呂古 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssaw-lv-ndshěr-lv-gv*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]," or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lv* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshěr*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lv* = hot; and *ku* for *gv* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:

The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshěr*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lv* = rock stands for hot, and the last *gv* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點古 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshěr-lv-ch'wua-t'o-gv*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshěr* = dew; *lü* = *lv* = hot; *liu* = *ch'wua* = six; *tien* = *t'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *gv* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:

The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign; below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一點海娘丁 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddü-t'o-khü-nyu-nděr*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *ndev* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

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unable to pronounce final consonants; *ti .g* = *ti* coming closest to their word *ndĕr*. In pictographs it is written:

The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshĕr*, dewdrop, the lower *ḳhü*, lake, sea.

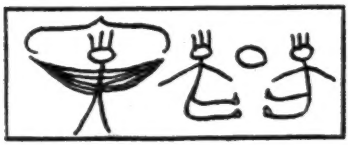
Ninth sentence. — 海失海羡古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ḳhü-shi-ḳhü-zä-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *Ḳhü-zä* came forth," or from the golden lake was born Ḳhü-zä. Apparently the first human being was called Ḳhü-zä. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake Ḳhü-zä, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih* In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:

The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *ḳhü* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit Zä which here is, however, a phonetic only, *ḳhü* = lake being read twice, the second time as a phonetic. It is part of the name of the first being Ḳhü-zä. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海羡剌羡古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ḳhü-zä-la-zä-gv*, which means literally: "From Ḳhü-zä La-zä succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:

The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zä*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *Ḳhü-zä* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 剌羡天羡古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zä-muan-zä-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zä Muan-zä came forth," or, La-zä was succeeded by Muan-zä. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muan* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muan* is part of the name Muan-zä. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muan-zä*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muan*. Below is the spirit *Zä* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

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position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: Muan̲-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Ts'u-ts'u was the son of Muan̲-zä, the father's name always preceding the son's. 212 173

From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 during the reign of Kao Tsung, Shang-yüan 高宗上元 (674–675)

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung 天羨從從; Na-khi: Muan̲-zä Ts'u-ts'u. The Na-khi word *muan̲* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

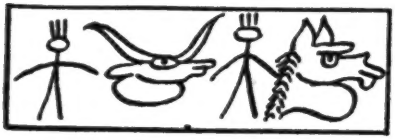
Muan̲-zä Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, K'uei-tu-mu-shu 虧都母書; Na-khi: K'ö-dtu-mun̲-ssu.

Second. — Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang 從從從羊; Na-khi: Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the Na-khi *yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:

The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu 當青青書; Nakhi: Dta-ts'ä-ts'ä-ssu.

Third. — Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao 從羊從交; Na-khi: Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu; written in pictographs thus:



The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, Chi-li-chi-shu 集里集書; Na-khi: Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu.

Fourth. — Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien 從交交羨; Na-khi: Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze. He married the celestial woman, A-chün-ngai-shu 阿均岩書; Na-khi: A-dzi-ssä-ssu.

The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The Na-khi *ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

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212 first character *ngai* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read
193 *ssä*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交羨比羨; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:

Kgyü (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *zä* a spirit, *dzi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *zä*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dzi*. The symbol also stands for "man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dzi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:

The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dtu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbĕr* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比羨草羨; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:

The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father; the second half, his own name, is represented by *ts'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, whom the Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He had a common origin with the *llü-mun* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.[1] The symbol is that of a *llü-mun* (serpent spirit). Note the head-dress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).

[1] In a manuscript entitled *K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr-mä* belonging to the *Ssu-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the Llü-mun (Nāga) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the Llü-mun was called K'ö-ddu-gv-ssu-mä and the mother of the Na-khi K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr mä. The name of the father is not given.

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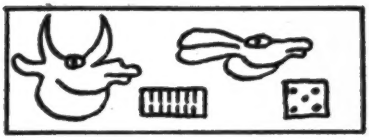
The character *zä* is here read *dze*.

Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 爲揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-ḳhü-lä-ssu. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus: 212 173



Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *ḳhü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 草漢里爲爲; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ĕr-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpö-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.[2]

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh's name is written thus:

The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蒲蒲; Na-khi: Ts'ä-ḳhü-bu-bu (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.

To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里爲糯于; Na-khi: Llü-ghügh Non̲-ö. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hö-non̲. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *n̲* according to usage. They will say for *no* 糯, as in this instance, *non̲* instead of a clear *no*. Llü-ghügh Non̲-ö married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳鐘; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

[2] (*See* "The Origin of the Tso-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39–52 [1936].)

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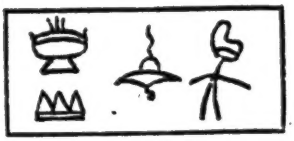
woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.



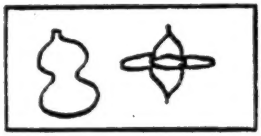
The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *wu* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dsu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯于南伴普; Na-khi: Non̲-ō Na-bä-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssä-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 戟女戟他剌鲁; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:

The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Non̲ (Llü-ghügh Non̲-ö of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 伴普于; Na-khi: Bä-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:

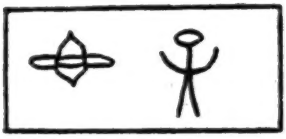


The first symbol is read *Bä-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ö*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bä-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木鲁; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:

The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dtu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbĕr*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥来; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lä. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read *Ō* and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lä*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

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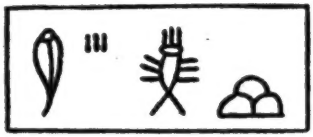
He married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-ssu-mu-lu 戟女戟思母魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-mun-lv. Her name is written: 212 173



The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *mun* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

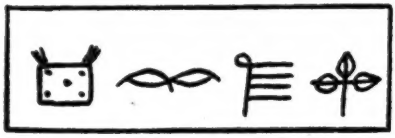
Ō Gkaw-lä figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called *Khi-nv* is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lä Ts'ü, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ō-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lä Ts'ü soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, *i.e.*, redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ō-shĕr*. It is the key-book to the *Khi nv* funeral ceremony.

In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ō Gkaw-lä is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The characters serve as phonetics only.

His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ü* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. He was married to Chi-nü-chi-chung 戟女戟鐘; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who separated into four clans, the Ssu (束 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mä (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,090 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* - a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs; the fourth, *mä*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü's wife is written:

The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 60b, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 束葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family 173

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 212 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-I AE7

S P 101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have ●212 an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable 191 literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary P language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible 177 to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, 212 where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, 191 though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans S from very different countries can understand each other. P I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had 771 little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. [142] A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have 181 anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity, is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

204 to keep down the price of all publications so that they can be more readily available to larger numbers of readers. At the same time, Communist authorities in Southwest China are following the national practice of making the newspapers self-supporting. The reason of the move is not only economy, but the belief that if the papers are sufficiently "popularized," they will have enough support from the masses, making government subsidy unnecessary. By October 1951, offici reports showed that except three dailies -- the North Szechwan, South Szechwan, Sikang -- all the newspapers in this region had been paying their own bills.[12]

C. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

1. Reorganization of Publication and Distribution

204 In pre-Communist days, publication of maga-
214 zines and printing of books were, in most cases, two separate enterprises. Local magazines were operated by private groups and printed in local printing plants found in such larger cities as Chengtu and Chungking in Szechwan Province, Kunming in Yunnan Province, and Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. National magazines were distributed through local book stores. There was little book printing done in this region until the Sino-Japanese war when many eastern China publishers moved west. Many national book publishers had branches in Southwest China. Most notable of these were the Commercial Press, and the Chung-hua, Shih-chieh, K'ai-ming, Sheng-

12. New China Daily, Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951, p.

204 huo, Erh-t'ung, and Cheng-chung bookstores.
214 Shortly before the Sino-Japanese war started, the Communist New China Bookstore also began to establish branch outlets in this region.

214 After 1949, the Communist policy for the publishing industry was "centralization and specialization." Publishing facilities were centralized, and each consolidated firm was required to specialize in one field of publication. National distributors were established to handle the sales. With publication and distribution clearly divided, the Communists believed that it would then become possible to control the entire publishing industry by means of a rigid quota system. In Southwest China, control of publication and distribution rested with the Cultural and Educational Mission. Extensive merging eliminated the majority of small publishers. The official New China Bookstore played a leading part in reorganizing the larger ones. The existing branches of formerly independent national publishers followed the policies of their headquarters in North and East China and effected a complete overhaul of management and personnel policies. Most of these publishing houses entered into partnership with government interests. By July 1950, the New China Bookstore already had in this region seven branch offices and thirty-two stores, all directly responsible to their regional headquarters in Chungking.[13] The number of branch stores of this firm increased rapidly to sixty-two in this region

13. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1002.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

214 by the fall of 1951.[14]

Following the announcement by the Government Administration Council in Peking on August 16, 1952 of the "Temporary Regulations for Control of the Publishing and Printing Industries," and the "Temporary Directive on Registration of Periodical Publications," authorities began to tighten their control in Southwest China on the publishers. All publishers, regardless of the fact of whether or not they had already been cleared for operation, had to register once again with the government.[15] The penalty for failure to do so before October 12, 1952 was immediate suspension. At that time the branches of the New China Bookstore in this region had already increased to seventy-nine. In addition, there were forty-one branches of the People's Bookstores on the hsien level -- meaning that at least forty-one out of a total of 382 hsien in Southwest China had one People's Bookstore each.[16] The People's Bookstores are outlets for the official People's Publishing Company.

The official plan for 1953 called for the increasing of New China Bookstore branches in this region to 129, and of the People's Bookstores, to 191. There is no report on whether this plan has been fulfilled or not, but a survey of 1953 announcements in the press of Southwest China shows that at least the following book publishers were selling their products in this region:

14. New China Daily, Chungking Oct.1,1951.

15. Ibid., Chungking, Oct.6, 1952, p. 4.

16. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

214

Table 7, Book Publishers Advertised in Southwest China 1953 */

Name	Specialization
Hsi-nan Ch'ing-nien Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest Youth Publishing Co.]	Youth
Hsin-hua Shu-tien [New China Book Store]	All Subjects, with preponderance on political
Hsi-nan Kung-jen Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest Workers' Publishing Co.]	Technical, popular readers for workers.
Hsi-nan Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she [Southwest People's Publishing Co.]	All subjects
Hsin-ya Shu-tien [New Asia Book Store]	Technical, sciences
Lung-men Lien-ho Shu-chü [Dragon Gate Associated Bookstore]	Textbooks on natural sciences
Shang-wu Ying-shu-kuan [Commercial Press]	Technical, sciences

[continued next page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

Table 7. [continued

Name	Specialization
Kuo-chi Shu-tien [International Bookstore]	Translated works
Jen-min Chiao-yü Ch'u-pan-she [People's Education Publishing Co.]	Education
Chi-hsieh Kung-yeh Ch'u-pan-she [Mechanical Engineering Publishing Co.]	Mechanical Engineering
Ssu-ch'uan Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she [Szechwan People's Publishing Co.]	All subjects

*/ Compiled from New China Daily, Chungking, January 1953 issues.

Obviously Table 7 does not represent an exhaustive list, but the fact that those listed were advertised in the leading regional newspaper indicated the importance of these publishers. On January 15, 1953, the Southwest Youth Publishing Company was disbanded and its function consolidated with the central Youth Publishing Com-

214 pany in Peking. The New China Bookstore had the largest number of branches throughout the region. The Southwest People's Publishing Company, established as a branch of the People's Publishing Company in Peking, was abolished in early 1953. A combined office of the Peking People's Publishing Company and People's Education Publishing Company was set up to handle for this region the publications of these two national institutions.[18] The People's Bookstore, which had numerous branches in this region, merely served as a distributor and was not the publisher. All the publishers listed in Table 7 were branches of national publishers. There is no information on whether at present there is any publisher in Southwest China that operates independently from Peking and exclusively for this region.

2. Quantity of Publications

There is no information on the total quantity of publications produced and sold in Southwest China before 1949. After the reorganization of book publishers and distributors, the New China Bookstore reported in July 1950 that during the first half of that year it printed 4,764,000 copies of 149 different titles. In addition, the store and its branches in this region sold 1,850,000 copies of text books and 1,110,000 books, pamphlets, and periodicals published by government-approved concerns. The San-lien Bookstore, jointly operated by government and private interests, sold 278,000 books and 198,000 magazines from January to June 1950.[19] No statistics are available on sales

18. New China Daily, Chungking, May 23, 1953, p.4

19. Statistics from Compendium of Gov't. Reports, p. 1002.

214 by small independent bookstores still in operation at that time.

Rapid expansion of book distribution in this region was claimed by the Communists when in October 1950 they reported the publication of 469 titles totaling 12,250,000 copies since "liberation." The bulk of these publications was printed to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. As has been mentioned under the "newspapers" section, the presence of large numbers of troops engaged in road construction in western Szechwan Province augmented the demand for reading material. Consequently attention was focused on publications suitable to member of the armed forces. The above statistics do not include textbooks which constituted a separate category. The same Communist officials claimed that during a six-month period in 1951, over 24,000,000 copies of textbooks were printed in this region. Compared with the 1950 record, a six-fold increase in text book output was claimed.[20]

The increase in book distribution continued. By fall of 1952, the progress during the past three years was traced as follows:

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20. Figures in this paragraph are from New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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Table 8. Publication and Distribution in Southwest China */

Period	Books Published Titles	Books Published Copies	Books Published Titles	Books Published Copies	Number of Copies Distributed
Jan-Dec. 1950	149	4,764,000	---	---	13,000,000
Jan-June 1951	469	12,250,000	---	---	20,000,000
July-Sept 1952	196	37,986,000	---	---	17,000,000
Total	814	55,000,000	66	11,000,000	150,000,000

*/ New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3; September 30, 1952, p. 3; Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, p. 19.

214 The figures in Table 8 are all based on Communist claims, and they have to be examined with caution as exaggerations may be involved. One thing does emerge quite clearly from them. The Communists in Southwest China are relaying on national publishers to supply books, and official attention is concentrated on distribution. The figures for "number of copies distributed" in Table 8, therefore, do not reflect the quantity of books and magazines "printed" in Southwest China; a good portion of the items sold in this region are apparently shipped in from North or East China. Some sources even say that "no major publishers in this area are permitted separately to publish any books."[21] While this may mean that most of the publishers in Southwest China are reprinting books prepared by national publishers, it does not preclude the possibility of some publishers still continuing to print items of regional interest with government
204 approval. A survey of available sources reveals that the following regional publications were available in Southwest China in 1953:

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21. Szechwan under Communist Rule, loc.cit., (p. 27).

In addition to those listed in Table 9, there were 204 undoubtedly many more lesser regional magazines which failed to compete for attention in a regional newspaper's advertising columns. On the other hand, many major national magazines were listed, such as People's Pictorial, New Reconstruction, Study, and the Chinese version of For A Lasting Peace and For A People's Democracy. The prices listed in Table 9 may be compared with the price for rice, about JMP$700 a pound, and pork, about JMP$2,850 a pound, in 1953 in Chungking.

3. Contents and Readership

Textbook distributors, in the Southwest 214 China Region, have been doing a profitable business. 814 Next to textbooks, popular literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets have been and resumably still are easiest items to sell.[22] One of the typical booklets is the "March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet," published by the Southwest People's Publishing Company in 1952.[23] It

22. A national survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped the list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol.I, No. 5, Peking, March 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature, with 1673 titles, ranked first among all categories of books published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

23. T'a-p'o Hsüeh-shan Chin-chün Hsi-ts'ang [March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet], Chungking, Hsi-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952.

214 is a collection of articles by different authors,
814 as collective authorship has become a fad in Communist China. About a hundred pages is the average length of most of these booklets, and 5" x 7", the usual size of their format. A few photographic illustrations at the beginning of the work depict the "peaceful liberation of Tibet" and the scenes along the route traveled by the Communists army. The picture showing how Communists Army cadres give medical treatment to the native people is a tell-tale selection reflecting the purpose of the whole booklet. In the preface, the editorial department of the publisher states that the publication is designed to show the "greatness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's troops, and their contribution to the Tibetan people." Depsite its minor flaws, the book seems to be well prepared, well presented, and very readable to people with a basic command of Chinese.

214 Subheadings such as "The Kindness [of the
208 Communist Army] Is as Deep as the Ocean" on page 94, and "Our Tibetan Brothers and We Have Become One Family" on Page 92, need no elaboration on their propaganda slant. There is a good deal of excellent descriptive material, emotion-packed, sweeping, and touchingly vivid. An objective evaluation of such writings cannot but lead to the conclusion that the propaganda pens of trained Communist writers are skillfully used and, judging by this particular sample, the writers seem to have a sincere feeling for the subjects they are treating in the book.

204 Clues to the contents of the magazines in this region are found in their titles which often specificy the reader groups for which the publications are intended. The titles of the articles are also self-explanatory. The "Good News for Our Mother Country," in Southwest Literature, No. 13, eulogizes the achievements of Communist China; the "Hero's Blood Nurtures Flowers of Victory" in Southwest Women, No. 19, praises patriotism of the Chinese dead on Korean battlefields, thus giving consolation to their widows who may be reading this magazine at home. The "Sing and Cheer for 1953" in Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today, No. 24, recounts Communist success in 1952 and entertains a rosy prospect for the new year. The Popular Pictorial in its first 1953 issue is loaded with news photographs, showing, of course, the promising side of every subject,and "New Year" paintings designed for the readers to clip off and use for decorative purposes. These paintings are a good propaganda medium of which a fuller discussion is presented in the chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions."

214 208 Are the people in Southwest China reading these books and pamphlets? According to Table 8, about one out of four persons during the first half of 1951; and about one out of two persons bought three copies during the period of July 1951 to September 1952. This is better than the records available for both Central-South and East China for the same periods. (In Central-South China,

214 about one out of ten persons bought a copy during
208 the twelve months from September 1949 to August 1950. In East China, one out of eight person bought an item during April-November 1950.) Again, these figures may reflect gross exaggerations for propaganda effect. Anti-Communist press reports have given accounts of how the mainland people bought books and newspapers under duress.[24] Some of these reports may have factual bases as the Communist cadres, intent on carrying out Peking's orders, abused the book promotion program by cajoling the people into purchasing the publications. Nevertheless these cases did not involve the minority of the book buyers. Three days before the third volume of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works appeared in Chungking bookstores, the New China Bookstore posted an advance announcement. According to the Enlightenment Daily of Peking, "crowds of readers rushed to the New China Bookstore in Chungking at the break of dawn on April 10, 1953 to await their chance to buy the book."[25]

Such manifestations of enthusiasm on the part of the book buyers may not be a common occurrence in Southwest China, as the Communists would like to have the world believe, but undoubtedly the books are read and understood at least by the literate segment of the population. Among the minority peoples in western Szechwan and southwestern Yunnan, books printed in their own languages have been rare. Consequently, Communist books printed in such languages have little

24. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 27.

25. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 11, 1953, p. 1.

214
208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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363 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

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214 563 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953, quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

27. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25, '53, p3.
28. New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

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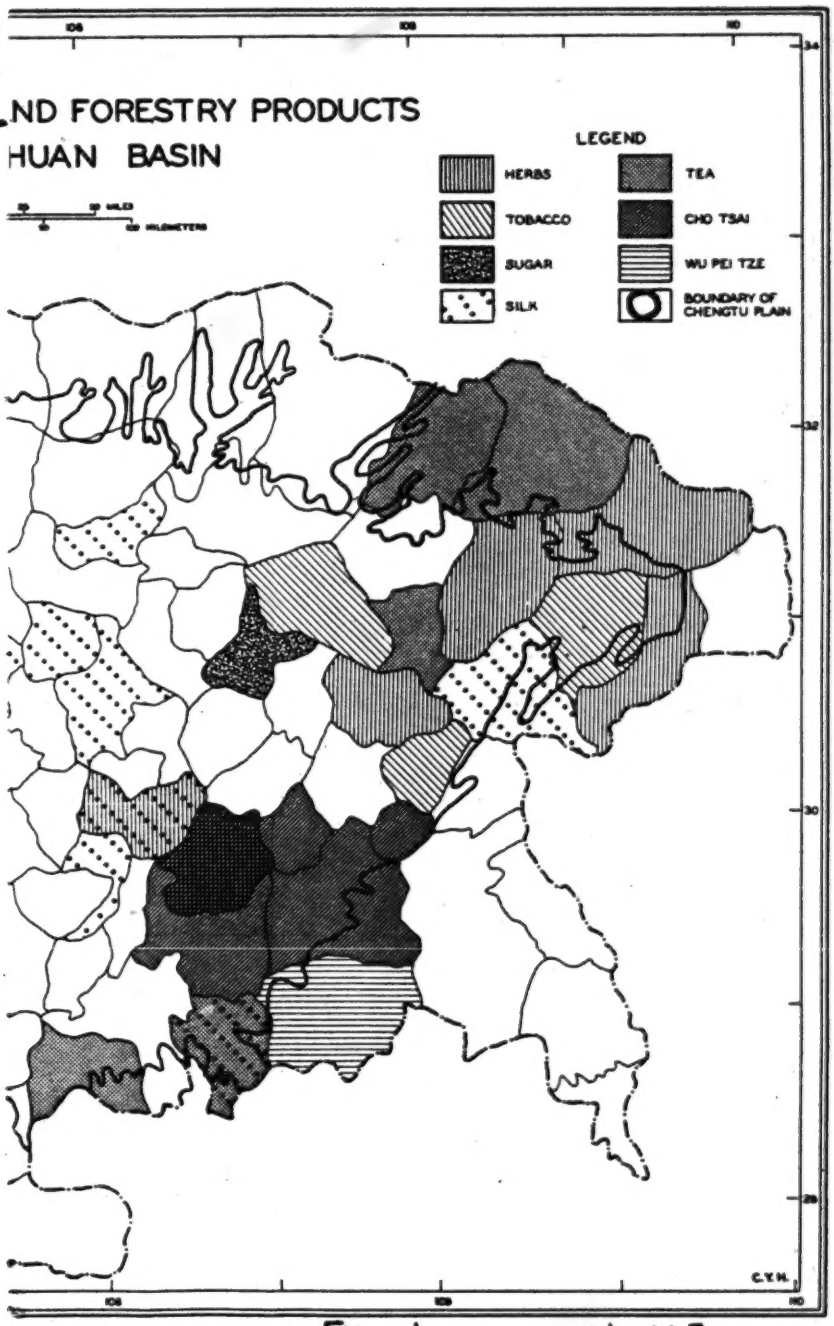

[End map 11 (b)]

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[continued next page]

178 change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

221 527 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is devoted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The village is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many

527 farmers there will be little left for celebration
221 when the creditors have been dealt with.

241 In the rice lands of the Southwest the most intensive work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. At that time the farmer harvests his winter crops -- usually rape and wheat sometimes supplemented with winter beans and peas.
243 Right after the New Year, often before the winter harvest, the farmer sets out his rice plants in nursery beds near the farmhouse. Then he removes his winter crop stubble and plows and prepares the fields for the young rice plants. He spreads fertilizer over the land and then breaches the dike and allows the irrigation water to flow in. After the desired water level is reached the field is harrowed again and again; then begins the back-breaking work of transplanting the rice shoots from the nursery beds to the flooded fields. The farmer has an easier life during the ripening of the grain. As the grain ripens, the fields dry, and at last it is harvest time. The harvesting and threshing are done with primitive implements, and many hands are required; straw is carefully

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

7% 805

t'ui cut off a piece of his own flesh and gave it to the prince to eat, and thus saved his life. When the prince got to the seat of power, he forgot his faithful henchman, whereupon he fled with his mother, having a willow twig stuck in his hat, to a certain Mien Shan 綿山. When the prince eventually recollected his friend and benefactor he sent men to seek him; Though it was reported that he was hidden on a certain mountain, they could not find him. So in desperation they set fire to the brushwood on the mountain to force him out, but he would not yield and was burned to death; and ever since that time some remembrance has been kept of him; though no one refrains from lighting a fire on that day as formerly, still many people wear a twig of the willow tree, either in the hat or hair, in remembrance of him.

805 221

Ku yü, rice rain. This is the time when the rice seed bed is sown. Rain and sunshine are both needed at this time.

Li hsia, beginning of summer. Summer is believed to come from the south.

Hsiao man, small fullness. That is, the *hsiao ch'un* or spring crop is ready for reaping in order to clear the land for the summer crop.

Mang chung, hurrying to plant the rice crop. This is the busiest season of the year, with reaping and ploughing, harrowing and planting.

Hsia chih (夏至), the midsummer solstice. At this season the male and female principles are unequal and therefore have to be avoided.

The people now begin to count the days till the dog days or 三伏天 commence. If the three *fu* (伏) are complete, there will be 30 days, but they rarely are complete, the autumn coming in before these days have run through their course, but after autumn there are still twenty-four autumn tigers, 秋老虎, following on the *san fu*. In each Chinese moon there are three *kêng* (庚), that is, one in every ten days; after midsummer three of these *kêng* are counted and then the dog days begin, and may last from 21 to 29 days.

Hsiao shu, small heat, and *ta shu*, great heat; these two cover the period just spoken of as the dog days.

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Li ch'iu. The beginning of autumn, which is believed to come from the west. The people are pleased if it is very hot on this date as it means there will be dry grain in the granaries. Again, if this day should happen to be a *chia* (甲), it will rain for 120 days, if a *ping* (丙), it will be fine for that time. 805 221

Ch'u shu, the finish of the heat; after this date the water is drained from the general crop of rice.

Fai lu, white dew. Cool weather arrives.

Ch'iu fên, mid-autumn equinox.

Han lu, cold dew. At this season the farmers sow turnips, plant cabbages, sow tobacco seeds, the tobacco seedlings standing all through the winter, ready to be planted out in the spring.

Shuang chiang, descending frost. The military official goes out at this time to meet the frost which is said to appear as a horse-headed woman. This is the time when all nature dies, and the officials follow after Heaven's idea and carry out such executions as may be necessary.

Li tung, the beginning of the winter, which is believed to come from the north.

Hsiao hsüeh, small snow, and *Ta hsüeh*, great snow. These two periods cover a part of the winter in which it is said the pot cannot be heated.

Tung chih, midwinter. The ancients kept this as New Year. At this season the people worship their ancestors 始祖, and the officials worship the tablet to the reigning emperor. This is said by many to be the root of the year. At this season the family hog is killed or the meat purchased with which the La jou (臘肉), or New Year bacon, is prepared. From midwinter begins the counting of the nines until eighty-one days is reached. In this connection the following stanzas are in common use: 805

The first and second nines, the hands are blown for cold.
The third and fourth nines, the frost kills pigs and dogs.
The fifth and sixth nines, the frost kills the old ox.

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A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁. 524

Blindman's buff, *ta hsia mo* 打瞎摸; hide and seek, *ts'ang mao mao* 藏貓貓 (the seeker being the *mao* or cat); marbles, *tan tan tan* 彈; turning cart wheels, or turning like a kestrel *ta yao-tzŭ fan shên* 打鷂子翻身; a kind of hockey *ta ch'ou niu* 打臭牛, 'to hit the stinking ox'; top-spinning, *ch'ai ti ko tzŭ* 扯地鴿子; swinging, *ta ts'ui* 打鞦; are all familiar pastimes.

Kiteflying, *fang fêng-chêng* 放風箏 in the second moon is done by grayheaded men as well as by children. The kites are in the shape of eagles, bats, etc., etc., and if one should fall on a house it is unlucky and no one dare claim it.

The shuttle-cock in the game *t'i chien-tzŭ* 踢毽子 is a brass cash with a few feathers attached; it is kept in the air by using the side of the foot for a battledore. Experts turn round once after each kick.

To turn to a different class of pastime: eagles are kept for catching birds and rabbits, *fang ying* 放鷹. The sport is so exciting that a proverb says: 'After seeing an eagle catch a rabbit the glory of an official career sinks into insignificance.' 224 231

Game is hunted with a kind of setter, *fang lieh ch'üan* 放獵犬 or *fang nien shan kou* 趁山狗. These dogs have long tapering noses and slight bodies.

The musk-deer is hunted, *shuan chang-tzŭ* 拴獐子 for the musk. A coolie carrying a small quantity of musk can easily be detected by the smell. The deer horns are sold for medicine and the skin for leather.

Jackdaws and various other birds are kept for fighting purposes *fang ch'üeh ta ts'ai* 放鵲打彩; which means gambling. 525

Practising with bow and arrows, *ts'ao kung chien* 操弓箭 is a sport now going out of use. So is the exercise of the heavy knife, *shua ta tao* 耍大刀. These knives weighed 80 to 140 catties, and even more. 411

Many pets are kept, such as the green parrot, *ying ko* 鸚哥; the Liao-tung or black parrot, *liao ko* 遼哥; the 231

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233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssŭ-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan
224 must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssŭ-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

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PLATE 4.—WEST SHORE OF THE TA-LI ERH HAI

大理洱海西岸

Fishing boats with cormorants in the foreground. The trees are willows. The lake is thirty miles long and from three to seven miles wide, its elevation is 6,800 feet above sea level.

[p.28 D]

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Cormorant fishers in the Chien-ch'ang Valley

Plate LI

[Face p. 222]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

437 farms here are within a few miles of a market. Each town has usually three or four market days per week, which alternate with those of the neighboring towns. The larger places have a daily
437 market. The produce is usually carried on men's backs on shoulder poles, or loaded on wheelbarrows. The noise of the wheelbarrows
489 on the stone-paved roads in the quiet of the early morning is as genuinely Chengtu Plain as many of its other unique landscape features. This peculiar noise, together with that much-advertised smell of night soil in the oriental farm fields, adds another unique double feature to the already too-colorful Chengtu-Plain landscape.

Moreover, in spite of the obstruction of irrigation dams, the extensive inter-communicating canal systems in the Plain help provide channels by way of which many of the villagers in the Plain can send their produce (such as vegetables, fruits, poultry, pork, and other products) to the city or to other towns by boat. And at the same time they bring home their purchases by the same conveyance. The canals thus facilitate considerably the otherwise very difficult transportation conditions. Here reminds one of the similar scene, though on a much smaller scale, which is commonly seen in the Great-Lake Canal regions (such as the Wu-shih and Soochow areas) of the Lower Yangtse Delta.

226 g) Practice of aqui-culture.--Because there are thousands of acres of ponds and water-covered paddy fields in Chengtu Plain, aqui-culture is also practiced here. The principal activity along this line is fishing--for fish, frogs, snails, and crabs. Cormorant fishing is particularly characteristic. Because the Min River and other streams in this area are fairly clear during some months of the year, the fish can be easily seen as they hurry upstream to spawn. Thus, the cormorant catch is generally very successful here. Other phases of aqui-culture include digging for aquatic plants, such as lotus seeds, water chestnuts (Trapa nataus), and Calladum, which are all delicacies to the people here.

162 Chengtu Plain occupies an area of approximately 6,000 square kilometers, about one-twenty-fifth of the total area of the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study. But it has a population of more than 4,000,000 people, or about one-twelfth of the total population of the province. The average population density of Chengtu Plain is a little over 700 persons per square kilometer, or nearly 1,800 persons per square mile. Nowhere in

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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*487 *133 *137 [36] [331]

with scrub vegetation; beyond a high, bare range rises above it, with a black, sharply-pyramidal rock forming the highest point.

We reach a hamlet of a few houses constructed of red earth, built close together like a fortress, with the windows near the roof, the latter crowned by huge mounds of grass. Yak were grazing over the bare, dry fields. Below in the ravine is the Tibetan village of Yo-nyi (Yo-i 約宜; in Yün-nan pronounced Yo-ni) with its terraced fields, grey and dusty. We descend and follow at the bottom of a narrow, rocky valley, bare of vegetation with the exception of *Sophora viciifolia* bushes, till we reach the Tibetan hamlet of Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東). Here walnuts and willows grew along the fields. To the east is the trail to Pong-tse-ra, and to the west the trail which leads to the Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里) Pass. At Sha-dung we cross the stream which descends from the Kar-ri La and follow the valley on the south bank. Near the mouth of this lateral valley is a formidable dwelling with a golden spire, the compound is surrounded by a wall on which Tibetan mastiffs were racing wildly up and down. It is the residence of a Huo-fu (incarnation of the Tung-chu-lin lama).[10]

The trail enters an arid and weird, ravine with loose rocks and boulders scattered over the slopes to the very top. It is narrow and one li beyond its mouth it is blocked by an isolated, pyramidal hill crowned by a *Shan-shen Miao* 山神廟 (Shrine to a mountain spirit). Here the stream makes a detour to the left; to the right a barren valley opens out near the temple-crowned hill, covered with cactus (*Opuntia monacantha*). What little vegetation there is consists of Berberis, Sophora, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*, while deciduous willow trees line the banks of the stream. *Pteris longifolia* is also common. On the right hill-side is a conglomeration of houses resem-
342 bling watch-towers. It is the hamlet of Pe-shin. Dogs run around wildly on the flat roofs, barking viciously at the traveler in the deep and narrow ravine.
*487 It would be easy to stop an army here by rolling down the loose rocks which
*133 lie in myriads on the valley slopes. Beyond Pe-shin the slopes are composed
*137 of disintegrated shale and fine grey dust resembling ashes.

Farther on, the valley divides, the right-hand branch being quite barren; the trail follows up the left branch and here, at the mouth of the valley in a specially constructed shed three large cylindrical prayer-wheels, eight feet long and one foot in diameter, dressed in red and white skirts, whirled around like mad, driven by the stream. Further up the valley was another set, but these were out of commission. For 10 li the trail leads through this rocky, ever-narrowing ravine, till we come to the fortress-like Tibetan hamlet of Sha-yi (Shou-i-ts'un 設義村), situated on a flat spur above the river. At one end of the village is a lama shrine or small temple, with a golden roof and spire, probably the private chapel of the Tibetan T'u-ssu who resides here.

Near Sha-yi the trail passes through *Pinus Armandi* forest which later gives place to *Quercus semicarpifolia* trees, with here and there a *Rhododendron decorum*, several deciduous trees, rose-bushes, Caragana, etc. The mountains rise steeply, the stream is ice-bound (December), and at an eleva-

[10] The Huo-fu is a member of the family of the T'u-ch'ien-tsung of Pong-tse-ra, who also resides here.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 233. — YUNG-NING PIEN-NIU OR HALF-BREED YAK

永寧犏牛, 黃牛與旄牛雜種

Half-breed Yak or Dzo (mDzo), a cross between a domestic cow and a Tibetan Yak, grazing on the alpine meadows of Wua-ha Shan, Yung-ning, elevation 11,500 feet. Mount Dzo-an-p'u in the distance.

[p. 426-I]

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3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

788 842 Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

231 842 788 When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

842 778 753 At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

842 778 Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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545 In shadow plays, *têng ying hsi* 燈影戲, the figures are made of leather and the performance is generally held at night. The court-yard of a house is curtained round with white calico; within there is light, without it is dark, and the figures are manipulated so that the shadows fall on the screen for the spectators outside to view.

In the *pei tan* 被單 *hsi* or sheet play the actors screen off a small enclosure with black calico and display a small wooden puppet over the top of it. The puppets are worked by strings attached to legs, arms, tongues, etc. The showmen are trained ventriloquists, and make their puppets dance and kick about in most amusing fashion; the figures are called *shên t'ung-tzŭ* 神童子, because they are so smart and acrobatic, and they are probably procured in the same way as those of the Punch and Judy shows.

There are amateur theatrical companies composed of local actors or farm labourers with a gift for singing or acting, and called *têng pan-tzŭ* 燈班子. Many join such a troupe to have a gay time of running round the countryside; the rustics call these escapades *sao têng* 騷燈. Such companies only get about 5000 cash for a day's performance.

[533] Street singing is termed *pan têng* 板凳 *hsi* (stool concert), or *wan yu hui* 玩友會 (friendly society), or *wei ku* 圍鼓, (round the drum).

The peepshow, *hsi hu* 西湖 *hsi* (west lake show) is a box with glaring pictures outside, and peepholes through which those who pay may look at the pictures inside, these being brought into view in turn by means of a handle.

Performers go from door to door getting a single cash at each for making a puppet dance up and down by the motion of a fan; *shan tzŭ* 扇子 *hsi*.

545 231 Others go from house to house with a monkey, a dog and a box of paraphernalia. Money for a performance having been paid down the performer directs the monkey which opens the box, dresses itself, and rides the dog or drives it hitched to a miniature plough.

Theatricals are given in each parish in front of the *Yang miao* 秧苗 *t'u ti* or local god of sprouting grain, in order to keep insects away from the growing crops.

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A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁. 524

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23) canary *pai yen* 白燕; the quail, *an shun* 鵪鶉; monkeys *hou tzŭ*, 猴子 which are said to be better than dogs as a protection against thieves; rabbits *t'u tzŭ* 兎子, generally in narrow-necked crocks sunk in the ground; pigeons *ko-tzŭ* 鴿子, some of the best carriers returning home from 1000 *li* or more; they are often sold, and as they always go home again good profit is made; white mice which drive little wheels in their cages; stove crickets, *tsao chi-tzŭ* 竈鷄子; and 'ocean insects,' *yang ch'ung* 洋蟲, which are said to cure tuberculosis. I do not know what these insects really are.

The Chinese are great bird-fanciers and pet-keepers, and domesticate many birds besides those above mentioned. Lotteries, smoking, snuffing, etc., are other amusements; it is a nation of smokers. Probably the dismal homes make the people love the pipe, and the crudeness of medical science makes them take to opium.

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539

RIDDLES AND DITTIES. 謎子, 歌兒 *mi tzŭ, kō êrh.*

青幽幽　黑洞洞　十個牯牛拉不動

Of a dark green, in a black cave, which ten oxen cannot move, What is it? (A well.)

千節節　萬節節　千年萬年不落葉

With a thousand joints, even ten thousand joints. For a thousand or ten thousand years it does not lose its leaves. (The bamboo.)

金筅筅　銀絲絲　一搥打開四姊妹

A golden and silver floss: one stroke of the hammer and it becomes four sisters. (A walnut.)

十姊妹　同路要　各人頭上頂片瓦

Ten little sisters went out for a walk,
On the crown of each a tile is fixed. (The fingers.)

頭戴紅頂子 身穿白袍子 走路很斯文 說話像蠻子

On his head he wears a red button, his body is clothed with a white robe, his walk is like an elegant scholar's, but his talk is like a barbarian's. (The goose.)

各家窩頭一個滿 一根白蛇在裏頭放 要死要死又撥他一棒

In each family niche there is a pool, in which a pure

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of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

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000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the
438 Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

294 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious
438 kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou
241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

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753 men suffered from fever at all. These places are doubtless somewhat feverish, but the Chinese exaggerate their unhealthiness.

000 The next day we followed the plain down for some distance and then turned in a westerly direction over some grass land into Möng Chi, a district of Möng Hkwan lying along the narrow valley of the Nam Chi. The Chinese call it Hsien-kang.

On the 8th we climbed a range to a height of 6,500 feet, when at about nine o'clock it came on to rain very heavily, so, finding a large temple in the Chinese village of Ho-t'ou-ts'un, we stayed there for the night. On the 9th we descended to Möng Yang, another Shan district which forms part of the state of Möng Ti or Nan-tien. It consists of a plain seven miles long, lying along the valley of the Shweli, which is called the Nam Yang by the Shans in this part of its course. The river is here 60 yards wide, and is at this time of year easily fordable by men, but is just deep enough to wet the bottom of mule loads. Möng Yang is called Hsiao-lung-ch'uan by the Chinese; its height is 3,300 feet.

The next day we had a steep climb up a range 5,400 feet high and an equally steep descent to the valley of Möng Hüm, called Lo-pu-ssŭ-chuang or *the four turnip farms* in • 231 Chinese, also a district of Möng Ti. This narrow plain we followed down for the rest of the day, passing numerous Shan villages full of large flocks of ducks and geese, which 000 feed in the sandy shallow bed of the Nam Hüm. We slept at Ung-lön, almost the last village in the plain. The headman here said he would give me no guide to Ho-hsa (Hu-sa) as the people were all afraid of the Kachins along the road. Luckily there happened to be two Ho-hsa men sleeping in the same monastery at Ung-lön, and I had no difficulty in getting them to act as guides, as they were going the same way themselves. Our road climbed to a height of 6,350 feet, passing the large Kachin village of Pang-sang. On top of the range is a lot of open grass land, and the road winds about in this for some miles, till the Möng Wan[1] plain comes in sight below. The road,

[1] Called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese, or sometimes Ta-lung-ch'uan to distinguish it from Hsiao-lung-ch'uan (Möng Yang).

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fitted with a handle to wheel along the road. These wheels 000
we found most accurate and satisfactory, and we all used them throughout our two seasons of surveying. Spare cyclometers had to be carried as they wear out in time.

On the 29th November I left T'êng-yüeh by the west gate and crossing a bare ridge by a low gap between two conspicuous peaks, descended into the fir-woods of the plateau country of Hsi-lien.

We slept at Mu-shui-ho, and found the country people extremely civil, a pleasant contrast to the T'êng-yüeh mob. One old gentleman was particularly communicative and offered to be my guide the next day to the mule and sheep breeding village of Lu-ts'ung-shan. We had a beautiful 361
walk there in the morning over undulating ground through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, the properties of different families being marked off by stone walls. The [245]
villages are quite hidden away in trees—peach, walnut, chestnut, plantain, golden bamboo, and the *tsung-pao* palm[1]. If a railway is ever made to T'êng-yüeh this plateau ought to become the hill station of Burma. Situated at 6000 feet above the sea in a beautiful well-watered country, I can imagine no more pleasant contrast with the scorching sun of Mandalay or the hot mugginess of Rangoon.

The simple villagers of Lu-ts'ung-shan I found rather 231 •
timid at first, frightened either of me or of the Chinese 438
soldier who accompanied me. But a more talkative man soon appeared. The sheep, it seems, are worth about two taels each (five rupees, or 6*s.* 4*d.*), and they use their wool for making rugs. They have tried taking the sheep to sell at Bhamo, but say that it does not pay. They cannot stand the warmer climate and want of grass in the Taping valley, and many of them die on the way. At present the mutton for Burma all comes from India, but with a railway to T'êng-yüeh, the want could no doubt be supplied from Yün-nan. The mule breeding here does not seem to be on a large scale. They get their donkeys from the province of Shen-hsi, and pay as much as 80 or 100 taels for them, a large price in this part of China.

Agricultural pursuits are not the only occupation of the 463

[1] See p. 77.

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CHAPTER XXII

FROM WEI-NING CHOU BACK TO YÜN-NAN FU *VIÂ* TUNG-CH'UAN FU.

Part from Watts-Jones—Watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River—A mass of steep hills—White wax insect—The Niu-lan Chiang—Zinc smelting—Kung shan—Lead, silver, and zinc mines—Tung-ch'uan Fu—Weaving—Copper mines—The Yi-li Ho—A high plateau—Wooded country—Curious rice husking machine—Cuckoos—Hsün-tien Chou—Sung-ming Chou—Lose the way—Reach camp at dark—A country full of pheasants—Reach Yün-nan Fu—Meet Ker—Results of his explorations—Ryder's movements—Arrival of Turner.

WATTS-JONES and I left Wei-ning on the 27th April. 000 Our roads were the same for the first five miles, leading along the northern bank of the Wei-ning Lake, till we crossed its outlet by a bridge at Ta-ch'iao. Here we separated. My road led over undulating ground among clumps of fir trees to the little village of Shuang-lung-ch'iao where I pitched my tent.

On the 28th 18½ miles of hilly marching, over a country sparsely inhabited by Lo-los, brought us to Ch'ing-mo-ti. The next day we crossed a range at 8,150 feet and descended by a path, the last part of which was almost precipitous, to the small village of Ch'ia-hsi-ho.

The ridge crossed on this march is a spur running out from the main range which lies a few miles to the south and forms the watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River. I do not think I have ever seen such a mass of steep broken hills as this country presents. The hill-sides are 133 very barren and dry, and many of them are too steep to be 241 climbed, so that the roads have to follow the beds of streams. Maize is the chief thing grown by the few villages that there are.

This was the first district in which I came across the 231 white wax insect: most of the villages about here rear

[p. 169]

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• 231

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Carrying white wax insects

Plate XL [Face p. 170]

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231 them. They plant a particular sort of tree to breed them on. The insects consist of a soft brown shell full of a mass of very minute grubs. Some of these are kept for breeding and are put into little bundles of straw and fastened on to the tree. These little grubs after about a month come out of the shell and spread all over the tree. In a year's time each of these has produced its nest of grubs, and the crop is gathered and sold to men who come chiefly from Ssŭ-ch'uan and Hu-nan. The price is 20 taels (about £3) for a man's load of 50 or 60 lbs. of insects.

The load being so valuable, great care is taken that the grubs should not be prematurely hatched out of their shell by the heat. The porters travel very quickly and only in the cool of the night. On arrival at their homes in Eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan or Hu-nan, they place the insects out on another sort of tree, and in course of time they come out of the shell and spread over the tree and produce wax. When the deposit is complete, as much as possible is scraped off, and the branches are then boiled so as to extract every particle of wax.

373 The white wax which these insects produce is much valued as it will stand a greater heat without melting than any other substance of this sort. It is used therefore principally in the manufacture of candles, as an outer coating to prevent the candle guttering. The gathering and selling of the crop of insects was in full swing as we passed through this part of the country at the end of April[1].

The next day we crossed the Niu-lan Chiang which is only 40 yards wide at the San-tao-kuai ferry but has a strong current and runs in a deep gorge. This river, which is the outlet of the Yang-lin Lake, is navigated by boats in some parts of its course. It forms here the boundary between Kuei-chou and Yün-nan, so that we were now again in the latter province after having been for the last twelve days in Kuei-chou.

328 The inhabitants of San-tao-kuai get their living by smelting zinc. The zinc ore is placed in conical shaped earthenware cups. When heated, the zinc rises from the ore in the shape of gas and collects on a sort of shelf inside

[1] For a full account of the White Wax Insect see Hosie's *Three Years in Western China*, Chapter XI.

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Continuing our journey the next day, the 17th March, we passed through splendid forests along the course of a stream in which we found a party of Tibetans digging for gold. Leaving this valley we ascended another range, reaching the top at 14,500 feet. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up 500 feet higher and got a fine view of the surrounding country. In the distance to the north-west of us, two magnificent snow-covered peaks towered above the rest to a height that I should estimate as quite 20,000 feet. 609

From here we descended to K'u-lu[1], a village of perhaps 60 houses and some large monasteries, the biggest place we had seen for many days. The lamas had evidently got news of our coming, for we found a man waiting for us who showed us a house, and room to camp round it, a little outside the main village. 361 609

K'u-lu was the most thoroughly Tibetan place we had yet come across, and it was here that I saw yaks for the first time. There was one tied up just outside our camp, which presented a curious appearance in the morning, covered with icicles hanging to its hair all over. So far I had been agreeably surprised with the warm temperature, for even at night there had only been a few degrees of frost, but here at K'u-lu at 12,500 feet it was decidedly colder, and the thermometer fell to 17°. 231 609 [32]

The people here are thoroughly Tibetan in manners and customs, and very few of them understand any Chinese. They live in large well-built stone houses, calculated no doubt to keep out the cold which is probably often more severe than we found it in March. 609 [342]

The lamas of K'u-lu were very suspicious. They asked me to halt a day so that we might talk things over and arrange for the continuance of my journey. I did not see what in the world we had to talk about and would not agree to this.

The next morning my interpreter went to the village to see about a guide, and was asked into the monastery by the head lama. He found that dignitary having an early break-

[1] Mr Amundsen marks a place called Kang-u about where K'u-lu is. Probably Kang-u is the Tibetan and K'u-lu the Chinese name. See *Geographical Journal* for June 1900.

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The Mi-li lama prime minister

• 231

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

A tame yak

Plate LV

[Face p. 246]

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243 crop is dependent on the rain for its water, and where
249 there is any jungle this is cut down and burnt, the wood ashes helping to manure the ground. Maize, millet and buckwheat are also grown on the hills, and opium is one of the chief things cultivated. This latter crop is an easy one to raise, and the produce finds a ready sale. Opium cultivation is certainly increasing in Yün-nan.

Among other agricultural products of the province may be mentioned tobacco, which is largely grown in many districts; tea which comes principally from the Chinese Shan States south of Ssŭ-mao; sesamum and other oil-producing seeds; hemp used for making rope; sugar which will only grow in the lower and warmer valleys; walnuts, persimmons, pears, peaches and other fruits, and many different kinds of vegetables.

•231 As to livestock, there is nothing as big as what we should call a horse, but ponies and mules are kept everywhere. Pack animals are the principal means of transport in the province, so that they form a very necessary possession both to farmers and merchants.

To the farmer cattle and buffaloes also are essential as a means of ploughing his fields, for ponies and mules are never employed for this purpose. In the deep mud and water of the irrigated rice fields buffaloes are the only animals that can do the ploughing.

Unlike the Shans the Chinese do not use bullocks as pack animals. It is true that in out-of-the-way places a farmer may occasionally be seen taking his produce to market with a mule saddle fastened on to a bullock or cow, but this is exceptional. There are no trading caravans of bullocks. In some of the plains of eastern Yün-nan bullocks and buffaloes may be seen drawing small carts, but these can seldom find a road good enough to lead from one plain to another, and are only used for farming purposes.

262 Nor are cattle considered by the Chinese as of any use for food. The orthodox Chinaman does not kill cattle to eat, and it is only in towns which contain a good many Mahommedan inhabitants that beef can occasionally be got. As to milk it is practically unknown in China. A little is now sold in Yün-nan Fu, but it is only in the Tibetan corner of the province that cows are regularly milked.

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Sheep and goats are found in places all over the province, and in some districts in very large herds. The wool is sometimes made into felt rugs, but the Chinese do not know how to weave it into clothes. There is no reason why wool should not become an article of trade if better communications should make it saleable. Sheep are not sufficiently widely distributed to make mutton a common article of food anywhere. 231 [287]

Pork is the staple meat of Yün-nan, as of the rest of China, and pigs are kept everywhere both in towns and villages. It is a very poor man who cannot afford to mix some pork with his meal of rice. These two articles, with beans and cabbage, form the principal food of the Yünnanese. 262 231

As to the amount of livestock in the province I will not attempt to make any estimate. But as mules and ponies form nearly the only means of transport, buffaloes and cattle the only means of ploughing, and pigs the universal food of all classes, the numbers must be considerable. Moreover I do not think that the animals kept amount only to what is absolutely necessary for their owner. Many villagers own large flocks and herds, and the Yünnanese peasant is usually well off as far as possessions go, though he is not rich in money. The poverty of the poorer classes of the over-populated province of Ssŭ-ch'uan is almost unknown in Yün-nan. 231

We now come to mineral products. It is safe to say that there is no district in the province that does not contain mines, and with better communications Yün-nan might become one of the principal metal-producing countries of the world. 135

The most important mineral is *copper*, not only because copper mines are very numerous throughout the province, but because the *ch'ien* or cash, the only coin originally used by the Chinese, is made chiefly of this metal. The mines of Yün-nan supply a very large proportion of the copper used for coining, and as the value of the cash is about 400 to a shilling, and it is used throughout China, the demand for copper for this purpose alone is a very large one. 135 316

In the districts of Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu are the mines which are at present most productive, but

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Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssŭ-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

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241 If one may admit color as one of the elements of the landscape of a region, one certainly cannot ignore it in the agricultural landscape of the Szechuan Basin. In fact the unusual combination of color in the agricultural areas adds much to the charm of the Basin. The bright red, purple, and chocolate-tints of the soil, the fresh-green of the grain crops, vegetables, and flowers, the brilliant yellow of the rape, the white-but-spattered-with-yellow-and-pink flowers of the tung trees, the snow-white color of the white-wax trees, and many other colors silhouetted against the ever-present dark-green background of the luxurious vegetation throughout the Basin, all add to its special picturesqueness.

231 The normal assortment of livestock life on the farms is a second noticeable feature of the rural scene in the Basin. Fowls, geese, ducks, pigs, bees are especially prevalent. Horses and mules are few. Oxen and water-buffalos are the most important animals on the farm. The buffalos particularly serve in various capacities, such as to plough and to burrow the rice fields, to mill the grains, to press the oils, and to perform a hundred and one other duties. Aside from human beings, they are really the other important "flesh-motors" of the Basin. On the farms, herds and herds of such bulky, slow-moving, long-horned buffalos may frequently be seen (Fig. 16).

235 Duck rearing is another activity of importance (Fig. 17), particularly in the Chengtu Plain. During the months of November and December one may see enormous flocks of ducks being driven slowly over the flooded paddy fields of Chengtu Plain. They feed on the aquatic life in the waters as they are driven along. In two or three months the flocks arrive at Chengtu, fat for market, and at no one's expense!

5. The Character and Distribution of Cities and Towns

361 One of the outstanding features of the urban settlements of the Basin is that most of the relatively important urban units of the Basin are situated on the terraces near the banks of the principal streams (Fig. 7). For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh up to I-ping, following the Yangtse Valley, one may count no less than fifteen of these urban units, including the most populous cities and trading towns of the Basin (Fig. 7). The

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251 The process of preparing Cho Tsai is interesting. It is dried (by solar radiation), specially treated with salt and other ingredients (somewhat fermented), seasoned with pepper, and packed in air-tight tanks for export. Like Sunkist oranges from California in the United States, this unique product, "Szechuan Cho Tsai," has been for years the best advertisement for the name of "Szechuan" in many parts of the Far East.

4. Livestock Production and Special Animal Products

231 This term, livestock production or animal husbandry, has a special meaning as used in oriental agriculture. Livestock production here in the Basin, like in many other parts of China, is concerned only with the quick-growing food stock, the species that are easily cared for and do not require special feed. These normally include pigs, chickens, ducks, and some geese. While some cattle and sheep are raised here, they are seldom used for dairy products as in the West.

According to the recent report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, for every one hundred farming families in Szechuan Basin there are 40 water buffalos, 17 head of cattle, 2 horses, 39 goats, 2 sheep, 169 pigs, 366 chickens, 149 ducks, and 20 geese.[1]

237 a) Bristles.--In the western commercial world, bristles, like silk and tea, during the past years has always been associated with China. The principal producer of this well known Chinese product is Szechuan Basin. Normally the Basin supplies about one-fourth of the total export of all Chinese bristles, including 15,000 piculs of black and 4,000 piculs of white bristles. Among all the outstanding exports from the Basin, bristles is the only one that has always maintained a predominant position. It now alone comprises about one-fourth of the total value of the export trade of the Basin.[2]

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 42.

[2] The export of bristles has jumped from eighth to fourth place in China's foreign trade since 1939, next only to raw silk, egg products, and tungsten. Szechuan Basin has been the largest producer, contributing about 40 per cent of the total export of this product (cf. J. H. Huang, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Bristles of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941).

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237 Basin, 70 to 80 per cent of the total production was exported as raw materials. But during recent years, since the rapid growth of local tanning industries, the hides are mainly used for manufacturing shoes, boxes, and other leather products consumed in the Basin.

Besides, the buffalo horns are also commonly utilized in Chengtu and other districts for the manufacture of a great variety of articles for everyday household use.

c) Sheep hides and wool.--There are two kinds of sheep hides produced in the Basin, namely, the garment-making hide, produced in the Sung-Pan area at the northwest edge of the Basin, and the leather-making hides, produced in the Chengtu and Wan-hsien areas (Fig. 39). Normally, the total annual output of sheep hides is around 30,000 piculs. In 1935 the Basin exported 1,500,000 sheep hides, at a value of $1,500,000.[1] Normally, the United States takes about 40 per cent of the total export, with Great Britain, Japan, Germany, and France following in order.

A large quantity of wool, totaling nearly 40,000 piculs annually, is produced in the Basin. Sung-pan, Li-fan, Wen-chuan, and other districts at the west and northwest edge of the Basin are the principal producing centers (Fig. 39). Nearly 85 per cent of the total production of wool is shipped down the Yangtse in raw material form. It is either exported directly to Great Britain or sold to local mills in Shanghai for manufacturing purposes.

231 d) Silk.--Szechuan Basin has long been well known in all China for its production of yellow silk. The Basin is second only to the two most important silk-producing provinces of China--Chekiang and Kwangtung. Normally, the Basin produces about 20 per cent of the total silk production of all China, and has an annual output of 30,000 piculs.[2] In the past, silk has always been the leading export of the Basin. In 1930, a peak year, the total export amounted to 20 million dollars, which constituted 15 per cent of the total export silk trade of all China in that year.[3] But recently, on account of inefficient methods of

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[1]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Szechuan Provincial Government, Agricultural Statistics (1935).

[2]T. S. Fan, "The Past and Future of the Silk-worm Industry of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 6 (1933), 34-42.

[3]China's Inspector-General of Customs, Analysis of Foreign Trade of China (1930).

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production and lack of uniformity in the product, together with the general world economic depression, Szechuan silk has suffered a great setback. In 1936, only about one million dollars' worth of Szechuan silk was exported. Of all the agricultural products of the Basin, the decline of silk is perhaps the most tragic.

There are three chief silk-producing areas in the Basin (Fig. 39): (1) The northern area, including Santai, Nanchung, Lan-chung, Si-chung, and nearby districts; normally accounts for about 40 per cent of the total production of the Basin, totaling about 15,000 piculs.[1] Here, particularly in the district of Santai, the world-famous Szechuan yellow silk is produced. (2) The southern and southwestern area includes Lo-shan, Mei-shan, Ching-shen, Fu-shun, Jen-shou, and Chi-chiang districts. Among them, Lo-shan is particularly well-known both as a producer of raw silk and as a large manufacturing center of silk piece goods. In 1936 Lo-shan alone accounted for over 20 per cent of the Basin's total silk production. (3) The eastern and south-central area includes Ho-chuan, Tung-liang, and Wan-hsien districts (Fig. 39). Normally, they each have an annual output of a little over 4,000 piculs.

There are two main species of silkworm raised in the Basin, namely, the Antherae pernyi, a wild species, and the Bombyx mori, the regular mulberry-fed domesticated species.[2] The wild species is fed on the leaves of "cha shu" (Cudrania triloba) or scrub oak. In the Chi-chiang and Chi-hsien districts to the south, and Lanchung (Paoning) and Nanchung districts to the north, a considerable quantity of silk is obtained from this wild species. It is commonly claimed that worms of this wild species have the following advantages over the domesticated species: (1) the leaves of the Cha-shu (Cudrania triloba) come out a little earlier than the mulberry leaves and are usually cheaper in price; (2) the silk produced is tougher and stronger in texture; (3) the worms give more silk; and (4) two crops are possible yearly. This practice of raising the wild silkworm is particularly popular in the southern area, where Cha-shu trees are especially common.

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[1]The production figure of 1936 (Table 12) is low due to dwindling of export markets.

[2]C. H. Chiang, The Raw Silk, a Principal Product of Szechuan (1936), p. 39.

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231 In spite of what has been said above, the silk produced by the wild species is, on the whole, inferior in quality and is negligent in quantity in the Basin. The major portion of silk produced in the Basin, about 80 per cent of the total, is derived from the regularly mulberry-fed, domesticated species--the Bombyx mori.

Silkworm rearing takes place twice a year in Szechuan Basin, as against only once a year in many other parts of Free China. It is carried on principally as a side-line by individual farmers. No large organized enterprise for silk-raising has ever been attempted. This accounts for the low efficiency in the methods of production and is mainly responsible for the meteoric downfall of the industry during the past few years in the face of serious Japanese competition in the overseas silk markets.

654 231 Recently, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of the Szechuan Provincial Government, in view of this grave situation and the serious effects it has on the general agricultural economy of the Basin, has taken rigorous measures to improve the methods of silk production. A number of silk-raising experimental stations and breeding centers have been established throughout the silk-producing areas, particularly in Nan-chung, Lo-shan, and Santai districts. In each district, numerous sub-stations have been organized to guide the farmers in silkworm raising, mulberry growing, and silk-making. Lo-shan alone has fifteen such stations. Other projects have also been launched to furnish more modern equipment and to organize the whole silk-production industry on a scientific basis.

231 438 Szechuan silk made a bid for world fame about eleven years ago in 1930, when 4,000 piculs were exported via Shanghai. This favorable condition was maintained for several years. Then a slump occurred due to the competition of Japanese silk and the increasing use of rayon. The war has presented a magnificent opportunity to revive sericulture in the Basin, while the boycott of the Japanese product in America since the American-Japanese war has now further stimulated export of silk from Free China. Szechuan today remains the only big silk center in the interior, as the silk colonies in Yunnan, Sikang, and Shensi are only beginning to export. With the growing American demand for Chinese silk, the Szechuan Silk Corporation is doing its best to increase its output.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The principal overseas market for Szechuan silk at present (shortly before the war) is in the United States, France, and Burma. For exports to the first two markets, silk is normally shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for overseas transhipment, whereas silk for the Burma market ordinarily goes by way of the Lo-shan-I-ping via Kunming, Yunnan route. The difficulty of transportation by way of the latter route is stupendous. Ordinarily it takes at least three to four months, by human carriers, for one trip from Lo-shan to Rangoon, Burma, and the transportation costs sometimes run as high as two-fifths of the value of the goods themselves. Unless transportation facilities along this route are improved, no matter how strongly the Burmese favor Szechuan silk, as has been the case thus far, the silk trade between Szechuan and Burma will always remain greatly limited. 231 438

Besides the difficulty of transportation, silk production in the Basin is now confronted by new handicaps. Silkworm rearing, formerly a profitable supplementary rural industry, has now given way to the production of grains (many mulberry fields have been converted into grain fields) which have been commanding high prices during recent years as a result of the increasing demand for foodstuffs due to the war.

e) Duck feathers and other products.--One cannot very well close this section on livestock production of the Szechuan Basin without mentioning another interesting product--duck feathers. The Basin normally has a total of over fifteen million ducks.[1] They are especially concentrated in the districts around Chengtu Plain, Lo-shan, I-ping, Yo-chi, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39). Besides the wide use of the meat for food by the natives, the feathers are especially valued by the wealthy people for use in making light, warm and soft comforters, filling pillow cases and quilts, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and a number of other uses. 237 [235]

The total production of duck feathers is estimated to be approximately 10,000 piculs annually. Approximately 70 per cent of the total product is shipped to markets overseas. Before the war, France was the leading customer, taking 30 per cent of the total export, with the United States and Great Britain each taking 20 per cent, and Germany and Japan each taking about 10 per cent. 237 439

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 63.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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The most commonly cultivated white-wax tree, the Pai Lou Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis) is a fast-growing tree of medium size. In outer appearance it is very much like a willow tree but generally not as tall (Fig. 41). It prefers a mild and humid climate. It grows readily from cuttings of the one- or two-year-old branches of the mother tree. After three or four years the tree is suitable in size for wax production. It furnishes a rich sap, which by itself is of no value and is used to nourish the insect. The metamorphosis of the wax insect is similar to that of the silkworm. From egg it becomes larva, pupa, and eventually adult. It takes one year to complete its life cycle. It is the male larva which produces the wax, while the female merely lays eggs to carry on the line. The present strain in Ning-yuan district is said to be five hundred years old.

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During the early spring the eggs of the insects wrapped in leaves of the Tung or some other tree, with holes pierced for air, are suspended on the branches of the wax tree to hatch. Generally, the insect prefers the tender young branches of two- or three-year-old trees, of which the sap is rich and the epidermis of the branches is soft enough for the young insects to break through. Within forty to fifty days after the eggs are hatched the wax appears upon the tree and gradually increases until the early autumn (September), when the harvest begins. The snow-white wax accumulated on the main branches is scraped down with sharp knives, while the wax on small twigs is cut down with the twigs. The wax is then steamed and refined two or three times, until the pure white wax is precipitated.

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The white wax has a wide scope of uses, including candles, glazing for paper, silk, furniture polish, coating for pills, models, polish for valuable metal utensils to prevent oxidation, and many medicinal purposes. The residue from white-wax refining is often used for fertilizers. Formerly, about 80 per cent of the total product was exported to Japan and the United States. But it now finds its markets in the interior provinces, particularly in Kansu and Shensi. It is reported that Chinese wax is superior[1] to any other wax produced in the world because it has no smell and leaves no stain whatsoever. Of particular importance

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[1] J. S. Ho, "The Wax Tree Culture and Its Problems in Szechuan," Chinese Reconstruction Weekly, XI, No. 6 (1940), 11-18.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 12

PRODUCTION OF SILK IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Amount of Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Lo-Shan	1,834	21.4
San-Tai	1,000	11.7
Si-Chung	986	11.5
Ho-Chuan	952	11.1
Tung-Liang	900	10.5
Pu-Shun	443	5.1
Shei-Hung	400	4.6
Hung-Ya	313	3.6
Ching-Shen	313	3.6
Lan-Chung	300	3.5
Chi-Hsien	227	2.6
Yung-Lien	200	2.3
Nan-Ch'ung	156	1.8
Tzu-Tung	110	1.2
Mien-Yang	87	1.0
Chien-Wei	80	.9
Han-Yuan	80	.9
Tang-Ling	50	.5
Ping-Shan	38	.4
Ma-Pien	14	.1
O-Mei	13	.1
Ho-Chiang	13	.1
Chao-Hua	12	.1
Kao-Hsien	11	.1
Total	8,532	100.0

2c Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

774 T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the
778 sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

133 *Hsiang Shan* 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern
312 point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

133 *Chih Shan* 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子崖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

[233] *Ma-tso-shu Shan* 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S 252

Mi-li to Chung-tien

ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

S ST [439]

S ST 563 101 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

S ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 they were able to stand without difficulty and to tie the rope to the body, but as we were pulling it across the rope broke and the body was again carried away.

We tied a stone to the rope and threw it across again to Ryder and Manifold, who got back to the shore in safety. We looked down stream some way but saw no more of the unfortunate Gurkha, and next morning Manifold with two men searched the river for several miles but was equally unsuccessful.

It was a sad business so near the end of our journey and we felt much depressed over it. It is, I am glad to say, the only time in my travels that any of my followers have met with any serious accident.

•233 Li-t'ang stands in a plain 15 miles long and five miles
[361] across at the widest part, but not an inch of it is cultivated. The whole is covered with grass, on which are many encampments of nomads with large herds of yaks and sheep. All grain and rice has to be brought from a distance. The height at the town we made 13,800 feet, a higher estimate than that given by other travellers[1].

361 The town contains some 300 houses, of which, at least, half are inhabited by Chinese or half-Chinese who have most of them been born here and have become very much Tibetanised, though they can all speak Chinese as well as Tibetan.

793 At one end of the town is a very large monastery, which is said to contain 3,700 lamas. As elsewhere in Tibet, the lamas are all-powerful, and the small Chinese official dare do nothing without their approval.

In Li-t'ang they are a particularly anti-foreign lot, and on the following day the head lama sent a message to us to say that he was not at all pleased at our coming, and that we must leave Li-t'ang that day. This we refused to do, and he then sent orders that no one was to sell us anything. However, the trading instincts of the Chinese were too strong to make this order effective. They dared not bring us anything openly, but at night after dark we got everything we wanted.

000 On our arrival at Li-t'ang we found three French

[1] Rockhill gives 12,914 feet: Hosie, 13,234 feet: Gill, 13,280 feet: Potosi, 13,330 feet: A. K. 13,100 feet.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

APPENDIX III

THE CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS OF YÜN-NAN.

In so large a province the nature of the country and the crops grown naturally vary somewhat, but except in the north-west corner there is a sufficiently close general resemblance between other parts of Yün-nan. 132

Let us deal first therefore with this north-west corner which in the nature of the country and of its inhabitants is purely Tibetan, forming with western Ssŭ-ch'uan that part of Tibet which is directly under Chinese rule.

Southwards the Tibetan tract extends to about the 27th parallel of latitude. North of this line is a country of very high mountain ranges, the plains even rising to from 8000 to over 12,000 feet. The climate here is naturally colder than other parts of Yün-nan, and where heights extend from 6000 feet on the river banks to over 15,000 feet on the hill-tops, it varies much in different places. At the higher altitudes snow may fall in any month of the year, and many of the passes are liable to be blocked throughout April. In the plains the climate is less severe, but except in a shut-in river bed it never becomes hot.

Parts of this country, especially the tops of the mountains, are bare and barren, but a great deal of it is clothed in fine forests of cedar, fir, and other trees. Rice cultivation hardly exists here: even the plains are too high and cold to grow it. A certain amount of maize is cultivated, but even for this a fairly warm climate is necessary, and the bulk of the crops consist of wheat and barley. Peach, walnut and other fruit trees also exist. 241 137

The cereal products of this part of Yün-nan are however scanty and poor. It is essentially a grazing country, for good grass is to be found nearly the whole year round. 233

[p. 309]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssŭ-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssŭ-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

a great feast on them: in other places we got the villagers to pick for us the kinds of wild leaves which they knew to be edible. 262

Unlike the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races who never milk cows, the Tibetans are very fond of milk and butter, and these we were always able to buy. But Tibetan ideas of cleanliness are such as would horrify an English dairy farmer. The wooden buckets into which they milk the cows are *never* washed or cleaned in any way, and consequently the inside of them is thickly coated with a slimy white substance, the remains of the milk of years. The result of course is that directly the milk touches the bucket it turns sour. We were only able to get fresh milk by having the cows milked into our own cooking pots, but the butter made out of the Tibetans' milk was naturally very nasty. However, one gets used to anything, and the Tibetan climate gives one a healthy appetite. We soon resigned ourselves to eating our chupatties with rancid butter and with honey that was chiefly beesmeat. 234

The principal food of the Tibetans is "tsamba," which is made by roasting barley and then grinding it into flour. The Tibetan has only to mix a little of this with tea in the basin that he always carries in the breast of his coat, and he has a meal ready at once. We tried tsamba and found it excellent; we used to make it with hot water and eat it with milk like porridge. 262

The money used in this part of Tibet is the Indian rupee. They do not care about Chinese silver, and we converted all our silver into rupees at A-tun-tzŭ. Small change does not exist: there are no four anna or two anna pieces. So the Tibetans adopt the rough and ready expedient of chopping rupees into pieces with a big knife and a hammer. Besides rupees chopped some into three pieces, and some into four pieces, we also found it convenient to carry about some of the Chinese brick tea which is the universal beverage of Tibet. Tea is so indispensable to the Tibetans that the disc shaped "bricks" will pass current everywhere, and are often preferred to silver. 436

To return to our journey, we left the Ba-t'ang road at Tsong-en, and keeping down the bank of the Chiang-ka River we slept at the village of Bo-tsa.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

241 If one may admit color as one of the elements of the landscape of a region, one certainly cannot ignore it in the agricultural landscape of the Szechuan Basin. In fact the unusual combination of color in the agricultural areas adds much to the charm of the Basin. The bright red, purple, and chocolate-tints of the soil, the fresh-green of the grain crops, vegetables, and flowers, the brilliant yellow of the rape, the white-but-spattered-with-yellow-and-pink flowers of the tung trees, the snow-white color of the white-wax trees, and many other colors silhouetted against the ever-present dark-green background of the luxurious vegetation throughout the Basin, all add to its special picturesqueness.

231 The normal assortment of livestock life on the farms is a second noticeable feature of the rural scene in the Basin. Fowls, geese, ducks, pigs, bees are especially prevalent. Horses and mules are few. Oxen and water-buffalos are the most important animals on the farm. The buffalos particularly serve in various capacities, such as to plough and to burrow the rice fields, to mill the grains, to press the oils, and to perform a hundred and one other duties. Aside from human beings, they are really the other important "flesh-motors" of the Basin. On the farms, herds and herds of such bulky, slow-moving, long-horned buffalos may frequently be seen (Fig. 16).

235 Duck rearing is another activity of importance (Fig. 17), particularly in the Chengtu Plain. During the months of November and December one may see enormous flocks of ducks being driven slowly over the flooded paddy fields of Chengtu Plain. They feed on the aquatic life in the waters as they are driven along. In two or three months the flocks arrive at Chengtu, fat for market, and at no one's expense!

5. The Character and Distribution of Cities and Towns

361 One of the outstanding features of the urban settlements of the Basin is that most of the relatively important urban units of the Basin are situated on the terraces near the banks of the principal streams (Fig. 7). For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh up to I-ping, following the Yangtse Valley, one may count no less than fifteen of these urban units, including the most populous cities and trading towns of the Basin (Fig. 7). The

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 63.

III. BRISTLES

439 237 Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, China's total export of bristles ranged from 8 to more than 10 million pounds a year. (See Table 2.) From 1937 to 1941, the volume was reduced to between 6 and 8 million pounds a year due to the curtailment of bristles supplies from North China and partial disruption of normal distribution channels inside China. In the following two years, the bristles trade between Free China and the outside world was drastically reduced by Japan's total blockade of the China coast. Improvements in air transportation and the Chinese Government's efforts in increasing the collection of bristles from producers in Southwest China, particularly in Szechwan, permitted the nation to more nearly meet the continuing demand abroad for the product by exporting 4 million pounds in 1944, as against only 600 thousands pounds the previous year. The dislocations arising from the war-to-peace transition and the unrealistic official foreign exchange rate of the Chinese yuan reduced the export of bristles in 1945 to 1.3 million pounds. From 1946 to 1948, exports of the product regained their prewar rate of about 10 million pounds a year.

Between 1930 and 1950, the United States and the United Kingdom were the chief importers of Chinese bristles. (See Table 2.) From 1931 to 1938, the United States directly imported between 35 and 45 per cent of China's total bristles export, and in the next ten years between 55 and 95 per

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 2. China's Bristles Export in Relation to the United States' Bristles Import a/

Year	Total Export from China (in thousands of pounds)	Total Import of U.S.A. (in thousands of pounds)	China's Export to U.S.A.	China's Export to U.S. as Percentage of: China's Total Export	U.S.A Total Import
1931	8,484	4,245	3,061	36.1%	72%
1932	8,001	3,486	2,847	35.6%	82
1933	9,100	5,186	4,168	45.8	80
1934	9,273	4,143	3,341	36.0	81
1935	10,199	4,854	3,887	38.1	80
1936	11,607	-	4,693	40.4	90
1937	8,917	4,825	3,734	41.9	77
1938	8,011	3,209	2,869	35.7	89
1939	7,347	5,163	4,632	63.0	90
1940	7,840	5,840	5,078	64.8	90
1941	6,039	5,789	5,229	86.6	90
1942	141	1,458	968	686.5	66
1943	599	1,384	533	89.0	39
1944	4,282	2,871	1,689	38.7	58
1945	1,329	2,840	1,251	94.1	44
1946	10,493	6,454	5,785	55.1	90
1947	9,778	7,042	5,689	58.2	81
1948	10,125	7,307	6,842	67.6	94
1949	-	4,828	-	-	-
1950	-	7,357	-	-	-
1951	-	3,854	-	-	-
1952	-	5,368	-	-	-

a/ Based on Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China, 1948, Nanking, 1948; and on the following publications of the United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.: Foreign Commerce Yearbook, 1948, 1949, 1950; Monthly Summary of Foreign Trade of the United States.

(Table 2 faces p. 945.)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

439 cent. These percentages are even higher if ship-
237 ments of Chinese bristles to the United States via Hong Kong are included. Statistics on the United States' importation of bristles show that from 80 to 90 per cent of the American foreign supply was normally derived from China.

After the Communists gained control of the Chinese Mainland in 1949, trade between the United States and China generally declined. However, the trade in bristles seems to have been an exception.

According to private information from a bristles merchant in New York, the commodity is of such strategic importance to the United States and so unavailable elsewhere than China that American government trade restrictions have been overlooked in regard to bristles imports, usually via Hong Kong. This policy would explain the steadiness of bristles imports into this country during 1950-52 (See Table 2.) despite the political changes occuring in China before that time.

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It is difficult to estimate with precision the part of the Southwest provinces in Chinese bristles production, and export, although the importance of the region's contribution is generally known. Before 1937, according to one authoritative study, about 15 per cent of the bristles exported from China came from the Southwest provinces.[2] During the war, the collection and export of bristles in these provinces were administered by the Foreign Trade Commission, a Chinese government agency specially organized to foster the export trade of Free China. According to Nationalist Government statistics, the quantity of bristles collected in the Southwest provinces, mainly from Szechwan, during 1941-45, was as follows:[3]

Year	Thousands of Pounds
1940	1,638
1941	2,772
1942	3,520
1943	2,596
1944	2,728

On the basis of an average annual export of 10 million pounds for all China, the above figures

2. Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien [Economic Yearbook of China], Hong Kong, T'ai-p'ing-yang ching-chi yen-chiu she, 1947, pp. 55-58.

3. Chinese Ministry of Information, China Handbook, 1937-1945, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 419.

439 and other relevant statistics indicate that between
237 15 and 20 per cent of the nation's bristles exports normally originated in Southwest China.

IV. TUNG OIL

439 During the last two decades, several impor-
245 tant developments have occurred in the tung oil trade between the United States and China. First, from 1939 to 1953, the United States' domestic production of tung oil increased by more than ten-fold, whereas the quantity imported was reduced by about two-thirds. In 1953, domestic production for the first time surpassed imports of the commodity. (See Table 3.)

A second important development was the decreasing importance of China as a source of supply for tung oil imports into the United States. Before World War II, more than 90 per cent of American tung oil imports usually came from China. During 1943-45, the Chinese supply disappeared almost entirely from the American market because of the wartime disruption of major transportation arteries between China and the outside world. A temporary recovery in the oil trade between the two countries occurred in 1946, but in the years following, the relative importance of the Chinese supply of tung oil to the United States was greatly reduced because of the increased production of tung oil in South American and the curtailment of Chinese trade as a result of civil war in the country.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssŭ-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

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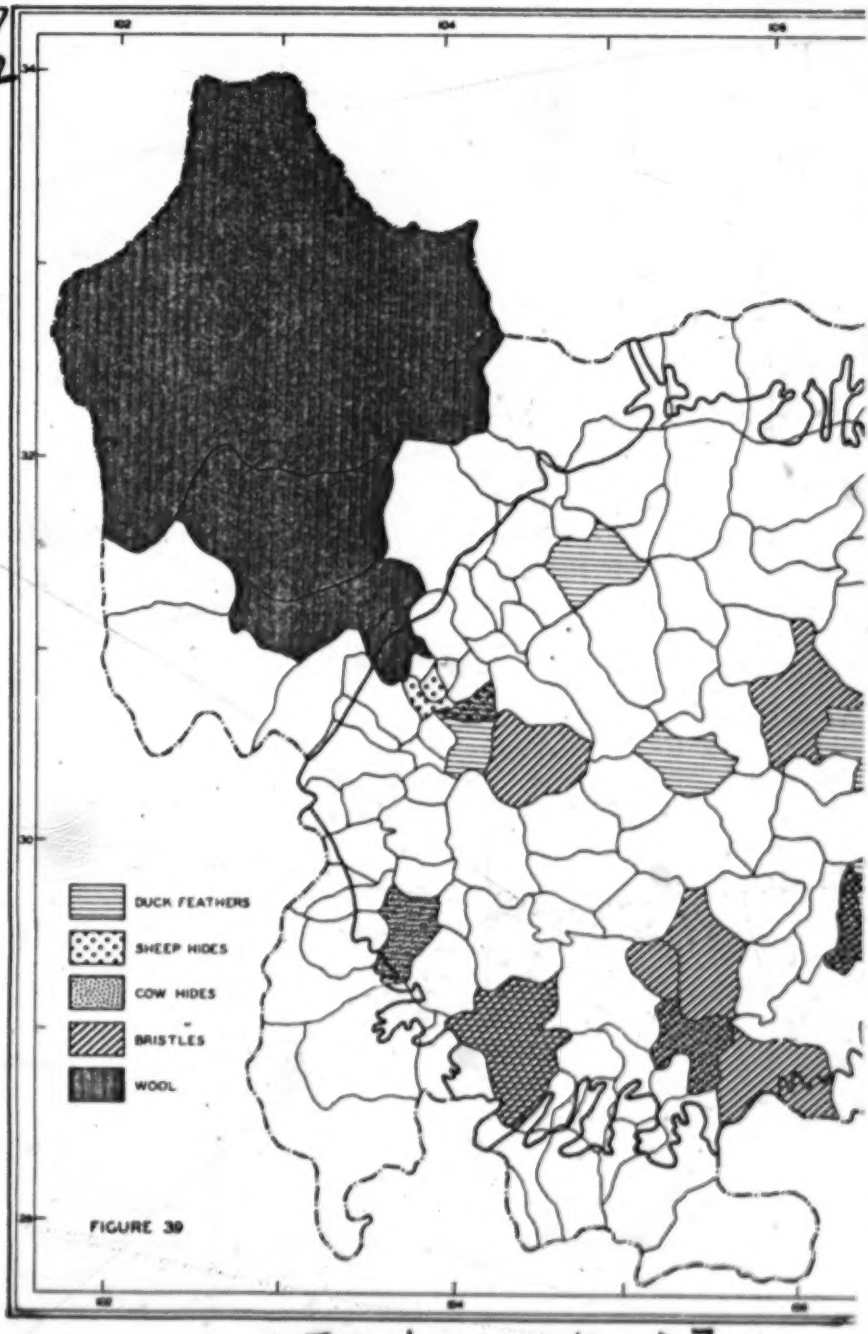

FIGURE 39

[End map 12 (a)]

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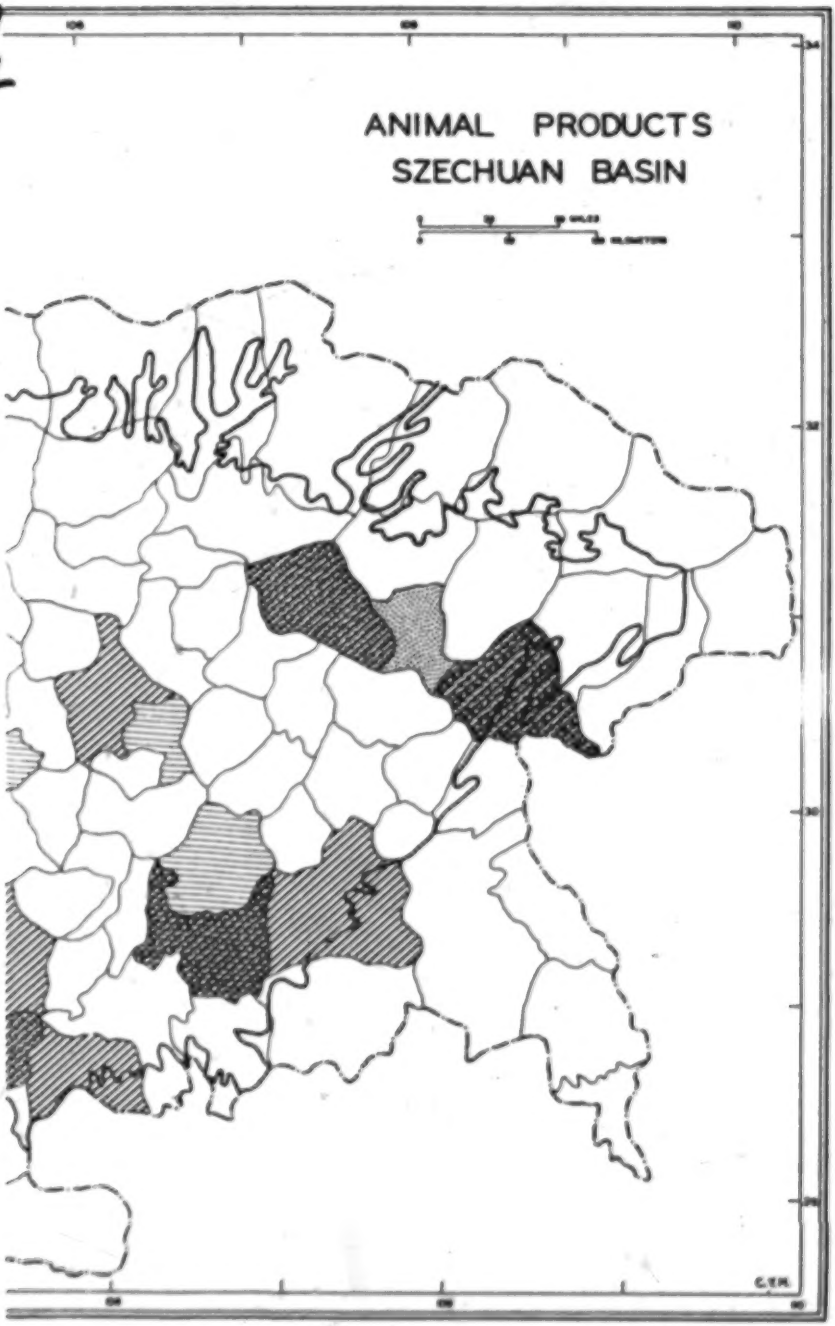

[End map 12 (4)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

244
251 The process of preparing Cho Tsai is interesting. It is dried (by solar radiation), specially treated with salt and other ingredients (somewhat fermented), seasoned with pepper, and packed in air-tight tanks for export. Like Sunkist oranges from California in the United States, this unique product, "Szechuan Cho Tsai," has been for years the best advertisement for the name of "Szechuan" in many parts of the Far East.

4. Livestock Production and Special Animal Products

231 This term, livestock production or animal husbandry, has a special meaning as used in oriental agriculture. Livestock production here in the Basin, like in many other parts of China, is concerned only with the quick-growing food stock, the species that are easily cared for and do not require special feed. These normally include pigs, chickens, ducks, and some geese. While some cattle and sheep are raised here, they are seldom used for dairy products as in the West.

According to the recent report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, for every one hundred farming families in Szechuan Basin there are 40 water buffalos, 17 head of cattle, 2 horses, 39 goats, 2 sheep, 169 pigs, 366 chickens, 149 ducks, and 20 geese.[1]

• 237 a) Bristles.--In the western commercial world, bristles, like silk and tea, during the past years has always been associated with China. The principal producer of this well known Chinese product is Szechuan Basin. Normally the Basin supplies about one-fourth of the total export of all Chinese bristles, including 15,000 piculs of black and 4,000 piculs of white bristles. Among all the outstanding exports from the Basin, bristles is the only one that has always maintained a predominant position. It now alone comprises about one-fourth of the total value of the export trade of the Basin.[2]

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 42.

[2] The export of bristles has jumped from eighth to fourth place in China's foreign trade since 1939, next only to raw silk, egg products, and tungsten. Szechuan Basin has been the largest producer, contributing about 40 per cent of the total export of this product (cf. J. H. Huang, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Bristles of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Pig-raising is a common side-line of all farms in the Basin. Bristles are produced in nearly every district of the Basin. But the most important producing centers are I-ping, Pa-hsien, Nan-chung, Chien-yang, Yung-chang, and Lung-chang (Fig. 39). Most of these districts produce black bristles. Yung-chang and Lung-chang alone are noted for their excellent white bristles. They are particularly well known for their brilliance, length, and strength and have long held at a premium in the international market. The black bristles produced at Ho-chuan, Nan-chung, Ta-hsien, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39) along the Chialing River Valley are the best on account of their special brilliance. 237.

The bristle-collecting season in the Basin extends generally from November to April, i.e., throughout the cold season. Generally no business is done during the rest of the year. This is mainly because the bristles grown during the hot weather are said to be soft and useless for manufacturing purposes. The Szechuan bristles, on account of their great strength, elasticity, brilliance, and relative immunity to moisture, are of a particularly high quality, and have long enjoyed a favorable reputation throughout the world. The best foreign buyers are the United States, which normally takes 30 per cent of the total exports; France and Japan, each taking about 20 per cent; and Germany and Great Britain, each taking about 15 per cent of the total exports. The principal use of the Basin's bristles in the United States are for tooth-and other high-grade brushes. But with the recent introduction of manufacturing bristles for such purposes in the United States, the prospect of this commodity, in so far as export is concerned, remains somewhat uncertain. 237 439

b) Sheep and cow hides.--While most of the provinces in China produce either water buffalos (as in South China) or oxen (yellow cattle) (as in north China), Szechuan Basin produces both. Among all the interior provinces in China, Szechuan Basin is the most important in the production of cow hides. The areas around Chengtu, Lo-shan, Lu-hsien, Pa-hsien, and Nan-hsien (Fig. 39) are particularly important. The cow hides produced in Chengtu Plain, owing to the good pasture nearby, are especially abundant in quantity and superior in quality. It is estimated that the annual output of cow hides, including both the water buffalo and the yellow cow, is approximately 50,000 piculs. Formerly, on account of the lack of tanning establishments in the 237

7; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

237 Basin, 70 to 80 per cent of the total production was exported as raw materials. But during recent years, since the rapid growth of local tanning industries, the hides are mainly used for manufacturing shoes, boxes, and other leather products consumed in the Basin.

Besides, the buffalo horns are also commonly utilized in Chengtu and other districts for the manufacture of a great variety of articles for everyday household use.

c) Sheep hides and wool.--There are two kinds of sheep hides produced in the Basin, namely, the garment-making hide, produced in the Sung-Pan area at the northwest edge of the Basin, and the leather-making hides, produced in the Chengtu and Wanhsien areas (Fig. 39). Normally, the total annual output of sheep hides is around 30,000 piculs. In 1935 the Basin exported 1,500,000 sheep hides, at a value of $1,500,000.[1] Normally, the United States takes about 40 per cent of the total export, with Great Britain, Japan, Germany, and France following in order.

A large quantity of wool, totaling nearly 40,000 piculs annually, is produced in the Basin. Sung-pan, Li-fan, Wen-chuan, and other districts at the west and northwest edge of the Basin are the principal producing centers (Fig. 39). Nearly 85 per cent of the total production of wool is shipped down the Yangtse in raw material form. It is either exported directly to Great Britain or sold to local mills in Shanghai for manufacturing purposes.

231 d) Silk.--Szechuan Basin has long been well known in all China for its production of yellow silk. The Basin is second only to the two most important silk-producing provinces of China--Chekiang and Kwangtung. Normally, the Basin produces about 20 per cent of the total silk production of all China, and has an annual output of 30,000 piculs.[2] In the past, silk has always been the leading export of the Basin. In 1930, a peak year, the total export amounted to 20 million dollars, which constituted 15 per cent of the total export silk trade of all China in that year.[3] But recently, on account of inefficient methods of

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[1] Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Szechuan Provincial Government, Agricultural Statistics (1935).

[2] T. S. Fan, "The Past and Future of the Silk-worm Industry of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 6 (1935), 34-42.

[3] China's Inspector-General of Customs, Analysis of Foreign Trade of China (1930).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The principal overseas market for Szechuan silk at present (shortly before the war) is in the United States, France, and Burma. For exports to the first two markets, silk is normally shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for overseas transhipment, whereas silk for the Burma market ordinarily goes by way of the Lo-shan-I-ping via Kunming, Yunnan route. The difficulty of transportation by way of the latter route is stupendous. Ordinarily it takes at least three to four months, by human carriers, for one trip from Lo-shan to Rangoon, Burma, and the transportation costs sometimes run as high as two-fifths of the value of the goods themselves. Unless transportation facilities along this route are improved, no matter how strongly the Burmese favor Szechuan silk, as has been the case thus far, the silk trade between Szechuan and Burma will always remain greatly limited. 231 438

Besides the difficulty of transportation, silk production in the Basin is now confronted by new handicaps. Silkworm rearing, formerly a profitable supplementary rural industry, has now given way to the production of grains (many mulberry fields have been converted into grain fields) which have been commanding high prices during recent years as a result of the increasing demand for foodstuffs due to the war.

e) Duck feathers and other products.--One cannot very well close this section on livestock production of the Szechuan Basin without mentioning another interesting product--duck feathers. The Basin normally has a total of over fifteen million ducks.[1] They are especially concentrated in the districts around Chengtu Plain, Lo-shan, I-ping, Yo-chi, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39). Besides the wide use of the meat for food by the natives, the feathers are especially valued by the wealthy people for use in making light, warm and soft comforters, filling pillow cases and quilts, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and a number of other uses. 237 [235]

The total production of duck feathers is estimated to be approximately 10,000 piculs annually. Approximately 70 per cent of the total product is shipped to markets overseas. Before the war, France was the leading customer, taking 30 per cent of the total export, with the United States and Great Britain each taking 20 per cent, and Germany and Japan each taking about 10 per cent. 237 439

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 63.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

136 neighborhood of Lo-shan and other districts to the north, the insects cannot survive the winter. Each year the wax tree growers have to dispatch special messengers on foot to secure eggs or breeds of insects from the hilly regions, particularly the Chien Chang area in the Ning-yuan district of southern Sikang province, which is about 250 miles distant from the principal wax-producing centers at Lo-shan.

Owing to the long distance involved, and the slow and difficult transportation conditions, as well as the great variation in climatic conditions between the warm insect-producing southern areas and the cool wax-tree-growing districts to the north, there is involved great risk in transporting these insect breeds. The carriers travel night and day, and generally the trip is covered in sixteen to twenty days, for this is the period during which the eggs are expected to hatch. Once the little larvae start crawling around, the carriers have no alternative but to throw them away. This alternative, of course, means great financial losses to the wax-tree growers, and has become one of the most serious problems of the wax-tree industry in the Basin.

•237 The principal wax-producing areas are concentrated in the southwest of the Basin, particularly in the districts of O-mei, Hung-ya, Chia-chiang, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 36). The total production of white wax in the Basin varies with the climatic conditions. Wind and rain are very much dreaded, particularly at the season when the insects are in suspension. These insects, exposed as they are on the tender branches of wax trees of one or two years' growth, are too weak to resist strong wind or heavy rain.

Normally, the total annual production is around 20,000 piculs. But during recent years, the total production has amounted to only 5,000 piculs, about a fourth of the usual production. This present sharp decrease in white-wax production is, however, due not so much to climatic adversity as to political instability and heavy taxation in the Basin. The greatest enemy of white-wax production in Szechuan Basin is the stupendously difficult conditions of transportation. The newly completed Szechuan-Yunnan western highway will undoubtedly relieve the transportation difficulty, and will accelerate the development of the industry in the Basin.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The most commonly cultivated white-wax tree, the Pai Lou Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis) is a fast-growing tree of medium size. In outer appearance it is very much like a willow tree but generally not as tall (Fig. 41). It prefers a mild and humid climate. It grows readily from cuttings of the one- or two-year-old branches of the mother tree. After three or four years the tree is suitable in size for wax production. It furnishes a rich sap, which by itself is of no value and is used to nourish the insect. The metamorphosis of the wax insect is similar to that of the silkworm. From egg it becomes larva, pupa, and eventually adult. It takes one year to complete its life cycle. It is the male larva which produces the wax, while the female merely lays eggs to carry on the line. The present strain in Ning-yuan district is said to be five hundred years old. 245 231

During the early spring the eggs of the insects wrapped in leaves of the Tung or some other tree, with holes pierced for air, are suspended on the branches of the wax tree to hatch. Generally, the insect prefers the tender young branches of two- or three-year-old trees, of which the sap is rich and the epidermis of the branches is soft enough for the young insects to break through. Within forty to fifty days after the eggs are hatched the wax appears upon the tree and gradually increases until the early autumn (September), when the harvest begins. The snow-white wax accumulated on the main branches is scraped down with sharp knives, while the wax on small twigs is cut down with the twigs. The wax is then steamed and refined two or three times, until the pure white wax is precipitated. 231 237.

The white wax has a wide scope of uses, including candles, glazing for paper, silk, furniture polish, coating for pills, models, polish for valuable metal utensils to prevent oxidation, and many medicinal purposes. The residue from white-wax refining is often used for fertilizers. Formerly, about 80 per cent of the total product was exported to Japan and the United States. But it now finds its markets in the interior provinces, particularly in Kansu and Shensi. It is reported that Chinese wax is superior[1] to any other wax produced in the world because it has no smell and leaves no stain whatsoever. Of particular importance

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[1] J. S. Ho, "The Wax Tree Culture and Its Problems in Szechuan," Chinese Reconstruction Weekly, XI, No. 6 (1940), 11-12.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

237 is its high melting point--83 degrees centigrade. It is said that Thomas Edison used this white wax from Szechuan Basin to make his first gramophone records, which have since given pleasure to so many people in all parts of the world.[1]

2. Yellow Wax Production

In addition to white wax, the Szechuan Basin also produces a considerable amount of yellow wax from bee hives. According to Buck, Szechuan farmers lead all China in the average number of bee hives per farm.[2] They are particularly important in the districts of Kuang-yuan and Kuan-hsien, in the north and west of the Basin (Fig. 36). The total production is generally estimated to be around 34,000 piculs, with Kuang-yuan, as the leading producer, accounting for a fourth of the total production. The yellow wax, like the white, is used mainly for candles, furniture polish, models, and many medicinal purposes. But, unlike the white wax, it is consumed principally within the Basin.

D. The Varnish Tree Production

314 Lacquer and lacquer wares in Szechuan have been famous ever since the early Han dynasty. The main producing areas are in the districts of Kuang-yuan, Chao-hua, and Tung-chiang, to the north, and Nan-chuan to the south (Fig. 36). The northern areas are the most important. The total annual production is approximately 4,000 piculs.

The varnish is obtained by tapping the stems of the tree (Rhus vernicefera), locally known as Tsi Shu, by making horizontal incisions in the bark. Generally, these incisions are first made and the tapping begun when the tree is seven years old and has attained a diameter of six inches. Two years are allowed to elapse before the same tree is tapped again. The tapping season commonly begins in late June or early July, at the time corresponding with the opening of the flower, and continues throughout the summer. The sap, as it is exuded, is pure white in color, but quickly oxidizes to a grayish-white, and finally to black. To prevent this oxidation, the crude varnish is covered as soon as possible with layers of oil paper.

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[1] Ibid., p. 17. [2] Buck, op. cit., p. 248.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted] AF16

177 There are other factors which give to
311 much of the area we are now considering
563 important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
•241 west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
621 culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
624 easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

62 with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the patterns of village life common to the old settled Szechwan plain and the more recently colonized areas of the Southwest? We shall sketch these before discussing the variations represented by urban life.

A. The Pattern of Village Life

423 241 First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Szechwan in 1946 the average farm was 3.9 acres, and the average square mile provided food for 650 people. In Kweichow the average farm was 3.2 acres, 241 in Yunnan 3.1. [1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit

161 1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China, New York, 1955, pp. 105, 178. The richest part of Szechwan, the Chengtu plain, has a population density of 2,300 people per square mile. Ibid., 241 p. 178. As we consider the pattern of agricultural life in the Southwest, the following data on the nature and distribution of farming throughout the area should be kept

•24 in mind. The table is from Shina Mondai Jiten [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, p. 435.

Province	Under cultivation (per cent)	Cultivated land in paddy fields (per cent)	Cultivated land, dry farming (per cent)
Szechwan	15	44	56
Yunnan	4	44	56
Kweichow	8	41	59

241 near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal, if the family is fortunate enough to have one, and as fuel for cooking, and, 291 rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of 342 cloth shoes. Wood for all purposes, is more abundant in Yunnan and Szechwan than elsewhere in China, but farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the rice region, of bamboo lathe and mud plaster. Floors are of earth, and only the dwellings of the wealthiest farmers have 735 glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and over-population became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of over-population China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional

527 221 farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

241 In the rice lands of the Southwest the most intensive work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. At that time the farmer harvests his winter crops -- usually rape and wheat sometimes supplemented with winter beans and peas. 243 Right after the New Year, often before the winter harvest, the farmer sets out his rice plants in nursery beds near the farmhouse. Then he removes his winter crop stubble and plows and prepares the fields for the young rice plants. He spreads fertilizer over the land and then breaches the dike and allows the irrigation water to flow in. After the desired water level is reached the field is harrowed again and again; then begins the back-breaking work of transplanting the rice shoots from the nursery beds to the flooded fields. The farmer has an easier life during the ripening of the grain. As the grain ripens, the fields dry, and at last it is harvest time. The harvesting and threshing are done with primitive implements, and many hands are required; straw is carefully

1;Stanford U; S-4; 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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243 saved in bundles for thatch and for fuel.[3]

[427] 241 Once the harvest is in, the farmer, if he is a tenant, has to pay a share -- often 40 per cent of the crop -- to the landlord.[4] He must also deal with the tax collector who relieves him of yet another substantial share of his crop. If the year has gone well, the rice borers have not destroyed too much of his crop, and the tax collector has not been unduly rapacious, the farmer may retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest and have some to sell in the nearest market town. After he has prepared his fields for the crops of winter wheat and rape, the farmer and his household turn to a variety of winter chores: repairing farm implements and buildings, weaving thatch, spinning and weaving rough cloth, making shoes, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer looks forward to some festivity, perhaps calling for a feast and the slaughtering of the family pig; if debt looms large, the pig may have to be sold to help pay the bills.[5]

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3. Cf. the description in Gerald Winfield, China, The Land the The People, New York, 1948, pp. 49-52. For the slightly different work cycle in the terraced upland ricefields, cf. ibid., pp. 53-58.

4. Cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. On (continued next page)

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II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

114 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

•241 668 First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected. No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

635 August 1-8, 1955 and was attended by 650 members consisting of Chinese, Tibetans, Chuang's, Yi's and Miao's. Li Ching-ch'üan, Chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Government, made a report on the work of the past two years and the important tasks to be done in the coming winter and spring. He referred to improvements in agriculture and industry, giving the following figures for 1952 as 100:

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Industries	1953	199.11
	1954	307.9 estimated
Agriculture	1953	86 %
	1954	6 %

There were 34 national and local factories and mines in the region, 604 agricultural co-operatives and 990,000 mutual-aid teams. In the same report he claimed that the people of Szechwan supported the building of the railroads from Chungking to Chengtu and from Chengtu to Pao-chi, and also the surveying of oil fields in Szechwan.

635 With regard to the tasks of the coming winter and spring, he asked the people of Szechwan to try to reach the goal for the second year of the five-year plan. Li's report was passed. Another report on the Constitutional draft was made by Governor Li. After a serious debate, it was given a unanimous support. Finally, 87 delegates to the National Congress were elected with Chu Teh at the head of the list.[8]

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8. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, August 10, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Southwest China region is formed of four provinces - Szechwan, called "the heavenly kingdom"; Sikang, an area of awesome mountains and dense forests; Yunnan, home of many different brother nationalities; and Kweichow, the settlement of the Miaos. The topography varies considerably, the climate is as variable, and crops are raised in abundance. The Red Basin in Szechwan, watered by the Yangtze and its tributaries, is especially fertile, and the Chengtu plain is one of the most famous rice producing areas in China. In addition to being the richest province for grain production in Southwest China, Szechwan also produces large quantities of cotton, tung oil, sugar cane, silk, rapeseed, and fruit.

II. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

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The total population of Southwest China is a little over 98 million,[1] according to a

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

433
245 and her satellites. According to one estimate,
[439] the annual export of fruit from Szechwan brings to China in return 4,000 tons of steel products.[22]

•241 Szechwan Province also produces raw
433 silk, ramie, herb medicines, hogs, and over
245 400 different "native products," of which at least 40 are for export.[23] The leading export is tung oil, of which Szechwan produces an amount second only to that produced in Hunan Province in the Central-South Region. The prewar average production of tung oil was estimated to have been 1,000,000 shih-piculs (55,000 tons), and in 1947 this amount had been increased to 1,292,372 shih-piculs (71,080 tons).[24]

245 The principal special products of Yunnan
433 Province are tea, herb medicines, and oil-bearing crops such as rapeseeds and peanuts. "P'u-erh" tea and the ball of compressed green tea leaves known as "T'o-ch'a", produced in Yunnan, are popular throughout China.[25]

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22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ma Chi, Chung-kuo Ti Shen-lin [China's Forestry], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1952, p. 45.
25. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 15, 1955.

245 The Communists have ordered the increased
433 production of tea. The production target set for Yunnan in 1955 was approximately 48 per cent higher than the output in 1954, which in turn was 21 per cent above the amount produced in the preceding year.[26]

According to a radio report from Peking, the province of Yunnan has been designated as one of the major coffee growing districts in Communist China. The region abounds with wild coffee plants; the Communists propose that in the spring of 1956 millions of coffee plant seedlings be transplanted and cultivated.[27] The first harvest is expected in three years' time, and plants for processing coffee beans are to be built.[28]

241 Kweichow Province has comparatively
433 poor agricultural resources. With the exception of grain, this area does not produce a significant quantity of any important commodity. The output of tung oil and tobacco amounts to about 450,000 shih-piculs (24,750 tons) per
273 year.[29] "Mao-t'ai" wine, which resembles dry
433 gin, has reportedly gained an international reputation and has become one of the leading exports from the province of Kweichow.

26. New China News Agency, Kunming, April 6, 1955.

27. Examiner, San Francisco, Nov. 6, 1955, p. 9.

28. Ibid.

29. China Daily News, New York, August 16, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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000 exports from the province of Kweichow.[30]

241 313 433 Sikang Province, with a population a little over three million, is a comparatively undeveloped area. Its principal products, in addition to grain, are herb medicines and lumber. Sikang is considered one of the chief lumber centers in China. In the regions of the Ch'ing-i River, the Ta-tu River, the Ya-lung River, and the Sikang-Tibet plateau there are forests over 500 years old.[31] Lumber production[32] in Sikang in 1954 was reported to be 34 times that of 1950. However, since transportation facilities have not yet been fully developed, and lumber resources of Sikang Province cannot be fully utilized.

VI. WATER CONSERVATION AND IRRIGATION

312 The most renowned irrigation system in Southwest China is the Tu-chiang Yen (Tu-chiang Irrigation Works) in Szechwan Province. It was built in 250 B.C. by order of Li Ping, governor of Shu (Szechwan) during the Ch'in Dynasty. Li was an able administrator and

30. Ibid.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 21, 1954.
32. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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312 steadily increased throughout the provinces of the Southwest Region.

VII. CONCLUSION

241 433 The Communist regime has given special attention to the intensive development of the agricultural resources of the Southwest Region. In Southwest China, the province of Szechwan plays the most important role in the production of grains and commercial crops. Since 1953, even the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, where the supply of foodstuffs has been generally inadequate, are asserted to have become more or less self-sufficient. Surplus grain from Szechwan is available in cases of emergency elsewhere in China, and the province is relied upon to make up the grain deficits of other regions. Southwest China also produces in abundance a number of commodities suitable for export, including tung oil, tea, silk, canned meats, wine, and fruit.

474 The movement to extend the authority of agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural districts of Mainland China has accelerated since the promulgation of the "Resolution on Co-operativization" in November 1955. Since the principle of "mutual-aid" is counter to traditional Chinese practice, it will doubtlessly meet strong resistance among the peasants as soon as the cadres relax their

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137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers,
the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is
[316] mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩 子 is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村鋪, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江鋪, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

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(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉鏡湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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PLATE 54. — THE YÜ-LONG SHAN OR JADE-DRAGON MOUNTAIN

玉龍山上眺玉龍山

As seen from Shih-tzu Shan west of Li-chiang, looking north. Shan tao-tzu the highest peak is visible. The fields and villages in the foreground are in Ta-yen li and the center of the plain is in Pai-sha li. Hsiang Shan (Elephant Mountain) in center, right; part of Shih-tzu Shan lower right.

[P. 108 F.]

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*133 flows along its eastern margin — *k'a* being a ravine. The Chinese name of the
*137 hamlet is Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村. Formerly it was known as San-chia-ts'un 三家村, as originally only three families lived there. To-day there are eighteen.

The most northerly village on this part of the plain, situated at the actual foot of the snow range at an elevation of 9,400 feet, is Nv-lv-k'ö, consisting of about 100 families (PLATES 74, 75, 76).

South of Wûa-dtv k'o-dü, on the main road to Li-chiang and east of Pai-sha, is the hamlet T'a-bbu-d'a, called in Chinese T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村. T'a-bbu-d'a was originally one of the 12 *d'a* (residences) owned by the Mu family. It was the place where they worshipped their ancestors; when performed in the sixth moon, the service was known as *T'a-bpö*. To the east of T'a-bbu-d'a is a small hamlet of seven or eight families called Nda-la-k'o-dyü, also belonging to Mu-tu-ts'un.

Another larger village consisting of over 100 families, called Nyi-mä-t'u-ts'an in Na-khi, and in Chinese, Hsiang-yang-ts'un 向陽村 (Facing the sun village), is north-east of Pai-sha.

241 Rice cannot be cultivated on this northern part of the Li-chiang plain, as
[134] the soil is too stony and there is not enough water to irrigate the fields, furthermore the altitude is too great. The Na-khi plant wheat, maize, potatoes, barley, oats, beans and peas also the rape-turnip *Brassica rapa depressa* which they call *ngyu* (the *man-ching* 芸菁 of the Chinese). The tuber itself is called
[249] *'a-k'ö*. Opium was also grown for Chinese consumption. South of and in the actual neighborhood of Li-chiang, opium was grown in the spring, and rice during the rainy season.

Gv-bö, in Chinese, Chiu-tzu-hai 九子海 (Nine lakes) is a district lying east of the long limestone spur which hems in this part of the plain. It has been settled only recently. Peasants from the village of Pai-sha-kai have started homesteads and planted fields. Previous to the settling of the Na-khi, a few Li-su and Lo-lo had built their poor huts there and carried on cultivation. The Chinese name is derived from the several circular basins which are filled with water all the year round.

*133 The range in which is situated Gv-bö, better known as Gv-bö la-zhër gko [the
*137 name appears also in Na-khi literature, and has reference to the tigers which once roamed in its forests and meadows: *la* = tiger, *zhër* = sound, noise, *gko* = alpine meadow], is composed of old limestone. The sharp rocks projecting through the mass of scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), give it a peculiar aspect. The highest point of this range is the triangular peak Lv-zhër-dsu (H-M., Lajatso), approximately 12,000 feet in height. The best approach is from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Ssaw-ssu-k'a, whence the ascent can be accomplished in about three hours. From its summit one obtains a glorious view of the entire Yü-lung Shan, that is, the part south of the Yangtze gorge. The northern end of the Li-chiang plain is covered with low pines and oaks (PLATES 77, 78), especially scrub oak; many herbaceous plants with beautiful flowers form lovely carpets in the summer months, and enliven the otherwise grey, stony waste.

Immediately east of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö is a low, circular mound, looking for all the world like an extinct volcanic cone. It is known to the Na-khi
000 as La-lo-dtö-gkv, including a small ravine to the north of it. On the top of this

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rising to over 20,000 feet into an azure sky, while Ha-ba ndahêr nv-lv rears its snowy head high over the crags and pinnacles forming the last of the spur to the west, at the foot of which the Yangtze roars some 10,000 feet or more below, ever carving a deeper and deeper gorge. Range upon range is visible, as well as the Yangtze in its trench at Ta-ku after it emerges from the gorge between Ha-ba ndahêr nv-lv and the crags of 'A-ts'an-gko. 132* 137* 48*

From 15,500 feet on, the grade is gentle and the going is good. We continue on the top of the wide spur leading to the broad peak, over thousands of tiny, loose, sharp limestone rocks. The entire surface of the hard limestone has been split into myriads of fragments by the action of the ice. The wall of rock which forms the eastern part of the gorge is cleaved several feet deep into a forest of columns as if the entire surface had been chopped up with a giant's axe. From the summit down to 17,000 feet the broad spur is buried beneath a massive glacier, the ice lying in folds like the train of a wedding garment (PLATE 87). The rocks here change in shape, resembling angular sticks several feet in length, and only about two inches in width. They lie about parallel to each other, having been split by the action of severe frosts and ice. Quartz is not uncommon here, also iron-bearing rock and pure white marble. The ascent to the summit of this mountain can easily be accomplished, one needs only follow the western outer edge or rampart which hems in the glacier, and which is usually free of snow. The only obstacles are the terrific gales which blow over these mountains, whirling the snow in huge columns like smoke into the air. If one wishes to ascend Gyi-nâ nv-lv, camp should be pitched in the gorge west of it, on a broad shelf or terrace, suitable for a camp, a little below 16,000 feet. At 14,500 feet and even higher we found *Larus Larus major* on the rocky, barren waste and also several snow chickens, *Tetragallus tibetanus Annicii*, neither hitherto recorded from Yün-nan.

6. THE REGION BETWEEN TA-KU (NDA-GV) AND GEO-NDZA-GEV

Ta-ku and the many small villages belonging to it are collectively called Ta-chü li 大居里. Ta-ku itself is situated on a fan-shaped plain mainly composed of conglomerate. To the west the plain is bordered by the Gyi-nâ nv-lv and the Chien-t'ai Ho 澗台河. The Yangtze emerges here from the terrific gorge which it has cut for itself through the Li-chiang snow range, and flows east for a short distance through the conglomerate plain and then north at the foot of a mighty range — the Dzu-k'u nv-lv as it is called by the Na-khi of Ha-ba and Bbêr-ddêr. The plain through which the Yangtze flows, 600 feet below the main village of Ta-ku, drops in terraces towards the river. It is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, except for a few Chinese settlers. The climate is warm enough for two crops to mature in one year. Wheat, panicled millet (*zhu* 粟), cotton, rice and maize are grown. Out of the millet stalks they make sugar known as Sha-t'ang 沙糖. *Cannabis sativa*, the *ma* 麻 (hemp plant) which the Na-khi call *ssaw*, is much cultivated, especially the female plant which gives better fibre and which they call *ssaw-mâ*. 133* [32] 241 ● [32]

Ta-ku is 140 li north of Li-chiang. To the west of the village is a large spring called Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 (Dragon spring); in the days of a native official, its water was conveyed in irrigation ditches to the higher fields. Near the 133* 137*

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The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大凉山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbêr-ddêr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 洛水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wla one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'o (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

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469 gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

487 The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wùa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu 明 印 坞), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat, oats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wùa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wùa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yünnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yünnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

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*314 *489 ●[24] *133 *137 Of the forests only a remnant remains, the Lo-lo having burned the huge oaks, in fact cleared the whole mountain-side. After ploughing the ashes under, they plant their buckwheat for one or two years, and then move on again, leaving behind them desolation, only to repeat the performance elsewhere. The slopes of the snow range are terrifically steep and once denuded of their forests, the land of the villages below in the Yangtze valley, of which only a narrow margin is arable, will be in danger of being washed away by the floods descending from the mountain. It is a pity that the government is indifferent to the preservation of the magnificent forests which still exist in this region, and allows whole areas to be laid waste by Lo-lo and Chinese alike. The Lo-lo are the greatest enemies to forests: wherever one meets that tribe one finds desolation; countless charred and fallen trees cover the landscape. When they are in need of firewood they will cut down additional trees instead of utilizing those already lying about by the thousand. This is especially true where they have settled in pine forests, as at Ghügh-t'o, north of Li-chiang (p. 231).

*487 *138 *137 From this forest-remnant we emerge on to a small alpine meadow called Ngv-dzü, elevation 10,200 feet, and continue down the valley, crossing several lateral streams, the last of which is called Lä-ngu-dtò. At 8,800 feet, where the stream and valley make a sharp bend west, we enter pine forest, at the upper end of which is a clearing called T'o-k'ö-shĕr (Long foot of the pine). Here in this forested valley not a breath of wind is stirring, while the eastern slopes of the snow range and the northern plain are swept by gales in the late winter and early spring, and the snow blown off the peaks and spurs in great masses resembling clouds. From T'o-k'ö-shĕr a trail branches north and follows on the middle slopes of the range to a famous cave called T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞, which is described separately. The trail to the Yangtze descends steeply through what is left of the once magnificent pine forests.

Most of the building lumber for Li-chiang comes from these forests; a dozen boards an inch thick, 12 feet long, and 1 foot broad, sell for Yün-nan $3, or about Chinese $1.50 delivered. The boards are of various sizes and grades, the smaller ones selling for Yün-nan $2.50 a dozen. This is reckoned in prewar silver dollars.

The trail winds through the forest, but does not descend straight to the Yangtze. It turns north to a gap known as Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), past a hamlet called Zi-shĕr-dto (Long grass hill) and the little village of Bbu-k'aw-dtü nestled against the valley wall below. This mountain path skirts several lateral valleys before and after reaching Ma-an Shan, where the Yangtze becomes first visible as a broad blue-green band, hemmed in to the west by a range 13,000–14,000 feet in height. Here in the river valley below are situated various hamlets, as Llü-tsu-ndu across on the west bank, and others further up-stream on the east bank, near the mouth of the valley down which the trail leads to the Yangtze. An alluvial fan extends into the Yangtze valley, and here are situated the villages of Dzä-bpö-dzü, Gkv-na-wùa and Llü-dtü-maṇ.

The trail continues through pine forest, at an elevation of between 7,800–7,400 feet, to a bluff of the latter height, from which the Yangtze valley can be viewed to advantage, up-stream as far as A-khi. Down-stream, the

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Yangtze, here called Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 by the Chinese and Ha-yi-bi (Gold stream) by the Na-khi, makes a horse-shoe bend near the region called 'A-gko-gyi-k'o (Spring amongst the cliffs) after a spring and a tiny hamlet of the same name. On the opposite bank is the hamlet of La-shêr-lo (PLATE 113).

From the bluff the trail leads to 'A-ngaw-mbu (Rocky hill difficult to cross), referring to the boulder-strewn place. The village is at 6,350 feet elevation. Here a deep valley opens out into the Yangtze coming directly from the highest peak of the snow range, its terminal valley wall is called 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) carrying a broad stream into the Yangtze. On the north bank of this tributary, which is spanned by a stone bridge, is situated the hamlet of Lü-ts'aṇ, the Chung-ts'un 中村 of the Chinese, both names meaning Central village. Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Cultivation extends from here as far as P'êr-dtu-wûa (H-M., Padoa; in Chinese P'u-t'ao-wan 蒲萄灣), elevation 6,350 feet, and less than three li distant. The most-planted cereal is rice, next come wheat and maize, with red peppers, tobacco and vegetables; potatoes cannot be grown, as everything goes into the plant and hardly any tubers form. Peas and broad beans are also grown. The red peppers and tobacco are sold, the latter in leaf form as well as ground. Every village has its own walnuts, which the Na-khi call *go-du*. Tobacco they call *yu*, but the origin of the name is not known.[5] Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Beyond P'êr-dtu-wûa dense pine forest commences which is followed by a stony waste covered with bushes of the rosaceous shrub *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, until the hamlet of Dza-dtu is reached, elevation 6,420 feet, a distance of five li. At this village which is in the ward Bä-lä-ts'o (Chinese Pai-lang-ts'ang 白[北 pei] 浪滄), where Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor of the Mu family, was fished out of the Yangtze (*see* the Mu Chronicle page 73). Continuing between fields we come to the hamlet of Ndzi-mbü-lü, elevation 6,320 feet, thence to the village of Yu-lo, the Chinese Ying-p'an-ts'un 營盤村, 6,300 feet. Various villages, as Ggö-lo and Muaṇ-lo, named after two ravines (*lo*), the upper (*ggö*) and the lower (*muaṇ*), are situated on the opposite west bank. At Yu-lo the trail turns at right angles down to the Yangtze where a flat-bottomed ferry crosses it to the hamlet of Ggö-lo (PLATE 114). The elevation at the river bank is 6,070 feet. A fine view is obtained from here of Ha-ba ndshêr nv-lv (H-M., Tja-ta-schan) (PLATE 115).[6]

Along the steep slopes of the western Yangtze valley wall, covered with a xerophytic type of vegetation, the rocky trail continues at an elevation of 6,500 feet. There is no cultivation along the trail, until we reach the next village of Muaṇ-lo overlooking the entrance of the 'A-ts'aṇ-gko gorge. On the

[5] The word *yu*, second tone for tobacco may have its origin in the word *yu*, first tone, meaning a wilted fallen leaf, the Na-khi observing that the wilted leaves of the plant are used in smoking.

[6] HANDEL-MAZZETTI's Tja-ta-schan can again be traced to the unfamiliarity of the Na-khi with the Chinese language. His guide, apparently ignorant of the real name of the mountain, and being close to a rather important village called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 (Bridge-head village), in which district the mountain is also situated, called it Ch'iao-t'ou shan, whence Tja-ta-schan.

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military map gives Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 below San-kai-tzu (Shang-ko-tzu) and opposite Lä-ndo (Leng-tu), while in reality it is beyond Dsi-gku, which itself is some distance north of San-kai-tzu.

Between Ssaw-ssaw-gku and Dsi-gku, or Dsi-gkv as the Li-chiang Na-khi pronounce it, are several villages, as Muan-ssu-dzhu (H-M., Musödso), or Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場 in Chinese, on the Li-chiang side of the river; and on the east bank, or Chung-tien side, the hamlets of Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打列; H-M., Ta-lä), and north of it the village of Ss or Ss(ér)-lä (H-M., Sa-lä), and north of this, also on the Chung-tien side of the river, the village of Ch'ou-dzhu (H-M., Tschodjio).

[34] Near Dsi-gku the soil is red, and sandstone and mica abound. Opposite the large village of Ta-t'ang 大塘 on the Chung-tien side, the mountain-sides [241] slope gently toward the Yangtze. Here along the river cultivation is carried on, while above the fields are dense pine forests, extending into a valley and up the steep mountain slopes on the Li-chiang side. The fields bear crops of millet and maize and, on the slopes above, rice. A large grove of lovely old oaks, through which the trail leads, relieves the monotony of the sandy fields. Here, near the village of Vu-dzhu (H-M., Mudschuo; the Chinese Wu-chu 梧竹), situated on the Chung-tien side, is a long island.

The scenery is weird and lonely, especially where the trail enters groves of Castanopsis, quercus (oaks) and pines; the mountain slopes are steep and huge boulders lie about everywhere. On the opposite side a narrow, dark valley debouches into the Yangtze at the hamlet of Nda-gka-dü. Five li beyond bring us to the village of Ba-lo (Chinese Pa-lo 巴瀘) at the mouth of a long, broad valley, almost as broad as that of the Yangtze itself. An iron chain-bridge spans the Ba-lo gyi which issues from the broad valley. It has two branches, the northern one carrying the larger stream; in the southern branch, called Yi-gv lo, are situated about ten villages.

Ba-lo itself is called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 in Chinese (Bridge-head) on account of the iron chain-bridge which spans the Ba-lo gyi. This is, however, not the iron chain-bridge (T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋) which figures so largely in all the battles fought between the Na-khi and Tibetans, nor where the Mongols and the Ming soldiers fought when conquering the territory for China. Ba-lo itself is one of the dreariest spots imaginable and compares unfavorably even with villages situated in the lonely Pa-pien Ho 把邊河 valley in the south of Yün-
[505] nan. Altogether three ferries ply across the Yangtze between Shih-ku and Ch'iao-t'ou: one at Shih-ku, where, since my last visit, a crude row-boat, such as is commonly used in this primitive part of the world, has taken the place of the raft; one at Müen-tsü-dtu; and one at Dsi-gkv.

The trail leads over the iron chain-bridge across the Ba-lo gyi,[24] and climbs the slippery rocks on the other side, leading along the steep, rocky bank down to the plain and the village of Muan-fu-k'o (Chu-ko-ling 諸葛嶺).

[24] Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河. Its source is over 200 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern slopes of the Han-sou Shan. It flows by the guard-station of Ch'iao-t'ou into the Yangtze. The bridge which spans it is called the P'ing-cheng ch'iao 平政橋; it was first built in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737) by magistrate Chiang Ch'iao-sun 蔣橋孫. It was destroyed by fire in the first moon of the fifth year (1740) and rebuilt by magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣 in the seventh year (1742).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*489 crosses it, over which the trail leads to Chü-tien. Instead of going over the
*133 bridge, we follow the south side of the stream to the hamlet of Hsin-i (Bi-me-
*137 t'ang in Na-khi). The southern side of the lower part of this valley is crystalline limestone, while the rocks near Bä-da are mica schist. The people are a mixture of Na-khi and Chinese, but not Tibetan as Kingdom Ward tells us.
[178] One li beyond Hsin-i we come to the village of Gu-du-wüa; here we meet with lamaistic structures, such as *mani* rock piles, on the smooth surfaces of which is chiseled the familiar Tibetan prayer, the magic formula of Chenrezig, *Om mani padme hum*. A few li more bring us to the hamlet of La-p'iu-gku (H-M., Lapikou; the Chinese, La-p'ieh-ku 拉鼈古) which boasts of a large Chinese temple dedicated to the Kuan-sheng Ti 關聖帝.
• [241] The trail continues up the cultivated valley where in the order of their importance, maize, rice, beans, and buckwheat are grown, also sorghum. Here, beyond La-p'iu-gku, we cross the stream over a narrow board bridge and follow its northern bank. The trees along the bank are mostly willows,

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gether they flow south-east past Chü-tien hsün 巨甸巡 (Chü-tien military post) into the Yangtze. On the northern bank of the Chü-tien Ho, between the two bridges which span that tributary of the Yangtze, is situated a small hamlet called Pai-t'a 白塔 (White stupa, or White pagoda).

Two li south of Chü-tien on the slopes, above the Yangtze, there stands a pagoda known to the people as Man-tzu t'a 滿字塔 (Pagoda with Manchu letters). The pagoda is actually below a Kuan-yin Temple (Kuan-yin Seu 觀音寺) near the village of A-wüa (A-wa-ts'un 阿瓦村), in the li of Chü-tien. It is about 15 feet or more high and is quadrangular. Tradition relates that it was built by Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) at the time of his Burmese campaign. His army travelled by this road (Chü-tien) while en route to attack Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). On their arrival at Chü-tien they were footsore and weary and they camped there. As they were people from the north it is believed that they knew Manchu characters (probably Mongolian script) and thus the building of this pagoda is attributed to Kublai Khan. As the rock selected for the building of the *t'a* was of a poor quality, the characters soon became illegible. It was later repaired and reconstructed and a Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddha) was requested to write the text, previously chiseled into the rock, on the plastered walls of the repaired pagoda.

The text written in Tibetan is still legible. It reads as follows:

"Om Ma Ni Pad Me Hüm Hri!

May the pagoda with basis and globe grant long life, health, happiness and perfection for a period of hundred years (perpetually) to traversing military forces, travelers, etc., while crossing the river which has the appearance of milk.

Erected in the fire — female-sheep year, in the beginning of the year, in the third moon, on the 14th day, on a full moon, on a Thursday.

Chiseled into the rock by the inscription sculptor Nyi-ma, motivated by me A-sho La-tsu-yar.

May long life, health, happiness and perfection be granted."

This last sentence is repeated. The pagoda was to guarantee success to those who were to undertake the crossing of the river at this place. As it is said that the pagoda was erected by Mongols while engaged in an expedition against Burma, the date given above can only be April 26, 1307, or the eleventh year of the period Ta-te 大德 of the Mongol Emperor Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (Timur or Olcheitu). It could not have been the year 1247, the previous fire-sheep year, for the Mongols did not make their appearance in Yün-nan until the year 1253.

Olcheitu succeeded Kublai Khan on the throne of China. The foundations of houses which once upon a time stood around the pagoda are still visible. Every year people worshipped here.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

From Ka-ka-t'ang the trail follows high above the stream, but descends now and again to its bed. It is in places washed out and narrowed by projecting boulders, so that the loads have to be lifted from the saddles, and carried across on their frames sideways. On this stretch it is best to follow the Tibetan custom of tying the loads directly to a saddle, rather than the Yünnanese custom of having a wooden saddle-frame which can be lifted off the saddle and rested on the ground.

A-nu-ndo hamlet. — After a march of 30 li we pass the small Tibetan hamlet of A-nu-ndo the Chinese A-nan-to 阿南多 (H-M., Anadon, MAJ. D., A-nan-tu). On the steep hill-sides cultivation is carried on, the principal crops being maize millet, beans and tobacco, the leaves of the latter are tied to strings which are stretched under the eaves of the houses to dry. The trail follows the river in a north-westerly direction; the ravine becomes narrower and, about 15 li beyond A-nu-ndo, which is on the west bank, another stream joins the main stream we have been following. Major Davies places his A-nan-tu at the bend of the river where it flows west into the Mekong and receives the affluent just mentioned. This, however, is not so. The bend is 15 li north of A-nu-ndo.

The trail leads on down the spur separating the two streams and follows up the affluent from the east for a few hundred yards, crosses it over a bridge and follows the steep, rocky mountain slopes composed of slate, shale and sandstone. To the east, high cliffs with rugged peaks rise several thousand feet into the sky. We follow the main stream, augmented by the affluent, down a narrow gorge with steep, overhanging sandstone walls, a short distance beyond which the stream enters the Mekong.

Ho-chiang-ch'iao on the Mekong. — At the mouth of the stream is situated the hamlet of Ho-chiang-ch'iao 合江橋, and, one li beyond, the first single-rope bridge spans the Mekong. The bridge consists of one bamboo rope evenly suspended but sagging in the middle. A short distance beyond this bridge on the east bank of the Mekong is the hamlet Pei-ch'i-ts'un 北溪村 (H-M., Betjihsün) above which the river makes a curve at the foot of a high peak. The trail soon descends to near the water's edge, passes a huge rapid and climbs again to below the village of Lao-ch'ing-ku 老慶古, situated on a prominent bluff. Here maize is the principal crop. At the mouth of a narrow ravine, along the banks of a tributary of clear, bluish water debouching from the west into the Mekong, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'ang 老廠. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. A few li beyond, after having passed through walnut and chestnut groves, we reach the most forlorn of all villages, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西 (Small Wei-hsi), the acme of neglect. At this village is a Catholic church in charge of a Chinese priest. Elevation of Hsiao-wei-hsi 6,400 feet, and a distance of 90 li from Ka-ka-t'ang.

Here the Mekong valley is inhabited by a tribe called the La-mao jen 倒毛人 (La-mao) besides Mo-so and Chinese. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* writes Tz'u-mao 刺毛, and has the following to say in ch. 202, p. 22b, "They dwell on the banks of the Lan-ts'ang Chiang; they delight to live near the

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER IV

The South-Eastern Region of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu)

101 The region from Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu) to Ch'i-tsung, Tibetan Je-
*133 drong (rJe-grong)[1] comprises the Yangtze drainage basin which lies in latitude 28° 30′ — 27° 35′. The Yangtze flows throughout in an arid, narrow gorge, flanked on the east, especially in the neighborhood of Pen-tzu-lan, by high, treeless, barren mountains which appear to be sandstone, one even reaching a height of 18,000 feet. This range is in Hsi-k'ang 西康, and more particularly in Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 country, inhabited by wild, lawless Tibetans known as the Hsiang-ch'eng-wa, or Chha-threng, written Phyag-hphreng,[2] the terror not only of Chinese and tribespeople, but of other Tibetan clans as well, even of the fearless Gang-kar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling).[3]

Hsiang-ch'eng was established as a magistracy in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and was called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣, but in name only, it is left severely alone by the Chinese, and the Tibetan outlaws do just as they please.

The territory here described includes the 20,000 feet snow range Pai-mang Shan, immediately south of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and two other high passes further south: the Kar-ri and the Ponge La. The valley between the two passes is called Yon-dze-khà, its stream debouches near Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙) into the Yangtze. South of the Ponge La is a maze of mountains, forested with pines, etc., on the eastern slopes, and spruces and fir on the wetter western slopes.

The country north of Ch'i-tsung is mainly inhabited by Tibetans; those living near Ch'i-tsung are called the Mo-so Ku-tsung 麼梭古宗 and those
• [241] around Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'ou Ku-tsung 乌古宗 (Plate 202). They are all agriculturists, but as there is little arable land except such as is available on the river terraces of the Yangtze and Yon-dze-khà, they just manage to exist.

*133 The volume of water carried by the Yangtze is considerably larger than that of either the Salween or Mekong, and the current slower. Rapids occur below Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍 (south of Ba-thang) where the river is reduced to a width of 100 yards. The barren valley slopes are composed of sandstone. The few hamlets in this arid gorge are situated on narrow shelves of alluvial detritus, with even occasional sand dunes. At Pen-tzu-lan the Yangtze is about 100 yards wide, and flows at an elevation of 7,100 feet. Here are rubble terraces covered with soil partly cultivated. Below Ch'i-tsung the character of the landscape changes completely. We have a broad valley floor with large fertile terraces, forested mountain slopes, and a quietly flowing river until Shih-ku is reached.

[1] See: p. 292.

[2] [illegible] [3] [illegible]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

S ST 311 [161]

Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 洛基河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

S ST [24] [312]

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luĕ-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hĕr-dü, the Har-lĕr-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜卯 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

S ST 131

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

[p. 388]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1:47 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER V

The Yung-ning Plain

5 131 136 241 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361 The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

ST [282] ST 292

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhynchu*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dru or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found, *Podiceps nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis* [illegible], collected first in the province of Hu-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-lü-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca niroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

[p. 410]

2; Reck K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Rev. Gaupp, Sc.)

PLATE 232. — THE YANGTSE VALLEY LOOKING SOUTHWEST FROM NEAR Ê-Ê-O

金沙江從上游北西南流，右岸是巴塘

The Yangtse forms here the border between Yung-ning and the Li-chiang district. The mountain visible through the clouds is Hun-ti-yi ne-lv; the terraced fields (lower left) belong to the village of Low-k'o-bhi-lin (Po-chio). Feng-k'o is west of the river about center of picture.

[p. 426 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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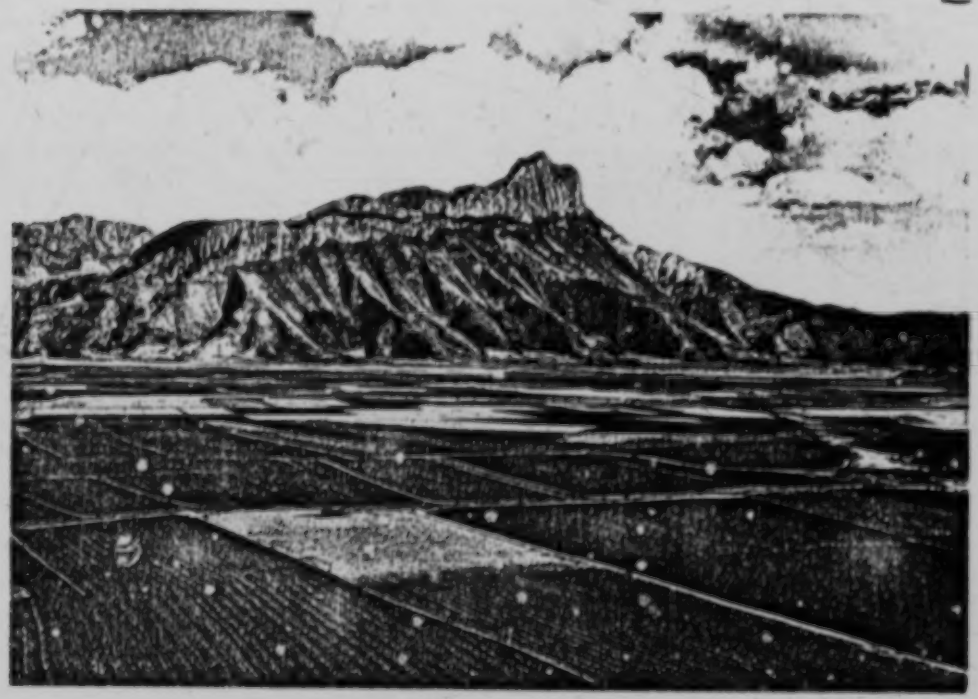

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 120. — THE YUNG-NING PLAIN WITH LION MOUNTAIN

永寧壩獅子山（雄雞山）背景

The Plain is called Hli-dü and is the largest level piece of land in Yung-ning. Its elevation is 9,500 feet. Lion Mountain, the landmark of Yung-ning, is 13,100 feet in height.

Lp.410-L]

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchmen. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

000 horizon with which I took latitudes every clear night. My maximum and minimum thermometers very soon got out of order and defied all my efforts to get them right again. The survey was done on a scale of four miles to the inch, and I tried as far as possible to get in all the country that came in sight rather than to put in with minute accuracy the part near the road.

133 Soon after leaving camp we crossed the actual water-shed which is presumably the boundary. They say there was formerly a boundary "gate" here called Shên-hu-kuan. From all this part of the road there are magnificent views of the surrounding country. To the south the hills near Sima are plainly visible. To the south-east in a nearer range of hills the gap is seen through which the road from Mêng-tien to San-ta passes, and beyond this gap is visible another range which is probably that which divides Möng Na from Ho-hsa. Far away to the east can be seen a high mountain chain which separates the Shweli from the Salween. To the north this range stretches away till it is hidden by the spurs of Tabu Pum; to the south it culminates in a very high and prominent conical hill called Kao-li-kung which is about 12,000 feet high. South of this the range seems to get lower very rapidly.

[162] [241] A steep descent of 1,400 feet brought us into the little Mêng-ka paddy plain which is inhabited by Chinese and Li-sos. The land is all cultivated but is not fertile, and the people do not get much more than a bare living off it. The head-man put me up in his house and I determined to halt here over the 7th, so as to write to the San-si sawbwa to tell him I was coming the next day.

A Shan silversmith from San-ta was a fellow-guest in Yang's house—rather an intelligent man who professed great contempt for the Chinese of Mêng-ka. Certainly the Shans are in many ways a much more civilised race than the Chinese.

579 On the morning of the 7th news came in that a caravan of Chinese traders on their way from Manwaing to Mogaung had been attacked by Kachins at a place called Möng-lawng[1]. Six mules with their loads had been stolen,

[1] I believe this to be the Shan form of the name marked on the Survey of India map as Ma-lau.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

825 sucks animals down as they cross. Our mules were fortunate enough to get across without encountering this monster. It is perhaps hardly worth any naturalist's while to come out to investigate this strange animal. A Chinaman likes to have a story to account for anything that takes place. In the spring and early summer there would be a good deal of melted snow in the water of the river, while the climate of the valley would be extremely hot and close. The sudden change from hot air into cold water might well produce cramp.

[241] The next day, a good up-hill road brought us to P'u-p'iao, a little plain covered with villages and well cultivated with the winter crops—beans, wheat, and opium. On this march there is an alternative road to Yung-ch'ang, branching off from the village of Fang-ma-ch'ang; it is said to be shorter but more hilly than the main road which I took. Gill travelled by it, but Baber and most other travellers have come by the same road as myself. Baber mentions that he heard that the stream which runs through the P'u-p'iao plain falls into a lake, but the answers to all my enquiries were that it joins the Salween. On the Chinese map there is a small lake marked a few miles lower down, but it is shown as the source of a small tributary of the main stream.

Our road on the 21st rose to the top of a bare range at 7000 feet, and a little beyond this the Yung-ch'ang plain came in sight. The path descends to the plain at the village of A-shih-wo, just before reaching which a cave is passed in the hillside to the left which is said to go right through the hill and come out on the other side.

361 The plain of Yung-ch'ang Fu is about 18 miles long
312 and six miles wide, covered with villages and well cultivated; it is one of the largest and richest in the province. As in many other plains there is a summer crop of rice, and after the rice has been harvested in the autumn, the winter crops of beans, opium or wheat are put in. A good-sized stream running from north to south irrigates a great part of the plain, and water for this purpose is also collected in reservoirs where some of the side streams run down from the hills.

485 I put up at an inn in the middle of the town. The

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Terraced fields in the Shun-ning Fu valley

241
311

Plate XVI

[Face p. 74]

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of A-lu-shih, which contains 150 houses—a large place for this hilly country. It is inhabited by a people with the bump of curiosity very largely developed.

The next morning we crossed the top of a range at 8,400 feet and from there dropped 3000 feet in three miles to Sung-lin-t'ang, a very small village which contains however a fairly good official rest-house. During this descent the green-coloured water of the Mekong was occasionally to be seen in the deep valley below.

On the 13th a further descent brought us to this river at an elevation of 3,400 feet above the sea. The valley is of exactly the same character as where it is crossed on the Yung-ch'ang–Ta-li road, the river running in a deep gorge, with steep, almost inaccessible, hills rising up from it. There is not an inch of level ground outside the river bed, which is from 80 to 100 yards wide, and is pretty well filled up with water. The current is strong, and rapids numerous.

We crossed by an iron-chain suspension bridge of the same type as those previously described. It is built where the river passes between two precipitous rocks, is 75 yards long, and consists of a plank roadway supported by 14 iron chains, the ends of which are embedded in brick piers. At that time the bridge was a little shaky and swayed about a good deal as one passed over it, and there was a man posted there to warn travellers that only one animal must pass over at a time. After crossing, the road turns westward and follows the river bank for some distance before ascending steeply to Hsin-ts'un, where we put up for the night.

On the 14th February we crossed another range and descended to the town of Shun-ning, always pronounced Shun-ling by the Yünnanese. There is nothing to call a plain here, but a fairly level strip of cultivated ground, half a mile in width, runs along a little stream called the Pei-ch'iao Ho, and tiers of terraced fields rise again above this on each side.

The town is built on the west side of the valley, on the lower spurs of the hills, and is about 5,400 feet above sea level. It is an irregular shaped polygonal a mile in perimeter, surrounded by a 15 feet brick wall backed up on the inside by the usual earth parapet. The space within

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000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the
438 Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

294 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious
438 kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou
•241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

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000 road descends slightly and turns up another valley to the mixed Chinese and La-hu village of Man-nung[1], where there is an official with the rank of *Hsün-chien* and a guard of 10 Chinese soldiers. I put up in a good-sized temple, built to commemorate the names of the principal civil and military mandarins who took part in the fighting against the La-hus. At the time of my visit the La-hus had been completely subdued and there was no large Chinese garrison in this neighbourhood.

563 Two more days of hilly marching brought us to Mêng-mêng[2] on the 20th April. Since crossing the Mekong we had been again in a country in which the La-hus form the greater part of the population. This tribe is almost entirely confined to the tract between the Salween and the Mekong. Among them there is in this neighbourhood a sprinkling of Chinese and also some Was or Las. The Chinese and La-hus often live together in the same village, and the latter seem now quite reconciled to Chinese rule. Mêng-mêng is a Shan state which was formerly subject to Kêng-ma but is now practically independent, though they still pay a nominal tribute of gold and silver flowers. The plain is some seven miles long and inhabited by Shans except for one Chinese village, the people of which are emigrants from Ching-tung T'ing who came here five generations ago. The town is the largest Shan place anywhere in this neighbourhood and contains 400 houses. It is governed by a sawbwa who was at the time of my visit [241] a boy of 17. The plain is well cultivated and the people seem fairly well off, but their prosperity depends on their rice fields; there is little or no trade in the state.

We left the next day, some of the Shan officials very civilly riding out with me two or three miles of the way, and then leaving me an escort of 10 men to go on with us to Kêng-ma. We camped for the night at Ya-sai, a village [197] of 40 houses inhabited by Chinese and P'u-mans. These P'u-mans speak exactly the same language as the Las of this district, but they do not consider themselves as at all the same race as the Las, though they cannot offer any explanation as to how they have come to use the same language.

[1] Man-nawng is its proper Shan name.
[2] Möng Möng in Shan.

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of [376] the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

CHAPTER XVII

YUNG-CH'ANG-FU TO TAW-NIO AND KUN-LONG.

Through fir woods to Niu-wang—The Shih-tien plain—Yao-kuan—A temple of hideous images—Hilly going to Mêng-po-lo—Cotton grown—Mêng-p'êng—The Miao tribe—A crop of oranges—The British frontier post at Taw-nio—Meeting with Captain Johnson—No news of Turner and Ker—The Taw-nio district—The fort—Sport at Taw-nio—Theft by my servant—Kun-long—Tracking elephants—Arrival of Turner, Ker, and Scott.

000 LEAVING Yung-ch'ang by the south gate, we made two short marches through undulating country covered with fir woods to the large village of Niu-wang, where I found the inhabitants particularly inquisitive.

•241 The next day our road lay through the very fertile plain of Shih-tien. This, like Yung-ch'ang and many other places in this part of Yün-nan, produces two crops in the year. The rice is harvested about October, and then the winter crops of opium, beans, peas, or wheat are put in. The Shih-tien plain also grows excellent tobacco and sugar-
[346] cane. We slept in a fine temple with a nice flower garden, and the walls ornamented with realistic pictures of the punishments in the Buddhist hell. The Hsün-chien, the small official here, was very friendly, and the people consequently as civil as they had been the reverse at Niu-wang.

From the Shih-tien plain an ascent of 1000 feet brought us on to a plateau country, with little hills covered with fir trees rising out of it 200 or 300 feet above the general
[241] level. In the hollows between these run little streams, along which are narrow strips of rice cultivation and a few scattered villages. At night we reached Yao-kuan, a large village, whose inhabitants allow their sense of curiosity to get the better of any small stock of manners that they may ever have possessed. We slept here in a temple which possesses the finest collection of hideous images that I have ever come across. [p. 130]

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nothing was missing. Neither Ker nor I had been very favourably impressed with the appearance of our Panthay hosts of the afternoon, and we had a shrewd suspicion that some of them had paid us this midnight visit, though certainly there was nothing to prove it. 000

On the 20th we descended very steeply to the Mekong, but left the river again immediately by an equally abrupt ascent on to another spur, whence we again went down into the valley of the small Kung-lang river, which is followed up with a good deal of up and down to the village of that name. Here the valley widens out into a quarter of a mile width of paddy fields. The place contains about 80 houses and is the residence of a small official, a *hsün-chien*. The population of the village is Chinese, but the surrounding country is inhabited by P'u-mans and Lo-los, the former near the river, and the latter on the higher hills. Our road on this march had been even narrower than usual, with rocks jutting out in places. No less than seven of our mules fell down the hillside, but no greater damage was done than the smashing of a bottle of brandy.

We were now again on the high road from Yün Chou to Ta-li, which we had left at Mêng-lang. Three more days of the usual hilly marching took us to Mêng-hua T'ing. The top of the range to the south of this place is 8,500 feet, where our route crossed it, and from here we had a fine view of the town and plain beneath us, and of the snowy mountains of Ta-li beyond. Descending into the plain we passed some hot springs, with a large bathing tank. Where the water runs out of this, all the stones and earth are covered with a white salt-tasting deposit of which the water is evidently full.

Before entering the town we crossed a shallow sandy stream by a three-arched brick bridge. This is the head waters of the Red River of Tong-king. Mêng-hua contains about 1000 houses and is surrounded by a good stone wall. It has always been, for some reason or other, rather an anti-foreign place, and inn-keepers were not at all anxious to receive us. However we forced our way in, and the good man of the house thought it best to acquiesce in a *fait accompli*.

The plain like many others grows two crops; beans and opium are produced in some quantity. [241]

312 had been passing through are, as far as I could see, entirely watered by lakes and ponds: there do not appear to be any running streams. They are much less fertile than the valleys further west, no doubt in consequence of the increased difficulty of irrigating the land where no running water is available.

136 What these plains lack in fertility is from the sportsman's point of view abundantly made up for by the quantities of geese and duck which one finds in the lakes. There were flocks of bar-headed geese all over the plain, and one could walk right up to within twenty or thirty yards of them before they would rise in a leisurely manner. Out of one flock I got six. Two fell to my first two barrels as they rose, and then the flock after flying round a short distance twice, again came over my head at close range, enabling me to get two more each time. This will seem incredible to those who know that very wary bird the wild goose, but I remember in India once, in the Aligarh district, finding a flock of these bar-headed geese equally tame. There was no sport in this, so when I had killed fifteen—enough to feast our followers for two or three days—I gave up shooting them.

However tame the geese may have been, the duck, though numerous, were by no means easy to get within shot of. The mallard and teal seem to be the commonest on the large lakes, and that small black and white duck called the tufted pochard on the smaller ponds.

From Mu-pang-p'u to Chên-nan Chou we took four days, moving very slowly, as Watts-Jones often had to leave the road and ascend hills so as to get a better view of the country. Our road led us at an average height of 7000 feet through a sandstone plateau country, with small hills rising up out of it, very dry and bare except for a few
241 little fir trees. Villages are not numerous, and the cultivation is chiefly confined to strips of beans, opium, and wheat along the narrow valleys.

000 Just before reaching Chên-nan Chou we had made a halt to put up the plane table, when Ryder suddenly appeared coming in by a road from the north. So after being separated for three and a half months we hit each other off to a yard. He had gone from Li-chiang eastward

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000 it on our right, passed through the village of T'ang-ch'ih, in the middle of which is a hot sulphur spring and a bathing-tank, much frequented by the rheumatic. After this we crossed another range, and descended steeply to the Yi-liang plain, which lies at 5,300 feet, an exceptionally low level for this part of Yün-nan.

361 The town contains about 800 houses and is surrounded by the usual wall, but most of the inns and shops are in [436] a suburb outside the north gate. Their cotton and foreign goods reach them through Tong-king, and the only important local product is opium, which grows well here. The place is usually called Ni-liang by the Yün-nanese, and locally it is also known as Mi-liang.

The next day at the far edge of the plain we forded a river 70 yards wide, which runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, and then ascended on to a large plateau over which our route lay for the rest of the way to Lu-liang Chou.

133 This plateau ends to the north in a precipitous descent to the Ch'ü-ching River[1], while to the south the haze prevented me from seeing how far it extended. The general elevation averages well over 6000 feet, and it undulates so gently that carts are used all over it. There are a few fir trees in places, but the general character of the country is very bare and dry, with little rocky mounds rising out of it. Great pillars of sandstone rock 15 or 20 feet high standing in groups form a curious feature of the landscape, and might easily be taken for ruined buildings when seen [241] in the distance through the haze. The crops in this plateau are very poor and scanty: opium seems to grow better than anything else.

000 After two days and a half over this somewhat monotonous country, we again reached the Ch'ü-ching River. Crossing it by a fine thirteen-arch stone bridge, 120 yards long, we soon entered Lu-liang, which lies a little higher up on the right bank. The river here has a slow current and a depth of apparently three or four feet, but lower down between here and Yi-liang it seems to run in a deep gorge, and I could hear of no road up its banks in this part of its

[1] I do not think that the Chinese call the river by this name in this part of its course, but as it runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, I have thought best to so name it.

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course. This river I should mention is one of the sources of the West River of Canton.

Lu-liang Chou is one of the poorest towns I have seen, and is rather unlike the ordinary Chinese city, for, though it has a wall, the houses are much scattered about and the place is full of trees. There are scarcely any shops, and the people depend for their buying and selling on a market which is held every five days.

In spite of its poverty the town has a considerable reputation for scholarship, and many of its inhabitants are able to display over their doors the tablet which shows that they have taken a literary degree. We slept in a temple which an enterprising man had turned into an inn, and we were glad to find a watertight roof over us, for a very heavy thunderstorm burst in the evening.

From Lu-liang two level marches up the plain, through which the Ch'ü-ching River runs, brought us to Yüeh-chou. This is the place from which Momien derives its Chinese name of T'êng-Yüeh[1]. It still has walls round it, but is not now an official city, and much of the space inside it is taken up by fields, the main street of 200 houses being all that remains of the former town.

The next day, the 10th April, we reached Ch'ü-ching Fu, where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Allen of the China Inland Mission. The town, which stands at a height of 6,450 feet, contains about 1000 houses, and lies in one of the finest plains in Yün-nan. The plain is continuous from beyond Chan-yi Chou, a town lying north of Ch'ü-ching, down to below Lu-liang Chou, a total length of 50 miles, with an average width of five miles. The upper half of this plain, down to below Yüeh-chou, is very fertile, but nearer Lu-liang there are not so many irrigated fields and the crops are poor. I saw oats growing in one place near Ch'ü-ching, a crop I had not previously noticed in Yün-nan. I think it is only cultivated in the north-eastern part of the province.

Ch'ü-ching lies a little off the main road, and is not therefore a great trading place. Its principal industry is the weaving of cotton cloth from Indian yarn, which is im-

[1] See p. 45.

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CHAPTER XXII

FROM WEI-NING CHOU BACK TO YÜN-NAN FU *VIÂ* TUNG-CH'UAN FU.

Part from Watts-Jones—Watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River—A mass of steep hills—White wax insect—The Niu-lan Chiang—Zinc smelting—Kung shan—Lead, silver, and zinc mines—Tung-ch'uan Fu—Weaving—Copper mines—The Yi-li Ho—A high plateau—Wooded country—Curious rice husking machine—Cuckoos—Hsün-tien Chou—Sung-ming Chou—Lose the way—Reach camp at dark—A country full of pheasants—Reach Yün-nan Fu—Meet Ker—Results of his explorations—Ryder's movements—Arrival of Turner.

WATTS-JONES and I left Wei-ning on the 27th April. 000 Our roads were the same for the first five miles, leading along the northern bank of the Wei-ning Lake, till we crossed its outlet by a bridge at Ta-ch'iao. Here we separated. My road led over undulating ground among clumps of fir trees to the little village of Shuang-lung-ch'iao where I pitched my tent.

On the 28th 18½ miles of hilly marching, over a country sparsely inhabited by Lo-los, brought us to Ch'ing-mo-ti. The next day we crossed a range at 8,150 feet and descended by a path, the last part of which was almost precipitous, to the small village of Ch'ia-hsi-ho.

The ridge crossed on this march is a spur running out from the main range which lies a few miles to the south and forms the watershed of the Yangtze and the Canton River. I do not think I have ever seen such a mass of steep broken hills as this country presents. The hill-sides are 133 very barren and dry, and many of them are too steep to be 241 climbed, so that the roads have to follow the beds of streams. Maize is the chief thing grown by the few villages that there are.

This was the first district in which I came across the 231 white wax insect: most of the villages about here rear

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the cup near the top. The zinc is sold at about 1½d. for 1 lb., and is most of it sent to Yün-nan Fu to be mixed with copper to make cash.

After crossing the river we had a very steep climb of more than 3000 feet, reaching the top of the range at 8,600 feet and descending slightly to Kung-shan, a large mining village. The mine manager was a travelled man who had visited Shanghai, and I found him very civil.

Lead and zinc are the two chief minerals, and the lead ore also produces a small quantity of silver. I was told that the output of lead averages 400 lbs. in a day. The zinc is got out of very deep shafts, extending they say several *li*[1] into the hill-side. I did not test the exact accuracy of this statement, but I went a little way down one shaft and it certainly seemed to be a deep one. They are not sunk straight down but are sloped so that a man can walk down them, though the passage is so low that he has to keep in a bent position most of the way.

On the 1st May our road led us down a narrow valley to the Chê-hai plain, which is about seven miles long and contains a small lake and several villages. The next day after crossing a low range we reached Tung-ch'uan Fu where I was kindly put up by Mr and Mrs Grist and Dr Hicks, the missionaries there. The official then at Tung-ch'uan was a very enterprising man who had established a manufactory of cotton cloth. The yarn is from Bombay, imported by Shanghai and the Yangtze. There was no European machinery: they used the ordinary Chinese looms.

The town walls of Tung-ch'uan do not enclose much space, but there are a good many people living outside the gates, and the whole town and suburbs must contain about 1000 houses. The population appear to be very friendly to foreigners.

The plain is some six miles long by three miles wide. It grows rice well, but the winter crops do not seem to flourish, and the soil does not suit opium. Like Wei-ning

[1] The *li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Theoretically it is about 600 yds. but practically it varies in different parts of the country. In the hilly parts of Yün-nan it runs about five to the mile. Ten li may be usually taken as an hour's march, so that used in this way as a unit of time it is a very useful measure.

316 Like Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley

505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

• 241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent

137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

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000 between the little Chiang-ch'uan Lake and the hills to the east of it, just at the point where a stream connecting it with the Ch'êng-chiang Hai forces its way through these hills.

The village has some nice trees and looks well from a distance: inside are the usual pigs and dirt. Its height is just under 6000 feet, the first time for six weeks I had camped at such a low elevation.

On the 18th, crossing a low range of hills, we descended to the lake of T'ung Hai, and, rounding its eastern end, • 241 reached the town of that name. The plain round the lake 373 is well cultivated and there is a ring of large villages round it. The town though not very big is decidedly prosperous and has a good deal of trade. We found kerosine oil in general use here for lamps, a sign that we were approaching the civilisation of Tong-king.

From here Turner and I separated, his road branching off in a more westerly direction. Ker had left us two days previously to find a way from Chin-ning to T'a-lang, thus getting more country surveyed than we otherwise should have done.

316 Turner and Ker met at T'a-lang and were able to visit the gold mine, which they found a productive one in spite of the very crude machinery used. After this they had a most trying journey over roads rendered nearly impassable by heavy rains. They followed up the course of the Pa-pien Chiang (Black River) for several days, turning westward from near the south end of the Ching-tung T'ing plain. Ker crossed the Mekong to Yün Chou, and from there went northward to Ta-li Fu, where he met Turner, who had come there by a more direct route. They did not reach Burma till August. Travelling in Yün-nan in the rains is not a pleasant experience. It was quite an exceptional circumstance for them not to be wet to the skin on every march, and their rate of progress was sometimes not more than a mile an hour.

136 It had rained almost unceasingly since we left Yün-nan Fu, so it was pleasant to start the next morning in fine weather, with the cheerful call of the Chinese francolin all round us. This bird closely resembles the painted partridge of southern India, and is the common partridge of Burma

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nd of the Shan States and the lower lying valleys of Yün- 136
nan; but I have never before or since seen it at anything ike such a high elevation as 6,200 feet, which is about the eight of the T'ung-hai plain.

Crossing a range of hills we descended steeply down a 249
narrow gorge to the Ch'ü Chiang valley, which being only ,800 feet is warm enough to grow sugar cane, a valuable product in Yün-nan. The river which waters this valley is 000
00 yards wide and is fordable at this time of year, being lso crossed here by a wooden footbridge. Later on in he rains the water rises and mules have to cross by a bridge two miles lower down, just where the river leaves he plain.

I have reason to remember the footbridge, for the man who was in charge of my pony, so as not to wet his own eet, tried to lead him over the bridge. As it was made of narrow planks not very carefully joined together and the whole structure was decidedly shaky, the natural result was hat the pony fell off it when he had got half way across. t was an anxious moment when I heard a shout from behind and looked back to see the pony hang for a moment nd then fall. Luckily he was not hurt, though there was a considerable drop.

Our hopes of getting through the day dry were disppointed, as, before we could reach our night's quarters at Kuan-yi, a heavy thunderstorm burst, which wetted us to he skin in a few moments.

On the 20th May a march of 17 miles took us to Hsinang, a village in the Lin-an plain, where we put up in a emple. We were below 5000 feet here and in a much warmer climate than the traveller in Yün-nan is accustomed o, while the mosquitos reminded us that we were now in he rainy season. Luckily we had a clear night and I was able to take the latitude, the only observation I got between Yün-nan Fu and Tong-king.

The town of Lin-an Fu lies five miles off the road to he south and I had not time to visit it, but I made a slight detour the next morning to the top of a low spur, and I was able to fix its position.

The town is said to contain 1000 houses: it lies in 361
a plain of considerable extent, but only narrow strips along 241

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361 the two streams that water it are irrigated: the rest of the
241 plain lies too high and is consequently little cultivated.
The natives of Lin-an, like those of T'êng-yüeh, have a
186 strong antipathy to anyone who has not had the good fortune to be born a Chinaman. So far do they carry their hatred of everything foreign that they even refuse to weave their cloth out of foreign yarn. They import their material for making clothes in the shape of raw cotton from the Shan States. Such at least was the case at the time of my visit.

Three days from Hsin-fang, over a fairly open plateau country, brought us to Mêng-tzŭ[1], where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Spinney of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

579 This place was only opened as a treaty port in 1889.
186 The foreign settlement is pleasantly situated outside the town, the European community at the time consisting, besides the Customs Staff, of a French consul, a doctor, and one French merchant. The well-built, well-furnished houses in which they lived made one feel that one was in civilisation once more.

Mêng-tzŭ was considered a very quiet place, and the inhabitants of the town were extremely civil and fairly free from curiosity. But only a short time after my visit the Europeans there had a very unpleasant awakening from their sense of security.

In the middle of the night the foreign settlement was attacked by a large armed mob recruited principally from the workers in the Ko-chiu tin mines. The foreign community, among whom at the time were several French officers, concentrated in the French Consulate and made good their defence. The rioters, however, killed two Chinese servants and burned or carried off everything from the remaining houses.

439 Mêng-tzŭ is a busy place for Yün-nan, and even though the rainy season had begun I must have met quite 1000 loaded mules since leaving T'ung-hai. They were most of them carrying cotton yarn imported from Bombay *viâ* Hong Kong. This Indian yarn is cheaper than the Man-

[1] Sometimes spelt Mêng-tsz' or Mong-tze.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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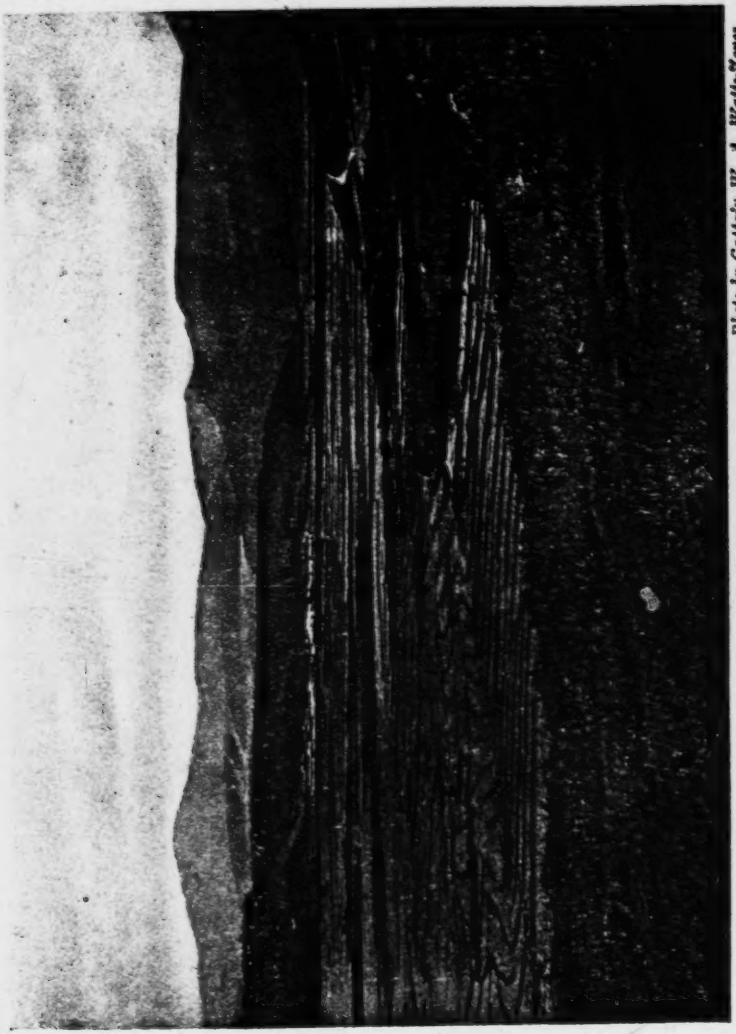

Photo by Captain W. A. Walls-Jones

the Nan-tien plain

Plate XLIV

[Face p. 192]

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000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

361 The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials
563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese are of Lo-lo descent.

•241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country, without much water in it that can be used for irrigation.
316 The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third day we reached Ssū-ch'éng, a village at 6000 feet, which has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last march we passed a small iron mine at a place called Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep one small furnace going.

361 From Ssū-ch'éng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mén-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

panthers' tracks. It is not often in any country that one would get such a good look at a tiger, and such an opportunity of observing his ways. 136

We were now well into the Chien-ch'ang valley. This part of it is not, however, a flat plain. In fact there is scarcely any really level ground, but between the hills on either side is a width of about a mile of gently sloping land which is cultivated in terraced fields. There are a fair number of villages, but this end of the valley does not strike one as extraordinarily rich. 241

We slept at Liang-lu-k'ou, a small village just opposite the town of Tê-ch'ang which is on the other side of the An-ning Ho, and is said to contain 700 houses. The river is here crossed by ferry in many places, and they were building an iron chain suspension bridge across it at Tê-ch'ang. 797

The next day I was overtaken on the march by a bearded horseman in Chinese dress whom I at once recognised as a French missionary. He turned out to be Père Bourgain who lives at Tê-ch'ang. We both slept at Huang-shui-t'ang, and had a very pleasant talk in the evening.

He is one of five priests who are established in this part of Ssŭ-ch'uan. They had had a good deal of trouble with the Chinese of this valley who are not very partial to Europeans, but the matter had been taken up and the missionaries had got the best of it, so the Chinamen were at present on their best behaviour. I certainly found them very civil the whole way up the Chien-ch'ang valley; and even in Ning-yüan Fu which has a very anti-foreign reputation I did not see any signs of unfriendliness.

Père Bourgain seems to have many converts, and has some even among the Lo-los, though he says it is very difficult to cure them of their habits of drunkenness.

It is impossible not to admire the zeal and unselfishness which induces the Catholic missionary to come to China there to spend the rest of his days in the cause of his religion, without any hope of ever seeing his native country again. For it is only in very rare instances that a Catholic missionary ever goes back to his own land. He makes up his mind from the beginning to live and die in China. Living alone, as most of them do, it is a very salutary rule that they have, that when possible every priest shall go and

361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

•241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

[1] [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

5: Davies * G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

APPENDIX III

THE CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS OF YÜN-NAN.

In so large a province the nature of the country and the crops grown, naturally vary somewhat, but except in the north-west corner there is a sufficiently close general resemblance between other parts of Yün-nan. 132

Let us deal first therefore with this north-west corner which in the nature of the country and of its inhabitants is purely Tibetan, forming with western Ssŭ-ch'uan that part of Tibet which is directly under Chinese rule.

Southwards the Tibetan tract extends to about the 27th parallel of latitude. North of this line is a country of very high mountain ranges, the plains even rising to from 8000 to over 12,000 feet. The climate here is naturally colder than other parts of Yün-nan, and where heights extend from 6000 feet on the river banks to over 15,000 feet on the hill-tops, it varies much in different places. At the higher altitudes snow may fall in any month of the year, and many of the passes are liable to be blocked throughout April. In the plains the climate is less severe, but except in a shut-in river bed it never becomes hot.

Parts of this country, especially the tops of the mountains, are bare and barren, but a great deal of it is clothed in fine forests of cedar, fir, and other trees. Rice cultivation hardly exists here: even the plains are too high and cold to grow it. A certain amount of maize is cultivated, but even for this a fairly warm climate is necessary, and the bulk of the crops consist of wheat and barley. Peach, walnut and other fruit trees also exist. 241 137

The cereal products of this part of Yün-nan are however scanty and poor. It is essentially a grazing country, for good grass is to be found nearly the whole year round. 233

[p. 309]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of
439 the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere
312 else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry
●241 and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the
[137] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topog-
311 raphy is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's set-
361 tlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these
•241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural
433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about
433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

[386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

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178 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of
722 China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 Since the migration of the National government into the
654 Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible
241 plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry
314 resources of the Basin. Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

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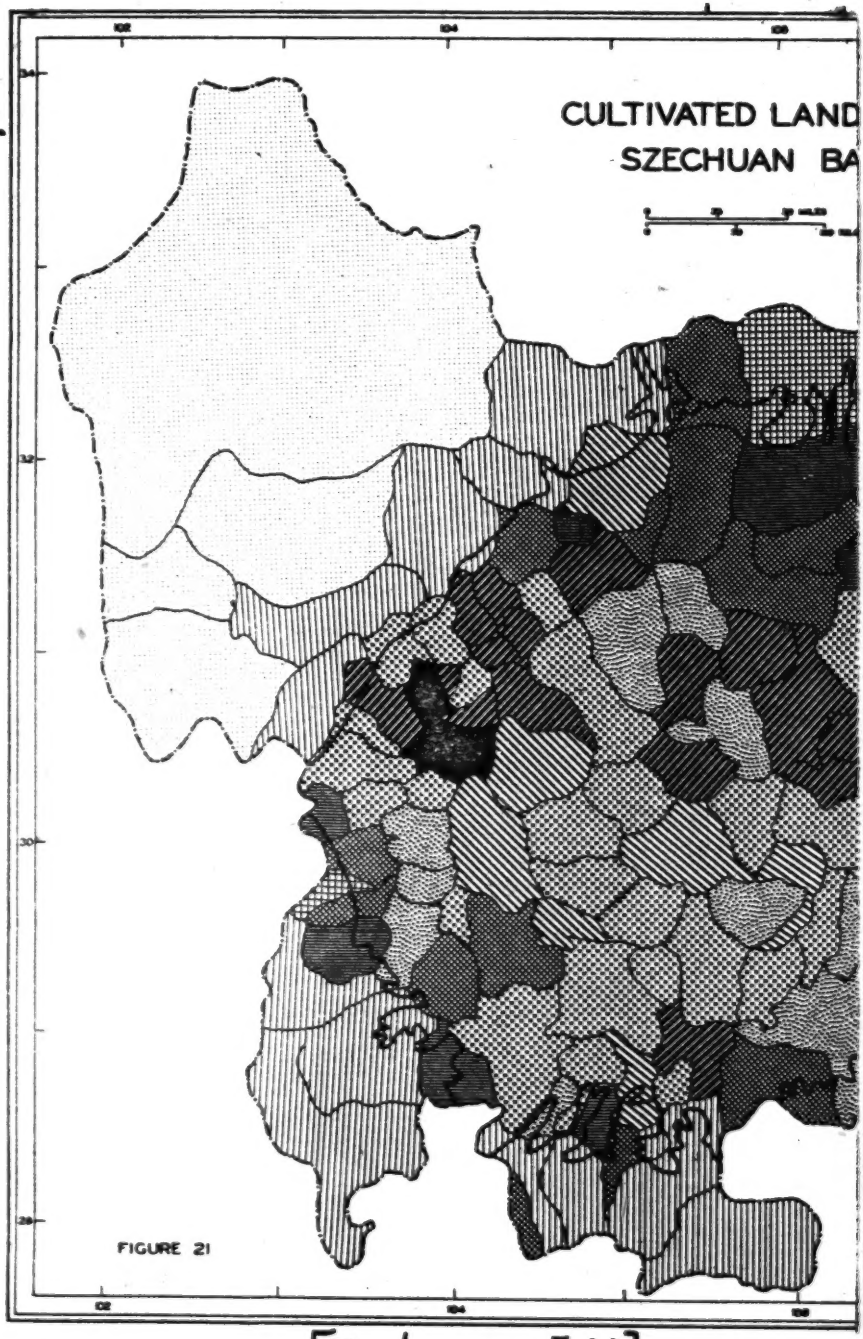

FIGURE 21

[End map 8(a)]

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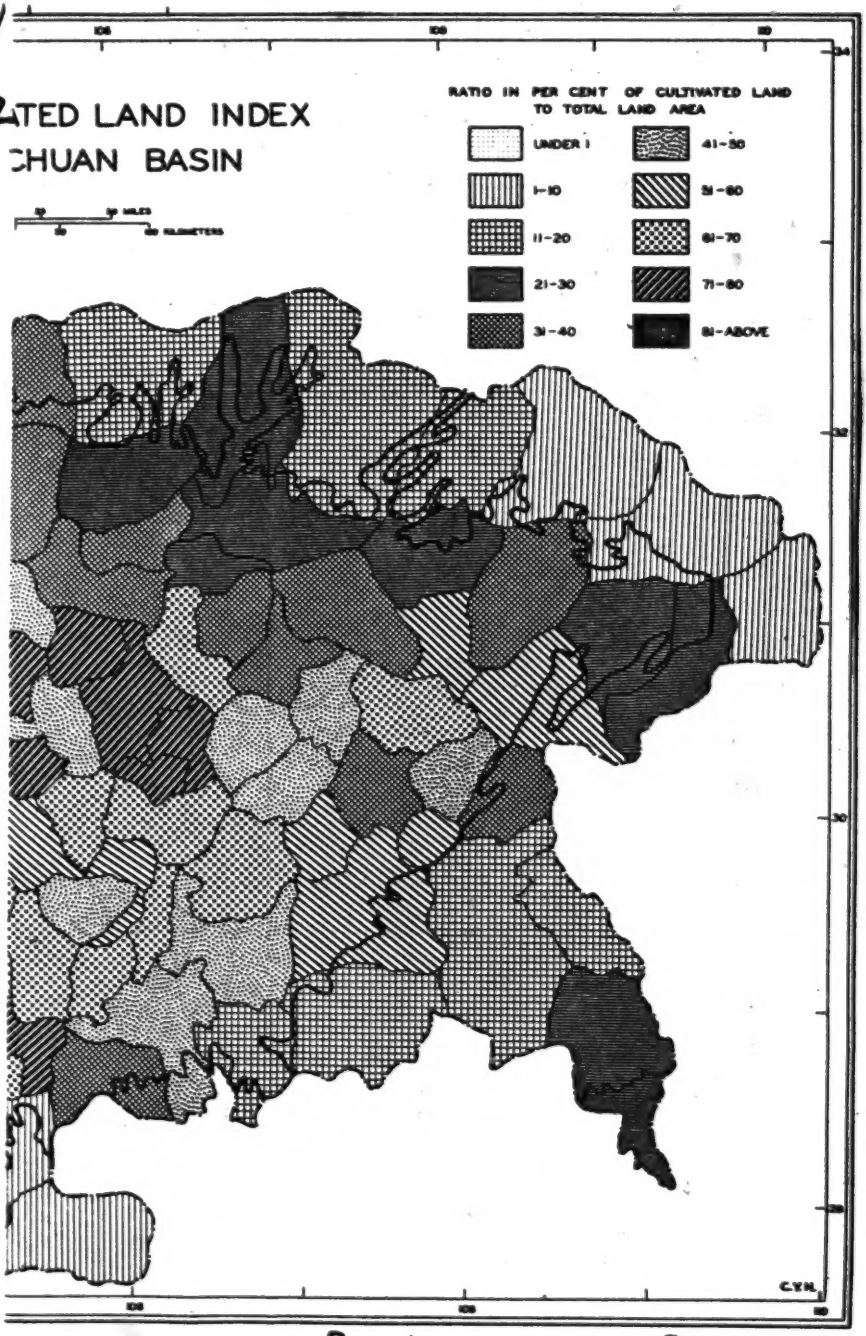

[End map 8(b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for the white-wax tree industry. 314

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly developing into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing capacity of all free China. 316 178

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of transportation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous commercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways (some of them already under construction) have been projected; and the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achievements and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem. 489

As to the future development of the Basin, one may approach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future prospect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace returns once more. 133

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protection against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against invading forces than would otherwise be possible. 241

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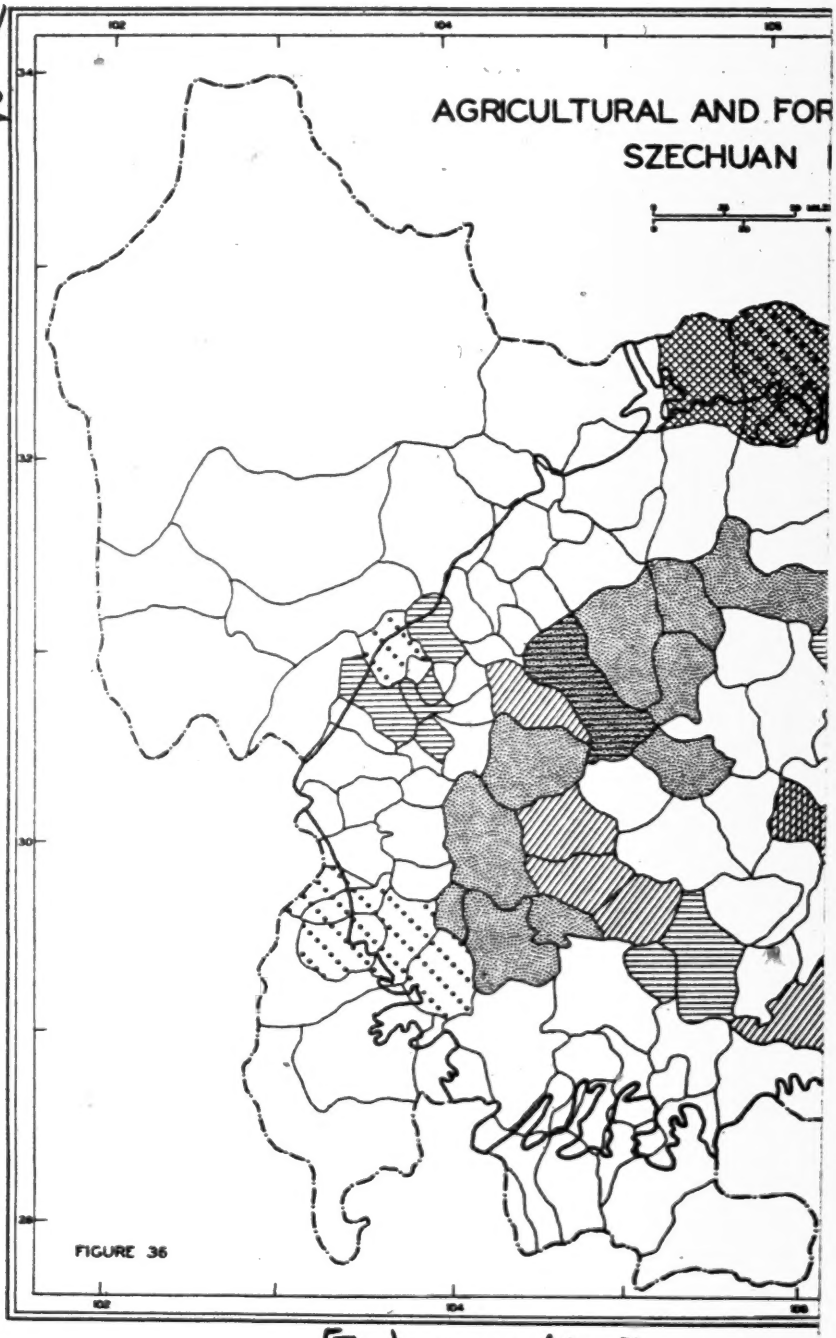

FIGURE 36

[End map 10(a)]

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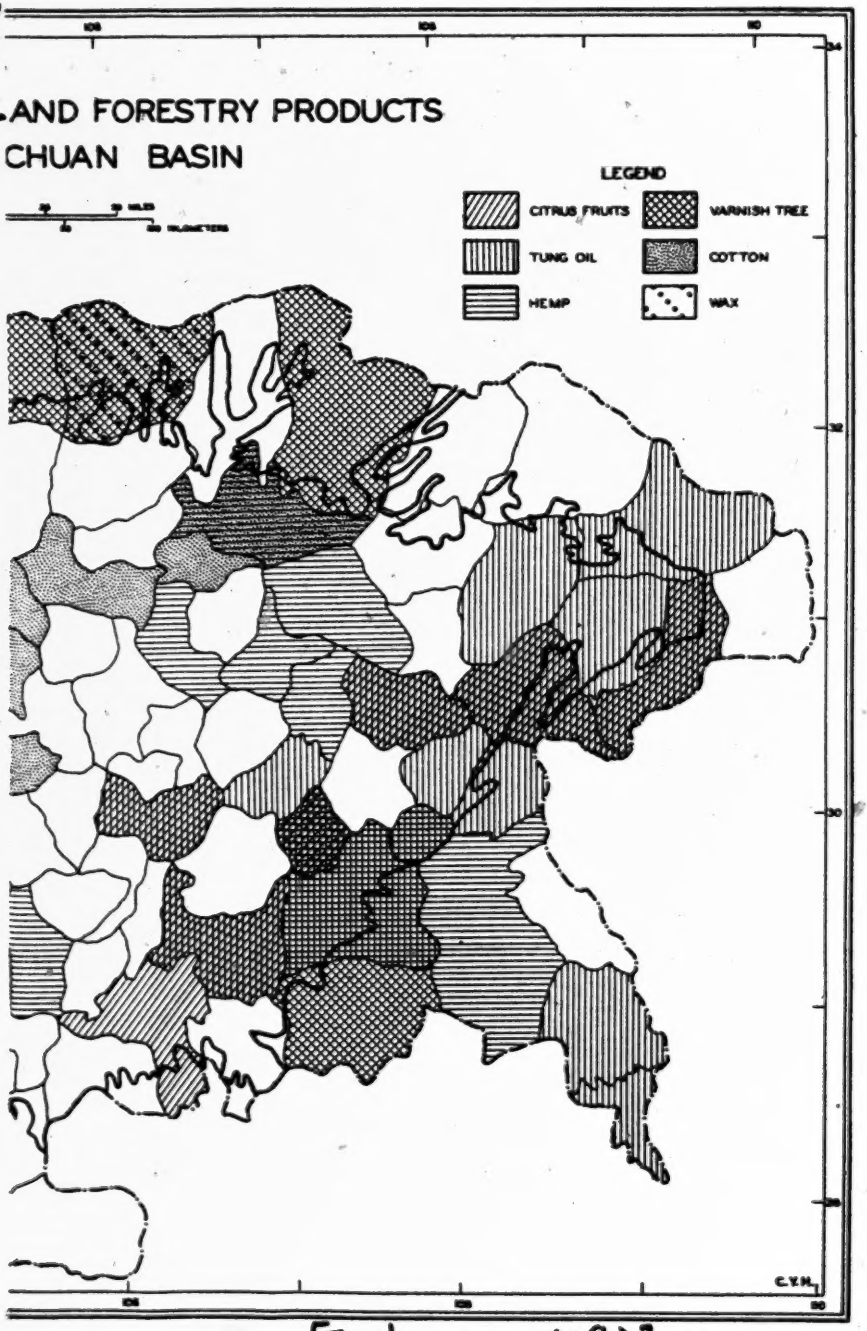
AND FORESTRY PRODUCTS
CHUAN BASIN



[End map 10(b)]

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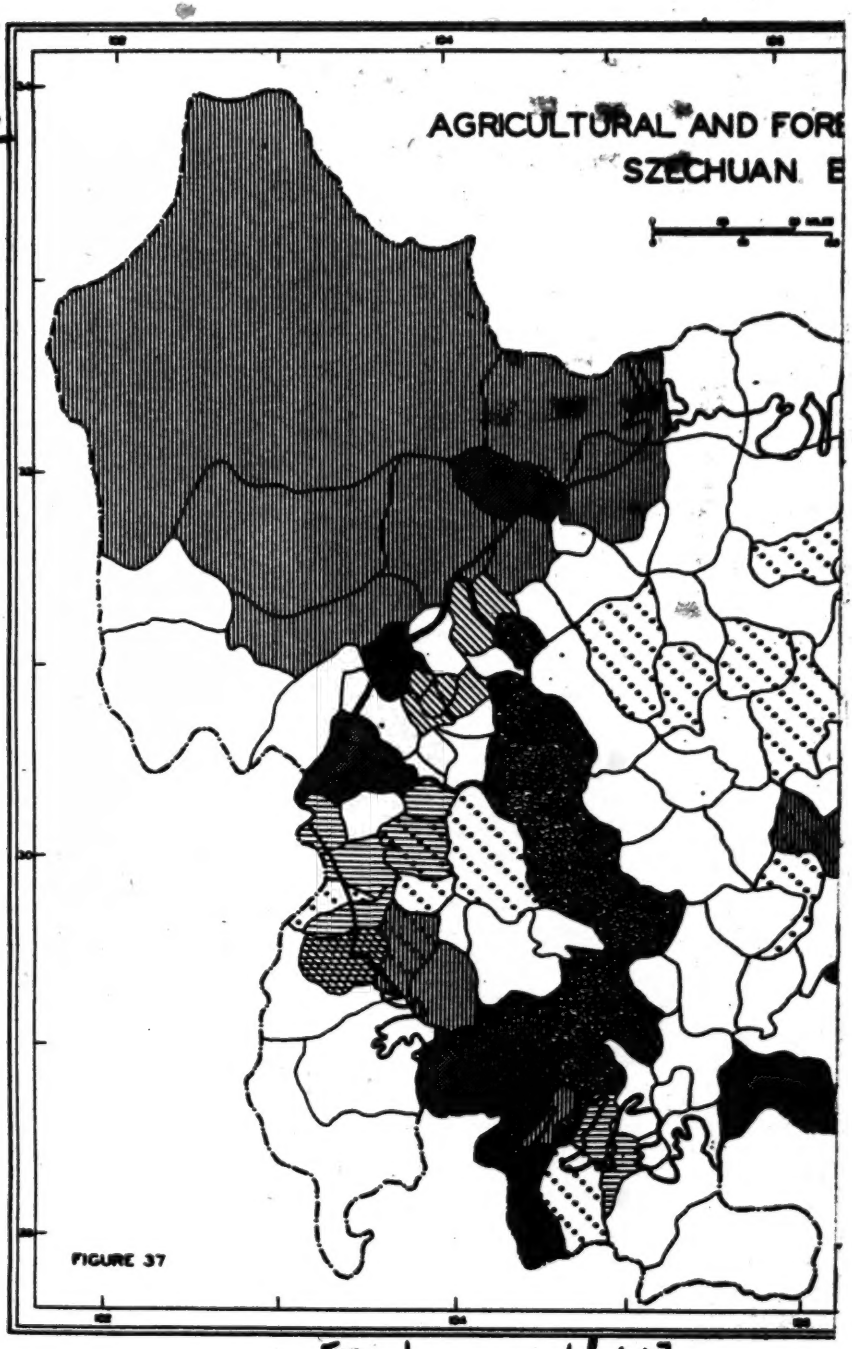

FIGURE 37

[End map 11 (a)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

frequency of fair days is so adjusted as to reduce competition among the neighboring localities and to afford the greatest advantages to both buyers and sellers. The smooth operation of these schedules illustrates the type of local cooperation which is common in this part of China. 366 443

The typical village fair includes a grain merchant, a butcher; several tea houses, a few oil merchants, some firewood booths, vegetable booth, poultry stands, wandering native doctors, dentists, and fortune tellers. In spite of the extremely small area occupied by the fair grounds, it is interesting to note that a kind of system of automatic zoning has come into effect. For instance, it is almost a rule that the grain markets are located at the temple or other spacious grounds, whereas the tea houses, fortune tellers, and the wandering native doctors and dentists always occupy the center areas of the fair.

4. Farms and Field Patterns

One of the most striking features of the farms of the Basin is the predominance of terraced cultivated fields. Probably nowhere else in all China--with the possible exception of the loessial northwest--does one find the use of slope lands and the building of terraces so universal and so highly perfected as in the Szechuan Basin. Most of the low, round, amphitheater-like hills of the Basin are terraced and cultivated. 311 241

The terraced steps are of various widths. Each terrace rises above the preceding one (Fig. 15) and in many cases is faced by a wall of bare sandstones or shales. Each terrace is irrigated from the one below by a small stream of water regulated generally by some simple lifting device, such as a windless, driven by men or animal power. Generally speaking, most of these terraced fields are irregular, depending upon the specific land forms. In Chengtu Plain the fields tend to be rather square or oblong in shape, but most of them have irregular forms, owing to the need of fitting them into irrigation systems. In general, the units of the fields in Chengtu Plain, on account of its more continuous flat topography, are much larger than those in other parts of the Basin.

In the Basin, all land to be planted in rice, whether terraced or otherwise, is put, if possible, under water--generally a little over one foot deep--for the rice season. The field boundaries in most cases follow the natural elevations.

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241 *If one may admit color as one of the elements of the* landscape of a region, one certainly cannot ignore it in the agricultural landscape of the Szechuan Basin. In fact the unusual combination of color in the agricultural areas adds much to the charm of the Basin. The bright red, purple, and chocolate-tints of the soil, the fresh-green of the grain crops, vegetables, and flowers, the brilliant yellow of the rape, the white-but-spattered-with-yellow-and-pink flowers of the tung trees, the snow-white color of the white-wax trees, and many other colors silhouetted against the ever-present dark-green background of the luxurious vegetation throughout the Basin, all add to its special picturesqueness.

231 The normal assortment of livestock life on the farms is a second noticeable feature of the rural scene in the Basin. Fowls, geese, ducks, pigs, bees are especially prevalent. Horses and mules are few. Oxen and water-buffalos are the most important animals on the farm. The buffalos particularly serve in various capacities, such as to plough and to burrow the rice fields, to mill the grains, to press the oils, and to perform a hundred and one other duties. Aside from human beings, they are really the other important "flesh-motors" of the Basin. On the farms, herds and herds of such bulky, slow-moving, long-horned buffalos may frequently be seen (Fig. 16).

235 Duck rearing is another activity of importance (Fig. 17), particularly in the Chengtu Plain. During the months of November and December one may see enormous flocks of ducks being driven slowly over the flooded paddy fields of Chengtu Plain. They feed on the aquatic life in the waters as they are driven along. In two or three months the flocks arrive at Chengtu, fat for market, and at no one's expense!

5. The Character and Distribution of Cities and Towns

361 One of the outstanding features of the urban settlements of the Basin is that most of the relatively important urban units of the Basin are situated on the terraces near the banks of the principal streams (Fig. 7). For instance, beginning from Feng-chieh up to I-ping, following the Yangtse Valley, one may count no less than fifteen of these urban units, including the most populous cities and trading towns of the Basin (Fig. 7). The

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CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURAL LAND-USE

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Agriculture is the principal form of land-use of the Szechuan Basin. Among all the agricultural regions of China, the Basin is not only one of her richest regions but also, with its greatest diversity and widest range of agricultural products, the Basin represents almost a miniature China. Moreover, it is estimated that approximately 85 per cent of the people gainfully employed in the Basin are engaged either directly or indirectly in agricultural pursuits.[1] In the present treatment of the problem of agricultural land-use in the Szechuan Basin, major attention will be directed to the following points, namely, the land as chief natural resource of the Basin, distinctive features of its agricultural land-use, agricultural land-use in relation to natural elements of the Basin, the principal agricultural areas of the Basin, and the Basin's chief agricultural products.

A. Land: Chief Natural Resources of Szechuan Basin

1. Cultivation-Index and Areal Pattern Thereof

According to the latest report of the Bureau of Military Surveys of Szechuan Province, the total land area of the province is 360,159 square kilometers.[2] The area of the Basin as delimited in the present study is 146,842 square kilometers. The total area under cultivation, for the province as a whole--according to the report (1939) of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research--is 103,632 square kilometers (Table 2); for the Basin proper (as delimited) it is 68,240 square kilometers. This means the province as a whole has a cultivation-index (ratio of cultivated land to

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[1]Bureau of Interior Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[2]Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Bureau of Military Surveys (1939).

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total land area) of about 30 per cent, whereas the cultivation-index for the Basin proper runs slightly over 45 per cent. Considering its hilly and dissected topography, this cultivation-index figure for the Basin is fairly high, in fact it compares favorably with some of the flatter and more fertile areas in other parts of China.[1]

The cultivation-index, however, varies greatly in different parts of the Basin. Some areas have an index much higher than 45 per cent, whereas other districts fall far short of it. The peripheral areas of the Basin have a rather low index, ranging between 11 and 20 per cent (Fig. 21). In Chengtu Plain the cultivation-index runs as high as 70 to 80 per cent. In some of the districts of the Plain, particularly in Pi-hsien, Hsin-ching, Wen Chiang, Shuan-liu, and Hua-yang in the southwestern part of the Plain, the figure is even higher than this. On the other hand, in many other districts, including Pei-chuan, Ping-wu, Miao-hsien, Cheng-ko, and Fu-hsi in the northern, northwestern, and northeastern fringes of the Basin, the cultivation-index runs as low as 3 to 5 per cent. Between these two extremes, most of the south central and eastern parts of the Basin have an index ranging between 30 and 50 per cent. Generally speaking, the cultivation-index of the south central districts is somewhat above the general average for the Basin as a whole, whereas the eastern districts fall short of it. The districts on the northern, northeastern, and eastern fringes of the Basin, such as Kuang-yuan, Nanchiang, Wan-yuan, Yun-yang, and Feng-chieh, which have an index of 15 to 20 per cent (Fig. 21), are far below the general average for the Basin as a whole.

These differences in the cultivation-index are clearly explainable if one bears in mind the layout of land forms of the Basin. As in the case of population pattern, the factor of topography plays a very important part. It is almost startling to note the high degree of coincidence which the three maps showing relief, population density, and cultivation-index (constructed from three different sources of data) bear to one another.

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[1]Buck's study reports that the cultivation-index for the Yangtse Rice-wheat area as a whole is 35 per cent, but for the Yangtse Delta alone, the figure is 100 per cent (op. cit., p. 68). In the same study, Buck reports that the cultivation-index for the North-China Plain to be 68 per cent (op. cit., p. 62).

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2. Major Types of Land-Use

a) General statement.--Concerning the classification of main types of land-use in the Basin, there are no official statistics available. It is, however, estimated[1] that 32 per cent of the total land area is used for farming and its related purposes; 22 per cent for forests, brush, and other undergrowths, particularly bamboo; 3 per cent for graves and graveyards; 2 per cent for pasture; 2 per cent for grasses grown for fuel; 2 per cent for temple grounds; and 37 per cent for miscellaneous uses (including "huang-ti," wild lands or waste lands). These estimates, although no better than cautious guesses, do furnish a general picture as to land-uses and their relative significance.

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To a western student of agriculture or geographer this relatively high percentage of total land used for graveyards and temple grounds, and this extremely low percentage in permanent pasture, may seem incomprehensible. Probably here lies one of the most fundamental differences not only between Chinese and western agricultural systems, but also between the two respective cultures. The high percentage of wild or waste land is also striking. This is partly a result of the rugged topography, limited water supply, and poor soil conditions in many sections of the Basin. It also is partly, perhaps mainly, a result of the incessant civil warfare which has prevailed in the Basin during the last twenty years. This misfortune has laid waste to thousands of acres of productive farm lands, and has rendered farm economy bankrupt.

b) Uses of crop land.--It is reported that the total land in crop in the year 1937, for the province as a whole, amounted to 108,174,564 mow (one mow equals one-sixth of an acre), of which 44,952,366 mow, or 43 per cent, were used for "shui-tien" (irrigated fields) or rice paddy fields, and 63,222,198 mow, or 57 per cent, for "hang-tien" (unirrigated fields) or dry-crop lands.[2] With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, such as the To and Fou, where a large portion of the crop lands are used for irrigated paddy fields, most of the districts of the Basin, particularly the hilly areas, are generally occupied

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Land Statistics (1937), pp. 83-85.

[2]Bureau of Reconstruction, Agricultural Section, Szechuan Provincial Government, Crop-land Statistics (1937).

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by "hang-ti" or unirrigated "dry" fields.

Dividing the total crop area by the total number of people in the province gives an average of about 2.5 mow of crop land per person. This is very small. It is also calculated that the average size of farm in Szechuan is about 16.3 mow,[1] which is slightly smaller than the average farm in north China (say, for Shantung province, 19 mow), but is much larger than the average size of farm in south or central China (say, for instance, Hunan province 12 mow).[2] The size of the average agricultural land-holding reflects the medium position of the Szechuan Basin.

The most interesting thing about these farms in the Basin lies, however, not so much in their small size but rather in the manner and the intensity with which they are being used. According to Buck,[3] 89.3 per cent of the total farm area in the "Szechuan Rice region" is used for crops; 4 per cent for farmsteads; 4.7 per cent for roads and graves; 0.7 per cent for wooded pastures; 0.7 per cent for forests; 0.4 per cent for pasture land; 0.1 for productive water area; and 0.1 for fuel grasses.

B. Distinctive Features of Agricultural Land-Use in Szechuan Basin

Nyhus, in his study of agricultural regions of China, classified Szechuan as the "west China" region.[4] Buck grouped Szechuan as the "Szechuan Rice" area.[5] Both of these classifications are widely known in the west and have often been quoted in western geographic literatures.[6] However, both of them seem to neglect the most unique features of agricultural practice in the

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[1]Buck's finding for the "most usual size" of farm in the "Szechuan Rice region" is 2.4 acres, or approximately 14.4 mow, which is slightly lower than the figure arrived here (op. cit., p. 269).

[2]Bureau of Statistics, National Government, China, Agricultural Statistics (Nanking, 1933), p. 41.

[3]Buck, op. cit., p. 172.

[4]Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Regions of China (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., 1931) (maps).

[5]Buck, op. cit., p. 27 (map).

[6]G. B. Cressey, "The Agricultural Regions of Asia," Economic Geography, Vol. X (1934).

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Basin. Particularly, Nyhus' classification of Szechuan as the "west China region," which includes large heterogeneous areas with diversified agricultural practice (for instance, Yunnan), fails to bring the agricultural land-use of the Basin into a sharp focus. Buck's treatment, in spite of the rich quantitative data he assembled, is handicapped by the lack of sufficient descriptive materials. Statistics alone, without comprehensive case descriptions, furnish only a dry skeleton which is of limited interest. In his contact with the agricultural practice in the Basin during the past years, the author feels there are a number of unique agricultural practices in the Basin which deserve special mention.

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1. Extraordinary Diversity of Agricultural Products and Intensity of Land-Use

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First of all, the agricultural system of Szechuan Basin is marked both by its extreme diversity of products and by the extraordinary intensity of its land-use. Although the Basin is generally noted and is commonly classified as a "rice region," (and rice is undoubtedly the predominant crop here), a more characteristic feature of its agriculture system is the production of many other unirrigated crops, particularly corn, potatoes, kaoliang, and millet. Nowhere in China, perhaps with the possible exception of Yunnan and Kwangtung provinces, have corn and potatoes become so significant in agricultural production as in the Basin. Moreover, nowhere else in China, perhaps beside the North China Plain and Manchuria, have kaoliang, millet, and soy beans been so widely cultivated as here. It is even more surprising to note that horticultural products so diverse as Lung yen (Euphoria longana), li chi (Litchi chinensis), sugar cane, and citrus fruits of tropical south China, and the best quality pears and persimmons of temperate cold north China are all found growing together here. Agriculturally and horticulturally, here in the Basin, one finds all of China represented in a miniature form.

2. The "Tung-Shui-Tien" System

Another characteristic agricultural practice here is the so-called "Tung-shui-tien" system, literally meaning "winter-storing-water field." In spite of the favorable climate and the fertile soil, and contrary to the popular belief of many western agriculturalists and geographers, large tracts of "ti-tien,"

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• 241 terraced fields (estimated as high as 25 to 50 per cent of the total rice fields) are left fallow during the whole winter season. They are used for storage of water needed in the paddy fields the following spring. This peculiar situation is brought about by at least three factors: (a) Topographically, most of these "ti-tien," terraced fields, are of fairly high elevation, ranging from 50 to 100 meters or higher, and to secure water for irrigation is rather difficult. Thus it is found necessary to collect and store enough water at the lower terraces whenever possible during the winter for the spring crop. (b) On account of the mild climate of the Basin, and the lack of snowfall, the larvae of some harmful agricultural insects cannot be frozen to death. Storing water on the fields helps to kill off the insect pest for the spring crop season. (c) Because of the difficult transportation conditions and the prohibitive cost of transporting bulky fertilizers (consisting mainly of night soils and oil cakes) from one part to another within the Basin, and in order to conserve soil fertility and to safeguard a satisfactory summer crop, it is imperative to let these terraced hilly fields lie fallow during the winter season.[1]

This unfortunate age-old practice of the Basin has hampered greatly the efficiency of its agricultural land-use. During recent years, many modern Chinese agriculturalists have seriously challenged the wisdom of this inefficient practice. Numerous suggestions have been made to correct it. One of the most interesting methods[2] recently devised is the construction of high retaining walls around these water-storing fields so as to increase their

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[1]Mr. E. F. Chen, of the College of Agriculture, University of Nanking (now at Chengtu), has recently conducted a series of experiments for testing the efficiency (in yields) of land-use on two sets of such terraced lands--one on which water was stored and which allowed to lie idle, while the other was cultivated. He found that fields in fallow gave a 69 per cent greater yield. This result, of course, seems to give an experimental justification for this peculiar practice. It is, however, only the result of a single experiment, and cannot be said to be the last word on this whole important problem. It is perhaps necessary to continue such experiments on various types of land with different physical qualities over a period of years before any significant conclusions can be drawn (cf. China's Soil Quarterly, I, No. 3 (1941), 33-38.

[2]L. F. Chao, "The Present Conditions and Future Programs of Agriculture and Forestry of Szechuan," Southwest China Review, III, No. 1 (1941), 17.

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capacity to hold water. By so doing, considerable horizontal space (terraced fields) can be saved and made available for winter crops. 241

3. Rotation Systems and Inter-culture

Third, although inter-culture is an old favorite agricultural practice, universally adopted in all parts of China, nowhere does one find its practice so extensively carried out and so religiously followed by farmers as in this region. For instance, in cotton culture, the inter-planting with beans, corn, and other field crops, has been followed so extensively that it has almost ruined the cotton plant itself. Many agriculturalists have even cited this factor as one of the most important in the decline of cotton culture here. It is not unusual to observe, even on the tops of narrow dikes separating the rice fields, single rows of beans or other crops. Another common practice in inter-culture here is to plant beans, peas, or rape between rows of wheat.

4. Methods of Fertilization and Soil Culture

In most areas of the Basin, the purple-brown soil is only moderately fertile. In order to assure a good crop, fertilization is essentially necessary. There are a number of methods of soil fertilization practiced in the Basin. First of all, manuring is practiced at all times for all crops. Nothing is wasted which would tend to enrich the land. Sewage from cities and villages is carried long distances in buckets or in tubs to the fields, and nowhere else in the world is human excrement so highly valued and laboriously collected as is in the Basin. Besides, stable manure, potash-burned stubble, roots, weeds, rice husks, animal hairs, and anything that is otherwise valueless is collected and heaped together for purposes of fertilizing the soil.

The methods of fertilizer composting used here are different from those used in many other parts of China. The general procedure is to put all waste organic matters into a large heap, and to moisten the heap slightly to permit decomposition. Usually this slow decomposition takes months. But, recently, special yeast bacteria have been developed by the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research to hasten this process. Now it takes only three

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•241 weeks for decomposition.[1] By this method very little nitrogen is lost. The heap may be turned several times until the decomposition is complete and the fertilizer is ready for use in the field. Moreover, this process also increases the efficiency of the fertilizer in its usefulness to the plant.

Again, the manner of application of the fertilizer here is perhaps even more painstaking than the ways of preparation and composting. Sometimes a cupful of liquid manure or night soil is given to each plant at the period of its critical growth so as to secure the maximum efficiency.

The Basin also produces a number of oil-yielding plants and trees, such as rape, ground-nuts, beans, sesame, cotton, tung tree, and others, whose seeds and nuts, after the oil has been extracted, furnish refuse cakes of great value for soil fertilization purposes.

Another characteristic practice here is the widespread use of green-manuring by applying a special species of legume plant, locally known as "lu-tiao," (astragalus sinenses). This practice is particularly popular with farmers near the Chengtu Plain. According to the reports of recent experiments, conducted by the Central Agricultural Experimental Station, this plant yields the highest nitrogen content of any fertilizer. The government has been trying to encourage more farmers both in the southern and central part of the Basin to adopt this practice.

Second, soil culture has been widely practiced in the Basin. One practice is the so-called "Tiao-ho-po," which literally means "clean left-overs of the river banks." During the winter, in the low-water season, farmers living along the numerous small river valleys gouge the river bank and carry back to their fields in baskets the overflowing alluvial deposits. Due to the steep slope of many terraced fields and the high tilting of the rock structures, soil creep is very common. Thus a considerable portion of rich organic matter and surface soils from the hilly areas have been slipped down to lower land levels. It is a common scene to see farmers salvage these "fugitive soils" caught in pockets at the lower hillsides due to summer freshets or other erosional forces by carrying them back (during the summer season) in baskets to their upper hill fields. In many occasions one may find farmers

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[1] Ibid., p. 21.

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actually paving the bare rocks with fresh soils they have secured from the river channels and trying to grow crops on them. This is bona fide soil culture. Consequently, the soil profile here is very confused so that any use of it as a criterion for soil classification is most difficult. In fact, in many places here, soils are almost completely lacking in any profile. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that considerable areas of soil here are, either directly or indirectly, humanly induced.

Moreover, on account of the shallowness of the soil and the soft friable character of the underlying cretaceous shales and sandstones, the farmers, in their everyday operations actually dig into the underlying rocks to hasten their weathering and decomposition so that more fresh soils can be "cultured."

5. Special Terracing Practices

Probably nowhere in China has a higher and more extensive utilization of slope land been made than in Szechuan Basin. Most of the hillsides are terraced into a series of gigantic steps. Many mountains have been terraced up to the summits. These terraces are commonly long narrow strips of land, and in many cases have rather steep slopes. Sometimes land with slopes as high as 60 degrees or more is terraced and used for cultivation. Intricate irrigation systems are established between these terraces. Whenever water is available, rice is cultivated in the fields. Praising these practices, one competent and sympathetic western observer once remarked:

> These devices (terracing), combined with the untiring, patient industry of the people, have converted an incipient "bad land" into a rich and fertile region of terraced fields. In no part of China that I have visited are the people entitled to greater praise for their meritorious agricultural accomplishment than throughout this Red Basin.[1]

However, on account of the steep slope of many of these terraced fields, as well as the failure to practice contour-planting, serious soil creep has been induced. This constitutes one of the most serious forms of soil erosion here.

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., I, 67.

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312 (3) The "Lung-ku-chiao" or "dragon-bone-chariot" irrigation method.--In areas where the water flow is not sufficient to turn water-wheels, the old "dragon-bone-chariot," or the foot-power water elevator, which is found in many other parts of China, is used. It is a long, narrow wooden trough affair, open at both ends, with one end submerged in the water, and equipped with a chain of wooden pedals. It is a sort of step-up device, like a western escalator, operated by the foot-power of usually two or more persons. The water is lifted from one field to another of higher level. This device is also commonly used in hilly areas to lift water between terraced rice fields. It is particularly popular in the Kuang-hang and Te-yang districts.

(4) Storing-water-field or reservoir field irrigation.--As already explained, throughout the hilly areas of the Basin, it is a common practice to store water in fields during the winter season for spring or summer crops. As rainfall in the Basin is highly seasonal, some reservoir for the run-off from the immediately adjacent hills is necessary. Certain fields, in hollows well up the sides of slopes of terraced lands, are set aside as reservoirs. They are kept as nearly full as possible to tide the farmers over the periods between rains and between crops. This method, of course, necessitates the husbanding of all the rain water and run-off during the fall season in order to lead them into these field reservoirs.

(5) Ditch or canal irrigation.--This method involves the tapping of a stream at its upper reaches and then branching it into multitudes of anatomized channels and ditches for irrigation purposes. This system is by far the most important in the Basin. It is practiced in a number of river deltas, such as the To, the Fou, and the Min. The outstanding example is the Tu-chiang-yen works (Fig. 28) on the Min River in Chengtu Plain. A detailed discussion of this great work and its significance to the agricultural land-use of the Basin will be made later in connection with the agricultural area of Chengtu Plain.

D. Principal Agricultural Areas of Szechuan Basin

241 On the basis of crop association, relative prosperity of agricultural production, general appearance of agricultural landscape, use of water for agricultural purposes, and the degree of commercialization of agricultural production, the Basin may be

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roughly divided into five principal agricultural areas (Fig. 24), 241
namely, (1) the general grain farming area of Chengtu Plain; (2) the specialized "commercial" agricultural area of lower To-Fou valleys; (3) the self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of the northern Basin; (4) the combined agricultural and forestry area of the eastern Basin; and (5) the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin.

1. The General Grain Farming Area of Chengtu Plain

Among all the five agricultural areas of the Basin, the general grain farming area of the Chengtu Plain is by far the most important. Here the principal crops are rice and wheat, supplemented by rape seed and tobacco.

As the heart is to the human body, Chengtu Plain is to Szechuan Basin. Chengtu Plain is one of the richest, most fertile, and best known geographic regions of all China. With its mild climate, level topography, fertile and self-renewing soil, the ingenious ancient irrigation systems, and the diversity of agricultural products, Chengtu Plain is destined to be not only the granary of the Basin but also the par excellence "Eden of the Flowery Republic." Strictly speaking, Chengtu Plain is a highly fertile level oasis within a huge "mountain-desert."

a) Name and location of the Plain.--Geographically, the 133
term "Chengtu Plain," by which this region is now known, is not accurate, and is, in fact, somewhat misleading. Chengtu, the capital and the wealthiest city of the whole Basin, from which the Plain now derives its name, is, in fact, an "effect" or a "result," but not a "cause." Strictly speaking, the "Plain" might be more correct, or even more appropriate geographically, to assume the name, "the Min River Plain." It is the presence of the mighty Min, with its incessant life-promoting water-supply and the rich alluvial deposits it brings down, that made the prosperity of the city of Chengtu and of the whole Plain possible. It is interesting to note that unlike historic events, geographic names do not always follow the law of "cause and effect." The river made the plain, and the plain made the city, but now the plain takes its name from the city.

Chengtu Plain is situated at the northwest corner of Szechuan Basin. It is formed by a complex of piedmont alluvial fans built by the deposits of the Min River. Physiographically,

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311 melting during the summer is reliable. At Kuan-hsien, where the
133 torrent of the Min first enters the Plain and is taken under human control, the waters are divided into several large canals, each of which is subdivided in turn into innumerable smaller canals and ditches. The life-giving waters are impounded by dams, stone revetments, and other devices, and are held for irrigation purposes. The irrigation of the Plain has another advantage in that the soils are seldom troubled by salt and fine mud which often clog irrigated soils in other areas; because the considerable rainfall in Chengtu Plain, with an annual average of about 900 millimeters, is sufficient to prevent such clogging.

134 The soils of Chengtu Plain consist principally of the dark and dark-gray paddy soils. They are formed mainly from alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soil (chernozem) of the Tibetan border-land and Kokonor (Fig. 9) by the mighty Min River. The natural richness of these soils is enhanced even further by the annual renewal. Because of this fact, soils of the Plain, unlike the paddy soils of many other parts of China, are not strongly podzolized.[1] However, the soil conditions do not appear to be uniform throughout the whole Plain. In fact, there are considerable differences in texture, color, and profile according to slight differences in local relief.[2] For instance, in the upper Min River region, as in Kuan-hsien, the soil texture is much coarser than in the lower Plain areas.[3]

One of the most interesting practices in connection with soil culture in the farms of Chengtu Plain, is the building of little stone wing dams or projections along the stream banks out into the water. Behind these projections, the streams, in the course of a back eddy, deposit silt and sand, which are frequently rich, particularly in organic matters. All these mud accumulations are carefully dug out and carried in baskets to the fields. Many times muddy waters have been led into basins or rice paddies in order that fine fertile silt might be precipitated on the fields.

241 d) Agricultural products of Chengtu Plain.--The Plain is
433 noted for its diversity of agricultural products. It produces

[1] Thorp, op. cit., p. 391.

[2] Ibid., p. 387.

[3] Ibid.

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three and sometimes four crops a year. It is estimated that the annual output of farm products alone include rice, 15,000,000 piculs; wheat, 8,000,000 piculs; other cereals, 2,000,000 piculs; rape seed, 500,000 piculs; tobacco, 700,000 piculs; plus medicinal herbs, vegetables, and other farm products. The total value of all these products at pre-war prices was a little over 180,000,000 dollars, or 45 dollars per capita for the Plain. This production represents about 15 per cent of the total volume of agricultural produce of the whole province, while the area of the Plain is only about one-sixty-seventh of the total area of the province. In other words, the Chengtu Plain produces ten times as much per unit area than the rest of the Basin. 241 433

e) Farms and fields.--Among the farm areas of the Basin, Chengtu Plain has the largest average farm. According to a survey by Professor Brown and M. L. Li, the rented farms average 30.1 mow, and the owned farms average 73.1 mow.[1] These figures are almost twice as large as the average size of farms in the Basin as a whole.[2] They are, in fact, even larger than the largest average size of farm in North China.[3] This, of course, means additional wealth and more prosperity. This undoubtedly has accounted for the large farmstead and the well-kept farms throughout the Plain (Fig. 12). Moreover, unlike other parts of the Basin, most of the farms here are not so detached. In general, the individual fields of Chengtu Plain farms are larger. According to the same survey, the average field is 3.36 mow,[4] which is three times as large as that of the hilly areas in the Basin.[5] Larger fields are made possible, of course, by the flatter topography and better water-supply here. 423 241 311

f) Marketing of agricultural products.--The marketing of the diverse agricultural products of the Plain is interesting. Marketing is done mainly in the nearby towns or cities throughout the year. The Plain is dotted with market towns, so that all 437

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[1]H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Fifty Farms on the Chengtu Plain," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1-59.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Buck, op. cit., p. 273.

[4]Brown and Li, op. cit., p. 28.

[5]H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Farms of Mountain Omei Areas," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1059-76.

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312 repairs, this Administration has also introduced numerous modern technological improvements in order to increase the durability and effectiveness of the project.

Recently, a hydrographic station has been established at the Erh Wang Shrine by the Administration to study the flow of the Min River. Projects are under way to harness the river's maximum flow of 9,500 cubic meters per second[1] to generate electricity for the Chengtu Plain. Two small hydro-electric plants are in operation at Chengtu and Ching-tang.[2] The Administration is contemplating building a 12,650 kilowatt power plant at Kuan-hsien. A 23-kilometer canal will be cut to link the Inner and Outer rivers between Wen-chiang and Chengtu to maintain the Chengtu city water-supply and navigation between the two rivers. The Administration also has plans for the dredging of the existing canals and the digging of new ones to control more effectively the flow in both rivers, and to repair the tributary creeks to increase by another 600,000 mow the farms irrigated by the system, and eventually bring the entire Chengtu Plain under irrigation.

Among all the geographic features of Szechuan Basin, the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works holds the key to the sustained prosperity of the agricultural land-use of the Basin, particularly of Chengtu Plain. Indeed, it commands the special attention of all geographers.

2. The Specialized "Commercial" Agricultural Area of Lower To-Fou Valleys

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Comparing to the General Grain Farming area of Chengtu Plain, this agricultural area of Lower To-Fou valleys (Fig. 24) is noted by its specialized "commercial" products, such as sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and citrus fruits. About 85 per cent of the Basin's total production of sugar-cane, 65 per cent

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[1] Pao, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] According to the recent (1935) survey by Huang Hui, a prominent hydraulic engineer of the National Reconstruction Commission, it is highly feasible to develop multiple purpose water-power projects in the upper reaches of the Min, where the present source of irrigation water originates. These projects, if established, would also benefit the irrigation works, particularly by lightening the annual dredging work and reducing the operation costs (cf. section on "Potential Water-Power Development of Szechuan," Report of Chinese Engineer's Association Investigation of Szechuan (1936).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of its total cotton, and 55 per cent of its silk are produced here in this agricultural area.

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With its combined and greatly varied agricultural and horticultural products, this area compares favorably (in terms of agricultural prosperity) to that of the Chengtu Plain. But, however, unlike the Chengtu Plain, the agricultural land-use of this area is greatly handicapped by its insufficient supply of water for irrigation. This defect is largely due to the prevalence of the high porosity of the bed rocks[1] in this area, where water cannot be accumulated and stored up for irrigation purposes. This condition is especially detrimental to rice culture which requires flooded fields. Consequently, in many districts of this area, the plantation of rice is greatly limited. This factor, in turn, reduces considerably the agricultural prosperity of the area.

In so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, the adjustment to topography, soil conditions, and water supply here is conspicuous. In general, nearly all the alluvial lands along the river banks are used for rice, sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and other crops. On the saddle areas between hills, if the surface soil and bed rocks are not too loose or porous, paddy fields are always the rule. In the more hilly areas, where water cannot be stored for rice culture, potatoes, rape, wheat, kaoliang, and beans are the dominant crops.

Among all the agricultural areas of the Basin, this area of the lower To-Fou valleys is the most highly commercialized. For instance, in one district, Sui-ning alone, over 65 per cent of its cultivable land is devoted to cotton culture, whereas in Tze Chung district over half of its cultivated land is used for sugar-cane culture. In the actual rural economy, here, more than in any other agricultural area, farmers think more in terms of their "cash crops." This development brings up a very interesting problem in this agricultural area, that is, its insufficiency of food supply. Consequently, considerable amounts of foodstuffs are brought into here from the nearby Chengtu Plain area.

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area includes its high population density (Fig. 10) and rich salt deposits. [317]

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[1] T. S. Chen, "Geol. Structure of Central Szechuan," Geol. Bi-monthly, IV, No. 6 (1939), 35.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

3. The Self-sufficient Subsistent Agricultural Area of the Northern Basin

241 North of Santai in the west and Ho-chuan in the east (Fig. 24), almost in a straight line, lies the self-sufficient subsistent agricultural area of the northern Basin. This agricultural area is characterized by its more rugged and dissected topography, more irregular hills, and higher local reliefs. These conditions are particularly true in the northern half of the area at the vicinity of the upper Fou and Chialing valleys.

The most interesting aspect of this agricultural area, as its name implies, is its ultra self-sufficient and subsistent character of its agricultural practices. Although most of the agricultural areas of the Basin are principally subsistent in nature, the present agricultural area of the northern Basin represents the most extreme case.

Here, in crop association, no single crop is particularly predominant. Most of the farms produce a little of everything within a greatly varied assortment of crops. These crops are completely for home use. In general, potatoes, wheat, rice, barley, millet, rape, beans, kaoliang, corn are the common crops on farms. This peculiar situation is conditioned by two factors, namely, the extremely dissected topography and the peculiarly friable rock structure. The dissected topography causes the extremely detached character of the settlement forms (consisting of isolated farmsteads perched on various hillocks), whereas the friable rock structure with numerous fall lines, makes the available river transportation very difficult. Therefore, these conditions make it even more difficult for farmers in this area to communicate with the outside world and thus accentuate their self-sufficient agricultural economy.

134 The soil condition of this area is also interesting. With the exception of a few narrow detached stretches of alluvial soils along the river banks, and some yellow earths at its northern periphery, the soils of this area is consisted of principally the unique "purple-brown" type of the Szechuan Basin (Fig. 9). In fact, the distribution of this fertile soil here is so uniform and continuous that this self-sufficient agricultural area of the northern Basin should be properly called the "genuine" purple-brown soil region of the whole Basin.[1]

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[1]Chu, op. cit., p. 46.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 24) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

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Moreover, on account of the high ground water-tables here, the drainage conditions on these trough lands are very poor. These trough lands are sometimes used for wheat, hemp, rice, rape, or kaoliang, depending upon water conditions. But the productivity of these marginal agricultural lands are, in general, very low.

The second principal source of agricultural land-use here is developed on the more gentle slopes of the numerous synclines in this area. Here the slopes are terraced into rice, wheat, or potato fields. The drainage conditions are, in general, better than those in the trough lands of the anticlines. Considerable portions of the cultivated fields are used for Ta ma (hemp) and Tso Tsai (vegetable) cultures which are the two most spectacular agricultural products of this area.

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The most outstanding feature of this agricultural area, as its name suggests, is the predominance of the forestry product, the tung oil. On the steep slopes or at the edge of the anticlines, where the soils are extremely shallow, great numbers of tung trees are planted. Especially during the past decade, stimulated by the increasing demand, the plantation of tung trees has been grown in leaps and bounds. This area alone now contributes about three-fourths of the total production of tung oil production of all the Basin. In one district, Ning-shui alone, it produces about 52 per cent of the total tung tree production of the Basin. This factor has increased greatly the population-support capacity for this agricultural area and also helps to explain the presence of a few detached high population density areas here (Fig. 10).

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Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area is that here lies about 65 per cent of the total coal reserve (Pa-hsien and Chiang-peh) and about 45 per cent of the total iron reserve (Chi-chiang and Nanchuan) of the whole Basin.[1] This remarkable fact suggests that in the future days to come, this agricultural area may abandon its present modest pursuits in agricultural and forestry production, and will soon take an unchallenged leadership in the growing industrial and manufacturing development of the Basin.

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[1]W. C. Chang, "The Iron and Coal Resources of Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, V, No. 5 (1934), 35.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Fou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Fou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, sugar-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

312 rich water supply by the Yangtse, the Min, and other rivers. Numerous channels are built here, for instance, such as the Wu Tung-chiao and Chien Wei districts. But contrary to the practice of Chengtu Plain, and for reasons unknown, very few of these channels are used for irrigation purposes. Instead, they are principally for transportation use.

135 Other interesting features of this agricultural area include its well-balanced endowment with mineral resources. Neither like the Chengtu Plain area of western Basin--where little or no mineral deposits are found--nor similar to the anticlinal areas of the eastern Basin--where is located the largest concentration of the Basin's mineral deposits, especially coal and iron--this area is rather well-balanced in various kinds of mineral deposits. In fact, this area is reasonably rich in every one of the strategic minerals, including salt, coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, and aluminum. Especially the salt production is the richest and the most important at present (Fig. 20).

•241 In agricultural richness and productivity, this agricul-
433 tural area of southwestern Basin, as a whole, compares favorably with that of the specialized commercial agricultural area of the lower To-Fou valleys. This fact is evidenced by the fine, well-kept farmsteads here (Fig. 34). In terms of population density, this area also stands out as one of the five high densely populated areas of the Basin (Fig. 10).

E. Agricultural Products

241 The Szechuanese commonly claim that anything which is produced on earth may be found in the Basin. At least it is safe to say that there is scarcely an article grown in China which is not produced here in abundance. First of all, the summer field crops include rice, corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, potato, millet, kaoliang, cotton, beans of all kinds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The winter crops include principally wheat, rape, beans, peas, and many others.

1. Common Food Crops

243 a) Rice.--Rice (oryza sativa) is the master crop of the Basin. It normally occupies 43,000,000 mow, or 42 per cent of the

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

FIGURE 35

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
SZECHUAN BASIN
1930 – 1935 AVERAGE

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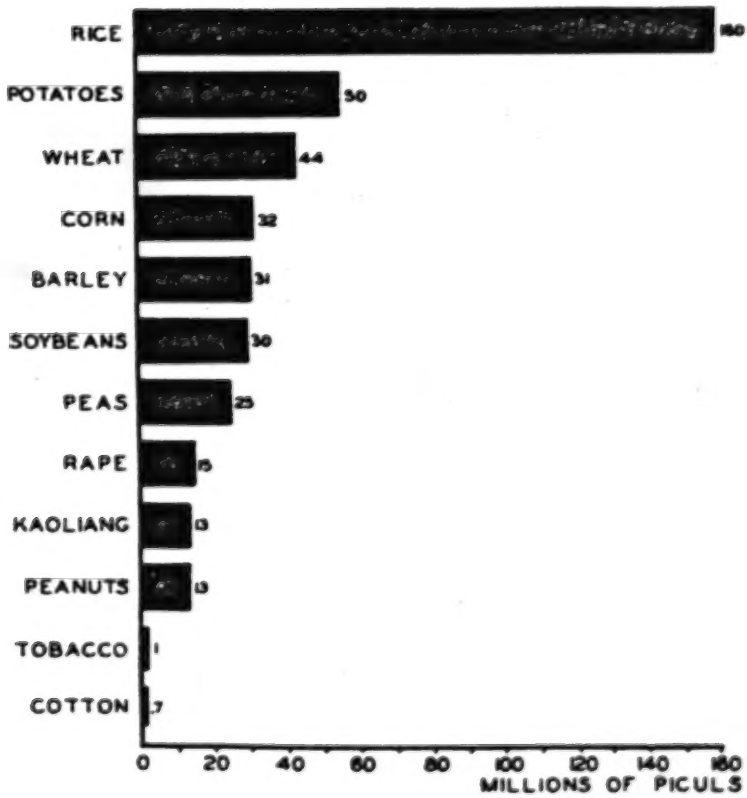

[Face p. 77]

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F. Conclusions on Agricultural Land-Use

Agricultural land-use of Szechuan Basin emphasizes the diversity of its agricultural products and the intensiveness of its land-use. The diversified topography, the great variation in availability of water supply, the different degrees of alluviation in different parts of the Basin, and above all, the high population density, all have contributed to the uniquely different agricultural landscapes in various parts of the Basin. The sharp difference between the appearance of Chengtu Plain and the rest of the Basin is particularly striking.

Geographically, it is interesting to note that in this area people with limited technological knowledge at their disposal have struggled through long ages of painstaking experiment, successes and failure, by trial and error, to find out the most effective way to wrest a living from the none-too-favorable environment. For ages, the Szechuanese have employed their ingenuity, their patience, and their tremendous man-power in trying to utilize every available spot of land for whatever type of crops would grow under its particular physical qualities.

The tremendous work of terracing; the diversified methods and ingenious devices for irrigation; the unique methods of soil culture, green manure, and fertilization composting; the complicated systems of rotating crops; the synchronization of the seasons of planting of various crops; and the elaborate and widespread practices of inter-culture, are all good examples of the effort to attain intensive agricultural land-use and greater production.

Here, in the Szechuan Basin, one finds a most distinctive case of how man and Nature have worked together, hand in hand, and it is plain that the vast human effort has served as the most important single factor in shaping the present patterns of agricultural land-use. The building and maintenance of various kinds of irrigation works, the terracing of huge hills into minute steps, the various practices of soil culture (such as carrying soil from lower slopes to higher fields), all these in the absence of mechanical power, require a tremendous army of labor. In addition, there are the stupendous and astounding job of transforming the dry fields in winter crops (such as wheat, beans, etc.) into wet fields for rice, and transplanting millions of young rice plants (one by one, by hand), within the short period of two weeks

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

in early spring every year. Such agricultural practices and such intensive use of land as now prevail here in the Basin can only be maintained by abundant and cheap labor. In fact, it is the pressure of large numbers of men on the land that has resulted in the unique pattern of agricultural land-use here.

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Owing to the crowded population, to the limited land area, and to the extremely low standard of living, it is imperative to the Szechuanese that every inch of land which is cultivable at all be brought under cultivation. Many times, of course, this means very low production efficiency per capita.

The crop systems in the Basin are so adjusted and so synchronized as to utilize each piece of land to the maximum. For instance, if physical conditions, particularly water supply, permit, rice is always the preferred crop. If rice cannot be grown, the next best crop, such as wheat, corn, millet, or barley, will be planted. If even these crops are impossible, still other crops will be grown, and the land put to some productive use. The simple truth is that here millions of mouths have to be fed, and the Szechuanese absolutely cannot afford to let their land lie idle if this can be avoided in any way. Given the known physical assets, with the available technological knowledge, one may fairly say that the Szechuanese, so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, have made a shrewd "deal" with their physical surroundings. Another people with the same equipment, under the same conditions, both physical and cultural, perhaps could not have done in any way materially different from the Szechuanese.

Nevertheless, in spite of all that has been said above, the agricultural land-use of Szechuan Basin, especially in the light of modern technological development and in the face of modern scientific agriculture, cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory. As a matter of fact, many of the Basin's practices in agricultural land-use are miserably inefficient and call for drastic and immediate improvement. The extreme heterogeneity of the seed of nearly all the field crops, the lack of scientific seed selection and plant-breeding station, the marginal character and low efficiency of the production in many hilly areas, the lack of good drought-resistant crops in areas where natural rainfall is undependable, the failure in cotton-culture, the financial inability to obtain modern complete chemical fertilizers, the wasteful practices of the so-called "winter-storing-water-field"

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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system, and above all, the inefficiency of many of the superfluous ditches and irrigation works, are notable examples. The successful solution of any of these problems will undoubtedly bring about a higher efficiency in the agricultural land-use of the Basin.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF 17
Southwest China
AF 16
Miao AE5

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Shan-Thai AL3
Southwest China AF16

5 636 634 Sh 631 648 twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wu-tei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which Sh 669 joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey, in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

Sw 133 636 241 563 Sh 631 241 In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma. The northward-looking view is from approximately above Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area constitutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yun-nan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as Sw 721 648 old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo. It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

S.W. China AF16

872 each pupil bellowed. "If he doesn't bellow, he isn't learning, but chattering or making mischief."

The mandarin pays for the upkeep of this school. The children live and eat in the castle and bring only their sleeping blankets and in winter a coal brazier from home. "The lessons are conducted according to the new Western style," the teacher told me. Every hour there was a short pause and every day there was physical exercise. If the teacher wanted to begin or interrupt the lessons he drummed on a hollow tree trunk, just like a South Sea Islander.

241 166 The mandarin was also obliged to distribute seeds to the Chinese immigrants; and because the last few years there had been poor harvests he had to order tsamba from Dawo and Romi Tschanggu and rice from the city of Ya tschou. (1) Otherwise all the colonists would have

1. The price for barley in Tschanggu was exactly 15 times as much as in Hsining fu.

long since gone home to China. The colonization here, unlike that of Mongolia, is sponsored by the government. A few years ago 100 families were established here; they had land as well as free seeds, schools for their children and complete freedom from taxes for the first years. And yet conditions were so unfavorable that more than half of them had already gone back and there were only 40 Chinese families left.

651 From the Tibetan families the mandarin gets free escort (ula) and compulsory military service, besides 2.5 Candareen (tael cents) a year. Thus, his income is slight and during each meal Wu da lao ye complained when it came to the rice and rice wine that in this post he had to supply a great deal (presumably 2,000 taels annually).

353 The hall in which my first reception had taken place was also the dining hall where the mandarin, his first secretary, the teacher and /Plates XLV, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII appear between pp. 192 and 193 in the original text. / /193/ I were served. (1) Already in

[262] 1. Wu tschin hsü Da lao ye had even had Chinese pigs brought from the lowlands for slaughtering because he thought the Tibetan species which is raised throughout Hor in large quantities, was too fleshy and tasted bad. The Hor Tibetans eat their pork sometimes raw and sometimes cooked.

strawberries and strawberry blossoms reminded me of the German forests. We did not see any game except foxes and now and then a band of monkeys that fled from branch to branch with a great deal of noise. C 137 [136]

Many of the Hsining horses which were not used to the narrow and slippery paths, fell down the embankment, and always delayed us at the countless shaky bridges. At each bridge the packs had to be unloaded and carried over individually by us humans, while the animals were held at the head and tail and half lifted and half shoved across to the other shore. Fortunately not one of the horses was in such good spirits while this was going on that it felt like making wanton capers. A few of the bridges that were 30 paces long were made of only a single plank which lay only a handbreadth on the spars that extended from the banks of the river. At every step the planks bent and swayed so that the horses could hardly keep on their feet unaided. Four meters below, the cataract tore, roared and foamed. My old bitch Tschimo always got dizzy and when everyone else had crossed she cautiously crossed the plank on her belly. 000

Beginning at 2,400 meters the settlements in the narrow wooded valley began to grow denser. For a long time there were only isolated farms and small groups of houses, most of which in the narrow valley bottom are inhabited by Chinese colonists. They squat in miserable straw huts, whereas the Tibetans occupy stone houses on the steep clearings of the slopes. They have here remained wealthy land owners. But for how long? The Tibetans plant little corn, but a great deal of barley and wheat. The Chinese in the bottom of the valley plant corn almost exclusively and are traders. C T 361 241 ●

Every afternoon toward two o'clock we made camp upon some /Plates XLIX, L, LI, and LII appear between pp. 216 and 217 in the original text. / /217/ small clearing. The animals always found some food in the woods and were also fed with corn and tsamba which we had brought from Ta tsien lu. Most of these clearings originated as a result of forest fires. At all of them were to be found the familiar three stones (tab rdo) which had served previous travelers as a cooking place. These are also regarded by the natives here as the home of some hearth god who wishes to be well treated. Woe to him who touches the three stones with his foot who carelessly drops the kettle and perhaps spills its hot contents on the three stones or on the fire! Without doubt luck will be against him from that moment on! C T 777

C 361 south to the seat of the Tu se or rgyalbo of Mu ping (Tibetan: dschumba), that is, to the native king who has received the highest Chinese title among all Tibetan aristocrats and secular rulers. Thus, he is one into whose kingdom the Chinese have penetrated most deeply and intensively and who is next in line to becoming a John Lackland, giving way entirely to the Chinese.

There are good reasons why the Chinese have settled in larger numbers in Hsin gai, Mu gung and Ying gai and why they have moved the center of administration thither. There is no other place far and near suitable for a populous settlement. Since I had left C 241 Hor Gantse I had not found so many fields in such close proximity. Fifty and a hundred meters above the river which is wedged in between rock walls, the valley spreads out in terraces (Plate LXII) which permit extensive plantings, particularly of corn and also of wheat, beans and buckwheat. (1)

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1. Corn forms the chief nourishment of the inhabitants. At the time of my visit the price of one cattie (600 grams), according to existing exchange, was seven pfennig, whereas in Ta tsien lu a cattie was 25 pfennig and shortly thereafter the prices constantly rose in Ta tsien lu. It is true, Ta tsien lu had to get all its food supplies from the lowland, in fact some things are carried thither from Ya tschou fu on the backs of human beings.

T C 631 175 Mu gung ör fu ting is the administrator and judge of the so-called western Miao tse countries which were subdued and became subject to the Manchu Emperor Kien lung only after two great and bloody wars during the years 1747-49. The decisive and final victory came in the years between 1771 and 1776. It is only since that time that they have come under the Chinese administrative system and been opened up to Chinese colonization and mass invasion. (2) The administrative district of the Mu gung ting is

2. De Mailla, Histoire g. de la Chine, Paris 1780, Vol. XI, p. 589 ff., mistakenly counted these Tibetans from present-day Mu gung ting among the primitive people of Miao tse /223/ and for this reason we still find the history of their conquest in many new history books under the Miao tse wars. D. M. confines himself

that surely the earth and mountain spirits would send bad harvests if the earth were burrowed through. After this dispute the Bati put up a princess as queen, and when the tu se family of /Plates LVII, LVIII, LIX and LX appear between pp. 240 and 241 in the original text. / /241/ Tschoskiab sent at the head of 2,000 men a prince who wanted to marry the princess, there was a long fight between Bati (Brasdi) and Tschoskiab and many were killed before the Chinese finally acted as mediators, upheld the prince as rgyalbo of Bati, and for the present abandoned the mining of the gold fields. T 669

On the second day I reached the Chinese town of Fu pien where I was welcomed by a most gracious little civil mandarin who for a long time would not permit me to set up camp in the open when I could find no room in the inns with my animals. He saw to it that we stopped at least in the examination hall. On the next day he gave me as escorts two very reliable men and his own tung sche. Even below Fu pien the valley shows a broad rock terrace made up of slabs of sandstone that have a strike of N 40-60° W, a terrace in the valley on which are situated fields and villages, and beside which the wild waters of the Little Gold River has, in more recent times, cut a narrow gorge that is often more than 100 meters deep. At Fu pien the terrace and the mountain slope are covered with a thick padding of loess-loam mixed with rubble. (1) In order to get level fields, the C 361 C 241

1. Such formations are said to be common also in Hsü ching at the Great Gold River, and even in Ngaba, agriculture seems to be based on the loess that is present.

Chinese dug many small steps out of this loess, so that they built up a landscape of artificial steps similar to that in North Shensi and Shansi. The Chinese here always call themselves k'e bien, guests, in contrast to the man tse, literally "the barbarians."

Above Fu pien, the road gets broader and more comfortable by the hour. At 2,800 meters I had finally left behind the zone of V-shaped valleys. A new day's march brought me to Lien ho kou, at an altitude of 2,995 meters, where a darro and a police lieutenant with three soldiers lived beside a colonist gai of not even 50 two-story houses. The house of the darro, according to Tibetan custom, also served as the stopping-place for dignitaries (Plate LVI). On the ground floor I found stables, on the second floor were the rooms and the kitchen, and broad verandas looked down on the inner court. T 361 T [342]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242.

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

producer of both these key minerals among all the provinces of free China. 135

While it is true that Szechuan Basin is undoubtedly the most self-sufficient and prosperous agricultural region of China, many phases of its present agricultural and forestry land use cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory from the standpoint of modern technology and scientific development. As a matter of fact, the backwardness of some of the practices is appalling. Drastic measures of improvement are urgently needed. 242 313

The efficiency of the Basin's present agricultural land use has been handicapped greatly by many natural and cultural factors. Among these are the traditional "Tung Shui Tien" system; the undependable nature and marginal character of the hilly agriculture in many parts of the Basin; the presence of large tracts of unreclaimed vacant land (particularly at the peripheral areas of the Basin); ignorance of modern scientific methods of seed selection and plant-breeding (from the irrigated alluvial plain rice to the small millet of the non-irrigated eroded soils of the upper hills); the insufficiency and failure of cotton-culture in many parts of the Basin; the periodic or aperiodic famine in the more hilly areas due to the lack of the more drought-resistant crops; the serious nature of soil-creep in many hilly areas; the failure to modernize silk-culture; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with native herbs; and above all, the lack of satisfactory and efficient irrigation system in many terraced fields of the more hilly areas. 242

In forestry land use, the most noticeable difficulties are: the lack of long-range and far-sighted forestry policy and lumber exploitation; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with tung trees; the absence of well-organized and modern-equipped plantations in tung tree production; the lack of standardization of tung tree products; and the serious hazards (due to long and difficult hauling) of transporting the wax-insects in the white-wax tree industry. 313

Transportation both within and without the Basin has been made difficult by the swift flow of many of the streams and the ruggedness of the topography. Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than the issue of transportation. The solution of this problem will promote the efficiency of agricultural and forestry as well as other forms of land use in the Basin. 489

527 farmers there will be little left for celebration
521 when the creditors have been dealt with.

241 In the rice lands of the Southwest the most intensive work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. At that time the farmer harvests his winter crops -- usually rape and wheat sometimes supplemented with winter beans and peas.
243 Right after the New Year, often before the winter harvest, the farmer sets out his rice plants in nursery beds near the farmhouse. Then he removes his winter crop stubble and plows and prepares the fields for the young rice plants. He spreads fertilizer over the land and then breaches the dike and allows the irrigation water to flow in. After the desired water level is reached the field is harrowed again and again; then begins the back-breaking work of transplanting the rice shoots from the nursery beds to the flooded fields. The farmer has an easier life during the ripening of the grain. As the grain ripens, the fields dry, and at last it is harvest time. The harvesting and threshing are done with primitive implements, and many hands are required; straw is carefully

243 saved in bundles for thatch and for fuel.[3]

[427] 241 Once the harvest is in, the farmer, if he is a tenant, has to pay a share -- often 40 per cent of the crop -- to the landlord.[4] He must also deal with the tax collector who relieves him of yet another substantial share of his crop. If the year has gone well, the rice borers have not destroyed too much of his crop, and the tax collector has not been unduly rapacious, the farmer may retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest and have some to sell in the nearest market town. After he has prepared his fields for the crops of winter wheat and rape, the farmer and his household turn to a variety of winter chores: repairing farm implements and buildings, weaving thatch, spinning and weaving rough cloth, making shoes, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer looks forward to some festivity, perhaps calling for a feast and the slaughtering of the family pig; if debt looms large, the pig may have to be sold to help pay the bills.[5]

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3. Cf. the description in Gerald Winfield, China, The Land the The People, New York, 1948, pp. 49-52. For the slightly different work cycle in the terraced upland ricefields, cf. ibid., pp. 53-58.

4. Cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. On

(continued next page)

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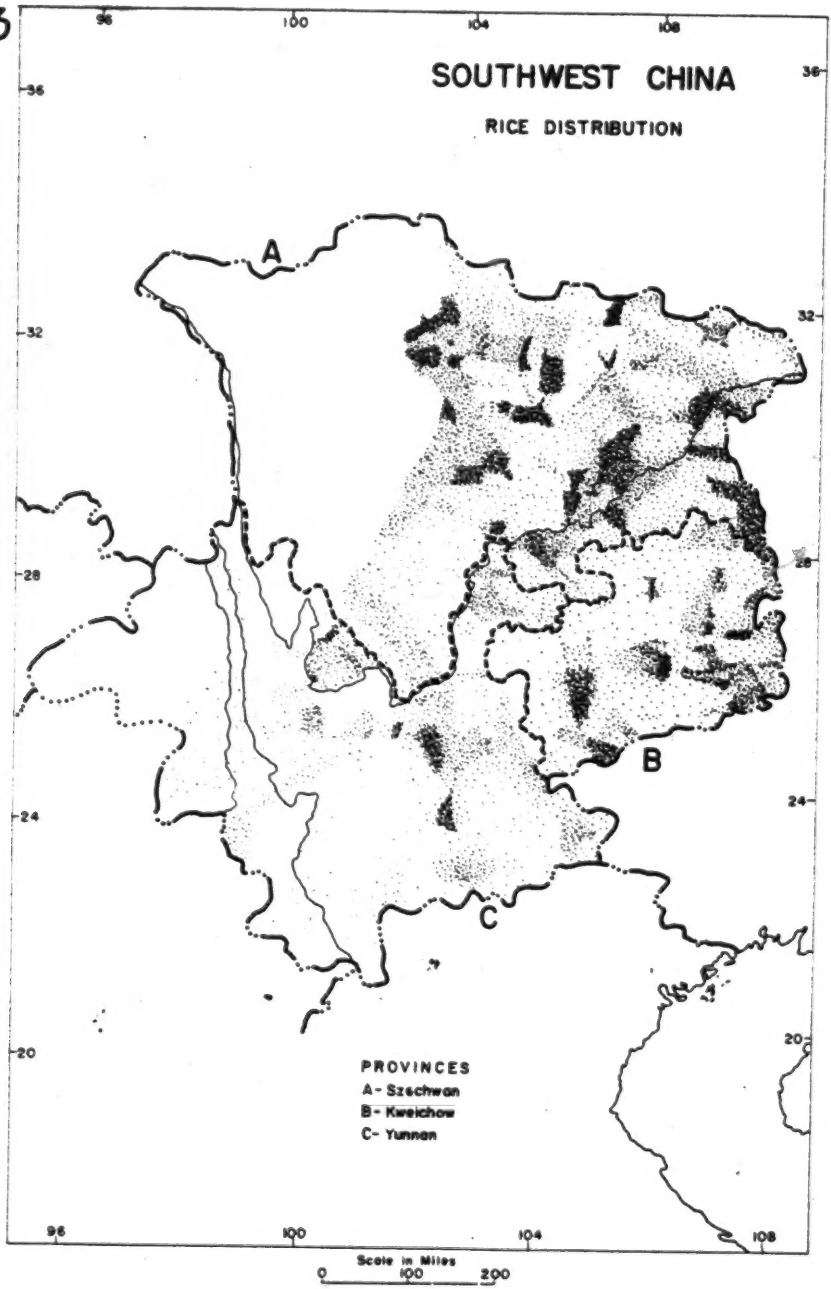

[facing p. 745(a)]

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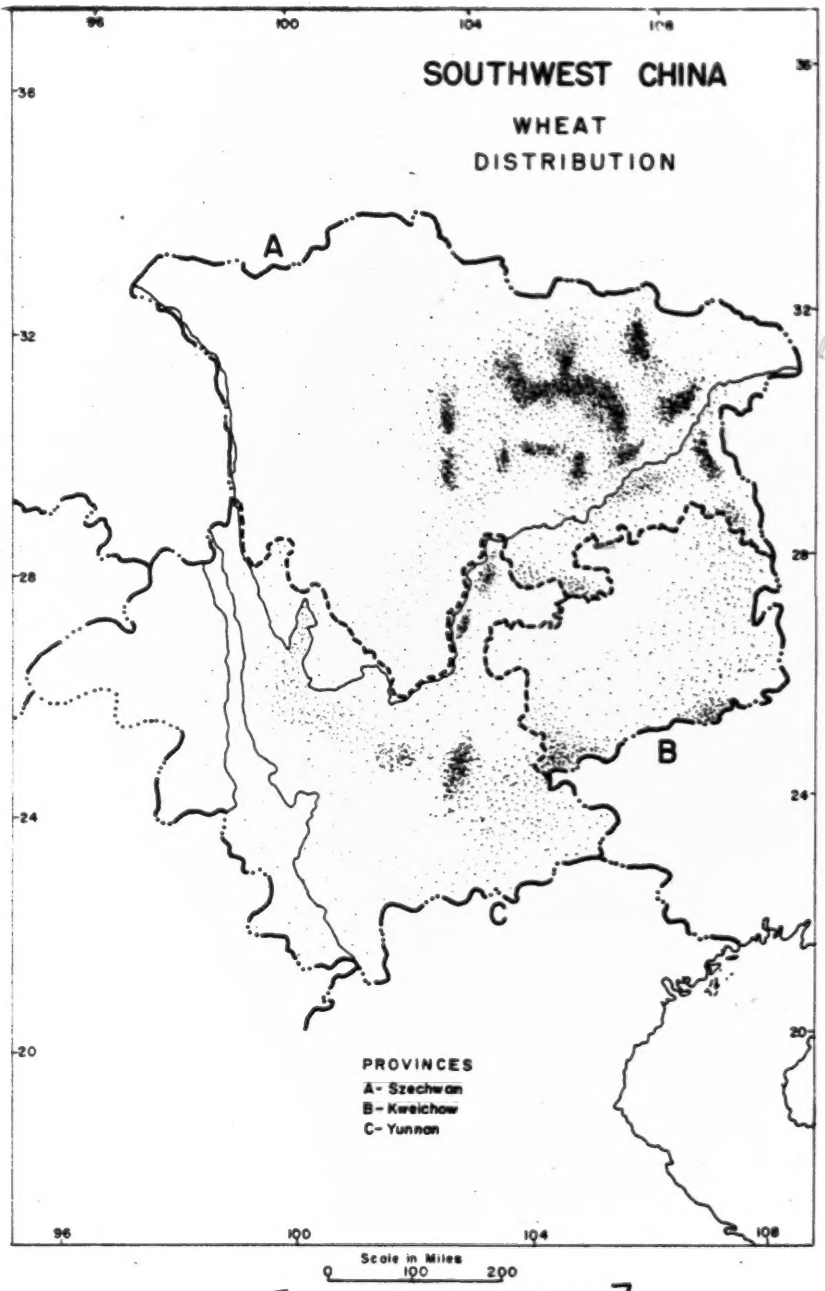

[facing p. 745 (b)]

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475 according to an incomplete report made in 1952, there were approximately 200 state farms of varying sizes in Southwest China.[13]

V. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

A. Production of Grain

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433 Szechwan Province produces more grain than other provinces in the Southwest China region. The entire region produces approximately 17 per cent of the grain produced in China as a whole; Szechwan Province alone produces 10 per cent of the country's grain; the other three provinces together produce only 7 per cent of the total for the entire country.

The western Szechwan plains, irrigated by the 2,000-year-old Tu-chiang Yen Reservoir, is considered one of the richest granaries in China.[14] The province of

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13. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Ch'i Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, p. 63.

14. China Daily News, Aug. 31, 1955.

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243 433 Szechwan was expected to produce approximately 375,000,000 shih-piculs (20,625,000 tons) of grain in 1955, an increase of 23.5 per cent over the amount produced in 1949.

Prior to 1952, Kweichow Province was not self-sufficient in its production of grain. It had the reputation of being a province in which the people were forced to live from hand to mouth. In 1953, for the first time in the history of the province, the harvest of grain was enough to meet the demand of the local population.[15] The output of grain in Kweichow in 1954 and 1955 was higher than in 1953. During July-August 1955, approximately 807,400 shih-piculs (44,407 tons) of grain were "exported" from the province.[16] In the "crop year" (July to June) 1954-55, approximately 4.7 million shih-piculs (258,500 tons) of grain were exported from Kweichow Province.[17]

Grain production in Yunnan Province increased after the adaptation of improved techniques and the introduction of more modern farm implements. In spite of a period of drought in 1953 and floods in 1954,

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15. New China News Agency, Kweiyang, Aug. 26, 1955.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

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243 the plan for grain production was overfulfulled,
433 according to Communist reports.[18]

Table 2 shows the progress of grain production in the Southwest China region.

Table 2. Grain Production in Southwest China

Unit: million. S = shih-pi-nula. T = tons.

Grains	1949 *	1951 *	1952 #	1953 x	1954 x	1955 y
Rice	135,000 S (7,425 T)	167,040 S (9,187 T)	291,200 S (16,016 T)	293,832 S (16,162 T)	301,840 S (16,601 T)	320,544 S (17,630 T)
Wheat	56,250 S (3,094 T)	69,600 S (3,828 T)	45,240 S (2,488 T)	45,649 S (2,510 T)	46,893 S (2,579 T)	49,799 S (2,739 T)
Soyabeans	11,250 S (618 T)	13,920 S (766 T)	11,960 S (658 T)	12,068 S (663 T)	12,937 S (681 T)	13,165 S (724 T)
Tubers	60,000 S (3,300 T)	74,240 S (4,083 T)	20,800 S (1,144 T)	20,988 S (1,154 T)	21,560 S (1 ,187 T)	22,896 S (1,259 T)
Others z	112,500 S (6,188 T)	139,200 S (7,656 T)	150,800 S (8,294 T)	152,163 S (8,369 T)	156,310 S (8, 597 T)	165,996 S (9,130 T)
Total	375,000 S (20,625 T)	464,000 S (25,520 T)	520,000 S (28,600 T)	524,700 S (28,858 T)	539,000 S (29,645 T)	572,400 S (31,482 T)

* Economic Year Book 1952, Hong Kong, Economic Bulletin, 1952, pp. 37-38. The production data of various crops were estimated according to percentage distribution in 1946.

\# Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 10, 1953, p. 12.

x China Daily News, New York, August 4, 1955, Ch'en Yün's report to the National People's Congress on July 21, 1955, and Nov. 24, 1955. The data of various crops were calculated according to the percentage distribution in 1952.

y Based on Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 28, 1955. The data of various crops were calculated according to the percentage distribution in 1952.

z Including millet, corn, kaoliang, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

18. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, June 13-14, 1955.

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433 In analyzing the above table, it will be noticed that grain production in Southwest China has shown a consistent increase since 1949. If 1949's output is taken as 100, the index of grain production increased to 124 in 1951, 139 in 1952, 143 in 1953, 145 in 1954, and 153 in 1955.

In terms of acreage planted in various food crops in 1946, rice led in the Southwest Region by 7.4 million shih-mou (1.2 million acres), constituting about 34 per cent of the total grain acreage. Table 3 shows the total acreage of various grain crops in three of the four provinces in the Southwest Region:

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Table 3. The Acreage of Grains in Southwest China 1946*

(Unit - 1,000. S - shih-mou. A = acres.)

Crops	Szechwan	Yunnan	Kweichow
Rice	30,259 S (5,043 A)	10,317 S (1,719 A)	7,436 S (1,239 A)
Wheat	24,887 S (4,148 A)	5,864 S (977 A)	4,672 S (779 A)
Barley	12,476 S (2,079 A)	2,508 S (418 A)	3,372 S (562 A)
Other Grains#	37,546 S (6,258 A)	11,623 S (1,937 A)	5,909 S (985 A)
Tubers	9,276 S (1,546 A)	369 S (62 A)	406 S (68 A)
Total	114,444 S (19,074 A)	30,681 S (5,113 A)	21,795 S (3,633 A)

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* Director of Budgets, The Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking, 1948, pp. 73-74. Figures on the acreage of grains in Sikang Province are not available.

including millet, corn, kaoliang, oats, peas, and broad beans.

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Table 4. Grain Supply in Southwest China, 1954

(Unit = Million tons)

Grains	Gross Production#	Supply After Provision for Seeds, Fodder and Waste		Supply After Milling		Total Net Supply After Converting into Rice-Equivalent	
		Conversion Standard*	Quantity	Conversion Standard*	Quantity	Conversion Standard[y]	Quantity
Rice	16,601	92.01	15,275	92[x]	14,053	1.00	14,053
Wheat	2,579	86.47	2,230	80	1,784	1.02	1,820
Soyabeans	681	81.94	558	100	558	0.99	552
Tubers	1,187	64.00	760	100	760	0.28	213
Others[z]	8,597	76.80	6,602	89	5,876	1.00	5,876
Total	29,645		25,425		23,031		22,514

* FAO Balance Sheet for 1933-37, compiled from FAO World Food Survey, Food Balance Sheet for China, 1931-37.

\# See Table 2.

x The Chinese Communist milling standard for rice is 92, and this figure is used for the present calculation.

y Derived from the quantity of calories of different grains and tubers using the conversion standard of FAO, 3,430 calories = one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of rice as our basis of calculation.

z Including corn, millet, kaoliang, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[facing p. 757]

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B. The Adequacy of Grain Supply

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One of the most important problems involved in the production of grain in Southwest China is the need to determine the adequacy of supply as it meets or fails to meet the local demand for grain. In order to estimate supply and demand, the following procedure was adopted: (1) data on the gross production of various grains in 1954 were used as the basis for calculation; (2) allowance and deductions were made to provide for the amounts necessary to provide seeds for re-sowing, the amounts necessary as fodder, and the amounts considered waste; (3) allowance was made for the varying losses of the several types of grain during the milling process; (4) all unhusked grains were reduced to milled products suitable for human consumption; it was then necessary to convert all grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents," according to the accepted standard; and (5) in determining the total demand for grain, the actual population, regradless of age or sex, was figured in terms of the equivalent number of "adult males."

The process for conversion of grain into "rice-equivalents" is shown in Table 4. The process for conversion of the population of the provinces of the Southwest Region into equivalent "adult males" is shown in Table 5.

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Table 5. Population in Terms of Equivalent "Adult Males"*

Province	Population	Population in Equivalent "Adult Males"
Szechwan	62,303,999	51,089,279
Sikang	3,381,064	2,772,473
Yunnan	17,472,737	14,327,644
Kweichow	15,037,310	12,330,594
Total	98,195,110	80,519,990

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient of 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work, China's Food and Population, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

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433 Using the statistics in Tables 4 and 5 as a basis for calculation, the total supply of grain -- in terms of rice-equivalents -- available for human consumption in 1954 in Southwest China was 22.5 million tons (20.46 million metric tons). If we use as the basis for estimate the Wu formula[19] of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grain for every 1,000 "adult males" per year, the total amount required to feed 80.52 million "adult males" in Southwest China was 17.47 million metric tons, leaving a surplus of almost 3 million metric tons (3.3 million tons) of "rice-equivalent" grain for export to other regions.

C. Cotton Production

248 During a six-year period ending in 1955,
433 cotton production in the Southwest China region showed a considerable growth, although some ups and downs were noted during the period. Data on cotton production in the region are given in Table 6.

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19. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession. [243] 137 133 487

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湧.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not contain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[17] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are [362] [243]

[17] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,[36] the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,[37] crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 溪水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

[36] At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

[37] In the Han dynasty, Teng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 葉榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 騰衝州, dependent on Yao chou 姚州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 騰談詔 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the *t'an* 談 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 溪水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 羅時江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

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Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent. 489 133 137

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山鋪, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li. [243] [438]

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan 火藥山 [44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound- [135]

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 岩 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called
137 Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[322] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羲宵羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 睑 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窰村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍睑 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羲宵睑 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羲宵千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羲宵 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

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CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

487 133 137 *Eighteenth stage.* — From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation, 8,200 feet.

From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,[1] the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (*see* description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'ö), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndĕr (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round, wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).[2] These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

[243]

[1] The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'ö). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei mou 錯鬼謀. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

[2] "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [548] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 173 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 靡州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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(rDo-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan 老君山, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku. 487* 133* 137*

The Yangtze at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards; on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (GREGORY). [243]

The town of Shih-ku [7] is situated on the very bend of the Yangtze, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety. [505]

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese, the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (力些 or 獠猓) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan. 361 346

The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku 鎮吐蕃鼓. At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of 346

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longed to Yüeh-sui 越巂, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Zo Shui 若水, and became the Chu-hou 諸侯 (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌濮氏. There was born Chuan Hsü 顓頊, who for 10 years assisted Shao Hao 少昊 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Zo Shui is the present Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze).

Kun 鯀 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 莘. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no illicit offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 薏山 and there obtained the *I-i* 薏苡 (*Coix lachrima-jobii*, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 24, fol. 27, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石紐山 is one li south of Shih-ch'üan hsien 石泉縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an fu 龍安府 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the *Tien-hsi* to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The *Li-fan T'ing-chih*, ch. 1, fol. 29b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hua-li 通化里. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石紐山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'üan hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jou, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

[7] Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50′ and longitude 99° 55′, according to Major H. R. DAVIES (*Yün-nan*, p. 256).

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harmonious. The red hue of the banners reflected the first movements of the sun; the merry songs were heard a hundred li away. 173

"In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561) when the dragon was in the attitude of *hsin-yu* 辛酉, in the ninth moon (October 9th to November 6th) on an auspicious day, the civil and military prefect of Li-chiang, hereditary T'u-ssu [native chief], received by Imperial decree and favor promotion to the grade of mandarin of the third rank, and a dignity similar to the nine ministers was bestowed by the supplementary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 [vice-minister, ○○○], MU KAO of the hereditary Mu family ○○."

4. FROM SHIH-KU TO CHÜ-TIEN 石鼓 巨甸

From Shih-ku the trail descends to the Ch'ung-chiang Ho (Major Davies' Hsi-mi Ho), the Pa-tzu gyi (La-ba gyi) of the Na-khi. Old willows line the banks of the stream, while a covered wooden bridge, the posts held together by crudely forged chains, spans it.[20] Arrived at the Yangtze (the Chinese Ch'ang Chiang 長江 or Long River) we follow its western bank under the shade of giant willows which have weathered many a flood. The river is here very broad and its waters a silvery gray; it is decidedly picturesque where it turns to the east and then north, to cut through the Li-chiang Snow range. The fields are of a rich sandy loam and bear excellent crops of rice and maize much finer in every way than on the upper slopes. 487* 133* 137* [243]

We now enter the wide river valley and lose sight of the spur on which Shih-ku is situated. The mountains rise steeply on both sides of the valley floor, exposing reddish-yellow sandstone; the grassy slopes support scattered pine trees with long drooping branches. A few li over a sandy road through broad maize-fields, bring us to the hamlet of Shih-men-kuan 石門關[21] (Stone gate pass); diagonally opposite on the east bank of the river is the hamlet of Boa-t'a-wùa (H-M., Botauo). This is a historic spot. A native Supervisor (Hsün-chien 巡檢) was established here in the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) of the Yüan dynasty, but later abolished. In ancient days it belonged to the district of Chü-chin and to the village La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 (the present Shih-ku, for the latter is called La-ba in Na-khi). Many battles have been fought here against the T'u-fan who dwelled to the north of it. It was the battle-ground of the T'ang, as well as of the Mongol and the Ming generals.[22]

[20] The bridge is called Lai-yüan ch'iao 來遠橋, and is also known by the name of Tiao-ch'iao-kuan 弔橋關; and was built in the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739).

[21] The distances from Li-chiang to Chü-tien and beyond are given as follows in the Li-chiang records, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34: from Li-chiang to Shih-ku 77 li, to Shih-men-kuan 20 li, to Ch'iao-t'ou 70 li, to the large village of Chü-tien 70 li, to T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關) 90 li.

[22] In the ninth year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (793), P'u-wang 普王, a Na-khi chief, guided the T'ang troops under General Wei Kao 韋皋 to fight the T'u-fan at Shih-men-kuan and defeated them (*see* Mu Chronicle, p. 95).

In 1382 Fu Yu-te 傅友德, a Ming general, was sent to conquer south-west China for the Empire. It was then that the Na-khi chief Mu Te submitted and guided Fu Yu-te's troops to subdue the Tibetans who had resisted at Shih-men-kuan. In 1385 the native chief of

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*1487 Back of Shih-men-kuan a beautiful little valley extends west into the
*133 wooded hills, while a perfect cone of a mountain stands sentinel at the en-
*137 trance, crowned by a lovely temple, guarding the valley and the village (PLATE 153).

The trees found along the river bank here are mostly *Diospyros lotus*, a wild persimmon, walnuts and catalpas. The trail is very narrow and follows the bank of the river which is, however, quite broad, and full of islets (October). Red sandstone walls are exposed on the otherwise green slopes
[243] of the mountain, which rise steeply from the valley floor. Fields of maize and a few houses announce the fact that we have reached the hamlet of Mùen-tsü-dtu (Mu-ts'ao-tu 木草都; H-M., Mutsüto).

[361] The hamlet is distinctly scattered, for several li beyond is the rest of the village, considered part of it, but called Bü-dsu-wùa-lo (H-M., Büdsuölo). At this village a little stream enters the Yangtze, spanned by a small, wooden, covered bridge, picturesquely set in a grove of willows.

The region is called Hung-shih-ngai 紅石崖 (Red cliff), from the red sandstone cliff mentioned previously. The Li-chiang records state that "it is exactly 100 li from Li-chiang, or 20 li from Shih-ku, and rises straight from the Yangtze, overlooking the same; it flanks the river for a distance of over 30 li and adjoins Shih-men Kuan to the south. It is the throat of the Mongols and Tibetans, and is still considered the dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." It is indeed a very important pass, the only one here on the Yangtze and frequented by the Tibetans, who come, sometimes with a thousand pack-mules, once a year to fetch tea from P'u-erh 普洱 in south Yün-nan. In the summertime, when the Yangtze is in flood, the trail is often submerged and impassable.

Many valleys debouch into the Yangtze valley, the trail passing through bushes of small white-flowered Bauhinias, *Prinsepia utilis*, Spiraeas, a Desmodium with pink flowers, Rhamnus, etc. The path is lined by limestone boulders and conglomerate. The valley narrows and we enter a veritable canyon of bleak, reddish sandstone walls which rise hundreds of feet straight from the river-bed. This is the real Hung-shih-ngai (H-M., Hoschinga), the "dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." The trail is built up of rock, straight out of the river-bed and flush with the wall. Opposite, on the eastern bank of the Yangtze, is situated the Na-khi hamlet of Lä-ndo (Leng-tu 冷渡, Cold ford; H-M., Lindo). A blackish peculiarly shaped mountain guards the other side of the canyon.

The mountain spur which flanks the Yangtze on the west is called Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (*see* Historical Part pp. 95, 186), after which the ancient

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Chü-chin chou, named A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, revolted and took possession of Stone gate Pass, but was defeated by Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, who was marquis of Chi-an 吉安. In 1391, according to the Ming annals, the Na-khi chief Mu Ch'u (the eighth generation, born in 1345, and known as A-te A-ch'u) guarded the Shih-men Kuan, when he became the chief of Li-chiang at the death of his father. He was succeeded at Stone gate Pass by his brother Mu Kuei 木貴. In the Mu chronicle the latter's name is written Mu K'uei 木奎. His Na-khi surname was A-k'ö. He was the Shih-men-kuan Ch'ien-fu-chang 千夫長 (Head of a thousand men). Later he became a Hu-fu-fa 屋伏法. Shih-men-kuan is the name of a village as well as of a pass.

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sides. Unfortunately the Li-ti-p'ing is a notorious robber haunt where Li-su robbers hold up caravans, and loot and murder. Hence caravans and travelers do not tarry long, but hasten to more friendly regions. It is a gorgeous place to camp, virgin, undisturbed, a paradise for the lover of the out-of-doors. 487* 133* 137*

The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 18, fol. 3, says: "The Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 is 40 li east of Wei-hsi. The road is narrow and like the steps of a stairway, the immense trees form a huge canopy which cuts off all view, clouds envelop the region, being wafted back and forth by the wind. There is much rain and mist, and even on a summer day one must wear furs. In the ninth moon there is much rain and snow; in the winter and spring the snow lies 10–20 feet deep. Once the snow lay so deep in the autumn that along the road tall poles had to be erected at intervals of 10 feet with cross-pieces tied for support. Often for 20 to 30 days the trail would be completely blocked. In the second or third moon [April to May] the trail would be passable for human beings but not for horses. Even after days and days of sunshine only half the snow would melt. After the beginning of summer the snow would melt sufficiently to make the trail visible, as well as the cliffs. In ancient days the snow lay deeper, but is now diminishing in volume."

This would indicate that in earlier days (the book was written in 1831) the forests were vaster than they are now, as it states that the road was narrow and like a stairway and no view could be had. To-day the central part of the Li-ti-p'ing is cleared of forest and its place is taken by a broad meadow. The snow is still a great obstacle to travel and the road is often closed for months.

The pass at the northern, or Wei-hsi, side of the Li-ti-p'ing, is at an elevation of 11,000 feet. The summit of this pass consists of a ridge of porphyry, while the descent westwards is over decomposed igneous rocks with occasional outcroppings of limestone and dolerite. A long spur extends southwest by west towards Wei-hsi; the upper part consists of slate and the lower part of black slate, or phyllite, with intrusive rhyolite (GREGORY). The trail descends through lovely pine and spruce forest mixed with oak, and becomes really a road and a surprisingly good one for this part of the world, with few rocks and a good grade. We follow on the top of a lateral spur through beautiful forest, but then descend rather steeply to a small stream which leads to the village of Pei-pa. The view of Wei-hsi is hidden by a mountain range which extends at right angles to the spur we descend. The vegetation at the little stream is composed mainly of wild pears and apples, maples, hazelnut bushes, and oaks (*Quercus Griffithii*), plus bushy *Rhododendron racemosum* and a hydrangea. Beyon Pei-pa we descend to the Wei-hsi Stream which flows in a northerly direction into the Mekong. This stream is called the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 (Eternal spring River). A wooden bridge spans it which is called Ch'ing-yün-hsiang ch'iao 凌雲享橋. It is also called the Yung-ch'un ch'iao and was first built in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834).

The banks of the stream are flat and wide-spreading and are cultivated with maize and rice. [243]

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slopes, whence the tip of Me-tse-mo becomes visible in the west. Here the Mekong makes a complete S figure, flowing through a very narrow defile. The trail leads to the top of the spur, through a gap with two *mani* pyramids. No view is, however, obtainable from this spur as one might expect. At the northern slope of the spur is an oblong, somewhat horse-shoe-shaped valley, with fields and scattered walnut trees, and a conglomeration of houses which form the village of Chia-pieh 加別 or Chia-pi 加比. The Chia-pieh stream flows below the village through a narrow ravine cut through brown sandstone into the Mekong. We follow the stream to the Mekong which, a little south of Chia-pieh, enters a very narrow, forbidding-looking gorge; the stream is here not wider than 60 yards with a strong current. Boulders of limestone in the Chia-pieh stream are covered with the familiar Tibetan magic formula in bas-relief. Here the Mekong is a fierce rapid, rushing madly into the weird black gorge.

The trail follows the Mekong in its arid trench, here with less steep slopes. On the west side a torrent joins it; it is a glacier stream from the Kha-wa-kar-po range. Far away to the north there could clearly be seen a white pyramid west of Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs or lho),[53] the Chinese Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛, in south-east Tibet. It is the Ta-mo-yum[53] (written stag-mo-yum, Tigress mother), another sacred peak of the Tibetans. Kingdon Ward tells us that Ta-mo-yum is a hump of porphyry.

The trail follows over a small plain strewn with boulders and rocks; the mountains rise gently from it, and the Mekong flows between rock walls some 60 feet below it. The vegetation here is a typical xerophytic one consisting mainly of *Sophora viciifolia*, Berberis, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*.

Up the Te-ch'in valley from Chin-ta. — A few li bring us to the mouth of a narrow valley; it is the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley with its stream rushing into the Mekong at the foot of a small flat spur on which is situated the Tibetan hamlet of Jö-mda (hJol-mdah),[54] in Chinese, Chin-ta 金打. Leaving the Mekong behind we follow the narrow lateral valley up to the village of Lo-ga-ngu, where a stream descends the slopes of Pai-mang Shan and joins the Te-ch'in stream. Here the mountain slopes, higher up, are again covered with *Thuja orientalis*, but stunted trees. A short distance beyond is the hamlet of Ch'i-tzu-shih 棋子石, inhabited by friendly Tibetans (PLATE 170). Maize is still cultivated in the otherwise barren valley. From the slopes back of the village a view can be had of Mt. Ma-tse-mo (Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 雍芝雪山), the highest and southernmost peak of the Kha-wa-dkar-po range (PLATE 171).

The trail follows the A-tun-tzu stream, crossing it several times, once over a wooden bridge, past the village of Ching-k'ou 井口 to the town of A-tun-tzu (PLATE 172). The A-tun-tzu valley is bounded on the East by the steep walls of a plateau (13,000 ft.), from the edge of which the country rises to the rocky peaks of the Mekong-Yangtze divide. Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) itself lies between hills of mica-schist on the west and limestone (Minchia Series) to the east.

[53] [illegible] [54] [illegible] [illegible]

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the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 溜頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[20] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual.

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields.

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江鋪, La-p'u 腊鋪, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴美 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 壩永鍋 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo.

[20] ཨ་ཁ་ལ

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-1 AE7

S the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers
P found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With
622 these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son
S is fit to act as regent.
P The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and
361 La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the
S hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on
P ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice culti-
[134 vation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is
243] barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out
S every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States
P and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those
[463] who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S The chief claim to interest of these two states is that
101 they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation here is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state.
243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides.
136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese
622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

006 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them
435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are *not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12s.* and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [245]

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As usual, we soon became the best of friends with the 272
people whose house we had so unceremoniously broken into. We were given a large room and regaled with buttered tea which we found excellent after our cold march. The combination of the hot tea and the caloric-producing butter is just the thing for a cold climate. After all there is nothing more incongruous in putting butter in tea than there is in putting milk in it.

The house was a very large one and the only obstacle 263
to our comfort was the horrible smell of an enormous cauldron of the coarsest kind of turnip which the people of the house were cooking as a delicacy for their dinner.

Our next march lay along a pleasant grassy valley 136
full of flocks of sheep. Passing K'on tzŭ-k'a[1] we crossed a little pass from which the Yangtze was visible, and descended a narrow valley to Te-ga-ting. The weather was bright and fine again and we saw a good deal of game, including some Stone's Pheasants (*Phasianus elegans*), and two woodcock, at one of which I made a disgraceful miss.

Continuing down the same valley the next morning we 000
reached the Yangtze and followed up the bank of that river to the Chu-pa-lung[2] ferry where we crossed to its left bank. The Yangtze is here from 100 to 150 yards wide, running with a strong current through very barren hills. The ferry-boat is a fine one and will take 15 mules across at once. The Tibetan name of the Yangtze is Dre Ch'u according to Rockhill. As pronounced locally it sounded to me like Nri Ch'ö or Ndri Ch'ö. The Mekong they call Da Ch'ö, and the Salween Chiama Ngö Ch'ö. The elevation of Chu-pa-lung is only 9000 feet, and the shade temperature rose as high as 70°.

On the 8th May we reached Ba-t'ang. The distance from Chu-pa-lung is nearly 20 miles but the road is an easy one. The Ba-t'ang plain was the biggest I had 243
seen since leaving Chung-tien a month before. It measures about two miles by one mile, and was beautifully green with crops of wheat and barley.

The town has some 200 houses, most of them of a good 361

[1] Rockhill's K'on-djin-k'a.
[2] Dru-ba-nang in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

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is chiefly cultivated. Of the mountain ranges some are 137
rather bare, covered with grass or fern only; others are well clothed with fir woods, or at lower elevations with semi-tropical forests. To a traveller accustomed to the vast jungles of Burma, Yün-nan would appear a bare country, but it would seem well wooded when compared to the barren hills of the north-west frontier of India. It is in fact neither a very bare nor a very thickly wooded province. No doubt there was formerly much more forest, but the wants of the inhabitants in fire-wood and house-building have entailed much cutting of timber, which has never been replaced by planting. The amount of cultivation in the hills varies much according to the density of population and the fertility of the soil. In places nearly the whole hillside is fields; in other parts one may go for miles without seeing a clearing. In eastern Yün-nan especially the soil is often so dry and water so scarce that cultivation is hardly possible.

The principal crop of Yün-nan is rice. This is the 243 ●
staple food of the Yünnanese, and it is only in very out-of-the-way hill villages that the people are too poor to afford it and have to live on maize or millet. All the plains that are capable of being irrigated are given up to rice cultivation throughout the summer.

The rice harvest is in October, and when this has been 249
reaped, a second crop of opium, wheat, or beans is in many 243
places sown for the winter.

I should estimate the relative quantities grown as about half opium[1] and a quarter each of wheat and beans. It is not, however, every plain that is capable of producing this second crop off the ground from which the rice has been reaped. When this cannot be done some of the plain land is usually kept unsown with rice, so as to be used for winter crops.

In the hills rice is also extensively grown. In many places the sides of the valleys can be dug into terraces and irrigated by the little hill streams, and here good crops are obtained. In less favourably situated localities the rice

[1] Since this was written, however, the opium crop has been considerably diminished, as Hsi Liang, the present Viceroy, caused all poppies near Yün-nan Fu to be pulled up in Dec. 1907. Along the main routes and for two or three days' journey round the capital scarcely any opium has been grown in 1907–8.

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243 crop is dependent on the rain for its water, and where
249 there is any jungle this is cut down and burnt, the wood ashes helping to manure the ground. Maize, millet and buckwheat are also grown on the hills, and opium is one of the chief things cultivated. This latter crop is an easy one to raise, and the produce finds a ready sale. Opium cultivation is certainly increasing in Yün-nan.

Among other agricultural products of the province may be mentioned tobacco, which is largely grown in many districts; tea which comes principally from the Chinese Shan States south of Ssŭ-mao; sesamum and other oil-producing seeds; hemp used for making rope; sugar which will only grow in the lower and warmer valleys; walnuts, persimmons, pears, peaches and other fruits, and many different kinds of vegetables.

231 As to livestock, there is nothing as big as what we should call a horse, but ponies and mules are kept everywhere. Pack animals are the principal means of transport in the province, so that they form a very necessary possession both to farmers and merchants.

To the farmer cattle and buffaloes also are essential as a means of ploughing his fields, for ponies and mules are never employed for this purpose. In the deep mud and water of the irrigated rice fields buffaloes are the only animals that can do the ploughing.

Unlike the Shans the Chinese do not use bullocks as pack animals. It is true that in out-of-the-way places a farmer may occasionally be seen taking his produce to market with a mule saddle fastened on to a bullock or cow, but this is exceptional. There are no trading caravans of bullocks. In some of the plains of eastern Yün-nan bullocks and buffaloes may be seen drawing small carts, but these can seldom find a road good enough to lead from one plain to another, and are only used for farming purposes.

262 Nor are cattle considered by the Chinese as of any use for food. The orthodox Chinaman does not kill cattle to eat, and it is only in towns which contain a good many Mahommedan inhabitants that beef can occasionally be got. As to milk it is practically unknown in China. A little is now sold in Yün-nan Fu, but it is only in the Tibetan corner of the province that cows are regularly milked.

APPENDIX IV

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE YÜN-NAN RAILWAY.

000 We now come to the consideration of what the Yün-nan Railway is likely to find to carry, and this can best be discussed under four heads.

1. Exports to other provinces or countries.
2. Imports.
3. Goods carried within the province.
4. Passenger Traffic.

With regard to exports and imports it must be borne in mind that the railway if carried right through is not simply a line connecting Burma with Yün-nan, but is also a line connecting the Yangtze and eastern China with Yün-nan. Goods would therefore be imported and exported in both directions.

Another point which must be emphasised is that Yün-nan has a temperate climate, and Burma a tropical climate. The natural result is that each country can produce many things which are impossible in the other, and that each can thus supply many of the other's wants.

Exports. Let us deal first with *exports*. *Rice* though extensively cultivated is never likely to be exported, as it forms the staple food of the province.

•243 *Wheat*, however, is on a different footing. It forms a quite unimportant part of the food of the province, as flour is used chiefly for making cakes and sweetmeats. It is not therefore at present very extensively grown[1], and its cultivation might be enormously increased if there was an easy means of transport to Burma, a country which at present gets all its flour from India.

[1] Owing to the restrictions on the poppy there was in 1907-8 a very large increase in the amount of wheat grown.

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312 rich water supply by the Yangtse, the Min, and other rivers. Numerous channels are built here, for instance, such as the Wu Tung-chiao and Chien Wei districts. But contrary to the practice of Chengtu Plain, and for reasons unknown, very few of these channels are used for irrigation purposes. Instead, they are principally for transportation use.

135 Other interesting features of this agricultural area include its well-balanced endowment with mineral resources. Neither like the Chengtu Plain area of western Basin--where little or no mineral deposits are found--nor similar to the anticlinal areas of the eastern Basin--where is located the largest concentration of the Basin's mineral deposits, especially coal and iron--this area is rather well-balanced in various kinds of mineral deposits. In fact, this area is reasonably rich in every one of the strategic minerals, including salt, coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, and aluminum. Especially the salt production is the richest and the most important at present (Fig. 20).

241 In agricultural richness and productivity, this agricul-
433 tural area of southwestern Basin, as a whole, compares favorably with that of the specialized commercial agricultural area of the lower To-Kou valleys. This fact is evidenced by the fine, well-kept farmsteads here (Fig. 34). In terms of population density, this area also stands out as one of the five high densely populated areas of the Basin (Fig. 10).

E. Agricultural Products

241 The Szechuanese commonly claim that anything which is produced on earth may be found in the Basin. At least it is safe to say that there is scarcely an article grown in China which is not produced here in abundance. First of all, the summer field crops include rice, corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, potato, millet, kaoliang, cotton, beans of all kinds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The winter crops include principally wheat, rape, beans, peas, and many others.

1. Common Food Crops

243 a) Rice.--Rice (oryza sativa) is the master crop of the Basin. It normally occupies 43,000,000 mow, or 42 per cent of the

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total cropped area.[1] With the exception only of Kuangtung province, Szechuan leads all China in rice production, and has a total annual output of between 140,000,000 and 180,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133.4 pounds). Rice is produced on all the valley bottom lands and lower terraces in every district of the Basin where water supply is sufficient. There are three principal rice-producing areas, namely, the Chengtu Plain of western Szechuan Basin, the Sui-yung-Lu-hsien area of the southern Basin, and the Sui-ning-Tung-nan area of northwest Szechuan Basin.

In Chengtu Plain, with the exception only of Tsungching where no efficient irrigation water connections have yet been effected, nearly all the districts normally devote 80 per cent or more of their cultivated area to this king-crop--rice. In the other areas, which are more representative of average conditions in the Basin as a whole, the rice crop generally accounts for 25 to 40 per cent of the total cultivated area.

But whenever and wherever natural conditions (particularly water supply) permit, rice always has the right of way. In fact, the whole crop system of the Basin is so synchronized that rice always claims the first place. For instance, in the Chengtu Plain area, winter crops such as wheat and beans are often stripped of their foliage during the early spring in order to hasten their maturity so that rice may be planted in time.

Generally speaking, there are three principal varieties of rice planted in the Basin, namely, the irrigated, the upland, and the "double-growth" (Tsai Seng Tao) varieties. The irrigated variety, including the so-called early-mature and the later varieties, are the most important and are widespread throughout the Basin, whereas the cultivation of the upland variety is limited to the Shih-fang, Jen-shou, Hung-yao, and Kao-hsien areas.

The Tsai Seng Tao or "double-growth" variety, although confined now to only one district in Feng-chieh, almost at the eastern edge of the Basin, is an interesting crop. This variety has the unique characteristic of producing two crops yearly on the same plant. Like other rice plants, this variety is generally seeded in the last quarter of March, transplanted in the middle of May, and harvested for the first time in the latter part of August.

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 93.

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•243 After the first harvest, the land is tilled and refertilized, and the plant continues to grow until the middle of October, when a second harvest from the same plant may be made. The most surprising thing is that, as it is reported, this second crop often even supersedes the first in quality.

The cultivation of this Tsai-seng-tao variety of rice is one of the most efficient uses of land for rice-cultivation, particularly in those hilly areas where the so-called "tung-shui-tien" (winter-storing-water-field) system is practiced. Recently, the Central Bureau of Agricultural Research, for the purpose of increasing land-use efficiency in rice-cultivation, launched a vigorous program for extending the cultivation of this variety in other areas of the Basin.[1]

The maturing season of the rice crop varies between ninety and one hundred days, depending upon topography, climate, local agricultural practices, and the specific variety used. The seeding season may vary from the early part of March in the southern Basin to about the middle of April in the north. Consequently the harvest season follows the same trend, varying between the later part of July to the middle part of September. Here the operation of both the latitudinal and topographical influences is evident. Ordinarily, besides the aquatic habit, rice requires constant tillage, with repeated heavy manuring from time to time in order to secure a full crop. The plant usually occupies the ground from the latter part of May until early September.

One of the most serious problems in connection with agricultural land-use for rice culture, as already mentioned, is the practice of the so-called "Tung-shui-tien" system. Under this system the land is used for only four or five months during the year. This limited use is particularly unjustifiable in view of the favorable climatic conditions (the long growing season) and at the same time the urgent need for enough food to supply the millions of inhabitants. In the Basin there are over eight months which have an average temperature of 10 degrees C. (Table 3). Moreover, during the months of rice-growing period, the average monthly temperature is over 20 degrees C. (Table 3). Thus, climatically, there is every possibility for two crops of rice a

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[1]Chao, op. cit., p. 23.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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year. Recently, the Central Bureau of Agricultural Research has been working feverishly to solve this problem.

It is interesting to note in this connection that contrary to the belief of many western agriculturalists and geographers, the age-old practice of rice-culture in Szechuan Basin, as in China as a whole, possesses many inherent virtues. First of all, not to mention the high yields the rice gives,[1] which are necessary to feed the millions, rice culture is the most effective means of preventing soil-erosion and conserving soil fertility. Moreover, since the rice fields are flooded during much of the growing season, rice cultivation has an important effect in checking floods. Third, wet-flooded rice-culture generally slows down the erosion of the soil, even more effectively than forest covering. On account of the topography of the Basin, this point is particularly significant. Finally, the abundance of water at times insures the land against becoming gummed up due to an excess of salts as in desert regions.

b) Corn.--With the exception of rice, corn or maize (Zea Mays) is the most important summer crop in the Basin. It usually occupies about 12,000,000 mow, or 12 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Basin. The Basin ranks first in all China in corn production, and normally has a total annual output of 32,000,000 piculs[2] (Fig. 35). Among all the crops in the Basin, corn is the most unusual and has a romantic story of considerable geographic interest.[3] Like potatoes and tobacco, corn is of American origin and was introduced to China only during the last century by some Catholic priests during a serious famine in the Basin.[4] Maize was raised on the hills near Wei-chao in 1857, less than one hundred years ago.[5] It has now become one of the

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[1]With the exception of potatoes, the rice yield is the highest among all crops in China (cf. Buck, op. cit., p. 226).

[2]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Szechuan Provincial Government, Agricultural Statistics (Lung Ching Pao Kao, 1939), p. 94.

[3]It is interesting to note that corn, known by its Chinese name as "Yu Shu Chu," literally meaning the "jade grain from Shu" (the old name for Szechuan), was probably first introduced into Szechuan and later spread from there to other parts of China. This is evidenced by the Chinese name it now bears.

[4]Gazetteers of Szechuan, XXVI, 8.

[5]Gazetteers of Wei Cheo (1892 ed.), III, 28.

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most important food crops, constituting 8 per cent of the total food supply for the population here, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of the Basin. Its juicy shoots are also widely used as feed for pig-rearing in the hilly areas northwest of Chengtu Plain. 243

Corn is the staple summer crop in the more hilly areas which do not hold reservoir water. It is also the principal crop in areas where swift streams debouch upon the plain and where the soils are too sandy to hold water for paddy. Moreover, wherever the slopes are too steep or the gullies too narrow, and the soils are too thin for other food crops, a few stands of corn are always found. Many times the slopes where the corn is planted are so steep that one wonders how the farmers ever manage to sow and reap the crop. With the exception of a few districts like Si-Chung and Yung-chang, which for reasons unknown produce very little corn, corn is cultivated in nearly every district of the Basin. This is particularly so in the southern peripheral areas of the Basin where several crops may be harvested yearly.

c) Potatoes.--The third most important summer crop of the Basin is the potato (Solanum tuberosum). It normally occupies about 6,000,000 mow, or about 6 per cent of the total crop area. On account of the high yield, the Basin leads all China in potato production, and has an annual output of 56,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). Potatoes, like corn, are also of American origin and were introduced into the Basin only about seventy years ago.[1] They are now universally cultivated throughout the Basin, especially on the upper hill terraces. More than any other province in China (with the possible exception of Kwangtung), potatoes here serve as a very important source of human food, constituting about 9 per cent of the total food supply, particularly in the northwestern and southern hilly areas of the Basin. Sometimes they are also used as feed for pigs. It is reported that on account of the extraordinarily high starch content in the potatoes produced here, an increasing portion of the crop is being used in the manufacture of alcohol and other fuel supplies for war-use during recent years. 244

d) Kaoliang and other summer crops.--The other important common summer food crops in the Basin include kaoliang (Sorghum Vulgare) and a great variety of soy beans (Glycine hispida). Each

[1] Gazetteers of Ping Shan, I, 8.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

244 occupies about 4,000,000 mow, or 4 per cent of the total crop land. Kaoliang, sometimes called false millet, is a staple dry crop on hilly lands. It is noted for its special capacity to be without water for a long time (longer than corn) without drying to death. The choice of these two crops by farmers for a certain [273] area often depends on this point. Besides being used widely for human consumption, as well as for livestock feed, kaoliang is used mainly (between 70 and 80 per cent of the total crop) for the manufacture of wine, the famous kaoliang wine. This last use proves to be particularly advantageous to the farmers because wine can be transported to far distant markets when the sale of bulky grains, owing to prohibitive transportation costs, is difficult.

• 243 e) Wheat.--The most important winter food crop is wheat (Triticum Sativum). It normally occupies about 15,000,000 mow, or 17 per cent of the total crop area, and the Basin has an annual output of 44,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). The Basin is the fifth largest wheat producer in all China. With the exception of the Chien-chiang district (which for reasons unknown does not produce wheat), wheat is produced as a winter food crop in nearly all parts of the Basin, particularly in the districts around Chengtu Plain. The wheat prefers the more clayey soils of the Basin, and gives a particularly good yield.

The crop matures generally in 150 to 170 days. In most parts of the Basin, the field is seeded in the middle of October and the harvest takes place in the early part of May, depending upon the latitudinal position, as well as the topography of the area. Next to rice, wheat is the most important food crop of the Basin, contributing 12 per cent of the total food supply. It is eaten in the form of "mien" (noodles) or in other forms of dumplings.

249 f) Rape seed.--The Basin leads all China, both in area and in total annual production of rape (Brassica juncea; a winter crop). Normally it occupies an area of 11,000,000 mow, or about 10 per cent of the total crop area, and the annual output is 15,000,000 piculs[1] (Fig. 35). From the rape seed, oil is extracted for cooking and many other purposes. The seed cakes also furnish

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[1]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Agricultural Statistics (1939), p. 97.

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a very important source of fertilizer. It is the most important source of vegetable oil supply of the Basin. Recently, research projects have been launched by the Central Chemical Research Bureau of China to study the possibility of using rape-seed oil for manufacturing synthetic petroleum and other motor oils for war use. 249

g) Barley and other winter crops.--Other important winter crops in the Basin include barley (Hordeum vulgare), buckwheat (Polygonum fagopyrum), and a great number of species of peas (Pisum Sativum). Barley normally occupies about 12,000,000 mow, or 11 per cent of the total crop area. Second in all China, the Basin's annual total output of barley normally amounts to 31,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). Barley, like buckwheat, is an important dry winter crop on hilly lands in the northern part of the Basin. These crops generally do not require heavy soil, and call for little fertilization. The total acreage in various kinds of peas and beans is usually about 10,000,000 mow, or about 9 per cent of the total crop area. They grow both on hilly and plain areas throughout the Basin. But in plain areas they are used mainly for inter-culture purposes, with wheat and other crops. 243

2. Special Agricultural Products

a) Cotton.--China's "cotton-belt" lies north of the Yangtse. South of the Yangtse, comparatively little cotton is produced. Geographically, Szechuan Basin lies in a southernmost position among all the provinces north of the Yangtse and is therefore in an intermediate position so far as cotton production is concerned (Fig. 1). The most important cotton producing districts in the Basin lie between latitude 29 degrees and 32 degrees N. Particularly the heaviest concentration is at 31 degrees N., around the districts of the upper Pou River Valley, such as Suining, Shei-hung, Santai, Chung-chiang, and Yen-ting (Fig. 36). These five districts accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the total crop in 1936 (Table 4). 248

In these areas the total annual rainfall generally runs below 1,000 millimeters (Fig. 24). Most of the rain falls during the summer, but there is also considerable rainfall in the early autumn (Table 5). This distribution of rainfall, as we shall see later, is not very satisfactory for cotton production. The soil conditions, however, are quite favorable for cotton production.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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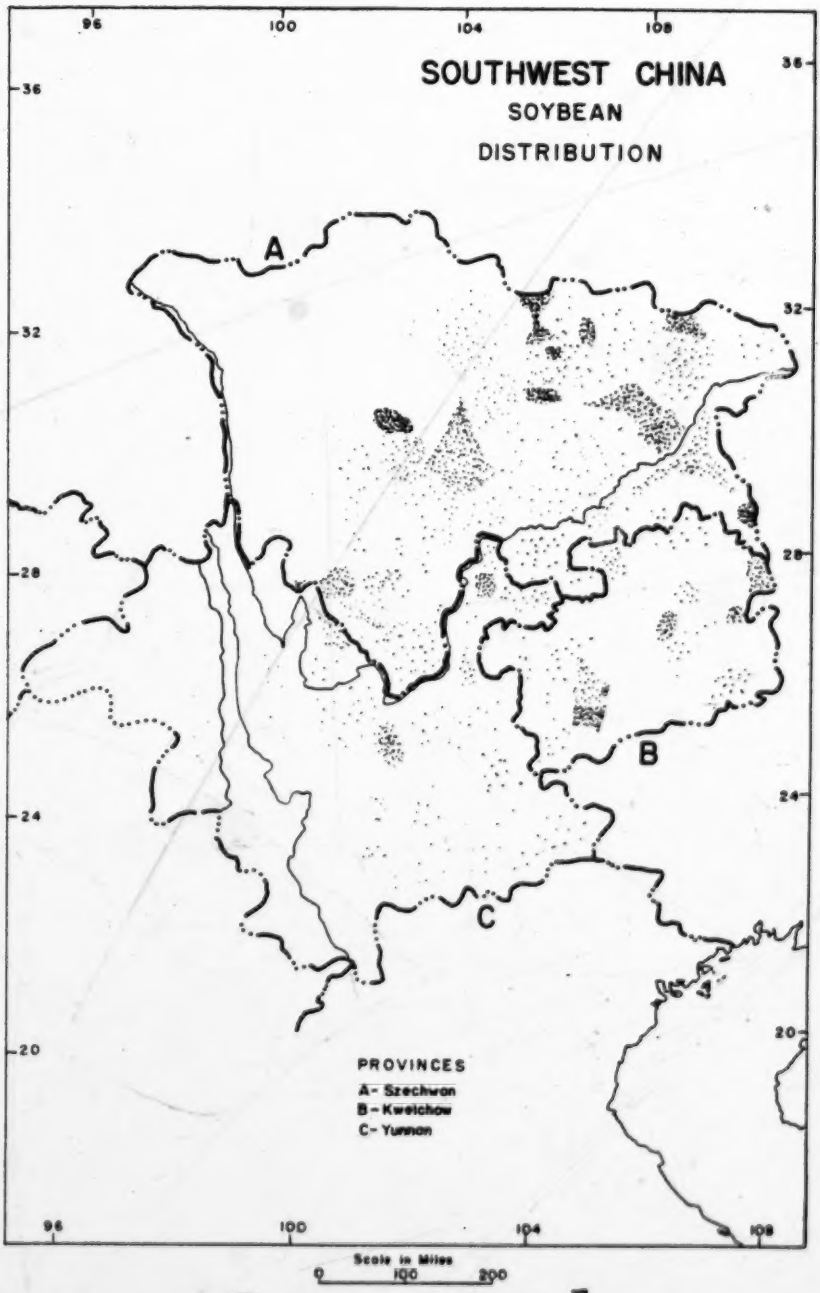

[facing p. 745 (c)]

248 If we use 1949 as the base year (100),
433 the average yield per unit of land was 134 in 1952, 156 in 1953, and 164 in 1954 and 1955.

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Southwest China's production of edible
433 oil (excluding soybean oil) surpasses the majority of regions in China, and the output of oil from rapeseeds ranks first on the Mainland. It was estimated that the total production of rapeseed oil in Szechwan Province alone amounted to 108,000 metric tons (118,800 tons) in 1955, an increase of 28 per cent over the amount produced in the preceding year.[20]

249 In addition to the production of rapeseed,
245 Szechwan Province is also the chief producer
433 of sugar cane and oranges. Tremendous quantities of sugar cane are grown on the plains of Chengtu; the output of sugar cane in 1955 was 1,180,000 tons more than the output
245 in 1949, according to one report.[21] The
433 oranges and tangerines grown in Szechwan fill all local needs and are exported to other parts of China as well as to the Soviet Union

20. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 31, 1955.

21. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, July 25, 1955.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

792 ordinarily dirty and so were the monks, but they certainly impressed me with their sincerity much more than the ordinary temple priest, who is often a great blackguard, and is usually held in no respect by his fellow-countrymen.

The descent on the eastern side of the pass was as bad as the ascent had been, and we had to go down 6000 feet to the village of Ssŭ-ling-kang before we could find any shelter or forage. We got in just after dark, our mules dead beat, having taken ten hours to do the march of fourteen miles.

The next day, the 16th December, we crossed the Salween at Mêng-ku ferry at an elevation of 2,550 feet, a drop of 8000 feet from the range we had crossed the day before. The river is here 100 yards wide, running with a current which precludes all idea of navigation. In some places the hills close right in on both sides, in other places there is half a mile or a mile width of rice cultivation. The valley has the warmer climate and denser vegetation of the Shan States—quite different from all the neighbouring [244] plains of Yün-nan. It is a mild enough climate to grow chillies, and it also produces persimmons which are sold dried like figs.

563 The population of this part of the country is small but varied. On the hills are Lo-los, Li-sos, and Chinese, while in the valley are Shans, and also Chinamen who most of them come from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yünnanese finding the place too hot and feverish. I do not think that the Shans extend up the Salween valley very much higher than this, for from all accounts one soon gets into a country ruled by semi-independent Li-so chiefs.

Four more marches through a very hilly country brought us to the top of the range which divides the Salween from its tributary, the Yung-ch'ang river. The road crosses it at 8,400 feet, and from the top is a fine view of range after range of beautiful mountains, the snow-capped Ts'ang 346 Shan, which overlooks Ta-li Fu, being clearly visible. We descended into the Yung-ch'ang plain and slept in a remarkable temple called the Shui-fu-ssŭ or Sleeping Buddha Temple. It is picturesquely placed at the foot of a jungle-covered spur with a piece of water in front of it. The inner shrine is a large natural cave, in which is the image

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 course of the Ya-lung can be traced from the top of this pass. Just where it makes its great bend to the north, its further progress southward is barred by an enormous mountain mass rising almost sheer from the river to a height
631 of thousands of feet. The country in that direction is under the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh[1], who is nominally subordinate to the Yën-yüan Hsien mandarin.

000 A steep descent to a little valley and another 1000 feet of uphill brought us to the Lo-lo village of Ma-huang-kou at 10,300 feet. The villagers were at first somewhat taken aback by the appearance of such curious-looking people, and were not much inclined to sell us anything. However the appearance of the chief's wife, a large proportioned lady of some 40 years, altered all this. She immediately turned out all the villagers, ordered them to sweep a place clean for my tent, and to bring us anything they had to sell. Her subjects soon became as friendly as they had previously been suspicious.

This country is so very poor that it is by no means easy to get enough to eat even for such a small party as we were. Corn of any sort was scarce and the mules came
• 244 off badly. I was more fortunate, as I found the people here grew potatoes—a luxury indeed to the traveller in China. It is usually only among hill tribes that one is occasionally able to get this vegetable. The Chinese do not seem to appreciate it, though it grows well in the few places where it is cultivated. I remember getting excellent potatoes in Tung-ch'uan Fu and T'ung-hai Hsien. They were, I believe, originally introduced into China by French missionaries, and in Yün-nan they are called *yang yü*, the foreign yam.

563 To illustrate the varied population of this country I may mention that for five days we had now slept among a different tribe each night—Mu-nia Hsi-fan, Chinese, Lo-p'u Hsi-fan, Miao-tzü, and Lo-lo. Each of these people's language is unintelligible to all the others. The *lingua franca* of the country here is still Chinese, though further west Tibetan was much more generally known.

[1] This place is described by Dr R. Logan Jack in *The Back Blocks of China*.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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249 f) Rape seed.--The Basin leads all China, both in area and in total annual production of rape (Brassica juncea; a winter crop). Normally it occupies an area of 11,000,000 mow, or about 10 per cent of the total crop area, and the annual output is 15,000,000 piculs[1] (Fig. 35). From the rape seed, oil is extracted for cooking and many other purposes. The seed cakes also furnish

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[1]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Agricultural Statistics (1939), p. 97.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Prior to the Republic (1912) the export of medicinal herbs, together with silk and tung-oil, formed the backbone of the export trade of the Basin. Herbs alone generally accounted for between 15 and 20 million dollars yearly. But recently, on account of the constant warfare and heavy taxation, as well as the increasing competition of western drugs, the herb trade has reached a low point; in 1936 the total value of herbs exported amounted only to some 7 million dollars. 249 278

Chungking is normally the biggest center for transhipment of herbs to outside markets. It is not only the point of convergence of the herb products of the six main producing areas, but also herbs from northern Kweichou and southern Shensi (by the Chialing and Chi waterways, respectively), are shipped via Chungking, on their way to lower Yangtse markets. Thus, for a long time, Chungking has been known as the "jackpot" of the herb trade of the Far East. The principal domestic markets for the Basin's herbs include Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kwang-tung, Honan, Hunan, and Hupeh provinces, whereas the chief foreign buyers are Japan, French Indo-China, and France.

d) Cho Tsai or pickled (fermented) vegetable.--Cho Tsai, or pickled vegetable, is another unique product of Szechuan Basin, which is the only region in China where this food is produced. Cho Tsai has long been regarded as a great delicacy and a tasty seasoning for cooking in various parts of China, particularly in the lower Yangtse Valley and the North China Plain, as well as in Japan and countries of the South Sea Islands. Large quantities of this delicacy (some two or three million dollars' worth) are exported yearly to these areas from the Basin. 244

The principal producing areas of Cho Tsai are in the east of the Basin, particularly in Pei-Ling, Feng-tu, Chang-shou, Chiang-peh, and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 37). The products from Pei-Ling and Lo-Chih (Chiang-peh) are especially famous.

This vegetable, locally known as Ching Tsai, being a species of chard, thrives well in a wide range of soil conditions. It requires good drainage. The plant is ordinarily seeded in September after the reaping of the summer crops; and the harvest takes place some time around January or February. During its growing season it requires a humid, mild climate. In many localities it forms a very satisfactory rotation crop with rice.

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The process of preparing Cho Tsai is interesting. It is dried (by solar radiation), specially treated with salt and other ingredients (somewhat fermented), seasoned with pepper, and packed in air-tight tanks for export. Like Sunkist oranges from California in the United States, this unique product, "Szechuan Cho Tsai," has been for years the best advertisement for the name of "Szechuan" in many parts of the Far East.

4. Livestock Production and Special Animal Products

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This term, livestock production or animal husbandry, has a special meaning as used in oriental agriculture. Livestock production here in the Basin, like in many other parts of China, is concerned only with the quick-growing food stock, the species that are easily cared for and do not require special feed. These normally include pigs, chickens, ducks, and some geese. While some cattle and sheep are raised here, they are seldom used for dairy products as in the West.

According to the recent report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, for every one hundred farming families in Szechuan Basin there are 40 water buffaloes, 17 head of cattle, 2 horses, 39 goats, 2 sheep, 169 pigs, 366 chickens, 149 ducks, and 20 geese.[1]

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a) Bristles.--In the western commercial world, bristles, like silk and tea, during the past years has always been associated with China. The principal producer of this well known Chinese product is Szechuan Basin. Normally the Basin supplies about one-fourth of the total export of all Chinese bristles, including 15,000 piculs of black and 4,000 piculs of white bristles. Among all the outstanding exports from the Basin, bristles is the only one that has always maintained a predominant position. It now alone comprises about one-fourth of the total value of the export trade of the Basin.[2]

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 42.

[2] The export of bristles has jumped from eighth to fourth place in China's foreign trade since 1939, next only to raw silk, egg products, and tungsten. Szechuan Basin has been the largest producer, contributing about 40 per cent of the total export of this product (cf. J. H. Huang, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Bristles of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941).

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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21. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, July 25, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

433
245 and her satellites. According to one estimate,
[43.9] the annual export of fruit from Szechwan brings to China in return 4,000 tons of steel products.[22]

241 Szechwan Province also produces raw
433 silk, ramie, herb medicines, hogs, and over
245 400 different "native products," of which at least 40 are for export.[23] The leading export is tung oil, of which Szechwan produces an amount second only to that produced in Hunan Province in the Central-South Region. The prewar average production of tung oil was estimated to have been 1,000,000 shih-piculs (55,000 tons), and in 1947 this amount had been increased to 1,292,372 shih-piculs (71,080 tons).[24]

245 The principal special products of Yunnan
433 Province are tea, herb medicines, and oil-bearing crops such as rapeseeds and peanuts. "P'u-erh" tea and the ball of compressed green tea leaves known as "T'o-ch'a", produced in Yunnan, are popular throughout China.[25]

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22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ma Chi, Chung-kuo Ti Shen-lin [China's Forestry], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1952, p. 45.
25. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 15, 1955.

245 The Communists have ordered the increased
433 production of tea. The production target set for Yunnan in 1955 was approximately 48 per cent higher than the output in 1954, which in turn was 21 per cent above the amount produced in the preceding year.[26]

According to a radio report from Peking, the province of Yunnan has been designated as one of the major coffee growing districts in Communist China. The region abounds with wild coffee plants; the Communists propose that in the spring of 1956 millions of coffee plant seedlings be transplanted and cultivated.[27] The first harvest is expected in three years' time, and plants for processing coffee beans are to be built.[28]

241 Kweichow Province has comparatively
433 poor agricultural resources. With the exception of grain, this area does not produce a significant quantity of any important commodity. The output of tung oil and tobacco amounts to about 450,000 shih-piculs (24,750 tons) per
273 year.[29] "Mao-t'ai" wine, which resembles dry
433 gin, has reportedly gained an international reputation and has become one of the leading exports from the province of Kweichow.

26. New China News Agency, Kunming, April 6, 1955.

27. Examiner, San Francisco, Nov. 6, 1955, p. 9.

28. Ibid.

29. China Daily News, New York, August 16, 1955.

[redacted]

439 and other relevant statistics indicate that between
237 15 and 20 per cent of the nation's bristles exports normally originated in Southwest China.

I V. TUNG OIL

439 During the last two decades, several impor-
245 tant developments have occurred in the tung oil trade between the United States and China. First, from 1939 to 1953, the United States' domestic production of tung oil increased by more than ten-fold, whereas the quantity imported was reduced by about two-thirds. In 1953, domestic production for the first time surpassed imports of the commodity. (See Table 3.)

A second important development was the decreasing importance of China as a source of supply for tung oil imports into the United States. Before World War II, more than 90 per cent of American tung oil imports usually came from China. During 1943-45, the Chinese supply disappeared almost entirely from the American market because of the wartime disruption of major transportation arteries between China and the outside world. A temporary recovery in the oil trade between the two countries occurred in 1946, but in the years following, the relative importance of the Chinese supply of tung oil to the United States was greatly reduced because of the increased production of tung oil in South American and the curtailment of Chinese trade as a result of civil war in the country.

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245 Yet another development in the Sino-American tung oil trade after World War II was the decline in the relative importance of the American market as an outlet for Chinese tung oil exports. From 1932 to 1937, Chinese tung oil shipments to the United States constituted from 62 to 72 per cent of China's total tung oil export. During 1946-48, the ratio dropped to between 31 and 52 per cent.

Like other statistics cited in this chapter, those pertaining to tung oil include only the quantity involved in direct trade between China and the United States; they do not account for shipments from China to America via Hong Kong, or other intermediate ports. The practice of indirect shipment was commonly used during the war because of the Japanese occupation of China's maritime provinces and was frequently resorted to in the postwar era to evade trade and foreign exchange restrictions enforced by the Nationalist Government. Despite the absence of figures on Sino-American indirect trade, the decreasing importance of Chinese tung oil to the United States market because of expanding production of the commodity in North and South America is quite evident.

Normally, about one-third of China's tung oil export comes from Szechwan; Kweichow, another Southwestern province, also produced tung oil but on a much smaller scale. Before the Communist Government came to power in Mainland China, the tung oil from Szechwan was usually shipped [illegible]hter in barrels or in bulk via the Yangtze River to Shanghai, where it was transhipped to foreign countries.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 3. China's Tung Oil Export in Relation to the United States' Import and Production of Tung Oil a/

Year	U. S. Domestic Production (- - - - in thousands of pounds - - - -)	U. S. Import for Consumption	U.S. Import From China	Total Export From China (in millions of lbs.)	U. S. Import From China in Percentage of: Total U.S. Import	U. S. Import From China in Percentage of: For Consumption	Total Export from China
1931	-	74,868	--	109.2	95.45	-	-
1932	-	72,596	66,106	107.0	95.4	91.05	
1933	-	114,544	117,213	166.2	96.5	70.5	
1934	-	110,007	90,476	163.9	94.4	82.2	
1935	-	130,089	109,667	161.9	91.2	68.6	
1936	-	154,850	157,319	191.2	94.9	71.6	
1937	-	174,885	141,545	227.0	91.1	62.3	
1938	-	107,426	12,528	162.4	-	8.2	
1939	8,000	70,718	1,550	73.9	-	2.1	
1940	82	97,049	-	82.2	-	-	
1941	2,555	45,800	-	46.2	-	-	
1942	1,390	8,269	-	2.0	-	-	
1943	6,210	68	-	.2	-	-	
1944	2,560	1,771	-	.2	-	-	
1945	10,555	1,570	-	.2	-	-	
1946	11,045	54,919	55,628	77.7	95.5	60.2	
1947	12,880	114,327	84,758	177.6	65.00	50.9	
1948	14,827	122,558	86,595	167.8	68.0	51.7	
1949	22,640	56,027	-	-	-	-	
1950	25,487	106,061	-	-	-	-	
1951	12,887	54,547	-	-	-	-	
1952	23,161	29,800	-	-	-	-	
1953	42,108	-	-	-	-	-	

a/ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Statistics, 1954; U.S. Department of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Yearbook, 1948, 1949 and 1950; and Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947.

(Table 3 faces p. 949.)

[Facing P. 949]

439
245 After 1949, the pattern of the trade was drastically changed. Partly because of the trade policy of Communist China and partly because of American government restrictions on trade with Red China and the use of Chinese Communist assets in the United States, the continuance of Chinese tung oil exports on the old scale to the United States became impossible. Although during the last few years a considerable amount of tung oil has been shipped to the United States from Communist China, the volume has been relatively small compared to that of the pre-Communist era. Apparently, the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and countries in the Soviet bloc have replaced the United States as the leading outlets for Chinese tung oil exports.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 溜頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[20] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual. [312]

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields. [243] [245]

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬, and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江浦, La-p'u 腊浦, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴梅 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 巴永郭 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo. [317] [797]

* ཡར་ཁ་ལོ

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XII

SSŬ-MAO AND P'U-ÊRH.

The town and plain of Ssŭ-mao—A commercial centre—The famous P'u-êrh tea—Cotton—A treaty port—French travellers—A Tibetan caravan—The Ma-hei tribe—P'u-êrh—An official town—An uncivil official—A friendly Shan—Routes westward from P'u-êrh.

361 Ssŭ-mao T'ing was the first real Chinese town I had come across since leaving Mien-ning nearly six weeks before. It is built on the end of a low spur which runs down from the hills to the east of the plain and is surrounded by a 25 feet brick wall, about a mile in perimeter. Inside the city are some 1,300 houses, but the business quarter is in a large suburb of 1,700 houses outside the south gate. The plain is some 10 miles long by three miles wide, and is at an elevation of 4,800 feet. Like many other places in Yün-nan it was formerly a Shan state, and it is still known to the Shans by the name of Möng La.

438 245 It is, for Yün-nan, a large commercial centre, the trade being principally confined to tea and cotton, both of which commodities are brought from the Shan States which lie to the south. The tea, which under the name of P'u-êrh tea is famous for its good quality throughout the Chinese Empire, is grown in the hills from six to twelve marches south of the town, in the Chinese Shan State of Keng Hung, or Chiu-lung-chiang as it is called by the Chinese. The principal tea-growing centres that I could hear of are Yi-pang, Yi-wu, Yu-lo, Man-sa, and Man-la, all of which places are in Keng Hung territory to the east of the Mekong. The yearly output is estimated at 15,000 mule-loads, which would amount to some 900 tons. Its price averages about [434] three pounds for a rupee (1*s.* 4*d.*). The value of the annual export would then, if these figures are correct, amount roughly to 670,000 rupees, say £45,000.

[p. 96]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

fitted with a handle to wheel along the road. These wheels 000
we found most accurate and satisfactory, and we all used them throughout our two seasons of surveying. Spare cyclometers had to be carried as they wear out in time.

On the 29th November I left T'êng-yüeh by the west gate and crossing a bare ridge by a low gap between two conspicuous peaks, descended into the fir-woods of the plateau country of Hsi-lien.

We slept at Mu-shui-ho, and found the country people extremely civil, a pleasant contrast to the T'êng-yüeh mob. One old gentleman was particularly communicative and offered to be my guide the next day to the mule and sheep breeding village of Lu-ts'ung-shan. We had a beautiful 361
walk there in the morning over undulating ground through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, the properties of different families being marked off by stone walls. The [245]
villages are quite hidden away in trees—peach, walnut, chestnut, plantain, golden bamboo, and the *tsung-pao* palm[1]. If a railway is ever made to T'êng-yüeh this plateau ought to become the hill station of Burma. Situated at 6000 feet above the sea in a beautiful well-watered country, I can imagine no more pleasant contrast with the scorching sun of Mandalay or the hot mugginess of Rangoon.

The simple villagers of Lu-ts'ung-shan I found rather 231
timid at first, frightened either of me or of the Chinese 438
soldier who accompanied me. But a more talkative man soon appeared. The sheep, it seems, are worth about two taels each (five rupees, or 6*s.* 4*d.*), and they use their wool for making rugs. They have tried taking the sheep to sell at Bhamo, but say that it does not pay. They cannot stand the warmer climate and want of grass in the Taping valley, and many of them die on the way. At present the mutton for Burma all comes from India, but with a railway to T'êng-yüeh, the want could no doubt be supplied from Yün-nan. The mule breeding here does not seem to be on a large scale. They get their donkeys from the province of Shen-hsi, and pay as much as 80 or 100 taels for them, a large price in this part of China.

Agricultural pursuits are not the only occupation of the 463

[1] See p. 77.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

563 given them, but they call themselves Mhong. I have always found them very pleasant and friendly.

From Méng-p'éng it took us two days of fairly easy going through a country peopled chiefly by Shans and Las to reach Na-hsang, a Shan village just on the Chinese side [245] of the frontier. The village was full of orange trees, which were at this season covered with fruit—one of the prettiest crops conceivable.

000 The next day we crossed the boundary and reached Taw-nio, the British frontier fort, where I found Captain G. W. Johnson in command of the garrison of military police. Only those who have travelled alone in strange countries can fully understand what a pleasure it is to meet one of one's own race and talk English again. And indeed Captain Johnson himself had been leading as solitary a life as I had, for he was the only European in Taw-nio, and was dependent for his society on the rare visits paid by civilians or police officers from Lashio, the headquarters of the Northern Shan States, which lies 120 miles off to the west.

I fully expected to hear news here of Turner and Ker, but there was none forthcoming. It was of great importance that I should see them so as to arrange their future movements, so there was nothing for it but to wait till they came. I considered myself extremely fortunate in being able to make this enforced halt in a British fort and with such a pleasant host as Captain Johnson.

Taw-nio, or Ma-li-pa as the Chinese call it, is a frontier district which, though ruled by a Chinese chief, would have the strongest objection to being handed over to the Chinese empire. It forms part of the Shan State of Hsen-wi[1], and no doubt its inhabitants find that they have much more independence in their present position than they could hope for under Chinese officials, especially now that the mandarins have begun to interfere more and more in the affairs of the border States and to establish garrisons close to the British frontier.

The main part of Taw-nio consists of a grass plateau pleasantly dotted with patches of jungle. Villages are few

[1] Called Theinni by the Burmese, and Mu-pang by the Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

669 of treachery on the Mahommedan side were very common all through the rebellion.

After an uphill march on the 18th through jungle and 000 fir woods to the pleasant little hill village of Pai-yin-ch'in, we descended the next day to the Ching-ku Ho, which here runs through a curious valley, so much cut up by wooded spurs and deep sandstone ravines that it can hardly be called a plain. There is scarcely any flat ground, but there are a good many villages scattered along the valley, and the side streams are lined with terraced fields. The country reminds one very much of the upper part of the Shweli River.

• 245 There is a certain amount of tea grown on the hillsides here, at heights between 4,500 and 5,500 feet in a sandstone soil. It is not considered so good as that produced in the Shan state of Keng Hung, the famous P'u-êrh tea.

136 I shot a woodcock on the march which brought us into the Ching-ku valley. I have occasionally seen this bird in different parts of Yün-nan, and have met with it in May in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 Our route for the next day and a half still lay down the Ching-ku Ho, but the country is so broken by steep spurs running down to the river, that there is little actual flat going. The river is twice crossed. The first crossing is by a wooden bridge where the stream, though not 20 yards wide, runs in a tremendous chasm between cliffs 200 feet high. These extraordinarily deep ravines are characteristic of this valley.

We reached Wei-yüan on the 21st December, and I found the place in no way changed since my previous visit. From Wei-yüan to P'u-êrh is only four or five marches by the direct road, but I had been along this route in 1895. I therefore struck off in an easterly direction for Hsin-fu, a place near which Turner and Ker had come in to the P'u-êrh-Ta-li road in the previous season. From there by turning south to P'u-êrh I should be able to get in the only part of this important road that had not been surveyed by our parties.

Our route led northward for a day and a half up the Wei-yüan Chiang, along the road to Chên-yüan T'ing, which had been followed by Captain Wingate in 1895. The

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The name Liu-t'ou-chiang is Chinese, meaning "bridge-head river," for *liu-tzŭ* is the name by which they call the rope bridges. 000

For five more days our road lay up the valley of the Mekong, but the going was by no means flat. The hills on both sides of the river are very steep and full of landslips, the formation being loose shale. The path keeps up on the hillside, rising in places to 10,000 feet or more, and continually crossing bare brown-looking spurs.

Between these spurs are little side streams running down from the snow-covered tops of the range, and in these little valleys the villages are prettily situated, surrounded by green fields of wheat and barley, and by pear and peach trees which were then in blossom. 245

The Mekong runs for the most part between steep banks and there is practically no flat ground along it. To the west is a fine snowy range, the highest peaks of which Ryder made about 20,000 feet by observations with the long-shaped clinometer.

The Tibetan inhabitants of this valley appear well off and live in an excellent climate where it does not get extremely cold. Their houses are well built, often of three storeys, the ground floor solidly constructed of stone, and the two upper floors usually of wood. The roofs are flat, made of large beams covered over with mud, and the upper storeys are built so that they cover less space than the storey below them; thus part of the roof of one storey forms a terrace or verandah to the storey above it. [132] 342

On the 28th of April we reached Ya-k'a-lo, a straggling village of 100 houses. The place is important because of its salt wells which supply all this part of the country. 317

On our second march out of A-tun-tzŭ we had already met one French missionary, Père Bourdonnec who was on his way to Tzŭ-ku (Tse-kou according to French orthography). At Ya-k'a-lo we were to have the pleasure of finding Père Grandjean who had come from Ba-t'ang to take Père Bourdonnec's place during his absence. He took much interest in our project of getting through to Assam, though he did not give us much hope of success. We are much indebted to him for the assistance and advice he was always so ready to give us. 000

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000 known each other at Eton, for he was in the eleven while I was still a "lower boy" and would not have dared to address one who had attained such a distinguished position. After a few years in a cavalry regiment, he had thrown up his commission and come out to China as a missionary.

Two of the others whom we met were contemplating a journey further in to Tibet and hoped to establish a mission station at Ba-t'ang.

We also went to see Mgr Giraudeau, the Bishop of the French Tibetan mission, and thanked him for the many kindnesses we had received from the French missionaries.

366 Ta-chien-lu is the great trading mart of eastern Tibet. Furs, medicine, and musk are the exports to China, and tea is the principal import into Tibet. The amount of tea drunk in Tibet must be very large for the size of the population, for everyone, however poor, drinks it con-
•245 stantly, in fact at every meal. A certain quantity of P'u-êrh tea is imported from Yün-nan, but by far the greater part of the tea for Tibet passes through Ta-chien-lu.

It is grown in western Ssû-ch'uan chiefly in the Ya-chou Fu district. All that is imported into Tibet is of a very coarse quality and is largely adulterated with sticks. The cost of carriage to distant parts of Tibet is so large that a good quality of tea could be sold there only at a prohibitive cost.

114 Mr A. de Rosthorn has published a pamphlet[1] on the
439 subject of the tea trade and this probably contains the most accurate information available. He estimates the weight of the annual import through Ta-chien-lu as 108,780 piculs, which comes to fourteen and a half million English pounds.

He discusses the question of whether tea can ever be profitably imported from Assam into Tibet, but comes to the conclusion that the Chinese tea, adulterated as it is with 65 per cent. of twigs and leaves of other plants, and sold at Ba-t'ang at 5½*d.* and at Lhasa at 11*d.* a pound will continue to hold its own, except possibly in parts of Tibet very remote from China.

[1] *On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssû-ch'uan*, by A. de Rosthorn. London, Luzac & Co., 1895.

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Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssû-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 moles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

[1]One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

248 the water-supply of the nearby Tu-chiang-yen irrigation works. Hou-ma hemp is a spring crop. The seeds are sown in February, and the plants harvested in the middle of June, just as soon as they commence to flower. The stems are allowed to grow close together, and to reach eight feet or more in height. The culms are reaped, stripped of their leaves.

One of the most interesting practices in connection with Hou-ma hemp culture in these areas is the extremely intensive cultivation of the soil-beds. There is an old saying among the Hou-ma farmers, "Till nine times for hemp." This cultivation is necessary mainly because the roots of the young hemp plant, which are especially tender and weak, may be hampered in their proper growth if the soil bed is heavy. The use of "lu-tiao" (Astragalus sinensis) as green manure is also quite common here.

With the exception only of the Wen-chiang district, rotation with rape or wheat is commonly practiced by the hou-ma farmers of Chengtu Plain.

The uses and markets of hou-ma and chu-ma are just as different as their methods of culture and their physical requirements. In the case of chu-ma hemp, the white variety is used in the manufacture of the famous "hsia-pu," or summer cloth, which is well known over all parts of China, as well as in Korea and Japan. It has a particularly wide market in Hopeh, Shensi, Shangtung Honan, and Kwangtung provinces. It has also been shipped in considerable quantity to Korea and Japan. The green chu-ma hemp is all exported in the raw form to Japan and to France, for the manufacture of artificial silk. The hou-ma is used principally for rope-making, cordages, grain sacks, salt-bags, and military sacks. These products have their chief markets within the Basin, particularly in the salt-producing areas of Tze-liu-ching.

3. Special Agricultural and Horticultural Products

245 a) Citrus fruits.--Among all the sub-tropical products in the Basin, citrus fruits, especially oranges, have the widest range in geographical distribution. From Ching-Tang at the north to as far as Chiang-tsin at the south, nearly all the districts south of latitude 31 degrees N. produce citrus fruits. The most important centers of citrus fruit production are, however, confined to a few districts, namely, the Ho-chuan of the middle Chialing River, Chiang-tsin and Pa-hsien along the Yangtse,

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Ching-tang, Chien-yang, Tse-chung, and Nei-chiang of the upper and lower To River Valley, and Chang-shou and Wan-hsien in the east of the Basin (Fig. 36). These few districts generally account for over 80 per cent of the total crop (Table 10). The production of grapefruit is concentrated in the districts of Liang-shan, Chang-shou, and Feng-chieh. The total acreage in citrus fruit cultivation is generally estimated to be approximately 70,000 mow (Table 10), with 1,600,000 trees and a total production of some 200,000,000 fruits.[1]

Of all the tropical plants grown in the Basin, the introduction and cultivation of citrus fruits has the earliest history. As early as the Chin dynasty (265-419 A.D.), citrus fruits were reported grown here.[2] Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), after the wholesale massacre of the original population of the Basin by the rebels Chang and Li, and with the influx of large numbers of immigrants from the tropical provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, a great number of new species of citrus fruits were brought in, and the acreage was greatly extended.

Two of the most serious problems in citrus fruit production here are the relatively high perishability of the local fruit and the absence of quick and efficient transportation facilities. It is reported that sometimes as high as 25 to 40 per cent of the total crop has been spoiled before the fruit could be shipped to distant markets. This is particularly true with the "hung-chu" or red oranges (citrus aurentium), which comprises about 85 per cent of the total citrus fruit crop. The "huang-ko," yellow peeled oranges and grapefruits, which comprise only 15 per cent of the total crop, are less perishable, and can better withstand long distance hauling. In general, the farmers have to sell the fruit as fast as it is picked. Normally this means that they have to sell it cheaply. For example, at Chungking, during the picking season, one can buy as many as 200 oranges for only one silver dollar, whereas at Hankow, approximately 650 miles away, the same dollar will purchase only 8 or 9 pieces of the imported oranges! This difference in price is certainly astonishing.

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[1] C. L. Chung, "Some Problems Regarding the Cultivation of Citrus Fruits in Szechuan Basin," Szechuan Reconstruction Weekly, III, No. 7 (1932), 16.

[2] Hua Yang Kuo Chih (Gazetteers of Hua-yang), Chuan 2, p. 8.

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245 At present, the farthest markets to which the citrus fruit of the basin can be safely and profitably shipped are at I-chang and Sha-shih, which are only about four hundred miles away.

The difficulties of marketing the fresh "hung-chu" red oranges are so great that many farmers find it more to their advantage to let the fruit rot in the fields and to sell the orange peel for medicinal purposes. The difficulty of marketing handicaps seriously the agricultural economy of these orange-producing areas. Recently, the Szechuan Provincial Agricultural Experimental Station established several breeding stations in Chiang-tsin and Ho-chuan, with a view to selecting breeds of the less perishable species of "huang-ko" or yellow oranges. At the same time, various canning plants have been recently established in the producing areas to manufacture canned orange juice and other canned fruit products. Both of these measures will undoubtedly help to relieve the grave situation.

b) Tea.--Tea (Camellia thea) is recorded to have been cultivated in Szechuan Basin during the Early Han dynasty (202 B.C. to 25 A.D.).[1] However, it did not become a common beverage among all classes in the Basin until the sixth and seventh centuries.[2] There are now some forty districts in the Basin reported to be producing tea of one kind or another (Table 11). The three principal tea-producing areas of the Basin (Fig. 37) are the western area, including Pei-chuan, Kuan-hsien, Ta-i, and Tsung-nai; the eastern area, including the Wan-yuan, Kai-chiang, and Cheng-ko districts; and the southern area, including Ho-chiang, Yun-nien, and Ping-shan. Among these, the western area is by far the most important in both the quantity and the quality of the tea produced. The total tea acreage is normally about 300,000 mow, and has an annual output of about 120,000 piculs (Table 11).[3]

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[1]Quoted by an article entitled "The Production and Market of Tea at Kuan-hsien Area," Szechuan Econ. Monthly, VIII, No. 3 (1937), 87.

[2]A cup of tea in China, taken not primarily to assuage thirst, is a thing to play with, to set before a guest, and to talk over. The tea house, a unique Chinese institution, which is found in Szechuan Basin perhaps more than in any other province of China, is much more than a club. It is a meeting place where business talks are generally carried on, rumors are spread, and gossip about one's friends is tossed about. The tea house is a vital factor in the social and cultural life here.

[3]Bureau of Agricultural Research, "Statistics on the Production of Tea," Szechuan Economic Monthly, VIII, No. 1 (1936), 58.

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As in many other parts of China, tea cultivation here is primarily a by-profession of farmers, and very few large plantations are found. It is reported that there are more than 35,000 farming families engaged in producing tea. 245

Perhaps nowhere else in China has tea been produced in so many grades and prepared in so many forms as here in the Basin. The grades range from the most handsomely packed silver-needle green tea of finest aroma to the most roughly-wrapped ugly-looking brick tea. This range is made available in order to meet the varied demands of widely different markets. The most important export tea markets of the Basin are the regions of Tibet, Sikang, and Kokonor. The Basin supplies nearly all the demand of these areas, which normally totals more than six million dollars per year.

Nevertheless, this small but profitable trade may soon be denied to the Basin. It is greatly feared that keen Indian competition is growing and threatening the Basin's export tea trade to Tibet. In fact, the competition of Indian tea even now extends from Tibet to the Sikang markets. Geographically, the Indian tea is in a more favorable position to compete for the Tibetan tea market than tea from the Basin. For example, from Darjeeling to Lhasa it is only about 350 miles, while from Kan-ting (Tachien-lu), the principal collecting point of the Basin's tea on its way to Tibet, to Lhasa is twice that distance (nearly 700 miles) and requires sometimes two months' journey. Moreover, the physical difficulties of transportation in the Basin are also greater. This favorable geographic position of India is further evidenced by the fact that a considerable portion of the herbs from the Tibetan highlands are now being exported through the Darjeeling route.

The tea for the export markets comes largely from the western and southern producing areas. Normally Kuan-hsien is the collection-point and Sung-pang the distribution point of all tea from the western producing areas, whereas Yaan and Kan-ting (Tachien-lu) serve in the same capacity for the southern producing areas. The tea for these distant markets is generally wrapped in 60-pound or 80-pound packages and is transported principally on men's backs.

c) Medicinal herbs.--Szechuan Basin has long been noted in China, in fact in the whole Far East, for its production of a 249

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greatest production is from the eighth to the sixteenth year. A decline in productivity begins with the seventeenth year. Thus there is a local saying, "The seventeenth year is the limit for the Tung Tree." 314 137

The tung seed-collecting season varies from locality to locality in the Basin, but, on the whole, comes in the middle of September. After the green fruit is picked, it is piled into heaps and covered with straw or grass. The heat thus generated quickly rots the fleshy part of the fruit and the seeds are removed. They are then roasted,[1] ground, steamed, and pressed, like other oil-producing seeds. All of these processes are done with very simple equipment and at low efficiency. The roasting and steaming are done by burning of charcoal or coal, whereas the pressing and grounding are all done by animal power. The product, which amounts to about 40 per cent of the weight of the seed, is a brown and somewhat watery oil. It is sent to the nearby local plants for refining, and then packed in wooden tubs and bamboo baskets to be shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for export abroad.

In the economy of the Szechuan Basin the Tung tree figures as a natural mountain product. Usually, the trees are left to grow wild; very little attempt is made by the farmers to cultivate them. Only during recent years, following the continuous success in the export trade, have a large number of Tung tree plantations and nurseries been organized and scientific methods applied to cultivation and production. The best known plantations are the I-shui at Wan-hsien, and the Jen-ho at Pi-shan. Each comprises from 200,000 to 300,000 trees. Both have met with phenomenal success during the past few years. An increasing number of such plantations, sponsored either by the government or by private interests, have recently been organized.[2] 245

3. Transportation and Marketing of Tung Oil

The present war has greatly stimulated the production of tung oil in Szechuan and has brought drastic changes in the 314

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[1]Roasting is, however, not essential and is not practised by all farmers.

[2]Chao, op. cit., p. 21.

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The most commonly cultivated white-wax tree, the Pai Lou Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis) is a fast-growing tree of medium size. In outer appearance it is very much like a willow tree but generally not as tall (Fig. 41). It prefers a mild and humid climate. It grows readily from cuttings of the one- or two-year-old branches of the mother tree. After three or four years the tree is suitable in size for wax production. It furnishes a rich sap, which by itself is of no value and is used to nourish the insect. The metamorphosis of the wax insect is similar to that of the silkworm. From egg it becomes larva, pupa, and eventually adult. It takes one year to complete its life cycle. It is the male larva which produces the wax, while the female merely lays eggs to carry on the line. The present strain in Ning-yuan district is said to be five hundred years old. 245 231

During the early spring the eggs of the insects wrapped in leaves of the Tung or some other tree, with holes pierced for air, are suspended on the branches of the wax tree to hatch. Generally, the insect prefers the tender young branches of two- or three-year-old trees, of which the sap is rich and the epidermis of the branches is soft enough for the young insects to break through. Within forty to fifty days after the eggs are hatched the wax appears upon the tree and gradually increases until the early autumn (September), when the harvest begins. The snow-white wax accumulated on the main branches is scraped down with sharp knives, while the wax on small twigs is cut down with the twigs. The wax is then steamed and refined two or three times, until the pure white wax is precipitated. 231 237

The white wax has a wide scope of uses, including candles, glazing for paper, silk, furniture polish, coating for pills, models, polish for valuable metal utensils to prevent oxidation, and many medicinal purposes. The residue from white-wax refining is often used for fertilizers. Formerly, about 80 per cent of the total product was exported to Japan and the United States. But it now finds its markets in the interior provinces, particularly in Kansu and Shensi. It is reported that Chinese wax is superior[1] to any other wax produced in the world because it has no smell and leaves no stain whatsoever. Of particular importance

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[1] J. S. Ho, "The Wax Tree Culture and Its Problems in Szechuan," Chinese Reconstruction Weekly, XI, No. 6 (1940), 11-18.

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TABLE 10

PRODUCTION OF CITRUS FRUITS IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Cultivated Area (Mow)	Number of Trees	Total Amount of Production (Pieces)	Per Cent
Ho-Chuan.....	13,366	410,000	45,200,000	22.3
Chiang-Tsin.....	8,334	200,000	36,200,000	17.8
Pa-Hsien.....	8,500	170,000	23,500,000	11.5
Ching-Tang.....	7,611	195,000	20,300,000	10.0
Chang-Shou.....	8,200	160,000	15,050,000	7.4
Nei-Chiang.....	3,000	60,000	12,000,000	5.9
Wan-Hsien.....	2,334	56,000	10,000,000	4.9
Tzu-Yang.....	2,400	40,000	9,000,000	4.4
Tzu-Chung.....	2,000	40,000	7,500,000	3.7
Chien-Yang.....	1,000	20,000	5,000,000	2.4
Feng-Hsi.....	2,500	60,000	4,030,000	1.9
I-Ping.....	3,824	15,000	4,000,000	1.9
Nan-Chung.....	3,000	60,000	3,600,000	1.7
Kuang-Han.....	1,000	20,000	2,000,000	.9
Chu-Hsien.....	500	10,000	2,000,000	.9
Lu-Hsien.....	500	10,000	2,000,000	.9
Tien-Chiang.....	650	16,000	280,000	.1
Feng-Chieh.....	127	2,046	170,000	.08
Sui-Ning.....	250	5,000	120,000	.05
Pih-Shan.....	200	5,000	100,000	.04
Lung-Chang.....	126	2,500	80,000	.03
Ta-Chu.....	100	3,000	50,000	.02
Total.....	69,522	1,559,546	202,180,000	100.00

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TABLE 11

PRODUCTION OF TEA IN SZECHUAN (1934)

Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Ya-An	20,000	17.3
Kuan-Hsien	16,452	14.2
Ta-I	12,000	10.4
Pai-Chuan	10,800	9.3
Mo-Chiang	10,000	8.6
Tung-Ching	10,000	8.6
Lao-Hsien	6,000	5.1
Tsung-Nei	5,000	4.3
Cheng-Ko	3,000	2.5
Tung-Lien	2,500	2.1
Ping-Shan	2,000	1.7
Wan-Yuan	2,000	1.7
Tien-Chuan	1,700	1.4
An-Hsien	1,600	1.3
Chi-Chiang	1,500	1.2
Ping-Wu	1,500	1.2
Ching-Shen	1,500	1.2
Chien-Wei	1,500	1.2
Liang-Shan	1,320	1.1
O-Mei	1,050	.9
Ma-Pien	955	.8
Ta-Hsien	500	.4
Nan-Chuan	500	.4
Chia-Chiang	500	.4
Mien-Chu	300	.2
Yung-Hsien	214	.1
Hsing-Wen	200	.1
Hsuan-Han	200	.1
Tung-Liang	120	.1
Chien-Chiang	85	.07
O-Pien	80	.07
Chung-Hsien	78	.06
Han-Yuan	60	.05
Kuang-An	54	.04
Tien-Chiang	40	.03
Chang-Ning	35	.03
Nou-Hsi	30	.02
Kai-Chiang	25	.02
Ming-Shan	20	.01
Pu-Chiang	20	.01
Siu-Shan	16	.01
Tang-Ling	4	.003
Wen-Chuan	3	.002
Total	115,461	100.000

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75,000 taels. According to Hosie, the value of musk exported from Tibet in 1904 was 300,000 taels and the weight 1,100 to 1,200 cattles. 6,000 ounces of gold dust came from Tibet, whereas only 400,000 cattles (260 tons) of sheep wool and only 150,000 sheep skins passed the customs office in Ta tsien lu.

In 1907 the wholesale merchants told me that the amount of musk that had come through Ta tsien lu in the last 12 months was estimated at 1,400-1,500 cattles. The Li kin official at the East Gate down below told me it was only 1,000 cattles. Without doubt, a great deal is smuggled.

Desgodins in Le Tibet d'après la correspondance des Missionaires, Paris, 1885, p. 349, figured that only 2,666,640 pounds of tea come through Ta tsien lu.

For Chinese export into the entire richer and relatively densely populated southern part of Tibet only Ta tsien lu is of importance. Thus the figure of Hosie seems even slighter and all the more surprising if one compares them with the Anglo-Indian export to Tibet which, for the year 1897-1898, for instance, according to the Blue Book on Tibet for 1904, already rose to 820,000 rupies, (with about 820,000 rupies import to India), and withal England complained at that time, as is well known, that as a matter of principle China excluded her from trade with Tibet. At that time the export of tea all but stopped because the Tibetans did not care for the taste of Anglo-Indian tea.

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/210/ Dartsendo tea which, without exception, comes from the districts of the neighboring prefecture of Ya tschou fu, comes in four varieties and is rather loosely packed in bamboo mats. It is brought here by Chinese carriers who can transport a veritable inhuman weight (up to three and one-half hundredweight), piled high on their shoulders. The tea is coarse, with large leaves, and is generally mixed with stalks and little twigs. It has a harsh flavor and the aroma is slight and quickly evaporates. It is brown in color and looks like dried and pressed clippings from a garden hedge. The Chinese deliver the tea as far as the East Gate of Ta tsien lu. From there it goes by way of the go tschwan into the hands of Tibetans who have traveled here from the interior. This arrangement with the

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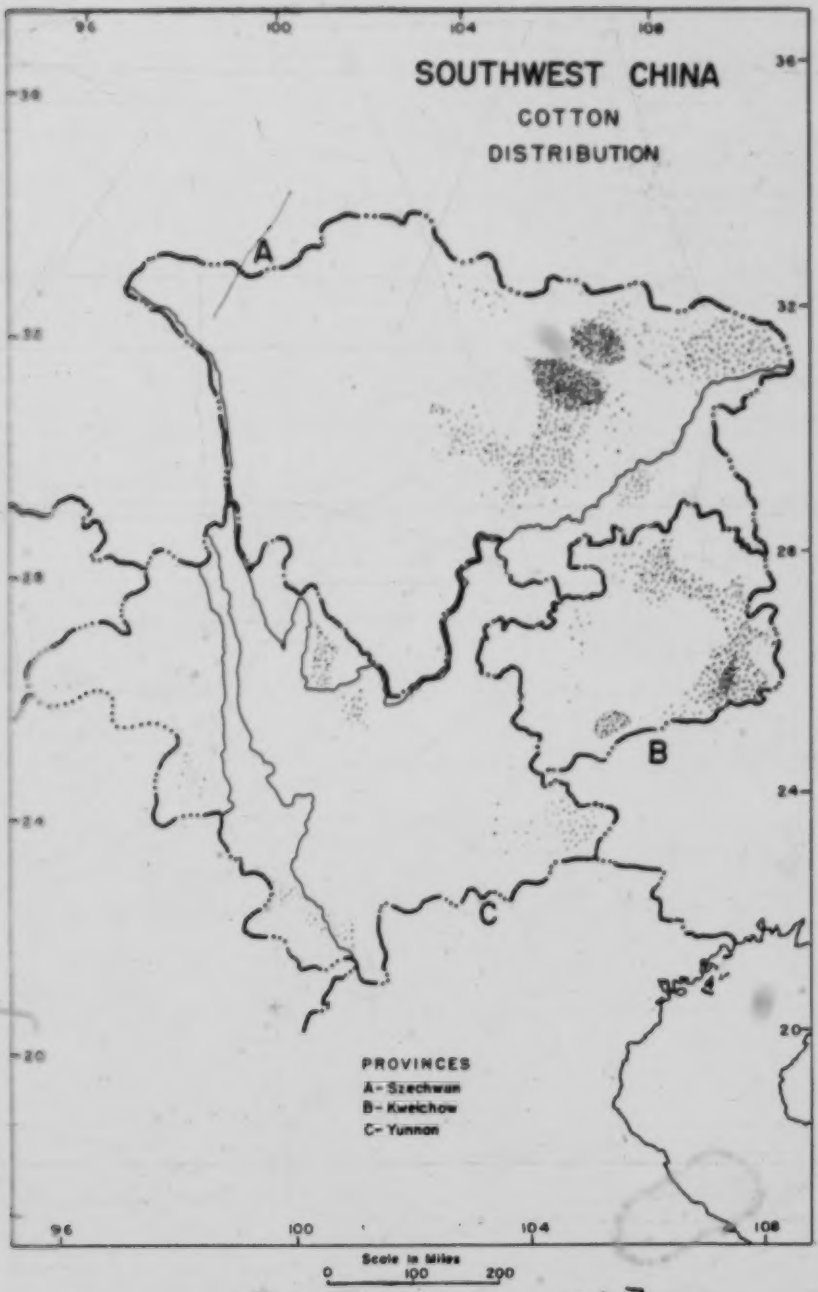

[facing p. 745 (d)]

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433 Using the statistics in Tables 4 and 5 as a basis for calculation, the total supply of grain -- in terms of rice-equivalents -- available for human consumption in 1954 in Southwest China was 22.5 million tons (20.46 million metric tons). If we use as the basis for estimate the Wu formula[19] of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grain for every 1,000 "adult males" per year, the total amount required to feed 80.52 million "adult males" in Southwest China was 17.47 million metric tons, leaving a surplus of almost 3 million metric tons (3.3 million tons) of "rice-equivalent" grain for export to other regions.

C. Cotton Production

248 During a six-year period ending in 1955,
433 cotton production in the Southwest China region showed a considerable growth, although some ups and downs were noted during the period. Data on cotton production in the region are given in Table 6.

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19. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

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Table 6. Cotton Production in Southwest China*

(Unit = 1,000. S = shih-piculs. B = Bales)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	192 S (44 B)#	557 S (127 B)	508 S (116 B)	518 S (118 B)	622 S (142 B)
Yunnan Kweichow	48 S (11 B)	139 S (32 B)	127 S (29 B)	130 S (30 B)	155 S (36 B)
Total	240 S (55 B)	696 S (159 B)	635 S (145 B)	648 S (148 B)	777 S 178 B)

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1954, No. 387, p. 4; Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming jih-pao she, July 16, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955; People's Handbook 1955,

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 511. The production data for Sikang Province is not available.

Bale = 480 pounds.

248 It will be noted that the production of
433 cotton in Southwest China has increased since 1949. Using 1949 as the base year (100), production was 289 in 1952, 263 in 1953, 269 in 1954, and 323 in 1955. The fall in cotton production in 1953 was probably caused by the government ruling which lowered the price ratio of cotton and grain in that year. Production increased in 1954 but was still below the 1952 level, although the price ratio of the two commodities had been adjusted to encourage production. The Communist regime set a production target for 1955 approximately 20 per cent above the output for 1954, and in view of the more favorable climatic conditions prevailing during 1955 it is possible that the goal was attained.

The greatest amount of acreage planted in cotton was reached in 1952. When the price of cotton was lowered in 1953, less land was planted in cotton in subsequent years. Estimated cotton acreage in Szechwan Province and in the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow (combined) are shown in Table 7.

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Table 7. Cotton Acreage in Southwest China*

(Unit = 1,000. S = shih-mou. A = acres.)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	326 S (42.3 A)	911 S (151.8 A)	592 S (98.7 A)	604 S (100.7 A)	725 S (120.8 A)
Yunnan Kweichow	60 S (10.0 A)	168 S (28.0 A)	109 S (18.2 A)	111 S (18.5 A)	133 S (22.2 A)
Total	386 S (64.3 A)	1,079 S (179.8 A)	701 S (116.9 A)	715 S (119.2 A)	858 S (143.0 A)

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: New Construction, Peking, July 11, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, July 24, 1955; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Sept. 13, 1954, p. 4; Oct. 1, 1954. Figures on the cotton acreage of Sikang Province are not available.

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248 435 The price of cotton in ratio to the price of various grains is shown in Table 8.

Table 8. The Ratio of Cotton Prices Relative to Grains*
(In weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.0	6.75-8.0
Millet	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.5-8.25	7.5-8.25
Rice	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574; Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

248 433 Most sections of the Southwest provinces are rice-producing regions. As will be noted in Tables 7 and 8, in 1953 and in 1954 parity prices were lower than in 1952; the total acreage under cultivation in these years dropped correspondingly. Thus changes in parity price are reflected by changes in the amount of acreage devoted to cotton in any given year.

To publicize a "bumper harvest" campaign, the Communist regime bestowed the title of "model producer" on any farmer who was able to report an increased yield of cotton per unit of land. In most cases, the yield had been increased by the application of modern farming techniques -- careful irrigation, the use of chemical fertilizers, improved farm implements, the planting of two or three crops a year, careful selection of seeds, and more efficient methods of cultivation. Of course, isolated cases of increased yields would not appreciably alter the average yield. What increases there have been in Southwest China since 1949 are indicated in Table 9.

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Table 9. Average Cotton Yield in Southwest China*
(Unit: C = catties per shih-mou. P = Pounds per acre)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	22.1 C (145.7 P)	30.8 C (203.3 P)	36.0 C (237.6 P)	37.8 C (249.5 P)	37.8 C (249.5 P)
Yunnan Kweichow	23.0 C (152.0 P)	30.8 C (203.3 P)	36.0 C (237.8 P)	37.9 C (249.9 P)	37.9 C (249.9 P)

* Estimated from the following sources: Hua-Shu, "Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-t'i" ["The Chinese Cotton Production Problem"], Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming Jih-pao she, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, Peking, Jan. 27, 1950; Survey of China Mainland Press, Aug. 17, 1954, p. 29. The cotton yield per unit of land in Sikang Province is not available.

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248 If we use 1949 as the base year (100),
433 the average yield per unit of land was 134 in 1952, 156 in 1953, and 164 in 1954 and 1955.

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Southwest China's production of edible
433 oil (excluding soybean oil) surpasses the majority of regions in China, and the output of oil from rapeseeds ranks first on the Mainland. It was estimated that the total production of rapeseed oil in Szechwan Province alone amounted to 108,000 metric tons (118,800 tons) in 1955, an increase of 28 per cent over the amount produced in the preceding year.[20]

249 In addition to the production of rapeseed,
245 Szechwan Province is also the chief producer
433 of sugar cane and oranges. Tremendous quantities of sugar cane are grown on the plains of Chengtu; the output of sugar cane in 1955 was 1,180,000 tons more than the output
245 in 1949, according to one report.[21] The
433 oranges and tangerines grown in Szechwan fill all local needs and are exported to other parts of China as well as to the Soviet Union

20. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 31, 1955.

21. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, July 25, 1955.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

438 The tea is made up into disc-shaped cakes some eight
274 inches in diameter and one inch thick, weighing about 12 ozs. These cakes, which are called *yüan*, are then put together in packets of seven, placed one on top of the other, and done up with strips of the outer bark of bamboo. This packet is called a *t'ung*, and it is in this form that it is usually sold.

According to my informants, seven-tenths of the tea goes to Yün-nan Fu and is from there distributed over eastern Yün-nan, Ssŭ-ch'uan, and other provinces. A good deal of the remainder is sent to Ta-li and other places in western Yün-nan, and to Tibet.

438 As to the cotton I did not get any details, but the trade
248 is certainly a large one. The principal cotton growing districts are in the Chinese Shan States of Keng Hung and Möng Lem, and the British Shan State of Keng Tung. The greater part of Yün-nan is too cold to admit of this crop being cultivated, and as the whole population is clothed in cotton material, the trade in this commodity is one of the
438 largest and most necessary in the province. Much of it comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan, whence it is imported both in the raw form, in yarn, and in cloth. Much Manchester and Indian yarn and some cloth also comes into the province from the Yangtze, from Bhamo, and from Mêng-tzŭ, the treaty port near the Tong-king frontier. But there is still a considerable trade in raw cotton from Burma *viâ* Bhamo, and from the Shan States *viâ* Ssŭ-mao. How long this import of the raw material will hold its own is a matter of doubt, as the superior convenience of the foreign yarn is making it yearly more popular, but there must always be a certain demand for raw cotton to be used in the padded coats so universally worn in cold weather.

000 I do not think that a railway or even a trade route has ever been proposed between Kun-long and Ssŭ-mao, but having been over this country by two different roads, I may say that I think a railway would be impracticable and useless, and I do not expect that there will ever be even a trade route. The country lying between these two places is very wild and mountainous, contains nothing that can really be called a town, and is sparsely inhabited, principally by hill-men who, whether Chinese or of other tribes, have

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

We had two more days of hilly walking, with occasional glimpses of the Wan-tien plain below us to the east, and then turning in a westerly direction we went down 3000 feet to the little plain which the Chinese call Mêng-po-lo and the Shans Möng Maw. Here I pitched my tent in the courtyard of the Shan monastery which stands on the bank of the Yung-ch'ang river among magnificent trees.

This place lies at an elevation of 2,300 feet, and is not far above the river's junction with the Salween. The inhabitants are all Shans, and the plain very small and poor. It is only remarkable as being one of the few places in Yün-nan low enough to grow cotton. The crop is dependent on a good rainy season, and the amount produced is quite insignificant.

On the 27th December we forded the Yung-ch'ang river and had the usual stiff climb out of the valley. We travelled for three days over a very hilly country to Mêng-p'êng[1], a little plain containing three or four Chinese and one La village. There was also a recently constructed fort here with a small garrison of Chinese soldiers.

The country we had passed through between Mêng-po-lo and Mêng-p'êng is chiefly inhabited by Chinese and Lo-los, but we met on the road one day some people whose women I recognised by their white pleated kilts as belonging to the Miao tribe whom I had previously seen in the Southern Shan States. They told us there were only a few villages of their race in this neighbourhood, and that they had emigrated from Kuei-chou province thirty or forty years ago.

This tribe I have come across in many places scattered about Western China and the Shan States, though nowhere in very large communities. I have seen them as far north as the Tibetan State of Mi-li and as far south as Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States. Westward I have not heard of them beyond the neighbourhood of Taw-nio. All these people, I believe, originally come from the southern part of Kuei-chou province, where they still inhabit a large tract of country, ruled by semi-independent chiefs of their own race. Miao or Miao-tzŭ is the name the Chinese have

[1] Möng Hpawng in Shan.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

a very important source of fertilizer. It is the most important source of vegetable oil supply of the Basin. Recently, research projects have been launched by the Central Chemical Research Bureau of China to study the possibility of using rape-seed oil for manufacturing synthetic petroleum and other motor oils for war use. 249

g) Barley and other winter crops.--Other important winter crops in the Basin include barley (Hordeum vulgare), buckwheat (Polygonum fagopyrum), and a great number of species of peas (Pisum Sativum). Barley normally occupies about 12,000,000 mow, or 11 per cent of the total crop area. Second in all China, the Basin's annual total output of barley normally amounts to 31,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). Barley, like buckwheat, is an important dry winter crop on hilly lands in the northern part of the Basin. These crops generally do not require heavy soil, and call for little fertilization. The total acreage in various kinds of peas and beans is usually about 10,000,000 mow, or about 9 per cent of the total crop area. They grow both on hilly and plain areas throughout the Basin. But in plain areas they are used mainly for inter-culture purposes, with wheat and other crops. 243

2. Special Agricultural Products

a) Cotton.--China's "cotton-belt" lies north of the Yangtse. South of the Yangtse, comparatively little cotton is produced. Geographically, Szechuan Basin lies in a southernmost position among all the provinces north of the Yangtse and is therefore in an intermediate position so far as cotton production is concerned (Fig. 1). The most important cotton producing districts in the Basin lie between latitude 29 degrees and 32 degrees N. Particularly the heaviest concentration is at 31 degrees N., around the districts of the upper Pou River Valley, such as Suining, Shei-hung, Santai, Chung-chiang, and Yen-ting (Fig. 36). These five districts accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the total crop in 1936 (Table 4). 248

In these areas the total annual rainfall generally runs below 1,000 millimeters (Fig. 24). Most of the rain falls during the summer, but there is also considerable rainfall in the early autumn (Table 5). This distribution of rainfall, as we shall see later, is not very satisfactory for cotton production. The soil conditions, however, are quite favorable for cotton production.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

248 The soils are mainly alluvial, on flattish valley-bottom lands. In these districts the cotton acreage sometimes occupies as much as 70 per cent of the total crop area. Most of the cotton produced here consists of a number of American varieties (Delfos, Trice, etc.).

The second principal cotton-producing area is found in the hills of the lower To River Valley, in the districts of Chien-yang, Yung-hsien, and Wei-yuan (Fig. 36), where the native varieties are dominant.

The third cotton-producing area is along the hilly slope lands of the lower Min River, in the districts of Jen-shou and Ching-yen (Fig. 36), where native cotton is the principal variety.

The fourth cotton-producing area is in the lower Chialing River Valley, particularly in Nan-pu, Pa-chung, and I-lung.

The total acreage in cotton in the Basin is generally estimated to be about 2,200,000 mow. The total annual output is about 600,000 piculs,[1] (Table 4), which falls far short of the need of the Basin. (It is estimated that the Basin requires 1,500,000 piculs of cotton annually, averaging 3 ching of cotton per person.) This shortage accounts for the ever-increasing import of cotton yarns and cotton piece goods by the Basin every year. The cotton shortage now constitutes one of the most serious problems of the Basin's agricultural land-use.

There are four reasons for this failure to produce enough cotton for the needs of the Basin. First of all, climatically, the high rainfall in many parts of the Basin, during the autumn months of September and October, generally hinders the maturity of the cotton bolls and induces serious insect pests. According to the record of the meteorological station at Sui-ning,[2] the mean annual temperature is 17.9 degrees C. (64°F.), the absolute minimum during the year is 2.2 degrees C. (39.6°F.), and the maximum absolute during the year is 37.7 degrees C. (98°F.). The average annual rainfall is 929 millimeters. January has a minimum rainfall of 4.7 millimeters, while August has the high maximum rainfall of 227 millimeters (Table 5).

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[1]The 1936 production falls far short of this figure due to the serious drought of that year.

[2]Annual Meteorological Report of Sui-ning Station (1937), pp. 38-39.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Generally speaking, the total annual rainfall here is sufficient for cotton production. But the fact that so much of it (about 22 per cent of the total annual rainfall) falls during the months of September and October (Table 5), with an average of only five clear days during this period (Table 5), is particularly detrimental to cotton production, especially to the maturing of the cotton bolls. It is reported that as much as 50 per cent of the cotton bolls are often destroyed by this heavy rain. Thus the problem of extending cotton production in the Basin lies not so much in the limitations of the soil as in the limitations of the climate, particularly of the rainfall regime.

One of the methods to be adopted to overcome this climatic limitation upon cotton production is to select early-maturing species of cotton. Since the temperature during April in most parts of the Basin is already high enough for cotton and if the cotton plant can be planted at this time (instead of in June, as is the usual practice here), the crop may be harvested early, before the heavy autumn rains set in. On the whole, so far as the climatic conditions are concerned, the northern part of the Basin is more suitable for cotton production than the southern part.

The second reason for the failure to produce enough cotton in the Szechuan Basin is that the sandstone soils, which prevail in most parts of the Basin, are considered unsuitable for the cultivation of cotton. Cotton-production is consequently limited chiefly to small alluvial areas or to the hilly sections, where the soils are generally too thin and infertile for cotton production.[1]

Third, the cotton is planted relatively late in the year. Cotton is a summer crop here, and is generally planted after the harvest of the winter crops, which may be either wheat or barley. This practice seems to be a little late for the cotton plant, and is particularly unsatisfactory in the case of the imported American variety. The late planting thus hampers growth and production.

Fourth, the heterogeneity and the inferior quality of the native strains of cotton have hampered greatly its successful production. And finally, the traditional practice of inter-culture

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[1]Hou, "Notes on the Cotton Soils on Sui-ning Area, Szechuan," Soil Quarterly, I, No. 3 (January, 1941), 6.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

248 of cotton with other crops, such as corn, soy beans, potatoes, pepper, and others, has been found especially undesirable. The inter-culture with corn is particularly disastrous to the cotton, because the corn has heavy foliage and competes keenly with the cotton plant for sunlight and moisture. All these factors, whether individually or in combination, have contributed to the failure of cotton culture in the Basin.

Recently, on account of the pressing need for increasing clothing materials, the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research has undertaken rigorous projects to improve the unhappy situation. By the beginning of 1940 the Bureau had extended the cotton promotion program over fifty-seven districts of the Basin, with particular emphasis on the cultivation of imported varieties, such as Delfos, Trice, and some improved local strains. Some of these varieties possess the special virtue of maturing early, before the autumn rains set in and injure the bolls. Cotton control stations have been established in a number of key points (such as Sui-ning, Shei-hung, and Santai) in order to avoid hybridization and to preserve the purity of the improved strains.[1] Moreover, special measures have been taken to discourage the old practice of inter-culture in cotton planting.

249 b) Tobacco.--Tobacco (Nicotiana tobocum), or "Yen," as the Chinese call it, like corn and potatoes, is another plant which had its origin in the New World. It was transplanted to China around 1540 and was first cultivated in the Basin about 1750.[2] The Basin normally produces about one-fourth (an average of 1,500,000 piculs) of all the tobacco produced in China.[3] It is reported that tobacco is produced in fifty-seven districts of the Basin. The principal producing areas are in Chengtu Plain, and there are special concentrations in the districts of Shih-fang, Pi-hsien, Sin-tu, and Ching-tang (Fig. 37). Other important producing centers include Mei Shan in the south, and Mien-chu in the north at the edge of the Chengtu Plain. The Chengtu Plain area generally accounts for about 60 per cent of the total production of tobacco in the Basin (Table 6).

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 86.

[2] Gazetteers of Pi-hsien, III, 4.

[3] The production figure for 1936 (Table 6) is lower than that for other years due to a serious drought that year.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

249 areas are concentrated mainly in five districts of the To River Valley, namely, Nei-chiang, Tze-chung, Tze-yang, Chien-yang, and Fu-shun (Fig. 37). In 1936 these five districts alone accounted for 73 per cent of the total crop (Table 7).

There are two principal kinds of sugar cane produced here, namely, the red cane and the white cane. The red cane is used for chewing purposes, whereas the white is used mainly for sugar-extraction. Unfortunately, because of the poor quality of the cane and the inefficient methods of refining, the local sugar production is not only small in quantity (pure sugar production only about 1,000,000 catties), but also poor in quality. Consequently, in the face of keen competition from high-quality imported sugar, the sugar produced in the Basin (with the exception of Chieh-tang sugar, a specially treated medicinal sugar which normally finds its principal markets in the I-chang and Hankow areas) has been driven out of the former inter-provincial markets, such as Yunnan and Kweichow. Moreover, the local sugar cannot even maintain its foothold in the local market. This fact is evidenced by the increasing import of foreign sugar into the Basin.

Sugar cane and cotton constitute two of the most acute problems in agricultural land-use in the Basin. Recently, various programs have been launched by the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research in order to improve this situation. Sugar cane improvement stations have been established in the Nei-Chiang, Tze-yang, and Chien-yang districts. A large number of foreign species have been transplanted from Java and Cuba. It was recently discovered that the species P.O.J. 2878 and P.O.J. 2725, selected from Java breeds, adapt specially well to local environmental conditions in the Basin. They have a 5 per cent higher sugar content than most of the native species. Rigorous attempts are being made to extend these two species among the Basin farmers.[1]

248 d) Hemp.--The two principal species of hemp produced in the Szechuan Basin, namely, the "chu-ma" (Corchorus capsularies) (or ramie, China grass, as it is popularly known in the west), and "hou-ma" (Cannabis sativa), or fire-hemp, as it is called locally. These two species, being produced in different areas with widely different physical requirements, are used for entirely different purposes. The "chu-ma" is further divided into two kinds--the

[1]Chen, op. cit., p. 22.

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green and the white. The producing areas of green chu-ma are confined mainly to the districts of Ta-hsien, Chu-hsien, Ta-chu, Peng-an, and Pa-chung, in the Chu River Valley in the eastern part of the Basin, and to the districts of Peng-shui and Pei-ling in the southern part of the Basin (Fig. 36). The white chu-ma is produced mainly in the Nei-chiang, Lung-chang, and Yung-chang districts, where it is noted for its fine quality. The total production of the two kinds of chu-ma amounts to 40,000 piculs annually. The "hou-ma" is produced principally in the districts of Wen-chiang, Pi-hsien, Shuan-liu, and Tsung-ching, west of the Chengtu Plain (Fig. 36). The total production is a little over 100,000 piculs annually.

The Chu-ma hemp survives especially well on the sandy loams of well-drained slopes, whereas the "hou-ma" hemp is produced in plain areas. Both species require a warm, humid climate and protection from wind during the growing season. They also demand a clear, dry season during the time when the fiber matures. In the heart of the "hou-ma" hemp-growing area around Chengtu Plain, in the districts of Pi-hsien, Wen-chiang, and Shuan-liu, for example, the average January and February temperatures lie between 5 and 10 degrees C. (Table 9), and the lowest minimum temperature during these two months seldom falls below 2 degrees C. (36° F.). From March through June, i.e., during the period of growth and maturity, the average temperature of these districts gradually increases, ranging between 12 and 26 degrees C. (54° and 79° F.). The relative humidity between January and June is always above the 70-per-cent mark[1] (Table 9). These climatic conditions are especially favorable for the hemp plant.

However, the rainfall in April and May, usually between 10 and 20 centimeters, seems to be a little low for the growing season.[2] In Wen Chiang, for example, the rainfall for these two months is only a little over 10 centimeters, and the rainfall at Pi-hsien for the same months is only slightly over 17 centimeters (Table 9). Fortunately, this scarcity of rainfall is remedied by

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Meteorological Bureau (1939), p. 19. (Unfortunately, many stations here do not have complete records for all months, thus rendering the interpretation more difficult.)

[2]Ibid., p. 21.

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248 the water-supply of the nearby Tu-chiang-yen irrigation works. Hou-ma hemp is a spring crop. The seeds are sown in February, and the plants harvested in the middle of June, just as soon as they commence to flower. The stems are allowed to grow close together, and to reach eight feet or more in height. The culms are reaped, stripped of their leaves.

One of the most interesting practices in connection with Hou-ma hemp culture in these areas is the extremely intensive cultivation of the soil-beds. There is an old saying among the Hou-ma farmers, "Till nine times for hemp." This cultivation is necessary mainly because the roots of the young hemp plant, which are especially tender and weak, may be hampered in their proper growth if the soil bed is heavy. The use of "lu-tiao" (Astragalus sinensis) as green manure is also quite common here.

With the exception only of the Wen-chiang district, rotation with rape or wheat is commonly practiced by the hou-ma farmers of Chengtu Plain.

The uses and markets of hou-ma and chu-ma are just as different as their methods of culture and their physical requirements. In the case of chu-ma hemp, the white variety is used in the manufacture of the famous "hsia-pu," or summer cloth, which is well known over all parts of China, as well as in Korea and Japan. It has a particularly wide market in Hopeh, Shensi, Shangtung Honan, and Kwangtung provinces. It has also been shipped in considerable quantity to Korea and Japan. The green chu-ma hemp is all exported in the raw form to Japan and to France, for the manufacture of artificial silk. The hou-ma is used principally for rope-making, cordages, grain sacks, salt-bags, and military sacks. These products have their chief markets within the Basin, particularly in the salt-producing areas of Tze-liu-ching.

3. Special Agricultural and Horticultural Products

245 a) Citrus fruits.--Among all the sub-tropical products in the Basin, citrus fruits, especially oranges, have the widest range in geographical distribution. From Ching-Tang at the north to as far as Chiang-tsin at the south, nearly all the districts south of latitude 31 degrees N. produce citrus fruits. The most important centers of citrus fruit production are, however, confined to a few districts, namely, the Ho-chuan of the middle Chialing River, Chiang-tsin and Pa-hsien along the Yangtse,

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TABLE 4

PRODUCTION OF COTTON IN SZECHUAN (1936)

Name of District	Cultivated Area (In Mow)	Total Production (In Piculs)	Percentage of Total Production
Sui-Ning.....	387,335	60,374	20.1
Shei-Hung.....	322,380	59,458	19.8
Jen-Shou.....	275,416	26,025	8.6
San-Tai.....	146,318	23,670	7.8
I-Lung.....	120,309	17,265	5.7
Nan-Pu.....	114,226	15,318	5.1
Chien-Yang.....	118,950	15,249	5.0
Pa-Chung.....	76,747	15,082	5.0
Chung-Chiang....	79,402	12,480	4.1
Yen-Ting.....	123,710	10,272	3.4
Yung-Hsien.....	49,448	7,063	2.3
Lo-Chi.....	36,676	6,693	2.2
Ching-Tan.....	59,876	5,389	1.7
Peng-Hsi.....	25,628	3,692	1.2
Fu-Shun.....	24,683	3,393	1.1
Nan-Chung.....	7,500	2,653	.8
Tung-Nan.....	19,960	1,996	.6
Wei-Yuan.....	17,860	1,917	.6
Feng-Chieh.....	6,800	1,623	.5
Lu-Hsien.....	19,958	1,605	.5
Yun-Yang.....	1,025	1,544	.5
Peng-An.....	14,596	1,167	.3
Ho-Chiang.....	3,450	1,158	.3
Tzu-Yuang.....	13,725	945	.3
Chiang-An.....	11,492	864	.2
Nan-Ch'ung.....	6,424	628	.2
Tzu-Chung.....	7,179	527	.1
An-Yo.....	1,677	352	.1
Si-Chung.....	6,008	324	.1
I-Ping.....	5,000	300	.09
Lo-Chiang.....	3,725	267	.08
Nou-Hsi.....	993	187	.06
Chang-Ning.....	3,000	168	.05
Ching-Fu.....	440	147	.04
Nan-Hsi.....	1,889	113	.03
Ching-Yen.....	1,474	98	.03
Lei-Chiang.....	1,416	97	.03
Chien-Wei.....	1,520	97	.03
Lung-Chang.....	792	44	.01
Chia-Chiang.....	408	35	.01
Total.....	2,119,415	300,279	100.00

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 5

RAINFALL CONDITIONS OF SUINING (COTTON PRODUCING CENTER) SZECHUAN
(1936-1937 Average)

Month	Amount of Rain (In Mm.)	Average Number of Days			
		Clear	Partly Cloudy	Cloudy	Rainy
January.....	4.7	3	13	12	5
February.....	14.5	5	3	15	5
March.....	21.8	4	16	4	7
April.....	44.4	7	8	7	13
May.....	86.5	1	10	5	15
June.....	108.5	2	5	5	18
July.....	201.5	3	7	7	14
August.....	227.0	3	6	4	18
September.....	146.0	1	2	4	23
October.....	52.6	4	2	11	14
November.....	11.3	4	9	12	5
December.....	10.9	3	4	16	8
Total.....	929.7	40	85	102	145

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TABLE 9

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEMP-PRODUCING DISTRICTS OF SZECHUAN
(1936-1938 Average)

Name of District	Climatic Conditions	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Wen-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	5.8	9.1	12.6	18.7	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	77.4	75.8	72.4	72.6	71.7
	Rainfall (mm.)	8.2	23.0	9.3	4.8	102.0
Tsung-Ching.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	....	24.6
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	79.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	....	40.0
Kuan-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	19.4	22.7
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	65.3	63.1
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	49.6	100.8
Pi-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	6.1	7.8	14.0	18.8	22.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.5	75.6	72.9	70.9	78.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.2	10.5	9.8	31.6	145.3
Shuan-Liu.....	Temperature (C.)	6.6	8.3	13.6	18.7	23.0
	Humidity (o/o)	89.8	84.6	75.3	76.4	79.1
	Rainfall (mm.)	.5	10.7	7.1	31.1	70.0
Sin-Tsing.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	....	.....
Peng-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	5.9	....	....	....	24.6
	Humidity (o/o)	89.5	....	....	....	66.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.8	....	....	....	137.2
Tsung-Ning.....	Temperature (C.)	5.6	8.7	12.4	18.3	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	82.8	84.7	82.1	79.5	79.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	5.4	6.6	20.2	11.3	160.5

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 9—Continued

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June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	Average
24.3	26.0	26.7	22.0	18.0	10.6	8.4	204.8	17.1
78.3	81.8	81.8	82.8	80.9	78.6	76.0	929.0	77.4
161.2	461.6	172.0	205.0	46.4	18.5	9.5	1221.6	....
25.6	27.0	27.5	22.9	19.3	11.6	9.1	.....	....
84.4	88.3	.....	.....	81.3	83.9	80.7	.....	....
54.0	440.0	.....	446.7	150.1	51.2	10.7	.....	....
24.6	25.4	26.9	20.7	19.4	12.2	7.8	.....	....
71.1	79.4	.....	85.9	.....	69.6	66.5	.....	....
188.2	878.7	456.5	244.6	187.7	57.3	32.3	.....	....
24.6	25.8	27.1	21.7	18.1	11.5	8.3	206.7	17.2
80.4	83.2	83.4	83.8	82.5	81.9	80.0	943.6	78.6
184.9	311.1	515.1	245.0	30.5	11.8	9.7	1455.5	....
24.8	25.8	27.2	22.3	18.4	11.4	8.7	208.8	17.4
86.6	.....	87.6	88.5	86.0	85.2	88.3	.....	....
51.2	447.8	197.2	163.7	45.2	10.6	7.8	1042.0	....
26.4	27.1	28.0	23.2	19.1	11.9	9.3	.....	....
74.2	80.5	79.8	83.1	77.5	75.5	79.7	.....	....
106.9	378.5	337.1	175.9	34.4	16.0	17.4	.....	....
23.5	28.6	27.5	22.2	17.8	10.9	9.0	.....	....
78.9	72.8	.....	84.5	84.6	79.8	82.0	.....	....
53.0	46.7	54.0	76.3	20.9	17.3	5.5	.....	....
23.8	25.6	27.5	22.6	18.5	10.5	8.6	.....	....
85.7	.....	87.8	.....	88.2	88.6	81.9	.....	....
89.7	168.3	69.5	82.8	70.6	13.8	23.2	.....	....

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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248 If we use 1949 as the base year (100),
433 the average yield per unit of land was 134 in 1952, 156 in 1953, and 164 in 1954 and 1955.

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Southwest China's production of edible
433 oil (excluding soybean oil) surpasses the majority of regions in China, and the output of oil from rapeseeds ranks first on the Mainland. It was estimated that the total production of rapeseed oil in Szechwan Province alone amounted to 108,000 metric tons (118,800 tons) in 1955, an increase of 28 per cent over the amount produced in the preceding year.[20]

249 In addition to the production of rapeseed,
245 Szechwan Province is also the chief producer
433 of sugar cane and oranges. Tremendous quantities of sugar cane are grown on the plains of Chengtu; the output of sugar cane in 1955 was 1,180,000 tons more than the output
245 in 1949, according to one report.[21] The
433 oranges and tangerines grown in Szechwan fill all local needs and are exported to other parts of China as well as to the Soviet Union

20. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 31, 1955.

21. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, July 25, 1955.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 flows along its eastern margin — *k'a* being a ravine. The Chinese name of the
*137 hamlet is Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村. Formerly it was known as San-chia-ts'un 三家村, as originally only three families lived there. To-day there are eighteen.

The most northerly village on this part of the plain, situated at the actual foot of the snow range at an elevation of 9,400 feet, is Nv-lv-k'ö, consisting of about 100 families (PLATES 74, 75, 76).

South of Wùa-dtv k'o-dü, on the main road to Li-chiang and east of Pai-sha, is the hamlet T'a-bbu-d'a, called in Chinese T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村. T'a-bbu-d'a was originally one of the 12 *d'a* (residences) owned by the Mu family. It was the place where they worshipped their ancestors; when performed in the sixth moon, the service was known as *T'a-bpö*. To the east of T'a-bbu-d'a is a small hamlet of seven or eight families called Nda-la-k'o-dyü, also belonging to Mu-tu-ts'un.

Another larger village consisting of over 100 families, called Nyi-mä-t'u-ts'an in Na-khi, and in Chinese, Hsiang-yang-ts'un 向陽村 (Facing the sun village), is north-east of Pai-sha.

241 Rice cannot be cultivated on this northern part of the Li-chiang plain, as
[134] the soil is too stony and there is not enough water to irrigate the fields, furthermore the altitude is too great. The Na-khi plant wheat, maize, potatoes, barley, oats, beans and peas also the rape-turnip *Brassica rapa depressa* which they call *ngyu* (the *man-ching* 蔓菁 of the Chinese). The tuber itself is called
[249] *'a-k'ö*. Opium was also grown for Chinese consumption. South of and in the actual neighborhood of Li-chiang, opium was grown in the spring, and rice during the rainy season.

Gv-bö, in Chinese, Chiu-tzu-hai 九子海 (Nine lakes) is a district lying east of the long limestone spur which hems in this part of the plain. It has been settled only recently. Peasants from the village of Pai-sha-kai have started homesteads and planted fields. Previous to the settling of the Na-khi, a few Li-su and Lo-lo had built their poor huts there and carried on cultivation. The Chinese name is derived from the several circular basins which are filled with water all the year round.

*133 The range in which is situated Gv-bö, better known as Gv-bö la-zhěr gko [the
*137 name appears also in Na-khi literature, and has reference to the tigers which once roamed in its forests and meadows: *la* = tiger, *zhěr* = sound, noise, *gko* = alpine meadow], is composed of old limestone. The sharp rocks projecting through the mass of scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), give it a peculiar aspect. The highest point of this range is the triangular peak Lv-zhěr-dsu (H-M., Lajatso), approximately 12,000 feet in height. The best approach is from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Ssaw-ssu-k'a, whence the ascent can be accomplished in about three hours. From its summit one obtains a glorious view of the entire Yü-lung Shan, that is, the part south of the Yangtze gorge. The northern end of the Li-chiang plain is covered with low pines and oaks (PLATES 77, 78), especially scrub oak; many herbaceous plants with beautiful flowers form lovely carpets in the summer months, and enliven the otherwise grey, stony waste.

Immediately east of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö is a low, circular mound, looking for all the world like an extinct volcanic cone. It is known to the Na-khi
000 as La-lo-dtò-gkv, including a small ravine to the north of it. On the top of this

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one sees upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Cressey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the new scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XX

TA-LI FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Chao Chou—The Ming-chia tribe—Hung-ai—The capital of an ancient kingdom—Yün-nan Hsien—"Two foreign officials, one black and one white"—Meeting with Watts-Jones—His line for a railway—A region of lakes and ponds—Wild geese and duck—A bare dry sandstone country—Meeting with Ryder—Chên-an Chou—A poor town—Ch'u-hsiung Fu—A conservative population—Six Englishmen meet—Ker goes northward to the Yangtze—Woman falls into a well—Belief in medical knowledge of Europeans—Kuang-t'ung Hsien—A broken-down city wall—One name for natives of Europe and India—The Ta-li *tao-t'ai's* jurisdiction—Lu-fêng Hsien—An-ning Chou—Yün-nan Fu—Wretched inn—Europeans in Yün-nan Fu—The city and lake—The Arsenal—Two-man rifles—The climate of Yün-nan Fu.

AFTER two days' halt at Ta-li, Ker and I started again on the 1st of March and, passing through Hsia-kuan, reached Chao Chou, a town of 600 houses near the S.E. corner of the big lake. It is a poor-looking place compared with Ta-li or Hsia-kuan, but it seems to be growing, as they had lately enclosed some additional space within its walls. The inhabitants, like those of the Ta-li plain, are chiefly of the Ming-chia tribe, though there are many Chinamen among them, especially in the town.

The next day a very gradual ascent brought us to the top of a low range, from which we descended somewhat steeply by a dangerously slippery paved road to a fine well-cultivated plain in which splendid crops of opium are grown. There is no official city here, and the principal place in the plain is the large market village of Hung-ai. We had now left the Min-chias behind and found ourselves again among a purely Chinese population. Hung-ai, "red precipice," was formerly called Pai-ai, "white precipice," and is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the capital of one of the old kingdoms destroyed by Pi-lo-ko in 749 A.D.

000 563 249 000 [p. 149]

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round in a circular furrow, into which the paddy was thrown. 407
It was worked by a water-wheel which revolved horizontally
like a turbine, teeth being arranged all round the outer 376
edge of its top surface to catch the water.

We had heard cuckoos everywhere round us for the last 136
few days. The bird appears to be the same as the English
cuckoo, and in western China as in England it makes its
appearance in April, though I think in the Shan States I
have heard it as early as March.

My mules went straight along the main road to Yang-kai 000
the next day, but I made a slight detour to see Hsün-tien
Chou which lies a little off the road. It is a small, poor
town in a rather well-cultivated plain with the upper waters
of the Niu-lan Chiang running through it. The Tao-t'ai 631
of eastern Yün-nan has his residence here. His district
comprises Chao-t'ung Fu, Tung-ch'uan Fu, and Ch'ü-
ching Fu.

It rained most of the day and we did not reach Yang- 000
kai till seven in the evening, as the march with the circuit to
Hsün-tien must have been 24 miles.

The next day we passed Sung-ming Chou which lies a
mile to the right of the road[1]. The town is a small one,
but it stands in a good plain, measuring about 10 miles
each way. Exceptionally fine opium is grown here and at 249
Yang-kai. The poppy flower of Yün-nan is usually white,
the next most common colour being mauve or purple.
Scarlet poppies are occasionally seen but they are not
common.

After crossing the plain the road leads over a lot of 000
uncultivated undulating ground. As there was some delay
in changing our escort at Sung-ming, I went on without a
guide. Going off to the right of the road to put up my
plane-table, I tried to make a short cut back, and got on to
the wrong path, a mistake which we did not discover till we
met a man a mile or two on. We then struck across to the
left but found so many well used tracks made by timber-
hauling from the fir woods in front of us, that it was most
difficult to pick out the right road. We could see no village
and could find no one to ask the way of, and as it was

[1] What is considered the main road passes a little further to the east through Yang-lin, but the route I took is rather the more direct of the two.

1 [village of Liu-shu-ho -- Analyst]

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and of the Shan States and the lower lying valleys of Yün-nan; but I have never before or since seen it at anything like such a high elevation as 6,200 feet, which is about the height of the T'ung-hai plain. 136

Crossing a range of hills we descended steeply down a narrow gorge to the Ch'ü Chiang valley, which being only 4,800 feet is warm enough to grow sugar cane, a valuable product in Yün-nan. The river which waters this valley is 100 yards wide and is fordable at this time of year, being also crossed here by a wooden footbridge. Later on in the rains the water rises and mules have to cross by a bridge two miles lower down, just where the river leaves the plain. 249 • 000

I have reason to remember the footbridge, for the man who was in charge of my pony, so as not to wet his own feet, tried to lead him over the bridge. As it was made of narrow planks not very carefully joined together and the whole structure was decidedly shaky, the natural result was that the pony fell off it when he had got half way across. It was an anxious moment when I heard a shout from behind and looked back to see the pony hang for a moment and then fall. Luckily he was not hurt, though there was a considerable drop.

Our hopes of getting through the day dry were disappointed, as, before we could reach our night's quarters at Kuan-yi, a heavy thunderstorm burst, which wetted us to the skin in a few moments.

On the 20th May a march of 17 miles took us to Hsin-fang, a village in the Lin-an plain, where we put up in a temple. We were below 5000 feet here and in a much warmer climate than the traveller in Yün-nan is accustomed to, while the mosquitos reminded us that we were now in the rainy season. Luckily we had a clear night and I was able to take the latitude, the only observation I got between Yün-nan Fu and Tong-king.

The town of Lin-an Fu lies five miles off the road to the south and I had not time to visit it, but I made a slight detour the next morning to the top of a low spur, and I was able to fix its position.

The town is said to contain 1000 houses: it lies in a plain of considerable extent, but only narrow strips along 361 241

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four 177 others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who [304] still use their own language, but have in other respects adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women [249] binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had 712 been on my former visit. In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

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000 the stream. Below the plateau it disappears into deep gorges among the hills bordering the Yangtze.

361 On the 14th February we reached Hui-li, a town of 3000 houses with a good wall round it. It has broad streets and is more prosperous looking than any of the towns of Yün-nan, except perhaps the capital of that pro-
438 vince. Its chief products are opium, tobacco, indigo, and
316 copper. The copper mine is at Lu-ch'ang, six miles south
•249 of the town, and as Mr Ker had seen it the previous year I did not visit it. Indigo is to be seen growing every-
386 where in the fields, covered over at this time of the year with straw to preserve it from the frost. The large tanks in which they mix the dye are found in nearly every village as well as in the town. The height of Hui-li I made 6,250 feet.

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is chiefly cultivated. Of the mountain ranges some are 137
rather bare, covered with grass or fern only; others are well clothed with fir woods, or at lower elevations with semi-tropical forests. To a traveller accustomed to the vast jungles of Burma, Yün-nan would appear a bare country, but it would seem well wooded when compared to the barren hills of the north-west frontier of India. It is in fact neither a very bare nor a very thickly wooded province. No doubt there was formerly much more forest, but the wants of the inhabitants in fire-wood and house-building have entailed much cutting of timber, which has never been replaced by planting. The amount of cultivation in the hills varies much according to the density of population and the fertility of the soil. In places nearly the whole hillside is fields; in other parts one may go for miles without seeing a clearing. In eastern Yün-nan especially the soil is often so dry and water so scarce that cultivation is hardly possible.

The principal crop of Yün-nan is rice. This is the 243
staple food of the Yünnanese, and it is only in very out-of-the-way hill villages that the people are too poor to afford it and have to live on maize or millet. All the plains that are capable of being irrigated are given up to rice cultivation throughout the summer.

The rice harvest is in October, and when this has been 249
reaped, a second crop of opium, wheat, or beans is in many 243
places sown for the winter.

I should estimate the relative quantities grown as about half opium[1] and a quarter each of wheat and beans. It is not, however, every plain that is capable of producing this second crop off the ground from which the rice has been reaped. When this cannot be done some of the plain land is usually kept unsown with rice, so as to be used for winter crops.

In the hills rice is also extensively grown. In many places the sides of the valleys can be dug into terraces and irrigated by the little hill streams, and here good crops are obtained. In less favourably situated localities the rice

[1] Since this was written, however, the opium crop has been considerably diminished, as Hsi Liang, the present Viceroy, caused all poppies near Yün-nan Fu to be pulled up in Dec. 1907. Along the main routes and for two or three days' journey round the capital scarcely any opium has been grown in 1907–8.

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243 crop is dependent on the rain for its water, and where
•249 there is any jungle this is cut down and burnt, the wood ashes helping to manure the ground. Maize, millet and buckwheat are also grown on the hills, and opium is one of the chief things cultivated. This latter crop is an easy one to raise, and the produce finds a ready sale. Opium cultivation is certainly increasing in Yün-nan.

Among other agricultural products of the province may be mentioned tobacco, which is largely grown in many districts; tea which comes principally from the Chinese Shan States south of Ssŭ-mao; sesamum and other oil-producing seeds; hemp used for making rope; sugar which will only grow in the lower and warmer valleys; walnuts, persimmons, pears, peaches and other fruits, and many different kinds of vegetables.

231 As to livestock, there is nothing as big as what we should call a horse, but ponies and mules are kept everywhere. Pack animals are the principal means of transport in the province, so that they form a very necessary possession both to farmers and merchants.

To the farmer cattle and buffaloes also are essential as a means of ploughing his fields, for ponies and mules are never employed for this purpose. In the deep mud and water of the irrigated rice fields buffaloes are the only animals that can do the ploughing.

Unlike the Shans the Chinese do not use bullocks as pack animals. It is true that in out-of-the-way places a farmer may occasionally be seen taking his produce to market with a mule saddle fastened on to a bullock or cow, but this is exceptional. There are no trading caravans of bullocks. In some of the plains of eastern Yün-nan bullocks and buffaloes may be seen drawing small carts, but these can seldom find a road good enough to lead from one plain to another, and are only used for farming purposes.

262 Nor are cattle considered by the Chinese as of any use for food. The orthodox Chinaman does not kill cattle to eat, and it is only in towns which contain a good many Mahommedan inhabitants that beef can occasionally be got. As to milk it is practically unknown in China. A little is now sold in Yün-nan Fu, but it is only in the Tibetan corner of the province that cows are regularly milked.

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Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssŭ-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

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Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 24) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

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244 occupies about 4,000,000 mow, or 4 per cent of the total crop land. Kaoliang, sometimes called false millet, is a staple dry crop on hilly lands. It is noted for its special capacity to be without water for a long time (longer than corn) without drying to death. The choice of these two crops by farmers for a certain [273] area often depends on this point. Besides being used widely for human consumption, as well as for livestock feed, kaoliang is used mainly (between 70 and 80 per cent of the total crop) for the manufacture of wine, the famous kaoliang wine. This last use proves to be particularly advantageous to the farmers because wine can be transported to far distant markets when the sale of bulky grains, owing to prohibitive transportation costs, is difficult.

243 e) Wheat.--The most important winter food crop is wheat (Triticum Sativum). It normally occupies about 15,000,000 mow, or 17 per cent of the total crop area, and the Basin has an annual output of 44,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). The Basin is the fifth largest wheat producer in all China. With the exception of the Chien-chiang district (which for reasons unknown does not produce wheat), wheat is produced as a winter food crop in nearly all parts of the Basin, particularly in the districts around Chengtu Plain. The wheat prefers the more clayey soils of the Basin, and gives a particularly good yield.

The crop matures generally in 150 to 170 days. In most parts of the Basin, the field is seeded in the middle of October and the harvest takes place in the early part of May, depending upon the latitudinal position, as well as the topography of the area. Next to rice, wheat is the most important food crop of the Basin, contributing 12 per cent of the total food supply. It is eaten in the form of "mien" (noodles) or in other forms of dumplings.

249 f) Rape seed.--The Basin leads all China, both in area and in total annual production of rape (Brassica juncea; a winter crop). Normally it occupies an area of 11,000,000 mow, or about 10 per cent of the total crop area, and the annual output is 15,000,000 piculs[1] (Fig. 35). From the rape seed, oil is extracted for cooking and many other purposes. The seed cakes also furnish

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[1]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Agricultural Statistics (1939), p. 97.

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a very important source of fertilizer. It is the most important source of vegetable oil supply of the Basin. Recently, research projects have been launched by the Central Chemical Research Bureau of China to study the possibility of using rape-seed oil for manufacturing synthetic petroleum and other motor oils for war use. 249

g) Barley and other winter crops.--Other important winter crops in the Basin include barley (Hordeum vulgare), buckwheat (Polygonum fagopyrum), and a great number of species of peas (Pisum Sativum). Barley normally occupies about 12,000,000 mow, or 11 per cent of the total crop area. Second in all China, the Basin's annual total output of barley normally amounts to 31,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). Barley, like buckwheat, is an important dry winter crop on hilly lands in the northern part of the Basin. These crops generally do not require heavy soil, and call for little fertilization. The total acreage in various kinds of peas and beans is usually about 10,000,000 mow, or about 9 per cent of the total crop area. They grow both on hilly and plain areas throughout the Basin. But in plain areas they are used mainly for inter-culture purposes, with wheat and other crops. 243

2. Special Agricultural Products

a) Cotton.--China's "cotton-belt" lies north of the Yangtse. South of the Yangtse, comparatively little cotton is produced. Geographically, Szechuan Basin lies in a southernmost position among all the provinces north of the Yangtse and is therefore in an intermediate position so far as cotton production is concerned (Fig. 1). The most important cotton producing districts in the Basin lie between latitude 29 degrees and 32 degrees N. Particularly the heaviest concentration is at 31 degrees N., around the districts of the upper Fou River Valley, such as Suining, Shei-hung, Santai, Chung-chiang, and Yen-ting (Fig. 36). These five districts accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the total crop in 1936 (Table 4). 248

In these areas the total annual rainfall generally runs below 1,000 millimeters (Fig. 24). Most of the rain falls during the summer, but there is also considerable rainfall in the early autumn (Table 5). This distribution of rainfall, as we shall see later, is not very satisfactory for cotton production. The soil conditions, however, are quite favorable for cotton production.

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248 of cotton with other crops, such as corn, soy beans, potatoes, pepper, and others, has been found especially undesirable. The inter-culture with corn is particularly disastrous to the cotton because the corn has heavy foliage and competes keenly with the cotton plant for sunlight and moisture. All these factors, whether individually or in combination, have contributed to the failure of cotton culture in the Basin.

Recently, on account of the pressing need for increasing clothing materials, the Bureau of Central Agricultural Resea has undertaken rigorous projects to improve the unhappy situatio By the beginning of 1940 the Bureau had extended the cotton promotion program over fifty-seven districts of the Basin, with particular emphasis on the cultivation of imported varieties, such as Delfos, Trice, and some improved local strains. Some of these varieties possess the special virtue of maturing early, before the autumn rains set in and injure the bolls. Cotton control stations have been established in a number of key points (such a Sui-ning, Shei-hung, and Santai) in order to avoid hybridization and to preserve the purity of the improved strains.[1] Moreover, special measures have been taken to discourage the old practice of inter-culture in cotton planting.

249 b) Tobacco.--Tobacco (Nicotiana tobocum), or "Yen," as the Chinese call it, like corn and potatoes, is another plant which had its origin in the New World. It was transplanted to China around 1540 and was first cultivated in the Basin about 1750.[2] The Basin normally produces about one-fourth (an average of 1,500,000 piculs) of all the tobacco produced in China.[3] It is reported that tobacco is produced in fifty-seven districts of the Basin. The principal producing areas are in Chengtu Plain, and there are special concentrations in the districts of Shih-fang, Pi-hsien, Sin-tu, and Ching-tang (Fig. 37). Other importa producing centers include Mei Shan in the south, and Mien-chu in the north at the edge of the Chengtu Plain. The Chengtu Plain area generally accounts for about 60 per cent of the total produc tion of tobacco in the Basin (Table 6).

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 86.

[2] Gazetteers of Pi-hsien, III, 4.

[3] The production figure for 1936 (Table 6) is lower than that for other years due to a serious drought that year.

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Generally speaking, the principal tobacco-producing areas lie between 29 and 32 degrees North latitude (Fig. 37). In these areas the average temperature for the coldest month (January) ranges between 5.8 degrees C. (43°F.)--at Wen-chiang--in the north, and 12.7 degrees C. (55°F.)--at Mei Shan--in the south. The lowest temperature ever recorded is about 2 degrees C. (36°F.). The rainfall throughout the growing season is sufficient (over 40 inches yearly), and the average relative humidity throughout the year is between 75 and 80 per cent[1] (Table 8). These climatic conditions are considered favorable for tobacco growth.

Moreover, the unfailing supply of irrigation water from the Tu-chiang-yen Works has insured even further the sufficiency of the water supply for tobacco production. The soil conditions are also favorable. The soils range from clay loam to loose sandy loam of sufficient depth. In spite of the high relative fertility of these soils, the tobacco fields in Chengtu Plain require heavy fertilization. The application of "lu-tiao" (Astraglus sinensis) as green manure, plowed under during the early spring, is most common.

Tobacco is usually a spring crop within the rice-belt of Chengtu Plain. The seeds are sown in late October and the crop harvested by mid-June. This practice usually delays the seeding-season of rice by two or three weeks (as rice is a summer crop here, following immediately after the tobacco). Consequently, both the yield and the quality of the rice crop are often reduced, the yield sometimes by as much as 20 to 30 per cent. This conflict between tobacco and rice constitutes one of the most serious problems of the tobacco- and rice-producing areas here. Recently, the local Agricultural Experimental Station conducted a number of experiments with a view to selecting an early-maturing variety of tobacco so that it might not hamper the growth of the rice. There is an old saying among the peasants here: "Shih nien tsao, chiu nien hao," literally meaning, "ten years early, nine years prosperous." This vividly expresses the need for an early-maturing variety of tobacco.

On account of the heavy drain which the tobacco crop exerts on soil fertility, rotation systems, commonly with corn, soy beans,

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Meteorological Report (1938).

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249 or peanuts, are practiced in most tobacco-growing areas. Only in the districts of Sin-tu and Shih-fang, in the heart of Chengtu Plain, where soil conditions are especially fertile, has tobacco-cultivation been carried on from year to year without rotation.

The best tobacco leaves are produced in the Shih-fang and Sin-tu districts. They are fine in quality, fragrant in flavor, and are almost ideal for making cigars and cigarettes. The poorest products come from Mien-Chu and Te-yang. Besides supplying the local demand, tobacco leaves and products find their markets in Shensi, Kansu, Yunnan, and Kweichow provinces, and even as far away as parts of Central Asia and Russian Turkestan.

c) Sugar cane.--The method of refining sugar from sugar cane was first imported into China from India during the early part of the Tang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). As early as the reign of Emperor Tai Tsung of Tang dynasty, there was a monk named Tsou, who initiated sugar cane cultivation in the Nan-chung district of the north central Basin.[1] Since then, the production of sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum) has been steadily developed into a very important agricultural enterprise, particularly around the To River Valley.

The sugar-cane crop thrives well only in a warm, humid climate, ranging from tropical to sub-tropical. During its growing season, the average temperature must be around 20 degrees C. (68°F.), and the average annual rainfall about 1,500 millimeters. At the time of maturity, the temperature must be relatively cool, and the humidity must be low.[2] In most areas of the Basin where sugar cane is produced, the local climatic conditions fall short of these requirements. Instead of having an average annual temperature of 30 degrees C. (86°F.) or 25 degrees C. (77°F.), as in Java and Cuba, respectively, where the most important sugar-cane producing areas of the world are located, the maximum annual average temperature of the Basin is only 17.9 degrees C. (68°F.) (Fig. 24). This temperature is far too low for satisfactory sugar-cane growth. Even compared with the other sugar-cane growing areas in China, such as Kwangtung and Fukien provinces,

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[1] Gazetteers of Nanchung District, IV, 6.

[2] Y. C. Chen, "A Discussion on Improved Methods for Cultivation of Sugar-cane in Szechuan Province," Szechuan Reconstruction Monthly, IV, No. 8 (1933), 29.

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Szechuan Basin has a much shorter summer season and a lower minimum winter temperature.[1]

As a result of this climatic limitation, it is impossible for sugar cane in the Basin to flower. This fact, of course, eliminates at once the possibility of bi-sexual breeding. All the native varieties are therefore produced by asexual reproduction. The tips of the sugar cane crop are cut down in the winter and are buried underground. When spring comes, these shoots are planted. This practice handicaps seriously any attempt to improve the breed. Moreover, while sugar cane in Java and Cuba may continue to grow and produce for two and three years or more, such growth is impossible here in the Basin. The lack of irrigation facilities in most of the sugar-cane fields in the hilly areas has further handicapped its successful growth.

Sugar cane generally thrives better on sandy loam soils (Fig. 38) than on clay loams. In the Basin it is, however, planted on both types of soil. It is reported by farmers of these areas that sugar cane grown in the more hilly areas, where the loose, sandy loams predominate, has a much higher sugar content than that grown on the "Pa-ti," or alluvial plains, where clay loam is the chief soil type. Thus, about two-thirds of all the hilly lands of Tze-chow and Nei-chiang are devoted to sugar cane. However, because good irrigation facilities are lacking in many parts of these hilly areas, many sugar-cane fields suffer serious droughts when natural rainfall falls short.

Rotation systems are commonly adopted by sugar cane growers. The most common practice is yearly alternation of sugar cane with corn, kaoliang, or peanuts. Sugar cane is generally a summer crop. During the winter season, sugar cane fields may be used for wheat, rape, or peas, or may be left to lie fallow.

Although sugar cane is reported to be grown in forty-four districts throughout the Basin (Table 7), the principal producing

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[1]The average temperature of May-September for Canton is above 26 degrees C. (79°F.); for Amoy (Fukien), June-September is above 26 degrees C. (79°F.); but for Chungking, the average temperature for the period between only July and August is above 26 degrees C. (79°F.), whereas for the period of May-September is only 25.8 degrees C. This, of course, means a shorter summer, at Chungking. Moreover, the winter minimum for Canton (January) is 13.1 degrees C. (55.6°F.); for Amoy (January) 12.2 degrees C. (54°F.); and for Chungking (January) only 8.8 degrees C. (47.8°F.) (cf. Annual Report of the Central Meteorological Bureau [1934], p. 32).

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249 areas are concentrated mainly in five districts of the To River Valley, namely, Nei-chiang, Tze-chung, Tze-yang, Chien-yang, and Fu-shun (Fig. 37). In 1936 these five districts alone accounted for 73 per cent of the total crop (Table 7).

There are two principal kinds of sugar cane produced here, namely, the red cane and the white cane. The red cane is used for chewing purposes, whereas the white is used mainly for sugar-extraction. Unfortunately, because of the poor quality of the cane and the inefficient methods of refining, the local sugar production is not only small in quantity (pure sugar production only about 1,000,000 catties), but also poor in quality. Consequently, in the face of keen competition from high-quality imported sugar, the sugar produced in the Basin (with the exception of Chieh-tang sugar, a specially treated medicinal sugar which normally finds its principal markets in the I-chang and Hankow areas) has been driven out of the former inter-provincial markets, such as Yunnan and Kweichow. Moreover, the local sugar cannot even maintain its foothold in the local market. This fact is evidenced by the increasing import of foreign sugar into the Basin.

Sugar cane and cotton constitute two of the most acute problems in agricultural land-use in the Basin. Recently, various programs have been launched by the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research in order to improve this situation. Sugar cane improvement stations have been established in the Nei-Chiang, Tze-yang, and Chien-yang districts. A large number of foreign species have been transplanted from Java and Cuba. It was recently discovered that the species P.O.J. 2878 and P.O.J. 2725, selected from Java breeds, adapt specially well to local environmental conditions in the Basin. They have a 5 per cent higher sugar content than most of the native species. Rigorous attempts are being made to extend these two species among the Basin farmers.[1]

248 d) Hemp.--The two principal species of hemp produced in the Szechuan Basin, namely, the "chu-ma" (Corchorus capsularies) (or ramie, China grass, as it is popularly known in the west), and "hou-ma" (Cannabis sativa), or fire-hemp, as it is called locally. These two species, being produced in different areas with widely different physical requirements, are used for entirely different purposes. The "chu-ma" is further divided into two kinds--the

[1]Chen, op. cit., p. 22.

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As in many other parts of China, tea cultivation here is primarily a by-profession of farmers, and very few large plantations are found. It is reported that there are more than 35,000 farming families engaged in producing tea. 245

Perhaps nowhere else in China has tea been produced in so many grades and prepared in so many forms as here in the Basin. The grades range from the most handsomely packed silver-needle green tea of finest aroma to the most roughly-wrapped ugly-looking brick tea. This range is made available in order to meet the varied demands of widely different markets. The most important export tea markets of the Basin are the regions of Tibet, Sikang, and Kokonor. The Basin supplies nearly all the demand of these areas, which normally totals more than six million dollars per year.

Nevertheless, this small but profitable trade may soon be denied to the Basin. It is greatly feared that keen Indian competition is growing and threatening the Basin's export tea trade to Tibet. In fact, the competition of Indian tea even now extends from Tibet to the Sikang markets. Geographically, the Indian tea is in a more favorable position to compete for the Tibetan tea market than tea from the Basin. For example, from Darjeeling to Lhasa it is only about 350 miles, while from Kan-ting (Tachien-lu), the principal collecting point of the Basin's tea on its way to Tibet, to Lhasa is twice that distance (nearly 700 miles) and requires sometimes two months' journey. Moreover, the physical difficulties of transportation in the Basin are also greater. This favorable geographic position of India is further evidenced by the fact that a considerable portion of the herbs from the Tibetan highlands are now being exported through the Darjeeling route.

The tea for the export markets comes largely from the western and southern producing areas. Normally Kuan-hsien is the collection-point and Sung-pang the distribution point of all tea from the western producing areas, whereas Yaan and Kan-ting (Tachien-lu) serve in the same capacity for the southern producing areas. The tea for these distant markets is generally wrapped in 60-pound or 80-pound packages and is transported principally on man's backs.

c) <u>Medicinal herbs</u>.--Szechuan Basin has long been noted in China, in fact in the whole Far East, for its production of a 249

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249 great variety of vegetable drugs. There are six principal producing areas in the Basin (Fig. 37): (1) the western area, including Sung-pang, Li-fang, Miao-hsien, and Wen-chuan, with Kuan-hsien as the chief collecting and distributing center; (2) the southern area, including I-ping, Ching-fu, Kao-hsien, and Yun-nien, with I-ping as the trading center; (3) the southwest area, including Lo-shan and Chien-wei, with Yaan as the trading center; (4) the northern area, including Chiang-yu, Ping-wu, and An-hsien, with Chung-pa as the trading center; (5) the districts of the Chisling River area, with Ho-chuan as the trading center; herbs from southern Shensi and Kansu also pass through Ho-chuan; and (6) the eastern area, consisting of Kai-hsien, Fu-hsi, Feng-chieh, Kai-chiang, and Liang-shan districts.

249 278 Of these six principal herb-producing areas, the western area is by far the most important. It generally accounts for one-third of the Basin's total production. The medicinal herbs are found in the hilly and more mountainous areas in the Basin, and grow under a great variety of climatic and soil conditions. But, as a rule, the herbs especially thrive well on the more rugged mountain slopes and in the cooler climates.

It is reported that as many as two hundred or more different kinds of herbs (including both cultivated and wild species) are produced in the Basin and its surrounding areas.[1] And seventy-nine of them are prominent in inter-provincial and export trade. Many have been of high value to the Chinese for ages. Recently, some of them have been used extensively even by western peoples, particularly the well-known ma-huang (ephedrine), licorice, Ta-huang (medicinal rhubarb), Huang-nien (coptis chinensis), and many others.

One of the most serious problems in herb production in the Basin is that of bringing more of the valuable wild herbs under cultivation so as to stabilize the production and bring down its costs. It is reported that many formerly valuable wild species of herbs, as a result of human disturbances and reckless exploitation, are now nearly extinct.[2]

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[1] T. H. Cheng, "The Herb as an Important Product of Szechuan," Chinese Science Monthly, XVIII, No. 1 (1932), 28-32.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Prior to the Republic (1912) the export of medicinal herbs, together with silk and tung-oil, formed the backbone of the export trade of the Basin. Herbs alone generally accounted for between 15 and 20 million dollars yearly. But recently, on account of the constant warfare and heavy taxation, as well as the increasing competition of western drugs, the herb trade has reached a low point; in 1936 the total value of herbs exported amounted only to some 7 million dollars. 249 278

Chungking is normally the biggest center for transhipment of herbs to outside markets. It is not only the point of convergence of the herb products of the six main producing areas, but also herbs from northern Kweichou and southern Shensi (by the Chialing and Chi waterways, respectively), are shipped via Chungking, on their way to lower Yangtse markets. Thus, for a long time, Chungking has been known as the "jackpot" of the herb trade of the Far East. The principal domestic markets for the Basin's herbs include Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kwang-tung, Honan, Hunan, and Hupeh provinces, whereas the chief foreign buyers are Japan, French Indo-China, and France.

d) Cho Tsai or pickled (fermented) vegetable.--Cho Tsai, or pickled vegetable, is another unique product of Szechuan Basin, which is the only region in China where this food is produced. Cho Tsai has long been regarded as a great delicacy and a tasty seasoning for cooking in various parts of China, particularly in the lower Yangtse Valley and the North China Plain, as well as in Japan and countries of the South Sea Islands. Large quantities of this delicacy (some two or three million dollars' worth) are exported yearly to these areas from the Basin. 244

The principal producing areas of Cho Tsai are in the east of the Basin, particularly in Pei-Ling, Feng-tu, Chang-shou, Chiang-peh, and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 37). The products from Pei-Ling and Lo-Chih (Chiang-peh) are especially famous.

This vegetable, locally known as Ching Tsai, being a species of chard, thrives well in a wide range of soil conditions. It requires good drainage. The plant is ordinarily seeded in September after the reaping of the summer crops; and the harvest takes place some time around January or February. During its growing season it requires a humid, mild climate. In many localities it forms a very satisfactory rotation crop with rice.

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TABLE 6

PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Shih-Fang	290,000	48.3
Pi-Hsien	80,079	13.3
Mien-Chu	75,000	12.5
Sin-Tu	45,578	7.6
Wen-Chiang	40,000	6.6
Tsung-Nin	15,000	2.5
Chung-Hsien	6,300	1.5
Ching-Tang	6,000	1.0
Ta-Hsien	5,473	.9
Sin-Fang	4,900	.8
Yun-Yang	4,500	.7
Tung-Nan	4,500	.7
Sui-Ning	3,500	.5
Chia-Chiang	3,500	.5
Kuan-Hsien	2,300	.3
Chi-Chiang	1,600	.2
Chu-Hsien	1,590	.2
Siu-Shan	1,360	.2
Mei-Shan	1,250	.2
Te-Yang	1,200	.2
Nou-Hsi	800	.1
Liang-Shan	750	.1
Peng-Hsi	700	.1
Cheng-Tu	426	.07
Chung-Ching	410	.06
Chiang-An	400	.06
Peng-An	400	.06
Hsin-Wen	300	.05
Yung-Lien	300	.05
Nan-Hsi	200	.03
Kao-Hsien	200	.03
Pa-Hsien	120	.02
Ching-Yen	120	.02
Kai-Chiang	120	.02
Wu-Sheng	115	.01
Chien-Wei	100	.01
Hsuan-Han	100	.01
Chien-Chiang	30	.005
Total	599,221	100.000

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 7

SUGAR PRODUCTION IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Nei-Chiang.....	625,000	24.6
Tzu-Chung.....	625,000	24.6
Chien-Yang.....	225,000	8.8
Fu-Shun.....	200,000	7.9
Tzu-Yang.....	175,000	6.9
Chu-Hsien.....	100,000	3.9
I-Ping.....	70,000	2.9
Ching-Tang.....	60,000	2.3
Nan-Hsi.....	50,000	1.9
Te-Yang.....	50,000	1.9
Wei-Yuan.....	48,900	1.9
Lung-Chang.....	37,500	1.4
Kuang-Han.....	30,000	1.1
Jen-Shou.....	27,225	1.0
Kuang-An.....	25,000	.9
Tsung-Nai.....	25,000	.9
Chien-Wei.....	24,250	.9
	15,000	.5
Mei-Shan.....	10,000	.3
Sui-Ning.....	10,000	.3
Shih-Fang.....	10,000	.3
Sin-Tsing.....	8,000	.3
Ching-Fu.....	7,900	.3
Lu-Hsien.....	7,500	.2
Chi-Hsien.....	7,500	.2
Yung-Hsien.....	6,500	.2
Chiang-An.....	5,000	.1
Kai-Hsien.....	5,000	.1
Kao-Hsien.....	3,000	.1
Nou-Hsi.....	3,000	.1
Ho-Chuan.....	3,000	.1
Wan-Hsien.....	3,000	.1
Chiang-Tsin.....	2,800	.1
Ping-Shan.....	2,500	.09
Chang-Ning.....	2,500	.09
Ching-Shen.....	2,400	.09
Wu-Sheng.....	2,375	.09
Lo-Chiang.....	1,875	.09
Peng-Shan.....	1,795	.06
Lei-Po.....	1,650	.06
Tung-Nan.....	1,547	.06
Ho-Chiang.....	1,500	.06
Wien-Chu.....	1,400	.05
Yo-Chi.....	1,250	.04
Tung-Liang.....	1,000	.03
Total.....	2,526,867	100.00

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 8

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF TOBACCO-PRODUCING CENTERS OF SZECHUAN
(1936-1938 Average)

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Name of District	Climatic Conditions	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Mei-Shan.....	Temperature (C.)	12.7	14.8	15.2	20.9	23.9
	Humidity (o/o)	77.8	76.1	69.3	68.6	75.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	3.0	....	32.0	56.8	108.5
Lo-Shan.....	Temperature (C.)	7.4	10.2	14.8	19.4	23.3
	Humidity (o/o)	70.1	70.0	58.9	64.6	64.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	1.6	15.0	15.9	64.5	141.2
Chia-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	8.6	11.2	....	20.7	28.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.2	79.0	....	75.5	75.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	2.8	4.7	....	31.0	51.1
Wen-Chiang.....	Temperature (C.)	5.8	9.1	12.6	18.7	22.4
	Humidity (o/o)	77.4	75.8	72.4	72.0	71.7
	Rainfall (mm.)	8.2	23.0	9.3	4.8	102.0
Sin-Tu.....	Temperature (C.)	6.9	9.3	13.3	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	88.9	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	2.0	11.4	5.6	85.0	112.5
Ching-Tan.....	Temperature (C.)	....	7.1	....	....	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	....	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	14.3	....	29.7	.....
Mien-Chu.....	Temperature (C.)	....	8.6	13.2	18.2	.....
	Humidity (o/o)	....	81.1	73.0	71.0	.....
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	4.0	15.7	24.2	.....
Te-Yang.....	Temperature (C.)	6.3	10.1	14.6	19.9	24.1
	Humidity (o/o)	81.1	73.2	64.6	62.7	66.8
	Rainfall (mm.)	11.0	10.3	3.0	27.6	94.9
Shih-Fang.....	Temperature (C.)	....	....	....	19.1	22.7
	Humidity (o/o)	....	....	....	81.2	77.0
	Rainfall (mm.)	....	....	....	21.5	118.6
Pi-Hsien.....	Temperature (C.)	6.1	7.8	14.0	18.8	22.9
	Humidity (o/o)	75.5	75.6	72.9	70.9	73.5
	Rainfall (mm.)	.2	10.5	9.8	31.6	145.3

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TABLE 8—Continued

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June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	Average
26.5	27.9	27.6	24.4	21.3	15.2	9.4	233.2	19.4
77.8	82.1	70.4	79.9	76.5	73.2	78.1	904.2	75.4
124.1	354.0	366.2	41.3	7.4	1.9	12.8	1047.7	....
24.0	26.1	26.4	22.1	18.7	12.1	9.0	203.5	17.7
75.6	70.2	82.3	84.6	79.1	75.1	80.5	885.1	73.7
81.6	166.4	52.1	216.9	89.1	20.0	21.8	.....	....
24.8	27.5	27.7	23.7	19.1	12.8	9.5	.....	....
77.3	78.5	86.1	.....	....	82.7	88.9	.....	....
101.3	205.7	220.7	116.9	42.2	16.9	40.3	.....	....
24.3	20.0	26.7	22.0	18.2	10.6	3.4	204.8	17.1
78.3	81.8	81.3	82.8	80.9	78.6	76.0	929.0	77.4
161.2	461.6	172.0	205.0	86.4	18.5	9.5	1221.6	....
.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	8.6	.....	....
.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	58.4	.....	....
70.0	368.0	126.7	217.5	25.0	3.0	....	1027.5	....
25.1	26.5	.....	22.5	18.5	11.5	8.8	.....	....
78.2	77.7	.....	84.3	80.8	81.3	85.5	.....	....
27.5	263.4	.....	111.5	28.6	5.3	15.0	.....	....
24.3	26.9	27.6	21.5	17.8	10.4	6.6	.....	....
81.9	85.5	84.5	80.8	87.2	88.5	....	.....	....
88.6	424.1	318.7	157.8	44.7	26.9	....	.....	....
21.9	25.4	29.0	22.2	19.0	13.5	9.3	218.3	18.2
78.9	75.1	73.5	80.3	....	77.8	79.3	.....	....
78.0	28.8	67.2	12.8	....	15.2	13.4	.....	....
23.9	25.9	27.3	22.2	18.4	10.8	8.7	.....	....
82.9	81.6	82.4	84.6	79.8	78.3	78.6	.....	....
144.6	48.2	155.1	239.5	21.3	24.0	5.1	.....	....
24.6	25.8	27.1	21.7	18.1	11.5	8.3	260.7	17.2
80.4	83.2	83.4	83.8	82.5	81.9	80.0	943.6	78.6
134.9	311.1	515.1	245.0	30.5	11.8	9.7	1455.5	....

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use. 487*

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture. 133* 137*

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as 778 782 262 251

[6] In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling ཛེ་བོ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང་). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

262 mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief's family for lack of
251 storage space. When wanted the *Buchĕr* is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

*487 There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning
*133 to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the
*137 direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndĕr, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or *obo*, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Ch'ien-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

[197] Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-dyu (Wu-chio 烏角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (PLATE 242).

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PLATE 241. — BU-CHÊR, THE YUNG-NING BONELESS PIG

永寧豬巴肉（無骨豬）

They are often kept for ten years and are used as mattresses for that length of time, before being eaten. Horizontal slices are cut as from a loaf of bread; these, with butter or cheese, serve as New Year gifts to the lamas and peasants from the Yung-ning chiefs.

[p. 458 A]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

485 accommodation in a Chinese inn is rough, but quite comfortable enough. One gets a small room with a table and a chair or two, and a plank bedstead. Going to an inn saves a lot of trouble, as the traveller can get firewood and hot water at once without difficulty, and also corn and straw for the mules. In Yung-ch'ang I found I was not bothered by the crowd, and was left alone as much as if I had been in my own house. This is by no means the case everywhere, and the inn yard is often densely packed with spectators. When this happens I should recommend the traveller to get an upstairs room where, as far as my experience goes, he will be quite free from molestation; it is in any case far easier to kick a man downstairs than to clear an inn yard which may have more than one entrance.

361 The town of Yung-ch'ang Fu I estimate to contain about 5000 houses. It was apparently originally a square, built at the foot of a little knoll which forms the end of a spur running down from the range to the west. It seems, however, to have struck some Chinese tactician that an enemy on this hill might make it unpleasant for the garrison of the town, and the northern and southern walls have been extended and bent round so as to meet each other and enclose this little knoll, though even with this the town still remains commanded at short range from the spur beyond. The flat part of the town is about half built over, the rest of the space being taken up with gardens. On the hill there are a few temples built among fir woods, and I actually put up a cock pheasant here within the city wall. This little hill is called Pao Shan and it is from this that Yung-ch'ang takes its *hsien* name of Pao-shan Hsien.

366 The main bazar street which runs from north to south
262 down the centre of the town is crowded all day and every day, but from the appearance of the place and from enquiries made, I do not think it is as large a trade centre as T'êng-yüeh. It is an excellent place for buying provisions: oranges, pears, pine-apples, carrots, cabbages, beans, radishes, and potato-like roots are to be got here, and doubtless several other sorts of vegetables and fruits at
•251 other seasons. They also sell cured ducks and geese, not
262 unlike ham, but very salt; this industry is chiefly in the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

251/262 hands of the Mahommedans, who eat the cured birds as a substitute for the forbidden ham, of which Chinamen are so fond. What surprised me most was to find excellent sponge cakes sold here, and I subsequently found that these are to be got in all towns of any importance. The pears are enormous in size, but are more what we should call cooking pears, and are better stewed than raw.

000 I called on the Hsien and asked him to put me in communication with some of the leading merchants so that I might hear their views as to a railway to Kun-long. One merchant turned up and I had a talk with him, but I had unfortunately mentioned the same subject to the Fu. The consequence was that in the evening he sent to ask if my interpreter might go and see him. He told the interpreter that there were a lot of Panthays near Kun-long, the settlement of Pang-long amounting to 4000 houses (an enormous exaggeration), and that if the railway was made to Kun-long, the Panthays of Burma would join with those of Pang-long and raise rebellions in China. It does not follow that these are the views of the higher officials in China, but it is a good instance of the suspicious way that many of the Chinese look at things that he should consider the railway project as a deep-laid scheme for injuring China. The Fu has a great reputation for learning and is, I believe, a graduate of the Hanlin College. After this it is needless to say that I saw no more merchants.

Calling on Chinese officials is not a very amusing performance. Not that they are not civil. I only in one instance, which I will relate hereafter, met with any discourtesy. But their ideas and ours are very different, and I always wondered which of us was most bored by the interview. Besides, talking through an interpreter is always trying. In subsequent journeys, when I knew more Chinese, I used to speak to them myself sometimes. The usual result was that they could understand what I said but I could not always catch their answers. No man is allowed to be an official in his native province, so that one never hears the provincial peculiarities of the Yün-nan speech from any official in that province.

These provincial differences in the Mandarin dialect are not usually pronounced enough absolutely to prevent

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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251

The process of preparing Cho Tsai is interesting. It is dried (by solar radiation), specially treated with salt and other ingredients (somewhat fermented), seasoned with pepper, and packed in air-tight tanks for export. Like Sunkist oranges from California in the United States, this unique product, "Szechuan Cho Tsai," has been for years the best advertisement for the name of "Szechuan" in many parts of the Far East.

4. Livestock Production and Special Animal Products

231

This term, livestock production or animal husbandry, has a special meaning as used in oriental agriculture. Livestock production here in the Basin, like in many other parts of China, is concerned only with the quick-growing food stock, the species that are easily cared for and do not require special feed. These normally include pigs, chickens, ducks, and some geese. While some cattle and sheep are raised here, they are seldom used for dairy products as in the West.

According to the recent report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, for every one hundred farming families in Szechuan Basin there are 40 water buffalos, 17 head of cattle, 2 horses, 39 goats, 2 sheep, 169 pigs, 366 chickens, 149 ducks, and 20 geese.[1]

237

a) Bristles.--In the western commercial world, bristles, like silk and tea, during the past years has always been associated with China. The principal producer of this well known Chinese product is Szechuan Basin. Normally the Basin supplies about one-fourth of the total export of all Chinese bristles, including 15,000 piculs of black and 4,000 piculs of white bristles. Among all the outstanding exports from the Basin, bristles is the only one that has always maintained a predominant position. It now alone comprises about one-fourth of the total value of the export trade of the Basin.[2]

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 42.

[2] The export of bristles has jumped from eighth to fourth place in China's foreign trade since 1939, next only to raw silk, egg products, and tungsten. Szechuan Basin has been the largest producer, contributing about 40 per cent of the total export of this product (cf. J. H. Huang, "An Analysis of Foreign Trade of Bristles of Szechuan," Journal of Foreign Trade, March, 1941).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbĕr-ddĕr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wùa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ö (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

From Na-ri we follow a narrow trail up and down, first high above the river, then in and out of ravines; the main road, however, leads on the west bank at an even grade. A few li bring us to the hamlet of Yun-gou where the ravine becomes very narrow and the stream enters a deep limestone gorge lined with Cupressus trees. Beyond the gorge on the east bank of the river is a huge limestone boulder which appears suspended over the stream, its lower surface being flat; hot water passes through the rock and flows from the flat under-surface as from a sieve. Limestone crags and mountains tower 2,000 feet above the river-bed, the slopes being covered with scrub oak and pines. The whole scenery is strange and dismal. 487* 133* 137*

At the end of the day's stage is the hamlet of Dshü-dzong situated on the east bank of the river. From this village the trail follows the clear stream, crosses two lateral affluents and ascends a rocky bluff. The trees on the lower slopes are all walnuts, while oaks and *Pinus yünnanensis* clothe the upper. We come to a cantilever bridge at the village of Ndo-sung (To-sung 奪松) on the east bank of the stream. The entire village consists of one large white house and a few log huts. We enter forest of pines and deciduous oaks in the broadening valley; mountains about 12,000 feet in height and composed of limestone rise to the east. The next village, called Sha-lon, in Chinese Sha-lung 沙龍, is situated on a hill in the valley. The Tibetan dialect spoken here is different from that of A-tun-tzu and Chung-tien. Three li beyond the village of Sha-lon, the trail leaves the main stream, enters a narrow valley and crosses the affluent which issues from it.

We follow on the top of the spur which separates it from the main stream to a small hamlet called Chao-to (Ch'ang-ta 昌大); five li beyond we reach the village of To-gu-ti the Chinese T'o-ko-ti 拖格底. Near the entrance to the village a gate was erected across the trail. It consisted of two pine trees connected by braided strands of bamboo from which wooden swords dipped in blood hung suspended. On inquiry I was informed that an epidemic was rampant among the horses in this village, and the swords, were to drive or keep out the demon which caused it. At the other end of the village was a similar gate, but from the bamboo rope swung the huge wooden penis of a horse. Not far from this village situated on the left bank, is the hamlet of Nin-yü, where another cantilever bridge spans the river. As the valley floors became broader and the land more suitable for agriculture, villages are also more frequent. 751 487* 133* 137*

Two li bring us to the village of Ka-su, and a short distance beyond situated on a terrace is the village called Sa-gè-ti (Sheng-keng-ting 生更丁); here are limestone and black shales both much contorted. Walnuts grow along the river bank, the Tibetans, similarly to the Na-khi, use the oil for cooking. The trail crosses a rather large, flat cultivated area to a village called Sha-shao 沙哨 situated under a huge limestone bluff. Here a valley opens out into the Yon-dze-khà, from the right, or west, bringing a stream of considerable size from the eastern slopes of the mountains, which form the Mekong—Yangtze divide in the neighborhood of Yeh-chih. A trail leads up this valley and over the divide to the Mekong a little north of Yeh-chih. [252]

To the south of the valley is a high spur which Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls Ko-bu-dä — this is the Chinese Kuo-pu-te 過不得 (Cannot be

S: Davies G-S (1894-1900) 1909 AP10 Southwest China AP10

000 ing for a railway with the sanction of the Chinese Government.

Passing Sung-lin, a village of two hundred houses with a mud wall round it, we took two days to reach Pan-ch'iao at the southern end of the Hsüan-wei plain. The country is undulating, and one passes through a series of little cultivated plateaus, with low rocky hills rising out of them, 316 and most of them without any running water. This part of Yün-nan is full of coal and hardly anything else is used as fuel. It is sold for 200 cash a cartload, which I calculate to be at about the rate of three shillings a ton.

000 On the 14th April I reached Hsüan-wei Chou, and found Watts-Jones there, established in a temple just inside the south gate. Here we were in telegraphic communication with the world again. Pottinger had arrived at Pi-chieh and hoped to meet us at Wei-ning Chou. We were very sorry to learn that Mr Tucker, who formed one of Pottinger's party, had returned to Ch'ung-k'ing suffering from pleurisy, and had died there of heart failure.

361 Hsüan-wei is a town of 800 houses and has two walls [316] round it, one inside the other. The plain in which it stands is a poor one, but the whole country round is full of coal mines which, with better means of communication, might •253 be extensively worked. Hsüan-wei is famous for its hams, which are excellent. Chinese hams vary very much. The best ones are very good, and this is the only form in which I ever ate pig in China.

After halting a day at Hsüan-wei, we left again on the 16th April, and soon found ourselves in a more hilly 186 country. In these parts the Chinese are in the habit of shouting out *yang kuei-tzŭ*, "foreign devil," an expression one does not hear very often in most parts of Yün-nan. In Hsüan-wei we had heard the little boys shouting it out as we walked about the town, but they took care to keep at a distance, and the Chinamen nearest us always wore a look of almost too complete innocence.

However our time for retaliation soon arrived. The day we left Hsüan-wei, Watts-Jones and I had walked on a little ahead and passed five or six Chinamen sitting by the roadside. Directly we had passed, we heard shouts of "yang kuei-tzŭ." We turned back at once and our

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 bridge, of which a photograph will be found, is a wooden one supported on beams stuck out slant-wise from stone piers. The road does not, as might have been expected, follow the river down to Yün Chou, but makes a short cut across a high range. We climbed part of the way up it and camped at Pa-pao-shan among fir woods.

On the 12th February we had a pretty stiff climb to the top of the range at 8,200 feet. There is a good deal of jungle as one gets higher, full of rhododendrons which were just out in flower. From the top a descent of 4000 feet and some flat going at the bottom took us into Yün Chou.

624 The mandarin here was particularly civil. We went to call on him the day after our arrival, and Ker took a photograph of him and his whole family. Even his wife appeared and formed one of the group, so the official is evidently a man without prejudices. His son, a youth of 16, bursting with curiosity and a thirst for knowledge, spent nearly his whole time in our room in the inn, minutely examining all our belongings and asking questions on every conceivable subject. No doubt he meant to make himself extremely agreeable, but as we had a lot of work to do we found him a bit of a bore.

The mandarin's civility was not, however, confined to pleasant words, for Ker's interpreter, happening to have his watch stolen, the thief was caught in a very short time, the watch recovered, and the culprit put in the stocks. The people of Yün Chou we also found very civil, and we could walk about the streets without attracting much attention. There are a great many Mahommedans here, and the Chinese Mahommedan I have generally found very friendly.

257 The place did not seem to have changed at all since my previous visit in 1895. Sugar cane is the most important thing grown, and the cutting and pressing of this crop were in full swing at the time of our visit. The presses consist of large wooden rollers, worked usually by a buffalo walking round and round after the manner of chaff-cutting machines in England. They manufacture brown sugar of the sort called *jaggery* or *goor* in India. They do not know how to refine it.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16 ●
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

p. 330 E.

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261 ●

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 173. — THE BLEAK TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)

It is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet at the head of a valley. Its inhabitants are Tibetan, Na-khi and Chinese; the latter are the merchants who for fear of Tibetan raids keep their more valuable merchandise on the west bank of the Mekong, two to three days' journey south.

[p. 330E]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge. 844 782

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月)酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue. 842 782

They beg a prayer-tally, 求簽 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month); 842 785 261

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

842 785 261 *chên-wu chai* 眞武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

842 778 Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai êrh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzŭ*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai*.

787 842 Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssŭ chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

792 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 喀木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

● 262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*487 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed
*133 with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys
*137 until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra) [7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子欄

173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 慕頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角巴, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 丁拉郎 villages.

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ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (Goré).

[7] 爲仁多工

[8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tum-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use. 487*

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture. 133* 137*

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as 778 782 262 251

* In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling ཛེ་བློ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང་). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

262 251 mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief's family for lack of storage space. When wanted the *Buchĕr* is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

*487 *133 *137 There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndĕr, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or *obo*, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Ch'ien-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

[97] Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-dyu (Wu-chio 烏角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (PLATE 242).

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

712 Government, the amount being deducted from the soldiers' pay. There were small forts garrisoned by these men all along the road from Manwaing to Nampaung.

262 The traders of Manwaing asked us to dinner one day, and the next evening we dined with Colonels Liu and Wang in the fort. Some of their dishes, such as birds' nest soup, are excellent; others are very much the reverse, pigs' insides often forming part of the menu.

524 Neither of the colonels was at all averse to drinking, and after dinner they played a game which consists in two players sitting opposite each other and simultaneously shooting out one or more fingers of one hand, at the same time shouting out a number. The player who shouts out correctly the total number of fingers shown by the two players wins, and the loser has to drink a glass of rice spirit as a forfeit. The game is, I believe, practically the same as the *mora* of the Italians.

682 On the 22nd January we set out westward for Bhamo, passing, about two miles out of Manwaing, the place where Margary of the Chinese Consular Service was murdered in 1875. He had just made a journey through from Shanghai to Bhamo and had gone back to Manwaing to make arrangements for Colonel Browne's expedition, which was just leaving Bhamo for T'êng-yüeh (Momien). While he was alone at Manwaing, when the main expedition was still on its way there, he was assassinated. Whoever the actual murderers may have been, there is little doubt that the deed was done by order of the Viceroy of Yün-nan.

In nine cases out of ten when Europeans are killed in China, the officials, if not the direct instigators, are really responsible for the murder, and could have stopped it if they had liked. The natives of a district very soon find out if their official is anti-foreign, and those who have the same leanings feel that they can act with safety. If every murder was followed by the decapitation of the official in whose district it took place, murders would cease. At present killing an Englishman is apt to prove a safe and agreeable pastime for evil-disposed Chinamen.

After three miles of flat going we began to climb the Kachin Hills and camped at 4,900 feet at the fort of Sare the headquarters of Colonel Wang, who commanded the Trade Protection Levy.

485 accommodation in a Chinese inn is rough, but quite comfortable enough. One gets a small room with a table and a chair or two, and a plank bedstead. Going to an inn saves a lot of trouble, as the traveller can get firewood and hot water at once without difficulty, and also corn and straw for the mules. In Yung-ch'ang I found I was not bothered by the crowd, and was left alone as much as if I had been in my own house. This is by no means the case everywhere, and the inn yard is often densely packed with spectators. When this happens I should recommend the traveller to get an upstairs room where, as far as my experience goes, he will be quite free from molestation; it is in any case far easier to kick a man downstairs than to clear an inn yard which may have more than one entrance.

361 The town of Yung-ch'ang Fu I estimate to contain about 5000 houses. It was apparently originally a square, built at the foot of a little knoll which forms the end of a spur running down from the range to the west. It seems, however, to have struck some Chinese tactician that an enemy on this hill might make it unpleasant for the garrison of the town, and the northern and southern walls have been extended and bent round so as to meet each other and enclose this little knoll, though even with this the town still remains commanded at short range from the spur beyond. The flat part of the town is about half built over, the rest of the space being taken up with gardens. On the hill there are a few temples built among fir woods, and I actually put up a cock pheasant here within the city wall. This little hill is called Pao Shan and it is from this that Yung-ch'ang takes its *hsien* name of Pao-shan Hsien.

366 The main bazar street which runs from north to south
262 down the centre of the town is crowded all day and every day, but from the appearance of the place and from enquiries made, I do not think it is as large a trade centre as T'êng-yüeh. It is an excellent place for buying provisions: oranges, pears, pine-apples, carrots, cabbages, beans, radishes, and potato-like roots are to be got here, and doubtless several other sorts of vegetables and fruits at
251 other seasons. They also sell cured ducks and geese, not
262 unlike ham, but very salt; this industry is chiefly in the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

251/ hands of the Mahommedans, who eat the cured birds as a
262 substitute for the forbidden ham, of which Chinamen are so fond. What surprised me most was to find excellent sponge cakes sold here, and I subsequently found that these are to be got in all towns of any importance. The pears are enormous in size, but are more what we should call cooking pears, and are better stewed than raw.

000 I called on the Hsien and asked him to put me in communication with some of the leading merchants so that I might hear their views as to a railway to Kun-long. One merchant turned up and I had a talk with him, but I had unfortunately mentioned the same subject to the Fu. The consequence was that in the evening he sent to ask if my interpreter might go and see him. He told the interpreter that there were a lot of Panthays near Kun-long, the settlement of Pang-long amounting to 4000 houses (an enormous exaggeration), and that if the railway was made to Kun-long, the Panthays of Burma would join with those of Pang-long and raise rebellions in China. It does not follow that these are the views of the higher officials in China, but it is a good instance of the suspicious way that many of the Chinese look at things that he should consider the railway project as a deep-laid scheme for injuring China. The Fu has a great reputation for learning and is, I believe, a graduate of the Hanlin College. After this it is needless to say that I saw no more merchants.

Calling on Chinese officials is not a very amusing performance. Not that they are not civil. I only in one instance, which I will relate hereafter, met with any discourtesy. But their ideas and ours are very different, and I always wondered which of us was most bored by the interview. Besides, talking through an interpreter is always trying. In subsequent journeys, when I knew more Chinese, I used to speak to them myself sometimes. The usual result was that they could understand what I said but I could not always catch their answers. No man is allowed to be an official in his native province, so that one never hears the provincial peculiarities of the Yün-nan speech from any official in that province.

These provincial differences in the Mandarin dialect are not usually pronounced enough absolutely to prevent

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000 many for us in the end, and the next morning just as we were starting he managed to hide himself somewhere and we wasted an hour in an unsuccessful search. His flight, however, did not make any difference to our Tsong-en muleteers who showed no disposition to bolt and stuck to us till we got fresh men at Ya-ra-gong.

Neither of these men could, however, speak or understand any Chinese, and as we were now off the main road we were in a country where the villagers knew no language but their own. No doubt our ignorance of Tibetan prevented us to a certain extent from getting information about the country, but it was wonderful how little difference it made in the ordinary affairs of life. With the knowledge of the Tibetan for a few common words such as "barley," "chicken," "egg," etc., and the help of signs we never had any difficulty in explaining ourselves.

432 The bargaining was always done with the help of the string of beads which nearly every Tibetan carries. If we were buying barley, for instance, I would take the rosary off the seller's neck and count off 30 beads and give it back to him, meaning that I expected to get 30 measures of barley for a rupee. The Tibetan would eye it with feigned amusement at the cheap rate at which I expected to get his corn, and would count off 12 beads. So it went on, each of us getting gradually nearer to the other's price till finally the bargain was struck. This process was amusing enough the first time, but when it had to be gone through almost daily for each separate thing we bought, it became decidedly tedious.

•262 In the way of food we did pretty well in our Tibetan journey. Chickens and eggs were to be got in every village and we occasionally bought a sheep and divided it with our followers. Wheat flour was obtainable in any place of importance, and we always carried enough with us to make chupatties with.

Vegetables were the chief difficulty. The Tibetans do not grow anything of this sort except occasionally a coarse kind of turnip. We had to depend in fact on anything eatable that we could find growing wild. Nettles we got in many places and found them excellent—very like spinach. On one occasion we came across some wild onions and had

a great feast on them: in other places we got the villagers to pick for us the kinds of wild leaves which they knew to be edible. 262

Unlike the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races who never milk cows, the Tibetans are very fond of milk and butter, and these we were always able to buy. But Tibetan ideas of cleanliness are such as would horrify an English dairy farmer. The wooden buckets into which they milk the cows are *never* washed or cleaned in any way, and consequently the inside of them is thickly coated with a slimy white substance, the remains of the milk of years. The result of course is that directly the milk touches the bucket it turns sour. We were only able to get fresh milk by having the cows milked into our own cooking pots, but the butter made out of the Tibetans' milk was naturally very nasty. However, one gets used to anything, and the Tibetan climate gives one a healthy appetite. We soon resigned ourselves to eating our chupatties with rancid butter and with honey that was chiefly beesmeat. 234

The principal food of the Tibetans is "tsamba," which is made by roasting barley and then grinding it into flour. The Tibetan has only to mix a little of this with tea in the basin that he always carries in the breast of his coat, and he has a meal ready at once. We tried tsamba and found it excellent; we used to make it with hot water and eat it with milk like porridge. 262

The money used in this part of Tibet is the Indian rupee. They do not care about Chinese silver, and we converted all our silver into rupees at A-tun-tzŭ. Small change does not exist: there are no four anna or two anna pieces. So the Tibetans adopt the rough and ready expedient of chopping rupees into pieces with a big knife and a hammer. Besides rupees chopped some into three pieces, and some into four pieces, we also found it convenient to carry about some of the Chinese brick tea which is the universal beverage of Tibet. Tea is so indispensable to the Tibetans that the disc shaped "bricks" will pass current everywhere, and are often preferred to silver. 436

To return to our journey, we left the Ba-t'ang road at Tsong-en, and keeping down the bank of the Chiang-ka River we slept at the village of Bo-tsa.

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243 crop is dependent on the rain for its water, and where
249 there is any jungle this is cut down and burnt, the wood ashes helping to manure the ground. Maize, millet and buckwheat are also grown on the hills, and opium is one of the chief things cultivated. This latter crop is an easy one to raise, and the produce finds a ready sale. Opium cultivation is certainly increasing in Yün-nan.

Among other agricultural products of the province may be mentioned tobacco, which is largely grown in many districts; tea which comes principally from the Chinese Shan States south of Ssŭ-mao; sesamum and other oil-producing seeds; hemp used for making rope; sugar which will only grow in the lower and warmer valleys; walnuts, persimmons, pears, peaches and other fruits, and many different kinds of vegetables.

231 As to livestock, there is nothing as big as what we should call a horse, but ponies and mules are kept everywhere. Pack animals are the principal means of transport in the province, so that they form a very necessary possession both to farmers and merchants.

To the farmer cattle and buffaloes also are essential as a means of ploughing his fields, for ponies and mules are never employed for this purpose. In the deep mud and water of the irrigated rice fields buffaloes are the only animals that can do the ploughing.

Unlike the Shans the Chinese do not use bullocks as pack animals. It is true that in out-of-the-way places a farmer may occasionally be seen taking his produce to market with a mule saddle fastened on to a bullock or cow, but this is exceptional. There are no trading caravans of bullocks. In some of the plains of eastern Yün-nan bullocks and buffaloes may be seen drawing small carts, but these can seldom find a road good enough to lead from one plain to another, and are only used for farming purposes.

• 262 Nor are cattle considered by the Chinese as of any use for food. The orthodox Chinaman does not kill cattle to eat, and it is only in towns which contain a good many Mahommedan inhabitants that beef can occasionally be got. As to milk it is practically unknown in China. A little is now sold in Yün-nan Fu, but it is only in the Tibetan corner of the province that cows are regularly milked.

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Sheep and goats are found in places all over the province, and in some districts in very large herds. The wool is sometimes made into felt rugs, but the Chinese do not know how to weave it into clothes. There is no reason why wool should not become an article of trade if better communications should make it saleable. Sheep are not sufficiently widely distributed to make mutton a common article of food anywhere. 231 [287]

Pork is the staple meat of Yün-nan, as of the rest of China, and pigs are kept everywhere both in towns and villages. It is a very poor man who cannot afford to mix some pork with his meal of rice. These two articles, with beans and cabbage, form the principal food of the Yünnanese. 262 231

As to the amount of livestock in the province I will not attempt to make any estimate. But as mules and ponies form nearly the only means of transport, buffaloes and cattle the only means of ploughing, and pigs the universal food of all classes, the numbers must be considerable. Moreover I do not think that the animals kept amount only to what is absolutely necessary for their owner. Many villagers own large flocks and herds, and the Yünnanese peasant is usually well off as far as possessions go, though he is not rich in money. The poverty of the poorer classes of the over-populated province of Ssŭ-ch'uan is almost unknown in Yün-nan. 231

We now come to mineral products. It is safe to say that there is no district in the province that does not contain mines, and with better communications Yün-nan might become one of the principal metal-producing countries of the world. 135

The most important mineral is *copper*, not only because copper mines are very numerous throughout the province, but because the *ch'ien* or cash, the only coin originally used by the Chinese, is made chiefly of this metal. The mines of Yün-nan supply a very large proportion of the copper used for coining, and as the value of the cash is about 400 to a shilling, and it is used throughout China, the demand for copper for this purpose alone is a very large one. 135 316

In the districts of Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu are the mines which are at present most productive, but

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135 copper mines are also worked in Yung-ch'ang Fu, Ta-li
316 Fu, Ch'u-hsiung Fu, Ching-tung T'ing, Li-chiang Fu, Yung-pei T'ing, Wu-ting Chou, Ch'êng-chiang Fu and other districts.

Two copper-mining districts outside Yün-nan also deserve mention here, as they both lie within reach of the proposed railway. One of these is Wei-ning Chou in Kuei-chou province, a town through which the reconnoitred route actually passes. The other is Hui-li Chou, in the part of Ssŭ-ch'uan which runs down into Yün-nan to the north of the capital of the province.

Equally important with copper from a Chinese point of view is *silver*, for though the copper cash is the universal coin, lumps of silver weighed out in taels form in many parts of China the chief means of payment for larger sums than can be conveniently paid in cash.

This metal is if anything more abundant than copper, and one can seldom travel far in Yün-nan without seeing or hearing of silver mines. I doubt if there is any large district in the province which does not produce silver. Many of these mines are well worked, and Yün-nan supplies much of the silver used in other parts of China.

Iron is one of the commonest metals found in Yün-nan, and the tools and other things made from local iron are of good quality.

Lead is also a common metal, and *zinc* is mined in many places. Both these are used for mixing with copper to make cash.

Gold is not so widely distributed as the other minerals. The most productive mine is near T'a-lang T'ing (lat. 23° 25′, long. 101° 40′); this pays well in spite of the very primitive means employed for extracting the metal. Washing for gold is carried on in many parts of the Upper Yangtze and its tributaries.

The principal *tin* mine is in the south of the province at Ko-chiu, to the west of Mêng-tzŭ, but tin is also found in the Tung-ch'uan Fu district and probably in other places.

[262] Among other products may be mentioned *gypsum*, which is used by the Chinese to mix with beans to make a sort of bean curd which is a common article of food; and

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

313 as in the case of Kuang Ying bamboo, to giant tree of well over
137 80 feet in height and with a diameter over 12 inches, as in the case of Nan Chu and Tze Chu bamboos. They often grow in thickets, groves or clumps and usually have a golden, yellow or dark green foliage and with broad sheaths. There are numerous slender stems developed around the large clumps and the principal stems. The stems are hollow inside, have many joints, and often have thick wood which furnishes the most useful part of the plant.

Bamboo has a fairly wide range of habitat and grows well under different kinds of physical conditions.[1] The principal habitats of the bamboo are in alluvial areas near streams, around farmsteads, and not infrequently on sandy soils at the hill slopes.

[262 285] The usefulness of the bamboo is indeed limitless. First of all, the tender bamboo shoots are used as a vegetable, and serve as one of the most famous Chinese delicacies. The smaller stems are used for paper-making, textile-weaving, making of boxes, baskets, chopsticks, and light house utensils and furniture, whereas the large stems are used for the construction of irrigation wheels, salt brine and gas tubes, boats, bridges, carpentry, and numerous other industrial purposes. All in all, it was once reported that the bamboos are used in more than six hundred different ways in the Basin.[2] Thus the bamboo, to be sure, plays a very important role in the economy of the Basin. Above all, the bamboo, on account of its growths of matted fibrous roots, is proved most effective in holding soil and preventing soil erosion in many hilly areas of the Basin.

There are few large bamboo plantations in the Basin. Most farmers have small patches of bamboo thickets or groves around their farmsteads. The bamboo products are used principally for the farmer's own needs and any surplus left is sold to handicraft manufacturers of the nearby areas.

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[1]Generally speaking, bamboos cannot stand up very well under drought conditions. North of Kuang Yuan, for instance, on account of the lack of sufficient moisture, and possibly also because of lower temperature during the winter, no bamboo is grown (Fig. 8). Also, generally, very little bamboo growths are found around high altitudes of probably over 5,000 feet above sea level in the Basin.

[2]T. F. Hou, "The Conditions of Salt Fields at Tze-liu-ching and Kung Ching, Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, VIII, No. 6 (1937), 59.

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872 each pupil bellowed. "If he doesn't bellow, he isn't learning, but chattering or making mischief."

The mandarin pays for the upkeep of this school. The children live and eat in the castle and bring only their sleeping blankets and in winter a coal brazier from home. "The lessons are conducted according to the new Western style," the teacher told me. Every hour there was a short pause and every day there was physical exercise. If the teacher wanted to begin or interrupt the lessons he drummed on a hollow tree trunk, just like a South Sea Islander.

241 166 The mandarin was also obliged to distribute seeds to the Chinese immigrants; and because the last few years there had been poor harvests he had to order tsamba from Dawo and Romi Tschanggu and rice from the city of Ya tschou. (1) Otherwise all the colonists would have

1. The price for barley in Tschanggu was exactly 15 times as much as in Hsining fu.

long since gone home to China. The colonization here, unlike that of Mongolia, is sponsored by the government. A few years ago 100 families were established here; they had land as well as free seeds, schools for their children and complete freedom from taxes for the first years. And yet conditions were so unfavorable that more than half of them had already gone back and there were only 40 Chinese families left.

651 From the Tibetan families the mandarin gets free escort (ula) and compulsory military service, besides 2.5 Candareen (tael cents) a year. Thus, his income is slight and during each meal Wu da lao ye complained when it came to the rice and rice wine that in this post he had to supply a great deal (presumably 2,000 taels annually).

353 The hall in which my first reception had taken place was also the dining hall where the mandarin, his first secretary, the teacher and /Plates XLV, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII appear between pp. 192 and 193 in the original text./ /193/ I were served. (1) Already in

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1. Wu tschin hsü Da lao ye had even had Chinese pigs brought from the lowlands for slaughtering because he thought the Tibetan species which is raised throughout Hor in large quantities, was too fleshy and tasted bad. The Hor Tibetans eat their pork sometimes raw and sometimes cooked.

788 bees' nests bred of experience in Indian jungles, I was looking round to see where it came from. The noise got nearer and nearer, when six men suddenly appeared round the corner of a zigzag. It was not till I actually saw them that it dawned on me that the noise I had taken for the humming of bees proceeded really from human thr s reciting prayers in a monotonous mumble. The deception was most perfect. Neither myself nor the Chinamen with me doubted when we first heard the noise that it was a
788 swarm of bees or hornets. The men belonged to the Mo-so tribe and were on a pilgrimage to a temple in the Chien-
563 ch'ang valley. This is a race of men I have seen very little of. They appear roughly speaking to inhabit the country north of Li-chiang Fu, and from there westwards towards Wei-hsi and northwards nearly to A-tun-tzŭ. Most, if not all, of them have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Captain Ryder came across them in the town of Yung-ning (lat. 27° 45′, long. 100° 40′), where they constitute the bulk of the population. By the evidence of their language they are closely connected with the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo races.

The men we met would stop their chaunt for a moment to answer a question, but would begin again at once afterwards. We were evidently getting near a country under Tibetan influence. What Chinaman would think of reciting prayers as he went along the road?

563 The Mo-sos were not the only new race I was to see on this march, for soon afterwards we met some Hsi-fans,
•[263] carrying loads of a sort of spice called *hua-chiao*, which they grow extensively about here. Just after they had
201 passed us, the last of them, an elderly man, gave vent to his feelings in a loud noise in a high tone of voice, more like a shriek of forced laughter than anything else. I thought at first he was amused at something, possibly at my personal appearance. The Chinese guide said it was their way of singing—a somewhat vague explanation. It was a noise I often heard afterwards among Tibetans, and is simply a means of calling to each other when distance makes a loud yell necessary to attract attention. It sounds a most extraordinary noise at first, but one soon gets accustomed to
000 it in Tibet. One of my Gurkha sepoys told me the people

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

As usual, we soon became the best of friends with the 272
people whose house we had so unceremoniously broken into. We were given a large room and regaled with buttered tea which we found excellent after our cold march. The combination of the hot tea and the caloric-producing butter is just the thing for a cold climate. After all there is nothing more incongruous in putting butter in tea than there is in putting milk in it.

The house was a very large one and the only obstacle 263.
to our comfort was the horrible smell of an enormous cauldron of the coarsest kind of turnip which the people of the house were cooking as a delicacy for their dinner.

Our next march lay along a pleasant grassy valley 136
full of flocks of sheep. Passing K'on tzŭ-k'a[1] we crossed a little pass from which the Yangtze was visible, and descended a narrow valley to Te-ga-ting. The weather was bright and fine again and we saw a good deal of game, including some Stone's Pheasants (*Phasianus elegans*), and two woodcock, at one of which I made a disgraceful miss.

Continuing down the same valley the next morning we 000
reached the Yangtze and followed up the bank of that river to the Chu-pa-lung[2] ferry where we crossed to its left bank. The Yangtze is here from 100 to 150 yards wide, running with a strong current through very barren hills. The ferry-boat is a fine one and will take 15 mules across at once. The Tibetan name of the Yangtze is Dre Ch'u according to Rockhill. As pronounced locally it sounded to me like Nri Ch'ö or Ndri Ch'ö. The Mekong they call Da Ch'ö, and the Salween Chiama Ngö Ch'ö. The elevation of Chu-pa-lung is only 9000 feet, and the shade temperature rose as high as 70°.

On the 8th May we reached Ba-t'ang. The distance from Chu-pa-lung is nearly 20 miles but the road is an easy one. The Ba-t'ang plain was the biggest I had seen since leaving Chung-tien a month before. It measures 243
about two miles by one mile, and was beautifully green with crops of wheat and barley.

The town has some 200 houses, most of them of a good 361

[1] Rockhill's K'on-djin-k'a.
[2] Dru-ba-nang in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

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•263

Salt is at present imported into north-eastern Yün-nan from Tzŭ-liu-ching in Ssŭ-ch'uan.

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Finally there are many things which are almost necessaries of life in Europe that the Chinese would readily buy if increased trade gave them some surplus money with which to purchase them. The Chinaman is very willing to adopt new ideas, and to buy things that are new to him if he sees they are useful.

The late Mr G. Litton in a consular report on Yün-nan, gave the following as articles likely to have an extended market:—"Cheap clocks and watches, mirrors, enamelled ironware, cheap ribbons and laces for trimmings, pocket knives, padlocks, umbrellas, leather belts, cigarettes, jade, coral, and amber." To these I would add lamps, kerosene oil, candles, glasses, fans, musical boxes, tinned milk, sugar, biscuits, and other groceries. It should be remembered also that the introduction of railways will lead to the opening up of mines, and consequently to a considerable import of mining machinery.

Goods carried within the province. Nearly every product of Yün-nan would be carried by the railway from one place to another within the province, for there is naturally much produce taken from country districts to Yün-nan Fu and other towns. Considerable quantities of rice would be carried in this way, and there must be a large trade in such articles as tea, sugar, salt, and tobacco, which are only produced in certain localities, though they are almost necessities of life everywhere. Firewood too should be carried in large quantities from the more wooded districts to the towns and to places where fuel is scarce.

With the mines well worked there would be a great demand for carriage not only of metals but of coal and other fuel.

Passenger traffic. The prospects of passenger traffic in Yün-nan would I think be good. The Chinaman is an enterprising man who does not hesitate to travel long distances for trade purposes, or to emigrate altogether to another part of the country if he thinks he can benefit himself by doing so.

As it is, the Chinese are quite accustomed to making journeys for business or pleasure, and there will be much

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TABLE 7

SUGAR PRODUCTION IN SZECHUAN (1936)

249
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Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Nei-Chiang	625,000	24.6
Tzu-Chung	625,000	24.6
Chien-Yang	225,000	8.8
Fu-Shun	200,000	7.9
Tzu-Yang	175,000	6.9
Chu-Hsien	100,000	3.9
I-Ping	70,000	2.9
Ching-Tang	60,000	2.3
Nan-Hsi	50,000	1.9
Te-Yang	50,000	1.9
Wei-Yuan	48,900	1.9
Lung-Chang	37,500	1.4
Kuang-Han	30,000	1.1
Jen-Shou	27,225	1.0
Kuang-An	25,000	.9
Tsung-Nai	25,000	.9
Chien-Wei	24,250	.9
	15,000	.5
Mei-Shan	10,000	.3
Sui-Ning	10,000	.3
Shih-Fang	10,000	.3
Sin-Tsing	8,000	.3
Ching-Fu	7,900	.3
Lu-Hsien	7,500	.2
Chi-Hsien	7,500	.2
Yung-Hsien	6,500	.2
Chiang-An	5,000	.1
Kai-Hsien	5,000	.1
Kao-Hsien	3,000	.1
Nou-Hsi	3,000	.1
Ho-Chuan	3,000	.1
Wan-Hsien	3,000	.1
Chiang-Tsin	2,800	.1
Ping-Shan	2,500	.09
Chang-Ning	2,500	.09
Ching-Shen	2,400	.09
Wu-Sheng	2,375	.09
Lo-Chiang	1,875	.09
Peng-Shan	1,795	.06
Lei-Po	1,650	.06
Tung-Nan	1,547	.06
Ho-Chiang	1,500	.06
Mien-Chu	1,400	.05
Yo-Chi	1,250	.04
Tung-Liang	1,000	.03
Total	2,526,867	100.00

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TABLE 14

PRODUCTION OF SALT IN SZECHUAN (1936)

317
263

Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total Production
Pu-Sun-Yung-Chang.....	3,674,365	51.2
Chien-Wei.....	684,534	9.5
Lo-Shan.....	464,508	6.4
Yun-Yang.....	408,367	5.6
Nan-Pu-Nan-Chung.....	248,130	3.4
Shei-Hung-Peng-Hsi.....	218,050	3.0
San-Tai.....	211,124	2.9
Peng-Hsi.....	206,252	2.8
Lo-Chi.....	181,389	2.5
Shei-Hung.....	134,690	1.8
Sui-Ning.....	133,039	1.8
Ching-Yen.....	119,349	1.6
Mien-Yang.....	108,815	1.5
Si-Chung.....	64,814	.9
Yen-Ting.....	55,118	.7
Chien-Yang.....	55,051	.7
Feng-Chieh.....	51,313	.7
Tzu-Chung.....	43,035	.5
Kai-Hsien.....	39,775	.5
Peng-Shui.....	32,675	.4
Chung-Chiang.....	27,553	.3
Chung-Hsien.....	8,827	.1
Ta-Cho.....	3,799	.05
Total.....	7,174,572	100.00

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As usual, we soon became the best of friends with the 272
people whose house we had so unceremoniously broken into. We were given a large room and regaled with buttered tea which we found excellent after our cold march. The combination of the hot tea and the caloric-producing butter is just the thing for a cold climate. After all there is nothing more incongruous in putting butter in tea than there is in putting milk in it.

The house was a very large one and the only obstacle 263
to our comfort was the horrible smell of an enormous cauldron of the coarsest kind of turnip which the people of the house were cooking as a delicacy for their dinner.

Our next march lay along a pleasant grassy valley 136
full of flocks of sheep. Passing K'on tzŭ-k'a[1] we crossed a little pass from which the Yangtze was visible, and descended a narrow valley to Te-ga-ting. The weather was bright and fine again and we saw a good deal of game, including some Stone's Pheasants (*Phasianus elegans*), and two woodcock, at one of which I made a disgraceful miss.

Continuing down the same valley the next morning we 000
reached the Yangtze and followed up the bank of that river to the Chu-pa-lung[2] ferry where we crossed to its left bank. The Yangtze is here from 100 to 150 yards wide, running with a strong current through very barren hills. The ferry-boat is a fine one and will take 15 mules across at once. The Tibetan name of the Yangtze is Dre Ch'u according to Rockhill. As pronounced locally it sounded to me like Nri Ch'ö or Ndri Ch'ö. The Mekong they call Da Ch'ö, and the Salween Chiama Ngö Ch'ö. The elevation of Chu-pa-lung is only 9000 feet, and the shade temperature rose as high as 70°.

On the 8th May we reached Ba-t'ang. The distance from Chu-pa-lung is nearly 20 miles but the road is an easy one. The Ba-t'ang plain was the biggest I had seen since leaving Chung-tien a month before. It measures 243
about two miles by one mile, and was beautifully green with crops of wheat and barley.

The town has some 200 houses, most of them of a good 361

[1] Rockhill's K'on-djin-k'a.
[2] Dru-ba-nang in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

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TABLE 11

PRODUCTION OF TEA IN SZECHUAN (1936)

Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Ya-An	20,000	17.3
Kuan-Hsien	16,452	14.2
Ta-I	12,000	10.4
Pai-Chuan	10,800	9.3
Ho-Chiang	10,000	8.6
Yung-Ching	10,000	8.6
Kao-Hsien	6,000	5.1
Tsung-Nai	5,000	4.3
Cheng-Ko	3,000	2.5
Yung-Lien	2,500	2.1
Ping-Shan	2,000	1.7
Wan-Yuan	2,000	1.7
Tien-Chuen	1,700	1.4
An-Hsien	1,600	1.3
Chi-Chiang	1,500	1.2
Ping-Wu	1,500	1.2
Ching-Shen	1,500	1.2
Chien-Wei	1,500	1.2
Liang-Shan	1,320	1.1
O-Mei	1,050	.9
Ma-Pien	955	.8
Ta-Hsien	500	.4
Nan-Chuan	500	.4
Chia-Chiang	500	.4
Mien-Chu	300	.2
Yung-Hsien	214	.1
Hsing-Wen	200	.1
Hsuan-Han	200	.1
Tung-Liang	120	.1
Chien-Chiang	85	.07
O-Pien	80	.07
Chung-Hsien	78	.06
Han-Yuan	60	.05
Kuang-An	54	.04
Tien-Chiang	40	.03
Chang-Ning	35	.03
Nou-Hsi	30	.02
Kai-Chiang	25	.02
Ming-Shan	20	.01
Pu-Chiang	20	.01
Siu-Shan	16	.01
Tang-Ling	4	.003
Wen-Chuan	3	.002
Total	115,461	100.000

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272.

245 The Communists have ordered the increased
433 production of tea. The production target set for Yunnan in 1955 was approximately 48 per cent higher than the output in 1954, which in turn was 21 per cent above the amount produced in the preceding year.[26]

According to a radio report from Peking, the province of Yunnan has been designated as one of the major coffee growing districts in Communist China. The region abounds with wild coffee plants; the Communists propose that in the spring of 1956 millions of coffee plant seedlings be transplanted and cultivated.[27] The first harvest is expected in three years' time, and plants for processing coffee beans are to be built.[28]

241 Kweichow Province has comparatively
433 poor agricultural resources. With the exception of grain, this area does not produce a significant quantity of any important commodity. The output of tung oil and tobacco amounts to about 450,000 shih-piculs (24,750 tons) per
273 year.[29] "Mao-t'ai" wine, which resembles dry
433 gin, has reportedly gained an international reputation and has become one of the leading exports from the province of Kweichow.

26. New China News Agency, Kunming, April 6, 1955.

27. Examiner, San Francisco, Nov. 6, 1955, p. 9.

28. Ibid.

29. China Daily News, New York, August 16, 1955.

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000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called
317 Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is 180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly impregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed with water and boiled afresh over and over again till nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce 500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-
ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in
China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-
t'ung, a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called
197 Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

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244 occupies about 4,000,000 mow, or 4 per cent of the total crop land. Kaoliang, sometimes called false millet, is a staple dry crop on hilly lands. It is noted for its special capacity to be without water for a long time (longer than corn) without drying to death. The choice of these two crops by farmers for a certain area often depends on this point. Besides being used widely for [273] human consumption, as well as for livestock feed, kaoliang is used mainly (between 70 and 80 per cent of the total crop) for the manufacture of wine, the famous kaoliang wine. This last use proves to be particularly advantageous to the farmers because wine can be transported to far distant markets when the sale of bulky grains, owing to prohibitive transportation costs, is difficult.

243 e) Wheat.--The most important winter food crop is wheat (Triticum Sativum). It normally occupies about 15,000,000 mow, or 17 per cent of the total crop area, and the Basin has an annual output of 44,000,000 piculs (Fig. 35). The Basin is the fifth largest wheat producer in all China. With the exception of the Chien-chiang district (which for reasons unknown does not produce wheat), wheat is produced as a winter food crop in nearly all parts of the Basin, particularly in the districts around Chengtu Plain. The wheat prefers the more clayey soils of the Basin, and gives a particularly good yield.

The crop matures generally in 150 to 170 days. In most parts of the Basin, the field is seeded in the middle of October and the harvest takes place in the early part of May, depending upon the latitudinal position, as well as the topography of the area. Next to rice, wheat is the most important food crop of the Basin, contributing 12 per cent of the total food supply. It is eaten in the form of "mien" (noodles) or in other forms of dumplings.

249 f) Rape seed.--The Basin leads all China, both in area and in total annual production of rape (Brassica juncea; a winter crop). Normally it occupies an area of 11,000,000 mow, or about 10 per cent of the total crop area, and the annual output is 15,000,000 piculs[1] (Fig. 35). From the rape seed, oil is extracted for cooking and many other purposes. The seed cakes also furnish

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[1]Bureau of Central Agricultural Research, Agricultural Statistics (1939), p. 97.

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438 274 The tea is made up into disc-shaped cakes some eight inches in diameter and one inch thick, weighing about 12 ozs. These cakes, which are called *yüan*, are then put together in packets of seven, placed one on top of the other, and done up with strips of the outer bark of bamboo. This packet is called a *t'ung*, and it is in this form that it is usually sold.

According to my informants, seven-tenths of the tea goes to Yün-nan Fu and is from there distributed over eastern Yün-nan, Ssŭ-ch'uan, and other provinces. A good deal of the remainder is sent to Ta-li and other places in western Yün-nan, and to Tibet.

438 248 As to the cotton I did not get any details, but the trade is certainly a large one. The principal cotton growing districts are in the Chinese Shan States of Keng Hung and Möng Lem, and the British Shan State of Keng Tung. The greater part of Yün-nan is too cold to admit of this crop being cultivated, and as the whole population is clothed in cotton material, the trade in this commodity is one of the 438 largest and most necessary in the province. Much of it comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan, whence it is imported both in the raw form, in yarn, and in cloth. Much Manchester and Indian yarn and some cloth also comes into the province from the Yangtze, from Bhamo, and from Mêng-tzŭ, the treaty port near the Tong-king frontier. But there is still a considerable trade in raw cotton from Burma *viâ* Bhamo, and from the Shan States *viâ* Ssŭ-mao. How long this import of the raw material will hold its own is a matter of doubt, as the superior convenience of the foreign yarn is making it yearly more popular, but there must always be a certain demand for raw cotton to be used in the padded coats so universally worn in cold weather.

000 I do not think that a railway or even a trade route has ever been proposed between Kun-long and Ssŭ-mao, but having been over this country by two different roads, I may say that I think a railway would be impracticable and useless, and I do not expect that there will ever be even a trade route. The country lying between these two places is very wild and mountainous, contains nothing that can really be called a town, and is sparsely inhabited, principally by hill-men who, whether Chinese or of other tribes, have

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000 road to Ta-li Fu we climbed up to 8,300 feet, where on top of the range is a nice open country covered with fern and patches of tree jungle, an ideal place to find pheasants in if we had had time to go after them. There is no doubt game in this country, for while descending the forest-clad slopes on the other side, first a wild pig crossed the road, and soon afterwards two silver pheasants. We failed to get a shot at either.

On the 17th February we reached the Mekong at Hsi-ch'ang ferry. The river is here 100 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky and sandy bed which it fills. Its height is 3,250 feet, and though there is no flat ground, the river is rather less shut in by steep hills than in most places—a lucky circumstance as it is in this part of its course that the railway must run along it for some distance.

We were taken over by two large boats, each capable of holding eight mules. It is considered dangerous to swim animals across here, as the river is full of eddies and undercurrents. After crossing we climbed 2000 feet to the village of A-lo-kai. We were now in a very rough country, and our road up the Mekong valley the next day was so narrow that two of our mules had bad falls down the hill-side. A nervous mule when he sees a narrow place will often try to rush past it, and if his load catches a bit of projecting rock he is naturally thrown right off the road. It is wonderful how seldom they are hurt. I have seen a mule roll down a hillside for 200 yards or more and begin quietly grazing when he gets to the bottom. Probably their loads save them a good deal.

In this case the only damage done was the thorough soaking in a small stream of the whole of the effects of Ker's interpreter, much to that individual's indignation and to the amusement of the rest of our Chinamen. His damaged belongings included a lot of cigars which he had brought from Mandalay and which naturally could not be replaced in Yün-nan.

276 The Chinaman in his natural state smokes nothing but a pipe, which always has a stem of enormous length and a bowl which only holds enough tobacco for a few whiffs. He is therefore continually employed in relighting his pipe,

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

276 and for this purpose keeps in his house a taper constantly smouldering. To blow this taper into a flame is quite an art. It requires a short quick puff, stopping very suddenly, and the European unused to such a thing finds considerable difficulty in managing it.

000 We camped at Hsiao-ch'in, which lies near the mouth of the side valley which we wished to explore. Here at last I found P'u-mans who knew their own language, and I took down a vocabulary from them[1]. It resembles the La and Wa languages, and I have little doubt that they are connected with these tribes, especially as they here call themselves Wa-la. P'u-man is only a name given to them by Shans and Chinamen.

Leaving our camp standing at Hsiao-ch'in, we started the next morning to explore the side valley which runs down from the high range to the east. In a few miles the view of the steep hills at the top of the range convinced us that this was no good for a railway, and that the route Watts-Jones had surveyed up the Kung-lang valley was the only likely way to get up out of the Mekong.

779 Our day was not, however, without interest, as we discovered that there are a good many Panthay villages in this out-of-the-way spot. On our way back we went in and had tea with the head-man of one of these. He told us that they had lived here for 16 or 17 generations, so if that is true they may be the descendants of some of Kublai Khan's soldiers. I asked them if they had korans in Arabic, and they at once produced one. The head-man said he could read it, but did not seem very anxious to give us a specimen of his Arabic scholarship. We thought it more polite not to press him, as he would have found it rather difficult to "save his face," if it turned out that he could not read a word.

000 We slept at Hsiao-ch'in again, and in the middle of the night were waked up by loud yells. It appears that one of the mule men had heard someone moving about on the hillside, and that when he shouted to know who it was, the man ran away. No doubt he was looking about to see what he could pick up, but he had not succeeded, as

[1] See vocabularies in pocket of cover.

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TABLE 6

PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Shih-Fang	290,000	48.3
Pi-Hsien	80,079	13.3
Mien-Chu	75,000	12.5
Sin-Tu	45,578	7.6
Wen-Chiang	40,000	6.6
Tsung-Nin	15,000	2.5
Chung-Hsien	6,300	1.5
Ching-Tang	6,000	1.0
Ta-Hsien	5,473	.9
Sin-Fang	4,900	.8
Yun-Yang	4,500	.7
Tung-Nan	4,500	.7
Sui-Ning	3,500	.5
Chia-Chiang	3,500	.5
Kuan-Hsien	2,300	.3
Chi-Chiang	1,600	.2
Chu-Hsien	1,590	.2
Siu-Shan	1,360	.2
Nei-Shan	1,250	.2
Te-Yang	1,200	.2
Nou-Hsi	800	.1
Liang-Shan	750	.1
Peng-Hsi	700	.1
Cheng-Tu	426	.07
Chung-Ching	410	.06
Chiang-An	400	.06
Peng-An	400	.06
Hsin-Wen	300	.05
Yung-Lien	300	.05
Nan-Hsi	200	.03
Kao-Hsien	200	.03
Pa-Hsien	120	.02
Ching-Yen	120	.02
Kai-Chiang	120	.02
Wu-Sheng	115	.01
Chien-Wei	100	.01
Hsuan-Han	100	.01
Chien-Chiang	30	.005
Total	599,221	100.000

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744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical [278] Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ta Tsuh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

278 and (2) by Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine in the National Yunnan University, Kunming. Dr. Shen has also been kind enough to secure for the author
757 the aid of an old Chinese physician (trained in the traditional manner) in identifying certain drugs.[1] The results of this examination are given in the appendix to this paper.

Certain observations may be made on these prescriptions. First, in six out of eight prescriptions we find the item Lophanthus rugosus (Hue Hsiang) (about six to ten grams). This medicine is boiled with other ingredients and the juice thus obtained is drunk. According to both the old Chinese physician and the Codex of Chinese Drugs this medicine is good for stopping vomiting and for improving the digestive function. The latter volume further indicates that the drug is also good for stopping diarrhea abdominal pains, and cholera. The second thing to be observed is that one of the prescriptions which has been considered by one village as most effective contains one item only (Alumen usta or dehydrated potash alum) (composition, $K\ Al(SO_4)_2$ (see Part I of Appendix, Prescription No. 2).

Now, according to Manson's Tropical Diseases (edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935), one treatment of cholera is as follows:

"Kaolin, or 'bolus alba', as an intestinal astringent in large doses absorbs toxins, thus rendering them inert. It consists of Kaolin, 200 grams (7 oz.) in 400 cc (14 oz.) of water. This is a single dose, but if there is vomiting it may be repeated and sipped in small amounts at a time" (pp. 448-449) (Composition of Kaolin: $Al_2Si_2O_7 . 2H_2O$).

Dr. F. P. Shen informs the author that dehydrated potash alum (alumen usta) if used in the proper manner may serve the same absorptive purpose. He suggests however that in the local prescription the quantity of dehydrated potash alum is rather small (3.1249 gms.) and its dilution in a quantity of boiling water or soup will rather defeat its purpose.

Third, as regards the question of absorption. In the list which gives names of drugs required in two or more of the collected prescriptions we may find that at least seven drugs have to do with absorption, while seven drugs have the property of stopping vomiting or diarrhea. In another prescription which is considered most effective by the local people seven out of fourteen drugs have to do with absorption and eight have to do with stopping vomiting and diarrhea. This means that these drugs would at least be partially effective in beating down cholera. Fourth, some prescriptions are, from the point of view of modern medicine, irrelevent to the desired objective while others are detrimental to the prospect of cure. One example of the latter is the first prescription given in Part I of the Appendix. This prescription, while giving Chlorodynum (which is regarded by the modern physician as effective), also insists on the opening up of finger tips to let out blood (which Dr. Shen has been kind enough to inform the author may cause bad infection and render any further treatment of the patient by serum ineffective because of embolism.)

203 A word must be devoted to an extra advice contained in one of the posters. This is a prescription which includes Alumen Usta as one among
278 fifteen other drugs, to be ground into powder and inhaled through the nos-
757 trils as well as taken in water. At one end of the paper the advertiser gives the following:

[1] [See p 52 -- Analyst]

"Those who are not sick ought to have anti-cholera injections, so as to prevent themselves from being infected." 203 278 757

The poster is lithographed and the advertiser says that his prescription was received from an "unworldly man" (usually a fairy) in the middle of the late Ch'ing Dynasty when a serious epidemic broke out in Kuei Chow Providence. He also says that his prescription is good for "72 kinds of Sa illness as well as for Sheep-wool Sa, Wen, Spasmatic feet Sa, etc." He calls the present epidemic Sa, but in his extra advice to people not yet attacked he uses the modern term Huo Lan (translation for the term cholera). He signs himself, "An old man of later happiness".

The author has not succeeded in finding out the composition of any of the ready-made cures in powder form, given freely to applicants. The stuff is to be inhaled through the nose or taken in water by mouth. These ready-made cures and the prescriptions are very popular. In Area E the author once met six or seven old officers of the prayer meeting who had in their possession some such powdered drugs given by one of the advertisers. They told the author that they inhaled a pinch of it from time to time as a precautionary measure. 757 278

The moral type of posters is usually long. It begins by stressing the importance of good deeds. Then it points out that the God of Wen has descended upon the people on the noon of the Fifth of the Fifth Moon to scrutinize their behavior and will give blessing to those who are good and disaster to those who are evil-hearted. One poster announces that the advice given in it was written in person by Kuan Kung, the Wary God of Wealth and a historical hero of the people (meaning that the words were given by the god when the latter was ritually invited). It says that those who offer incense, read scriptures and keep to vegetarian diet on the first and the fifteenth of every Moon will be free from disasters. In another section of the same poster the author of the poster says that he who after reading what has been stated in the poster will print another ten copies and disseminate them to the public will free his family from the epidemic and he who will print and disseminate 100 copies to the public will free his district from the epidemic; but he who after seeing the poster will do nothing about disseminating it or letting other people know about it will die of vomiting blood. 203 757

The reason for the trouble and expense given to such posters and charity in drugs is not complex. It is conceivable that the dispensary which gives out a special cure freely during the crisis may earn a name for itself of advantage to its later business transactions, but in a local community where people know each other intimately such a commercial technique is rather superfluous. The real reason, as far as the author has been able to ascertain, is verbalized in an exaggerated form in the last sentences of the poster just mentioned. Such charity is a kind of good; it goes on to one's "otherworldly" record and will be one more security on one's prosperity and health. This is clearly related in psychology to a fact mentioned in connection with the prayer meetings: There it has been made clear that in combating the epidemic, goodness of the heart and in deeds is essential. To this point indeed most posters allude in a way. In one poster the advertiser addresses the public as "Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters". It is clear that the epidemic has in a way drawn the people closer to each other and revived the communal feeling.

APPENDIX

Part I

Three Prescriptions Locally Regarded As Most Effective

(1) Notice to the Public.

The present epidemic is, of course, pre-ordained in our fate. The symptoms of all patients appear, however, to be the same. These are vomiting, diarrhea, spasm, etc. These symptoms are those of cholera (Huo Luan, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The onset of the illness is a matter of a few minutes, and doctors (either Chinese or Western trained) may not arrive in time. From my personal experience, when illness comes, the best thing to do is to drink one small bottle (or half a bottle) of Bi La Sui or Sheng Ling Sui (both are forms of chlorodynum); At the same time take several tens of Mr. Ma Po-liang's Cholera Pills (Sa Ch'i Wan) (composition not known) and grind them into powder form. Put this powder on the tip of the patient's tongue and help the patient to swallow it with some boiling hot water. In this way the patient's illness will be half gone. Then you need to prick the Sa (a traditional term for cholera) and let out blood. Take first a thin hemp chord to tie each of the patient's fingers at the last joint. Use a needle to open up the flesh just above the finger nails and make them bleed. All fingers must be so opened, one by one. When blood has flowed out you will be able to tell the prognosis of the patient. If the blood is dark and thick the prognosis is bad. If the blood is fresh and thin the power of the illness is already slackening. In this way I cured my wife. I don't dare to be selfish and keep such a good cure to myself and have therefore decided to offer it to the public. I hope that this notice will receive the attention of all. It will be advisable for each family to purchase some of the aforementioned kinds of medicine (both liquid and pills) to prepare for a possible emergency. If there are poor people who cannot afford to buy such medicine they may come to my house, and I shall present them with some of the medicine. This is only an expression of a good will on my part. This notice is hereby respectfully presented to Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters, with many best wishes for their health, by,

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Signed
(The 20th of the 4th Moon,
Lunar Calendar).

(2) Dehydrated potash alum (Alumen usta), one tenth of a Chien (about 3.1249 gms.), mix in boiling soup or water and drink; will cure instantly. Must not take rice or rice-water, or ginger. If one of these prohibitions is violated the patient will be hopeless.

From the famous physician in the army (not dated)

(3) Good prescription for emergency.

For vomiting, diarrhea, convulsion and cholera, the patient ought at once to drink the juice from boiling Elsholtzia Patrini Garche (Latin) (Hsiang Hsu, Chinese). If the symptoms are augmented by fever and perspiration, add Lophanthus Rugosus (Huo Hsiang) to the boiling mixture.

(Neither signed nor dated)

PART II

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Drugs which Appear in Two or More of the Collected Local Prescriptions(20)

Lophanthus rugosus, p. 1888. Function: promote digestion, stop vomiting; effective for cholera, etc.

Alumen nata, pp. 694-696. Function: relieves fever, stops diarrhea; effective for cholera.

(Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine at the National Yunnan University, says that the drug is effective for absorption and adsorption just as Kaoline, if used in proper dosage.)

Peel of Sweet Orange, p. 1684. Function: Absorbs water, promotes perspiration, stops diarrhea and vomiting; effective for cholera.

Glycyrrhiza glabra, pp. 342-343. Function: Strengthens muscles, relieves abnormal hot or cold gas in the chest or abdomen, neutralizes poisons from all sources, etc.

Bupleurum falcatum, pp. 844-845. Function: relieves gas in the chest or abdomen, promotes digestion, relieves fever; especially effective for malaria, etc.

Atractylis ovata, Thunb., pp. 1574-1575. Function: promotes perspiration, absorbs water, helps digestion, etc. Also: with several other ingredients can be effective for cholera (p. 1579).

Alisma plantago, or Water Plantain, p. 1693. Function: absorbs water and relieves fever, stops diarrhea and vomiting, etc.

Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes), p. 1038. Function: relieves gas, promotes digestion, stops vomiting and diarrhea, etc.

Pinellia Tuberifera, p. 307 and p. 313. Function: absorbs water, stops vomit, stimulates the circulation of blood; effective for cholera, etc.

Siler divaricatum, B. et H., p. 666. Function: absorbs water; effective as a mild drug to stimulate perspiration, etc.

Cyperus longus, pp. 935-936. Function: smothens gas, relieves pains from different sources, helps digestion, etc.

Realgar, Orpiment, p. 1386. Function: absorbs water, kills worms, neutralizes all poisons, etc. etc.

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(20) The properties of these drugs are quoted from The Codex of Chinese Drugs, edited by the Society for the Study of Chinese Drugs (chief editor: C. J. Ch'en), 1935, in two volumes. The World Book Company, Shanghai. Preface by Dr. F. C. Yen (President, Shanghai Medical College) and other notable personalities in both Western and Chinese medical fields. The number following each drug refers to these two volumes.

PART III

Drugs in the Prescription which is Locally Regarded as Most Effective(21)

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Perilla Mankinensis (Beno), pp. 1209-1210. Function: dispels cold, relieves gas in the abdomen; also effective for neutralizing poisons from fish or meat.

Pinn tuber, p. 1735. Function: absorbs water, stops diarrhea and promotes urination, etc.

Pachyrhizus angulatus, pp. 1484-1485. Function: stimulates saliva and relieves thirst, promotes perspiration and relieves fever; stops vomiting, etc.

Platycodon grandiflorum A.D.C., pp. 979-980. Function: dispels cold, relieves abdominal congestion, etc.

Magnolia hypoleuca, p. 816. Function: absorbs water, promotes digestion, relieves abdominal congestion; effective for cholera and sun stroke, etc.

Cortex areacarcae (Latin) or Areca nut bark (English), p. 95. Function: stimulates the flowing of water (probably absorption of or expelling water), etc.

Pachyma Cocos (Latin or Lycoperdon English), pp. 1056. Function: expels water, stimulates urination, etc.

There are altogether fifteen drugs in this prescription. The others are: Lophanthus rugosus, Alisma plantago, Bupleurum falcatum, Atractylis ovata, Thunb., Peel of Sweet Orange, Pinellia tuberifera, Cyprus longus, Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes). All of these drugs have been examined in Part II of this Appendix.

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(21) In Part II, seven drugs have to do with stopping vomiting or diarrhea, and seven with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water. In Part III, seven drugs have to do with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water, and eight drugs with stopping vomiting or diarrhea. The rest, as far as we can see, are irrelevant for purposes of curing cholera.

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233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssū-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

•278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssū-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

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249 great variety of vegetable drugs. There are six principal producing areas in the Basin (Fig. 37): (1) the western area, including Sung-pang, Li-fang, Miao-hsien, and Wen-chuan, with Kuan-hsien as the chief collecting and distributing center; (2) the southern area, including I-ping, Ching-fu, Kao-hsien, and Yun-nien, with I-ping as the trading center; (3) the southwest area, including Lo-shan and Chien-wei, with Yaan as the trading center; (4) the northern area, including Chiang-yu, Ping-wu, and An-hsien, with Chung-pa as the trading center; (5) the districts of the Chialing River area, with Ho-chuan as the trading center; herbs from southern Shensi and Kansu also pass through Ho-chuan; and (6) the eastern area, consisting of Kai-hsien, Fu-hsi, Feng-chieh, Kai-chiang, and Liang-shan districts.

249 278 Of these six principal herb-producing areas, the western area is by far the most important. It generally accounts for one-third of the Basin's total production. The medicinal herbs are found in the hilly and more mountainous areas in the Basin, and grow under a great variety of climatic and soil conditions. But, as a rule, the herbs especially thrive well on the more rugged mountain slopes and in the cooler climates.

It is reported that as many as two hundred or more different kinds of herbs (including both cultivated and wild species) are produced in the Basin and its surrounding areas.[1] And seventy-nine of them are prominent in inter-provincial and export trade. Many have been of high value to the Chinese for ages. Recently, some of them have been used extensively even by western peoples, particularly the well-known ma-huang (ephedrine), licorice, Ta-huang (medicinal rhubarb), Huang-nien (coptis chinensis), and many others.

One of the most serious problems in herb production in the Basin is that of bringing more of the valuable wild herbs under cultivation so as to stabilize the production and bring down its costs. It is reported that many formerly valuable wild species of herbs, as a result of human disturbances and reckless exploitation, are now nearly extinct.[2]

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[1] T. H. Cheng, "The Herb as an Important Product of Szechuan," Chinese Science Monthly, XVIII, No. 1 (1932), 28-32.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

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Prior to the Republic (1912) the export of medicinal herbs, together with silk and tung-oil, formed the backbone of the export trade of the Basin. Herbs alone generally accounted for between 15 and 20 million dollars yearly. But recently, on account of the constant warfare and heavy taxation, as well as the increasing competition of western drugs, the herb trade has reached a low point; in 1936 the total value of herbs exported amounted only to some 7 million dollars. 249 278

Chungking is normally the biggest center for transhipment of herbs to outside markets. It is not only the point of convergence of the herb products of the six main producing areas, but also herbs from northern Kweichou and southern Shensi (by the Chialing and Chi waterways, respectively), are shipped via Chungking, on their way to lower Yangtse markets. Thus, for a long time, Chungking has been known as the "jackpot" of the herb trade of the Far East. The principal domestic markets for the Basin's herbs include Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kwang-tung, Honan, Hunan, and Hupeh provinces, whereas the chief foreign buyers are Japan, French Indo-China, and France.

d) Cho Tsai or pickled (fermented) vegetable.--Cho Tsai, or pickled vegetable, is another unique product of Szechuan Basin, which is the only region in China where this food is produced. Cho Tsai has long been regarded as a great delicacy and a tasty seasoning for cooking in various parts of China, particularly in the lower Yangtse Valley and the North China Plain, as well as in Japan and countries of the South Sea Islands. Large quantities of this delicacy (some two or three million dollars' worth) are exported yearly to these areas from the Basin. 244

The principal producing areas of Cho Tsai are in the east of the Basin, particularly in Pei-Ling, Feng-tu, Chang-shou, Chiang-peh, and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 37). The products from Pei-Ling and Lo-Chih (Chiang-peh) are especially famous.

This vegetable, locally known as Ching Tsai, being a species of chard, thrives well in a wide range of soil conditions. It requires good drainage. The plant is ordinarily seeded in September after the reaping of the summer crops; and the harvest takes place some time around January or February. During its growing season it requires a humid, mild climate. In many localities it forms a very satisfactory rotation crop with rice.

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289 of another paper-making industry of a different kind. This is the *ts'ao chih* or *grass paper* as the Chinese call it, though it is really made of bamboo. The bamboo used is a small variety and only the young branches and shoots can be employed. The process is much the same as that just described except that the whole bamboo branch, not its bark only, is used. The sheets are finally pressed between boards and then dried in the sun. This *ts'ao chih* is a coarse brown paper only used for wrapping things in.

285 Still keeping down the Shweli we reached Ch'ü-ch'ih where we found yet another sort of manufacture going on. This is the making of a kind of mat which is famous in this part of China for its softness. They are made of a sort of thin reed. The process is carried out by two persons with a framework of strings stretched vertically. One man catches each piece of reed with a cleft stick and pushes it horizontally through all the strings, alternately under and over. As each reed is put in, the other man presses it down with a piece of wood which runs down the strings, so as to get it tight down on the reed below it.

000 From Ch'ü-ch'ih we went on still in a southerly direction over the range which separates the Shweli from the T'êng-yüeh plain. We had while in T'êng-yüeh noticed a low gap in the N.E. corner of the plain and I was anxious to examine it, as, if a railway was ever made to T'êng-yüeh, this gap would seem to be the best means of extending it further.

I found it fairly practicable, and a line could no doubt be made over it, but I do not think there would be any prospect whatever of a further easterly extension. I look on this part of the range between the Shweli and the Salween as an absolute bar to a railway. There would remain the chance of an extension down the Shweli valley to Nam-kham, but it would be by no means all plain sailing, as the numerous small tributaries of this river, with steep little spurs between them, not to mention occasional gorges, would entail much work in bridging and levelling.

From the T'êng-yüeh plain we turned back northwards and crossing to the left bank of the Shweli returned to Kai-t'ou by a slightly different road from that by which we had come. On our way down I had been obliged to leave

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000 one shot from my ·303. A lucky shot and the game was very welcome as a relief to perpetual chicken. The breast of this bird cooked like a beefsteak is excellent.

Three more days of hilly going brought us to Lung-ling. The Shweli is crossed by raft at Man-lo ferry, some eight miles short of the town. The Shweli valley here and the hills round it are principally inhabited by Chinamen, but there are a few scattered Shan villages and even some Las. The country was formerly Shan, and many of the villages retain their original Shan names.

At the river I met several officials on their way to settle the position of a new iron chain suspension bridge which they proposed building near here. One of these mandarins had been out with the Boundary Commission last year, and had learnt the accomplishment of shaking hands, a feat which he performed with right or left hand indifferently. He appeared overjoyed to see me, rather to my surprise, as I could not recollect ever having met him before. But it turned out after a little conversation that he had taken me for Jamieson. I do not think there is any resemblance between us, but I suppose all Europeans look much the same to Chinese eyes.

361 Lung-ling stands at a height of 5,200 feet and appears to contain about 800 houses, but the plain it stands in does not measure more than a square mile in extent. It is a poor place compared to T'êng-yüeh, and derives most of its prosperity from trade with Mang-shih (Möng Hkwan), Nam-hkam and other Shan states.

000 From here I purposed striking east by as direct a route as possible to Yün Chou. Mr H. L. Scott, of the Yün-nan Company, had the previous year taken what is considered the main road between these two places, *viâ* La-mêng ferry and Shih-tien; but this makes a considerable circuit to the north. I had heard of another ferry called P'an-chih-hua crossing the Salween lower down, and I determined to make for this place.

287 An easy march on the 2nd December took us to Mêng-
285 mao, a small Chinese plain of four or five villages, where they make a little coarse paper and weave mats out of rushes. This place must not be confused with the big
000 Méng-mao on the Shweli, the Möng Mow of the Shans.

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313 as in the case of Kuang Ying bamboo, to giant tree of well over
137 80 feet in height and with a diameter over 12 inches, as in the case of Nan Chu and Tze Chu bamboos. They often grow in thickets, groves or clumps and usually have a golden, yellow or dark green foliage and with broad sheaths. There are numerous slender stems developed around the large clumps and the principal stems. The stems are hollow inside, have many joints, and often have thick wood which furnishes the most useful part of the plant.

Bamboo has a fairly wide range of habitat and grows well under different kinds of physical conditions.[1] The principal habitats of the bamboo are in alluvial areas near streams, around farmsteads, and not infrequently on sandy soils at the hill slopes.

[262 285] The usefulness of the bamboo is indeed limitless. First of all, the tender bamboo shoots are used as a vegetable, and serve as one of the most famous Chinese delicacies. The smaller stems are used for paper-making, textile-weaving, making of boxes, baskets, chopsticks, and light house utensils and furniture, whereas the large stems are used for the construction of irrigation wheels, salt brine and gas tubes, boats, bridges, carpentry, and numerous other industrial purposes. All in all, it was once reported that the bamboos are used in more than six hundred different ways in the Basin.[2] Thus the bamboo, to be sure, plays a very important role in the economy of the Basin. Above all, the bamboo, on account of its growths of matted fibrous roots, is proved most effective in holding soil and preventing soil erosion in many hilly areas of the Basin.

There are few large bamboo plantations in the Basin. Most farmers have small patches of bamboo thickets or groves around their farmsteads. The bamboo products are used principally for the farmer's own needs and any surplus left is sold to handicraft manufacturers of the nearby areas.

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[1]Generally speaking, bamboos cannot stand up very well under drought conditions. North of Kuang Yuan, for instance, on account of the lack of sufficient moisture, and possibly also because of lower temperature during the winter, no bamboo is grown (Fig. 8). Also, generally, very little bamboo growths are found around high altitudes of probably over 5,000 feet above sea level in the Basin.

[2]T. F. Hou, "The Conditions of Salt Fields at Tze-liu-ching and Kung Ching, Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, VIII, No. 6 (1937), 59.

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Sheep and goats are found in places all over the province, and in some districts in very large herds. The wool is sometimes made into felt rugs, but the Chinese do not know how to weave it into clothes. There is no reason why wool should not become an article of trade if better communications should make it saleable. Sheep are not sufficiently widely distributed to make mutton a common article of food anywhere. 231 [287]

Pork is the staple meat of Yün-nan, as of the rest of China, and pigs are kept everywhere both in towns and villages. It is a very poor man who cannot afford to mix some pork with his meal of rice. These two articles, with beans and cabbage, form the principal food of the Yünnanese. 262 231

As to the amount of livestock in the province I will not attempt to make any estimate. But as mules and ponies form nearly the only means of transport, buffaloes and cattle the only means of ploughing, and pigs the universal food of all classes, the numbers must be considerable. Moreover I do not think that the animals kept amount only to what is absolutely necessary for their owner. Many villagers own large flocks and herds, and the Yünnanese peasant is usually well off as far as possessions go, though he is not rich in money. The poverty of the poorer classes of the over-populated province of Ssŭ-ch'uan is almost unknown in Yün-nan. 231

We now come to mineral products. It is safe to say that there is no district in the province that does not contain mines, and with better communications Yün-nan might become one of the principal metal-producing countries of the world. 135

The most important mineral is *copper*, not only because copper mines are very numerous throughout the province, but because the *ch'ien* or cash, the only coin originally used by the Chinese, is made chiefly of this metal. The mines of Yün-nan supply a very large proportion of the copper used for coining, and as the value of the cash is about 400 to a shilling, and it is used throughout China, the demand for copper for this purpose alone is a very large one. 135 316

In the districts of Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu are the mines which are at present most productive, but

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course. This river I should mention is one of the sources of the West River of Canton. 000

Lu-liang Chou is one of the poorest towns I have seen, and is rather unlike the ordinary Chinese city, for, though it has a wall, the houses are much scattered about and the place is full of trees. There are scarcely any shops, and the people depend for their buying and selling on a market which is held every five days. 361

In spite of its poverty the town has a considerable reputation for scholarship, and many of its inhabitants are able to display over their doors the tablet which shows that they have taken a literary degree. We slept in a temple which an enterprising man had turned into an inn, and we were glad to find a watertight roof over us, for a very heavy thunderstorm burst in the evening.

From Lu-liang two level marches up the plain, through which the Ch'ü-ching River runs, brought us to Yüeh-chou. This is the place from which Momien derives its Chinese name of T'êng-Yüeh[1]. It still has walls round it, but is not now an official city, and much of the space inside it is taken up by fields, the main street of 200 houses being all that remains of the former town.

The next day, the 10th April, we reached Ch'ü-ching Fu, where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Allen of the China Inland Mission. The town, which stands at a height of 6,450 feet, contains about 1000 houses, and lies in one of the finest plains in Yün-nan. The plain is continuous from beyond Chan-yi Chou, a town lying north of Ch'ü-ching, down to below Lu-liang Chou, a total length of 50 miles, with an average width of five miles. The upper half of this plain, down to below Yüeh-chou, is very fertile, but nearer Lu-liang there are not so many irrigated fields and the crops are poor. I saw oats growing in one place near Ch'ü-ching, a crop I had not previously noticed in Yün-nan. I think it is only cultivated in the north-eastern part of the province. 241

Ch'ü-ching lies a little off the main road, and is not therefore a great trading place. Its principal industry is the weaving of cotton cloth from Indian yarn, which is im- 288 438

[1] See p. 45.

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288 ported from Hong-kong either through Tong-king or up
438 the West River to Pai-sê.

We had not seen much signs of trade on the road from Yün-nan Fu here, and indeed it was hardly to be expected, as we had not been on what is considered a main road. Coming from the east we had met perhaps 200 or 300 coolies carrying earthenware cups and jars to the capital, from a place called Mao-mao-shih not far from Yüeh-chou.

438 The caravans going the other way were confined chiefly
317 to mules loaded with salt. Yün-nan Fu is a great distributing centre of salt and tea. The former article comes from wells which lie north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu.

136 I had a little shooting in this Ch'ü-ching River plain. Near Lu-liang there were Brahminy ducks (Ruddy Sheldrake) feeding in the opium fields, and I found them quite easy to get up to. Baber also mentions that these birds are easy to approach in poppy fields. He suggests that they feed on the opium and get stupefied by it. This seems probable, as he is generally a very wary sort of duck. I also shot mallard, teal, and snipe in this plain, and near Ch'ü-ching got two widgeon out of a flock of a hundred or more on a small lake. This is the only time I have seen this duck in China.

000 Watts-Jones, who had, as I mentioned before, come by the main road through Ma-lung Chou, had passed through Ch'ü-ching on the 6th, so I was now following him on to Hsüan-wei.

Leaving Ch'ü-ching on the 11th we passed Chan-yi Chou, where our route rejoined the main road and the telegraph line. From here another very important road branches off eastward through P'ing-yi Hsien to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province. From Kuei-yang Fu one road turns northwards to Ch'ung-k'ing, and another continues eastward through Hu-nan, till it strikes the Yangtze at the T'ung-t'ing Lake.

We went on a little further and slept at Chiu-lung-shan in a temple on a little island between two branches of the Ch'ü-ching River. Here my interpreter discovered an official notice posted up, referring to Captain Pottinger's party having been obstructed in two places, and warning everyone against interference with him, as he was survey-

328 the cup near the top. The zinc is sold at about 1½*d.* for 1 lb., and is most of it sent to Yün-nan Fu to be mixed with copper to make cash.

After crossing the river we had a very steep climb of more than 3000 feet, reaching the top of the range at 8,600 feet and descending slightly to Kung-shan, a large mining village. The mine manager was a travelled man who had visited Shanghai, and I found him very civil.

316 Lead and zinc are the two chief minerals, and the lead ore also produces a small quantity of silver. I was told that the output of lead averages 400 lbs. in a day. The zinc is got out of very deep shafts, extending they say several *li*[1] into the hill-side. I did not test the exact accuracy of this statement, but I went a little way down one shaft and it certainly seemed to be a deep one. They are not sunk straight down but are sloped so that a man can walk down them, though the passage is so low that he has to keep in a bent position most of the way.

On the 1st May our road led us down a narrow valley to the Chê-hai plain, which is about seven miles long and contains a small lake and several villages. The next day after crossing a low range we reached Tung-ch'uan Fu where I was kindly put up by Mr and Mrs Grist and Dr Hicks, 288 the missionaries there. The official then at Tung-ch'uan was a very enterprising man who had established a manufactory of cotton cloth. The yarn is from Bombay, imported by Shanghai and the Yangtze. There was no European machinery: they used the ordinary Chinese looms.

361 The town walls of Tung-ch'uan do not enclose much space, but there are a good many people living outside the gates, and the whole town and suburbs must contain about 1000 houses. The population appear to be very friendly to foreigners.

241 The plain is some six miles long by three miles wide. It grows rice well, but the winter crops do not seem to 000 flourish, and the soil does not suit opium. Like Wei-ning

[1] The *li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Theoretically it is about 600 yds. but practically it varies in different parts of the country. In the hilly parts of Yün-nan it runs about five to the mile. Ten li may be usually taken as an hour's march, so that used in this way as a unit of time it is a very useful measure.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

316 439 doubtless with mining operations developed by a railway there would be large exports to other provinces of China. At present there is an export trade of copper, zinc, and lead from Yün-nan to the Yangtze.

439 288 291 *Imports.* To come now to *imports.* Of these cotton is by far the most important. The whole population of Yün-nan is clothed in cotton clothes, and yet practically no cotton is grown in the province. The whole clothing of this part of China has therefore to be imported. It is brought in as raw cotton, as cotton yarn, and as cotton cloth; but the greater part of it comes as yarn and is woven into cloth in the province. Raw cotton will however always be a necessity, as in winter the Chinese wear wadded coats for warmth. The imported cotton cloth is usually too dear for the poorer classes, but is worn a great deal by those better off.

At present the chief weaving centre is at Hsin-hsing Chou (lat. 24° 20′, long. 102° 35′), and this has become firmly established owing to the treaty port at Mêng-tzŭ (Meng-tsz') having been opened before T'êng-yüeh (Momien). Weaving is, however, carried on at other places as well, and factories would spring up wherever a railway brought cotton yarn in cheaply.

In Ssŭ-ch'uan there is also a large population—estimated as at least 45,000,000—who are also almost entirely dependent for their cotton on outside sources. But with the probability of this province being connected by rail with Hankow in the near future, it is doubtful whether much of this traffic would be secured by the Yün-nan railway.

Woollen clothes are at present almost unknown at Yün-nan. It is doubtful perhaps if fashion would ever allow woollen coats to be worn in public instead of the universal wadded cotton garments. But this would probably not apply to sleeping in woollen blankets and wearing woollen underclothes.

000 *Leather* is an article that is not well made in China, and imported leather should find a sale. *Firewood* is scarce and dear in most parts of Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. In Burma there is an almost inexhaustible supply at a quarter the price. This may become an important article of trade, and *timber* should also be an import.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

316 Basin produces annually about 4,000,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of iron, and 100,000 ounces of placer gold.[1]

The production of brine-salt is the most important mining
317 activity of the Basin. Brine salt is almost synonymous with Szechuan Basin in China. The Basin is the only region in all China to produce this commodity. Normally, the annual output of pure salt in the Basin is about 8,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133 lbs.), with a total value between 30 to 35 million dollars (Yuan).

The salt-brine belt consists of a tract somewhat rectangular in shape, extending from the northern limit of the Basin adjoining Shensi to the Yangtse River at Lu-hsien on the east and to the Min River at Chien-wei on the west. Generally speaking, this belt lies north of the Yangtse and west of the Chialing River. But scattered brine fields are also found as far as the Feng-chieh districts, almost at the eastern-most edge of the Basin. The most important producing areas of brine-salt are, however, confined to the south central part of the Basin, particularly in the area between the lower Min and To rivers. Among all the producing areas, the Tze-Kung is the most noted (Fig. 20).

288 The Basin's manufacturing development has been greatly
289 benefited by the presence of numerous agricultural and forestry
323 products, such as silk, cotton, hemp, sugar cane, tung tree, wood pulp, and others. Long before the introduction of modern manufacturing, handicrafts of various kinds, relying principally upon the local raw materials, have been established in the Basin. At present, the most important manufacturing activities include cotton-weaving, silk-weaving, hemp-weaving, paper-making, glass-making, and tung-oil-refining.[2] The principal manufacturing centers of the Basin are located in the Tzeliuching, Chungking, and Lo-shan areas, where water transportation is most convenient.

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[1] Swen, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] W. H. Wong, "The Prospect and Economic Reconstruction of Szechuan," South West China Review, II, No. 3 (1940), 4.

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

copper are found in many places in the hills round the Ming-kuang valley, but the miners say it is very uncertain work. They sometimes are lucky and make a lot of money. At other times they do not get enough to pay for the license which they have to get from the Government. 328

From Ming-kuang, still keeping eastward, we crossed another range by an extremely bad road and reached the Shweli (Lung Chiang) valley. We crossed that river by a type of wooden bridge which is fairly common in Yün-nan. On each bank is a stone pier from which wooden props stick out at an upward angle of about 30°, supported partly by posts from below, and partly by two iron chains from above. A wooden roadway resting on these props stretches out some way across the river from each bank, and the middle part of the bridge is made of five whole trees laid across from the props on one side to the props on the other side.

The river is here some forty yards wide and may be considered as the main branch of the Shweli, though the Mo-lo Ho on which Hsiao-hsin-kai lies is not very much smaller. The Shweli valley in all this part of its course has only a very narrow strip of flat rice fields, but the slope to the hills on the east is very gradual for a breadth of two or three miles, and here there are many villages and a great deal of bean cultivation.

We slept at the large village of Kai-t'ou, the centre of a paper-making district. The paper is of the sort called *pai chih, white paper*, or sometimes *p'i-chih, bark paper*, and is manufactured out of the bark of the *kou* tree, a sort of mulberry, I believe. The bark is first steeped for a day, then boiled with lime, then washed to remove any particles of lime that may adhere to it. It is then pounded with heavy pestles, and the finest pieces are picked out and mixed with water in a large tub to form the pulp. A frame made of very finely split bamboo is then dipped in the water so that a little of the pulp sticks to the top of it. The frame is turned over on to a heap of sheets of paper and the pulp off it when dried becomes the soft white paper, which the Chinese use for writing on. 289

The next day travelling southwards down the Shweli valley we came to the village of Wa-tien which is the centre

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289 of another paper-making industry of a different kind. This is the *ts'ao chih* or *grass paper* as the Chinese call it, though it is really made of bamboo. The bamboo used is a small variety and only the young branches and shoots can be employed. The process is much the same as that just described except that the whole bamboo branch, not its bark only, is used. The sheets are finally pressed between boards and then dried in the sun. This *ts'ao chih* is a coarse brown paper only used for wrapping things in.

285 Still keeping down the Shweli we reached Ch'ü-ch'ih where we found yet another sort of manufacture going on. This is the making of a kind of mat which is famous in this part of China for its softness. They are made of a sort of thin reed. The process is carried out by two persons with a framework of strings stretched vertically. One man catches each piece of reed with a cleft stick and pushes it horizontally through all the strings, alternately under and over. As each reed is put in, the other man presses it down with a piece of wood which runs down the strings, so as to get it tight down on the reed below it.

000 From Ch'ü-ch'ih we went on still in a southerly direction over the range which separates the Shweli from the T'êng-yüeh plain. We had while in T'êng-yüeh noticed a low gap in the N.E. corner of the plain and I was anxious to examine it, as, if a railway was ever made to T'êng-yüeh, this gap would seem to be the best means of extending it further.

I found it fairly practicable, and a line could no doubt be made over it, but I do not think there would be any prospect whatever of a further easterly extension. I look on this part of the range between the Shweli and the Salween as an absolute bar to a railway. There would remain the chance of an extension down the Shweli valley to Nam-kham, but it would be by no means all plain sailing, as the numerous small tributaries of this river, with steep little spurs between them, not to mention occasional gorges, would entail much work in bridging and levelling.

From the T'êng-yüeh plain we turned back northwards and crossing to the left bank of the Shweli returned to Kai-t'ou by a slightly different road from that by which we had come. On our way down I had been obliged to leave

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000 one shot from my ·303. A lucky shot and the game was very welcome as a relief to perpetual chicken. The breast of this bird cooked like a beefsteak is excellent.

Three more days of hilly going brought us to Lung-ling. The Shweli is crossed by raft at Man-lo ferry, some eight miles short of the town. The Shweli valley here and the hills round it are principally inhabited by Chinamen, but there are a few scattered Shan villages and even some Las. The country was formerly Shan, and many of the villages retain their original Shan names.

At the river I met several officials on their way to settle the position of a new iron chain suspension bridge which they proposed building near here. One of these mandarins had been out with the Boundary Commission last year, and had learnt the accomplishment of shaking hands, a feat which he performed with right or left hand indifferently. He appeared overjoyed to see me, rather to my surprise, as I could not recollect ever having met him before. But it turned out after a little conversation that he had taken me for Jamieson. I do not think there is any resemblance between us, but I suppose all Europeans look much the same to Chinese eyes.

361 Lung-ling stands at a height of 5,200 feet and appears to contain about 800 houses, but the plain it stands in does not measure more than a square mile in extent. It is a poor place compared to T'éng-yüeh, and derives most of its prosperity from trade with Mang-shih (Möng Hkwan), Nam-hkam and other Shan states.

000 From here I purposed striking east by as direct a route as possible to Yün Chou. Mr H. L. Scott, of the Yün-nan Company, had the previous year taken what is considered the main road between these two places, *viâ* La-méng ferry and Shih-tien; but this makes a considerable circuit to the north. I had heard of another ferry called P'an-chih-hua crossing the Salween lower down, and I determined to make for this place.

• 287 An easy march on the 2nd December took us to Méng-
285 mao, a small Chinese plain of four or five villages, where they make a little coarse paper and weave mats out of rushes. This place must not be confused with the big
000 Méng-mao on the Shweli, the Möng Mow of the Shans.

316 Basin produces annually about 4,000,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of iron, and 100,000 ounces of placer gold.[1]

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317 activity of the Basin. Brine salt is almost synonymous with Szechuan Basin in China. The Basin is the only region in all China to produce this commodity. Normally, the annual output of pure salt in the Basin is about 8,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133 lbs.), with a total value between 30 to 35 million dollars (Yuan).

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[1] Swen, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] W. H. Wong, "The Prospect and Economic Reconstruction of Szechuan," South West China Review, II, No. 3 (1940), 4.

241 near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal, if the family is fortunate enough to have one, and as fuel for cooking, and, 291 rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of 342 cloth shoes. Wood for all purposes, is more abundant in Yunnan and Szechwan than elsewhere in China, but farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the rice region, of bamboo lathe and mud plaster. Floors are of earth, and only the dwellings of the wealthiest farmers have 735 glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and over-population became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of over-population China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional

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PLATE 9. — YEH-YEH, ANCESTOR OF THE MU FAMILY

葉葉一祖

Yeh-yeh is considered the first ancestor according to the Second Genealogical Chronicle. He arrived in Li-chiang during the reign of Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101–1125).

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[964] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

137 133 487

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

[291]

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5). In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和鋪.

173 Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音堂 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里塘 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the temple was first built, but the dates of its restoration or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇基明. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 荆州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[See p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 瀘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the 197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled 193 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division 101 of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan].
[302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 鵝昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 蝎, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 23′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 瀘 is read *lü* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river P'i Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 瀘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chiu-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 駱馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-cheng fu 銀生府.

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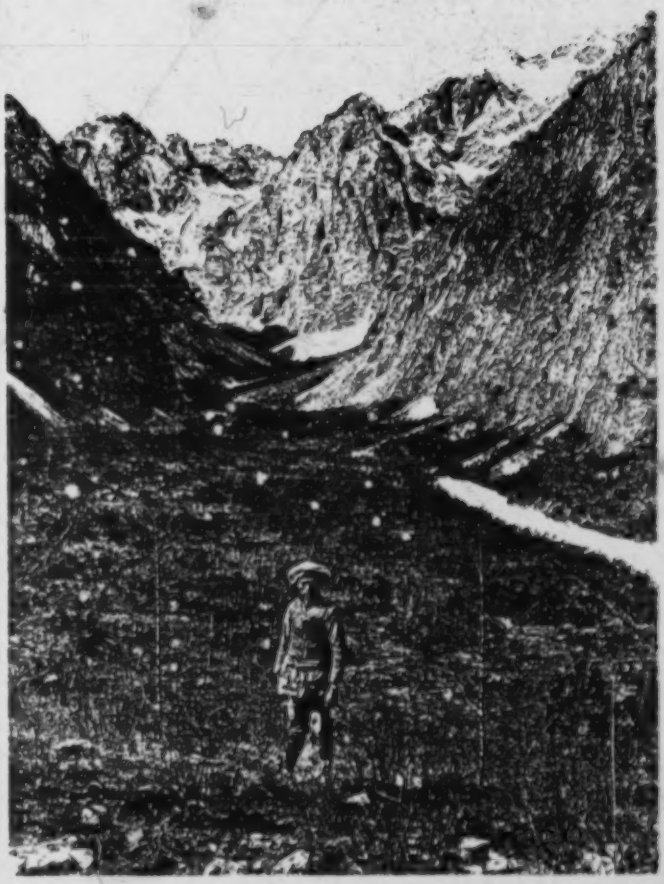

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 70. — THE GORGE SA-BA LO-GKV

薩巴羅古峽谷

The gorge which has no outlet was once glacier-filled; it is now waterless except in its upper part. Forest of spruce and Rhododendron which give way to firs higher up all the gorge. The glacier in the upper right descends from the highest peak, Shan-tza-tou, its snout is now at the extreme head of the gorge. Photographed from La-so-gko-dshwua elevation 12,300 feet, and 300 feet above the floor of the gorge. The leafless trees in the foreground are larches (*Larix Potaninii*).

[p.140 F]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 75. — A NA-KHI FARMER FROM THE VILLAGE OF NU-LU-K'O

納西村婦曲石人

He wears a felt hat and sheepskin jacket. The men play nursemaid, while the women perform most of the work, except ploughing.

[p. 140 K]

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 76. — NA-KHI WOMEN OF THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

納西村婦女服飾

The first two (from left) are unmarried, the third is married. Girls usually wear Chinese caps on festive occasions, otherwise a simple cloth is worn on the head with the hair (braids) wound outside. Married women wear their hair in a knob on the top of the head around which a cloth is wound to keep it in place, another cloth is then placed over it as in the picture.

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[p. 140]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 98. — NA-KHI PEASANTS OF MAO-YI-WOA

納西族農民

Na-khi farmers from the Yangtze loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

[p 172 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 97.—A NA-KHI WOMAN FROM MBA-YI-WÛA

She still wears the ancient Na-khi pleated skirt of homespun with blue border. Note the huge earrings.

[p.172 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China RFN
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 101. — NA-KHI (ZHÊR-KHIN) FERRYMEN AT FENG-K'O

納西族馮家渡

Na-khi who live in the hot river valleys of the Li-chiang — Yung-ning districts are known as Zhêr-khin. They are all excellent swimmers. See Plate 238.

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PLATE 134.—HO-KEU FROM THE VILLAGE OF BUSO-WOA.

A NAPPA.

It is the first village in Mdzi-dzhr (coming from Ha-ba) situated at an elevation of 7,800 feet. The people were pitiably public and knelt on our approach.

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669 gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

*487 The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wùa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu 鳴音村), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill
*133 at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat,
*137 oats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are
[24] grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are
[29] still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large
[30] key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wùa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wùa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yünnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yünnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

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[291] The women of these villages dress like their sisters

*133 in Yung-ning; they wear pleated skirts and immense dark blue, cotton cloth
*137 turbans. Beyond the last village the valley walls are steep and forested with
*487 pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Across the spur west of Gv-ho-gu gorge is a pass known to the Chinese as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關 (the Snow Mountain Gate Pass), and also by the name of T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent).[1]

On the cliffs of the T'ai-tzu Kuan north of La-bpu, a member of the Mu family engraved ten Chinese characters which, tradition relates, an Imperial heir apparent had visited. On the Chinese map it is given as being along the main trail north of Pao-shan, written 保山, which is not correct, for La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶) was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山.

Between Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko there is a deep ravine which the trail skirts; back of the latter village the trail ascends to the top of the first lateral spur which forms the western wall of Gv-ho-gu, elevation 8,000 feet. Between this spur and a much higher one to the south, is a terrific ravine called Gko-mä; its walls are vertical and it is here that the Na-khi mine saltpetre. Dense forests of oaks, pines and junipers fill the ravine (PLATE 104). The trail leading from T'ai-tzu Kuan to where it joins the old trail through the Lv-ts'o lo gorge, follows the lower one but high above it and the villages mentioned.

Opposite Lv-ts'o lo in the ravine of Ba-cha-dji-ki is the Hli-khin village of Mi-ndu-wùa, situated on a terrace; the second, smaller ravine to the south is called Nda-shi, after the lone village in the valley.

The region on the Yung-ning side between Law-k'a-khi-llü and Nda-shi is known as Ts'o-lo-wu. Here, half-way up the slopes of the mountain, which is crowned by the limestone crags of Wua-ha (H-M., Alo), used to be a small lake, called in Chinese Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. This pond has been drained for many years, but it is still marked very prominently, and much too large, on the Chinese military map of 1928.

5. SHANG FENG-K'O IN THE APEX OF THE LOOP

*133 Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o) is at the extremity of the Yangtze loop.
*137 It can be reached by two different trails, one which leads from Feng-k'o along
*487 the banks of the Yangtze, and the other over the mountains along the central
505 spur or backbone which fills the Yangtze loop. We will follow the latter trail from Shang Feng-k'o proper to where it strikes the lower or Feng-k'o path.

There are several ferries over the Yangtze on the eastern stretch of the loop;

[1] The Li-chiang records state that "The Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan is 260 li from Li-chiang, and the pass is north-east of the ancient Pao-shan chou. During the T'ang dynasty, it was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so. It is as of Heaven created, a dangerous precipice. The younger brother of the Emperor of the Yüan dynasty, namely Hu-pi-lieh, when on his way to attack Ta-li, coming from the T'u-fan country, fought the Mo-so at this pass; hence the pass is known to this day as T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent)." From this I am convinced that Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) crossed the Yangtze at P'u-dgyu in Yung-ning territory to the present Feng-k'o; in order to reach T'ai-tzu Kuan, or the Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, the Yangtze must be crossed at Feng-k'o. The pass was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so, the latter lived south of the pass where he attacked them; the first Mo-so settlement coming from T'u-fan country was Pao-shan, the present La-pao. As it is stated that after having crossed the Yangtze, Kublai passed through various villages which now comprise La-pao (La-bpu), he could not have crossed but at Feng-k'o and passing first through Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan entered La-pao. The *Tien-ksi* gives an older name for this pass, viz., Yüeh-mieh-ken Kuan 越嶲縣關.

[2] [Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko -- Analyst]

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PLATE 147. — MANY FLYING SQUIRRELS INHABIT THE T'AO-TZU (TUNG) CAVE

太子洞蝙蝠

Several species inhabited the recesses of the cave. The largest here figured is *Petaurista albiventer ochropais*; after dark they volplaned from the cave onto tall trees to feed on leaves.

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*489 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndabdr nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700
*133 feet in height.
*139 Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,150 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-noa-t'aŋ (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

[342] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses
[515] of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their
[291] garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together
[147] haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a
[342] giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

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rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil 487 with bushes of Cotoneaster, wild pears, and scrub-pines. 133

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in Bbēr-ddēr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wûa, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first Bbēr-ddēr Na-khi, a most painfully polite people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-cloth trousers and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. 137 576 147 391 302

From Bu-du-wûa, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wûa, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of Bbēr-p'ēr-dtēr. — From Bpu-wûa we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called Bbēr-p'ēr-dtēr and are at an elevation of 8,630 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called Bbēr-p'ēr-dahi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water. 133

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

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a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133
Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bbĕr-ddĕr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 [156] [291]

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bbĕr-ddĕr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bbĕr-ddĕr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bbĕr-ddĕr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] 778 [191]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bbĕr-ddĕr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bbĕr-ddĕr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ĕr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 162. — THE ROPE BRIDGES ACROSS THE MEKONG AT LO-NDU

There are two rope bridges at Lo-ndu, for crossing from the east to the west bank and vice versa. The rope is made of twisted bamboo (Arundinaria), and the post around which it is wound, of cypress wood. The ropes are changed about every three months, depending on the traffic.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 170. — MEKONG TIBETANS FROM THE VILLAGE OF CH'I-TTU-SHIH

麗 子 頭 吉 塞 鼻 人

Although it was quite cold the people went about half naked, and the children entirely so. Their village is at an altitude of 9,500 feet in an arid canyon east of the Mekong (November 1923).

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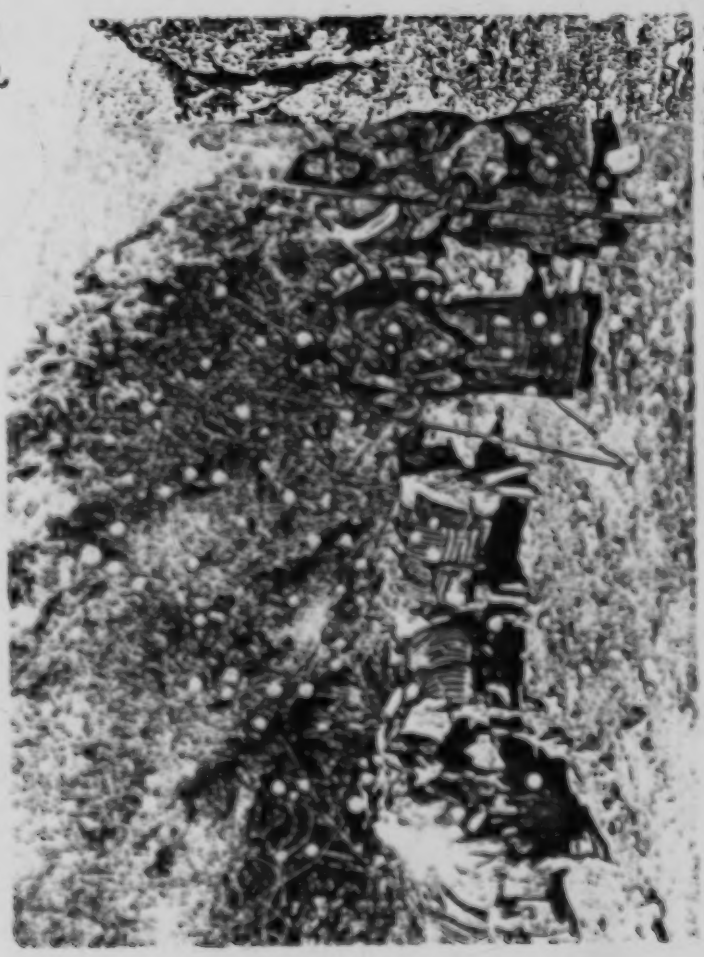

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

FIG. 176.—Tibetan Women Pilgrims

Women are especially religious, and some often perform continuous pilgrimages around the Kha-ma-ka-po Range. Trip handled with females serve as pack animals, as the Do-kar La trail is not negotiable for mules or horses.

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PLATE 183. — TIBETAN PILGRIMS FROM KHAM *on route* TO THE SACRED DO-KAR LA (*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

康古宗側山之人藏族朝聖者

Thousands of Tibetan Pilgrims from all over Eastern Tibet circumambulate the Kha-wa-kar-po Range annually. The more inclement the weather the greater the merit.

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342 The houses of Kar-ri are of mud brick, but are unlike the Tibetan houses of the Mekong valley, which have flat dirt roofs. Here the roofs are of wooden slats weighted down by rocks, as is the Na-khi custom.

*487 The Chinese map gives the village of T'o-ting between Sha-yi and Kar-ri.
*133 This village was said to have been the northern border of the Wei-hsi dis-
*937 trict, but we have not encountered such a place on the road from Pong-tse-ra to Kar-ri, neither is it marked on Davies' map.[13] South of Kar-ri the rocks are Devonian sediments which form also the hills to the south of the river.

To the east a small valley debouches into the one we have been descending; deciduous oak scrub covers the lower slopes, while the hill-sides above are clothed with *Pinus yünnanensis*. A deep valley extends diagonally across the mouth of the Kar-ri valley, the trail leading to the broad, rocky stream-bed which we cross to the south bank, where the hamlet of Tsho-khà-thang, written mTsho-kha-thang is situated[13] (PLATE 208). The women of this
[291] region dress like the Na-khi or Mo-so women of La-pao, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang, wearing much-pleated hemp cloth skirts; they are unlike Tibetan women, and belong to the Mo-so Ku-tsung tribe (PLATE 209). The houses are very quaint and it seems that their domestic animals enjoy
[342] residence in the upper story of their houses, while the family lives on the ground-floor, as the accompanying picture would indicate (PLATE 208).

5. YON-DZE-KHÀ (CHU-PA-LUNG 竹巴龍)

We now reach the Yon-dze-khà[14] which has its source on the southern slopes of Pai-mang Shan; it is spanned by a covered wooden bridge (PLATE 210). The trail follows the south bank downstream, through *Quercus semicarpifolia* forest, the stream thundering over huge boulders, a mass of foam. Up it leads again a forested spur and thence to the deep, rocky gorge of the Yon-dze-khà, weird and dismal, with fantastic peaks to the east. We continue down the gorge, mainly composed of limestone, crowned by crags and odd pinnacles, the highest of which bear Picea trees which accentuate their loftiness. To the west a brook descends from a narrow zigzag valley, at the head of which black, rocky snow-crowned peaks rear their bleak summits into the sky. A long wooden plank-bridge spans the stream and leads us to the Tibetan hamlet of Na-ri (Na-li 那里). Na-ri is situated on the east bank of the stream at the foot of a huge, grey limestone cliff with a deep ravine opening out behind the village; in the distant background a high, deep-blue, densely forested range closes the valley.

[13] HANDEL-MAZZETTI gives a village of To-tyü which may be identical with the Chinese T'o-ting, but this village is at the junction of the Yon-dze-khà and the Yangtze, and on the western bank of the latter. As the Chinese map is not at all reliable, it is very likely that T'o-ting is identical with To-tyü, which may be the Na-khi pronunciation of it.

[13] ཚོ་ཁ་ཐང

[14] The lower part of this gorge is known as Cho-pa-rong written lChog-pa-rong ལྕོག་པ་རོང (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍; also Chou-pa-lo 阿巴洛): the stream is called Chu-pa Ho 竹巴河. The divide between this latter stream and the Mekong is known as Chou-pa-lo Hsüeh-shan (Snow mountain of Chou-pa-lo).

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 253.—A YUN-SHAN THE LATE TSUNG-KUAN OF YUNG-NING

永寧宗管雲山

He was of Mongol ancestry, a descendant of one of Kublai Khan's officers left to rule Yung-ning in 1253. He holds in his arm his last-born son, declared a lama incarnation in 1931. See plate 254.

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[p. 410 F]

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 214. — THE FAMILY OF THE YUNG-NING NATIVE PREFECT

永寧土知府家眷

The center figure in Chinese dress is the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui; on his left the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan; between the two in the rear the present T'u-ssu A Min-han. To the right of the late T'u-ssu, his wife, sister of A Yün-shan. To her right the abbot of Yung-ning Lamasery A Shao-fu, second son of the late T'u-ssu.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 227. — HLI-KHIN, NA-KHI, HEI-PAN, LI-SU AND TIBETANS COME TO WATCH THE LAMA DANCES AT YUNG-NING

永寧喇嘛舞會時，西番、麼些、黑番、力西等民族聯袂觀看

A motley crowd gathers in the court of the Yung-ning Lamasery at every festival, the long skirted women belong to the Hli-khin tribe

[p. 426 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 242. — A LO-LO FROM WU-CHIO VILLAGE

*蘇角羅羅族人

Many Lo-lo villages are distributed through southern Mu-li. They behave in Mu-li territory, but often leave their villages to rob elsewhere.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 253. — WIFE OF THE LATE TSUNG-KUAN WITH HER CHILDREN

未來放棄守所當山主

The little boy in her arms is the last born and was declared the incarnation of a Dre-pung Lama. She wears a brilliant Paris-green skirt, a red sash, and a jacket of blue brocade with golden yellow sleeves. In her hair she wears cornelian, ivory and coral beads.

[p. 458-M]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S P 361 101 One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

S P 622 S P [291] Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'êng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

S P 302 622 Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S P [302] 622

and disappointed when told that there was no demand in England for hair dyes of that colour. Perhaps the lapse of time has by now given him his heart's desire.

The San-ta sawbwa was a much younger man, with a decidedly intelligent but rather shifty-looking face, much pitted with small-pox. He was extremely anxious to learn about western inventions, and was greatly struck with our tents and heliographs. He had not a very good reputation among the Shans and was said to have succeeded to the sawbwaship by putting one of his relatives out of the way. An account of his untimely end at the hands of the executioner will be found on a later page[1].

We had no escort of our own except a nominal one of a corporal and four men of the Yorkshire Regiment, whom we took more as a matter of dignity than from any anticipation of danger.

S P [291] S P [361]

Our second march took us into Möng Mow, the capital of the Chinese Shan State of that name. We were met about a mile from the town by some Chinese troops and by some of the Shan followers of the Möng Na and Möng Mow sawbwas. The Möng Na men looked very well in green sleeveless coats with a black border, and most of them were armed with breech-loaders. The town is built at the foot of the bare range of hills which bounds the Shweli valley on the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall in a very fair state of repair. The place was en fête at the time, as one of the Möng Na sawbwa's four sons was just going to be married to a daughter of the Möng Mow chief.

We halted the next day and went to pay a visit to the sawbwa. His palace was a very small tumble-down building, and the sawbwa himself a little shrivelled-up looking man, extremely nervous in the presence of the Chinese officials, and I believe almost incapable of managing his affairs through over-indulgence in opium[2].

S P 545

In the evening we went to an amateur theatrical performance, in which most of the parts were taken by members of the two sawbwas' families. The piece was in Shan, but was a translation from the Chinese, and was all sung to the monotonous tune of the Chinese theatre.

[1] See page 189.
[2] He died not long after our visit.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 ●
Pai-i AE7

The next day P'êng turned up in the morning looking rather solemn and said the head-man of the village had just reported that one of our columns from Bhamo had on the previous day burnt 28 Kachin villages, most of which he said belonged to Möng Wan. The Sang-hawng people are a pretty rough lot and had probably spoken their minds freely on the subject to P'êng, who was certainly in rather an unpleasant position with us as his guests. 000

Mr Warry promised to send a message to the column to find out what had really happened, and we started on our march. The affair had, as is usually the case in China, been enormously exaggerated. An answer from the column arrived in due course to say that a few houses of one village in our own territory had been burnt, as the inhabitants refused to acknowledge our rule by paying tribute.

We were taking things very easy, and on the 12th only did 7½ miles to the village of Kying-khan. The Möng Wan plain is some 20 miles long and averages five or six in breadth, with the Nam Wan running down the middle of it. The state is called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese and Mowun by the Burmans. There are plenty of duck, geese, snipe, and coolan here, but it is not quite such a good shooting ground as the Shweli valley which we had just left. S P 101

The inhabitants are the real Chinese Shans or Tai Che, as they are called by the Shans further south, though they themselves prefer the name of Tai Nö or Northern Shans. Both men and women dress entirely in dark blue, the men wearing round turbans and short jackets and trousers barely reaching to the knee, while the women wear a petticoat of much the same cut as the Burmese longyee with a band of the same dark blue colour wound round the waist, and turbans somewhat of the shape of a cylinder standing up a foot or more high. S P 291 ●

This is a different costume from that of the people of Nam-hkam and Möng Mow, who in dialect and customs are half way between the Southern and the Chinese Shans. The men of these two states usually wear the white turbans put on crooked and the enormously broad trousers of the Southern Shan, while the women have a dress peculiar to themselves, the turban much lower than that of the Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Pai-i AE7

Shan women, and with coloured fringes hanging down on each side, while the petticoat is often of large checks of red, white and green.

On the 13th a level road through numerous villages took us to Möng Wan, the capital of the state. We were met at the entrance to the town by the sawbwa, a boy of 10, and his two *amats* or ministers, one a Hu-nan Chinaman, the other a Möng Na Shan. All three made profound obeisances, and we went on into the town and were put up in a very good three-roomed brick house.

The place contains about 300 houses. Its narrow paved streets and closely-packed houses of soft brick make it look more like a Chinese town, but it is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. The sawbwa was at that time too young to take any part in the management of the state, and his mother, according to Shan custom, was acting as regent till he was old enough.

The next day, still marching in a northerly direction, we forded the Nam Wan, crossed the range of hills which divides the Shweli from the Taping basin at 5300 feet, descended very steeply into the Ho-hsa[1] valley, and crossed the Nam Hsa, a stream 15 yards wide, into the capital of the Ho-hsa state, a town of only 70 houses.

We were received by the sawbwa, a fine-looking old gentleman of 66, with a white moustache and quite a hooked nose. He is the same chief who is mentioned in Dr Anderson's book, *From Mandalay to Momien*, and he remembered all the names of the members of Colonel Sladen's expedition who had visited him in 1868. He said they had stayed with him a long time, and he appeared to have most pleasant recollections of their visit.

On the 15th January a march of seven miles brought us to La-hsa, the capital of the other state into which the Nam Hsa plain is divided. The sawbwa, a man of 56, wore his beard as well as his hair plaited into a pigtail.

He had lately got into trouble with the Chinese authorities. A Shan priest, a native of Möng Cheng[2], a state lying east of the Salween, arrived in La-hsa, and on

[1] Called Hu-sa by the Chinese.
[2] Chên-k'ang in Chinese.

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A crowd of sight-seers

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[Face p. 58]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST 197 and where the distinction between them lies.

If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST 101 or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

• 291 301 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Mêng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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A crowded street in Ssŭ-mao

Photos by Major G. C. Rigby

Market in Ssŭ-mao

[Face p. 96]

Plate XXII

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 From Prince Henri's account of his travels they must have reached Ssŭ-mao the day after I left it.

On the 5th April we started northward for P'u-êrh. The road, which is fairly easy, crosses a range at 6,300 feet and descends to Na-k'o-li, where we slept. A Tibetan caravan of 300 or 400 mules, all laden with tea, was on the road going the same way as ourselves. They were natives of the Wei-hsi[1] district, and told me that there would be an unusual number of Tibetans at Ssŭ-mao that tea season as there was to be a big festival in Tibet the following year, when it would be necessary to make presents of tea to the Lamas. At night they fastened all their mules up very close together and had ferocious looking dogs on long ropes tied up all round to guard against thieves.

I found these men very pleasant, and subsequent experience proved that Tibetans in China and Chinamen in Tibet always are very friendly. No doubt the feeling of being isolated in the midst of strangers knocks some of their natural bumptiousness out of them. I have heard Englishmen in Rangoon expatiate on the pleasant manners of the Chinese. Perhaps they would think less of their manners if they had seen the Chinaman in his own country. It is, however, fair to add that a great deal of the apparent bad manners of the Chinese is unintentional. It comes natural to them, and they are not in the least aware that they are bad mannered.

563 291 On this march I came across a tribe which was new to me. They call themselves Pa-hawng, and the Chinese name for them is Ma-hei. They are distinguished from other tribes as usual by the women's dress, which consists of a short black jacket with silver ornaments hanging down over it from their necks, and black trousers reaching down to the knee. They plait their hair into a pig-tail and wear no sort of head-dress. The married women have a piece of cloth round their waists which hangs down over their trousers[2]. Their language is of the Lo-lo type.

631 On the 6th April 12½ miles of a road, which would be good if it was not paved, brought us into P'u-êrh Fu, the most important official town, as Ssŭ-mao is the chief

[1] Lat. 27° 10′, long. 99° 10′.

[2] See Plate LXXII, facing p. 394.

Sc Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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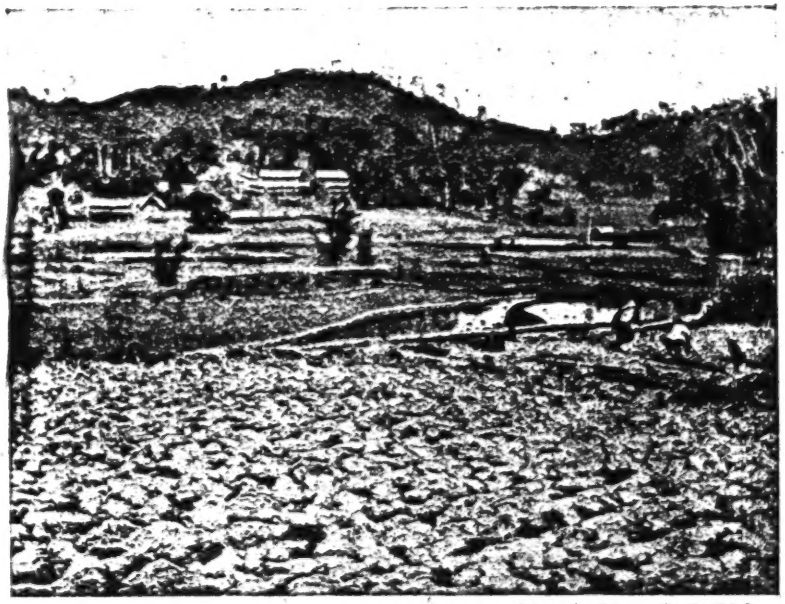

Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

Na-k'o-li

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Shans at Wei-yüan T'ing

Plate XXIV

[Face p. 100]

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The T'êng-yüeh mandarin and his children

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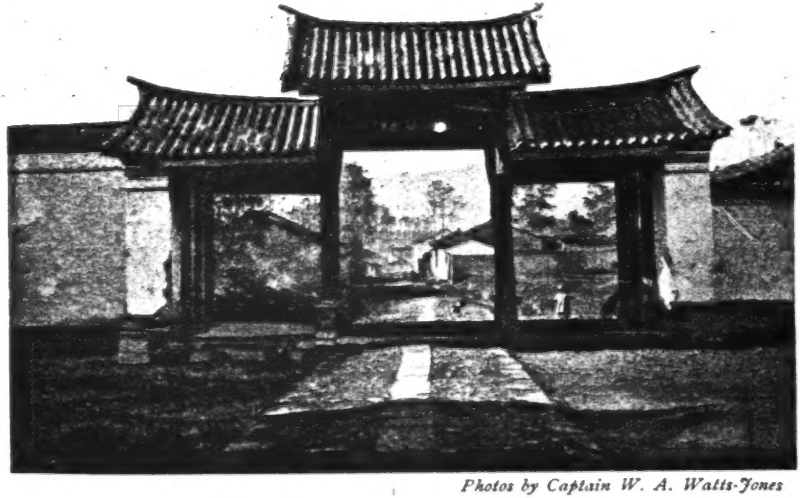

Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A quiet street in T'êng-yüeh

Plate XXVIII [Face p. 118]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation 000
of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears 361
to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better 316
shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni 563
race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to [197]
each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from 291
the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The 563
dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

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291 of about a foot, hanging down over their necks just after the fashion of the Kachin girls of the Burmese frontier.
563 The K'a-tu women are distinguished from the other two tribes by wearing trousers, and by little metal ornaments which hang down from the front of their turbans. These three tribes are known to the Chinese by the name of Wo-ni.

000 From T'a-lang the main road to the capital crosses the Red River at Yuän-chiang Chou and passes through Hsi-o and Hsin-hsing, but this route had been taken by Turner and Ker the previous year. To avoid known ground I took a road through Hsin-p'ing Hsien to Yi-mên-Hsien, passing through a piece of country quite blank on the maps.

S Our route led us in a northerly direction over the usual mountainous country, and on the second day we crossed
563 the watershed of the Black River and Red River at 7,500 feet. Our camp that night was at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village inhabited by genuine Lo-los, not Wo-nis. They say they migrated here from the Ch'u-hsiung-Fu district three generations ago. Besides Lo-los there are Wo-nis in this part of the country, and also two other tribes, K'u-tsung[1] and Lo-pi, of whom I have never heard in other districts.
S I believe them to be connected with the Wo-ni race.

132 We had been experiencing quite warm weather lately, and this hot climate seems to be a peculiarity of the Black River basin, for the morning at Ma-lu-t'ang, which lies on the Red River side of the watershed, was cold and frosty. In two more days we reached the Red River at Mo-sha. It is from 70 to 100 yards wide, flowing through bare reddish coloured hills, but just here passing through a
S plain four miles wide.

P This Mo-sha plain is at a level of only 1,650 feet, the
291 lowest I have ever been in Yün-nan, except on the very borders of Burma or Tong-king. It is inhabited by Shans, who have however no sawbwa of their own. The women have a very peculiar dress, quite different to that of any Shans I have seen elsewhere. Their blue jackets have red cuffs, and they wear a red band of cloth round the waist. Both jacket and petticoat are much ornamented round the

[1] Not to be confused with Ku-tsung, a name the Chinese of Yün-nan apply to Tibetans.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S P 291 edges with stripes of red, white, and yellow. To complete the costume a very short jacket similarly ornamented is also often worn over the other jacket.

S P 771 But the most remarkable thing about these Shans is that they are not Buddhists, but spirit worshippers. They are the only non-Buddhist Shans I have ever come across, except a few scattered families of the race whom I found in northern Yün-nan and in Tibetan Ssŭ-ch'uan. They have possibly lived so far from the influence of both Burma and Siam that Buddhism has never reached them. By Buddhism I do not of course refer to the religion of China, but to the Burmese form of Buddhism which is so universal among the Shans of Yün-nan.

S P 342 The houses at Mo-sha are built of soft mud bricks and have flat roofs made with timber, covered with earth. These flat roofs are a peculiarity of the Hsin-p'ing Hsien district, in which we had now arrived. Chinese, Lo-los, and Shans all build alike, and use their roofs to sit on, and also as a place to stack wood and straw. This style of building I do not remember to have seen anywhere else in Yün-nan. We slept at Ta-t'ien-fang, a village which lies up a little side valley, and is called Ho-nam-tok by the Shans.

S 132 The next morning, the 11th January, we had a very steep climb up to Chiu-ti-mo, the road at one time rising 1,400 feet in a mile. We were here wrapped in dense mist, which did not clear till just before sunset. The mist in the Red River valley is curious. Down in the plain the air is quite clear and dry. The bottom of the mist is at about 3000 feet in the morning, extending up to 5000 feet. It then gradually rises till its top reaches 7000 feet, and it does not disappear till late in the afternoon. Villages like Chiu-ti-mo, which are at about 5000 feet, live in almost perpetual damp and darkness, and the mist makes it very cold all day.

000 Crossing a range we reached Hsin-p'ing the next day. The place lies far from all main roads, and the populace had apparently never seen a European before[1]. They had got wind of our coming, and the whole population lined the

[1] M. Rocher I find visited this town in 1872.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Waterfall in tributary of Yangtze

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Lo-los wearing the Lo-lo cloak

Plate XLIX

[Face p. 212]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Chin-sha Chiang or Golden Sand River, but it does not seem to be known by this name to the people who live on its banks.

Following the Hui-li Chou road the next day for a few miles we reached the large village of T'ieh-chiang-ts'un. From here I turned off in a westerly direction to examine the country lying between Hui-li and the Yangtze with a view to seeing if there was any possible chance of a line for a railway. Our road took us among hills which command a magnificent view of the country all round, so that Lachman Jadu the surveyor was able to do a lot of work.

563 Ta-shih-p'êng where we slept is at an elevation of 8,800 feet. This village is inhabited by Lo-los who are an offshoot of the Independent Lo-los of the country further north, and came to their present village from the neighbourhood of Lei-po T'ing. The emigration took place a long time ago, and their dialect has somewhat changed, though they say that they and their northern fellow-tribesmen can still understand each other fairly well.

The son of the head-man was at the time of our visit away with a good many of the young men of the place, helping the Chinese in an expedition against some of the Independent Lo-los. They do not seem to have any objection to fighting against their kinsmen, but they say the latter are not really more turbulent than anyone else, but that they are led on to commit robberies and to disturb the country by outlawed Chinamen who have taken refuge among them.

•291 Both men and women at Ta-shih-p'êng were wearing the Lo-lo cloak described by Baber. It is made of grey felt, which they weave themselves out of wool. It is fastened round the neck, has no sleeves, and hangs down to the knees. It must form an excellent protection against cold, rain, or snow.

000 For two more days I marched westward, examining carefully this very intricate country, and then turned north and crossed the stream which flows down from Hui-li Chou. Where I crossed it in the Hui-li plateau it runs in a curious chasm 1000 feet deep, with very steep sides of soft shale, and with no level ground at the bottom except the bed of

5: Davie' G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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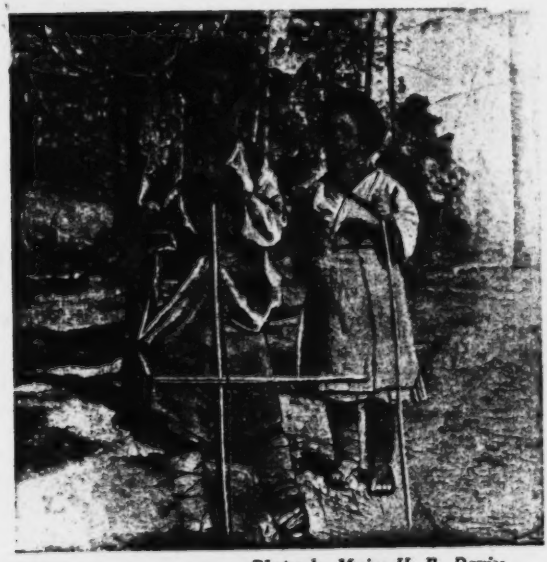
The Lo-lo chief's wife at Ma-huang-kou



Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Miaos near the Ya-lung River

Plate LII.

[Face p. 232]

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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Mi-li

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Mi-li villager

Plate LIV

[Face p. 242]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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The Mi-li lama prime minister

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

A tame yak

Plate LV

[Face p. 246]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 [792] size, and has some approach to regular streets in it. The monastery is a fine one and is said to contain 1800 lamas. The population of the place is chiefly Tibetan but there are a good many men of Chinese descent who have intermarried with the natives of the country and become Tibetanised.

631 There are three Chinese officials in the town, one civil and two military. The latter command the small garrison of 70 soldiers and are not men of any rank. The civil mandarin is called the *liang-t'ai* and is practically a commissariat officer, his duties being to collect supplies for Chinese officials passing along the road.

None of these Chinese officers have any jurisdiction except over the Chinamen living in the town. The government of the state is in the hands of a hereditary Tibetan chief who has under him a second chief, while the lamas, here as everywhere in Tibet, have considerable influence in affairs of state[1].

797 A French Catholic mission has been established here for many years, and the missionaries have passed through many vicissitudes. In 1881 Père Brieux was murdered a few miles from the town. The Tibetan authorities put the crime down to brigands, but there seems little doubt that the murder was instigated by the Ba-t'ang lamas. In 1887 there was an organised rising of the Tibetans, the mission stations at Ba-t'ang, Ya-k'a-lo, and A-tun-tzŭ were burned, and M. Brieux's grave was desecrated.

For some time the work of the missionaries was at a standstill, but after long negotiations, supported by the French Government, they obtained full compensation, and their houses were rebuilt for them. The Viceroy of Ssŭ-ch'uan can evidently exercise his authority here when he likes, though in ordinary circumstances the Tibetans are left very much to themselves.

291 We spent three days in Ba-t'ang, employing the time in buying boots for ourselves and in getting an extra transport animal or two. The boots that Tibetans habit-

[1] Owing to a rebellion which took place about 1904 things have changed considerably in Ba-t'ang. There is now a Chinese garrison there, and the monastery is said to have been destroyed.

5: Davies : G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Tibetans at Ya-ra-no

Plate LIX

[Face p.280]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

316 doubtless with mining operations developed by a railway
439 there would be large exports to other provinces of China. At present there is an export trade of copper, zinc, and lead from Yün-nan to the Yangtze.

439 *Imports.* To come now to *imports.* Of these cotton
288 is by far the most important. The whole population of Yün-
291 nan is clothed in cotton clothes, and yet practically no cotton is grown in the province. The whole clothing of this part of China has therefore to be imported. It is brought in as raw cotton, as cotton yarn, and as cotton cloth; but the greater part of it comes as yarn and is woven into cloth in the province. Raw cotton will however always be a necessity, as in winter the Chinese wear wadded coats for warmth. The imported cotton cloth is usually too dear for the poorer classes, but is worn a great deal by those better off.

At present the chief weaving centre is at Hsin-hsing Chou (lat. 24° 20′, long. 102° 35′), and this has become firmly established owing to the treaty port at Mêng-tzŭ (Meng-tsz') having been opened before T'êng-yüeh (Momien). Weaving is, however, carried on at other places as well, and factories would spring up wherever a railway brought cotton yarn in cheaply.

In Ssŭ-ch'uan there is also a large population—estimated as at least 45,000,000—who are also almost entirely dependent for their cotton on outside sources. But with the probability of this province being connected by rail with Hankow in the near future, it is doubtful whether much of this traffic would be secured by the Yün-nan railway.

Woollen clothes are at present almost unknown at Yün-nan. It is doubtful perhaps if fashion would ever allow woollen coats to be worn in public instead of the universal wadded cotton garments. But this would probably not apply to sleeping in woollen blankets and wearing woollen underclothes.

000 *Leather* is an article that is not well made in China, and imported leather should find a sale. *Firewood* is scarce and dear in most parts of Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. In Burma there is an almost inexhaustible supply at a quarter the price. This may become an important article of trade, and *timber* should also be an import.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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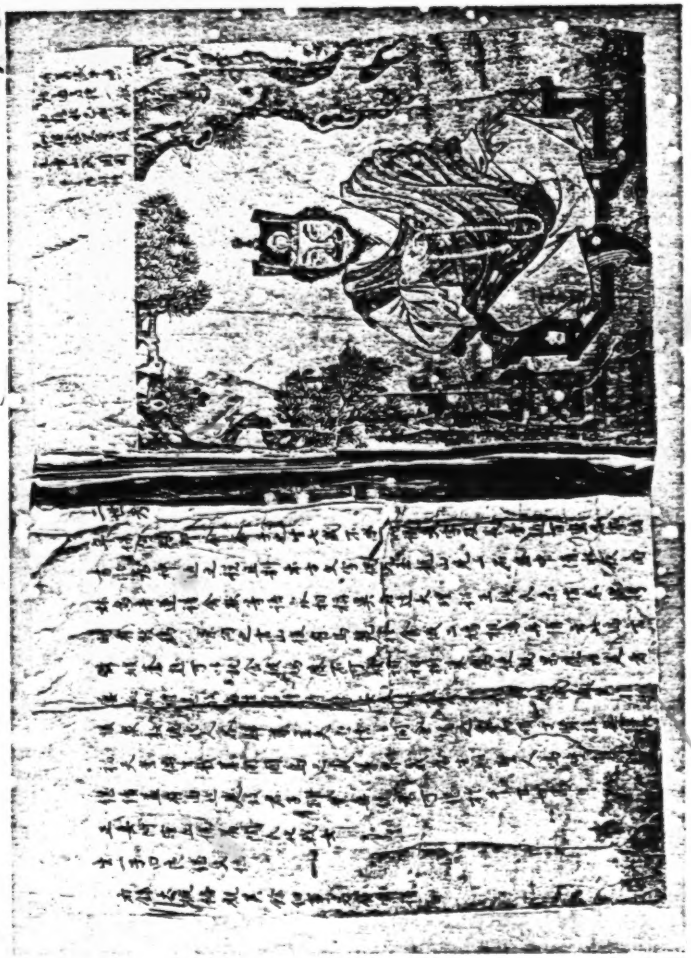

PLATE 12. — THE SECOND GENERATION. MOU-PAO A-TSUNG

牟保阿宗二代考

The Nien-pao A-tsung of the Second Chronicle

[p. 28 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1334-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

三世考

阿孜阿良宋理宗寶祐元年當吉思汗即帝元世宗忽必烈征大理良遇兵
於利已江陽春等厚遇之授特拉賊為本軍中管民官賜地名五西江鄉後遷
賜良津州生擒數賊功陞本軍中管總司事為元代之名宦子孫世襲其職所初
阿孜阿良今由土官陞到五神佛韓紙虎符金牌一面元良命遣親大
理路良遣親摩地拉乃偉命到五來能貢方物五疏懇城等馬國世祖至元中加
授銀印文非格鄧為一類為從初指揮使軍司其所屬者越州鄧川鎮南府
北勝府蒗蕖州蒙之新興州等處地方無不管軍民元代軍民官
皇帝聖旨
勅令
指令授金紫光祿大夫雲南軍司遣開府儀同三司　正妻阿寶子光祿千羅木土
指利國夫人　生三子長男阿朝慶次男

Plate 13. — The Third Generation. A tsung A-liang

阿孜阿良三世考

[P. 28 M]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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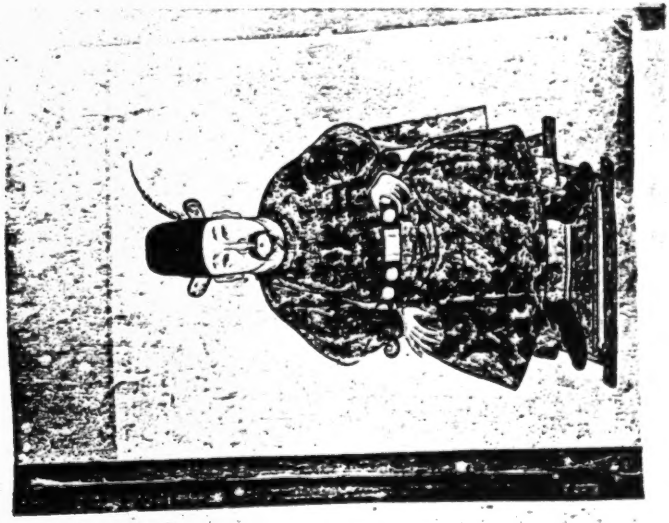

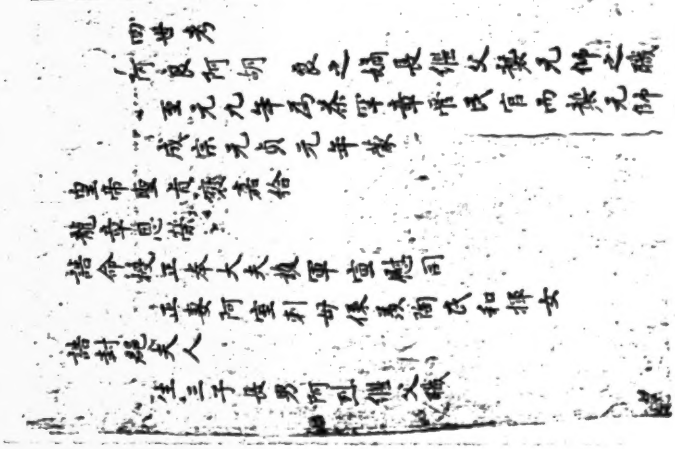

PLATE 14.—THE FOURTH GENERATION. A-LIANG A-HU

[p. 28 N]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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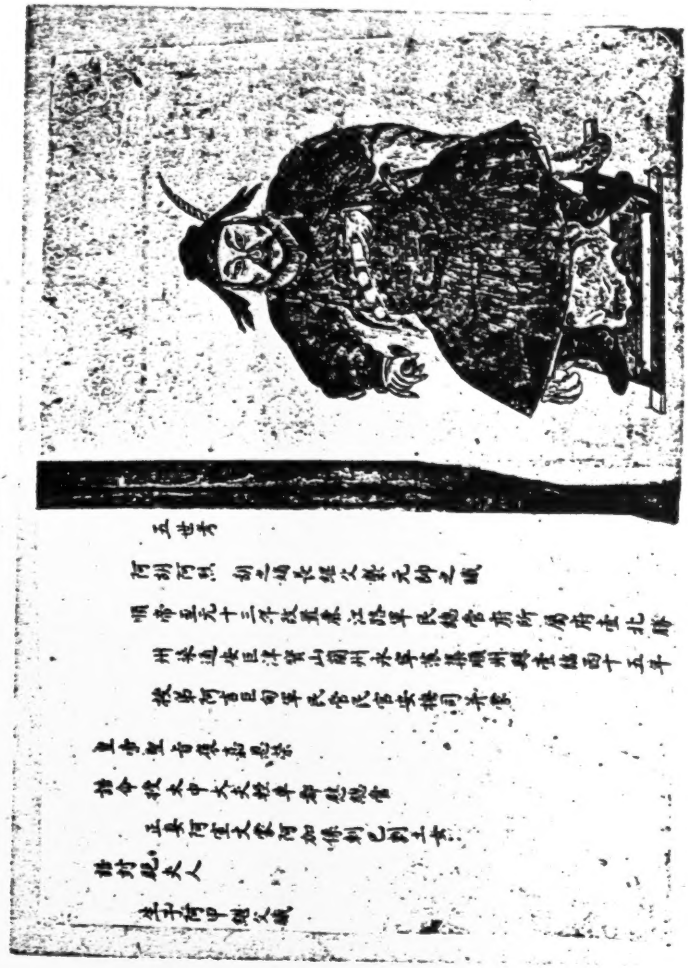

PLATE 15. — THE FIFTH GENERATION, A-HU A-LIEH

阿 阿 烈 族 世 考

[p. 28-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 16. — THE SIXTH GENERATION. A-LIEH A-CHIA

阿烈阿甲六世考

[p. 28 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 17.—THE SEVENTH GENERATION. A-CHIA A-TE (MR. TE)

阿甲阿得，本得七世孫

[p. 43 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 18. — THE EIGHTH GENERATION, MU CH'U

[p.43 B]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 19.—THE NINTH GENERATION, MU TU

木土九世考

[p. 43 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 10.—THE TENTH GENERATION. MU SHEN

木 神 十 代

[p.43 D]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 21.—THE ELEVENTH GENERATION. MU CH'IN

[p.43 E]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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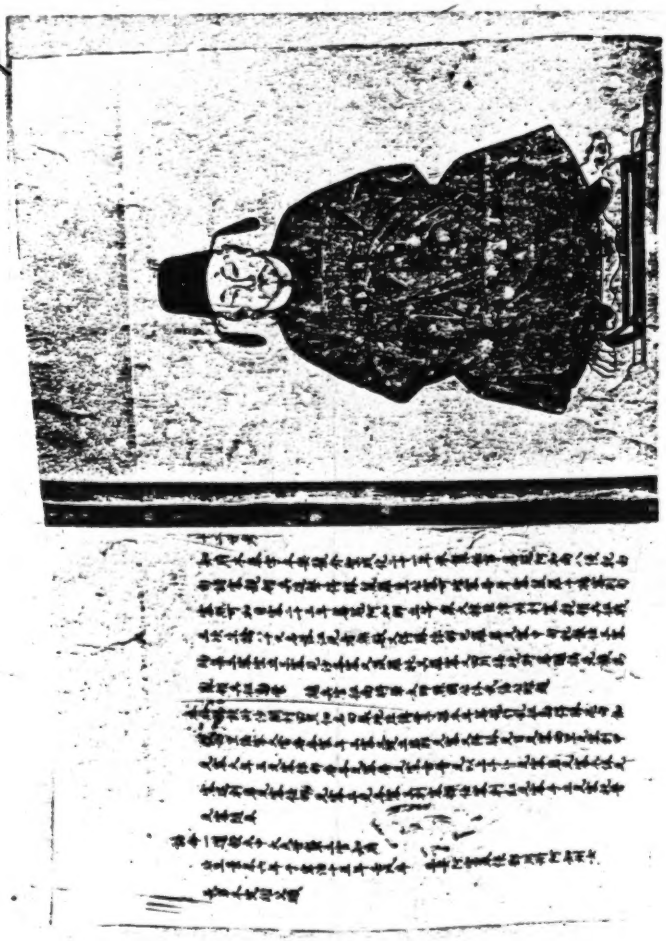

PLATE 22. — THE TWELFTH GENERATION, MU T'AI

[p. 43 F]

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PLATE 23. — THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION. MU TING

木 廷 十 三 代 考

[p. 436]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 24.—THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION. MU KUNG

木公十四世孫

[p.434]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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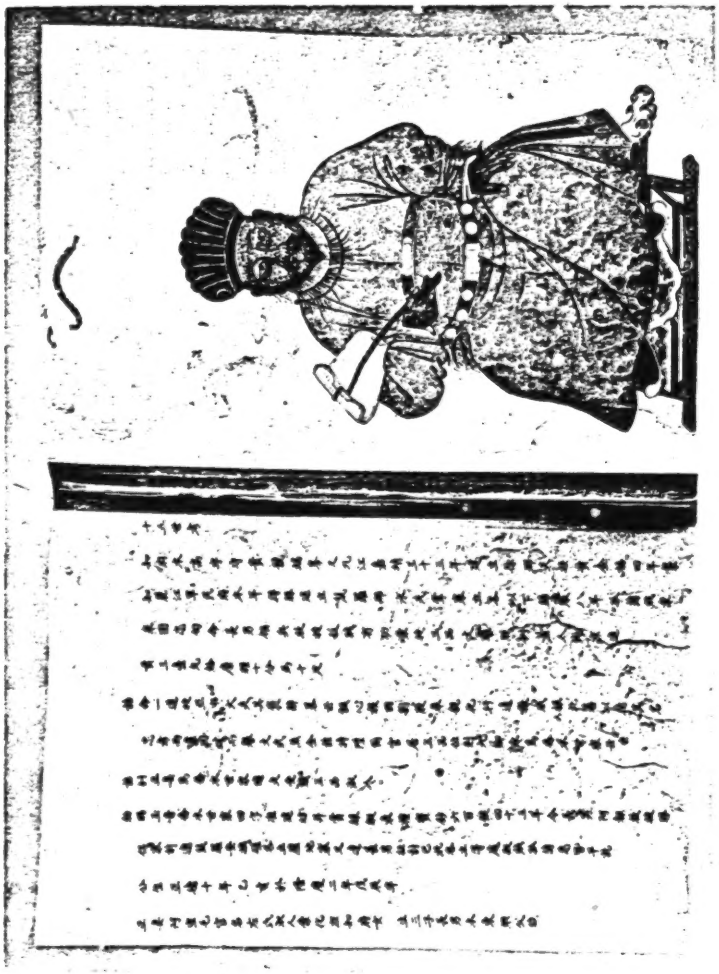

PLATE 25.—THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION. MU KAO

木高十五世孫

[p. 43 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF 16

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IG. 36.—THE SIXTEENTH GENERATION. MU TUNG

[p. 43]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 27. — THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION, MU WANG

本 朝 十 七 世 穆 王

[p. 43 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 38. — THE EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. MU CH'ING

[p.43 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sodthwest China AF16

PLATE 29. — THE NINETEENTH GENERATION. MU TSENG

木增 (木生白) 十九世考

He was also known as Mu Sheng-pai and was the most famous of the Na-khi rulers.

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292

[p. 43 M]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 30.—MEMORIAL GATE OF THE MU FAMILY, LI-CHIANG

麗江木氏牌坊

This gate or *P'ai-fang* stands in front of the former official residence of the Na-khi chiefs. The inscription *Chung I* 忠義 Loyalty and Righteousness was presented — 1620 by Ming Emperor Shen Tsung (Wan-li) to Mu Tseng. In the upper panel are the two characters *Sheng-chi* 聖旨 meaning Imperial decree. The Yamen is now used as the district's public primary school.

[P. 43 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 31. — THE TWENTIETH GENERATION, MU 1

木 輯 二 十 家 卷

[p. 43-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 32. — THE TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION OF THE SECOND CHRONICLE. MU YU

第二本民世系二十一牧羽本圖

[p.43 P]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sodthwest China AF16

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PLATE 33. — THE TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. MU YAO

第廿二世 穆堯

[P. 76 A]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 34.—THE TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION, MU HSING

木興三十三代

[p. 76 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sodthwest China AF16

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PLATE 35.—THE TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. MU CHUNG

本 鍾 二 十 四 世

[p. 76 c]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 36. — THE INSCRIPTION AT HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

玉龍山雪松村碑刻

The inscription commemorates the nationalization in 1723 of the land of the Na-khi hereditary prefect into a Chinese prefecture. The large characters were written by Yang Pi, the first magistrate appointed. The limestone cliff is back of the village of Hsüeh-sung-ts'un at Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain or Li-chiang snow range).

[p. 76 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sodthwest China AF16

PLATE 37. — THE TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. MU TE

穆德二十五世孫

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[P. 76 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 38. — THE TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. MU HSIU

第二十六世 穆秀

[p. 76 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 39.—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. MU JUI

* 第 二 十 七 世 祖

[p. 76 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 40.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. MU HAN

木 第 二 十 八 世 祖

[p. 76 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 41. — THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. MU CHING

本堂二十九世祖

[p. 76 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 42. — THE THIRTIETH GENERATION. MU YEN

木燕三十世孫

[p.76 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 43.—THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. MU CH'UNG

本 魯 三 十 二 世 孝

The present Tu Fong-pang central figure. The child in his arms is his son, the 33rd generation, his name is Mu Sung-k'uei. Mu Ch'iung was the son of Mu P'iao. The man on the right of the central figure is his uncle, the other three are cousins.

[p. 76 K]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

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PLATE 44.—MU TSENG AS A BUDDHIST MONK

木 增 (生 白) 皆 皆 [illegible] 之 [illegible]

Mu Tseng was a devout Buddhist who welcomed the Karma-pa sect of Lamaism to the Li-chiang district. The scroll illustrated here is beautifully painted in sombre tones; it shows Mu Tseng with a rosary in his hands and above his head the image of Amitabha. This large scroll is in the possession of the Mu family of Li-chiang. Mu Tseng was an excellent calligraphist, besides being a poet and author.

[p. 76 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border
Peoples AE3

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ST
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PLATE 82.—WARRIOR DRESSED IN HLI-KHIN ARMOR

古藏象皮土盔甲

Dressed in armor made of pigskin blades, lacquered red, wearing a helmet of iron segments, Hli-khin and Hsi-fan warriors, danced at Nga-ba prior to their attacking Li-chiang in the 12th century.

[p. 156 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 211. — THE LATE MU-LI T'U-SSU HANG TZ'U-CH'EN-CHA-PA

木里土司項北辰扎巴

The late Mu-li or Mi-li rGyal-po (King) in front of his throne clad in priestly robes. The banners on the wall represent from left to right: Thugs-rje-chhen-po-bchugs-gchig-zhal — the eleven-headed Chenrezig; the Tibetan pantheon Lam-rim-tshogs-shing; Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow sect.

[p. 410 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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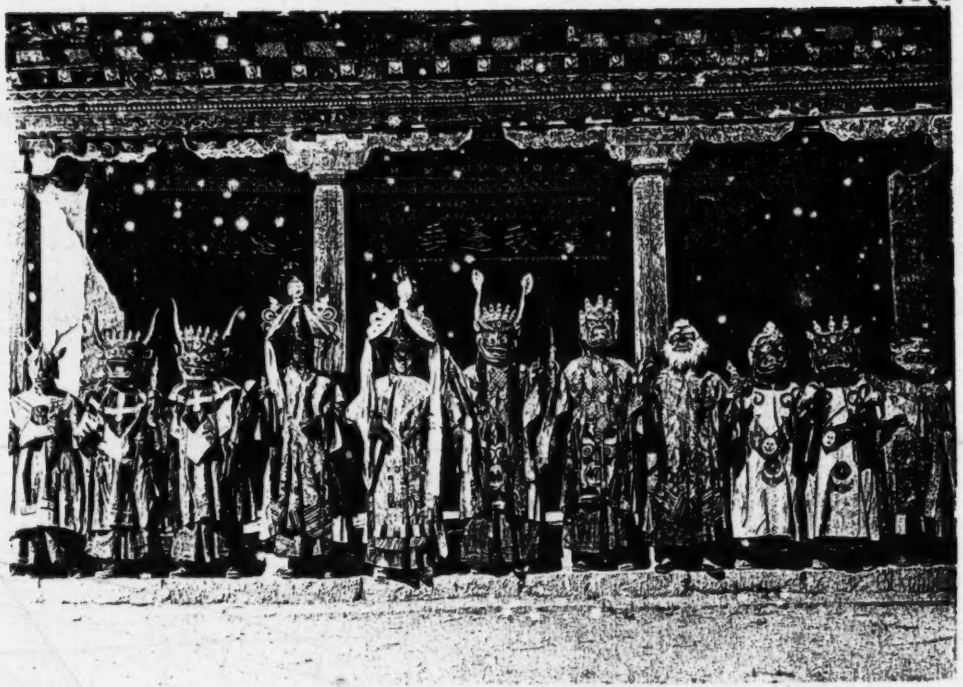

PLATE 226. — LAMA DANCERS OF YUNG-NING

永寧黃喇嘛跳神花鼓戲

They represent from left to right: 1, the Tibetan stag or Sha-wa, the messenger of the god of the dead; 2 and 3, the central and northern gShin-rje sngon-po = the blue Lords of the dead; 4 and 5, Shwa-nag = Black hat dancers (sorcerers); 6, Dam-chan-gshin-rje chhos-kyi-rgyal-po = Yama the Lord (judge) of the dead; 7, the latter's wife Chi-mun-tra; 8, mGon-po bram-ze = Brā-hma nātha; 9, kŞhe-tra-pā-la = the oracle of Serra monastery; 10, Ma-hā-kā-la or mGon-po phyag-drug-pa; 11, Sēng-ge gdong-chan = the lion-faced companion of Lha-mo the She-devil.

[p.426 B]

2: Roc.R.it.5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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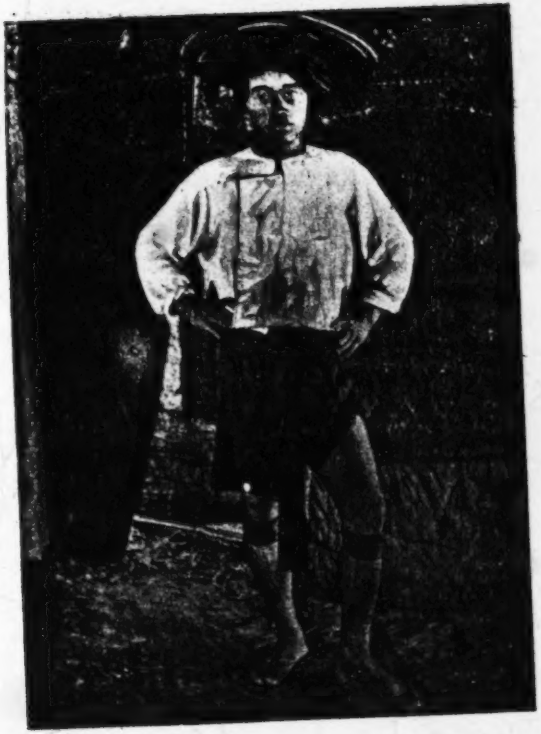
PLATE 247. — THE ABBOT OF THE TSO-SO BÖN LAMASERY

四川左所黑喇嘛塔佛

He is the brother of the Tso-so T'u-ssu. Only Tso-so land has adhered to the Bön sect. The lamasery, like the whole country, is in a terrible state of neglect.

[p. 458-G]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 •
Pai-i AE 7



An A-ch'ang

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The boy sawbwa of Möng Wan

S P 292•

[Face p. 26]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7
SP
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The sawbwa of Ho-hsa

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The sawbwa of La-hsa

[Face p.28]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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P'êng Liu Wang

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Our hosts at Man-waing

Plate VI

[Face p. 30]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pa1-1 AE7

P
177 dress and customs, and even to the Chinese language. It is quite probable that in another generation or two they will all call themselves Chinamen, and the place will afford another instance of the absorption of the Shan by the Chinaman in places which are over 4000 feet high, and
S are therefore healthy enough for the Chinese of Yün-nan to
P live in.

438 We halted a day at Mien-ning to rest our pack mules. There is no trade in the place to speak of. There are a
S few small merchants who occasionally go with small mule
P caravans to Mêng-sa and the other Shan States in the
793 neighbourhood. In the morning I went up to the Shan
292 monastery and saw the priest, a native of Mien-ning, who had ten years before been on a visit to Rangoon to worship at the pagoda. He was dressed in the usual unorthodox fashion of the Chinese Shan priests, with a yellow robe covering both shoulders, a red cap on his head, and Chinese socks and shoes on his feet, a contravention in three respects of the rules of Burmese Buddhism, which ordain that one shoulder must be bare, that no head-
S covering may be worn, and that no shoe must be used
P which covers the top of the toes.

[73z] Like many Chinese Shan priests he was an opium smoker and did not seem the least ashamed of it, as he got through three pipes while I was there. He told me that formerly the whole of this country was inhabited by Shans, but that now the Chinese were gradually ousting them. I noticed that even the priest himself, though he spoke Shan to me, would address his pupils in Chinese.

000 On the 24th February, 15 miles of somewhat up and down road took us to Ping-yüan-hsün. At the little village of Pang-mai which we passed on this march, in a pleasant valley covered with fir trees, is an isolated colony of Mêng-hua Lo-los, who emigrated from their own district a few generations ago. Their language I found to be nearly the same as that spoken at Wu-li-hei, but they are giving it up and are beginning to talk Chinese even among themselves. The women already tie up their feet in the Chinese fashion, and they will no doubt soon cease to call themselves Lo-los.

The next day, after three or four miles of level going,

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the
438 Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

294 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious
438 kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou
241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

669 gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

*487 The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wùa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu
*33 鳴音吾), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill
*37 at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat,
[24] pats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are
[291] still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large
[301] key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wùa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wùa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yünnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yünnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 •
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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST and where the distinction between them lies.

197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the An-101 namese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

291 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the 301 neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 •
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trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

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In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

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Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Mêng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 批江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the
197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled
173 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the
101 present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan].
[302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 擲, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 批 is read *ts'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 批 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 騾馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil with bushes of Cotoneaster, wild pears, and scrub-pines. 487* 133*

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in Bběr-dděr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wùa, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first Bběr-dděr Na-khi, a most painfully polite people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-cloth trousers and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. 137* 576 142 291 302

From Bu-du-wùa, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wùa, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr. — From Bpu-wùa we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr and are at an elevation of 8,650 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called Bběr-p'ěr-dshi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water. 133*

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Those feet which have been bound from childhood have an ideal length of three inches, but many are much larger. This involves enormous suffering to the child, but small feet are a source of pride to all who possess them, and large feet a source of shame. 304

A foot that is long and narrow is much disliked and is called *huang kua* 黃瓜 *chüeh*, cucumber foot. The reasons assigned for the continuation of this custom are as follows:

(1) It is the custom and that is enough for most people.

(2) It is nice looking. These small feet are also called the *hsiang kou* 香鉤 or incense hook with which to hook the affections of the men; and the men generally desire that the feet should be so.

(3) It is impossible to find a husband unless the girl's feet are bound.

(4) It keeps the women from bad company and from remaining away from home.

In Ssŭch'uan some women make a speciality of both footbinding and hair dressing, others make a speciality of one only.

THE QUEUE. 辮子 *pien tzŭ*

When the Ch'ing dynasty conquered the Chinese Empire the shaving of the head was made compulsory, the barber being sent forth with an official warrant to seize and shave all the refractory and rebellious; and the barber bears to this day the name of *tai chao* 待詔 or carry-passport man. Till quite recently the itinerant barber's stand consisted in a low stool for sitting on, and a high stool on which the hands could be rested: on the other side was a small boiler for heating water, and above was a short mast on which there were two iron hooks, from one of which a sword used to be suspended while on the other the head of the rebellious was hung after execution. From the top of this mast the flag used to be displayed. 302 305

Popular opinion has it that there were certain exceptions to the rule of head shaving; these were as follows: 男從女不從 *Nan ts'ung nü pu ts'ung*; the men had to conform but the women did not need to do so. Thus we have the Chinese 302

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

302 women wearing the dress of the Ming dynasty while the men had to adopt the Manchu style of dressing, as well as the head-shaving. The living had to conform, but the funeral rites remained as before the occupation, 生從死不從, *shêng ts'ung, ssŭ pu ts'ung.* The people had to conform but not the priests; *min ts'ung chiao pu ts'ung* 民從教不從. Hence we have the clean-shaven Buddhist priest, and the coiled locks of the Taoist sect; this is believed to be the original Chinese mode of hair dressing. Moreover the style of garments now worn by the Taoist priests would appear to be the style of ancient China.

When the queue was forced upon the Chinese people it was hateful to them as a sign of subjection to a stronger branch of the Mongolian race. This loathing gradually gave place to pride, and the queue became a national badge, and a sign of loyalty to the reigning dynasty. Hence every rebellion against the Manchus has made the cutting off of the queue of first importance.

The queue, when worn properly, was used to indicate reverence for superiors, respect to equals, and decorum in worship. No inferior would dare to enter the presence of a superior with his queue hanging in front, or coiled round the head; and when worshipping at the temples its position was carefully noted. The following are a few of the kinds of queues spoken of by the Chinese and were indicative of character:

To leave the hair unplaited for three handwidths from the skull in order that the hair might fall loose on the neck; 鬆三把 *sung san pa.* This was for protection against sword cuts, and also in fights, when the queue was largely used to pull with. Its looseness kept the strain from falling on one part of the head.

302 575 The big queue made up of false hair and silk. Those who wear this are known as *wu êrh shên* 吾二神, and are those who have just entered a secret society. They are neither men nor boys.

The dandy of the secret society wears a queue that is dressed up with silk tassels, *têng lung t'iao pien tzŭ* 燈籠條辮子.

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302 [575]

The unkempt queue of the novice who has not entered the society is called *k'ung tzŭ* 空子 *pien tzŭ*.

A few hairs on the back of the head is called *yü mei sui* 御麥穗 *pien tzŭ* or a *hao-tzŭ wei pa* 耗子尾巴, a rat's tail.

A nice-looking queue of a youth with a long red cord attached to it is called *kua tao pa* 掛刀把 *pien tzŭ*, the sword-handle queue.

The cow's head, *niu t'ou* 牛頭 queue is worn by women of the aboriginal tribes to the west of Kuan Hsien.

A common proverb is *shên hsien yang chih-chia, hsin hsien yang t'ou-fa* 身閑養指甲, 心閑養頭髮; an idle body grows finger nails; an idle head grows hair.

The Kitan tribes, *ta-ta* 韃靼, probably the ancestors of the Mongols, have the following slang names for the queue:

The hairy lid, *mao kai-tzŭ* 毛蓋子; Tartar hair, *ta-ta mao*; the hairy tassel, *mao t'ou tzŭ* 毛頭子; the horse-bucket cover, *ma t'ung kai* 馬桶蓋; the magpie's nest, *ya ch'iao wo* 鴉鵲窩; the tadpole's tail, *ting ting wei* 丁丁尾.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S P 361 101 One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

S P 622 S P [291] Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'êng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

S P •302 622 Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 ●
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S P [302] 622

and disappointed when told that there was no demand in England for hair dyes of that colour. Perhaps the lapse of time has by now given him his heart's desire.

The San-ta sawbwa was a much younger man, with a decidedly intelligent but rather shifty-looking face, much pitted with small-pox. He was extremely anxious to learn about western inventions, and was greatly struck with our tents and heliographs. He had not a very good reputation among the Shans and was said to have succeeded to the sawbwaship by putting one of his relatives out of the way. An account of his untimely end at the hands of the executioner will be found on a later page[1].

We had no escort of our own except a nominal one of a corporal and four men of the Yorkshire Regiment, whom we took more as a matter of dignity than from any anticipation of danger.

S P [291] S P [361]

Our second march took us into Möng Mow, the capital of the Chinese Shan State of that name. We were met about a mile from the town by some Chinese troops and by some of the Shan followers of the Möng Na and Möng Mow sawbwas. The Möng Na men looked very well in green sleeveless coats with a black border, and most of them were armed with breech-loaders. The town is built at the foot of the bare range of hills which bounds the Shweli valley on the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall in a very fair state of repair. The place was en fête at the time, as one of the Möng Na sawbwa's four sons was just going to be married to a daughter of the Möng Mow chief.

We halted the next day and went to pay a visit to the sawbwa. His palace was a very small tumble-down building, and the sawbwa himself a little shrivelled-up looking man, extremely nervous in the presence of the Chinese officials, and I believe almost incapable of managing his affairs through over-indulgence in opium[2].

S P 545

In the evening we went to an amateur theatrical performance, in which most of the parts were taken by members of the two sawbwas' families. The piece was in Shan, but was a translation from the Chinese, and was all sung to the monotonous tune of the Chinese theatre.

1. See page 189.
2. He died not long after our visit.

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S P 291 Shan women, and with coloured fringes hanging down on each side, while the petticoat is often of large checks of red, white and green.

S P 622 On the 13th a level road through numerous villages took us to Möng Wan, the capital of the state. We were met at the entrance to the town by the sawbwa, a boy of 10, and his two *amats* or ministers, one a Hu-nan Chinaman, the other a Möng Na Shan. All three made profound obeisances, and we went on into the town and were put up in a very good three-roomed brick house.

S P [361] [342] The place contains about 300 houses. Its narrow paved streets and closely-packed houses of soft brick make it look more like a Chinese town, but it is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. The sawbwa was at that time too young to take any part in the management of the state, and his mother, according to Shan custom, was acting as regent till he was old enough.

The next day, still marching in a northerly direction, we forded the Nam Wan, crossed the range of hills which divides the Shweli from the Taping basin at 5300 feet, descended very steeply into the Ho-hsa[1] valley, and crossed the Nam Hsa, a stream 15 yards wide, into the capital of the Ho-hsa state, a town of only 70 houses.

We were received by the sawbwa, a fine-looking old gentleman of 66, with a white moustache and quite a hooked nose. He is the same chief who is mentioned in Dr Anderson's book, *From Mandalay to Momien*, and he remembered all the names of the members of Colonel Sladen's expedition who had visited him in 1868. He said they had stayed with him a long time, and he appeared to have most pleasant recollections of their visit.

S P [302] On the 15th January a march of seven miles brought us to La-hsa, the capital of the other state into which the Nam Hsa plain is divided. The sawbwa, a man of 56, wore his beard as well as his hair plaited into a pigtail.

He had lately got into trouble with the Chinese authorities. A Shan priest, a native of Möng Cheng[2], a state lying east of the Salween, arrived in La-hsa, and on

[1] Called Hu-sa by the Chinese.
[2] Chên-k'ang in Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

579 seriously hurt. The affair was not an organised riot, as they
186 did not know we were coming. It may be taken in fact more as a way of showing their dislike to those who have had the misfortune not to be born Chinamen, and as an expression of opinion that foreigners would be better advised to stay in their own country. Still this sort of thing may easily grow into more serious rioting, and I am strongly of opinion that Governments should take notice of even the smallest incidents of this kind where their subjects are the victims of attack by Chinese mobs.

It was unfortunate that our baggage had got ahead of us. Had we been there ourselves and insisted on being let into the inn, breaking in by force if necessary, we should have had no further trouble. A show of physical force at the outset is very effective in dealing with Chinamen. This is the only time that I have been stoned in a Chinese town, and in most places in Yün-nan the mob though inquisitive are not actively hostile.

Soon after our arrival my friend Yang-fa-yung who had on my previous journey met me at Mien-ch'ing, came to see us. He apologised for the conduct of the mob, said that he would have protected us if he had known we were coming, and that orders had been given out which would ensure us from any recurrence of such a thing. The loud voice and bluff military manner which this gallant officer assumed as in keeping with the character of a soldier, caused us much amusement.

The next day we called on the *T'ing*. We found him very civil and friendly and he apologised for the occurrences of the day before. He treated us to sweet biscuits and green chartreuse, so he is evidently making progress in his knowledge of Western customs!

• 302 What most struck my two companions, both new to China, was the length of his nails which, according to the custom of the literary classes, had been allowed to grow an inch or more beyond the tips of his fingers, to indicate that he was under no necessity to do any work with his hands. This custom may appear to us somewhat inconvenient, but we were soon to learn that it has its uses, for a fly having fallen into Watts-Jones's chartreuse, our host dipped his nail into the glass and deftly scooped it out!

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last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

S ST 342

A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

000

I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a 302 sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan 191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct 631 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a 622 Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST It is curious how little impression the civilisation and 177 customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER III.

FOOTBINDING
THE QUEUE

304 THE origin of the custom of footbinding is said by some to date from the Six States and to have been begun by an Imperial concubine P'an-fei 潘妃. This aspirant for imperial favour bound her feet with silken bands. By binding the toes together and the instep upwards, she made the foot somewhat like a bow; while the licentious Emperor made golden lotus flowers for her to tread upon. Hence women's feet are sometimes spoken of as *san ts'un chin lien* 三寸金蓮, three inches of golden lotus.

In Ssŭch'uan there are some places where the women have natural feet. These places are said to have been settled by people from Kuangtung province; and these feet are scornfully called *huo chüeh pan* 活脚板. Some feet have not been bound in childhood, and when older the pain would have been too great; hence the toes are simply turned in and the foot bound up a little: such are called *pan chüeh* 半脚.

When the instep is round and almost perpendicular like a horse's hoof it is called *yüan chüeh* 圓脚, round foot.

If the bandages are so manipulated as to make the heel to be part of the leg, wooden heels are put in to make up the deficiency between the false heel and the shoes; the woman thus only walking on the half of her foot. Such feet are termed *chia* 假, *chüeh* false feet.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Those feet which have been bound from childhood have an ideal length of three inches, but many are much larger. This involves enormous suffering to the child, but small feet are a source of pride to all who possess them, and large feet a source of shame. 304

A foot that is long and narrow is much disliked and is called *huang kua* 黃瓜 *chüeh*, cucumber foot. The reasons assigned for the continuation of this custom are as follows:

(1) It *is* the custom and that is enough for most people.

(2) It is nice looking. These small feet are also called the *hsiang kou* 香鉤 or incense hook with which to hook the affections of the men; and the men generally desire that the feet should be so.

(3) It is impossible to find a husband unless the girl's feet are bound.

(4) It keeps the women from bad company and from remaining away from home.

In Ssŭch'uan some women make a speciality of both footbinding and hair dressing, others make a speciality of one only.

THE QUEUE. 辮子 *pien tzŭ*

When the Ch'ing dynasty conquered the Chinese Empire the shaving of the head was made compulsory, the barber being sent forth with an official warrant to seize and shave all the refractory and rebellious; and the barber bears to this day the name of *tai chao* 待詔 or carry-passport man. Till quite recently the itinerant barber's stand consisted in a low stool for sitting on, and a high stool on which the hands could be rested: on the other side was a small boiler for heating water, and above was a short mast on which there were two iron hooks, from one of which a sword used to be suspended while on the other the head of the rebellious was hung after execution. From the top of this mast the flag used to be displayed. 302 305

Popular opinion has it that there were certain exceptions to the rule of head shaving; these were as follows: 男從女不從 *Nan ts'ung nü pu ts'ung*; the men had to conform but the women did not need to do so. Thus we have the Chinese 302

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four
177 others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who
[304] still use their own language, but have in other respects adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women
[249] binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had
712 been on my former visit. In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

S.W. China AF16

me abruptly and said: "These are my servants and they are carrying 574
out my orders." With a commanding voice that suddenly made me think of Ru da lao ye of Kue de ting and the fate of Captain Watts-Jones, he thundered at me: "You are my guest. There is no other place for you but a room in my castle (tsch'ai tse)." I was so startled that at first I only dared ask him cautiously whether there was peace in China and what was the relationship between Europeans and Chinese.

But Wu was an excellent host. As long as I lived in his house my servants were not permitted to cook for me. He personally invited me morning and afternoon to his two meals and for three days he would not let me travel on. When he learned of my misfortune in fording the Dsa Chu he sent out couriers who were again supposed to hunt for my things.

I had been given a large room. I had scarcely sat down there at a very shaky table and hoped to be able to work in peace and quiet, when my first visitors came dashing in. The two bright young sons of the mandarin, boys of six and eight years, had, after the manner of European youngsters, decided I was their interesting uncle and attached themselves to me until the last minute I was there. One of them on his second visit already brought his favorite plaything, a snarling old monkey, which, with its smart tricks, /192/ did not add to the quiet of my room. The Tibetans had chopped off its tail, which was supposed to make it smarter. Even the nursemaid came hurrying up with [304] the youngest offspring, and soon the mothers of the little ones appeared, six Chinese women who were heavily made up with white and tripped along on their three-inch lily feet. The mandarin had brought them along from his distant home of Hu peh.

Even at night there was not much peace and quiet in the castle. In the next room which was separated from mine by a thin wall of boards, the soldiers sat on guard and from the stroke of nine on they beat their drum. Fortunately for me, the drum had a large hole and produced only a muffled sound. About every hour a shot was fired which startled me unmercifully. Finally, if one got accustomed to all this racket and lay in sweet slumber early in the morning, the Chinese school began just across the courtyard. There 30 abecedar- 872
ians, Chinese and Tibetan children, learned to read and write Chinese. In back against the wall was the teacher's lectern, and in front of the teacher, with their backs to him and facing the door and me, the pupils sat on low benches, and shouted out into the courtyard the ancient wise sayings of Confucius and the other great philosophers of antiquity from their primers. From the rear the teacher saw to it that

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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133 example, means "Big Snow." But local people in many communities use the same name when they refer to other mountains. The name Himalaya, incidentally, is Tibetan for "Snow Mountain."[5]

The rivers on the west side of this region are turbulent flows and objects of fear and superstition to the aborigines. Bamboo-cable bridges and buffalo-skin rafts are dangerous and impractical means for crossing these rivers. In this connection, accounts of the construction of the Hui-t'ung Bridge on the "Stilwell Road" in western Yunnan and the Communist epic crossing of the Ta-tu River in eastern Sikang during the 1934-35 Long March should be recalled. P tions of the rivers in Szechwan Province, where wooden junks serve as local transport, are navigable; other rivers in this region are not.

B. Plains and Lakes

133 The Chengtu Plain, heart of the Szechwan
311 Basin, is undoubtedly the largest area of level land in this region -- 6,000-7,000 square kilometers (2,280-2,680 sq. mi.).[6] It is extensively cultivated, and its productivity equals

5. Ko Sui-ch'eng, Chung-kuo Ti-li Hsin Chih [New Geography of China], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1950, chap. IX, p. 243.

6. Chiang Chün-chang, Hsi-nan Ching-chi Ti-li [The Economic Geography of Southwest China], Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1946, pp. 9-25.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

133 the riparian "rice-bowl" section of Hunan
●311 Province to the east. The Chung-pa Plain, northeast of Chengtu in the same province, is
133 another extensive flatland. Outside the basin, the plains are scattered and consist of high valleys between towering mountains or "grasslands" on the Tibet-Sikang highland. The expansive valley around Kweiyang, provincial capital of Kweichow, for example, is about 1,000 meters (3,200 ft.) above sea level. Similar in nature is the Kunming plain, except that it rises to a height of 2,000 meters (6,400 ft.). Farther north are the flat stretches around Pa-an (or Pa-t'ang) on the former Ch'ang-tu--Sikang border, which is an open section of the Golden Sand River valley, rising 2,600-3,000 meters (8,360-9,600 ft.).[7] Many small lakes are found in these plains. The Szechwan Basin, with its lattice work of waterways, is without lakes, but Yunnan, Kweichow, and the former Sikang Province have many. Ts'ao-hai Lake in Kweichow and Erh-hai and T'ien-ch'ih lakes in Yunnan, are noted bodies of water. Warm springs also abound in these two provinces.

132 C. Climate

The climatic zones in this region are best

7. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted] AF16

177 There are other factors which give to
•311 much of the area we are now considering
563 important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
241 west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
621 culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
621 easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

735 authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

178 311 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintegrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

178 Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of

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2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London 1951, p. 111. H.L. Richardson, commenting in 1942 on Szechwan -- usually regarded as a fertile and prosperous province -- says: "The condition of the individual farmers is less happy than the prosperity of the Province as a whole would suggest, and the pressure of the whole population on the supplies of food and other agricultural products, such as cotton, is very intense." Cressey, op. cit., pp. 178-79.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

162 census completed by the Communists in June 1953. If we assume the ratio of rural and urban populations to be 87 to 13, the rural population in the Southwest Region in 1953 was approximately 85 million.[2] A comparison 311 of the rural population and the total amount of cultivated land in this region in the years 1946 and 1953 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Cultivated Land and Rural Population of Southwest China*

Unit = 1,000. S = shih-mou. A = acres.

Province	Year	Cultivated Land	Rural Population	Farm Households	Shih-mou (acres) per Household	Shih-mou (acres) per Capita
Szechwan	1946	151,427 S (25,239 A)	38,957	6,382	23.8 S (3.9 A)	3.9 S (0.6 A)
	1953	151,674 S (25,279 A)	54,204	8,930	16.9 S (2.8 A)	2.8 S (0.5 A)
Sikang	1946	4,011 S (668 A)	1,668	278	14.5 S (2.4 A)	2.4 S (0.4 A)
	1953	4,111 S (685 A)	2,942	485	8.5 S (1.4 A)	1.4 S (0.2 A)
Yunnan	1946	26,219 S (4,369 A)	7,169	1,384	18.9 S (3.2 A)	3.7 S (0.6 A)
	1953	26,375 S (4,396 A)	15,801	3,065	8.7 S (1.5 A)	1.7 S (0.3 A)
Kweichow	1946	23,173 S (3,862 A)	6,182	1,193	19.4 S (3.2 A)	3.7 S (0.6 A)
	1953	23,273 S (3,879 A)	13,082	2,586	9.0 S (1.5 A)	1.8 S (0.3 A)
		Total	Total	Total	Average	Average
	1946	204,836 S (34,136 A)	53,976	9,287	19.1 S (3.2 A)	3.4 S (0.6 A)
	1953	205,433 S (34,239 A)	85,429	15,066	10.8 S (1.8 A)	1.9 S (0.3 A)

* For 1946 data, Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking, 1948, pp. 70-71. For 1953 data, Communist census of 1953 and Chung-hua jen-min kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, 1954, pp. 42-46.

2. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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311 In 1955, the lowest average land holding per farm household was 8.5 shih-mou (1.4 acres) in Sikang Province; the highest average land holding per farm household was 16.9 shih-mou (2.8 acres) in Szechwan Province. The average for Szechwan is 12 per cent higher than the national average.[3]

III. LAND REFORM

423
565 The Land Reform Movement, as it affected the Southwest China region, had been partially completed in September 1951. Approximately 37 million inhabitants, in an area which included 172 hsien and 8 municipalities, had been subjected to "land reform."[4] The Communist regime had organized "poor peasants" and "farmhands" to unite with "middle peasants" in order to nullify the power of "rich peasants" and to abolish the "landlord system." The Land Reform Movement continued on to 1953. In the spring of that year, of the approximately 85 million persons who made up the rural population of the Southwest Region less than 2.2 million inhabitants had not yet experienced "land reform."[5] In spite of the vast scale on which

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3. Mao Tse-tung's report, "The Collectivization Movement," Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1951.

5. Ibid., Dec, 13, 1952.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

311 *487 [241] *133 *137

Of the forests only a remnant remains, the Lo-lo having burned the huge oaks, in fact cleared the whole mountain-side. After ploughing the ashes under, they plant their buckwheat for one or two years, and then move on again, leaving behind them desolation, only to repeat the performance elsewhere. The slopes of the snow range are terrifically steep and once denuded of their forests, the land of the villages below in the Yangtze valley, of which only a narrow margin is arable, will be in danger of being washed away by the floods descending from the mountain. It is a pity that the government is indifferent to the preservation of the magnificent forests which still exist in this region, and allows whole areas to be laid waste by Lo-lo and Chinese alike. The Lo-lo are the greatest enemies to forests: wherever one meets that tribe one finds desolation; countless charred and fallen trees cover the landscape. When they are in need of firewood they will cut down additional trees instead of utilizing those already lying about by the thousand. This is especially true where they have settled in pine forests, as at Ghügh-t'o, north of Li-chiang (p. 231).

*487 *133 *137

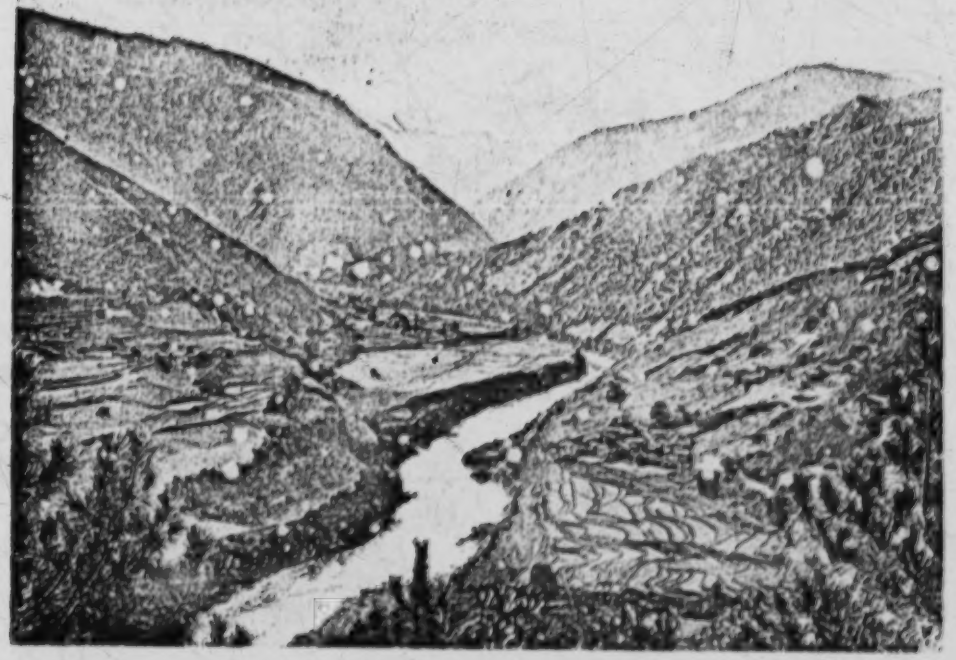
From this forest-remnant we emerge on to a small alpine meadow called Ngv-dzü, elevation 10,200 feet, and continue down the valley, crossing several lateral streams, the last of which is called Lä-ngu-dtò. At 8,800 feet, where the stream and valley make a sharp bend west, we enter pine forest, at the upper end of which is a clearing called T'o-k'ö-shĕr (Long foot of the pine). Here in this forested valley not a breath of wind is stirring, while the eastern slopes of the snow range and the northern plain are swept by gales in the late winter and early spring, and the snow blown off the peaks and spurs in great masses resembling clouds. From T'o-k'ö-shĕr a trail branches north and follows on the middle slopes of the range to a famous cave called T'ai-tzu tung 太子硐, which is described separately. The trail to the Yangtze descends steeply through what is left of the once magnificent pine forests.

Most of the building lumber for Li-chiang comes from these forests; a dozen boards an inch thick, 12 feet long, and 1 foot broad, sell for Yün-nan $3, or about Chinese $1.50 delivered. The boards are of various sizes and grades, the smaller ones selling for Yün-nan $2.50 a dozen. This is reckoned in prewar silver dollars.

The trail winds through the forest, but does not descend straight to the Yangtze. It turns north to a gap known as Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), past a hamlet called Zi-shĕr-dto (Long grass hill) and the little village of Bbu-k'aw-dtü nestled against the valley wall below. This mountain path skirts several lateral valleys before and after reaching Ma-an Shan, where the Yangtze becomes first visible as a broad blue-green band, hemmed in to the west by a range 13,000–14,000 feet in height. Here in the river valley below are situated various hamlets, as Llü-tsu-ndu across on the west bank, and others further up-stream on the east bank, near the mouth of the valley down which the trail leads to the Yangtze. An alluvial fan extends into the Yangtze valley, and here are situated the villages of Dzä-bpö-dzü, Gkv-na-wùa and Llü-dtü-man.

The trail continues through pine forest, at an elevation of between 7,800–7,400 feet, to a bluff of the latter height, from which the Yangtze valley can be viewed to advantage, up-stream as far as A-khi. Down-stream, the

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 161.—THE MEKONG NEAR THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LO-NDU

瀾滄江畔洛奴納西村

Photographed, looking upstream, from a lateral spur immediately north of Ba-dö. The village of Lo-ndu is visible to the right on a terrace above the Mekong.

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3/10

[p. 298 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 乙用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 穆頂], A-tung 阿東, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] [651] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both [912] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-[777] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and [463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged [438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, [135] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich [346] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu [197] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo)[10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

* 雪山 * ﾀﾞｶﾙﾎﾟ

-2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

1. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

S ST 311 [161] ST [24] [312]

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 洛吉河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

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Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

[p. 388]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Photo by Captain W. A. Walls-Jones

Terraced fields in the Shun-ning Fu valley

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Plate XVI

[Face p. 74]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 of A-lu-shih, which contains 150 houses—a large place for this hilly country. It is inhabited by a people with the bump of curiosity very largely developed.

The next morning we crossed the top of a range at 8,400 feet and from there dropped 3000 feet in three miles to Sung-lin-t'ang, a very small village which contains however a fairly good official rest-house. During this descent the green-coloured water of the Mekong was occasionally to be seen in the deep valley below.

On the 13th a further descent brought us to this river at an elevation of 3,400 feet above the sea. The valley is of exactly the same character as where it is crossed on the Yung-ch'ang–Ta-li road, the river running in a deep gorge, with steep, almost inaccessible, hills rising up from it. There is not an inch of level ground outside the river bed, which is from 80 to 100 yards wide, and is pretty well filled up with water. The current is strong, and rapids numerous.

491 We crossed by an iron-chain suspension bridge of the same type as those previously described. It is built where the river passes between two precipitous rocks, is 75 yards long, and consists of a plank roadway supported by 14 iron chains, the ends of which are embedded in brick piers. At that time the bridge was a little shaky and swayed about a good deal as one passed over it, and there was a man posted there to warn travellers that only one animal must pass over at a time. After crossing, the road turns westward and follows the river bank for some distance before ascending steeply to Hsin-ts'un, where we put up for the night.

On the 14th February we crossed another range and descended to the town of Shun-ning, always pronounced 241 Shun-ling by the Yünnanese. There is nothing to call 311 a plain here, but a fairly level strip of cultivated ground, half a mile in width, runs along a little stream called the Pei-ch'iao Ho, and tiers of terraced fields rise again above this on each side.

361 The town is built on the west side of the valley, on the lower spurs of the hills, and is about 5,400 feet above sea level. It is an irregular shaped polygonal a mile in perimeter, surrounded by a 15 feet brick wall backed up on the inside by the usual earth parapet. The space within

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-1 AE7

range of hills and on the next day dropped steeply down to the Nam Ting valley at Mêng-chien. During this descent we passed through the mixed La and Chinese village of Ta-chai. This contains 450 houses, and though it is a hill village is quite the largest place in this part of the Chinese Shan States. It has some very fine trees round it and the hillsides are well cultivated. It is noticeable that the Las and Was live in much larger villages than any other hill tribe of Yün-nan.

Mêng-chien or Möng Kyen is a small place of no importance, inhabited by Shans. Its height is only 1,850 feet, the Nam Ting valley being one of the lowest parts of Yün-nan. In this warm climate the fresh green grass was already several inches high, and our mules got better grazing than they had had for a long time.

On the 3rd and 4th of March our road was nearly level, leading down the Nam Ting valley, chiefly through pretty thick jungle, with occasionally a Shan village and a patch of rice cultivation where a tributary stream joins the main river. Finally we emerged into the Mêng-ting[1] plain, which is 10 miles long and three miles wide with the river running down its northern edge. There are several villages scattered about in it, each surrounded by fine clumps of bamboo. The people are partly Chinese Shans and partly Southern Shans, the former predominating; but the population is not very large and there is a good deal of land uncultivated. Mêng-ting is a very small state, and only the lower or western part of this plain belongs to it, the upper half being part of Kêng-ma. The town which is unwalled is built in two bits, separated by a small tributary of the Nam Ting, the sawbwa's residence lying on the right bank, and the market village on the left bank. During the dry season it is visited by a good many Panthay traders from Panglong, and I saw a large bullock caravan which had come from Nam-hkam with salt fish and cotton clothes.

I proposed to go and see the sawbwa, but a message arrived to say that he was ill and not up to receiving visitors. As a matter of fact there was nothing whatever the matter with him, but being of rather a nervous dis-

[1] Also called Hun-ting by the Chinese. Möng Ting is its Shan name.

134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [131] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's settlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts 361 of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

7; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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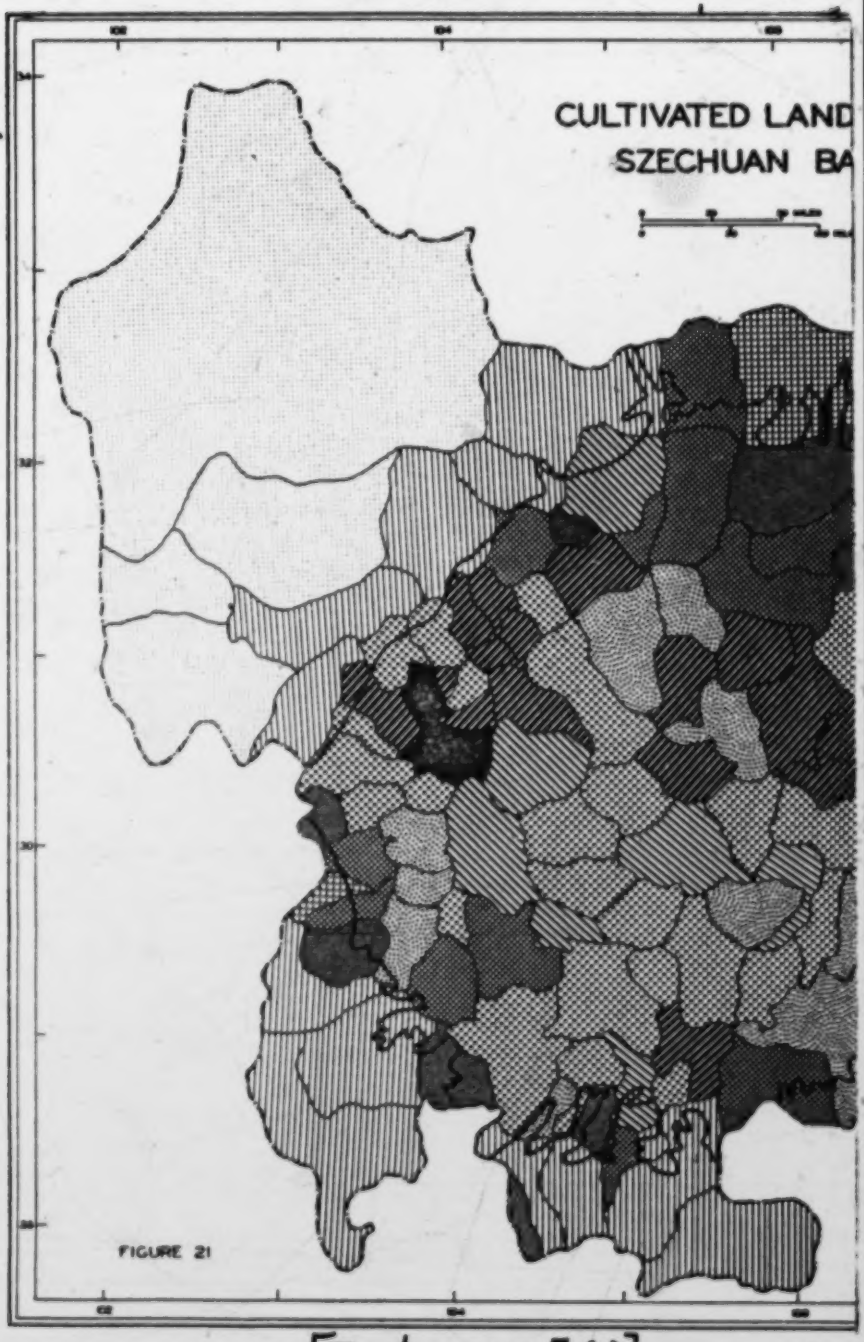

FIGURE 21

[End map 8(a)]

7; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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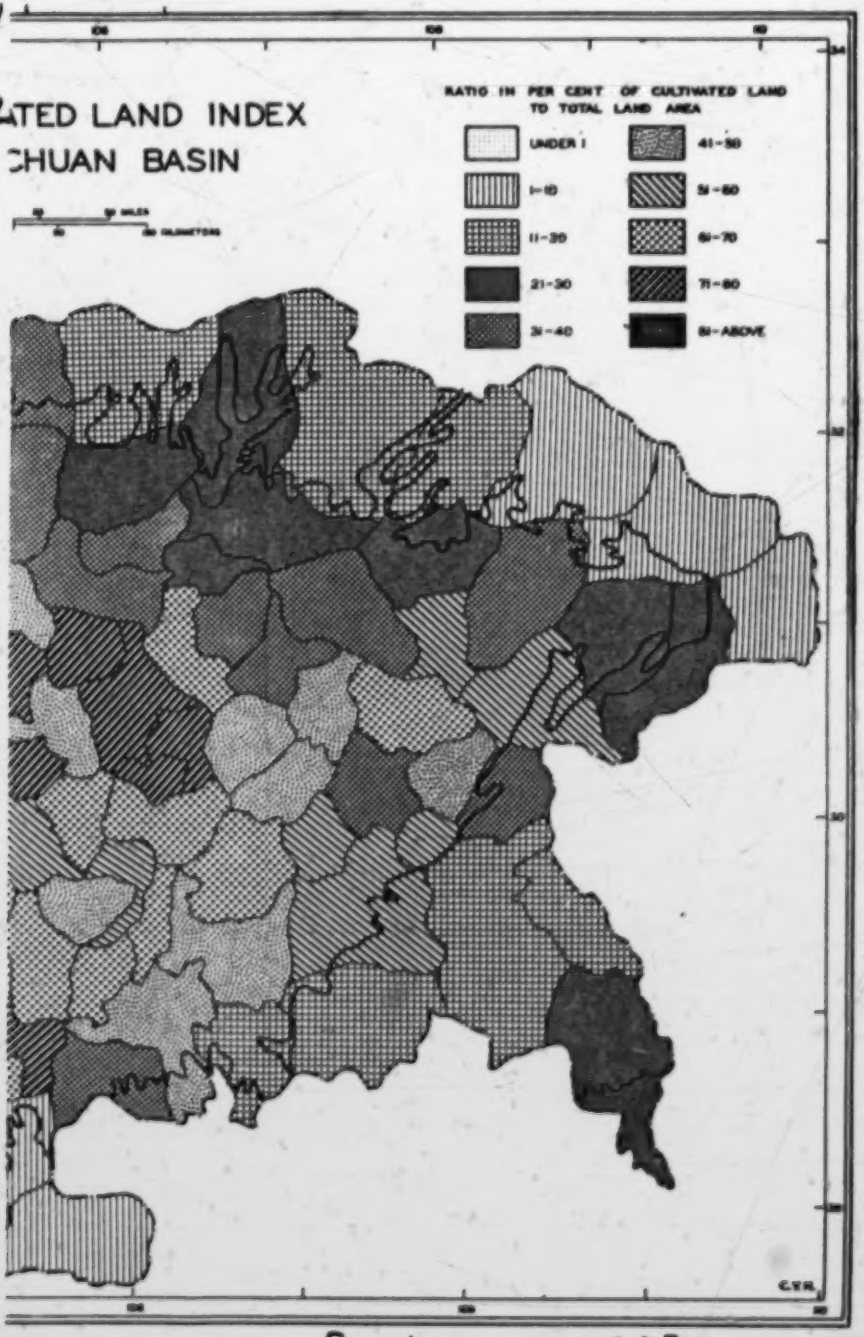

[End map 8(b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

frequency of fair days is so adjusted as to reduce competition among the neighboring localities and to afford the greatest advantages to both buyers and sellers. The smooth operation of these schedules illustrates the type of local cooperation which is common in this part of China.

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The typical village fair includes a grain merchant, a butcher, several tea houses, a few oil merchants, some firewood booths, vegetable booth, poultry stands, wandering native doctors, dentists, and fortune tellers. In spite of the extremely small area occupied by the fair grounds, it is interesting to note that a kind of system of automatic zoning has come into effect. For instance, it is almost a rule that the grain markets are located at the temple or other spacious grounds, whereas the tea houses, fortune tellers, and the wandering native doctors and dentists always occupy the center areas of the fair.

4. Farms and Field Patterns

One of the most striking features of the farms of the Basin is the predominance of terraced cultivated fields. Probably nowhere else in all China--with the possible exception of the loessial northwest--does one find the use of slope lands and the building of terraces so universal and so highly perfected as in the Szechuan Basin. Most of the low, round, amphitheater-like hills of the Basin are terraced and cultivated.

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The terraced steps are of various widths. Each terrace rises above the preceding one (Fig. 15) and in many cases is faced by a wall of bare sandstones or shales. Each terrace is irrigated from the one below by a small stream of water regulated generally by some simple lifting device, such as a windless, driven by men or animal power. Generally speaking, most of these terraced fields are irregular, depending upon the specific land forms. In Chengtu Plain the fields tend to be rather square or oblong in shape, but most of them have irregular forms, owing to the need of fitting them into irrigation systems. In general, the units of the fields in Chengtu Plain, on account of its more continuous flat topography, are much larger than those in other parts of the Basin.

In the Basin, all land to be planted in rice, whether terraced or otherwise, is put, if possible, under water--generally a little over one foot deep--for the rice season. The field boundaries in most cases follow the natural elevations.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURAL LAND-USE

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Agriculture is the principal form of land-use of the Szechuan Basin. Among all the agricultural regions of China, the Basin is not only one of her richest regions but also, with its greatest diversity and widest range of agricultural products, the Basin represents almost a miniature China. Moreover, it is estimated that approximately 85 per cent of the people gainfully employed in the Basin are engaged either directly or indirectly in agricultural pursuits.[1] In the present treatment of the problem of agricultural land-use in the Szechuan Basin, major attention will be directed to the following points, namely, the land as chief natural resource of the Basin, distinctive features of its agricultural land-use, agricultural land-use in relation to natural elements of the Basin, the principal agricultural areas of the Basin, and the Basin's chief agricultural products.

A. Land: Chief Natural Resources of Szechuan Basin

1. Cultivation-Index and Areal Pattern Thereof

According to the latest report of the Bureau of Military Surveys of Szechuan Province, the total land area of the province is 360,189 square kilometers.[2] The area of the Basin as delimited in the present study is 146,842 square kilometers. The total area under cultivation, for the province as a whole--according to the report (1939) of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research--is 103,632 square kilometers (Table 2); for the Basin proper (as delimited) it is 68,240 square kilometers. This means the province as a whole has a cultivation-index (ratio of cultivated land to

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[1]Bureau of Interior Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[2]Szechuan Provincial Government, Report of the Bureau of Military Surveys (1939).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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total land area) of about 30 per cent, whereas the cultivation-index for the Basin proper runs slightly over 45 per cent. Considering its hilly and dissected topography, this cultivation-index figure for the Basin is fairly high, in fact it compares favorably with some of the flatter and more fertile areas in other parts of China.[1]

The cultivation-index, however, varies greatly in different parts of the Basin. Some areas have an index much higher than 45 per cent, whereas other districts fall far short of it. The peripheral areas of the Basin have a rather low index, ranging between 11 and 20 per cent (Fig. 21). In Chengtu Plain the cultivation-index runs as high as 70 to 80 per cent. In some of the districts of the Plain, particularly in Pi-hsien, Hsin-ching, Wen Chiang, Shuan-liu, and Hua-yang in the southwestern part of the Plain, the figure is even higher than this. On the other hand, in many other districts, including Pei-chuan, Ping-wu, Miao-hsien, Cheng-ko, and Pu-hsi in the northern, northwestern, and northeastern fringes of the Basin, the cultivation-index runs as low as 3 to 5 per cent. Between these two extremes, most of the south central and eastern parts of the Basin have an index ranging between 30 and 50 per cent. Generally speaking, the cultivation-index of the south central districts is somewhat above the general average for the Basin as a whole, whereas the eastern districts fall short of it. The districts on the northern, northeastern, and eastern fringes of the Basin, such as Kuang-yuan, Nanchiang, Wan-yuan, Yun-yang, and Feng-chieh, which have an index of 15 to 20 per cent (Fig. 21), are far below the general average for the Basin as a whole.

These differences in the cultivation-index are clearly explainable if one bears in mind the layout of land forms of the Basin. As in the case of population pattern, the factor of topography plays a very important part. It is almost startling to note the high degree of coincidence which the three maps showing relief, population density, and cultivation-index (constructed from three different sources of data) bear to one another.

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[1] Buck's study reports that the cultivation-index for the Yangtse Rice-wheat area as a whole is 35 per cent, but for the Yangtse Delta alone, the figure is 100 per cent (op. cit., p. 68). In the same study, Buck reports that the cultivation-index for the North-China Plain to be 68 per cent (op. cit., p. 62).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

2. Major Types of Land-Use

a) General statement.--Concerning the classification of main types of land-use in the Basin, there are no official statistics available. It is, however, estimated[1] that 32 per cent of the total land area is used for farming and its related purposes; 22 per cent for forests, brush, and other undergrowths, particularly bamboo; 3 per cent for graves and graveyards; 2 per cent for pasture; 2 per cent for grasses grown for fuel; 2 per cent for temple grounds; and 37 per cent for miscellaneous uses (including "huang-ti," wild lands or waste lands). These estimates, although no better than cautious guesses, do furnish a general picture as to land-uses and their relative significance.

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To a western student of agriculture or geographer this relatively high percentage of total land used for graveyards and temple grounds, and this extremely low percentage in permanent pasture, may seem incomprehensible. Probably here lies one of the most fundamental differences not only between Chinese and western agricultural systems, but also between the two respective cultures. The high percentage of wild or waste land is also striking. This is partly a result of the rugged topography, limited water supply, and poor soil conditions in many sections of the Basin. It also is partly, perhaps mainly, a result of the incessant civil warfare which has prevailed in the Basin during the last twenty years. This misfortune has laid waste to thousands of acres of productive farm lands, and has rendered farm economy bankrupt.

b) Uses of crop land.--It is reported that the total land in crop in the year 1937, for the province as a whole, amounted to 108,174,564 mow (one mow equals one-sixth of an acre), of which 44,952,366 mow, or 43 per cent, were used for "shui-tien" (irrigated fields) or rice paddy fields, and 63,222,198 mow, or 57 per cent, for "hang-tien" (unirrigated fields) or dry-crop lands.[2] With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor river valleys, such as the To and Pou, where a large portion of the crop lands are used for irrigated paddy fields, most of the districts of the Basin, particularly the hilly areas, are generally occupied

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Land Statistics (1937), pp. 83-85.

[2]Bureau of Reconstruction, Agricultural Section, Szechuan Provincial Government, Crop-land Statistics (1937).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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by "hang-ti" or unirrigated "dry" fields.

Dividing the total crop area by the total number of people in the province gives an average of about 2.5 mow of crop land per person. This is very small. It is also calculated that the average size of farm in Szechuan is about 16.3 mow,[1] which is slightly smaller than the average farm in north China (say, for Shantung province, 19 mow), but is much larger than the average size of farm in south or central China (say, for instance, Hunan province 12 mow).[2] The size of the average agricultural land-holding reflects the medium position of the Szechuan Basin.

The most interesting thing about these farms in the Basin lies, however, not so much in their small size but rather in the manner and the intensity with which they are being used. According to Buck,[3] 89.3 per cent of the total farm area in the "Szechuan Rice region" is used for crops; 4 per cent for farmsteads; 4.7 per cent for roads and graves; 0.7 per cent for wooded pastures; 0.7 per cent for forests; 0.4 per cent for pasture land; 0.1 for productive water area; and 0.1 for fuel grasses.

B. Distinctive Features of Agricultural Land-Use in Szechuan Basin

Nyhus, in his study of agricultural regions of China, classified Szechuan as the "west China" region.[4] Buck grouped Szechuan as the "Szechuan Rice" area.[5] Both of these classifications are widely known in the west and have often been quoted in western geographic literatures.[6] However, both of them seem to neglect the most unique features of agricultural practice in the

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[1] Buck's finding for the "most usual size" of farm in the "Szechuan Rice region" is 2.4 acres, or approximately 14.4 mow, which is slightly lower than the figure arrived here (op. cit., p. 269).

[2] Bureau of Statistics, National Government, China, Agricultural Statistics (Nanking, 1933), p. 41.

[3] Buck, op. cit., p. 172.

[4] Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Regions of China (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., 1931) (maps).

[5] Buck, op. cit., p. 27 (map).

[6] G. B. Cressey, "The Agricultural Regions of Asia," Economic Geography, Vol. X (1934).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Basin. Particularly, Nyhus' classification of Szechuan as the "west China region," which includes large heterogeneous areas with diversified agricultural practice (for instance, Yunnan), fails to bring the agricultural land-use of the Basin into a sharp focus. Buck's treatment, in spite of the rich quantitative data he assembled, is handicapped by the lack of sufficient descriptive materials. Statistics alone, without comprehensive case descriptions, furnish only a dry skeleton which is of limited interest. In his contact with the agricultural practice in the Basin during the past years, the author feels there are a number of unique agricultural practices in the Basin which deserve special mention. 241 311

1. Extraordinary Diversity of Agricultural Products and Intensity of Land-Use

First of all, the agricultural system of Szechuan Basin is marked both by its extreme diversity of products and by the extraordinary intensity of its land-use. Although the Basin is generally noted and is commonly classified as a "rice region," (and rice is undoubtedly the predominant crop here), a more characteristic feature of its agriculture system is the production of many other unirrigated crops, particularly corn, potatoes, kaoliang, and millet. Nowhere in China, perhaps with the possible exception of Yunnan and Kwangtung provinces, have corn and potatoes become so significant in agricultural production as in the Basin. Moreover, nowhere else in China, perhaps beside the North China Plain and Manchuria, have kaoliang, millet, and soy beans been so widely cultivated as here. It is even more surprising to note that horticultural products so diverse as Lung yen (Euphoria longana), li chi (Litchi chinensis), sugar cane, and citrus fruits of tropical south China, and the best quality pears and persimmons of temperate cold north China are all found growing together here. Agriculturally and horticulturally, here in the Basin, one finds all of China represented in a miniature form. 241

2. The "Tung-Shui-Tien" System

Another characteristic agricultural practice here is the so-called "Tung-shui-tien" system, literally meaning "winter-storing-water field." In spite of the favorable climate and the fertile soil, and contrary to the popular belief of many western agriculturalists and geographers, large tracts of "ti-tien,"

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

show but little evidence of podsolization.[1] A typical profile of this soil is shown below (Fig. 26).[2] These soils are used principally for rice production and some other crops, such as wheat, tobacco, and various kinds of vegetables. It is necessary to emphasize again the extreme fertility of these soils and the significant part they have played in the agricultural success of the Basin. 134

Besides the rice paddy soils, on the low hills and high river terraces of part of western Szechuan Basin, particularly in the vicinity north of Chengtu, there are small patches of dark greyish brown coarse soils. Many soil scientists prefer to call these soils "Chengtu Clay."[3] Some people believe these "Chengtu clays" were probably true loesses at one time but have lost their columnar structure and are now characterized by prismatic and cloddy structure.[4]

c) Podsolized old yellow earth.--Third, the grey-brown yellow soils occupying the surrounding hills of the Basin are generally less fertile and are agriculturally unimportant.

d) Other soils.--On account of the unique geological structure and rock formations of the Basin, one peculiar form of soil erosion has been extensively developed here. With the alternating beds of purple sandstones and shales which have been recently folded and deeply eroded, and in places where the surface slopes of such smooth rock formations correspond to the slopes of hills, soil creep is easily induced. Many times the thin surface soils have been completely removed, leaving only bare rocks. In the case of shales, on account of their comparatively rugged surface, the situation is less grave. Soil creep constitutes one of the most serious problems of agricultural land-use in the Basin, and challenges immediate attention.

3. Agricultural Land-Use and Topography

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With the exception of Chengtu Plain and some other minor comparatively broad river valleys (such as the To and Fou River

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[1] Ibid., p. 121. [2] Ibid., p. 391. [3] Ibid., p. 387.

[4] J. Thorp and D. Dye, "The Chengtu Clays, Deposits of Possible Loessal Origin in Western and Northwestern Szechuan Basin," Bul. of the Geol. Soc. of China, X, No. 2 (1936), 225-46.

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valleys) most of the agricultural lands of the Basin are found on the terraced fields of the innumerable small undulating rolling hills which are found everywhere in the Basin.

In the many small valleys there is generally very little bottom land along the courses of the streams. These streams, as a rule, have deep channels and abrupt banks of sandstones and gravel-conglomerate. But, wherever such bottom lands exist at all, they are extremely fertile. They are, in most cases, terraced for rice culture, provided water can be secured. It is not unusual to observe that tracts after tracts of rice and other crop fields have been terraced along the steep banks of these small valleys.

Generally speaking, the agricultural fields, according to the popular classification commonly used by local peasants, consist of four principal categories, namely, (1) Pa Tien, or plain fields, i.e., fields around the smooth level, flattish fields or broad river bottoms; (2) Kou Tien, or valley fields, within narrow river valleys; (3) Ti Tien, or ladder fields, i.e., terraced fields along hills or any other steep lands; and (4) Shan Tu, or hilly "earth," i.e., detached fragmentary lots on hills or mountains which are too rugged and too difficult for terracing and for cultivation purposes. The relative value of these four classes of land, of course, decreases in the order named. It is particularly interesting to note that the first three categories are real "fields" whereas the fourth is merely "tu" or "earth."

Fields devoted to categories (1) and (2), and some portions of category (3) are in most cases used for wet crops (rice) whereas large portions of categories (3) and (4) are confined to dry (unirrigated) crops. The difference between these two types of land, both in the manner of utilization and in their relative value, is as sharp as the difference between pasture land and farm land in western agriculture.

In short, here in the Basin the topography furnishes one of the dominating forces in shaping many of its geographic patterns. First of all, it practically dictates the whole climatic regime of the region, which, in turn, affects the soil conditions. And all three operate in combination to account for the present patterns of agricultural land-use.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

deposits are generally about 5 to 7 meters deep.[1] It is estimated by some geologists that the rate of the alluvial deposition in Chengtu Plain is at the rate of one foot per century.[2] This assertion and calculation is independently evidenced by recent archaeological excavations near the vicinity of Chengtu. Burial objects of unmistakably Early Han dynasty were discovered at a depth of about seven meters (or about 21 feet).[3] In other words, the geological time of these deposits corresponds fairly closely with the historical times as manifested in the age of the buried Han objects, i.e., both are about 2,100 years old. If both of these assertions are correct, i.e., the deposition at the rate of one foot per hundred years, and the maximum deposit being not over 60 meters (or 180 feet) deep, the age of this celebrated rich Chengtu Plain can be no more than 20,000 years. 133

It is interesting to note that as late as the Han dynasty, large parts of the Chengtu Plain were still swampy in nature. This is evidenced by the fact that the most prosperous settlements at that time were not in Chengtu and its surrounding cities, but rather at Ling Tsung (the present Tsung Nai) and the more elevated hilly areas of the Plain.[4]

In addition to the rich, young alluvial deposits, Cheng-tu Plain is further favored, as we shall see later, by the excellent and ingenious irrigation systems, devised by the revered Li Ping and his son about 2,200 years ago. These irrigation systems freed this Plain once and for all from the danger of drought and flood. Here, multitudes of canals and ditches, filled with irrigation water, run through the rice paddy, fields, vegetable tracts, and flower gardens. Through some ingenious devices, as we shall see later, silts are dug off and the principal channels cleared once every year.

The Plain has the further advantage of being watered by streams rising in the mountains where the rainfall is much heavier than that in the Plains, and where the water-supply from snow 3110 133

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[1] Ibid., p. 38.

[2] D. S. Dye, Journal of West China Border Research, IV (1931), 104.

[3] C. T. Shan, "Archaeological Report on the Excavations of Chengtu Plain Areas," Cultural Research Monograph (University of Nanking, 1939). (Unpublished manuscript.)

[4] Hua Yang Kuo Chih, Chuan 2, p. 15.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

311 133 melting during the summer is reliable. At Kuan-hsien, where the torrent of the Min first enters the Plain and is taken under human control, the waters are divided into several large canals, each of which is subdivided in turn into innumerable smaller canals and ditches. The life-giving waters are impounded by dams, stone revetments, and other devices, and are held for irrigation purposes. The irrigation of the Plain has another advantage in that the soils are seldom troubled by salt and fine mud which often clog irrigated soils in other areas; because the considerable rainfall in Chengtu Plain, with an annual average of about 900 millimeters, is sufficient to prevent such clogging.

134 The soils of Chengtu Plain consist principally of the dark and dark-gray paddy soils. They are formed mainly from alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soil (chernozem) of the Tibetan border-land and Kokonor (Fig. 9) by the mighty Min River. The natural richness of these soils is enhanced even further by the annual renewal. Because of this fact, soils of the Plain, unlike the paddy soils of many other parts of China, are not strongly podzolized.[1] However, the soil conditions do not appear to be uniform throughout the whole Plain. In fact, there are considerable differences in texture, color, and profile according to slight differences in local relief.[2] For instance, in the upper Min River region, as in Kuan-hsien, the soil texture is much coarser than in the lower Plain areas.[3]

One of the most interesting practices in connection with soil culture in the farms of Chengtu Plain, is the building of little stone wing dams or projections along the stream banks out into the water. Behind these projections, the streams, in the course of a back eddy, deposit silt and sand, which are frequently rich, particularly in organic matters. All these mud accumulations are carefully dug out and carried in baskets to the fields. Many times muddy waters have been led into basins or rice paddies in order that fine fertile silt might be precipitated on the fields.

241 433 d) Agricultural products of Chengtu Plain.--The Plain is noted for its diversity of agricultural products. It produces

[1]Thorp, op. cit., p. 391.

[2]Ibid., p. 387.

[3]Ibid.

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three and sometimes four crops a year. It is estimated that the annual output of farm products alone include rice, 15,000,000 piculs; wheat, 8,000,000 piculs; other cereals, 2,000,000 piculs; rape seed, 500,000 piculs; tobacco, 700,000 piculs; plus medicinal herbs, vegetables, and other farm products. The total value of all these products at pre-war prices was a little over 180,000,000 dollars, or 45 dollars per capita for the Plain. This production represents about 15 per cent of the total volume of agricultural produce of the whole province, while the area of the Plain is only about one-sixty-seventh of the total area of the province. In other words, the Chengtu Plain produces ten times as much per unit area than the rest of the Basin. 241 433

e) Farms and fields.--Among the farm areas of the Basin, Chengtu Plain has the largest average farm. According to a survey by Professor Brown and M. L. Li, the rented farms average 30.1 mow, and the owned farms average 73.1 mow.[1] These figures are almost twice as large as the average size of farms in the Basin as a whole.[2] They are, in fact, even larger than the largest average size of farm in North China.[3] This, of course, means additional wealth and more prosperity. This undoubtedly has accounted for the large farmstead and the well-kept farms throughout the Plain (Fig. 12). Moreover, unlike other parts of the Basin, most of the farms here are not so detached. In general, the individual fields of Chengtu Plain farms are larger. According to the same survey, the average field is 3.36 mow,[4] which is three times as large as that of the hilly areas in the Basin.[5] Larger fields are made possible, of course, by the flatter topography and better water-supply here. 423 241 311

f) Marketing of agricultural products.--The marketing of the diverse agricultural products of the Plain is interesting. Marketing is done mainly in the nearby towns or cities throughout the year. The Plain is dotted with market towns, so that all 437

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[1] H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Fifty Farms on the Chengtu Plain," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1-59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Buck, op. cit., p. 273.

[4] Brown and Li, op. cit., p. 28.

[5] H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Farms of Mountain Omei Areas," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1059-76.

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Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area of the northern Basin is that this area is the most important producing center of a very important semi-agricultural product, the herbs, in the Basin. In addition to the meager subsistent agricultural production, the herb furnishes as a very important "cash crop" for the farmers. This is mainly due to the fact that in this area there are large tracts of land where the slope is too steep and the soils are too shallow for regular crop production. These lands are used, either in cultivated form or in "wild growths" for herbs. 249 137

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area include its moderate population density (Fig. 10), its specially thick cypress growths, and the conspicuous absence of coal, iron, nanmu, and pine vegetations. 162

4. The Combined Agricultural and Forestry Area of the Eastern Basin

In terms of both the agricultural prosperity and the general appearance of its agricultural landscape, this combined agricultural-forestry area of the eastern Basin (Fig. 24) is the least attractive and poorest. Here the topography is dominated by the numerous steep high parallel anticlinal ridges. Plains and gentle hills are even more restricted. 241

As to soils, in addition to the usual "purple-brown" type of the Basin, there are numerous tracts of soils, old and young yellow earths, which are derived from limestone parental materials. In most cases these soils are shallower in depths than the purple-brown type and are much slower in the rate of renewal. These factors handicap considerably its efficient agricultural production. 134

The principal crops here are potatoes, hemp, rice, corn, wheat, and kaoliang. Although rice is reported to be grown in every district of this agricultural area, its acreage is more limited here than in any other agricultural area. 241

The agricultural land-use of this area is controlled largely by its topography. Agricultural lands here are derived from two principal sources, first, on the manger-like trough lands at the top of the broad anticlines wherever the bed rocks happen to be less resistant than the surrounding structures. These trough lands are, however, rather restricted in extensions. 311 241

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Moreover, on account of the high ground water-tables here, the drainage conditions on these trough lands are very poor. These trough lands are sometimes used for wheat, hemp, rice, rape, or kaoliang, depending upon water conditions. But the productivity of these marginal agricultural lands are, in general, very low.

The second principal source of agricultural land-use here is developed on the more gentle slopes of the numerous synclines in this area. Here the slopes are terraced into rice, wheat, or potato fields. The drainage conditions are, in general, better than those in the trough lands of the anticlines. Considerable portions of the cultivated fields are used for Ta ma (hemp) and Tsao Tsai (vegetable) cultures which are the two most spectacular agricultural products of this area.

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The most outstanding feature of this agricultural area, as its name suggests, is the predominance of the forestry product, the tung oil. On the steep slopes or at the edge of the anticlines, where the soils are extremely shallow, great numbers of tung trees are planted. Especially during the past decade, stimulated by the increasing demand, the plantation of tung trees has been grown in leaps and bounds. This area alone now contributes about three-fourths of the total production of tung oil production of all the Basin. In one district, Ning-shui alone, it produces about 52 per cent of the total tung tree production of the Basin. This factor has increased greatly the population-support capacity for this agricultural area and also helps to explain the presence of a few detached high population density areas here (Fig. 10).

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Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area is that here lies about 65 per cent of the total coal reserve (Pa-hsien and Chiang-peh) and about 45 per cent of the total iron reserve (Chi-chiang and Wanchuan) of the whole Basin.[1] This remarkable fact suggests that in the future days to come, this agricultural area may abandon its present modest pursuits in agricultural and forestry production, and will soon take an unchallenged leadership in the growing industrial and manufacturing development of the Basin.

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[1] W. C. Chang, "The Iron and Coal Resources of Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, V, No. 5 (1934), 35.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Pou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Pou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, sugar-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

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F. Conclusions on Agricultural Land-Use

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Agricultural land-use of Szechuan Basin emphasizes the diversity of its agricultural products and the intensiveness of its land-use. The diversified topography, the great variation in availability of water supply, the different degrees of alluviation in different parts of the Basin, and above all, the high population density, all have contributed to the uniquely different agricultural landscapes in various parts of the Basin. The sharp difference between the appearance of Chengtu Plain and the rest of the Basin is particularly striking.

Geographically, it is interesting to note that in this area people with limited technological knowledge at their disposal have struggled through long ages of painstaking experiment, successes and failure, by trial and error, to find out the most effective way to wrest a living from the none-too-favorable environment. For ages, the Szechuanese have employed their ingenuity, their patience, and their tremendous man-power in trying to utilize every available spot of land for whatever type of crops would grow under its particular physical qualities.

The tremendous work of terracing; the diversified methods and ingenious devices for irrigation; the unique methods of soil culture, green manure, and fertilization composting; the complicated systems of rotating crops; the synchronization of the seasons of planting of various crops; and the elaborate and widespread practices of inter-culture, are all good examples of the effort to attain intensive agricultural land-use and greater production.

Here, in the Szechuan Basin, one finds a most distinctive case of how man and Nature have worked together, hand in hand, and it is plain that the vast human effort has served as the most important single factor in shaping the present patterns of agricultural land-use. The building and maintenance of various kinds of irrigation works, the terracing of huge hills into minute steps, the various practices of soil culture (such as carrying soil from lower slopes to higher fields), all these in the absence of mechanical power, require a tremendous army of labor. In addition, there are the stupendous and astounding job of transforming the dry fields in winter crops (such as wheat, beans, etc.) into wet fields for rice, and transplanting millions of young rice plants (one by one, by hand), within the short period of two weeks

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in early spring every year. Such agricultural practices and such intensive use of land as now prevail here in the Basin can only be maintained by abundant and cheap labor. In fact, it is the pressure of large numbers of men on the land that has resulted in the unique pattern of agricultural land-use here.

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Owing to the crowded population, to the limited land area, and to the extremely low standard of living, it is imperative to the Szechuanese that every inch of land which is cultivable at all be brought under cultivation. Many times, of course, this means very low production efficiency per capita.

The crop systems in the Basin are so adjusted and so synchronized as to utilize each piece of land to the maximum. For instance, if physical conditions, particularly water supply, permit, rice is always the preferred crop. If rice cannot be grown, the next best crop, such as wheat, corn, millet, or barley, will be planted. If even these crops are impossible, still other crops will be grown, and the land put to some productive use. The simple truth is that here millions of mouths have to be fed, and the Szechuanese absolutely cannot afford to let their land lie idle if this can be avoided in any way. Given the known physical assets, with the available technological knowledge, one may fairly say that the Szechuanese, so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, have made a shrewd "deal" with their physical surroundings. Another people with the same equipment, under the same conditions, both physical and cultural, perhaps could not have done in any way materially different from the Szechuanese.

Nevertheless, in spite of all that has been said above, the agricultural land-use of Szechuan Basin, especially in the light of modern technological development and in the face of modern scientific agriculture, cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory. As a matter of fact, many of the Basin's practices in agricultural land-use are miserably inefficient and call for drastic and immediate improvement. The extreme heterogeneity of the seed of nearly all the field crops, the lack of scientific seed selection and plant-breeding station, the marginal character and low efficiency of the production in many hilly areas, the lack of good drought-resistant crops in areas where natural rainfall is undependable, the failure in cotton-culture, the financial inability to obtain modern complete chemical fertilizers, the wasteful practices of the so-called "winter-storing-water-field"

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system, and above all, the inefficiency of many of the superfluous ditches and irrigation works, are notable examples. The successful solution of any of these problems will undoubtedly bring about a higher efficiency in the agricultural land-use of the Basin.

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TABLE 2

INDEX OF CULTIVATED LAND TO TOTAL LAND AREA
IN SZECHUAN BASIN (1939)

•311

Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Cultivated Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Ratio of (3) to (2) in Per Cent
1. Ching-Hua.....	2,875	86	0.3
2. Li-Fan.....	9,667	24	0.2
3. Miao-Hsien.....	4,940	203	4.0
4. Pai-Chuan.....	1,716	57	3.0
5. Ping-Wu.....	6,097	198	3.0
6. Chao-Hua.....	1,541	523	34.0
7. Kuang-Yuan.....	6,151	923	15.0
8. Nan-Chiang.....	4,666	1,045	22.0
9. Tung-Chiang.....	4,980	996	20.0
10. Wan-Yuan.....	4,117	527	13.0
11. Cheng-Ko.....	4,307	215	5.0
12. Pu-Hsi.....	3,156	158	5.0
13. Pu-Shan.....	2,646	265	10.0
14. Miao-Kung.....	18,734	23	0.1
15. Wen-Chuan.....	3,378	34	1.0
16. An-Hsien.....	1,428	500	35.0
17. Chang-Ming.....	939	188	21.0
18. Chiang-Yu.....	2,651	1,398	53.0
19. Chien-Ko.....	3,457	1,069	31.0
20. Tsang-Hsi.....	2,399	719	30.0
21. Pa-Chung.....	4,737	1,128	24.0
22. Hsuan-Han.....	4,340	1,302	30.0
23. Kai-Hsien.....	3,700	1,295	35.0
24. Yun-Yang.....	3,369	842	25.0
25. Feng-Chieh.....	4,457	1,114	25.0
26. Pao-Hsin.....	1,679	56	3.0
27. Kuan-Hsien.....	989	692	70.0
28. Peng-Hsien.....	895	627	70.0
29. Shih-Feng.....	746	597	80.0
30. Mien-Chu.....	638	510	80.0
31. Lo-Chiang.....	699	489	70.0
32. Mien-Yang.....	1,565	1,174	75.0
33. Tzu-Tung.....	595	208	35.0
34. Nan-Pu.....	2,922	979	33.0
35. Nan-Chung.....	1,481	518	35.0
36. I-Lung.....	1,578	394	25.0
37. Ying-Shan.....	1,764	648	37.0
38. Ta-Hsien.....	3,549	1,242	35.0
39. Kai-Chiang.....	1,040	624	60.0
40. Wan-Hsien.....	3,667	2,200	60.0
41. Tsung-Nai.....	1,503	1,052	69.0
42. Ta-I.....	1,081	757	70.0
43. Tsung-Ching.....	1,116	837	75.0
44. Nen-Chiang.....	251	213	85.0
45. Tsung-Nin.....	178	151	85.0
46. Pi-Hsien.....	273	232	85.0
47. Sin-Fung.....	159	116	73.0

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TABLE 2—Continued

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Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Total Cultivated Area (In Sq. Kilometer)	Ratio of (3) to (2) in Per Cent
48. Sin-Fu.....	344	236	70.0
49. Kuang-Han.....	499	399	80.0
50. Te-Yang.....	512	410	80.0
51. Chung-Chiang.....	2,456	1,615	66.0
52. San-Tai.....	2,733	1,366	50.0
53. Yen-Ting.....	595	208	35.0
54. Si-Chung.....	999	749	75.0
55. Nan-Chung.....	2,636	1,978	75.0
56. Peng-An.....	1,638	1,147	70.0
57. Chu-Hsien.....	1,657	647	39.0
58. Ta-Chu.....	1,826	913	50.0
59. Liang-Shan.....	2,408	1,686	70.0
60. Chung-Hsien.....	1,569	785	50.0
61. Shih-Chu.....	2,071	632	31.0
62. Ning-Shan.....	622	159	26.0
63. Pu-Chiang.....	501	320	64.0
64. Sin-Tsing.....	316	268	85.0
65. Peng-Shan.....	425	298	70.0
66. Shuan-Liu.....	286	244	85.0
67. Hua-Yang.....	957	813	85.0
68. Cheng-Tu.....	246	208	80.0
69. Ching-Tan.....	1,411	1,129	80.0
70. Chien-Yang.....	2,502	1,501	60.0
71. Lo-Chi.....	1,158	810	70.0
72. Siu-Ning.....	1,814	1,451	80.0
73. Peng-Hsi.....	1,974	987	50.0
74. Shei-Hung.....	1,399	1,042	74.0
75. Wu-Cheng.....	1,079	863	80.0
76. Yo-Chi.....	1,859	1,394	75.0
77. Kuang-An.....	1,707	854	50.0
78. Liang-Shui.....	1,897	894	47.0
79. Tien-Chiang.....	8,865	597	6.8
80. Peng-Tu.....	858	478	56.0
81. Peng-Shui.....	9,131	1,117	15.0
82. Chien-Chiang.....	2,237	336	15.0
83. Yu-Yang.....	3,665	1,078	29.0
84. Siu-Shan.....	1,440	432	30.0
85. Tang-Ling.....	724	289	40.0
86. Nei-Shan.....	1,035	517	50.0
87. Jen-Show.....	2,516	1,510	60.0
88. Tzu-Yang.....	1,733	1,213	70.0
89. An-Yo.....	2,768	1,661	60.0
90. Tung-Nan.....	1,751	1,225	70.0
91. Ho-Chuan.....	2,840	1,989	70.0
92. Chiang-Pei.....	2,472	1,730	70.0
93. Chang-Sheo.....	1,138	667	56.0
94. Pei-Ling.....	5,520	3,312	60.0
95. Hung-Ya.....	1,523	228	15.0
96. Chia-Chiang.....	420	128	31.0
97. Ching-Shen.....	409	205	50.0

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TABLE 2—Continued

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Name of District	Total Land Area (In Sq.Kilometer)	Total Cultivated Area (In Sq.Kilometer)	Ratio of (3) to (2) in Per Cent
98. Ching-Yen.....	628	408	65.0
99. Yung-Hsien.....	1,965	786	40.0
100. Wei-Yuan.....	781	482	60.0
101. Tzu-Chung.....	1,905	1,324	70.0
102. Lei-Chiang.....	1,599	1,119	70.0
103. Yung-Chang.....	899	629	70.0
104. Ta-Cho.....	1,316	658	50.0
105. Tung-Liang.....	1,497	898	60.0
106. Pih-Shan.....	8,111	568	7.0
107. Pa-Hsien.....	3,312	1,656	50.0
108. Nan-Chuan.....	3,029	382	13.0
109. O-Pien.....	2,738	237	9.0
110. O-Mei.....	1,272	367	29.0
111. Lo-Shan.....	1,867	933	50.0
112. Chien-Wei.....	1,954	684	35.0
113. I-Ping.....	4,230	2,961	70.0
114. Fu-Shun.....	2,207	1,544	70.0
115. Lung-Chang.....	761	496	66.0
116. Lu-Hsien.....	2,913	2,185	75.0
117. Yung-Chuan.....	1,288	902	70.0
118. Chiang-Tsin.....	3,253	1,626	50.0
119. Chi-Chiang.....	1,839	276	15.0
120. Lei-Po.....	4,814	481	10.0
121. Ma-Pien.....	2,624	136	5.0
122. Ping-Shan.....	2,891	848	29.0
123. Kao-Hsien.....	1,394	120	9.0
124. Ching-Fu.....	1,077	538	50.0
125. Nan-Hsi.....	957	680	75.0
126. Chiang-An.....	740	447	60.0
127. Nou-Hsi.....	477	344	72.0
128. Ho-Chiang.....	2,329	797	34.0
129. Yung-Lien.....	342	122	36.0
130. Chi-Hsien.....	1,197	104	9.0
131. Chang-Ning.....	1,295	307	24.0
132. Hsing-Wen.....	526	195	37.0
133. Ku-Sung.....	598	167	28.0
134. Siu-Yung.....	2,916	114	4.0
135. Ku-Ning.....	5,589	381	7.0
136. Sung-Pan.....	50,139	20	0.04
Total.....	360,159	100,787	28.9

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Hu, and the Ying-hsing Hu.[11]

6. The Hsi-k'ang Tibetan Plateau Lands

While Hsi-k'ang is somewhat peripheral to our present study, the close relationship to western Ssu-ch'uan and northern Yun-nan of eastern Tibet or Kam (Hsi-k'ang means "Western Kam") makes it desirable to examine its geographical situation. In any event the valleys of the Ya-lung Chiang, the An-ning Ho, and the Ta-tu Ho with its tributaries the Ta-chin Ch'uan (Great Gold River) and Hsiao Chin Ch'uan (Little Gold River) have figured since ancient times in Chinese history, and Lhasa has never had any real claim to the high plateau country east of the Chin-sha Chiang. The boundary between Tibet and China settled by the Manchu Emperor and the Tibetans in 1727 and lasting down to 1910 ran from the Mekong just north of A-t'un-tzu, crossed northward into the Chin-sha Chiang valley and followed the water divide between the Chin-sha and the upper Mekong sources to the Kokonor Territory.[12]

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Photo 4. Shuang-chiang, Yun-nan Province (23° 29' N, 99° 50' E)

In this panorama, the viewer looks northwestward along the ridge of the Pang-ma Shan, the highest point of which culminates at the 10,608 feet high Liang Shan in the left center background. The large forest remnant in the foreground is on the southern end of the Pang-ma Shan just northwest of Shuang-chiang town. Here is dramatically contrasted the dense forest vegetation that once covered all of South China with the denuded slopes that comprise the large percentage of South China mountainland today. The slash-burn, shifting cultivators that comprise the mountain tribes are largely responsible for this situation, although ultimately the cause is attributable to the pressure of the Han-Chinese who have crowded out the mountain tribes and prevented natural regrowth to take place. While the mountain tribes prefer their cool heights, the Pa-yi basin dwellers are found usually only in the low, hot valleys such as that at the right of the photo where the low fields may be flooded for wet-rice cultivation.

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175 prising this area. The famous engineer, Li Ping, was sent to administer Shu as governor, and it was at this time that Li Ping and his son developed the Kuan Hsien irrigation system still operating today.[5]

According to Hsu, the fact that the Chuang people of present-day Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan, Kuei-chou, and Kuang-hsi still sacrifice to the two irrigation deities gives added proof that the Southwestern Yi of Han times included the Pa and Shu peoples in their group. The indigenous Chuang of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi do not honor these deities, however, and this would indicate that their migration there must have occurred prior to the end of the Chou Dynasty and the Warring States Period. It also points to the far-reaching spread of Shu-shan culture, while other cultural ties indicate that the indigenous Chuang of Ling-nan are of the same stock as those of Pa and Shu.

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Photo 6. Lu Hsien, Ssu-ch'uan Province (28°54' N, 105° 27' E)

133 311 When the Chin-sha Chiang runs out of Yun-nan to become the Yang-tzu River, it enters a great basin that once contained a vast inland sea in what is now Ssu-ch'uan Province. With long erosion considerable unevenness has developed that makes the local sandstone topography precipitous but without great elevation differences. From the air the eroded sea-bed aspect can be perceived without much imagination, an aspect that is supported by the meandering character of the streams. This is seen not only in the great bends of the mighty Yang-tzu, but also in the small tributary between two of the Yang-tzu bends. A surprisingly large proportion of the basin surface, therefore, is under cultivation to support in Ssu-ch'uan the largest provincial population in China. From dry-cropped flat-topped lake-bottom remnants standing along the sky-line, tiered paddy fields lead step-like down to the river floodplains. In B.C. times, this was part of the prosperous T'ai kingdom of Shu. The foreground shows the important Han-Chinese city of Lu Hsien where the road from Ch'ung-ch'ing to K'un-ming crosses the Yang-tzu. This was one of the last territories yielded up by the southward moving early T'ai migrants en route to the Kuei-chou and Yun-nan basin lands.

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and southwest China. In the eastern part of Hsi-k'ang the valley of the An-ning Ho, a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang just before the latter joins the Chin-sha (Upper Yang-tzu) River, early became an important military route for southward-reaching conquerors. This route not only is fashioned for north-south travel, but provides a large rice basin where the present capital city, Hsi-ch'ang is located. It is doubtful that this was ever occupied by T'ai people, for this is in the midst of the Lolo country.

Undoubtedly the Kuei-chou plateau and mountain land played an important role in the separate development of the two principal directions of the T'ai thrust, that is, the thrust up the Yang-tzu into the Yun-nan lake basins, and the thrust southward into Ling-nan and the land of Nan-Yueh, present-day Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. These two regions have had significant early T'ai political organizations and they are still important centers of the T'ai remnants within China. Their historical development differed. Ling-nan was in the direct path of the Ch'in thrust for empire, and the T'ai had been here for many centuries before the Ch'in. Yun-nan, on the other hand, was probably entered by the T'ai only shortly before the Ch'in unified the

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Photo 8. Ts'ao Hu, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

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Ts'ao Hu in central Kuei-chou Province is one of the two lakes of a significant size in Kuei-chou, the other being in southwestern Kuei-chou near the Kuang-hsi border. This lake basin lies along one of the most important routes connecting Ssu-ch'uan Province with Yun-nan Province. It contains one of the few relatively large paddy areas in Kuei-chou and was early a Han-Chinese administrative center and military base for the conquest and control of the Miao and Lolo tribes of the province. The far left shore of Ts'ao Hu seen here from the west is the site of Wei-ning, the district seat and one of the larger towns of the province. Prior to Han-Chinese entry to this part of China, rice-farming T'ai tribes occupied the basin, while Lolo tribes farmed the surrounding mountains. With the increasing southwestward push of the Han-Chinese, the T'ai tribes migrated farther toward the southwest frontiers.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China

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[p. 123]

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000 exports from the province of Kweichow.[30]

241 313 433 Sikang Province, with a population a little over three million, is a comparatively undeveloped area. Its principal products, in addition to grain, are herb medicines and lumber. Sikang is considered one of the chief lumber centers in China. In the regions of the Ch'ing-i River, the Ta-tu River, the Ya-lung River, and the Sikang-Tibet plateau there are forests over 500 years old.[31] Lumber production[32] in Sikang in 1954 was reported to be 34 times that of 1950. However, since transportation facilities have not yet been fully developed, and lumber resources of Sikang Province cannot be fully utilized.

VI. WATER CONSERVATION AND IRRIGATION

312 The most renowned irrigation system in Southwest China is the Tu-chiang Yen (Tu-chiang Irrigation Works) in Szechwan Province. It was built in 250 B.C. by order of Li Ping, governor of Shu (Szechwan) during the Ch'in Dynasty. Li was an able administrator and

30. Ibid.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 21, 1954.
32. Ibid.

312 and engineer who understood the value of water conservation and irrigation.[33] A large area of land under his control was flooded each year and a series of natural calamities had brought his people close to starvation. After an extensive investigation of the causes of the floods, he and his son planned the irrigation system which harnessed the rivers and dammed the flood waters so that they might be used with profit.[34] The entire system constructed over 2,000 years ago, is in service today. It can irrigate half a million acres of land in 14 hsien within the Chengtu plains region.[35] Chi Yung's Water Conservation and Irrigation in Ancient China gives an interesting account of the development of the system. Minor repairs are made each year and major repairs every five years.[36]

Many smaller irrigation projects are undertaken each year in order to extend the amount of land under cultivation, and in consequence agricultural production has

33. Chi Yung, Chung-kuo Ku-tai Ti Shui-li [Water Conservation and Irrigation in Ancient China], Shanghai, 1955, p. 27.

34. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

35. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1954, No. 17, p. 18.

36. Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, June 24, 1955.

312 steadily increased throughout the provinces of the Southwest Region.

VII. CONCLUSION

241 433 The Communist regime has given special attention to the intensive development of the agricultural resources of the Southwest Region. In Southwest China, the province of Szechwan plays the most important role in the production of grains and commercial crops. Since 1953, even the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, where the supply of foodstuffs has been generally inadequate, are asserted to have become more or less self-sufficient. Surplus grain from Szechwan is available in cases of emergency elsewhere in China, and the province is relied upon to make up the grain deficits of other regions. Southwest China also produces in abundance a number of commodities suitable for export, including tung oil, tea, silk, canned meats, wine, and fruit.

474 The movement to extend the authority of agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural districts of Mainland China has accelerated since the promulgation of the "Resolution on Co-operativization" in November 1955. Since the principle of "mutual-aid" is counter to traditional Chinese practice, it will doubtlessly meet strong resistance among the peasants as soon as the cadres relax their

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession. [243] 139 133 487

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湧.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not contain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[37] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are [312] [243]

[37] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 刺巴塘. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 487 133

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets. 137

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See: San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神廟 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇巴塘 (also written 刺巴塘). The caravan stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet. [312]

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Khu (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of 101

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173 At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,[18] and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties. — In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,[19] to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晉寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420–478), Ch'i 齊 (479–501), Liang 梁 (502–556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳紀 (557–589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty. — In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽[20] to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河,[21] to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

[18] Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'u 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

[19] In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chun 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

[20] According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

133 312 [21] The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 羆谷山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

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teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien. 173

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649–764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.[22] He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).[23]

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'iung [but read *k'ung* in Yünnan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賒詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙巂詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,[24] received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣[25] requesting that he

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through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449). They burst ten times between 1691–1775. 312 133

[22] The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關). 173

[23] The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649–902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

[24] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

[25] P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 邏盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

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774 T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the
778 sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

133 *Hsiang Shan* 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern
312 point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

133 *Chih Shan* 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子崖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

[233] *Ma-tso-shu Shan* 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

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khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po

ㄷ্ঠ্ঠ্ঠ্ঠ্ঠ], *i.e.*, the purple mountain of Jang = Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明具, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 [6] is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dyansty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 [7] is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [8] flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

[6] There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dü-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

[7] This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 and La-chün Shan 剌均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 is 20 li north-west of the old Lan chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 剌鉤山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈞. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the natives pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu-niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling-ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石賴江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

[8] It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

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rising to over 20,000 feet into an azure sky, while Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv rears its snowy head high over the crags and pinnacles forming the last of the spur to the west, at the foot of which the Yangtze roars some 10,000 feet or more below, ever carving a deeper and deeper gorge. Range upon range is visible, as well as the Yangtze in its trench at Ta-ku after it emerges from the gorge between Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv and the crags of 'A-ts'an-gko. 133* 137* 487*

From 15,500 feet on, the grade is gentle and the going is good. We continue on the top of the wide spur leading to the broad peak, over thousands of tiny, loose, sharp limestone rocks. The entire surface of the hard limestone has been split into myriads of fragments by the action of the ice. The wall of rock which forms the eastern part of the gorge is cleaved several feet deep into a forest of columns as if the entire surface had been chopped up with a giant's axe. From the summit down to 17,000 feet the broad spur is buried beneath a massive glacier, the ice lying in folds like the train of a wedding garment (PLATE 87). The rocks here change in shape, resembling angular sticks several feet in length, and only about two inches in width. They lie about parallel to each other, having been split by the action of severe frosts and ice. Quartz is not uncommon here, also iron-bearing rock and pure white marble. The ascent to the summit of this mountain can easily be accomplished, one needs only follow the western outer edge or rampart which hems in the glacier, and which is usually free of snow. The only obstacles are the terrific gales which blow over these mountains, whirling the snow in huge columns like smoke into the air. If one wishes to ascend Gyi-nà nv-lv, camp should be pitched in the gorge west of it, on a broad shelf or terrace, suitable for a camp, a little below 16,000 feet. At 14,500 feet and even higher we found *Lerwa Lerwa major* on the rocky, barren waste and also several snow chickens, *Tetragallus tibetanus henrici*, neither hitherto recorded from Yün-nan.

6. THE REGION BETWEEN TA-KU (NDA-GV) AND GKO-NDZA-GKV

Ta-ku and the many small villages belonging to it are collectively called Ta-chü li 大具里. Ta-ku itself is situated on a fan-shaped plain mainly composed of conglomerate. To the west the plain is bordered by the Gyi-nà nv-lv and the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河. The Yangtze emerges here from the terrific gorge which it has cut for itself through the Li-chiang snow range, and flows east for a short distance through the conglomerate plain and then north at the foot of a mighty range — the Dzu-k'u nv-lv as it is called by the Na-khi of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr. The plain through which the Yangtze flows, 600 feet below the main village of Ta-ku, drops in terraces towards the river. It is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, except for a few Chinese settlers. The climate is warm enough for two crops to mature in one year. Wheat, panicled millet (*shu* 黍), cotton, rice and maize are grown. Out of the millet stalks they make sugar known as Sha-t'ang 紗糖. *Cannabis sativa*, the *ma* 麻 (hemp plant) which the Na-khi call *ssaw*, is much cultivated, especially the female plant which gives better fibre and which they call *ssaw-mä*. 133* [132] 241

Ta-ku is 140 li north of Li-chiang. To the west of the village is a large spring called Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 (Dragon spring); in the days of a native official, its water was conveyed in irrigation ditches to the higher fields. Near the [302] 133* 137*

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*133 race becomes higher in one place, causing the water to desert its old terrace and to flow over the hill in another direction, to build anew. The whole hill is therefore covered with ancient basins and terraces, some much broken and covered with vegetation and of a dark grey, resembling the hide of an elephant. Some of the circular basins are fully 20 feet broad, yet are only a foot or less deep, growing ever taller like stalagmites, which they really are, with the only difference that instead of shedding all the water, they retain a quantity in a shallow, broad basin. (PLATES 136, 137, 138.)

One part of the terrace is especially high, forming a large, bulging promontory resembling the fat-bellied god of the Chinese, Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛, whose name it bears (PLATE 139). Below the bulge is a natural slit in the limestone which communicates with the interior. Here barren women come to pray for children, burning incense before the opening.

In the shallow sinter basins, as well as in the furrows and corrugations of the terraces over which the water flows, there are to be found millions of pisolites or oölites, resembling the roe of fish. These are formed around minute algæ which are the nuclei of the pisolites. They are not exactly round, but somewhat oblong and flattened and never thicker than the depth of the water which flows over them. They differ notably from pisolites known from similar sinter basins and terraces, as those of Madagascar and the Yellowstone of America. Instead of being composed of concentric rings, they are dichotomously branched. They are constantly rolled back and forth by the flowing water; the basins are full of them, though they never grow larger than a pea.[12]

718 The natives and their sorcerers look upon this terrace as sacred and as being the property of the Llü-mun, the equivalent of the Chinese dragon kings and the Tibetan Lu (serpent spirits; written kLu). *K'o-byu* offerings adorn the spring (PLATE 135), as also paper streamers, saplings, etc. Under the trees is a stone altar on which the Dto-mba (priests) burn pine branches and incense, while they chant incantations to propitiate the Llü-mun. They have a special ceremony called *Ssu-gv*, during which many books are chanted and many objects offered to propitiate the serpent spirits. The books of this ceremony, as well as those belonging to numerous other ceremonies performed by the Na-khi, I have translated and these will form two separate volumes.

*133 The spring and terraces have no connection with the deep ravine and valley
3/2 which encircle this hill; the water is forced up to the surface from hundreds of feet below. It forms the water-supply of most of the villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr.
164 Goitre is very prevalent, but the inhabitants should never suffer from indigestion. The water is conveyed to the villages first in a ditch and then in wooden flumes which, after having been in use for a certain time, have a most curious appearance. The ditches are encrusted with lime and the flumes have become so filled with it that the boards merely serve as support for the limestone which has been built up above the edge and bulges over the boards. The water thus flows in a limestone trough several inches above the original flume. At Gu-dù the water empties from the flume to the ground. Here the mouths of the hollowed out logs which serve as troughs look as if they were covered with icicles. The main stream of water has formed a stalactite, while from the ground

[12] DR. HOFFET, of the Geological Service of Indo-China, kindly analysed these pisolites for me.

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a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133*

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bběr-dděr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 [156] [291]

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bběr-dděr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bběr-dděr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bběr-dděr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] 778 [191]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bběr-dděr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bběr-dděr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bběr-p'ěr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ěr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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[312] The village people are dependent for their water supply on a stagnant pool immediately beside the trail, whose water is of a deep yellowish-red color.

*487 *133 *137

Beyond the village the path divides, the right branch leading to Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) and the left to Shih-ku. The whole country takes on the aspect of an undulating plateau similar to that of Lo-shui-tung on the Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa road. The sink-holes are crater-like, and so numerous that their rims meet. The soil is a brilliant red and cultivation is continued up to the steeply sloping walls of the holes, buckwheat being the main crop. Na-khi are the sole cultivators.

The upper edge of the plateau drops steeply to an undulating, much-furrowed valley floor. Immediately below flows the Yangtze, making a narrow bend, where a ferry plies to the village of Ba-lo on the west bank of the river. The trail descends now into the Yangtze valley at a fair grade over the otherwise steep slope, till we reach the valley floor and the river bank. Looking west we behold a peculiar triangular peak at the foot of which Shih-ku (Rock drum) village is situated. There is some pine forest on the broad valley floor, though a good deal of it is under cultivation. So much has the soil been disturbed and denuded of its trees, that the whole valley floor is eroded into a maze of small canyons. Sharp limestone boulders washed out from their embeddiments dot the ground. The trail is in many places obliterated and one is forced to cross these miniature canyons over narrow ridges. In places the packed, hard trail is a mere shell over an abyss washed out beneath. The soil is a dark-red loam in which are deeply embedded black limestone boulders of fantastic shapes. On this furrowed, hilly floor the La-shih-pa road joins the one from Dto-k'ö. The trail descends steeply to a ravine called Leng-shui kou 冷水溝 (Cold water ravine), which debouches into the Yangtze 57 li from Li-chiang, and 20 li from Shih-ku. In the ravine is situated the hamlet of Leng-shui-kou, the Gyi-t'khi-lo of the Na-khi. A path leads down-stream to the village of A-khi (Aw-khi), where there is a lovely Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple).

Our way leads upstream towards the curious-looking peak behind Shih-ku. This mountain is called Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 and is 80 li distant from Li-chiang.

When looking up stream near Leng-shui-kou where the Yangtze is about 600 yards wide, one would be convinced that the Yangtze issues from the valley behind Shih-ku and Wang-chiang Shan. Only close to Shih-ku is the sharp bend of the river visible.

At the foot of the Shih-ku spur the Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河[5] [Stream which rushes on to the river (Yangtze)] debouches into the Yangtze.

The Na-khi call it La-ba gyi and La-ba pa-tzu gyi (Chinese, La-pa Chiang 剌巴江), for its source is in a mountain called La-ba Ngyu; elevation 14,500 feet. Shih-ku itself is called La-pa 剌巴[6] (La-ba in Na-khi), and Do-ngà-rong

[5] In the Li-chiang records given as Ch'ung Chiang 冲江, or Ch'ung-chiang Hsiao-ho 冲江小河 (Small stream).

[6] The *Tien-hsi* relates in Vol. 4, fol. 1, that "the Great Yü 大禹 was born in the land of the western Ch'iang 西羌, called Shih-niu 石紐. This place was in Hsi-ch'uan 西川, that is in western Ssu-ch'uan in the state of Shu 蜀. Shih-niu is to-day the Shih-ku of Li-chiang." It is possible that the ancient name of Shih-ku was Shih-niu and because Li-chiang be-

1 [The Na-khi village of Gqö-mbo -- Analyst]

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the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 溜頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[20] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual. 487* 133* 137* [312]

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields. [243] [245]

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江舖, La-p'u 腊舖, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴美 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 壩永鍋 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo. [317] [797]

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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

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[241]
[312]

Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒吸河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

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Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

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Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li. S 487* 133* 137*

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lö-bü. Beyond Lö-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory. S [342]

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent. S [342]

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been dumped on a rock pile. ST [342] [251] ST [197]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

825 sucks animals down as they cross. Our mules were fortunate enough to get across without encountering this monster. It is perhaps hardly worth any naturalist's while to come out to investigate this strange animal. A Chinaman likes to have a story to account for anything that takes place. In the spring and early summer there would be a good deal of melted snow in the water of the river, while the climate of the valley would be extremely hot and close. The sudden change from hot air into cold water might well produce cramp.

[241] The next day, a good up-hill road brought us to P'u-p'iao, a little plain covered with villages and well cultivated with the winter crops—beans, wheat, and opium. On this march there is an alternative road to Yung-ch'ang, branching off from the village of Fang-ma-ch'ang; it is said to be shorter but more hilly than the main road which I took. Gill travelled by it, but Baber and most other travellers have come by the same road as myself. Baber mentions that he heard that the stream which runs through the P'u-p'iao plain falls into a lake, but the answers to all my enquiries were that it joins the Salween. On the Chinese map there is a small lake marked a few miles lower down, but it is shown as the source of a small tributary of the main stream.

Our road on the 21st rose to the top of a bare range at 7000 feet, and a little beyond this the Yung-ch'ang plain came in sight. The path descends to the plain at the village of A-shih-wo, just before reaching which a cave is passed in the hillside to the left which is said to go right through the hill and come out on the other side.

361 The plain of Yung-ch'ang Fu is about 18 miles long
•312 and six miles wide, covered with villages and well cultivated; it is one of the largest and richest in the province. As in many other plains there is a summer crop of rice, and after the rice has been harvested in the autumn, the winter crops of beans, opium or wheat are put in. A good-sized stream running from north to south irrigates a great part of the plain, and water for this purpose is also collected in reservoirs where some of the side streams run down from the hills.

485 I put up at an inn in the middle of the town. The

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000 On the 3rd we crossed another bare range into the Yün-nan Hsien plain. The road leaves the town a mile to the left, so we did not enter it, but passed the night at the village of Kou-ts'un-p'u. Yün-nan Hsien is a place of very small importance, and must not be confused with Yün-nan Fu, the capital of the province. The names of these places are identical, and as Yün-nan Fu is almost always spoken of as Yün-nan Sên[1], the two places are very likely to be mixed up by those not accustomed to the fine differences of sound of the Chinese language.

The next morning some heavy rain fell and the hills to the west were for a few hours white with snow. We had an almost level march through a plateau country among very low hills and small strips of cultivated land till we reached the Yün-nan-yi plain and, passing through the village of that name, put up in the top storey of a very large temple at Mu-pang-p'u.

We had the day before heard news of two foreign officials passing through Yün-nan Hsien. They were described as "one white and the other black," so we had little difficulty in recognising in this description Watts-Jones and his cook, who, being a Goa Portuguese, wore European clothes of sorts. By sending on a man with a letter we managed to catch him at the Ma-kai coal mine, which he had turned off the main road to look at, and the day after our arrival at Mu-pang-p'u he turned up.

These meetings in out-of-the-way places are always very pleasant, and we had much to talk about. Watts-Jones had found a practicable but difficult line for the railway to take. He had also with Ryder been up north to look for a line to the Upper Yangtze, and to examine the resources of the country north of Ta-li. They had reached Li-chiang Fu, which is the threshold of the Tibetan country of north-western Yün-nan, and from there, taking different routes, had turned southwards again, intending to meet at Ch'u-hsiung Fu. The country between Ta-li and Li-chiang they were delighted with. It is a region of lakes and fertile plains, and is agriculturally the richest part of Yün-nan.

●312 The plains of Yün-nan Hsien and Yün-nan-yi which we

[1] *Shêng* (pronounced *séng* or *sên* in Yün-nan) means a province, and is applied also to the capital of the province.

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312 had been passing through are, as far as I could see, entirely watered by lakes and ponds: there do not appear to be any running streams. They are much less fertile than the valleys further west, no doubt in consequence of the increased difficulty of irrigating the land where no running water is available.

136 What these plains lack in fertility is from the sportsman's point of view abundantly made up for by the quantities of geese and duck which one finds in the lakes. There were flocks of bar-headed geese all over the plain, and one could walk right up to within twenty or thirty yards of them before they would rise in a leisurely manner. Out of one flock I got six. Two fell to my first two barrels as they rose, and then the flock after flying round a short distance twice, again came over my head at close range, enabling me to get two more each time. This will seem incredible to those who know that very wary bird the wild goose, but I remember in India once, in the Aligarh district, finding a flock of these bar-headed geese equally tame. There was no sport in this, so when I had killed fifteen—enough to feast our followers for two or three days—I gave up shooting them.

However tame the geese may have been, the duck, though numerous, were by no means easy to get within shot of. The mallard and teal seem to be the commonest on the large lakes, and that small black and white duck called the tufted pochard on the smaller ponds.

From Mu-pang-p'u to Chên-nan Chou we took four days, moving very slowly, as Watts-Jones often had to leave the road and ascend hills so as to get a better view of the country. Our road led us at an average height of 7000 feet through a sandstone plateau country, with small hills rising up out of it, very dry and bare except for a few
241 little fir trees. Villages are not numerous, and the cultivation is chiefly confined to strips of beans, opium, and wheat along the narrow valleys.

000 Just before reaching Chên-nan Chou we had made a halt to put up the plane table, when Ryder suddenly appeared coming in by a road from the north. So after being separated for three and a half months we hit each other off to a yard. He had gone from Li-chiang eastward

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000 had adopted as most likely to afford the easiest line for a railway, so that it was by this route that we set out to meet him.

As far as Ch'ü-ching there are two alternative roads, so Watts-Jones, leaving on the 30th March, took the main road through Ma-lung Chou, while I, starting four days later, went by a somewhat less frequented route through Yi-liang Hsien and Lu-liang Chou.

Ryder had so far failed to get the longitude of Yün-nan Fu from Bhamo, owing partly to the difficulty of getting a strong enough current over this distance of 500 miles of telegraph wire, and partly to the frequent occurrence of breaks, and to the general neglect of duty by the telegraph clerks, under the slack administration of the stout Manchu gentleman who presided over this department[1].

Ryder therefore decided to stay on in hopes of fixing this most important point. As it turned out, he waited there a month and had then to give it up as a bad job. However we were luckily able to get satisfactory observations in the following year.

On the 3rd of April I was able to get away and started off across the Yün-nan Fu plain. Several things here strike the traveller arriving from the west as new and peculiar. 312 The rows of cypress trees along the irrigation embankments are one of the most conspicuous features of this [406] part of the country; and the curious wheels which, worked by hand, draw the water up from the lakes and ponds into the irrigation channels, are not found in the plains of western Yün-nan, where nearly all the water is running. It is true indeed that these wheels are used in Yün-nan Hsien and other places west of the capital, but I have never seen them west of Ta-li.

493 But what struck me as most extraordinary was the use of carts. These I certainly did not expect to see in western China. I subsequently found them in use in nearly all the plains of eastern Yün-nan. They are very small and are drawn by one bullock or buffalo. They are only used for

[1] Mr Jensen was in no way responsible for the frequent breaks which occur in the Yün-nan telegraphs. His work was to keep the electrical instruments in order. The upkeep of the actual telegraph wire is in the hands of Chinese, who make as much money out of it as they can.

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. [316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

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312 here asked us to show them where to dig for water. The Chinese often credited us with the power of seeing what is under the earth. I suppose the idea is derived from embroidered narratives of the exploits of mining engineers.

The next march, over a dry, hilly country, brought us to Yao-chan, where we halted for a day as Watts-Jones had to go up a hill to the east to get a better idea of the
316 lie of the country. I took the opportunity to go up another hill to the west to do some surveying, and to visit a copper mine about two miles off.

This mine, they say, was formerly very productive and 2000 men are said to have found employment here. At the time of my visit there were not more than 100 miners at work. They live in little huts scattered about the valley, and there are three furnaces constantly kept burning to smelt the ore they dig out. The ore is mined out of the solid rock of which the hill is formed. There are no deep shafts: they cut caves out of the hillside, and the miners often live in the caves they are working in. They use hammers and iron wedges, and they say a man can get out a mule load of ore in two days. The ore varies a good deal in quality, and is sold for from two to seven mace a mule load. Taking a load as 130 lbs., this comes to from sixpence to one and ninepence for 100 lbs. The best ore is of a purple colour and is said to produce 10 per cent. of copper.

The lessee of the mine pays 500 or 600 taels a year to the Government for the right of smelting, and the miners are obliged to sell the ore to the lessee. The copper produced is sent to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province, and is there used for coining into cash.

132 The hill-tops in this part of the country rise to about 8000 feet, and they all had snow on them, which, combined with a biting north wind, made this one of the coldest days I have ever felt in western China.

361 On the 21st April we crossed a range, and skirting the edge of a large lake reached Wei-ning Chou, which is built on its further shore. The walls enclose a large space, but it is chiefly filled with temples, including a very large red Confucian temple. There are not more than 600 houses in the place, half within the walls and half without.

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000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

361 The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials 563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese are of Lo-lo descent.

241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

•312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country, without much water in it that can be used for irrigation. 316 The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third day we reached Ssŭ-ch'êng, a village at 6000 feet, which has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last march we passed a small iron mine at a place called Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep one small furnace going.

361 From Ssŭ-ch'êng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mên-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

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166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 439 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 .312 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

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134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [131] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's set-
361 tlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

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success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

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4. Agricultural Land-Use and Water Resources

a) Importance of irrigation in the Basin.--A prominent German authority on the agrarian economy of China once pointedly remarked: "Everywhere in China irrigation is an indispensable condition for the intensive agriculture on which Chinese agrarian society is based, just as coal and iron are an indispensable condition to the industrial society on which modern capitalism is based."[1] This statement is particularly applicable to the situation in Szechuan Basin. Here, in spite of the moderate rainfall and low evaporation, the need for irrigation is essential for the success of many crops, especially rice.

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b) Principal methods of irrigation in the Basin.--There are many different kinds of irrigation practices in the Basin. Each of these methods is equipped with a different device, and is adjusted to local topography and to the local source of water supply. Generally speaking, the methods may be classified under five main groups:

(1) Grade or gravity irrigation.--This practice involves the division and diversion of the upper reaches of a river of comparatively moderate grade into small branches. Such branches are led, by the force of gravity, into valley fields at a lower level and then arranged so that they drain back into the main river farther down stream. This method is practiced in nearly every part of the Basin where a valley plain can be found, since the grade of most streams here is appreciable. The method is particularly widely practiced in the areas along the lower Min River, between the Peng-shan and Lo-shan districts.

(2) Wind-wheel irrigation.--In areas where rivers have deeply eroded channels, frequently as deep as 30 to 40 feet below the surrounding land in the soft sandstones, and where the grade is great, the swift-flowing streams are utilized to lift the water for irrigation use by bamboo water-wheels. These undershot irrigation water-wheels, with delicate structures of bamboo buckets on their periphery, can raise water into a flume from 30 to 75 feet above the level of the stream (Fig. 27). They are particularly popular in the Tung-chuan and Tze-liu-ching areas of the Lower To River Valley.

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[1] K. A. Wittfogel, Wirtschaft und Gesselschaft Chinas; versuch der Wissenschaftlichen analyse einer grossen asiatichen agragesselschaft (1931), p. 229.

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(3) The "Lung-ku-chiao" or "dragon-bone-chariot" irrigation method.--In areas where the water flow is not sufficient to turn water-wheels, the old "dragon-bone-chariot," or the foot-power water elevator, which is found in many other parts of China, is used. It is a long, narrow wooden trough affair, open at both ends, with one end submerged in the water, and equipped with a chain of wooden pedals. It is a sort of step-up device, like a western escalator, operated by the foot-power of usually two or more persons. The water is lifted from one field to another of higher level. This device is also commonly used in hilly areas to lift water between terraced rice fields. It is particularly popular in the Kuang-hang and Te-yang districts.

(4) Storing-water-field or reservoir field irrigation.--As already explained, throughout the hilly areas of the Basin, it is a common practice to store water in fields during the winter season for spring or summer crops. As rainfall in the Basin is highly seasonal, some reservoir for the run-off from the immediately adjacent hills is necessary. Certain fields, in hollows well up the sides of slopes of terraced lands, are set aside as reservoirs. They are kept as nearly full as possible to tide the farmers over the periods between rains and between crops. This method, of course, necessitates the husbanding of all the rain water and run-off during the fall season in order to lead them into these field reservoirs.

(5) Ditch or canal irrigation.--This method involves the tapping of a stream at its upper reaches and then branching it into multitudes of anatomized channels and ditches for irrigation purposes. This system is by far the most important in the Basin. It is practiced in a number of river deltas, such as the To, the Fou, and the Min. The outstanding example is the Tu-chiang-yen works (Fig. 28) on the Min River in Chengtu Plain. A detailed discussion of this great work and its significance to the agricultural land-use of the Basin will be made later in connection with the agricultural area of Chengtu Plain.

D. Principal Agricultural Areas of Szechuan Basin

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On the basis of crop association, relative prosperity of agricultural production, general appearance of agricultural landscape, use of water for agricultural purposes, and the degree of commercialization of agricultural production, the Basin may be

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China, with the possible exception of the Lower Yangtse Delta region, is the average population density so high. It is, of course, made possible only by the tremendous productivity and the intensity of agricultural land-use in the Plain. 162

h) Irrigation works of Chengtu Plain--Tu Chiang Yen as the nerve center.--The Tu-chiang-yen irrigation works, built 2,200 years ago, when applied science was yet unknown in Europe, is one of China's best known ancient engineering feats, and is one of the two oldest irrigation works in all China. It is this system which is largely responsible for the fertility of Chengtu Plain, commonly known in Chinese history as the "Heavenly country." It is also because of this system that this "Heavenly country" has experienced only 17 minor droughts and floods in the last twenty-two centuries. 3120

(1) Historical development.--The Tu-chiang-yen system was devised to harness the waters of the mighty Min[1] on their way down from the Tibetan Plateau in order to irrigate the farm-lands in 14 districts of western Szechuan Basin. According to Shih-Chi, in the earliest Chinese historical Annals,[2] the system was first constructed by General Li Ping and his son, in 316 B.C., immediately after the conquest of Szechuan (then the Shu State) by the feudal Chin State (Shensi). The annals read: "In Shu (Szechuan), the governor cut a canal through Chengtu to connect the navigable rivers in the region into one system."[3]

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[1]We owe to the Ming explorer and geographer, Hsu Hsia Ke (1586-1641) the first appreciation of the actual relationship between the present Yangtse and its tributaries, as understood today. It is interesting to note that prior to his clarification, the Chinese for centuries, regarded the Min, because of its huge volume and torrential flow, as the upper stream of the Yangtse itself. It was not until Hsu Hsia Ke, who first ascended the Yangtse, that it became an established fact that the Ching Sha River was the upstream of the Yangtse itself. This was about one century earlier than the Jesuit Fathers who first compiled the Celebrated Atlas of Imperial China (cf. V. K. Ting, "Hsu Hsia Ke, Explorer and Geographer," New China Review, III [1921], 336-37).

[2]Ssu Ma Chien, Historical Annals, Vol. XXIX, Books on Rivers and Canals, p. 2.

[3]During recent years, a number of students of the subject have refused to accept the fact that Li Ping was the builder of the system, and have asserted that a man named Pieh Ning or Kai King (a minister of the Shu State) initiated these irrigation works, several hundred years before Li Ping. They contend that Li Ping only extended the system and improved it, but did not

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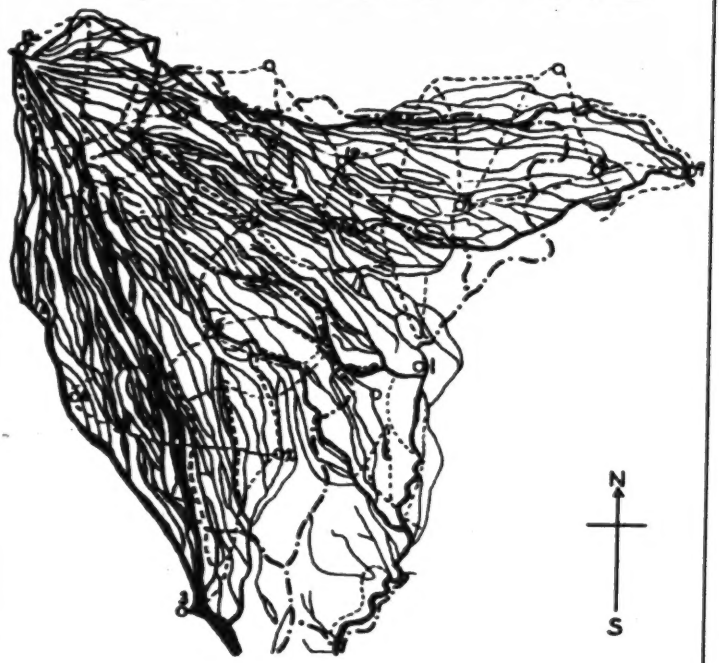
FIGURE 30

PRINCIPAL IRRIGATION CHANNELS CHENGTU PLAIN

1. Chengtu
2. Shuan-liu
3. Sin-tsing
4. Tsung-ching
5. Wen-chiang
6. Pi-hsien
7. Sin-tu
8. Ching-tang
9. Chao-chin-tu
10. Sing-fang
11. Tsung-nin
12. Kuan-hsien



LEGEND

- o DISTRICT CAPITAL
- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- IRRIGATION CHANNELS
- ROADS

0 — 10 MILE

0 — 10 KILOMETER

C.Y.H.

Data from the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan

[Face p. 64]

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(2) Layout and extensions.--The *whole Tu-chiang-yen system*, with its pivotal point at Kuan-hsien where the torrent of the Min first enters the Plain, is roughly triangular in shape (Fig. 30). With Kuan-hsien as the apex, and the line from Chengtu to Sin-tsin as the base of the triangle, the system covers an area of 3,500 square kilometers, or 5,200,000 mow, which is much smaller than the total area of Chengtu Plain. It includes altogether fourteen districts, namely, Kuan-hsien, Pi-hsien, Peng-hsien, Tsungning, Sin-fang, Kwang-hang, Chin-tang, Chengtu, Sin-tu, Wen-chiang, Hua-yang, Tsung-ching, Shuan-liu, and Sin-tsin (Figs. 30 and 37). From Kuan-hsien to Sin-tsin and Chengtu, the drop is rather gradual and uniform, averaging about seven to eight meters per kilometers, a grade of hardly half a degree, or less than one per cent[1] (Fig. 5). This moderate and even slope has proved to be very favorable for building irrigation channels.

The system is divided by Tu-chiang ("Fish Mouth")[2] breakwater, an inverted V-shaped dike (Fig. 31). At Kuan-hsien, the river is divided into two main channels, the Nei-chiang (inner river) and Wai-chiang (outer river). The Wai-chiang is the main channel of the Min River. It is further divided into five channels, which are, from west to east, the Sha Kou, Hei Shih, Cheng Nai, Chiang An, and Ching Ma streams (Fig. 30). All these channels, with the exception of the last, flow nearly due south. Together with their more than 158 subdivided canals,[3] they carry water to farms in the seven districts of Kuan-hsien, Pi-hsien, Wen-chiang, Shuan-liu, Hua-yang, Tsung-ching, and Sin-tsin. Finally, all these channels of the Wai-chiang join at Chiang-ko, about forty-five miles south of the city of Cheng-tu.

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initiate it. This view, however, is not widely accepted in China (cf. Chang Chu's work entitled "Shu Chih" [the Gazeteers of Shu State], a work of Chin dynasty [265-419 A.D.] and a series of articles by J. Vale, "Irrigation Works of Chengtu Plain," Journal of North China. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXXIII (1900), 105-19, and XXXVI (1905), 36-50.

[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, A Report of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works (1933).

[2]Ibid., p. 28.

[3]S. F. Swen, "The Engineering Works of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Project," Topographical Magazine, VII, No. 6 (1931), 18-27.

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FIGURE 31

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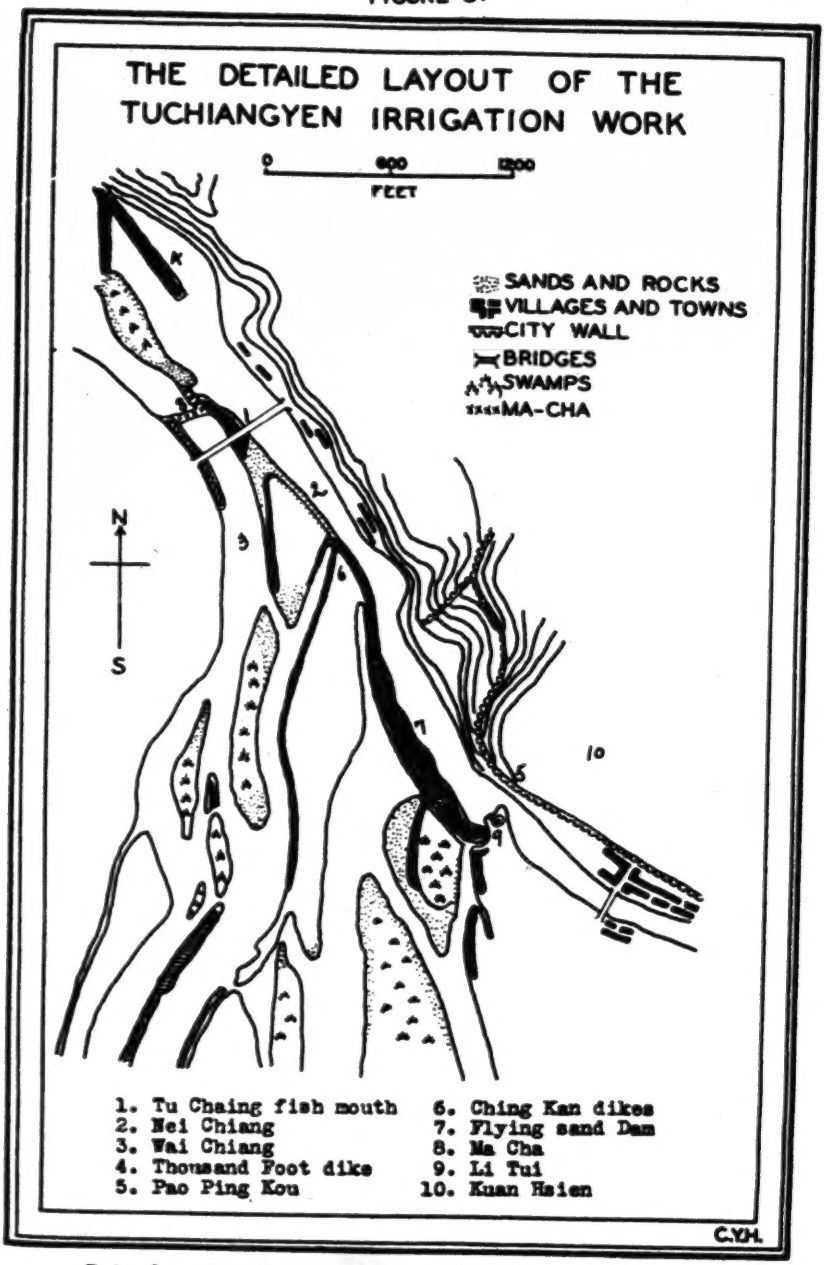

Data from the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan

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The Nei-chiang is divided into three channels, which are, in the south to north order, the Chou Ma, Pai Tiao, and Pu-yang streams (Fig. 30). The most southerly one, the Chou Ma stream, flows nearly due east and irrigates the districts of Pi-hsien and Cheng-tu. The central one, the Pai Tiao stream, flows northeast, and irrigates the western and northern parts of the above-named districts. Branches of these two streams flow past the south and north walls of Chengtu city, uniting near the east gate of the city. The northern-most channel, the Pu Yang stream, flows towards Peng-hsien, and then southeastward past the Kwang-hang district. At Chao-chiao-tu of Ching-tang (Fig. 30), the Pu Yang stream, together with numerous anatomizing canals, forms the headwaters of the To River and flows due south past the famous salt well areas of Tzu-liu-ching, and finally enters the Yangtse at Lu-hsien (Fig. 7). These three main channels of the Nei-chiang are further divided into more than 130 canals,[1] which are used to irrigate farms in eleven districts of Kuan-hsien, Tsung-ning, Peng-hsien, Sin-tu, Sin-fang, Ching-tang, Kwang-hang, Cheng-tu, Pi-hsien, and Hua-yang.

The natural tendency is for the Wai-chiang to get more of the flow, while the Nei-chiang gets less. But the human effort has been to reverse this tendency, so that more water may be available for irrigation purposes in the Nei-chiang. At present, the ratio of the flow is about 60 per cent to the Nei-chiang and only 40 per cent to the Wai-chiang.[2]

The nerve center of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works, from the Pai Chang Ti, the "Thousand Foot Dike," at the north, down to Pao Ping Ko Cliff at the south (Fig. 31), extends for a total length of approximately 4 li. The "Thousand Foot Dike," at the northern-most end of the works, was built of heavy gravel stones and rocks (taken from local hills), to direct the current to the Tu Chiang Yen "Fish Mouth" below it. Behind this dike, a 500-meter bamboo suspension bridge, the "An-Lang-Chiao," or the "Pacifying Wave bridge," spans the river. Under the bridge is the Tu Chiang Yen "Fish Mouth" breakwater, which, as already mentioned, serves as the pivotal point (in an inverted V-shape) at

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[1] Ibid., p. 21.

[2] T. N. Pao, "The Irrigation Works of Chengtu Plain," Nankai University Publication (1938), p. 36.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

312 which the flow of the main river is split into two principal channels, the Wai-chiang (the outer river) and the Nei-chiang (the inner river) (Fig. 30). This breakwater was originally built of rocks, protected by baskets of egg-shaped gravels, but was rebuilt in 1935 of rock and reinforced concrete.

Besides the "Fish Mouth" breakwater, there are two long dikes, known as the Ching-Kan-Ti (Indestructible Buddha Dikes), made of large stones, to control the direction of the flow (Fig. 31). Two additional dikes, the Fei Sha Yen, made of baskets of gravels, serve as overflow dams to divert excess water in the spring from the inner river to the outer river, and to redivert it in the dry season from the outer river to the inner river.[1]

The entire system requires annual repairs and dredging, and a thorough dredging every five years, besides occasional emergency repairs. The annual dredging takes place in winter when the river is low. A dam is constructed across the mouth of the outer river. Water is prevented from rushing into this channel by means of baskets of stones held together by wooden tripods and protected by reeds and clay (Fig. 32). After the outer river has been dredged and repaired, a similar dam is erected across the mouth of the inner river. Known locally as "Ma-Cha," these tripods are eight to ten meters high, and are made of local materials. From 40 to 50 such tripods are needed to stop the flow of the outer river, and 60 to 70 tripods are required for the inner river.[2] At the beginning of April, when all repair and dredging work is completed, the dam is opened simply by cutting the tripods and removing the reeds.

At the foot of the western wall of Kuan-hsien city, in the southern extension of the Tu Chiang Yen Works, Li Ping cut a channel through the rocky Litui hills (Fig. 31). This channel, known as Pao Ping Ko, the "precious bottle-neck," which it indeed is, serves as an outflow for the Nei-chiang channels, and is another key point of the whole Tu Chiang Yen Works. It holds the fierce rush for an instant and deflects it at a sharp angle to the north. Water marks are cut on the Pao Ping Ko Cliff. And in the bottom of the river a little above the Cliff, there is an iron

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[1]Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works (1933), p. 26.

[2]C. S. Mao, Irrigation Works of Chengtu Plain (1934), p. 18.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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bar to indicate the depth of dredging required each year.

Aside from being noted for the virtue of being easily-built and easily-maintained, the original construction of the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works has the special merit of making use of the local cheap raw materials, such as bamboo and rocks, for its entire construction. Besides the "Ma-Cha" tripods, Tu Chiang Yen calls for the use of local materials in the construction of gravel basket containers which are also necessary for the irrigation works. A special "white shell bamboo" produced in the hills about 50 kilometers west of Kuan-hsien and famous for its strength, is used for these containers. The "white shell bamboo" groves are not allowed to be cut for any other purpose. The bamboo is rafted to Kuan-hsien and made into baskets 30 feet long and 1.7 feet in diameter, weighing 100 catties.[1] Filled with gravel, they are placed at the outer sides of the dikes and dams to protect them against rapid currents. These baskets hold together easily and stay intact in spite of the wash. They have proved their special effectiveness for hundreds of years. They have been used ever since the Wan Li period of the Ming dynasty.[2]

In the excellent upkeep of these age-old irrigation works, which have been operating successfully for thousands of years, the engineers have all followed faithfully a few terse instructions enunciated by the original builder. These are: "Shen Tao Tan, Ti Tso Yen, Yu Wan Chieh Chih, Feng Chen Chou Hsin," literally meaning "Keep the dikes low, dig the channel deep; straighten out the curves, gouge out the center." These words, now carved in big letters (Fig. 33) on a monument at the Shrine for Li Ping and his son, echo the wisdom of this great hydraulic engineer.

The long success of this unique irrigation project is known throughout China, and has often been lauded by Chinese writers. But it was F. von Richtofen, the eminent German geographer, who first publicized its excellence to the western world.[3]

The works are now managed by the Tu Chiang Yen Construction Engineering Administration of the Szechuan Provincial Reconstruction Bureau. Besides directing the annual dredging and

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[1] Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works, op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Fan Tsan Yang, et al., Szechuan Tung Chih (Gazetteers of Szechuan Province), Chuan 146, p. 8.

[3] Richtofen, op. cit., pp. 228-34.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

312 repairs, this Administration has also introduced numerous modern technological improvements in order to increase the durability and effectiveness of the project.

Recently, a hydrographic station has been established at the Erh Wang Shrine by the Administration to study the flow of the Min River. Projects are under way to harness the river's maximum flow of 9,500 cubic meters per second[1] to generate electricity for the Chengtu Plain. Two small hydro-electric plants are in operation at Chengtu and Ching-tang.[2] The Administration is contemplating building a 12,650 kilowatt power plant at Kuan-hsien. A 23-kilometer canal will be cut to link the Inner and Outer rivers between Wen-chiang and Chengtu to maintain the Chengtu city water-supply and navigation between the two rivers. The Administration also has plans for the dredging of the existing canals and the digging of new ones to control more effectively the flow in both rivers, and to repair the tributary creeks to increase by another 600,000 mow the farms irrigated by the system, and eventually bring the entire Chengtu Plain under irrigation.

Among all the geographic features of Szechuan Basin, the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works holds the key to the sustained prosperity of the agricultural land-use of the Basin, particularly of Chengtu Plain. Indeed, it commands the special attention of all geographers.

2. The Specialized "Commercial" Agricultural Area of Lower To-Fou Valleys

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Comparing to the General Grain Farming area of Chengtu Plain, this agricultural area of Lower To-Fou valleys (Fig. 24) is noted by its specialized "commercial" products, such as sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and citrus fruits. About 85 per cent of the Basin's total production of sugar-cane, 65 per cent

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[1] Pao, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] According to the recent (1935) survey by Huang Hui, a prominent hydraulic engineer of the National Reconstruction Commission, it is highly feasible to develop multiple purpose water-power projects in the upper reaches of the Min, where the present source of irrigation water originates. These projects, if established, would also benefit the irrigation works, particularly by lightening the annual dredging work and reducing the operation costs (cf. section on "Potential Water-Power Development of Szechuan," Report of Chinese Engineer's Association Investigation of Szechuan (1936).

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

5. The Mixed Farming Area of the Southwestern Basin

Among all the principal agricultural regions of the Basin, the mixed farming area of the southwestern Basin (Fig. 24) is the most interesting. Here lies an area like a synthesis of all the above four areas. Besides its own unique quality, as we shall see shortly, this area possesses some characteristics of each and every one of the above four agricultural areas. This condition is true in topography, soil, crop association, and other aspects. 241 135

In topography, for instance, this area possesses some of the anticlinal ridges (but lesser in magnitude) like the eastern Basin; some irregular hills like the northern Basin; and some broad plains (in smaller extensions) like the Chengtu Plain, or rather, like the lower To-Fou valleys. However, unlike all the above four agricultural areas, the absolute relief here is, on the whole, the lowest, averaging about 300 meters above sea level. 133

In soil, this area is also a miniature model of the above four agricultural areas. The usual purple-brown soils of the northern Basin, the limestone soils (old and young yellow earths) of the eastern Basin, and the rich alluvial soils of the Chengtu Plain and To-Fou valleys are all present here (Fig. 9). 134

In agricultural land-use and crop association this area has the greatest variety of products. The broad river valleys of the Min (lower) and Yangtse furnish fertile fields for rice, sugar-cane, and orange groves. The more hilly lands, terraced in minute steps, are used for corn, wheat, rape, hemp, barley, potato, beans, and other crops. Unlike the other four areas, corn is the most predominant crop here. Moreover, on the steep slopes of the high anticlines, or on other more hilly areas, numerous forestry products, such as tung tree, tea, white wax, mulberry trees, and various kinds of bamboo, are found. Especially, the bamboo products and white wax are the most famous. 241 311

Above all, another interesting feature of this area is the bona fide tropical character of its agricultural and horticultural products here. Climatically, with the exception of the southeastern highlands of the Basin, this area is the warmest among all the agricultural areas of the Basin (Fig. 24). Such well known tropical products as Li Chi, Lun yen, bananas, and palm vegetation are found here.

Another special feature of this area is the difference in its water use. Like Chengtu Plain this area is endowed with 312

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

312 rich water supply by the Yangtse, the Min, and other rivers. Numerous channels are built here, for instance, such as the Wu Tung-chiao and Chien Wei districts. But contrary to the practice of Chengtu Plain, and for reasons unknown, very few of these channels are used for irrigation purposes. Instead, they are principally for transportation use.

135 Other interesting features of this agricultural area include its well-balanced endowment with mineral resources. Neither like the Chengtu Plain area of western Basin--where little or no mineral deposits are found--nor similar to the anticlinal areas of the eastern Basin--where is located the largest concentration of the Basin's mineral deposits, especially coal and iron--this area is rather well-balanced in various kinds of mineral deposits. In fact, this area is reasonably rich in every one of the strategic minerals, including salt, coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, and aluminum. Especially the salt production is the richest and the most important at present (Fig. 20).

241 433 In agricultural richness and productivity, this agricultural area of southwestern Basin, as a whole, compares favorably with that of the specialized commercial agricultural area of the lower To-Fou valleys. This fact is evidenced by the fine, well-kept farmsteads here (Fig. 34). In terms of population density, this area also stands out as one of the five high densely populated areas of the Basin (Fig. 10).

E. Agricultural Products

241 The Szechuanese commonly claim that anything which is produced on earth may be found in the Basin. At least it is safe to say that there is scarcely an article grown in China which is not produced here in abundance. First of all, the summer field crops include rice, corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, potato, millet, kaoliang, cotton, beans of all kinds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The winter crops include principally wheat, rape, beans, peas, and many others.

1. Common Food Crops

243 a) Rice.--Rice (oryza sativa) is the master crop of the Basin. It normally occupies 43,000,000 mow, or 42 per cent of the

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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000 exports from the province of Kweichow.[30]

241 313 433 Sikang Province, with a population a little over three million, is a comparatively undeveloped area. Its principal products, in addition to grain, are herb medicines and lumber. Sikang is considered one of the chief lumber centers in China. In the regions of the Ch'ing-i River, the Ta-tu River, the Ya-lung River, and the Sikang-Tibet plateau there are forests over 500 years old.[31] Lumber production[32] in Sikang in 1954 was reported to be 34 times that of 1950. However, since transportation facilities have not yet been fully developed, and lumber resources of Sikang Province cannot be fully utilized.

VI. WATER CONSERVATION AND IRRIGATION

312 The most renowned irrigation system in Southwest China is the Tu-chiang Yen (Tu-chiang Irrigation Works) in Szechwan Province. It was built in 250 B.C. by order of Li Ping, governor of Shu (Szechwan) during the Ch'in Dynasty. Li was an able administrator and

30. Ibid.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 21, 1954.
32. Ibid.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

I. PAI-MANG SHAN 白銘山, OR PE-MA LA

From Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) we follow the main road south for a short distance, then turn south-east instead of west whither the main road leads to the Mekong, and climb zigzag steeply to a gap which leads to Pai-mang Shan.[4] The slopes of the mountain are partly forested but are fast becoming denuded because the Tibetans char the wood for the use of A-tun-tzu town. We met many yak coming from Pai-mang Shan, loaded with both charcoal and firewood, destined for A-tun-tzu. From the gap the trail descends to a deep valley with a stream joined by one from Pai-mang Shan pass, both flowing west to the Mekong. Our path skirts the eastern mountain slope and emerges into a broad valley, opening out towards the Mekong. From here the entire Kha-wa-kar-po range, the Mekong—Salween divide, is visible in all its glory (PLATE 203). Two glaciers descend into the valley of the Mekong, but the river, flowing about 12,000 feet below the summit peaks, remains invisible. After passing the small hamlet called Ra-shü (Mu-lung-shu 木龍樹) where potatoes are cultivated for the A-tun-tzu market, we come to a small meadow with an old tumble-down house, and thence ascend the valley with the stream roaring about 1,000 feet below the trail.

487* 133* 137* [313]

[4] The Tibetans speak of a Pe-ma La which has, however, nothing to do with the Chinese Pai-ma 白馬 (White horse). It is the Tibetan way of pronouncing Pad-ma (the Lotus), and Pe-ma La 빠마라 means the Lotus Pass.

The region east of Pai-mang Shan is little known and is a blank on the Davies map. There is, however, a trail which leads over the Dru La north-east to the main Yangtze divide, here called the Mu-ting Shan 慕頂山 after a village situated on the Yangtze by that name. The range is also called Jung-liu Hsüeh-shan 戎柳雪山. What seems to be a continuation of it to the north is called the Nu-lu Hsüeh-shan 覓露雪山 (Nu-lu Snow range). Over this range a pass leads to the Yangtze called Rün-tsi La. The height of this pass, the highest in this region, is said to be 16,500 feet. At Mu-ting there is a Tibetan T'u-ssu and a population of about 50 families, also a tiny lamasery; the village is about 1,000 feet above the Yangtze and about three li distant from the narrow and arid Yangtze gorge. The slopes on which Mu-ting is situated are terraced, and wheat, millet and buckwheat are grown. Of fruit trees, pomegranates, walnuts, and a small persimmon are cultivated (K. WARD).

On Mu-ting Shan grow lovely rhododendrons such as *Rhododendron Beesianum*, *Rhod. dryophyllum*, *Rhod. dumosulum*, *Rhod. schizopeplum*, etc. On the Rün-tsi La charming alpine plants abound such as *Saxifraga Wardii*, *Saxifraga flagellaris* subsp., *megistantha Paraquilegia microphylla*, *Dracocephalum Rockii*, *Saxifraga diapensia*, *Chionocharis* (*Myosotis*) *hookeri*, a forget-me-not cushion plant with tiny silvery leaves and sky-blue flowers, blue poppies such as *Meconopsis rudis* and *Meconopsis eximia*, and many others, too numerous to mention.

Beyond the Rün-tsi La to the north-east is a lower pass called the Chnü-ma La (probably the Chinese Nu-lu Shan 覓露山), whence a trail leads to Mu-ting. Yün-nan territory extends a considerable distance along the west bank of the Yangtze, forming a narrow strip with Hsi-k'ang on both sides of the river. The last village on the main road north from A-tun-tzu is Lung-ya-li 龍雅里 (MAJOR DAVIES' Lung-xang-nang), below the Tsha-le (Tsa-li 咱哩 or Ch'a-li 茶里) Pass.

The villages on the west slopes of the Yangtze valley are, from about the height of A-tun-tzu north, Sung-tiao 宋刁, K'a-sa 卡薩, Sheng-kung 省工, the lamasery Yüan-ko Ssu 无格寺 (this lamasery was built in the 11th year of Ch'ien-lung (1746), Kung-kung 共宮, Chi-sha-k'a 吉沙卡, Lou-lung 漏龍, Ch'a-kung 查工, then the village of Ya-ra-no (Liao-la 了拉), and a pass over the Yangtze—Tsha-le River divide, 16,300 feet in height, called the Da La (Ta La 搭拉), which is also the Yün-nan—Hsi-k'ang Border.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [342] [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of [376] the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

producer of both these key minerals among all the provinces of free China. 135

While it is true that Szechuan Basin is undoubtedly the most self-sufficient and prosperous agricultural region of China, many phases of its present agricultural and forestry land use cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory from the standpoint of modern technology and scientific development. As a matter of fact, the backwardness of some of the practices is appalling. Drastic measures of improvement are urgently needed. 242 313

The efficiency of the Basin's present agricultural land use has been handicapped greatly by many natural and cultural factors. Among these are the traditional "Tung Shui Tien" system; the undependable nature and marginal character of the hilly agriculture in many parts of the Basin; the presence of large tracts of unreclaimed vacant land (particularly at the peripheral areas of the Basin); ignorance of modern scientific methods of seed selection and plant-breeding (from the irrigated alluvial plain rice to the small millet of the non-irrigated eroded soils of the upper hills); the insufficiency and failure of cotton-culture in many parts of the Basin; the periodic or aperiodic famine in the more hilly areas due to the lack of the more drought-resistant crops; the serious nature of soil-creep in many hilly areas; the failure to modernize silk-culture; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with native herbs; and above all, the lack of satisfactory and efficient irrigation system in many terraced fields of the more hilly areas. 242

In forestry land use, the most noticeable difficulties are: the lack of long-range and far-sighted forestry policy and lumber exploitation; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with tung trees; the absence of well-organized and modern-equipped plantations in tung tree production; the lack of standardization of tung tree products; and the serious hazards (due to long and difficult hauling) of transporting the wax-insects in the white-wax tree industry. 313

Transportation both within and without the Basin has been made difficult by the swift flow of many of the streams and the ruggedness of the topography. Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than the issue of transportation. The solution of this problem will promote the efficiency of agricultural and forestry as well as other forms of land use in the Basin. 489

'n Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

178 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of
722 China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 Since the migration of the National government into the
654 Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible
241 plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

•313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry
314 resources of the Basin. Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

137 Nan-chung, Cheng-ko, and Wan-yuan districts. This area is dominated by pines, banyans (Fig. 40), and cypresses, which, however, are not of very high timber value; and (5) the northwestern hilly area of the Basin, including Santai, and Chien-ke, Pai-chuan districts. This area of hilly country is dominated by pines, cypresses, some Nanmu, and some firs (Fig. 8).

•313 137 Of the five areas mentioned, the Ta-tu River Valley and the Ching-I River area are by far the most important. Here virgin forests of great timber value are in abundance. Both are now under development by government and private interests. These forests will prove especially valuable for the many immediate needs in the Basin, such as construction on the Chengtu-Chungking Railway line, mining, and paper-making. Some logging activities are carried on in nearby camps, and the timber sawed is used by local towns and villages. But, however, large portions of the lumber produced are made into rafts and floated down the swift Ta-tu and Min rivers. A few saw mills, equipped with simple traditional devices, are located at Chengtu and Loshan. The wood sawed, transported either by small native boats or frequently on men's backs, found its market in various parts of the Basin, especially in the urban areas of Chengtu, Loshan, Luhsien, and other cities. Sometimes, however, such lumber finds its way as far as Chungking and other eastern areas where imported lumber often dominated the market.

The Szechuan Basin contains at least thirty different kinds of trees of high timber value in the Basin.[1] These include such outstanding and well known Chinese conifers as the Pai shu or cypress (cypressus funebris), the Ma Wei sung (Pinus massoniana), the Chia Shan (Cunninghamia lanceolata), the Ying Tsung (Abies delavayi), the Ne Tiao Shan (Picea ascendens), Hsiang Peh Sha (Juniperus Saltuaria), and a number of outstanding hard woods, such as the Nanmu (Machilu nanmu), the chestnut (Castanopsis), the Hu-tao (Juglaus rigia), the Chang (cinnamonuna camphora), and the Chu li shu (Quercus serrata).

Among all the foregoing species the Chia-shan, Ma Wei Sung, Nanmu, Hu-tao, and Pai shu are the most important. They are the most common sources of timber supply for the Basin. The

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[1] Pei Chi Heng, A Survey of the Timber Trees of Szechuan Province (1937), 26.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Chia Shan (Cunninghamia lanceolata) deserves special mention as it is the most common tree for all-round use in the Basin. Not only because of its wide distribution throughout the Basin, particularly on the mountainous areas bordering the northwestern corner of the Chengtu Plain, but also because of its special adaptability and quick growth on the cretaceous sandstone soils, this tree has proved especially popular among farmers in the Basin. It generally grows from 80 to 120 feet tall and has a very straight stem. After the trees are cut down, this conifer reproduces itself by sprouts from the old stumps, requiring no seeding or nursery cultivation. The bark is commonly employed for roofing purposes. The wood is light, fragrant, and easily worked. For general building purposes, house-fitting, indoor carpentry, and boat-building, it is the most esteemed of all Chinese timbers. It is also in great demand for coffin-making, the fragrant properties of the wood being believed to act as a preservative.

Besides the Chia Shan, the most unique, if not the most commonly used tree, is the Nanmu (Michilus Nanmu). It is one of the most valuable broad-leaf evergreen hardwoods, comprising several species of Lauraceae. The timber is close-grained, fragrant, greenish or brownish in color, easily worked, and very durable.[1] It is the most highly prized timber for high-grade construction purposes, such as for the pillars and beams of palaces, temples, and other important structures. It is also used in the best grade furniture and cabinet work, and is commonly sought by the wealthy Chinese for making their coffins. It is among the most graceful and beautiful evergreens in the Basin. The trees are somewhat localized and are found particularly in abundance in the Min River Valley, near Chengtu Plain and some western hilly areas of the Plain where there is a dependable water supply near the irrigation streams.

In addition to the trees of the foregoing timbered areas, the bamboo thickets constitute another important source of timber supply in the Basin. The bamboo is a fast-growing plant and has many different species. The vegetative bodies and growths of the bamboo differ in these different species. Bamboo varies from the dwarf shrub of about 10 feet tall, with a diameter of 3-4 inches,

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[1]Pei Chi Heng, op. cit., p. 42.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

313 137 as in the case of Kuang Ying bamboo, to giant tree of well over 80 feet in height and with a diameter over 12 inches, as in the case of Nan Chu and Tze Chu bamboos. They often grow in thickets, groves or clumps and usually have a golden, yellow or dark green foliage and with broad sheaths. There are numerous slender stems developed around the large clumps and the principal stems. The stems are hollow inside, have many joints, and often have thick wood which furnishes the most useful part of the plant.

Bamboo has a fairly wide range of habitat and grows well under different kinds of physical conditions.[1] The principal habitats of the bamboo are in alluvial areas near streams, around farmsteads, and not infrequently on sandy soils at the hill slopes.

[262 285] The usefulness of the bamboo is indeed limitless. First of all, the tender bamboo shoots are used as a vegetable, and serve as one of the most famous Chinese delicacies. The smaller stems are used for paper-making, textile-weaving, making of boxes, baskets, chopsticks, and light house utensils and furniture, whereas the large stems are used for the construction of irrigation wheels, salt brine and gas tubes, boats, bridges, carpentry, and numerous other industrial purposes. All in all, it was once reported that the bamboos are used in more than six hundred different ways in the Basin.[2] Thus the bamboo, to be sure, plays a very important role in the economy of the Basin. Above all, the bamboo, on account of its growths of matted fibrous roots, is proved most effective in holding soil and preventing soil erosion in many hilly areas of the Basin.

There are few large bamboo plantations in the Basin. Most farmers have small patches of bamboo thickets or groves around their farmsteads. The bamboo products are used principally for the farmer's own needs and any surplus left is sold to handicraft manufacturers of the nearby areas.

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[1]Generally speaking, bamboos cannot stand up very well under drought conditions. North of Kuang Yuan, for instance, on account of the lack of sufficient moisture, and possibly also because of lower temperature during the winter, no bamboo is grown (Fig. 8). Also, generally, very little bamboo growths are found around high altitudes of probably over 5,000 feet above sea level in the Basin.

[2]T. F. Hou, "The Conditions of Salt Fields at Tze-liu-ching and Kung Ching, Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, VIII, No. 6 (1937), 59.

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Prior to the war a major portion of the raw varnish, about 90 per cent of the total, was exported to Japan. But now it is largely consumed within the Basin for manufacturing numerous lacquer wares, for which the Basin is famous in China. 314

E. General Conclusions 313.

The discussion of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Szechuan Basin in the foregoing chapters has revealed in sharp relief three significant facts, namely: First, the dominance of the agricultural and forestry land-use in the general economy of the Szechuan Basin is not only the most striking fact but the most illuminating concept in the geography of the Basin. The very fact that the Basin has the greatest diversity of agricultural products and is almost a miniature China in agricultural production typifies its extreme agricultural richness. Moreover, the astounding figures that about 85 per cent of the total population is engaged in agricultural pursuits and over 60 per cent of the Basin's export is derived from one single forestry product, the Tung tree oil, demonstrates clearly the ever-close bond between the well-being of the people in the Basin and its agricultural and forestry land-use. In addition, it is recently revealed that the Basin supplies about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire fighting force of China, comprising well over five million strong. This single fact alone bears witness to the vital part the Basin now plays in China's total war effort. Among other things, this rich agricultural and forestry production of the Basin is undoubtedly one of the most important factors, perhaps the determining one, which has induced the National Government of China to select the Szechuan Basin as the principal base of operation against the present invasion.

The second conclusion deserving special attention is the close correlation of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use to its environmental factors. The adjustments of agricultural practices to physical environment here are both genuine and many. To mention a few striking examples, the minute terraced fields, the intricate irrigation systems, the wide range and great diversity of agricultural and horticultural products, the numerous practices in soil culture and crop rotations, and the wide use of bamboos are related respectively to the topography, water supply, climate, soil, and vegetation of the Basin. Especially the lack

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•313 of modern technological knowledge has accentuated this relationship and has made this relationship appear overwhelming and somewhat one-sided. For instance, owing to the lack of breeding of drought-resistant varieties of crops, the hilly agriculture of the Basin has always remained precarious. Moreover, the limited engineering knowledge has prevented the farmer from obtaining a higher efficiency in their numerous irrigation works. But with the forthcoming introduction of modern technology and scientific agriculture, all these difficulties will be greatly alleviated and the Szechuanese will be able to secure a more efficient agricultural and forestry land-use and to enter into a more harmonious and reciprocal relationship with their physical environment.

Lastly, the evident trends of the rapid transformation and innovation in the various practices of the agricultural and forestry land-use, induced and intensified by the war, is a third important fact which deserves emphasis. Virtually, the Basin is now undergoing an economic and technological revolution. With the rapid influx of a great number of people with modern ideas from the lower Yangtse, there is an urgent call for greater efficiency in all phases of land-use in the Basin. Not to mention the phenomenal progress made along the manufacturing, mining, transportation and other lines, the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use has been undergoing rapid transformation and achieving unprecedented progress. For instance, the revolutionary remedial measures regarding the traditional age-old Tung-shui-tien field system, the introduction and wide extension of the Tsa-Seng-Tao variety of rice, the drastic steps taken toward the cultures of cotton, sugar cane, tea, tobacco, and silk, and the various improvements and experimental works in connection with Tung trees and herbs, have already shattered to a great extent the fundamental structure of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Basin. In view of the present trend of development, it is perhaps safe to say that irrespective of the outcome of the present struggle in China, the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Szechuan Basin will usher in a new era of higher efficiency and more prosperous development in the time to come.

success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

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823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these
241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural
433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

•314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about
433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

[386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

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178 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of
722 China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 Since the migration of the National government into the
654 Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible
241 plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry
314 resources of the Basin. Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

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the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for the white-wax tree industry. 314

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly developing into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing capacity of all free China. 316 178

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of transportation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous commercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways (some of them already under construction) have been projected; and the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achievements and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem. 489

As to the future development of the Basin, one may approach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future prospect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace returns once more. 133

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protection against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against invading forces than would otherwise be possible. 241

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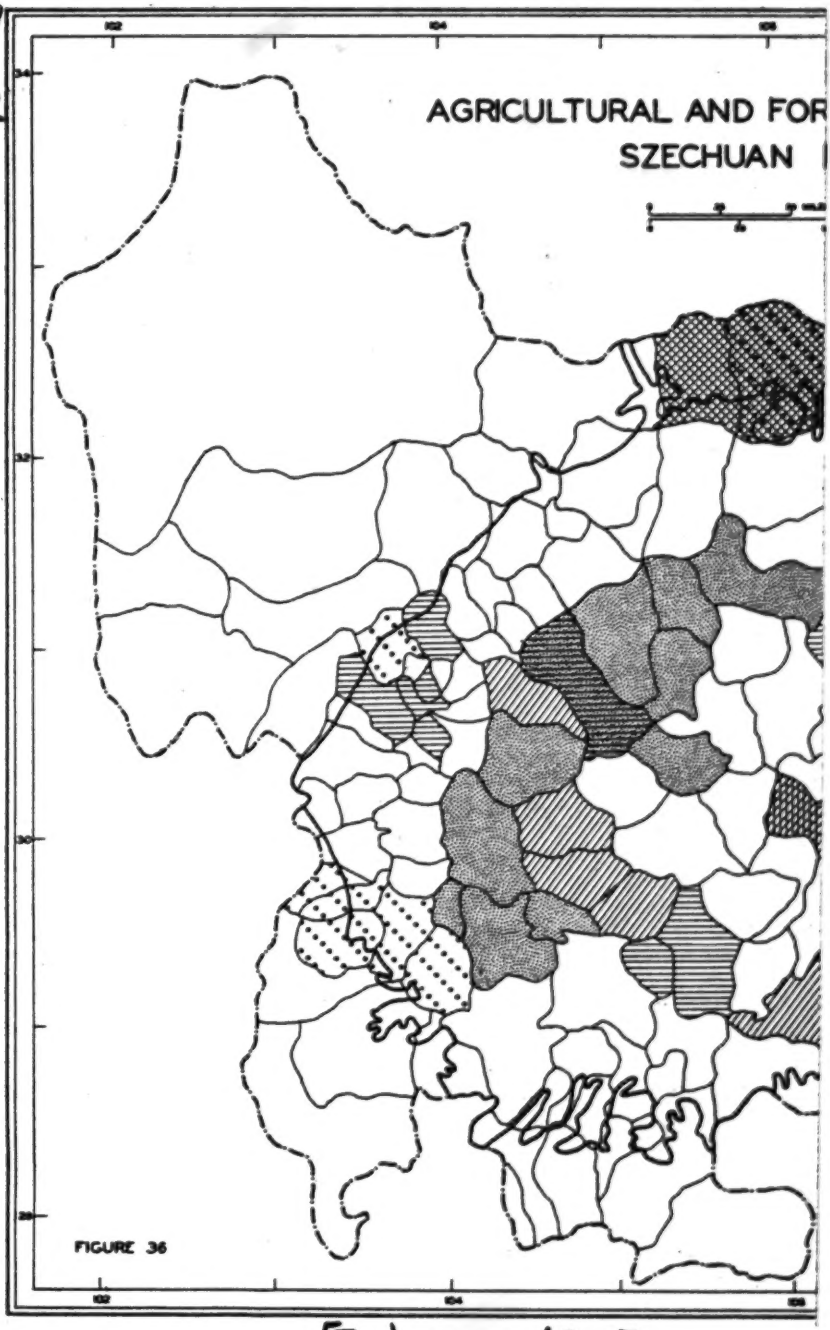

FIGURE 36

[End map 10(a)]

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AND FORESTRY PRODUCTS
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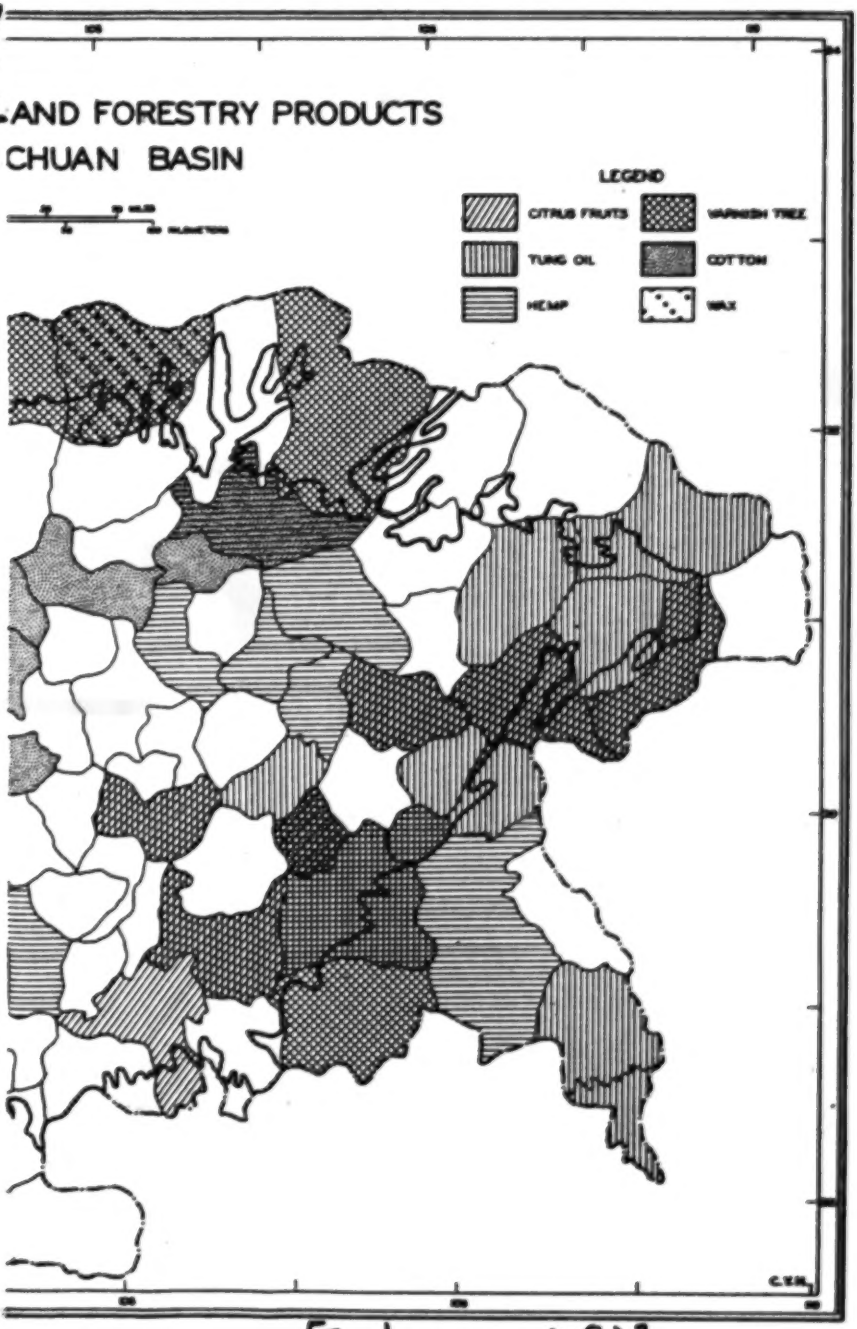

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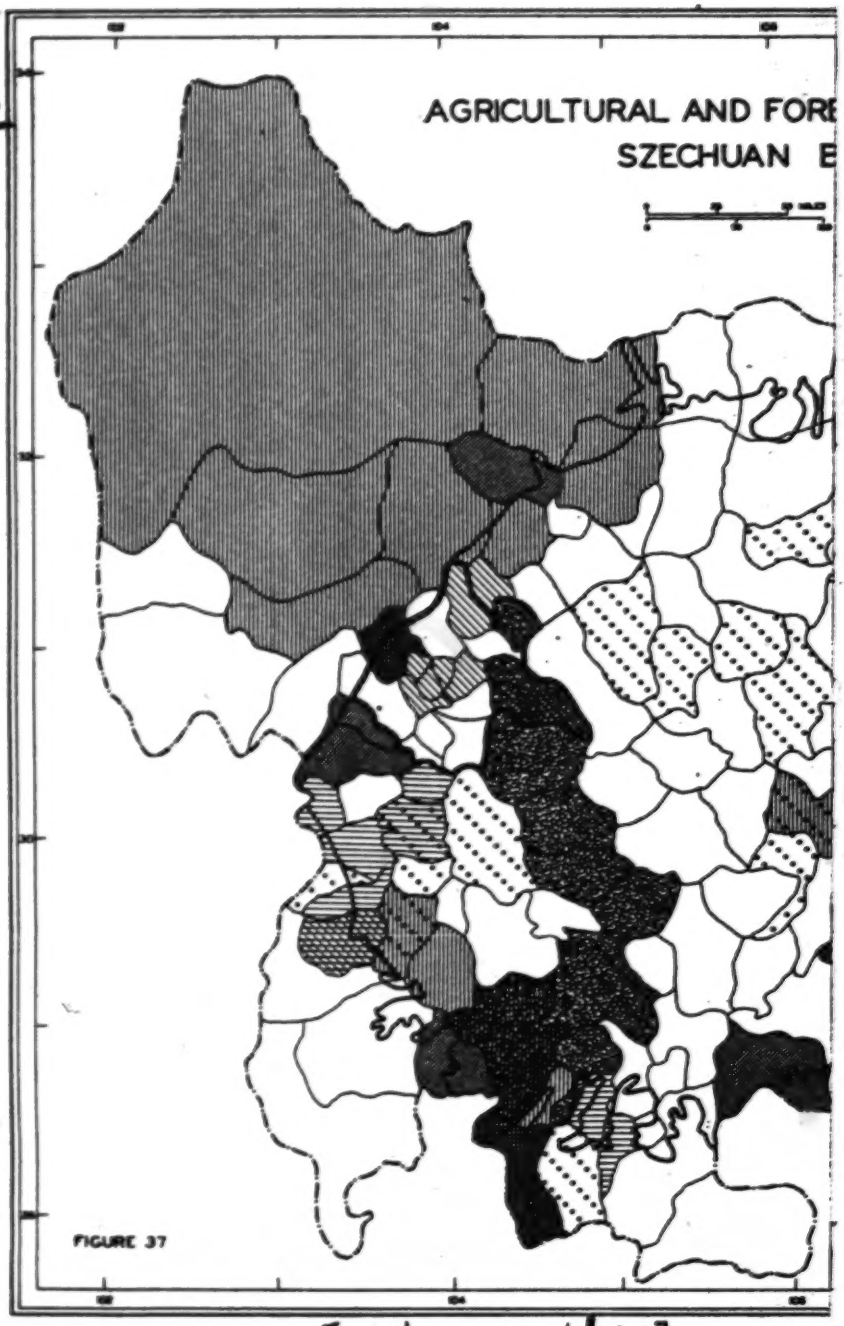

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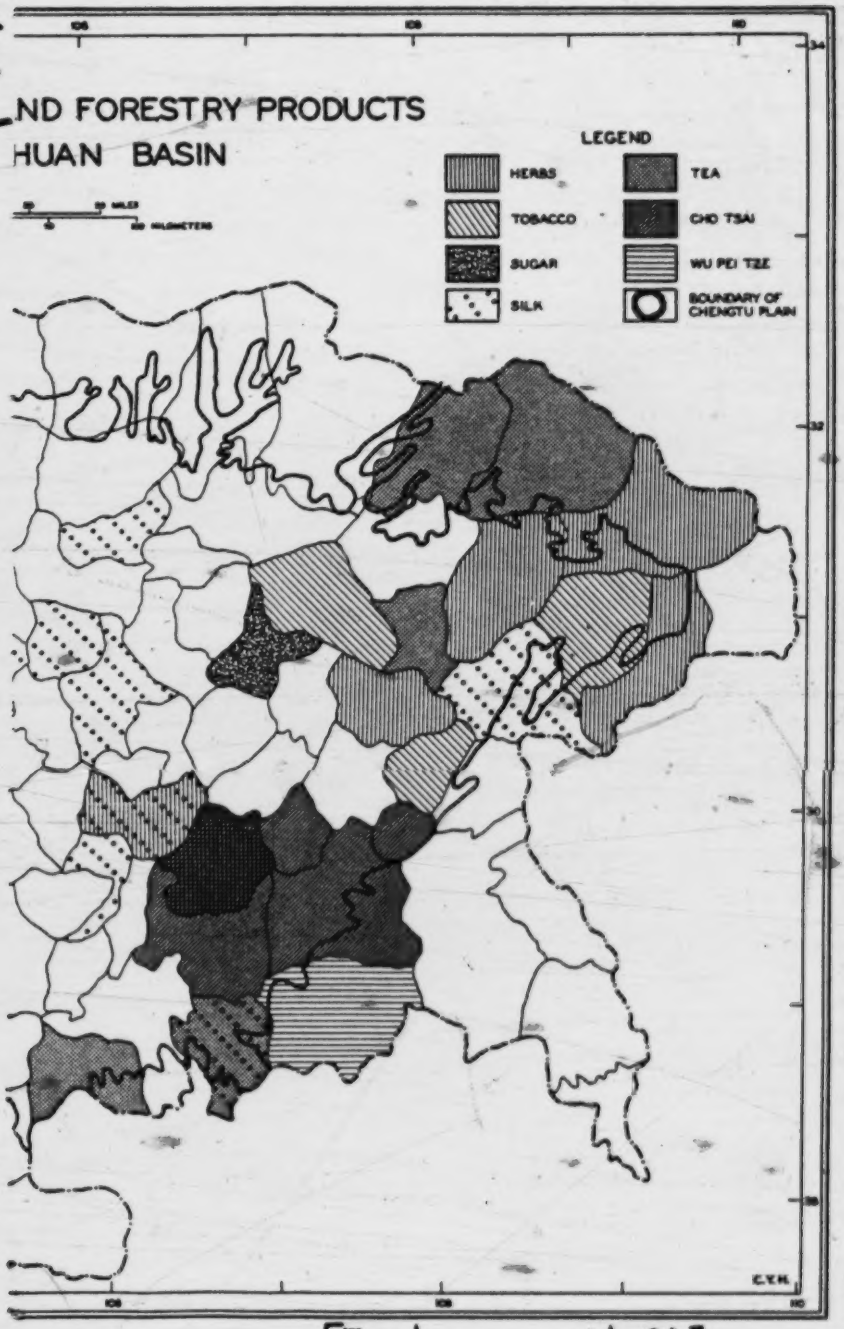

[End map 11 (b)]

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241 311 Moreover, on account of the high ground water-tables here, the drainage conditions on these trough lands are very poor. These trough lands are sometimes used for wheat, hemp, rice, rape, or kaoliang, depending upon water conditions. But the productivity of these marginal agricultural lands are, in general, very low.

The second principal source of agricultural land-use here is developed on the more gentle slopes of the numerous synclines in this area. Here the slopes are terraced into rice, wheat, or potato fields. The drainage conditions are, in general, better than those in the trough lands of the anticlines. Considerable portions of the cultivated fields are used for Ta ma (hemp) and Tso Tsai (vegetable) cultures which are the two most spectacular agricultural products of this area.

• 314 The most outstanding feature of this agricultural area, as its name suggests, is the predominance of the forestry product, the tung oil. On the steep slopes or at the edge of the anticlines, where the soils are extremely shallow, great numbers of tung trees are planted. Especially during the past decade, stimulated by the increasing demand, the plantation of tung trees has been grown in leaps and bounds. This area alone now contributes about three-fourths of the total production of tung oil production of all the Basin. In one district, Ning-shui alone, it produces about 52 per cent of the total tung tree production of the Basin. This factor has increased greatly the population-support capacity for this agricultural area and also helps to explain the presence of a few detached high population density areas here (Fig. 10).

135 Another interesting characteristic of this agricultural area is that here lies about 65 per cent of the total coal reserve (Pa-hsien and Chiang-peh) and about 45 per cent of the total iron reserve (Chi-chiang and Nanchuan) of the whole Basin.[1] This remarkable fact suggests that in the future days to come, this agricultural area may abandon its present modest pursuits in agricultural and forestry production, and will soon take an unchallenged leadership in the growing industrial and manufacturing development of the Basin.

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[1] W. C. Cheng, "The Iron and Coal Resources of Szechuan," Szechuan Monthly, V, No. 5 (1934), 35.

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137 it wonderfully well into the general topography, soil, and climatic conditions of the Basin.

2. Principal Producing Areas

314 137 The Tung trees grow over wide areas of the Basin, but the three principal producing regions are: (1) the Yangtse area, including Ning-shui, Yun-yang, Wan-hsien, Kai-hsien, Chung-hsien, and Feng-chieh districts; (2) the Chien and Chi River areas, including Yu, Siu-shan, and Pei-ling districts; (3) the Chialing River area, including Ho-chuan and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 36). Among them, the Yangtse Valley area, especially the districts near the anticline belt, is by far the most important.

[433] The total annual production of tung oil is estimated to be about 760,000 piculs.[1] In 1936, Ning-shui, one of the districts which makes up the first of the three principal producing areas, led all the districts with a total annual production of 180,000 piculs; Chung-hsien, of the same producing area, in the second place, produced 140,000 piculs; and Yun-yang produced 100,000 piculs (Table 13).

The Tung trees (Aleurites fordii) which grow in the Basin are of two kinds--Chai tung, or fuel tung, and mi-tung, or rice tung. The Chai tung is taller in height, generally around 20 to 25 feet, and has rougher and larger branches. The fruit contains fewer seeds (only three to five) than the Mi tung, and thus has less oil content. Hence, very few Chai tung trees are planted here.

The Mi tung tree, the major kind planted in the Szechuan Basin, is shorter in height (about 15 feet or less) and is highly ornamental in flower and foliage. The flowers, produced in great profusion during April, are usually white, stained with pink and yellow markings. These are followed always by green apple-like fruits, which are hidden among the large, glossy, heart-shaped leaves and generally ripen between August and September. Each fruit usually contains five to seven seeds. The Tung trees begin to bear fruit in their fourth year, and their period of

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[1] C. S. Chang, The Tung Oil of Szechuan (Ming Seng Co., 1936), p. 18. But the most recent report gave the total acreage of Tung tree for 1940 as 1,150,000 mow and with an annual production of 1,140,000 piculs (cf. Yen, op. cit., p. 31). This is, of course, a little unusual and is due to the war time boom production.

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greatest production is from the eighth to the sixteenth year. A decline in productivity begins with the seventeenth year. Thus there is a local saying, "The seventeenth year is the limit for the Tung Tree." 314 137

The tung seed-collecting season varies from locality to locality in the Basin, but, on the whole, comes in the middle of September. After the green fruit is picked, it is piled into heaps and covered with straw or grass. The heat thus generated quickly rots the fleshy part of the fruit and the seeds are removed. They are then roasted,[1] ground, steamed, and pressed, like other oil-producing seeds. All of these processes are done with very simple equipment and at low efficiency. The roasting and steaming are done by burning of charcoal or coal, whereas the pressing and grounding are all done by animal power. The product, which amounts to about 40 per cent of the weight of the seed, is a brown and somewhat watery oil. It is sent to the nearby local plants for refining, and then packed in wooden tubs and bamboo baskets to be shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for export abroad.

In the economy of the Szechuan Basin the Tung tree figures as a natural mountain product. Usually, the trees are left to grow wild; very little attempt is made by the farmers to cultivate them. Only during recent years, following the continuous success in the export trade, have a large number of Tung tree plantations and nurseries been organized and scientific methods applied to cultivation and production. The best known plantations are the I-shui at Wan-hsien, and the Jen-ho at Pi-shan. Each comprises from 200,000 to 300,000 trees. Both have met with phenomenal success during the past few years. An increasing number of such plantations, sponsored either by the government or by private interests, have recently been organized.[2] 245

3. Transportation and Marketing of Tung Oil

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The present war has greatly stimulated the production of tung oil in Szechuan and has brought drastic changes in the

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[1]Roasting is, however, not essential and is not practiced by all farmers.

[2]Chao, op. cit., p. 21.

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314 marketing and transportation of the product. Prior to the war, Wan-hsien, between Chungking and Hankow, was the most important shipping center for Szechuan tung oil, as well as other products. 314 439 Its importance was due to its geographical location on the main waterway to Shanghai via Hankow. But, however, since the fall of Wu-Chang-Hankow tri-cities and consequently the close of the gorges route to the east due to the enemy's blockade, this route of transhipment of tung oil has been greatly shifted. Now, Chungking, because of its new political importance and because it is the starting point of new highways in southwest China, has become the most vital concentration point and the sole exporting center of tung oil. While in 1935-36 the oil sent to Chungking for transhipment (totaling 150,000 quintals) was only three-fourths that sent to Wan-hsien, the 1938 figures for Chungking showed an increase to 350,000 quintals.[1] The amount sent to Wan-hsien, on the other hand, dropped to 150,000 quintals,[2] only a little over one-third that sent to Chungking. Districts that formerly sold their oil through Wan-hsien now turn their products over to the purchasing agents of the Foreign Trade Commission at Chungking.[3] This newly created concern, with the cooperation of both government and private interests, collects the processed oil and exports it abroad by way of the Kweichou-Szechuan highway (Fig. 18) through the back door of China.

In 1938, 42.9 per cent of the local oil came from points east and south of Chungking, 24.4 per cent from places along the Chialing and Chu rivers, 14.2 per cent from the Chien and Wu River valleys, 17.1 per cent from points along the Yangtse above the city of Chungking, and the remaining 1.4 per cent from other places.[4] This kind of tung oil concentration and shipment is consistent with the general patterns of its production, because the principal tung-oil-producing areas, as already mentioned, are concentrated in the districts both north and south of Chungking, and in the upper Chialing and Chien River Valley areas.

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[1] Foo-hsing Trade Corporation, Trade Report (1939), p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] Ibid., p. 38.

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

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Tung oil is widely used in the modern industrial world. 314
It has been proved particularly invaluable in making high grade paints, in boat-building, and in the manufacturing of many other water-proof products. The refuse cake, chemically a complete 387
fertilizer, is valued highly by the farmers of the Basin for fertilization purposes. It is used especially for the dry crop 314
fields, such as corn, kaoliang, and other crops, but is very seldom applied to the rice-fields. It is reported that these tung-cake fertilizers are particularly suitable to the corn crop.[1] [388]
The shells of the tung seed, together with rice and soy bean stalks, burned and treated, are commonly used to prepare a cheap soap for the local farming families.

China now produces about 85 per cent of the total world 439
supply of Tung oil, and the production of Szechuan Basin alone 314
accounts for about 40 per cent of the total tung oil export of all China. The best customer was the United States, which, before the war, took on an average about half of the total production. Other customers were Germany, with about 25 per cent of the total; England, with about 15 per cent; and France, Italy, and Japan, each with about 5 per cent of the total annual export.

From the standpoint of the agricultural economy of the Basin, the production of tung oil is vitally significant. Even apart from the huge amount of cash income it brings in the export market, the value of the refuse cake for fertilization, and other industrial purposes, such as the manufacturing of soap, the total value of the Tung tree to the farmers of the Basin is incalculable. Hence, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has recently launched an ambitious ten-year expansion program to boost the Basin's Tung-tree production. It aims to increase the present yearly production of oil from 400,000 quintals to 1,000,000 quintals. At the same time, the Foreign Trade Commission together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry have a five-year plan for increasing tung-oil production in Szechuan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi to 650,000 quintals per year. In addition to existing Tung trees, according to the five-year plan, Szechuan is to plant Tung trees on an additional 500,000 mow of land as a necessary step in the expansion program.[2]

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[1] Y. J. Hsiao, "A Study of the Agricultural Practices of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 7 (1933), 6.

[2] Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan, Annual Report (1940), p. 76.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

equipment, and the standardization of the finished product are most important.[1] 000

Recently, realizing the necessity of such improvements, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has established four model Tung tree experimental stations at Pei-ling, Nan-chung, Ning-shui, and Wan-hsien districts in order to direct the essential improvement work. With the author's experience among the tung farmers in the Basin, he feels strongly that it is probably wiser for the Agricultural authorities here to carry on the improvement work along the lines suggested above rather than aiming merely to boost the present acreage. Successful modern commercial agricultural production means high quality, as well as quantity. It would be heart-breaking to witness the same tragic fate befall the Tung tree, generously favored as it is by the Basin's physical conditions, that befell China's silk and tea. Nature has already done her part, and it is now up to man to do his. 314 654

C. The Wax Tree Production

1. The White Wax Tree

White wax, produced by the secretions of tiny insects, locally known as Pai-lou-chung (Coccus pela), on a number of wax trees or shrubs, is another unique forestry product of the Szechuan Basin. The so-called wax trees or shrubs consist of over ten species, including both conifers and broad-leafed hardwoods. One particular species of conifer, locally known as Pai-Lou-Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis), is the most important and the most common species on which the wax insects are raised. 314

There are two main species of wax insects: Shan Ti Tsung, or the hilly insects, including breeds produced in Hui-li, Hei-chang, Ning-yuan,[2] and Kuan-hsien districts, and Pa-Tsung, or insects of the plain areas, including breeds produced in O-mei, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Hung-ya districts (Fig. 36). Generally speaking, the plain insects are inferior in quality and are not used for breeding purposes. Also, it is reported[3] that in the 136

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[1]Chao, op. cit., p. 24.

[2]Hui-li, Hsi-chang, and Ning-yuan districts are now under the jurisdiction of Sikang province.

[3]Ho, op. cit., p. 15.

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237 is its high melting point--83 degrees centigrade. It is said that Thomas Edison used this white wax from Szechuan Basin to make his first gramophone records, which have since given pleasure to so many people in all parts of the world.[1]

2. Yellow Wax Production

In addition to white wax, the Szechuan Basin also produces a considerable amount of yellow wax from bee hives. According to Buck, Szechuan farmers lead all China in the average number of bee hives per farm.[2] They are particularly important in the districts of Kuang-yuan and Kuan-hsien, in the north and west of the Basin (Fig. 36). The total production is generally estimated to be around 34,000 piculs, with Kuang-yuan, as the leading producer, accounting for a fourth of the total production. The yellow wax, like the white, is used mainly for candles, furniture polish, models, and many medicinal purposes. But, unlike the white wax, it is consumed principally within the Basin.

D. The Varnish Tree Production

•314 Lacquer and lacquer wares in Szechuan have been famous ever since the early Han dynasty. The main producing areas are in the districts of Kuang-yuan, Chao-hua, and Tung-chiang, to the north, and Nan-chuan to the south (Fig. 36). The northern areas are the most important. The total annual production is approximately 4,000 piculs.

The varnish is obtained by tapping the stems of the tree (Rhus vernicefera), locally known as Tsi Shu, by making horizontal incisions in the bark. Generally, these incisions are first made and the tapping begun when the tree is seven years old and has attained a diameter of six inches. Two years are allowed to elapse before the same tree is tapped again. The tapping season commonly begins in late June or early July, at the time corresponding with the opening of the flower, and continues throughout the summer. The sap, as it is exuded, is pure white in color, but quickly oxidizes to a grayish-white, and finally to black. To prevent this oxidation, the crude varnish is covered as soon as possible with layers of oil paper.

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[1] Ibid., p. 17. [2] Buck, op. cit., p. 248.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Prior to the war a major portion of the raw varnish, about 90 per cent of the total, was exported to Japan. But now it is largely consumed within the Basin for manufacturing numerous lacquer wares, for which the Basin is famous in China. 314

E. General Conclusions 313

The discussion of the agricultural and forestry land-use of the Szechuan Basin in the foregoing chapters has revealed in sharp relief three significant facts, namely: First, the dominance of the agricultural and forestry land-use in the general economy of the Szechuan Basin is not only the most striking fact but the most illuminating concept in the geography of the Basin. The very fact that the Basin has the greatest diversity of agricultural products and is almost a miniature China in agricultural production typifies its extreme agricultural richness. Moreover, the astounding figures that about 85 per cent of the total population is engaged in agricultural pursuits and over 60 per cent of the Basin's export is derived from one single forestry product, the Tung tree oil, demonstrates clearly the ever-close bond between the well-being of the people in the Basin and its agricultural and forestry land-use. In addition, it is recently revealed that the Basin supplies about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire fighting force of China, comprising well over five million strong. This single fact alone bears witness to the vital part the Basin now plays in China's total war effort. Among other things, this rich agricultural and forestry production of the Basin is undoubtedly one of the most important factors, perhaps the determining one, which has induced the National Government of China to select the Szechuan Basin as the principal base of operation against the present invasion.

The second conclusion deserving special attention is the close correlation of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use to its environmental factors. The adjustments of agricultural practices to physical environment here are both genuine and many. To mention a few striking examples, the minute terraced fields, the intricate irrigation systems, the wide range and great diversity of agricultural and horticultural products, the numerous practices in soil culture and crop rotations, and the wide use of bamboos are related respectively to the topography, water supply, climate, soil, and vegetation of the Basin. Especially the lack

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3b,
Economic Background

INDUSTRIES

316 The industries of Southwest China fall into two major groups -- mining and manufacturing. Among the mining enterprises, the largest are those dealing with the production of tin, iron, coal, and copper. The tin production of Yunnan has been one of the main sources of supply for China and the world market. A major part of the nation's copper comes from Yunnan, Kweichow, and Sikang. Despite rapid growth during World War II, manufacturing industries in Southwest China has been relatively unimportant in comparison with those in Manchuria and some other sections of China.

I. MINING RESOURCES

A. Production of Tin

During the period, 1935-39, approximately 10,000 metric tons of tin were produced in China each year, equivalent to 5.5 to 7.8 per cent of the total production of the world, excluding Russia. During 1940-41, the world production of tin was maintained at a high level because of the demands of war, but the production of

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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316 tin in China dwindled steadily when the war engulfed the mining regions. Output was as low as 2,000 metric tons in 1944 and 1945. During 1947-49, China's rate of production rose to 4,000 tons a year, but in terms of expanding world production the relative importance of China's tin production declined. During the period 1941-53, it amounted to less than 4 per cent of the world total.

Most of China's tin is produced in the Ko-chiu area of Yunnan Province. In some places, modern mining methods are used, but ore dug by outdated methods still constitutes an important part of China's tin production. Before the Communists seized control of the China Mainland, a portion of the tin produced in Yunnan was processed by a local refinery before export to world markets.[1]

Under their regime, the Communists reported, annual tin production on the China Mainland increased from 4,000 metric tons in 1950 to 6,400 metric tons in 1953. The major expansion occurred in Yunnan Province. But

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1. Chinese Ministry of Information, China Handbook, 1937-1945, New York, Macmillan Co., 1947, p. 394.

316 similar increases in production were taking place elsewhere in the world. Today, China accounts for less than 3 per cent of the world's total production of tin.[2]

B. Iron and Steel Production

Most of the iron and steel produced in Southwest China comes from the province of Szechwan and, more particularly, the Chungking area. Kweichow and Yunnan have produced some iron, but the amount is insignificant in comparison with the amount originating in Szechwan.

2. See Table 1 in the chapter on Foreign Trade.

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Table 1. Iron and Steel Production in Southwest China

Year	Iron Ore Province*	Iron Ore Free China#	Pig Iron Province*	Pig Iron Free China x	Steel Free China#
1934		Unknown		Unknown	Unknown
Szechwan	60,000		20,000		
Kweichow	300		75		
Yunnan	1,500		500		
Total	61,800		20,575		
1939	Unknown	41,466	Unknown	Unknown	12,000
1940		55,182			1,500
1941		62,836			2,011
1942		77,497			3,000
1943		70,000			6,800
1944		40,134			13,361

* Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, p. 656.
\# Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, pp. 28-29.
x China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 391.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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316 1. Iron Ore. Before World War II, virtually all of the iron ore produced in the southwestern provinces came from antiquated native mines. It has been estimated that in 1934 the native mines in Szechwan produced about 60,000 metric tons of iron ore, those in Yunnan about 1,500 tons, and those in Kweichow about 300 tons.[3] The output in Szechwan Province was surpassed only by that of Shansi Province in the North China Region, where, if the production of modern mines is excluded, the greatest amount of iron ore in China is mined. During the prewar years, Central China and Manchuria were the only regions where large-scale modern iron and steel plants were in operation.

327 2. Pig Iron. In 1934, the pig iron production of Szechwan amounted to 20,000 metric tons, that of Yunnan to 500 metric tons, and that of Kweichow to 75 metric tons. During the war years, plant facilities in the southwestern provinces were modernized, and pig iron production (largely in Szechwan) rose to approximately 30,000 metric tons

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3. The Council of International Affairs (Chungking), The Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, Shanghai, Chicago Daily Tribune Publishing Co., 1946, p. 656; Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, Nanking, Directorate General of Budgets, Accounts and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1948, pp. 28-29.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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327 standard and narrow gauge rails for the construction and repair of railroads in the Southwest Region.

C. Production of Coal

316 135 In terms of the coal resources of the entire country, reserves and production in Southwest China are small (See Table 3).

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Table 3. China's Coal Production
(in 1,000 metric tons)

	1934		1946	
East China	1,619	(4.7%)	1,160	(6.8%)
South China	501	(1.5)	130	(0.8)
Southwest China	863	(2.6)	2,310	(13.5)
North China	16,876	(49.4)	7,177	(41.8)
Northwest China	487	(1.5)	1,409	(8.2)
Northeast China (Manchuria)	12,000	(35.0)	4,182	(24.4)
Central China	1,828	(5.4)	790	(4.6)

* Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, p. 684; The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China, 1948; and China Handbook, 1937-1945, pp. 398-90.

316 Szechwan Province has the largest known coal
135 reserve in the region, and Sikang the smallest. Geological data on coal reserves in Sikang are incomplete. Szechwan leads the provinces of the Southwest Region in the production of bituminous coal (See Table 4).

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Table 4. Estimated Coal Reserve in Southwest China*
(in million metric tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Lignite	Total	Per cent of National Total
Szechwan	293	3,540	-	3,833	1.46%
Yunnan	77	1,542	694	2,313	.88
Kweichow	822	1,696	-	2,518	.96
Sikang	3	501	27	531	.20
Total - Southwest China				9,195	3.51%
- China, including Manchuria	45,281	216,021	4,012	265,314	100.00%

* Based on data published in China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 389.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers,
[316] the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩子 is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村坡, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江鋪, elevation 7,120 feet; the whole village is occupied with

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(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-shing Hu 葉星湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

arch bridge by a small hamlet consisting of a few houses. The trail leads on the east bank of the stream along the foot of a rocky mountain slope composed of reddish-purple boulders. The vegetation consists mainly of bushes such as Corylus and Escholtzia. The mountains rise to about 2,000 feet on the west bank, and 3,000 feet on the east bank, with secondary parallel ridges. Terraced rice-fields extend along the banks, but well above the river. On the west bank is situated the village of Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬廠. Here the slopes of the mountain are covered with tall forests of *Pinus yünnanensis*. One li beyond we come to a few houses which compose the village of Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍壩, also situated on the west bank. The river winds considerably, passing through a small rocky defile, the trail following downstream on the east bank. The path becomes narrower and almost impassable due to many wash-outs and projecting boulders. About a hundred feet above the stream on the west bank is the hamlet of Ma-li-p'ing 麻梨坪. 487* 133* 137*

We cross a small tributary and follow the ever-narrowing trail, which in places is really perilous, winding up and down and around hill-sides, then again through groves of oaks and *Cornus capitata* trees, pears, Rhamnus, and Berberis, until we come to the poorest village so far encountered; it is called La-p'u-wan 腊普灣 (also written 剌普灣). Soon we come to another village called Chuang-fang 庄房; here the river is very narrow and strewn with huge boulders, a wooden bridge crossing it. The hamlet is on the east bank almost at the level of the river-bed. A little over a li brings us to the Tibetan village of Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石). About 30 li to the west of this place a quicksilver mine is said to exist. Red sandstone and gray grits with patches of manganese dioxide and iron oxide are to be found at Wua-shih (GREGORY). [316]

The valley becomes considerably narrower with rather steep slopes.

Ka-ka-t'ang village.—Ten li more and we arrive at the narrow, filthy conglomeration of huts and pigsties which calls itself the village of Ka-ka-t'ang 戛戛塘. Near the entrance to the village is a spring enclosed in a square rock basin over which a tiny Lung-wang shrine had been built. Fish swam peacefully in it. The inhabitants nearly all have goitres, some of extraordinary size, almost as large as the head itself. [361] [147]

From Ka-ka-t'ang a trail leads east across a pass and along the valley of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河 to La-p'u. The Chung-ch'iu Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing and flows first parallel with the Yung-ch'un Ho and then turns straight north there it is called La-p'u Ta-ho; it bends east at La-p'u, and debouches into the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung 其宗. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan gives its source south of Pong-tse-ra and ignores two high passes between Pen-tzu-lan 奔子蘭 and La-p'u, thus making the stream flow over the passes south, instead of from south to north. Davies' map is here also completely wrong, for the two sources of his stream, one in the Kar-ri La and the other in the Ponge La, a pass 12,150 feet in height, flow together on the map, but have no outlet. The Yon-dze-khà, which is the Tibetan name of the stream, rises in the Pai-mang Shan and flows south, but above Rong-sha (Lo-she 洛舍); it then flows east and debouches into the Yangtze.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

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The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang 吳兆棠 submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang 東升廠, also Pai-niu ch'ang 白牛廠. At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers (池) or smelters going [the word *ch'ih* 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every *ch'ih* from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Êrh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

• 316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

These slabs are then framed and are sent all over China to be hung up on the walls of houses as ornaments. The marble is also in much request for tombstones. 316

Silver bracelets and other things are also made in the town, but there is nothing remarkable about the workmanship. Gold is another somewhat important article of trade: it is usually beaten into gold leaf and sent in this form to Burma where it is in much demand for gilding pagodas. 326 European goods come in through Bhamo, but they seemed very scarce, and were represented by a few cotton, calico, and woollen goods, needles, thread, and tinned milk. 439 Some Tibetan products, chiefly furs and medicines, also find their way to Ta-li. Most of this is brought down in April, in which month a great annual fair is held here which attracts thousands of strangers who come in to trade from all parts of the province.

Ta-li is an important place from the official point of view. It is the residence of the T'i-t'ai, who is commander-in-chief of all the troops in Yün-nan, and of a Tao-t'ai[1], who governs a very large district including the whole of the western part of the province right up to the Burmese border.

I stayed two days in Ta-li hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Smith. 346 The former was most kind in showing me all the sights of the place, which include several very fine temples. One of these on the road between Ta-li and Hsia-kuan was built in honour of Yang, the famous Chinese general who retook Ta-li from the Panthays and put an end to the rebellion. In it is an image of the great general himself, extremely well done, and the old man in charge of the temple told us it was an excellent likeness. 000 He seems to have been a remarkable man, very short in stature but extremely energetic and not much hampered by attention to official etiquette, so much so that he would even walk about the streets, instead of being carried in a sedan chair. Military mandarins often rather affect this disregard of etiquette, and put on what they consider a bluff, soldierlike manner, talking in a loud voice and so on. Possibly many of them are not very conversant with all the points of correct Chinese deportment, as they are often men of low origin.

[1] This Tao-t'ai is now said to have his official residence in T'eng-yüeh.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. [376] The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

327 when hardened by repeated heatings in the furnace it is made into hatchets, hoes, and tripod stands for cooking-pots.

563 To the north of T'ien-t'ang-kuan is a very interesting country inhabited by the Li-so tribe, which I should much have liked to explore. This race I have found scattered over a very wide extent of country, as far south as the Siamese border, and as far north as the Tibetan parts of Ssŭ-ch'uan and north-western Yün-nan. In the Kachin Hills and the Shan States they are split up into very small and scattered communities, living usually on the very tops of the hills. They originally occupied a good deal of the country to the west and north of T'êng-yüeh, and I have little doubt that the Chinamen of Hsi-lien and many of the neighbouring districts have more Li-so blood in them than Chinese. At present the only district in which the Li-sos form the bulk of the population seems to be the Salween valley from about Lat. 25° 30′ up to Lat. 27° 30′. Their language is closely connected with that of the Lo-los, and they are no doubt a branch of this widely-spread race. I have always found them, like the Lo-los, extremely pleasant and friendly.

Li-so is the Chinese name for this tribe. They call themselves Li-su, and the Kachins know them as Yaw-yen. In T'ien t'ang-kuan they now live on very good terms with their Chinese neighbours, but the remains of a wall round Ma-li-pa and an old two-storied stone tower close by suggest that there was a time when things were not so peaceful. Now-a-days the only enemies of the villagers are wolves, which they say hunt in large packs and will kill even big animals, such as ponies and cattle.

From Ma-li-pa I turned eastward, crossed a range at 8,700 feet by an extremely steep ascent and an equally abrupt descent, rendered more difficult by a drizzling rain. This brought us into the Ming-kuang plain which runs down the Mo-lo Ho in a valley half a mile wide.

328 We slept at the village of Hsiao-hsin-kai, and I found [316] men smelting lead close by. The lead is found in sand and this sand is first washed in a place prepared for the purpose in a small stream. The heaviest part of it which sinks is then taken away and smelted in the furnace. Both lead and

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 ing for a railway with the sanction of the Chinese Government.

Passing Sung-lin, a village of two hundred houses with a mud wall round it, we took two days to reach Pan-ch'iao at the southern end of the Hsüan-wei plain. The country is undulating, and one passes through a series of little cultivated plateaus, with low rocky hills rising out of them, and most of them without any running water. This part of Yün-nan is full of coal and hardly anything else is used as fuel. It is sold for 200 cash a cartload, which I calculate to be at about the rate of three shillings a ton.

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000 On the 14th April I reached Hsüan-wei Chou, and found Watts-Jones there, established in a temple just inside the south gate. Here we were in telegraphic communication with the world again. Pottinger had arrived at Pi-chieh and hoped to meet us at Wei-ning Chou. We were very sorry to learn that Mr Tucker, who formed one of Pottinger's party, had returned to Ch'ung-k'ing suffering from pleurisy, and had died there of heart failure.

361 Hsüan-wei is a town of 800 houses and has two walls round it, one inside the other. The plain in which it stands is a poor one, but the whole country round is full of coal mines which, with better means of communication, might be extensively worked. Hsüan-wei is famous for its hams, which are excellent. Chinese hams vary very much. The best ones are very good, and this is the only form in which I ever ate pig in China.

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After halting a day at Hsüan-wei, we left again on the 16th April, and soon found ourselves in a more hilly country. In these parts the Chinese are in the habit of shouting out *yang kuei-tzŭ*, "foreign devil," an expression one does not hear very often in most parts of Yün-nan. In Hsüan-wei we had heard the little boys shouting it out as we walked about the town, but they took care to keep at a distance, and the Chinamen nearest us always wore a look of almost too complete innocence.

186

However our time for retaliation soon arrived. The day we left Hsüan-wei, Watts-Jones and I had walked on a little ahead and passed five or six Chinamen sitting by the roadside. Directly we had passed, we heard shouts of "yang kuei-tzŭ." We turned back at once and our

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. •[316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

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312 here asked us to show them where to dig for water. The Chinese often credited us with the power of seeing what is under the earth. I suppose the idea is derived from embroidered narratives of the exploits of mining engineers.

The next march, over a dry, hilly country, brought us to Yao-chan, where we halted for a day as Watts-Jones had to go up a hill to the east to get a better idea of the lie of the country. I took the opportunity to go up another hill to the west to do some surveying, and to visit a copper mine about two miles off.

316

This mine, they say, was formerly very productive and 2000 men are said to have found employment here. At the time of my visit there were not more than 100 miners at work. They live in little huts scattered about the valley, and there are three furnaces constantly kept burning to smelt the ore they dig out. The ore is mined out of the solid rock of which the hill is formed. There are no deep shafts: they cut caves out of the hillside, and the miners often live in the caves they are working in. They use hammers and iron wedges, and they say a man can get out a mule load of ore in two days. The ore varies a good deal in quality, and is sold for from two to seven mace a mule load. Taking a load as 130 lbs., this comes to from sixpence to one and ninepence for 100 lbs. The best ore is of a purple colour and is said to produce 10 per cent. of copper.

The lessee of the mine pays 500 or 600 taels a year to the Government for the right of smelting, and the miners are obliged to sell the ore to the lessee. The copper produced is sent to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province, and is there used for coining into cash.

132 The hill-tops in this part of the country rise to about 8000 feet, and they all had snow on them, which, combined with a biting north wind, made this one of the coldest days I have ever felt in western China.

361 On the 21st April we crossed a range, and skirting the edge of a large lake reached Wei-ning Chou, which is built on its further shore. The walls enclose a large space, but it is chiefly filled with temples, including a very large red Confucian temple. There are not more than 600 houses in the place, half within the walls and half without.

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361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 plain, and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung Fu and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal food of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants here and very little trade is done except in the necessaries of life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there are come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

• 316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in the mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good communications these could no doubt be profitably worked. The height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very cold place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next day along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some more surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me over a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet for the water. I slept at Ssŭ-p'u at 8000 feet. For the last few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so that it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere traverse of the road. This is the sort of weather which is, I believe, prevalent throughout Ssŭ-ch'uan in the cold season. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," and it is natural to suppose that the province was so named as lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great part of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village of Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, was still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties in this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning and await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most difficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been for days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it absolutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do any useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 the natives of the country. A hundred men or so would collect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

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328 the cup near the top. The zinc is sold at about 1½*d.* for 1 lb., and is most of it sent to Yün-nan Fu to be mixed with copper to make cash.

After crossing the river we had a very steep climb of more than 3000 feet, reaching the top of the range at 8,600 feet and descending slightly to Kung-shan, a large mining village. The mine manager was a travelled man who had visited Shanghai, and I found him very civil.

316 Lead and zinc are the two chief minerals, and the lead ore also produces a small quantity of silver. I was told that the output of lead averages 400 lbs. in a day. The zinc is got out of very deep shafts, extending they say several *li*[1] into the hill-side. I did not test the exact accuracy of this statement, but I went a little way down one shaft and it certainly seemed to be a deep one. They are not sunk straight down but are sloped so that a man can walk down them, though the passage is so low that he has to keep in a bent position most of the way.

On the 1st May our road led us down a narrow valley to the Chê-hai plain, which is about seven miles long and contains a small lake and several villages. The next day after crossing a low range we reached Tung-ch'uan Fu where I was kindly put up by Mr and Mrs Grist and Dr Hicks, 288 the missionaries there. The official then at Tung-ch'uan was a very enterprising man who had established a manufactory of cotton cloth. The yarn is from Bombay, imported by Shanghai and the Yangtze. There was no European machinery: they used the ordinary Chinese looms.

361 The town walls of Tung-ch'uan do not enclose much space, but there are a good many people living outside the gates, and the whole town and suburbs must contain about 1000 houses. The population appear to be very friendly to foreigners.

241 The plain is some six miles long by three miles wide. It grows rice well, but the winter crops do not seem to 000 flourish, and the soil does not suit opium. Like Wei-ning

[1] The *li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Theoretically it is about 600 yds. but practically it varies in different parts of the country. In the hilly parts of Yün-nan it runs about five to the mile. Ten li may be usually taken as an hour's march, so that used in this way as a unit of time it is a very useful measure.

316 Like Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley
505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent
137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

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CHAPTER XXIII

YÜN-NAN FU TO THE RED RIVER.

Beginning of the rainy season—Ch'êng-kung Hsien—Chin-ning Chou—A lake country—Picturesque village—The T'ung-hai plain—Separate from Turner and Ker—Their subsequent travels in the rains—Impassable roads—The Chinese francolin—The Ch'ü Chiang valley—The Lin-an plain—An open plateau country—Mêng-tzŭ—Its European population—Attack on the foreign settlement—The trade of Mêng-tzŭ—Devil's punch-bowls—No inns—An unhealthy village—The Red River at Man-hao—Down the rapids by boat—A French fort—The French frontier.

FROM Yün-nan Fu I was to return to England *viâ* 000
Tong-king to report on the results of our expedition, while Mr Turner and Mr Ker were to make their way back to Burma. As however they wished to visit a gold mine at 316
T'a-lang T'ing, north-east of P'u-êrh, we all left Yün-nan Fu together.

We started on the 15th May in pouring rain, which made things most unpleasant, for in Yün-nan, as in Burma, the rainy season begins in the latter half of May. After an easy march down the plain which borders the K'un-yang Lake on its eastern side we reached the little town of Ch'êng-kung Hsien.

Continuing our march the next day down the same 361
plain we passed through Chin-ning Chou, a walled town of 700 houses, whose narrow street was densely packed with people, as we happened to strike it on a market day. We went on another six miles and slept at Hua-lo-ts'un, villages being as a rule pleasanter places to pass the night in than towns.

From here we left the basin of the K'un-yang Lake and 000
crossed a range at a low gap, descending to another large lake called Ch'êng-chiang Hai. The road leaves this on its left and, passing through the little town of Chiang-ch'uan, reaches Hai-mên-ch'iao. This village is picturesquely placed

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000 between the little Chiang-ch'uan Lake and the hills to the east of it, just at the point where a stream connecting it with the Ch'êng-chiang Hai forces its way through these hills.

The village has some nice trees and looks well from a distance: inside are the usual pigs and dirt. Its height is just under 6000 feet, the first time for six weeks I had camped at such a low elevation.

On the 18th, crossing a low range of hills, we descended to the lake of T'ung Hai, and, rounding its eastern end, 241 reached the town of that name. The plain round the lake 373 is well cultivated and there is a ring of large villages round it. The town though not very big is decidedly prosperous and has a good deal of trade. We found kerosine oil in general use here for lamps, a sign that we were approaching the civilisation of Tong-king.

From here Turner and I separated, his road branching off in a more westerly direction. Ker had left us two days previously to find a way from Chin-ning to T'a-lang, thus getting more country surveyed than we otherwise should have done.

• 316 Turner and Ker met at T'a-lang and were able to visit the gold mine, which they found a productive one in spite of the very crude machinery used. After this they had a most trying journey over roads rendered nearly impassable by heavy rains. They followed up the course of the Pa-pien Chiang (Black River) for several days, turning westward from near the south end of the Ching-tung T'ing plain. Ker crossed the Mekong to Yün Chou, and from there went northward to Ta-li Fu, where he met Turner, who had come there by a more direct route. They did not reach Burma till August. Travelling in Yün-nan in the rains is not a pleasant experience. It was quite an exceptional circumstance for them not to be wet to the skin on every march, and their rate of progress was sometimes not more than a mile an hour.

136 It had rained almost unceasingly since we left Yün-nan Fu, so it was pleasant to start the next morning in fine weather, with the cheerful call of the Chinese francolin all round us. This bird closely resembles the painted partridge of southern India, and is the common partridge of Burma

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much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

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000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

361 The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials 563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese are of Lo-lo descent.

241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country, without much water in it that can be used for irrigation. •316 The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third day we reached Ssŭ-ch'éng, a village at 6000 feet, which has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last march we passed a small iron mine at a place called Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep one small furnace going.

361 From Ssŭ-ch'éng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mén-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

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000 the stream. Below the plateau it disappears into deep gorges among the hills bordering the Yangtze.

361 On the 14th February we reached Hui-li, a town of 3000 houses with a good wall round it. It has broad streets and is more prosperous looking than any of the towns of Yün-nan, except perhaps the capital of that pro-
438 vince. Its chief products are opium, tobacco, indigo, and
• 316 copper. The copper mine is at Lu-ch'ang, six miles south
249 of the town, and as Mr Ker had seen it the previous
386 year I did not visit it. Indigo is to be seen growing everywhere in the fields, covered over at this time of the year with straw to preserve it from the frost. The large tanks in which they mix the dye are found in nearly every village as well as in the town. The height of Hui-li I made 6,250 feet.

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CHAPTER XXIX

UP THE CHIEN-CH'ANG VALLEY.

Leave Hui-li Chou—The Yi-mên coal mine—Insect trees—Pai-kuo-wan—Mo-so-ying—The An-ning River—Mule falls off a bridge—A pleasant inn—Good view of a tiger—The Chien-ch'ang valley—Père Bourgain—The missionaries and the Chinese of Chien-ch'ang—French missionaries—French and English missionaries compared—Their methods of working—Their relations with officials—Ready help of both sects to travellers—Ning-yüan Fu—A Lo-lo army—"Stupid men not afraid of dying"—The T'ung-an-chou "Army Act"—Li-chou—Lu-ku—The Chien-ch'ang valley—Its crops, trade, and population—Theft at an inn—The Lo-lo country—Chinese forts—"Army regulations"—Têng-hsiang-ying—The Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass—Meet Ker and Hare at Yüeh-hsi T'ing—Impracticability of railway from Chia-ting Fu.

ALTHOUGH I was quite satisfied that a railway could not cross the Yangtze in this direction, I still had to keep my appointment to meet Mr Ker at Yüeh-hsi T'ing, and my journey through the Chien-ch'ang valley I felt would be by no means wasted. In fact no exploration of Yün-nan would be complete without a visit to this valley which though belonging to Ssŭ-ch'uan, runs right down into the former province. 000

Leaving Hui-li on the 15th February we followed up the plain by a gradually narrowing valley and crossed a pass to Yi-mên[1] which is a village of importance owing to its coal mine. We met quantities of mules, donkeys, and coolies carrying this coal towards Hui-li in the form of coke. All the smelting at the copper mines is done with this fuel. Another noticeable feature of this district is the "insect trees" on which are reared the white wax insect[2]. 316

From Yi-mên we crossed another steep spur and slept at Pai-kuo-wan, a village which stands at a little under 7000 feet, and is nearly twenty miles from Hui-li.

[1] Not to be confused with Yi-mên Hsien (p. 206).
[2] See p. 169.

[p. 215]

361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

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in the Naga hills on the Assam borde. indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fans have adopted the religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside, and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese map of Ssŭ-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated, steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here to rest the mules and to get information about our future route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road, but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

CHAPTER XXXIX

LI-T'ANG TO YA-CHOU FU *VIÂ* TA-CHIEN-LU.

Ho-ch'u-k'a—Gold washing—Hard frost in June—Hsi-ngo-lo—Cultivation again—Yak-loads of gunpowder for Lhasa—A stag's head—The Ya-lung at Ho-k'ou—A more Chinese country—Tung-ngo-lo—Mr Amundsen—Sell our mules—A level road—Green country—Ta-chien-lu—Its inhabitants—Missionaries English and French—Trade of Ta-chien-lu—Tea trade—Mr de Rosthorn's pamphlet—Enormous weights carried by coolies—Down the T'ung River—A short cut from Lu-ting-ch'iao—Well cultivated country—Ya-chou Fu—Mr Upcraft—End of our land journey.

000 On the 11th of June we left Li-t'ang and crossing the watershed between the Li-t'ang River and the Ya-lung by an easy pass we reached Ho-ch'u-k'a. The population of this village consists of 20 Chinese soldiers, who were very civil, as Chinamen always are in Tibet.

316 The last part of our march followed down a stream in which there was a lot of gold-washing going on. They build a wall or embankment so as to partially divert the course of the stream, and then dig up the sand in the part of the bed thus left dry. The sand is then washed on the system usually employed in western China. They pour the sand and water down a slanting wooden shoot, at the lower edge of which is a slight ledge sticking up. The sand containing the gold being heavier than the rest sinks in its passage down tne shoot and gets caught by the ledge.

000 There was a hard frost the next morning, the 12th June, and even small streams of running water were frozen over. We crossed two spurs both well over 15,000 feet and descended to Tsa-ma-lu-t'ung[1], a Chinese post of three houses beautifully situated in a narrow valley with steep forest-clad hills rising up from it on each side.

[1] Tsa-ma-ra-dong in Tibetan (*Rockhill*).

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Sheep and goats are found in places all over the province, and in some districts in very large herds. The wool is sometimes made into felt rugs, but the Chinese do not know how to weave it into clothes. There is no reason why wool should not become an article of trade if better communications should make it saleable. Sheep are not sufficiently widely distributed to make mutton a common article of food anywhere. 231 [287]

Pork is the staple meat of Yün-nan, as of the rest of China, and pigs are kept everywhere both in towns and villages. It is a very poor man who cannot afford to mix some pork with his meal of rice. These two articles, with beans and cabbage, form the principal food of the Yünnanese. 262 231

As to the amount of livestock in the province I will not attempt to make any estimate. But as mules and ponies form nearly the only means of transport, buffaloes and cattle the only means of ploughing, and pigs the universal food of all classes, the numbers must be considerable. Moreover I do not think that the animals kept amount only to what is absolutely necessary for their owner. Many villagers own large flocks and herds, and the Yünnanese peasant is usually well off as far as possessions go, though he is not rich in money. The poverty of the poorer classes of the over-populated province of Ssŭ-ch'uan is almost unknown in Yün-nan. 231

We now come to mineral products. It is safe to say that there is no district in the province that does not contain mines, and with better communications Yün-nan might become one of the principal metal-producing countries of the world. 135

The most important mineral is *copper*, not only because copper mines are very numerous throughout the province, but because the *ch'ien* or cash, the only coin originally used by the Chinese, is made chiefly of this metal. The mines of Yün-nan supply a very large proportion of the copper used for coining, and as the value of the cash is about 400 to a shilling, and it is used throughout China, the demand for copper for this purpose alone is a very large one. 135 316

In the districts of Tung-ch'uan Fu and Chao-t'ung Fu are the mines which are at present most productive, but

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135 copper mines are also worked in Yung-ch'ang Fu, Ta-li
316 Fu, Ch'u-hsiung Fu, Ching-tung T'ing, Li-chiang Fu, Yung-pei T'ing, Wu-ting Chou, Ch'êng-chiang Fu and other districts.

Two copper-mining districts outside Yün-nan also deserve mention here, as they both lie within reach of the proposed railway. One of these is Wei-ning Chou in Kuei-chou province, a town through which the reconnoitred route actually passes. The other is Hui-li Chou, in the part of Ssū-ch'uan which runs down into Yün-nan to the north of the capital of the province.

Equally important with copper from a Chinese point of view is *silver*, for though the copper cash is the universal coin, lumps of silver weighed out in taels form in many parts of China the chief means of payment for larger sums than can be conveniently paid in cash.

This metal is if anything more abundant than copper, and one can seldom travel far in Yün-nan without seeing or hearing of silver mines. I doubt if there is any large district in the province which does not produce silver. Many of these mines are well worked, and Yün-nan supplies much of the silver used in other parts of China.

Iron is one of the commonest metals found in Yün-nan, and the tools and other things made from local iron are of good quality.

Lead is also a common metal, and *zinc* is mined in many places. Both these are used for mixing with copper to make cash.

Gold is not so widely distributed as the other minerals. The most productive mine is near T'a-lang T'ing (lat. 23° 25′, long. 101° 40′); this pays well in spite of the very primitive means employed for extracting the metal. Washing for gold is carried on in many parts of the Upper Yangtze and its tributaries.

The principal *tin* mine is in the south of the province at Ko-chiu, to the west of Mêng-tzū, but tin is also found in the Tung-ch'uan Fu district and probably in other places.

[262] Among other products may be mentioned *gypsum*, which is used by the Chinese to mix with beans to make a sort of bean curd which is a common article of food; and

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135
316
[317]

sulphur and *alum*, both of which are extracted from hot springs which occur all over the province.

Salt also must not be forgotten. There are salt wells in many parts of Yün-nan, and the province supplies itself except the north-east corner which obtains its salt from Ssŭ-ch'uan. The working of the wells is a Government monopoly, so salt at present is not allowed to be imported from abroad[1].

Not least among the products of Yün-nan must be mentioned *marble*. From the quarries at Ta-li Fu is obtained a marble which is much used for tombstones and for ornamental work in houses. It is famous all over China, and with better means of transporting it to distant places the output would doubtless largely increase.

We now come to *coal*, the most important of all the products of the earth of Yün-nan, for on cheap fuel must largely depend the success of the mines. It is found in a great many places in the province, but varies much in quality. Some of it is very powdery and can only be used in the form of briquettes: in other places it is of good quality and can be obtained in large blocks. Even when the coal now in use is of inferior quality it does not follow that a better sort would not be found by mining deeper, for at present it is obtained principally from surface workings.

Coal is found in the neighbourhood of Ta-li Fu, and in several places between this town and Yün-nan Fu. Eastward from the capital it becomes still more abundant, and is found nearly all along the proposed railway line from here to the Yangtze. In the Hsüan-wei Chou district coal is almost the only kind of fuel that is used. Nor is it only near the line of the proposed railway that coal exists. It is mined in many places on the upper course of the Yangtze, and in several other districts of Yün-nan.

Of metals and of coal in Yün-nan it may be said that no examination of the mines has at present been made in a very detailed manner. If the railway is to be constructed it will be most essential that all mining districts anywhere within reach should be carefully examined, and a report made by experts as to the prospects of working them by machinery.

[1] For more details about the salt wells see p. 197.

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Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssŭ-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

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316 439 doubtless with mining operations developed by a railway there would be large exports to other provinces of China. At present there is an export trade of copper, zinc, and lead from Yün-nan to the Yangtze.

439 288 291 *Imports.* To come now to *imports.* Of these cotton is by far the most important. The whole population of Yün-nan is clothed in cotton clothes, and yet practically no cotton is grown in the province. The whole clothing of this part of China has therefore to be imported. It is brought in as raw cotton, as cotton yarn, and as cotton cloth; but the greater part of it comes as yarn and is woven into cloth in the province. Raw cotton will however always be a necessity, as in winter the Chinese wear wadded coats for warmth. The imported cotton cloth is usually too dear for the poorer classes, but is worn a great deal by those better off.

At present the chief weaving centre is at Hsin-hsing Chou (lat. 24° 20′, long. 102° 35′), and this has become firmly established owing to the treaty port at Mêng-tzŭ (Meng-tsz') having been opened before T'êng-yüeh (Momien). Weaving is, however, carried on at other places as well, and factories would spring up wherever a railway brought cotton yarn in cheaply.

In Ssŭ-ch'uan there is also a large population—estimated as at least 45,000,000—who are also almost entirely dependent for their cotton on outside sources. But with the probability of this province being connected by rail with Hankow in the near future, it is doubtful whether much of this traffic would be secured by the Yün-nan railway.

Woollen clothes are at present almost unknown at Yün-nan. It is doubtful perhaps if fashion would ever allow woollen coats to be worn in public instead of the universal wadded cotton garments. But this would probably not apply to sleeping in woollen blankets and wearing woollen underclothes.

000 *Leather* is an article that is not well made in China, and imported leather should find a sale. *Firewood* is scarce and dear in most parts of Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. In Burma there is an almost inexhaustible supply at a quarter the price. This may become an important article of trade, and *timber* should also be an import.

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the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree 314
the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for
the white-wax tree industry.

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also 316
been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production 178
has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and
placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly developing into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing capacity of all free China.

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of transportation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous commercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways (some of them already under construction) have been projected; and the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achievements and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem. 489

As to the future development of the Basin, one may approach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future prospect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace returns once more. 133

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protection against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against invading forces than would otherwise be possible. 241

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much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 moles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

[1] One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

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316 Basin produces annually about 4,000,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of iron, and 100,000 ounces of placer gold.[1]

317 The production of brine-salt is the most important mining activity of the Basin. Brine salt is almost synonymous with Szechuan Basin in China. The Basin is the only region in all China to produce this commodity. Normally, the annual output of pure salt in the Basin is about 8,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133 lbs.), with a total value between 30 to 35 million dollars (Yuan).

The salt-brine belt consists of a tract somewhat rectangular in shape, extending from the northern limit of the Basin adjoining Shensi to the Yangtse River at Lu-hsien on the east and to the Min River at Chien-wei on the west. Generally speaking, this belt lies north of the Yangtse and west of the Chialing River. But scattered brine fields are also found as far as the Feng-chieh districts, almost at the eastern-most edge of the Basin. The most important producing areas of brine-salt are, however, confined to the south central part of the Basin, particularly in the area between the lower Min and To rivers. Among all the producing areas, the Tze-Kung is the most noted (Fig. 20).

288 289 323 The Basin's manufacturing development has been greatly benefited by the presence of numerous agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, cotton, hemp, sugar cane, tung tree, wood pulp, and others. Long before the introduction of modern manufacturing, handicrafts of various kinds, relying principally upon the local raw materials, have been established in the Basin. At present, the most important manufacturing activities include cotton-weaving, silk-weaving, hemp-weaving, paper-making, glass-making, and tung-oil-refining.[2] The principal manufacturing centers of the Basin are located in the Tzeliuching, Chungking, and Lo-shan areas, where water transportation is most convenient.

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[1] Swer, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] K. A. Wong, "The Prospect and Economic Reconstruction of Szechuan," South West China Review, II, No. 3 (1940), 4.

504 150 miles upstream from Chungking. Two lesser tributaries empty into the Yangtze near Lu-chou and make the city a market for native products of southern Szechwan and northern Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Further up-river from Lu-chou is I-pin, terminal of steamer shipping on the Yangtze. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will pass through I-pin.

361 The Szechwan provincial capital is Chengtu, located on the westernmost of four major tributaries to the Yangtze River in the province. As an old cultural center of West China, this city is well known for its handicraft industries and is reputed to have an atmosphere like that of
499 Peking. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway -- an event overpublicized in the Communist press in 1952 -- brings Chengtu into closer contact with a number of important cities in central-south Szechwan, such as Nei-chiang, the only large center for the sugar industry in West China, and Lung-ch'ang. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway is to start from Nei-chiang, passing southwest through Tzu-kung
[317] Municipality. Salt extraction in the Tzu-kung area dates back to the tenth century. In 1953 there were 330 natural gas wells supplying 4,382 brine boilers in Tzu-kung. A railway linking Chengtu with Kansu Province in the north is under construction. This railway will pass Kuang-yüan, a strategic point on the northern
491 approach to Szechwan. The existing highway

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of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 *tribe.* — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 玁狁), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 2a–5a, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 濮蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 辰州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

1 [p. 28A-- Analyst]

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487 137 133 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descending to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of [579] densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the headquarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then governor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dispersed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching [317] 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were [483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their foreheads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七鋪, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路談. [The character *t'an* 談 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 談 *shan*, and 論 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路談千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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361 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of
487 I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 鰲祿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明量 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of
133 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.
137 Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石鋪 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢粮橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard.
● [317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閤. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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487 Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, bring
133 us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal[38]
137 which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌苴河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge[39] over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler.
● [317] Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,[40] also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Halfway up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.[41] On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,[42] formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

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executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no descendants.

[38] This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

[39] This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王綱, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457–1464).

[40] The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou ching 喬后井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 50 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

[41] This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 鼓谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

[42] During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

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lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it. 487 133 137

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyu in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan). [317]

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semicircle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — Jade dragon Mountain), although it is already visible

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133 *Hsüeh-p'an Shan* 雪盤山 (Snow basin Mountain) is situated 200 li south-west of Li-chiang, and 10 li west from the ancient Lan chou. It has 12 separate peaks, and snow remains throughout the four seasons [there are, however, no glaciers on the mountain, which is 14,000 feet in height].

[317] The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is now better known as the Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt road Mountain), as all the salt from the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 wells is brought over this mountain to Chien-ch'uan, etc. On the latest Yün-nan military map, published in 1928, the Hsüeh-p'an Shan extends east of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 for about 120 li, about 50 li north of Lan-p'ing and 70 li south, making a curve. In the same range is a mountain marked Fu-yüan Shan 福源山, extending somewhat north-east. I believe that this mountain is identical with the peaks known as Yen-lu Shan, and is the central part of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan.

How accurate Chinese geographical accounts are as to distances can be judged from the following statement found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b: "The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is 200 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang, and 10 li west of the ancient Lan chou [present Lan-p'ing]"; On p. 35a, it states that "the ancient Lan chou is 360 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang." We have here a difference of 160 li; furthermore the Hsüeh-p'an Shan is not west, but east of Lan-p'ing. By stating it is 10 li distant from Lan chou, one would expect a definite mountain and not a range about 120 li long. There is a high mountain mass just about 20 li east of Lan-p'ing, and that is the Yen-lu Shan (Handel-Mazzetti's Ye-lu-schan). I crossed that mountain three times and know whereof I speak.

About the Fu-yüan Shan the same source states that it is 250 li west of Li-chiang, yet this mountain is in the center of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan. Again, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that the Yen-lu Shan is south of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan and reaches to the border of Yün-lung. On its southern slopes rises the Ta-lang Ho 大郎河, which flows south-west into the Pi Chiang 沘江. [This is the river which flows past Yün-lung and is marked as the Lo-ma Ho on Major Davies' map.]

Fu-yüan Shan 福源山 (Lucky spring Mountain) is 250 li west of Li-chiang and at the north border of Lan-p'ing. The mountain extends south-east over 50 li.

Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (Piebald horse Mountain) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and near the south-east border of the ancient Chü-chin chou 巨津州, the present Chü-tien. On one of the cliffs is a rock resembling a piebald horse, whence the name. In ancient days the people of the Mo-so chao called their country the Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 after that mountain. (*See* History of Li-chiang, p. 95.)

Han-sou Shan 漢叟山 is 500 li west of Li-chiang and close to the Shu-miao 樹苗汛 guard-house, north-west of the ancient Chü-chin chou. It is a spur or branch of the Lao-chün Shan. On its summit are three lakes, each five *mou* wide, or a little less than an English acre, and of unknown depth. [This mountain is south of present-day Lu-tien 魯甸.]

Feng-lo Ta-shan 風羅大山 is over 700 li west of Li-chiang; it forms the western valley wall of the Mekong or Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, and extends to

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the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 瀏筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 瀏頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[30] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual.

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields.

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江鋪, La-p'u 辣鋪, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴梅 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 巴永鍋 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo.

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to understand. The place was originally a Shan state but has now become a *t'ing* under a regular Chinese official.

After my experience in P'u-êrh I had rather made up my mind to give up calling on officials, but the Wei-yüan *T'ing* came to see me himself soon after I arrived and was very friendly. The principal product of the place is salt. There are several mines in the valley of the Wei-yüan Chiang, and there is a good deal of trade in this commodity with the neighbouring districts. The elevation of the plain is about 3000 feet and the place is considered feverish by the Chinese.

Two more days crossing a range at 6,300 feet brought us on the 14th April to Mêng-ka[1], which, like Wei-yüan, was formerly a Shan state and still has a Shan sawbwa, though the place is now incorporated in the Wei-yüan district. The plain lies somewhat higher than that of Wei-yüan and, though some 15 miles long, is much cut up by rather high-lying ground, which cannot be irrigated and is uncultivated and covered with jungle. Mêng-ka is not a place of any importance, and there is little or no trade in it. The population of the place is Shan, but in the town itself there is a Chinese bazar village, and a few families of Panthays also live here.

I halted a day to rest the mules and left again on the 16th. Our road took us gradually up a range of 7000 feet, from which there is a magnificent view of the surrounding hills and of the course of the Mekong valley, which can be traced for a long way. The next day a very steep descent brought us to the Mekong which we crossed by a large punt-shaped ferry-boat to the mixed Shan and Chinese village of Ta-pêng or Ta-pong. The river is as usual shut in by very steep hills. It is about 100 yards wide, with a strong current and full of rapids, so much so that in the rains the ferry is sometimes impassable for a few days at a time. Probably this is also the case with other ferries over the Mekong. The height of the river at Ta-pêng is 2,800 feet.

On the 18th we had a very stiff piece of climbing, reaching the top of the range at 7,400 feet. From here the

[1] Möng Ka in Shan.

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288 ported from Hong-kong either through Tong-king or up
438 the West River to Pai-sê.

We had not seen much signs of trade on the road from Yün-nan Fu here, and indeed it was hardly to be expected, as we had not been on what is considered a main road. Coming from the east we had met perhaps 200 or 300 coolies carrying earthenware cups and jars to the capital, from a place called Mao-mao-shih not far from Yüeh-chou.

438 The caravans going the other way were confined chiefly
317 to mules loaded with salt. Yün-nan Fu is a great distributing centre of salt and tea. The former article comes from wells which lie north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu.

136 I had a little shooting in this Ch'ü-ching River plain. Near Lu-liang there were Brahminy ducks (Ruddy Sheldrake) feeding in the opium fields, and I found them quite easy to get up to. Baber also mentions that these birds are easy to approach in poppy fields. He suggests that they feed on the opium and get stupefied by it. This seems probable, as he is generally a very wary sort of duck. I also shot mallard, teal, and snipe in this plain, and near Ch'ü-ching got two widgeon out of a flock of a hundred or more on a small lake. This is the only time I have seen this duck in China.

000 Watts-Jones, who had, as I mentioned before, come by the main road through Ma-lung Chou, had passed through Ch'ü-ching on the 6th, so I was now following him on to Hsüan-wei.

Leaving Ch'ü-ching on the 11th we passed Chan-yi Chou, where our route rejoined the main road and the telegraph line. From here another very important road branches off eastward through P'ing-yi Hsien to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province. From Kuei-yang Fu one road turns northwards to Ch'ung-k'ing, and another continues eastward through Hu-nan, till it strikes the Yangtze at the T'ung-t'ing Lake.

We went on a little further and slept at Chiu-lung-shan in a temple on a little island between two branches of the Ch'ü-ching River. Here my interpreter discovered an official notice posted up, referring to Captain Pottinger's party having been obstructed in two places, and warning everyone against interference with him, as he was survey-

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wide, but the crossing did not take long, as the large punt-shaped boat would carry 10 mules at a time. 000

This ferry is a good deal used, as nearly all the salt for the Shun-ning and Yün Chou districts comes across here from the wells of Wei-yüan and Chên-yüan. I asked the salt depôt man at the ferry how much salt crossed this ferry in a year. With the usual readiness of a Chinaman he promptly replied, "300,000 mule-loads." "But this would make 800 loads a day all the year round," I ventured to suggest. And as there is no traffic in the rains, he had to acknowledge that he might have slightly over-estimated. From what I saw myself on the road I should think 8000 or 9000 mule-loads a year would be a fair estimate. 317

Salt is a very important article of trade in Yün-nan, as it is a Government monopoly, and none is allowed to be brought into the province from abroad. There are three parts of Yün-nan where salt is obtained. These are (1) Yün-lung Chou, which supplies north-western and a good deal of western Yün-nan, including T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang, and Ta-li; (2) Wei-yüan, Chên-yüan, and Ching-tung districts and Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh: these wells supply southern and south-eastern Yün-nan; (3) the country north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu: from here is supplied the northern part of the centre of the province, including the capital. The north-eastern corner of Yün-nan, including Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung obtains its salt from Ssû-ch'uan province. It is always officially laid down for each district where it is to get its salt from, and none is allowed to be brought from elsewhere.

After crossing the ferry we followed the river down for a little way and then climbed up to the village of T'uan-shan to sleep. We were now in the district of Ching-tung T'ing, but the bit of country round the ferry is in charge of a retired highway robber. A Mahommedan by religion, he naturally sided with his own people in the Panthay rebellion, but towards the end, being a prudent and far-seeing man, he recognised how things were going, and went over to the Chinese side. So zealous did he show himself in the slaying of his former brothers in arms, that the Chinese Government rewarded him by granting him official rank and a small piece of country to rule. Such instances 669

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000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
3/7 march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is 180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly impregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed with water and boiled afresh over and over again till nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce 500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-
197 t'ung, a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

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000 The next day, the 24th, we crossed the watershed between the Mekong and the Black River at 7,500 feet, and on Christmas Day reached Hsin-fu. The village contains only 30 houses, and is built on the Pa-pien Ho, a river 50 yards wide, which is the upper part of the Black River of Tong-king.

753 The height of Hsin-fu is only 3,400 feet, and the whole of this part of the Black River valley has a bad reputation
764 for unhealthiness. The Hsün-chien, the small official who is in charge of the district, had just died and was in his coffin in the room of the temple I was sleeping in, awaiting removal to his native place for burial.

132 Certainly I did not find the Black River valley a pleasant climate even at this time of year. At night the thermometer would go down to 40°, and there would be a nasty cold mist till the sun broke through about ten o'clock, when it would become decidedly hot. But in justice to this valley I should mention that Turner and Ker were travelling in it for some days in the height of the rainy season, and that none of their party, which included several Chinamen, suffered at all from fever. So healthy are the great part of the uplands of Yün-nan, that the Chinese of that province are apt to condemn as unfit to live in any place where it is possible to get fever.

000 For two days from Hsin-fu we followed down the Pa-pien valley, but keeping generally some way off the actual river. An uninteresting country, very thinly populated by Chinese and K'a-tus. Later on in March and April there is a good deal of traffic in P'u-êrh tea along this road, but at this time of year there is no trade except in salt carried by men on foot from Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh.

•317 Leaving the Pa-pien valley altogether on the 28th, we turned more westward and the next day reached Mo-hei, a large village with an important salt well which supplies a very large part of southern Yün-nan.

Here our route joined the main road from Yün-nan Fu to P'u-êrh Fu, and the next day, crossing a range at just over 6000 feet, we dropped down into the P'u-êrh plain.

206 The only apparent change in P'u-êrh since I was there five years before was the establishment of a telegraph
000 office. In the evening I spent several hours at the office

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The name Liu-t'ou-chiang is Chinese, meaning "bridge-head river," for *liu-tzŭ* is the name by which they call the rope bridges. 000

For five more days our road lay up the valley of the Mekong, but the going was by no means flat. The hills on both sides of the river are very steep and full of landslips, the formation being loose shale. The path keeps up on the hillside, rising in places to 10,000 feet or more, and continually crossing bare brown-looking spurs.

Between these spurs are little side streams running down from the snow-covered tops of the range, and in these little valleys the villages are prettily situated, surrounded by green fields of wheat and barley, and by pear and peach trees which were then in blossom. 245

The Mekong runs for the most part between steep banks and there is practically no flat ground along it. To the west is a fine snowy range, the highest peaks of which Ryder made about 20,000 feet by observations with the long-shaped clinometer.

The Tibetan inhabitants of this valley appear well off and live in an excellent climate where it does not get extremely cold. Their houses are well built, often of three storeys, the ground floor solidly constructed of stone, and the two upper floors usually of wood. The roofs are flat, made of large beams covered over with mud, and the upper storeys are built so that they cover less space than the storey below them; thus part of the roof of one storey forms a terrace or verandah to the storey above it. [132] 342

On the 28th of April we reached Ya-k'a-lo, a straggling village of 100 houses. The place is important because of its salt wells which supply all this part of the country. 317.

On our second march out of A-tun-tzû we had already met one French missionary, Père Bourdonnec who was on his way to Tzû-ku (Tse-kou according to French orthography). At Ya-k'a-lo we were to have the pleasure of finding Père Grandjean who had come from Bâ-t'ang to take Père Bourdonnec's place during his absence. He took much interest in our project of getting through to Assam, though he did not give us much hope of success. We are much indebted to him for the assistance and advice he was always so ready to give us. 000

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sulphur and *alum*, both of which are extracted from hot springs which occur all over the province.

Salt also must not be forgotten. There are salt wells in many parts of Yün-nan, and the province supplies itself except the north-east corner which obtains its salt from Ssŭ-ch'uan. The working of the wells is a Government monopoly, so salt at present is not allowed to be imported from abroad[1].

Not least among the products of Yün-nan must be mentioned *marble*. From the quarries at Ta-li Fu is obtained a marble which is much used for tombstones and for ornamental work in houses. It is famous all over China, and with better means of transporting it to distant places the output would doubtless largely increase.

We now come to *coal*, the most important of all the products of the earth of Yün-nan, for on cheap fuel must largely depend the success of the mines. It is found in a great many places in the province, but varies much in quality. Some of it is very powdery and can only be used in the form of briquettes: in other places it is of good quality and can be obtained in large blocks. Even when the coal now in use is of inferior quality it does not follow that a better sort would not be found by mining deeper, for at present it is obtained principally from surface workings.

Coal is found in the neighbourhood of Ta-li Fu, and in several places between this town and Yün-nan Fu. Eastward from the capital it becomes still more abundant, and is found nearly all along the proposed railway line from here to the Yangtze. In the Hsüan-wei Chou district coal is almost the only kind of fuel that is used. Nor is it only near the line of the proposed railway that coal exists. It is mined in many places on the upper course of the Yangtze, and in several other districts of Yün-nan.

Of metals and of coal in Yün-nan it may be said that no examination of the mines has at present been made in a very detailed manner. If the railway is to be constructed it will be most essential that all mining districts anywhere within reach should be carefully examined, and a report made by experts as to the prospects of working them by machinery.

[1] For more details about the salt wells see p. 197.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

316 Basin produces annually about 4,000,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of iron, and 100,000 ounces of placer gold.[1]

The production of brine-salt is the most important mining activity of the Basin. Brine salt is almost synonymous with Szechuan Basin in China. The Basin is the only region in all China to produce this commodity. Normally, the annual output of pure salt in the Basin is about 8,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133 lbs.), with a total value between 30 to 35 million dollars (Yuan).

317

The salt-brine belt consists of a tract somewhat rectangular in shape, extending from the northern limit of the Basin adjoining Shensi to the Yangtse River at Lu-hsien on the east and to the Min River at Chien-wei on the west. Generally speaking, this belt lies north of the Yangtse and west of the Chialing River. But scattered brine fields are also found as far as the Feng-chieh districts, almost at the eastern-most edge of the Basin. The most important producing areas of brine-salt are, however, confined to the south central part of the Basin, particularly in the area between the lower Min and To rivers. Among all the producing areas, the Tze-Kung is the most noted (Fig. 20).

288 289 323 The Basin's manufacturing development has been greatly benefited by the presence of numerous agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, cotton, hemp, sugar cane, tung tree, wood pulp, and others. Long before the introduction of modern manufacturing, handicrafts of various kinds, relying principally upon the local raw materials, have been established in the Basin. At present, the most important manufacturing activities include cotton-weaving, silk-weaving, hemp-weaving, paper-making, glass-making, and tung-oil-refining.[2] The principal manufacturing centers of the Basin are located in the Tzeliuching, Chungking, and Lo-shan areas, where water transportation is most convenient.

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[1] Swen, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] W. H. Wong, "The Prospect and Economic Reconstruction of Szechuan," South East China Review, II, No. 3 (1940), 4.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of its total cotton, and 55 per cent of its silk are produced here in this agricultural area.

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With its combined and greatly varied agricultural and horticultural products, this area compares favorably (in terms of agricultural prosperity) to that of the Chengtu Plain. But, however, unlike the Chengtu Plain, the agricultural land-use of this area is greatly handicapped by its insufficient supply of water for irrigation. This defect is largely due to the prevalence of the high porosity of the bed rocks[1] in this area, where water cannot be accumulated and stored up for irrigation purposes. This condition is especially detrimental to rice culture which requires flooded fields. Consequently, in many districts of this area, the plantation of rice is greatly limited. This factor, in turn, reduces considerably the agricultural prosperity of the area.

In so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, the adjustment to topography, soil conditions, and water supply here is conspicuous. In general, nearly all the alluvial lands along the river banks are used for rice, sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and other crops. On the saddle areas between hills, if the surface soil and bed rocks are not too loose or porous, paddy fields are always the rule. In the more hilly areas, where water cannot be stored for rice culture, potatoes, rape, wheat, kaoliang, and beans are the dominant crops.

Among all the agricultural areas of the Basin, this area of the lower To-Fou valleys is the most highly commercialized. For instance, in one district, Sui-ning alone, over 65 per cent of its cultivable land is devoted to cotton culture, whereas in Tse Chung district over half of its cultivated land is used for sugar-cane culture. In the actual rural economy, here, more than in any other agricultural area, farmers think more in terms of their "cash crops." This development brings up a very interesting problem in this agricultural area, that is, its insufficiency of food supply. Consequently, considerable amounts of foodstuffs are brought into here from the nearby Chengtu Plain area.

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area includes its high population density (Fig. 10) and rich salt deposits. [317]

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[1] T. S. Chen, "Geol. Structure of Central Szechuan," Geol. Bi-monthly, IV, No. 6 (1939), 35.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 14

PRODUCTION OF SALT IN SZECHUAN (1936)

317
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Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total Production
Fu-Sun-Yung-Chang.....	3,674,365	51.2
Chien-Wei.....	684,534	9.5
Lo-Shan.....	464,508	6.4
Yun-Yang.....	409,367	5.6
Nan-Pu-Nan-Chung.....	248,130	3.4
Shei-Hung-Peng-Hsi.....	218,050	3.0
San-Tai.....	211,124	2.9
Peng-Lai.....	206,252	2.8
Lo-Chi.....	181,369	2.5
Shei-hung.....	134,690	1.8
Sui-Ning.....	133,039	1.8
Ching-Yen.....	119,349	1.6
Mien-Yang.....	108,815	1.5
Si-Chung.....	64,814	.9
Yen-Ting.....	55,118	.7
Chien-Yang.....	55,051	.7
Feng-Chieh.....	51,313	.7
Tzu-Chung.....	43,036	.5
Kai-Hsien.....	39,775	.5
Peng-Shui.....	32,675	.4
Chung-Chiang.....	27,553	.3
Chung-Hsien.....	8,627	.1
Ta-Cho.....	3,799	.05
Total.....	7,174,572	100.00

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
Ha-ba ndshêr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called
139 Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[302] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羈縻羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 縣 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *kung* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窯村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍談 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羈縻談 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羈縻千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羈縻 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 *Wei-hsi.*—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 倮那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung)[16] in Tibetán, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch'un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T'ung-p'an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 ordered the T'ung-p'an Ch'en Ch'üan 陳權 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T'ao 王濤 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T'ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

[799] 778 A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The Ssu-ch'uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch'un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 寶華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 維安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 蘭經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.[17]

*487 *133 *137 Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch'un Ho from the Mekong.[18] The mountain is called the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 ("Mountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T'ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹苗. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong[19] pronounced Kye-nà-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is "To hold or maintain the West."

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEH-CHIH 葉枝 PLAIN

[323] We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

[16] [illegible]

[17] [illegible]

[18] The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GREGORY).

[19] [illegible]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

463 people of Hsi-lien, for in the afternoon at the village of Wan-yao I found pottery works and a manufactory of iron
323 pans. The potter's wheel was made of one round stone revolving over another. The upper stone has a piece sticking up at the top and round this piece the clay is put. The potter then makes the stones revolve by working a treadle with his foot, and at the same time forms the clay with his hands. In three or four minutes he made a plate and two different sizes of cup. When the moulding is finished the things are put out in the sun to dry. Then comes the glazing. This process I did not see, but it was explained to me as follows:—The glazing stuff is made of rice husk and lime mixed together and heated and then mixed with water. Into this mixture the cups are put and are then baked in a kiln. The result is a greenish coloured glaze.

326 I then went on, accompanied by several villagers, to the iron works. Here they had a cylindrical-shaped furnace, three feet long and one foot in diameter, in which the iron
[376] was placed to melt. An ingenious use had been made of a little stream which flowed past the shed, to turn a horizontally placed water-wheel which worked the bellows for the furnace. Two pan-shaped clay moulds are then taken and one is fastened tightly down over the other, both with the convex side uppermost. The furnace is then tilted up a little so that the melted iron runs into a ladle, by means of which it is poured into a small hole in the upper mould, so that it fills up all the space between the two. It is left for a minute to solidify, and then the topmost mould is taken off and the pan that has been thus formed put on one side to cool.

186 While I was looking at this, one of the villagers came running up, grinning all over, and shouted out, "Is this a foreign devil?" He was immediately silenced by the others, and one could not take offence where evidently none was meant. The fact is that Chinamen among themselves nearly always allude to us as "Yang kuei-tzû," "Sea devil" or "Devil from across the sea," and many ignorant villagers would be puzzled to find any other name by which to call a European. The origin of this expression, I believe, dates from the first Chinese war of 1842. The Chinese

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

316 Basin produces annually about 4,000,000 tons of coal, 200,000 tons of iron, and 100,000 ounces of placer gold.[1]

317 The production of brine-salt is the most important mining activity of the Basin. Brine salt is almost synonymous with Szechuan Basin in China. The Basin is the only region in all China to produce this commodity. Normally, the annual output of pure salt in the Basin is about 8,000,000 piculs (one picul equals 133 lbs.), with a total value between 30 to 35 million dollars (Yuan).

The salt-brine belt consists of a tract somewhat rectangular in shape, extending from the northern limit of the Basin adjoining Shensi to the Yangtse River at Lu-hsien on the east and to the Min River at Chien-wei on the west. Generally speaking, this belt lies north of the Yangtse and west of the Chialing River. But scattered brine fields are also found as far as the Feng-chieh districts, almost at the eastern-most edge of the Basin. The most important producing areas of brine-salt are, however, confined to the south central part of the Basin, particularly in the area between the lower Min and To rivers. Among all the producing areas, the Tze-Kung is the most noted (Fig. 20).

288 289 323 The Basin's manufacturing development has been greatly benefited by the presence of numerous agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, cotton, hemp, sugar cane, tung tree, wood pulp, and others. Long before the introduction of modern manufacturing, handicrafts of various kinds, relying principally upon the local raw materials, have been established in the Basin. At present, the most important manufacturing activities include cotton-weaving, silk-weaving, hemp-weaving, paper-making, glass-making, and tung-oil-refining.[2] The principal manufacturing centers of the Basin are located in the Tzeliuching, Chungking, and Lo-shan areas, where water transportation is most convenient.

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[1] Seen, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] H. H. Wong, "The Prospect and Economic Reconstruction of Szechuan," South East China Review, II, No. 3 (1940), 4.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

These slabs are then framed and are sent all over China to be hung up on the walls of houses as ornaments. The marble is also in much request for tombstones. 316

Silver bracelets and other things are also made in the town, but there is nothing remarkable about the workmanship. Gold is another somewhat important article of trade: it is usually beaten into gold leaf and sent in this form to Burma where it is in much demand for gilding pagodas. European goods come in through Bhamo, but they seemed very scarce, and were represented by a few cotton, calico, and woollen goods, needles, thread, and tinned milk. Some Tibetan products, chiefly furs and medicines, also find their way to Ta-li. Most of this is brought down in April, in which month a great annual fair is held here which attracts thousands of strangers who come in to trade from all parts of the province. 326 439

Ta-li is an important place from the official point of view. It is the residence of the T'i-t'ai, who is commander-in-chief of all the troops in Yün-nan, and of a Tao-t'ai[1], who governs a very large district including the whole of the western part of the province right up to the Burmese border.

I stayed two days in Ta-li hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Smith. The former was most kind in showing me all the sights of the place, which include several very fine temples. One of these on the road between Ta-li and Hsia-kuan was built in honour of Yang, the famous Chinese general who retook Ta-li from the Panthays and put an end to the rebellion. In it is an image of the great general himself, extremely well done, and the old man in charge of the temple told us it was an excellent likeness. He seems to have been a remarkable man, very short in stature but extremely energetic and not much hampered by attention to official etiquette, so much so that he would even walk about the streets, instead of being carried in a sedan chair. Military mandarins often rather affect this disregard of etiquette, and put on what they consider a bluff, soldierlike manner, talking in a loud voice and so on. Possibly many of them are not very conversant with all the points of correct Chinese deportment, as they are often men of low origin. 346 000

[1] This Tao-t'ai is now said to have his official residence in T'êng-yüeh.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 1. Iron and Steel Production in Southwest China

Year	Iron Ore Province*	Iron Ore Free China#	Pig Iron Province*	Pig Iron Free China x	Steel Free China#
1934		Unknown		Unknown	Unknown
Szechwan	60,000		20,000		
Kweichow	300		75		
Yunnan	1,500		500		
Total	61,800		20,575		
1939	Unknown	41,466	Unknown	Unknown	12,000
1940		55,182			1,500
1941		62,836			2,011
1942		77,497			3,000
1943		70,000			6,800
1944		40,134			13,361

* Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, p. 656.

\# Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, pp. 28-29.

x China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 391.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

316 1. Iron Ore. Before World War II, virtually all of the iron ore produced in the southwestern provinces came from antiquated native mines. It has been estimated that in 1934 the native mines in Szechwan produced about 60,000 metric tons of iron ore, those in Yunnan about 1,500 tons, and those in Kweichow about 300 tons.[3] The output in Szechwan Province was surpassed only by that of Shansi Province in the North China Region, where, if the production of modern mines is excluded, the greatest amount of iron ore in China is mined. During the prewar years, Central China and Manchuria were the only regions where large-scale modern iron and steel plants were in operation.

327 2. Pig Iron. In 1934, the pig iron production of Szechwan amounted to 20,000 metric tons, that of Yunnan to 500 metric tons, and that of Kweichow to 75 metric tons. During the war years, plant facilities in the southwestern provinces were modernized, and pig iron production (largely in Szechwan) rose to approximately 30,000 metric tons

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3. The Council of International Affairs (Chungking), The Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945, Shanghai, Chicago Daily Tribune Publishing Co., 1946, p. 656; Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, Nanking, Directorate General of Budgets, Accounts and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1948, pp. 28-29.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

327 in 1942 and 32,800 metric tons in 1943. (See Table 1).

3. Steel. Available statistics indicate that in the prewar years Southwest China produced an average of 1,200-1,500 metric tons of steel. In 1942, the output increased to 3,800 metric tons, and in 1943 exceeded 9,000 tons. Government-operated steel mills had been expanded under the control of the National Resources Commission, and some privately owned mills in the region had participated in the growth. The following table shows the respective growth of facilities for iron and steel production in China as a whole in the period 1942-43.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

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Table 2. Production of Iron and Steel*

Ownership	Pig Iron 1942	Pig Iron 1943	Steel 1942	Steel 1943
Government-owned	14,032	23,617	1,516	4,499
Privately owned	15,983	9,200	2,300	4,548
Total	30,015	32,817	3,816	9,047

* China Handbook, 1937-1945, p. 391. Although the figures in this table do not tally with those reported in the Chinese Yearbook, 1944-1945 and the Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, used as sources for Table 1, they may offer some idea of the proportionate increase in privately owned and government-owned mills.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted]
AF16

327 Despite expansion, the absolute gain in steel production in these provinces remains insignificant in comparison with the growth of production in Manchuria. There are no figures available on iron and steel production in Southwest China since 1946, but any substantial expansion is unlikely. Plants in the Southwest Region are less efficiently operated and less favorably located than plants in other regions, and it seems probable that the Communists have concentrated upon the expansion of the best of the plants rather than those hastily constructed during the war years.

Comprehensive information on industrial production in Southwest China under the Communist regime is not available. However, the Communist press announced in 1954 that the capacity of the iron and steel works at Chungking had been increased from 15,000 metric tons in 1949 to 89,000 metric tons in 1952.[4] The Communists also reported that two new open-hearth furnaces, with scales second only to those of the Anshan Steel Works in Manchuria, began trial operations in 1954, and an existing furnace was to be repaired the same year. The Chungking mill turns out both

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4. The New China News Agency, Chungking, October 2, 1954.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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327 standard and narrow gauge rails for the construction and repair of railroads in the Southwest Region.

C. Production of Coal

316 135 In terms of the coal resources of the entire country, reserves and production in Southwest China are small (See Table 3).

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [342] [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

• 327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. [376] The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

327 when hardened by repeated heatings in the furnace it is made into hatchets, hoes, and tripod stands for cooking-pots.

563 To the north of T'ien-t'ang-kuan is a very interesting country inhabited by the Li-so tribe, which I should much have liked to explore. This race I have found scattered over a very wide extent of country, as far south as the Siamese border, and as far north as the Tibetan parts of Ssū-ch'uan and north-western Yün-nan. In the Kachin Hills and the Shan States they are split up into very small and scattered communities, living usually on the very tops of the hills. They originally occupied a good deal of the country to the west and north of T'êng-yüeh, and I have little doubt that the Chinamen of Hsi-lien and many of the neighbouring districts have more Li-so blood in them than Chinese. At present the only district in which the Li-sos form the bulk of the population seems to be the Salween valley from about Lat. 25° 30′ up to Lat. 27° 30′. Their language is closely connected with that of the Lo-los, and they are no doubt a branch of this widely-spread race. I have always found them, like the Lo-los, extremely pleasant and friendly.

Li-so is the Chinese name for this tribe. They call themselves Li-su, and the Kachins know them as Yaw-yen. In T'ien t'ang-kuan they now live on very good terms with their Chinese neighbours, but the remains of a wall round Ma-li-pa and an old two-storied stone tower close by suggest that there was a time when things were not so peaceful. Now-a-days the only enemies of the villagers are wolves, which they say hunt in large packs and will kill even big animals, such as ponies and cattle.

From Ma-li-pa I turned eastward, crossed a range at 8,700 feet by an extremely steep ascent and an equally abrupt descent, rendered more difficult by a drizzling rain. This brought us into the Ming-kuang plain which runs down the Mo-lo Ho in a valley half a mile wide.

328 We slept at the village of Hsiao-hsin-kai, and I found [316] men smelting lead close by. The lead is found in sand and this sand is first washed in a place prepared for the purpose in a small stream. The heaviest part of it which sinks is then taken away and smelted in the furnace. Both lead and

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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328 Yunnan, Szechwan, and Sikang are centers of China's copper production. During the 1940s, several modern copper refineries using the electrolytic process were operating in Southwest China. They treated ore mined in the region and refined it to a product of 99.95 per cent purity. China's copper production during 1938-45, accounted for largely by the Southwest Region, was as follows:

Table 6. China's Production of Copper* (in metric tons)

Year	Production
1938	477
1939	1,886
1940	2,318
1941	1,591
1942	1,266
1943	500
1944	930
1945	1,179

* Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947, pp. 28-29.

E. Production of Antimony

135 Another important mineral resource in the Southwest Region is antimony, of which

439 products and statistics on their production in the Southwest and China as a whole. From these and other relevant data, we can obtain some idea of the Southwest's share in the export of tin, bristles, and tung oil. Because of the practical problems involved in an overall survey of the Southwest's foreign trade, this chapter will be confined to a discussion of the specific products, which are of special significance in the region's export trade.

II. TIN

439 328 China's tin production was badly crippled during World War II. Reduced from a high of more than 13,000 metric tons or 7.8 per cent of the world supply outside the Soviet Union in 1938 to a low of 2,000 metric tons in the last years of the war, the nation's output had recovered to only about one-third the 1938 rate at the time of the Communist takeover in 1949. Under the Communists, the production of tin was reported to have reached 6,400 tons in 1953 or about 3.6 per cent of total world production with the exception of the Soviet Union. Most of the increased output was the result of mining expansion in the Ko-chiu area of Yunnan, the major source of China's tin supply.

Tin constitutes a large part of Yunnan's total contribution to the nation's export trade. Under the Nationalist Government, much of China's tin went to the United States to pay the principal and interest on loans granted before and during World War II. However, China was only a minor source of supply for the United States' total tin requirements. (See Table.1.)

439
328 Details about the tin trade of Communist China are not now available. China's own needs for tin have undoubtedly increased under the Communist industrialization program, and any exportable surplus easily could have been absorbed by the Communist bloc of nations. Either or both suppositions would account for the complete discontinuance of Chinese tin shipments to Hong Kong after the Communist domination of the Mainland.[1]

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1. See the statistics covering trade between China and Hong Kong published regularly in the Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong.

1:Stanford U. S-4-5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF/G

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Table 1. China's Tin Exports in Relation to the United States' Tin Requirements */

Year	U.S. Imports from China	U.S. Tin Consumption in Manufacturing	Percent of U. S. Requirements Met by Chinese Imports
	[In 1,000 tons]		
1935-39 (aver.)	2.7	77.3	3.43
1940-44 (aver.)	2.7	97.6	2.81
1945	1.9	83.6	2.06
1946	1.0	80.9	1.22
1947	2.6	88.1	3.00
1948	1.6	90.8	1.78
1949	3.7	72.4	5.09
1950	1.7	104.5	1.59
1951	.1	88.2	.62
1952	n. a.	78.4	-
1953	n. a.	85.6	-
1954	n. a.	82.6	-

*/ Commodity Research Bureau, Commodity Yearbook 1955, New York, 1955, p. 335.

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327 when hardened by repeated heatings in the furnace it is made into hatchets, hoes, and tripod stands for cooking-pots.

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• 328 [316] We slept at the village of Hsiao-hsin-kai, and I found men smelting lead close by. The lead is found in sand and this sand is first washed in a place prepared for the purpose in a small stream. The heaviest part of it which sinks is then taken away and smelted in the furnace. Both lead and

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copper are found in many places in the hills round the Ming-kuang valley, but the miners say it is very uncertain work. They sometimes are lucky and make a lot of money. At other times they do not get enough to pay for the license which they have to get from the Government. 3280

From Ming-kuang, still keeping eastward, we crossed another range by an extremely bad road and reached the Shweli (Lung Chiang) valley. We crossed that river by a type of wooden bridge which is fairly common in Yün-nan. On each bank is a stone pier from which wooden props stick out at an upward angle of about 30°, supported partly by posts from below, and partly by two iron chains from above. A wooden roadway resting on these props stretches out some way across the river from each bank, and the middle part of the bridge is made of five whole trees laid across from the props on one side to the props on the other side.

The river is here some forty yards wide and may be considered as the main branch of the Shweli, though the Mo-lo Ho on which Hsiao-hsin-kai lies is not very much smaller. The Shweli valley in all this part of its course has only a very narrow strip of flat rice fields, but the slope to the hills on the east is very gradual for a breadth of two or three miles, and here there are many villages and a great deal of bean cultivation.

We slept at the large village of Kai-t'ou, the centre of a paper-making district. The paper is of the sort called *pai chih, white paper*, or sometimes *p'i-chih, bark paper*, and is manufactured out of the bark of the *kou* tree, a sort of mulberry, I believe. The bark is first steeped for a day, then boiled with lime, then washed to remove any particles of lime that may adhere to it. It is then pounded with heavy pestles, and the finest pieces are picked out and mixed with water in a large tub to form the pulp. A frame made of very finely split bamboo is then dipped in the water so that a little of the pulp sticks to the top of it. The frame is turned over on to a heap of sheets of paper and the pulp off it when dried becomes the soft white paper, which the Chinese use for writing on. 289

The next day travelling southwards down the Shweli valley we came to the village of Wa-tien which is the centre

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231 them. They plant a particular sort of tree to breed them on. The insects consist of a soft brown shell full of a mass of very minute grubs. Some of these are kept for breeding and are put into little bundles of straw and fastened on to the tree. These little grubs after about a month come out of the shell and spread all over the tree. In a year's time each of these has produced its nest of grubs, and the crop is gathered and sold to men who come chiefly from Ssū-ch'uān and Hu-nan. The price is 20 taels (about £3) for a man's load of 50 or 60 lbs. of insects.

The load being so valuable, great care is taken that the grubs should not be prematurely hatched out of their shell by the heat. The porters travel very quickly and only in the cool of the night. On arrival at their homes in Eastern Ssū-ch'uan or Hu-nan, they place the insects out on another sort of tree, and in course of time they come out of the shell and spread over the tree and produce wax. When the deposit is complete, as much as possible is scraped off, and the branches are then boiled so as to extract every particle of wax.

373 The white wax which these insects produce is much valued as it will stand a greater heat without melting than any other substance of this sort. It is used therefore principally in the manufacture of candles, as an outer coating to prevent the candle guttering. The gathering and selling of the crop of insects was in full swing as we passed through this part of the country at the end of April[1].

The next day we crossed the Niu-lan Chiang which is only 40 yards wide at the San-tao-kuai ferry but has a strong current and runs in a deep gorge. This river, which is the outlet of the Yang-lin Lake, is navigated by boats in some parts of its course. It forms here the boundary between Kuei-chou and Yün-nan, so that we were now again in the latter province after having been for the last twelve days in Kuei-chou.

• 328 The inhabitants of San-tao-kuai get their living by smelting zinc. The zinc ore is placed in conical shaped earthenware cups. When heated, the zinc rises from the ore in the shape of gas and collects on a sort of shelf inside

[1] For a full account of the White Wax Insect see Hosie's *Three Years in Western China*, Chapter XI.

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328 the cup near the top. The zinc is sold at about 1½*d.* for 1 lb., and is most of it sent to Yün-nan Fu to be mixed with copper to make cash.

After crossing the river we had a very steep climb of more than 3000 feet, reaching the top of the range at 8,600 feet and descending slightly to Kung-shan, a large mining village. The mine manager was a travelled man who had visited Shanghai, and I found him very civil.

316 Lead and zinc are the two chief minerals, and the lead ore also produces a small quantity of silver. I was told that the output of lead averages 400 lbs. in a day. The zinc is got out of very deep shafts, extending they say several *li*[1] into the hill-side. I did not test the exact accuracy of this statement, but I went a little way down one shaft and it certainly seemed to be a deep one. They are not sunk straight down but are sloped so that a man can walk down them, though the passage is so low that he has to keep in a bent position most of the way.

On the 1st May our road led us down a narrow valley to the Chê-hai plain, which is about seven miles long and contains a small lake and several villages. The next day after crossing a low range we reached Tung-ch'uan Fu where I was kindly put up by Mr and Mrs Grist and Dr Hicks, 283 the missionaries there. The official then at Tung-ch'uan was a very enterprising man who had established a manufactory of cotton cloth. The yarn is from Bombay, imported by Shanghai and the Yangtze. There was no European machinery: they used the ordinary Chinese looms.

361 The town walls of Tung-ch uan do not enclose much space, but there are a good many people living outside the gates, and the whole town and suburbs must contain about 1000 houses. The population appear to be very friendly to foreigners.

241 The plain is some six miles long by three miles wide. It grows rice well, but the winter crops do not seem to 000 flourish, and the soil does not suit opium. Like Wei-ning

[1] The *li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Theoretically it is about 600 yds. but practically it varies in different parts of the country. In the hilly parts of Yün-nan it runs about five to the mile. Ten li may be usually taken as an hour's march, so that used in this way as a unit of time it is a very useful measure.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

241 near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal, if the family is fortunate enough to have one, and as fuel for cooking, and, 291 rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of 342 cloth shoes. Wood for all purposes, is more abundant in Yunnan and Szechwan than elsewhere in China, but farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the rice region, of bamboo lathe and mud plaster. Floors are of earth, and only the dwellings of the wealthiest farmers have 735 glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and over-population became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of over-population China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 66. — MOUNT SHAN-TSU-TOU

玉龍山尖子頭

The highest peak of Yü-lung Shan as seen from the village of Lilü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (in foreground) in the li of Pai-sha. To the left fan palms (*Trachycarpus Fortunei*), to the right a leafless walnut tree. The rack in front of the house is used for drying grain, turnips, etc.

[p. 140B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 74. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö OR HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

麗江白沙鄉雪松村子窠岩村

The last village on the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain in the Commune of Pai-sha, at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan. The Na-khi name of the village means: "At the foot of the silver rocks." Mt. Shan-tzu-tou in background.

[p.140]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 96. — NA-KHI PEASANTS OF MBA-YI-WÛA

麼 雨 窩 農 人

Na-khi farmers from the Yangtze loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

[p 172 H]

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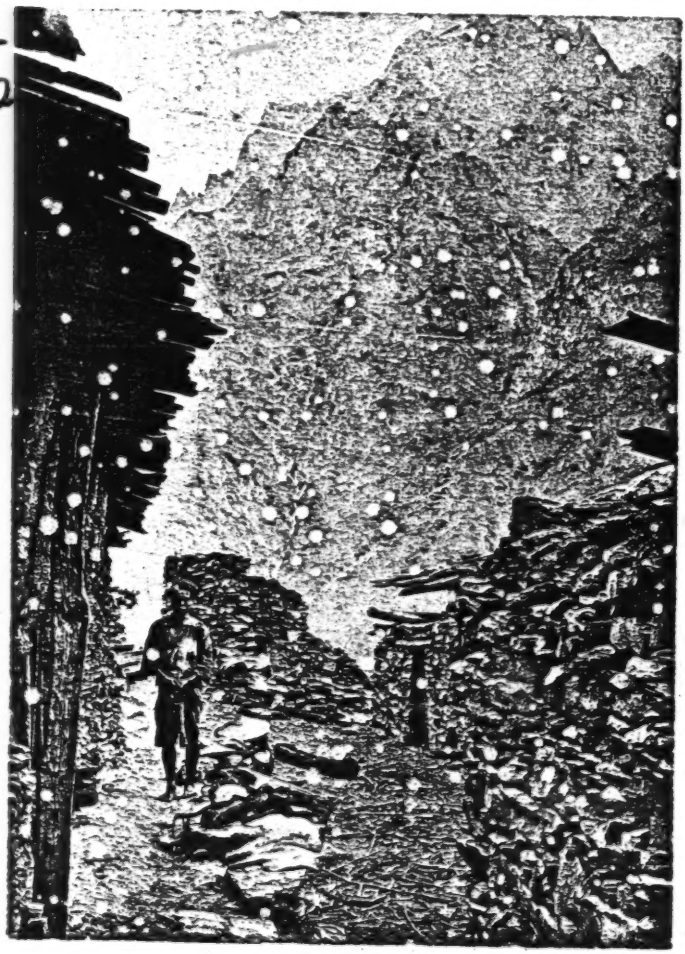

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 122. — THE NA-KHI HAMLET GYI-P'ER-LO IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

達 昌 角 壑 在 納 家 村

The isolated village consists of seven families and is built entirely of rock; its elevation is 7,775 feet, and is in Chung-tien territory.

[p. 220 B]

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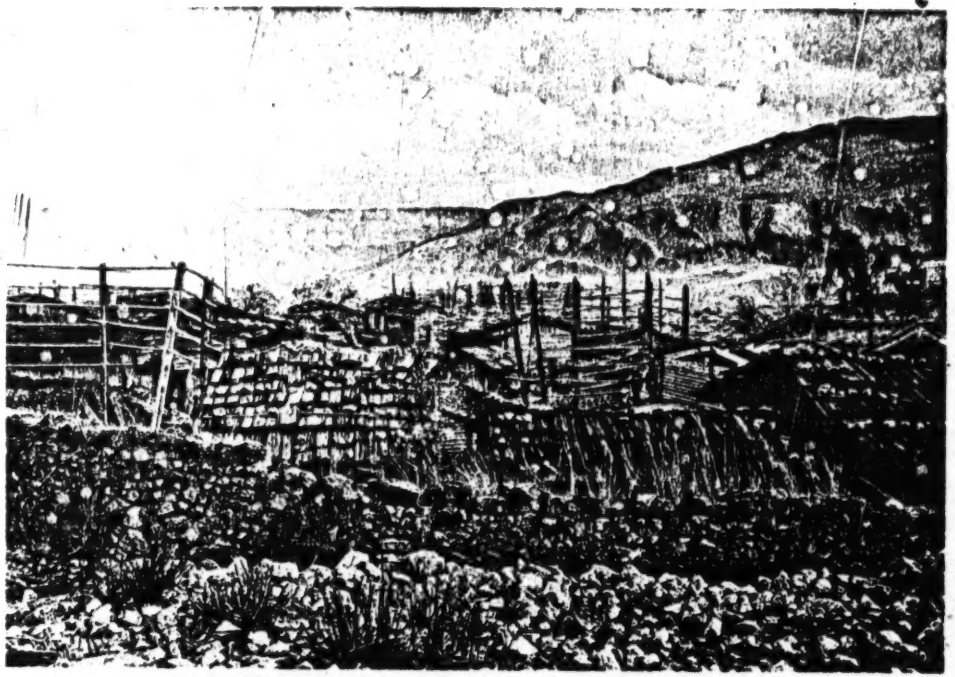

PLATE 132. — THE BÊR-DOÊR NA-KHI VILLAGE OF WU-SHU-WÛA

北地樂坡村

The houses are built of mud bricks with a superstructure of wood. The roof is of boards weighted down with rocks. On the racks they dry their grains and turnips.

[p.220L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700
*133 feet in height.
*137 Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,450 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-hoa-t'an (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

● [342] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses
[515] of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their
[291] garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together
[147] haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among
[342] these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133*

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan̲-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bběr-dděr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 [156] [291]

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bběr-dděr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bběr-dděr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bběr-dděr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] 778 [191]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bběr-dděr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bběr-dděr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bběr-p'ěr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ěr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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*487 *133 *137 [36] [231]

with scrub vegetation; beyond a high, bare range rises above it, with a black, sharply-pyramidal rock forming the highest point.

We reach a hamlet of a few houses constructed of red earth, built close together like a fortress, with the windows near the roof, the latter crowned by huge mounds of grass. Yak were grazing over the bare, dry fields. Below in the ravine is the Tibetan village of Yo-nyi (Yo-i 約宜; in Yün-nan pronounced Yo-ni) with its terraced fields, grey and dusty. We descend and follow at the bottom of a narrow, rocky valley, bare of vegetation with the exception of *Sophora viciifolia* bushes, till we reach the Tibetan hamlet of Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東). Here walnuts and willows grew along the fields. To the east is the trail to Pong-tse-ra, and to the west the trail which leads to the Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里) Pass. At Sha-dung we cross the stream which descends from the Kar-ri La and follow the valley on the south bank. Near the mouth of this lateral valley is a formidable dwelling with a golden spire, the compound is surrounded by a wall on which Tibetan mastiffs were racing wildly up and down. It is the residence of a Huo-fu (incarnation of the Tung-chu-lin lama).[10]

The trail enters an arid and weird, ravine with loose rocks and boulders scattered over the slopes to the very top. It is narrow and one li beyond its mouth it is blocked by an isolated, pyramidal hill crowned by a *Shan-shen Miao* 山神廟 (Shrine to a mountain spirit). Here the stream makes a detour to the left; to the right a barren valley opens out near the temple-crowned hill, covered with cactus (*Opuntia monacantha*). What little vegetation there is consists of Berberis, Sophora, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*, while deciduous willow trees line the banks of the stream. *Pteris longifolia* is also common. On the right hill-side is a conglomeration of houses resembling watch-towers. It is the hamlet of Pe-shin. Dogs run around wildly on the flat roofs, barking viciously at the traveler in the deep and narrow ravine. It would be easy to stop an army here by rolling down the loose rocks which lie in myriads on the valley slopes. Beyond Pe-shin the slopes are composed of disintegrated shale and fine grey dust resembling ashes.

● 342

*487 *133 *137

Farther on, the valley divides, the right-hand branch being quite barren; the trail follows up the left branch and here, at the mouth of the valley in a specially constructed shed three large cylindrical prayer-wheels, eight feet long and one foot in diameter, dressed in red and white skirts, whirled around like mad, driven by the stream. Further up the valley was another set, but these were out of commission. For 10 li the trail leads through this rocky, ever-narrowing ravine, till we come to the fortress-like Tibetan hamlet of Sha-yi (Shou-i-ts'un 設義村), situated on a flat spur above the river. At one end of the village is a lama shrine or small temple, with a golden roof and spire, probably the private chapel of the Tibetan T'u-ssu who resides here.

Near Sha-yi the trail passes through *Pinus Armandi* forest which later gives place to *Quercus semicarpifolia* trees, with here and there a *Rhododendron decorum*, several deciduous trees, rose-bushes, Caragana, etc. The mountains rise steeply, the stream is ice-bound (December), and at an eleva-

[10] The Huo-fu is a member of the family of the T'u-ch'ien-tsung of Pong-tse-ra, who also resides here.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

342 The houses of Kar-ri are of mud brick, but are unlike the Tibetan houses of the Mekong valley, which have flat dirt roofs. Here the roofs are of wooden slats weighted down by rocks, as is the Na-khi custom.

*487 *133 *937 The Chinese map gives the village of T'o-ting between Sha-yi and Kar-ri. This village was said to have been the northern border of the Wei-hsi district, but we have not encountered such a place on the road from Pong-tse-ra to Kar-ri, neither is it marked on Davies' map.[12] South of Kar-ri the rocks are Devonian sediments which form also the hills to the south of the river.

To the east a small valley debouches into the one we have been descending; deciduous oak scrub covers the lower slopes, while the hill-sides above are clothed with *Pinus yünnanensis*. A deep valley extends diagonally across the mouth of the Kar-ri valley, the trail leading to the broad, rocky stream-bed which we cross to the south bank, where the hamlet of Tsho-khà-thang, written mTsho-kha-thang is situated[13] (PLATE 208). The women of this [291] region dress like the Na-khi or Mo-so women of La-pao, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang, wearing much-pleated hemp cloth skirts; they are unlike Tibetan women, and belong to the Mo-so Ku-tsung tribe (PLATE 209). The houses are very quaint and it seems that their domestic animals enjoy [342] residence in the upper story of their houses, while the family lives on the ground-floor, as the accompanying picture would indicate (PLATE 208).

5. YON-DZE-KHÀ (CHU-PA-LUNG 竹巴龍)

We now reach the Yon-dze-khà[14] which has its source on the southern slopes of Pai-mang Shan; it is spanned by a covered wooden bridge (PLATE 210). The trail follows the south bank downstream, through *Quercus semicarpifolia* forest, the stream thundering over huge boulders, a mass of foam. Up it leads again a forested spur and thence to the deep, rocky gorge of the Yon-dze-khà, weird and dismal, with fantastic peaks to the east. We continue down the gorge, mainly composed of limestone, crowned by crags and odd pinnacles. the highest of which bear Picea trees which accentuate their loftiness. To the west a brook descends from a narrow zigzag valley, at the head of which black, rocky snow-crowned peaks rear their bleak summits into the sky. A long wooden plank-bridge spans the stream and leads us to the Tibetan hamlet of Na-ri (Na-li 那里). Na-ri is situated on the east bank of the stream at the foot of a huge, grey limestone cliff with a deep ravine opening out behind the village; in the distant background a high, deep-blue, densely forested range closes the valley.

[12] HANDEL-MAZZETTI gives a village of To-tyü which may be identical with the Chinese T'o-ting. but this village is at the junction of the Yon-dze-khà and the Yangtze, and on the western bank of the latter. As the Chinese map is not at all reliable, it is very likely that T'o-ting is identical with To-tyü, which may be the Na-khi pronunciation of it.

[13] ཚོ་ཁ་ཐང

[14] The lower part of this gorge is known as Cho-pa-rong written lChog-pa-rong ལྕོག་པ་རོང (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍; also Chou-pa-lo 周巴洛): the stream is called Chu-pa Ho 竹巴河. The divide between this latter stream and the Mekong is known as Chou-pa-lo Hsüeh-shan (Snow mountain of Chou-pa-lo).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li. S 487* 133* 137*

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lö-bü. Beyond Lö-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory. S [342]

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent. S [342]

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been dumped on a rock pile. ST [342] [251] ST [197]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdang-phyug* (pronounced Khentrül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

*133 On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned.

172 The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

342 On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yün-nan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. *See:* J. F. ROCK, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

173 Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he

* ཨཱཡུ་ཁཱ་ཀ་ཡ་ཤེ་ཤེ་ནམ་ཁའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀ་ཡ་ལྟ།

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S P 291

Shan women, and with coloured fringes hanging down on each side, while the petticoat is often of large checks of red, white and green.

S P 622

On the 13th a level road through numerous villages took us to Möng Wan, the capital of the state. We were met at the entrance to the town by the sawbwa, a boy of 10, and his two *amats* or ministers, one a Hu-nan Chinaman, the other a Möng Na Shan. All three made profound obeisances, and we went on into the town and were put up in a very good three-roomed brick house.

S P [361] [342]

The place contains about 300 houses. Its narrow paved streets and closely-packed houses of soft brick make it look more like a Chinese town, but it is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. The sawbwa was at that time too young to take any part in the management of the state, and his mother, according to Shan custom, was acting as regent till he was old enough.

The next day, still marching in a northerly direction, we forded the Nam Wan, crossed the range of hills which divides the Shweli from the Taping basin at 5300 feet, descended very steeply into the Ho-hsa[1] valley, and crossed the Nam Hsa, a stream 15 yards wide, into the capital of the Ho-hsa state, a town of only 70 houses.

We were received by the sawbwa, a fine-looking old gentleman of 66, with a white moustache and quite a hooked nose. He is the same chief who is mentioned in Dr Anderson's book, *From Mandalay to Momien*, and he remembered all the names of the members of Colonel Sladen's expedition who had visited him in 1868. He said they had stayed with him a long time, and he appeared to have most pleasant recollections of their visit.

S P [302]

On the 15th January a march of seven miles brought us to La-hsa, the capital of the other state into which the Nam Hsa plain is divided. The sawbwa, a man of 56, wore his beard as well as his hair plaited into a pigtail.

He had lately got into trouble with the Chinese authorities. A Shan priest, a native of Möng Cheng[2], a state lying east of the Salween, arrived in La-hsa, and on

[1] Called Hu-sa by the Chinese.
[2] Chên-k'ang in Chinese.

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of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Yang-jen-cn'ang, on the road from Nam-paung to Man-waing

[Plate XXV]

[Face p. 112]

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A Shan village in the Kan-ai plain

Plate XXVI

[Face p. 114]

&: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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A house in the Hsi-lien district

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Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Shweli near Kai-t'ou

Plate XXIX

[Face p. 122]

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186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [342] [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. [376] The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

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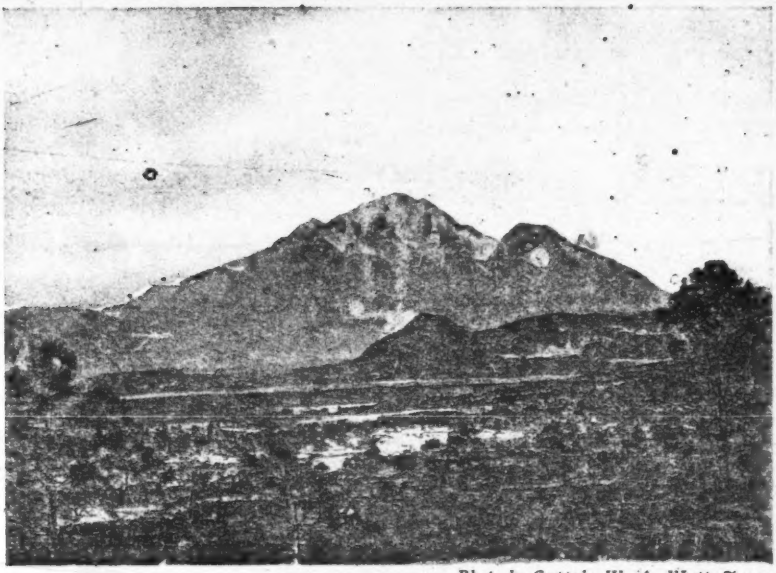

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Li-chiang Fu peak, 18,000 ft.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Yün-nan Fu

Plate XXXVI

[Face p.154]

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291 edges with stripes of red, white, and yellow. To complete the costume a very short jacket similarly ornamented is also often worn over the other jacket.

S P But the most remarkable thing about these Shans is that they are not Buddhists, but spirit worshippers. They 771 are the only non-Buddhist Shans I have ever come across, except a few scattered families of the race whom I found in northern Yün-nan and in Tibetan Ssŭ-ch'uan. They have possibly lived so far from the influence of both Burma and Siam that Buddhism has never reached them. By Buddhism I do not of course refer to the religion of China, but to the Burmese form of Buddhism which is so universal among the Shans of Yün-nan.

S P The houses at Mo-sha are built of soft mud bricks and 342 have flat roofs made with timber, covered with earth. These flat roofs are a peculiarity of the Hsin-p'ing Hsien district, in which we had now arrived. Chinese, Lo-los, and Shans all build alike, and use their roofs to sit on, and also as a place to stack wood and straw. This style of building I do not remember to have seen anywhere else in Yün-nan. We slept at Ta-t'ien-fang, a village which lies up a little side valley, and is called Ho-nam-tok by the Shans.

S 132 The next morning, the 11th January, we had a very steep climb up to Chiu-ti-mo, the road at one time rising 1,400 feet in a mile. We were here wrapped in dense mist, which did not clear till just before sunset. The mist in the Red River valley is curious. Down in the plain the air is quite clear and dry. The bottom of the mist is at about 3000 feet in the morning, extending up to 5000 feet. It then gradually rises till its top reaches 7000 feet, and it does not disappear till late in the afternoon. Villages like Chiu-ti-mo, which are at about 5000 feet, live in almost perpetual damp and darkness, and the mist makes it very cold all day.

000 Crossing a range we reached Hsin-p'ing the next day. The place lies far from all main roads, and the populace had apparently never seen a European before[1]. They had got wind of our coming, and the whole population lined the

[1] M. Rocher I find visited this town in 1872.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 on the next day, the 23rd February, our road led up a very stony, little-cultivated valley hedged in by steep hills on
712 each side. Every mile or so along this road are little forts as a protection to travellers from Lo-lo raids, but they only have garrisons of two or three men each, and no one seems to anticipate any danger.

703 In one of these forts I saw some more regulations written up after the manner of those of the T'ung-an-chou army. They were as follows:—

If when ordered out to fight, any soldier says he is afraid to go—To be beheaded.

If a soldier gets too old to fight—To be discharged.

For smoking opium—To be discharged.

I have little doubt that nine-tenths of both officers and men are confirmed opium smokers.

361 Passing the little town of Mien-shan about halfway, we reached Têng-hsiang-ying in the afternoon. This is a
•342 fortified village of some 150 houses, and is the head-quarters of the major who commands all the troops in the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. It is built just where the narrow valley gets still narrower, and is at a height of 7,850 feet, 2,200 feet above Lu-ku, though the rise is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. The roofs of the houses here are made of planks kept in their places by large stones placed on top of them. This is a style of roof I found not uncommon in parts of western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 On the 24th February we crossed the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. The top I made exactly 10,000 feet. There were only a few patches of snow in shady places, but the last three or four days had been sunny; no doubt in cloudy weather the whole top of the pass would be in snow at this time of year. The ascent from the south is very gradual. In fact it is, without exception, the easiest road up a high range that I have ever seen in western China. The descent on the northern side is however steep, the road falling at the rate of 1000 feet in a mile.

The top of the pass is in a saddle, so Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a hill 1000 feet higher and got a fairly good view of the country round. To the east is a mass of high and steep ranges inhabited by the Independent Lo-los.

232 *Westward from Mien-ning Hsien. The*
Neither of these tribes
791 have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Their religion includes
563 the sacrifice of animals, I was assured by the people of No-po. The Hsi-fans I found everywhere most friendly. It is not till one gets into a country that is more under the thumb of the lamas, that obstruction begins.

563 Leaving No-po on the 11th March, we were obliged to make rather a short day as, after crossing one big spur, we still had the main range, with 6000 feet more of climbing, in front of us, and I did not think our mules would be equal to this. We slept at Mo-tzŭ-kou among the Miao-tzŭ or Mhong, a tribe which I have found scattered in small and widely dispersed communities all over western China. I had met some on the road the day before who had tried to emigrate southward, but had been driven away by the Lo-los, who considered the land in that part of the country to belong to them. In Kuei-chou province the Miao-tzŭ are very numerous and powerful, but here they are evidently too few to be able to afford to quarrel with their neighbours.

• 342 We were now getting into a more Tibetan country, and on this march saw for the first time pagodas and praying wheels. The former, some twelve feet or so high, were made of more or less conical-shaped heaps of stones with Tibetan inscriptions on them, and usually a wooden pole sticking out a little way at the top. It was a sort of rough version of the Burmese pagoda with its *hti*.

778 The praying wheel consisted of a cylinder about three feet long and one and a half feet across, made of leather, and said to contain religious writings. The cylinder was fixed on to the top of a little water wheel which, worked by a small stream, revolved continually. The whole was protected by a stone shed well roofed in. It was a work of merit, which must have cost a good deal of time and money to erect in this out of the way spot. These water praying wheels were fairly common in the Tibetan country we travelled through, and when we got into a thoroughly lama district the ordinary praying wheels turned by hand were to be seen in every house.

000 The next morning we crossed the big range, reaching the top at 13,200 feet, but to the north of the road the range attains a much greater elevation than this. The

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Continuing our journey the next day, the 17th March, 609
we passed through splendid forests along the course of a stream in which we found a party of Tibetans digging for gold. Leaving this valley we ascended another range, reaching the top at 14,500 feet. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up 500 feet higher and got a fine view of the surrounding country. In the distance to the north-west of us, two magnificent snow-covered peaks towered above the rest to a height that I should estimate as quite 20,000 feet.

From here we descended to K'u-lu[1], a village of perhaps 361
60 houses and some large monasteries, the biggest place 609
we had seen for many days. The lamas had evidently got news of our coming, for we found a man waiting for us who showed us a house, and room to camp round it, a little outside the main village.

K'u-lu was the most thoroughly Tibetan place we had 231
yet come across, and it was here that I saw yaks for the first 609
time. There was one tied up just outside our camp, which presented a curious appearance in the morning, covered with icicles hanging to its hair all over. So far I had been [32]
agreeably surprised with the warm temperature, for even at night there had only been a few degrees of frost, but here at K'u-lu at 12,500 feet it was decidedly colder, and the thermometer fell to 17°.

The people here are thoroughly Tibetan in manners 609
and customs, and very few of them understand any Chinese. They live in large well-built stone houses, calculated no [342]
doubt to keep out the cold which is probably often more severe than we found it in March.

The lamas of K'u-lu were very suspicious. They asked me to halt a day so that we might talk things over and arrange for the continuance of my journey. I did not see what in the world we had to talk about and would not agree to this.

The next morning my interpreter went to the village to see about a guide, and was asked into the monastery by the head lama. He found that dignitary having an early break-

[1] Mr Amundsen marks a place called Kang-u about where K'u-lu is. Probably Kang-u is the Tibetan and K'u-lu the Chinese name. See *Geographical Journal* for June 1900.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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000 last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

S ST 361 [302] Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

S ST •342 A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

000 I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

The name Liu-t'ou-chiang is Chinese, meaning "bridge-head river," for *liu-tzŭ* is the name by which they call the rope bridges. 000

For five more days our road lay up the valley of the Mekong, but the going was by no means flat. The hills on both sides of the river are very steep and full of landslips, the formation being loose shale. The path keeps up on the hillside, rising in places to 10,000 feet or more, and continually crossing bare brown-looking spurs.

Between these spurs are little side streams running down from the snow-covered tops of the range, and in these little valleys the villages are prettily situated, surrounded by green fields of wheat and barley, and by pear and peach trees which were then in blossom. 245

The Mekong runs for the most part between steep banks and there is practically no flat ground along it. To the west is a fine snowy range, the highest peaks of which Ryder made about 20,000 feet by observations with the long-shaped clinometer.

The Tibetan inhabitants of this valley appear well off and live in an excellent climate where it does not get extremely cold. Their houses are well built, often of three storeys, the ground floor solidly constructed of stone, and the two upper floors usually of wood. The roofs are flat, made of large beams covered over with mud, and the upper storeys are built so that they cover less space than the storey below them; thus part of the roof of one storey forms a terrace or verandah to the storey above it. [132] 342

On the 28th of April we reached Ya-k'a-lo, a straggling village of 100 houses. The place is important because of its salt wells which supply all this part of the country. 317

On our second march out of A-tun-tzŭ we had already met one French missionary, Père Bourdonnec who was on his way to Tzŭ-ku (Tse-kou according to French orthography). At Ya-k'a-lo we were to have the pleasure of finding Père Grandjean who had come from Ba-t'ang to take Père Bourdonnec's place during his absence. He took much interest in our project of getting through to Assam, though he did not give us much hope of success. We are much indebted to him for the assistance and advice he was always so ready to give us. 000

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 hilly parts of the Basin. In the former the farmsteads are more closely spaced than are the farmsteads of the hilly areas. Each of the sub-types is sharply different from the other in structures and in general appearance.

342 361 In Chengtu Plain, most isolated farmsteads have fairly well-spaced compounds. As a rule, the structures of these farmsteads have only one story. The walls are made of mud or plaster and the roofs are either thatched with straw or made of tiles. In most cases the layout of these buildings is either "U" or square in shape (Fig. 12). Commonly they include the living quarters, animal and poultry barn, grain and straw storage quarters, implement houses, and are surrounded by high white-washed walls. Most of the farm houses are well-shaded by trees, such as the cypress, the bamboo, and the nanmu and other fruit trees (Fig. 13).

In the more hilly sections of the Basin, particularly in its peripheral areas, isolated farms are found perched on the flat surface of hills. The spacing of these isolated farmsteads is by no means regular and it is everywhere in harmony with the rugged and dissected local topography. Most of the structures in these areas are shabby-looking, flimsy affairs, of very poor quality. In most cases they have mud or brushed walls. Corn-stalks are a common covering for the roof, since both straw and rice stalks are scarce in the hilly areas and have to be brought in from the plains.

In so far as the outward appearance is concerned, most of the houses in the Szechuan Basin are characterized by projecting eaves, gracefully recurved roofs, and rich, elaborate, and well-designed roof ornaments. It is interesting to note that these characteristics are made possible because of three favorable natural conditions in the Basin. First, there is little wind in the Basin and wind storms are practically unknown, thus the fragile and extraordinarily beautiful structures and decorations need little or no protection from wind. Second, there is practically no snow to weigh down and pry off a delicate projecting eave. Third, the fact that there are frequent misty rains in the Basin makes it necessary for practical purposes to project the roof eaves over the walls in order to provide protection from the rain.

T 797 the leather bowl carrying the Rev. Amundsen pushed off from land. Again I saw only unwashed, broad-nosed, bronze faces and fantastically bright-colored clothes, all of which had before seemed so natural to me. I had become so accustomed to the cut and color of these clothes that it was not until now that I realized this was something foreign.

C 133 342 T 342 At the ferrying place the Tschanggu tenn kwan Wu had six native soldiers stationed and six more were at a small pass beyond it where not long before banditry had produced such monstrosities that the merchants dared to go only in bands of 60 strong when they transported their musk to China. In August 1904 (Kuangsü thirtieth year, seventh month, around the seventeenth day) these districts were struck by violent earthquakes over a period of several days, which caused the Tibetan buildings to collapse like a pack of cards. Not a single house between Tschanggu and Dawo was unharmed. The things that had been built up again were made by Chinese craftsmen. There were now stone walls to replace the old ones made of pebbles and loam, and the beams and supports were mortised properly, a thing which was unknown in local architecture.

C 133 The monastery and the town of Dawo were the hardest hit by the earthquakes. There was little to be seen of the monastery during my visit. When the columns of the temple swayed in the tremors, the monks had dashed into their sanctuary in order to exhort their gods, and especially their god Tamdin, through prayers to cease with their visitation. As a result, 40 monks had been killed by the falling temple. The roof plunged down so heavily on the worthy geslong, as though the structure had been a mouse trap with a brick on it. Earthquakes seem to be frequent in the border countries of Tibet. In the eighteenth Kuang sü year, that is 1892, the monastery ngGatag (Taining) which is a good day's journey southeast of Dawo, was completely destroyed. In 1896 Tschungkor gomba near Dschoma lhagan was ruined. I was also told of catastrophes at Li tang and Ba tang (1870), all of which occurred within the last generation.

T 361 797 Dawo again belongs to the Kungsar-Mazar tu se. (1) However,

1. Dawo or Dao, written sDao, is pronounced sTagu in the Kin tschuan dialect; the monastery is called sDao nimtsu gomba.

there are about 150 Chinese families living here, besides Tibetans. The former have, in the last few years, strangely enough, become

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Plate LV.

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The tallest dejo tower still standing in Kin tschuan.)

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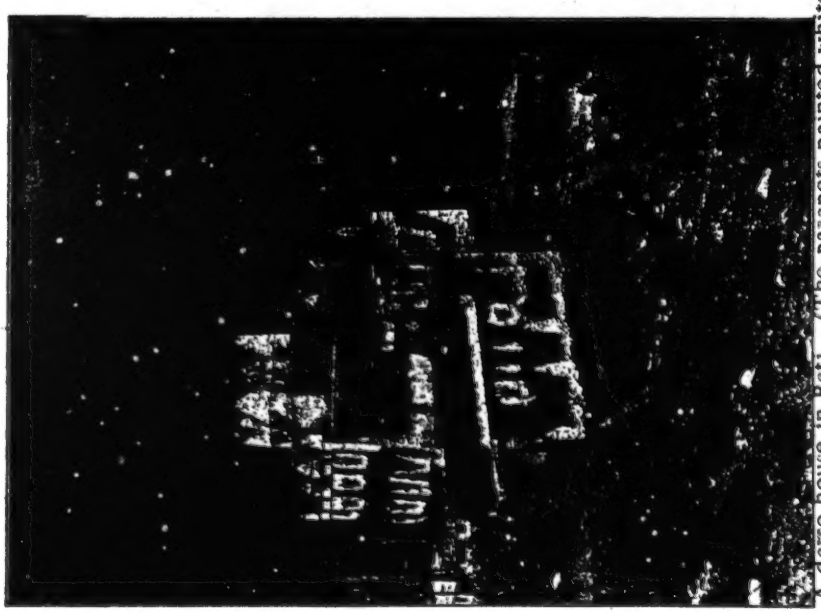

A darro house in Batl. (The parapets painted white with slaked lime are typical for houses in Kin tschuan.)

Plate LVI

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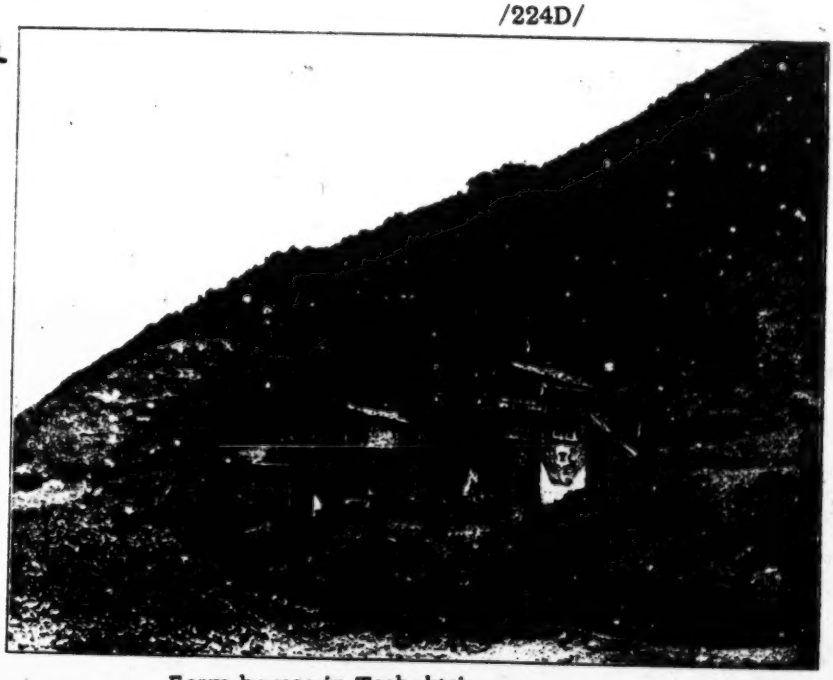

Farm houses in Tschoktsi.

House of the tu be hu in Lien ho kou. (Little Kin tschuan.)

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐祐,[32] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuda, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[33] Around the pagodas have

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T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[32] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 勸. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[33] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yüan-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 恭韜徽義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come [508] within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 [35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

137 The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙平, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta Li 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p.28 F.-- Analyst]

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344 366 438 The next day I halted, and returned the sawbwa's call in the morning. The palace was not a very imposing structure but a new one was being built close to it. It was market day in Kêng-ma, and there was a very large attendance, including a good many Chinese traders selling cotton cloth, etc. Most of the European goods appear to come from Bhamo *viâ* Yung-ch'ang. The market is held every five days according to the almost invariable custom of Burma, the Shan States, and Yün-nan. Nearly the whole country-side comes into it to buy and sell, and on market day the roads are always crowded with people from the villages coming and going. It is an opportunity for them to display their best clothes, and in places where there are many different hill tribes the variety of costume is most picturesque.

563 In Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States, and probably in many other places, people of a dozen different races speaking a dozen different languages may be seen in one market place. The lingua franca by which they communicate with each other is generally Shan or Chinese or both, according to the locality. In Kêng-ma there was not any extraordinary variety of tribes. The people were chiefly Shans and Las, with a good many Chinese and a few La-hus. A native of India, a Lucknow Mahommedan, also came to see me. He was employed by the Pang-long Panthays to teach their children Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic. He told me he had been there three or four years and had a great many pupils, and that the rising generation would most of them know Hindustani.

Tibetan times it had been a room for festive occasions. On the paneling of the walls and ceiling were painted garlands of flowers and hunting scenes in fiery colors. During the meal Tibetans who had some kind of request, were admitted. Scarcely were they inside when they threw themselves on the floor and the Chinese interpreter reported their request. It was seldom that the petitioners dared raise an objection. After the mandarin had curtly given his reply they murmured a feeble "O laso! laso!", bowed their heads, closed their eyes, lifted their hands, pressing the palms together, to their foreheads and again lowered their heads to the dirty floor. This was also the way the interviews of the poorer Tibetan aristocracy were conducted, which angered these people very much.

The floor plan of the castle in Tschanggu resembled the manor house of Puiling, except that the proportions were larger. The building is rectangular with a flat roof of loam, and has four wings that are built around an inner court. There are five stories, all of which are supported by trunks of spruce. Only the strong outer wall is made of stone and in it there are only a few small windows in the fifth story. In times of distress, half the tribe with women and children could be housed there. This building, like all Tibetan houses, has no foundation walls. The walls are built around the many wooden supports and beams of the interior, just as a tent wall is erected, and are not held in place in the ground.

The village of Tschanggu clusters around the manor house at the edge of the slope. Many of its houses lay in ruins, those that are left are inhabited by Chinese. These people, colonists, whom the Manchu government has transplanted here, mostly have Tibetan wives and the style of architecture is completely Tibetan. The town looked peaceful but ugly. The colonists had planted vegetable beds out of which rose stone ruins, testifying to recent wars and suffering.

The Tschanggu monastery is not more than 15 minutes away from the castle. The temples and the upper story of the priests' dwellings are built of wooden beams, as is common in South Tibet, and everything is nicely painted in gay colors. The entire grounds are surrounded by a low wall. (Plate XLVI). It seems designed more to maintain order and decorum among the inhabitants than as a defense against armed enemies. On a hunting trip I also happened to become acquainted with the convent of Tschanggu, which is only a few kilometers distant in a lateral ravine. It houses over a hundred nuns in miserable huts. No gold roofs make it visible from afar, no wall protects the huts from the outside. The nuns do not seem to do as good

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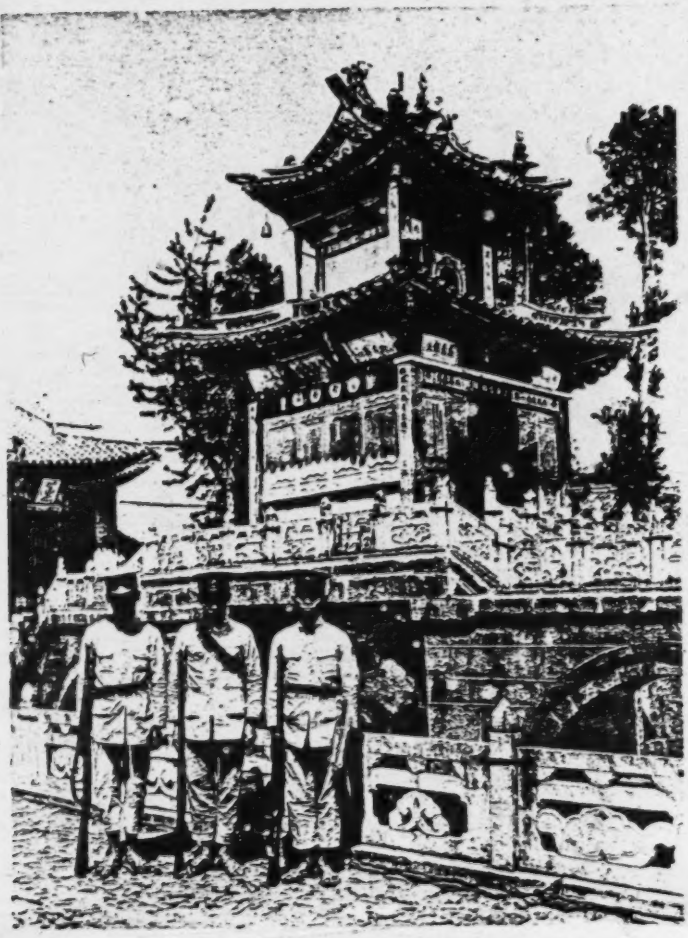

PLATE 5. — KUAN-YIN SSU BETWEEN HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI

大石廟下關大理之間

The shrine is built over a rock (seen behind the soldier on the right) which is supposed to have been carried here by the Goddess of Mercy, disguised as an old woman. Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺, or Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, is thus also known as Ta-shih An, Great Rock Shrine.

[p. 28 E]

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PLATE 6. — TWO OF THE THREE PAGODAS OF SAN-T'A SSU

大理三塔寺之二塔

These famous pagodas stand to the north of the city of Ta-li. They were built by a master mason of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 632. They withstood two earthquakes, one on June 17, 1515, and another on March 16, 1925. At both times, the city of Ta-li was completely destroyed. Photographed April, 1922.

[p. 28 F]

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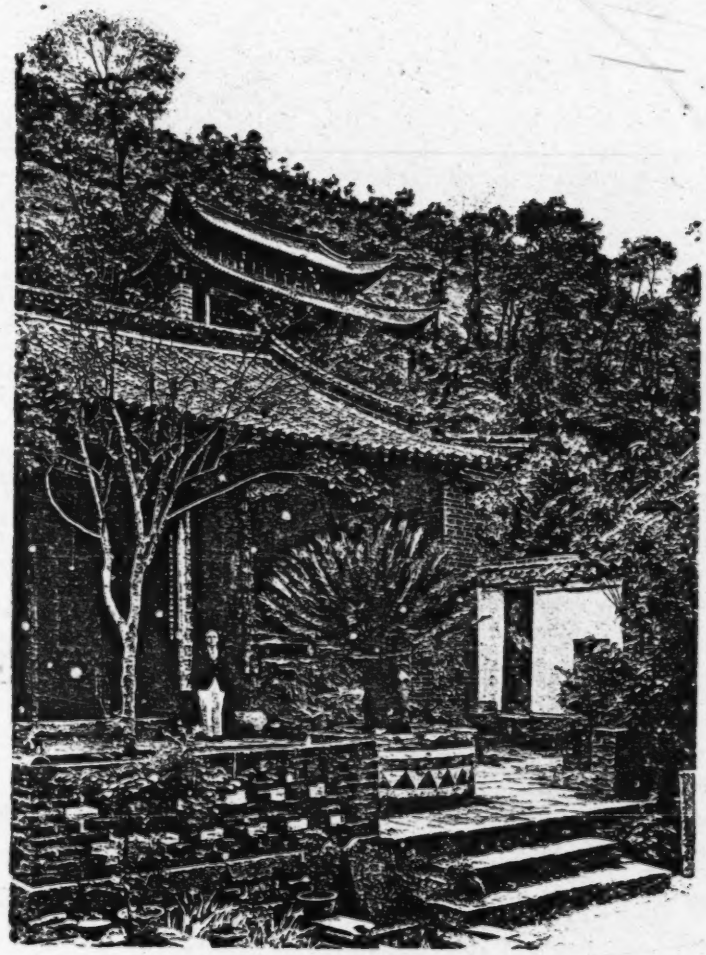

PLATE 47.—SHRINE OF MAO AND YANG

毛楊二公祠

Adjoining the Temple of P'u-hsien, overlooking the Lake of K'un-ming, from the West.

[p. 76-0]

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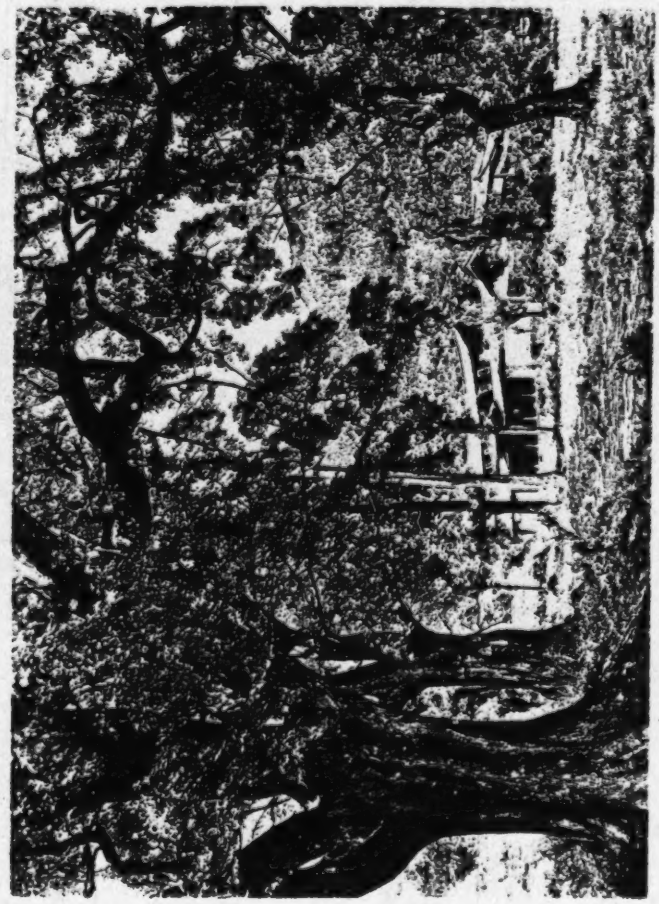

PLATE 61.—THE TEMPLE OF SA-DO OR PEI-TO MIAO

玉 珠 村 北 雅 寺

Centuries-old maples and cypresses surround the temple. Over the entrance to the temple are four large tablets bearing the Chinese characters 慈祥三多 En P'u San To=Gracious all pervading San-to (Sa-do).

[p. 108 M]

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PLATE 64.—THE CHEEK-T'O-LIN LAMASERY

柯基拉寺全景

The lamasery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan the Khyu-t'o-lin Ngyu of the Na-khi. The trees in foreground are mainly *Pinus yunnanensis*.

[p. 108 P]

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346 782 173 *The Pei-yo Temple.* — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃耕熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634

The same work, Vol. 冊, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納. 173

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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(rDo-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan 老君山, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku. 487* 133* 137*

The Yangtze at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards; on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (GREGORY). [243]

The town of Shih-ku [7] is situated on the very bend of the Yangtze, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety. [505]

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese, the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (力些 or 㑩㑩) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan. 361 346

The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku 鎮吐蕃鼓. At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of 346

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longed to Yüeh-sui 越巂, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Zo Shui 若水, and became the Chu-hou 諸侯 (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌濮氏. There was born Chuan Hsü 顓頊, who for 10 years assisted Shao Hao 少昊 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Zo Shui is the present Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze).

Kun 鯀 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 莘. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no illicit offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 砥山 and there obtained the *I-i* 薏苡 (*Coix lachrima-jobii*, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 24, fol. 27, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石紐山 is one li south of Shih-ch'üan hsien 石泉縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an fu 龍安府 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the *Tien-ksi* to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The *Li-fan T'ing-chih*, ch. 1, fol. 29b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hua-li 通化理. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石紐山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'üan hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jou, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

[7] Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50′ and longitude 99° 55′, according to Major H. R. DAVIES (*Yün-nan*, p. 256).

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346 *hsin-yu* 辛酉 (1561)[8] the native prefect Mu Kao pacified the T'u-fan and engraved the hymns of his victories on the drum. (This is from the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, p. 35b.)

173 Chavannes translated the inscriptions into French from a copy (rubbing) brought back by Bacot. I give here an independent English translation of the original.

3. THE STONE-DRUM INSCRIPTIONS OF SHIH-KU

The inscription of 1548. — The Song of Universal Peace

"When we had received our orders to go on a punitive expedition against the wild tribes, everything went off propitiously. By virtue of bountiful blessings from Heaven we had an overplus of luck.

"The people of the country, supporting their old men, came to return to allegiance. The former subjects came leading their youngsters by the hand to behold the glorious aspect of the country. By refraining from killing, in order to spare the inhabitants, considerable good works were performed; by applying military strategy to gain victories, both virtue and prestige were achieved. With the flags to shade the sun the accumulated clouds became colorful, and when blood dripped from the swords and spears the cold blades had proved their sharpness. When the bugle[9] sounded the command to advance to the north, the courage of the Huns fell. If shields and spears were pointed westward the enemy lost his wits. Benevolent words transform a region like the grass bows under the passage of the wind; superior steeds [of noble blood] travelling over the country, are like the hoar-frost illuminated by the sun.

"Bravery in war and military resourcefulness are as unfathomable as God, and thus no man should endeavor to wholly comprehend them.

"Fierce as the leopards we overran the land, and the enemy could not withstand us.

"Loyalty we rendered to our Holy Sovereign, and we pacified the frontier lands. For ever our black army[10] will stand guard over a territory of 10,000 li."

The Song of the Conquerors

"Within two years we have carried victory east and west of the River [the Yangtze]. The neighing of our steeds of war was heard thousands of li

[8] CHAVANNES was quite correct in surmising that the inscription of 1548 could not have been engraved in that year, as it records campaigns executed during the years 1548–1549. He says, "et si les deux inscriptions n'ont pas été toutes deux gravées en 1561." According to the Li-chiang chronicle they were both cut in 1561.

[9] *Hao ling* 號令: by this is understood an order to an army to advance, for example, by means of a certain bugle.

[10] Wu-shih 烏師 (Black army).

CHAVANNES in his translation of the song remarks that in no literary text had he found an explanation of the epithet Wu 烏 applied to soldiers.

The explanation seems simple. The Li-chiang soldiers were not Chinese, but Mo-so who call themselves Na-khi and whom the Chinese class under the Wu-man 烏蠻 (Black barbarians), hence the term Wu-shih.

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CHAPTER III

TE-CH'IN AND THE MEKONG — SALWEEN DIVIDE

1. THE TOWN OF TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

361 The town of Te-ch'in is situated at the head of the valley at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it consists of 300–400 houses extending from wall to wall, filling the valley completely. In Tibetan the town is known as Jö or Jöl (written hJol).[1] On a hill overlooking the town to the north, is situated the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 (in Tibetan bDe-chhen-gling, Lamasery of great happiness),[2] founded in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). Its 30 buildings including a large chanting hall have been built since 1905 after the destruction of the original lamasery, which was situated in the valley in the outskirts of the town. This was destroyed by Chinese soldiers in punishment for the murder of the Catholic priests and the burning of their missions in the Mekong and Salween valleys. The present site is a strategic one overlooking the town and, being situated at the summit of a hill, can be easily defended. Like the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery further south, it belongs to the Yellow sect.

361 In ancient days A-tun-tzu had no wall. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730), a garrison of soldiers was established and a tamped earth wall built. No wall exists, however, at present (PLATE 173). The town is inhabited by Tibetans, Chinese, and Na-khi, and has experienced many a raid by the Tibetans from the north, so that the merchants of A-tun-tzu used to keep their better-class goods a few days' journey south, on the west bank of the Mekong. It is the last frontier town in north-west Yün-nan, and one of the highest situated in the province. Its climate is raw, cold and dusty in the winter, quite a contrast to the villages a little further down in the same valley near the Mekong. Being shut in at the head of the valley, surrounded by steep, high mountains, the sun does not shine long in A-tun-tzu during the winter months.

622 Although the place is now a hsien city, a native official, whose Tibetan title is Zhal-ngo[3] (Face or Presence, formerly a term applied to an officer over 50 soldiers), still holds office, subject to the magistrate of the town. The title for a Ch'ien-tsung (Lieutenant or leader of 1,000 soldiers) is Tong-pön, written sTong-dpon.[4] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* 雲南通志 has the following to say about A-tun-tzu, ch. 145, fol. 32:

"In former days A-tun-tzu was ruled by Wei-hsi, but was under the immediate control of one native lieutenant and one native sergeant or Dang-pön (ldang-dpon),[5] the equivalent to the Chinese Pa-tsung (there are said

[1] ལྗོལ།
[2] བདེ་ཆེན་གླིང།
[3] ཞལ་ངོ
[4] སྟོང་དཔོན
[5] ལྡང་དཔོན

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 墓頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[651] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[792] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[797] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged
[438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
[135] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu
[346] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of
[197] the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] ཀླ་ཆུ [10] smad-rtse-mo

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we descend on to a plateau with small brooks, and thence down a broad valley with massive mountain walls on both sides, parts of Pai-mang Shan. The valley increases in depth and is densely wooded with conifers; to the west are visible the last of the snow-covered rocky peaks of Pai-mang Shan. The trail descends at an easy grade leading first through forest of Abies, Larix and Juniperus and then through the most beautiful stands of *Picea complanata* (PLATE 206), a spruce with trunks of more than 100 feet in height. The handsome, yellow-flowered *Rhododendron Wardii* forms here the undergrowth. The mountain slopes to both sides are a dark green, the forest extending high up the slopes which appear as if covered with dark velvet. At the margins are small meadows filled with lovely blue iris. Abruptly this forest gives way to one of a mixed type of *Quercus semicarpifolia*. Betula, and other deciduous trees, with *Pæonia lutea* (the yellow peony) growing on the outskirts. A few li beyond we reach the hamlet of I-chia-p'o 一家坡 (also called Ni-la-lung 泥拉龍) situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it stands beside the contact of hornblende-granite with the Devonian sediments. This point is two stages from A-tun-tzu, a distance of about 105 li.

From I-chia-p'o the trail descends over a rocky slope (green grits and slates) with a stream roaring deep below. Here the oak forest gives way to pines, *Pinus yünnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*, with a few scattered oaks and *Rhododendron decorum*. The trail crosses the stream-bed, and follows on the western bank through scrub forest and bushes of Rosa and Berberis, only to ascend once more. On the east bank is situated a small Tibetan hamlet whose houses had been reduced to ashes. Only the charred walls remained near terraced fields. These ruins date back to 1905 when the Chinese troops set fire to this and other villages and lamaseries, after the Tibetan revolt against China. The rebellion was led by the lamas of Tung-chu-lin and other lamaseries, who brutally murdered two Catholic priests and burned their mission station on the Mekong.

2. TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY 東竹林喇嘛寺

The road to Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery leads over a gravelly limestone spur (Minchia limestone) with scattered *Thuja orientalis* (arbor-vitæ) trees, past an affluent of the stream which descends from Pai-mang Shan. Here the trail forks, one leads to a village situated at the foot of a hill, the other up the hill on which Tung-chu-lin, the Tibetan Dön-dru ling (Don-grub-gling) Lamasery has been rebuilt.*

The golden roofs of this lamasery are visible from afar, glistening brilliantly in the sunlight. The entire lamasery is surrounded by a low, white-washed wall, and resembles more a town than a monastery (PLATE 207). It consists of about 150 houses with flat, wooden slat-roofs weighted down by

* དོན་གྲུབ་གླིང་ Don-grub (Siddhārtha) means one who has reached his goal, and also one who has successfully performed his work.

It was in this lamasery that the founder of the Catholic mission (Mission du Thibet) Père Renou disguised as a merchant found shelter in 1850 and received lessons in the Tibetan language from the Living Buddha himself. It formed the center of resistance dur-

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346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

792 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 喀木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*4187 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed
*133 with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys
*137 until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra) [7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子欄

173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 总頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角壩, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 丁拉郎 villages.

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ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (Goré).

[7] [illegible]

[8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tun-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

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of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

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The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

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S ST 346 778

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪布 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] གསེར་ལས་ཁ་ལ་ལས་ཤ་ལ།

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་བསྐྱིད་གླིང་). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

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PLATE 207. — TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY

東竹林喇嘛寺

It belongs to the Yellow Sect and shelters about 300 monks. A nunnery is on the hill to the rear. The bushes on the hillside (foreground) are *Thuja orientalis*. Spruces and firs on the spur behind the lamasery.

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*487 mountain god of the Ch'ien-so people and is called Wua-zhu Pu-nà. Adjoin-
*133 ing it to the east is Tso-so Shan in the Tso-so T'u-ssu territory. Wua-zhu
Pu-nà, unlike Seng-ge ga-mu is a male deity and is depicted wearing a black
*137 garment and riding a black horse.

The Wua-zhu valley narrows, limestone outcroppings and cliffs are on the north side, at the foot of which our trail leads with the Hli dji immediately below. Six li from Vu-dchü, is the hamlet of 'A-mbe, the houses are of the log-cabin type, though some have tamped earth walls. The vegetation on the limestone spur to the north is entirely composed of oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, while along the trail grow bushes of *Prinsepia utilis*, called Shu-da or Shĕr-da in Na-khi. This shrub flowers twice, in the winter and in the summer but produces fruit only from summer flowers. The southern slopes of the valley are forested entirely with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The Hli dji is here a sluggish river, with fish weirs stretched across the shallow bed. There are beautiful camping places on its south bank under groves of poplars. Five li from the village of 'A-mbe the river makes a sharp bend north-east, near the small hamlet of Wo-yü-pa-k'a-ko, at an elevation of 9,500 feet. It winds considerably. From the north a limestone spur extends into the Ch'ien-so valley, the southern slopes of which are covered with pine groves, while straight ahead, on the northern slopes of the valley, is situated the yamen of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. Another valley opens out from the north, pine scrub covering the slopes here, while old oak trees grow on the southern hill-sides.

●346 A lama temple called Wua-zhu Gom-pa, representing the Yellow sect, stands on the west bluff of the side valley, while the yamen is on the eastern one. The place where the yamen stands is called Hli-da (Li-ta 利達) and is at an elevation of 9,600 feet. The distance from Yung-ning to Hli-da is 31.5 li. The main building is over 90 years old and is in a bad state of repair. Back of it is a small temple with a large figure of Yamāntaka, conqueror of Yama. King of Death, one of the most venerated tutelary deities (*Yidam*) of the Yellow Church.

*487 Below the yamen the valley narrows and forms a defile through which the
*133 Hli dji has cut its way. Here it is exceedingly beautiful. The walls of the
limestone gorge are a pearl grey and rise vertically from the river-bed. Large
*137 old evergreen oaks line the banks, their crowns over-hanging the stream, a lovely picture of peace and solitude. Here we noticed a large family of Maccacus monkeys which made its way chattering over the cliffs, the mothers with babies on their backs. When they finally reached the top of the rocky walls, they swung on to the trees and disappeared over the mountains. Beyond this defile a valley opens from the west called Du-llo law-k'aw, a distance of seven li from Hli-da. The Du-llo dji has two sources, one south and the other north of Lä-dgyu-dzu in Mu-li territory. A bridge of wooden planks, hardly worthy of the name of bridge, spans it.

Beyond the bridge where the Hli dji makes a sharp bend, it is joined by the Du-llo dji; this region is called Dji-tsu-kwan. Once inhabited, the fields on the northern slopes of the river valley are now abandoned, and the village which stood here and which bore the name of Tse-bu is in ashes. It is impossible for any one to remain here owing to the savage Lo-lo robbers. Only

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chiefs at feud with each other, and themselves refugees, they cannot help but be prey to the rapacious, cruel Lo-lo. 579

Ha-la-mi valley. — Crossing the Du-llo Stream the trail leads up another broad valley which debouches at Du-llo village into the Du-llo valley. This valley is called Ha-la-mi, the lower half of which belongs to Ch'ien-so territory. 487* 133* 137*

At the corner of the junction of these valleys stood the ruins of other homes. The Lo-lo robbers had done a thorough job in looting the poor innocent and undefended peasants. No one cared about their trials and tribulations.

In the Ha-la-mi valley a trail leads to Wu-chio Monastery situated in the territory of the once powerful Lama King of Mu-li whom the Lo-lo greatly feared and respected. Ha-la-mi is a beautiful valley, forested with pines and oaks. Yet the fields along the crystal-clear stream have been abandoned by their owners on the Ch'ien-so side of the line for fear of being carried off into slavery by the Lo-lo, should they dare go out to till them. The elevation at the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li border is 9,700 feet.

Ere reaching Wu-chio Monastery, a valley debouches into Ha-la-mi from north-west. A bridge spans that stream.

Wu-chio Lamasery. — Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺 is situated at an elevation of 10,100 feet on a terrace which juts out into the stream. North of Wu-chio although in a continuation of Ha-la-mi valley, the stream is called La-dze dji and has its source in the huge limestone mountain called Hla-dze or La-dze.[19] 346

The lamasery consists of one stone building containing the main shrine and chanting hall, while log cabins house the few lamas who attend to the worship of the most dreaded demon goddess of the Lama Church, Palden Lhamo. Wu-chio Ssu (Rin-jom Gom-pa) is well known in Tibet as it is said to have been one of the early dwelling-places of the goddess. It is a mysterious spot, the temple dark and gloomy like all Tibetan chanting halls. One corner of the building was partitioned off and this was the sanctuary of the fierce goddess whose image, represented by a fresco, adorned the wall. The painting was covered with silk scarfs which served as a curtain. Butter lamps which were burning in front of it, furnished the only light; all was still and hushed. In front of the old temple stood two immense juniper trees at least 500 years old. The lamas related that the goddess delights to live in trees. Facing the valley in which Wu-chio Ssu is situated are the mighty crags of La-dze or Hla-dze. In this mountain is a large cave known as La-dze ni-kung. Palden Lhamo is reputed to have lived there in the dim and hoary past. Water issues from this cave, which is said to be the source of the La-dze dji.

[19] The Hsi-fan of Mu-li, who call themselves Ch'ra-me and whom the Na-khi call Boa, look upon Mt. Hla-dze as the cradle of their race. Like the people of Yung-ning do still, and the Li-chiang Na-khi did in former days, the Boa cremate their dead. They take the ashes and fragments of bones of their cremated relatives and deposit them on the limestone cliffs of Hla-dze, similarly to the chiefs of Yung-ning whose ashes are deposited at the foot of the cliffs, high up on Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain).

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 224. — THE YUNG-NING LAMASERY DJRA-MI-GKO

★ 寧 寧 寺 喇 嘛 (寧 寧 寺 喇 嘛)

It is also called Ta-lan Ssu after the Tibetan name of the lamasery. The central building is the main temple or chanting hall; the square building to the left of it houses the giant statue of Maitreya, the Coming Buddha. The small buildings surrounding the temple are the homes of the lamas. They are however empty except on certain festive occasions.

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At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-eastern base, is a square lama temple, commonly called Anu Gom-pa, be- 346
longing to the Bön or Black lama sect. It is a poorly constructed building containing only one large room, and is surrounded on three sides by low mud huts roofed with boards, weighted down with stones. These are the living quarters of the lamas when attending festivals, as on the annual Tor-gya-la (གཏོར་ཆྱ་རས་ལ) when the gtor-ma of the Bön deity Ta-lha (lTa-lha) suppresses and banishes all evil, sickness, etc. (PLATE 249). The gtor-ma is burned at the end of the ceremony. Their large Bön temple is called Phun-tshogs-bden-rgyas-gling,* pronounced Phün-tshog-den-gye-ling a smaller Bön temple in the vicinity being called Sun-te-nyi. The Tso-so, as well as the natives of the other four *So*, call themselves (Na-z(u); this is equivalent to the Na-khi *Na-zo* which means a male Na-khi.

Five li from the temple the trail brings us to a small hamlet with another, 487*
but much smaller, Bön temple or chapel. The hamlet is called Bo-shaw. 133*
Between the latter and the main temple is another little village called Gu- 137*
du-lo. East of Bo-shaw a distance of five li up the valley is the hamlet of Wu-dzu-lo. From Bo-shaw it is only a short distance to the tiny hamlet of Hlu-wa on the shore of the lake, at the southern end of the broad base of T'u-bbu.

Outlet of the lake at Hai-men-ch'iao. — A few li beyond Hlu-wa is the outlet of the lake. A long valley extends east-north-east into which Lu-ku Lake empties; the valley is very broad and is a vast swamp extending from hill to hill. The outlet is a sluggish stream, spanned by a wooden bridge, with hardly any noticeable current; it converts the valley into a great marsh: outlet, stream and valley collectively are known as Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge).

This stream unites with the one flowing from the center of the T'u-bbu peninsula and together they flow into the Ta-ch'ung Ho at an elevation of 8,700 feet, not far from the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村. East of the actual bridge Hai-men-ch'iao is a long sandy stretch with a little hamlet on the southern end which is in Yün-nan. Between this little hamlet and a stream called the Chi-p'u Ho is the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. On this stream is situated the hamlet of Chi-p'u in Tso-so land.

Shan-kwua on the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. — Beyond the little hamlet on the southern end of the broad sandy stretch in Yün-nan, a small stream called the Shan-kwua flows into the lake. About six li before reaching the lake a bridge crosses it and here are two hamlets, both of which are known as Shan-kwua (She-k'ua 佘跨); they are in Yün-nan and form the border between Yung-ning and Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan. This is a distance of 60 li from Yung-ning. The Shan-kwua Stream has its source south-west in the mountains which here encircle the lake, while broad valleys debouch to the lake-shore from the east in Tso-so land.

* ཕུན་ཚོགས་བདེ་ཀློས་གླིང

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 225. — THE YUNG-NING LAMA CHANTING HALL

永寧喇嘛寺經堂

It is the largest building of the lamasery; in it all services are conducted necessitating a full complement of lamas. The entire lama constituency of Yung-ning is assembled before the gates of the hall. In the center (small figure) the late Huo-fu; on his left the abbot; on his right a lama oracle.

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PLATE 246. — SENG-GE GA-MU'S SHRINE ON NYO-RO-P'U

永寧達洛岡永寧為上獅子山神廟

In the little window of the shrine is a picture of the goddess. Pine branches are burned as offering to her every morning and evening in the little furnace, while a lama strikes the gong suspended from the tree. Prayer flags flutter from under the roof of the shrine which is situated in the center of Nyo-ro-p'u.

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PLATE 249. — TSO-SO BÖN LAMAS GATHERED FOR THE DANCE

四川左所黑帽喇嘛開鼓舞

Once a year the Bön Lamas of Tso-so celebrate the Ta-lha festival which ends in a religious dance. Unlike the Yellow sect they wear a peculiar cornucopia-like ceremonial hat of various colors.

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These slabs are then framed and are sent all over China to be hung up on the walls of houses as ornaments. The marble is also in much request for tombstones. 316

Silver bracelets and other things are also made in the town, but there is nothing remarkable about the workmanship. Gold is another somewhat important article of trade: it is usually beaten into gold leaf and sent in this form to Burma where it is in much demand for gilding pagodas. 326 European goods come in through Bhamo, but they seemed very scarce, and were represented by a few cotton, calico, and woollen goods, needles, thread, and tinned milk. 439 Some Tibetan products, chiefly furs and medicines, also find their way to Ta-li. Most of this is brought down in April, in which month a great annual fair is held here which attracts thousands of strangers who come in to trade from all parts of the province.

Ta-li is an important place from the official point of view. It is the residence of the T'i-t'ai, who is commander-in-chief of all the troops in Yün-nan, and of a Tao-t'ai[1], who governs a very large district including the whole of the western part of the province right up to the Burmese border.

I stayed two days in Ta-li hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Smith. 346 The former was most kind in showing me all the sights of the place, which include several very fine temples. One of these on the road between Ta-li and Hsia-kuan was built in honour of Yang, the famous Chinese general who retook Ta-li from the Panthays and put an end to the rebellion. In it is an image of the great general 000 himself, extremely well done, and the old man in charge of the temple told us it was an excellent likeness. He seems to have been a remarkable man, very short in stature but extremely energetic and not much hampered by attention to official etiquette, so much so that he would even walk about the streets, instead of being carried in a sedan chair. Military mandarins often rather affect this disregard of etiquette, and put on what they consider a bluff, soldierlike manner, talking in a loud voice and so on. Possibly many of them are not very conversant with all the points of correct Chinese deportment, as they are often men of low origin.

[1] This Tao-t'ai is now said to have his official residence in T'êng-yüeh.

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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my Chinese servant behind here as he was suffering from bronchitis and fever, brought on, I believe, by the rainy, misty weather which is most unusual at this season of the year. I found him quite recovered. 000

I now turned towards Yung-ch'ang Fu, but determined to keep in unexplored country by taking a route some way to the north of the T'êng-yüeh Yung-ch'ang main road. The mountain range which separates the Shweli from the Salween valley is here a very high one, nearly precipitous at the top so that there are only a few paths across it. I decided to take one known as the Ma-mien-kuan pass. This being rather an out-of-the-way road, I had all the usual stories told me to try and dissuade me from going that way. The tales this time took the form of accounts of the deeds of Li-so robbers and a description of a sort of poisonous shrub which would kill the mules if they ate it. This last has, I believe, some foundation, as the shrub was pointed out to me on the pass, but I cannot imagine that animals would eat it if there was any grass to be got. The pass has evidently a bad name as I had great difficulty in getting a guide. Only one man would come, and I had to pay him at the exorbitant rate of 10½*d.* a day. 137 000

It was not till the second day out of Kai-t'ou that we tackled the pass. From Shan-yao where we had slept, there is a pretty stiff climb to begin with, and then some down hill before the really bad part comes. In the last two miles there is an ascent of 2,500 feet to the top of the range, which I made about 10,500 feet above sea level.

Just before reaching the summit is a Buddhist monastery, where four or five Chinese monks live who give food gratis to travellers and look out for people who miss the road in the snow, which often falls heavily in January. They have a very substantial house, the lower story built of stone and the upper of wood. As a special favour I was taken into the inner court by the head monk, who said he did not usually let people inside. The door from one court to the other in the lower story is barred up by great beams, and to get in we had to climb a ladder, go round the upper storey, and get down again inside. This, they say, is a precaution against Li-so robbers. The monastery was extra- 792 [346]

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792 ordinarily dirty and so were the monks, but they certainly impressed me with their sincerity much more than the ordinary temple priest, who is often a great blackguard, and is usually held in no respect by his fellow-countrymen.

The descent on the eastern side of the pass was as bad as the ascent had been, and we had to go down 6000 feet to the village of Ssŭ-ling-kang before we could find any shelter or forage. We got in just after dark, our mules dead beat, having taken ten hours to do the march of fourteen miles.

The next day, the 16th December, we crossed the Salween at Mêng-ku ferry at an elevation of 2,550 feet, a drop of 8000 feet from the range we had crossed the day before. The river is here 100 yards wide, running with a current which precludes all idea of navigation. In some places the hills close right in on both sides, in other places there is half a mile or a mile width of rice cultivation. The valley has the warmer climate and denser vegetation of the Shan States—quite different from all the neighbouring [244] plains of Yün-nan. It is a mild enough climate to grow chillies, and it also produces persimmons which are sold dried like figs.

563 The population of this part of the country is small but varied. On the hills are Lo-los, Li-sos, and Chinese, while in the valley are Shans, and also Chinamen who most of them come from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yünnanese finding the place too hot and feverish. I do not think that the Shans extend up the Salween valley very much higher than this, for from all accounts one soon gets into a country ruled by semi-independent Li-so chiefs.

Four more marches through a very hilly country brought us to the top of the range which divides the Salween from its tributary, the Yung-ch'ang river. The road crosses it at 8,400 feet, and from the top is a fine view of range after range of beautiful mountains, the snow-capped Ts'ang 346 Shan, which overlooks Ta-li Fu, being clearly visible. We descended into the Yung-ch'ang plain and slept in a remarkable temple called the Shui-fu-ssŭ or Sleeping Buddha Temple. It is picturesquely placed at the foot of a jungle-covered spur with a piece of water in front of it. The inner shrine is a large natural cave, in which is the image

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of a sleeping figure from which the temple takes its name. 346

The walls were covered with inscriptions written up by different pilgrims, and I was surprised to find that many of them were written in Shan and even in Burmese. I imagine that this must be an old temple dating from the time when Yung-ch'ang[1] was inhabited by Shans. As a rule Burmans and Shans have very little respect for a Chinese temple. The degraded form of Buddhism practised by the Chinese does not appear to them anything like their own religion. They always speak of the Chinese as spirit-worshippers and do not consider them as fellow-Buddhists.

On the 21st December a few miles of level road brought us to Yung-ch'ang Fu, where we put up in an excellent inn.

[1] Wan-hsang is the Shan name for Yung-ch'ang. Probably the Chinese name is a corruption of this.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XVII

YUNG-CH'ANG-FU TO TAW-NIO AND KUN-LONG.

Through fir woods to Niu-wang—The Shih-tien plain—Yao-kuan—A temple of hideous images—Hilly going to Mêng-po-lo—Cotton grown—Mêng-p'êng—The Miao tribe—A crop of oranges—The British frontier post at Taw-nio—Meeting with Captain Johnson—No news of Turner and Ker—The Taw-nio district—The fort—Sport at Taw-nio—Theft by my servant—Kun-long—Tracking elephants—Arrival of Turner, Ker, and Scott.

000 LEAVING Yung-ch'ang by the south gate, we made two short marches through undulating country covered with fir woods to the large village of Niu-wang, where I found the inhabitants particularly inquisitive.

241 The next day our road lay through the very fertile plain of Shih-tien. This, like Yung-ch'ang and many other places in this part of Yün-nan, produces two crops in the year. The rice is harvested about October, and then the winter crops of opium, beans, peas, or wheat are put in. The Shih-tien plain also grows excellent tobacco and sugar-cane. [346] We slept in a fine temple with a nice flower garden, and the walls ornamented with realistic pictures of the punishments in the Buddhist hell. The Hsün-chien, the small official here, was very friendly, and the people consequently as civil as they had been the reverse at Niu-wang.

From the Shih-tien plain an ascent of 1000 feet brought us on to a plateau country, with little hills covered with fir trees rising out of it 200 or 300 feet above the general [241] level. In the hollows between these run little streams, along which are narrow strips of rice cultivation and a few scattered villages. At night we reached Yao-kuan, a large village, whose inhabitants allow their sense of curiosity to get the better of any small stock of manners that they may ever have possessed. We slept here in a temple which possesses the finest collection of hideous images that I have ever come across. [p. 130]

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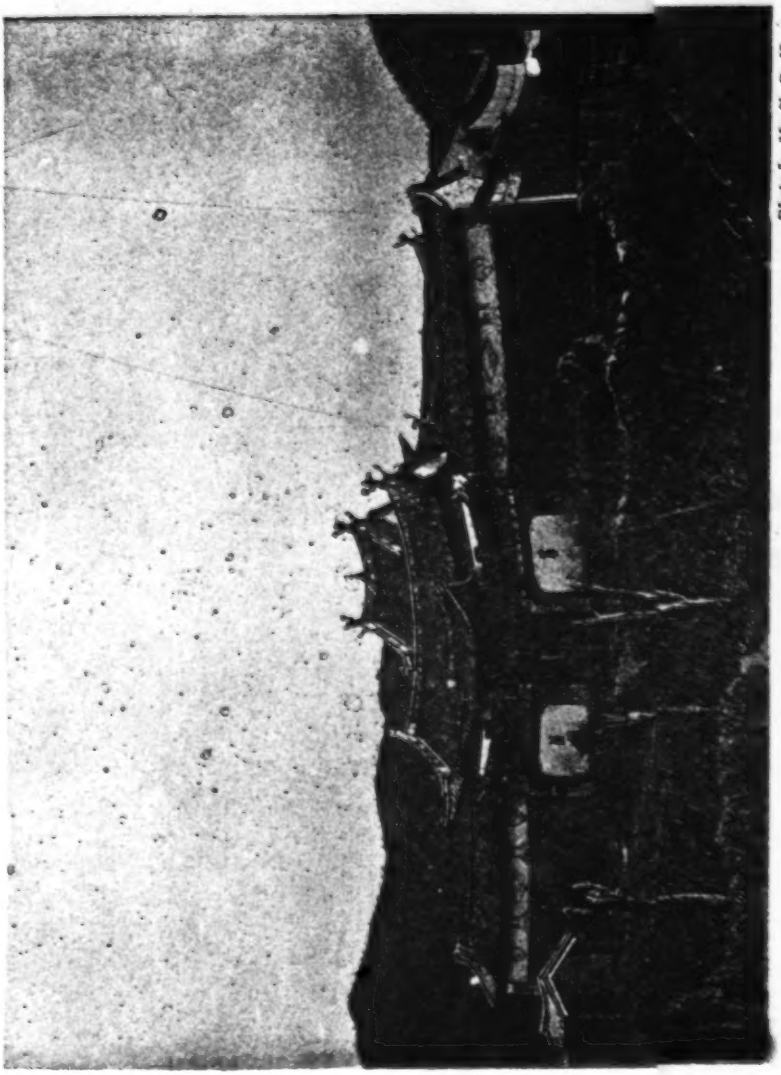

Photo by Mr J. S. Ker

Temple at Mu-pang-p'u

[Plate XXXV] [Face p. 152]

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•346

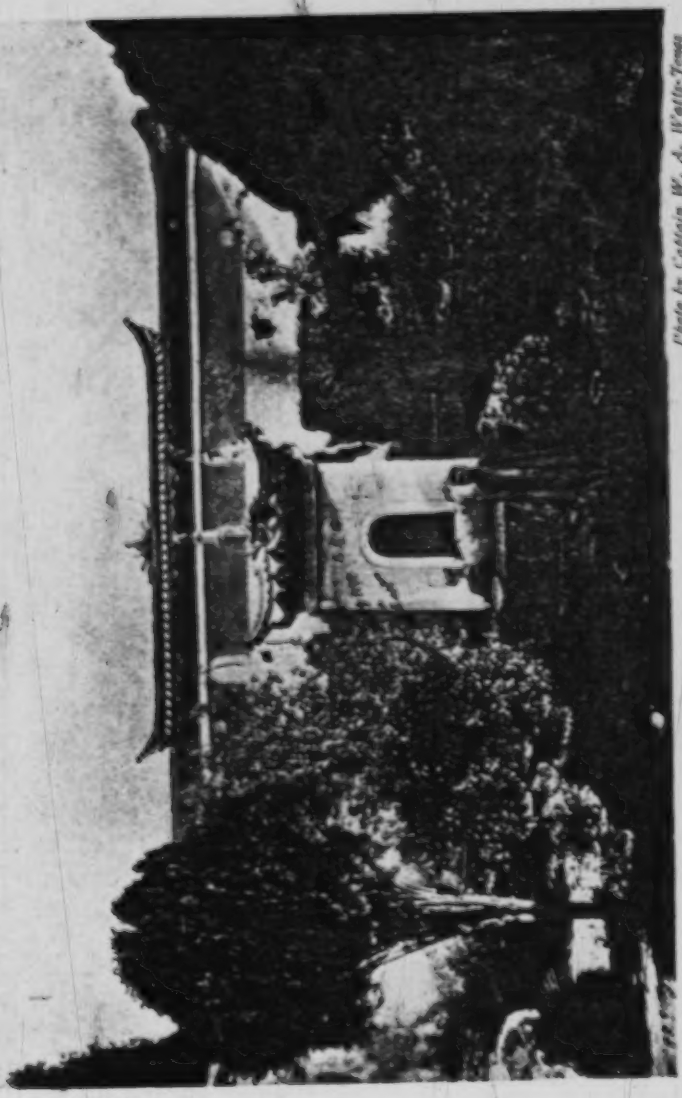

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Temple garden at Hsüan-wei Chou

Plate XXXVII

[Face p. 162]

E. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

797
.346

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A French missionary and his congregation

Plate L

[Face p. 218]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Tibetan pagodas

Plate LII

[Face p. 230]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 •
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER XXXI

MI-LI, THE LAND OF THE YELLOW LAMA.

The San-ko-ya monastery—The eastern Tibetan—A tall straight-featured race—The Ya-lung again—Suspicious ferrymen—Our useless appeal to the lamas—Further negotiations—My interpreter wins the day with threats—We cross the river—Pê-tiao—Attempts to mislead us—A friendly monastery—Camp in the forest—Gold mining—Magnificent peaks—K'u-lu—Yaks—A cold night—Suspicious lamas—"Have you not come to dig for gold?"—The Chinese rank of the K'u-lu lama—A hospitable family—The reasons for Tibetan suspiciousness—An obstructive guide—We reduce him to reason—Interview with a lama—His objections overcome by the passport—The Mi-li river—A steep climb—Reach Mi-li after dark—A large monastery—Well-built houses—Tibetan and Chinese houses compared—Mr Amundsen's visit to Mi-li—The Mi-li prime minister—Present him with salad oil—Chinese traders—Gold washing—Extreme protectionist measures.

We had now been for four days within the boundaries of Huang La-ma Ti-fang, "the land of the yellow lama," as the Chinese often call the kingdom of Mi-li; but as yet we had seen no lamas and had not encountered the opposition from the Mi-li king which had been prophesied for us by the Chinese. The next day, however, this peaceful state of things was to come to an end, and we were to have our first experience of that suspicion and obstruction which, when continued day after day, are so wearing to the traveller in Tibetan countries. 000

Leaving Mo-lien we crossed the top of a ridge and began a long steep descent to the Ya-lung. A little way down from the top we came to San-ko-ya our first Tibetan monastery, a two-storied building of whitewashed stones, built all round a courtyard. Two of the lamas were sitting outside, and as they understood a little Chinese, we had some conversation. S ST 346

These Tibetans are very different from the Hsi-fans, and are, I think, also fairer in complexion than and superior S ST 142

[p. 235]

6: Tafel--345 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

S.W. China AF16

PlateLII.

/216D/

133

The Little Gold River and Tschorten sa gomba.

•346

Small temple with tutelary gods (Hsiao kin tschuan).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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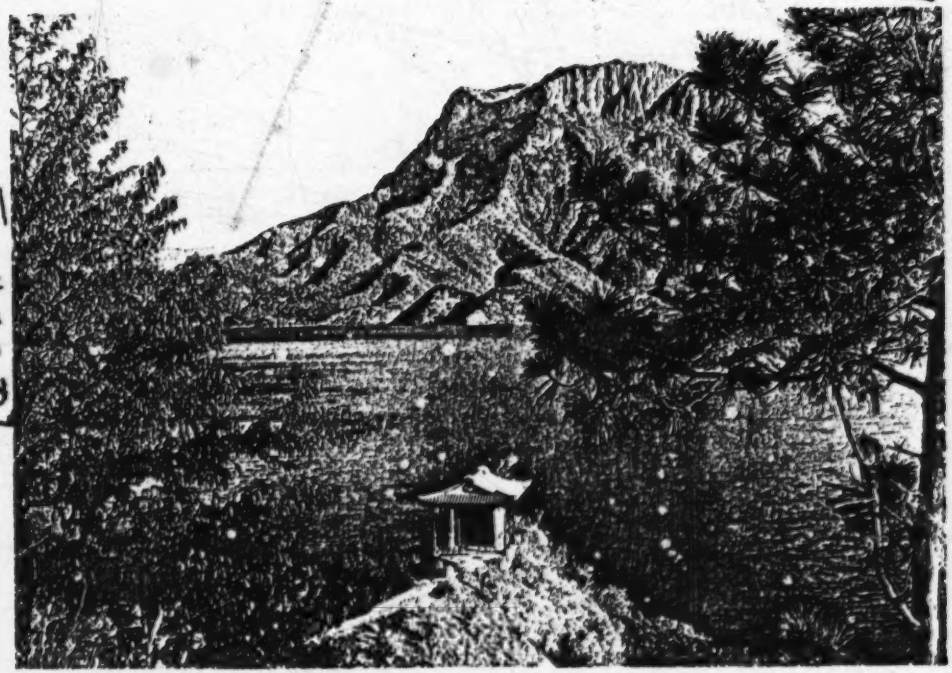

[p. 458 D]

PLATE 244. — VIEW OF LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN FROM THE CENTER OF NYO-RO-P'U

自永寧瀘沽湖水榭島眺獅頭山望

On the northern end of Nyo-ro-p'u is a lovely tea-house whence a beautiful vista opens over the lake to Lion-head. Here the author spent many happy weeks translating Na-khi literature.

S.W. China AF16

872 each pupil bellowed. "If he doesn't bellow, he isn't learning, but chattering or making mischief."

The mandarin pays for the upkeep of this school. The children live and eat in the castle and bring only their sleeping blankets and in winter a coal brazier from home. "The lessons are conducted according to the new Western style," the teacher told me. Every hour there was a short pause and every day there was physical exercise. If the teacher wanted to begin or interrupt the lessons he drummed on a hollow tree trunk, just like a South Sea Islander.

241 166 The mandarin was also obliged to distribute seeds to the Chinese immigrants; and because the last few years there had been poor harvests he had to order tsamba from Dawo and Romi Tschanggu and rice from the city of Ya tschou. (1) Otherwise all the colonists would have

1. The price for barley in Tschanggu was exactly 15 times as much as in Hsining fu.

long since gone home to China. The colonization here, unlike that of Mongolia, is sponsored by the government. A few years ago 100 families were established here; they had land as well as free seeds, schools for their children and complete freedom from taxes for the first years. And yet conditions were so unfavorable that more than half of them had already gone back and there were only 40 Chinese families left.

651 From the Tibetan families the mandarin gets free escort (ula) and compulsory military service, besides 2.5 Candareen (tael cents) a year. Thus, his income is slight and during each meal Wu da lao ye complained when it came to the rice and rice wine that in this post he had to supply a great deal (presumably 2,000 taels annually).

353 The hall in which my first reception had taken place was also the dining hall where the mandarin, his first secretary, the teacher and /Plates XLV, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII appear between pp. 192 and 193 in the original text. / /193/ I were served. (1) Already in

[262] 1. Wu tschin hsü Da lao ye had even had Chinese pigs brought from the lowlands for slaughtering because he thought the Tibetan species which is raised throughout Hor in large quantities, was too fleshy and tasted bad. The Hor Tibetans eat their pork sometimes raw and sometimes cooked.

Tibetan times it had been a room for festive occasions. On the paneling of the walls and ceiling were painted garlands of flowers and hunting scenes in fiery colors. During the meal Tibetans who had some kind of request, were admitted. Scarcely were they inside when they threw themselves on the floor and the Chinese interpreter reported their request. It was seldom that the petitioners dared raise an objection. After the mandarin had curtly given his reply they murmured a feeble "O laso! laso!", bowed their heads, closed their eyes, lifted their hands, pressing the palms together, to their foreheads and again lowered their heads to the dirty floor. This was also the way the interviews of the poorer Tibetan aristocracy were conducted, which angered these people very much.

The floor plan of the castle in Tschanggu resembled the manor house of Puiling, except that the proportions were larger. The building is rectangular with a flat roof of loam, and has four wings that are built around an inner court. There are five stories, all of which are supported by trunks of spruce. Only the strong outer wall is made of stone and in it there are only a few small windows in the fifth story. In times of distress, half the tribe with women and children could be housed there. This building, like all Tibetan houses, has no foundation walls. The walls are built around the many wooden supports and beams of the interior, just as a tent wall is erected, and are not held in place in the ground.

The village of Tschanggu clusters around the manor house at the edge of the slope. Many of its houses lay in ruins, those that are left are inhabited by Chinese. These people, colonists, whom the Manchu government has transplanted here, mostly have Tibetan wives and the style of architecture is completely Tibetan. The town looked peaceful but ugly. The colonists had planted vegetable beds out of which rose stone ruins, testifying to recent wars and suffering.

The Tschanggu monastery is not more than 15 minutes away from the castle. The temples and the upper story of the priests' dwellings are built of wooden beams, as is common in South Tibet, and everything is nicely painted in gay colors. The entire grounds are surrounded by a low wall. (Plate XLVI). It seems designed more to maintain order and decorum among the inhabitants than as a defense against armed enemies. On a hunting trip I also happened to become acquainted with the convent of Tschanggu, which is only a few kilometers distant in a lateral ravine. It houses over a hundred nuns in miserable huts. No gold roofs make it visible from afar, no wall protects the huts from the outside. The nuns do not seem to do as good

504 150 miles upstream from Chungking. Two lesser tributaries empty into the Yangtze near Lu-chou and make the city a market for native products of southern Szechwan and northern Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Further up-river from Lu-chou is I-pin, terminal of steamer shipping on the Yangtze. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will pass through I-pin.

•361 The Szechwan provincial capital is Chengtu, located on the westernmost of four major tributaries to the Yangtze River in the province. As an old cultural center of West China, this city is well known for its handicraft industries and is reputed to have an atmosphere like that of
499 Peking. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway -- an event overpublicized in the Communist press in 1952 -- brings Chengtu into closer contact with a number of important cities in central-south Szechwan, such as Nei-chiang, the only large center for the sugar industry in West China, and Lung-ch'ang. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway is to start from Nei-chiang, passing southwest through Tzu-kung
[317] Municipality. Salt extraction in the Tzu-kung area dates back to the tenth century. In 1953 there were 330 natural gas wells supplying 4,382 brine boilers in Tzu-kung. A railway linking Chengtu with Kansu Province in the north is under construction. This railway will pass Kuang-yüan, a strategic point on the northern
491 approach to Szechwan. The existing highway

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

491 between Chengtu and Kuang-yüan runs parallel to the new rail line at many places and cuts through a narrow defile just north of Kuang-yüan.

[361] West of Chengtu, the city of O-mei 491 stands on one of the two main overland routes linking Szechwan with the former province of [823] Sikang. The mountain to the southwest of O-mei, after which the city is named, has been the favorite subject of classical Chinese literature because of its scenic beauty and its connection with Buddhism. Another main overland route from Chengtu westward is the much-heralded Sikang-Tibet Highway. Now that the province of Sikang has been abolished, it remains to be seen how the name of this highway is to be changed. An important highway trunk-line in West China, it passes through Ya-an, former capital of Sikang Province. Southward from Ya-an is a road running through the only rich valley area on the huge tableland of western Szechwan and Yunnan provinces.

Two highways connect Szechwan Province with Yunnan Province to the south. The eastern route from Chungking continues through Kweichow Province. The first key city on the highway in Kweichow Province is Tsun-i, which the red Army occupied twice during the Long March in 1934-35. The school playground on which the Red Army staged a huge rally in 1934 is now a national shrine and gives renown to the city

596 178 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those cities. The same influences also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

596 491 198 361 Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China.

178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
• 361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

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361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
161 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[466] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[14] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
369 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
527

13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[212] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回蹬關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石劍鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌緒, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtse at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 5 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a *loft*, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 直力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 虹江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 陽起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 487 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 鐵鹿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明良 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 133 137 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.

Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石鋪 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清泉哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢粮橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard. [317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閣. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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173 about the history of this region, which, however, does not come within the scope of this work. It is my hope some time to write a history and geography of the entire province, when this particular region will be fully treated.

● 361 *The city of Ta-li.* — Fifteen li bring us to the city of Ta-li, elevation 7,000 feet.[81] It is built on the sloping plain between the Ts'ang Shan Range and the

173 [81] In the days of Yü Kung 禹貢 Ta-li was the land south of the division of Liang (Liang Chou 梁州). In the Han dynasty, Wu Ti 武帝 (140–87 B.C.) opened up the land of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians), and created the territory of I-chou Chün. In the Later Han dynasty (25–220) Ta-li belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. Under the Minor Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡, *i.e.*, the region of the ancient Yün-nan hsien, south-east of Ta-li and Chao chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty 晉 (265) it remained unchanged. During the reign of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307–312) it was divided and the district of Tung-ho-yang Chün 東河陽郡 was established. The *Sung Shu* 宋書 states that in the fifth year of Yung-chia of Chin (311) the Ts'u-shih 刺史 (Governor), Wang Sun 王遜 of Ning-chou 寧州 (the modern Lin-an-fu 臨安, south of K'un-ming), divided Yung-ch'ang and Yün-nan and established the Chün of Tung-ho-yang to control two prefectures, namely, Tung-ho-yang and Yeh-yü 葉榆. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties Ta-li remained unchanged. At the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (about 555–556) it fell into the hands of the Man (savages). In the fourth year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (621), K'un-mi sent an envoy and they submitted. In the seventh year of T'ang Wu-te (624) the Emperor caused the land of Yün-nan chou to be administered. (It was called Yün-nan chou when the Meng family gained control over it. Another name for it was K'un-mi 昆彌.)

The K'un-mi of the *T'ang Shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty) is the K'un-ming 昆明 of the Han dynasty, which lay west of the Ts'uan-man (Ts'uan or Lo-lo savages); it became the land of Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) it became K'uang chou 匡州. After the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756) it came under the control of Nan-chao, and the Nan-chao Kingdom established its capital in this place; it was also called the Western capital. Later it was changed to Chung-tu 中都, or Central capital. In the time of Shih Chin 石晉 (Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 is here meant, the first Emperor of the Later Chin 後晉 dynasty who ruled from 936–942, his reigning title being T'ien-fu 天福) the Tuan family possessed this land and called it Ta-li Kuo 大理國. (The Ta-li Kuo existed from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung, 憲宗 (1253) it was brought to submission. In the sixth year (1256) were established the Shang 上 (Upper) and Hsia 下 (Lower) Wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Cities of 10,000 families). In the seventh year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1270) they became the Ta-li Lu 大理路 (Circuit of Ta-li). In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) it was again changed to Ta-li fu 大理府, controlling four chou, three hsien, and one Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司.

So much for the history of Ta-li, which has been translated from the *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 1a and 1b.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih hao* ch. 24, fol. 6a, states that the Ta-li ch'eng was near the suburbs of T'ai-ho ch'eng, and was the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 蒙舍蠻城 which in turn was the Grand Ya-men of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The *T'ang Shu Ti-li chih* states that it was twenty li from T'ai-ho ch'eng. In the 14th year of T'ang Ta-li 大曆 (779) I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom built the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 蒙舍蠻城. The *Ta-li hsien chih hao* ch. 3, fol. 6a, however states that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng is the present district city (Ta-li) and that I-mou-hsün during the reign of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 794) robbed Hsi-ch'uan 西川, suffering defeat he returned and being afraid, he built the tamped wall of Yang-chü-mieh, fifteen li long and broad. He changed his residence to this place and changed the name to Ta-li.

We further read that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng was situated below the central peak of the Ts'ang Shan and was the ancient Yeh-yü ch'eng. The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* ch. 上 fol. 12, states that P'i-lo-ko built Yang-chü-mieh north of T'ai-ho ch'eng in the second year of T'ien-pao (743). The *Man-shu* fol. 23, states that originally all the Ho-man 河蠻 dwelt at *T'ai-ho ch'eng, Ta-li ch'eng* 大理城 *and Yang chü-mieh. In the twenty-fifth year of K'ai-yüan* (737) Meng Kuei-i 蒙歸義 (P'i-lo-ko) drove out the Ho-man and took possession of

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lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua-lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built by Sheng-feng-yu 異豐祐,[22] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuda, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[23] Around the pagodas have

T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[22] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 異 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 權. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[23] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hsi* 乙酉, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Sou cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chiu-ch'iang I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 47B, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713-741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsi Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 龔陶惠義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as it mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hsi* 乙酉 I presume 1513 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

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PLATE 50.—THE TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

麗 江 縣

Looking east over the city from a hill called Lion Mountain or Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山, in Na-khi, Wuo-gkv-mbu. The Na-khi name of the city is Ngu-lü, though it is also known as Yi-gv.

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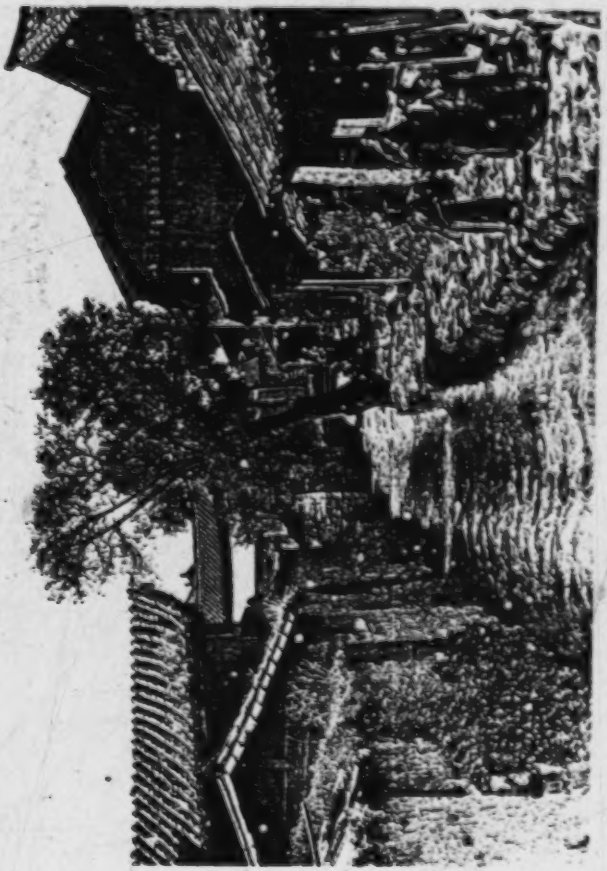

PLATE 53.—A TYPICAL STREET OF LI-CHIANG

Crystal clear streams flow through the town in various directions. The city is divided by the Ni-khi into small villages each of which has its name. This part of the city through which the Yü Ho 玉河 or Ngu-ho gyi flows is called Gyi-khi-p'a.

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PLATE 14.—THE YÜ-LING SCARP ON JUNG-CHIEN MOUNTAIN

As seen from Shih-ch'ien Shan west of Li-chiang, looking north. Shan-tao-ts'ao the highest peak is visible. The fortified village in the foreground are in Ta-yen Ti and the center of the photo is in Pai-sha Ti. Hsiang Shan (Elephant Mountain) in center, right; part of Shih-t'ou Shan lower right.

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PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG

101 *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (PLATE 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (潞江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

[131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上棒可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

361 *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

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361 caused the wall to collapse, whereupon magistrate Fan Hao-jen 樊好仁 repaired or rebuilt it. In the 58th year (1793) it fell again, but this time an order was received not to rebuild it. In the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) the Provincial Governor, Ch'en Yü-ying 岑毓英, petitioned for permission to construct a brick wall. The east gate was called Hsiang-jih 向日 (Facing the sun), the south gate, Ying-en 迎恩; the west gate, Fu-yüan 服遠; the north gate, Kung-chi 拱極 (Saluting the polar star). The small west gate was called Yin-yü 飲玉 [Swallowing the Jade (dragon mountain) gate]."

To-day no wall remains save a small section east and north of the yamen, in the north-east corner of the town, and even that is in ruins.

THE PRESENT PREFECTURE AND TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

633 361 *The present boundaries.* — The prefecture of Li-chiang lies between two large rivers, the Yangtze (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) and the Mekong, (Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, also written Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江; this latter name is more commonly used in Li-chiang). The prefecture is divided into six ch'ü 區 (sub-districts) and 23½ li 里 (now called hsiang 鄉). (A *li* 里 is a group of villages situated usually around a larger central one after which the *li* is named. It might be termed a commune or a borough.) The first ch'ü comprises the li Ta-yen 大研, Pai-ma 白馬 and Tung-yüan 東元里; the second, Pai-sha 白沙, Shu-ho (pronounced *Ssu* in Li-chiang) 東河, La-sha 剌沙, La-shih 剌是 and Mu-pao 木保; the third, La-p'iao 剌標 with its two divisions of Shang 上 and Hsia 下, Nan-shan 南山, Ch'i-ho 七河, Wu-lieh 吳烈 and Tung-ni-lo 東你羅; the fourth, Shih-ku 石鼓, A-hsi 阿喜, Hsiang-ko 香閣 and Chiu-ho 九河; the fifth, Chü-tien 巨甸, Lu-tien 魯甸 and Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭; the sixth, Ta-chü 大具, La-pao 剌寶, Tung-shan 東山里; and the half-li Tung-hsiang-ko 東香閣.

The present Li-chiang prefecture is bordered on the east by the prefecture of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei); north-east by the Mu-li T'u-ssu 木裏土司 of Hsi-k'ang and the adjoining Yung-ning; south by the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing; south-west by the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan; west by the two prefectures of Lan-p'ing and Wei-hsi; north by the prefecture of Chung-tien.

The distances of the present prefecture to its borders, reckoned from the prefectural city of Li-chiang, are as follows: to the Yung-sheng border at Ching-li or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, where exists the only bridge over the Yangtze 130 li; south to Ho-ch'ing 80 li; west to Lan-p'ing 250 li; to the border of Wei-hsi 450 li; north to the border of Chung-tien 60 li.

The distance from Li-chiang to K'un-ming, capital of the province, is 1,240 li, in 18 stages. Since the construction of a motor road to Ta-li, Li-chiang can be reached in eight days (1938). A motor road to Li-chiang is also under construction (1939). It was not completed in 1944 when I last left Li-chiang.

The town of Li-chiang. — Li-chiang (beautiful river) (PLATE 50) is known as Yi-gv to the Na-khi of outlying districts such as La-bpu and the villages on the banks of the Yangtze. The Na-khi of the Li-chiang plain, however, always speak of the town as Ngu-bä. One meaning of the word *ngu* is a very large box, and *bä* means to do, to make. The size of the town is thus compared to a very large box, and *bä* means that everything is obtainable therein. Another mean-

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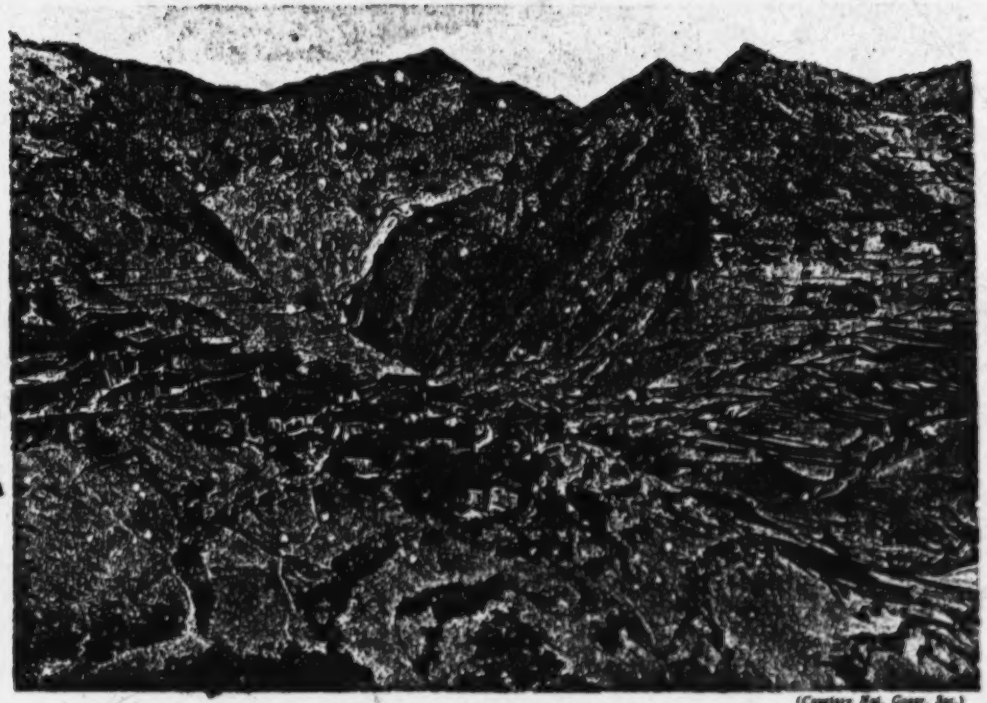

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 99. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LA-SÄ

拉 索 納 西 村

La-sä which consists of about 40 houses is situated at 8,000 feet elevation. A terrific rock-gate (center) opens out into the Yangtse gorge, through it a trail leads to La-bpu 'A-k'o; *see* Plate 100.

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633 361 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business, thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a bad to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-tsun 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yigv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 101 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 束河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, *Ngu-bä*, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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36/101 the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大研里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wùa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 鲁南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; *mbue-tkhi* is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 鲁嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned [262] for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦克 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lä-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. — This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wùa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various

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streams which flow south over the Li-chiang plain, flows through Tung-yüan li and is there called the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho 清溪玉河. A stone bridge crosses it on the extreme west border of the li, where it adjoins Pai-ma li. The bridge is called the Tung-yüan ch'iao 東元橋 and was built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. A mountain extends from north to south along the western part of the li, from which the above-mentioned stream flows; it is called She Shan 蛇山 (Snake Mountain).

Pai-ma li. — To the west of Tung-yüan li and immediately south of Li-chiang, is the li of Pai-ma. This is called in Na-khi, Wua-gkan-ts'an. The most important village is Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 (Na-khi, Muan-k'u, or the Lower or Southern gate). Other villages are San-chia-ts'un 三家村, the Na-khi Zhĕr-hăr-ndz(ĕr)-dzu (Where the green willow is born, or grows — on account of a large old willow tree which once grew there); the hamlet Chi-hsiang-ts'un 吉祥村, is divided into an upper 上 and a lower 下, the upper being called Ggŏ-boa-ts'an and the lower Mbe-lü (actually central one); then Ch'ing-yün-ts'un 慶雲村, called Wua-gkan-ts'an, whence the li derives its Na-khi name.

Tung-ni-lo li. — On the extreme east of Tung-yüan li, extending south along the Yangtze, is the li of Tung-ni-lo 東倪羅里, of which the largest village is Tung-ni-lo. The southern border of this li adjoins that of the Ho-ch'ing district 鶴慶縣. Wu-lieh li 吳烈里 adjoins Tung-ni-lo li on the east and extends south of Tung-yüan li; it is a continuation of the Wu-lieh li to the north of Tung-yüan li. It does not extend, however, to the Ho-ch'ing border but comes to a sharp poir t half the length of the eastern border of the li of Tung-ni-lo. The villages which belong here are Wu-lieh, in the north-western corner, and Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村 (the Da-wùa of the Na-khi), in the west central part.

Hsia La-p'iao li. — East of the southern Wu-lieh li is the li of Hsia La-p'iao 下剌漂里. It extends from north to south to the Ho-ch'ing border. Its important villages are, in the west central part, T'ao-li-ts'un 陶禮村, and in the central part the village of Chung-chi 中吉, called in Na-hki Chu-gyi. In the east central part is the village of Mei-tzu-tseng 美自增, the Na-khi Muan-dsu-dzä; to the south of the latter are the villages of Ta-le 打勒 (the Na-khi Nda-lä), San-yüan-ts'un 三元村, and Ssu-na-ku 四納故. The southernmost village is Mu-chien 木堅.

Ch'i-ho li. — The li of Ch'i-ho 七河里 (Seven rivers) is south of Tung-yüan li and extends east to Hsia La-p'iao. It is divided by the stream called Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江, which flows into the Yangtze south-east of Ho-ch'ing, the Lä-bbu dü of the Na-khi, encircling the Sung-kuei 松桂 mountains to the south.

One of the streams which form the Yang-kung River is the Yü Ho or Jade Stream, the Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi, which has its source in the springs at the foot of the Hsiang Shan where the Lung-wang Miao stands. At Shuang-shih ch'iao 雙石橋 [1] the stream divides into three branches. One flows from Pai-ma li to La-p'iao, one through Pa-ho 八河 (a village south of Li-chiang),

[1] Shuang-shih ch'iao [Double (arch) stone bridge] is two li north-west of Li-chiang.

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361 101 and one through the center of Li-chiang (PLA - 53); all unite in Tung-yüan and join the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho. Flowing sou n, the latter river enters the Ho-ch'ing district and forms the Yang-kung Chiang. (The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes 濮工江 and 東員里 instead of 東元里.) A bridge called the Lo-ma ch'iao 駱馬橋 (the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes Lan-ma ch'iao 攔馬橋) spans it in the central part of the li on the main road between Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing. In the western half of Ch'i-ho li are the hamlets of Shang Ch'i-ho 上七河 (Upper Ch'i-ho) and Hsia Ch'i-ho 下七河 (Lower Ch'i-ho), the Na-khi Mbu-kv. In the southern part is the hamlet of Li-shou 麗首. In the eastern part of Ch'i-ho li, that is, the region east of the Yang-kung Chiang, are the following important villages: in the northern part, A-shih-ts'un 阿失村, southwest of it Wa-k'uan-tu 瓦寬窩, the Na-khi Wua-k'o-ndu (Tile kiln). Southwest of the latter are the hamlets of T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村 and Mei-ch'i-chia 梅溪甲, and to the east of it is the village of Mu-kuan-ts'un 木官村; southwest of the last named is the village of Mien-ch'ang-chia 面塲甲, and south of the latter again is the village of Mei-so-chia 梅所甲, while east lies the large village of Ch'i-ku-ts'un 溪谷村, almost on the border of Ho-ch'ing.

Shang La-p'iao li. — To the west of Ch'i-ho li is the li of Shang La-p'iao 上剌標 (Upper La-p'iao), which is south of Pai-ma li. The most important villages are Ch'ieh-k'o-tu 且可都, in Nakhi Ts'ä-k'o-ndu (Salt-hole there), in the southernmost part of the li, with the hamlet of Chung-ho-ts'un 中和村 to the east or south-east of it. In the northern part of the li, south of the borders of Pai-ma li, are the villages of Hsia-tien-wa 下甸瓦 and Shang-chi-ts'un 上吉村.

Mu-pao li. — To the west of Shang La-p'iao li is the li of Mu-pao (Mu-pao li 木保里). The north-westernmost village is Wen-feng-ts'un 文峯村, in Na-khi Mûan-bbu; more centrally located are Mu-pao 木保 and, south of it, Chung-ts'un 中村 (Central village). Ta-ts'un 大村 (Large village) is on the eastern border and south of it the hamlet of Ta-lü 達魯, the Na-khi Nda-lv.

La-sha li. — To the north of Mu-pao li is the li of La-sha 剌沙里, of which the important villages are Ch'ang-shui 長水, the Na-khi Ghügh-k'o, in the south, and to the north-east of it the village of Shang-i-ts'un 向義村; the lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺, called Mûan bbu-nä in Na-khi, belongs to this li, so do the villages Mei-tzu-ts'un 梅子村 and Tz'u-man 茨滿, the Na-khi Tsi-man. On the western border, on the mountain slopes, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'eng-ts'un 老城村. At the extreme south-western end on the Li-chiang plain is situated the lake Sä-bpi Khü the Chinese Hsi-pi Hai 西碧海 or Sheng-pi Hai 生碧海; the mountain to the south of it is called Wan-sung Shan 萬松山, on its lower slope is situated the temple of Cheng-chüeh Ssu 正覺寺.

Nan-shan li. — The longest of all the li is Nan-shan li 南山里 (Southern mountain li). It extends south of and encircles La-sha li, Mu-pao li, and Shang La-p'iao in part, and reaches also to the borders of Ch'i-ho. It is a very mountainous li with little level ground. A road leads over these mountains from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. The villages are mostly situated along this highway. From north to south they are: T'ieh-kan-shu 鐵甘樹, which is,

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however, on the plain and in the north central part of the li and east of the road; along the road are Hua-i 花衣, Chi-tzu 戟子, Shan-shen-p'o 山神坡, Pen-shu 本書 and the southernmost, Kuo-mei-ku 果美古. 361/101

Hsiang-ko li. — To the north of this li is Hsiang-ko li 香閣里. There are two li of this name. This is the western one, the eastern being along the banks of the Yangtze where the iron chain-bridge at Tzu-li-chiang forms the border. This western Hsiang-ko li extends north to the banks of the Yangtze, and joins the li of A-hsi 阿喜. The latter extends north, and comprises the Yangtze valley west of the Li-chiang snow range. The northernmost village situated along the highway to Shih-ku is Sha-pa 沙壩, and to the east of it is Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝, which is on the border of A-hsi and Hsiang-ko li. To the west of it is Ching-k'ou-t'ang 箐口塘. Others to the south and not in the Yangtze valley are Hsiung-ku 雄古 (the Na-khi Khyü-gkv), Lu-wa 廬瓦 and Chu-pi 竹皮. The region to the north of the cross-roads (one running from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku, and the other from Chien-ch'uan to Li-chiang) on the top of the plateau, commonly called Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, is still the li of Hsiang-ko, which also extends south of these cross-roads to the borders of Chien-ch'uan. The southernmost village is T'ang-lang-pa 螳螂壩 (Praying mantis meadow). Other villages in the southern part are Lü-pi-shan 律比山, T'ien-hung 天紅, Mu-hai-p'ing 沐海坪, and Tien-wei 甸尼 (not to be confused with the Tien-wei of the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan).

La-shih li. — To the east of the northern part of Hsiang-ko li is the li of La-shih 剌是里, comprising a small area adjoining the Huang Shan in the east, which mountain separates it from the Li-chiang plain.

West of the pass over the Huang Shan, beyond Huang-shan shao 黃山哨, is the village An-lo-ts'un 安樂村. To the north of An-lo-ts'un is the hamlet of Chi-hsiang (ch'iang)-ts'un 吉祥村, and to the north of the latter is the lamasery of Chi-yün Sou 指雲寺. To the east of the lamasery, on the western foot-hills of the limestone range which forms the southernmost spur of the snow range, and which separates La-shih li from Shu-ho li, is the hamlet of Ta-yü-ts'un 打魚村. In the western part of the li is the hamlet of Chi-lo-ts'un 吉樂村 and north-east of it Yü-lo-ts'un 益樂村.

A-hsi li. — The villages in the Yangtze valley which form the li of A-hsi have already been described in the journey from the snow range west to the Yangtze gorges and Bbēr-ddēr. This comprises all the li from the bend of the Yangtze eastwards, to Tzu-li-chiang where the iron chain-bridge spans the river. (*See* page 253.)

There remain now only the two northernmost li within the loop, which are separated by the highway which leads to Shang-feng-k'o 上鋒可.

La-pao li 剌寶里. — This is the eastern one. It extends south as far as Hung-men-tu 紅門渡, thence north to Chiang-wa-tu 江開渡 (also called Chiang-wai 江外), and Shang-feng-k'o 上鋒可.

Ta-chü li 大具里. — This, the western li is large, exceedingly mountainous and densely forested; the most important village is Ta-ku 打鼓 (Na-khi, Nda-gv), on the terrace above the Yangtze and within the loop.

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361 101 The snow range does not apparently belong to any separate li. The A-hsi li eastern border line extends along the summit peaks of the range to the village of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, at the mouth (entrance) of the Yangtze gorge, where it cuts through the snow range. Beyond the last mentioned village on the right bank of the river, the territory belongs to the li of Ta-chü. Although on the right bank of the river there are only cliffs thousands of feet high, where it is impossible to obtain a foothold, still less room for a hut, house, or village, the prefectural map of Li-chiang gives several names which designate certain rocks or parts of the cliff. They are located in Ta-chü li and read from south to north as follows: Ch'ing-lung-shui 青龍水 (Azure dragon water), Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff dwelling), Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment), Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard), and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's-comb ridge). This last is at the exit of the gorge. From Ta-chü, which is identical with Ta-ku, a trail leads along the Yangtze, but quite a distance from the actual river bank, on the western slopes of the main range which fills the loop.

North-east of Ta ku (Nda-gv), is the village of Lao-pen-ts'un 老本村 (Lambe), further north Sheng-se-lo 生色落 (Sä-sä-lo), and finally Chu-ku 住古 (Tsu-gkv). From the main central trail which leads to Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), a trail leads to Nda-gv, and here we encounter the villages of Pu-ku-tsu 布固足 (Bbu-gkv-dsu) and P'ei-tan 培單 (P'ä-da).

Chiu-ho li. — To the west of Hsiang-ko li is Chiu-ho li (Nine stream li) of which the principal village is Chiu-ho-kai 九河街. The southernmost is Hui-lung-chia 迴龍甲, directly north of Chien-ch'uan. At the foot of the mountains which hem in the Chiu-ho valley on the west, are many villages of which the most important are, omitting the southernmost hamlet already mentioned: Ch'ing-chiang-chia 青江甲, Lung-ying-chia 龍應甲, Chi-lai-chia 吉來甲, A-ch'a-chia 阿差甲, Tien-t'ou-chia 甸頭甲 and Li-tzu-yüan 李子園. The border of Chiu-ho li passes through the top of the mountain range of which Lao-chün Shan 老君山, some distance to the west, is the highest peak. The villages situated to the west of that range, and still belonging to Chiu-ho li, are, from south to north, Sung-p'ing-pa 松平壩 in the south-western corner of the li, Wei-nan-hsiang 味南鄉, Ta-ngai-ts'un 打岩村, Jo-shui-t'ang, Shih-hung-shan 石紅山, Ma-p'ing-pa 馬平壩, Ta-p'iao-ts'un 大漂村 and Leng-shui-kou. On the main highway coming from Chien-ch'uan, to the south of Chiu-ho-kai, is the hamlet of Kao-meng-ho 高猛河. To the north is Kuan-shang-ts'un 關上村, and the last hamlet is Chiu-ho-kuan 九河關 (Chiu-ho pass).

Shih-ku li. — To the west of Chiu-ho li is Shih-ku li 石鼓里, of which Shih-ku, the Na-khi La-ba or La-ba wùa-gkv, south of the bend of the Yangtze, is the most important village. The south-western part of the li terminates at the border of Ch'iao-t'ou li 橋頭里, which adjoins the high mountain known as Lao-chün Shan 老君山 in the west, the Lí-chiang — Lan-p'ing hsien 蘭坪縣 border passing through its summit.

The Shih-ku li consists of a long valley watered by the La-ba gyi, (Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河), with the Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 forming its south-eastern border. An affluent actually has its source in Lao-chün Shan and flows along the western slopes of Wang-chiang Shan, while the main stream has its

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source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku, and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 羅羅寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 羅國清.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 卢甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪穹, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

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133 range of ice-crowned peaks exactly like those of Shan-tzu-tou. The last of these peaks at the head of the valley is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, hitherto considered the second highest peak of the Jade-dragon mountain. It is of about the same height as Shan-tzu-tou. This parallel range is often spoken of by the Na-khi as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv (Snow peaks of 'A-ts'an-gko), and I have adopted the name for the ice-crowned peaks, the southernmost of which is the second highest, with Gyi-nà nv-lv third, and Ha-ba ndahér nv-lv fourth of the Li-chiang snow range.

There are many snow peaks in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan, some of which are higher than the Li-chiang range and like the latter they also extend from north to south. Directly north of Li-chiang, in the new province of Hsi-k'ang 西康, is a large snow range called Gangs-dkar Rigs-gsum-mgon-po (pronounced Ganghar risum gompo), (PLATE 55), also known as the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) snow range (Kung-ka-ling Hsüeh-Shan 貢噶嶺雪山 in Chinese). (PLATES 55, 56, 57, 58, 59). It is composed of three isolated peaks which rise from a high plateau and form a triangle,[11] but they extend from west to east, and are directly north of the Yangtze loop. The river Zho Chhu (Iron River; Wu-liang Ho 無量河 of the Chinese) flows at the foot of the range and debouches into the Yangtze at the apex of the loop (PLATE 105). The entire Gangkar-ling range and the Zho Chhu were once under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs, in particular during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619). There are extensive Na-khi villages, collectively called O-yü, the inhabitants of which are descendants of the Na-khi soldiers who once guarded the region.

There is one other range not marked on any map, and that is Mu-ti Gangkar (Mu-ti Gangs-dkar)[12] which lies east of the Ya-lung 雅龍 in Hsi-k'ang. It is about 19,000 feet in height and glacier-crowned; the western face of the mountain is in Mu-li 牧里 (Mi-li in Hsi-fan, Mä-li in Na-khi) territory; it also extends from north to south, with the Ya-lung flowing at its foot, in a gorge 11,500 feet deep, and 1,300 feet higher than the Yangtze.

361 133 Still farther north is the Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar[13] (Minya Konka as I baptized it) (PLATE 60). It is north-east of the Mu-ti Gangkar range and south-west of Ta-chien-lu 打箭鑪, in Hsi-k'ang. Although Na-khi are supposed to live near Ta-chien-lu, in all my travels in that region I have not come across any of their villages. The farthest north are those on the Tibetan side north of Yar-kha-lo and in Mu-li territory near the Yün-nan border. These will be described in their respective places.

133 The Li-chiang Records state that besides being called the Yü-lung Shan, the Li-chiang snow range is also called Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺 and is covered with eternal snow, visible for a hundred li or more. Half-way up the mountain is said to be a pond, but the only pond known to me on this snow range is at the foot of the last and southernmost crag, called Hua-lä-bpu (H-M., Ünlupe).

[11] The three peaks are named after the Lamaist trimurti Rigs-gsum mgon-po [illegible] (The Three Lords), defenders of Lamaism, *i.e.*, Chenrezig (Spyan-ras-gzigs), Jambyang (Hjam-dbyangs) and Chhaga-darje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje).

[12] [illegible]

[13] [illegible]

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CHAPTER VI

Chung-tien 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Sseu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbêr-ddêr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nä Ngyu (A-nä-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南谷, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 獅多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gho gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nä Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

● 361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 100 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東王.

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634 173 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yun-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 密州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Ijen chou 叙州) of Sseu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the 5th year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mo Yi (1646–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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(rDo-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan 老君山, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku.

The Yangtse at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards; on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (Gazeway).

The town of Shih-ku [1] is situated on the very bend of the Yangtse, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety.

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese, the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (力西 or 栗栗) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan.

The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku 鎮吐番鼓. At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of

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longed to Yüeh-ch'i 越巂, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Ze Shui 若水, and became the Chu-hou 諸侯 (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌僕氏. There was born Chuan Hsü 顓頊, who for 70 years assisted Shao Hao 少皞 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Ze Shui is the present Chi.-sha Chiang (Yangtse).

Kun 鯀 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 莘. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no filiri offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 薏山 and there obtained the *I-i* 薏苡 (*Coix lacryma-jobbi*, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 69, fol. 17, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石牛山 is one li south of Shih-ch'iao hsien 石橋縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an'fu 龍安府 in north-west Szu-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the *Tien-hsi* to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The *Li-fan T'ing-chih*, ch. 1, fol. 19b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hsu-li 通化里. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石牛山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'iao hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jao, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

[1] Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50′ and longitude 99° 55′, according to Major H. R. Davies (*Yun-nan*, p. 256).

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Back of Shih-men-kuan a beautiful little valley extends west into the wooded hills, while a perfect cone of a mountain stands sentinel at the entrance, crowned by a lovely temple, guarding the valley and the village (PLATE 153).

The trees found along the river bank here are mostly *Diospyros lotus*, a wild persimmon, walnuts and catalpas. The trail is very narrow and follows the bank of the river which is, however, quite broad, and full of islets (October). Red sandstone walls are exposed on the otherwise green slopes of the mountain, which rise steeply from the valley floor. Fields of maize and a few houses announce the fact that we have reached the hamlet of Müen-tsü-dtu (Mu-ts'ao-tu 木槽渡; H-M., Mutsüto).

The hamlet is distinctly scattered, for several li beyond is the rest of the village, considered part of it, but called Bü-dzu-wza-lo (H-M., Büdzulo). At this village a little stream enters the Yangtze, spanned by a small, wooden, covered bridge, picturesquely set in a grove of willows.

The region is called Hung-shih-ngai 紅石崖 (Red cliff), from the red sandstone cliff mentioned previously. The Li-chiang records state that "it is exactly 100 li from Li-chiang, or 20 li from Shih-ku, and rises straight from the Yangtze, overlooking the same; it flanks the river for a distance of over 30 li and adjoins Shih-men Kuan to the south. It is the throat of the Mongols and Tibetans, and is still considered the dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." It is indeed a very important pass, the only one here on the Yangtze and frequented by the Tibetans, who come, sometimes with a thousand pack-mules, once a year to fetch tea from P'u-erh 普洱 in south Yün-nan. In the summertime, when the Yangtze is in flood, the trail is often submerged and impassable.

Many valleys debouch into the Yangtze valley, the trail passing through bushes of small white-flowered Bauhinias, *Prinsepia utilis*, Spiraeas, a Desmodium with pink flowers, Rhamnus, etc. The path is lined by limestone boulders and conglomerate. The valley narrows and we enter a veritable canyon of bleak, reddish sandstone walls which rise hundreds of feet straight from the river-bed. This is the real Hung-shih-ngai (H-M., Hoschinga), the "dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." The trail is built up of rock, straight out of the river-bed and flush with the wall. Opposite, on the eastern bank of the Yangtze, is situated the Na-khi hamlet of Lä-ndo (Leng-tu 冷渡, Cold ford; H-M., Lindo). A blackish peculiarly shaped mountain guards the other side of the canyon.

The mountain spur which flanks the Yangtze on the west is called Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (*see* Historical Part pp. 95, 186), after which the ancient

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Chü-chin chou, named A-ro-ts'ung 阿羅叢, revolted and took possession of Stone gate Pass, but was defeated by Lu Chung-heng 盧中亨, who was marquis of Chi-an 寄安. In 1301, according to the Ming annals, the Na-khi chief Mu Ch'i (the eighth generation, born in 1245, and known as A-te A-ch'i) guarded the Shih-men Kuan, where he became the chief of Li-chiang at the death of his father. He was succeeded at Stone gate Pass by his brother Mu Kuei 木貴. In the Mu chronicle the latter's name is written Mu K'uei 木魁. His Na-khi surname was A-k'ü. He was the Shih-men-kuan Ch'en-fu-chang 守關千夫長 (Head of a thousand men). Later he became a Hu-fo-fu 護佛府. Shih-men-kuan is the name of a village as well as of a pass.

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Plate 156. — Tree Trees on Wan-ssu

(Courtesy Fu. Geog. Soc.)

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The town consists of about one hundred and is at an elevation of 12,000 feet. Its inhabitants are mostly Chinese. The Na-khi call it Nyi-ma, the Tibetans Ba-lung.

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*487 while several species of oaks grow on the lower half of the mountain slopes,
*133 and above them are forests of pines. Two li beyond the last village we come
*137 to the Na-khi hamlet of Bä-da (H-M., Bäta) situated along a brook lined with walnut trees. Here the valley narrows considerably; the slopes are terraced and mainly rice is grown. The rocks are phyllitic schist, with many quartz-veins and limestone, and the trees pines and oaks. This calcareous phyllitic stage is succeeded by crumpled quartz-mica schist, and as the valley narrows to a ravine the river-bed is littered with igneous rocks (GARCONY). On the south bank of the stream is situated the hamlet of Wu-lu-wan 烏魯灣. In the narrowest part of the valley or just a short distance beyond, another valley debouches from the south. Here the trail passes through the village of Chi-li-wan 吉利灣.

In the main valley, about a half a li beyond Chi-li-wan, cultivation ceases, with the exception of some steep, cultivated hill-sides with one or two houses. The forest here is of a mixed and semi-evergreen type and is mainly composed of several species of oaks, *Castanopsis concolor*, and *Schima argentea*, while along the stream *Alnus nepalensis* is the most common tree, in company with *Uraria sinensis*. The trail leads across a wooden bridge and follows on the south bank to a meadow, and then ascends the southern valley slopes in steep zigzags. Opposite on the steep northern valley slopes there are still a few fields and huts. From here a commanding view rewards the traveler looking back towards the Yangtze over the valley of the Chü-tien Ho. The former type of vegetation has now given way to pines and oaks, with *Rhododendron racemosum* and *Rhod. decorum*, *Lyonia ovalifolia*, etc.

Leaving the main branch of the valley we turn directly south, at an elevation of 8,000 feet, into another branch which becomes narrower and narrower, the stream being the width of a brook; but the ravine, instead of terminating in a mountain spur, emerges by a narrow cleft into a broad, circular basin, the rushing brook becoming a broad stream, again flowing lazily in a sandy, gravelly bed between fields. In the valley tall pine-trees form dense forests till we come to the hamlet T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘 (H-M., Taipingta). From here we descend through wild walnut groves and pass another hamlet called Ta-shui-kou 大水溝. The trail leads to the stream-bed which it follows.

The vegetation now changes completely, being composed mostly of *Pyrus pashia*, Malus, Corylus or hazel-nut bushes, and tall trees (*Corylus chinensis*), also several species of Acer, as *Acer robustum* with cane-brake, or *Arundinaria faberi* as undergrowth. It takes on the character of the uplands, for we find *Meliosma cuneifolia*, Viburnum, Cornus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, Desmodium, etc.

[361] *Lu-tien village.* — The narrow ravine, with its steep slopes, opens out abruptly through the narrow cleft mentioned, into the broad amphitheatrical valley, with scattered groups of houses which comprise the Na-khi village of Lu-tien 魯甸 [11] (MAJ. D., Li-tien), the Na-khi, Lv-dü.[12] This is 70 li distant

[11] Tien 甸 stands for frontier lands.

[12] The hamlet is situated on decomposed outcroppings of eruptive rocks. The most conspicuous rocks of the Sour basin are biotite-quartz-diorite-porphyry, also rhyolite and

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361 *Wei-hsi.*—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 倪那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung) [14] in Tibetan, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch'un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T'ung-p'an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 ordered the T'ung-p'an Ch'en Ch'üan 陳銓 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T'ao 王濤 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T'ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

[199] 178 A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The Ssu-ch'uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch'un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 寶華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 巍安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 蘭經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.[17]

*487 *133 *137 Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch'un Ho from the Mekong.[18] The mountain is called the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 ("fountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T'ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹廟. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong [19] pronounced Kye-nà-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is "To hold or maintain the West."

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEN-CHIH 鹽井 PLAIN

[323] We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

* [illegible] * [illegible]

* The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GRANDIDIER).

* [illegible]

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arch bridge by a small hamlet consisting of a few houses. The trail leads on the east bank of the stream along the foot of a rocky mountain slope composed of reddish-purple boulders. The vegetation consists mainly of bushes such as *Corylus* and Escholtzia. The mountains rise to about 1,000 feet on the west bank, and 3,000 feet on the east bank, with secondary parallel ridges. Terraced rice-fields extend along the banks, but well above the river. On the west bank is situated the village of Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬場. Here the slopes of the mountain are covered with tall forests of *Pinus yünnanensis*. One li beyond we come to a few houses which compose the village of Ta-ch'ang-pa 打場壩, also situated on the west bank. The river winds considerably, passing through a small rocky defile, the trail following downstream on the east bank. The path becomes narrower and almost impassable due to many wash-outs and projecting boulders. About a hundred feet above the stream on the west bank is the hamlet of Ma-li-p'ing 麻梨坪. 487 133 137

We cross a small tributary and follow the ever-narrowing trail, which in places is really perilous, winding up and down and around hill-sides, then again through groves of oaks and *Cornus capitata* trees, pears, Rhamnus, and Berberis, until we come to the poorest village so far encountered; it is called La-p'u-wan 腊普灣 (also written 蜡普灣). Soon we come to another village called Chuang-fang 庄房; here the river is very narrow and strewn with huge boulders, a wooden bridge crossing it. The hamlet is on the east bank almost at the level of the river-bed. A little over a li brings us to the Tibetan village of Wu-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石). About 30 li to the west of this place a quicksilver mine is said to exist. Red sandstone and gray grits with patches of manganese dioxide and iron oxide are to be found at Wu-shih (Gazcony). [316]

The valley becomes considerably narrower with rather steep slopes.

Ka-ka-t'ang village.—Ten li more and we arrive at the narrow, filthy conglomeration of huts and pigsties which calls itself the village of Ka-ka-t'ang 葛葛塘. Near the entrance to the village is a spring enclosed in a square rock basin over which a tiny Lung-wang shrine had been built. Fish swam peacefully in it. The inhabitants nearly all have goitres, some of extraordinary size, almost as large as the head itself. [261] [47]

From Ka-ka-t'ang a trail leads east across a pass and along the valley of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河 to La-p'u. The Chung-ch'iu Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing and flows first parallel with the Yung-ch'un Ho and then turns straight north there it is called La-p'u Ta-ho; it bends east at La-p'u, and debouches into the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung 其宗. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan gives its source south of Pong-tse-ra and ignores two high passes between Pen-tzu-lan 奔子蘭 and La-p'u, thus making the stream flow over the passes south, instead of from south to north. Davies' map is here also completely wrong, for the two sources of his stream, one in the Ker-ri La and the other in the Pongo La, a pass 12,150 feet in height, flow together on the map, but have no outlet. The Yun-du-khh, which is the Tibetan name of the stream, rises in the Pai-mang Shan and flows south, but above Rong-sha (Lo-she 洛舍); it then flows east and debouches into the Yangtze.

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water. Their language is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 僕人.[1] Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind."

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪峒, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 居大 (H-M., Djüta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩奴. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa 岩瓦. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a bluff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500–2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Shou-kuo Sze lamasery.—We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普 called K'o-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 300 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'o-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 南. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his

[1] [i.e. the La-ma.o -- Analyst]

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Here[1] prior to

1905 a Catholic mission was established, where Père Dubernard was murdered in cold blood by the fanatic lamas. The bridge is 150 feet above the river-bed and one glides down at express speed to less than 50 feet on the other side. Those unaccustomed to crossing by such not altogether too safe means, strapped to an oak-wood slider greased with yak butter, are all but cheerful at the prospect, be they native or European; those used to crossing such ropes suspended high above the river, pass back and forth as unconcerned as we would cross a courtyard. The rope is often greased by the man sliding across; he would put liquid butter from a bamboo tube into his mouth and, holding his head above the rope, would let the butter run out of his mouth on to the rope. Only mules, horses and heavyweights reach the other bank without aid. Lightweights remain suspended on the sagging rope, in the middle over the roaring torrent. This necessitates pulling oneself up hand over hand to the other side. Once crossed one must confess that this sliding into space is not an unpleasant sensation, the only disagreeable feature is the preliminary tying up in leather straps, fastened to the short semicircular oaken slider. The horses are not less frightened than their riders, for they kick the air with tails up and open mouths, and lie down exhausted from fear on the other side (PLATE 164). 487* 133* 137*

From Tz'u-ku to Tz'u-chung 茨中 (in Na-khi, Tsu-dër)[40] is a distance of five li. The latter is a scattered Tibetan village consisting of about 30 houses, with a few Na-khi families who have settled there, while beyond the poor village are a few leper huts. The most imposing building here is the Catholic church, almost worthy of the name cathedral. It was built here, after the destruction of the mission at Tz'u-ku in 1905, by Père Ouvrard who also built the church at Ta-chien-lu. He died later at Tz'u-chung. It was Père Ouvrard who told me that it was easier to convert a Tibetan lama than a Na-khi layman, of whom he had not a single convert. A short distance north of Tz'u-ku, on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ch'eng-to-lo 丹多洛, in Tibetan, Chhu-rdo-lung, pronounced Chhu-do-lung or Valley of water and stones. 361 797 487* 133* 137*

From Tz'u-ku a trail leads up the mountain range to the Hsi La 西拉 in Tibetan Sribs La,[41] a pass over the Mekong-Salween divide (this part of the range being also called Hsi-la hsüeh-shan 西拉雪山), and thence to the Salween, which route will be described in a separate chapter, although no Na-khi live there. Between Tz'u-ku and Tz'u-chung the river bank is strewn with boulders of coarse-grained purple porphyry and rhyolite, marking the beginning of another development of igneous rocks. At Tz'u-chung proper the river bank consists of pink and black porphyry, which also extends up the hill-side to about 6,800 feet (GREGORY).

Do-lung gorge and Mt. Me-tse-mo. — From Tz'u-ku we follow the east bank of the Mekong, never wider than 60–80 yards, to the Tibetan village of Huan-fu-p'ing 換夫坪 or 換宮坪 (H-M., Fangfuping) 25 li distant, and

[40] In Tibetan the name is variably written Tshogs-drug ཚགས་ཀྲུག or Tshed-grong མཚེད་ཀྲུང pronounced Tshe-drung.

[1] [TZU-KU -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER III

Te-ch'in and the Mekong — Salween Divide

1. The town of Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子)

361 The town of Te-ch'in is situated at the head of the valley at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it consists of 300-400 houses extending from wall to wall, filling the valley completely. In Tibetan the town is known as Jō or Jōi (written hJol).[1] On a hill overlooking the town to the north, is situated the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 (in Tibetan bDe-chhen-gling, Lamasery of great happiness),[2] founded in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). Its 30 buildings including a large chanting hall have been built since 1905 after the destruction of the original lamasery, which was situated in the valley in the outskirts of the town. This was destroyed by Chinese soldiers in punishment for the murder of the Catholic priests and the burning of their missions in the Mekong and Salween valleys. The present site is a strategic one overlooking the town and, being situated at the summit of a hill, can be easily defended. Like the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery further south, it belongs to the Yellow sect.

361 In ancient days A-tun-tzu had no wall. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730), a garrison of soldiers was established and a tamped earth wall built. No wall exists, however, at present (Plate 173). The town is inhabited by Tibetans, Chinese, and Na-khi, and has experienced many a raid by the Tibetans from the north, so that the merchants of A-tun-tzu used to keep their better-class goods a few days' journey south, on the west bank of the Mekong. It is the last frontier town in north-west Yün-nan, and one of the highest situated in the province. Its climate is raw, cold and dusty in the winter, quite a contrast to the villages a little further down in the same valley near the Mekong. Being shut in at the head of the valley, surrounded by steep, high mountains, the sun does not shine long in A-tun-tzu during the winter months.

622 Although the place is now a hsien city, a native official, whose Tibetan title is Zhal-ngo[3] (Face or Presence, formerly a term applied to an officer over 50 soldiers), still holds office, subject to the magistrate of the town. The title for a Ch'ien-tsung (Lieutenant or leader of 1,000 soldiers) is Tong-pön, written sTong-dpon.[4] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* 雲南通志 has the following to say about A-tun-tzu, ch. 145, fol. 32:

"In former days A-tun-tzu was ruled by Wei-hsi, but was under the immediate control of one native lieutenant and one native sergeant or Dang-pön (ldang-dpon),[5] the equivalent to the Chinese Pa-tsung (there are said

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]
[5] [illegible]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 *133 *132 with scrub vegetation; beyond a high, bare range rises above it, with a black, sharply-pyramidal rock forming the highest point.

[36] We reach a hamlet of a few houses constructed of red earth, built close together like a fortress, with the windows near the roof, the latter crowned by huge mounds of grass. Yak were grazing over the bare, dry fields. Below [31] in the ravine is the Tibetan village of Yo-nyi (Yo-i 約翼; in Yün-nan pronounced Yo-ni) with its terraced fields, grey and dusty. We descend and follow at the bottom of a narrow, rocky valley, bare of vegetation with the exception of *Sophora viciifolia* bushes, till we reach the Tibetan hamlet of Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東). Here walnuts and willows grew along the fields. To the east is the trail to Pong-tse-ra, and to the west the trail which leads to the Kar-ri (Keng-li 吉里) Pass. At Sha-dung we cross the stream which descends from the Kar-ri La and follow the valley on the south bank. Near the mouth of this lateral valley is a formidable dwelling with a golden spire, the compound is surrounded by a wall on which Tibetan mastiffs were racing wildly up and down. It is the residence of a Huo-fu (incarnation of the Tung-chu-lin lama).[10]

The trail enters an arid and weird, ravine with loose rocks and boulders scattered over the slopes to the very top. It is narrow and one li beyond its mouth it is blocked by an isolated, pyramidal hill crowned by a *Shan-shen Miao* 山神廟 (Shrine to a mountain spirit). Here the stream makes a detour to the left; to the right a barren valley opens out near the temple-crowned hill, covered with cactus (*Opuntia monacantha*). What little vegetation there is consists of Berberis, Sophora, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*, while deciduous willow trees line the banks of the stream. *Pteris longifolia* is also common. On the right hill-side is a conglomeration of houses resem-
342 bling watch-towers. It is the hamlet of Pe-shin. Dogs run around wildly on the flat roofs, barking viciously at the traveler in the deep and narrow ravine.
*487 It would be easy to stop an army here by rolling down the loose rocks which
*133 lie in myriads on the valley slopes. Beyond Pe-shin the slopes are composed
*137 of disintegrated shale and fine grey dust resembling ashes.

Farther on, the valley divides, the right-hand branch being quite barren; the trail follows up the left branch and here, at the mouth of the valley in a specially constructed shed three large cylindrical prayer-wheels, eight feet long and one foot in diameter, dressed in red and white skirts, whirled around like mad, driven by the stream. Further up the valley was another set, but these were out of commission. For 10 li the trail leads through this rocky, ever-narrowing ravine, till we come to the fortress-like Tibetan hamlet of Sha-yi (Shou-i-ts'un 壽衣村), situated on a flat spur above the river. At one end of the village is a lama shrine or small temple, with a golden roof and spire, probably the private chapel of the Tibetan T'u-ssu who resides here.

Near Sha-yi the trail passes through *Pinus Armandi* forest which later gives place to *Quercus semicrenata* trees, with here and there a *Rhododendron decorum*, several deciduous trees, rose-bushes, Caragana, etc. The mountains rise steeply, the stream is ice-bound (December), and at an eleva-

[10] The Huo-fu is a member of the family of the T'u-ch'an-tsang of Pong-tse-ra, who also resides here.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 295 ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

S 361 Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-ngua, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K'ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-cliü. Behind the village of K'ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K'ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginko tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T'U-SSU YAMEN

S 487 West of K'ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the
133 famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-dzu of the
137 Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji[1] and Bu-llu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dsoon-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T'o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K'ai-chi where the stream is known as K'ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (*Sophora japonica*, the Na-khi Li-law ndzér) stand at the entrance
S 173 which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. The present T'u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民翰 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T'u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui's father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T'u-ssu of Yung-ning.

S 487 From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake
133 which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only
137 be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu.

[1] The words *sä dji* (Li-chiang Na-khi, *sä gyi*) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.

2: Rock
487, 491, 133, 101, 361

AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps, I, II, III, IV.]

A	B
C	D
E	F
G	H

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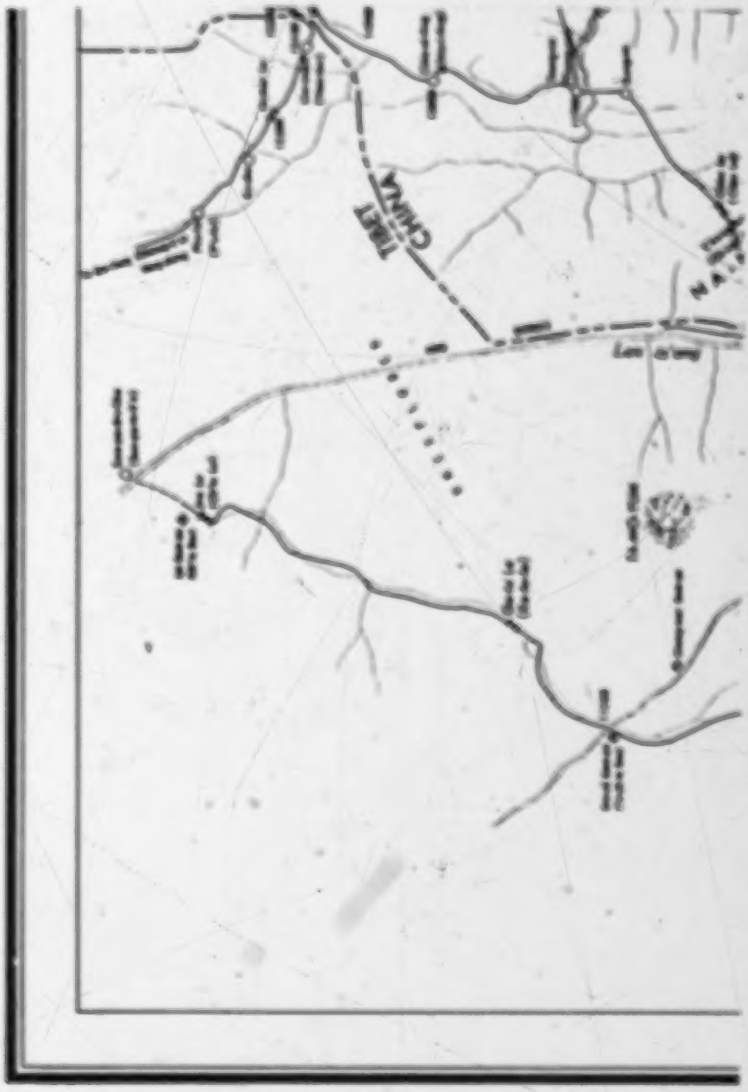

CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[End map I B]

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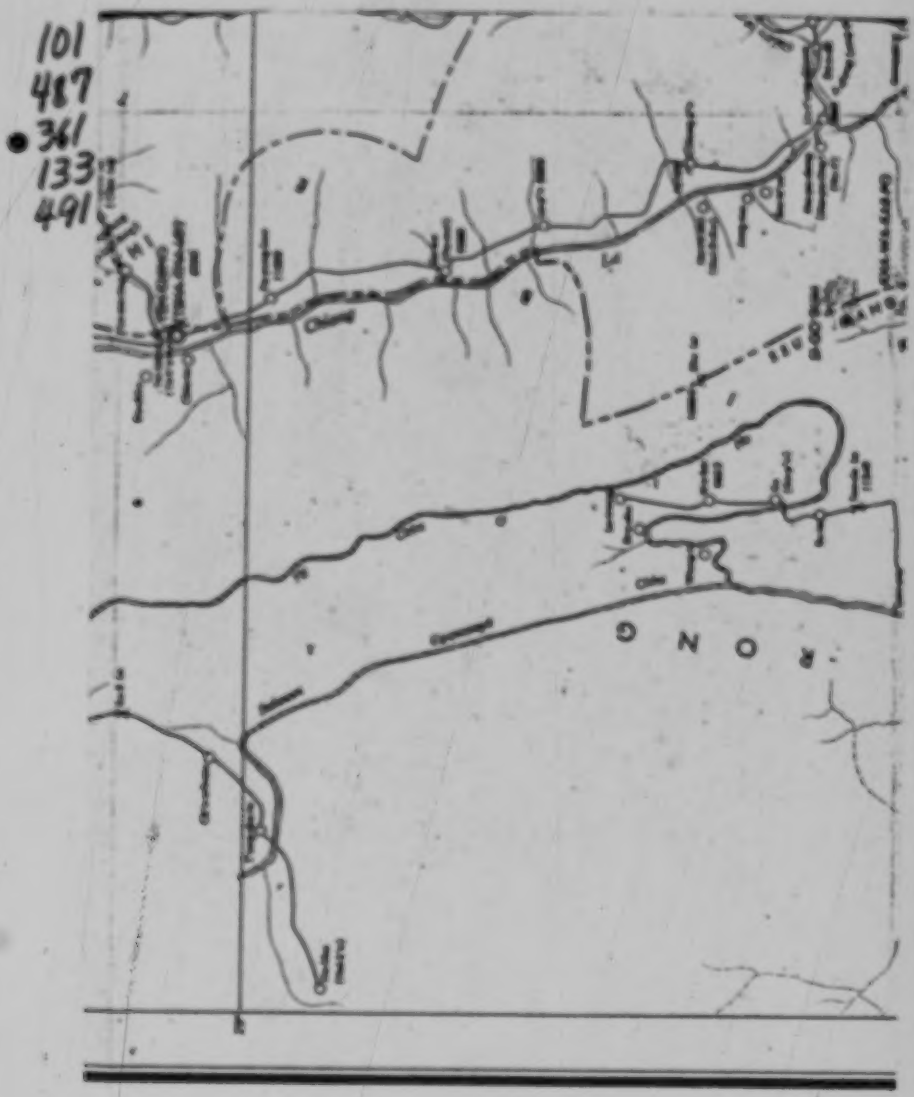

[End map I C]

Box 6 K-5 (1936-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

101
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[End map I D]

2: Rock K-S (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I E]

2: Rock K-5 (1936-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I F]

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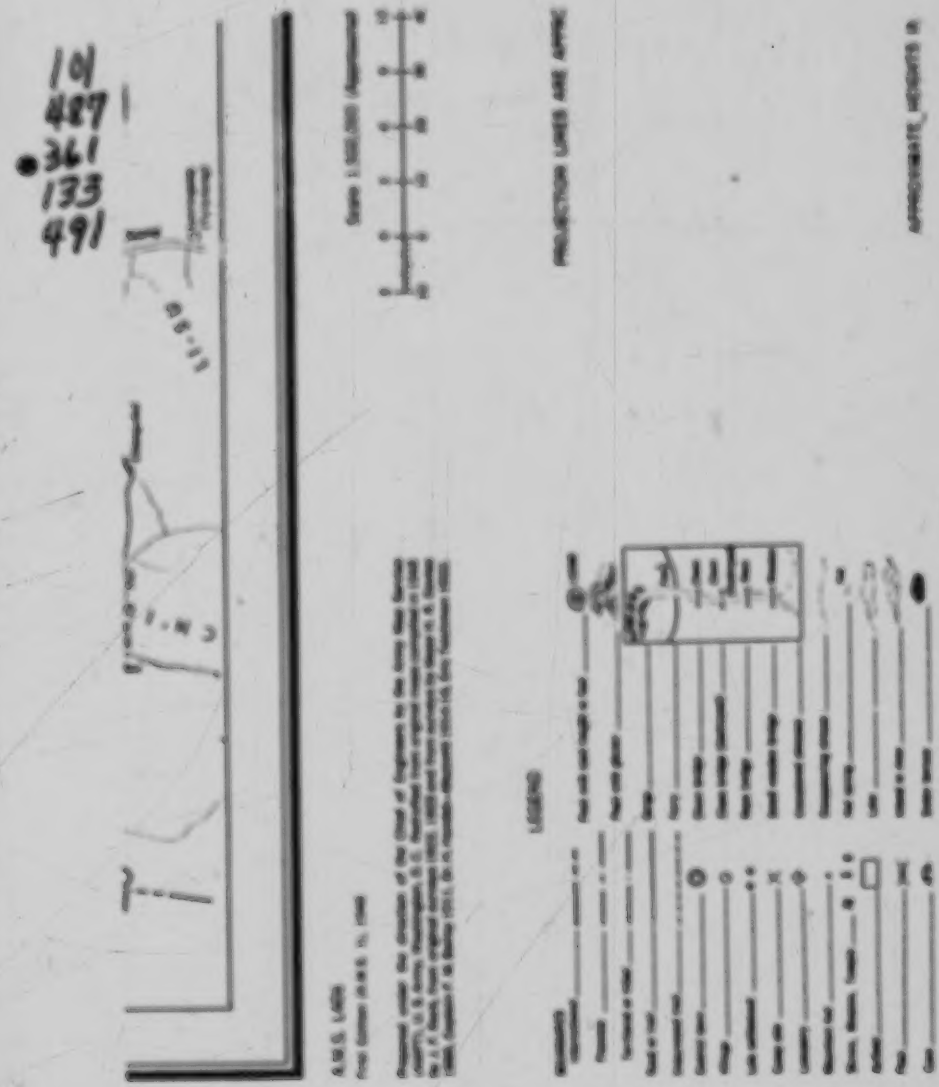

[Endmap I G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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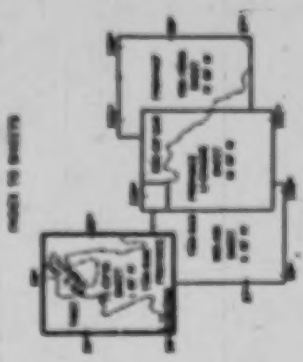

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA

N2790-E8600/150x130

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

CITION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map I H]

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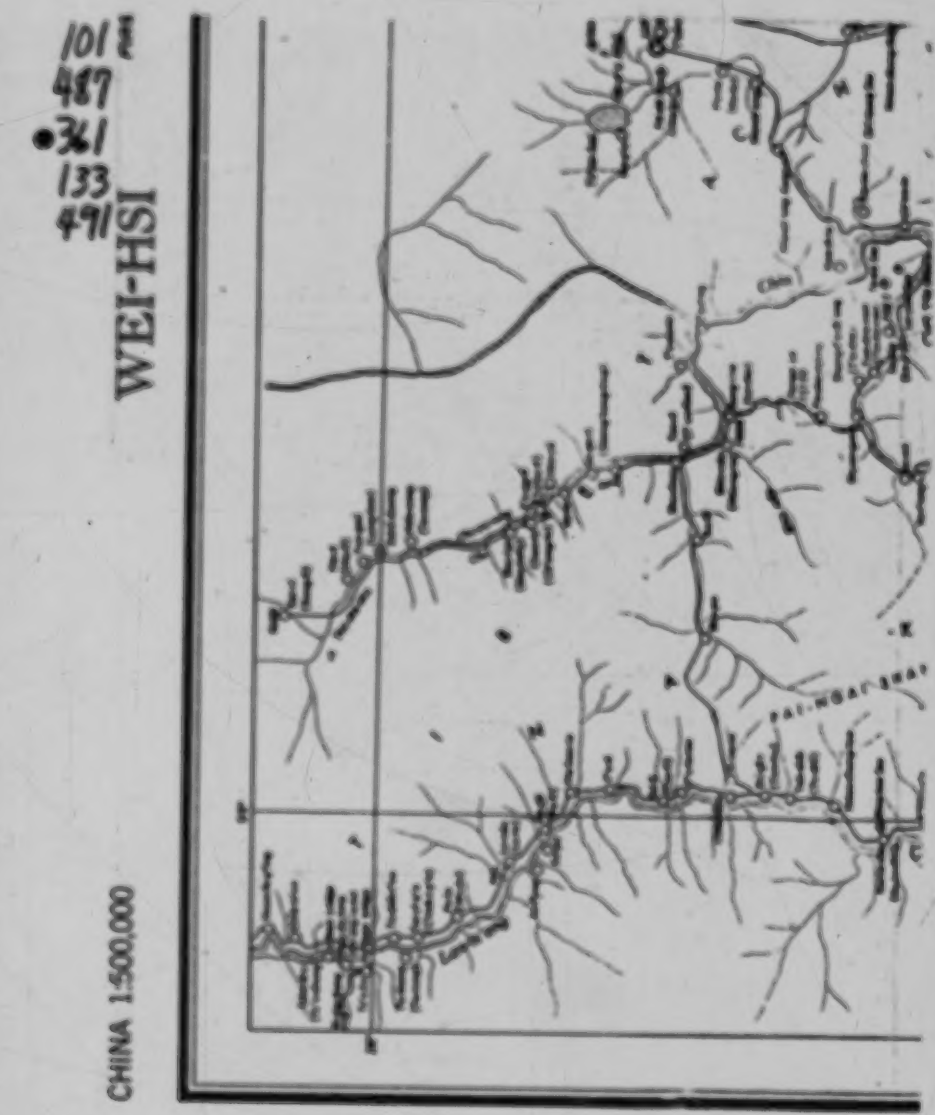

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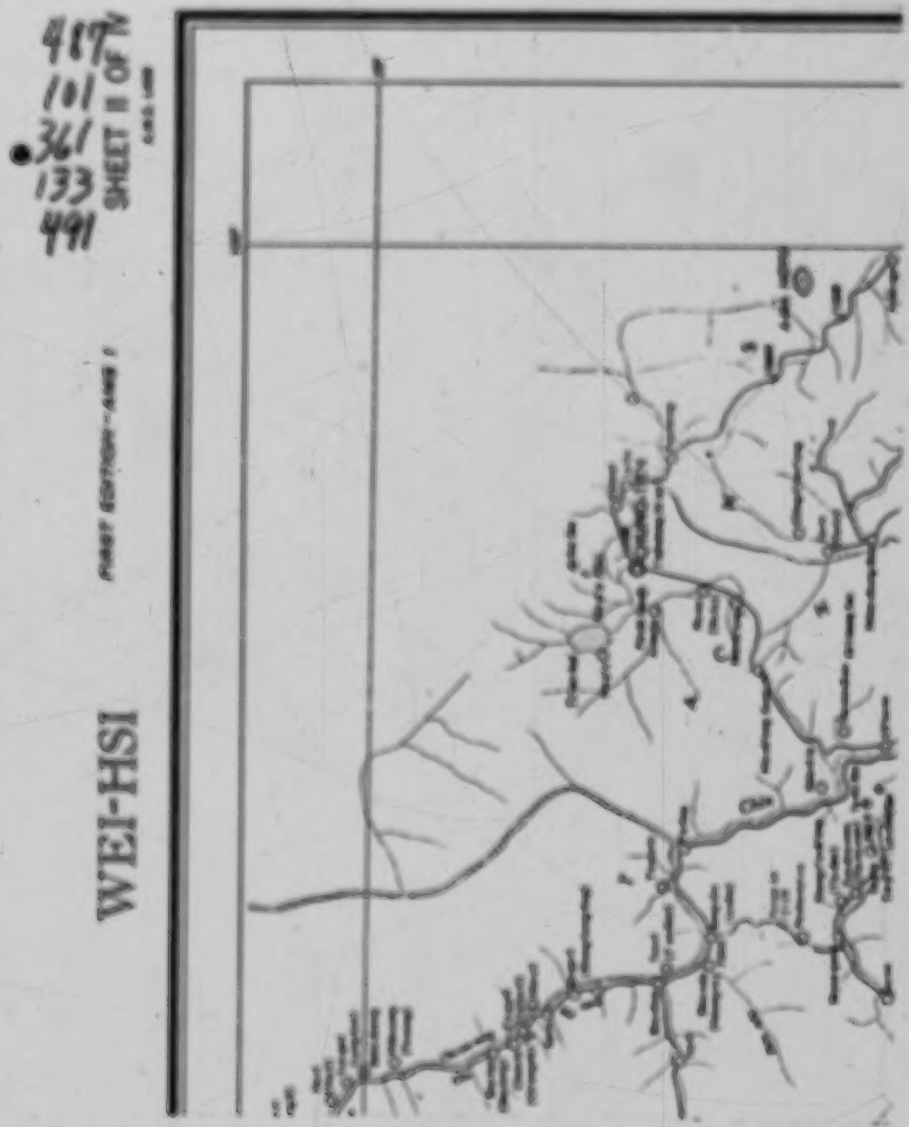

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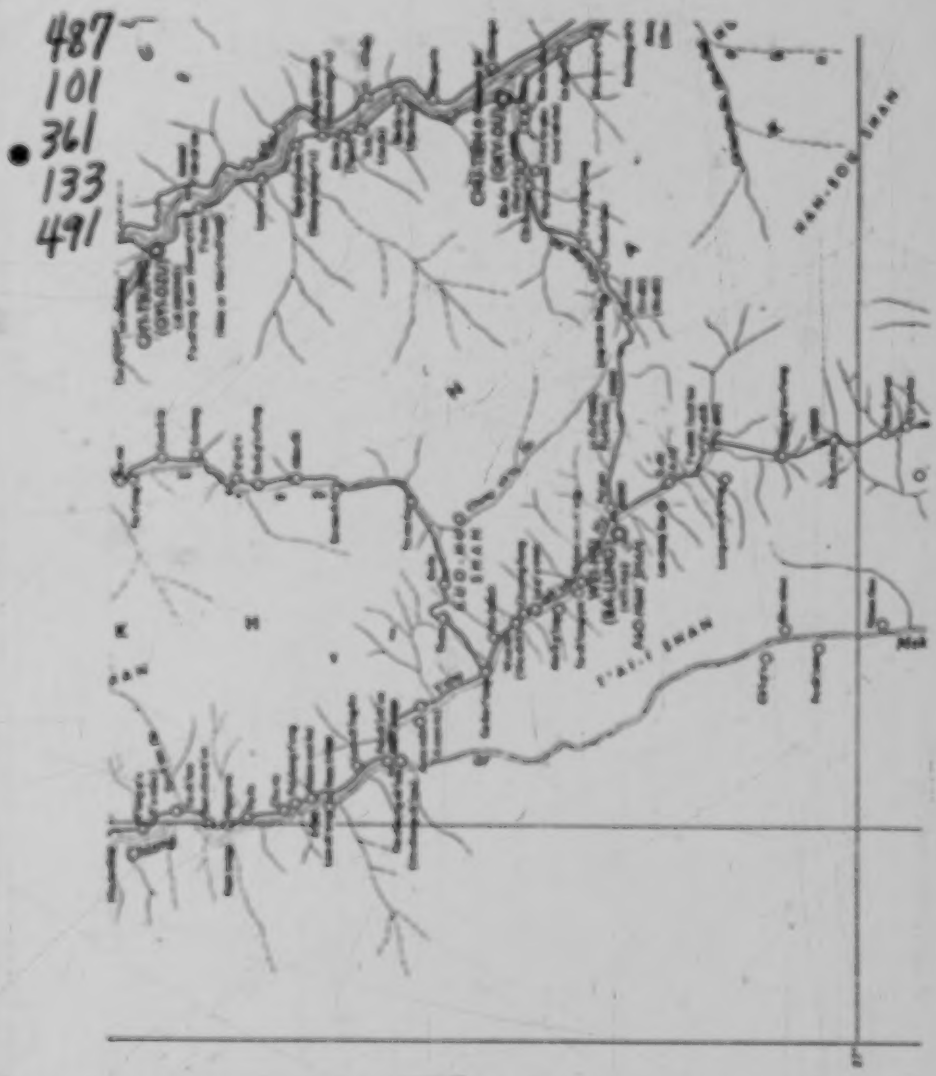

[End map II C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487
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[End map II D]

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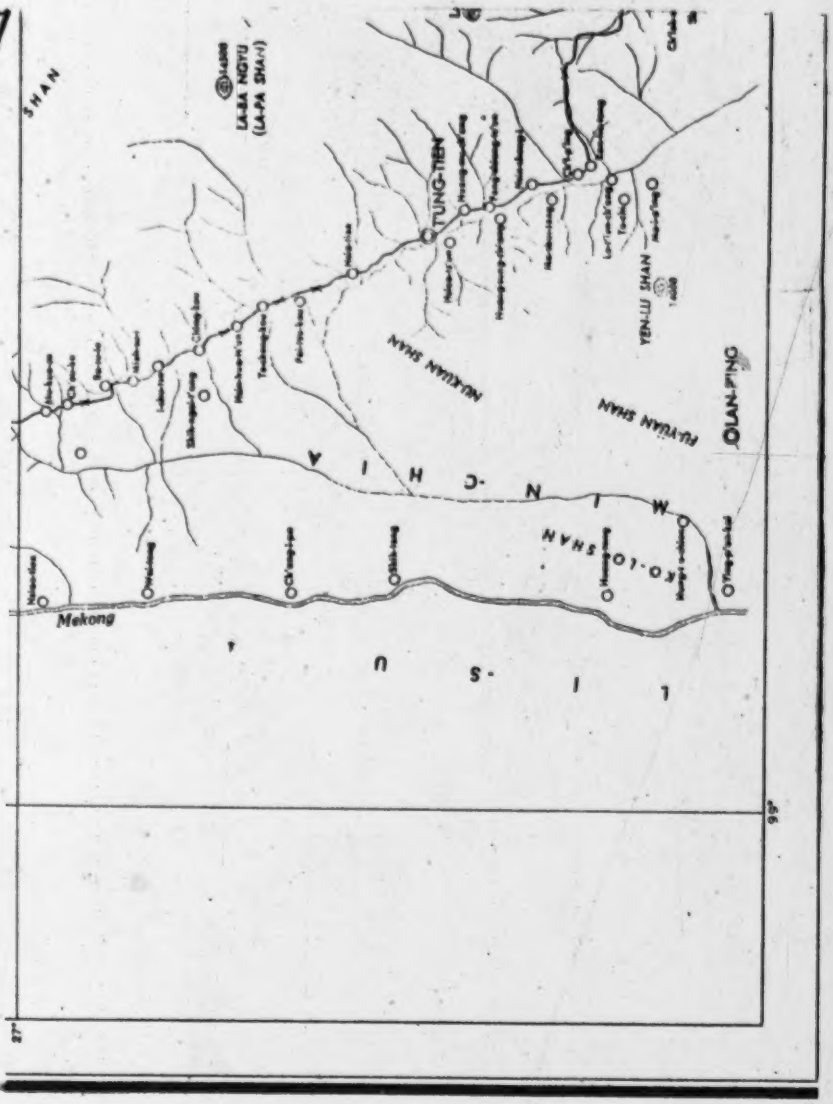
• 361
133
491



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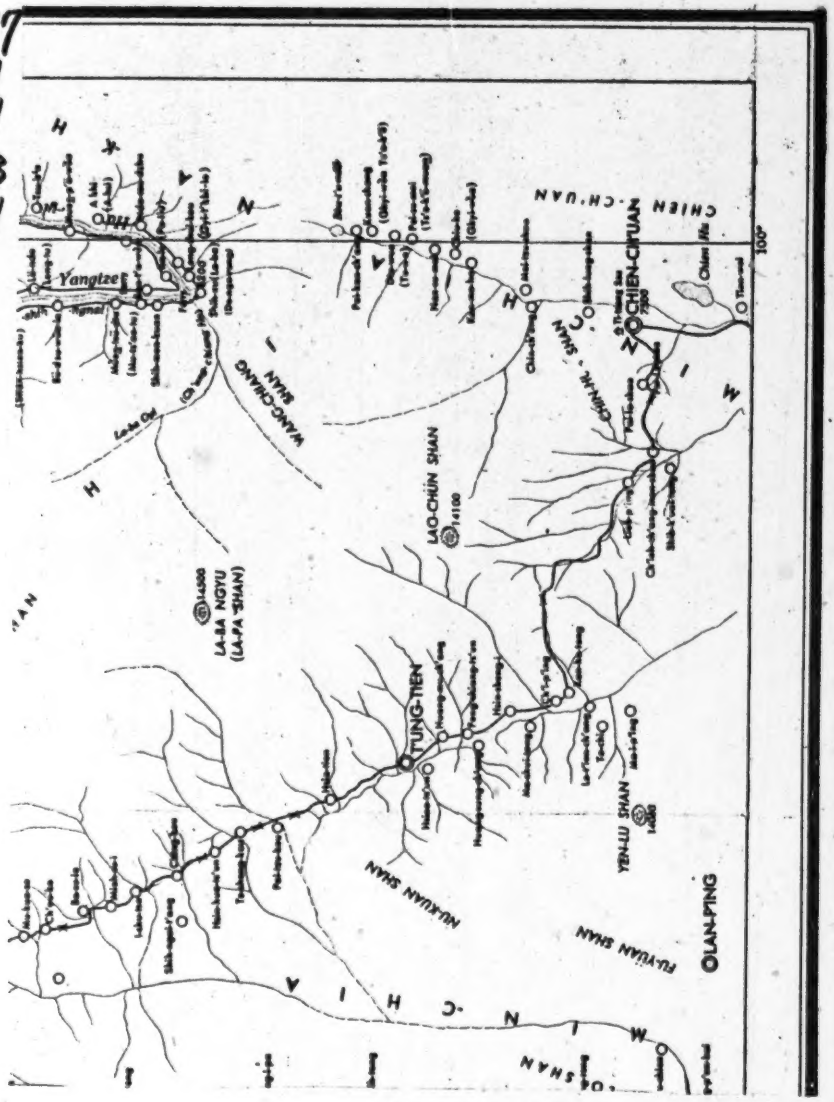

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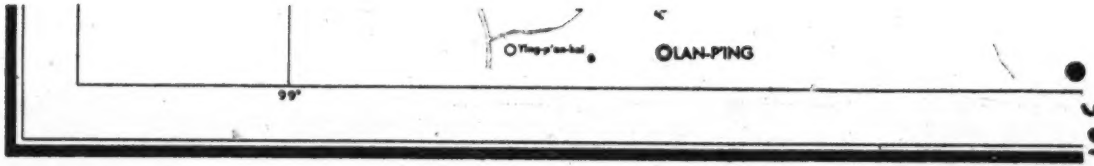

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First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1923, 1928, 1930 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1898, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-18.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

[End map II G]

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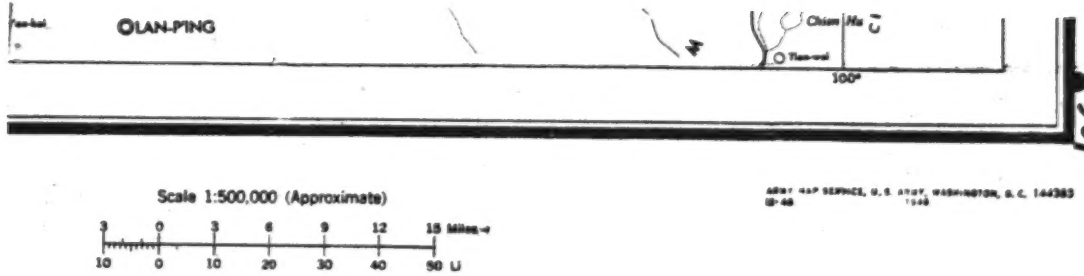

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U.S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D.C. 144383
1946

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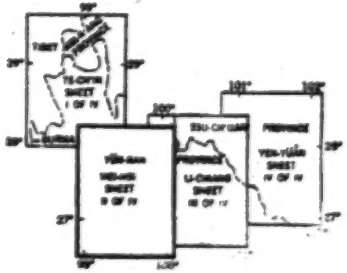

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

WEI-HSI, CHINA
N2625-E9850/145x120

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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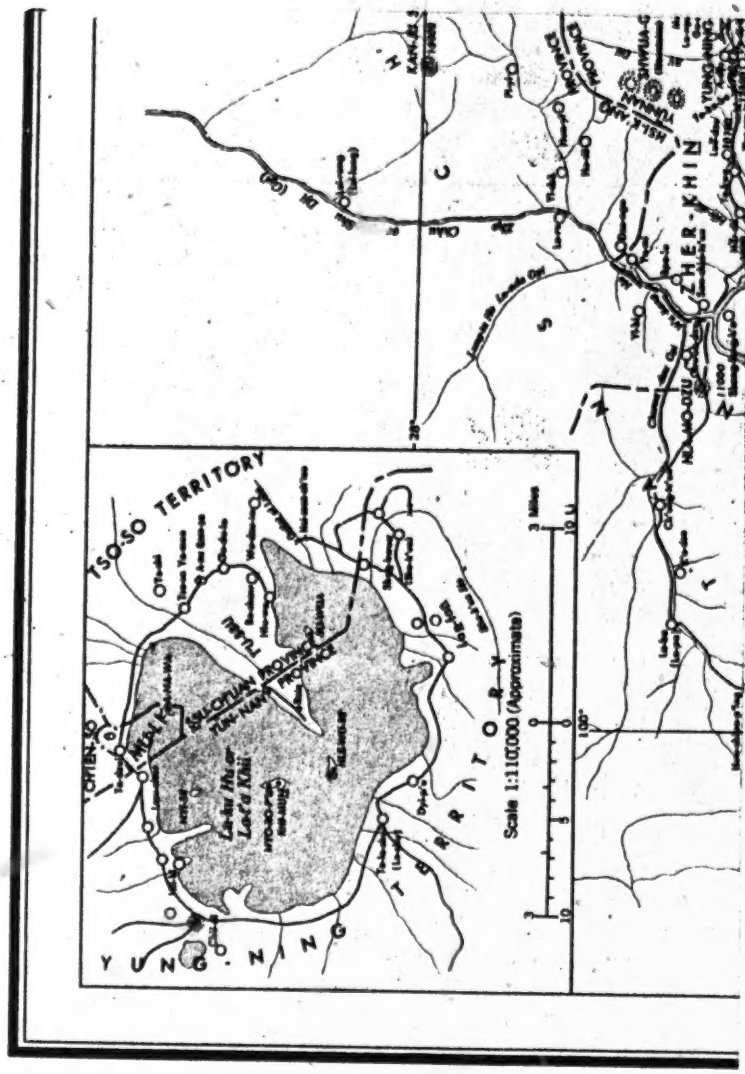
LI-CHIANG



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map III A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934 /1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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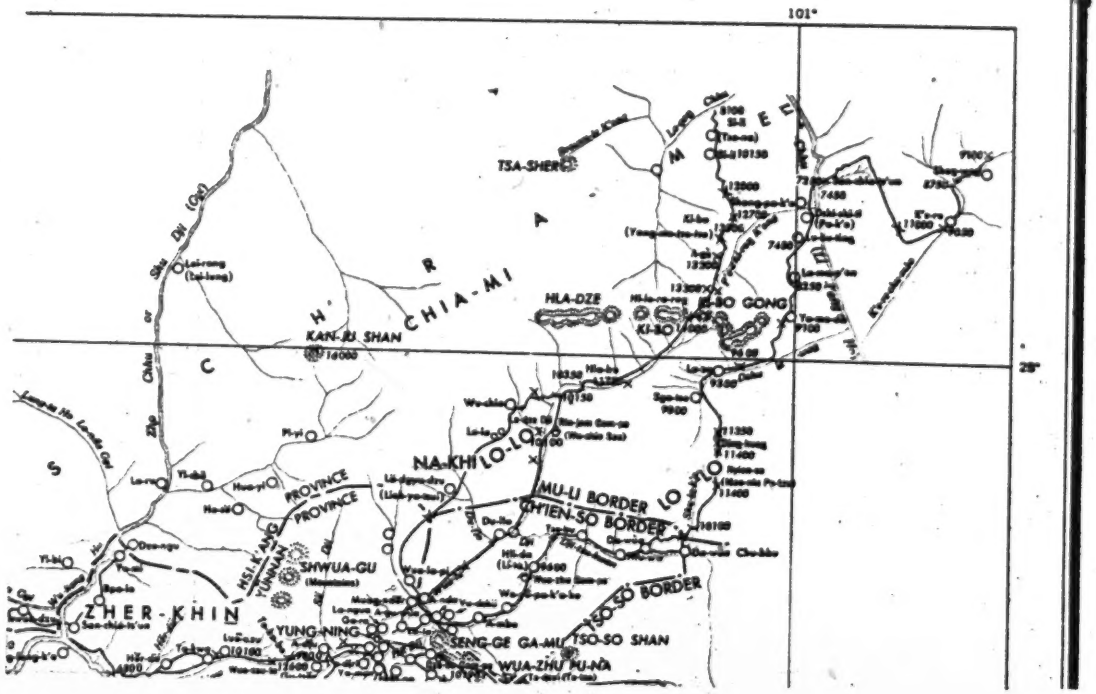
LI-CHIANG

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

A.M.S. L406



[End map III B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III C]

: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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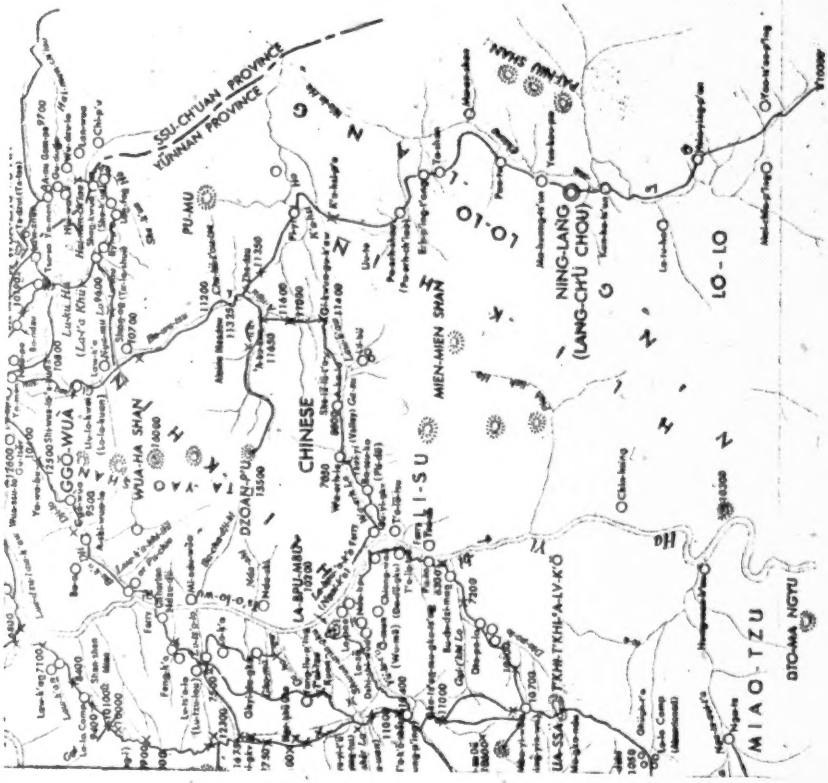

[End map III D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III E]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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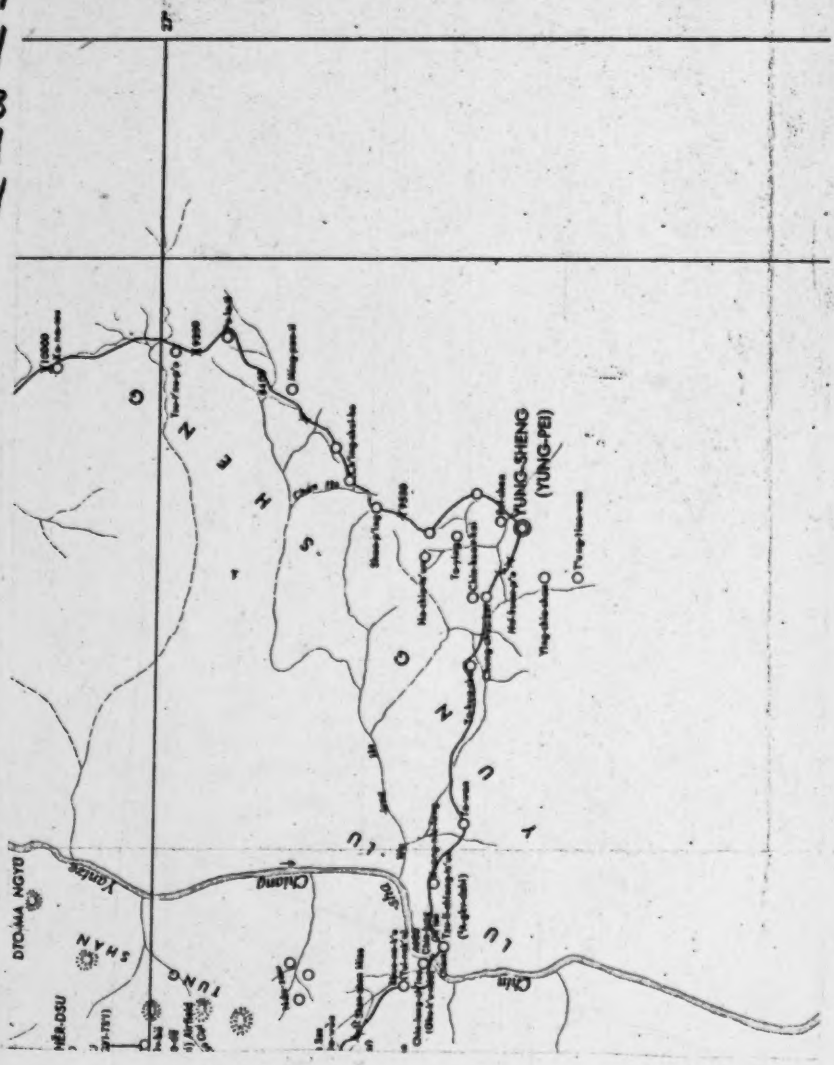
361



[End map III F]

487
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361

A.M.S. L406

First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
- International
- Province
- Territorial or tribal
- Road or trail
- Unsurveyed trail
- District town
- Village
- Lolo settlement
- Camp site
- Lamasery
- Mountain hut
- Shrine, Mission, Temple
- Airfield
- Pass
- Cave
- Peak with spot height in feet
- Peak with glacier
- Gorge
- Ferry
- Chain bridge
- Chain bridge (destroyed)
- Rope bridge
- Small wooden bridge
- Unexplored stream
- Disappearing stream
- Hot spring
- Lake
- Island in river
- Sister terrace

[End map III G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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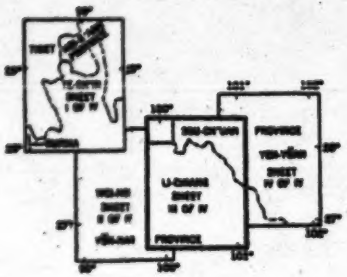
ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C. 144384
IB-40 1946

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

INDEX TO SHEETS



PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

[End map III H]

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LI-CHIANG, CHINA
N2630-E9950/145x110

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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491
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101
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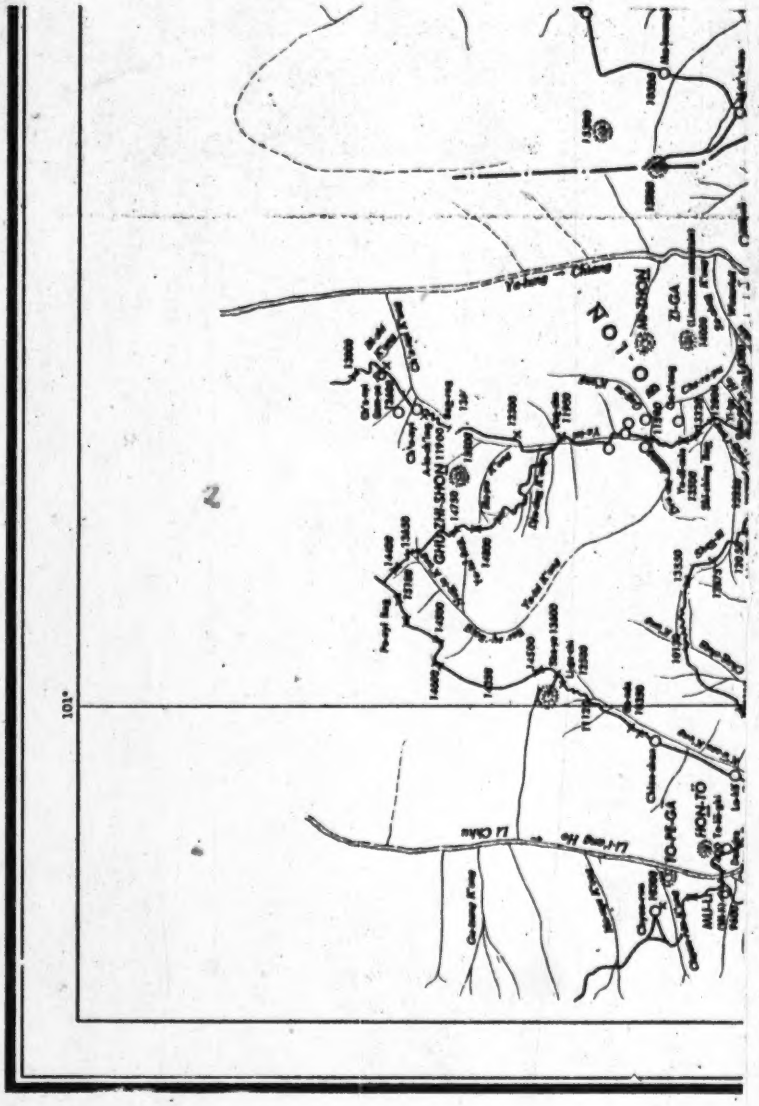
YEN-YÜAN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Li Chiu
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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SHEET IV OF IV
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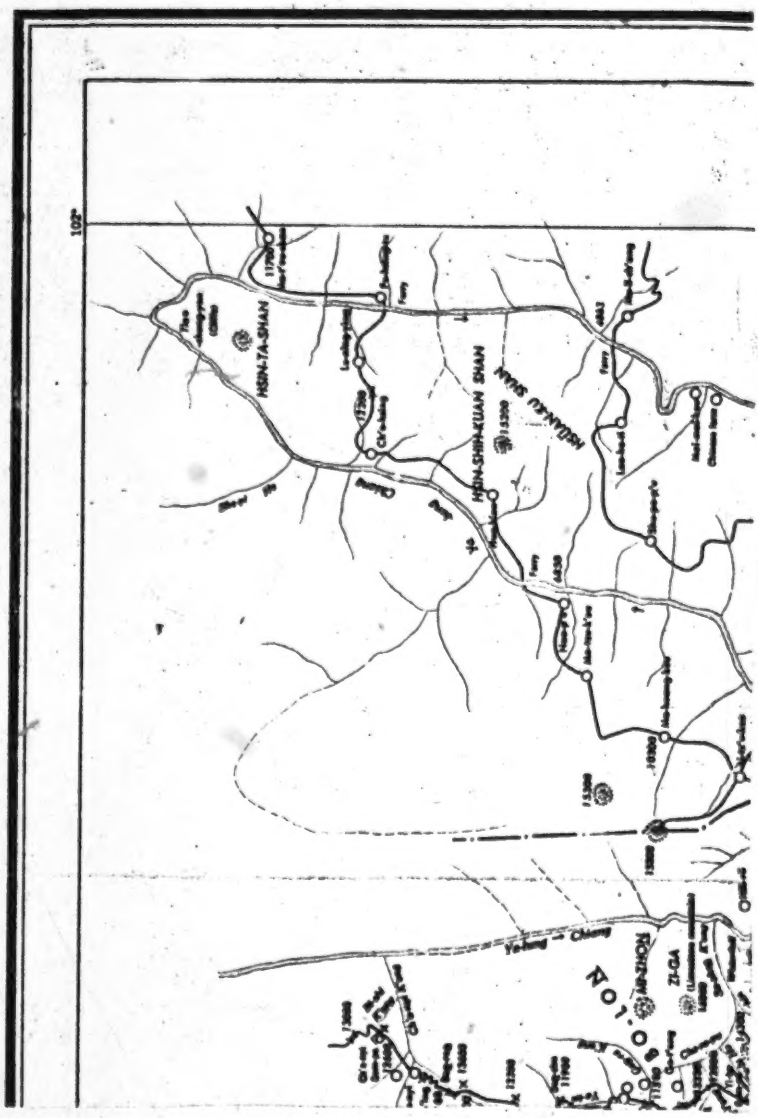
FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

YEN-YUAN


102°
HSIN-TA-SHAN
HSIN-SHIH-KUAN SHAN
HSIAN-LIU SHAN
Ch'i-ching
Lan-ho-ch'ang
Ho-ho-ch'ang
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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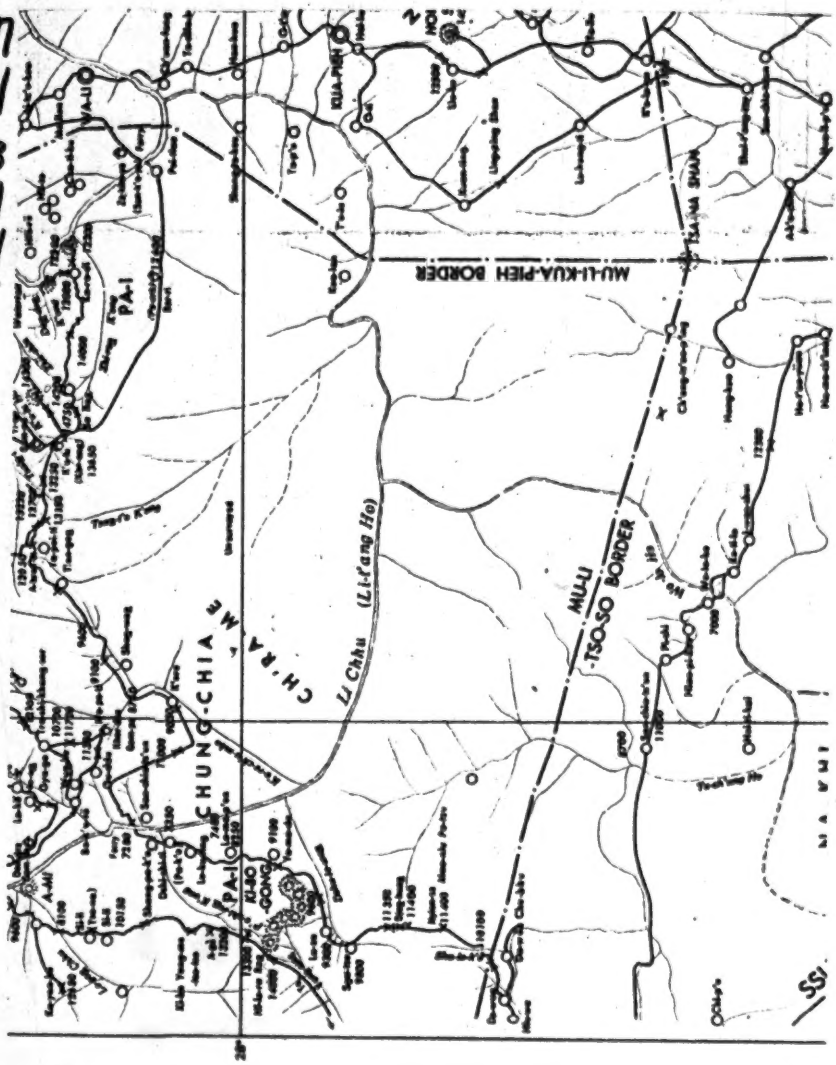

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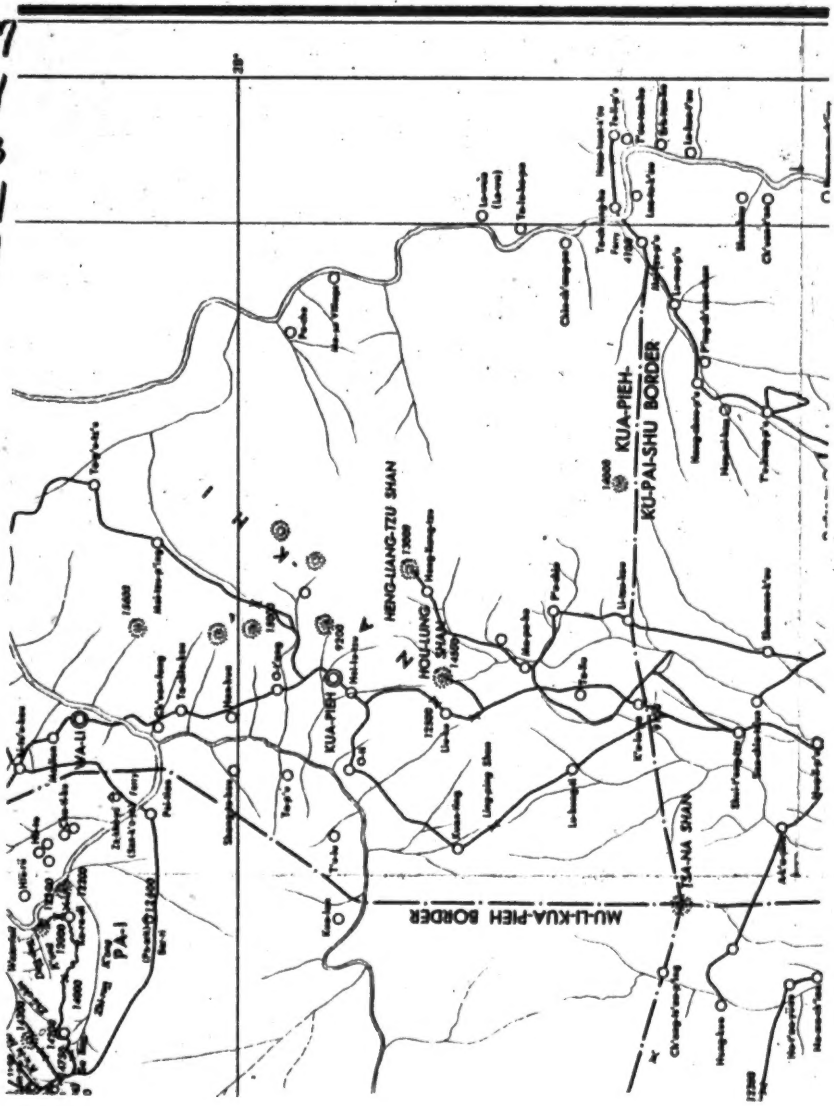

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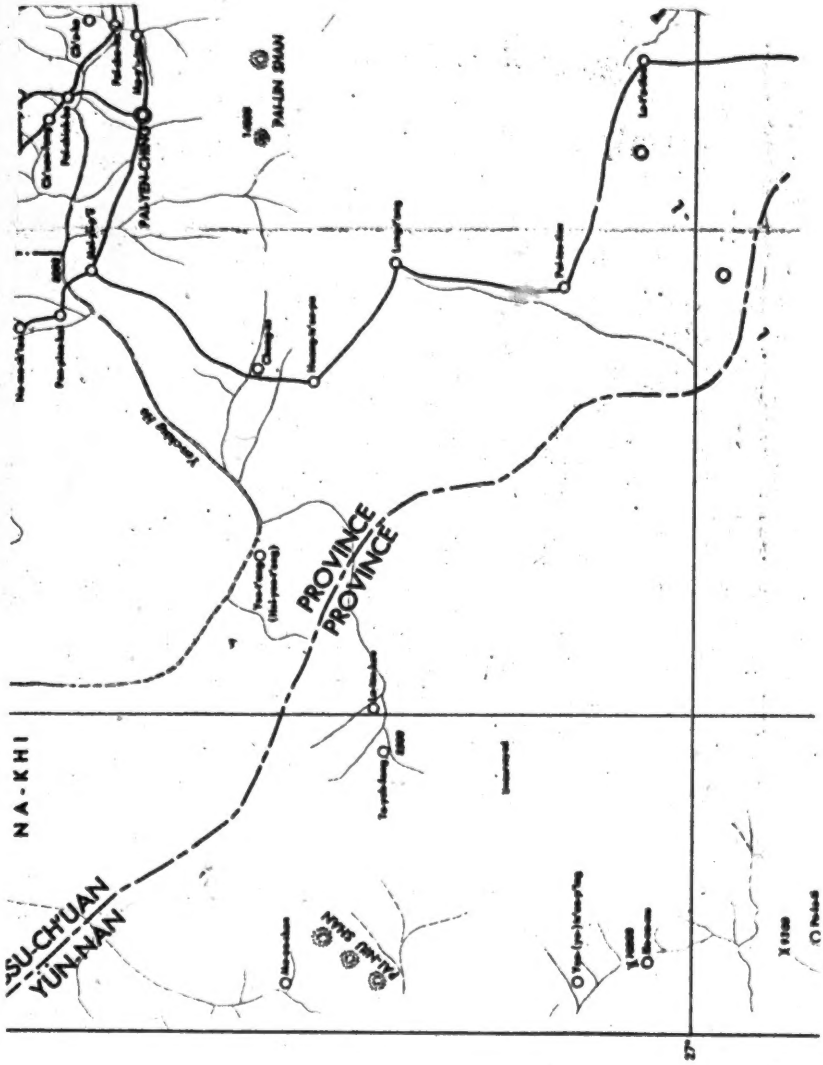

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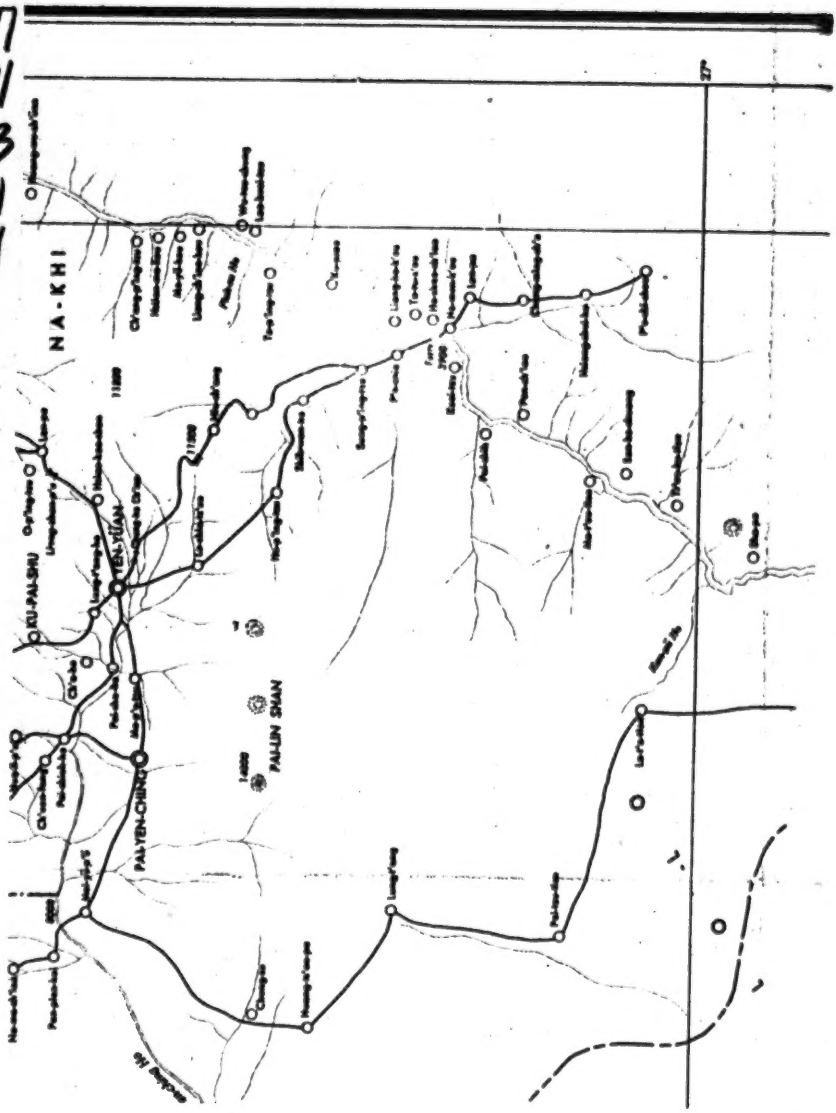

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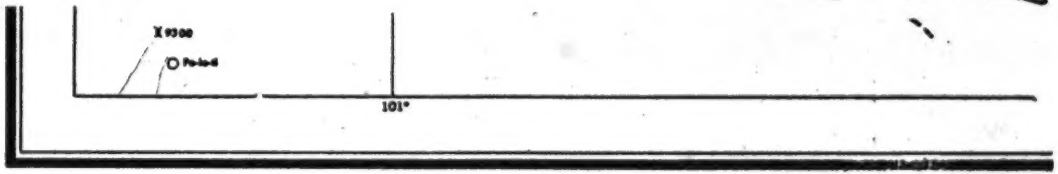

AMS L406

First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1928-31 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1895, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-15, Comte CH. de Polignac 1910.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lole settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unemployed stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sister terrace

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

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102°

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

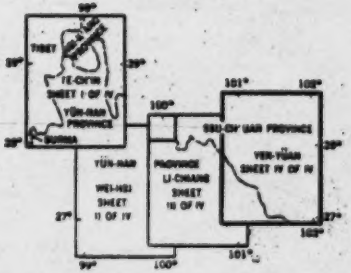
3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C., 144388
S-47 1947

INDEX TO SHEETS



YEN-YÜAN, CHINA

N2655-E10045/145x150

[End map IX H]

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S 131 622 P 131 622

Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50' and longitude 97° 45'. It is in the Northern Shan States and is part of the large tract of country governed by the sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

S 361 P 361

The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields. This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan, and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

S 101 P 101

This very civilised and widely spread race call themselves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they formerly governed a wide extent of country in western Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

[1] T'u-mu (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.
[2] Or Méng-mao according to the system of transliterating Chinese.
[3] Lat. 28° 10', long. 100° 50'.

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Pai-i AE7

One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'êng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 ●
Pai-i AE7

S P [302] 622

and disappointed when told that there was no demand in England for hair dyes of that colour. Perhaps the lapse of time has by now given him his heart's desire.

The San-ta sawbwa was a much younger man, with a decidedly intelligent but rather shifty-looking face, much pitted with small-pox. He was extremely anxious to learn about western inventions, and was greatly struck with our tents and heliographs. He had not a very good reputation among the Shans and was said to have succeeded to the sawbwaship by putting one of his relatives out of the way. An account of his untimely end at the hands of the executioner will be found on a later page[1].

We had no escort of our own except a nominal one of a corporal and four men of the Yorkshire Regiment, whom we took more as a matter of dignity than from any anticipation of danger.

S P [291] S P [361]

Our second march took us into Möng Mow, the capital of the Chinese Shan State of that name. We were met about a mile from the town by some Chinese troops and by some of the Shan followers of the Möng Na and Möng Mow sawbwas. The Möng Na men looked very well in green sleeveless coats with a black border, and most of them were armed with breech-loaders. The town is built at the foot of the bare range of hills which bounds the Shweli valley on the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall in a very fair state of repair. The place was en fête at the time, as one of the Möng Na sawbwa's four sons was just going to be married to a daughter of the Möng Mow chief.

We halted the next day and went to pay a visit to the sawbwa. His palace was a very small tumble-down building, and the sawbwa himself a little shrivelled-up looking man, extremely nervous in the presence of the Chinese officials, and I believe almost incapable of managing his affairs through over-indulgence in opium[2].

S P 545

In the evening we went to an amateur theatrical performance, in which most of the parts were taken by members of the two sawbwas' families. The piece was in Shan, but was a translation from the Chinese, and was all sung to the monotonous tune of the Chinese theatre.

[1] See page 189.
[2] He died not long after our visit.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16 •
Pai-i AE7

CHAPTER V

MÖNG MOW TO MANWAING AND BHAMO.

Leave Möng Mow—A village of outlawed Chinese—An impenetrable hedge—The Möng Wan plain—The Chinese Shans—Their dress—The Möng Mow dress—Möng Wan—A boy sawbwa—The Ho-hsa chief—A fine old gentleman—La-hsa—A recent rebellion—The sawbwa in trouble—A pleasant unsophisticated old chief—The valley of Ho-hsa and La-hsa—Its A-ch'ang inhabitants—A distinct race from the Shans—The sawbwas of Chinese extraction—Man-waing—The Trade Protection Levy—A Chinese dinner—Playing *mora*—Margary's murder—Responsibility of officials for murders in China—Chinese soldiers—Cartridges that do not fit the rifles—A Panthay officer—Kachins' heads in baskets—Back to Bhamo.

S
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On the 11th we started for Möng Wan, the next Shan state to the north. Our road led over the hills which divide the Shweli from its tributary the Nam Wan, and entailed an ascent of about 2000 feet and a corresponding descent on the other side to Sang-hawng or Chang-fêng-kai, which is the only place in the Möng Wan plain where there are any Chinamen living.

They are many of them men who have made things too hot for themselves elsewhere and have fled from justice to this out-of-the-way corner where Chinese officials are not likely to trouble them. No Yün-nan Chinaman would come and live here from choice. The level of the plain, like that of the Shweli, is about 3000 feet, and it is therefore considered too unhealthy to live in during the hot part of the year by men so liable to fever as the Yün-nanese.

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• 361

The village is well defended by a very thick and broad hedge of a sort of thorny bush through which it would be impossible to penetrate without deliberately cutting a way. It is doubtless intended as a precaution against attack by the Kachins who inhabit the surrounding hills. I have seen the same sort of hedge round Wa villages, east of the Salween.

[p.24]

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S P 291 Shan women, and with coloured fringes hanging down on each side, while the petticoat is often of large checks of red, white and green.

S P 622 On the 13th a level road through numerous villages took us to Möng Wan, the capital of the state. We were met at the entrance to the town by the sawbwa, a boy of 10, and his two *amats* or ministers, one a Hu-nan Chinaman, the other a Möng Na Shan. All three made profound obeisances, and we went on into the town and were put up in a very good three-roomed brick house.

S P [361] [342] The place contains about 300 houses. Its narrow paved streets and closely-packed houses of soft brick make it look more like a Chinese town, but it is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. The sawbwa was at that time too young to take any part in the management of the state, and his mother, according to Shan custom, was acting as regent till he was old enough.

The next day, still marching in a northerly direction, we forded the Nam Wan, crossed the range of hills which divides the Shweli from the Taping basin at 5300 feet, descended very steeply into the Ho-hsa[1] valley, and crossed the Nam Hsa, a stream 15 yards wide, into the capital of the Ho-hsa state, a town of only 70 houses.

We were received by the sawbwa, a fine-looking old gentleman of 66, with a white moustache and quite a hooked nose. He is the same chief who is mentioned in Dr Anderson's book, *From Mandalay to Momien*, and he remembered all the names of the members of Colonel Sladen's expedition who had visited him in 1868. He said they had stayed with him a long time, and he appeared to have most pleasant recollections of their visit.

S P [302] On the 15th January a march of seven miles brought us to La-hsa, the capital of the other state into which the Nam Hsa plain is divided. The sawbwa, a man of 56, wore his beard as well as his hair plaited into a pigtail.

He had lately got into trouble with the Chinese authorities. A Shan priest, a native of Möng Cheng[2], a state lying east of the Salween, arrived in La-hsa, and on

[1] Called Hu-sa by the Chinese.
[2] Chên-k'ang in Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-1 AE7

the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son is fit to act as regent.

The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice cultivation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

The chief claim to interest of these two states is that they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

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505 133 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

• 361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by China-men, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

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622 looked on with suspicion by the Chinese Government, owing to a rebellion which his elder brother and predecessor started three years before. He is now only allowed to rule over the purely Shan villages of the State, those places in which there are any Chinamen living being administered by the Chinese head-man at Kuan-shang[1].

From the account given to my interpreter by this individual, my arrival on the boundary seems to have caused no small stir both at San-si and at T'êng-yüeh. The news was at once sent on to the T'êng-yüeh official, and the 50 soldiers who form the garrison of San-si were sent up to the Lao-kuan-ch'êng Gate and slept there a night. The excitement was not allayed till my messenger from Méng-ka arrived with the news that the 200 infantry and 60 cavalry had resolved themselves into 10 baggage mules and seven unarmed men.

162 The inhabitants of San-si are chiefly Shan, but there is also a considerable Chinese population, amounting perhaps •361 to one sixth or one eighth of the whole. The Taping 133 river runs through the plain from north to south, and it is noticeable that the Shan villages on its right bank are all surrounded by walls, as a protection no doubt against the Kachins who inhabit the hills to the west. The San-si plain is in this latitude the eastern boundary of the Kachin country, the hills to the east of it being peopled by Chinese. The height of the plain is only 3,300 feet.

On the 12th January we crossed the Taping by ferry. The river averages 80 yards in width and at this time of year there are places where waist-deep fords can be found in it. A good deal of hill climbing brought us to the small village of Hsiao-ti-fang where we camped for the night. Here again there was unmelted ice all day, and the night was very cold.

361 This, like many of the frontier villages, was originally a military post placed here by the Chinese authorities to control the border tribes. They have now, however, been settled down as farmers for many generations, though I believe they still receive some small pay or remission of taxes from the Chinese Government. It is probably by

[1] I heard on a subsequent journey that San-si had been handed over to the Sawbwa of Mong Ti (Nan-tien), but do not know if this is true.

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military colonies that this part of Yün-nan was originally peopled by the Chinese. Throughout the T'êng-yüeh and Lung-ling districts the word used for a village is "chai," which really means a fortified post. 361●

In the early morning of the 13th a letter was brought to me containing a telegram from the Deputy Commissioner at Bhamo asking me to wait a little, as the T'êng-yüeh authorities objected to my entering Yün-nan. I had already been in Yün-nan a week without any valid objection being offered to my proceeding, and I guessed that the real reason of the objections of the T'êng-yüeh authorities was the report that had been spread that I was coming in with a large force. I therefore decided to disregard this telegram and go on and see the T'êng-yüeh officials myself. 000

From Hsiao-ti-fang there is a steep climb to the top of a range at 8,300 feet. The descent on the other side ends with four or five miles of a deep gorge into the Mien-ch'in plain. While riding down this gorge I was met by a Chinese officer with a few men. He seemed suspicious and asked why I was coming by that road. I produced my passport and he became more civil and suggested that we should go on to Mien-ch'in and talk the matter over. He went on ahead, and when I arrived there he sent a civil message to say he would start early the next morning, taking with him a copy of my passport, and would leave four of his men to escort me in. He also added that he would come over himself and see me soon.

I anticipated his visit and went to call on him and found him very civil and even cordial in his manner. His name was Yang and he was staff officer to the general at T'êng-yüeh. He said he had met Margary at Sha-yang and had been friendly with a French priest who formerly lived at Yang-pi. He was apologetic about the way he had stopped me on the road, and said his object was to come on to San-si and prevent me being kept waiting there by the local officials. This was of course a polite fiction. No doubt the T'êng-yüeh authorities thought I was coming in without a passport, and had sent him to turn me back if such should be the case.

On the 14th we crossed a rocky ridge a few hundred feet high through small fields divided by stone walls, and 133

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712 an old moat, but this is exceptional, for in Yün-nan it is rare to find a town with a moat round it. These walled cities are found all over China, built in much the same sort of way. The Chinese have found them extremely useful in the numerous rebellions which have taken place in that country. Even against modern armies the solidity of these defences would make them formidable obstacles if well defended, especially in a country like Yün-nan where nothing larger than mountain artillery could be brought against them.

• 361 T'êng-yüeh has another peculiarity which is characteristic of most Chinese towns, namely, that there are large open spaces and even fields within the city walls, while the principal shops and business houses are in the suburbs. This latter fact is probably to be accounted for by the rule which prevails throughout China that the city gates should be shut all night, so that people coming home late have to seek a lodging outside or to present the officer of the guard with a tip of perhaps as much as threepence to be allowed to go in. At T'êng-yüeh in fact many of the richest merchants do not live in the town at all, but at Ho-shun-hsiang, Yi-lo or one of the other large villages in the plain.

101 The real original name of T'êng-yüeh given it by the Shans, who no doubt inhabited it before the arrival of the Chinese, was Möng Myen, and by this name the Shans still know it. Momien, as the town is often called by Europeans, is merely the Burmese corruption of this. The origin of the Chinese name I discovered some years afterwards while travelling in a distant part of Yün-nan. Near Ch'ü-ching Fu, which lies to the east of the capital of the province, is a place called Yüeh-chou, formerly a town of the "chou" class. But as it has two other official towns within easy reach, one on each side of it, it was not considered necessary to keep it up, and it was reduced to the rank of a village, and Momien made an official town instead of it. The first syllable "t'êng" means to "fly away from" or "move away from," so that the name T'êng-yüeh Chou means "Moved away from Yüeh Chou." At present its official title is T'êng-yüeh T'ing, but the inhabitants of the place invariably refer to it as T'êng-yüeh Chou, and on the stone guide-posts, which one finds at nearly every cross-road about here, it is always called "the chou."

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825 sucks animals down as they cross. Our mules were fortunate enough to get across without encountering this monster. It is perhaps hardly worth any naturalist's while to come out to investigate this strange animal. A Chinaman likes to have a story to account for anything that takes place. In the spring and early summer there would be a good deal of melted snow in the water of the river, while the climate of the valley would be extremely hot and close. The sudden change from hot air into cold water might well produce cramp.

[241] The next day, a good up-hill road brought us to P'u-p'iao, a little plain covered with villages and well cultivated with the winter crops—beans, wheat, and opium. On this march there is an alternative road to Yung-ch'ang, branching off from the village of Fang-ma-ch'ang; it is said to be shorter but more hilly than the main road which I took. Gill travelled by it, but Baber and most other travellers have come by the same road as myself. Baber mentions that he heard that the stream which runs through the P'u-p'iao plain falls into a lake, but the answers to all my enquiries were that it joins the Salween. On the Chinese map there is a small lake marked a few miles lower down, but it is shown as the source of a small tributary of the main stream.

Our road on the 21st rose to the top of a bare range at 7000 feet, and a little beyond this the Yung-ch'ang plain came in sight. The path descends to the plain at the village of A-shih-wo, just before reaching which a cave is passed in the hillside to the left which is said to go right through the hill and come out on the other side.

•361 312 The plain of Yung-ch'ang Fu is about 18 miles long and six miles wide, covered with villages and well cultivated; it is one of the largest and richest in the province. As in many other plains there is a summer crop of rice, and after the rice has been harvested in the autumn, the winter crops of beans, opium or wheat are put in. A good-sized stream running from north to south irrigates a great part of the plain, and water for this purpose is also collected in reservoirs where some of the side streams run down from the hills.

485 I put up at an inn in the middle of the town. The

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485 accommodation in a Chinese inn is rough, but quite comfortable enough. One gets a small room with a table and a chair or two, and a plank bedstead. Going to an inn saves a lot of trouble, as the traveller can get firewood and hot water at once without difficulty, and also corn and straw for the mules. In Yung-ch'ang I found I was not bothered by the crowd, and was left alone as much as if I had been in my own house. This is by no means the case everywhere, and the inn yard is often densely packed with spectators. When this happens I should recommend the traveller to get an upstairs room where, as far as my experience goes, he will be quite free from molestation; it is in any case far easier to kick a man downstairs than to clear an inn yard which may have more than one entrance.

• 361 The town of Yung-ch'ang Fu I estimate to contain about 5000 houses. It was apparently originally a square, built at the foot of a little knoll which forms the end of a spur running down from the range to the west. It seems, however, to have struck some Chinese tactician that an enemy on this hill might make it unpleasant for the garrison of the town, and the northern and southern walls have been extended and bent round so as to meet each other and enclose this little knoll, though even with this the town still remains commanded at short range from the spur beyond. The flat part of the town is about half built over, the rest of the space being taken up with gardens. On the hill there are a few temples built among fir woods, and I actually put up a cock pheasant here within the city wall. This little hill is called Pao Shan and it is from this that Yung-ch'ang takes its *hsien* name of Pao-shan Hsien.

366 The main bazar street which runs from north to south
262 down the centre of the town is crowded all day and every day, but from the appearance of the place and from enquiries made, I do not think it is as large a trade centre as T'êng-yüeh. It is an excellent place for buying provisions: oranges, pears, pine-apples, carrots, cabbages, beans, radishes, and potato-like roots are to be got here, and doubtless several other sorts of vegetables and fruits at
251 other seasons. They also sell cured ducks and geese, not
262 unlike ham, but very salt; this industry is chiefly in the

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go out and pay visits to their friends. Spending the day 527
paying calls does not sound very lively, but the Chinese are an extraordinarily sociable people and find great amusement in going to their neighbours' houses to talk and drink tea. Most people keep up the holiday for a few days, and there is not much business done for a fortnight after the New Year. It is quite contrary to Chinese custom to travel on New Year's Day, but both on this and subsequent occasions I found no difficulty in getting my Chinese followers to march. They were away from their own homes and had no friends in the place, so had no particular desire to stay and keep the New Year among strangers.

Our march on the 26th was as usual a hilly one. It began 000
with an ascent of 3,300 feet and a descent of 2,300 feet. After that another spur of 600 feet had to be crossed into the plain of Yung-p'ing Hsien. The first village reached [361]
is Ch'ü-tung, which contains about 600 houses inhabited chiefly by Panthays. The inn here was an exceptionally good one, kept by a lady who had originally been Chinese, but having the bad luck in her youth to be in some town captured by the rebels, had been forcibly converted to Mahommedanism and married to a Panthay. This incident did not seem to have affected her cheerfulness. The Chinese very soon resign themselves to circumstances. Certainly in this case it had happened twenty-five or thirty years ago, so she had had time to get over it.

The plain of Yung-p'ing only measures some four miles by two. The main road does not pass through the town, which, though the residence of the official, is a smaller place than Ch'ü-tung. On this march the snow-capped range of mountains near Ta-li Fu was visible for the first time.

The next four days took us from Sha-yang to Yang-pi, over a country in which there is absolutely no level ground. Sha-sung-shao, a little village among pine forests, was our sleeping place on the first day. On the 28th we crossed the range which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi river at a height a little over 8000 feet and descended to Huang-lien-p'u, which is built on a steep hillside shut in closely by hills on all sides. It contains a very good *hsing-t'ai* or Government rest-house, where we slept. [485]

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000 On the next day the Shun-pi Ho was crossed by an iron-chain bridge, and a big spur traversed to T'ai-p'ing-p'u, a village inhabited by Lo-los, who have however adopted Chinese customs and the Chinese language. This was the first time I had come across this widely-spread tribe, though in my subsequent travels I saw a great deal of them.

The original village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u was down at the bottom of a valley, and the road used to go through it, but a few years ago a heavy flood carried away many of the houses, and most of the inhabitants moved to the present site half a mile up the hillside.

On the 30th we crossed a range at 8,350 feet and descended pretty steeply to Yang-pi, crossing the Yang-pi river by another iron-chain bridge just before entering the town. This stream, which is not navigated, is here 40 or
• 361 50 yards wide with a strong current. The town is built in two bits, each surrounded by a mud wall full of breaches, and has a good many Panthays among its population. It is a place of no importance, and is not an official town at all.

000 From Yang-pi to Ta-li in a straight line is a very short distance, but between these two places lies the Ts'ang Shan, by far the finest mountain range of Yün-nan, except perhaps some of those in the Tibetan part of the province. Its height is 14,000 feet, and it is so steep that no recognised road crosses it. There is, however, said to be a track over it by which animals can be got through, and I was sorry that neither in this nor in a subsequent visit to Ta-li could I find time to explore this path.

The main road makes a considerable circuit to the south and goes right round the southern end of the range. It follows down the left bank of the Yang-pi river for 10 miles and then turns up its tributary the Hsia-kuan Ho to Ho-chiang-p'u, where we slept on the 31st. The Yang-pi river has a tremendous current, but it is nothing compared with the Hsia-kuan Ho, which is a rushing torrent covered with foam all along, running in a gorge between steep, bare hills, which rise some thousands of feet above it on either side.

Our road of the 1st February crossed this stream by a wooden bridge and led up its left bank all the way to the

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000 town of Hsia-kuan. There is also a path up the right bank, but it does not seem to be much used. About a mile
712 short of the town are the famous Hsia-kuan forts. Here for 500 yards or so the valley narrows in and the sides become precipitous. The gorge is closed by two archways, one on each side of the stream, which completely block the roads. On the right bank there is in addition a small stone block-house, and a stone wall runs along the bank of the river up to the town so as to flank the roads down either bank. The whole would be very effectual against an enemy who came along the road, but there is nothing in the world to prevent men climbing the hills on either side a mile before coming to the "gate" and thus getting round and coming down on it from above.

The Hsia-kuan Ho, which is from 20 to 30 yards wide through most of its course, narrows down at the point where the archways are to a width of scarcely more than six feet. There is a big stone laid across it here, which it is said has been crossed by venturesome individuals, but the sides leading down to it are so steep and slippery that anyone attempting this feat would probably tumble in and be drowned. The current here is tremendous.

361 Hsia-kuan is a prosperous commercial town with a population of perhaps 10,000. There is no official here. Ta-li is the official town, and Hsia-kuan the business town. All the merchants live at Hsia-kuan and not at Ta-li, which lies a few miles off the main road from Yün-nan Fu to Burma.

On the 2nd February eight miles of perfectly level road brought us into Ta-li Fu. The road is unfortunately paved and the stone being volcanic is unusually slippery and most difficult to ride or walk over. The plain is some two miles wide, with the Ta-li lake to the east and the Ts'ang Shan mountains rising 7000 feet above it to the west. Villages are numerous, and between the road and the lake the plain is well cultivated, but on the left of the road it is chiefly stones and graves.

764 Graveyards in China are not the enclosed churchyards or cemeteries that we are accustomed to. Each family has its own burying-ground, and they are often in most picturesque places in the hills among fir woods. Round every town

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764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

•361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Êrh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

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000 of A-lu-shih, which contains 150 houses—a large place for this hilly country. It is inhabited by a people with the bump of curiosity very largely developed.

The next morning we crossed the top of a range at 8,400 feet and from there dropped 3000 feet in three miles to Sung-lin-tang, a very small village which contains however a fairly good official rest-house. During this descent the green-coloured water of the Mekong was occasionally to be seen in the deep valley below.

On the 13th a further descent brought us to this river at an elevation of 3,400 feet above the sea. The valley is of exactly the same character as where it is crossed on the Yung-ch'ang–Ta-li road, the river running in a deep gorge, with steep, almost inaccessible, hills rising up from it. There is not an inch of level ground outside the river bed, which is from 80 to 100 yards wide, and is pretty well filled up with water. The current is strong, and rapids numerous.

491 We crossed by an iron-chain suspension bridge of the same type as those previously described. It is built where the river passes between two precipitous rocks, is 75 yards long, and consists of a plank roadway supported by 14 iron chains, the ends of which are embedded in brick piers. At that time the bridge was a little shaky and swayed about a good deal as one passed over it, and there was a man posted there to warn travellers that only one animal must pass over at a time. After crossing, the road turns westward and follows the river bank for some distance before ascending steeply to Hsin-ts'un, where we put up for the night.

On the 14th February we crossed another range and descended to the town of Shun-ning, always pronounced
241 Shun-ling by the Yünnanese. There is nothing to call
311 a plain here, but a fairly level strip of cultivated ground, half a mile in width, runs along a little stream called the Pei-ch'iao Ho, and tiers of terraced fields rise again above this on each side.

361 The town is built on the west side of the valley, on the lower spurs of the hills, and is about 5,400 feet above sea level. It is an irregular shaped polygonal a mile in perimeter, surrounded by a 15 feet brick wall backed up on the inside by the usual earth parapet. The space within

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●361 the walls is fairly well filled with houses and contains some 600 or 700.

511 The whole town and district[1] are very poor, a fact to which the broken bridges and unrepaired roads testify. There does not seem to be a single merchant of any importance in the place, and mules and ponies are scarce. In fact there appears to be absolutely no trade in the district except in the necessaries of life, and the whole way from Ta-li to Shun-ning we did not meet a single mule caravan, or even a pedlar on foot.

The city magistrate came to see me in the evening and was very civil. He was a Chiang-hsi man and much more inclined to be obliging than the majority of Chinese officials. I halted a day at Shun-ning and went to call on the mandarins. The magistrate had never heard of Kun-long himself, but he got out his map and sent for men who knew the country, and did his best to help me. It appears there are two roads, one through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), and the other through Yün Chou and Mien-ning T'ing. The former was said to be the shorter, but is hilly and difficult. The Yün Chou route seemed to offer the best prospect of a possible railway line or trade route, so I decided to go by it.

712 There is only a very small garrison at Shun-ning. It was then commanded by an old white-moustached gentleman of 60, who had, however, only attained the rank of *Shou-pi* or lieutenant. So promotion is sometimes slow in the Chinese army. The military head-quarters of the Shun-ning district is at Mien-ning T'ing where there is a *Hsieh-t'ai* or colonel.

635 Shun-ning was originally a Shan state, and it is still known to Shans by its original name of Möng Hköng. It has now for a long time been a Chinese district, but the Shan or half Shan origin of the people is plainly visible in their features. So much like Shans did some of them appear to me that I stopped one man on the road and asked him if he was not a Shan, but he did not take it at all as a compliment, and his companions were much amused at the question.

000 One day at Shun-ning was quite enough, and I was glad to get out of the miserable one-storied inn in which we

[1] [Shun-ning -- Analyst]

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000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 438 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

294 438 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou 241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

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000 shed at 5,600 feet, one of the lowest points in this part of the range. From here we went by an equally gradual descent
S to T'ou-tao-shui, a little village in which a market is held
733 every five days. The small official in charge of the police here came to see me in the evening somewhat the worse for liquor, and I saw three or four other men in the same state, rather an unusual sight in China. Most Chinamen drink rice spirit, but they seem to know when they have had enough, and one seldom sees a drunken man.

From T'ou-tao-shui there are two roads on to Kun-long. The most direct route passes through Mêng-lai, but I took a longer and better road round by Mien-ning. The next day we had an easy march to Yi-wan-shui, and on the 20th we slept at La-tien-p'o, a village which lies on the Mêng-lai Ho, the main source of the Nam Ting. Still following
S up this stream we reached Mien-ning T'ing on the 22nd.
133 Since leaving Shun-ning the country and climate had been gradually changing, and we were now in a district more resembling the Shan States than the higher part of China we had hitherto been travelling in. The elevations
S of the hills are much lower, the climate considerably warmer,
[137] and the whole country is covered with jungle of a semi-tropical kind instead of the bare hills and pine forests of the districts further north.

S The Mien-ning plain is some seven miles long by three
361 miles wide. The town is built near the southern end of it on the left bank of the Mêng-lai Ho, a stream 30 yards wide and three or four feet deep, which runs down the middle of the plain from south to north. There is a great deal of vacant space inside the walls, and the town contains only 200 houses, but it is surrounded on all sides by suburbs amounting to another 300 or 400. The largest suburb is on the east, and this appears to be the chief commercial quarter, such as it is. The inns are miserable, and I found quarters in a good-sized temple, built by the Ssŭ-ch'uan
P residents of the place.

Mien-ning is always pronounced Mien-ling by the
177 inhabitants. It was originally a Shan state, and its proper Shan name is Möng Myen. There are still a great many of this race living here, but the Chinese are now in the majority, and the Shans are taking very much to Chinese

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000 we had a long descent of over 3000 feet to Wan-nien-chuang. This village is Chinese, but Se-pyek a mile further on is inhabited by Shans, among whom are included some Hküns, the branch of the Tai race who inhabit Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States.

There appear to be several Hkün families living among the Chinese Shans of this neighbourhood. How they had got here they did not seem to know. It may be conjectured that some rebellion in or invasion of their native S state had compelled them to emigrate to such a distance. P The Chinese name for this race of Shans is K'ên-tzŭ.

631 Wan-nien-chuang marks the boundary between the district of Mien-ning and the Shan State of Kêng-ma[1]. This is one of the largest of the Chinese Shan States and S besides the Kêng-ma plain includes the districts of Mêng-P sa, Mêng-yung and Mêng-chien[2]. We were now in a [162] country in which there are very few Chinese. The plains are all inhabited by Shans, and the hills by Las, Lo-los, and La-hus, with a few scattered Chinese villages among them. The Lo-los are many of them of the Mêng-hua Lo-lo tribe. The Shans call them *Myen*, which is the usual Shan name for all branches of the Lo-lo race. The La-hus, called Lo-hei by the Chinese and Mu-hsö or Myen Mu-hsö by the Shans, inhabit a good deal of the country between S the Salween and the Mekong, and stretch down into Keng P Tung and northern Siam.

• 361 It rained a good deal in the night and the next morning, so we made a late start and did a short march of 7½ miles to Mêng-yung, a little Shan town of 180 houses surrounded by a mud wall. It is built on the right bank of a narrow stream running in a deep ravine. The plain is a very small one with little cultivation and contains no Shan villages except the town. I put up in a large well-built Shan monastery, and was an object of immense curiosity to the whole of the inhabitants of Mêng-yung.

000 Two marches from here brought us to Mêng-sa. The road there from Mang-hkü, where we slept on the 27th, after a little level going, begins to ascend up a narrow gorge by a paved road. Near the top it becomes steeper,

[1] Köng-ma in Shan.
[2] Möng Hsa, Möng Yawng, and Möng Kyen in Shan.

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000 and after passing the Chinese village of Ch'ing-mên-k'ou suddenly emerges through a gap in the hills into the plateau of Mêng-sa[1], which is 10 miles long by two or three miles wide, very bare and dry with little water in it. There
S are few irrigated fields, and consequently not many villages.
133 The small stream which waters the plateau comes in from the east close to the town, makes a bend round for two or three miles, and then runs straight into a range of hills, re-appearing again on the other side.

The disappearance of rivers into ranges of mountains is not at all an uncommon thing in Yün-nan and in the Shan States. I have seen four or five instances of it myself. One of the most remarkable occurs in the Taw-nio plateau near Kun-long ferry. Here all the streams run straight into a range of limestone hills, and come out the other side,
S crossing the Mêng-ting-Kunlong road, and falling into the
P Nam Ting.

[361] Mêng-sa is surrounded by a mud wall and contains
622 150 houses inhabited by Shans. Just before entering the town a dirty Chinese suburb of 50 houses is passed through. The younger brother of the Kêng-ma sawbwa lives here and governs the district. The sawbwa's son was also there at the time of my visit. He had been to Möng Cheng (Chên-k'ang) to be married, and was now on his way home with his bride, accompanied by a large train of followers on horseback.

The sawbwa had very civilly sent a man to meet me and to go with me as long as I was in his territory. He asked me to go round by the town of Kêng-ma, but I wanted to see the direct road to Kun-long and could not spare the time to make this detour. I was able to pay him
S a visit later on.
133 Looking back northward from the Mêng-sa plateau some fine snow-covered peaks were visible at no great distance off, in the range running down the right bank of the Nam Ting. This range is far the highest in this part of the country, and on a subsequent journey I calculated its height as nearly 11,500 feet.

000 Leaving Mêng-sa the next morning we climbed a big

[1] Möng-Hsa in Shan. Not to be confused with another Möng Hsa, a name often given to the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa (see p. 26).

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000 range of hills and on the next day dropped steeply down to
S the Nam Ting valley at Mêng-chien. During this descent
361 we passed through the mixed La and Chinese village of Ta-chai. This contains 450 houses, and though it is a hill village is quite the largest place in this part of the Chinese Shan States. It has some very fine trees round it and the hillsides are well cultivated. It is noticeable that the Las
S and Was live in much larger villages than any other hill
P tribe of Yün-nan.

361 Mêng-chien or Möng Kyen is a small place of no importance, inhabited by Shans. Its height is only 1,850 feet, the Nam Ting valley being one of the lowest parts of Yün-nan. In this warm climate the fresh green grass was already several inches high, and our mules got better grazing than they had had for a long time.

On the 3rd and 4th of March our road was nearly level, leading down the Nam Ting valley, chiefly through pretty thick jungle, with occasionally a Shan village and a patch of rice cultivation where a tributary stream joins the main river. Finally we emerged into the Mêng-ting[1] plain, which is 10 miles long and three miles wide with the river running
S down its northern edge. There are several villages scattered
P about in it, each surrounded by fine clumps of bamboo.
162 The people are partly Chinese Shans and partly Southern
311 Shans, the former predominating; but the population is not very large and there is a good deal of land uncultivated.
S Mêng-ting is a very small state, and only the lower or
P western part of this plain belongs to it, the upper half being
361 part of Kêng-ma. The town which is unwalled is built in two bits, separated by a small tributary of the Nam Ting, the sawbwa's residence lying on the right bank, and the market village on the left bank. During the dry season it is visited by a good many Panthay traders from Panglong,
S and I saw a large bullock caravan which had come from
P Nam-hkam with salt fish and cotton clothes.

622 I proposed to go and see the sawbwa, but a message arrived to say that he was ill and not up to receiving visitors. As a matter of fact there was nothing whatever the matter with him, but being of rather a nervous dis-

[1] Also called Hun-ting by the Chinese. Möng Ting is its Shan name.

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000 I went in to see him and was most favourably impressed with him. He seems to have done a good deal in the pacification of this part of the country, and was much liked and respected both by his own men and by the Shans, La-hus and other inhabitants of the district. He wanted me to go round by Chên-pien as he said it was the best road, but I was too much pressed for time to make a circuit and decided to go by the more direct road through Ch'üan-lo.

• 361 Chên-pien T'ing is the new town that the Chinese have established as capital of the newly formed district of the same name. This district has been made up out of what were formerly parts of P'u-êrh and Shun-ning. But up till the last few years Chinese rule had been a very nominal affair in this country, which had been practically independent and split up into small states ruled by Shan, La-hu, and Wa chiefs. The new town is near Möng Lang, one of the districts of the Shan State of Mêng-lien or Möng Lem.

Colonel Li gave me an escort of eight men, among whom were four fine-looking Panthays who belonged to the Colonel's body-guard. We went on another six miles and camped out on top of the range at a height of 6,500 feet.

361 Two more marches brought us to Ch'üan-lo[1], which stands on a gently sloping terrace which extends about 1½ miles each way, and is well cultivated. The town is oval in shape, is surrounded by a mud wall and contains 631 some 250 houses. It was formerly the capital of a La-hu state, till about 1891 the Chinese Government made it the civil headquarters of the newly established Chên-pien district. The offices were however soon afterwards removed to the present town of Chên-pien. This was found very unhealthy, and at the time of my visit there was some idea of moving back again to Ch'üan-lo. The Chinese magistrate of the place has the rank of *Hsün-chien*, which is inferior to that of *Chih-hsien*, but I found him very pleasant and civil and far superior in intelligence to many officials I had met of much higher rank. He had been for some time at Mêng-tzŭ, the treaty port on the Tong-king border, and had met Europeans there.

[1] Called Chen-lawt by the Shans.

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CHAPTER XII

SSŬ-MAO AND P'U-ÊRH.

The town and plain of Ssŭ-mao—A commercial centre—The famous P'u-êrh tea—Cotton—A treaty port—French travellers—A Tibetan caravan—The Ma-hei tribe—P'u-êrh—An official town—An uncivil official—A friendly Shan—Routes westward from P'u-êrh.

361 SSŬ-MAO T'ING was the first real Chinese town I had come across since leaving Mien-ning nearly six weeks before. It is built on the end of a low spur which runs down from the hills to the east of the plain and is surrounded by a 25 feet brick wall, about a mile in perimeter. Inside the city are some 1,300 houses, but the business quarter is in a large suburb of 1,700 houses outside the south gate. The plain is some 10 miles long by three miles wide, and is at an elevation of 4,800 feet. Like many other places in Yün-nan it was formerly a Shan state, and it is still known to the Shans by the name of Möng La.

438 It is, for Yün-nan, a large commercial centre, the trade
245 being principally confined to tea and cotton, both of which commodities are brought from the Shan States which lie to the south. The tea, which under the name of P'u-êrh tea is famous for its good quality throughout the Chinese Empire, is grown in the hills from six to twelve marches south of the town, in the Chinese Shan State of Keng Hung, or Chiu-lung-chiang as it is called by the Chinese. The principal tea-growing centres that I could hear of are Yi-pang, Yi-wu, Yu-lo, Man-sa, and Man-la, all of which places are in Keng Hung territory to the east of the Mekong. The yearly output is estimated at 15,000 mule-loads, which would amount to some 900 tons. Its price averages about
[434] three pounds for a rupee (1*s.* 4*d.*). The value of the annual export would then, if these figures are correct, amount roughly to 670,000 rupees, say £45,000.

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CHAPTER XIII

P'U-ÊRH TO KÊNG-MA.

Road to Wei-yüan—A curiously built town—Salt wells—Mêng-ka—The Mekong at Ta-pêng ferry—The La-hus—Mêng-mêng—The P'u-mans—The Kêng-ma plateau—The sawbwa—Five-day markets—Variety of races—A native of Lucknow.

000 We left P'u-êrh on the 8th April, and reached Wei-yüan T'ing in five short marches. The country through which we passed is inhabited chiefly by Chinese with a few villages of Shans and Ma-hei. It is hilly of course, but perhaps the path is not quite so up and down as most Yün-nanese roads, though it certainly comprises an ascent of over 2000 feet from Mêng-nai to Yi-wan-shui, and a final descent of nearly 3000 feet into the Wei-yüan plain.

361 This town, which is called Möng Waw (i.e. mine country) by the Shans, is built in a plain some 12 miles long and three miles broad with the Nam Waw or Wei-yüan Chiang, a river some 80 yards wide but only three feet deep in the dry season, running down the middle of it from north to south.

The town is in three bits. First there is the original town, which is still surrounded by a brick wall but has now only a dozen small houses and one or two temples scattered about in it. Then there is the new town, which is built just to the north of and actually touching the old town, and is inhabited almost entirely by Shans, who form the bulk of the population of the plain.

Finally there is the Chinese quarter which consists of a temple and one street 500 yards long, built down close to the river bank. Here the Chinese officials and a few traders live. The reason given me for the abandonment of the old town was its unhealthiness, but why a new town built actually touching it should be more sanitary is difficult

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to understand. The place was originally a Shan state but has now become a *t'ing* under a regular Chinese official. 361

After my experience in P'u-êrh I had rather made up my mind to give up calling on officials, but the Wei-yüan *T'ing* came to see me himself soon after I arrived and was very friendly. The principal product of the place is salt. There are several mines in the valley of the Wei-yüan Chiang, and there is a good deal of trade in this commodity with the neighbouring districts. The elevation of the plain is about 3000 feet and the place is considered feverish by the Chinese. 317

Two more days crossing a range at 6,300 feet brought us on the 14th April to Mêng-ka[1], which, like Wei-yüan, was formerly a Shan state and still has a Shan sawbwa, though the place is now incorporated in the Wei-yüan district. The plain lies somewhat higher than that of Wei-yüan and, though some 15 miles long, is much cut up by rather high-lying ground, which cannot be irrigated and is uncultivated and covered with jungle. Mêng-ka is not a place of any importance, and there is little or no trade in it. The population of the place is Shan, but in the town itself there is a Chinese bazar village, and a few families of Panthays also live here. 000 563

I halted a day to rest the mules and left again on the 16th. Our road took us gradually up a range of 7000 feet, from which there is a magnificent view of the surrounding hills and of the course of the Mekong valley, which can be traced for a long way. The next day a very steep descent brought us to the Mekong which we crossed by a large punt-shaped ferry-boat to the mixed Shan and Chinese village of Ta-pêng or Ta-pong. The river is as usual shut in by very steep hills. It is about 100 yards wide, with a strong current and full of rapids, so much so that in the rains the ferry is sometimes impassable for a few days at a time. Probably this is also the case with other ferries over the Mekong. The height of the river at Ta-pêng is 2,800 feet. 000

On the 18th we had a very stiff piece of climbing, reaching the top of the range at 7,400 feet. From here the

[1] Möng Ka in Shan.

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language. The fact seems to be that the P'u-mans have 563
become so split up into small and isolated communities, that many of them have lost their own language. It was not till a subsequent journey in 1899 that I came across P'u-mans who had a language of their own[1].

On the 23rd April we arrived at Kêng-ma. The town 133
is built in a plateau, a most unusual formation for this part of Yün-nan, where one generally finds nothing but a series of ranges of mountains and comparatively narrow valleys. The plateau measures about 15 miles from north to south and half this distance across. To the east, separated from it by low hills, is the Nam Hpyit[2], while two other streams run across the plateau in a generally easterly direction and find their way through gaps in these hills into that river. It is along these two streams and their small tributaries [361] that the greater number of the villages are situated, as they are here able to cultivate narrow strips of paddy. Most of the plateau consists of open grass land, lying too high to be irrigated and not much cultivated.

The town is pleasantly placed on rising ground, and 361
contains about 300 houses, built of mud or soft bricks. The climate is excellent, and I found it quite cool at this, the hottest time of the year, though the height is only 3,850 feet. The place seems prosperous, and there were a good many Chinese traders there, among whom I found the Panthay merchant whom I had seen in Yung-ch'ang[3]. He told me that since we last met he had spoken about the proposed railway extension to Kun-long to other traders, who all agreed that it would be an excellent thing for the trade of this part of China.

The sawbwa's son came to see me soon after my 622
arrival. Having reached the age of 25, he had now taken over the government of the state, his father retiring in his favour. This is an almost universal custom among Chinese Shans. The father, however, still remains the nominal head of the state, and the son is not recognised by the Chinese Government until the father dies. Kêng-ma is one of the largest and best governed Shan States in the province of Yün-nan.

[1] See p. 146. [2] Nan-p'i Ho in Chinese. [3] See p. 59.

000 Chên-k'ang and get fresh men sent across from there to meet me. The next day nine miles of very hilly going brought us to Ma-li-p'ing, a large village at an elevation of nearly 7000 feet, and consequently quite cool, almost cold in fact.

On the 29th I sent on early to Mêng-hung[1] to say I was coming, and about two miles short of the town I found a man waiting in the road. He had been sent out to ask me to go round by Chên-k'ang, as there were a lot of soldiers in Mêng-hung who had just returned from an expedition against some rebels. This would have meant a detour of two or three days, so I told him I could not do so and went on towards the town. My interpreter and myself rode on ahead of the mules, and soon came on the victorious army, a miscellaneous rabble of Las, Shans, and Chinamen, armed with guns and spears. An individual, who appeared to be some sort of officer, was sitting in the road and told us we could not go on, as the town was full of soldiers. I asked him who he was, but not getting any particular answer, rode on. He then followed us and said that if we persisted in going on he would get his men together and stop us by force. We took no notice of him and rode into the town without anyone hindering us. The proper headman was said to be away in Chên-k'ang, but finally an old man was produced. I showed him my passport, but no one had learning enough to read it, so my interpreter read it to them. After some consultation in their own La language they produced two men as guides, one of whom was half or three-quarters idiotic. Both of them said they did not know the way, so I went on without them, and told the old man I should report to the Chinese officials that I had shown my passport and been refused guides. I then looked round for the man who had threatened to stop us entering the town, but found he had disappeared about the time of the reading of the passport. We had no difficulty in finding the road by asking people we met, and we slept in a Chinaman's house at the village of K'a-fang.

• [361] 563 Mêng-hung is a place of about 100 houses, surrounded by a wall. Its population is chiefly La, but there are a

[1] Mong Hom is the proper Shan name of this place.

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good many Chinamen living there too, and most of the 563
people appear to talk both languages. They are well
known as the biggest blackguards in this part of Yün-nan, 579
and many of them are wanted by the Chinese Government for murders and other crimes, but the country is so little under Chinese control that the officials are not very keen on trying to make arrests. On a subsequent journey I again had trouble at that very town[1], the only place in Yün-nan where I have ever encountered anything like organised opposition. Mêng-hung is in Chên-k'ang territory, but the sawbwa of the latter place finds it more than he can manage and has no real authority there.

The next day we reached Mêng-pun (Möng Pawn), a 361
Shan village of 40 houses, not to be confused with Mêng-p'êng (Möng Hpawng), a somewhat larger place a day's march off W.S.W. In the afternoon a man arrived who had been sent by the Chên-k'ang sawbwa to guide us on to Mang-shih. There had been a good deal of rain lately, and it fell heavily here at night.

The recent fighting from which the warriors I met at 669
Mêng-hung had just returned, was naturally the subject of conversation everywhere in this neighbourhood, and from enquiries made at different places I gathered the following as to its origin. About the year 1890 the late sawbwa of Chên-k'ang was going round his state, and while at the village of Ya-k'ou, which lies two or three marches south-west of the capital, he was murdered by his nephew Tao-lao-wu, who usurped the sawbwaship. He, however, only held it for a few days, as a Chinaman called Ma, who lives on the hills near Hsiao-mêng-t'ung (Möng Htawng), and is one of the principal head-men of the Chên-k'ang state, got some men together, marched on the capital, killed Tao-lao-wu, and dispersed his followers. The present sawbwa, who is the son of the murdered man, and was at that time only two years old, then became the nominal ruler of the state.

Since then the adherents of Tao-lao-wu had been constantly dacoiting in the western part of Chên-k'ang, near the Burmese border. The Chinese authorities accordingly

[1] See p. 136.

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A Shan village in the Kan-ai plain

[Face p. 114]

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000 Man-waing[1]. The trade along this route is fairly large in the cold season, and we passed some 500 mules, loaded chiefly with walnuts, chestnuts, pears, dried figs, and a little silk and tobacco.

From Man-waing on to T'êng-yüeh is a well-known road, previously traversed by several travellers, and described in detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, though the learned doctor gets rather mixed in his names of places.

Ryder and Watts-Jones took the main road which crosses the Taping by one of the numerous ferries over this part of its course, and goes up that river's left bank. I took a somewhat longer route round by Chan-ta[2] where I was hospitably entertained by the sawbwa, and rejoined the rest of the party at Chiu-ch'êng (Old city), the former capital of the Kan-ai[3] state. The present town is off the main road in between the two branches of the Taping just above where they join. Here lives the long-bearded sawbwa with whom we had been so friendly on our expedition to find the boundary "gates," and I was sorry I could not spare the time to go and see him.

133 Our route so far, after leaving Man-waing, had lain
[361] through a plain several miles wide, well cultivated with rice fields, and full of prosperous Shan villages, the part on the right bank of the Taping being Chan-ta territory, and that on the left bank Kan-ai. The capital of the latter state is near the head of the plain, and above this, steep bare hills close in on the Nam Ti, the Shan name for the eastern Taping, the valley of which the road follows up.

In fifteen miles or so the valley again opens out into the comparatively narrow plain of Möng Ti, or Nan-tien
[563] as the Chinese call it. This is also a Shan state, but the climate being cool enough for Yün-nan Chinamen to live in, they are gradually settling there, and the population is
[631] now nearly as much Chinese as Shan. The sawbwa rules a large extent of territory including Möng Yang and Möng Hüm, and I believe he is also in charge of Chan-hsi, though of this I am not quite certain.

000 In this plain we passed an encampment of wandering

[1] See p. 30. [2] San-ta in Shan. [3] Möng Na in Shan.

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The T'êng-yüeh mandarin and his children

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Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A quiet street in T'êng-yüeh

Plate XXVIII [Face p. 118]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

fitted with a handle to wheel along the road. These wheels 000
we found most accurate and satisfactory, and we all used them throughout our two seasons of surveying. Spare cyclometers had to be carried as they wear out in time.

On the 29th November I left T'êng-yüeh by the west gate and crossing a bare ridge by a low gap between two conspicuous peaks, descended into the fir-woods of the plateau country of Hsi-lien.

We slept at Mu-shui-ho, and found the country people extremely civil, a pleasant contrast to the T'êng-yüeh mob. One old gentleman was particularly communicative and offered to be my guide the next day to the mule and sheep breeding village of Lu-ts'ung-shan. We had a beautiful 361
walk there in the morning over undulating ground through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, the properties of different families being marked off by stone walls. The [245]
villages are quite hidden away in trees—peach, walnut, chestnut, plantain, golden bamboo, and the *tsung-pao* palm[1]. If a railway is ever made to T'êng-yüeh this plateau ought to become the hill station of Burma. Situated at 6000 feet above the sea in a beautiful well-watered country, I can imagine no more pleasant contrast with the scorching sun of Mandalay or the hot mugginess of Rangoon.

The simple villagers of Lu-ts'ung-shan I found rather 231
timid at first, frightened either of me or of the Chinese 438
soldier who accompanied me. But a more talkative man soon appeared. The sheep, it seems, are worth about two taels each (five rupees, or 6*s.* 4*d.*), and they use their wool for making rugs. They have tried taking the sheep to sell at Bhamo, but say that it does not pay. They cannot stand the warmer climate and want of grass in the Taping valley, and many of them die on the way. At present the mutton for Burma all comes from India, but with a railway to T'êng-yüeh, the want could no doubt be supplied from Yün-nan. The mule breeding here does not seem to be on a large scale. They get their donkeys from the province of Shen-hsi, and pay as much as 80 or 100 taels for them, a large price in this part of China.

Agricultural pursuits are not the only occupation of the 463

[1] See p. 77.

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and his son at the time of our visit being only 12 years old, his mother, according to Shan custom, ruled the country for him. The State comprises a great many Las, and many of the Chinamen are a decidedly rough lot, so that the old chieftainness finds her kingdom rather more than she can manage. It has an unenviable notoriety as a badly governed country where murders and rebellions are not uncommon, and it is compared very unfavourably with the neighbouring state of Kêng-ma. 631

The town, which contains some 300 houses, is built in a small and poor plain at an elevation of 2,950 feet. It is chiefly inhabited by Shans with a few Chinese, and the plain contains altogether about a dozen Shan villages. There is very little trade in the place. An occasional mule caravan from Ta-li or Yün Chou comes here to sell tea, iron pans, and other miscellaneous products of China, taking away with them opium which is grown by the Chinese villages on the surrounding hills, and seems to be the only export. 361 563 [438]

The sawbwa's Chinese secretary came to see us in the evening and was very apologetic about the behaviour of the Mêng-hung people. He described them as ignorant Las who would not listen to reason. I have no doubt the Chên-k'ang government stand in considerable dread of their lawless subjects.

The next day we marched across some low spurs into Mêng-ti (Möng Ti in Shan)[1], another small Shan plain. One of the numerous people who came to see us (or, to be more accurate, to stare at us) had lived several years in Rangoon and could talk Burmese quite well. 000

On this march we had a very high snow-capped range of hills on our right, dividing the Salween basin, which we were in, from the valley of the Nam Ting. This is the same range I had seen from Mêng-sa in 1895, and we were now able to determine its height as about 11,500 feet, an elevation which, though not uncommon in the north of Yün-nan, towers far above any of the other ranges at this latitude.

[1] This place must not be confused with the larger place of the same name which is called Nan-tien by the Chinese and lies on the T'êng-yüeh-Bhamo road.

Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu

006 to ung-pei T'ing, crossing the Yangtze by an iron chain bridge, thence turning south had recrossed that river by a ferry just above the mouth of the Ya-lung River and had come on through Ta-yao Hsien and Yao Chou.

•361 Chên-nan Chou is considered one of the poorest towns in Yün-nan. It contains perhaps 500 houses, all very small. There is scarcely any trade in the place, and a great many Chên-nan men are obliged to hire themselves out as mule drivers in other places to get a livelihood.

Two easy days of level marching brought us to Ch'u-hsiung Fu, or Ts'u-hsiung Fu as it is invariably called in Yün-nan. The people of this town are peculiarly conservative and exclusive. They have such an objection to strangers that no inn is allowed within the city walls, and no one from any other town is allowed to establish a shop. When the telegraph line was first taken through here, there was much commotion, and so determined was the opposition of the townspeople to this new-fangled means of communication that the telegraph office had to be put inside the Colonel's yamen, the only place where it would be safe from destruction.

186 177 206

One might expect such a conservative place to be very anti-foreign. But such is not the case. We found the people civil and friendly, and the missionaries who visit the place occasionally get on well with them, though they had so far failed to establish a permanent mission station here.

000 We put up at an excellent inn in the suburbs, with a very large upper-storey room, which was just what we wanted, as we had much work to do in putting our maps together, while our evenings were fully occupied in getting the longitude from Bhamo by telegraph. We were not the only Europeans in Ch'u-hsiung at the time, for we found two members of the China Inland Mission, Mr Nicholls and Mr Saunders, on a temporary visit here. On the day after our arrival we had quite a dinner-party to celebrate the meeting of six Englishmen in the middle of Yün-nan.

We halted four or five days at Ch'u-hsiung and rearranged our plans. Watts-Jones started again on the 15th March to continue the survey for the line on to Yün-nan Fu. Ker, accompanied by Ram Sabad, one of

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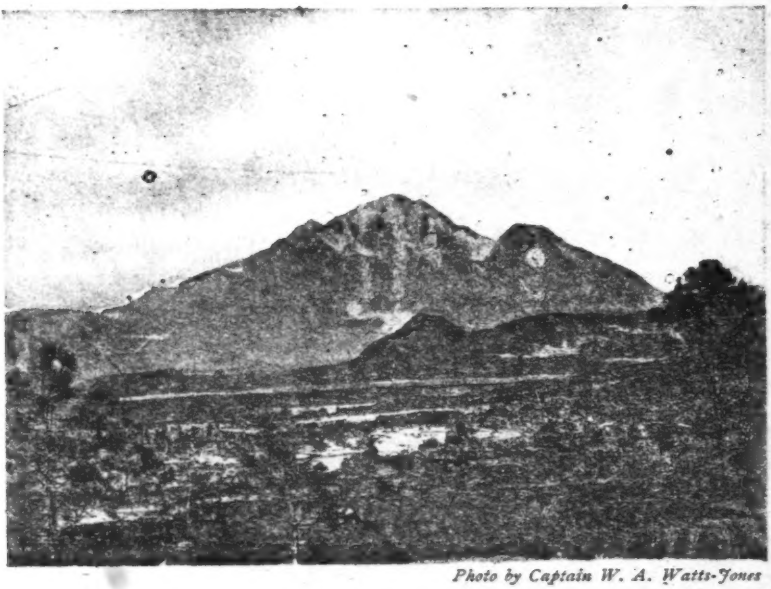

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The Li-chiang Fu peak, 18,000 ft.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Yün-nan Fu

Plate XXXVI

[Face p. 154]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Mr and Mrs Stevenson, and some other members of the China Inland Mission, who most kindly gave us much assistance in many ways. We were also fortunate enough to meet Mr Archibald Colquhoun, who has travelled much in China and other countries of the Far East, and had now come through Kuei-chou from the Yangtze and was on his way down to Tong-king. Mr Jensen, the Superintendent of Telegraphs, was away inspecting the line when we arrived, but soon afterwards came in. It was a great pleasure to renew acquaintance with him.

Our quarters at the inn were anything but pleasant, as the whole place smelt abominably, so Mr Stevenson kindly arranged that on Mr Colquhoun's departure we should go into the quarters he was occupying—a very nice little house in a small garden where we were free from all noise.

•361 The town of Yün-nan Fu is by far the largest in the province. It is surrounded by a fine brick wall, 30 feet high, and measuring about 4½ miles round. As usual in Chinese cities, a very large part of the population live in the suburbs, which extend to a considerable distance round three sides of the town. I should estimate the population, including suburbs, to be about 80,000, but this is not much more than a guess and I will not guarantee its accuracy.

The plain extends some 35 miles to the south and contains several other towns, but a large part of it is 505 taken up by the K'un-yang Lake. There is a good deal of navigation by large sailing-boats on this lake, both for the conveyance of passengers and cargo, and by means of a canal things can be brought right up to the west gate of the city.

719 Mr Jensen took us one day to see the arsenal. This is in charge of Chinamen, who have learnt their work from Europeans at Nanking or Shanghai. They make Krupp guns, Nordenfeldts, and rifles and cartridges. The machinery was worked by steam, but they had no steam hammers, so that the work is not likely to be first-rate. What they were making principally at the time of our visit was an enormously heavy rifle, between six and seven feet long, for two men to fire. The man in front rests it on his shoulder while the man behind fires it. These weapons, they explained to us, are meant to defend the city walls.

000 it on our right, passed through the village of T'ang-ch'ih, in the middle of which is a hot sulphur spring and a bathing-tank, much frequented by the rheumatic. After this we crossed another range, and descended steeply to the Yi-liang plain, which lies at 5,300 feet, an exceptionally low level for this part of Yün-nan.

•361 The town contains about 800 houses and is surrounded by the usual wall, but most of the inns and shops are in [436] a suburb outside the north gate. Their cotton and foreign goods reach them through Tong-king, and the only important local product is opium, which grows well here. The place is usually called Ni-liang by the Yün-nanese, and locally it is also known as Mi-liang.

The next day at the far edge of the plain we forded a river 70 yards wide, which runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, and then ascended on to a large plateau over which our route lay for the rest of the way to Lu-liang Chou.

133 This plateau ends to the north in a precipitous descent to the Ch'ü-ching River[1], while to the south the haze prevented me from seeing how far it extended. The general elevation averages well over 6000 feet, and it undulates so gently that carts are used all over it. There are a few fir trees in places, but the general character of the country is very bare and dry, with little rocky mounds rising out of it. Great pillars of sandstone rock 15 or 20 feet high standing in groups form a curious feature of the landscape, and might easily be taken for ruined buildings when seen [241] in the distance through the haze. The crops in this plateau are very poor and scanty: opium seems to grow better than anything else.

000 After two days and a half over this somewhat monotonous country, we again reached the Ch'ü-ching River. Crossing it by a fine thirteen-arch stone bridge, 120 yards long, we soon entered Lu-liang, which lies a little higher up on the right bank. The river here has a slow current and a depth of apparently three or four feet, but lower down between here and Yi-liang it seems to run in a deep gorge, and I could hear of no road up its banks in this part of its

[1] I do not think that the Chinese call the river by this name in this part of its course, but as it runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, I have thought best to so name it.

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course. This river I should mention is one of the sources of the West River of Canton. 000

Lu-liang Chou is one of the poorest towns I have seen, and is rather unlike the ordinary Chinese city, for, though it has a wall, the houses are much scattered about and the place is full of trees. There are scarcely any shops, and the people depend for their buying and selling on a market which is held every five days. 361

In spite of its poverty the town has a considerable reputation for scholarship, and many of its inhabitants are able to display over their doors the tablet which shows that they have taken a literary degree. We slept in a temple which an enterprising man had turned into an inn, and we were glad to find a watertight roof over us, for a very heavy thunderstorm burst in the evening.

From Lu-liang two level marches up the plain, through which the Ch'ü-ching River runs, brought us to Yüeh-chou. This is the place from which Momien derives its Chinese name of T'êng-Yüeh[1]. It still has walls round it, but is not now an official city, and much of the space inside it is taken up by fields, the main street of 200 houses being all that remains of the former town.

The next day, the 10th April, we reached Ch'ü-ching Fu, where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Allen of the China Inland Mission. The town, which stands at a height of 6,450 feet, contains about 1000 houses, and lies in one of the finest plains in Yün-nan. The plain is continuous from beyond Chan-yi Chou, a town lying north of Ch'ü-ching, down to below Lu-liang Chou, a total length of 50 miles, with an average width of five miles. The upper half of this plain, down to below Yüeh-chou, is very fertile, but nearer Lu-liang there are not so many irrigated fields and the crops are poor. I saw oats growing in one place near Ch'ü-ching, a crop I had not previously noticed in Yün-nan. I think it is only cultivated in the north-eastern part of the province. 241

Ch'ü-ching lies a little off the main road, and is not therefore a great trading place. Its principal industry is the weaving of cotton cloth from Indian yarn, which is im- 288 438

[1] See p. 45.

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000 ing for a railway with the sanction of the Chinese Government.

Passing Sung-lin, a village of two hundred houses with a mud wall round it, we took two days to reach Pan-ch'iao at the southern end of the Hsüan-wei plain. The country is undulating, and one passes through a series of little cultivated plateaus, with low rocky hills rising out of them, 316 and most of them without any running water. This part of Yün-nan is full of coal and hardly anything else is used as fuel. It is sold for 200 cash a cartload, which I calculate to be at about the rate of three shillings a ton.

000 On the 14th April I reached Hsüan-wei Chou, and found Watts-Jones there, established in a temple just inside the south gate. Here we were in telegraphic communication with the world again. Pottinger had arrived at Pi-chieh and hoped to meet us at Wei-ning Chou. We were very sorry to learn that Mr Tucker, who formed one of Pottinger's party, had returned to Ch'ung-k'ing suffering from pleurisy, and had died there of heart failure.

• 361 Hsüan-wei is a town of 800 houses and has two walls [316] round it, one inside the other. The plain in which it stands is a poor one, but the whole country round is full of coal mines which, with better means of communication, might 253 be extensively worked. Hsüan-wei is famous for its hams, which are excellent. Chinese hams vary very much. The best ones are very good, and this is the only form in which I ever ate pig in China.

After halting a day at Hsüan-wei, we left again on the 16th April, and soon found ourselves in a more hilly 186 country. In these parts the Chinese are in the habit of shouting out *yang kuei-tzŭ*, "foreign devil," an expression one does not hear very often in most parts of Yün-nan. In Hsüan-wei we had heard the little boys shouting it out as we walked about the town, but they took care to keep at a distance, and the Chinamen nearest us always wore a look of almost too complete innocence.

However our time for retaliation soon arrived. The day we left Hsüan-wei, Watts-Jones and I had walked on a little ahead and passed five or six Chinamen sitting by the roadside. Directly we had passed, we heard shouts of "yang kuei-tzŭ." We turned back at once and our

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

•361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. [316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

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312 here asked us to show them where to dig for water. The Chinese often credited us with the power of seeing what is under the earth. I suppose the idea is derived from embroidered narratives of the exploits of mining engineers.

The next march, over a dry, hilly country, brought us to Yao-chan, where we halted for a day as Watts-Jones had to go up a hill to the east to get a better idea of the 316 lie of the country. I took the opportunity to go up another hill to the west to do some surveying, and to visit a copper mine about two miles off.

This mine, they say, was formerly very productive and 2000 men are said to have found employment here. At the time of my visit there were not more than 100 miners at work. They live in little huts scattered about the valley, and there are three furnaces constantly kept burning to smelt the ore they dig out. The ore is mined out of the solid rock of which the hill is formed. There are no deep shafts: they cut caves out of the hillside, and the miners often live in the caves they are working in. They use hammers and iron wedges, and they say a man can get out a mule load of ore in two days. The ore varies a good deal in quality, and is sold for from two to seven mace a mule load. Taking a load as 130 lbs., this comes to from sixpence to one and ninepence for 100 lbs. The best ore is of a purple colour and is said to produce 10 per cent. of copper.

The lessee of the mine pays 500 or 600 taels a year to the Government for the right of smelting, and the miners are obliged to sell the ore to the lessee. The copper produced is sent to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province, and is there used for coining into cash.

132 The hill-tops in this part of the country rise to about 8000 feet, and they all had snow on them, which, combined with a biting north wind, made this one of the coldest days I have ever felt in western China.

• 361 On the 21st April we crossed a range, and skirting the edge of a large lake reached Wei-ning Chou, which is built on its further shore. The walls enclose a large space, but it is chiefly filled with temples, including a very large red Confucian temple. There are not more than 600 houses in the place, half within the walls and half without.

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361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 plain, and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung Fu and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal food of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants here and very little trade is done except in the necessaries of life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there are come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in the mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good communications these could no doubt be profitably worked. The height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very cold place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next day along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some more surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me over a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet for the water. I slept at Ssŭ-p'u at 8000 feet. For the last few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so that it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere traverse of the road. This is the sort of weather which is, I believe, prevalent throughout Ssŭ-ch'uan in the cold season. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," and it is natural to suppose that the province was so named as lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great part of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village of Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, was still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties in this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning and await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most difficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been for days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it absolutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do any useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 the natives of the country. A hundred men or so would collect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

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328 the cup near the top. The zinc is sold at about 1½*d.* for 1 lb., and is most of it sent to Yün-nan Fu to be mixed with copper to make cash.

After crossing the river we had a very steep climb of more than 3000 feet, reaching the top of the range at 8,600 feet and descending slightly to Kung-shan, a large mining village. The mine manager was a travelled man who had visited Shanghai, and I found him very civil.

316 Lead and zinc are the two chief minerals, and the lead ore also produces a small quantity of silver. I was told that the output of lead averages 400 lbs. in a day. The zinc is got out of very deep shafts, extending they say several *li*[1] into the hill-side. I did not test the exact accuracy of this statement, but I went a little way down one shaft and it certainly seemed to be a deep one. They are not sunk straight down but are sloped so that a man can walk down them, though the passage is so low that he has to keep in a bent position most of the way.

On the 1st May our road led us down a narrow valley to the Chê-hai plain, which is about seven miles long and contains a small lake and several villages. The next day after crossing a low range we reached Tung-ch'uan Fu where I was kindly put up by Mr and Mrs Grist and Dr Hicks,
288 the missionaries there. The official then at Tung-ch'uan was a very enterprising man who had established a manufactory of cotton cloth. The yarn is from Bombay, imported by Shanghai and the Yangtze. There was no European machinery: they used the ordinary Chinese looms.

• 361 The town walls of Tung-ch'uan do not enclose much space, but there are a good many people living outside the gates, and the whole town and suburbs must contain about 1000 houses. The population appear to be very friendly to foreigners.

241 The plain is some six miles long by three miles wide. It grows rice well, but the winter crops do not seem to
000 flourish, and the soil does not suit opium. Like Wei-ning

[1] The *li* is a Chinese measure of distance. Theoretically it is about 600 yds. but practically it varies in different parts of the country. In the hilly parts of Yün-nan it runs about five to the mile. Ten li may be usually taken as an hour's march, so that used in this way as a unit of time it is a very useful measure.

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CHAPTER XXIII

YÜN-NAN FU TO THE RED RIVER.

Beginning of the rainy season—Ch'êng-kung Hsien—Chin-ning Chou—A lake country—Picturesque village—The T'ung-hai plain—Separate from Turner and Ker—Their subsequent travels in the rains—Impassable roads—The Chinese francolin—The Ch'ü Chiang valley—The Lin-an plain—An open plateau country—Mêng-tzŭ—Its European population—Attack on the foreign settlement—The trade of Mêng-tzŭ—Devil's punch-bowls—No inns—An unhealthy village—The Red River at Man-hao—Down the rapids by boat—A French fort—The French frontier.

FROM Yün-nan Fu I was to return to England *viâ* 000
Tong-king to report on the results of our expedition, while Mr Turner and Mr Ker were to make their way back to Burma. As however they wished to visit a gold mine at 316
T'a-lang T'ing, north-east of P'u-êrh, we all left Yün-nan Fu together.

We started on the 15th May in pouring rain, which made things most unpleasant, for in Yün-nan, as in Burma, the rainy season begins in the latter half of May. After an easy march down the plain which borders the K'un-yang Lake on its eastern side we reached the little town of Ch'êng-kung Hsien.

Continuing our march the next day down the same 361
plain we passed through Chin-ning Chou, a walled town of 700 houses, whose narrow street was densely packed with people, as we happened to strike it on a market day. We went on another six miles and slept at Hua-lo-ts'un, villages being as a rule pleasanter places to pass the night in than towns.

From here we left the basin of the K'un-yang Lake and 000
crossed a range at a low gap, descending to another large lake called Ch'êng-chiang Hai. The road leaves this on its left and, passing through the little town of Chiang-ch'uan, reaches Hai-mên-ch'iao. This village is picturesquely placed

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and of the Shan States and the lower lying valleys of Yün-nan; but I have never before or since seen it at anything like such a high elevation as 6,200 feet, which is about the height of the T'ung-hai plain. 136

Crossing a range of hills we descended steeply down a narrow gorge to the Ch'ü Chiang valley, which being only 4,800 feet is warm enough to grow sugar cane, a valuable product in Yün-nan. The river which waters this valley is 100 yards wide and is fordable at this time of year, being also crossed here by a wooden footbridge. Later on in the rains the water rises and mules have to cross by a bridge two miles lower down, just where the river leaves the plain. 249 000

I have reason to remember the footbridge, for the man who was in charge of my pony, so as not to wet his own feet, tried to lead him over the bridge. As it was made of narrow planks not very carefully joined together and the whole structure was decidedly shaky, the natural result was that the pony fell off it when he had got half way across. It was an anxious moment when I heard a shout from behind and looked back to see the pony hang for a moment and then fall. Luckily he was not hurt, though there was a considerable drop.

Our hopes of getting through the day dry were disappointed, as, before we could reach our night's quarters at Kuan-yi, a heavy thunderstorm burst, which wetted us to the skin in a few moments.

On the 20th May a march of 17 miles took us to Hsin-fang, a village in the Lin-an plain, where we put up in a temple. We were below 5000 feet here and in a much warmer climate than the traveller in Yün-nan is accustomed to, while the mosquitos reminded us that we were now in the rainy season. Luckily we had a clear night and I was able to take the latitude, the only observation I got between Yün-nan Fu and Tong-king.

The town of Lin-an Fu lies five miles off the road to the south and I had not time to visit it, but I made a slight detour the next morning to the top of a low spur, and I was able to fix its position.

The town is said to contain 1000 houses: it lies in a plain of considerable extent, but only narrow strips along 361 241

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361 the two streams that water it are irrigated: the rest of the
241 plain lies too high and is consequently little cultivated.
The natives of Lin-an, like those of T'êng-yüeh, have a
186 strong antipathy to anyone who has not had the good fortune to be born a Chinaman. So far do they carry their hatred of everything foreign that they even refuse to weave their cloth out of foreign yarn. They import their material for making clothes in the shape of raw cotton from the Shan States. Such at least was the case at the time of my visit.

Three days from Hsin-fang, over a fairly open plateau country, brought us to Mêng-tzŭ[1], where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Spinney of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

579 This place was only opened as a treaty port in 1889.
The foreign settlement is pleasantly situated outside the
186 town, the European community at the time consisting, besides the Customs Staff, of a French consul, a doctor, and one French merchant. The well-built, well-furnished houses in which they lived made one feel that one was in civilisation once more.

Mêng-tzŭ was considered a very quiet place, and the inhabitants of the town were extremely civil and fairly free from curiosity. But only a short time after my visit the Europeans there had a very unpleasant awakening from their sense of security.

In the middle of the night the foreign settlement was attacked by a large armed mob recruited principally from the workers in the Ko-chiu tin mines. The foreign community, among whom at the time were several French officers, concentrated in the French Consulate and made good their defence. The rioters, however, killed two Chinese servants and burned or carried off everything from the remaining houses.

439 Mêng-tzŭ is a busy place for Yün-nan, and even though
the rainy season had begun I must have met quite 1000 loaded mules since leaving T'ung-hai. They were most of them carrying cotton yarn imported from Bombay *viâ* Hong Kong. This Indian yarn is cheaper than the Man-

[1] Sometimes spelt Mêng-tsz' or Mong-tze.

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000 one shot from my ·303. A lucky shot and the game was very welcome as a relief to perpetual chicken. The breast of this bird cooked like a beefsteak is excellent.

Three more days of hilly going brought us to Lung-ling. The Shweli is crossed by raft at Man-lo ferry, some eight miles short of the town. The Shweli valley here and the hills round it are principally inhabited by Chinamen, but there are a few scattered Shan villages and even some Las. The country was formerly Shan, and many of the villages retain their original Shan names.

At the river I met several officials on their way to settle the position of a new iron chain suspension bridge which they proposed building near here. One of these mandarins had been out with the Boundary Commission last year, and had learnt the accomplishment of shaking hands, a feat which he performed with right or left hand indifferently. He appeared overjoyed to see me, rather to my surprise, as I could not recollect ever having met him before. But it turned out after a little conversation that he had taken me for Jamieson. I do not think there is any resemblance between us, but I suppose all Europeans look much the same to Chinese eyes.

361 Lung-ling stands at a height of 5,200 feet and appears to contain about 800 houses, but the plain it stands in does not measure more than a square mile in extent. It is a poor place compared to T'êng-yüeh, and derives most of its prosperity from trade with Mang-shih (Möng Hkwan), Nam-hkam and other Shan states.

000 From here I purposed striking east by as direct a route as possible to Yün Chou. Mr H. L. Scott, of the Yün-nan Company, had the previous year taken what is considered the main road between these two places, *viâ* La-mêng ferry and Shih-tien; but this makes a considerable circuit to the north. I had heard of another ferry called P'an-chih-hua crossing the Salween lower down, and I determined to make for this place.

287 An easy march on the 2nd December took us to Mêng-
285 mao, a small Chinese plain of four or five villages, where they make a little coarse paper and weave mats out of rushes. This place must not be confused with the big
000 Mêng-mao on the Shweli, the Möng Mow of the Shans.

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000 I found at Yün Chou the same mandarin whom I had met there the year before. He was very civil and friendly, but, like all Chinese officials, he wants the traveller to go on by a main road to the nearest town, so as to get rid as quickly as possible of the responsibility of having a foreigner in his district.

Now the road from here to Wei-yüan which I proposed to follow can by no means be considered as a *ta lu* or big road, so my ideas did not at all meet with the mandarin's approval. Accordingly in the evening he sent a message to my interpreter to say he would like to see him, and gravely informed him that there was a rebellion going on in Mêng-ma, a place I should have to pass through. Of course I knew this was pure fiction, and I sent an answer to say that if on nearing Mêng-ma I found anything going on I would take some other road. After this there were no more objections, and we left Yün Chou the next morning, climbing very steeply more than 3000 feet up a grass-covered range.

The following day we descended into the Mêng-ma valley, which we followed down for a day and a half. The width of cultivation only averages about 100 yards on either
137 side of the little river which waters it. The hills on both sides are covered with scrub jungle, which runs down to the edge of the fields, and the river in the middle is lined
• 361 with willow and other small trees. Along the foot of the hills are scattered at intervals little villages, each surrounded in the Shan fashion with its clump of cultivated bamboos. The Mêng-ma valley strikes one as being rather pretty at first, but its monotony begins to pall after a time.

631 Mêng-ma was formerly a Shan state, but is now administered directly by the Yün Chou mandarin. The representative of the sawbwa's family, with a few Shan households, still lives in the principal village, but he has now little power. In fact the Shans have been entirely absorbed by the Chinese, and the Shan language and other signs of Shan nationality have practically died out.

000 Turning out of this valley we crossed another range of hills, and on the 17th December, the fifth day out of Yün Chou, crossed the Mekong at Ka-li ferry. The river here has a strong current and is a little more than 100 yards

CHAPTER XXVII

FROM P'U-ÊRH FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Leave P'u-êrh—Cross the Black River—A shaky iron chain bridge—T'ung-kuan—A slippery descent—The A-mei Chiang—T'a-lang-T'ing—Gold mine—The Wo-ni race—The K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o tribes—Their dress—A Lo-lo village—The Red River—Mo-sha—Shan women's costume—Non-Buddhist Shans—Flat-roofed houses—A steep climb—Perpetual mist—Hsin-p'ing Hsien—Curiosity of the population—Streets lined and roofs crowded—Lo-lo origin—Opium and sugar-cane—Good oranges—A dry country—Iron mine—Yi-mên Hsien—Meet Ryder—A plateau country—An-ning Chou—Duck shooting—Across the Yün-nan Fu lake—Reach Yün-nan Fu—The French in the capital—Attack on them by the Chinese—The English missionaries—Observations for longitude.

000 On the 2nd January, 1900, we left P'u-êrh for the capital of the province. Our first day took us back along the road by which we had come to Mo-hei. Our second march was somewhat more varied, for crossing a range at 6000 feet we descended to our old friend the Black River or Pa-pien Chiang. It is crossed by a very shaky iron chain bridge, which sways about so much that only three mules can pass over at a time with safety. The stream is here from 50 to 80 yards wide. Its strong current and occasional rapids make navigation impossible.

•361 563 On the third day we reached T'ung-kuan, a big village pleasantly situated on a plateau with small jungle-covered hills rising out of it. The population about here is very mixed, including Lo-los, K'a-tus, Ma-heis, and a few Shans. The Chinese are decidedly in a minority, and perhaps it is due to this happy circumstance that the natives of T'ung-kuan have better manners than one usually finds in China.

000 A thunderstorm the next morning made it unpleasantly slippery along the steep downhill road which brought us to the A-mei Chiang, another source of the Black River and

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much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation 000
of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears 361
to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better 316
shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni 563
race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to [197]
each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from 291
the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The 563
dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

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000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

•361 The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials
563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese are of Lo-lo descent.

241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country, without much water in it that can be used for irrigation.
316 The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third day we reached Ssŭ-ch'éng, a village at 6000 feet, which has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last march we passed a small iron mine at a place called Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep one small furnace going.

361 From Ssŭ-ch'éng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mén-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 the stream. Below the plateau it disappears into deep gorges among the hills bordering the Yangtze.

• 361 On the 14th February we reached Hui-li, a town of 3000 houses with a good wall round it. It has broad streets and is more prosperous looking than any of the towns of Yün-nan, except perhaps the capital of that pro-
438 vince. Its chief products are opium, tobacco, indigo, and
316 copper. The copper mine is at Lu-ch'ang, six miles south
249 of the town, and as Mr Ker had seen it the previous
386 year I did not visit it. Indigo is to be seen growing everywhere in the fields, covered over at this time of the year with straw to preserve it from the frost. The large tanks in which they mix the dye are found in nearly every village as well as in the town. The height of Hui-li I made 6,250 feet.

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797 In these remarks I hope I have said nothing which will give offence to either sect. I shall always remember the missionaries I have met in western China, both French and English, as men devoted to the cause they have taken up, and always ready to offer hospitality and assistance to the traveller.

000 Père Bourgain returned to Tê-ch'ang the next day, so I had not the pleasure of his company any further. Our march of 19 miles was somewhat monotonous, the plain broadening out and becoming more level. The weather which had been a little warm quite changed again, and the snow on the hillsides was very nearly down to the plain.

•361 We slept at Ma-tao-tzŭ, and on the following morning, sending my mules straight on by the main road, I made a circuit myself to have a look at Ning-yüan Fu[1]. This town lies three or four miles to the east of the road, separated from it by a low spur which runs down from the eastern hills. It is consequently not so flourishing a place commercially as some of the smaller towns which lie right on the main road, but officially it is the most important town in the district. It must contain nearly 4000 houses and is surrounded by a good wall three miles or so in perimeter. Just to the east of the city is a good-sized lake some five miles long. The story is that there was formerly a town there which was destroyed when the lake was formed by an earthquake or some volcanic disturbance.

701 After leaving Ning-yüan I was passed on the road by a Lo-lo chief with some of his soldiers. He was the T'u-ssŭ[2] of T'ung-an-chou, a place I had passed through a little time before between the Yangtze and Hui-li Chou. A year or two before this he had got up a sort of rebellion against the Chinese authorities, but the Hui-li mandarin was considered by the Chinese Government as partly to blame for this outbreak, so the T'u-ssŭ was pardoned on condition that he would fight for the Chinese against the Independent Lo-los who had lately been raiding. This he was nothing loth to do, as he is what in the dialect of western China they call a "kuai jên," "a bad man," i.e. fond of fighting. So in the recent hostilities the Chinese troops had been held in reserve while the Lo-lo levies had

[1] Also called Chien-ch'ang Fu. Hence the name of this valley.
[2] Local chief.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

done most of the fighting for them. This is an arrangement that seems to suit everybody, for as the Chinese put it, "The Lo-los are stupid men who are not afraid of dying." 701

The T'u-ssŭ keeps up a small standing army, and every one of his men that I saw was armed with a breech-loader. He also appears to recognise the importance of discipline, for a man goes in front of his troops with a red placard on which is written the T'ung-an-chou "Army Act." 703

For not obeying bugle calls—To be beheaded.

For being drunk and fighting—To be put in the stocks.

For losing arms or ammunition—To be beheaded.

For destroying the property of civilians—To be beheaded.

For being absent at night—To be put in the stocks.

For gambling—To be put in the stocks.

For extorting money by threats—To be put in the stocks.

For taking a wrong rifle—To be put in the stocks.

For buying things and refusing to pay—To be put in the stocks.

We slept the night at Li-chou which in spite of its name is not an official town of the *chou* class, though it is a prosperous commercial place. 000

The following day, the 22nd February, we had another level march to the town of Lu-ku which is built where the two sources of the An-ning Ho meet, one coming down from Mien-ning Hsien, and the other and smaller branch from the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass.

I had now been along nearly the whole of the Chien-ch'ang valley and a little later, on my road to Mien-ning Hsien, I was able to see the rest of it, so I will summarise here my observations on it.

The plain stretches from a little beyond Mien-ning Hsien in the north down to the village of Hsin-kai-tzŭ in the south. It is, therefore, about 110 miles in length, but has not an average width of more than two miles. Its elevation at Mien-ning is 6,250 feet, and from this it slopes down by a scarcely perceptible descent to some 4,200 feet in the south. 133

Besides the two official cities of Ning-yuan Fu and 361

•361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 on the next day, the 23rd February, our road led up a very stony, little-cultivated valley hedged in by steep hills on
712 each side. Every mile or so along this road are little forts as a protection to travellers from Lo-lo raids, but they only have garrisons of two or three men each, and no one seems to anticipate any danger.

703 In one of these forts I saw some more regulations written up after the manner of those of the T'ung-an-chou army. They were as follows:—

If when ordered out to fight, any soldier says he is afraid to go—To be beheaded.

If a soldier gets too old to fight—To be discharged.

For smoking opium—To be discharged.

I have little doubt that nine-tenths of both officers and men are confirmed opium smokers.

•361 Passing the little town of Mien-shan about halfway, we reached Têng-hsiang-ying in the afternoon. This is a
342 fortified village of some 150 houses, and is the head-quarters of the major who commands all the troops in the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. It is built just where the narrow valley gets still narrower, and is at a height of 7,850 feet, 2,200 feet above Lu-ku, though the rise is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. The roofs of the houses here are made of planks kept in their places by large stones placed on top of them. This is a style of roof I found not uncommon in parts of western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 On the 24th February we crossed the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. The top I made exactly 10,000 feet. There were only a few patches of snow in shady places, but the last three or four days had been sunny; no doubt in cloudy weather the whole top of the pass would be in snow at this time of year. The ascent from the south is very gradual. In fact it is, without exception, the easiest road up a high range that I have ever seen in western China. The descent on the northern side is however steep, the road falling at the rate of 1000 feet in a mile.

The top of the pass is in a saddle, so Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a hill 1000 feet higher and got a fairly good view of the country round. To the east is a mass of high and steep ranges inhabited by the Independent Lo-los.

000 I could not, however, disguise from myself that however pleasant it might be to get free of Chinamen, the absence of Chinese ideas of law and order might also increase my difficulties, and that perhaps the Peking passport with which I was provided would not always meet with the respect shown to it by a mandarin.

My purpose was to find as straight a way as possible from where I was at Yüeh-hsi to A-tun-tzŭ in the extreme north-west corner of Yün-nan. The trend of all the rivers and mountain ranges in the intervening country would certainly be from north to south, exactly across my path, and I had no anticipation of being able to find a very direct road. In fact my difficulties in this way began at once, for though Yüeh-hsi T'ing and Mien-ning Hsien are not very far apart in a straight line, there is nothing but a difficult footpath connecting the two places. I had, therefore, with my mule transport, to go back by the road I had come as far as Lu-ku, and then make a twenty mile march northward to Mien-ning.

•361 This town is surrounded by a good wall, half a mile square, and judging by the crowded appearance of the streets, seems to be a thriving place. My first care on arriving was to try and get some information about my
000 route westwards. In the previous year I had heard from Mr Amundsen of the China Inland Mission of a place called Mi-li, which, from the position he placed it in, must lie more or less between Mien-ning and A-tun-tzŭ. No one in Mien-ning had ever heard of such a place, nor was my Chinese map of Ssŭ-ch'uan of any assistance, for this, though sufficiently accurate in the settled parts of the province, gets very vague in the more out of the way borderlands, in fact consists chiefly of blank spaces.

However the magistrate of the town was civilly inclined and lent me the official map of his district. On this was marked a place called Lu-ning-ying, which was known to the people of Mien-ning and was in the right direction, so for this place I determined to make.

579 Our last night in a Chinese city was made hideous by a particularly noisy dispute just outside the inn. It began as usual with vehement abuse shouted with extraordinary vigour by both combatants. This is generally both the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Continuing our journey the next day, the 17th March, we passed through splendid forests along the course of a stream in which we found a party of Tibetans digging for gold. Leaving this valley we ascended another range, reaching the top at 14,500 feet. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up 500 feet higher and got a fine view of the surrounding country. In the distance to the north-west of us, two magnificent snow-covered peaks towered above the rest to a height that I should estimate as quite 20,000 feet. 609

From here we descended to K'u-lu[1], a village of perhaps 60 houses and some large monasteries, the biggest place we had seen for many days. The lamas had evidently got news of our coming, for we found a man waiting for us who showed us a house, and room to camp round it, a little outside the main village. 361 609

K'u-lu was the most thoroughly Tibetan place we had yet come across, and it was here that I saw yaks for the first time. There was one tied up just outside our camp, which presented a curious appearance in the morning, covered with icicles hanging to its hair all over. So far I had been agreeably surprised with the warm temperature, for even at night there had only been a few degrees of frost, but here at K'u-lu at 12,500 feet it was decidedly colder, and the thermometer fell to 17°. 231 609 [32]

The people here are thoroughly Tibetan in manners and customs, and very few of them understand any Chinese. They live in large well-built stone houses, calculated no doubt to keep out the cold which is probably often more severe than we found it in March. 609 [342]

The lamas of K'u-lu were very suspicious. They asked me to halt a day so that we might talk things over and arrange for the continuance of my journey. I did not see what in the world we had to talk about and would not agree to this.

The next morning my interpreter went to the village to see about a guide, and was asked into the monastery by the head lama. He found that dignitary having an early break-

[1] Mr Amundsen marks a place called Kang-u about where K'u-lu is. Probably Kang-u is the Tibetan and K'u-lu the Chinese name. See *Geographical Journal* for June 1900.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
S
ST
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Mi-li

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Mi-li villager

Plate LIV

[Face p. 242]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

S ST 361 [302] Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

S ST 342 A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

000 I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XXXIII

CHUNG-TIEN TO A-TUN-TZŬ.

News of Ryder—A country of swampy plains—The Yangtze at Pang-tzŭ-la ferry—Chinese hospitality—The Tung-ch'u-ling monastery—M. Renou's stay there in 1852—Meet Ryder—Pass blocked by snow—We tackle the pass—Difficulties of the mules—Mountain sickness—Reach A-tun-tzŭ—Its inhabitants—Arrival of Manifold—His journey—Surrounded by an angry mob at T'êng-yüeh—He is stopped by snow—His route up the Mekong valley—Halt at A-tun-tzŭ.

RYDER had passed through Chung-tien five days before, 000
so I had to follow his route from here on to A-tun-tzŭ. Chung-tien is a country of somewhat swampy plains in which the flocks and herds graze, and our first march to T'an-tui was a nearly level one.

The second day ended with a considerable drop to Hsien-to which lies at 7,600 feet, and the third march brought us to the Yangtze at the ferry which is called Pung-dje-ra by the Tibetans, and Pang-tzŭ-la by the Chinese. The river here averages 100 yards in width and is evidently very deep. Its height above the sea level I made 7,100 feet. The ferry-boat is one of the best I have seen in western China: it will take 15 mules across at a trip.

The village, which is on the right bank, contains 60 361
or 70 houses scattered over the hillside in the usual Tibetan fashion. The Chinese military official was away at Ta-li Fu, but I was very comfortably put up by his clerk in a large house furnished in the Chinese style. After a month 000
among Tibetans, it seemed almost like coming home again to be once more surrounded with chairs and tables, and to see the familiar Chinese scrolls on the walls and doors, and the little altar at one side of the room. It takes a little experience of the annoyances of Tibetan travel to make one appreciate Chinese hospitality.

The next day, the 1st April, we passed the monastery

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 After doing nine miles I found it hopeless to try and get the mules any further, and left some of the men with tents and bedding to camp with the mules for the night. Ryder's animals had been hired from Yün-nan Fu and so were comparatively fresh, and he was able to get on to the proper camping ground.

I went on and slept in his tent and returned in the morning to look after the animals. One mule had died in the night. It had been weak for some time and had not been carrying anything, but on the previous day I had been obliged to give it a load of straw for the animals to eat. The men, too, though they had their tent and bedding, had suffered a good deal from cold. It was their own fault: they had neglected to get in firewood the evening before, though there was plenty of it not far off. We reached A-tun-tzŭ a little before dark and managed to stow ourselves and animals away in two small inns.

•361 A-tun-tzŭ is not a very large place. There is a fair sized monastery, but besides this it hardly contains a
563 hundred houses. It stands near the head of a narrow steeply-sloping valley surrounded by steep snow-covered hills. Its elevation above the sea we made 11,500 feet. The inhabitants of the town are many of them half Chinese, but the customs and language of the place are more Tibetan, though many of the people can talk Chinese as well[1].

000 Directly we arrived at A-tun-tzŭ a man came up with a letter which he had just brought in from Manifold, saying he expected to arrive in two or three days. He turned up on the 6th April, so we all met within six days of our appointed time. Manifold would have been here earlier but was delayed by circumstances.

Unluckily, as he was on the road from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh, a collision took place in the Kachin Hills between the military police and some Chinese soldiers who had trespassed on our side of the border. The news of this had reached T'êng-yüeh, and Manifold when he arrived there found himself surrounded by an angry mob. One of his men was assaulted, several of his things stolen, and it required all the influence of the officials of the place to

[1] A-tun-tzŭ is said to have been almost entirely destroyed by a landslip since our visit.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

As usual, we soon became the best of friends with the 272
people whose house we had so unceremoniously broken into. We were given a large room and regaled with buttered tea which we found excellent after our cold march. The combination of the hot tea and the caloric-producing butter is just the thing for a cold climate. After all there is nothing more incongruous in putting butter in tea than there is in putting milk in it.

The house was a very large one and the only obstacle 263
to our comfort was the horrible smell of an enormous cauldron of the coarsest kind of turnip which the people of the house were cooking as a delicacy for their dinner.

Our next march lay along a pleasant grassy valley 136
full of flocks of sheep. Passing K'on tzŭ-k'a[1] we crossed a little pass from which the Yangtze was visible, and descended a narrow valley to Te-ga-ting. The weather was bright and fine again and we saw a good deal of game, including some Stone's Pheasants (*Phasianus elegans*), and two woodcock, at one of which I made a disgraceful miss.

Continuing down the same valley the next morning we 000
reached the Yangtze and followed up the bank of that river to the Chu-pa-lung[2] ferry where we crossed to its left bank. The Yangtze is here from 100 to 150 yards wide, running with a strong current through very barren hills. The ferry-boat is a fine one and will take 15 mules across at once. The Tibetan name of the Yangtze is Dre Ch'u according to Rockhill. As pronounced locally it sounded to me like Nri Ch'ö or Ndri Ch'ö. The Mekong they call Da Ch'ö, and the Salween Chiama Ngö Ch'ö. The elevation of Chu-pa-lung is only 9000 feet, and the shade temperature rose as high as 70°.

On the 8th May we reached Ba-t'ang. The distance from Chu-pa-lung is nearly 20 miles but the road is an easy one. The Ba-t'ang plain was the biggest I had seen since leaving Chung-tien a month before. It measures 243
about two miles by one mile, and was beautifully green with crops of wheat and barley.

The town has some 200 houses, most of them of a good 361

[1] Rockhill's K'on-djin-k'a.
[2] Dru-ba-nang in Tibetan according to Rockhill.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 [792] size, and has some approach to regular streets in it. The monastery is a fine one and is said to contain 1800 lamas. The population of the place is chiefly Tibetan but there are a good many men of Chinese descent who have intermarried with the natives of the country and become Tibetanised.

631 There are three Chinese officials in the town, one civil and two military. The latter command the small garrison of 70 soldiers and are not men of any rank. The civil mandarin is called the *liang-t'ai* and is practically a commissariat officer, his duties being to collect supplies for Chinese officials passing along the road.

None of these Chinese officers have any jurisdiction except over the Chinamen living in the town. The government of the state is in the hands of a hereditary Tibetan chief who has under him a second chief, while the lamas, here as everywhere in Tibet, have considerable influence in affairs of state[1].

797 A French Catholic mission has been established here for many years, and the missionaries have passed through many vicissitudes. In 1881 Père Brieux was murdered a few miles from the town. The Tibetan authorities put the crime down to brigands, but there seems little doubt that the murder was instigated by the Ba-t'ang lamas. In 1887 there was an organised rising of the Tibetans, the mission stations at Ba-t'ang, Ya-k'a-lo, and A-tun-tzŭ were burned, and M. Brieux's grave was desecrated.

For some time the work of the missionaries was at a standstill, but after long negotiations, supported by the French Government, they obtained full compensation, and their houses were rebuilt for them. The Viceroy of Ssŭ-ch'uan can evidently exercise his authority here when he likes, though in ordinary circumstances the Tibetans are left very much to themselves.

291 We spent three days in Ba-t'ang, employing the time in buying boots for ourselves and in getting an extra transport animal or two. The boots that Tibetans habit-

[1] Owing to a rebellion which took place about 1904 things have changed considerably in Ba-t'ang. There is now a Chinese garrison there, and the monastery is said to have been destroyed.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 they were able to stand without difficulty and to tie the rope to the body, but as we were pulling it across the rope broke and the body was again carried away.

We tied a stone to the rope and threw it across again to Ryder and Manifold, who got back to the shore in safety. We looked down stream some way but saw no more of the unfortunate Gurkha, and next morning Manifold with two men searched the river for several miles but was equally unsuccessful.

It was a sad business so near the end of our journey and we felt much depressed over it. It is, I am glad to say, the only time in my travels that any of my followers have met with any serious accident.

233 Li-t'ang stands in a plain 15 miles long and five miles
•[361] across at the widest part, but not an inch of it is cultivated. The whole is covered with grass, on which are many encampments of nomads with large herds of yaks and sheep. All grain and rice has to be brought from a distance. The height at the town we made 13,800 feet, a higher estimate than that given by other travellers[1].

361 The town contains some 300 houses, of which, at least, half are inhabited by Chinese or half-Chinese who have most of them been born here and have become very much Tibetanised, though they can all speak Chinese as well as Tibetan.

793 At one end of the town is a very large monastery, which is said to contain 3,700 lamas. As elsewhere in Tibet, the lamas are all-powerful, and the small Chinese official dare do nothing without their approval.

In Li-t'ang they are a particularly anti-foreign lot, and on the following day the head lama sent a message to us to say that he was not at all pleased at our coming, and that we must leave Li-t'ang that day. This we refused to do, and he then sent orders that no one was to sell us anything. However, the trading instincts of the Chinese were too strong to make this order effective. They dared not bring us anything openly, but at night after dark we got everything we wanted.

000 On our arrival at Li-t'ang we found three French

[1] Rockhill gives 12,914 feet: Hosie, 13,234 feet: Gill, 13,280 feet: Potosi, 13,330 feet: A. K., 13,100 feet.

000 cultivated valley in which lies the straggling village of Tung-ngo-lo.

Here we found Mr Amundsen of the China Inland Mission whom I had met at Ta-li Fu in a previous journey. He had since then married and was now installed with Mrs Amundsen at Tung-ngo-lo. I have mentioned before his journey made in 1898 from Ta-chien-lu through Mi-li to Ta-li Fu.

We were now nearing a part of Ssŭ-ch'uan where baggage is usually carried by coolies, and pack animals are little used. Luckily we received an offer for our mules at Tung-ngo-lo, and we were glad to sell them, the purchaser undertaking to find animals for us to take our baggage as far as Ta-chien-lu.

These arrangements were quickly made, and we were able to push on again the next day. The march was a level one—an extraordinary circumstance indeed—our road leading down one valley and up another through a splendidly green country, partly grass and partly cultivated with wheat and barley.

We slept at Chang-k'o, near Ania, and the next day crossing the Gi-la Pass (15,000 feet) by a gradually rising path, we descended to Chê-to where we found a fairly good Chinese inn.

•361 On the 20th June a short march down a narrow, very green valley brought us to Ta-chien-lu, or, as the Tibetans call it, Tar-chen-do. The town contains 800 houses and is shut closely into a narrow valley by high steep hills, the Chen River which is crossed by a bridge dividing the town into two parts. This is the end of Tibet, and the town looks more Chinese than Tibetan, though one sees a good many lamas in the place, and most of the Chinamen living here can talk Tibetan as well as their own language. In spite of its rather Chinese appearance, Ta-chien-lu is the capital of the Tibetan state of Chia-la.

485 We were surprised to find an excellent inn here, quite the best I have seen anywhere in China. We spent most of the day with the English missionaries, of whom there were four, though only one, Mr C. Polhill-Turner, was stationed here permanently.

000 He and I were old schoolfellows, though we had never

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

134 brown" type soil is rich in mineral foods but rather low in humus content and is shallower in depths than the soils of the Chengtu Plain. However, on account of the hilly nature of most parts of the Basin, soil characteristics vary greatly in different local areas.

311 241 In many ways, the distribution of agriculture and forestry and the features associated with these uses of the land are related to and conditioned by one or more of the natural elements characterized in the foregoing paragraphs. Forests mantle the [131] mountain slope, and tree crops are characteristic of many of the hillsides. Agriculture dominates the Chengtu Plain, and is conspicuous along the numerous valley floors and on the terraced hills.

133 311 Of all the natural elements at work in the Basin, topography is a highly important factor that affects the agriculture land use and other forms of cultural life, and the adjustment to this natural element is especially conspicuous. First of all, the close correlation between the cultivated-land index and the topography is most striking. In general, there is a consistent tendency for the cultivated-land index, and the population patterns as well, to decrease from the center of the Basin to the peripheral highlands. Second, the adjustment of the Basin's settlement forms to the topography is outstanding. As in most parts 361 of China, about 85 per cent of the population of Szechuan Basin is rural. But unlike any other part of China, there are comparatively few large villages and nuclear hamlets, with the exception of the Hsien[1] capitals. This remarkable fact is largely a result of the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. The settlement forms have had to adjust to the local topography. This is particularly true in the eastern and northern parts of the Basin.

312 In the agricultural adjustment to water resources and drainage patterns, the following examples may be noted. First, by seizing the torrential flow of the Min River, the Basin has built not only the oldest but also the most successful and easily-maintained irrigation system of all China. This system has freed the Chengtu Plain from the hazard of floods and droughts, and has insured the unbroken agricultural prosperity of the Basin. This

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[1]Hsien or district in China corresponds somewhat to the county unit of the United States.

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success is evidenced by the remarkable fact that during the past twenty-two hundred years, ever since this irrigation work was built, there have been only six minor floods in the Plain. 312

The presence of innumerable other irrigation projects, greatly diversified in construction and surprisingly adaptable to the local topography and source of water supply, bears witness to the painstaking and extensive adjustments the Basin has made to the vital problem of water supply.

A second adjustment to water resource lies in the fact that even with its limited available technological knowledge, the Basin has made good use of many of its numerous streams. By canalization, damming, and other devices, the navigability of these streams has been greatly increased. Especially the successful negotiation by steamboats of the bottle-neck (gorges) of the mighty Yangtse has greatly tempered the continental position and the land-locked character of the Basin. These achievements, in turn, have facilitated the movement of the bulky agricultural and forestry products among the various areas both within and without the Basin.

The localization of the Basin's urban units on the terraces and along the banks of the principal rivers is a third example of adjustment, partly to topography and partly to river transportation. 361

Among the climatic adjustments, the architecture of the Basin (characterized by the projecting eaves, recurved roofs, and elaborate roof ornaments) is closely correlated to the absence of wind and snow and the extended misty rain-season of the Basin. 132 341

The practice of digging in the soft, friable, cretaceous bed rock, in order to hasten weathering and soil formation for agricultural land use, represents one of the most astounding examples of soil culture and environmental adjustment in the Basin. 242

As a result of the abundant growth of bamboo in the Basin, an interesting adjustment to vegetation has taken place. Nowhere else in China except in the Basin does one find widespread use of bamboo. In addition to the large number of articles of furniture, household tools, and utensils of various kinds which are made from this material, even the great engineering construction works, including the important irrigation systems, bridges, and brine-salt mining equipment are all made of bamboo. It was once estimated that bamboo is used for six hundred different purposes in the Basin. Here people are truly in the "bamboo age." 314

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2. Settlement Forms and House Types

Aside from large urban units (with population of 100,000 or over) which will be discussed later, the principal settlement forms of Szechuan Basin may be classified as follows, namely, the Hsien capitals, the villages (with aggregated hamlets), and the isolated farmsteads.

The Hsien capitals, corresponding somewhat to the County seats of the United States, often have a population of between 10,000 to 30,000 persons or more. Most of these Hsien capitals are the centers of activities of a Hsien (district). Some of them are situated along the river valleys, some on river terraces, and some at the saddle of two hills. The spacing of the Hsien capitals varies greatly in different sections of the Basin, depending upon the local topography, the rural economy, or other factors. As a rule, however, they are about 30 miles apart from one another.

Like other rural areas of China, the most common settlement form in Szechuan Basin is the village with clustered (aggregated) hamlets. But unlike many parts of rural China, Szechuan Basin contains comparatively few large villages of this type. In large measure this exceptional condition is related to the rugged and extremely dissected topography of the Basin. This is particularly so in the east and north of the Basin where hill country prevails. In the comparatively flatter and more heavily populated districts in the south central part of the Basin and in Chengtu Plain, however, large village settlements with aggregated hamlets are quite common.

The permanent population of a village settlement may vary from twenty or thirty to three or four hundred families, depending upon the location and prosperity of the district. It is rare, however, for a village to exceed seven or eight hundred families or a total population of three to four thousand persons.

In many cases the village settlements, if local topography permits, are rather closely spaced. In the most densely inhabited areas, they are at no point more than five miles away from one another. In the less densely settled areas, villages may be more than 15 miles apart.

The isolated farmstead is another common settlement form in the Szechuan Basin. These are of two sub-types: one localized in Chengtu Plain and the other distributed through the various

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361 hilly parts of the Basin. In the former the farmsteads are more closely spaced than are the farmsteads of the hilly areas. Each of the sub-types is sharply different from the other in structures and in general appearance.

342 361 In Chengtu Plain, most isolated farmsteads have fairly well-spaced compounds. As a rule, the structures of these farmsteads have only one story. The walls are made of mud or plaster and the roofs are either thatched with straw or made of tiles. In most cases the layout of these buildings is either "U" or square in shape (Fig. 12). Commonly they include the living quarters, animal and poultry barn, grain and straw storage quarters, implement houses, and are surrounded by high white-washed walls. Most of the farm houses are well-shaded by trees, such as the cypress, the bamboo, and the nanmu and other fruit trees (Fig. 13).

In the more hilly sections of the Basin, particularly in its peripheral areas, isolated farms are found perched on the flat surface of hills. The spacing of these isolated farmsteads is by no means regular and it is everywhere in harmony with the rugged and dissected local topography. Most of the structures in these areas are shabby-looking, flimsy affairs, of very poor quality. In most cases they have mud or brushed walls. Corn-stalks are a common covering for the roof, since both straw and rice stalks are scarce in the hilly areas and have to be brought in from the plains.

In so far as the outward appearance is concerned, most of the houses in the Szechuan Basin are characterized by projecting eaves, gracefully recurved roofs, and rich, elaborate, and well-designed roof ornaments. It is interesting to note that these characteristics are made possible because of three favorable natural conditions in the Basin. First, there is little wind in the Basin and wind storms are practically unknown, thus the fragile and extraordinarily beautiful structures and decorations need little or no protection from wind. Second, there is practically no snow to weigh down and pry off a delicate projecting eave. Third, the fact that there are frequent misty rains in the Basin makes it necessary for practical purposes to project the roof eaves over the walls in order to provide protection from the rain.

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241 If one may admit color as one of the elements of the landscape of a region, one certainly cannot ignore it in the agricultural landscape of the Szechuan Basin. In fact the unusual combination of color in the agricultural areas adds much to the charm of the Basin. The bright red, purple, and chocolate-tints of the soil, the fresh-green of the grain crops, vegetables, and flowers, the brilliant yellow of the rape, the white-but-spattered-with-yellow-and-pink flowers of the tung trees, the snow-white color of the white-wax trees, and many other colors silhouetted against the ever-present dark-green background of the luxurious vegetation throughout the Basin, all add to its special picturesqueness.

231 The normal assortment of livestock life on the farms is a second noticeable feature of the rural scene in the Basin. Fowls, geese, ducks, pigs, bees are especially prevalent. Horses and mules are few. Oxen and water-buffalos are the most important animals on the farm. The buffalos particularly serve in various capacities, such as to plough and to burrow the rice fields, to mill the grains, to press the oils, and to perform a hundred and one other duties. Aside from human beings, they are really the other important "flesh-motors" of the Basin. On the farms, herds and herds of such bulky, slow-moving, long-horned buffalos may frequently be seen (Fig. 16).

235 Duck rearing is another activity of importance (Fig. 17), particularly in the Chengtu Plain. During the months of November and December one may see enormous flocks of ducks being driven slowly over the flooded paddy fields of Chengtu Plain. They feed on the aquatic life in the waters as they are driven along. In two or three months the flocks arrive at Chengtu, fat for market, and at no one's expense!

5. The Character and Distribution of Cities and Towns

361 One of the outstanding features of the urban settlements of the Basin is that most of the relatively important urban units of the Basin are situated on the terraces near the banks of the principal streams (Fig. 7). For instance, beginning from Peng-chieh up to I-ping, following the Yangtse Valley, one may count no less than fifteen of these urban units, including the most populous cities and trading towns of the Basin (Fig. 7). The

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localization of cities in the valleys also holds true for nearly all the main tributaries of the Yangtse, such as the Chialing, the To, and the Min to the north, and the Chi-chiang and the Chien-chiang to the south. Particularly, wherever two major streams converge, a big urban conglomeration is always found. The most noticeable examples are Chungking at the confluence of the Yangtse and the Chialing; Lu-Hsien on the Yangtse and the To rivers; I-ping on the Yangtse and the Min; Lo-shan on the Tatu and the Min rivers; Pei-ling on the Yangtse and the Chien rivers; and Ho-chuan on the Chialing and the Fou-Chu rivers (Fig. 7). 361

It is almost a rule that most towns are situated on the small river terraces, whereas the big urban conglomerations are invariably localized on the broad and high water terraces or at a confluence of two big rivers. This situation is due mainly to the fact that in a region like Szechuan Basin, where water transportation is a vital factor, it is only natural that urban centers should occupy sites accessible to water transport. Even though many of the streams are not fully navigable at all times during the year, the river valleys offer the lines of least resistance and furnish the easiest means of access to the interior of the Basin.

The principal disadvantages of the urban settlements on river terraces are the limited areas of the sites, thus hindering an adequate development of the town patterns. Furthermore, with the great fluctuation of the high- and low-water levels in most of the rivers of the Basin, as we shall see later, the hazards for flood are great. This latter fact has accounted for the presence of houses perched on awkward looking understructures of poles and posts. These difficulties are particularly apparent in the sections of the cities situated on the lower (20-meter-high) terraces of the rivers.

The spacing of the big urban units, generally not over 100 kilometers and often less, depends upon many conditions including the length of the navigability of the streams, the level of the terrace where they are situated, and the relative extent and prosperity of the hinterland of each of the urban units.

In their outer appearance, most of the urban units in the Basin are compactly built. In general, the houses have only one story. There are no yards or sidewalks in front of the houses and thus the houses abut the streets. The streets, in their turn, 363

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363 are narrow, in most cases not over eight to ten feet wide, and are paved with limestone slabs. The arrangement of streets, as a rule, is in harmony with local topography and with the general pattern of the settlement in question.

361 Like many other long settled and unplanned urban communities in the Orient, most of the urban centers in the Basin have no sharp delineation in their functional areas. In fact, many of the functional areas are so juxtaposed and intermixed that it is almost impossible to describe them.

366 Taking Chengtu, for example, the city, in so far as division of functional areas is concerned, is so undifferentiated that nearly the whole city may be considered as predominantly residential in function. This may even be true in some of the so-called business streets, because there are always families living behind shops and stores on the business streets. The matter is further complicated by the fact that families behind these shops may also carry on some handicraft manufacturing activities. Thus, business, residential, and manufacturing functions are all present in one area. Nevertheless, in many cases, one type of establishment or operation unit (such as shops, factories, residences, etc.) is so conspicuous that "functional cores"[1] may be recognized with relative ease, even though the delimitation of the "boundaries" of these "functional cores" cannot be made sharply.

361 An impressive feature of the urban scene of the Basin is that every city has a city wall. Although many cities have recently torn down their walls as a symbol of modernization, many of them still keep this age-old feudalistic structure. The city walls, made of bricks, are in general about 45 feet high and 3 feet wide. Owing to the absence of tall buildings in most of the urban areas, the city wall affords an ideal panoramic view of the city.

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6. Transportation Patterns of the Basin

a) The major water routes.--Water routes are by far the most important means of transportation in the Basin. There are, all told, large and small, navigable and otherwise, 270 streams

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[1]By "functional core" is here defined as a conspicuous clustering-together of a number of establishments or operation units which perform a specific or principal function in that area or locality.

/190/ Through Li the secretary I received the first certain news about the theater of war in Ba tang where Tschao ör fong had for the past year been revenging the death of the resident minister who was murdered by the Tibetans in 1905. Nothing was made known about it in Hsining and we heard only vague reports about it in Tschendu and Dscherku ndo. According to these reports sometimes the Tibetans and then again the Chinese were said to be the victors. The Shensi merchants of Dscherku had urged me not to travel to Ta tsien lu and said that on account of this war they had not received any new goods. Even in Tschoktsen the merchants could not tell me whether the big tea route to Ta tsien lu was even open, and it was not until now that I heard some details about the situation and learned of the battles to which His Excellency Von Mumm had referred in his writings years before. I 726

On April 17 in the late afternoon my cavalcade reached Tschanggu. We first came to the monastery bearing this name, then to the village, and finally to the old castle. All three are on the right bank on a broad terrace 200 meters above the river which makes a large bend here. The ascent up the Tschanggu mountain is steep. It was too much for two of my horses. Half way up my old white riding horse which I had bartered at the Hartschiu yurts from the young Rengan horse thiefs, suddenly hung its head. Even without its saddle it was unable to lift a foot, and succeeded in staggering down to the Tsa lung Chu Valley only after we had poured some brandy into it, but it died at a mill down in the valley. A second horse, a young chestnut from Lab gomba, developed a weak pulse and could not climb the mountain, but in the following night it recovered sufficiently so that it was brought to me in Tschanggu where I received just 10 rupees for it. With my final strength, therefore, I just succeeded in reaching the place where the first Chinese administrative official ruled. C 361

The Tschanggu mandarin's official title was "Lu ho tenn hsien," that is, colonial district of the Lu River. Thus, he was at the same time Tung ling, that is, officer. His yamen lay in the old Tu se castle; he occupied the sixth story. Cage gallows (mo lung) three meters high stood like sentinels in front of his gate. His sign-board consisted of heavy K'ang boards and little boxes like bird cages, except that they contained skulls of robbers instead of canaries, and announced to everyone that he was not a person to be fooled with. C 634

Two servants quickly appeared from behind the cage gallows. They were dressed in colored velvet and silk and requested me immediately to visit their da lao ye. Was it the sight of the grinning skulls that

Tibetan times it had been a room for festive occasions. On the paneling of the walls and ceiling were painted garlands of flowers and hunting scenes in fiery colors. During the meal Tibetans who had some kind of request, were admitted. Scarcely were they inside when they threw themselves on the floor and the Chinese interpreter reported their request. It was seldom that the petitioners dared raise an objection. After the mandarin had curtly given his reply they murmured a feeble "O laso! laso!", bowed their heads, closed their eyes, lifted their hands, pressing the palms together, to their foreheads and again lowered their heads to the dirty floor. This was also the way the interviews of the poorer Tibetan aristocracy were conducted, which angered these people very much.

The floor plan of the castle in Tschanggu resembled the manor house of Puiling, except that the proportions were larger. The building is rectangular with a flat roof of loam, and has four wings that are built around an inner court. There are five stories, all of which are supported by trunks of spruce. Only the strong outer wall is made of stone and in it there are only a few small windows in the fifth story. In times of distress, half the tribe with women and children could be housed there. This building, like all Tibetan houses, has no foundation walls. The walls are built around the many wooden supports and beams of the interior, just as a tent wall is erected, and are not held in place in the ground.

The village of Tschanggu clusters around the manor house at the edge of the slope. Many of its houses lay in ruins, those that are left are inhabited by Chinese. These people, colonists, whom the Manchu government has transplanted here, mostly have Tibetan wives and the style of architecture is completely Tibetan. The town looked peaceful but ugly. The colonists had planted vegetable beds out of which rose stone ruins, testifying to recent wars and suffering.

The Tschanggu monastery is not more than 15 minutes away from the castle. The temples and the upper story of the priests' dwellings are built of wooden beams, as is common in South Tibet, and everything is nicely painted in gay colors. The entire grounds are surrounded by a low wall. (Plate XLVI). It seems designed more to maintain order and decorum among the inhabitants than as a defense against armed enemies. On a hunting trip I also happened to become acquainted with the convent of Tschanggu, which is only a few kilometers distant in a lateral ravine. It houses over a hundred nuns in miserable huts. No gold roofs make it visible from afar, no wall protects the huts from the outside. The nuns do not seem to do as good

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business as their male colleagues whose sanctuary is loaded with glistening gold ornaments and symbols. (2)

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2. North of Tschanggu is the opening of the large Niba Valley, and, according to the mandarin, if one travels up it one reaches the community of Loko on the first day, on the second Säko, then Dschema Zakun, Zenyi, Aubanyi, Audschenyi, Ladiao, and Datama. The first three towns are dependent on Ho lu (Hor) Tschanggu and presumably permanent /194/ settlements. The rest consist of nomads. Southeast of Loko is Urko (Chinese: Yü ko Tu se) which extends a day's journey to the north of Dawo. Five days' journey from Tschanggu through the Niba Valley is Waschu Konggan (also called Ngolok-Khorgan) whose chieftain Gado was a very proud man and the chief opponent of the Lu ho tenn mandarins. In 1906 he was furnished with 100 horsemen from Upper Ngaba, all dressed in thick padded silk jackets, so that he could appear more haughtily at a lawsuit against Wu.

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On an excursion up the mountains to the southwest of Tschanggu, I went five kilometers (aerial line) where I reached an altitude of 4,820 meters. The mountains bordering on Tschantui are a few hundred meters higher, but they do not have sharply divided forms. A little over 4,000 meters I noticed a terrace, the formation of which I attributed to old glaciers. The rocks of the peaks consisted of granite. Metamorphosed, blackish slate was pressed against these with a stratification of N 55-60° W; but the strata seemed to yield against their will to a more meridional direction. From the peak I could see no higher mountain range to the north and east, but even there the average height of the peaks is not far below that of Mont Blanc. On my walk rhododendron bushes accompanied me almost up to the peak.

/194/ All three settlements lie on an embankment of detritus covered with loess and loam, which came from the southern mountains. Not far from the castle this shifting mass is cut in two by a torrential brook and forms steep detritus slopes which produce a landslide each year. In order to avoid destruction the monks have placed a large Lab rtse above the slope and set up many prayer

000 arose before me the majestic mountains of the sacred Lhamo rtse. Meanwhile the clouds of the night had, except for a few remnants, been eliminated by the sun. Bold, shameless, and impudent, as only a barbarian can be, these holy ones stretched heavenward (Plate XLVII). Over there, almost tangibly near, glistening white perpetual snow and greenish gray crevassed ice contrasted with black rock fissures. But the thing about this breath-taking surprise that made my heart beat faster was all the succulent green of the foliage that spread out below those huge thrones of the gods. In the valley at the foot of the Lhamo rtse spring had come some time ago; countless birds, large and small, that I had never seen before, could be heard, and round about me fluttered the most gaily-colored butterflies. With every step of our descent Mother Nature became more alive and jovial, more luxuriant, and more varied. In northern Tibet and during my long journey over loess I had forgotten how beautiful, how extravagant our earth can be decked out. And so I enjoyed it all the more.

• 361 Toward the end we proceeded in a northeasterly direction; during the final hour the road followed a large valley that runs alongside the western foot of the Lhamo rste chain. A few miles before one gets to Ta tsien lu the woods grow sparser. Man in his selfishness, and to his own disadvantage, keeps the abundance of nature within bounds. The city's wood-cutters allow only the underbrush to spring up. At last - meanwhile it was three o'clock - blackish gray Chinese tile roofs and house gables appeared in the valley and soon after - there was only a parade place and a Chinese cemetery to be passed by - the hoofs of my horses clattered along a narrow paved street and through the smallish south gate of Ta tsien lu. I was safe in China again.

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63 The city of Ta tsien lu is 2,500 meters high (1) and wedged in

1. According to a measurement taken near the south gate. Kreitner-Szechenyi gives 2,579 meters, Desgodins-Biet 2,502 meters; Rockhill 2,500 meters (8,204 feet); Baber 2,585 meters (8,480 feet); Gill 2,543 meters (8,346 feet); A-K 2,532 meters (8,310 feet); and the War Office map of Yünnan 2,560 meters (8,400 feet).

between steep mountains. It has 1,200 families with approximately

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8,000-10,000 souls (one-third Chinese and two-thirds Tibetans) and has been for a long time the seat of a Chinese colonel (hsiĕ tai) to whom all police garrisons throughout Hor as well as those of Ba tang, Li tang, etc., were subject, and a superintendant mandarin with the title of "kün leang fu" who had charge of the accounts with the occupation troops and the imperially recognized monasteries up to Lhasa /203/ and who was connected with the Dao tai of Ya tschou fu. (1) Finally I found here an important Likin mandarin whose chief 631

1. The imperial court in Peking annually sent as much as 40,000 taels through the kün leang fu to the monasteries of Tibet in payment for the saying of prayers.

duty it was to tax all tea imported from the lowland, before it entered the city. Besides these important Chinese, the Ming tscheng tu se, Tibetan: Dyala (Dschagla) dyalbo (written: lDschagsla rgyalbo) also has something to say in the administration, albeit only in purely Tibetan matters.

In Tibetan the town of Ta tsien lu is called Dar rtse ndo, i.e., mouth of the Dar, and from this seems to spring the botched expression "Ta tsien lu" in present-day Chinese. However, the Chinese of today do not recognize this derivation. According to one group the name means "arrow forge" and is supposed to be connected with the meaning of the place as a center for weapons; according to others, the name derives from the fact that an arrow was once found here which one of the frontier commissioners was supposed to have shot off. It is the story of the ox skin of Dido, translated into Chinese. After long-drawn-out boundary disputes the parties are said to have agreed that the Chinese boundary should reach as far as an arrow flies. The Chinese shot off an arrow and after a long search they found this arrow many days' journey inside Tibetan territory at the site of present-day Ta tsien lu. The city was called Lu tscheng by Chinese soldiers in the interior of Tibet. 103

Strictly speaking, the city consists only of two narrow streets that extend along either side of the little stream which has quite a lot of water and is supposed to be called Dar Chu (of course, few of the inhabitants know what to call it). Three bridges connect the two sides of the valley. The officials, the officers and the king live on the left bank in broad-gauged yamen, built in Chinese style. Most of the shops and the large Tibetan godowns or go tschwan are on the right bank. Ta tsien lu is today one of the few cities in the Middle 361

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Kingdom which has no city walls. For this it seems to have been added to the kingdom too late (1697). Immediately behind the houses the sides of the valley rise up steeply so that the inhabitants felt it was necessary to build three gates at the three exits of the valley. (2)

2. In 1408 under the third Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, however, the princes of the city had already had to submit to Chinese rule. The country was formerly called West Yü tung and Ning yüan tsch'ün.

Ta Tsien Lu

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There are eight monasteries inside and outside the city, with 500 Tibetan monks all told. The most beautiful monastery is situated at the Chinese parade ground on the left bank of the river in front of the south gate. It is called "Dordyi dschak" and has 150 priests. Like the royal family, it belongs to the Nima or Red Sect. Beside the monastery are hot springs with temperatures of 25 to 27 degrees, that have formed beautiful sinter terraces. I found that the second largest monastery was a Gelugba lamasery with about 100 inmates. It is inside the city and also on the left bank. In the north there is a Saskya monastery with 40 to 50 priests; the rest are small and most of them are homes for Gelugba priests. All of them have regular incomes from real property; in fact, it seems to me that throughout Tibet no monastery can exist without owning property. The Nima Dordyi dschak monastery owns large royal grants and extensive /204/ holdings. With few exceptions these monastery holdings lie in the Minyang country (Chinese: Munia Shan) (1) in the 18 bailiwicks of

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1. Minyang, Muniag or Mi-nag. Various travelers thought that these names or Menia or Minjag were the name of more distant tribes, and therefore in a number of atlases this word reached the Hor Gantse and Dergi region. Actually it applies only to the region of the lower Nya Chu and at some former time it meant the land of the Hsi Hsia kingdom (see p. 205 Vol. I). It means a "lower" country.

the Dschagla Kingdom which extend southwest from the Dschedo La to the Nya Chu.

T 793

Besides the monastery priests there are also 100-150 private priests of all kinds of different sects who act as pastors for individual

C 133 gray, hard glacial ice. Here, too, however, the glaciers are really only miniature glaciers and, as in our native Alpine valleys, only the weak embryos of the ice masses teeming with power, that once reshaped the mountain masses into their present-day large outlines and made the valleys U-shaped and more passable for human beings and animal herds.

Beyond the Da po Shan the way soon leads into thick copses of rhododendron and into a broad valley shaped like an amphitheater. But soon there comes a steeper valley covered with fine old timber. 000 We pitched camp at the first dry spot where some grass for the animals beckoned. Scarcely had we unloaded when I fell asleep from weariness for we had all been obliged to exert our full power to help the animals drag their packs through the snow. When I awakened not very long after I was plagued by a wicked pain in both eyes, which gave me no peace. My servants said that it was still daytime and the sun was high in the heavens but for me night had come. I had become snow-blind to such an extent that I could with no amount of effort /216/ raise my eyelids. I lay in the dark tent and kicked my legs like a child, when the pain from my conjunctivitis was too great. A little black bear of the species ursus tibetanus that I had owned for four weeks and that walked about freely in the camp and at night tried to crawl under my covers, was my nurse and whiled away the time for me. He growled and scolded when I became too restless on my bed of pain, and scratched and bit in all friendliness if I touched him somwhat ungently and unmercifully as I tossed about. But he always bit me in a touchingly gentle way, not wanting to hurt me, just as a dog does that plays with its master. For a day and a half I was obliged to stay in the camp. Then at last the swelling had receded sufficiently that I could pry open my eyelids somewhat with my fingers and could recognize the necessary remedy in my medicine chest.

E •361 Our trek on June 10 down along the same brook and through dense woods brought us to the town of Mao niu gu or, Tibetan: Brismed, 2,800 meters. The village is inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese and shows quite a number of old fortress towers. From the right as well as the left a rather large torrential stream flowed into our valley, and where it joined the water was so deep that it could not at any point C 137 be crossed. The forest was beautiful, high and dense. There were only isolated clearings where there had been forest fires during the winter. Old spruce trees are rare here; birches, poplars, oaks and maple predominate. Lilac trees stood in full bloom. The many

strawberries and strawberry blossoms reminded me of the German forests. We did not see any game except foxes and now and then a band of monkeys that fled from branch to branch with a great deal of noise. C 137 [136]

Many of the Hsining horses which were not used to the narrow and slippery paths, fell down the embankment, and always delayed us at the countless shaky bridges. At each bridge the packs had to be unloaded and carried over individually by us humans, while the animals were held at the head and tail and half lifted and half shoved across to the other shore. Fortunately not one of the horses was in such good spirits while this was going on that it felt like making wanton capers. A few of the bridges that were 30 paces long were made of only a single plank which lay only a handbreadth on the spars that extended from the banks of the river. At every step the planks bent and swayed so that the horses could hardly keep on their feet unaided. Four meters below, the cataract tore, roared and foamed. My old bitch Tschimo always got dizzy and when everyone else had crossed she cautiously crossed the plank on her belly. 000

Beginning at 2,400 meters the settlements in the narrow wooded valley began to grow denser. For a long time there were only isolated farms and small groups of houses, most of which in the narrow valley bottom are inhabited by Chinese colonists. They squat in miserable straw huts, whereas the Tibetans occupy stone houses on the steep clearings of the slopes. They have here remained wealthy land owners. But for how long? The Tibetans plant little corn, but a great deal of barley and wheat. The Chinese in the bottom of the valley plant corn almost exclusively and are traders. C T 361 241

Every afternoon toward two o'clock we made camp upon some /Plates XLIX, L, LI, and LII appear between pp. 216 and 217 in the original text. / /217/ small clearing. The animals always found some food in the woods and were also fed with corn and tsamba which we had brought from Ta tsien lu. Most of these clearings originated as a result of forest fires. At all of them were to be found the familiar three stones (tab rdo) which had served previous travelers as a cooking place. These are also regarded by the natives here as the home of some hearth god who wishes to be well treated. Woe to him who touches the three stones with his foot who carelessly drops the kettle and perhaps spills its hot contents on the three stones or on the fire! Without doubt luck will be against him from that moment on! C T 777

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487 the floor of the valley broader. The angle of elevation of the mountains decreased by several degrees. The valley now followed the general strike of the argillaceous slate mountain range the stratification of which is here also steeply perpendicular and still runs N 65° W as in North and Central Tibet.

In the inn at Senggersung my Romi Tschanggu policemen appeared again. They lay peacefully stretched out on a plank bed and smoked their opium, as they had been doing for the three preceding days. How they could have helped me if they had not deserted me at the suspension bridge!

The distance of 60 li (Chinese caluclation) between Senggersung and Mu gung ting, the chief city of the entire Kin tschuan, could be covered on June 20 within a few hours and without mishap. On the other hand, six days and three horses had been required to cover the distance between Romi Tschanggu and Senggersung, which the Chinese figure at 120 li. (1)

1. According to my map it is actually only 35 kilometers. In West Szechwan I found that the li was usually 0,4 kilometers.

361 /222/ On a warped and decayed cantilever bridge we were again obliged to cross a narrow rocky gorge through which the river surges. Then we climbed 100 meters up the steep left bank onto a rocky terrace and with it reached Hsin gai tse, the market suburb of My gung ting. Hsin gai tse with its 6,000-7,000 inhabitants has no wall. The place is still too new for one. The name Hsin gai tse alone, meaning "new market lane," shows that the Chinese have not been settled here for long, - only a little more than 100 years. The natives call the place Meino or Meno, and from the beginning it played an important rôle. Eight minutes to the east and sharply divided from it lies the yamen town of Mu gung. The district official of the valleys in the Little and the Great Gold River country, the Mu gung ting, has his official seat there. There are only a few houses and a hotel for the various schu be and tsien tsung, i.e., the chiefs of the district, standing together high above the river on a rocky ridge. From this spot one can look far down into valleys and gorges and, farther east, in the valley, one sees the town of Ying pan gai or Ying gai, the supply road with the yamen of the highest military commander of the region (Plate LIII). one looks down toward Senggersung and up the Ying gai Valley and along a road that leads

C 361

south to the seat of the Tu se or rgyalbo of Mu ping (Tibetan: dschumba), that is, to the native king who has received the highest Chinese title among all Tibetan aristocrats and secular rulers. Thus, he is one into whose kingdom the Chinese have penetrated most deeply and intensively and who is next in line to becoming a John Lackland, giving way entirely to the Chinese.

There are good reasons why the Chinese have settled in larger numbers in Hsin gai, Mu gung and Ying gai and why they have moved the center of administration thither. There is no other place far and near suitable for a populous settlement. Since I had left Hor Gantse I had not found so many fields in such close proximity. Fifty and a hundred meters above the river which is wedged in between rock walls, the valley spreads out in terraces (Plate LXII) which permit extensive plantings, particularly of corn and also of wheat, beans and buckwheat. (1)

C 241

C [435]

1. Corn forms the chief nourishment of the inhabitants. At the time of my visit the price of one cattie (600 grams), according to existing exchange, was seven pfennig, whereas in Ta tsien lu a cattie was 25 pfennig and shortly thereafter the prices constantly rose in Ta tsien lu. It is true, Ta tsien lu had to get all its food supplies from the lowland, in fact some things are carried thither from Ya tschou fu on the backs of human beings.

T C 631 175

Mu gung ör fu ting is the administrator and judge of the so-called western Miao tse countries which were subdued and became subject to the Manchu Emperor Kien lung only after two great and bloody wars during the years 1747-49. The decisive and final victory came in the years between 1771 and 1776. It is only since that time that they have come under the Chinese administrative system and been opened up to Chinese colonization and mass invasion. (2) The administrative district of the Mu gung ting is

2. De Mailla, Histoire g. de la Chine, Paris 1780, Vol. XI, p. 589 ff., mistakenly counted these Tibetans from present-day Mu gung ting among the primitive people of Miao tse /223/ and for this reason we still find the history of their conquest in many new history books under the Miao tse wars. D.M. confines himself

/224A/

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Ying pan gai from the top of Mu gung ting.

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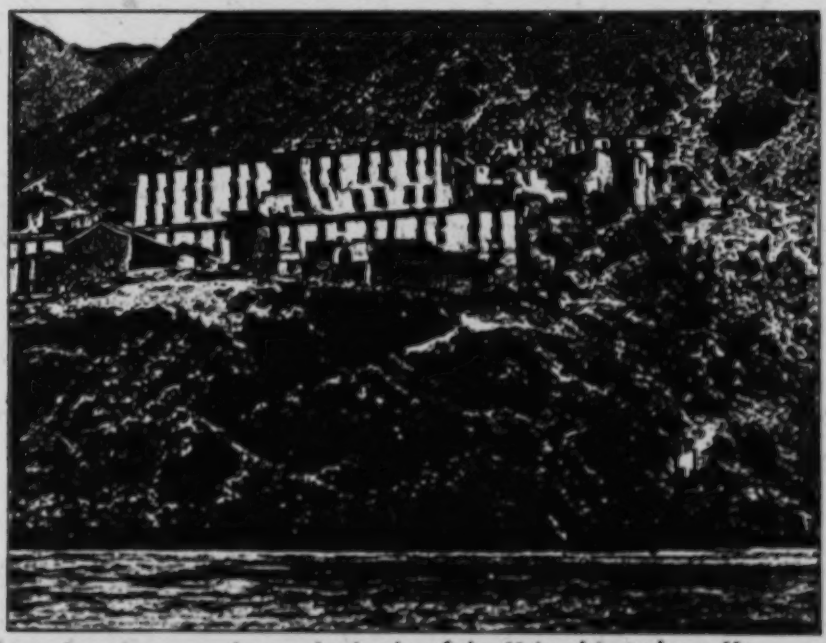

Tschorten sa gomba on the banks of the Hsiao kin tschuan Ho.

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him and he was burned alive. (1)

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1. According to de Mailla, Sonam had General Wen fu who was captured in Mu gung, burned alive. Sonam himself (see p. 595 , Vol. II) was tortured and cut to pieces after a big celebration in the palace, along with his brother, an aunt, several other relatives and his ministers 20 persons in all; 19 others were merely beheaded, 16 imprisoned for life, 52 sold into slavery at Ili; 138 Tibetan leaders were distributed as servants in Mongolia and Manchuria.

The dynasty in Rardan was exterminated like that of Tsanla. But in their original countries Chinese colonists settled, and, beginning with the town of Marbang on the border of Bati, there are today the following flourishing Chinese settlements: Tsung hoa (near the old Guar nge with at present about 600 Chinese families), farther north Lhasding (the market town of the monastery of Kwan hoa se /Yung dshung lha sden/ with 30 families of Chinese), then Tu song (Doksum with at present about 300 families of Chinese), Dshietse (40 Chinese families), Hsü tsching (Ngargu, 1,000 Chinese families). These settlements are under the control of two tai ye (secretaries, one in Tsung hoa and one in Hsü tsching), while next to them in the lateral valleys, under the control of probably a dozen hereditary native officials, the so-called "Darro" (Chinese: schu be meaning captain or ts'ien hu meaning lord of 1,000, and tsien tsung meaning lieutenant or be hu meaning lord of 100) and the so-called tschungro (hereditary officers, Chinese: tsch'ai schu), a remnant of the Rardan tribe has been preserved and they keep alive the memory of the glorious fall of their ancient freedom. (2) There are about 2,500 Chinese

C 361 ● 631

2. Darro corresponds to the "deba" of Inner Tibet; Tschungro corresponds to schel ngo. In Rardan there are today two ts'ien hu, one in Leu and the other in sBedung west of the river. There are also Darro in Brasdi (Bati), Tschoskiab and Somo. Their sons are called deresi.

families living there today and about an equal number of Tibetans. In the old days there were possibly 6,000-7,000 families of Tibetans with hardly more than 10,000 warriors. Conditions are similar in Tsanla. There Chinese colonies have arisen (3) in Yo ts'a,

3. Since 1779 there exists the office of a ting of Mu

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gung who has under him five colonies (tun, pronounced tenn in Kin tschuan), namely: Mu gung tun, Fu pien tun, Hsü tsching tun, Tsung hoa tun, Romi Tschanggu tun. Besides that, a hsie (regiment) was established in 1783 with its seat in the Ying pan gai, which belongs to the chief command of Sung pan ting.

Senggersung, Mu gung, along with Hsin Mo po, Fu pien, Lien ho kou and others, beside which dwell the natives on the mountain slopes and in the lateral valleys, also under the rule of hereditary aristocratic families (darro). In part the darro live in the ancient castles. However, most of the fortifications in Tsania and Rardan have become ruins. The darro must annually travel to the ting at Mu gung and the more important ones among them support the tschungro as their official representatives in the yamen of the ting. Like the tu se (rgyalbo) they set great store by their class honor and marry only among themselves. The office of darro is kept within the family for many hundreds of years. If a darro family dies out, the second son of another darro is adopted. Besides this aristocracy of chieftains, of darro and officers (tschungro), there are free warrior-farmers (tschralba or kralba; kral in Tibetan meaning service), taxable farmers (tokdamba), and finally descendants of unfree people or slaves (gonag in Tibetan and Kin tschuanese, i.e., /228/ "people with black heads"), as well as bondsmen or slaves (kurme). (1)

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1. Kur literally "burden" (Tibetan); me = Mensch /Tibetan/; every Tibetan finds the carrying of burdens highly unpleasant. Ch. Das' Dict. gives kolbo for "slave."

Besides these there are priests (rgofsches in Kin tschuanese) and finally artisans, both of whom are made up of second sons of tschralba or tokdamba farmers and partly also of immigrants from other tribes.

Since the conquest half the land in Great and Little Kin tschuan is under Chinese administration and half under Tibetan. For the Chinese part of the actual land, the owners must pay land tax to the tai ye or to the Mu gung ting, regardless of whether they are Chinese or Tibetan, just as would be the case in any other place in China. The owners have no other burdens or compulsory service. This relationship between farmers and the state therefore already gives a very modern and democratic impression.

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that surely the earth and mountain spirits would send bad harvests if the earth were burrowed through. After this dispute the Bati put up a princess as queen, and when the tu se family of /Plates LVII, LVIII, LIX and LX appear between pp. 240 and 241 in the original text. / /241/ Tschoskiab sent at the head of 2,000 men a prince who wanted to marry the princess, there was a long fight between Bati (Brasdi) and Tschoskiab and many were killed before the Chinese finally acted as mediators, upheld the prince as rgyalbo of Bati, and for the present abandoned the mining of the gold fields. T 669

On the second day I reached the Chinese town of Fu pien where I was welcomed by a most gracious little civil mandarin who for a long time would not permit me to set up camp in the open when I could find no room in the inns with my animals. He saw to it that we stopped at least in the examination hall. On the next day he gave me as escorts two very reliable men and his own tung sche. Even below Fu pien the valley shows a broad rock terrace made up of slabs of sandstone that have a strike of N 40-60° W, a terrace in the valley on which are situated fields and villages, and beside which the wild waters of the Little Gold River has, in more recent times, cut a narrow gorge that is often more than 100 meters deep. At Fu pien the terrace and the mountain slope are covered with a thick padding of loess-loam mixed with rubble. (1) In order to get level fields, the C 361 C 241

1. Such formations are said to be common also in Hsü ching at the Great Gold River, and even in Ngaba, agriculture seems to be based on the loess that is present.

Chinese dug many small steps out of this loess, so that they built up a landscape of artificial steps similar to that in North Shensi and Shansi. The Chinese here always call themselves k'e bien, guests, in contrast to the man tse, literally "the barbarians."

Above Fu pien, the road gets broader and more comfortable by the hour. At 2,800 meters I had finally left behind the zone of V-shaped valleys. A new day's march brought me to Lien ho kou, at an altitude of 2,995 meters, where a darro and a police lieutenant with three soldiers lived beside a colonist gai of not even 50 two-story houses. The house of the darro, according to Tibetan custom, also served as the stopping-place for dignitaries (Plate LVI). On the ground floor I found stables, on the second floor were the rooms and the kitchen, and broad verandas looked down on the inner court. T 361 T [342]

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/248 (A)/

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Sung pan ting and Min River (view from the east).

000 Much as I respected the viewpoint of the mandarins, I could not see why I should not travel a path that hundreds of merchants took every year.

•36/ While my new preparations were going on I had ample time to become acquainted with the city of Sung pan ting. China has only three first-class outpost towns toward Tibet: Ta tsien lu, Sung pan, and Hsining. Strictly speaking, all three of them are on non-Chinese territory. They are the termini of military roads along which the Chinese have settled; on the branch roads, in the nearest forest ravines and mountain valleys, the Tibetan princes are still fighting for recognition and to maintain their individuality. All three cities are also important centers of Tibetan commerce and it is characteristic for all of them that this commerce is largely in Mohammedan hands.

Ta tsien lu is built extremely close, and slippery flagstones and stone steps make it difficult to ride horseback. It resembles a South Chinese city where the pedestrian, the porter, sets the pace. Hsining fu is a North Chinese type of city. /276/ It has extremely wide, dusty streets running between low houses of tile and loam. In its style of architecture Sung pan ting occupies a place exactly in the middle. There the valley of the Min kian which flows in mighty waves from north to south, is almost a half kilometer wide and the river makes a large loop from the left to right of the valley (Plate LXI). In the valley, just as in Fu pien, one finds traces of contaminated loess, and this again on the west side of the valley, i.e., the side which is protected against the winter storms from the west. (1) The road that

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1. As though the west winds of winter had deposited their dust masses in the protection of the mountains and the diminishing eddies of air, in the recoil after the impact against the opposite wall of the valley.

/Fig. 13 appears on p. 276 of original text. / leads up from the lowland of Szechwan and that has kept to the left side of the valley from Kwan hsien on, here crosses the Min. Wooden rafts can navigate the magnificent river, but not yet any boats. The two shores are connected by a large covered wooden bridge with small shops on it like a Ponte Rialto, and around it lies the strong-walled city. As usual, the walls consist of thick tiles filled in with earth. On the west side it continues up a steep incline of the low foothills and ends high at the top in a temple, so that it would require tremendous masses of

of troops to defend the city against a resolute opponent. Sung pan ting has hardly more than 1,500 settled families. Their cloak of protection is therefore far too wide. Inasmuch as there are few Chinese farmers in the vicinity, the city is not required to provide shelter for many refugees in case of a war. This was also a reason why in the 1860s when the Tai ping rebellion weakened the government and the Tibetans and Mohammedans therefore thought their hour of emancipation had come, the city could not offer any resistance against the Tibetan attackers, and rapidly fell. For three years the city, as well as the entire territory up to Nan ping and down to Lung ngan fu and as far as Mao tschou, was ruled by the native aristocrats and the Chinese were so oppressed that to this day they celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation. The day happened to occur during my visit. The Mohammedans also take part in the pleasures of this festival, for they, too, suffered very much under the Tibetans. The latter wanted to re-establish the old kingdom of the Nessedin (Nasding) rgyalbo. The memory of this Tibetan king is still very vivid here.

C 361 C 669 C [52]

The relationship between Chinese and Mohammedans who constitute about half the population of the city, is relatively very good, and that is why there are two Mohammedan prayer halls inside the city wall; and a large mosque has been preserved from ancient times not far from the city across the left bank of the Min ho. As far as other buildings are concerned, we need mention only the old Chen tai yamen in the northern part of the city and the government building of the Ting on a rock terrace in the west. On the periphery of the city are a few lamaistic (Saskya-, Nima-) monasteries. The dwellings /277/ are largely made of wood and many of them are three-storied. A whole section of the city looked very new because just three years before there had been a large fire here. The shops are found along the main street, as everywhere in China. Here one always sees a few Tibetans buying luxury items. The Tibetan population which visits Sung pan ting gives the city a distinctive appearance. The streets are crowded with Ngolok who come riding into the gates on horseback, and above all with hordes of poorly-dressed Bo lo tse or Po lo (Tibetan: Kredyang), men and a surprising number of young women, on foot, and mostly barefoot, clothed only in a coarse, blackish-brown hairy shirt, often without a hat, without any kind of

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873 Party, unions, and management decide who is qualified for additional technical training. The workers entering schools receive financial support equal to their former wages. The stated intention of the Chinese Communists is to build a new intelligentsia within the working class.

466 In the interest of worker recreation, the Communists reported that 11,929 clubs had been set up in factories, mines and other enterprises throughout the country by the end of 1954. From 1949 to 1952, 348 workers' clubs and 712 libraries were reported to have been established in Southwest China.[32] Workers were encouraged to enjoy their leisure time in these clubs and libraries. But in Communist China, even the "leisure" of the masses is controlled by the Party. After an 8- to 10-hour working day, workers have to participate in political studies, criticism or self-criticism meetings, or various campaigns, movements and drives initiated by the Party. It is doubtful that the Chinese workers have any real leisure time at all.

D. Housing Conditions

362 According to a Communist report, People's
466 Government spent more than 286,000,000 yuan (new currency) on housing projects for workers throughout China in 1952. In 1953, the government allocated 130,000,000 square feet of floor space for building workers' living quarters.

32. New China Daily, Sept. 29 and 30, 1953.

362 The housing projects for workers of Southwest
466 China have been concentrated in Chungking and Chengtu; the number of units built was far less than in other regions. By March 1953, nine apartment houses with 577 rooms for workers and their families had been built in Chungking. There are no private baths and no private kitchens in these apartments. Only workers in construction and public utilities are eligible to live in these apartments. They rented for 12 wage-units per month (25,890 yuan, about US 1.00).[33] The municipal government of Chengtu completed a housing project for 512 families in April 1953. The whole project consisted of 14,896 square meters of floor space (about 152,534 square feet). Each family occupied about 250 square feet of floor space.[34] Compared with the living standard in pre-Communist China, this is a great improvement, but it benefitted only a small part of the working force.

VII. UNEMPLOYMENT

464 Since the Constitution of Communist China guarantees the right to work to everyone, the Communists maintain that "unemployment" under the new regime is a temporary holdover from the old

33. New China Daily, April 29, 1953, p. 2.
34. Ibid., April 30, 1953, p. 2.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

localization of cities in the valleys also holds true for nearly all the main tributaries of the Yangtse, such as the Chialing, the To, and the Min to the north, and the Chi-chiang and the Chien-chiang to the south. Particularly, wherever two major streams converge, a big urban conglomeration is always found. The most noticeable examples are Chungking at the confluence of the Yangtse and the Chialing; Lu-Hsien on the Yangtse and the To rivers; I-ping on the Yangtse and the Min; Lo-shan on the Tatu and the Min rivers; Pei-ling on the Yangtse and the Chien rivers; and Ho-chuan on the Chialing and the Pou-Chu rivers (Fig. 7). 361

It is almost a rule that most towns are situated on the small river terraces, whereas the big urban conglomerations are invariably localized on the broad and high water terraces or at a confluence of two big rivers. This situation is due mainly to the fact that in a region like Szechuan Basin, where water transportation is a vital factor, it is only natural that urban centers should occupy sites accessible to water transport. Even though many of the streams are not fully navigable at all times during the year, the river valleys offer the lines of least resistance and furnish the easiest means of access to the interior of the Basin.

The principal disadvantages of the urban settlements on river terraces are the limited areas of the sites, thus hindering an adequate development of the town patterns. Furthermore, with the great fluctuation of the high- and low-water levels in most of the rivers of the Basin, as we shall see later, the hazards for flood are great. This latter fact has accounted for the presence of houses perched on awkward looking understructures of poles and posts. These difficulties are particularly apparent in the sections of the cities situated on the lower (20-meter-high) terraces of the rivers.

The spacing of the big urban units, generally not over 100 kilometers and often less, depends upon many conditions including the length of the navigability of the streams, the level of the terrace where they are situated, and the relative extent and prosperity of the hinterland of each of the urban units.

In their outer appearance, most of the urban units in the Basin are compactly built. In general, the houses have only one story. There are no yards or sidewalks in front of the houses and thus the houses abut the streets. The streets, in their turn, 363

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

363 are narrow, in most cases not over eight to ten feet wide, and are paved with limestone slabs. The arrangement of streets, as a rule, is in harmony with local topography and with the general pattern of the settlement in question.

361 Like many other long settled and unplanned urban communities in the Orient, most of the urban centers in the Basin have no sharp delineation in their functional areas. In fact, many of the functional areas are so juxtaposed and intermixed that it is almost impossible to describe them.

366 Taking Chengtu, for example, the city, in so far as division of functional areas is concerned, is so undifferentiated that nearly the whole city may be considered as predominantly residential in function. This may even be true in some of the so-called business streets, because there are always families living behind shops and stores on the business streets. The matter is further complicated by the fact that families behind these shops may also carry on some handicraft manufacturing activities. Thus, business, residential, and manufacturing functions are all present in one area. Nevertheless, in many cases, one type of establishment or operation unit (such as shops, factories, residences, etc.) is so conspicuous that "functional cores"[1] may be recognized with relative ease, even though the delimitation of the "boundaries" of these "functional cores" cannot be made sharply.

361 An impressive feature of the urban scene of the Basin is that every city has a city wall. Although many cities have recently torn down their walls as a symbol of modernization, many of them still keep this age-old feudalistic structure. The city walls, made of bricks, are in general about 45 feet high and 3 feet wide. Owing to the absence of tall buildings in most of the urban areas, the city wall affords an ideal panoramic view of the city.

505 6. Transportation Patterns of the Basin

a) The major water routes.--Water routes are by far the most important means of transportation in the Basin. There are, all told, large and small, navigable and otherwise, 270 streams

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[1] By "functional core" is here defined as a conspicuous clustering-together of a number of establishments or operation units which perform a specific or principal function in that area or locality.

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	19th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Chin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Some time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Fa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small alter just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through West Town and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ts'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

offended a local woman who was dispatching milk because the friend's wife washed the milk woman's measuring bowl before dipping it into the milk [illegible]. The milk woman's reason was that the bowl was carried on her body, just next to her under-clothes so it could not be dirty at all. 744 364 515

Ideas about public health are lacking. Sickly dogs are seen everywhere; donkeys, horses and mules make a mess freely on every street. Children and adults enjoy their conveniences in the main thoroughfares or around any corner of any lane. No one even bothers to clean up the streets. Often poor farmers or their children come to the streets to gather up the human and animal excretion for fertilizer in the fields. About three years ago the missionary college and the local middle school organized a joint campaign on public hygiene. Teachers and students of both institutions carried out a general cleaning up of all the streets of the town and killed about fifty homeless and sickly dogs. Quite a number of the local inhabitants lent support to the effort. At the same time public lectures were given in the main streets by some of the students on the importance and significance of the campaign. For a period of time following the campaign the town was free from obvious dirt heaps, etc. But the old way of life returned gradually. Today no one even recalls this campaign. 744 364

[p. 7]

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

485 accommodation in a Chinese inn is rough, but quite comfortable enough. One gets a small room with a table and a chair or two, and a plank bedstead. Going to an inn saves a lot of trouble, as the traveller can get firewood and hot water at once without difficulty, and also corn and straw for the mules. In Yung-ch'ang I found I was not bothered by the crowd, and was left alone as much as if I had been in my own house. This is by no means the case everywhere, and the inn yard is often densely packed with spectators. When this happens I should recommend the traveller to get an upstairs room where, as far as my experience goes, he will be quite free from molestation; it is in any case far easier to kick a man downstairs than to clear an inn yard which may have more than one entrance.

361 The town of Yung-ch'ang Fu I estimate to contain about 5000 houses. It was apparently originally a square, built at the foot of a little knoll which forms the end of a spur running down from the range to the west. It seems, however, to have struck some Chinese tactician that an enemy on this hill might make it unpleasant for the garrison of the town, and the northern and southern walls have been extended and bent round so as to meet each other and enclose this little knoll, though even with this the town still remains commanded at short range from the spur beyond. The flat part of the town is about half built over, the rest of the space being taken up with gardens. On the hill there are a few temples built among fir woods, and I actually put up a cock pheasant here within the city wall. This little hill is called Pao Shan and it is from this that Yung-ch'ang takes its *hsien* name of Pao-shan Hsien.

•366 The main bazar street which runs from north to south
262 down the centre of the town is crowded all day and every day, but from the appearance of the place and from enquiries made, I do not think it is as large a trade centre as T'êng-yüeh. It is an excellent place for buying provisions: oranges, pears, pine-apples, carrots, cabbages, beans, radishes, and potato-like roots are to be got here, and doubtless several other sorts of vegetables and fruits at
251 other seasons. They also sell cured ducks and geese, not
262 unlike ham, but very salt; this industry is chiefly in the

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000 few wants beyond the necessaries of life which they already possess. The Ssŭ-mao tea is not of a flavour to suit the European taste, and its sale will always be confined to China and Tibet, so there is no prospect of a trade in tea between Ssŭ-mao and Burma.

I do not suppose that anyone ever has or ever will make a trading journey between Kun-long and Ssŭ-mao, as the latter place is much more easily reached from Mêng-tzŭ by a mule road of 15 stages. As no one has ever proposed a road from Kun-long to Ssŭ-mao, these remarks may appear unnecessary, but I think in such a little known country negative information may be of use.

Since my visit Ssŭ-mao has been made a treaty port[1]. A French and an English consulate and a Chinese imperial maritime custom-house have been established there. I cannot imagine it will ever be of any use to foreign merchants, and I believe this has been found to be the case, as the two consuls have been withdrawn. However, much better information as to Ssŭ-mao and its trade than anything I was able to get together in the short visit I paid the place should be now available from consular and customs reports.

• 366 It was on the 3rd April that we arrived at Ssŭ-mao, and I halted there the next day to see something of the town. It is certainly a very busy place at this time of year, and the large market square in the southern suburb was full of mule caravans going out and coming in. The people I found exceptionally friendly, and I was not followed about by the usual mob of sightseers. I went to call on the officials and found them very civil too.

000 One of the mandarins told me that some French travellers were expected here very soon from Tong-king. He only knew their Chinese names, so it was difficult to guess who they might be. Long afterwards I found out that they were Prince Henri d'Orléans and his companions M. Roux and M. Briffaud, who were passing through Ssŭ-mao on a journey which ended in a fine piece of exploration of the very wild country that separates China from Assam.

[1] A "treaty port" in China is a place where foreign merchants are allowed to reside. It is not necessarily a port on the sea or even on a river, though it is only of recent years that there have been any inland "ports" away from navigable rivers.

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344 The next day I halted, and returned the sawbwa's call
•366 in the morning. The palace was not a very imposing
438 structure but a new one was being built close to it. It was market day in Kêng-ma, and there was a very large attendance, including a good many Chinese traders selling cotton cloth, etc. Most of the European goods appear to come from Bhamo *viâ* Yung-ch'ang. The market is held every five days according to the almost invariable custom of Burma, the Shan States, and Yün-nan. Nearly the whole country-side comes into it to buy and sell, and on market day the roads are always crowded with people from the villages coming and going. It is an opportunity for them to display their best clothes, and in places where there are many different hill tribes the variety of costume is most picturesque.

563 In Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States, and probably in many other places, people of a dozen different races speaking a dozen different languages may be seen in one market place. The lingua franca by which they communicate with each other is generally Shan or Chinese or both, according to the locality. In Kêng-ma there was not any extraordinary variety of tribes. The people were chiefly Shans and Las, with a good many Chinese and a few La-hus. A native of India, a Lucknow Mahommedan, also came to see me. He was employed by the Pang-long Panthays to teach their children Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic. He told me he had been there three or four years and had a great many pupils, and that the rising generation would most of them know Hindustani.

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000 known each other at Eton, for he was in the eleven while I was still a "lower boy" and would not have dared to address one who had attained such a distinguished position. After a few years in a cavalry regiment, he had thrown up his commission and come out to China as a missionary.

Two of the others whom we met were contemplating a journey further in to Tibet and hoped to establish a mission station at Ba-t'ang.

We also went to see Mgr Giraudeau, the Bishop of the French Tibetan mission, and thanked him for the many kindnesses we had received from the French missionaries.

•366 Ta-chien-lu is the great trading mart of eastern Tibet. Furs, medicine, and musk are the exports to China, and tea is the principal import into Tibet. The amount of tea drunk in Tibet must be very large for the size of the population, for everyone, however poor, drinks it con-
245 stantly, in fact at every meal. A certain quantity of P'u-êrh tea is imported from Yün-nan, but by far the greater part of the tea for Tibet passes through Ta-chien-lu.

It is grown in western Ssŭ-ch'uan chiefly in the Ya-chou Fu district. All that is imported into Tibet is of a very coarse quality and is largely adulterated with sticks. The cost of carriage to distant parts of Tibet is so large that a good quality of tea could be sold there only at a prohibitive cost.

114 Mr A. de Rosthorn has published a pamphlet[1] on the
439 subject of the tea trade and this probably contains the most accurate information available. He estimates the weight of the annual import through Ta-chien-lu as 108,780 piculs, which comes to fourteen and a half million English pounds.

He discusses the question of whether tea can ever be profitably imported from Assam into Tibet, but comes to the conclusion that the Chinese tea, adulterated as it is with 65 per cent. of twigs and leaves of other plants, and sold at Ba-t'ang at 5½*d.* and at Lhasa at 11*d.* a pound will continue to hold its own, except possibly in parts of Tibet very remote from China.

[1] *On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssŭ-ch'uan*, by A. de Rosthorn. London, Luzac & Co., 1895.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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FIGURE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGE FAIRS
CHIEN WEI, SZECHUAN

Adapted from Spencer, J. E. Econ. Geog., Jan. 1940.

[Face p. 24]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

3. The Village Fair--An Important Rural Institution of the Basin

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The village fair is an important institution in the rural life of the Szechuan Basin. Such fairs, though quite common in many rural parts of China, are especially widespread and colorful in the Basin, and command great geographical interest. On account of the rugged and dissected topography, and consequently the detached character of the settlement forms in many parts of the Basin, there has been a greater and a more urgent need for some such institution than in much of China.

In many cases the village fair, locally known as "Chang" or enclosure, is the sole place where farmers living in isolated farmsteads and small detached settlements buy and sell their products. The village fair, therefore, is one of the most vital channels of rural economy in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the more hilly areas.

Ordinarily, the sites of the fairs are chosen on the more spacious and flat areas. On account of the scarcity of such areas in many parts of the Basin, however, most of the village fairs are rather limited in extent and consequently over-crowded. Normally they are either on the flat tops of moderate hills, or at the saddle or divide of two hills. In many cases they are held at places where temple grounds are available. The fairs are commonly spaced about 10 li (one li equals approximately a third of a mile) apart, and seldom are separated by more than 30 li. The spacing depends upon the local topography and the conditions of settlement. Because there is no means of transportation in many parts of the Basin, the ideal spacing is at a distance of less than twenty li, i.e., within walking distance of each other, so that the farmers in the areas between the fairs can make a round trip within one day. In most cases, as in the Chien Wei district of the western Basin, the interval between the village fair is about four or five miles, or a little over fifteen li[1] (Fig. 14).

The fairs are run on a definite schedule of dates, the frequency of which depends upon the volume of business the village commands. The usual schedules are 1-4-7, 2-5-8, or 3-6-9 days, alternating from place to place so as to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of the various areas nearby. The sequence and the

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[1] J. E. Spencer, "The Szechuan Village Fair," Econ. Geog., XVI, No. 1 (1940), 54.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

frequency of fair days is so adjusted as to reduce competition among the neighboring localities and to afford the greatest advantages to both buyers and sellers. The smooth operation of these schedules illustrates the type of local cooperation which is common in this part of China.

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The typical village fair includes a grain merchant, a butcher, several tea houses, a few oil merchants, some firewood booths, vegetable booth, poultry stands, wandering native doctors, dentists, and fortune tellers. In spite of the extremely small area occupied by the fair grounds, it is interesting to note that a kind of system of automatic zoning has come into effect. For instance, it is almost a rule that the grain markets are located at the temple or other spacious grounds, whereas the tea houses, fortune tellers, and the wandering native doctors and dentists always occupy the center areas of the fair.

4. Farms and Field Patterns

One of the most striking features of the farms of the Basin is the predominance of terraced cultivated fields. Probably nowhere else in all China--with the possible exception of the loessial northwest--does one find the use of slope lands and the building of terraces so universal and so highly perfected as in the Szechuan Basin. Most of the low, round, amphitheater-like hills of the Basin are terraced and cultivated.

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The terraced steps are of various widths. Each terrace rises above the preceding one (Fig. 15) and in many cases is faced by a wall of bare sandstones or shales. Each terrace is irrigated from the one below by a small stream of water regulated generally by some simple lifting device, such as a windless, driven by men or animal power. Generally speaking, most of these terraced fields are irregular, depending upon the specific land forms. In Chengtu Plain the fields tend to be rather square or oblong in shape, but most of them have irregular forms, owing to the need of fitting them into irrigation systems. In general, the units of the fields in Chengtu Plain, on account of its more continuous flat topography, are much larger than those in other parts of the Basin.

In the Basin, all land to be planted in rice, whether terraced or otherwise, is put, if possible, under water--generally a little over one foot deep--for the rice season. The field boundaries in most cases follow the natural elevations.

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363 are narrow, in most cases not over eight to ten feet wide, and are paved with limestone slabs. The arrangement of streets, as a rule, is in harmony with local topography and with the general pattern of the settlement in question.

361 Like many other long settled and unplanned urban communities in the Orient, most of the urban centers in the Basin have no sharp delineation in their functional areas. In fact, many of the functional areas are so juxtaposed and intermixed that it is almost impossible to describe them.

366 Taking Chengtu, for example, the city, in so far as division of functional areas is concerned, is so undifferentiated that nearly the whole city may be considered as predominantly residential in function. This may even be true in some of the so-called business streets, because there are always families living behind shops and stores on the business streets. The matter is further complicated by the fact that families behind these shops may also carry on some handicraft manufacturing activities. Thus, business, residential, and manufacturing functions are all present in one area. Nevertheless, in many cases, one type of establishment or operation unit (such as shops, factories, residences, etc.) is so conspicuous that "functional cores"[1] may be recognized with relative ease, even though the delimitation of the "boundaries" of these "functional cores" cannot be made sharply.

361 An impressive feature of the urban scene of the Basin is that every city has a city wall. Although many cities have recently torn down their walls as a symbol of modernization, many of them still keep this age-old feudalistic structure. The city walls, made of bricks, are in general about 45 feet high and 3 feet wide. Owing to the absence of tall buildings in most of the urban areas, the city wall affords an ideal panoramic view of the city.

505 6. Transportation Patterns of the Basin

a) The major water routes.--Water routes are by far the most important means of transportation in the Basin. There are, all told, large and small, navigable and otherwise, 270 streams

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[1]By "functional core" is here defined as a conspicuous clustering-together of a number of establishments or operation units which perform a specific or principal function in that area or locality.

214 208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

• 368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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214 363 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

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214 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were
563 printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953, quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

27. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25, '53, p3.
28. New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 The traditional rural village community
369 consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and
565 landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 However, the growth of rural population
369 without a comparable increase in arable land to-
166 gether with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
166 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
178 was especially true after Confucian training had
871 been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

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11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

596 178 In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was undermined. He was still needed at home to carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

• 369 596 178 562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship

369 continued to give a greater primacy to males in
596 the family, but the ability of daughters to earn
178 a wage enhanced their value to the family and
562 made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted, however, that women of farming and laboring families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

596 185 and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

596 185 369 In the cities where modern influence had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual reference to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

596 and devotion to self- interest. They had re-
185 spectively given rise to the sins of marriage
369 based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts" was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955. In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors, "to place love in a secondary position in one's life," is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking.

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31. SCMP, 1022, p. 4.

32. Ibid., pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its
[582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
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33. Ibid.; 1002, p. 3.

181 Despite the grim struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

•369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[12] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and established merchant families. 632 The county seats (hsien capitals) were the 369 centers for tax collection and administration of

12. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
161 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[466] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[14] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
369 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
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13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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527 of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the
575 holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. The urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

668 527 all public celebrations of the festival are made to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, in the coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and dance troupes performed at thirty factories.[33]

668 [653] 369 The cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, large sections of old city walls such as those of Chengtu have been destroyed, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[34]

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33. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager. We do not have details on activities in the Southwest. We would expect them to be similar in outline, less elaborate in form.

34. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

[511] 618 369 Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[35] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This identification and the opportunities offered by the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land in the country, where economic opportunities are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

The elite of the towns and cities are the functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families somewhat easier

35. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

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668 life than that granted the rest of the urban
369 population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[36]

The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine, as the Communists plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

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36. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership. 181 668 369 565

A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways. 183

32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

562 184 Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

562 369 184 A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

563 184 Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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474 leadership over the agricultural producers'
668 co-operative organization before gradual collectivization began.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Conference:[61] (1) Party organization shall be based on territorial and production units, with emphasis on the development of more Party branches in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. (2) Collective work rather than individual achievement is to be stressed. (3) There is to be further expansion of Party indoctrination programs. (4) The county Party secretary's leadership and the Party's political role in the producers' co-operatives is to be strengthened.

The chief problems which the agricultural program of the Party faces are the need for cadre education, the lack of Party strength, and the peasant's sense of individuality and love of his own land.

369 D. Political Control in the City
668

The establishment and consolidation of

61. Summary report on the conference in New China Monthly, No. 4, April 1955, pp. 27-28.

369 Communist power in the cities followed the
668 same general course as in the rural areas. The Democratic Construction Movement, directed in particular at the urban population and the trade unions, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, directed at the Party itself, the government administration, and industrial and business circles of society, in effect, performed functions similar to those in the land reform in rural areas.

668 Communist power in the city is retained through the maintenance of a set of control organizations, extending from workers' trade unions to the students' federation.[62]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committee, composed of one-hundred to six-hundred families, is organized with the stated aim of contributing to the welfare of the residents. The basic unit is a family residing in or sharing a house with others. Under the committee are sub-committees representing

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62. Regulation of committees, People's Daily, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 1-2. English text in Current Background, No. 310, Jan. 17, 1955.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

231 them. They plant a particular sort of tree to breed them on. The insects consist of a soft brown shell full of a mass of very minute grubs. Some of these are kept for breeding and are put into little bundles of straw and fastened on to the tree. These little grubs after about a month come out of the shell and spread all over the tree. In a year's time each of these has produced its nest of grubs, and the crop is gathered and sold to men who come chiefly from Ssŭ-ch'uan and Hu-nan. The price is 20 taels (about £3) for a man's load of 50 or 60 lbs. of insects.

The load being so valuable, great care is taken that the grubs should not be prematurely hatched out of their shell by the heat. The porters travel very quickly and only in the cool of the night. On arrival at their homes in Eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan or Hu-nan, they place the insects out on another sort of tree, and in course of time they come out of the shell and spread over the tree and produce wax. When the deposit is complete, as much as possible is scraped off, and the branches are then boiled so as to extract every particle of wax.

373 The white wax which these insects produce is much valued as it will stand a greater heat without melting than any other substance of this sort. It is used therefore principally in the manufacture of candles, as an outer coating to prevent the candle guttering. The gathering and selling of the crop of insects was in full swing as we passed through this part of the country at the end of April[1].

The next day we crossed the Niu-lan Chiang which is only 40 yards wide at the San-tao-kuai ferry but has a strong current and runs in a deep gorge. This river, which is the outlet of the Yang-lin Lake, is navigated by boats in some parts of its course. It forms here the boundary between Kuei-chou and Yün-nan, so that we were now again in the latter province after having been for the last twelve days in Kuei-chou.

328 The inhabitants of San-tao-kuai get their living by smelting zinc. The zinc ore is placed in conical shaped earthenware cups. When heated, the zinc rises from the ore in the shape of gas and collects on a sort of shelf inside

[1] For a full account of the White Wax Insect see Hosie's *Three Years in Western China*, Chapter XI.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 between the little Chiang-ch'uan Lake and the hills to the east of it, just at the point where a stream connecting it with the Ch'êng-chiang Hai forces its way through these hills.

The village has some nice trees and looks well from a distance: inside are the usual pigs and dirt. Its height is just under 6000 feet, the first time for six weeks I had camped at such a low elevation.

On the 18th, crossing a low range of hills, we descended to the lake of T'ung Hai, and, rounding its eastern end, reached the town of that name. The plain round the lake is well cultivated and there is a ring of large villages round it. The town though not very big is decidedly prosperous and has a good deal of trade. We found kerosine oil in general use here for lamps, a sign that we were approaching the civilisation of Tong-king.

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•373

From here Turner and I separated, his road branching off in a more westerly direction. Ker had left us two days previously to find a way from Chin-ning to T'a-lang, thus getting more country surveyed than we otherwise should have done.

316 Turner and Ker met at T'a-lang and were able to visit the gold mine, which they found a productive one in spite of the very crude machinery used. After this they had a most trying journey over roads rendered nearly impassable by heavy rains. They followed up the course of the Pa-pien Chiang (Black River) for several days, turning westward from near the south end of the Ching-tung T'ing plain. Ker crossed the Mekong to Yün Chou, and from there went northward to Ta-li Fu, where he met Turner, who had come there by a more direct route. They did not reach Burma till August. Travelling in Yün-nan in the rains is not a pleasant experience. It was quite an exceptional circumstance for them not to be wet to the skin on every march, and their rate of progress was sometimes not more than a mile an hour.

136 It had rained almost unceasingly since we left Yün-nan Fu, so it was pleasant to start the next morning in fine weather, with the cheerful call of the Chinese francolin all round us. This bird closely resembles the painted partridge of southern India, and is the common partridge of Burma

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers, the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is
[316] mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩 is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村浦, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華硐 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江浦, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉鏡湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 *133 *137 has its source on the western slopes of Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 (also written 芒 and 鋩), which are visible through Yeh-tsi valley. Part of the waters of its stream are led by ditches to the village, which is inhabited by Tibetans only. The sky is an azure blue, the atmosphere crystal clear, making every rock stand out sharply defined.

In this valley is situated the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, called Yang-pa-chen-ling (Yangs-pa-chan-gling,[50] Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺), which belongs to the Yellow sect, perhaps so named after a monastery in northern Tibet of the same name. It is, however, also the name of a city in Magadha on the site of modern Allahabad. The lamasery was built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753). Hung-p'o is known in Tibetan as Ngü-phu,[51] from *dngul*, silver, and *phu*, the upper part of a sloping valley. There are also two villages called Hung-po, one north and one south of the lamasery.

Ngun-ya village. — Beyond Yeh-tsi we cross a spur and follow along the now more gently sloping hill-side, past another gap, and arrive at the village of Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 果念); this is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, and is the last pure Na-khi village in north-west Yün-nan. There are, however, other villages inhabited either wholly or in part by Na-khi, across the Yün-nan border in Hsi-k'ang.

At Ngun-ya, or Gun-ya, the Mekong flows in a deep trench imprisoned by steep rock walls. It makes a sharp curve to the east, flows through a defile and encircles the spur on the southern slopes of which Ngun-ya is situated; it makes in fact a double horseshoe bend. (PLATES 168). Beyond Ngun-ya it flows through a very narrow gorge with a tributary descending through a rocky, arid canyon with the pinnacles of the high mountains visible in the distance.

[374] Fuel is scarce here, the nearest wooded mountain being Pai-mang Shan to the east. The people of Ngun-ya are very friendly and helpful to the traveler, quite a contrast to the surly attitude of the people of Yeh-tsi. They are, [147] however, sorely afflicted with goitre. On the road one meets now only Tibetans, stalwart fellows who greet one with upturned hands raised to about the chest — survival of an ancient custom to show that the hands hold no arms.

[712] All along the Mekong on small promontories are more or less ruined watch-towers built of mud bricks (PLATE 169) their walls pierced with loop-holes. It used to be, and still is, the belief that these towers were built by the ancient Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pe (Mu Sen-pe, as it is pronounced by the Na-khi). But, as has already been related, they were not erected by the Na-khi rulers but by the T'u-fan, against the invasion of Na-khi soldiers led by their chiefs. These towers are to be found all along the Chinese — Tibetan, not political, but ethnic border. They are common north in Mu-li, on the Zho Chhu, on the hills in the Li-t'ang River valley, on the Ya-lung, and in the region of Chiu-lung hsien 九龍縣, south of Ta-chien-lu. They form, in fact, an ethnic boundary line from the Mekong to the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河.

From the gorge beyond Ngun-ya the trail again climbs the rocky, steep

[50] ཡང་ཕ་ཅན་ཀླིང [51] dNgul-phu ངུལ་ཕུ

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

463 people of Hsi-lien, for in the afternoon at the village of Wan-yao I found pottery works and a manufactory of iron
323 pans. The potter's wheel was made of one round stone revolving over another. The upper stone has a piece sticking up at the top and round this piece the clay is put. The potter then makes the stones revolve by working a treadle with his foot, and at the same time forms the clay with his hands. In three or four minutes he made a plate and two different sizes of cup. When the moulding is finished the things are put out in the sun to dry. Then comes the glazing. This process I did not see, but it was explained to me as follows:—The glazing stuff is made of rice husk and lime mixed together and heated and then mixed with water. Into this mixture the cups are put and are then baked in a kiln. The result is a greenish coloured glaze.

326 I then went on, accompanied by several villagers, to the iron works. Here they had a cylindrical-shaped furnace, three feet long and one foot in diameter, in which the iron
• 376] was placed to melt. An ingenious use had been made of a little stream which flowed past the shed, to turn a horizontally placed water-wheel which worked the bellows for the furnace. Two pan-shaped clay moulds are then taken and one is fastened tightly down over the other, both with the convex side uppermost. The furnace is then tilted up a little so that the melted iron runs into a ladle, by means of which it is poured into a small hole in the upper mould, so that it fills up all the space between the two. It is left for a minute to solidify, and then the topmost mould is taken off and the pan that has been thus formed put on one side to cool.

186 While I was looking at this, one of the villagers came running up, grinning all over, and shouted out, "Is this a foreign devil?" He was immediately silenced by the others, and one could not take offence where evidently none was meant. The fact is that Chinamen among themselves nearly always allude to us as "Yang kuei-tzŭ," "Sea devil" or "Devil from across the sea," and many ignorant villagers would be puzzled to find any other name by which to call a European. The origin of this expression, I believe, dates from the first Chinese war of 1842. The Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. [376] The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

round in a circular furrow, into which the paddy was thrown. 407
It was worked by a water-wheel which revolved horizontally like a turbine, teeth being arranged all round the outer 376 edge of its top surface to catch the water.

We had heard cuckoos everywhere round us for the last 136 few days. The bird appears to be the same as the English cuckoo, and in western China as in England it makes its appearance in April, though I think in the Shan States I have heard it as early as March.

My mules went straight along the main road to Yang-kai 000 the next day, but I made a slight detour to see Hsün-tien Chou which lies a little off the road. It is a small, poor town in a rather well-cultivated plain with the upper waters of the Niu-lan Chiang running through it. The Tao-t'ai 631 of eastern Yün-nan has his residence here. His district comprises Chao-t'ung Fu, Tung-ch'uan Fu, and Ch'ü-ching Fu.

It rained most of the day and we did not reach Yang- 000 kai till seven in the evening, as the march with the circuit to Hsün-tien must have been 24 miles.

The next day we passed Sung-ming Chou which lies a mile to the right of the road[1]. The town is a small one, but it stands in a good plain, measuring about 10 miles each way. Exceptionally fine opium is grown here and at 249 Yang-kai. The poppy flower of Yün-nan is usually white, the next most common colour being mauve or purple. Scarlet poppies are occasionally seen but they are not common.

After crossing the plain the road leads over a lot of 000 uncultivated undulating ground. As there was some delay in changing our escort at Sung-ming, I went on without a guide. Going off to the right of the road to put up my plane-table, I tried to make a short cut back, and got on to the wrong path, a mistake which we did not discover till we met a man a mile or two on. We then struck across to the left but found so many well used tracks made by timber-hauling from the fir woods in front of us, that it was most difficult to pick out the right road. We could see no village and could find no one to ask the way of, and as it was

[1] What is considered the main road passes a little further to the east through Yang-lin, but the route I took is rather the more direct of the two.

1 [village of Liu-shu-ho -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 the stream. Below the plateau it disappears into deep gorges among the hills bordering the Yangtze.

361 On the 14th February we reached Hui-li, a town of 3000 houses with a good wall round it. It has broad streets and is more prosperous looking than any of the towns of Yün-nan, except perhaps the capital of that pro-
438 vince. Its chief products are opium, tobacco, indigo, and
316 copper. The copper mine is at Lu-ch'ang, six miles south
249 of the town, and as Mr Ker had seen it the previous year I did not visit it. Indigo is to be seen growing every-
386 where in the fields, covered over at this time of the year with straw to preserve it from the frost. The large tanks in which they mix the dye are found in nearly every village as well as in the town. The height of Hui-li I made 6,250 feet.

823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these
241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural
433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about
433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

• [386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Tung oil is widely used in the modern industrial world. 314
It has been proved particularly invaluable in making high grade paints, in boat-building, and in the manufacturing of many other water-proof products. The refuse cake, chemically a complete 387
fertilizer, is valued highly by the farmers of the Basin for fertilization purposes. It is used especially for the dry crop 314
fields, such as corn, kaoliang, and other crops, but is very seldom applied to the rice-fields. It is reported that these tung-cake fertilizers are particularly suitable to the corn crop.[1] [388]
The shells of the tung seed, together with rice and soy bean stalks, burned and treated, are commonly used to prepare a cheap soap for the local farming families.

China now produces about 85 per cent of the total world 439
supply of Tung oil, and the production of Szechuan Basin alone 314
accounts for about 40 per cent of the total tung oil export of all China. The best customer was the United States, which, before the war, took on an average about half of the total production. Other customers were Germany, with about 25 per cent of the total; England, with about 15 per cent; and France, Italy, and Japan, each with about 5 per cent of the total annual export.

From the standpoint of the agricultural economy of the Basin, the production of tung oil is vitally significant. Even apart from the huge amount of cash income it brings in the export market, the value of the refuse cake for fertilization, and other industrial purposes, such as the manufacturing of soap, the total value of the Tung tree to the farmers of the Basin is incalculable. Hence, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has recently launched an ambitious ten-year expansion program to boost the Basin's Tung-tree production. It aims to increase the present yearly production of oil from 400,000 quintals to 1,000,000 quintals. At the same time, the Foreign Trade Commission together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry have a five-year plan for increasing tung-oil production in Szechuan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi to 650,000 quintals per year. In addition to existing Tung trees, according to the five-year plan, Szechuan is to plant Tung trees on an additional 500,000 mow of land as a necessary step in the expansion program.[2]

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[1] Y. J. Hsiao, "A Study of the Agricultural Practices of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 7 (1933), 6.

[2] Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan, Annual Report (1940), p. 76.

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fields, such as corn, kaoliang, and other crops, but is very seldom applied to the rice-fields. It is reported that these tung-cake fertilizers are particularly suitable to the corn crop.[1] [388]
The shells of the tung seed, together with rice and soy bean stalks, burned and treated, are commonly used to prepare a cheap soap for the local farming families.

China now produces about 85 per cent of the total world 439
supply of Tung oil, and the production of Szechuan Basin alone 314
accounts for about 40 per cent of the total tung oil export of all China. The best customer was the United States, which, before the war, took on an average about half of the total production. Other customers were Germany, with about 25 per cent of the total; England, with about 15 per cent; and France, Italy, and Japan, each with about 5 per cent of the total annual export.

From the standpoint of the agricultural economy of the Basin, the production of tung oil is vitally significant. Even apart from the huge amount of cash income it brings in the export market, the value of the refuse cake for fertilization, and other industrial purposes, such as the manufacturing of soap, the total value of the Tung tree to the farmers of the Basin is incalculable. Hence, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has recently launched an ambitious ten-year expansion program to boost the Basin's Tung-tree production. It aims to increase the present yearly production of oil from 400,000 quintals to 1,000,000 quintals. At the same time, the Foreign Trade Commission together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry have a five-year plan for increasing tung-oil production in Szechuan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi to 650,000 quintals per year. In addition to existing Tung trees, according to the five-year plan, Szechuan is to plant Tung trees on an additional 500,000 mow of land as a necessary step in the expansion program.[2]

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[1] Y. J. Hsiao, "A Study of the Agricultural Practices of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 7 (1933), 6.

[2] Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan, Annual Report (1940), p. 76.

7: Hu K-5 . (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 13

PRODUCTION OF TUNG OIL IN SZECHUAN (1936)

Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs	Per Cent of Total
Ning-Shui.....	185,000	24.2
Chung-Hsien.....	140,000	18.3
Yun-Yang.....	100,000	13.1
Wan-Hsien.....	60,000	7.8
Siu-Shan.....	50,000	6.5
Feng-Tu.....	40,000	5.5
Feng-Chieh.....	20,000	2.6
Fu-Hsi.....	10,000	1.3
Liang-Shan.....	10,000	1.3
Chang-Shou.....	10,000	1.3
Shih-Chu.....	10,000	1.3
Pei-Ling.....	10,000	1.3
Ho-Chuan.....	8,000	1.0
Yu-Yang.....	8,000	1.0
Hsuan-Han.....	6,000	.7
Lu-Hsien.....	6,000	.7
Ta-Chu.....	6,000	.7
Fu-Shan.....	5,000	.6
Kai-Hsien.....	5,000	.6
Tien-Chiang.....	5,000	.6
Nan-Chuan.....	5,000	.6
Kai-Chiang.....	4,000	.5
Wu-Sheng.....	4,000	.5
Ta-Hsien.....	4,000	.5
I-Ping.....	4,000	.5
Lo-Shan.....	4,000	.5
Ping-Shan.....	4,000	.5
Chiang-Tsin.....	3,000	.3
Ho-Chiang.....	3,000	.3
Chu-Hsien.....	3,000	.3
Yen-Ting.....	3,000	.3
Si-Chung.....	3,000	.3
Kuang-An.....	3,000	.3
Wan-Yuan.....	3,000	.3
Nan-Chung.....	3,000	.3
Yung-Hsien.....	2,000	.2
Pa-Hsien.....	2,000	.2
Chiang-Yu.....	2,000	.2
Siu-Ning.....	2,000	.2
Peng-Hsi.....	2,000	.2
Nan-Pu.....	2,000	.2
Peng-Shui.....	1,000	.1
Chien-Chiang.....	1,000	.1
Chi-Chiang.....	1,000	.1
Total.....	[illegible]	100.0

414
433
388

000 had adopted as most likely to afford the easiest line for a railway, so that it was by this route that we set out to meet him.

As far as Ch'ü-ching there are two alternative roads, so Watts-Jones, leaving on the 30th March, took the main road through Ma-lung Chou, while I, starting four days later, went by a somewhat less frequented route through Yi-liang Hsien and Lu-liang Chou.

Ryder had so far failed to get the longitude of Yün-nan Fu from Bhamo, owing partly to the difficulty of getting a strong enough current over this distance of 500 miles of telegraph wire, and partly to the frequent occurrence of breaks, and to the general neglect of duty by the telegraph clerks, under the slack administration of the stout Manchu gentleman who presided over this department[1].

Ryder therefore decided to stay on in hopes of fixing this most important point. As it turned out, he waited there a month and had then to give it up as a bad job. However we were luckily able to get satisfactory observations in the following year.

On the 3rd of April I was able to get away and started off across the Yün-nan Fu plain. Several things here strike the traveller arriving from the west as new and peculiar. 312 The rows of cypress trees along the irrigation embankments are one of the most conspicuous features of this [406] part of the country; and the curious wheels which, worked by hand, draw the water up from the lakes and ponds into the irrigation channels, are not found in the plains of western Yün-nan, where nearly all the water is running. It is true indeed that these wheels are used in Yün-nan Hsien and other places west of the capital, but I have never seen them west of Ta-li.

493 But what struck me as most extraordinary was the use of carts. These I certainly did not expect to see in western China. I subsequently found them in use in nearly all the plains of eastern Yün-nan. They are very small and are drawn by one bullock or buffalo. They are only used for

[1] Mr Jensen was in no way responsible for the frequent breaks which occur in the Yün-nan telegraphs. His work was to keep the electrical instruments in order. The upkeep of the actual telegraph wire is in the hands of Chinese, who make as much money out of it as they can.

316 Like Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley

505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent

137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

round in a circular furrow, into which the paddy was thrown. 407
It was worked by a water-wheel which revolved horizontally like a turbine, teeth being arranged all round the outer 376
edge of its top surface to catch the water.

We had heard cuckoos everywhere round us for the last 136
few days. The bird appears to be the same as the English cuckoo, and in western China as in England it makes its appearance in April, though I think in the Shan States I have heard it as early as March.

My mules went straight along the main road to Yang-kai 000
the next day, but I made a slight detour to see Hsün-tien Chou which lies a little off the road. It is a small, poor town in a rather well-cultivated plain with the upper waters of the Niu-lan Chiang running through it. The Tao-t'ai 631
of eastern Yün-nan has his residence here. His district comprises Chao-t'ung Fu, Tung-ch'uan Fu, and Ch'ü-ching Fu.

It rained most of the day and we did not reach Yang- 000
kai till seven in the evening, as the march with the circuit to Hsün-tien must have been 24 miles.

The next day we passed Sung-ming Chou which lies a mile to the right of the road[1]. The town is a small one, but it stands in a good plain, measuring about 10 miles each way. Exceptionally fine opium is grown here and at 249
Yang-kai. The poppy flower of Yün-nan is usually white, the next most common colour being mauve or purple. Scarlet poppies are occasionally seen but they are not common.

After crossing the plain the road leads over a lot of 000
uncultivated undulating ground. As there was some delay in changing our escort at Sung-ming, I went on without a guide. Going off to the right of the road to put up my plane-table, I tried to make a short cut back, and got on to the wrong path, a mistake which we did not discover till we met a man a mile or two on. We then struck across to the left but found so many well-used tracks made by timber-hauling from the fir woods in front of us, that it was most difficult to pick out the right road. We could see no village and could find no one to ask the way of, and as it was

[1] What is considered the main road passes a little further to the east through Yang-lin, but the route I took is rather the more direct of the two.

1 [village of Liu-shu-ho -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibet Border AE3
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411
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 157.—A NA-KHI WITH CROSSBOW

麼 梭 弩 射 者

A Na-khi from the village of Lu-tien on the Li-ti-p'ing, showing how to use the crossbow.

[p. 298 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

714
411

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 175. — A TIBETAN SOLDIER FROM A-TUNG

阿墩古宗兵

He is armed with flintlock gun and sword; his garment is of P'u-lu (Tibetan woolen cloth) and his boots of felt with leather soles.

[p. 330 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

road from Yüeh-sui 越巂 to cross the Chin-sha Chiang which is in Pei-sheng chou.[8] The army divided before it reached the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河, considerably to the north of the Yangtze and north-east of Li-chiang. Wu-liang-ho-tai 兀良合帶 led by the west road from Yen-tang Lu, Prince Ch'ao-ho-yeh-chih-lieh 抄合也只烈 led his army by the east road and the land of the Pai-man.[9] Hu-pi-lieh, leading his cavalry by the middle road, arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城 on the day *i-ssu* 乙巳 the 29th day of the ninth moon, the 3rd year of Hsien Tsung (October 23rd, 1253; Sainson translates 乙巳 as "Les uns et les autres" and does not give the date). They left their heavy baggage behind and in the tenth moon they crossed the Ta-to Ho. In the eleventh moon they arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭砦 (*see* Mu Chronicle, A-tsung A-liang 阿琮阿良).

Ta-yao Shan. — Leaving Jih-yüeh-ho, the trail follows the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho for a short distance, then winds up and down over the pine-covered foot-hills of the range which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze. Climbing the steep, densely forested mountain-side through spruces, firs, rhododendrons, etc., we reach the summit pass called Yo-wa-bu, 12,500 feet elevation (PLATE 230). Here on this pass, a flat expanse covered with a wonderful forest of Abies, Picea, Tsuga, with canebrake undergrowth, is a log cabin inhabited by Li-su guards armed with cross-bows (PLATE 231). They are always on the look-out for roving bandits and run to Yung-ning to notify the chief of the approach of robbers or report their movements. The entire mountain is called Ta-yao Shan 大藥山 (Great medicine Mountain). It extends east of the Yangtze to the Tsui-yi valley, its south-eastern part is controlled by the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu. In the second year of Hsien-feng (1852) this latter part of the mountain was the stronghold of a bandit horde. The distance from Yung-ning to the summit pass is 27 li. From the pass we descend steeply over a rocky trail through majestic forest of spruce and hemlock, some 100 feet or more in height, associated with fir, oak, maple, red birch, wild cherry and undergrowth of rhododendrons, Berberis, Ribes, Spiræa, willows, Ligustrum, Lonicera and cane-brake; the best preserved part of this forest is at 11,000 feet elevation.

Lower down, the forest gives way to pine, till we emerge in a valley by a little hamlet and fields called Ggŏ-wùa 22.5 li from the Yo-wa-bu Pass, or a total of 51.5 li from Yung-ning.

Ggŏ-wùa and the Dji lo (valley). — Gwŏ-wùa (Upper dwelling) is situated at the head of a fairly broad valley at an elevation of 9,500 feet, exactly the height of Yung-ning. The valley is called the Gyi or Dji lo (Water valley). Its slopes are pine-covered. The trail descends to the stream which we cross over a wooden bridge, then climbs along the northern valley wall composed of loose schist which moves at the gentlest step. The trail is

[8] Pei-sheng chou is the district of Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng; the Yangtze separates the two hsien, Li-chiang and Yung-sheng. Yung-ning is under the latter's jurisdiction.

[9] This is the present Yao-an hsien, north of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming, (according to the Li-chiang Records).

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁. 524

Blindman's buff, *ta hsia mo* 打瞎摸; hide and seek, *ts'ang mao mao* 藏貓貓 (the seeker being the *mao* or cat); marbles, *tan tan tan* 彈; turning cart wheels, or turning like a kestrel *ta yao-tzŭ fan shên* 打鷂子翻身; a kind of hockey *ta ch'ou niu* 打臭牛, 'to hit the stinking ox'; top-spinning, *ch'ai ti ko tzŭ* 扯地鴿子; swinging, *ta ts'ui* 打鞦; are all familiar pastimes.

Kiteflying, *fang fêng-chêng* 放風箏 in the second moon is done by grayheaded men as well as by children. The kites are in the shape of eagles, bats, etc., etc., and if one should fall on a house it is unlucky and no one dare claim it.

The shuttle-cock in the game *t'i chien-tzŭ* 踢毽子 is a brass cash with a few feathers attached; it is kept in the air by using the side of the foot for a battledore. Experts turn round once after each kick.

To turn to a different class of pastime: eagles are kept for catching birds and rabbits, *fang ying* 放鷹. The sport is so exciting that a proverb says: 'After seeing an eagle catch a rabbit the glory of an official career sinks into insignificance.' 224 231

Game is hunted with a kind of setter, *fang lieh ch'üan* 放獵犬 or *fang nien shan kou* 趁山狗. These dogs have long tapering noses and slight bodies.

The musk-deer is hunted, *shuan chang-tzŭ* 拴獐子 for the musk. A coolie carrying a small quantity of musk can easily be detected by the smell. The deer horns are sold for medicine and the skin for leather.

Jackdaws and various other birds are kept for fighting purposes *fang ch'üeh ta ts'ai* 放鵲打彩; which means gambling. 525

Practising with bow and arrows, *ts'ao kung chien* 操弓箭 is a sport now going out of use. So is the exercise of the heavy knife, *shua ta tao* 耍大刀. These knives weighed 80 to 140 catties, and even more. 411

Many pets are kept, such as the green parrot, *ying ko* 鸚哥; the Liao-tung or black parrot, *liao ko* 遼哥; the 231

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

712 much more forward policy, probably through fear of British encroachments—fears which are quite groundless, as this [411] part of the country is of no value. The La-hus with their strong cross-bows and poisoned arrows made a stout resistance, and the Imperial troops were by no means uniformly victorious. But the Chinese Government, though they move slowly, are always eventually successful in their wars with less civilised tribes, and at the time of my visit most of the La-hus had submitted and the country seemed fairly peaceful.

The fort is built close to the La village of Ai-shwai and is surrounded by a high mud wall. The garrison was nominally 100 men, but there were really only 70 or 80, so that the officer in command might pocket the pay of the remainder.

I saw the lieutenant in command and went on, escorted by five of his men. A very steep up and down road brought us to the group of five La villages, which is called Nawng-hpaw by the Shans and Lung-t'ang-chai by the Chinese. Since leaving Man-hpa the country had changed a good deal. There was little or no thick jungle. The hills were bare and dry looking, and well cultivated by the Las and La-hus who inhabit them.

712 The next day we passed another Chinese fort. Its proper Shan name is Ho-sak or Nam-sak, corrupted into Nan-cha by the Chinese. Close to the fort was a small village with a wall round it, in which some of the married soldiers were living. Many of these had La-hu wives, and their principal occupation seemed to be growing opium. They will probably eventually settle down here as soldier-colonists, for it is from such colonies that much of the present Chinese population of Yün-nan has sprung.

I went in and saw the two officers. They complained that they were very much bored at having to live in this out-of-the-way place on the hill-tops, far away from all civilisation. They told me there had been a good deal of fighting about here a few years before, and that there had formerly been a large La-hu village at Nan-cha, which the Chinese had destroyed.

000 We continued our march the same day and had a descent of 3000 feet through fir woods. We had not gone

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

TABLE 13

PRODUCTION OF TUNG OIL IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs	Per Cent of Total
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Tien-Chiang	5,000	.6
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Kai-Chiang	4,000	.5
Wu-Sheng	4,000	.5
Ta-Hsien	4,000	.5
I-Ping	4,000	.5
Lo-Shan	4,000	.5
Ping-Shan	4,000	.5
Chiang-Tsin	3,000	.3
Ho-Chiang	3,000	.3
Chu-Hsien	3,000	.3
Yen-Ting	3,000	.3
Si-Chung	3,000	.3
Kuang-An	3,000	.3
Wan-Yuan	3,000	.3
Nan-Chung	3,000	.3
Yung-Hsien	2,000	.2
Pa-Hsien	2,000	.2
Chiang-Yu	2,000	.2
Siu-Ning	2,000	.2
Peng-Hsi	2,000	.2
Nan-Pu	2,000	.2
Peng-Shui	1,000	.1
Chien-Chiang	1,000	.1
Chi-Chiang	1,000	.1
Total	[illegible]	100.0

631 As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the National Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

596 421 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses, and workshops were owned by the family rather than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshop, or store to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked [462] in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing

with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the patterns of village life common to the old settled Szechwan plain and the more recently colonized areas of the Southwest? We shall sketch these before discussing the variations represented by urban life.

A. The Pattern of Village Life

First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Szechwan in 1946 the average farm was 3.9 acres, and the average square mile provided food for 650 people. In Kweichow the average farm was 3.2 acres, in Yunnan 3.1. [1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit

1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China, New York, 1955, pp. 105, 178. The richest part of Szechwan, the Chengtu plain, has a population density of 2,300 people per square mile. Ibid., p. 178. As we consider the pattern of agricultural life in the Southwest, the following data on the nature and distribution of farming throughout the area should be kept

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of cooperatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

184
177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

721 marched into Tibet from both neighboring provinces, Sikang and Tsinghai. The battle of Ch'ang-tu cleared the way for the march to Lhasa. In May 1951, an agreement of peaceful solution was signed by the Tibetan and Chinese delegates in Peking. Thus the military conquest of the Southwest came to an end with an extension of Chinese sovereignty to Tibet.

631 In the first period of conquest by the Chinese Communists, this region was divided into eight units: namely, (1) Ch'uan-tung (East Szechwan), (2) Ch'uan-hsi (West Szechwan), (3) Ch'uan-nan (South Szechwan), (4) Ch'uan-pei (North Szechwan), (5) Yunnan, (6) Kweichow, (7) Sikang, and (8) the Special Municipality -- Chungking.

After two years, the four sections of Szechwan were reassembled into one province as before. Sikang, which had been considered attached to Tibet long ago and declared a separate province only in 1928, was now incorporated into Szechwan. Chungking's status as a special municipality under the Peking government, was cancelled. Thus today the Southwest Region comprises only the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan

II. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

423 The first program of this period was based on the eight points[1] announced by Mao Tse-tung in the third session of the seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party held on June 6, 1950

1. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Gov't Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1.

423 The first item of the 8-point program was land reform. The official reports of the Military and Political Committee of this region on land-ownership were prepared to indicate necessity for reform. Chang Chi-ch'un, a member of the Southwest Military and Political Committee, stated that in Ch'uan-tung in 12 Paos (a group of villages) there was a population of 17,465 persons and an acreage of land which could produce 24,139 tan (piculs) and 7 tou of rice. Of this land, 60 per cent was owned by 1,147 "landlords." Approximately 25 per cent of the land was owned by 15,369 "middle poor" peasants, 5.8 per cent was owned by 4,967 poor peasants, and 2.6 per cent was owned by 8,490 tenant farmers.[2]

Wang Wei-kang, a member of the Ch'uan-nan Administrative Committee, reported that while in the three paos of the Yung Country, the landowners, 8 per cent of the population, owned 68.37 per cent of the land, the peasants, the moderately well-to-do, the poor, and the hired farm hands who constituted 85.4 per cent of the population, owned only 24.7 per cent of the land.[3] Chang Chi-ch'un reported similar conditions of land monopoly in Kweichow and to a lesser degree[4] in Yunnan. He said that land monopoly was most acute in the municipality of Chungking where 96.2 per cent of the land was in the hands of the rich

2. Compendium of Government Reports, p.1006
3. Ibid., p. 1049.
4. Ibid., p. 1006.

•423 landowners, and less than 3 per cent in the hands of the middle and poor peasants.[5] He came to the conclusion that as 40,000 people out of a total population of 57,400,000 were on the verge of starvation, the policy of Mao Tse-tung was justified and should be carried out.

745 162 In this period it was also found that there was a large number of persons in Southwest China who depended upon the government for a living. Teng Hsiao-p'ing reported on April 11, 1950 that there were 900,000 disbanded Kuomintang soldiers, 400,000 old civil service men, and 700,000 Communist soldiers. He emphasized that if they were not well-fed, a state of disorder might result.[6] The Communists considered the collection of a grain levy on the whole population in order to feed the armies and the civil service men as the most urgent need at this time.

669 The Communists were greatly concerned that the Kuomintang members would make trouble. Their fears were confirmed when the rebellion led by Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, two Kuomintang generals, took place in Kunming. Part of the 2nd and 4th field armies were sent from southern Kwangsi to Yunnan, and the rebellion was quickly stamped out, although the rebel leaders succeeded in escaping to the border of Burma.

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5. Ibid., p. 1006.

6. Ibid., p. 991.

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311 In 1955, the lowest average land holding per farm household was 8.5 shih-mou (1.4 acres) in Sikang Province; the highest average land holding per farm household was 16.9 shih-mou (2.8 acres) in Szechwan Province. The average for Szechwan is 12 per cent higher than the national average.[3]

III. LAND REFORM

•423 565 The Land Reform Movement, as it affected the Southwest China region, had been partially completed in September 1951. Approximately 37 million inhabitants, in an area which included 172 hsien and 8 municipalities, had been subjected to "land reform."[4] The Communist regime had organized "poor peasants" and "farmhands" to unite with "middle peasants" in order to nullify the power of "rich peasants" and to abolish the "landlord system." The Land Reform Movement continued on to 1953. In the spring of that year, of the approximately 85 million persons who made up the rural population of the Southwest Region less than 2.2 million inhabitants had not yet experienced "land reform."[5] In spite of the vast scale on which

3. Mao Tse-tung's report, "The Collectivization Movement," Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1951.

5. Ibid., Dec, 13, 1952.

423 the program had been conducted, the Com-
565 munist cadres were ordered to complete a "re-examination" of the success of the Land Reform Movement.

According to statistics on the redistribution of land in northern Szechwan Province, "poor peasants" and "farm hands" were given approximately 85 per cent of the average land holding for all classes of peasants and "middle peasants" received 29 per cent more than average.[6] Although all lands rented to tenants by "rich peasants" were confiscated, "rich peasants" were allowed to retain the amount of land they were able to cultivate with or without the help of "farm hands." At the end of the Land Reform Movement, the "rich peasants" still maintained an average land holding approximately 58 per cent higher than the general average for all classes of peasants.[7]

By the end of 1952, approximately 102,241,000 shih-mou (17,068,333 acres) of land, 204,830,000 heads of cattle, 10,241,500 tons of grain, 10,241,000 farm implements, and 663,100 farm buildings were estimated to have been confiscated in the Southwest China region.[8]

6. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951.
7. Ibid.
8. see next p.

T: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

three and sometimes four crops a year. It is estimated that the annual output of farm products alone include rice, 15,000,000 piculs; wheat, 8,000,000 piculs; other cereals, 2,000,000 piculs; rape seed, 500,000 piculs; tobacco, 700,000 piculs; plus medicinal herbs, vegetables, and other farm products. The total value of all these products at pre-war prices was a little over 180,000,000 dollars, or 45 dollars per capita for the Plain. This production represents about 15 per cent of the total volume of agricultural produce of the whole province, while the area of the Plain is only about one-sixty-seventh of the total area of the province. In other words, the Chengtu Plain produces ten times as much per unit area than the rest of the Basin. 241 433

e) Farms and fields.--Among the farm areas of the Basin, Chengtu Plain has the largest average farm. According to a survey by Professor Brown and M. L. Li, the rented farms average 30.1 mow, and the owned farms average 73.1 mow.[1] These figures are almost twice as large as the average size of farms in the Basin as a whole.[2] They are, in fact, even larger than the largest average size of farm in North China.[3] This, of course, means additional wealth and more prosperity. This undoubtedly has accounted for the large farmstead and the well-kept farms throughout the Plain (Fig. 12). Moreover, unlike other parts of the Basin, most of the farms here are not so detached. In general, the individual fields of Chengtu Plain farms are larger. According to the same survey, the average field is 3.36 mow,[4] which is three times as large as that of the hilly areas in the Basin.[5] Larger fields are made possible, of course, by the flatter topography and better water-supply here. 423 241 311

f) Marketing of agricultural products.--The marketing of the diverse agricultural products of the Plain is interesting. Marketing is done mainly in the nearby towns or cities throughout the year. The Plain is dotted with market towns, so that all 437

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[1] H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Fifty Farms on the Chengtu Plain," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1-59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Buck, op. cit., p. 273.

[4] Brown and Li, op. cit., p. 28.

[5] H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Farms of Mountain Omei Areas," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1059-76.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Discussions are held 講評書 *chiang p'ing shu*, generally in a tea shop or open courtyard, when some ancient character's merits and demerits are discussed, with a good deal of sarcasm and dramatic contortion; the speech is often lewd and the characters of many of the speakers are of the lowest; in fact many are libertines, with some wit and humour to cloak their wickedness. 521

A news vendor who carries a stool and books round with him is called 上馬冊冊 *shang ma ts'ê ts'ê*; he stands on the stool and sells his literature, which has a bearing on current events; his sign is a pair of chopsticks. 203

A news vendor of the yellow press is called 下馬 *hsia ma ts'ê ts'ê*. He travels round and carries a flag of yellow or sometimes white paper on which are written the latest sensations. He visits the towns and markets, and to this kind of individual many false rumours are to be traced. He stands on the ground as compared with the former who stands on a stool.

On the birthday of the goddess of Mercy Kuan-yin or other festival there are often mixed gatherings in the temples to hear the Buddhist doctrines preached. The crowds are often of the lowest type. 796

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THE middleman to find a purchaser first writes a *t'o yo* 託約 as an evidence of willingness to sell the property. In this deed the size of the house or the extent of the land offered for sale, and also the price wanted, must be stated. If the owner is at all an unreliable person he will probably be made to write a *yün yo* 允約 or a deed of willingness to sell, which he will have to sign in the presence of witnesses, lest he should turn round and blame the middlemen and get them into trouble. 425 432

The price should be fixed in the presence of the seller, purchaser and middlemen, 三面定價 *san mien ting chia*, but it is more commonly settled in the tea shop by the middlemen alone. After the price has been agreed upon,

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425 432 which is generally about half what was originally asked for, a small sum of money is paid down as an earnest and an agreement to that effect drawn up, *li ting yo* 立定約.

To draw up the permanent agreement, from which there is no departure, is called *li ta* 大 *yo*; in this agreement are included such details as *shang t'ien tsao tso chih chien* 上天造作之件 all that heaven produces connected with the land, such as trees, flowers, shrubs, fishes and wild animals; also *jên kung* 人工 *tsao tso chih chien*, all that man has made belonging to the building, etc.

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The buyer is allowed to take over the tenants and farm the land, *chiao tien kuo ching* 交佃過耕. The tenants have generally to be present when the money is paid over and their deposit on the land or houses deducted from the price which remains in the hands of the purchaser. A small feast is prepared for the middleman when the signature is being attached to the deeds. The seller at this juncture makes a fuss, and pretends not to be able to agree to the conditions and price, and ready money has very often to be added before this important signature can be procured. I have known many hours to be spent in wrangling over a bit of work which takes half a minute to complete.

Yo chieh hsia pai, 約界下碑 is to go round the boundaries of the property along with the middlemen and neighbouring landlords, who have to be invited to a feast; their presence is equivalent to their recognition of their new neighbour. The seller of property never comes to the feast, but a table will be sent to the home of the family. It is reckoned a loss of face to have to sell the family inheritance, and an occasion for pity too.

Ch'ê shên li wo 撤神離窩, to take down the family altar and leave the nest; as long as the idols are not removed the old landlord does not reckon to have left.

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In cases where it is necessary for two parties to have a copy of the agreement the two papers are written together and then divided. On the side of each is written the two characters 合同 *ho t'ung*. These two papers must be produced and fitted together in order to verify their genuineness. To give over the new title deeds to the new owner is *chiao hsin ch'i* 交新契; if the old deeds (*lao* 老 *ch'i*) are not produced and given up it must be so stated in the new agreement, and that hereafter they are only waste paper. 425 432

Any family division of inheritance agreements *fên kuan* 分關 are handed over to the new owner. A *fên kuan* is rather a shaky deed on which to risk a purchase; as the old agreement is sure to be in some person's hands, and that is the test of ownership. To take over the tenants who may be on the property is called *huan tien* 換佃. The main part of the price is generally put in a cash shop till certain things are done, and the buyer and seller in company with the witnesses then go to see the money given over.

To settle the percentage to be paid to creditors when the mortgages on the property are higher than the sale price is called *t'an tang chia* 攤當價. The payment of the middlemen, *hsieh chung* 謝中 is done by the seller; the usual rate being 2 per cent.; the purchaser also gives a present of a few taels to each person engaged. The title deeds are stamped on payment of the stamp duties, *kuo shui* 過稅. The cost before the revolution was about 20 per cent. Title deeds that are not stamped are no good in law.

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426 farm the land himself it is called *ti tang tzŭ ching* 地當自耕. This is reckoned a dangerous speculation, especially if the mortgagee is an unscrupulous man.

To change the rental into a mortgage; to add the deposit on property till it amounts to a mortgage is *chiu tien chia tang* 就佃加當.

To make the mortgage into a purchase by adding a little money (very probably more than the property is worth) is *chiu tang chia tang* 就當加當. To make the deposit of rental so heavy that it is really a mortgage, no rental or a nominal one is paid to the owner, but he saves his face by saying it is a rental. This is termed *ming tien an tang* 明佃暗當. Sometimes a property is mortgaged then rented back to live in, *tang ch'u tien hui* 當出佃回. The necessity of moving the family idols is thus avoided, but it is a method that causes much trouble afterwards.

To mortgage a second time owing to the original owner being unable to redeem the property is *chuan tang* 轉當.

Ting ta 頂打 or *ting tang* is a kind of mortgage which is more stringent than the ordinary kind, and is almost equivalent to a purchase, without it being so stated. These are more difficult to manage than a pure mortgage; a rental has to be paid, but it is almost impossible to turn the mortgagee out. The neighbours need to be notified of these proceedings to make them binding upon them. This of course means a feast.

* * *

BEGGARS 乞丐 *ch'i kai.*

735 Some terms for beggars are:—

叫化子 *chiao hua tzŭ*; 討口子 *t'ao k'ou tzŭ*; 濫仗客 *lan chang k'ê.*

Few beggars are born in that class, but nearly all have come to beggary through laziness, gambling, opium, wine or calamity. Those who are poor through no fault of their own are pitiable, but the others are contemptible. These pests waylay the traveller and extort money; gather in crowds at funeral and marriage feasts; bellow for hours behind a gentleman's door with half-a-dozen dogs howling round them, or

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY

CHAPTER I

GODS OF WEALTH (財神), *Ts'ai Shên*

The god of wealth is a very important image in these parts, as the Chinese are exceedingly practical and their chief delight is to drive a good bargain; they revel in hairsplitting differences; a grin of satisfaction lights up the countenance when they are counting money and they may get black in the face with rage over a single cash worth of vegetables; a woman will disturb the whole street in order that the family night-soil may bring a few cash more. They have a system of banking and reckoning which goes down to the tenth of a brass cash; lending money for usury is a practice of long standing; the fixed official rate is two per cent. per month, but that rate is often surpassed and such exorbitant interest as forty cash per day for the loan of one thousand brass cash is often extorted. The pawn shops are well managed and the fixed official rate is 2½ per cent. per month. If a pawn shop is burned the owner is released from responsibility. In spring time many people put their winter clothing in the pawn shop as a place of safe keeping. The abacus is a very efficient instrument for reckoning, both speedy and accurate. The following are a few of the gods of wealth known in these parts:

Wên (文) *ts'ai shên*, or *t'zŭ fu t'ien kuan* (賜福天官), the literary god of wealth; said to be Ko Tzŭ-i (郭子儀) of the Han dynasty, who is reputed to have had a hundred sons and a thousand grandsons living at the same time; he had

1:Stanford U: S-4; 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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243 saved in bundles for thatch and for fuel.[3]

[427] 241 Once the harvest is in, the farmer, if he is a tenant, has to pay a share -- often 40 per cent of the crop -- to the landlord.[4] He must also deal with the tax collector who relieves him of yet another substantial share of his crop. If the year has gone well, the rice borers have not destroyed too much of his crop, and the tax collector has not been unduly rapacious, the farmer may retain enough grain to see his family through to the next harvest and have some to sell in the nearest market town. After he has prepared his fields for the crops of winter wheat and rape, the farmer and his household turn to a variety of winter chores: repairing farm implements and buildings, weaving thatch, spinning and weaving rough cloth, making shoes, and doing other household chores. With the approach of the New Year the farmer looks forward to some festivity, perhaps calling for a feast and the slaughtering of the family pig; if debt looms large, the pig may have to be sold to help pay the bills.[5]

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3. Cf. the description in Gerald Winfield, China, The Land the The People, New York, 1948, pp. 49-52. For the slightly different work cycle in the terraced upland ricefields, cf. ibid., pp. 53-58.

4. Cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. On (continued next page)

565 any one family seldom remained constant for more than two or three generations. These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

565 428 596 The family ideal. Large families, especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[4] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by economic means. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu (Ch'ing) Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions, individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families and particularly when land was the sole source of income.[5] On the

4. Consult chapter on Family in this handbook.

5. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, Praeger, 1953, p. 52.

565 other hand, because of the existence of extended
596 families and the clan structure, less fortunate
428 members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

183 The scholar ideal. Learning was much es-
565 teemed, especially when combined with wealth.
555 The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indicative of the respect all Chinese had for learning was the popular saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[6] The emphasis

6. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China, Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be oversimple, it indicates that the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected
[continued next page]

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The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 燒三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jên tai nai* 防人帶奶. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

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On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場, 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house, *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge. 844 782

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue. 842 782

They beg a prayer-tally, 求籤 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month); 842 785 261

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Ch'ê shên li wo 撤神離窩, to take down the family altar and leave the nest; as long as the idols are not removed the old landlord does not reckon to have left.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

In cases where it is necessary for two parties to have a copy of the agreement the two papers are written together and then divided. On the side of each is written the two characters 合同 *ho t'ung*. These two papers must be produced and fitted together in order to verify their genuineness. To give over the new title deeds to the new owner is *chiao hsin ch'i* 交新契; if the old deeds (*lao* 老 *ch'i*) are not produced and given up it must be so stated in the new agreement, and that hereafter they are only waste paper. 425 432

Any family division of inheritance agreements *fên kuan* 分關 are handed over to the new owner. A *fên kuan* is rather a shaky deed on which to risk a purchase; as the old agreement is sure to be in some person's hands, and that is the test of ownership. To take over the tenants who may be on the property is called *huan tien* 換佃. The main part of the price is generally put in a cash shop till certain things are done, and the buyer and seller in company with the witnesses then go to see the money given over.

To settle the percentage to be paid to creditors when the mortgages on the property are higher than the sale price is called *t'an tang chia* 攤當價. The payment of the middlemen, *hsieh chung* 謝中 is done by the seller; the usual rate being 2 per cent.; the purchaser also gives a present of a few taels to each person engaged. The title deeds are stamped on payment of the stamp duties, *kuo shui* 過稅. The cost before the revolution was about 20 per cent. Title deeds that are not stamped are no good in law.

* * *

MORTGAGES 典當 *tien tang*.

To mortgage to the utmost value of the property, when the mortgagee has the right to farm the land, is *ying tang kuo ching* 硬當過耕. This is equivalent to a sale, but the mortgagee "saves his face" by not selling; or he is allowed to find tenants to farm the land; this is almost the same as the other. When the former owner reserves the right to 426

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 many for us in the end, and the next morning just as we were starting he managed to hide himself somewhere and we wasted an hour in an unsuccessful search. His flight, however, did not make any difference to our Tsong-en muleteers who showed no disposition to bolt and stuck to us till we got fresh men at Ya-ra-gong.

Neither of these men could, however, speak or understand any Chinese, and as we were now off the main road we were in a country where the villagers knew no language but their own. No doubt our ignorance of Tibetan prevented us to a certain extent from getting information about the country, but it was wonderful how little difference it made in the ordinary affairs of life. With the knowledge of the Tibetan for a few common words such as "barley," "chicken," "egg," etc., and the help of signs we never had any difficulty in explaining ourselves.

•432 The bargaining was always done with the help of the string of beads which nearly every Tibetan carries. If we were buying barley, for instance, I would take the rosary off the seller's neck and count off 30 beads and give it back to him, meaning that I expected to get 30 measures of barley for a rupee. The Tibetan would eye it with feigned amusement at the cheap rate at which I expected to get his corn, and would count off 12 beads. So it went on, each of us getting gradually nearer to the other's price till finally the bargain was struck. This process was amusing enough the first time, but when it had to be gone through almost daily for each separate thing we bought, it became decidedly tedious.

262 In the way of food we did pretty well in our Tibetan journey. Chickens and eggs were to be got in every village and we occasionally bought a sheep and divided it with our followers. Wheat flour was obtainable in any place of importance, and we always carried enough with us to make chupatties with.

Vegetables were the chief difficulty. The Tibetans do not grow anything of this sort except occasionally a coarse kind of turnip. We had to depend in fact on anything eatable that we could find growing wild. Nettles we got in many places and found them excellent—very like spinach. On one occasion we came across some wild onions and had

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Southwest China region is formed of four provinces - Szechwan, called "the heavenly kingdom"; Sikang, an area of awesome mountains and dense forests; Yunnan, home of many different brother nationalities; and Kweichow, the settlement of the Miaos. The topography varies considerably, the climate is as variable, and crops are raised in abundance. The Red Basin in Szechwan, watered by the Yangtze and its tributaries, is especially fertile, and the Chengtu plain is one of the most famous rice producing areas in China. In addition to being the richest province for grain production in Southwest China, Szechwan also produces large quantities of cotton, tung oil, sugar cane, silk, rapeseed, and fruit.

II. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

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The total population of Southwest China is a little over 98 million,[1] according to a

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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475 according to an incomplete report made in 1952, there were approximately 200 state farms of varying sizes in Southwest China.[13]

V. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

A. Production of Grain

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433 Szechwan Province produces more grain than other provinces in the Southwest China region. The entire region produces approximately 17 per cent of the grain produced in China as a whole; Szechwan Province alone produces 10 per cent of the country's grain; the other three provinces together produce only 7 per cent of the total for the entire country.

The western Szechwan plains, irrigated by the 2,000-year-old Tu-chiang Yen Reservoir, is considered one of the richest granaries in China.[14] The province of

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13. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Ch'i Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, p. 63.

14. China Daily News, Aug. 31, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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243 Szechwan was expected to produce approximately
433 375,000,000 shih-piculs (20,625,000 tons) of grain in 1955, an increase of 23.5 per cent over the amount produced in 1949.

Prior to 1952, Kweichow Province was not self-sufficient in its production of grain. It had the reputation of being a province in which the people were forced to live from hand to mouth. In 1953, for the first time in the history of the province, the harvest of grain was enough to meet the demand of the local population.[15] The output of grain in Kweichow in 1954 and 1955 was higher than in 1953. During July-August 1955, approximately 807,400 shih-piculs (44,407 tons) of grain were "exported" from the province.[16] In the "crop year" (July to June) 1954-55, approximately 4.7 million shih-piculs (258,500 tons) of grain were exported from Kweichow Province.[17]

Grain production in Yunnan Province increased after the adaptation of improved techniques and the introduction of more modern farm implements. In spite of a period of drought in 1953 and floods in 1954,

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15. New China News Agency, Kweiyang, Aug. 26, 1955.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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243 the plan for grain production was overfulfulled,
433 according to Communist reports.[18]

Table 2 shows the progress of grain production in the Southwest China region.

Table 2. Grain Production in Southwest China

Unit: million. S = shih-pi-tuls. T = tons.

Grains	1949 *	1951 *	1952 #	1953 x	1954 x	1955 y
Rice	135,000 S (7,425 T)	187,040 S (9,187 T)	291,200 S (16,016 T)	293,832 S (16,162 T)	301,840 S (16,601 T)	320,544 S (17,630 T)
Wheat	56,250 S (3,094 T)	69,600 S (3,828 T)	45,240 S (2,488 T)	45,649 S (2,510 T)	46,893 S (2,579 T)	49,799 S (2,739 T)
Soyabeans	11,250 S (618 T)	13,920 S (766 T)	11,960 S (658 T)	12,068 S (663 T)	12,937 S (681 T)	13,165 S (724 T)
Tubers	60,000 S (3,300 T)	74,240 S (4,083 T)	20,800 S (1,144 T)	20,988 S (1,154 T)	21,560 S (1 ,187 T)	22,896 S (1,259 T)
Others x	112,500 S (6,188 T)	139,200 S (7,656 T)	150,800 S (8,294 T)	152,163 S (8,369 T)	156,310 S (8, 597 T)	165,996 S (9,130 T)
Total	375,000 S (20,625 T)	464,000 S (25,520 T)	520,000 S (28,600 T)	524,700 S (28,858 T)	539,000 S (29,645 T)	572,400 S (31,482 T)

* Economic Year Book 1952, Hong Kong, Economic Bulletin, 1952, pp. 37-38. The production data of various crops were estimated according to percentage distribution in 1946.

\# Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 16, 1953, p. 12.

x China Daily News, New York, August 4, 1955, Ch'en Yün's report to the National People's Congress on July 21, 1955, and Nov. 24, 1955. The data of various crops were calculated according to the percentage distribution in 1952.

y Based on Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 28, 1955. The data of various crops were calculated according to the percentage distribution in 1952.

x Including millet, corn, kaoliang, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

18. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, June 13-14, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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In analyzing the above table, it will be noticed that grain production in Southwest China has shown a consistent increase since 1949. If 1949's output is taken as 100, the index of grain production increased to 124 in 1951, 139 in 1952, 143 in 1953, 145 in 1954, and 153 in 1955.

In terms of acreage planted in various food crops in 1946, rice led in the Southwest Region by 7.4 million shih-mou (1.2 million acres), constituting about 34 per cent of the total grain acreage. Table 3 shows the total acreage of various grain crops in three of the four provinces in the Southwest Region:

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 3. The Acreage of Grains in Southwest China 1946*

(Unit - 1,000. S - shih-mou. A = acres.)

Crops	Szechwan	Yunnan	Kweichow
Rice	30,259 S	10,317 S	7,436 S
	(5,043 A)	(1,719 A)	(1,239 A)
Wheat	24,887 S	5,864 S	4,672 S
	(4,148 A)	(977 A)	(779 A)
Barley	12,476 S	2,508 S	3,372 S
	(2,079 A)	(418 A)	(562 A)
Other Grains#	37,546 S	11,623 S	5,909 S
	(6,258 A)	(1,937 A)	(985 A)
Tubers	9,276 S	369 S	406 S
	(1,546 A)	(62 A)	(68 A)
Total	114,444 S	30,681 S	21,795 S
	(19,074 A)	(5,113 A)	(3,633 A)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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* Director of Budgets, The Statistical Year Book of the Republic of China, Nanking, 1948, pp. 73-74. Figures on the acreage of grains in Sikang Province are not available.

\# including millet, corn, kaoliang, oats, peas, and broad beans.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 4. Grain Supply in Southwest China, 1954

(Unit = Million tons)

Grains	Gross Production#	Supply After Provision for Seeds, Fodder and Waste		Supply After Milling		Total Net Supply After Converting into Rice-Equivalent	
		Conversion Standard*	Quantity	Conversion Standard*	Quantity	Conversion Standard y	Quantity
Rice	16,601	92.01	15,275	92x	14,053	1.00	14,053
Wheat	2,579	86.47	2,230	80	1,784	1.02	1,820
Soyabeans	681	81.94	558	100	558	0.99	552
Tubers	1,187	64.00	760	100	760	0.28	213
Others z	8,597	76.80	6,602	89	5,876	1.00	5,876
Total	29,645		25,425		23,031		22,514

* FAO Balance Sheet for 1933-37, compiled from FAO World Food Survey, Food Balance Sheet for China, 1931-37.

\# See Table 2.

x The Chinese Communist milling standard for rice is 92, and this figure is used for the present calculation.

y Derived from the quantity of calories of different grains and tubers using the conversion standard of FAO, 3,430 calories = one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of rice as our basis of calculation.

z Including corn, millet, kaoliang, barley, oats, broad beans, and peas.

[facing p. 757]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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B. The Adequacy of Grain Supply

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One of the most important problems involved in the production of grain in Southwest China is the need to determine the adequacy of supply as it meets or fails to meet the local demand for grain. In order to estimate supply and demand, the following procedure was adopted: (1) data on the gross production of various grains in 1954 were used as the basis for calculation; (2) allowance and deductions were made to provide for the amounts necessary to provide seeds for re-sowing, the amounts necessary as fodder, and the amounts considered waste; (3) allowance was made for the varying losses of the several types of grain during the milling process; (4) all unhusked grains were reduced to milled products suitable for human consumption; it was then necessary to convert all grains other than rice into "rice-equivalents," according to the accepted standard; and (5) in determining the total demand for grain, the actual population, regradless of age or sex, was figured in terms of the equivalent number of "adult males."

The process for conversion of grain into "rice-equivalents" is shown in Table 4. The process for conversion of the population of the provinces of the Southwest Region into equivalent "adult males" is shown in Table 5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 5. Population in Terms of Equivalent "Adult Males"*

Province	Population	Population in Equivalent "Adult Males"
Szechwan	62,303,999	51,089,279
Sikang	3,381,064	2,772,473
Yunnan	17,472,737	14,327,644
Kweichow	15,037,310	12,330,594
Total	98,195,110	80,519,990

* In making this conversion, the co-efficient of 0.82 is used. It represents the mean between 0.76 derived by C. M. Chiao in his work, China's Food and Population, Shanghai, 1937, and 0.88 worked out by T. H. Shen in his book, Agricultural Resources of China, New York, 1951.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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433 Using the statistics in Tables 4 and 5 as a basis for calculation, the total supply of grain -- in terms of rice-equivalents -- available for human consumption in 1954 in Southwest China was 22.5 million tons (20.46 million metric tons). If we use as the basis for estimate the Wu formula[19] of 217 metric tons of milled "rice-equivalent" grain for every 1,000 "adult males" per year, the total amount required to feed 80.52 million "adult males" in Southwest China was 17.47 million metric tons, leaving a surplus of almost 3 million metric tons (3.3 million tons) of "rice-equivalent" grain for export to other regions.

C. Cotton Production

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433 During a six-year period ending in 1955, cotton production in the Southwest China region showed a considerable growth, although some ups and downs were noted during the period. Data on cotton production in the region are given in Table 6.

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19. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 165.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 6. Cotton Production in Southwest China*

(Unit = 1,000. S = shih-piculs. B = Bales)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	192 S (44 B)#	557 S (127 B)	508 S (116 B)	518 S (118 B)	622 S (142 B)
Yunnan, Kweichow	48 S (11 B)	139 S (32 B)	127 S (29 B)	130 S (30 B)	155 S (36 B)
Total	240 S (55 B)	696 S (159 B)	635 S (145 B)	648 S (148 B)	777 S 178 B)

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Oct. 1, 1954, No. 387, p. 4; Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming jih-pao she, July 16, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; Li Hsien-nien's Budget Report of 1955, New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955; People's Handbook 1955,

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Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 511. The production data for Sikang Province is not available.

Bale = 480 pounds.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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248 It will be noted that the production of
433 cotton in Southwest China has increased since 1949. Using 1949 as the base year (100), production was 289 in 1952, 263 in 1953, 269 in 1954, and 323 in 1955. The fall in cotton production in 1953 was probably caused by the government ruling which lowered the price ratio of cotton and grain in that year. Production increased in 1954 but was still below the 1952 level, although the price ratio of the two commodities had been adjusted to encourage production. The Communist regime set a production target for 1955 approximately 20 per cent above the output for 1954, and in view of the more favorable climatic conditions prevailing during 1955 it is possible that the goal was attained.

The greatest amount of acreage planted in cotton was reached in 1952. When the price of cotton was lowered in 1953, less land was planted in cotton in subsequent years. Estimated cotton acreage in Szechwan Province and in the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow (combined) are shown in Table 7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 7. Cotton Acreage in Southwest China*

(Unit = 1,000. S = shih-mou. A = acres.)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	326 S (42.3 A)	911 S (151.8 A)	592 S (98.7 A)	604 S (100.7 A)	725 S (120.8 A)
Yunnan, Kweichow	60 S (10.0 A)	168 S (28.0 A)	109 S (18.2 A)	111 S (18.5 A)	133 S (22.2 A)
Total	386 S (64.3 A)	1,079 S (179.8 A)	701 S (116.9 A)	715 S (119.2 A)	858 S (143.0 A)

* Estimated and compiled from the following sources: New Construction, Peking, July 11, 1950, p. 30; May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, July 24, 1955; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Sept. 13, 1954, p. 4; Oct. 1, 1954. Figures on the cotton acreage of Sikang Province are not available.

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433 Most sections of the Southwest provinces are rice-producing regions. As will be noted in Tables 7 and 8, in 1953 and in 1954 parity prices were lower than in 1952; the total acreage under cultivation in these years dropped correspondingly. Thus changes in parity price are reflected by changes in the amount of acreage devoted to cotton in any given year.

To publicize a "bumper harvest" campaign, the Communist regime bestowed the title of "model producer" on any farmer who was able to report an increased yield of cotton per unit of land. In most cases, the yield had been increased by the application of modern farming techniques -- careful irrigation, the use of chemical fertilizers, improved farm implements, the planting of two or three crops a year, careful selection of seeds, and more efficient methods of cultivation. Of course, isolated cases of increased yields would not appreciably alter the average yield. What increases there have been in Southwest China since 1949 are indicated in Table 9.

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Table 9. Average Cotton Yield in Southwest China*
(Unit: C = catties per shih-mou. P = Pounds per acre)

Province	1949	1952	1953	1954	1955
Szechwan	22.1 C (145.7 P)	30.8 C (203.3 P)	36.0 C (237.6 P)	37.8 C (249.5 P)	37.8 C (249.5 P)
Yunnan Kweichow	23.0 C (152.0 P)	30.8 C (203.3 P)	36.0 C (237.8 P)	37.9 C (249.9 P)	37.9 C (249.9 P)

* Estimated from the following sources: Hua-Shu, "Chung-kuo Ti Mien-hua Sheng-ch'an Wen-t'i" ["The Chinese Cotton Production Problem"], Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], Peking, Kuang-ming Jih-pao she, May 3, 1955, pp. 47-53; People's Daily, Peking, Jan. 27, 1950; Survey of China Mainland Press, Aug. 17, 1954, p. 29. The cotton yield per unit of land in Sikang Province is not available.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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248 If we use 1949 as the base year (100),
433 the average yield per unit of land was 134 in 1952, 156 in 1953, and 164 in 1954 and 1955.

D. Other Agricultural Products

244 Southwest China's production of edible
433 oil (excluding soybean oil) surpasses the majority of regions in China, and the output of oil from rapeseeds ranks first on the Mainland. It was estimated that the total production of rapeseed oil in Szechwan Province alone amounted to 108,000 metric tons (118,800 tons) in 1955, an increase of 28 per cent over the amount produced in the preceding year.[20]

249 In addition to the production of rapeseed,
245 Szechwan Province is also the chief producer
433 of sugar cane and oranges. Tremendous quantities of sugar cane are grown on the plains of Chengtu; the output of sugar cane in 1955 was 1,180,000 tons more than the output
245 in 1949, according to one report.[21] The
433 oranges and tangerines grown in Szechwan fill all local needs and are exported to other parts of China as well as to the Soviet Union

20. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 31, 1955.

21. Wen-hui Pao [Wen-hui Daily], Hong Kong, July 25, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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245 and her satellites. According to one estimate,
[439] the annual export of fruit from Szechwan brings to China in return 4,000 tons of steel products.[22]

241 Szechwan Province also produces raw
433 silk, ramie, herb medicines, hogs, and over
245 400 different "native products," of which at least 40 are for export.[23] The leading export is tung oil, of which Szechwan produces an amount second only to that produced in Hunan Province in the Central-South Region. The prewar average production of tung oil was estimated to have been 1,000,000 shih-piculs (55,000 tons), and in 1947 this amount had been increased to 1,292,372 shih-piculs (71,080 tons).[24]

245 The principal special products of Yunnan
433 Province are tea, herb medicines, and oil-bearing crops such as rapeseeds and peanuts. "P'u-erh" tea and the ball of compressed green tea leaves known as "T'o-ch'a", produced in Yunnan, are popular throughout China.[25]

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22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ma Chi, Chung-kuo Ti Shen-lin [China's Forestry], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1952, p. 45.

25. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 15, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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245 The Communists have ordered the increased
433 production of tea. The production target set for Yunnan in 1955 was approximately 48 per cent higher than the output in 1954, which in turn was 21 per cent above the amount produced in the preceding year.[26]

According to a radio report from Peking, the province of Yunnan has been designated as one of the major coffee growing districts in Communist China. The region abounds with wild coffee plants; the Communists propose that in the spring of 1956 millions of coffee plant seedlings be transplanted and cultivated.[27] The first harvest is expected in three years' time, and plants for processing coffee beans are to be built.[28]

241 Kweichow Province has comparatively
433 poor agricultural resources. With the exception of grain, this area does not produce a significant quantity of any important commodity. The output of tung oil and tobacco amounts to about 450,000 shih-piculs (24,750 tons) per
273 year.[29] "Mao-t'ai" wine, which resembles dry
433 gin, has reportedly gained an international reputation and has become one of the leading exports from the province of Kweichow.

26. New China News Agency, Kunming, April 6, 1955.

27. Examiner, San Francisco, Nov. 6, 1955, p. 9.

28. Ibid.

29. China Daily News, New York, August 16, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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000 exports from the province of Kweichow.[30]

241 313 433 Sikang Province, with a population a little over three million, is a comparatively undeveloped area. Its principal products, in addition to grain, are herb medicines and lumber. Sikang is considered one of the chief lumber centers in China. In the regions of the Ch'ing-i River, the Ta-tu River, the Ya-lung River, and the Sikang-Tibet plateau there are forests over 500 years old.[31] Lumber production[32] in Sikang in 1954 was reported to be 34 times that of 1950. However, since transportation facilities have not yet been fully developed, and lumber resources of Sikang Province cannot be fully utilized.

VI. WATER CONSERVATION AND IRRIGATION

312 The most renowned irrigation system in Southwest China is the Tu-chiang Yen (Tu-chiang Irrigation Works) in Szechwan Province. It was built in 250 B.C. by order of Li Ping, governor of Shu (Szechwan) during the Ch'in Dynasty. Li was an able administrator and

30. Ibid.
31. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 21, 1954.
32. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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312 steadily increased throughout the provinces of the Southwest Region.

VII. CONCLUSION

241 433 The Communist regime has given special attention to the intensive development of the agricultural resources of the Southwest Region. In Southwest China, the province of Szechwan plays the most important role in the production of grains and commercial crops. Since 1953, even the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, where the supply of foodstuffs has been generally inadequate, are asserted to have become more or less self-sufficient. Surplus grain from Szechwan is available in cases of emergency elsewhere in China, and the province is relied upon to make up the grain deficits of other regions. Southwest China also produces in abundance a number of commodities suitable for export, including tung oil, tea, silk, canned meats, wine, and fruit.

474 The movement to extend the authority of agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural districts of Mainland China has accelerated since the promulgation of the "Resolution on Co-operativization" in November 1955. Since the principle of "mutual-aid" is counter to traditional Chinese practice, it will doubtlessly meet strong resistance among the peasants as soon as the cadres relax their

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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II. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

433 Despite the program of expansion during World War II, industrial development in Southwest China is minor compared to that in the maritime provinces (See Table 9).[1]

433 178 Before 1940, there were few modern factories in the Southwest. After the removal of the Nationalist Government to Chungking, an attempt was made to expand industrial production in the Southwest provinces to meet China's wartime needs and lessen the threat of inflation to the economy of Free China. Although the result fell short of the intended objective, a comparatively substantial increase in industrial production occurred in the provinces of the Southwest Region. The government itself owned many industries and offered subsidies to private enterprises. Continued price increases as a result of inflation and the lack of outside competition as a result of wartime blockade encouraged further expansion. After the war ended, many so-called "extra-marginal" firms went bankrupt. Some government enterprises were abandoned in order that personnel could be transferred to more efficient plants as they became available in other sections of the country, particularly in Manchuria and Formosa. Because of these changes, it is possible that industrial production in Southwest China decreased during the postwar years.

[1] [Table 9 is missing -- Analyst]

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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433 Comprehensive information concerning production in Southwest China under Communist domination is not available. The following statistics, released by a Communist-controlled newspaper in Chungking, are probably unreliable but offer an indication of the relative emphasis placed on various industries by the Communist regime.

Table 8. Index of Industrial Production* in Southwest China

Industry	Production Index (pre-1949 peak = 100)
Electric power	116
Steel ingots	700
Steel rails	380
Cast iron	353
Cement	190
Caustic soda	863
Cotton yarn	168
Cotton cloth	183
Paper	429
Salt	147
Wheat flour	227
Matches	272
Cigarettes	150

* Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 29, 1942, p. 1.

433 These production indices should be read with caution; because of unusually low production in the base period (pre-1949 peak), a small increment in the absolute volume of production in a later year will appear as a sharp increase in the production index.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these 241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural 433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about 433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

[386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

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311 133 melting during the summer is reliable. At Kuan-hsien, where the torrent of the Min first enters the Plain and is taken under human control, the waters are divided into several large canals, each of which is subdivided in turn into innumerable smaller canals and ditches. The life-giving waters are impounded by dams, stone revetments, and other devices, and are held for irrigation purposes. The irrigation of the Plain has another advantage in that the soils are seldom troubled by salt and fine mud which often clog irrigated soils in other areas; because the considerable rainfall in Chengtu Plain, with an annual average of about 900 millimeters, is sufficient to prevent such clogging.

134 The soils of Chengtu Plain consist principally of the dark and dark-gray paddy soils. They are formed mainly from alluvial deposits brought down from the rich black soil (chernozem) of the Tibetan border-land and Kokonor (Fig. 9) by the mighty Min River. The natural richness of these soils is enhanced even further by the annual renewal. Because of this fact, soils of the Plain, unlike the paddy soils of many other parts of China, are not strongly podzolized.[1] However, the soil conditions do not appear to be uniform throughout the whole Plain. In fact, there are considerable differences in texture, color, and profile according to slight differences in local relief.[2] For instance, in the upper Min River region, as in Kuan-hsien, the soil texture is much coarser than in the lower Plain areas.[3]

One of the most interesting practices in connection with soil culture in the farms of Chengtu Plain, is the building of little stone wing dams or projections along the stream banks out into the water. Behind these projections, the streams, in the course of a back eddy, deposit silt and sand, which are frequently rich, particularly in organic matters. All these mud accumulations are carefully dug out and carried in baskets to the fields. Many times muddy waters have been led into basins or rice paddies in order that fine fertile silt might be precipitated on the fields.

241 433 d) Agricultural products of Chengtu Plain.--The Plain is noted for its diversity of agricultural products. It produces

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[1] Thorp, op. cit., p. 391.

[2] Ibid., p. 387.

[3] Ibid.

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three and sometimes four crops a year. It is estimated that the annual output of farm products alone include rice, 15,000,000 piculs; wheat, 8,000,000 piculs; other cereals, 2,000,000 piculs; rape seed, 500,000 piculs; tobacco, 700,000 piculs; plus medicinal herbs, vegetables, and other farm products. The total value of all these products at pre-war prices was a little over 180,000,000 dollars, or 45 dollars per capita for the Plain. This production represents about 15 per cent of the total volume of agricultural produce of the whole province, while the area of the Plain is only about one-sixty-seventh of the total area of the province. In other words, the Chengtu Plain produces ten times as much per unit area than the rest of the Basin.

e) Farms and fields.--Among the farm areas of the Basin, Chengtu Plain has the largest average farm. According to a survey by Professor Brown and M. L. Li, the rented farms average 30.1 mow, and the owned farms average 73.1 mow.[1] These figures are almost twice as large as the average size of farms in the Basin as a whole.[2] They are, in fact, even larger than the largest average size of farm in North China.[3] This, of course, means additional wealth and more prosperity. This undoubtedly has accounted for the large farmstead and the well-kept farms throughout the Plain (Fig. 12). Moreover, unlike other parts of the Basin, most of the farms here are not so detached. In general, the individual fields of Chengtu Plain farms are larger. According to the same survey, the average field is 3.36 mow,[4] which is three times as large as that of the hilly areas in the Basin.[5] Larger fields are made possible, of course, by the flatter topography and better water-supply here.

f) Marketing of agricultural products.--The marketing of the diverse agricultural products of the Plain is interesting. Marketing is done mainly in the nearby towns or cities throughout the year. The Plain is dotted with market towns, so that all

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[1] H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Fifty Farms on the Chengtu Plain," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1-59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Buck, op. cit., p. 273.

[4] Brown and Li, op. cit., p. 28.

[5] H. D. Brown and M. L. Li, "A Survey of Farms of Mountain Omei Areas," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1059-76.

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312 repairs, this Administration has also introduced numerous modern technological improvements in order to increase the durability and effectiveness of the project.

Recently, a hydrographic station has been established at the Erh Wang Shrine by the Administration to study the flow of the Min River. Projects are under way to harness the river's maximum flow of 9,500 cubic meters per second[1] to generate electricity for the Chengtu Plain. Two small hydro-electric plants are in operation at Chengtu and Ching-tang.[2] The Administration is contemplating building a 12,650 kilowatt power plant at Kuan-hsien. A 23-kilometer canal will be cut to link the Inner and Outer rivers between Wen-chiang and Chengtu to maintain the Chengtu city water-supply and navigation between the two rivers. The Administration also has plans for the dredging of the existing canals and the digging of new ones to control more effectively the flow in both rivers, and to repair the tributary creeks to increase by another 600,000 mow the farms irrigated by the system, and eventually bring the entire Chengtu Plain under irrigation.

Among all the geographic features of Szechuan Basin, the Tu Chiang Yen Irrigation Works holds the key to the sustained prosperity of the agricultural land-use of the Basin, particularly of Chengtu Plain. Indeed, it commands the special attention of all geographers.

2. The Specialized "Commercial" Agricultural Area of Lower To-Fou Valleys

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Comparing to the General Grain Farming area of Chengtu Plain, this agricultural area of Lower To-Fou valleys (Fig. 24) is noted by its specialized "commercial" products, such as sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and citrus fruits. About 85 per cent of the Basin's total production of sugar-cane, 65 per cent

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[1] Pao, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] According to the recent (1935) survey by Huang Hui, a prominent hydraulic engineer of the National Reconstruction Commission, it is highly feasible to develop multiple purpose water-power projects in the upper reaches of the Min, where the present source of irrigation water originates. These projects, if established, would also benefit the irrigation works, particularly by lightening the annual dredging work and reducing the operation costs (cf. section on "Potential Water-Power Development of Szechuan," Report of Chinese Engineer's Association Investigation of Szechuan (1936).

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of its total cotton, and 55 per cent of its silk are produced here in this agricultural area.

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With its combined and greatly varied agricultural and horticultural products, this area compares favorably (in terms of agricultural prosperity) to that of the Chengtu Plain. But, however, unlike the Chengtu Plain, the agricultural land-use of this area is greatly handicapped by its insufficient supply of water for irrigation. This defect is largely due to the prevalence of the high porosity of the bed rocks[1] in this area, where water cannot be accumulated and stored up for irrigation purposes. This condition is especially detrimental to rice culture which requires flooded fields. Consequently, in many districts of this area, the plantation of rice is greatly limited. This factor, in turn, reduces considerably the agricultural prosperity of the area.

In so far as agricultural land-use is concerned, the adjustment to topography, soil conditions, and water supply here is conspicuous. In general, nearly all the alluvial lands along the river banks are used for rice, sugar-cane, cotton, mulberry trees, and other crops. On the saddle areas between hills, if the surface soil and bed rocks are not too loose or porous, paddy fields are always the rule. In the more hilly areas, where water cannot be stored for rice culture, potatoes, rape, wheat, kaoliang, and beans are the dominant crops.

Among all the agricultural areas of the Basin, this area of the lower To-Fou valleys is the most highly commercialized. For instance, in one district, Sui-ning alone, over 65 per cent of its cultivable land is devoted to cotton culture, whereas in Tse Chung district over half of its cultivated land is used for sugar-cane culture. In the actual rural economy, here, more than in any other agricultural area, farmers think more in terms of their "cash crops." This development brings up a very interesting problem in this agricultural area, that is, its insufficiency of food supply. Consequently, considerable amounts of foodstuffs are brought into here from the nearby Chengtu Plain area.

Other outstanding features of this agricultural area includes its high population density (Fig. 10) and rich salt deposits. [317]

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[1] T. S. Chen, "Geol. Structure of Central Szechuan," Geol. Bi-monthly, IV, No. 6 (1939), 35.

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312 rich water supply by the Yangtse, the Min, and other rivers. Numerous channels are built here, for instance, such as the Wu Tung-chiao and Chien Wei districts. But contrary to the practice of Chengtu Plain, and for reasons unknown, very few of these channels are used for irrigation purposes. Instead, they are principally for transportation use.

135 Other interesting features of this agricultural area include its well-balanced endowment with mineral resources. Neither like the Chengtu Plain area of western Basin--where little or no mineral deposits are found--nor similar to the anticlinal areas of the eastern Basin--where is located the largest concentration of the Basin's mineral deposits, especially coal and iron--this area is rather well-balanced in various kinds of mineral deposits. In fact, this area is reasonably rich in every one of the strategic minerals, including salt, coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, and aluminum. Especially the salt production is the richest and the most important at present (Fig. 20).

241 433 In agricultural richness and productivity, this agricultural area of southwestern Basin, as a whole, compares favorably with that of the specialized commercial agricultural area of the lower To-Pou valleys. This fact is evidenced by the fine, well-kept farmsteads here (Fig. 34). In terms of population density, this area also stands out as one of the five high densely populated areas of the Basin (Fig. 10).

E. Agricultural Products

241 The Szechuanese commonly claim that anything which is produced on earth may be found in the Basin. At least it is safe to say that there is scarcely an article grown in China which is not produced here in abundance. First of all, the summer field crops include rice, corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, potato, millet, kaoliang, cotton, beans of all kinds, and a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The winter crops include principally wheat, rape, beans, peas, and many others.

1. Common Food Crops

243 a) Rice.--Rice (oryza sativa) is the master crop of the Basin. It normally occupies 43,000,000 mow, or 42 per cent of the

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FIGURE 35

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
SZECHUAN BASIN
1930-1935 AVERAGE

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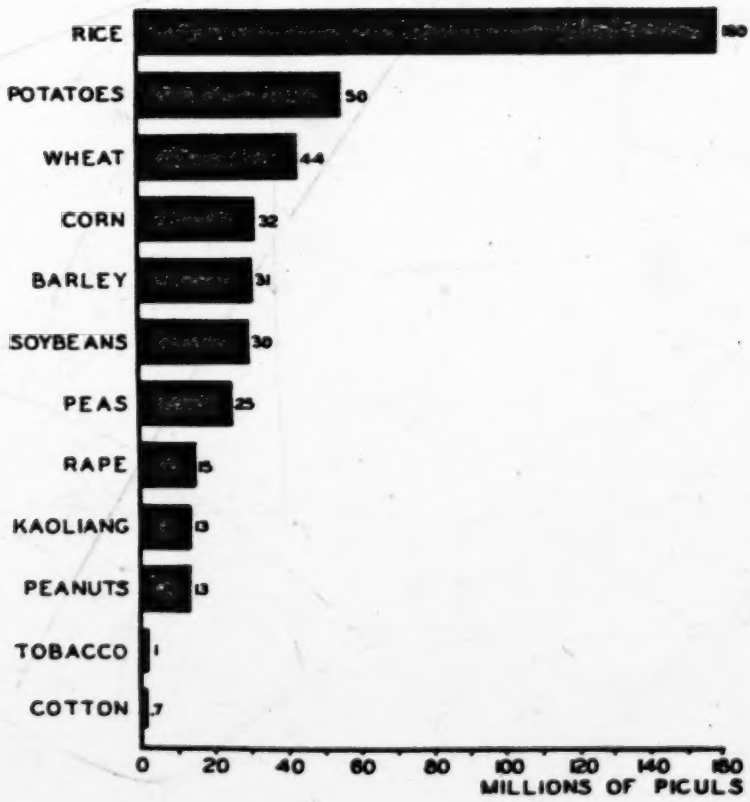

[Face p. 77]

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137 it wonderfully well into the general topography, soil, and climatic conditions of the Basin.

2. Principal Producing Areas

314 137 The Tung trees grow over wide areas of the Basin, but the three principal producing regions are: (1) the Yangtse area, including Ning-shui, Yun-yang, Wan-hsien, Kai-hsien, Chung-hsien, and Feng-chieh districts; (2) the Chien and Chi River areas, including Yu, Siu-shan, and Pei-ling districts; (3) the Chialing River area, including Ho-chuan and Pa-hsien districts (Fig. 36). Among them, the Yangtse Valley area, especially the districts near the anticline belt, is by far the most important.

[433] The total annual production of tung oil is estimated to be about 760,000 piculs.[1] In 1936, Ning-shui, one of the districts which makes up the first of the three principal producing areas, led all the districts with a total annual production of 180,000 piculs; Chung-hsien, of the same producing area, in the second place, produced 140,000 piculs; and Yun-yang produced 100,000 piculs (Table 13).

The Tung trees (Aleurites fordii) which grow in the Basin are of two kinds--Chai tung, or fuel tung, and mi-tung, or rice tung. The Chai tung is taller in height, generally around 20 to 25 feet, and has rougher and larger branches. The fruit contains fewer seeds (only three to five) than the Mi tung, and thus has less oil content. Hence, very few Chai tung trees are planted here.

The Mi tung tree, the major kind planted in the Szechuan Basin, is shorter in height (about 15 feet or less) and is highly ornamental in flower and foliage. The flowers, produced in great profusion during April. are usually white, stained with pink and yellow markings. These are followed always by green apple-like fruits, which are hidden among the large, glossy, heart-shaped leaves and generally ripen between August and September. Each fruit usually contains five to seven seeds. The Tung trees begin to bear fruit in their fourth year, and their period of

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[1] C. S. Chang, The Tung Oil of Szechuan (Ning Seng Co., 1936), p. 18. But the most recent report gave the total acreage of Tung tree for 1940 as 1,150,000 mow and with an annual production of 1,140,000 piculs (cf. Yen, op. cit., p. 31). This is, of course, a little unusual and is due to the war time boom production.

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TABLE 4

PRODUCTION OF COTTON IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Cultivated Area (In Mow)	Total Production (In Piculs)	Percentage of Total Production
Sui-Ning.....	387,335	60,374	20.1
Shei-Hung.....	322,380	59,458	19.8
Jen-Shou.....	275,416	26,025	8.6
San-Tai.....	146,318	23,670	7.8
I-Lung.....	120,309	17,265	5.7
Nan-Pu.....	114,226	15,318	5.1
Chien-Yang.....	118,950	15,249	5.0
Pa-Chung.....	76,747	15,082	5.0
Chung-Chiang....	79,402	12,480	4.1
Yen-Ting.....	123,710	10,272	3.4
Yung-Hsien.....	49,448	7,063	2.3
Lo-Chi.....	36,676	6,693	2.2
Ching-Tan.....	59,876	5,389	1.7
Peng-Hsi.....	25,628	3,692	1.2
Pu-Shun.....	24,683	3,393	1.1
Nan-Chung.....	7,500	2,653	.8
Tung-Nan.....	19,960	1,996	.6
Wei-Yuan.....	17,860	1,917	.6
Feng-Chieh.....	6,800	1,623	.5
Lu-Hsien.....	19,958	1,605	.5
Yun-Yang.....	1,025	1,544	.5
Peng-An.....	14,596	1,167	.3
Ho-Chiang.....	3,450	1,158	.3
Tzu-Yuang.....	13,725	945	.3
Chiang-An.....	11,492	864	.2
Nan-Ch'ung.....	6,424	628	.2
Tzu-Chung.....	7,179	527	.1
An-Yo.....	1,677	352	.1
Si-Chung.....	6,008	324	.1
I-Ping.....	5,000	300	.09
Lo-Chiang.....	3,725	267	.08
Nou-Hsi.....	993	187	.06
Chang-Ning.....	3,000	168	.05
Ching-Pu.....	440	147	.04
Nan-Hsi.....	1,889	113	.03
Ching-Yen.....	1,474	98	.03
Lei-Chiang.....	1,416	97	.03
Chien-Wei.....	1,520	97	.03
Lung-Chang.....	792	44	.01
Chia-Chiang.....	408	35	.01
Total.....	2,119,415	300,279	100.00

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TABLE 6

PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Shih-Fang.....	290,000	48.3
Pi-Hsien.....	80,079	13.3
Mien-Chu.....	75,000	12.5
Sin-Tu.....	45,578	7.6
Wen-Chiang.....	40,000	6.6
Tsung-Nin.....	15,000	2.5
Chung-Hsien.....	6,300	1.5
Ching-Tang.....	6,000	1.0
Ta-Hsien.....	5,473	.9
Sin-Fang.....	4,900	.8
Yun-Yang.....	4,500	.7
Tung-Nan.....	4,500	.7
Sui-Ning.....	3,500	.5
Chia-Chiang.....	3,500	.5
Kuan-Hsien.....	2,300	.3
Chi-Chiang.....	1,600	.2
Chu-Hsien.....	1,590	.2
Siu-Shan.....	1,360	.2
Mei-Shan.....	1,250	.2
Te-Yang.....	1,200	.2
Nou-Hsi.....	800	.1
Liang-Shan.....	750	.1
Peng-Hsi.....	700	.1
Cheng-Tu.....	426	.07
Chung-Ching.....	410	.06
Chiang-An.....	400	.06
Peng-An.....	400	.06
Hsin-Wen.....	300	.05
Yung-Lien.....	300	.05
Nan-Hsi.....	200	.03
Kao-Hsien.....	200	.03
Pa-Hsien.....	120	.02
Ching-Yen.....	120	.02
Kai-Chiang.....	120	.02
Wu-Sheng.....	115	.01
Chien-Wei.....	100	.01
Hsuan-Han.....	100	.01
Chien-Chiang.....	30	.005
Total.....	599,221	100.000

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TABLE 7

SUGAR PRODUCTION IN SZECHUAN (1936)

Name of District	Total Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Nei-Chiang	625,000	24.6
Tzu-Chung	625,000	24.6
Chien-Yang	225,000	8.8
Fu-Shun	200,000	7.9
Tzu-Yang	175,000	6.9
Chu-Hsien	100,000	3.9
I-Ping	70,000	2.9
Ching-Tang	60,000	2.3
Nan-Hsi	50,000	1.9
Te-Yang	50,000	1.9
Wei-Yuan	48,900	1.9
Lung-Chang	37,500	1.4
Kuang-Han	30,000	1.1
Jen-Shou	27,225	1.0
Kuang-An	25,000	.9
Tsung-Nai	25,000	.9
Chien-Wei	24,250	.9
	15,000	.5
Mei-Shan	10,000	.3
Sui-Ning	10,000	.3
Shih-Pang	10,000	.3
Sin-Tsing	8,000	.3
Ching-Pu	7,900	.3
Lu-Hsien	7,500	.2
Chi-Hsien	7,500	.2
Yung-Hsien	6,500	.2
Chiang-An	5,000	.1
Kai-Hsien	5,000	.1
Mao-Hsien	3,000	.1
Nou-Hsi	3,000	.1
Ho-Chuan	3,000	.1
Wan-Hsien	3,000	.1
Chiang-Tsin	2,800	.1
Ping-Shan	2,500	.09
Chang-Ning	2,500	.09
Ching-Shen	2,400	.09
Wu-Sheng	2,375	.09
Lo-Chiang	1,875	.09
Peng-Shan	1,795	.06
Lei-Po	1,650	.06
Tung-Nan	1,547	.06
Ho-Chiang	1,500	.06
Mien-Chu	1,400	.05
Yo-Chi	1,250	.04
Tung-Liang	1,000	.03
Total	2,526,867	100.00

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433
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TABLE 10

PRODUCTION OF CITRUS FRUITS IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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Name of District	Cultivated Area (Mow)	Number of Trees	Total Amount of Production (Pieces)	Per Cent
Ho-Chuan.....	13,366	410,000	45,200,000	22.3
Chiang-Tsin.....	8,334	200,000	36,200,000	17.8
Pa-Hsien.....	8,500	170,000	23,500,000	11.5
Ching-Tang.....	7,611	195,000	20,300,000	10.0
Chang-Shou.....	8,200	160,000	15,050,000	7.4
Nei-Chiang.....	3,000	60,000	12,000,000	5.9
Wan-Hsien.....	2,334	56,000	10,000,000	4.9
Tzu-Yang.....	2,400	40,000	9,000,000	4.4
Tzu-Chung.....	2,000	40,000	7,500,000	3.7
Chien-Yang.....	1,000	20,000	5,000,000	2.4
Peng-Hsi.....	2,500	60,000	4,030,000	1.9
I-Ping.....	3,824	15,000	4,000,000	1.9
Nan-Chung.....	3,000	60,000	3,600,000	1.7
Kuang-Han.....	1,000	20,000	2,000,000	.9
Chu-Hsien.....	500	10,000	2,000,000	.9
Lu-Hsien.....	500	10,000	2,000,000	.9
Tien-Chiang.....	650	16,000	280,000	.1
Feng-Chieh.....	127	2,046	170,000	.08
Sui-Ning.....	250	5,000	120,000	.05
Pih-Shan.....	200	5,000	100,000	.04
Lung-Chang.....	126	2,500	80,000	.03
Ta-Chu.....	100	3,000	50,000	.02
Total.....	69,522	1,589,546	202,180,000	100.00

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TABLE 11

PRODUCTION OF TEA IN SZECHUAN (1936)

245
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Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Ya-An	20,000	17.3
Kuan-Hsien	16,452	14.2
Ta-I	12,000	10.4
Pai-Chuan	10,800	9.3
Ho-Chiang	10,000	8.6
Yung-Ching	10,000	8.6
Kao-Hsien	6,000	5.1
Tsung-Nai	5,000	4.3
Cheng-Ko	3,000	2.5
Yung-Lien	2,500	2.1
Ping-Shan	2,000	1.7
Wan-Yuan	2,000	1.7
Tien-Chuen	1,700	1.4
An-Hsien	1,600	1.3
Chi-Chiang	1,500	1.2
Ping-Wu	1,500	1.2
Ching-Shen	1,500	1.2
Chien-Wei	1,500	1.2
Liang-Shan	1,320	1.1
O-Mei	1,050	.9
Ma-Pien	955	.8
Ta-Hsien	500	.4
Nan-Chuan	500	.4
Chia-Chiang	500	.4
Mien-Chu	300	.2
Yung-Hsien	214	.1
Hsing-Wen	200	.1
Hsuan-Han	200	.1
Tung-Liang	120	.1
Chien-Chiang	85	.07
O-Pien	80	.07
Chung-Hsien	78	.06
Han-Yuan	60	.05
Kuang-An	54	.04
Tien-Chiang	40	.03
Chang-Ning	35	.03
Nou-Hsi	30	.02
Kai-Chiang	25	.02
Ming-Shan	20	.01
Pu-Chiang	20	.01
Siu-Shan	16	.01
Tang-Ling	4	.003
Wen-Chuan	3	.002
Total	115,461	100.000

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TABLE 12

PRODUCTION OF SILK IN SZECHUAN (1936)

Name of District	Total Amount of Production (In Piculs)	Per Cent of Total
Lo-Shan	1,834	21.4
San-Tai	1,000	11.7
Si-Chung	986	11.5
Ho-Chuan	952	11.1
Tung-Liang	900	10.5
Fu-Shun	443	5.1
Shei-Hung	400	4.6
Hung-Ya	313	3.6
Ching-Shen	313	3.6
Lan-Chung	300	3.5
Chi-Hsien	227	2.6
Yung-Lien	200	2.3
Nan-Ch'ung	156	1.8
Tzu-Tung	110	1.2
Mien-Yang	87	1.0
Chien-Wei	80	.9
Man-Yuan	80	.9
Tang-Ling	50	.5
Ping-Shan	38	.4
Ma-Pien	14	.1
O-Mei	13	.1
Ho-Chiang	13	.1
Chao-Hua	12	.1
Kao-Hsien	11	.1
Total	8,532	100.0

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TABLE 13

PRODUCTION OF TUNG OIL IN SZECHUAN (1936)

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433
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Name of District	Total Amount (In Piculs	Per Cent of Total
Ning-Shui	185,000	24.2
Chung-Hsien	140,000	18.3
Yun-Yang	100,000	13.1
Wan-Hsien	60,000	7.8
Siu-Shan	50,000	6.5
Peng-Tu	40,000	5.5
Feng-Chieh	20,000	2.6
Fu-Hsi	10,000	1.3
Liang-Shan	10,000	1.3
Cheng-Shou	10,000	1.3
Shih-Chu	10,000	1.3
Pei-Ling	10,000	1.3
Ho-Chuan	8,000	1.0
Yu-Yang	8,000	1.0
Hsuan-Han	6,000	.7
Lu-Hsien	6,000	.7
Ta-Chu	6,000	.7
Fu-Shan	5,000	.6
Kai-Hsien	5,000	.6
Tien-Chieng	5,000	.6
Nan-Chuan	5,000	.6
Kai-Chiang	4,000	.5
Wu-Sheng	4,000	.5
Te-Hsien	4,000	.5
I-Ping	4,000	.5
Lo-Shen	4,000	.5
Ring-Shan	4,000	.5
Chiang-Tsin	3,000	.3
Ho-Chiang	3,000	.3
Chu-Hsien	3,000	.3
Yen-Ting	3,000	.3
Si-Chung	3,000	.3
Kuang-An	3,000	.3
Wan-Yuan	3,000	.3
Nan-Chung	3,000	.3
Yung-Hsien	2,000	.2
Pa-Hsien	2,000	.2
Chiang-Yu	2,000	.2
Siu-Ning	2,000	.2
Peng-Hsi	2,000	.2
Nan-Pu	2,000	.2
Peng-Shui	1,000	.1
Chien-Chiang	1,000	.1
Chi-Chiang	1,000	.1
Total	[redacted]	100.0

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

constantly patrolled, and each village near the
651 right-of-way must maintain a specially
701 organized force for this purpose and participate in the guard duty for a 72-hour period every month.[40] In addition, the village maintains a militia in which all the young residents must serve. Besides training or participating in the unit's cultural and indoctrination activities, the militia patrols key areas in the village, guards government grain, helps in loading it for shipment, and assists in keeping the village free of bandits. Misuse of the militia by the Southwest China Military Command in 1953 was criticized as having wasted 24,700 man-hours per day.[41]

Similar public and military services are required of city dwellers. They must engage in military training, participate in the local military unit's cultural and organizational activities, and serve on patrols in their own or neighboring areas whenever needed.

668
434 Controls imposed upon the people by
208 security agencies and other organizations

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40. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 4.

41. Report of the Second Southwest China Militia Conference, Ibid., May 20, 1953, p.1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not outbreaks of violence. To some extent, at least, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The regime seeks to offset disaffection by emphasizing in its propaganda the necessity and patriotism of individual sacrifice for the national welfare. If some non-vital aspect of the Communist program occasions bitter and widespread complaint, the regime bends to public opinion and institutes changes. Wherever possible, the Communists attempt to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public. Nevertheless, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

B. Tension within Organizations

578

The use of various overlapping control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directive has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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472 squeezed out of business or transformed into
656 retail traders acting as agents of state trading companies. They are compelled to accept "socialist transformation."

After the "planned purchase and supply of grains" was introduced, nearly all of the retail dealers in grain were "transformed" into agents of the state grain markets. By the first half of 1955, over 33 per cent of the retail traders in China were acting as agents for state trading companies or co-operatives.[92] According to Communist plans, the total volume of private retail trade will be decreased from 65.9 per cent of the total retail trade in 1953 to 45.1 per cent in 1957.[93]

VI. FOOD RATIONING AND GRAIN TRADE

• 434 Rationing was first applied to food grain on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grains," designed to control the distribution of food during the period of reconstruction.

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92. Industry and Commerce, Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, No. 8, pp. 17.
93. Ibid., p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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434 The stocks of all traders engaged in the sale of grain or other essential foodstuffs became the property of the state, which was to determine the ration and fix the official purchasing price and the retail selling price of various grains.[94]

In order to facilitate the work of rationing in cities, industrial and mining districts, and in rural areas where not enough grain was produced, state grain markets were established throughout the country. Upon the establishment of state grain markets, all private wholesale or retail grain shops in Southwest China were either forced out of business or were "transformed" under state guidance.[95]

Because of periods of flood and drought in 1953 and 1954, the production of grain in some regions of China was not sufficient to meet local demands. The system of rationing was unsatisfactory and caused discontent among the people. In rural districts, the implementation of the "San-ting" policy, i.e., the fixing of production, purchase, and supply quotas, resulted in great dissatisfaction among the farmers, who were unable to meet

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94. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, May 12, 1955, No. 17, p. 604.

95. China Weekly, Hong Kong, April 12, 1954, pp. 12-14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SWChina
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434 the demands of the Communist cadres. In many cases farmers found it impossible to feed themselves and their families. In urban areas the per capita ration was too small for the maintenance of minimum subsistence standards.

VII. TRADE FAIRS

543 443 438 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate the interflow of commodities between the urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a number of "Local Produce Fairs" in most of the principal cities throughout Southwest China. Some of the more notable fairs held in 1952 are shown in the following table:

S. Davies G-3 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XII

SSŬ-MAO AND P'U-ÊRH.

The town and plain of Ssŭ-mao—A commercial centre—The famous P'u-êrh tea—Cotton—A treaty port—French travellers—A Tibetan caravan—The Ma-hei tribe—P'u-êrh—An official town—An uncivil official—A friendly Shan—Routes westward from P'u-êrh.

361 Ssŭ-mao T'ing was the first real Chinese town I had come across since leaving Mien-ning nearly six weeks before. It is built on the end of a low spur which runs down from the hills to the east of the plain and is surrounded by a 25 feet brick wall, about a mile in perimeter. Inside the city are some 1,300 houses, but the business quarter is in a large suburb of 1,700 houses outside the south gate. The plain is some 10 miles long by three miles wide, and is at an elevation of 4,800 feet. Like many other places in Yün-nan it was formerly a Shan state, and it is still known to the Shans by the name of Möng La.

438 It is, for Yün-nan, a large commercial centre, the trade
245 being principally confined to tea and cotton, both of which commodities are brought from the Shan States which lie to the south. The tea, which under the name of P'u-êrh tea is famous for its good quality throughout the Chinese Empire, is grown in the hills from six to twelve marches south of the town, in the Chinese Shan State of Keng Hung, or Chiu-lung-chiang as it is called by the Chinese. The principal tea-growing centres that I could hear of are Yi-pang, Yi-wu, Yu-lo, Man-sa, and Man-la, all of which places are in Keng Hung territory to the east of the Mekong. The yearly output is estimated at 15,000 mule-loads, which would amount to some 900 tons. Its price averages about
[434] three pounds for a rupee (1*s.* 4*d.*). The value of the annual export would then, if these figures are correct, amount roughly to 670,000 rupees, say £45,000.

[p. 96]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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248 The price of cotton in ratio to the price of
435 various grains is shown in Table 8.

Table 8. The Ratio of Cotton Prices Relative to Grains*
(In weight-units of grain to one unit of cotton lint 7/8" grade)

Region	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Wheat	7.0	8.0	7.5-8.5	6.25-7.5	6.75-8.0	6.75-8.0
Millet	8.0	8.5	8.0-9.5	6.75-8.0	7.5-8.25	7.5-8.25
Rice	6.5	8.5	8.0-9.0	6.75-8.0	7.25-8.25	7.25-8.25

* Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, 1950, p. 574; Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, May 28, 1953, p. 21; New China News Agency, March 3, 1954.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation here is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state.
243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides.
136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese
622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

006 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them
435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12s. and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

S. Davies * G-S (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

499 The need for railroads in the Basin is most urgent and the clamor for railroad construction is loud. Already there are four projected railroads, namely, the Chengtu-Chungking, the Tzeliuching-Luhsien, the Chengtu-Paochi, and the Chengtu-Kuming lines (Fig. 7).[a] The Chengtu-Chungking projected line is already under construction. This line, after its completion, will link the rich agricultural Chengtu Plain and the growing industrial Chungking area. Furthermore, the completion of the Tzeliuching-Luhsien line will bring forth a more efficient operation of the vital brine-salt industry of the Basin.

509 d) The major air-routes.--If highway development in Szechuan Basin is still in its childhood, airway development is in its infancy. It was not until 1932, only about ten short years ago, at the initiation of the Shanghai-Chengtu air-line, that the Basin first experienced commercial air service. Since then, commercial flying in the Basin has been growing steadily. The original Shanghai-Chengtu Line has suspended operation since 1938 on account of the war.

There are now five principal air lines in the Basin, namely, the Chungking-Hongkong (now extended only to Kunming after the Japanese occupation of Hongkong in December, 1941), Chengtu-Sian, Chengtu-Kunming, Chungking-Chengtu, and Chungking-Loshan lines. Among them, the Chungking-Hongkong (now to Kunming) and Chengtu-Sian lines are the most important.[1]

All the above air-lines are engaged principally in passenger and mail service. Freight capacity is still very limited. In so far as use for cargo transportation is concerned, the present air-line facilities are far from satisfactory. The airways of Szechuan are at best only a symbol of modernization, but the growth has been phenomenal and the future outlook is promising. The cultural and educational value of the air traffic to the inhabitants of the Basin is certainly tremendous.

489 e) The relation of transportation to the agricultural land-use in the Basin.--Among all the regional problems of Szechuan
435 Basin, none is more important and more acute than that of transportation. The poor transportation has hampered in more than one way the efficiency of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use.

In the first place, the difficult and therefore costly transportation has prevented farmers in the Basin from earning as

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan, op. cit., p. 52.

[a] [See end map 3 - Analyst]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 moles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

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[1]One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

6: Tafel--353 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
S.W. China AF16

C 361

south to the seat of the Tu se or rgyalbo of Mu ping (Tibetan: dschumba), that is, to the native king who has received the highest Chinese title among all Tibetan aristocrats and secular rulers. Thus, he is one into whose kingdom the Chinese have penetrated most deeply and intensively and who is next in line to becoming a John Lackland, giving way entirely to the Chinese.

There are good reasons why the Chinese have settled in larger numbers in Hsin gai, Mu gung and Ying gai and why they have moved the center of administration thither. There is no other place far and near suitable for a populous settlement. Since I had left Hor Gantse I had not found so many fields in such close proximity. Fifty and a hundred meters above the river which is wedged in between rock walls, the valley spreads out in terraces (Plate LXII) which permit extensive plantings, particularly of corn and also of wheat, beans and buckwheat. (1)

C 241

C [435]

1. Corn forms the chief nourishment of the inhabitants. At the time of my visit the price of one cattie (600 grams), according to existing exchange, was seven pfennig, whereas in Ta tsien lu a cattie was 25 pfennig and shortly thereafter the prices constantly rose in Ta tsien lu. It is true, Ta tsien lu had to get all its food supplies from the lowland, in fact some things are carried thither from Ya tschou fu on the backs of human beings.

T C 631 175

Mu gung ör fu ting is the administrator and judge of the so-called western Miao tse countries which were subdued and became subject to the Manchu Emperor Kien lung only after two great and bloody wars during the years 1747-49. The decisive and final victory came in the years between 1771 and 1776. It is only since that time that they have come under the Chinese administrative system and been opened up to Chinese colonization and mass invasion. (2) The administrative district of the Mu gung ting is

2. De Mailla, Histoire g. de la Chine, Paris 1780, Vol. XI, p. 589 ff., mistakenly counted these Tibetans from present-day Mu gung ting among the primitive people of Miao tse /223/ and for this reason we still find the history of their conquest in many new history books under the Miao tse wars. D.M. confines himself

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

IV. CURRENCY

A. Currency System

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652 After the establishment of the People's Bank of China in Shih-chia-chuang of Hopei Province on December 1, 1948, Jen-min-p'iao (People's Banknotes) were first issued. They have become the uniform currency of Communist China. They are the monetary unit for all tax payments, settlement of accounts, and computation of commodity prices. Circulation of all gold, silver, and foreign currencies has been prohibited. Since March 6, 1951, the circulation of Jen-min-p'iao has been restricted to Communist China only, and export of the notes forbidden.

The Jen-min-p'iao is not redeemable in any precious metal nor interchangeable with any foreign currency. No provision is made for limiting its issue. The Communists' rationalization of their monetary system evolved from a very primitive theory to a more advanced one. At an early stage, the Communists explained that the note issue was backed by foodstuffs and cloth. Later the regime claimed that "the increasing stability of the currency is borne out by the balance of the budget, by the balanced distribution of supplies, and by the balance of cash receipts

436 and expenditures." Recently the regime has
652 referred to other indicators of the currency's value --i.e., the balance of international payments and the resulting increase of foreign reserves. It would appear that the Communists discovered during the period of currency inflation the Chinese people's instinctive ability to distinguish between good and bad money and have had to find plausible monetary theories to quiet the people's anxiety.

The Communists have kept the amount of note issue strictly secret, yet the progress of inflation becomes evident in observing the increase of the notes' denominations. The Jen-min-p'iao was first issued in denominations of 1, 5 10, 20, 50 and 100 yuan. By the second half of 1949, the printing of notes was speeded up to cover huge government deficits. The small denomination notes were no longer found practical, and larger denominations of 200, 500 and 1,000 yuan were successively introduced. Between February and April 1950 an additional issue of 5,000 and 10,000 denomination notes was made. Finally the denomination was enlarged to 20,000 and 50,000 during 1953-54.

On March 1, 1955, a new kind of People's Banknotes in small denominations was issued,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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436 and current People's Banknotes were called in.
452 The major denominations of the new currency are 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10 yuan. The smaller denominations are 1, 2, and 5 fen (100 fen equal one yuan) and 1, 2, and 5 chiao (10 chiao equal one yuan). A new one-yuan note is equivalent to 10,000 yuan note of the old currency. All old banknotes outstanding in denominations above 5,000 yuan were to be exchanged at the People's Bank before the end of April 1955, and denominations of 5,000 and less not later than June 10, 1955.

A statement made by the vice-premier and concurrent finance minister of Communist China on the issue of the new currency is worth noting. He admitted for the first time that inflation existed under the Communist regime but, ironically, heralded the new banknote issue at the rate of 1 to 10,000 of the old notes as the cure for inflation. At the same time, he revealed the true objective of the new issue by adding that it would aid considerably in accounting for the possession and use of money in China.

Although the Bank of China quotes a foreign exchange rate for the Jen-min-p'iao, the quotation does not reflect the real value of the Chinese currency in international monetary terms. Frequent revisions were made in

436 the rate until May 1951, but since then few
652 changes have been announced. No exchange rate in terms of the American dollar have been quoted since the United States government enforced the embargo on trade with Communist China in 1950. Figures on the cross rate of the Hong Kong currency, quoted by the Communists at HK$2.34 per PB¥1, one People's Banknote is valued at US$0.385. Despite the fact that these evaluations have not been tested on the open market and that the old currency was subject to inflation, a responsible official of the People's Bank publicly announced that the new currency of China was one of the most stable in the world.[18]

B. Currency Control

The Communists found currency control in Southwest China more necessary than in other areas because the people in the region were more experienced in facing the problems of an unsound currency. For more than two decades after the establishment of the Republic in 1911, Szechwan warlords practiced all kinds of currency manipulation; they debased silver dollars, silver coins, and even copper coins, issued unbacked paper notes through local

18. Ibid., Peking, March 20, 1955.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted] AF16

436 banks and private armies, and repudiated the
652 redemption of banknotes issued against real reserves. These same practices were duplicated in Yunnan on a smaller scale. As a result, the people in these provinces were always alert to protect their interests whenever monetary inflation, debasement, or manipulation occurred. The warlords had not been able to derive much revenue from debased currency and inflated notes because the people refused to accept such money.

During the inflation under the Nationalist Government from 1938 to 1949, the people of the Southwest Region tried to exchange banknotes for gold and commodities. After the Communists took over Southwest China, a fair amount of scattered gold and silver holdings was reported uncovered in the course of liquidating the landlords and local "despots" and through extortionate fines during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti movements. Frequent exactions were made on the people to prevent them from turning their cash into goods. Southwest China was allocated 15 per cent of the 1950 Victory Bond series, amounting to a nationwide total of US$70 million;[19] assigned

19. Hsin Chung-kuo Ta-shih Chi-k'an [New China Events Quarterly], No. 4, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1949, p. 127.

43% a quota in 1951 of 8.3 per cent of the US$220
662 million amunition contribution for the Korean conflict;[20] and required to contribute 16 per cent of the total of US$220 million collected throughout the country during 1950 and 1952 in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement.

In addition, Southwest China has been assigned a proportionate share of the Economic Construction Bonds amounting to US$250 million yearly since 1954. In 1954, 53.3 per cent of the issue was allocated to private industrial and commercial enterprises, the private partners of joint enterprises, and other city residents; 30 per cent to rural villages, and 16.6 per cent to workers, shop employees, working personnel of the government and public organs, and the cadres of the armed forces. In the 1955 allocation, the first category was reduced to 45% and the last category increased to 25%, the second category remaining the same.[21] An issue of Economic Construction Bonds for 1956 was announced in November 1955.

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20. Ho Yü-wen, Chung-kung Ts'ai-cheng Chieh-p'ou [An Analysis of Communist China's Finance], Hong Kong, Asia Press, 1953, p. 74.
21. Jin-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 9, 1955.

436 According to an estimate[22] made by
652 the Communists in 1955, workers were required to pledge a little more than 7 yuan per head (about US$2.70) for their subscription to the Economic Construction Bonds, and the peasants, excluding those in calamity-stricken areas, were required to pledge an average of 0.4 yuan.

Since the government began the enforced purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, hardly any staple commodities have been left for the people to hoard, and the bond subscriptions have consumed what little cash might have been available for saving. In view of the past ingenuity of the people in the Southwest Region to defend themselves against inflation, it remains to be seen whether currency control will remain effective, and if so, how it will influence incentives for agricultural and industrial production.

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22. Ibid.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 thence to Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 situated on a bend of the great river. Twenty
*733 li beyond Huan-fu-p'ing we come to an exceedingly narrow part of the
*737 Mekong gorge, arid in the extreme, and scarcely more than a trench. The trail which leads through the gorge is passable for porters only, while the mule caravans pass over the mountain-side at its entrance, emerging near Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu 大霸子). This gorge is called Do-lung [42] in Tibetan, and To-lo 多洛 in Chinese. The trail is one of the worst on the entire stretch to A-tun-tzu, and is simply an echelon, built by means of slender props against the cliff, a sort of trestle-work spanning a chasm. Where the Mekong enters the gorge there is a fierce rapid but in the gorge itself the river flows placidly enough. Nyi-thang [43] called To-lo-t'ang 多洛塘 in Chinese, is a Tibetan village situated on a flat spur north of the Do-lung gorge, and consists of a few houses only (PLATE 165).

[436] Money is here valueless, for the peasants of this area will sell nothing, but are willing to exchange grain or other victuals for salt and coarse Chinese
[147] tea, two commodities unobtainable in this region. The peasants are much afflicted with goitre.

From here one has the first glimpse of the mighty promontory of the Kha-wa-kar-po [44] range, Mt. Me-tse-mo,[45] the southernmost and highest mountain of that magnificent divide. On a manuscript map of the district of A-tun-tzu in the Provincial Library at K'un-ming, the range is marked Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 雍支雪山, after a village called Yung-chih, situated on the eastern slopes, and on the west bank of the Mekong. The northern end of the same range is marked as Tu-ch'ü-ling hsüeh-shan 都拉嶺雪山. Mt. Me-tse-mo is a wonderful dome, standing separately and projecting from the rest of the range; it is covered with immense masses of snow, with buttresses on each side at the base of the peak. In the early hour of dawn the dome looked a death-like grey, cold and forbidding, but as soon as the sun shone on its almost vertical snow-fields it turned to a rich pink, while the Mekong valley was still sleeping in deep, gloomy shadows.

The trail leads past a narrow lateral gorge and then opposite the Lung-dre canyon which debouches from the west, misty and mysterious, into the Mekong. Up Lung-dre gorge a trail leads to the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-hdzom-la) [46] and to the Salween.

Yang-tsa village. — Cypress trees (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*) line the Mekong river banks; the valley becomes narrower and more arid, the walls steep and furrowed by huge land-slides. The hamlet of Se-ra-thang (Se-lo-t'ung 色勒通) is here situated on a small meadow with the mountain walls rising steeply back of it. A few li beyond and the scenery is still more arid save for the cypress trees; not far beyond is the village of Yang-tsa 羊咱, also called La-tsa 拉咱, a few scattered houses among boulders. Three rope-bridges are stretched across the river here (PLATE 166). In the autumn

[42] rDo-lung རྡོ་ལུང (Rock valley). [43] ཉི་ཐང Nyi-thang or gNyis-thang གཉིས་ཐང

[44] Khwa-dkar-po ཁྭ་དཀར་པོ or Kha-wa-dkar-po gangs-ri [45] sMad-rtse-mo སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

[46] bZhi-hdzom-la ཞི་ཧཛོམ་ལ

5x Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 it on our right, passed through the village of T'ang-ch'ih, in the middle of which is a hot sulphur spring and a bathing-tank, much frequented by the rheumatic. After this we crossed another range, and descended steeply to the Yi-liang plain, which lies at 5,300 feet, an exceptionally low level for this part of Yün-nan.

361 The town contains about 800 houses and is surrounded by the usual wall, but most of the inns and shops are in [436] a suburb outside the north gate. Their cotton and foreign goods reach them through Tong-king, and the only important local product is opium, which grows well here. The place is usually called Ni-liang by the Yün-nanese, and locally it is also known as Mi-liang.

The next day at the far edge of the plain we forded a river 70 yards wide, which runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, and then ascended on to a large plateau over which our route lay for the rest of the way to Lu-liang Chou.

133 This plateau ends to the north in a precipitous descent to the Ch'ü-ching River[1], while to the south the haze prevented me from seeing how far it extended. The general elevation averages well over 6000 feet, and it undulates so gently that carts are used all over it. There are a few fir trees in places, but the general character of the country is very bare and dry, with little rocky mounds rising out of it. Great pillars of sandstone rock 15 or 20 feet high standing in groups form a curious feature of the landscape, and might easily be taken for ruined buildings when seen [241] in the distance through the haze. The crops in this plateau are very poor and scanty: opium seems to grow better than anything else.

000 After two days and a half over this somewhat monotonous country, we again reached the Ch'ü-ching River. Crossing it by a fine thirteen-arch stone bridge, 120 yards long, we soon entered Lu-liang, which lies a little higher up on the right bank. The river here has a slow current and a depth of apparently three or four feet, but lower down between here and Yi-liang it seems to run in a deep gorge, and I could hear of no road up its banks in this part of its

[1] I do not think that the Chinese call the river by this name in this part of its course, but as it runs down from Ch'ü-ching Fu, I have thought best to so name it.

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579 186 and fire at them with guns. Their shooting was so bad that no one was ever hit, and they would run away if attacked, but this sort of thing naturally interfered with survey operations. The officials were always friendly, and increased Pottinger's escort of Chinese soldiers to 150 men, 20 of whom were armed with mausers.

Even in Kuei-chou province on this side of Pi-chieh these attacks began again, and Pottinger warned them that if there was any more opposition to his movements he would fire on them. The next day they began rolling stones down again, and Pottinger and Hunter attacked them with the twenty mauser-armed Chinese soldiers. Three of the Chinese were killed, and there was after that no further trouble.

These disturbances were probably due to the rebellion of Yü-man-tzû, which spread over a great part of Ssû-ch'uan the year before, and had hardly been repressed at the time Pottinger was passing through that province.

We got back to Wei-ning in two days and found that Watts-Jones had also returned there. We put up in very good quarters in the mining office. They have a lot of boilers and other mining machinery here, which are the property of the Yün-nan Province Government, who have never used them and want to sell them, but are hardly likely to find a purchaser here.

•436 We halted the next day to wait for Hunter, and went to call on the civil mandarin and on the general. The former showed us his mint where cash are coined. They are made of a mixture of copper, lead, and zinc which when melted is poured into a mould which makes 200 or 300 cash at once. Not many are coined here: most of the copper is sent to Kuei-yang, the capital of the province.

The price the Government give for copper is 11 taels for 100 catties. This comes to about threepence a pound, a price which, the mandarin says, is not enough to make copper-mining pay. This I can well believe. I have often wondered how cash could be coined so as not to cost more than they are worth as money, but no doubt at this price it can be done.

The cash is the only real coin that exists over the greater part of China. Roughly speaking its value is about a tenth

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•436 of a farthing, so that it is impossible to take large sums about in this form. One has, therefore, to carry lumps of silver, which, in order to make small purchases, one has to weigh and exchange into cash at so many to a tael[1]. The exchange differs enormously in different towns of the same province even. I have in Yün-nan got as many as 1,400 cash for a tael and as few as 950. Sometimes too, to make it still more confusing, there are two sorts of cash, big and small, which naturally have different rates of exchange. Money-changers do a very profitable business, as in each string of 100 cash there are always two or three short. This is a recognised thing, and besides this legitimate profit, they make more by charging the unwary a higher rate than the market tariff.

The amount of silver which the traveller has to carry about with him, besides being a serious addition to the weight of his baggage, is always a source of anxiety. There is the danger of theft, and the possibility in a rough country of the box containing it tumbling into a river.
453 Happily it is not necessary to carry in silver the whole of the money necessary for a long expedition. There is an excellent system of banking throughout China, and credit notes obtained from Mandalay or Bhamo can be cashed at the branches of the same firm at Hsia-kuan, Yün-nan Fu and other places.

000 Hunter arrived on the evening of the 26th April, and we were able to make our plans for the future. The country between Wei-ning and the Yangtze had been found so difficult that it was necessary to see if a better line could be discovered by any other route. Pottinger and Hunter were therefore to go to Chên-hsiung Chou (lat. 27° 30′, long. 104° 45′) by different roads, and from there if possible to separate again and find different ways to the Yangtze. Watts-Jones was to strike across to Chao-t'ung Fu (lat. 27° 20′, long. 103° 40′) and on to the Yangtze at Sui Fu. Myself, I had to meet Turner and Ker at Yün-nan Fu, so I turned westwards again, taking the road for Tung-ch'uan Fu (lat. 26° 25′, long. 103° 10′), so as to see unexplored country.

[1] A Chinese weight of about 1⅓ oz., and worth at present about three shillings.

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a great feast on them: in other places we got the villagers to pick for us the kinds of wild leaves which they knew to be edible. 262

Unlike the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races who never milk cows, the Tibetans are very fond of milk and butter, and these we were always able to buy. But Tibetan ideas of cleanliness are such as would horrify an English dairy farmer. The wooden buckets into which they milk the cows are *never* washed or cleaned in any way, and consequently the inside of them is thickly coated with a slimy white substance, the remains of the milk of years. The result of course is that directly the milk touches the bucket it turns sour. We were only able to get fresh milk by having the cows milked into our own cooking pots, but the butter made out of the Tibetans' milk was naturally very nasty. However, one gets used to anything, and the Tibetan climate gives one a healthy appetite. We soon resigned ourselves to eating our chupatties with rancid butter and with honey that was chiefly beesmeat. 234

The principal food of the Tibetans is "tsamba," which is made by roasting barley and then grinding it into flour. The Tibetan has only to mix a little of this with tea in the basin that he always carries in the breast of his coat, and he has a meal ready at once. We tried tsamba and found it excellent; we used to make it with hot water and eat it with milk like porridge. 262

The money used in this part of Tibet is the Indian rupee. They do not care about Chinese silver, and we converted all our silver into rupees at A-tun-tzŭ. Small change does not exist: there are no four anna or two anna pieces. So the Tibetans adopt the rough and ready expedient of chopping rupees into pieces with a big knife and a hammer. Besides rupees chopped some into three pieces, and some into four pieces, we also found it convenient to carry about some of the Chinese brick tea which is the universal beverage of Tibet. Tea is so indispensable to the Tibetans that the disc shaped "bricks" will pass current everywhere, and are often preferred to silver. 436

To return to our journey, we left the Ba-t'ang road at Tsong-en, and keeping down the bank of the Chiang-ka River we slept at the village of Bo-tsa.

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 the Ko Lao Hui keeps the closest watch over government policy, especially where it considers its own interests to be concerned.

662 An illustration of how the Ko Lao Hui functions in this respect may be seen in the typical case of Huang Jun Chin, branch director in the village of Yuan T'ung. To the people who live in it, Yuan T'ung seems less a village than a country of which Huang is king. He owns some 400 acres of land and several thousand side arms which are borne by 3,000 men (all society members) directly under his command. In the county seat he and some of his men occupy a huge mansion fortified with machine-gun emplacements. Several close relatives hold important positions in the municipal and provincial governments. Although they are paid by the county government, two platoons of guards and policemen are armed with Huang's guns and are answerable to him alone. His men are also in the magistrate's office; in fact, the magistrate is no more than a figurehead whose function it is to transmit government orders to Huang and to await his instructions. The county administration takes no action without Huang's prior consent. He not only presides over the county council, but appoints all of its other members. Huang's case is typical of the power of the society which, though essentially non-political, frequently interferes with, and occasionally assumes direct control of, county government.[12]

575 Each branch of the society derives its regular income from a number of sources, of which opium dens are the most important. In one
548 locality there are ten such dens, each run by a different high-ranking member. Each must contribute a definite sum to the branch, as must the semi-secret gambling houses and brothels. Illegal transactions in prohibited goods such as arms, gasoline and other vital war materials are effected under the supervision and protection of the society, which collects a fee on each transaction. Another source of income is the "mar-
575 ket" where, though no goods are handled, such commodities as rape seed, rice and the like are bought and sold in wholesale quantities;
437 since no goods are in evidence, the government agent, if he is present, sees nothing on which to levy a tax, but the society, keeping a com-

[12] Of course, the society manifests its power in other ways. For example, local coal mines and salt works cannot move their products to market until they have paid the society large sums on each shipment. Before making tours of inspection in the districts of the Chengtu Plain, government officials are expected to notify, and to secure the protection of, Ko Lao Hui officials. This procedure is necessary because bandits, county guards and administrators are usually all members of the society.

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

plete record of transactions, collects a tax in place of the government.[13] 575 In addition, the Ko Lao Hui controls many inland communications in the sense that it operates chains of control points similar to customs houses at which merchants and other travelers are stopped for contributions. 437.

Other, irregular sources of income are more difficult to assess. Most big stores within the territory of a branch must present gifts, in cash or in kind, either to the director or to the branch, several times each year. The amount of the contribution depends on the size of the store. Special collections occur frequently and may affect not only businessmen but also landowners, who pay a certain amount on each acre. Although stealing, robbery and kidnapping are not openly encouraged by most branches, members who have committed such crimes usually go to their director and present the branch with a large portion of their gains in return for its protection. (One can usually regain a "lost" article if one knows the right person in the branch to turn to.) Some leaders of the Ko Lao Hui capitalize on the power of the society for private and selfish ends at the expense of non-members, or even of other members, but a portion of their profits are invariably devoted to the needs of the society.[14] 575 674

One of the most interesting aspects of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan concerns the changes in its forms and activities which have taken place in recent years. Shifts in the needs and interests of communities in which the Ko Lao Hui exists have brought about changes in the motivation and spirit of the society. For example, patriotism—specifically, opposition to the Ch'ing rulers—is thought to have been the main motive for the original establishment of the Ko Lao Hui. But since the disappearance of the Ch'ings as rulers and of the Manchus as a 575

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[13] At one such "market" in 1945 the society branch collected CNC$200 on each *tan* (133 pounds) of rice sold. On an average day 300 *tan* might change hands, resulting in a rake-off, on rice sales alone, of some CNC$60,000. There are eight or nine "market" days each month.

[14] An illustration of how the society looks after its own was afforded by an incident which recently occurred one morning six miles outside of Chengtu. Three cotton dealers, carrying a huge sum of money, were set upon by three highwaymen (Ko Lao Hui members acting on instructions from one of their leaders). A company of road guards, chancing to come upon the scene just after the robbers had secured their loot, started a gun fight which lasted several hours and resulted in the wounding of several guards and the death of two guards and two of the robbers. The surviving robber escaped with the money, all of which was later set aside for the future welfare of the families of the two dead members.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

three and sometimes four crops a year. It is estimated that the annual output of farm products alone include rice, 15,000,000 piculs; wheat, 8,000,000 piculs; other cereals, 2,000,000 piculs; rape seed, 500,000 piculs; tobacco, 700,000 piculs; plus medicinal herbs, vegetables, and other farm products. The total value of all these products at pre-war prices was a little over 180,000,000 dollars, or 45 dollars per capita for the Plain. This production represents about 15 per cent of the total volume of agricultural produce of the whole province, while the area of the Plain is only about one-sixty-seventh of the total area of the province. In other words, the Chengtu Plain produces ten times as much per unit area than the rest of the Basin. 241 433

e) Farms and fields.--Among the farm areas of the Basin, Chengtu Plain has the largest average farm. According to a survey by Professor Brown and N. L. Li, the rented farms average 30.1 mow, and the owned farms average 73.1 mow.[1] These figures are almost twice as large as the average size of farms in the Basin as a whole.[2] They are, in fact, even larger than the largest average size of farm in North China.[3] This, of course, means additional wealth and more prosperity. This undoubtedly has accounted for the large farmstead and the well-kept farms throughout the Plain (Fig. 12). Moreover, unlike other parts of the Basin, most of the farms here are not so detached. In general, the individual fields of Chengtu Plain farms are larger. According to the same survey, the average field is 3.36 mow,[4] which is three times as large as that of the hilly areas in the Basin.[5] Larger fields are made possible, of course, by the flatter topography and better water-supply here. 423 241 311

f) Marketing of agricultural products.--The marketing of the diverse agricultural products of the Plain is interesting. Marketing is done mainly in the nearby towns or cities throughout the year. The Plain is dotted with market towns, so that all 437

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[1] H. D. Brown and N. L. Li, "A Survey of Fifty Farms on the Chengtu Plain," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1-59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Buck, op. cit., p. 273.

[4] Brown and Li, op. cit., p. 28.

[5] H. D. Brown and N. L. Li, "A Survey of Farms of Mountain Omei Areas," Chinese Econ. Journal, I (1927), 1059-76.

437 farms here are within a few miles of a market. Each town has usually three or four market days per week, which alternate with those of the neighboring towns. The larger places have a daily
437 market. The produce is usually carried on men's backs on shoulder
489 poles, or loaded on wheelbarrows. The noise of the wheelbarrows on the stone-paved roads in the quiet of the early morning is as genuinely Chengtu Plain as many of its other unique landscape features. This peculiar noise, together with that much-advertised smell of night soil in the oriental farm fields, adds another unique double feature to the already too-colorful Chengtu-Plain landscape.

Moreover, in spite of the obstruction of irrigation dams, the extensive inter-communicating canal systems in the Plain help provide channels by way of which many of the villagers in the Plain can send their produce (such as vegetables, fruits, poultry, pork, and other products) to the city or to other towns by boat. And at the same time they bring home their purchases by the same conveyance. The canals thus facilitate considerably the otherwise very difficult transportation conditions. Here reminds one of the similar scene, though on a much smaller scale, which is commonly seen in the Great-Lake Canal regions (such as the Wu-shih and Soochow areas) of the Lower Yangtse Delta.

226 g) Practice of aqui-culture.--Because there are thousands of acres of ponds and water-covered paddy fields in Chengtu Plain, aqui-culture is also practiced here. The principal activity along this line is fishing--for fish, frogs, snails, and crabs. Cormorant fishing is particularly characteristic. Because the Min River and other streams in this area are fairly clear during some months of the year, the fish can be easily seen as they hurry upstream to spawn. Thus, the cormorant catch is generally very successful here. Other phases of aqui-culture include digging for aquatic plants, such as lotus seeds, water chestnuts (Trapa natsus), and Calladum, which are all delicacies to the people here.

162 Chengtu Plain occupies an area of approximately 6,000 square kilometers, about one-twenty-fifth of the total area of the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study. But it has a population of more than 4,000,000 people, or about one-twelfth of the total population of the province. The average population density of Chengtu Plain is a little over 700 persons per square kilometer, or nearly 1,800 persons per square mile. Nowhere in

T 796 the motley crowd. Schnapps put a crown on the day and soon the valley resounded with singing and shouting. The dancing and singing continued from the end of the performance until far into the night and youth and maiden had their day. What Fan tse does not know something about flirting?

T 563 Bo lo tse were also to be seen at the performance in the monastery. However, everybody looked askance at them for the visitors and all the people from the monastery were Hsi fan, genuine Tibetans from the Scharba tribe. Many of them were ill at ease at the appearance of these simply-dressed people. Involuntarily the women said: "Watch out, there are Bo lo tse over there," and when one of the audience lost track of his horse, suspicion was immediately aroused: "the Bo lo tse have stolen it."

C 437 804 While I was shopping in Sung pan ting for my further journey I came across a Szechwan arrangement that I had never before encountered in China. Whenever I wanted to pay in silver for something in a shop and we had come to an agreement about the price, the merchant asked me to go with him to the kwan ping to weigh the silver. In a low shop on the main street an elderly gentleman sat in front of large iron scales for weighing silver. Thoughtfully and with an air of importance he examined through the large round lenses of his horn spectacles piece after piece of silver which the by-standers passed him. Then he weighed them and with his long-nailed fingers made out a certificate concerning weight and validity, for a small percentage of the value. If one stops to think that in the entire commercial city of Sung pan ting this was the only man in possession of an official license to weight silver, that no other set of scales was regarded as authentic, that everyone who paid in silver hastened to the kwan ping, then one realizes the importance of this position and its profitableness. The owner of the scales had to buy his license for a lump sum from the ting. But the people were so used to the procedure that not only the uncoined silver but also the Szechwan silver dollars which had been introduced four years before by the kwan ping man, had to be tested for weight and value. The people regarded the arrangement as a benefit because they were thus protected from frequent fraud, from bad silver and bad scales.

C 797 During my shopping I accidentally learned in one of the stores that there was another European beside myself staying in the city. A few days before Monseignor Dury, priest of the Missions étrangères, had moved into the house belonging to his mission. When I called on him I found the extremely gracious Frenchman all alone with a

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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509 Burma Civil Aviation Corporation will operate the Rangoon-Mandalay-Kunming-Canton line.[82] The national civil aviation targets for the first half of 1955 were surpassed. The number of passengers was 13 per cent above that reported in 1955; freight and mail increased 5.9 per cent and 76 per cent, respectively over the figures for the preceding year.[83]

V. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 Southwest China in general and Szechwan in particular is one of the grain-surplus regions of China. A large part of the surplus grain is shipped to Northwest China through the Chengtu-Chungking and Chengtu-Pao-chi railways and to Tibet by river junks and motor trucks. A small part of the surplus grain is usually shipped to Central-South China by water transport on the Yangtze River.

Part of the raw cotton produced in Szechwan is shipped to Yunnan and Kweichow. Szechwan also receives some raw cotton from Hopei

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82. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Nov. 21, 1955, p. 12

83. New China News Agency, Peking, July 20, 1955.

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438 Province either for re-shipment to other Southwestern provinces or for local use. The cotton from Hopeh is usually shipped by steamer on the Yangtze River.

Generally speaking, Southwest China is self-sufficient in coal. However, as a safety measure, the region imports some coal from Central-South China.

"State Socialism" is the guiding principle in Chinese Communist industry and trade. During the present transition, state-owned, co-operatives, state-capitalist and private industries co-exist.

A. State-owned Companies

438 655 The six state-owned domestic trading companies established in 1950 were the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Material Company, and the China Native Products Company.[84] All

84. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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438 have branches and sub-branches in the major
655 cities of Southwest China. Some companies, such as the China General Merchandise Company and the China Native Products Company, have branches in the rural areas of the region.[85] If the trade volume of the country as a whole in 1950 is given the index number 100, trade volume rose to 397 in 1952. It is reasonable to assume that the total trade volume of the Southwest Region made a proportionate gain in the same year.[86] The number of state owned and operated commercial firms in Communist China increased 45 per cent in a single year.[87] In 1954, wholesale and retail prices of staples in the eight major cities in the Southwest Region including Chungking and Kunming, increased only 4 per cent over those reported in the preceding year.[88]

B. Co-operative Companies

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474 Supply and marketing co-operatives

85. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

86. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

87. Current Background, Hong Kong. U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, No. 360, p. 8.

88. Ibid.

438 supply farm implements, fertilizer, and a
474 great number of other commodities for both production and consumption purposes to their members. The state trading companies usually draw up contracts in advance to supply products at fixed low prices to co-operatives. The exact number of supply and marketing co-operatives in Southwest China is unknown, but reports indicate that the number has increased rapidly since 1953. By the third quarter of 1955, there were co-operatives in cities in Southwest China and almost every hsiang (group of villages) had at least one co-operative.[89] Co-operatives accounted for one-quarter of the total national retail trade in 1953 -- 18 per cent of the total retail trade in the cities and 30 per cent of that in rural areas. About 75 per cent of all the purchases by co-operatives were made on behalf of the state.[90]

C. State-Capitalist Companies

475 The principal "State-Capitalist" corporations serve as distributors of the

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89. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, May 12, 1955, p. 597.
90. Ibid.

434 the demands of the Communist cadres. In many cases farmers found it impossible to feed themselves and their families. In urban areas the per capita ration was too small for the maintenance of minimum subsistence standards.

VII. TRADE FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate
443 the interflow of commodities between the
438 urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a number of "Local Produce Fairs" in most of the principal cities throughout Southwest China. Some of the more notable fairs held in 1952 are shown in the following table:

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Table 7. Local Produce Fairs in Southwest China, 1952. *

Fair	Location	Trading Volume (Million)
Southwest Commodity Fair	Chungking	¥566,600 ($22.7)
Ch'wanfei Third Native Products Fair	Nanchung	¥205,900 ($ 8.2)
Ch'wannan Commodity Fair	Lu-hsien	¥107,600 ($ 4.3)
Ch'uansi Commodity Fair	Chengtu	¥ 73,000 ($ 2.9)
Yunnan Second Commodity Fair	Kunming	¥ 69,600 ($ 2.8)
Kweichow Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 34,900 ($1.4)
Kweiyang Municipality Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 74,000 ($2.9)

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Total	¥1,248,500 ($49.9)

* Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 28, 1953, No. 28, p. 7.

543 In 1952, the total trade volume of
443 these fairs amounted to US$49,900,000, of
438 which the fair in Chungking, the commercial center of the region, accounted for approximately 45 per cent.

CONCLUSION

000 The Communists plan intensive development of railway and highway transportation in Southwest China. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was of considerable importance to the utilization of the industrial and agricultural resources of Szechwan Province. The completion of the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway will link the Southwest with the Northwest and will be of great strategic value to the Communists in case of war.

At the time of the building of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, a number of cases involving the corruption of Party cadres were brought to light. Many cadres accepted bribes from contractors who were anxious to sell the government inferior materials or who had economized by doing a shoddy job of construction. These practices, according to the Communists, accounted for the collapse of several bridges shortly after completion.

467 constituted about 0.05 per cent of the total number of industrial workers in all China, although the population of the region accounts for 16.9 per cent of the population of the whole country. Of the 177,670 industrial workers, only 25,538 (14.37%) were unionized at the time the report was published.[1]

After three years' work on labor organization and the development of industry, the new regime announced in June 1952 that 35,259 basic trade unions (unions formed in individual factories, mines, and other enterprises) had been formed in the region.[2] The number of unionized industrial workers was reported to have increased from 25, 538 to 640,846, and the total of all unionized wage earners was set at 1,405,706.

438 466 However, in mid-1952, about 80 per cent of the industrial output of Southwest China was still turned out by handcraft methods in small shops throughout the region.[3] Old fashioned workshops and some of the semi-modern factories continued to rely heavily on apprentices for labor. The

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1. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker Monthly], Peking, June 15, 1950, p. 69.
2. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.
3. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-kung-yeh [China's Light Industry], Peking, May 1952, pp. 21-24.

438 treatment of apprentices under the new regime
466 still largely followed the old customs in Southwest China. The working hours of the apprentice were almost unrestricted; his earnings seldom amounted to more than 35 lbs. of rice per month. Since the trade union and labor insurance laws promulgated by the Communist government did not cover the apprentices, they had neither organization nor security. After a three year apprenticeship, they entered the labor market as unskilled labor.[4]

467 Chungking is the industrial and commercial center of Southwest China. As a result, almost all regional reports concerning organized labor refer solely to this city. Chungking was occupied by the Communists on November 30, 1949, and the Preparatory Committee of the Chungking General Trade Union was established on December 27. The committee consisted of 87 members, including representatives of miners, textile workers, telecommunication workers, and workers in other industrial enterprises. The initial tasks of the committee were the restoration of production and the organization of labor in the city. By September 1951, about 90 per cent of the city's 200,000 working population were reported to have joined trade unions.[5] A large part of the Chungking industrial force was working in arsenals in the suburbs of the city. These workers were more tightly controlled by the regime but better paid than

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4. New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1951, p. 2.

5. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 5.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 蒙些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482] [438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the 489
ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but 133
nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the 137
bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent.

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山鋪, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most [243]
abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw [438] ●
hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li.

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan [135]
火藥山[44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound-

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 寨 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 墓頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[651] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[192] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[797] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few
[463] merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[438] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
[135] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich
[346] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu
[197] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

* ཐ་ཚ * སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the
●438 Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

294 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious
438 kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou
241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

251 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

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dress and customs, and even to the Chinese language. It is quite probable that in another generation or two they will all call themselves Chinamen, and the place will afford another instance of the absorption of the Shan by the Chinaman in places which are over 4000 feet high, and are therefore healthy enough for the Chinese of Yün-nan to live in.

We halted a day at Mien-ning to rest our pack mules. There is no trade in the place to speak of. There are a few small merchants who occasionally go with small mule caravans to Mêng-sa and the other Shan States in the neighbourhood. In the morning I went up to the Shan monastery and saw the priest, a native of Mien-ning, who had ten years before been on a visit to Rangoon to worship at the pagoda. He was dressed in the usual unorthodox fashion of the Chinese Shan priests, with a yellow robe covering both shoulders, a red cap on his head, and Chinese socks and shoes on his feet, a contravention in three respects of the rules of Burmese Buddhism, which ordain that one shoulder must be bare, that no head-covering may be worn, and that no shoe must be used which covers the top of the toes.

Like many Chinese Shan priests he was an opium smoker and did not seem the least ashamed of it, as he got through three pipes while I was there. He told me that formerly the whole of this country was inhabited by Shans, but that now the Chinese were gradually ousting them. I noticed that even the priest himself, though he spoke Shan to me, would address his pupils in Chinese.

On the 24th February, 15 miles of somewhat up and down road took us to Ping-yüan-hsün. At the little village of Pang-mai which we passed on this march, in a pleasant valley covered with fir trees, is an isolated colony of Mêng-hua Lo-los, who emigrated from their own district a few generations ago. Their language I found to be nearly the same as that spoken at Wu-li-hei, but they are giving it up and are beginning to talk Chinese even among themselves. The women already tie up their feet in the Chinese fashion, and they will no doubt soon cease to call themselves Lo-los.

The next day, after three or four miles of level going,

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CHAPTER XII

SSŬ-MAO AND P'U-ÊRH.

The town and plain of Ssŭ-mao—A commercial centre—The famous P'u-êrh tea—Cotton—A treaty port—French travellers—A Tibetan caravan—The Ma-hei tribe—P'u-êrh—An official town—An uncivil official—A friendly Shan—Routes westward from P'u-êrh.

361 SSŬ-MAO T'ING was the first real Chinese town I had come across since leaving Mien-ning nearly six weeks before. It is built on the end of a low spur which runs down from the hills to the east of the plain and is surrounded by a 25 feet brick wall, about a mile in perimeter. Inside the city are some 1,300 houses, but the business quarter is in a large suburb of 1,700 houses outside the south gate. The plain is some 10 miles long by three miles wide, and is at an elevation of 4,800 feet. Like many other places in Yün-nan it was formerly a Shan state, and it is still known to the Shans by the name of Möng La.

• 438 245 It is, for Yün-nan, a large commercial centre, the trade being principally confined to tea and cotton, both of which commodities are brought from the Shan States which lie to the south. The tea, which under the name of P'u-êrh tea is famous for its good quality throughout the Chinese Empire, is grown in the hills from six to twelve marches south of the town, in the Chinese Shan State of Keng Hung, or Chiu-lung-chiang as it is called by the Chinese. The principal tea-growing centres that I could hear of are Yi-pang, Yi-wu, Yu-lo, Man-sa, and Man-la, all of which places are in Keng Hung territory to the east of the Mekong. The yearly output is estimated at 15,000 mule-loads, which would amount to some 900 tons. Its price averages about [434] three pounds for a rupee (1*s.* 4*d.*). The value of the annual export would then, if these figures are correct, amount roughly to 670,000 rupees, say £45,000.

[p. 96]

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Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

A cotton caravan at Ssŭ-mao

Plate XXIII

[Face p. 97]

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438 274 The tea is made up into disc-shaped cakes some eight inches in diameter and one inch thick, weighing about 12 ozs. These cakes, which are called *yüan*, are then put together in packets of seven, placed one on top of the other, and done up with strips of the outer bark of bamboo. This packet is called a *t'ung*, and it is in this form that it is usually sold.

According to my informants, seven-tenths of the tea goes to Yün-nan Fu and is from there distributed over eastern Yün-nan, Ssŭ-ch'uan, and other provinces. A good deal of the remainder is sent to Ta-li and other places in western Yün-nan, and to Tibet.

438 248 As to the cotton I did not get any details, but the trade is certainly a large one. The principal cotton growing districts are in the Chinese Shan States of Keng Hung and Möng Lem, and the British Shan State of Keng Tung. The greater part of Yün-nan is too cold to admit of this crop being cultivated, and as the whole population is clothed in cotton material, the trade in this commodity, is one of the 438 largest and most necessary in the province. Much of it comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan, whence it is imported both in the raw form, in yarn, and in cloth. Much Manchester and Indian yarn and some cloth also comes into the province from the Yangtze, from Bhamo, and from Mêng-tzŭ, the treaty port near the Tong-king frontier. But there is still a considerable trade in raw cotton from Burma *viâ* Bhamo, and from the Shan States *viâ* Ssŭ-mao. How long this import of the raw material will hold its own is a matter of doubt, as the superior convenience of the foreign yarn is making it yearly more popular, but there must always be a certain demand for raw cotton to be used in the padded coats so universally worn in cold weather.

000 I do not think that a railway or even a trade route has ever been proposed between Kun-long and Ssŭ-mao, but having been over this country by two different roads, I may say that I think a railway would be impracticable and useless, and I do not expect that there will ever be even a trade route. The country lying between these two places is very wild and mountainous, contains nothing that can really be called a town, and is sparsely inhabited, principally by hill-men who, whether Chinese or of other tribes, have

5: Davies G-8 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

344 The next day I halted, and returned the sawbwa's call
366 in the morning. The palace was not a very imposing
438 structure but a new one was being built close to it. It was market day in Kêng-ma, and there was a very large attendance, including a good many Chinese traders selling cotton cloth, etc. Most of the European goods appear to come from Bhamo *viâ* Yung-ch'ang. The market is held every five days according to the almost invariable custom of Burma, the Shan States, and Yün-nan. Nearly the whole country-side comes into it to buy and sell, and on market day the roads are always crowded with people from the villages coming and going. It is an opportunity for them to display their best clothes, and in places where there are many different hill tribes the variety of costume is most picturesque.

563 In Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States, and probably in many other places, people of a dozen different races speaking a dozen different languages may be seen in one market place. The lingua franca by which they communicate with each other is generally Shan or Chinese or both, according to the locality. In Kêng-ma there was not any extraordinary variety of tribes. The people were chiefly Shans and Las, with a good many Chinese and a few La-hus. A native of India, a Lucknow Mahommedan, also came to see me. He was employed by the Pang-long Panthays to teach their children Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic. He told me he had been there three or four years and had a great many pupils, and that the rising generation would most of them know Hindustani.

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fitted with a handle to wheel along the road. These wheels we found most accurate and satisfactory, and we all used them throughout our two seasons of surveying. Spare cyclometers had to be carried as they wear out in time. 000

On the 29th November I left T'êng-yüeh by the west gate and crossing a bare ridge by a low gap between two conspicuous peaks, descended into the fir-woods of the plateau country of Hsi-lien.

We slept at Mu-shui-ho, and found the country people extremely civil, a pleasant contrast to the T'êng-yüeh mob. One old gentleman was particularly communicative and offered to be my guide the next day to the mule and sheep breeding village of Lu-ts'ung-shan. We had a beautiful walk there in the morning over undulating ground through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, the properties of different families being marked off by stone walls. The villages are quite hidden away in trees—peach, walnut, chestnut, plantain, golden bamboo, and the *tsung-pao* palm[1]. If a railway is ever made to T'êng-yüeh this plateau ought to become the hill station of Burma. Situated at 6000 feet above the sea in a beautiful well-watered country, I can imagine no more pleasant contrast with the scorching sun of Mandalay or the hot mugginess of Rangoon. 361 [245]

The simple villagers of Lu-ts'ung-shan I found rather timid at first, frightened either of me or of the Chinese soldier who accompanied me. But a more talkative man soon appeared. The sheep, it seems, are worth about two taels each (five rupees, or 6*s.* 4*d.*), and they use their wool for making rugs. They have tried taking the sheep to sell at Bhamo, but say that it does not pay. They cannot stand the warmer climate and want of grass in the Taping valley, and many of them die on the way. At present the mutton for Burma all comes from India, but with a railway to T'êng-yüeh, the want could no doubt be supplied from Yün-nan. The mule breeding here does not seem to be on a large scale. They get their donkeys from the province of Shen-hsi, and pay as much as 80 or 100 taels for them, a large price in this part of China. 231 438

Agricultural pursuits are not the only occupation of the 463

[1] See p. 77.

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and his son at the time of our visit being only 12 years old, 631
his mother, according to Shan custom, ruled the country for him. The State comprises a great many Las, and many of the Chinamen are a decidedly rough lot, so that the old chieftainness finds her kingdom rather more than she can manage. It has an unenviable notoriety as a badly governed country where murders and rebellions are not uncommon, and it is compared very unfavourably with the neighbouring state of Kêng-ma.

The town, which contains some 300 houses, is built in 361
a small and poor plain at an elevation of 2,950 feet. It is 563
chiefly inhabited by Shans with a few Chinese, and the plain contains altogether about a dozen Shan villages. [438]
There is very little trade in the place. An occasional mule caravan from Ta-li or Yün Chou comes here to sell tea, iron pans, and other miscellaneous products of China, taking away with them opium which is grown by the Chinese villages on the surrounding hills, and seems to be the only export.

The sawbwa's Chinese secretary came to see us in the evening and was very apologetic about the behaviour of the Mêng-hung people. He described them as ignorant Las who would not listen to reason. I have no doubt the Chên-k'ang government stand in considerable dread of their lawless subjects.

The next day we marched across some low spurs into 000
Mêng-ti (Möng Ti in Shan)[1], another small Shan plain. One of the numerous people who came to see us (or, to be more accurate, to stare at us) had lived several years in Rangoon and could talk Burmese quite well.

On this march we had a very high snow-capped range of hills on our right, dividing the Salween basin, which we were in, from the valley of the Nam Ting. This is the same range I had seen from Mêng-sa in 1895, and we were now able to determine its height as about 11,500 feet, an elevation which, though not uncommon in the north of Yün-nan, towers far above any of the other ranges at this latitude.

[1] This place must not be confused with the larger place of the same name which is called Nan-tien by the Chinese and lies on the T'êng-yüeh-Bhamo road.

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course. This river I should mention is one of the sources of the West River of Canton. 000

Lu-liang Chou is one of the poorest towns I have seen, and is rather unlike the ordinary Chinese city, for, though it has a wall, the houses are much scattered about and the place is full of trees. There are scarcely any shops, and the people depend for their buying and selling on a market which is held every five days. 361

In spite of its poverty the town has a considerable reputation for scholarship, and many of its inhabitants are able to display over their doors the tablet which shows that they have taken a literary degree. We slept in a temple which an enterprising man had turned into an inn, and we were glad to find a watertight roof over us, for a very heavy thunderstorm burst in the evening.

From Lu-liang two level marches up the plain, through which the Ch'ü-ching River runs, brought us to Yüeh-chou. This is the place from which Momien derives its Chinese name of T'êng-Yüeh[1]. It still has walls round it, but is not now an official city, and much of the space inside it is taken up by fields, the main street of 200 houses being all that remains of the former town.

The next day, the 10th April, we reached Ch'ü-ching Fu, where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Allen of the China Inland Mission. The town, which stands at a height of 6,450 feet, contains about 1000 houses, and lies in one of the finest plains in Yün-nan. The plain is continuous from beyond Chan-yi Chou, a town lying north of Ch'ü-ching, down to below Lu-liang Chou, a total length of 50 miles, with an average width of five miles. The upper half of this plain, down to below Yüeh-chou, is very fertile, but nearer Lu-liang there are not so many irrigated fields and the crops are poor. I saw oats growing in one place near Ch'ü-ching, a crop I had not previously noticed in Yün-nan. I think it is only cultivated in the north-eastern part of the province. 241

Ch'ü-ching lies a little off the main road, and is not therefore a great trading place. Its principal industry is the weaving of cotton cloth from Indian yarn, which is im- 288 438

[1] See p. 45.

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288 ported from Hong-kong either through Tong-king or up
438 the West River to Pai-sê.

We had not seen much signs of trade on the road from Yün-nan Fu here, and indeed it was hardly to be expected, as we had not been on what is considered a main road. Coming from the east we had met perhaps 200 or 300 coolies carrying earthenware cups and jars to the capital, from a place called Mao-mao-shih not far from Yüeh-chou.

438 The caravans going the other way were confined chiefly
317 to mules loaded with salt. Yün-nan Fu is a great distributing centre of salt and tea. The former article comes from wells which lie north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu.

136 I had a little shooting in this Ch'ü-ching River plain. Near Lu-liang there were Brahminy ducks (Ruddy Sheldrake) feeding in the opium fields, and I found them quite easy to get up to. Baber also mentions that these birds are easy to approach in poppy fields. He suggests that they feed on the opium and get stupefied by it. This seems probable, as he is generally a very wary sort of duck. I also shot mallard, teal, and snipe in this plain, and near Ch'ü-ching got two widgeon out of a flock of a hundred or more on a small lake. This is the only time I have seen this duck in China.

000 Watts-Jones, who had, as I mentioned before, come by the main road through Ma-lung Chou, had passed through Ch'ü-ching on the 6th, so I was now following him on to Hsüan-wei.

Leaving Ch'ü-ching on the 11th we passed Chan-yi Chou, where our route rejoined the main road and the telegraph line. From here another very important road branches off eastward through P'ing-yi Hsien to Kuei-yang Fu, the capital of Kuei-chou province. From Kuei-yang Fu one road turns northwards to Ch'ung-k'ing, and another continues eastward through Hu-nan, till it strikes the Yangtze at the T'ung-t'ing Lake.

We went on a little further and slept at Chiu-lung-shan in a temple on a little island between two branches of the Ch'ü-ching River. Here my interpreter discovered an official notice posted up, referring to Captain Pottinger's party having been obstructed in two places, and warning everyone against interference with him, as he was survey-

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 plain, and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung Fu and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal food of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants here and very little trade is done except in the necessaries of life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there are come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in the mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good communications these could no doubt be profitably worked. The height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very cold place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next day along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some more surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me over a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet for the water. I slept at Ssŭ-p'u at 8000 feet. For the last few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so that it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere traverse of the road. This is the sort of weather which is, I believe, prevalent throughout Ssŭ-ch'uan in the cold season. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," and it is natural to suppose that the province was so named as lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great part of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village of Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, was still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties in this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning and await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most difficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been for days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it absolutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do any useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 the natives of the country. A hundred men or so would collect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 the stream. Below the plateau it disappears into deep gorges among the hills bordering the Yangtze.

361 On the 14th February we reached Hui-li, a town of 3000 houses with a good wall round it. It has broad streets and is more prosperous looking than any of the towns of Yün-nan, except perhaps the capital of that pro-
• 438 vince. Its chief products are opium, tobacco, indigo, and
316 copper. The copper mine is at Lu-ch'ang, six miles south
249 of the town, and as Mr Ker had seen it the previous
386 year I did not visit it. Indigo is to be seen growing everywhere in the fields, covered over at this time of the year with straw to preserve it from the frost. The large tanks in which they mix the dye are found in nearly every village as well as in the town. The height of Hui-li I made 6,250 feet.

361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

•438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size,* compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

233 Ponies, mules, cattle, sheep, and pigs are extensively reared, and in the colder places large herds of yaks are to be met with.

135 Mineral wealth too is not wanting in this corner of Yün-nan. In the neighbourhood of Wei-hsi T'ing there are mines of silver and copper, and just over the border of Ssŭ-ch'uan in the semi-independent state of Mi-li (lat. 28° 10′, long. 100° 50′) gold is found in some quantity.

278 224 Among other products of the Tibetan part of Yün-nan must be mentioned musk, skins and furs, rhubarb, and other Chinese medicines.

438 This corner of Yün-nan, however, owing to the sparseness of its population and its distance from trade centres, is not at present of great commercial importance, though wool, timber, and gold may in the future become important articles of trade.

133 Let us then now consider the rest of the province. The highest plains here are at an elevation of 8000 feet, while some of the river valleys in the south of the province are even below 2000 feet. But these extremes are exceptional. The great bulk of the plains of Yün-nan lie at an average of 6000 feet, with the hill tops rising some 3000 or 4000 feet above them.

132 The climate is excellent. In winter there are often frosts at night, but not of great severity, while in the daytime the weather is usually bright and pleasant. Snow falls in the plains only very occasionally and does not lie long. All through the dry season, which lasts from the beginning of November to the latter half of May, there is no unpleasant heat. From June to September inclusive is the monsoon, and rain falls heavily at times, with fine intervals of a few days. In these intervals the hottest weather is experienced, but in the higher plains the thermometer seldom rises above 85°. By October the main force of the rainy season has been spent, though some rain may still be expected. An occasional wet day or two there may be even in the dry season, but Yün-nan, except in its north-eastern corner, is free from the continual mist, clouds, and rain which are prevalent in Ssŭ-ch'uan in the winter.

137 The vegetation of the country naturally varies much in different parts of the province. The flat part of the plains

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

231 In spite of what has been said above, the silk produced by the wild species is, on the whole, inferior in quality and is negligent in quantity in the Basin. The major portion of silk produced in the Basin, about 80 per cent of the total, is derived from the regularly mulberry-fed, domesticated species--the Bombyx mori.

Silkworm rearing takes place twice a year in Szechuan Basin, as against only once a year in many other parts of Free China. It is carried on principally as a side-line by individual farmers. No large organized enterprise for silk-raising has ever been attempted. This accounts for the low efficiency in the methods of production and is mainly responsible for the meteoric downfall of the industry during the past few years in the face of serious Japanese competition in the overseas silk markets.

654 231 Recently, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of the Szechuan Provincial Government, in view of this grave situation and the serious effects it has on the general agricultural economy of the Basin, has taken rigorous measures to improve the methods of silk production. A number of silk-raising experimental stations and breeding centers have been established throughout the silk-producing areas, particularly in Nan-chung, Lo-shan, and Santai districts. In each district, numerous sub-stations have been organized to guide the farmers in silkworm raising, mulberry growing, and silk-making. Lo-shan alone has fifteen such stations. Other projects have also been launched to furnish more modern equipment and to organize the whole silk-production industry on a scientific basis.

231 438 Szechuan silk made a bid for world fame about eleven years ago in 1930, when 4,000 piculs were exported via Shanghai. This favorable condition was maintained for several years. Then a slump occurred due to the competition of Japanese silk and the increasing use of rayon. The war has presented a magnificent opportunity to revive sericulture in the Basin, while the boycott of the Japanese product in America since the American-Japanese war has now further stimulated export of silk from Free China. Szechuan today remains the only big silk center in the interior, as the silk colonies in Yunnan, Sikang, and Shensi are only beginning to export. With the growing American demand for Chinese silk, the Szechuan Silk Corporation is doing its best to increase its output.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The principal overseas market for Szechuan silk at present (shortly before the war) is in the United States, France, and Burma. For exports to the first two markets, silk is normally shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for overseas transhipment, whereas silk for the Burma market ordinarily goes by way of the Lo-shan-I-ping via Kunming, Yunnan route. The difficulty of transportation by way of the latter route is stupendous. Ordinarily it takes at least three to four months, by human carriers, for one trip from Lo-shan to Rangoon, Burma, and the transportation costs sometimes run as high as two-fifths of the value of the goods themselves. Unless transportation facilities along this route are improved, no matter how strongly the Burmese favor Szechuan silk, as has been the case thus far, the silk trade between Szechuan and Burma will always remain greatly limited. 231 438.

Besides the difficulty of transportation, silk production in the Basin is now confronted by new handicaps. Silkworm rearing, formerly a profitable supplementary rural industry, has now given way to the production of grains (many mulberry fields have been converted into grain fields) which have been commanding high prices during recent years as a result of the increasing demand for foodstuffs due to the war.

e) Duck feathers and other products.--One cannot very well close this section on livestock production of the Szechuan Basin without mentioning another interesting product--duck feathers. The Basin normally has a total of over fifteen million ducks.[1] They are especially concentrated in the districts around Chengtu Plain, Lo-shan, I-ping, Yo-chi, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39). Besides the wide use of the meat for food by the natives, the feathers are especially valued by the wealthy people for use in making light, warm and soft comforters, filling pillow cases and quilts, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and a number of other uses. 237 [235]

The total production of duck feathers is estimated to be approximately 10,000 piculs annually. Approximately 70 per cent of the total product is shipped to markets overseas. Before the war, France was the leading customer, taking 30 per cent of the total export, with the United States and Great Britain each taking 20 per cent, and Germany and Japan each taking about 10 per cent. 237 439

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 63.

204 In January 1954, there were eight newspapers on the administrative district level in Szechwan Province alone. Six of these were intended to serve the farming population and one was the above-mentioned Min River Daily. The total circulation of these papers was about 80,000. Thirty-six papers were published at mining centers and factories near Chungking, where a number of others were published.[7] The exact number of hsien newspapers printed in this province are unknown.

[439] The total number of newspapers published in Southwest China today are unknown. The Communists began tightening their control on export of newspapers in the winter of 1951. By the spring of 1953, all but a few official and national newspapers were placed on the contraband list. Since then it has been extremely difficult to secure accurate statistics on the press in any region of China. Although the over-all policy of the regime has been to expand newspaper publishing, with the ultimate goal of a newspaper at each political level from the province to the village, there have been modifications in the execution of this policy during the past six years. Under the pretext of economy, some papers have been merged, and some new periodicals have been inaugurated. If the total national figures are any indication, the number of newspapers published currently in Southwest China is about

7. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, January 17, 1954.

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245 and her satellites. According to one estimate,
[439] the annual export of fruit from Szechwan brings to China in return 4,000 tons of steel products.[22]

241 Szechwan Province also produces raw
433 silk, ramie, herb medicines, hogs, and over
245 400 different "native products," of which at least 40 are for export.[23] The leading export is tung oil, of which Szechwan produces an amount second only to that produced in Hunan Province in the Central-South Region. The prewar average production of tung oil was estimated to have been 1,000,000 shih-piculs (55,000 tons), and in 1947 this amount had been increased to 1,292,372 shih-piculs (71,080 tons).[24]

245 The principal special products of Yunnan
433 Province are tea, herb medicines, and oil-bearing crops such as rapeseeds and peanuts. "P'u-erh" tea and the ball of compressed green tea leaves known as "T'o-ch'a", produced in Yunnan, are popular throughout China.[25]

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22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ma Chi, Chung-kuo Ti Shen-lin [China's Forestry], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1952, p. 45.
25. China Daily News, New York, Aug. 15, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3i,
Economic Background

FOREIGN TRADE

I. INTRODUCTION

•439 A comprehensive survey of trade between Southwest China and foreign countries is not feasible because pertinent data is lacking. Much of the import and export trade of the inland region has been routed through seaports, and statistics on China's international trade have been compiled on the basis of reports submitted to the customs at the point of entry or embarkation.

In the case of imports, it is almost impossible to differentiate goods destined for the Southwest Region from those bound for other parts of the country until they reach their final destination. But to trace the flow of imports in the domestic market beyond their point of entry would require detailed trade statistics at wholesale and retail levels which are unobtainable. Nor is it feasible to make even crude estimates on the basis of regional consumption because relevant data is again lacking.

In the case of exports, the situation is somewhat different. We know what commodities are exported abroad from the Southwest Region and have available national export figures on these

439 products and statistics on their production in the Southwest and China as a whole. From these and other relevant data, we can obtain some idea of the Southwest's share in the export of tin, bristles, and tung oil. Because of the practical problems involved in an overall survey of the Southwest's foreign trade, this chapter will be confined to a discussion of the specific products, which are of special significance in the region's export trade.

II. TIN

439 328 China's tin production was badly crippled during World War II. Reduced from a high of more than 13,000 metric tons or 7.8 per cent of the world supply outside the Soviet Union in 1938 to a low of 2,000 metric tons in the last years of the war, the nation's output had recovered to only about one-third the 1938 rate at the time of the Communist takeover in 1949. Under the Communists, the production of tin was reported to have reached 6,400 tons in 1953 or about 3.6 per cent of total world production with the exception of the Soviet Union. Most of the increased output was the result of mining expansion in the Ko-chiu area of Yunnan, the major source of China's tin supply.

Tin constitutes a large part of Yunnan's total contribution to the nation's export trade. Under the Nationalist Government, much of China's tin went to the United States to pay the principal and interest on loans granted before and during World War II. However, China was only a minor source of supply for the United States' total tin requirements. (See Table 1.)

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328 Details about the tin trade of Communist China are not now available. China's own needs for tin have undoubtedly increased under the Communist industrialization program, and any exportable surplus easily could have been absorbed by the Communist bloc of nations. Either or both suppositions would account for the complete discontinuance of Chinese tin shipments to Hong Kong after the Communist domination of the Mainland.[1]

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1. See the statistics covering trade between China and Hong Kong published regularly in the Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong.

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Table 1. China's Tin Exports in Relation to the United States' Tin Requirements */

Year	U.S. Imports from China	U.S. Tin Consumption in Manufacturing	Percent of U. S. Requirements Met by Chinese Imports
	[In 1,000 tons]		
1935-39 (aver.)	2.7	77.3	3.43
1940-44 (aver.)	2.7	97.6	2.81
1945	1.9	83.6	2.06
1946	1.0	80.9	1.22
1947	2.6	88.1	3.00
1948	1.6	90.8	1.78
1949	3.7	72.4	5.09
1950	1.7	104.5	1.59
1951	.1	88.2	.62
1952	n. a.	78.4	-
1953	n. a.	85.6	-
1954	n. a.	82.6	-

*/ Commodity Research Bureau, Commodity Yearbook 1955, New York, 1955, p. 335.

1:Stanford U. S-4-5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF/6

III. BRISTLES

439 237 Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, China's total export of bristles ranged from 8 to more than 10 million pounds a year. (See Table 2.) From 1937 to 1941, the volume was reduced to between 6 and 8 million pounds a year due to the curtailment of bristles supplies from North China and partial disruption of normal distribution channels inside China. In the following two years, the bristles trade between Free China and the outside world was drastically reduced by Japan's total blockade of the China coast. Improvements in air transportation and the Chinese Government's efforts in increasing the collection of bristles from producers in Southwest China, particularly in Szechwan, permitted the nation to more nearly meet the continuing demand abroad for the product by exporting 4 million pounds in 1944, as against only 600 thousands pounds the previous year. The dislocations arising from the war-to-peace transition and the unrealistic official foreign exchange rate of the Chinese yuan reduced the export of bristles in 1945 to 1.3 million pounds. From 1946 to 1948, exports of the product regained their prewar rate of about 10 million pounds a year.

Between 1930 and 1950, the United States and the United Kingdom were the chief importers of Chinese bristles. (See Table 2.) From 1931 to 1938, the United States directly imported between 35 and 45 per cent of China's total bristles export, and in the next ten years between 55 and 95 per

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 2. China's Bristles Export in Relation to the United States' Bristles Import a/

Year	Total Export from China (in thousands of pounds)	Total Import of U.S.A. (in thousands of pounds)	China's Export to U.S.A.	China's Export to U.S. as Percentage of: China's Total Export	U.S.A Total Import
1931	8,484	4,245	3,061	36.1%	72%
1932	8,001	3,486	2,847	35.6%	82
1933	9,100	5,186	4,168	45.8	80
1934	9,273	4,143	3,341	36.0	81
1935	10,199	4,854	3,887	38.1	80
1936	11,607	-	4,693	40.4	90
1937	8,917	4,825	3,734	41.9	77
1938	8,011	3,209	2,859	35.7	89
1939	7,347	5,163	4,632	63.0	90
1940	7,840	5,640	5,078	64.8	90
1941	8,039	5,789	5,229	86.8	90
1942	141	1,458	958	686.5	66
1943	599	1,384	833	89.0	39
1944	4,282	2,871	1,659	38.7	58
1945	1,329	2,840	1,251	94.1	44
1946	10,493	6,454	5,785	55.1	90
1947	9,778	7,042	5,689	58.2	81
1948	10,125	7,307	6,842	67.6	94
1949	-	4,828	-	-	-
1950	-	7,367	-	-	-
1951	-	3,654	-	-	-
1952	-	5,368	-	-	-

a/ Based on Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China, 1948, Nanking, 1948; and on the following publications of the United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.: Foreign Commerce Yearbook, 1948, 1949, 1950; Monthly Summary of Foreign Trade of the United States.

(Table 2 faces p. 945.)

439 cent. These percentages are even higher if ship-
237 ments of Chinese bristles to the United States via Hong Kong are included. Statistics on the United States' importation of bristles show that from 80 to 90 per cent of the American foreign supply was normally derived from China.

After the Communists gained control of the Chinese Mainland in 1949, trade between the United States and China generally declined. However, the trade in bristles seems to have been an exception.

According to private information from a bristles merchant in New York, the commodity is of such strategic importance to the United States and so unavailable elsewhere than China that American government trade restrictions have been overlooked in regard to bristles imports, usually via Hong Kong. This policy would explain the steadiness of bristles imports into this country during 1950-52 (See Table 2.) despite the political changes occuring in China before that time.

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237 It is difficult to estimate with precision the part of the Southwest provinces in Chinese bristles production, and export, although the importance of the region's contribution is generally known. Before 1937, according to one authoritative study, about 15 per cent of the bristles exported from China came from the Southwest provinces.[2] During the war, the collection and export of bristles in these provinces were administered by the Foreign Trade Commission, a Chinese government agency specially organized to foster the export trade of Free China. According to Nationalist Government statistics, the quantity of bristles collected in the Southwest provinces, mainly from Szechwan, during 1941-45, was as follows:[3]

Year	Thousands of Pounds
1940	1,638
1941	2,772
1942	3,520
1943	2,596
1944	2,728

On the basis of an average annual export of 10 million pounds for all China, the above figures

2. Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien [Economic Yearbook of China], Hong Kong, T'ai-p'ing-yang ching-chi yen-chiu she, 1947, pp. 55-58.

3. Chinese Ministry of Information, China Handbook, 1937-1945, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 419.

439 and other relevant statistics indicate that between
237 15 and 20 per cent of the nation's bristles exports normally originated in Southwest China.

IV. TUNG OIL

439 During the last two decades, several impor-
245 tant developments have occurred in the tung oil trade between the United States and China. First, from 1939 to 1953, the United States' domestic production of tung oil increased by more than ten-fold, whereas the quantity imported was reduced by about two-thirds. In 1953, domestic production for the first time surpassed imports of the commodity. (See Table 3.)

A second important development was the decreasing importance of China as a source of supply for tung oil imports into the United States. Before World War II, more than 90 per cent of American tung oil imports usually came from China. During 1943-45, the Chinese supply disappeared almost entirely from the American market because of the wartime disruption of major transportation arteries between China and the outside world. A temporary recovery in the oil trade between the two countries occurred in 1946, but in the years following, the relative importance of the Chinese supply of tung oil to the United States was greatly reduced because of the increased production of tung oil in South American and the curtailment of Chinese trade as a result of civil war in the country.

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245 Yet another development in the Sino-American tung oil trade after World War II was the decline in the relative importance of the American market as an outlet for Chinese tung oil exports. From 1932 to 1937, Chinese tung oil shipments to the United States constituted from 62 to 72 per cent of China's total tung oil export. During 1946-48, the ratio dropped to between 31 and 52 per cent.

Like other statistics cited in this chapter, those pertaining to tung oil include only the quantity involved in direct trade between China and the United States; they do not account for shipments from China to America via Hong Kong, or other intermediate ports. The practice of indirect shipment was commonly used during the war because of the Japanese occupation of China's maritime provinces and was frequently resorted to in the postwar era to evade trade and foreign exchange restrictions enforced by the Nationalist Government. Despite the absence of figures on Sino-American indirect trade, the decreasing importance of Chinese tung oil to the United States market because of expanding production of the commodity in North and South America is quite evident.

Normally, about one-third of China's tung oil export comes from Szechwan; Kweichow, another Southwestern province, also produced tung oil but on a much smaller scale. Before the Communist Government came to power in Mainland China, the tung oil from Szechwan was usually shipped either in barrels or in bulk via the Yangtze River to Shanghai, where it was transhipped to foreign countries.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 3. China's Tung Oil Export in Relation to the United States' Import and Production of Tung Oil */

Year	U. S. Domestic Production	U. S. Import for Consumption	U.S. Import From China	Total Export From China	U. S. Import From China As Percentage of: Total U.S. Import for Consumption	U. S. Import From China As Percentage of: Total Export from China
	(- - - - in thousands of pounds		- - -)	(in millions of lbs.)		
1931	-	74,668	--	109.2	95.4%	-
1932	-	72,594	68,106	107.0	93.4	61.8%
1933	-	114,544	117,213	166.2	94.5	70.5
1934	-	110,007	90,476	143.9	84.4	62.8
1935	-	120,089	108,457	162.9	91.2	66.6
1936	-	134,830	137,319	191.2	94.8	71.8
1937	-	174,885	141,343	227.0	91.1	62.3
1938	-	107,456	12,538	153.4	-	8.2
1939	3,000	78,718	1,538	73.9	-	2.1
1940	62	97,049	-	51.2	-	-
1941	3,533	43,800	-	46.3	-	-
1942	2,290	8,269	-	2.0	-	-
1943	5,310	88	-	.2	-	-
1944	2,568	1,771	-	.2	-	-
1945	10,353	1,370	-	.2	-	-
1946	11,046	34,919	35,892	77.7	96.5	46.2
1947	12,580	114,327	54,755	177.6	45.00	30.9
1948	15,337	122,853	86,693	167.8	65.0	51.7
1949	22,449	54,687	-	-	-	-
1950	23,467	104,041	-	-	-	-
1951	12,667	24,847	-	-	-	-
1952	23,151	38,800	-	-	-	-
1953	43,153	-	-	-	-	-

*/ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Statistics, 1954; U.S. Department of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Yearbook, 1948, 1949 and 1950; and Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947.

(Table 3 faces p. 949.)

[Facing p. 949]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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245 After 1949, the pattern of the trade was drastically changed. Partly because of the trade policy of Communist China and partly because of American government restrictions on trade with Red China and the use of Chinese Communist assets in the United States, the continuance of Chinese tung oil exports on the old scale to the United States became impossible. Although during the last few years a considerable amount of tung oil has been shipped to the United States from Communist China, the volume has been relatively small compared to that of the pre-Communist era. Apparently, the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and countries in the Soviet bloc have replaced the United States as the leading outlets for Chinese tung oil exports.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 which I believe would be the best to adopt. I do not think that it would be necessary, or even desirable, that the whole line from the Burmese frontier to the Yangtze should be undertaken at once. Such a project is too vast to be carried through in any way but by gradual stages.

My suggestion is that for the present the Burma railway should be extended from Lashio to Kun-long, and the Yün-nan Railway constructed from Kun-long to Yün Chou.

This town could be reached in about 145 miles from Kun-long at a cost of about £1,500,000 to £2,000,000. It is the commercial centre of a district which suffers much from want of communications with good markets. An extension of our railway system to Yün Chou will bring within range of Burma many parts of Yün-nan hitherto inaccessible, and will materially shorten the distance to places which already trade with us.

At present nearly all our trade with Yün-nan comes through Bhamo. The following table gives the comparative distances from Bhamo and from Yün Chou to different places in Yün-nan.

	To Bhamo	To Yün Chou
From T'êng-yüeh T'ing	112	161
„ Yung-ch'ang Fu	173	100
„ Hsia-kuan (near Ta-li Fu)	271	109
„ Ch'u-hsiung Fu	394	232
„ Yün-nan Fu	491	329
„ Ssŭ-mao T'ing	434	185

But the improvement of the trade between Burma and Yün-nan would be only one object of this extension to Yün Chou. It would also be the first step in the joining by railway of India with Shanghai. Having thus given an earnest of our intention to connect Burma with Yün-nan Fu we should be in a position to enter into negotiation with the French for a joint construction of that part of the line which would join Yün-nan Fu to the Yangtze.

•439 To come now to the question of the trade of Yün-nan. The most prosperous part of the province is that which comprises the series of fine plains which lie to the north, the east, and the south of Ta-li Fu (lat. 25° 42′, long. 100° 10′).

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The commercial centre of this region is Hsia-kuan, which lies eight miles south of Ta-li Fu. All this country and even places considerably to the east of this are at present supplied from Burma, for from Hsia-kuan to Lao-kai on the Tong-king border is considerably further than from Hsia-kuan to Bhamo.

When the French railway is completed from Tong-king to Yün-nan Fu while the Burma railway terminus is still at Lashio, this advantage will disappear. For from Hsia-kuan to Bhamo is 280 miles against 220 miles from Hsia-kuan to Yün-nan Fu. I have taken Hsia-kuan as an instance, but naturally with the trade of Hsia-kuan would also vanish that of other similarly situated places which lie nearer to Yün-nan Fu than to Bhamo or Lashio.

If we sit still and do nothing we shall therefore lose the trade of a great part of even Western Yün-nan. But if we construct our railway even as far as Yün Chou, we shall easily retain this, for from Hsia-kuan to Yün-nan Fu the French terminus is 220 miles, and from Hsia-kuan to Yün Chou 109 miles.

There is however another railway project which must be noticed here—the proposed line from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh (Momien) (lat. 25°, long. 98° 30′). A survey of this route has been made: the distance by the line that a railway would follow is 122 miles and the approximate cost is estimated at less than a million pounds[1].

Though there is no railway at present at Bhamo, this place is connected by river steamers with Rangoon and with the railway system of Burma at Katha, and would thus form a suitable starting-point for a railway into Yün-nan. It is moreover by the Bhamo route that most of the present trade between Yün-nan and Burma is carried on, and the line would thus have the advantage of following a well-established trade route.

The construction of a railway between Bhamo and T'êng-yüeh would be comparatively speaking an easy and cheap undertaking, and it would doubtless pay after a time.

[1] These are only preliminary estimates. The results of the final survey are not yet published.

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These slabs are then framed and are sent all over China to be hung up on the walls of houses as ornaments. The marble is also in much request for tombstones. 316

Silver bracelets and other things are also made in the town, but there is nothing remarkable about the workmanship. Gold is another somewhat important article of trade: it is usually beaten into gold leaf and sent in this form to Burma where it is in much demand for gilding pagodas. 326 European goods come in through Bhamo, but they seemed very scarce, and were represented by a few cotton, calico, and woollen goods, needles, thread, and tinned milk. 439 Some Tibetan products, chiefly furs and medicines, also find their way to Ta-li. Most of this is brought down in April, in which month a great annual fair is held here which attracts thousands of strangers who come in to trade from all parts of the province.

Ta-li is an important place from the official point of view. It is the residence of the T'i-t'ai, who is commander-in-chief of all the troops in Yün-nan, and of a Tao-t'ai[1], who governs a very large district including the whole of the western part of the province right up to the Burmese border.

I stayed two days in Ta-li hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Smith. 346 The former was most kind in showing me all the sights of the place, which include several very fine temples. One of these on the road between Ta-li and Hsia-kuan was built in honour of Yang, the famous Chinese general who retook Ta-li from the Panthays and put an end to the rebellion. In it is an image of the great general himself, extremely well done, and the old man in charge of the temple told us it was an excellent likeness. 000 He seems to have been a remarkable man, very short in stature but extremely energetic and not much hampered by attention to official etiquette, so much so that he would even walk about the streets, instead of being carried in a sedan chair. Military mandarins often rather affect this disregard of etiquette, and put on what they consider a bluff, soldierlike manner, talking in a loud voice and so on. Possibly many of them are not very conversant with all the points of correct Chinese deportment, as they are often men of low origin.

[1] This Tao-t'ai is now said to have his official residence in T'êng-yüeh.

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000 and opium are produced in some quantity.[1] European goods, such as cotton, cloth and thread, come by Bhamo, •439 T'êng-yüeh, and Ta-li. There is not much trade in the place, though we did on the march in meet some mules loaded with iron. This, they say, is produced in the Shuang-lung-tung mine, two days march off, in the direction of Yang-pi.

000 Continuing our journey on the following day up the Mêng-hua plain we struck into the road I had come down by in 1895[1], and followed this to Ta-li Fu, which we reached on the 26th of February. Here we were glad to find Mr and Mrs Graham of the China Inland Mission, and also Mr Amundsen, a Swedish missionary. The latter had just arrived from Ta-chien-lu[2], after a most interesting journey in which he had visited a great deal of previously unexplored country in Chinese Tibet. He has since given an account of his travels to the Royal Geographical Society[3].

Ryder and Watts-Jones had both passed through Ta-li some time before, and we expected that they would have left a letter for us. They had in fact done so, as we afterwards found out, but their Chinese servant had neglected to give it to Mr Graham, and we were consequently without certain news of them. All we could learn was that they had both gone north to Li-chiang Fu, and from there had separated, taking different routes for Ch'u-hsiung Fu (lat. 25°, long. 101° 35′). We therefore decided to take the main road to the latter place, as none of us had yet been along this route, though several former travellers had seen it.

[1] See p. 72.
[2] Lat. 30° 5′, long. 102° 10′.
[3] *Geographical Journal*, June 1900, and November 1900.

1 [into Mêng-hua village -- Analyst]

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361 the two streams that water it are irrigated: the rest of the
241 plain lies too high and is consequently little cultivated.
The natives of Lin-an, like those of T'êng-yüeh, have a
186 strong antipathy to anyone who has not had the good fortune to be born a Chinaman. So far do they carry their hatred of everything foreign that they even refuse to weave their cloth out of foreign yarn. They import their material for making clothes in the shape of raw cotton from the Shan States. Such at least was the case at the time of my visit.

Three days from Hsin-fang, over a fairly open plateau country, brought us to Mêng-tzŭ[1], where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Spinney of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

579 This place was only opened as a treaty port in 1889.
The foreign settlement is pleasantly situated outside the
186 town, the European community at the time consisting, besides the Customs Staff, of a French consul, a doctor, and one French merchant. The well-built, well-furnished houses in which they lived made one feel that one was in civilisation once more.

Mêng-tzŭ was considered a very quiet place, and the inhabitants of the town were extremely civil and fairly free from curiosity. But only a short time after my visit the Europeans there had a very unpleasant awakening from their sense of security.

In the middle of the night the foreign settlement was attacked by a large armed mob recruited principally from the workers in the Ko-chiu tin mines. The foreign community, among whom at the time were several French officers, concentrated in the French Consulate and made good their defence. The rioters, however, killed two Chinese servants and burned or carried off everything from the remaining houses.

• 439 Mêng-tzŭ is a busy place for Yün-nan, and even though
the rainy season had begun I must have met quite 1000 loaded mules since leaving T'ung-hai. They were most of them carrying cotton yarn imported from Bombay *viâ* Hong Kong. This Indian yarn is cheaper than the Man-

[1] Sometimes spelt Mêng-tsz' or Mong-tze.

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439 chester product and is rapidly supplanting the latter in western China.

The height of Mêng-tzŭ I made about 4,700 feet, and the climate is pleasantly cool. The inhabitants of the surrounding country belong principally to the P'u-la and other tribes, speaking dialects of the Lo-lo type.

133 After spending two very pleasant days here, I started for the Red River, taking three days to do the 30 miles which separate Mêng-tzŭ from Man-hao. The country passed through is curious, consisting chiefly of a mass of small basins with no outlet for the water. These "devil's punch-bowls" are characteristic of a great part of the eastern and south-eastern parts of Yün-nan.

485 Another curious and unpleasant feature of the road from Mêng-tzŭ to Man-hao is the entire absence of any sort of inn accommodation for men. There are large stables for mules at the recognised halting places, but no provision is apparently considered necessary for human beings who are so ill advised as to take a road which leads into countries outside the borders of the Middle Kingdom.

000 As it rained on and off, I had to sleep beside my mules on the first night, and on the second to squeeze into an extremely small temple already occupied by a tax collector and his clerk. The country passed through is very poor and thinly populated. The village of Yao-t'ou, where I slept my second night, is considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese, and is inhabited by Cantonese who have found their way there through Tong-king. Its height is over 4000 feet, but it is placed in a narrow valley much shut in by hills, which perhaps accounts for its bad reputation. The name Yao-t'ou means "shake head," and is said to have been given to it because everyone who sees it shakes his head in disapproval.

From here, after a little up hill, a very steep descent in pouring rain brought us down to the Red River at Man-hao at a height of 600 feet. The village contains 100 houses,
505 inhabited by Cantonese Chinamen and Shans. Small boats can go a considerable distance further up the river, but Man-hao is the limit for large boats and may be considered as practically the head of navigation.

Mr Spinney had kindly arranged about a boat, so I was

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But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

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000 known each other at Eton, for he was in the eleven while I was still a "lower boy" and would not have dared to address one who had attained such a distinguished position. After a few years in a cavalry regiment, he had thrown up his commission and come out to China as a missionary.

Two of the others whom we met were contemplating a journey further in to Tibet and hoped to establish a mission station at Ba-t'ang.

We also went to see Mgr Giraudeau, the Bishop of the French Tibetan mission, and thanked him for the many kindnesses we had received from the French missionaries.

366 Ta-chien-lu is the great trading mart of eastern Tibet. Furs, medicine, and musk are the exports to China, and tea is the principal import into Tibet. The amount of tea drunk in Tibet must be very large for the size of the population, for everyone, however poor, drinks it con-
245 stantly, in fact at every meal. A certain quantity of P'u-êrh tea is imported from Yün-nan, but by far the greater part of the tea for Tibet passes through Ta-chien-lu.

It is grown in western Ssŭ-ch'uan chiefly in the Ya-chou Fu district. All that is imported into Tibet is of a very coarse quality and is largely adulterated with sticks. The cost of carriage to distant parts of Tibet is so large that a good quality of tea could be sold there only at a prohibitive cost.

114 Mr A. de Rosthorn has published a pamphlet[1] on the
● 439 subject of the tea trade and this probably contains the most accurate information available. He estimates the weight of the annual import through Ta-chien-lu as 108,780 piculs, which comes to fourteen and a half million English pounds.

He discusses the question of whether tea can ever be profitably imported from Assam into Tibet, but comes to the conclusion that the Chinese tea, adulterated as it is with 65 per cent. of twigs and leaves of other plants, and sold at Ba-t'ang at 5½*d.* and at Lhasa at 11*d.* a pound will continue to hold its own, except possibly in parts of Tibet very remote from China.

[1] *On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssŭ-ch'uan*, by A. de Rosthorn. London, Luzac & Co., 1895.

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Opium is produced in Yün-nan far beyond the requirements of the province, and is largely exported into other parts of China[1]. The opium of Yün-nan is considered by the Chinese to be of very fine quality, though not quite up to the standard of Indian opium. 249

Hemp, which at present is not much cultivated, might easily be extensively grown and exported for rope making. Many kinds of *fruit*, which will not grow in the tropical climate of Burma, thrive in Yün-nan, and even now form a fairly important export. These are apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, cherries, persimmons (dried like figs), chestnuts, and walnuts. Yün-nan *tea* is famous all over China. There is not likely to be much trade in this commodity to Burma, but a railway through to Ssŭ-ch'uan should carry considerable quantities. *Livestock* already forms one of the principal exports from Yün-nan into Burma. Mules, ponies, cattle, and buffaloes are all far cheaper in China than in Burma, so that they can be sold at a profit in the latter country. Sheep are cheap in China, and do not thrive in the warm climate of Burma. At present slaughter-sheep are imported into Burma from India. 245 439 231 439

There are in Yün-nan large grazing grounds which are lying idle because there is not sufficient demand for livestock. If the farmers had a ready means of disposing of their surplus animals, the flocks and herds of the province would doubtless largely increase. Moreover the trade which now exists in *horns* and *hides* would grow at the same time, and *wool* might become a most important article of export. 237 439

Among minor exports in which a considerable trade might spring up may be mentioned *pigs' bristles*, *ducks' feathers*, and the *white of eggs* for albumen; also from the Tibetan part of Yün-nan *furs* and *musk*.

As to minerals, *gold* has always been an article of export, chiefly in the form of gold-leaf to gild the Burmese pagodas. Whether *other metals* could be profitably brought into Burma or India is a question that cannot be decided till the mines have been more thoroughly examined, but 316 439

[1] This was written before the recent restrictions on opium-growing. See footnote on p. 311.

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316 439 doubtless with mining operations developed by a railway there would be large exports to other provinces of China. At present there is an export trade of copper, zinc, and lead from Yün-nan to the Yangtze.

439 288 291 *Imports.* To come now to *imports.* Of these cotton is by far the most important. The whole population of Yün-nan is clothed in cotton clothes, and yet practically no cotton is grown in the province. The whole clothing of this part of China has therefore to be imported. It is brought in as raw cotton, as cotton yarn, and as cotton cloth; but the greater part of it comes as yarn and is woven into cloth in the province. Raw cotton will however always be a necessity, as in winter the Chinese wear wadded coats for warmth. The imported cotton cloth is usually too dear for the poorer classes, but is worn a great deal by those better off.

At present the chief weaving centre is at Hsin-hsing Chou (lat. 24° 20′, long. 102° 35′), and this has become firmly established owing to the treaty port at Mêng-tzŭ (Meng-tsz') having been opened before T'êng-yüeh (Momien). Weaving is, however, carried on at other places as well, and factories would spring up wherever a railway brought cotton yarn in cheaply.

In Ssŭ-ch'uan there is also a large population—estimated as at least 45,000,000—who are also almost entirely dependent for their cotton on outside sources. But with the probability of this province being connected by rail with Hankow in the near future, it is doubtful whether much of this traffic would be secured by the Yün-nan railway.

Woollen clothes are at present almost unknown at Yün-nan. It is doubtful perhaps if fashion would ever allow woollen coats to be worn in public instead of the universal wadded cotton garments. But this would probably not apply to sleeping in woollen blankets and wearing woollen underclothes.

000 *Leather* is an article that is not well made in China, and imported leather should find a sale. *Firewood* is scarce and dear in most parts of Yün-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. In Burma there is an almost inexhaustible supply at a quarter the price. This may become an important article of trade, and *timber* should also be an import.

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Salt is at present imported into north-eastern Yün-nan from Tzŭ-liu-ching in Ssŭ-ch'uan.

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Finally there are many things which are almost necessaries of life in Europe that the Chinese would readily buy if increased trade gave them some surplus money with which to purchase them. The Chinaman is very willing to adopt new ideas, and to buy things that are new to him if he sees they are useful.

The late Mr G. Litton, in a consular report on Yün-nan, gave the following as articles likely to have an extended market:—"Cheap clocks and watches, mirrors, enamelled ironware, cheap ribbons and laces for trimmings, pocket knives, padlocks, umbrellas, leather belts, cigarettes, jade, coral, and amber." To these I would add lamps, kerosene oil, candles, glasses, fans, musical boxes, tinned milk, sugar, biscuits, and other groceries. It should be remembered also that the introduction of railways will lead to the opening up of mines, and consequently to a considerable import of mining machinery.

Goods carried within the province. Nearly every product of Yün-nan would be carried by the railway from one place to another within the province, for there is naturally much produce taken from country districts to Yün-nan Fu and other towns. Considerable quantities of rice would be carried in this way, and there must be a large trade in such articles as tea, sugar, salt, and tobacco, which are only produced in certain localities, though they are almost necessities of life everywhere. Firewood too should be carried in large quantities from the more wooded districts to the towns and to places where fuel is scarce.

With the mines well worked there would be a great demand for carriage not only of metals but of coal and other fuel.

Passenger traffic. The prospects of passenger traffic in Yün-nan would I think be good. The Chinaman is an enterprising man who does not hesitate to travel long distances for trade purposes, or to emigrate altogether to another part of the country if he thinks he can benefit himself by doing so.

As it is, the Chinese are quite accustomed to making journeys for business or pleasure, and there will be much

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166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 439 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 312 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

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Pig-raising is a common side-line of all farms in the Basin. Bristles are produced in nearly every district of the Basin. But the most important producing centers are I-ping, Pa-hsien, Nan-chung, Chien-yang, Yung-chang, and Lung-chang (Fig. 39). Most of these districts produce black bristles. Yung-chang and Lung-chang alone are noted for their excellent white bristles. They are particularly well known for their brilliance, length, and strength and have long held at a premium in the international market. The black bristles produced at Ho-chuan, Nan-chung, Ta-hsien, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39) along the Chialing River Valley are the best on account of their special brilliance. 237

The bristle-collecting season in the Basin extends generally from November to April, i.e., throughout the cold season. Generally no business is done during the rest of the year. This is mainly because the bristles grown during the hot weather are said to be soft and useless for manufacturing purposes. The Szechuan bristles, on account of their great strength, elasticity, brilliance, and relative immunity to moisture, are of a particularly high quality, and have long enjoyed a favorable reputation throughout the world. The best foreign buyers are the United States, which normally takes 30 per cent of the total exports; France and Japan, each taking about 20 per cent; and Germany and Great Britain, each taking about 15 per cent of the total exports. The principal use of the Basin's bristles in the United States are for tooth- and other high-grade brushes. But with the recent introduction of manufacturing bristles for such purposes in the United States, the prospect of this commodity, in so far as export is concerned, remains somewhat uncertain. 237 439

b) Sheep and cow hides.--While most of the provinces in China produce either water buffalos (as in South China) or oxen (yellow cattle) (as in north China), Szechuan Basin produces both. Among all the interior provinces in China, Szechuan Basin is the most important in the production of cow hides. The areas around Chengtu, Lo-shan, Lu-hsien, Pa-hsien, and Wan-hsien (Fig. 39) are particularly important. The cow hides produced in Chengtu Plain, owing to the good pasture nearby, are especially abundant in quantity and superior in quality. It is estimated that the annual output of cow hides, including both the water buffalo and the yellow cow, is approximately 50,000 piculs. Formerly, on account of the lack of tanning establishments in the 237

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The principal overseas market for Szechuan silk at present (shortly before the war) is in the United States, France, and Burma. For exports to the first two markets, silk is normally shipped down the Yangtse to Shanghai for overseas transhipment, whereas silk for the Burma market ordinarily goes by way of the Lo-shan-I-ping via Kunming, Yunnan route. The difficulty of transportation by way of the latter route is stupendous. Ordinarily it takes at least three to four months, by human carriers, for one trip from Lo-shan to Rangoon, Burma, and the transportation costs sometimes run as high as two-fifths of the value of the goods themselves. Unless transportation facilities along this route are improved, no matter how strongly the Burmese favor Szechuan silk, as has been the case thus far, the silk trade between Szechuan and Burma will always remain greatly limited. 231 438

Besides the difficulty of transportation, silk production in the Basin is now confronted by new handicaps. Silkworm rearing, formerly a profitable supplementary rural industry, has now given way to the production of grains (many mulberry fields have been converted into grain fields) which have been commanding high prices during recent years as a result of the increasing demand for foodstuffs due to the war.

e) Duck feathers and other products.--One cannot very well close this section on livestock production of the Szechuan Basin without mentioning another interesting product--duck feathers. The Basin normally has a total of over fifteen million ducks.[1] They are especially concentrated in the districts around Chengtu Plain, Lo-shan, I-ping, Yo-chi, and Pa-hsien (Fig. 39). Besides the wide use of the meat for food by the natives, the feathers are especially valued by the wealthy people for use in making light, warm and soft comforters, filling pillow cases and quilts, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and a number of other uses. 237 [235]

The total production of duck feathers is estimated to be approximately 10,000 piculs annually. Approximately 70 per cent of the total product is shipped to markets overseas. Before the war, France was the leading customer, taking 30 per cent of the total export, with the United States and Great Britain each taking 20 per cent, and Germany and Japan each taking about 10 per cent. 237 439.

[1] Report of the Bureau of Central Agricultural Research (1939), p. 63.

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marketing and transportation of the product. Prior to the war, Wan-hsien, between Chungking and Hankow, was the most important shipping center for Szechuan tung oil, as well as other products. Its importance was due to its geographical location on the main waterway to Shanghai via Hankow. But, however, since the fall of Wu-Chang-Hankow tri-cities and consequently the close of the gorges route to the east due to the enemy's blockade, this route of transhipment of tung oil has been greatly shifted. Now, Chungking, because of its new political importance and because it is the starting point of new highways in southwest China, has become the most vital concentration point and the sole exporting center of tung oil. While in 1935-36 the oil sent to Chungking for transhipment (totaling 150,000 quintals) was only three-fourths that sent to Wan-hsien, the 1938 figures for Chungking showed an increase to 350,000 quintals.[1] The amount sent to Wan-hsien, on the other hand, dropped to 150,000 quintals,[2] only a little over one-third that sent to Chungking. Districts that formerly sold their oil through Wan-hsien now turn their products over to the purchasing agents of the Foreign Trade Commission at Chungking.[3] This newly created concern, with the cooperation of both government and private interests, collects the processed oil and exports it abroad by way of the Kweichou-Szechuan highway (Fig. 18) through the back door of China.

In 1938, 42.9 per cent of the local oil came from points east and south of Chungking, 24.4 per cent from places along the Chialing and Chu rivers, 14.2 per cent from the Chien and Wu River valleys, 17.1 per cent from points along the Yangtse above the city of Chungking, and the remaining 1.4 per cent from other places.[4] This kind of tung oil concentration and shipment is consistent with the general patterns of its production, because the principal tung-oil-producing areas, as already mentioned, are concentrated in the districts both north and south of Chungking, and in the upper Chialing and Chien River Valley areas.

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[1] Foo-hsing Trade Corporation, Trade Report (1939), p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] Ibid., p. 38.

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

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Tung oil is widely used in the modern industrial world. 314
It has been proved particularly invaluable in making high grade paints, in boat-building, and in the manufacturing of many other water-proof products. The refuse cake, chemically a complete 387
fertilizer, is valued highly by the farmers of the Basin for fertilization purposes. It is used especially for the dry crop 314
fields, such as corn, kaoliang, and other crops, but is very seldom applied to the rice-fields. It is reported that these tung-cake fertilizers are particularly suitable to the corn crop.[1] [388]
The shells of the tung seed, together with rice and soy bean stalks, burned and treated, are commonly used to prepare a cheap soap for the local farming families.

China now produces about 85 per cent of the total world 439
supply of Tung oil, and the production of Szechuan Basin alone 314
accounts for about 40 per cent of the total tung oil export of all China. The best customer was the United States, which, before the war, took on an average about half of the total production. Other customers were Germany, with about 25 per cent of the total; England, with about 15 per cent; and France, Italy, and Japan, each with about 5 per cent of the total annual export.

From the standpoint of the agricultural economy of the Basin, the production of tung oil is vitally significant. Even apart from the huge amount of cash income it brings in the export market, the value of the refuse cake for fertilization, and other industrial purposes, such as the manufacturing of soap, the total value of the Tung tree to the farmers of the Basin is incalculable. Hence, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has recently launched an ambitious ten-year expansion program to boost the Basin's Tung-tree production. It aims to increase the present yearly production of oil from 400,000 quintals to 1,000,000 quintals. At the same time, the Foreign Trade Commission together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry have a five-year plan for increasing tung-oil production in Szechuan, Hupeh, Hunan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi to 650,000 quintals per year. In addition to existing Tung trees, according to the five-year plan, Szechuan is to plant Tung trees on an additional 500,000 mow of land as a necessary step in the expansion program.[2]

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[1] Y. J. Hsiao, "A Study of the Agricultural Practices of Szechuan," Reconstruction Weekly, IV, No. 7 (1933), 6.

[2] Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan, Annual Report (1940), p. 76.

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loosened. They finished off by plundering Ta tsien lu and thereupon took off their uniforms and dispersed. The victorious republicans followed on their heels, ravaged the unfortunate inhabitants anew, beheaded the younger brother of the King of Dschagla who had faithfully clung to the old regime and had followed the rest into the plains. The King himself remained hidden for months in the mountains, and did not dare return to his residence which the fighting Chinese had set on fire. Since then the fight is raging in the vicinity of Li tang and Tibet is waiting until another Son of Heaven has fought his way up through the predominance of irrationality, and restored order in China.

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/208/ However, Ta tsien lu is not only the point of departure for war-like expeditions of conquest and the key to Tibet. It is not only the base for Chinese politics in Lhasa. Dartsendo, the Chinese Ta tsien lu, is the largest market town of the whole of Tibet. On my way from Dscherku ndo I met thousands upon thousands of animals, all of whom were loaded down with bales of tea, /209/ all of which had been bought in Dartsendo. Tea is the article of trade which here is by far the most important. Several Chinese wholesale merchants quoted to me the amount of tea that is brought up within a year and here sold to the Tibetans at 7,000,000 cätties, i.e., about 4,500,000 kilograms. (1)

1. I was baffled by this small figure. En route I had figured out, judging from the number of pack animals that I met, that 4,000 tons go by way of Gantse into the interior. However, I estimated that the amount that goes to Ba tang and Li tang and farther inland is at least the same. Attempts have been made to draw inferences about the population of Tibet from the size of the tea trade, but we must not forget that poor Tibetans drink the decoction from any kind of plant in place of the Chinese tea which is always expensive because of the cost of transport. Consul General A. Hosie in his Report Presented to the Parliament, August 1905, puts the figures, on the basis, of accurate estimates, at 8,533,000 cätties worth 948,591 taels, and places the total value of cotton goods, silk and khadar exported to Tibet, at

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75,000 taels. According to Hosie, the value of musk exported from Tibet in 1904 was 300,000 taels and the weight 1,100 to 1,200 cätties, 6,000 ounces of gold dust came from Tibet, whereas only 400,000 cätties (260 tons) of sheep wool and only 150,000 sheep skins passed the customs office in Ta tsien lu.

In 1907 the wholesale merchants told me that the amount of musk that had come through Ta tsien lu in the last 12 months was estimated at 1,400-1,500 cätties. The Li kin official at the East Gate down below told me it was only 1,000 cätties. Without doubt, a great deal is smuggled.

Desgodins in Le Tibet d'après la correspondance des Missionaires, Paris, 1885, p. 349, figured that only 2,666,640 pounds of tea come through Ta tsien lu.

For Chinese export into the entire richer and relatively densely populated southern part of Tibet only Ta tsien lu is of importance. Thus the figure of Hosie seems even slighter and all the more surprising if one compares them with the Anglo-Indian export to Tibet which, for the year 1897-1898, for instance, according to the Blue Book on Tibet for 1904, already rose to 820,000 rupies, (with about 820,000 rupies import to India), and withal England complained at that time, as is well known, that as a matter of principle China excluded her from trade with Tibet. At that time the export of tea all but stopped because the Tibetans did not care for the taste of Anglo-Indian tea.

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/210/ Dartsendo tea which, without exception, comes from the districts of the neighboring prefecture of Ya tschou fu, comes in four varieties and is rather loosely packed in bamboo mats. It is brought here by Chinese carriers who can transport a veritable inhuman weight (up to three and one-half hundredweight), piled high on their shoulders. The tea is coarse, with large leaves, and is generally mixed with stalks and little twigs. It has a harsh flavor and the aroma is slight and quickly evaporates. It is brown in color and looks like dried and pressed clippings from a garden hedge. The Chinese deliver the tea as far as the East Gate of Ta tsien lu. From there it goes by way of the go tschwan into the hands of Tibetans who have traveled here from the interior. This arrangement with the

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go tschwan is very old. Every larger monastery, every district in the interior, every group of farmers has a specific unloading station, has its go tschwan (Tibetan: dyabtak) corresponding to the hsië kia of Dankar. However, while in Dankar ting which has become Chinese to a large degree, the Chinese and Mohammedans share this office and nowadays not nearly every tribe has its specific unloading station (hsië), in the predominantly Tibetan, i.e., feudal Dartsendo the go tschwan stop is a prerogative which the king bestows and which he assigns as a fief to specific persons and families, that is, to old noble families. Those who hold it are called adya. There are 48, as many as there are bailiwicks or tu be fu offices in all of Dschagla. The families who have this prerogative maintain a caravansary (go tschwan) where the tsung bon or tscham tsod from the interior can be accommodated with all their animals, and where feed and provisions are supplied. The adya has a tung sche who accompanies the guests to the Chinese merchants. The merchant from the interior can pick out the Chinese merchants and tea dealers with whom he wishes to do business, but he cannot transact any business without the adya or the latter's tung sche. The firm of adya vouches for both parties. He is the middle man, similar to the komprador of the European merchants on the China coast. For this he is paid a certain rate of assessment. The go tschwan has the tea which has been purchased from the Likin office and makes arrangements with the head of the leather workers who, along with 12 to 20 assistants, packs and sews the Tibetan merchant's order into raw yak hides, so as to make the tea as hard as bricks and guard it against all kinds of damage which it might suffer on the long journey, as a result of misbehavior of stubborn yaks or through rain, snow and river fords. A yak load of 80 cätties costs 25 to 30 rupies in Ta tsien lu, according to the quality of the tea, and consists of two half-loads, each of which contains 16 bricks. Thus, one brick weighs 2.5 cätties and costs about one rupie. In Dscherku ndo the same brick costs 2.2 to 2.5 rupees, according to quality, and it should be noted in this connection that the rupee there stood at 0.4 tael, whereas at that time the rupie in Ta tsien lu had a value of only 0.32 tael, that is, approximately only its worth in silver.

Only at first glance, however, is it surprising that not only K'am (Anterior Tibet) but also Wu or dBus along with Lhasa (Central Tibet) and Tsang along with Shigatse (Chinese: Hinter Tsang or Hou-Tsang), in fact even the westerly provinces such as Rudok and Ladak are commercially and especially in their tea requirements, connected with

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Szechwan and not with India. The reason lies not only in the fact that they are of the same race and origin and have the same taste /211/ for Szechwan-Chinese tea, but above all in the geographical characteristics which make traffic possible all the year round in Inner Tibet, and especially in fall and winter when the animals of the nomads have become fat, whereas the Himalaya passes and ravines are open only for a few weeks to the great caravans.

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The excellent location of the city of Ta tsien lu has also attracted the large missionary societies that are active in China. Since 1866 Ta tsien lu has been the seat of the Bishop of Tibet. The Catholic Mission du Thibet, a branch of the Missions étrangères, is probably the one mission which can show the most martyrs in relation to the number of its members. The history of this mission (see Desgodins, Le Thibet, Paris, 1865, and Launay, Histoire de la Mission du Thibet, Paris, 1902) is a continuous history of suffering. In the year 1846 Pope Gregory XVI created the apostolic vice-regency with its seat in Lhasa, but the Mission has not yet been able to reach that city. Its members have been completely driven out of the lama state of Lhasa ever since the 1860s and only bide their time on the Chinese-Tibetan border. However, in the meantime, a great, great many have been killed by the fanatical lamaists.

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I was not only most graciously received by Monseigneur Giraudeau (since 1897 Episcopus ecclesiae Tiniadensis et Vicarius apostolicus Thibetanus) but he also helped me overcome a great difficulty. When I came out of the interior and telegraphed my bank to send me money, the comprador sent the sum I had requested to such a small Chinese bank in Chung king, the nearest larger town in which there is a bank, that the post office could not find out where it was. In order to save me new delays, Monseigneur Giraudeau showed me how I could quickly get money through his commissioner. I should like, at this time also, to repeat my sincere expression of thanks for this service.

I was also very graciously received by the other missionaries - since the 1890s there are also Protestant missions here - by Dr. Shelton, an American medical missionary, and M. Sörrenson (member of the China inland mission), although my attire had become nothing less than shiny and my last European coat had been swept away by the waves of the Dsa Chu. I also saw Mr. Amundsen once again. He arrived two days after I did in Ta tsien lu, because the Mandarin Wu had not permitted him to travel farther than Tschanggu. I was kept

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

434 the demands of the Communist cadres. In many cases farmers found it impossible to feed themselves and their families. In urban areas the per capita ration was too small for the maintenance of minimum subsistence standards.

VII. TRADE FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate
443 the interflow of commodities between the
438 urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a number of "Local Produce Fairs" in most of the principal cities throughout Southwest China. Some of the more notable fairs held in 1952 are shown in the following table:

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 7. Local Produce Fairs in Southwest China, 1952. *

Fair	Location	Trading Volume (Million)
Southwest Commodity Fair	Chungking	¥566,600 ($22.7)
Ch'wanfei Third Native Products Fair	Nanchung	¥205,900 ($ 8.2)
Ch'wannan Commodity Fair	Lu-hsien	¥107,600 ($ 4.3)
Ch'uansi Commodity Fair	Chengtu	¥ 73,000 ($ 2.9)
Yunnan Second Commodity Fair	Kunming	¥ 69,600 ($ 2.8)
Kweichow Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 34,900 ($1.4)
Kweiyang Municipality Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 74,000 ($2.9)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Total	¥1,248,500 ($49.9)

* Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 28, 1953, No. 28, p. 7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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543 In 1952, the total trade volume of
●443 these fairs amounted to US$49,900,000, of
438 which the fair in Chungking, the commercial center of the region, accounted for approximately 45 per cent.

CONCLUSION

000 The Communists plan intensive development of railway and highway transportation in Southwest China. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was of considerable importance to the utilization of the industrial and agricultural resources of Szechwan Province. The completion of the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway will link the Southwest with the Northwest and will be of great strategic value to the Communists in case of war.

At the time of the building of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, a number of cases involving the corruption of Party cadres were brought to light. Many cadres accepted bribes from contractors who were anxious to sell the government inferior materials or who had economized by doing a shoddy job of construction. These practices, according to the Communists, accounted for the collapse of several bridges shortly after completion.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[p.1081]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 51.—THE LI-CHIANG MARKET OR SEU-FANG KAI

麗江四方街

Looking east. Everyday is market day between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Na-khi women are the traders.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

They contract for the bringing of a lunatic to his right mind. 791/789

They arrange for the removal of a ghost from a house. If houses have uncanny sounds or have the reputation of being haunted or are troubled with snakes, insects or other vermin, the geomancer fixes a lucky day and invites a sorcerer to assist him drive out the pests or ghosts.

Divining by copper cash is called *Wên Wang kua.* On the side of the cash are Chinese characters, that side is known as *ma tzŭ* (麻子). The side with Manchu characters is known as the *mo êrh* (末兒). Three cash are used and the count kept as to how many *ma tzŭ* or *mo êrh* show in six throws of the coins.

Mei hua shu (梅花數), to divine by whatever the divining person may carry in the hand or on the person is known as *sui chi ying pien* (隨機應變), to answer as occasion demands.

They also divine by the use of the six *jên* (壬) or combinations in the sexagenary cycle ; by this method it is said that they can find out the name, dwelling place and likeness of a thief and where he has hidden the stolen goods, and other necessary details.

There is a method of divining invented by Shao K'ang-chieh of the Han dynasty. It was largely prophetic and dealt with the future of the country. Though this method is still used, few if any are able to understand it fully.

Ch'i mên tun chia (奇門遁甲), to divine by an appeal to the stars. This method is generally used in connection with prophetic prognostications.

Divining by the use of dominos is a method used to fix the dates for marriages, to find lost articles or a lost relative, or when wealth may be obtained.

The Itinerant Vendor

Pedlars sell spirit charms from such idols as the Ling kwan and the T'ien shih ; both are to prevent or to heal diseases. 778 443 789

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

443 They sell the spirit cat which is the figure of a cat painted on paper with the charm 勅令, *chih ling*, written on it. 778 Also the pictures of Chung K'uei (鍾馗), which ward off 789 demons. He was a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. Scholars take his pictures to the examination boxes to keep away demons during the examinations.

They also sell pictures of the hills and valleys, of flowers and bamboos (generally as scrolls), of various birds and animals, also a well-known set of four Chinese pictures of fisherman, woodman, farmer and student.

Imitations of ancient styles of writing are also hawked about.

Mai hsin wên is the news vendor. Sometimes the news is purely of an idolatrous and superstitious nature, at others it is political and agitating.

Chu-ko Liang is believed to have written a number of prophetical sayings, which he had engraved on stone slabs and buried ; every now and then one of these is reported to have been dug up and the inscription printed in cheap book form and sold as reliable news. There is an unlimited supply of words and examples from the lives of eminent men printed and sold, as well as stories of the efficacious and healing power of the idols, or how these idols meted out retributions to the wicked, or prescribed a medicine to stop a plague.

Another work sold is the prophetical utterances of the celestials as contained in the *Kuan Yin ching* or the *T'ai Yang ching*.

Others sell *ch'uan su ko* (勸俗歌), ballads which exhort the people against gambling, wine and fornication, or illustrated booklets which describe the evils of opium.

Itinerant Buddhist and Taoist Priests, *Hsing chueh sêng* (行脚僧), and *Yu fang tao* (游方道)

792 It is commonly said that this class of persons will surely find some way of taking revenge if offended. It is also said that all the physiognomists belong to the palliative business and the palliatives come under the priests' rule. Their

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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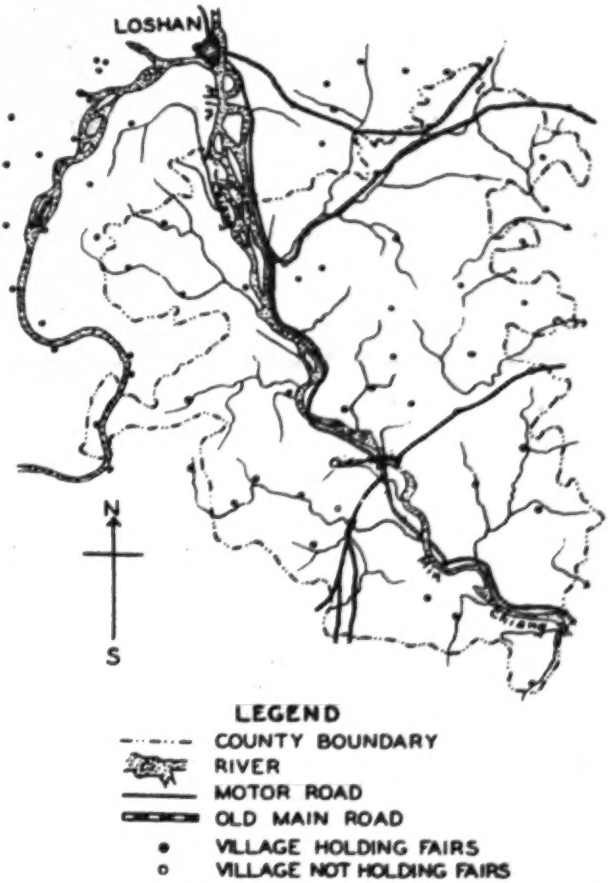
FIGURE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGE FAIRS
CHIEN WEI, SZECHUAN



Adapted from Spencer, J. E. Econ. Geog., Jan. 1940.

[Face p. 24]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

3. The Village Fair--An Important Rural Institution of the Basin

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The village fair is an important institution in the rural life of the Szechuan Basin. Such fairs, though quite common in many rural parts of China, are especially widespread and colorful in the Basin, and command great geographical interest. On account of the rugged and dissected topography, and consequently the detached character of the settlement forms in many parts of the Basin, there has been a greater and a more urgent need for some such institution than in much of China.

In many cases the village fair, locally known as "Chang" or enclosure, is the sole place where farmers living in isolated farmsteads and small detached settlements buy and sell their products. The village fair, therefore, is one of the most vital channels of rural economy in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the more hilly areas.

Ordinarily, the sites of the fairs are chosen on the more spacious and flat areas. On account of the scarcity of such areas in many parts of the Basin, however, most of the village fairs are rather limited in extent and consequently over-crowded. Normally they are either on the flat tops of moderate hills, or at the saddle or divide of two hills. In many cases they are held at places where temple grounds are available. The fairs are commonly spaced about 10 li (one li equals approximately a third of a mile) apart, and seldom are separated by more than 30 li. The spacing depends upon the local topography and the conditions of settlement. Because there is no means of transportation in many parts of the Basin, the ideal spacing is at a distance of less than twenty li, i.e., within walking distance of each other, so that the farmers in the areas between the fairs can make a round trip within one day. In most cases, as in the Chien Wei district of the western Basin, the interval between the village fair is about four or five miles, or a little over fifteen li[1] (Fig. 14).

The fairs are run on a definite schedule of dates, the frequency of which depends upon the volume of business the village commands. The usual schedules are 1-4-7, 2-5-8, or 3-6-9 days, alternating from place to place so as to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of the various areas nearby. The sequence and the

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[1] J. E. Spencer, "The Szechuan Village Fair," Econ. Geog., XVI, No. 1 (1940), 54.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

frequency of fair days is so adjusted as to reduce competition among the neighboring localities and to afford the greatest advantages to both buyers and sellers. The smooth operation of these schedules illustrates the type of local cooperation which is common in this part of China. 366 443

The typical village fair includes a grain merchant, a butcher, several tea houses, a few oil merchants, some firewood booths, vegetable booth, poultry stands, wandering native doctors, dentists, and fortune tellers. In spite of the extremely small area occupied by the fair grounds, it is interesting to note that a kind of system of automatic zoning has come into effect. For instance, it is almost a rule that the grain markets are located at the temple or other spacious grounds, whereas the tea houses, fortune tellers, and the wandering native doctors and dentists always occupy the center areas of the fair.

4. Farms and Field Patterns

One of the most striking features of the farms of the Basin is the predominance of terraced cultivated fields. Probably nowhere else in all China--with the possible exception of the loessial northwest--does one find the use of slope lands and the building of terraces so universal and so highly perfected as in the Szechuan Basin. Most of the low, round, amphitheater-like hills of the Basin are terraced and cultivated. 311 241

The terraced steps are of various widths. Each terrace rises above the preceding one (Fig. 15) and in many cases is faced by a wall of bare sandstones or shales. Each terrace is irrigated from the one below by a small stream of water regulated generally by some simple lifting device, such as a windless, driven by men or animal power. Generally speaking, most of these terraced fields are irregular, depending upon the specific land forms. In Chengtu Plain the fields tend to be rather square or oblong in shape, but most of them have irregular forms, owing to the need of fitting them into irrigation systems. In general, the units of the fields in Chengtu Plain, on account of its more continuous flat topography, are much larger than those in other parts of the Basin.

In the Basin, all land to be planted in rice, whether terraced or otherwise, is put, if possible, under water--generally a little over one foot deep--for the rice season. The field boundaries in most cases follow the natural elevations.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 652 The Hong Kong branches of the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and of the Ho Chen Bank are still allowed to operate. Other Hong Kong branches of the component banks which likewise continue to function are: Kincheng Banking Corporation, Yieh Yieh Commercial Bank, China and South Sea Bank, Sin Hwa Savings Bank, the China State Bank, the National Commercial Bank, and the National Industrial Bank. The desire of the Communists to maintain as many interests in Hong Kong as possible accounts for the continued operation of these branches, in spite of their handling only small deposits and remittances.

G. Credit Co-operatives

452 474 Credit co-operatives in rural areas have experienced tremendous growth since 1954. The number throughout the country increased from about 13,000 at the end of 1953 to 153,400 in June 1955.[7] According to Communist statistics, credit co-operatives exist in about 80 per cent of the more than 2,000 counties in the country and have a membership of nearly 100,000,000.

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7. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 6, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452 In October 1955, there were 6,100
474 credit co-operatives in Szechwan[8] and 5,691 in Yunnan.[9] The number in Kweichow was reported to be smaller, but no exact figures are available.

Two other types of credit co-operative organizations function on a lower level -- credit departments attached to supply-marketing co-operatives, and credit mutual-aid teams. The former have neither separate membership nor independent capital and depend for their operating funds on deposits or special funds appropriated by the co-operatives concerned. The latter consists of a group of farmers, each of whom subscribes an equal amount of capital for loans to group members. Credit is granted on the approval of subscribers and is redeemed in installments.

Although the publicized objectives of the Communists' promotion of credit co-operatives are to aid the peasants' financial needs for production and daily living and to

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8. New China News Agency release, Chengtu, Oct. 11, 1955.
9. Ibid., Kunming, Oct. 27, 1955.

452 eliminate exploitation by usurers, disinterested
474 observers, have doubts as to how far such means can or will go in meeting these problems. The doubts arise principally because of the government's frequently expressed desire to utilize credit co-operatives to pool idle capital in rural areas as government operating funds, which appear to be almost non-existent.

H. Chinese People's Insurance Company

456 According to the Communists, the state-operated Chinese People's Insurance Company is considered as a component of the entire Communist financial system. It has the functions of organizing scattered funds for the industrialization of the state, and of establishing a centralized insurance fund to compensate losses from natural calamities or accidents sustained by individual policy holders or economic units. The Chinese People's Insurance Company was established on October 20, 1949, and simultaneously the elimination of privately owned and foreign-operated insurance firms was begun. Branch offices and subordinate offices of the Chinese People's Insurance Company were established throughout the country, and branches of the People's Bank and other bank were appointed agents of the state-operated insurance company.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 opened by private enterprises or individuals
652 until October 3, 1955. On that date, it was reduced to 2.88 per cent to "implement the strict practice of economy".[11] Indeed cash control has been so effective that the inducement of high interest is no longer necessary to encourage the banking of excess cash.

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652 The People's Bank also vigorously encouraged saving. Many subordinate offices were established for this express purpose, and their officers visited residents in the vicinity to solicit deposits. In rural areas, quotas for increasing savings deposits were set for each county, which, in turn, fixed quotas for each village and household. After the enforcement of the state plan for the unified and compulsory purchase of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, canvassing for rural savings by banks in conjunction with credit co-operatives was accentuated with the hope of absorbing the purchase proceeds into the bank. It is interesting to note that the People's Bank, at the time it issued the new currency in March 1955, provided in its Savings Deposits Regulations for maintaining secrecy concerning depositors and their funds. The bank

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11. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452 and its agencies became responsible for
652 guarding in closest secrecy the names, addresses, specimens of signatures and seals, amounts of deposits, identities of depositors, and particulars on the receipt or payment of money for savings depositors. This indicates the extent to which the Communists were prepared to go to induce deposits.

According to a Communist report, bank deposits in China's cities at the end of August 1955 amounted to more than 1,440 million yuan (over US$576 million) mostly in fixed deposits. There was no explanation as to whether the fixed deposits included savings deposits. The number of depositors in the seven major cities of Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton, Chungking, and Sian was reported to have been 4.8 times higher in the first six months of 1955 than in the same period of 1954.[12] One report shows that savings deposits in the third quarter of 1954 amounted to 610 billion yuan (old currency; about US$24.4 million) in Szechwan[13] and 216 billion yuan (old currency, about US$8.6 million) in Yunnan.[14] Per capita savings in Szechwan (population 62,303,999) amounted to

12. Ibid.
13. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 19, 1954.
14. Ibid., July 27, 1954.

452US$0.40 and in Yunnan (population 17,472,737)
652to US$0.50.

B. Credit Control

During the first years of Communist rule, when the power of granting credit was concentrated in the head office of the People's Bank at Peking, the Southwest China regional office of the bank had more power of decision on credit matters because it was remote from the financial and political capital; yet important matters had to be referred to the Financial and Economic Committee of the Greater Southwest Region Administration.

Since the adoption by the People's Bank, in 1953, of a decentralization policy on credit extension, followed by the abolition of the Greater Regional Administration in 1954, the branch office of the bank in each province has had the power and responsibility to extend credits. In applying for a loan, public enterprises and co-operatives are required to provide the branch office with a budget outlining credit needs and a plan estimating the extent to which the proposed project will increase production, raise labor productivity, and lower production costs. Credits are classified according to their duration (short, long, or seasonal) and use; borrowers are required to adhere to the terms expressed in the contract.

453 the interest rate was reduced on October 3,
652 1955, it remained as high as 11.88 per cent for private industry and 16.2 per cent for private commerce,[15] double the rate charged for public industry and commerce.

The Communist regime's accession to control of rural credit through the instrument of the People's Bank seems to have been an easy task. The large-scale landlords and retail merchants, who had been the most important source of rural credit, particularly in Szechwan and Yunnan, were stripped of their wealth if not of their lives; the newly emerged rich peasants were drained of their limited funds by compulsory subscriptions to savings deposits, government bonds, and various patriotic drives. Moreover, the so-called fixed purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops barred the peasants from accumulating any kind of savings which might be loaned.

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652 The vigorous Communist drive to increase participation in credit co-operatives aims at utilizing the peasants' own funds for the extension and control of rural credits. This

15. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452 objective is indicated in a directive issued on
652 September 12, 1955 by the head office of the People's Bank to its branches,[16] stating that branches must guide credit co-operatives in encouraging savings deposits for the use of rural credits in the coming year. The branches also were ordered to collect matured long-term credits prior to the start of government crop purchases. This directive indicates that the Communists use the withdrawal of rural credits as a weapon to force peasants to sell their products to the government.

In 1955, rural credit was extended at the following interest rates:[17]

Agricultural production co-operatives	7.2% per annum
Producer mutual-aid teams	9.0% per annum
Individual peasants	10.8% per annum
Very poor peasants	9.0% per annum

16. Peking broadcast, Sept. 12, 1955.
17. New China News Agency release, Peking, Nov. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3d,
Economic Background

BANKING AND CURRENCY

I. BANKING DEVELOPMENT

A. Pre-Communist System

•453 Banking was less developed in the Southwest Region than elsewhere in China proper at the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan in 1937. This situation was in part due to the lack of industrial development in the region, and in part the result of chaotic conditions engendered by warlord rule. The unpredictable and inefficient handling of local finance and issues of paper currency had precluded the local development of modern banking or the extension into the region of the modern banking facilities of established firms in Shanghai.

There were a few locally registered commercial banks in Chungking, Szechwan Province. Only one of them, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation, employed modern practices and relied little on warlord capital. The rest of the concerns depended almost completely for their capital on the warlords and made but slight contribution to the development of modern banking. In addition, Szechwan Province had a provincial

453 bank and a number of native banks. In Kweichow and Yunnan provinces there were hardly any locally registered commercial banks, nor any branches of modern banks with headquarters in other cities; there were only a provincial bank and a few native banks in each province.

When the Nationalist Government moved its capital to Chungking in 1938, the head offices of the Central Bank of China and the Farmers Bank were also transferred there. The Bank of China and the Bank of Communications followed soon afterward. Branches of these four government banks were opened in the major cities of Szechwan, and the modern commercial banks of Shanghai also established branches at Chungking. The opening of a highway connecting Southwest China and Central-South China made Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow Province, the hub of transportation in Southwest China and also encouraged banks to open branches along the highway in Kweichow. After the Japanese army cut the Canton-Hankow railway linking Nationalist China with Hong Kong, Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province, became the terminus of the only communication lines between Free China and the outside world, viz., the Yunnan-Indochina Railway and the Burma Road. As a result, branches of government and modern commercial banks

453 were rapidly established in Kunming. Thus, an unprecedented banking boom took place in Southwest China which vastly expanded all banking facilities. At the end of the war, there were 866 banks (including head offices and branches) in Szechwan, 149 in Yunnan, 91 in Kweichow, and 44 in Sikang.

With the surrender of Japan, the Nationalist Government re-established its capital at Nanking, the head offices of the government banks returned to Shanghai, and much of the war-inspired industrial and commercial activity in the Southwest Region was discontinued. What business remained was insufficient to support the expanded banking facilities in the region. The Shanghai banks recalled their funds, and private capital migrated to Shanghai, where increasing inflation provided a wider scope for speculative activities. Most of the local commercial banks in Szechwan and Yunnan, partly owned by the warlords, encountered difficulties because their funds were tied up in local enterprises which were adversely affected by the end of the war. As a result, the banking structure in Southwest China was reduced to impotency before the arrival of the Communists.

B. Communist Transformation

652
453 When the Communists took over Southwest

•453 China, they closed the branches of the Central
652 Bank of China and the Farmers' Bank, and instituted rigid supervision over the branches of the Bank of China and Bank of Communications. The new regime also took over the provincial banks outright. The regulations governing private banks which had been enforced in other regions were put into effect; the stipulations regarding the banks' operations and interest rates, the amount of reserves to be kept with the People's Bank, and the periodic reports required were so harsh that few banks could survive. The banking shares owned by so-called "bureaucratic capitalists" and "reactionaries" were confiscated. Nearly all native banks and the minor locally registered commercial banks discontinued operations because of their inability to increase capital as required; a few locally registered commercial banks in Chungking and Kunming were liquidated after their shares had been confiscated by the government and their financial resources had proved inadequate.

In May 1951, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and the Ho Chen Bank were "advised" to join the first system of eleven banks operated jointly by state and private enterprise with headquarters at Shanghai. Both the commercial banks were owned by Szechwen capital and did business within and outside

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 the province. The Ho Chen Bank was the
652 younger of the two institutions but had made great strides during the war. As a result of a Communist-induced merger of all private banks in December 1952, the names of Ho Chen and Young Brothers disappeared from the banking world.

Meanwhile, the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were reorganized and placed under the control of the People's Bank. With the transformation of the modern commercial banks in Shanghai into one Joint State-Private Bank, their branches in Southwest China underwent similar changes.

Before the war, a branch of the Banque de l'Indochine in Kunming was the only foreign bank in Southwest China. It ceased operation soon after the Communists took over Yunnan. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation had established an office in Chungking during the war but withdrew soon after its end. Therefore, the Communists were hardly confronted with a problem of eliminating foreign banking influence in the region.

Since Szechwan was the most fertile of the Southwest China provinces, it had a larger number of affluent landowners and a greater amount of outstanding rural credit

453 extended by landowners than had Yunnan and
652 Kweichow. On the other hand, pawnshops in the latter two provinces did more business than their counterparts in Szechwan, which were often handicapped by inflation and the consequent need to charge excessive interest rates.

These two sources of credit were wiped out by the Communists: the Land Reform Movement eliminated the landlords; and the pawnshops closed because they could no longer obtain bank credit nor meet the increased capital requirements established by Communist regulations.

The fragile banking structure of Southwest China could offer little resistance to Communist designs, and it was completely transformed by the middle of 1951. As the old banking structure was liquidated, the new banking system in Southwest China was developed after the general pattern of the banking system of Communist China as a whole: monolithic and uniform. It now consists of branches of the following institutions: (1) People's Bank of China; (2) Bank of China; (3) Bank of Communications; (4) Chinese People's Construction Bank; (5) Agricultural Bank of China; (6) State-Private Joint Bank; (7) Chinese People's Insurance Company; and (8) credit co-operatives.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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II. THE COMMUNIST BANKING SYSTEM

A. The People's Bank of China

453 652 The People's Bank of China is the supreme financial organ in the country; all other banks operate under its control. A Southwest China regional office of the People's Bank was established at Chungking as the highest authority on monetary matters and administration; branch offices were maintained in each province. The regional office was abolished with the abandonment of the regional administrative system in September 1954; the branch offices in each province were placed under the direct control of the head office at Peking and charged with the responsibility for monetary affairs at the local level.

The number of branches, one in each provincial capital, was reduced from four to three after the province of Sikang was amalgamated with Szechwan Province in October 1955. Branch offices of the People's Bank in the Southwest Region are currently located at Chengtu, Kweiyang, and Kunming.

Under each branch office there are sub-branch offices in counties, cities, and towns.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 There also are temporary units, called
652 central sub-branch offices, set up at political or communication centers to supervise sub-branch offices in the vicinity. A network of subordinate offices called agencies, sub-agencies and stations, has been established to serve main thoroughfares and residential sections in large cities and individual towns, populous villages, schools, factories, and military posts. These offices handle deposits, remittances, and the extension of rural credits.

According to incomplete statistics there are about 400 sub-branch offices and about forty central sub-branch offices in the three provinces of Southwest China, besides several thousand agencies and stations. The total number of subsidiary offices of the People's Bank was officially reported to be more than 19,000 in March 1955.

The branch offices perform the following functions.[1] (1) Adjust the circulation of currency; (2) Act as agents for the state treasury; (3) Accept current accounts and promote savings; (4) Extend credits to

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1. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming Shu-tien, 1953, p. 8,013.

453 industry and commerce, both public and
652 private, either directly or through affiliated banks; (5) Handle clearings of bills and transfers of accounts, and facilitate remittances; (6) Extend rural credits either through their own agencies or through co-operatives; (7) Look after receipts and disbursements of foreign exchange handled by affiliated banks; and (8) Handle any other monetary matters within their jurisdictions.

Each branch office has departments to control currency, credit to public and private enterprises, rural credits, and the promotion of savings deposits and the expansion of credit co-operatives.

B. Bank of China

The Bank of China, established as a central bank in 1912, was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution with government participation for dealing with foreign trade. After the Communists overran China, the bank was allowed to continue its old status, and those of its directors who represented private interests retained their positions. At the same time, the general manager and the directors representing Nationalist Government interests were replaced by Communist appointees; one of the newly appointed directors,

453 the director-general of the People's Bank,
652 was concurrently nominated chairman of the board. At the first shareholders' meeting, held in November 1954 under the Communist regime, the old directors representing private interest who had left the Mainland were replaced by shareholders who were co-operating with the Communists. Hence, the Bank of China is fully controlled by the Communist government and is virtually a subsidiary of the People's Bank.

The Bank of China is entrusted by the People's Bank to:[2] (1) Administer the control of foreign exchange; (2) Handle foreign exchange, foreign securities, bills of exchange, and other commercial documents, payable or receivable in foreign exchange; (3) Extend credits, and accept deposits in connection with foreign trade; (4) Look after the accounts and clearings of foreign trade conducted by and through government organizations; and (5) Control overseas remittances.

Before 1937, the Bank of China had had only three branches in the Southwest Region,

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2. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, No. 31.

453 all in Szechwan. During the war the bank not
652 only increased its branches in Szechwan, but also opened a number of offices in Kweichow and Yunnan. The bank now has only two branches in Southwest China, both in Yunnan, one at Kunming and the other at Wan-ting on the Burma border.

The Communists found the Bank of China a valuable institution because of its solid reputation, core of trained personnel, and assets located in China and abroad. However, the Communist regime was able to control only 11 of the overseas branches -- in Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Chittagong, Rangoon and Djakarta. The other eight branches -- in South Indochina, Cambodia, Thailand, Japan, the United States, Cuba and Australia -- are still under the control of the Bank of China in Formosa because those countries have not recognized Communist China.

C. Bank of Communications

The Bank of Communications, inaugurated in 1907 as a treasury agent of the Ministry of Posts and Communications, was reorganized in 1928 with the participation of government interests as a special institution to develop industry and internal trade. In June 1951,

453 after a short period of suspension ordered by
652 the Communists, the bank was allowed to resume business under its old status. Probably, this was done with the intent of facilitating Communist penetration of private industries through the bank's connections. Business was resumed only after Communists were appointed to the offices of chairman of the board and general manager, and after Nationalist Government directors were replaced by appointees of the new regime. At the shareholders meeting held in December 1954, the shareholders were "advised" to elect as directors representing private interests a slate of candidates drawn up by the Communists.

The Bank of Communications performs the following functions:[3] (1) Handles appropriations for basic government construction, and screen and approve applications for appropriations for such construction; (2) Organizes and lead long-term investment markets; (3) Controls ownership rights for public shares of enterprises operated by state-private joint interests; (4) Handles long-term credits.

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3. Cheng Chu-yüan, Monetary Affairs of Communist China, Hong Kong, The Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 25.

453 652 Since the establishment of the Chinese People's Construction Bank, it has been entrusted with the important function of handling appropriations for basic government construction. No investment markets could be created because any savable income the people might have was constantly drained by the government's frequent levies. The function of controlling ownership rights for public shares is non-existent since in every joint state-private enterprise one or more Communist appointees participates in the management, assisted by Communist-controlled labor union members. Therefore, the duties of the Bank of Communications are confined to looking after long-term credits to state-private joint industry.

The Bank of Communications increased the number of its branches in Southwest China after resuming business. The important ones are: in Szechwan Province -- Chungking, Chengtu, Neikiang, Tzeliutsing, Luhsien, and Kikiang; in Kweichow Province -- Kweiyang, Tuyun, and Tuhsan; in Yunnan Province -- Kunming and Kokui.

D. Chinese People's Construction Bank

In order to facilitate progress of the Five-Year Plan and to overcome defects in

453
652 the appropriation of funds for capital construction, the Chinese People's Construction Bank was established in October 1954 and entrusted with the following functions:[4] (1) To handle the funds of basic construction projects, either as provided by budget appropriations or as raised by the projects themselves; (2) Supply short-term credits, according to the governments' credit plan, to the contracting organizations undertaking work on projects; (3) Settle accounts and make returns in connection with the governments' appropriations for the projects; and (4) Supervise the use of funds appropriated or raised, the arrangement of payment to contracting organizations, and project matters related to finance, cost accounting, and investments.

As soon as the head office of the Chinese People's Construction Bank was installed in Peking, branch offices were set up in places where basic construction projects were underway. A part of the buildings of the People's Bank or of the Bank of Communications

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4. New China News Agency release, Peking, Sept. 13, 1954.

453 were used as Construction Bank offices; a
652 number of staff members of the two older banks were switched to the new bank. In light of its functions and of the establishment of its branches in such a summary manner, the Chinese People's Construction Bank bears more resemblance to a government department than to a banking institution.

Less than three months after the Bank's establishment, a conference of managers of branches was held to review their work in appropriating and supervising funds for capital construction in 1954. Among the resolutions of this conference was an ambitious proposal. The Bank would supervise construction units and enterprises to fully develop the resources and potentials of each project, and would urge them to deliver profits, depreciations funds, and surplus revolving funds to upper levels on schedule.

E. Agricultural Bank of China

The Agricultural Bank of China was inaugurated on March 25, 1955. Rural finance until then had been handled entirely by the branch and subsidiary offices of the People's Bank in line with the policy of avoiding the duplication of banking services involving small

453 loans and deposits at the local level. As
652 early as May 1951, a departure from this policy was contemplated when a national rural finance conference decided an agricultural co-operative bank should be set up to handle rural finance exclusively. This decision was not implemented, however, because it was contradictory to the policy of the People's Bank. The revival of the idea of creating a special rural finance institution was the result of a new call for more "co-operativization" of agriculture, and of the rapid growth of the number of credit co-operatives.

The Agricultural Bank of China performs the following functions:[5] (1) Extends long-term and short-term credits to individual producers and to joint state-private operated agricultural, stock-raising, fishery, and producer mutual-aid and co-operative organizations; (2) Handles capital investments allocated in the state budget for agriculture, forestry, and water conservation; (3) Guides and helps the people's credit co-operative organizations; and (4) Provides savings deposit services for rural residents, producer mutual-aid and co-operative organizations, collective farms, and state agriculture and water conservation organs.

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5. Ibid., March 28, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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652 At present, the function of handling capital investments appropriated in the state budget will be retained by the People's Bank, according to an official statement. Moreover, there is no indication that the new bank will develop an extended branch network on the order of the Chinese People's Construction Bank. Therefore, the present function of the Agricultural Bank of China appears to be primarily the guidance and supervision of credit co-operatives and the promotion of savings deposits in rural areas; its organization is, in reality, similar to that of a department of the People's Bank, except that the Agricultural Bank has more responsibility and discretionary power.

F. Joint State-Private Bank

Soon after all banks in Shanghai had been transformed into joint state-private concerns and then grouped, with the exception of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, into four joint management units, they were all "advised" to merge into one Joint State-Private Bank. It began operations on January 1, 1953. Only two Szechwan banks, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and the Ho Chen Bank, were involved in the merger. The general managers of the two Szechwan banks were included on the 103-man boards of directors

453 of the joint bank and made two of its 27 managing
652 directors. The Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming branches of the component banks in the merger were ordered amalgamated in each city into one branch of the Joint State-Private Bank; branches of the component banks in other cities of Southwest China were closed. The amalgamated branches in Chungking, Kunming, and Chengtu constitute three of the thirteen branches of the joint bank maintained throughout the country; the head office is located in Peking.

The chairman of the board and the chief manager of the bank are appointees of the People's Bank, which completely controls the Joint State-Private Bank. The Joint Bank is empowered to fulfill the following functions:[6] (1) Handle accounts of private enterprises; (2) Extend short-term credits to private enterprises, subject to the advice of the People's Bank; (3) Handle inland remittances and overseas Chinese remittances through the branches of component banks still operating in Hong Kong for the account of the Bank of China; and (4) Accept savings deposits for the account of the People's Bank.

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6. Report of Shanghai Commercial Bank, Hong Kong.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 652 The Hong Kong branches of the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and of the Ho Chen Bank are still allowed to operate. Other Hong Kong branches of the component banks which likewise continue to function are: Kincheng Banking Corporation, Yieh Yieh Commercial Bank, China and South Sea Bank, Sin Hwa Savings Bank, the China State Bank, the National Commercial Bank, and the National Industrial Bank. The desire of the Communists to maintain as many interests in Hong Kong as possible accounts for the continued operation of these branches, in spite of their handling only small deposits and remittances.

G. Credit Co-operatives

452 474 Credit co-operatives in rural areas have experienced tremendous growth since 1954. The number throughout the country increased from about 13,000 at the end of 1953 to 153,400 in June 1955.[7] According to Communist statistics, credit co-operatives exist in about 80 per cent of the more than 2,000 counties in the country and have a membership of nearly 100,000,000.

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7. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 6, 1955.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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456 Since 1950, the Chinese People's Insurance Company has handled the compulsory insurance of assets of state-owned enterprises and supply-marketing co-operatives above the county level and of persons traveling by rail, steamer, and aircraft. The company also has promoted life and private property insurance on a voluntary basis in urban centers. Insurance of livestock and farm crops has been encouraged in rural areas. Rates for various categories of insurance have been reduced, and the scope of coverage broadened. However frequent criticism of the company has been expressed concerning imprudent expansion, inexperienced personnel, and the arbitrary attitude displayed by the officers.

III. BANKING OPERATIONS

453 652 The operation of these varied banking and financial organizations is integrated through their subordination to the single command of the People's Bank, and, in effect, they operate as a single body. During the development of the Communist monetary system, the emphasis of the whole banking operation appears to have shifted. At its inception, popularization of the People's Bank notes and the promotion of individual deposits were stressed; at a later stage, control of cash funds held by public organizations and centralization of credit extension were emphasized; recently,

453 attention is being focused on attracting peasants'
652 deposits. But the main objective of these different emphases is to subject all economic activity to state direction by controlling all cash funds held by organizations, firms, and individuals, and by completely controlling the distribution of credit.

A. Cash Control

Beginning in March 1950, control over revenue collections was enforced; all government agencies handling such funds are required to deposit them with the People's Bank or its authorized agencies. Similar control was soon extended over funds held by publicly operated enterprises, the armed forces, and co-operatives. These organizations are allowed to keep on hand only small, stipulated amounts of cash and are required to make all payments by check, except for wages, salaries, and the purchase of local products in rural areas.

After intensification of the Korean war in 1951, the increasing fluctuation of commodity prices and the revival of black-market financial dealings prompted the Communists to further tighten control over cash held by private firms and individuals. All persons engaged in business are required to deposit the day's net proceeds in their bank

453 accounts; all shops have to make their pur-
652 chase payments by check, and under no circumstances can cash be used. Checks received for the sale of goods have to be deposited in bank accounts; under no circumstances may these checks be used to buy other goods. All persons are required to bank their cash holdings in excess of PB$2,000,000 (about US$80.00);[10] all firms and individuals must use checks for transactions exceeding PB$100,000 (about US$4.00).

To prevent the use or retention of checks as substitutes for cash, "crossed checks" (checks so marked that they cannot be cashed, but only deposited to the account of the payee) are mandatory in transactions between public enterprises, and special checks in transactions between public and private enterprises. To preclude the acquisition of cash by transferring funds from one locality to another, such transactions can only be accomplished by the use of "crossed checks"; and the paying bank is responsible for validating the transfer.

A lucrative rate of interest of 5.4 per cent a year was paid on current accounts

10. Cheng, op. cit., p. 84.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 opened by private enterprises or individuals
652 until October 3, 1955. On that date, it was reduced to 2.88 per cent to "implement the strict practice of economy".[11] Indeed cash control has been so effective that the inducement of high interest is no longer necessary to encourage the banking of excess cash.

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652 The People's Bank also vigorously encouraged saving. Many subordinate offices were established for this express purpose, and their officers visited residents in the vicinity to solicit deposits. In rural areas, quotas for increasing savings deposits were set for each county, which, in turn, fixed quotas for each village and household. After the enforcement of the state plan for the unified and compulsory purchase of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, canvassing for rural savings by banks in conjunction with credit co-operatives was accentuated with the hope of absorbing the purchase proceeds into the bank. It is interesting to note that the People's Bank, at the time it issued the new currency in March 1955, provided in its Savings Deposits Regulations for maintaining secrecy concerning depositors and their funds. The bank

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11. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

453 The granting of credit to private enter-
652 prises is subject to the same requirements for furnishing a plan and a budget. Before the Communist takeover, a system of specialization in certain lines of business had been developed by each private bank; thus, one bank granted credits to textile enterprises, another to the metal industry, etc. When all private banks were merged into the Joint State-Private Bank, the latter was placed in charge of the extension of credits to private enterprises under the direction of the People's Bank. A system of joint application was promoted; enterprises in the same line of business were encouraged to apply jointly for credits, listing the financial requirements of each firm with an estimate of its production and demand for its output. This arrangement was intended to prevent "blind" competition in production and preclude the diversion of bank credit by one borrower to help another.

Extension and acceptance of credit between public enterprises and private firms were prohibited to eliminate commercial loans. Private enterprises have had to depend entirely on government banks for credit. Furthermore, an exorbitant rate of interest has been charged on credits to private enterprises: private industry paid 10.8 to 19.8 per cent annually, while private commerce was subject to rates of from 16.2 to 23.4 per cent. Though

453 the interest rate was reduced on October 3,
652 1955, it remained as high as 11.88 per cent for private industry and 16.2 per cent for private commerce,[15] double the rate charged for public industry and commerce.

The Communist regime's accession to control of rural credit through the instrument of the People's Bank seems to have been an easy task. The large-scale landlords and retail merchants, who had been the most important source of rural credit, particularly in Szechwan and Yunnan, were stripped of their wealth if not of their lives; the newly emerged rich peasants were drained of their limited funds by compulsory subscriptions to savings deposits, government bonds, and various patriotic drives. Moreover, the so-called fixed purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops barred the peasants from accumulating any kind of savings which might be loaned.

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652 The vigorous Communist drive to increase participation in credit co-operatives aims at utilizing the peasants' own funds for the extension and control of rural credits. This

15. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

436 of a farthing, so that it is impossible to take large sums about in this form. One has, therefore, to carry lumps of silver, which, in order to make small purchases, one has to weigh and exchange into cash at so many to a tael[1]. The exchange differs enormously in different towns of the same province even. I have in Yün-nan got as many as 1,400 cash for a tael and as few as 950. Sometimes too, to make it still more confusing, there are two sorts of cash, big and small, which naturally have different rates of exchange. Money-changers do a very profitable business, as in each string of 100 cash there are always two or three short. This is a recognised thing, and besides this legitimate profit, they make more by charging the unwary a higher rate than the market tariff.

The amount of silver which the traveller has to carry about with him, besides being a serious addition to the weight of his baggage, is always a source of anxiety. There is the danger of theft, and the possibility in a rough country of the box containing it tumbling into a river.
• 453 Happily it is not necessary to carry in silver the whole of the money necessary for a long expedition. There is an excellent system of banking throughout China, and credit notes obtained from Mandalay or Bhamo can be cashed at the branches of the same firm at Hsia-kuan, Yün-nan Fu and other places.

000 Hunter arrived on the evening of the 26th April, and we were able to make our plans for the future. The country between Wei-ning and the Yangtze had been found so difficult that it was necessary to see if a better line could be discovered by any other route. Pottinger and Hunter were therefore to go to Chên-hsiung Chou (lat. 27° 30′, long. 104° 45′) by different roads, and from there if possible to separate again and find different ways to the Yangtze. Watts-Jones was to strike across to Chao-t'ung Fu (lat. 27° 20′, long. 103° 40′) and on to the Yangtze at Sui Fu. Myself, I had to meet Turner and Ker at Yün-nan Fu, so I turned westwards again, taking the road for Tung-ch'uan Fu (lat. 26° 25′, long. 103° 10′), so as to see unexplored country.

[1] A Chinese weight of about 1⅓ oz., and worth at present about three shillings.

452 474 eliminate exploitation by usurers, disinterested observers, have doubts as to how far such means can or will go in meeting these problems. The doubts arise principally because of the government's frequently expressed desire to utilize credit co-operatives to pool idle capital in rural areas as government operating funds, which appear to be almost non-existent.

H. Chinese People's Insurance Company

456 According to the Communists, the state-operated Chinese People's Insurance Company is considered as a component of the entire Communist financial system. It has the functions of organizing scattered funds for the industrialization of the state, and of establishing a centralized insurance fund to compensate losses from natural calamities or accidents sustained by individual policy holders or economic units. The Chinese People's Insurance Company was established on October 20, 1949, and simultaneously the elimination of privately owned and foreign-operated insurance firms was begun. Branch offices and subordinate offices of the Chinese People's Insurance Company were established throughout the country, and branches of the People's Bank and other bank were appointed agents of the state-operated insurance company.

456 Since 1950, the Chinese People's Insurance Company has handled the compulsory insurance of assets of state-owned enterprises and supply-marketing co-operatives above the county level and of persons traveling by rail, steamer, and aircraft. The company also has promoted life and private property insurance on a voluntary basis in urban centers. Insurance of livestock and farm crops has been encouraged in rural areas. Rates for various categories of insurance have been reduced, and the scope of coverage broadened. However frequent criticism of the company has been expressed concerning imprudent expansion, inexperienced personnel, and the arbitrary attitude displayed by the officers.

III. BANKING OPERATIONS

453 652 The operation of these varied banking and financial organizations is integrated through their subordination to the single command of the People's Bank, and, in effect, they operate as a single body. During the development of the Communist monetary system, the emphasis of the whole banking operation appears to have shifted. At its inception, popularization of the People's Bank notes and the promotion of individual deposits were stressed; at a later stage, control of cash funds held by public organizations and centralization of credit extension were emphasized; recently,

178 The Communist effort to replace the old
668 attitudes toward time, change, and causation with
181 new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a
668 time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

597 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

467 Movement was initiated there in mid-1951. Prior
668 to the Communist regime, the system of recruitment in contruction work and in the mining industry was known as the gang master system. The gang master made a contract with the head engineer or manager of a company to supply labor for certain jobs at a stipulated price. He employed villagers for low wages and pocketed the difference between his payroll and the contract price. According to the Communist press, when the Red Army took Chungking at the end of 1949, the gang labor chiefs infiltrated the labor organization and some of them even pretended to be activists. The Communists assert that in the criticism and self-criticism meetings these gang labor chiefs were discovered and eliminated from the labor organization in Chungking.[11]

IV. LABOR EMULATION AND PRODUCTION

466 Labor emulation is a Communist method
461 for increasing labor productivity without raising production costs. It was practiced in Communist China during the early 1940's in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[12] Extended to all China in 1950, the labor emulation drive was stepped up in 1951 after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War. According to the

11. New China Daily, Oct.10,12,14,1951; and Oct. 2,1952, p. 2.

12. Abundant Clothing; Sufficient Food, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, May 1944.

466 Communist tenet, labor emulation is a natural
461 and spontaneous expression of the working class when it becomes the leading element in the country and begins to work for its own and national interests.

The responsibility for initiating labor emulation drives rests with the trade union leaders. They develop the campaign by the following stages: (1) the workers are brought together to discuss state production plans; (2) the trade unions, acting on behalf of the workers, then sign collective contracts with the managements of individual factories, mines, or other enterprises; (3) meetings are called to discuss production problems; and (4) the workers are urged to originate and submit "rationalization proposals"[13] and to popularize "advanced methods of work."[14]

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13. In Communist China, the term "rationalization proposals" means proposals submitted by workers to management for increasing production through improved techniques, reducing the cost of production, introducing methods to lengthen the life of machines, and using manpower more efficiently. The submission of rationalization proposals emerged as a campaign in Northeast China in 1947 and spread to all China in 1950. Cf. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Ts'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, 1952, pp. 9016-17.

14. The campaign to popularize "advanced methods of work" is a movement corresponding to Stakhanovism in Russia, a means of increasing the output of workers through publicized competition and the widespread adoption of faster or improved techniques developed by model workers. See Ibid., p. 9057.

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Since Southwest China was the last region to be occupied by the Communists, the labor emulation drive began there in 1952, two years after the movement's appearance in the other regions. In the later stage of the drive, emphasis was placed on raising the tehcnical skill of workers instead of lengthening working hours as had been done earlier in the movement. Throughout the region, Communist trade union cadres urged workers to improve working processes and devise more efficient working methods. In September and October 1952, the workers in the iron and steel and cotton textile industries of the whole region were said to have submitted 11,700 rationalization proposals.[15]

There were some reports of increased labor productivity in Southwest China following the inception of the labor emulation drive. They were accompanied by other accounts of an increase in sub-standard and unacceptable products. For instance, in a measuring instruments factory in Chungking, a production contract was signed by the union and management stipulating that if the workers could not fulfill 80 per cent of a fixed quota, there would be a wage cut. As a result, the workers raised their output, and the number of seconds and rejects increased accordingly.[16]

During an emulation drive, workers who showed special initiative and ingenuity in improving their work were accorded the title of "model workers" and given wide publicity. In addition, they received honors and rewards, prior rights to better housing, jobs as teachers of "backward"

15. Workers'Daily, Oct.22,1952, p. 1.
16. New China Daily, Sept. 13, 1952, p. 2.

466 workers, invitations to talk to visitors about
461 their accomplishments, and, occasionally, even tours of foreign countries for propaganda purposes.

V. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER

465 In order to insure a stable income for the people at a time of wide fluctuation in commodity prices, the Chinese Communists introduced a system whereby workers were paid in wage-units. One wage unit was worth the sum of the retail prices of the following daily necessities,[17] over which the government had control:

Food grain.	0.80 catty*/
White cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih#/
Edible oil	0.05 catty
Salt	0.02 catty
Coal.	2.00 catties

*/ One catty = 1.1 lb.
#/ One ch'ih = 1.09 ft.

Southwest China was the last region to adopt the wage-unit system. In October 1952, the money value of the wage-unit in the Southwest region was quoted at 2,158 yuan (old currecy), the lowest quotation in the country. Before the wage-unit system was adopted in this region, workers were paid in "commodity-equivalent" units,[18] which

17. Yangtze Daily, March 11, 1951, p. 2.
18. Commodity-equivalent units were also based on the prices of essential commodities.

631 As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the National Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

596 421 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses, and workshops were owned by the family rather than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshop, or store to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's [462] occupation and seldom left home. Women worked in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 慕頂], A-tung 阿東, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] [65] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both [192] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-[177] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and [463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged [438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, [135] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich [34] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu [197] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo)[10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

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the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son is fit to act as regent.

S P 361

The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice cultivation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S P [134] [243] S P [463]

S 101

The chief claim to interest of these two states is that they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

fitted with a handle to wheel along the road. These wheels 000
we found most accurate and satisfactory, and we all used them throughout our two seasons of surveying. Spare cyclometers had to be carried as they wear out in time.

On the 29th November I left T'êng-yüeh by the west gate and crossing a bare ridge by a low gap between two conspicuous peaks, descended into the fir-woods of the plateau country of Hsi-lien.

We slept at Mu-shui-ho, and found the country people extremely civil, a pleasant contrast to the T'êng-yüeh mob. One old gentleman was particularly communicative and offered to be my guide the next day to the mule and sheep breeding village of Lu-ts'ung-shan. We had a beautiful 361
walk there in the morning over undulating ground through pleasant woods of fir and other trees, the properties of different families being marked off by stone walls. The [245]
villages are quite hidden away in trees—peach, walnut, chestnut, plantain, golden bamboo, and the *tsung-pao* palm[1]. If a railway is ever made to T'êng-yüeh this plateau ought to become the hill station of Burma. Situated at 6000 feet above the sea in a beautiful well-watered country, I can imagine no more pleasant contrast with the scorching sun of Mandalay or the hot mugginess of Rangoon.

The simple villagers of Lu-ts'ung-shan I found rather 231
timid at first, frightened either of me or of the Chinese 438
soldier who accompanied me. But a more talkative man soon appeared. The sheep, it seems, are worth about two taels each (five rupees, or 6*s.* 4*d.*), and they use their wool for making rugs. They have tried taking the sheep to sell at Bhamo, but say that it does not pay. They cannot stand the warmer climate and want of grass in the Taping valley, and many of them die on the way. At present the mutton for Burma all comes from India, but with a railway to T'êng-yüeh, the want could no doubt be supplied from Yün-nan. The mule breeding here does not seem to be on a large scale. They get their donkeys from the province of Shen-hsi, and pay as much as 80 or 100 taels for them, a large price in this part of China.

Agricultural pursuits are not the only occupation of the 463

[1] See p. 77.

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

463 people of Hsi-lien, for in the afternoon at the village of Wan-yao I found pottery works and a manufactory of iron
323 pans. The potter's wheel was made of one round stone revolving over another. The upper stone has a piece sticking up at the top and round this piece the clay is put. The potter then makes the stones revolve by working a treadle with his foot, and at the same time forms the clay with his hands. In three or four minutes he made a plate and two different sizes of cup. When the moulding is finished the things are put out in the sun to dry. Then comes the glazing. This process I did not see, but it was explained to me as follows:—The glazing stuff is made of rice husk and lime mixed together and heated and then mixed with water. Into this mixture the cups are put and are then baked in a kiln. The result is a greenish coloured glaze.

326 I then went on, accompanied by several villagers, to the iron works. Here they had a cylindrical-shaped furnace, three feet long and one foot in diameter, in which the iron
[376] was placed to melt. An ingenious use had been made of a little stream which flowed past the shed, to turn a horizontally placed water-wheel which worked the bellows for the furnace. Two pan-shaped clay moulds are then taken and one is fastened tightly down over the other, both with the convex side uppermost. The furnace is then tilted up a little so that the melted iron runs into a ladle, by means of which it is poured into a small hole in the upper mould, so that it fills up all the space between the two. It is left for a minute to solidify, and then the topmost mould is taken off and the pan that has been thus formed put on one side to cool.

186 While I was looking at this, one of the villagers came running up, grinning all over, and shouted out, "Is this a foreign devil?" He was immediately silenced by the others, and one could not take offence where evidently none was meant. The fact is that Chinamen among themselves nearly always allude to us as "Yang kuei-tzŭ," "Sea devil" or "Devil from across the sea," and many ignorant villagers would be puzzled to find any other name by which to call a European. The origin of this expression, I believe, dates from the first Chinese war of 1842. The Chinese

7: Hu K-5 (934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

166 the neighboring provinces of interior China. The influx of these heterogeneous groups of immigrants brought with it many ideas and practices to help in the adjustment of the people to their new environment, particularly in connection with agricultural and forestry land use. This fact helps to explain the present heterogeneity of the agricultural landscape of the Basin.

463 439 Agriculture and forestry are the outstanding features of the economy of the Szechuan Basin. Approximately 85 per cent of the people gain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits. In terms of exports from the Basin, however, the leading item, Tung oil, is a forest product. Most of the other exports are either agricultural or forestry products.

241 312 In so far as agricultural land use is concerned, nowhere else in China except in Szechuan Basin does one find terraced fields so extensively, elaborately, and finely made, and irrigation systems so greatly diversified and ingeniously devised. The Basin is almost literally a country of "millions of minute steps" and a land of "thousands of small ditches." The terraced fields and the irrigation ditches, together with the hard-working peasantry have helped to transform the otherwise hostile rugged Szechuan Basin into a smiling garden.

Other unique features of the Basin's agricultural land use include the age-old but the recently much publicized Tung Shui Tien (winter storage water field) system; the cultivation of Tsai Seng Tao (double-growth) variety rice; the numerous special methods of soil culture, fertilization, composting, and crop rotations; and the various elaborate systems of inter-culture and synchronization of crops.

133 As has been implied, the Basin is a natural unit. Its combination of surface, climate, soil, and drainage is unlike that of any other part of China. In large measure, the interior of the Basin within the mountainous border is made up of hill country which varies from hilly areas of low relief in the south to the fairly high parallel anticlinal ridges in the east and to a border of complex hills at the north. Near the western edge of the Basin, the hills give way to the Chengtu Plain, a broad piedmont alluvial plain, the most productive part of the Basin.

132 Climatically, the Basin has a phase of the "humid subtropical" type of climate.[1] The Basin extends from latitude 28

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[1] G. Trewartha, An Introduction to Weather and Climate, Plate I, 1937.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 moles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

[1]One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

657 Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this
744 organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. In the organizing of branch offices, four years later it was reported that twenty-three large cities in all regions of China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In Southwest China, branch offices have been established in Chungking and Chengtu in the province of Szechwan and in Kunming in the province of Yunnan. A special provincial branch office was also set up in Kweichow Province.[12] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[13]

444 Due to the increase of unemployment, the
657 Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administrative Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established in August of the same year. Later similar committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[14]

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12. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 396-397.

13. Cultural and Social Movements, pp. 6-8.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

746 northern Kiangsu provinces in East China
by the people of the Southwest. In 1951, the
731 city people of East Szechwan contributed
JMP$ 425,000,000 and some 2,700,000 pounds
of food to the famine-stricken rural areas.[23]

464 In the cities, especially in the early
period of the Communist regime, unemployment was an extremely serious problem.
In the Southwest Region it was estimated that in 1952 about 2,600,000 people were unemployed or partly unemployed,[24] and as a result the Communist regime established a Labor Employment Committee in Peking as well as on the various levels in local governments. Under this committee the "registration of labor employment" was conducted. The following steps were taken to alleviate the problem of unemployment: (1) the centralization of employment agencies under the Labor Employment Committee, (2) the establishment of training courses, (3) the substitution of work for direct relief, (4) the advocation of self-help-through-production, (5) outright relief (only to cases of extreme hardship), and (6) a

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23. Ibid.
24. Relief Work, p. 13.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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464 campaign to encourage workers to return to the rural areas to engage in production.[25] All in all, the basis of city relief was self-help-through-labor, which was also the emphasis of rural relief policies. For example, in Chungking needy people were organized into handicraft-production teams. Early in 1955, it was reported that in addition to those performing regular and seasonal labor, 32,000 needy people were organized into productive labor teams in Chungking. Among the people who were unable to make a living, including the aged, the cripple, and the young, relief was given to 41,828 families in the period January-October 1954, according to a Communist source.[26]

735 733 548 Beggars, pickpockets, and prostitutes were the subjects of an intensive campaign. It was reported in 1952 that the majority of these three city elements had been sent to institutions for reform and training in productive works.[27] In a speech in September 1954, the Communist Minister of Internal Affairs told the National People's Congress that prostitutes, beggars, and opium smokers were "basically

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25. Ibid., p. 16.

26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, America Consulate General, No. 1008, Supplements, March 16, 1955, pp. 8-10.

27. New China Daily, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 4.

362 The housing projects for workers of Southwest
466 China have been concentrated in Chungking and Chengtu; the number of units built was far less than in other regions. By March 1953, nine apartment houses with 577 rooms for workers and their families had been built in Chungking. There are no private baths and no private kitchens in these apartments. Only workers in construction and public utilities are eligible to live in these apartments. They rented for 12 wage-units per month (25,890 yuan, about US 1.00).[33] The municipal government of Chengtu completed a housing project for 512 families in April 1953. The whole project consisted of 14,896 square meters of floor space (about 152,534 square feet). Each family occupied about 250 square feet of floor space.[34] Compared with the living standard in pre-Communist China, this is a great improvement, but it benefitted only a small part of the working force.

VII. UNEMPLOYMENT

464 Since the Constitution of Communist China guarantees the right to work to everyone, the Communists maintain that "unemployment" under the new regime is a temporary holdover from the old

33. New China Daily, April 29, 1953, p. 2.
34. Ibid., April 30, 1953, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

economy and will eventually disappear after the transformation from the capitalist economy to the socialist economy is completed in the future. 464

During the period from 1952 to 1952, 354,297 unemployed workers registered with the local governments in the Southwest Region. By October 1952, about 76 per cent of the registrants had found work through their own efforts or through government agencies. The Communist methods of unemployment relief included "substitution of work for relief," "increased production and self-help," and a "back-to-the-village" drive. Most of the unemployed urban workers in the Southwest Region were recruited to build railways, highways, and other public works in large cities such as Chungking, Chengtu, and Kungming. Only 15 per cent of the unemployed workers received direct relief in the region.[35]

VIII. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE WORKERS OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

The industry of Southwest China is still largely in the handicraft stage. The first Five-Year Plan initiated by the Communists in 1953 contained no major projects for the region. None of the small-scale factories and mines play any significant parts in the plan. Despite these facts, 185

35. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 29, p. 2 and Sept. 30, p. 2, 1952.

499 kilometers (about 314 miles) in length and connects the provincial capital of Szechwan Province and the commercial center of the Southwest Region. In addition to the building of roadbeds, which had been partly finished by the Nationalists, the entire work consisted of building 45 tunnels, 327 bridges, 701 culverts, and 26,530,000 cubic feet of earthwork.[3] It was begun in June 1950 and was completed by the end of June 1952, six months in advance of the scheduled time. It was opened to traffic on July 1 of that year.

A. Recruitment of Labor

499 464 In June 1950, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee was created by the Southwest Military and Political Committee. Because of the urgent need for construction, the authorities first used the regular army. At the same time, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee, in co-operation with the hsien governments, worked on the recruitment of civilian labor. In addition to patriotic appeals such as they had used in other mass-labor projects, the authorities promised the peasants

3. Wang Chih-fen, Chengtu-Chungking Railway, Shanghai, 1954, pp. 18-19.

499 reduction of land rent, the return of rental
464 deposits on their land, and a cheap supply of daily necessities to the workers along the construction sites. The methods of recruitment seemed to be effective. Some 38,000 persons answered the call from the eastern part of that province; 30,000 from the southern part, 10,000 from Chengtu and the western part; 6,000 from the northern part; and 22,000 unemployed workers from Chengtun and Chungking also took part in the construction. The total labor force amounted to 104,000 men.[4] After the recruited civilians were organized, they took over the construction job from the army, some members of which were kept to act as office personnel and as an engineering corps.

B. Organization and Living Conditions of the Labor Force

499 The units of the labor organization were
466 formed according to the plan of the projected line, which was divided into 180 sections. Each section was allocated 579 workers. Each group of workers was divided into two shifts. They were formed into small teams according to the character of the work assigned to them. Their

4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung ti Nu-kung Chin-tu [Slavery System of the Chinese Communist] Hong Kong, Tzu-ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 89.

499 work had already passed the Wei River. Originally it was scheduled to be finished in 1957, but the Communists have now scheduled its completion for 1956.

2. The Chengtu-Kunming Line runs from Chengtu in Szechwan Province to Kunming in Yunnan Province. Work on the line was begun in 1954 and scheduled for completion within the period of the first Five-Year Plan, which ends in 1957.

3. The Lung-ch'ang --Kweiyang Line is still being planned.

4. The Szechwan-Sikang Line will run from Chengtu to Ya-an in former Sikang Province. It is in the planning stage.

5. The Hunan-Kweichow Line will run from Chu-chou in Hunan Province to Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. It is under contemplation.

6. The Yunnan-Burma Line will run from Kunming in Yunnan to Nanta in Burma. It is under contemplation.

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III. MASS LABOR IN HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION (SIKANG-TIBET HIGHWAY)

The Government Administration Council

499 issued one directive concerning the conscription
464 of peasants to build and repair the highways in 1951,[14] which authorized all levels of local governments (administrative district, hsien, chu, and hsiang) to recruit and organize civilian labor for highway construction. It is stipulated in the directive that one recruit is limited to 10 standard work-days each year. One standard work-day is the average amount of work accomplished per day per person in that locality. The recruits receive no daily allowance for their food and are required to bring their own tools. In Southwest China, during five years of Communist control, about 5,000 kilometers (about 3,105 miles) of highways had been constructed with recruited laborers.[15] The most important one -- the Sikang-Tibet Highway -- was completed by the end of 1954.

A. Difficulties of the Job

491 The Sikang-Tibet Highway, 2,240 kilometers (about 1,400 miles) long, today links Lhasa with the rest of China. It is the first highway built in China at such a high altitude and in the face of so many difficulties. It climbs the

14. Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies of the Central Government, Peking, March 1952, Vol. III, pp. 713-15.

15. People's Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

491 snow-clad mountains that tower 16,000 feet above sea level, with bridges across the tremendous ravines where mountain torrents plunge through twisting gorges. The area along the route is rocky, precipitous, and subject to earthquakes, landslides, avalanches, and shifting sands.

499 464 Although the Communists had no topographical maps of this region, no geological, seismological, or weather records, and no engineers with experience in highway construction over such a terrain as the Plateau of Tibet, they mobilized a tremendous amount of manpower.

B. Labor Force and Working Conditions of the Laborers

By the end of 1951, the local governments of K'ang-ting, Ya-an, Ch'ang-tu and T'ien-chüan had recruited about 8,000 civilian laborers. They began to work with the man-power of the People's Liberation Army. In that winter they worked on the terrain 16,000 feet above sea level under severe weather, 25 degrees below zero (C). By March 1952, out of the original 8,000 builders, 3,500 had died as the result of hardships and the climate.[16] At the same time, a fresh

16. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 98.

499 supply of 50,000 recruits continued to pour
464 into the construction sites, including thousands of Tibetans who worked from the western end of the line.

499 The builders were equipped with rock drills and power-driven saws which they moved in first to get rid of the most stubborn obstacles. It seems that on the Sikang-Tibet Highway road-building machinery was used more than on other highway construction. In one report the Communists said that snowplows and bulldozers cleared millions of cubic feet of snow and earth, replacing hand labor even on mountain tops and in deep forests.[17]

The Sikang-Tibet Highway has been the most-talked-about highway construction in Mainland China. Almost all the newspapers in different parts of China sent the reporters to the construction sites. This resulted in thousands of detailed press reports which disclosed the "heroic and tragic life of the masses who toiled on the roof of the world."[18]

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17. China Reconstructs, Peking, May 1955, pp. 2-5.

18. People's Daily, June 9, 1954, and Dec. 17, 1954, Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Aug. 7, and Sept. 26, 1954.

697 who had no professional training were formed into groups to reclaim waste land, repair or build municipal warehouses, and work on the highways.[27]

697 731 In Li-chiang hsien, Yunnan Province, a Reform-through-labor corps of 30,000 prisoners was employed to repair the damages of an earthquake in December 1952. With the help of the peasants in the area, they dredged 6 rivers, rebuilt more than 100 villages, dug 78 ditches, and constructed 87 water basins to irrigate 110,000 mou (about 16,610 acres) of rice field, which was returned to production by the prisoners.[28]

There are several Reform-through-labor camps in the suburbs of Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province. One is in T'an-hua-ssu, and contained 3,000 prisoners in 1954.[29]

V. COMMENTS

•464 It is doubtful that the use of patriotic appeals in recruiting peasants to work on the construction of such projects as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway would be successful again and again. The

27. Sung Wei-ta, Hung-chieh Yü-sheng [Life After Red Terror], Taipei, 1955, p. 104.

28. Yün-nan Tung-nan-ya Ti Huo-san [Yunan--the Volcano of Southeast Asia], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, The Nationalist Party, May 1954, p. 31.

29. World Today, Aug. 1, 1954, p. 12.

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464 Chinese peasants are both individualistic and conservative. After they have acquired land, they wish to be left alone. If the Communists want to employ men on mass-labor projects in the future, they may have to rely increasingly on material offers rather than on emotional appeal.

In their press reports, the Communists have always boasted of their ability to mobilize millions of peasants to work for the "Motherland"; they seemed to care little for the results of mobilization. In many cases, because of lack of planning, the use of patriotic appeals to arouse the masses resulted in a waste of manpower, causing frustration among those who remained idle or worked needlessly. For instance, one Communist report from Mien-chu Hsien in Szechwan Province admitted that the local government wasted 16,000 mandays in digging a well which did not yield one drop of water. Another report from Ying-shan, also in Szechwan Province, stated that the local dams were swept away by the torrent before the recruited peasants had finished them. In both cases, the local governments spend 30,000 catties (33,000 lbs.) of rice to feed the otherwise unpaid laborers.[30]

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30. New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2.

464 The easy mobilization of the masses in the Southwest Region discloses also the existence of a large group of unemployed in that region. Projects such as the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway provide a means of coping with the unemployment problem and the population pressure which is typical in an overpopulated and underdeveloped country such as China is today.

466 workers, invitations to talk to visitors about
461 their accomplishments, and, occasionally, even tours of foreign countries for propaganda purposes.

V. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER

•465 In order to insure a stable income for the people at a time of wide fluctuation in commodity prices, the Chinese Communists introduced a system whereby workers were paid in wage-units. One wage unit was worth the sum of the retail prices of the following daily necessities,[17] over which the government had control:

Food grain	0.80 catty*/
White cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih#/
Edible oil	0.05 catty
Salt	0.02 catty
Coal	2.00 catties

*/ One catty = 1.1 lb.
#/ One ch'ih = 1.09 ft.

Southwest China was the last region to adopt the wage-unit system. In October 1952, the money value of the wage-unit in the Southwest region was quoted at 2,158 yuan (old currecy), the lowest quotation in the country. Before the wage-unit system was adopted in this region, workers were paid in "commodity-equivalent" units,[18] which

17. Yangtze Daily, March 11, 1951, p. 2.
18. Commodity-equivalent units were also based on the prices of essential commodities.

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had been used previously in Communist China to compute and stabilize savings deposits. One "commodity-equivalent" unit was quoted in October 1951 at 5,492 yuan (old currency).[19] The average miner in the T'ien-fu coal mine in Chungking was reported to be earning 120 "commodity-equivalent" units per month in mid-1950, which amounted to 659,000 yuan (about US$22),[20] while the average monthly pay for the construction worker was said to be 89 "commodity-equivalent" units (about US 19.50). The lowest pay was received by the apprentices who averaged 4.5 "commodity-equivalent" units per month[21] (about US$1.00).

At the end of 1951, state-operated enterprises in the Southwest Region began to pay their workers in wage-units instead of "commodity-equivalent" units. The average gross earnings of a highly skilled worker in a Chungking steel factory was reported to be 300 wage units a month, amounting to 647,400 yuan (about US $25.90). An unskilled worker earned about 60 wage-units per month (about US $5.20).[22]

The Chinese Communists claim that the wages of Chinese workers have been rising as production increased, but the Communists' own figures do not support the claim. According to

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19. New China Daily, Oct.4,1951.p.6.

20. There are no direct quotations on the exchange rate of the yuan in terms of the U.S. dollar at this period. The figure is worked out from Hong Kong money to be about 25,000 yuan for one U.S. dollar.

21. Chinese Worker Monthly, Sept.1950, p.70.

22. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p.2; and Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.

465 Communists statistics,[23] the average annual increase from 1951 to 1953 in the total value of industrial products of the Southwest Region was about 32 per cent. The 1953 average wage of workers in publicly owned enterprises in the region exceeded the 1952 average by only 13 per cent.

465 511 The Chinese Communists boast that the increase of wages in China does not merely keep pace with the rise of living coats as is supposed to happen in a capitalist society, but represents a real elevation of the workers' living standard. In the Southwest Region, people's purchasing power[24] in 1952 was said to be 30 per cent higher than in 1950. The New China News Agency reported that three times the amount of cotton textiles were being supplied to the people of Szechwan Province in 1954, compared with 1951.[25] In Chungking, the consumption of meat in Nov. 1952 was reported to be 160 per cent higher than that in the pre-Communist period.[26]

An examination of the budget of a skilled worker in a Chungking steel factory, reported by the New China Daily on September 25, 1952, offers evidence for doubting the validity of the Communist

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23. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1954, p. 18.
24. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin] Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10.
25. NCNA, Chengtu, Sept. 9, 1954.
26. Economic Bulletin, Sept. 8, 1953, p. 1.

465 511 claims:

Income (Wages and bonuses)	Yuan
	600,000

Expenditure	Yuan
Rice	90,000
Fuel (coal and wood)	68,000
Edible oil	10,800
Fat	8,000
Salt	510
Supplementary food	80,000
Rent	25,890
Total	283,200

465 511 651 The expenditures in the above budget are all for food and rent, which consumes about 47 per cent of the average worker's earnings. Besides clothing and other miscellaneous expenses, the remaining 53 per cent of his gross income is subject to various deductions in the form of union fees, "voluntary" contributions, and purchases of government bonds. When the Communist government issued the 1950 Victory Bond series, the Southwest Region was allocated 700,000 points; people [27] were urged to buy as many points as they could afford. The purchase of even one point was a big deduction from the workers' small income. After the Chinese Communists entered

27. One Victory Bond point was equal to the total value of six catties of rice, one catty of flour, four ch'ih of cotton cloth, sixteen catties of coal. One unit was quoted at 14,005 yuan (old currency) at the beginning of 1950.

the Korean war, the Chinese workers were urged 465
to make "voluntary" contributions to finance the 571
war. Within three months of 1951, workers in the 651
city of Chungking contributed 13,200,000,000 yuan (old currency).[28]

The Communists have reported an increase 511
in bank savings throughout the whole country. By 466
early May 1954, total savings deposits in cities nationwide were stated to be ten times larger in May 1954 than at the end of 1950. By the end of 1953, savings deposits in the Southwest Region had increased by 7.5 times as compared with 1950. But the in creased savings do not necessarily indicate surplus spending power in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1952, the Chinese Communists forced each worker to put 25 to 30 per cent of his income in the People's Bank as compulsory savings to prevent possible inflation and to accumulate capital for national construction.[29] After deducting the "voluntary" contributions and compulsory savings, there is not like to be money for the workers to spend for other than daily living needs.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law promulgated 745
by the Communist government in March 1951, 5,380,000 workers throughout China received insurance coverage for death, old age, illness and disability. In the Southwest China Region, there were 163,824 workers, other than railway

28. New China Daily, Oct. 25,1951,p.2.
29. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an[China Weekly], Hong Kong, Jan.4, 1954, p. 41.

499 sphere of movement was restricted to within
466 2 li (about 545 yards) on each side of the construction line.

499 The recruits were paid according to piece
465 rates, calculated on the basis of the work-day unit. One work-day unit is what an average worker could accomplish in one day. In the case of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway construction, one work-day unit is 2.5 cubic meters (about 81.75 cubic feet) of earthwork. For this amount of work, one worker received seven and one-half catties (about 8.25 lbs.) of rice.[5] In Southwest China, one catty of medium-grade rice was sold for 740 yuan (old currency); one U.S. dollar was worth about 20,000 yuan at the time. Therefore, 7.5 catties of rice would be worth about 27 cents in the United States. With this amount of money per day, the worker had to provide for his food, clothing, and other necessities, not to mention the support of his family.

499 The recruits were required to bring their own tools such as pickaxes and bamboo poles, for railway construction in China depended upon physical labor rather than upon mechanical equipment. Machinery for the laying of tracks was not introduced until the spring of 1954 in building the Pao-chi-Chengtu Line. The workers

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5. The World Today, Hong Kong, Oct. 15, 1952, p. 2.

796 on these cholera prayer meetings to the cause of the War against the national enemy. The wealthiest family of the locality, after spending more than one million dollars on a funeral in West Town, gave fifty thousand dollars from their condolers' presents to the national cause and earned for themselves much publicity in the papers.

An analysis of the items of the expenditures shows that from about one-sixth to one-fourth of the total is paid to the priests and their musical and other assistants; from about one-half to two-thirds is expended on food for human beings as well as for the gods and spirits; and the rest is expended on paper money, incense, candles, fire crackers, paper works (image and dragon boats, etc.) and miscellaneous expenses.

796 The ordinary priest's wage for a working day is as follows:

793 Wage - $56.00; Tobacco - $5.00; rice (one sheng) - worth about $18.00; total - $79.00 RC.

465 For the chief priest in a prayer meeting the working day wage may be considerably more. In addition to the above he gets a larger share of the rice offered by those who want their newly deceased family members "uplifted" in the spirit world on the second night of the prayer meeting. In the larger meetings such a source of income is considerable. In the prayer meeting which took place in Area E, the author counted nineteen tables ritually "uplifted" on the second night, which meant that the priests would receive nineteen sheng of rice (or about three hundred and eighty dollars) for the meeting alone.

The priest's wage is very impressive when we compare it with the expenditures of the sample families mentioned above and with the wages of other workers in the community. The author only studied the work of the priests in the community to a very limited extent, so cannot say how many days the average priest works during a month. But when we consider the number of ritual occasions stated in Chapter II of this paper, the total number of the population, and the fact that there are not more than a hundred priests in the community(8) (the community refers to the town and its surrounding villages), we shall have a fair idea on the working opportunities of each priest. Now then, if we assume that each priest works for ten days a month, then his monthly income will at least amount to somewhere around five thousand national dollars.(9) The daily wage of a laborer on a farm around West Town, on the other hand, during rice-planting which occurred in the same month as the prayer meetings, was seven dollars to seven dollars and fifty cents a day plus board. That means that the laborer gets about 240 dollars plus food a month during the "busy period" on farms while the priest gets about twenty times that sum or more plus ten days of food a month. Food for a month per person, according to the best standards in West Town, was not more than three or four hundred national dollars during the corresponding period. The distance between the income of the priest and

(8) This figure may not be exact. It was obtained from the estimates of a few informants. The author's attempts at studying the census records of the sub-district government (which are not exact by any means) met with some unsurmounted obstacles at the time.

(9) For ordinary prayers of blessing and in funerals the wage may be less than that in these cholera prayer meetings.

that of the laborers and these sample families studied is large. His monthly income is even more than double the comparatively high income of the butchers. Probably this fact is responsible for making a larger percentage of them opium addicts than they would have been had their economic position been less favorable. The priests of West Town are undoubtedly a privileged class of people. 796 793 465

2. The Meaning of the Prayer Meetings

(a) The Priest's Explanations. - The author has spoken to three officiating priests of these prayer meetings, one of them the most famous priest in the locality, about the meaning of these prayers. Their explanation is the following: The epidemic[1] is caused by evil Wen spirits, spread forth by the Wen God to punish the people for their sinful deeds. The Wen God acts by order of the superior deities. In order to avert the disaster it is necessary to invoke the mercy of superior deities who will require the Wen God to retract the Wen spirits which he let loose earlier on. It is necessary to invoke as many superior deities as possible. The chief deities, worshipped in the center of the main altars, are the San Ch'ing, who are three deities in one, or Lao Tao, the founder of Taoist religion.(10) More deities are invoked each day of the prayer meeting, so that a one-day prayer meeting can invoke only a much smaller number of deities than a two-day prayer meeting. The latter again is less effective than a three-day prayer meeting. Usually three days and four nights are an adequate duration, but for real perfection seven or eight more days will be desirable. 796 753

In order to move the deities it is necessary to show first of all that the people of the locality are moral and then that their hearts are absolutely earnest and that their request is extremely pressing. For this reason posters exhorting the people to take care of their moral qualities rather than anything else are essential. For the same reason in each prayer meeting one or more representatives must be chosen to perform a continuous worshipping duty (usually to kneel on the altar with an incense burner in hand during the entire length of the prayer meeting). For the same reason, too, it is necessary for each street as well as each village to have a separate prayer meeting. The petition papers burnt during the prayers are like petitions to our earthly officials. The various amulets and incantations used and performed respectively are special keys which the mortal does not comprehend but to which the deities will readily respond. The loud music by bugles, drum, cymbals, flute, bells, etc., as well as the singing and reading by the priests, are for the deities to hear. The louder the music and voice, the higher will they reach and consequently the easier and more quickly will the deities notice the distress of the area and the more swifty take actions for its relief.

Only a properly "qualified" priest can perform the duty of the prayer, and certain special inborn priests enjoy more such power than others who are less fortunate.

It is not necessary for every prayer meeting to include the "Ten-God-retracting-evil-Wen-spirits" ritual; one or two will be enough to fulfil the purpose. But more ritual actions are always a safer course to take than less ritual actions. The ritual of spreading rice porridge along the streets

(10) It will be interesting to note that this "three deities in one" tale is entirely based upon a traditional novel on deities called Fong Shen Pang (literally, List of Ordained Gods).

[1] [of cholera, in "West Town" -- Analyst]

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361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
161 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[446] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[14] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
369 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
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13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

565 184 of these benefits are limited and there have been only a small number of beneficiaries.

565 466 184 On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial increase in the standard of living, a harsher work schedule and loss of leisure time, and growing disillusionment as it becomes obvious that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the New China. The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against overwork and overly rigid demands upon the time and temper of the laborer indicate that the laboring class is not necessarily most productive under pressure. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new, Communist-fostered managerial class, which, for whatever reasons, receives more benefits than does manual labor.

565 648 Foreign advisers had been employed in many Chinese factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to recognizing the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. There is no evidence to suggest that many Russian technicians or advisers are employed in factories in this region, or that those employed have caused resentment among the native workers.

578 process, each level of government has a particular target in mind and exerts influence on the next lower political echelon to achieve that objective. The result is an accumulation of pressure at the base of the political pyramid.

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466 In the economic field, each factory is given a production quota, assigned through a similar chain-of-command method. To fulfill the quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure engendered is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them means severe penalties. Recently, the Communists have attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in an effort to gain some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

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578 Within the Party itself, pressure and tension are most intense. In the first place, the Party apparatus as the center of power and activity of the regime is subject to pressure by both the Party and the state. Secondly,

467 constituted about 0.05 per cent of the total number of industrial workers in all China, although the population of the region accounts for 16.9 per cent of the population of the whole country. Of the 177,670 industrial workers, only 25,538 (14.37%) were unionized at the time the report was published.[1]

After three years' work on labor organization and the development of industry, the new regime announced in June 1952 that 35,259 basic trade unions (unions formed in individual factories, mines, and other enterprises) had been formed in the region.[2] The number of unionized industrial workers was reported to have increased from 25, 538 to 640,846, and the total of all unionized wage earners was set at 1,405,706.

438 466 However, in mid-1952, about 80 per cent of the industrial output of Southwest China was still turned out by handcraft methods in small shops throughout the region.[3] Old fashioned workshops and some of the semi-modern factories continued to rely heavily on apprentices for labor. The

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1. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker Monthly], Peking, June 15, 1950, p. 69.
2. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.
3. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-kung-yeh [China's Light Industry], Peking, May 1952, pp. 21-24.

438 treatment of apprentices under the new regime
466 still largely followed the old customs in Southwest China. The working hours of the apprentice were almost unrestricted; his earnings seldom amounted to more than 35 lbs. of rice per month. Since the trade union and labor insurance laws promulgated by the Communist government did not cover the apprentices, they had neither organization nor security. After a three year apprenticeship, they entered the labor market as unskilled labor.[4]

467 Chungking is the industrial and commercial center of Southwest China. As a result, almost all regional reports concerning organized labor refer solely to this city. Chungking was occupied by the Communists on November 30, 1949, and the Preparatory Committee of the Chungking General Trade Union was established on December 27. The committee consisted of 87 members, including representatives of miners, textile workers, telecommunication workers, and workers in other industrial enterprises. The initial tasks of the committee were the restoration of production and the organization of labor in the city. By September 1951, about 90 per cent of the city's 200,000 working population were reported to have joined trade unions.[5] A large part of the Chungking industrial force was working in arsenals in the suburbs of the city. These workers were more tightly controlled by the regime but better paid than

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4. New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1951, p. 2.

5. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 5.

467 Movement was initiated there in mid-1951. Prior
668 to the Communist regime, the system of recruitment in construction work and in the mining industry was known as the gang master system. The gang master made a contract with the head engineer or manager of a company to supply labor for certain jobs at a stipulated price. He employed villagers for low wages and pocketed the difference between his payroll and the contract price. According to the Communist press, when the Red Army took Chungking at the end of 1949, the gang labor chiefs infiltrated the labor organization and some of them even pretended to be activists. The Communists assert that in the criticism and self-criticism meetings these gang labor chiefs were discovered and eliminated from the labor organization in Chungking.[11]

IV. LABOR EMULATION AND PRODUCTION

466 Labor emulation is a Communist method
461 for increasing labor productivity without raising production costs. It was practiced in Communist China during the early 1940's in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[12] Extended to all China in 1950, the labor emulation drive was stepped up in 1951 after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War. According to the

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11. New China Daily, Oct.10,12,14,1951; and Oct. 2,1952, p. 2.

12. Abundant Clothing; Sufficient Food, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, May 1944.

466 461 Communist tenet, labor emulation is a natural and spontaneous expression of the working class when it becomes the leading element in the country and begins to work for its own and national interests.

The responsibility for initiating labor emulation drives rests with the trade union leaders. They develop the campaign by the following stages: (1) the workers are brought together to discuss state production plans; (2) the trade unions, acting on behalf of the workers, then sign collective contracts with the managements of individual factories, mines, or other enterprises; (3) meetings are called to discuss production problems; and (4) the workers are urged to originate and submit "rationalization proposals"[13] and to popularize "advanced methods of work."[14]

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13. In Communist China, the term "rationalization proposals" means proposals submitted by workers to management for increasing production through improved techniques, reducing the cost of production, introducing methods to lengthen the life of machines, and using manpower more efficiently. The submission of rationalization proposals emerged as a campaign in Northeast China in 1947 and spread to all China in 1950. Cf. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Ts'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, 1952, pp. 9016-17.

14. The campaign to popularize "advanced methods of work" is a movement corresponding to Stakhanovism in Russia, a means of increasing the output of workers through publicized competition and the widespread adoption of faster or improved techniques developed by model workers. See Ibid., p. 9057.

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Since Southwest China was the last region to be occupied by the Communists, the labor emulation drive began there in 1952, two years after the movement's appearance in the other regions. In the later stage of the drive, emphasis was placed on raising the tehcnical skill of workers instead of lengthening working hours as had been done earlier in the movement. Throughout the region, Communist trade union cadres urged workers to improve working processes and devise more efficient working methods. In September and October 1952, the workers in the iron and steel and cotton textile industries of the whole region were said to have submitted 11,700 rationalization proposals.[15]

There were some reports of increased labor productivity in Southwest China following the inception of the labor emulation drive. They were accompanied by other accounts of an increase in sub-standard and unacceptable products. For instance, in a measuring instruments factory in Chungking, a production contract was signed by the union and management stipulating that if the workers could not fulfill 80 per cent of a fixed quota, there would be a wage cut. As a result, the workers raised their output, and the number of seconds and rejects increased accordingly.[16]

During an emulation drive, workers who showed special initiative and ingenuity in improving their work were accorded the title of "model workers" and given wide publicity. In addition, they received honors and rewards, prior rights to better housing, jobs as teachers of "backward"

15. Workers'Daily, Oct.22,1952, p. 1.
16. New China Daily, Sept. 13, 1952, p. 2.

466 workers, invitations to talk to visitors about
461 their accomplishments, and, occasionally, even tours of foreign countries for propaganda purposes.

V. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER

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Southwest China was the last region to adopt the wage-unit system. In October 1952, the money value of the wage-unit in the Southwest region was quoted at 2,158 yuan (old currecy), the lowest quotation in the country. Before the wage-unit system was adopted in this region, workers were paid in "commodity-equivalent" units,[18] which

17. Yangtze Daily, March 11, 1951, p. 2.
18. Commodity-equivalent units were also based on the prices of essential commodities.

the Korean war, the Chinese workers were urged to make "voluntary" contributions to finance the war. Within three months of 1951, workers in the city of Chungking contributed 13,200,000,000 yuan (old currency).[28] 465 511 651

The Communists have reported an increase in bank savings throughout the whole country. By early May 1954, total savings deposits in cities nationwide were stated to be ten times larger in May 1954 than at the end of 1950. By the end of 1953, savings deposits in the Southwest Region had increased by 7.5 times as compared with 1950. But the increased savings do not necessarily indicate surplus spending power in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1952, the Chinese Communists forced each worker to put 25 to 30 per cent of his income in the People's Bank as compulsory savings to prevent possible inflation and to accumulate capital for national construction.[29] After deducting the "voluntary" contributions and compulsory savings, there is not like to be money for the workers to spend for other than daily living needs. 511 466

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law promulgated by the Communist government in March 1951, 5,380,000 workers throughout China received insurance coverage for death, old age, illness and disability. In the Southwest China Region, there were 163,824 workers, other than railway 745

28. New China Daily, Oct. 25, 1951, p.2.

29. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, Jan.4, 1954, p. 41.

[redacted]

745 and telecommunication employees covered by the insurance law in mid-1952. In the whole region, there were only three large sanitoria, nine rest homes, and 53 crêches established under the provisions of the Labor Insurance Law. The largest sanitoria for workers is located in Nan-wen-ch'üan (Southern Warm Spring), a famous health resort and scenic beauty spot ten miles south of Chungking.

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

466 The Chinese Communists claim that from 1949 to 1953 the People's Government enacted 119 decrees, rules, and regulations concerning labor safety and sanitation. But there are no indications that any of them has been enforced to any extent. Since the intensification of the labor emulation drive in 1951, the incidence of industrial accidents in Southwest China has been increasing. A report covering the first half of 1952 showed a serious situation. According to the deputy director of the Department of Industry of the Southwest Region,[30] during the first six months of 1952, 3,245 industrial accidents occurred in the region and the accident death rate increased 56.25 per cent over the corresponding period of 1951. From June to August 1952, there were 273 serious industrial accidents reported in Chungking alone. As a result of these disclosures, the municipal government of Chungking issued a directive in September 1952 calling on all responsible parties in the factories and mines of Chungking to follow carefully the labor safety measures and to establish special agencies in each

30. Ibid., January 19, 1953, p. 7.

466 enterprise to supervise the enforcement of safety rules and make detailed reports on industrial accidents. Working conditions were reported to have been improved since the issuance of the directive.[31]

C. Labor Education and Recreation

873 At the time the Communists took over Main-
466land China in 1949, from 60 to 80 per cent of Chinese workers were illiterate (i.e., they could read less than 1,000 Chinese characters). In June 1950, the Government Administration Council issued the "Instructions for Developing Spare-time Education of Workers," a measure aimed at teaching all workers at least 1,000 characters within a period of three to five years and the ability to read simple books and newspapers. The Communist Trade Union Law stipulates that the management or owner of every enterprises must allocate a certain sum for the education of workers. By mid-1952, besides night classes opened in individual factories and mines, there were 652 spare-time schools in the region. "The Quick Method of Learning Chinese Characters" devised by cultural instructor Chi Chien-hua of the People's Liberation Army is lauded as a great help in accelerating the learning process among workers. Workers having a high degree of intelligence are reportedly being sent to universities and technical institutions for advanced study. The

31. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 16, 22, 1952, p. 3.

873 Party, unions, and management decide who is qualified for additional technical training. The workers entering schools receive financial support equal to their former wages. The stated intention of the Chinese Communists is to build a new intelligentsia within the working class.

466 In the interest of worker recreation, the Communists reported that 11,929 clubs had been set up in factories, mines and other enterprises throughout the country by the end of 1954. From 1949 to 1952, 348 workers' clubs and 712 libraries were reported to have been established in Southwest China.[32] Workers were encouraged to enjoy their leisure time in these clubs and libraries. But in Communist China, even the "leisure" of the masses is controlled by the Party. After an 8- to 10-hour working day, workers have to participate in political studies, criticism or self-criticism meetings, or various campaigns, movements and drives initiated by the Party. It is doubtful that the Chinese workers have any real leisure time at all.

D. Housing Conditions

362 According to a Communist report, People's
466 Government spent more than 286,000,000 yuan (new currency) on housing projects for workers throughout China in 1952. In 1953, the government allocated 130,000,000 square feet of floor space for building workers' living quarters.

32. New China Daily, Sept. 29 and 30, 1953.

362 466 The housing projects for workers of Southwest China have been concentrated in Chungking and Chengtu; the number of units built was far less than in other regions. By March 1953, nine apartment houses with 577 rooms for workers and their families had been built in Chungking. There are no private baths and no private kitchens in these apartments. Only workers in construction and public utilities are eligible to live in these apartments. They rented for 12 wage-units per month (25,890 yuan, about US 1.00).[33] The municipal government of Chengtu completed a housing project for 512 families in April 1953. The whole project consisted of 14,896 square meters of floor space (about 152,534 square feet). Each family occupied about 250 square feet of floor space.[34] Compared with the living standard in pre-Communist China, this is a great improvement, but it benefitted only a small part of the working force.

VII. UNEMPLOYMENT

464 Since the Constitution of Communist China guarantees the right to work to everyone, the Communists maintain that "unemployment" under the new regime is a temporary holdover from the old

33. New China Daily, April 29, 1953, p. 2.
34. Ibid., April 30, 1953, p. 2.

499 reduction of land rent, the return of rental
464 deposits on their land, and a cheap supply of daily necessities to the workers along the construction sites. The methods of recruitment seemed to be effective. Some 38,000 persons answered the call from the eastern part of that province; 30,000 from the southern part, 10,000 from Chengtu and the western part; 6,000 from the northern part; and 22,000 unemployed workers from Chengtun and Chungking also took part in the construction. The total labor force amounted to 104,000 men.[4] After the recruited civilians were organized, they took over the construction job from the army, some members of which were kept to act as office personnel and as an engineering corps.

B. Organization and Living Conditions of the Labor Force

499 The units of the labor organization were
466 formed according to the plan of the projected line, which was divided into 180 sections. Each section was allocated 579 workers. Each group of workers was divided into two shifts. They were formed into small teams according to the character of the work assigned to them. Their

4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung ti Nu-kung Chin-tu [Slavery System of the Chinese Communist] Hong Kong, Tzu-ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 89.

499 sphere of movement was restricted to within
466 2 li (about 545 yards) on each side of the construction line.

499 The recruits were paid according to piece
465 rates, calculated on the basis of the work-day unit. One work-day unit is what an average worker could accomplish in one day. In the case of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway construction, one work-day unit is 2.5 cubic meters (about 81.75 cubic feet) of earthwork. For this amount of work, one worker received seven and one-half catties (about 8.25 lbs.) of rice.[5] In Southwest China, one catty of medium-grade rice was sold for 740 yuan (old currency); one U.S. dollar was worth about 20,000 yuan at the time. Therefore, 7.5 catties of rice would be worth about 27 cents in the United States. With this amount of money per day, the worker had to provide for his food, clothing, and other necessities, not to mention the support of his family.

499 The recruits were required to bring their own tools such as pickaxes and bamboo poles, for railway construction in China depended upon physical labor rather than upon mechanical equipment. Machinery for the laying of tracks was not introduced until the spring of 1954 in building the Pao-chi-Chengtu Line. The workers

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5. The World Today, Hong Kong, Oct. 15, 1952, p. 2.

499 on the Chengtu--Chungking Line came to depend upon the primitive tools they brought, or used their bare hands. In their spare time, they were urged to make tools such as bamboo baskets for removing stones and mud. In their letter to Mao Tse-tung from the workers on the Chengtu-Chungking Line, they boasted that they had made and invented several hundred kinds of tools during the period of its construction.[6]

C. Methods Used to Increase the Productivity of Labor

499 466 The Communists used all sorts of emotional appeals to increase productivity. After some activists among the workers had vowed not to go back home until they saw the train running between Chengtu and Chungking, 90 per cent of the builders gave up their New Year's vacation during the first year, and many young workers postponed their wedding dates. Early in 1951, the Communists organized the Three-Systematization and Five-Comparison campaigns among the working teams.[7] Within a period of four months (January to May), in consequence of these

6. New China Daily, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 4.

7. The Three-Systematization Campaign included systematization of thought, of organization, and of rules. The Five-Comparison Campaign included comparison of work, of efficiency, of progress, of safety, and of economy. For details about these movements, see New China Daily, Dec. 8, 1951, p. 2.

499 campaigns, 130,000 "model workers" were
466 elected and labor productivity increased. Taking the standard accomplishment for one work-day as 100 per cent, an average worker at first could fulfill only 25 per cent, but by the end of 1951, this had increased to 150 per cent.[8]

After the Communists entered Korea in November 1950, the Resist-America Aid-Korea Movement was instituted in the labor camps along the Chengtu-Chungking Line. The Communists aroused "hate-America" feelings among the workers and kept on telling the workers that the speeding of the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Line was one way to defeat "American imperialism." The railway workers worked longer hours after being exposed to this propaganda. By the end of 1951, nearly 70 per cent of the entire undertaking had been completed.[9]

In addition to patriotic appeals, the Communists mobilized the workers to organize a Red Flag Campaign. To win the red flag, some members of one labor team worked steadily and slept only 30 hours in a period of 18 days[10] in order to fulfill the assigned task within the time required. One report from a Formosan

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8. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 24.
9. New China Daily, Dec. 8, 1951, p. 2.
10. Ibid., June 22, 26, 1952.

499 source stated that the mortality rate among the
466 workers was as high as 10 per cent at the beginning of construction[11] in 1950, although the Communist press insisted that the workers seemed to think that the harshness of their life was nothing in comparison with what they had achieved. The Communists made the workers believe that they had built a road leading to paradise.[12]

D. Other Railway Construction in Southwest China

499 Since the sites of these railways are the same as the sites of the forced-labor camps, it would be helpful to list those lines under construction or in contemplation in Southwest China.[13]

1. Pao-chi--Chengtu Line connects Pao-chi in Shensi Province and Chengtu in Szechwan Province. The southern section was begun after the completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Line in 1952. As of May 1955 the track-laying

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11. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Szechwan [Szechwan Under the Communist Control], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, Jan. 24, 1955, p. 24.

12. New China Daily, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 4.

13. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 25-26.

499 Workers and soldiers scaled vertical rock-walls, fought their way across rapids, and crept inch by inch across glaciers, disregarding wind, rain, and snow. Where the laborers worked in Ch'iao-erh-shan Mountain, the altitude was 17,000 feet above sea level, there was snow all year round, and the earth was frozen to a depth of over three feet. The workers built their tents on this hard-frozen floor and made their beds of dry leaves and tree branches. Sometimes they were buried by snow, their tents swept away by avalanches; in one place an avalanche fell every afternoon for five months. One section of the road cut across an immense tract of virgin forest which was cleared by manual labor, although each tree required several days' work by a team of three or four men.

The bridging of the Nu River was said to be the most "heroic" act accomplished by the builders. Both banks rose in sheer precipices about 3,00 feet high, and the current ran 20 feet per second. The point they had chosen for bridging had never been crossed. A group working on the Nu River bridge was completely cut off from its supply line, and the laborers were forced to live on rice gruel for two months before they were rescued.

499 The Communists gave better treatment to
466 the workers on the Sikang-Tibet Highway than to

499 workers elsewhere, for they did not use such
466 methods as "emulation drives" and "model workers' elections" to speed up work as they did on other projects. On the contrary, the authorities on the Sikang-Tibet Highway prohibited overtime work. The fact that the labor supply was not so abundant in this region and that they could not afford to transport workers from other parts of the country made them more lenient to the laborers on this project.

The Sikang-Tibet highway was opened to traffic by the end of 1954. To travel from Peking to Lhasa once took several months; today the trip can be made in fifteen days.

IV. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

697 A Communist report admitted that, in the Southwest Region, of the prisoners convicted through suppression of counterrevolutionaries, through land-reform laws, and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, 65 per cent had been organized by the end of 1951 into Reform-through-labor corps. They were employed in such heavy work as road-building, house construction, coal mining, collective farming, brick- and tile-manufacturing, and in handicraft industries such as weaving and shoe-making.[19] The size

19. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951, p. 2.

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its
[582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
562

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

668 organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. These policies encourage and regulate the activities and political utilization of mass organizations.

From the Party point of view, mass organizations are a political asset because each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is itself a social or economic force.

Immediately after the Communist seizure of power in this region, mass organizations sprang to life. Not until 1952, however, were mass organizations placed upon a permanent basis. There are as many mass organizations in this region as at the central level.[39] The most influential are examined to illustrate the patter of Party control.

•467 668 1. Trade Unions. Trade unions are regarded as the transmission belt between the Party and the workers.[40] Their

39. See Chao Kuo-chün, The Mass Organization in Communist China, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T., 1953.

40. Constitution of All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 248, June 22, 1953.

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organization is patterned after that of the Party. A branch office of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has been set up in the Southwest. Under this regional office, local trade union councils stretch from provinces, municipalities, and counties to towns. Since farmers and handicraft workers are ineligible, hsiang are not included.

The establishment of Party control over the trade unions in Southwest China did not prove to be an easy task. A sweeping and drastic campaign was required before control was comfortably secured. The "democratic reform" campaign, launched in 1951, was directed at the trade unions and was aimed at the liquidation of the old trade union leadership and the strengthening of the Party's hold on the urban population.[41]

To facilitate the Party's political control of trade unions, there is a basic trade union branch or cell, similar to the Party branch, composed of the trade union members working in the same enterprise. If the branch is of sufficient size, this basic trade union committee will set up a workshop (department) committee. The trade union

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41. Reports of the campaign are printed in the following issues of the New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 25, 1951, p. 1; Jan. 1, 1952, p. 3.

467 committee may be divided into trade union
668 teams according to production units. The general methods employed by the Party for political control of other organizations are applicable here. Trade union affairs are subject to the direction of the Party commission on trade unions; and Party members are placed in key positions within the unions.

However, the most effective method is the initiation of union policies in the Party rather than in the union.[42] This involves three steps: first, the Party branch within the union initiates major policies, including directives, working plans, and cadre policy. Secondly, the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the Trade Union Council policies in need of discussion. Party members elected to the presidium direct the trade union meeting and successfully guide the Party proposal through the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out.

668 2. Federation of Democratic Women. By October 1951 almost one-third of the women of Southwest China had become

42. People's Daily, May 8, 1953, p. 2.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3g,
Economic Background

LABOR

I. LABOR ORGANIZATION

•467 Southwest China was more economically backward than any other region of China proper when the Communists established their regime in October 1949. Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Chinese industry had been concentrated on the east coast of such cities as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton. In the inland, Southwest provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang (now a part of Szechwan), industry had remained almost wholly in the handicraft stage. This situation was somewhat changed during the war when industrial plants removed from the coastal area and new factories were located in the Southwest, particularly at Chungking, Kunming, and Kweiyang. Many of the plants were discontinued after the war or removed to their original sites in the eastern cities.

The low stage of industrial development in the Southwest Region explains why the Communists' promotion of labor organization and the labor movement in the region has lagged behind similar efforts elsewhere in China. According to a Communist report of June 1950, there were only 177,670 industrial workers, including staff members, in the entire region. This number

467 constituted about 0.05 per cent of the total number of industrial workers in all China, although the population of the region accounts for 16.9 per cent of the population of the whole country. Of the 177,670 industrial workers, only 25,538 (14.37%) were unionized at the time the report was published.[1]

After three years' work on labor organization and the development of industry, the new regime announced in June 1952 that 35,259 basic trade unions (unions formed in individual factories, mines, and other enterprises) had been formed in the region.[2] The number of unionized industrial workers was reported to have increased from 25, 538 to 640,846, and the total of all unionized wage earners was set at 1,405,706.

438 466 However, in mid-1952, about 80 per cent of the industrial output of Southwest China was still turned out by handcraft methods in small shops throughout the region.[3] Old fashioned workshops and some of the semi-modern factories continued to rely heavily on apprentices for labor. The

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1. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker Monthly], Peking, June 15, 1950, p. 69.
2. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.
3. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-kung-yeh [China's Light Industry], Peking, May 1952, pp. 21-24.

438 treatment of apprentices under the new regime
466 still largely followed the old customs in Southwest China. The working hours of the apprentice were almost unrestricted; his earnings seldom amounted to more than 35 lbs. of rice per month. Since the trade union and labor insurance laws promulgated by the Communist government did not cover the apprentices, they had neither organization nor security. After a three year apprenticeship, they entered the labor market as unskilled labor.[4]

467 Chungking is the industrial and commercial center of Southwest China. As a result, almost all regional reports concerning organized labor refer solely to this city. Chungking was occupied by the Communists on November 30, 1949, and the Preparatory Committee of the Chungking General Trade Union was established on December 27. The committee consisted of 87 members, including representatives of miners, textile workers, telecommunication workers, and workers in other industrial enterprises. The initial tasks of the committee were the restoration of production and the organization of labor in the city. By September 1951, about 90 per cent of the city's 200,000 working population were reported to have joined trade unions.[5] A large part of the Chungking industrial force was working in arsenals in the suburbs of the city. These workers were more tightly controlled by the regime but better paid than

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4. New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1951, p. 2.

5. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 5.

467 the average worker. By mid-1953, 6,700 of the politically advanced industrial workers in Chungking were party members.[6]

II. LABOR DISPUTES AND LABOR BUREAU

468 According to Chinese Communist theory, labor and capital (or management in the case of publicly owned enterprises) perform different functions in striving for the identical goal of increased production; therefore, labor disputes should not be allowed to develop into strikes, sabotage, or lockouts which would interrupt production. To prevent crippling disputes, the regime has established a compulsory process of arbitration. The first step in settling labor differences consists of consultation between the owner and the trade union representatives of the workers in the case of privately owned enterprises, and between the trade union and the management in the case of publicly owned enterprises. If consultation fails, the dispute is taken to the labor bureau for settlement. Labor bureaus are maintained at all levels of the Communist government.[7] During the first half-year of Chungking's "liberation," some workers of privately-owned enterprises were reported to have submitted, under the guidance of trade unions

6. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily], July 1,1953, p. 1.

7. "Measures Concerning Procedure of Settling Labor Disputes" issued by Ministry of Labor on Nov. 26, 1950. See Chung-yang Ts'ai-ching Cheng-t'se Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies, Vol. II, Peking, pp.1111-13.

and the labor bureau, to a cut in wages of from 40 to 60 per cent to help tide the capitalists over a difficult period.[8] 468

On the basis of experience in settling labor disputes, the Ministry of Labor in April 1950 issued a "Directive Concerning the Establishment of Labor-Capital Consultative Councils in Privately Owned Enterprises." In accordance with the directive, 34 different groups of private enterprises in Chungking formed their labor-capital consultative councils between mid-1950 and mid-1951. Labor and capital were equally represented on the council. During the period, consultations between labor and capital in various Chungking enterprises resulted in 2,224 agreements which were submitted to the labor bureau for ratification. Almost without exception, matters brought up in the councils for consultation were concerned with wages and the discharges of workers.[9]

III. POLITICIAL INDOCTRINATION

The Communists insist that the strength and class consciousness of the workers can only grow out of political indoctrination. In the guise of implementing this dogma, the Communists initiated the "Democratic Reform" Movement among the working class in May 1951, followed by the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement as well as the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. Through 467 668

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, 1951, p. 1013; Workers' Daily, June 21,1950,p.1.
9. New China Daily, Oct.10,1951,p.2.

467 these drives, the Communists claim that trade
668 union organization was greatly expanded throughout the nation and the unity of the working class increased.

The "Democratic Reform" Movement was aimed specifically at the elimination of reactionary elements from labor organizations. Launched in Central-South China in May 1951, the movement was extended to the whole country in the following months. Its centers of action were the public and private factories, mind, and transportation systems.

To initiate "Democratic Reform" in any enterprise, the trade union leaders called meetings, at which everyone was free to make complaints or accusations against workers, union cadres, or managers. Once initiated, the campaign continued for days or weeks. In subsequent meetings, criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. The Communists claimed that many reactionary elements were disclosed this way. Within the transportation industry alone, 15,616 gang labor chiefs were said to have been eliminated throughout the country a few months after the movement started.[10]

The Communists claim that the conditions of construction workers at Ta-tu-k'ou and coal miners at the T'ien-fu mine, both in Chungking, were improved after the "Democratic Reform"

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10. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Oct. 15, 1951, No. 128.

467 Movement was initiated there in mid-1951. Prior
668 to the Communist regime, the system of recruitment in construction work and in the mining industry was known as the gang master system. The gang master made a contract with the head engineer or manager of a company to supply labor for certain jobs at a stipulated price. He employed villagers for low wages and pocketed the difference between his payroll and the contract price. According to the Communist press, when the Red Army took Chungking at the end of 1949, the gang labor chiefs infiltrated the labor organization and some of them even pretended to be activists. The Communists assert that in the criticism and self-criticism meetings these gang labor chiefs were discovered and eliminated from the labor organization in Chungking.[11]

IV. LABOR EMULATION AND PRODUCTION

466 Labor emulation is a Communist method
461 for increasing labor productivity without raising production costs. It was practiced in Communist China during the early 1940's in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[12] Extended to all China in 1950, the labor emulation drive was stepped up in 1951 after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War. According to the

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11. New China Daily, Oct.10,12,14,1951; and Oct. 2,1952, p. 2.

12. Abundant Clothing; Sufficient Food, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, May 1944.

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6. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily], July 1,1953, p. 1.

7. "Measures Concerning Procedure of Settling Labor Disputes" issued by Ministry of Labor on Nov. 26, 1950. See Chung-yang Ts'ai-ching Cheng-t'se Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies, Vol. II, Peking, pp.1111-13.

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8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, 1951, p. 1013; Workers' Daily, June 21,1950,p.1.
9. New China Daily, Oct.10,1951,p.2.

596 178 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those cities. The same influences also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

596 491 198 361 Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China.

178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

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Industries in Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan were financed in various ways. In Chungking, industries important to the war effort were built by the government itself; some textile plants were financed by government banks. Shipping, coal mining, power generating, and cement manufacturing were developed by local entrepreneurs with the help of funds from government banks. The Szechwan-Sikang Industrial Development Company was organized, with capital subscribed by the central and provincial governments, to promote industry in the two provinces; it succeeded in establishing a few enterprises. In Kweichow Province, officials organized the Kweichow Enterprise Corporation, a holding company financed by the Kweichow provincial government, the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Central Government, government banks, and local private interests. With its own capital or with the participation of private capital, it promoted 24 enterprises, including machine-manufacturing, chemical-manufacturing, tobacco-processing, flour-milling, the manufacture of electrical products and matches, and other light industries; it also controlled the provincial bank and a department store.

In Yunnan, the Yunnan Provincial Bank controlled the tin mining industry, the most important industry in the province, and a textile mill. The bank also promoted several other industries, with the participation of private capital. All of these industries were brought under the Yunnan People's Enterprise Corporation, a holding

company, which was indirectly controlled by the *Yunnan Provincial Bank. A few industries were* built with the help of local "semi-public" banks. There was only one large private industry, the Yun Mow Cotton Textile Mill, established by a commercial firm of long standing with extensive holdings in Burma. 471

Government-financed industries were easy prey to the Communists when they took over control of this region. In Chungking, the Communists simply assumed command of all the industries operated by the Central Government and the government banks as well as those industries supplied with government credits. The three holding companies in the Southwest Region also came under Communist control. In one stroke, all the major industries in Southwest China fell into Communist hands.

In addition to extending control over the remaining private operated industries by confiscating the shares owned by "bureaucrats" and "reactionaries," the Communists sought to win the support of prominent businessmen by offering them various positions with the local government, commending them as "progressive elements" within the community, and offering other inducements of a similar nature. The intention was to force acceptance of government participation in business. In this way the number of joint state-private enterprises was increased. The following examples will illustrate the Communist program.

• 471 The Min Sheng Industrial Company in Chungking, a shipping enterprise with a large fleet of river boats, an ironworks, and shipbuilding and machine shops, was noted for its services to the government during the war. The founder and general manager of the company, Lu Tso-fu, was invited by the Communists to return to Mainland China from Hong Kong. He was assured that the Communist regime favored the continuation of his enterprises and would assist him whenever possible. Upon his return, he was appointed a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. When the Min Sheng Company was prassed for the payment of interest due on the credit extended by Canadians who had helped the company finance the construction of a number of vessels in Canada, the Communists facilitated the necessary payments. However, in 1952 the Min Sheng Company was transformed into a joint-state-private enterprise only a short time after the announcement of Lu's suicide. Why he chose to kill himself is not known, although it will be suspected that his relationship with the Communists was not as cordial as the Communists wished it to seem.

Hu Tzu-ang, an infuential local businessman and general manager of the Szechwan-Sikang Industrial Development Company, was appointed a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a member of the Finance and Economic Committee of the People's Government; he was also made deputy-mayor of Chungking Municipality. He has been used by the regime

471 to influence private factories to accept state orders for the processing and manufacturing of goods -- one step in the process of transforming private industry into joint state-private enterprise.

Wang Shao-yen, the brother of the general manager of the Yun Mow Cotton Mill in Kunming and its largest shareholder, was appointed deputy-chairman of the Yunnan Provincial Government while living in Hong Kong. A native of Yunnan, he has been used to win for the Communists the support of local businessmen as well as of community leaders. The Yun Mow Cotton Mill was transformed into a joint state-private enterprise in 1954.

The Min Sheng Company and the Yun Mow Cotton Mill were able to pay dividends to their shareholders after being transformed from private to joint ownership, but persons receiving payments were required to subscribe 90 per cent of their dividends for government bonds. Although Tung Shao-sheng, chief assistant to Lu Tso-fu, was appointed assistant general manager of the Min Sheng Company, actual direction of the company rests in the hands of a manager appointed by the Communists.

Among the few remaining industries under private ownership were some twenty cotton textile mills, with a total of 217,000 spindles, which had been built in Szechwan during the war. Two of these mills had been financed by the Bank of China. When the Communists reorganized the Bank of China, these two mills were taken over

471 immediately by the Communists, and the remaining privately owned mills were in process of transformation during 1954. In all, there were 32 joint state-private enterprises in Chungking; their output in 1954 was reported to constitute over 43 per cent of the total value of all large-scale production by private industry and to account for more than 30 varieties of products.[1] About 130 enterprises were reported to have been transformed in Szechwan Province in 1954, not including those in Chungking.[2]

During 1953-54, about 30 enterprises in Yunnan Province were transformed.[3] With the exception of the Yun Mow Cotton Mill, they were all small factories producing cheap consumer goods.

In Kweichow Province, the Communist regime assumed control of all enterprises operated by the Kweichow Enterprise Corporation, but there were few other industries in the province worth the Communists' immediate attention.

The rapid transformation of private commerce in the Southwest Region can be illustrated by reports from Chungking. According to the mayor of Chungking, wholesale butchers and four classes of dealers in grain, cotton and silk piece goods, oil and wax goods, and firewood, coal, and charcoal were taken over by the state's commercial agencies.[4] Exporters of native products

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1. Chungking Jih-pao [Chungking Daily], Dec. 27, 1954. 2. Ibid.

3. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, June 6, 1954.

4. Chungking Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

471 and dealers in hardware and electrical appliances, general goods, stationery, pharmaceuticals, dyestuffs, and Chinese medicines were temporarily allowed to carry on their businesses or were asked to do wholesale business on behalf of the state agencies. Some were persuaded to turn to retail trade or were given assistance in changing to other lines of business.

In the sphere of retail trade, the mayor's report stated that all private grain shops had been transformed into state agents in the course of carrying out the program for unified grain purchasing and marketing. In addition, 1,094 retail shops and 160 stall-keepers dealing in cotton cloth, sugar, edible vegetable oils, and dyestuffs were drawn into the orbit of "state capitalism." They were forced to stock goods furnished by state agencies on a consignment basis.

In order to accelerate the transformation of private industry and commerce, a conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce was held in November 1955.[5] A message addressed to industrial and commercial circles asking for the acceptance of "socialist transformation" reported that more than 80 per cent of private industry, figured in terms of total value of production, was then in process of becoming joint state-private enterprise, and more than 50 per cent of the private retail merchants had become agents of "state capitalist" commerce by November 1955. This statement on national conditions is the

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5. New China News Agency, Nov. 21, 1955.

471 best indication we have on the extent of present over-all "socialist transformation" in Southwest China.

475 products of supply and marketing co-operatives on a commission basis. Private merchants purchase commodities from state trading companies at wholesale prices and resell them to consumers at retail prices fixed by the state. Joint state-private ownership has replaced private-capitalist ownership, and the state invests capital in trading firms under joint management. Throughout China approximately 200,000 private wholesale merchants and 2,000,000 retail traders had been forced to accept "socialist transformation" by the end of 1953. By early 1955, almost 100 per cent of the wholesale merchants dealing in grain, lumber, edible oil, and salt accepted the change to the "state-capitalism" arrangement.[91]

D. Private Companies

472 656 Private traders and individual merchants, too, have been led on the road of state-capitalism. As a result of the growing monopoly of state-owned companies, private wholesale dealers have either been

91. Kung-shang-chieh [Industry and Commerce] Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, p. 17.

472 squeezed out of business or transformed into
656 retail traders acting as agents of state trading companies. They are compelled to accept "socialist transformation."

After the "planned purchase and supply of grains" was introduced, nearly all of the retail dealers in grain were "transformed" into agents of the state grain markets. By the first half of 1955, over 33 per cent of the retail traders in China were acting as agents for state trading companies or co-operatives.[92] According to Communist plans, the total volume of private retail trade will be decreased from 65.9 per cent of the total retail trade in 1953 to 45.1 per cent in 1957.[93]

VI. FOOD RATIONING AND GRAIN TRADE

434 Rationing was first applied to food grain on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grains," designed to control the distribution of food during the period of reconstruction.

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92. Industry and Commerce, Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, No. 8, pp. 17.
93. Ibid., p. 18.

668 (approximately 10 miles) of the local head-
666 quarters and a population between 500 and 10,000. Ch'ü and county administrations were dealt with in similar fashion. The former was to have not more than 10 hsiang under its jurisdiction and the latter, not more than 10 ch'ü. Finally, electoral delegates were alloted on the basis of hsiang population.

668 After the promulgation of the Constitution, Communist political power was further strengthened. The hsiang People's congress now holds the highest formal authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the hsiang People's council. Resistance remains strong in the rural areas, however, and in 1955, two strong countermeasures were passed by
• 474 the Party.[60] Further expansion of agricultural producers' co-operatives was temporarily
668 checked, and the first Rural Basic-Level Organization Conference was held in April 1955 for the purpose of strengthening Party

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60." Wei-shen-ma Pi-hsü Chung-shih Nung-yeh Sheng-ch'an Ho-tso-she Ti Kung-ku Kung-tso?" ["Why Should Productive Co-operatives Be Strengthened?"], New China Monthly, March 1955, pp. 133-134.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted] AF16

474 leadership over the agricultural producers'
668 co-operative organization before gradual collectivization began.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Conference:[61] (1) Party organization shall be based on territorial and production units, with emphasis on the development of more Party branches in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. (2) Collective work rather than individual achievement is to be stressed. (3) There is to be further expansion of Party indoctrination programs. (4) The county Party secretary's leadership and the Party's political role in the producers' co-operatives is to be strengthened.

The chief problems which the agricultural program of the Party faces are the need for cadre education, the lack of Party strength, and the peasant's sense of individuality and love of his own land.

369 D. Political Control in the City
668

The establishment and consolidation of

61. Summary report on the conference in New China Monthly, No. 4, April 1955, pp. 27-28.

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000 Southwest China region.[8]

IV. "COLLECTIVIZATION"

474 "Co-operativization" was the first step of the movement toward "collectivization" in China. In December 15, 1951, the Communist Party of China determined to organize agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural areas. The formal promulgation of the order was not issued until December 16, 1953, by which time approximately 14,000 producers' co-operatives had been organized by Communist cadres.[9] Mutual-aid teams flourished. In the spring of 1954, there were 100,000 producers' co-operatives; in the summer of 1955, there were an estimated 650,000 producers' co-operatives throughout Mainland China.[10]

The campaign for the introduction of producers' co-operatives was intensified following Mao Tse-tung's report to a conference of secretaries of provincial, city, and area

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8. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 9, 1953, p. 12.
9. China Daily News, New York, Oct. 27, 1955.
10. New China News Agency Bulletin, London, Oct. 19, 1955, p. 3.

474 Party committees on July 31, 1955, calling for the acceleration of the "co-operativization" movement in all regions. At the 6th Plenary Session[11] of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was resolved that 1,300,000 producers' co-operatives would be organized before the "spring plowing" in 1956. As the result of the vigorous efforts of the cadres, some 1,240,000 co-operatives had been organized by November 1955. Of this number, a phenomenal number (590,000 co-operatives) were organized between August and November of that year.[12] The exact number of co-operatives in the Southwest China region has not been reported. However, if we estimate the possible number on the basis of the ratio between the region's rural population and the rural population in the country as a whole, at least 165,000 producers' co-operatives must have been organized in Southwest China before the end of 1955.

475 No current statistics are avilable on the total number of state-owned and state-operated farms in Southwest China. However,

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11. Ibid.
12. China Daily News, Nov. 24, 1955.

312 steadily increased throughout the provinces of the Southwest Region.

VII. CONCLUSION

241 433 The Communist regime has given special attention to the intensive development of the agricultural resources of the Southwest Region. In Southwest China, the province of Szechwan plays the most important role in the production of grains and commercial crops. Since 1953, even the provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow, where the supply of foodstuffs has been generally inadequate, are asserted to have become more or less self-sufficient. Surplus grain from Szechwan is available in cases of emergency elsewhere in China, and the province is relied upon to make up the grain deficits of other regions. Southwest China also produces in abundance a number of commodities suitable for export, including tung oil, tea, silk, canned meats, wine, and fruit.

474 The movement to extend the authority of agricultural producers' co-operatives throughout the rural districts of Mainland China has accelerated since the promulgation of the "Resolution on Co-operativization" in November 1955. Since the principle of "mutual-aid" is counter to traditional Chinese practice, it will doubtlessly meet strong resistance among the peasants as soon as the cadres relax their

474 rigorous campaigns. The extraordinary development of nearly 600,000 producers' co-operatives in a single three-month period in 1955 may suggest the degree of coercion necessary to establish this record. Surely the burden imposed upon the rural masses demands an adjustment few of the peasants will be able to make. And it seems likely that many of these co-operatives may be little more than "paper claims" or so poorly organized that they will soon be considered a hindrance to the present regime.

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453 652 The Hong Kong branches of the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and of the Ho Chen Bank are still allowed to operate. Other Hong Kong branches of the component banks which likewise continue to function are: Kincheng Banking Corporation, Yieh Yieh Commercial Bank, China and South Sea Bank, Sin Hwa Savings Bank, the China State Bank, the National Commercial Bank, and the National Industrial Bank. The desire of the Communists to maintain as many interests in Hong Kong as possible accounts for the continued operation of these branches, in spite of their handling only small deposits and remittances.

G. Credit Co-operatives

452 474 Credit co-operatives in rural areas have experienced tremendous growth since 1954. The number throughout the country increased from about 13,000 at the end of 1953 to 153,400 in June 1955.[7] According to Communist statistics, credit co-operatives exist in about 80 per cent of the more than 2,000 counties in the country and have a membership of nearly 100,000,000.

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7. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 6, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452 In October 1955, there were 6,100
474 credit co-operatives in Szechwan[8] and 5,691 in Yunnan.[9] The number in Kweichow was reported to be smaller, but no exact figures are available.

Two other types of credit co-operative organizations function on a lower level -- credit departments attached to supply-marketing co-operatives, and credit mutual-aid teams. The former have neither separate membership nor independent capital and depend for their operating funds on deposits or special funds appropriated by the co-operatives concerned. The latter consists of a group of farmers, each of whom subscribes an equal amount of capital for loans to group members. Credit is granted on the approval of subscribers and is redeemed in installments.

Although the publicized objectives of the Communists' promotion of credit co-operatives are to aid the peasants' financial needs for production and daily living and to

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8. New China News Agency release, Chengtu, Oct. 11, 1955.
9. Ibid., Kunming, Oct. 27, 1955.

452 eliminate exploitation by usurers, disinterested
474 observers, have doubts as to how far such means can or will go in meeting these problems. The doubts arise principally because of the government's frequently expressed desire to utilize credit co-operatives to pool idle capital in rural areas as government operating funds, which appear to be almost non-existent.

H. Chinese People's Insurance Company

456 According to the Communists, the state-operated Chinese People's Insurance Company is considered as a component of the entire Communist financial system. It has the functions of organizing scattered funds for the industrialization of the state, and of establishing a centralized insurance fund to compensate losses from natural calamities or accidents sustained by individual policy holders or economic units. The Chinese People's Insurance Company was established on October 20, 1949, and simultaneously the elimination of privately owned and foreign-operated insurance firms was begun. Branch offices and subordinate offices of the Chinese People's Insurance Company were established throughout the country, and branches of the People's Bank and other bank were appointed agents of the state-operated insurance company.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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438 have branches and sub-branches in the major
655 cities of Southwest China. Some companies, such as the China General Merchandise Company and the China Native Products Company, have branches in the rural areas of the region.[85] If the trade volume of the country as a whole in 1950 is given the index number 100, trade volume rose to 397 in 1952. It is reasonable to assume that the total trade volume of the Southwest Region made a proportionate gain in the same year.[86] The number of state owned and operated commercial firms in Communist China increased 45 per cent in a single year.[87] In 1954, wholesale and retail prices of staples in the eight major cities in the Southwest Region including Chungking and Kunming, increased only 4 per cent over those reported in the preceding year.[88]

B. Co-operative Companies

438
474 Supply and marketing co-operatives

85. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

86. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

87. Current Background, Hong Kong. U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, No. 360, p. 8.

88. Ibid.

438 supply farm implements, fertilizer, and a
474 great number of other commodities for both production and consumption purposes to their members. The state trading companies usually draw up contracts in advance to supply products at fixed low prices to co-operatives. The exact number of supply and marketing co-operatives in Southwest China is unknown, but reports indicate that the number has increased rapidly since 1953. By the third quarter of 1955, there were co-operatives in cities in Southwest China and almost every hsiang (group of villages) had at least one co-operative.[89] Co-operatives accounted for one-quarter of the total national retail trade in 1953 -- 18 per cent of the total retail trade in the cities and 30 per cent of that in rural areas. About 75 per cent of all the purchases by co-operatives were made on behalf of the state.[90]

C. State-Capitalist Companies

475 The principal "State-Capitalist" corporations serve as distributors of the

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89. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, May 12, 1955, p. 597.
90. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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11. Ibid.
12. China Daily News, Nov. 24, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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475 according to an incomplete report made in 1952, there were approximately 200 state farms of varying sizes in Southwest China.[13]

V. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

A. Production of Grain

243
433 Szechwan Province produces more grain than other provinces in the Southwest China region. The entire region produces approximately 17 per cent of the grain produced in China as a whole; Szechwan Province alone produces 10 per cent of the country's grain; the other three provinces together produce only 7 per cent of the total for the entire country.

The western Szechwan plains, irrigated by the 2,000-year-old Tu-chiang Yen Reservoir, is considered one of the richest granaries in China.[14] The province of

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13. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Ch'i Yen-pien [Land Reform and Its Development in Communist China], Taipei, 6th Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952, p. 63.
14. China Daily News, Aug. 31, 1955.

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91. Kung-shang-chieh [Industry and Commerce], Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, p. 17.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 蒙些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482] [438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called
137 Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[322] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羲宣羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 睑 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窰村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍睑 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羲宣睑 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羲宣千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羲宣 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

482 The height of Ta-chien-lu we made 8,400 feet, which agrees well enough with the observations of other travellers.

We made no halt here but left again on the 21st, our things carried by coolies who having brought up heavy loads of tea made nothing of our light baggage. The weight the tea coolies carry is enormous. The ordinary load is about nine of the long shaped bundles: this would amount to from 190 to 215 lbs. But many coolies carry much more than this, and I saw two different men who were carrying seventeen. This, according to de Rosthorn's computation of the weight, would be at the very least 363 lbs.

It seems almost incredible that a man could do a hilly day's march with this weight on his back unless one has actually seen it. And yet the men are not particularly big nor do they look extraordinarily strong: they begin as children, and no doubt that has much to do with their ability to carry these huge loads.

If one loaded a mule as heavily he would undoubtedly break down. Mules are occasionally seen with a load of tea on them, but it is an accepted fact that the animal's load has to be much lighter than what would be carried by a man.

000 Our road followed down the right bank of the swift rocky river which is formed by the junction of the Tar and the Chen. This runs into the T'ung River or Yü-t'ung Ho as we found it called locally, and on the 22nd we kept down the bank of this latter river by an up and down road till we crossed it by an iron-chain suspension bridge into Lu-ting-ch'iao.

From here the main road makes a considerable circuit to the south, so we took a more direct mountain path which is said to save two days but is too steep for animals. The path led back up the left bank of the T'ung River for a short distance, and then turning off up a side valley with a very steep climb at the end of it, crossed the Ma-an-shan pass at 10,000 feet. This is more than 5000 feet above Lu-ting-ch'iao, for since leaving Ta-chien-lu we had got down to lower levels again.

It took us three long days altogether to cross the hilly country which separates Lu-ting-ch'iao from T'ien-ch'üan

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This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between 101
my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the
Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung
ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong
mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are [197]
under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a
language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people
from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to
have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the
next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants
are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo
of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a cer-
tain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh [52]
Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival dur-
ing which they light fires on all the mountains, amid
great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the coun- [73]
try from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the
natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a
cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered
as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one
of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith,
but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the
cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned
up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the
river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the [48]
strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even
loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on
one's back they carry fastened to a band on their fore-
head.

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River up- 491
stream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension

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bridge. The man certainly did not hold a sinecure. Besides the fact 491
that he had to attend to the pulling of his ropes, he had to help many people across. Thus, a man in his fifties came along while we were at work; he grew dizzy when he saw the white foam and the surging waves through the planks. He shut his eyes tight and clung to the keeper by whom he let himself be slowly dragged across. At every tenth step they stood still for a long time to allow the vertical and horizontal motion caused by their steps to cease.

The large highway that runs up the Little Gold River, the hsiao Kin tschuan, goes along - I might almost say - after the manner of the suspension bridge. The scenery continued to be magnificent and delightful, (Plate L). On either side of the sharply eroded valley the mountains, rocks and forests rose up like mighty walls, as though they aimed to meet in the sky above me (Plate LII). Now and then some variety was afforded by a slight widening of the valley or a settlement and small cultivated fields. Several villages on the steep slopes showed countless tiao, stone towers, that originated in the time of the long wars of the old inhabitants with the Chinese (Plate L, LI, and LV). Uncounted rock steps and bridges, not a few with romantic charm, had to be laboriously crossed, and this resulted in quite a bit of excitement on the very first day (Plate L).

We had a rather serious mishap on the second day beyond the town of Yo ts'a on a covered bridge that was 30 and 50 meters high and ran along the river which was swollen from the continuous rains. A few rotten timbers collapsed just as half the animals had passed the difficult point. The unfortunate Hartschiu horse which carried the botanical specimens representing many weeks' work, fell into the depths and into the river amid a rattling heap of stones. All I saw was its head coming to the surface a single time out of the muddy swirling waters, then the waves engulfed the horse and its pack forever. At the moment when the accident occurred, however, we had all we could do to prevent another mishap. The covered bridge consisted of stairs nestling against the cliff and winding around the side of the mountain for a few hundred meters. The animals in the rear pushed against the ones in front and those in front wanted to jump over the gaping hole. It was an effort to prevent them from doing this and to /220/ hold them back, to cut off the packs and turn the animals around in spite of the narrow path. Only then could we hasten to the next village in order to buy boards and to hire help (Plate XLIX).

My journey caused a great stir among the natives because people 492
seldom travel with mules and horses in these parts. Usually Chinese

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482 coolies take care of the lesser freight transport. They carry their burdens piled high on their shoulders. The carrying of larger burdens on horizontal spring poles as is customary in lower China, for example in Hu pe etc., is done only among individual itinerant craftsmen and specialists that come from a specific region of China and overflow into the western borderlands.

In Romi Tschanggu I had refused to ask the yamen for ula. I felt that it was not right for me as a foreigner to demand it. But the difficulties of the road piled up to such an extent that I very much regretted having been so considerate. The road was in much poorer condition than people had admitted and on the way I could get help for only short stretches and at high prices. I had so many accidents that finally I indicated those dates in my diary on which I did not experience some major mishap. It was also practically impossible to buy straw for the animals. And from the corn flour alone which we had to feed them, they developed colic. Thus, on June 16, I lost a horse from colic and barely cured two others.

782 During the night of the sixteenth and seventeenth an extremely heavy thunderstorm with a cloud burst descended on the valley. The echo of the thunderclaps in among the high rock walls would not cease and from all sides came the deluge. In an hour the river rose nearly one and one-half meters. The natives - I was staying with Chinese who lived in small huts by the wayside - lit their incense candles and stuck them on their door posts. In the short intervals between the thunder-claps their "crackers" could be heard incessantly and a thousand times they called out the name "Yü hwang ye" through the open door.

731 On the morning of the seventeenth we had scarcely gone two kilometers when the high muddy waves of the swollen Hsiao Kin tschuan Ho blocked our way inexorably. Waves one and one-half meters high flowed over the narrow path at the foot of steep valley walls. In an attempt to brave the obstacle, our guide barely escaped being washed away by the current, along with one of the horses. It meant waiting until the water had gone down, and since I had not been able to replenish my horse fodder at the last encampment, I stayed in my tent with the packs by the side of the river and sent Skewliu and Dardyi back empty to the Tschortensa gomba monastery which I had passed two days earlier (Plate LIII).

On June 18 the water rose even higher although meanwhile good weather had set in and the thermometer rose to +34° at noon. In the

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487 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descend-
137 ing to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-
133 kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of
[579] densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-
quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then gov-
ernor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dis-
persed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-
[317] ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were
[483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their fore-
heads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七鋪, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路坦. [The character *t'an* 坦 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 暹 *shan*, and 暹 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路坦千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納. 173

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle. S ST

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious 771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here. S ST

[764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks. S ST

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives. [579] S

631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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487 until we reach the village of Pan-ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-
133 nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a
137 stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普湧 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphylon*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 苴力鋪, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where
133 lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li
485 from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher
133 pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and ex-
137 posed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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2. SHIH-KU 石鼓

From the Li-chiang plain we go west up the slopes of the southern-most spur of the snow range which joins the further range commonly called Wen-pi Shan and Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv in Na-khi, also known in Chinese as San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山.[2] A paved road leads steeply to the pass called Huang-shan-shao 黃山哨, a distance of 10 li from the town. In former days soldiers were stationed there to protect the approach to the plain and city. A small hamlet called Gkaw-gku is situated in the pass, where food is sold to travelers. The pass itself is known as Gkaw-gku to the Na-khi. A few yards beyond the village the road forks, the left or southern leading direct to La-shih-pa, and the right or northern to Shih-ku via A-hsi (Aw-khi or A-khi in Na-khi).

487 * 133 * 137 * [485]

The Shih-ku trail descends slightly and leads past a flat-topped hill also known as Huang-shan-shao. It is sparingly covered with pine trees and from the summit a fine view is obtainable of the La-shih Lake, called La-shi Ḳhü in Na-khi and Lung Hai 龍海 (Dragon Lake) in Chinese. This lake has a habit of disappearing through subterranean channels. At the time of writing (1934) the lake basin has been practically entirely reclaimed and excellent crops are grown where formerly was water. A terrible road leads down to the plain past the hamlet of Ch'ang-la-shih 長剌是. We cross the plain between the lake and the little village of Muan-bä, which we leave to our right, and pass between fields and the hamlet of Gkü-la-wùa to the foot of a pine-covered hill and the village of Dto-k'ö (Foot of the hill; H-M., Toke). This village possesses groves of walnut trees; maize, pumpkins, squash and rice are cultivated. Elevation 8,625 feet.

From the village of Dto-k'ö, the trail ascends the pine-covered hill immediately back of it; the soil is decomposed sandstone of a reddish-grey color. The path is narrow and winds through scrub vegetation between sink-holes such as are encountered on the Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 plain,[3] of which it is the northern border. It ascends higher, and the funnel-shaped sink-holes become larger and more numerous, their throats lined with vertical limestone walls. We emerge on to a pass at 9,300 feet elevation which is in fact a plateau with a small hamlet called Ggŏ-mbo.[4] The village people are dependent for their

[2] So as not to confound it with the snow range called Jade dragon Mountain (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山) it is here called the Wai 外 (Excluded) outside dragon mountain San-pi.

[3] All Li-chiang Na-khi call the plain west of La-shih to Kuan-shang, Lo-shui-tung. It seems, however, that only one cavern, or sink-hole, bears that name. It must be the subterranean outlet of the lake which is so named, for the Li-chiang records state that "it is 20 li south-west of Li-chiang in La-shih li, the natives call the Lo-shui-tung, or sink-hole, the Hai-yen 海眼 (Eye of the lake)," the lake proper being called the Lung Hai on the Chinese military map of Yün-nan. In the summer and autumn all the waters of the snow range (in this region) collect and inundate the land. They then filter through the sink-hole and flow through subterranean channels. Others say they flow into the Yangtze. This is why the sink-hole is called Hai-yen. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* say that the Mu-pieh Ho 木別河 is 15 li west of Li-chiang and flows south-west of La-shih li into the Hai-yen. It seems that Hai-yen is also the name of the lake, as the Mu-pieh Ho flows into it, although the Chinese name for it is Lung Hai (Dragon Lake).

[4] The village is also called Mbo-shi (H-M., Muschie).

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elevation above the river. Here[1] I was very comfortably put up in a *hsing-t'ai*, which is the name for the rest-houses specially reserved for Chinese officials travelling.

We were now travelling with an official escort, consisting of two policemen sent by the magistrate, and two soldiers sent by the General. It is the invariable custom in western China for Europeans to be supplied with an escort of this sort. Some travellers appear to look on them as a nuisance, but I have not found them so. Their presence is specially useful in parts of the country previously untrodden by Europeans, as it lets the inhabitants know that one is travelling with the sanction of the Chinese Government. Without this the people in some places are quite ignorant enough to suppose the traveller to be the leader of a gang of robbers, or perhaps a fugitive from justice. On one occasion between San-si and T'êng-yüeh, my interpreter was asked quite seriously by an old countryman whether we had come to invade China.

Also I have found the escort very useful in getting rooms at an inn, and in various other small services which they are usually glad to perform, with the anticipation of course of a small reward at the end. The arms they carry are not of the sort to give one much respect for the Chinese army. Generally it is an old muzzle-loader, sometimes only a sword or a three-pronged spear. An opium-pipe is a necessity for most of them, and it is a common saying among the Chinese that this is the only weapon their soldiers know how to handle, the word *ch'iang* being used in Chinese for both a gun and an opium-pipe.

This day's march was my first experience of a Chinese paved road. The stones are of all shapes and sizes, with large spaces in between them, and the road seems specially designed to render both walking and riding equally unpleasant. The sharp stones hurt one's feet, and one slips down on the flat ones. To make things worse there were one or two showers of rain, which made the stones so slippery that the mules could hardly keep their footing. Wherever it is possible to avoid the paved road, tracks have been made alongside of it, by which one can get along at a fair pace.

[1] These roads exist all over China, and I suppose the

[Village of Kan-lan-chai, Shweli Valley -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

825 sucks animals down as they cross. Our mules were fortunate enough to get across without encountering this monster. It is perhaps hardly worth any naturalist's while to come out to investigate this strange animal. A Chinaman likes to have a story to account for anything that takes place. In the spring and early summer there would be a good deal of melted snow in the water of the river, while the climate of the valley would be extremely hot and close. The sudden change from hot air into cold water might well produce cramp.

[241] The next day, a good up-hill road brought us to P'u-p'iao, a little plain covered with villages and well cultivated with the winter crops—beans, wheat, and opium. On this march there is an alternative road to Yung-ch'ang, branching off from the village of Fang-ma-ch'ang; it is said to be shorter but more hilly than the main road which I took. Gill travelled by it, but Baber and most other travellers have come by the same road as myself. Baber mentions that he heard that the stream which runs through the P'u-p'iao plain falls into a lake, but the answers to all my enquiries were that it joins the Salween. On the Chinese map there is a small lake marked a few miles lower down, but it is shown as the source of a small tributary of the main stream.

Our road on the 21st rose to the top of a bare range at 7000 feet, and a little beyond this the Yung-ch'ang plain came in sight. The path descends to the plain at the village of A-shih-wo, just before reaching which a cave is passed in the hillside to the left which is said to go right through the hill and come out on the other side.

361 The plain of Yung-ch'ang Fu is about 18 miles long
312 and six miles wide, covered with villages and well cultivated; it is one of the largest and richest in the province. As in many other plains there is a summer crop of rice, and after the rice has been harvested in the autumn, the winter crops of beans, opium or wheat are put in. A good-sized stream running from north to south irrigates a great part of the plain, and water for this purpose is also collected in reservoirs where some of the side streams run down from the hills.

•485 I put up at an inn in the middle of the town. The

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

485 accommodation in a Chinese inn is rough, but quite comfortable enough. One gets a small room with a table and a chair or two, and a plank bedstead. Going to an inn saves a lot of trouble, as the traveller can get firewood and hot water at once without difficulty, and also corn and straw for the mules. In Yung-ch'ang I found I was not bothered by the crowd, and was left alone as much as if I had been in my own house. This is by no means the case everywhere, and the inn yard is often densely packed with spectators. When this happens I should recommend the traveller to get an upstairs room where, as far as my experience goes, he will be quite free from molestation; it is in any case far easier to kick a man downstairs than to clear an inn yard which may have more than one entrance.

361 The town of Yung-ch'ang Fu I estimate to contain about 5000 houses. It was apparently originally a square, built at the foot of a little knoll which forms the end of a spur running down from the range to the west. It seems, however, to have struck some Chinese tactician that an enemy on this hill might make it unpleasant for the garrison of the town, and the northern and southern walls have been extended and bent round so as to meet each other and enclose this little knoll, though even with this the town still remains commanded at short range from the spur beyond. The flat part of the town is about half built over, the rest of the space being taken up with gardens. On the hill there are a few temples built among fir woods, and I actually put up a cock pheasant here within the city wall. This little hill is called Pao Shan and it is from this that Yung-ch'ang takes its *hsien* name of Pao-shan Hsien.

366 The main bazar street which runs from north to south
262 down the centre of the town is crowded all day and every day, but from the appearance of the place and from enquiries made, I do not think it is as large a trade centre as T'êng-yüeh. It is an excellent place for buying provisions: oranges, pears, pine-apples, carrots, cabbages, beans, radishes, and potato-like roots are to be got here, and doubtless several other sorts of vegetables and fruits at
251 other seasons. They also sell cured ducks and geese, not
262 unlike ham, but very salt: this industry is chiefly in the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

go out and pay visits to their friends. Spending the day 527
paying calls does not sound very lively, but the Chinese are an extraordinarily sociable people and find great amusement in going to their neighbours' houses to talk and drink tea. Most people keep up the holiday for a few days, and there is not much business done for a fortnight after the New Year. It is quite contrary to Chinese custom to travel on New Year's Day, but both on this and subsequent occasions I found no difficulty in getting my Chinese followers to march. They were away from their own homes and had no friends in the place, so had no particular desire to stay and keep the New Year among strangers.

Our march on the 26th was as usual a hilly one. It began 000
with an ascent of 3,300 feet and a descent of 2,300 feet. After that another spur of 600 feet had to be crossed into the plain of Yung-p'ing Hsien. The first village reached [361]
is Ch'ü-tung, which contains about 600 houses inhabited chiefly by Panthays. The inn here was an exceptionally good one, kept by a lady who had originally been Chinese, but having the bad luck in her youth to be in some town captured by the rebels, had been forcibly converted to Mahommedanism and married to a Panthay. This incident did not seem to have affected her cheerfulness. The Chinese very soon resign themselves to circumstances. Certainly in this case it had happened twenty-five or thirty years ago, so she had had time to get over it.

The plain of Yung-p'ing only measures some four miles by two. The main road does not pass through the town, which, though the residence of the official, is a smaller place than Ch'ü-tung. On this march the snow-capped range of mountains near Ta-li Fu was visible for the first time.

The next four days took us from Sha-yang to Yang-pi, over a country in which there is absolutely no level ground. Sha-sung-shao, a little village among pine forests, was our sleeping place on the first day. On the 28th we crossed the range which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi river at a height a little over 8000 feet and descended to Huang-lien-p'u, which is built on a steep hillside shut in closely by hills on all sides. It contains a very good *hsing-t'ai* or Government rest-house, where we slept. [485]

485

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A wayside tea-house on the Ta-li Fu-Yün-nan Fu road

[Plate XXXIV] [Face p. 150]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

439 chester product and is rapidly supplanting the latter in western China.

The height of Mêng-tzŭ I made about 4,700 feet, and the climate is pleasantly cool. The inhabitants of the surrounding country belong principally to the P'u-la and other tribes, speaking dialects of the Lo-lo type.

133 After spending two very pleasant days here, I started for the Red River, taking three days to do the 30 miles which separate Mêng-tzŭ from Man-hao. The country passed through is curious, consisting chiefly of a mass of small basins with no outlet for the water. These "devil's punch-bowls" are characteristic of a great part of the eastern and south-eastern parts of Yün-nan.

●485 Another curious and unpleasant feature of the road from Mêng-tzŭ to Man-hao is the entire absence of any sort of inn accommodation for men. There are large stables for mules at the recognised halting places, but no provision is apparently considered necessary for human beings who are so ill advised as to take a road which leads into countries outside the borders of the Middle Kingdom.

000 As it rained on and off, I had to sleep beside my mules on the first night, and on the second to squeeze into an extremely small temple already occupied by a tax collector and his clerk. The country passed through is very poor and thinly populated. The village of Yao-t'ou, where I slept my second night, is considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese, and is inhabited by Cantonese who have found their way there through Tong-king. Its height is over 4000 feet, but it is placed in a narrow valley much shut in by hills, which perhaps accounts for its bad reputation. The name Yao-t'ou means "shake head," and is said to have been given to it because everyone who sees it shakes his head in disapproval.

From here, after a little up hill, a very steep descent in pouring rain brought us down to the Red River at Man-hao at a height of 600 feet. The village contains 100 houses, 505 inhabited by Cantonese Chinamen and Shans. Small boats can go a considerable distance further up the river, but Man-hao is the limit for large boats and may be considered as practically the head of navigation.

Mr Spinney had kindly arranged about a boat, so I was

000 cultivated valley in which lies the straggling village of Tung-ngo-lo.

Here we found Mr Amundsen of the China Inland Mission whom I had met at Ta-li Fu in a previous journey. He had since then married and was now installed with Mrs Amundsen at Tung-ngo-lo. I have mentioned before his journey made in 1898 from Ta-chien-lu through Mi-li to Ta-li Fu.

We were now nearing a part of Ssŭ-ch'uan where baggage is usually carried by coolies, and pack animals are little used. Luckily we received an offer for our mules at Tung-ngo-lo, and we were glad to sell them, the purchaser undertaking to find animals for us to take our baggage as far as Ta-chien-lu.

These arrangements were quickly made, and we were able to push on again the next day. The march was a level one—an extraordinary circumstance indeed—our road leading down one valley and up another through a splendidly green country, partly grass and partly cultivated with wheat and barley.

We slept at Chang-k'o, near Ania, and the next day crossing the Gi-la Pass (15,000 feet) by a gradually rising path, we descended to Chê-to where we found a fairly good Chinese inn.

361 On the 20th June a short march down a narrow, very green valley brought us to Ta-chien-lu, or, as the Tibetans call it, Tar-chen-do. The town contains 800 houses and is shut closely into a narrow valley by high steep hills, the Chen River which is crossed by a bridge dividing the town into two parts. This is the end of Tibet, and the town looks more Chinese than Tibetan, though one sees a good many lamas in the place, and most of the Chinamen living here can talk Tibetan as well as their own language. In spite of its rather Chinese appearance, Ta-chien-lu is the capital of the Tibetan state of Chia-la.

•485 We were surprised to find an excellent inn here, quite the best I have seen anywhere in China. We spent most of the day with the English missionaries, of whom there were four, though only one, Mr C. Polhill-Turner, was stationed here permanently.

000 He and I were old schoolfellows, though we had never

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

137 altitudes, vegetation dwindles, and only cushion herbs survive at places sheltered from freezing winds.

III. IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[12]

•487 Szechwan Province is the western gate of the region, and the Yangtze River gorges guard the western entrance to Szechwan. Local transportation in Szechwan depended largely on the Yangtze River and its tributaries until the recent highway and railway development increased shipping
504 facilities in the province. Szechwan's largest river ports are Chungking and Wanhsien. Located at the conflux of the Chia-ling and Yangtze rivers, Chungking controls the inland trade of the eastern half of the province. During World War II, Chungking served as a temporary national capital, expanding to accommodate government agencies and industrial plants relocated from East China. About 200 miles downriver from Chungking is Wanhsien, one of the treaty ports open to foreign trade in 1902. Through Wanhsien is exported the bulk of Szechwan's famous tung oil output. Another river port, Lu-chou, is approximately

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12. Ch'en Yu-ch'in, Ch'uan-yu Man-chi [Random Notes on Travel in Szechwan], Nanking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1934, Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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491 this district amounted to 25,000 tons, while the native products shipped out of it amounted to 13,000 tons.[57] In Kweichow Province four short highways leading to the national minority district of the province were completed in 1954.[58] The Kweichow-Kiangsi Highway from Kweiyang to Chin-ch'eng-chiang was also opened to traffic in the same year.[59] Road improvement work on the Kweichow-Yunnan Highway was begun in 1955.[60]

Because of the limited number of railways in operation in Southwest China, highway transportation plays a very important role in this region, in spite of the comparatively high cost of motor fuel and a shortage of motor vehicles.

III. INLAND WATER ROUTES

505 Inland water shipping is a major
487 means of transportation in Southwest China. The two most important navigable rivers are Yangtze and the Chia-ling rivers. There are

57. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 23, 1955.
58. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1955.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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487 numerous minor streams in this region, but most of them are only navigable by junk. Some of the region's rivers are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. The Inland Water Routes of Southwest China*

(Unit: km. = kilometer.)

RIVER	TERMINALS	DISTANCE (kilometers)	GRADE
Yangtse	Ich'ang-Ipin	1082 (676 Mi.)	3
Chinsha	Ipin-Chinchiangchieh	1000 (625 Mi.)	5
Heng	Hengchiang-Yenchin	80 (50 Mi.)	6
Min	Ipin-Loshan	160 (100 Mi.)	4
Chingshui	Loshan-Chengtu	168 (105 Mi.)	5
Tatu	Yaokut'o-Hapien	110 (69 Mi.)	6
	Loshan-Chink'ouho	100 (63 Mi.)	6
Ch'ingi	Loshan-T'iench'üan	190 (119 Mi.)	6
	Yaan-Yungching	30 (19 Mi.)	6
Nei	Chengtu-Kuanhsien	70 (44 Mi.)	6
Kai	Kuanhsien-P'engshan	110 (69 Mi.)	6
T'o	Luhsien-Weichiang	150 (94 Mi.)	5
	Weichiang-Chu'ngning	408 (255 Mi.)	6
Ching	Fushun-Weiyüan	160 (100 Mi.)	6
Yungning	Wach'i-Hsüyung	120 (75 Mi.)	6
Ch'ihshui	Hochiang-Ch'ihshui	80 (50 Mi.)	5
	Ch'ihshui-Maot'ai	164 (103 Mi.)	6
Ch'i	Chiangk'ou-Tungch'i	102 (64 Mi.)	5
Chialing	Chungking-Kuangyüan	740 (463 Mi.)	4
	Kuangyüan-Lüehyang	200 (125 Mi.)	5
Paishui	Ch'aot'ieni-Mienhsien	140 (88 Mi.)	5
	Chaohua-Pik'ou	150 (94 Mi.)	6
Fu	Hoch'uan-Shehung	379 (237 Mi.)	5
	Shehung-P'ingwu	406 (254 Mi.)	6
Ch'ü	Hoch'uan-Kuangan	125 (78 Mi.)	5
	Kuangan-T'ungchiang	332 (208 Mi.)	6
Han	Chiangk'ou-Hanchiang	138 (86 Mi.)	6
T'ung	Sanhui-Hsianhan	110 (69 Mi.)	6
Chung	Hsianhan-Shuanghok'ou	92 (58 Mi.)	6
Hou	Hsianhan-Kanyüan	120 (75 Mi.)	6
Wu	Puling-Liukuang	585 (366 Mi.)	5-6
Ch'ing	Itu-Chuhopa	210 (131 Mi.)	5
	TOTAL.....	8031 (5019 Mi.)	

* Hang-tao Hang /Navigation Route Network/, Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan Hsin-wen-chü, /Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan/, 1947, pp. 26-29.

The different grades of waterways as determined by navigability, are shown in Table 5.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Table 5. Navigability of Rivers*

Rating	Depth	Navigability by Tonnage
Grade 1	5 to 8 meters (16-26')	10,000
Grade 2	3.8 meters (12')	2,000
Grade 3	3.2 meters (11')	1,000
Grade 4	2.8 meters (9')	6,000
Grade 5	2.5 meters (8')	300
Grade 6	1.5 meters (5')	60

* The Navigation Route Network, Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-5.

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505 The section between I-chang and I-pin
487 of the Yangtze River has a navigability rating of Grade 3, i.e., navigable for boats up to 1,000 tons. The section between I-pin and Lo-shan on the Min River and the section between Chungking and Kuang-yüan on the Chia-ling River have a navigability rating of Grade 4, navigable by steamers of 600 tons. All the other rivers have a lower rating than Grade 4 are navigable only by junk.

A. Inland Shipping

501 Before the resistance against Japan, China's total shipping tonnage was about 576,000 tons, including 124 ocean steamers totaling 367,383 tons and 3,333 river steamers totaling 208,617 tons. During the war, it was estimated that about 495,329 tons of both types of steamers were lost.[61] After the war, 2,751 Japanese ships of various types, with a total of 251,288 tons, were confiscated, including 507 river boats (62,375 tons) in the Yangtze River area.[62]

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61. Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan, Hsin-wen-chü [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1949, p. 24.
62. Ibid., p. 23.

2: Rock
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[For data on Topography, Flora and Routes, see Category 116, pp. 217-354, 388-428.]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER I

TERRITORY BETWEEN K'UN-MING (YÜN-NAN FU) AND LI-CHIANG

It would seem superfluous to give here the stages and a description of the road to Ta-li, which has been described by travellers too numerous to mention. But practically none give the names with the Chinese characters. And as the romanization adopted by them depended on their nationality — English, French or German — the resulting spelling has not always been a happy one. It is for this reason that I shall describe briefly the route from K'un-ming, via Ta-li 大理, to Li-chiang 麗江, and also give historical accounts of the various towns encountered *en route*, beginning with K'un-ming, our starting point. 487

Although no one will ever again use the old caravan road to Ta-li except muleteers — and these only for a few years more — as a motor-road has been built to Ta-li and its extension to Li-chiang is almost completed, I have thought it wise to give this description of the old caravan road as a matter of historic interest.

1. — HISTORY OF YÜN-NAN FU

Yün-nan fu was the land south of the Liang Chou 梁州 of Yü Kung 禹貢 173 In the time of the Yin 殷 (also called Shang 商) and Chou 周 dynasties, it was outside their borders and was inhabited by the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians). There dwelled the P'o 僰, Chiu 鳅, Liao 獠, Li 慄 (Piao 標), Lo 倮 (Naked), Tu 毒, Lu 猛, and Ngo or O 噩, and all the tribes of the Wu-man 烏蠻. In the Fighting States period, Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 of Ch'u 楚 seized the land, assumed the kingship of their territory and called it Tien Kuo 滇國.

Tien Kuo. — There seems to be some discrepancy as regards the actual establishing of the Tien Kuo. Chavannes, in his introduction to the *Mémoires historiques*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXIV, states that King Wei 威王 of Ch'u, who reigned from 339–329 B.C., sent General Chuang Ch'iao to conquer the region which is the present K'un-ming. Owing to his inability to return to Ch'u the latter installed himself on the borders of lake Tien and named his kingdom after the lake, Tien Kuo (Kingdom of Tien) (Plate 2).

The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 1, pp. 6b–7b, quoting from the *Shih Chi* 史記, says that, in the time of King Wei of Ch'u, General Chuang Ch'iao was sent with his soldiers to follow the Chiang 江 (Yangtze), and seize the territory to the west of Pa 巴, Shu 蜀 and Ch'ien-chung. General Chuang was the descendant of King Chuang (Wang) of Ch'u 莊王 (613–591 B.C.). (The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* has quite a discussion about this statement that Chuang Ch'iao was the descendant of Chuang Wang). Chuang arrived at lake Tien; near it was level ground, 300 li square, consisting of fertile soil. Several thousand li were occupied by the soldiers, who overawed the country, which thus became subject to Ch'u.

[p.11]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 麼些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482] [438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡 [10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u
● 487 草舖 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon
137 guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(黑)螵 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

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feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance. 133 487 137

Lu-feng [11] is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 拾資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province. 579

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

[11] In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿鵬甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏婆蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937–1094) by I-sheng 義聲, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341–1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

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487 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descending to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-[579] quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then governor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dispersed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-[317] ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were [483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their foreheads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七鋪, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路談. [The character *t'an* 談 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 談 *shan*, and 擅 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路談千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回燈關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup."[13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 宜力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 虹江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 楊紀河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

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361 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of
487 I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 鄂祿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明亮 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of
133 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.
137 Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石鋪 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢糧橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard.
[317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關潭. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閤. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires. 487 133 137

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 俗富郡. 173

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about. 137 133 [764] 487

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓桐 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹爲憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

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487 until we reach the village of Pan-ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-
133 nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a
137 stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普湧 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 瓦力鋪, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where
133 lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li
485 from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher
133 pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and ex-
137 posed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with [243] wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession.

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From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湧.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not contain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout [342] on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain [243] brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[17] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are

[17] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池). An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers, the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩子 is a plain), another trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u 溝村浦, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches. I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江浦, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉井湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li. 137 133 487

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買鋪, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).[29]

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village 731 137 133 487

[29] Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文安洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649–902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 望 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (*see* p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 崖. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522–1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (*see* p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the forgner Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋羅, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 傍彌千, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (*Lang-k'ung hsien chih lüeh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

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487 731 133 137 the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-
[508] ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables.

487 133 137 *Twelfth stage.* — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu is 65 li. Elevation 6,000 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 夢化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[31] marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[32]

[731] We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[31] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lao Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung wu (1381).

[32] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 太國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 31 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 52, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

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of about 600 houses, but quite forlorn and empty.[23] The plain is wide but is hemmed in on the north by a broad, conical hill, partly wooded. Five li beyond Feng-i (Chao chou) we come to the hamlet of Shih-pi-t'ou 石壁頭 and the peaceful temple at the foot of the cliff, called Fei-lai Ssu,[24] which is the regular caravan halting-place, as there are no inns with stables in Chao chou.

Thirteenth stage. — From Fei-lai Ssu to Hsia-kuan 下關 (Lower pass) and Ta-li 大理 is a distance of 25 and 50 li respectively (55 li from Chao chou).

Near the end of the plain, at the foot of a wooded conical hill, the trail makes a complete right angle to the west, and one is fronted by the magnificent Tien-ts'ang Shan 點苍山 (Starred azure Mountain), commonly called Ts'ang Shan,[25] snow-streaked half-way down its slopes; its height is 14,000 feet. We

[23] In ancient days Chao chou had no wall. The first earth wall was built in the second year of Ming Hung-chih (1480). It was 3 li in circumference, 13 feet high, and 5 feet thick. Several times at various periods the wall collapsed and was last rebuilt in 1805. Prior to the Han dynasty, Chao chou was in the State of K'un-mi 昆彌. During the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–24 A.D.), it belonged to Yün-nan hsien. K'un-mi was the name of a family who ruled over that State — hence K'un-mi Kuo — but nothing is known regarding their succession. Afterwards the Lo-lo man 羅落蠻 dwelt there. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of K'un chou 昆州. Subsequently it was called Chao chou chien 趙州縣. Later it was called Chao chün 趙郡 and Chao chou. In the time of the Tuan family it was called T'ien-shui chun 天水郡. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it was the Chao chien ch'ien-hu 趙縣千戶. During Yüan Chih-yüan (1264–1294) it was called Chao chou subject to the circuit of Ta-li. In the Ming dynasty the name remained unchanged. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, Chao chou was first captured; and when the Ming troops attacked the region they first took Chao chou and then the two strategic forts, the Hsia and Shang Kuan. The district derived its name from a certain Chao K'ang 趙康 who was sent to reside there by the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

[24] The temple received its name from a legend which relates that an image of a Buddha came flying through the air. It is situated at the foot of Yü-lung Shan 蓄龍山 (Mountain of the bathing dragon), also known as Su-lung Shan 宿龍山 (Resting dragon Mountain), and is five li north of Chao chou. Another temple called T'u-chu Miao 土主廟 (Temple of the local lord) is in the same village. It was rebuilt during the period Cheng-t'ung 正統 (1436–1449).

[25] The Ts'ang Shan is also called Ling-chiu Shan 靈鷲山, named so after a peak in India called Gṛdhrakūṭa on which vultures had their nests: literally, "Vulture Peak." The Indian mountain, which is now called Giddore, is near Rājagṛha, famous for its vultures and caverns inhabited by ascetics, where Kiśuna, or Māra, in the shape of a vulture, hindered the meditation of Ananda (EITEL). It has 19 peaks, and 18 streams descend from it. In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 (784), of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗, I-mou-hsün of the Meng family, who was ruler of Ta-li, conferred upon it the title of Chung-yo 中岳 (Central sacred Mountain). During the reign of Hung-wu, Lan Yü 藍玉, second commander of the left wing of the army and marquis of Yung-ch'ang, attacked Ta-li. He sent his soldiers west of the Ts'ang Shan and ordered them to climb it from the west and implant his flag on the highest peak. When the people of Ta-li saw the flag they fled. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 5, fol. 1b, states that it is 3 li west of the city and that it extends for over 100 li from north to south, like a wall. The *Han Shu* calls it the Hsieh-lung Yün-nan Shan 邪龍雲南山 and compares it to the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 of Fu-feng 扶風, Shensi. Clouds often encircle the mountain like a jade girdle, hence people speak of it as the Jade girdle (mountain). Each of its nineteen peaks has a special name, for all are different. Enumerated from south to north beginning with the one above Hsia-kuan and adjoining the T'ien-sheng ch'iao, they are: K'o-yang 苛洋, Ma-erh 馬耳 Horse ear, Fo-t'ou 佛頭 or Buddha head, Sheng-ying 聖應, Ma-lung 馬龍 or Horse dragon, Yü-chü 玉局, the Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 or Dragon spring, and the Central Peak or Chung-ho feng 中和峯. Then follow the Kuan-yin 觀音, or Goddess of

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487 133 137 pass through miserable hamlets nearly destroyed by the earthquake, and over a sandy trail which skirts the hill-sides, leaving to our right the southern end of the Erh Hai 洱海 (Erh Lake), that is, the Ta-li Lake (PLATE 4). On Davies' *Map of Yün-nan* the distance to Hsia-kuan does not appear to be more than 15 li, in comparison to the stretch from Hsia-kuan to Ta-li; the scale is quite out of proportion. The actual distance from Chao chou to Hsia-kuan is 30 li, and from there to Ta-li 25 li.

Hsia-kuan is situated on a hill-side and is visible from afar; elevation 6,900 feet. It is the business town of western central Yün-nan, while Ta-li is the residential town and the seat of the officials. The Hsia Kuan has another name — the Lung-wei Kuan 龍尾關 (Dragon-tail Pass). This, as well as the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper pass, also called Lung-shou Kuan 龍首關, Dragon-head Pass) were constructed by P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣 in the 29th year of K'ai-yüan 開元 (741). He was the first ruler or King of Nan-chao and the fourth of the Ta Meng or the Great Meng dynasty. The first kingdom of the Ta Meng was called the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔.

Passing through the walled town with its narrow streets, we cross the Hei-lung ch'iao 黑龍橋 (Black dragon bridge), over the Hsia-kuan Ho (Hsia-kuan River),[26] the outlet of the Erh Lake,[27] and ascend the steep grade over the slippery pavement of the suburbs of Hsia-kuan.

Mercy Peak, the Ying-lo 應樂, the Hsüeh-jen 雪人 or Snow-man Peak, the Lan-feng 蘭峯 or Orchid Peak, the San-yang 三陽, the Ho-yün 鶴雲, the Pai-yün 白雲, or White cloud, the Lien-hua 蓮花 or Lotus Peak, the Wu-t'ai 五臺 or Five Terraces, the Ts'ang-lang 滄浪 and last the Yün-lung 雲弄, directly above the Shang-kuan.

[26] The Hsia-kuan Ho, where it enters the defile in the Tien-ts'ang Range, is called the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream); beyond it is called the Ho-chiang Ho 合江河, after a village by that name in the gorge. It flows as the Ho-chiang Ho into the Yang-pi River 漾濞江.

[27] The Ta-li Lake, which is 90 li long and from 9 to 21 li wide, is a beautiful sheet of water. To the east it is bordered by reddish, bare, rather low hills, the region being called Tung-hai 東海 (East lake). The lake is also called the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (West Erh Stream), and is east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣, the present Ta-li hsien or Ta-li district. It is also known as the Yeh-yü Shui 樸樵水 (Waters of Yeh-yü) — Yeh-yü being the ancient name of Ta-li. [The Yeh-yü of the Han epoch is 10 li south-east of the present-day Ta-li and is identical with the village of Yang-ho-p'u 楊和鋪, where its foundations, or remnants, are still visible. The region now belongs to the district of T'ai ho hsien. During the Han dynasty it was subject to Yün-nan hsien 雲南縣, now called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣, pronounced in Yün-nan, Ch'ien-yün hsien.] The origin of the name Yeh-yü is traced to a large forest of elms, called *yü-shu* 樸樹 in Chinese. [*Ulmus pumila var. pilosa* Rehd. is quite common on the eastern slopes of the Tien-ts'ang Shan.] The elm forest existed in ancient days at the outlet of the Ta-li Lake at Hsia-kuan, by the T'ien-sheng ch'iao 天生橋 (Natural bridge), a natural stone bridge which spans the outlet of the lake. It was so dense that it was always dark and no one could pass there. To the south of the bridge is a stele which records that it was there that Chu-ko Liang captured Meng-huo 孟獲. The stele is dated Kuang-hsü *ping-wu* 丙午 (1906).

Still other names for the Ta-li Lake are Hsi-erh Hai 西洱海 and Erh Shui 洱水.

The source of the lake is in the Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山 in the north of Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣. Flowing south it passes east of Lang-k'ung hsien and Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州 and thence enters the borders of T'ai-ho hsien, where it is called Hsi-erh Ho. From the Tien-ts'ang Shan, which lies to the west, 18 affluents descend into the stream, which thus enlarged forms the Erh Hai. Its outlet is at Hsia-kuan as has already been described.

The shape of the lake is that of a human ear, *erh* 耳, hence the name Erh Hai. Its cir-

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[964] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

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Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

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Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5).[1] In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

173 Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that Aśoka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音堂 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里塘 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but the dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*maha*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

1 [see p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come [508] within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

● 487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川[35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the
137 Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙坪, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta T'i 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p.28 F. -- Analyst]

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Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,[36] the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,[37] crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 溪水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

[36] At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

[37] In the Han dynasty, ´ eng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 葉榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 澄備州, dependent on Yao chou 姚州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 澄賒詔 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the *t'an* 賒 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 溪水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 洱海江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

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487 Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, bring
133 us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal[38]
137 which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌苴河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge[39] over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler.
[317] Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,[40] also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Halfway up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.[41] On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,[42] formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

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executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no descendants.

[38] This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

[39] This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王棍, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457–1464).

[40] The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou ching 喬后井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 50 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

[41] This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

[42] During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

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Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent. 489 133 137

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山鋪, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li. [243] [438]

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan 火藥山 [44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound- [135]

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 佛 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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487 ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from
133 the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour,
137 after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

579 Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

487 *Sixteenth stage.* — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li.
133 Elevation 7,800 feet.
137 From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662–1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 [45] (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple [46] nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yünnanensis*, Alnus, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, Berberis, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

[45] The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748–778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b–6a).

[46] The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行庵 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

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lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it. 487 133 137

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyü in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan). 317

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semi-circle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — *Jade dragon Mountain*), although it is already visible

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487 from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range,
133 separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi,
137 Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others
[482] mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream).
[322] This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

[243] The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羈縻羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 縣 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窯村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍賧 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羈縻賧 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羈縻千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羈縻 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

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p'ing-ts'un 太平村, Liu-chia-teng 劉家登 and Tien-hsin-ch'iao 甸心橋. The village of Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨 is not on the Chien-ch'uan plain but beyond a narrow ravine, the slopes of which are covered with pines. Opposite the village, in a lovely pine forest, are numerous graves. This or the village of Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河 is the regular lunch-stop for the day. Five li from this village will bring us to the end of the stage, the village of Chiu-ho 九河 (Nine streams),[48] but there are still the villages of Chiang-tung 江東 and Wen-mu-ho 文木河 to be passed. Ere reaching Chiu-ho there is a beautiful isolated hill with a lovely forest of oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and thence we travel along the foot of a rocky hill entering the long valley which leads to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. Chiu-ho is situated on a low spur at an elevation of 8,150 feet. It is a miserable hamlet with a single dilapidated temple. Caravans bound for Li-chiang usually prefer to go beyond it to the hamlet of Tu-wo 杜蛾 also called Tu-wu 杜吳 on Chinese maps (Na-khi, Dtu-wùa).

We have now arrived at the border of the Li-chiang district, to which the village of Chiu-ho belongs. South of it is Chien-ch'uan territory.

[48] Chiu-ho is called in Na-khi, Gkyi-wùa; and Kuan-shang 關上, at the end of the valley which extends north of Chiu-ho, is called Gkyi-wùa Ts'o-k'ö.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

487 133 137 *Eighteenth stage.* — From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation, 8,200 feet.

From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,[1] the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (*see* description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'o), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndĕr (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round, [243] wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).[2] These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

[1] The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'o). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei mou 搓鬼牟. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

[2] "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

[p. 40]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 刺史埔. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts. 487 133 137

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets.

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ). (*See: San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神庙 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇史埔 (also written 刺史埔). The caravan stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wûa boa (also called Sä-mbi wûa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet. [312]

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi Khu (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gy-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of 101

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high."

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween.—Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a small alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 585 S 487 ST 15 505 S *487 *133 *137 ST [342]

alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ལྕང་ཐང (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 八蒲桶. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] [illegible]

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 怒江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ཆང་ཡུལ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

1 [a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

2: Rock
487, 491, 133, 101, 361

AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]

A	B
C	D
E	F
G	H

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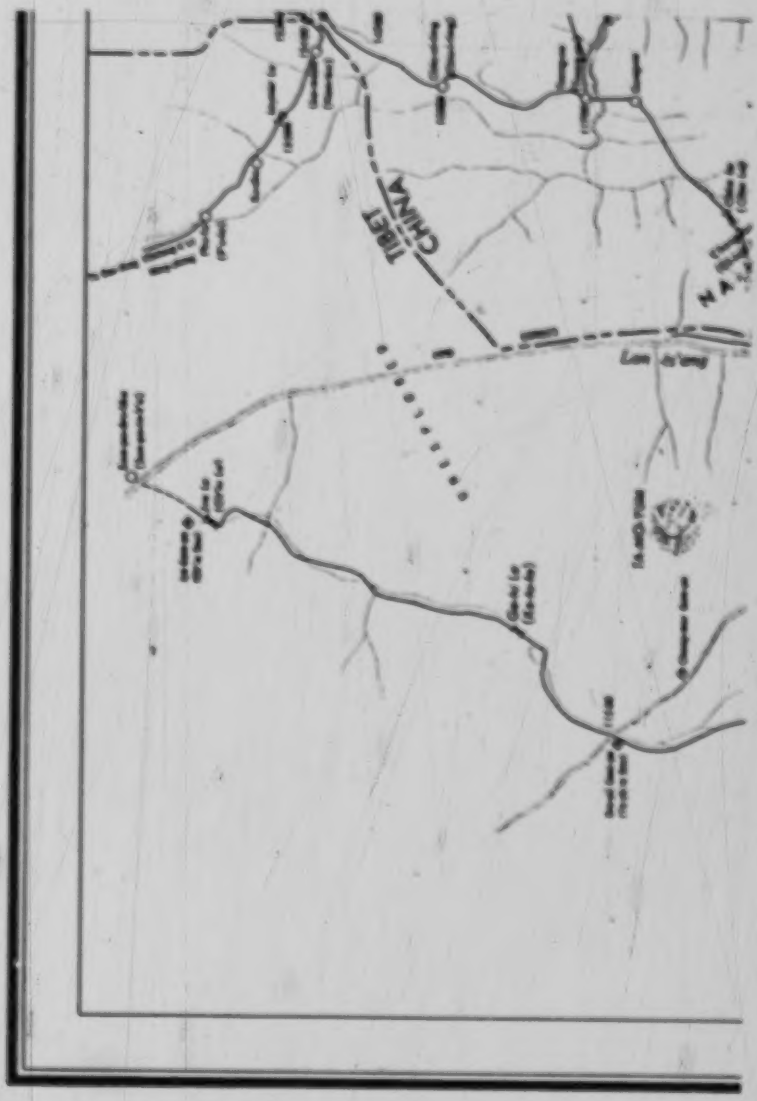
TE-CH'IN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

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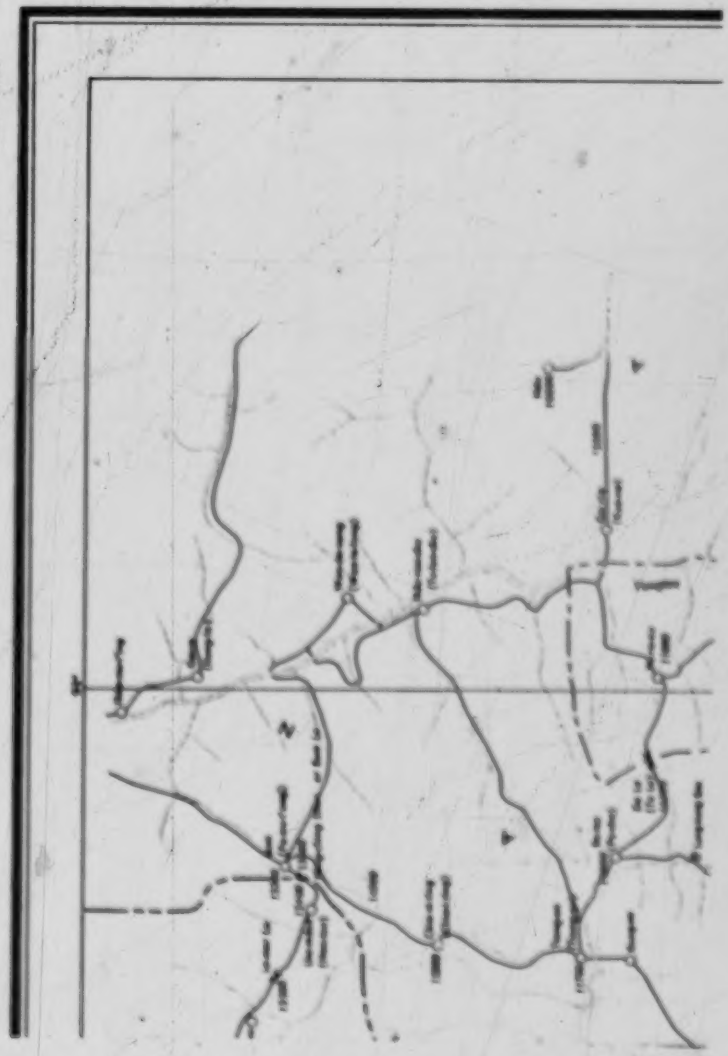
SHEET I OF IV
A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS I

-CH'IN



[End map I B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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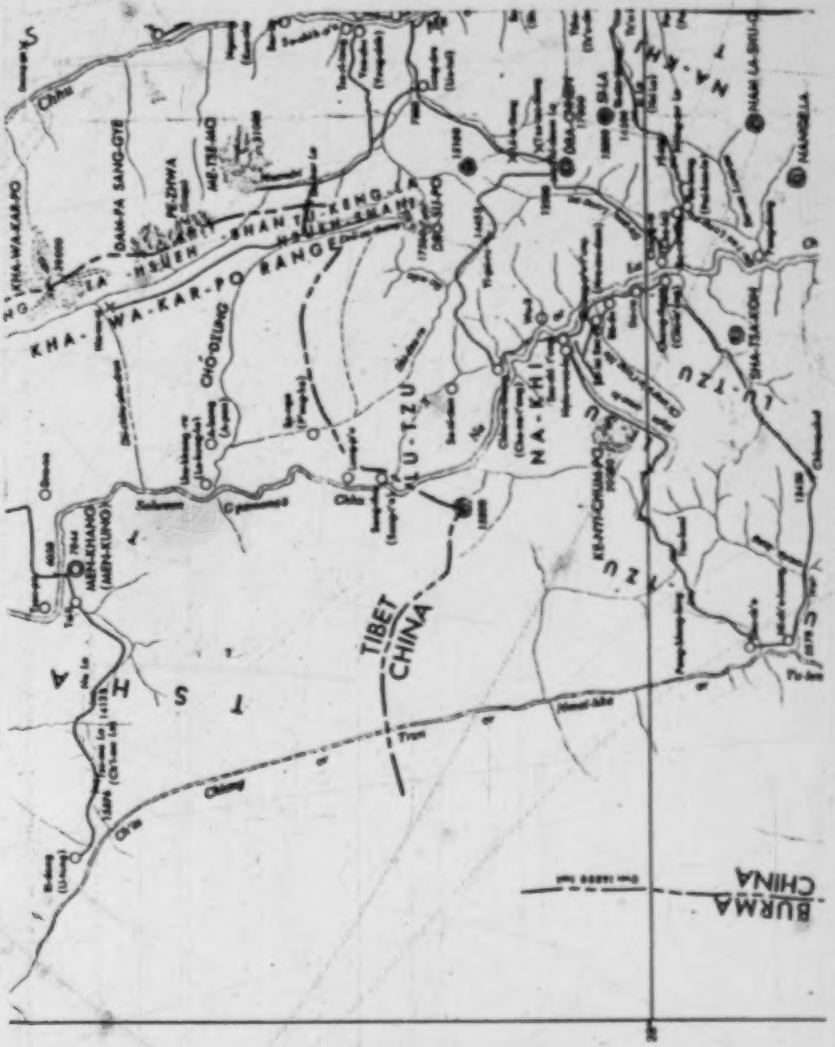

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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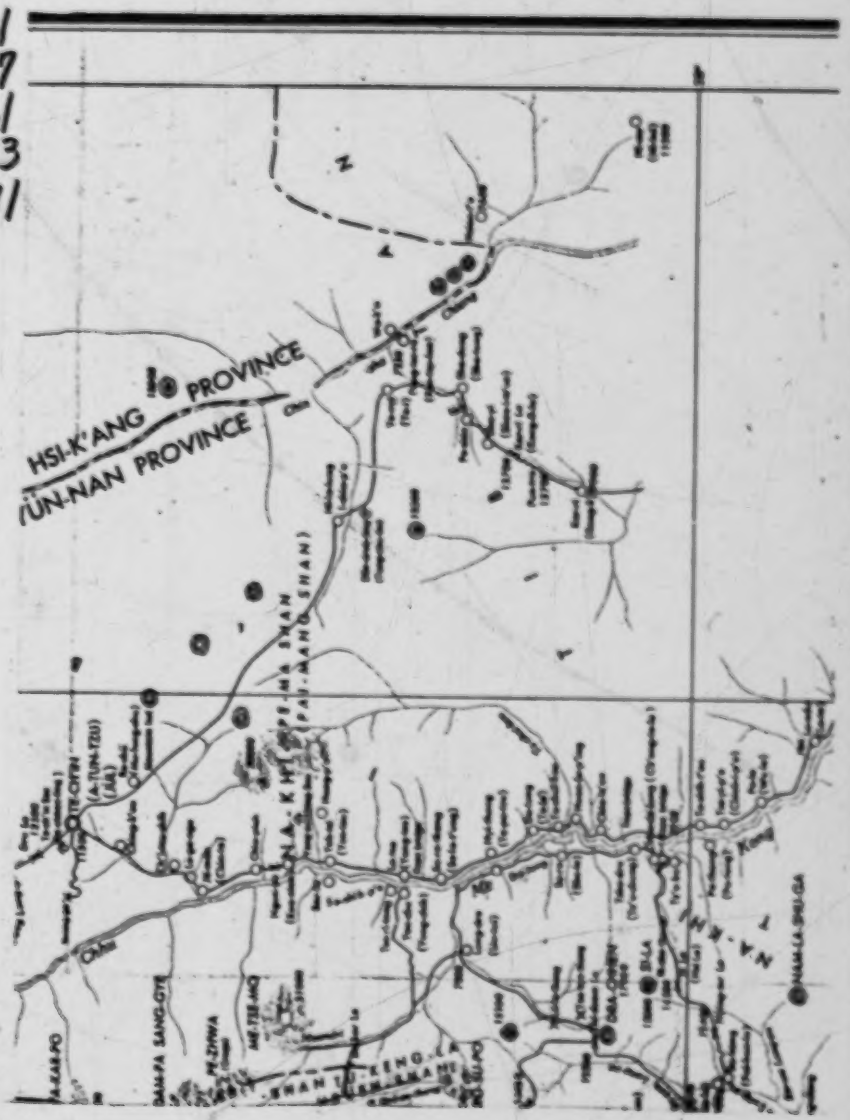

[End map I F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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A.M.S. L406

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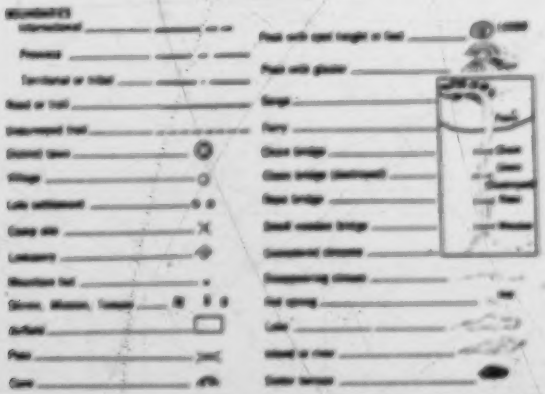
Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1946 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1922, 1923 and from sketches by Major H. R. Davies 1905, Captain F. M. Bailey 1911, Dr. H. Handel-Mazzetti 1914-16, Eric Teichman 1922.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPRO

LEGEND



APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN

[End-map I G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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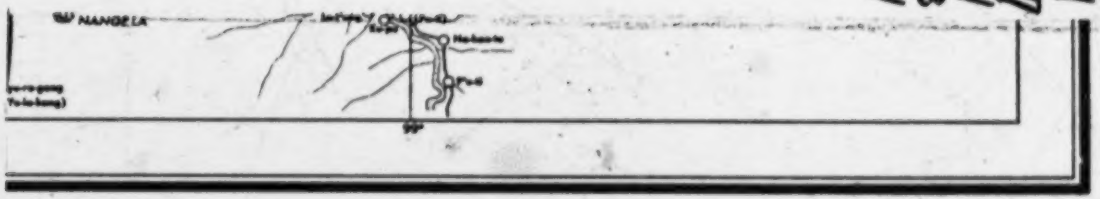

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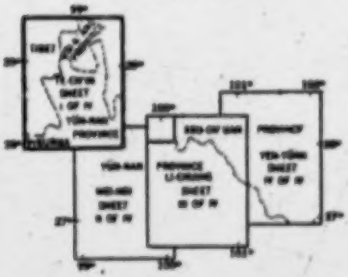
INDEX TO SHEETS



CTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA
N2750-E9800/150x130

[End map I H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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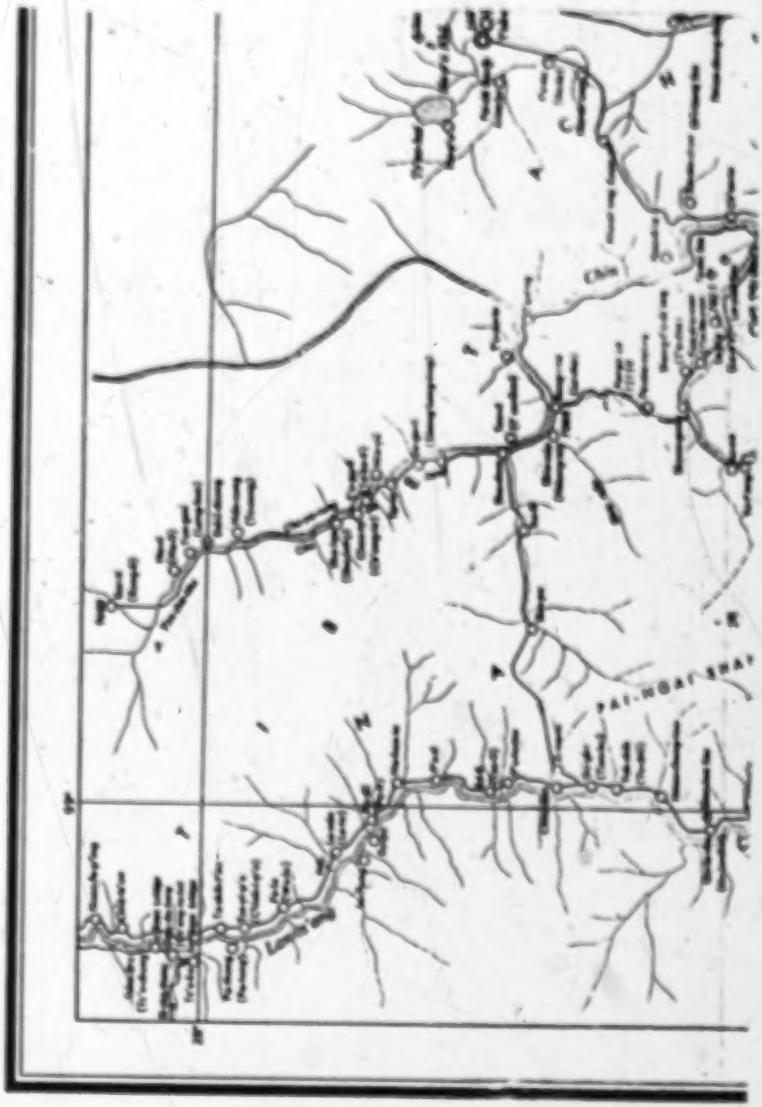
WEI-HSI



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map II A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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SHEET II OF IV

A.M.S. L.A.M.

FIRST EDITION—A.M.S. I

WEI-HSI

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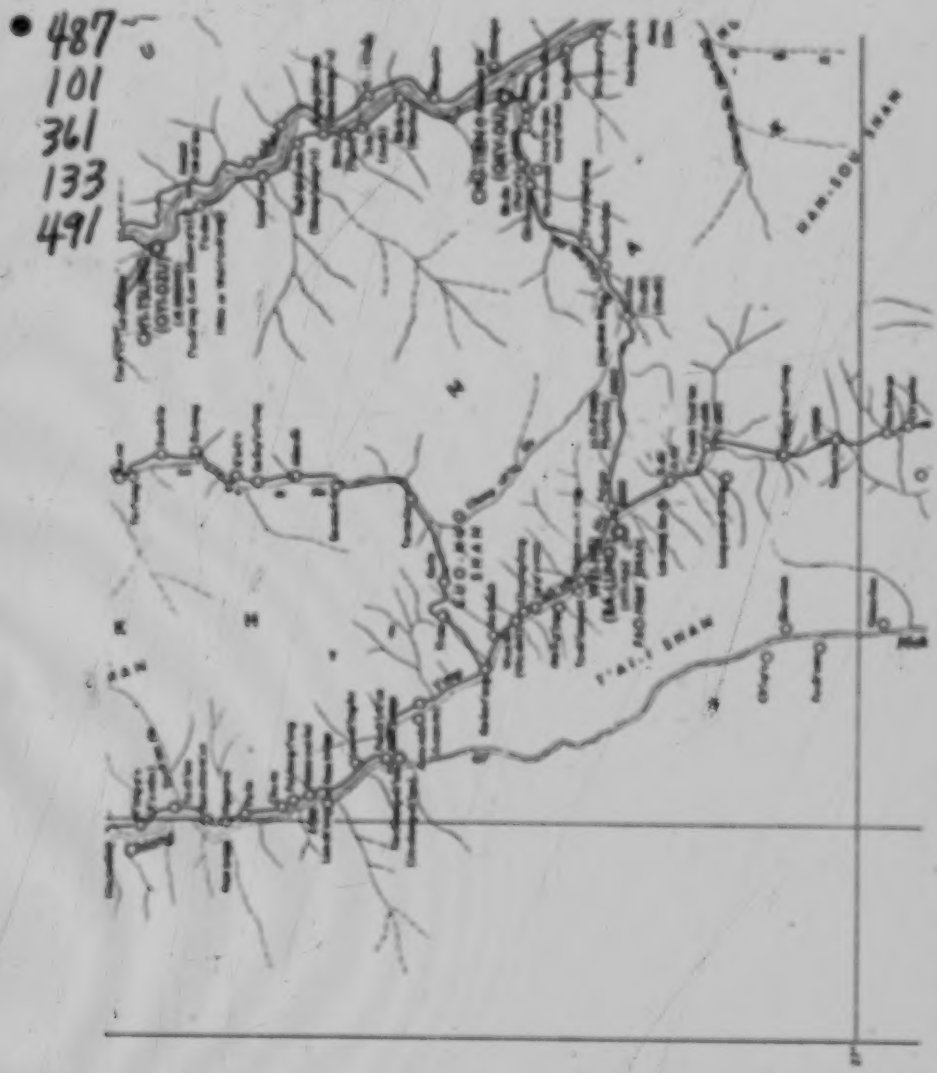

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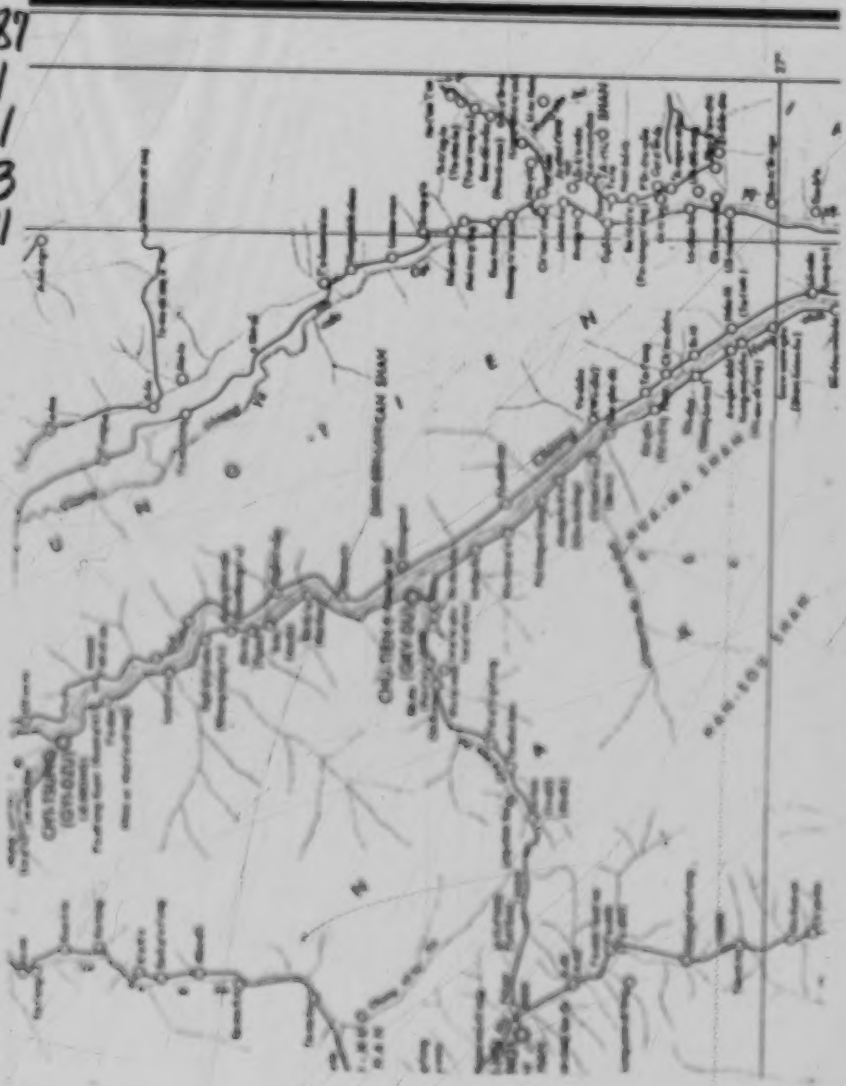

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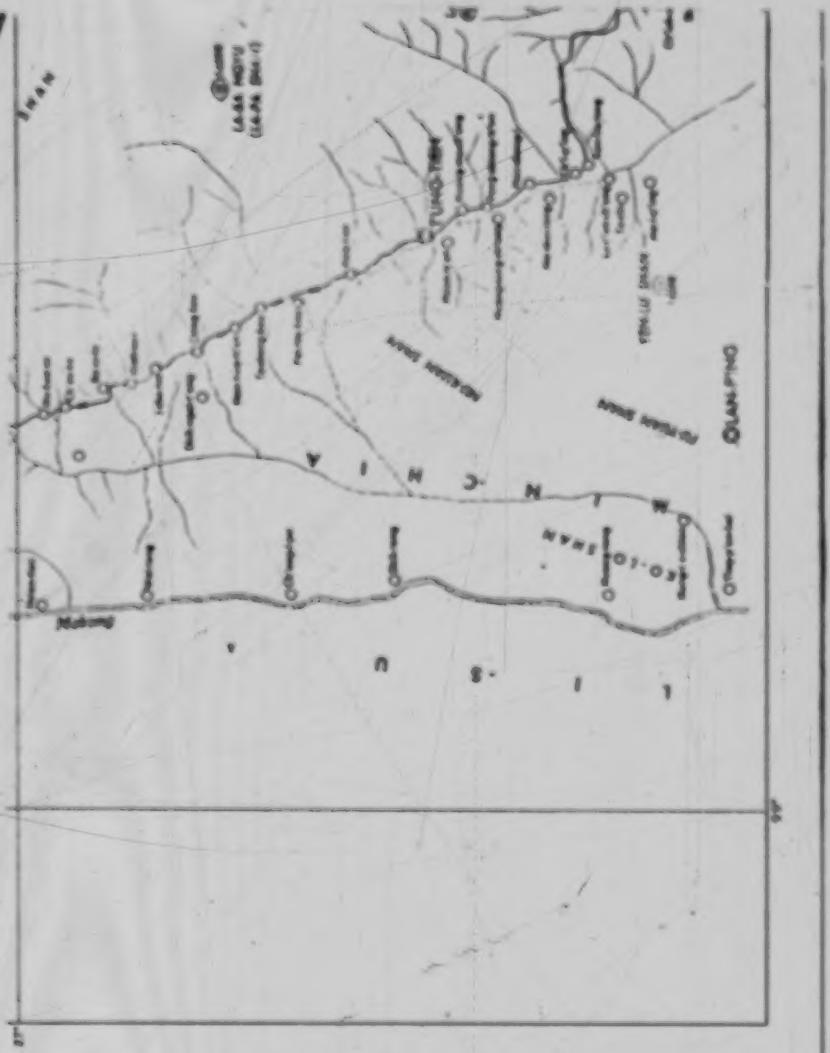

[End map II E]

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[End map II F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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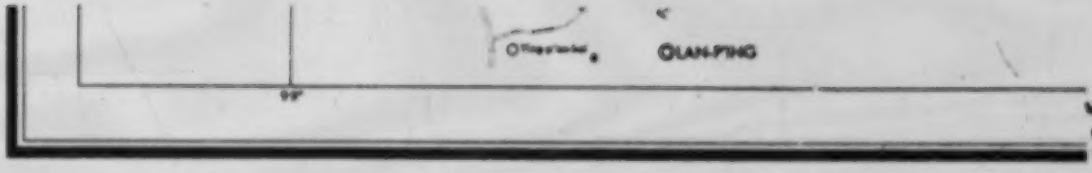

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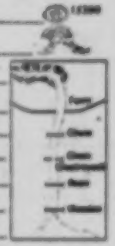
Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1940 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1925, 1928, 1930 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1899, Dr. H. Handel-Mazzetti 1914-16.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unimproved trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Como site
Lolosary
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height or tier
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (removed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Stone terrace



PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

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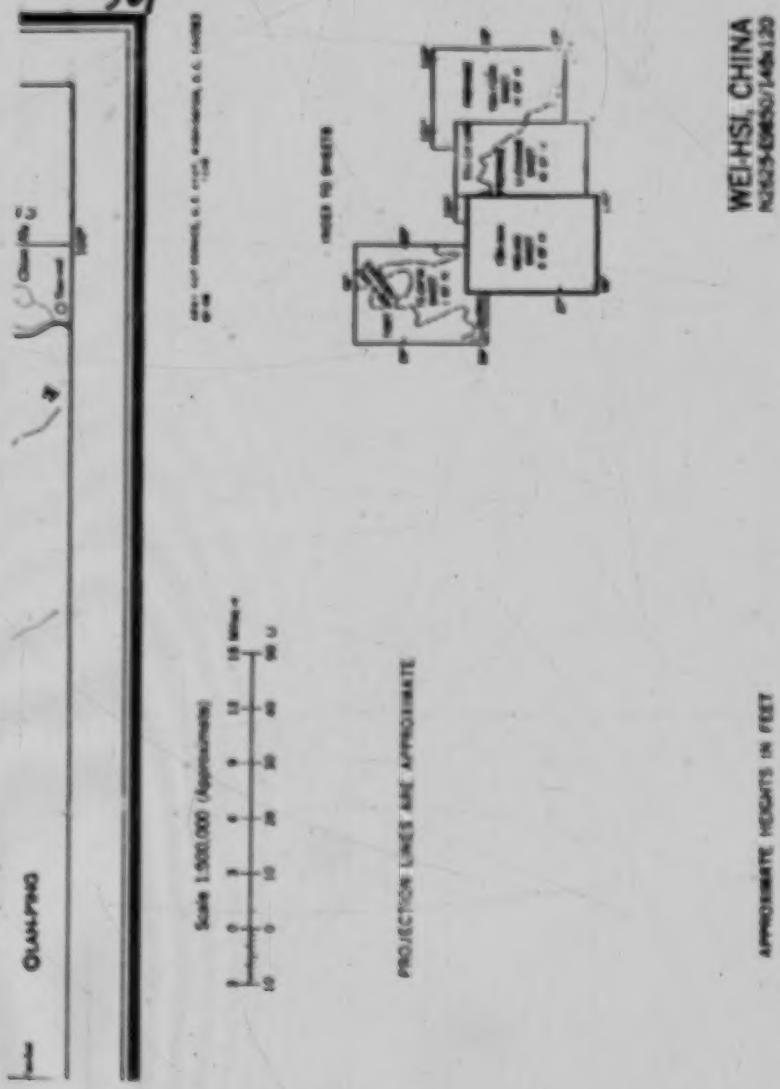

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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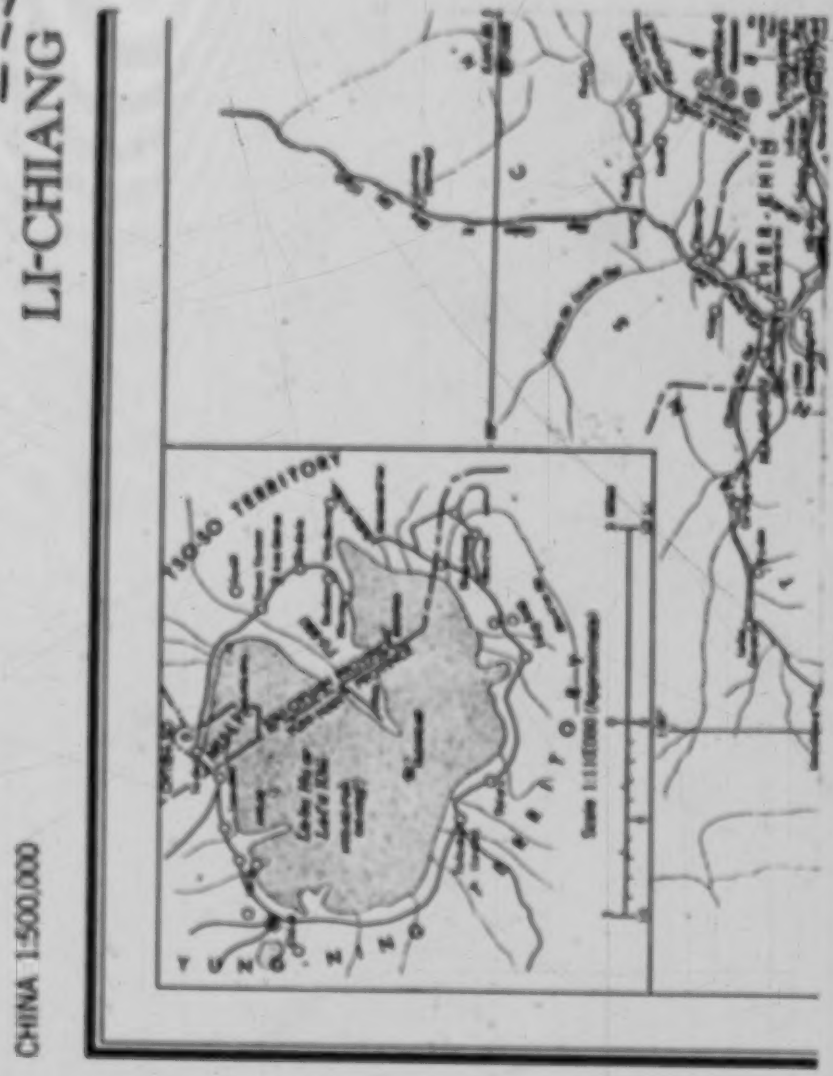

[End map III A]

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LI-CHIANG

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

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[End map III B]

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[End map III C]

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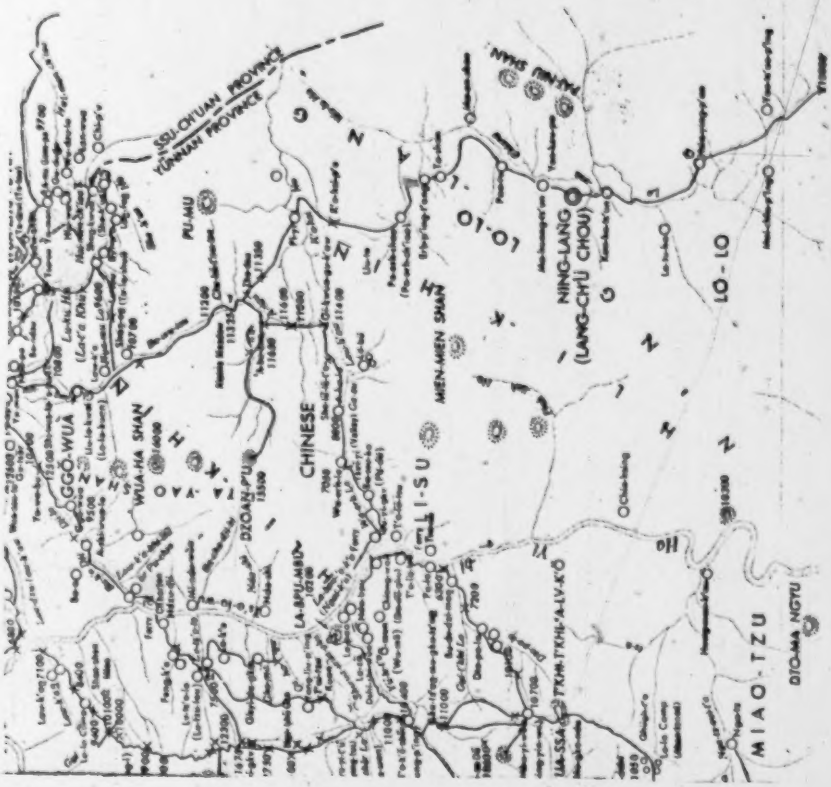

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III E]

: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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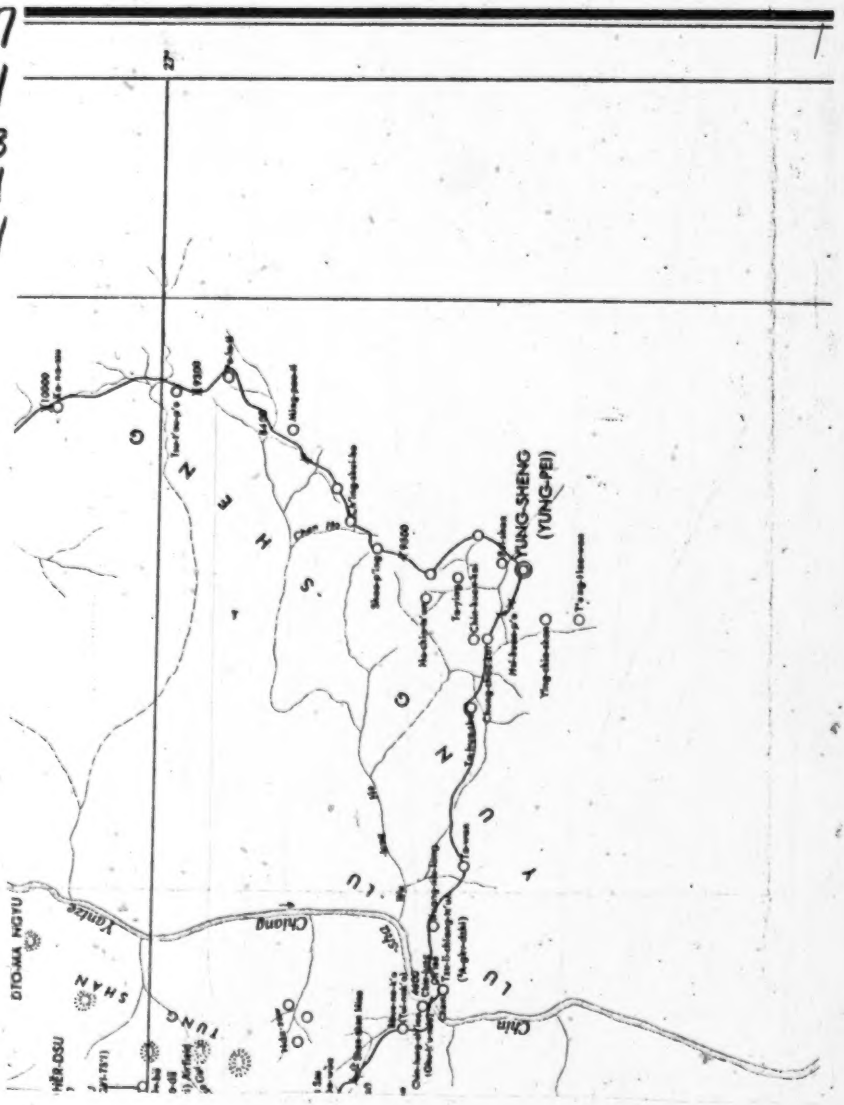

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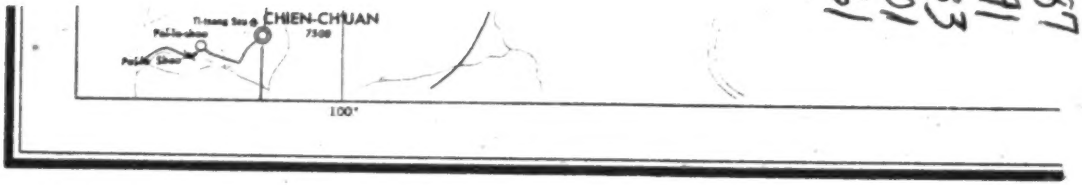

A.M.S. L406
First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1946 by J.F. Rock, from original surveys 1923-32 and from surveys by Major H.R. Davies 1895, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-16.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
- International
- Province
- Territorial or tribal
- Road or trail
- Unsurveyed trail
- District town
- Village
- Lolo settlement
- Camp site
- Lamasery
- Mountain hut
- Shrine, Mission, Temple
- Airfield
- Pass
- Cave
- Peak with spot height in feet — 15300
- Peak with glacier
- Gorge
- Ferry
- Chain bridge
- Chain bridge (destroyed)
- Rope bridge
- Small wooden bridge
- Unexplored streams
- Disappearing stream
- Hot spring
- Lake
- Island in river
- Sinter terrace

[Fld map III G]

Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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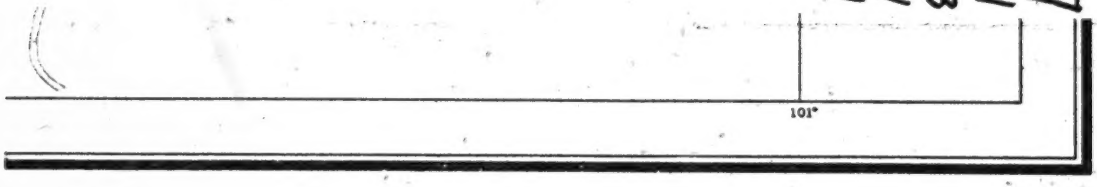

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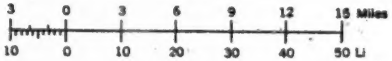

ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C. 144384
B2-48 1948

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

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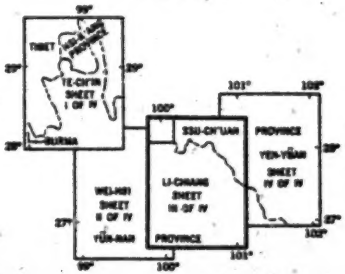

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LI-CHIANG, CHINA

N2630-E9950/145x110

[End map III H]

Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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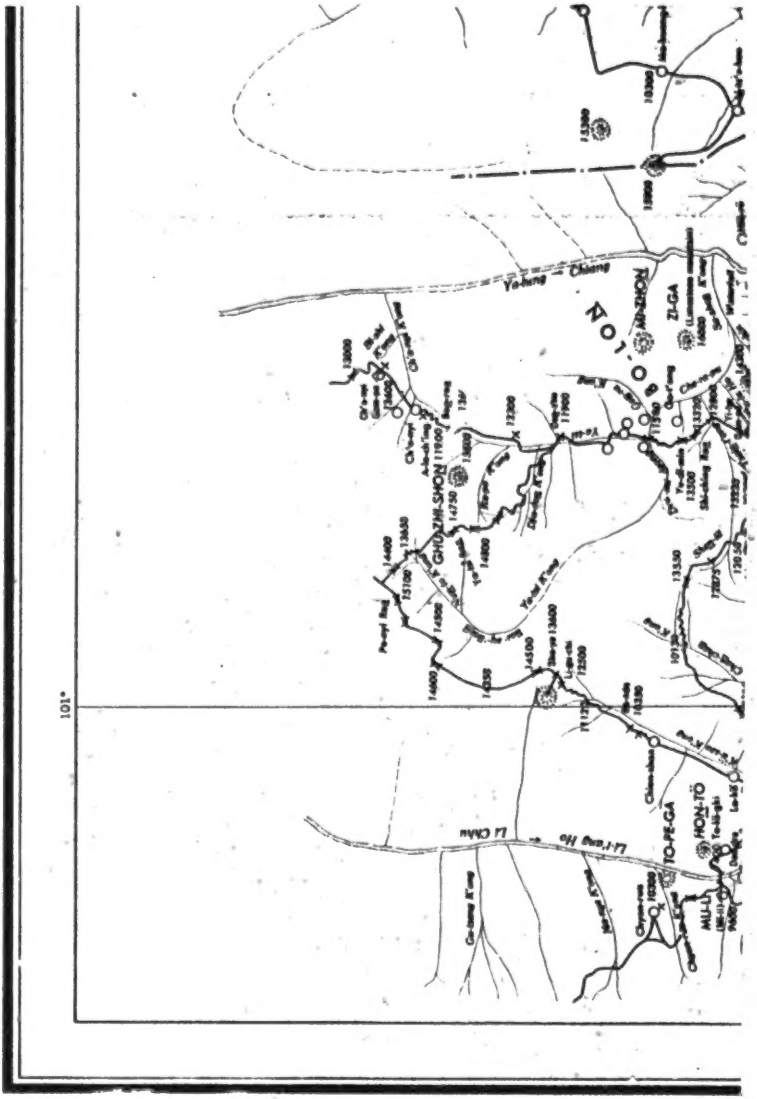
YEN-YÜAN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map IV A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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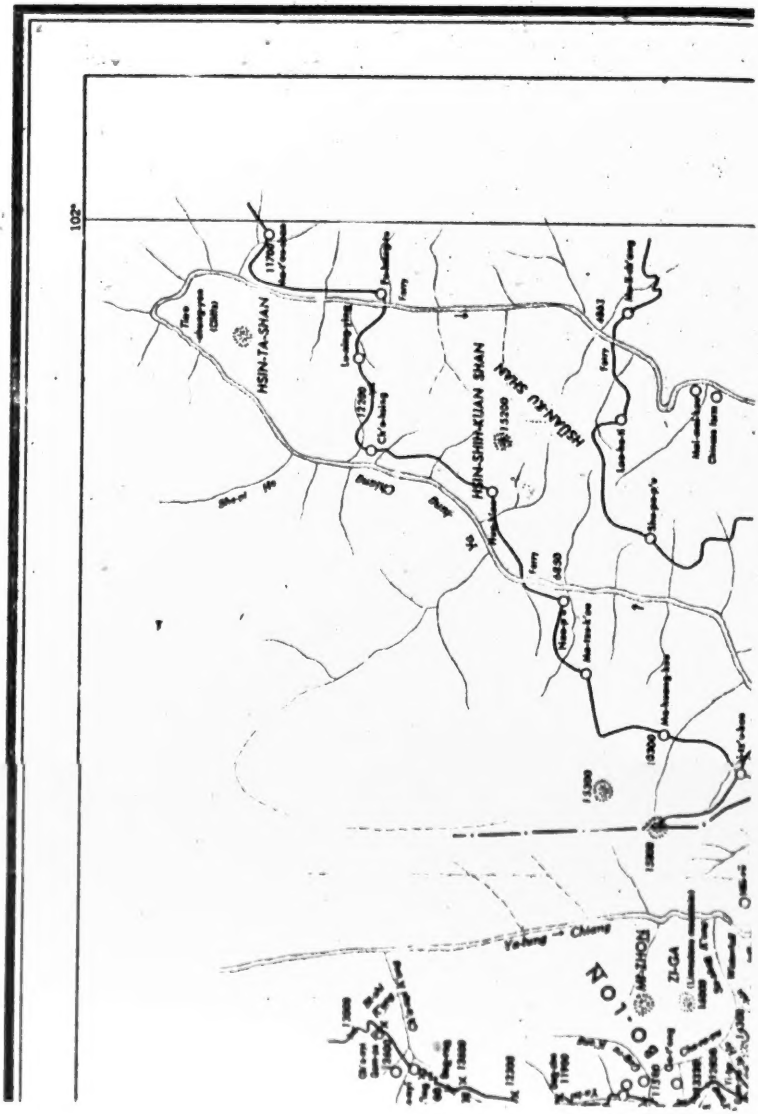
SHEET IV OF IV
A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

YEN-YUAN



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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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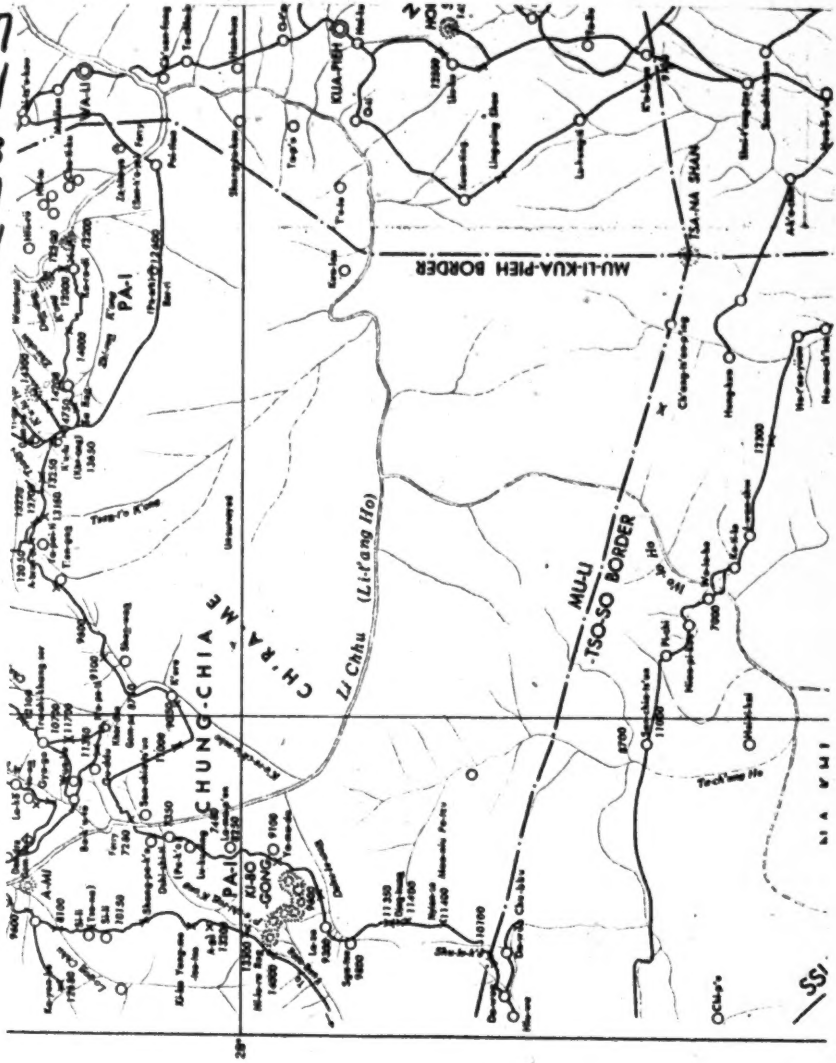
MU-LI-KUA-PIEH BORDER
TSA-NA SHAN
KUA-PIEH
PA-I
CHUNG-CHIA
CHIANG
Li Chiu (Li-Kang Ho)
MULI
TSO-SO BORDER
KUO-GONG
Tock'ang Ho
Tsa'o Kang
Ferry
Ch'a-'o
Ch'a-'o
Ch'a-'o

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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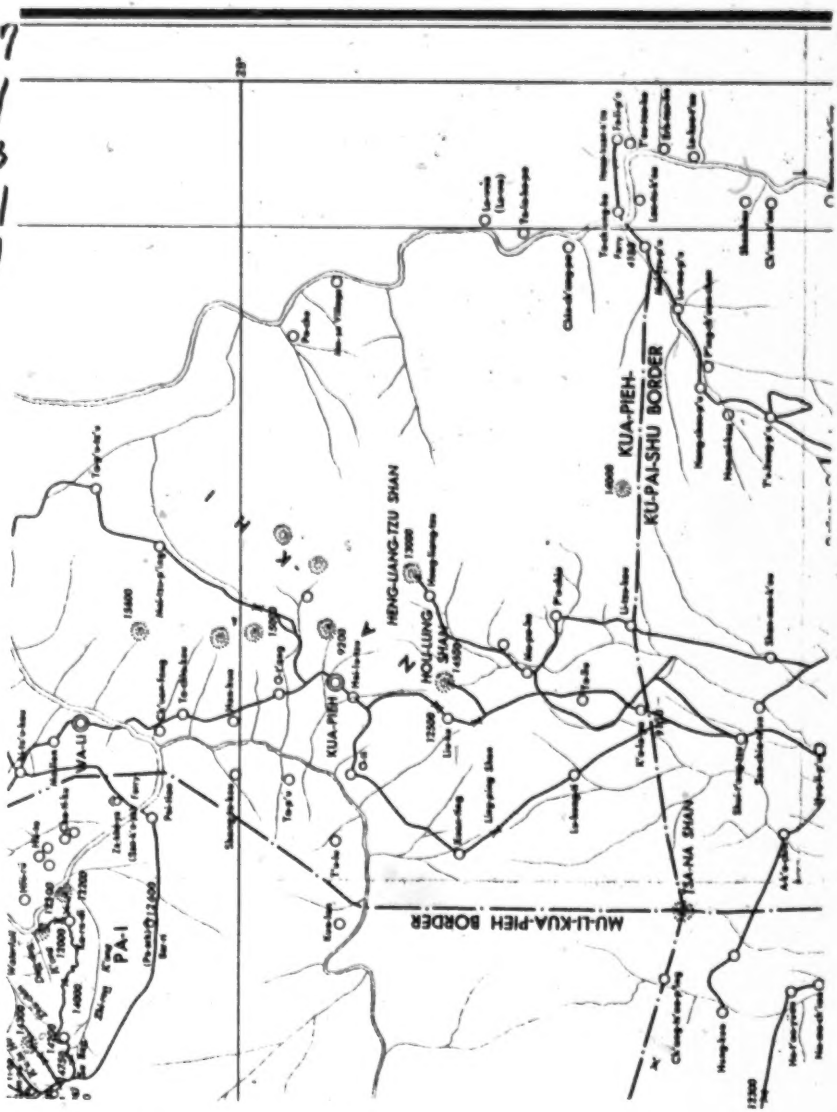

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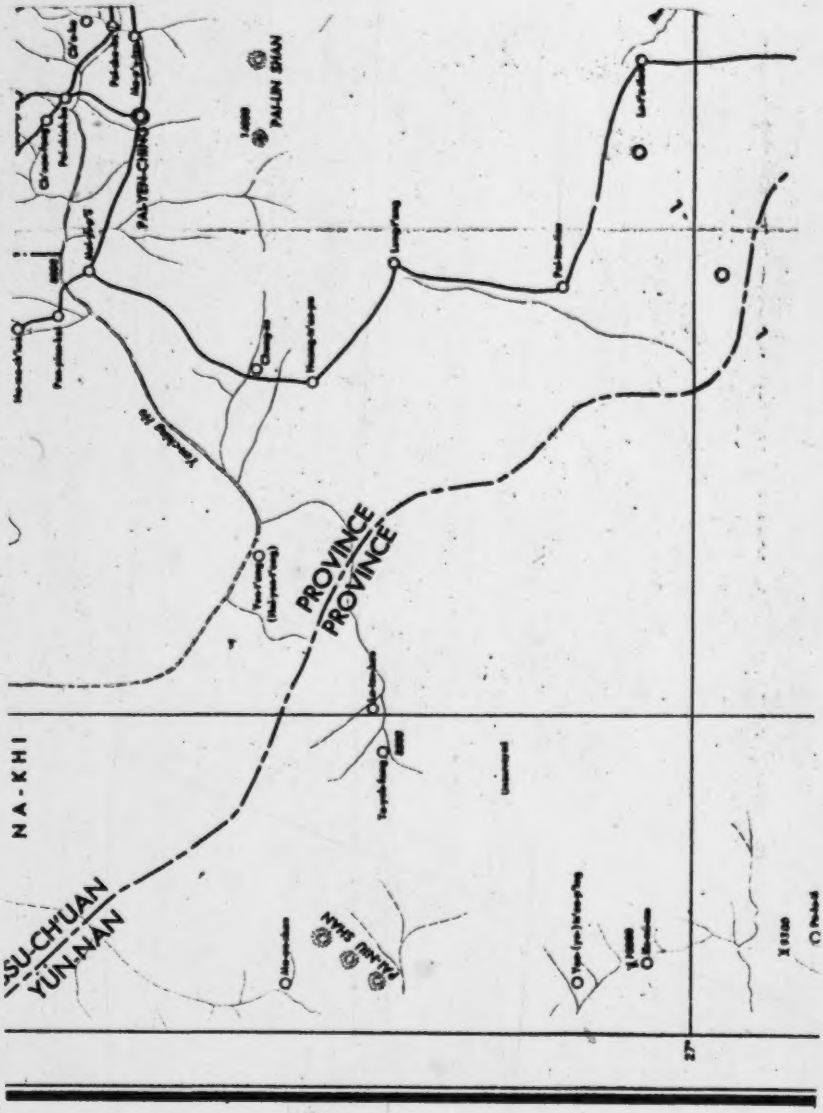

[End map IV E]

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[End map IV F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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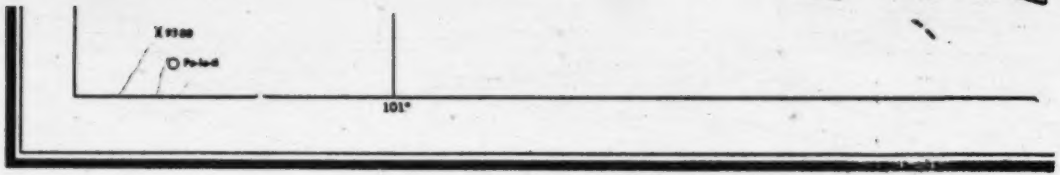

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

LEGEND

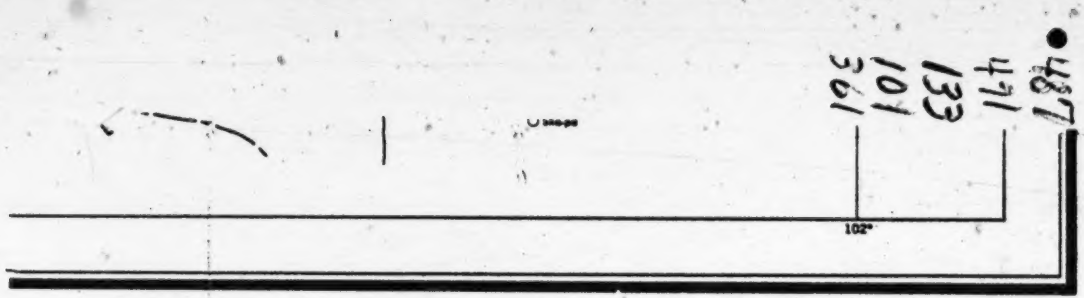
BOUNDARIES
International
Provinces
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lake settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]



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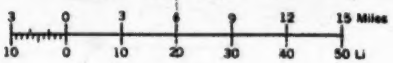
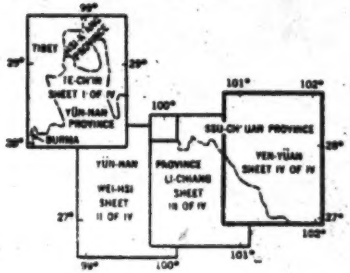


ARMY MAP SERVICE, U. S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C., 144385
1947

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

INDEX TO SHEETS



APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

YEN-YÜAN, CHINA

N2655-E10045/145x150

[End map IV-H]

5: Davies
487

AF16 Southwest China AF16

[For information on routes and trails in Yun-nan see category 116, pp. 1-331.]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 however, does not go down to it, but turns in a more westerly direction to Ning-kram, a Kachin village of the Maran tribe. The Kachins were somewhat surprised, as they naturally did not expect to see a European travelling about here, but I had no difficulty in convincing them that it was quite a friendly visit. The last time we had come across Kachins was on the 11th January, the day that we marched into Chan-hsi (San-si). This race is only met with near the Burmese border; they do not extend any distance into the interior of Yün-nan.

• 487 Our road the next day crossed the Nam Wan a mile or two above the head of the Möng Wan plain and then passed over another range of hills into the Ho-hsa valley. I had sent on to say I was coming and was most hospitably received by the sawbwa, who was then living in his old [136] capital at Se-kow. I found a good many spot-billed duck in the flooded rice fields here and also saw one snipe.

I could not spare the time to accept the sawbwa's invitation to stay on here a day or two, and started again the next morning, accompanied for part of the way by his eldest son. The range between the Nam Wan and the [137] Taping is crossed at 7,400 feet. Here I found a very nice sort of white wild strawberry growing, quite different from the tasteless red variety that one usually finds in this country. We descended into the Taping valley and crossed the river at Nawng-hsai ferry: it is 500 yards wide here, but at this time of the year not more than half the bed has any water in it and it is shallow enough to be fordable. We slept the night at the Shan monastery at Man-waing [206] or Man-yün. Since my last visit, telegraphic communication had been established by Mr Jensen between T'êng-yüeh and the Burmese frontier, and I found a telegraph station established here and was once more in touch with the outside world.

On the 15th of May we reached the frontier fort of Nam-paung, and in two more marches did the 32 miles which separate this post from Bhamo.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

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P
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enfeoffing him King of Yun-nan with the rank of T'e-chin, the title Duke of Yueh State and Prefect-creating General. Moreover, the Emperor bestowed a new name, Kuei-yi (Convert to Righteousness) upon P'i-lo-ko. The son of P'i-lo-ko was enfeoffed General of the Right Command, General of the Left Body-guard, Expectant of the T'e-chin Rank, General of Cavalry and, to top it all, the Emperor gave him the title: Pillar of State. Emperor Hsuan Tsung after A.D. 742 received P'i-lo-ko's grandson Feng-chia-yi in audience, conferred on him the title Hung-lu-ch'ing (rank given travelers of high status), and gave him an

* * *

Photo 9. Ta-li, Yun-nan Province (25°42' N, 100°9' E

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Erh Hai (Ear Lake), 7000 feet in elevation, and the plain of Ta-li in western Yun-nan is viewed here from above the 14,000 feet high Ch'ien-ts'ang Shan west of the lake. Ta-li City, visible as the rectangular walled patch in the center of the lake plain, is the western rival of K'un-ming, capital of Yun-nan Province. The plain is about 30 miles long and 3-4 miles wide. Narrow passages at the north and south ends are strategically bounded by the towering Ch'ien-ts'ang and the lake edge, the southern entrance being through a canyon and across the bridge over the lake outlet. Early T'ai chieftains built their kingdom of Nan-chao upon this base and expanded the state to encompass most of the Yun-nan and Kuei-chou plateau lands. The state withstood Han-Chinese conquest for nine centuries, but was brought to its end by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan.

The population of the Ta-li Plain for the most part are the Min-chia tribes who have successfully maintained their hold against displacement by the Han-Chinese. Highly Sinicized themselves, the Min-chia are being rapidly absorbed into the mainstream of the Han-Chinese culture. A small number among them have been converted to Mohammedanism, but most of them are Buddhists.

The Burma Road passes the southern approach to Erh Hai where the fortress town of Hsia-kuan guards the plain. From the northern end a motor road runs to Li-chiang between the great loop of the Chin-sha Chiang. The Ta-li Plain thus occupies a very strategic position in the communications of western Yun-nan.

T 792 between pp. 168 and 169 in original text. / /169/ Anyone on the Koko Nor or in Tsaidam who has a particularly good sword, sees to it that it comes from Dergi gon tschen.

The monastery as well as the princely residence of Dergi gon tschen lie five days' journey below Dschoma lhagan on the left (eastern) side of the Yangtze, a short day's ride from the river, and seem to be difficult to reach from the north. (1) On March 31, I stayed a whole day

000

1. In the Atlas de la Chine by d'Anville, Paris 1785, the monastery Tschonkor is indicated in this region.

in Antu Dschomba not far from Dschoma lhagan, in order to get guides to take me to Dschoma lhagan. There were people who offered to do so, but they all assured me that I could not reach it from this side with my pack animals and boxes because the paths were so narrow that pack animals would fall headlong. Since I did not get any carriers, I had to give up this idea, too.

C 487 Below Dschoma lhagan the Dre Chu-Yangtze enters a narrow valley as it breaks through a large mountain ridge in a more southerly direction. But the large road maintains the southwest direction that it has taken for several days. Immediately behind Dschoma lhagan (Chinese: Kwan yin miao) it again ascends a considerable height, and here only cattle raising can be carried on.

T 243 On our next trek (April 1) we passed several smaller monasteries that stood close to the road. After seven hours of travel we reached Nan dyi, a number of settlements consisting of seven or eight stone houses. The people were friendly, invited us to live among them and also sold us barley. They asked when the "Pe lang" was coming. Around this time the farmers are still threshing with their flail on their threshing floor which is always on the flat roof of the house. In order to clean the grain they do not use a winnowing shovel like the Chinese, for instance, but pour the grain on the floor several times, letting the mountain wind carry off the chaff.

C 103 On the second day, beyond a pass, we came upon the kingdom of Ling gose that is supposed to derive its name from King Gesar's Ling or gLing. It is independent, so to speak, and has its own dyalbo (rgyalbo). The latter lives in Gose gomba and his home is a not very princely-looking stone house.

C 137 From the road we could see in the south and southwest, about one and a half days' journey from Dschoma lhagan, the valley of the Yangtze Kiang, although we did not once catch a glimpse of the river which is wedged in between rocks. Beyond the valley there are crests

000 said and what he thought never corresponded. He often said to me: "A clever man never speaks the truth!" (1) /Plates XLI, XLII, XLIII,

1. Two and one-half years later I accidentally learned that Da Tschang was knocking about in his native country, gay and in high spirits. He had brought home a new Tibetan squaw from Dscherku ndo.

C and XLIV appear between pp. 184 and 185 in the original text. /
487 /185/ Near Puiling the big tea route leaves the Dsa Chu Valley in order to follow the nearest eastern longitudinal valley parallel to it. However, the Dsa Chu, like the Yangtze Kiang below Dschoma lhagan, at first breaks through the southern chains of mountains. At the place where it breaks through there is very little room beside it, and, it is said that pack animals cannot follow the river. The soldiers said that even riding horses had fallen headlong one time when they were going downstream. However, there is constant traffic on foot along the river to the populous and war-like Nyarong (Chinese: Tschan tui). (1)

1. If one goes from Hor Gantse down the Dsa Chu Valley - so the soldiers told me - one gets to Sade on the left bank the first day, and on the second to Zba, on the third, to Dagelo, then to Sana and Bur where the fortress of the chief official of the Dewa schung of Lhasa is supposed to stand. After another day Gur is reached. From the chief town in Tschan tui one estimates four days to Tschanggu and six days to Litang. In the entire Nyarong there are two higher officials from Lhasa. J. Bacot in Le Tibet revolté, Paris 1912, calls Rounon and not Bur the chief town of Nyarong. He, unfortunately, also did not succeed in visiting the chief town.

C/T 175 631 As was mentioned before, the Hyarong is subordinate to officials appointed by Lhasa. In 1863-1864 during the Tai ping rebellion when the whole kingdom was in a state of fermentation, an ambitious Nyarong prince tried to free himself like the Ngolok, and carried on a terrific war of destruction against the Chinese and against all those who sided with the Chinese. At the request of the Peking government and pressure from Dergi, the Dewa schung (sdeba gschung) of Lhasa

pennants on top. But it seems that the good earth spirits have still not calmed the raging brook. C 133

From Tschanggu to the next larger town, Dawo, the Tibetan estimates three to four days' travel, from there to Ta tsien lu ting, to the seat of the first more important Chinese mandarin, six days. I traveled this distance which has since then been traveled by several missionaries and even by the German consul in Tscheng tu fu, in the customary length of time and shall therefore word my account briefly. The road follows the course of the Da Chu southeast as far as Dawo, and even beyond that keeps to this direction. Whereas the river breaks through the mountain chain at the right of it and then joins the Dsa Chu, the road leads over a number of crests, over altitudes of between 4,000 and 4,200 meters and at the Dschedo la joins the second larger thoroughfare of Southeastern Tibet, the Lhasa road, which passes through Li tang and Ba tang. C 487

In Tschanggu I was given three soldiers to accompany me. They were supposed to get salaries and supplies from Ta tsien lu for Wu. They were joined by two Tibetan aristocrats with some baggage, who were planning to bring a suit before the Ting in Ta tsien lu (Plate XLI). Thus I traveled very comfortably. T 484

On April 23 we again crossed the Da Chu which had become so large, having been joined by a number of tributary brooks, that, in spite of the seasonal low water, one could only cross in round leather boats (Plate XLIII). On the opposite shore, just as we were putting the bridles on our horses and mules that had been obliged to swim across, a Tibetan who was dressed halfway like a European, marched up to me and behind him a real European soon appeared carrying a large bright sunshade. I had completely forgotten how we Europeans look and was startled by the strangeness of our skin, our tropical helmets, our European, close-fitting suits and snow white ties. But positively frightening /195/ seemed to me our sky-blue eyes. A breath from an entirely different world and from an era that ought not yet to be, suddenly was wafted toward me. Mr. Amundsen, the active member of the Christian Bible Society was about to undertake a large expedition to Dergi. For several years he has devoted his entire strength to filling in the gap in Tibet's medieval culture. Loaded on a large number of yaks he carried voluminous chests containing thousands of editions of the Gospels in the Tibetan language, which he intended to distribute and sell to the inhabitants. At last I heard news about Europe again. But we only talked for five minutes. For five minutes I looked into another world but then our companions urged us on and T 797

S.W. China AF16

133 Dschara re (Zarsun) and the Hai tse Shan massif (Vol. I, Plate XLIV) at my left with their present-day vestigial glaciers appeared in all their splendor. The main peak was 2,000 meters above the road. Far in the distance to the south one could see the sacred giants of the Bogungga (Plate XLV) that are much more than 6,000 meters high, while toward the west and the Li tang country there extended a steppe plateau of 4,000 meters inestimably far into the horizon. Nowhere could one see a point or peak there in the west. There was good pasture land on an endless almost level stretch, on which myriads of yaks could graze. But this plain is also just an illusion. Not only the Nya Chu (Ya lung kiang) but all its countless tributaries as well have torn up this land in a thousand places and gutted it deeply. (1)

1. On the Ta tsien lu - Ba tang road the Ya lung Kiang is only 2,730 meters high.

It is the land of Minyang where pastures are to be found as well as grain fields in the valleys, which to a large extent must supply the city of Ta /201/ tsien lu. Just beyond is the plateau of Li tang.

487 We were supposed to arrive in Ta tsien lu on May 3. From the Dzong Tschamba to Ta tsien lu is considered a day's journey, albeit a long day. However, on account of the poor condition of my animals I put in another bivouac (Plate XLV). It turned out to be a cold and damp night and we were covered with a thick layer of hoar frost, something that is unusual in the interior of Tibet. At five o'clock in the morning, when it had grown light, I rode after the others. I was just an hour's ride from the Dschedo La Pass. At six o'clock I stood on this last big pass, the actual boundary pass between Tibet and China. An endless chain of mules passed me there. One animal after another panted under a load of two bales of rice sewed in leather. They were all small, skinny beasts but they could climb like cats. The drivers were subjects of the Dschagla king and were rendering compulsory service in the form of ula with their animals. It was imperial rice, and the convoy consisted of Chinese troops that were still in the field beyond Li tang, around Ba tang and in Siang tscheng. Just at the Dschedo Pass I had run into the large Tibetan military road that leads from Ta tsien lu via Li tang, Ba tang, Dschraya and Tsiamdo to Lhasa, along which for centuries invading armies moved.

000 Even the imperial telegraph line led over the bleak saddle of

S.W. China AF46

afternoon, just as I had longingly checked the water level with my 731
gauge, the waves tossed up two coolie corpses one after the other. Two large packs bobbed on the surface like huge pork bladders, floating downstream, and on them hung the bodies /221/ of the unfortunate men, aimlessly wedged between tree trunks or hurled against rocks.

Finally on the 19th the water dropped about four feet. At the 487.
same time I had succeeded in rounding up 15 Chinamen who carried my packs. At some difficult and deep places the coolies were tied to a rope so that no one would be injured. Within two kilometers we reached the bridge of Dä hsin kiao where the largest part of the carriers had to be exchanged after Skewliu and Dardyi had safely returned with the unloaded animals.

Three kilometers farther on I struck the next obstacle of which not a soul had told me. Here a Mure /wall of silt?--Translator/ had been discharged across the road and the fields at the bottom of the valley, which stopped all traffic so that the animals sank up to their bellies at each step and I had to build a corduroy road in order to get them across. The going was easier along the river bank because there were more stones there. Brdyal tried to get my best K'am horse through there. But quite suddenly the animal came to a spot that was too soft and in it sank. With our combined efforts we finally succeeded in lifting it out, half choked. Fifteen minutes later it was dead.

After having worked from dawn on, we found ourselves, at four in the afternoon, just above the mud wall on a dry spot of the two-foot-wide road. The carriers from Dä hsin kiao now demanded their pay because they wanted to go back to eat and because the road was supposed to offer no further difficulties. Scarcely a few hundred feet farther up, however, the rain had washed out the road within a small gorge so completely that only pedestrians could get through and these only if they climbed on their hands and knees. Helplessly we faced this new obstacle with our horses. Dead tired, the animals lay down with their packs on their backs on the narrow path and in the nearby small fields. By the time new men and hooks, planks and axes had been found, in order to repair the imperial military road, it had grown dark and it was late at night when the caravan finally reached the town and the inn of Senggersung. It had taken us 15 long hours to go 9 kilometers on this day.

The altitude of Senggersung is 2,200 meters. From here on there were no more difficulties along the way. The valley grew wider and

S.W. China AF16

487 the floor of the valley broader. The angle of elevation of the mountains decreased by several degrees. The valley now followed the general strike of the argillaceous slate mountain range the stratification of which is here also steeply perpendicular and still runs N 65° W as in North and Central Tibet.

In the inn at Senggersung my Romi Tschanggu policemen appeared again. They lay peacefully stretched out on a plank bed and smoked their opium, as they had been doing for the three preceding days. How they could have helped me if they had not deserted me at the suspension bridge!

The distance of 60 li (Chinese caluclation) between Senggersung and Mu gung ting, the chief city of the entire Kin tschuan, could be covered on June 20 within a few hours and without mishap. On the other hand, six days and three horses had been required to cover the distance between Romi Tschanggu and Senggersung, which the Chinese figure at 120 li. (1)

1. According to my map it is actually only 35 kilometers. In West Szechwan I found that the li was usually 0.4 kilometers.

361 /222/ On a warped and decayed cantilever bridge we were again obliged to cross a narrow rocky gorge through which the river surges. Then we climbed 100 meters up the steep left bank onto a rocky terrace and with it reached Hsin gai tse, the market suburb of My gung ting. Hsin gai tse with its 6,000-7,000 inhabitants has no wall. The place is still too new for one. The name Hsin gai tse alone, meaning "new market lane," shows that the Chinese have not been settled here for long, - only a little more than 100 years. The natives call the place Meino or Meno, and from the beginning it played an important rôle. Eight minutes to the east and sharply divided from it lies the yamen town of Mu gung. The district official of the valleys in the Little and the Great Gold River country, the Mu gung ting, has his official seat there. There are only a few houses and a hotel for the various schu be and tsien tsung, i.e., the chiefs of the district, standing together high above the river on a rocky ridge. From this spot one can look far down into valleys and gorges and, farther east, in the valley, one sees the town of Ying pan gai or Ying gai, the supply road with the yamen of the highest military commander of the region (Plate LIII), one looks down toward Senggersung and up the Ying gai Valley and along a road that leads

871 offered to a broader segment of the population in
178 the decade before World War II. New social,
596 political, and economic ideas thus disseminated
were supplemented by the outpourings of the press.
489 Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or
596 more away from the nearest great city were
178 brought only hours away by modern methods of
transportation, particularly the railroad and
the steamship. All these media brought the
people and especially the young into contact with
ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures
to be had in the modern city planted a seed of
dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

668 An even more disturbing influence on the
178 old way of life was the increasing spread of revo-
596 lutionary social and political doctrines after
1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had
brought the traditional family under attack as
early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to
society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New
Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese
thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty
of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of
this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of
the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in
the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese
agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3e,
Economic Background

TRANSPORTATION AND DOMESTIC TRADE

•489 For generations, Southwest China has lacked good transportation facilities. Before the founding of the Republic in 1911, not a single railroad was in operation in this area; nor were there many wide roads. The chief means of transportation at that time were the inland waterways and a limited number of country roads. The idea of building a modern railway in Szechwan was initiated by Chang Chih-tung in the last year of the reign of the Emperor Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty,[1] but the plan failed. Extensive railway building was not started in the Southwest Region until 1936, just prior to the war of resistance against Japan. During the war, the Nationalist Government accomplished a great deal in both railway and highway construction in Southwest

1. Wang Chih-fen, Ch'eng Yü T'ieh-lu [Chengtu-Chungking Railway], Shanghai, Hsin chih-shih ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 14-15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF16~~ AF16

489 China in spite of the numerous difficulties encountered. After the "liberation," the Communists, in addition to the rehabilitation of existing railways and highways, began to build new ones. In addition, some improvements have been made in inland water transport and aviation. Consequently, Southwest China is now able to ship its surplus grain to regions where grain production is inadequate.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

496 Since the Communists came to power in 1949, efforts have been made to restore and expand the railway network in Northwest and Southwest China. The railways which are now (1956) in operation in Southwest China are shown in Table 1.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER VII

Air Flight round Li-chiang Snow Range and through the 'A-ts'an-gko — Yangtze Gorge

489 Since my earlier days of exploration in Yün-nan great progress has been made in China: the most important was the linking of out-of-the-way places with centers of civilization, either by motor-road or aeroplane. Roads in our sense of the word are still rare in Yün-nan and few connect with neighboring 509 provinces.[1] Since 1934 an air service has been established linking this far-away province directly with Shanghai (via Chungking) and other parts of China. An opportunity was thus offered to charter the plane K'un-ming of the China National Aviation Company for a flight to the Li-chiang Snow range and through the now famous gorge of the upper Yangtze called 'A-ts'an-gko. It is extremely difficult while exploring on foot in this greatest of all canyons to form an idea as to the lie of the peaks which hem in this gorge. To solve certain geographical problems I decided to fly through the gorge at a sufficient height to enable me to get a bird's-eye view of it and of the surrounding mountains.

*133 Viewing the peaks from the air, we have learned that the mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko with its towering peaks of A-ssu, A-ku and A-mbu nv-lv (p. 225) running parallel to the bulky pile of Gyi-nà nv-lv in the west, is by far the most important part of the northern end of the snow range (Plate 149). It forms a huge, broad pyramid, the western and north-western edges of which are the walls flanking the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Our picture was taken looking south from an altitude of 17,000 feet as the plane entered the gorge flying in a south-westerly direction. It shows clearly the tremendous pyramid separated from Gyi-nà nv-lv by a glacier-filled ravine, beyond which is visible Shan-tzu-tou, the highest peak of the range. This proves that Gyi-nà nv-lv (*see* p. 224) is to the east of Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as shown on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Viewing Gyi-nà nv-lv from the east one would never suspect that to the west of it extends, parallel to it, this far greater mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv.

Our flight also definitely proved that the second highest peak of the snow range is in the 'A-ts'an-gko Range. In the next few pages I shall give a description of the actual flight through the gorge from notes taken on the trip.

THE FLIGHT

February 3rd (1936) was set as the day for the first flight to the Li-chiang Snow range. It was such a day as only Yün-nan could boast of at that time of year. The sky was cloudless and of a deep turquoise blue, the atmosphere crystal clear. The plane "K'un-ming" left the K'un-ming aerodrome at

[1] Two motor roads have since been opened: one connecting K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) with Chung-king (Chung-ch'ing 重慶) via Kuei-yang, and the other K'un-ming with Burma via Hsia-kuan and Lung-ling. Owing to the war, air service to the coast cities of China was suspended but has again been inaugurated.

[p. 272]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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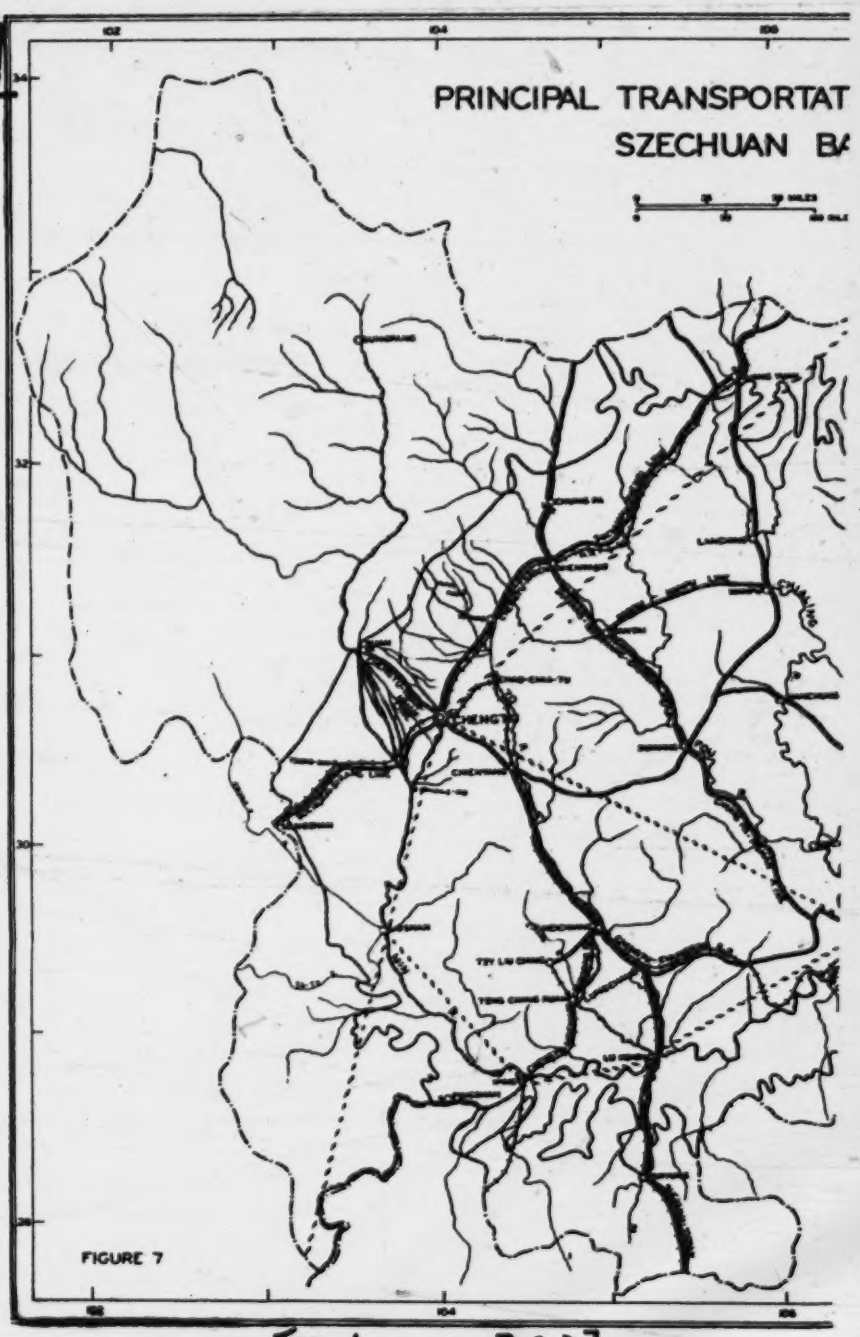

[End map 3(a)]

?; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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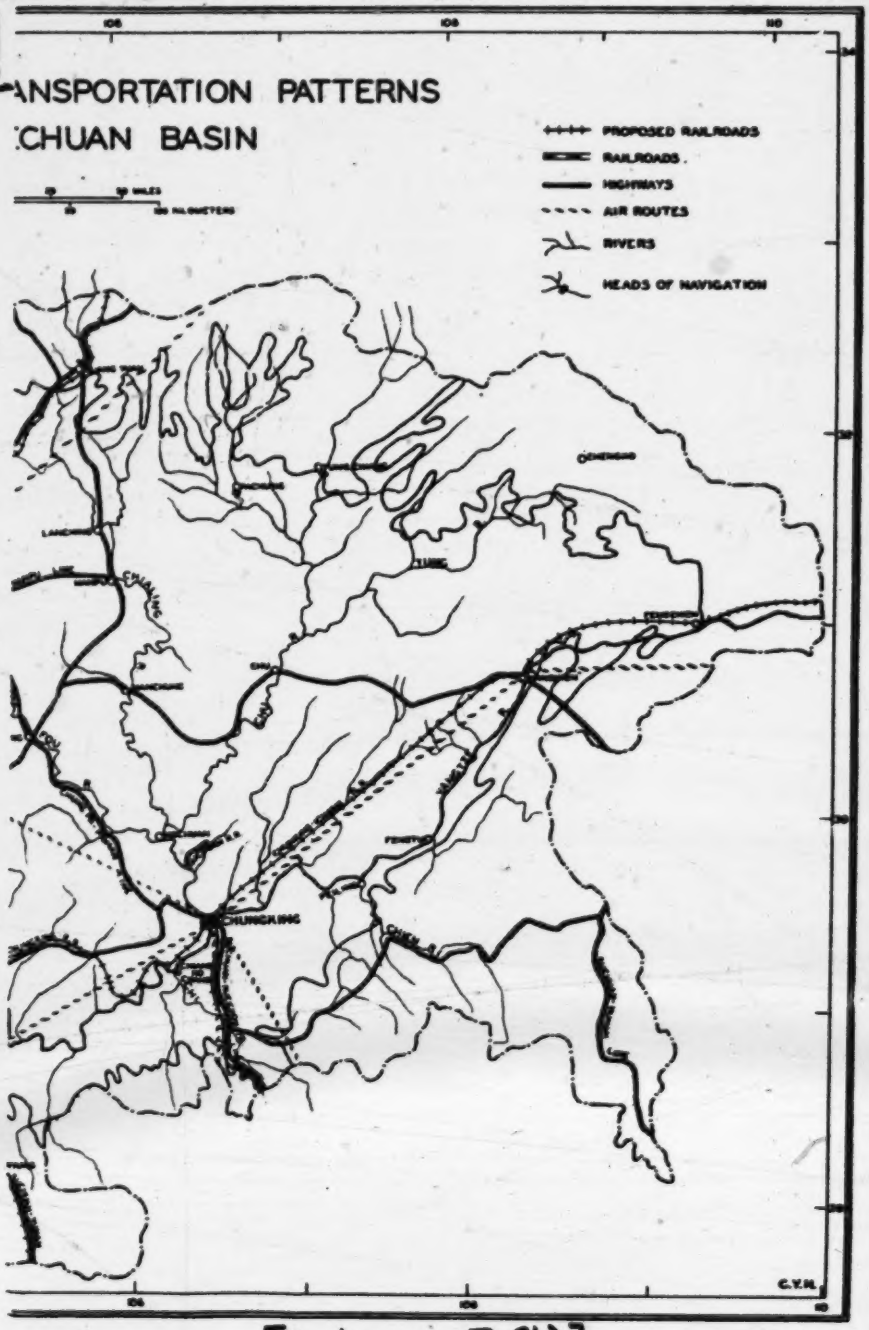

[End map 3 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

producer of both these key minerals among all the provinces of free China. 135

While it is true that Szechuan Basin is undoubtedly the most self-sufficient and prosperous agricultural region of China, many phases of its present agricultural and forestry land use cannot be said to be wholly satisfactory from the standpoint of modern technology and scientific development. As a matter of fact, the backwardness of some of the practices is appalling. Drastic measures of improvement are urgently needed. 242 313

The efficiency of the Basin's present agricultural land use has been handicapped greatly by many natural and cultural factors. Among these are the traditional "Tung Shui Tien" system; the undependable nature and marginal character of the hilly agriculture in many parts of the Basin; the presence of large tracts of unreclaimed vacant land (particularly at the peripheral areas of the Basin); ignorance of modern scientific methods of seed selection and plant-breeding (from the irrigated alluvial plain rice to the small millet of the non-irrigated eroded soils of the upper hills); the insufficiency and failure of cotton-culture in many parts of the Basin; the periodic or aperiodic famine in the more hilly areas due to the lack of the more drought-resistant crops; the serious nature of soil-creep in many hilly areas; the failure to modernize silk-culture; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with native herbs; and above all, the lack of satisfactory and efficient irrigation system in many terraced fields of the more hilly areas. 242

In forestry land use, the most noticeable difficulties are: the lack of long-range and far-sighted forestry policy and lumber exploitation; the failure to cultivate and to experiment with tung trees; the absence of well-organized and modern-equipped plantations in tung tree production; the lack of standardization of tung tree products; and the serious hazards (due to long and difficult hauling) of transporting the wax-insects in the white-wax tree industry. 313

Transportation both within and without the Basin has been made difficult by the swift flow of many of the streams and the ruggedness of the topography. Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than the issue of transportation. The solution of this problem will promote the efficiency of agricultural and forestry as well as other forms of land use in the Basin. 489

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Szechuan-Yunnan highway will relieve to a considerable degree 314
the traditional difficulty of transporting the wax insects for
the white-wax tree industry.

In both mining and manufacturing, rapid progress has also 316
been made. During the past few years, the Basin's coal production 178
has been increased 400 per cent, iron production 300 per cent, and
placer mining 200 per cent. Besides, the Basin is rapidly developing into a new industrial center of free China. It is now the home of over 61 per cent of free China's machine industry. At present the Basin accounts for about 40 per cent of the total manufacturing capacity of all free China.

Even in the most chronic and difficult problem of transportation land use, rapid progress is being made. Numerous commercial air lines have been inaugurated since 1932, many railways (some of them already under construction) have been projected; and the highway network of the Basin has been partly completed. Of the Basin's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. Most important of all, the various projects for canalization of the numerous streams in the Basin have been vigorously advanced. Many of these projects (such as the Chi and Upper Chialing rivers) have already been completed. These achievements and many more to follow will make a long stride toward the satisfactory solution of the Basin's acute transportation problem. 489

As to the future development of the Basin, one may approach the problem from two standpoints: first, the future prospect of the Basin as a base of operation against the Japanese invasion; and second, the future position of the Basin when peace returns once more. 133

As regards the first objective, the future of the Basin is bright. First of all, here, in Szechuan Basin, one finds a unique geographic region which has the interesting and fortunate combination of a mild south-China climate (with a long growing season), a rich north-China mineral resource (particularly coal and iron), a Yangtse Delta agricultural wealth, and above all, a southwest-China rugged mountain topography which provides protection against military invasion. The agricultural richness of the Basin is particularly important in maintaining a sustained self-sufficiency and should enable the region to hold longer against invading forces than would otherwise be possible. 241

499 The need for railroads in the Basin is most urgent and the clamor for railroad construction is loud. Already there are four projected railroads, namely, the Chengtu-Chungking, the Tzeliuching-Luhsien, the Chengtu-Paochi, and the Chengtu-Kuming lines (Fig. 7).[a] The Chengtu-Chungking projected line is already under construction. This line, after its completion, will link the rich agricultural Chengtu Plain and the growing industrial Chungking area. Furthermore, the completion of the Tzeliuching-Luhsien line will bring forth a more efficient operation of the vital brine-salt industry of the Basin.

509 d) The major air-routes.--If highway development in Szechuan Basin is still in its childhood, airway development is in its infancy. It was not until 1932, only about ten short years ago, at the initiation of the Shanghai-Chengtu air-line, that the Basin first experienced commercial air service. Since then, commercial flying in the Basin has been growing steadily. The original Shanghai-Chengtu Line has suspended operation since 1938 on account of the war.

There are now five principal air lines in the Basin, namely, the Chungking-Hongkong (now extended only to Kunming after the Japanese occupation of Hongkong in December, 1941), Chengtu-Sian, Chengtu-Kunming, Chungking-Chengtu, and Chungking-Loshan lines. Among them, the Chungking-Hongkong (now to Kunming) and Chengtu-Sian lines are the most important.[1]

All the above air-lines are engaged principally in passenger and mail service. Freight capacity is still very limited. In so far as use for cargo transportation is concerned, the present air-line facilities are far from satisfactory. The airways of Szechuan are at best only a symbol of modernization, but the growth has been phenomenal and the future outlook is promising. The cultural and educational value of the air traffic to the inhabitants of the Basin is certainly tremendous.

●489 435 e) The relation of transportation to the agricultural land-use in the Basin.--Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than that of transportation. The poor transportation has hampered in more than one way the efficiency of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use.

In the first place, the difficult and therefore costly transportation has prevented farmers in the Basin from earning as

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan, op. cit., p. 52.

[a] [See end map 3 - Analyst]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

much from their crops as otherwise they might have realized. The classical example is that of wheat during the world war I, when wheat was in great demand throughout the world at that time and was sold for 2.50 to 3.00 Yuan[1] per bushel in Shanghai. At Chungking, however, only 1,500 miles away from the latter port, a bushel of wheat was sold for only ten cents! There is an old saying in the rural areas here: "Pai li pu fang tsu," literally meaning "bulk (grain) is not sold one hundred li away." This reflects vividly the difficulty and high cost of transportation. 489 435

Another astounding example is that many orange growers in the To Valley often let their oranges rot in the field rather than pick them, because it is so difficult and so expensive to get them to market. On the other hand, only 800 moles away, at Hankow, imported oranges are sold for about a dollar (Yuan) for a half dozen. [245]

Finally, also due to the same difficult transportation, it is tragic to see many farmers in the more remote hilly areas let their land lie idle for months on account of the high transportation cost of shipping bulky fertilizers, such as soy bean or tung oil cakes.

7. Mining and Manufacturing Patterns

Approximately less than 10 per cent of the population in the Szechuan Basin are engaged in the mining and manufacturing activities. The Basin's recent rapid development in mining and manufacturing has strengthened its position as a rich self-sufficient geographic region. In fact, mining and manufacturing largely supplement the agricultural and forestry pursuits, and thus, as we shall see later, help to bring forth an increasing efficient agricultural and forestry land-use in the Basin. 463

With the numerous metamorphic formations, volcanic intrusions, and the Jurassic-Triassic (coal and salt-brine bearing here) formations, particularly in the fringing and the anticlinal regions, the Basin's mineral deposits are abundant and varied. They include both metallic and non-metallic deposits, such as iron, copper, gold, silver, aluminum, salt, coal, petroleum, and asbestos. Among them, judging from the volume of present production, salt, coal, and iron are by far the most important. The 135 316

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[1]One Yuan (dollar) in normal times (pre-war) has an exchange rate of approximately one-third of a United States dollar.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

437 farms here are within a few miles of a market. Each town has usually three or four market days per week, which alternate with those of the neighboring towns. The larger places have a daily
437 market. The produce is usually carried on men's backs on shoulder poles, or loaded on wheelbarrows. The noise of the wheelbarrows
489 on the stone-paved roads in the quiet of the early morning is as genuinely Chengtu Plain as many of its other unique landscape features. This peculiar noise, together with that much-advertised smell of night soil in the oriental farm fields, adds another unique double feature to the already too-colorful Chengtu-Plain landscape.

Moreover, in spite of the obstruction of irrigation dams, the extensive inter-communicating canal systems in the Plain help provide channels by way of which many of the villagers in the Plain can send their produce (such as vegetables, fruits, poultry, pork, and other products) to the city or to other towns by boat. And at the same time they bring home their purchases by the same conveyance. The canals thus facilitate considerably the otherwise very difficult transportation conditions. Here reminds one of the similar scene, though on a much smaller scale, which is commonly seen in the Great-Lake Canal regions (such as the Wu-shih and Soochow areas) of the Lower Yangtse Delta.

226 g) Practice of aqui-culture.--Because there are thousands of acres of ponds and water-covered paddy fields in Chengtu Plain, aqui-culture is also practiced here. The principal activity along this line is fishing--for fish, frogs, snails, and crabs. Cormorant fishing is particularly characteristic. Because the Min River and other streams in this area are fairly clear during some months of the year, the fish can be easily seen as they hurry upstream to spawn. Thus, the cormorant catch is generally very successful here. Other phases of aqui-culture include digging for aquatic plants, such as lotus seeds, water chestnuts (Trapa natans), and Calladum, which are all delicacies to the people here.

162 Chengtu Plain occupies an area of approximately 6,000 square kilometers, about one-twenty-fifth of the total area of the Basin proper, as delimited in the present study. But it has a population of more than 4,000,000 people, or about one-twelfth of the total population of the province. The average population density of Chengtu Plain is a little over 700 persons per square kilometer, or nearly 1,800 persons per square mile. Nowhere in

504 150 miles upstream from Chungking. Two lesser tributaries empty into the Yangtze near Lu-chou and make the city a market for native products of southern Szechwan and northern Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Further up-river from Lu-chou is I-pin, terminal of steamer shipping on the Yangtze. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will pass through I-pin.

361 The Szechwan provincial capital is Chengtu, located on the westernmost of four major tributaries to the Yangtze River in the province. As an old cultural center of West China, this city is well known for its handicraft industries and is reputed to have an atmosphere like that of
499 Peking. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway -- an event overpublicized in the Communist press in 1952 -- brings Chengtu into closer contact with a number of important cities in central-south Szechwan, such as Nei-chiang, the only large center for the sugar industry in West China, and Lung-ch'ang. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway is to start from Nei-chiang, passing southwest through Tzu-kung
[317] Municipality. Salt extraction in the Tzu-kung area dates back to the tenth century. In 1953 there were 330 natural gas wells supplying 4,382 brine boilers in Tzu-kung. A railway linking Chengtu with Kansu Province in the north is under construction. This railway will pass Kuang-yüan, a strategic point on the northern
491 approach to Szechwan. The existing highway

491 between Chengtu and Kuang-yüan runs parallel to the new rail line at many places and cuts through a narrow defile just north of Kuang-yüan.

[361] West of Chengtu, the city of O-mei
491 stands on one of the two main overland routes linking Szechwan with the former province of
[823] Sikang. The mountain to the southwest of O-mei, after which the city is named, has been the favorite subject of classical Chinese literature because of its scenic beauty and its connection with Buddhism. Another main overland route from Chengtu westward is the much-heralded Sikang-Tibet Highway. Now that the province of Sikang has been abolished, it remains to be seen how the name of this highway is to be changed. An important highway trunk-line in West China, it passes through Ya-an, former capital of Sikang Province. Southward from Ya-an is a road running through the only rich valley area on the huge tableland of western Szechwan and Yunnan provinces.

Two highways connect Szechwan Province with Yunnan Province to the south. The eastern route from Chungking continues through Kweichow Province. The first key city on the highway in Kweichow Province is Tsun-i, which the red Army occupied twice during the Long March in 1934-35. The school playground on which the Red Army staged a huge rally in 1934 is now a national shrine and gives renown to the city

491 of Tsun-i. Farther south, the highway leads to the provincial capital of Kuei-yang in the center of Kweichow Province. On the network of highways converging upon Kuei-yang are Tu-shan on the route to Kwangsi Province, Kuei-ting on the highway to Hunan Province, and An-shun on the road to Yunnan Province. In the mountain area of western Kweichow Province, An-shun, with an estimated population of 50,000, is the largest metropolis.

The western Szechwan-Yunnan route also passes through Kweichow Province. It starts from Lu-chou in Szechwan and enters Kweichow at a point a short distance north of Pi-chieh, then leaves Kweichow at a point south of Wei-ning. The possibility of expansion of Wei-ning is greater than that of Pi-chieh because in addition to the highway, the proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will also pass through the former city. From Wei-ning south, the highway runs parallel to the proposed rail line to Chan-i, the northern terminal of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway.

496 The Yunnan-Indochina Railway links Chan-i with Yunnan's provincial capital of Kunming. During World War II, Kunming was used as the liaison center for U. S. and Chinese armies in South China and as the terminal of the famed Burma Road and the "Over the Hump" airlift. The beauty of nearby Kunming Lake and a healthful climate make this lake region

496 "the jewel of the south." Meng-tzu is the largest city in southern Yunnan. A spur line connecting Meng-tzu with Ko-chiu to the west facilitates the distribution of the latter's tin output by way of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway. For a period tin mining in the Ko-chiu area was interrupted by the destruction of the railway, but vigorous reconstruction after the Communists came has rejuvenated the industry, which, it is reported, supports 150,000 people. The last station on the Yunnan-Indochina Railway in China is Ho-k'ou, China's southern gateway. The only passable route across the border is by way of a bridge on the Nan-ch'i River.

• 491 Traffic between Yunnan Province and Burma has been shifted to the highway since the abandonment of the old Yunnan-Burma Railway. The highway starts from Kunming and passes through Ta-li and T'eng-ch'ung. The only international road suitable for mechanized vehicles crossing this section of China's boundary, the highway has become known as the Burma Road and is remembered for the important role it played when China was resisting the Japanese.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Table 2. The National Highways of Southwest China*
(Unit: Km = kilometers, Mi. = miles.)

Highway	Terminals	Route (principal Southwestern cities)	Length
Basic No. 1	Shanghai to Lhasa	Chungking, Neichiang, Chengtu, K'angtung	5,221 Km. (3,263 Mi.)
Basic No. 4	Wanting to Ch'engte	Tali, Kunming, Chani, Chungking	4,615 Km. (2,884 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 4	Chanchiang to Pailingmiao	Kweiyang, T'ungtzu, Chungking	3,614 Km. (2,259 Mi.)
Longitudinal No. 5	Talo to Shanpa	Kunming, Hsich'ang, Yaan, Chengtu	3,621 Km. (2,263 Mi.)
Lateral No. 2	Shanghai to Tientshengch'iao	Yüp'ing, Lungli, Kweiyang, Anshun	2,782 Km. (1,738 Mi.)
		Total	19,853 Km. (12,407 Mi.)

* Kuo-tao Wang [The National Highway Network], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yüan, Hsin-wen-chü, pp. 2-50.

[facing p. 864]

497 Passenger rates were increased from 20 to 30 per cent. Higher rates were charged for exceedingly long or exceedingly short hauls of certain commodities in order to eliminate unnecessary use of transportation facilities.[43]

II. HIGHWAY ROUTES

491 The exact mileage of the highway network in the Southwest region is difficult to determine. The figures given in provincial reports do not agree with those given in the national report. No distinction is made between provincial roads and couty roads, nor is there any consistency in the various records concerning the completion of new roads or when such road are open or closed to traffic.

In this study, all the major national highways which pass through Southwest China are discussed as are principal provincial or interprovincial highways connecting the important cities and towns of the region. Major national, interprovincial, and provincial highways of the region are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

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43. Ibid., p. 14.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 3. Interprovincial and Provincial Highways in Southwest China*

(Unit: Km. = kilometer. Mi. = miles.)

HIGHWAY	TERMINALS	LENGTH
Sinkiang-Tibet Line	Yasn-Lhasa	2255 Km. (1409 Mi.)
Chengtu-Apa Line	Chength-Apa	507 Km. (317 Mi.)
Chinghai-Sikang Line	Hsiehwu-Taot'angho	673 Km. (421 Mi.)
Szechwan-Shansi Line	Chengtu-Paochi	770 Km. (481 Mi.)
Sikang-Yunnan Line	Fut'ien-Huili	433 Km. (271 Mi.)
Kunming-Talo Line	Kunming-Talo	-------
Yunnan-Kweichow Line	Kunming-Kweiyang	659 Km. (412 Mi.)
Szechwan-Yunnan (W.) Line	Chennan-Chinshaho	243 Km. (152 Mi.)
Szechwan-Yunnan (E.) Line	T'ienshengch'iao-Ch'ihshuiho	512 Km. (320 Mi.)
Szechwan-Kweichow Line	Sanch'iao-Ch'ungch'iho	306 Km. (191 Mi.)
Kweichow-Kwangsi (E.) Line	Kweiyang-Liuchai	300 Km. (187 Mi.)
Kweichow-Kwangsi (W.) Line	Hotsuling-Patu	266 Km. (166 Mi.)
Szechwan-Sikang Line	Chengtu-K'angting	333 Km. (208 Mi.)
Chengtu-Chungking Line	Chengtu-Chungking	413 Km. (258 Mi.)
Chungking-Wanyüan Line	Chungking-Wanyüan	417 Km. (261 Mi.)
Chienchiang-Sanchiaop'ing Line	Chienchiang-Sanchiaop'ing	785 Km. (491 Mi.)
Kunming-Hok'ou Line	Kunming-Hok'ou	297 Km. (186 Mi.)
	TOTAL.....	9761 Km. (5662 Mi.)

* Fei-ch'ü Ti Kung-lu Chiao-t'ung /The Highway Transportation of Communist Area/, Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, pp. 22-23.

(Table 3 faces p. 865)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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499 Before the war of resistance against Japan, the highways in Southwest China (including country roads) amounted to 11,818 kilometers (7,386 miles) of which 6,812 kilometers (4,258 mi.) were paved with concrete or surfaced with tar.[44] During the war, the Nationalist Government built many new highways in the Southwest to meet military needs.[45] Since 1950, the Communists have built a number of new highways, including a network of roads in the minority areas. During the three-year period 1952-54, thirgy-four new highways (over 5,000 kilometers or 3,125 miles) were constructed.[46] Of these highways, the Sikang-Tibet Highway, the Chengtu-A-pa Highway, and the Kunming-Talo Highway are most important. The Sikang-Tibet Highway runs from Lhasa to Ya-an, a distance of 2,240 kilometers (1,400 mi.)[47] It climbs over mountains 16,000 feet above sea level. This was the first road to be built at such an altitude. In the past, traders with pack-trains

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44. Mao Shou-chin Kung-lu Ch'ang-shih [Common Knowledge about Highways], Shanghai, 1951, p. 3.

45. Ibid., p. 8.

46. Ching-chi Nien-pao [Economic Year Book], Hong Kong, Economic Bulletin Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 50-51.

47. China Reconstructs, Peking, The China Welfare Institute, May 1955, p. 2.

491 of yaks journeyed for months to bring their
499 goods to "the roof of the world," toiling over the ranges and deep valleys of the Tibetan plateau. But today trucks make the trip to Lhasa from Shanghai or Peking in as little time as 15 days.[48] When the Communists decided in 1950 to build this highway, teams were sent out to make a complete survey of the terrain. Soviet experts were consulted before the final choice of the route through Ch'ang-tu and T'ai-chao was made.[49]

Construction of the Sikang-Tibet Highway was extraordinarily difficult. The line was divided into 100-kilometers (60 mi.) sections, and workers were equipped with rock-drills and power-driven saws.[50] The snow-line on the Tibetan plateau was 15,000 feet above sea-level, and in certain area the earth was frozen so hard that workers had to use dynamite to blast it.[51]

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48. Ibid.
49. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, June 23, 1955, p. 786.
50. Ibid.
51. China Reconstructs, May 1955, p. 3.

491 The bridging of the Nu River was another
499 difficult project in the building of the highway. Both banks of the river rose to a height of 3,000 feet. The river's current ran at a rate of 20 feet per second.[52] Another section of the highway cut across an immense tract of virgin forest, and it took the workers a long time to fell all the huge trees.[53] The Lhasa River Bridge, the last bridge of the highway, was completed in the latter part of December 1954 and the highway was open to motor traffic.[54]

491 The Chengtu-A-pa highway is another principal highway built by the Communists through one of the national minorities areas in Southwest China. Its construction was begun in March 1951 and was completed in November 1955.[55] It runs from Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan Province to A-pa, the commercial center of the Tibetan Autonomous District in Szechwan, a distance of 509 kilometers (318 mi.)[56] During a three-year period prior to November 1955, grains and building and industrial materials shipped to

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52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 4.
55. People's Handbook, Tientsin, Ta-kung Pao, 1955, p. 532; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 21, 1955, p. 12.
56. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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491 this district amounted to 25,000 tons, while the native products shipped out of it amounted to 13,000 tons.[57] In Kweichow Province four short highways leading to the national minority district of the province were completed in 1954.[58] The Kweichow-Kiangsi Highway from Kweiyang to Chin-ch'eng-chiang was also opened to traffic in the same year.[59] Road improvement work on the Kweichow-Yunnan Highway was begun in 1955.[60]

Because of the limited number of railways in operation in Southwest China, highway transportation plays a very important role in this region, in spite of the comparatively high cost of motor fuel and a shortage of motor vehicles.

III. INLAND WATER ROUTES

505 Inland water shipping is a major
487 means of transportation in Southwest China. The two most important navigable rivers are Yangtze and the Chia-ling rivers. There are

57. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 23, 1955.
58. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1955.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.

499 issued one directive concerning the conscription
464 of peasants to build and repair the highways in 1951,[14] which authorized all levels of local governments (administrative district, hsien, chu, and hsiang) to recruit and organize civilian labor for highway construction. It is stipulated in the directive that one recruit is limited to 10 standard work-days each year. One standard work-day is the average amount of work accomplished per day per person in that locality. The recruits receive no daily allowance for their food and are required to bring their own tools. In Southwest China, during five years of Communist control, about 5,000 kilometers (about 3,105 miles) of highways had been constructed with recruited laborers.[15] The most important one -- the Sikang-Tibet Highway -- was completed by the end of 1954.

A. Difficulties of the Job

•491 The Sikang-Tibet Highway, 2,240 kilometers (about 1,400 miles) long, today links Lhasa with the rest of China. It is the first highway built in China at such a high altitude and in the face of so many difficulties. It climbs the

14. Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies of the Central Government, Peking, March 1952, Vol. III, pp. 713-15.

15. People's Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

491 snow-clad mountains that tower 16,000 feet above sea level, with bridges across the tremendous ravines where mountain torrents plunge through twisting gorges. The area along the route is rocky, precipitous, and subject to earthquakes, landslides, avalanches, and shifting sands.

499 464 Although the Communists had no topographical maps of this region, no geological, seismological, or weather records, and no engineers with experience in highway construction over such a terrain as the Plateau of Tibet, they mobilized a tremendous amount of manpower.

B. Labor Force and Working Conditions of the Laborers

By the end of 1951, the local governments of K'ang-ting, Ya-an, Ch'ang-tu and T'ien-chüan had recruited about 8,000 civilian laborers. They began to work with the man-power of the People's Liberation Army. In that winter they worked on the terrain 16,000 feet above sea level under severe weather, 25 degrees below zero (C). By March 1952, out of the original 8,000 builders, 3,500 had died as the result of hardships and the climate.[16] At the same time, a fresh

16. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 98.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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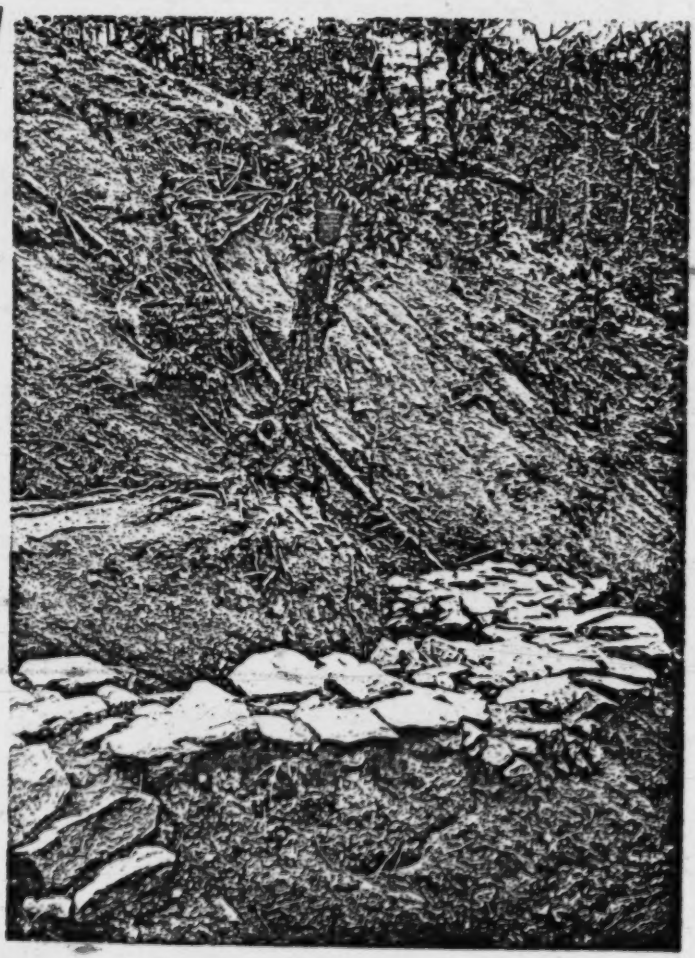

PLATE 3. — A TYPICAL YÜN-NAN HIGHWAY

雲南路線全景

This road is as old as the hills and leads from Li-chiang 麗江 to La-chi-ming 喇嘛鳴, a salt-well station east of the Mekong.

[p. 28 C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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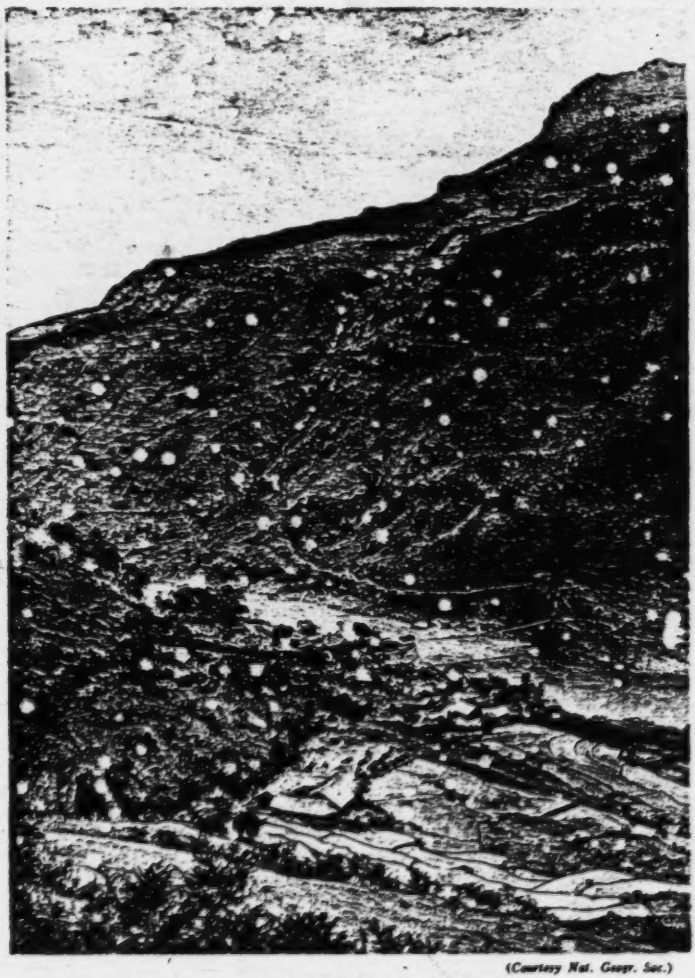


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

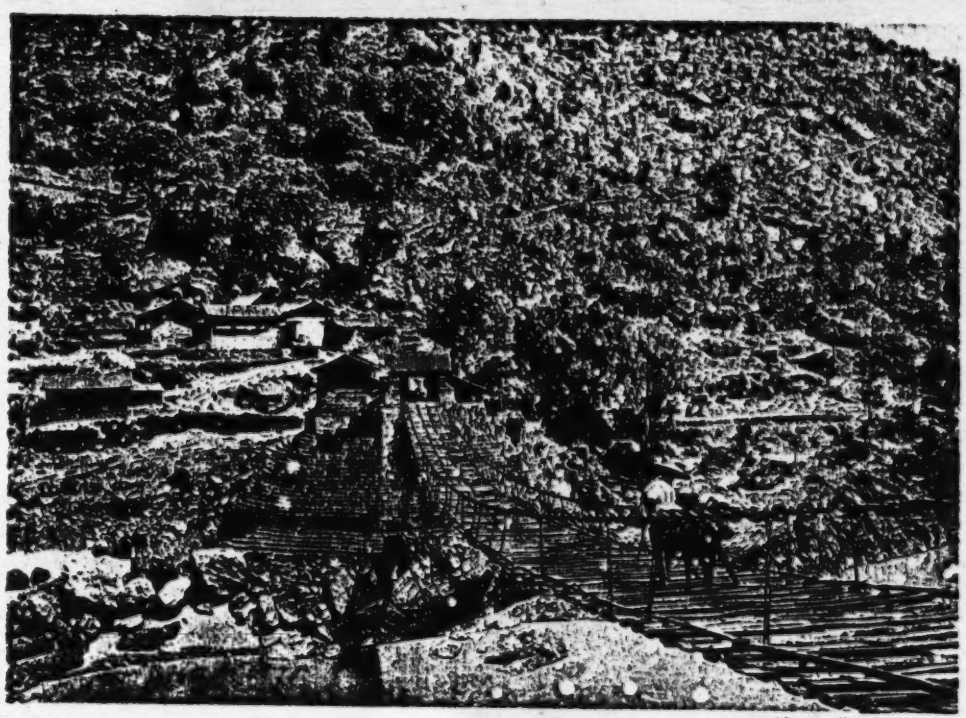
PLATE 110. — THE ONLY BRIDGE ACROSS THE YANGTZE

金龍橋

The Chin-lung ch'iao (Golden dragon bridge) spans the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang. The village above the bridge is called Chin-lung-ch'iao-ts'un or Gku-k'u-ndu in Na-khi. The mountains on the other side of the river are in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) territory.

[p. 188 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE III.—THE CHIN-LUNG CH'IAO CHAIN SUSPENSION BRIDGE

金龍橋又名鐵索橋

The bridge called Dsi-li shu-ĕr ndso in Na-khi, rests on 18 iron chains anchored to boulders buried in the ground. It sways considerably when traversed by pedestrian or mule. The Yangtze flows here at 4,600 feet.

[p. 188 G]

491

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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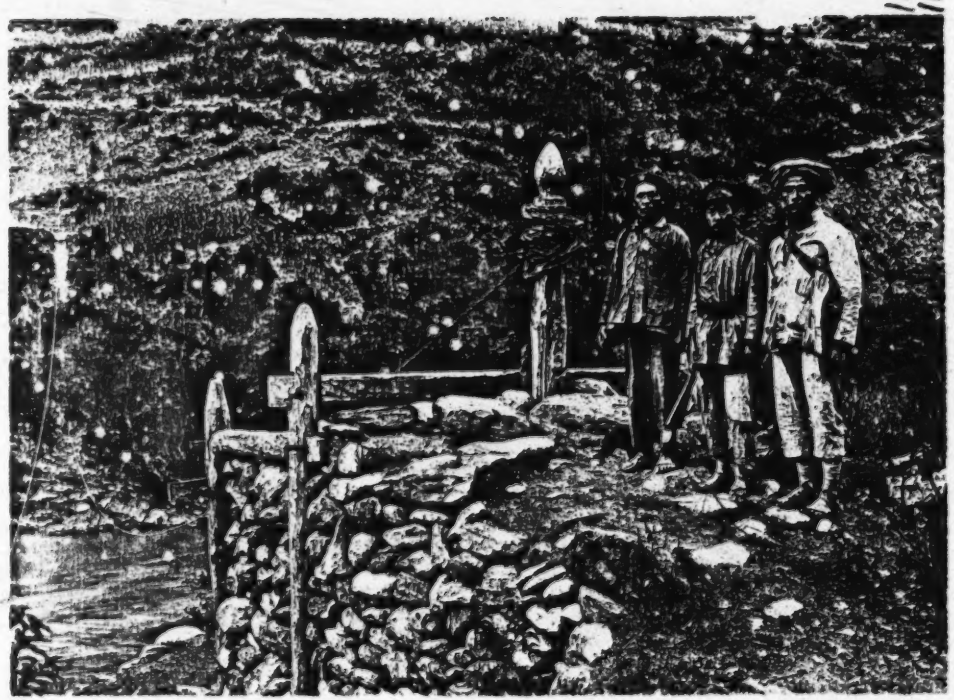


(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 162.—THE ROPE BRIDGES ACROSS THE MEKONG AT LO-NDU

瀾滄江索橋

There are two rope bridges at Lo-ndu, for crossing from the east to the west bank and vice versa. The rope is made of twisted bamboo (Arundinaria), and the post around which it is wound, of cypress wood. The ropes are changed about every three months, depending on the traffic.

[p.298 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

●491

PLATE 4. — THE ROPE BRIDGE ACROSS THE MEKONG AT TI'U-KU

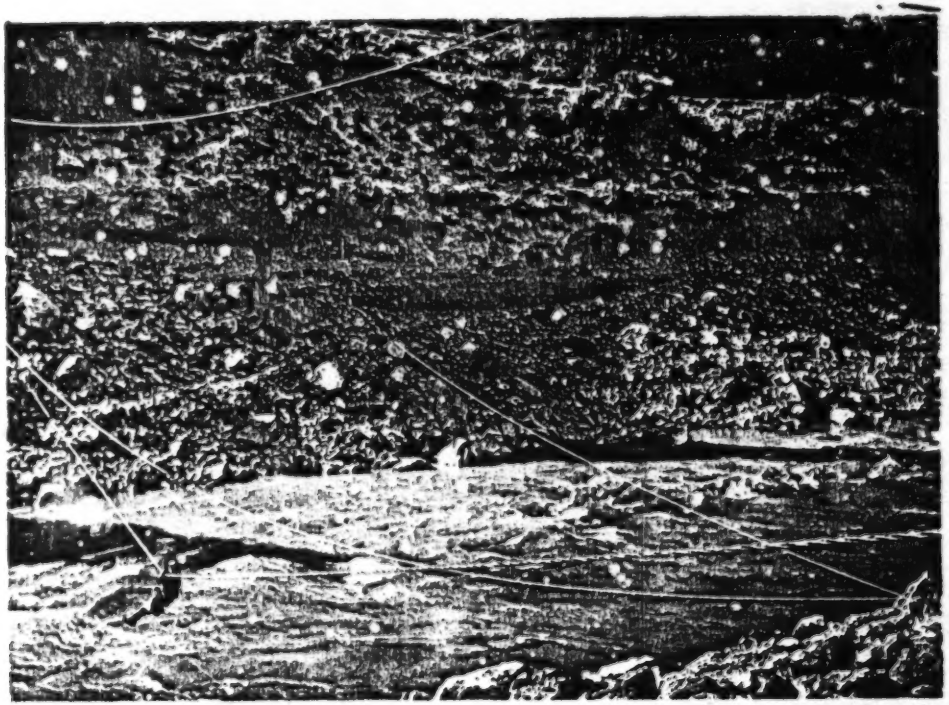
索桥渡澜

Horses are equally frightened when crossing a rope bridge; they usually kick, open their mouth and lift up their tail. Arrived on the other side they lie down exhausted.

[p. 298L]

2g Rock F.5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

●491



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 166. — THE ROPE BRIDGES AT YANG-TSA

溝 倉 孔 羊 吶 繩 橋

In the autumn hundreds of pilgrims cross here daily *en route* to the sacred **De-kar La.**

[p. 298 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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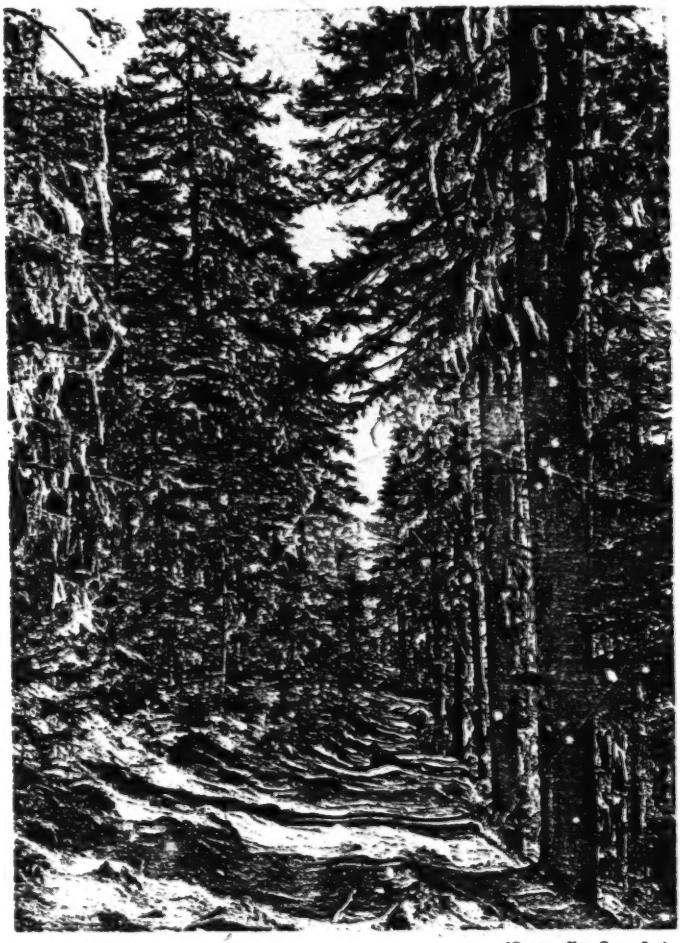

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 206. — THE ROAD TO TUNG-CHU-LIN THROUGH MAGNIFICENT SPRUCE FOREST

東竹林路途尾漂林

Picea complanata with *Rhododendron Wardii* as undergrowth forms pure stands at 12,000 feet, north of Tung-chu-lin Lamasery. *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

[p.394-F]

2: Rock
487, 491, 133, 101, 361

AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]

A	B
C	D
E	F
G	H

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361
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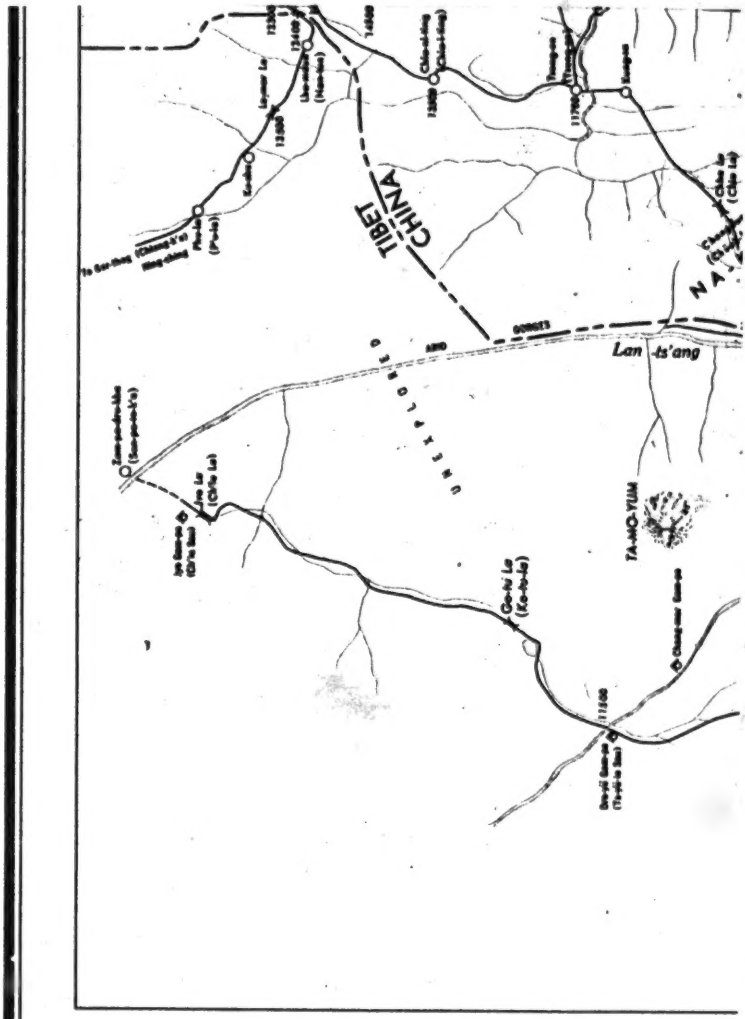
491

TE-CH'IN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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SHEET I OF IV

A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

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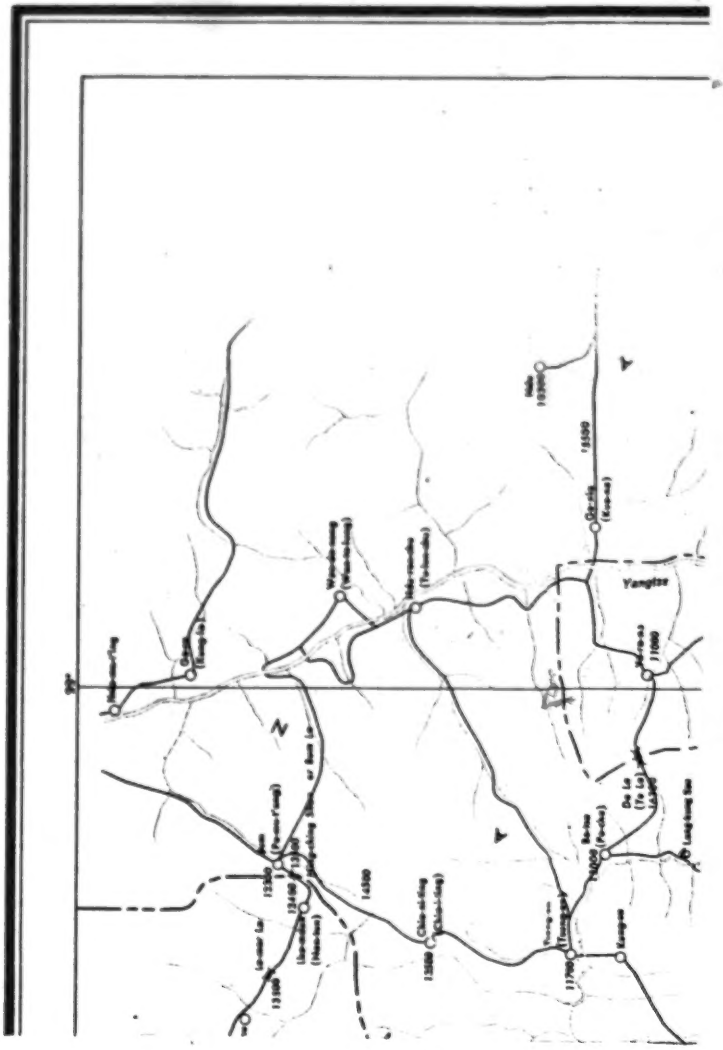

[End map I B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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YEN-CHING
(YEN-CHING)
Chiang
Lai
SSU-CHUAN
KHA-WA-KAR-PO
Ho
Chiang
Chiang
Chiang

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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133
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[End map I D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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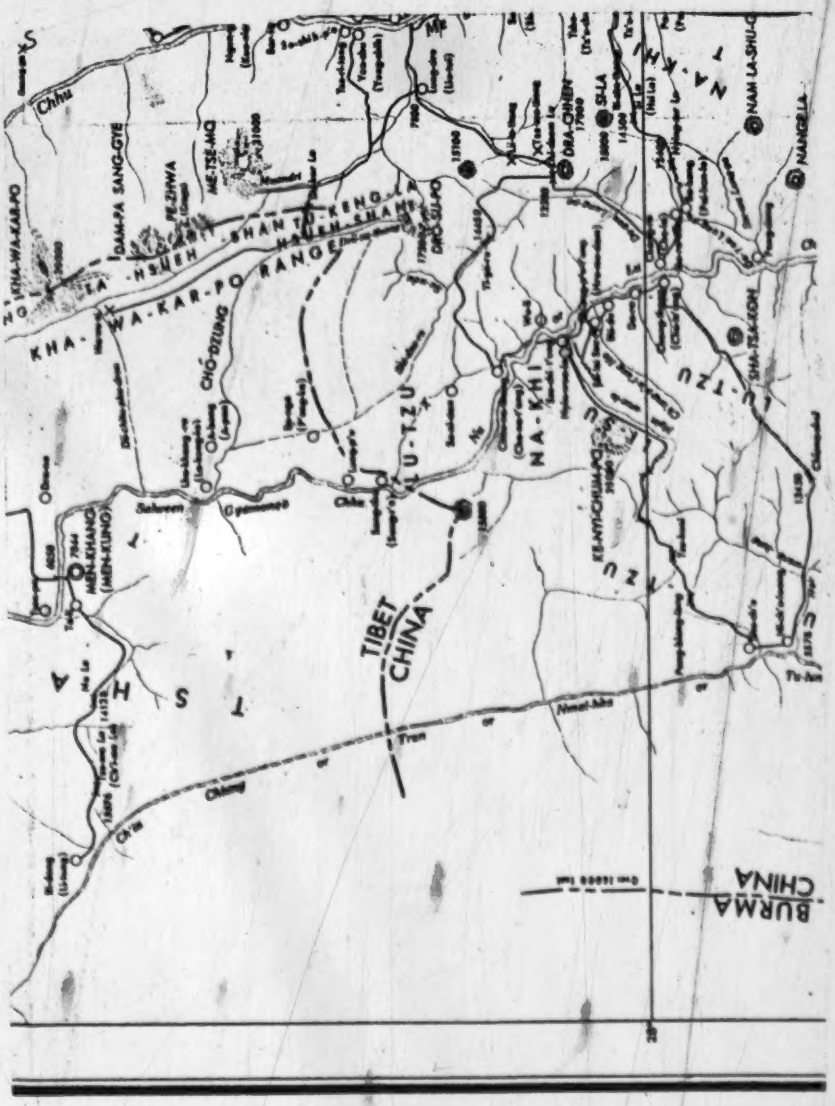
133
491



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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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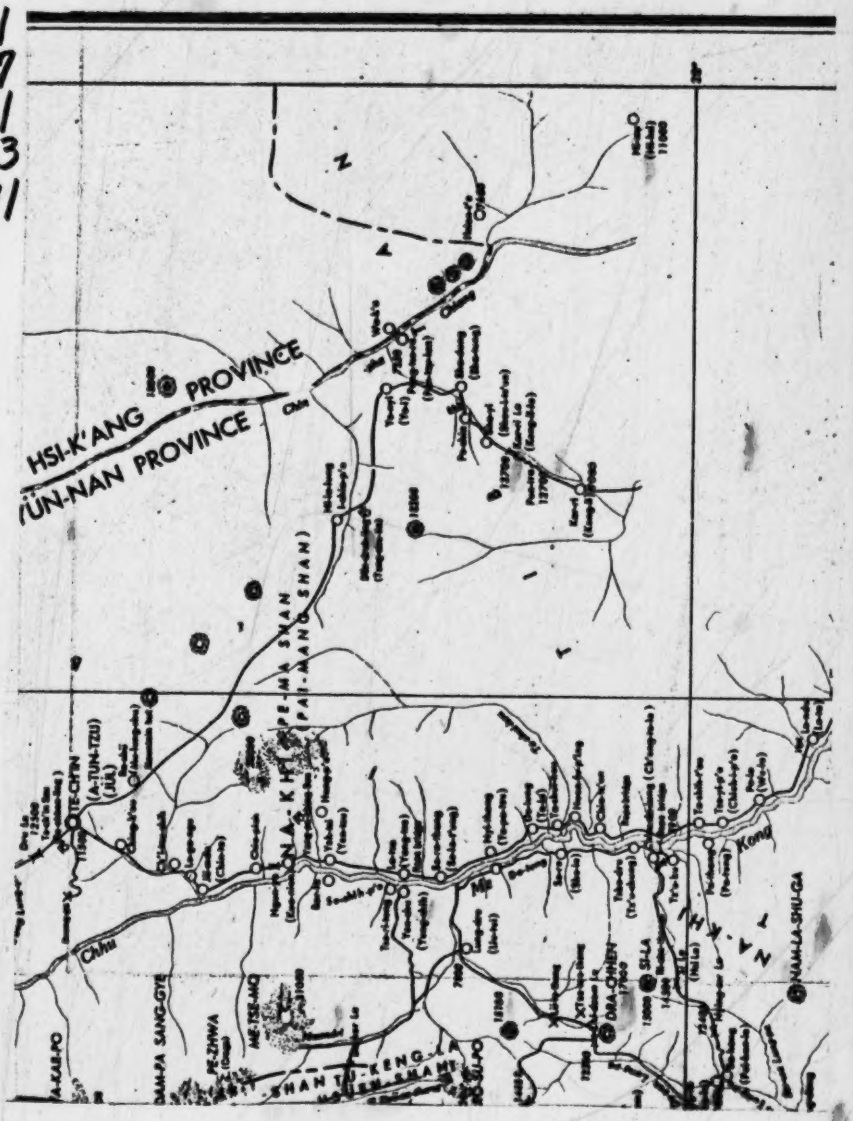

[End map I F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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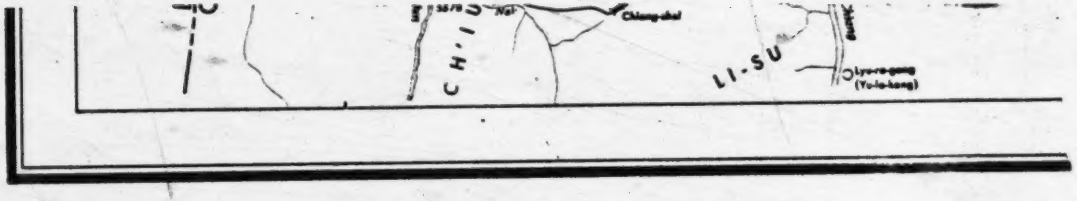

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10 0 10 20 30 40

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPRC

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet — 15300
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry — Ferry
Chain bridge — Chain
Chain bridge (destroyed) — Destroyed
Rope bridge — Rope
Small wooden bridge — Wooden
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring — Hot
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN

[End-map I G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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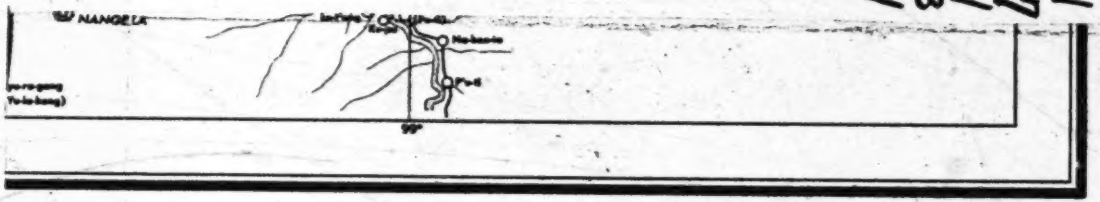

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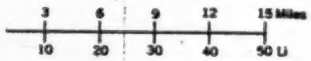

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CTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

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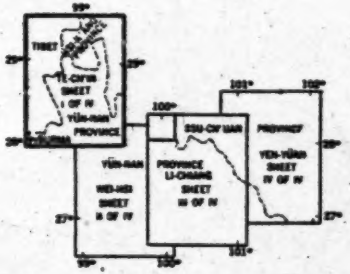

PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA

N2750-E9800/150x130

[End map I H]

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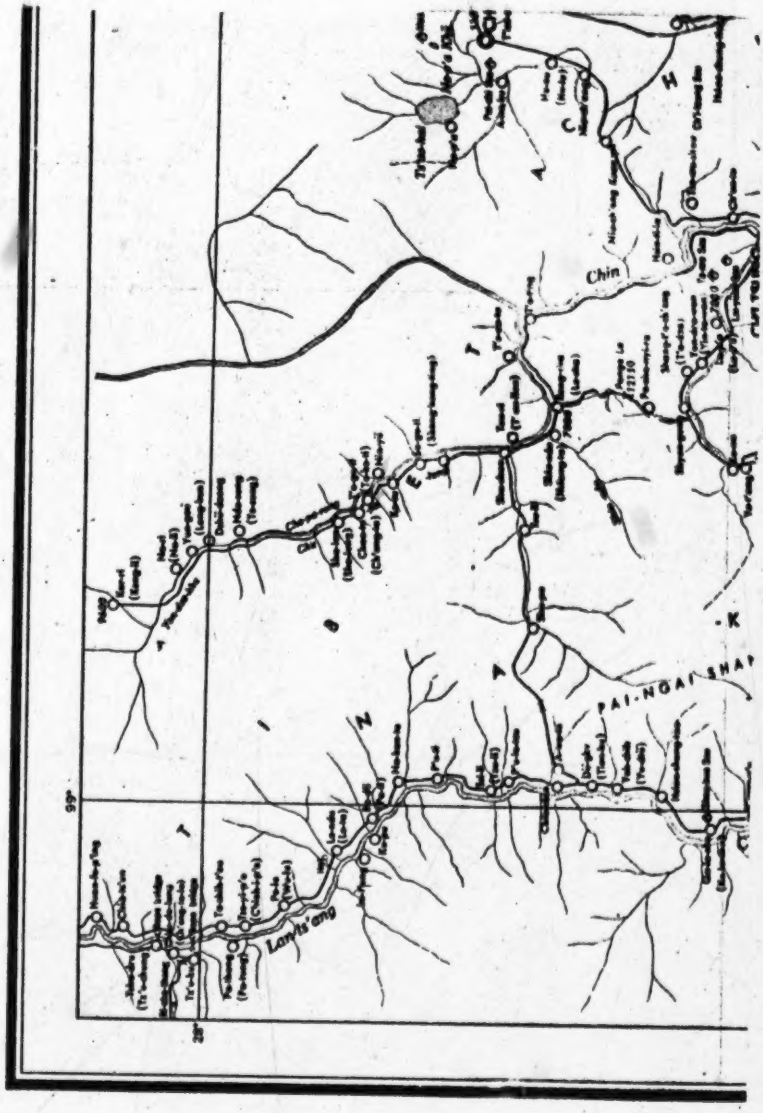
WEI-HSI



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map II A]

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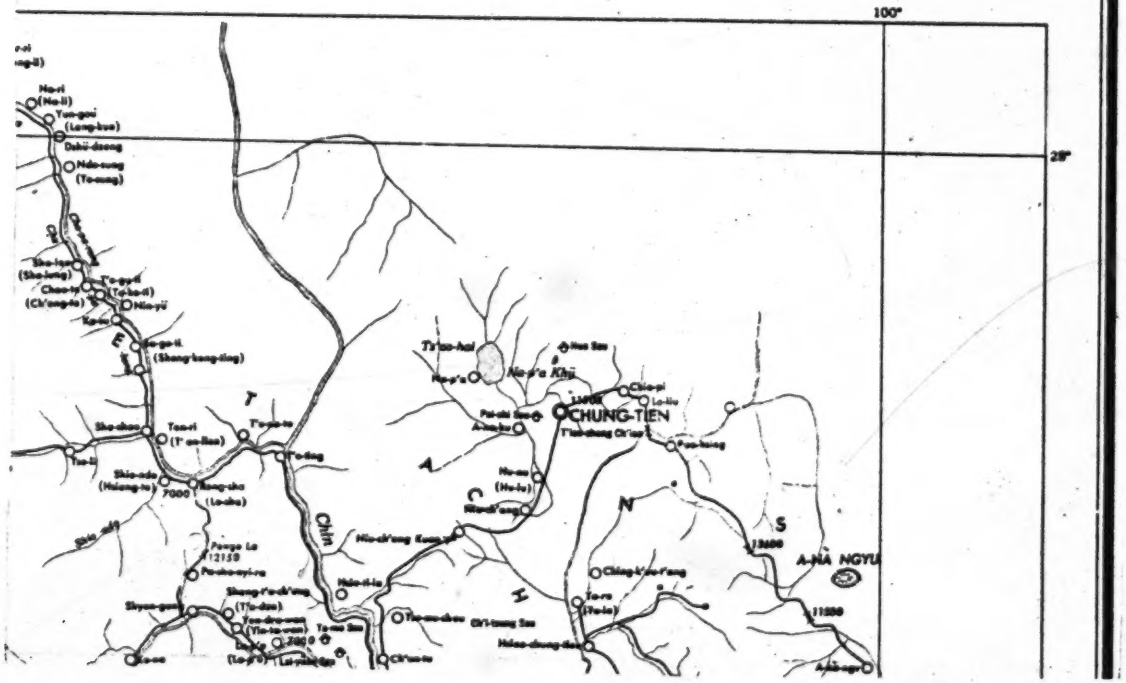
WEI-HSI

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET II OF IV

A.M.S. L406


100°
28°
CHUNG-TIEN
A-HA NGYU
Chin
Ta-ho
Ts'ao-hai
Na-p'a Khu
Ho-ch'ang
Ho-ch'ang Kuang
Ho-ch'ang Ch'ang
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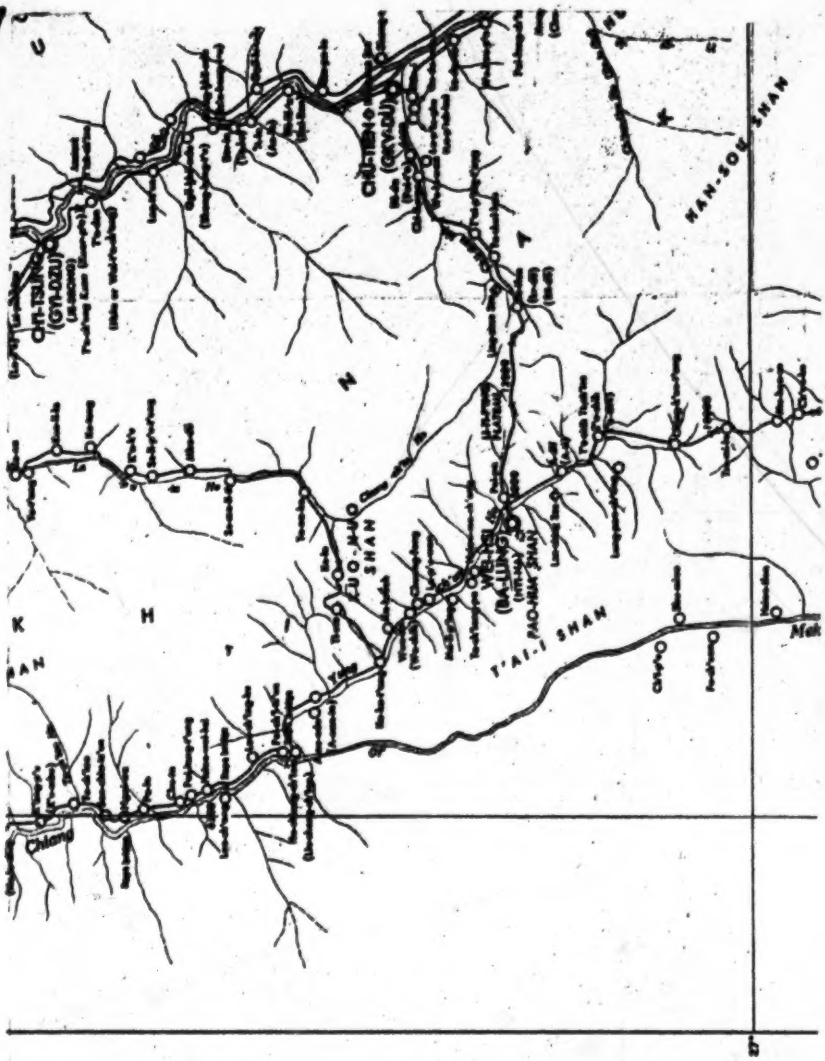

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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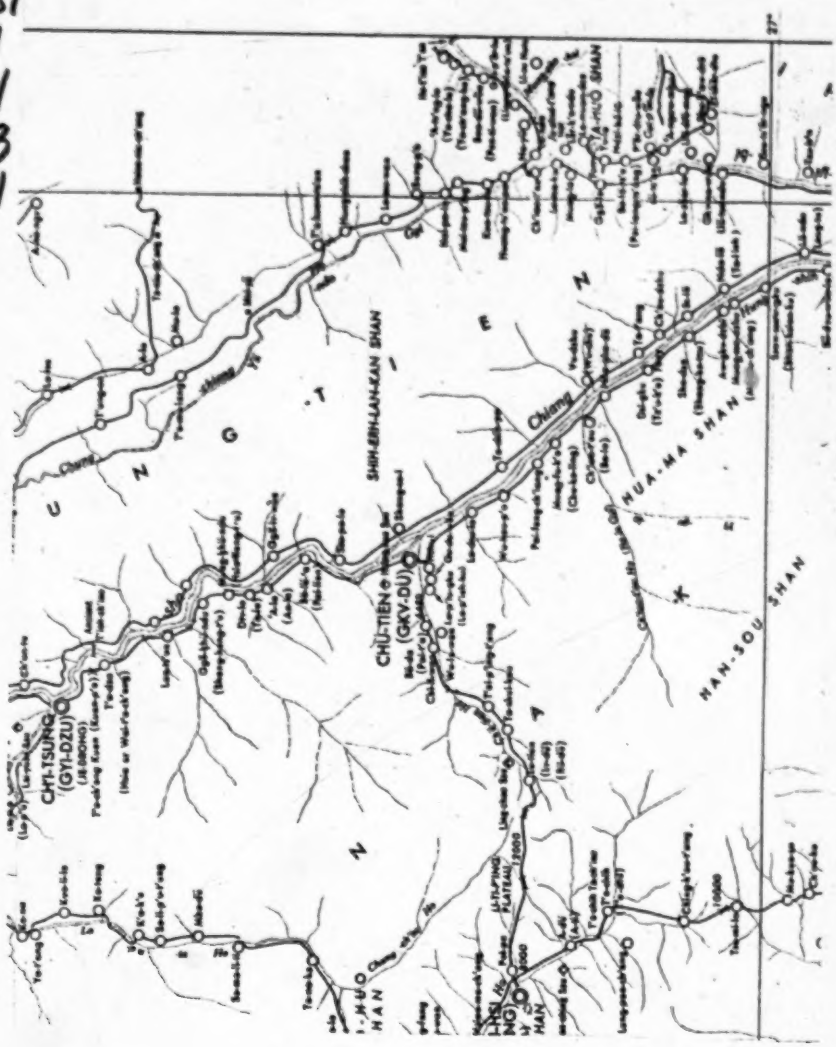

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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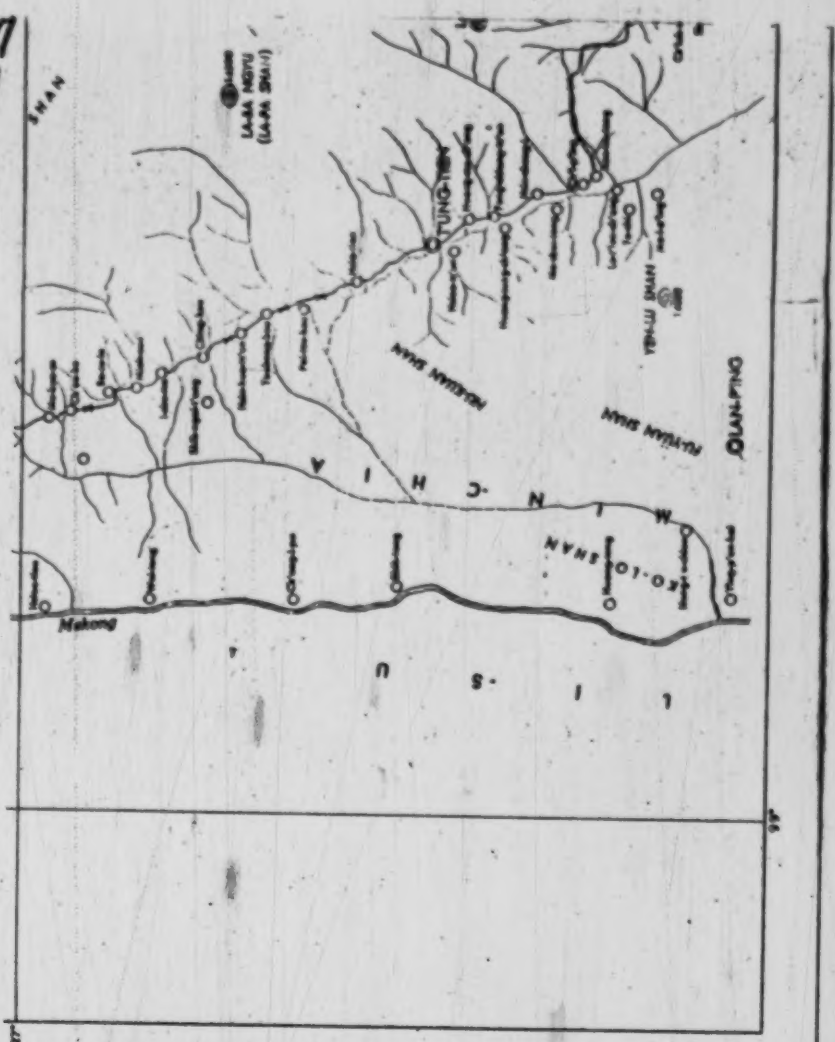

[End map II E]

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[End map II F]

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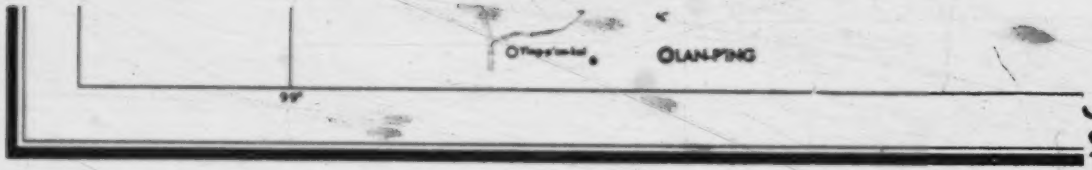

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Km

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unimproved trail
Detached house
Village
Large settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain trail
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave
Peak with spot height or tier
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (removed)
Rope bridge
Steel wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Stone terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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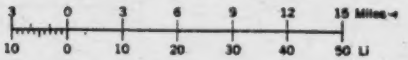
Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)



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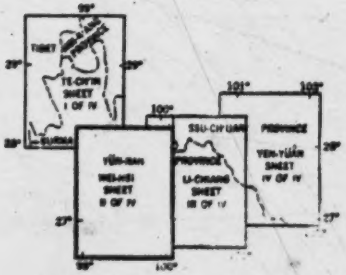

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

WEI-HSI, CHINA

N2625-E9850/145x120

[End map II H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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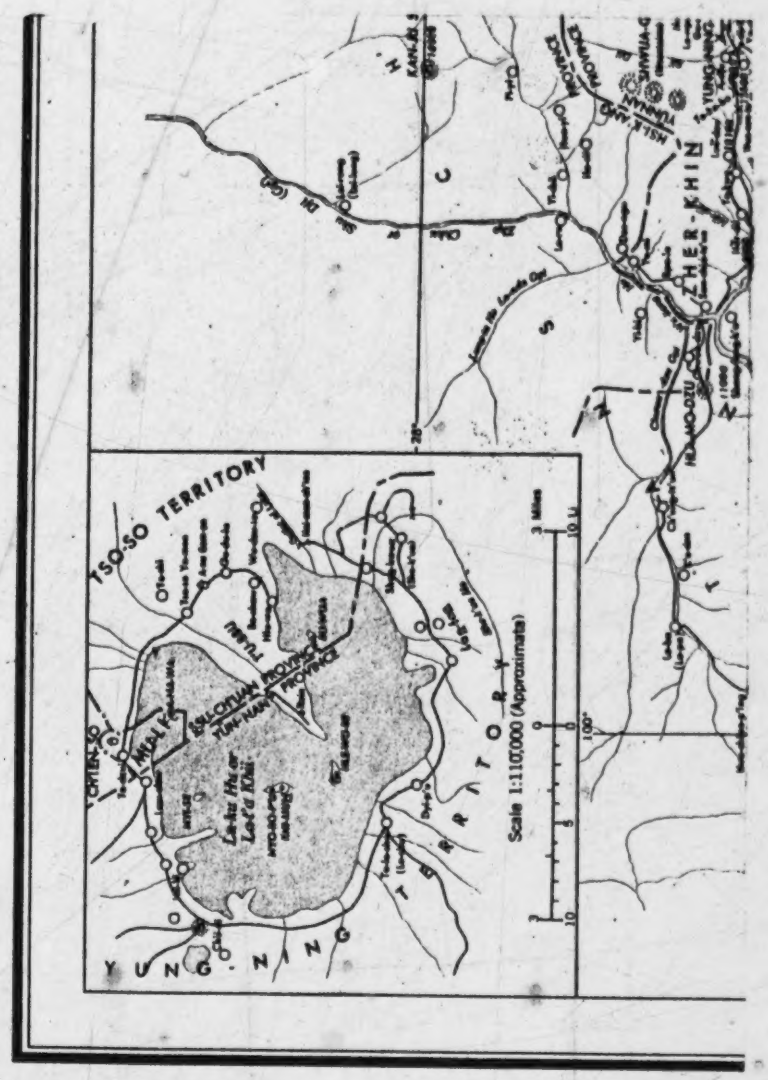
LI-CHIANG



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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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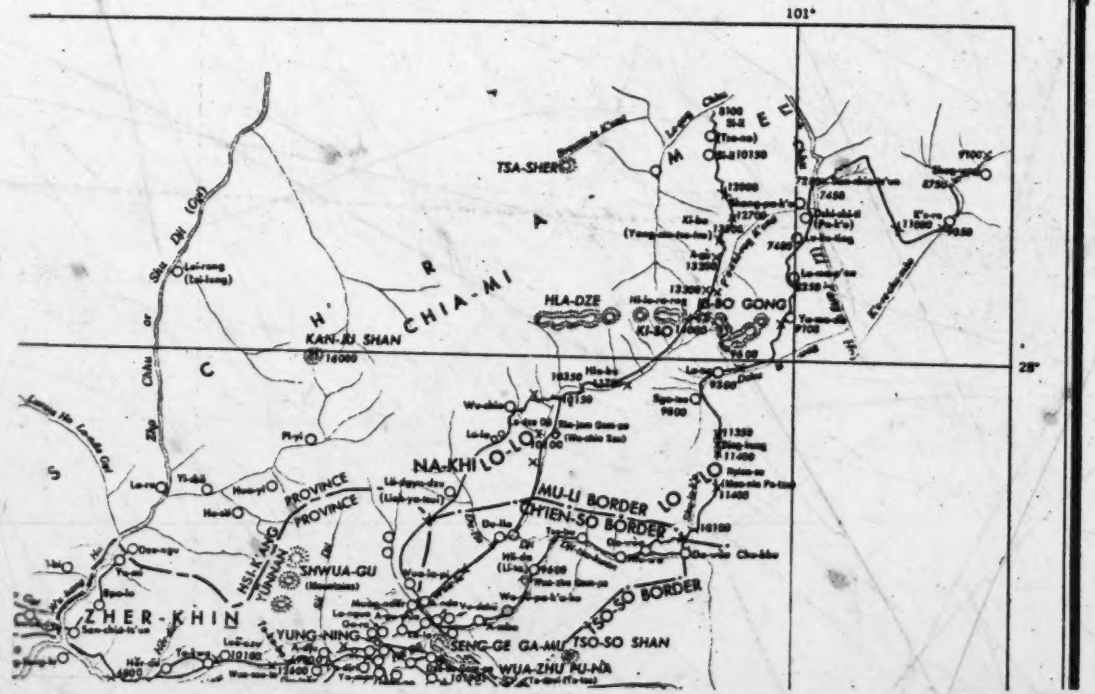
LI-CHIANG

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

A.M.S. L406



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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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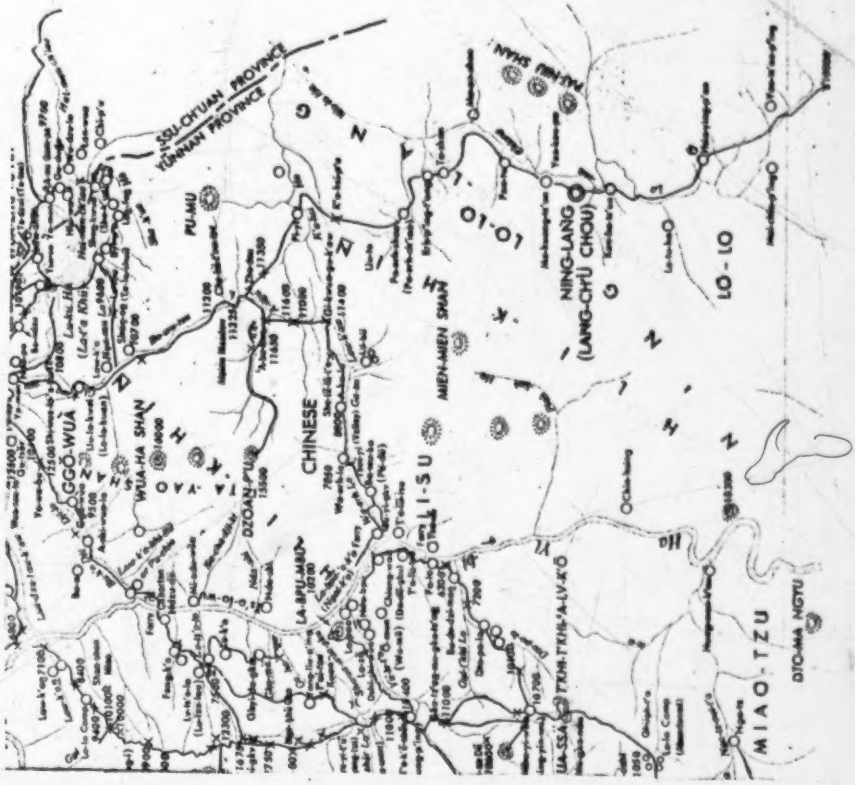

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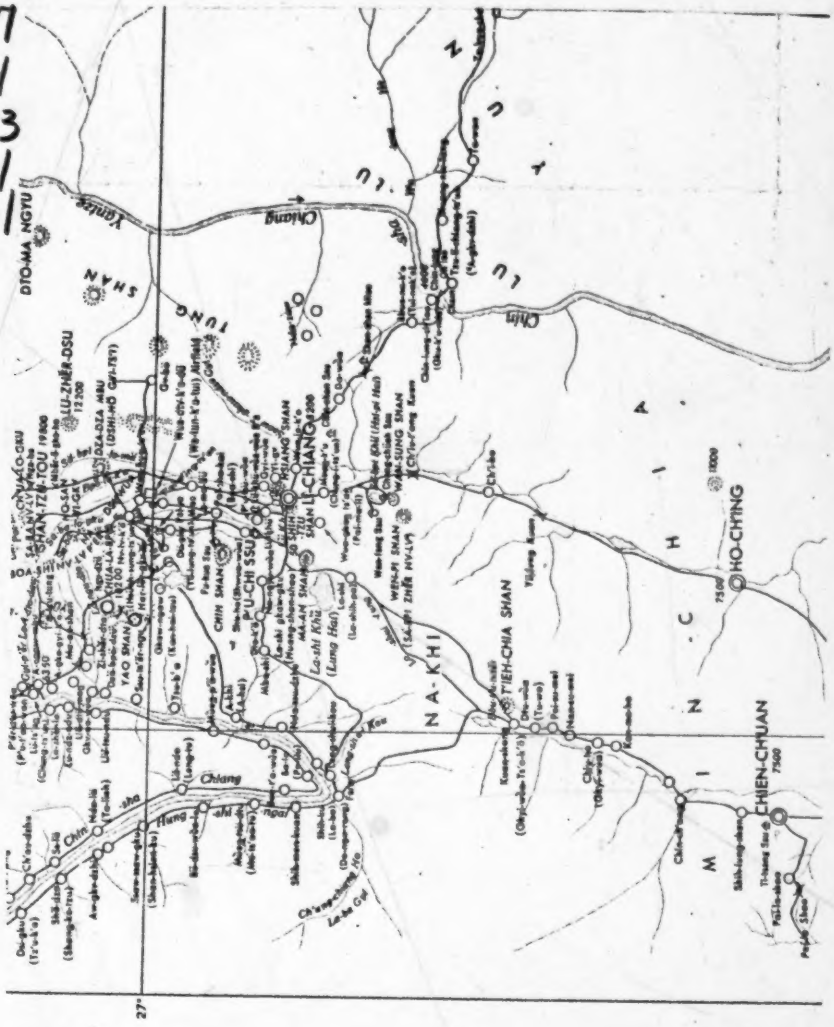

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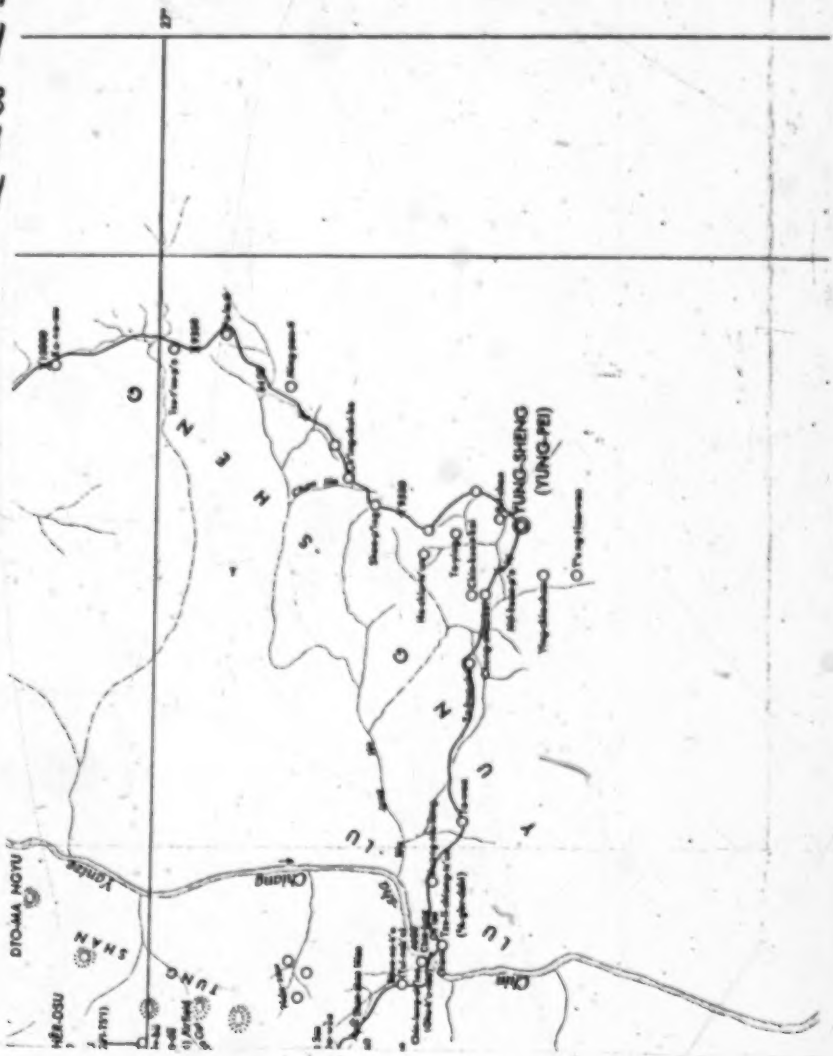

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2 Rock K 5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provinces
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unpaved trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain trail
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sister terrace

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map - Fig III G]

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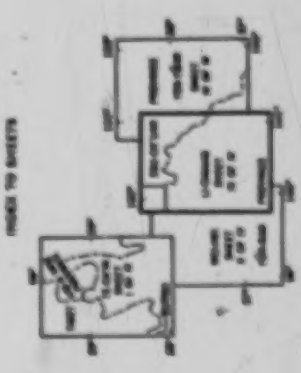

LI-CHIANG, CHINA

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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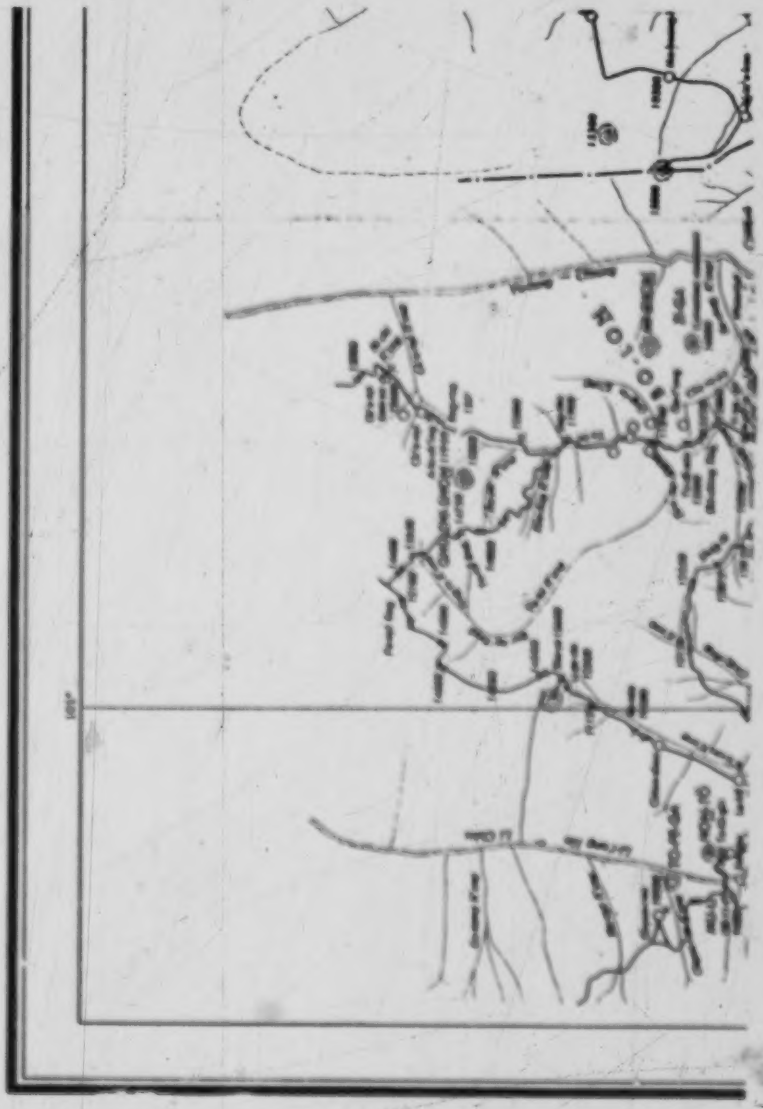
YEN-YUAN



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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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SHEET IV OF IV
A.M.S. L406

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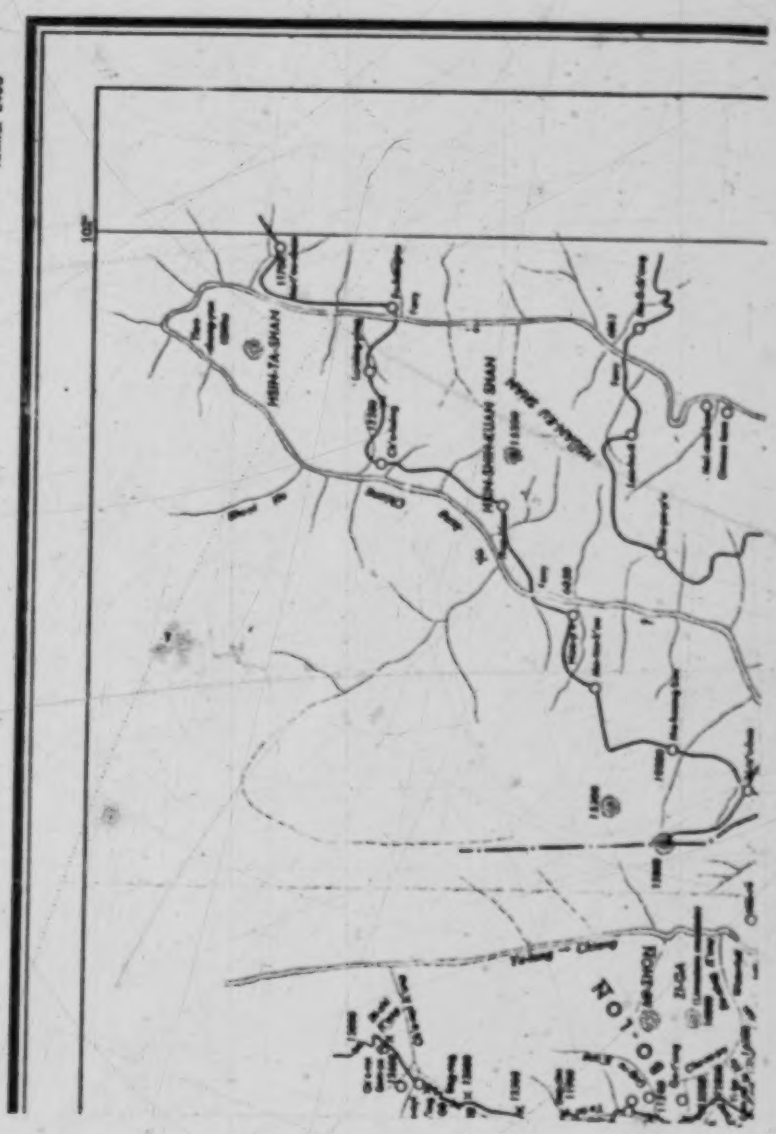
YEN-YUAN



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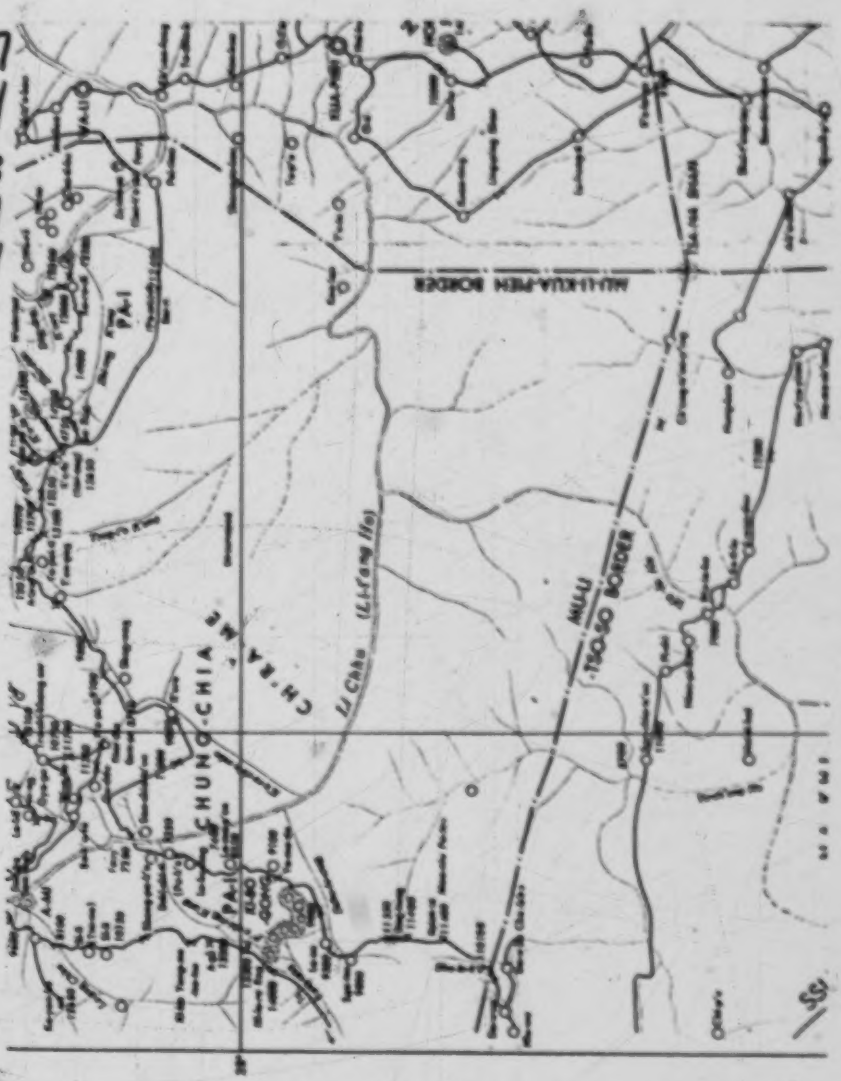

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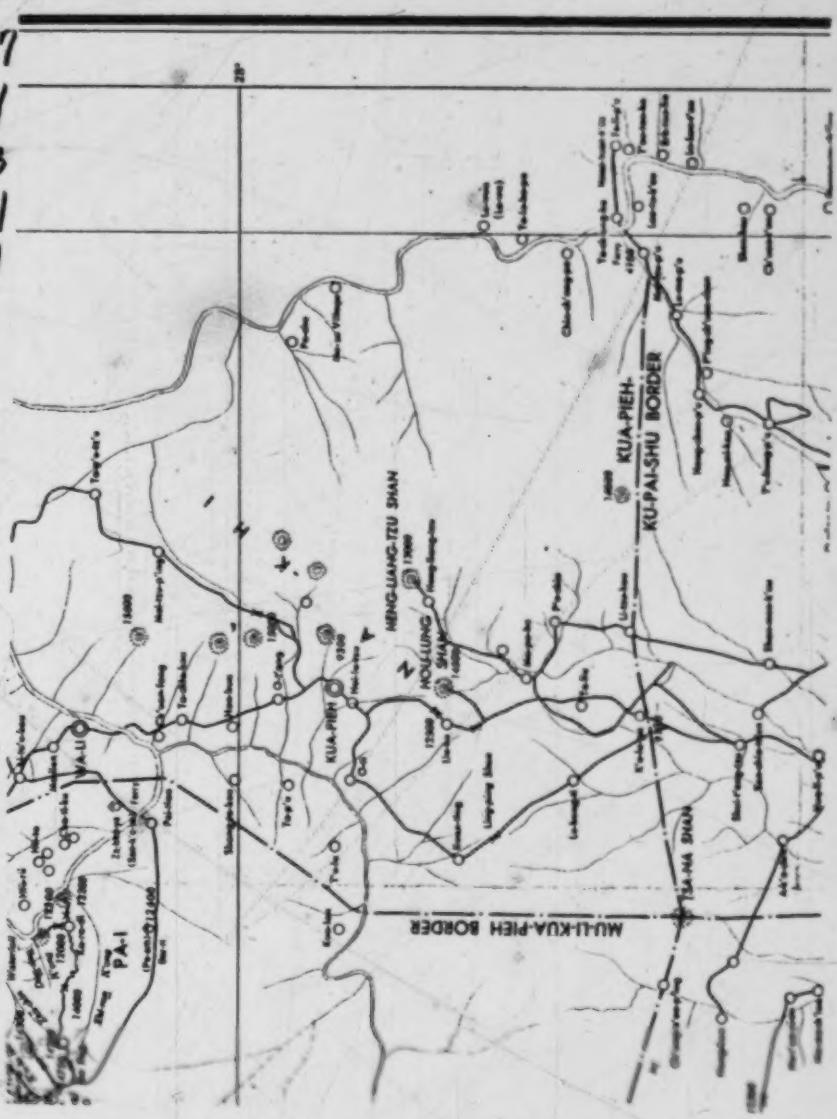

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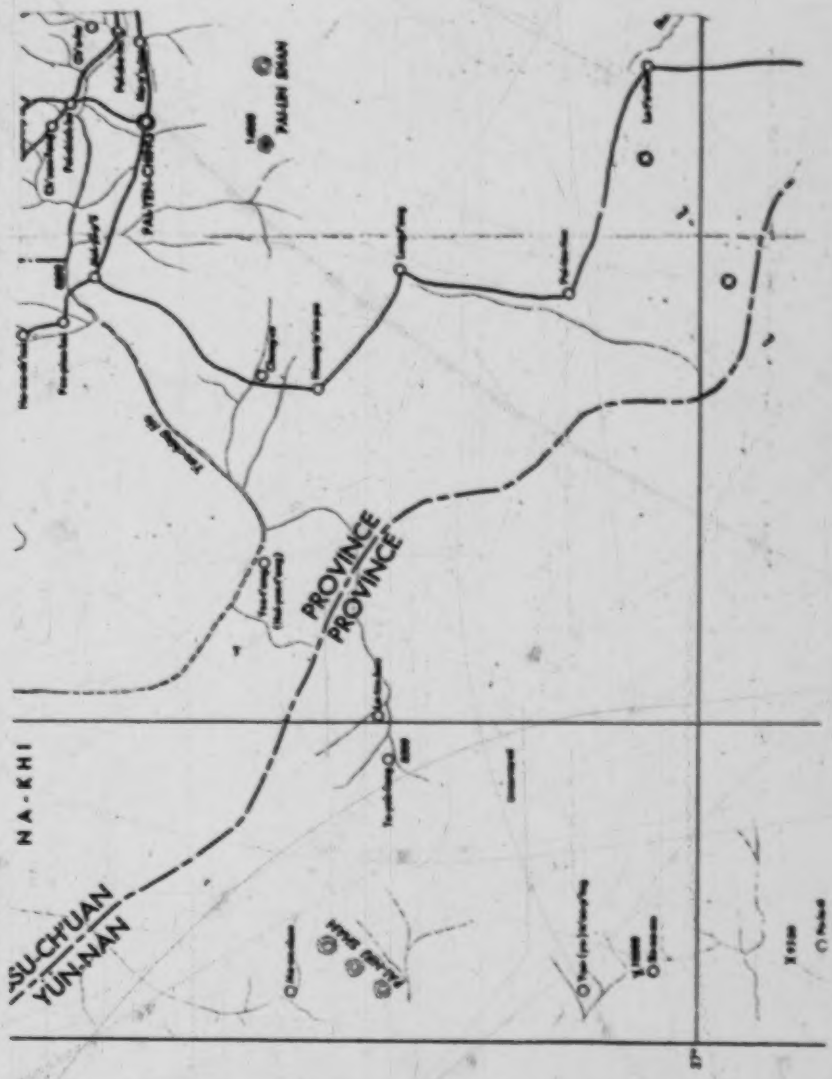

[End map IV E]

2. Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map IV F]

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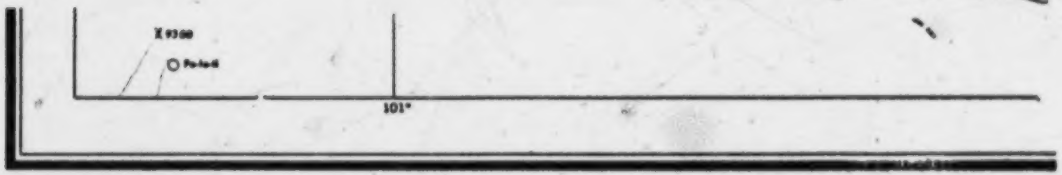
J. Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



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First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

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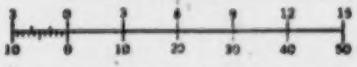


LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Provinces
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored stream
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Snow terrace

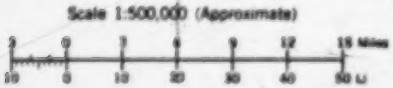
PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map IX G]

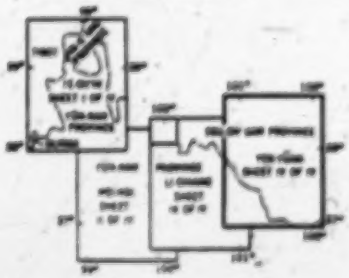
2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)



PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

INDEX TO SHEETS



[End map IX-H]

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

YEN-YUAN, CHINA

N2655-E10045/145x150

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Crossey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disproportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kao). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

elevation above the river. Here[1] I was very comfortably put up in a *hsing-t'ai*, which is the name for the rest-houses specially reserved for Chinese officials travelling. 000 485

We were now travelling with an official escort, consisting of two policemen sent by the magistrate, and two soldiers sent by the General. It is the invariable custom in western China for Europeans to be supplied with an escort of this sort. Some travellers appear to look on them as a nuisance, but I have not found them so. Their presence is specially useful in parts of the country previously untrodden by Europeans, as it lets the inhabitants know that one is travelling with the sanction of the Chinese Government. Without this the people in some places are quite ignorant enough to suppose the traveller to be the leader of a gang of robbers, or perhaps a fugitive from justice. On one occasion between San-si and T'êng-yüeh, my interpreter was asked quite seriously by an old countryman whether we had come to invade China. 000

Also I have found the escort very useful in getting rooms at an inn, and in various other small services which they are usually glad to perform, with the anticipation of course of a small reward at the end. The arms they carry are not of the sort to give one much respect for the Chinese army. Generally it is an old muzzle-loader, sometimes only a sword or a three-pronged spear. An opium-pipe is a necessity for most of them, and it is a common saying among the Chinese that this is the only weapon their soldiers know how to handle, the word *ch'iang* being used in Chinese for both a gun and an opium-pipe.

This day's march was my first experience of a Chinese paved road. The stones are of all shapes and sizes, with large spaces in between them, and the road seems specially designed to render both walking and riding equally unpleasant. The sharp stones hurt one's feet, and one slips down on the flat ones. To make things worse there were one or two showers of rain, which made the stones so slippery that the mules could hardly keep their footing. Wherever it is possible to avoid the paved road, tracks have been made alongside of it, by which one can get along at a fair pace. 491

1 These roads exist all over China, and I suppose the

[Village of Kan-lan-chai, Shweli Valley -- Analyst]

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Iron-chain bridge over the Shwell

Plate XI

[Face p.52]

S. Davies G-S (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

• 491 total length of them must run to some hundreds of thousands of miles. When new they may be fairly good, but they are seldom repaired, and the Chinese proverb well describes them as "Good for ten years, and bad for ten thousand." It is always a great relief to get into some out-of-the-way part of the country where there is only what the Chinese contemptuously describe as an "earth road." These paved roads have their uses however in the rainy season, as the stones prevent the path becoming an impassable morass.

On the 18th January we crossed the Shweli by one of the famous iron-chain suspension bridges. There are a considerable number of these bridges in western China, especially in western and southern Yün-nan. The chains, which are usually ten or twelve in number, are solidly embedded in massive piers of brick or stone on each side of the river, and the roadway is made by planks laid across these. Loaded animals can cross them, and though they sway about a good deal, they will stand a lot of weight.

133 The river is some 40 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky bed. It does not come from any great distance, and in a subsequent journey I was able to fix the position of its source approximately. There is no actual flat plain in this part of its course, but to the west the slope is very gradual to the foot of the steep part of the hills three miles off, and there are numerous Chinese villages both up and down the valley. The river is called by many names. To the Burmese it is known as the Shweli, to the Chinese as the Lung-ch'uan Chiang, or more commonly as simply the Lung Chiang or Dragon River. The Shans call it the Nam Yang in the upper part of its course, but change its name to Nam Mow when it enters the Möng Mow plain.

From the river there is a stiff ascent, at first through the usual dried up grass and fern, and higher up through bamboo and tree jungle. We camped at the little Panthay village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u at 7,400 feet, and had a very hard frost at night.

563 Panthay is the name which we have adopted from the Burmese for the Mahommedans of Yün-nan. The Chinese name for Mahommedans is *hui-tzŭ* or *hui-hui*. The name

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S 133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
S 501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S 133 rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
P 131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

Photo by Major C. H. D. Ryder

Iron-chain bridge over the Salween

Plate XIII

[Face p. 56]

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

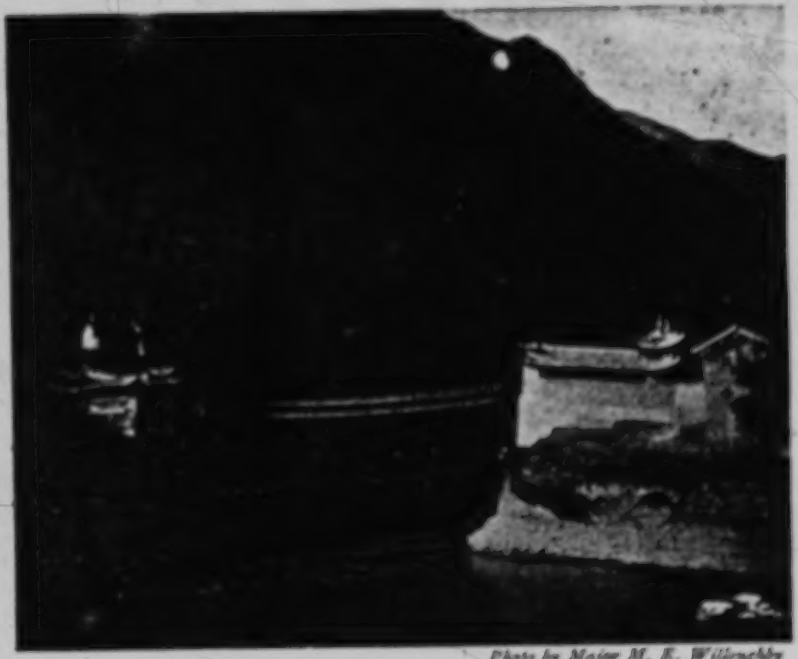


Photo by Major M. E. Willoughby

Iron-chain bridge over the Mekong

Photo by Mr. H. R. Davies

The Haia-kuan Pass, near Ta-li Fu

[Face p. 64]

Plate XV

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 of A-lu-shih, which contains 150 houses—a large place for this hilly country. It is inhabited by a people with the bump of curiosity very largely developed.

The next morning we crossed the top of a range at 8,400 feet and from there dropped 3000 feet in three miles to Sung-lin-tang, a very small village which contains however a fairly good official rest-house. During this descent the green-coloured water of the Mekong was occasionally to be seen in the deep valley below.

On the 13th a further descent brought us to this river at an elevation of 3,400 feet above the sea. The valley is of exactly the same character as where it is crossed on the Yung-ch'ang–Ta-li road, the river running in a deep gorge, with steep, almost inaccessible, hills rising up from it. There is not an inch of level ground outside the river bed, which is from 80 to 100 yards wide, and is pretty well filled up with water. The current is strong, and rapids numerous.

• 491 We crossed by an iron-chain suspension bridge of the same type as those previously described. It is built where the river passes between two precipitous rocks, is 75 yards long, and consists of a plank roadway supported by 14 iron chains, the ends of which are embedded in brick piers. At that time the bridge was a little shaky and swayed about a good deal as one passed over it, and there was a man posted there to warn travellers that only one animal must pass over at a time. After crossing, the road turns westward and follows the river bank for some distance before ascending steeply to Hsin-ts'un, where we put up for the night.

On the 14th February we crossed another range and descended to the town of Shun-ning, always pronounced
241 Shun-ling by the Yünnanese. There is nothing to call
311 a plain here, but a fairly level strip of cultivated ground, half a mile in width, runs along a little stream called the Pei-ch'iao Ho, and tiers of terraced fields rise again above this on each side.

361 The town is built on the west side of the valley, on the lower spurs of the hills, and is about 5,400 feet above sea level. It is an irregular shaped polygonal a mile in perimeter, surrounded by a 15 feet brick wall backed up on the inside by the usual earth parapet. The space within

&, Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

49 p

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Bridge in the Shun-ning Fu valley

[plate XVII]

[Face p. 76]

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Iron-chain bridge over the Nam Ti

Plate XXVII

[Face p.116]

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

342

A house in the Hsi-lien district

491

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Shweli near Kai-t'ou

Plate XXIX

[Face p. 122]

Sx Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

712

Photo by Major C. W. Johnson

Taw-nio Fort

.491

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Ch'üan-kang ferry

Plate XXX

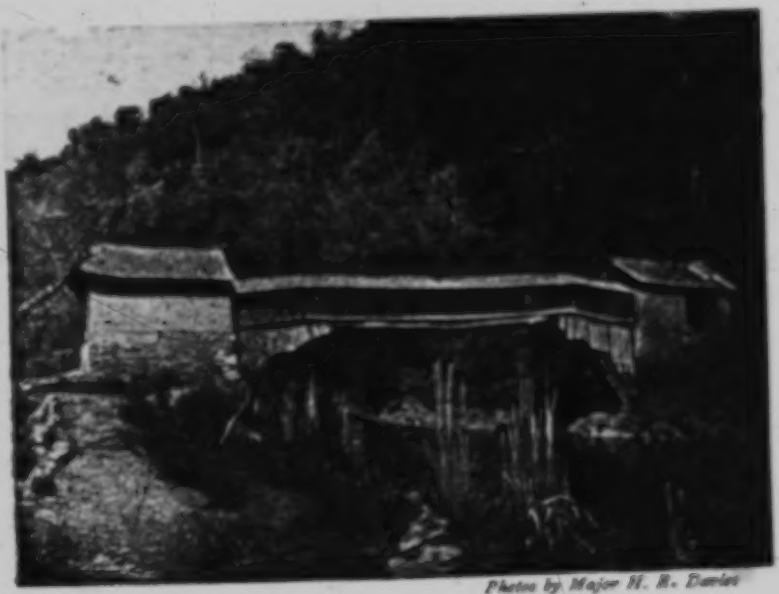
[Face p. 132]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133

The Ya-lang Ho

491



Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Nan-ch'iao Ho

Plate XXXI

[Face p.140]

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•491

Photo by Mr J. S. Ker

Bridge at Mêng-lang

Photo by Major H. R. Davies

[plate XXXIII] **Hsi-ch'ang ferry over the Mekong**

[Face p. 143]

5:-Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China

000

Corner of Sima Fort

491

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Bridge over the Paknoi Hka

Plate XLII

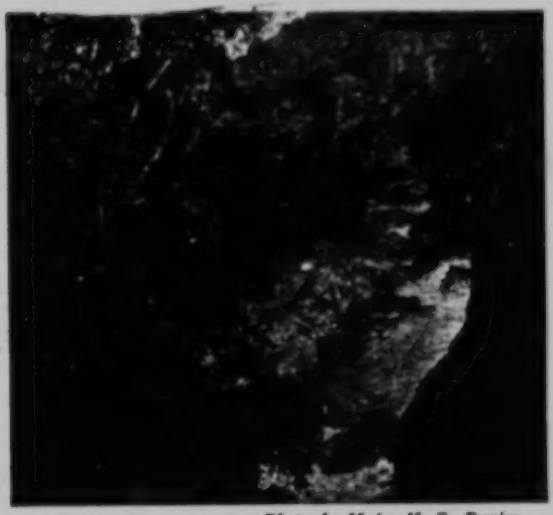
[Face p. 188]

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

a bridge in the Méng-ma valley

133



Photos by Major H. R. Davies

The Ching-ku Ho

Plate XLVI

[Face p. 198]

• 491

Iron-chain bridge over the A-mei Chiang

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

K'a-tu women

Plate XLVII [Face p. 204]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

491

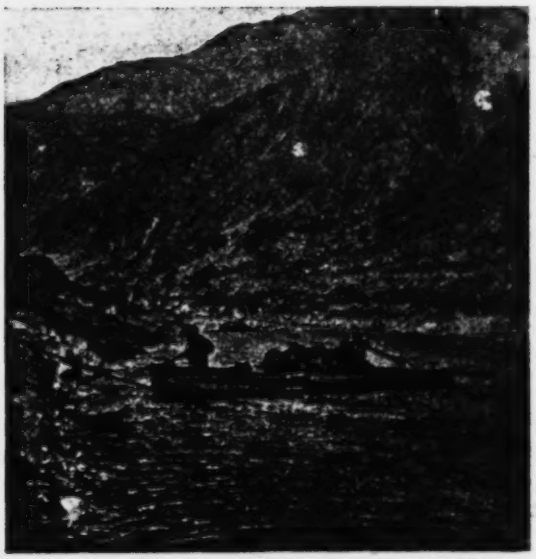


Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Pang-tzŭ-la ferry over the Yangtze

Plate LVI

[Face p. 254]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

505 Here, in the Min River drainage area, one finds a region of the richest agricultural production (with the highest cultivation-land index) and has the highest population density of the whole Basin (Figs. 21 and 10).

Among all the main tributaries of the Yangtse, the To River possesses the richest hinterland and has the most diverse agricultural and horticultural products. The To River, formerly known as the twin river of the Min, is composed of two branches: one is the Mien Yang Ho, originating in the Chiu Ting mountains, and the other, the Pai Tiao and Pu Yang rivers, tributaries of the Min. Both of these branches meet at Chao Chia Tu (Fig. 7) where, for all practical purposes, is situated the head of navigation of the whole To system. From Chao Chia Tu to Lu Hsien, the confluence of the To and the Yangtse, with a total of a little over 280 kilometers, junks with 50 to 60 tons capacity may ply all the year round. Between Lu-hsien and Fu-shun, steamers with one-to two-feet draught may negotiate during high water.

• 491 b) Highway patterns.--Next to the waterways, the highways furnish the most important channels of transportation in the Basin. The era of modern highway building in the Basin was first initiated in 1925, when a group of European-trained young Szechuanese engineers returned home and advised strongly the undertaking of such a program. The first highway completed was between Chengtu and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 7). But it was not until 1935, after the political unification of the Basin and the establishment of the provincial Bureau of Highway Construction, that the highway building program was carefully launched and systematically coordinated.

On account of the thoroughly dissected topography and the presence of numerous anticlinal ridges, together with the easily weathered rock structures, the building of highways in the Basin is not without serious difficulties. The constant threat of landslides, the presence of numerous steep slope and hairpin turns, and the necessity of building many solid embankments, make the building and maintenance of highways in the Basin both costly and hazardous.

At the end of 1940, more than 6,400 kilometers of highways were completed within the Basin. In fact of the province's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. These include six trunk inter-provincial lines and a number

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of other important lines within the Basin (Fig. 7). Four more trunk lines are still under construction.[1] 491

The highway system of the Basin was laid out with Chengtu as its center. The six trunk inter-provincial lines, most of them radiating from Chengtu, include the Szechuan-Shensi, Szechuan-Kweichou, Szechuan-Hunan, Szechuan-Hupeh, Szechuan-Sikang, and Szechuan-Yunnan lines (Fig. 7).

Among the inter-provincial trunk highways, the Szechuan-Kweichou line is at present the most significant. This is mainly because of the fact that the northern section of this highway, from Chengtu to Chungking (with a distance of 450 kilometers), also forms a part of the Chengtu-Chungking highway. Thus it is also one of the principal arteries of transportation within the Basin. Moreover, it is through this vital channel (the Szechuan-Kweichou highway) that the urgently needed war materials from abroad, and the flow of Szechuan agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, tung oil, and others, for exports to the western world, are now transported (Fig. 18). This route now plays exactly the same vital role as the Yangtse gorges route did in the pre-war days. Its importance, indeed, cannot be over-exaggerated, so long as the present war against the invaders continues. ?

Other important highway lines within the Basin include Hei-chiang-Tzeliuching, the Chengtu-Kuan-hsien, the Chung-Pa-Pishan, and the Santai-Mienyang lines (Fig. 7). The last line is particularly important because it forms part of a through route running north and south within the Basin.

c) The principal rail-line.--In all of Szechuan Basin there is only one "toy" railway, 120 li long (Fig. 19), running between Hsi-shan and Pai-miao-tze. It was constructed with 20-pound rails and a 24-inch gauge.[2] This line, known as the Pai-chuan Railway (Fig. 7), was erected in 1929. Its chief function is to facilitate carrying coal from Lung Wang Tung and Pai-Chuan mines to the nearby urban markets of Chungking. Up to now no railway of any significance has penetrated the Basin. 496

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[1] Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Highway Statistics (1940), p. 46.

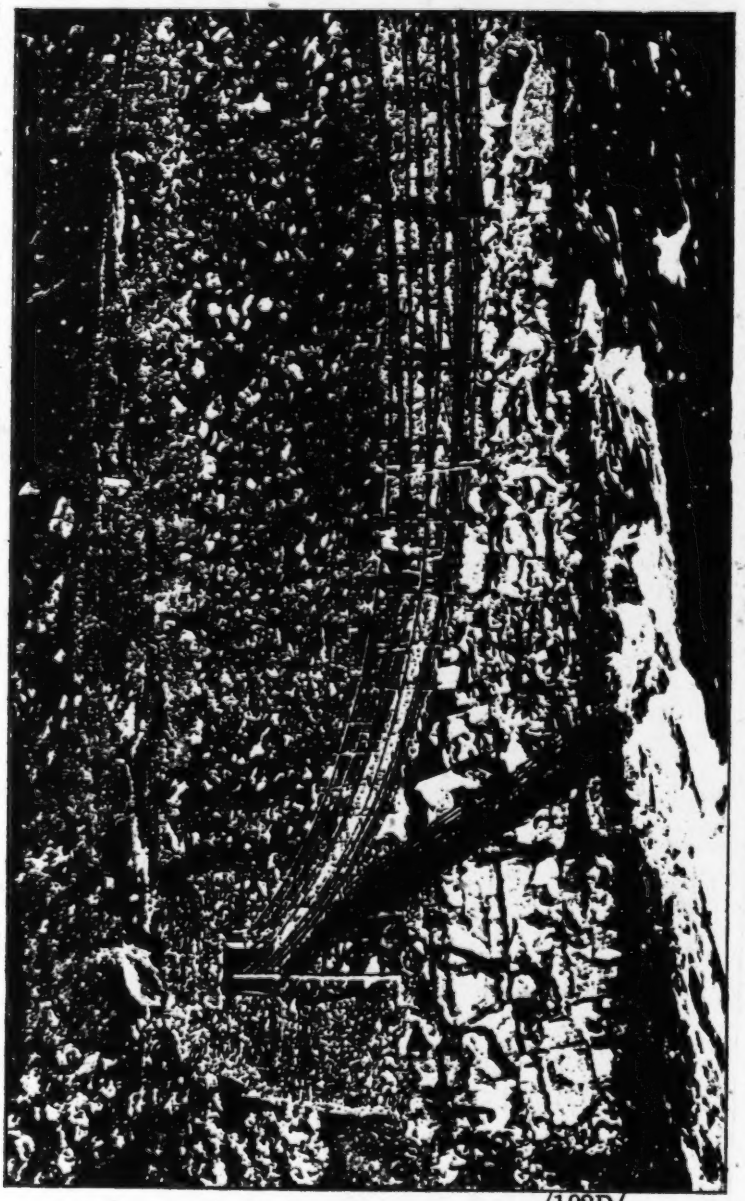
[2] H. R. Issac, "The Only Railway in Szechuan," Far Eastern Review, XXVII, No. 9 (1931), 551-54.

6: Tafel--305 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

S.W. China AF16

Plate XLVIII.

• 491



Suspension bridge of bamboo across the Great Gold River near Romi Tschanggu.

/192D/

S.W. China AF16

This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between 101
my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are [197] under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a certain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh [527] Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival during which they light fires on all the mountains, amid great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the country from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the [773] natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith, but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the [482] strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on one's back they carry fastened to a band on their forehead.

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River up- 491 ●
stream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension

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491 bridge near Romi Tschanggu caused my horse- and mule caravan unforeseen delay, and this bridge I heard praised far and wide as a technical marvel. The Chinese erected this bridge only a few decades ago and picked a place for it where the river shoots by in a rocky bed 50 meters deep (Plate XLVIII and XLIX). Thus, the bridge hangs high above the foaming water and is 122 paces long (about 100 meters). Not a bit of iron was used on it. A dozen thin hawsers of braided bamboo connect the two sides. They are anchored on both sides on stakes in little houses. Each one of them is stretched over an upright cylinder just before the point where it is fastened, and can therefore be pulled taut or loosened according to necessity and the effect of humidity. The width of the bridge as far as the walking area is concerned is 1.2 meters. However, in order to protect the bamboo ropes from too great a strain, there are only two narrow and thin longitudinal boards to walk on. These are tied to the cross pieces with thin strips of hide, and occur not quite one meter apart. They serve to divide the weight evenly among the ropes.

Before stepping on the bridge all the horses and mules must be unloaded. A guard at the bridge permitted animals and burden to cross over only one at a time. Several of my horses slipped on the narrow planks and hung kicking among the uncannily swaying, airy ropes that moved in every breeze and that, in spite of rollers and winches, are never evenly stretched, but are always somewhat warped. The bridge guard, obviously used to such interludes with horses, without a moment's hesitation, removed a few foot boards from another /219/ part of the bridge and slid them under the belly of the fallen animal, so that, with the help of two men, it could stand up again. The sway of the bridge, especially when we led the animals across, was more than one-third of a meter, although we merely felt our way across and the bridge guard and his assistant at two places sought to counteract too much deviation by skilfully bracing themselves with their hands and feet. To add to the excitement, my European eye observed, as we stepped on the bridge, that one of the 11 bamboo ropes was rotten and hung down. Thus, actually there were only 10 ropes that held the bridge together. It took me exactly two and three-quarter hours to cross over with my 15 animals and packs. During this time we were obliged to appropriate the bridge for ourselves and only a few pedestrians could slip by. The guard was very punctilious about letting only four people beside himself, or two people and a free pony, simultaneously weigh down his

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bridge. The man certainly did not hold a sinecure. Besides the fact 491
that he had to attend to the pulling of his ropes, he had to help many people across. Thus, a man in his fifties came along while we were at work; he grew dizzy when he saw the white foam and the surging waves through the planks. He shut his eyes tight and clung to the keeper by whom he let himself be slowly dragged across. At every tenth step they stood still for a long time to allow the vertical and horizontal motion caused by their steps to cease.

The large highway that runs up the Little Gold River, the hsiao Kin tschuan, goes along - I might almost say - after the manner of the suspension bridge. The scenery continued to be magnificent and delightful, (Plate L). On either side of the sharply eroded valley the mountains, rocks and forests rose up like mighty walls, as though they aimed to meet in the sky above me (Plate LII). Now and then some variety was afforded by a slight widening of the valley or a settlement and small cultivated fields. Several villages on the steep slopes showed countless tiao, stone towers, that originated in the time of the long wars of the old inhabitants with the Chinese (Plate L, LI, and LV). Uncounted rock steps and bridges, not a few with romantic charm, had to be laboriously crossed, and this resulted in quite a bit of excitement on the very first day (Plate L).

We had a rather serious mishap on the second day beyond the town of Yo ts'a on a covered bridge that was 30 and 50 meters high and ran along the river which was swollen from the continuous rains. A few rotten timbers collapsed just as half the animals had passed the difficult point. The unfortunate Hartschiu horse which carried the botanical specimens representing many weeks' work, fell into the depths and into the river amid a rattling heap of stones. All I saw was its head coming to the surface a single time out of the muddy swirling waters, then the waves engulfed the horse and its pack forever. At the moment when the accident occurred, however, we had all we could do to prevent another mishap. The covered bridge consisted of stairs nestling against the cliff and winding around the side of the mountain for a few hundred meters. The animals in the rear pushed against the ones in front and those in front wanted to jump over the gaping hole. It was an effort to prevent them from doing this and to /220/ hold them back, to cut off the packs and turn the animals around in spite of the narrow path. Only then could we hasten to the next village in order to buy boards and to hire help (Plate XLIX).

My journey caused a great stir among the natives because people 482
seldom travel with mules and horses in these parts. Usually Chinese

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

From Ka-ka-t'ang the trail follows high above the stream, but descends now and again to its bed. It is in places washed out and narrowed by projecting boulders, so that the loads have to be lifted from the saddles, and carried across on their frames sideways. On this stretch it is best to follow the Tibetan custom of tying the loads directly to a saddle, rather than the Yünnanese custom of having a wooden saddle-frame which can be lifted off the saddle and rested on the ground.

A-nu-ndo hamlet. — After a march of 30 li we pass the small Tibetan hamlet of A-nu-ndo the Chinese A-nan-to 阿南多 (H-M., Anadon, MAJ. D., A-nan-tu). On the steep hill-sides cultivation is carried on, the principal crops being maize, millet, beans and tobacco, the leaves of the latter are tied to strings which are stretched under the eaves of the houses to dry. The trail follows the river in a north-westerly direction; the ravine becomes narrower and, about 15 li beyond A-nu-ndo, which is on the west bank, another stream joins the main stream we have been following. Major Davies places his A-nan-tu at the bend of the river where it flows west into the Mekong and receives the affluent just mentioned. This, however, is not so. The bend is 15 li north of A-nu-ndo.

The trail leads on down the spur separating the two streams and follows up the affluent from the east for a few hundred yards, crosses it over a bridge and follows the steep, rocky mountain slopes composed of slate, shale and sandstone. To the east, high cliffs with rugged peaks rise several thousand feet into the sky. We follow the main stream, augmented by the affluent, down a narrow gorge with steep, overhanging sandstone walls, a short distance beyond which the stream enters the Mekong.

Ho-chiang-ch'iao on the Mekong. — At the mouth of the stream is situated the hamlet of Ho-chiang-ch'iao 合江橋, and, one li beyond, the first single-rope bridge spans the Mekong. The bridge consists of one bamboo rope evenly suspended but sagging in the middle. A short distance beyond this bridge on the east bank of the Mekong is the hamlet Pei-ch'i-ts'un 北淨村 (H-M., Betjihsün) above which the river makes a curve at the foot of a high peak. The trail soon descends to near the water's edge, passes a huge rapid and climbs again to below the village of Lao-ch'ing-ku 老慶古, situated on a prominent bluff. Here maize is the principal crop. At the mouth of a narrow ravine, along the banks of a tributary of clear, bluish water debouching from the west into the Mekong, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'ang 老廠. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. A few li beyond, after having passed through walnut and chestnut groves, we reach the most forlorn of all villages, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西 (Small Wei-hsi), the acme of neglect. At this village is a Catholic church in charge of a Chinese priest. Elevation of Hsiao-wei-hsi 6,400 feet, and a distance of 90 li from Ka-ka-t'ang.

Here the Mekong valley is inhabited by a tribe called the La-mao jen 剌毛人 (La-mao), besides Mo-so and Chinese. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* writes Tz'u-mao 刺毛, and has the following to say in ch. 202, p. 22b, "They dwell on the banks of the Lan-ts'ang Chiang; they delight to live near the

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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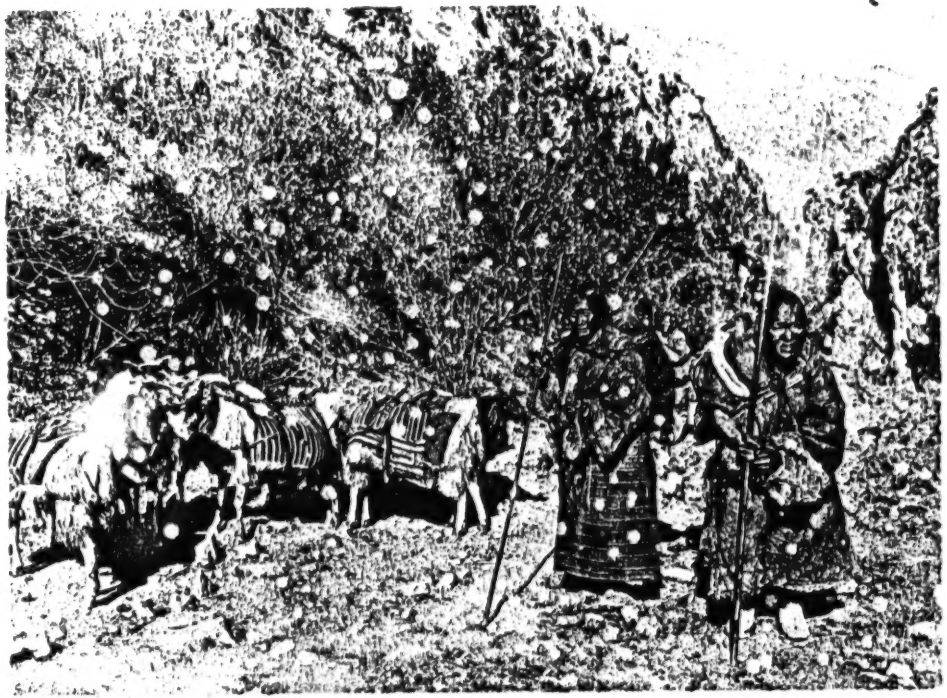
[p. 330 H]



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 176.—TIBETAN WOMEN PILGRIMS

卡瓦卡博山巡禮婦女

Women are especially religious, and nuns often perform continuous pilgrimages around the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Sheep loaded with *tsamba* serve as pack animals, as the Do-kar La trail is not negotiable for mules or horses.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Crossey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1890) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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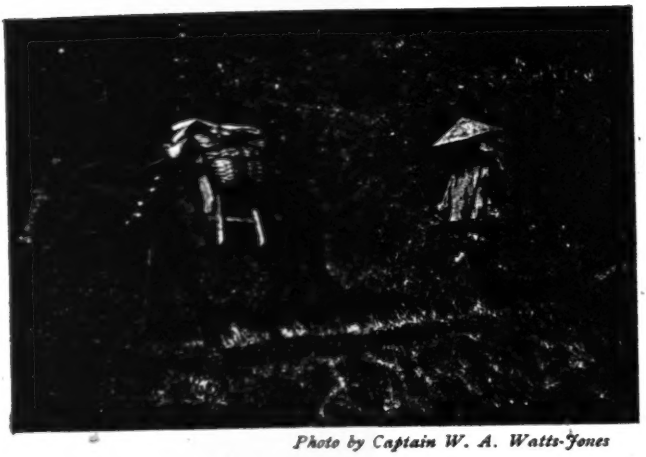

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A Yün-nan pack mule

Photo by Major G. C. Rigby

Plate I

[Face p. 2]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 had adopted as most likely to afford the easiest line for a railway, so that it was by this route that we set out to meet him.

As far as Ch'ü-ching there are two alternative roads, so Watts-Jones, leaving on the 30th March, took the main road through Ma-lung Chou, while I, starting four days later, went by a somewhat less frequented route through Yi-liang Hsien and Lu-liang Chou.

Ryder had so far failed to get the longitude of Yün-nan Fu from Bhamo, owing partly to the difficulty of getting a strong enough current over this distance of 500 miles of telegraph wire, and partly to the frequent occurrence of breaks, and to the general neglect of duty by the telegraph clerks, under the slack administration of the stout Manchu gentleman who presided over this department[1].

Ryder therefore decided to stay on in hopes of fixing this most important point. As it turned out, he waited there a month and had then to give it up as a bad job. However we were luckily able to get satisfactory observations in the following year.

On the 3rd of April I was able to get away and started off across the Yün-nan Fu plain. Several things here strike the traveller arriving from the west as new and peculiar. 312 The rows of cypress trees along the irrigation embankments are one of the most conspicuous features of this [406] part of the country; and the curious wheels which, worked by hand, draw the water up from the lakes and ponds into the irrigation channels, are not found in the plains of western Yün-nan, where nearly all the water is running. It is true indeed that these wheels are used in Yün-nan Hsien and other places west of the capital, but I have never seen them west of Ta-li.

493 But what struck me as most extraordinary was the use of carts. These I certainly did not expect to see in western China. I subsequently found them in use in nearly all the plains of eastern Yün-nan. They are very small and are drawn by one bullock or buffalo. They are only used for

[1] Mr Jensen was in no way responsible for the frequent breaks which occur in the Yün-nan telegraphs. His work was to keep the electrical instruments in order. The upkeep of the actual telegraph wire is in the hands of Chinese, who make as much money out of it as they can.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

farming operations and are not employed as a means of transport along the roads. This is no doubt owing to the impossibility in most places of taking them from one plain to another, though by a little construction of roads it would not be difficult to open a good deal of eastern Yün-nan to wheeled traffic. On the whole it is decidedly less hilly than the western part of the province, though in places, such for instance as the road from Wei-ning to Tung-ch'uan, there are as steep hills as I have seen anywhere. 493

My Chinese followers were much amused by the uncouth dialect of the inhabitants of the provincial capital. One would expect to hear the purest Chinese spoken in the chief city of the province, but such is not the case. They have a peculiar way of speaking which I believe they, as natives of the capital, consider to be the standard of excellence for the province, but this opinion is not shared by other Chinamen either of Yün-nan or of other parts of the empire. 195

My own impression, derived from hearing many Lo-los speak Chinese, is that their speech is simply Chinese spoken with a strong Lo-lo accent. The Yün-nan Fu plain was, I believe, formerly a Lo-lo country, and there are many families of Lo-lo origin still living there. Whatever may be the truth about this, it is needless to say that the present inhabitants of the city would only receive with derision any suggestion which imputed to them a Lo-lo ancestry or a Lo-lo accent. This dialect is confined to the people of K'un-ming Hsien, the Hsien district of Yün-nan Fu. 563

Our first march out from the capital took us to the small plain of Ch'i-tien. We made the usual late start, which I have always found it difficult to avoid in leaving a town after a few days' halt. Consequently, as the march was 18 miles and entailed crossing a range of hills, we did not reach our halting-place till after dark. I was now doing my own surveying, as Lachman Jadu, the surveyor who had been with me so far, stayed with Captain Ryder, so as eventually to return to India with him to help in compiling the maps. 000

On the 4th April, after crossing a low range, we descended to a fine lake called Yang-tsung Hai, and leaving

491 of Tsun-i. Farther south, the highway leads to the provincial capital of Kuei-yang in the center of Kweichow Province. On the network of highways converging upon Kuei-yang are Tu-shan on the route to Kwangsi Province, Kuei-ting on the highway to Hunan Province, and An-shun on the road to Yunnan Province. In the mountain area of western Kweichow Province, An-shun, with an estimated population of 50,000, is the largest metropolis.

The western Szechwan-Yunnan route also passes through Kweichow Province. It starts from Lu-chou in Szechwan and enters Kweichow at a point a short distance north of Pi-chieh, then leaves Kweichow at a point south of Wei-ning. The possibility of expansion of Wei-ning is greater than that of Pi-chieh because in addition to the highway, the proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will also pass through the former city. From Wei-ning south, the highway runs parallel to the proposed rail line to Chan-i, the northern terminal of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway.

•496 The Yunnan-Indochina Railway links Chan-i with Yunnan's provincial capital of Kunming. During World War II, Kunming was used as the liaison center for U. S. and Chinese armies in South China and as the terminal of the famed Burma Road and the "Over the Hump" airlift. The beauty of nearby Kunming Lake and a healthful climate make this lake region

•496 "the jewel of the south." Meng-tzu is the largest city in southern Yunnan. A spur line connecting Meng-tzu with Ko-chiu to the west facilitates the distribution of the latter's tin output by way of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway. For a period tin mining in the Ko-chiu area was interrupted by the destruction of the railway, but vigorous reconstruction after the Communists came has rejuvenated the industry, which, it is reported, supports 150,000 people. The last station on the Yunnan-Indochina Railway in China is Ho-k'ou, China's southern gateway. The only passable route across the border is by way of a bridge on the Nan-ch'i River.

491 Traffic between Yunnan Province and Burma has been shifted to the highway since the abandonment of the old Yunnan-Burma Railway. The highway starts from Kunming and passes through Ta-li and T'eng-ch'ung. The only international road suitable for mechanized vehicles crossing this section of China's boundary, the highway has become known as the Burma Road and is remembered for the important role it played when China was resisting the Japanese.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

(Table 1 faces p. 851)

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Table 1. The Railway Lines of Southwest China, 1955*
(Unit: Km = kilometers. Mi = miles.)

Name	Terminals	Length
The Chungching Railway Administration		
Trunk Lines		
Chungking-Chengtu Line	Chengtu to Chungking	505 Km. (313 Mi.)
Szechwan-Kweichow Line	Chungking to Kweiyang	130 Km.#(80 Mi.)
	Total	635 Km. (393 Mi.)
The Kunming Railway Administration		
Trunk Lines		
Yunnan-Indo-China Line	Kunming to Hok'ou	465 Km. (291 Mi.)
Chengtu-Kunming Line	Kunming to Neichiang	174 Km.x(109 Mi.)
Yunnan-Burma Line	Kunming to Kunnung	35 Km.y(22 Mi.)
Branches		
Pisechai Shihp'ing Line	Pisechai to Shihp'ing	144 Km. (90 Mi.)
Chichieh-Kochiu Line	Chichieh to Kochiu	34 Km. (21 Mi.)
	Total	852 Km. (533 Mi.)
The Second Bureau of Railway Works		
Paochi-Chengtu Line	Paochi to Chengtu	456 Km.z(285 Mi.)
	Grand Total	1,772Km.(1,211 Mi.)

*Ling Hung-hsün, Chung-kuo T'ieh-lu Kai-lun [General Survey of China's Railways], Taipei, 1950, pp. 32-33. Ito Toshio, Chukyo tetsudo no genjo [The Present Conditions of the Chinese Communist Railways], Tokyo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1954, pp. 24-25, and 53.

#The complete line is 320 kilometers (200 miles) and at present it covers only the completed section between Chiang-chin and Kan-shui-ch'ang.

xCovers the already completed section between Kunming and Chan-i, but the total length of the entire line is 810 kilometers (506 miles).

yCovers the already completed section between Kunming and An-ning, but the total length of the line is 860 kilometers (537 miles).

zCovers the already completed section between Chengtu and Lüeh-yang, but the total length of the line is 672 kilometers (420 miles).

[facing p. 851]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

489 China in spite of the numerous difficulties encountered. After the "liberation," the Communists, in addition to the rehabilitation of existing railways and highways, began to build new ones. In addition, some improvements have been made in inland water transport and aviation. Consequently, Southwest China is now able to ship its surplus grain to regions where grain production is inadequate.

I. RAILWAY REHABILITATION AND CONSTRUCTION

• 496 Since the Communists came to power in 1949, efforts have been made to restore and expand the railway network in Northwest and Southwest China. The railways which are now (1956) in operation in Southwest China are shown in Table 1.

499 the railway must pass through innumerable mountains and bridge many deep ravines. About 35 per cent of the roadbeds have to be built on solid rock.[21] Over 30 per cent of the rails had to be laid in tunnels on the section from Pao-chi to Ch'in-ling.[22] In 1955, five tunnels were completed on the northern section and the largest Ch'in-ling tunnel was finished.[23]

496 The section between Chungking and Kan-shui-ch'ang on the Szechwan-Kweichow Railway was completed by the Nationalist regime. Connection with the Chengtu-Chungking Railway has facilitated the shipment of grains, tung oil, and minerals from Chi-chiang and a few other points in Kweichow to Chungking.[24] The original narrow-guage rails have been changed to standard-guage.[25]

The Chengtu-Kunming Railway starts in Nei-chiang on the Chengtu-Chungking Line, passes through Tzu-liu-ching (Tzu-kung), and runs along the Chin-sha River and the Hsiao River to reach Kunming, a total distance of 810 kilometers.[26] The route was

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22. Ibid.
23. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, Dec. 24, 1953.
24. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, June 25, 1955.
25. Ibid.
26. Chao Yung-seen, op. cit., p. 20.

496 surveyed in 1953 by the Communists, who made its construction a part of the first Five-Year Plan.[27] The section from Kunming to Chan-i completed by the Nationalists has already been opened to traffic.[28] This line is of little economic value, because it runs through the poorer districts of the Chin-sha River valley. However, since it is the shortest route between Chungking and Kunming, it would be of military value in case of war.

The Chengtu-Kunming Railway will be connected with the French-built Yunnan-Indochina Railway at the border. Because the section between Ho-k'ou and Pi-se-chai was destroyed by the Chinese Nationalist Army when the Japanese landed in Indochina in the autumn of 1940, the Communists have had to rebuild this section.[29] It was reported in 1953 that the Communists had begun to extend the Pi-se-chia--Shih-p'ing line through Yüan-chiang and Mo-chiang to reach P'u-erh near the border of Laos.[30]

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27. New China News Agency, Chungking, Aug. 18, 1953.
28. Ling, Hung-hsün, op. cit., p. 33.
29. Chao Yung-seen, op. cit., p. 22.
30. Ibid.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of other important lines within the Basin (Fig. 7). Four more trunk lines are still under construction.[1] 491

The highway system of the Basin was laid out with Chengtu as its center. The six trunk inter-provincial lines, most of them radiating from Chengtu, include the Szechuan-Shensi, Szechuan-Kweichou, Szechuan-Hunan, Szechuan-Hupeh, Szechuan-Sikang, and Szechuan-Yunnan lines (Fig. 7).

Among the inter-provincial trunk highways, the Szechuan-Kweichou line is at present the most significant. This is mainly because of the fact that the northern section of this highway, from Chengtu to Chungking (with a distance of 450 kilometers), also forms a part of the Chengtu-Chungking highway. Thus it is also one of the principal arteries of transportation within the Basin. Moreover, it is through this vital channel (the Szechuan-Kweichou highway) that the urgently needed war materials from abroad, and the flow of Szechuan agricultural and forestry products, such as silk, tung oil, and others, for exports to the western world, are now transported (Fig. 18). This route now plays exactly the same vital role as the Yangtse gorges route did in the pre-war days. Its importance, indeed, cannot be over-exaggerated, so long as the present war against the invaders continues.

Other important highway lines within the Basin include Mei-chiang-Tzeliuching, the Chengtu-Kuan-hsien, the Chung-Pa-Pishan, and the Santai-Mienyang lines (Fig. 7). The last line is particularly important because it forms part of a through route running north and south within the Basin.

c) The principal rail-line.--In all of Szechuan Basin there is only one "toy" railway, 120 li long (Fig. 19), running between Hsi-shan and Pai-miao-tze. It was constructed with 20-pound rails and a 24-inch gauge.[2] This line, known as the Pai-chuan Railway (Fig. 7), was erected in 1929. Its chief function is to facilitate carrying coal from Lung Wang Tung and Pai-Chuan mines to the nearby urban markets of Chungking. Up to now no railway of any significance has penetrated the Basin. 496

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[1] Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan Provincial Government, Highway Statistics (1940), p. 46.

[2] H. R. Issac, "The Only Railway in Szechuan," Far Eastern Review, XXVII, No. 9 (1931), 551-54.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF1.6 SW China
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499 cadres were charged with stealing ¥1,000
661 million ($40,000).[7]

Many bridges collapsed and had to be rebuilt because material of poor quality had been used.[8] Some Communists cadres could not be trusted to inspect the quality of work done, and others were willing to approve poor work if the contractors paid them a bonus or offered bribes.[9]

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Feb. 22, 1952.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. China Weekly, Hong Kong, July 11, 1955.
11. People's China, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, July 16, 1953, p. 29.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. New China News Agency, Chungking, June 20, 1955.
16. People's Handbook, Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 525.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF10
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499 The Chinese Nationalist Government began to build the Yunnan-Burma Railway in the spring of 1941 under an agreement between China, the United States, and Great Britain. In 1942, following the occupation of Rangoon by the Japanese, the work was stop. Only the short section between Kunming and An-ning (35 kilometers (22 mi.)) and about 50 per cent of the earth and stone work of the 550-kilometer section between Wu-chia-chai and Hsiang-yün had been completed.[31]

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31. Chin Shih-hsüan, T'ieh-lu Yü K'ang-chen Chi Chien-she [Railways and War and Reconstruction], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947, pp. 107-108.

32. Chinese Communist Problems, Hong Kong, Freedom Press, Series No. 1, 1954, pp. 75-76.

497 important measures adopted by Communist China are as follows:

A. The "Economic Calculation System"

Stocks of supplies in each of the railway administration's warehouses are checked in order to determine the amount of working capital needed. The next step is to determine the cost of material resources and manpower; the amount of work required for a particular job must be calcualted carefully in order to determine whether each worker has enough to keep him busy eight hours a day.[33] The economical use of material is another important part of this system. To save on coal, the Chinese Communists have adopted Soviet Russia's "One-two-three" method -- for every "one" kilometer a locomotive runs, coal is added "two times, "three shovelfuls at a time. Anti-rust preservative is used in

33. People's Daily, Peking, Dec. 16, 1952.

497 the boiler to soften the water, dissolve the dirt, and prevent rust.[34] The quota system is intended to prevent excessive use of materials. But in actual practice, this problem has not been solved. For instance, the amount of material required for any job will depend upon a number of factors -- such as the quality of the material, the skill of the workers, and the detailed specifications for any particular job. Therefore, a quota cannot very well be fixed in advance.

B. The Full Carload Movement

Because of a shortage of locomotives and rolling stock, the Communist government is enforcing the "Full-carload Movement" in all regions. The so-called "Yang Mao-lin loading method" is considered the model.[35]

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34. This method is considered out of date in the Western nations. In Western nations, super-heater has been adopted. A saving of about 15 per cent resulted. Experiments with eight-wheeled freight locomotives also resulted in a saving of 25 per cent in fuel consumption. See Chao Yung-seen, Railways in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1955, pp. 51-52.

35. Yang Mao-lin was originally a head weigher in the railway station at Harbin.

497 Cargo is divided into various classes according to the shape and the nature of the content; markers are pinned on the packages. Workers are supplied with lists showing the loading order, and they load the marked packages into the freight cars which bear the same marked flag shown on the packages. This is also called the "matching-flag loading method."[36]

C. The Over-Haulage Movement

The overhaulage system was first devised by Cheng Hsi-k'un, an engine drive who had practiced this method as early as 1949 in order to haul 60 tons more than official capacity. When an overloaded train approached an upgrade, Cheng accelerated the locomotive and sprayed sand on the rails. To stop an overloaded train speed was reduced long beforehand and brakes applied twice.[37] Cheng's method proved so efficient that it was adopted to carry military supplies to North Korea.

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36. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, May 27, 1952.

37. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, July 6, 1952.

•497 At the beginning of the present regime, the Communists encouraged locomotive engineers to make utmost use of their rolling stock. Each loaded train was expected to cover 500 kilometers (312 mi.) every 24 hours. In order to achieve this objective, it was necessary to increase speed and shorten the time lost in car-switching, checking and assembling at stations, and loading and unloading at terminals. The so-called "li Hsi-kuei Train Switching Method" and the "Sun Feng-chi Simultaneous Checking and Repairing Method" were established on all national railways.[38]

D. The Planned Transport

The basic principle of "planned transport" is to make use of all available railway facilities to transport cargoes and to reduce "empty hauls" to the minimum. The promulgation of tentative regulations concerning the regional balancing of production and marketing of coal and its reasonable transport in 1953 incorporates this measure.[39] The country is divided into thirteen coal producing areas, comprising

38. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Worker's Daily], Peking, Dec. 19, 1952.

39. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, pp. 24-25.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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45 state-operated and joint state-operated and joint state-and-private coal mines. The distribution, supply, and transport of coal are completely under government control. The direction of flow and the regions in which coal is to be marketed are fixed for each mine in order to avoid waste of transportation facilities.[40]

E. Railway Rates

The Chinese Communists re-classified railway freight into thirty classes instead of the five existing prior to their conquest of the Mainland. Railway rates have been adjusted five times. The most recent readjustment of rates was announced in June 1955, when the general level of freight rates was lowered.[41] Items related directly or indirectly to production cost less to ship; those meant for domestic consumption are shipped at higher rates. The rates assigned to the former were usually borne by state industrial enterprises while those assigned to the latter were paid by consumers.[42]

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40. Ibid., p. 25.
41. Ibid., Aug. 8, 1955, p. 13.
42. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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497 Passenger rates were increased from 20 to 30 per cent. Higher rates were charged for exceedingly long or exceedingly short hauls of certain commodities in order to eliminate unnecessary use of transportation facilities.[43]

II. HIGHWAY ROUTES

491 The exact mileage of the highway network in the Southwest region is difficult to determine. The figures given in provincial reports do not agree with those given in the national report. No distinction is made between provincial roads and couty roads, nor is there any consistency in the various records concerning the completion of new roads or when such road are open or closed to traffic.

In this study, all the major national highways which pass through Southwest China are discussed as are principal provincial or interprovincial highways connecting the important cities and towns of the region. Major national, interprovincial, and provincial highways of the region are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

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43. Ibid., p. 14.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

505 Ta-li Fu, the centre of the richest part of Yün-nan (lat. 25° 35′, long. 100° 10′), and see how far they are situated from the nearest navigable river.

Yün-nan Fu is 505 miles from Bhamo, 240 miles from Lao-kai, 355 miles from Pai-sê T'ing, and 398 miles from Sui Fu.

Hsia-kuan is 280 miles from Bhamo, 467 miles from Lao-kai, 575 miles from Pai-sê T'ing, and 618 miles from Sui Fu.

Over these distances it must be remembered everything has to be carried on the backs of animals or men.

Moreover the four places to which navigation is possible by these four different river routes are of themselves quite unimportant. All merchandise from abroad has naturally to come from the sea ports, and the length of time occupied in carriage from the sea ports adds to the inaccessibility of Yün-nan to foreign goods.

505 497 Lao-kai, 1½ days by train from Haiphong is the best off in this respect. Bhamo comes next in point of nearness to the sea, being three days from Rangoon by train and steamer.

Pai-sê T'ing and Sui Fu are both situated at a great distance from the sea and the long up-river journey takes roughly speaking quite a month and a half from Canton and Shanghai respectively.

Taking again the two towns of Yün-nan Fu and Hsia-kuan and measuring the distance roughly in time we find that Yün-nan Fu is 39 to 46 days from Rangoon, 16 days from Haiphong, 67 days from Canton, and 70 days from Shanghai. Hsia-kuan is 24 to 31 days from Rangoon, 28 days from Haiphong, 82 days from Canton, and 85 days from Shanghai.

Here then is a province in which long distances and difficult transport make any large trade at present impossible. It is only by railways that the country can be developed. Unfortunately the same mountains which make the rivers unnavigable and the roads impassable for wheels, also render the construction of railways extremely difficult.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF10
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499 The Chinese Nationalist Government began to build the Yunnan-Burma Railway in the spring of 1941 under an agreement between China, the United States, and Great Britain. In 1942, following the occupation of Rangoon by the Japanese, the work was stop. Only the short section between Kunming and An-ning (35 kilometers (22 mi.)) and about 50 per cent of the earth and stone work of the 550-kilometer section between Wu-chia-chai and Hsiang-yün had been completed.[31]

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32. Chinese Communist Problems, Hong Kong, Freedom Press, Series No. 1, 1954, pp. 75-76.

504 150 miles upstream from Chungking. Two lesser tributaries empty into the Yangtze near Lu-chou and make the city a market for native products of southern Szechwan and northern Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Further up-river from Lu-chou is I-pin, terminal of steamer shipping on the Yangtze. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will pass through I-pin.

361 The Szechwan provincial capital is Chengtu, located on the westernmost of four major tributaries to the Yangtze River in the province. As an old cultural center of West China, this city is well known for its handicraft industries and is reputed to have an atmosphere like that of
499 Peking. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway -- an event overpublicized in the Communist press in 1952 -- brings Chengtu into closer contact with a number of important cities in central-south Szechwan, such as Nei-chiang, the only large center for the sugar industry in West China, and Lung-ch'ang. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway is to start from Nei-chiang, passing southwest through Tzu-kung
[317] Municipality. Salt extraction in the Tzu-kung area dates back to the tenth century. In 1953 there were 330 natural gas wells supplying 4,382 brine boilers in Tzu-kung. A railway linking Chengtu with Kansu Province in the north is under construction. This railway will pass Kuang-yüan, a strategic point on the northern
491 approach to Szechwan. The existing highway

178 Another problem was the number of steel plants and textile mills which had been estab-
•499 lished in the Southwest during war against
653 Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and commerce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimulated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region was
162 that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities,
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

499 Over one-third of the total construction work of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway had been completed by the Nationalists before 1949; the Communists finished the railway in June 1952.[2] According to the Communists, they built 15 new tunnels, 28 large bridges, 189 small bridges, 446 culverts, and about two-thirds of the road foundation.[3] About 35,230 tons of steel rails and 1,250,000 railway ties were needed.[4] Most of the steel rails were supplied by the iron and steel plant at Chungking.[5] The supply of railroad ties presented serious problem but a sifficient amount of timber was collected when the Communists announced that peasants would be allowed to pay land tax in timber instead of grain.[6]

499 661 When the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was under construction, a great number of charges of waste and corruption were brought against officials. In Chiu-lung-p'o, Communist

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2. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, July 11, 1955, p. 13.

3. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Hong Kong, July 12, 1950, July 4, 1951.

4. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 25.

5. Chao Yung-seen, Railways in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union R search Institute, 1955, pp. 23-24.

6. Ibid.

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Feb. 22, 1952.
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9. Ibid.
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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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12. Ibid.
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16. People's Handbook, Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 525.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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499 But the Communists now expect to complete the line eight months ahead of the original schedule.[17] At the southern terminal, Chengtu, the line will connect with the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, at the northern terminal, Pao-chi, an important industrial center of Northwest China, it will connect with the Lunghai Railroad, which runs from Lanchow in Kansu Province to the port of Lien-yün-kang on the East China coast. The construction of the southern section of the railway, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, called for twice as many tunnels as were built for the entire Chengtu-Chungking Railway. The Pa-miao-kou Tunnel is one of the longest in the country.[18] According to Communist plans, the southern section of the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway, including the laying of rails to Kuang-yüan, 345 kilometers from Chengtu, will be completed in 1954, as will approximately 40 per cent of the roadbed for the section from Kuang-yüan to Lüeh-yang.[19] The target for 1955 was the completion of track-laying between Kuang-yuan and Lüeh-yang.[20]

Work on the northern section has been much more difficult and hazardous because

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17. New China News Agency, Peking, July 5, 1955.

18. Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, July 4, 1955.

19. Ibid.

20. New China News Agency, Peking, July 8, 1955.

499 the railway must pass through innumerable mountains and bridge many deep ravines. About 35 per cent of the roadbeds have to be built on solid rock.[21] Over 30 per cent of the rails had to be laid in tunnels on the section from Pao-chi to Ch'in-ling.[22] In 1955, five tunnels were completed on the northern section and the largest Ch'in-ling tunnel was finished.[23]

496 The section between Chungking and Kan-shui-ch'ang on the Szechwan-Kweichow Railway was completed by the Nationalist regime. Connection with the Chengtu-Chungking Railway has facilitated the shipment of grains, tung oil, and minerals from Chi-chiang and a few other points in Kweichow to Chungking.[24] The original narrow-guage rails have been changed to standard-guage.[25]

The Chengtu-Kunming Railway starts in Nei-chiang on the Chengtu-Chungking Line, passes through Tzu-liu-ching (Tzu-kung), and runs along the Chin-sha River and the Hsiao River to reach Kunming, a total distance of 810 kilometers.[26] The route was

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22. Ibid.
23. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, Dec. 24, 1953.
24. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, June 25, 1955.
25. Ibid.
26. Chao Yung-seen, op. cit., p. 20.

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32. Chinese Communist Problems, Hong Kong, Freedom Press, Series No. 1, 1954, pp. 75-76.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 3.* Interprovincial and Provincial Highways in Southwest China.

(Unit: Km. = kilometer. Mi. = miles.)

HIGHWAY	TERMINALS	LENGTH
Sinkiang-Tibet Line	Yeen-lhasa	2255 Km. (1409 Mi.)
Chengtu-Apa Line	Chength-Apa	507 Km. (317 Mi.)
Chinghai-Sikang Line	Hsiehwu-Taot'angho	673 Km. (421 Mi.)
Szechwan-Shansi Line	Chengtu-Paochi	770 Km. (481 Mi.)
Sikang-Yunnan Line	Fut'ien-Huili	433 Km. (271 Mi.)
Kunming-Talo Line	Kunming-Talo	-------
Yunnan-Kweichow Line	Kunming-Kweiyang	659 Km. (412 Mi.)
Szechwan-Yunnan (W.) Line	Chennan-Chinshaho	243 Km. (152 Mi.)
Szechwan-Yunnan (E.) Line	T'iensheng-ch'iao-Ch'ihshuiho	512 Km. (320 Mi.)
Szechwan-Kweichow Line	Sanch'iao-Ch'ungch'iho	306 Km. (191 Mi.)
Kweichow-Kwangsi (E.) Line	Kweiyang-Liuchai	300 Km. (187 Mi.)
Kweichow-Kwangsi (W.) Line	Hotsuling-Patu	266 Km. (166 Mi.)
Szechwan-Sikang Line	Chengtu-K'angting	333 Km. (208 Mi.)
Chengtu-Chungking Line	Chengtu-Chungking	413 Km. (258 Mi.)
Chungking-Wanyüan Line	Chungking-Wanyüan	417 Km. (261 Mi.)
Chienchiang-Sanchiaop'ing Line	Chienchiang-Sanchiaop'ing	785 Km. (491 Mi.)
Kunming-Hok'ou Line	Kunming-Hok'ou	297 Km. (186 Mi.)
	TOTAL.....	9761 Km. (5662 Mi.)

* Fei-ch'ü Ti Kung-lu Chiao-t'ung /The Highway Transportation of Communist Area/. Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953, pp. 22-23.

(Table 3 faces p. 865)

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Before the war of resistance against Japan, the highways in Southwest China (including country roads) amounted to 11,818 kilometers (7,386 miles) of which 6,812 kilometers (4,258 mi.) were paved with concrete or surfaced with tar.[44] During the war, the Nationalist Government built many new highways in the Southwest to meet military needs.[45] Since 1950, the Communists have built a number of new highways, including a network of roads in the minority areas. During the three-year period 1952-54, thirgy-four new highways (over 5,000 kilometers or 3,125 miles) were constructed.[46] Of these highways, the Sikang-Tibet Highway, the Chengtu-A-pa Highway, and the Kunming-Talo Highway are most important. The Sikang-Tibet Highway runs from Lhasa to Ya-an, a distance of 2,240 kilometers (1,400 mi.)[47] It climbs over mountains 16,000 feet above sea level. This was the first road to be built at such an altitude. In the past, traders with pack-trains

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44. Mao Shou-chin Kung-lu Ch'ang-shih [Common Knowledge about Highways], Shanghai, 1951, p. 3.

45. Ibid., p. 8.

46. Ching-chi Nien-pao [Economic Year Book], Hong Kong, Economic Bulletin Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 50-51.

47. China Reconstructs, Peking, The China Welfare Institute, May 1955, p. 2.

491 of yaks journeyed for months to bring their
499 goods to "the roof of the world," toiling over the ranges and deep valleys of the Tibetan plateau. But today trucks make the trip to Lhasa from Shanghai or Peking in as little time as 15 days.[48] When the Communists decided in 1950 to build this highway, teams were sent out to make a complete survey of the terrain. Soviet experts were consulted before the final choice of the route through Ch'ang-tu and T'ai-chao was made.[49]

Construction of the Sikang-Tibet Highway was extraordinarily difficult. The line was divided into 100-kilometers (60 mi.) sections, and workers were equipped with rock-drills and power-driven saws.[50] The snow-line on the Tibetan plateau was 15,000 feet above sea-level, and in certain area the earth was frozen so hard that workers had to use dynamite to blast it.[51]

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48. Ibid.
49. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, June 23, 1955, p. 786.
50. Ibid.
51. China Reconstructs, May 1955, p. 3.

49/ The bridging of the Nu River was another
499 difficult project in the building of the highway. Both banks of the river rose to a height of 3,000 feet. The river's current ran at a rate of 20 feet per second.[52] Another section of the highway cut across an immense tract of virgin forest, and it took the workers a long time to fell all the huge trees.[53] The Lhasa River Bridge, the last bridge of the highway, was completed in the latter part of December 1954 and the highway was open to motor traffic.[54]

49/ The Chengtu-A-pa highway is another principal highway built by the Communists through one of the national minorities areas in Southwest China. Its construction was begun in March 1951 and was completed in November 1955.[55] It runs from Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan Province to A-pa, the commercial center of the Tibetan Autonomous District in Szechwan, a distance of 509 kilometers (318 mi.)[56] During a three-year period prior to November 1955, grains and building and industrial materials shipped to

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52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 4.
55. People's Handbook, Tientsin, Ta-kung Pao, 1955, p. 532; Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, March 21, 1955, p. 12.
56. Ibid.

697 agencies in the whole region began to clear the accumulated cases and organized the convicts for Reform through labor.[1] A report from Formosa estimated the number of prisoners sentenced to death or to Reform-through-labor for political reasons in this area at 1,484,000 up to the end of 1953, and those who had been put under public surveillance[2] at 743,154. The latter also were forced to perform manual labor.

But in some cases of forced labor, the political aspect has been overshadowed by the economic significance. Men were sent to forced-labor camps not only because they held different political views from the ruling class, but also because they were needed to fulfill huge economic plans such as the Hwai River project in East China and the Ching River harnessing project in the Central-South Region. In the Southwest similar examples may be found in the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and of the Sikang-Tibet Highway.

II. MASS LABOR IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION (CHENGTU-CHUNGKING LINE)

•499 The Chengtu-Chungking Line is 505

1. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1950.
2. Pei-kuan-chih T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, No. 5, p. 3.

499 kilometers (about 314 miles) in length and connects the provincial capital of Szechwan Province and the commercial center of the Southwest Region. In addition to the building of roadbeds, which had been partly finished by the Nationalists, the entire work consisted of building 45 tunnels, 327 bridges, 701 culverts, and 26,530,000 cubic feet of earthwork.[3] It was begun in June 1950 and was completed by the end of June 1952, six months in advance of the scheduled time. It was opened to traffic on July 1 of that year.

A. Recruitment of Labor

499 464 In June 1950, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee was created by the Southwest Military and Political Committee. Because of the urgent need for construction, the authorities first used the regular army. At the same time, the Southwest Railway Engineering Committee, in co-operation with the hsien governments, worked on the recruitment of civilian labor. In addition to patriotic appeals such as they had used in other mass-labor projects, the authorities promised the peasants

3. Wang Chih-fen, Chengtu-Chungking Railway, Shanghai, 1954, pp. 18-19.

499 reduction of land rent, the return of rental
464 deposits on their land, and a cheap supply of daily necessities to the workers along the construction sites. The methods of recruitment seemed to be effective. Some 38,000 persons answered the call from the eastern part of that province; 30,000 from the southern part, 10,000 from Chengtu and the western part; 6,000 from the northern part; and 22,000 unemployed workers from Chengtun and Chungking also took part in the construction. The total labor force amounted to 104,000 men.[4] After the recruited civilians were organized, they took over the construction job from the army, some members of which were kept to act as office personnel and as an engineering corps.

B. Organization and Living Conditions of the Labor Force

499 The units of the labor organization were
466 formed according to the plan of the projected line, which was divided into 180 sections. Each section was allocated 579 workers. Each group of workers was divided into two shifts. They were formed into small teams according to the character of the work assigned to them. Their

4. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung ti Nu-kung Chin-tu [Slavery System of the Chinese Communist] Hong Kong, Tzu-ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 89.

499 sphere of movement was restricted to within
466 2 li (about 545 yards) on each side of the construction line.

499 The recruits were paid according to piece
465 rates, calculated on the basis of the work-day unit. One work-day unit is what an average worker could accomplish in one day. In the case of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway construction, one work-day unit is 2.5 cubic meters (about 81.75 cubic feet) of earthwork. For this amount of work, one worker received seven and one-half catties (about 8.25 lbs.) of rice.[5] In Southwest China, one catty of medium-grade rice was sold for 740 yuan (old currency); one U.S. dollar was worth about 20,000 yuan at the time. Therefore, 7.5 catties of rice would be worth about 27 cents in the United States. With this amount of money per day, the worker had to provide for his food, clothing, and other necessities, not to mention the support of his family.

499 The recruits were required to bring their own tools such as pickaxes and bamboo poles, for railway construction in China depended upon physical labor rather than upon mechanical equipment. Machinery for the laying of tracks was not introduced until the spring of 1954 in building the Pao-chi-Chengtu Line. The workers

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5. The World Today, Hong Kong, Oct. 15, 1952, p. 2.

499 on the Chengtu--Chungking Line came to depend upon the primitive tools they brought, or used their bare hands. In their spare time, they were urged to make tools such as bamboo baskets for removing stones and mud. In their letter to Mao Tse-tung from the workers on the Chengtu-Chungking Line, they boasted that they had made and invented several hundred kinds of tools during the period of its construction.[6]

C. Methods Used to Increase the Productivity of Labor

499 466 The Communists used all sorts of emotional appeals to increase productivity. After some activists among the workers had vowed not to go back home until they saw the train running between Chengtu and Chungking, 90 per cent of the builders gave up their New Year's vacation during the first year, and many young workers postponed their wedding dates. Early in 1951, the Communists organized the Three-Systematization and Five-Comparison campaigns among the working teams.[7] Within a period of four months (January to May), in consequence of these

6. New China Daily, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 4.

7. The Three-Systematization Campaign included systematization of thought, of organization, and of rules. The Five-Comparison Campaign included comparison of work, of efficiency, of progress, of safety, and of economy. For details about these movements, see New China Daily, Dec. 8, 1951, p. 2.

499 campaigns, 130,000 "model workers" were
466 elected and labor productivity increased. Taking the standard accomplishment for one work-day as 100 per cent, an average worker at first could fulfill only 25 per cent, but by the end of 1951, this had increased to 150 per cent.[8]

After the Communists entered Korea in November 1950, the Resist-America Aid-Korea Movement was instituted in the labor camps along the Chengtu-Chungking Line. The Communists aroused "hate-America" feelings among the workers and kept on telling the workers that the speeding of the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Line was one way to defeat "American imperialism." The railway workers worked longer hours after being exposed to this propaganda. By the end of 1951, nearly 70 per cent of the entire undertaking had been completed.[9]

In addition to patriotic appeals, the Communists mobilized the workers to organize a Red Flag Campaign. To win the red flag, some members of one labor team worked steadily and slept only 30 hours in a period of 18 days[10] in order to fulfill the assigned task within the time required. One report from a Formosan

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8. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 24.
9. New China Daily, Dec. 8, 1951, p. 2.
10. Ibid., June 22, 26, 1952.

499 source stated that the mortality rate among the
466 workers was as highl as 10 per cent at the beginning of construction[11] in 1950, although the Communist press insisted that the workers seemed to think that the harshness of their life was nothing in comparison with what they had achieved. The Communists made the workers believe that they had built a road leading to paradise.[12]

D. Other Railway Construction in Southwest China

499 Since the sites of these railways are the same as the sites of the forced-labor camps, it would be helpful to list those lines under construction or in contemplation in Southwest China.[13]

1. Pao-chi--Chengtu Line connects Pao-chi in Shensi Province and Chengtu in Szechwan Province. The southern section was begun after the completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Line in 1952. As of May 1955 the track-laying

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11. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Szechwan [Szechwan Under the Communist Control], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, Jan. 24, 1955, p. 24.
12. New China Daily, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 4.
13. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 25-26.

499 work had already passed the Wei River. Originally it was scheduled to be finished in 1957, but the Communists have now scheduled its completion for 1956.

2. The Chengtu-Kunming Line runs from Chengtu in Szechwan Province to Kunming in Yunnan Province. Work on the line was begun in 1954 and scheduled for completion within the period of the first Five-Year Plan, which ends in 1957.

3. The Lung-ch'ang --Kweiyang Line is still being planned.

4. The Szechwan-Sikang Line will run from Chengtu to Ya-an in former Sikang Province. It is in the planning stage.

5. The Hunan-Kweichow Line will run from Chu-chou in Hunan Province to Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. It is under contemplation.

6. The Yunnan-Burma Line will run from Kunming in Yunnan to Nanta in Burma. It is under contemplation.

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III. MASS LABOR IN HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION (SIKANG-TIBET HIGHWAY)

The Government Administration Council

499 issued one directive concerning the conscription
464 of peasants to build and repair the highways in 1951,[14] which authorized all levels of local governments (administrative district, hsien, chu, and hsiang) to recruit and organize civilian labor for highway construction. It is stipulated in the directive that one recruit is limited to 10 standard work-days each year. One standard work-day is the average amount of work accomplished per day per person in that locality. The recruits receive no daily allowance for their food and are required to bring their own tools. In Southwest China, during five years of Communist control, about 5,000 kilometers (about 3,105 miles) of highways had been constructed with recruited laborers.[15] The most important one -- the Sikang-Tibet Highway -- was completed by the end of 1954.

A. Difficulties of the Job

491 The Sikang-Tibet Highway, 2,240 kilometers (about 1,400 miles) long, today links Lhasa with the rest of China. It is the first highway built in China at such a high altitude and in the face of so many difficulties. It climbs the

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14. Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies of the Central Government, Peking, March 1952, Vol. III, pp. 713-15.

15. People's Daily, Jan. 13, 1955.

491 snow-clad mountains that tower 16,000 feet above sea level, with bridges across the tremendous ravines where mountain torrents plunge through twisting gorges. The area along the route is rocky, precipitous, and subject to earthquakes, landslides, avalanches, and shifting sands.

499 464 Although the Communists had no topographical maps of this region, no geological, seismological, or weather records, and no engineers with experience in highway construction over such a terrain as the Plateau of Tibet, they mobilized a tremendous amount of manpower.

B. Labor Force and Working Conditions of the Laborers

By the end of 1951, the local governments of K'ang-ting, Ya-an, Ch'ang-tu and T'ien-chüan had recruited about 8,000 civilian laborers. They began to work with the man-power of the People's Liberation Army. In that winter they worked on the terrain 16,000 feet above sea level under severe weather, 25 degrees below zero (C). By March 1952, out of the original 8,000 builders, 3,500 had died as the result of hardships and the climate.[16] At the same time, a fresh

16. Cheng Chu-yüan, op. cit., p. 98.

499 supply of 50,000 recruits continued to pour
464 into the construction sites, including thousands of Tibetans who worked from the western end of the line.

499 The builders were equipped with rock drills and power-driven saws which they moved in first to get rid of the most stubborn obstacles. It seems that on the Sikang-Tibet Highway road-building machinery was used more than on other highway construction. In one report the Communists said that snowplows and bulldozers cleared millions of cubic feet of snow and earth, replacing hand labor even on mountain tops and in deep forests.[17]

The Sikang-Tibet Highway has been the most-talked-about highway construction in Mainland China. Almost all the newspapers in different parts of China sent the reporters to the construction sites. This resulted in thousands of detailed press reports which disclosed the "heroic and tragic life of the masses who toiled on the roof of the world."[18]

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17. China Reconstructs, Peking, May 1955, pp. 2-5.

18. People's Daily, June 9, 1954, and Dec. 17, 1954; Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Aug. 7, and Sept. 26, 1954.

499 Workers and soldiers scaled vertical rock-walls, fought their way across rapids, and crept inch by inch across glaciers, disregarding wind, rain, and snow. Where the laborers worked in Ch'iao-erh-shan Mountain, the altitude was 17,000 feet above sea level, there was snow all year round, and the earth was frozen to a depth of over three feet. The workers built their tents on this hard-frozen floor and made their beds of dry leaves and tree branches. Sometimes they were buried by snow, their tents swept away by avalanches; in one place an avalanche fell every afternoon for five months. One section of the road cut across an immense tract of virgin forest which was cleared by manual labor, although each tree required several days' work by a team of three or four men.

The bridging of the Nu River was said to be the most "heroic" act accomplished by the builders. Both banks rose in sheer precipices about 3,00 feet high, and the current ran 20 feet per second. The point they had chosen for bridging had never been crossed. A group working on the Nu River bridge was completely cut off from its supply line, and the laborers were forced to live on rice gruel for two months before they were rescued.

499 The Communists gave better treatment to
466 the workers on the Sikang-Tibet Highway than to

499 workers elsewhere, for they did not use such
466 methods as "emulation drives" and "model workers' elections" to speed up work as they did on other projects. On the contrary, the authorities on the Sikang-Tibet Highway prohibited overtime work. The fact that the labor supply was not so abundant in this region and that they could not afford to transport workers from other parts of the country made them more lenient to the laborers on this project.

The Sikang-Tibet highway was opened to traffic by the end of 1954. To travel from Peking to Lhasa once took several months; today the trip can be made in fifteen days.

IV. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

697 A Communist report admitted that, in the Southwest Region, of the prisoners convicted through suppression of counterrevolutionaries, through land-reform laws, and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, 65 per cent had been organized by the end of 1951 into Reform-through-labor corps. They were employed in such heavy work as road-building, house construction, coal mining, collective farming, brick- and tile-manufacturing, and in handicraft industries such as weaving and shoe-making.[19] The size

19. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951, p. 2.

499 The need for railroads in the Basin is most urgent and the clamor for railroad construction is loud. Already there are four projected railroads, namely, the Chengtu-Chungking, the Tzeliuching-Luhsien, the Chengtu-Paochi, and the Chengtu-Kuming lines (Fig. 7).[a] The Chengtu-Chungking projected line is already under construction. This line, after its completion, will link the rich agricultural Chengtu Plain and the growing industrial Chungking area. Furthermore, the completion of the Tzeliuching-Luhsien line will bring forth a more efficient operation of the vital brine-salt industry of the Basin.

509 d) The major air-routes.--If highway development in Szechuan Basin is still in its childhood, airway development is in its infancy. It was not until 1932, only about ten short years ago, at the initiation of the Shanghai-Chengtu air-line, that the Basin first experienced commercial air service. Since then, commercial flying in the Basin has been growing steadily. The original Shanghai-Chengtu Line has suspended operation since 1938 on account of the war.

There are now five principal air lines in the Basin, namely, the Chungking-Hongkong (now extended only to Kunming after the Japanese occupation of Hongkong in December, 1941), Chengtu-Sian, Chengtu-Kunming, Chungking-Chengtu, and Chungking-Loshan lines. Among them, the Chungking-Hongkong (now to Kunming) and Chengtu-Sian lines are the most important.[1]

All the above air-lines are engaged principally in passenger and mail service. Freight capacity is still very limited. In so far as use for cargo transportation is concerned, the present air-line facilities are far from satisfactory. The airways of Szechuan are at best only a symbol of modernization, but the growth has been phenomenal and the future outlook is promising. The cultural and educational value of the air traffic to the inhabitants of the Basin is certainly tremendous.

489 e) The relation of transportation to the agricultural land-
435 use in the Basin.--Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than that of transportation. The poor transportation has hampered in more than one way the efficiency of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use.

In the first place, the difficult and therefore costly transportation has prevented farmers in the Basin from earning as

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan, op. cit., p. 52.

[a] [See end map 3 — Analyst]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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505 The section between I-chang and I-pin
487 of the Yangtze River has a navigability rating of Grade 3, i.e., navigable for boats up to 1,000 tons. The section between I-pin and Lo-shan on the Min River and the section between Chungking and Kuang-yüan on the Chia-ling River have a navigability rating of Grade 4, navigable by steamers of 600 tons. All the other rivers have a lower rating than Grade 4 are navigable only by junk.

A. Inland Shipping

•501 Before the resistance against Japan, China's total shipping tonnage was about 576,000 tons, including 124 ocean steamers totaling 367,383 tons and 3,333 river steamers totaling 208,617 tons. During the war, it was estimated that about 495,329 tons of both types of steamers were lost.[61] After the war, 2,751 Japanese ships of various types, with a total of 251,288 tons, were confiscated, including 507 river boats (62,375 tons) in the Yangtze River area.[62]

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61. Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan, Hsin-wen-chü [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1949, p. 24.
62. Ibid., p. 23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Table 6. Shipping Tonnage of the Yangtze River Area in 1947*

Shipping Classification	Number of Ships	Gross Tonnage
By size		
60 tons--200 tons	460	25,964
201 tons--8,000 tons	47	36,411
Total	507	62,375
By Ownership		
National	160	28,959
Private	347	33,416
Total	507	62,375

* Hang Yün [Navigation], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan, Hsing-wen-chü, [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1947, pp. 24-28.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF16~~ AF16

B. Recent Developments

501 The Nationalist Government moved a great many government-owned ships from the China Mainland to Taiwan in 1949. It was estimated that less than 20 per cent of the shipping tonnage of the government-owned China Merchant Steamship Company was left to the Communists.[63] But due to the Communists' vigorous efforts in ship-building and ship-repairing, the number of ships available increased substantially in the period 1951-55. The People's Refloating Company has salvaged over 100 steamers of different sizes(totaling over 100,000 gross tons.)[64] adn of these salvaged vessels, the largest is the steamship Chiang-hsin, which is now in operation on the Yangtze River between the port of Shanghai and ports in Szechwan.[65]

503 River-dredging in Szechwan Province progressed rapidly during the three-year period prior to 1955, and a great many rocks and sand bars have been removed, enabling large

63. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, Jan. 1950, pp. 7-8.
64. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Oct. 12, 1955.
65. Ibid.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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ST
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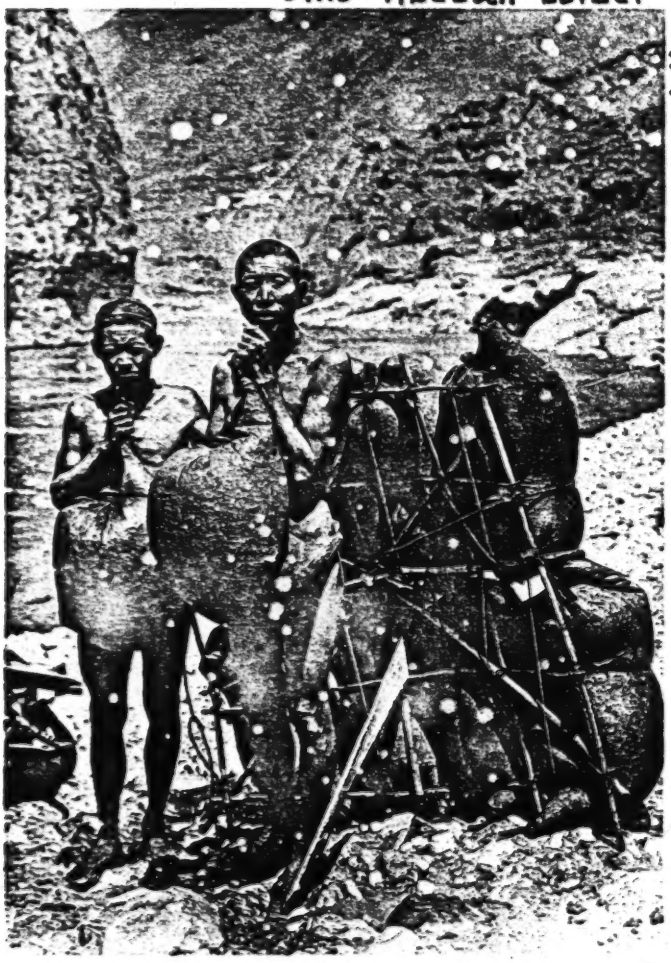

PLATE 143. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR RAFT

打筏子的纳西人

Every time they plunge into the icy waters of the Yangtze, they must inflate their goatskin bags as well as those of the raft.

[p. 244 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 144. — ARRIVAL OF ONE OF THE EXPEDITION'S GOATSKIN RAFTS ON THE TA-KU SIDE

A trunk and a man were ferried across at a time, the swimmers pulling and pushing the raft. The horses had to swim.

[p. 244 H]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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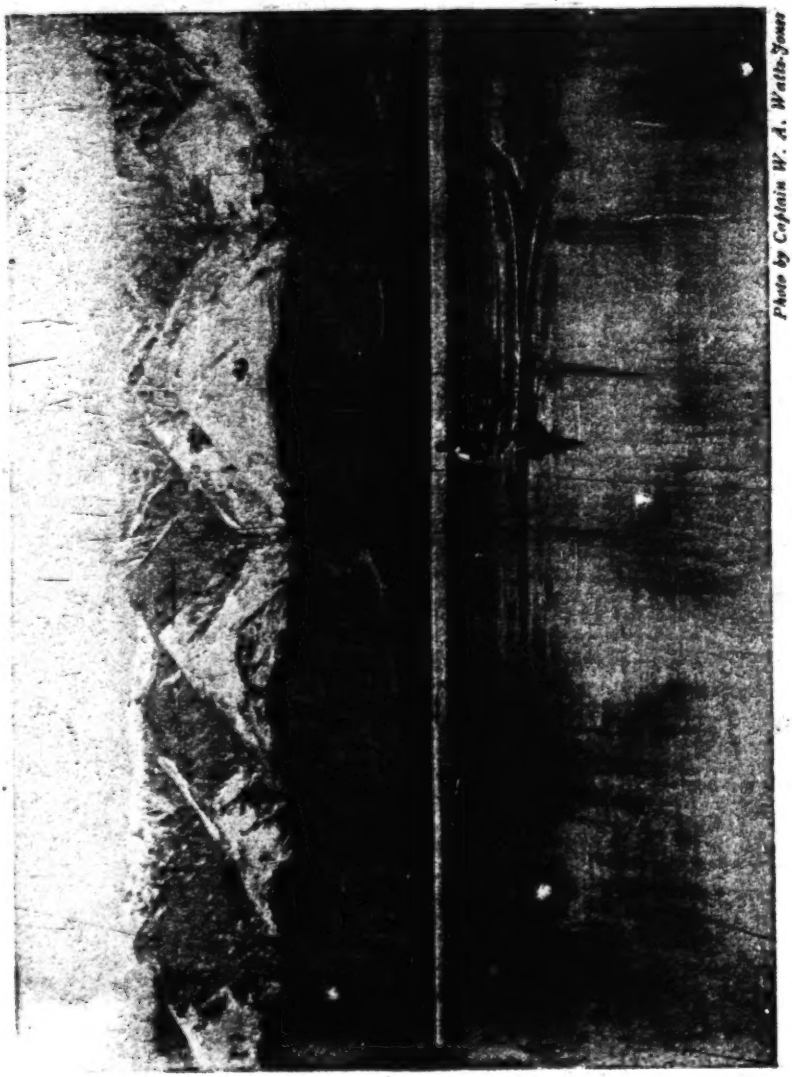

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

The lake and mountains of Ta-li Fu

[Frontispiece]
[facing p. iii]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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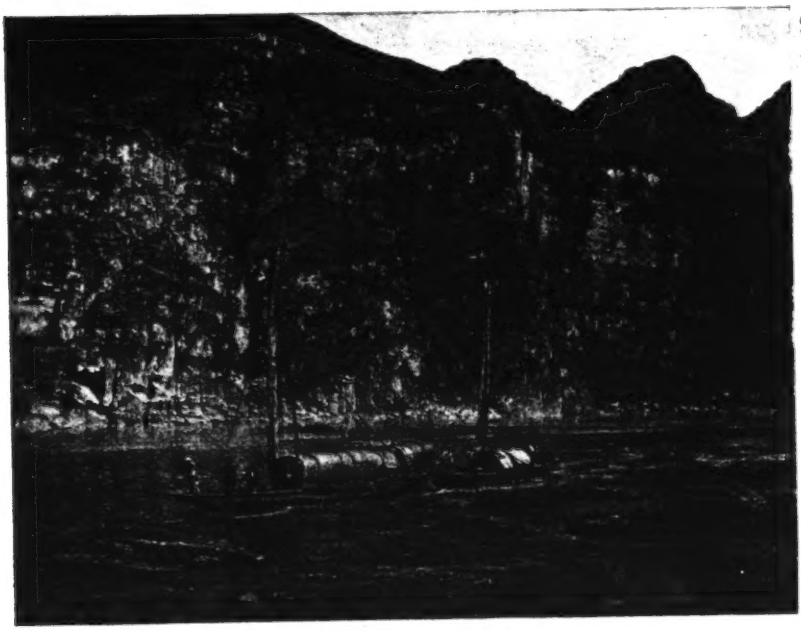

The Yangtze gorges

Photos by Captain E. W. Mahon

The Yangtze gorges

Plate II

[Face p. 8]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S 133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is S 491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a S ●501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo S 133 rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and 137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different 101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to S the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to 131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Ferry over the K'o-tu Ho

Plate XXXVIII

[Face p. 164]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[501] 505 able to leave Man-hao the same day. The boats are some 50 feet long and 10 feet wide across the middle. They are said to carry a load of 10,000 lbs. I found plenty of room in one for myself and five followers and our baggage, besides the six men who formed the crew. The boat is got along by rowing, the crew having occasional "easies" during which we drifted down at a good pace, as the current is strong.

Three and a half hours' rowing brought us to the village of Hsin-kai, where we halted for the night, as boats cannot run after dark owing to the rapids. It poured with rain all the night through, and the matting roof of the boat was by no means equal to keeping out such a torrent.

Starting again at dawn the next day we went on at a good pace, negotiating several rapids, in one of which the boat struck a rock, but without doing any damage. The first sign of the French was the tricolor flying over a small fort on the right bank. This was Lung-po, the frontier post in this direction. From here down to Lao-kai the Red River is the boundary between Tong-king and China.

At half-past one we reached Ho-k'ou, just 24 hours from Man-hao, but of this time we had spent nearly 12 hours tied up at Hsin-kai. Ho-k'ou is a village of 500 houses or so, and is the last place in China in this direction, Lao-kai, the French frontier station, being separated from it by the Nam Ti or Nan-hsi Ho, which here joins the left bank of the Red River.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF18

•501

The bows of a Yangtze boat

Photos by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Towing boats up the Yangtze gorges

Plate LX

[Face p. 292]

Ti Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

505 difficulties (due to the rugged topography) of building other means of transportation in the Basin.

The harnessing of this mighty, swift, and treacherous stream by men for their own benefit, however, has been by no means an easy task. It is certainly not a story without excitement. There are tremendous difficulties involved in negotiating the world-famous Yangtse gorges, the numerous shoals, the whirlpools, and the rapids at intervals along the course of this mighty water-
501 way. For centuries, the Chinese, with their slow-moving but colorful junks, have battled patiently and painstakingly with the perilous river. It was not until 1898, after experimenting for nearly two decades, led by a brave Englishman, Captain A. Little and later followed by the tireless effort of many energetic Chinese leaders in the Basin, that the first modern steamboat successfully passed through the gorges and arrived at Chungking.[1] Three years later, in 1901, a trial voyage farthest west to Sui-fu (I-Ping) was successful.

It was not until 1909, ten years after the first trial voyage, that suitable, shallow, and specially-designed vessels with a sufficiently large carrying capacity were put into use and regular steam navigation on the upper Yangtse became commercially possible. Since then, the development has been phenomenal. In 1919 there were only about 220 steamers of all tonnage-classes, totalling 55,000 odd tons, plying the upper Yangtse between the I-Chang and I-Ping section. But by 1936 the number of steamers totalled 2,140, with a total tonnage of 760,000 tons.[2]

The growth of steam navigation on the Yangtse resulted in the rapid and almost complete disappearance of the old colorful Chinese junks on the upper Yangtse. In 1894, a peak year in junk traffic, there were altogether 2,900 junks, with a total tonnage of over 100,000 tons. By 1925, thirty years later, only one junk, with a tonnage of 20 tons, was reported in the river traffic of the upper Yangtse.

505 Of all the navigable tributaries of the Yangtse, the Chialing River system is by far the most important. At Chungking the Yangtse is joined on its left bank by this important tributary, the so-called "little river." This is made up of three streams

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[1] L. C. Cheng, "The Waterways in Szechuan," Journal of Geog. Society of China, VI (1939), 7.

[2] Shen, op. cit., p. 38.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
~~AF16~~

503 junks and steamers to reach many places formerly inacessible.[66] As of September 1955, there were approximately 100,000 kilometers of navigable waterways in Southwest China.[67]

●502 The use of river lights along the upper Yangtze between I-chang and Chungking facilitated night sailing and reduced the running time by as much as six days.[68]

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66. New China News Agency, Chungking, Oct. 12, 1955.

67. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Oct. 12, 1955.

68. Navigation in the Communist Area, Taipei, 1953, p. 16.

69. The Economic Yearbook, Hong Kong, 1954, p. 52.

70. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Sept. 6, 1955.

71. Ibid.

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The freight rates for 24 manufactured articles were reduced by an average of 40 per cent in 1955, according to the Ministry of Communication.[74] The reduction of freight rates was made possible by the lowering of transportation costs as the result of improvements in towing methods and other techniques.

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72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. New China News Agency, Peking, Oct. 20, 1955.

CHAPTER XL

YA-CHOU FU TO SHANGHAI.

By raft down the Ya River—Chia-ting Fu—Dr Hart and Dr Hare—News of taking of Ta-ku Forts—By boat to Ch'ung-k'ing—News of Admiral Seymour's expedition—Its possible effect on the Chinese—The scattered European community of Ch'ung-k'ing—The Consul's warnings to British subjects—By boat down the rapids—I-ch'ang—End of our travels.

502 Our journey from Ya-chou Fu to Chia-ting Fu was made by raft. The Ya River is full of rapids and shallows, so is not navigated by boats. The rafts, made of several layers of bamboo, though they occasionally get water over them, cannot sink and are able to do the down-stream journey much more quickly than it could be made by land. Arrived at Chia-ting the owner breaks up his raft, and sells the bamboos of which it is constructed.

We got a raft which held us and our followers comfortably, while the raised portion in the middle saved men and baggage from frequent wettings at the rapids. Leaving on the 28th June we reached Chia-ting early on the following morning. Navigation is not possible at night, so we tied up in the evening at the little town of Chia-chiang-Hsien. It took us altogether fourteen hours of actual rowing to get to Chia-ting. By land it would have been a journey of four days.

At Chia-ting we found Dr Hare of the Canadian Mission whom I had previously met in Yüeh-hsi. He and Dr Hart of the same mission kindly took us into their house, and gave us much assistance in our preparations for our boat journey.

We were anxious to get on now, so left Chia-ting again the next day. Just before starting a telegram arrived forwarded by raft from Ya-chou by Mr Upcraft giving us the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

502 news of the taking of the Ta-ku Forts by the European powers. We had heard at Ya-chou that things were looking warlike in the north.

In the evening we got off in two small boats of a sort called "pan-t'ou," ourselves and servants in one, and the Gurkhas in the other. Our way lay down the Min River as far as Sui Fu[1], and thence by the Yangtze to Ch'ung-ch'ing-Fu, better known spelt as Ch'ung-k'ing. The total distance from Chia-ting to Ch'ung-k'ing is about 350 miles, and the current being strong at this time of year we got down in three days—forty-two hours of actual rowing. On this part of the river the rapids are not very bad and navigation is fairly easy.

000 We reached Ch'ung-k'ing on the evening of the 3rd July, and went the next morning to see Mr Fraser, the British consul. He had just received serious news. The allies under Admiral Seymour had been unable to reach Peking, and had been obliged to fall back on Tientsin with considerable loss.

What effect this news might have on the minds of the Chinese it was impossible to say, and one could not help feeling much anxiety as to what would be the fate of isolated Europeans in out-of-the-way places.

Even in Ch'ung-k'ing no one knew that disturbances might not break out. There were altogether eighty Europeans there, including many women and children, and as there is no regular foreign settlement, they were living scattered about in the Chinese town. Both Mr Fraser and M. Bons d'Anty, the French Consul, thought they would get a few hours' notice of any impending riot, and the "Pioneer," the new steamer navigating the upper part of the river, had been kept here as a means of getting everyone away, should it become necessary to leave the place. The chief danger came from the Chinese soldiers, of whom 300 were armed with mausers.

A gunboat had been asked for by Mr Fraser, and the "Woodlark" was expected to arrive in a week or so. Mr Fraser asked us to stay on at Ch'ung-k'ing till its

[1] Hsü-chou Fu is the correct official name of this town, but the Chinese usually call it Sui Fu.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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B. Recent Developments

501 The Nationalist Government moved a great many government-owned ships from the China Mainland to Taiwan in 1949. It was estimated that less than 20 per cent of the shipping tonnage of the government-owned China Merchant Steamship Company was left to the Communists.[63] But due to the Communists' vigorous efforts in ship-building and ship-repairing, the number of ships available increased substantially in the period 1951-55. The People's Refloating Company has salvaged over 100 steamers of different sizes(totaling over 100,000 gross tons.)[64] adn of these salvaged vessels, the largest is the steamship Chiang-hsin, which is now in operation on the Yangtze River between the port of Shanghai and ports in Szechwan.[65]

503 River-dredging in Szechwan Province progressed rapidly during the three-year period prior to 1955, and a great many rocks and sand bars have been removed, enabling large

63. Economic Weekly, Shanghai, Jan. 1950, pp. 7-8.
64. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Oct. 12, 1955.
65. Ibid.

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69. The Economic Yearbook, Hong Kong, 1954, p. 52.

70. Wen-hui Daily, Hong Kong, Sept. 6, 1955.

71. Ibid.

137 altitudes, vegetation dwindles, and only cushion herbs survive at places sheltered from freezing winds.

III. IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[12]

487 Szechwan Province is the western gate of the region, and the Yangtze River gorges guard the western entrance to Szechwan. Local transportation in Szechwan depended largely on the Yangtze River and its tributaries until the recent highway and railway development increased shipping
504 facilities in the province. Szechwan's largest river ports are Chungking and Wanhsien. Located at the conflux of the Chia-ling and Yangtze rivers, Chungking controls the inland trade of the eastern half of the province. During World War II, Chungking served as a temporary national capital, expanding to accommodate government agencies and industrial plants relocated from East China. About 200 miles downriver from Chungking is Wanhsien, one of the treaty ports open to foreign trade in 1902. Through Wanhsien is exported the bulk of Szechwan's famous tung oil output. Another river port, Lu-chou, is approximately

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12. Ch'en Yu-ch'in, Ch'uan-yu Man-chi [Random Notes on Travel in Szechwan], Nanking, Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1934, Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

504 150 miles upstream from Chungking. Two lesser tributaries empty into the Yangtze near Lu-chou and make the city a market for native products of southern Szechwan and northern Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Further up-river from Lu-chou is I-pin, terminal of steamer shipping on the Yangtze. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway will pass through I-pin.

361 The Szechwan provincial capital is Chengtu, located on the westernmost of four major tributaries to the Yangtze River in the province. As an old cultural center of West China, this city is well known for its handicraft industries and is reputed to have an atmosphere like that of
499 Peking. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway -- an event overpublicized in the Communist press in 1952 -- brings Chengtu into closer contact with a number of important cities in central-south Szechwan, such as Nei-chiang, the only large center for the sugar industry in West China, and Lung-ch'ang. The proposed Szechwan-Yunnan Railway is to start from Nei-chiang, passing southwest through Tzu-kung
[317] Municipality. Salt extraction in the Tzu-kung area dates back to the tenth century. In 1953 there were 330 natural gas wells supplying 4,382 brine boilers in Tzu-kung. A railway linking Chengtu with Kansu Province in the north is under construction. This railway will pass Kuang-yüan, a strategic point on the northern
491 approach to Szechwan. The existing highway

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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In Southwest China, Chungking is the most
504 important river port. It is at the junction of the Yangtze and Chia-ling Rivers and is a terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. Loading equipment was installed on the Chiu-lung-po wharf at the port of Chungking after the completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway in 1952. Its loading and unloading capacity in 1955 was approximately 120 tons an hour.[75]

IV. AIR TRANSPORTATION

509 When the Nationalists evacuated to Taiwan in 1949, the two aviation companies, the China National Aviation Corporation, and the Central Aviation Corporation left no airplanes on the Mainland. Most of the planes were flown to Hong Kong. But in November 1949, because of the sudden defection of Liu Ching-i and Ch'en Cho-lin, managers of the two companies, a dozen planes were flown back to the Mainland.[76] Approximately 4,000 company employees in Hong Kong supported Liu and Ch'en, but only a small number of them went back to Mainland China.[77]

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75. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 4, 1955.

76. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1940, p. 673.

77. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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491 this district amounted to 25,000 tons, while the native products shipped out of it amounted to 13,000 tons.[57] In Kweichow Province four short highways leading to the national minority district of the province were completed in 1954.[58] The Kweichow-Kiangsi Highway from Kweiyang to Chin-ch'eng-chiang was also opened to traffic in the same year.[59] Road improvement work on the Kweichow-Yunnan Highway was begun in 1955.[60]

Because of the limited number of railways in operation in Southwest China, highway transportation plays a very important role in this region, in spite of the comparatively high cost of motor fuel and a shortage of motor vehicles.

III. INLAND WATER ROUTES

505 Inland water shipping is a major
487 means of transportation in Southwest China. The two most important navigable rivers are Yangtze and the Chia-ling rivers. There are

57. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 23, 1955.
58. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1955.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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487 numerous minor streams in this region, but most of them are only navigable by junk. Some of the region's rivers are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. The Inland Water Routes of Southwest China*

(Unit: km. = kilometer.)

RIVER	TERMINALS	DISTANCE (kilometers)	GRADE
Yangtze	Ich'ang-Ipin	1082 (676 Mi.)	3
Chinsha	Ipin-Chinchiangchieh	1000 (625 Mi.)	5
Heng	Hengchiang-Yenchin	80 (50 Mi.)	6
Min	Ipin-Loshan	160 (100 Mi.)	4
Chingshui	Loshan-Chengtu	168 (105 Mi.)	5
Tatu	Yaokut'o-Hsipien	110 (69 Mi.)	6
	Loshan-Chink'ouho	100 (63 Mi.)	6
Ch'ingi	Loshan-T'iench'ian	190 (119 Mi.)	6
	Yaan-Yungching	30 (19 Mi.)	6
Nei	Chengtu-Kuanhsien	70 (44 Mi.)	6
Wai	Kuanhsien-P'engshan	110 (69 Mi.)	6
T'o	Luhsien-Weichiang	150 (94 Mi.)	5
	Weichiang-Chu'ngning	408 (255 Mi.)	6
Ching	Fushun-Neiyüan	160 (100 Mi.)	6
Yungning	Wach'i-Hsüyung	120 (75 Mi.)	6
Ch'ihshui	Hochiang-Ch'ihshui	80 (50 Mi.)	5
	Ch'ihshui-Maot'ai	164 (103 Mi.)	6
Ch'i	Chiangk'ou-Tungch'i	102 (64 Mi.)	5
Chialing	Chungking-Kuangyüan	740 (463 Mi.)	4
	Kuangyüan-Lüehyang	200 (125 Mi.)	5
Paishui	Ch'aot'ieni-Miemhsien	140 (88 Mi.)	5
	Chaohua-Pik'ou	150 (94 Mi.)	6
Fu	Hoch'uan-Shehung	379 (237 Mi.)	5
	Shehung-P'ingwu	406 (254 Mi.)	6
Ch'ü	Hoch'uan-Kuangan	125 (78 Mi.)	5
	Kuangan-T'ungchiang	332 (208 Mi.)	6
Nan	Chiangk'ou-Hanchiang	138 (86 Mi.)	6
T'ung	Sanhui-Hsianhan	110 (69 Mi.)	6
Chung	Hsianhan-Shuanghok'ou	92 (58 Mi.)	6
Hou	Hsianhan-Kanyüan	120 (75 Mi.)	6
Wu	Fuling-Liukuang	585 (366 Mi.)	5-6
Ch'ing	Itu-Chuhopa	210 (131 Mi.)	5
	TOTAL.....	8031 (5019 Mi.)	

* Hang-tao Wang /Navigation Route Network/, Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan Hsin-wen-chü, /Department of Information, Executive Yuan/, 1947, pp. 28-29.

The different grades of waterways as determined by navigability, are shown in Table 5.

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Table 5. Navigability of Rivers*

Rating	Depth	Navigability by Tonnage
Grade 1	5 to 8 meters (16-26')	10,000
Grade 2	3.8 meters (12')	2,000
Grade 3	3.2 meters (11')	1,000
Grade 4	2.8 meters (9')	6,000
Grade 5	2.5 meters (8')	300
Grade 6	1.5 meters (5')	60

* The Navigation Route Network, Nanking, Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan, 1947, pp. 3-5.

•505 487 The section between I-chang and I-pin of the Yangtze River has a navigability rating of Grade 3, i.e., navigable for boats up to 1,000 tons. The section between I-pin and Lo-shan on the Min River and the section between Chungking and Kuang-yüan on the Chia-ling River have a navigability rating of Grade 4, navigable by steamers of 600 tons. All the other rivers have a lower rating than Grade 4 are navigable only by junk.

A. Inland Shipping

501 Before the resistance against Japan, China's total shipping tonnage was about 576,000 tons, including 124 ocean steamers totaling 367,383 tons and 3,333 river steamers totaling 208,617 tons. During the war, it was estimated that about 495,329 tons of both types of steamers were lost.[61] After the war, 2,751 Japanese ships of various types, with a total of 251,288 tons, were confiscated, including 507 river boats (62,375 tons) in the Yangtze River area.[62]

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61. Hang-yün [Navigation], Nanking, Hsing-cheng-yuan, Hsin-wen-chü [Bureau of Information, Executive Yuan], 1949, p. 24.

62. Ibid., p. 23.

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72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. New China News Agency, Peking, Oct. 20, 1955.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po

ㄷ'ㄱ'ㄹ'ㄱ'ㄷ'], *i.e.*, the purple mountain of Jang = Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明具, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-bsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 [6] is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dyansty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 [7] is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [8] flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

[6] There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dü-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

[7] This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 and La-chün Shan 剌均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 is 20 li north-west of the old Lien chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 剌鉤山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈞. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the natives pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu-niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling-ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石來江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

[8] It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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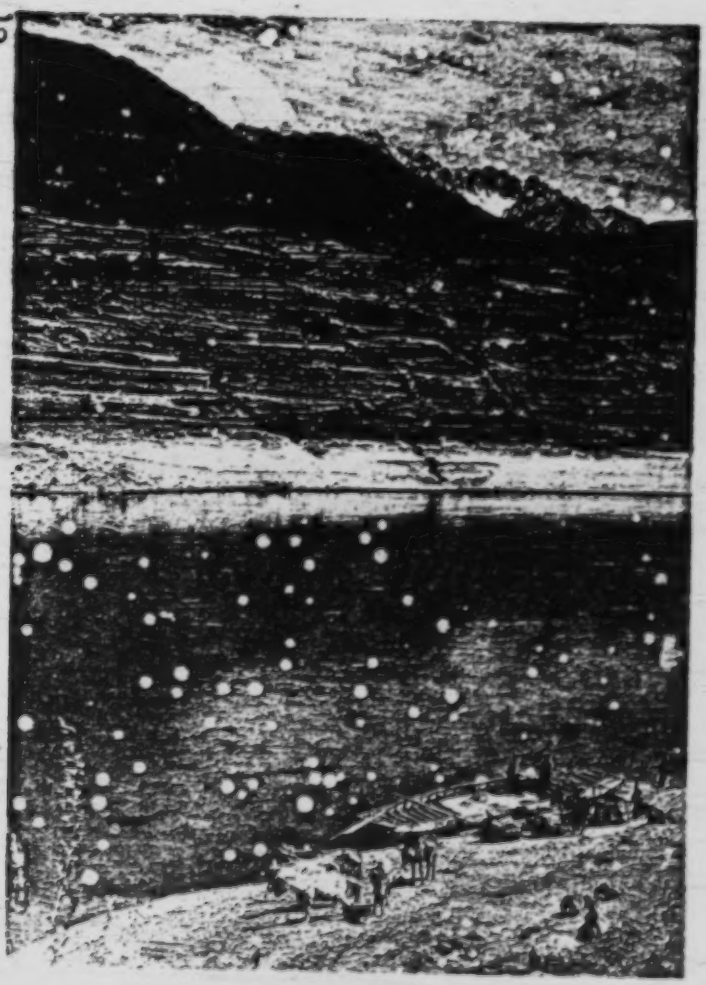

PLATE 114. — THE FERRY ACROSS THE YANGTZE AT YU-LO

雲龍村金沙江渡口

Photographed from near the hamlet of Ggô-lo elevation 6,070 feet, looking east towards Yu-lo (upper extreme left). The Yü-lung Shan with Shan-tzu-tou in the distance.

[p. 188 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*733 16,000 feet in height; three small valleys descend from it and unite beyond
*737 our spur to form with the stream from Ngv-khü-gko, the Lv-ts'o lo canyon
*487 debouching east into the Yangtze.

Descending the spur of Hua-bi-gkv over a zigzag trail, we enter the canyon of Lv-ts'o lo. The trail is rocky to a degree and seems endless; the stream-bed is dry in stretches, the water appearing and disappearing underground until we come to an old temple once dedicated to the Lung Wang 龍王 (Dragon King) at 7,500 feet elevation, where a clear spring gushes forth from beneath the path. Here is situated one of the few Na-khi hamlets in this valley. The people are very poor, for the terraces on which they grow their maize are rocky and few in number. The new trail coming from T'ai-tzu Kuan joins here the old Lv-ts'o lo caravan route. Crossing the stream we ascend the narrow trail and follow along the opposite walls of the canyon to a bluff, 8,100 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze, which flows here at 4,900 feet above sea level. Opposite the mouth of Lv-ts'o lo canyon, over the river in Yung-ning territory, debouches the Ba-cha-dji-ki canyon from Wua-ha Mountain, 16,000 feet in height, a high limestone range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

From the bluff the trail descends over the open scrub covered rocky slope, through the scattered hamlet of Feng-k'o (H-M., Fong kou). It leads through hamlets and fields and is the most exasperating in this part of Yün-nan. The fields are terraced and supported by rock walls, encroaching on the path so as not to sacrifice an inch of soil, thus reducing it to a mere strip resembling a ditch. In addition all the rocks of the fields are thrown on the trail, which also serves as an irrigation ditch. Nature has taken possession of the rock walls in the form of rose-bushes and other shrubbery, which are, of course, never cut nor even trimmed, and thus hide the narrow track. The Na-khi caravans, brushing constantly against the bushes, keep the trail more or less open, but nevertheless, one's garments suffer considerably from the thorns of the roses, unless one rides a tall horse. The traffic is the steam-roller. Senselessly the trail leads up and down past every hut. Even should such a shanty be situated on the top of a hill, the path must climb up to it, only to descend again to the level whence it started.

Ere reaching the banks of the Yangtze, the trail descends into a valley in which most of the scattered hamlets of Feng-k'o are situated, a stream is crossed over a stone-bridge, and a short distance beyond we descend over arid, red, gravelly slopes, bearing a typical xerophytic vegetation such as *Pistacia weinmannifolia*, Dalbergia, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, legumes, *Terminalia micans*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Sapindus Delavayi*, etc. Most of the water in this arid waste is brackish. Close to the river bank, on a small terrace, a few houses form the hamlet called Ndzu-dü (H-M., Tsatue).

505 Near a pyramidal rocky hill which juts into the Yangtze, forming a little bay to the south, is the river ferry. It is here that Kublai Khan must have crossed with his army. There are other ferries to the south below La-bpu, but there he could not have crossed as it is recorded that he met the Mo-so first at the T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 (*see* pp. 97, 236). The ferry-boat, a leaky affair, holds five mules and a few loads, besides two or three passengers. The current is swift and in the summer crossing is very dangerous owing to a large oblong

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

rock which is then submerged. The ferrymen are Zhĕr-khiṇ, a clan of the Na-khi (PLATE 101), but the man in charge of the ferry is a Chinese who buys his position from the Li-chiang magistrate. He hires the rowers and charges a certain amount, as 10 to 20 cents silver per animal, and a nickel per man. Of this a certain amount must be given to the yamen at Li-chiang. The magistrate has the right to remove him and can give the position to any one who is willing to pay more for it. Thus he is never certain, although he has purchased the position, how long he may remain in it. The natives of Yung-ning pay half of what the Li-chiang people pay, and the Yung-ning chief also secures a portion of the ferry money. Often the ferry renter is unable to keep the position on account of losses, for the magistrate must receive a certain amount per annum; if there is little traffic on account of robbers, the income is next to nothing — yet the magistrate must have his due. The boat is nearly always built by the renter, who must also keep up repairs: that these are hardly ever made is indicated by the leaky condition of the boat. Infrequently the magistrate contributes something towards the building of the boat — a crude affair at best (PLATE 102). 505

4. THE YANGTZE BETWEEN LV-TS'O LO AND LA-BPU

The Yangtze between Lv-ts'o lo (Lu-tzu-lou 鹿子樓) and La-bpu is approachable only by Lv-ts'o lo. One must, if coming from Feng-k'o, ascend the Lv-ts'o lo gorge to the bridge over the stream, as below, where the gorge debouches into the Yangtze, it is impassable, forming a deep, winding canyon with vertical walls. A narrow trail leads for ten li along the southern flanks of Lv-ts'o lo gorge to a bluff over the Yangtze, whence a full view can be had of the rock gate known as Gv-ho-gu (the Ngv-khü gko of the Li-chiang Na-khi), which separates La-bpu from Lv-ts'o lo. Through this the Yangtze flows again south into the heart of Yün-nan to within two stages of Ta-li Lake, 78 li as the crow flies. The western flank of the Yangtze valley, south of Lv-ts'o lo, slope more gently and are partly cultivated. The eastern bank in Yung-ning territory is precipitous, culminating in the bulky limestone mass of the Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大藥山), a southern extension of which forms the Dzoaṇ-p'u peaks; its precipitous slopes are cut up into steep and deep ravines, like those of Ba-cha-dji-ki and Nda-shi (these are Hli-khiṇ, or Yung-ning, names). 133* 137* 487*

Looking down-stream from across river above Law-k'a-khi-llü (H-M., La-kalo), in Yung-ning, the western face of the gorge appears as one continuous, massive rock wall, though it is formed by two projecting spurs: the first is narrower and separated by a deep ravine with vertical walls, the second is a broad rock wall washed by the Yangtze (PLATE 103). Through the rock gate is visible the La-bpu peak (La-bpu mbu) already described. The gorge is the dividing line between La-pao and Feng-k'o districts. The scenery is awe-inspiring and really magnificent, yet less impressive than the gorge of 'A-ts'aṇ-gko.

Between the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo and the Gv-ho-gu gorge, in Li-chiang territory, are situated two Na-khi hamlets, the lower one is called Lo-k'o, the upper one, Gkyi-da-gko. The women of these villages dress like their sisters

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[291] The women of these villages dress like their sisters
*133 in Yung-ning; they wear pleated skirts and immense dark blue, cotton cloth
*137 turbans. Beyond the last village the valley walls are steep and forested with
*487 pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Across the spur west of Gv-ho-gu gorge is a pass known to the Chinese as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關 (the Snow Mountain Gate Pass), and also by the name of T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent).[7]

On the cliffs of the T'ai-tzu Kuan north of La-bpu, a member of the Mu family engraved ten Chinese characters which, tradition relates, an Imperial heir apparent had visited. On the Chinese map it is given as being along the main trail north of Pao-shan, written 保山, which is not correct, for La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶) was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山.

Between Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko there is a deep ravine which the trail skirts; back of the latter village the trail ascends to the top of the first lateral spur which forms the western wall of Gv-ho-gu, elevation 8,000 feet. Between this spur and a much higher one to the south, is a terrific ravine called Gko-mä; its walls are vertical and it is here that the Na-khi mine saltpetre. Dense forests of oaks, pines and junipers fill the ravine (PLATE 104). The trail leading from T'ai-tzu Kuan to where it joins the old trail through the Lv-ts'o lo gorge, follows the lower one but high above it and the villages mentioned.

Opposite Lv-ts'o lo in the ravine of Ba-cha-dji-ki is the Hli-khin village of Mi-ndu-wùa, situated on a terrace; the second, smaller ravine to the south is called Nda-shi, after the lone village in the valley.

The region on the Yung-ning side between Law-k'a-khi-llü and Nda-shi is known as Ts'o-lo-wu. Here, half-way up the slopes of the mountain, which is crowned by the limestone crags of Wua-ha (H-M., Alo), used to be a small lake, called in Chinese Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. This pond has been drained for many years, but it is still marked very prominently, and much too large, on the Chinese military map of 1928.

5. SHANG FENG-K'O IN THE APEX OF THE LOOP

*133 Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o) is at the extremity of the Yangtze loop.
*137 It can be reached by two different trails, one which leads from Feng-k'o along
*487 the banks of the Yangtze, and the other over the mountains along the central
505 spur or backbone which fills the Yangtze loop. We will follow the latter trail from Shang Feng-k'o proper to where it strikes the lower or Feng-k'o path.

There are several ferries over the Yangtze on the eastern stretch of the loop;

[7] The Li-chiang records state that "The Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan is 260 li from Li-chiang, and the pass is north-east of the ancient Pao-shan chou. During the T'ang dynasty, it was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so. It is as of Heaven created, a dangerous precipice. The younger brother of the Emperor of the Yüan dynasty, namely Hu-pi-lieh, when on his way to attack Ta-li, coming from the T'u-fan country, fought the Mo-so at this pass; hence the pass is known to this day as T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent)." From this I am convinced that Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) crossed the Yangtze at P'u-dgyu in Yung-ning territory to the present Feng-k'o; in order to reach T'ai-tzu Kuan, or the Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, the Yangtze must be crossed at Feng-k'o. The pass was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so, the latter lived south of the pass where be attacked them; the first Mo-so settlement coming from T'u-fan country was Pao-shan, the present La-pao. As it is stated that after having crossed the Yangtze, Kublai passed through various villages which now comprise La-pao (La-bpu), he could not have crossed but at Feng-k'o and passing first through Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan entered La-pao. The *Tien-hsi* gives an older name for this pass, viz., Yüeh-mieh-ken Kuan 越嶲關.

[2] [Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko -- Analyst]

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the most important is at Feng-k'o, the next important one at Chiang-wai further south, and the third at, or near T'o-lā-tsu. A fourth ferry, which serves the Chung-tien and Gangkar-ling country, and the people of O-yü on the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi in Mu-li (Mi-li) country, is at the very apex of the loop, at Shang Feng-k'o. There are several other ferries, that is, improvised rafts, made of inflated goatskins. Unless goods are to be transported they are rarely used; people who merely decide to cross, usually tie their scanty clothing around their head, fasten a goatskin in front of themselves, inflate it, jump in the river and swim across. I have known of Na-khi swimmers, from the southern border of Yung-ning called north to Yung-ning lamasery by their chiefs, to return home by simply tying a goatskin or two around their bodies, inflating them, jumping into the river, and allowing themselves to be carried by the current through rapids and narrows till they reached their hamlets, in preference to walking back over a long rocky trail. This entails, of course, an expert knowledge of the river, otherwise one would be dashed to pieces against the rocks. 133 * 137 * 487 * 505 ●

The Yangtze is called Gi-dji by the Yung-ning people, and Ha-yi-bi, or La-lĕr Ha-yi-bi, or simply Yi-bi (River), by the Li-chiang Na-khi. 133 * 137 *

The largest tributary of the Yangtze in this region is the Zho Chhu [8] (Hsi-fan), or Shu gyi (Na-khi), the Chinese Wu-liang Ho 無量河; its lower part is in Yün-nan, in the territory of Yung-ning. North of Yu-mi the Zho Chhu is in Mu-li territory (Land of the Yellow Lamas), up to the cantilever bridge (elevation 8,820 feet) at the village of Wua-shi which forms the border between the Gangkar-ling Bun-dzi-bese clan [9] and Mu-li. Handel-Mazzetti calls the river Dou-chu, which is incorrect; there is a Tong Chhu [sTong-chhu] [10] which is an affluent of the Zho Chhu, it derives its name from the district of the Tonyi-bese Tibetan clan through whose territory it flows, south-west of the Gangkar-ling mountain system. The Zho Chhu does not have its source in the Gangkar-ling mountains, as Kingdon Ward surmised, but near Na-wu, 11 days' journey north of Mu-li. 487 *

Major Davies gives the source of a river at Na-bu (Na-wu) which he believed to flow into the Li-t'ang River. This is nothing else than the source of the Zho Chhu, which however flows into the Yangtze at Shang Feng-k'o (PLATE 105). It receives a very important affluent, the Gang-kha Chhu (Gangs-kha chhu), from the glaciers of the northern slopes of Mount Chhanadorje of the Gangkar-ling peaks. South of the Gang-kha Chhu it receives three affluents worth mentioning, namely the Tong Chhu, Lo-nda, and Chwua-

[8] ཞི་ཆུ

[9] The Gang-kha-ling (Gangs-kha-gling ཀངས་ཁ་གླིང་ or Gangs-dkar-gling ཀངས་དཀར་གླིང) territory is ruled by a chief who used to be subject to the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang 麗塘土司. His name is Tshe-rab-dpon ཚེ་རབ་དཔོན (pronounced Tshe-rab-pön). Since the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu has been abolished the clans are under nobody's jurisdiction and are outlaws or a law unto themselves. Tshe-rab-pön has under him three sub-chiefs, each one controlling a clan. They are known as Rim-bhal-sras རིམ་ཕལ་གྱི་ཁྱུ (pronounced Rim-bese), hBum-rdzi-bhal-sras ཧཕུམ་རྫི་ཕལ་ཁྱུ (Bun-dzi-bese) and sTong-chhen-bhal-sras ཐུང་ཆེན་ཕལ་ཁྱུ (Tong-chhen, better known as Tonyi-bese).

[10] ཐུང་ཆུ

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*133 dzu. The latter has its source in a mountain called Dza-bo ran (*ran* in Hsi-fan
*137 is a pass) which forms the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan, that is, Mu-li — Chung-
*487 tien, border. Kingdon Ward calls the river the Shu-lo (a Na-khi name), but this is the name of the valley: *shu* = iron, *lo* = valley; the river is called Shu gyi (Iron water). Iron is mined in large quantities, especially near O-yü, where the best iron ore in the Zho Chhu valley is obtained.

The little hamlet of Shang Feng-k'o is situated directly opposite the mouth of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) and consists of a few houses only. The place or region is also called San-chiang-k'ou (Mouths of three rivers); the three streams which debouch into the Yangtze near the apex of the loop, are the Zho Chhu from the north, the Luë-dzu from the east, and the Ha-lo from the south or within the loop.

[505] In former days there was a ferry where the Zho Chhu debouches into the Yangtze, but now it plies a little north of the mouth of Luë-dzu valley.

Opposite Luë-dzu, a valley called Law-k'an debouches from the Li-chiang side. It is here that a trail leads up into the hills to the central spur.

From the banks of the Yangtze the trail ascends the grass-covered slopes up the valley of Law-k'an past several hamlets where maize and millet is cultivated, and thence to a pine-covered spur at an elevation of 10,100 feet. The trees are mainly yellow pine and oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The ridges are dry and gravelly; in one place the rocks are volcanic. The trail now joins the main broad spur, the backbone of the mountain mass in the loop. Here the Yangtze can be seen to both sides. In the west the river makes two sharp bends (PLATE 106) ere reaching Shang Feng-k'o. Beyond, a grey scree mountain rises into the turquoise-blue sky: it is part of the Gkü-dü range, also known to the Na-khi as Gkü-dü gkü-tsu-tsu. To the east, seen from 9,500 feet elevation, the Yangtze makes a sharp bend between Feng-k'o and Luë-dzu valley (PLATE 107). Further south the gorges to the west become visible, the river entering terrific canyons.

Our trail continues on the top of the broad central spur through beautiful pine forest; I consider this the best trail to Yung-ning as one avoids the long hot journey up the dry Yangtze valley. The heat in the Yangtze valley is at all seasons intense, especially in the spring. There are lovely meadows surrounded by wonderful forest, and excellent camping places, the elevation being 10,000 feet. Here clear brooks flow from the foot of a high mountain overlooking the river. Oak and pine forests cover the spur. The trail skirts many deep ravines, but leads steadily up, along the foot of grey limestone cliffs, to the west. At 10,900 feet there used to be a Lo-lo settlement now forsaken, and the destroyed forests can again claim their own. At 11,400 feet the forest is still composed of pines, but with undergrowth consisting mostly of birches, a rather unusual plant association; at 12,000 feet the trail enters forest composed of larches, spruces, oaks, and birches, with scattered pines, hugging a limestone wall at the head of deep valleys which debouch east into the Yangtze. The scenery is superb, the autumn coloring magnificent, the birches yellow, the sorbus trees crimson, and the maples orange-red. The path leads from one spur to another and their intervening valleys, over gently sloping ground forested with spruces and carpeted with soft moss, and an undergrowth of tall, large-leaved rhododendron trees, Lonicera (honeysuckle), Ribes, and cane-

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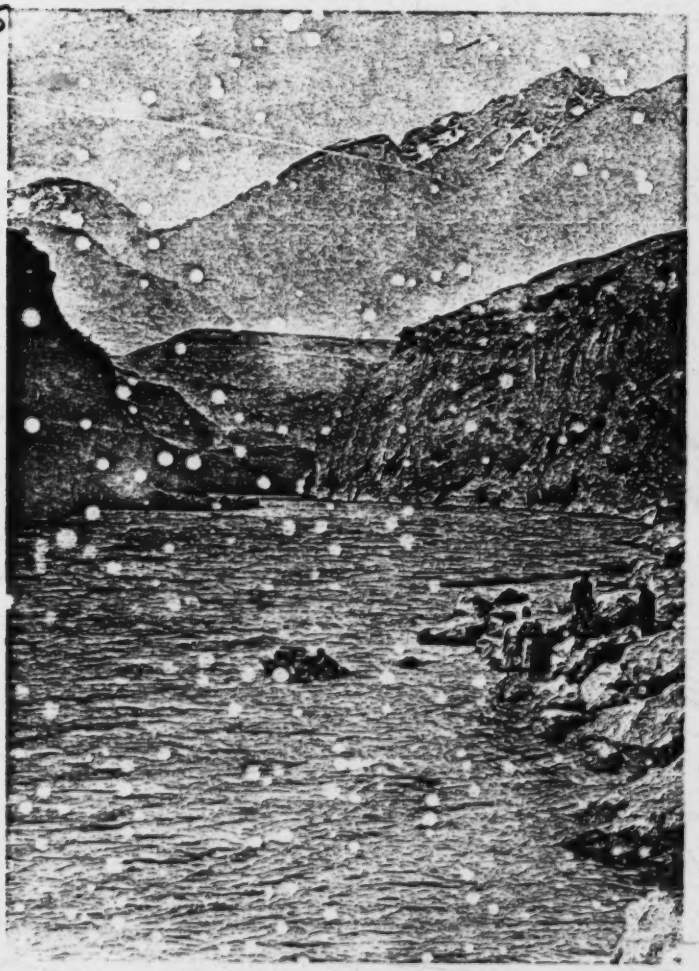

PLATE 142. — A RAFT NEGOTIATING THE YANGTZE

金沙江筏出峽口

The Exit of the Yangtze from the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The author's camp equipment is being ferried across from Za-ba to Ta-ku.

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579 to buy them for more than 100 dollars silver apiece with 25 rounds of am-
713 munition. In order that they should not fall into the hands of the Lo-lo or Tibetans the rulers of Yung-ning had to buy as their finances allowed. When Ch'en Tsung-pan and his party were in Yung-ning on their way towards Li-chiang to sell their remaining rifles, the Gangkar-ling Tibetans, having learned of their presence there with arms for sale, came post-haste to Yung-ning, followed and overtook them at a village to the south. They then attacked them in order to capture the arms. Ch'en, who had some Ssu-ch'uan soldiers with him, resisted, keeping up a constant fire and using up all the ammunition which was to be sold with the rifles. The Tibetans retreated and finding a Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 Tibetan caravan which was returning from Li-chiang, attacked and robbed it. Under such conditions, the poor unarmed peasants have indeed a difficult existence.

● 505 From the south there are three approaches to the Ha-pa and Bbĕr-ddĕr
*487 territories, but the Yangtze must be crossed no matter where one enters them, coming from Yün-nan. The quickest way to reach the district used to be by way of Ta-ku immediately north of Li-chiang, two stages distant. A ferry plied there, but, since the Tibetan bandits used it to cross over to Li-chiang in 1922, it has been destroyed and there is now no intercourse with Ha-pa, at least not from the Ta-ku side. People do cross on goatskin rafts which are hastily constructed, but the skins are kept on the Chung-tien side, none being available at Ta-ku. Thus to cross from the Ta-ku side, although the easi-
*487 est approach, is now impossible (1932). This still held good in 1944.

The second best approach, only feasible in the summer, is via the pass called Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 (Snow gate cut) over the mountain near Bbĕr-ddĕr to the west. The valley which leads to it from the Bbĕr-ddĕr side is called Gyi-na lo (Black water gulch). From the pass a trail leads west to the Yangtze above Ch'iao-t'ou (Bridge head). From autumn to spring the pass is deep in snow, and many have lost their lives in trying to cross in the winter season.

The third and longest and most difficult approach is the one by the Yangtze gorges. When mentioning the Yangtze gorges, those known to the tourists at I-ch'ang 宜昌 come into mind, but let it be said that the latter can never be compared with the gorge the Yangtze has cut for itself through the Li-chiang Snow range. Having always wished to explore the gorge through the Yü-lung Shan, I took this route to Bbĕr-ddĕr, and it is this which I shall describe. Bacot is said to have traversed the gorge, but he says little or next to nothing about it, and mentions it as being 2,000 metres deep. It is much more than that, and 10,000 feet is about right.

2. FROM NV-LV-K'Ö TO THE MOUTH OF THE YANGTZE GORGE

Nv-lv-k'ö (At the foot of the snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村[3] as the Chinese call it, is situated at the end of the north-western branch of the

[3] (Hsüeh) Sung is the highest and central peak of the Wu-yo 五嶽 (Five sacred mountains) on which the ancient emperors worshipped Shang-ti (God). The Sung peak lies in Ho-nan fu in the province of Ho-nan, on the watershed between the Yellow and the Han Rivers. As the title of Pei-yo (North sacred mountain) had been bestowed on the Yü-lung Shan, the village lying at its foot was given the name Sung, which also stands for eminent and lofty.

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(rDo-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan 老君山, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku. 487* 133* 137*

The Yangtze at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards; on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (GREGORY). [243]

The town of Shih-ku [7] is situated on the very bend of the Yangtze, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety. [505]

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese, the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (力些 or 㑩㑩) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan. 361 346

The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku 鎮吐蕃鼓. At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of 346

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longed to Yüeh-sui 越巂, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Zo Shui 若水, and became the Chu-hou 諸侯 (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌濮氏. There was born Chuan Hsü 顓頊, who for 10 years assisted Shao Hao 少昊 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Zo Shui is the present Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze).

Kun 鯀 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 莘. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no illicit offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 薏山 and there obtained the *I-i* 薏苡 (*Coix lachrima-jobii*, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 24, fol. 27, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石紐山 is one li south of Shih-ch'üan hsien 石泉縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an fu 龍安府 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the *Tien-hsi* to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The *Li-fan T'ing-chih*, ch. 1, fol. 29b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hua-li 通化鄉. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石紐山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'üan hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jou, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

[7] Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50′ and longitude 99° 55′, according to Major H. R. DAVIES (*Yün-nan*, p. 256).

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*487 military map gives Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 below San-kai-tzu (Shang-ko-tzu) and
*133 opposite Lä-ndo (Leng-tu), while in reality it is beyond Dsi-gku, which itself
*137 is some distance north of San-kai-tzu.

Between Ssaw-ssaw-gku and Dsi-gku, or Dsi-gkv as the Li-chiang Na-khi pronounce it, are several villages, as Muan-ssu-dzhu (H-M., Musödso), or Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場 in Chinese, on the Li-chiang side of the river; and on the east bank, or Chung-tien side, the hamlets of Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打烈; H-M., Ta-lä), and north of it the village of Ss or Ss(ĕr)-lä (H-M., Sa-lä), and north of this, also on the Chung-tien side of the river, the village of Ch'ou-dzhu (H-M., Tschodjio).

[134] Near Dsi-gku the soil is red, and sandstone and mica abound. Opposite the large village of Ta-t'ang 大塘 on the Chung-tien side, the mountain-sides
[241] slope gently toward the Yangtze. Here along the river cultivation is carried on, while above the fields are dense pine forests, extending into a valley and up the steep mountain slopes on the Li-chiang side. The fields bear crops of millet and maize and, on the slopes above, rice. A large grove of lovely old oaks, through which the trail leads, relieves the monotony of the sandy fields. Here, near the village of Vu-dzhu (H-M., Mudschuo; the Chinese Wu-chu 梧竹), situated on the Chung-tien side, is a long island.

The scenery is weird and lonely, especially where the trail enters groves of Castanopsis, quercus (oaks) and pines; the mountain slopes are steep and huge boulders lie about everywhere. On the opposite side a narrow, dark valley debouches into the Yangtze at the hamlet of Nda-gka-dü. Five li beyond bring us to the village of Ba-lo (Chinese Pa-lo 巴羅) at the mouth of a long, broad valley, almost as broad as that of the Yangtze itself. An iron chain-bridge spans the Ba-lo gyi which issues from the broad valley. It has two branches, the northern one carrying the larger stream; in the southern branch, called Yi-gv lo, are situated about ten villages.

Ba-lo itself is called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 in Chinese (Bridge-head) on account of the iron chain-bridge which spans the Ba-lo gyi. This is, however, not the iron chain-bridge (T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋) which figures so largely in all the battles fought between the Na-khi and Tibetans, nor where the Mongols and the Ming soldiers fought when conquering the territory for China. Ba-lo itself is one of the dreariest spots imaginable and compares unfavorably even with villages situated in the lonely Pa-pien Ho 把邊河 valley in the south of Yün-
[505] nan. Altogether three ferries ply across the Yangtze between Shih-ku and Ch'iao-t'ou: one at Shih-ku, where, since my last visit, a crude row-boat, such as is commonly used in this primitive part of the world, has taken the place of the raft; one at Müen-tsü-dtu; and one at Dsi-gkv.

The trail leads over the iron chain-bridge across the Ba-lo gyi,[24] and climbs the slippery rocks on the other side, leading along the steep, rocky bank down to the plain and the village of Muan-fu-k'o (Chu-ko-ling 諸葛嶺).

[24] Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河. Its source is over 200 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern slopes of the *Hsien-sou Shan*. *It flows by the guard-station of Ch'iao-t'ou into the* Yangtze. The bridge which spans it is called the P'ing-cheng ch'iao 平政橋; it was first built in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737) by magistrate Chiang Ch'iao-sun 江喬孫. It was destroyed by fire in the first moon of the fifth year (1740) and rebuilt by magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣 in the seventh year (1742).

2: Rock X-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 585 S 487 alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

ST 1S 505

S *487 *133 *137 The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an devation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ལྕང་ཐང (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

ST [342]

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 八浦桐. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] ནགས

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 秋江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ཆང་ཡུལ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

1 [a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 *433 *137 *487 ● 505

is called Sä-dji-ma; it was here that a ferry once plied to the Li-chiang side of the river.

Crossing the Yangtze. — At the time of my visit in 1929, while returning from an expedition to Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar (Minya Konka)[12] for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., all the ferries over the Yangtze had been smashed on account of the occupation of the Yung-pei and Yung-ning region by military rebels and their horde of soldiers; it was to prevent them from crossing the Yangtze and occupying Li-chiang territory. Under the above circumstances we found it expedient to cross the river as speedily as possible in order to escape the rebels, who were then nearing Yung-ning. The good and friendly Tsung-kuan, the real ruler of Yung-ning, accompanied us to the Yangtze to personally supervise our difficult crossing of that river on inflated goatskins.[13] My entourage was a large one, consisting of many men, mules, horses and loads; the crossing by this primitive method took two days. We followed the river upstream, for the usual crossing at Sä-dji-ma is only suitable for boats. The light goatskin rafts would be quickly carried down to the fierce rapid a short distance from the mouth of Hĕr-dü. We eventually crossed three li higher up at a more placid stretch of the river.

A few words as regards the crossing of the Yangtze. All Zhĕr-khin people are expert swimmers. Twenty-two of them had been called together from the entire Yung-ning — Yangtze bank from as far south as T'o-lä-tsu. They were ready with their goatskins. Each skin was entire and formed a bag, only the neck was open, every other aperture being securely tied. The skin is held over the stomach, lengthwise so that the neck reaches to the mouth. The hind legs of the skin are securely tied with string, and are then passed between the swimmer's groins and tied over his buttocks. The neck of the animal is held in the mouth, and on entering the water the skin is inflated. They bobbed up and down in the swift current like corks, and when caught by a whirlpool they were sucked completely out of sight but soon popped up again. The mules and horses swam across, each man taking one by the reins; the more obstreperous animals needed three men. Often mule and man would disappear, being sucked down by the whirlpools for several seconds. We as well as our belongings were ferried across on inflated goatskin rafts, which consisted of 12 skins tied to sticks. They were much better constructed than the goatskin rafts used on the Yellow River in the Tibetan grasslands. There the rafts could be paddled across by one or two men, but here usually five men had to handle one raft, two pushing and swimming behind, and three, with ropes over their shoulders or holding them in their mouth, pulling and swimming in front. They first pushed the raft along the cliff (PLATE 238) until they reached the current, where there was also a whirlpool and where they were carried down-stream at express speed. When a considerable distance down, one would lead, swimming and

[12] ཨ་རྒྱ་གངས་ཀ།

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, "The Glories of Minya Konka," in the *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. LVIII No. 4 (1930) PL. XV.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

pulling with all his might making for the other shore. Still they were carried down-stream until they struck another eddy, where they swam ashore. The ordeal was now to carry the raft back for a mile over the rocks on the opposite bank, inflate the skins, refasten the strings and plunge again into the water, pulling for the starting point. Although the atmosphere was balmy, the water was like ice, and the poor men, stark naked as they were, shivered visibly. It was a curious sight to see them coming back sitting in the water like corks, their bronze-colored bodies glistening in the sunlight. After two days of strenuous work we reached the other side of the Yangtze without the loss of a thing, save a mule who fell over the cliff into the river. 487* 505 ●

San-chiang-k'ou. — From the mouth of Hĕr-dü the trail leads over an impossible terrain along the cliffs; it is exceedingly narrow and the slopes down into the Yangtze next to vertical. Projecting rocks and boulders caused one of our mules to be pushed over the precipice, breaking his back. By an improvised trail down a talus slope we descended to the Yangtze. The heat is stifling in these arid canyons. From here it is 16 li to the junction of the Wu-liang Ho and the Yangtze (PLATE 105). This stretch is also called Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (dji) by the aborigines, who consider apparently the real Wu-liang Ho an affluent of the Zho Chhu. Opposite to where the Wu-liang Ho debouches into the Yangtze, on the Li-chiang side, is the small hamlet of Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o). Here besides the Wu-liang Ho two other streams empty into the Yangtze, the Ha-lo dji (Ha-lo Stream) from the Li-chiang side, and the Hĕr-dü below the Wu-liang Ho on the Yung-ning side, hence the name of this region, San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouths of three rivers). 487* 133* 137*

Hla-mo-dzu Mountain. — On the right or western bank of the Zho Chhu and north of the Yangtze is a mountain called Hla-mo-dzu (H-M., Lamatzo) a spur of which forms the Yangtze valley wall and separates a stream from the river, namely the Chwua-dzu dji which flows into the Zho Chhu not far above its junction with the Yangtze.

Hla-mo-dzu is the border between the Hsi-k'ang — Mu-lí, and Yün-nan — Chung-tien districts. Hsi-k'ang extends to the bank of the Yangtze west of the Wu-liang Ho, and to the summit of Mt. Hla-mo-dzu. Handel-Mazetti's map is here wrong, as he gives the Mu-li border farther north, and makes Hla-mo-dzu and a considerable stretch to the north of it, Yün-nan territory.

O-yü district. — On the banks of the Zho Chhu in Yung-ning territory are situated the hamlets of Yu-mi, Shu-dtü, Bpo-lo, the Chinese Po-lo 波羅, (H-M., Polo) and Zo-wua. They are inhabited by the Zhĕr-khin, a tribe related to the Na-khi and Hli-khin. Yu-mi is on the border between Yung-ning and Mu-li territory. The first village in the latter is Dze-ngu (H-M., Dsengo), others are Dshe-pu and Gya-pu — all inhabited by Zhĕr-khin. The large village of O-yü, Wo-ya (窩亞) in Chinese, farther up the Zho Chhu valley is inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi, the descendants of former Na-khi soldiers who guarded that region in the days of the Ming dynasty during the rule of Mu Tseng (1587–1646) (PLATE 239). The famous gold-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

505

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 238.—CROSSING THE YANGTZE NEAR THE APEX OF THE LOOP

自上游可用羊皮筏渡金沙江至麗江境

It took the expedition two days to ferry its entourage and belongings from Yung-ning to the Li-chiang side of the river. More than twenty Zhĕr-khin swimmers were engaged for the purpose.

[P. 426 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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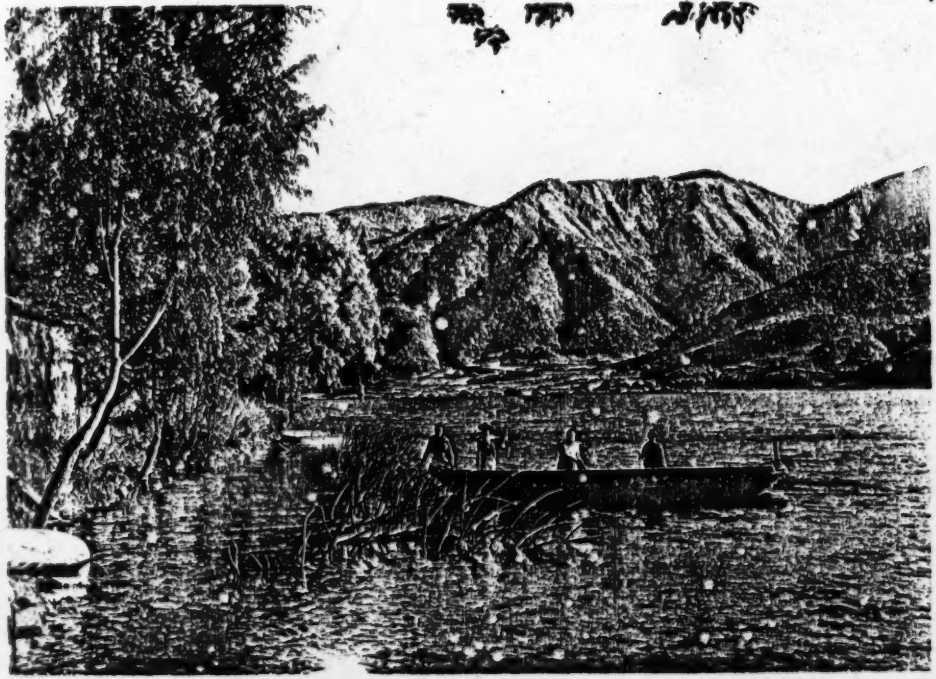

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 252. — LANDING ON THE WEST SHORE OF THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P'U

永寧永寧島西岸

The lake is alive with fish, some of them poisonous. Pine trees have been sunk around the island to prevent landing of enemies. The village of Ta-lo-shui in middle distance.

[7-858-7]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest Ch AF16

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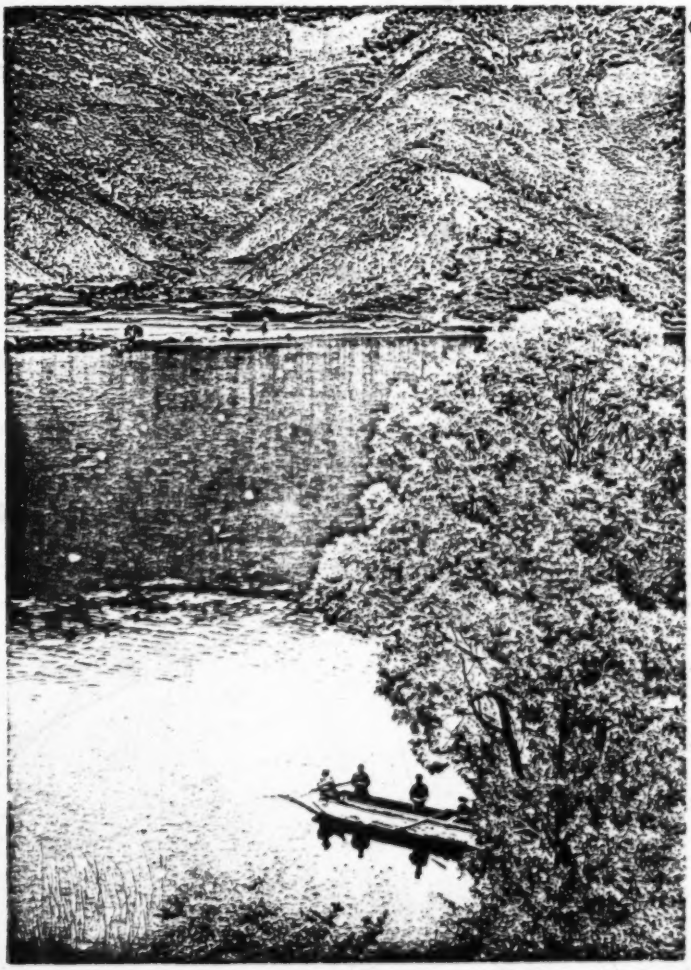

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 255. — VIEW FROM THE ISLAND OF A-NA-WA

達法喇木嘉阿那瓦马

A-na-wa Island belongs to the Lama Kingdom of Mu-li as does the shore opposite visible in the picture. Willow tree in foreground.

[p. 458-0]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 the naturalist in a country which includes perpetual snows, temperate plateaus, and tropical forests.

Some of these subjects are touched on in the account of journeys through the province which forms the main part of this volume. But in the next few chapters it is with the question of railway communication with Yün-nan that I propose to deal.

The shape and size of the province can best be seen by a reference to the map which will be found in the pocket of the cover at the end of this book. Its position with reference to other countries and provinces can also be seen on the small inset map which accompanies this.

505 Yün-nan is not in itself a poor country, but it suffers from want of communications. The mountainous nature of the province makes the large rivers so full of rapids and boulders that they cannot be navigated, and the roads so difficult that quick land travelling is also impossible. There is no river in the interior of Yün-nan that is of any practical use for boats, much less for steamers, while the roads are merely mountain paths fit for no transport but pack mules and ponies. Moreover the distances from sea ports and even from navigable rivers are very great.

There are four main routes by which goods can reach Yün-nan.

(1) Up the Irrawaddy by steamer to Bhamo (lat. 24° 15′, long. 97° 15′) in the north of Burma, two days from the Yün-nan frontier.

(2) Through Tong-king by rail, from Haiphong to Lao-kai (lat. 22° 30′, long. 103° 57′) which is on the border of Yün-nan. This line is now being carried on by the French through Mêng-tzŭ to Yün-nan Fu and will soon be opened to Mêng-tzù.

(3) Up the West River from Canton by steamer and boat to Pai-sê T'ing[1] (lat. 23° 55′, long. 106°) in Kuang-hsi province, one day from the border of Yün-nan.

(4) Up the Yangtze by steamer to I-ch'ang and thence by boat to Sui Fu (lat. 28° 45′, long. 104° 35′), three days from the Yün-nan boundary.

Let us now take two places—Yün-nan Fu, the capital of the province (lat. 25°, long. 102° 45′), and Hsia-kuan near

[1] Also pronounced Pê-sê or Po-sê.

5: Davies G-6 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•505 Ta-li Fu, the centre of the richest part of Yün-nan (lat. 25° 35′, long. 100° 10′), and see how far they are situated from the nearest navigable river.

Yün-nan Fu is 505 miles from Bhamo, 240 miles from Lao-kai, 355 miles from Pai-sê T'ing, and 398 miles from Sui Fu.

Hsia-kuan is 280 miles from Bhamo, 467 miles from Lao-kai, 575 miles from Pai-sê T'ing, and 618 miles from Sui Fu.

Over these distances it must be remembered everything has to be carried on the backs of animals or men.

Moreover the four places to which navigation is possible by these four different river routes are of themselves quite unimportant. All merchandise from abroad has naturally to come from the sea ports, and the length of time occupied in carriage from the sea ports adds to the inaccessibility of Yün-nan to foreign goods.

505 497 Lao-kai, 1½ days by train from Haiphong is the best off in this respect. Bhamo comes next in point of nearness to the sea, being three days from Rangoon by train and steamer.

Pai-sê T'ing and Sui Fu are both situated at a great distance from the sea and the long up-river journey takes roughly speaking quite a month and a half from Canton and Shanghai respectively.

Taking again the two towns of Yün-nan Fu and Hsia-kuan and measuring the distance roughly in time we find that Yün-nan Fu is 39 to 46 days from Rangoon, 16 days from Haiphong, 67 days from Canton, and 70 days from Shanghai. Hsia-kuan is 24 to 31 days from Rangoon, 28 days from Haiphong, 82 days from Canton, and 85 days from Shanghai.

Here then is a province in which long distances and difficult transport make any large trade at present impossible. It is only by railways that the country can be developed. Unfortunately the same mountains which make the rivers unnavigable and the roads impassable for wheels, also render the construction of railways extremely difficult.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•505 133 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by China-men, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Êrh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

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000 Mr and Mrs Stevenson, and some other members of the China Inland Mission, who most kindly gave us much assistance in many ways. We were also fortunate enough to meet Mr Archibald Colquhoun, who has travelled much in China and other countries of the Far East, and had now come through Kuei-chou from the Yangtze and was on his way down to Tong-king. Mr Jensen, the Superintendent of Telegraphs, was away inspecting the line when we arrived, but soon afterwards came in. It was a great pleasure to renew acquaintance with him.

Our quarters at the inn were anything but pleasant, as the whole place smelt abominably, so Mr Stevenson kindly arranged that on Mr Colquhoun's departure we should go into the quarters he was occupying—a very nice little house in a small garden where we were free from all noise.

361 The town of Yün-nan Fu is by far the largest in the province. It is surrounded by a fine brick wall, 30 feet high, and measuring about 4½ miles round. As usual in Chinese cities, a very large part of the population live in the suburbs, which extend to a considerable distance round three sides of the town. I should estimate the population, including suburbs, to be about 80,000, but this is not much more than a guess and I will not guarantee its accuracy.

The plain extends some 35 miles to the south and contains several other towns, but a large part of it is • 505 taken up by the K'un-yang Lake. There is a good deal of navigation by large sailing-boats on this lake, both for the conveyance of passengers and cargo, and by means of a canal things can be brought right up to the west gate of the city.

719 Mr Jensen took us one day to see the arsenal. This is in charge of Chinamen, who have learnt their work from Europeans at Nanking or Shanghai. They make Krupp guns, Nordenfeldts, and rifles and cartridges. The machinery was worked by steam, but they had no steam hammers, so that the work is not likely to be first-rate. What they were making principally at the time of our visit was an enormously heavy rifle, between six and seven feet long, for two men to fire. The man in front rests it on his shoulder while the man behind fires it. These weapons, they explained to us, are meant to defend the city walls.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

316 Lake Wei-ning

the chief importance of Tung-ch'uan lies in its mines. I had not time to visit any of these, except those at Kung-shan, but there are several productive copper mines in the district.

132 The height of the town I made 7,250 feet. It is a cold place, with a climate more cloudy and rainy than the parts of Yün-nan lying further to the south or west of it.

000 My route from here on to Yün-nan Fu took me along the main road which connects the Yangtze at Sui Fu with the capital of Yün-nan. I was here again out of unexplored country, as Doudart de Lagrée, Baber and others, not to mention many missionaries, had travelled the road before me. I still kept up the survey as no very satisfactory maps had been made of this country.

Turning off from the Tung-ch'uan plain near its western end, our road led us up the Yi-li Ho by a narrow valley
•505 with hills rising to 9000 feet on either side. This river is 30 or 40 yards wide and is fordable in many places, but is deep enough to be navigated by boats which bring down timber and firewood to supply Tung-ch'uan.

000 Up this valley we marched for two days and then ascended very steeply on to a ridge and along it, the highest point reached being 9,300 feet. To the north-west a long distance off two very high peaks were visible which I estimated at 14,000 feet. We had now got on to a bare plateau country with considerable stretches of flat ground and small hills rising 300 to 500 feet out of it. We slept on the 5th May in the large temple of the village of Lai-t'ou-p'o at 8,500 feet.

241 The next day we continued our march over the same plateau country. Villages are scarce here, and there is very little cultivation owing to lack of water. At the end of this march of 18 miles the road descends to Hsiao-lung-t'an which is near a small tributary of the Yangtze.

On the 7th after descending to Kung-shan, our road led us up a narrow cultivated valley, ending with a slight ascent
137 to Liu-shu-ho. The country here is more wooded: the hills are covered with firs, and I pitched my tent in a grove of chestnut trees.

407 I saw a curious rice husking machine here. It consisted of a wheel in an upright position which wheeled round and

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

439 chester product and is rapidly supplanting the latter in western China.

The height of Mêng-tzû I made about 4,700 feet, and the climate is pleasantly cool. The inhabitants of the surrounding country belong principally to the P'u-la and other tribes, speaking dialects of the Lo-lo type.

133 After spending two very pleasant days here, I started for the Red River, taking three days to do the 30 miles which separate Mêng-tzû from Man-hao. The country passed through is curious, consisting chiefly of a mass of small basins with no outlet for the water. These "devil's punch-bowls" are characteristic of a great part of the eastern and south-eastern parts of Yün-nan.

485 Another curious and unpleasant feature of the road from Mêng-tzû to Man-hao is the entire absence of any sort of inn accommodation for men. There are large stables for mules at the recognised halting places, but no provision is apparently considered necessary for human beings who are so ill advised as to take a road which leads into countries outside the borders of the Middle Kingdom.

000 As it rained on and off, I had to sleep beside my mules on the first night, and on the second to squeeze into an extremely small temple already occupied by a tax collector and his clerk. The country passed through is very poor and thinly populated. The village of Yao-t'ou, where I slept my second night, is considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese, and is inhabited by Cantonese who have found their way there through Tong-king. Its height is over 4000 feet, but it is placed in a narrow valley much shut in by hills, which perhaps accounts for its bad reputation. The name Yao-t'ou means "shake head," and is said to have been given to it because everyone who sees it shakes his head in disapproval.

From here, after a little up hill, a very steep descent in pouring rain brought us down to the Red River at Man-hao at a height of 600 feet. The village contains 100 houses, 505 inhabited by Cantonese Chinamen and Shans. Small boats can go a considerable distance further up the river, but Man-hao is the limit for large boats and may be considered as practically the head of navigation.

Mr Spinney had kindly arranged about a boat, so I was

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[501] 505 able to leave Man-hao the same day. The boats are some 50 feet long and 10 feet wide across the middle. They are said to carry a load of 10,000 lbs. I found plenty of room in one for myself and five followers and our baggage, besides the six men who formed the crew. The boat is got along by rowing, the crew having occasional "easies" during which we drifted down at a good pace, as the current is strong.

Three and a half hours' rowing brought us to the village of Hsin-kai, where we halted for the night, as boats cannot run after dark owing to the rapids. It poured with rain all the night through, and the matting roof of the boat was by no means equal to keeping out such a torrent.

Starting again at dawn the next day we went on at a good pace, negotiating several rapids, in one of which the boat struck a rock, but without doing any damage. The first sign of the French was the tricolor flying over a small fort on the right bank. This was Lung-po, the frontier post in this direction. From here down to Lao-kai the Red River is the boundary between Tong-king and China.

At half-past one we reached Ho-k'ou, just 24 hours from Man-hao, but of this time we had spent nearly 12 hours tied up at Hsin-kai. Ho-k'ou is a village of 500 houses or so, and is the last place in China in this direction, Lao-kai, the French frontier station, being separated from it by the Nam Ti or Nan-hsi Ho, which here joins the left bank of the Red River.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

363 are narrow, in most cases not over eight to ten feet wide, and are paved with limestone slabs. The arrangement of streets, as a rule, is in harmony with local topography and with the general pattern of the settlement in question.

361 Like many other long settled and unplanned urban communities in the Orient, most of the urban centers in the Basin have no sharp delineation in their functional areas. In fact, many of the functional areas are so juxtaposed and intermixed that it is almost impossible to describe them.

366 Taking Chengtu, for example, the city, in so far as division of functional areas is concerned, is so undifferentiated that nearly the whole city may be considered as predominantly residential in function. This may even be true in some of the so-called business streets, because there are always families living behind shops and stores on the business streets. The matter is further complicated by the fact that families behind these shops may also carry on some handicraft manufacturing activities. Thus, business, residential, and manufacturing functions are all present in one area. Nevertheless, in many cases, one type of establishment or operation unit (such as shops, factories, residences, etc.) is so conspicuous that "functional cores"[1] may be recognized with relative ease, even though the delimitation of the "boundaries" of these "functional cores" cannot be made sharply.

361 An impressive feature of the urban scene of the Basin is that every city has a city wall. Although many cities have recently torn down their walls as a symbol of modernization, many of them still keep this age-old feudalistic structure. The city walls, made of bricks, are in general about 45 feet high and 3 feet wide. Owing to the absence of tall buildings in most of the urban areas, the city wall affords an ideal panoramic view of the city.

505 6. Transportation Patterns of the Basin

a) The major water routes.--Water routes are by far the most important means of transportation in the Basin. There are, all told, large and small, navigable and otherwise, 270 streams

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[1] By "functional core" is here defined as a conspicuous clustering-together of a number of establishments or operation units which perform a specific or principal function in that area or locality.

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in the Basin, with a total length of 22,000 li.[1] Among them, the mighty Yangtse is, of course, the most significant. The Yangtse River traverses the entire width of the Basin in a southwest to northeast direction. It is the spinal cord of the whole stream system.

In so far as its use for transportation in the Basin is concerned, the Yangtse may be divided into two sections, namely, the I-Chang--Chungking section and the Chungking--I-Ping section (Fig. 7). In the first section, between I-Chang in the east and Chungking in the west, with a total distance of 912 kilometers, boats of three-meter draught may navigate during the high-water season (between May and November). Boats of two-meter draught or less ply this section during the whole year. In the second section, between Chungking and I-ping, with a total distance of 463 kilometers, boats with two-meter draught or less can navigate during high water, while boats of shallower draught (one meter or less) may navigate the whole course during low water.[2] I-ping is, for all practical purposes, the western-most point of navigation on the Yangtse (Fig. 7), although steamboats have made trial voyages as far as Ping Shan, twenty-five miles to the west of I-ping. Up to now, no river steamer has come regularly to this head of navigation.

The Yangtse is, for all practical purposes, the only important highway and the sole exit for the tremendous flow of goods from the Basin to the outside world. If the Basin be thought of as a bottle, the gorges of the Yangtse are certainly its vital neck. It is almost unimaginable that the Basin could have ever functioned as a prosperous geographic region without this generous gift of nature.

Of course, with the increasing growths of railroads and air transports in the Basin, the dominant position of the Yangtse may be somewhat affected. It is, however, fairly safe to say that in spite of these developments, the river probably will continue to play its significant role in the Basin for a long time to come. This prediction is based on the relative cheapness (though slow and difficult) of the river transport, the bulky nature of the commodities (largely agricultural and forestry), and the great

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[1] Shen, op. cit., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 37.

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505 difficulties (due to the rugged topography) of building other means of transportation in the Basin.

The harnessing of this mighty, swift, and treacherous stream by men for their own benefit, however, has been by no means an easy task. It is certainly not a story without excitement. There are tremendous difficulties involved in negotiating the world-famous Yangtse gorges, the numerous shoals, the whirlpools, and the rapids at intervals along the course of this mighty water-
501 way. For centuries, the Chinese, with their slow-moving but colorful junks, have battled patiently and painstakingly with the perilous river. It was not until 1898, after experimenting for nearly two decades, led by a brave Englishmen, Captain A. Little and later followed by the tireless effort of many energetic Chinese leaders in the Basin, that the first modern steamboat successfully passed through the gorges and arrived at Chungking.[1] Three years later, in 1901, a trial voyage farthest west to Sui-fu (I-Ping) was successful.

It was not until 1909, ten years after the first trial voyage, that suitable, shallow, and specially-designed vessels with a sufficiently large carrying capacity were put into use and regular steam navigation on the upper Yangtse became commercially possible. Since then, the development has been phenomenal. In 1919 there were only about 220 steamers of all tonnage-classes, totalling 55,000 odd tons, plying the upper Yangtse between the I-Chang and I-Ping section. But by 1936 the number of steamers totalled 2,140, with a total tonnage of 760,000 tons.[2]

The growth of steam navigation on the Yangtse resulted in the rapid and almost complete disappearance of the old colorful Chinese junks on the upper Yangtse. In 1894, a peak year in junk traffic, there were altogether 2,900 junks, with a total tonnage of over 100,000 tons. By 1925, thirty years later, only one junk, with a tonnage of 20 tons, was reported in the river traffic of the upper Yangtse.

505 Of all the navigable tributaries of the Yangtse, the Chialing River system is by far the most important. At Chungking the Yangtse is joined on its left bank by this important tributary, the so-called "little river." This is made up of three streams

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[1] L. C. Chang, "The Waterways in Szechuan," Journal of Geog. Society of China, VI (1939), 7.

[2] Shen, op. cit., p. 38.

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which unite at Ho-Chuan (Fig. 7). The Chialing River and its tributaries drain a fan-shaped area with an extent of a little over 160,000 square kilometers, or about a third of the total area of the province.[1] Aside from the Yangtse, the Chialing system is one of the most vital arteries of transportation in the Basin. Agriculturally, this area is not so prosperous as that of the Chengtu Plain or the To River area. Its average population density is likewise not so dense as those of the later two areas (Fig. 10), but, nevertheless, this area is rich in the production of herbs, tung tree and other forestry products, all of which are moved to markets by river transportation.

The importance of the Chialing drainage system is due to its navigability for long distances. The eastern-most branch, the Chu River (Fig. 7), is navigable, for small craft, up to some 40 miles north of Tung-hsiang-hsien. The central branch, the Chialing itself, is navigable, for fairly large boats, to Kuang-yuan, extending far into southern Kansu. Ships laden with herbs and other agricultural products descend to Kuang Yuan from Pikou in the province of Kansu. The western-most branch, the Fou River, is navigable up to Chung-pa, and one of its western tributories taps the northeastern corner of Chengtu Plain (Fig. 7). The Chialing system is thus the greatest collecting and distributing center of the agricultural and forestry products in the Basin.

The Min River is noted not only for supplying water to the famous irrigation system of Chengtu Plain but also for its great significance for transportation purposes. In so far as navigation is concerned, the Min River may be divided into three parts (Fig. 7). The section between Kuan-hsien and Chengtu is navigable to small flat-bottomed junks all year round (Fig. 7). The section between Chengtu and Lo-shan is navigable to boats with a capacity of 50 to 60 tons all year round; recently the trial voyage by the Ming Seng Company, with steamers of 200 tons and in less than one-foot draught, has been successful. It is announced that this route will be opened as a regular commercial route in the very near future. Finally, the section between Lo-shan and I-ping, a distance of 160 kilometer, may be negotiated during the high-water season (June to November) by steamers with one to two-feet draught.[2]

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[1]Cheng, op. cit., p. 29.

[2]Shen, op. cit., p. 56.

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●505 Here, in the Min River drainage area, one finds a region of the richest agricultural production (with the highest cultivation-land index) and has the highest population density of the whole Basin (Figs. 21 and 10).

Among all the main tributaries of the Yangtse, the To River possesses the richest hinterland and has the most diverse agricultural and horticultural products. The To River, formerly known as the twin river of the Min, is composed of two branches: one is the Mien Yang Ho, originating in the Chiu Ting mountains, and the other, the Pai Tiao and Pu Yang rivers, tributaries of the Min. Both of these branches meet at Chao Chia Tu (Fig. 7) where, for all practical purposes, is situated the head of navigation of the whole To system. From Chao Chia Tu to Lu Hsien, the confluence of the To and the Yangtse, with a total of a little over 280 kilometers, junks with 50 to 60 tons capacity may ply all the year round. Between Lu-hsien and Fu-shun, steamers with one-to two-feet draught may negotiate during high water.

491 b) Highway patterns.--Next to the waterways, the highways furnish the most important channels of transportation in the Basin. The era of modern highway building in the Basin was first initiated in 1925, when a group of European-trained young Szechuanese engineers returned home and advised strongly the undertaking of such a program. The first highway completed was between Chengtu and Kuan-hsien (Fig. 7). But it was not until 1935, after the political unification of the Basin and the establishment of the provincial Bureau of Highway Construction, that the highway building program was carefully launched and systematically coordinated.

On account of the thoroughly dissected topography and the presence of numerous anticlinal ridges, together with the easily weathered rock structures, the building of highways in the Basin is not without serious difficulties. The constant threat of landslides, the presence of numerous steep slope and hairpin turns, and the necessity of building many solid embankments, make the building and maintenance of highways in the Basin both costly and hazardous.

At the end of 1940, more than 6,400 kilometers of highways were completed within the Basin. In fact of the province's 136 districts, 85 districts, or 62 per cent, now have highway connections. These include six trunk inter-provincial lines and a number

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occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池). An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers, the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲坝 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 坝子 is a plain), another trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u 溝村浦, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches. I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江浦, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 靈鏡湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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487 the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against
731 the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is
133 at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called
137 Ch'ih shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-
[508] ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables.

487 *Twelfth stage.* — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州
133 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu
137 is 65 li. Elevation 6,000 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 孟化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[1] marquis of Hsi p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-nai ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[2]

[731] We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[1] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1390 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung wu (1381)

[2] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 太國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 31 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 52, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

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487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川[35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the
137 Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結巴 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙平, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *donlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta 'i 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Seu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p.28 F. -- Analyst]

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The floor of the valley is 12,000 feet above the sea, the entire southern length being occupied by forest, first pine, then spruce, and, near the head of the gorge, fir (*Abies Forrestii*) and larch (*Larix Potaninii*). In the center is a broad stream-bed which narrows in its upper part owing to extensive avalanches of rock and huge boulders from the vertical northern wall of the gorge. Its rocks are pure limestone, of a dazzling white; except in its upper part, it carries no water — the stream disappears underground about halfway down the gorge. The upper part of the gorge which is called Sa-ba lo-gkv (At the head of the gorge Sa-ba — *lo*, gorge, valley, *gkv*, inside) is blocked by a gravel-covered glacier which extends from north to south, the stream-bed winding around it at a sharp angle. A waterfall descends into a basin of ice and disappears underground. Here Sa-ba lo-gkv is 13,250 feet above sea level. From its north-western corner the limestone wall rises in a series of tiers 6,000 feet above the valley floor, bearing masses of ice, fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the main peak into which it culminates (PLATE 73). At the foot of this wall grows the gorgeous larkspur *Delphinium likiangense*, associated with the blue-flowered *Adenophora coelestis*. 133* 137*

3. THE NORTHERN EDGE OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

The north-western part of the Li-chiang plain is bordered on the east by a fairly high limestone range which is a continuation of Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), the Na-khi Gyi-wua Ngyu. It is furrowed by several ravines or steep valleys which debouch west into the Li-chiang plain. At the foot of this range, which extends parallel to the Yü-lung Shan, there are situated several Na-khi hamlets. The southernmost, and immediately north of the Li-chiang Lung-wang Miao (Dragon-king Temple), is the hamlet of Gyi-wûa where there are many springs known as Gyi-wûa gyi-t'u-gkv. Ten li or more beyond to the north is the large hamlet of Gko-lo, subject to the larger village of Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村, the south-eastern end of Pai-sha. Beyond is La-ma-lü, consisting of about eight families. It belongs to the larger hamlet west of it called in Chinese Mu-tu-ts'un 木都村, which in turn belongs to Pai-sha li. Then comes the hamlet of Dto-k'ö, with a few families only and subject to Mu tu-ts'un. Beyond Dto-k'ö used to be a small settlement, now abandoned, called A-yü-ngyu-k'ö (At the foot of monkey mountain). This was the last village on the eastern margin of the plain at the foot of the limestone range.

The central part of the plain between these villages and Pai-sha is either occupied by fields or uncultivated areas. The large stretch of perfectly level ground called Wûa-dtv k'o-dü is uncultivated. *Wûa-dtv* is the name of the person who owned it, and *k'o-dü* means any uncultivated area. It would form one of the finest aviation fields possible, as it is about two miles long, over half a mile wide and as smooth as a billiard table.[1] It is only ten miles from Li-chiang. [508]

Immediately to the north of Wûa-dtv k'o-dü is the last hamlet in the central part of the plain, called Seaw-ssu-k'a, named after the stream Seaw-ssu which

[1] It was on this field that our plane, the "K'un-ming," landed in 1936 on the historic first flight around the snow range. It has served as an airfield during world war II, and a weather station was established there but is now (1946) abandoned.

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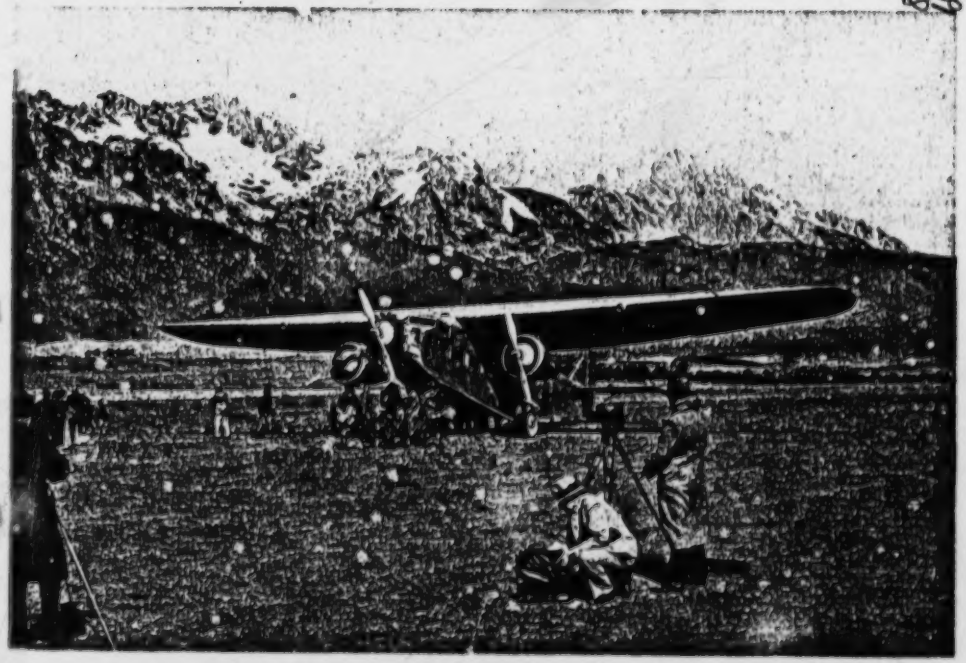

[p.244 p]

PLATE 152. — THE PLANE K'UN-MING NEAR WEN-HUA-TS'UN

昆明號飛機在文華村下降玉龍山背

After making the circuit of the Yü-lung Shan, flying through the 'A-ts'an-gko (Yangtse) gorge, we landed at the foot of the snow range on the natural landing field called Wua-dtv k'o-dü elevation 8,700 feet. Shan-tsu-tou in distance.

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*133 plain with its scattered hamlets collectively called Nda-gv, or Ta-ku (Beat the drum). The plain is at an altitude of 5,900 feet, and we traversed it at a height of 16,000 feet. It is completely enclosed by high mountains and, bisected by the Yangtze which flows 600 feet below it, looked insignificant.

At a speed of 120 miles an hour we approached Ha-ba nv-lv (Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv) the third outstanding peak of the snow range (PLATE 150) but fourth in height. The wind coming from south-west was so strong that as we neared the mouth of the gorge we were driven close to the walls of this forbidding-looking mountain (PLATE 151). The mouth of the terrific Yangtze gorge yawned and swallowed us. The wind was now terrific. To both sides of us the ice-crowned crags and peaks hemmed us in, and 12,000 feet below us flowed the Yangtze, in its rocky prison and in deepest shadow. The sun, which only for a short fraction of the day shines in the gorge, illuminated brilliantly the snow peaks and pinnacles, outlining them sharply against the blue of the sky. The fierce wind which howled through the gorge caused our ship, which had now reached 17,000 feet, to flutter like a piece of paper in a gale. It drove us towards the peak of Ha-ba, so that I feared the wing of our plane would scrape the ice-crowned cliff. To the left or south of us was the enormous mountain mass which forms the northern end of the snow range, composed of the huge limestone bulk of 'A-ts'an-gko and Gyi-nà nv-lv. The former drops a sheer 12,000 feet and forms the south-eastern wall of the gorge (PLATE 149).

The wind rushing through the gorge at different pressures caused our plane to be tossed about like a ship in a heavy sea; sometimes dropping vertically it would rise in a succession of shudders, then again would slip sideways, losing and gaining height involuntarily at the rate of 1,500 feet a minute. The roar of the engines seemed intensified, the echo reverberating from the mighty cliffs. It was a terrifying sensation to be literally blown through this mighty gorge — a narrow chasm — the ship swaying and bumping as it passed close to the vertical limestone cliffs at a height of 17,000 feet. Serene and as if with contempt the mighty peaks looked down on us as we in our frail craft fluttered at their very feet. As we approached the end of the gorge we turned south, but still hugged the snow range, instead of flying over the now broad Yangtze valley. We flew close to the actual peaks and, nearing the southern end of the range, turned east, flying over the last crag of the range (Hua-lä-bpu) at the rate of 130 miles an hour, to the plain or valley floor at its eastern foot.

● 508 We made a beautiful landing on one of the finest natural landing-fields in the province. The place is called Wûa-dtv k'o-dü or Wûa-dü-k'o-dü the Chinese Wa-tun-k'o-tui[2] 瓦墩科堆 and is 8,700 feet above sea-level, and only about 12 miles from the town of Li-chiang (PLATE 152). As no plane had ever before landed here (or, for that matter, in any other part of western Yün-nan), our pilots flew several times around the field examining it carefully until they decided it was safe to descend. Gently we glided down, alighting at a speed of 95 miles an hour at 10.50 A.M. The first trip by air to the Li-chiang snow peaks had thus been safely accomplished.

[2] During World War II, Wua-dtv-k'o-dü served as landing field for many an Air Transport Command plane and the Li-chiang Snow range as a beacon for the pilots on their flights over the "Hump" to Assam.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF16~~ AF16

In Southwest China, Chungking is the most
504 important river port. It is at the junction of the Yangtze and Chia-ling Rivers and is a terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. Loading equipment was installed on the Chiu-lung-po wharf at the port of Chungking after the completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway in 1952. Its loading and unloading capacity in 1955 was approximately 120 tons an hour.[75]

IV. AIR TRANSPORTATION

•509 When the Nationalists evacuated to Taiwan in 1949, the two aviation companies, the China National Aviation Corporation, and the Central Aviation Corporation left no airplanes on the Mainland. Most of the planes were flown to Hong Kong. But in November 1949, because of the sudden defection of Liu Ching-i and Ch'en Cho-lin, managers of the two companies, a dozen planes were flown back to the Mainland.[76] Approximately 4,000 company employees in Hong Kong supported Liu and Ch'en, but only a small number of them went back to Mainland China.[77]

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75. China Daily News, New York, Nov. 4, 1955.

76. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, Dec. 1, 1940, p. 673.

77. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF16~~ AF16

509 Because of shortage of civil airplanes, the Communists did not make much progress in civil air transportation during the first three years of their regime. Since 1954, however, there has been a considerable increase in the number of commercial airplanes, some of which were supplied by Soviet Russia.[78] Some planes are manufactured in Communist China, but most of the essential parts are imported from the Soviet Union, according to reports from Hong Kong.[79]

The two civil air routes in Southwest China in 1955 were the Peking-Hankou-Chungking line and the Peking-Sian-Chungking Line.[80] The international air routes which are in preparation include the China-Burma, the China-India, and the China-Vietminh lines.[81] The China-Burma civil aviation agreement, signed in Peking on November 21, 1955, provides that China's Civil Aviation Administration will operate the Kunming-Mandalay-Rangoon line and the

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78. People's Daily, Peking, Sept. 29, 1954.
79. China Weekly, Hong Kong, Jan. 10, 1955, p. 23.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF16~~ AF16

509 Burma Civil Aviation Corporation will operate the Rangoon-Mandalay-Kunming-Canton line.[82] The national civil aviation targets for the first half of 1955 were surpassed. The number of passengers was 13 per cent above that reported in 1955; freight and mail increased 5.9 per cent and 76 per cent, respectively over the figures for the preceding year.[83]

V. DOMESTIC TRADE

438 Southwest China in general and Szechwan in particular is one of the grain-surplus regions of China. A large part of the surplus grain is shipped to Northwest China through the Chengtu-Chungking and Chengtu-Pao-chi railways and to Tibet by river junks and motor trucks. A small part of the surplus grain is usually shipped to Central-South China by water transport on the Yangtze River.

Part of the raw cotton produced in Szechwan is shipped to Yunnan and Kweichow. Szechwan also receives some raw cotton from Hopei

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82. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Nov. 21, 1955, p. 12

83. New China News Agency, Peking, July 20, 1955.

PLATE 152.—THE PLANE K'UN-MING NEAR WEN-HUA-TO'UN

[illegible]

After making the circuit of the Yü-lung Shan, flying through the 'A-to'an-gko (Yangtze) gorge, we landed at the foot of the snow range on the natural landing field called Wen-tu k'o-ti elevation 8,700 feet. Shan-tao-tou in distance.

[p. 244 p]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER VII

Air Flight round Li-chiang Snow Range and through the 'A-ts'aŋ-gko — Yangtze Gorge

489 Since my earlier days of exploration in Yün-nan great progress has been made in China: the most important was the linking of out-of-the-way places with centers of civilization, either by motor-road or aeroplane. Roads in our sense of the word are still rare in Yün-nan and few connect with neighboring provinces.[1] Since 1934 an air service has been established linking this far-
509 away province directly with Shanghai (via Chungking) and other parts of China. An opportunity was thus offered to charter the plane K'un-ming of the China National Aviation Company for a flight to the Li-chiang Snow range and through the now famous gorge of the upper Yangtze called 'A-ts'aŋ-gko. It is extremely difficult while exploring on foot in this greatest of all canyons to form an idea as to the lie of the peaks which hem in this gorge. To solve certain geographical problems I decided to fly through the gorge at a sufficient height to enable me to get a bird's-eye view of it and of the surrounding mountains.

133 Viewing the peaks from the air, we have learned that the mountain mass of 'A-ts'aŋ-gko with its towering peaks of A-zzu, A-ku and A-mbu nv-lv (p. 225) running parallel to the bulky pile of Gyi-nà nv-lv in the west, is by far the most important part of the northern end of the snow range (Plate 149). It forms a huge, broad pyramid, the western and north-western edges of which are the walls flanking the 'A-ts'aŋ-gko gorge. Our picture was taken looking south from an altitude of 17,000 feet as the plane entered the gorge flying in a south-westerly direction. It shows clearly the tremendous pyramid separated from Gyi-nà nv-lv by a glacier-filled ravine, beyond which is visible Shan-tzu-tou, the highest peak of the range. This proves that Gyi-nà nv-lv (see p. 224) is to the east of Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as shown on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Viewing Gyi-nà nv-lv from the east one would never suspect that to the west of it extends, parallel to it, this far greater mountain mass of 'A-ts'aŋ-gko nv-lv.

Our flight also definitely proved that the second highest peak of the snow range is in the 'A-ts'aŋ-gko Range. In the next few pages I shall give a description of the actual flight through the gorge from notes taken on the trip.

The Flight

February 3rd (1936) was set as the day for the first flight to the Li-chiang Snow range. It was such a day as only Yün-nan could boast of at that time of year. The sky was cloudless and of a deep turquoise blue, the atmosphere crystal clear. The plane "K'un-ming" left the K'un-ming aerodrome at

[1] Two motor roads have since been opened: one connecting K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) with Chung-king (Chung-ch'ing 重慶) via Kuei-yang, and the other K'un-ming with Burma via Hsia-kuan and Lung-ling. Owing to the war, air service to the coast cities of China was suspended but has again been inaugurated.

[p. 272]

499 The need for railroads in the Basin is most urgent and the clamor for railroad construction is loud. Already there are four projected railroads, namely, the Chengtu-Chungking, the Tzeliuching-Luhsien, the Chengtu-Paochi, and the Chengtu-Kunming lines (Fig. 7).[a] The Chengtu-Chungking projected line is already under construction. This line, after its completion, will link the rich agricultural Chengtu Plain and the growing industrial Chungking area. Furthermore, the completion of the Tzeliuching-Luhsien line will bring forth a more efficient operation of the vital brine-salt industry of the Basin.

509 d) The major air-routes.--If highway development in Szechuan Basin is still in its childhood, airway development is in its infancy. It was not until 1932, only about ten short years ago, at the initiation of the Shanghai-Chengtu air-line, that the Basin first experienced commercial air service. Since then, commercial flying in the Basin has been growing steadily. The original Shanghai-Chengtu Line has suspended operation since 1938 on account of the war.

There are now five principal air lines in the Basin, namely, the Chungking-Hongkong (now extended only to Kunming after the Japanese occupation of Hongkong in December, 1941), Chengtu-Sian, Chengtu-Kunming, Chungking-Chengtu, and Chungking-Loshan lines. Among them, the Chungking-Hongkong (now to Kunming) and Chengtu-Sian lines are the most important.[1]

All the above air-lines are engaged principally in passenger and mail service. Freight capacity is still very limited. In so far as use for cargo transportation is concerned, the present air-line facilities are far from satisfactory. The airways of Szechuan are at best only a symbol of modernization, but the growth has been phenomenal and the future outlook is promising. The cultural and educational value of the air traffic to the inhabitants of the Basin is certainly tremendous.

489 435 e) The relation of transportation to the agricultural land-use in the Basin.--Among all the regional problems of Szechuan Basin, none is more important and more acute than that of transportation. The poor transportation has hampered in more than one way the efficiency of the Basin's agricultural and forestry land-use.

In the first place, the difficult and therefore costly transportation has prevented farmers in the Basin from earning as

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[1] Report of the Bureau of Reconstruction, Szechuan, op. cit., p. 52.

[a] [See end map 3 - Analyst]

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

• 511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

[511] 618 369 Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[35] His diet remains poor; his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This identification and the opportunities offered by the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land in the country, where economic opportunities are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

The elite of the towns and cities are the functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families somewhat easier

35. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

465 Communists statistics,[23] the average annual increase from 1951 to 1953 in the total value of industrial products of the Southwest Region was about 32 per cent. The 1953 average wage of workers in publicly owned enterprises in the region exceeded the 1952 average by only 13 per cent.

465 511 The Chinese Communists boast that the increase of wages in China does not merely keep pace with the rise of living coats as is supposed to happen in a capitalist society, but represents a real elevation of the workers' living standard. In the Southwest Region, people's purchasing power[24] in 1952 was said to be 30 per cent higher than in 1950. The New China News Agency reported that three times the amount of cotton textiles were being supplied to the people of Szechwan Province in 1954, compared with 1951.[25] In Chungking, the consumption of meat in Nov. 1952 was reported to be 160 per cent higher than that in the pre-Communist period.[26]

An examination of the budget of a skilled worker in a Chungking steel factory, reported by the New China Daily on September 25, 1952, offers evidence for doubting the validity of the Communist

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23. People's China, Peking, Sept. 1, 1954, p. 18.
24. Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin] Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10.
25. NCNA, Chengtu, Sept. 9, 1954.
26. Economic Bulletin, Sept. 8, 1953, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

465 511 claims:

Income (Wages and bonuses)	Yuan
	600,000

Expenditure	Yuan
Rice	90,000
Fuel (coal and wood)	68,000
Edible oil	10,800
Fat	8,000
Salt	510
Supplementary food	80,000
Rent	25,890
Total	283,200

465 511 651 The expenditures in the above budget are all for food and rent, which consumes about 47 per cent of the average worker's earnings. Besides clothing and other miscellaneous expenses, the remaining 53 per cent of his gross income is subject to various deductions in the form of union fees, "voluntary" contributions, and purchases of government bonds. When the Communist government issued the 1950 Victory Bond series, the Southwest Region was allocated 700,000 points; people[27] were urged to buy as many points as they could afford. The purchase of even one point was a big deduction from the workers' small income. After the Chinese Communists entered

27. One Victory Bond point was equal to the total value of six catties of rice, one catty of flour, four ch'ih of cotton cloth, sixteen catties of coal. One unit was quoted at 14,005 yuan (old currency) at the beginning of 1950.

the Korean war, the Chinese workers were urged 465
to make "voluntary" contributions to finance the 571
war. Within three months of 1951, workers in the 651
city of Chungking contributed 13,200,000,000 yuan (old currency).[28]

The Communists have reported an increase 511
in bank savings throughout the whole country. By 466
early May 1954, total savings deposits in cities nationwide were stated to be ten times larger in May 1954 than at the end of 1950. By the end of 1953, savings deposits in the Southwest Region had increased by 7.5 times as compared with 1950. But the increased savings do not necessarily indicate surplus spending power in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1952, the Chinese Communists forced each worker to put 25 to 30 per cent of his income in the People's Bank as compulsory savings to prevent possible inflation and to accumulate capital for national construction.[29] After deducting the "voluntary" contributions and compulsory savings, there is not likely to be money for the workers to spend for other than daily living needs.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law promulgated 745
by the Communist government in March 1951, 5,380,000 workers throughout China received insurance coverage for death, old age, illness and disability. In the Southwest China Region, there were 161,824 workers, other than railway

28. New China Daily, Oct. 25, 1951, p.2.
29. Tiu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, Jan.4, 1954, p. 41.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 the walls is fairly well filled with houses and contains some 600 or 700.

•511 The whole town and district[1] are very poor, a fact to which the broken bridges and unrepaired roads testify. There does not seem to be a single merchant of any importance in the place, and mules and ponies are scarce. In fact there appears to be absolutely no trade in the district except in the necessaries of life, and the whole way from Ta-li to Shun-ning we did not meet a single mule caravan, or even a pedlar on foot.

The city magistrate came to see me in the evening and was very civil. He was a Chiang-hsi man and much more inclined to be obliging than the majority of Chinese officials. I halted a day at Shun-ning and went to call on the mandarins. The magistrate had never heard of Kun-long himself, but he got out his map and sent for men who knew the country, and did his best to help me. It appears there are two roads, one through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), and the other through Yün Chou and Mien-ning T'ing. The former was said to be the shorter, but is hilly and difficult. The Yün Chou route seemed to offer the best prospect of a possible railway line or trade route, so I decided to go by it.

712 There is only a very small garrison at Shun-ning. It was then commanded by an old white-moustached gentleman of 60, who had, however, only attained the rank of *Shou-pi* or lieutenant. So promotion is sometimes slow in the Chinese army. The military head-quarters of the Shun-ning district is at Mien-ning T'ing where there is a *Hsieh-t'ai* or colonel.

635 Shun-ning was originally a Shan state, and it is still known to Shans by its original name of Möng Hköng. It has now for a long time been a Chinese district, but the Shan or half Shan origin of the people is plainly visible in their features. So much like Shans did some of them appear to me that I stopped one man on the road and asked him if he was not a Shan, but he did not take it at all as a compliment, and his companions were much amused at the question.

000 One day at Shun-ning was quite enough, and I was glad to get out of the miserable one-storied inn in which we

[1] [Shun-ning -- Analyst]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*489 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba nshbir nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700
*733 feet in height.
*139 Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicorpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,150 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-nos-t'ang (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

[342] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses
[515] of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their
[391] garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together
[147] haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among
[342] these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	19th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Shin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Same time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Fa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Shu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small altar just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Eating Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through Wei Tuen and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ta'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

offended a local woman who was dispatching milk because the friend's wife washed the milk woman's measuring bowl before dipping it into the milk ... The milk woman's reason was that the bowl was carried on her body, just next to her under-clothes so it could not be dirty at all. 744 364 515

Ideas about public health are lacking. Sickly dogs are seen everywhere; donkeys, horses and mules make a mess freely on every street. Children and adults enjoy their conveniences in the main thoroughfares or around any corner of any lane. No one even bothers to clean up the streets. Often poor farmers or their children come to the streets to gather up the human and animal excretion for fertilizer in the fields. About three years ago the missionary college and the local middle school organized a joint campaign on public hygiene. Teachers and students of both institutions carried out a general cleaning up of all the streets of the town and killed about fifty homeless and sickly dogs. Quite a number of the local inhabitants lent support to the effort. At the same time public lectures were given in the main streets by some of the students on the importance and significance of the campaign. For a period of time following the campaign the town was free from obvious dirt heaps, etc. But the old way of life returned gradually. Today no one even recalls this campaign. 744 364

000 Nowadays, the authorities of both areas are trying a new weapon - education. How effective this will be depends perhaps less on the health department directly than upon those whose task it is to reshape Sanron mentality: the missions on the one hand, the school teachers on the other." (Op. cit., p. 398)

(b) The "Democratic Method"

This method is pursued by organizations and institutions of reform of private origin. The Chinese rural reform movement is one type. The various European missions abroad represent another type. These two types of organizations have a common starting point - the individual. By means, largely, of resources from abroad or other non-local origin, the Chinese rural reformers have been able, during the last ten years before the present war, to establish hospitals and many district dispensaries, with trained medical dispensers, over many areas of the country. The British and German missions in East Africa have had a much longer record, a much stronger support, and a much larger working force than the comparatively recent Chinese reform centers. Their work is fully described in the aforementioned volume by Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald. What are the results? Chinese rural reform has borne little fruit of significance in this respect. As soon as the outside support in finance and personnel is withdrawn, the communities return to their old, traditional course. The result of missionary medical work in East Africa is of similar or even greater uncertainty. Those who seriously adhere to European medical and health measures have to be the "detribalized" individuals (or an individual who no longer belongs to his or her own culture and community). As regards the mass of the people, we have seen how "the intricacies of the complication of irrational and rational thinking are a stumbling block for many women in attempting to understand measures of European medicine," how even trained medical dispensers and Christians fall back on magic, and how the main emphasis of European medical workers in Africa nowadays is on the winning of personal confidence in the physician and health officer. Such facts speak for themselves. The efficiency and permanency of the influences of these missionaries may again be seen from a sidelight, from the result of the non-medical instruction of the Jeanes School, which institution has impressed Mrs. Thurnwald very deeply:

> "The Jeanes School's goal is to make these women advance so far that in their home village they may be capable of influencing their co-villagers by a model family and household, that they may help the other, particularly Christian, women by the advice which they themselves have acquired, and by a display of practical methods and skill. Such instructions are an arduous task for most of them, particularly since they meet with the obstruction of the old generation of women. Most of them are unable to understand the methods used." (Black and White in East Africa, op. cit., pp. 203-204.)

Now if it is so difficult for instruction in simple home work by such a highly perfected institution as the Jeanes School to make much headway, how much more difficult will it be for instruction that bears even more intimately on people's life and death?

515 In West Town the author has seen numerous school children at home, spitting about, wiping faces with obviously unclean towels, eating fruit that has not been washed, taking no bath at all, etc., after being instructed in school not to spit, not to use a dirty towel, to wash before meals, to bathe

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regularly, and so on. These children are not to blame. Their parents and guardians, relatives and friends who have not been so trained and have never been accustomed to these habits, will neither follow these 'strange' ways nor respect them if the children tried to carry them out at home. These strange ways will most likely be suppressed, and if the children's education is discontinued after the primary school, the children themselves will usually grow up not very different in thought and behavior from their elders, although externally they may wear dresses, hats and shoes of a later style. This conclusion is indeed borne out by facts seen during the cholera epidemic, when many school boys and adults who had primary and secondary education took an active part in the prayer meetings and other communal doings to combat the epidemic. As long as they live where and as they are, they will, undoubtedly, when ill, continue to seek as many cures as possible.

The author does not hold the opinion that the European and Chinese governmental or private reform efforts have not left their marks, but he is far from being impressed by the marks thus left. Why have these methods not achieved results of significance? The answer is in every elementary textbook on sociology it has often enough been reiterated but has, unfortunately, often enough been forgotten even by reputed anthropologists dealing with colonial problems - that Man is a product of his culture and has to live as a member of a society. "There is no isolated individual just as there is no isolated institution." Individuals live by the habits they acquire as they grow up in their culture, just as institutions operate by the pattern they assume as they take shape among many other institutions. But not every one lives by habit to the same extent and in all spheres. In almost any society we may find two layers as regards mental attitude. The one layer is capable of more reflective efforts than the other. The superiority of a modern society over that of a rustic society lies in the fact that the former contains more elements capable of reflective thinking than does the other. But the point to be stressed is that the majority in both types of societies live by habit and not by reflection. Speaking in terms of medicine, theories are of secondary or no importance to the majority of patients either in modern Europe or in the rustic West Town. Cure is the primary and usually the only concern - the difference between the two groups of patients in this respect being that in modern Europe the habitual channel leading to cure is "to trust and ask a doctor", while in our rustic West Town the habitual channel leading to the same objective is "to appease the spirits and try all possible prescriptions." The scientific theories of medicine and of public health are the concern of the doctors and a few other professionals in the one society, just as in the other the prayers, rituals, amulets and principles of native therapeutics are in the hands of the priests and native practitioners.

The propagators of modern hygiene and scientific medicine have to decide whether or not they want a total conflict between two systems of theories (i.e. the rustic theory of spirits, etc., vs. the scientific theory of germs, etc., and suppression of the former by the latter) when they attempt to introduce modern medicine and public health measures into a rustic community, and then watch their efforts largely wasted under their own eyes. Indeed, such a conflict is what medical workers in the comparatively backward countries are asking for all the time. And then they complain about the slowness of their progress or, even worse, complain about the innate stupidity of the people whose conditions they are trying to better. They have entirely forgotten that even in the advanced Western countries they cannot bluntly ask people to change their habitual ways within a period of twenty or thirty years in the existing

536 relaxation, special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin his 622 tales to an impromptu audience. The election of a village headman often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages 796 to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. 521 Perhaps the most universal reaction was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation. Francis Hsü describes the recreation pattern in a small Yunnan town:

> In the evening, many shop doors may be found open to welcome neighbors and friends who care to come into the brightly lighted interior for a chat, and little clusters of men stand or squat near some street corner, often near a food stand.... The topics discussed at these gatherings range from rumors about national affairs and market prices to local rights and wrongs.[11]

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11. Hsü, op. cit., p. 25.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Discussions are held 講評書 *chiang p'ing shu*, generally in a tea shop or open courtyard, when some ancient character's merits and demerits are discussed, with a good deal of sarcasm and dramatic contortion; the speech is often lewd and the characters of many of the speakers are of the lowest; in fact many are libertines, with some wit and humour to cloak their wickedness. 521

A news vendor who carries a stool and books round with him is called 上馬冊冊 *shang ma ts'ê ts'ê*; he stands on the stool and sells his literature, which has a bearing on current events; his sign is a pair of chopsticks. 203

A news vendor of the yellow press is called 下馬 *hsia ma ts'ê ts'ê*. He travels round and carries a flag of yellow or sometimes white paper on which are written the latest sensations. He visits the towns and markets, and to this kind of individual many false rumours are to be traced. He stands on the ground as compared with the former who stands on a stool.

On the birthday of the goddess of Mercy Kuan-yin or other festival there are often mixed gatherings in the temples to hear the Buddhist doctrines preached. The crowds are often of the lowest type. 796

* * *

PURCHASE OF PROPERTY 田地買賣 *t'ien ti mai mai.*

THE middleman to find a purchaser first writes a *t'o yo* 託約 as an evidence of willingness to sell the property. In this deed the size of the house or the extent of the land offered for sale, and also the price wanted, must be stated. If the owner is at all an unreliable person he will probably be made to write a *yün yo* 允約 or a deed of willingness to sell, which he will have to sign in the presence of witnesses, lest he should turn round and blame the middlemen and get them into trouble. 425 432

The price should be fixed in the presence of the seller, purchaser and middlemen, 三面定價 *san mien ting chia*, but it is more commonly settled in the tea shop by the middlemen alone. After the price has been agreed upon,

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CHAPTER II.

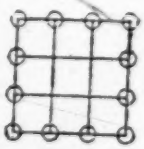
PASTIMES 戲玩, RIDDLES, ETC.

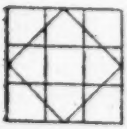
Under this heading will be found the recreations both of the old and the young. Games of chance have a great power over the Chinese mind, and the mania for gambling would seem almost as binding as the craving for opium, and its moral injury almost as certain. 524

A children's game of chess, called the pig's foot chess, *chu t'i ch'a* 猪蹄叉 is played on a board like the following, which is something in shape like a pig's foot. The two rings indicate the two checkers.

Ox-horn chess, *niu chüeh ch'i*, 牛角棋, is played on a board somewhat after this shape. One person runs his checker up one side of the horn and the other up the other side. The motive is to avoid being cornered in the point of the horn.

A game of draughts, *chang san ch'i* 長三棋, played with six checkers on each side, has a board something like this.

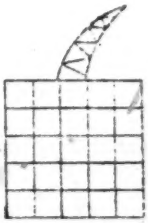




Another game called slanting draughts, *hsieh* 斜 *san ch'i* is played with three checkers each on a board of this pattern.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

524 Another game, something like draughts, is called *wei lao ho shang* 圍老和尚. The board is of this pattern.



The idea is to avoid being driven back into the horn.

The most famous game of this class is *wei ch'i* 圍棋, played with 360 counters.

Common games of chance are pitch and toss, *pan ma ch'iao mei* 扮麻雀妹, in which the Chinese and Manchu characters on a cash are the 'heads and tails'; to play cards, *ta p'ai* 打牌, which are of paper, ivory or wood; to play dominoes, *ta ku* 骨 *p'ai*, a very old game in China; to throw dice, *chih shai-tzŭ* 擲骰子, using either 3 or 5 dice; to raffle, *yao pao* 搖寶, by means of dice; the wheel of fortune, *chuan t'ang ping* 轉糖餅, where sweets are won or stakes lost according as the wheel stops; guessing fingers (morra), *hua ch'üan;* and many others.

Scholars have a game of the "missing word" in a line of poetry, *shih pao* 詩寶. There is a game with cards each bearing the name of a province; the idea is to make poetry by arranging these characters: thus, 同福寧東江, 宣蔚昌, 南河林廣浙, 臺貴陝雲章.

There are many games with cash, such as throwing cash at a coin either placed on the ground or fallen there in the rebound from a wall at which it has been cast, *pan ch'ien* 拌錢 and *chuang* 撞 *ch'ien.*

Or the cash is aimed at a small hole in the ground, *tiu wo* 丟窩, or it is thrown at the central one of some 16 bean-curd moulds, *tiu tou-fu hsiang* 丟豆腐箱.

A hollow in the ground is lined with brass cash, and players throw walnuts, winning each cash they hit, *ta hê t'ao* 打核桃.

A piece of sugar-cane is balanced on a knife. The knife is removed and a cut made at the falling cane. The person gets as much as he cuts off, if he splits it down the middle he gets the whole.

The Chinese have the well-known amusement of blind-folding one eye, then walking up to a sugarcane stuck in the ground and trying to drop a ring on to it. The winner gets the cane. This is called *kua kan chê* 掛甘蔗.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁. 524

Blindman's buff, *ta hsia mo* 打瞎摸; hide and seek, *ts'ang mao mao* 藏貓貓 (the seeker being the *mao* or cat); marbles, *tan tan tan* 彈; turning cart wheels, or turning like a kestrel *ta yao-tzŭ fan shên* 打鷂子翻身; a kind of hockey *ta ch'ou niu* 打臭牛, 'to hit the stinking ox'; top-spinning, *ch'ai ti ko tzŭ* 扯地鴿子; swinging, *ta ts'ui* 打秋; are all familiar pastimes.

Kiteflying, *fang fêng-chêng* 放風箏 in the second moon is done by grayheaded men as well as by children. The kites are in the shape of eagles, bats, etc., etc., and if one should fall on a house it is unlucky and no one dare claim it.

The shuttle-cock in the game *t'i chien-tzŭ* 踢毽子 is a brass cash with a few feathers attached; it is kept in the air by using the side of the foot for a battledore. Experts turn round once after each kick.

To turn to a different class of pastime: eagles are kept for catching birds and rabbits, *fang ying* 放鷹. The sport is so exciting that a proverb says: 'After seeing an eagle catch a rabbit the glory of an official career sinks into insignificance.' 224 231

Game is hunted with a kind of setter, *fang lieh ch'üan* 放獵犬 or *fang nien shan kou* 趁山狗. These dogs have long tapering noses and slight bodies.

The musk-deer is hunted, *shuan chang-tzŭ* 拴獐子 for the musk. A coolie carrying a small quantity of musk can easily be detected by the smell. The deer horns are sold for medicine and the skin for leather.

Jackdaws and various other birds are kept for fighting purposes *fang ch'üeh ta ts'ai* 放鵲打彩; which means gambling. 525

Practising with bow and arrows, *ts'ao kung chien* 操弓箭 is a sport now going out of use. So is the exercise of the heavy knife, *shua ta tao* 耍大刀. These knives weighed 80 to 140 catties, and even more. 411

Many pets are kept, such as the green parrot, *ying ko* 鸚哥; the Liao-tung or black parrot, *liao ko* 遼哥; the 231

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

23) canary *pai yen* 白燕; the quail, *an shun* 鵪鶉; monkeys *hou tzŭ*, 猴子 which are said to be better than dogs as a protection against thieves; rabbits *t'u tzŭ* 兎子, generally in narrow-necked crocks sunk in the ground; pigeons *ko-tzŭ* 鴿子, some of the best carriers returning home from 1000 *li* or more; they are often sold, and as they always go home again good profit is made; white mice which drive little wheels in their cages; stove crickets, *tsao chi-tzŭ* 竈鷄子; and 'ocean insects,' *yang ch'ung* 洋蟲, which are said to cure tuberculosis. I do not know what these insects really are.

The Chinese are great bird-fanciers and pet-keepers, and domesticate many birds besides those above mentioned. Lotteries, smoking, snuffing, etc., are other amusements; it is a nation of smokers. Probably the dismal homes make the people love the pipe, and the crudeness of medical science makes them take to opium.

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RIDDLES AND DITTIES. 謎子, 歌兒 *mi tzŭ, ko êrh.*

青幽幽　黑洞洞　十個牯牛拉不動

Of a dark green, in a black cave, which ten oxen cannot move, What is it? (A well.)

千節節　萬節節　千年萬年不落葉

With a thousand joints, even ten thousand joints. For a thousand or ten thousand years it does not lose its leaves. (The bamboo.)

金筅筅　銀絲絲　一搥打開四姊妹

A golden and silver floss: one stroke of the hammer and it becomes four sisters. (A walnut.)

十姊妹　同路耍　各人頭上頂片瓦

Ten little sisters went out for a walk,
On the crown of each a tile is fixed. (The fingers.)

頭戴紅頂子身穿白袍子走路很斯文說話像蠻子

On his head he wears a red button, his body is clothed with a white robe, his walk is like an elegant scholar's, but his talk is like a barbarian's. (The goose.)

各家窩頭一個蕩一根白蛇在裏頭放要死要死又掇他一棒

In each family niche there is a pool, in which a pure

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white snake doth loll. When it is about to die, just strike it a bang. (The lamp.) 524 539

生喫得 熟喫得 放在地下又走得

It can be eaten raw, or eaten cooked; when put on the ground it can walk. (Water.)

黃牛給黑牛一頭睡 黃牛的舌頭餂黑牛的背

The yellow cow slept by the side of the black cow,

The yellow cow's tongue licked the black cow's back. (The kettle by the stove.)

The flea: (A louse's remonstance.)—

尖嘴黑殼 這戳那戳 戳出禍來你跑脫

With a peaked jaw and black coat, here a rive and there a bite; when the trouble has been stirred up you make a jump and clear out.

The louse. (The flea's retaliation.)—

六脚白米 自家走不得 要怪張怪李

You six-footed white rice, who cannot even walk by yourself. You are always blaming Chang or Li.

The Orange Blossom. 539

柑子樹兒開白花 團團圓圓姊妹家
天晴下雨請來耍 唸個佛句當燒茶

The blossoms of the orange tree, whose petals white sweet sisters be,

In rain or in sunshine how welcome you'll be

Just sing a chant and I'll bring you your tea.

Heaven, Earth and Water.

天生綉綉 地生縵縵 水生骨頭

Heaven produces the variegated, Earth begets the unadorned, Water begets bones.

Natural Wisdom.

一個雀 雀飛上坡 一個雀 雀飛下坡 三歲孩兒會唱歌 不是爹娘告訴我 是我自已聰明多

One little birdie flies up the hill, another little birdie flies down the hill; a three-year old child is able to sing, not what the parents teach it, but what natural wisdom prompts.

712 Government, the amount being deducted from the soldiers' pay. There were small forts garrisoned by these men all along the road from Manwaing to Nampaung.

262 The traders of Manwaing asked us to dinner one day, and the next evening we dined with Colonels Liu and Wang in the fort. Some of their dishes, such as birds' nest soup, are excellent; others are very much the reverse, pigs' insides often forming part of the menu.

524 Neither of the colonels was at all averse to drinking, and after dinner they played a game which consists in two players sitting opposite each other and simultaneously shooting out one or more fingers of one hand, at the same time shouting out a number. The player who shouts out correctly the total number of fingers shown by the two players wins, and the loser has to drink a glass of rice spirit as a forfeit. The game is, I believe, practically the same as the *mora* of the Italians.

682 On the 22nd January we set out westward for Bhamo, passing, about two miles out of Manwaing, the place where Margary of the Chinese Consular Service was murdered in 1875. He had just made a journey through from Shanghai to Bhamo and had gone back to Manwaing to make arrangements for Colonel Browne's expedition, which was just leaving Bhamo for T'êng-yüeh (Momien). While he was alone at Manwaing, when the main expedition was still on its way there, he was assassinated. Whoever the actual murderers may have been, there is little doubt that the deed was done by order of the Viceroy of Yün-nan.

In nine cases out of ten when Europeans are killed in China, the officials, if not the direct instigators, are really responsible for the murder, and could have stopped it if they had liked. The natives of a district very soon find out if their official is anti-foreign, and those who have the same leanings feel that they can act with safety. If every murder was followed by the decapitation of the official in whose district it took place, murders would cease. At present killing an Englishman is apt to prove a safe and agreeable pastime for evil-disposed Chinamen.

After three miles of flat going we began to climb the Kachin Hills and camped at 4,900 feet at the fort of Sare the headquarters of Colonel Wang, who commanded the Trade Protection Levy.

668 involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

668 527 Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at the village level.[22] The New Year festival itself is characterized by some traditional activities, modified to promote government aims, and by some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[23] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist [525] standards.[24] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. 668 536 The peasants have been urged to organize their

22. SCMP 979, F b. 2, 1955, p. 30.
23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
24. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton, 1953, p. 32.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

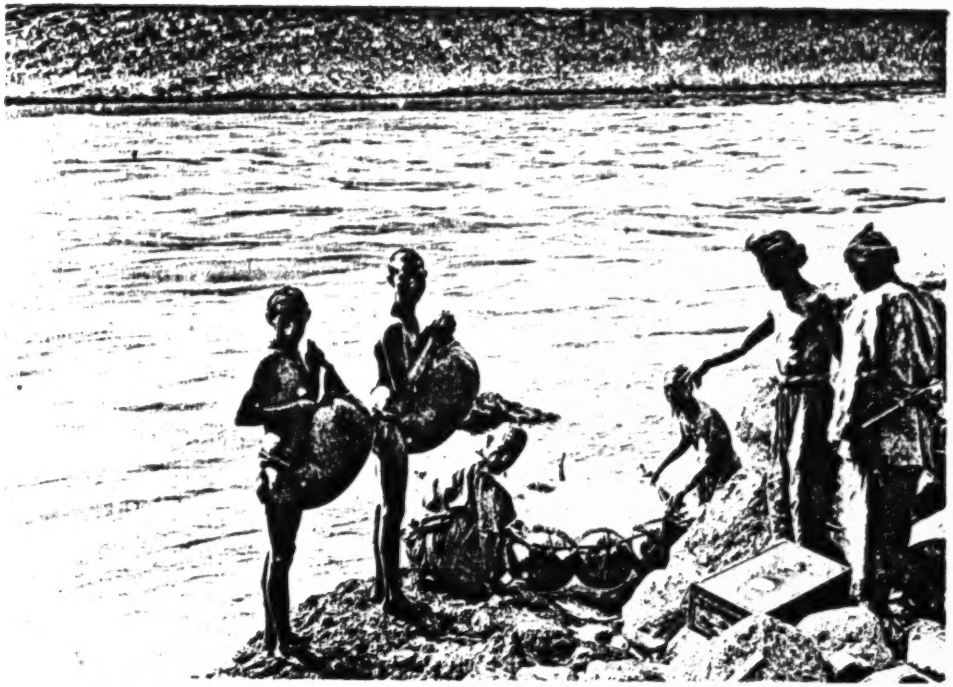

PLATE 141. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR INFLATED GOATSKINS

打鼓草渡金沙江

The only way to cross the Yangtze to Bbĕr-ddĕr is by means of goatskin rafts. The men are Na-khi from the village of Za-ba opposite Ta-ku.

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178 change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

221 527 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is devoted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The village is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many

527 farmers there will be little left for celebration
221 when the creditors have been dealt with.

241 In the rice lands of the Southwest the most intensive work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. At that time the farmer harvests his winter crops -- usually rape and wheat sometimes supplemented with winter beans and peas.
243 Right after the New Year, often before the winter harvest, the farmer sets out his rice plants in nursery beds near the farmhouse. Then he removes his winter crop stubble and plows and prepares the fields for the young rice plants. He spreads fertilizer over the land and then breaches the dike and allows the irrigation water to flow in. After the desired water level is reached the field is harrowed again and again; then begins the back-breaking work of transplanting the rice shoots from the nursery beds to the flooded fields. The farmer has an easier life during the ripening of the grain. As the grain ripens, the fields dry, and at last it is harvest time. The harvesting and threshing are done with primitive implements, and many hands are required; straw is carefully

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The farm year, toilsome everywhere in China, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming, which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was once a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of these duties is often the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. (continued) landlord-tenant relations in the Southwest which involve the ethnic minorities, see chapter on Ethnic Minorities.

5. J.L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed that 39 per cent of these were in debt in the period 1929-32. Cited in Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-127. Cf. the full description of this festival observance in Yunnan in 1942 by Francis Hsü in Under the Ancestors' Shadow, New York, 1948, pp. 178-82.

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On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient statesman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. As a further salute to the dead, lantern-lit boats are floated on some

7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

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body of water, to symbolize the community's concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- a Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many persons pay visits to nearby temples and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. At this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[8]

The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.[9]

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8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 129-33.
9. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

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527 These are the festivals that have
796 retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[10] The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals and other milestones of family and individual life.

527 In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for

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10. For a description of wedding celebrations in Yunnan in the 1940's cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 93-98.

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

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361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
161 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[466] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[14] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
364 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
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13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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527 of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the
575 holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. The urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

668 involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

668 527 Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at the village level.[22] The New Year festival itself is characterized by some traditional activities, modified to promote government aims, and by some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[23] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist [525] standards.[24] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. 668 536 The peasants have been urged to organize their

22. SCMP 979, F b. 2, 1955, p. 30.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.

24. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton, 1953, p. 32.

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as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. Although we have no data, it is safe to assume that the elaborate festival calendar of "West Town," Hunan, described by Hsü, has been severely reduced by "anti-superstition" campaigns and other work of the cadres.[28] The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[29] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen that the pattern of living in the villages has been drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained to be abruptly condemned without precipitating a crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrinatic

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28. Cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 22-24.
29. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

632 townsman, more than the peasant, is open to
668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are celebrated in the cities with great parades and with endless speeches. Privacy and the chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

668 The New Year's holiday has some of its
527 old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[32] New Year's activities in 1955 suggest the way in which

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32. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from the cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19, 1955; SCMP, 972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

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668 all public celebrations of the festival are made
527 to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, in the coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and dance troupes performed at thirty factories.[33]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and
[653] enlarged, large sections of old city walls
369 such as those of Chengtu have been destroyed, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[34]

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33. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager. We do not have details on activities in the Southwest. We would expect them to be similar in outline, less elaborate in form.

34. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

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733 non-existent" in Communist China and the
735 number of vagrants had been greatly reduced.[28]
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V. CHILD WELFARE

527 Following the international practice of
746 dedicating one day in the year to the children, in 1931 April 4th was promulgated as China's Children's Day by the Nationalist Government. But the Chinese Communist regime changed this date to June 1st, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation in 1949 at Moscow.[29] Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic, i.e., not designed for the well-being of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1st every year, all the propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the happy state of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and references to the "plight" of children in the free world. And it is also around this time in most large cities on the Mainland of China that health examinations for

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28. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-13.

29. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [History of the Memorial Days], Shanghai, T'ai-lien ch'u-pan she, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 180-83.

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527 children are conducted. In the period 1950-52, 746 according to one report, more than 1,000,000 children received a health examination.[30]

In the Southwest, in Chungking, on Children's Day 1953, more than 33,000 children gathered at the "Working People's Cultural Palace." Entertainment and games were on the day's program, as well as speeches by the mayor and vice-mayor of the city. In eleven other cultural centers" in the municipality of Chungking on that same day, special motion pictures for children were shown. The New China Bookstore opened its new department for children, and on the first day a sale of more than 3,700 children's books was reported.[31]

746 The first conference of the workers in 668 women's and children's welfare was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production as the over-all purpose, the scope of their welfare work was described as to serve the masses of working

30. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
31. Ibid., June 2, 1953, p. 1.

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through some of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still rivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people. 177 [626] 797 177

The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunnar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Hwang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'ang
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Tuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tse
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Tuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	19th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Chin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Some time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Pa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small altar just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through West Town and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ts'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

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133 and can draw a good map with a stick on the ground, the
823 Chinese should be so lacking in this faculty, and will give one all sorts of geographical information which is obviously incorrect.

Our road on the 25th led gradually down hill as far as Shui-chai. From here the descent is down a narrow gorge with precipitous crags rising on each side. The path is zigzagged or it would be impossible for animals. Finally a bit of more gradual down-hill along the hillside brings one to the Mekong which is crossed by another of the iron-chain suspension bridges, the chains on the right bank being fastened round short pillars of natural rock cut out of the hillside.

133 The river averages from 80 to 100 yards in width, flowing with a strong current which renders it quite unnavigable. It runs between wall-like hills which rise almost sheer for 1,500 or 2000 feet and then slope more gradually back to the tops of the ranges. There is absolutely no level ground in the valley. This is characteristic of this river during its course through Yün-nan. I have subsequently seen it in several places and have found it much the same everywhere. The elevation at the bridge I made 3,900 feet, 1,700 feet higher than that of the Salween. After crossing, a very stiff ascent brought us to the long narrow village of
•527 Sha-yang. It was the Chinese New Year's Eve, and every house had a young fir tree stuck up in front of the door. This is, I believe, the universal custom in Yün-nan, but it does not seem to obtain in eastern China.

New Year's Day is the great holiday of the Chinese year. It occurs during the months of January or February, but not on any fixed date in our calendar, for the length of the Chinese year does not correspond with ours. They have twelve months, six of them of thirty days and six of twenty-nine days, making 354 days in all. So to make it come right with the sun they have to reckon one of the months twice over every three years. The same system of an intercalary month is used in Burma, but the Burmese calendar does not correspond in other respects with that of the Chinese.

On New Year's Day all shops are shut and no business of any sort is done. The people all put on their best clothes, often hired from a pawnshop for the occasion, and

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go out and pay visits to their friends. Spending the day 527
paying calls does not sound very lively, but the Chinese are an extraordinarily sociable people and find great amusement in going to their neighbours' houses to talk and drink tea. Most people keep up the holiday for a few days, and there is not much business done for a fortnight after the New Year. It is quite contrary to Chinese custom to travel on New Year's Day, but both on this and subsequent occasions I found no difficulty in getting my Chinese followers to march. They were away from their own homes and had no friends in the place, so had no particular desire to stay and keep the New Year among strangers.

Our march on the 26th was as usual a hilly one. It began 000
with an ascent of 3,300 feet and a descent of 2,300 feet. After that another spur of 600 feet had to be crossed into the plain of Yung-p'ing Hsien. The first village reached [361]
is Ch'ü-tung, which contains about 600 houses inhabited chiefly by Panthays. The inn here was an exceptionally good one, kept by a lady who had originally been Chinese, but having the bad luck in her youth to be in some town captured by the rebels, had been forcibly converted to Mahommedanism and married to a Panthay. This incident did not seem to have affected her cheerfulness. The Chinese very soon resign themselves to circumstances. Certainly in this case it had happened twenty-five or thirty years ago, so she had had time to get over it.

The plain of Yung-p'ing only measures some four miles by two. The main road does not pass through the town, which, though the residence of the official, is a smaller place than Ch'ü-tung. On this march the snow-capped range of mountains near Ta-li Fu was visible for the first time.

The next four days took us from Sha-yang to Yang-pi, over a country in which there is absolutely no level ground. Sha-sung-shao, a little village among pine forests, was our sleeping place on the first day. On the 28th we crossed the range which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi river at a height a little over 8000 feet and descended to Huang-lien-p'u, which is built on a steep hillside shut in closely by hills on all sides. It contains a very good *hsing-* [485]
t'ai or Government rest-house, where we slept.

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the respectable inhabitants are generally friendly and even 797
cordial. It is true that beneath this there is in the minds of the Chinese a vein of suspicion, for it is difficult for a Chinaman to look on a European as the same kind of being as himself. But I do not believe that the bad feeling which exists in some of the more anti-foreign places is directed against him because he is a missionary, but because he is a European. The Chinese are not a race with any deep religious feeling, and are quite ready to let men follow whatever religion they please, but disinterestedness is rare among them and they consequently cannot understand men coming out to teach a new religion without any ulterior object. It is difficult for them to believe that it is not some insidious design of foreign governments to introduce western customs.

In the province of Yün-nan no great progress has so far been made in making converts, and they say the Yün-nanese are more difficult to convert than the people of other provinces. Moreover the English missionaries are generally very careful as to whom they allow to be baptized, and make it a rule to accept no man as a convert without a considerable period of probation. Whether their success in their own work be great or small, I believe that English missionaries, simply by living in the country, do a great deal to raise the character of Europeans in the estimation of the Chinese. To the Chinaman in his natural state, the European is thought of as an outer barbarian of grotesque appearance, scarcely belonging to the human race at all. An enormous majority of the Chinese have never seen any Europeans but missionaries, and on them therefore falls the task of trying to dispel these ideas. They wear Chinese dress and conform as far as possible to Chinese customs, so that in course of time the Chinese begin to feel that they are not an entirely different race of beings from themselves. Certainly I have found the people more civil and less inquisitive in places where there are missionaries than in places where there are none.

During my stay in Ta-li the curious festival called the 527
Yin-ch'un was held. This ceremony is performed annually in Yün-nan about the time of the Chinese New Year. It consists in carrying an earthen representation of a man and

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527 of a buffalo round the principal streets of the town for two or three hours. Inside the buffalo and the man are twelve little buffaloes and twelve little men, or should the year contain thirteen months, as it sometimes does, there are thirteen of them. The next day the two images are broken, and the little buffaloes and little men are taken out and one of each is presented to the principal officials and other leading men of the place, who have to make a money present in return. This ceremony appears to be a representation of the birth of the New Year. The particular colour that the man and the buffalo are to be painted each year is communicated officially from Peking.

132 The amount of snow to be found on the Ta-li mountains is a subject on which former travellers have differed, so I made enquiries about it. Mr Smith told me that the snow on the range is only visible from below during the winter months, but that in the deep ravines and crevices near the top of the range it is to be found all the year round, and it is brought down and sold in the town to cool water with in the hot weather. A little snow occasionally falls in the Ta-li plain, but it never lies long.

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This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a certain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival during which they light fires on all the mountains, amid great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the country from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith, but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on one's back they carry fastened to a band on their forehead.

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On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River upstream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension

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of troops to defend the city against a resolute opponent. Sung pan ting has hardly more than 1,500 settled families. Their cloak of protection is therefore far too wide. Inasmuch as there are few Chinese farmers in the vicinity, the city is not required to provide shelter for many refugees in case of a war. This was also a reason why in the 1860s when the Tai ping rebellion weakened the government and the Tibetans and Mohammedans therefore thought their hour of emancipation had come, the city could not offer any resistance against the Tibetan attackers, and rapidly fell. For three years the city, as well as the entire territory up to Nan ping and down to Lung ngan fu and as far as Mao tschou, was ruled by the native aristocrats and the Chinese were so oppressed that to this day they celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation. The day happened to occur during my visit. The Mohammedans also take part in the pleasures of this festival, for they, too, suffered very much under the Tibetans. The latter wanted to re-establish the old kingdom of the Nessedin (Nasding) rgyalbo. The memory of this Tibetan king is still very vivid here.

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The relationship between Chinese and Mohammedans who constitute about half the population of the city, is relatively very good, and that is why there are two Mohammedan prayer halls inside the city wall; and a large mosque has been preserved from ancient times not far from the city across the left bank of the Min ho. As far as other buildings are concerned, we need mention only the old Chen tai yamen in the northern part of the city and the government building of the Ting on a rock terrace in the west. On the periphery of the city are a few lamaistic (Saskya-, Nima-) monasteries. The dwellings /277/ are largely made of wood and many of them are three-storied. A whole section of the city looked very new because just three years before there had been a large fire here. The shops are found along the main street, as everywhere in China. Here one always sees a few Tibetans buying luxury items. The Tibetan population which visits Sung pan ting gives the city a distinctive appearance. The streets are crowded with Ngolok who come riding into the gates on horseback, and above all with hordes of poorly-dressed Bo lo tse or Po lo (Tibetan: Kredyang), men and a surprising number of young women, on foot, and mostly barefoot, clothed only in a coarse, blackish-brown hairy shirt, often without a hat, without any kind of

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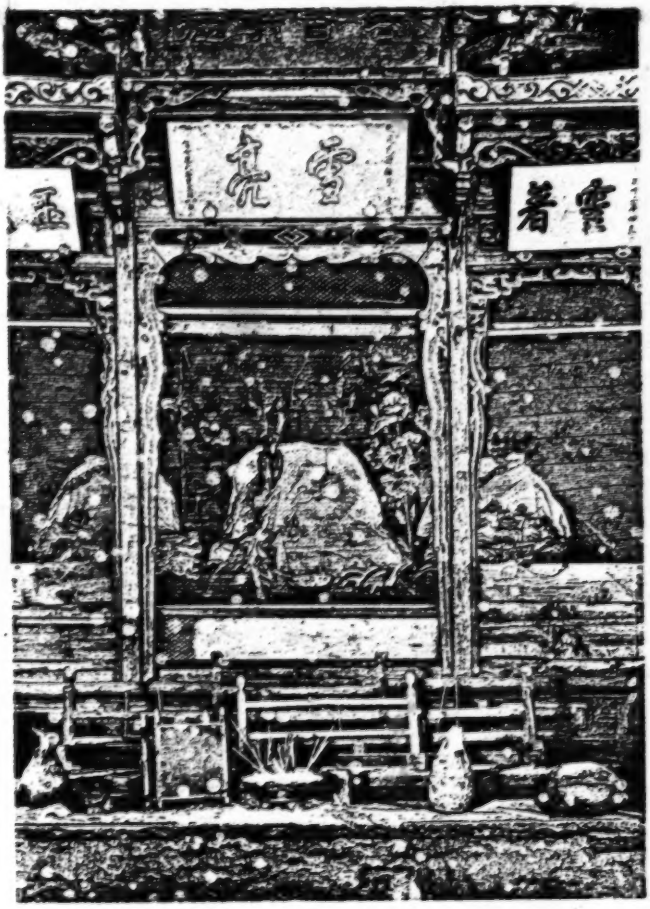

PLATE 62. — MAIN SHRINE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO

主 殿 正 龕

The central figure is Sa-ddo (Pei-yo); to his left sits his wife Gkyi-chi-ndzěr-dto, and to his right his concubine Gkyi-chi-ndzěr-mug. When prayers are offered to Sa-ddo their names are also mentioned. He, himself, is addressed as P'u-la Sa-ddo hä ddü, the god Sa-ddo, the great god.

[p. 108 N]

546 as the opera of the same name, won first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-Picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shang jao, produced in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully demonstrates the "collective heroism" of the Communists under duress. When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the movie Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mongol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities. Similar movies about the ethnic minorities in the Southwest are likely to be made in the future.

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

A. Painting and the Plastic Arts

532 Painting and the plastic arts are largely utilitarian in China today. The utilitarian spirit puts them either in the realm of propaganda or craftsmanship. As propaganda, they become extremely derivative and stereotyped; as craftsmanship, they utilize local characteristics and traditional skills, although they sometimes appear to be unrestrainedly florid and pretentious. Chinese brush paintings, woodcuts, oil paintings, cartoons

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

chalk drawings, and posters are entries in most of the art exhibitions. Among these categories, ceramic figures and wood-carvings represent local craftsmanship and are little influenced by Communist ideology. Other art forms have used Communist policies and slogans as themes for depiction. Woodcuts, sculptures, and water colors seemed to have been more easily adapted to the new themes than oil paintings and the traditional Chinese brush paintings. The oil paintings done by Chinese artists usually lack imagination in composition; at their best, they are only near-photographic depictions of political activities. Traditional brush-painting technique is at its best in landscape paintings and in depicting rural life and is ill-adapted to the illustration of modern people and their activities. No prominent artists in oil or water color have emerged under the Communist regime.

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Under the general principle, "Accept the heritage of the world," artists like Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci are commemorated and reproductions like that of the Mona Lisa are used in literary and art journals.

B. Woodcuts

The woodcut, a traditional art in China, is used to adorn story books. Lu Hsün was the first to renew popular interest in this art. Woodcuts became popular in Yenan during the war against Japan because their creation does not require eleaborate equipment. Many people remember the lively wood cuts of the Liberated Areas, which showed the influence of Western woodscuts. Woodcuts are popular in Communist China; there is a tendency to incorporate the

532 traditional Chinese woodcut style in the illustration of Communist themes, and there are elaborate woodcuts in multiple colors, a technique which antedates the Yenan period. In recent woodcuts, rural life is more effectively presented than blast furnaces or anti-U.S. activities.

C. New Year's Pictures (Nien-hua)

In those Chinese households which have not been influenced by the West, a new picture is hung or pasted on the wall on every New Year's Eve to assure a prosperous and peaceful year ahead. The pictures are called nien-hua. New Year's pictures are exploited by the Communists as a means to secure people's consent and support for their regime. The traditional themes of superstitious propitiation to gods has been transmogrified to praise of Mao Tse-tung for bringing happiness and prosperity to the people, to celebration of the Long March of the Red Army, the distribution of the land certificates after the land reform, the woman train-conductor, or the "great meeting of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung."[23]

The Communists have boasted of a tremendous sale of the "new" nien-hua in the last few years. The production and printing of the nien-hua are now done entirely by Communist publishing houses, and the Chinese people have no way of buying their traditional nien-hua. The aesthetic value of the nien-hua is practically nil, but it utilizes so well the traditional customs, beliefs, and sayings of the people that its messages are immediately understandable and are apt to be accepted.

23. People's Pictorial, February 1951.

D. Comic Strips (Lien-huna t'u-hua)

532 The Chinese comic strip is neither literature nor art, but it borrows a little from both to enable the barely literate to entertain themselves with stories. The Communists, knowing the popularity of the comic strip among children, women, and the uneducated, have used it to teach "patriotism," sanitation, and health. They regard earlier comic strips as "feudalistic" and superstitious, and have replaced them with those which are "new, healthy, and educational." The new comic strips, created by artists recruited and guided by the Communists, are seen at street corners, and in factories, villages, armies, and schools.

The Communists claim that the sale of comic strips is increasing daily. The Lien-ho Bookstore in Shanghai, which handles the new comic strips, reports the sale of more than 600,000 volumes in January 1951, and more than one million volumes in the following April. The comic strip periodical Lien-huan Hua-pao is reported to have a circulation of 400,000 copies.

The most representative and most publicized new comic strip is The Letter with a Chicken Feather,[24] which uses 243 pictures to "give the Chinese children a patriotic education." The story concerns a young boy who, after receiving a Communist education, successfully fulfilled the "heroic" task of delivering an important message to anti-Japanese guerrilla force. It is claimed

24. It was a traditional practice to include a chicken feather with an urgent message, signifying the letter's importance and need for its safekeeping.

532 that more than 58,000 copies of The Letter with a Chicken Feather have been sold.

E. Dance

535 China proper does not have any distinctive form of dancing, although yang-ko is sometimes considered native to China. Yang-ko is a combination of signing and dancing, derived from the song pattern of peasants who sing in groups antiphonically when working in the rice-fields. The dance steps revolve around a basic pattern, that is, two steps forward and one step back, which resembles the movements of the peasants as they work in the fields. In village festivals, yang-ko is sometimes performed, but it became truly popular only after the reform of literature and art in 1942, when the Communists used the dance to propagate new ideas in Shensi, and later in North China. It was brought to different parts of China in time to greet the advancing People's Liberation Army. The opera The White-haired Girl was based on singing and dancing forms of the yang-ko; and a the first stage of land reform this opera was utilized by the Communist cadres in many different parts of China to stir up class struggles in villages. The vogue of yang-ko in East China now seems to be over. The sophisticated cadres seem to prefer the new opera to yang-ko, and Western forms of social dancing to yang-ko steps.

The Chinese Communists have always fostered any art form that would assist their revolution. In 1950, Hsien Hsing-hai's Production

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PLATE 48.—THE STATUE OF YANG SHEN

楊 賢 像

In the Shrine of Mao Yü and Yang Shen adjoining P'u-hsien Ssu, across the lake, west of K'un-ming.

[p. 76p]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

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PLATE 49.—THE ANCESTRAL TABLET OF YANG SHEN

楊 慎 祠 堂

[p. 108 A]

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PLATE 63. — CHENOS-KYI-HBYUNG-GNAS

The Guru Karma-pa who visited Li-chiang. After a painting from the Yü-feng Sen (Jade-peak Lamasery) at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan.

[p. 108-0]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 245.—LION MOUNTAIN GODDESS SENG-GE GA-MU

永寧獅子山山女神僧格嘉

She rides a hind and is patroness of Yung-ning. From a Tibetan painting made in Lha-sa. To the left, near her hand holding a flute, is Lion Mountain; lower left, Yung-ning lake with two ducks. Above her in center is Amitabha.

[p. 458 E]

6: Tafel--344 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Plate LI.

/216C/

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Conquest of the towers of Ragu (Chinese: La ku) on the Kunser Mountain (Great Kin tschuan) in the year 1775 by the Chinese under General Akuei. (Contemporary Chinese copper plate print. The original copper plate was damaged, it is now found in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. Size of original: 88 by 51 centimeters.)

535 Dance," which is an adaptation of a traditional festival stunt performed in North China during the lunar New Year season.[27] Another dance, "Tea and Butterflies," has also been widely publicized; it is concerned with tea-gathering maidens in Western Fukien.[28] The purpose of these dances is "to beautify the working spirit" and to set a pattern to be developed by dance corps elsewhere in China.

The Central Experimental Opera Institute at Peking has also given instruction in ballet, and there are many aspiring ballerinas. Interest in ballet is unprecedented in China and is clearly the result of the popularity of ballet in Russia.[29]

The activities associated with dance are organized and directed by the government. There is the All-China Association of Dancers, a subdivision of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Workers,[30] with headquarters in Peking. Tai Ai-lien, a well-known professional dancer, heads the association. She has dedicated herself to the incorporation of folk life, especially that of the minority peoples, into her dances. Her training, however, is Western.

F. Music

533 Appreciation of Western classical music has been revived in accordance with the principle of "accepting the culture of the world." The

27. Ibid., March 1954.
28. Ibid., April 1954.
29. Ibid., May 1954.
30. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

533 municipal symphony orchestra in Peking performs Beethoven as well as Tschaikowsky and such a performance is intended to set an example for musical activities elsewhere in the nation. The quality of the symphony's performance is unknown. No major composer has emerged under the Communist regime. Most of the musicians seem to be absorbed in collecting and re-arranging folk music, in composing scores for new operas, or in turning out at short notice musical accompaniment for propaganda films.

Marching bands have been very popular under the Communist regime; nearly every school has a band. This is in keeping with the Communists' deliberate effort to foster some kind of martial spirit in the youth of the country.

536 of dramatic arts.[57] The remarks of this old actor, with over twenty years of stage experience in Southwest China, point out clearly the direction in which local traditional drama is to be developed.

The non-musical stage-play was quite popular in Southwest China during the War of Resistance against Japan. Possibly because of their political ideas such plays are no longer popular. In January 1953, only one play -- "Confronting New Things and People" -- was advertised in Chungking. New variety shows dealing with short subjects such as "Sing for the Erh-lang Mountain," and "Kill the American Wolf," are performed more often than plays. Many familiar traditional Szechwan operas have been performed, but undoubtedly they have been revised by the Communists. This situation is different from that in North or East China, where the non-musical stage-play continued to hold the interest of the stage as late as 1953.

•533 Song and dance are extensively used both on and off the stage. Their versatility as media of information and propaganda has long been recognized by the Communists. As early as 1950, the 700 musicians in Chungking were organized into groups, and by July of that year had already been to 106 factories to teach the workers to sing "new" songs.[58] Music and dance

57. New China Daily, Chungking, January 27, 1953, p. 3.

58. Compendium of Gov't Reports, p.1002.

[redacted]

533 numbers arranged to depict a political theme are frequently presented at the cultural centers and by propaganda teams traveling in the countryside. (For more discussion on song and dance, see chapter on Artistic and Literary Expression).

B. Motion Pictures

1. Control

546 So far there has been no indication that any motion picture has been or is being made in Southwest China, except perhaps some newsreels photographed by movie teams attached to the "Liberation Army." Thus the problem of control in this region is reduced simply to that of supervising the distribution and showing of films. More remote from sources of American and other Western motion picture supply, even the question of censorship will automatically be taken care of as soon as distribution is centralized. Early in 1950, the Southwest China branch of the China Motion Picture Distribution Company was in operation. It monopolizes distribution and is directly controlled by its headquarters in Peking.

Responsible for the supervision of the showing of motion pictures in this region are the provincial cultural and education commissions. They are also in charge of organization and the assignment of mobile motion picture teams to tour the countryside.

2. Development

In July 1950, the Southwest China branch

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

545 In shadow plays, *têng ying hsi* 燈影戲, the figures are made of leather and the performance is generally held at night. The court-yard of a house is curtained round with white calico; within there is light, without it is dark, and the figures are manipulated so that the shadows fall on the screen for the spectators outside to view.

In the *pei tan* 被單 *hsi* or sheet play the actors screen off a small enclosure with black calico and display a small wooden puppet over the top of it. The puppets are worked by strings attached to legs, arms, tongues, etc. The showmen are trained ventriloquists, and make their puppets dance and kick about in most amusing fashion; the figures are called *shên t'ung-tzŭ* 神童子, because they are so smart and acrobatic, and they are probably procured in the same way as those of the Punch and Judy shows.

There are amateur theatrical companies composed of local actors or farm labourers with a gift for singing or acting, and called *têng pan-tzŭ* 燈班子. Many join such a troupe to have a gay time of running round the countryside; the rustics call these escapades *sao têng* 臊燈. Such companies only get about 5000 cash for a day's performance.

[533] Street singing is termed *pan têng* 板凳 *hsi* (stool concert), or *wan yu hui* 玩友會 (friendly society), or *wei ku* 圍鼓, (round the drum).

The peepshow, *hsi hu* 西湖 *hsi* (west lake show) is a box with glaring pictures outside, and peepholes through which those who pay may look at the pictures inside, these being brought into view in turn by means of a handle.

Performers go from door to door getting a single cash at each for making a puppet dance up and down by the motion of a fan; *shan tzŭ* 扇子 *hsi*.

545 231 Others go from house to house with a monkey, a dog and a box of paraphernalia. Money for a performance having been paid down the performer directs the monkey which opens the box, dresses itself, and rides the dog or drives it hitched to a miniature plough.

Theatricals are given in each parish in front of the *Yang miao* 秧苗 *t'u ti* or local god of sprouting grain, in order to keep insects away from the growing crops.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

782 immortal. This is called *lien tan hsüan kung* 煉丹玄功. The body is said to have ten openings, but the one on the top of the head needs to be opened in this way before it is effectual.

* * *

EXHORTATION 說書 *shuo shu.*

792 To explain the Sacred Edict, 講聖諭 *chiang shêng yü.* The Sacred Edict originally had six chapters composed by the emperor Shun-chih 順治, but it was enlarged and edited by his successor K'ang-hsi, and now contains sixteen chapters. Before the exhorter begins his works a tablet has to be erected on which are engraved the two characters Shêng yü. Candles are lighted on either side and in front, paper and incense are also burned before the tablet; the exhorter then bows three times, and knocks his head nine times to the ground before he begins to talk. The custom is to pay 100 cash for each chapter explained, and three chapters are generally gone over each evening. This money is generally paid by rich people in order to accumulate merit; not uncommonly a rich farmer or wealthy merchant invites an exhorter to his house for this purpose. At its beginning this practice may have been better than it now is; unfortunately the wicked lives of many of these men does much to nullify their words; and their exhortation is no longer confined to the doctrines contained in the Sacred Edict, but is largely made up of old wives' fables, and local and provincial scandals.

Many preachers of the Sacred Edict also use the method of exhortation by proverbs, *chiang kê yen* 講格言. There is a slight resemblance to, and connection with, the Sacred Edict, but most of the incidents are taken from the law courts, or scandals in business and private circles.

533 Men walk through the streets and sing ballads of a national or amorous character, *ch'ang shan shu* 唱善書. The idea is generally to procure travelling expenses for themselves or others to some distant place

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Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meetings	Date (Lunar) Calendar		Number of Priests Engaged
8. I	15,16,17,	4th Month	3 Priests
9. J	16,17,18	" "	(T'an Ching only)
9. K	16,17,18,19,	4th Moon	3 (with Wen God ceremony)
10. L	21,22,	" "	1
11. M	About 20,	" "	3
12. N	22,23,24,	" "	3
12. O	22,23,	" "	1
13. H	23,24,25,	" "	5 (with Wen God ceremony)
14. P	About 25,	" "	1
15. Q (Prayer and the ceremony of receiving a special goddess)	25,26,27,	" "	3
16. E	1,2,3	5th Moon	5

(Altogether nineteen meetings are here recorded. See Diagram for the approximate location of each area.)

A complete description of the rites involved in these prayer meetings is impossible in the present paper. The author proposes here to state in outline form only (1) the main points of the rites, (2) the cost of the meetings, and (3) the meaning of the prayers.

1. The Main Points of the Rites

The most important thing is the work of the priests in reading their scriptures, reciting incantations, and burning petitions to the gods. In the smaller one-priest affairs the reading and reciting is done by the priest alone, with the accompaniment of the sound of a "wood fish" or a bell. In the larger three-priest affairs this is done in singing and reciting. The singing is accompanied by cymbals, bugles, and stringed instruments played by three or four accompanists who often join in the priests' chorus. This is done by three or four priests taking turns or together, from about 7:00 in the morning to about 11:00 or 12:00 in the evening, stopping for meals or for a pipe. Petition papers are burned to the various gods at one time or another. The burning of such papers involves many strenuous duck steps made in succession by three priests so that their faces are covered with perspiration. Both the scriptures and the petitions state that the people of the locality have deep sins and know that the gods are now showing their anger, but respectfully and tremblingly request the gods to withdraw the punishment, and that the people promise to obey the superior spirits forever. On the second evening of the prayer meeting the chief priest assumes the dress of a chief monk and sits on a lotus flower-shaped seat fixed on a high platform; while many boys and men hold their immediate ancestors' (usually father or mother) paper tablets and gradually push the latter over a cloth "bridge" towards the chief priest, as the latter performs various rituals. This is the ritual of "sitting the lotus" and is for giving blessing to the souls who have died of sudden illness or accidents (as a matter of fact, mostly deaths due to the epidemic). The third night is signified by a ritual spreading of porridge and paper money to homeless (i.e., descendent-less) spirits who may be about the place, along the [533]

532 that more than 58,000 copies of The Letter with a Chicken Feather have been sold.

E. Dance

535 China proper does not have any distinctive form of dancing, although yang-ko is sometimes considered native to China. Yang-ko is a combination of signing and dancing, derived from the song pattern of peasants who sing in groups antiphonically when working in the rice-fields. The dance steps revolve around a basic pattern, that is, two steps forward and one step back, which resembles the movements of the peasants as they work in the fields. In village festivals, yang-ko is sometimes performed, but it became truly popular only after the reform of literature and art in 1942, when the Communists used the dance to propagate new ideas in Shensi, and later in North China. It was brought to different parts of China in time to greet the advancing People's Liberation Army. The opera The White-haired Girl was based on singing and dancing forms of the yang-ko; and a the first stage of land reform this opera was utilized by the Communist cadres in many different parts of China to stir up class struggles in villages. The vogue of yang-ko in East China now seems to be over. The sophisticated cadres seem to prefer the new opera to yang-ko, and Western forms of social dancing to yang-ko steps.

The Chinese Communists have always fostered any art form that would assist their revolution. In 1950, Hsien Hsing-hai's Production

535 Cantata (Sheng-ch'an Ta-ho-ch'ang) was transformed into an operatic spectacle. The new song-and-dance version is divided into four scenes, celebrating the times of spring cultivation, seeding, harvest, and prosperity, to portray the rural working people's enthusiasm for production and their prosperity as a result of the Communist "liberation."[25]

535 563 The minority groups in the Southwest have many forms of folk dances. During the war with Japan and in the postwar years, folk dances such as the Drinking Party of the Chia-jung (Chia-jung Chiu-hui) became popular among student groups in all parts of China. The Cultural Corps (Wen-kung t'uan) of the Central Institute of Nationalities at Peking has been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are the "Flute Dance" (a courtship dance) and "Wedding Dance" of the Miao people, "Happy Sun" (a tap dance) and "Good Harvest" (a traditional dance around a family cooking stove) of the Tibetans in Western Szechwan and Northern Yunnan, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

535 The Central Dance Corps at Peking, sponsored by the government, recently gave a "Lion

25. People's Pictorial, August 1950.

26. Ibid., July 1954.

535 Dance," which is an adaptation of a traditional festival stunt performed in North China during the lunar New Year season.[27] Another dance, "Tea and Butterflies," has also been widely publicized; it is concerned with tea-gathering maidens in Western Fukien.[28] The purpose of these dances is "to beautify the working spirit" and to set a pattern to be developed by dance corps elsewhere in China.

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F. Music

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27. Ibid., March 1954.
28. Ibid., April 1954.
29. Ibid., May 1954.
30. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was changed to the Federation of Literary and Art Workers in September 1953.

1:Stanford U; S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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527 These are the festivals that have
796 retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[10] The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals and other milestones of family and individual life.

527 In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

•536 In addition to these occasions for

10. For a description of wedding celebrations in Yunnan in the 1940's cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 93-98.

536 relaxation, special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin his 622 tales to an impromptu audience. The election of a village headman often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages 796 to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. 521 Perhaps the most universal reaction was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation. Francis Hsü describes the recreation pattern in a small Yunnan town:

> In the evening, many shop doors may be found open to welcome neighbors and friends who care to come into the brightly lighted interior for a chat, and little clusters of men stand or squat near some street corner, often near a food stand.... The topics discussed at these gatherings range from rumors about national affairs and market prices to local rights and wrongs.[11]

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11. Hsü, op. cit., p. 25.

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668 involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

668 527 Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at the village level.[22] The New Year festival itself is characterized by some traditional activities, modified to promote government aims, and by some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[23] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist [525] standards.[24] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. 668 536 The peasants have been urged to organize their

22. SCMP 979, F b. 2, 1955, p. 30.

23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.

24. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton, 1953, p. 32.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the "New Order" have been moving through the countryside. The old exchange of visits with relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[25]

The seasonal pilgrimage, in company, to some famous shrine also has its Communist counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[26] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[27]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function

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25. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid. Also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21. We have no data on this for the Southwest.

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563 3. The exchange of literatures of the Han Chinese and the ethnic minorities.[21]

Although history in the Southwest is often interpreted by the Chinese Communists as antagonism between groups or suppression of one group by another, the literatures of the minorities that are to be developed are not allowed to take anti-administration forms.

F. Drama

536 Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin,

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20. Most of the literature of the minority groups take the form of poetry. The following are representative: Yung Ying, "We Are a Group of Miao-chia," People's Literature, January 1, 1952, pp. 61-62; Fan Jung-k'ang, "Song of the Miao-chia," ibid., pp. 63-64; Chu Yeh, "The Yi and the Ni-su of the Highlands," ibid., pp. 53-60; Miao Yen-hsiu, Ta-miao-shan Symphony, Shanghai, Hsin wen-i ch'u-pa she, 1954; and "Ah-shih-ma," a long poem transmitted orally by a Southwest minority group and now rendered into Han Chinese language by Huang Ti, People's Literature, May 7, 1954.

21. This, before minorities have their own written language, amounts to sinicization of minorit people with Chinese litera t ure in ways which do not seem "imperialistic" to minority peoples. On the other hand, cultural heritages of the Chinese people may be enriched by the assimilation of cultures of minority groups through literature.

536 and Shanghai, and in the big cities of the Southwest, (3) the new opera, a genre created by the Chinese Communists, and (4) the modern plays. These, together with motion pictures, are now utilized by the Communists to disseminate ideological and political messages

1. The folk plays. The best-known folk play in the Southwest is Ch'uan-hsi. The difference between Ch'uan-hsi and other Southwestern folk plays is mostly due to the difference in the dialects employed. All the folk plays borrow stories from each other, and therefore the same folk stories in the Southwest are presented in different versions in different folk plays.

Ch'uan-hsi resembles ching-hsi in stage-setting and costuming. But Ch'uan-hsi uses percussion more extensively than ching-hsi; at the end of each verse the percussion helps to heighten the mood, and the musicians themselves also chant the sound of the last syllable of the sung verse of the actor on the stage. This practice is called pang-ch'iang. Also, in Ch'uan-hsi there are choral arrangements which are absent in ching-hsi.

With the large influx of people from other parts of China into the Southwest during the war against Japan, ching-hsi has become more popular than Ch'uan-hsi in the larger Southwestern cities. But in the small towns and in rural areas Ch'uan-hsi and other types of folk plays are still the common means of entertainment.

536 2. Ching-hsi. A composite of many regional plays, ching-hsi is popular in all parts of China. The best actors and actresses of ching-hsi, however, have been those associated with the Peking theaters. Because of their wealth, some of the larger Southwestern cities have been able to invite to their theaters the best actors and actresses from North China. The musical accompaniment is carried by the hu-ch'in, a string instrument, assisted by other strings and by wood-winds. Percussion is used to accentuate rhythms of body movements and to dramatize heightened moments.

At its present state, ching-hsi is a polished form of art. It no longer depends for audience appeal on plotting but rather on a display of skill by the actors or actresses. It emphasizes costuming rather than scenery. Actors may play the female roles and actresses may play the male roles. The music pattern is not very flexible, but permits the well-known actors and actresses to vary the style of production. The spoken dialogue and the spoken patter songs, consisting of clichés in colloquial language, help the movement of the play, make the literary language of the sung verses more intelligible to the audience, and aid in the variation of rhythm. However, most of the spectators know the play, have memorized the verses, and can sing some of them. They came to the theatre to watch and enjoy the art of a stylized performance.

In comparison with the folk plays, the ching-hsi is a much more integrated art. Therefore, it is more difficult to bring innovations to the ching-hsi without damaging its accepted form; in contrast,

536 the folk plays may easily incorporate new elements. This fact accounts for the Communists' effort to revamp the folk plays and to bring them up to the same level of popular and artistic recognition as the ching-hsi. However, in the Communists' effort to reinterpret history, the ching-hsi is now rendering unique service. The Communists have not only revised many of the old scripts to conform to their ideology, but have also encouraged the writing of new scripts. In this attempt, well-known actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu are asked to lend a helping hand.

Playwrights in Communist China are now told to study ching-hsi, because this form can be used to dramatize personalities. In the Communists' efforts to glorify the image of the "new heroes," this art is considered extremely important.

545 3. The new opera. The new opera in China is modeled after the operatic forms of the West but the content conveys revolutionary themes. The first experiment in this form was The White-Haired Girl (1944), a collective creation of the writers and artists of the Lu Hsün Institute of Literature and Art. In the arias sung by the heroine, the musical pattern of the Hopei pang-tzu is borrowed to convey her changing moods. This is considered a very successful adaptation by the Communists. But the melodies of the other sung parts, which appear to be of yang-ko origin, are close to folk songs and lack dramatic effect. The White-haired Girl has been characterized as "drama-plus-songs," a term which indicates that the operatic form is not well enough developed to enable the music to carry the theme.

536 4. Modern plays (hua-chü). The modern play, like the motion picture, has no regional character. Any acceptable play will be staged in all parts of China, and kuo-yü (the national language) is used rather than the various dialects. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung's Thousands of Rivers and Mountains proves that the Communists' Long March in the thirties is always "correct" material for dramatization. The Song of the Red Flags, concerned with production drives in a textile factory in North China, was the joint creation of three playwrights, written after they had agreed on the ideological significance of this type of play and had sketched out the plot under the guidance of Chou Yang, the vice-minister of Cultural Affairs. The Song of the Red Flags was performed in Chungking as well as in other cities like Shanghai, Nanking, Peking, and Lan-chou. In Shanghai alone, it was given 159 performances, and some 125,000 people attended it.[22] If we take into account the fact that theater-going is now an organized activity of the various mass organizations such as the labor unions, the Women's Federation, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the study circles, the length of the run and the size of the audience do not accurately reflect the enthusiasm of the people but rather the effectiveness of the Communist organization of mass participation in the field of recreation.

546 5. Motion Pictures. Although Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, based on the same incident

22. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, July 1950.

IV. STAGE AND SCREEN

•536 The stage and screen are effective media for bringing messages to the illiterate and semi-literate. The Communists realize this and have been fully exploiting the possibilities of both forms of mass communication.

A. Stage

1. Control

The main goal of the Communist control of the stage is the consolidation of existing facilities and indoctrination of existing personnel. This has been pursued by officials in charge of dramatics in Southwest China since 1950. The system of control starts with both professional and amateur dramatic groups. Professional actors, playwrights, and stage workers have their respective associations under the direction of a provincial federation. In larger cities, artists are organized in a similar manner. Amateur dramatic groups are encouraged and aided by the association to which they belong. Before the abolition of the Greater Regional governments, the provincial federation took orders from regional authorities, but now it works with provincial Party propaganda agencies and receives direction from the Cultural and Information administrations under the State Council in Peking. The central Drama Reform Bureau under the Cultural Administration directly and exclusively interprets the broad policies laid

536 down by the Party. Its interpretation is passed down through a chain of control to the region, where the Cultural and Educational Commission puts it into practice.

2. Development

To expand stage activities, the Cultural and Educational Commission of this region has been promoting the organization of dramatic groups and encouraging professional actors to join the latter. By September 1952, about 50,000 stage workers were registered and 158 troupes organized.[54] The department of dramatics in the Southwest People's College of Arts was the center of the new drama movement until January 1, 1953 when the department was combined with the Experimental Drama Society to form the Southwest People's Art and Drama Academy, which now is playing a leading role in dramatics in Southwest China. When academy was founded, Li Ch'ang-lu, vice-chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission, exhorted the members of the academy to "study the thoughts and theories of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung." In addition, they were told to retain "the cultural heritage" of the people of Southwest China so that local color and characteristics of southwestern drama could be preserved and further developed.[55] Li sounded

54. New China Daily, Chungking, September 30, 1952, p. 3.

55. New China Daily, Chungking, Jan. 3, 1953, p. 3.

•536 the keynote for the future development of drama in this region.

Scattered statistics indicate that the development of dramatics in this region had an enthusiastic start in 1950. In the city of Chungking alone, more than ten "revised traditional operas" were staged in the first half of 1950, with a total audience of about 200,000. The official plan called for revision of 60 old scripts during the remainder of that year.[56]

The traditional Szechwan opera, differing from Peking opera in musical and lyrical styles, drew national attention when in September 1952 a selected group of actors visited Peking and participated in the national dramatic exhibition. Veteran Szechwan opera singers such as Chia P'ei-chih returned from Peking after the exhibition performance beaming with pride and optimism because he was among those who received awards. He published in the New China Daily his observations on the future of Szechwan opera as follows: (a) the People's Government was definitely supporting and helping traditional Szechwan opera and its actors; (b) in the past "feudalistic" influences and "reactionary" suppression caused the opera to distort its true beauty and deal with superstitious elements, but now the time had come to remove these stumbling blocks so that the laboring masses and their heroes could be naturally represented; (c) the success scored in Peking in September 1952 by Szechwan opera was made possible by the fact that the works performed had been revised in accordance with the new principle

56. Compendium of Gov't Reports, p. 1002.

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 AF 16 SW China AF16

536 of dramatic arts.[57] The remarks of this old actor, with over twenty years of stage experience in Southwest China, point out clearly the direction in which local traditional drama is to be developed.

The non-musical stage-play was quite popular in Southwest China during the War of Resistance against Japan. Possibly because of their political ideas such plays are no longer popular. In January 1953, only one play -- "Confronting New Things and People" -- was advertised in Chungking. New variety shows dealing with short subjects such as "Sing for the Erh-lang Mountain," and "Kill the American Wolf," are performed more often than plays. Many familiar traditional Szechwan operas have been performed, but undoubtedly they have been revised by the Communists. This situation is different from that in North or East China, where the non-musical stage-play continued to hold the interest of the stage as late as 1953.

533 Song and dance are extensively used both on and off the stage. Their versatility as media of information and propaganda has long been recognized by the Communists. As early as 1950, the 700 musicians in Chungking were organized into groups, and by July of that year had already been to 106 factories to teach the workers to sing "new" songs.[58] Music and dance

57. New China Daily, Chungking, January 27, 1953, p. 3.

58. Compendium of Gov't Reports, p.1002.

175 was so thorough that the Min-chia (Pai-man) trbies of the Ta-li Plain show a close affinity to Chinese culture today.[10]

In conquering the Chinese Empire of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the Mongols outflanked it by striking through the Ta-li kingdom. Central Yunnan was made desolate by the invasion, but remnants of the Ta-li state survived as vassals of the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty (1279-1368) until the conquest of Yunnan by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in 1382. The province was incorporated into the Chinese Empire by the Mongols, who installed as governor a Mohamedan Tartar from Bukhara. Under the adopted Chinese name of Sai Tien-ch'i, he repopulated central and western Yunnan by inviting in Mohamedans from Northwest China. As a result, the province has become a secondary Chinese center of Mohamedanism.[11]

175 While most of the Southwest continued as an
538 undeveloped and unassimilated frontier area, the
• thoroughly Sinified Red Basin in Szechwan was contributing to Chinese civilization some of its greatest exponents in the arts, philosophy, and statecraft. No Chinese poet has ever surpassed the work of Li Po (c. 700-762), whose birthplace is disputed but thought to be in Szechwan, and his frequent companion in bacchic revels, Tu Fu 712-770), more certainly a native of the province. Both men were for a time favorites at the T'ang court and were among the "Eight Immortals

10. Ibid., pp. 142, 157-62.

11. Ibid., pp. 162-64, 184.

175 of the Wine-cup" -- a small group devoted to
538 serious drinking and metaphysical flights of Taoist and Buddhist fancy.[12] Both men suffered misfortune and privation during their lives, but Li Po sought to escape them by retreat into a romantic world, unlike Tu Fu, whose poetry often expresses suffering in moving terms. Both men are acclaimed by the Communists. Tu Fu's concern with his own and the world's miseries has been interpreted by the Communists as evidence of his anti-feudalistic feeling, and the current regime has lauded him and his poetry while making his home in Chengtu into a national shrine.[13]

Another famous exponent of Chinese culture from Szechwan was Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036-1101). He has a high place among the great names of Chinese philosophy, literature, and caligraphy. His philosophic writings -- committed to no orthodoxy and searching for the truth in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism -- were long influential in China and Japan as well.[14]

C. Development of Chinese Settlement and Direct Control

167 Large-scale settlement of Yunnan and Kwei-
175 chow by Han Chinese and the extension of Chinese central authority in these provinces and Szechwan became a Chinese policy with the Ming Dynasty. Under its rule, mass migration into western Szechwan and the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau was effected on a planned basis. One of the initial

12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.219-220.
13. S.C.M.P., 840, p. 41.
14. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp.264,267.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph li,
Sociological Background

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

538 184 Intellectual and artistic expression is interpreted in this chapter to mean the communication of ideals and ideas through creative and academic writing, painting, the plastic arts, dancing, and music.

The Chinese written language is the vehicle for official business and creative expression in all parts of China. Therefore the bulk of the creative and academic writing of the Southwest Region of China does not differ from that produced in China as a whole. In the past cultural activities originating in Peking and Shanghai stirred up cities like Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming in the Southwest as well; and the support from these citie gave cultural movements originating in coastal [722] cities a national appearance. During the war with Japan, these Southwestern cities became wartime Chinese cultural centers, as the sites of the wartime campuses of the best Chinese universities. The identification of the bulk of the creative and academic writings of the Southwest with that of the Chinese nation is particularly true today when the nation is ruled by a centralized government and when all cultural innovations emanate from Peking.

538 The Chinese, especially the Chinese Communists often speak of literature and the arts as one. In the Communists' policy statements, what pertains

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538 to literature also pertains to the other arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

538 563 Only in the less sophisticated folk literature and folk art does the Southwest retain its unique regional characteristics. However, even in this respect, the Southwest is by no means a separate entity. Parts of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, being largely populated by the Han Chinese from the provinces east of them, are more closely related to the Central China tradition; other parts of these provinces are populated by a variety of ethnic minorities, each having its own unique cultural pattern. The cultural policies toward these minorities are part of the national policies and are decided in Peking.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

538 668 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-feng) at Yenan in 1942 [1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all

1. [See following page.]

538 668 writers and artists in the nation to the service of the state. Control and regimentation of thought in literature and art became more systematic as the Communists consolidated their power, the victor being the arbiter of artistic "truth." In

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I. Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Party School in Yenan in February and at the Yenan Literary and Art Circles' meeting in May 1942 established the "line" of literature and art which had been endorsed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and which has since been upheld as the creed of writers and artists in Communist China. The general tnor of the speeches was that literary and art workers at Yenan, being undeniably "revolutionaries by choice," should stop the hitherto blind imitation of alien and imported prototypes and the singing of abstract, contentless tunes which had nothing to do with the revolution and, as such, would not be understood by the peasant-worker-soldier masses. In their place, fresh and lively revolutionary themes in the Chinese style would be appreciated. Although in principle Mao believed that Chinese literature and art should benefit from masterpieces of other cultures, especially those produced in the Soviet Union, in no instance would he allow the separation of Chinese literature and art from immediate revolutionary tasks; and on this basis he puts the popularization of literature and art ahead of sophistication. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Vol. 3, pp. 833-900.

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general, the control over writers, artists, and their work takes three forms, as was true in the Liberated Areas after the 1942 reform: (1) the organization of writers and artists under government auspices; (2) the identification of the duties of the writers and artists with the implementation of government policy; and (3) the intentional and unceasing use of literary and art criticism to keep writers and artists in line. Now, however, the scope is national. 538 668

A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and

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538 668 the remaining 10,000 in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it becomes obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers engaged in raising the standard of literacy.[2] It is doubtful that the majority of these 70,000 so-called writers and artists had achieved high competence in intellectual and artistic expression. Two years later, the Communists' leading woman author, Ting Ling, was still complaining that as editor she had difficulty in finding acceptable manuscripts for her magazine.[3]

It is certain that the organization of these writers and artists put the politically dubious under the guidance and supervision of the politically reliable; and the organized state rendered the writers and artists collectively responsible for their part in the Communist cause. Furthermore, dominated as it was by veteran Communists, the organization embracing all China's well-known writers and artists served as a good Communist-style "democratic front."

B. The Task of the Writer

The literary subdivision of the federation was the All-China Association of Literary Workers, which, like the federation's other subdivisions, has its own professional magazine, People's Literature. In the first issue, published in October 1949, the sixfold task of the magazine was stated in part as follows:

2. Chou En-lai, "Political Report at the Conference of the All-China Literary and Art Workers," (July 6, 1949), People's Literature, Peking, I,3, Jan.1,1950,p.17.

3. [see next page]

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1. To participate in the People's Liberation War and in the construction of the "New Democratic nation" through literary forms that are treasured by the people, with ideological content reflecting the growth of the new nation and praising the contribution of the masses in revolutionary struggles and productive activities;

2. to rid literature of imperialist influence and to reform traditional literature; to accept what is "good" in foreign literary and artistic endeavor;

3. to guide the masses in factories, villages, and in the ranks in their literary study, and to help increase their "literary strength";

4. to develop literatures of the ethnic minorities;

5. to study revolutionary theory and to organize groups for the study and discussion of the new literary productions and the formulation of a "scientific" theory of literary criticism;

6. to promote interflow of literature and

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3. Ting Miao, A General Analysis of Chinese Communist Literature and Art, Hong Kong Ya-chou ch'u-pan she, 1954, pp. 149-50.

4. People's Literature, I, 1, Oct.25,1959, p. 13. The content of this declaration reads very much like the constitution of the Union of Soviet Writers in the USSR. [see next page]

538 668 art among nations; to develop patriotism and internationalism; and to participate in "struggle for peace" as led by the USSR.[4]

Before the writers of the association had time to demonstrate their ability to implement these policies by fulfilling pledges to turn out so many pieces of work in a stipulated period of time, the conflict in Korea began.

The war was utilized by the Party as a schooling ground for class education and was depicted as a panorama of international class struggle. On this pretext writers were sent to the front to learn about "reality" in order to delineate the struggle of the heroes of the day and to draw the moral of the times. They were expected to mak e the most out of their experience not only by reporting immediate events but also by recording their impressions in not es which would later serve as material for more lengthy literary works. With the exception of Pa Chin's Living Among the Heroes, Wei Wei's Who Are the Most Lovable People?, Lu Chu-kuo's Shang-kan Mountain, Yang Shuo's Three Thousand-Li Territory, and a few others which are readable and maintain certain literary standards, other writings based upon the authors' experiences at the Korean front do not show maturity even in the handling of the Chinese language. However, the Chinese Communists claimed that these second-rate writings adequately express the Chinese Volunteers' patriotism and Communist internationalism.

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In sending professional writers to Korea the Communists departed from one of their most boasted practices. Throughout the war against Japan and the "war of liberation" against the Kuomintang, Chinese soldiers were encouraged to write, and writings from the ranks were hailed and widely publicized. But professional writers were chosen for Korea, probably in the hope that they would effect a more skillful literary dramatization of the Communist cause.

However, the Korean front was not the only place where writers were to learn about "reality" and to dramatize the "cause of the people." While the war was going on, Ai Wu, Ts'ao Yü, the noted playwright, and other writers, were sent to factories; Ho Ching-tzu, author of The White-Haired Girl, was sent to study life in the villages; Ting Hsi-lin, Liu Ch'ing, Li Tzu-hua, Mu Yen, and a host of other veteran motion picture producers and directors were sent to Shanghai to participate in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.[5]

But these writers were not to record life as they observed it. Before they left for their "life schools," they had to undergo some "training." One can imagine the situation: writers of the calibre of Pa Chin and Ts'ao Yü learning from the speeches of Lu Ting-i and Ch'en Po-ta, the two propaganda chiefs of the regime, "how to describe people, how to abstract living reality and exercise care in collecting material, how to portray and praise, and above all, how to avoid making mistakes." It would appear that the Communists were so eager to prove the righteous-

5. See chapter on Subversive Potentialties in handbook for impact of Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.

538 668 ness of their actions that they carefully arranged that "history" should be recorded exactly in the way they wished it to seem.

Judging from the extent to which the land reform turned the rural, social and political order upside-down, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns destroyed the bourgeois stronghold in the national economy, and the way in which the war in Korea affected the national life, one might expect that those writers who had been given the opportunity to witness these momentous events would accomplish literary feats of equal magnitude. On the contrary, one finds, with only rare exceptions, "formula" stories which have all the correct political ingredients demanded of them but which lack originality and any attempt at characterization. One story of land reform reads much like another, the only differences being the names given the heroes and some few idiosyncracies of the writers in the use of colloquial expressions and political jargon. Adherence to a prescribed political formula blights all creativeness.

C. Literary Criticism

What has contributed most to this fear of originality in literature is the influence of officially organized and directed literary criticism, which uses Communist literary theories to coërce and browbeat the writers. The disparity in the respect given critical and creative forces has stunted the young Communist literature and precluded a normal growth.

•538 668 Outstanding instances of the enervating effect of Communist criticism are the reviews of the play, "The Song of the Red Flags," and the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan." The play, concerning shock-teams in a production drive, was initially praised by the Communists themselves; later, it was criticized because "it did not give a strong portrayal of the trade union and the Party." According to the critics, the author should have used the play to strengthen the prestige of the trade union among the worker-audiences as well as to emphasize the "heroic" qualities of the leading protagonist, a Communist cadre. The portrayal of the Party cadre P'eng Kang in the play was deemed incorrect, "for the Party's leadership is invariably collective, but in the play P'eng seems to be quite alone." The play was thus rated "of low educational value." The author of the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan," was reprimanded because he "not only distorts the image of a model Party member but also completely ignores the function of Party training and leadership."

The classic example of Communist literary and artistic criticsm involves the 1951 Shanghai-produced film, "Wu Hsün Chuan," based on the life of an advocate of free education from Shantung Province. Wu Hsün was born into a poor family and had no formal education. In order to help children attend school, he dedicated himself to hard work and frugal living; and by shrewd investment of his savings, he succeeded in accumulating funds for the education of the poor. Wu Hsün's contribution to Chinese education was never questioned until the Communist critics attacked

538 668 the film. Wu's effort for the kind of education prevalent at his time, according to the Communist critics, only strengthened the feudal order and arrested the forces of progress; rather than serving as an "accomplice" of the Manchu ruling order, the critics said, Wu should have joined the revolutionary force, i.e., the Taiping revolutionaries. Furthermore, they said, Wu Hsün's means of accumulating wealth was indicative of his subservience to the rich and of his exploitation of the poor.[6]

The evolution of criticism of the film "Wu Hsün Chuan" is illustrative of the nature of Communist literary and artistic criticism. Adverse opinions of the film were not initiated by literary and art circles, but by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In fact, the film had been very enthusiastically received, even by many eminent Communists. On May 20, 1951, the Peking People's Daily, an organ of the Central Committee of the Party, published an editorial alluding to this state of affairs. "Some comrades say that they have already mastered Marxism, but ... confronted with concrete issues, they completely lose their critical sense." The "Party life" column of the same issue ordered all Communists to join in criticism of "Wu Hsün Chuan." On June 4, a directive of the Ministry of Education of the People's Government,

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6. The most representative voice of this kind is Ai Ch'ing's article "Oppose the Slave Ideology of Wu Hsün in People's Literature, June 1, 1951, pp. 9-10.

538 published in the People's Daily, instructed all
668 personnel in education throughout the nation to carry out discussions of the film. On August 4, the final and definitive verdict on the film was delivered by Chou Yang, the vice-minister of Cultural Affairs of the Communist Government. He labeled the film as unrealistic art and a product of anti-historical and anti-popular ideology.[7] Party organs in all parts of China where "Wu Hsün Chuan" had been shown used the film as a target for ideological propaganda. The ideology of the film was also discussed at the third session of the first National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which met from October 23 to November 1, 1951. Members of the All-China Federation of the Literary and Art Circles began to echo the view of the Central Committee of the Party and confessed that, while they had made definite progress in the past two years, nevertheless they always fell behind the development of Chinese society. This confession led the writers to "plunge" into study in an effort to "remold their ideology and to sharpen their critical sense."

The conflict between critical and creative forces also manifests itself in the bulk of incongruous writings of the literary critics in Communist China. The critics have ready an abundance of clichés, jargon, and theories of socialist realism which are clearly ill-digested and are

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7. Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 113, September 1, 1951.

538 used with little discrimination or literary skill.
668 Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Zhadanov are frequent but are not integrated into the theme of the text. Even Communist critics have noted that many quotations for orthodox Marxist texts are either irrelevant or superfluous.[8] This excessive verbalism at the expense of content makes literary criticism irreconcilable with the alleged theory of its essentially didactic function. Much criticism is lukewarm and stereotyped, written by writers who are called upon by the Communists to undertake the task of attacking their fellow writers. In this case, what is criticized is invariably the "petty bourgeois standpoint." The exception to the rule is Mao Tse-tung himself, who, from his position of absolute authority, can write criticism which is non-imaginative, forceful, and pointed, even by the standards of the free world. Top Communists, like, Liu Shao-ch'i, for example, who seem to be more confident in translating Marxism into practice, do not quote from orthodox texts as often or use as many clichés as the lesser Communists.

Since 1949, Chinese Communist literature appears to have concentrated on a number of well-defined themes. It has been most concerned with the individual under the Communist system and the problems confronting him. These have included the social confusion of the New Democratic period, the doubts of the intellectuals, the "criminal activities of the bourgeois merchants, the struggle

8. Shen Ch-chung, "The Popularization of Theoretical Criticism of Literature and Art," People's Literature, No. 9, July 1, 1950, pp. 27-28.

against the "enemy of the people," and the appearance of human types based on the newly created Communist "tradition." Even the "return to history" is oriented for the solution of certain present-day problems.[9] Patriotism, aetheticism, and naturalism are all good literary themes, provided they are imbued with the spirit of "socialist

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9. Writers are told to find evidence in history of the excellent qualities of the Chinese people, and to appreciate and to learn the beautiful styles in Chinese literary heritage. For instance, the poet Li Po (A. D. 701-762) who was an incorrigible individualist, can now be safely described as a "great patriot," for Li Po "could not have written such beautiful verses about the magnificent rivers and mountains of his fatherland had he not been very patriotic." His many lyric poems which sang praises of the bright moon are now interpreted to mean his longing for a "cleaner" world, and therefore indicate his personal integrity; his mild protests against the conditions of his time are now interpreted to mean his progressive spirit. (Wang Yao, Li Po, Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1955.) Ch'ü Yuan, the poet-statesman of the Kingdom of Ch'u in the Chan-kuo period (481-221 B.C.), is praised for his "patriotism and sympathy for the common people." (Kuo Mo-jo, "A Brief Account on Ch'ü Yuan," People's Literature, No. 44, 1953.) Emperors like Han Kao-tsu and T'ang T'ai-tsung, who increased the national territory and the prestige of the Chinese people, are now praised as heroic. This salvaging of national characters and literature for Communist posterity could be a sign of a felt need. There are reports that since the

[continued next page]

538 realism," which is belief in the inevitability
668 of the development of socialism.

Since 1949, China's best writers have not produced any first-rate work. If there happen to be interesting writings that suit the taste of the reader, they do not fit into the theoretical scheme of the Party. Hsiao Yeh-mu's short story, "Between Us, Husband and Wife," for instance, was criticized as "employing the intellectual's viewpoint and taste to distort the image of the working masses and to vulgarize things political."

Some writers are unable to find publishers for their work, not because the work is counterrevolutionary but because its theme is considered untimely. In 1952, Miao Yen-hsiu was advised not to publish his Maio-chia Feng-kuang, a long poem about freedom of love and marriage in Miao communities, because the Communists did not think a celebration of the equality of the sexes useful to the Communist revolution at that time.

[No. 9 continued]
Party came to the cities it has neglected to supply enough reading material for the people in the old Liberated Areas, and that the people have gone back to the old novels. In order that they may not be "poisoned" by the "feudalistic ideas" in the old novels, the reinterpretation of the characters in old novels according to dialectical materialism seems far more necessary than the writing of novels of comparable stature.

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Romantic novels of love and sophisticated novels of human relationships are not published. When love does come into the scene, it is shown as subsidiary to other, more "worthy" and "unselfish" problems (i.e., problems social and political).

Although the writer may desire to let human relationships play a decisive part in the development of his material, there is a tendency to utilize abstract characters rather than vivid personalities. Most of the writers who choose to deal with the exposure of corruption and the excesses and tyranny of established institutions are more adept at portraying "negative" personalities than creating "positive" personalities in keeping with the Communists' view of the "heroes" of the new regime. This is true, despite the fact that Communist leaders have repeatedly told the writers "to give the most important position in the plot to the affirmative man," and that "in no case should evil be vividly presented, lest virtue remain an abstraction," for it is now the writers' task to describe the bright possibilities of life under the Communist leadership.

The recent development of literature and art in China seems to parallel that in Soviet Russia. In China, the emphasis to praise industrial and agricultural heroes follows the pattern of Soviet literature. The influence of the war in Korea upon literature in China is comparable to the influence of World War II upon Russian

538 668 literature. Now that we hear about the "thaw" in Russian literature,[10] can we anticipate a similar development in China? Hu Feng's attempt in early 1955[11] to liberate literature from the shackle of politics, although it ended in failure and personal disgrace, indicates, nevertheless, conscious recognition by a group of writers of the freedom necessary for the creation of works of art.[12] Only general discussion of minor ways to improve literature has been undertaken by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the developmentof literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (October 1949 to April 1950) with six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change; the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was; and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, induding, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen

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10. Walter Z. Laqueur, "Russia in Flux, I. The 'Thaw' and After," Encounter, London, October 1955, p. 35.

11. Hu Feng is a well-known Communist writer, and was the protégé of the Communists' "literary saint" Lu Hsün.

12. Laqueur, op. cit., p. 35.

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II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

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A. Translations from Russian Literature

Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course, many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings

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13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la litterature chinoise contemporaine, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. 9, #35, 7/1948, p. 251.

538 such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939),
814 Ostrovsky's How Steel Was Tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming, and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature petry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

Since the establishment of the Central People's Government, delegations of Russian authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship

15. [see next page]

538 Association, which has branches throughout
814 China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under the direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society[16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include Nien Chün, concerning the peasant rebellions in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Honan, and Shantung in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and the Hui Revolt, the

15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Times Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People Through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

16. Society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of the Sciences at Peking.

829 the case since "truth" was declared in Marxist writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views." Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

C. Fiction

538 The larger part of Southwest China came under Communist control after all the other regions of China. Southwest China, therefore, is not among the first to face problems such as the recovery of industries, the increase of agricultural and industrial productions, the land reform, and the liquidation of the anti-Communist forces. Since Communist literature is largely intended to describe the solution of these problems, stories and novels which deal with these aspects in Southwest China are stereotyped and lacking in originality, imitations of the prototypes written in other regions and earlier. As a result, stories and novels produced in other regions of China are more popular in Southwest China than that produced locally.

People in Southwest China, like those in other parts of China, read Yüan Ching and K'ung Chüeh's best-seller Hsin Erh-nü Ying-hsiung Chuan (The Biography of a New Hero and Heroine) a 200,000-word account of the repulse of the Japanese invaders in North China, written in the

18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (4 vols.), Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

[redacted]

538 style of the old-fashioned Chinese novels,[19] and Ting Ling's The Sun Shines on the Sang-ch'ien [Sang-kan] River, a novel about the struggle of the people in North China during the 1946-48 land reform, which was awarded the Stalin prize. Liu Pai-yu's Lights Ahead, which describes the crossing of the Yangtze River by General Liu Po-ch'eng's Army during the "liberation" war against the Kuomintang, is also well-known in Southwest China.

D. Poetry

Although Mao Tse-tung himself composes poems in the classical style, the "new poetry" which is written in pai-hua (vernacular) is in vogue in Southwest China today as in other parts of China.

Wen I-to, Kuo Mo-jo, and Hsü Chih-mo, who wrote pai-hua poetry, are still talked of. The publication of Wen's collected poems, Still Water, was an important literary event in 1929. Hsü experimented with new forms, including those found in Western poetry. He was less concerned with the theory and art of versification than was Wen. Wen's book, The Forms and Rules of Poetry (1926) which lists musical, artistic, and architectural skills as the necessary elements of good poetry, is a unique contribution to pai-hua poetry.

19. First edition (10,000 copies) sold out in twenty days, 80 per cent in North China. Although pleased [see next page]

538 Kuo Mo-jo's poetry had energy and imagination, but no discipline and restraint; and has been likened to water escaping from a broken dam, rushing everywhere. In the 1920's, when Kuo was the leader of the Creative Society, he advocated "art for art's sake." He was the first to introduce untranslated Western words and phrases into pai-hua poetry to enhance the beauty of the metrical patterns of the stanzas. Although Kuo is not productive nowadays, and his poems are not popular today, his present prestige as a "literary personage" is based on his past achievement; and his present political position as a cultural leader in the Communist regime in turn encourages the sale of his peoms. He is the only one of the three still living. Being now wholly dedicated to the Communist cause, although not a Party member, he is comparable to Simonov of Russia, for Kuo, like Simonov, spends a good deal of his time heading Chinese cultural delegations to other countries and entertaining foreign cultural delegations to China.

Ai Ch'ing and T'ien Chien are established as Communist poets. Ai writes prose poems and T'ien writes extremely short verse. The average Chinese reader is apt to appreciate Ai more

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[19 continued] with its success, the Communists have lamented the fact that the Chinese people are still so fond of the traditional "feudalistic" novels that a novel of new ideas and new people could be successful only when dressed in the traditional forms.

than T'ien, especially when Ai writes of everyday things familiar to the reader and T'ien draws his inspiration from a vision of the new world which is less comprehensible to the average reader. 538

Ma Fan-t'o and Li Chi are often spoken of together. Ma's poems are modeled upon popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Kuo Mo-jo may be better appreciated by the Southwesterns because he was born and grew up in Szechwan.

E. Literature of the Ethnic Minorities

The so-called literature of the ethnic minorities in Communist China, the development of which was mentioned in the first issues of the People's Literature in October 1949 as one of the six tasks of the literary workers in China, is so far not the product of the minority peoples; the writing is done in the Chinese language, mostly by the Han Chinese, or by people of minority origins who have mastered the use of the Chinese language.[20] 538 563

So far, the effort of fostering minority literature takes four forms:

1. tracing and recording customs of the minority groups;
2. interpreting the institutions of the minority groups from a dialectic materialistic viewpoint; and

20. [see next page]

538 563 3. The exchange of literatures of the Han Chinese and the ethnic minorities.[21]

Although history in the Southwest is often interpreted by the Chinese Communists as antagonism between groups or suppression of one group by another, the literatures of the minorities that are to be developed are not allowed to take anti-administration forms.

F. Drama

536 Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin,

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20. Most of the literature of the minority groups take the form of poetry. The following are representative: Yung Ying, "We Are a Group of Miao-chia," People's Literature, January 1, 1952, pp. 61-62; Fan Jung-k'ang, "Sang of the Mao-chia" ibid pp. 63-64; Chu Yeh, "The Yi and the Ni-su of the Highlands," ibid., pp. 53-60; Miao Yen-hsiu, Ta-miao-shan Symphony, Shanghai, Hsin wen-i ch'u-pa she, 1954; and "Ah-shih-ma," a long poem transmitted orally by a Southwest minority group and now rendered into Han Chinese language by HuangTi, People's Literature, May 7, 1954.

21. This, before minorities have their own written language, amounts to sinicization of minorit people with Chinese literature in ways which do no seem "imperialistic" to minority peoples. On the other hand, cultural heritages of the Chinese people may be enriched by the assimilation of cultures of minority groups through literature.

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lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐鈷,[22] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuda, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yünnan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[23] Around the pagodas have

T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mie. From this it would seem that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[22] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 鈷. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[23] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Sou cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 恭陶會意, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 沘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍 [3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the
197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

● 539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled
173 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the
101 present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan].
[302] Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 㪍, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 沘 is read *ts'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 沘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 泚, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 駱馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people). 539 173

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common. 101

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

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173 appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

173 782 539 INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦景帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦景帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-s. Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪石北嶽安邦景帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

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even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮[24] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man, of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and, mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rainstorm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

[24] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

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The open stage theatricals *ming t'ai ta pan-tzŭ* 明臺大班子 are almost always given on a stage called *wan nien t'ai* 萬年台 located in temples in front of the chief idol. They are got up for the purpose of pleasing the gods, and the expenses are always paid from temple funds; but the public is allowed to witness performances. The plays are nearly all historical. They belong to three periods: *ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 period plays, of the time of Confucius; *chan kuo* 戰國 *hsi* of the times of Mencius; *san kuo* 三國 *hsi* plays about the time of the Three Kingdoms. These last are called 'pure' plays, *ch'ing* 清 *hsi*, because there are no demons in them. Besides the historical plays there are others of a lower grade, such as the *fei fei tzŭ hsi*; this class is without proper beginning or end to the performances. There are also the lower grade music hall theatricals called *fêng hua hsüeh yüeh* 風花雪月 and *chien yin ku pa* 姦淫估霸. 545

Behind much that is unreal there is often a good deal of historical truth; for example, in the famous play *Mu lien ta hsi* or *Mu lien chiu mu* 目連救母. Mu lien lived near P'eng hsien 彭縣 in Ssŭ-ch'uan. It is said that his family residence is still to be seen. His father, Fu Yüan-wai 傅員外, had a literary degree and every comfort but he long was without a son. The wife was a strict vegetarian, and they both prayed continually for a son, till, when the husband was 60, a son was born, and named Mu-lien. Later, the mother broke her vegetarian vow, became profligate and came to a bad end; but still worse, when passing through the ten regions of purgatory she was struck by a spike and fell into the abyss. Mu-lien, on hearing of this, determined to rescue his mother. To this end he became a Buddhist priest, and by strict asceticism attained incorporation with the Buddha. Still thinking of his mother he made known the burden of his heart to Buddha and was sent by him to save her. He burst the gates of Hades with a *ch'an chang* 禪杖 meditation staff, and bore his mother out of purgatory in triumph, followed by a crowd of demons. The boatmen on the upper Yangtze declare that they are the incarnation of those demons, and the song they sing while rowing is said to sound very like a hungry demon's. They say that if they do not sing this song the boat will not move foward. 545 539

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545 This is a famous play, and when acted in full takes 40 or
539 50 days. All the details are acted, even to the throwing of the dart which struck the woman; and a coffin is always ready to receive the corpse if the throwing should be unskilful and cause death. If the actor survives, the coffin is sold and he receives the money.

It is a common belief that Mu-lien became Ti-tsang wang 地藏王, god of the lower world.

545 The actors in a dramatic company are as follows. *Shêng* 生, who acts the youthful scholars' parts. Lao 老 *shêng* acts the old and bearded scholar, and *hsii* 鬚 *shêng* the black-bearded scholar. *Wên* and *wu hsiao* 文 and 武 小 *shêng* are respectively the civil and military student. *Tsun* 俊 takes the wise man's part.

The term *tan* 旦 is used for these who take women's parts; *lao* 老 *tan*, the old woman; *hsiao* 小 *tan*, the respectable woman; *chêng* 正 *tan*, the unmarried girl; and *hua* 花 *tan* the indecent woman, the singer of lewd songs, etc.

Mu 目 is the clown, also called *ta hua lien* 大花臉 first clown, with the whole face painted, and *êrh* 二 *hua lien* or second clown, with half the face painted. *San* 三 *hua lien* or *ch'ou* 丑 the third clown plays off against the *hua tan*, and has generally only one patch of colour, about the nose.

As to times, the early morning performance is *tsao san chih* 早三折; the chief performance of the day, between ten and two o'clock, is *kêng pên* 耿本 or *chên mu* 正目; that in the afternoon is *hsia pên* 下本, and an additional evening performance is *hua hsi* 花戲, while night theatricals from 7 to 9 o'clock are *yeh* 夜 *hsi*.

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23) canary *pai yen* 白燕; the quail, *an shun* 鵪鶉; monkeys *hou tzŭ*, 猴子 which are said to be better than dogs as a protection against thieves; rabbits *t'u tzŭ* 兎子, generally in narrow-necked crocks sunk in the ground; pigeons *ko-tzŭ* 鴿子, some of the best carriers returning home from 1000 *li* or more; they are often sold, and as they always go home again good profit is made; white mice which drive little wheels in their cages; stove crickets, *tsao chi-tzŭ* 竈鷄子; and 'ocean insects,' *yang ch'ung* 洋蟲, which are said to cure tuberculosis. I do not know what these insects really are.

The Chinese are great bird-fanciers and pet-keepers, and domesticate many birds besides those above mentioned. Lotteries, smoking, snuffing, etc., are other amusements; it is a nation of smokers. Probably the dismal homes make the people love the pipe, and the crudeness of medical science makes them take to opium.

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RIDDLES AND DITTIES. 謎子, 歌兒 *mi tzŭ, ko êrh.*

青幽幽　黑洞洞　十個牯牛拉不動

Of a dark green, in a black cave, which ten oxen cannot move, What is it? (A well.)

千節節　萬節節　千年萬年不落葉

With a thousand joints, even ten thousand joints. For a thousand or ten thousand years it does not lose its leaves. (The bamboo.)

金筅筅　銀絲絲　一搥打開四姊妹

A golden and silver floss: one stroke of the hammer and it becomes four sisters. (A walnut.)

十姊妹　同路耍　各人頭上頂片瓦

Ten little sisters went out for a walk,
On the crown of each a tile is fixed. (The fingers.)

頭戴紅頂子 身穿白袍子 走路很斯文 說話像蠻子

On his head he wears a red button, his body is clothed with a white robe, his walk is like an elegant scholar's, but his talk is like a barbarian's. (The goose.)

各家窩頭一個窩 一根白蛇在裏頭放 要死要死又掇他一棒

In each family niche there is a pool, in which a pure

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white snake doth loll. When it is about to die, just strike it a bang. (The lamp.) 524 539

生喫得 熟喫得 放在地下又走得

It can be eaten raw, or eaten cooked; when put on the ground it can walk. (Water.)

黃牛給黑牛一頭睡 黃牛的舌頭餂黑牛的背

The yellow cow slept by the side of the black cow,

The yellow cow's tongue licked the black cow's back. (The kettle by the stove.)

The flea: (A louse's remonstance.)—

尖嘴黑殼 這戳那戳 戳出禍來你跑脫

With a peaked jaw and black coat, here a rive and there a bite; when the trouble has been stirred up you make a jump and clear out.

The louse. (The flea's retaliation.)—

六脚白米 自家走不得 要怪張怪李

You six-footed white rice, who cannot even walk by yourself. You are always blaming Chang or Li.

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The Orange Blossom.

柑子樹兒開白花 團團圓圓姊妹家
天晴下雨請來耍 唸個佛句當燒茶

The blossoms of the orange tree, whose petals white sweet sisters be,

In rain or in sunshine how welcome you'll be

Just sing a chant and I'll bring you your tea.

Heaven, Earth and Water.

天生綉綉 地生縵縵 水生骨頭

Heaven produces the variegated, Earth begets the unadorned, Water begets bones.

Natural Wisdom.

一個雀 雀飛上坡 一個雀 雀飛下坡 三歲孩兒會唱歌 不是爹娘告訴我 是我自已聰明多

One little birdie flies up the hill, another little birdie flies down the hill; a three-year old child is able to sing, not what the parents teach it, but what natural wisdom prompts.

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The Twelve Months.—

正月十五湯圓子　二月驚蟄抱蛋子　三月清明墳標子
四月芒種栽秧子　五月端陽喫粽子　六月六來扇扇子
七月半　燒箔子　八月中秋喫餅子　九月重陽醪糟子
十月初一穿襖子　冬月間烤烘籠子　臘月三十貼對子

On the 15th of the first moon we eat sweet dumplings.
In the second moon the insects stir and we feed silk worms.
In the third moon comes clear brightness and we put up grave-flags.
In the fourth moon is the busy season and we plant rice.
In the fifth moon comes the dragon festival and we eat rice dumplings.
In the sixth moon comes the great heat and we use our fans.
In the seventh moon there is a festival and we burn paper money.
In the eighth moon is the mid-autumn festival and we eat moon cakes.
In the ninth moon there comes a festival and we eat fermented rice.
In the tenth moon the cold comes and we put on our wadding.
In the eleventh moon it gets colder and we light our fire-baskets.
In the twelfth moon comes the time to put up New Year scrolls.

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The digits.—

大指拇　二指弟　中三娘　王鄭契　身小巴兒子出不得氣

The thumb is the elder brother, the forefinger is the younger, the middle finger is the aunt, the fourth the chief partner, but the youngest piggie is almost smothered to death.

The Bamboo grove.—

京竹梧　苦竹梧　對門對戶對親家　親家兒子會跑馬
親家女會剪花　大姊剪的靈芝草　二姊剪的牡丹花
三姊剪不來　丟下剪刀紡棉花　紡了三丈三大哥
二哥縫件夏布衫　三哥說我心不平　把我嫁在高山苦竹林
要柴燒柴又高　要水喫水又深　打溼花鞋不當緊
打溼羅裙一千針

The green bamboo and the bitter bamboo
Were intermarried relations living in opposite doors.
The sons on one side were brave cavaliers

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The daughters on the other were clever at flowers;
The eldest was good at the orchid bud,
The second was good at the peony rose,
But though the third did try she was not any good,
So she mounted the loom to weave cotton cloth,
And wove to the length of thirty-three feet.
Then the elder and second brothers both made them a gown.
But the third brother said My lot is unfair;
You've married me up the high hill in the bamboo grove.
If you want fuel to burn, that fuel is high,
If you want water to drink that well is deep;
To wet the flowered shoes is of little import,
But to wet the gauze skirts costs a thousand threads.

New Year good luck.—

新春大吉財 二十四個元寶輥進來
輥進不輥出 金銀財寶堆滿屋.

May the New Year bring you the greatest of luck,
With the twenty-four pieces of silver rolling into your lap;
Rolling in but not rolling out, till
Gold, Silver and riches fill up the house.
(Round stones are sometimes heaped outside the house on the last day of the year, and carried inside on the first day of the New Year; hence this ditty).

新春新春 財發萬金 說好就好 添財進寶.

In the New Year, The New Year,
May your riches increase ten thousand fold:
When you say lucky may it be luck,
Adding to your riches and bringing in gold.—

The New Year scrolls of the New Year feast.—

新年對子新年節 門神對子兩邊貼
門神對子貼得高 金銀財寶幾大包
門神對子貼得矮 金銀財寶幾大塊

On both sides of the door are scrolls and gods;
If the scrolls and gods are put up high,
Gold, silver and riches will come in great array;
If the scrolls and gods are put up low,
Gold, silver and riches still continue to grow.

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539 The farm servant.—

清早起來就上山 At the dawn of day he goes up the hill,
搭耙鋤頭把地翻 Carrying a mattock to till the ground;
世人沒我長年苦 The farm servant's lot is bitter indeed,
臉朝黃土背朝天 With his back to the sky and face to the mud.

CRIES 口號 *k'ou hao.*

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198 The cry used to call a pig when at large is *liu, liu, liu,* 嘍. A pig is also called a *liu*, and a man is cursed by being so called.

The call for chickens is *chu, chu, chu,* 祝. Formerly 畢雞翁 Chu chi wêng was a famous chicken fancier and breeder, and the chickens are called after him.

Liao, liao, liao, 嘹, is the call used to call the ducks from the pond. It is said to be an abbreviation of *lai-a,* 來啊.

Wa-êrh, wa-êrh, 娃兒, is the cry used to call in the goose. Some say it is *wo-êrh,* 鵝兒. Others think the call is an imitation of the bird's own cry.

The call to the dog when there is any scavenging to be done is *oh ngo, oh ngo,* 啊哦. In driving the dog away the common "hist, hist" is used.

The cry used to call the sheep is *mieh, mieh, mieh,* 咩. This is spoken in a low tone and is believed to be like the bleat of a sheep. Sometimes it is "*meh, meh,*" like the bleat of a lamb. The call used to frighten the sheep, *t'u êrh,* 吐爾, is also used to frighten birds from the grain, and is likened to the whizzing of a stone through the air at a great speed. When the cry is uttered a stone or a whip very often accompanies the sound. This *t'u êrh* is very freely called after foreigners, and is not a good omen. The connection is in the sound of the two characters, *yang* 羊 sheep, and *yang* 洋 of the sea, foreigner.

Sun êrh 猻兒 is the call used for a monkey. It means a small monkey.

Mi, mi, 咪, is the call used to bring the cat to eat its food.

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434 the demands of the Communist cadres. In many cases farmers found it impossible to feed themselves and their families. In urban areas the per capita ration was too small for the maintenance of minimum subsistence standards.

VII. TRADE FAIRS

543 In order to stimulate trade and facilitate
443 the interflow of commodities between the
438 urban and rural areas, the Chinese Communists have held a number of "Local Produce Fairs" in most of the principal cities throughout Southwest China. Some of the more notable fairs held in 1952 are shown in the following table:

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Table 7. Local Produce Fairs in Southwest China, 1952. *

Fair	Location	Trading Volume (Million)
Southwest Commodity Fair	Chungking	¥566,600 ($22.7)
Ch'wanfei Third Native Products Fair	Nanchung	¥205,900 ($ 8.2)
Ch'wannan Commodity Fair	Lu-hsien	¥107,600 ($ 4.3)
Ch'uansi Commodity Fair	Chengtu	¥ 73,000 ($ 2.9)
Yunnan Second Commodity Fair	Kunming	¥ 69,600 ($ 2.8)
Kweichow Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 34,900 ($1.4)
Kweiyang Municipality Native Products Fair	Kweiyang	¥ 74,000 ($2.9)

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Total	¥1,248,500 ($49.9)

* Economic Weekly, Shanghai, May 28, 1953, No. 28, p. 7.

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543 In 1952, the total trade volume of
443 these fairs amounted to US$49,900,000, of
438 which the fair in Chungking, the commercial center of the region, accounted for approximately 45 per cent.

CONCLUSION

000 The Communists plan intensive development of railway and highway transportation in Southwest China. The completion of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was of considerable importance to the utilization of the industrial and agricultural resources of Szechwan Province. The completion of the Pao-chi--Chengtu Railway will link the Southwest with the Northwest and will be of great strategic value to the Communists in case of war.

At the time of the building of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway, a number of cases involving the corruption of Party cadres were brought to light. Many cadres accepted bribes from contractors who were anxious to sell the government inferior materials or who had economized by doing a shoddy job of construction. These practices, according to the Communists, accounted for the collapse of several bridges shortly after completion.

536 the folk plays may easily incorporate new elements. This fact accounts for the Communists' effort to revamp the folk plays and to bring them up to the same level of popular and artistic recognition as the ching-hsi. However, in the Communists' effort to reinterpret history, the ching-hsi is now rendering unique service. The Communists have not only revised many of the old scripts to conform to their ideology, but have also encouraged the writing of new scripts. In this attempt, well-known actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu are asked to lend a helping hand.

Playwrights in Communist China are now told to study ching-hsi, because this form can be used to dramatize personalities. In the Communists' efforts to glorify the image of the "new heroes," this art is considered extremely important.

545 3. The new opera. The new opera in China is modeled after the operatic forms of the West but the content conveys revolutionary themes. The first experiment in this form was The White-Haired Girl (1944), a collective creation of the writers and artists of the Lu Hsün Institute of Literature and Art. In the arias sung by the heroine, the musical pattern of the Hopei pang-tzu is borrowed to convey her changing moods. This is considered a very successful adaptation by the Communists. But the melodies of the other sung parts, which appear to be of yang-ko origin, are close to folk songs and lack dramatic effect. The White-haired Girl has been characterized as "drama-plus-songs," a term which indicates that the operatic form is not well enough developed to enable the music to carry the theme.

545 This inadequacy was remedied in the second major opera commissioned by the Communists. The opera Liu Hu-lan gives the heroine Liu Hu-lan opportunities "to delineate her heroic personality" in longer and more frequent arias. The musical pattern of the Shansi pang-tzu is used in the areas, and the whole opera has a Shansi color.

The composers were alarmed when they discovered that the melodies which describe the corrupt life of the landlord in the opera The White-haired Girl were hummed by the audience rather than the arias of the heroine and the chorus of the 8th Route Army. They resolved not to give the "negative" personality strong musical treatment. As a result, the opera Liu Han-lan incorporates disjointed melodies for the villainous roles. The villains are shallowly caricatured. Thus, for ideological reasons, the Communists now limit "true music" to the expression of "lofty passions" for the "right cause."

The new operas are intended for national consumption irrespective of regional differences, although local airs are incorporated into the scores according to the locality of the stories. Both The White-haired Girl and Liu Hu-lan are based on incidents which occurred in North China, although they have been transformed by grossly "dramatic exaggeration. They are performed by opera troupes all over China, and their influence is therefore national. Other well-known operas include the Long March, in which for the first time Mao Tse-tung is impersonated.

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BOOK II—SOCIAL

CHAPTER I.

THEATRICALS, ETC., 演戲

THE puppet shows or Punch and Judy shows are called *chou chou tzū* 肘肘子 because the puppets are held up in a man's arms (*chou*, arms). An ancient name for puppets was *k'uei lei* 傀儡. Another name is *pang* 棒. This kind of play is said to have been originated by T'ang Ming Huang (唐明皇) now deified as god of the theatre under the title T'ai tzū 太子 p'u sa. His image is worshipped in the *lao lang* temple 老郎廟 which is the temple of actors. In this temple and guildhall aged and infirm actors are housed and fed, and are buried at guild expense. 545

The puppets are made from the heads of coffins 棺頭 of newly beheaded or murdered persons. Such wood is believed to be very responsive 靈 *ling*. The spirit of the dead person is worshipped and called for daily, and after a time is supposed to enter the puppet and speak from the stage. 545 775

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545 In shadow plays, *têng ying hsi* 燈影戲, the figures are made of leather and the performance is generally held at night. The court-yard of a house is curtained round with white calico; within there is light, without it is dark, and the figures are manipulated so that the shadows fall on the screen for the spectators outside to view.

In the *pei tan* 被單 *hsi* or sheet play the actors screen off a small enclosure with black calico and display a small wooden puppet over the top of it. The puppets are worked by strings attached to legs, arms, tongues, etc. The showmen are trained ventriloquists, and make their puppets dance and kick about in most amusing fashion; the figures are called *shên t'ung-tzû* 神童子, because they are so smart and acrobatic, and they are probably procured in the same way as those of the Punch and Judy shows.

There are amateur theatrical companies composed of local actors or farm labourers with a gift for singing or acting, and called *têng pan-tzû* 燈班子. Many join such a troupe to have a gay time of running round the countryside; the rustics call these escapades *sao têng* 騷燈. Such companies only get about 5000 cash for a day's performance.

[533] Street singing is termed *pan têng* 板凳 *hsi* (stool concert), or *wan yu hui* 玩友會 (friendly society), or *wei ku* 圍鼓, (round the drum).

The peepshow, *hsi hu* 西湖 *hsi* (west lake show) is a box with glaring pictures outside, and peepholes through which those who pay may look at the pictures inside, these being brought into view in turn by means of a handle.

Performers go from door to door getting a single cash at each for making a puppet dance up and down by the motion of a fan; *shan tzû* 扇子 *hsi*.

545 231 Others go from house to house with a monkey, a dog and a box of paraphernalia. Money for a performance having been paid down the performer directs the monkey which opens the box, dresses itself, and rides the dog or drives it hitched to a miniature plough.

Theatricals are given in each parish in front of the *Yang miao* 秧苗 *t'u ti* or local god of sprouting grain, in order to keep insects away from the growing crops.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The open stage theatricals *ming t'ai ta pan-tzû* 明臺大班子 are almost always given on a stage called *wan nien t'ai* 萬年台 located in temples in front of the chief idol. They are got up for the purpose of pleasing the gods, and the expenses are always paid from temple funds; but the public is allowed to witness performances. The plays are nearly all historical. They belong to three periods: *ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 period plays, of the time of Confucius; *chan kuo* 戰國 *hsi* of the times of Mencius; *san kuo* 三國 *hsi* plays about the time of the Three Kingdoms. These last are called 'pure' plays, *ch'ing* 清 *hsi*, because there are no demons in them. Besides the historical plays there are others of a lower grade, such as the *fei fei tzû hsi*; this class is without proper beginning or end to the performances. There are also the lower grade music hall theatricals called *fêng hua hsüeh yüeh* 風花雪月 and *chien yin ku pa* 森陰估霸. 545

Behind much that is unreal there is often a good deal of historical truth; for example, in the famous play *Mu lien ta hsi* or *Mu lien chiu mu* 目連救母. Mu lien lived near P'eng hsien 彭縣 in Ssû-ch'uan. It is said that his family residence is still to be seen. His father, Fu Yüan-wai 傅員外, had a literary degree and every comfort but he long was without a son. The wife was a strict vegetarian, and they both prayed continually for a son, till, when the husband was 60, a son was born, and named Mu-lien. Later, the mother broke her vegetarian vow, became profligate and came to a bad end; but still worse, when passing through the ten regions of purgatory she was struck by a spike and fell into the abyss. Mu-lien, on hearing of this, determined to rescue his mother. To this end he became a Buddhist priest, and by strict asceticism attained incorporation with the Buddha. Still thinking of his mother he made known the burden of his heart to Buddha and was sent by him to save her. He burst the gates of Hades with a *ch'an ch'eng* 禪杖 meditation staff, and bore his mother out of purgatory in triumph, followed by a crowd of demons. The boatmen on the upper Yangtze declare that they are the incarnation of those demons, and the song they sing while rowing is said to sound very like a hungry demon's. They say that if they do not sing this song the boat will not move foward. 545 539

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

545 This is a famous play, and when acted in full takes 40 or
539 50 days. All the details are acted, even to the throwing of the dart which struck the woman; and a coffin is always ready to receive the corpse if the throwing should be unskilful and cause death. If the actor survives, the coffin is sold and he receives the money.

It is a common belief that Mu-lien became Ti-tsang wang 地藏王, god of the lower world.

545 The actors in a dramatic company are as follows. *Shêng* 生, who acts the youthful scholars' parts. Lao 老 *shêng* acts the old and bearded scholar, and *heil* 鬍 *shêng* the black-bearded scholar. *Wên* and *wu hsiao* 文 and 武 小 *shêng* are respectively the civil and military student. *Tsun* 俊 takes the wise man's part.

The term *tan* 旦 is used for these who take women's parts; *lao* 老 *tan*, the old woman; *hsiao* 小 *tan*, the respectable woman; *chêng* 正 *tan*, the unmarried girl; and *hua* 花 *tan* the indecent woman, the singer of lewd songs, etc.

Mu 目 is the clown, also called *ta hua lien* 大花臉 first clown, with the whole face painted, and *erh* 二 *hua lien* or second clown, with half the face painted. *San* 三 *hua lien* or *ch'ou* 丑 the third clown plays off against the *hua tan*, and has generally only one patch of colour, about the nose.

As to times, the early morning performance is *tsao san chih* 早三折; the chief performance of the day, between ten and two o'clock, is *hêng pên* 耿本 or *chên mu* 正目; that in the afternoon is *hsia pên* 下本, and an additional evening performance is *hua hsi* 花戲, while night theatricals from 7 to 9 o'clock are *yeh* 夜 *hsi*.

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S P [302] 622

and disappointed when told that there was no demand in England for hair dyes of that colour. Perhaps the lapse of time has by now given him his heart's desire.

The San-ta sawbwa was a much younger man, with a decidedly intelligent but rather shifty-looking face, much pitted with small-pox. He was extremely anxious to learn about western inventions, and was greatly struck with our tents and heliographs. He had not a very good reputation among the Shans and was said to have succeeded to the sawbwaship by putting one of his relatives out of the way. An account of his untimely end at the hands of the executioner will be found on a later page[1].

We had no escort of our own except a nominal one of a corporal and four men of the Yorkshire Regiment, whom we took more as a matter of dignity than from any anticipation of danger.

S P [291] S P [361]

Our second march took us into Möng Mow, the capital of the Chinese Shan State of that name. We were met about a mile from the town by some Chinese troops and by some of the Shan followers of the Möng Na and Möng Mow sawbwas. The Möng Na men looked very well in green sleeveless coats with a black border, and most of them were armed with breech-loaders. The town is built at the foot of the bare range of hills which bounds the Shweli valley on the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall in a very fair state of repair. The place was en fête at the time, as one of the Möng Na sawbwa's four sons was just going to be married to a daughter of the Möng Mow chief.

We halted the next day and went to pay a visit to the sawbwa. His palace was a very small tumble-down building, and the sawbwa himself a little shrivelled-up looking man, extremely nervous in the presence of the Chinese officials, and I believe almost incapable of managing his affairs through over-indulgence in opium[2].

S P 545

In the evening we went to an amateur theatrical performance, in which most of the parts were taken by members of the two sawbwas' families. The piece was in Shan, but was a translation from the Chinese, and was all sung to the monotonous tune of the Chinese theatre.

[1] See page 189.
[2] He died not long after our visit.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XIX

YÜN CHOU TO TA-LI FU.

Watts-Jones's line across the Mekong—Theatricals at Mêng-lang—Wild pig and pheasants—The Mekong at Hsi-chang ferry—Narrow paths—Falls of our mules—A Chinaman's pipe—P'u-mans—Exploring a pass—Panthay villages—An Arabic koran—A midnight thief—The Kung-lang valley—Hot springs—Méng-hua T'ing—An anti-foreign town—Iron mine—Ta-li Fu—Mr Amundsen's travels—No news of Ryder or Watts-Jones.

000 At Yün Chou we had found a letter left there by Watts-Jones. He had discovered a practicable way across the Mekong *viâ* Méng-lang and Kung-lang, but there were some passes to the east of the latter place which he had not had time to explore. It was possible that these might prove easier than the line he had found, so we determined to examine them on our way to Ta-li.

•545 After two days' halt at Yün Chou we set out again, and had a fairly easy march to the village of Méng-lang. Here New Year festivities were still going on, and we were invited to a theatrical performance in the village temple. The young men of the village had got themselves up as elephants, lions, stags, storks, and other animals. The disguise was most crude, and the performance consisted of dancing uninteresting dances and turning somersaults very badly. However the villagers were quite pleased, and we expressed our delight and surprise at the histrionic talent of the place and rewarded the performers with some lumps of silver. I should mention that in places where there is no regular theatre, temples are the recognised places for theatrical performances.

000 Leaving this village the next day we passed some sulphur springs with regular covered-in bathing tanks. [757] These hot springs are very common in Yün-nan and are much resorted to by rheumatic people. Quitting the main

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

536 4. Modern plays (hua-chü). The modern play, like the motion picture, has no regional character. Any acceptable play will be staged in all parts of China, and kuo-yü (the national language) is used rather than the various dialects. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung's Thousands of Rivers and Mountains proves that the Communists' Long March in the thirties is always "correct" material for dramatization. The Song of the Red Flags, concerned with production drives in a textile factory in North China, was the joint creation of three playwrights, written after they had agreed on the ideological significance of this type of play and had sketched out the plot under the guidance of Chou Yang, the vice-minister of Cultural Affairs. The Song of the Red Flags was performed in Chungking as well as in other cities like Shanghai, Nanking, Peking, and Lan-chou. In Shanghai alone, it was given 159 performances, and some 125,000 people attended it.[22] If we take into account the fact that theater-going is now an organized activity of the various mass organizations such as the labor unions, the Women's Federation, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the study circles, the length of the run and the size of the audience do not accurately reflect the enthusiasm of the people but rather the effectiveness of the Communist organization of mass participation in the field of recreation.

546 5. Motion Pictures. Although Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, based on the same incident

22. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, July 1950.

546 as the opera of the same name, won first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-Picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shanjao, produced in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully demonstrates the "collective heroism" of the Communists under duress. When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the movie Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mongol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities. Similar movies about the ethnic minorities in the Southwest are likely to be made in the future.

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

A. Painting and the Plastic Arts

532 Painting and the plastic arts are largely utilitarian in China today. The utilitarian spirit puts them either in the realm of propaganda or craftsmanship. As propaganda, they become extremely derivative and stereotyped; as craftsmanship, they utilize local characteristics and traditional skills, although they sometimes appear to be unrestrainedly florid and pretentious. Chinese brush paintings, woodcuts, oil paintings, cartoons

[redacted]

533 numbers arranged to depict a political theme are frequently presented at the cultural centers and by propaganda teams traveling in the countryside. (For more discussion on song and dance, see chapter on Artistic and Literary Expression).

B. Motion Pictures

1. Control

546 So far there has been no indication that any motion picture has been or is being made in Southwest China, except perhaps some newsreels photographed by movie teams attached to the "Liberation Army." Thus the problem of control in this region is reduced simply to that of supervising the distribution and showing of films. More remote from sources of American and other Western motion picture supply, even the question of censorship will automatically be taken care of as soon as distribution is centralized. Early in 1950, the Southwest China branch of the China Motion Picture Distribution Company was in operation. It monopolizes distribution and is directly controlled by its headquarters in Peking.

Responsible for the supervision of the showing of motion pictures in this region are the provincial cultural and education commissions. They are also in charge of organization and the assignment of mobile motion picture teams to tour the countryside.

2. Development

In July 1950, the Southwest China branch

1:Stanford U. S-4-5, 1956 AF 16 SW China
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546 of the China Motion Picture Distribution Company reported that it had already handled 53 Russian films and 41 Chinese films since the beginning of that year. At that time, motion picture theater-goers in the Southwest Region still favored Chinese films. The Russian films only drew a total of 446,000 people while Chinese pictures drew 837,000 for their total. In January 1953, the distribution system was further consolidated and most of the theaters in larger cities were showing the same films either simultaneously or by rotation. The quota for each was determined and announced in advance. The following is a sample of the types of films that the people in Chungking saw in motion picture theaters in 1953:

Table 12. Motion Pictures Shown in Chungking Theaters (Jan-Feb 1953) */

Type of Film	Number
Russian	12
Newsreels	4
Historical	1
People's Liberation Army documentary	1
Reconstruction of China	2
Revolutionary stories	4
Cartoon	1
Total	25

*/ Compiled from advertisements in New China Daily, Chungking, January and February 1953 issues.

•546 The Russian films dealt mostly with the October Revolution and key personalities of the Soviet revolutionary war. The newsreels included one entitled "We Are Opposed to Germ Warfare," and "Long Live Peace," which depicts the Communist-inspired Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Nations held in Peking in the fall of 1952. The historical film dealt with the pacifism of Mo Tzu (Mo Ti), an ancient Chinese philosopher. The economic achivement in Northeast China and Inner Mongolia was the subject matter of the films on reconstruction. Films dealing with revolutionary stories depicted the suppression of an anti-Communist secret society, I-kuan Tao, and the change in pastoral life in Northwest China. One of these films, under the title "The Flame of Wrath," was actually filmed in Northeast China.

Admission to a motion picture theater in the city was JMP$2,000, or about the price of two and a half pounds of rice. Motion picture theaters in the rural areas charged only JMP $1,500 for admission. These rates were fixed by the government.

As to the newsreels shown in rural areas, the Communist motion picture producing industry has turned out an ample supply of them. Government authorities pay specific attention to the motion picture teams visiting the factories and mining areas. Regarding this, the central Cultural Administration at Peking on June 8, 1954 issued a special directive ordering local governments to "supervise motion picture distribution agencies by adequately supplying these mobile

546 teams with films."[59] By May 1952, the thirty-nine teams operated by the cultural and educational organizations in this region had given shows to 17,329,537 people. According to Communist official announcements, these figures did not include the teams attached to the Army or organized by labor unions. It has also been reported that in the cities of Southwest China, 8,799,704 people saw motion pictures in 1950, and 20,522,438 in 1951. If these statistics are reliable, then the Communist goal of enabling every inhabitant in Southwest China to see at least one motion picture show a year would be within the range of achievement.[60] (The population of Southwest China in 1950-1951 was about 75,000,000.)

Promotion of Russian films has been made an official task for the distributors in this region as a result of the relative scarcity of native films. The literary purges that have been going on in North and East China are exerting a restrictive influence on script writers. Consequently, the film production industry has not been able to make enough movies, and producers have to resort to writing titles and dialogue in Chinese for foreign films already approved by the government. Over 50 films made in countries in the Soviet orbit, with titles and dialogue written in Chinese, were distributed throughout Mainland China in 1952.[61]

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59. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 540.

60. New China Daily, Chungking, May 21, 1952, p. 3.

61. Ibid., January 16, 1953, p. 3.

546 In 1954, the Shanghai Motion Picture Producing Company, in collaboration with the Northeast Motion Picture Producing Company, wrote the titles and dialogue in Chinese for 40 foreign films, including a few non-Communist ones such as "The Bicycle Thief," made in Italy, and some "progressive" pictures from Japan.[62] Meanwhile a Japanese journalist reported upon his return to his country from a visit to Red China in 1953 that the average motion picture theater in large Chinese cities had to have about eight films a month, that the government could only supply one or two, and that the rest came from the Soviet Union.[63] In October 1953, a "Russian Motion Picture Week" was observed in Southwest China commemorating the 36th anniversary of the October Revolution. During that week in Chengtu, Chungking and Kun ming, over 1,413,000 people saw a Russian motion picture.[64]

All this points up an acute shortage of native films in Southwest China.

C. Lantern Slides and Phonograph Records

Despite physical limitations, officials in

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62. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 6, 1954, p. 2.

63. Chao Ts'ung, "I-nien-lai Chung-kung Ti Wen-hua Kung-tso" ["The Chinese Communist Cultural Work during the Past Year"] , Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly] , Hong Kong, January 4, 1954, p. 36.

64. China Weekly, No. 62, March 8, 1954, p. 22.

546 Southwest China in charge of mass communication and propaganda have been stressing the importance of using audio-visual aids. The program to develop lantern slides for public information is tied in with the expansion of libraries and cultural centers which have already been mentioned.

Chairman Ch'u T'u-nan of the Cultural and Educational Commission for Southwest China was proud to point out in September 1953 that a total of 845 projectors (for slides) had been acquired, averaging two to each hsien in this region. The slides stocked at the cultural centers and libraries were divided into the following categories:

Table 13. Lantern Slides in Southwest China (1952) */

Category	Percentage
Political	50.8
Agricultural	23.7
Industrial	7.0
Health and Sanitation	10.0
Popular Science	3.7
Others	4.8

*/ New China Daily, Chungking, September 30, 1952, p. 3.

Table 13 shows that in providing the public with lantern slides, the first and foremost emphasis is on political indoctrination. Agricultural and

546 public health subjects come next, because Southwest China is predominantly agrarian and the people's knowledge of sanitation is particularly lacking. Besides organizing shows at the cultural centers or libraries, mobile motion picture teams and propaganda groups also make use of slides and projectors. When Chairman Ch'u claimed that the cultural centers in the region had given over 9,000,000 people political education and enrolled 1,700,000 illiterates in reading classes,[65] he undoubtedly included those who had been show motion pictures and lantern slides as well.

Slides were extensively used in connection with educational campaigns on health and sanitation conducted in the Tibetan Nationality Minority area in northwestern Szechwan Province early in 1953.[66] It was found that where the Chinese language was not spoken, drawings and photographs were satisfactory media of communication.

It is not known whether facilities exist in Southwest China for the manufacture of lantern

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65. New China Daily, Chungking, September 30, 1952, p. 3.

66. New China Daily, Chungking, January 24, 1953, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

slides on a large scale, but in 1953 such equipment was advertised for sale in the New China Daily of Chungking. Slides on maternity hygiene, public health, educational subjects, and current events were available in the market at that time. A set of 36 slides was sold for JMP$130,000 (about US$26, official rate) which was equivalent to the price of 200 pounds of rice.[67] 546

Phonograph records are used at the cultural centers and recreational clubs, but not as extensively as lantern slides and radio sets. They were also available in Chungking in 1953 for JMP$16,000 (about US$3.20) each, or about the price of 23 pounds of rice.

V. MASS ORGANIZATIONS AS MEDIA OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

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The Communists are fond of using the word "network" for activities pertaining to public information and propaganda. Already discussed in this study are the news-gathering network, radio network, library and book distribution network, and motion picture showing and cultural center network. Included in the Communist term of "cultural network", however, are many mass organizations contributing to the dissemination of public information, education, and propaganda.[68]

One of these organizations is the Sino-Russian Friendship Association. Established on October 5, 1949, in Peking, it expanded rapidly and by February 1952 had 64,200 large and small branches

[next page for 67. and 68.]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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campaign to encourage workers to return to the rural areas to engage in production.[25] All in all, the basis of city relief was self-help-through-labor, which was also the emphasis of rural relief policies. For example, in Chungking needy people were organized into handicraft-production teams. Early in 1955, it was reported that in addition to those performing regular and seasonal labor, 32,000 needy people were organized into productive labor teams in Chungking. Among the people who were unable to make a living, including the aged, the cripple, and the young, relief was given to 41,828 families in the period January-October 1954, according to a Communist source.[26]

Beggars, pickpockets, and prostitutes were the subjects of an intensive campaign. It was reported in 1952 that the majority of these three city elements had been sent to institutions for reform and training in productive works.[27] In a speech in September 1954, the Communist Minister of Internal Affairs told the National People's Congress that prostitutes, beggars, and opium smokers were "basically

25. Ibid., p. 16.
26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, America Consulate General, No. 1008, Supplements, March 16, 1955, pp. 8-10.
27. New China Daily, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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733 "non-existent" in Communist China and the
735 number of vagrants had been greatly reduced.[28]
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V. CHILD WELFARE

527 Following the international practice of
746 dedicating one day in the year to the children, in 193 April 4 h was promulgated as China's Children's Day by the Nationalist Government. But the Chinese Communist regime changed this date to June 1st, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation in 1949 at Moscow.[29] Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic, i.e., not designed for the well-being of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1st every year, all the propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the happy state of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and references to the "plight" of children in the free world. And it is also around this time in most large cities on the Mainland of China that health examinations for

28. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-13.

29. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [History of the Memorial Days], Shanghai, T'ai-lien ch'u-pan she, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 180-83.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER VI

Chung-tien 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [248] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 173 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 綏久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 嫩州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

[p. 248]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

735 The beggars call the rice and wine given to them at feasts or New Year time *fa-ts'ai fan* and *fu-kuei chiu* 發財飯 and 富貴酒. It is a kind of good wish for the prosperity of the giver. 'New Year rice' is given to beggars on the first day of New Year; beside this some give New Year money, meat, dumplings, etc. If beggars are diligent at the New Year they can beg enough to keep them for a month or two.

After persons have given money or food to a beggar, the latter says that he has succeeded in instructing his son 訓子 *hsün tzŭ*. Such spectacles as are displayed in most Chinese streets, the displaying of maimed limbs, frost-bitten feet, knocking the head on the paving stones with a thud, candles and incense stuck in hands and shoulders, and anything which works on the feelings of the people are included by beggars under this heading of 'instructing their children.'

Ao men niu 遨悶牛, to follow the stupid ox, is said by beggars who pursue people on the roads asking for alms. To pursue a person on the road and repeatedly waylay him for money or to exact money from the person by blackmail, is called by the beggars, 'chasing the dog.'

A beggar will beset wealthy families and stay for hours at the door bellowing for food. The first time he gets food that day he says that it was his 'big son' 大的兒 *ta ti êrh* who gave it him; the second time it is the 'second son,' and so on. These things make the beggars hated by many people, and a class which is loathsome to behold becomes also repugnant to the kindest of hearts.

* * *

ROBBERS 盜賊 *tao tsei.*

548 These are divided into several classes, the following being a few of them:

Flying thieves, 飛賊 *fei tsei.* These enter the house by going over the roof with a pole; their sandals being made of human hair. In the day time they pretend to be sleepy, lazy fellows, but when they go to steal they can fly over the beam or walk on the partition' 飛梁走壁 *fei liang tsou pi.*

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

This kind of thief can get at the silver no matter where it is placed; and only takes silver and gold. He leaves the other things for a lower caste thief. It is generally believed that he has some dealings with evil spirits. When he goes out for a depredation it is spoken of as 出馬, or to take out the horses. 548

Shang fang tzŭ 上房子, to go on the roof. This class of thief enters by the roof and leaves by the door. At the door he has an assistant waiting to whom he hands his booty, who in turn gives it over to the carrier who runs with it.

Shun shou 順手, to take what lies to hand. This is done by people who in their own town are reckoned to be good and responsible citizens, but go from home to do business of this kind. The proverb has it that 黃雲不打窩下食, 好賊不偷自家人, 'the eagle will not take the food of its own nest, and the thief will not steal from his own household.'

The local head of thieves gets a large share of the booty 坐地分肥 *tso ti fên fei.* When a thief comes to any district he makes arrangements with the local head of the thieves, who then becomes surety for him. When robbers are about to commit a robbery they always have a person acquainted with the house, called a *hsien tzŭ k'ê* 線子客 or spy. Hence the proverb which says *tsei wu chüeh t'ou pu ch'u* 賊無脚偷不出; 'a thief who has no footing cannot steal.'

Their first work is to count their men, to each of whom a cash-string is given, (these strings are counted on their return; if they are short one string they know that one man is wanting, and they may possibly go back to release him; unless they have reason to think that he is dead.) Oil is then spilt over a pile of cash paper, which is burned as an offering to the spirits, asking for success in their adventure. Brown paper is then soaked in oil and rosin, and made into small torches, which are lighted and stuck on the front of each person's hat. The men's faces are all blackened or made up with hideous colours. Each man has his work allotted. Some carry the battering ram or *niu êrh tzŭ* 牛兒子 for smashing open the door. Others carry hatchets and weapons for self-protection. Some are detailed to watch the

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

548 four sides of the house, and give warning if help is arriving. The cry of *chang shui* 漲水 'the flood is rising,' is a sign that the neighbours have risen to protect the family. After the robbery is completed, there is what is known as *tien chiang pai hua* 點將擺花 count the men and display the booty. Any dead are carried away with them if possible, and disposed of in the most convenient way, for fear of leaving any trace of the origin of the band. The head of the gang gets 40 per cent. and the remaining 60 per cent. goes to the men who have done the work. The division is made after all expenses of the raid have been deducted.

Robbery by piercing a wall requires an instrument known as the *ao tao* 挹刀 or *ch'iao tao* 撬刀, a crowbar. After a hole has been pierced through the wall, a bamboo with a handful of straw tied on the end of it is pushed inside to see if the way is clear; all being well the thief crawls in feet first, for fear of getting a bang on the head, and so as to be able to to crawl quickly out again in case of alarm.

When a character of this sort reaches a strange place he will draw a picture on a blank wall, such as a head with a moustache on one side of the mouth only. Other particular classes of thieves draw the picture of a single hand or foot. The picture of a head without any hands means that the thief is in need of an assistant. When the local thieves see these they draw another figure of the same kind close to it giving secret directions as to where he will find a lodging and companions. The day-light thief is called a 爬兒 *pa êrh*, the night worker 黑腦殼 *hei nao-k'o*, black head. Pickpockets are known as *p'a ko êrh* 爬哥兒, *lao chua* 老抓 or *shua êrh* 刷兒, *hung p'an p'an* 紅盤盤, *hung lao piao* 紅老表 red-haired cousin, etc. The burglar who opens partitions 剜壁 *ko pi*, carries a pair of strong scissors, and thus bamboo and lime partitions are easily taken out. Once inside the house he soon tears open the doors and prepares a way of escape. Even the dogs seem to have a wholesome fear of this class and dare not bark till after they have gone. A troublesome dog is poisoned by giving it human hair chopped very fine and rolled inside meat or fish. This seems to be fatal, as the animal can neither digest the dose nor vomit it.

3: Hutson M-S (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The art of the horse, pig and ox stealer is called *t'ai mén* 548
抬門, lifting the door. He carries, besides his fuse and other weapons, a tube of water which is poured into the wooden hinges of the door to keep them from squeaking. When a pig is the object of theft it is given *hua chiao* 花椒 or red pepper; this benumbs its mouth so that it cannot squeal, and is thus more easily carried out of the place. When an ox is stolen, as soon as it is outside the door, a man takes hold of each horn and another takes the tail; the man behind pricks the ox with a goad, making it run furiously and heedless of all obstacles away from the house. Horses are taken off in a similar manner. In stealing ducks or chickens the necks are seized and tied; while cats are put in a sack.

Thieves are naturally very superstitious. Many of them 548
carry on their person the wooden image of a dog with an iron 777
band round its nose, to keep it from barking or biting, as dogs are their chief fear and natural enemy. They are very much afraid of any combination of words having *fan* 飯 and *fa* 髮 in them. Even to eat rice is known by them as *ch'ao fán tzŭ* 搞飯子. Their chief object is to avoid detection; one might almost say that the only sin is the loss of face on being caught. They also have a superstitious dread of the following words: *ti chu* 抵注 to get up against; *ch'uang tao* 撞倒 to knock against, and *k'ung shou* 空手 empty-handed: a thief if he enters a house will do all in his power to carry something away with him, however small, as it is most unlucky for him to leave empty-handed; *ma tzŭ*, 馬子, an enemy: the master of the house is the natural enemy of the thief; *liang* 亮, light: their works being evil they hate the light. Each clique has a particular call by which it is known; some mew like a cat, others blow a bamboo whistle; others have a call like *wu Au*, while others have a song. Any householder hearing these sounds close by gives a warning to his household and calls out for the thief to come in and he will give him a "light for his pipe;" with the mention of light the thief very often departs. In entering a tea shop they call for water, not for boiling water or hot water as other people do, as these expressions are used by them to indicate that trouble is coming. They also hate the words *pu shun shou* 不順手,

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

548 that is, it won't come to hand. They also fear *pu tui t'ou* 777 不對頭, or unsuitable. The number four is never used by them as it is the same sound as 'trouble.' So on the 3rd and 4th of each month, also on the 14th and 24th they cease their depredations. Owing to the light of the moon, little or no work of their kind is done from the 3rd to the 16th of each moon, but with the exception of the 24th they go on almost unceasingly from that time to the end of the month. The thief also dreads the character *ch'ieh* 截, to to cut off, fearing that his head will be sliced off.

In carrying on his depredations whatever comes into his hand is reckoned to be his rightful property; but if a thief has got no stolen property in his possession it is impossible to impeach him; the saying runs 盜賊無贓硬如鐵樁 'a thief with no stolen property is hard as an iron bar,' and he will no brook any aspersion on his character. The saying also runs 拿賊要拿贓拿姦要拿雙 'catching a thief, catch his stolen property; catching adulterers, catch the pair.' No greater insult can be thrown at any family than to say that they are *nan tao nü ch'ang* 男盜女娼, the males thieves and the women harlots.

This class of men much resent another person putting their feet on the end of a stool while they are still sitting on it; the fear being that they will be locked up and made to sit down. They also resent anyone taking hold of the pipe while they are smoking, or taking hold of their queue while they are walking. They also fear any one standing on the bed to dress, or tilting any article on its side to get anything out, or lifting up the basin with the vegetables in it to pour some gravy over their rice.

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945) 1947 AF36 Southwest China AF16

575 the Ko Lao Hui keeps the closest watch over government policy, especially where it considers its own interests to be concerned.

662 An illustration of how the Ko Lao Hui functions in this respect may be seen in the typical case of Huang Jun Chin, branch director in the village of Yuan T'ung. To the people who live in it, Yuan T'ung seems less a village than a country of which Huang is king. He owns some 400 acres of land and several thousand side arms which are borne by 3,000 men (all society members) directly under his command. In the county seat he and some of his men occupy a huge mansion fortified with machine-gun emplacements. Several close relatives hold important positions in the municipal and provincial governments. Although they are paid by the county government, two platoons of guards and policemen are armed with Huang's guns and are answerable to him alone. His men are also in the magistrate's office; in fact, the magistrate is no more than a figurehead whose function it is to transmit government orders to Huang and to await his instructions. The county administration takes no action without Huang's prior consent. He not only presides over the county council, but appoints all of its other members. Huang's case is typical of the power of the society which, though essentially non-political, frequently interferes with, and occasionally assumes direct control of, county government.[12]

575 Each branch of the society derives its regular income from a number of sources, of which opium dens are the most important. In one
548 locality there are ten such dens, each run by a different high-ranking member. Each must contribute a definite sum to the branch, as must the semi-secret gambling houses and brothels. Illegal transactions in prohibited goods such as arms, gasoline and other vital war materials are effected under the supervision and protection of the society, which collects a fee on each transaction. Another source of income is the "mar-
575 ket" where, though no goods are handled, such commodities as rape
437 seed, rice and the like are bought and sold in wholesale quantities; since no goods are in evidence, the government agent, if he is present, sees nothing on which to levy a tax, but the society, keeping a com-

[12] Of course, the society manifests its power in other ways. For example, local coal mines and salt works cannot move their products to market until they have paid the society large sums on each shipment. Before making tours of inspection in the districts of the Chengtu Plain, government officials are expected to notify, and to secure the protection of, Ko Lao Hui officials. This procedure is necessary because bandits, county guards and administrators are usually all members of the society.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

History and Boundaries of Yung-ning 永寧

1. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450-li to the south of Yung-ning. 101 173

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi) [1] family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A. [355]

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 麗化 (Li-t'ang 麗塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

[1] The name *Hli-khin* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi*. The Ima khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhêr-khin.

[p. 355]

B. Social Role

596 562 769 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, becuase only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life afte death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was reemphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to carry on the yearly observances was regarded as a major failing on the responsible male's part and a tremendous catastrope for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providingsons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

554 561 596 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did

561 these factors determine his behavior and position
554 in the community and the world at large. An
596 additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

562 Authority and dominance were the province
554 of the males. Women might, and occasionally did, exervise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however. In modern times,at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

561 Age was honored relatively and absolute-
554 ly. Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

555 Individual status also improved with ed-
596 ucation, more particularly with the attainment
554 of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official careeer was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the exams was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and

555 village almost as much as himself. The wealth
554 usually accumulated by an official during his
596 career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

577 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial
596 system operated by moral suasion with a mini-
642 mum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaing peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for

577 668 decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

577 668 554 The Communists single out for public recognition individuals who have ruthlessly battered their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face," their own or others'. They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

565 other hand, because of the existence of extended
596 families and the clan structure, less fortunate
428 members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

183 The scholar ideal. Learning was much es-
565 teemed, especially when combined with wealth.
555 The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indicative of the respect all Chinese had for learning was the popular saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[6] The emphasis

6. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China, Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be oversimple, it indicates that the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected
[continued next page]

on learning was buttressed by the imperial examination system, the means by which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal in education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their sons in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of the son's eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the familes, be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills and

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6. [continued] ...by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-75.

183 commercial activity. Therefore, if a scholar
565 did not pass the examination, or having passed
555 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

The scholars, therefore, are not to be regarded as a separate class or a separate occupational group, except as they relied for their livelihood on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government, and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only a way to added prestige.

The road to status and wealth through edcation and government service was often by-passed

183 in time of chaos; then military skills would enable
565 individuals to obtain high positions in the bureau-
555 cracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity to acquire learning under tutelage of well-known scholars due to their parents' wealth.

C. Social Organizations

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Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In the rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

178 in the new business or political hierarchy and
565 yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 Influenced by the idea of democracy which
565 they had discovered in the new schools, the in-
668 tellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power, ob-
874 taining offices by virtue of their military success.
555 Rather than despising the military as the older
565 scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

668
590 Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of higher learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the indvidual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute
668 for the traditional social structure. Since the
555 individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations reward the achievement of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement makes conformity the criteria of success. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the Classics and their

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
AF 16

668 commentaries was the prerequisite to success in
555 the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises, positions conceivably may be offered to absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances which accumulate under a totalitarian system, and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in Southwest China the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[13]

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13. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.

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554 in the community and the world at large. An
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668 The cadre carries on the continuing effort to destroy traditional mores, which are prime resistants in what the Communist call the long and difficult process of ideological and social reform. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and, sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.[19]

•556 668 The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to increase his family's land holdings is checked by fear lest he be re-classified as a "rich peasant" and be subject to higher taxes and other pressures. Yet what the Communists deplore as the peasant's "spontaneous capitalistic tendency" has not been crushed,

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19. People's Daily, Jan. 30, 1955; SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

556 and the landholdings of the more enterprising
668 grow in size.[20]

The effort to force various forms of co-operative work has not been completely successful:

> "...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[21]

668 Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his leisure. The slack winter season may now find him in winter school or

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20. Rostow, op. cit., p. 152, cites the Peking People's Daily, Feb. 13, 1954.
21. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Cressey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disproportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

751 796 line to an amazing extent. The author had spoken to many local persons about these prayer meetings, in the beginning of the epidemic as well as after it was over. Not a single adult had any difficulty at all in grasping what was being asked about after the simplest possible reference was made.

In the above list two kinds of officers need a special word. First, the two officers who are in charge of Worshipping on the Altar. These are volunteers who take turns to kneel in front of the gods on the altar during the entire period of the priests' ritual activities. The man on such a duty holds with both of his hands in front of him a special incense bowl containing burning incense powder. In most meetings the duty falls on elderly people who are in the locality all the time. In the Area I, one of these officers was a clerk from the branch office of a governmentally owned savings bank in Paoshan, about 200 kilometers southwest of West Town on the Burma Road. He does not stay home normally. The idea is that he who is on this duty represents the community to show the gods the people's earnestness and sincerity in their appeal.

Secondly, from the latter part of the list it will be clear that there is some feasting. In regular prayer meetings of the community (for example on one of the birthdays of gods) the feasting is usually participated in by all members of the community who have joined the meeting. But in the cholera prayer meetings there is much less feasting. The priests and the music players have to be lavishly fed. So must be most of the volunteer officers. To visitors from this or other areas is served hot tea. Some of the volunteer tea-servers are pupils of the local middle school whose homes are located in the area in which the particular meeting had taken place.

On the walls near all such meetings, and in some cases on the walls of the entire area, are square posters of yellow paper with eight characters in red: "Pray and abstain from evils with all sincerity, clean up and avoid dirt absolutely." At the entrance to the larger prayer meetings, or at the ends of the street leading to them, are large couplets showing that good deeds and earnestness are essential for mobilizing the gods, or that the prayer meetings are a collective effort to propitiate the gods who may decide to forgive sins previously committed by the community.

2. Cost of the Prayer Meetings

556 796 In all the prayer meetings expenses are met by voluntary contributions. The managers send out emissaries to solicit contributions, but a large proportion of the contributors send their contributions in money or in kind before being asked at all. Generally within a local area everybody knows what everybody else is worth, and the contributions are as a general rule proportionate to one's ability to contribute. Sometimes social position in the locality determines the amount one contributes. When the meeting is over the income, with a detailed list of the names of contributors and amounts they have contributed, and expenditures are posted in a public place. Usually the list puts the larger contributor's names first, but again social position of the contributor may be the first consideration. A person's name may appear in the lists of contributors of several prayer meetings just as it may appear in the lists of officers of several prayer meetings. This is either because the person owns shops or houses in the several areas or because his social prestige is important to the success of the meetings in question. In some cases the sum of contribution does not seem to be related at all to the contributor's social position

or to his wealth as compared with others in the same area. Thus two coffin-shop owners in one area (Area X) contributed between them a sum of two thousand and five hundred dollars and are the biggest contributors of the area. The reason is that they have suddenly made a lot of money through the epidemic. In order to make other people feel better and their newly acquired wealth more secure, they deem it best to give generously first to the popular cause. 556 796

There are others who refuse to contribute. These do not openly say that they disbelieve the cause but simply play a game of delayed action until the solicitors are tired of them. In none of the local areas is the proportion of such individuals large, and as far as the author is aware in only three areas are they found at all.

Then as to the actual cost of these meetings. The one meeting which cost the biggest sum took place at the center of the town (Area E). The sum is, in round numbers, fourteen thousand and nine hundred national dollars. The one which cost the least took place in Area B. The sum is about one hundred national dollars. The total publicly announced expenditure for nineteen meetings amounts to about $43,175. NC. 796

In order to realize the significance or insignificance of this figure it will be necessary to compare it with other figures on financial matters in the community. The average monthly expenditure of a family of three to eleven individuals was, according to a graduate from the refugee missionary college, about one hundred and twenty-five national dollars in the first half of 1940. Using this as a basis, when the rise of prices is taken into consideration, the corresponding amount in the first half of 1942 (when the cholera prayer meetings took place) should be from $548. to $1,096. (both in national currency).(7) It is thus clear that the amount expended on cholera prayers in 1942 would represent the average monthly expenditure of from 39 to 79 families of the locality. It is to be pointed out that, although the locality contains some outstandingly wealthy families which could afford to expend thirty thousand or a million dollars for a funeral the largest individual donation in these prayer meetings that came to the author's notice is two thousand and four hundred dollars. This means that the major part of the funds comes not from a few families but from many families.

On the other side of the picture we may mention that at no time had West Town's populace contributed more than one-fifth of the amount expended

(7) According to An Tze-ming: General Conditions of Economic Conditions in West Town (B.A. thesis, 1940), p. 120, 140 and 141. The number of sample families taken is small, so that the average on the expenditure is bound to be questionable. The figure $250.00 monthly is an impression rather than hard statistical fact. Taking 1936 price as 100, the price for the first half of 1940 was 1,848.38 (p. 141, ibid.), and for the first half of 1942, 8,060 to 16,120. Therefore the average monthly expenditure for the families for the first half of 1942 should be as stated in the text. (The sums are obtained by the following formula: (1) 250:1,848 - X:8,060, or (2) 250:1, 848 - X:16,120). One of the author's students in the same college (Mr. Hu Ju-hwai) had made a study of all butchers' families in West Town (May, 1942) and has found that most butchers smoke opium and their average family expenditure about doubles the results of the above calculation. However, this last mentioned study is based upon a special trade. The cost of opium may also have largely been responsible for the much larger average monthly expenditure. No definite conclusion can be drawn from it.

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reading of sacred scriptures can keep it away!" "The prayer meetings can clean up the locality" (never mentioned a word about the ghosts or spirits). The author then intentionally echoed in a very affirmative tone: "Of course, the prayer meetings have cleared up the epidemic." Upon hearing this the old man instantly responded: "But all these are simply superstitions." (again Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The author then explained to him, following Malinowski, that the true effect of these prayers might be to stabilize the community during a crisis, in which case they would have their proper function. He made no comment on the author's explanation. It might be that he failed to comprehend what was being said. It might also be that he understood it but did not know how to reply properly. But he simply went on to say that the meetings were "affairs" of the community, and as a personality of standing in the community he had to patronize them. He also mentioned that the community had this sort of prayer meetings on a large scale only once before, in the seventh year of the Republic (about twenty-three years ago) when another Wen broke out (not cholera, but headache and vomiting). This old man contributed twenty dollars to one prayer meeting and twenty-five dollars to another. (He is not at all wealthy.) He headed the list of directors in the prayer meeting which took place at Area H (center of the town) in which the highest single donation was $2,400.

This class of persons generally express, in one way or another, that they feel happier if they participate in the "affairs" of the community in the proper manner, whatever the outsider thinks about these "affairs". To this class also evidently belong some outstanding citizens of wealth in this community. The L. family, e.g. which is the chief supporter of the hospital and the middle school and the sole owner of the public library, spent over a million dollars for a pompous funeral in the traditional style and was the largest single contributor in at least two prayer meetings (one of which took place at the center of West Town). The R., another wealthy family, is also very much in the same position. A most interesting fact was observed in connection with a certain U. family which used to be the sixth or seventh wealthy family of the locality but which has been going down hill for some time. In a conversation Mrs. U. told the author that her family contributed five hundred national dollars to the cost of the prayer meeting in her street (Area E). But on examination of the list of contributors the author found that her husband's name was only associated with the insignificant sum of one hundred national dollars among donators of much larger sums.

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Incidents such as the last reveal that support lent to the prayer meetings is primarily a matter of social prestige, and the individual or family that has not been able to keep up with the expected level feels very much embarrassed.

An analysis of the conditions of these informants gives no definite impression as regards the significance of their age. The author had at first expected to find older people more conservative about the prayer meetings, giving more details, and the younger ones less so. This expectation is not met by the data. It is true that, as stated before, the elders and older people are in charge of the direction-managing and worshipping duties in practically all the prayer meetings. An inspection of some of the prayer meetings in session will also tell us that the spectators standing or sitting about the places of meeting during most hours of the day are either older people or children or older women. But such phenomenon is perhaps natural enough. The middle-aged or other able-bodied men and women have their work in shops, fields, and at home.

B. Social Role

596 562 769 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, becuase only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life afte death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was reemphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to carry on the yearly observances was regarded as a major failing on the responsible male's part and a tremendous catastrope for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providingsons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

554 561 596 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did

561 these factors determine his behavior and position
554 in the community and the world at large. An
596 additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

562 Authority and dominance were the province
554 of the males. Women might, and occasionally did, exervise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however. In modern times,at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

561 Age was honored relatively and absolute-
554 ly. Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

555 Individual status also improved with ed-
596 ucation, more particularly with the attainment
554 of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official careeer was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the exams was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and

593 The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. AT the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theorectically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.[4]

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers and relatives of an older generation.

593 562 606 Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband, to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In her mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

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4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit., and Lang, op. cit.

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D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

596 178 In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was undermined. He was still needed at home to carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

369 596 178 562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship

369 continued to give a greater primacy to males in
596 the family, but the ability of daughters to earn
178 a wage enhanced their value to the family and
562 made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted, however, that women of farming and laboring families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

[redacted]

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its
[582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
562

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 who might otherwise be free of the constant
575 direct influence of the government. These two
562 groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit
861 for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that the trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

596 With the Communist regime's emphases
593 on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

565 184 the Communist regime. In this connection, the Communists have appointed a few erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

Ad additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on export trade. Southwest China has a few traditionally profitable export commodities, such as tung-oil, hog bristles, and foodstuffs. Now that the government has virtually completed its monopoly of export trade, the merchants are denied of the opportunity to take part in this lucrative undertaking.

V. WOMEN

562 184 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition is so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their rights in pre-Communist days; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have thus assumed more active roles in society are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness similar to that of men

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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562 184 of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of nationalism.

How much improvement in the status of women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to participate in political activities and industry; they are provided with facilities for child care and adult education, as well as other welfare benefits if they will join the working force. If the increase in the number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women are reluctant to work in factories and those who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized Marriage Law in Communist China embodies nothing new in principle but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is unprecedented. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the Marriage Law in the chapter on Family).

562 184 Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

562 369 184 A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

513 184 Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

into hatred and murder. Officials take advantage and use one faction against another; then secrets are divulged, mutual recriminations follow, and hatred is engendered which may last for generations, one victim after another on both sides being murdered in revenge. A son's duty to avenge a parent's wrong cannot be shirked. 575

Such conditions produce in members a cruel and relentless disposition, and foster a suspicious and revengeful nature.

As already mentioned, the place held by women in this secret society is not a small one. Many are sworn members, and the mothers and wives are often able assistants of male members. They spy out the land, hide the booty and screen the guilty. It is a rare thing for a woman to be put to death for implication in robbery; and it must be remembered that the mother of adventurous sons will also rear daughters of a similar character, who in turn become the mothers of a new generation of desperate adventurers; and thus a constant succession is assured in spite of official reprisals on the males. Here lies a social problem of immense importance, which might well tax the heart and brain of some great statesman. If brute force could cure the moral and social ills of this people it would by this time have had some effect; but torture and capital punishment have proved futile, and nothing short of a moral and spiritual regeneration will change the Han Liu adventurer into a law-abiding citizen. 575 562

This regeneration seems especially necessary for the female population, for the saying, "She who rocks the cradle rules the world" is true in Western China—she who carries the baby rules the land. So long as we have a race of women vicious enough to murder their own offspring in large numbers, to bind their daughters' feet, to abet the men in every crime, so long we shall have a race of brigands and buccaneers to terrify the country at every opportunity.

The hypnotic sects work secretly with the wiliness of serpents till they gain a secure hold; the naturalistic sects are full of bluster and pantomime, yet their propaganda is secret and swift. When either of these elements gains the upper hand the whole district is made to quake. Their methods of black- 575

635 of Sikang, which rounded out the western part of the Southwest Region, began to be developed as a part of the frontier colonial territory during the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

635 669 563 When the Red Army overran the Southwest Region in 1949, the Communists fell heir to the problems the territory has posed to every governing authority in China. As had often happened in the past, the mountainous terrain of the Southwest Region was the last refuge of armed resistance to the new regime. According to the Communists, Kweichow was not completely in their hands until January 1951,[1] and more "bandits" (a common Communist term for its armed enemies) were found in the Southwest Region than in any other region.[2] A more difficult and longer-term problem was that of the tribal people who had never been assimilated into Chinese culture. Constituting about 20 per cent of the region's population, the autochthonous people in many areas of the Southwest were still organized under their own tribal laws and respected the authority only of their own tribal chiefs.

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1. Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 205, pp. 12-13. Hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. Unless specifically attributed to the American editors, citations from this source refer to literal translations from Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

2. Ibid., 212, p. 24.

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636 Some progress in extending direct control over former tribal areas was made by the Ming Dynasty through its program of planned settlement and military action. However, the Ming administration vacillated between a policy of leaving non-Han Chinese areas to their own devices and eliminating t'u-ssu power by military force. The latter policy was most consistently and successfully pursued in Kweichow.

A more persistent attempt to bring the whole Southwest under Chinese administration was pursued by the Ch'ing Dynasty. Under the Republic (1912-1949), the extension of Chinese administration was handicapped by internal revolution, external interference, and warlord rule until the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Chungking in 1938. By the end of the anti-Japanese Resistance War in 1945, some progress in further integrating the Southwest Region into the Chinese political system had been made, but the t'u-ssu and lesser tribal chiefs still exercising real power numbered more than one hundred in Szechwan, more than one hundred and fifty in Yunnan, and over one hundred in Sikang.[17] The continuance since then of local independence in the Southwest is reflected in the announcement that 220 autonomous local governments had been established in the region by the Communist regime up to September 1954.[18]

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636
563 The extension of central authority in the

17. Ibid., pp. 240-41.
18. People's China, Peking, Sept.1,1954,p.23

175 636 563 Southwest was complicated by the lack of respect toward each other of the Han Chinese and the tribal people. People who refused to adopt the Chinese culture were habitually regarded as inferior by the Chinese. On the other hand, the frontier area did not attract the best officials or Chinese people. Representatives of the central government tended to be second-raters inclined toward indolence, graft, corruption, and oppressive tactics toward the tribal people. Petty artisans and merchants made yearly trips to the frontier areas looking for quick profit by any means, while the more permanent Chinese settlers in the non-Han Chinese areas were often refugees and displaced persons who lived at a lower level than their non-Han Chinese neighbors. From the tribesmen, who respected strength and straightforwardness, such official and non-official representatives of the Chinese earned only contempt and resentment.[19]

Another factor which made the abolition of local autonomy difficult was that the t'u-ssu and lesser chieftains often had the respect of their subjects, entrenched position, and the armed strength to resist anything but a full-scale invasion by the central authority. In many places where hsien government was established by the Ch'ing or Republican central authorities, real power remained in the hands of the t'u-ssu or village headmen.[20]

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19. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 251-53.
20. Ibid., pp. 248-50.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 167 563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

175 669 563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being [167] suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

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175 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese 669 central government occurred further to the 563 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem 798 population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

[continued next page]

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B. The Western Military and Missionary Impact

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The initial effect in the Southwest Region of Western intrusion was the new influence brought to bear on the relation between the tribesmen and Han Chinese authorities by French penetration of Indo-China and British operations in Burma and Tibet. Annam, Tongkin, and Burma were all tributary kingdoms of the Chinese Empire until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until the coming of the West, their borders with Yunnan were of little consequence to either kingdoms or the empire. The frontier area was rugged terrain inhabited by semi-independent tribes that had no consciousness of political demarcations and that moved freely back and forth across the vague boundary line. With French penetration of Annam and Tongkin and English advances into Upper Burma in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, all these tributary states were wrested away from Chinese suzerainty by force. Their borders and the loyalty of the tribal inhabitants of the frontier region then became matters of prime importance. If China pressed too hard for control or discipline of the tribes commissioned to guard the frontier, they had an alternative to Chinese rule and the means to blackmail the central authorities into more conciliatory treatment.

The Chinese frustration on the frontier was compounded by the inroads of France and England into the Southwestern provinces. Both Western powers in consolidating their position in the former Chinese tributary kingdoms

simultaneously enforced demands for the rights of trade, mining development, railroad building, and missionary settlement in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow. The foreign economic and missionary representatives were a constant source of irritation and fear for the Chinese and tribal inhabitants. Their periodic outbreaks of violence against the Westerners constituted excuses for forcing concessions from the Chinese government, causing it real fear that the provinces might eventually be alienated from its control.

By the twentieth century, Britain in Burma was emulating the old Chinese frontier policy of indirect control over the tribal elements. In controlling upper Burma as a defensive outpost of the English colonial empire in India, England left the t'u-ssu intact, subsidized them, and enlisted their sympathy in every way possible. What could happen when the Chinese government failed to follow a similar program was made evident in 1910. An attempt in that year by the Ch'ing Dynasty bureaucracy in Yunnan to punish the tyranny of a t'u-ssu of the P'ien-ma area led to his defection to the British and their occupation of the northwestern corner of the province.[24]

The Chinese have never been reconciled to the loss, and both the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime claim the upper salient

24. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 254-57.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian [illegible] into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

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Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 635 563 669 The revolt was still in progress when the Communists passed through the Southwest Region on their "Long March." Approaching northwestern Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sung-p'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

635 669 175 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175 of China for about a quarter of a century.
177 The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

175 From the beginning of the exodus to
186 Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals
563 from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

The intellectual impact may have made
177 a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

Both the organized rural education move-
668 ment and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

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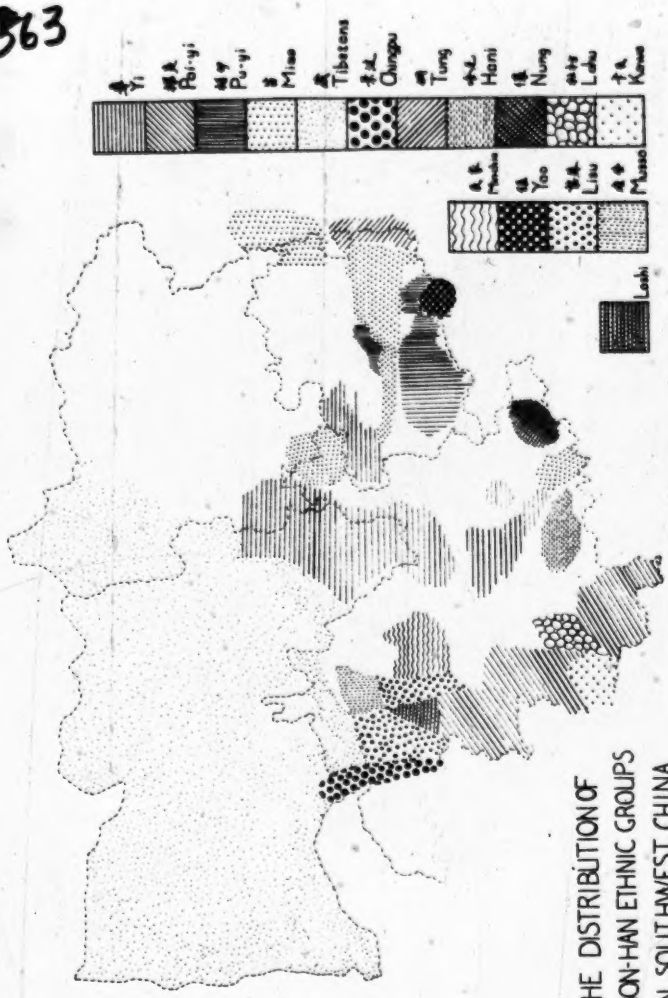

THE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

[facing P. 76] [a]

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

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NAME	ORIGIN
Hui (Hui-hui, Hui-tzu)[1]	1. Arabian & Iranian soldiers & merchants moved into China from 7th to 13th centuries and intermarried with the Chinese aborigines. 2. Chinese children adopted by Hui families.
Miao (Miao-chia, Miao-tzu)	Tribes migrated from Hunan, eastern Kweichow and western Hupeh.
Yi (I-chia, I-pien, Lolo, Ning)	Probably immigrants from Tibet.
Tibetans (Ku-tsung in Yunnan, Mosshu in the mountains of northwestern Yunnan, Nu-tzu, or Lu-tzu along the Nu River, Kamba in Sikang)	Tribes migrated from Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi since the 10th century, probably by way of Chinghai or Tibet.
Pu-yi (T'u-jen, T'u-chia, by the Chinese, Chung-chia near Kweichow, Yu-chia near Anshun, and Shui-chia near Tu-shan)	Probably tribes from area south of the Yangtze in China.
Pai-yi (Shui Pai-yi in southernmost Yunnan, Thai)	Probably tribes from the coastal regions of South China.

Facing p. 76 (b)

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

563

APPEARANCE

Compared with average Han Chinese, the Hui have fairer complexion, and are well built, of moderate height. The Hui have well bridged noses, high cheek-bones, and slightly oblique eyes.

Deep-chested, rosy-cheeked hardy mountain-dwelling people. Men dress like Han Chinese peasants. Women wear costumes of different colors peculiar to their tribes.

Tall for an Oriental race, men and women averaging about 5'7". Their typical costume is a gray felt cloak for both men and women.

Tall and robust in physique. Men wear long garment belted at the waist, felt hat, and felt boots. Women wear different costumes in different localities, but all wear big silver earrings.

Not easily distinguished from the the Chinese. Men dress like Chinese. Among older women their tribal costume consisting of a tight-fitting jacket and a long skirt, is still common.

Short and well-built, with distinct Mongoloid features. Boys are tattooed and girls blacken their teeth at marriageable age.

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

563 NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Tali is the center of the descendants of the Mohammedan soldiers of Kublai Khan.
South of Kunming is the center of Hui immigrants from Shensi.[2]

Approximately 2 million distributed in mountainous areas:
(1) Hua Miao (Flower Miao): widely distributed from Kweiyang westward, through An-sheng, Wei-ning, to eastern Yunnan.
(2) Hei Miao (Black Miao): southeastern Kweichow, centering around Li-p'ing.
(3) Ch'ing Miao (Blue Miao): central Kweichow
(4) Pai Miao (White Miao): central Kweichow
(5) Hung Miao (Red Miao): eastern Kweichow, centering around Tung-jen and related to the Miao of southwestern Hunan.

About 3,200,000 distributed in areas 6,500 ft. above sea level: East Sikang, northwestern Kweichow, northeastern and eastern Yunnan. The stronghold is in Ta-liang-shan in Sikang.

Sikang, northern Yunnan, western Szechwan.[3]

About 1,247,000 distributed in low marshy areas around Kweiyang and in southwestern Kweichow Province.

A little less than a million, distributed in lowland valleys in Yunnan:
(1) Along the Mu R. & Yüan R. (most influenced by Chinese culture.)
(2) Between 23 & 24 degrees N., and between Mu R. & Lan-ts'ang R.
(3) The region along the Yunnan-Burma Highway.
(4) The territory of the Shui Pai-yi in the southernmost Yunnan, historically known as the "Shih Shong Paan Naa" (least influenced by Han Chinese culture).

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

LANGUAGE	(Contd.)
Han Chinese with Arabian and Iranian elements of a religious nature.	
Many dialects, but no written language. Adopt Chinese for writing when necessary.	
No written language. Some have learned Chinese. Recently a Latinized Yi written language was invented and taught to the Yi people by the Chinese Communists.	
Dialect not much different from that of Tibet proper. Written language is Tibetan.	
Shan-speaking. Many can read and write Chinese.	
Shan-speaking. Thai written language.	

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

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OCCUPATION	RELIGION (Contd.)
Merchants, bakers, money-exchangers, restaurant and inn keepers, horse dealers, carriers, traders. In northwestern Szechwan they control the Tibetan tea trade. In Hui communities they farm.	Islam (Ch'ing-chen chiao)
Most are peasants (the Hei Miao alone are usually owner-cultivators). Women spin, weave, and embroider. Some are boatmen; others, hunters.	Some of the Chinese gods are worshipped in their temples.
Agriculture.	A form of ancestor worship.
Nomadic and agricultural work.	Lamaism
Most are peasants. Those who settle in towns and cities engage in trade.	Buddhism
Agriculture.	Buddhism

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION
(Contd.)

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1/ The Hui is an ethnic designation, not necessarily including all the believers in Islam. Many Islamic groups in China have their own ethnic names, i.e., Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongolian Moslems, Tibetan Moslems, etc.

2/ China's 3.6 million Hui people live in large numbers only in Kansu Province. The rest are scattered throughout the country, mainly in Honan, Hopeh, Yunnan, and Northwest China.

3/ According to the census taken by the Chinese Communist government in 1954, there are 2,757,622 Tibetans in China, populating Tibet, Sikang, N. Yunnan, and W. Szechwan.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d,
Sociological Background

THE ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

563 Ethnic minorities are generally defined as groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" or "national minorities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality," as it is used in China today, is a designation for an ethnic and geographical community; but owing to the fact that the Hui people, who are neither racially homogeneous nor all concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the latter's main principle governing such a classification seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices particular to a group of common origin which have over a period of time regulated its standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups in China Accordingly, the Han Chinese, although by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94 per cent), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

I. INTRODUCTION

There is probably no area in the world where so many different ethnic groups have collected as

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in the four provinces in Southwest China. Some of the groups are said to have migrated from Tibet; others, driven from their lands by the Han Chinese, sought refuge in the Southwest. The Han Chinese came later, and are now chiefly found in the plains and more accessible valleys.

These peoples, forming successive migratory waves from different parts of the continent, developed for a long time side by side without much intermingling. Cut off by high mountain ridges and unnavigable rivers, many have preserved their original languages and ancient customs, which are still in use today.

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162 There are more than 35 million people belonging to non-Han ethnic groups in China, constituting 6 per cent of the total national population and occupying more than one-half of the national territory.[1] Of the ten ethnic groups each having more than one million people, the Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Pu-yi, and Hui are represented in the Southwest in large numbers. The Southwest alone has 20 to 21 million people belonging to non-Han ethnic groups, constituting 20 per cent of the total regional population, and more significantly, dwelling along more than 3,000 miles of the national boundary.[2]

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1. Communique of "Results of Census and Registration of China's Population," Current Background, No. 301, Nov. 1, 1954, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General.

2. Wang, Wei-chou, "Hsi-nan Min-tsu Kung-tso Ch'ing-hsing" ["The State of the Nationalities Work in the Southwest"] , Min-tsu Cheng-tse Wen-hsien Hui-pien [Compendium of Writings on Nationalities Policies] , Peking, Jen-min chu-pan-she, 1953, p.124.

II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later. 563 162 177

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials. 563 167

B. Sikang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

163 167 China were compelled to colonize Yunnan early in the Ming dynasty, and most of the Ming garrison soldiers were from the vicinity of the Yellow River and the Yangtze. Among the Han Chinese immigrants were criminals and refugees.[6]

D. Kweichow

The ancestors of the small number of native Han Chinese in this province were soldiers left behind in the wake of earlier military campaigns. Their descendants, speaking the old dialect (or a modification of it) their forebears brought into the country, now form separate communities. They are sturdy and industrious, and generally own the land they cultivate, but they are regarded by the immigrant Han Chinese in much the same category as the Miao and the Pu-yi. The native Han Chinese, in the course of time, have been absorbed into the non-Han Chinese and the immigrant Han Chinese groups. The immigrant Han Chinese came after Kweichow was made a province of the Manchu Empire. Most of them claimed Kiangsi as their old home. In recent years, however, nearly all the Han Chinese immigrants have come from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, particularly Szechwan.[7]

(For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese in this region, see chapters on Social Structure and Family.)

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6. Wilhelm Credner, Cultural and Geographical Observations Made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region with Special Regard to the Nan-Chao Problem, Bangkok, The Siam Society, 1935, pp. 12-13.

7. Samuel R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in Southwest China, London, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., China Inland Mission, 1911, p. 11.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
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III. THE NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS

A. The Hui of Yunnan

563 The Hui intermarry with the Han Chinese. When a Han Chinese bachelor desires to marry a Hui girl, he must embrace the Islam[1] faith; a Han Chinese girl who wishes to marry a Hui man does not have to change her own religion. Therefore, although physical difference sets the Hui apart from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more complex. Hence, Hui cohesiveness is attributable to factors other than mere racial physical difference. Their language, religion, and customs that follow religious practice and observance make them cohesive as an ethnic group against outside forces, despite the fact that in Yunnan the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

[669] In the past there was enough antagonism between the Hui and the Han Chinese to cause several rebellions against the Chinese government. The bloody suppression of the Hui rebellion led by Tu Wen-hsiu in the middle of the nineteenth century devastated Hui communities in Yunan to such an extent that they have never recovered from it. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that the Hui were so sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities that they did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's

[1] [i.e., the Muslim faith -- Analyst]

563 the Hui were treated as "believers in Islam," and their ethnic differences were minimized.[8]

The present Chinese Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang practice. By digging out past grievances between the Han and the Hui, and by condemning the suppressive policies of the previous governments, the ethnic policy of the People's Government is claimed to be the most enlightened of all times. However, the Peking Government's reversal of the Kuomintang practice seems to have more proganda value among other Moslem peoples in the world, especially the Indonesians, than any actual material benefit for the Hui people in Yunnan.[9]

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Associations at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and chou have been established for the Hui people in China. However, there have been no reports announcing the establishment of any Hui autonomous unit in the Southwest, although there are indications that scattered Hui in this area have representation in the local governments as well as in the autonomous government units of some other ethnic groups.[10]

B. The Miao of Kweichow

The Miao tribes, divided by dialects not intelligible to each other, are not united. Many scattered Miao, upon closer contact with neighboring peoples, readily lose their identity. Except

8. This is evident in several yearbooks of that period; Hui people are not separately listed.

9. Propaganda value can be illustrated by activities of the Hui Cultural Association and its intercourse with Moslem delegations from other parts

[continued next page]

563 for the Hei Miao, who usually own the land they cultivate and are well-to-do, most of the Miao tribes are poor and backward in their "slash and burn" system of agriculture.

For generations the Miao have been ruled by Yi chieftains called T'u-ssu, or Chinese officials, to whom the Miao pay taxes. In western and northwestern Kweichow, where the Miao are the tenants of the Yi landlords, the Miao not only pay rent in kind, but also render labor and military service to the landlords. The Yi landlords may also impose levies on them on special occasions.[11] In Communist jargon, this is clearly a situation in which one minority group is "exploited" by another. The amelioration of this condition of the Miao tenants would entail the alienation of the Yi people. Consequently, Communist propaganda among the Miao tribes emphasizes the past sufferings of the Miao under the Kuomintang rule, but not their hardships under the Yi landlords. It is interesting to note the way in which the Communists carried out "land reform" in this area; their policy of giving preferential treatment to the Yi is a clear departure from the "land reform" principle practiced in other parts of China.

[No. 9 continued] --of the world.

10. NCNA, April 15, 1955, SCMP, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, pp. 32-33.

11. Lin Yueh-hwa, "Social Life of the Aboriginal Groups in and around Yunnan," Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. XV, Series A, 1944, Chengtu, West China Border Research Society, pp. 50-51.

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Miao
Lolo

563 The Miao women work in the field together with their men. They do not observe the marriage bond as strictly as the Han Chinese. They do not particularly suffer under the marriage system,[12] and the enforcement of the Marriage Law makes no material difference to the status of women in Miao communities.

C. The Yi of Sikang

The Yi are divided into two classes: the Black and White. The Black are the nobility and landlords, and the White are the slaves. The White Yi do all the manual and agricultural work, and their children are born slaves and property of their overlords. Marriage between the two classes is absolutely forbidden. This two-class society is further complicated by the fact that, owing to their own diminishing numbers, the Yi along the Kweichow border have brought in the Miao as their tenants.[13]

The Chinese Communist press recently has made brief mention of the abolition of the two-class system in Yi society, but of how it has been brought about, and, more particularly, of how the organization of the clan and the family has been affected, nothing has been said. It seems that so far this abolition of the class system is only in principle.[14]

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12. Clarke, op. cit., p. 31.
13. Ibid., p. 121.
14. Chen Han-seng, "The Yis of Taliangshan," China Reconstructs, No. 2, p. 1.

563 The Communist press has also emphasized the improved status of women in Yi society. However, the fact is that Yi girls are trained to manage household affairs and traditionally hold a high position in the family, while their brothers are not trained in any occupation.[15] Therefore, that Yi women are now elected to local governments should not be regarded as an unprecedented Communist accomplishment.

D. The Tibetans of Sikang

The Tibetans are divided into two classes: landlords and tenants. Because of the scarcity of labor, those who have been given the right to cultivate the land must work for their masters;this forced labor is known in the Manchu language as ula.[16]

The Communists have claimed that the Chinese People's Liberation Army pioneered the battering down of the ula system in Sikang. It is alleged that from the moment of its arrival in Sikang, the People's Liberation Army paid the Tibetans for every service rendered and provided compensation for all animals lost in transport work. This had never been done in Sikang before. Subsequently, one of the first acts of the Sikang Tibetan Autonomous Regional Government was a decree in November 1950 to abolish the ula system.[17] The fact that many Han cadres are encouraged to work and to "grow roots" in Tibetan communities, that soldiers stationed in the area are told to adopt local customs, diets, and

15. Lin Yüeh-hwa, op. cit., p. 54.

16. Chen Han-seng, The Chinese Peasant, London, New York and Bombay, Oxford Univ.Press, 1945, pp. 16-18.

17. Chen Han-seng, "Sikiang Serfdom to Freedom," China Reconstructs, No.5,1954,pp.28-32.

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~~AF-16~~ Tibetans
Chung-chia

languages, and that migration from other parts of 563
China to Sikang is encouraged, seems to indicate that more labor force is needed before the ula system can be abolished in practice.[18]

The Tibetans in Sikang are Lamaists, upon 563
whom Han Chinese culture has made little impression. 648
Instead, they look to Tibet for cultural leadership. Relations between the Chinese and the Tibetans in Sikang have not been cordial, and the attitude of the Tibetans in Sikang toward Pekings seem to be contingent upon Peking's relation with Tibet proper. So far, the Communist government in Peking has had more administrative control over Sikang than over Tibet; this could be the reason behind the recent Communist move to unite the western part of Sikang province with Tibet proper,[19] hoping that, through Sikang, Tibet might be brought closer to Peking administratively and, through Tibet's cultural influence, Sikang's Tibetans might be made to co-operate with the Chinese government more readily.

E. The Pu-yi of Kweichow

Although called by different names in various 563
parts of Kweichow, the Pu-yi are not divided into tribes like the Miao. Pu-yi dialects differ in individual localities, but not enough to become mutually unintelligible as is the case with the Miao dialects. The Pu-yi are a homogenous group, and there is little divergence between Pu-yi and Han Chinese cultures. The latter fact has made the Pu-yi more

18. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 18, 1952; December 11, 1950.

19. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], April 1955, pp. 15-16.

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Pai-1

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readily assimilated into Chinese communities. Many Pu-yi speak, read, and write Chinese, and they are not despised by the Han Chinese as are the Miao.[20] As a minority group the Pu-yi of Kweichow actually do not pose any minority problem for the Chinese administration.

The traditional land ownership pattems of most of the ethnic groups in the Southwest may make them less resistant to collectivism in agriculture, whereas the Pu-yi,[21] who usually own the land they cultivate and are well-to-do, may not accept collectivism as readily.

Pu-yi women do more work in the fields than Han Chinese women, but their social position is lower.[22] No change in status of women in Pu-yi communities has so far been reported in Communist sources.

F. The Pai-yi of Yunnan

Pai-yi society is divided into two classes: the aristocracy, consisting of the native chieftains and their relatives, and the common people. Intermarriage between the aristocracy and the common people is generally forbidden, although the native chieftains sometimes take concubines from the common people.[23]

There are no small landowners or owner-cultivators in Pai-yi villages. Land ownership is

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20. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 96-99.

21. Ibid., pp. 99-101.

22. Ibid.; Gabrielle M. Vassal, In and Around Yunnan Fou, London, William Heinnemann, 1922, p. 52.

23. Lin Yüeh-wa, op. cit., p. 53.

563

nominally vested in the village as a community, but in reality, in the Pai-yi aristocracy as a ruling class.[24] The common people's obligations to their landlords are numerous: rent, household taxes, office provision, and other special tributes. In addition, the common people may be called on at any time to render military service. Land tax is collected for the Chinese government by the Pai-yi chieftains from each family rather than each land unit.[25] The tribal administration lingers on, hindering not only the development of any administration based on taxing the privately owned land, but also imposing the burden of a double government on the Pai-yi people.

However, the tightly-knit Pai-yi village does not provide fertile ground for the Communists' land reform. In fact, it is reported by Chinese Communist sources that, as late as October 1954, the original Pai-yi tribal land system was still intact. On the other hand, the traditional Pai-yi pattern of land ownership may not offer strong resistance to agricultural collectivism if it is launched.

The Pai-yi are racially related to the Thai people in northern Burma; many of them, especially the Shui Pai-yi, are not much influenced by Han Chinese culture. Part of the Pai-yi territory and their neighboring territory which lies west of the Kao-li-kung-shan [Kao-li-kung Mountains] have been claimed by both the Chinese and Burmese governments.[26] For these reasons, winning the

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24. Chen Han-seng, Frontier Land Systems in Southernmost China, New York, Internat'l Secretariat, Inst. of Pacific Relations, 1949, p. 15.

25. Ibid., p. 22.

26. In early 1930's, British and Burmese troops occupied Chiang-hsin-p'o. This is the so-called P'ien-ma Incident.

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allegiance of the Pai-yi people has been recognized as an urgent task of any Chinese central administration.

IV. The Chinese Communist Policy and Administration

The Fourth Department of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government at Peking carries on research and collects data on the ethnic groups in the Southwest. It also advises the Government Council with regard to the formulation and administration of ethnic policy there.[27]

Overcoming the isolation of the ethnic groups is the first goal of the Communist administration in the Southwest. Since the "liberation," three large delegations from Peking have made extended tours of minority areas in the Southwest. They have gone not as mere visitors, but as missionaries to explain the government's policy toward the minorities. They have not only demonstrated the government's good will at the "grass-roots level" by presenting these peoples with gifts and providing them with medical service, but, more importantly, they have collected information pertinent to the development of the Southwest. Highways are now being built which not only link the minority but also join these communities with the outside world. There is now a highway from Yunnan to Szechwan passing through Chao-chüeh, the heart of the once-isolated territory of the independent Lolo (Yi).[28]

The Communists have recognized that, at the present stage, the millions of ethnic minorities

27. People's Daily, Peking, August 14, 1952.
28. Chen Han-seng, op. cit.; People's Daily, March 1, 1954.

563 can achieve cultural, political, and economic progress only in their own accustomed patterns. Their own languages must be used as vehicles for the communication of modern methods. Han Chinese cadres are told to study minority languages.[29] Linguists and philologists have been dispatched to the Southwest to help improve or invent written scripts for the minorities.[30]

"Consultation" is adopted as a method to get desirable representatives from the various ethnic groups when conditions are not favorable for popular election of delegates. This method frequently yields a number of hand-picked representatives not proportionate to the total population of the ethnic groups. When the minorities have more representatives than they are entitled to have, the fact is publicized by the Communists as special consideration for minorities. This subterfuge is cloaked by the democratic-sounding phrase: 'Cooperation with minority leaders having connections with their own people."[31]

To sum up, it could be said that the Chinese Communist government has so far attempted more than any other previous government in China to

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29. People's Daily, November 12, 1953.

30. In the past several years the government has sponsored the following: (1) invention of a Latinized Sikang Yi written language; (2) improvement of the Yunnan Pai-yi and Chingpo's Thai language; (3) invention of the Kweichow Pu-yi script; (4) collection of Kawa words and phrases; and research in Miao dialects and preparation of textbooks in Miao languages. People's Daily, June 23, 1954.

31. Ibid., Feb. 21, 1954.

•563 to bring the minorities in the Southwest into the national orbit. It increases the intensity of cultural contacts among these groups and between the Han Chinese and these groups. In economic, cultural, political, health, and educational activities, it endeavors to decrease the divergence of the different groups. It tries to curb distrust of the ethnic groups by playing down the irritating chauvinism of the Han Chinese. It has fostered and brought the leaders of the ethnic minorities into closer contract with the central government in Peking. It is training present and future minority leaders in Chinese national universities.

Under the Communist administration, although each ethnic group now seems exalted and its separate identity emphasized, the net effect of the Communist ethnic policy and administration has been easing out the factors which had for centuries caused the minorities in the Southwest to cohere and to defy the central administration. Solidarity of all the ethnic groups, the international prestige resulting from it, and the development of the nation as a whole seem to be the main concern in the government's treatment of the minority ethnic groups in the Southwest. It does not seem feasible for a future Chinese government to concentrate on negating the Communist government's ethnic program in this area if the Southwest is intended to remain as part of the Chinese territory. Rather, better programs can be formulated and carried out by taking advantage of the Communists' experience with the minorities in this area.

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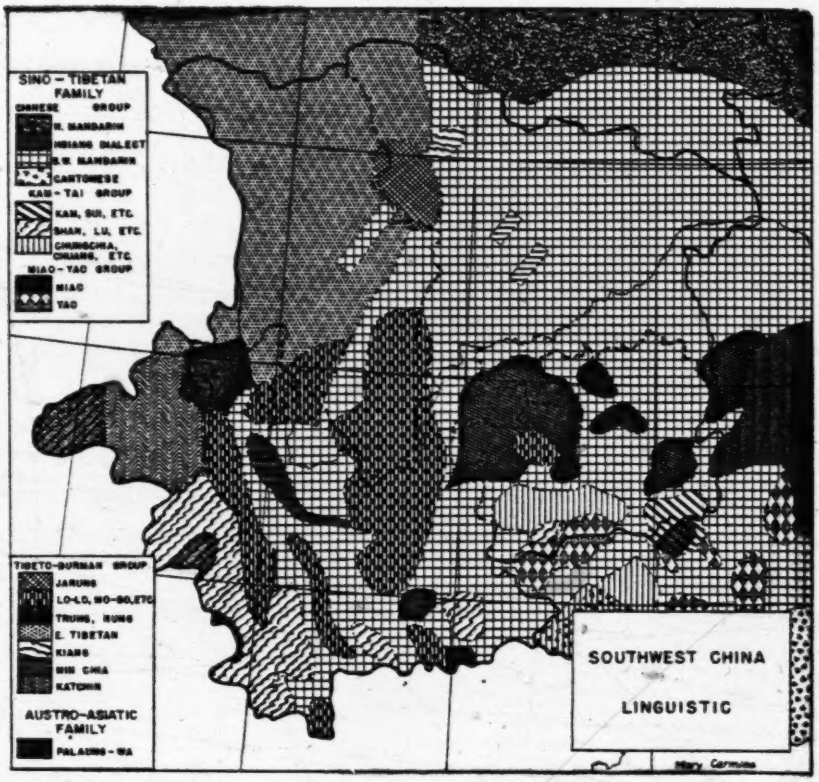

[facing p. 92]

212 exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

6. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old"' others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

B. Non-Chinese Written Languages

212 563 To varying degrees of completeness and adequacy, some of the non-Chinese languages spoken in this region have their own scripts:

1. The Pai-yi ethnic minority groups, speaking Kam-Tai dialects, use two systems of writing. One is the Shan alphabet derived from the Burmese alphabet and the other is closely related to the Siamese alphabet.

2. Speakers of Miao-Yao have no script of their own, but attempts have been made by some Western missionaries to adapt the Latin alphabet to these dialects for the translation of the Bible.

212 3. A writing system derived from a certain
563 ancient Indic alphabet of the seventh century is used by the Tibetan-speaking people in this region in their religious writings.

4. The Lo^lo people use a phonetic script, mainly for religious writings. The phonetic symbols resemble Chinese characters and can be written either vertically or horizontally.

5. A primitive "hieroglyphic" script is in use among the Moso-speaking people. The system has yet to be standardized and is neither adequate nor effective as a written medium of communication. More recently an effort has been made to adopt a phonetic alphabet to replace the "hieroglyphic" symbols. The new phonetic alphabet resembles that of the Lo_lo script.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

212 It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

563 Owing to the fact that the majority of the population in Southwest China are Han Chinese who have migrated from provinces in East, North, and Central-South China, and that the Southwest has been under Chinese rule for centuries, the social structure of the Han Chinese in Southwest China closely resembles that of other regions of China. However, the presence of a large number of ethnic minorities in this region gives the over-all social structure of the region a unique character. Those minorities who have adopted Han Chinese culture are integrated into the social structure of the Han Chinese; those who remain isolated and unassimilated have their own separate social structures peculiar to their own cultures, which are not yet sufficiently investigated and understood by people outside of these groups.[1] The scope of this chapter is therefore limited to the social structure of the majority people, i.e., the Han Chinese and those ethnic minorities who have adopted the Han Chinese way of life in the Southwest.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 A. Social Classes

The people of traditional China often viewed

1. Consult chapter on Ethnic Groups in this handbook.

596 article on the subject in the January 1955 issue
593 of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies; if they are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[35]

563 Except for the Chengtu Plain, an ancient
596 center of Chinese civilization and population in Szechwan, the Southwest Region is occupied largely by Chinese who immigrated since the fourteen century. About twenty per cent of the region's population consists of various indigenous tribes scattered throughout the more mountainous areas and following different social and family customs

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35. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

563 596 too various to describe in this chapter.[36] Under the Communists, the tribal peoples have been given special treatment, and the uniqueness of their social systems has been largely preserved.[37] No attempt was made to implement the new Marriage Law in the ethnic minority autonomous areas established by the new regime.

178 In the twentieth century, family patterns among the Chinese people of the Southwest Region have largely followed the forms of traditional China before the beginning of industrialization and the resulting outgrowth of revolutionary social and political forces.[38] The customs and practices of the Chinese people long established on the Cheng-tu Plain and of immigrants, mostly from the Yangtze River provinces of the Central-South and East China regions, were little disturbed by modern trends until the capital of the Nationalist Government was moved to Chungking during the war with Japan. Previously, Western-style commerce and industry had made little progress in the region, the intrusion of modern trends from other parts of China had been barred by the lack of railway and highway links with the outside world, and warlord rule had perpetuated traditional values and practices. One significant modern influence that had made its way into the region was modern education at the universities, especially in the

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36. The chapter on Ethnic Groups describes some of the major social characteristics of the principal indigenous tribes.

37. See Fei Hsiao-t'ung, "Minority Groups in Kweichow Province," C.B., 150, pp.8-15.

38. On the family in the Southwest Region, see Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1948; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, China's [cont'd]

178 provincial capital of Chengtu and its vicinity.
873

Just before the war, transportation sys-
178 tems began to bring the Southwest Region into contact with the rest of China. The wartime needs of the Nationalist Government led to the beginning of modern industrial and commercial development within the region and the exploration and development of its mineral resources. Refugee students and professors from other parts of China were scattered in makeshift unversities throughout the Southwest Region. Many of the educated group made determined efforts to filter to the people some of the new political and social ideas derived from Chinese contact with the West through the mesh of the Kuomintang wartime censorship. Some refugee intellectuals were enlisted in the rural reconstruction program, headed by James Yen, who attempted in scattered rural areas to improve literacy, agricultural methods, and living habits and to spread new social and political ideas. Although stripped of their former revolutionary content, they contained within them the seeds of change in family and other areas of life.[39]

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178 The results of these innovations in the Southwest Region appear to have been minor and ephemeral, but it is still too early to assay their long-range and lasting effects. The influences of the intellectuals and of the personnel of the rural

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39. On the rural reconstruction program see Paul M. A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic.] : A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 218-22.

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reconstruction program probably cut deepest because of the patriotic eagerness and sincerity with which many of the educated group sought communication with the peasants, understanding of their problems, and the elevation of their social and political life and outlook. Industrial influences seem to have been less penetrating. Manufacturing plants were generally small, decentralized operations most centered in the wartime capital. Refugees from the modern cities stayed close to Chungking and viewed the permanent residents with contempt. The factories, the immigrants who supervised them, and the modern habits of the recent arrivals from the western cities were in turn looked on with suspicion and dislike by the older inhabitants. As soon as the war was over, many of the war-born industries were discontinued and the urban immigrants moved back to the industrialized centers of the East with their ammeniti for modern living. However, some of the new factories remained open after the war, the mining possibilities of the region had begun to be explored and developed, and permanent changes with closer links to the rest of China were underway before the Communists entered the Southwest Region.[40]

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40. On the Southwest in wartime see Linebarger, op. cit., pp 218-34; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder Out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946 pp. 3-19, 54-72, and passim.

177 There are other factors which give to
311 much of the area we are now considering
563 important uniformities in culture. The
expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
24| west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
62| culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
62| easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

538 to literature also pertains to the other arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

538 563 Only in the less sophisticated folk literature and folk art does the Southwest retain its unique regional characteristics. However, even in this respect, the Southwest is by no means a separate entity. Parts of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, being largely populated by the Han Chinese from the provinces east of them, are more closely related to the Central China tradition; other parts of these provinces are populated by a variety of ethnic minorities, each having its own unique cultural pattern. The cultural policies toward these minorities are part of the national policies and are decided in Peking.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

538 668 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-feng) at Yenan in 1942 [1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all

1. [See following page.]

than T'ien, especially when Ai writes of everyday things familiar to the reader and T'ien draws his inspiration from a vision of the new world which is less comprehensible to the average reader. 538

Ma Fan-t'o and Li Chi are often spoken of together. Ma's poems are modeled upon popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Kuo Mo-jo may be better appreciated by the Southwesterns because he was born and grew up in Szechwan.

E. Literature of the Ethnic Minorities

The so-called literature of the ethnic minorities in Communist China, the development of which was mentioned in the first issues of the People's Literature in October 1949 as one of the six tasks of the literary workers in China, is so far not the product of the minority peoples; the writing is done in the Chinese language, mostly by the Han Chinese, or by people of minority origins who have mastered the use of the Chinese language.[20] 538 563

So far, the effort of fostering minority literature takes four forms:

1. tracing and recording customs of the minority groups;
2. interpreting the institutions of the minority groups from a dialectic materialistic viewpoint; and

20. [see next page]

538
563 3. The exchange of literatures of the Han Chinese and the ethnic minorities.[21]

Although history in the Southwest is often interpreted by the Chinese Communists as antagonism between groups or suppression of one group by another, the literatures of the minorities that are to be developed are not allowed to take anti-administration forms.

F. Drama

536 Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin,

20. Most of the literature of the minority groups take the form of poetry. The following are representative: Yung Ying, "We Are a Group of Miao-chia," People's Literature, January 1, 1952, pp. 61-62; Fan Jung-k'ang, "Song of the Miao-chia," ibid., pp. 63-64; Chu Yeh, "The Yi and the Ni-su of the Highlands," ibid., pp. 53-60; Miao Yen-hsiu, Ta-miao-shan Symphony, Shanghai, Hsin wen-i ch'u-pa she, 1954; and "Ah-shih-ma," a long poem transmitted orally by a Southwest minority group and now rendered into Han Chinese language by Huang Ti, People's Literature, May 7, 1954.

21. This, before minorities have their own written language, amounts to sinicization of minorit people with Chinese litera ture in ways which do not seem "imperialistic" to minority peoples. On the other hand, cultural heritages of the Chinese people may be enriched by the assimilation of cultures of minority groups through literature.

535 Cantata (Sheng-ch'an Ta-ho-ch'ang) was transformed into an operatic spectacle. The new song-and-dance version is divided into four scenes, celebrating the times of spring cultivation, seeding, harvest, and prosperity, to portray the rural working people's enthusiasm for production and their prosperity as a result of the Communist "liberation."[25]

535 563 The minority groups in the Southwest have many forms of folk dances. During the war with Japan and in the postwar years, folk dances such as the Drinking Party of the Chia-jung (Chia-jung Chiu-hui) became popular among student groups in all parts of China. The Cultural Corps (Wen-kung t'uan) of the Central Institute of Nationalities at Peking has been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are the "Flute Dance" (a courtship dance) and "Wedding Dance" of the Miao people, "Happy Sun" (a tap dance) and "Good Harvest" (a traditional dance around a family cooking stove) of the Tibetans in Western Szechwan and Northern Yunnan, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

535 The Central Dance Corps at Peking, sponsored by the government, recently gave a "Lion

25. People's Pictorial, August 1950.

26. Ibid., July 1954.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

871 •563 With the slogan "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[59] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[60] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Southwest China, three colleges and a number of middle and special technical schools have been established; the total enrollment of these schools in 1951 was 6,800.

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59. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
60. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 35.

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871 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended
563 spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000
[665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 The Communists claimed that their policy
563 of providing educational opportunities for
1,86 minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

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IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

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Islam was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

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41. (continued) p. 3, and JMJP, July 7, 1955, p. 3.

42. The account of the suppression of I-kuan tao and other secret societies in the Kalgan area includes details of their considerable resourcefulness. Cf. SCMP, No. 1078, pp. 27-28.

779 563 The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizaing caravans, butchering leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

779 794 563 The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Iman, usually elected from among senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes,

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43. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

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779 interprets Islamic law, and presides at
563 ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in
794 Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

779 In the Southwest China, Mohammedan
563 communities are found in all provinces, but by far the highest concentration is in the province of Yunnan where tension and conflict between Han-Chinese and the Moslems has been endemic in modern times. The following table indicates the provincial distribution of believers and religious establishments (probably places of worship rather than Islamic schools or any such institutions) throughout the region as of 1938.[45] Population estimates for the same period are added to suggest the proportion of Moslems in the total population. The source of the Moslem figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars regard as far too high.[46]

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44. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems.

45. Chung-kuo Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

46. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammaden scholar Pai-Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Languages Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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Province	Pop. in Millions	Moslems	Mosques
Szechwan	48.	2,615,330	2,279
Yunnan	15.	4,567,290	3,971
Kweichow	14.3	519,160	449

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Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

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47. Cf. Chan op. cit., pp. 190-91.

779 As the Chinese Moslems came out of
795 isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874) of Yunnan Province, and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

779 Chinese Mohammedans, in their moves
• 563 towards modernism, came to accept the Chinese
873 translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic. They had, by 1936, opened eleven high schools for Moslem children, and they began to send students abroad to foreign centers of Islamic learning. Yunnan

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48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.

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779 Province led in this movement; in 1937,
●563 eighteen Chinese students were sent to Egypt,
873 and half of these were from Yunnan. By 1930, the Islamic Theological College attached to the Chungking mosque had been in operation five years, and the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or co-ordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools.[49] Yet the spread of modern type education was handicapped by the poverty of the Moslem communities and by religious prejudice against Chinese learning. For example Shantien, in Yunnan, was the outstanding Islamic cultural center in China and sent more students abroad than any other town; yet in 1949 it had a population of only 5,000, of which two were college graduates and "some thirty" high school graduates; it had one grade school with 360 students but no high school.[50]

779 What have been Chinese Communist policies
668 toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The

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49. Ibid., pp. 198-201.
50. Ibid., p. 200.

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779 668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions: (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems."[54] Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not read Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

779 563 We have little detailed and reliable information on the Islamic communities of the

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

779 Southwest today. But some trends should be
563 noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the goverment, and the youth will tend in time to become more Communist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit communities in the Southwest will probably
779 proceed apace. The Communist government
563 boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth
177 now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and chü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955; SCMP, 1067, p. 23.

57. Ibid.

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779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
•563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

58. Ibid.

744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given
751 to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

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7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.
8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

744 563 164 was reported that the minority groups in both the Southwest and the Central-South suffered from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. In Yunnan Province in 1950, from 64 to 94 per cent of the children of the minority peoples were affected with enlargement of the spleen, and 39 per cent had malarial parasites in their blood. The basic measures proposed for the improvement of health conditions in the minority nationalities were the establishment of additional public health agencies and the training of additional health workers.[9]

744 563 Two years later, twenty-five mobile health corps units had been formed and were serving the minority nationalities areas in Southwest China, according to Communist sources. Not only were the treatments and preventive injections said to have been administered free, but the dissemination of modern methods of sanitation and education in hygiene were the responsibility of these traveling medical workers. A special effort was made to train members of minority groups as health workers among their own people. Incomplete statistics for 1949-52

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9. Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, pp. 5-7.

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744 563 claim that among minority groups in the Southwest Region, 98,406 people received free medical treatment and 72,900 people were given vaccination against smallpox.[10]

V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

744 668 In 1952 the Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive. It was designed primarily to integrate health work with the mass propaganda campaign which accused the United States of engaging in bacteriological warfare. The Patriotic Health Drive was, therefore, stimulated by the conflict in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In the name of patriotism the Chinese people were called upon to clean their cities and work for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Upon the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in April 1952, some 70 to 80 per cent of the population in the key cities of the Southwest Region were mobilized. According to statistics released in September 1952, the following accomplishments were claimed:

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10. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 3.

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184 Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

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184 A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

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184 Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

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minority groups. Traditionally isolated to varying degrees, these groups had been given little reason to feel favorably disposed toward a central government in China; in their eyes, a central authority appeared a threat to their traditional way of life. Until it has been proven that by identifying themselves as a part of the "greater" Chinese community they would be in a better position to realize their aspirations, it would be difficult for these groups to share the national feelings of the Han-Chinese.

The Communist government has been trying to cultivate a feeling of kinship between all the ethnic groups and to assimilate the minority nationals without provoking their resentment. Preferential treatment has been extedned minority nationals who left their villages for the Han-Chinese areas. Many of the ethnic minorities have been granted "autonomous" status by the Central People's Government to win their support. Schools have been established and languages designed for the minority groups so that Communist ideology can be taught to them. Special efforts have been made to publicize the achievements of individuals belonging to such groups. All these measures are meant to foster a favorable attitude among the minority groups toward the Peking regime.

It is impossible to measure the success or failure of the Communist policy toward the minority groups at this stage. However, it appears reasonable to say that the Communists have been doing more to win support from these groups than to alienate them.

178 Another problem was the number of steel
499 plants and textile mills which had been estab-
653 lished in the Southwest during war against Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and commerce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimulated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region was
162 that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities,
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

563 the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan.
636 Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous
631 counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county
563 level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

635 For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

204 33 at the administrative level, and 183 at the hsien level. The aggregate circulation figure for all the regional and provincial papers was 600,000; no information on the circulation of the other 216 papers is available.[5] It is not certain whether these figures included any non-government organ, but it is presumed that no "independent" voices existed in the midst of a government-controlled press.

204 563 The inauguration of a Tibetan-language newspaper on June 10, 1953 in northern Szechwan may prove to be of far-reaching significance. Named Min-chiang Pao [Min River Daily], this paper is intended for the Tibetan minority population inhabiting the upper reaches of the Min River. The first issue of the paper appeared in tabloid form, and carrying a portrait of Mao Tse-tung and messages from officials of the Tibetan Autonomous Area in Szechwan Province. The paper was to appear every five days.[6] Establishment of minority-language newspapers is in line with Peking's policy toward the non-Chinese speaking ethnic groups on the Mainland. Unfortunately no sample of this paper is available for analysis.

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5. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

6. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 593, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 19, 1953, p. 20.

214 208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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214 363 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

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214 563 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953,. quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

27. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25, '53, p3.
28. New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

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491 total length of them must run to some hundreds of thousands of miles. When new they may be fairly good, but they are seldom repaired, and the Chinese proverb well describes them as "Good for ten years, and bad for ten thousand." It is always a great relief to get into some out-of-the-way part of the country where there is only what the Chinese contemptuously describe as an "earth road." These paved roads have their uses however in the rainy season, as the stones prevent the path becoming an impassable morass.

On the 18th January we crossed the Shweli by one of the famous iron-chain suspension bridges. There are a considerable number of these bridges in western China, especially in western and southern Yün-nan. The chains, which are usually ten or twelve in number, are solidly embedded in massive piers of brick or stone on each side of the river, and the roadway is made by planks laid across these. Loaded animals can cross them, and though they sway about a good deal, they will stand a lot of weight.

133 The river is some 40 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky bed. It does not come from any great distance, and in a subsequent journey I was able to fix the position of its source approximately. There is no actual flat plain in this part of its course, but to the west the slope is very gradual to the foot of the steep part of the hills three miles off, and there are numerous Chinese villages both up and down the valley. The river is called by many names. To the Burmese it is known as the Shweli, to the Chinese as the Lung-ch'uan Chiang, or more commonly as simply the Lung Chiang or Dragon River. The Shans call it the Nam Yang in the upper part of its course, but change its name to Nam Mow when it enters the Möng Mow plain.

From the river there is a stiff ascent, at first through the usual dried up grass and fern, and higher up through bamboo and tree jungle. We camped at the little Panthay village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u at 7,400 feet, and had a very hard frost at night.

563 Panthay is the name which we have adopted from the Burmese for the Mahommedans of Yün-nan. The Chinese name for Mahommedans is *hui-tzŭ* or *hui-hui*. The name

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563 Panthay has become fairly familiar to Europeans from the great Panthay rebellion which was the means of devastating and depopulating Yün-nan from 1854 to 1873, in which latter year it was finally put down. The rebellion began in a quarrel between Chinese and Mahommedan miners, in which the latter thought, probably with reason, that they did not get justice from the Chinese official who investigated the case. The two races are never very friendly, and the Panthays were quite ready to take up arms in hopes of turning Yün-nan or part of Yün-nan into a Mahommedan state where they would be independent of Chinese officials. They had a very good try for it, and for some years they held the greater part of the west of the province, with Ta-li as the capital. Finally the Chinese Government, having, with Gordon's assistance, put down the Taiping rebellion, were able to turn all their forces against the Panthays. Ta-li was taken by the treachery of a Mahommedan officer, and the rebellion brought to an end with the usual slaughter of thousands of the rebels.

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The two races naturally hate each other and always will do so, but there is no enmity observable on the outside. A Chinaman and a Mahommedan meeting will always be quite civil to each other. The Mahommedanism of the Panthays is really a very nominal affair, and I do not suppose that Mahommedans so ignorant of their religion could be found anywhere. This ignorance is no doubt partly due to their being isolated among a non-Mahommedan people, but I think also partly to their Chinese origin, for a Chinaman is not by nature a religious man. Though there is doubtless a certain amount of Arab or Tartar blood among the Panthays, they have far more Chinese in them than anything else. I imagine most of their ancestors were Tartars or Turkomans who came into the province with Kublai Khan's armies, but these men must have married Chinese wives. Also many of the present Panthays have their origin from Chinese children who have been adopted by Mahommedans and brought up in that religion. In some cases one can tell a Mahommedan by his features, but very often they are undistinguishable from the Chinese.

563 Along the main road from T'êng-yüeh to Ta-li there

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563 is a considerable Mahommedan population, and they are found distributed all over the province, more in some districts than in others. Perhaps in Yung-ch'ang, Ta-li, and Yün Chou there is a larger proportion of Panthays than in other towns. Sometimes one finds Mahommedan colonies in very out of the way places, probably men who have taken refuge there after the suppression of the rebellion; and even in the Shan States within British territory there are two or three Panthay settlements.

No doubt the numbers of the Yün-nan Mahommedans were considerably thinned by wholesale massacres when the Chinese troops finally got the best of them, but I do not suppose they ever formed a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the province. At present I should say at a guess they would not amount to more than three per cent. of the total population. Mahommedans are distributed all over China, and I do not think there is any province which has none, but I believe the proportion in Yün-nan is greater than in any other province except Kan-su. It is often supposed that Chinese Mahommedans are more honest and straightforward than the real China-men, but from what I have seen of them I very much doubt if this is the case in Yün-nan: their customs and ways of thought are quite Chinese.

133 We had not reached the top of the range at T'ai-p'ing-p'u and our road on the 19th still led up till the Shweli-Salween watershed was crossed at a height of 8000 feet. The highest point of the range is a conical peak called Kao-li-kung which lies 10 or 12 miles to the north of the road and is some 12,000 feet high. The pass by which the road crosses is called *Fêng-k'ou, The Wind Pass*, and well merits its name. Here on each side of the road are stone walls which are said to have formerly supported an arch like those of the frontier "gates": this now forms the boundary between the T'êng-yüeh and Yung-ch'ang districts. I climbed up on to a little knoll to the north of the road to take some angles, and got an excellent view of the hills to the north, east and west: Tabu Pum and other prominent peaks near Sadon were clearly visible.

From the top we had a long bit of downhill to the valley of the Salween. The Chinese call this river the

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far before a tremendous storm of thunder and hail burst over us. Many of the trees had been cut half through by woodcutters and they came crashing down in all directions. One fell just in front of our leading mule, not missing him by very much, and blocking the path completely, so that we had some difficulty in finding a way round. In the evening we got down to Hsia-mêng-ying, and found shelter in one of the buildings of a very fine Shan monastery built on a terrace and surrounded by a paved court-yard. The town is a large one for this part of the world, containing 250 houses, chiefly built of mud, and inhabited by Shans. 000

Our quarters were so comfortable that I halted here a day to give us an opportunity of drying our clothes, which had been drenched through by the thunder-storm the day before. This little district is called Möng Nyim by the Shans. It is divided into two small plains along the same river, one called Shang-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-nö, and the other Hsia-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-taü. These names simply mean Upper and Lower Möng Nyim respectively. The district is really part of Mêng-lien (Möng Lem), a Shan state which formerly paid tribute both to Burma and China, but has now, by agreement with the British Government, become Chinese territory. 631

Möng Nyim, however, is now no longer governed by the Möng Lem sawbwa, but was at the time of my visit directly under the Chinese official at Shun-ning, though it was not then quite settled whether it was to remain under Shun-ning or to form part of the newly established district of Chên-pien.

Living among the Shans of this plain is a small colony of twenty Panthay families who have been here for four or five generations. They have intermarried with the Shans, and now talk Shan among themselves, but still keep up the Mahommedan religion and have a mosque in their village. 563

After a day's rest we went on to Shang-mêng-ying, a smaller place than the lower town, though it is in this upper plain that the sawbwa lives. Möng Nyim lies at an elevation of only 3,300 feet, so the next day we had to climb the usual range of hills and in five miles reached Nan-wa, the headquarters of Colonel Li who was in command of all the troops in this district.

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The La-hu chief also still lives here and has a certain amount of authority. He is a quiet, simple-minded old gentleman, quite a jungle man. He told me that the Shans formerly inhabited this place, but four or five generations ago the La-hus came down from the neighbourhood of Mien-ning and drove them out. The Shans retired to Möng Lem, but there are still a few families of Shan descent living in the villages round.

The inhabitants of Ch'üan-lo and the neighbourhood seem now to be chiefly La-hus who have taken to Chinese customs, and who, many of them, now call themselves Chinamen. There are also a few real Chinese living in the town, but the total absence of curiosity among the people here soon made one realise that one was not among a Chinese population. Hardly a soul came to stare at me all day.

On the 27th of March we crossed a range of hills at a little over 6000 feet, and descended very steeply to the Mekong at the village of Nan-pei. The ferry village of this name where I camped is inhabited by La-hus, but the people of the main village of Nan-pei, which is 1½ miles short of the ferry, are P'u-mans, a tribe which is very much split up into small communities. They were apparently of the same family as the Las, Was, and Palaungs, but have become so scattered and isolated from each other that I have found some villages of them who have forgotten their own tongue and now talk the Wa, the Shan, or even the Chinese language.

The Mekong is here at an altitude of 2,300 feet, and runs, as usual with this river, between very steep hills with practically no level ground outside the river bed. I had great difficulty in finding room to pitch one small tent.

The next day we crossed the river in a large boat much resembling an English punt. At this time of year animals can be swum across, but in the rains the current is very strong, and this big boat is used to convey mules as well as men. The average width of this part of the Mekong is some 80 yards. Even in the dry season there is a fairly strong stream and the water is thick and muddy.

This ferry seems to be a good deal used. Quite a hundred mules crossed it while I was there, all carrying

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elevation here is only 2,500 feet, and the day was very close and hot with a thick mist which made surveying difficult. After crossing we ascended 1000 feet to Ch'ou-shui to camp.

The next day, 1st April, we crossed the river which, coming from the town of P'u-êrh, flows into the Wei-yüan Chiang a little below the crossing. It is here 30 yards wide and easily fordable in the dry weather. In the rains, however, it often becomes impassable, and, as there is no boat, travellers have nothing to do but to exercise patience and sit down on the river bank till the flood subsides. The hills about here were covered with wild raspberries just ripe, a yellow variety very common in the Shan States and in some parts of Yün-nan.

The next day we passed through the little village of Man-mu which is inhabited by Shans who came here from the province of Chiang-hsi seven generations ago. Their language is distinctly Shan, but it is a peculiar dialect and they have some difficulty in making themselves understood by the others of their race in the neighbourhood. They say they do not know why they came here and that they are the only Chiang-hsi Shans[1] in this part of the country. But they are quite positive that they did come from Chiang-hsi, which they describe as being three months' journey away.

That night we slept at the Lo-lo village of Na-ku and the next day, the 4th April, an easy march brought us into Ssŭ-mao.

[1] The Chung-chia of Kuei-chou are stated to be a mixture of Shan and Chinese, their ancestors on the Chinese side of the family having been soldiers who were natives of Chiang-hsi. It is possible that the villagers of Man-mu are Chung-chia who have emigrated here, but they did not tell me that they came from Kuei-chou.

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000 From Prince Henri's account of his travels they must have reached Ssŭ-mao the day after I left it.

On the 5th April we started northward for P'u-êrh. The road, which is fairly easy, crosses a range at 6,300 feet and descends to Na-k'o-li, where we slept. A Tibetan caravan of 300 or 400 mules, all laden with tea, was on the road going the same way as ourselves. They were natives of the Wei-hsi[1] district, and told me that there would be an unusual number of Tibetans at Ssŭ-mao that tea season as there was to be a big festival in Tibet the following year, when it would be necessary to make presents of tea to the Lamas. At night they fastened all their mules up very close together and had ferocious looking dogs on long ropes tied up all round to guard against thieves.

I found these men very pleasant, and subsequent experience proved that Tibetans in China and Chinamen in Tibet always are very friendly. No doubt the feeling of being isolated in the midst of strangers knocks some of their natural bumptiousness out of them. I have heard Englishmen in Rangoon expatiate on the pleasant manners of the Chinese. Perhaps they would think less of their manners if they had seen the Chinaman in his own country. It is, however, fair to add that a great deal of the apparent bad manners of the Chinese is unintentional. It comes natural to them, and they are not in the least aware that they are bad mannered.

•563 291 On this march I came across a tribe which was new to me. They call themselves Pa-hawng, and the Chinese name for them is Ma-hei. They are distinguished from other tribes as usual by the women's dress, which consists of a short black jacket with silver ornaments hanging down over it from their necks, and black trousers reaching down to the knee. They plait their hair into a pig-tail and wear no sort of head-dress. The married women have a piece of cloth round their waists which hangs down over their trousers[2]. Their language is of the Lo-lo type.

631 On the 6th April 12½ miles of a road, which would be good if it was not paved, brought us into P'u-êrh Fu, the most important official town, as Ssŭ-mao is the chief

[1] Lat. 27° 10′, long. 99° 10′.

[2] See Plate LXXII, facing p. 394.

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to understand. The place was originally a Shan state but has now become a *t'ing* under a regular Chinese official. 361

After my experience in P'u-êrh I had rather made up my mind to give up calling on officials, but the Wei-yüan *T'ing* came to see me himself soon after I arrived and was very friendly. The principal product of the place is salt. There are several mines in the valley of the Wei-yüan Chiang, and there is a good deal of trade in this commodity with the neighbouring districts. The elevation of the plain is about 3000 feet and the place is considered feverish by the Chinese. 317

Two more days crossing a range at 6,300 feet brought us on the 14th April to Mêng-ka[1], which, like Wei-yüan, was formerly a Shan state and still has a Shan sawbwa, though the place is now incorporated in the Wei-yüan district. The plain lies somewhat higher than that of Wei-yüan and, though some 15 miles long, is much cut up by rather high-lying ground, which cannot be irrigated and is uncultivated and covered with jungle. Mêng-ka is not a place of any importance, and there is little or no trade in it. The population of the place is Shan, but in the town itself there is a Chinese bazar village, and a few families of Panthays also live here. 000 563

I halted a day to rest the mules and left again on the 16th. Our road took us gradually up a range of 7000 feet, from which there is a magnificent view of the surrounding hills and of the course of the Mekong valley, which can be traced for a long way. The next day a very steep descent brought us to the Mekong which we crossed by a large punt-shaped ferry-boat to the mixed Shan and Chinese village of Ta-pêng or Ta-pong. The river is as usual shut in by very steep hills. It is about 100 yards wide, with a strong current and full of rapids, so much so that in the rains the ferry is sometimes impassable for a few days at a time. Probably this is also the case with other ferries over the Mekong. The height of the river at Ta-pêng is 2,800 feet. 000

On the 18th we had a very stiff piece of climbing, reaching the top of the range at 7,400 feet. From here the

[1] Möng Ka in Shan.

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000 road descends slightly and turns up another valley to the mixed Chinese and La-hu village of Man-nung[1], where there is an official with the rank of *Hsün-chien* and a guard of 10 Chinese soldiers. I put up in a good-sized temple, built to commemorate the names of the principal civil and military mandarins who took part in the fighting against the La-hus. At the time of my visit the La-hus had been completely subdued and there was no large Chinese garrison in this neighbourhood.

• 563 Two more days of hilly marching brought us to Mêng-mêng[2] on the 20th April. Since crossing the Mekong we had been again in a country in which the La-hus form the greater part of the population. This tribe is almost entirely confined to the tract between the Salween and the Mekong. Among them there is in this neighbourhood a sprinkling of Chinese and also some Was or Las. The Chinese and La-hus often live together in the same village, and the latter seem now quite reconciled to Chinese rule. Mêng-mêng is a Shan state which was formerly subject to Kêng-ma but is now practically independent, though they still pay a nominal tribute of gold and silver flowers. The plain is some seven miles long and inhabited by Shans except for one Chinese village, the people of which are emigrants from Ching-tung T'ing who came here five generations ago. The town is the largest Shan place anywhere in this neighbourhood and contains 400 houses. It is governed by a sawbwa who was at the time of my visit [241] a boy of 17. The plain is well cultivated and the people seem fairly well off, but their prosperity depends on their rice fields; there is little or no trade in the state.

We left the next day, some of the Shan officials very civilly riding out with me two or three miles of the way, and then leaving me an escort of 10 men to go on with us to Kêng-ma. We camped for the night at Ya-sai, a village [197] of 40 houses inhabited by Chinese and P'u-mans. These P'u-mans speak exactly the same language as the Las of this district, but they do not consider themselves as at all the same race as the Las, though they cannot offer any explanation as to how they have come to use the same language.

[1] Man-nawng is its proper Shan name.
[2] Möng Möng in Shan.

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language. The fact seems to be that the P'u-mans have 563
become so split up into small and isolated communities, that many of them have lost their own language. It was not till a subsequent journey in 1899 that I came across P'u-mans who had a language of their own[1].

On the 23rd April we arrived at Kêng-ma. The town 133
is built in a plateau, a most unusual formation for this part of Yün-nan, where one generally finds nothing but a series of ranges of mountains and comparatively narrow valleys. The plateau measures about 15 miles from north to south and half this distance across. To the east, separated from it by low hills, is the Nam Hpyit[2], while two other streams run across the plateau in a generally easterly direction and find their way through gaps in these hills into that river. It is along these two streams and their small tributaries [361]
that the greater number of the villages are situated, as they are here able to cultivate narrow strips of paddy. Most of the plateau consists of open grass land, lying too high to be irrigated and not much cultivated.

The town is pleasantly placed on rising ground, and 361
contains about 300 houses, built of mud or soft bricks. The climate is excellent, and I found it quite cool at this, the hottest time of the year, though the height is only 3,850 feet. The place seems prosperous, and there were a good many Chinese traders there, among whom I found the Panthay merchant whom I had seen in Yung-ch'ang[3]. He told me that since we last met he had spoken about the proposed railway extension to Kun-long to other traders, who all agreed that it would be an excellent thing for the trade of this part of China.

The sawbwa's son came to see me soon after my 622
arrival. Having reached the age of 25, he had now taken over the government of the state, his father retiring in his favour. This is an almost universal custom among Chinese Shans. The father, however, still remains the nominal head of the state, and the son is not recognised by the Chinese Government until the father dies. Kêng-ma is one of the largest and best governed Shan States in the province of Yün-nan.

[1] See p. 146. [2] Nan-p'i Ho in Chinese. [3] See p. 59.

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344 The next day I halted, and returned the sawbwa's call
366 in the morning. The palace was not a very imposing
438 structure but a new one was being built close to it. It was market day in Kêng-ma, and there was a very large attendance, including a good many Chinese traders selling cotton cloth, etc. Most of the European goods appear to come from Bhamo *viâ* Yung-ch'ang. The market is held every five days according to the almost invariable custom of Burma, the Shan States, and Yün-nan. Nearly the whole country-side comes into it to buy and sell, and on market day the roads are always crowded with people from the villages coming and going. It is an opportunity for them to display their best clothes, and in places where there are many different hill tribes the variety of costume is most picturesque.

• 563 In Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States, and probably in many other places, people of a dozen different races speaking a dozen different languages may be seen in one market place. The lingua franca by which they communicate with each other is generally Shan or Chinese or both, according to the locality. In Kêng-ma there was not any extraordinary variety of tribes. The people were chiefly Shans and Las, with a good many Chinese and a few La-hus. A native of India, a Lucknow Mahommedan, also came to see me. He was employed by the Pang-long Panthays to teach their children Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic. He told me he had been there three or four years and had a great many pupils, and that the rising generation would most of them know Hindustani.

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000 Chên-k'ang and get fresh men sent across from there to meet me. The next day nine miles of very hilly going brought us to Ma-li-p'ing, a large village at an elevation of nearly 7000 feet, and consequently quite cool, almost cold in fact.

On the 29th I sent on early to Mêng-hung[1] to say I was coming, and about two miles short of the town I found a man waiting in the road. He had been sent out to ask me to go round by Chên-k'ang, as there were a lot of soldiers in Mêng-hung who had just returned from an expedition against some rebels. This would have meant a detour of two or three days, so I told him I could not do so and went on towards the town. My interpreter and myself rode on ahead of the mules, and soon came on the victorious army, a miscellaneous rabble of Las, Shans, and Chinamen, armed with guns and spears. An individual, who appeared to be some sort of officer, was sitting in the road and told us we could not go on, as the town was full of soldiers. I asked him who he was, but not getting any particular answer, rode on. He then followed us and said that if we persisted in going on he would get his men together and stop us by force. We took no notice of him and rode into the town without anyone hindering us. The proper headman was said to be away in Chên-k'ang, but finally an old man was produced. I showed him my passport, but no one had learning enough to read it, so my interpreter read it to them. After some consultation in their own La language they produced two men as guides, one of whom was half or three-quarters idiotic. Both of them said they did not know the way, so I went on without them, and told the old man I should report to the Chinese officials that I had shown my passport and been refused guides. I then looked round for the man who had threatened to stop us entering the town, but found he had disappeared about the time of the reading of the passport. We had no difficulty in finding the road by asking people we met, and we slept in a Chinaman's house at the village of K'a-fang.

[361] 563 Mêng-hung is a place of about 100 houses, surrounded by a wall. Its population is chiefly La, but there are a

[1] Mong Hom is the proper Shan name of this place.

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good many Chinamen living there too, and most of the 563
people appear to talk both languages. They are well
known as the biggest blackguards in this part of Yün-nan, 579
and many of them are wanted by the Chinese Government for murders and other crimes, but the country is so little under Chinese control that the officials are not very keen on trying to make arrests. On a subsequent journey I again had trouble at that very town[1], the only place in Yün-nan where I have ever encountered anything like organised opposition. Mêng-hung is in Chên-k'ang territory, but the sawbwa of the latter place finds it more than he can manage and has no real authority there.

The next day we reached Mêng-pun (Möng Pawn), a 361
Shan village of 40 houses, not to be confused with Mêng-p'êng (Möng Hpawng), a somewhat larger place a day's march off W.S.W. In the afternoon a man arrived who had been sent by the Chên-k'ang sawbwa to guide us on to Mang-shih. There had been a good deal of rain lately, and it fell heavily here at night.

The recent fighting from which the warriors I met at 669
Mêng-hung had just returned, was naturally the subject of conversation everywhere in this neighbourhood, and from enquiries made at different places I gathered the following as to its origin. About the year 1890 the late sawbwa of Chên-k'ang was going round his state, and while at the village of Ya-k'ou, which lies two or three marches south-west of the capital, he was murdered by his nephew Tao-lao-wu, who usurped the sawbwaship. He, however, only held it for a few days, as a Chinaman called Ma, who lives on the hills near Hsiao-mêng-t'ung (Möng Htawng), and is one of the principal head-men of the Chên-k'ang state, got some men together, marched on the capital, killed Tao-lao-wu, and dispersed his followers. The present sawbwa, who is the son of the murdered man, and was at that time only two years old, then became the nominal ruler of the state.

Since then the adherents of Tao-lao-wu had been constantly dacoiting in the western part of Chên-k'ang, near the Burmese border. The Chinese authorities accordingly

[1] See p. 136.

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000 Man-waing[1]. The trade along this route is fairly large in the cold season, and we passed some 500 mules, loaded chiefly with walnuts, chestnuts, pears, dried figs, and a little silk and tobacco.

From Man-waing on to T'êng-yüeh is a well-known road, previously traversed by several travellers, and described in detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, though the learned doctor gets rather mixed in his names of places.

Ryder and Watts-Jones took the main road which crosses the Taping by one of the numerous ferries over this part of its course, and goes up that river's left bank. I took a somewhat longer route round by Chan-ta[2] where I was hospitably entertained by the sawbwa, and rejoined the rest of the party at Chiu-ch'êng (Old city), the former capital of the Kan-ai[3] state. The present town is off the main road in between the two branches of the Taping just above where they join. Here lives the long-bearded sawbwa with whom we had been so friendly on our expedition to find the boundary "gates," and I was sorry I could not spare the time to go and see him.

133 Our route so far, after leaving Man-waing, had lain
[361] through a plain several miles wide, well cultivated with rice fields, and full of prosperous Shan villages, the part on the right bank of the Taping being Chan-ta territory, and that on the left bank Kan-ai. The capital of the latter state is near the head of the plain, and above this, steep bare hills close in on the Nam Ti, the Shan name for the eastern Taping, the valley of which the road follows up.

In fifteen miles or so the valley again opens out into the comparatively narrow plain of Möng Ti, or Nan-tien
[563] as the Chinese call it. This is also a Shan state, but the climate being cool enough for Yün-nan Chinamen to live in, they are gradually settling there, and the population is
[63] now nearly as much Chinese as Shan. The sawbwa rules a large extent of territory including Möng Yang and Möng Hüm, and I believe he is also in charge of Chan-hsi, though of this I am not quite certain.

000 In this plain we passed an encampment of wandering

[1] See p. 30. [2] San-ta in Shan. [3] Möng Na in Shan.

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327 when hardened by repeated heatings in the furnace it is made into hatchets, hoes, and tripod stands for cooking-pots.

563 To the north of T'ien-t'ang-kuan is a very interesting country inhabited by the Li-so tribe, which I should much have liked to explore. This race I have found scattered over a very wide extent of country, as far south as the Siamese border, and as far north as the Tibetan parts of Ssŭ-ch'uan and north-western Yün-nan. In the Kachin Hills and the Shan States they are split up into very small and scattered communities, living usually on the very tops of the hills. They originally occupied a good deal of the country to the west and north of T'êng-yüeh, and I have little doubt that the Chinamen of Hsi-lien and many of the neighbouring districts have more Li-so blood in them than Chinese. At present the only district in which the Li-sos form the bulk of the population seems to be the Salween valley from about Lat. 25° 30′ up to Lat. 27° 30′. Their language is closely connected with that of the Lo-los, and they are no doubt a branch of this widely-spread race. I have always found them, like the Lo-los, extremely pleasant and friendly.

Li-so is the Chinese name for this tribe. They call themselves Li-su, and the Kachins know them as Yaw-yen. In T'ien t'ang-kuan they now live on very good terms with their Chinese neighbours, but the remains of a wall round Ma-li-pa and an old two-storied stone tower close by suggest that there was a time when things were not so peaceful. Now-a-days the only enemies of the villagers are wolves, which they say hunt in large packs and will kill even big animals, such as ponies and cattle.

From Ma-li-pa I turned eastward, crossed a range at 8,700 feet by an extremely steep ascent and an equally abrupt descent, rendered more difficult by a drizzling rain. This brought us into the Ming-kuang plain which runs down the Mo-lo Ho in a valley half a mile wide.

328 We slept at the village of Hsiao-hsin-kai, and I found [316] men smelting lead close by. The lead is found in sand and this sand is first washed in a place prepared for the purpose in a small stream. The heaviest part of it which sinks is then taken away and smelted in the furnace. Both lead and

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792 ordinarily dirty and so were the monks, but they certainly impressed me with their sincerity much more than the ordinary temple priest, who is often a great blackguard, and is usually held in no respect by his fellow-countrymen.

The descent on the eastern side of the pass was as bad as the ascent had been, and we had to go down 6000 feet to the village of Ssŭ-ling-kang before we could find any shelter or forage. We got in just after dark, our mules dead beat, having taken ten hours to do the march of fourteen miles.

The next day, the 16th December, we crossed the Salween at Mêng-ku ferry at an elevation of 2,550 feet, a drop of 8000 feet from the range we had crossed the day before. The river is here 100 yards wide, running with a current which precludes all idea of navigation. In some places the hills close right in on both sides, in other places there is half a mile or a mile width of rice cultivation. The valley has the warmer climate and denser vegetation of the Shan States—quite different from all the neighbouring [244] plains of Yün-nan. It is a mild enough climate to grow chillies, and it also produces persimmons which are sold dried like figs.

•563 The population of this part of the country is small but varied. On the hills are Lo-los, Li-sos, and Chinese, while in the valley are Shans, and also Chinamen who most of them come from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yünnanese finding the place too hot and feverish. I do not think that the Shans extend up the Salween valley very much higher than this, for from all accounts one soon gets into a country ruled by semi-independent Li-so chiefs.

Four more marches through a very hilly country brought us to the top of the range which divides the Salween from its tributary, the Yung-ch'ang river. The road crosses it at 8,400 feet, and from the top is a fine view of range after range of beautiful mountains, the snow-capped Ts'ang 346 Shan, which overlooks Ta-li Fu, being clearly visible. We descended into the Yung-ch'ang plain and slept in a remarkable temple called the Shui-fu-ssŭ or Sleeping Buddha Temple. It is picturesquely placed at the foot of a jungle-covered spur with a piece of water in front of it. The inner shrine is a large natural cave, in which is the image

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We had two more days of hilly walking, with occasional glimpses of the Wan-tien plain below us to the east, and then turning in a westerly direction we went down 3000 feet to the little plain which the Chinese call Mêng-po-lo and the Shans Möng Maw. Here I pitched my tent in the courtyard of the Shan monastery which stands on the bank of the Yung-ch'ang river among magnificent trees.

This place lies at an elevation of 2,300 feet, and is not far above the river's junction with the Salween. The inhabitants are all Shans, and the plain very small and poor. It is only remarkable as being one of the few places in Yün-nan low enough to grow cotton. The crop is dependent on a good rainy season, and the amount produced is quite insignificant.

On the 27th December we forded the Yung-ch'ang river and had the usual stiff climb out of the valley. We travelled for three days over a very hilly country to Mêng-p'êng[1], a little plain containing three or four Chinese and one La village. There was also a recently constructed fort here with a small garrison of Chinese soldiers.

The country we had passed through between Mêng-po-lo and Mêng-p'êng is chiefly inhabited by Chinese and Lo-los, but we met on the road one day some people whose women I recognised by their white pleated kilts as belonging to the Miao tribe whom I had previously seen in the Southern Shan States. They told us there were only a few villages of their race in this neighbourhood, and that they had emigrated from Kuei-chou province thirty or forty years ago.

This tribe I have come across in many places scattered about Western China and the Shan States, though nowhere in very large communities. I have seen them as far north as the Tibetan State of Mi-li and as far south as Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States. Westward I have not heard of them beyond the neighbourhood of Taw-nio. All these people, I believe, originally come from the southern part of Kuei-chou province, where they still inhabit a large tract of country, ruled by semi-independent chiefs of their own race. Miao or Miao-tzŭ is the name the Chinese have

[1] Möng Hpawng in Shan.

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563 given them, but they call themselves Mhong. I have always found them very pleasant and friendly.

From Mêng-p'êng it took us two days of fairly easy going through a country peopled chiefly by Shans and Las to reach Na-hsang, a Shan village just on the Chinese side [245] of the frontier. The village was full of orange trees, which were at this season covered with fruit—one of the prettiest crops conceivable.

000 The next day we crossed the boundary and reached Taw-nio, the British frontier fort, where I found Captain G. W. Johnson in command of the garrison of military police. Only those who have travelled alone in strange countries can fully understand what a pleasure it is to meet one of one's own race and talk English again. And indeed Captain Johnson himself had been leading as solitary a life as I had, for he was the only European in Taw-nio, and was dependent for his society on the rare visits paid by civilians or police officers from Lashio, the headquarters of the Northern Shan States, which lies 120 miles off to the west.

I fully expected to hear news here of Turner and Ker, but there was none forthcoming. It was of great importance that I should see them so as to arrange their future movements, so there was nothing for it but to wait till they came. I considered myself extremely fortunate in being able to make this enforced halt in a British fort and with such a pleasant host as Captain Johnson.

Taw-nio, or Ma-li-pa as the Chinese call it, is a frontier district which, though ruled by a Chinese chief, would have the strongest objection to being handed over to the Chinese empire. It forms part of the Shan State of Hsen-wi[1], and no doubt its inhabitants find that they have much more independence in their present position than they could hope for under Chinese officials, especially now that the mandarins have begun to interfere more and more in the affairs of the border States and to establish garrisons close to the British frontier.

The main part of Taw-nio consists of a grass plateau pleasantly dotted with patches of jungle. Villages are few

[1] Called Theinni by the Burmese, and Mu-pang by the Chinese.

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and his son at the time of our visit being only 12 years old, 631
his mother, according to Shan custom, ruled the country for him. The State comprises a great many Las, and many of the Chinamen are a decidedly rough lot, so that the old chieftainness finds her kingdom rather more than she can manage. It has an unenviable notoriety as a badly governed country where murders and rebellions are not uncommon, and it is compared very unfavourably with the neighbouring state of Kêng-ma.

The town, which contains some 300 houses, is built in 361
a small and poor plain at an elevation of 2,950 feet. It is 563
chiefly inhabited by Shans with a few Chinese, and the plain contains altogether about a dozen Shan villages. [438]
There is very little trade in the place. An occasional mule caravan from Ta-li or Yün Chou comes here to sell tea, iron pans, and other miscellaneous products of China, taking away with them opium which is grown by the Chinese villages on the surrounding hills, and seems to be the only export.

The sawbwa's Chinese secretary came to see us in the evening and was very apologetic about the behaviour of the Mêng-hung people. He described them as ignorant Las who would not listen to reason. I have no doubt the Chên-k'ang government stand in considerable dread of their lawless subjects.

The next day we marched across some low spurs into 000
Mêng-ti (Möng Ti in Shan)[1], another small Shan plain. One of the numerous people who came to see us (or, to be more accurate, to stare at us) had lived several years in Rangoon and could talk Burmese quite well.

On this march we had a very high snow-capped range of hills on our right, dividing the Salween basin, which we were in, from the valley of the Nam Ting. This is the same range I had seen from Mêng-sa in 1895, and we were now able to determine its height as about 11,500 feet, an elevation which, though not uncommon in the north of Yün-nan, towers far above any of the other ranges at this latitude.

[1] This place must not be confused with the larger place of the same name which is called Nan-tien by the Chinese and lies on the T'êng-yüeh-Bhamo road.

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CHAPTER XX

TA-LI FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Chao Chou—The Ming-chia tribe—Hung-ai—The capital of an ancient kingdom—Yün-nan Hsien—"Two foreign officials, one black and one white"—Meeting with Watts-Jones—His line for a railway—A region of lakes and ponds—Wild geese and duck—A bare dry sandstone country—Meeting with Ryder—Chên-an Chou—A poor town—Ch'u-hsiung Fu—A conservative population—Six Englishmen meet—Ker goes northward to the Yangtze—Woman falls into a well—Belief in medical knowledge of Europeans—Kuang-t'ung Hsien—A broken-down city wall—One name for natives of Europe and India—The Ta-li *tao-t'ai's* jurisdiction—Lu-fêng Hsien—An-ning Chou—Yün-nan Fu—Wretched inn—Europeans in Yün-nan Fu—The city and lake—The Arsenal—Two-man rifles—The climate of Yün-nan Fu.

AFTER two days' halt at Ta-li, Ker and I started again on the 1st of March and, passing through Hsia-kuan, reached Chao Chou, a town of 600 houses near the S.E. corner of the big lake. It is a poor-looking place compared with Ta-li or Hsia-kuan, but it seems to be growing, as they had lately enclosed some additional space within its walls. The inhabitants, like those of the Ta-li plain, are chiefly of the Ming-chia tribe, though there are many Chinamen among them, especially in the town.

The next day a very gradual ascent brought us to the top of a low range, from which we descended somewhat steeply by a dangerously slippery paved road to a fine well-cultivated plain in which splendid crops of opium are grown. There is no official city here, and the principal place in the plain is the large market village of Hung-ai. We had now left the Min-chias behind and found ourselves again among a purely Chinese population. Hung-ai, "red precipice," was formerly called Pai-ai, "white precipice," and is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the capital of one of the old kingdoms destroyed by Pi-lo-ko in 749 A.D.

000 563 249 000 [p. 149]

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farming operations and are not employed as a means of 493
transport along the roads. This is no doubt owing to the impossibility in most places of taking them from one plain to another, though by a little construction of roads it would not be difficult to open a good deal of eastern Yün-nan to wheeled traffic. On the whole it is decidedly less hilly than the western part of the province, though in places, such for instance as the road from Wei-ning to Tung-ch'uan, there are as steep hills as I have seen anywhere.

My Chinese followers were much amused by the un- 195
couth dialect of the inhabitants of the provincial capital. One would expect to hear the purest Chinese spoken in the chief city of the province, but such is not the case. They have a peculiar way of speaking which I believe they, as natives of the capital, consider to be the standard of excellence for the province, but this opinion is not shared by other Chinamen either of Yün-nan or of other parts of the empire.

My own impression, derived from hearing many Lo-los speak Chinese, is that their speech is simply Chinese spoken with a strong Lo-lo accent. The Yün-nan Fu plain 563.
was, I believe, formerly a Lo-lo country, and there are many families of Lo-lo origin still living there. Whatever may be the truth about this, it is needless to say that the present inhabitants of the city would only receive with derision any suggestion which imputed to them a Lo-lo ancestry or a Lo-lo accent. This dialect is confined to the people of K'un-ming Hsien, the Hsien district of Yün-nan Fu.

Our first march out from the capital took us to the 000
small plain of Ch'i-tien. We made the usual late start, which I have always found it difficult to avoid in leaving a town after a few days' halt. Consequently, as the march was 18 miles and entailed crossing a range of hills, we did not reach our halting-place till after dark. I was now doing my own surveying, as Lachman Jadu, the surveyor who had been with me so far, stayed with Captain Ryder, so as eventually to return to India with him to help in compiling the maps.

On the 4th April, after crossing a low range, we descended to a fine lake called Yang-tsung Hai, and leaving

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000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 177 [304] [249] We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who still use their own language, but have in other respects adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had been on my former visit. 712 In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

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000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation here is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state.
243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides.
136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

• 563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese
622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

006 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them
435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12*s.* and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

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000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called
317 Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is 180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly impregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed with water and boiled afresh over and over again till nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce 500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
•563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-
197 t'ung, a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

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CHAPTER XXVII

FROM P'U-ÊRH FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Leave P'u-êrh—Cross the Black River—A shaky iron chain bridge—T'ung-kuan—A slippery descent—The A-mei Chiang—T'a-lang-T'ing—Gold mine—The Wo-ni race—The K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o tribes—Their dress—A Lo-lo village—The Red River—Mo-sha—Shan women's costume—Non-Buddhist Shans—Flat-roofed houses—A steep climb—Perpetual mist—Hsin-p'ing Hsien—Curiosity of the population—Streets lined and roofs crowded—Lo-lo origin—Opium and sugar-cane—Good oranges—A dry country—Iron mine—Yi-mên Hsien—Meet Ryder—A plateau country—An-ning Chou—Duck shooting—Across the Yun-nan Fu lake—Reach Yun-nan Fu—The French in the capital—Attack on them by the Chinese—The English missionaries—Observations for longitude.

000 On the 2nd January, 1900, we left P'u-êrh for the capital of the province. Our first day took us back along the road by which we had come to Mo-hei. Our second march was somewhat more varied, for crossing a range at 6000 feet we descended to our old friend the Black River or Pa-pien Chiang. It is crossed by a very shaky iron chain bridge, which sways about so much that only three mules can pass over at a time with safety. The stream is here from 50 to 80 yards wide. Its strong current and occasional rapids make navigation impossible.

361 563 On the third day we reached T'ung-kuan, a big village pleasantly situated on a plateau with small jungle-covered hills rising out of it. The population about here is very mixed, including Lo-los, K'a-tus, Ma-heis, and a few Shans. The Chinese are decidedly in a minority, and perhaps it is due to this happy circumstance that the natives of T'ung-kuan have better manners than one usually finds in China.

000 A thunderstorm the next morning made it unpleasantly slippery along the steep downhill road which brought us to the A-mei Chiang, another source of the Black River and

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much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation 000
of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears 361
to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better 316
shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni 563 •
race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to [197]
each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from 291
the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The 563
dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

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S 291 563 of about a foot, hanging down over their necks just after the fashion of the Kachin girls of the Burmese frontier. The K'a-tu women are distinguished from the other two tribes by wearing trousers, and by little metal ornaments which hang down from the front of their turbans. These three tribes are known to the Chinese by the name of Wo-ni.

000 From T'a-lang the main road to the capital crosses the Red River at Yuan-chiang Chou and passes through Hsi-o and Hsin-hsing, but this route had been taken by Turner and Ker the previous year. To avoid known ground I took a road through Hsin-p'ing Hsien to Yi-mên-Hsien, passing through a piece of country quite blank on the maps.

S 563 Our route led us in a northerly direction over the usual mountainous country, and on the second day we crossed the watershed of the Black River and Red River at 7,500 feet. Our camp that night was at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village inhabited by genuine Lo-los, not Wo-nis. They say they migrated here from the Ch'u-hsiung-Fu district three generations ago. Besides Lo-los there are Wo-nis in this part of the country, and also two other tribes, K'u-tsung[1] and Lo-pi, of whom I have never heard in other districts. S I believe them to be connected with the Wo-ni race.

132 We had been experiencing quite warm weather lately, and this hot climate seems to be a peculiarity of the Black River basin, for the morning at Ma-lu-t'ang, which lies on the Red River side of the watershed, was cold and frosty. In two more days we reached the Red River at Mo-sha. It is from 70 to 100 yards wide, flowing through bare reddish coloured hills, but just here passing through a S plain four miles wide.

P 291 This Mo-sha plain is at a level of only 1,650 feet, the lowest I have ever been in Yün-nan, except on the very borders of Burma or Tong-king. It is inhabited by Shans, who have however no sawbwa of their own. The women have a very peculiar dress, quite different to that of any Shans I have seen elsewhere. Their blue jackets have red cuffs, and they wear a red band of cloth round the waist. Both jacket and petticoat are much ornamented round the

[1] Not to be confused with Ku-tsung, a name the Chinese of Yün-nan apply to Tibetans.

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000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

361 The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials
563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese are of Lo-lo descent.

241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country,
316 without much water in it that can be used for irrigation. The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third day we reached Ssû-ch'êng, a village at 6000 feet, which has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last march we passed a small iron mine at a place called Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep one small furnace going.

361 From Ssû-ch'êng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mên-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

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000 to halt the next day to allow my Chinese followers to enjoy the occasion. We were also able to celebrate our meeting by dining off pheasant, for I shot two on the first march out of the capital.

On the 2nd February we set out again, and for this march our routes lay along the same road. Passing the very small town of Lu-ch'üan Hsien, we crossed a range and descended into the little plain of Hsiao-ts'ang at 6050 feet.

The next morning a path down a narrow valley brought us again to the Yün-nan Fu lake river, which in this part of its course is known as the P'u-tu Ho. It is here 50 yards wide with a strong current and is at a level of 5000 feet. After crossing the ferry Ryder and I separated to meet two months afterwards at A-tun-tzŭ. His road climbed the hills to the east; mine, a very bad narrow track, led down the valley of the stream.

563 I was surprised to find that a few of the villages in this valley were inhabited by Shans, a race I certainly never expected to find so far north. They say they came here hundreds of years ago from Ava. This is rather vague, but possibly they came originally from some Shan state which was at that time tributary to Burma. No priest accompanied them in their migration, and they consequently have lost both their written language and their Buddhist religion. They still, however, speak Shan. It would be interesting to know how they got to this out of the way spot. They seem to have no idea themselves why they came or exactly where they came from[1].

000 The following day I was able to get some 18 miles further down the P'u-tu Ho by a villainous road, and slept at the village of Ch'ien-ch'ang[2]. Below this I could hear of no path descending the valley, and the view we got of 10 miles of precipitous crags bordering the river on both sides made it appear probable that this information was correct. Nothing could well be more unpromising for a railway than the whole of this lower part of the P'u-tu Ho.

[1] Garnier mentions Shans at the junction of the Ya-lung River and the Yangtze. I believe there are a certain number of villages of this race scattered about this part of the Yangtze valley. It is possible that they are the remnants of a former Shan population.

[2] Not to be confused with the Chien-ch'ang valley.

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000 It was unnecessary therefore to try to follow this stream any further, so I struck across N.W. for the Hung-mên-k'ou ferry over the Yangtze. A steep descent from Ch'ien-ch'ang brought us to the P'u-tu Ho at 3,900 feet, and we crossed it by an extremely leaky ferry-boat, which half filled with water in taking across the first load of baggage. However they caulked it with strips of bark and everything was safely got across. The mules swam, and though the river is only 50 or 60 yards wide, the current was strong enough to carry them down quite 100 yards before they could land on the far bank.

563 142 From the river we had a climb of nearly 4000 feet to the Lo-lo village of Ts'u-chü. These Lo-los are a much finer race than even the best of those that I had seen further south. They are very tall men, with straight noses and sharp features, and are evidently of the same race as the Independent Lo-los of Ssŭ-ch'uan. The difference of stature and feature between different Lo-lo tribes I attribute partly to climate and partly to the mixing of the more southern Lo-los with other races. Certainly the colder the climate in which one finds them living, the sharper are their features and the taller their stature. Ts'u-chü I found a very cold place, and the sun had not had power enough to melt the ice by three o'clock in the afternoon.

000 On the 6th February our road led up and down over spurs, the highest point reached being 8,500 feet; but I could only guess at the lie of the country as the clouds were right down on the hills, and in the morning fell for two or three hours in the form of snow. Finally we came down into a large undulating plateau, inhabited chiefly by Lo-los, with several large villages and a good deal of cultivation. We slept in a temple at San-ying-p'an, one of the principal villages.

Our next march lay across this plateau at an average level of about 8000 feet. The plateau is watered by the sources of the little river which we had crossed five days before in the Lu-ch'uän Hsien plain. I had a little shooting on this march, getting a few snipe, and a plover which to my eye was undistinguishable from the common green plover of England.

On the 8th February we still kept on the plateau for

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000 Chin-sha Chiang or Golden Sand River, but it does not seem to be known by this name to the people who live on its banks.

Following the Hui-li Chou road the next day for a few miles we reached the large village of T'ieh-chiang-ts'un. From here I turned off in a westerly direction to examine the country lying between Hui-li and the Yangtze with a view to seeing if there was any possible chance of a line for a railway. Our road took us among hills which command a magnificent view of the country all round, so that Lachman Jadu the surveyor was able to do a lot of work.

563 Ta-shih-p'êng where we slept is at an elevation of 8,800 feet. This village is inhabited by Lo-los who are an offshoot of the Independent Lo-los of the country further north, and came to their present village from the neighbourhood of Lei-po T'ing. The emigration took place a long time ago, and their dialect has somewhat changed, though they say that they and their northern fellow-tribesmen can still understand each other fairly well.

The son of the head-man was at the time of our visit away with a good many of the young men of the place, helping the Chinese in an expedition against some of the Independent Lo-los. They do not seem to have any objection to fighting against their kinsmen, but they say the latter are not really more turbulent than anyone else, but that they are led on to commit robberies and to disturb the country by outlawed Chinamen who have taken refuge among them.

291 Both men and women at Ta-shih-p'êng were wearing the Lo-lo cloak described by Baber. It is made of grey felt, which they weave themselves out of wool. It is fastened round the neck, has no sleeves, and hangs down to the knees. It must form an excellent protection against cold, rain, or snow.

000 For two more days I marched westward, examining carefully this very intricate country, and then turned north and crossed the stream which flows down from Hui-li Chou. Where I crossed it in the Hui-li plateau it runs in a curious chasm 1000 feet deep, with very steep sides of soft shale, and with no level ground at the bottom except the bed of

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788 bees' nests bred of experience in Indian jungles, I was looking round to see where it came from. The noise got nearer and nearer, when six men suddenly appeared round the corner of a zigzag. It was not till I actually saw them that it dawned on me that the noise I had taken for the humming of bees proceeded really from human throats reciting prayers in a monotonous mumble. The deception was most perfect. Neither myself nor the Chinamen with me doubted when we first heard the noise that it was a
788 swarm of bees or hornets. The men belonged to the Mo-so tribe and were on a pilgrimage to a temple in the Chien-
• 563 ch'ang valley. This is a race of men I have seen very little of. They appear roughly speaking to inhabit the country north of Li-chiang Fu, and from there westwards towards Wei-hsi and northwards nearly to A-tun-tzŭ. Most, if not all, of them have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Captain Ryder came across them in the town of Yung-ning (lat. 27° 45′, long. 100° 40′), where they constitute the bulk of the population. By the evidence of their language they are closely connected with the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo races.

The men we met would stop their chaunt for a moment to answer a question, but would begin again at once afterwards. We were evidently getting near a country under Tibetan influence. What Chinaman would think of reciting prayers as he went along the road?

563 The Mo-sos were not the only new race I was to see
[263] on this march, for soon afterwards we met some Hsi-fans, carrying loads of a sort of spice called *hua-chiao*, which they grow extensively about here. Just after they had
201 passed us, the last of them, an elderly man, gave vent to his feelings in a loud noise in a high tone of voice, more like a shriek of forced laughter than anything else. I thought at first he was amused at something, possibly at my personal appearance. The Chinese guide said it was their way of singing—a somewhat vague explanation. It was a noise I often heard afterwards among Tibetans, and is simply a means of calling to each other when distance makes a loud yell necessary to attract attention. It sounds a most extraordinary noise at first, but one soon gets accustomed to
000 it in Tibet. One of my Gurkha sepoys told me the people

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in the Naga hills on the Assam borde. indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fan have adopted the religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside, and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese map of Ssû-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated, steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here to rest the mules and to get information about our future route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road, but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

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000 or 5000 feet. To turn the flank of this obstacle it was necessary to make a circuit to the south. Even this entailed a fairly trying climb, and we had ascended to over 12,000 feet before we reached the top.

The way down on the other side was no better. It began with stone steps and steep zigzags, and then got into a rough rocky ravine with water running down it, which sometimes flowed above ground and sometimes beneath it. On each side rose precipitous hills to thousands of feet above us—a very fine country to look at, but a little difficult for loaded mules, who slipped about a good deal on the ice which covered the road in shady places.

Finally we turned out of the ravine and reached a tumble-down inn just short of the Hsi-fan village of Chieh-hsing. There sure enough below us to the west was the Ya-lung River again, flowing from south to north, so I could no longer doubt the geographical information of the Lu-ning-ying people.

The direct route to the west was again blocked by a formidable mountain chain, which rises to a height of 10,000 feet on the other side of the Ya-lung. Our road consequently led up the valley of that river, but keeping some thousands of feet above its level. For two days we continued in this direction, crossing big spurs, with scarcely a level inch of road, through a country very sparsely populated by Hsi-fans and Chinese. On the second day we crossed the river by ferry and reached the village of No-po.

•563 Here we were in Mi-li territory, for the No-po chief is only a small man under the Mi-li king. We were also among a different tribe, for though both are called Hsi-fan by the Chinese, the people of Lu-ning-ying district are Mu-nia, while the No-po villagers call themselves Lo-p'u. The former name is doubtless the same as the Menia of Baber, and the Manyak of Hodgson. The next day I came across two fresh Hsi-fan tribes, who are called Êrh-su and Balamin.

I had not time to get vocabularies from all these. Perhaps some of these names are only small tribal divisions but there seemed no doubt that the Mu-nia and Lo-p'u spoke different languages. Neither of these tribes

232 *Westward from Mien-ning Hsien. The*
Neither of these tribes
791 have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Their religion includes
• 563 the sacrifice of animals, I was assured by the people of No-po. The Hsi-fans I found everywhere most friendly. It is not till one gets into a country that is more under the thumb of the lamas, that obstruction begins.

563 Leaving No-po on the 11th March, we were obliged to make rather a short day as, after crossing one big spur, we still had the main range, with 6000 feet more of climbing, in front of us, and I did not think our mules would be equal to this. We slept at Mo-tzŭ-kou among the Miao-tzŭ or Mhong, a tribe which I have found scattered in small and widely dispersed communities all over western China. I had met some on the road the day before who had tried to emigrate southward, but had been driven away by the Lo-los, who considered the land in that part of the country to belong to them. In Kuei-chou province the Miao-tzŭ are very numerous and powerful, but here they are evidently too few to be able to afford to quarrel with their neighbours.

342 We were now getting into a more Tibetan country, and on this march saw for the first time pagodas and praying wheels. The former, some twelve feet or so high, were made of more or less conical-shaped heaps of stones with Tibetan inscriptions on them, and usually a wooden pole sticking out a little way at the top. It was a sort of rough version of the Burmese pagoda with its *hti*.

778 The praying wheel consisted of a cylinder about three feet long and one and a half feet across, made of leather, and said to contain religious writings. The cylinder was fixed on to the top of a little water wheel which, worked by a small stream, revolved continually. The whole was protected by a stone shed well roofed in. It was a work of merit, which must have cost a good deal of time and money to erect in this out of the way spot. These water praying wheels were fairly common in the Tibetan country we travelled through, and when we got into a thoroughly lama district the ordinary praying wheels turned by hand were to be seen in every house.

000 The next morning we crossed the big range, reaching the top at 13,200 feet, but to the north of the road the range attains a much greater elevation than this. The

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 course of the Ya-lung can be traced from the top of this pass. Just where it makes its great bend to the north, its further progress southward is barred by an enormous mountain mass rising almost sheer from the river to a height
631 of thousands of feet. The country in that direction is under the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh[1], who is nominally subordinate to the Yën-yüan Hsien mandarin.

000 A steep descent to a little valley and another 1000 feet of uphill brought us to the Lo-lo village of Ma-huang-kou at 10,300 feet. The villagers were at first somewhat taken aback by the appearance of such curious-looking people, and were not much inclined to sell us anything. However the appearance of the chief's wife, a large proportioned lady of some 40 years, altered all this. She immediately turned out all the villagers, ordered them to sweep a place clean for my tent, and to bring us anything they had to sell. Her subjects soon became as friendly as they had previously been suspicious.

This country is so very poor that it is by no means easy to get enough to eat even for such a small party as we were. Corn of any sort was scarce and the mules came
244 off badly. I was more fortunate, as I found the people here grew potatoes—a luxury indeed to the traveller in China. It is usually only among hill tribes that one is occasionally able to get this vegetable. The Chinese do not seem to appreciate it, though it grows well in the few places where it is cultivated. I remember getting excellent potatoes in Tung-ch'uan Fu and T'ung-hai Hsien. They were, I believe, originally introduced into China by French missionaries, and in Yün-nan they are called *yang yü*, the foreign yam.

563 To illustrate the varied population of this country I may mention that for five days we had now slept among a different tribe each night—Mu-nia Hsi-fan, Chinese, Lo-p'u Hsi-fan, Miao-tzŭ, and Lo-lo. Each of these people's language is unintelligible to all the others. The *lingua franca* of the country here is still Chinese, though further west Tibetan was much more generally known.

[1] This place is described by Dr R. Logan Jack in *The Back Blocks of China*.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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Mi-li to Chung-tien

ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from • 563 those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan 101 family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or S "upper[1]."

ST A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows 195 that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 After doing nine miles I found it hopeless to try and get the mules any further, and left some of the men with tents and bedding to camp with the mules for the night. Ryder's animals had been hired from Yün-nan Fu and so were comparatively fresh, and he was able to get on to the proper camping ground.

I went on and slept in his tent and returned in the morning to look after the animals. One mule had died in the night. It had been weak for some time and had not been carrying anything, but on the previous day I had been obliged to give it a load of straw for the animals to eat. The men, too, though they had their tent and bedding, had suffered a good deal from cold. It was their own fault: they had neglected to get in firewood the evening before, though there was plenty of it not far off. We reached A-tun-tzŭ a little before dark and managed to stow ourselves and animals away in two small inns.

361 A-tun-tzŭ is not a very large place. There is a fair sized monastery, but besides this it hardly contains a •563 hundred houses. It stands near the head of a narrow steeply-sloping valley surrounded by steep snow-covered hills. Its elevation above the sea we made 11,500 feet. The inhabitants of the town are many of them half Chinese, but the customs and language of the place are more Tibetan, though many of the people can talk Chinese as well[1].

000 Directly we arrived at A-tun-tzŭ a man came up with a letter which he had just brought in from Manifold, saying he expected to arrive in two or three days. He turned up on the 6th April, so we all met within six days of our appointed time. Manifold would have been here earlier but was delayed by circumstances.

Unluckily, as he was on the road from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh, a collision took place in the Kachin Hills between the military police and some Chinese soldiers who had trespassed on our side of the border. The news of this had reached T'êng-yüeh, and Manifold when he arrived there found himself surrounded by an angry mob. One of his men was assaulted, several of his things stolen, and it required all the influence of the officials of the place to

[1] A-tun-tzŭ is said to have been almost entirely destroyed by a landslip since our visit.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

My very rough methods of calculation naturally give only an approximate result, but in default of any better estimate the population of Yün-nan may be taken as about ten millions[1]. 161

This population is divided between very sparsely peopled mountains, which form the greater part of Yün-nan, and very thickly inhabited plains which, though they only comprise about a fifteenth of the area of the province, contains nearly half of its inhabitants. 162 563

In the plains the population is mainly Chinese[2], but not entirely so, for in the cold plateaus of the north-west are found Tibetans, while many of the low-lying plains of the south are inhabited by Shans. Moreover in the centre of the province some of the plains are peopled by Ming-chias, while an admixture of Lo-los is occasionally found. At a guess I should say that about four-fifths to nine-tenths of the population of the plains are Chinese, including under this name those who, even if of aboriginal extraction, are now in language and customs undistinguishable from the ruling race.

In the hills things are different. Here, as in the plains, one also finds the Chinese, and there is no large tract of country without Chinese villages in it. But living among them and forming the bulk of the hill population are numerous other tribes, each with its own language and its own customs[3].

In the north-west corner are Tibetans, and the semi-Tibetan Mo-so race. On the Burmese border are Kachins and Palaungs; also in the west of the province, but extending further into the interior, are the Li-sos; everywhere throughout Yün-nan are the Lo-los, a fine race and more numerous than any other hill tribe. Equally widely distributed are the Miaos, but they are only found in small and scattered communities. In the south-west, between the Salween and the Mekong, are the La-hus, who with their cross-bows and poisoned arrows proved formidable

[1] Some recent Chinese figures give Yün-nan a population of about 12,000,000, but these are said to be unreliable. The late Mr Litton, of the Consular Service, who had much experience of Yün-nan, estimated the number of inhabitants at 9,000,000.

[2] Among the Chinese I include the Panthays or Chinese Mahommedans.

[3] For details about these tribes see Appendix VIII.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

162 foes to the Chinese troops a few years ago. Near them
563 live the Was, many of whom are still unconquered and still carry on their head-hunting raids. Their relatives, the somewhat more civilised Las, occupy much of the country near the southern part of the Burma-Yün-nan frontier. In the south of Yün-nan are the P'u-mans; and further east are the Wo-nis and many other tribes speaking Lo-lo dialects. The Shans and Ming-chias I omit, as they are not properly speaking hill tribes but live in the plains and valleys.

To form an estimate of the relative numbers of the Chinese and non-Chinese population in the hills is a difficult task. With the possible exception of the Lo-los the Chinese would doubtless outnumber any *one* other tribe, but still there are many tracts of country where they are decidedly in the minority. To say that the Chinese form one-third of the inhabitants of the hills, and other tribes the remaining two-thirds would perhaps not be very wide of the mark. This is merely a rough estimate, the result of impressions gained from travelling over the country, and must be taken only for what it is worth.

2:Ling & Ruey--29 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
SW. China AF16

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We may divide the present distribution of the Miao tribe into seven areas, namely, Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, Indochina /Yüeh/, and Burma, as follows:

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Kweichow. — There are 82 subgroups of the Miao in Kweichow, according to Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo. (2) But among

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2. Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo /Pictures of the Miao in Kweichow with Explanatory Text/ compiled by Chen Hao, a sub-prefect in charge of Miao affairs at Pa Fan, according to Ch'ing Chi /Kweichow Record/ by Li Tsung-fang of the Ch'ing period. The woodcut edition is rare, but there are many hand-copied, hand-drawn editions under various names. There are 82 subgroups according to what is recorded by the Japanese, Torii Ryūzō, in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (see Chapter II); and given in the Englishman E.C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26; and George W. Clarke's Translation of a Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Miao-tzu, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-94. There are two sets in the archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, one

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containing only 80 pictures, and the other with pictures, but no text, of 82 subgroups. The following are the 82 names according to these two sets and the records of Torii Ryūzō: He Lolo, Nü Kuan, Pe Lolo, Sung Chia, Ts'ai Chia, Ch'ia /K'a/ Yu Chung Chia, Pu Lung Chung Chia, Tseng Ch'u Lung Chia, Kou Erh Lung Chia, Ma Teng Lung Ta T'ou Lung Chia, Hua Miao, Hung Miao, Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, He Miao, Tung Miao, Hsi Miao, Yao Miao, Nung Miao, Ta Ya Ch'i Lao, Chien T'ou Ch'i Lao, Chu Shih Ch'i Lao, Hung Ch'i Lao, Hua Ch'i Lao, Shui Ch'i Lao, Kuo Ch'üan Ch'i Lao, P'ei P'ao Ch'i Lao, Mu Lao, Ch'i Chuang, P'o /?/ Jen, T'u Jen, Man Jen, Shan T'ung Jen, Yao Jen, Yang Pao, Yang Kuang, Chiu Ku Miao, Pa Fan Miao, Tzu Chiang Miao, Yang Tung Lo, Han Miao, K'e Meng Ku Yang Miao, Tung Miao, Ch'ien Miao, Ling Chia Miao, Tung Chia Miao, Shui Chia Miao, Liu E Tzu, Pe E Tzu, Jan Chia Man, Chiu Ming Chiu Hsing Miao, Yeh T'ou Miao, Tung Tsai Miao, Pa Chai Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Miao, Lou Chü Miao, He Shui Miao, He Sheng Miao, Kao P'o

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/16 cont./

Miao, P'ing Fa Miao, He Chung Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Chung Chia, He Min Tzu, Pe Tou Tzu, Pe Lung Chia, Pe Chung Chia, T'u Ch'i Lao, Ya Ch'üeh Miao, Hu Lu Miao, Hung Chou Miao, Hsi Ch'i Miao, Ch'e Chai Miao, Sheng Miao, He Chüeh Miao, He Lou Miao, Tuan Ch'ün Miao, Chien Ting Miao, Lang Tz'u Miao, Lo Han Miao, Liu Tung I Jen, Ch'ing Chung Chia, and Ku Lin Miao.

them, /17/ many of different names belong to the same group. Furthermore, as the non-Chinese tribes in Kweichow in general are called Miao, there is also a difference between the broad and the narrow senses of the term. In the narrow sense the term Miao refers to the real Miao tribe. There has been very little scientific study made of the tribes in Kweichow, and there are insufficient data to make an accurate classification of them. According to S.R. Clarke, they may be classified into four main tribes according to their languages, namely, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia. (1) The Ch'i

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1. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

Lao has been hitherto regarded as a subgroup of the pure Miao, but according to Terrien de Lacouperie's view, the Ch'i Lao are the remnants of the Ka Lun (Karen) in Burma, because of the similarity in language and in grammar between them. (2)

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2. Terrien de Lacouperie, The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 48.

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However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that although the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The Kweichow T'ung Chih says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

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M *101 C 563

from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M *101 131 C 563

M 167 648 C 563 167

Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

SW China AF16
Central China AF14

/18 cont./

M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M *101 C 563

Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

M *101 [131] [167] CC 563

M [162]

Central China AF14
South China AF17
SW China AF16

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M *101 CC 563

In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

M [113]

1. Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

M *101 SoC 563

Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

M [167]

M *101 SWC 563

Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

/23 cont./

M *101 SWC 563 Hsiu-shan. There are Pe Miao and Hua Miao in Kao-hsien, Kung-hsien, Hsing-wen, Ch'ang-ning, and Yün-lien in southern Szechwan. The number of Pe Miao is larger than that of the Hua Miao, and therefore this area is known as the Pe Miao area. Traces of the Miao are also found along the two banks of the Ya-lung-chiang River in the vicinity of Mien-ning-hsien.

Yunnan. — The area of distribution of the Miao in Yunnan is very extensive, because Yunnan is a larger province than Kweichow and its soil is more fertile. Although up to the M [167] present the number of Miao in Yunnan is not very large, their immigration into the province is continuing. Many Pe Miao and Hua Miao are found in northeastern Yunnan in such hsiens as Wei-hsin, Chen-yung, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Ta-kuan, I-liang, and Yung-shan. They are similar to the Miao in southern Szechwan in language and customs, although located in a different province. The Hua Miao entered Yunnan from M [167] western Kweichow, and their distribution is widespread, from Ch'ü-ching in the east through Sung-ming, Fu-min, Wu-ting, and Yen-hsing to Yang-pi, Yung-p'ing, Meng-hua, etc. hsiens; then across the Lan-tsang River from Meng-hua to Shun-ning, and westward to the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. Today, the British area of Ma-li-pa at Kuo-kan-hsien also have Miao villages. The Pe Miao and Hua Miao are scattered in such hsiens as Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Ch'iu-pe, A-mi, Hui-ch'ou, Ma-kuan, /24/ Wen-shan, Meng-tzu, P'ing-pien, Chin-ho, etc. in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

M *101 I 563 Indo-China. — Having migrated from Kweichow to Yunnan the Miao continued to move southward to the northern part of Tonkin, Indochina, to such regions as Kao-p'ing, Hai-chiang, and Lao-chieh in the area adjacent to Yunnan, reach-M [167] ing the border of T'ai-yüan province in the south, which is where they end. Further south is the plain of Tonkin, without hilly country to which to move and with a climate which does not suit the Miao people. The Miao in Tonkin are principally Pe Miao, but Ch'ing Miao and Hua Miao are also to be found.

(1) 1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

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enfeoffing him King of Yun-nan with the rank of T'e-chin, the title Duke of Yueh State and Prefect-creating General. Moreover, the Emperor bestowed a new name, Kuei-yi (Convert to Righteousness) upon P'i-lo-ko. The son of P'i-lo-ko was enfeoffed General of the Right Command, General of the Left Body-guard, Expectant of the T'e-chin Rank, General of Cavalry and, to top it all, the Emperor gave him the title: Pillar of State. Emperor Hsuan Tsung after A.D. 742 received P'i-lo-ko's grandson Feng-chia-yi in audience, conferred on him the title Hung-lu-ch'ing (rank given travelers of high status), and gave him an

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Photo 9. Ta-li, Yun-nan Province (25°42' N, 100°9' E.

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Erh Hai (Ear Lake), 7000 feet in elevation, and the plain of Ta-li in western Yun-nan is viewed here from above the 14,000 feet high Ch'ien-ts'ang Shan west of the lake. Ta-li City, visible as the rectangular walled patch in the center of the lake plain, is the western rival of K'un-ming, capital of Yun-nan Province. The plain is about 30 miles long and 3-4 miles wide. Narrow passages at the north and south ends are strategically bounded by the towering Ch'ien-ts'ang and the lake edge, the southern entrance being through a canyon and across the bridge over the lake outlet. Early T'ai chieftains built their kingdom of Nan-chao upon this base and expanded the state to encompass most of the Yun-nan and Kuei-chou plateau lands. The state withstood Han-Chinese conquest for nine centuries, but was brought to its end by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan.

The population of the Ta-li Plain for the most part are the Min-chia tribes who have successfully maintained their hold against displacement by the Han-Chinese. Highly Sinicized themselves, the Min-chia are being rapidly absorbed into the mainstream of the Han-Chinese culture. A small number among them have been converted to Mohammedanism, but most of them are Buddhists.

The Burma Road passes the southern approach to Erh Hai where the fortress town of Hsia-kuan guards the plain. From the northern end a motor road runs to Li-chiang between the great loop of the Chin-sha Chiang. The Ta-li Plain thus occupies a very strategic position in the communications of western Yun-nan.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Shan-Thai AL3
Southwest China AF16

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twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wu-tei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey, in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Sh 669

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

Sw 133 636 241 563 Sh 631 241

In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma. The northward-looking view is from approximately above Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area constitutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yun-nan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo. It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

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of troops to defend the city against a resolute opponent. Sung pan ting has hardly more than 1,500 settled families. Their cloak of protection is therefore far too wide. Inasmuch as there are few Chinese farmers in the vicinity, the city is not required to provide shelter for many refugees in case of a war. This was also a reason why in the 1860s when the Tai ping rebellion weakened the government and the Tibetans and Mohammedans therefore thought their hour of emancipation had come, the city could not offer any resistance against the Tibetan attackers, and rapidly fell. For three years the city, as well as the entire territory up to Nan ping and down to Lung ngan fu and as far as Mao tschou, was ruled by the native aristocrats and the Chinese were so oppressed that to this day they celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation. The day happened to occur during my visit. The Mohammedans also take part in the pleasures of this festival, for they, too, suffered very much under the Tibetans. The latter wanted to re-establish the old kingdom of the Nessedin (Nasding) rgyalbo. The memory of this Tibetan king is still very vivid here.

C 361 C 669 C [52]

The relationship between Chinese and Mohammedans who constitute about half the population of the city, is relatively very good, and that is why there are two Mohammedan prayer halls inside the city wall; and a large mosque has been preserved from ancient times not far from the city across the left bank of the Min ho. As far as other buildings are concerned, we need mention only the old Chen tai yamen in the northern part of the city and the government building of the Ting on a rock terrace in the west. On the periphery of the city are a few lamaistic (Saskya-, Nima-) monasteries. The dwellings /277/ are largely made of wood and many of them are three-storied. A whole section of the city looked very new because just three years before there had been a large fire here. The shops are found along the main street, as everywhere in China. Here one always sees a few Tibetans buying luxury items. The Tibetan population which visits Sung pan ting gives the city a distinctive appearance. The streets are crowded with Ngolok who come riding into the gates on horseback, and above all with hordes of poorly-dressed Bo lo tse or Po lo (Tibetan: Kredyang), men and a surprising number of young women, on foot, and mostly barefoot, clothed only in a coarse, blackish-brown hairy shirt, often without a hat, without any kind of

C 53 • 361 T 291 302

T 291 302 [142] jewelry, the men with braids or short hair. Their eyelids do not have a distinct fold and their eyes are straight. The women were uncombed and had blond or faded brownish tresses. It is exceptional for them to have the blue-black hair of which the Chinese are always so proud. They are the same type as the Yao tse of Hunan. They are a poor T 463 race, a remnant of the original Chinese inhabitants, who make a meager living with a few pieces of copper, gather grass on the mountains and sell it to the people of the city, and who now here, now T 674 there, seek and find a regular pariah livelihood. If there has been pillaging or a theft, every man from Sung pan says quite thoughtfully: "A Bo lo tse has again committed a crime." At the time of my visit the chief of this tribe, whose land lies south and southwest of Karlong in the lateral valleys of the Lo hoa River which comes down from Merge, was a captive in the yamen of the ting. He was discovered to have been privy to the robbery of a Chinese merchant, had allegedly approved of the theft on the one hand, but had also wanted to make a few purchases in the city. On one of his visits to the market he was arrested and without much ado put into prison by the Chinese. T 197 Linguistically, the Bo lo tse belong to the barbaric peoples of the Chinese border, who must be classed among the Tibetan language family. The Bo lo tse language is most closely related to that of Ts'a ka lao. C The border Chinese maintain that they can clearly recognize a member of each tribe by his dress, the type of weave, the cut and the lacing: 563 but I was unable to find anyone who could really give me accurate information about this, which he had not gathered from hearsay. Most of the so-called experts were content to tell me: "The Bo lo tse are thieves and robbers and not one of them is going to enter my house."

C 133 East of Sung pan ting the mountain peaks rise higher than in the west, in actual Tibet. There the Schar Dong re (or Schar Derung re) which the Chinese call Hsüä bau, rises up to 6,000 meters and reaches up to the realm of perpetual snow and ice. However, the kingdom begins a few hundred meters below the peak in the same geographical latitude as the city of Tripolis. The Schar Dong re is rather isolated and is therefore regarded as very sacred and considered a brother of the Amne Machin. Surrounding it are a number of Tibetan monasteries, T 792 such as the Ka tschung gomba, to which the devout flock even from 788 the distant Ngolok country and from Ta tsien lu, in the sixth Tibetan or Chinese month (April-May). They also come for the reskor, that is, to encircle the entire mountain which takes three days. In the /278/ late fall and during the winter the inhabitants of the steppes wander through Sung pan ting to the sacred O mi Shan in the southern part of the province.

Annex "A" Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

563 Owing to the fact that the majority of the population in Southwest China are Han Chinese who have migrated from provinces in East, North, and Central-South China, and that the Southwest has been under Chinese rule for centuries, the social structure of the Han Chinese in Southwest China closely resembles that of other regions of China. However, the presence of a large number of ethnic minorities in this region gives the over-all social structure of the region a unique character. Those minorities who have adopted Han Chinese culture are integrated into the social structure of the Han Chinese; those who remain isolated and unassimilated have their own separate social structures peculiar to their own cultures, which are not yet sufficiently investigated and understood by people outside of these groups.[1] The scope of this chapter is therefore limited to the social structure of the majority people, i.e., the Han Chinese and those ethnic minorities who have adopted the Han Chinese way of life in the Southwest.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 A. Social Classes

The people of traditional China often viewed

1. Consult chapter on Ethnic Groups in this handbook.

[redacted]

525 society as being comprised of four occupational groups: the literati, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants. Soldiers had no social status and were not members of any group. Although this classification indicates that all members of society recognized the prestige of the literati and the low status of the merchants, it fails to account for two things: the wide diversity in wealth, standards of living, and cultural and recreational interests within each occupational group; and the free interchange of occupations among the top layers of the farming, merchant, and governing groups.[2]

In reality, social stratification in Chinese society was not entirely based on occupational lines. Rich merchants and wealthy landlords were often linked by marriage; retail merchants and middle peasants were socially compatible; the social distinction between a craftsman and a simple peasant was even more difficult to draw; and bureaucrats were often wealthy landlords as well. Thus, if we employ the term social classes to mean the stratification of society on an economic basis, we will find that class lines cut across the traditionally accepted occupation-status classification.

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2. In some dynasties, sons of merchant families were not allowed to join the governing group. However, as their prosperity increased, it was relatively easy for the third generation to come into the governing group. It was quite common for retired bureaucrats to engage in commerce. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912), there emerged in coastal provinces a group of

[continued next page]

However, members of all the occupational 565 groups regarded the possession of land as the true indication of prestige and security. A landless peasant hoped to possess land, a peasant with some land hoped to acquire more, and the wealthiest landlord wished to do likewise. Artisans who had acquired savings would invest them in land. Merchants invariably put excess capital that might have been used for business expansion into land, although often they did not count on income from it as their principal means of support. Bureaucrats were even more preoccupied with owning land concomitant with their rise in officialdom. This is a common phenomenon in any society where other tangible assets for accumulation are lacking.

Although the possession of land was a criterion for determining prestige and, to a large extent, the sign of real power, prestige did not always result from wealth and the land-holding of[3]

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gentry-merchants who purchased the rank of tao-t'ai (circuit judge) and were given positions in the official custom banks. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, ADocumentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1954, pp. 214-15.

3. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1948, p. 4. Hsu's book is a study of a small semi-rural community in Southwest China. It is his conviction, as stated in the preface, that the essential social structure of the community he had studied is typical of China as a whole. See also, Fei H[illegible]-tung, China's Gentry, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953. Particular reference to SWChina in rural-urban relations and life-histories of gentry families.

565 any one family seldom remained constant for more than two or three generations. These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

565 428 596 The family ideal. Large families, especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[4] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by economic means. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu (Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions, individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status even the wealthiest families and particularly when land was the sole source of income.[5] On the

4. Consult chapter on Family in this handbook.

5. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, Praeger, 1953, p. 52.

565 other hand, because of the existence of extended
596 families and the clan structure, less fortunate
428 members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

183 The scholar ideal. Learning was much es-
565 teemed, especially when combined with wealth.
555 The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indicative of the respect all Chinese had for learning was the popular saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[6] The emphasis

6. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China, Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be oversimple, it indicates that the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected
[continued next page]

183 565 555 on learning was buttressed by the imperial examination system, the means by which official positions were obtained, which, in turn, during peace time was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal in education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great sacrifice educated one or more of their sons in the Classics in order to obtain immediate prestige in the eyes of the community and with the hope of the son's eventual success in the examinations, which might lead to an official position and enrichment of the family fortune. Thus, education contributed to the upward movement of the familes, be they of the landed, merchant, or bureaucrat groups. On the other hand, the allocation of family income to the support of one or more unproductive persons through years of study with no assurance of economic return often dissipated the fortune of the family and led to the loss of economic status. Moreover, the belief that those who used their brains were superior to those who used their brawn contributed to the scholars' contempt for manual skills and

6. [continued] ...by corporation law instead of official favoritism, and capable of supplying the investment capital needed for industrialization. Teng and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 274-75.

183 commercial activity. Therefore, if a scholar
565 did not pass the examination, or having passed
555 it, failed to obtain official appointment, and if the successive divisions of his family property reduced his own holdings to a small plot, he would find it difficult to improve his economic status. At the same time, his lack of economic means would deprive his children of the opportunity to study. Thus, the scholar ideal also contributed to the downward movement of families in the social hierarchy.

The scholars, therefore, are not to be regarded as a separate class or a separate occupational group, except as they relied for their livelihood on the teaching profession or the use of their literary skills in a clerical capacity, but rather as "leisure" members of families of varying degrees of wealth of the bureaucratic, agricultural, artisan, or commercial groups. When recruited by the government to study at the imperial academies, scholars were protégés of the government, and were regarded as potential bureaucrats even if they were engaged only in the compilation of historical documents of no current import. Certainly the majority of those who devoted their full time to study considered themselves potential bureaucrats. To those who did not cherish the dream of becoming bureaucrats and who had other economic means, education was only a way to added prestige.

The road to status and wealth through edcation and government service was often by-passed

183 in time of chaos; then military skills would enable
565 individuals to obtain high positions in the bureau-
555 cracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity to acquire learning under tutelage of well-known scholars due to their parents' wealth.

C. Social Organizations

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Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In the rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenant at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 369 565 The traditional rural village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 166 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land together with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

178 and intelligible to the younger generation than the
871 classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, it at least had taught him not to be resigned to his lot, but to look to the future rather
178 than to the past for betterment. With the in-
871 crease of schools, there emerged in the cities
565 a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together; and with their newly established organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although frequently dependent for subsistence on their families, students had nothing to do with the cultivation or management
178 of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to
565 find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast with the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions in the ruling elite class, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social nobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social rôles were less clearly defined; sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status

178 in the new business or political hierarchy and
565 yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 Influenced by the idea of democracy which
565 they had discovered in the new schools, the in-
668 tellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power, ob-
874 taining offices by virtue of their military success.
555 Rather than despising the military as the older
565 scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

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the Kuomintang leader Chiang-Kai-shek, "bureaucratic capitalists" like H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, "feudalistic" landlords, and a host of other anti-Communist leaders. The second group consisted of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the national bourgeois. Workers were considered the elite of the nation; the peasants were to be converted into rural workers through collectivization of agriculture, or into urban workers through the development of industry; the petty bourgeois were needed during the "New Democratic Stage" and were to be "re-educated" in the process of reconstruction; and the national bourgeois, once "enslaved: by bureaucratic capitalism, were now "free" to contribute to the industrialization of China. Mao's classification of the Chinese population and his stipulation of the task of each class at the "New Democratic Stage" formed the conceptual basis from 1949 to 1954 for the Communist policy toward each of the classes.

The convocation of the National People's Congress in 1954 is considered by the Chinese Communists to have marked the conclusion of the "New Democratic Stage: and the beginning of a transitional period which will lead China to socialism. Land reform had been completed and the landlords as a class eliminated, the wings of the bourgeois industrialists, and merchants, had been clipped by the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and the "ideology of the working class" had been officially established as the ideology for all sectors of China.

B. The New Social Ladder

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668 The Chinese Communists distinguish between persons "from the working class" and those "possessing the ideology of the working class." The Party acknowledges that not all Communists are from the working class but those who have accepted its ideology belong to it. By the same logic, the working-class character of the People's Liberation Army is fixed. The Communists says that, since the People's Liberation Army is led by the working class, viz., the Communist Party, although the bulk of the soldiers and commanders may not be from the working class, the army remains of the working class. Conversely, many workers may not possess the ideology of the working class. The Communists explain that most of the Chinese workers are fresh from the villages where "feudalistic ideas" abound and have not had time to develop the ideology of the working class.

The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of the Communist-sponsored organizations where membership cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, rural organizations such as the peasants' associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

596 of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that characterize the family in Southwest China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

594 596 565 183 The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

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2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership. 181 668 369 565

A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways. 183

32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

181 adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

565 184 The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but nonexistent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. Especially in Southwest China, where warlords ruled until the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, the development of a national feeling among the farmers has been late and slow. However, the cessation 565 722 of what used to be perpetual skirmishes between 184 warlords and the presence of a single centralized authority during World War II furnished many farmers in this region with a basis on which to form a concept of nationalism. Although no part of Southwest China was overrun by Japanese troops, the experiences of enemy bombings, anti-Japanese propaganda, and contact with refugees made

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of cooperatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

184
177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

177 565 184 foreign missionaries. In Southwest China, foreign churches were seen only in a few larger cities. The presence of American troops in Kunming, Chengtu, and a few other cities where military installations were located during the war against Japan made possible a different view of the foreigner. The farmer's reaction to the sight of a swashbuckling American soldier was generally puzzlement, envy, and a measure of disapproval. But on the whole, very few farmers in this region have had much experience with foreigners, nor did anti-foreign uprisings in the past directly involve the Southwestern farmer. The frightening image of "Western imperialism" created by Communist propaganda organs, therefore, is likely to pose no meaningful threat to these long-isolated people. The majority of the farmers in this region are not concerned with the fate of foreign missionaries in Communist China.

565 184 The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring more land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer's hopes for obtaining land are strictly limited, his interest turns to finding ways in which his children, through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young people from peasant families have been absorbed into the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which

575 Farmers active in secret societies, which
565 are traditionally opposed to government control,
184 may have a different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) sect was reported active as late as the summer of 1955 and apparently has survived Communist efforts to stamp it out. Other secret societies are of minor importance in comparison with those operating in Central-South or East China

II. URBAN WORKERS

565 Southwest China had been backward in indus-
178 trial development until the late 1930's when
184 some industrial plants were moved from the coastal areas to places like Chungking and Wanhsien in Szechwan Province. Even as late as 1952 there were still very few industrial workers in this region. Most of them were not organized until after 1949 and were not involved in earlier political movements. Before unionization, industrial workers in Southwest China had no greater national feeling than was commong among the farmers.

565 The Communists' avowed attempt to raise
184 the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learned of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the New China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions, also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most

565 184 of these benefits are limited and there have been only a small number of beneficiaries.

565 466 184 On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial increase in the standard of living, a harsher work schedule and loss of leisure time, and growing disillusionment as it becomes obvious that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the New China. The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against overwork and overly rigid demands upon the time and temper of the laborer indicate that the laboring class is not necessarily most productive under pressure. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new, Communist-fostered managerial class, which, for whatever reasons, receives more benefits than does manual labor.

565 648 Foreign advisers had been employed in many Chinese factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to recognizing the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. There is no evidence to suggest that many Russian technicians or advisers are employed in factories in this region, or that those employed have caused resentment among the native workers.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
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The Chinese worker has not abandoned his aspiration of personal advancement in the material sense. The promotion of the young and ambitious to serve in the huge government bureaucracy may satisfy some of the workers, but the lack of a substantial increase in their standard of living will lead many to feel that their aspirations cannot be fulfilled under the Communist regi me.

III. STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

Of all the groups of people in China, the intellectuals are probably the most varied in their attitudes. They do not constitute a "class," hence their attitudes do not show any distinctive "group" characteristics. There are those whose strong convictions make them active leaders of social and political movements in defiance of authoritarian rule; there are others whose education and experience make them flexible under pressure. Hence no dependable conclusion on the attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals as a group has been arrived at.

Although the attitudes of Chinese intellectuals may differ, the great majority of them are exceedingly patriotic. It is therefore conceivable that to some of them at least the Communist emphasis on loyalty to the state rather than the traditional loyalty to the family must have a great appeal. There is reason to believe that most of them who accepted Communism in 1949 did so because they saw in the Communist program some hope of restoring China to a position of power among the nations. After five years of Communist

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rule, some of the intellectuals are probably elated by the truculence with which Red China has been conducting its foreign affairs, and by the feeling that China, at long last, has been unified. But on the negative side, severe restrictions on intellectual freedom have been imposed by the Communists. Furthermore, the Communist policy of gradually substituting the freshly trained and well-indoctrinated intellectuals for those who have had a "liberal" or "conservative" background must have created a feeling of insecurity among many of the intellectual group.

Traditionally, Chinese intellectuals aspired to high positions in the government, the principal means to wealth, social esteem, and influence. For those intellectuals who still harbor such personal amibitons, it must be heartening to see people with no seniority in either the Party hierarchy or the government bureaucracy among the ranks of the nation's leaders in all fields. For others, who have modified their personal ambitions and who sincerely wish to make their training useful to the country, something they have not been able to do for many years, Peking's policy of finding a place for intellectuals in the national reconstruction program is undoubtedly welcomed. So far, the vast underdeveloped areas in Southwest China have offered a great challenge to the educated, and many who accepted assignments in such areas have been reported to feel that they finally have started contributing to the welfare of their country. However, it must be remembered that in an effort to place college graduates and other trained personnel where they are most needed, the Communist govern-

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ment has been guilty of misassignments which have caused dissatisfaction and open criticism in the Communist press.

Since the early days of the Chinese Communist movement, the Communists have always had enthusiastic support among most of the students. Many loyal Communist cadres are recruited from among the students who, so far, have not shown any lack of enthusiasm for the Communist cause. But while accepting Communism as their ideal, the students may not be able to entirely suppress a simultaneous impulse toward individualism. Furthermore, they may also find the reality of Communism or the individual's place in the regime less exciting and idealistic than promised by Communist preachments.

VI. BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-businessmen and manufacturers, who made up the larger part of China's urban population continue to exist in reduced numbers. The merchant has always occupied an inferior position in the traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new, and an industrialist's position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had been forced to operate under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days, are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sounding phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of the state could evoke sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers

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except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese market and caused dislocation in the Chinese economy.

Under the Peking regime, businessmen and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small businessmen and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the "New Democracy," and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist society which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of and regulation by state enterprises. There is evidence that the businessmen and manufacturers, accustomed as they are to government interference, are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government increasingly harsh and ever more difficult to evade. In Southwest China, this mood may not be easily discernible since there are fewer large commercial and industrial centers.

If profit has been the most common motive among businessmen and manufacturers, under present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their amibitons. Some members of this class who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by co-operating with

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184 the Communist regime. In this connection, the Communists have appointed a few erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

Ad additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on export trade. Southwest China has a few traditionally profitable export commodities, such as tung-oil, hog bristles, and foodstuffs. Now that the government has virtually completed its monopoly of export trade, the merchants are denied of the opportunity to take part in this lucrative undertaking.

V. WOMEN

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184 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition is so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their rights in pre-Communist days, and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have thus assumed more active roles in society are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness similar to that of men

1:Stanford U: S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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669 Yunnan's border with Burma and within ethnic minority areas of the province. In December 1952, the Communists announced the capture of the last Nationalist stronghold inside Yunnan and the annihilation of 21,573 Nationalist soldiers and intelligence agents. However, the presence of Kuomintang forces under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan across the Yunnan border in Burma constituted a continuous threat to the province's security until they were withdrawn to Formosa in late 1954.

In Sikang, the "bandit-suppression" campaign was on a much smaller scale.[7] It lasted from February to November of 1950 and was reported to have destroyed 30,000 "bandits."

B. Landlords

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668 Under the Land Reform Law and the joint directive of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court,

7. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, pp. 1071-73.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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565 landlords were convicted of a variety of crimes
668 during the Land Reform Movement. Punishment ranged from death to short terms of imprisonment. After release from prison, landlords were given a small piece of land to work and placed under the surveillance of public security agencies or were required to
[697] serve in forced-labor camps. During and after the Land Reform Movement, forced-labor units were established throughout the Southwest Region, and nearly every county maintained a forced-labor battalion.[8] These battalions were engaged in all types of construction from the building and repairing of roads in ethnic minority areas to the extraction of minerals in mining areas. Still other landlords were classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in the Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries issued by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council[9] in Feb. 1951. They

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8. For example, see report on the province of Kweichow, New China Daily, Oct. 8, 1951, p. 1.

9. Text of the regulation in People's Daily, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 were deprived of their political rights and
668 subject to surveillance for at least three years as well as being made liable to forced labor at any time and in any place they were needed.

A new type of "potential landlord," regarded by the Communists as hostile to the new regime, came into existence after land reform. This "new rich" group was composed of Party members and former middle peasants who had acquired wealth following the redistribution of land. Since 1953, they have been accused of such hostile acts against the state as seizing control of rural governments, destroying agricultural producers' co-operatives, and disrupting Communist political control in rural areas. Cases of these kinds have been reported everywhere.[10] (See section on Rural Security in chapter on Public Order and Safety.) According to Communist accounts, the "new rich" group destroyed rural co-operatives by bribing Party cadres and responsible persons in the organizations or by employing collaborators

10. For an early report see New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1952; for more recent accounts see the reports of deputies to the National People's Congress, People's Daily, July 29, 1955, pp. 5, 6; and July 31, 1955, p. 3.

565 to infilitrate and capture key positions. Through
568 these agents, the "potential landlords" spread rumors among the peasants, falsified co-operative accounts, and engaged in other disruptive maneuvers to disorganize the co-operatives' work and membership.

C. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries and Espionage Agents

668 As early as July 1950, the Government
687 Administration Council of the Central Government and the People's Supreme Court issued a joint directive calling for the suppression of all counterrevolutionaries throughout China. The directive demanded the apprehension and severe punishment of organizers of open resistance, saboteurs in factories and warehouses, and murders of government officials. Nationalist intelligence agents and "bandit leaders" were particularly singled out for elimination. However, not until the nationwide Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 did the campaign against subversives reach major proportions and involve mass participation. At the conclusion of the movement, the foundation had been laid for the construction of a network of mass security organizations.

668 1. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951. Like other mass movements

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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311 In 1955, the lowest average land holding per farm household was 8.5 shih-mou (1.4 acres) in Sikang Province; the highest average land holding per farm household was 16.9 shih-mou (2.8 acres) in Szechwan Province. The average for Szechwan is 12 per cent higher than the national average.[3]

III. LAND REFORM

423 565 The Land Reform Movement, as it affected the Southwest China region, had been partially completed in September 1951. Approximately 37 million inhabitants, in an area which included 172 hsien and 8 municipalities, had been subjected to "land reform."[4] The Communist regime had organized "poor peasants" and "farmhands" to unite with "middle peasants" in order to nullify the power of "rich peasants" and to abolish the "landlord system." The Land Reform Movement continued on to 1953. In the spring of that year, of the approximately 85 million persons who made up the rural population of the Southwest Region less than 2.2 million inhabitants had not yet experienced "land reform."[5] In spite of the vast scale on which

3. Mao Tse-tung's report, "The Collectivization Movement," Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 28, 1955.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1951.

5. Ibid., Dec, 13, 1952.

423 the program had been conducted, the Com-
565 munist cadres were ordered to complete a "re-examination" of the success of the Land Reform Movement.

According to statistics on the redistribution of land in northern Szechwan Province, "poor peasants" and "farm hands" were given approximately 85 per cent of the average land holding for all classes of peasants and "middle peasants" received 29 per cent more than average.[6] Although all lands rented to tenants by "rich peasants" were confiscated, "rich peasants" were allowed to retain the amount of land they were able to cultivate with or without the help of "farm hands." At the end of the Land Reform Movement, the "rich peasants" still maintained an average land holding approximately 58 per cent higher than the general average for all classes of peasants.[7]

By the end of 1952, approximately 102,241,000 shih-mou (17,068,333 acres) of land, 204,830,000 heads of cattle, 10,241,500 tons of grain, 10,241,000 farm implements, and 663,100 farm buildings were estimated to have been confiscated in the Southwest China region.[8]

6. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951.
7. Ibid.
8. see next p.

6:Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 people apart, this source of inspiration has likewise vanished. Ideals of filial piety and of veneration for older persons, though still observed, have lost much of their former appeal as a result of the war and the infiltration of Western thought. On the other hand, *yi* and brotherhood, which are at the core of all Ko Lao Hui activities—particularly those involving social insurance and security—have not only remained cardinal principles of the society but are being observed with greater zeal than ever, largely because the security of the people is increasingly threatened by the present system of government.

575 A prominent characteristic of any secret society is the use of a special terminology by its members. For various reasons—to distinguish mem-
198 bers from non-members, to permit members to outwit government authorities, etc.—a secret society, especially in the early stages of development, finds it convenient to designate terms of its own making which differ sufficiently from common usage to enable members to communicate with one another without being understood by the uninitiate. At present, however, the Ko Lao Hui has come so far into the open that nearly everyone knows of its existence and may join it if he so desires. Since most of its activities are common knowledge, there is no longer a need for a secret language with which to conceal them. Instead, a number of new terms have been introduced into Ko Lao Hui parlance, indicating a certain adaptation to changing conditions of society.

575 The progressive relaxation of entrance requirements to a point where almost anyone may join has made for marked local dissimilarities. The
565 wholesale entrance into the Ko Lao Hui of local warlords, retired politicians, corrupt government officials and demobilized soldiers, few of whom are interested primarily in the social aims of the society, is causing the society to engage in an increasing number of undesirable activities while at the same time encouraging the tendency toward separatism among the branches. To a Ko Lao Hui member of the old school, such a trend represents degeneration which must result ultimately in complete separation and dissolution.

575 On the other hand, it is clear that the Ko Lao Hui will retain its power until something can be found to replace it. The government,
668 though well aware of the growing power and influence of the society, has done little to combat it beyond occasionally voicing expressions of alarm. Government officials have been forbidden to join the society, and

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gung who has under him five colonies (tun, pronounced tenn in Kin tschuan), namely: Mu gung tun, Fu pien tun, Hsü tsching tun, Tsung hoa tun, Romi Tschanggu tun. Besides that, a hsie (regiment) was established in 1783 with its seat in the Ying pan gai, which belongs to the chief command of Sung pan ting.

Senggersung, Mu gung, along with Hsin Mo po, Fu pien, Lien ho kou and others, beside which dwell the natives on the mountain slopes and in the lateral valleys, also under the rule of hereditary aristocratic families (darro). In part the darro live in the ancient castles. However, most of the fortifications in Tsanla and Rardan have become ruins. The darro must annually travel to the ting at Mu gung and the more important ones among them support the tschungro as their official representatives in the yamen of the ting. Like the tu se (rgyalbo) they set great store by their class honor and marry only among themselves. The office of darro is kept within the family for many hundreds of years. If a darro family dies out, the second son of another darro is adopted. Besides this aristocracy of chieftains, of darro and officers (tschungro), there are free warrior-farmers (tschralba or kralba; kral in Tibetan meaning service), taxable farmers (tokdamba), and finally descendants of unfree people or slaves (gonag in Tibetan and Kin tschuanese, i.e., /228/ "people with black heads"), as well as bondsmen or slaves (kurme). (1)

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1. Kur literally "burden" (Tibetan); me = Mensch /Tibetan/; every Tibetan finds the carrying of burdens highly unpleasant. Ch. Das' Dict. gives kolbo for "slave."

Besides these there are priests (rgofsches in Kin tschuanese) and finally artisans, both of whom are made up of second sons of tschralba or tokdamba farmers and partly also of immigrants from other tribes.

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Since the conquest half the land in Great and Little Kin tschuan is under Chinese administration and half under Tibetan. For the Chinese part of the actual land, the owners must pay land tax to the tai ye or to the Mu gung ting, regardless of whether they are Chinese or Tibetan, just as would be the case in any other place in China. The owners have no other burdens or compulsory service. This relationship between farmers and the state therefore already gives a very modern and democratic impression!

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尙文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsü 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲雁) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position." [5]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

● 567 661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yünnan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

[5] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the T'u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

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I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 菠藥土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to

596 In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bride, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

572 The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

181 572 596 The two patterns -- paternal domination and fraternal association -- are reflected in political life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

181 178 When the old social order began to break up under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

596 181 668 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

573 668 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

576 668 643 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us....[54]

Another praises his paternal care for his people

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

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As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yüan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u-pan-she, Wuhan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

577 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

573 643 In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

596 597 These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality was

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique du Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

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634 evoked respect and unqualified obedience in me, or was it plain curiosity to see the man who dared to deal so roughly with the Fan-tse? I did not say a word, but climbed quickly down from my horse and followed the Chinese who hurried on ahead of me. First we dashed around three or four corners, then, no less quickly, we climbed a steep wooden stairway, then another, and still another whose treads were even steeper. The soldiers helpfully pulled and shoved me up. Again we rounded a dozen corners, hurried through a labyrinth of rooms, a school, servants' rooms, kitchens and soldiers' rooms, finally reaching the rooms of the mandarin where I, completely out of breath, found myself in a nicely paneled room standing opposite the "Wu da lao ye."

/191/ The "grand old gentleman" was a dignified, slim man with energetic and intelligent features and clever little eyes. His pale yellow skin contrasted sharply with the healthy brown of his servants. He was one of the modern officials of China, one belonging to the new era which was dawning, but he also still kept to the old customs and therefore very seldom went out. Most of the time he went forth from his castle like a spider along the various threads of his governmental system. He was a Hankow man and had been here only two years. In this short time he had, along with a retinue of only 15 Chinese officials, succeeded in bringing peace and order to a territory as large as a Prussian province and more turbulent than one can imagine, and in making it possible for his countrymen to pursue their peaceful activities as farmers. If ever he goes out, all the Tibetans bow their heads, get down from their horses and remove their caps, as though they were in the presence of a holy lama. This sort of thing the Hsining people who are so very proud of themselves and think they are such heroes, have never achieved. His soldiers carry orders as far as Dergi, in fact he settles lawsuits among Tibetans as far up as Tschoktsen and into territory presumably ruled by the Hsining amban.

Addressing me with gruff but amiable brevity, the mandarin welcomed me. As a representative of China he seemed honestly glad to know that I was on this side of Tibet all in one piece, and gave me to understand that, as far as he was concerned, no European would get past him into Tibet.

574 We conversed for a while and the thoughtful host himself offered me warm, sweet cakes, when a few Tibetans came and put my boxes and bags outside the door. I wanted to excuse myself that the men had mistakenly carried my things into his house when he interrupted

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me abruptly and said: "These are my servants and they are carrying 574
out my orders." With a commanding voice that suddenly made me think of Ru da lao ye of Kue de ting and the fate of Captain Watts-Jones, he thundered at me: "You are my guest. There is no other place for you but a room in my castle (tsch'ai tse)." I was so startled that at first I only dared ask him cautiously whether there was peace in China and what was the relationship between Europeans and Chinese.

But Wu was an excellent host. As long as I lived in his house my servants were not permitted to cook for me. He personally invited me morning and afternoon to his two meals and for three days he would not let me travel on. When he learned of my misfortune in fording the Dsa Chu he sent out couriers who were again supposed to hunt for my things.

I had been given a large room. I had scarcely sat down there at a very shaky table and hoped to be able to work in peace and quiet, when my first visitors came dashing in. The two bright young sons of the mandarin, boys of six and eight years, had, after the manner of European youngsters, decided I was their interesting uncle and attached themselves to me until the last minute I was there. One of them on his second visit already brought his favorite plaything, a snarling old monkey, which, with its smart tricks, /192/ did not add to the quiet of my room. The Tibetans had chopped off its tail, which was supposed to make it smarter. Even the nursemaid came hurrying up with [504]
the youngest offspring, and soon the mothers of the little ones appeared, six Chinese women who were heavily made up with white and tripped along on their three-inch lily feet. The mandarin had brought them along from his distant home of Hu peh.

Even at night there was not much peace and quiet in the castle. In the next room which was separated from mine by a thin wall of boards, the soldiers sat on guard and from the stroke of nine on they beat their drum. Fortunately for me, the drum had a large hole and produced only a muffled sound. About every hour a shot was fired which startled me unmercifully. Finally, if one got accustomed to all this racket and lay in sweet slumber early in the morning, the
Chinese school began just across the courtyard. There 30 abecedar- 872
ians, Chinese and Tibetan children, learned to read and write Chinese. In back against the wall was the teacher's lectern, and in front of the teacher, with their backs to him and facing the door and me, the pupils sat on low benches, and shouted out into the courtyard the ancient wise sayings of Confucius and the other great philosophers of antiquity from their primers. From the rear the teacher saw to it that

183 in time of chaos; then military skills would enable
565 individuals to obtain high positions in the bureau-
555 cracy. But military men seldom won social esteem until they had become cultivated, and such esteem generally accrued to their children, who were given the opportunity to acquire learning under tutelage of well-known scholars due to their parents' wealth.

C. Social Organizations

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Social organizations which had no basis in kinship were not recognized as approved parts of the social hierarchy or as approved means for gaining social prominence. However, they helped to supplement relationships otherwise neglected by the social order. Most of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation. The success of such organizations, however, served as a disintegrating influence on the existing social system.

In the rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of its members against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

575 Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds or "hongs" (hang) and regional guilds or "pongs" (pang). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopolies and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[7]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties when traveling.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was also called Hung-pang. The bulk of the membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict and severe discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, to rescue the oppressed, and to overthrow Manchu rule. Leadership of this society, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao

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7. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

575 Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his endeavor to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lai Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass following.[8]

While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at the overthrow of the existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pangwere utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extra legal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor, handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen, shopkeepers, the self-employed, and even the civil servants. Ch'ing-pang organizations dominated the underworld of East China while Ko-lao Hui branches dominated other regions of China. The Ch'ing-pang's highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for the support of politicians and warlords, as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-45 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[9] With the influx

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8. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi-pei Yen-chiu she, 1941.

9. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 369 565 The traditional rural village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 166 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land together with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

596 185 369 As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 575 467 A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its [582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 575 562 Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 who might otherwise be free of the constant
575 direct influence of the government. These two
562 groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit
861 for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that the trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

596 With the Communist regime's emphases
593 on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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527 of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the
575 holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. The urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

798 away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."[32] At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Hygiene Movement, and the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," "unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

575 Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society. These organizations have traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, especially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a

32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

575 strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

575 668 The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That his claims of victory were premature is suggested by a recent report of the dissolution of five secret society

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les Sociétés Secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

575 668 organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to infiltrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance are discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

575 Secret societies have been particularly numerous and powerful in North China, but those which have had important followings in Southwest China might be mentioned here:

1. Hung-chiang hui. The Society of Redspears, an offshoot of Pai-lien chiao, the White Lotus Society. Once powerful in the north, since 1924 it has been active in Kiangsu, Hupeh, Hunan, and -- in Southwest China -- in Szechwan.[36]

2. Ko-lao hui. The Society of the Elders. It is somewhat more religious than other societies, has a history of resistance to government. Founded in Fukien, has been

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35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., pp. 158-59; Encyclopedia of China Problems, p. 480.

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575 particularly in Central, North, and West China. It is "the most extensive, well-organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[37]

3. I-kuan Tao. The Way of Pervading Unity. Founded soon after the 1911 Revolution, grew rapidly from 1928 on. It gained strength and extended its activities during World War II, especially in Japanese-occupied areas. It was ordered suppressed by the National Government, but its activities have continued and spread.[38] Apparently radiating from a center in Shensi, I-kuan tao groups were formed throughout the Southwest.[39] The society was mentioned in connection with three counter-revolutionary cases in Chungking[40] and was reported active in Yunnan and Kweichow in the Spring and Summer of 1955.[41] This secret society has apparently been resourceful in surviving the concerted and severe attacks of the Communist government.[42]

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37. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

38. Ibid., pp. 166-67; Willem Grootaers, "Une société secrète moderne, I-kuan Tao, bibliographie annotée," Folklore Studies, Vol. V, 1946, pp. 316-52.

39. JMJP, June 5, 1951, p. 3, identified eight sub-groups operating in the Southwest.

40. JMJP, Feb. 7, 1955, p. 3.

41. Cf. SCMP, No. 1001, March 5-7, 1955, [see following page]

575 Farmers active in secret societies, which
565 are traditionally opposed to government control,
184 may have a different set of attitudes toward the nation, foreigners, and the individual's role in society. The I-kuan Tao (Way of Pervading Unity) sect was reported active as late as the summer of 1955 and apparently has survived Communist efforts to stamp it out. Other secret societies are of minor importance in comparison with those operating in Central-South or East China

II. URBAN WORKERS

565 Southwest China had been backward in indus-
178 trial development until the late 1930's when
184 some industrial plants were moved from the coastal areas to places like Chungking and Wanhsien in Szechwan Province. Even as late as 1952 there were still very few industrial workers in this region. Most of them were not organized until after 1949 and were not involved in earlier political movements. Before unionization, industrial workers in Southwest China had no greater national feeling than was commong among the farmers.

565 The Communists' avowed attempt to raise
184 the status of the worker must have given the worker a feeling of importance as he learned of the Communists' economic reconstruction plan. He derives a measure of pride when a steel plant is erected or when a bridge is built, although he may not really believe that the workers, as the Communists say, are the masters of the New China. Other promised benefits, including job security and welfare provisions, also add to the popularity of the Communist regime among the workers, despite the fact that most

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687 The revival of Communist concern with counterrevolutionary activities since 1954 after a lapse of only two years, could indicate an upsurge of resistance against the regime. Nearly all the reports made by the various ministers and deputies from all over China at the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 contained references to serious instances of subversive activity. In Kweichow in 1955, counter-revolutionary crimes of all types were reported to be 13 per cent higher than in the previous year; subversive acts involving murder had risen 27.4 per cent, those involving arson, 90 per cent.

D. Secret Societies

575 687 Secret societies have been a source of irritation, if not subversion, for every regime in China, including the Communist. The latter, on attaining power, took immediate steps to wipe out these clandestine organizations. In the Southwest Region, the Ko-lao-hui sect had been for centuries the most influential of the secret societies.[18]

18. See Wei Ta Fa-shih, Chung-kuo Pang Hui [Chinese Secret Societies], Chungking, Shuo-wen-she, 1949; and Ko-lao-hui Yü Ch'ing pang Kai-k'uang [General Survey of Ko-lao-hui and Ch'ing-pang], Hsi-pei Yen-chiu-she, 1940.

575 Formed at the end of the Ming Dynasty in
687 the seventeenth century, the Ko-lao-hui served as center of resistance against the succeeding, alien dynasty. The sect initiated several organized uprisings against the Manchu (Ch'ing) rulers, and its influence gradually extended to all sections of society. In the last days of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Ko-lao-hui was one of the secret socities which supported the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-sen, the leading figure in the founding of the Republic of China. After 1911, the society was an open organization participating in politics. Particularly in Southwest China, warlords relied considerably on this sect for support, and many of the local military leaders were heads of the organization. These militarists either were eliminated by the Communists or absorbed into their ranks when the Red Army overran the Southwest Region. As a result, the Ko-lao-hui has not been active under the Communist regime.

Another major secret society, I-kuan Tao, was practically unknown in the Southwest Region before the advent of the Communists but is now the most active sect opposing the Communist

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575 regime.[19] Founded in Shantung during the early 1920's, it began to spread only in the 1940's. The Communists claim I-kuan Tao received direct financial and political support from the Japanese during World War II to spy on the Nationalists and Communists. As one of the largest secret societies in North and East China after the war, the sect was asserted by the Communists to have become a Nationalist espionage organization. Whatever the truth of the Communist claim, I-kuan Tao is the most active secret society on the China Mainland. Its influence extended to Southwest China and other regions beginning in 1950. The society is reported to have had a centralized command capable of directing and co-ordinating operations in all regions since 1951.

The suppression of I-kuan Tao was associated with the drive to eliminate other subversive elements. Leaders of the organization were arrested; some were placed on mass trial to publicize their "crimes."

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19. See Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook], No. 4, December 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, Jan. 5, 1951, pp. 38-43.

•575 Since 1954, I-kuan Tao activities have increased rapidly. In Kunming, eight leaders of the society were sentenced to death in February 1955 by the Provincial People's Court of Yunnan.[20] One of them was charged with having organized and directed branches of the society in nine counties of the province since 1952. He also was charged with having prepared fraudulent papers, spread rumors, and sabotage planned grain purchases. Another of the leaders was accused of having performed destructive acts in the rural districts, undermined the co-operative movement, and slandered the government's rural political guidance. I-kuan Tao activities were reported to be widespread in the western part of Kweichow,[21] and in various parts of Szechwan. The three widely publicized counterrevolutionary cases tried at Chungking in January 1955 were linked to the I-kuan Tao movement in the Southwest Region.

The Communist regime undertook other than legal measures to suppress secret societies. After they were outlawed and their

20. Survey of China Mainland Press, 1001 Supplement, pp. 16-17.

21. People's Daily, July 7, 1955, p. 3.

575 memberships dissolved, the Communists invaded and controlled the societies' former areas of strength. This move was largely accomplished through the "democratic reform movement,"[22] which involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of the societies' membership and activities. Another part of the movement consisted of a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of secret socieites. Some of them had acquired leadership of labor groups in charge of wharves, railway, stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists introduced a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

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In December 1951, the Communists

22. New China Daily, Oct. 14, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 29, 1951, p. 1; July 24, 1952, p. 2.

slides on a large scale, but in 1953 such equipment was advertised for sale in the New China Daily of Chungking. Slides on maternity hygiene, public health, educational subjects, and current events were available in the market at that time. A set of 36 slides was sold for JMP$130,000 (about US$26, official rate) which was equivalent to the price of 200 pounds of rice.[67] 546

Phonograph records are used at the cultural centers and recreational clubs, but not as extensively as lantern slides and radio sets. They were also available in Chungking in 1953 for JMP$16,000 (about US$3.20) each, or about the price of 23 pounds of rice.

V. MASS ORGANIZATIONS AS MEDIA OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

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The Communists are fond of using the word "network" for activities pertaining to public information and propaganda. Already discussed in this study are the news-gathering network, radio network, library and book distribution network, and motion picture showing and cultural center network. Included in the Communist term of "cultural network", however, are many mass organizations contributing to the dissemination of public information, education, and propaganda.[68]

One of these organizations is the Sino-Russian Friendship Association. Established on October 5, 1949, in Peking, it expanded rapidly and by February 1952 had 64,200 large and small branches

[next page for 67. and 68.]

575 with a total membership of 23,000,000.[69] Under
208 the direction of Liu Shao-ch'i (chi), whose position in the party hierarchy is said to be only next to that of Mao Tse-tung, this association, through its omnipresent branches, has been organizing, indoctrinating, and propagandizing people of all professions. It holds small group gatherings in which Soviet theories and practices are presented, discussed, and analyzed, while its members and their friends are urged to emulate their Soviet comrades. Whenever there is a national propaganda campaign, the association mobilizes all its branches to give concerted support to the effort.

Since detailed discussion on mass organizations in China is presented in a separate chapter in this handbook, no attempt is made here to mention the names of all the major ones and to discuss their activities. Suffice it to say that these organizations all have their own "cultural departments" which in reality are information and propaganda units. Generally speaking, the "cultural network" of an average-size hsien may easily consist of as many as 4,000 units with more than 30,000

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67. Ibid., January 17, 1953, p. 3.

68. A list of 96 such national mass organizations is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 7-8.

69. People's Handbook, 1952, p. 258.

575 208 people actively participating.[70] Although these statistics may not be true of many of the sparsely populated hsien in Southwest China, the scope of the Communist public information program and the effectiveness of the Communist propaganda machine is not to be underestimated.

V. PERSONAL CONTACT

208 Any study of public information and propaganda in Communist China would be sadly incomplete if the important part played by personal contact were ignored. Personal contact actually has been an effective tool in the dissemination of public information and propaganda in a country like China where a preponderant percentage of the population is illiterate.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on January 1, 1951 issued a directive on the "Establishment of a Propaganda Network Aimed at the Masses." Among other things the directive pointed out that: (1) In the past propaganda work had been neglected, and no permanent personnel had been assigned to conduct person-to-person propaganda to counteract rumors and clarify government policies. (2) All Party branches from that day on would assign propaganda officers, and all guiding agencies in the Party would appoint reporting officers, while enthusiastic activists, although non-Party members, might also be appointed as propaganda officers. (3) Under the direction of the Party, propaganda officers would conduct propaganda by means of

70. Chao Ts'ung, op. cit., p. 36.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

302 women wearing the dress of the Ming dynasty while the men had to adopt the Manchu style of dressing, as well as the head-shaving. The living had to conform, but the funeral rites remained as before the occupation, 生從死不從, *shêng ts'ung, ssŭ pu ts'ung.* The people had to conform but not the priests; *min ts'ung chiao pu ts'ung* 民從教不從. Hence we have the clean-shaven Buddhist priest, and the coiled locks of the Taoist sect; this is believed to be the original Chinese mode of hair dressing. Moreover the style of garments now worn by the Taoist priests would appear to be the style of ancient China.

When the queue was forced upon the Chinese people it was hateful to them as a sign of subjection to a stronger branch of the Mongolian race. This loathing gradually gave place to pride, and the queue became a national badge, and a sign of loyalty to the reigning dynasty. Hence every rebellion against the Manchus has made the cutting off of the queue of first importance.

The queue, when worn properly, was used to indicate reverence for superiors, respect to equals, and decorum in worship. No inferior would dare to enter the presence of a superior with his queue hanging in front, or coiled round the head; and when worshipping at the temples its position was carefully noted. The following are a few of the kinds of queues spoken of by the Chinese and were indicative of character:

To leave the hair unplaited for three handwidths from the skull in order that the hair might fall loose on the neck; 鬆三把 *sung san pa.* This was for protection against sword cuts, and also in fights, when the queue was largely used to pull with. Its looseness kept the strain from falling on one part of the head.

302 575 The big queue made up of false hair and silk. Those who wear this are known as *wu êrh shên* 吾二神, and are those who have just entered a secret society. They are neither men nor boys.

The dandy of the secret society wears a queue that is dressed up with silk tassels, *têng lung t'iao pien tzŭ* 燈籠條辮子.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The unkempt queue of the novice who has not entered the society is called *k'ung tzŭ* 空子 *pien tzŭ*. 302 [575]

A few hairs on the back of the head is called *yü mei sui* 御麥穗 *pien tzŭ* or a *hao-tzŭ wei pa* 耗子尾巴, a rat's tail.

A nice-looking queue of a youth with a long red cord attached to it is called *kua tao pa* 鈎刀耙 *pien tzŭ*, the sword-handle queue.

The cow's head, *niu t'ou* 牛頭 queue is worn by women of the aboriginal tribes to the west of Kuan Hsien.

A common proverb is *shên hsien yang chih-chia, hsin hsien yang t'ou-fa* 身閑養指甲, 心閑養頭髮; an idle body grows finger nails; an idle head grows hair.

The Kitan tribes, *ta-ta* 韃靼, probably the ancestors of the Mongols, have the following slang names for the queue:

The hairy lid, *mao kai-tzŭ* 毛蓋子; Tartar hair, *ta-ta mao*; the hairy tassel, *mao t'ou tzŭ* 毛頭子; the horse-bucket cover, *ma t'ung kai* 馬桶蓋; the magpie's nest, *ya ch'iao wo* 鴉鵲窩; the tadpole's tail, *ting ting wei* 丁丁尾.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

SECRET SOCIETIES

During the past twenty years the writer's calling has often brought him into close contact with and even into sharp opposition to secret society organizations in Ssŭch'uan. The chief difficulty in studying such societies is, of course, that they are secret, and the divulging of details is likely to be severely punished. 575

The difficulty all missionary societies have had in getting a foothold in Ssŭch'uan is due to the Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行), or Confucian Society. The plots of the literati culminated in the riots of 1895. From that year till about 1902 new influences were brought into play by bringing the more lawless elements of society into action. This period might be called the Hypnotic Period; it includes the Yü Man-tzŭ rebellion of 1898, the Boxer upheaval of 1900, and the local Boxer trouble of 1902, when the Boxer bands even entered the provincial capital.

From 1902 a new phase begins, when the Ch'ien Tzŭ Hang (幟子行), or Tally Society, made a movement toward

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575 the Church to capture it for political purposes, both protective and aggressive. The period ended in the Revolution of 1911.

To be clear, it may be stated here that the Tally Society is the same as the Han Liu (漢流), or Ko Lao Hui (哥老會), and the period may be named the Han Liu period.

After 1911 those who had entered the Church for political reasons tried to get possession of Church property or to start self-governing causes of their own; but always for political or personal advantage. This might be called the Self-government Period.

The first three of the above periods exhibit phenomena important not only now, but acting even in remote antiquity.

The writer believes that this ancient West China fraternity originated in the Totemistic age. That age, which was one of magic, has left many traces, especially in these sodalities. The frequent mention of the dragon in the organization of the brotherhood abundantly proves its Totemistic origin. The leading Elder Brother is spoken of as the "Dragon's Head." The baser sort, who make a living by roving, are called "Rolling Dragons." And a score of similar instances might be given.

Not to go further back than the end of the Chou (周) dynasty, we may divide the society of the time into three classes: (i), followers of Confucius—the reform party; (ii), followers of Lao-Tzŭ—a mystical party; (iii), followers of Nature—a reactionary party that developed into the Han Liu fraternity. These three schools of thought can be distinctly seen in the secret society organizations of West China to-day.

The Confucian Society, Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行)

The School, or Society, is very ancient and has always borne an agnostic stamp, both in literature and religion.

The worship of Confucius is a very real thing in China, and the substitution of a tablet for an image, a change made by the Republic, is very superficial. But few, if any, of the Confucian schools have ever been satisfied with the worship

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of Confucius alone, but freely indulged in the worship of ancestors, and have invited the aid of the Shaman brethren when expedient or when sickness or death in the family made it necessary. Thus, the Confucian scholar may also be a follower of both the mystical and naturalistic schools.

It is readily understood that the class of persons who enter the Confucian Society is different in caste and calibre from those of other societies; but it must be remembered that the agreement is equally binding and the political consequences even more serious than in the case of other societies, and it has been the source of revolutionary activities of great importance.

The Confucian Society is the society *par excellence* of the official, scholar, and student. In its present form it dates at least from the T'ang dynasty, when the followers of the "Peach Orchard" trio refused to recognize the T'ang and clave to the Han (漢) and Liu (劉), and are called Han Liu (漢流).[1]

The Mystical or Hypnotic Sect, Chiao-fei (教匪)

The Hypnotic School has always been closely connected with the Taoist sect, with charms, trances, and spells of various kinds; and it may be that some of the exploits attributed to ancient heroes were done under hypnotic influence. The trances, etc., are brought about by regular training of mind and body, a rigid concentration of spirit, and complete submission of the being to the domination of some particular demon: when the training is complete the whole person is under the mesmeric control of the demon.

The rallying centre of these hypnotic sects is generally a living goddess of mercy, usually a girl of sixteen or eighteen or even younger; doubtless the remnant of a cruder, naturalistic system of great antiquity.

There is quite a long list of these sects which have caused insurrection and bloodshed in different parts of

(1) Though the characters are different some Chinese give this explanation of Han Liu.

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575 the country. These religious fanatics, *chiao fei*, have caused much more difficulty to the government than the ordinary *ku-fei* (喝匪) (*v. inf.*) The latter rob for their sustenance, and having stolen enough they live luxuriously till there is need for another raid to get more funds. But the religious fanatics are of a very different character.

Such societies seek first by charms and vegetarian vows to win the rich and landed classes. They promise immortality as the reward of large liberality and abstinence from fornication, wine, and pork. The entrance fee is generally small, but members have only the common purse; even rice and clothing are held for the common use.

Having gained a footing among the rich, they next win over the village headmen, and finally the retainers of the district magistrate. When trouble arises, the magistrate may send to suppress it and may even raid the Society's headquarters; but care is taken that the propagandists are protected and escorted to their resorts in the southern mountains.

Such societies may differ in the charms they use and the idols they worship; but they have mesmeric hypnotism and fanatical trances as their common feature.

In this category are included the White Lotus Society (白蓮教), the Arabic (天方),[1] the Eight-Diagram Society (八卦), the Red Lantern Society (紅燈教), the United Fists Society (義和拳), the Big Sword Society (大刀會), the Lamp-wick Society (燈花教), and others.

The many rebellious movements and rebel leaders with which and with whom these Societies are connected will be found in history.

In Ssŭch'uan many people knew the Boxer arts before 1900, especially round such centres as Paoning (保寧), Mienchou (綿州), and Chin T'ang hsien (金堂); but there was not enough strength or organization for a rising.

The hypnotic arts are still practised in secret in different parts of the province, but more especially in the North, their

(1) This might mean "square heavens."

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original home. The vows used are many and various, but the chief are for the purification of the body and of the mouth. Their charms also are very abundant, the chief ones being the Kao Wang (高王符) charm and the Goddess of Mercy (觀音) charm.

In 1905 a hypnotic sect entered Ssŭch'uan from Shensi and disturbed the eastern and southern parts of the province. It was known as the Ch'ing Ch'a Chiao (清察教). Its charms were similar to those of the Red Lantern Society; but the vows were different and seem to have originated in the Yangtze provinces, for the "tea-planter's ballad" was used in the religious observances.

During the short reign of Hsüan T'ung a religious sect drilled and caused trouble in eastern Ssŭch'uan; but they never got out of control owing to the severe measures taken against them by the authorities.

The Reactionary School, or Han Liu (漢流)

This is our third great class of secret societies. It must be borne in mind that our division is by no means arbitrary. It is quite possible for a person to belong to all three classes; on the other hand there has sometimes been strife, especially between the Hypnotic and the Reactionary Schools.

Investigating the origin of this School we find it begins in hoary antiquity, and probably represents the most ancient demon worship. The class tenaciously holds to natural depravity, resists external reforms, and through the ages has made licentious liberty the chief ideal of life.

The heroes worshipped are the "Peach Orchard" trio of the Han dynasty; but they have also a system of Shamanism probably of much earlier date, and including all manner of sorceries' and wizards' art.

Among other terms the brethren call themselves *tsa-mên ti-hsiung* (咱們弟兄), we brethren. *Tsa-mên* is of northern origin and Shamanism had its origin in Northern Asia; hence I believe this brotherhood to be Asiatic Shamanism. This system of Shamanism has very wide ramifications in Central

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575 Asia, where neither race nor religion seems to debar any one from joining the secret conclaves. On the Tibetan border Chinese and aboriginals make sworn covenants for mutual protection and assistance in business matters. No Chinese could prosper in barter trade with Tibetans unless he was a member of this Society; he would most likely be robbed and killed on his first journey.

The sorcery practices which are such a feature in this brotherhood are presided over by a system of lay Taoist priests called *ho-chü-tao* (夥居道). These men, though knowing all the arts of the exorcist and much of the doctrine of Tao, are not celibates or hermits, as in the regular priesthood, but have their homes among men and around their ancestral tablets.

The Society delights in sorcery and wizardry, and on the slightest pretext members present one another with a "pacification concert." Such occasions as a sickness in the family, a slight bodily injury, an unlucky omen, etc., are seized on as excuses for a midnight orgy to expel some troublesome demon. At the close of such uproarious nocturnal performances the baser sort amuse themselves by committing robberies on their way home in the small hours.

The weird music connected with Shaman worship needs to be heard, for no pen can describe the uncanny effects; the drum of the temple, the blast of the trumpet, the conch horn of the wizard, the hooting cow's horns of the priests, the clash of cymbals, the crash of gongs, the howling of demon-oppressed people, the cry to departing spirits, are all directly or indirectly related to this brotherhood.

Many primitive and objectionable customs are still practised in the sect. Marriage by capture is by no means unknown, and to many it is the ideal method. Eating the liver and the heart of an enemy, or distributing parts of his body to distant places for others to eat; the sacrifice of human victims to the flags or to the spirit of a fallen comrade, are customs still practised. The Society has thus earned the name *ho-êrh-liu* (和而流), or loose profligates.

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The Ssŭch'uan Ku-lu-tzŭ (嘓嚕子)

The province was practically depopulated by the robber bands of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (李自成), Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠), Wang San-huai (王三槐), and others. Many were slaughtered, many fled. Afterwards immigrants from Hupei, Hunan, and other provinces occupied the deserted soil and bound themselves by oaths for mutual protection against remnants of robber bands or returning émigrés. 575

Many old inhabitants returned, to find their lands in possession of strangers. Such people, the weak taking to beggary, the strong to robbery, together with the scattered remnants of the earlier robber bands, all together received the name of *ku-lu-tzŭ*.

This term is peculiar to Ssŭch'uan and it was contracted into *ku-fei* (嘓匪). The explanation of this is not satisfactory. The *Kuang Yün* (廣韻) says that *ku* resembles the sound of quacking and gabbling, while *lu* means flattering words such as beggars use. The *Chêng Tzŭ T'ung* (正字通) speaks of *tu-lu* (吐嚕) as meaning *k'o-hsi* (可惜), a term of pity. In some parts evilly disposed beggars are still called *tu-lu-tzŭ*, so it is possible that it is a term of pity, and meant, pity the poor aborigine. Some explain by saying the *ku-fei* were to be feared because of their number and character while the *lu-fei* were to pitied because of their extreme poverty. This explanation, which seems reasonable, makes the term *ku-lu-tzŭ* mean robbers and beggars; and it may have been applied by the Mongol and Manchu troops who came to the province to restore order.

As the Ch'ing dynasty gradually got control of the country the *ku-lu-tzŭ* were dispersed, and began to be spoken of as *p'i-fei* (痞匪), which means obstructionists. They were also jokingly called *hsien-ta-lang* (閒打浪), or idle wave beaters; this is now contracted to *ta-lang-êrh*, and seems to mean one who lives by his wits or his luck.

These obstructionists lived in blue tents, and were used as entertainers at funerals or festivities. On such occasions they pitched their tents at the door of the dwelling house

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595 where they were invited and opened a gambling booth for the entertainment of the visitors.

Such entertainers were divided into two distinct classes, the red cash and the black cash fraternity. The latter made secret vows amid the sacrificial burnings of the incense hall, carried arms, and lived by burglaries. The red cash fraternity occupied themselves with slitting open cash bags or cutting off the last 200 cash on a string of cash. If any red cash brother got caught and was branded on the face he was at once degraded into the black cash brotherhood. These two classes exist to-day, the red cash people being gamblers and pickpockets by daylight while the black cash brethren live by burglary in the dark.[1]

The settlers from other provinces naturally hated all *ku-lu-tzŭ* and called them "rats" because of their nocturnal habits and because they so readily disappeared at the approach of the enemy. In the south of the province any one with the look of an aborigine is still called a rat. But the curse has come home to roost, for in Hupei and Hunan all Ssŭch'uanese are now called by this term, whatever their extraction. In retaliation the Hupei people in Ssŭch'uan are contemptuously termed "Hupei bean-curd."

In spite of government and settlers the *ku-lu-tzŭ* have never been exterminated, and they continue to style themselves the Han Liu.

The terms "Han Liu" and *ku-fei* seem synonymous, the former being used by the brethren, the latter being applied to them by the officials. The former term implies their wish to preserve the ancient Han ideals and aspirations as against Mongol and Manchu influences. The other term, *ku-fei*, indicates that the officials regard them as malcontents and opponents of law and order.

For many years before the Hsien Fêng reign (1851–62) the "Yellow River was at peace," that is, was free from rebellion. Then the *ku-fei* rose in revolt under the leadership

(1) The red and the black cash must not be confused with the red and the black flags, to be mentioned later.

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of Lan Ta-shun (藍大順) and Li-Tuan-ta (李短韃). The different characters of these two are shown by their nicknames, "Lan hurry up," and "Li go slowly." Though not Ssŭch'uanese they easily persuaded the *ku-fei* to join them against the Manchus. The revolt was quelled by Hunan troops under Viceroy Lo Wên-chung. The remnants of Lan's marauders were scattered in Tsung Ch'ing-chou, Kuan-hsien, and Tai-I hsien. These districts west of the Min River seem to have been also the chief refuge of Chang Hsien-chung's bands, which no doubt accounts for the lawless, ungovernable character of the population there.

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After Lo Wên-chung's coming the *ku-fei* began to be called *t'u-fei*, but the former term is still known and is sometimes applied to them by officials. The term *t'u* was used of the aboriginal tribes, and *fei* probably meant they were not fit to be classed as men, *fei-jên* (非人). This term, *fei-jên* (匪人), has been systematically applied to all aborigines all over China.

The meaning of Han Liu is also variously given; some regard it as meaning simply brigands; others say the name means the descendants of Liu Pei (劉備) of the Han dynasty; but it most likely means the descendants of the obstructives and outcasts of the Han period.

It may safely be said that there is now little or no difference between Han Liu, *ku-fei*, *t'u-fei*, *p'ao-ko* (胞哥), *ko-lao* (哥老), and *chiang-hu* (江湖); all are somehow linked up in one great fraternity. The prestige of some brethren extends over several provinces and it would be highly interesting to trace the connection between the Dragon throne and the rolling dragons of the provinces.

The Ko-lao-hui and the Han Liu. With the advent of Lo Wên-chung and the suppression of Lan Ta-shun's revolt about 1855, a new secret society organization seems to have been introduced into the province in the shape of the Ko-lao-hui. Some Chinese state that it was introduced by the government as a check to the Han Liu. It is more generally held, however, that Lo's Hunan braves brought it with them. Many of these soldiers settled in Ssŭch'uan and their brotherhood gradually amalgamated with that of the Han Liu. It would

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575 seem as if there was also a union with some piratical elements. The term *chiang-hu*, so often used, means "rivers and lakes" and is supposed to mean "rovers of the waters." The terms *to-pa-tzŭ* (拕把子), "helmsman"; *ma-t'ou* (碼頭), "anchorage"; *hai* (海), "sea"; *shui* (水), "water"; all seem to point to a piratical origin, but are in constant use in the fraternity.

The Ko-lao-hui was originally divided into eight lodges, each known by a distinctive character, as follows: (1) *jên* (仁), "benevolence"; (2) *i* (義), "rectitude"; (3) *li* (禮), "propriety"; (4) *chih* (智), "wisdom"; (5) *hsin* (信), "sincerity"; (6) *san-yüan* (三元), "the Taoist trinity"; (7) *ssŭ-hsi* (四喜) "four joys"; (8) *wu-fu* (五福), "five happinesses."

All recognize the Benevolent Lodge as being not only the senior, but also the aristocratic part of the brotherhood. Its members are called (清水胞哥) "clear-water womb-brothers"; their conduct is more enlightened and their customs more rigid than in the other lodges. This Benevolent Lodge is now amalgamated with the Western Lodge of ancient Han Liu, and I believe their character-marks are interchangeable.

In the second, or Rectitude Lodge, are massed the turbid-water (渾水) womb-brothers, probably the real Han Liu members; all the lawless elements in the district adjoining Chêngtu are mustered under this Rectitude mark.

In these districts, strange to say, a few belong to the Benevolent Lodge, the majority to the Rectitude Lodge, and the other lodges are mere empty names. In districts on the Yangtze, however, it is not so; there, some of the other lodges are fully occupied and organized; the Ko-lao-hui element seems the stronger there, while in the Chengtu districts the Han Liu element predominates.

Those in the Rectitude Lodge call the brethren of the Benevolent Lodge by the term "uncle." It is sometimes easy to mistake the sworn adoptive relationships for those of blood.

Each lodge has twelve grades of membership, *pai* (排) or *tai* (代).

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The first consists of the presiding elder (坐堂大爺), *tso t'ang ta yeh*, and the vice president, *t'i tiao* (提調) *ta yeh*. The former position is a very important one, since all believe that the success of their meetings rests on the virtues of their president. 575

The second grade is called *Wu shêng* (武聖). Few dare assume the responsibilities of this grade, for their lot in life will then be poor and mouldy and their luck mean and miserable. Some Buddhist or Taoist priests are generally found to shoulder the responsibilities.

The third grade is known as *Hsüan Hou* (桓侯) *san yeh*, Hsüan Hou being Chang Fei (張飛), of the "Peach Orchard" trio.

The fourth grade stands with no representative, in fact no one would be allowed to take a position under the grade even if willing. The cause is superstition; *ssŭ* (四), "four," is akin in sound to *shih* (事), "trouble," and is the same except in tone as *ssŭ* (死), "death."

The fifth grade is called *Kuan shih* (管事) *wu yeh*. This is a very important position, occupied by two men at each "anchorage," known as the red flag and the black flag managers (紅旗), and (黑旗), *Hung ch'i* and *hei ch'i Kuan shih*. Most power is in the hands of the former, while most of the drudgery falls to the latter, who is generally a man of inferior ability or one who has been degraded to that position for some misdemeanour. Sometimes, however, a rich man with plenty of money to lose and no brains for managing business may be made black flag leader. From the sixth grade downwards the grades are simply known by numbers. But number seven is another grade without a representative, its positions being mere empty names. This is owing to the character for "seven" being akin in sound to the character "to slice."

The eighth grade is called *lao pa* (老八), or *jao pa* (么八), and the last grade is called *lao jao* or *hsiao lao jao*.

Any one may buy his way to the top of the Society, *i pu têng t'ien* (一步登天), "rising to heaven at one step." Such a one enters the Benevolent Lodge as a senior brother, and is

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● 575 called *hsien p'ai* (閒排) *ta yeh* or "leisure-grade brother." Another term for such is *mao ting* (帽頂), or "cap top."

The entrance fee for one and all is 1,280 cash. A candidate, *hsin fu* (新福), must find some one to introduce him and also a guarantor for his good faith. All recruits first enter the grade *lao jao*, but those with ability soon get promoted. On entrance the introducer and guarantor must have presents, and all along the line superiors must be honoured and humoured with gifts. The rank and file of the Rectitude Lodge on meeting the elders of the Benevolent Lodge have to show respect by a three-fold kotow. This is called "one shot with three reports" (一砲三響), *i p'ao san hsiang*. If the knocks of the head on the ground are not distinctly heard it is considered a lack of reverence.

Meetings are generally held in out-of-the-way villages or in some large secluded temple. They are called *k'ai t'ang* (開堂), "to open the hall"; *shao hui* (燒會), "meeting to burn (incense?)"; *tso fang shou* (做方手), which probably means the "crossing of the hands to the four points of the compass"; *tso hsien shih* (做賢事), "practising the acts of the worthies."

These gatherings are generally held at the time of some festival such as the Single Sword Festival (單刀會), the 13th of the 5th moon; the Ch'ing Ming (清明) Festival, about April 5; the Yü Lan (盂蘭), Festival in the 7th moon; and at the New Year. In this way Society business may be done in better security and the officials are deceived. Expenses are met by contributions and entrance fees from novices, by fines for misdemeanours, etc. An elder brother of the Benevolent Lodge is generally invited to preside or "sit on the dragon's head" (坐龍頭), *tso lung t'ou*. He is treated with great respect and formality.

On a dais in the centre of the meeting place is a tablet to Kuan Yü, which is worshipped by all. Before the tablet swords are hung from the roof, and it is supposed that the fear of a sword falling on them will prevent people from worshipping with wrong motives.

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Younger members are detached to guard the entrances; they scrutinize every comer so as to guard against attack or surprise by the officials. 575

The red and the black flag leaders make orations, which are mere gibberish to the uninitiated; the list of members' names is presented on the dais and worshipped; the president reads aloud the rules of the Society; the novices are introduced by their guarantors to the *Kuan shih* of the 5th grade and he announces their nomination and reception into the lodge.

The following oath is then read: 我們今夜晚結拜一不當頭子二不當眼睛如有當頭子當眼睛照香而死照雞而亡. The meaning is roughly this: "We are met here in conclave to-night; if there should be any false ones come to spy may they die as this incense and perish as this fowl." The incense is then ignited and chopped in two; the chicken's head is chopped off, the blood drained into a bowl o[illegible]e, and all the company drink it.

The new members must then worship the tablet beneath the suspended blades, repeat the above oath and drink of the wine. Matters of discipline are attended to; some members are degraded and some expelled. Where time for repentance is allowed, the offender has to kneel before the tablet and apply a dagger to his thigh till the blood flows freely. This is called *p'u chiao-tao* (撲尖刀), "falling on the knife." The culprit may choose another way of showing penitence—by putting nails on the ground, points upward, and rolling on them naked till his body is bloody. This is called *Kun ting pan*, (滾釘板), "rolling on the nailed board."

The wretch to whom the tribunal refuses space for repentance is at once led out to some grove or other secluded spot and despatched with the sword; the body is thrown into the river or left to be devoured by dogs.

Those who have done meritorious service to the whole Society or for the senior brethren are raised in rank and honoured by the assembly.

The president then announces that the particular meeting will be known as such and such a hill or water or hall; this enables new members to refer to their initiation without

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575 divulging the place of meeting. The novices who first enter the Society and have their positions defined later are said "to first ascend the hill and then plant the willow." The reverse is said of those who before entering state what position they will hold; and it is these who provide the midnight feast for the assembly.

A member absenting himself from the meetings is punished by being reduced in rank for the second offence, and excluded from the Society for the third. This means he will no longer have the Society's protection; and though while law and order are maintained he may be safe, when there are disturbances he will most likely pay for broken vows with his life.

Each district has an "anchorage" (碼頭), *ma t'ou*, also known as *kung-k'ou* or *t'ang-k'ou* since the use of *kung-t'ang* (公堂) has been forbidden by law. Each anchorage has a resident elder living in the hall. These halls are often in the houses of the elder brother himself. He keeps a register of affiliated halls and of his own sworn brethren; he entertains guests from a distance and advises or helps brethren who appeal to him for protection or money. Members from other districts should notify their arrival; otherwise if they get into any trouble they will get no help till they have owned their fault. The elder brother of a hall has tremendous power; his orders (上覆), *shang-fu*, ought to be obeyed without questioning by every loyal Han Liu.

Certain classes, such as barbers, chairbearers, etc., are not allowed to enter the Society. Persons who try to pass themselves off as *chiang-hu* or pretend to higher rank than they really hold are punished by a special tribunal.

The book of rules of the Society is called *hai-ti-shu*, "book of the sea-bottom"; its chief tenets are filial piety, rectitude, benevolence and reverence.

The use of passwords is common. Without knowing the password an entrance might possibly be got into a secret meeting; but I am told it would be practically impossible for the offender to get out alive.

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Within the Rectitude Lodge there are cliques whose influence is wholly evil; these are called *hui-fei*, "Society rascals." 575

Women play a large part in the Society; leading women being called *nü-kuang-kun* (女光棍) or "female polished sticks." Youths have a juvenile society organized on the model of the adult Society and known as the *pang* (棒) *pang hui* or Cudgel Society. They exchange cards, make vows, conduct fights and organize petty persecutions of those whom they dislike.

Each anchorage has a *ying-p'in-hui* (迎賓) with a fund for the entertainment of visitors.

The salutations of the Society are very complex. The general term for them is *tiu-ch'ien-tzŭ* (丟簽子), or "casting the tally." Salutations to the chief, second, third, and fifth grades are by placing the hand on the shoulder, elbow, fore-arm or wrist. Between equals the salutation called "right and left twist (左右歪子), *tso-yu-wai-tzŭ*, is used. Thus the status of members can be recognized at once without enquiry.

A country robber is known as *pang-k'e*, "cudgel guest," and the keeper of a robber's den is called (窩戶) *wo-hu*. Such a keeper has great influence, and may be the helmsman of an anchorage. He receives a large share of the booty. Stolen goods are hidden for a time, then taken into the capital and pawned for a term of years. Later they are dyed and altered and sold to second-hand dealers. The helmsman is nearly always acquainted with the reasons for murders, arsons and robberies in his locality and with the means used.

I have learned on good authority that many people go from home ostensibly on business, but really for dishonourable purposes, for work they can do at a distance with a good conscience, though they would not degrade themselves by doing it near home. If they should happen to relieve of his goods some notable in the Society, the property will soon be restored if he applies in the proper quarter at once, before it is sold or pawned.

It must not be supposed that only the poor and illiterate compose the Han Liu Sodality: many sons of the country

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575 gentry join through love of money and adventure. Thus robberies are not made by the poor and half-starved so much 575 as by the strong and able-bodied who are in comfortable circumstances. In fact, but for the connivance and help of 599 the rich it would be impossible for the rogues to carry on their depredations. People say that when a robber gang is equipped for action and makes its appearance at dead of night it is a terrifying sight. Torches are fixed in their caps or hats, their faces are painted with hideous colors, they are armed with battering rams, swords, clubs, crowbars, and latterly with rifles and Mauser pistols. Their attack is sudden and determined, but at the slightest alarm they retire, carrying with them what silver and valuables they have been able to secure. Prior to the raid some servant has been bribed to reveal where the silver is kept.

If any of the gang should be caught, there is danger that secrets may be let out; but some of the descendants of Lan Ta-shun's bands will defy torture and scorn death. No officials can get their secrets either by torture or cajolery; and no severities used on them seem to have any moral effect on the rest of the gang; indeed it sometimes seems as though the more are killed the more the membership grows.

575 The chief Han Liu ideal is liberty, which means to them anarchy, selfishness and depravity, and it may be said that the Society is always "agin the government." They are under a kind of military rule, make their own laws and reserve all rights of interpreting and administering them.

There is, however, a growing tendency to social equality and the senior brother does not enjoy the same blind obedience as formerly. Among certain classes his word is no longer law. The tendency is to follow a popular man apart from his social standing; but such a man soon finds himself in a difficult and dangerous position.

In such an organization there must be jealousy and strife. Even in peaceful times deep enmity may exist on personal grounds, between two anchorages in the same street. These factions have been compared to two tigers in the same forest,—fighting must ensue. Suspicion and envy develop

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into hatred and murder. Officials take advantage and use one faction against another; then secrets are divulged, mutual recriminations follow, and hatred is engendered which may last for generations, one victim after another on both sides being murdered in revenge. A son's duty to avenge a parent's wrong cannot be shirked. 575

Such conditions produce in members a cruel and relentless disposition, and foster a suspicious and revengeful nature.

As already mentioned, the place held by women in this secret society is not a small one. Many are sworn members, and the mothers and wives are often able assistants of male members. They spy out the land, hide the booty and screen the guilty. It is a rare thing for a woman to be put to death for implication in robbery; and it must be remembered that the mother of adventurous sons will also rear daughters of a similar character, who in turn become the mothers of a new generation of desperate adventurers; and thus a constant succession is assured in spite of official reprisals on the males. Here lies a social problem of immense importance, which might well tax the heart and brain of some great statesman. If brute force could cure the moral and social ills of this people it would by this time have had some effect; but torture and capital punishment have proved futile, and nothing short of a moral and spiritual regeneration will change the Han Liu adventurer into a law-abiding citizen. 575 562

This regeneration seems especially necessary for the female population, for the saying, "She who rocks the cradle rules the world" is true in Western China—she who carries the baby rules the land. So long as we have a race of women vicious enough to murder their own offspring in large numbers, to bind their daughters' feet, to abet the men in every crime, so long we shall have a race of brigands and buccaneers to terrify the country at every opportunity.

The hypnotic sects work secretly with the wiliness of serpents till they gain a secure hold; the naturalistic sects are full of bluster and pantomime, yet their propaganda is secret and swift. When either of these elements gains the upper hand the whole district is made to quake. Their methods of black- 575

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575 mail are inimitably ingenious ; their revenge on traitors, swift and unswerving. Their cruelties to enemies are indescribable. When their passions are roused their victim will be hacked to pieces, each person cutting off just as much as he desires of the common enemy's flesh. The more daring and cunning he has been the more is his liver and gall wished for, since it is believed that by eating these one's own valour and cunning will be increased.

Before the Revolution of 1911 and the organization of the Railway League, the Society men always had to be reckoned with; but since that date their influence has been supreme, and no one dare give offence to them, however much grieved or injured. If a Society rascal is arrested neighbors dare not refuse to bail him out, and whole families may be ruined for the divulging of a secret. The best policy for all is to humour the members and avoid any action that would rouse their wrath.

The Railway League (同志會), *t'ung chih hui;* etc. The Han Liu, true to its ancient traditions, is still the enemy of all reform, and is ever ready for any pretext of making trouble. The proposal to introduce railways into the province caused the formation of the so-called Railway League, in Chinese, "The Society of united purpose for protection of the way." It was really an amalgamation of the Confucian Society with the Han Liu for the purpose of opposing a railway system financed by foreign capital. The new name should not mislead the student; it was simply a revival of the revolutionary brotherhood reinforced by the addition of the weaker Confucian Society. The League leaders were the Han Liu leading elder brothers, and the organization was the anchorage system of the Han Liu.

A rebellion broke out first in Kwan hsien and the other districts already specified as full of brigand stock. The lawless wretches carried devastation and anarchy wherever they marched. They got more than they expected or wanted, but at the downfall of the Manchus they immediately set up the Han Republic (大漢), Ta Han. With the new government

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many of these outlaws got wealth and were decorated with medals for services rendered to the country, were much honoured by the Republican party, and became honoured officials of the new government. At that period the people had no one to appeal to for redress, since a magistrate was less powerful than a robber; as the Chinese said, "Robbery was done according to law." The poor fled their homes and suffered terribly, and the rich were blackmailed and bullied without mercy. Only those who passed through that crisis know how paralyzing was the grip of the Han Liu octopus. 575

Later on such taunts were thrown at the Ssŭch'uan Republican party that they determined to reform and started a new Society called the Hsi hua Kung hui (西華公會). The purpose was to dissolve the Railway League and then to eradicate the lawless elements of the Shê hui (社會) or Republican party, raising the rest to a higher standard of citizenship. A system of badges was instituted by which the senior brethren in each county might be recognized, and each clan head was made responsible for all of his name in his district.

Once more the Han Liu Society was faithful to itself, refused to acknowledge the new Society and declined to be reformed. The difficulty thus created was only relieved by an official order to dissolve all Secret Societies, making all alike illegal. The new Society melted its silver badges, but it seems impossible to hope for the extermination of the Han Liu, which, in spite of all adversity, has thriven for so many centuries. There have been later attempts at reform but they seem futile. The Society has entered into ninety per cent. of the homes, permeated all society, controlled well-nigh every institution in Western Shu and probably in a much wider area.

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The Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan[1]

Liao T'ai-ch'u

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OF THE VARIOUS Chinese secret societies functioning in Szechuan province, the most prominent is the Ko Lao Hui (Brothers' Society). Its importance, especially in rural areas, is very great indeed. Involving many persons in all classes of society, it influences almost every aspect of daily life—social, political and economic. There are differing accounts of its origin. According to one theory, it was started as an offshoot of an older society. Another account attributes its creation to an underground movement opposed to the Manchu rulers of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912). Still another connects it with late Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing intellectuals who opposed the Manchus. In all likelihood, however, such a powerful society did not originate in response to a single stimulus. The factors which contributed decisively to the development of the Ko Lao Hui must have included loyalty to the Ming rulers (involving a glorification of self-sacrifice), difficulties of existence under the Ch'ing, and popular accounts of generous, brotherly acts performed by well-known figures in the past.

The Ko Lao Hui was probably founded in East China in the early Ch'ing period by persons of some education who were dissatisfied with Manchu rule. Its original aim was simple: opposition to the existing government. Members of different families and of different classes were welcomed and, as long as they supported this aim, were considered to be brothers. Equality and the eight virtues (filial piety, love for one's brothers and sisters, loyalty to one's superiors, faithfulness, courtesy, shame, probity, and righteous self-sacrifice), and especially the last virtue, *yi*[2] (which embraces both righteousness and generosity), were practiced religiously. At one period, characters representing these

[1] Part of the material on which these notes are based was collected during 1943-45 in the towns of Chung Yi and Chiu Li, in Chengtu district.

[2] *Yi* is highly honored in China. In the Ko Lao Hui, *yi* is regarded as symbolizing the unity of the society and the highest ideal of all members. *Ko Lao*, which means (older) brother, implies the idea of equality and *yi*.

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•575 eight virtues were written inside members' gowns for purposes of identification.

As time passed and new members were admitted, the influence of the Ko Lao Hui spread and its activities grew more diversified, leading to an admixture of bad elements.[3] As a result of internal changes and oppression by the Ch'ing government (which knew of its existence and sought to liquidate it), the Ko Lao Hui moved gradually westward, following the course of the Yangtze River, and settled first in Hunan and Hupeh provinces and eventually in Szechuan. By the beginning of the present century, branches existed in most parts of Szechuan.

The Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan may be divided geographically into two main groups. The first comprises the branches on the Chengtu Plain, which includes 14 districts (*hsien*)—a total area of some 1,350 square miles within which are 1⅓ million acres of the richest agricultural land in China. This area is popularly regarded as the center of the Ko Lao Hui world:[4] it is estimated that 70 per cent of the male population belongs to the society. Members here are known for their interference in local (and, to some extent, provincial) political affairs, for their abandonment of most secret-society traditions, regulations and special terminology, and for their criminal activities.

The various branches in this area are in close touch with one another: they provide mutual assistance as need arises and cooperate in pursuing common policies even to the point of armed action. A branch is expected to harbor members of other branches who may have violated government laws and been forced to decamp from their own villages.[5] Since there is no over-all coordinating body above the branches, inter-branch cooperation is not always flawless. Nevertheless, information travels sufficiently speedily from branch to branch to enable them

[3] The admission, for example, of a large number of demobilized soldiers in Hunan province toward the end of the Ch'ing period greatly altered the original structure of the organization, extending and debasing its activities.

[4] In the small suburban community of Chung Yi, eight miles northwest of Chengtu city, 19 of the section heads (*pao chang*) are members of the society. In Chiu Li, another community three miles west of Chengtu, the village head (*hsiang chang*) himself is the leading member for the entire district of some 100 square miles.

[5] In December 1945 the branch in Chung Yi was taking care of a leader of a neighboring branch who, having disagreed with the government about a little matter of military conscription, had caused his subordinates to fire on certain government forces, killing a number of them. At Chung Yi he received royal treatment, enjoying good food and company as well as the respect of the local members.

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to function as though they were under a single command. Inter-branch relations are, however, becoming steadily less close; a program involving common action in an area larger than a district is rare nowadays. 575.

The second main group of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan, less highly organized than the first, is situated along the Yangtze River. Limitations of space prevent consideration of this group in these notes.

EXACTLY WHEN Ko Lao Hui activities extended all over the Chengtu Plain is not known, but it is thought to have been some time in the late Ch'ing period. Now every district supports at least one branch of the society. Each branch, considered as a separate administrative unit, has its own (geographical) sphere of influence; members are not supposed to engage in society activities outside of its boundaries.

The highest post in a branch is that of director (*to pa tze,* literally "helmsman"). Not all directors are equally popular or prominent or of equal influence in society affairs. Certain directors owe their prominence to advanced age, exemplary moral conduct, or some other important attribute. A few of the most influential are active in public affairs and can make or break district, and even provincial, administration. The post of director is not strictly elective, but one may become director only with the approval of other members of one's branch.

Although all members are considered to be brothers of one family, eight or nine different ranks exist in each branch. (Minor differences in ranking are found among different branches.) Ranks are conferred originally by the director at the annual initiation ceremony. The rank or degree conferred depends on the recipient's general past experience, his education and his financial standing. But the mere attainment of high rank does not carry with it possession of any particular post.

Below the director are several officers, each assigned a particular function. For example, the vice-director is supposed to be a saintly figure who can settle disagreements between members by means of persuasion and good will rather than by invoking the "law". There are also two controllers or managers, one in charge of business within the branch and the other charged with inter-branch affairs. Except in administrative matters of prime importance, about which they must consult the director, these two officials run the branch: they look after its accounts and properties, arbitrate disagreements, keep records, organize the two grand annual assemblies, receive guests and visitors, etc.

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575 Inter-branch affairs may include such activities as the exchange of important information concerning changes in executive officers, deaths of members, expulsion of undesirables, attitudes toward specific government regulations (such as the conscription plan in 1944), invitations to attend functions, proposals for settling conflicts between branches or their members. Not long ago a member of one branch was for some reason severely beaten up by members of another. After prolonged negotiations, the latter branch gave an elaborate 16-table feast to express its apologies and regret, and the incident was thus amicably concluded.

Refugees[8] from other branches are received by the controller. On arriving, the refugee enters a convenient tea house, seats himself at a table on which he places a piece of pork, and orders a cup of tea or hot water. The keeper of the tea house, who is familiar with this ceremony, sends at once for the controller of the local branch. The latter appears speedily and puts a series of questions to the refugee who must reply in appropriate, extremely technical terms. If the refugee proves to be an offender against government (i.e., not against Ko Lao Hui) laws, the controller will offer him shelter, or sufficient funds, clothes and the like to enable him to reach another destination of his choice.

According to the formal constitution of the society, each branch has several officers in addition to those already mentioned. These include an official in charge of worship, a keeper of the seal, a protocol officer, a preparer of the budget, a supervisor of social affairs, a welfare officer for new members, a supervisor of punishments, an executioner, a guard, a watchman, ushers, etc. In reality, however, besides the director, vice-director and the two controllers, there are only one or two members who help in running the branch. Details of organization have been greatly simplified to accord with the present social environment of the Ko Lao Hui. Thus, the director may call on any other member to do errands for him. Except during the two grand meetings each year (when a temple or tea house is commandeered), society administration is carried on in the home of the director or of the controller concerned: an office in the modern sense does not exist. Most of the leading members spend their spare time in the tea houses gossiping with one another. If one does not know their habits, these men are hard to find.

[8] Usually these are men who, having violated some important government law, have thought it advisable to leave home for a while.

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In addition to occasional executive conferences called to consider urgent matters and attended by a few important members, each branch holds two formal meetings every year. All members are expected to attend.

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One of these assemblies, held on the thirteenth day of the fifth moon, is devoted to ceremonies involving admission of new members, promotion of old members, punishment of evil-doers, and, where executives have recently died, election of successors. The initiation ceremony is spectacular and takes place in a temple or tea house containing an altar decorated with portraits, statues or spirit tablets of Kuang Yün Chang, reputed to have been a founder of the Ko Lao Hui. Numerous lighted candles stand on the altar next to the sacrifices (usually meat, chicken and fruit); couplets celebrating the ideals of loyalty and sacrifice for a cause (*yi*) cover the walls on both sides of the altar.

Entering the hall, each candidate kowtows repeatedly before the altar to pay his respects to Kuang Yün Chang. Next he is catechized briefly by a controller. After having sworn to observe all the rules of the society and to treat his fellow-members like brothers, he turns and kowtows to the director, who occupies a prominent seat. The director, hiding his face behind a fan (perhaps to conceal his embarrassment at such an honor), announces the rank of the candidate, whereupon the latter expresses repeated thanks for the rank that has just been bestowed upon him. He then turns to other important members, bowing or kowtowing and indicating his joy. The candidate directs his final bows to his two sponsors and two guarantors.[7] Finally his name is entered on the record, and he is then accepted as a new member. The occasion ordinarily ends with mutual congratulations, the explosion of firecrackers, and a big feast given by the society or by a rich newcomer.

As a rule the new member receives a certificate of membership. This may contain, on the first page, the name and seal of the branch; on the second, a copy of Sun Yat-sen's will, surmounted by his portrait; on the third, a few lines of Chiang Kai-shek's teachings and his portrait; on the fourth, the society motto and the eight virtues; on the fifth, sig-

[7] A candidate must have four such old members to support his application for admission. In addition he has to pay an initiation fee, which in 1945 was approximately CNC$2,000.

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575 natures of the branch officials, followed by the name and rank of the recipient; and on the sixth page, the date of issuance.[8]

The second function of the "fifth-moon" assembly is promotion of members in rank. Promotions are granted most often in recognition of heroic or otherwise admirable behavior toward the community or the director, financial contributions to the society, assistance rendered to fellow members, and the like. Members in the upper ranks are much more apt to receive promotions than those of lower degree, who must remain back-benchers indefinitely. Having once gained the position of director, a man relinquishes the post only on his death. Incidentally, the death of a man of such importance as a director is mourned by the entire community, non-members as well as members. The mourning period lasts seven weeks.[9]

575 681 The third function of the "fifth-moon" meeting has to do with punishments of members. The Ko Lao Hui has an extensive code of regulations and disciplines, but the process of change which has affected other aspects of the society has also made this code more or less obsolete. The myriad regulations that were strictly enforced at one stage in the history of the Ko Lao Hui were designed to promote brotherhood, the observance of loyalty and *yi*, filial piety, a proper attitude toward women, patriotism, respect for the aged, and contempt for money. Nowadays there is a marked variation among different branches in the strictness with which rules are observed and infractions punished; the degree depends upon the ethical standards observed by the members in each branch. A man who has violated a regulation of the society is first reproved by the director of his branch or by his intimates. Serious crimes are dealt with at once through a meeting of a few prominent members without waiting for a grand assembly. In consequence, the cases considered at the grand assembly are usually only minor misdemeanors. These are discussed briefly before the director announces the punishment to be applied to each case.

Punishments are divided into several grades: death (by ignominious

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[8] This list illustrates the extent to which Ko Lao Hui ritual has accommodated itself to present-day fashions.

[9] After the death of a director in Chung Yi, a large building in the market center was set aside for mourning activities, while numberless couplets, expressing sorrow at the loss of a great leader, and pieces of white silk and sacrifices in the form of goods and money decorated the main street. Mourners came from great distances. Even Sun Yat-sen's death had not created such a stir.

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slow dismemberment, burial alive or shooting), beating with a rod, beating with a ruler, and public degradation (causing the culprit to kneel on a special bench in public with a red tape on his back describing his crime). Except for the death penalty, punishments are meted out with the intention of correcting rather than hurting members. No one likes to see a fellow-member punished. In fact, although punishments exist in name, in reality most miscreants receive only a warning or reproof. If a case is extremely serious, the criminal is "thrown away"—that is, shot. The society prefers to execute its own members instead of delivering them to the government, for the latter course implies an insult to the whole society. Expulsion from the branch may be substituted for the death penalty; in such an event, the criminal will not be taken in by any other branch.

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The second grand assembly of the year, held on the thirtieth day of the twelfth moon, is a time of celebration and house-cleaning, with some gambling and opium-smoking on the side. Neither of these latter activities is regarded as criminal by the society; they bring in vast sums of money to the society exchequer. Since this assembly occurs at (Chinese) New Year, which is celebrated for at least two weeks, members have a grand opportunity for social intercourse. During this meeting there is usually discussion of general society policy and of financial reports, funds are collected from members according to their financial status, elections are held to fill vacant positions, and reports on recent important events are delivered. Often, too, promotions and demotions are announced; this is done particularly in the case of a branch that has more "good" than "bad" members. Steps taken to clear the branch of bad elements are announced, warnings are given to undesirables, and dates are set for the expulsion of major criminals. Every one sits down together to share the last meal of the year, thus symbolizing the unity and brotherhood which bind the members.

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THERE ARE several reasons for the spread of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan, and for the extension of its activities into so many aspects of present-day society. For one thing, in a country such as China, where law enforcement does not extend to the small hamlets or individual farms, persons sharing similar interests are inclined to band together to protect those interests even though by doing so they may bring disaster upon others. The majority of members possessing real power in the Ko

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575 Lao Hui of the Chengtu Plain belong to the middle class. Each owns between five and eight acres of land, and derives his income directly or indirectly from the land on which he lives; in addition, he may own a store or two in the market center. These people regard the society as a form of social insurance which will guard the well-being of their families, benefit their business activities, and protect their properties from intrusion, alienation or undue taxation. Initially the Ko Lao Hui arose in response to ultra-conservative needs, for it maintains the social order, upholds accepted standards of behavior, and affords its members protection in case of disaster.[10] Such security is desired most in an area where lawlessness prevails and where provision for Western types of insurance—accident, personal or social—is lacking. The Ko Lao Hui is in fact a mutual assistance association, a means of safeguarding one's property and security through the protection of one's neighbors' property and security.

When a large number of middle-class people band together, they often gain a controlling voice in community affairs; whoever wishes to remain in the community must work either with or against them. As a result, members of the upper class are apt to cooperate with them; sometimes, indeed, because of their superior knowledge of administration, these upper-class representatives may assume the leadership in a society branch. Occasionally, well-educated and social-minded persons must participate in the activities of the society if they wish to remain and work in a community. Lower-class persons, too, discovering that they must depend on the society for a living, enter its lower ranks. The practice of *yi* offers the lower classes a form of insurance against personal misfortune. If a lower-class member falls sick or dies, his family will be looked after. In certain areas, tenants who are members of the Ko Lao Hui cannot be evicted no matter how often ownership of the land may change. If one obeys orders from above, one need have no fear of being unemployed; in the event that such orders contravene government laws, one can depend on being housed and fed and cared for in general while being sought by the government. If a high-ranking member commits a crime and is (for a wonder) energetically pursued by the

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[10] In Chengtu in 1942 the author met a Ko Lao Hui member who, though he had lost all of his limbs and thus his earning power, was nevertheless enjoying the company of four young concubines in a large and well-appointed house. It transpired that his comfortable situation was due entirely to the assumption of his fellow-members that, since he had been a good brother in the society before his misfortune, he now merited the very best treatment.

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government, the society will provide and pay for a substitute to confess to the crime and to suffer the consequences in his stead.

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Another reason for the continued existence of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan is the confusion and disorder which have prevailed there in recent years. During the war the central government, which had established its capital in Szechuan and was anxious to avoid unnecessary unrest, encouraged the provincial government in its lax administration. The attitude of compromise adopted toward most problems fostered the development of localism and gave the Ko Lao Hui an opportunity to increase the scope and variety of its activities to a point where it interfered with many aspects of government administration. In any case, government in Szechuan has been so corrupt for so long that the people have no confidence in it.[11] The war years simply aggravated popular dissatisfaction with and distrust of the government, so that any new official measure is received with suspicion. The people have become accustomed to managing their affairs and settling their disagreements by extra-governmental means. It is natural for them to turn to the local Ko Lao Hui branch director, who represents, in theory at least, the virtues of brotherhood, filial piety and proper behavior toward women. Thus the director has become not only the possessor of power but a symbol of righteousness as well. Disagreements between non-members of the society, as well as between members, are now commonly referred to him for settlement.

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The Ko Lao Hui is not a political party, nor does it entertain any pretensions regarding the shaping of national policy—so long as the interests of its middle-class founders are not endangered. Thus far Ko Lao Hui political activities have remained defensive. Individual members may occupy important government posts, but the society as a whole remains aloof from Kuomintang party politics. The society has voiced sharp criticism of Communism, which it regards as inimical to middle-class interests. While adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude toward politics,

[11] The demobilization, in the closing years of the Sino-Japanese war, of many Szechuanese troops without adequate provision for their reemployment greatly swelled the number of undesirable members of the society, and in turn made things more difficult for the government. The possession by society members of an extraordinarily large number of small arms aggravates the situation. In the course of his investigation of two districts near Chengtu, the author learned that nearly every member of the Ko Lao Hui in those localities owned a pistol or a rifle. In Chengtu district one out of every two members possessed such arms without a license. Leaders not infrequently had late-model machine guns.

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575 the Ko Lao Hui keeps the closest watch over government policy, especially where it considers its own interests to be concerned.

662 An illustration of how the Ko Lao Hui functions in this respect may be seen in the typical case of Huang Jun Chin, branch director in the village of Yuan T'ung. To the people who live in it, Yuan T'ung seems less a village than a country of which Huang is king. He owns some 400 acres of land and several thousand side arms which are borne by 3,000 men (all society members) directly under his command. In the county seat he and some of his men occupy a huge mansion fortified with machine-gun emplacements. Several close relatives hold important positions in the municipal and provincial governments. Although they are paid by the county government, two platoons of guards and policemen are armed with Huang's guns and are answerable to him alone. His men are also in the magistrate's office; in fact, the magistrate is no more than a figurehead whose function it is to transmit government orders to Huang and to await his instructions. The county administration takes no action without Huang's prior consent. He not only presides over the county council, but appoints all of its other members. Huang's case is typical of the power of the society which, though essentially non-political, frequently interferes with, and occasionally assumes direct control of, county government.[12]

575 Each branch of the society derives its regular income from a number of sources, of which opium dens are the most important. In one
548 locality there are ten such dens, each run by a different high-ranking member. Each must contribute a definite sum to the branch, as must the semi-secret gambling houses and brothels. Illegal transactions in prohibited goods such as arms, gasoline and other vital war materials are effected under the supervision and protection of the society, which collects a fee on each transaction. Another source of income is the "mar-
575 ket" where, though no goods are handled, such commodities as rape
437 seed, rice and the like are bought and sold in wholesale quantities; since no goods are in evidence, the government agent, if he is present, sees nothing on which to levy a tax, but the society, keeping a com-

[12] Of course, the society manifests its power in other ways. For example, local coal mines and salt works cannot move their products to market until they have paid the society large sums on each shipment. Before making tours of inspection in the districts of the Chengtu Plain, government officials are expected to notify, and to secure the protection of, Ko Lao Hui officials. This procedure is necessary because bandits, county guards and administrators are usually all members of the society.

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plete record of transactions, collects a tax in place of the government.[13] In addition, the Ko Lao Hui controls many inland communications in the sense that it operates chains of control points similar to customs houses at which merchants and other travelers are stopped for contributions.

Other, irregular sources of income are more difficult to assess. Most big stores within the territory of a branch must present gifts, in cash or in kind, either to the director or to the branch, several times each year. The amount of the contribution depends on the size of the store. Special collections occur frequently and may affect not only businessmen but also landowners, who pay a certain amount on each acre. Although stealing, robbery and kidnapping are not openly encouraged by most branches, members who have committed such crimes usually go to their director and present the branch with a large portion of their gains in return for its protection. (One can usually regain a "lost" article if one knows the right person in the branch to turn to.) Some leaders of the Ko Lao Hui capitalize on the power of the society for private and selfish ends at the expense of non-members, or even of other members, but a portion of their profits are invariably devoted to the needs of the society.[14]

One of the most interesting aspects of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan concerns the changes in its forms and activities which have taken place in recent years. Shifts in the needs and interests of communities in which the Ko Lao Hui exists have brought about changes in the motivation and spirit of the society. For example, patriotism—specifically, opposition to the Ch'ing rulers—is thought to have been the main motive for the original establishment of the Ko Lao Hui. But since the disappearance of the Ch'ings as rulers and of the Manchus as a

[13] At one such "market" in 1945 the society branch collected CNC$200 on each *tan* (133 pounds) of rice sold. On an average day 300 *tan* might change hands, resulting in a rake-off, on rice sales alone, of some CNC$60,000. There are eight or nine "market" days each month.

[14] An illustration of how the society looks after its own was afforded by an incident which recently occurred one morning six miles outside of Chengtu. Three cotton dealers, carrying a huge sum of money, were set upon by three highwaymen (Ko Lao Hui members acting on instructions from one of their leaders). A company of road guards, chancing to come upon the scene just after the robbers had secured their loot, started a gun fight which lasted several hours and resulted in the wounding of several guards and the death of two guards and two of the robbers. The surviving robber escaped with the money, all of which was later set aside for the future welfare of the families of the two dead members.

6:Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 people apart, this source of inspiration has likewise vanished. Ideals of filial piety and of veneration for older persons, though still observed, have lost much of their former appeal as a result of the war and the infiltration of Western thought. On the other hand, *yi* and brotherhood, which are at the core of all Ko Lao Hui activities—particularly those involving social insurance and security—have not only remained cardinal principles of the society but are being observed with greater zeal than ever, largely because the security of the people is increasingly threatened by the present system of government.

575 A prominent characteristic of any secret society is the use of a special terminology by its members. For various reasons—to distinguish mem-
148 bers from non-members, to permit members to outwit government authorities, etc.—a secret society, especially in the early stages of development, finds it convenient to designate terms of its own making which differ sufficiently from common usage to enable members to communicate with one another without being understood by the uninitiate. At present, however, the Ko Lao Hui has come so far into the open that nearly everyone knows of its existence and may join it if he so desires. Since most of its activities are common knowledge, there is no longer a need for a secret language with which to conceal them. Instead, a number of new terms have been introduced into Ko Lao Hui parlance, indicating a certain adaptation to changing conditions of society.

575 The progressive relaxation of entrance requirements to a point where almost anyone may join has made for marked local dissimilarities. The
565 wholesale entrance into the Ko Lao Hui of local warlords, retired politicians, corrupt government officials and demobilized soldiers, few of whom are interested primarily in the social aims of the society, is causing the society to engage in an increasing number of undesirable activities while at the same time encouraging the tendency toward separatism among the branches. To a Ko Lao Hui member of the old school, such a trend represents degeneration which must result ultimately in complete separation and dissolution.

575 On the other hand, it is clear that the Ko Lao Hui will retain its power until something can be found to replace it. The government,
668 though well aware of the growing power and influence of the society, has done little to combat it beyond occasionally voicing expressions of alarm. Government officials have been forbidden to join the society, and

6:Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

students in government schools have been threatened with expulsion if they become members. But one may question the efficacy of a policy which ignores a manifestation of this kind while permitting it to grow stronger. Surely, it would be better to investigate the Ko Lao Hui—to discover why it exists, how it operates and what are its effects—and then to seek means of reforming it, of converting it into an effective force for improving the welfare of the people. For the *basic* principles of the Ko Lao Hui are not anti-social. And if the political situation in the province remains chaotic; if corruption in government continues; if unemployment, especially of demobilized soldiers, is not combated; if popular education remains completely inadequate; and if some sort of social insurance is not provided in the present period of rehabilitation; then, the people will certainly continue to look to the Ko Lao Hui for protection and for a livelihood.

575 668

Chengtu, Szechuan, 1946

596 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- some-
181 times denouncing their "reactionary" fathers --
668 and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

573 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of
668 relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

•576 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among
668 top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and
643 Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil with bushes of Cotoneaster, wild pears, and scrub-pines.

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in Bběr-dděr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wùa, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first Bběr-dděr Na-khi, a most painfully polite people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-cloth trousers and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans.

From Bu-du-wùa, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wùa, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr. — From Bpu-wùa we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called Bběr-p'ěr-dtěr and are at an elevation of 8,650 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called Bběr-p'ěr-dshi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water.

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

Tibetan times it had been a room for festive occasions. On the paneling of the walls and ceiling were painted garlands of flowers and hunting scenes in fiery colors. During the meal Tibetans who had some kind of request, were admitted. Scarcely were they inside when they threw themselves on the floor and the Chinese interpreter reported their request. It was seldom that the petitioners dared raise an objection. After the mandarin had curtly given his reply they murmured a feeble "O laso! laso!", bowed their heads, closed their eyes, lifted their hands, pressing the palms together, to their foreheads and again lowered their heads to the dirty floor. This was also the way the interviews of the poorer Tibetan aristocracy were conducted, which angered these people very much. C 353 C 576

The floor plan of the castle in Tschanggu resembled the manor house of Puiling, except that the proportions were larger. The building is rectangular with a flat roof of loam, and has four wings that are built around an inner court. There are five stories, all of which are supported by trunks of spruce. Only the strong outer wall is made of stone and in it there are only a few small windows in the fifth story. In times of distress, half the tribe with women and children could be housed there. This building, like all Tibetan houses, has no foundation walls. The walls are built around the many wooden supports and beams of the interior, just as a tent wall is erected, and are not held in place in the ground. C 344

The village of Tschanggu clusters around the manor house at the edge of the slope. Many of its houses lay in ruins, those that are left are inhabited by Chinese. These people, colonists, whom the Manchu government has transplanted here, mostly have Tibetan wives and the style of architecture is completely Tibetan. The town looked peaceful but ugly. The colonists had planted vegetable beds out of which rose stone ruins, testifying to recent wars and suffering. C 361 166

The Tschanggu monastery is not more than 15 minutes away from the castle. The temples and the upper story of the priests' dwellings are built of wooden beams, as is common in South Tibet, and everything is nicely painted in gay colors. The entire grounds are surrounded by a low wall. (Plate XLVI). It seems designed more to maintain order and decorum among the inhabitants than as a defense against armed enemies. On a hunting trip I also happened to become acquainted with the convent of Tschanggu, which is only a few kilometers distant in a lateral ravine. It houses over a hundred nuns in miserable huts. No gold roofs make it visible from afar, no wall protects the huts from the outside. The nuns do not seem to do as good T 792 346 T 792

555 village almost as much as himself. The wealth
554 usually accumulated by an official during his
596 career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

●577 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial
596 system operated by moral suasion with a mini-
642 mum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaing peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for

178 668 181 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 668 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

•577 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

577 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

573 643 In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

596 597 These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality was

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique du Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

formed within the family; his status in society was determined by his family's status. To understand the individual of traditional China, we must see him within this setting; to understand the changes being wrought by the Communists, we must take into account some of the tensions and dissatisfactions which the family system -- particularly in its period of decay -- set up in the individual.

The role of the individual was determined by his position in the family, and he was taught to fill that particular role. For example, an older brother was held responsible for his younger brother, and was taught to be nice in play to those younger in years. The younger sons were expected to be less sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled them. Throughout all the complex relations of the family, roles were assigned and the individual's life and character were formed by the role he played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop individuality were thus rigidly limited.[50]

The well-being of the family group was the individual's prime concern. He was committed to work which would assure the family's prosperity; he was obliged to protect the family's reputation, for example, by paying off the gambling debts of a family member rather than have the family disgraced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy household rather than to break away and thereby weaken the family's solidarity.

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50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

181 associated with the old image of brotherhood
668 and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly
596 subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission to absolute paternalistic authority and the subordination of the individual to the group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

577 In traditional China, "face" meant one's
668 moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethical norms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are 'counterrevolutionaries', the child should treat them as enemies.

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46 (1944), pp.45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p.46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

[redacted]

•577 668 assigned to the individual. To "get above oneself" in a play for prestige was actually "to lose face" (tiu mien-tzu). The widespread use of go-betweens in business, marriages, and political negotiations was a device for insuring that, in the event of failure, neither principal would "lose face." Consideration for the "face" of others was highly regarded, and, in actual behavior, care for one's own and others' "face," particularly of one's family, was conducive to the surface harmony of Chinese social relations.

Modern Chinese critics have argued that this harmony was too dearly bought, that individual concern for "face," intensified by community pressure, stifled individual initiative and made creative people into timid conformists who sacrificed all for the preservation of superficial prestige in the community. This, they held, worked against China's successful adjustment to the modern world.

The Communists have built on this sort of criticism and dissatisfaction and, in seeking to release individual energies for the purposes of the Communist state, have made a frontal attack on the notion of "face." Mao sarcastically describes the attitude they seek to destroy: "Failing to start an argument in principle with a person, even when you know he is in the wrong, letting things slide for the sake of peace and cordiality, all because he is an old friend, a fellow villager, a fellow student, a close friend, someone beloved, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or failing to make any clear

577 668 decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

577 668 554 The Communists single out for public recognition individuals who have ruthlessly battered their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face," their own or others'. They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

Even after the Communists consolidated
668 their hold on Southwest China, open and clandestine opposition of all kinds was reported by the new regime. Two main sources of subversion were marked as targets for destruction by the government: (1) "Counterrevolutionaries" or "basically hostile elements" -- inclusive terms embracing all social, economic, and political elements considered enemies of the socialist state. (2) Harmful activities such as corruption, waste, and theft which are reported to have caused degeneration and inefficiency in Party and government organizations, industrial
• 578 establishments, and rural co-operatives. A third source of danger to the Communist regime -- tension and discontent within the party, government, and the populace -- can be inferred as concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[2]

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2. Studies of the USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954.

661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

578 668 III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

578 and Five-Anti campaigns. Other signs are
668 apparent in press references during the past few years to the deleterious effects on the health and efficiency of the people in forcing them to over-extend their energies in work or study and to sacrifice all their free time to participation in indoctrination programs and propaganda drives. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected in the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the Marriage Law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such evidences of restiveness in the population and from our knowledge of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the causes and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

1. Regimentation and Restriction.

The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

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The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconvenience. However, the demand that spare-time be devoted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmer spends his money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advise on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The process is not only time-consuming, but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and to attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected. Almost no time is left for taking care of private affairs.

2. High Taxation and Public Obligation.

651 The high taxes and business restrictions

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208 have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not outbreaks of violence. To some extent, at least, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The regime seeks to offset disaffection by emphasizing in its propaganda the necessity and patriotism of individual sacrifice for the national welfare. If some non-vital aspect of the Communist program occasions bitter and widespread complaint, the regime bends to public opinion and institutes changes. Wherever possible, the Communists attempt to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public. Nevertheless, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

B. Tension within Organizations

578 The use of various overlapping control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directive has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party,

578 and mass organizations. A government office or factory may be subject simultaneously to as many as four control agencies -- the control committee of the Party, the supervisory office of the administration, the People's procuratorate, and one of the public security teams. Although the immediate focus of the policing agencies may differ, the effect of the multi-control system is to press in on every organization from all sides and extend control to each member .

Tension within organizations also results from over-centralization. In any centralized and "planned" society, not only are economic decisions based on a master plan which cannot allow for the unique problems of various organizations and localities, but also all political and social policies are determined by directives originating at the head office. Pressures increase in direct proportion to the distance from the originating office; thus tension is greatest at the lowest echelon of the chain of command. Most directives emanate from the central government, are passed to the provincial governments, and then are filtered down to governments on consecutively lower levels until put into effect by the lowest political unit. In the

•578 process, each level of government has a particular target in mind and exerts influence on the next lower political echelon to achieve that objective. The result is an accumulation of pressure at the base of the political pyramid.

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466 In the economic field, each factory is given a production quota, assigned through a similar chain-of-command method. To fulfill the quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure engendered is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them means severe penalties. Recently, the Communists have attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in an effort to gain some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

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578 Within the Party itself, pressure and tension are most intense. In the first place, the Party apparatus as the center of power and activity of the regime is subject to pressure by both the Party and the state. Secondly,

665 Party members cannot escape the endless
578 program of Party indoctrination and rectification. The dual pressures and resulting tension are in large part responsible for the high rate of expulsion and resignation from the Party. Many people who are outwardly in favor of the regime are reluctant to join the Party. The fate of former Parry members after expulsion or resignation is not known, but they are undoubtedly confined in prisons or forced labor camps for some period of time. If allowed to remain free or when released, ex-members are probably subject to security surveillance. However, they may in time form a new subversive group.

668 Tension also exists in mass organizations
578 as the result of pressure imposed upon them by the Party and higher organizations. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These group must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from

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668 expanding beyond safe limits seems to lie in
578 constant vigilance and an incessant barrage of propaganda. By instituting stricter controls and by disposing of undesirable members, the regime has sought to keep these organizations in the service of the Party.

CONCLUSION

Subversive potentialities cannot be eliminated however effective a dictatorship or tyranny may be. The forces in opposition to Communist rule in Southwest China are the victims of power, the traditional resistance groups, and discontented ex-members of the Communist Party.

The victims of Communist power -- landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and other elements which have been named by the Communists as "counterrevolutionaries" -- constitute the most threatening opposition to the current regime. Most of the former Nationalist forces have been eliminated, imprisoned, or placed under surveillance, but some of them may still remain at large. Because of past experience, any officials of the former regime still operating in the

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668 Southwest Region are in the best position to assume leadership over all resistance groups. Potential additions to the subversive elements in the region are present in the peasants opposed to collectivization and the "new rich" group, classed as hostile by the regime.

The operation of traditional resistance groups is manifest in the continued activities of the secret societies. Because they are attractive to illiterate peasants and laborers, the regime may find itself in the curious position of having to eliminate considerable numbers of the proletariat and peasantry, whose interests the Communists claim to protect and advance.

Too little is known of the fate and activities of the former Communist Party members in China to be able to speculate on their subversive potentialities. However, it seems certain that the chances for opposition by this group and its possible strength and cohesion will vary inversely with the success, power, and unity of the Chinese Communist Party.

Public discontent and tension within organizations in the Southwest Region are by no means indications of the impending collapse

578 of the Communist regime. Rather, they
668 are the reactions to be expected from a controlled society under a tight dictatorship. Tension and public discontent would have to develop in intensity and proportion far beyond their current manifestations before the regime would be weakened or seriously handicapped, and the loss of Party morale and unity would have to extend far beyond its present level before the entire Communist system was threatened with disruption.

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomanal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

CHAPTER VI

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE INTO A RUSTIC COMMUNITY

Conscious efforts in seeking to propagate modern medicine and health measures in the various backward countries so far run along two lines: (a) the "dictatorial method" and (b) the "democratic method". These two terms are the author's own adoption and have nothing to do with their current usages. 751 578

(a) The "Dictatorial Method".

The first method is resorted to by governments which assume the role of Dieu Protecteur and require the people to follow their instructions and legislation with a minimum of, or no, explanation at all. The Yunnan Provincial Government tried this method. A friend of the author's, Mr. Chang Tze-ya, visited Yu Hsi Hsien, Yunnan, during a time when the periodic markets failed to take place. Upon inquiry he found that the provincial health department was enforcing compulsory inoculation against typhoid and cholera, and the villagers evaded it by refusing to come to the market altogether. The Japanese authorities in Occupied China often enough have tried this method. And the British rulers in Africa have frequently required the clearing of bushes with compulsory labor or moving away whole villages in the tzetze fly area in order to exterminate the sickness of which the fly is the cause, or resorted to other measures equally drastic.

Are such measures fruitful? Yes and no. All such efforts undoubtedly achieve some results (the authorities in question may always be able to show figures of increase in hospital beds or equipment or of the number treated). Certain sanitary measures, such as the disinfection of water sources or the clearing away of tzetze fly bushes, are best done with some exercise of governmental power, but such efforts so far have neither secured a really widespread cooperation on the part of the peoples nor taken a deep root in the indigenous cultures. The peoples on whom such measures are imposed may decide to evade them, as some Chinese have done. They may retard the intended progress so that even enthusiastic ethnographers like Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald have to admit, after over thirty years of European administration and missionary work, that: 000

> "Both ways, those of old Africa and of modern Europe, are tried alternatively" (Op. cit., p. 98); or again, "Although the activities may not be fully understood, the health service has shattered the influence, of the sorcerer and magician. Of course, not entirely." (Ibid., p. 98)

In Samoa, where "more than a quarter-century of continuous and persistent work with the staff and resources, made possible through the cooperation of the Navy Department (U.S.A.)," has been carried on, the results are, as we have seen in two quotations, far from satisfactory and have caused Professor Keesing to observe that,

> "The first enthusiastic assaults of the latter (modern medicine and public health measures) have made some headway, but the traditional forces, strong enough in Western society, have been little or very impermanently shaken. For the timebeing, therefore, there has been at many points a compromise.

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feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance.

Lu-feng [11] is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 捨資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province.

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

[11] In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿鵬甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏婆蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937–1094) by I-sheng 義勝, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341–1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

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487 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descend-
137 ing to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-
133 kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of
[579] densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-
quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then gov-
ernor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dis-
persed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-
[317] ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were
[483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their fore-heads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七舖, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路甘. [The character *t'an* 甘 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 撒 *shan*, and 撿 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路甘千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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487 until we reach the village of Pan-ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-
133 nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a
137 stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普湧 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 苴力鋪, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where
133 lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li
485 from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher
133 pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and ex-
137 posed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come [508] within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 [35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the
137 Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
579 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙平, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta Li 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p.28 F.-- Analyst]

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487 ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from
133 the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour,
137 after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

579 Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

487 *Sixteenth stage.* — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li.
133 Elevation 7,800 feet.
137 From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662–1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 [45] (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple [46] nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yünnanensis*, Alnus, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, Berberis, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

[45] The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748–778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b–6a).

[46] The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行庵 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle. S ST

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious 771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here. S ST

[764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks. S ST

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several [579] times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives. S

631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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post-haste on news reaching the town that the Tong-wa Tibetans, who live in Hsi-k'ang 西康 to the north of Chung-tien, are on the war-path. These people not only loot in and around Chung-tien, Bbĕr-ddĕr, etc., but they often cross the Yangtze and invade Li-chiang territory, as in 1922, when they burned the town of Ta-ku, and killed many people, shooting the girls, who had climbed trees to avoid falling into their hands, like pigeons off the branches. When I visited Ta-ku shortly afterwards I found the town in a terrible state; many girls had broken limbs which had ulcerated and were beyond hope. In 1933 the Tibetans came again, but satisfied themselves by occupying Chung-tien for a considerable time, whence they undertook raiding expeditions in various directions.

The present native ruler of Bbĕr-ddĕr is of the rank of Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant), and besides Bbĕr-ddĕr rules also over his own district called Ha-ba (Ha-pa), to the south. His family name is Yang 楊. His Mohammedan ancestors came originally from Shan-hsi province. They lived in Ta-li, but escaped during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856 and fled to Chung-tien. He again is under the immediate control of the Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Chiliarch, Lieutenant) of Ch'iao-t'ou 樵頭, also of the name of Yang, though they are not related. Both positions are hereditary. The latter is directly under the magistrate of Chung-tien, who is usually an absentee. Yang Pa-tsung of Ha-pa is a half-breed, his mother being a Tibetan woman and his father a Chinese Mohammedan. The latter was killed by Tibetan bandits in a raid which they were making into his territory. Unfortunately, the present ruler, who is addicted to opium, lacks all the qualities necessary to control such a district, and one can but pity the poor peasants who have to look to such an individual for help in time of stress. It is impossible for a magistrate to remain or keep order, unless he has a large force of regular troops to rely on for protection. The few militia soldiers, with antiquated, rusty rifles, and bullets which often do not fit the barrel, are no protection against the wild hordes of Tong-wa Tibetans, who are usually well armed.

Strange as it may seem, these Tibetan bandits were often armed by Chinese generals, residing in Ning-yüan fu, Ssu-ch'uan, under whose nominal jurisdiction they come. The generals, being interested mainly in money, sold their old rifles to the highest bidders, in this case the Tibetans and Lo-lo on the Yün-nan border. In 1931 when I was in Yung-ning, the good Tsung-kuan 總管 who, unfortunately for his country, has passed on to the Great Beyond, complained to me bitterly about the sale of arms to the wild Tibetans and Lo-lo by the Ning-yüan generals. They had actually sent for the Tibetans, sold them their surplus or old rifles, and given them a *hu-chao* 護照 (passport) and even a Chinese escort to prevent their being molested *en route*. The King of Mu-li (Mi-li) did not wish them to pass through his territory, but could not refuse them transit in view of their passes from the Ning-yüan generals, under whose jurisdiction the Mu-li King comes.

In 1929 Ch'en 陳,[1] the Tsung-pan 總辦 of Wa-li 瓦里 on the Ya-lung River in Ssu-ch'uan, sent many loads of rifles, commandeering peasants on the road to carry them to Yung-ning in Yün-nan, to be sold to whoever had the money

[1] He was murdered by the Communists in April, 1934, when the latter passed through Ssu-ch'uan from Yün-nan.

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579 713 to buy them for more than 100 dollars silver apiece with 25 rounds of ammunition. In order that they should not fall into the hands of the Lo-lo or Tibetans the rulers of Yung-ning had to buy as their finances allowed. When Ch'en Tsung-pan and his party were in Yung-ning on their way towards Li-chiang to sell their remaining rifles, the Gangkar-ling Tibetans, having learned of their presence there with arms for sale, came post-haste to Yung-ning, followed and overtook them at a village to the south. They then attacked them in order to capture the arms. Ch'en, who had some Ssu-ch'uan soldiers with him, resisted, keeping up a constant fire and using up all the ammunition which was to be sold with the rifles. The Tibetans retreated and finding a Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 Tibetan caravan which was returning from Li-chiang, attacked and robbed it. Under such conditions, the poor unarmed peasants have indeed a difficult existence.

505 *487 From the south there are three approaches to the Ha-pa and Bbĕr-ddĕr territories, but the Yangtze must be crossed no matter where one enters them, coming from Yün-nan. The quickest way to reach the district used to be by way of Ta-ku immediately north of Li-chiang, two stages distant. A ferry plied there, but, since the Tibetan bandits used it to cross over to Li-chiang in 1922, it has been destroyed and there is now no intercourse with Ha-pa, at least not from the Ta-ku side. People do cross on goatskin rafts which are hastily constructed, but the skins are kept on the Chung-tien side, none being available at Ta-ku. Thus to cross from the Ta-ku side, although the easiest approach, is now impossible (1932). This still held good in 1944.

*489 The second best approach, only feasible in the summer, is via the pass called Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 (Snow gate cut) over the mountain near Bbĕr-ddĕr to the west. The valley which leads to it from the Bbĕr-ddĕr side is called Gyi-na lo (Black water gulch). From the pass a trail leads west to the Yangtze above Ch'iao-t'ou (Bridge head). From autumn to spring the pass is deep in snow, and many have lost their lives in trying to cross in the winter season.

The third and longest and most difficult approach is the one by the Yangtze gorges. When mentioning the Yangtze gorges, those known to the tourists at I-ch'ang 宜昌 come into mind, but let it be said that the latter can never be compared with the gorge the Yangtze has cut for itself through the Li-chiang Snow range. Having always wished to explore the gorge through the Yü-lung Shan, I took this route to Bbĕr-ddĕr, and it is this which I shall describe. Bacot is said to have traversed the gorge, but he says little or next to nothing about it, and mentions it as being 2,000 metres deep. It is much more than that, and 10,000 feet is about right.

2. FROM NV-LV-K'Ö TO THE MOUTH OF THE YANGTZE GORGE

Nv-lv-k'ö (At the foot of the snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪崇村[3] as the Chinese call it, is situated at the end of the north-western branch of the

[3] (Hsüeh) Sung is the highest and central peak of the Wu-yo 五嶽 (Five sacred mountains) on which the ancient emperors worshipped Shang-ti (God). The Sung peak lies in Ho-nan fu in the province of Ho-nan, on the watershed between the Yellow and the Han Rivers. As the title of Pei-yo (North sacred mountain) had been bestowed on the Yü-lung Shan, the village lying at its foot was given the name Sung, which also stands for eminent and lofty.

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*487 hjom dgon-pa),[16] dedicated to the goddess Palden Lhamo (dPal-ldan Lha-
*133 mo),[17] is by way of the above-mentioned valleys. The boundary between
*137 Mu-li and Ch'ien-so is below Rin-jom Gom-pa in the valley of Ha-la-mi.

Du-llo and its destruction by Lo-lo bandits. — Opposite the hot springs, situated in the Erh dji valley, one half of which is in Yung-ning and the other in Ch'ien-so territory, a valley extending from north-east to south-west debouches into it.[18] This valley is called Wua-lu. It is more of a ravine than a valley and leads to a pass among forested hills. It becomes very narrow in its upper half, where it is joined by another ravine with a rocky defile. The slopes are covered exclusively with the yellow Yün-nan pine. There is a maze of spurs over which the trail leads to a pass and down another small rocky ravine, which debouches into the broad valley of Du-llo. Here at the junction of the ravine and the Du-llo dji, on the northern bank of the latter, stood the hamlet of Du-llo; now only the charred mud walls of the few houses which composed the village remain.

• 579 On February 9th, 1929, the eve of Chinese New Year, when the poor Hli-khin peasants had decorated the gates of their homes, with pine trees, the savage Lo-lo came and robbed them, drove off their cattle, and set their houses on fire; worse still, their children were carried off into slavery. And this happened less than 10 miles from where Chinese New Year was celebrated in great style in Yung-ning. Passing by here on my way to Mu-li in March of the same year, a few of the peasants were sitting in the ruins of their former homes; silently they contemplated the ashes of what constituted their former belongings. Their overlord, the T'u-ssu of Ch'ien-so, an opium sot, who was at feud with his brother and who had invited the Lo-lo to settle in his territory (see p. 404), had fled from the wrath of his brother, who had waylaid him with the intention of killing him. He was safely camping on the Li-t'ang River in Mu-li territory. His enemy brother had likewise fled and was living on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u in the Yung-ning Lake, also an addict to the opium pipe. No one cared for the poor peasants, who were thus delivered up into the hands of outlaws and robbers. I mention this to show what dreadful conditions prevail in this part of China, and how indifferent the officials are to the dire distress of the peasants and the lawlessness in the country.

This state of affairs is of course mainly due to lack of communications, the wildness of the country, and the long distance, comparatively speaking, from the governing center of these outposts of China. But if the truth must be told, it is also due to the indifference of the Chinese officials. It would be useless for the people to attempt to complain to the magistrate under whose jurisdiction they come, for between them and Yen-yüan, the seat of the magistrate, are independent Lo-lo who would rise *en masse* and inflict worse punishment. Only a large military force would be able to deal with them. Under present conditions, with the peasantry disorganized, their ruling

[16] ཛོམ་ལྡན་ལྷ་ཁང [17] ལྷ་ལས་ཀ

[18] In the summer of 1943 the entire bank of the Erh dji on the Sze-ch'uan side was planted to opium, a sea of purple flowered poppies extended to the foot of the mountains.

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chiefs at feud with each other, and themselves refugees, they cannot help but be prey to the rapacious, cruel Lo-lo. 579

Ha-la-mi valley. — Crossing the Du-llo Stream the trail leads up another broad valley which debouches at Du-llo village into the Du-llo valley. This valley is called Ha-la-mi, the lower half of which belongs to Ch'ien-so territory. 487* 133* 137*

At the corner of the junction of these valleys stood the ruins of other homes. The Lo-lo robbers had done a thorough job in looting the poor innocent and undefended peasants. No one cared about their trials and tribulations.

In the Ha-la-mi valley a trail leads to Wu-chio Monastery situated in the territory of the once powerful Lama King of Mu-li whom the Lo-lo greatly feared and respected. Ha-la-mi is a beautiful valley, forested with pines and oaks. Yet the fields along the crystal-clear stream have been abandoned by their owners on the Ch'ien-so side of the line for fear of being carried off into slavery by the Lo-lo, should they dare go out to till them. The elevation at the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li border is 9,700 feet.

Ere reaching Wu-chio Monastery, a valley debouches into Ha-la-mi from north-west. A bridge spans that stream.

Wu-chio Lamasery. — Wu-chio Ssu 乌角寺 is situated at an elevation of 10,100 feet on a terrace which juts out into the stream. North of Wu-chio although in a continuation of Ha-la-mi valley, the stream is called La-dze dji and has its source in the huge limestone mountain called Hla-dze or La-dze.[19] 346

The lamasery consists of one stone building containing the main shrine and chanting hall, while log cabins house the few lamas who attend to the worship of the most dreaded demon goddess of the Lama Church, Palden Lhamo. Wu-chio Ssu (Rin-jom Gom-pa) is well known in Tibet as it is said to have been one of the early dwelling-places of the goddess. It is a mysterious spot, the temple dark and gloomy like all Tibetan chanting halls. One corner of the building was partitioned off and this was the sanctuary of the fierce goddess whose image, represented by a fresco, adorned the wall. The painting was covered with silk scarfs which served as a curtain. Butter lamps which were burning in front of it, furnished the only light; all was still and hushed. In front of the old temple stood two immense juniper trees at least 500 years old. The lamas related that the goddess delights to live in trees. Facing the valley in which Wu-chio Ssu is situated are the mighty crags of La-dze or Hla-dze. In this mountain is a large cave known as La-dze ni-kung. Palden Lhamo is reputed to have lived there in the dim and hoary past. Water issues from this cave, which is said to be the source of the La-dze dji.

* The Hsi-fan of Mu-li, who call themselves Ch'ra-me and whom the Na-khi call Boa, look upon Mt. Hla-dze as the cradle of their race. Like the people of Yung-ning do still, and the Li-chiang Na-khi did in former days, the Boa cremate their dead. They take the ashes and fragments of bones of their cremated relatives and deposit them on the limestone cliffs of Hla-dze, similarly to the chiefs of Yung-ning whose ashes are deposited at the foot of the cliffs, high up on Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain).

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509 To the north-west of Yung-ning dwell the outlaw Tibetans of the Kung-ka-ling 貢噶嶺 and Hsiang-ch'eng countries, who are ever bent on robbing; to the east and south are the insurgent savage Lo-lo whom it is impossible for the Chinese, or the degenerate smaller T'u-ssu on the Ssu-ch'uan side of the lake and Yung-ning, to control. In addition to the raids perpetrated by these wild tribes, an occasional military rebel, like the former chairman of the Yün-nan Provincial Government Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, who having been turned out, attempted to regain control of the province, settles with his hordes like locusts on this beautiful, but otherwise poor region. He and his hungry soldiers impoverished the peasants and forced their headmen or chiefs, on pain of death, to contribute not only food but money for their support.

The good old Tsung-kuan was always busy, he detested any one who smoked opium and had no good word for such. His righteous anger was aroused when an official order came from the Yün-nan Government in 1931 forcing his people to grow opium. He was a wise man and his counsel was always in demand. The neighboring chiefs in Ssu-ch'uan, and the Lang-ch'ü chief to the south-east of his territory, always asked his assistance when in trouble, for he was greatly respected on account of his sense of justice, and unimpeachable character. It was a great loss not only to Yung-ning and Yün-nan, but to all the poor and troubled chiefs, his neighbors, whose burden he helped carry, when he passed away on the 28th day of the second (intercalary) fifth moon of the 22nd year of the Republic (July 20th, 1933).

*133 136 *Lion Mountain.* — One of the most conspicuous landmarks which confront the lake on the north, is the southern face of Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain; Seng-ge ga-mu). The latter is a Tibetan word Seng-ge dKarmo (White Lioness), *Seng-ge* meaning lion, *dkar* white, and *mo* female. It is the Chinese Kan-mu Shan. In Na-khi it is called Gko-mun Ngyu (Hawk Mountain). This mountain is mirrored in the lake, its broad face representing the lion's head (PLATE 244), while its body extends to the north, the long western slopes of it forming the eastern boundary of the Yung-ning plain. No hunting is permitted, and here roam many bears who live on the oaks, and often come to the fields of the villages and eat their broad beans and peas. Deer, stags, blue sheep, serow, and goral roam over its rocky slopes and cliffs. The goddess Kar-mo is pictured riding a hind (PLATE 245). Two shrines have been erected to her in Yung-ning, one on the western slopes of the mountain which bears her name, and one on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 246).

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invaded Yung-ning territory, burnt its peaceful homes, driven off 1,600 head of livestock, and killed a number of peasants. This state of affairs is only attributable to the short-sightedness of certain Chinese militarists who, personally kill or order the killing of inoffensive native rulers who alone are able to control these wild border tribes. The murder of the Mu-li King is a case in point, and is directly responsible for the invasion of Yung-ning by the Gangkar-ling outlaws. It is true that some of the T'u-ssu are not fit to rule, but this degeneration has been brought about by the opium habit and the latter again by the forced growing of opium by the Chinese authorities for the sake of revenue. Tribespeople usually do not smoke opium and would never grow it were they not at times forced to and heavily fined should they refuse to grow it, plus being taxed for what they could grow. Happily those days are past.

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chou, with its source on the northern or north-eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Mountain. This part of the river is called the Lo-i Chiang 羅易江. From the eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Shan further north it receives a small affluent called the Mi Ho 米河 (Rice river); another branch in the east is known to the Chinese as the Yen-ching Ho 鹽井河. These two main branches flow united as the Ta-ch'ung Ho into the Li-t'ang River, and not into the Ya-lung Chiang, as the Chinese Yün-nan military map, as well as the older Chinese maps, would make us believe. These maps ignore the existence of the Li-t'ang River and draw the Ya-lung in its stead. Furthermore Ch'ien-so territory is marked much too far north and west, instead of north-east of Yung-ning. It would be of little benefit and would only create confusion were I to quote the Yung-pei Records regarding the sources, etc., of the Ta-ch'ung Ho. 487* 133* 137*

A valley extends from the T'u-bbu peninsula, to the mainland, carrying a stream through Tso-so territory east into the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung River). Another branch it receives in the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake (Lu-ku Hu), the outlet being called the Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge), for a bridge spans the stream at the effluence of the lake. Thus the lake drains into the Ta-ch'ung Ho, the latter into the Li-t'ang, and the Li-t'ang into the Ya-lung, which debouches into the Yangtze somewhat north-west of K'un-ming.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu family. — My first visit to Tso-so land was in the company of the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan. He had been asked to act as intermediary between the Tso-so T'u-ssu and the King of Mu-li, who was on the point of invading the former's territory with his Tibetan cavalry from Ga-ro, an unsavory lot with a notorious reputation. Tso-so country to-day is a lawless tract of land. The T'u-ssu family have lost all the respect of their peasants and are unable to control their territory, living themselves in constant fear of being kidnapped by the Lo-lo who form a major portion of their so-called subjects. The T'u-ssu, a young man of 26, admitted to me that he is unable to exert any authority east of the Wo-lo Ho. The Lo-lo repeatedly invaded and plundered his territory from the north and east — recently very nearly succeeding in carrying off the chief himself into slavery — while the Gangkar-ling bandits harass it from the north-west. 579 622

The older members of the chief's family, such as La Tsung-kuan 喇總管 and the old abbot of their lamasery which represents the Bön sect, were all addicted to opium; the former had died since my first visit in 1928, so there is now no one to take the responsibility of government and the poor peasants suffer without redress. The new and young abbot is a brother of the present T'u-ssu (PLATE 247). Matters had come to such a pass that the peasants were on the point of informing their chief that they did not want him any more. Whenever the approach of bandits is reported, the La family flees post-haste to the island of Bu-wua situated in the south-western part of the lake leaving the peasants to their fate. Their livestock is driven off, their houses burnt, and all that is left to them are ruins; into the fields of standing wheat which the bandits cannot carry off, they turn their horses loose and leave the stubble. Last, but not least, their children are carried off to be sold into slavery.

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579 622 Such is the lot of the poor peasants of the Tso-so territory and the same holds good for the Ch'ien-so country. I have met peasants from the latter who had lost everything and were migrating with a chair or a cupboard on their back, climbing the 13,000 feet high mountain of Ki-bo which separates Mu-li from Ch'ien-so territory, to beg the Mu-li King for a little land where they could settle and start life anew. No one of the ruling class of Ssu-ch'uan, an immense province without communication with this south-westernmost corner, cares for the peasants of these T'u-ssu, of whom there are five, called the Wu-so. The Yung-ning Tsung-kuan took pity on them and acted as intermediary between them and the Lo-lo, for the latter respected him and listened to his advice. Although powerless against the Tibetans, yet with the goodwill of the King of Mu-li he could at times avert pending troubles. Now, since the decease of that most active personality, who was like a father with a big heart for any one in trouble, the country has fallen on evil days. It is the beginning of the end of the native chiefs.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu is said to rule (?) over 1,000 families. However, he himself stated to me that he can, or supposedly can, control only his Na-khi subjects, who dwell west of the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho. Although his territory extends east of the Wo-lo Ho, he cannot even venture there, as it is inhabited by Lo-lo tribal clans in whose fear and dread he and his subjects constantly live. Since my first visit, their residence, at best a small affair, was being rebuilt, mostly of mud bricks and wood. The old decayed and half burnt yamen still stood in a long court full of weeds. The old Bön Temple in the rear had been spared by the Tibetan bandits, and there still sat enthroned as of old the founder of the Bön sect Tön-pa Shenrab (sTon-pa gShen-rabs-mi-po), with *Yidam* (tutelary deities of the Bön church) to both sides of him.

Only in the women members of the chief's family of Tso-so land is refinement to be seen, the men being degenerate and addicted to opium (PLATE 248).

*487 *133 *137 *T'u-bbu peninsula.*—The long spur which juts out into the lake and forms the T'u-bbu peninsula ends abruptly to the rear of the present Tso-so yamen. It does not join the mountain range to the north, but leaves a broad, flat stretch of land between: the main road to Yen-yüan or Yen-ching, to which the Tso-so or La-t'a T'u-ssu is subordinate, leads over this little plain. The mountain god of the Tso-so people is called Yon-tra T'u-bbu, and is represented by the T'u-bbu peninsula. He is pictured riding a white horse, and is accompanied by a white dog and a white rooster. In the left hand he carries a flag like the Tibetan god of wealth, and in his right a *Bum-pa* (Amrta vase). His face is white. Facing the god is his wife, a *kLu-mo* (female water spirit), rising from a spring. In winter the temperature in Tso-so land is considerably colder than that on the islands in the lake where the deciduous trees lose their leaves much later than on the mainland. The elevation at the Tso-so yamen is 9,700 feet and is ten li distant from the lake-shore. The trail leads from the Tso-so chief's house and village of To-shi, up the valley, leaving to the west the last hill which is still a part of the T'u-bbu peninsula. At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 gentry join through love of money and adventure. Thus robberies are not made by the poor and half-starved so much
575 as by the strong and able-bodied who are in comfortable circumstances. In fact, but for the connivance and help of
599 the rich it would be impossible for the rogues to carry on their depredations. People say that when a robber gang is equipped for action and makes its appearance at dead of night it is a terrifying sight. Torches are fixed in their caps or hats, their faces are painted with hideous colors, they are armed with battering rams, swords, clubs, crowbars, and latterly with rifles and Mauser pistols. Their attack is sudden and determined, but at the slightest alarm they retire, carrying with them what silver and valuables they have been able to secure. Prior to the raid some servant has been bribed to reveal where the silver is kept.

If any of the gang should be caught, there is danger that secrets may be let out; but some of the descendants of Lan Ta-shun's bands will defy torture and scorn death. No officials can get their secrets either by torture or cajolery; and no severities used on them seem to have any moral effect on the rest of the gang; indeed it sometimes seems as though the more are killed the more the membership grows.

575 The chief Han Liu ideal is liberty, which means to them anarchy, selfishness and depravity, and it may be said that the Society is always "'agin the government." They are under a kind of military rule, make their own laws and reserve all rights of interpreting and administering them.

There is, however, a growing tendency to social equality and the senior brother does not enjoy the same blind obedience as formerly. Among certain classes his word is no longer law. The tendency is to follow a popular man apart from his social standing; but such a man soon finds himself in a difficult and dangerous position.

In such an organization there must be jealousy and strife. Even in peaceful times deep enmity may exist on personal grounds, between two anchorages in the same street. These factions have been compared to two tigers in the same forest,—fighting must ensue. Suspicion and envy develop

000 horizon with which I took latitudes every clear night. My maximum and minimum thermometers very soon got out of order and defied all my efforts to get them right again. The survey was done on a scale of four miles to the inch, and I tried as far as possible to get in all the country that came in sight rather than to put in with minute accuracy the part near the road.

133 Soon after leaving camp we crossed the actual watershed which is presumably the boundary. They say there was formerly a boundary "gate" here called Shên-hu-kuan. From all this part of the road there are magnificent views of the surrounding country. To the south the hills near Sima are plainly visible. To the south-east in a nearer range of hills the gap is seen through which the road from Mêng-tien to San-ta passes, and beyond this gap is visible another range which is probably that which divides Möng Na from Ho-hsa. Far away to the east can be seen a high mountain chain which separates the Shweli from the Salween. To the north this range stretches away till it is hidden by the spurs of Tabu Pum; to the south it culminates in a very high and prominent conical hill called Kao-li-kung which is about 12,000 feet high. South of this the range seems to get lower very rapidly.

[162 241] A steep descent of 1,400 feet brought us into the little Mêng-ka paddy plain which is inhabited by Chinese and Li-sos. The land is all cultivated but is not fertile, and the people do not get much more than a bare living off it. The head-man put me up in his house and I determined to halt here over the 7th, so as to write to the San-si sawbwa to tell him I was coming the next day.

A Shan silversmith from San-ta was a fellow-guest in Yang's house—rather an intelligent man who professed great contempt for the Chinese of Mêng-ka. Certainly the Shans are in many ways a much more civilised race than the Chinese.

•579 On the morning of the 7th news came in that a caravan of Chinese traders on their way from Manwaing to Mogaung had been attacked by Kachins at a place called Möng-lawng[1]. Six mules with their loads had been stolen,

[1] I believe this to be the Shan form of the name marked on the Survey of India map as Ma-[illegible].

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and four Chinamen wounded. In the afternoon one of the injured men was brought in with a bullet wound in his thigh. They had been going by rather an out-of-the-way road so as to avoid passing Sadon, where they are liable to be searched for opium. The main road is often avoided for this reason. 579

The Kachins who committed the dacoity were acknowledged by the Yang-hsing-kuan to be under him, but he did not trouble himself much about the matter. He told the Chinamen it was their own fault, that they ought to have come by the main road where he could have protected them, instead of trying to sneak through by a bypath, and that, at all events while I was with him, he could not trouble himself about such unimportant matters. I expect as a matter of fact Yang is not very keen on taking the part of outsiders against his own Kachin neighbours, and I should not be surprised if the Mêng-ka men did a little in the dacoity line themselves sometimes. At all events during my stay there several of the inhabitants came to me with bullets in different parts of their bodies which they wanted me to extract!

In the afternoon a letter arrived from the San-si sawbwa in answer to one I had written from Sadon on the 30th. He said he had written to T'êng-yüeh for orders but had not yet received a reply, and begged me to wait a little longer. In consequence of this letter I decided to halt one more day to allow him to answer the letter I had written the day before. I afterwards found that on the 5th, when I was encamped at Ch'ang-ti-fang, a Li-so had gone straight away to San-si and reported that an English officer was crossing the frontier with 200 infantry and 60 cavalry. The sawbwa was very much frightened and had at once written this letter asking me to wait. On the 8th yet another letter from the sawbwa saying there were some very bad Kachin villages on the road, and again begging me to wait till he got orders from T'êng-yüeh. To this I replied that I would halt at Mêng-ka for the 9th and 10th, but on the 11th should go to San-si. It was necessary to say positively that I should start on the 11th, or he might have kept me waiting here indefinitely, and my time was already 00 short to be wasted in that way. 000

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good many Chinamen living there too, and most of the 563
people appear to talk both languages. They are well
known as the biggest blackguards in this part of Yün-nan, 579
and many of them are wanted by the Chinese Government
for murders and other crimes, but the country is so little
under Chinese control that the officials are not very keen
on trying to make arrests. On a subsequent journey I
again had trouble at that very town[1], the only place in
Yün-nan where I have ever encountered anything like
organised opposition. Mêng-hung is in Chên-k'ang terri-
tory, but the sawbwa of the latter place finds it more than
he can manage and has no real authority there.

The next day we reached Mêng-pun (Möng Pawn), a 361
Shan village of 40 houses, not to be confused with Mêng-
p'êng (Möng Hpawng), a somewhat larger place a day's
march off W.S.W. In the afternoon a man arrived who
had been sent by the Chên-k'ang sawbwa to guide us on to
Mang-shih. There had been a good deal of rain lately,
and it fell heavily here at night.

The recent fighting from which the warriors I met at 669
Mêng-hung had just returned, was naturally the subject of
conversation everywhere in this neighbourhood, and from
enquiries made at different places I gathered the following
as to its origin. About the year 1890 the late sawbwa of
Chên-k'ang was going round his state, and while at the
village of Ya-k'ou, which lies two or three marches south-
west of the capital, he was murdered by his nephew Tao-
lao-wu, who usurped the sawbwaship. He, however, only
held it for a few days, as a Chinaman called Ma, who lives
on the hills near Hsiao-mêng-t'ung (Möng Htawng), and is
one of the principal head-men of the Chên-k'ang state, got
some men together, marched on the capital, killed Tao-
lao-wu, and dispersed his followers. The present sawbwa,
who is the son of the murdered man, and was at that time
only two years old, then became the nominal ruler of the
state.

Since then the adherents of Tao-lao-wu had been con-
stantly dacoiting in the western part of Chên-k'ang, near
the Burmese border. The Chinese authorities accordingly

[1] See p. 136.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Tibetans who had apparently come out on a religious pilgrimage, binding themselves to get their living by begging. In this they seemed to have been very successful, as many of them were walking about with ducks under their arms. The same day we met my old friends P'êng and Colonel Liu, who had been with Mr Warry and myself on our first trip through Yün-nan. They were on their way to Nampaung to meet our boundary demarcation party.

After leaving the Nan-tien plain our road still lay up the Nam Ti valley, but over an open rolling down country, crossing the river twice by stone bridges, and finally descending slightly into the town of T'êng-yüeh.

• 579 186 Here a very warm reception awaited us. Our baggage and servants had got ahead, and we found them surrounded by a hostile mob. The innkeepers had absolutely refused to let them in, and our Shan escort of two of the Nan-tien Sawbwa's men were naturally afraid to do anything in the face of a crowd of Chinamen.

Guided by one or two of the more friendly of the inhabitants we made our way towards the *T'ing's* yamen[1]. Our road lay right through the middle of the town, so getting the mules and servants in front of us, Ryder, Watts-Jones and myself came on behind as a rear-guard. The mob, increasing every moment, followed us, yelling, hooting, and throwing stones. When they pressed us too closely, we three who were riding would turn round and charge them. We had the satisfaction of catching one or two of them over the head and arms with our sticks, but they were wonderfully quick in getting away and the whole street would for a moment be almost clear, the people having disappeared into houses or down side streets. Then each time, as we turned round and went on after our mules, they would reassemble almost as quickly as they had vanished, and stones and bricks would again begin to fly about. In this somewhat unpleasant fashion we rode through T'êng-yüeh, and were very glad to reach a temple inside the *T'ing's* yamen where we were safe from the mob and found accommodation for ourselves and our animals.

We had I think all been hit by stones, but no one was

[1] i.e. the district magistrate's house.

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•579 seriously hurt. The affair was not an organised riot, as they
186 did not know we were coming. It may be taken in fact more as a way of showing their dislike to those who have had the misfortune not to be born Chinamen, and as an expression of opinion that foreigners would be better advised to stay in their own country. Still this sort of thing may easily grow into more serious rioting, and I am strongly of opinion that Governments should take notice of even the smallest incidents of this kind where their subjects are the victims of attack by Chinese mobs.

It was unfortunate that our baggage had got ahead of us. Had we been there ourselves and insisted on being let into the inn, breaking in by force if necessary, we should have had no further trouble. A show of physical force at the outset is very effective in dealing with Chinamen. This is the only time that I have been stoned in a Chinese town, and in most places in Yün-nan the mob though inquisitive are not actively hostile.

Soon after our arrival my friend Yang-fa-yung who had on my previous journey met me at Mien-ch'ing, came to see us. He apologised for the conduct of the mob, said that he would have protected us if he had known we were coming, and that orders had been given out which would ensure us from any recurrence of such a thing. The loud voice and bluff military manner which this gallant officer assumed as in keeping with the character of a soldier, caused us much amusement.

The next day we called on the *T'ing*. We found him very civil and friendly and he apologised for the occurrences of the day before. He treated us to sweet biscuits and green chartreuse, so he is evidently making progress in his knowledge of Western customs!

302 What most struck my two companions, both new to China, was the length of his nails which, according to the custom of the literary classes, had been allowed to grow an inch or more beyond the tips of his fingers, to indicate that he was under no necessity to do any work with his hands. This custom may appear to us somewhat inconvenient, but we were soon to learn that it has its uses, for a fly having fallen into Watts-Jones's chartreuse, our host dipped his nail into the glass and deftly scooped it out!

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 It is a very poor town with really nothing to call a
438 plain, and all the rice has to be imported from Chao-t'ung Fu and elsewhere. Maize and beans are the principal food of the inhabitants. There are no large merchants here and very little trade is done except in the necessaries of life. Cotton cloth and any foreign goods that there are come from the Yangtze, and salt also comes from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

316 The only importance of the Wei-ning district lies in the mines—copper, silver, lead, iron, and zinc. With good communications these could no doubt be profitably worked. The height of Wei-ning is 7,500 feet, and it is a very cold place.

132 As Pottinger had not yet arrived I went on the next day along the Pi-chieh road, while Watts-Jones did some more surveying to the east of Wei-ning.

Going gradually up a range of hills, my road led me over a series of small steep-sided plateaus, with no outlet for the water. I slept at Ssŭ-p'u at 8000 feet. For the last few miles of this march we were in a dense cloud, so that it was impossible to do any surveying beyond a mere traverse of the road. This is the sort of weather which is, I believe, prevalent throughout Ssŭ-ch'uan in the cold season. The name Yün-nan means "south of the cloud," and it is natural to suppose that the province was so named as lying south of the clouds and mist which prevail in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and even in north-eastern Yün-nan, for such a great part of the year.

On the 23rd April I met Pottinger at the little village of Hun-shui-t'ang. Hunter, who was doing the surveying, was still 30 miles behind, as he had found great difficulties in this part of the line. So we decided to go to Wei-ning and await his arrival there.

The misty and rainy weather had made surveying most difficult for Pottinger's party. They had sometimes been for days together enveloped in thick fog, which made it absolutely impossible to see the lie of the country or to do any useful work.

579 Besides this they had encountered much hostility from
186 the natives of the country. A hundred men or so would collect and roll down stones on them from the hill-tops

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

579 186 and fire at them with guns. Their shooting was so bad that no one was ever hit, and they would run away if attacked, but this sort of thing naturally interfered with survey operations. The officials were always friendly, and increased Pottinger's escort of Chinese soldiers to 150 men, 20 of whom were armed with mausers.

Even in Kuei-chou province on this side of Pi-chieh these attacks began again, and Pottinger warned them that if there was any more opposition to his movements he would fire on them. The next day they began rolling stones down again, and Pottinger and Hunter attacked them with the twenty mauser-armed Chinese soldiers. Three of the Chinese were killed, and there was after that no further trouble.

These disturbances were probably due to the rebellion of Yü-man-tzŭ, which spread over a great part of Ssŭ-ch'uan the year before, and had hardly been repressed at the time Pottinger was passing through that province.

We got back to Wei-ning in two days and found that Watts-Jones had also returned there. We put up in very good quarters in the mining office. They have a lot of boilers and other mining machinery here, which are the property of the Yün-nan Province Government, who have never used them and want to sell them, but are hardly likely to find a purchaser here.

436 We halted the next day to wait for Hunter, and went to call on the civil mandarin and on the general. The former showed us his mint where cash are coined. They are made of a mixture of copper, lead, and zinc which when melted is poured into a mould which makes 200 or 300 cash at once. Not many are coined here: most of the copper is sent to Kuei-yang, the capital of the province.

The price the Government give for copper is 11 taels for 100 catties. This comes to about threepence a pound, a price which, the mandarin says, is not enough to make copper-mining pay. This I can well believe. I have often wondered how cash could be coined so as not to cost more than they are worth as money, but no doubt at this price it can be done.

The cash is the only real coin that exists over the greater part of China. Roughly speaking its value is about a tenth

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 the two streams that water it are irrigated: the rest of the
241 plain lies too high and is consequently little cultivated.
The natives of Lin-an, like those of T'êng-yüeh, have a
186 strong antipathy to anyone who has not had the good fortune to be born a Chinaman. So far do they carry their hatred of everything foreign that they even refuse to weave their cloth out of foreign yarn. They import their material for making clothes in the shape of raw cotton from the Shan States. Such at least was the case at the time of my visit.

Three days from Hsin-fang, over a fairly open plateau country, brought us to Mêng-tzŭ[1], where I was hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Spinney of the Imperial Maritime Customs.

579 This place was only opened as a treaty port in 1889.
186 The foreign settlement is pleasantly situated outside the town, the European community at the time consisting, besides the Customs Staff, of a French consul, a doctor, and one French merchant. The well-built, well-furnished houses in which they lived made one feel that one was in civilisation once more.

Mêng-tzŭ was considered a very quiet place, and the inhabitants of the town were extremely civil and fairly free from curiosity. But only a short time after my visit the Europeans there had a very unpleasant awakening from their sense of security.

In the middle of the night the foreign settlement was attacked by a large armed mob recruited principally from the workers in the Ko-chiu tin mines. The foreign community, among whom at the time were several French officers, concentrated in the French Consulate and made good their defence. The rioters, however, killed two Chinese servants and burned or carried off everything from the remaining houses.

439 Mêng-tzŭ is a busy place for Yün-nan, and even though the rainy season had begun I must have met quite 1000 loaded mules since leaving T'ung-hai. They were most of them carrying cotton yarn imported from Bombay *viâ* Hong Kong. This Indian yarn is cheaper than the Man-

[1] Sometimes spelt Mêng-tsz' or Mong-tze.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Yi-mên was the place where Ryder and I had arranged 000
to meet, and he turned up the following day after dark, having done a 26 mile march. These meetings in out-of-the-way places are very pleasant, and we halted two days here together. Our pleasure, however, was considerably damped by the news of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso that Ryder had brought with him from Yün-nan Fu.

On the 21st January we set out again, Ryder for Ch'u-hsiung, myself for Yün-nan Fu. My road crossed the range which separates the basin of the Red River from that of the Yangtze at 7,350 feet, and then descended a little into a good sized plateau, with small hills rising out of it, very dry and, therefore not much cultivated. We slept at Hsiao-lung-t'ang in a large temple pleasantly situated among trees.

The next day we reached An-ning Chou. The road lay 136
down the course of a small river on which were a good many duck. I got five—three merganser, one brahminy (ruddy sheldrake), and one spotbill. The merganser is fairly common in Yün-nan, and I have found them quite eatable in spite of the fishy look that the shape of his bill gives him.

At An-ning we joined into the main road by which 000
I had come from Ta-li the year before, and the next day we reached Yün-nan Fu. I cut off the last half of the march by taking a boat across the corner of the lake.

I was able to get the same comfortable quarters that we had lived in the previous year, and spent five days in the capital renewing acquaintance with Mr Stevenson and other missionary friends. Mr Jensen of the Telegraph Service, who had helped us so much before, had I was sorry to learn been laid up with rheumatism and had been obliged to take a trip home.

I found the French very active in Yün-nan Fu. There were 10 or 12 Frenchmen in the capital at the time of my visit, all connected with the railway which is to run up into Yün-nan from Tong-king.

The French were not at all popular with the Chinese, 579
and there were even then signs that there was likely to 186
be trouble. This feeling culminated a few months later in

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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a somewhat serious riot in which the French were attacked, and the English missionaries also had a very warm time of it. The riot was fortunately put down by the Chinese authorities without any European lives being lost.

Captain Ryder reached Ch'u-hsiung on the 25th, and we were able to observe for longitude, thus fixing the position of Yün-nan Fu and also of P'u-êrh, which we had so far only fixed relatively to the capital.

000 I could not, however, disguise from myself that however pleasant it might be to get free of Chinamen, the absence of Chinese ideas of law and order might also increase my difficulties, and that perhaps the Peking passport with which I was provided would not always meet with the respect shown to it by a mandarin.

My purpose was to find as straight a way as possible from where I was at Yüeh-hsi to A-tun-tzŭ in the extreme north-west corner of Yün-nan. The trend of all the rivers and mountain ranges in the intervening country would certainly be from north to south, exactly across my path, and I had no anticipation of being able to find a very direct road. In fact my difficulties in this way began at once, for though Yüeh-hsi T'ing and Mien-ning Hsien are not very far apart in a straight line, there is nothing but a difficult footpath connecting the two places. I had, therefore, with my mule transport, to go back by the road I had come as far as Lu-ku, and then make a twenty mile march northward to Mien-ning.

361 This town is surrounded by a good wall, half a mile square, and judging by the crowded appearance of the streets, seems to be a thriving place. My first care on arriving was to try and get some information about my 000 route westwards. In the previous year I had heard from Mr Amundsen of the China Inland Mission of a place called Mi-li, which, from the position he placed it in, must lie more or less between Mien-ning and A-tun-tzŭ. No one in Mien-ning had ever heard of such a place, nor was my Chinese map of Ssŭ-ch'uan of any assistance, for this, though sufficiently accurate in the settled parts of the province, gets very vague in the more out of the way borderlands, in fact consists chiefly of blank spaces.

However the magistrate of the town was civilly inclined and lent me the official map of his district. On this was marked a place called Lu-ning-ying, which was known to the people of Mien-ning and was in the right direction, so for this place I determined to make.

•579 Our last night in a Chinese city was made hideous by a particularly noisy dispute just outside the inn. It began as usual with vehement abuse shouted with extraordinary vigour by both combatants. This is generally both the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

beginning and the end of a Chinese quarrel, but on this occasion the usual peacemakers were not to the fore, and the words were succeeded by the sound of heavy blows resulting in one of the disputants falling down yelling and screaming. The conqueror, after enjoying his triumph for a short time, went away, and no sooner was he out of hearing than the defeated combatant, still lying on his back, began to kick his legs up and down on the ground like a naughty child, and for a good half-hour yelled abuse in unprintable language. 579

Our first march out of Mien-ning was a short one, for on arriving at Ha-ha-hsün, 9½ miles off, we found ourselves confronted by a big range of mountains, which our mules would scarcely have been equal to surmounting that day. 000

The next morning, the 5th March, a very steep rocky road took us to the top at 11,700 feet, the last 3000 feet of ascent being done in two miles. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a peak 600 feet higher and were rewarded with a fine view of big mountain ranges. The highest peaks were white, but there was not so much snow as I expected to see. We seemed to be passing through a spell of particularly fine weather. The descent on the western side of the pass was as steep as the ascent had been, and we spent the night at 7,600 feet in Ma-t'ou-shan, a village which consists of two large inns in a narrow valley, shut in by wall-like hills.

One or two unusual incidents had relieved the monotony of the day's march. As we were nearing the top of the pass, one of my Chinamen, who had got behind, came up and said he had seen some Lo-los hiding near the road we had just come along. It looked as if they were going to waylay our mules, so I was preparing to interview them with a gun and a rifle. But these preparations were needless, for just at this moment they all took up loads, put them on their backs, got back into the road, and went on down the hill. They were evidently harmless people, who, frightened at the sight of strange looking, strangely dressed men, had been hiding in the jungle to let us go by.

A little further on I became aware of a curious noise like the buzzing of bees, and having a lively horror of wild 788

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133 The Da Chu Valley - I also heard it called Tschuwo Chu - extends in a straight line toward the southeast, constantly following the stratification of the sandstone slabs which are again steep here and pressed together vertically. The old road with its countless holes and stone debris continues to keep to the right side of the valley. Like the course of the valley, it aims straight for its goal. Only the muddy stream winds around the peaks that rise up 1,000 meters from the valley and touches sometimes the right, sometimes the left side of the valley. Sometimes it is wedged in between detritus mounds and fragments that a tributary brook thrusts in its way, then again by projecting rock terraces consisting of hard stone slabs, until it becomes /188/ a narrow "valley within a valley." On the valley terraces above the stream there are fields and farms spread out and bushes and hedges
137 separate the individual fields. The flora - in the middle of April everything was still in its winter sleep even here in the south which has a latitude corresponding to that of lower Egypt - was rich, even abundant here at an altitude of 3,500 - 3,300 meters, compared with what I had come across shortly before. There were pastures with thick grass on the southern slopes of the valley, and they reached almost up to the peaks. The northern valley walls, however, were covered with dark spruce forests with wild, tangled underbrush, magnificent hideouts for small and large bush rangers, so that I was glad to know that the Chinese were the real masters here. After the long rides I had taken with my rifle under my arm, I felt as safe as though I were in Abraham's bosom.

• 579 Deeply cut forest ravines lead off the road toward the south. In all the larger ones there are winding paths leading into the parallel Dsa Chu Valley to the Tschantui. "Two years ago, before our present da ien came to Hor Tschanggu, one could not ride so peaceably along this road," the soldiers told me. "The Tschantui from the south and the Khorgan and Loko from the north made sudden attacks on every caravan carrying goods. Every month there were people killed. But Wu da jen formed his own militia, set up agents and native guards everywhere who announce the approach of all suspicious-looking gangs with fire and smoke signals. Neither the Tschantui nor the Ngolok-Khorgan dare make a sudden attack any more." However, I also learned on another occasion that not a year had passed since the last big attack. At that time 70 mules along with their packs were driven away into the Ngolok country. Not only the Khorgan through whose country I passed in 1904, but also the Ngaba robbers were well known here.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest. 585

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的. "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law." 581

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people. 584

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup). 587

Her step-children call her *hou mu* 後母 or *chi mu* 繼母.

Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssúch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住苗 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes. 578

178 596 No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 671 582 In reconstructing Chinese society, the Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater immediate success.[9]

Essentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

(1)...The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.

(2)...The abolition of the feudal system

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology." Far Eastern Quarterly, Aug.1955, pp.515-32.

[9. and 10. next page]

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of marriage...based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.

(3)...The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriage, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant, unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

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To help traditionally-minded families

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers, and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

596 671 for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administrative Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20] Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

596 671 C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

•587 Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. Reports on the results of the 1952

19. C.B., 273, p. 1.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

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investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extremes of backwardness and progress in family practices rather than to give a comprehensive picture of them. A spate of press accounts in January 1952 referred to conditions from good to bad found in political units of varying size throughout the country, but none of the accounts contained references to the Southwest Region. Evidently, the regime encountered more difficulties here than elsewhere. Last of the regions to fall to the Communists and to complete land reform, the Southwest was still reporting difficulties in expanding the Party organization in the region and complaining of the lack of education and soundness in existing cadres as late as January 1954.[21]

The Communist press announced in October 1951 that all areas in the Southwest Region had begun a check-up on Marriage Law implementation, but noted that one of the duties of the work teams involved in the task was to educate local cadres. The report also referred to a meeting of government organs in Sikang to correct the "erroneous ideas" of some cadres that to publish the Marriage Law "would cause confusion" in the central work of the Party.[22]

Some light was shed on the situation in the Southwest Region by a Communist article written in the fall of 1953. Referring to "the

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21. SCMP, 858, Supplement, vii-xii; 970, pp. 29-32.

22. Ibid., 198.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

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stubborn remnants of the old marriage system... still damaging the prosperity, security, and happiness of the people of New China," the article cited the example of the subdistrict of Chen-yu in Szechwan. According to the article, there had been no strong "progressive" influence in the area before "liberation," and the Marriage Law team found family relations little changed from the traditional pattern. To propagandaize and implement the new Marriage Law in the subdistrict, the team undertook the training of new cadres made up of village administrators, leaders of peasant women's associations, and members of the Communist Party and New Democratic Youth Corps. It soon turned out that "at least half [the new cadres] were themselves influenced by feudal ideas." Further troubles were encountered when an attempt at a panel discussion to illustrate the need for reform by soliciting personal experiences ended in failure. In carrying the movement to the people, the method of assembling individual families and encouraging wives to reveal abusive treatment by husbands and mothers-in-law had to be called off because the sessions only succeeded in developing quarrels.[23] This revelation of the resistance to family reorientation in the Southwest Region has no parallel insofar as is known, although similar problems were undoubtedly encountered outside the Southwest Region.

The latest report on the reorganization of family life in China was given in March 1955 by the Marriage Law Implementing Committee.

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23. Fang Yen, "Making the Marriage Law Work," China Reconstructs, Peking, Sept.-Oct. 1953, pp. 32-33.

596 Couched in general terms, the announcement
671 gave no clear indication of the true situation in
582 the country or any one of its regions. For example, the committee reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the consent of the couples concerned.[24] No figures were released on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 counties were families reformed "up to perfect Communist standards," and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[25]

The Marriage Law Implementing Committee's report in March 1955 also included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." It is unlikely that any of the "advanced areas elsewhere" were

24. SCMP, 1002, p..3.

25. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 2.

596 671 582 in the Southwest Region. Far more likely, the region would have been mentioned in reports on the areas "least progressive" in family reform, had the Communists cared to publicize such conditions in 1955. But the report on the "advanced areas" gives some indication of the best the Communists have been able to do in places where they have been long estabished. According to the commitee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90 to 95 per cent of the homes and "bad" in only 5 to 10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10 to 15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The commitee announcement added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer oppressed, beaten, or scolded, but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[26]

C. Reorientation of Family Reform

596 185 No rapid change in traditional family attitudes and practices in the Southwest Region is likely to have occurred to date. The all-out effort to revolutionize the Chinese family in the spring of 1953 has not been repeated. Soon after the 1953 campaign, decreasing emphasis was given by the regime to quick implementation of the new Marriage Law. Family reform was made a continuing part of the everyday work of the various

26. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its
•[582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
562

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

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[14]

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGES 婚姻 *Hun Yin.*

584 Betrothal may take place very early; friends will sometimes betroth their unborn children.

Marriage with one of the same family name is forbidden by law: but such marriages do take place when there is a different ancestry, 同姓不同宗 *t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung.*

A male go-between is called 媒 *mei*, and a female is 妁 *cho*. Marriages are said to be arranged by 父母之命媒妁之言 *fu mu chih ming mei cho chih yen*, "Parents' will and middleman's words." The children are supposed to have nothing to do with the arrangements, but in fact their likes and dislikes count for a good deal.

Another name for the go-between is *hung-yeh* 紅葉 red leaf. The term originated in the T'ang dynasty. A female palace-slave whose life was made bitter by her imperial mistress wrote her troubles on a red leaf and threw this into the moat. A young scholar got it and forwarded a reply in the same romantic way. Later some of the slaves were married off by imperial orders, and the girl fell to the lot of the scholar without their knowing till afterwards that they had been the corresponding parties.

584 787 Preparing the horoscope before marriage is called *k'ai pa tzŭ* 開八字, preparing the eight characters. These characters give the year, month, day and hour of birth. The

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saying is, "The man's horoscope is never false; the woman's never true." A fortune-teller is called in to examine the girl's horoscope, and if he finds it is an unlucky one it will be falsified before being reported to the family with whom a marriage is sought. 584 787

It is said that in the time of Han Wên Ti 漢文帝 a barbarian chief wished for marriage relationships with the Chinese. The Chinese professed willingness, but warned the barbarian Man-tzû that it would be unlucky for them if marriages were made with unsuitable horoscopes. They were then able to decline marriage on the ground that 八字不合 *pa tzû pu ho*, the horoscopes do not agree. To this day, in refusing a proposal of marriage the people almost always say *jên k'ên hun pu k'ên* 人肯婚不肯. "We are willing but the horoscope is not."

The parents who seek a bride for their son first find a middleman, or more likely he finds them. They ask him to take presents to the home of a certain girl and to beg that her horoscope may be sent them for examination. The middleman has probably already paved the way, and he soon brings back the horoscope, which is put on the family altar for from 3 to 8 days to see if anything happens, good or bad. If a bowl is broken during this time, or something lost, or a cat or dog dies, the horoscope is promptly returned as being unlucky. This is called *t'ui hung kêng* 退紅庚. If on the contrary some piece of luck befalls during this period, an astrologer is called in to examine the two horoscopes and see if they agree. The comparison may show upper, middle or lower degree of suitability. If the boy's parents are satisfied with the horoscope they send the middleman to the girl's parents to say they feel quite unworthy to be related to such an exalted family, but since there was such condescension they were willing to fix the agreement *hsia p'in shu* 下聘書, *hui hua* 回話, or *ch'a hua* 插花. Much depends on the go-between, and as it is difficult to prevent bribery there is great need for caution and private enquiry.

The girl's parents reply 寫允書 *hsieh yün shu*, generally saying their daughter is weak and useless, but they are willing 584

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584 to give her to the others' exalted son to wife. Samples of the girl's needlework and embroidery are also sent for the boy's parents to inspect.

The lad's parents then draw up the *hun shu* 婚書 or form of agreement, leaving a blank space for the girl's name and other particulars about her. A lucky day is selected and presents of silk, chickens, ducks, etc., prepared. The go-between takes these to the girl's home, and asks that the particulars about the girl may be filled in on the *hun shu*. This done, he worships at the family shrine in the girl's home, using incense and candles specially bought for the occasion. Then presents are returned in the same box which brought the others, and the middleman or a representative of the girl's family worships at the shrine in the boy's home.

On the agreement are written the characters 天長 *t'ien ch'ang* above the boy's horoscope, and 地久 *ti chiu* above the girl's. The meaning is that the agreement is as lasting as heaven and earth. It is really as binding as any known in China, and the saying is that a lawsuit about a marriage agreement or about land will go through eighteen courts before being settled. Other proverbs are 說給猪跟猪走說給狗坐地守 "If engaged to a pig you must go its way; if to a dog you must sit down and bear it." And 說給叫化子提沙鍋也要跟到板蓆片. "If engaged to a beggar, pick up the earthenware bowl and follow the sleeping-rags."

In some cases when a family has become poor after betrothal and before the wedding, a girl will cut off her hair in the bridal chair, which results in her being sent home again. After this her only resource is to become a nun; yet even in the temple she may still be claimed by her betrothed at any time. In cases where parents wish to break off an engagement because the other family has become poor a lawsuit is certain. One man in such a case was bound down not to take a wife for his son till he had sent his daughter to her betrothed: thus cutting off the line of succession and putting both families on the same footing.

The home which is to receive the bride gets a fortune-teller to fix a lucky day; he also arranges the hour for every movement of hers. This is called *k'an nien yüeh* 看年月,

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and the announcement of the date to friends is *siing* 送 *nien-yüeh*. This may be sent some months beforehand, after which presents are sent in, accompanied with music and flags. 584

When the date of the marriage is fixed the times for the following are also arranged: the day for cutting the bride's clothing; the day for placing the bed in position; the hour for 開臉 *k'ai lien*, or pulling out the hair on brow and neck to make the bride look older; and the time for putting up her hair. Till marriage all girls wear the hair in a queue; just before marriage it is put up in a coil at the back of the head. In asking if a girl is engaged it is common to ask if she has put her hair up or not, 上梳 *shang liu*. Times are also fixed for treading on the bushel; when she shall take leave of the family idols; when she must leave the parental roof; when she shall worship at the family shrine in her new home; and when the bridal cup shall be shared by the young couple. This partaking of the cup is called *chiao pei chiu* 交杯酒; it may be a cup of wine, tea or not a cup at all but a piece of squash, which they pull apart and both eat; it is their mutual pledge. All these times are fixed by the astrologer, are written on red paper and are announced to the bride's parents when the presents are sent, so that they may prepare accordingly. 585

Furniture, (chairs, bed, cupboard, etc.), are prepared by the bride's parents, quality and quantity depending on the family's means. The things are often given over to the bridegroom's representatives some days before the wedding, so that the bed may be placed in position on a lucky day.

The wedding things include tea-cups and tea-pot, flower vases, clothing for bride and bridegroom, etc., etc. A well-to-do bride will perhaps have hundred or more garments, besides bedding, curtains, mirrors, etc., more than she can use in a lifetime. The silversmith has to make bangles, chains, ear-rings etc., and so great is the expense of marrying a girl off that the saying goes, *ch'ien nü ju fên chia* 遣女如分家, "Marrying a daughter is like dividing the inheritance."

In some places some young, fat pigs are driven along together with the bridal outfit; in other parts animals of various kinds are sent afterwards as part of the dowry.

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The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest. 585

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的 "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law." 581

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people. 584

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup). 587

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Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住苗 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes. 588

527 These are the festivals that have
796 retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[10] The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals and other milestones of family and individual life.

527 In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

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10. For a description of wedding celebrations in Yunnan in the 1940's cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 93-98.

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585 The bridegroom's parents invite his friends for the night before the marriage 花夜 *hua yeh*: they dress him, put on his ceremonial hat, deck his hair with flowers, put red cloth round his shoulders, and afterwards, in good families, he feasts them. Then he makes obeisance to his parents and worships at the family altar.

When the wedding day has come the groom's friends invoke the family gods and send off the middleman, accompanied by a relative, to bring home the bride, 娶親 *ch'ü ch'in*. They take with them a flowered sedan-chair, a band of flute-players with gongs, flags, and ceremonial umbrellas. They take besides the following articles: two eggs, to comfort the bride's forehead after the pulling out of the hair; two plaits of hair to be used in putting up the bride's hair, to make it look more; a large sheet of red paper to cover the bushel on which she must tread; a large piece of red cloth or silk for a veil; one big and one small comb, said to be used only this once; a bundle of five-coloured silk threads for dressing the bride's hair; a pot of oil for her toilet, a red cord for her hair, cosmetics, colouring for the lips, bandages for the feet, etc. These all go before or with the deputation which fetches the bride. The materials for her dresses or money to buy them are delivered earlier unless other arrangements have been made, but generally the bride's home provides most of her clothing and ornaments.

She takes leave of her ancestors 拜家神 *pai chia-shên*, by worshipping at the family shrine, and 辭祖宗 *tz'ù tsu-tsung*, and makes obeisance to her parents. The mistress of ceremonies throws down a bundle of chopsticks 丟筷子 *tiu k'uai-tzù* before the altar as evidence that the bride renounces her maiden home and will henceforth eat the rice of another.

Then the bride is dressed, on a carpet, and under a canopy of red cloth; the materials just brought from the bridegroom's home being used.

Her toilet finished, and the veil being put over her, a bushel full of unhulled rice is placed in the doorway and covered with red paper, and she is made to tread on it, 出閣踏斗 *ch'u kuo t'a tou*. After this she has to be carried

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out and put into the flowered chair at the door. The unwillingness of brides at this point has become proverbial,—*na-ko hsin-jên k'ên shang chiao* 那個新人肯上轎. "What bride was ever willing to enter the chair?"

She carries in the chair with her a foot-rule, scissors, a brass mirror and some five-coloured threads: these are to protect her from demons on the road. She is tied in, and often locked in, the key being carried by the middleman or by the bridegroom's relative who has come with him.

To sit in the flowery chair makes the day of a lifetime for many a bride; and if there is only a short distance to go, they will often wish to be carried round the neighbourhood in this way, with the music, flags and umbrellas, that it may not be said of them in after years that they came in a common chair.

Before this chair is sent to bring the bride the bridegroom sacrifices to it, a stick of incense is placed at each of the four chair-poles, wine is poured on the ground at each corner, while someone kneels and worships the chair lest the *hsin-jên sha* 親人煞 the evil influences of brides who have used the chair before should still adhere to it.

On reaching the door of her new home the bride finds a table on which is a measure of rice with candles and incense stuck in it. The master of ceremonies calls out 女家車馬請回轉男家車馬出來迎. "Bridal chariots please return: bridegroom's chariots come forth and receive." It is supposed that the spirits of her home escort her so far, but on entering the house she comes under the guardianship of the spirits of her husband's home.

She is received by a specially appointed person, who receives the key, gets her out of the chair and leads her to the chief room in her new home. The bridegroom, escorted by his friends, soon appears and the marriage ceremony is performed. Two candles are lighted on the altar, and the pair kneel and worship Heaven and Earth and their ancestors. They then salute one another with a bow, and at this point the husband may lift the veil and look on his bride's face for the first time.

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585 A youth then carries the two candles from the altar into the *tung fang* 洞房 nuptial chamber very carefully, not changing the right and left hand position of the two, and letting nothing befall them. Then the groom leads the bride into this chamber, and they drink together the nuptial cup 交杯酒 *chiao pei chiu.* The candles are allowed to burn out. If that on the left goes out first the husband will die first; if that on the right, the wife will be first to die. A light is kept in the room all night with the idea that there will be continuous light in the home and always someone to attend to the family altar and the ancestral sacrifices.

When the pair have had a little time together they return to the chief room, where people come in turn to offer congratulations. A good deal of importance is attached to priority in doing this. Rich persons with large families are preferred. No widow or widower would be allowed to escort or receive, or to be first in congratulating. The guests bow, while the newly wedded couple kneel and knock their heads on the ground 磕頭 *k'o t'ou.*

At the feast which follows, men and women sit separate. The bride eats nothing the first day in her new home. All who have given presents are invited and regard it as a right.

In the evening the intimate friends of the bridegroom enter the private apartments, examine the bride's hands and feet, make rude remarks about her clothing, ability, general appearance, etc. Her clothing will be examined and tried on, but she must sit still through it all and say nothing. About midnight the visitors depart.

On or about the third day the bride returns to her parents' home, accompanied by her husband. Day and hour are fixed by the wife's parents, who send someone to meet them. A feast is prepared and guests invited to meet the bridegroom. If it rains on that day it is said the bridegroom rides a dog. The same is said of the bride if it rains on the wedding day.

There is a table with wine at the door of the bride's old home, "to stop the horses of the bridegroom," and he has almost always to drink before he can enter the house.

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The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest. 585

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的 "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law." 581

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people. 584

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup). 587

Her step-children call her *hou mu* 後母 or *chi mu* 繼母.

Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

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Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住苗 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes. 588

593 The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. AT the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theorectically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.[4]

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers and relatives of an older generation.

593 562 606 Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband, to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In her mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

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4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit., and Lang, op. cit.

596 who might otherwise be free of the constant
575 direct influence of the government. These two
562 groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit
861 for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that the trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

596 With the Communist regime's emphases
593 on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

596 article on the subject in the January 1955 issue
593 of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies; if they are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[35]

563 Except for the Chengtu Plain, an ancient
596 center of Chinese civilization and population in Szechwan, the Southwest Region is occupied largely by Chinese who immigrated since the fourteen century. About twenty per cent of the region's population consists of various indigenous tribes scattered throughout the more mountainous areas and following different social and family customs

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35. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

596 of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that characterize the family in Southwest China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

594 596 565 183 The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

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2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

565 any one family seldom remained constant for more than two or three generations. These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

565 428 596 The family ideal. Large families, especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[4] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by economic means. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu (Ch'ing) Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions, individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families and particularly when land was the sole source of income.[5] On the

4. Consult chapter on Family in this handbook.

5. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, Praeger, 1953, p. 52.

565 other hand, because of the existence of extended
596 families and the clan structure, less fortunate
428 members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might never have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

183 The scholar ideal. Learning was much es-
565 teemed, especially when combined with wealth.
555 The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indicative of the respect all Chinese had for learning was the popular saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[6] The emphasis

6. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his Religion of China, Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China. While this analysis may be oversimple, it indicates that the traditional supremacy of officialdom over the merchant groups may have impeded the rise of a system of negotiable property rights, protected
[continued next page]

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Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of higher learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the indvidual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute
668 for the traditional social structure. Since the
555 individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organizations, reward the achievement of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement makes conformity the criteria of success. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the Classics and their

THE FAMILY - SOUTHWEST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

• 596 Until almost the end of the imperial period (221 B.C. to A.D. 1912), the family was a vital and universal aspect of the centralized state in China and most characteristic of the society which sustained it. Since then, the family has been in flux. The direction of change and the major causes and problem involved will be sketched in this section. A more precise picture, as Marion Levy has pointed out, is not feasible with the existing incomplete state of material on Chinese society both before and since the inauguration of the Communist regime.[1]

The traditional family still persists. It proved resistant, but not impregnable, to the influx of modern Western techniques and ideas after 1842 and to the political revolutionary efforts to realize democracy and equality in the present century. The traditional family is still proving tenacious, in the face of the Communist regime's persistent effort to turn Chinese society inside out.

To understand the nature of the Chinese family today, it is necessary first to take account

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1. Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Family Revolution in Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 273.

596 of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that characterize the family in Southwest China.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

594 596 565 183 The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."[2] Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.[3]

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2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

B. Social Role

596 562 769 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, becuase only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life afte death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was reemphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to carry on the yearly observances was regarded as a major failing on the responsible male's part and a tremendous catastrope for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providingsons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

554 561 596 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did

561 these fact ors determine his behavior and position
554 in the community and the world at large. An
596 additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

562 Authority and dominance were the province
554 of the males. Women might, and occasionally did, exervise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however. In modern times,at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

561 Age was honored relatively and absolute-
554 ly. Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

555 Individual status also improved with ed-
596 ucation, more particularly with the attainment
554 of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official careeer was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the exams was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and

555 village almost as much as himself. The wealth
554 usually accumulated by an official during his
596 career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

577 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial
596 system operated by moral suasion with a mini-
642 mum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaing peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for

631 As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the National Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

596 421 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses, and workshops were owned by the family rather than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshop, or store to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked [462] in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing

596 were allotted each member according to his needs, as they were determined by the head of the house and permitted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred among the upper-class families. Gentry-officials and merchants were often away from home; they frequently had personal income from salaries or business, from which they met their expenses without resorting to the family treasury.

The family and its extensions in China also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or desrving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business systems in the twentieth century.

III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

A. Influence of Modern Technology

596 178 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately

596 178 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those cities. The same influences also reached into the rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

596 491 198 361 Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China.

178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

871 offered to a broader segment of the population in
178 the decade before World War II. New social,
596 political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press.
489 Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or
596 more away from the nearest great city were
178 brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

668 An even more disturbing influence on the
178 old way of life was the increasing spread of revo-
596 lutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

596 178 In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was undermined. He was still needed at home to carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

369 596 178 562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship

369 continued to give a greater primacy to males in
596 the family, but the ability of daughters to earn
178 a wage enhanced their value to the family and
562 made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted, however, that women of farming and laboring families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

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178 While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in high school were willing to answer the question as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal,: acting "against the trend of the time"; as "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling, smoking opium and frequenting brotherls Mothers were more gently and less often criticized but they were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mah-jong, quarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society

6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

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has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by foreign firms or government services headed by foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective employee and for the rise of cliques in business and government offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the population in industrial areas indicate that only at the upper managerial or owner level, where facts of economic operation were most pressing, was the majority in favor of impersonal, rational selection of employees. Even in modern colleges, only about half the students appeared to favor that choice. With each successsively lower economic level, the preference was more overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of kinship.[7]

F. Effect on Social and Political Role

With the collapse of the imperial system in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve as the social and political training ground of China. The political parties and modern schools, particularly the colleges and universities, now began to train youth for the new political world which was coming into being after 1911.

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

178 596 No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 671 582 In reconstructing Chinese society, the Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater immediate success.[9]

Eassentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

(1)...The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.

(2)...The abolition of the feudal system

8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, Aug.1955, pp.515-32.

[9. and 10. next page]

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of marriage...based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.

(3)...The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriage, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant, unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

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To help traditionally-minded families

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers, and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

596 attain the new Communist-established goal of
668 "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in their children's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage." [12]

Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese society with two utilitarian purposes in view. One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed. For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices from them. Under the new regime, the article pointed out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and...the interests of the people

12. [see next page]

596 should be the highest criterion governing our
668 actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of women in Socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on to state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted and protected and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relationships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

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596 As the Nationalist government had made no attempt to put into effect the marriage and family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp.1-3; pp.4-14 and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong American Consulate, 932, iv; hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. The same conditions apply to this source as to Current Background; see footnote 8.'

13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., p. 4; and SCMP, 104 pp. 30-31.

encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

The result was apathy, when not open resistance, toward the reorientation of marriage and family practices among the farming population. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive

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16. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.

17. C.B., 273, p. 4.

18. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.

596 671 for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administrative Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20] Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

596 671 582 C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. Reports on the results of the 1952

19. C.B., 273, p. 1.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

•596 671 582 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extremes of backwardness and progress in family practices rather than to give a comprehensive picture of them. A spate of press accounts in January 1952 referred to conditions from good to bad found in political units of varying size throughout the country, but none of the accounts contained references to the Southwest Region. Evidently, the regime encountered more difficulties here than elsewhere. Last of the regions to fall to the Communists and to complete land reform, the Southwest was still reporting difficulties in expanding the Party organization in the region and complaining of the lack of education and soundness in existing cadres as late as January 1954.[21]

The Communist press announced in October 1951 that all areas in the Southwest Region had begun a check-up on Marriage Law implementation, but noted that one of the duties of the work teams involved in the task was to educate local cadres. The report also referred to a meeting of government organs in Sikang to correct the "erroneous ideas" of some cadres that to publish the Marriage Law "would cause confusion" in the central work of the Party.[22]

Some light was shed on the situation in the Southwest Region by a Communist article written in the fall of 1953. Referring to "the

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21. SCMP, 858, Supplement, vii-xii; 970, pp. 29-32.

22. Ibid., 198.

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596 671 582 stubborn remnants of the old marriage system... still damaging the prosperity, security, and happiness of the people of New China," the article cited the example of the subdistrict of Chen-yu in Szechwan. According to the article, there had been no strong "progressive" influence in the area before "liberation," and the Marriage Law team found family relations little changed from the traditional pattern. To propagandaize and implement the new Marriage Law in the subdistrict, the team undertook the training of new cadres made up of village administrators, leaders of peasant women's associations, and members of the Communist Party and New Democratic Youth Corps. It soon turned out that "at least half [the new cadres] were themselves influenced by feudal ideas." Further troubles were encountered when an attempt at a panel discussion to illustrate the need for reform by soliciting personal experiences ended in failure. In carrying the movement to the people, the method of assembling individual families and encouraging wives to reveal abusive treatment by husbands and mothers-in-law had to be called off because 23 the sessions only succeeded in developing quarrels. This revelation of the resistance to family reorientation in the Southwest Region has no parallel insofar as is known, although similar problems were undoubtedly encountered outside the Southwest Region.

The latest report on the reorganization of family life in China was given in March 1955 by the Marriage Law Implementing Committee.

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23. Fang Yen, "Making the Marriage Law Work," China Reconstructs, Peking, Sept.-Oct. 1953, pp. 32-33.

596 671 582 Couched in general terms, the announcement gave no clear indication of the true situation in the country or any one of its regions. For example, the committee reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the consent of the couples concerned.[24] No figures were released on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 counties were families reformed "up to perfect Communist standards," and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[25]

The Marriage Law Implementing Committee's report in March 1955 also included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." It is unlikely that any of the "advanced areas elsewhere" were

24. SCMP, 1002, p..3.

25. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 2.

596 671 582 in the Southwest Region. Far more likely, the region would have been mentioned in reports on the areas "least progressive" in family reform, had the Communists cared to publicize such conditions in 1955. But the report on the "advanced areas" gives some indication of the best the Communists have been able to do in places where they have been long estabished. According to the commitee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90 to 95 per cent of the homes and "bad" in only 5 to 10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10 to 15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The commitee announcement added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer oppressed, beaten, or scolded, but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[26]

C. Reorientation of Family Reform

596 185 No rapid change in traditional family attitudes and practices in the Southwest Region is likely to have occurred to date. The all-out effort to revolutionize the Chinese family in the spring of 1953 has not been repeated. Soon after the 1953 campaign, decreasing emphasis was given by the regime to quick implementation of the new Marriage Law. Family reform was made a continuing part of the everyday work of the various

26. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

Party and state organizations. The complaint of the Party since then has been that the cadres are not taking the work seriously.[27]

There are indications that by 1953 the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[28] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations are becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations are tabulated.

A shift in pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to women were not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[29]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal

27. Ibid., p. 4.
28. China News Analysis, No. 5, p.2.
29. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

596 and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition
185 of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

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185 In the cities where modern influence had
369 prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual reference to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

596 and devotion to self- interest. They had re-
185 spectively given rise to the sins of marriage
369 based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts" was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955. In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors, "to place love in a secondary position in one's life," is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking.

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31. SCMP, 1022, p. 4.

32. Ibid., pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its
[582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
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33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 who might otherwise be free of the constant
575 direct influence of the government. These two
562 groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit
861 for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that the trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

596 With the Communist regime's emphases
593 on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

596 article on the subject in the January 1955 issue
593 of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies; if they are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[35]

563 Except for the Chengtu Plain, an ancient
596 center of Chinese civilization and population in Szechwan, the Southwest Region is occupied largely by Chinese who immigrated since the fourteen century. About twenty per cent of the region's population consists of various indigenous tribes scattered throughout the more mountainous areas and following different social and family customs

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35. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

563 too various to describe in this chapter.[36] Under
596 the Communists, the tribal peoples have been given special treatment, and the uniqueness of 37 their social systems has been largely preserved. No attempt was made to implement the new Marriage Law in the ethnic minority autonomous areas established by the new regime.

178 In the twentieth century, family patterns among the Chinese people of the Southwest Region have largely followed the forms of traditional China before the beginning of industrialization and the resulting outgrowth of revolutionary social and political forces.[38] The customs and practices of the Chinese people long established on the Cheng-tu Plain and of immigrants, mostly from the Yangtze River provinces of the Central-South and East China regions, were little disturbed by modern trends until the capital of the Nationalist Government was moved to Chungking during the war with Japan. Previously, Western-style commerce and industry had made little progress in the region, the intrusion of modern trends from other parts of China had been barred by the lack of railway and highway links with the outside world, and warlord rule had perpetuated traditional values and
178 practices. One significant modern influence that
873 had made its way into the region was modern education at the universities, especially in the

36. The chapter on Ethnic Groups describes some of the major social characteristics of the principal indigenous tribes.

37. See Fei Hsiao-t'ung, "Minority Groups in Kweichow Province," C.B., 150, pp.8-15.

38. On the family in the Southwest Region, see Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1948; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, China's [cont'd]

577 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

573 643 In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

596 597 These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality was

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique du Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

596 formed within the family; his status in society
579 was determined by his family's status. To understand the individual of traditional China, we must see him within this setting; to understand the changes being wrought by the Communists, we must take into account some of the tensions and dissatisfactions which the family system -- particularly in its period of decay -- set up in the individual.

596 The role of the individual was determined by his position in the family, and he was taught to fill that particular role. For example, an older brother was held responsible for his younger brother, and was taught to be nice in play to those younger in years. The younger sons were expected to be less sober and responsible; their mothers often spoiled them. Throughout all the complex relations of the family, roles were assigned and the individual's life and character were formed by the role he played. Freedom of choice and freedom to develop individuality were thus rigidly limited.[50]

The well-being of the family group was the individual's prime concern. He was committed to work which would assure the family's prosperity; he was obliged to protect the family's reputation, for example, by paying off the gambling debts of a family member rather than have the family disgraced; to continue to live in a tense and unhappy household rather than to break away and thereby weaken the family's solidarity.

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50. Bunzel-Weakland, pp. 47-64.

596 In exchange for his submission to authority and discipline in every phase of his personal life, the individual was given the basic necessities of life and the help of the family's influence in obtaining jobs, and in obtaining a bride, etc. Nepotism was sanctioned by the classics, and family members benefited when one of them rose to wealth or power.

572 The only social relationship which an individual could enjoy with less family interference was friendship, which was the most cherished thing in life. Many a Chinese poet has dealt with this theme. Popular novels and dramas have treated it with vividness and force. Friendship has the overtones of the elder-brother, younger-brother relationship. As John Weakland has observed, this type of relationship between individuals, self-elected, with virtual equality between the participants, is a refuge from the father-dominated, rigid hierarchy of the family.[51]

181 The two patterns -- paternal domination and
572 fraternal association -- are reflected in political
596 life. Established governmental authority is of the paternal type; everyone is subject to the will of the emperor-father. But dissident movements are organized on the basis of the brotherly friendship pattern; the romantic rebels of Chinese novels, the organization of bandit gangs, the leadership of rebel armies are all bound together by ties of friendship and blood brotherhood.

181 When the old social order began to break up
178 under the impact of modern forces, the family

51. Ibid., pp. 137-47.

system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52] 181 178

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; in doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations. 181 668

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories 181 668 596

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

596 181 668 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

572 668 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

576 668 643 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us....[54]

Another praises his paternal care for his people

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

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As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yüan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u-pan-she, Wuhan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

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"a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says:

> Our great fatherland-
> We should pay it the same filial reverence,
> As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial] Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng [Yantze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has the baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

181 one looks to state and Party health agencies, but
668 responsibility for the care of the aged devolves
596 upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourages the equal co-operation pattern

[61. and 62. on following page]

181 associated with the old image of brotherhood
668 and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly
596 subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission to absolute paternalistic authority and the subordination of the individual to the group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

577 In traditional China, "face" meant one's
668 moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethical norms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are 'counterrevolutionaries', the child should treat them as enemies.

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46 (1944), pp.45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p.46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou tso-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

593 The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. AT the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theorectically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.[4]

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers and relatives of an older generation.

593 562 606 Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband, to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In her mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

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4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit., and Lang, op. cit.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

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Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

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Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

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In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

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the river bank, and resumed negotiations with the ferry-men. 609.

Huang-hsin-chai, my interpreter, had on more than one occasion proved himself useful in overcoming difficulties of this sort, and he was eventually so far successful that they agreed to let one or two of our Chinamen cross the next morning and argue the point with the chief on that bank of the river. Having settled this we loaded our baggage up again and went back, aided by the light of a full moon, to a place a mile or two off where there were a couple of houses from which we were able to buy corn for our mules.

The next morning my interpreter with one of our Chinamen went across taking my passport with him. It was an anxious time, as with the river in front of us and the ferry boat on the other side, we were so completely in their hands. I had, however, another plan in case the interpreter should fail. This was to go back some miles by the road we had come by, as if we intended to return, and then to turn off southwards by a road I had noted the day before to Wa-li ferry. Here I hoped we might have better luck, especially as it led to the territory of the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh, who was not likely to be so suspicious of strangers as the Mi-li lama king.

From our camp I anxiously watched Huang go up the steep hillside on the other side of the river to the chief's house. By great luck there happened to be a Chinaman from Yen-yüan Hsien staying the night there, and he was able to read the passport to that very suspicious individual. It took an hour's conversation, chiefly threats, to bring him to understand the consequences that would ensue if he disregarded the Emperor's passport. At last he gave way. The boat came over, and we went across and camped at Pê-tiao outside the chief's house, disregarding his inhospitable remark, that there was a much better camping ground half a mile further on.

The people were very suspicious and watched our camp all night. What they thought we were going to do I don't know. Tibetans do not trust each other very far, and seldom let a stranger sleep in their houses, so it is certainly not surprising that such very curious-looking people as

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•609 myself and my Indian followers should be looked on as robbers, at all events till we had proved ourselves honest. However they sold us corn which was all I wanted.

The next morning our friend the Pê-tiao chief was very much on the alert. I saw him have a whispered conversation with our guide, evidently giving him some special orders. The result of the whispering was soon apparent. After going a short distance the guide tried to take us by a track that seemed to lead too far to the south. I sent Huang to a house close by and he found out from a little girl that our road led straight on westwards.

At this moment a lama who had been at Pê-tiao came up and began to protest vehemently that we were on the wrong road and that the guide was quite right. He was a stout middle-aged man and had evidently run up the hill after us, as his face was streaming with perspiration. One might have thought he was our best friend trying to save us from going wrong, but he overdid the part. It was impossible to believe in the sincerity of a man from a place where we had met with such a particularly cold reception.

After crossing a ridge we came to another place where two roads parted. Here our friend the lama again arrived on the scene and tried to persuade us to go to the right. A passing Chinaman put us right this time and in a few miles through fine forests we reached the monastery of Pa-êrh.

This was one of the most friendly monasteries I ever came across. The head lama came out and I made Huang read the passport to him. This seemed to impress him very much and he sold us as much corn as we wanted, and also made me a present of some flour, rice, and dried meat for which he would take no payment.

The fat lama again turned up at this moment shouting out at the top of his voice "You can't get any corn here. There's your road." However when he found we had already established friendly relations, he quite appreciated the joke and joined in the laughter at his own expense. So we parted the best of friends.

Crossing another ridge at 12,700 feet, we went down 1000 feet lower and found a nice sheltered place in the forest to camp in, with good grazing for the mules.

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Continuing our journey the next day, the 17th March, 609 we passed through splendid forests along the course of a stream in which we found a party of Tibetans digging for gold. Leaving this valley we ascended another range, reaching the top at 14,500 feet. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up 500 feet higher and got a fine view of the surrounding country. In the distance to the north-west of us, two magnificent snow-covered peaks towered above the rest to a height that I should estimate as quite 20,000 feet.

From here we descended to K'u-lu[1], a village of perhaps 361 60 houses and some large monasteries, the biggest place 609 we had seen for many days. The lamas had evidently got news of our coming, for we found a man waiting for us who showed us a house, and room to camp round it, a little outside the main village.

K'u-lu was the most thoroughly Tibetan place we had 231 yet come across, and it was here that I saw yaks for the first 609 time. There was one tied up just outside our camp, which presented a curious appearance in the morning, covered with icicles hanging to its hair all over. So far I had been [32] agreeably surprised with the warm temperature, for even at night there had only been a few degrees of frost, but here at K'u-lu at 12,500 feet it was decidedly colder, and the thermometer fell to 17°.

The people here are thoroughly Tibetan in manners 609 and customs, and very few of them understand any Chinese. They live in large well-built stone houses, calculated no [342] doubt to keep out the cold which is probably often more severe than we found it in March.

The lamas of K'u-lu were very suspicious. They asked me to halt a day so that we might talk things over and arrange for the continuance of my journey. I did not see what in the world we had to talk about and would not agree to this.

The next morning my interpreter went to the village to see about a guide, and was asked into the monastery by the head lama. He found that dignitary having an early break-

[1] Mr Amundsen marks a place called Kang-u about where K'u-lu is. Probably Kang-u is the Tibetan and K'u-lu the Chinese name. See *Geographical Journal* for June 1900.

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•609 fast and using a *gold plate* to eat off. Here was then the reason for the suspiciousness with which strangers are looked on in Mi-li. The country is probably rich in this metal, and the Mi-li lamas are determined to keep it for themselves.

"What have you really come for? Have you not come to dig for gold?" was the first question the lama put. Huang was able with perfect truth to assert that we did not know till the day before that there was any gold in Mi-li, and that we were merely passing through the country on our way to A-tun-tzŭ. With ready Chinese fluency he added that the English and Chinese nations were like brothers, that I was a very high official, and that if I was hindered in any way, they would get into very serious trouble with the authorities at Peking.

Whether they believed him or not they gave me a guide, and we were able to start, though as will subsequently appear the guide did not turn out a complete success.

It is interesting to note that though K'u-lu is such an insignificant place, the head lama has the rank of a *chih-t'ing*. The Chinese Government seem occasionally to confer these dignities on chiefs of non-Chinese tribes. This probably accounts for the appearance on many maps of Yung-ning, a small Mo-so town in north-western Yün-nan, as Yung-ning Fu. There is certainly no Chinese mandarin of *fu* rank there, and Chinese official language would describe the town as a *t'u-fu* or *aboriginal fu*, a place very inferior in importance to a regularly constituted *fu* district.

Leaving K'u-lu we crossed a pleasantly wooded spur and arrived in the afternoon at A-pê-ti, a village of a few scattered houses. In one of these we were most hospitably received by an elderly lady with a large family of sons and daughters, who helped to unload our mules and did everything they could for us.

Though the traveller in Tibet finds the inhabitants as a rule inhospitable if not actually hostile, I do not think that this is due so much to any real unfriendliness to strangers as to the suspicious attitude which the nature of the country naturally engenders. I believe the Tibetans to be

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on the whole a kindly and goodnatured race. But law and order are by no means firmly established in their country, and it is no more than a necessary precaution that they should wish to know something about a stranger before they become too friendly or take him in as a guest. This is their feeling even towards travellers of their own race, and it was only natural that they should be still more suspicious of a party composed of Englishmen, natives of India, and Chinese, who might for all they knew have been brigands, and who at all events could give no reason for their journey which would appear satisfactory to Tibetan understandings.

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However natural this attitude of suspicion may be, it gives a lot of trouble to the traveller, and we were to have some experience of this on the following day. After we had gone a short distance on our way to Mi-li the guide sent with us from K'u-lu, who had I thought gone back the day before, overtook us again. It struck me at once that he must have come on to hinder us, and it soon turned out that I was right. At the first village we reached, about three miles from our starting point, he proposed that we should halt for the night. When I indignantly refused, he began to argue, and said that the road to Mi-li went round to the north. This I knew was a lie. He then asked in an impertinent manner what my business was in Mi-li, and why I wanted to go there. As he was merely a guide with no authority to ask questions at all, I saw the time for action had arrived and gave him a whack or two over the back with my stick. My example was followed with what I thought almost unnecessary violence by Huang, my interpreter, and the Tibetan was very soon reduced to tears and groans. It appears that he had turned up at our camp of the previous night and tried to persuade the people not to sell us corn. Huang had heard of this. Hence his vigour in paying off old scores.

On the first sign of a fray, all the villagers had run away inside their houses and locked the doors, so we were left entirely alone with the completely humbled guide, who now walked meekly along with us on the direct road to Mi-li.

We had not gone very far when we found a lama with

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609 several followers sitting on the ground a little way off the road. He beckoned to me to come to him. I told him he could come to me if he had anything to say, and he accordingly did so.

"Where are you going and what have you come for?" was his first rather natural question. I told him I was passing through Mi-li on my way to A-tun-tzŭ. He began to demur to my going on to Mi-li, said the king was away at another monastery, and enquired what presents I had for his majesty. I said I had no particular business with the king to induce me to go out of my way to visit him, and that I had no presents for him. I then had my passport read to the lama. He understood Chinese well enough to realise that this document could not be disregarded, and had nothing more to say, so we went on.

[631] This part of the country is entirely under the influence of the Tibetan lamas, and no Chinese official ever comes near it, but still it is nominally part of the province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, so that a passport meets here with a respect that would not be shown it in the part of Tibet beyond the Chinese frontier.

000 A very long bit of downhill brought us to the Mi-li River[1] which we crossed by an excellent wooden bridge which had only just been finished, the old bridge having been swept away by a flood. The river is here at an elevation of 7,500 feet. Its general width is some 60 yards; it has a strong current and is too deep to be fordable.

It was now getting dark and I wanted to halt for the night at some houses near the bridge; but I found we could get no fodder for our mules here, so we had to climb 2000 feet of very steep hill to Mi-li which we did not reach till eight in the evening. The guide, who had been most willing and useful since his thrashing, was sent on ahead, and found us a house to put up in with room for the mules underneath, so we got settled down pretty comfortably at last. It was a hard march of over twenty miles, and the

[1] Mr Amundsen gives Gya-yul Ch'u, "the river of China," as the Tibetan name of this stream. It seems probable that this is the same river that flows past Li-t'ang.

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of his coming to reach the Mi-li officials. The consequence was that he met with no obstruction, and was on the whole treated with courtesy and helped on his journey[1]. I must also say in justice to the Mi-li officials that after I had arrived at the capital and satisfied them that I was neither a robber nor a gold-seeker, I had no further trouble of any sort. It was doubtless my sudden and unannounced appearance on their eastern frontier which caused me to be viewed with suspicion at first.

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On the morning after our arrival, a crowd of people from the town turned up to have a look at the strangers and their property. A Tibetan crowd does not annoy one like a Chinese crowd. They are a better-mannered people than the Chinese and are satisfied with a look, without wanting to stand staring for hours.

Among the visitors was our lama friend of the day before. It appears he is a very big man in Mi-li, a sort of prime minister. He was fairly civil and gave me some tea and dried meat. I returned the compliment by presenting him with a bottle of salad oil. Directly he saw me coming towards him, he retired hastily out of sight into the stable, and when I followed him and gave him the bottle, he immediately hid it under his robe. He probably thought it was liquor, and was doubtless wofully disappointed when he opened it.

There are three or four Chinese traders living in Mi-li who say they came originally from the province of Shen-hsi. But they have become very much Tibetanised, and even speak Chinese with a Tibetan accent.

Chinamen are certainly not encouraged to settle in Mi-li. Mr Amundsen relates that a few years ago some Chinese came to wash for gold in Mi-li territory, but the Tibetan inhabitants in their zeal for the preservation of native industries, took the extreme protectionist measure of killing the intruders by rolling stones down the hillside on them. "Now," Mr Amundsen remarks, "none but Milians wash for gold!"

[1] Mr Amundsen gives an account of his journey in the *Geographical Journals* for June 1900 and November 1900.

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000 enough of it, and did a bolt in the night. Luckily in this country there are not many roads to choose from, and we followed the only one there was. After we had gone a mile, the snow became so deep that all traces of the path disappeared. However, as the country was open grass we were able to strike straight across in what seemed the right direction, passing a large collection of wooden huts and cattle pens, now entirely deserted and probably only used in the summer.

Soon afterwards I spotted on top of the ridge one of the small stone pagodas, such as are often built by the road side in this country. This turned out to be the case here, and we soon found ourselves on the right track again. The top of the range was reached at 14,900 feet, and descending through thick woods we gradually got out of the snow, and reached the village of Ming-yu-ho where we were able to enjoy the real pleasure of being warm once more.

•609 Here we met with the usual Tibetan reception. All the inhabitants locked their doors, and looking out at us from top-storey windows, shouted that we should find an excellent camping-ground two miles further on. However finding one or two men who knew some Chinese, we got on speaking terms with them, and pitched our tents in the village.

000 From Ming-yu-ho a road goes off northward which, they say, leads to Li-t'ang. I should much have liked to have followed it for a little distance, and then to have turned off westward straight for A-tun-tzŭ, but the necessity for my being up to time in meeting Ryder and Manifold prevented me from trying any experiments of this sort. Moreover my men were getting shoeless and my mules beginning to knock up, and I could not risk the not improbable contingency of being brought up by uninhabited snowy mountains.

Taking the road to Chung-tien, therefore, we crossed a high range and descended to Ta-lung, a yak-grazing village, with a hundred or more of these animals. There was a good deal of snow on the ground where we crossed the range and very little more would have made it impassable. As it was, we had to unload our mules in one place, and carry the baggage for a short distance.

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At Ta-lung they are evidently unaccustomed to strangers, and they apparently took us for thieves. The good man of the house stood at his door shouting out, over and over again, "I've got nothing here, I've got nothing here." He was ably seconded by his wife, who yelled out what I suppose was abuse with violent gesticulations. It was too cold to stand upon ceremony, so I walked into the house, trusting to things calming down when our involuntary host could be made to understand that we had not come to rob him.

The man contented himself with feeble protests, but the lady was in a most pugnacious mood and attacked one of my Chinese coolies with a broom. I had some difficulty in preventing him from retaliating with the legs of the plane-table—a very formidable weapon. At this moment another man turned up who proved more sensible and understood a little Chinese. Friendly relations were soon established, and while most of my followers settled down in the house we had forcibly occupied, I was shown another, quite new and unoccupied, where I was very comfortable. The thermometer fell to 17° at night and there was a bitter wind blowing. It would have been unpleasantly cold in tents.

I have several times found it necessary to force my way into Tibetan houses, and occasionally even to push the owner somewhat violently on one side. A quite indefensible proceeding no doubt, but circumstances alter cases, and I have always found it justified by complete success. After getting inside my followers and myself proceed to make ourselves at home and adopt an attitude of passive resistance to any suggestions that we are unwelcome guests. When our host realises that we do no harm and produce money to pay for anything he can sell us, he becomes gradually less and less sulky, and by the evening we are on the best of terms.

I have once or twice come back a second time to a house which we have entered in this high-handed fashion, and have been received in the most friendly way. In countries where might is right, it is a necessity to assert oneself sometimes. The alternative would be sleeping out in the cold and getting no supplies.

555 village almost as much as himself. The wealth
554 usually accumulated by an official during his
596 career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

577 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial
596 system operated by moral suasion with a mini-
642 mum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

•618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaing peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for

618 any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors, this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-off and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün-tsu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young men and women with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system.

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5. On the clan, see Hu Hsien-chin, The Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

177 There are other factors which give to
311 much of the area we are now considering
563 important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
241 west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
621 culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
621 easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

•62 with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming villages that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the patterns of village life common to the old settled Szechwan plain and the more recently colonized areas of the Southwest? We shall sketch these before discussing the variations represented by urban life.

A. The Pattern of Village Life

423 241 First of all, life in the farming village is meager. In Szechwan in 1946 the average farm was 3.9 acres, and the average square mile provided food for 650 people. In Kweichow the average farm was 3.2 acres, 241 in Yunnan 3.1. [1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit

161 1. George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China, New York, 1955, pp. 105, 178. The richest part of Szechwan, the Chengtu plain, has a population density of 2,300 people per square mile. Ibid., 241 p. 178. As we consider the pattern of agricultural life in the Southwest, the following data on the nature and distribution of farming throughout the area should be kept

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

536 relaxation, special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin his 622 tales to an impromptu audience. The election of a village headman often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages 796 to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. 521 Perhaps the most universal recreation was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation. Francis Hsü describes the recreation pattern in a small Yunnan town:

> In the evening, many shop doors may be found open to welcome neighbors and friends who care to come into the brightly lighted interior for a chat, and little clusters of men stand or squat near some street corner, often near a food stand.... The topics discussed at these gatherings range from rumors about national affairs and market prices to local rights and wrongs.[11]

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11. Hsü, op. cit., p. 25.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

water. Their language[1] is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 僰人. Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind." [197] 487* 133* 137*

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪栅, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 出大 (H-M., Djüta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩怒. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa 岩瓦. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a bluff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500–2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Shou-kuo Ssu lamasery.—We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普, called K'u-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 500 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 喃. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his 361 622

[1] [i.e, the La-mao -- Analyst]

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622 spacious house and court, facing the west on the second floor, is the private Lama chapel of our friendly host. [He has since died; the early ancestor who was commissioned T'u-ch'ien-tsung in the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, see p. 296.] The lamas here are all Na-khi. (PLATE 159).

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Their lamasery is called Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺 and is situated beyond K'ang-p'u in a grove of pines above the village of Ga-la-she (Ka-la-she 喀拉舍). It is 240 li north of Wei-hsi, and was built in the 12th year of Yung-cheng (1734). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling,[20] and the region in which K'ang-p'u is situated is known as Mi-nag-rong[21] (Valley of the black people). This, with the A-tun-tze lamasery called Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 in Chinese and bDe-chhen-gling[22] in Tibetan, and the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery called Don-grub-gling[23] in Tibetan, and situated at Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), belong to the (Ge-lug-pa Yellow reformed sect), whose head is the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa. To this same sect belongs also the lamasery of Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺, the Tibetan Yangs-pa-chan[24] situated north-east of Wei-hsi and built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753).

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From K'ang-p'u we descend to the Mekong over a rocky trail, then in great zigzags over a huge bluff to 500 feet above the river. Enormous boulders project everywhere, covered with orchids. At the summit of the bluff is a fine grove of pines and two *mani* shrines, with slabs of smooth rock engraved with the ubiquitous Tibetan formula. The Mekong is here very narrow, flowing between steep walls, but widens somewhat near the village of Ga-la-she, beyond which the river turns east-north-east. There a canyon opens into the Mekong gorge, sending a torrent of clear water between huge vertical cliffs of whitish-yellow limestone into the river, while high above a snow-capped peak crowns the scene.

The Mekong now enters a narrow gorge, the waters forming tremendous rapids of considerable length which undermine the walls of conglomerate and black slate on both banks. Near the village of Hsiao-sheng-tao the river widens, the hamlet being situated on a gentle, fan-shaped slope at the mouth of a circular ravine. Several li beyond, the trail skirts a huge, yellow sandstone cliff, over steep steps, with a sheer drop of 50 feet to the river. The trail is exceedingly narrow and hewn into the cliff, in places broadened by a plank or log with an abyss beneath. Ahead is a long island covered with forest; the river is here very broad, and terraced rice-fields extend down to its banks.

622 *Yeh-chih plain.* — The plain of Yeh-chih 葉枝 is called Yu-dtü in Na-khi and is under a Tu-ssu 土司 of the Na-khi tribe. The late chief's name was Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 (PLATE 160). He is known as the Mun-kwua (Military Official), commonly spoken of as the Mu-kua 木瓜 in Chi-

[20] [illegible] [21] [illegible] [22] [illegible] [23] [illegible]

[24] [illegible] Yangs-pa-chan is the Tibetan translation of the name of the town Vaiśāli, in which Buddha often resided.

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nese. He was the descendant of a military officer placed there by the ancient Na-khi chiefs to rule the district.[25] His son has now succeeded him. His power extends to the Ch'iu Chiang 球江, whence the Ch'iu-tzu 球子 tribe pay him tribute-taxes in kind.[26] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* mentions as first ancestor a certain Wang Lien 王連 who ruled as sergeant at K'ang-p'u, (see page 296); the Wang family apparently moved to Yeh-chih later. 622

Following along the sandy stream-bed on the edge of the fields for about two li, we reach the hamlet of Yeh-chih. The T'u-ssu has a very spacious mansion and was a very hospitable host, and a friend of the foreigner. Mr. George Forrest, the English botanist, owed his life to him when he was pursued by the lamas of A-tun-tzu and other lamaseries in 1905, and even saw the venerable Père Dubernard murdered in cold blood at Tz'u-ku, where the Catholic mission used to be. At the time of my visit in 1923 the T'u-ssu was 65 years of age. In the rear of his yamen is a private chapel, where a lama prays and beats the drum and blows his conchshell for the spiritual benefit of the T'u-ssu and his household. 487* 133* 137*

East of Yeh-chih is a peculiar mountain range, purple in color and much eroded. It is the Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山 (White cliff Mountain) which extends from north of Yeh-chih to below K'ang-p'u. To the west of Yeh-chih, forming the Mekong — Salween divide, is the Nu Shan 怒山, which extends from north of Yeh-chih to south of Wei-hsi. The southern part of this mountain, back of the hamlet of Fu-ch'uan 富川, on the west bank of the Mekong, is known as Fu-ch'uan Shan. North of Fu-ch'uan is the hamlet of Ch'i-p'u 其普. The Fu-ch'uan Shan is a wonderful botanical collecting ground, as is the entire Mekong — Salween divide in Yün-nan and Tibet. It is south of the Wei-hsi district border.

The climate of Yeh-chih is warm, but in the three winter months all the surrounding mountains are covered with snow, which even in the spring does not melt. In September heavy frosts begin, but the climate of Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, is much hotter in the summertime. 132

[25] Père F. Gorré in his *Notes sur les Marches Tibétaines*, Hanoi, 1923, p. 47, calls him Nou Koua, chief of the Nou or Lou-tseu. This is, however, erroneous, for Mun-kwua is a Na-khi term meaning "Soldier Governor." There were only two Mun-kwua, one at Yeh-chih, the other at O-yü on the Zho Chhu and they were the highest-ranking officials after the chief at Li-chiang.

[26] The father of the late Mun-kwua was a great friend of the conqueror of the Ta-li Mohammedans, the famous Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科. He was assassinated in 1871 while carrying out the latter's orders to subjugate the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, one stage south of A-tun-tzu. Although the Chinese revenged his death, it was not sufficient for the new Mun-kwua, the son of the victim, for he called out 2,000 Li-su who, prior to marching forth, drank fresh bull's blood, swearing vengeance. They brought destruction to all the villages controlled by the Hung-p'o lamas to within sight of the village of Tz'u-ku 茨故, but spared the Christians and the Catholic missions. They drove off the flocks of the peasants and the latter they carried off into slavery.

All foreigners who passed through Yeh-chih have only kind words and praise for the Mun-kwua. T. T. Cooper, who travelled through his territory in 1868 when Ta-li was in the hands of the Moslems, and when his way south was barred, enjoyed the hospitality of the father of the late Mun-kwua Wang Tsan-ch'en, and has the highest praise for him and his relatives. Even the Catholic priests, when expelled from Tz'u-ku, found refuge with the Mun-kwua, who was their friend.

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CHAPTER III

TE-CH'IN AND THE MEKONG — SALWEEN DIVIDE

1. THE TOWN OF TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

361 The town of Te-ch'in is situated at the head of the valley at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it consists of 300–400 houses extending from wall to wall, filling the valley completely. In Tibetan the town is known as Jö or Jöl 346 (written hJol).[1] On a hill overlooking the town to the north, is situated the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 (in Tibetan bDe-chhen-gling, Lamasery of great happiness),[2] founded in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). Its 30 buildings including a large chanting hall have been built since 1905 after the destruction of the original lamasery, which was situated in the valley in the outskirts of the town. This was destroyed by Chinese soldiers in punishment for the murder of the Catholic priests and the burning of their missions in the Mekong and Salween valleys. The present site is a strategic one overlooking the town and, being situated at the summit of a hill, can be easily defended. Like the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery further south, it belongs to the Yellow sect.

361 In ancient days A-tun-tzu had no wall. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730), a garrison of soldiers was established and a tamped earth wall built. No wall exists, however, at present (PLATE 173). The town is inhabited by Tibetans, Chinese, and Na-khi, and has experienced many a raid by the Tibetans from the north, so that the merchants of A-tun-tzu used to keep their better-class goods a few days' journey south, on the west bank of the Mekong. It is the last frontier town in north-west Yün-nan, and one of the highest situated in the province. Its climate is raw, cold and dusty in the winter, quite a contrast to the villages a little further down in the same valley near the Mekong. Being shut in at the head of the valley, surrounded by steep, high mountains, the sun does not shine long in A-tun-tzu during the winter months.

● 622 Although the place is now a hsien city, a native official, whose Tibetan title is Zhal-ngo[3] (Face or Presence, formerly a term applied to an officer over 50 soldiers), still holds office, subject to the magistrate of the town. The title for a Ch'ien-tsung (Lieutenant or leader of 1,000 soldiers) is Tong-pön, written sTong-dpon.[4] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* 雲南通志 has the following to say about A-tun-tzu, ch. 145, fol. 32:

"In former days A-tun-tzu was ruled by Wei-hsi, but was under the immediate control of one native lieutenant and one native sergeant or Dang-pön (ldang-dpon),[5] the equivalent to the Chinese Pa-tsung (there are said

[1] ལྕོ་ལ། [2] བདེ་ཆེན་གླིང།
[3] ཞལ་ངོ། [4] སྟོང་དཔོན།
[5] གླང་དཔོན།

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now to be two sergeants in office), responsible to the Wei-hsi magistrate. They attended to the affairs of A-tun-tzu, Ta A-tung 大阿董 (the Tibetan Dang or Dang-po[6]) and Hsiao A-tung, also Tung-ti-kung 動地公, Hung-p'o and other villages. 622

"The A-tun-tzu native lieutenant for generations had his seat at A-tun-tzu, and his territory extended east to Lu-k'a 路卡 adjoining Yeh-chih, 240 li; south to Ch'a-li-p'o 察利坡 adjoining the territory of Ssu-ch'uan, 100 li; west to Hsü-kung-ts'un 敍工村[7] adjoining Hsi-ts'ang 西藏 (Tibet), 200 li; north to Pi-yung-kung-ts'un 必用工村[8] adjoining Ssu-ch'uan, 200 li. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Ho Liang-tou 禾良斗 was ordered to lead his native [barbarian] soldiers to attack the K'ang-p'u Li-su robbers. He acquired merit, and was rewarded with the raven plume, and confirmed as the hereditary A-tun-tzu lieutenant (T'u-ch'ien-tsung). The office was transmitted to his son, Ssu-na Weng-hsüeh 思那翁學. Ssu-na died and the office was inherited by Kung-pu 工布 Weng-hsüeh. Kung-pu died and his son, Ting-pan 定邦, inherited the office. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume.

"The A-tun-tzu T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the lieutenant, restrained the barbarian peasants, and guarded the borders of Ssu-ch'uan and Tibet. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Sang Shang-ta 桑上達 went to attack the Li-su robbers at K'ang-p'u and acquired merit; he was rewarded with the raven plume, and was confirmed as hereditary native sergeant (T'u-pa-tsung) of A-tun-tzu. Shang-ta handed down his office to Lung-pu 隆布, the latter to Pu-kung 布工. During the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume. Pu-kung died, his son, Ch'un-hua 春華, also died of illness, and his grandson, Wen-han 文翰, being still a minor, his mother attended to the affairs of the orphan."

* * *

2. COLOPHON ON MANUSCRIPT MAP IN K'UN-MING PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

"In the olden days A-tun-tzu belonged to the Tibetans. When Chung-tien and Wei-hsi came under the government of Yün-nan, the native officials were abolished, and transferable officers appointed. The first Chinese official in A-tun-tzu was a Tan-yao wei-yüan 彈壓委員 (a Delegate repressing violence) whose duty it was to control the frontier. At first A-tun-tzu came under the rule of Li-chiang, and later under Wei-hsi. At that time the Tan- 634

[6] གདང་ , A-dang is half Chinese and half Tibetan, the Tibetan name is more often written Dang གདང ; according to P. F. Goré the inhabitants are known as Dang-po-wa གདང་པ which means angry or hostile people.

[7] Hsü-kung is the last village north-west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and west of the Mekong, on the eastern slopes of the Kha-wa-kar-po range on the Tibetan border.

[8] Pi-yung-kung is on the east bank of the Mekong, south of the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border.

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chou, with its source on the northern or north-eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Mountain. This part of the river is called the Lo-i Chiang 羅易江. From the eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Shan further north it receives a small affluent called the Mi Ho 米河 (Rice river); another branch in the east is known to the Chinese as the Yen-ching Ho 鹽井河. These two main branches flow united as the Ta-ch'ung Ho into the Li-t'ang River, and not into the Ya-lung Chiang, as the Chinese Yün-nan military map, as well as the older Chinese maps, would make us believe. These maps ignore the existence of the Li-t'ang River and draw the Ya-lung in its stead. Furthermore Ch'ien-so territory is marked much too far north and west, instead of north-east of Yung-ning. It would be of little benefit and would only create confusion were I to quote the Yung-pei Records regarding the sources, etc., of the Ta-ch'ung Ho. 487* 133* 137*

A valley extends from the T'u-bbu peninsula, to the mainland, carrying a stream through Tso-so territory east into the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung River). Another branch it receives in the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake (Lu-ku Hu), the outlet being called the Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge), for a bridge spans the stream at the effluence of the lake. Thus the lake drains into the Ta-ch'ung Ho, the latter into the Li-t'ang, and the Li-t'ang into the Ya-lung, which debouches into the Yangtze somewhat north-west of K'un-ming.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu family. — My first visit to Tso-so land was in the company of the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan. He had been asked to act as intermediary between the Tso-so T'u-ssu and the King of Mu-li, who was on the point of invading the former's territory with his Tibetan cavalry from Ga-ro, an unsavory lot with a notorious reputation. Tso-so country to-day is a lawless tract of land. The T'u-ssu family have lost all the respect of their peasants and are unable to control their territory, living themselves in constant fear of being kidnapped by the Lo-lo who form a major portion of their so-called subjects. The T'u-ssu, a young man of 26, admitted to me that he is unable to exert any authority east of the Wo-lo Ho. The Lo-lo repeatedly invaded and plundered his territory from the north and east — recently very nearly succeeding in carrying off the chief himself into slavery — while the Gangkar-ling bandits harass it from the north-west. 579 622

The older members of the chief's family, such as La Tsung-kuan 喇總管 and the old abbot of their lamasery which represents the Bön sect, were all addicted to opium; the former had died since my first visit in 1928, so there is now no one to take the responsibility of government and the poor peasants suffer without redress. The new and young abbot is a brother of the present T'u-ssu (PLATE 247). Matters had come to such a pass that the peasants were on the point of informing their chief that they did not want him any more. Whenever the approach of bandits is reported, the La family flees post-haste to the island of Bu-wua situated in the south-western part of the lake leaving the peasants to their fate. Their livestock is driven off, their houses burnt, and all that is left to them are ruins; into the fields of standing wheat which the bandits cannot carry off, they turn their horses loose and leave the stubble. Last, but not least, their children are carried off to be sold into slavery.

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579 622 Such is the lot of the poor peasants of the Tso-so territory and the same holds good for the Ch'ien-so country. I have met peasants from the latter who had lost everything and were migrating with a chair or a cupboard on their back, climbing the 13,000 feet high mountain of Ki-bo which separates Mu-li from Ch'ien-so territory, to beg the Mu-li King for a little land where they could settle and start life anew. No one of the ruling class of Ssu-ch'uan, an immense province without communication with this south-westernmost corner, cares for the peasants of these T'u-ssu, of whom there are five, called the Wu-so. The Yung-ning Tsung-kuan took pity on them and acted as intermediary between them and the Lo-lo, for the latter respected him and listened to his advice. Although powerless against the Tibetans, yet with the goodwill of the King of Mu-li he could at times avert pending troubles. Now, since the decease of that most active personality, who was like a father with a big heart for any one in trouble, the country has fallen on evil days. It is the beginning of the end of the native chiefs.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu is said to rule (?) over 1,000 families. However, he himself stated to me that he can, or supposedly can, control only his Na-khi subjects, who dwell west of the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho. Although his territory extends east of the Wo-lo Ho, he cannot even venture there, as it is inhabited by Lo-lo tribal clans in whose fear and dread he and his subjects constantly live. Since my first visit, their residence, at best a small affair, was being rebuilt, mostly of mud bricks and wood. The old decayed and half burnt yamen still stood in a long court full of weeds. The old Bön Temple in the rear had been spared by the Tibetan bandits, and there still sat enthroned as of old the founder of the Bön sect Tön-pa Shenrab (sTon-pa gShen-rabs-mi-po), with *Yidam* (tutelary deities of the Bön church) to both sides of him.

Only in the women members of the chief's family of Tso-so land is refinement to be seen, the men being degenerate and addicted to opium (PLATE 248).

*487 *133 *137 *T'u-bbu peninsula.* — The long spur which juts out into the lake and forms the T'u-bbu peninsula ends abruptly to the rear of the present Tso-so yamen. It does not join the mountain range to the north, but leaves a broad, flat stretch of land between: the main road to Yen-yüan or Yen-ching, to which the Tso-so or La-t'a T'u-ssu is subordinate, leads over this little plain. The mountain god of the Tso-so people is called Yön-tra T'u-bbu, and is represented by the T'u-bbu peninsula. He is pictured riding a white horse, and is accompanied by a white dog and a white rooster. In the left hand he carries a flag like the Tibetan god of wealth, and in his right a *Bum-pa* (Amrta vase). His face is white. Facing the god is his wife, a *kLu-mo* (female water spirit), rising from a spring. In winter the temperature in Tso-so land is considerably colder than that on the islands in the lake where the deciduous trees lose their leaves much later than on the mainland. The elevation at the Tso-so yamen is 9,700 feet and is ten li distant from the lake-shore. The trail leads from the Tso-so chief's house and village of To-shi, up the valley, leaving to the west the last hill which is still a part of the T'u-bbu peninsula. At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-

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Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50' and longitude 97° 45'. It is in the Northern Shan States and is part of the large tract of country governed by the sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

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The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields. This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan, and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

S 101 P 101

This very civilised and widely spread race call themselves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they formerly governed a wide extent of country in western Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

[1] T'u-ssü (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.
[2] Or Möng-man according to the system of transliterating Chinese.
[3] Lat. 28° 10', long. 100° 50'.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

S P 361 101 One more characteristic of the Shans I should mention is that they are not a hill people. It is true they usually live in a hilly country, but their own villages and fields are always in the plains and river valleys which lie in between the ranges, the actual hills being inhabited by other tribes. In Yün-nan itself they own most of the valleys below 4000 feet, anything under that level being considered too unhealthy to live in by the Yün-nanese Chinaman.

On the 8th January we left Nam-hkam, crossed the Shweli at Nawng-hok ferry and camped in Chinese territory at the large village of Möng-ping, where we slept in the Shan monastery.

S P ●622 S P [291] Our companions besides the Chinese deputies P'êng and Yüeh were the two Shan sawbwas of Möng Na[1] and San-ta[2]. The first of these chiefs is a very remarkable figure to meet with in this part of the world—a man of about 40 with a bald head, a red complexion, and a beard of enormous length. Dressed as he was in a long robe tied round the waist by a cord, one would most certainly take him for a French priest. It would not enter one's head to imagine that he was a Shan. He had a most genial manner, always spoke at the top of his voice, and was the greatest friends with everyone.

S P 302 622 Of his beard he was immensely proud, and in the early morning he would thrust it into a black silk bag to protect it from the dew. It cost him very dear a few years ago. He told us the story himself of how Ting, a Chinese general who had risen from a very low station of life, came to Möng Na and was consumed with jealousy when he saw the sawbwa's beard. He asked him how he, a mere aboriginal chief, dared to come into the presence of a Chinese general with a beard of such length, and ordered him to shave it off or pay a fine of two thousand taels. The money was paid without hesitation.

The sawbwa was however not entirely satisfied with his appearance. Though he was not much over forty, he longed for the honour and respect which in China are paid to old age, and he begged Warry to try and get him some medicine which would turn his beard white. He was much surprised

[1] Called Kan-ngai or Kan-ai by the Chinese.
[2] Pronounced Chan-ta by the Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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and disappointed when told that there was no demand in England for hair dyes of that colour. Perhaps the lapse of time has by now given him his heart's desire.

The San-ta sawbwa was a much younger man, with a decidedly intelligent but rather shifty-looking face, much pitted with small-pox. He was extremely anxious to learn about western inventions, and was greatly struck with our tents and heliographs. He had not a very good reputation among the Shans and was said to have succeeded to the sawbwaship by putting one of his relatives out of the way. An account of his untimely end at the hands of the executioner will be found on a later page[1].

We had no escort of our own except a nominal one of a corporal and four men of the Yorkshire Regiment, whom we took more as a matter of dignity than from any anticipation of danger.

S P [291] S P [361]

Our second march took us into Möng Mow, the capital of the Chinese Shan State of that name. We were met about a mile from the town by some Chinese troops and by some of the Shan followers of the Möng Na and Möng Mow sawbwas. The Möng Na men looked very well in green sleeveless coats with a black border, and most of them were armed with breech-loaders. The town is built at the foot of the bare range of hills which bounds the Shweli valley on the north, and is surrounded by a brick wall in a very fair state of repair. The place was en fête at the time, as one of the Möng Na sawbwa's four sons was just going to be married to a daughter of the Möng Mow chief.

We halted the next day and went to pay a visit to the sawbwa. His palace was a very small tumble-down building, and the sawbwa himself a little shrivelled-up looking man, extremely nervous in the presence of the Chinese officials, and I believe almost incapable of managing his affairs through over-indulgence in opium[2].

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In the evening we went to an amateur theatrical performance, in which most of the parts were taken by members of the two sawbwas' families. The piece was in Shan, but was a translation from the Chinese, and was all sung to the monotonous tune of the Chinese theatre.

[1] See page 189.
[2] He died not long after our visit.

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S P 291 Shan women, and with coloured fringes hanging down on each side, while the petticoat is often of large checks of red, white and green.

S P 622 On the 13th a level road through numerous villages took us to Möng Wan, the capital of the state. We were met at the entrance to the town by the sawbwa, a boy of 10, and his two *amats* or ministers, one a Hu-nan China-man, the other a Möng Na Shan. All three made profound obeisances, and we went on into the town and were put up in a very good three-roomed brick house.

S P [361] [342] The place contains about 300 houses. Its narrow paved streets and closely-packed houses of soft brick make it look more like a Chinese town, but it is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. The sawbwa was at that time too young to take any part in the management of the state, and his mother, according to Shan custom, was acting as regent till he was old enough.

The next day, still marching in a northerly direction, we forded the Nam Wan, crossed the range of hills which divides the Shweli from the Taping basin at 5300 feet, descended very steeply into the Ho-hsa[1] valley, and crossed the Nam Hsa, a stream 15 yards wide, into the capital of the Ho-hsa state, a town of only 70 houses.

We were received by the sawbwa, a fine-looking old gentleman of 66, with a white moustache and quite a hooked nose. He is the same chief who is mentioned in Dr Anderson's book, *From Mandalay to Momien*, and he remembered all the names of the members of Colonel Sladen's expedition who had visited him in 1868. He said they had stayed with him a long time, and he appeared to have most pleasant recollections of their visit.

S P [302] On the 15th January a march of seven miles brought us to La-hsa, the capital of the other state into which the Nam Hsa plain is divided. The sawbwa, a man of 56, wore his beard as well as his hair plaited into a pigtail.

He had lately got into trouble with the Chinese authorities. A Shan priest, a native of Möng Cheng[2], a state lying east of the Salween, arrived in La-hsa, and on

[1] Called Hu-sa by the Chinese.
[2] Chên-k'ang in Chinese.

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S P 622 the strength of his claiming to possess supernatural powers found no difficulty in raising a following of 150 men. With these he made a strong stockade on top of a hill, and for a long time defied the efforts of the sawbwa to turn him out. Chinese troops had to be sent for, and, under the direction of Colonel Liu, a successful attack was made, and the priest and most of his followers put to death on the spot.

The Möng Na sawbwa, who was present on the occasion, received the military decoration of the Peacock's Feather for his services. But the La-hsa chief got into serious trouble for allowing the rebellion in his territory. He was deprived of all rank and titles and now appeared in the ordinary dress of a Chinaman without any official robes or hat.

He certainly did not look the sort of man to put down a rebellion, a pleasant unsophisticated old gentleman with none of the energy of his cousin, the Ho-hsa sawbwa. He remarked in the course of conversation that he did not drink liquor much, as he was afraid it might rot his beard!

He was very anxious to go to Burma, but had to wait till his son was old enough to take his place in the government of the state. The Chinese do not allow a sawbwa to leave his own country for any length of time until his son is fit to act as regent.

S P 361 The valley in which the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa[1] lie is some 14 miles long and not more than two miles across at the widest point. Every inch of the flat ground is cultivated, and the villages are all built at the foot of the hills, evidently because space cannot be spared for them on ground which is capable of being irrigated for rice cultivation. The soil is poor, and the crop of rice grown is barely enough for the people to live on. Consequently large numbers of men, estimated at 2000 yearly, go out every winter and spread over the neighbouring Shan States and the north of Burma in search of work. Most of those who go out, work as carpenters and blacksmiths, in which trades they have a considerable reputation.

S P [134] [243] S P [463]

S 101 The chief claim to interest of these two states is that they are inhabited by a distinct race who do not exist

[1] Hu-sa and La-sa in Chinese, and Hotha and Latha in Burmese. The two states are often spoken of collectively as Möng Hsa by the Shans, and Maingtha by the Burmese.

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anywhere else. These are the Nga-ch'angs or A-ch'angs, called Chang by the Shans. These people's language is closely connected with Burmese, and is still more like the language of the Szi, Lashi, and Maru tribes[1] who inhabit the Kachin Hills. It has no resemblance to Shan, except the general likeness which connects all the Indo-Chinese languages. The A-ch'angs are often described as Ho-hsa Shans or, in Burmese, Maingtha Shans, and they have adopted Shan customs, dress, and religion so completely that they will even speak of themselves as Shans. But if further questioned they will always allow that they are not really of the Shan race. In feature too there is a noticeable difference between the two peoples.

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The A-ch'angs, however, are not the only inhabitants of this little valley. Its height above the sea is 4500 feet, and it is consequently cold enough and healthy enough for Chinamen to live in, and there are a great number of them in the valley, most of whom have been settled here for some generations. From what the sawbwas told me there are 4000 houses in the two states, of which perhaps a third are inhabited by Chinese or half Chinese families.

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The sawbwas are both of Chinese extraction. Their ancestors came from Ch'ung-ch'ing Fu (Ch'ung-k'ing) in eastern Ssŭ-ch'uan 400 or 500 years ago. They were sent by the Chinese Government to repress disturbances which had broken out on the border, and were rewarded for their services by being made rulers of these two states. The sawbwas of Möng Na, San-ta and Möng Ti (Nan-tien) are also of Chinese origin, while the Möng Wan and Möng Mow chiefs are genuine Shans. The whole of these sawbwas, however, intermarry with each others' families and have become practically Shans, and would not now call themselves Chinese.

On the 16th January we had an ascent of 1000 feet and a long and steep descent of nearly 3000 feet into the valley of the Taping, and crossed the river, a slow sandy stream 300 yards wide, by boat to the village of Manwaing[2].

[1] For vocabularies, see pocket in cover.

[2] This place is usually called by us by its Burmese name of Manwaing or Manwyne. Its proper Shan name is Man-ving, which has been corrupted by the Chinese into Man-yün.

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000 As it turned out there were no difficulties on the way at all, and at Hpun-kaw, the only Kachin village actually on the road, I found the sawbwa sitting outside his house and went and talked to him for a minute or two. The road crosses the Irrawaddy-Taping watershed at 7000 feet some eight miles from Mêng-ka. At this point is one of the old frontier "gates" called Lao-kuan-ch'êng, which is still in a state of perfect preservation. It consists of two brick arches, each 15 feet high and four yards in length, with a thickness of brickwork of two feet, and a roadway five yards wide through them. The gate is said to have been built by a Chinese official called Wang-shang-shu. At present it marks the nominal boundary between Mêng-ka and San-si, though as a matter of fact the San-si sawbwa has no real authority over the Kachins in these hills. From here is a long steady descent to the San-si plain, during which an occasional glimpse can be got of the Si-na or Chih-na-pa valley which lies three or four miles to the north of San-si, separated from it by a spur which runs right down to the Taping.

On arriving at T'uan-p'o, the principal Shan village of San-si, I was told that the sawbwa was away and that I had better go on and sleep at Kuan-shang where there was a small Chinese official. So at Kuan-shang I pitched my tent and was soon surrounded by a crowd of sight-seers, an elderly man explaining that they had come to look, as they had never seen anyone like me before.

•622 Soon after dark the official turned up. He was only a local head-man and was so uneducated that he had great difficulty in reading my passport. He coolly proposed that I should wait a few days in San-si, to enable him to write to T'êng-yüeh about me and get an answer. This I flatly declined to do, and after I had shown him my passport he had nothing more to say and soon afterwards went away. In the evening he told my interpreter that the sawbwa was not really away, but was, as I had suspected, anxious to avoid meeting me. Like all Chinese-Shan chiefs he is in great dread of the Chinese officials, and his unwillingness to see me must be put down to fear of doing something that would get him into trouble rather than to any want of civility. The sawbwa was in fact already

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•622 looked on with suspicion by the Chinese Government, owing to a rebellion which his elder brother and predecessor started three years before. He is now only allowed to rule over the purely Shan villages of the State, those places in which there are any Chinamen living being administered by the Chinese head-man at Kuan-shang[1].

From the account given to my interpreter by this individual, my arrival on the boundary seems to have caused no small stir both at San-si and at T'êng-yüeh. The news was at once sent on to the T'êng-yüeh official, and the 50 soldiers who form the garrison of San-si were sent up to the Lao-kuan-ch'êng Gate and slept there a night. The excitement was not allayed till my messenger from Mêng-ka arrived with the news that the 200 infantry and 60 cavalry had resolved themselves into 10 baggage mules and seven unarmed men.

162 361 133 The inhabitants of San-si are chiefly Shan, but there is also a considerable Chinese population, amounting perhaps to one sixth or one eighth of the whole. The Taping river runs through the plain from north to south, and it is noticeable that the Shan villages on its right bank are all surrounded by walls, as a protection no doubt against the Kachins who inhabit the hills to the west. The San-si plain is in this latitude the eastern boundary of the Kachin country, the hills to the east of it being peopled by Chinese. The height of the plain is only 3,300 feet.

On the 12th January we crossed the Taping by ferry. The river averages 80 yards in width and at this time of year there are places where waist-deep fords can be found in it. A good deal of hill climbing brought us to the small village of Hsiao-ti-fang where we camped for the night. Here again there was unmelted ice all day, and the night was very cold.

361 This, like many of the frontier villages, was originally a military post placed here by the Chinese authorities to control the border tribes. They have now, however, been settled down as farmers for many generations, though I believe they still receive some small pay or remission of taxes from the Chinese Government. It is probably by

[1] I heard on a subsequent journey that San-si had been handed over to the Sawbwa of Mong Ti (Nan-tien), but do not know if this is true.

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000 and after passing the Chinese village of Ch'ing-mên-k'ou suddenly emerges through a gap in the hills into the plateau of Mêng-sa[1], which is 10 miles long by two or three miles wide, very bare and dry with little water in it. There
S are few irrigated fields, and consequently not many villages.
133 The small stream which waters the plateau comes in from the east close to the town, makes a bend round for two or three miles, and then runs straight into a range of hills, re-appearing again on the other side.

The disappearance of rivers into ranges of mountains is not at all an uncommon thing in Yün-nan and in the Shan States. I have seen four or five instances of it myself. One of the most remarkable occurs in the Taw-nio plateau near Kun-long ferry. Here all the streams run straight into a range of limestone hills, and come out the other side,
S crossing the Mêng-ting-Kunlong road, and falling into the
P Nam Ting.

[361] Mêng-sa is surrounded by a mud wall and contains
622 150 houses inhabited by Shans. Just before entering the town a dirty Chinese suburb of 50 houses is passed through. The younger brother of the Kêng-ma sawbwa lives here and governs the district. The sawbwa's son was also there at the time of my visit. He had been to Möng Cheng (Chên-k'ang) to be married, and was now on his way home with his bride, accompanied by a large train of followers on horseback.

The sawbwa had very civilly sent a man to meet me and to go with me as long as I was in his territory. He asked me to go round by the town of Kêng-ma, but I wanted to see the direct road to Kun-long and could not spare the time to make this detour. I was able to pay him
S a visit later on.
133 Looking back northward from the Mêng-sa plateau some fine snow-covered peaks were visible at no great distance off, in the range running down the right bank of the Nam Ting. This range is far the highest in this part of the country, and on a subsequent journey I calculated its height as nearly 11,500 feet.

000 Leaving Mêng-sa the next morning we climbed a big

[1] Möng-Hsa in Shan. Not to be confused with another Möng Hsa, a name often given to the two states of Ho-hsa and La-hsa (see p. 26).

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range of hills and on the next day dropped steeply down to the Nam Ting valley at Mêng-chien. During this descent we passed through the mixed La and Chinese village of Ta-chai. This contains 450 houses, and though it is a hill village is quite the largest place in this part of the Chinese Shan States. It has some very fine trees round it and the hillsides are well cultivated. It is noticeable that the Las and Was live in much larger villages than any other hill tribe of Yün-nan.

Mêng-chien or Möng Kyen is a small place of no importance, inhabited by Shans. Its height is only 1,850 feet, the Nam Ting valley being one of the lowest parts of Yün-nan. In this warm climate the fresh green grass was already several inches high, and our mules got better grazing than they had had for a long time.

On the 3rd and 4th of March our road was nearly level, leading down the Nam Ting valley, chiefly through pretty thick jungle, with occasionally a Shan village and a patch of rice cultivation where a tributary stream joins the main river. Finally we emerged into the Mêng-ting[1] plain, which is 10 miles long and three miles wide with the river running down its northern edge. There are several villages scattered about in it, each surrounded by fine clumps of bamboo. The people are partly Chinese Shans and partly Southern Shans, the former predominating; but the population is not very large and there is a good deal of land uncultivated. Mêng-ting is a very small state, and only the lower or western part of this plain belongs to it, the upper half being part of Kêng-ma. The town which is unwalled is built in two bits, separated by a small tributary of the Nam Ting, the sawbwa's residence lying on the right bank, and the market village on the left bank. During the dry season it is visited by a good many Panthay traders from Panglong, and I saw a large bullock caravan which had come from Nam-hkam with salt fish and cotton clothes.

I proposed to go and see the sawbwa, but a message arrived to say that he was ill and not up to receiving visitors. As a matter of fact there was nothing whatever the matter with him, but being of rather a nervous dis-

[1] Also called Hun-ting by the Chinese. Möng Ting is its Shan name.

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position he did not want to run the risk of getting himself into trouble with the Chinese Government by being too friendly with a British officer. Many of these border chiefs have this feeling, and perhaps if they happen to be under an anti-foreign or reactionary official, there may be some reason for their fears.

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The next day we crossed the Nam Ting by ferry at Hpak-cheo and camped at Hwe-hpyen, a little Shan village in the jungle situated at the junction of the Nam Hpawng and the Nam Ting. On the 6th of March we crossed the border into British territory and camped at Nam-hu, a small Shan village surrounded by forest.

The next day I rode over to Kun-long expecting to find two months of mail letters waiting for me, only to learn that the letters had arrived a fortnight ago, but that as the men bringing them could hear no news of me, they had started back for Lashio the day before. As they only had one day's start there seemed a good chance of catching them, so through the head-man of the village I got two men to go after them, promising big pay if they brought the letters within three days. This entailed halting at Nam-hu longer than I had intended, but the time was not entirely wasted, as our mules were showing signs of the work they had done and wanted a rest badly. Four days later the men returned but brought only two letters with them. The rest of my mails had gone astray and I did not get them till my return to Burma more than two months later.

Kun-long I had previously seen in February, 1888, when I went there with the first British column[1] that visited the place. It had not changed at all since then. It is merely a Shan village of 30 houses entirely surrounded by thick forest. Its height above sea level is 1,800 feet. The Salween is here 180 yards wide and is crossed by three small dug-outs. The road that crosses by this ferry was formerly an important trade route, but for many years it has been little used. Its decline dates, I believe, from the time that steamers began to run on the Upper Irrawaddy. Bhamo then naturally became the destination of trading caravans from Yün-nan, as they thus avoided the long journey through the Shan States.

[1] The Northern Shan Column, commanded by Major Yates, R.A.

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The La-hu chief also still lives here and has a certain amount of authority. He is a quiet, simple-minded old gentleman, quite a jungle man. He told me that the Shans formerly inhabited this place, but four or five generations ago the La-hus came down from the neighbourhood of Mien-ning and drove them out. The Shans retired to Möng Lem, but there are still a few families of Shan descent living in the villages round.

The inhabitants of Ch'üan-lo and the neighbourhood seem now to be chiefly La-hus who have taken to Chinese customs, and who, many of them, now call themselves Chinamen. There are also a few real Chinese living in the town, but the total absence of curiosity among the people here soon made one realise that one was not among a Chinese population. Hardly a soul came to stare at me all day.

On the 27th of March we crossed a range of hills at a little over 6000 feet, and descended very steeply to the Mekong at the village of Nan-pei. The ferry village of this name where I camped is inhabited by La-hus, but the people of the main village of Nan-pei, which is 1½ miles short of the ferry, are P'u-mans, a tribe which is very much split up into small communities. They were apparently of the same family as the Las, Was, and Palaungs, but have become so scattered and isolated from each other that I have found some villages of them who have forgotten their own tongue and now talk the Wa, the Shan, or even the Chinese language.

The Mekong is here at an altitude of 2,300 feet, and runs, as usual with this river, between very steep hills with practically no level ground outside the river bed. I had great difficulty in finding room to pitch one small tent.

The next day we crossed the river in a large boat much resembling an English punt. At this time of year animals can be swum across, but in the rains the current is very strong, and this big boat is used to convey mules as well as men. The average width of this part of the Mekong is some 80 yards. Even in the dry season there is a fairly strong stream and the water is thick and muddy.

This ferry seems to be a good deal used. Quite a hundred mules crossed it while I was there, all carrying

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language. The fact seems to be that the P'u-mans have 563
become so split up into small and isolated communities, that many of them have lost their own language. It was not till a subsequent journey in 1899 that I came across P'u-mans who had a language of their own[1].

On the 23rd April we arrived at Kêng-ma. The town 133
is built in a plateau, a most unusual formation for this part of Yün-nan, where one generally finds nothing but a series of ranges of mountains and comparatively narrow valleys. The plateau measures about 15 miles from north to south and half this distance across. To the east, separated from it by low hills, is the Nam Hpyit[2], while two other streams run across the plateau in a generally easterly direction and find their way through gaps in these hills into that river. It is along these two streams and their small tributaries [361]
that the greater number of the villages are situated, as they are here able to cultivate narrow strips of paddy. Most of the plateau consists of open grass land, lying too high to be irrigated and not much cultivated.

The town is pleasantly placed on rising ground, and 361
contains about 300 houses, built of mud or soft bricks. The climate is excellent, and I found it quite cool at this, the hottest time of the year, though the height is only 3,850 feet. The place seems prosperous, and there were a good many Chinese traders there, among whom I found the Panthay merchant whom I had seen in Yung-ch'ang[3]. He told me that since we last met he had spoken about the proposed railway extension to Kun-long to other traders, who all agreed that it would be an excellent thing for the trade of this part of China.

The sawbwa's son came to see me soon after my 622
arrival. Having reached the age of 25, he had now taken over the government of the state, his father retiring in his favour. This is an almost universal custom among Chinese Shans. The father, however, still remains the nominal head of the state, and the son is not recognised by the Chinese Government until the father dies. Kêng-ma is one of the largest and best governed Shan States in the province of Yün-nan.

[1] See p. 146. [2] Nan-p'i Ho in Chinese. [3] See p. 59.

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of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 622
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by [342] which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of [376] the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

The sawbwa of Chan-ta (San-ta)

Plate XLIII

[Face p. 190]

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000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation hc e is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state.
243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides.
136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese
622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

000 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them
435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12s. and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the
S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.
ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak
S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.
ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the
S large monastery which is situated a little further along the
ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be
[651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was
S certainly not friendly.
ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

177
624

The Southwest Region felt the impact of the West later and less profoundly than the regions of China bordering on the Pacicic Ocean. Western military might made an initial impress on the region but was not followed by the broad penetration of new material and ideological forces that changed so much of the environment and thinking in the maritime provinces. The bureaucracy of the Ch'ing Dynasty was succeeded by the warlords of [669] the Republican period. They maintained their power under the Nationalist Government and effectively blocked the wide dissemination of revolutionary doctrine in the Southwestern provinces, while playing along in the power struggle of the twentieth century revolutionary period. Only under the wartime needs and influence of the Nationalist Government in Chungking did the Southwest experience a growth of largely small-scale industrialization, the dissemination of new political and social ideas devoid of revolutionary content, and an advance in direct control by the central political authority.

[Footnote 23 continued]

interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H. B. Morse, op. cit.; and John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yü Teng, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the following pages are taken from these sources.

5- Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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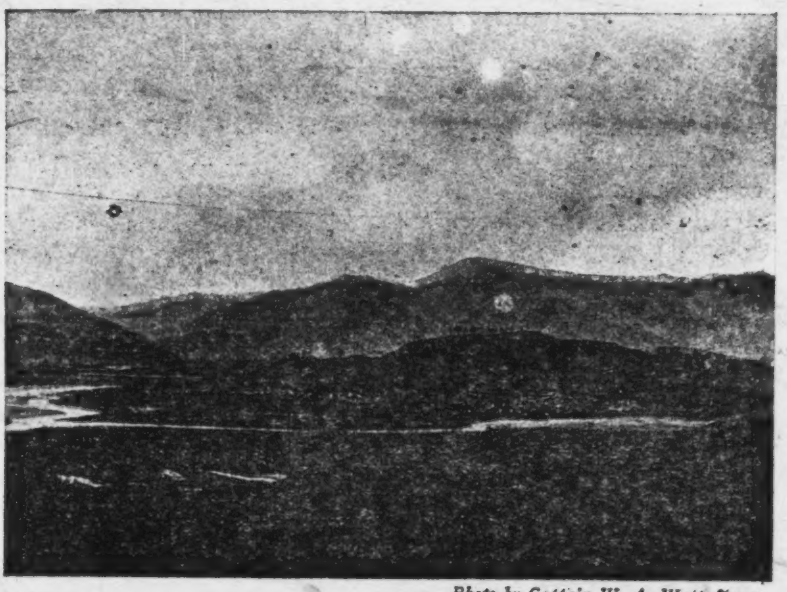

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

Yün Chou from the east

624

Photo by Mr J. S. Ker

The Yün Chou mandarin and his family

Plate XXXII

[Face p. 142]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 bridge, of which a photograph will be found, is a wooden one supported on beams stuck out slant-wise from stone piers. The road does not, as might have been expected, follow the river down to Yün Chou, but makes a short cut across a high range. We climbed part of the way up it and camped at Pa-pao-shan among fir woods.

On the 12th February we had a pretty stiff climb to the top of the range at 8,200 feet. There is a good deal of jungle as one gets higher, full of rhododendrons which were just out in flower. From the top a descent of 4000 feet and some flat going at the bottom took us into Yün Chou.

•624 The mandarin here was particularly civil. We went to call on him the day after our arrival, and Ker took a photograph of him and his whole family. Even his wife appeared and formed one of the group, so the official is evidently a man without prejudices. His son, a youth of 16, bursting with curiosity and a thirst for knowledge, spent nearly his whole time in our room in the inn, minutely examining all our belongings and asking questions on every conceivable subject. No doubt he meant to make himself extremely agreeable, but as we had a lot of work to do we found him a bit of a bore.

The mandarin's civility was not, however, confined to pleasant words, for Ker's interpreter, happening to have his watch stolen, the thief was caught in a very short time, the watch recovered, and the culprit put in the stocks. The people of Yün Chou we also found very civil, and we could walk about the streets without attracting much attention. There are a great many Mahommedans here, and the Chinese Mahommedan I have generally found very friendly.

257 The place did not seem to have changed at all since my previous visit in 1895. Sugar cane is the most important thing grown, and the cutting and pressing of this crop were in full swing at the time of our visit. The presses consist of large wooden rollers, worked usually by a buffalo walking round and round after the manner of chaff-cutting machines in England. They manufacture brown sugar of the sort called *jaggery* or *goor* in India. They do not know how to refine it.

692 the course of action for the People's procuratorates for 1955.[18] He emphasized the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and in the armed forces. From September 1954 to July 1955 the number of People's procuratorates increased from 199 to 1,963.

II. PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS AND POLICE

625 Perhaps the most powerful instrument of violence, with the exception of the armed forces, is the public security organ which exists in all government and functional organizations throughout China. It maintains close control over the entire populace and assumes the responsibility for arrests and punishment. Furthermore, it has at its disposal the public security forces, which are said to be efficiently staffed. There is no doubt that the public security agencies, by collaborating with other secret agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, have become the best physical and psychological instruments for the maintenance of public order.

18. People's Daily, July 24, 1955, p. 2.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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A. Organization

•625 For reasons of secrecy and the potentially sinister role played by public security agencies in the structure of the regime, information on their organization and activities is withheld by the Communists. However, it is known that, in addition to the Ministry of Public Security in the Central Government, each level of government has a department or bureau in charge of matters of public security. This public security system extends from the provincial government down to the hsiang.

In the past, the Department of Public Security of the regional government was directly responsible for the maintenance of public order and safety in the Southwest China Region. According to a Nationalist study from Formosa in 1953, the Department of Public Security in a provincial government was said to have the following five sections as well as an administrative office:[19] political security, security administration, police, general service, and "Reform-through-labor."

19. Kung-fei Chün-shih Kung-an T'e-wu Tsu-chih Hsi-t'ung T'u-piao Hui-pien [Compendium of Organizational Charts of Communist Military, Public Security, and Intelligence Organs], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953.

625 Other units such as a cadre school, border public security bureaus, and forced labor batallions were also under the department's jurisdiction. Public security bureaus were organized within administrative districts and municipalities. County bureaus were empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in ch'ü and hsiang, and they were placed in charge of detention houses and prisons.

B. Public Security in the Rural Areas

625 701 During the land reform period, rural security relied on peasant associations and the militia to enforce decrees and destroy the old rural system, to crush the intelligence agencies controlled by the Kuomintang, to suppress banditry, and to eliminate landlords and "despots."

625 701 669 At the time of the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement in the cities, climaxed by the use of violence in 1951, a similar campaign was carried out in rural areas. Official reports during this time indicated the unrest and the resistance of the peasants, expressed in the forms of organized "underground armies," the killing of militia,

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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625 the burning of granaries, and the slaughtering
701 of cattle. Communist authorities in the
669 Southwest China region called for the strengthening of rural public security.[20] Village committees, composed of from 3 to 11 members, were organized, and public security teams were formed.[21]

The extent of rural unrest was indicated by Wen-hui Liu, deputy from the province of Szechwan, at the second session of the National People's Congress.[22] He reported destruction of agricultural implements, sabotage of a dam, murder of Communist cadres and activists, arson, and impairment of relationships between the Han and the minority groups.

In August 1953, bands of armed police were transferred from the military command to the public security agencies in an attempt to strengthen rural public security.

C. Public Security in the Cities

625 The maintenance of public order and

20. New China Daily, June 29, 1952, p. 1, and Oct. 9, 1952, p. 3.
21. *People's Daily*, Aug. 11, 1952, p. 1.
22. Ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 5.

625 safety in the cities is more complex than in the rural areas. The Communists approach this problem from at least four different angles: (a) an extensive public security organization; (b) rigid census control over resident movements; (c) the establishment of resident organizatins to watch over the entire populace, including committees in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The Public Security Bureau in a municipal government maintains eight sections and several other units. The eight sections include a secretariat, political security (including intelligence, investigation, confidential communication), security administration, police, sanitation, fire prevention, supply, and personnel. Other units under the bureau include prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as security-training schools and security forces. Under the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as that of the bureau itself. The sub-bureau takes charge of detention houses and directs the work of security stations and security committees under them.

625 659 In 1951, the Communists began to tighten census control throughout the Southwest. The directive on census control, issued by the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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625 Government Administration Council in July
659 1951, restricted the movement of city dwellers.[23] Any resident who wished to move had first to obtain a permit from the security station. Likewise, any person who moved into the district had to report his arrival to the station. Even house guests staying three days or more were required to register. The nationwide census taken in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter vigilance. "Planned purchase and marketing," a form of rationing introduced at the end of 1953, strengthened security control. The recent institution of a regular system of registration increases the burden of established regulations.[24]

625 The Security Committee was first organized in the cities during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951. Dwellers in a street or an alley formed a unit for the establishment of a committee. Under the security sub-station, which might have jurisdiction over several streets, security committees were linked to form

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23. Yangtze Daily, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

24. Directive of the State Council in People's Daily, July 3, 1955, p. 1; see Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], April 2, 1955, p. 1.

625 a general committee with the sub-station chief as its chairman. The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen, assigned to maintain public order and enforce decrees pertaining to it. These functions include the enforcement of laws on public security, the suppression of sabotage, the prevention of bandit activities, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, census-taking, and the supervision of the security committees.

Security in factory, business enterprises, and other industrial organizations is the concern of committees established in each of these organizations. These committees are expected to supervise every phase of industrial production and labor discipline.

625 656 The establishment of regulations governing the conduct of business in the Southwest enables the Party to maintain control over all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances[25] requires each electrical shop to secure a permit from the security agency before requesting a license from the local Department of Industry. A monthly report of sales and a monthly inventory also are required. Failure to report suspicious

25. People's Daily, July 26, 1955, p. 3.

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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625 656 patrons to the security agency is a punishable offense. Equally rigid regulations govern the ownership and use of firearms.[26] Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses, and recreational facilities also are extremely stringent.[27] Owners first must have permits from public security agencies. The procedure regulating the issuance of permits requires the submission of the personal history of the owner, complete information concerning others involved in the business, and a diagram of the geographic location of the shop or office. Hotels must make daily reports upon their guests, and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time.

B. Police

625 The police should be distinguished from the security forces, which are a component of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Effective August 1955, as a result of a State Council order, security forces at the level of the administrative district were organized into an armed police force.[28]

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26. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, June 29, 1951, p. 5.

27. Ibid., May 1951, p. 2.

28. The only Communist report on security forces appeared in People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1953, p. 1; Text of the State Council order, ibid., July 31, 1955.

COMMENTS

625 The prevalence of banditry and disorder in the region, together with the activities of remnants of Nationalist military ~~units~~, made it exceedingly difficult for the Communist Party to re-establish "peace and order" in the Southwest. The difficulty of maintaining control over ethnic minorities, the multitude of secret societies, and the hostility of the peasants to many Communist economic schemes constituted further obstacles. The Party was so preoccupied with these problems that it made little headway in the organization of the usual civil security agencies, such as the People's courts and the People's procuratorates. Instead, the regime was forced to rely upon military force and terror in order to maintain "public order."

C. Modern Precautions

751 The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures[1] stated
744 above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the
625 same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

751 The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private indi-
203 viduals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

751 The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the mis-
743 sionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as
203 cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through sons of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still vivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people. 177 [626] 797 177

The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunnar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Huang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'ang
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Yuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tso
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Tuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

[p. 5]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487 bearing Lo-nda gyi (Lung-ta Ho 龍打河) enters the Zho Chhu north of the
133 Chwua-dzu dji at the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan border. The northern half of
137 the north-western slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zho Chhu divide, forms the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning territories. The district of O-yü is situated on the banks of the Zho Chhu in Mu-li territory. There are in all over 200 Na-khi families, or over 1,000 men, women and children, living in O-yü. The district is known to the Hsi-fan as Wua-yĕa-gko. From O-yü the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr in the Chung-tien magistracy can be reached in two days via the mountains and gorges of Gkü-dü. From Shen-dzong in Mu-li country, where a cantilever bridge spans the Zho Chhu and where a trail leads to the Tibetan-inhabited region of Mu-li, it is four days to O-yü, following the Zho Chhu down-stream. On the west bank of the Zho Chhu (the Shu dji of the O-yü Na-khi) the following villages comprise O-yü: K'ö-ndso, Wua-zhi, Mbi-dü, Re-bu (the Li-chiang Na-khi call this place Llü-bbu; we see here the influence of the neighboring Tibetans), Dji-ku (the Li-chiang Gyi-gkv); then the hamlets of Dji-man (Gyi-man) and Gkv-gkü. One day west of Shen-dzong are the villages of Shü-lo-gu-nyi and Shü-lo-dshĕr-bbu.

Besides the Na-khi villages enumerated above and belonging to the district of Mu-li in south-west Hsi-k'ang, there is one more Na-khi hamlet called T'o-lä-gki, harbouring several families. It is situated above the east bank of the Li-t'ang River, opposite Mu-li Lamasery and near the small monastery called lDan-hdra-ri-khrod [14] (pronounced Den-dra-ri-thrö).

The entire lower slopes of the Yangtze valley are covered with the reddish-brown grass *Heteropogon contortus*. On these dry slopes grows a beautiful shrub or small tree, a species of Hibiscus, *H. aridicola* with white flowers, the petals being pale green at the base. It reminds one of *Hibiscus Brackenridgei* of Hawaii, which grows in similar arid situations, associated with the same species of grass. *Hibiscus aridicola* has, however, long rambling branches. The remainder of the vegetation is similar to or the same as elsewhere in the Yangtze loop.

5. FROM YUNG-NING TO CH'IEN-SO IN SSU-CH'UAN

627 *The T'u-ssu family feud.* — The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu 前所土司 is not extensive, consisting of only one large valley in which is situated the yamen of the chief, and a little lamasery, or rather a lama temple. There are in all six villages in the valley, which extends north-east, then east. The T'u-ssu belongs to the Hli-khin tribe. His family name is A 阿 and he is a re' tive of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The Ch'ien-so native chieftainship was established in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), the present T'u-ssu, A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟, being the ninth generation.[15] Like the Tso-so chieftains, they have degenerated, and recently a feud arose between the present chief and his brother, so that neither could remain in the territory.

[14] ནུབ་ལྷ་ཤ

[15] During the Ming dynasty the same family ruled the territory in question under the title of Chiliarch or T'u-ch'ien-hu.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

This T'u-ssu brought in Lo-lo settlers to counteract his brother's activities, the outcome being that the peasants were the sufferers. His mother, a refined old lady, was a relative of the Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning. Her husband, the late T'u-ssu, died in 1909 at the age of 33. During the feud between her sons she ran the affairs of her forlorn little country which had once seen better days. The T'u-ssu has since then shot his brother in cold blood. Whereupon the wife of his brother employed a relative to kill A Ch'ao-tung. The Ch'ien-so territory was then taken over by the Mu-li T'u-ssu but in 1944 it was again relinquished to the impoverished A family. 627

Ch'ien-so country is beautiful, but several villages have been burned by the Lo-lo, especially in the Du-llo dyi valley, and it is impossible for the peasants to return. Some have sought asylum in Yung-ning, others in Mu-li. The outlook is not a bright one unless order is restored and the Lo-los are kept in check.

The Mu-li — Ch'ien-so — Yung-ning border is not correctly marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Instead of extending south-east from the Mu-li pass which leads to Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lidjiatsun of Handel-Mazzetti, and the Chinese Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), the boundary is formed by the eastern wall of the Erh dji valley, extending north and south till it strikes the confluence of the Erh dji with the Hli dji. From there it continues as a ditch across the fields, south-east to the valley which debouches from the rear of Lion Mountain. 133 *

Erh dji valley. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads along the northern edge of the plain to the mouth of the Erh dji valley, which extends from the village of Wua-la-pi to the Yung-ning plain; there the Erh dji stream joins the Hli dji. South of the Erh dji ford, is the deep crater-like depression of Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain). On the north-western slopes of the latter are two small craters, and here the limestone is superimposed with volcanic rock. These craters whose outlines are very distinct and unmistakable, face north and are apparently much younger than Lion Mountain itself. Leaving the village of A-gu-wua to our left, still in Yung-ning territory, we proceed along the edge of the plain and at the foot of the spur, instead of crossing it by the trail which leads to Mu-li via Wua-la-pi. At the foot of the mountain which forms the eastern valley wall of the Erh dji, and near its mouth, stands a white house close to the village of A-nda, both of which are in Ssu-ch'uan and Ch'ien-so territory. The eastern spur leads north and south and forms the Yung-ning — Ch'ien-so and Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. The actual boundary, 11.5 li from Yung-ning, is the mere ditch which divides the Erh dji valley and crosses the plain of Yung-ning diagonally south-east, to the foot of Lion Mountain. 133* 489* 137*

Following the Hli dji through the Ch'ien-so valley. — Crossing the mouth of the Erh dji valley we come to the hamlet of Vu-dchü in Ch'ien-so territory, two li from the Yung-ning border. Here the Hli dji flows in long zigzags across the plain, and enters the valley of Wua-zhu (Wua-zhu law-k'aw); the trail follows down-stream along the northern valley slopes. Wua-zhu is the Na-khi name of the Ch'ien-so country. East of Seng-ge ga-mu and separated by a gap, is another but inconspicuous limestone mountain; this is the

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

685

To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

•627
697

Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (團倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen.* On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they all returned within three days; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan.*

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shing* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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Again, all the lice, bugs, fleas, and other vermin that can be caught are let loose on his person and every other kind of filth which can be collected is all thrown on him. The unfortunate prisoner is bound with his nose over the manure bucket for a whole night.

A hollow bamboo or old sleeve of a garment is filled with filth from the manure pit, the novice is laid on his back and bound, while the other prisoners occupy themselves with blowing this on to the eyes, nostrils, and mouth of the helpless wretch, *ch'ui wu tu wu* (吹唔嘟唔). In the morning he is bound in the outer court of the prison and the filth of the prison cells poured over him.

Again, his hands and feet are tied to a pillar and the hair fastened to a cross beam in the roof; in this position he has to stand the whole night. This is *ying ko chia* (鸚鵡架), the parrot's perch.

He is stripped naked and hung up by a rope under the arms with the tips of the toes just touching the ground; he is then whipped by the company and his body swings from side to side like the wind bending the willow, *ta fêng pai liu* (打風擺柳). Or he is stripped and suspended by a rope round the waist, about three feet from the ground, and beaten; the body thus suspended resembles and is called a duck swimming in water, *tang hu ch'uan* (蕩湖船), to rock the lake boat. The novice is suspended from the roof by the four limbs in a small cell; he is then rocked from one side of the cell to the other, when different parts of the body get driven against the walls.

He is bound hand and foot and blindfolded, a red-hot goblet is then placed on the head; this is called wearing the iron hat.

He is put in a butt of dirty water with his hands and feet tied, with his nose and mouth above water. This is called soaking the water-gourd, *p'ao shui hu-lu* (泡水葫蘆).

To tie up the novice at the door for the night and forbid sleep or rest is called sticking up scrolls, *t'ieh tui-tsŭ* (貼對子), and to be hung up by the hair for the night with hands and

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16-Southwest China AF16

627 feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên*
697 (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate,

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

647 A new appointment is announced in the Provincial Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on
693 red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is also a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

A tax-gatherer, *liang pan* (糧班), or his sons, may enter the literary examinations, but not the other yamen underlings. 647

The *ku pan* (戶班), or local runner, knows every person in his district and is used in making arrests.

The *p'u pan* (捕班) are the chief jailor's runners, for catching robbers, and the *tsao pan* (皁班), or *hou pan* (吼班), are the "black band" with tall hats, who run shouting before the magistrate's chair, when he goes out on public business.

There are various other bands, messengers, door-keepers, etc., etc.

There is an apprenticeship to this work and often the apprentice suffers for his master's mistakes. If he is beaten, the *ling pan* gives him 400 cash; if he is condemned to the cage he gets 100 per day and 300 cash on release; if he suffers capital punishment, the *ling pan* supports his widow. Many become yamen runners to escape the result of crime, thus eluding the law a little longer. An official can put runners to death and thinks very lightly of doing it.

In some districts there are women thus employed.

Judicial Cases.

A black clothes case, *ch'ing i an* (青衣案), is one where execution is certain as soon as the evidence has been given; generally robbery with violence. 695

A red clothes case, *hung i an* (紅衣案), is a difficult case, perhaps of murder; if the accused is clever he may, after years of imprisonment, gain his liberty. If the knife used in a murder cannot be produced the accused cannot be condemned.

Disputes about estates or marriages are called *chêng an* (正案). Petty quarrels are often pursued in the courts till a family is ruined in seeking justice or revenge.

Cases of rebellion or where human relationships are violated; a wife killing a husband, son killing a father, etc., are seldom dealt with in an open, regular way; they are settled in private, the criminal being done to death by the family clan. 627

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

627 If a thief is killed while entering a house the householder is guiltless; but should he be killed after escaping a hundred yards or so, the killer may suffer for it. Sometimes a thief is killed first and the hole to enter the house is made afterwards. Sometimes a corpse is carried on to another man's land to get him into trouble. One who lends a knife for a murder may be convicted of murder.

Presenting petitions or indictments.

647 There are official, appointed copyists who prepare and stamp nearly all documents going to the official.

694 The *hung ping* (紅稟), red petition, is a statement of public business, used in government circles only and costing only the price of the paper, since the government employees may write their own statements.

694 The *pai ping* (白稟), petition on white paper, is used by headmen or heads of bureaus in notifying business to the official.

The *hung pai ping*, red and white petition; if the official keeps the red and returns the white it means approval, the reverse means that trouble may be looked for.

A petition has to pass through the hands of eighteen persons before reaching the magistrate, and as many more afterwards before it reaches the archives.

There are men who live by stirring up strife and lawsuits; they are called *sung kun* (訟棍), pettifoggers, *ch'ien kou chiang* (牽狗匠), dogleaders, and other names.

The *yüan kao* (原告), plaintiff, formerly paid some 3,200 cash official fees and the *pei kao* (被告) an indefinite amount to the runners.

Eyewitnesses, *kan chêng* (干證), are named in the indictment, but only after getting their consent.

An indictment or petition must be written on special, lined paper, *ta kê shih* (大格式), holding some 120 characters; it costs from 100 to 300 cash according to the official. A smaller sheet may be used by the poor. The magistrate keeps a copy, *fu chuang* (付狀), for reference, if necessary, after he has left the district.

618 any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors, this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-off and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün-tsu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young men and women with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system.

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5. On the clan, see Hu Hsien-chin, The Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

631 As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the National Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

596 421 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses, and workshops were owned by the family rather than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and consumption. Male family members worked together in the fields, workshop, or store to produce the goods on which the family mainly relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed their father's occupation and seldom left home. Women worked [462] in the home, taking care of the children and turning out the family's clothes and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced, women managed the entire industry from the cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of cloth. Food and clothing

721 marched into Tibet from both neighboring provinces, Sikang and Tsinghai. The battle of Ch'ang-tu cleared the way for the march to Lhasa. In May 1951, an agreement of peaceful solution was signed by the Tibetan and Chinese delegates in Peking. Thus the military conquest of the Southwest came to an end with an extension of Chinese sovereignty to Tibet.

• 631 In the first period of conquest by the Chinese Communists, this region was divided into eight units: namely, (1) Ch'uan-tung (East Szechwan), (2) Ch'uan-hsi (West Szechwan), (3) Ch'uan-nan (South Szechwan), (4) Ch'uan-pei (North Szechwan), (5) Yunnan, (6) Kweichow, (7) Sikang, and (8) the Special Municipality -- Chungking.

After two years, the four sections of Szechwan were reassembled into one province as before. Sikang, which had been considered attached to Tibet long ago and declared a separate province only in 1928, was now incorporated into Szechwan. Chungking's status as a special municipality under the Peking government, was cancelled. Thus today the Southwest Region comprises only the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan

II. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

423 The first program of this period was based on the eight points[1] announced by Mao Tse-tung in the third session of the seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party held on June 6, 1950

1. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Gov't Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1.

563 the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan.
636 Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous
631 counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county
563 level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

635 For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
[redacted] AF16

635 In Yunnan, the first Provincial People's Congress met from August 6-12, 1954. It was attended by 376 members, who represented a population of 17,000,000, which, besides Chinese, is composed of 28 national minorities. The delegates of the Yunnan People's Congress were elected by 126 units. Out of the 17,000,000 population, 6,000,000 belong to the minorities. The delegates from them make up 41.1 per cent of all the delegates sent to the National Congress. Women delegates took up 15 per cent.

Kuo-ying Ch'iu, vice-chairman of the Yunnan Government, gave a report on the administration of Yunnan which was passed and ratified. A debate on the constitutional draft, which was given full support, followed. The Congress passed a resolution in support of the policy of liberating Formosa. Finally the election of 45 delegates to the National Congress took place -- an election in which each of the 14 minority groups had a share.[9]

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

631 Two years before the promulgation of the Constitution, the Chinese Communist Party decided that China should be a unitary state, with

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9. Enlightenment Daily, August 14, 1954.

631 each province standing under the direct control of the central government. In the Constitution the structure of provincial local units was clearly defined on the basis of democratic centralism. Since the membership in the National Congress was made up of delegates elected by the provinces, the special municipalities, the military forces, the overseas Chinese, each provincial congress became a part of the electoral machinery of the National Congress. But since the executive-administrative and the legislative organs on a higher level have the power to cancel or revise inappropriate resolutions of corresponding organs on a lower level, the administrative and legislative organs in a province, a county, or a hsiang are not really independent, nor do they have any power on the basis of a charter or a special grant.

A. The Provincial Government

635 The promulgation of the New Constitution has placed the Provincial Governments on a new basis. On the one hand, each province regains its traditional status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central Government, while, on the other hand, there is a change from tradition insofar as the members of the Provincial Government are elected and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliberative functions. The avoidance of the term "legislative" in the section on Provincial Government suggests that the People's Congress was limited to the function

635 of deliberation and is not entitled to hold the corresponding executive organs accountable. It can be said that each province, according to the Communist Constitution Article 53, is a modified administrative district subject to control from above but empowered to pass budget, enforce laws and safeguard the rights of citzens. Though the Provincial Government is elected and a Provincial People's Congress sits next to it, it does not have the reserved powers of a state under the American Constitution, nor the powers granted by special charter to a British borough. It is stipulated that the Provincial Government stands under the leadership of the Central Government, and that the Provincial People's Congress can only pass resolutions within the framework of the laws which govern it.

631 Similarly, autonomous regions and municipalities are administrative districts directly under the central government. Counties and Hsiang (villages) are also an administrative district, though they are not considered as being directly under the authority of the Central Government.

635 The executive, deliberative, and judicial branches of the Provincial Government are constituted as follows:

The Provincial Executive consists of one governor, a number of deputy-governors, and twenty-five to fifty-five members of the Provincial People's Council. The governor, the deputy-governors, and the members of the Provincial

[redacted]

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In conclusion, it may be said that although the Chinese Communists are serious in carrying on the work of democratic reconstruction, they are, at the same time, making use of the constitutional machinery, the "democratic" institutions, and other voluntary associations for getting the popular support for the purpose of building a broad foundation for their own monopoly of power. Even before the promulgation of the Constitution, two or three years were spent in paving the way by educating the people to be interested in polling and registration and parliamentary procedure, leading to the final implementation of the Constitution.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

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131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
S
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

post-haste on news reaching the town that the Tong-wa Tibetans, who live in Hsi-k'ang 西康 to the north of Chung-tien, are on the war-path. These people not only loot in and around Chung-tien, Bbĕr-ddĕr, etc., but they often cross the Yangtze and invade Li-chiang territory, as in 1922, when they burned the town of Ta-ku, and killed many people, shooting the girls, who had climbed trees to avoid falling into their hands, like pigeons off the branches. When I visited Ta-ku shortly afterwards I found the town in a terrible state; many girls had broken limbs which had ulcerated and were beyond hope. In 1933 the Tibetans came again, but satisfied themselves by occupying Chung-tien for a considerable time, whence they undertook raiding expeditions in various directions.

The present native ruler of Bbĕr-ddĕr is of the rank of Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant), and besides Bbĕr-ddĕr rules also over his own district called Ha-ba (Ha-pa), to the south. His family name is Yang 楊. His Mohammedan ancestors came originally from Shan-hsi province. They lived in Ta-li, but escaped during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856 and fled to Chung-tien. He again is under the immediate control of the Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Chiliarch, Lieutenant) of Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, also of the name of Yang, though they are not related. Both positions are hereditary. The latter is directly under the magistrate of Chung-tien, who is usually an absentee. Yang Pa-tsung of Ha-pa is a half-breed, his mother being a Tibetan woman and his father a Chinese Mohammedan. The latter was killed by Tibetan bandits in a raid which they were making into his territory. Unfortunately, the present ruler, who is addicted to opium, lacks all the qualities necessary to control such a district, and one can but pity the poor peasants who have to look to such an individual for help in time of stress. It is impossible for a magistrate to remain or keep order, unless he has a large force of regular troops to rely on for protection. The few militia soldiers, with antiquated, rusty rifles, and bullets which often do not fit the barrel, are no protection against the wild hordes of Tong-wa Tibetans, who are usually well armed.

Strange as it may seem, these Tibetan bandits were often armed by Chinese generals, residing in Ning-yüan fu, Ssu-ch'uan, under whose nominal jurisdiction they come. The generals, being interested mainly in money, sold their old rifles to the highest bidders, in this case the Tibetans and Lo-lo on the Yün-nan border. In 1931 when I was in Yung-ning, the good Tsung-kuan 總管 who, unfortunately for his country, has passed on to the Great Beyond, complained to me bitterly about the sale of arms to the wild Tibetans and Lo-lo by the Ning-yüan generals. They had actually sent for the Tibetans, sold them their surplus or old rifles, and given them a *hu-chao* 護照 (passport) and even a Chinese escort to prevent their being molested *en route*. The King of Mu-li (Mi-li) did not wish them to pass through his territory, but could not refuse them transit in view of their passes from the Ning-yüan generals, under whose jurisdiction the Mu-li King comes.

In 1929 Ch'en 陳,[2] the Tsung-pan 總辦 of Wa-li 瓦里 on the Ya-lung River in Ssu-ch'uan, sent many loads of rifles, commandeering peasants on the road to carry them to Yung-ning in Yün-nan, to be sold to whoever had the money

[2] He was murdered by the Communists in April, 1934, when the latter passed through Ssu-ch'uan from Yün-nan.

•631 These remarks about "t'ing" and "chou" will be unintelligible to the reader unacquainted with China, so it may be as well to give an idea of how a Chinese province is administered. First there is the Viceroy[1] (called *Tsung-tu* or *Chih-t'ai* in Chinese), who rules over the two provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. He is called the Yün-kuei Tsung-tu, his title being formed by combining the first syllables of the two provinces he rules—a process rather common in forming administrative titles in Chinese. The Viceroy's residence is at Yün-nan-Fu. Under him was formerly the Fu-t'ai or Governor of Yün-nan who also lived at the provincial capital, but this office has now been abolished as unnecessary, the Viceroy himself performing the duties for Yün-nan, while he is still assisted by a Governor for Kuei-chou. The whole province is divided up into five large administrative divisions called "tao," each under a "tao-t'ai." Each tao-t'ai again has under him two or more smaller divisions in charge of a "chih-fu" or "fu." In the province of Yün-nan there are 14 such divisions. The "fu" is again divided up into a few smaller districts of the other three classes of towns, the "t'ing," "chou," and "hsien."

In some cases, however, there are districts of the "t'ing" and "chou" classes which from their size or position are of special importance, and which are consequently created independent districts (called "chih-li-t'ing" or "chih-li-chou" in Chinese). These are not under any fu, and the official in charge corresponds direct with the tao-t'ai. It should also be noticed that each fu comprises in itself a hsien district, the hsien magistrate being in immediate charge of the town itself and the small district round it. This hsien district usually has a different name from the fu name, so that the town has two names. For instance, Ta-li Fu is also called T'ai-êrh Hsien. Towns can always be called either simply by their names or by their names with the class of town added on, but in conversation it is perhaps more usual to say simply Ta-li or T'êng-yüeh instead of Ta-li Fu or T'êng-yüeh T'ing. Before quitting the subject of civil administration it may be mentioned that there are four other important

[1] Perhaps Governor-General would be a better equivalent, for the Viceroy has no special powers to represent the Emperor.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•631 officials who live at Yün-nan Fu, viz.: the Fan-t'ai or treasurer, the Nieh-t'ai or provincial judge, the Liang-tao or grain-tax commissioner, and the Yen-tao or salt commissioner. These four with the Viceroy form a board to settle important matters.

701 The chief military authority in Yün-nan is the T'i-t'ai or provincial commander-in-chief, whose residence is not at the capital, but at Ta-li Fu. Under him are five officers of the rank of Chên-t'ai or general who have their headquarters at different places in the province and command large districts which do not necessarily correspond with the civil administrative divisions. Under them again are various officers distributed all over the province, their rank corresponding to the size or importance of the garrisons they command. The lowest military officials are those known as hsün-kuan (pronounced *sin-kuan* in western Yün-nan). These men correspond nearly to our police sergeants, and are placed in some of the large villages with from four to eight men under them, in charge of a small circle.

The soldiers are divided into regulars and irregulars. The former are locally recruited men, armed with any sort of weapon, and kept up principally for police purposes. They are hardly expected to do any fighting. The irregulars or "braves" are the men who are sent out where there is any fighting to be done. Many of them are recruited from other provinces, those in Yün-nan coming principally from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. They are the only part of the military forces who can be called soldiers[1].

206 On the 15th January, the day after my arrival in T'êng-yüeh, a Chinese telegraph clerk who knew a few words of English came to see me, and told me that Mr Jensen, a Dane in the Chinese telegraph service, was expected to arrive at T'êng-yüeh that day, and asked me to change my quarters to the telegraph office. He also told me that P'êng, the Chinese official who had accompanied us in our search for the "gates" the previous year, was now in charge of the T'êng-yüeh telegraph office. He knew nothing whatever of telegraphy, but this is considered a matter of no importance: in fact in many of the Chinese

[1] This was written before the formation of the Lu Chün, the modern army of China.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

000 we had a long descent of over 3000 feet to Wan-nien-chuang. This village is Chinese, but Se-pyek a mile further on is inhabited by Shans, among whom are included some Hküns, the branch of the Tai race who inhabit Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States.

There appear to be several Hkün families living among the Chinese Shans of this neighbourhood. How they had got here they did not seem to know. It may be conjectured that some rebellion in or invasion of their native
S state had compelled them to emigrate to such a distance.
P The Chinese name for this race of Shans is K'ên-tzŭ.

●631 Wan-nien-chuang marks the boundary between the district of Mien-ning and the Shan State of Kêng-ma[1]. This is one of the largest of the Chinese Shan States and
S besides the Kêng-ma plain includes the districts of Mêng-
P sa, Mêng-yung and Mêng-chien[2]. We were now in a
[162] country in which there are very few Chinese. The plains are all inhabited by Shans, and the hills by Las, Lo-los, and La-hus, with a few scattered Chinese villages among them. The Lo-los are many of them of the Mêng-hua Lo-lo tribe. The Shans call them *Myen*, which is the usual Shan name for all branches of the Lo-lo race. The La-hus, called Lo-hei by the Chinese and Mu-hsö or Myen Mu-hsö by the Shans, inhabit a good deal of the country between
S the Salween and the Mekong, and stretch down into Keng
P Tung and northern Siam.

361 It rained a good deal in the night and the next morning, so we made a late start and did a short march of 7½ miles to Mêng-yung, a little Shan town of 180 houses surrounded by a mud wall. It is built on the right bank of a narrow stream running in a deep ravine. The plain is a very small one with little cultivation and contains no Shan villages except the town. I put up in a large well-built Shan monastery, and was an object of immense curiosity to the whole of the inhabitants of Mêng-yung.

000 Two marches from here brought us to Mêng-sa. The road there from Mang-hkü, where we slept on the 27th, after a little level going, begins to ascend up a narrow gorge by a paved road. Near the top it becomes steeper,

[1] Köng-ma in Shan.
[2] Möng Hsa, Möng Yawng, and Möng Kyen in Shan.

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coming, and were not prepared to act on the spur of the moment, so we passed quietly on after the usual Shan salutation. "Where have you come from?" had been given and answered on both sides. 000

On the range of hills to the west of Man-hpa we passed through two villages, Hkun-kaw and Pa-hka, inhabited by Lo-los who have adopted Shan Buddhism and have monasteries in their villages, the only instance I have ever come across of Buddhist Lo-los. The women's dress differs from that worn by those of their tribe who still inhabit the Mêng-hua district. In fact they have taken to dressing themselves almost, if not quite, like the La-hu[1] women, in black jackets, black skirts reaching to their knees, black cloth gaiters, and black turbans put on so as to leave a lot hanging down behind. For ornament they wear very large ring-shaped silver earrings.

Man-hpa lies a little to the north of the town of Mêng-ko (Möng kaw), while still higher up the Nam Tum valley lies Mêng-tung (Möng Tum). These two little Shan districts together with Mêng-sung (Möng Hsung), which lies a day's march further east, were formerly part of Kêng-ma. But, for some reason I did not learn, they quarrelled with the sawbwa of that state, and appealed to the Chinese mandarin at Chên-pien. The result was that this official took these districts over and governed them through a Shan chief who resided at Mêng-ko. 631

We left Mêng-sung on the 19th March and finding no village at a convenient distance camped out for the night on the banks of a little stream. Another 3½ miles the next morning brought us to the Chinese fort of Ai-shwai. This was one of several posts that had been established by the Chinese in this part of the country in the previous few years while they had been fighting the La-hus. 712

Formerly the Chinese Government did not trouble themselves about the wild tribes that inhabit this border tract, and they exercised very little authority over them. But since the annexation of Upper Burma they have adopted a

[1] It is possible that I was misinformed as to these people being Lo-los. They may have belonged to the cognate tribe of La-hus. The fact that they were Buddhists would however be equally remarkable whether they are La-hus or Lo-los.

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far before a tremendous storm of thunder and hail burst over us. Many of the trees had been cut half through by woodcutters and they came crashing down in all directions. One fell just in front of our leading mule, not missing him by very much, and blocking the path completely, so that we had some difficulty in finding a way round. In the evening we got down to Hsia-mêng-ying, and found shelter in one of the buildings of a very fine Shan monastery built on a terrace and surrounded by a paved court-yard. The town is a large one for this part of the world, containing 250 houses, chiefly built of mud, and inhabited by Shans.

Our quarters were so comfortable that I halted here a day to give us an opportunity of drying our clothes, which had been drenched through by the thunder-storm the day before. This little district is called Möng Nyim by the Shans. It is divided into two small plains along the same river, one called Shang-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-nö, and the other Hsia-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-taü. These names simply mean Upper and Lower Möng Nyim respectively. The district is really part of Mêng-lien (Möng Lem), a Shan state which formerly paid tribute both to Burma and China, but has now, by agreement with the British Government, become Chinese territory.

Möng Nyim, however, is now no longer governed by the Möng Lem sawbwa, but was at the time of my visit directly under the Chinese official at Shun-ning, though it was not then quite settled whether it was to remain under Shun-ning or to form part of the newly established district of Chên-pien.

Living among the Shans of this plain is a small colony of twenty Panthay families who have been here for four or five generations. They have intermarried with the Shans, and now talk Shan among themselves, but still keep up the Mahommedan religion and have a mosque in their village.

After a day's rest we went on to Shang-mêng-ying, a smaller place than the lower town, though it is in this upper plain that the sawbwa lives. Möng Nyim lies at an elevation of only 3,300 feet, so the next day we had to climb the usual range of hills and in five miles reached Nan-wa, the headquarters of Colonel Li who was in command of all the troops in this district.

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000 I went in to see him and was most favourably impressed with him. He seems to have done a good deal in the pacification of this part of the country, and was much liked and respected both by his own men and by the Shans, La-hus and other inhabitants of the district. He wanted me to go round by Chên-pien as he said it was the best road, but I was too much pressed for time to make a circuit and decided to go by the more direct road through Ch'üan-lo.

361 Chên-pien T'ing is the new town that the Chinese have established as capital of the newly formed district of the same name. This district has been made up out of what were formerly parts of P'u-êrh and Shun-ning. But up till the last few years Chinese rule had been a very nominal affair in this country, which had been practically independent and split up into small states ruled by Shan, La-hu, and Wa chiefs. The new town is near Möng Lang, one of the districts of the Shan State of Mêng-lien or Möng Lem.

Colonel Li gave me an escort of eight men, among whom were four fine-looking Panthays who belonged to the Colonel's body-guard. We went on another six miles and camped out on top of the range at a height of 6,500 feet.

361 Two more marches brought us to Ch'üan-lo[1], which stands on a gently sloping terrace which extends about 1½ miles each way, and is well cultivated. The town is oval in shape, is surrounded by a mud wall and contains 631 some 250 houses. It was formerly the capital of a La-hu state, till about 1891 the Chinese Government made it the civil headquarters of the newly established Chên-pien district. The offices were however soon afterwards removed to the present town of Chên-pien. This was found very unhealthy, and at the time of my visit there was some idea of moving back again to Ch'üan-lo. The Chinese magistrate of the place has the rank of *Hsün-chien*, which is inferior to that of *Chih-hsien*, but I found him very pleasant and civil and far superior in intelligence to many officials I had met of much higher rank. He had been for some time at Mêng-tzû, the treaty port on the Tong-king border, and had met Europeans there.

[1] Called Chen-lawt by the Shans.

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000 From Prince Henri's account of his travels they must have reached Ssŭ-mao the day after I left it.

On the 5th April we started northward for P'u-êrh. The road, which is fairly easy, crosses a range at 6,300 feet and descends to Na-k'o-li, where we slept. A Tibetan caravan of 300 or 400 mules, all laden with tea, was on the road going the same way as ourselves. They were natives of the Wei-hsi[1] district, and told me that there would be an unusual number of Tibetans at Ssŭ-mao that tea season as there was to be a big festival in Tibet the following year, when it would be necessary to make presents of tea to the Lamas. At night they fastened all their mules up very close together and had ferocious looking dogs on long ropes tied up all round to guard against thieves.

I found these men very pleasant, and subsequent experience proved that Tibetans in China and Chinamen in Tibet always are very friendly. No doubt the feeling of being isolated in the midst of strangers knocks some of their natural bumptiousness out of them. I have heard Englishmen in Rangoon expatiate on the pleasant manners of the Chinese. Perhaps they would think less of their manners if they had seen the Chinaman in his own country. It is, however, fair to add that a great deal of the apparent bad manners of the Chinese is unintentional. It comes natural to them, and they are not in the least aware that they are bad mannered.

563 291 On this march I came across a tribe which was new to me. They call themselves Pa-hawng, and the Chinese name for them is Ma-hei. They are distinguished from other tribes as usual by the women's dress, which consists of a short black jacket with silver ornaments hanging down over it from their necks, and black trousers reaching down to the knee. They plait their hair into a pig-tail and wear no sort of head-dress. The married women have a piece of cloth round their waists which hangs down over their trousers[2]. Their language is of the Lo-lo type.

• 631 On the 6th April 12½ miles of a road, which would be good if it was not paved, brought us into P'u-êrh Fu, the most important official town, as Ssŭ-mao is the chief

[1] Lat. 27° 10′, long. 99° 10′.

[2] See Plate LXXII, facing p. 394.

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631 commercial town, of this part of Yün-nan. It is surrounded by the usual wall and is said with its suburbs to contain 1,300 houses. It is the residence of the *Tao-t'ai* of one of the five administrative divisions of the province of Yün-nan, and also of a *Chên-t'ai* or General, but as a trading place it is of very small importance. Merchants usually avoid a town where there are mandarins of high rank. They prefer to live in a place of less position from an official point of view, where they will be less liable to be "squeezed."

000 I halted a day at P'u-êrh and went to call on the *Tao-t'ai* and *Chên-t'ai*, who were both very civil. On going, however, to the *Fu*, he had the rudeness to give me a seat on his right hand, a grave breach of Chinese etiquette, by which a visitor is always given the place of honour on the left. Not content with this, he proceeded to ask questions of my interpreter about me instead of speaking to me through the interpreter. There could be no doubt that his incivility was intentional, so I got up and left abruptly, plainly letting him see why I did so. The place one sits in seems a very trivial thing to us, but the Chinese attach great importance to such matters, and it does not do for the European traveller to be indifferent to these things. It could only have been meant as an insult, which it was one's duty to resent.

I must say I think this is the only occasion on which I found an official try this sort of thing on. A European passing through their district is of course always a nuisance to them and they cannot be expected to be really pleased to receive a foreign visitor, but I have usually found them outwardly quite civil.

After this I contented myself with sending my card to the rest of the mandarins. One of them, a colonel named Tao, came and returned my call. He was a Shan, not a Chinaman, and was of the family of the sawbwa of Möng Waw (Wei-yüan T'ing), but he had received a Chinese education and had made himself so useful to the Government that they had given him pretty high rank in the Chinese army. They have often made use of him when anything has had to be settled in Keng Hung or Möng Lem, and he has on two occasions come across our officials

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000 Man-waing[1]. The trade along this route is fairly large in the cold season, and we passed some 500 mules, loaded chiefly with walnuts, chestnuts, pears, dried figs, and a little silk and tobacco.

From Man-waing on to T'êng-yüeh is a well-known road, previously traversed by several travellers, and described in detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, though the learned doctor gets rather mixed in his names of places.

Ryder and Watts-Jones took the main road which crosses the Taping by one of the numerous ferries over this part of its course, and goes up that river's left bank. I took a somewhat longer route round by Chan-ta[2] where I was hospitably entertained by the sawbwa, and rejoined the rest of the party at Chiu-ch'êng (Old city), the former capital of the Kan-ai[3] state. The present town is off the main road in between the two branches of the Taping just above where they join. Here lives the long-bearded sawbwa with whom we had been so friendly on our expedition to find the boundary "gates," and I was sorry I could not spare the time to go and see him.

133 Our route so far, after leaving Man-waing, had lain
[361] through a plain several miles wide, well cultivated with rice fields, and full of prosperous Shan villages, the part on the right bank of the Taping being Chan-ta territory, and that on the left bank Kan-ai. The capital of the latter state is near the head of the plain, and above this, steep bare hills close in on the Nam Ti, the Shan name for the eastern Taping, the valley of which the road follows up.

In fifteen miles or so the valley again opens out into the comparatively narrow plain of Möng Ti, or Nan-tien
[563] as the Chinese call it. This is also a Shan state, but the climate being cool enough for Yün-nan Chinamen to live in, they are gradually settling there, and the population is
•[631] now nearly as much Chinese as Shan. The sawbwa rules a large extent of territory including Möng Yang and Möng Hüm, and I believe he is also in charge of Chan-hsi, though of this I am not quite certain.

000 In this plain we passed an encampment of wandering

[1] See p. 30. [2] San-ta in Shan. [3] Möng Na in Shan.

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186 generals and admirals looking about for an excuse for their defeat, described our men-of-war as "sea devils," against whom it was impossible for mortal men to contend.

631 I slept at Shun-chiang, a village of 200 houses, which is perhaps the principal place in Hsi-lien. This district consists of a plain or plateau about 23 miles long running from north to south at an elevation which averages 6000 feet. The northern half runs down the 133 Ku-tung Ho, and is from one to three miles wide. This river then turns off eastward to join the Shweli, and the southern part of Hsi-lien is a plateau with little tributaries of the Ku-tung Ho or of the Shweli, crossing it from [241] west to east. Along these little streams are irrigated fields, so that in going up the plateau from south to north one crosses alternately small rice plains and bits of higher-lying uncultivated ground, covered with rocks and bushes.

The hills all round are fairly well clothed with forest, chiefly of fir trees. The range to the west rises to 9,500 feet, but that to the east is lower, with gaps through it by which the streams reach the Shweli[1]. The abundance of [342] [313] timber is shown by the fact that all the houses are built of wood instead of the usual soft brick. The district is decidedly a prosperous one and contributes to the volume of trade to be got out of T'êng-yüeh. Fruit-growing and sheep-rearing could be carried on very successfully here.

From Shun-chiang we went on by two easy marches to Ma-li-pa, a village in the small district of T'ien-t'ang-kuan which lies at the head of the Ku-tung Ho. Here we found shelter for mules as well as men in a water-tight but very [622] draughty temple. The district is governed by an hereditary Chinese chief, and is of no importance except for its iron 316 mine. This has been worked chiefly by surface-diggings, but in two places there are deeper shafts, the earth being propped up by logs of wood placed close together and supported by posts. One of these goes down forty or fifty feet.

327 The ore is smelted near the village, and the bellows of the furnace, as at Wan-yao, are worked by a water-wheel. [376] The softer iron is used for the manufacture of pans, but

[1] Some of these streams run into holes in this range.

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000 the head-man. They read our passports but did not appear particularly impressed with them, and said definitely that we could not pass through their territory. I told them we should go straight away to Mêng-p'êng, the nearest Chinese post, report to the officer there that the Emperor's passport had been disregarded, and come back with Chinese soldiers to punish them. They went outside and had another consultation and soon came back and said they had decided to let us go on. The threat of Chinese soldiers had won the day. Perhaps the Mêng-hung people had had experience of their ways.

We were very soon ready, much relieved to have got out of our difficulties. A downhill road took us past the town of Mêng-hung in about five miles. They were very anxious that we should not actually enter the town, and we did not press the point as I had already been there four years before and had found nothing so enchanting in it as to make me wish to visit it again.

Here to our great delight our friends left us, but we had not seen the last of them, for in the evening when we were settling down in a temple in the village of Man-kang, we were disgusted to see them turn up again. However it turned out that they had quite changed their tune. They appeared for some reason or other to be now frightened at what they had done, and were very apologetic.

On arriving at Ta-li Fu at the end of the month I reported the whole matter to the *tao-t'ai*[1]. He sent back an answer to say that Liu, the Mêng-hung head-man, was already wanted by the Chinese authorities for the murder of his brother and other crimes, and that now with this fresh charge against him he would certainly have him arrested. I do not know whether the *tao-t'ai* ever acted up to his word. I should be very much surprised if he did so.

631 The next day, the 5th February, a fairly level road brought us to Chên-k'ang, or Möng Cheng as the Shans call it. This is the capital of a large Shan State which comprises the unruly district of Mêng-hung within its borders. The old sawbwa was murdered some years before,

[1] The chief civil official of Ta-li.

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and his son at the time of our visit being only 12 years old, his mother, according to Shan custom, ruled the country for him. The State comprises a great many Las, and many of the Chinanen are a decidedly rough lot, so that the old chieftainness finds her kingdom rather more than she can manage. It has an unenviable notoriety as a badly governed country where murders and rebellions are not uncommon, and it is compared very unfavourably with the neighbouring state of Kêng-ma. 631

The town, which contains some 300 houses, is built in a small and poor plain at an elevation of 2,950 feet. It is chiefly inhabited by Shans with a few Chinese, and the plain contains altogether about a dozen Shan villages. There is very little trade in the place. An occasional mule caravan from Ta-li or Yün Chou comes here to sell tea, iron pans, and other miscellaneous products of China, taking away with them opium which is grown by the Chinese villages on the surrounding hills, and seems to be the only export. 361 563 [438]

The sawbwa's Chinese secretary came to see us in the evening and was very apologetic about the behaviour of the Mêng-hung people. He described them as ignorant Las who would not listen to reason. I have no doubt the Chên-k'ang government stand in considerable dread of their lawless subjects.

The next day we marched across some low spurs into Mêng-ti (Möng Ti in Shan)[1], another small Shan plain. One of the numerous people who came to see us (or, to be more accurate, to stare at us) had lived several years in Rangoon and could talk Burmese quite well. 000

On this march we had a very high snow-capped range of hills on our right, dividing the Salween basin, which we were in, from the valley of the Nam Ting. This is the same range I had seen from Mêng-sa in 1895, and we were now able to determine its height as about 11,500 feet, an elevation which, though not uncommon in the north of Yün-nan, towers far above any of the other ranges at this latitude.

[1] This place must not be confused with the larger place of the same name which is called Nan-tien by the Chinese and lies on the T'êng-yueh-Bhamo road.

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round in a circular furrow, into which the paddy was thrown. 407
It was worked by a water-wheel which revolved horizontally
like a turbine, teeth being arranged all round the outer 376
edge of its top surface to catch the water.

We had heard cuckoos everywhere round us for the last 136
few days. The bird appears to be the same as the English cuckoo, and in western China as in England it makes its appearance in April, though I think in the Shan States I have heard it as early as March.

My mules went straight along the main road to Yang-kai 000
the next day, but I made a slight detour to see Hsün-tien Chou which lies a little off the road. It is a small, poor town in a rather well-cultivated plain with the upper waters of the Niu-lan Chiang running through it. The Tao-t'ai 631
of eastern Yün-nan has his residence here. His district comprises Chao-t'ung Fu, Tung-ch'uan Fu, and Ch'ü-ching Fu.

It rained most of the day and we did not reach Yang- 000
kai till seven in the evening, as the march with the circuit to Hsün-tien must have been 24 miles.

The next day we passed Sung-ming Chou which lies a mile to the right of the road[1]. The town is a small one, but it stands in a good plain, measuring about 10 miles each way. Exceptionally fine opium is grown here and at 249
Yang-kai. The poppy flower of Yün-nan is usually white, the next most common colour being mauve or purple. Scarlet poppies are occasionally seen but they are not common.

After crossing the plain the road leads over a lot of 000
uncultivated undulating ground. As there was some delay in changing our escort at Sung-ming, I went on without a guide. Going off to the right of the road to put up my plane-table, I tried to make a short cut back, and got on to the wrong path, a mistake which we did not discover till we met a man a mile or two on. We then struck across to the left but found so many well used tracks made by timber-hauling from the fir woods in front of us, that it was most difficult to pick out the right road. We could see no village and could find no one to ask the way of, and as it was

[1] What is considered the main road passes a little further to the east through Yang-lin, but the route I took is rather the more direct of the two.

1 [village of Liu-shu-ho -- Analyst]

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000 I found at Yün Chou the same mandarin whom I had met there the year before. He was very civil and friendly, but, like all Chinese officials, he wants the traveller to go on by a main road to the nearest town, so as to get rid as quickly as possible of the responsibility of having a foreigner in his district.

Now the road from here to Wei-yüan which I proposed to follow can by no means be considered as a *ta lu* or big road, so my ideas did not at all meet with the mandarin's approval. Accordingly in the evening he sent a message to my interpreter to say he would like to see him, and gravely informed him that there was a rebellion going on in Mêng-ma, a place I should have to pass through. Of course I knew this was pure fiction, and I sent an answer to say that if on nearing Mêng-ma I found anything going on I would take some other road. After this there were no more objections, and we left Yün Chou the next morning, climbing very steeply more than 3000 feet up a grass-covered range.

The following day we descended into the Mêng-ma valley, which we followed down for a day and a half. The width of cultivation only averages about 100 yards on either
137 side of the little river which waters it. The hills on both sides are covered with scrub jungle, which runs down to the edge of the fields, and the river in the middle is lined
361 with willow and other small trees. Along the foot of the hills are scattered at intervals little villages, each surrounded in the Shan fashion with its clump of cultivated bamboos. The Mêng-ma valley strikes one as being rather pretty at first, but its monotony begins to pall after a time.

• 631 Mêng-ma was formerly a Shan state, but is now administered directly by the Yün Chou mandarin. The representative of the sawbwa's family, with a few Shan households, still lives in the principal village, but he has now little power. In fact the Shans have been entirely absorbed by the Chinese, and the Shan language and other signs of Shan nationality have practically died out.

000 Turning out of this valley we crossed another range of hills, and on the 17th December, the fifth day out of Yün Chou, crossed the Mekong at Ka-li ferry. The river here has a strong current and is a little more than 100 yards

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000 course of the Ya-lung can be traced from the top of this pass. Just where it makes its great bend to the north, its further progress southward is barred by an enormous mountain mass rising almost sheer from the river to a height
• 631 of thousands of feet. The country in that direction is under the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh[1], who is nominally subordinate to the Yën-yüan Hsien mandarin.

000 A steep descent to a little valley and another 1000 feet of uphill brought us to the Lo-lo village of Ma-huang-kou at 10,300 feet. The villagers were at first somewhat taken aback by the appearance of such curious-looking people, and were not much inclined to sell us anything. However the appearance of the chief's wife, a large proportioned lady of some 40 years, altered all this. She immediately turned out all the villagers, ordered them to sweep a place clean for my tent, and to bring us anything they had to sell. Her subjects soon became as friendly as they had previously been suspicious.

This country is so very poor that it is by no means easy to get enough to eat even for such a small party as we were. Corn of any sort was scarce and the mules came
244 off badly. I was more fortunate, as I found the people here grew potatoes—a luxury indeed to the traveller in China. It is usually only among hill tribes that one is occasionally able to get this vegetable. The Chinese do not seem to appreciate it, though it grows well in the few places where it is cultivated. I remember getting excellent potatoes in Tung-ch'uan Fu and T'ung-hai Hsien. They were, I believe, originally introduced into China by French missionaries, and in Yün-nan they are called *yang yü*, the foreign yam.

563 To illustrate the varied population of this country I may mention that for five days we had now slept among a different tribe each night—Mu-nia Hsi-fan, Chinese, Lo-p'u Hsi-fan, Miao-tzŭ, and Lo-lo. Each of these people's language is unintelligible to all the others. The *lingua franca* of the country here is still Chinese, though further west Tibetan was much more generally known.

[1] This place is described by Dr R. Logan Jack in *The Back Blocks of China*.

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609 several followers sitting on the ground a little way off the road. He beckoned to me to come to him. I told him he could come to me if he had anything to say, and he accordingly did so.

"Where are you going and what have you come for?" was his first rather natural question. I told him I was passing through Mi-li on my way to A-tun-tzû. He began to demur to my going on to Mi-li, said the king was away at another monastery, and enquired what presents I had for his majesty. I said I had no particular business with the king to induce me to go out of my way to visit him, and that I had no presents for him. I then had my passport read to the lama. He understood Chinese well enough to realise that this document could not be disregarded, and had nothing more to say, so we went on.

•[631] This part of the country is entirely under the influence of the Tibetan lamas, and no Chinese official ever comes near it, but still it is nominally part of the province of Ssû-ch'uan, so that a passport meets here with a respect that would not be shown it in the part of Tibet beyond the Chinese frontier.

000 A very long bit of downhill brought us to the Mi-li River[1] which we crossed by an excellent wooden bridge which had only just been finished, the old bridge having been swept away by a flood. The river is here at an elevation of 7,500 feet. Its general width is some 60 yards; it has a strong current and is too deep to be fordable.

It was now getting dark and I wanted to halt for the night at some houses near the bridge; but I found we could get no fodder for our mules here, so we had to climb 2000 feet of very steep hill to Mi-li which we did not reach till eight in the evening. The guide, who had been most willing and useful since his thrashing, was sent on ahead, and found us a house to put up in with room for the mules underneath, so we got settled down pretty comfortably at last. It was a hard march of over twenty miles, and the

[1] Mr Amundsen gives Gya-yul Ch'u, "the river of China," as the Tibetan name of this stream. It seems probable that this is the same river that flows past Li-t'ang.

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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the large monastery which is situated a little further along the S ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 [792] size, and has some approach to regular streets in it. The monastery is a fine one and is said to contain 1800 lamas. The population of the place is chiefly Tibetan but there are a good many men of Chinese descent who have intermarried with the natives of the country and become Tibetanised.

•631 There are three Chinese officials in the town, one civil and two military. The latter command the small garrison of 70 soldiers and are not men of any rank. The civil mandarin is called the *liang-t'ai* and is practically a commissariat officer, his duties being to collect supplies for Chinese officials passing along the road.

None of these Chinese officers have any jurisdiction except over the Chinamen living in the town. The government of the state is in the hands of a hereditary Tibetan chief who has under him a second chief, while the lamas, here as everywhere in Tibet, have considerable influence in affairs of state[1].

797 A French Catholic mission has been established here for many years, and the missionaries have passed through many vicissitudes. In 1881 Père Brieux was murdered a few miles from the town. The Tibetan authorities put the crime down to brigands, but there seems little doubt that the murder was instigated by the Ba-t'ang lamas. In 1887 there was an organised rising of the Tibetans, the mission stations at Ba-t'ang, Ya-k'a-lo, and A-tun-tzŭ were burned, and M. Brieux's grave was desecrated.

For some time the work of the missionaries was at a standstill, but after long negotiations, supported by the French Government, they obtained full compensation, and their houses were rebuilt for them. The Viceroy of Ssŭ-ch'uan can evidently exercise his authority here when he likes, though in ordinary circumstances the Tibetans are left very much to themselves.

291 We spent three days in Ba-t'ang, employing the time in buying boots for ourselves and in getting an extra transport animal or two. The boots that Tibetans habit-

[1] Owing to a rebellion which took place about 1904 things have changed considerably in Ba-t'ang. There is now a Chinese garrison there, and the monastery is said to have been destroyed.

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

much, and Manifold gave the little boy some medicine for warts on his fingers. 792

Ya-ra-gong is the name really of a district under Ba-t'ang and not of any particular village, but this village may be considered as the headquarters of the district, as Troi-gön, the principal monastery, which contains 300 lamas, is here. The height of the house we put up in (which is somewhat lower than the French mission) we made 11,900 feet. The climate at this time of year was very pleasant. Père Soulié told us there was a rainy season beginning in June but that the rain is not very heavy or continuous. 631 132

We stayed at Ya-ra-gong rather longer than we intended as the Gurkha naik who had been hit by a stone at the Mekong bridge was not going on very well. He had a good deal of fever and his head began to swell again. However, two days' rest did him a lot of good and he soon afterwards made a good recovery.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Crossing another range the next day we descended to Hsi-ngo-lo, a scattered village in a small cultivated valley—the first fields we had seen since Ra-nong. All the country on both sides of Li-t'ang that we had been passing through was high-lying grass land with occasional nomad camps and herds of tame yaks[1]. 000

The height of Hsi-ngo-lo we made 12,000 feet, which agrees with Rockhill's determination. As a rule our heights are greater than Rockhill's, but correspond fairly well with Gill's.

On the 14th a stiff climb brought us on to an open grassy range at 15,000 feet, from which we descended a wooded valley to Ma-kê-tsung[2]. In the same village was sleeping a Chinese captain who was escorting 70 vak-loads of gunpowder to Lhasa.

Our road on the following day led us steeply downhill through a fine forest country to the Ya-lung River. There is probably some shooting to be got in this valley. In the house we slept in at Ma-kê-tsung was a good stag's head with points all up his horns, like the Kashmir stag. I imagine it to be Thorold's Deer (*Cervus albirostris*).

We crossed the Ya-lung (called Nya Ch'u by the Tibetans) in a large ferry-boat to the village of Ho-k'ou[3]. The river is here 80 yards wide with a very strong current, but backwaters near each bank assist the boat in crossing. The height we made 9,400 feet[4], and we found the climate quite hot, the thermometer reaching 87° in the shade.

Ho-k'ou is inhabited chiefly by Chinamen, and from here onwards the country becomes more Chinese. The Ya-lung River here forms the boundary between the state of Chia-la (Ta-chien-lu) and Li-t'ang, and it is only since 1703 that the *direct* rule of China has extended across this river. 631

Ascending a narrow valley through a fine forest country we reached Wo-lung-shih on the 16th, and on the 17th crossing a pass 15,400 feet high we descended into a well 000

[1] There are no wild yaks in this part of Tibet.
[2] Ma-gan-drong in Tibetan (*Rockhill*).
[3] Also called Chung-tu, and known to the Tibetans as Nya-ch'u-k'a.
[4] A.K. gives it as 8,410 feet; Rockhill as 8,518 feet; Hosie as 9,010 feet; and Gill as 9,222 feet.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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mometer in the 40's and 50's, with frequent light but prolonged drizzling rains that create chilly, uncomfortable sensible temperatures. Almost year-round plant cultivation occurs in most of the Basin, so that Ling-nan and Ssu-ch'uan have much in common. In the plateau lands of Kuei-chou, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang, a different situation prevails. Some of the basin-lands of Kuei-chou share the high humidity and other climatic characteristics of Ssu-ch'uan, but the mountain lands and slopes are cool moist areas with rather poor soils, frequently shrouded in fog.

The Yun-nan Plateau, on the other hand, emerges above the winter mantle of cloud that covers Ssu-ch'uan and has a delightful winter climate like that of North China in late spring. The high altitude of over 6500 feet makes for mild sunshiney winters and cool summers in spite of fairly high rainfall and the low latitudes. At Ho-k'ou where the Yuan or Red River runs out of the provinte into Vietnam, the rainfall averages 48 inches annually. At T'eng-ch'ung (T'e-g-yueh) near the Bhamo frontier of Burma, the rainfall rises to 58 inches per year. In the central lake basin area as exemplified by K'un-ming, the rainfall is reduced to 40 inches, decreasing northwestward with the increasing altitudes and increasing distances from the seas. At Li-chiang near the Hsi-k'ang border, the rainfall drops to 26 inches annually.[14]

While the plateau heights provide a pleasant and invigorating climate, there is a sudden change in the lower altitudes of the deep ravines and basin lands under 4300

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Sw 133 631 162

Photo 5. Lu-ku Lake, Hsi-k'ang Province (27° 43' N, 100° 48' E)

At Lu-ku Lake in the center background, the viewer sees the picture of the eroded surface of the eastern part of the Tibetan High Plateau. Known as Cham, this part of the high plateau was constituted the province of Hsi-k'ang by the Manchu Government in 1906. It is inhabited by East Tibetan peoples such as the Fan, Nakhi and Ku-tsung. Han-Chinese settlers find the land inhospitable for their culture, since the elevations even in the lower parts seen in this photo are between 10,000-15,000 feet. The still relatively level surfaces of the plateau in the foreground are deeply gashed by the snow-flanked ravines. On the central one are cultivated fields of Tibetan tribes.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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the Lu-hsi She-shih-chü (Lu-hsi Hsien Establishment Bureau). Under the t'u-ssu were four tsung-li (Grand Councilors). These posts were held by elder retainers of the t'u-ssu who managed affairs in rotation, each for ten days at a time. They superintended all political affairs, supervised the accounts, general affairs, and official documents. The local government under them was divided into "Kang" and "Lien". The "Kang" were the basin plains in which the Pa-yi tribesmen live. (See Photo 10 for a typical "Kang" settled by Pa-yi). Each "Kang" had a basin chief, Kang-t'ou, and a deputy chief, Kang-wei (Kang-head and Kang-tail). These collected tax levies, arranged labor corvee, and presided at lawsuits. Each basin chief had up to ten villages or hamlets under his control, and each of these had a headman, Chai-t'ou, below whom were deputies and lieutenants. They took charge of all affairs within a village or hamlet. The "Lien" were the high mountain districts inhabited by Han-Chinese farmers. Each "Lien" had a person of the gentry class in charge who was a Han-Chinese. Under the "Lien" were villages, Ts'un, with a headman in each assisted by one or two deputies. Since Mang-shih had been organized as the seat of a She-shih-chü, the t'u-ssu had concurrently assumed the post of Chü-chang (regional chief), while the heads of the villages and their

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Photo 10. Kan-yai, Yun-nan Province (24 48' N, 98 5' E)

The basin of Kan-yai, a settlement of the Pa-yi (T'ai) tribes near the west Yun-nan frontier formed one of the small autonomous kingdoms known as t'u-ssu domains that gave allegiance to the central government in China but had "feudal" hereditary rulers. Characteristic of the Pa-yi settlements are the tree-fringed rectangular plots around the villages and homesteads, many of which are fruit trees. As around all the Pa-yi basin-lands in the past, mountain tribes paying taxes to the T'ai overlords till the hill slopes. In the Chinese Communist organization of so-called "autonomous regions", a system of representation of all the tribal groups in such an area theoretically exercises local government powers under Communist supervision. Kan-yai is among the northernmost of the former Pa-yi or T'ai t'u-ssu domains.

said and what he thought never corresponded. He often said to me: "A clever man never speaks the truth!" (1) /Plates XLI, XLII, XLIII,

1. Two and one-half years later I accidentally learned that Da Tschang was knocking about in his native country, gay and in high spirits. He had brought home a new Tibetan squaw from Dscherku ndo.

and XLIV appear between pp. 184 and 185 in the original text. /

/185/ Near Puiling the big tea route leaves the Dsa Chu Valley in order to follow the nearest eastern longitudinal valley parallel to it. However, the Dsa Chu, like the Yangtze Kiang below Dschoma lhagan, at first breaks through the southern chains of mountains. At the place where it breaks through there is very little room beside it, and, it is said that pack animals cannot follow the river. The soldiers said that even riding horses had fallen headlong one time when they were going downstream. However, there is constant traffic on foot along the river to the populous and war-like Nyarong (Chinese: Tschan tui). (1)

1. If one goes from Hor Gantse down the Dsa Chu Valley - so the soldiers told me - one gets to Sade on the left bank the first day, and on the second to Zba, on the third, to Dagelo, then to Sana and Bur where the fortress of the chief official of the Dewa schung of Lhasa is supposed to stand. After another day Gur is reached. From the chief town in Tschan tui one estimates four days to Tschanggu and six days to Litang. In the entire Nyarong there are two higher officials from Lhasa. J. Bacot in Le Tibet revolté, Paris 1912, calls Rounon and not Bur the chief town of Nyarong. He, unfortunately, also did not succeed in visiting the chief town.

As was mentioned before, the Hyarong is subordinate to officials appointed by Lhasa. In 1863-1864 during the Tai ping rebellion when the whole kingdom was in a state of fermentation, an ambitious Nyarong prince tried to free himself like the Ngolok, and carried on a terrific war of destruction against the Chinese and against all those who sided with the Chinese. At the request of the Peking government and pressure from Dergi, the Dewa schung (sdeba gschung) of Lhasa

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suppressed this rebellion, and since then Lhasa rules here. (2) The

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2. The General sent from Lhasa was named Bonroba, or, according to Rockhill, Punropa. He came from Kin tschuan and ruled in Nyarong and Litang from 1864-1877 like a sovereign prince. But Lhasa finally recalled him when he became too powerful, under the pretext of placing him in the highest offices in Central Tibet. Soon after his arrival in Lhasa he and all the members of his family were poisoned (see also Baber, Researches in the Interior of China, 1882). Dergi which was also very much humbled by Bonroba, has since then again enjoyed its former liberty. Like the small independent kingdoms of Ling-Gose and Lhada, it has only to pay a small tax for the maintenance of the Central Tibetan garrison in Nyarong (Tschantui). This tax is annually collected by officers of the garrison.

officials, high lama princes of the church, change office every three years and maintain bodyguards which the surrounding tribes must furnish and also, in part, pay for.

The Nyarong Valley extends more than 100 kilometers north and south and is warm and fertile because it is at a relatively low altitude. Well populated lateral valleys join it on the east and west. The country has more than 12,000 square kilometers. Administratively it is divided into and upper, middle, and lower territory. T 361

Inasmuch as Nyarong is ruled by the Deba schung, the yellow sect naturally plays first fiddle there today. A scourge for the entire surrounding country even in ancient times, it is now a stronghold of the yellow reformed church and able warriors as well as militarily efficient monks have constantly undertaken veritable crusades into the neighing countries, during the last decades, in order primarily to eradicate the ancient Bönbo faiths and win recognition for their own doctrine as the only one bringing salvation. T 798

A gentle rise leads from Puiling (3,425 meters) to the next /186/ pass which is only 4,050 meters high. We crossed it in a few hours and stood on the banks of the Da Chu which, smaller than the Dsa Tschü, is somewhat comparable to our Swabian lower Neckar, and comes from the northwest. At no place does it fill out the broad channel of the valley. Before we reached its banks we saw on the left the monastery of Dyoro which, like the rest of the monasteries of the T 792

000 arose before me the majestic mountains of the sacred Lhamo rtse. Meanwhile the clouds of the night had, except for a few remnants, been eliminated by the sun. Bold, shameless, and impudent, as only a barbarian can be, these holy ones stretched heavenward (Plate XLVII). Over there, almost tangibly near, glistening white perpetual snow and greenish gray crevassed ice contrasted with black rock fissures. But the thing about this breath-taking surprise that made my heart beat faster was all the succulent green of the foliage that spread out below those huge thrones of the gods. In the valley at the foot of the Lhamo rtse spring had come some time ago; countless birds, large and small, that I had never seen before, could be heard, and round about me fluttered the most gaily-colored butterflies. With every step of our descent Mother Nature became more alive and jovial, more luxuriant, and more varied. In northern Tibet and during my long journey over loess I had forgotten how beautiful, how extravagant our earth can be decked out. And so I enjoyed it all the more.

361 Toward the end we proceeded in a northeasterly direction; during the final hour the road followed a large valley that runs alongside the western foot of the Lhamo rste chain. A few miles before one gets to Ta tsien lu the woods grow sparser. Man in his selfishness, and to his own disadvantage, keeps the abundance of nature within bounds. The city's wood-cutters allow only the underbrush to spring up. At last - meanwhile it was three o'clock - blackish gray Chinese tile roofs and house gables appeared in the valley and soon after - there was only a parade place and a Chinese cemetery to be passed by - the hoofs of my horses clattered along a narrow paved street and through the smallish south gate of Ta tsien lu. I was safe in China again.

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631 The city of Ta tsien lu is 2,500 meters high (1) and wedged in

1. According to a measurement taken near the south gate. Kreitner-Szechenyi gives 2,579 meters, Desgodins-Biet 2,502 meters; Rockhill 2,500 meters (8,204 feet); Baber 2,585 meters (8,480 feet); Gill 2,543 meters (8,346 feet); A-K 2,532 meters (8,310 feet); and the War Office map of Yünnan 2,560 meters (8,400 feet).

between steep mountains. It has 1,200 families with approximately

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8,000-10,000 souls (one-third Chinese and two-thirds Tibetans) and has been for a long time the seat of a Chinese colonel (hsiē tai) to whom all police garrisons throughout Hor as well as those of Ba tang, Li tang, etc., were subject, and a superintendant mandarin with the title of "kün leang fu" who had charge of the accounts with the occupation troops and the imperially recognized monasteries up to Lhasa /203/ and who was connected with the Dao tai of Ya tschou fu. (1) Finally I found here an important Likin mandarin whose chief 631

1. The imperial court in Peking annually sent as much as 40,000 taels through the kün leang fu to the monasteries of Tibet in payment for the saying of prayers.

duty it was to tax all tea imported from the lowland, before it entered the city. Besides these important Chinese, the Ming tscheng tu se, Tibetan: Dyala (Dschagla) dyalbo (written: lDschagsla rgyalbo) also has something to say in the administration, albeit only in purely Tibetan matters.

In Tibetan the town of Ta tsien lu is called Dar rtse ndo, i.e., mouth of the Dar, and from this seems to spring the botched expression "Ta tsien lu" in present-day Chinese. However, the Chinese of today do not recognize this derivation. According to one group the name means "arrow forge" and is supposed to be connected with the meaning of the place as a center for weapons; according to others, the name derives from the fact that an arrow was once found here which one of the frontier commissioners was supposed to have shot off. It is the story of the ox skin of Dido, translated into Chinese. After long-drawn-out boundary disputes the parties are said to have agreed that the Chinese boundary should reach as far as an arrow flies. The Chinese shot off an arrow and after a long search they found this arrow many days' journey inside Tibetan territory at the site of present-day Ta tsien lu. The city was called Lu tscheng by Chinese soldiers in the interior of Tibet. 103

Strictly speaking, the city consists only of two narrow streets that extend along either side of the little stream which has quite a lot of water and is supposed to be called Dar Chu (of course, few of the inhabitants know what to call it). Three bridges connect the two sides of the valley. The officials, the officers and the king live on the left bank in broad-gauged yamen, built in Chinese style. Most of the shops and the large Tibetan godowns or go tschwan are on the right bank. Ta tsien lu is today one of the few cities in the Middle 361

families, many of whom have a far better income than if they had joined a rich monastery where they are only sent into the families when their turn comes on the monastery lists. T 793

Up until the latter years of the seventeenth century the Tibetan royal house of the Dyala dyalbo or (written lDschagsla rgyalbo) enjoyed unrestricted rule over their kingdom which even today is sizable, extending from the Nya Chu (Ya lung Kiang) up to the large Gold River (Tung Ho, Da tu Ho) and at the Lu ting kiao bridge (built in 1701) bordering on the district of Ya tschou fu and the small Tibetan kingdoms of Leng pien and Schen pien tu se. These have become almost completely Chinese in manner and customs; having cleverly estimated the existing balance of power they yielded to the superiority of the Manchu Emperors when the latter showed a desire to conquer Tibet. They always kept the road open, but thereby made enemies of the Dalai Lama and his Dewa schung. T C 631

Meanwhile thousands of Chinese colonists have migrated into the country, bought lands along the road, and from Lu ting kiao to Ta tsien lu on the Lu ho one meets practically only Chinese who pay taxes to their Chinese officials, so that today the Kingdom of Ming tscheng begins only at Ta tsien lu. (2) The city of Ta tsien lu has C [167]

2. The right banks of the Tung Ho and the Lu Ho Valley are under the jurisdiction of the Tsa li Ts'ien hu, a chief bailiff of Ming tscheng who, today, however, has very little to say there.

become the chief support of Chinese power in Tibet. But it is a positive miracle and evidence of a special gift that the old Dschagla kings are in existence at all, that so far they have been able to maintain themselves, and that they have never lost patience.

For his Tibetans the king is to this day absolute ruler and in the lateral valleys off the large military road only he and his bailiffs rule. In Ta tsien lu itself he still has certain tax rights with regard to the tea trade. Indeed, the freedom of movement which the Chinese government allows him is often quite astonishing. Around the year 1900 when the second son of the former ruler was the king recognized by Peking and when he quarreled with his younger brother, the present king, over his inheritance, the monastery of Dordyi dschak, the Chinese mandarins did not interfere with the quarrel and quietly went their way even though night after night in front of the city gates bullets were exchanged between the adherents of the two

E 631

hostile brothers and many a faithful servant had to bite the dust before the eyes of the Chinese. When the older brother died without issue in the midst of these disputes - there were all kinds of rumors about his sudden death - the younger brother was without further ado recognized as king in 1901 /205/ after paying only the customary appointment charges (5,000 taels) in Tscheng tu fu.

T 643

At the time of my visit the king was a gracious man in his forties, short and stocky of build and of a charming personality. He has a hooked nose which gives his pale face a robust character and betrays the indomitable energy of the man who, after his friends were slain in battle or went off in pursuit of enticing gold, did not lose courage but wandered, a lonely refugee, through the wooded mountains of his homeland, hastening from one princely court to another; he finally persuaded the prince of rGechitsa to lend him once more a small band of horsemen and some equipment. Bravely he fought for his rights. He wanted to be a free man and wear a pig-tail, and not be a smooth-shaved monastery servant, and demanded that his brother release to him the monastery of Dordyi dschak along with its possessions, which he had inherited from his parents. However, his brother the king wanted to give him the monastery only after he had taken the vow of a monk and promised not to marry. We know what happened. The present king is a great hunter and keeps far more than a hundred schadschüch who can track down deer and cerus and the timid little musk deer in the densest primeval forest. His favorite hunting lodge, if this expression is permissible, is in the Yü ling kung, an hour's trip on horse-back south of the city. There, as in the yamen in Ta tsien lu, he keeps tame deer, bears, leopards, pheasants and peacocks. His subjects who live along the road are obliged to render ula service, whereas the inhabitants of another valley have only to furnish hunters and drivers for the royal hunt. The hunters are obliged to deliver to the king the musk sacs and the antlers of the deer which are hunted mostly when the antlers are fraying. These form a large part of the income of the king's household. Other districts are obliged to furnish the servants and secretaries and the means for maintaining the court to which - I need no longer point it out - a great many devout lamas belong. The rest of the royal income consists of the return from rather large private estates and of presents from the subjects, as well as of taxes which some districts on the lower Nya Chu are obliged to pay.

T 651

T 161

The population of the Dschagla kingdom is supposed to number 7,000 Tibetan families. It is probably not quite 15,000 square

in Ta tsien lu an entire month because of the miscarried remittance of my German-Asiatic bank. This time quickly passed with visits among the gracious and ever-hospitable missionaries, with hunting excursions into the magnificent wooded mountains to track down the cerus and the wonderful budorcas, and finally with an infection which I had contracted. I was always sick when I came down from the pure air of Tibet into the first Chinese city. /Fig. 7 appears on p. 211 in original text. /

CHAPTER XV

/212/ Through the Land of the Gold River

The readers of this diary, wearied by the long journey, will now want to lay the book aside. But outside in the clear, free air of Ta tsien lu no weariness was to be felt. I was by no means sated with the wild nomadic life. Nor did I feel any desire to travel home by way of one of the comfortable or at least relatively comfortable and safe Chinese military roads. Spring had just begun again. The winter ice in the Tibetan rivers and brooks had disappeared. Buds were bursting. High up meadows and pastures were resplendent with succulent green and thousands of bright-colored flowers bordered the gushing, crystal-clear springs. In such a situation others may think of home! But at this time Tibet is at its most magnificent. Besides that, my East Tibetan impressions could not be rounded off without including the entire ethnographic border toward the provinces of Szechwan and Kansu. Moreover, up in Lanchow fu my collections were waiting, my photographic plates and notebooks of my Hoang Ho and Tschang tang journey, all of which had to be brought to the coast.

On all our maps the province of Szechwan is - as I have mentioned - shown to extend far to the west, and large parts of East Tibet therefore encroach on Chinese or Szechwan land. In this way places which the Chinese trader and artisan reaches only at the risk of his life appear to be just as much a part of Szechwan as the fertile and densely populated rice plain of Tscheng fu. Actually, however, the extension on the map of the western border of this province represents only the sphere of influence of the government of Tscheng tu fu, of the official who is at the same time the political connecting

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link between Peking and Lhasa (1). The question as to where today

1. As everyone knows, the main purpose of Tobden Dalai Lama's visit in Peking in 1908 was to effect for himself and his government direct reports to the throne and direct subordination to Peking, thereby circumventing the Chinese resident minister of Lhasa and the governor of Tscheng tu fu. But the Manchurian government could never make up its mind to do this and regarded all the land west of Szechwan as domains of this province.

the actual, the ethnographic and national boundary lies between Tibetans and Chinese is not touched and has until now remained an open question in our literature.

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According to the Bretschneider and Stieler map as well as the map of the Russian General Staff, which have gathered together the best of what has hitherto been known, it looked as though all the country north of Ta tsien lu had been pretty thoroughly explored, and yet only von Rosthorn and Armand David had made short notes about it. Chinese river and road maps had /213/ formed the bases for these maps and on closer examination the mountains between the large rivers were put in at the discretion of the cartographers. A few questions to natives who were acquainted with the locality sufficed to establish the fact that with respect to names of places and tribes there is great uncertainty, not to say confusion on all maps, and that a journey thither would soon take me into terra incognita. My wish to end up by visiting these regions grew more and more lively. Only after my expedition did a few English missionaries and especially the unfortunate Lieutenant Brooke (1) roam through these regions and afterward

1. see pp. 129 and 130.

report on them. (2) In my time the missions in Ta tsien lu knew

2. Fergusson, Adventure, Sport and Travel on the Tibetan Steppes. London 1911.

about the country north of the city only that it was called "Kin tschuan," "Valleys of the Gold Rivers" and that it was extremely difficult to travel through it because of its deep ravines, and that a particular language is spoken there which is neither Chinese nor

C 361 south to the seat of the Tu se or rgyalbo of Mu ping (Tibetan: dschumba), that is, to the native king who has received the highest Chinese title among all Tibetan aristocrats and secular rulers. Thus, he is one into whose kingdom the Chinese have penetrated most deeply and intensively and who is next in line to becoming a John Lackland, giving way entirely to the Chinese.

There are good reasons why the Chinese have settled in larger numbers in Hsin gai, Mu gung and Ying gai and why they have moved the center of administration thither. There is no other place far and near suitable for a populous settlement. Since I had left C 241 Hor Gantse I had not found so many fields in such close proximity. Fifty and a hundred meters above the river which is wedged in between rock walls, the valley spreads out in terraces (Plate LXII) which permit extensive plantings, particularly of corn and also of wheat, beans and buckwheat. (1)

C [435]

1. Corn forms the chief nourishment of the inhabitants. At the time of my visit the price of one cattie (600 grams), according to existing exchange, was seven pfennig, whereas in Ta tsien lu a cattie was 25 pfennig and shortly thereafter the prices constantly rose in Ta tsien lu. It is true, Ta tsien lu had to get all its food supplies from the lowland, in fact some things are carried thither from Ya tschou fu on the backs of human beings.

T C 631 175 Mu gung or fu ting is the administrator and judge of the so-called western Miao tse countries which were subdued and became subject to the Manchu Emperor Kien lung only after two great and bloody wars during the years 1747-49. The decisive and final victory came in the years between 1771 and 1776. It is only since that time that they have come under the Chinese administrative system and been opened up to Chinese colonization and mass invasion. (2) The administrative district of the Mu gung ting is

2. De Mailla, Histoire g. de la Chine, Paris 1780, Vol. XI, p. 589 ff., mistakenly counted these Tibetans from present-day Mu gung ting among the primitive people of Miao tse /223/ and for this reason we still find the history of their conquest in many new history books under the Miao tse wars. D. M. confines himself

6: Tafel--354 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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almost entirely to the period 1774-1776 and the end in Peking.

very extensive, /223/ for his domain includes not only the Valley of the Little Gold River, the Tsanla of the natives (High Tibetan: btsanlha, Chinese: hsiao kin /pronounced tschin/ tschuan) along the entire length of which I traveled from Romi Tschanggu to Mu ch'eng (Tibetan: Sumdo), a distance of 133 kilometers, but also the Valley of the Great Gold River above Romi Tschanggu, the old kingdom of Rardan (today known among the natives as rDyarong /rgyarong, meaning the extensive or Chinese Valley/, High Tibetan: Chu tschen /meaning large body of water/, Chinese: da Kin tschuan and Hsü tsching). Directly on the large Gold River above the narrowest point in the river, some 50 kilometers above Romi Tschanggu, an empire had arisen in the 18th century, which had become the mightiest native state far and wide and which fell only when the ambitious Manchu Emperor Kien lung raised a mighty army to subdue it and called out his elite troops and Manchu from the distant northeast.

The Rardan kingdom on the large Gold River, far from Chinese cultural arteries, could easily have maintained itself to this day if its rulers, just at the time of the final flowering and the greatest bellicosity of the Manchu Dynasty, had not acted particularly heedlessly and harrassed their neighbors by seizing their lands, so that these people constantly called on the Emperor for help and, in the end, supported the imperial army in every possible way. The battles with the high-spirited Rardan gentlemen occupy considerable space in the Scheng wu dyi, the chronicle of the wars of the Manchu Dynasty written in Chinese. The second and decisive war was even treated and published in 120 pamphlets in the Manchurian language. (1)

1. From these E. Haenisch is now in process of putting together a rather large excerpt which he expects to publish in the not too distant future. I am also indebted to him for more specific dates and a revision of the history of this territory.

From this we learn that our territory of Kin tschuan was said to have formed a district of Kin tschuan hsien as far back as the Sui Dynasty (589-618), and in the subsequent Tang period to have belonged to the district of Wei tschou (2) which today no longer exists, while in

2. According to Playfair, Cities and Towns of China

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this district lay in the northwest of Min tschuan, in the Min district, and not far from present-day Mou (Mao) chou above Kwan hsien. Probably ancient Wei chou is identical with the market town of Wei tschou in the district of Wen tschuan hs. which lies at the mouth of the Li fan River in the Min ho.

I 631 • 175

the Ming period it belonged under the administration of the official of Ts'a kou (in the Li fan fu) (3). However, I suspect that this earlier

3. Li fan fu along with Ts'a kou is the next frontier district office north of Mu gung ting to which are joined Mao chou, mentioned above in footnote 2, and then Sung pan ting.

Chinese dominion was always limited to certain favorably-disposed trade customs by means of which Chinese traders were permitted to visit the native kingdom in order to buy drugs and the natives, in turn, could barter what they needed in rice and tea and other luxury articles in the Chinese lowland. In the Ming period all chiefs of the region, like the chiefs of the Koko Nor countries, had received Chinese official seals and titles from Emperor Hung Wu, and the Manchu had /224/ repeated this custom. In 1650 the Prince of Tsanla, among others, recognized the supremacy of the Chinese and became tu se of Kin tschuan. In 1666 a gentleman from Great Kin tschuan with the title of Kia lo ba (? rgyalbo) received a seal from the hand of Emperor Kang hi. The rulers of this region had originated from one kingdom, as was the case in Hor on the western border. In these countries practically the same dialect was spoken (the Kin tschuan language or rgyarong sge). In the course of time this kingdom had been divided into nine tu se or kingdoms. (1) The last of

1. The Tibetans speak of the rdyarong dyalkak dyurdyi (i.e., rgyarong rgyalkak btschobrgye), meaning the 18 rDyarong rulers.

T 619

Colborne Baber, "Travels and Researches," Royal Geographical Society suppl. pap., London 1882, p. 81 and 93 ff. has given by far the most detailed account of this region, although he only touched it. He also speaks of 18 tribes of which he heard. However, he makes quite a heterogeneous grouping: "Dji-la which equals Ming-

T 619

cheng; Mu-p'ing equals Djum-ba; Djia-k'a /?/; Wo-je or Go-je; Rapten which includes Tsen-la; Tamba equals Tang-pa; So-mung, Capt. Gill's Su-mu; Djiu-tse /? my Choktsi or my Krechiu/; Zur-ga, most likely Sung-kang and Gill's Ru-kan; Tchro-shiop, undoubtedly Ch'o-ssu-chia-pu; Pa-ung or Pa-wang; Tchratin /?/; Ge-shie; Ma-zu or Ma-ze; Kung-sar, Pe-re /? my Beri/. Tchran-go; Dje-gu /? my Dergi/. By far the greater number of these names are easily identified with those heard by me. After Baber dwells on the fact that up to his own day geographers did not know these valleys, he reminds the reader of the sensation caused by the Kin tschuan war throughout Tibet and of the words of the dPaldan Yese Pantschen Lama of Tashelhunpo (see Markham. Narratives of the Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet, p. 159). On February 25, 1775 Bogle heard: "The Chinese having at length by means of an immense army subdued Ribdyen Gyripo"; Ribdyen, Rapten seems to be only the High Tibetan form of the name of a tribe or dynasty which sounds like "Rardan" in the Kin tschuan dialect.

T C 175 631

these kings was the rgyalbo of Rardan (Tibetan: tschü tschen, i.e., great body of water, Chinese: Great Kin tschuan) who was by far the mightiest and the one having the greatest number of subjects. The next mightiest who temporarily and until 1723 had even been the greatest and had ruled Tschü tschen was the Tsanla rgyalbo (High Tibetan: btsan lha in written form), the King of Little Kin tschuan who had his powrang, his palaces, near Senggersung (2) and near

2. "S" like the French "z."

present-day Mu gung and Hsin gai tse. (3)

T 622

3. The third most powerful one was the Tschoskiab rgyalbo who lived in the Great Gold River Valley above Tschü tschen, and whom I have mentioned on p. 285, in dealing with the disputes of the Hor princes who border him on the west. He is now the greatest despot of all because he is farthest from the Chinese. Adjoining his country is that of the little Damba rgyalbo, that of the

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him and he was burned alive. (1)

TC 175

1. According to de Mailla, Sonam had General Wen fu who was captured in Mu gung, burned alive. Sonam himself (see p. 595 , Vol. II) was tortured and cut to pieces after a big celebration in the palace, along with his brother, an aunt, several other relatives and his ministers 20 persons in all; 19 others were merely beheaded, 16 imprisoned for life, 52 sold into slavery at Ili; 138 Tibetan leaders were distributed as servants in Mongolia and Manchuria.

The dynasty in Rardan was exterminated like that of Tsanla. But in their original countries Chinese colonists settled, and, beginning with the town of Marbang on the border of Bati, there are today the following flourishing Chinese settlements: Tsung hoa (near the old Guar nge with at present about 600 Chinese families), farther north Lhasding (the market town of the monastery of Kwan hoa se /Yung dshung lha sden/ with 30 families of Chinese), then Tu song (Doksum with at present about 300 families of Chinese), Dshietse (40 Chinese families), Hsü tsching (Ngargu, 1,000 Chinese families). These settlements are under the control of two tai ye (secretaries, one in Tsung hoa and one in Hsü tsching), while next to them in the lateral valleys, under the control of probably a dozen hereditary native officials, the so-called "Darro" (Chinese: schu be meaning captain or ts'ien hu meaning lord of 1,000, and tsien tsung meaning lieutenant or be hu meaning lord of 100) and the so-called tschungro (hereditary officers, Chinese: tsch'ai schu), a remnant of the Rardan tribe has been preserved and they keep alive the memory of the glorious fall of their ancient freedom. (2) There are about 2,500 Chinese

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2. Darro corresponds to the "deba" of Inner Tibet; Tschungro corresponds to schel ngo. In Rardan there are today two ts'ien hu, one in Leu and the other in sBedung west of the river. There are also Darro in Brasdi (Bati), Tschoskiab and Somo. Their sons are called deresi.

families living there today and about an equal number of Tibetans. In the old days there were possibly 6,000-7,000 families of Tibetans with hardly more than 10,000 warriors. Conditions are similar in Tsanla. There Chinese colonies have arisen (3) in Yo ts'a,

3. Since 1779 there exists the office of a ting of Mu

C 361 631

gung who has under him five colonies (tun, pronounced tenn in Kin tschuan), namely: Mu gung tun, Fu pien tun, Hsü tsching tun, Tsung hoa tun, Romi Tschanggu tun. Besides that, a hsie (regiment) was established in 1783 with its seat in the Ying pan gai, which belongs to the chief command of Sung pan ting.

Senggersung, Mu gung, along with Hsin Mo po, Fu pien, Lien ho kou and others, beside which dwell the natives on the mountain slopes and in the lateral valleys, also under the rule of hereditary aristocratic families (darro). In part the darro live in the ancient castles. However, most of the fortifications in Tsanla and Rardan have become ruins. The darro must annually travel to the ting at Mu gung and the more important ones among them support the tschungro as their official representatives in the yamen of the ting. Like the tu se (rgyalbo) they set great store by their class honor and marry only among themselves. The office of darro is kept within the family for many hundreds of years. If a darro family dies out, the second son of another darro is adopted. Besides this aristocracy of chieftains, of darro and officers (tschungro), there are free warrior-farmers (tschralba or kralba; kral in Tibetan meaning service), taxable farmers (tokdamba), and finally descendants of unfree people or slaves (gonag in Tibetan and Kin tschuanese, i.e., /228/ "people with black heads"), as well as bondsmen or slaves (kurme). (1)

T C 565

1. Kur literally "burden" (Tibetan); me = Mensch /Tibetan/; every Tibetan finds the carrying of burdens highly unpleasant. Ch. Das' Dict. gives kolbo for "slave."

Besides these there are priests (rgofsches in Kin tschuanese) and finally artisans, both of whom are made up of second sons of tschralba or tokdamba farmers and partly also of immigrants from other tribes.

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Since the conquest half the land in Great and Little Kin tschuan is under Chinese administration and half under Tibetan. For the Chinese part of the actual land, the owners must pay land tax to the tai ye or to the Mu gung ting, regardless of whether they are Chinese or Tibetan, just as would be the case in any other place in China. The owners have no other burdens or compulsory service. This relationship between farmers and the state therefore already gives a very modern and democratic impression!

181 Despite the grim struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[12] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and established merchant families.
•632 The county seats (hsien capitals) were the
369 centers for tax collection and administration of

12. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 In the towns and cities, as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants, industrial workers, all are organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals. Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[30]

• 632 668 City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, which serve further to mold urban life into the new pattern.[31] The

30. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

31. Cf.,"Regulations of Urban Organizations," Current Background, 310, Jan. 17, 1955.

632 townsman, more than the peasant, is open to
668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are celebrated in the cities with great parades and with endless speeches. Privacy and the chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

668 The New Year's holiday has some of its
527 old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[32] New Year's activities in 1955 suggest the way in which

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32. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from the cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19, 1955; SCMP, 972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3) 101 241 441

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town. 621

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village. 621 361

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe. 632 181 [197]

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

635

f) Hsing-i (District administrative office at Hsing-i), 10 counties: Hsing-i, P'an, P'u-an, Ch'ing-lung, Hsing-jen, Kuan-jen, Kuan-ling, Chen-feng, Wang-mu, Ts'e-heng, An-lung.

g) An-shun (District administrative office at An-shun), 6 counties: An-shun, Tzu-yün, Chen-ning, Lang-tai, P'u-ting, P'ing-pa.

h) Pi-chieh (District administrative office at Pi-chieh), 9 counties: Pi-chieh, Ta-ting, Chin-sha, Ch'ien-hsi, Chih-chin, Na-yung, Shui-ch'eng, Wei-ning, Ho-chang.

In examining the nature and functions of local governments from the Municipality down to the county and hsiang level, it is found that since the Communist regime, there has been a radical change. While a laissez-faire policy characterized under the Republic and Kuomintang period the political scene, now the Communists put stesss on organizing people of every municipality, county, or hsiang, and each individual is under surveillance.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY, COUNTY, AND HSIANG

A. The Municipality

633 The Communist regime pays a great deal of attention to city life, because industrial enter-

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prises and, consequently, the laboring classes are concentrated there. In this region, Chungking was, at first, one of the seven municipalities which were under the direct control of the central government. After the promulgation of the Constitution, the control over the Chungking municipality was transferred and placed again under the Government of Szechwan, with the same status as ordinary municipalities in other provinces.

A municipal People's council consists of a mayor, a number of deputy-mayors, and from 9 to 25 members, but in a municipality where the population is especially dense, the members of the council can be increased to 45.

The municipal People's congress is governed by Article 16 of the electoral law of the People's Republic of China. "A municipality with a population not exceeding 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons. The number of deputies to a municipal people's congress shall be not less than 50 and more than 800."

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633 According to Article 17 of the same law, the armed forces are entitled to elect from 2 to 10 deputies to the municipal People's congress.

An advertisement[13] of the Chungking Municipality published in the Chungking newspapers on January 6, 1952 asked the citizens of the city to take part in the election and to give their suggestions to the delegates. It also gave the agenda of subjects which were to be discussed in the coming session: (1) a report of work done in 1951 and the tasks to be done in 1952; (2) examination and approval of the budget and the financial statement; (3) debates on the suggestions made by the people; (4) election of the mayor, the deputy-mayors, and the members of the government. This list shows clearly the operation of the municipal People's congress. But at the first session of the Municipal Congress in Chungking, called before the opening of the National Congress, besides the works mentioned above, both the National Congress and the Provincial Congress had to be elected. The Municipal People's Representative Conference had gone through three stages. In the first stage it consisted of members recommended by professional groups, the different parties and popular organizations. In the second stage the members of the Conference were given the right to elect the mayor and the deputy-mayors. In the third stage, from 1954 on, the members have been further given the right of electing the delegates to the National and provincial congresses, and they are now elected

13. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 6, 1952.

633

in sectional meetings throughout the city. They are still not elected by direct popular vote.

B. The County

634 Under the Republic and the Kuomintang, a county was run mostly by a single person called the magistrate, though at times he was also assisted by a few department heads of his own choice. Now, the county people's council, according to the Communist Constitution, consists of a Head, a deputy-Head, from 21 to 31 members, and 10 heads of administrative departments, namely (1) civil affairs, (2) public security, (3) finance, (4) grain, (5) taxes, (6) industry and commerce, (7) agriculture and forestry, (8) transportation, (9) culture and education, and (10) health; with others to be added when necessary.

As a concrete example, the Representatives' Conference of Lung Chang county is described below, though it was an institution of the pre-Constitution stage. In Lung Chang the first session of the Sixth Representatives' Conference convened from December 1-5, 1951. It consisted of reprsentatives who were recommended by the different occupational groups. In the first period, the voters did not appreciate the right of suffrage which had been given to them. When they were asked to go through the different stages of election, they considered it a sheer waste of time. As a result, the method of recommendation by the different groups and decision by mutual

634 negotiations was adopted. However, the debate in the session was found to be very useful because a great deal of misunderstanding due to conflict of interests among the different groups was cleared up. After the session, a standing committee was set up to supervise the handling of the resolutions passed and to be the liaison between the citizens at large, the congress, and the government.

C. The Hsiang

633 A hsiang council can have a head, a deputy-head, 3 to 31 members, and also four or five department heads.

On the national and provincial levels, power is in the hands of administrative organs, but on the county, the hsiang, and the municipality levels, power is exercised by both (1) the administrative organs and (2) the organizations of the people themselves.

The People's Congress on a county or hsiang level exercises the same functions as the Provincial Congress, which is covered by the Article 58 of the Constitution:

1. to ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees;
2. to draw up plans for local, economic, and cultural development and for public works;
3. to examine and approve local budgets and financial reports;

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4. to protect public property;
5. to maintain public order;
6. to safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of national minorities.

Article 59 stipulates that the congress elects and is empowered to recall the members of the government on the hsiang level.

The departments under the hsiang head are as follows: (1) civil affairs, (2) security, (3) militia, (4) producer's co-operatives, (5) finance and grain, (6) culture and education, (7) conciliation. Besides the above, there are also voluntary associations: (1) Joint Association of Commerce and Industry, (2) Democratic Youth League, (3) Student Union, (4) Democratic Women's Association (5) Housewives League, (6) Inhabitants League or Street's League.

As a concrete example of hsiang government, a report on Kao Tai Hsiang in the county of Pa can be given.

From December 1951 to April 1953, there were sixteen sessions of conferences. 80 per cent of the population took part in the voting. The people were interested in the proceedings of the conferences and even demanded the dismissal of a few members of the hsiang government. Resolutions for making ditches and for the prevention of floods were passed and put into practice by the people of the hsiang.[14]

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14. New China Daily, May 17, 1953.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 caused the wall to collapse, whereupon magistrate Fan Hao-jen 樊好仁 repaired or rebuilt it. In the 58th year (1793) it fell again, but this time an order was received not to rebuild it. In the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) the Provincial Governor, Ch'en Yü-ying 岑毓英, petitioned for permission to construct a brick wall. The east gate was called Hsiang-jih 向日 (Facing the sun), the south gate, Ying-en 迎恩; the west gate, Fu-yüan 服遠; the north gate, Kung-chi 拱極 (Saluting the polar star). The small west gate was called Yin-yü 飲玉 [Swallowing the Jade (dragon mountain) gate]."

To-day no wall remains save a small section east and north of the yamen, in the north-east corner of the town, and even that is in ruins.

THE PRESENT PREFECTURE AND TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

●633 361 *The present boundaries.* — The prefecture of Li-chiang lies between two large rivers, the Yangtze (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) and the Mekong, (Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, also written Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江; this latter name is more commonly used in Li-chiang). The prefecture is divided into six ch'ü 區 (sub-districts) and 23½ li 里 (now called hsiang 鄉). (A *li* 里 is a group of villages situated usually around a larger central one after which the *li* is named. It might be termed a commune or a borough.) The first ch'ü comprises the li Ta-yen 大妍, Pai-ma 白馬 and Tung-yüan 東元里; the second, Pai-sha 白沙, Shu-ho (pronounced *Ssu* in Li-chiang) 東河, La-sha 剌沙, La-shih 剌是 and Mu-pao 木保; the third, La-p'iao 剌標 with its two divisions of Shang 上 and Hsia 下, Nan-shan 南山, Ch'i-ho 七河, Wu-lieh 吳烈 and Tung-ni-lo 東你羅; the fourth, Shih-ku 石鼓, A-hsi 阿喜, Hsiang-ko 香閣 and Chiu-ho 九河; the fifth, Chü-tien 巨甸, Lu-tien 魯甸 and Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭; the sixth, Ta-chü 大具, La-pao 剌寶, Tung-shan 東山里; and the half-li Tung-hsiang-ko 東香閣.

The present Li-chiang prefecture is bordered on the east by the prefecture of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei); north-east by the Mu-li T'u-ssu 木裏土司 of Hsi-k'ang and the adjoining Yung-ning; south by the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing; south-west by the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan; west by the two prefectures of Lan-p'ing and Wei-hsi; north by the prefecture of Chung-tien.

The distances of the present prefecture to its borders, reckoned from the prefectural city of Li-chiang, are as follows: to the Yung-sheng border at Ching-li or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, where exists the only bridge over the Yangtze 130 li; south to Ho-ch'ing 80 li; west to Lan-p'ing 250 li; to the border of Wei-hsi 450 li; north to the border of Chung-tien 60 li.

The distance from Li-chiang to K'un-ming, capital of the province, is 1,240 li, in 18 stages. Since the construction of a motor road to Ta-li, Li-chiang can be reached in eight days (1938). A motor road to Li-chiang is also under construction (1939). It was not completed in 1944 when I last left Li-chiang.

The town of Li-chiang. — Li-chiang (beautiful river) (PLATE 50) is known as Yi-gv to the Na-khi of outlying districts such as La-bpu and the villages on the banks of the Yangtze. The Na-khi of the Li-chiang plain, however, always speak of the town as Ngu-bä. One meaning of the word *ngu* is a very large box, and *bä* means to do, to make. The size of the town is thus compared to a very large box, and *bä* means that everything is obtainable therein. Another mean-

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633 361 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business, thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 101 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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in sectional meetings throughout the city. They are still not elected by direct popular vote.

B. The County

634 Under the Republic and the Kuomintang, a county was run mostly by a single person called the magistrate, though at times he was also assisted by a few department heads of his own choice. Now, the county people's council, according to the Communist Constitution, consists of a Head, a deputy-Head, from 21 to 31 members, and 10 heads of administrative departments, namely (1) civil affairs, (2) public security, (3) finance, (4) grain, (5) taxes, (6) industry and commerce, (7) agriculture and forestry, (8) transportation, (9) culture and education, and (10) health; with others to be added when necessary.

As a concrete example, the Representatives' Conference of Lung Chang county is described below, though it was an institution of the pre-Constitution stage. In Lung Chang the first session of the Sixth Representatives' Conference convened from December 1-5, 1951. It consisted of reprsentatives who were recommended by the different occupational groups. In the first period, the voters did not appreciate the right of suffrage which had been given to them. When they were asked to go through the different stages of election, they considered it a sheer waste of time. As a result, the method of recommendation by the different groups and decision by mutual

634 negotiations was adopted. However, the debate in the session was found to be very useful because a great deal of misunderstanding due to conflict of interests among the different groups was cleared up. After the session, a standing committee was set up to supervise the handling of the resolutions passed and to be the liaison between the citizens at large, the congress, and the government.

C. The Hsiang

633 A hsiang council can have a head, a deputy-head, 3 to 31 members, and also four or five department heads.

On the national and provincial levels, power is in the hands of administrative organs, but on the county, the hsiang, and the municipality levels, power is exercised by both (1) the administrative organs and (2) the organizations of the people themselves.

The People's Congress on a county or hsiang level exercises the same functions as the Provincial Congress, which is covered by the Article 58 of the Constitution:

1. to ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees;
2. to draw up plans for local, economic, and cultural development and for public works;
3. to examine and approve local budgets and financial reports;

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source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku. and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 鑼鍋箐.

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Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 々甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 30[illegible]).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

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At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

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any size to what is now Li-chiang was T'ung-an, for the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that in ancient days there stood only the native yamen or palace, without a wall. In 1659 T'ung-an chou was abolished and absorbed by Li-chiang.

Li-chiang still meant only the magistracy of Li-chiang, for it says in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* that the Circuit of Li-chiang was changed to a magistracy in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). However a district is always named after its largest town. As to when the actual town of Li-chiang came into being, the records keep strangely silent.

The first wall began to be built in 1723. Li-chiang has now no wall and a remnant of it only exists to-day around the ruined yamen.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fols. 34b–35a, states that T'ung-an chou, now no longer existing, was three li east of Li-chiang fu.[5] Its ancient name was San-t'an. The P'u hsieh man 濮㴱蠻 (P'u-hsieh savages) dwelled there. They were followed by the Mo-so-man, Ye-ku-nien, who conquered it by force. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it was the land of Ting-tso hsien 定芒縣, subordinate to Yüeh-sui Chün 越嶲郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) the name Ting-tso was changed to K'un-ming 昆明, subordinate to Sui chou 嶲州. It was raised later to K'un-ming Chün 昆明軍 (military district of K'un-ming). After the reign of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 756) it became the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao 越析麼些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi). In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) of the Yüan dynasty, it submitted to the Empire. In the fourth year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1263), Mai-liang (a Na-khi chief called A-liang 阿良 in the Mu Chronicle) was made civil governor of San-t'an 三睒管民官. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) T'ung-an chou was established under the Circuit of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty there were no changes. In the Ch'ing dynasty it was reduced and merged with Li-chiang fu.

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 19b, has the following to say about T'ung-an chou:

"It is now to the east and near the suburb of the governing fu-city [Li-chiang]. In ancient days it was in the land of Tso Kuo 笮國 and its name was San-t'an. The Man (Savages) called it Yang-ch'ü-t'ou 漾渠頭 [this name I have found in no other work relating to this district]. In the Han dynasty it became the land of Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣, subordinate to the commandery of Yüeh-sui. In the T'ang dynasty Ting-tso was altered to K'un-ming, belonging to Sui chou. It was raised to K'un-ming Chün and became the land of K'un-ming. After the reign of T'ien-pao, about 756, it was conquered by the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao. Afterwards it was absorbed by Nan-chao. In the Sung dynasty (960–1252) the P'u-hsieh man[6] dwelled there. [Apparently in

[5] E. Chavannes in his "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" in *T'oung Pao* and in Bacot "*Les Mo-so*" p. 164 states that according to the *Yüan Shih* the administrative seat of T'ung-an chou is east of (the) Li-chiang at the foot of the snow mountain. This is correct as far as the statement goes; I believe however that the river Li Chiang (Yangtze) is not meant but the town of Li-chiang. As T'ung-an chou was within the loop of the Yangtze, it could be called either west or east of the Yangtze. The Li-chiang records are quite explicit and state that T'ung-an chou was three li east of the town (Li-chiang), and the map accompanying these records shows it there. Therefore the river Li Chiang could not have been meant. The Yangtze, either west or east, is more than seventy li from Li-chiang.

[6] These were two tribes, the P'u and Hsieh. All the different works I have consulted mention

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ancient days it was the land of the P'u-hsieh tribes, who were defeated by the Mo-so Ye-ku-nien during the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 618–626.] They were ruled by the Mo-so chiefs until the Sung dynasty when the P'u-hsieh again gained the upper hand."

[This will explain the gap in the Chronicle of the Na-khi kings who during the period between 1101–1125, start again with the stranger from Mon-

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the various P'u tribes, but there is no P'u-hsieh tribe. The Hsieh supposedly were a different clan, who dwelt together with the P'u in the land which now comprises Li-chiang and were the original inhabitants of the country. Chinese records speak of two tribes as residing in the Li-chiang district, viz., the Mo-so (hsieh) erh-chung man 麽些二種蠻. Are we to understand that the Mo are the Mo-so and the Hsieh the tribe formerly associated with the P'u? Both are spoken of in Chinese works as the Mo-man 麽蠻 and Hsieh-man 溪蠻.

I propose here a conjecture which may serve as a basis for further investigation.

I have held the opinion that the Mo-so (Mo-hsieh) and the Na-khi are identical, that the former is their Chinese name and the latter their own tribal name. After much thought and research on my part this assertion I have come to doubt for the following reasons:

First the Chinese chronicles never mention the name Na or Na-hsieh, but they state that there were two tribes, the Mo and the Hsieh, the character used is pronounced "*so*" when it refers to the tribe, according to the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. They also mention the P'u and Hsieh who were the aborigines of the district of Li-chiang. However, nowhere are the Hsieh separately mentioned and I have come to believe that the Chinese word *hsieh* is merely a transcription of the Mo-so word "*Khi*" which sounds like hsi, but the initial is actually a palatal German "*ch*." *Khi* in Mo-so (or Na-khi) means "*man*" (not man = male). Therefore they would have been spoken of as the P'u-khi and the Mo-khi, the people of the P'u and the Mo (tribes).

As to the Na-khi the people of the Na tribe, they were a branch of the Ch'iang and migrated south from their home in northeastern Tibet. They settled among the P'u and Mo. The P'u were driven into the hills and the Mo and Na occupied or kept to the plains and valleys.

The Na were apparently not numerous but they had a religious literature and the name Na = black was perhaps given them by the Mo-so because they were darker skinned than the aborigines of the Li-chiang territory. They adopted the Mo-so language and were gradually absorbed by the Mo-so. Yet the religious cult of the immigrants, the Bön Shamanism plus their own demonolatry, was adopted as the religion of the people of the Mo-so (hsieh) tribe by their chiefs. It is difficult to trace the original culture of the Mo-so, it was probably the same as that of the Lo-lo their neighbors, who with them are classed as *Wu-man* = Black barbarians by the Chinese.

There are two types of writing in vogue in Li-chiang, a syllabic phonetic type, very similar to that of the Lo-lo script, and a pictographic. The former, of which little is known nowadays, may have been the script of the Mo-so, while the pictographic script was that invented by the Na-khi, both being read in Mo-so with an admixture of Na-khi. The language now spoken in Yung-ning may be the aboriginal Mo-so tongue, yet they have no written language. It is also possible that the syllabic type of writing was brought by the Na-khi and was discarded later in favor of the pictographic much easier to remember than the syllabic.

Certain primitive ceremonies as the propitiation of Heaven or Muan-bpö, at the performance of which neither books or priests are needed, show that there is more than one tribe involved. Yet there exist ancient Na-khi manuscripts pertaining to the Muan-bpö cult: the texts reveal that the ceremony is akin to that performed by the Ch'iang and therefore is of Na-khi and not Mo-so origin. A modified Muan-bpö was later adopted by all the different tribes or clans and this would explain the discontinuance of the use of priests and books, for the former on y can read. All the people bearing the family name Ho, which is considered a genuine Na-khi name, perform their Muan-bpö at a different time than the families bearing the Chinese-sounding family names of Chao, Yang, Wang, etc. It is here that we may learn who is Mo-so and who is Na-khi. However all the non Chinese people of the Li-chiang district, irrespective of family name, call themselves Na-khi, while the name Mo-so is resented.

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golia called Yeh-yeh as the first generation of their line (*see* Chapter VI, pp. 71, 73). The kings were called Ta-ch'iu-chang 大酋長 (Great chiefs of the tribe).]

"Afterwards the Mo-so conquered that territory. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) a civil official was established to govern San-t'an. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) that name was changed to T'ung-an chou. It remained unaltered during the Ming dynasty. The native sub-magistracy (T'u-chou), controlling the families of 13 li, was in charge of a sub-prefect of the Kao family." The family were originally natives of Ho-ch'ing. Kao Ch'ing 高清, who was the son of Kao Ssu 高賜, a native of Ho-ch'ing, was sub-magistrate of T'ung-an chou during the reign of the Na-khi chief Mu Shen 木森 (1434–1441). He had married the daughter of Mu Shen, who survived him by 54 years. His son, Kao Lu 高祿, became hereditary T'ung-an sub-prefect. Thus it appears that the first place in the Li-chiang district was San-t'an, which during the reign of Kublai Khan became the T'ung-an chou. The latter place must have been near the suburbs of what is to-day Li-chiang. Apparently Li-chiang grew up slowly, and was an unimportant place until it absorbed T'ung-an.

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prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily. 487* 133* 137*

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shĕr, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shĕr, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes). 634 173 131

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (ch. 117, fol. 20a)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 岩可) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.] 634 173

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大匱 [the Li-chiang records

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant, Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

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634 173 state that the ruins of it are still in existence and are east of Pao-shan chou]. The other six were called Lo-pang 羅邦 [this may be the origin of the Na-khi name La-bpu], Lo-ssu (also called Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍), Ngai-ch'ang 礙場 [perhaps the present Ngai-k'o, or Na-khi 'A-k'o, south of Pao-shan chou in La-bpu (PLATE 100)], Pien-t'ou 卞頭, Tang-po-lo 當波羅 [undoubtedly the present-day Dto-bpo lo, or Chinese Tung-po-lo 東波落, in the li of La-pao], and, finally, Tang-lang-chiang 當郎將.

It is recorded that these seven brothers separated and resided each in a village. When Kublai Khan came in 1253 to attack Ta-li, that is, the Nan-chao Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭 and came to Lo-pang and thence to Lo-ssu-wei and Ta-kuei, etc. Their headman submitted and their villages received the name of Ch'a-han hu-lu-han.[4] In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) the district of Pao-shan was created and in the 16th year (1279) Pao-shan was raised to a chou.

La-bpu is an ancient historical region. The first Na-khi chief migrated to this district from Lou-t'ou 樓頭, that is, the present Yung-ning, which the Na-khi call to this day Lü dü (Land of the Lü). More than 20 generations of his descendants succeeded him. The name Pao has been retained to this day in its present appellation of La-pao, which the Na-khi call La-bpu.

[So much for the historical part available.]

3. FROM T'O-K'Ö-SHĚR TO THE FENG-K'O FERRY

*135 *137 *187 La-bpu proper is a triangular basin, sloping steeply towards the Yangtze, and is separated from T'o-k'ö-shĕr by a limestone spur. It is composed of many Na-khi hamlets, such as Dshi-shi-wùa, Nda-bpu, La-zä, etc. The mountain spur forming the western wall of the Yangtze gorge is pierced by the Yü-lv-t'o (La-bpu Stream) which divides the La-bpu basin, and flows east through a deep rock gate (Shih-men 石門) into the Yangtze. A trail leads through this terrific ravine to the banks of the Yangtze, 500 feet above which is situated the village of La-bpu 'A-k'o (Ngai-k'o), built on both banks of the La-bpu Stream. The trail into La-bpu from T'o-k'ö-shĕr crosses a gap, elevation 10,400 feet, over the separating spur. It then descends steeply into a deep valley which leads to the La-bpu villages. To the north is a huge limestone mountain with cliffs; it is here that the T'ai-tzu Kuan is situated.

Instead of descending to the ravine bottom we skirt the northern mountainside high above the gorge through groves of pine, oak and pear trees, a typical xerophytic vegetation such as one encounters elsewhere in the Yangtze valley. Flocks of parrots disport themselves in the pine groves, but other birds are scarce. The trail is narrow and is obliterated in places by landslides. The schistous rocks are split into small fragments. In and out winds the trail at 8,400 feet elevation, skirting lateral ravines, the largest of which, called Ssi-

[4] It seems that the name was originally Ho-lo-ko 和囉哥, and was rendered by the Mongols, Hu-lu-han; the *I-t'ung chih* states that the old Mongol name was corrected to Ho-lo-ko. The name Ho 和 is a distinct Na-khi family name. All Na-khi were known as Ho who did not belong to the ruling class. The Na-khi chief of the seven villages, of which Ta-kuei was the largest, who submitted to Kublai Khan, was apparently called Ho-lo-k'a, and as he belonged to the tribe which the Mongols called Ch'a-han-jang (White Jang) they gave his district the name Ch'a-han hu-lu-han, transcribing his name in Mongol fashion.

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Khü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [548] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 173 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 靡州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納. 173

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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173 (1742), the Li-su robbers rose, and so he joined the army, and fighting them with energy he acquired merit, and was appointed hereditary Yen-chiang 沿江 T'u-pa-tsung (Native sergeant of the Mekong river bank). The office was handed down to Kuo-chün 國俊; after his death Hsin 信 inherited the office. After the latter's death Chao-chang 朝璋 inherited. He died in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). His son Wei 渭 died of illness in the army. His grandson Chiu-hsi 九錫 assumed the position.

* * *

There was established what was called the Northern circuit and the Western circuit on the Mekong. The Northern circuit (Pei-lu) was ruled over by a T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). His ancestral seat was the territory of K'ang-p'u 康普 and extended east to K'ang-p'u Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, 30 li; [5] south to the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween) 50 li; west to Wo-lu-ngai ch'iao 窩路巖橋, 30 li; north to Ngai-wa-ngai ch'iao 巖瓦巖橋, 70 li.

His first ancestor was Nan-chu-yu 哺珠由, who governed the affairs of Kung-lung 工龍. He led his drilled soldiers to attack the Li-su robbers, whereupon he acquired merit, and was rewarded with the office of hereditary T'u-ch'ien-tsung. The office was handed on to Shih-lu 世祿. The latter was succeeded by Liang-pi 良弼. After his death, his son Wen-han 文翰 assumed the position. The present T'u-ch'ien-tsung is the Nan T'uan-shou 哺團首 (Nan, head of the Militia).

The Western circuit (Hsi-lu 西路) was ruled by a T'u-pa-tsung (sergeant) who lived hereditarily at K'ang-p'u village 康普村. His territory extended to the east 10 li from the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong); south 15 li to Kan-lan-mu 橄欖木; west to the Salween (Nu-tzu Chiang 怒子江), 150 li, and north to Cha-lo-ching 渣洛箐, 80 li. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) Wang-lien 王連 captured and chained many prisoners and assisted in extirpating the Li-su robbers. He died in battle.

A memorial being granted, the hereditary title of Hsi-lu T'u-pa-tsung (Sergeant of the Western circuit) was transmitted to his son Shih-chio 世爵. The latter transmitted it to Jung 榮. In the military duties connected with the subjection of Yün chou 雲州 [6] and Ta-yao 大姚 [7] he acquired merit. He was rewarded with the Lan-ling 藍翎 (Raven plume) and also the rank of Shou-pei 守備 (Second Captain). Jung died and his son Chi-jen 吉仁 inherited the position.

[634] Wei-hsi district has to-day a total of twenty-one t'u-ssu or native officials.

[5] This mountain, written more correctly Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山, extends from north to south and east of a lower parallel range which hems in the Mekong. Valleys extend to the Mekong at various places. The range stretches north towards Tung-chu-lin and forms the western valley wall of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河.

[6] Yün chou, now called Yün hsien, is south of Hsia-kuan and Meng-hua about six to seven stages.

[7] Ta-yao is north-west of Ch'u-hsiung about four stages, and about eight stages from the capital via the northern route, Wu-ting, Fu-min 武定富民.

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now to be two sergeants in office), responsible to the Wei-hsi magistrate. They attended to the affairs of A-tun-tzu, Ta A-tung 大阿董 (the Tibetan Dang or Dang-po[6]) and Hsiao A-tung, also Tung-ti-kung 動地公, Hung-p'o and other villages. 622

"The A-tun-tzu native lieutenant for generations had his seat at A-tun-tzu, and his territory extended east to Lu-k'a 路卡 adjoining Yeh-chih, 240 li; south to Ch'a-li-p'o 察利坡 adjoining the territory of Ssu-ch'uan, 100 li; west to Hsü-kung-ts'un 敍工村[7] adjoining Hsi-ts'ang 西藏 (Tibet), 200 li; north to Pi-yung-kung-ts'un 必用工村[8] adjoining Ssu-ch'uan, 200 li. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Ho Liang-tou 禾良斗 was ordered to lead his native [barbarian] soldiers to attack the K'ang-p'u Li-su robbers. He acquired merit, and was rewarded with the raven plume, and confirmed as the hereditary A-tun-tzu lieutenant (T'u-ch'ien-tsung). The office was transmitted to his son, Ssu-na Weng-hsüeh 思那翁學. Ssu-na died and the office was inherited by Kung-pu 工布 Weng-hsüeh. Kung-pu died and his son, Ting-pan 定邦, inherited the office. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume.

"The A-tun-tzu T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the lieutenant, restrained the barbarian peasants, and guarded the borders of Ssu-ch'uan and Tibet. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Sang Shang-ta 桑上達 went to attack the Li-su robbers at K'ang-p'u and acquired merit; he was rewarded with the raven plume, and was confirmed as hereditary native sergeant (T'u-pa-tsung) of A-tun-tzu. Shang-ta handed down his office to Lung-pu 隆布, the latter to Pu-kung 布工. During the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume. Pu-kung died, his son, Ch'un-hua 春華, also died of illness, and his grandson, Wen-han 文翰, being still a minor, his mother attended to the affairs of the orphan."

* * *

2. COLOPHON ON MANUSCRIPT MAP IN K'UN-MING PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

"In the olden days A-tun-tzu belonged to the Tibetans. When Chung-tien and Wei-hsi came under the government of Yün-nan, the native officials were abolished, and transferable officers appointed. The first Chinese official in A-tun-tzu was a Tan-yao wei-yüan 彈壓委員 (a Delegate repressing violence) whose duty it was to control the frontier. At first A-tun-tzu came under the rule of Li-chiang, and later under Wei-hsi. At that time the Tan- 634

[6] གདང་པོ , A-dang is half Chinese and half Tibetan, the Tibetan name is more often written Dang གདང ; according to P. F. Goré the inhabitants are known as Dang-po-wa གདང་པོ which means angry or hostile people.

[7] Hsü-kung is the last village north-west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and west of the Mekong, on the eastern slopes of the Kha-wa-kar-po range on the Tibetan border.

[8] Pi-yung-kung is on the east bank of the Mekong, south of the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border.

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•634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 慕頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] [651] [792] [797] [463] [438] [135] [346] [197] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 believers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

• [illegible] • [illegible]

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INDEX OF NAMES OF DISTRICTS (HSIEN) OF SZECHUAN BASIN (ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY)

Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11	Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11
An-Hsien.....	16	Pu-Shun.....	114
An-Yo.....	89	Ho-Chiang.....	128
Chang-Ming.....	17	Ho-Chuan.....	91
Chang-Ning.....	131	Hsin-Wen.....	132
Chang-Sheo.....	93	Hsuan.....	22
Chao-Hua.....	6	Hua-Yang.....	67
Cheng-Ko.....	11	Hung-Ya.....	95
Cheng-Tu.....	68	I-Lung.....	36
Chi-Chiang.....	119	I-Ping.....	113
Chi-Hsien.....	130	Jen-Shou.....	87
Chia-Chiang.....	96	Kai-Chiang.....	39
Chiang-An.....	126	Kai-Hsien.....	23
Chiang-Pei.....	92	Kao-Hsien.....	123
Chiang-Tsin.....	118	Ku-Ning.....	135
Chiang-Yu.....	18	Ku-Sung.....	133
Chien-Chiang.....	82	Kuan-Hsien.....	27
Chien-Ko.....	19	Kuang-An.....	77
Chien-Wei.....	112	Kuang-Han.....	49
Chien-Yang.....	70	Kuang-Yuan.....	7
Ching-Fu.....	124	Lan-Chung.....	35
Ching-Hua.....	1	Lei-Po.....	120
Ching-Shen.....	97	Li-Fang.....	2
Ching-Tang.....	69	Liang-Shan.....	59
Ching-Yen.....	98	Lo-Chi.....	71
Chu-Hsien.....	57	Lo-Chiang.....	31
Chung-Chiang.....	51	Lo-Shan.....	111
Chung-Hsien.....	60	Lu-Hsien.....	116
Feng-Chieh.....	25	Lung-Chang.....	115
Feng-Tu.....	80	Ma-Pien.....	121
Fu-Hsi.....	12	Mei-Shan.....	86
Fu-Shan.....	13	Miao-Hsien.....	3

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Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11	Name of District	Index No. on Figure 11
Miao-Kung.....	14	Sin-Tu.....	48
Mien-Chu.....	30	Siu-Shan.....	84
Mien-Yang.....	32	Sui-Ning.....	72
Ming-Shan.....	62	Sui-Yung.....	134
Nan-Chiang.....	8	Sung-Pan.....	136
Nan-Chuan.....	108	Ta-Cho.....	104
Nan-Chung.....	55	Ta-Chu.....	58
Nan-Hsi.....	125	Ta-Hsien.....	38
Nan-Pu.....	34	Ta-I.....	42
Nei-Chiang.....	102	Tang-Ling.....	85
Ning-Shui.....	78	Te-Yang.....	50
Nou-Hsi.....	127	Tien-Chiang.....	79
O-Wei.....	110	Tsang-Hsi.....	20
O-Pien.....	109	Tsung-Ching.....	43
Pa-Chung.....	21	Tsung-Nai.....	41
Pa-Hsien.....	107	Tsung-Nin.....	45.
Pao-Hsien.....	26	Tung-Chiang.....	9
Pei-Chuan.....	4	Tung-Liang.....	105
Pei-Ling.....	94	Tung-Nan.....	90
Peng-An.....	56	Tzu-Chung.....	101
Peng-hsi.....	73	Tzu-Tung.....	33
Peng-Hsien.....	28	Tzu-Yang.....	88
Peng-Shan.....	65	Wan-Hsien.....	40
Peng-Shui.....	81	Wan-Yuan.....	10
Pi-Hsien.....	46	Wei-Yuan.....	100
Pih-Shan.....	106	Wen-Chiang.....	44
Ping-Shan.....	122	Wen-Chuan.....	15
Ping-Wu.....	5	Wu-Sheng.....	75
Pu-Chiang.....	63	Yen-Ting.....	53
San-Tai.....	52	Ying-Shan.....	37
Shei-Hung.....	74	Yo-Chi.....	76
Shih-Chu.....	61	Yu-Yang.....	83
Shih-Fang.....	29	Yun-Lien.....	129
Shuan-Liu.....	66	Yun-Yang.....	24
Si-Chung.....	54	Yung-Chang.....	103
Sin-Fang.....	47	Yung-Chuan.....	117
Sin-Tsing.....	64	Yung-Hsien.....	99

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[End map 7(a)]

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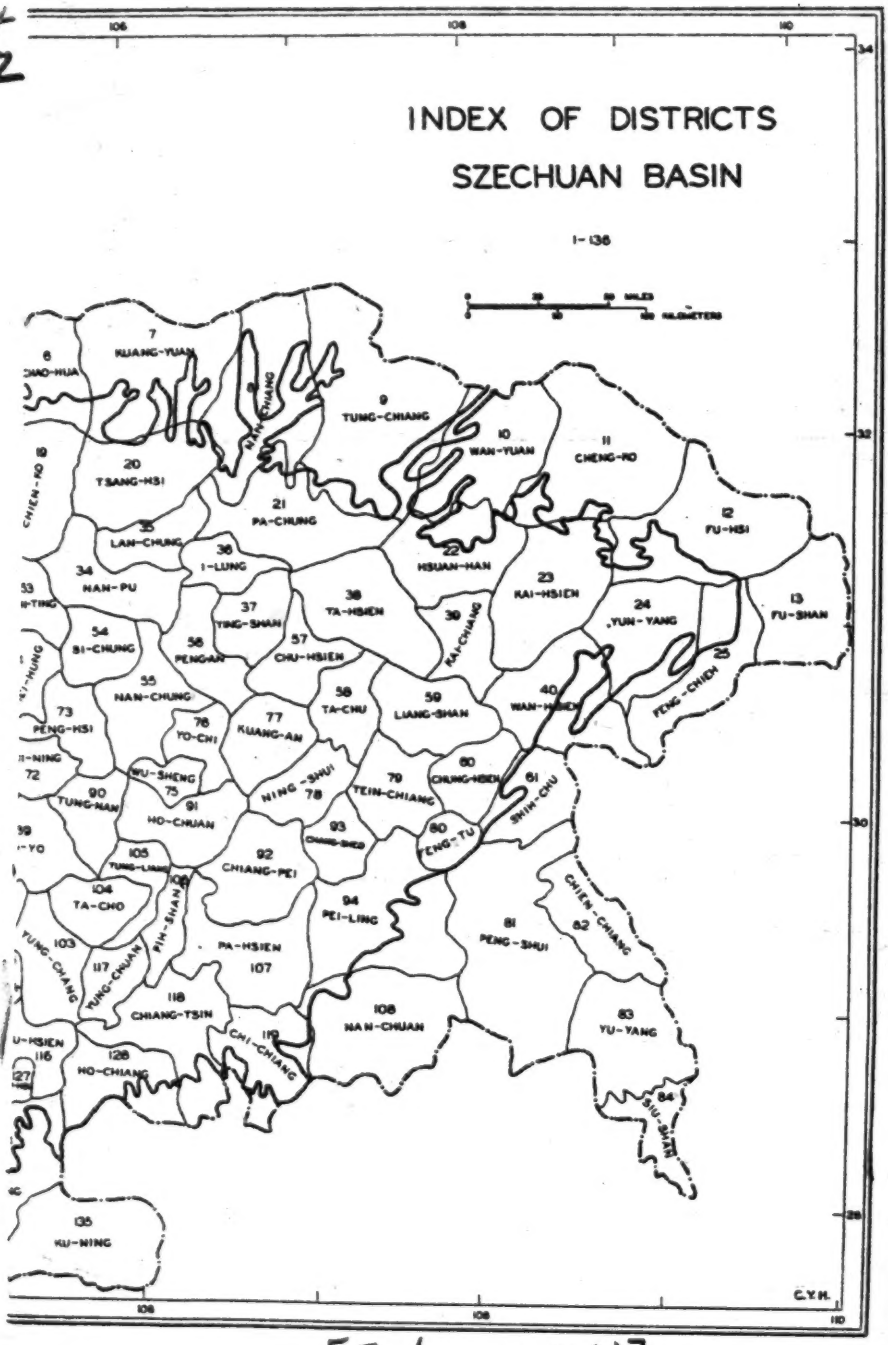

[End map 7 (b)]

/190/ Through Li the secretary I received the first certain news about the theater of war in Ba tang where Tschao ör fong had for the past year been revenging the death of the resident minister who was murdered by the Tibetans in 1905. Nothing was made known about it in Hsining and we heard only vague reports about it in Tschendu and Dscherku ndo. According to these reports sometimes the Tibetans and then again the Chinese were said to be the victors. The Shensi merchants of Dscherku had urged me not to travel to Ta tsien lu and said that on account of this war they had not received any new goods. Even in Tschoktsen the merchants could not tell me whether the big tea route to Ta tsien lu was even open, and it was not until now that I heard some details about the situation and learned of the battles to which His Excellency Von Mumm had referred in his writings years before. T C 726

On April 17 in the late afternoon my cavalcade reached Tschanggu. We first came to the monastery bearing this name, then to the village, and finally to the old castle. All three are on the right bank on a broad terrace 200 meters above the river which makes a large bend here. The ascent up the Tschanggu mountain is steep. It was too much for two of my horses. Half way up my old white riding horse which I had bartered at the Hartschiu yurts from the young Rengan horse thiefs, suddenly hung its head. Even without its saddle it was unable to lift a foot, and succeeded in staggering down to the Tsa lung Chu Valley only after we had poured some brandy into it, but it died at a mill down in the valley. A second horse, a young chestnut from Lab gomba, developed a weak pulse and could not climb the mountain, but in the following night it recovered sufficiently so that it was brought to me in Tschanggu where I received just 10 rupees for it. With my final strength, therefore, I just succeeded in reaching the place where the first Chinese administrative official ruled. C 361

The Tschanggu mandarin's official title was "Lu ho tenn hsien," that is, colonial district of the Lu River. Thus, he was at the same time Tung ling, that is, officer. His yamen lay in the old Tu se castle; he occupied the sixth story. Cage gallows (mo lung) three meters high stood like sentinels in front of his gate. His sign-board consisted of heavy K'ang boards and little boxes like bird cages, except that they contained skulls of robbers instead of canaries, and announced to everyone that he was not a person to be fooled with. C 634

Two servants quickly appeared from behind the cage gallows. They were dressed in colored velvet and silk and requested me immediately to visit their da lao ye. Was it the sight of the grinning skulls that

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634 evoked respect and unqualified obedience in me, or was it plain curiosity to see the man who dared to deal so roughly with the Fan-tse? I did not say a word, but climbed quickly down from my horse and followed the Chinese who hurried on ahead of me. First we dashed around three or four corners, then, no less quickly, we climbed a steep wooden stairway, then another, and still another whose treads were even steeper. The soldiers helpfully pulled and shoved me up. Again we rounded a dozen corners, hurried through a labyrinth of rooms, a school, servants' rooms, kitchens and soldiers' rooms, finally reaching the rooms of the mandarin where I, completely out of breath, found myself in a nicely paneled room standing opposite the "Wu da lao ye."

/191/ The "grand old gentleman" was a dignified, slim man with energetic and intelligent features and clever little eyes. His pale yellow skin contrasted sharply with the healthy brown of his servants. He was one of the modern officials of China, one belonging to the new era which was dawning, but he also still kept to the old customs and therefore very seldom went out. Most of the time he went forth from his castle like a spider along the various threads of his governmental system. He was a Hankow man and had been here only two years. In this short time he had, along with a retinue of only 15 Chinese officials, succeeded in bringing peace and order to a territory as large as a Prussian province and more turbulent than one can imagine, and in making it possible for his countrymen to pursue their peaceful activities as farmers. If ever he goes out, all the Tibetans bow their heads, get down from their horses and remove their caps, as though they were in the presence of a holy lama. This sort of thing the Hsining people who are so very proud of themselves and think they are such heroes, have never achieved. His soldiers carry orders as far as Dergi, in fact he settles lawsuits among Tibetans as far up as Tschoktsen and into territory presumably ruled by the Hsining amban.

Addressing me with gruff but amiable brevity, the mandarin welcomed me. As a representative of China he seemed honestly glad to know that I was on this side of Tibet all in one piece, and gave me to understand that, as far as he was concerned, no European would get past him into Tibet.

574 We conversed for a while and the thoughtful host himself offered me warm, sweet cakes, when a few Tibetans came and put my boxes and bags outside the door. I wanted to excuse myself that the men had mistakenly carried my things into his house when he interrupted

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. INTRODUCTION

635 The Southwest China Administrative Region maintained by the Communist Government from 1949 to the abolition of the regional administration system in late 1954 comprises a frontier territory which has never been completely integrated into the Chinese Empire. Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, which make up the bulk of the region, often have been under indirect control of the unified Chinese Empire since its beginning in 221 B.C., but some areas of these provinces have never been completely subject to the central authority up to the present day. The Red Basin surrounding the Chengtu Plain of Szechwan is the only ancient center of Chinese civilization in the three provinces. What was until 1955 the province'

635 of Sikang, which rounded out the western part of the Southwest Region, began to be developed as a part of the frontier colonial territory during the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

635 669 563 When the Red Army overran the Southwest Region in 1949, the Communists fell heir to the problems the territory has posed to every governing authority in China. As had often happened in the past, the mountainous terrain of the Southwest Region was the last refuge of armed resistance to the new regime. According to the Communists, Kweichow was not completely in their hands until January 1951,[1] and more "bandits" (a common Communist term for its armed enemies) were found in the Southwest Region than in any other region.[2] A more difficult and longer-term problem was that of the tribal people who had never been assimilated into Chinese culture. Constituting about 20 per cent of the region's population, the autochthonous people in many areas of the Southwest were still organized under their own tribal laws and respected the authority only of their own tribal chiefs.

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1. Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 205, pp. 12-13. Hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. Unless specifically attributed to the American editors, citations from this source refer to literal translations from Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

2. Ibid., 212, p. 24.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian [illegible] into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

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Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 The revolt was still in progress when the
635 Communists passed through the Southwest Region
563 on their "Long March." Approaching north-
669 western Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sung-p'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

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195 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

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28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175 imperial era served to perpetuate these conditions
635 during the Republican period that followed. What
669 part the region played in the revolutionary ferment that marked much of China south of the Yangtze River from 1911 to 1928 was characterized by greedy provincialism and military expediency rather than by national aspiration and political idealism.

An immediate and direct cause of the revolution that overthrew the imperial regime was the outbreak in Szechwan during September 1911 of strikes and violence against the central government when it attempted to take over from the province the financing and construction of the Hankow-Szechwan Railway. However, the Chinese do not mark this event as the start of the 1911 Revolution, because the Szechwan outburst was not motivated by anti-dynastic feeling. Rather, the resistance was an outgrowth of jealous provincialism and, apparently, the hope of local investors in the mismanaged and corrupt provincial venture into railway building that the central government could be coerced into replacing their financial losses.[31] When the dynasty showed
175 hesitancy in dealing with the Szechwan outbreak,
669 revolutionary politicians elsewhere in China made another and successful bid, after more than a decade of abortive attempts, to establish republican government in China. The premature explosion of a bomb on October 10, 1911 at the Hankow (Hupeh) headquarters

31. On the Szechwan outbreak see Harley F. MacNair, China in Revolution; An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 28-29.

175 669 [661] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION, DENSITY, AND GROWTH

A. Distribution

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The 1953 nationwide census yielded a set of population figures by province. At the time the census figures were being compiled, the Southwest China Region comprised the four provinces of Szechwan, Sikang, Yunnan, and Kweichow. Sikang Province in 1953, however, was not the same as Sikang in the 1940's. Before 1953, Sikiang had been divided in two; only the eastern half retained the name of Sikang Province; the western half was renamed Ch'ang-tu District. Thus the population figure announced in the official communique actually reflected only a part of the pre-Communist province of Sikang. When the results were announced, the Bureau of Census grouped the Ch'ang-tu District population with that of Tibet. On July 30, 1955, the First People's Congress in Peking passed a resolution to abolish the province of Sikang and incorporate its territory into Szechwan Province.[1] This latest move does not

1. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955, p. 1.

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635 161 affect the figure of the total population in the Southwest China Region, because Sikang and Szechwan provinces had been included in the 1953 census figure for this region; nevertheless, it changes the distribution according to the political subdivisions of Southwest China as follows:

161 Table 1. Population Distribution in Southwest China*

Kweichow Province	15,037,310
Szechwan Province	65,685,063
Yunnan Province	17,472,737
Regional Total	98,195,110

*Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1; Sikang population is included in Szechwan.

Among all the regions of China, this region ranks third in population and fourth in size of area.

161 659 The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast upon these figures on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates)

the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan. Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang, coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

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635 mission, Cultural-Educational Commission and the People's Control Commission within the Committee of the Greater Area were kept intact, some of the departments of the same Committee became subordinate to the ministries of the Central People's Government.

The change from Military and Political Committee to Administrative Committee indicates that China, which has been a unitary state for two thousand years, cannot be transformed into a federal state following the pattern of Soviet Russia.

The organization and structure of the Administrative Committee of the Region is given as follows:

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7. [continued from previous page] Wang Wei-chou's report on the national minorities, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] , Peking, February 11, 1952.

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GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL OF PEKING

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REGION

(1) Political-Legal Commission	(2) Financial-Economic Commission	(3) Cultural-Educational Commission	(4) People's Control Comm.

THE PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

1. Department of Civil Affairs
2. Dept. of Public Security
3. Dept. of National Minorities
4. Dept. of Overseas Chinese
5. Dept. of Finance
6. Dept. of People's Provincial Bank
7. Dept. of Industry and Commerce
8. Dept. of Industries
9. Dept. of Transportation
10. Dept. of Post and Telegraph
11. Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry
12. Dept. of Labor
13. Dept. of Education
14. Dept. of Culture
15. Dept. of Health
16. Dept. of Information & Publication
17. Dept. of Committee for Prevention of Illiteracy

635 All these Departments were subordinated in three ways: (1) to the Administrative Committee of the Region through its commissions, (2) to the Provincial People's Government, (3) to the appropriate ministries of the Central Government. Such a complex system of subordination and control tends to slow down administration. More important, too much power was given to the Administrative Committee and in some areas this power was monopolized by leading regional figures. The system was again revised and then finally abolished on June 14, 1954.

On the provincial level, personnel were formerly appointed by the recommendation of the Regional Committee to the Peking Government. Later when the provincial Representatives' Conference was called into existence, the right of electing the governors of the provinces was transferred to the Conference. In reality the choice of a provincial governor was in the hands of the Communist Party and the Central regime, although on the surface it appeared that he was elected by the Representatives' Conference.

The relation between the provincial governor and the Provincial People's Congress (until 1954 called the Provincial Representatives) can be best explained by the actual working of these two branches. With the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, the Provincial People's Congress assumed new functions.

The Szechwan Provincial People's Congress was convened for the first time in the period

635 August 1-8, 1955 and was attended by 650 members consisting of Chinese, Tibetans, Chuangs, Yi's and Miaos. Li Ching-ch'üan, Chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Government, made a report on the work of the past two years and the important tasks to be done in the coming winter and spring. He referred to improvements in agriculture and industry, giving the following figures for 1952 as 100:

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Industries	1953	199.11
	1954	307.9 estimated
Agriculture	1953	86 %
	1954	6 %

There were 34 national and local factories and mines in the region, 604 agricultural co-operatives and 990,000 mutual-aid teams. In the same report he claimed that the people of Szechwan supported the building of the railroads from Chungking to Chengtu and from Chengtu to Pao-chi, and also the surveying of oil fields in Szechwan.

635 With regard to the tasks of the coming winter and spring, he asked the people of Szechwan to try to reach the goal for the second year of the five-year plan. Li's report was passed. Another report on the Constitutional draft was made by Governor Li. After a serious debate, it was given a unanimous support. Finally, 87 delegates to the National Congress were elected with Chu Teh at the head of the list.[8]

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8. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, August 10, 1952.

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635 In Yunnan, the first Provincial People's Congress met from August 6-12, 1954. It was attended by 376 members, who represented a population of 17,000,000, which, besides Chinese, is composed of 28 national minorities. The delegates of the Yunnan People's Congress were elected by 126 units. Out of the 17,000,000 population, 6,000,000 belong to the minorities. The delegates from them make up 41.1 per cent of all the delegates sent to the National Congress. Women delegates took up 15 per cent.

Kuo-ying Ch'iu, vice-chairman of the Yunnan Government, gave a report on the administration of Yunnan which was passed and ratified. A debate on the constitutional draft, which was given full support, followed. The Congress passed a resolution in support of the policy of liberating Formosa. Finally the election of 45 delegates to the National Congress took place -- an election in which each of the 14 minority groups had a share.[9]

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

631 Two years before the promulgation of the Constitution, the Chinese Communist Party decided that China should be a unitary state, with

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9. Enlightenment Daily, August 14, 1954.

631 each province standing under the direct control of the central government. In the Constitution the structure of provincial local units was clearly defined on the basis of democratic centralism. Since the membership in the National Congress was made up of delegates elected by the provinces, the special municipalities, the military forces, the overseas Chinese, each provincial congress became a part of the electoral machinery of the National Congress. But since the executive-administrative and the legislative organs on a higher level have the power to cancel or revise inappropriate resolutions of corresponding organs on a lower level, the administrative and legislative organs in a province, a county, or a hsiang are not really independent, nor do they have any power on the basis of a charter or a special grant.

A. The Provincial Government

635 The promulgation of the New Constitution has placed the Provincial Governments on a new basis. On the one hand, each province regains its traditional status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central Government, while, on the other hand, there is a change from tradition insofar as the members of the Provincial Government are elected and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliberative functions. The avoidance of the term "legislative" in the section on Provincial Government suggests that the People's Congress was limited to the function

635 of deliberation and is not entitled to hold the corresponding executive organs accountable. It can be said that each province, according to the Communist Constitution Article 53, is a modified administrative district subject to control from above but empowered to pass budget, enforce laws and safeguard the rights of citzens. Though the Provincial Government is elected and a Provincial People's Congress sits next to it, it does not have the reserved powers of a state under the American Constitution, nor the powers granted by special charter to a British borough. It is stipulated that the Provincial Government stands under the leadership of the Central Government, and that the Provincial People's Congress can only pass resolutions within the framework of the laws which govern it.

631 Similarly, autonomous regions and municipalities are administrative districts directly under the central government. Counties and Hsiang (villages) are also an administrative district, though they are not considered as being directly under the authority of the Central Government.

635 The executive, deliberative, and judicial branches of the Provincial Government are constituted as follows:

The Provincial Executive consists of one governor, a number of deputy-governors, and twenty-five to fifty-five members of the Provincial People's Council. The governor, the deputy-governors, and the members of the Provincial

635 Council are elected by the Provincial People's Congress, while the Commissoners of the Civil Affairs, Public Security, Finance, Grain, and other twelve departments are appointed by the Central Government. The fact that the Commissioners are appointed confirms the view that the provincial administration is not a kind of self-government, but stands under the centralized control of the Peking Government.

The Provincial People's Congress according to the Constitution has the following powers:

(1) To ensure observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and the resolutions of the National People's Congress; (2) to adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of their functions and powers; (3) to plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work and relief work; (4) to consider and approve budgets and financial statements; (5) to elect members of the Provincial People's Council; (6) to elect presidents of the Provincial People's Courts and of the intermediate People's Courts; (7) to elect deputies to the National People's Congress of the next higher level; (8) to hear and examine the work reports of the Provincial People's Councils and the Provincial People's Courts; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's Congresses and People's Councils on the county level; (10) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (11) to ensure the equal rights of the national minorities; (12) to recall the members of the Provincial People's

635 Council and its president.

From this list the powers of the Provincial People's Congress are enumerated. It should be noted, however, that while the Provincial People's Congress has a number of powers over organs on the provincial and lower levels, it is itself under the ultimate control of the National People's Congress and inevitably of the Central Government.

666 The Provincial People's Congress is elected indirectly. Its size is determined by: (1) the population of the province; (2) the number of the counties within the province. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the Congresses of all levels, a province with a population not exceeding 20 million shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; a province with a population exceeding 20 million, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally small, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but shall not exceed 600.

Since the members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected, not directly by the people of the province, but indirectly by the counties, the provincial municipalities, towns, and others, the size of the Provincial Congress is governed by a second principle: a county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population between 200,000 and 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies.

666 From the municipalities and towns and the important industrial and mining districts within the provinces, one deputy shall be elected by every 20,000 of the population. Based on the above-mentioned principles, the number of the members of the Provincial Congress as of the Southwest is as follows: Szechwan, 650, plus Sikang, 101; Yunnan, 344; Kweichow, 284.

635 It is important to note the relationship between the provincial government and the provincial congress in their actual work. Usually, the chairman or the governor gives a report on government work, followed by another report on the tasks of the coming year, which announced not only the measures planned by provincial government but also the methods by which the people can fulfill the agricultural and industrial production quotas. As examples, the procedure of the Szechwan and the Yunnan Provincial People's Congresses have been described in the above paragraphs. The procedure of the first Kweichow Provincial People's Congress affords a further illustration.

The first Provincial People's Congress of Kweichow was convened in the period July 22-30, with an attendance of 284 members. Chou Lin, the vice-chairman of Kweichow, made a report on the work of the Kweichow government in the past four years. He pointed out that great improvement had been made in handling the affairs of the minority groups. In the counties where the minorities were 40 per cent of the

635 population, the loan of 11,600,000,000 yuan had been made as rural credit, while cultivating machinery and equipment with a value of some 13,800,000,000 yuan had been distributed. 2,000 party cadres who came from the minority groups were trained, and 674,000 students enrolled in the primary schools. It has always been difficult for the people of Kweichow to obtain salt for cooking because it must be imported from Szechwan and carried by coolies on their shoulders Chou Lin reported that the per capita consumption of salt had risen from 5.7 catties in 1951 to 8.15 catties in 1953. Chou also reported that there were 265,900 mutual aid teams in which 64 per cent of the peasant population were member and that besides the 519 agricultural producers' co-operatives already established, another 5,000 were expected to be added in the spring of 1955. Finally, the Kweichow People's Congress passed a resolution giving full support to the Constitutional draft and elected 26 delegates to the National Congress, of which six were from the minority groups.[10] From the above proceedings of the provincial congresses, it can be seen that policy-making was in the hands of the Governor, while the congress was a mere echoing machine, reflecting the popular response.

The Provincial People's Congress in the constitutional period has the power to elect the Governor, the Deputy-Governors, a number of members of the Provincial People's Council, and the President of the Court.

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10. Enlightenment Daily, August 5, 1954.

635 A list of the governors, deputy-governors, presidents of the People's high courts recently elected in the three provinces of the Southwest, is as follows:

A. Szechwan:

Governor -- Li Ta-chang.
Deputy-governors -- Teng Hsi-hou, Yen Hung-yen, Jen Pai-ko, Chung Ti-ch'ien, Yü Chi-t'ang.

Provincial Higher People's Court President -- name not revealed

B. Sikang (before merging with Szechwan):

Governor -- Liao Chih-kao
Deputy-governors -- Pai Jen, Sana-rygas-shes (Tibetan), K'ang Nai-erh, Chang Wei-chiung, Kuo-chi-mu-ku, Yi Shargur Dobdeng (Tibetan).
P.H.P.C. President -- Liu Ch'ang-chien.

C. Yunnan:

Governor -- Kuo Ying-ch'in
Deputy-governors -- Chang Ch'ung, Liu Tai-feng, Liu Ming-hui, Kung Tzu-chih, Wu Tso-min.
P.H.P.C. President -- Jou Hsing-ts'ai

D. Kweichow:

Governor -- Chou Lin

635 Deputy-governors -- Chou Su-yüan, Hsü Chien-sheng, Wu Shih, Ou Pai-ch'uan
P.H.P.C. President -- Yeh Ku-lin.

In general, most judicial affairs are handled on the national level. However, the Provincial Congress plays a certain role.

Article 59 of the Constitution, "The People's Congress at county level and above, elect and have power to recall the presidents of People's Courts at corresponding levels," and accordingly is a version of articles 105-09 of the Constitution of the USSR. The jury system, which is provided for in Article 75 of the Communist Constitution, is the first in Chinese history.

Besides the elective presidents of the local courts, another institution which follows the Soviet pattern is the procuratorate. The provincial procurator is not elected, but appointed for four years by the procurator-general in Peking. Each county has a similar official appointed by the provincial procurator with approval of the Procurator-general.

The following paragraphs deal with the governments below the provincial level: the municipal governments, the county governments, and the hsiang or chen governments. The urban population lives in a municipality, while the county and the hsiang or chen consist entirely of rural or half-rural population. However, between the provincial and the county level, there is an agent of the provincial government who inspects the work of the different county governments within the district.

635 The number and the respective names of the municipalities, counties and administrative districts in these three provinces of Southwest China are given as follows:

Political Subdivisions

The political subdivisions of this region, like those of other regions in China, have been modified many times since the Peking regime was established. The latest of these changes is the abolition of Sikang Province and the incorporation of that area into Szechwan Province, approved by the People's Congress in Peking in July 1955. The Ch'ang-tu District, formerly the western half of Sikang Province, had already been merged with the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The following political subdivisions were current in August 1955.

A. Szechwan Province. Capital, Chengtu.

1. Ten municipalities (cities): Chengtu, Tzu-kung, Lu-chou, Wu-t'ung-ch'iao, Nei-chiang, I-pin, Wanhsien, Nan-ch'ung, Ho-ch'uan, Ya-an.

2. Three minority nationality autonomous districts under the direct control of the provincial government:

a) Szechwan Tibetan Autonomous District (District government at Shua-ching-shih), 12 counties: Mou, Wen-ch'uan, Li, Hsiao-chin, Ta-chin, Sung-p'an,

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A-pa, Ssu-t'u, Hei-shui, Nan-p'ing, Jo-erh-kai, Ch'o-ssu-chia.

b) The former Sikang Tibetan Autonomous Chou [11] (Chou administrative office at K'ang-ting), 20 counties: K'ang-ting, Lu-ting, Chiu-lung, Ya-chiang, Ch'ien-ning, Tan-pa, Li-t'ang, Tao-ch'eng, Te-yung, I-tun, Pa-t'ang, Teng-k'o, Te-ko, Kan-tzu, Lu-huo, Tao-fu, Hsin-lung, Pai-yü, Shih-ch'ü.
c) Liang-shan Yi Minority Nationality Autonomous Chou [12] (Chou administrative office at Chao-chüeh), 7 counties: Chao-chüeh, P'u-hsiung, P'u-ko, Hsi-te, Pu-t'o, Mei-ku, Chin-yang.

3. Twelve districts:

a) Wen-chiang (District administrative office at Wen-chiang), 18 counties: Wen-chiang, P'i, Ch'ung-ning, P'eng, Hsin-fan, Hsin-tu, Hua-yang, Shuang-liu, Ta'i, Ch'ung-ch'ing, Kuan, Ch'iung-lai, Hsin-chin, Ming-shan, P'u-chiang, Kuang-han, Chin-t'ang, Shih-fang.
b) Mien-yang (District administrative office at Mien-yang), 15 counties: Mien-yang, Chang-ming, Tsu-t'ung, Lo-chiang, Te-yang, Mien-chu, An, Kuang-yüan, Chao-hua, Wang-ts'ang, Chien-ko, Chiang-yu, Pei-ch'uan, P'ing-wu, Ch'ing-ch'uan.
c) Hsu-ning, P'eng-ch'i, T'ung-nan,

[see following page for 11. and 12.]

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An-yüeh, Lo-chih, Chung-chiang, San-t'ai, She-hung, Yen-t'ing.
d) Han-ch'ung (District administrative office at Yüeh-ch'ih), 11 counties: Yüeh-ch'ih, Wu-sheng, Nan-ch'ung, Hsi-ch'ung, Nan-pu, P'eng-an, Ying-shan, I-lung, Ts'ang-ch'i, Lang-chung, Kuang-an.

e) Ta-hsien (District administrative office at Ta-hsien), 11 counties: Ta, P'ing-ch'ang, Pa-chung, Nan-chiang, T'ung-chiang, Wan-yuan, Hsüan-han, K'ai-chiang, Ta-chu, Ch'ü, Lin-shui.

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11. Chou is a traditional Chinese term for an administrative division. This term was adopted to replace the former designation of "District" at the 1st session of the Second People's Representative Conference of the Tibetan Autonomous District in Sikang, convened at Ya-nan, March 2-6, 1955. There so far has been no information on the name chosen for this chou following the abolition of Sikang Province.

12. This district was renamed "chou" in in April 1955.

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[redacted]

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f) Wan-hsien (District administrative office at Wan-hsien municipality), 9 counties: Wan, K'ai, Yün-yang, Ch'eng-k'ou, Wu-ch'i, Wu-shan, Feng-chieh, Chung, Liang-p'ing.
g) Fu-ling (District administrative office at Fu-ling) 11 counties: Fu-ling Ch'ang-shou, Feng-tu, Shih-chu, Ch'ien-chiang, Yu-yang, Hsiu-shan, P'eng-shui, Wu-lung, Nan-ch'uan, Tien-chiang.
h) Chiang-chin (District administrative office at Chiang-chin), 10 counties: Chiang-chin, Yung-ch'uan, Yung-ch'ang, Ta-tsu, T'ung-liang, Ho-ch'uan, Pi-shan, Chiang-pei, Pa, Ch'i-chiang.
i) Lu-chou (District admininstrative office at Lu-chou), 8 counties: Lu, Fu-shun, Lung-ch'ang, Ho-chiang, Na-ch'i, Ku-sung, Hsü-yung, Ku-lin.
j) I-pin (District administrative office at I-pin), 9 counties: I-pin, Nan-ch'i, Chiang-an, Ch'ing-fu, Ch'ang-ning, Hsing-wen, Kung, Kao, Yün-lien.
k) Lo-shan (District administrative office at Lo-shan), 15 counties: Lo-shan, Chia-chiang, Ch'ing-shen, Mei-shan, P'eng-shan, Hung-ya, Tan-ling, Ching-yen, Ch'ien-wei, Mu-ch'uan, P'in-shan, Lei-po, Ma-pien, O-pien, O-mei.
l) Nei-chiang (District administrative office at Nei-chiang), 7 counties: Nei-chiang, Wei-yüan, Yung, Jen-shou, Chien-yang, Tzu-yang, Tzu-chung.

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m) Ya-an (District administrative office at Ya-an), 7 counties: Ya-an, Yung-ching, Han-yüan, Shih-mien, T'ien-ch'üan, Pao-hsing, Lu-shan.
n) Hsi-ch'ang (District administrative office at Hsi-ch'ang), 11 counties: Hsi-ch'ang, Ning-nan, Te-ch'ang, Hui-li, Hui-tung, Yen-pien, Mien-ming, Yüeh-sui (pronounced Yüeh-chün locally), Mi-i, Chin-k'uang, Yen-yüan; one minority nationality autonomous sub-district; the Mu-li Tibetan Autonomous Subdistrict.

B. Yunnan Province. Capital, Kunming

1. Two municipalities (cities): Kungming, Ko-chiu

2. One mining district under the direct control of the provincial government: the Tung-ch'uan Mining District.

3. Eleven districts

a) Chao-t'ung (District administrative office at Chao-t'ung), 11 counties: Ta-kuan, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Wei-hsin, Chen-hsiung, I-liang, Lu-tien, Ch'iao-chia, Yung-shan, Hui-tse, Chao-t'ung.
b) Ch'ü-ching (District administrative office at Ch'ü-ching), 13 counties: Ch'ü-ching, Chan-i, Yung-feng, Fu-yüan Ma-lung, Sung-ming, Hsün-tien, I-liang,

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Lu-liang, Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Lu-hsi, Lu-nan.
c) Wen-shan (District administrative office at Wen-shan) one municipality: Ma-li-p'o Municipality; 7 counties: Wen-shan, Yen-shan, Ch'iu-pei, Kuang-nan, Fu-ning, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan.
d) Meng-tzu (District administrative office at Meng-tzu), one municipality: Ho-k'ou Municipality; 7 counties: Meng-tzu, P'in-pien, Shih-p'in, Chien-shui, the county level: the Mi-lo-hsien Yi Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.
e) Yü-ch'i (District administrative office at Yü-ch'i, K'un-yang, Chin-ning, Ch'eng-kung, Ch'eng-chiang, Chiang-ch'uan, Hua-ning, T'ung-hai, Ho'hsi, Hsin'p'ing, I-men, Yuan-chiang; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: The O-shan-hsien Yi Minority Autonomous subdistrict.
f) Ssu-mao (District administrative office at P'u-erh), 7 counties: Ssu-mao, P'u-erh, Ching-tung, Mo-chiang, Lan-ts'ang, Ching' ku, Chen-yüan ; 3 minority nationality autnomous subdistricts at the county level: the Lang-ts'ang Lahu Minority Autonomous Subdistrict, the Meng-lien-hsien, T'ai, Lahu, and K'awa Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict, the Chiang-ch'eng-hsien Hani and Yi Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict.
g) Lin-ts'ang (District administrative office at Lin-ts'ang), 5 counties: Lin-ts'ang, Shuang-chiang, Ts'ang-yüan,

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Keng-ma, Chen-k'ang.

h) Pao-shan (District administrative office at Pao-shan), 4 counties: Pao-shan, Ch'ang'ning, T'eng-ch'ung, Lung-ling; one town: Wan-ting.

i) Ta-li (District administrative office at Hsia-kuan), 13 counties: Ta-li, Teng-ch'uan, Pin-ch'uan, Hsiang-yün, Feng-i, Mi-tu, Wei-shan, Yün, Feng-ch'ing, Yung-p'ing, Yang-pi, Yün-lung, Erh-yüan.

j) Li-chiang (District administrative office at Li-chiang), 9 counties: Li-chiang, Yung-sheng, Ho-ch'ing, Chien-ch'uan, Lan-p'ing, Wei-hsi, Chung-tien, Hua-p'ing, Ning-lang: one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: the Te-ch'in-hsien Tibetan Autonomous Subdistrict.

k) Ch'u-hsiung (District administrative office at Ch'u-hsiung), 17 counties: Ch'u-hsiung, Mu-ting, Yen-hsing, Kuang-t'ung, Lu-feng, Shuang-po, Nan-hua, Yao-an, Yen-feng, Ta-yao, Yung-jen, Wu-ting, Lu-ch'üan, Fu-min, An-ning, Lo-tz''u, Yüan-mou.

l) Hsishuang Panna T'ai Minority Autonomous District (District administrative office at Yungchinghung), 12 Baan Naa (Panna, or Baan Naa -- "Land" in the Yi language. Baan Naa and an autonomous subdistrict have the equivalent status of "subdistrict"): Yung-ching-hung, Meng-hai, Meng-wang, I-wu, Meng-na, Meng-h'un, Meng-che, Meng-yang, Meng-la, Meng-lung, Meng-wang, Man-tun;

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two minority nationality autonomous subdistricts: the Kelang and Hani Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict and the Pailang Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

m) The Tehung, T'ai and Ching-p'o Minority Nationalities Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Mang-shih), 6 counties: Lu-hsi, Jui-li, Lung-ch'uan, Ying-chiang, Lien-shan, Liang-ho.

n) The Hung-ho Hani Minority Nationality Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Hsin-chieh), 3 counties: Hung-ho Yüan-yang, Chin-p'ing.

o) The Nu-chiang Lisu Minority Nationality Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Chih-tzu-lo), 4 counties: Pi-chiang, Kung-shan, Fu-kung, Lu-shui.

C. Kweichow Province. Capital, Kweiyang Municipality.

1. One municipality (city): Kweiyang Municipality

2. One county under the direct control of the provincial government: Kuei-chu hsien.

3. Eight Districts:

a) Kuei-ting (District administrative office at Kuei-ting), 9 counties: Kuei-

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ting, Weng-an, K'ai-yang, Hsi-feng, Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Lung-li, Ch-ang-shun, Lo-tien; one autonomous subdistrict: The Hui-shui-hsien Pu-i Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

b) Tsun-i (District administrative office at Tsun-i),one municipality: Tsun-i Municipality; 11 counties: Tsun-i, Jen-huai, Ch'ih-shui, Hsi-shui, T'ung-tzu, Sui-yang, Cheng-an, Tao-chen, Wu-ch'uan, Feng-kang, Mei-t'an.

c) T'ung-jen (District administrative office at T'ung-jen), 9 counties: T'ung-jen, Sung-t'ao, Yen-ho,Te-chiang, Ssu-nan, Ying-chiang, Shih-ch'ien, Chiang-k'ou, Yü-p'in.

d) Chen-yüan (District administrative office at Chen-yüan), 10 counties: Chen-yüan, Ts'en-kung, San-sui, T'ien-chu, Chin-p'in, Chien-ho, Lei-shan, Huang-p'ing, Shih-ping, Yü-ch'ing; 2 minority nationality autonomous subdistricts: the Lü-shan-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict, the T'ai-chiang-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

e) Tu-yün (District administrative office at Tu-yün), 10 counties: Tu-yün, Ma-chiang, Fu-ch'üan, San-tu, Yung-chiang, Li-p'ing, Ts'ung-chiang, Li-po, Tu-shan, P'ing-t'ang; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: the Tan-chai-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

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f) Hsing-i (District administrative office at Hsing-i), 10 counties: Hsing-i, P'an, P'u-an, Ch'ing-lung, Hsing-jen, Kuan-jen, Kuan-ling, Chen-feng, Wang-mu, Ts'e-heng, An-lung.

g) An-shun (District administrative office at An-shun), 6 counties: An-shun, Tzu-yün, Chen-ning, Lang-tai, P'u-ting, P'ing-pa.

h) Pi-chieh (District administrative office at Pi-chieh), 9 counties: Pi-chieh, Ta-ting, Chin-sha, Ch'ien-hsi, Chih-chin, Na-yung, Shui-ch'eng, Wei-ning, Ho-chang.

In examining the nature and functions of local governments from the Municipality down to the county and hsiang level, it is found that since the Communist regime, there has been a radical change. While a laissez-faire policy characterized under the Republic and Kuomintang period the political scene, now the Communists put stesss on organizing people of every municipality, county, or hsiang, and each individual is under surveillance.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY, COUNTY, AND HSIANG

A. The Municipality

633 The Communist regime pays a great deal of attention to city life, because industrial enter-

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 the walls is fairly well filled with houses and contains some 600 or 700.

511 The whole town and district[1] are very poor, a fact to which the broken bridges and unrepaired roads testify. There does not seem to be a single merchant of any importance in the place, and mules and ponies are scarce. In fact there appears to be absolutely no trade in the district except in the necessaries of life, and the whole way from Ta-li to Shun-ning we did not meet a single mule caravan, or even a pedlar on foot.

The city magistrate came to see me in the evening and was very civil. He was a Chiang-hsi man and much more inclined to be obliging than the majority of Chinese officials. I halted a day at Shun-ning and went to call on the mandarins. The magistrate had never heard of Kun-long himself, but he got out his map and sent for men who knew the country, and did his best to help me. It appears there are two roads, one through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), and the other through Yün Chou and Mien-ning T'ing. The former was said to be the shorter, but is hilly and difficult. The Yün Chou route seemed to offer the best prospect of a possible railway line or trade route, so I decided to go by it.

712 There is only a very small garrison at Shun-ning. It was then commanded by an old white-moustached gentleman of 60, who had, however, only attained the rank of *Shou-pi* or lieutenant. So promotion is sometimes slow in the Chinese army. The military head-quarters of the Shun-ning district is at Mien-ning T'ing where there is a *Hsieh-t'ai* or colonel.

635 Shun-ning was originally a Shan state, and it is still known to Shans by its original name of Möng Hköng. It has now for a long time been a Chinese district, but the Shan or half Shan origin of the people is plainly visible in their features. So much like Shans did some of them appear to me that I stopped one man on the road and asked him if he was not a Shan, but he did not take it at all as a compliment, and his companions were much amused at the question.

000 One day at Shun-ning was quite enough, and I was glad to get out of the miserable one-storied inn in which we

[1] [Shun-ning -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the
438 Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

214 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious
438 kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou
241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-

175 acts of the first Ming emperor Hung Wu (Chu
167 Yüan-chang) was to remove most of the population of the Nanking area to Yunnan. Thereafter, armies recruited largely from the Yangtze Valley were settled in agricultural colonies throughout the fertile regions of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Fortifications were established at strategic points in the three provinces. Control and colonization in other areas of the Southwest Region were facilitated by commercial and civilian agencies. These acts made possible the establishment of Kweichow as a province under Chinese administrative control.[15]

175 The incorporation of Yunnan, Kweichow,
636 and Szechwan into the Chinese Empire did not mean the imposition of effective control by the central government throughout these provinces. The Han Dynasty policy of indirect administration of non-Han Chinese areas through local rulers was formalized under the Ming Dynasty by the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system. Under it, local rulers were confirmed or established as hereditary t'u-ssu (local agents of the government) with various ranks in tribal areas. About one-third of these local chieftains were natives of the areas they controlled, another third were tribal leaders not native to the locality under their command, and the remaining third were Han Chinese, most of whom had adopted the customs of the subject tribal people.[16]

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15. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 180-85,192-200.

16. On the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system and the extension of Chinese control in the Southwest Region, see ibid., pp. 221-66.

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Some progress in extending direct control over former tribal areas was made by the Ming Dynasty through its program of planned settlement and military action. However, the Ming administration vacillated between a policy of leaving non-Han Chinese areas to their own devices and eliminating t'u-ssu power by military force. The latter policy was most consistently and successfully pursued in Kweichow.

A more persistent attempt to bring the whole Southwest under Chinese administration was pursued by the Ch'ing Dynasty. Under the Republic (1912-1949), the extension of Chinese administration was handicapped by internal revolution, external interference, and warlord rule until the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Chungking in 1938. By the end of the anti-Japanese Resistance War in 1945, some progress in further integrating the Southwest Region into the Chinese political system had been made, but the t'u-ssu and lesser tribal chiefs still exercising real power numbered more than one hundred in Szechwan, more than one hundred and fifty in Yunnan, and over one hundred in Sikang.[17] The continuance since then of local independence in the Southwest is reflected in the announcement that 220 autonomous local governments had been established in the region by the Communist regime up to September 1954.[18]

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The extension of central authority in the

17. Ibid., pp. 240-41.
18. People's China, Peking, Sept.1,1954,p.23

175 Southwest was complicated by the lack of respect
636 toward each other of the Han Chinese and the
563 tribal people. People who refused to adopt the Chinese culture were habitually regarded as inferior by the Chinese. On the other hand, the frontier area did not attract the best officials or Chinese people. Representatives of the central government tended to be second-raters inclined toward indolence, graft, corruption, and oppressive tactics toward the tribal people. Petty artisans and merchants made yearly trips to the frontier areas looking for quick profit by any means, while the more permanent Chinese settlers in the non-Han Chinese areas were often refugees and displaced persons who lived at a lower level than their non-Han Chinese neighbors. From the tribesmen, who respected strength and straightforwardness, such official and non-official representatives of the Chinese earned only contempt and resentment.[19]

Another factor which made the abolition of local autonomy difficult was that the t'u-ssu and lesser chieftains often had the respect of their subjects, entrenched position, and the armed strength to resist anything but a full-scale invasion by the central authority. In many places where hsien government was established by the Ch'ing or Republican central authorities, real power remained in the hands of the t'u-ssu or village headmen.[20]

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19. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 251-53.
20. Ibid., pp. 248-50.

B. The Western Military and Missionary Impact

636 563 175 The initial effect in the Southwest Region of Western intrusion was the new influence brought to bear on the relation between the tribesmen and Han Chinese authorities by French penetration of Indo-China and British operations in Burma and Tibet. Annam, Tongkin, and Burma were all tributary kingdoms of the Chinese Empire until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until the coming of the West, their borders with Yunnan were of little consequence to either kingdoms or the empire. The frontier area was rugged terrain inhabited by semi-independent tribes that had no consciousness of political demarcations and that moved freely back and forth across the vague boundary line. With French penetration of Annam and Tongkin and English advances into Upper Burma in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, all these tributary states were wrested away from Chinese suzerainty by force. Their borders and the loyalty of the tribal inhabitants of the frontier region then became matters of prime importance. If China pressed too hard for control or discipline of the tribes commissioned to guard the frontier, they had an alternative to Chinese rule and the means to blackmail the central authorities into more conciliatory treatment.

The Chinese frustration on the frontier was compounded by the inroads of France and England into the Southwestern provinces. Both Western powers in consolidating their position in the former Chinese tributary kingdoms

195 simultaneously enforced demands for the rights
636 of trade, mining development, railroad building,
563 and missionary settlement in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow. The foreign economic and missionary representatives were a constant source of irritation and fear for the Chinese and tribal inhabitants. Their periodic outbreaks of violence against the Westerners constituted excuses for forcing concessions from the Chinese government, causing it real fear that the provinces might eventually be alienated from its control.

By the twentieth century, Britain in Burma was emulating the old Chinese frontier policy of indirect control over the tribal elements. In controlling upper Burma as a defensive outpost of the English colonial empire in India, England left the t'u-ssu intact, subsidized them, and enlisted their sympathy in every way possible. What could happen when the Chinese government failed to follow a similar program was made evident in 1910. An attempt in that year by the Ch'ing Dynasty bureaucracy in Yunnan to punish the tyranny of a t'u-ssu of the P'ien-ma area led to his defection to the British and their occupation of the northwestern corner of the province.[24]

The Chinese have never been reconciled to the loss, and both the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime claim the upper salient

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24. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 254-57.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian [illegible] into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

669 regime formally established in Peking.[39] It
668 was November before the Second Field Army under Liu Po-ch'eng launched an attack on Kweichow, taking the provincial capital at Kwei-yang on November 15. Chungking in Szechwan fell to the Second Field Army on the last day of the month. During the next few weeks, Liu's forces moved westward toward Chengtu while the Fourth Field Army struck into Szechwan from the north. After Chengtu fell December 27, many of the remaining organized Kuomintang forces surrendered to the Communists in Yunnan and Sikang, and the Communists officially claimed the complete "liberation" of the Southwest Region. However, it is clear that large-scale unorganized resistance continued for a good part of 1950, and isolated bands undoubtedly held out much longer in the rugged mountain areas of the Southwest. It is
636 doubtful, too, whether the Communists have any more real control than had former regimes over the semi-independent tribal areas of the Southwest, especially along its borders with Indo-China and Burma.

669 The lack of any prolonged organized resistance in the naturally defensible areas of the Southwest Region was the result of several factors. Little faith in the Kuomintang cause remained

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39. The names, dates, and campaigns connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts as far as can be determined by checking against other scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1954, pp. 108-09.

178 Another problem was the number of steel
499 plants and textile mills which had been estab-
653 lished in the Southwest during war against Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and commerce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimulated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region was
162 that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

•636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities,
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

563 the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan.
636 Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous
631 counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county
563 level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

635 For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

5 636 634 Sh 631 648 twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wu-tei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which Sh 669 joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey, in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

Sw 133 636 241 563 Sh 631 241 In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma. The northward-looking view is from approximately above Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area constitutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yun-nan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as Sw 721 648 old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo. It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

555 village almost as much as himself. The wealth
554 usually accumulated by an official during his
596 career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

577 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial
596 system operated by moral suasion with a mini-
642 mum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaing peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for

577 The son was to submit unquestioningly to his father's will at all times. He had no independence of judgment or action until after his father's death. The son's loyalty and devotion were also to show themselves in providing for the father's comfort in old age, in arranging a proper funeral and burial and in periodic offerings to his father's tablet in the ancestral hall of the family.

573 643 In the political sphere the emperor was the "father" of his people, and the key local magistrates of the imperial bureaucracy were often referred to as the "Fathers and Mothers of the People." To reciprocate the care and concern of those in authority, the people were to provide material support through taxes and labor; they were to serve their masters loyally and submissively; they were to obey the rules which custom (personalized as the wise rulers of the past) and the laws laid down for them. And in those laws the heaviest punishments were decreed for those who showed unfilial behavior in the family, or, in its political counterpart, rebellion against the state.[49]

596 597 These were the patterns of authority to which the individual was subject. His personality was

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49. The Classic of Filial Piety says: "Of the 3,000 crimes punishable by the five punishments, none is greater than unfiliality." (i.e., failure to submit to authority.) For a discussion, cf. Etienne Balazs, Le Traite Juridique du Souei-chou, Paris, 1954, p. 144.

596 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- some-
181 times denouncing their "reactionary" fathers --
668 and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

572 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of
668 relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

576 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among
668 top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and
643 Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us....[54]

Another praises his paternal care for his people

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

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As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yüan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u-pan-she, Wuhan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2h,
Political Background

KEY PERSONALITIES

•647 Certain special problems have given the Communist regime in Southwest China distinctive characteristics which become evident when we study the backgrounds, careers, and present administrative functions of fifty key personalities in this region.

The first special aspect which we note has to do with the significant number of senior leaders in the regional military administration. The interrelation between military and political control appears to be much closer than in other regions of China -- a situation which is due not only to the fact that Southwest China was the last area to be brought under Communist control but also to the circumstance that in this region Kuomintang and anti-Communist guerrilla activities have given the Communists the most trouble. Thus we find that the key men -- senior officials and Communist Party Central Committee members -- are military leaders, officials of the military districts and the 2nd Field Army rather than members of the provincial People's governments in the region. In fact, the relative

647 unimportance of many of even the top-level provincial administrators is striking. Presumably this imbalance is gradually being rectified as administrative control becomes more secure and Party organizations more thoroughly entrenched.

A second special aspect of the Southwest China administrators as a group results from the large number of national minority groups in the region. These groups vary considerably in size and importance, and it is the avowed policy of the People's Republic to accord them equal and non-discriminatory treatment. We find, therefore, a certain number of administrators who come from these minority groups. We would logically expect to find these men on the Committee on Nationalities of the National People's Congress, and in fact most of them are. But on the other hand, it is worth noting that an almost equal number of administrators from Southwest China who have a place on this committee are not members of minority groups. Presumably this too will be changed as soon as more leaders from minor nationalities have been suitably trained by the Communists.

In addition to these special characteristics, we find other features which are more typical of the Communist administrative structure in

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647 other regions of China: a considerable overlapping of personnel in some key positions, apparently only nominal authority among the incumbents of most of the lesser positions, a calculated distribution of Communist Party personnel, and the presence of several former Kuomintang leaders in positions of considerable administrative importance who are, nevertheless, inevitably outranked by Communist officials.

I. SURVEY OF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS HELD

This survey is concerned with fifty men who, with three exceptions, hold key regional and provincial posts in Southwest China. The three exceptions -- Ch'u T'u-nan, Lung Yün, and Hsiung K'o-wu -- have in the past held important administrative positions in Southwest China, but our data on their present positions notes only jobs on the national level. The remaining incumbents occupy the positions of commander of military districts (regional and provincial), political commissar of military districts (regional and provincial), commander and political commissar of the 2nd Field Army, governor and deputy-governor of provincial People's governments, provincial committee member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, president of provincial People's higher courts, and secretary of provincial and regional committees of the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC).

647 We do not have enough significant data on the backgrounds, careers, or present status of sixteen of these men to include them in this analysis. We can simply record their functions in the administrative structure: five are NDYC officials (a secretary in each province and a secretary for the region of Southwest China); four presidents of People's higher courts (one in each province); and seven deputy-governors (one each in Szechwan and Kweichow, two in Sikang, and three in Yunnan).

The remaining 34 incumbents, then, include 13 deputy-governors (two in Yunnan, three in Kweichow, and four each in Szechwan and Kweichow); four provincial committee members of the Chinese People's P.C.C. (one in Kweichow, three in Szechwan); four commanders of provincial military districts (one for each province); three political commissars of provincial military districts (the political commissar for Kweichow is not known); four governors (one in each province); and the six men who are commanders, deputy-commanders, political commissars, and deputy political commissars of the Southwest China military district and the 2nd Field Army.

II. INCUMBENTS HOLDING A SINGLE POSITION

647 Four of these 34 men (in addition to the 16 already noted, about whom we have no further information) hold only a single administrative position. Two are deputy-governors: Kung Tzu-chih, a former member of the Yunnan Provincial Government, who is now a deputy-governor of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government, and Jen Pai-ko, a deputy-governor of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government, who has been prominent in the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association since 1949 but who apparently holds no other offices at present.

The other two men who hold only one position are the governors of the Yunnan and Kweichow provincial People's governments. Kuo Ying-ch'iu, of Yunnan, was formerly a director of the Department of Political Affairs attached to the People's Liberation Army (1949), the deputy-director of the South Szechwan People's Government (1949-52) and the vice-chairman of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government (1952-54), but according to our data he holds no other administrative, military, or Party position at this time. Chou Lin, the governor of Kweichow, was formerly on the Southwest China Military and Political Committee and the Southwest China Administrative Committee

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•647 (in each case, simply as a member) and was a vice-chairman of the Kweichow Provincial People's Government. No other information on him is available.

We note that neither of these governors is known to hold a top Party position in his province. These posts are held by the political commissar of the Yunnan Provincial Military District (Hsieh Fu-chih) and the chairman of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. (Shen Yün-p'u), who is, incidentally, one of the few non-military Party leaders in the region. The apparent lack of importance attached to the position of governor in these instances may, of course, be due to a lack of complete information, but to the extent that it represents a real situation, it is undoubtedly a result of a necessary emphasis on the military organization in the region.

III. INCUMBENTS HOLDING TWO POSITIONS

Eleven men each hold two administrative positions. In nine of these cases, the second position is that of delegate to the First National People's Congress. Five such men are deputy-governors: one in Sikang, one in Szechwan, and three in Kweichow. Two others also hold provincial positions in addition to their function

647 as delegates to the 1st NPC: Li Hsiao-t'ing, vice-chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and Li Ta-chang, governor of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government. Li Hsiao-t'ing was a member of the Revolutionary League of Dr. Sun Yat-sen from 1905 to 1913, but no details of his later career are known until 1950, when he was a member of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, and member of the Standing Committee of the Szechwan-Sikang Provisional Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. Li Ta-chang was director of the Department of Propaganda of the T'ai-hang Sub-bureau of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC during the Sino-Japanese War, and he has since held other Party and provincial positions, but at present he has, according to our data, no functions other than as governor of Szechwan and delegate to the 1st NPC

The two remaining men in this group of delegates to the 1st NPC are Ch'u T'u-nan and Hsiung K'o-wu. Both hold national rather than regional or provincial positions: Ch'u is a member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., Hsiung is a member of the Standing

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647 Committee of the 1st NPC.

The last two men who hold only two positions are distinguished by their status as reserve members of the Central Committee of the CPC: Sung Jen-ch'iung and Ch'en Keng. Both are members of the National Defense Council, Sung is deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, and Ch'en is commander of the Yunnan Provincial Military District. Because of the importance of their regional and national posts as well as their Party rank, these two men are included below in the group of administrators with top status.

IV. INCUMBENTS HOLDING THREE POSITIONS

Eight men each hold three positions. Four of these are almost identical: the three positions consist of delegate to the 1st NPC, membership on the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC and deputy-governor. The only exception in this group is Shen Yün-p'u, who is not a deputy-governor but chairman of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and a member of the Kweichow Provincial Committee of the CPC.

647 The other four incumbents holding three positions include a former Kuomintang leader, Teng Hsi-hou, who is now deputy-governor in Szechwan, a delegate to the 1st NPC and a member of the National Defense Council; Ho Ping-yen, who is commander of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and a member of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government; Yang Yung, commander of the Kweichow Provincial Military District, member of the National Defense Council, and Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea (1955); and Wang Wei-chou, a reserve member of the Central Committee of the CPC, who is deputy-commander of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and a member of the Standing Committee of the 1st NPC.

Because of the number and nature of their multiple positions, these four men are included in the group of key administrators discussed below. Shen Yün-p'u is also included because of his Party position and his occupancy of the important position of chairman of the Kweichov Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

The true status of the other three men in this category is more difficult to appraise.

647 Two of the positions they hold are of lesser authority: delegate to the 1st NPC and deputy-governor. Furthermore, as we shall see, their positions on the Committee on Nationalities may give them little more than prestige. They should be noted, however, as persons who may carry considerable administrative weight, at least in their own nationality districts, and perhaps, ultimately on a national level. They are Kuo-chi-mu-ku (a member of the Yi minority from Sikang); Shargur Dobdeng (or Hsia-k'o Tiao-teng), a Tibetan from Sikang; and Sana-rygas-shes, also a Tibetan from Sikang. The first two are both former vice-chairmen of the Sikang Provincial People's Government; Shargur Dobdeng was also a member of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, a member of the Committee on Nationalities Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, and a member of the Southwest China Administrative Committee.

We have considerably more information on Sana-rygas-shes, a man whose colorful career suggests that in time he may become a figure of some significance. When the Red Army reached Tan-pa hsien in 1934, Sana-rygas-shes, then seventeen, co-operated with other Tibetans in Tan-pa hsien in organizing the Tan-pa United Government. He later served as director of the Department of Youth Affairs in the same

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647 government. He subsequently became political commissar of the Tan-pa Detachment of the Red Army and, during World War II, he studied at the School of Nationalities in Yenan. After the war, he was active in the organization of Mongolian guerrilla forces in Southern Suiyan Province. Since 1949 he has been an active and prominent participant in the Communist administration; he was a delegate to the 1st Chinese People's P.C.C., a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs of the Government Administrative Council, chairman of the Tibetan Nationality Autonomous District of Sikang, member and vice-chairman of the Committee on Nationalities Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, and member of the Southwest China Administrative Committee.

Although neither Sana-rygas-shes nor the other two minorities representatives discussed above appear to carry, at the present time, senior status among the group of key administrators, their status within their own groups and, as the Communists' nationalities policy becomes more fully implemented, their potential importance makes them worthy of special notice.

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V. INCUMBENTS HOLDING FOUR POSITIONS

647 Five men each hold four positions, and by virtue of both the number and nature of these multiple posts these men may all be included in the group of key officials in the region.

Two men are Party officials: Chang Chi-ch'un, a reserve member of the Central Committee of the CPC and secretary of the Southwest Bureau of the Central Committee, is also deputy political commissar of the 2nd Field Army, deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.; Hsieh Fu-chih, secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the CPC, is political commissar of the Yunnan Provincial Military District, member of the Yunnan Provincial People's Government, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC.

Two others are former Kuomintang members who joined the Communists in the late 1940s: Lung Yün, who is now delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Standing Committee of 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese

● 647 People's P.C.C.; and Chang Ch'ung, an Yi military leader under the Nationalist Government, who is now deputy-governor of Yunnan, delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC, and member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

The fifth man is Yen Hung-yen, whose career is known to us only since 1950, and who is currently deputy-governor of Szechwan, deputy political commissar of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the National Defense Council.

VI. INCUMBENTS HOLDING MORE THAN FOUR POSITIONS

The remaining six men hold a total of 32 positions. They are identified below and their Party and administrative functions noted. An analysis of their special characteristics and their relation to the group of senior officials as well as to the region as a whole will follow.

Liu Wen-hui is a former military leader who is now delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Committee on the Budget of the NPC, member of the National Defense Council, member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese P.C.C., and vice-chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

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647 Li Ching-ch'üan, whose early background we do not know, is deputy-political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, political commissar of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., member of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government, and chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

Liao Chih-kao, secretary of the Sikang Provincial Committee of the CPC, is currently governor of Sikang, commander and political commissar of the Sikang Provincial Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, and member of the Committee on Nationalities of the NPC.

Ho Lung, who is a member of the Central Committee of the CPC, is commander of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, deputy premier of the State Council, and chairman of the Commission on Athletics of the State Council.

Liu Po-ch'eng, veteran Party military leader, is commander of the 2nd Field Army, delegate to the 1st NPC, member of the Standing Committee of the 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, and director of the Department of Military Training of the National Defense Council.

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647 Teng Hsiao-p'ing, top Party official for Southwest China, is also political commissar of the 2nd Field Army, political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, delegate to the 1st NPC, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council, deputy premier of the State Council, member of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and a member of the Central Election Committee.

VII. CHARACTERISTICS OF SENIOR LEADERS AS A GROUP

On the basis of the foregoing survey, we can select the 19 men who, because of the multiplicity of their positions, the relatively superior authority granted them by their various functions or their status in the Communist Party, constitute the top echelon of Southwest China's leadership. Even within this group, of course, we can observe the typical Communist pyramidal power structure: a very small number of senior Communist Party officials hold key positions both regionally and nationally and may be assumed to wield ultimate control. From the regional point of view, however, the group may be taken as a whole, and certain specific characteristics of the administrative structure of Southwest China noted.

647 Eleven of the 19 men are ranking Communist Party members (Li Ta-chang is included in this group because of his past Party status, although his present rank in the Party is not known.)

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Ho Lung are members of the Central Committee, and clearly constitute the core of Party control in the region. Wang Wei-chou, Sung Jen-ch'iung, Chang Chi-ch'un, and Ch'en Keng are reserve members of the Central Committee. Liao Chih-kao, Hsieh Fu-chih, and Shen Yün-p'u are officials on provincial committees of the CPC.

Five of these men have been Party leaders since the 1920s: Teng, Liu, Ho, Wang, and Ch'en. All participated in Communist uprisings in 1927 and all but Wang are known to have made the "Long March." Two others, Sung and Li, have been active at least since the 1930s. We have data on the remaining four only since 1949.

Four of the five veteran leaders -- that is, the men who have been active since the 1920s -- are military men. Liu Po-ch'eng is a Moscow-trained former Red Army Chief of Staff and former commander of the Central China People's Liberation Army. Ho Lung, who began his career as a bandit leader, rose to the rank of

647 commander of the Shansi-Suiyuan People's Liberation Army before taking his present post of commander of the Southwest China Military District. Wang Wei-chou, a veteran of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (1927-36) was commander of the Communist garrison forces in East Kansu during World War II. Ch'en Keng began his military career in 1916 at the age of twelve as a private in the army of General Lu Te-p'ing and served in the Communist army from 1928 on, rising to the rank of commander of the 4th Army Corps of the 2nd Field Army of the People's Liberation Army.

It is noteworthy that five of the remaining Communist officials are closely connected with the military administration. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who holds the top Party position in the region, was for fifteen years political commissar attached to Communist military forces and is now political commissar of the 2nd Field Army as well as of the Southwest China Military District and, on the national level, a vice-chairman of the National Defense Council. Sung Jen-ch'iung, National Defense Council member and deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, is the right-hand man of General Liu Po-ch'eng. According to our data, he first became prominent in 1937 as the director of the Department of Political Affairs of the 29th Division of the 18th Group Army (the same

647 division which Liu commanded and to which Teng was attached from 1937 to 1946), and he is also a former commander of the Central Hopei Military District and deputy director of the Nanking Military Control Committee. Chang Chi-ch'un, Liao Chih-kao, and Hsieh Fu-chih are also associated with the military administration; they are political commissars of the 2nd Field Army, the Sikang, and the Yunnan provincial military districts, respectively.

All but two of these eleven key Communist Party leaders, then, have past careers -- as far as we know them -- and current positions that are essentially military. Li Ta-chang, the governor of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government, was director of the Department of Propaganda of the T'ai-hang Sub-bureau of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC during the Sino-Japanese war and held the same position on the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC from 1945 to 1949. He was subsequently director of the South Szechwan People's Government, member of the Southwest China M.P.C., vice-chairman of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government and member of the Southwest China Administrative Committee. Shen Yün-p'u also has a non-military background: according to our information he was a member of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Southwest China M.P.C. from 1949 to 1952 and

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647 vice-chairman of the Kweichow Provincial People's Government in 1954.

The preponderance of military officials is a reflection of the difficulties encountered in subduing and integrating Southwest China, and is a characteristic which we might expect to be increasingly modified, as it has been in other regions of China. It is a characteristic which is further accentuated, however, by the inclusion of four former Kuomintang military leaders in this group of senior officials.

Lung Yün is a veteran Kuomintang military leader who reached the post of president of the Military Advisory Council of the Nationalist Government before going over to the Communists in 1949. Chang Ch'ung, a former bandit leader who served in the Yunnan Army from 1917 on, defected to the Communists after he and the forces he commanded were dispatched to Manchuria by Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Communists. Teng Hsi-hou served for many years in the Szechwan provincial army and, by 1924, held the rank of three-star general. After leading forces against the Japanese in Shansi, Shantung, and northern Kiangsu, Teng was appointed director of the Szechwan-Sikang Pacification Headquarters, a position which he held until he went over to the Communists in 1949. Liu Wen-hui also served in the Szechwan Army until he became chairman of the Szechwan

647 Provincial Government in 1929; he was subsequently appointed deputy director of the Szechwan-Sikang Pacification Headquarters.

We note that four of the 15 men discussed so far -- Liao Chih-kao, Hsieh Fu-chih, Shen Yün-p'u, and Chang Ch'ung -- are members of the Committee on Nationalities of the 1st NPC. Of this group only Chang Ch'ung is known to be a member of a national minority: he comes from an Yi family in Lu-hsi, Yunnan Province. The other three are Chinese, as far as we know, and Party officials. We might question, therefore the real weight of minority-group membership on the Committee on Nationalities. Although the proportion of Chinese members to minority members may change as more leaders from the lesser national groups are trained, the fact that the three Chinese members are also officials in the Communist Party suggests that the representation of the minorities is little more than a formal gesture.

The remaining four men in this key group of 19 do not appear to fit any of the main categories suggested above; they are not Communist Party members, Kuomintang veterans, or members of the Committee on Nationalities. On the other hand, tjwo are military men and two are political commissars of military districts. Whether they rise or fall in the Communist hierarchy may well be determined by

•647 how thorough a transformation is made from a military to a civilian administration and, of course, by what kind of Party status they achieve. None is known to have status in the Party at present.

Yang Yung's military career is known since 1937, when he was a regimental commander in the 8th Route Army. He rose to the rank of commander of the Air Forces of the Southwest Military District (1952-54) before becoming deputy commander, and then commander, of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea. He retains the post of commander of the Kweichow Provincial Military District and member of the National Defense Council.

The career of Ho Ping-yen, commander of the 18th Army Corps and the Szechwan Provincial Military District, is known since 1949, when he was deputy commander of the Chinghai Provincial District. In addition we know that he is also a former member of the S zechwan Provincial People's Government and of the Southwest China M.P.C.

Yen Hung-yen is first noted as director of the department of political affairs of an army corps sometime prior to 1950, when he became director of the East Szechwan People's Government. He held other non-military positions in

647 Szechwan and is now a member of the National Defense Council as well as deputy political commissar and deputy governor in Szechwan.

Li Ching-ch'üan, first noted as director of the West Szechwan People's Government (1950-52), subsequently became chairman of the Szechwan Provincial People's Government (1952-54). He is still a member of the same government, and his other positions carry considerable authority: deputy political commissar of the Southwest China Military District, political commissar of the Szechwan Provincial Military District, chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and member of the 2nd National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

These four men may be among the candidates for top rank in the Communist administration. In any case, their present status warrants their inclusion in the group of key administrators at this time.

The general conclusion of this survey must emphasize the state of transition in Southwest China. Its relatively recent date of conquest and the nature and extent of the various resistance forces have resulted in the military structure of the administration. As more Party cadres are trained and more nationalities representatives prepared for leadership, we will

647 find changes in the administrative personnel emerging. Present conclusions based on the nature of the leadership of Southwest China may be invalid in a very short time, but the techniques and structure of control which they reveal appear to be constant features of the Chinese Communist administration.

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feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên* (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate,

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

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A new appointment is announced in the Provincial Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is also a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

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On a lucky day at a lucky hour the seals are handed over in the yamen inner court in the presence of the official underlings and public men. After this the yamen runners march round the outer court, jumping as they go, and then go in and *k'o t'ou* to the new official. This is to welcome him and to acknowledge his authority.

He sends cards to the important men and offices in the city, after which people call to pay their respects.

Then the roll of underlings is called, including the writers, yamen runners and country headmen. This is afterwards done monthly.

The grain in the government granaries has to be measured, *yüeh ts'ang* (閱倉), before the former official leaves; but sometimes an estimate is made and a sum of money paid over to cover deficiency.

The retiring magistrate must receive an acknowledgment that all has been duly handed over. Unless he produces this to his superior officer in the capital he will not get a new post.

The new man puts out a proclamation, *kuan fang* (關防), telling the public he has brought no relatives or friends with him and that they are not to be deceived by any professing to be such.

The former official is escorted out of the city, and the guilds and shopkeepers cover his sedan chair with red silk or cloth. If he has been popular a big umbrella, embellished with many people's names, may be given to him; tables are set out in the street with wine and sweets.

An examination is held for candidates for the attorneys' or copyists' places, *k'ao tai shu* (考代書). Successful candidates, about eight in each district, have to pay thirty taels before receiving their seals. They may have associates who pay part of the money and use the same seals. All lawsuits pass through these men's hands. An indictment is not received unless written on the official paper and stamped by the official attorney.

On certain fixed days, usually the 3rd and 8th of each moon, the large doors of the yamen are thrown open and the

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647 693 indictments by poor people are received without fees, *fang kao* (放告). Such are not received on other days unless on the 1st and 15th as the magistrate returns from worshipping at the temple.

A table hung in the yamen gives a list of cases and dates of trial.

There are three courts in a yamen. The outer, *ta t'ang* (大堂), is the imperial court ; the second, or *êrh t'ang*, is the district court and the inner, *hua t'ing* (花廳), is the magistrate's private court. Both when he takes his seat in the imperial court and when he adjourns the court, three guns are fired.

When a "coroners' inquest" is held a pavilion is put up for the magistrate and his retinue ; his nose is filled with assafœtida, *o wei* (阿魏), and underlings carry incense. If the body is fresh the *wu tso* (仵作) simply calls out to the recorder the wounds, etc., on the body. In an important case, the magistrate himself examines what is said to be the fatal wound, *chih ming shang* (致命傷). If the body is decayed it is boiled in big pots, the bones are rubbed clean with cotton wool and the wounds show up on them ! For such a case the *wu tso* has to call in experienced assistants. Some seventy or eighty different kinds of knives or instruments are brought into use; the bones of the body are counted and expected to number 360; the water-carriers are put on oath, since salt mixed with the water obliterates bruises on the bones.

If murder is suspected in a house and no traces can be seen, the room is shut up and thoroughly fumigated with mulberry leaves and the walls and floor are soaked with vinegar; then the blood will show up on the walls and even the position of the body may be clearly seen. This kind of inquest involves the expenditure of some thousands of taels and only the rich can indulge.

On returning from an inquest the magistrate in his chair goes through burning straw at his yamen entrance, to drive off noxious smells and evil spirits.

When there is a conflagration the magistrate must get up any hour of the night to assist. Underlings carry a

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huo kou (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water and dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing. 647 693

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'êng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy. 647 796

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農) (B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned in a roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*) 647 681

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647 651 The collection of the land tax, *ti ting* (地丁), or *chêng liang* (正糧), is often managed by a semi-official dealer in taxes. He advances the money when necessary, at a high interest.

The tax is said to be two fen or candareens per *mou*, but it will often be two mace. In times of great distress it is remitted, *yu mien* (蠲免), and also where land is silted up or washed away, *yung mien* (永免).

Besides the land tax there are the military expenses tax, *chün hsü* (軍需), and the willing contributions to government, *chüan shu* (捐輸). There is further a *pourboire*, or squeeze called *chin tieh* (津貼), and also *li chin* (厘金), or assessment on certain articles, etc.; thus the pig tax, which rose to 1,500 cash per pig; oil so much per *ts'ao* (槽) (120 catties); inns, so much per bed, etc.

Of late years a tax office, called *chin chüan* (津捐), has been opened in each county. A tax collector's position was reckoned much more lucrative than an ordinary district magistrate's.

Taxes in refined silver are sent to the capital under armed escort, all expenses being deducted.

Travelling expenses must be given to underlings of high officials passing through the district, and when a deputy official goes through he receives Tls. 50 besides travelling expenses.

Fuel and bedding must also be provided out of taxes to passing troops.

The train bands must present themselves, in uniform and with weapons, to answer the roll call.

Some headmen of "parishes" etc., must also appear. These are the *tsung pao* (總保), or head of a district; *t'uan shou* (團首), or head of 1,000 families; *chia chang* (甲長), head of 100 families; *p'ai shou* (牌首), head of 10 families; and *hua hu* (花戶), or head of each family. Only the first three need appear at review.

Each family is registered and is given a door-tablet with name and number in the family written on it; this costs about

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40 cash. The *tsung pao* is nominated by the people and appointed by the magistrate. The *t'uan shou* is elected by the "parish" and the *p'as shou* by those concerned. Each reports to his superior, the *tsung pao* often having free access to the yamen. The *tsung pao* settles many local troubles and in lawsuits his word goes a long way; but bribery and injustice are very common. 647 651

The title deeds of newly purchased property have to be stamped, *yin ch'i* (印契), at the yamen; and the rate has risen to 2 per cent with 1,000 cash for the *ch'i wei* (契尾), a document sent to be kept in the provincial treasurer's yamen. Formerly an official about to leave office used to reduce the stamp fees, because all the money from this source went into his private purse; but latterly the tax-office has controlled this business.

The office of *lao tien* (老典) is sold for a term of five years. The price varies, of, course, in different places but in some places 3,000 taels are paid down with an annual payment of 1,000 taels: this belongs to the magistrate. In many places the gentry pay the incumbent 300 taels per annum, whether they have lawsuits or not, but if a guarantee against lawsuits is required much more is paid. These bureaus are where litigation is hatched and fostered, mismanaged and traded on, and the purchase money is very quickly recovered. 647

Hereditary pensions are paid to families of men who have done important service to the state, *fa yin hsi* (發廩饍).

The hereditary barons among the tribesmen, *t'u ssü* (土司), receive taxes from their people and pay tribute to the court.

There are four spring officials, *ch'un kuan* (春官), one for each city gate, whose duties are to superintend the making of the spring ox and driver, *mang shên* (芒神). On the coming in of spring, these men don Ming dynasty clothes and a high hat called *t'ieh sha mao* (鐵紗帽). They enter the magistrate's office, give congratulations, and receive food and wine, with silver medals for the year, then they leave the city, 647 796

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647 796 the magistrate following. In a selected field an old farmer and his wife await them. The magistrate ploughs his seven furrows, the farmer sows some grain, the wife bears a basket of food for him, and the couple receive a silver medal.

The ist of *ch'un kuan* is bought for a fixed sum and may be held for life. It gets an annual payment from the magistrate. (See under *Four Seasons.*)

At the end of the year the official seals are sealed up and are brought into use again at the middle of the first moon. (See under *New Year.*)

647 The literary examinations, *k'ao k'o* (考課), have been much changed lately and much chaos has resulted; hence a few notes on the old system must suffice.

Chi (季)*k'o* examinations were held in the Academy at the four seasons, the subjects being penmanship and composition.

Monthly examinations, *yüeh* (月) *k'o*, were held to select students for the Academy. The Academy head master had great power and could degrade unworthy scholars after examinations, *shih k'o.*

The local gentry also held examinations in the country *hui* (會) *k'o.* Twice in three years an examination, *k'ao shih* (考試), was held to pick out the students fit to proceed to the prefectural examinations. The magistrate had to be shut in with the students in the examination hall, control the examination of the essays and publication of lists of passes.

No public business is done on the anniversaries of the deaths of former emperors, *shou chi ai* (守忌哀).

[796] On the anniversaries of the accession of former emperors, the magistrate wore court dress, worshipped the *wan sui p'ai*, but did not stop work. The birthdays of emperor, of empress, of empress-dowager and heir-apparent were similarly observed. At an emperor's death the magistrate had to sit in straw, *tso ts'ao* (坐草), for a certain period.

At the proper time a tablet is hung in the yamen announcing "No litigation in harvest time," *nung mang t'ing*

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sung (農忙停訟). Another informs the public that corporal punishment is lightened on account of hot weather, *k'u jê chien hsing* (酷熱減刑).

Notices are also hung up when the official is busy with examination or has gone out on public business.

When sitting in court the three characters, 清慎勤 "pure, careful, diligent," are hung over the magistrate's head; and over the entrance to the imperial court in the yamen is inscribed 天理國法民情, "Heaven's rectitude, the country's laws, the people's rights."

A common saying is, "The yamen opens like the character 八; if you've right but no money, don't enter." Yet the Chinese are keen litigants and go to court on very slight grounds.

A magistrate must give up office for three years on his father's or mother's death, *ting yu* (丁憂) and *t'ng chien* (丁艱). Not to notify such death is *ch'i chün* (欺君), to deceive the emperor; to try to re-enter the official service before the three years are ended is *man ch'in* (慢親), cheating kindred.

Followers of the Yamen

There is a clear distinction between those who belong to the yamen and those who follow the official.

The bureau of civil affairs, *li fang* (吏房), attends to salaries and scholars' appointments, and keeps a list of graduates in the district and of those eligible for higher examinations.

It notifies the Imperial court when a scholar has attended all examinations till he is sixty years old; a degree is then given him, and if he goes on till he is eighty, he will receive a yellow riding-jacket and a dragon-headed walking-stick.

The bureau of revenue and population, *hu fang* (戶房), gathers taxes, counts the families and registers headmen. It gets a commission on the sale of property.

The bureau of rites, *li fang* (禮房). All cases of broken contracts, divorces, seduction, kidnapping, etc., come to this office. It also keeps a list of scholars without degrees.

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• 647 The military bureau, *ping fang* (兵房), attends to enlistment, drilling and feeding of soldiers, the housing of troops on the march, the arming and conduct of militia and the quarrels and lawsuits of the soldiery.

The bureau of works, *kung fang* (工房), looks after the city wall and gates and all public buildings and attends to disputes about boundaries and graveyards.

The granary bureau, *ts'ang fang* (倉房), is responsible for the public granaries, the buying and selling of rice and its distribution in time of famine or siege.

The tea and salt bureau, *yen ch'a fang* (鹽茶房). The trade is a monopoly in each city and the bureau looks after the revenue from this source.

The punishments bureau, *hsing fang* (刑房), attends to litigation about deaths by violence; the *wu tso* (仵作), is officially attached to it.

The litigation registry bureau, *ch'êng fa fang* (承發房), records all the indictments, etc., and is responsible for indictments passing up into the magistrate's hands.

The interpretation bureau, *i ch'ing fang* (夷情房), only exists in frontier districts, where the aboriginal tribes make it necessary.

Yamen Runners.

In Ch'ung ch'ing chou districts there are some 3,000, with 300 *ling pan* (領班), or superiors: there they control the literati. In Kuan hsien the case is reversed, because that district has produced two or three Han-lin scholars, thus raising the status of the literati. Ch'ung ch'ing has only produced *chin shih* (進士). The result is that the yamen runners' oppression is intolerable in one place while it may be mitigated in another.

Warrants may be given to a *ling pan* to call up an accused person, *huan p'iao* (喚票), or to apprehend him, *chü p'iao* (拘票), or for an immediate arrest, *ch'u ch'ien* (出籤), or to summon a man in public service to answer a charge of corruption, *ch'ien ch'uan* (籤傳), or to assemble gentry and public men for consultation, *ch'uan tan* (傳單).

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A tax-gatherer, *liang pan* (糧班), or his sons, may enter the literary examinations, but not the other yamen underlings. 647

The *ku pan* (戶班), or local runner, knows every person in his district and is used in making arrests.

The *p'u pan* (捕班) are the chief jailor's runners, for catching robbers, and the *tsao pan* (皁班), or *hou pan* (吼班), are the "black band" with tall hats, who run shouting before the magistrate's chair, when he goes out on public business.

There are various other bands, messengers, door-keepers, etc., etc.

There is an apprenticeship to this work and often the apprentice suffers for his master's mistakes. If he is beaten, the *ling pan* gives him 400 cash; if he is condemned to the cage he gets 100 per day and 300 cash on release; if he suffers capital punishment, the *ling pan* supports his widow. Many become yamen runners to escape the result of crime, thus eluding the law a little longer. An official can put runners to death and thinks very lightly of doing it.

In some districts there are women thus employed.

Judicial Cases.

A black clothes case, *ch'ing i an* (青衣案), is one where execution is certain as soon as the evidence has been given; generally robbery with violence. 695

A red clothes case, *hung i an* (紅衣案), is a difficult case, perhaps of murder; if the accused is clever he may, after years of imprisonment, gain his liberty. If the knife used in a murder cannot be produced the accused cannot be condemned.

Disputes about estates or marriages are called *chêng an* (正案). Petty quarrels are often pursued in the courts till a family is ruined in seeking justice or revenge.

Cases of rebellion or where human relationships are violated; a wife killing a husband, son killing a father, etc., are seldom dealt with in an open, regular way; they are settled in private, the criminal being done to death by the family clan. 627

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627 If a thief is killed while entering a house the householder is guiltless; but should he be killed after escaping a hundred yards or so, the killer may suffer for it. Sometimes a thief is killed first and the hole to enter the house is made afterwards. Sometimes a corpse is carried on to another man's land to get him into trouble. One who lends a knife for a murder may be convicted of murder.

Presenting petitions or indictments.

647 There are official, appointed copyists who prepare and stamp nearly all documents going to the official.

694 The *hung ping* (紅稟), red petition, is a statement of public business, used in government circles only and costing only the price of the paper, since the government employees may write their own statements.

694 The *pai ping* (白稟), petition on white paper, is used by headmen or heads of bureaus in notifying business to the official.

The *hung pai ping*, red and white petition; if the official keeps the red and returns the white it means approval, the reverse means that trouble may be looked for.

A petition has to pass through the hands of eighteen persons before reaching the magistrate, and as many more afterwards before it reaches the archives.

There are men who live by stirring up strife and lawsuits; they are called *sung kun* (訟棍), pettifoggers, *ch'ien kou chiang* (牽狗匠), dogleaders, and other names.

The *yüan kao* (原告), plaintiff, formerly paid some 3,200 cash official fees and the *pei kao* (被告) an indefinite amount to the runners.

Eyewitnesses, *kan chêng* (干證), are named in the indictment, but only after getting their consent.

An indictment or petition must be written on special, lined paper, *ta kê shih* (大格式), holding some 120 characters; it costs from 100 to 300 cash according to the official. A smaller sheet may be used by the poor. The magistrate keeps a copy, *fu chuang* (付狀), for reference, if necessary, after he has left the district.

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695 693 a box of vermilion ink for signing official documents. These things are called the official's life (性命), *hsing ming*, life, or his 衣, 飯, 碗 *i, fan, wan*, clothes, rice, and bowl.

• 647 693 On going out his sedan chair is carried by four men, he wears official garments, beads and hat; criers go before and men with boards on which are written his literary degrees and former offices; assistants follow on horseback, and every one, whether riding or on foot, must get out of the way as he passes.

The district magistrate is really the strongest official in a province and has life and death in his hands. He is called the father and mother official, *fu-mu kuan*, and *chêng t'ang* (正堂).

His first class confidential secretary is called *hsing min shih yeh* (刑民師爺) by the official and *hei pi* (黑筆) *shih yeh* by the people. He is also called *mu p'in* (幕賓), or district steward.

The tutor in the magistrate's family ranks with him; at a feast only one of them can be present as he must have the chief seat; the other has a table sent to his own quarters.

The *shu chi* (書記), or *t'ieh hsieh* (帖寫), letter-writer and indictment-maker for the official, is usually a student for the secretariat.

There is an apprentice to the secretary, *mao kai tzŭ shih yeh* (毛蓋子師爺).

Between the official and people is a middleman called *ta yeh* (大爺) *mên kao* (門稿) and other names. He is said to be the magistrate's throat since all business passes through him. His assistant is the *kuan an san yeh*, manager of law-suit documents.

The clerk who puts the red ink finishing touches on official papers is called *ch'ien ya* (簽押). When the seals are used the magistrate or his wife sits by to prevent their unauthorized use.

The *shui ch'i* (稅吏) receives taxes on sales of property.

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The yamen food is in three grades; the official and secretaries have the first class, the *ta yeh* the second, the watchmen and other menials the third. 647 693

There are a few other employees in a yamen besides those above named.

languages, and that migration from other parts of 563
China to Sikang is encouraged, seems to indicate that more labor force is needed before the ula system can be abolished in practice.[18]

The Tibetans in Sikang are Lamaists, upon 563
whom Han Chinese culture has made little impression. 648
Instead, they look to Tibet for cultural leadership. Relations between the Chinese and the Tibetans in Sikang have not been cordial, and the attitude of the Tibetans in Sikang toward Pekings seem to be contingent upon Peking's relation with Tibet proper. So far, the Communist government in Peking has had more administrative control over Sikang than over Tibet; this could be the reason behind the recent Communist move to unite the western part of Sikang province with Tibet proper,[19] hoping that, through Sikang, Tibet might be brought closer to Peking administratively and, through Tibet's cultural influence, Sikang's Tibetans might be made to co-operate with the Chinese government more readily.

E. The Pu-yi of Kweichow

Although called by different names in various 563
parts of Kweichow, the Pu-yi are not divided into tribes like the Miao. Pu-yi dialects differ in individual localities, but not enough to become mutually unintelligible as is the case with the Miao dialects. The Pu-yi are a homogenous group, and there is little divergence between Pu-yi and Han Chinese cultures. The latter fact has made the Pu-yi more

18. People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 18, 1952; December 11, 1950.

19. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], April 1955, pp. 15-16.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

771 Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

[178] With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, 771 as they gained more and more rights and conces- 148 sions from a weakening China, demanded and

771 648 got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of 771 668 Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religioned Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive

1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

779 797 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of [648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, 668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com- 798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of 797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism 779 as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

565 184 of these benefits are limited and there have been only a small number of beneficiaries.

565 466 184 On the liability side of the Communist policy toward the worker are: the lack of substantial increase in the standard of living, a harsher work schedule and loss of leisure time, and growing disillusionment as it becomes obvious that the "proletariat" has not really become the master of the New China. The recent let-up in "labor emulation" drives and the sudden flurry of official warnings against overwork and overly rigid demands upon the time and temper of the laborer indicate that the laboring class is not necessarily most productive under pressure. In addition, the worker's attitude may also be greatly influenced by the rise of a new, Communist-fostered managerial class, which, for whatever reasons, receives more benefits than does manual labor.

565 648 Foreign advisers had been employed in many Chinese factories in pre-Communist days, and many workers may have become accustomed to recognizing the general excellence of Western technology. However, any government effort to impose foreign leadership in technical fields may injure the pride of the worker and provoke his resentment. There is no evidence to suggest that many Russian technicians or advisers are employed in factories in this region, or that those employed have caused resentment among the native workers.

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173 of the victors passing by the different roads of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang, broke through Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone gate Pass).[47]

In the same year the magistracy of the fu-city of Li-chiang was established, and as A-te 阿得 was the first to submit to the conquerors he was appointed magistrate and was given the surname Mu 木.[48] Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei), was demoted to a chou-city 州, and Yung-ning, Lang-ch'ü 浪穹, Lan chou and Shun chou 順州 were placed under the fu city of Ho-ch'ing (south of Li-chiang, 80 li distant).

In the 17th year (1384), Lan chou was again brought under the control of Li-chiang fu; thus the latter controlled, in all, four chou-cities, the aforesaid Lan chou, T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, and Pao-shan 寶山, also one magistracy or hsien city, namely Lin-hsi.

In the 31st year of Hung-wu (1398), Li-chiang fu's name was changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang).

Under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. — In the 16th year of Shun-chih 順治 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1659), the territory of Yün-nan was annexed to the Chinese Empire. The magistracies of the four chou-cities of T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin were abolished. Only one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi, remained under the fu-city of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), A-chih-li 阿知立, A-chung-chü 阿仲巨, Ho Jih-chia 和日嘉 and A-pao-t'a 阿寶他[49] of the Mo-so tribe of Li-chiang city, went to the provincial capital and applied for the appointment of Chinese officials. Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, Viceroy of Yün-nan, and Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, the Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Provincial Governor), proposed to the Emperor that a transferable fu-magistrate be established in Li-chiang, and that the hereditary office of native fu-magistrate be demoted to that of T'u T'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native Sub-prefect).

649 *Under the Republic.* — To-day magistrates are still appointed by the Commissioner of the Interior, now called Min-cheng-t'ing 民政廳; the office of native sub-prefect still exists, but the present incumbent has neither voice nor power. He controls a few peasants on the land which he still possesses, but his holdings are being gradually reduced. Only recently his former peasants in the region of Nga-tz(u) became subject to the magistrate of Li-chiang and the territory included in the sixth ch'ü (sub-district) of Li-chiang. This sixth ch'ü comprises the northern part of the Yangtze loop, Nga-tz(u) being in Tung-shan li 東山里.

[47] The Shih-men Kuan is a strategic pass on the Yangtze where the river narrows considerably, the trail following the river at the foot of vertical cliffs. It is only a short distance north of Shih-ku 石鼓 where the Yangtze makes a sharp bend, some 85 li to the west of Li-chiang. (*See* Geographical description, p. 285.)

[48] He was the seventh generation of the Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang. His full name was A-chia A-te 阿甲阿得, his official name being Mu Te 木得 (*see* the Historical Genealogies of the Na-khi Chiefs, pp. 99-101).

[49] Their Na-khi (Mo-so) names were: Aw-dahi-lär, Aw-ndo-so and Aw-bpo-t'a. The Chinese characters are the transcription of the Na-khi sounds. The name Ho Jih-chia is one of Chinese adoption, and not a Na-khi name, save for the family name Ho, which every Na-khi peasant bore. The name A 阿 belonged to the ruling family.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wu-tei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey, in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Sh 669

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

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In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma. The northward-looking view is from approximately above Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area constitutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yun-nan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo. It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

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The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconvenience. However, the demand that spare-time be devoted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmer spends his money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advise on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The process is not only time-consuming, but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and to attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected. Almost no time is left for taking care of private affairs.

2. High Taxation and Public Obligation.

651 The high taxes and business restrictions

imposed by the Communist regime are likewise
•651 unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, initiated at the end of 1953, taxes and regulates the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products -- mainly rice and cotton -- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations. The transformation of private businesses into elements of state-owned enterprises is a major cause of discontent among the business class.

Public obligations imposed upon the people are a further cause of public discontent. The average peasant is required to perform duties for the state periodically and on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. Young persons in the villages
651/ are required to participate in military training
701/ and to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. All railways are

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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constantly patrolled, and each village near the
65/ right-of-way must maintain a specially
70/ organized force for this purpose and participate in the guard duty for a 72-hour period every month.[40] In addition, the village maintains a militia in which all the young residents must serve. Besides training or participating in the unit's cultural and indoctrination activities, the militia patrols key areas in the village, guards government grain, helps in loading it for shipment, and assists in keeping the village free of bandits. Misuse of the militia by the Southwest China Military Command in 1953 was criticized as having wasted 24,700 man-hours per day.[41]

Similar public and military services are required of city dwellers. They must engage in military training, participate in the local military unit's cultural and organizational activities, and serve on patrols in their own or neighboring areas whenever needed.

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208 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations

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40. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 4.

41. Report of the Second Southwest China Militia Conference, Ibid., May 20, 1953, p.1.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

[redacted]

In the discussion that follows, we shall examine at length some phases of Communist China's fiscal policy during the first five years of occupation of Mainland China. They include the agricultural tax, the taxation on commerce and industry, and government bonds. As will be seen, the revenues discussed are all recurrent in nature. No attempt is made to study such non-recurrent levies as those imposed during the Five-Anti Campaign. Because of the nature of these impositions, it is not likely that these measures can be successfully repeated in the near future. 652

II. URBAN TAXATION

In Communist China, the core of urban taxation has consisted of the business tax, the tax on business income, and the commodity taxes. 651

None of the trio is new in China. Under the Nationalist Government, the business tax was collected as a local tax, the tax on business income was a part of the income tax system, and the commodity tax constituted one of the main revenues of the Nationalist Government.

Under the Communist government, all these taxes were drastically reorganized, apparently under the influence of the Russian tax system. From 1949 to date, the system of urban taxation has already undergone several important changes. Its history which may be divided into two stages, covers the period from January 1950 to December 1952.

During the first period, the industrial and commercial tax constituted the greater part of urban taxation.

651 The tax was a composite levy consisting of an impost based on gross turnover and another on net taxable income. The "business tax" was collected on the basis of a proportional rate schedule. While the tax rates remained constant regardless of how the amount of the tax base changed, they varied according to the nature of the business or industry. The rates on manufacturing industries, for instance, were in general higher than those on undertakings which consisted only of sales of services (such as public utilities, professional services, hotel services, insurance, banking, etc.). For undertakings deriving their income in the form of commission (such as trade agents, etc.), the rates of business tax were much higher than for any of the other types of businesses mentioned heretofore.

In addition, the tax rates varied according to the nature of the commodity produced or handled by the taxpayers. Those who deal in such commodities as are essential to the national economy are liable to a lighter tax than those who are associated with the production of cigarettes, for instance. The business tax rate on the production such non-essential commodities, for example, was much higher than the rate applicable to the iron and steel industry.

The characteristics of the income tax system, which was used early in the Communist regime and is still in effect, may be summarized as follows.

1. Like the system in Soviet Russia, the income tax system in Communist China consists of a series of

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income taxes applicable to different types of income. Besides the agricultural tax, which may be considered as an income tax on agricultural income, there are income taxes on business profit derived from the earnings of business enterprises and on interest derived from bank deposits. Wages and salaries, however, are not subject to tax. Because of the disappearance of landlords, under the Communist system, the tax on rent income is non-existent in the tax system of Communist China's regime.

2. Like the Soviet system, there is more differentiation in the Chinese income tax than in the system commonly used in the West. There is, for instance, the differentiation in favor of military or industrial heroes, and of earnings from industries against earning from commercial undertakings (particularly those derived from services, such as commissions., etc.).

3. The progressive rates used in the Chinese income tax are applied on the entire taxable income rather than progressively by income brackets.

4. Inventory valuation for income-tax purposes is computed on the basis of the historical cost. This apparently means an unduly heavy tax burden on taxpayers at the time of rising prices.

5. Depreciation charges are computed on the basis of either the straight-line method or the method of constant percentage. In either case, the income tax will mean, under the condition of rising prices, a tax to be paid out of capital as well as current income rather than a genuine tax on income.

After December 31, 1952, the "tax on commodity

●651 circulation," or the turnover tax, was introduced. This new tax is a composite levy consisting of parts of former commodity and business taxes. In many represpects, it is also reminiscent of the turnover tax in the USSR. The introduction of the turnover tax brought changes in the system of urban taxation in Communist China. In the place of former commodity and business taxes, the turnover tax is applicable to the following 22 commodities: rolled tobacco, tobacco leaf, wine, wheat flour, furs and hides, cotton yarn, matches, phonograph records, acid, salt, chemical fertilizers, paper, newsprint, rubber tires, cork, cement, glass plates, metal and metal products, pig iron, coke and its products, and mineral oils and their products. After paying the turnover tax, producers and dealers in these commodities will be subject to no other commodity or business taxes so long as they circulate within the national boundaries of China. The exemption, however, does not apply to the custom duties if they are to be exported or to the income taxes to which such producers or dealers are liable. Nor would the payment of a commodity tax on raw materials exempt a product manufactured of such material from commodity tax, if the product itself were a taxable commodity.

Instead of the payment of tax as a product leaves its factory or additional taxation as each business transaction occurred, as was the case of the old commodity tax, the collection procedure of the turnover tax varies according to the nature of the commodity subject to tax. In the case where the sales are to be handled by a government agent, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity is sold or transferred from its producers to such a sales agent. In the case where the sales are done

by the manufacturer's own agent, the tax is payable 651
at the first sale of the commodity at the wholesale level, or its transfer from producer to the sa les agent. In the case where the sale of product is handled by neither a government agent nor that of its producer, but by the producer himself, the tax is payable at the time when the product leaves the hand of its producer. In the case where the taxable product is not for sale, but for further processing or use in some other departments of the producing factory, the turnover tax is payable when the commodity leaves the producing department. In the case of forestry products, the tax is paid by the purchasers at the time when the products are being shipped from their point of origin. In the case of an imported commodity, the turnover tax is collectible by the customs to ether with customs duties at the point of importation. In the case of an export commodity, the tax is collectible at the time of export.

Which of the above-mentioned procedures of collection is applicable to a given commodity is to be decided by the government and not by the taxpayer himself.

Since the turnover tax is to displace both the commodity and business taxes, its rates are higher than those of either of these old taxes. The turnover tax rate on wheat flour has been raised to 10 per cent as against a rate of 3 per cent according to the old commodity tax. The new rate applicable to cotton yarn is 22 per cent as compared to 12 per cent charged in the old commodity tax. With the exception of the turnover tax on beer, which is a

651 specific levy, the leavy on all other commodities is collectible on an ad valorem basis.

Many changes other than those mentioned above were made in the business taxation following the institution of the turnover tax. Among such changes, the following changes are probably the most important.

Under the new regulations, all the commodities produced within the country and not subject to commodities or turnover tax as previously explained are liable to three business taxes -- one at the level of production, one at the wholesale level, and another at the retail level. All those subject to commodity or turnover tax are liable to two business taxes at the wholesale and retail levels. These regulations will be applied regardless of whether a commodity transaction is an inter-firm sale or an intra-firm transfer. As a result of these modifications, all the advantages of vertical combination, which were ample under the old system, are eliminated.

Before the tax reform in 1952, all the business taxes at manufacturing, wholesale, and retail levels were payable after the completion of the business transaction. After 1952, the business tax became applicable only to the transactions of those commodities to which the new turnover tax does not apply. But, instead of collecting the tax after the completion of transactions, producers of such commodities are required, in addition to their own tax liabilities, to advance the tax payable by wholesale dealers to whom the products are sold.

Such advances are later to be repaid by the wholesale dealers to the producers. Thus, under the new law the business tax on wholesale dealers becomes collectible before rather than after the relevant business transactions are effected.[1] 651

In the case of the commodities subject to turnover taxation, all the business taxes on retailers, under a similar arrangement, are to be advanced by wholesale dealers. The turnover tax and the changes in business tax therefore not only result in speeding up the collection of business tax, but also, through the concentration of tax collection at production and wholesale levels, reduce substantially the cost of tax administration.

The stamp tax and all surtaxes attached to the business tax under the old system merged under the new regulation with the business tax. Under the new system, the rates of business tax fall into three categories. They are, those applicable to industries, those for commercial undertakings, and those applicable to incomes derived from sales of personal services. For the cases where the old rates fell within the range of 1 to 3 per cent, a new rate of 5 per cent is used. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 4 to 6 per cent, an additional 1 per cent is added in the new rate schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 8 to 10 per cent, an additional 2 per cent is added to form the new schedule. For the cases where the old rates ranged from 12 to 15 per cent, a flat rate of 15 per cent is used.

1. Cheng Chu-yüan Chung-kung Ts'ai-ching Cheng-ts'e Hsin Tung-hsiang [The New Tendencies of Chinese Communists' Financial and Economic Policies], Hong Kong, 1953, pp. 73-77.

651 Besides the institution of the turnover tax and the changes in business tax mentioned above, there are also important modifications in the system of commodity tax. Among these are the following adjustments.

Twenty-two of the commodities formerly subject to commodity tax are under the new regulations subject to the turnover tax.

Fifteen new items are included in the modified system of commodity tax; among these new commodities, the most important item is foodstuffs. In the place of the old transaction tax, under the new system the foodstuffs are subject to a commodity tax. This adjustment contributed substantially to widening the basis of the commodity tax,

Several silk textile products which were formerly subject to commodity tax are now exempt from the tax. In addition, several other minor adjustments in commodity classifications have also been made with a vew to simplifying tax administration.

In the place of market price, commodity taxes under the new system are assessed on the basis of the relevant wholesale prices as quoted by government sales agent. For the commodities for which government quotations are not available, the market price is used as the basis of the tax assessment. Under the old system, the commodity tax was assessed by the means of the following formulas:

$$\frac{\text{Market price}}{1 - \text{Tax rate}} = \text{Price subject to tax}$$

The price subject to tax X Tax rate = Amount of tax.

The purpose of using these formulas was to avoid the inclusion of the tax in the price upon which the commodity tax rate is to be applied. Under the new system, the commodity tax rate is applicable directly to the price quoted by government enterprise, and the price includes the cost of tax. The commodity tax assessed on this basis is apparently higher than that which was derived from the old formula. 651

Other important changes in the system of urban taxation effected the end of 1952 are as follows:

1. A part of stamp duties were transferred to be collected as turnover tax, commodity tax, or the tax on butchery.

2. The business taxes and stamp tax payable by butchers merged under the new system with the butchery tax.

3. The transaction tax on foodstuffs are being collected in a new system of commodity tax. The transactions tax on cotton was combined under the new system with the turnover tax on textile products.

4. All the levies on real estate merged into one tax on real estate. It is clear that one of the objectives for tax reform in 1952 was to transfer, wherever it was feasible, all the old taxes on gross business receipts, the commodity taxes, the transaction taxes, stamp duties, and so forth, into the newly instituted system of turnover tax. In the cases where such transfers are not practical, these levies are collected as much as possible under the system of commodity taxes. Only in the case where neither transfer is feasible do the old taxes on business or turnover continue to exist. Whenever conditions

651 permit, the regular tax and surtaxes imposed by local authorities are consolidated into one single tax. In the case of turnover tax, collections are made, as far as it is administratively feasible, at the wholesale level or at the time when the taxable commodity leaves the hands of its producer. The main purpose for effecting successful reforms is to reduce the cost of tax collection and to improve the efficiency of its administration.

There is little change in the system of income tax.

III. AGRICULTURAL TAXATION

In Southwest China, the system of agricultural tax is rather simple in comparison with that used in East China. Since no part of Southwest China has been considered a so-called "old liberated" area, only the agricultural tax designed for "newly liberated" areas with and without land reform.

In the areas where the land reform campaign has already been completed, the features of the tax system may be summarized in the following manner.

1. All the agriculture taxes have been collected in kind.

2. The tax has been assessed on the basis of so-called normal production, regardless of what the actual production is. This system not only greatly simplifies the tax administration, but also

651 stabilizes the government revenue from agricultural tax regardless of actuall production. It relieves the government from the possible adverse effects upon its revenue of year-to-year fluctuations in agricultural production, and leaves that burden to farmers.

3. The progressive tax rates are applicable in cases where the production, reckoned in terms of the land's main crop, exceeds an average of 150 kilograms per capita. The amount per capita production is determined by dividing the total production of the entire household by the number of recognized farm hands in the household. The rates applicable to forty separate income brackets range from 3 per cent on an annual production of from 150 to 190 kilograms per head to 42 per cent on the annual production exceeding 3,410 kilograms per capita.

Besides the variation based on production, the tax rates vary also on the basis of the following factors: (1) the production of a landowner who tills his own land, with or without employing assistance, will be counted toward taxable income at par; (2) the production of a farmer who does not own his land is taxed on the basis of 80 per cent of his actual production. On the other hand, a landowner who does not till his own land but derives an income from leasing it to others has to pay a tax on the basis of 120 per cent of the actual production; and veterans, Party workers, and all those "making special contribution to the country" may be counted as farm hands in reckoning per capita production, even though they do not actually work on farms.

The general features of the system of agricul-

65/ tax applicable to the newly liberated areas without land reform are very similar to those used in the areas with land reform. There are, however, important differences between the rate structures used in the two types of agriculture tax. First, the rates for the area with land reform ranged from 7 to 30 per cent as against 3 to 42 per cent in the case of the other system. Secondly, the proportional rate of 30 per cent becomes effective when the per capita production, reckoned in terms of the main crop produced on the land subject to tax, exceeds 1,950 kilograms a year. In the system for the areas without land reform, the proportional rate of 42 per cent is used for production exceeding 3,410 kilograms. In both cases, an initial exemption of 150 kilograms is used. In other words the income range within which the progressive rates are operative is much shorter in the area with land reform than those without land reform. Thirdly, the agricultural tax rates for the areas with land reform would be higher than the corresponding rates for the areas without land reform if the per capita production were lower than 1,000 kilograms. The reverse is true of the cases where the per capita production exceeds 1,000 kilograms.

It is clear from previous comparisons that, after the completion of the land reform campaign, both the range and the degree of progression of the agricultural tax have been reduced as compared with the rate schedule applicable to the areas without land reform. One possible argument for adopting this policy is that, by reducing the rate of increase of the tax, agricultural production may be encouraged. Another possible explanation is that, after the completion of land reform, the

inequality in the distribution of farm income tends to disappear. For this reason, it becomes feasible to reduce the rate of increase so that tax administration may be simplified. 651

Whatever the reason may be, the fact is that, as a result of land reform, low-income farmers tend to pay a higher tax and high-income farmers a lower tax.

Similar to the experience in other regions, in the Southwest Region the most common difficulties that have been encountered in implementing the agricultural tax include the following:

1. The lack of reliable production statistics and other relevant production data concerning agricultural production makes it necessary to have recourse at times to such arbitrary measures as "democratic assessment," which means simply an assessment on the basis of the opinion of a specially appointed committee consisting of persons supposed to be familiar with the financial condition of the taxpayer. More often than not, such assessment has little or no bearing upon the ability of the taxpayer to pay the tax.

2. Difficulties arising from the lack of reliable statistical data, of course, will gradually decrease as more information concerning rural economy is assembled and the various "norms" of taxation are established.

3. Another important difficulty encountered in implementing the agricultural tax arises from the system of collection-in-kind. Reports from China seem to indicate that this system of tax collection has caused a great hardship among the taxpayers,

651 for under the system they have to bear not only the tax but also the cost involved in transporting the tax-in-kind to designated points where the commodities are assembled by the government.

4. The agricultural tax is assessed on the basis of the gross income, taking little or not account of the cost involved in production. The system, if strictly enforced, will necessarily result in discouraging such improvements as the use of chemical fertilizers, the use of irrigation system, etc. Chemical fertilizers have been more commonly used in many parts of Central-South China than in other parts of the country. Failure to allow for such costs of production in the tax system will necessarily mean a discouragement to those who are making such improvements in their production.

5. In assessing the agricultural tax both for the regions with land reform and for the areas without land reform, the tax rates progress on the basis of the total income rather than by bracket. This could mean in some cases a payment of more tax by a taxpayer with less income than by one with more income.

IV. GOVERNMENT BONDS

652 This quota is equivalent to less than one-sixth of the subscriptions of East China, or less than one-half of the subscriptions of North China. In 1950, Victory Bonds valued at 100 million fen (one fen or unit was worth approximately US$.75) were issued; 7 per cent were allocated for subscription in Southwest China.

465 claims:
511

Income (Wages and bonuses)	Yuan
	600,000

Expenditure	Yuan
Rice	90,000
Fuel (coal and wood)	68,000
Edible oil	10,800
Fat	8,000
Salt	510
Supplementary food	80,000
Rent	25,890
Total	283,200

465 The expenditures in the above budget are
511 all for food and rent, which consumes about 47
651 per cent of the average worker's earnings. Besides clothing and other miscellaneous expenses, the remaining 53 per cent of his gross income is subject to various deductions in the form of union fees, "voluntary" contributions, and purchases of government bonds. When the Communist government issued the 1950 Victory Bond series, the Southwest Region was allocated 700,000 points; people [27] were urged to buy as many points as they could afford. The purchase of even one point was a big deduction from the workers' small income. After the Chinese Communists entered

27. One Victory Bond point was equal to the total value of six catties of rice, one catty of flour, four ch'ih of cotton cloth, sixteen catties of coal. One unit was quoted at 14,005 yuan (old currency) at the beginning of 1950.

the Korean war, the Chinese workers were urged to make "voluntary" contributions to finance the war. Within three months of 1951, workers in the city of Chungking contributed 13,200,000,000 yuan (old currency).[28] 465 571 651

The Communists have reported an increase in bank savings throughout the whole country. By early May 1954, total savings deposits in cities nationwide were stated to be ten times larger in May 1954 than at the end of 1950. By the end of 1953, savings deposits in the Southwest Region had increased by 7.5 times as compared with 1950. But the increased savings do not necessarily indicate surplus spending power in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1952, the Chinese Communists forced each worker to put 25 to 30 per cent of his income in the People's Bank as compulsory savings to prevent possible inflation and to accumulate capital for national construction.[29] After deducting the "voluntary" contributions and compulsory savings, there is not like to be money for the workers to spend for other than daily living needs. 511 466

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law promulgated by the Communist government in March 1951, 5,380,000 workers throughout China received insurance coverage for death, old age, illness and disability. In the Southwest China Region, there were 163,824 workers, other than railway 745

28. New China Daily, Oct. 25, 1951, p. 2.
29. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, Jan. 4, 1954, p. 41.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 慕頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[651] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in
A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[792] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[799] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few
merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged
[438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich
[135] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu
[346] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of
[197] the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magis-
trate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo)[10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] ཀླ་ཆུ [10] smad-rtse-mo

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101

Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

S ST 651

"The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101

"There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173

Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner). — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7] 131

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official." 651

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 餞多. 131

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (*Senior native deputy official.*) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9] 173

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌鋪鋪 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

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173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿繪健, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文翥, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子堡 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿迫古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

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●651 hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[12] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 祿馬六槽."[13]

131 The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

173 *Imperial audiences and tribute.*—"In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 茯苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ⅓ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch).—"Lang Chün-wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

[12] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[13] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州堡 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

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The collection of the land tax, *ti ting* (地丁), or *chêng liang* (正糧), is often managed by a semi-official dealer in taxes. He advances the money when necessary, at a high interest.

The tax is said to be two fen or candareens per *mou*, but it will often be two mace. In times of great distress it is remitted, *yu mien* (憂免), and also where land is silted up or washed away, *yung mien* (永免).

Besides the land tax there are the military expenses tax, *chün hsü* (軍需), and the willing contributions to government, *chüan shu* (捐輸). There is further a *pourboire*, or squeeze called *chin tieh* (津貼), and also *li chin* (厘金), or assessment on certain articles, etc.; thus the pig tax, which rose to 1,500 cash per pig; oil so much per *ts'ao* (槽) (120 catties); inns, so much per bed, etc.

Of late years a tax office, called *chin chüan* (津捐), has been opened in each county. A tax collector's position was reckoned much more lucrative than an ordinary district magistrate's.

Taxes in refined silver are sent to the capital under armed escort, all expenses being deducted.

Travelling expenses must be given to underlings of high officials passing through the district, and when a deputy official goes through he receives Tls. 50 besides travelling expenses.

Fuel and bedding must also be provided out of taxes to passing troops.

The train bands must present themselves, in uniform and with weapons, to answer the roll call.

Some headmen of "parishes" etc., must also appear. These are the *tsung pao* (總保), or head of a district; *t'uan shou* (團首), or head of 1,000 families; *chia chang* (甲長), head of 100 families; *p'ai shou* (牌首), head of 10 families; and *hua hu* (花戶), or head of each family. Only the first three need appear at review.

Each family is registered and is given a door-tablet with name and number in the family written on it; this costs about

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

40 cash. The *tsung pao* is nominated by the people and appointed by the magistrate. The *t'uan shou* is elected by the "parish" and the *p'ai shou* by those concerned. Each reports to his superior, the *tsung pao* often having free access to the yamen. The *tsung pao* settles many local troubles and in lawsuits his word goes a long way; but bribery and injustice are very common. 647 651

The title deeds of newly purchased property have to be stamped, *yin ch'i* (印契), at the yamen; and the rate has risen to 2 per cent with 1,000 cash for the *ch'i wei* (契尾), a document sent to be kept in the provincial treasurer's yamen. Formerly an official about to leave office used to reduce the stamp fees, because all the money from this source went into his private purse; but latterly the tax-office has controlled this business.

The office of *lao tien* (老典) is sold for a term of five years. The price varies, of, course, in different places but in some places 3,000 taels are paid down with an annual payment of 1,000 taels: this belongs to the magistrate. In many places the gentry pay the incumbent 300 taels per annum, whether they have lawsuits or not, but if a guarantee against lawsuits is required much more is paid. These bureaus are where litigation is hatched and fostered, mismanaged and traded on, and the purchase money is very quickly recovered. 647

Hereditary pensions are paid to families of men who have done important service to the state, *fa yin hsi* (發蔭襲).

The hereditary barons among the tribesmen, *t'u ssŭ* (土司), receive taxes from their people and pay tribute to the court.

There are four spring officials, *ch'un kuan* (春官), one for each city gate, whose duties are to superintend the making of the spring ox and driver, *mang shên* (芒神). On the coming in of spring, these men don Ming dynasty clothes and a high hat called *t'ieh sha mao* (鐵紗帽). They enter the magistrate's office, give congratulations, and receive food and wine, with silver medals for the year, then they leave the city, 647 796

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

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872 each pupil bellowed. "If he doesn't bellow, he isn't learning, but chattering or making mischief."

The mandarin pays for the upkeep of this school. The children live and eat in the castle and bring only their sleeping blankets and in winter a coal brazier from home. "The lessons are conducted according to the new Western style," the teacher told me. Every hour there was a short pause and every day there was physical exercise. If the teacher wanted to begin or interrupt the lessons he drummed on a hollow tree trunk, just like a South Sea Islander.

241 166 The mandarin was also obliged to distribute seeds to the Chinese immigrants; and because the last few years there had been poor harvests he had to order tsamba from Dawo and Romi Tschanggu and rice from the city of Ya tschou. (1) Otherwise all the colonists would have

1. The price for barley in Tschanggu was exactly 15 times as much as in Hsining fu.

long since gone home to China. The colonization here, unlike that of Mongolia, is sponsored by the government. A few years ago 100 families were established here; they had land as well as free seeds, schools for their children and complete freedom from taxes for the first years. And yet conditions were so unfavorable that more than half of them had already gone back and there were only 40 Chinese families left.

• 657 From the Tibetan families the mandarin gets free escort (ula) and compulsory military service, besides 2.5 Candareen (tael cents) a year. Thus, his income is slight and during each meal Wu da lao ye complained when it came to the rice and rice wine that in this post he had to supply a great deal (presumably 2,000 taels annually).

353 The hall in which my first reception had taken place was also the dining hall where the mandarin, his first secretary, the teacher and /Plates XLV, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII appear between pp. 192 and 193 in the original text./ /193/ I were served. (1) Already in

[262] 1. Wu tschin hsü Da lao ye had even had Chinese pigs brought from the lowlands for slaughtering because he thought the Tibetan species which is raised throughout Hor in large quantities, was too fleshy and tasted bad. The Hor Tibetans eat their pork sometimes raw and sometimes cooked.

C 361 631

gung who has under him five colonies (tun, pronounced tenn in Kin tschuan), namely: Mu gung tun, Fu pien tun, Hsü tsching tun, Tsung hoa tun, Romi Tschanggu tun. Besides that, a hsie (regiment) was established in 1783 with its seat in the Ying pan gai, which belongs to the chief command of Sung pan ting.

Senggersung, Mu gung, along with Hsin Mo po, Fu pien, Lien ho kou and others, beside which dwell the natives on the mountain slopes and in the lateral valleys, also under the rule of hereditary aristocratic families (darro). In part the darro live in the ancient castles. However, most of the fortifications in Tsanla and Rardan have become ruins. The darro must annually travel to the ting at Mu gung and the more important ones among them support the tschungro as their official representatives in the yamen of the ting. Like the tu se (rgyalbo) they set great store by their class honor and marry only among themselves. The office of darro is kept within the family for many hundreds of years. If a darro family dies out, the second son of another darro is adopted. Besides this aristocracy of chieftains, of darro and officers (tschungro), there are free warrior-farmers (tschralba or kralba; kral in Tibetan meaning service), taxable farmers (tokdamba), and finally descendants of unfree people or slaves (gonag in Tibetan and Kin tschuanese, i. e., /228/ "people with black heads"), as well as bondsmen or slaves (kurme). (1)

T C 565

1. Kur literally "burden" (Tibetan); me = Mensch /Tibetan/; every Tibetan finds the carrying of burdens highly unpleasant. Ch. Das' Dict. gives kolbo for "slave."

Besides these there are priests (rgofsches in Kin tschuanese) and finally artisans, both of whom are made up of second sons of tschralba or tokdamba farmers and partly also of immigrants from other tribes.

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Since the conquest half the land in Great and Little Kin tschuan is under Chinese administration and half under Tibetan. For the Chinese part of the actual land, the owners must pay land tax to the tai ye or to the Mu gung ting, regardless of whether they are Chinese or Tibetan, just as would be the case in any other place in China. The owners have no other burdens or compulsory service. This relationship between farmers and the state therefore already gives a very modern and democratic impression!

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3c,
Economic Background

BUDGET AND TAXATION

I. THE NATIONAL FISCAL SYSTEM

652 Since Communist China is a unitary state, its fiscal policy is national in scope and has relatively few regional variations. Accordingly, unless otherwise indicated, what is said here of one region is often equally true in the other regions.

From the data shown in the tabulation below, certain facts are obvious.

1. During 1950-54, the revenue derived from the profit of government enterprises rose steadily from 12.76 per cent of the total government receipt in 1950 to 36.47 per cent in 1954. Moreover, profit is not the only contribution that government enterprises made to the government treasury. In the course of these years, they also contributed an increasingly large share of taxes which the People's Republic of China (the Communist government) imposed upon industries and trade. This tendency is clearly shown in the following statistics.

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SOURCES OF GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS */

Year	Government-owned Enterprises	Government-participating Enterprises	Co-operatives		Farmers	Private Industries and Trade
			(combined)			
1950	-	-	34.08	-	29.63	32.93
1951	-	-	49.35	-	18.17	28.66
1952	-	-	56.33	-	1 7.08	22.36
1953	-	-	59.79	-	14.56	17.02
1954	65.24	3.65	-	1.66	14.23	13.34
1955	69.47	3.65	-	1.98	11.76	10.70

*/ [In percentage of the total annual receipt of the current year.] Economic Weekly, Feb. 26, 1953, p. 17; People's Daily, June 18, 1954; July 10, 1955. The figures for 1955 are budgetary estimates.

652 Unlike the usual concept used in Western countries, the profits of government-owned concerns and enterprises in which the government participates as listed in fiscal reports of the Communist government include allowances for depreciation of assets, which according to Western practice should not be included in net profit. At the same time, all the outlays of government enterprises for improvement and replacement are listed as government expenditures for economic construction. The procedure used by the Chinese Communists means, therefore, a substantial increase in both government receipts from its enterprises and outlays for economic construction.

2. During the five-year period ending 1954, the relative importance of the agricultural tax has been substantially reduced. In 1950, it accounted for 28.01 per cent of the total government expenditure. In 1954, the percentage declined to 13.33 per cent. The decrease was due to the rapid expansion of receipts from other sources (particularly profits from government enterprises and urban taxes) rather than to the reduction in the agricultural tax itself. This development therefore should be interpreted to mean that the tax on rural economy has not been reduced; it reflects merely that the increase of the agricultural tax has not been as rapid as the increase of other government receipts.

3. Similarly, the fact that the ratio of the taxes on industry and trade to the total government expenditure remained almost constant during these years should not be interpreted to mean a constant tax burden imposed on these sectors of the Chinese economy. In absolute terms, their contributions have continually increased in order to meet the ever-expanding expenditure of the government.

As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of the government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises which, according to the Communist policy, will ultimately monopolize all the important trade and industries in the country. 652

On the expenditure side, military outlay constituted 41.5 per cent of total government expenditure in 1950 and 1951, respectively. After 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21.1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account. 652 659

In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not indude salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure of the Communist government would have been tabulated here for the years 1950-52.

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Year	Ratio of Military Expenditure to Total Gov't Expenditure
1950	51.11
1951	49.83
1952	32.15
1953	29.45 (budget estimate)
1954	30.06
1955	32.98 (budget estimate)

In the fiscal report for 1953 the military and government administration expenditures were listed as a single item. It is rather difficult to separate the military from the non-military outlays on the basis mentioned above. For this reason, the budgetary estimates, where these outlays were separately listed, were used in this tabulation.

A second point which should be noted concerning the military expenditure of the Communist government is that a part of its expenditure for economic construction might well be considered military rather than economic. In the budget of the Nationalist Government, for example, outlays for development of aircraft-manufacturing industries, ammunition industries, and so forth were usually classified as military expenses, whereas they would probably be considered as economic outlay in the Communists' report.

A third point to be noted is that, if the depreciation charges and outlays for maintenance and replacement in government enterprises were excluded from government receipt and expenditure, as should normally be the case, the relative importance of military expenditure for the years under consideration would have been much greater than those shown in the fiscal reports.

Even allowing for these adjustments, the fact that government outlays for economic, social, and educational purposes has been substantially increased under the Communist regime is obvious when compared with the conditions under the Nationalist Government. Whether these expenditures have actually contributed to improving the economic and social welfare of the people is, of course, another question entirely. 652

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF/G

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EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA */

(Per cent)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Expenditures					
Military	41.50	42.52	26.23	--	24.19
Government administration	19.21	14.71	11.83	44.62	11.74
Other	2.64	2.01	3.49		
Economic construction	25.51	29.50	44.79	40.38	52.07
Cultural construction	11.11	11.26	13.66	15.00	12.00
Receipts					
Agricultural tax	28.01	18.24	15.69	14.90	13.33
Taxes: industry & commerce	43.84	49.16	42.28	43.43	36.46
Receipts from gov't enterprises	12.76	25.64	28.55	35.40	40.49
Income: credit and insurance	4.87	4.79	1.53	3.00	1.26
Other	--	--	--	14.41	--

*/ Compiled on basis of actual government outlays and receipts as given in fiscal reports of People's Republic of China.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16
[redacted]

In the discussion that follows, we shall examine at length some phases of Communist China's fiscal policy during the first five years of occupation of Mainland China. They include the agricultural tax, the taxation on commerce and industry, and government bonds. As will be seen, the revenues discussed are all recurrent in nature. No attempt is made to study such non-recurrent levies as those imposed during the Five-Anti Campaign. Because of the nature of these impositions, it is not likely that these measures can be successfully repeated in the near future. 652

II. URBAN TAXATION

In Communist China, the core of urban taxation has consisted of the business tax, the tax on business income, and the commodity taxes. 651

None of the trio is new in China. Under the Nationalist Government, the business tax was collected as a local tax, the tax on business income was a part of the income tax system, and the commodity tax constituted one of the main revenues of the Nationalist Government.

Under the Communist government, all these taxes were drastically reorganized, apparently under the influence of the Russian tax system. From 1949 to date, the system of urban taxation has already undergone several important changes. Its history which may be divided into two stages, covers the period from January 1950 to December 1952.

During the first period, the industrial and commercial tax constituted the greater part of urban taxation.

651 for under the system they have to bear not only the tax but also the cost involved in transporting the tax-in-kind to designated points where the commodities are assembled by the government.

4. The agricultural tax is assessed on the basis of the gross income, taking little or not account of the cost involved in production. The system, if strictly enforced, will necessarily result in discouraging such improvements as the use of chemical fertilizers, the use of irrigation system, etc. Chemical fertilizers have been more commonly used in many parts of Central-South China than in other parts of the country. Failure to allow for such costs of production in the tax system will necessarily mean a discouragement to those who are making such improvements in their production.

5. In assessing the agricultural tax both for the regions with land reform and for the areas without land reform, the tax rates progress on the basis of the total income rather than by bracket. This could mean in some cases a payment of more tax by a taxpayer with less income than by one with more income.

IV. GOVERNMENT BONDS

652 This quota is equivalent to less than one-sixth of the subscriptions of East China, or less than one-half of the subscriptions of North China. In 1950, Victory Bonds valued at 100 million fen (one fen or unit was worth approximately US$.75) were issued; 7 per cent were allocated for subscription in Southwest China.

453 were rapidly established in Kunming. Thus, an unprecedented banking boom took place in Southwest China which vastly expanded all banking facilities. At the end of the war, there were 866 banks (including head offices and branches) in Szechwan, 149 in Yunnan, 91 in Kweichow, and 44 in Sikang.

With the surrender of Japan, the Nationalist Government re-established its capital at Nanking, the head offices of the government banks returned to Shanghai, and much of the war-inspired industrial and commercial activity in the Southwest Region was discontinued. What business remained was insufficient to support the expanded banking facilities in the region. The Shanghai banks recalled their funds, and private capital migrated to Shanghai, where increasing inflation provided a wider scope for speculative activities. Most of the local commercial banks in Szechwan and Yunnan, partly owned by the warlords, encountered difficulties because their funds were tied up in local enterprises which were adversely affected by the end of the war. As a result, the banking structure in Southwest China was reduced to impotency before the arrival of the Communists.

B. Communist Transformation

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When the Communists took over Southwest

453 China, they closed the branches of the Central
652 Bank of China and the Farmers' Bank, and instituted rigid supervision over the branches of the Bank of China and Bank of Communications. The new regime also took over the provincial banks outright. The regulations governing private banks which had been enforced in other regions were put into effect; the stipulations regarding the banks' operations and interest rates, the amount of reserves to be kept with the People's Bank, and the periodic reports required were so harsh that few banks could survive. The banking shares owned by so-called "bureaucratic capitalists" and "reactionaries" were confiscated. Nearly all native banks and the minor locally registered commercial banks discontinued operations because of their inability to increase capital as required; a few locally registered commercial banks in Chungking and Kunming were liquidated after their shares had been confiscated by the government and their financial resources had proved inadequate.

In May 1951, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and the Ho Chen Bank were "advised" to join the first system of eleven banks operated jointly by state and private enterprise with headquarters at Shanghai. Both the commercial banks were owned by Szechwen capital and did business within and outside

453 the province. The Ho Chen Bank was the
652 younger of the two institutions but had made great strides during the war. As a result of a Communist-induced merger of all private banks in December 1952, the names of Ho Chen and Young Brothers disappeared from the banking world.

Meanwhile, the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were reorganized and placed under the control of the People's Bank. With the transformation of the modern commercial banks in Shanghai into one Joint State-Private Bank, their branches in Southwest China underwent similar changes.

Before the war, a branch of the Banque de l'Indochine in Kunming was the only foreign bank in Southwest China. It ceased operation soon after the Communists took over Yunnan. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation had established an office in Chungking during the war but withdrew soon after its end. Therefore, the Communists were hardly confronted with a problem of eliminating foreign banking influence in the region.

Since Szechwan was the most fertile of the Southwest China provinces, it had a larger number of affluent landowners and a greater amount of outstanding rural credit

453 extended by landowners than had Yunnan and
652 Kweichow. On the other hand, pawnshops in the latter two provinces did more business than their counterparts in Szechwan, which were often handicapped by inflation and the consequent need to charge excessive interest rates.

These two sources of credit were wiped out by the Communists: the Land Reform Movement eliminated the landlords; and the pawnshops closed because they could no longer obtain bank credit nor meet the increased capital requirements established by Communist regulations.

The fragile banking structure of Southwest China could offer little resistance to Communist designs, and it was completely transformed by the middle of 1951. As the old banking structure was liquidated, the new banking system in Southwest China was developed after the general pattern of the banking system of Communist China as a whole: monolithic and uniform. It now consists of branches of the following institutions: (1) People's Bank of China; (2) Bank of China; (3) Bank of Communications; (4) Chinese People's Construction Bank; (5) Agricultural Bank of China; (6) State-Private Joint Bank; (7) Chinese People's Insurance Company; and (8) credit co-operatives.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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II. THE COMMUNIST BANKING SYSTEM

A. The People's Bank of China

453 The People's Bank of China is the
652 supreme financial organ in the country; all other banks operate under its control. A Southwest China regional office of the People's Bank was established at Chungking as the highest authority on monetary matters and administration; branch offices were maintained in each province. The regional office was abolished with the abandonment of the regional administrative system in September 1954; the branch offices in each province were placed under the direct control of the head office at Peking and charged with the responsibility for monetary affairs at the local level.

The number of branches, one in each provincial capital, was reduced from four to three after the province of Sikang was amalgamated with Szechwan Province in October 1955. Branch offices of the People's Bank in the Southwest Region are currently located at Chengtu, Kweiyang, and Kunming.

Under each branch office there are sub-branch offices in counties, cities, and towns.

453 There also are temporary units, called
652 central sub-branch offices, set up at political or communication centers to supervise sub-branch offices in the vicinity. A network of subordinate offices called agencies, sub-agencies and stations, has been established to serve main thoroughfares and residential sections in large cities and individual towns, populous villages, schools, factories, and military posts. These offices handle deposits, remittances, and the extension of rural credits.

According to incomplete statistics there are about 400 sub-branch offices and about forty central sub-branch offices in the three provinces of Southwest China, besides several thousand agencies and stations. The total number of subsidiary offices of the People's Bank was officially reported to be more than 19,000 in March 1955.

The branch offices perform the following functions.[1] (1) Adjust the circulation of currency; (2) Act as agents for the state treasury; (3) Accept current accounts and promote savings; (4) Extend credits to

1. Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming Shu-tien, 1953, p. 8,013.

453 industry and commerce, both public and
652 private, either directly or through affiliated banks; (5) Handle clearings of bills and transfers of accounts, and facilitate remittances; (6) Extend rural credits either through their own agencies or through co-operatives; (7) Look after receipts and disbursements of foreign exchange handled by affiliated banks; and (8) Handle any other monetary matters within their jurisdictions.

Each branch office has departments to control currency, credit to public and private enterprises, rural credits, and the promotion of savings deposits and the expansion of credit co-operatives.

B. Bank of China

The Bank of China, established as a central bank in 1912, was reorganized in 1928 as a special institution with government participation for dealing with foreign trade. After the Communists overran China, the bank was allowed to continue its old status, and those of its directors who represented private interests retained their positions. At the same time, the general manager and the directors representing Nationalist Government interests were replaced by Communist appointees; one of the newly appointed directors,

453 the director-general of the People's Bank,
652 was concurrently nominated chairman of the board. At the first shareholders' meeting, held in November 1954 under the Communist regime, the old directors representing private interest who had left the Mainland were replaced by shareholders who were co-operating with the Communists. Hence, the Bank of China is fully controlled by the Communist government and is virtually a subsidiary of the People's Bank.

The Bank of China is entrusted by the People's Bank to:[2] (1) Administer the control of foreign exchange; (2) Handle foreign exchange, foreign securities, bills of exchange, and other commercial documents, payable or receivable in foreign exchange; (3) Extend credits, and accept deposits in connection with foreign trade; (4) Look after the accounts and clearings of foreign trade conducted by and through government organizations; and (5) Control overseas remittances.

Before 1937, the Bank of China had had only three branches in the Southwest Region,

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2. Ching-chi Chou-pao [Economic Weekly], Shanghai, No. 31.

453 652 all in Szechwan. During the war the bank not only increased its branches in Szechwan, but also opened a number of offices in Kweichow and Yunnan. The bank now has only two branches in Southwest China, both in Yunnan, one at Kunming and the other at Wan-ting on the Burma border.

The Communists found the Bank of China a valuable institution because of its solid reputation, core of trained personnel, and assets located in China and abroad. However, the Communist regime was able to control only 11 of the overseas branches -- in Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Chittagong, Rangoon and Djakarta. The other eight branches -- in South Indochina, Cambodia, Thailand, Japan, the United States, Cuba and Australia -- are still under the control of the Bank of China in Formosa because those countries have not recognized Communist China.

C. Bank of Communications

The Bank of Communications, inaugurated in 1907 as a treasury agent of the Ministry of Posts and Communications, was reorganized in 1928 with the participation of government interests as a special institution to develop industry and internal trade. In June 1951,

453 after a short period of suspension ordered by
652 the Communists, the bank was allowed to resume business under its old status. Probably, this was done with the intent of facilitating Communist penetration of private industries through the bank's connections. Business was resumed only after Communists were appointed to the offices of chairman of the board and general manager, and after Nationalist Government directors were replaced by appointees of the new regime. At the shareholders meeting held in December 1954, the shareholders were "advised" to elect as directors representing private interests a slate of candidates drawn up by the Communists.

The Bank of Communications performs the following functions:[3] (1) Handles appropriations for basic government construction, and screen and approve applications for appropriations for such construction; (2) Organizes and lead long-term investment markets; (3) Controls ownership rights for public shares of enterprises operated by state-private joint interests; (4) Handles long-term credits.

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3. Cheng Chu-yüan, Monetary Affairs of Communist China, Hong Kong, The Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 25.

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652 Since the establishment of the Chinese People's Construction Bank, it has been entrusted with the important function of handling appropriations for basic government construction. No investment markets could be created because any savable income the people might have was constantly drained by the government's frequent levies. The function of controlling ownership rights for public shares is non-existent since in every joint state-private enterprise one or more Communist appointees participates in the management, assisted by Communist-controlled labor union members. Therefore, the duties of the Bank of Communications are confined to looking after long-term credits to state-private joint industry.

The Bank of Communications increased the number of its branches in Southwest China after resuming business. The important ones are: in Szechwan Province -- Chungking, Chengtu, Neikiang, Tzeliutsing, Luhsien, and Kikiang; in Kweichow Province -- Kweiyang, Tuyun, and Tuhsan; in Yunnan Province -- Kunming and Kokui.

D. Chinese People's Construction Bank

In order to facilitate progress of the Five-Year Plan and to overcome defects in

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652 the appropriation of funds for capital construction, the Chinese People's Construction Bank was established in October 1954 and entrusted with the following functions:[4] (1) To handle the funds of basic construction projects, either as provided by budget appropriations or as raised by the projects themselves; (2) Supply short-term credits, according to the governments' credit plan, to the contracting organizations undertaking work on projects; (3) Settle accounts and make returns in connection with the governments' appropriations for the projects; and (4) Supervise the use of funds appropriated or raised, the arrangement of payment to contracting organizations, and project matters related to finance, cost accounting, and, investments.

As soon as the head office of the Chinese People's Construction Bank was installed in Peking, branch offices were set up in places where basic construction projects were underway. A part of the buildings of the People's Bank or of the Bank of Communications

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4. New China News Agency release, Peking, Sept. 13, 1954.

453 were used as Construction Bank offices; a
652 number of staff members of the two older banks were switched to the new bank. In light of its functions and of the establishment of its branches in such a summary manner, the Chinese People's Construction Bank bears more resemblance to a government department than to a banking institution.

Less than three months after the Bank's establishment, a conference of managers of branches was held to review their work in appropriating and supervising funds for capital construction in 1954. Among the resolutions of this conference was an ambitious proposal. The Bank would supervise construction units and enterprises to fully develop the resources and potentials of each project, and would urge them to deliver profits, depreciations funds, and surplus revolving funds to upper levels on schedule.

E. Agricultural Bank of China

The Agricultural Bank of China was inaugurated on March 25, 1955. Rural finance until then had been handled entirely by the branch and subsidiary offices of the People's Bank in line with the policy of avoiding the duplication of banking services involving small

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 *loans and deposits at the local level. As*
652 early as May 1951, a departure from this policy was contemplated when a national rural finance conference decided an agricultural co-operative bank should be set up to handle rural finance exclusively. This decision was not implemented, however, because it was contradictory to the policy of the People's Bank. The revival of the idea of creating a special rural finance institution was the result of a new call for more "co-operativization" of agriculture, and of the rapid growth of the number of credit co-operatives.

The Agricultural Bank of China performs the following functions:[5] (1) Extends long-term and short-term credits to individual producers and to joint state-private operated agricultural, stock-raising, fishery, and producer mutual-aid and co-operative organizations; (2) Handles capital investments allocated in the state budget for agriculture, forestry, and water conservation; (3) Guides and helps the people's credit co-operative organizations; and (4) Provides savings deposit services for rural residents, producer mutual-aid and co-operative organizations, collective farms, and state agriculture and water conservation organs.

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5. Ibid., March 25, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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652 At present, the function of handling capital investments appropriated in the state budget will be retained by the People's Bank, according to an official statement. Moreover, there is no indication that the new bank will develop an extended branch network on the order of the Chinese People's Construction Bank. Therefore, the present function of the Agricultural Bank of China appears to be primarily the guidance and supervision of credit co-operatives and the promotion of savings deposits in rural areas; its organization is, in reality, similar to that of a department of the People's Bank, except that the Agricultural Bank has more responsibility and discretionary power.

F. Joint State-Private Bank

Soon after all banks in Shanghai had been transformed into joint state-private concerns and then grouped, with the exception of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, into four joint management units, they were all "advised" to merge into one Joint State-Private Bank. It began operations on January 1, 1953. Only two Szechwan banks, the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and the Ho Chen Bank, were involved in the merger. The general managers of the two Szechwan banks were included on the 103-man boards of directors

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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453 of the joint bank and made two of its 27 managing
652 directors. The Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming branches of the component banks in the merger were ordered amalgamated in each city into one branch of the Joint State-Private Bank; branches of the component banks in other cities of Southwest China were closed. The amalgamated branches in Chungking, Kunming, and Chengtu constitute three of the thirteen branches of the joint bank maintained throughout the country; the head office is located in Peking.

The chairman of the board and the chief manager of the bank are appointees of the People's Bank, which completely controls the Joint State-Private Bank. The Joint Bank is empowered to fulfill the following functions:[6] (1) Handle accounts of private enterprises; (2) Extend short-term credits to private enterprises, subject to the advice of the People's Bank; (3) Handle inland remittances and overseas Chinese remittances through the branches of component banks still operating in Hong Kong for the account of the Bank of China; and (4) Accept savings deposits for the account of the People's Bank.

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6. Report of Shanghai Commercial Bank, Hong Kong.

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453 652 The Hong Kong branches of the Young Brothers Banking Corporation and of the Ho Chen Bank are still allowed to operate. Other Hong Kong branches of the component banks which likewise continue to function are: Kincheng Banking Corporation, Yieh Yieh Commercial Bank, China and South Sea Bank, Sin Hwa Savings Bank, the China State Bank, the National Commercial Bank, and the National Industrial Bank. The desire of the Communists to maintain as many interests in Hong Kong as possible accounts for the continued operation of these branches, in spite of their handling only small deposits and remittances.

G. Credit Co-operatives

452 474 Credit co-operatives in rural areas have experienced tremendous growth since 1954. The number throughout the country increased from about 13,000 at the end of 1953 to 153,400 in June 1955.[7] According to Communist statistics, credit co-operatives exist in about 80 per cent of the more than 2,000 counties in the country and have a membership of nearly 100,000,000.

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7. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 6, 1955.

456 Since 1950, the Chinese People's Insurance Company has handled the compulsory insurance of assets of state-owned enterprises and supply-marketing co-operatives above the county level and of persons traveling by rail, steamer, and aircraft. The company also has promoted life and private property insurance on a voluntary basis in urban centers. Insurance of livestock and farm crops has been encouraged in rural areas. Rates for various categories of insurance have been reduced, and the scope of coverage broadened. However frequent criticism of the company has been expressed concerning imprudent expansion, inexperienced personnel, and the arbitrary attitude displayed by the officers.

III. BANKING OPERATIONS

453 652 The operation of these varied banking and financial organizations is integrated through their subordination to the single command of the People's Bank, and, in effect, they operate as a single body. During the development of the Communist monetary system, the emphasis of the whole banking operation appears to have shifted. At its inception, popularization of the People's Bank notes and the promotion of individual deposits were stressed; at a later stage, control of cash funds held by public organizations and centralization of credit extension were emphasized; recently,

453 attention is being focused on attracting peasants'
652 deposits. But the main objective of these different emphases is to subject all economic activity to state direction by controlling all cash funds held by organizations, firms, and individuals, and by completely controlling the distribution of credit.

A. Cash Control

Beginning in March 1950, control over revenue collections was enforced; all government agencies handling such funds are required to deposit them with the People's Bank or its authorized agencies. Similar control was soon extended over funds held by publicly operated enterprises, the armed forces, and co-operatives. These organizations are allowed to keep on hand only small, stipulated amounts of cash and are required to make all payments by check, except for wages, salaries, and the purchase of local products in rural areas.

After intensification of the Korean war in 1951, the increasing fluctuation of commodity prices and the revival of black-market financial dealings prompted the Communists to further tighten control over cash held by private firms and individuals. All persons engaged in business are required to deposit the day's net proceeds in their bank

453 accounts; all shops have to make their pur-
652 chase payments by check, and under no circumstances can cash be used. Checks received for the sale of goods have to be deposited in bank accounts; under no circumstances may these checks be used to buy other goods. All persons are required to bank their cash holdings in excess of PB$2,000,000 (about US$80.00);[10] all firms and individuals must use checks for transactions exceeding PB$100,000 (about US$4.00).

To prevent the use or retention of checks as substitutes for cash, "crossed checks" (checks so marked that they cannot be cashed, but only deposited to the account of the payee) are mandatory in transactions between public enterprises, and special checks in transactions between public and private enterprises. To preclude the acquisition of cash by transferring funds from one locality to another, such transactions can only be accomplished by the use of "crossed checks"; and the paying bank is responsible for validating the transfer.

A lucrative rate of interest of 5.4 per cent a year was paid on current accounts

10. Cheng, op. cit., p. 84.

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453 opened by private enterprises or individuals
•652 until October 3, 1955. On that date, it was reduced to 2.88 per cent to "implement the strict practice of economy".[11] Indeed cash control has been so effective that the inducement of high interest is no longer necessary to encourage the banking of excess cash.

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652 The People's Bank also vigorously encouraged saving. Many subordinate offices were established for this express purpose, and their officers visited residents in the vicinity to solicit deposits. In rural areas, quotas for increasing savings deposits were set for each county, which, in turn, fixed quotas for each village and household. After the enforcement of the state plan for the unified and compulsory purchase of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, canvassing for rural savings by banks in conjunction with credit co-operatives was accentuated with the hope of absorbing the purchase proceeds into the bank. It is interesting to note that the People's Bank, at the time it issued the new currency in March 1955, provided in its Savings Deposits Regulations for maintaining secrecy concerning depositors and their funds. The bank

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11. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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452 and its agencies became responsible for
652 guarding in closest secrecy the names, addresses, specimens of signatures and seals, amounts of deposits, identities of depositors, and particulars on the receipt or payment of money for savings depositors. This indicates the extent to which the Communists were prepared to go to induce deposits.

According to a Communist report, bank deposits in China's cities at the end of August 1955 amounted to more than 1,440 million yuan (over US$576 million) mostly in fixed deposits. There was no explanation as to whether the fixed deposits included savings deposits. The number of depositors in the seven major cities of Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton, Chungking, and Sian was reported to have been 4.8 times higher in the first six months of 1955 than in the same period of 1954.[12] One report shows that savings deposits in the third quarter of 1954 amounted to 610 billion yuan (old currency; about US$24.4 million) in Szechwan[13] and 216 billion yuan (old currency, about US$8.6 million) in Yunnan.[14] Per capita savings in Szechwan (population 62,303,999) amounted to

12. Ibid.,
13. Ta-kung Pao, Tientsin, Oct. 19, 1954.
14. Ibid., July 27, 1954.

452US$0.40 and in Yunnan (population 17,472,737) 652to US$0.50.

B. Credit Control

During the first years of Communist rule, when the power of granting credit was concentrated in the head office of the People's Bank at Peking, the Southwest China regional office of the bank had more power of decision on credit matters because it was remote from the financial and political capital; yet important matters had to be referred to the Financial and Economic Committee of the Greater Southwest Region Administration.

Since the adoption by the People's Bank, in 1953, of a decentralization policy on credit extension, followed by the abolition of the Greater Regional Administration in 1954, the branch office of the bank in each province has had the power and responsibility to extend credits. In applying for a loan, public enterprises and co-operatives are required to provide the branch office with a budget outlining credit needs and a plan estimating the extent to which the proposed project will increase production, raise labor productivity, and lower production costs. Credits are classified according to their duration (short, long, or seasonal) and use; borrowers are required to adhere to the terms expressed in the contract.

453 The granting of credit to private enter-
652 prises is subject to the same requirements for furnishing a plan and a budget. Before the Communist takeover, a system of specialization in certain lines of business had been developed by each private bank; thus, one bank granted credits to textile enterprises, another to the metal industry, etc. When all private banks were merged into the Joint State-Private Bank, the latter was placed in charge of the extension of credits to private enterprises under the direction of the People's Bank. A system of joint application was promoted; enterprises in the same line of business were encouraged to apply jointly for credits, listing the financial requirements of each firm with an estimate of its production and demand for its output. This arrangement was intended to prevent "blind" competition in production and preclude the diversion of bank credit by one borrower to help another.

Extension and acceptance of credit between public enterprises and private firms were prohibited to eliminate commercial loans. Private enterprises have had to depend entirely on government banks for credit. Furthermore, an exorbitant rate of interest has been charged on credits to private enterprises: private industry paid 10.8 to 19.8 per cent annually, while private commerce was subject to rates of from 16.2 to 23.4 per cent. Though

453 the interest rate was reduced on October 3,
652 1955, it remained as high as 11.88 per cent for private industry and 16.2 per cent for private commerce,[15] double the rate charged for public industry and commerce.

The Communist regime's accession to control of rural credit through the instrument of the People's Bank seems to have been an easy task. The large-scale landlords and retail merchants, who had been the most important source of rural credit, particularly in Szechwan and Yunnan, were stripped of their wealth if not of their lives; the newly emerged rich peasants were drained of their limited funds by compulsory subscriptions to savings deposits, government bonds, and various patriotic drives. Moreover, the so-called fixed purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops barred the peasants from accumulating any kind of savings which might be loaned.

452
652 The vigorous Communist drive to increase participation in credit co-operatives aims at utilizing the peasants' own funds for the extension and control of rural credits. This

15. New China News Agency release, Peking, Oct. 3, 1955.

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452 objective is indicated in a directive issued on
652 September 12, 1955 by the head office of the People's Bank to its branches,[16] stating that branches must guide credit co-operatives in encouraging savings deposits for the use of rural credits in the coming year. The branches also were ordered to collect matured long-term credits prior to the start of government crop purchases. This directive indicates that the Communists use the withdrawal of rural credits as a weapon to force peasants to sell their products to the government.

In 1955, rural credit was extended at the following interest rates:[17]

Agricultural production co-operatives	7.2% per annum
Producer mutual-aid teams	9.0% per annum
Individual peasants	10.8% per annum
Very poor peasants	9.0% per annum

16. Peking broadcast, Sept. 12, 1955.
17. New China News Agency release, Peking, Nov. 3, 1955.

IV. CURRENCY

A. Currency System

436 After the establishment of the People's
652 Bank of China in Shih-chia-chuang of Hopei Province on December 1, 1948, Jen-min-p'iao (People's Banknotes) were first issued. They have become the uniform currency of Communist China. They are the monetary unit for all tax payments, settlement of accounts, and computation of commodity prices. Circulation of all gold, silver, and foreign currencies has been prohibited. Since March 6, 1951, the circulation of Jen-min-p'iao has been restricted to Communist China only, and export of the notes forbidden.

The Jen-min-p'iao is not redeemable in any precious metal nor interchangeable with any foreign currency. No provision is made for limiting its issue. The Communists' rationalization of their monetary system evolved from a very primitive theory to a more advanced one. At an early stage, the Communists explained that the note issue was backed by foodstuffs and cloth. Later the regime claimed that "the increasing stability of the currency is borne out by the balance of the budget, by the balanced distribution of supplies, and by the balance of cash receipts

436 and expenditures." Recently the regime has
652 referred to other indicators of the currency's value --i.e., the balance of international payments and the resulting increase of foreign reserves. It would appear that the Communists discovered during the period of currency inflation the Chinese people's instinctive ability to distinguish between good and bad money and have had to find plausible monetary theories to quiet the people's anxiety.

The Communists have kept the amount of note issue strictly secret, yet the progress of inflation becomes evident in observing the increase of the notes' denominations. The Jen-min-p'iao was first issued in denominations of 1, 5 10, 20, 50 and 100 yuan. By the second half of 1949, the printing of notes was speeded up to cover huge government deficits. The small denomination notes were no longer found practical, and larger denominations of 200, 500 and 1,000 yuan were successively introduced. Between February and April 1950 an additional issue of 5,000 and 10,000 denomination notes was made. Finally the denomination was enlarged to 20,000 and 50,000 during 1953-54.

On March 1, 1955, a new kind of People's Banknotes in small denominations was issued,

436 and current People's Banknotes were called in.
452 The major denominations of the new currency are 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10 yuan. The smaller denominations are 1, 2, and 5 fen (100 fen equal one yuan) and 1, 2, and 5 chiao (10 chiao equal one yuan). A new one-yuan note is equivalent to 10,000 yuan note of the old currency. All old banknotes outstanding in denominations above 5,000 yuan were to be exchanged at the People's Bank before the end of April 1955, and denominations of 5,000 and less not later than June 10, 1955.

A statement made by the vice-premier and concurrent finance minister of Communist China on the issue of the new currency is worth noting. He admitted for the first time that inflation existed under the Communist regime but, ironically, heralded the new banknote issue at the rate of 1 to 10,000 of the old notes as the cure for inflation. At the same time, he revealed the true objective of the new issue by adding that it would aid considerably in accounting for the possession and use of money in China.

Although the Bank of China quotes a foreign exchange rate for the Jen-min-p'iao, the quotation does not reflect the real value of the Chinese currency in international monetary terms. Frequent revisions were made in

436 the rate until May 1951, but since then few
652 changes have been announced. No exchange rate in terms of the American dollar have been quoted since the United States government enforced the embargo on trade with Communist China in 1950. Figures on the cross rate of the Hong Kong currency, quoted by the Communists at HK$2.34 per PB¥1, one People's Banknote is valued at US$0.385. Despite the fact that these evaluations have not been tested on the open market and that the old currency was subject to inflation, a responsible official of the People's Bank publicly announced that the new currency of China was one of the most stable in the world.[18]

B. Currency Control

The Communists found currency control in Southwest China more necessary than in other areas because the people in the region were more experienced in facing the problems of an unsound currency. For more than two decades after the establishment of the Republic in 1911, Szechwan warlords practiced all kinds of currency manipulation; they debased silver dollars, silver coins, and even copper coins, issued unbacked paper notes through local

18. Ibid., Peking, March 20, 1955.

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436 banks and private armies, and repudiated the
652 redemption of banknotes issued against real reserves. These same practices were duplicated in Yunnan on a smaller scale. As a result, the people in these provinces were always alert to protect their interests whenever monetary inflation, debasement, or manipulation occurred. The warlords had not been able to derive much revenue from debased currency and inflated notes because the people refused to accept such money.

During the inflation under the Nationalist Government from 1938 to 1949, the people of the Southwest Region tried to exchange banknotes for gold and commodities. After the Communists took over Southwest China, a fair amount of scattered gold and silver holdings was reported uncovered in the course of liquidating the landlords and local "despots" and through extortionate fines during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti movements. Frequent exactions were made on the people to prevent them from turning their cash into goods. Southwest China was allocated 15 per cent of the 1950 Victory Bond series, amounting to a nationwide total of US$70 million;[19] assigned

19. Hsin Chung-kuo Ta-shih Chi-k'an [New China Events Quarterly], No. 4, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1949, p. 127.

43% a quota in 1951 of 8.3 per cent of the US$220
652 million amunition contribution for the Korean conflict;[20] and required to contribute 16 per cent of the total of US$220 million collected throughout the country during 1950 and 1952 in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement.

In addition, Southwest China has been assigned a proportionate share of the Economic Construction Bonds amounting to US$250 million yearly since 1954. In 1954, 53.3 per cent of the issue was allocated to private industrial and commercial enterprises, the private partners of joint enterprises, and other city residents; 30 per cent to rural villages, and 16.6 per cent to workers, shop employees, working personnel of the government and public organs, and the cadres of the armed forces. In the 1955 allocation, the first category was reduced to 45% and the last category increased to 25%, the second category remaining the same.[21] An issue of Economic Construction Bonds for 1956 was announced in November 1955.

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20. Ho Yü-wen, Chung-kung Ts'ai-cheng Chieh-p'ou [An Analysis of Communist China's Finance], Hong Kong, Asia Press, 1953, p. 74.
21. Jin-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Jan. 9, 1955.

436 According to an estimate[22] made by
652 the Communists in 1955, workers were required to pledge a little more than 7 yuan per head (about US$2.70) for their subscription to the Economic Construction Bonds, and the peasants, excluding those in calamity-stricken areas, were required to pledge an average of 0.4 yuan.

Since the government began the enforced purchase of grains, cotton, and oil-bearing crops, hardly any staple commodities have been left for the people to hoard, and the bond subscriptions have consumed what little cash might have been available for saving. In view of the past ingenuity of the people in the Southwest Region to defend themselves against inflation, it remains to be seen whether currency control will remain effective, and if so, how it will influence incentives for agricultural and industrial production.

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22. Ibid.

668 527 all public celebrations of the festival are made to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, in the coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and dance troupes performed at thirty factories.[33]

668 [653] 369 The cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, large sections of old city walls such as those of Chengtu have been destroyed, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[34]

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33. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager. We do not have details on activities in the Southwest. We would expect them to be similar in outline, less elaborate in form.

34. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

178 Another problem was the number of steel
499 plants and textile mills which had been estab-
653 lished in the Southwest during war against Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and commerce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimulated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

563 A further problem special to this region was
162 that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 In order to meet the demands of these minorities,
563 autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

178 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of
922 China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 Since the migration of the National government into the
654 Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible
241 plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry
314 resources of the Basin. Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

231 In spite of what has been said above, the silk produced by the wild species is, on the whole, inferior in quality and is negligent in quantity in the Basin. The major portion of silk produced in the Basin, about 80 per cent of the total, is derived from the regularly mulberry-fed, domesticated species--the Bombyx mori.

Silkworm rearing takes place twice a year in Szechuan Basin, as against only once a year in many other parts of Free China. It is carried on principally as a side-line by individual farmers. No large organized enterprise for silk-raising has ever been attempted. This accounts for the low efficiency in the methods of production and is mainly responsible for the meteoric downfall of the industry during the past few years in the face of serious Japanese competition in the overseas silk markets.

654 231 Recently, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of the Szechuan Provincial Government, in view of this grave situation and the serious effects it has on the general agricultural economy of the Basin, has taken rigorous measures to improve the methods of silk production. A number of silk-raising experimental stations and breeding centers have been established throughout the silk-producing areas, particularly in Nan-chung, Lo-shan, and Santai districts. In each district, numerous sub-stations have been organized to guide the farmers in silkworm raising, mulberry growing, and silk-making. Lo-shan alone has fifteen such stations. Other projects have also been launched to furnish more modern equipment and to organize the whole silk-production industry on a scientific basis.

231 438 Szechuan silk made a bid for world fame about eleven years ago in 1930, when 4,000 piculs were exported via Shanghai. This favorable condition was maintained for several years. Then a slump occurred due to the competition of Japanese silk and the increasing use of rayon. The war has presented a magnificent opportunity to revive sericulture in the Basin, while the boycott of the Japanese product in America since the American-Japanese war has now further stimulated export of silk from Free China. Szechuan today remains the only big silk center in the interior, as the silk colonies in Yunnan, Sikang, and Shensi are only beginning to export. With the growing American demand for Chinese silk, the Szechuan Silk Corporation is doing its best to increase its output.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

equipment, and the standardization of the finished product are most important.[1] 000

Recently, realizing the necessity of such improvements, the Bureau of Agricultural Research of Szechuan has established four model Tung tree experimental stations at Pei-ling, Nan-chung, Ning-shui, and Wan-hsien districts in order to direct the essential improvement work. With the author's experience among the tung farmers in the Basin, he feels strongly that it is probably wiser for the Agricultural authorities here to carry on the improvement work along the lines suggested above rather than aiming merely to boost the present acreage. Successful modern commercial agricultural production means high quality, as well as quantity. It would be heart-breaking to witness the same tragic fate befall the Tung tree, generously favored as it is by the Basin's physical conditions, that befell China's silk and tea. Nature has already done her part, and it is now up to man to do his. 314 654

C. The Wax Tree Production

1. The White Wax Tree

White wax, produced by the secretions of tiny insects, locally known as Pai-lou-chung (Coccus pela), on a number of wax trees or shrubs, is another unique forestry product of the Szechuan Basin. The so-called wax trees or shrubs consist of over ten species, including both conifers and broad-leafed hardwoods. One particular species of conifer, locally known as Pai-Lou-Shu (Fraxinus Chinensis), is the most important and the most common species on which the wax insects are raised. 314

There are two main species of wax insects: Shan Ti Tsung, or the hilly insects, including breeds produced in Hui-li, Hei-chang, Ning-yuan,[2] and Kuan-hsien districts, and Pa-Tsung, or insects of the plain areas, including breeds produced in O-mei, Lo-shan, Chien-wei, and Hung-ya districts (Fig. 36). Generally speaking, the plain insects are inferior in quality and are not used for breeding purposes. Also, it is reported[3] that in the 136

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[1]Chao, op. cit., p. 24.

[2]Hui-li, Hsi-chang, and Ning-yuan districts are now under the jurisdiction of Sikang province.

[3]Ho, op. cit., p. 15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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438 Province either for re-shipment to other Southwestern provinces or for local use. The cotton from Hopeh is usually shipped by steamer on the Yangtze River.

Generally speaking, Southwest China is self-sufficient in coal. However, as a safety measure, the region imports some coal from Central-South China.

"State Socialism" is the guiding principle in Chinese Communist industry and trade. During the present transition, state-owned, co-operatives, state-capitalist and private industries co-exist.

A. State-owned Companies

438 655 The six state-owned domestic trading companies established in 1950 were the China Food Company, the China Textile Company, the China Salt Company, the China General Merchandise Company, the China Coal and Building Material Company, and the China Native Products Company.[84] All

84. Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, Yangtze Daily, 1950, pp. 422-23.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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438 have branches and sub-branches in the major
655 cities of Southwest China. Some companies, such as the China General Merchandise Company and the China Native Products Company, have branches in the rural areas of the region.[85] If the trade volume of the country as a whole in 1950 is given the index number 100, trade volume rose to 397 in 1952. It is reasonable to assume that the total trade volume of the Southwest Region made a proportionate gain in the same year.[86] The number of state owned and operated commercial firms in Communist China increased 45 per cent in a single year.[87] In 1954, wholesale and retail prices of staples in the eight major cities in the Southwest Region including Chungking and Kunming, increased only 4 per cent over those reported in the preceding year.[88]

B. Co-operative Companies

438
474 Supply and marketing co-operatives

85. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, p. 380.

86. People's China, Peking, Jan. 16, 1954, p. 5.

87. Current Background, Hong Kong. U.S. Consulate General, Sept. 29, 1955, No. 360, p. 8.

88. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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625 a general committee with the sub-station chief as its chairman. The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen, assigned to maintain public order and enforce decrees pertaining to it. These functions include the enforcement of laws on public security, the suppression of sabotage, the prevention of bandit activities, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, census-taking, and the supervision of the security committees.

Security in factory, business enterprises, and other industrial organizations is the concern of committees established in each of these organizations. These committees are expected to supervise every phase of industrial production and labor discipline.

625 656 The establishment of regulations governing the conduct of business in the Southwest enables the Party to maintain control over all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances[25] requires each electrical shop to secure a permit from the security agency before requesting a license from the local Department of Industry. A monthly report of sales and a monthly inventory also are required. Failure to report suspicious

25. People's Daily, July 26, 1955, p. 3.

625 patrons to the security agency is a punishable
656 offense. Equally rigid regulations govern the ownership and use of firearms.[26] Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses, and recreational facilities also are extremely stringent.[27] Owners first must have permits from public security agencies. The procedure regulating the issuance of permits requires the submission of the personal history of the owner, complete information concerning others involved in the business, and a diagram of the geographic location of the shop or office. Hotels must make daily reports upon their guests, and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time.

B. Police

625 The police should be distinguished from the security forces, which are a component of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Effective August 1955, as a result of a State Council order, security forces at the level of the administrative district were organized into an armed police force.[28]

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26. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, June 29, 1951, p. 5.

27. Ibid., May 1951, p. 2.

28. The only Communist report on security forces appeared in People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1953, p. 1; Text of the State Council order, ibid., July 31, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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475 products of supply and marketing co-operatives on a commission basis. Private merchants purchase commodities from state trading companies at wholesale prices and resell them to consumers at retail prices fixed by the state. Joint state-private ownership has replaced private-capitalist ownership, and the state invests capital in trading firms under joint management. Throughout China approximately 200,000 private wholesale merchants and 2,000,000 retail traders had been forced to accept "socialist transformation" by the end of 1953. By early 1955, almost 100 per cent of the wholesale merchants dealing in grain, lumber, edible oil, and salt accepted the change to the "state-capitalism" arrangement.[91]

D. Private Companies

472 656 Private traders and individual merchants, too, have been led on the road of state-capitalism. As a result of the growing monopoly of state-owned companies, private wholesale dealers have either been

91. Kung-shang-chieh [Industry and Commerce] Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, p. 17.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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472 squeezed out of business or transformed into
656 retail traders acting as agents of state trading companies. They are compelled to accept "socialist transformation."

After the "planned purchase and supply of grains" was introduced, nearly all of the retail dealers in grain were "transformed" into agents of the state grain markets. By the first half of 1955, over 33 per cent of the retail traders in China were acting as agents for state trading companies or co-operatives.[92] According to Communist plans, the total volume of private retail trade will be decreased from 65.9 per cent of the total retail trade in 1953 to 45.1 per cent in 1957.[93]

VI. FOOD RATIONING AND GRAIN TRADE

434 Rationing was first applied to food grain on November 19, 1953, in accordance with a government order for the enforcement of "planned purchase and planned supply of grains," designed to control the distribution of food during the period of reconstruction.

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92. Industry and Commerce, Peking, Aug. 10, 1955, No. 8, pp. 17.
93. Ibid., p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 Advisory Council. For servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work there were the China Wartime Relief Association, and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies, such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China of the United States, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through different medium also helped to aid China in her distress.

746 657 The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940s, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the many relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in Southwest China.[3] With Chungking as the wartime capital of China, and the Southwest provinces as the base of operations in the long resistance war against Japan, the Southwest Region, in spite of material hardships, made cultural and social progress. This was equally true in public welfare.

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China

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RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA */
(June 1947)

Province	Relief Organizations	Farmers' Welfare Socities	Child Welfare Units	Social Service Offices	Employment Agencies Independent/	Employment Agencies Auxiliary
Szechwan	571	32	295	181	22	19
Sikang	33	1	10	9	1	1
Yunnan	160	22	53	6	7	5
Kweichow	97	22	42	32	10	6
Chungking	78	5	76	21	13	3
Total	939	82	476	249	53	34

*/ See Footnote 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 On November 9, 1943, China became a
657 member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CRRA) as a department of the Nationalist Government on the level of ministries, was established in January 1945, as was the China office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of relief and the rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] It was extremely unfortunate that peaceful projects of this sort did not continue; their efforts were suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the Mainland of China.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locusts and other harmful insects, frost, wind-storms, and hail-storms, have caused famines, beginning in the rural districts and spreading through the entire nation. According to one estimate, natural calamities, climaxed by the floods of 1954, affected many millions as shown

4. China Handbook, pp. 538-541.

731 and Five-Anti campaigns, 272,800 men were
668 mobilized and sent to fight in Korea from the four southwest provinces. Among the prisoners of war who chose to go to Formosa rather than return to Communist China, 5,184 men were from Southwest China.[10]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

657 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the
744 Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, have been in name only, and little relief work has been accomplished.[11]

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun

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10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6.

657 Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this
744 organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. In the organizing of branch offices, four years later it was reported that twenty-three large cities in all regions of China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In Southwest China, branch offices have been established in Chungking and Chengtu in the province of Szechwan and in Kunming in the province of Yunnan. A special provincial branch office was also set up in Kweichow Province.[12] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[13]

464 Due to the increase of unemployment, the
657 Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administrative Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established in August of the same year. Later similar committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[14]

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12. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 396-397.

13. Cultural and Social Movements, pp. 6-8.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

729 746 according to the same report, out of a total of 209,813 families of "martyrs" and servicemen, 80,174 families were granted substitute tillers during 1951. However, the report also mentioned confused management and inadequate enforcement of this system in many places in the Southwest.[39] Apparently, much improvement is to be desired and substitute-tilling may always remain a source of dissatisfaction among the rural population.

In the cities in the Southwest Region as well as in all other regions, the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were organized for production and trained for employment. Statistics covering the cities of Chungking, Chengtu, Wanhsien and Nan-ch'ung in Szechwan Province, Kweiyang in Kweichow Province and Kunming in Yunnan Province, showed 102 organized production units involving 2,139 people, and further, that 9,550 people obtained employment through the efforts of the government. In addition, in 22 counties in southern Szechwan Province, 202 units were organized and 3,726 members of servicemen's families engaged in 729 746 657 production work. For those who were unable to work (as of June 1952), the regional government appropriated relief payments amounting

39. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

635 161 affect the figure of the total population in the Southwest China Region, because Sikang and Szechwan provinces had been included in the 1953 census figure for this region; nevertheless, it changes the distribution according to the political subdivisions of Southwest China as follows:

161 Table 1. Population Distribution in Southwest China*

Kweichow Province	15,037,310
Szechwan Province	65,685,063
Yunnan Province	17,472,737
Regional Total	98,195,110

*Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1; Sikang population is included in Szechwan.

Among all the regions of China, this region ranks third in population and fourth in size of area.

161 659 The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast upon these figures on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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were employed. (2) Before the results of the census were announced, responsible Communist quarters had already instituted a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and even the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work at various government levels.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by Communist officials were all under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, estimates were stepped up to around 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have intentionally exaggerated the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until evidence proving fabrication is discovered, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and hereto only direct nationwide census. Relative reliability is further strengthened by the following points: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electorate,

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2. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, March 31, 1954, p. 1.

3. Tsui-chin Ch'i-ko-yüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Last Seven Months], Taipei, the Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 22-23.

161 delegates and their representation in the "basic-
659 level election" for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) The fact that scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available, roughly covering all parts of China, should serve to indicate the geographic extent if not the degree of thoroughness with which the census-taking was carried out. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 had begun their study on population, and it appears correct to say that the Peking regime had exercised considerable discretion in checking the 1953 census against the previously released figures. (4) Only a comparatively small portion of the 1953 population figures (about 8 million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of census-taking." (5) The above cited commique also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. After rechecking 9 per cent (or 52,950.000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, the duplicates amounted to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.255 per cent.

B. Density

161 From the figures in Table 1 it is apparent that Szechwan Province, the richest and only

4. Yuan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, pp. 13-22.

625 safety in the cities is more complex than in the rural areas. The Communists approach this problem from at least four different angles: (a) an extensive public security organization; (b) rigid census control over resident movements; (c) the establishment of resident organizatins to watch over the entire populace, including committees in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The Public Security Bureau in a municipal government maintains eight sections and several other units. The eight sections include a secretariat, political security (including intelligence, investigation, confidential communication), security administration, police, sanitation, fire prevention, supply, and personnel. Other units under the bureau include prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as security-training schools and security forces. Under the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as that of the bureau itself. The sub-bureau takes charge of detention houses and directs the work of security stations and security committees under them.

625 659 In 1951, the Communists began to tighten census control throughout the Southwest. The directive on census control, issued by the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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625 Government Administration Council in July
659 1951, restricted the movement of city dwellers.[23] Any resident who wished to move had first to obtain a permit from the security station. Likewise, any person who moved into the district had to report his arrival to the station. Even house guests staying three days or more were required to register. The nationwide census taken in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter vigilance. "Planned purchase and marketing," a form of rationing introduced at the end of 1953, strengthened security control. The recent institution of a regular system of registration increases the burden of established regulations.[24]

625 The Security Committee was first organized in the cities during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951. Dwellers in a street or an alley formed a unit for the establishment of a committee. Under the security sub-station, which might have jurisdiction over several streets, security committees were linked to form

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23. Yangtze Daily, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

24. Directive of the State Council in People's Daily, July 3, 1955, p. 1; see Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], April 2, 1955, p. 1.

As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of the government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises which, according to the Communist policy, will ultimately monopolize all the important trade and industries in the country. 652

On the expenditure side, military outlay constituted 41.5 per cent of total government expenditure in 1950 and 1951, respectively. After 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21.1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account. 652 659

In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not indude salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure of the Communist government would have been tabulated here for the years 1950-52.

175 669 [66] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
[redacted]

575 memberships dissolved, the Communists invaded and controlled the societies' former areas of strength. This move was largely accomplished through the "democratic reform movement,"[22] which involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of the societies' membership and activities. Another part of the movement consisted of a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of secret socieites. Some of them had acquired leadership of labor groups in charge of wharves, railway, stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists introduced a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

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In December 1951, the Communists

22. New China Daily, Oct. 14, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 29, 1951, p. 1; July 24, 1952, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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661 launched the Three-Anti Campaign against
668 waste, corruption, and bureaucracy; a few months later the regime initiated the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information. These campaigns did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the drives also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the first campaign hit Party and administrative personnel from two sides and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

B. Corruption

661 Most of the charges and disclosures
685 that accompanied the progress of the Three-Anti

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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661 and Five-Anti campaigns can be grouped under
685 the general heading of corruption. In Southwest China, the department of industry was one of the first to be singled out for attack.[23] An initial study of the department's operation under two years of Communist rule disclosed 157 cases of corruption involving 173 persons and property valued at 668,000,000,000 yuan. One worker was accused of corruption amounting to 79,000,000,000 yuan, and another, in collaboration with a merchant, of stealing from the state equipment and material valued at 100,000,000 yuan. Many of the cases revealed in the financial and economic organizations of the Southwest Region were reported to be connected with espionage activities.[24] Not only individuals were charged with supporting Nationalist espionage through corruption in state organizations; the bureau of taxation in one county was reported to have appropriated 20,000,000 yuan from tax revenues for the use of counterrevolutionaries. The total loss to the government in 1950 and the first half of 1951 from the corrupt practices of personnel working in the tax-collection organizations of

23. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1951, p. 2.
24. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1951, p. 1.

661 the Southwest Region was set at over
685 11,000,000,000 yuan.[25] Charges of widespread corruption were also lodged against military organizations. At the conference of the general Party branch of the Southwest China Military Command held in December 1951, regional Party leaders warned the gathering of the seriousness of the situation.[26] Corruption was reported to be most rife in the quartermaster and political and cultural departments of the command.

The most frequently mentioned type of corruption in all organizations was the misappropriation of funds.[27] Government employees were accused of living luxuriously at the expense of the state. One means to this end was the extravagant appropriation of funds for government meetings. A meeting called by the department of industry of the Southwest China regional government lasted 21 days, during which 10,000,000 yuan were spent on food and an equal sum on the furnishings for one of the living accommodations.[28] The political and cultural department of the region's military command was accused of having spent

25. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
26. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
27. See for instance reports in ibid., Jan. 1, 1952, p. 2; June 17, 1952, p. 1.
28. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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661 58,000,000,000 for the repair of one theater
685 and 40,000,000,000 yuan for the construction of one film factory.

Within the 26 departments of the Southwest China regional government, 139 persons accused of corruption involving less than one billion yuan were arrested during a six-month period;[29] another 182 individuals in the municipal government of Chungking were arrested within the same span of time;[30] personnel of the provincial governments were also charged with corruption and taken into custody. Among the members of the Kweichow Provincial Government arrested were Chang Chin-po, deputy head of the department of public security, and Wang Jen and Yen P'u, both officials in the bureau of information and publications.[31]

Charges of corruption entailing bureaucratic abuses ranging from dictatorial acts to disobedience were lodged against Party and government officials during the Three-Anti Campaign. Some of the accused were dismissed from the party; others were

29. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1952, p. 1.
30. Ibid., Feb. 19, 1952, p. 1.
31. Ibid., March 12, 1952, p. 2; Jan. 23, 1952, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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261 placed on trial in the People's courts. Among
685 the Southwest China officials punished for bureaucratic abuses were Tu Hung, chief of the secretariat of the Chungking Municipal Government and concurrently secretary of the Party branch of the municipal government. He and his deputy chief were accused of dictatorial acts.[32] Similar charges were lodged against T'u Kuo-lin, deputy of the Southwest China broadcasting station;[33] T'ang P'eng, deputy of the New Democratic Youth Corps school; and Mei Wen-hua, an official of the Chungking Federation of Democratic Women.[34] Kou Hsing-ts'ai and his deputy, Chang Tse-min, officials in the public security department of the eastern Szechwan special district, were accused of disobedience.[35]

C. Theft and Waste

687 The Communist definition of theft extends beyond the usual meaning of the word. Tax evasion and the falsification or default of government contracts are considered theft

32. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1952, p. 1.
33. Ibid., Jan. 16, 1952, p. 2.
34. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1952, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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storage methods. For example, during one four-month period of 1951, 317,000,000 pounds of crops worth 28 billion yuan were reported to have spoiled due to improper warehousing.[38] Instances of waste increased as industrialization was accelerated. An inspection during the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955 of a major industrial organization with a factory in Chungking revealed an accumulation of excess materials valued at 350 million yuan (new currency). One of the construction jobs in which the Communists originally took great pride was the four-year task of building an auditorium in Chungking patterned on the "Temple of Heaven." In 1955, the Communist press reported that the structure required the annual expenditure of 100,000 yuan (new currency) and the services of 50 men for maintenance.[39]

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687 The cases cited above are only examples of the charges and prosecutions brought against thousands of firms, private individuals, government officials, and Party members in the Southwest Region during the Three-Anti

38. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 1.
39. Ibid., April 9, 1955, p. 2.

661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

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Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

499 Over one-third of the total construction work of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway had been completed by the Nationalists before 1949; the Communists finished the railway in June 1952.[2] According to the Communists, they built 15 new tunnels, 28 large bridges, 189 small bridges, 446 culverts, and about two-thirds of the road foundation.[3] About 35,230 tons of steel rails and 1,250,000 railway ties were needed.[4] Most of the steel rails were supplied by the iron and steel plant at Chungking.[5] The supply of railroad ties presented serious problem but a sifficient amount of timber was collected when the Communists announced that peasants would be allowed to pay land tax in timber instead of grain.[6]

499 661 When the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was under construction, a great number of charges of waste and corruption were brought against officials. In Chiu-lung-p'o, Communist

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2. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, July 11, 1955, p. 13.
3. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Hong Kong, July 12, 1950, July 4, 1951.
4. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 25.
5. Chao Yung-seen, Railways in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union R search Institute, 1955, pp. 23-24.
6. Ibid.

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499 cadres were charged with stealing ¥1,000
661 million ($40,000).[7]

Many bridges collapsed and had to be rebuilt because material of poor quality had been used.[8] Some Communists cadres could not be trusted to inspect the quality of work done, and others were willing to approve poor work if the contractors paid them a bonus or offered bribes.[9]

497 In July 1952 the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was open to traffic.[10] This railroad, which runs through the richest farmlands of Szechwan, brought new economic prosperity to the province. With the low-cost transportation, the region can sell rice, sugar, salt, and coal in many markets. Principal native products (hemp, vegetable oil, tobacco, and herb medicine) of Western Szechwan are shipped in large quantities from Chengtu to Chungking by rail and thence down the Yangtze River to Central-South and East China.[11]

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Feb. 22, 1952.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. China Weekly, Hong Kong, July 11, 1955.
11. People's China, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, July 16, 1953, p. 29.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尙文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsü 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲雁) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position."[5]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

567 661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yünnan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

[5] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the T'u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

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I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 莪巢土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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government, the society will provide and pay for a substitute to confess to the crime and to suffer the consequences in his stead.

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Another reason for the continued existence of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan is the confusion and disorder which have prevailed there in recent years. During the war the central government, which had established its capital in Szechuan and was anxious to avoid unnecessary unrest, encouraged the provincial government in its lax administration. The attitude of compromise adopted toward most problems fostered the development of localism and gave the Ko Lao Hui an opportunity to increase the scope and variety of its activities to a point where it interfered with many aspects of government administration. In any case, government in Szechuan has been so corrupt for so long that the people have no confidence in it.[11] The war years simply aggravated popular dissatisfaction with and distrust of the government, so that any new official measure is received with suspicion. The people have become accustomed to managing their affairs and settling their disagreements by extra-governmental means. It is natural for them to turn to the local Ko Lao Hui branch director, who represents, in theory at least, the virtues of brotherhood, filial piety and proper behavior toward women. Thus the director has become not only the possessor of power but a symbol of righteousness as well. Disagreements between non-members of the society, as well as between members, are now commonly referred to him for settlement.

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The Ko Lao Hui is not a political party, nor does it entertain any pretensions regarding the shaping of national policy—so long as the interests of its middle-class founders are not endangered. Thus far Ko Lao Hui political activities have remained defensive. Individual members may occupy important government posts, but the society as a whole remains aloof from Kuomintang party politics. The society has voiced sharp criticism of Communism, which it regards as inimical to middle-class interests. While adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude toward politics,

[11] The demobilization, in the closing years of the Sino-Japanese war, of many Szechuanese troops without adequate provision for their reemployment greatly swelled the number of undesirable members of the society, and in turn made things more difficult for the government. The possession by society members of an extraordinarily large number of small arms aggravates the situation. In the course of his investigation of two districts near Chengtu, the author learned that nearly every member of the Ko Lao Hui in those localities owned a pistol or a rifle. In Chengtu district one out of every two members possessed such arms without a license. Leaders not infrequently had late-model machine guns.

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 the Ko Lao Hui keeps the closest watch over government policy, especially where it considers its own interests to be concerned.

662 An illustration of how the Ko Lao Hui functions in this respect may be seen in the typical case of Huang Jun Chin, branch director in the village of Yuan T'ung. To the people who live in it, Yuan T'ung seems less a village than a country of which Huang is king. He owns some 400 acres of land and several thousand side arms which are borne by 3,000 men (all society members) directly under his command. In the county seat he and some of his men occupy a huge mansion fortified with machine-gun emplacements. Several close relatives hold important positions in the municipal and provincial governments. Although they are paid by the county government, two platoons of guards and policemen are armed with Huang's guns and are answerable to him alone. His men are also in the magistrate's office; in fact, the magistrate is no more than a figurehead whose function it is to transmit government orders to Huang and to await his instructions. The county administration takes no action without Huang's prior consent. He not only presides over the county council, but appoints all of its other members. Huang's case is typical of the power of the society which, though essentially non-political, frequently interferes with, and occasionally assumes direct control of, county government.[12]

575 Each branch of the society derives its regular income from a number of sources, of which opium dens are the most important. In one
548 locality there are ten such dens, each run by a different high-ranking member. Each must contribute a definite sum to the branch, as must the semi-secret gambling houses and brothels. Illegal transactions in prohibited goods such as arms, gasoline and other vital war materials are effected under the supervision and protection of the society, which collects a fee on each transaction. Another source of income is the "mar-
575 ket" where, though no goods are handled, such commodities as rape
437 seed, rice and the like are bought and sold in wholesale quantities; since no goods are in evidence, the government agent, if he is present, sees nothing on which to levy a tax, but the society, keeping a com-

[12] Of course, the society manifests its power in other ways. For example, local coal mines and salt works cannot move their products to market until they have paid the society large sums on each shipment. Before making tours of inspection in the districts of the Chengtu Plain, government officials are expected to notify, and to secure the protection of, Ko Lao Hui officials. This procedure is necessary because bandits, county guards and administrators are usually all members of the society.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

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668 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime

21. People's Education, Dec. 1954, p. 30.

873 theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on September 30, 1950.[52] He quoted Mao Tse-tung as saying that, because the peasants and workers constituted over 80 per cent of China's population, they were the main force upon which would depend the transition of Chinese society from "New Democracy" to Socialism. Ch'ien stressed the following points: (1) The most immediate task was to combat illiteracy. (2) The cadres among the peasants and workers must be the first to be educated so that they would provide proper leadership for the masses. (3) This type of education must be fitted to local conditions which might vary from place to place.

[665] No line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between the educational institutions for peasants and workers and those for Party and other government cadres. Altogether these schools form a part of the regular school system. As Ch'eng Fang-wu, former president of the College of the War of Resistance at Yenan, reported in July 1952,[53] the development

52. People's Education, May 1951, pp. 12-16.
53. Ibid., July 1952, p. 6.

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873 For political cadres, regardless of their own
665 professions, study of Marxian and other Communist theories are required. The Central Committee of the Communist Party periodically issues directives listing the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung to be studied. Chiefs of local Party branches are charged with the responsibility of supervising these studies at weekly meetings.[56]

Classes to teach beginners to read the Chinese language are held separately, but once the students have graduated from these classes they are given the opportunity to advance to higher levels of learning. An attempt is made to raise the academic level of cadres among peasants and workers to that of graduates of
873 regular schools. In a directive issued by the Communist Party on December 24, 1953,[57] it was stated that those who pursued spare-time study at least six hours a week for forty weeks a year, covering the essential courses prescribed for the primary school level by educational authorities, were entitled to enroll in a junior secondary school. Three years of

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56. A sample list of materials to be studied is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 535-36.
57. Ibid., p. 538.

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871 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended
563 spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000
[665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 The Communists claimed that their policy
563 of providing educational opportunities for
186 minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

VII. OTHER GROUPS

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In addition to the groups discussed, there are other groups which, although minor in numerical strength, are of importance because their attitudes have significant bearing on the tensions in Chinese society.

It is evident that all Communist Party members and all government bureaucrats do not necessarily have the same attitudes, in spite of the fact that they are regimented by a well-controlled machine. High-ranking Communist officials exhibited intense feelings of Party loyalty and dedication to the "cause" in the early days of their careers, and so far there has been no indication that their feelings have changed. Granted that the behind-the-scene struggle for personal power in a Soviet system is most difficult to discern, the top Communist leaders in Southwest China have yet to offer evidence of power-seeking at the risk of disrupting Party harmony and hegemony. Those who contributed to the victory of the Communists received assignment commensurate with their service, and they seem to remain active and content with their positions.

The personnel in lower Party echelons are subject to tremendous pressures from all sides. Even the most devoted Party workers are expected to repeatedly prove their loyalty to the Communist regime. The fact that the Party relies

165 on close surveillance and an atmosphere of
184 fear in order to keep members in line indicates the existence of dissatisfaction and dissidence within the Party ranks. The expansion of a bureaucracy necessitates the promotion of numerous lower-level Party functionaries. This certainly tends to make the old Party cadres resentful when they see the rise of new cadres to positions equal to or higher than their own. Generally speaking, cadres assigned to rural areas are less enthusiastic about the regime than those in urban areas who live in more comfortable circumstances and have more frequent opportunities for advancement.

Former Nationalist officials had their darkest days during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, when almost all lived under the imminent threat of violence and death. After these intensive campaigns had subsided, a few former Kuomintang personnel remained among the Communist government bureaucrats. Even former warlords who has chosen to co-operate with the Communists have been assigned government positions without true authority, but which at least insure their livelihood and prestige. A sense of insecurity may continue to affect some members of this group, but as time goes on they will consolidate their positions in the "new" society.

VIII. CONCLUSION

184 The Communist system of multiple control, which extends to all aspects of life, and the Communist effort to maintain a strong tie with

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2c,
Political Background

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

665 The fundamental aim of the Chinese Communist regime is to concentrate all political power in the hands of the Communist Party of China. This fact has determined the pattern of political dynamics in Southwest China. Political dynamics is concerned with political power and the political process. Since political power is monopolized by the Communist Party of China, and since the political process is patterned upon the controls exercised by the Party, the study of political dynamics is little more than a study of the Party itself and its methods of political control, together with a study of the role and policies of minor parties. The power structure is such that the decision-making process follows a course largely determined by the organizational and operational pattern of the Party. Through a well-established network of control over organizations of all types, political activities are regulated and guided by the Party. Thus, it is the Party, not society, that generates the vitality which shapes the political process. In order to determine the course which society will follow the Party

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665 must control closely all types of political organizations and make use of all available instruments of coercion.

A campaign[1] is one of the political devices used by the Party to implement its decisions. Since it calls for concerted action by all groups and organizations, a campaign also can be used to test the loyalty and effectiveness of those taking part in it. It may be carried on at both a national and a local level and directed at either the entire population or a segment of it.[2]

Governmental and Party centralization is another factor which determines the pattern of political dynamics in Southwest China. The Party maintains control over local authorities by four major means: (1) maintenance of a unified and effective Party organization within the region; (2) close supervision of regional administrative and judicial organizations, armed forces, public security agencies, and

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1. For a discussion of campaigns, see Richard L. Walker, China Under Communism, the First Five Years, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 77-100; W. W. Rostow, The Prospects for Communist China, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 72-98.

2. Typical drives of a local nature are those (continued next page)

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45 People's procuratorates; (3) control of all mass organizations; (4) instigation of movements and campaigns designed to arouse popular enthusiasm and manipulate public opinion.

I. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS AFFILIATED ORGANS

A. The Present Status of the Party in Southwest China

Two facts must be kept in mind when discussing Communist activities in Southwest China. First, the Communist Party always has been relatively weak in this region. Second, the region was one of the last to be conquered by the Communist armies. Although there was some Communist activity in certain areas during the early 1930's, the Party was weak in the cities and had almost no strength in the countryside. Not until 1952 did the Communists begin to build up a strong Party organization. Prior to that time the Party relied primarily upon its military forces and

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2. (continued) conducted in farming communities: Spring Plowing, Summer Collection, Resist Drought, Resist Flood, Autumn Harvest, and others.

• 665 the co-operation of the New Democratic Youth Corps, a Party affiliate, for the implementation of its policies. There was little Party activity in the rural areas. In fact, only 7 per cent of the hsiang (groups of villages) had Party organizations.[3] One of the first steps taken by the Party was to create Party branches in rural areas and establish close control over all rural organizations. This resulted in a general tightening of Party control over the whole region.

In spite of the many handicaps that confronted it in the Southwest, the Party quickly accomplished its basic objectives. The land reform program was merely one of many campaigns brought to successful completion by the end of 1952. Since that time the regional Party organization, operating under the close control of Peking, has carried out Party directives with increasing speed and efficiency. Three things are clear: (1) the

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3. Report of Yü Chiang-chen, head of the Department of Organization of the Southwest China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Hsin-hua Daily [New China Daily], Oct. 23, 1952, p. 1.

665 regional Party organization is extremely flexible and is being adjusted and expanded continually in order that it may cope with the many tasks assigned it; (2) Since 1952 the Party has maintained a concerted drive to increase its total membership. It is especially anxious to attract more workers, technicians, and managers into its ranks; (3) Party members continually are exposed to a thorough indoctrination and training program, which imposes upon them the duty of constant rectification and reform. Party organizations are periodically overhauled and reorganized.

B. Party Organization

Three principles governing Party organization should be borne in mind: (1) Party organization is an integrated system, which symbolizes the extreme centralization of political power and the fullest demand for unity and discipline. (2) Party organization is pyramidal in structure and is erected on a territorial and functional basis. (3) Party organization is flexible.

Prior to 1955, the organization of the Communist Party of China in Southwest China was divided into two parts: (a) the delegates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the region and (b) the local party bodies extending from the provincial

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•665 party layer down to the hsiang (group of villages) level. Since the abolition of the Southwest regional government in June 1954, the need for the Southwest Party Bureau has diminished. Although the abolition of the bureau has not yet been announced, bureau representatives, with the exception of those from the Shanghai, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang bureaus, were not present at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China held in March 1955 and the 6th Plenary Session (enlarged) of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in October 1955.[4] Presumably, the bureau organization in the different regions no longer exists. However, since the Party bureau had long been active in regional politics, and since it can be established at the will of the Central Committee of the Party, some explanation of its operation seems necessary.

Delegates to the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Communist Party

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4. Reports on the conference and the plenary session are found in New China News Agency Daily Bulletin (London), No. 1278, April 7, 1955, p. 4; and ibid., No. 1413, October 18, 1955, pp. 6-7.

665 was represented in Southwest China by the Southwest Bureau. Prior to the formation of the Szechwan Provincial Government in 1952, the bureau had direct jurisdiction over the provincial Party organizations in Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikiang, and the four special districts Party organizations in Szechwan. The local Party bodies are divided into tiers from provincial Party organizations to administrative district, county and city, ch'ü (district) and hsiang.

The Party bureau exercised its authority through two channels, the bureau secretariat, an executive organ, enjoyed power comparable to that of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Its standing departments were: organization, propaganda, rural work, urban work, social affairs, united front; its commission dealt with trade unions, youth, and women; it also had offices of policy planning, military affairs, and other functions.

The bureau has not hesitated to use the regional Party conference for the transmission of directives and for periodic controls. In

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665 the past few years, the bureau convened many enlarged cadre conferences and administrative, joint district-secretariat sessions. Bureau departments might also call their own sessions, thereby placing the different Party secretariats directly under their respective jurisdictions.

C. Local Party Hierarchy[5]

1. Provincial Party Layer. The provincial Party organization is the highest layer of the Party hierarchy within a province. Its first obligation is to enforce the directives and decrees transmitted to it by the Central Party. As will be seen, the provincial and city/county layers have a mixed party-governmental function while the administrative district and ch'ü layers are primarily concerned with the Party.

2. Administrative District Party Layer. The Party unit at this layer generally

5. For local Party organizations, consult the Constitution of the Communist Party of China; English text in Liu Shao-ch'i, On the Party, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1951, pp. 185-90.

665 corresponds with that of an administrative district under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. Its great importance derives from the following facts: (a) its major work is Party affairs; (b) owing to administrative requirements, its functionaries are allowed some initiative and independence. For example, it holds authority in the selection and placement of personnel -- Party as well as governmental -- within its jurisdiction.

3. County and City Party Layer. This layer of organization corresponds to the county and city governments. Like the provincial Party agencies, the county and city Party units have the dual tasks of carrying out Party work and of securing complete control over other administrative and mass organizations.

4. Ch'ü Layer. Party bodies are installed below a city or county irrespective of the ch'ü organization. Like the administrative district Party agencies, ch'ü Party units are directly responsible for the management of Party affairs and the implementation of Party policy.

5. Hsiang Layer. This is the lowest layer of the local Party hierarchy. It is here that the Party and government fusion is most obvious and the Party control over other

665 administrative and mass organizations most clearly revealed.

In addition to the territorial division of Party organization -- the central delegate to the region and the local Party hierarchy -- there is an organization known as the Party branch or Party cell, which acts as a link between the Party and the masses in all organizations. Party branches are organized in any factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, army, government office, or school, wherever there are three or more Party members. Branches can be grouped into general branches and Party groups, depending largely upon the number of members and the place of function.

D. Organization

In each of these constituent party units, quadripartite division of authority is maintained: the Party Congress, the Party Committee, the Control Committee, and the Party Conference.

1. Party Congress. The Party Congress of each unit is the highest organization of that unit. In theory, Party congresses at all local levels meet every two years; in fact, the National Party Congress has not convened since 1945, and local Party congresses as

665 such have not been held. But theoretically, in order to carry out its announced function of supervising the Party Committee, the Party Congress hears and approves or disapproves the Committee's report, decides on questions pertaining to that area, and elects members of the Party Committee on its level and delegates to the Party congress at the immediately higher level, subject to the approval of the Party Committee at that higher level.

2. Party Committee. The executive body of the Party unit on each level is the Party Committee, whose power is concentrated. At the provincial level, power within the Party Committee is further centralized in a Standing Committee which has the same permanent and temporary functional departments and working commissions as the Party bureaus. The Party Committee convenes Party conferences between sessions of Party congresses and sets up various subordinate Party organizations, allocates Party personnel and finance, and directs the work of Party agents in non-Party organizations.

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Although Party committees in the district and below have no standing committee, power within the committee is further centralized in the hands of secretaries. Certain basic departments and commissions form the backbone of the committee. The operational aspect of the Party Committee is uniform at all levels, in the sense that all committees adhere to democratic-centralism and other basic centralized devices characteristic of the Communist Party.

3. Control Committee. The National Party Conference[6] of the Communist Party of China held in March 1955 established new Control Committees to replace the Discipline Inspection Committees established in November 1949. The change was made necessary because of the need for an intensified drive toward socialism and as a campaign against corruption and laxity in the Party. Members of the committees are elected by the Party congresses or conferences of the respective levels, subject to the approval of the Party

6. English text in New China News Agency Daily Bulletin, No. 1277, April 6, 1955, p. 3.

665 committees of the next higher levels. Local control committees are also subject to the supervision and direction of the higher control committees. They may set up branch offices. Their relationship is centralized and permits no deviation.

4. Party Conference. The Party Conference in fact is an executive meeting. Convened by the Party Committee on a higher level, it is attended by representatives of Party committees on lower levels. Unlike the delegates to the Party congresses who are elected at large, representatives to the conferences are appointed by their own Party committees. The conference has the power to appoint or remove up to one-fourth of the members of the Party committee convening the conference and to reach decisions on Party work within its jurisdiction.

E. Party Expansion

The Communist Party has conducted two major membership drives in Southwest China. The first was launched in 1952 and the second in 1955. Prior to 1952 the Party was

• 665 extremely weak in the Southwest and had failed to win appreciable popular support. Party leaders believed that this situation had resulted from the failure of the Party to increase its membership in the region. Only 7 per cent of the hsiang had Party organizations; at the ch'ü level, Party organizations were few in number and generally ineffective.[7] The situation was even worse in the cities. It was reported that between 1950 and 1952 Party organizations in Chungking had admitted only 300 new members.[8] In some Party organizations not a single new member had been admitted during this period. Local Party leaders were accused of neglecting expansion work and seeking to make the Party a closed caste.

In order to remedy this situation the Party launched its great membership drive of 1952. The goal of this drive was the creation of a Party branch in every village and the expansion of Party organizations in factories, schools, and government offices.

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7. The New China Daily, Aug. 9, 1952, p. 3; Oct. 23, 1952, p. 1.
8. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1952.

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•445 In October 1952 the Southwest China Party Bureau issued a directive[9] outlining four tasks to be undertaken by all Party organizations: (1) Party members must be organized into groups for the study of documents on Party expansion; (2) all organizations above administrative district Party committees must form inspection teams to supervise the expansion work of lower Party organizations; (3) all organizations must publish directives and pamphlets on Party expansion and make them available for mass circulation; (4) monthly reports on the progress of the membership drive must be submitted to the Central Committee of the Party.

This directive was elaborated by Yü Chiang-chen, chief of the Department of Organization of the Party Bureau. Yü instructed Party secretaries to organize teams led by responsible Party members and to promote Party expansion in villages and factories. He also called for the organization of temporary ch'ü Party branches wherever possible and greater efforts on the part of the Department of Organization and the Discipline Inspection Committee. He pointed out that the success of the membership drive

9. Ibid., Oct. 18, 1952, p. 1.

665 depended upon the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility of individual Party members, especially those employed in the Department of Organization who were charged with conducting the drive.[10]

The first membership drive brought thousands of new members into the Party. Four months after the beginning of the drive Szechwan had filled over 7 per cent of its quota. Chungking alone contributed 3,000 new Party members.[11] The campaign in Kweichow netted even greater gains -- 11,000 new members.[12] Government offices contributed the largest number of new Party members (35%), followed by rural areas (18%), factories (9%), commercial establishments (9%), and schools (6%). New members were selected from among 220,000 activists recommended by trade unions, the New Democratic Youth Corps, and other organizations.[13] Special training schools were established for their instruction and indoctrination.

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10. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1952, p. 1.
11. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1952, p. 1.
12. Ibid., Nov. 13, 1952, p. 1.
13. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1952, p. 1.

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665 During 1953 and 1954 the membership of the Party continued to increase. The growth of industry in the Southwest and the national campaign for the creation of agricultural co-operatives provided an environment favorable to Party expansion. By June 1954 there were 117,536 Party members serving in rural areas.[14] Recently conquered Yunnan contributed 30,000 new members to this total.[15] Expansion also took place in the cities. Between 1953 and 1955 over 8,000 new members were admitted into the Party's Chungking branch.[16] In the factories almost 10 per cent of the workers were Party members. Members usually were selected from among the most skilled and experienced workers. Four hundred and sixty nine new Party branches were organized.

During this period the Party also sought to attract members of ethnic minorities into its ranks. There are over 18,000,000 of these minority peoples, scattered over the

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14. People's Daily, June 6, 1954, p. 3.
15. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1954, p. 5.
16. Ibid., June 30, 1954, p. 3; Survey of China Mainland Press, U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong, No. 1018 (Supplement), April 15, 1955, p. 34.

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665 entire Southwest. Their close ties with communities in Southeast Asia enhance their value to the Party (See chapter on Ethnic Groups.) In November 1954, 5,000 members of ethnic minorities residing in Yunnan became Party members.[17] Most had been members of Party organization teams or were graduates of the Institution for Nationality Groups.

These efforts to increase Party membership in the Southwest were accelerated by the inauguration of a national membership drive in 1955. Under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Party teams sought to increase Party membership in rural areas. At that time, the Party had over 4,000,000 members in rural areas and had established Party branches in 70 per cent of the hsiang.[18] At present, Party membership is expanding rapidly.

F. Party Overhauling

Party overhauling generally involves

17. Ibid., Nov. 28, 1954, p. 1.
18. People's Daily, March 9, 1955, p. 1.

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665 four major activities: (1) rectification,[19] a step which involves examination and the political education of Party members; (2) review and criticism of Party members' work; (3) arousal of mass interest in the criticism of Party members, and (4) increased study.

The examination of individual Party members centers upon the eight conditions set forth by the Party and upon the San Ch'a ("three checks" principle). The eight conditions required of a Party member have been set forth in the Party's Constitution. They include the realization of the ultimate goal of the Party, devotion to the cause and interest of the Party, and absolute obedience

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19. Prior to the assumption of power, there had been two rectification movements in Party history, in 1942-44 and in 1947-48. For a study of the 1942-44 rectification, see Boyd Compton, Mao's China: Party Reform Documents, 1942-44., Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1952. The 1952 rectification movement was aimed at the promotion of the fighting spirit in the Party and the study of administrative and organizational material.

• 45 to Party leaders.[20] The San Ch'a principle is employed by the Party as a means of eliminating undesirable members. San Ch'a can mean a check on work, work style, and ideology; it can also mean a check on viewpoint and personal history. During the Land Reform Movement, work, style, history, and class status constituted the three checks. This practice may not appear violent, but its psychological effect upon the individual is alarming.

Even the selection of Party members for further training can be used to eliminate undesirables, for it is a device to re-examine the qualifications of Party members; those who fail to pass the examination may be expelled. While rectification and overhauling are constant, the examination given four times a year increases the pressure upon Party members.

Because of the extreme weakness of the Party in the Southwest, no serious overhauling of Party organizations in this region

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20. For detailed discussion of the eight conditions, consult Tzu-wen An, "Strengthen the Work of Party Reform and Party Expansion on the Foundation of Victory in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns," Current Background, No. 251, July 25, 1953, pp. 5-6.

665 took place prior to 1955. The reorganization of agricultural producers' co-operatives, which took place in 1955, was the first Party reform movement conducted in the Southwest.

G. Indoctrination and Training

Another way of maintaining Party unity and discipline is by the constant indoctrination and training of each member.[21] This practice is aimed at the revitalization of adherence to Party doctrine.

665 874 Southwest China maintains two schools, a cultural school to raise the general level of education and an ideological school to tighten adherence to doctrine.

In the country as a whole, one half of the cadres, most of them Party member, have less than a junior high school education,

21. Pamphlets published by the 6th Section of Kuomintang on Formosa relative to this subject are of interest: Fei-tang Hsün-lien Ti P'ou-shih [An Analytical Study of Indoctrination of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1952; Chung-kung Tang Ti tsu-chih yü K'ung-chih [Organization and Control of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1951.

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and some actually are illiterate.[22] To remedy this, a cultural school system, administered by the Party and the government was established in this region in 1951, with the aim of raising the cadre standard to the junior high school level.[23] The course called for two semesters of twenty weeks, with four two-hour evening classes per week. In January 1954, a revised plan was ordered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, establishing a nationwide system and bringing both individuals and the responsible secretaries below the county and ch'ü levels into the new plan.[24] The plan called for cadre education equivalent to grade school and/or that of junior high school. Also included in the program, and to be completed in three or four months, was a class for the illiterate. Evening schools for the average cadre took twenty weeks at six hours a week. The secretaries and administrative personnel of the Party who were unable to take time off during the day for the supplementary

22. People's Daily, Jan. 22,1954, p. 1.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

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•665 874 classes were expected to attend school in the evening.

The purpose of the ideological school is to train Party members, candidates for membership, and leaders of mass organizations. Located in Chungking, the Southwestern ideological school is under the joint control of the Southwest Party Bureau and the Chungking Municipal Party Committee. Together with its 108 branch schools, it trained some 80,000 people in 1952. Instructors are trained in two special schools, where they study such things as Party history, the Party Constitution, and Soviet works on economic reconstruction.[25]

H. Affiliated Party Organizations

668 The Party attempts to utilize the enthusiasm of youth through two organizations which, although not a part of the Party, are under its supervision: the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and its subordinate group, the Young Pioneers, for youths aged

25. New China Daily, Jan. 17, 1953, p. 1.

668 the government's view and emphasizes the technique of self-criticism.

Communist control in the city is much more rigid and forceful than in the village. With the spread of Communist domination over many organizations, factories, and other professional organizations, Communist domination is strengthened. Although public security sub-stations play a leading role in enforcing government decrees, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be minimized.

III. ELECTIONS AND POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

666 665 A. Elections

The nationwide election which produced the People's congresses at all levels was held in the Southwest between 1953 and July-August, 1954.

1. Election Mechanism. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China was

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665 promulgated on March 1, 1953.[64] Article 3
666 stipulates that deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like People's congress of the next lower level. Deputies to the People's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected directly by the electors. To administer these elections, the electoral law provides for the establishment of election committees at all levels down to the hsiang. Members of the committees are appointed by the People's government of the next higher level. The eight functions assigned to the committee at the hsiang level were reinforced by the directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[65] The chairman of the committee is appointed from the higher level. The committee defines electoral districts: each district consists

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64. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congresses and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1953.

65. For the eight functions of the committee, see Article 39, ibid.

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•665 of at least 200 people, in order to supply two
666 or three representatives. A voter-qualification examination board is established; only those who pass the examination may receive the electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level directly control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the Party representatives and representatives of mass organizations within the election committee.

Although the election of the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of hsiang or a town deputy may be conducted byeither secret ballot or a show of hands (Article 55).

665 During the period prior to the general
208 elections of 1953 and 1954, the Party
666 accelerated its program of propagandaand indoctrination. Every phase of the campaign was designed to induce mass participation and greater adherence to Communist values and objectives. Szechwan was the center of an especially intense propaganda campaign.[66]

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66. New China Daily, May 16, 1953, p. 1; also May 30, 1953, p. 1.

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665 Fifty nine thousand election handbooks were
666 distributed by some 180,000 specially trained
208 propagandists, many of them members of the Szechwan Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Among other devices used were 34 mobile motion picture projection teams, 400 slide-projector units, innumerable "cultural" exhibits, and periodic radio
665 broadcasts. Election personnel were chosen
668 from various Party, governmental, and mass organizations. Students also were widely used. For example, in Kweichow some 400 students of political science and law, together with several hundred graduates of the Provincial Institue of Nationalists, served as election officers.[67]

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. In all provinces, between one-fourth and one-third of the deputies elected to the Provincial People's Congresses were members of the Communist Party.[68] Most non-Party deputies enthusiastically supported the Party's program. It would seem that, like most elections in Communist states, the general elections of 1953 and 1954 were

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67. Ibid., May 19, 1953, p. 3.

68. People's Daily, March 21, 1954, p. 3; also April 28, 1954, p. 3.

665 conducted in order to facilitate the indoctrination
666 of the masses, rather than to secure leaders who enjoyed the support of the majority of the electorate.

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The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, composed of former Kuomintang officials, forms the largest group participating in government. The next largest is the Democratic League. As a party made up of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, it serves as a symbol of coalition. The China Association for the Promotion of Democracy is a party of the national bourgeoisie, including industrialists and capitalists. Its services are needed in the nation's economic programs. Minor parties having some political importance are drafted for other activities. Of special importance is the Chih Kung Tang, which, as an overseas Chinese political association, has been a major medium through which the Communists seek support from abroad.

The status of minor parties in this region is determined ultimately by their status in the central government -- a status which changed after the promulgation of the Constitution. While the Constitution still calls for the continued functioning of the People's

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The local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which are the organizational forms of the United Front, are no longer politically important. In 1951 their duties included assisting local governments, reflecting public opinion, examining decrees submitted by the government, and participating in government-sponsored drives. Article 18 of the Constitution has reduced them to advisory agencies.[69]

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666 1954, the establishment of these committees in administrative districts, cities, and counties was encouraged. The new Constitution only allows for the establishment of these committees in provinces and in municipalities directly under the central authority.

With the consolidation of Communist political power at all levels, the position of minor parties is further endangered. For instance, the liquidation of capitalists in the transitional stage certainly will reduce the power of the China Association for the Promotion of Democracy. Eventually, minor parties no longer will exist as political forces in the ordinary sense of the term, simply because they no longer will exert political influence.

665 1. Control and Infiltration of Minor
668 Parties. The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. The guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

665 indicates the degree to which these minor
668 parties have subordinated themselves to the Communist Party of China. Minor parties "must assist the state organs and set the social forces in motion ... to maintain close contact with the masses ... to continue to consolidate and develop the alliance between China and the U.S.S.R. .... and to study Marxist-Leninist theories on a voluntary basis, study state policy, elevate political levels, practice self-criticism and criticism, and strive for ideological remolding."

The Communist Party relies chiefly on infiltration to eliminate minor parties. Through the Party Committee's Department of the United Front, the Party maintains a close control over the policies and activities of the minor parties. Often it virtually dictates their policies. For example, the resolution on party expansion adopted by the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party in December 1951 authorized the appointment of Communist Party members to high posts within the organization. In addition, it forbade the establishment of party units in the countryside and excluded party activists from such organizations as the People's Liberation Army, the public security agencies, and intelligence units.

665 668 2. Minor Parties and "Pressure Politics." In a democracy, the political activity of minor or opposition parties may indicate the measure of effective democracy. Likewise, special interest groups, as such, can enjoy their political privileges under democratic rule. In Communist China, since public opinion is controlled by the Communist Party, and since the minor parties have only assigned duties to perform, special interest groups and the dissident parties exert no "pressure" upon the state organizations dominated by the Party nor do they take part in the making of decisions.

Deputies of the minor parties were allowed to make speeches at the All-People's Conferences, but they limited themselves to priase, criticizing only those minor faults which the Communists themselves had admitted publicly.

Finally, with the retirement of aging leaders whose authority dates from the pre-Communist period, and with the absence of young and vigorous new members, the value of the minor parties is in rapid decline.

CONCLUSION

665 Since 1952 both the size and the influence of the Communist Party have increased

665 rapidly in Southwest China. By 1954 Party branches had been organized in 63 per cent of the hsiang, an increase of 900 per cent over 1952. Nevertheless, this abnormally rapid expansion merely reflects the original weakness of the Party in this region. In fact, as late as 1953, the Party had so little support among the mass of the peasants, that it had to use force to bring about the organization of agricultural producers' co-operatives.

The rapid growth of industry in the Southwest, together with the recent decision of the 6th Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Party to accelerate the organization of collective farms, will necessitate even greater Party expansion in the immediate future. Such expansion may well arouse unprecedented opposition, requiring violent methods of suppression similar to those employed in the Soviet Union in the 1920's.

578 process, each level of government has a particular target in mind and exerts influence on the next lower political echelon to achieve that objective. The result is an accumulation of pressure at the base of the political pyramid.

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466 In the economic field, each factory is given a production quota, assigned through a similar chain-of-command method. To fulfill the quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure engendered is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them means severe penalties. Recently, the Communists have attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in an effort to gain some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

• 665
578 Within the Party itself, pressure and tension are most intense. In the first place, the Party apparatus as the center of power and activity of the regime is subject to pressure by both the Party and the state. Secondly,

665 578 Party members cannot escape the endless program of Party indoctrination and rectification. The dual pressures and resulting tension are in large part responsible for the high rate of expulsion and resignation from the Party. Many people who are outwardly in favor of the regime are reluctant to join the Party. The fate of former Parry members after expulsion or resignation is not known, but they are undoubtedly confined in prisons or forced labor camps for some period of time. If allowed to remain free or when released, ex-members are probably subject to security surveillance. However, they may in time form a new subversive group.

668 578 Tension also exists in mass organizations as the result of pressure imposed upon them by the Party and higher organizations. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These group must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from

635 Council and its president.

From this list the powers of the Provincial People's Congress are enumerated. It should be noted, however, that while the Provincial People's Congress has a number of powers over organs on the provincial and lower levels, it is itself under the ultimate control of the National People's Congress and inevitably of the Central Government.

666 The Provincial People's Congress is elected indirectly. Its size is determined by: (1) the population of the province; (2) the number of the counties within the province. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the Congresses of all levels, a province with a population not exceeding 20 million shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; a province with a population exceeding 20 million, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally small, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but shall not exceed 600.

Since the members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected, not directly by the people of the province, but indirectly by the counties, the provincial municipalities, towns, and others, the size of the Provincial Congress is governed by a second principle: a county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population between 200,000 and 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies.

666 From the municipalities and towns and the important industrial and mining districts within the provinces, one deputy shall be elected by every 20,000 of the population. Based on the above-mentioned principles, the number of the members of the Provincial Congress as of the Southwest is as follows: Szechwan, 650, plus Sikang, 101; Yunnan, 344; Kweichow, 284.

635 It is important to note the relationship between the provincial government and the provincial congress in their actual work. Usually, the chairman or the governor gives a report on government work, followed by another report on the tasks of the coming year, which announced not only the measures planned by provincial government but also the methods by which the people can fulfill the agricultural and industrial production quotas. As examples, the procedure of the Szechwan and the Yunnan Provincial People's Congresses have been described in the above paragraphs. The procedure of the first Kweichow Provincial People's Congress affords a further illustration.

The first Provincial People's Congress of Kweichow was convened in the period July 22-30, with an attendance of 284 members. Chou Lin, the vice-chairman of Kweichow, made a report on the work of the Kweichow government in the past four years. He pointed out that great improvement had been made in handling the affairs of the minority groups. In the counties where the minorities were 40 per cent of the

668 Union.[58]

668 666 3. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period:. 1953-1955. Premier Chou En-lai's announcement of a nationwide election in 1953 and the fact that the majority of 280,000 hsiang had held all-circle People's conferences indicated the degree of Communist confidence in their power.

At the village and hsiang levels, the key task in the period prior to the election was the consolidation and strengthening of the hsiang government and the allocation of electoral districts.[59] The ts'un (village) lost its status as an administrative unit. Its powers were taken over by the new hsiang government. At the same time, delegates to the hsiang representative conference were formed into a team for liaison work between the ts'un and the hsiang government. The jurisdiction of the hsiang governments was reduced, in order that they might exert closer control over the population under their authority. Jurisdiction was limited to area within a radius of 30 li

58. Ibid., Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

59. See the directive issued by Chang Chi-ch'un in Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2.

668 (approximately 10 miles) of the local head-
666 quarters and a population between 500 and 10,000. Ch'ü and county administrations were dealt with in similar fashion. The former was to have not more than 10 hsiang under its jurisdiction and the latter, not more than 10 ch'ü. Finally, electoral delegates were alloted on the basis of hsiang population.

668 After the promulgation of the Constitution, Communist political power was further strengthened. The hsiang People's congress now holds the highest formal authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the hsiang People's council. Resistance remains strong in the rural areas, however, and in 1955, two strong countermeasures were passed by
474 the Party.[60] Further expansion of agricultural
668 producers' co-operatives was temporarily checked, and the first Rural Basic-Level Organization Conference was held in April 1955 for the purpose of strengthening Party

60." Wei-shen-ma Pi-hsü Chung-shih Nung-yeh Sheng-ch'an Ho-tso-she Ti Kung-ku Kung-tso?" ["Why Should Productive Co-operatives Be Strengthened?"], New China Monthly, March 1955, pp. 133-134.

668 the government's view and emphasizes the technique of self-criticism.

Communist control in the city is much more rigid and forceful than in the village. With the spread of Communist domination over many organizations, factories, and other professional organizations, Communist domination is strengthened. Although public security sub-stations play a leading role in enforcing government decrees, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be minimized.

III. ELECTIONS AND POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

•666 665 A. Elections

The nationwide election which produced the People's congresses at all levels was held in the Southwest between 1953 and July-August, 1954.

1. Election Mechanism. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China was

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665 promulgated on March 1, 1953.[64] Article 3
666 stipulates that deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like People's congress of the next lower level. Deputies to the People's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected directly by the electors. To administer these elections, the electoral law provides for the establishment of election committees at all levels down to the hsiang. Members of the committees are appointed by the People's government of the next higher level. The eight functions assigned to the committee at the hsiang level were reinforced by the directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[65] The chairman of the committee is appointed from the higher level. The committee defines electoral districts: each district consists

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64. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congresses and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1953.

65. For the eight functions of the committee, see Article 39, ibid.

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665 of at least 200 people, in order to supply two
666 or three representatives. A voter-qualification examination board is established; only those who pass the examination may receive the electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level directly control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the Party representatives and representatives of mass organizations within the election committee.

Although the election of the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of hsiang or a town deputy may be conducted byeither secret ballot or a show of hands (Article 55).

665 During the period prior to the general
208 elections of 1953 and 1954, the Party
666 accelerated its program of propagandaand indoctrination. Every phase of the campaign was designed to induce mass participation and greater adherence to Communist values and objectives. Szechwan was the center of an especially intense propaganda campaign.[66]

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66. New China Daily, May 16, 1953, p. 1; also May 30, 1953, p. 1.

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Fifty nine thousand election handbooks were distributed by some 180,000 specially trained propagandists, many of them members of the Szechwan Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Among other devices used were 34 mobile motion picture projection teams, 400 slide-projector units, innumerable "cultural" exhibits, and periodic radio broadcasts. Election personnel were chosen from various Party, governmental, and mass organizations. Students also were widely used. For example, in Kweichow some 400 students of political science and law, together with several hundred graduates of the Provincial Institue of Nationalists, served as election officers.[67]

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. In all provinces, between one-fourth and one-third of the deputies elected to the Provincial People's Congresses were members of the Communist Party.[68] Most non-Party deputies enthusiastically supported the Party's program. It would seem that, like most elections in Communist states, the general elections of 1953 and 1954 were

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67. Ibid., May 19, 1953, p. 3.

68. People's Daily, March 21, 1954, p. 3; also April 28, 1954, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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668 Parties. The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. The guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

208 The significance of the part played by personal contact in the Communist propaganda scheme is well expressed in an editorial of the People's Daily. The Party has been relying on separate propaganda campaigns to achieve the goals, the editorial said. At first, Party members thought that personal contact was essential to the successful dissemination of propaganda. Now everybody admits that "propaganda officers are trail-blazers without whom nothing can be undertaken."[78]

VII. CONCLUSION

A. The Massiveness of the System

208 666 The Chinese Communist propaganda machine makes use of all types of media which are coordinated to function effectively. Once a decision is made by the top members of the Party hierarchy, it will be transmitted to Party and government agencies at lower levels for execution. Then a sort of chain reaction will begin. Take the 1954 general election, for instance. The decision was made in Peking in early 1953. By May all the provinces had already organized special committees

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78. People's Daily, Peking, 1953, p. 1.

208 to carry it out. Meanwhile from Peking came
666 detailed instructions embodied in the General Election Handbook, of which 1,380,000 copies were distributed throughout the country. Discussions on the forthcoming election filled the pages of the press and consumed the bulk of radio time of all the major broadcasting stations. Provincial authorities further printed thousands of pamphlets for distribution. The Shantung provincial branch of the New China Bookstore alone handled more than 16,000 copies of these pamphlets in the first half of May 1953. By June all the propaganda officers were mobilized, briefed on the subject, and assigned to work. In Szechwan Province, 180,000 propaganda officers worked feverishly. More than 400 lantern slide teams took to the back roads and side roads of the province; about 440 cultural centers staged co-ordinated programs.[79] Every unit of the public information and propaganda system was put to work. It was claimed that, mainly on the basis of this immense propaganda campaign, the turnout of the election was close to 90 per cent of the nation's total eligible voters. Such a claim might have been exaggerated, but the effectiveness of such an intense campaign
208 should not be totally discredited. After all, during China's War of Resistance against Japan, the propaganda teams organized by the Nationalists succeeded, in 1938-40 at least, in making the villagers of western Szechwan aware of the national leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, and the grave situation

79. People's Daily, Peking, May 29, 1953, p. 1.

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/For details of Communist policies toward various sociological, political, and economic aspects of present-day Southwest China, see the entire text in category 116./

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education movement and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

government wartime censorship and control which permitted no criticism of existing conditions or of government policies and personnel. The revolutionary, political, economic, and social elements of the Kuomintang peogram which had won the party a popular following and control of the national government in the mid-1920's had been repudiated under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and replaced with a reworked Confucian doctrine that sanctioned authoritarian rule.[36] As a result, the spread of Kuomintang influence in the Southwest Region and the recruitment there of members to the Party and its auxiliary San-min Chu-i Youth Corps served to disseminate the principles and influences of authoritarian rule rather than to stir up the social ferment which had accompanied the Kuomintang's rise to power at Nanking a decade earlier. At the same time, the government found it expedient to permit local warlords to maintain their control and oppression of the people without interference as long as assigned quotas for grain payment and army inductees were met.

In the last year of World War II, popular dissatisfaction with Nationalist Government control and policies was plainly manifested in the Southwest Region as elsewhere in China by outbreaks of rebellions and anti-government demonstrations. They

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36. See Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: the Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," The Far Eastern Quarterly, August 1955.

668 were evidently inspired by economic rather than political factors. Enemy bombings and infantry drives against economic objectives, inflation, heavy taxes, and forced delivery of grain quotas to the government at prices far below the open market rate drove farmers and townspeople into bankruptcy, starvation, and desperate measures. After the war, the Nationalist Government was preoccupied with containing or eliminating the Communists while restoring its position in the agriculturally and industrially wealthier, more developed regions of North, Central-South, East and Northeast China. The Southwest was left more to its own devices and the rule of local warlords than was originally planned by the central authorities.

IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Long March

668 669 Before the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, Communism had had a more fleeting existence in Southwest China than in any other region of China. The only period of considerable Communist activity in the Southwest prior to the autumn of 1949 was at the time of the circuitous Long March. The six thousand-mile trek was a Communist retreat from areas of strength in Kiangsi and Fukien to Shensi under constant pressure from Kuomintang air and ground forces.

The first Communist migration occurred in 1933 when Nationalist Government attacks on the

668 soviets in the Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei border area
669 forced a partial withdrawal of the Communist troops there to Szechwan.[37] They were able to hold on to the naturally defensible northwest corner of the province, and this became the initial goal of the main forces of the Chinese soviets when they were forced to leave their bases in Kiangsi and Fukien under the sledge hammer blows of the Fifth Campaign launched by Chiang Kai-shek in October 1934. The line of retreat for the main body passed through Kweichow, Yunnan, and eastern Sikang.

In these provinces and in Szechwan, the Communists undertook propaganda activities among the Chinese and tribal peoples to gain their good will for the passage of the retreating column of soldiers and civilians. Such acts as the furnishing of arms to the Lolo tribesmen of southwestern Szechwan and eastern Sikang and the distribution of excess captured food supplies to the Chinese peasants all along the route of march helped ease the Communists' way into the Sung-p'an area of Szechwan in July 1935.

While the spent ranks of the new arrivals paused to regain their strength, the Communist leaders argued out future strategy. Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai from the Kiangsi-Fukien soviets insisted that the march be resumed with Shensi as the objective. The leaders of the former Hunan-

37. On the Communist retreat through the Southwest Region see Snow, op. cit., pp.178-194.

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Hupeh-Anhwei force, Chang Kuo-t'ao and Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, favored remaining at the Szechwan base. Evidently the difference was bound up with a continuing power struggle and could not be resolved. In late August, the main force under Mao and Chou struck north into Shensi. Chang and Hsü with their contingent did not follow until a year later, and then only when driven out of Szechwan by Chiang Kai-shek's armies.

From 1936 until the Red Army invaded the Southwest in 1949, no large-scale Communist movement showed itself in the wartime stronghold of the Nationalist Government. However, a small number of official Communist representatives led by Chou En-lai were stationed at Chungking to maintain liaison with the Kuomintang in the uneasy and mutually expedient alliance between the two armed parties of China during the war of resistance against Japan.

B. Personalities with the Communist Regime

Although the Southwest experienced Communism only briefly before 1949, some of the top men in the Communist regime today derived from Szechwan. Three early converts to Communism from Szechwan are military men -- Chu Teh, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Ch'en I.

The best known and most remarkable of the trio is Chu Teh.[38] Born into a wealthy family,

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38. Ibid., pp. 346-55.

669 he was early trained in Western military science
668 and accustomed to luxury and the opium habit. After distinguishing himself as one of Ts'ai Ao's leading generals in 1911 and 1915-16, Chu fell back into the indolent, corrupt life of a warlord-bureaucrat in Yunnan until his habit of reading stirred him into beginning a new life in his late thirties. Forsaking his family and position in Chungking, he broke himself of opium addiction, came under the influence of young leftists and Communists in Shanghai, and travelled and studied in Germany, France, and Moscow before returning to China in 1925. Caught up in the Nationalist Revolution then rising to flood stage, Chu became a full-fledged Communist in 1927 when the split in the Kuomintang-Communist alliance faced him with choosing one side or the other. From 1928 when he joined his forces with those of Mao Tse-tung on the Kiangsi-Hunan border until the end of the Long March in Shensi some seven years later, Chu Teh became a legendary figure in China and in the annals of defensive-guerrilla tactics. Since 1931 he has been commander of the Communist armies, and is now one of the most honored "old comrades" of the Party.

Both Ch'en I and Liu Po-ch'eng joined the Communist Party before Chu Teh, but they did not begin to distinguish themselves until the war of resistance against Japan. Ch'en led the New Fourth Army in the Yangtze River area, while Liu headed the 129th division of the Eighth Route Army in the North China Region. During

669 668 the civil war that followed almost immediately on Japan's surrender, Ch'en I rose to the position of commander of the Third Field Army and Liu Po-ch'eng was promoted to the command of the Second Field Army. The two armies were responsible for the campaigns in the East and Central-South regions, and the Second Army carried the brunt of the attack on the Southwest Region. Ch'en I became a major figure in the East China Region after the Communist victory, and Liu Po-ch'eng assumed various positions of military and civilian leadership in Southwest China.

Another native of Szechwan, Kuo Mo-jo, is one of the leading figures of modern, pre-Communist Chinese literature, journalism, and scholarship. Not a member of the Communist Party as far as is known, Kuo has been heaped with honors by the Communist regime, allowed to travel extensively outside China, and given numerous official positions in the regime's cultural and literary organizations. Originally an advocate of art for art's sake, he became gradually more socially conscious and radical in his literary and journalistic work. Forced to flee to Japan because of his leftist political ideas, he added serious studies in Chinese archeology and ancient history to his long list of writings in poetry, fiction, and political-social polemics.

C. Postwar Victory

By the time the Communist forces entered the Southwest Region in strength, the rest of the Mainland had been overrun and the Communist

669 regime formally established in Peking.[39] It
668 was November before the Second Field Army under Liu Po-ch'eng launched an attack on Kweichow, taking the provincial capital at Kwei-yang on November 15. Chungking in Szechwan fell to the Second Field Army on the last day of the month. During the next few weeks, Liu's forces moved westward toward Chengtu while the Fourth Field Army struck into Szechwan from the north. After Chengtu fell December 27, many of the remaining organized Kuomintang forces surrendered to the Communists in Yunnan and Sikang, and the Communists officially claimed the complete "liberation" of the Southwest Region. However, it is clear that large-scale unorganized resistance continued for a good part of 1950, and isolated bands undoubtedly held out much longer in the rugged mountain areas of the Southwest. It is
636 doubtful, too, whether the Communists have any more real control than had former regimes over the semi-independent tribal areas of the Southwest, especially along its borders with Indo-China and Burma.

669 The lack of any prolonged organized resistance in the naturally defensible areas of the Southwest Region was the result of several factors. Little faith in the Kuomintang cause remained

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39. The names, dates, and campaigns connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts as far as can be determined by checking against other scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1954, pp. 108-09.

669 among the Nationalist armies and the Chinese
668 people left in the Southwest region. The best Kuomintang troops that could be salvaged from the Communist avalanche had already been withdrawn with the government and its leading officials to Formosa. Other nationalist armed forces retreated into Burma under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, living off the Burmese countryside and making occasional harrassing raids into Southwest China for several years until withdrawn to Formosa. Many of the troops and their leaders who surrendered wholesale to the Communists in the Southwest provinces were warlord elements which never had had any commitment, let alone loyalty, to the Nationalist Government.

For the tribal people, the advent of the Communists meant only a change in rulers, with no guarantee that the new overlords would be any more upright or considerate in their dealings with the unassimilated peoples than had been the old Nationalist bureaucracy. The Chinese people of the region were thoroughly sick of warlord exploitation and Nationalist Government corruption. Any regime that promised peace and stability would have been welcomed. To the great majority of the Southwest's population, the peasants, the struggle for power was none of their business. They stood aside waiting for the winner to emerge, and accepted the victory of the Red Army as the beginning of a new dynasty which had inherited the "mandate of heaven" from the discredited Kuomintang.

178 in the new business or political hierarchy and
565 yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 Influenced by the idea of democracy which
565 they had discovered in the new schools, the in-
668 tellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power, ob-
874 taining offices by virtue of their military success.
555 Rather than despising the military as the older
565 scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

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the Kuomintang leader Chiang-Kai-shek, "bureaucratic capitalists" like H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, "feudalistic" landlords, and a host of other anti-Communist leaders. The second group consisted of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the national bourgeois. Workers were considered the elite of the nation; the peasants were to be converted into rural workers through collectivization of agriculture, or into urban workers through the development of industry; the petty bourgeois were needed during the "New Democratic Stage" and were to be "re-educated" in the process of reconstruction; and the national bourgeois, once "enslaved: by bureaucratic capitalism, were now "free" to contribute to the industrialization of China. Mao's classification of the Chinese population and his stipulation of the task of each class at the "New Democratic Stage" formed the conceptual basis from 1949 to 1954 for the Communist policy toward each of the classes.

The convocation of the National People's Congress in 1954 is considered by the Chinese Communists to have marked the conclusion of the "New Democratic Stage: and the beginning of a transitional period which will lead China to socialism. Land reform had been completed and the landlords as a class eliminated, the wings of the bourgeois industrialists, and merchants, had been clipped by the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and the "ideology of the working class" had been officially established as the ideology for all sectors of China.

B. The New Social Ladder

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The Chinese Communists distinguish between persons "from the working class" and those "possessing the ideology of the working class." The Party acknowledges that not all Communists are from the working class but those who have accepted its ideology belong to it. By the same logic, the working-class character of the People's Liberation Army is fixed. The Communists says that, since the People's Liberation Army is led by the working class, viz., the Communist Party, although the bulk of the soldiers and commanders may not be from the working class, the army remains of the working class. Conversely, many workers may not possess the ideology of the working class. The Communists explain that most of the Chinese workers are fresh from the villages where "feudalistic ideas" abound and have not had time to develop the ideology of the working class.

The classification of people according to the ideology they profess is one of the underlying principles governing the activities of the Communist-sponsored organizations where membership cuts across class lines. The New Democratic Youth Corps, the Federation of Democratic Youth, the Young Pioneers, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, the labor unions, rural organizations such as the peasants' associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives, and the study circles at schools and in factories help to disseminate Communist ideology.

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590 Participation in these mass organizations, whether voluntary or compulsory, serves to separate the individual from his family, absorbing his time and energy outside the family circle. Enforcement of the Marriage Law, principally through the promotion and supervision of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, encourages women to leave the confines of the family. The recruitment of candidates for institutions of higher learning and the assignment of jobs to graduates when they have completed their education also serve to uproot the individual from his immediate environment and make him dependent for advancement on the Communist regime. The weakening of family loyalty forces the indvidual to look toward the mass organizations sponsored by the Communists, who regard the Party itself as a desirable substitute
668 for the traditional social structure. Since the
555 individual relies on mass organizations for political advancement, which is the prerequisite for economic and social betterment, the mass organizations are most important for the stabilization of society under the current regime. The regime exercises the power to control the career expectancies of the members of mass organization reward the achievement of those who work for the goals of the Party leadership, and punish with ostracism or more severe penalties those who rebel against the order. For the first time since the abolition of the imperial examination system, a main channel of social advancement makes conformity the criteria of success. This state of affairs resembles, to some extent, that which prevailed in monarchical times when the mastery of dogmas contained in the Classics and their

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•668 commentaries was the prerequisite to success in
555 the imperial examinations.

The Communist regime found it necessary to promote as replacements for the old ruling group Communist-reformed and Communist-trained administrative, technical, and scientific personnel. Compared with the traditional social mobility, the new social mobility under the Communist regime does not spring from ideals embodied in Chinese culture but from expedient manipulation by the Communist Party.

In the development of industry, waterway and irrigation projects, the settlement of the Northwest, and the nationalization and collectivization of many enterprises, positions conceivably may be offered to absorb a good portion of the ambitious younger generation. If social mobility continues to depend on Party loyalty, purges may be used to secure loyalty, to provide a flow of scapegoats for the grievances which accumulate under a totalitarian system, and to furnish opportunities for advancement for the coming generation, whose continued devotion to the regime is crucial to its survival. But to date in Southwest China the purge of local cadres and officials at the regional level has been mainly limited to the elimination of "old social elements" rather than to the "revolutionaries" themselves.[13]

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13. Consult the chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook.

871 offered to a broader segment of the population in
178 the decade before World War II. New social,
596 political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press.
489 Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or
596 more away from the nearest great city were
178 brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

• 668 An even more disturbing influence on the
178 old way of life was the increasing spread of revo-
596 lutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

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of marriage...based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.

(3)...The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriage, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant, unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

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To help traditionally-minded families

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers, and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

59% attain the new Communist-established goal of
• 68 "democracy" and "harmony," family "struggle" meetings were arranged under cadre supervision. Each member was pressed to confess his own past sins and to help other family members to remember theirs. The particular transgressions sought out for exposure, condemnation, redress, and rectification were the mistreatment and beating of wives by husbands, similar behavior by mothers-in-law against daughters-in-law, and interference by parents in their children's free choice of marriage partners. Much was made in the Communist press of the suicides or murder of women and young people, attributed to "the old feudal system of marriage." [12]

Whatever the humanitarian by-products, the Marriage Law aimed at a basic change in Chinese society with two utilitarian purposes in view. One was to change the popular basis of loyalty from the family to the state. The other was to free the Chinese woman from her preoccupation with the home and children so that she might become a laborer in the field and factory. These aims were quite openly expressed. For instance, an article in the Peking Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao [China Youth] on the correct attitude toward parents, asserts that under the Confucian system with its emphasis on filial piety, parents had the right to regard their children as private property and demand sacrifices from them. Under the new regime, the article pointed out, "children are not the private property of their parents, but belong first of all to the state and to the people, and...the interests of the people

12. [see next page]

596 should be the highest criterion governing our
668 actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of women in Socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on to state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted and protected and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relationships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

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596 As the Nationalist government had made no attempt to put into effect the marriage and family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp.1-3; pp.4-14 and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong American Consulate, 932, iv; hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. The same conditions apply to this source as to Current Background; see footnote 8.

13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., p. 4; and SCMP, 104 pp. 30-31.

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II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

114 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

241 668 First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected. No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

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668 The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[15] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[16] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities as well as from among the ethnic minorities and training them to return to their native places as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in

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15. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

16. Ibid., p. 28.

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668 the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new. It is the cadre in the Southwest who brings to each locality the new policies for the various ethnic minorities.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulities.[17] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives inthe countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[18]

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17. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

18. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), 1036, April 28, 1955.

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•668 The cadre carries on the continuing effort to destroy traditional mores, which are prime resistants in what the Communist call the long and difficult process of ideological and social reform. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and, sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.[19]

556 668 The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to increase his family's land holdings is checked by fear lest he be re-classified as a "rich peasant" and be subject to higher taxes and other pressures. Yet what the Communists deplore as the peasant's "spontaneous capitalistic tendency" has not been crushed,

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19. People's Daily, Jan. 30, 1955; SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

556 668 and the landholdings of the more enterprising grow in size.[20]

The effort to force various forms of co-operative work has not been completely successful:

> "...when a serious team-use of labor, tools, and farm animals was attempted, a variety of unsatisfactory results emerged; quarrels among the families interfered with efficient output; no one assumed responsibility for the upkeep of communal property; the claims of inefficient members violated the sense of equity of the more efficient..."[21]

668 Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic, and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly, is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time, and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take more of his leisure. The slack winter season may now find him in winter school or

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20. Rostow, op. cit., p. 152, cites the Peking People's Daily, Feb. 13, 1954.
21. Rostow, op. cit., p. 84.

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668 involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

668 527 Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday now means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain, for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at the village level.[22] The New Year festival itself is characterized by some traditional activities, modified to promote government aims, and by some new features. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[23] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes, but the mottoes will no longer carry the old wishes for long life, happiness, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist [525] standards.[24] The government may allow some additional food for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can no longer be restricted to family and friends. 668 536 The peasants have been urged to organize their

22. SCMP 979, F b. 2, 1955, p. 30.
23. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
24. Cf. the collection of mottoes in Hua-nan T'ung-shu [South China Almanac], Canton, 1953, p. 32.

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668 own dramatic troupes to play the approved
536 repertoire, now brought to villages by
traveling troupes. Special mobile teams
668 trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures"
208 or to show films dramatizing the "New Order"
have been moving through the countryside.
The old exchange of visits with relatives in
nearby towns now has its Communist counter-
part: interchange of visits between urban and
rural workers' groups to observe one another's
"progress in Communist reconstruction."[25]

668 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company,
to some famous shrine also has its Communist
counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-
tung's native village, which is being publicized
as a national shrine.[26] Despite its frontal
attack on the old familism, the Communist
government last year provided special trains
to take city dwellers back to their native
villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was
reported from Peking.[27]

796 Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved
668 festival, presumably because of its function

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25. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid. Also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21.
We have no data on this for the Southwest.

as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. Although we have no data, it is safe to assume that the elaborate festival calendar of "West Town," Hunan, described by Hsü, has been severely reduced by "anti-superstition" campaigns and other work of the cadres.[28] The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[29] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen that the pattern of living in the villages has been drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained to be abruptly condemned without precipitating a crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrinatic

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28. Cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 22-24.
29. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

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III. CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIVING

668 In the towns and cities, as in the countryside, the greatest changes in living patterns have been brought about by the network of new associations by which the regime envelops and controls the individual. Workers in various traditional crafts, merchants, industrial workers, all are organized by the Party, and it is within these groups, under the guidance of cadres, that the urban working population is most strenuously indoctrinated. In long and frequent meetings, the city dweller is under intense pressure to manifest "correct attitudes," to show himself free of all "feudal" and "bourgeois" taint, and to demonstrate his complete commitment to Communist goals. Through these and other channels he is under continual pressure to step up his efficiency and productivity. The meetings take such a toll of his energy at the end of the working day that they are openly referred to as "fatigue meetings."[30]

632 668 City and town dwellers are also organized into street and ward units, which serve further to mold urban life into the new pattern.[31] The

30. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

31. Cf., "Regulations of Urban Organizations," Current Background, 310, Jan. 17, 1955.

632 townsman, more than the peasant, is open to
668 an "around the clock" propaganda barrage. From the first call to early morning calisthenics, the radio blares in every street until late at night. There is pressure to join sports groups, study groups -- all with their ideological purposes. The major Communist holidays are celebrated in the cities with great parades and with endless speeches. Privacy and the chance to be at ease with family or friends are rare.

668 The New Year's holiday has some of its
527 old gaiety, although subject to the same restrictions imposed on the peasant. The cities receive special shipments of seasonal delicacies, they appear to do at the mid-autumn and Dragon Boat festivals, and trips back to the family village may be possible for a minority of the urban population.[32] New Year's activities in 1955 suggest the way in which

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32. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2. In preparation for the New Year exodus from the cities in 1955, the Ministry of Railways estimated that "over three and half million more people will travel than on normal days, mostly to join in united family celebrations of the holiday." NCNA dispatch, Jan. 19, 1955; SCMP, 972, Jan. 20, 1955, p. 21.

668 527 all public celebrations of the festival are made to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, in the coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and dance troupes performed at thirty factories.[33]

668 [653] 369 The cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, large sections of old city walls such as those of Chengtu have been destroyed, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[34]

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33. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager. We do not have details on activities in the Southwest. We would expect them to be similar in outline, less elaborate in form.

34. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

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[511] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has
• 618 been no real increase in wages for the urban
369 worker.[35] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This identification and the opportunities offered by the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land in the country, where economic opportunities are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

The elite of the towns and cities are the functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families somewhat easier

35. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

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668 369 life than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[36]

The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine, as the Communists plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

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36. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

181 178 There have been profound changes in basic attitudes over the last century and particularly during the last five years. Change has been brought about by two factors. The first is the disintegration of the old social and political order resulting from its failure to adapt itself to the problems and pressures of the modern world. Consequently, people became critical of the older attitudes and, in increasing numbers, adopted newer "modern" attitudes and values which were considered better suited to a modern China. The second is the power of the Communist state which, in the last five years, has been used to inculcate a new and uniform set of values and attitudes.

181 668 These two factors are closely inter- related. Thus, the Communists have been making a sympathetic use of individual and group-dissatisfaction with the old order to inspire and promote the acceptance of the new attitudes and values; the latter's appeal has been particularly strong with youth -- especially adolescents -- and with women who have been taught to regard the old social order as tyrannical and oppressive. The following will illustrate this last point:

> Co-operative agriculture has
> organization,
> and women are not left out.
> In the old society we were badly
> mistreated,
> but the new society teaches friend-
> ship and love.[29]

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29 Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [Three-character Classic for Women], Hsin-hua Publishing House, 1950, p.21. Three-character rhymed verses [cont'd next page]

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In addition to capitalizing on discontent, the Communists have been making a peculiar use of traditional attitudes and values. Certain values from the old order still have a strong emotional appeal for the Chinese people. And the Communists seek to make the new order more acceptable by associating some of its elements with selected elements from the traditional culture. For example, they insist that as a guiding principle of personal behavior the idea of "struggle" (tou-cheng) must replace that of "harmony" (ho).[30] People are taught to struggle for self-perfection and to engage in class struggle, in the struggle for a new China, and in the struggle against deviation even when this involves attacking their friends. This is utterly contrary to the old ideal of harmony in personal relations, an ideal that means in practice a comfortable adjustment to one's natural and human environments. Yet in urging all to struggle, the Communists insist that the ultimate goal of all struggle is the Ta-t'ung ching-yü -- the traditional utopian ideal of a harmonious, frictionless social order.[31]

[29. from previous page] were widely used in traditional China for the indoctrination of the young.

30. Cf. Arthur F. Wright, "Struggle vs. Harmony: Symbols of Competing Values in Modern China," World Politics, Vol. VI (Oct. 1953) pp. 31-44.

31. Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship, 3rd. ed., Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1950, pp. 16-17. For Mao, of course, this term means ultimate world-wide Communist utopia.

In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

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expressed disapproval of a rigorous enforcement of rules and regulations, of an enforcement that fails to take into account "human feelings." [33] The criteria for judging behavior as good or bad were therefore neither religious nor legalistic, but were the prevailing norms in the community, the customary practices sanctioned by tradition and ratified by a high degree of community consensus.

In traditional Chinese goodness could be cultivated through practice, study, and contemplation. Confucianism held that the path to goodness was open to all, that those who attained a high order of goodness should be a moral elite, a group of exemplars for others. This moral elite was also, in Confucian theory, the group which should hold and exercise political power and enjoy the rewards of status and wealth. This nation sanctioned the long political dominance of the scholar-official.

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The Chinese Communists have laid out new standards of good and bad. In the words of their leading theoretician, their aim is "...to reform mankind into the completely selfless citizenry of a Communist society." [34] In setting the new standards the Communists have consciously and unconsciously selected concepts from traditional moral

33. Ruth Bunzel and John Weakland, "An Anthropological Approach to Chinese Communism," Columbia Univ. Research in Contemporary Cultures, New York, 1952, pp. 80-81. Hereafter cited as Bunzel-Weakland.

34. Liu Shao-ch'i, "The Training of the Communist Party Member," first presented as a speech in 1939; cf. trans. in Boyd Compton, Mao's China, Seattle, 1952, p. 146.

183 ideas; some have been discarded, others have been taken over with little adaptation; still others linger 168 between the lines and in the implications of Communist utterances.

The old virtues associated with the traditional family have been discarded because the old family system has been dissolved, its functions taken over by the modern conjugal family on the one hand and by state and Party organizations on the other.[35] Familial virtues are castigated as "feudal" and as backward features of what the leadership calls "the squalid old society of China."[36]

The basic Marxist dogma that the individual is molded by his class position and, indirectly, by the "stage" of the society into which he is born, has a good deal in common with the Confucian view of the prime importance of environment in the formation of character. Thus the Communist effort to create a new society, in both traditional Chinese and Marxist terms, will create a favorable environment for the development of individual goodness. But the "goodness" expected is different: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling

35. J.M.H. Lindbeck, "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family," Far Eastern Survey, #20, (July 25, 1951), pp. 137-41.

36. Liu Shao-chi, quoted in David S. Nivison, Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition, Stanford University, 1954, p. 15. Nivison's study will appear in symposium, Thought and Officialdom in China, Univ. of Chicago Press, early 1956.

[redacted]

of happiness -- this is the highest expression of Communist morality..."[37]

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This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others" (A phrase from the Analects of Confucius); that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He does "nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grieves before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.)[38]

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37. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member" in Compton, op. cit., p. 110. Nivison, op. cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

38. These characterizations are all from authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i, ibid., translated in Compton, op. cit., pp. 108-55. Traditional sources are identified in Nivison, op.cit., p. 19-20.

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To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who sought to improve themselves. Books on filial piety were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[39] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[40] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of "bad" attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of

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39. Liu Shao-ch'i, op.cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

40. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yu Ssu Cheng-huo" [Party Nature and Private Life] in Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op.cit., p. 76, note 16.

183 history and environment and becomes capable of working creatively for the aims of the new society.
• 668 This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[41] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[42]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communists is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid onself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the early form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ...we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should listen for the response

41. Cf. Nivison, op.cit., p. 15.
42. [next page]

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of others [the group] : this is -- or is not -- individualism."[43]

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticism in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[44] This appears to be a device of deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation

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In traditional China, time and change were

42. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

43. Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual], cited in Nivison, op.cit., pp.45-46, and note 66.

44. Cf. Anon., "The 'Struggle Meeting' in Communist China," Far Eastern Notes, No. 1. April 21, 1952.

178 regarded as cyclical. Out of their careful adjust-
181 ment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of
668 Nature, Chinese-farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was not seen a the end of the line but as a return to childhood -- not in the sense of "second childhood" but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When empire has long been unified it will invariably be divided." [45]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbook Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight-line change

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45. San-kuo Chih Yen-i, [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms], translated by Prewitt-Taylor.

178 is typically and authoritatively expressed by Liu
181 Shao-ch'i:
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> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...."[46]

The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change. Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, not that of cause and effect. Night follows day, but day is not the cause of night.[47] Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can actively participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results.

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46. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background, No. 159, Jan. 31, 1952, p. 18.

47. Bunzel-Weakland, p. 31.

178 The Communist effort to replace the old
668 attitudes toward time, change, and causation with
181 new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a
668 time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

577 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

system was undermined and began slowly to disintegrate. Chinese critics held that the old family stifled individuality, prevented the development of individual initiative vital to modern China, and that it was a breeding ground for authoritarianism, hindering the development of democratic citizenship. They also felt that a new kind of individual was needed, and that the family system prevented its birth.[52] 181 178

The Communists are developing a new image of the individual and a new relationship between the individual and authority; in doing this they are using certain of the old family ideas and, capitalizing on dissatisfaction with the old family system, they are releasing the individual from his bonds and pushing him into a new system of human relations. 181 668

The Communists have paid particular attention to the groups which suffered most under the old family: women, particularly younger women, such as daughters-in-law, and adolescents. Bitter denunciations of the tyranny of the old family system by dramatizing its inequities, insistence on the individual's loyalty to the Party rather than to the family -- all these are being resorted to in order to create new individuals suited to the needs of a Communist society. In Communist literature this new type of individual, free of the family and its "feudal" relationships, is presented as having boundless opportunities for self-development. Stories 181 668 596

52. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p. 325.

596 181 668 of young "heroes" who have broken away -- sometimes denouncing their "reactionary" fathers -- and gone on to make striking contributions to state and society are glorified in almost every publication.

572 668 "Comradeship," the brother-friend type of relationship, is strongly emphasized in Party and other organizations. During the long years of their suppression, the Communist leadership was bound together by "comradeship," which is continually romanticized and extolled in textbooks and other writings. This pattern of human relationships is built on an age-old Chinese ideal and is most attractive to those who suffered most under the old family system. It is used to encourage co-operation between individuals in a common task. In the textbooks it is fostered by moral tales -- a pail of water is too heavy for Little Brother and too heavy for Big Brother, but it is easily carried by the two; a lone tree is easily shaken by the wind, but many trees standing together can withstand a heavy wind.[53]

576 668 643 The brotherhood-friendship pattern among top Communist leadership has subtly shifted, and Mao and the Party have begun to exercise paternal authority over subordinates and the people as a whole. Mao has taken on many of the attributes of the supreme patriarchal emperors of old; his paternal guidance is praised in these lines from an officially published song:

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53. Cf. Theodore Chen, "New China, New Texts," Current History, No. 19, 1950, p.325.

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The great leader is like a father,
Mao Tse-tung educates us....[54]

Another praises his paternal care for his people

In loving care for the people
He surpasses that of their own
fathers and mothers.[55]

And, in a children's song, his paternal care and affection are invoked while he is likened to the pole star -- one of the old symbols of the emperor's supremacy:

The northern pole star in the sky --
In China, Mao Tse-tung --
Saving Mankind,
Loving little children.
He'll destroy Chiang's dirty rats.[56]

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As Mao takes on more and more attributes of the father, the Party and the state take over both the functions and the emotional focus once supplied by the family. A labor heroine is described as

54. From a song in Chieh-fang Ko-sheng [Liberation songs], No. 2, 1949, p. 9.

55. From a song in K'ang-mei Yüan-ch'ao Hsiao-t'iao chi [A Collection of Resist-America-Aid-Korea Songs], Wu-han t'ung-su ch'u-pan-she, Wuhan, 1951, p. 60.

56. From a song in Nung-ts'un Ko-yao Hsüan-chi [A Song Collection of Rural Themes], Hsin-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 24.

181 "a good daughter of the Party."[57] A song says:

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Our great fatherland-
We should pay it the same filial
reverence,
As we would show to our mothers.[58]

These quotations suggest the reorientation of loyalties away from the family, but note that the terms and images used are those of the family system itself -- a typical example of the Communist use of the old order to destroy the old order. The functions of the traditional extended family are divided among the Party, the state, and the new type conjugal family. The individual, not the family, now chooses his mate -- often with "advice from Party comrades," and the state, not the family, sanctions the match.[59] The child is taught to rely on himself rather than on his relatives, and state nurseries take over, for many parents, the function of child care.[60] In illness

57. Cf. Jen-min Hua-pao[People's Pictorial] Vol. 2, No. 2, 1951.

58. In Ch'ang-chiang Ko-sheng[Yantze Songs], No. 7, Hsin-hua ch'u-pan she, Wuhan Branch, Wuhan, 1950, p. 15.

59. Cf. Lindbeck, op.cit., pp. 140-41.

60. The poem "Wen Pao-pao ["Ask Baby"] appeared in lower primary grade textbook in 1950. It has the baby asking for various members of the family to carry him. But each member is busy at a separate task: hoeing grain, tending a machine, writing speeches, etc., and baby ends by saying, "Everybody has something to do. I'd rather walk alone by holding onto a wall." Translated in Weakland-Bunzel, Appendix B.

181 one looks to state and Party health agencies, but
668 responsibility for the care of the aged devolves
596 upon the children of the conjugal family.[61] The family's function as an administrative unit for mutual surveillance and responsibility is now eliminated, and each citizen is responsible to the state. Family connections are no longer a means of getting jobs; they are assigned to individuals by state and Party organizations. In this way the Communists undermine what is left of the old family and strike at the age-old evil of nepotism.

Yet, with the shattering of the old family and the assumption of its functions by the state, the individual is still urged by the leadership to work in a disciplined and co-operative way for the larger social group. The following prescription for individual behavior recalls the formulas for the activity of good members of the traditional family.

> Citizens of the People's Republic are expected to engage in labor and productive activities and to place the common good above personal benefit. They must learn to be helpful and co-operative. They must work hard and submit willingly to the discipline of group life. They must always be ready to learn to accept criticism for the purpose of improvement.[62]

It would appear, then, that the Communist government tries to adapt both patterns of individual-group relationship to its purposes. On the one hand it encourages the equal co-operation pattern

[61. and 62. on following page]

181 associated with the old image of brotherhood
668 and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly
596 subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission to absolute paternalistic authority and the subordination of the individual to the group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

577 In traditional China, "face" meant one's
668 moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethical norms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are 'counterrevolutionaries', the child should treat them as enemies.

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46 (1944), pp.45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p.46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

577 assigned to the individual. To "get above oneself"
668 in a play for prestige was actually "to lose face" (tiu mien-tzu). The widespread use of go-betweens in business, marriages, and political negotiations was a device for insuring that, in the event of failure, neither principal would "lose face." Consideration for the "face" of others was highly regarded, and, in actual behavior, care for one's own and others' "face," particularly of one's family, was conducive to the surface harmony of Chinese social relations.

Modern Chinese critics have argued that this harmony was too dearly bought, that individual concern for "face," intensified by community pressure, stifled individual initiative and made creative people into timid conformists who sacrificed all for the preservation of superficial prestige in the community. This, they held, worked against China's successful adjustment to the modern world.

The Communists have built on this sort of criticism and dissatisfaction and, in seeking to release individual energies for the purposes of the Communist state, have made a frontal attack on the notion of "face." Mao sarcastically describes the attitude they seek to destroy: "Failing to start an argument in principle with a person, even when you know he is in the wrong, letting things slide for the sake of peace and cordiality, all because he is an old friend, a fellow villager, a fellow student, a close friend, someone beloved, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or failing to make any clear

577 decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions
668 in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

577 The Communists single out for public recog-
668 nition individuals who have ruthlessly battered
554 their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face," their own or others'. They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

[redacted]

538 to literature also pertains to the other arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

538 Only in the less sophisticated folk literature
565 and folk art does the Southwest retain its unique regional characteristics. However, even in this respect, the Southwest is by no means a separate entity. Parts of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, being largely populated by the Han Chinese from the provinces east of them, are more closely related to the Central China tradition; other parts of these provinces are populated by a variety of ethnic minorities, each having its own unique cultural pattern. The cultural policies toward these minorities are part of the national policies and are decided in Peking.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

538 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-
668 feng) at Yenan in 1942 [1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all

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538 668 writers and artists in the nation to the service of the state. Control and regimentation of thought in literature and art became more systematic as the Communists consolidated their power, the victor being the arbiter of artistic "truth." In

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I. Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Party School in Yenan in February and at the Yenan Literary and Art Circles' meeting in May 1942 established the "line" of literature and art which had been endorsed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and which has since been upheld as the creed of writers and artists in Communist China. The general tnor of the speeches was that literary and art workers at Yenan, being undeniably "revolutionaries by choice," should stop the hitherto blind imitation of alien and imported prototypes and the singing of abstract, contentless tunes which had nothing to do with the revolution and, as such, would not be understood by the peasant-worker-soldier masses. In their place, fresh and lively revolutionary themes in the Chinese style would be appreciated. Although in principle Mao believed that Chinese literature and art should benefit from masterpieces of other cultures, especially those produced in the Soviet Union, in no instance would he allow the separation of Chinese literature and art from immediate revolutionary tasks; and on this basis he puts the popularization of literature and art ahead of sophistication. See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Peking, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, 1953, Vol. 3, pp. 833-900.

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general, the control over writers, artists, and their work takes three forms, as was true in the Liberated Areas after the 1942 reform: (1) the organization of writers and artists under government auspices; (2) the identification of the duties of the writers and artists with the implementation of government policy; and (3) the intentional and unceasing use of literary and art criticism to keep writers and artists in line. Now, however, the scope is national.

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A. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles

In July 1949, before the establishment of the Central People's Government, writers and artists from various parts of China were "invited" to Peking where the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles was organized to co-ordinate the activities of a number of the nationwide organizations in specific cultural fields, such as literature, art, music, and the cinema; it was to follow the line laid down by Mao Tse-tung in 1942. Theoretically, the federation is not a government body, but it sent delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, as did Communist-sponsored political factions and mass organizations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the federation were given posts in the Communist government.

At the organizational meeting in July, Chou En-lai told the gathered writers and artists that they were the representatives of 70,000 literary and art workers in China, of which 30,000 were in the People's Liberation Army, another 30,000 scattered in the old Liberated Areas, and

538 668 the remaining 10,000 in areas recently liberated from the Kuomintang. From Chou's statement it becomes obvious that he identified as writers and artists Party propaganda personnel and those workers engaged in raising the standard of literacy.[2] It is doubtful that the majority of these 70,000 so-called writers and artists had achieved high competence in intellectual and artistic expression. Two years later, the Communists' leading woman author, Ting Ling, was still complaining that as editor she had difficulty in finding acceptable manuscripts for her magazine.[3]

It is certain that the organization of these writers and artists put the politically dubious under the guidance and supervision of the politically reliable; and the organized state rendered the writers and artists collectively responsible for their part in the Communist cause. Furthermore, dominated as it was by veteran Communists, the organization embracing all China's well-known writers and artists served as a good Communist-style "democratic front."

B. The Task of the Writer

The literary subdivision of the federation was the All-China Association of Literary Workers, which, like the federation's other subdivisions, has its own professional magazine, People's Literature. In the first issue, published in October 1949, the sixfold task of the magazine was stated in part as follows:

2. Chou En-lai, "Political Report at the Conference of the All-China Literary and Art Workers," (July 6, 1949), People's Literature, Peking, 1,3, Jan.1,1950,p.17.

3. [see next page]

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1. To participate in the People's Liberation War and in the construction of the "New Democratic nation: through literary forms that are treasured by the people, with ideological content reflecting the growth of the new nation and praising the contribution of the masses in revolutionary struggles and productive activities;

2. to rid literature of imperialist influence and to reform traditional literature; to accept what is "good" in foreign literary and artistic endeavor;

3. to guide the masses in factories, villages, and in the ranks in their literary study, and to help increase their "literary strength";

4. to develop literatures of the ethnic minorities;

5. to study revolutionary theory and to organize groups for the study and discussion of the new literary productions and the formulation of a "scientific" theory of literary criticism;

6. to promote interflow of literature and

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3. Ting Miao, A General Analysis of Chinese Communist Literature and Art, Hong Kong Ya-chou ch'u-pan she, 1954, pp. 149-50.

4. People's Literature, I, 1, Oct.25,1959, p. 13. The content of this declaration reads very much like the constitution of the Union of Soviet Writers in the USSR. [see next page]

538 art among nations; to develop patriotism and
668 internationalism; and to participate in "struggle for peace" as led by the USSR.[4]

Before the writers of the association had time to demonstrate their ability to implement these policies by fulfilling pledges to turn out so many pieces of work in a stipulated period of time, the conflict in Korea began.

The war was utilized by the Party as a schooling ground for class education and was depicted as a panorama of international class struggle. On this pretext writers were sent to the front to learn about "reality" in order to delineate the struggle of the heroes of the day and to draw the moral of the times. They were expected to mak e the most out of their experience not only by reporting immediate events but also by recording their impressions in notes which would later serve as material for more lengthy literary works. With the exception of Pa Chin's Living Among the Heroes, Wei Wei's Who Are the Most Lovable People?, Lu Chu-kuo's Shang-kan Mountain, Yang Shuo's Three Thousand-Li Territory, and a few others which are readable and maintain certain literary standards, other writings based upon the authors' experiences at the Korean front do not show maturity even in the handling of the Chinese language. However, the Chinese Communists claimed that these second-rate writings adequately express the Chinese Volunteers' patriotism and Communist internationalism.

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In sending professional writers to Korea the Communists departed from one of their most boasted practices. Throughout the war against Japan and the "war of liberation" against the Kuomintang, Chinese soldiers were encouraged to write, and writings from the ranks were hailed and widely publicized. But professional writers were chosen for Korea, probably in the hope that they would effect a more skillful literary dramatization of the Communist cause.

However, the Korean front was not the only place where writers were to learn about "reality" and to dramatize the "cause of the people." While the war was going on, Ai Wu, Ts'ao Yü, the noted playwright, and other writers, were sent to factories; Ho Ching-tzu, author of The White-Haired Girl, was sent to study life in the villages; Ting Hsi-lin, Liu Ch'ing, Li Tzu-hua, Mu Yen, and a host of other veteran motion picture producers and directors were sent to Shanghai to participate in the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.[5]

But these writers were not to record life as they observed it. Before they left for their "life schools," they had to undergo some "training." One can imagine the situation: writers of the calibre of Pa Chin and Ts'ao Yü learning from the speeches of Lu Ting-i and Ch'en Po-ta, the two propaganda chiefs of the regime, "how to describe people, how to abstract living reality and exercise care in collecting material, how to portray and praise, and above all, how to avoid making mistakes." It would appear that the Communists were so eager to prove the righteous-

5. See chapter on Subversive Potentialties in handbook for impact of Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns.

538 668 ness of their actions that they carefully arranged that "history" should be recorded exactly in the way they wished it to seem.

Judging from the extent to which the land reform turned the rural, social and political order upside-down, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns destroyed the bourgeois stronghold in the national economy, and the way in which the war in Korea affected the national life, one might expect that those writers who had been given the opportunity to witness these momentous events would accomplish literary feats of equal magnitude. On the contrary, one finds, with only rare exceptions, "formula" stories which have all the correct political ingredients demanded of them but which lack originality and any attempt at characterization. One story of land reform reads much like another, the only differences being the names given the heroes and some few idiosyncracies of the writers in the use of colloquial expressions and political jargon. Adherence to a prescribed political formula blights all creativeness.

C. Literary Criticism

What has contributed most to this fear of originality in literature is the influence of officially organized and directed literary criticism, which uses Communist literary theories to coërce and browbeat the writers. The disparity in the respect given critical and creative forces has stunted the young Communist literature and precluded a normal growth.

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Outstanding instances of the enervating effect of Communist criticism are the reviews of the play, "The Song of the Red Flags," and the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan." The play, concerning shock-teams in a production drive, was initially praised by the Communists themselves; later, it was criticized because "it did not give a strong portrayal of the trade union and the Party." According to the critics, the author should have used the play to strengthen the prestige of the trade union among the worker-audiences as well as to emphasize the "heroic" qualities of the leading protagonist, a Communist cadre. The portrayal of the Party cadre P'eng Kang in the play was deemed incorrect, "for the Party's leadership is invariably collective, but in the play P'eng seems to be quite alone." The play was thus rated "of low educational value." The author of the story, "Old Worker Ku Fu-shan," was reprimanded because he "not only distorts the image of a model Party member but also completely ignores the function of Party training and leadership."

The classic example of Communist literary and artistic criticsm involves the 1951 Shanghai-produced film, "Wu Hsün Chuan," based on the life of an advocate of free education from Shantung Province. Wu Hsün was born into a poor family and had no formal education. In order to help children attend school, he dedicated himself to hard work and frugal living; and by shrewd investment of his savings, he succeeded in accumulating funds for the education of the poor. Wu Hsün's contribution to Chinese education was never questioned until the Communist critics attacked

538 668 the film. Wu's effort for the kind of education prevalent at his time, according to the Communist critics, only strengthened the feudal order and arrested the forces of progress; rather than serving as an "accomplice" of the Manchu ruling order, the critics said, Wu should have joined the revolutionary force, i.e., the Taiping revolutionaries. Furthermore, they said, Wu Hsün's means of accumulating wealth was indicative of his subservience to the rich and of his exploitation of the poor.[6]

The evolution of criticism of the film "Wu Hsün Chuan" is illustrative of the nature of Communist literary and artistic criticism. Adverse opinions of the film were not initiated by literary and art circles, but by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In fact, the film had been very enthusiastically received, even by many eminent Communists. On May 20, 1951, the Peking People's Daily, an organ of the Central Committee of the Party, published an editorial alluding to this state of affairs. "Some comrades say that they have already mastered Marxism, but ...confronted with concrete issues, they completely lose their critical sense." The "Party life" column of the same issue ordered all Communists to join in criticism of "Wu Hsün Chuan." On June 4, a directive of the Ministry of Education of the People's Government,

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6. The most representative voice of this kind is Ai Ch'ing's article "Oppose the Slave Ideology of Wu Hsün in People's Literature, June 1, 1951, pp. 9-10.

538 published in the People's Daily, instructed all
668 personnel in education throughout the nation to carry out discussions of the film. On August 4, the final and definitive verdict on the film was delivered by Chou Yang, the vice-minister of Cultural Affairs of the Communist Government. He labeled the film as unrealistic art and a product of anti-historical and anti-popular ideology.[7] Party organs in all parts of China where "Wu Hsün Chuan" had been shown used the film as a target for ideological propaganda. The ideology of the film was also discussed at the third session of the first National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which met from October 23 to November 1, 1951. Members of the All-China Federation of the Literary and Art Circles began to echo the view of the Central Committee of the Party and confessed that, while they had made definite progress in the past two years, nevertheless they always fell behind the development of Chinese society. This confession led the writers to "plunge" into study in an effort to "remold their ideology and to sharpen their critical sense."

The conflict between critical and creative forces also manifests itself in the bulk of incongruous writings of the literary critics in Communist China. The critics have ready an abundance of clichés, jargon, and theories of socialist realism which are clearly ill-digested and are

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7. Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 113, September 1, 1951.

538 used with little discrimination or literary skill.
668 Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Zhadanov are frequent but are not integrated into the theme of the text. Even Communist critics have noted that many quotations for orthodox Marxist texts are either irrelevant or superfluous.[8] This excessive verbalism at the expense of content makes literary criticism irreconcilable with the alleged theory of its essentially didactic function. Much criticism is lukewarm and stereotyped, written by writers who are called upon by the Communists to undertake the task of attacking their fellow writers. In this case, what is criticized is invariably the "petty bourgeois standpoint." The exception to the rule is Mao Tse-tung himself, who, from his position of absolute authority, can write criticism which is non-imaginative, forceful, and pointed, even by the standards of the free world. Top Communists, like, Liu Shao-ch'i, for example, who seem to be more confident in translating Marxism into practice, do not quote from orthodox texts as often or use as many clichés as the lesser Communists.

Since 1949, Chinese Communist literature appears to have concentrated on a number of well-defined themes. It has been most concerned with the individual under the Communist system and the problems confronting him. These have included the social confusion of the New Democratic period, the doubts of the intellectuals, the "criminal activities of the bourgeois merchants, the struggle

8. Shen Ch-chung, "The Popularization of Theoretical Criticism of Literature and Art," People's Literature, No. 9, July 1, 1950, pp. 27-28.

against the "enemy of the people," and the appearance of human types based on the newly created Communist "tradition." Even the "return to history" is oriented for the solution of certain present-day problems.[9] Patriotism, aetheticism, and naturalism are all good literary themes, provided they are imbued with the spirit of "socialist

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9. Writers are told to find evidence in history of the excellent qualities of the Chinese people, and to appreciate and to learn the beautiful styles in Chinese literary heritage. For instance, the poet Li Po (A. D. 701-762) who was an incorrigible individualist, can now be safely described as a "great patriot," for Li Po "could not have written such beautiful verses about the magnificent rivers and mountains of his fatherland had he not been very patriotic." His many lyric poems which sang praises of the bright moon are now interpreted to mean his longing for a "cleaner" world, and therefore indicate his personal integrity; his mild protests against the conditions of his time are now interpreted to mean his progressive spirit. (Wang Yao, Li Po, Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1955.) Ch'ü Yuan, the poet-statesman of the Kingdom of Ch'u in the Chan-kuo period (481-221 B.C.), is praised for his "patriotism and sympathy for the common people." (Kuo Mo-jo, "A Brief Account on Ch'ü Yuan," People's Literature, No. 44, 1953.) Emperors like Han Kao-tsu and T'ang T'ai-tsung, who increased the national territory and the prestige of the Chinese people, are now praised as heroic. This salvaging of national characters and literature for Communist posterity could be a sign of a felt need. There are reports that since the
[continued next page]

538 realism," which is belief in the inevitability
668 of the development of socialism.

Since 1949, China's best writers have not produced any first-rate work. If there happen to be interesting writings that suit the taste of the reader, they do not fit into the theoretical scheme of the Party. Hsiao Yeh-mu's short story, "Between Us, Husband and Wife," for instance, was criticized as "employing the intellectual's viewpoint and taste to distort the image of the working masses and to vulgarize things political."

Some writers are unable to find publishers for their work, not because the work is counterrevolutionary but because its theme is considered untimely. In 1952, Miao Yen-hsiu was advised not to publish his Maio-chia Feng-kuang, a long poem about freedom of love and marriage in Miao communities, because the Communists did not think a celebration of the equality of the sexes useful to the Communist revolution at that time.

[No. 9 continued]
Party came to the cities it has neglected to supply enough reading material for the people in the old Liberated Areas, and that the people have gone back to the old novels. In order that they may not be "poisoned" by the "feudalistic ideas" in the old novels, the reinterpretation of the characters in old novels according to dialectical materialism seems far more necessary than the writing of novels of comparable stature.

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668 Romantic novels of love and sophisticated novels of human relationships are not published. When love does come into the scene, it is shown as subsidiary to other, more "worthy" and "unselfish" problems (i.e., problems social and political).

Although the writer may desire to let human relationships play a decisive part in the development of his material, there is a tendency to utilize abstract characters rather than vivid personalities. Most of the writers who choose to deal with the exposure of corruption and the excesses and tyranny of established institutions are more adept at portraying "negative" personalities than creating "positive" personalities in keeping with the Communists' view of the "heroes" of the new regime. This is true, despite the fact that Communist leaders have repeatedly told the writers "to give the most important position in the plot to the affirmative man," and that "in no case should evil be vividly presented, lest virtue remain an abstraction," for it is now the writers' task to describe the bright possibilities of life under the Communist leadership.

The recent development of literature and art in China seems to parallel that in Soviet Russia. In China, the emphasis to praise industrial and agricultural heroes follows the pattern of Soviet literature. The influence of the war in Korea upon literature in China is comparable to the influence of World War II upon Russian

538 literature. Now that we hear about the "thaw"
668 in Russian literature,[10] can we anticipate a similar development in China? Hu Feng's attempt in early 1955[11] to liberate literature from the shackle of politics, although it ended in failure and personal disgrace, indicates, nevertheless, conscious recognition by a group of writers of the freedom necessary for the creation of works of art.[12] Only general discussion of minor ways to improve literature has been undertaken by leading authors like Mao Tun and Ai Ch'ing, and all discussions are prefaced by fervent dedications to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. While the parallel we draw of the developmentof literature in the two countries may aid in the understanding of certain similarities, the parallel is not complete. If we compare the contents of the first six issues of People's Literature (October 1949 to April 1950) with six issues published in the first six months of 1955, we find a noticeable change; the percentage of creative writing by Chinese has increased, and the percentage of works translated from the Russian has decreased. Among the translated works, the percentage from Soviet Russia is smaller than it was; and there is now a sampling of literature from non-Communist sources, including, surprisingly enough, the tales of Hans Christian Andersen.

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10. Walter Z. Laqueur, "Russia in Flux, I. The 'Thaw' and After," Encounter, London, October 1955, p. 35.

11. Hu Feng is a well-known Communist writer, and was the protégé of the Communists' "literary saint" Lu Hsün.

12. Laqueur, op. cit., p. 35.

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665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

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668 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime

21. People's Education, Dec. 1954, p. 30.

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in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not begin until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological erros. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education

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871 668 in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The State Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is designed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth. (This is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.) Instruction begins in kindergarten, where the Communists teach pupils to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property, and to aid their parents in the work at home and in the fields. Grade school children are given manual work, partly as physical exercise and

22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. People's Education, May 1955, p. 5.

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partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be given "New China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved or the separation from familiar places it may entail. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any of the several levels of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

C. Physical Education Movement

Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3),[1] the State Council and the two

25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

1 [facing p. 285--Analyst]

• 668 ministries of education have been seriously
871 concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." In April 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued a joint directive in July 1954 reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions for Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequte diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under

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26. People's Education, Aug. 1954, p. 65.

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668 the Communists in China. Language reform,
871 important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed.

IV. SCHOOLS ON VARIOUS LEVELS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in Southwest China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

872 The development of kindergartens in the Southwest China Region followed the basic policies laid down by the Communists: to consolidate the existing schools and improve their efficiency before building new schools. The program was tied in with the child welfare program and there has been no specific discussion on the progress made in Southwest China. According to Ch'u T'u-nan, Chairman

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872 of the Cultural and Educational Commission for Southwest China, the emphasis in educational development in that region immediately after the Communist seizure of power in 1949 was to "build and strengthen a few institutions of higher learning and middle schools."[27] Obviously the expansion of kindergartens in Southwest China was to come later.

872 668 The development of primary schools received prompter attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The policy has been to strengthen the primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments.

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27. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien, 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1,000.

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 575-76.

872 668 In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. By September 1952, over 16,000 primary school teachers had gone through the "thought reform" process in Southwest China. Refresher courses were arranged during summer and winter vacations and other off-duty hours to improve the qualifications of primary school teachers; over 18,000 teachers were reported to have attended these courses before the end of 1952.[29]

872 In 1950, there were 76,000 primary schools in Southwest China with a total registration of 5,000,000 students. By September 1952, the total enrollment of primary schools in this region had increased to 7,167,000, or about half of the number of school-age children in Southwest China. Of these students, nearly 90 per cent were from peasant and worker families.[30] The Communists pointed out the high percentage of "proletarian" students in primary schools as a proof of the improved educational opportunity for the working class.

One of the most difficult problems in improving the primary school system was the fact the teachers were dissatisfied because they

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29. Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 17-19.

30. Ibid.

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873 called Elementary Darwinism. To the social sciences courses was added a study of the Common Program, later replaced by a study of the new Constitution of 1954 after its promulgation. During the past five years there have been times when a scheduled course was suspended at the last minute because the official textbook for the course was not ready.[41] Many textbooks were revised several times to measure up to the changing Party line as interpreted by Peking.

C. Institutions of Higher Learning

873 668 In principle, the control of institutions of higher learning is centralized under the Ministry of Higher Education, except for the teacher's training program which falls under the Ministry of Education (see Chart 3).[1] In practice, the Government Administration Council has instructed the various central government ministries in charge of various industries to "supervise and co-ordinate" the programs for advanced technical schools. These central government ministries in turn can appoint local government personnel to take charge of the schools in order to maintain close supervision.

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41. People's Education, Aug. 1954, pp. 63-64.

[1] [facing p. 285 -- Analyst]

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873 668 In this connection, local governments, mainly provincial, are given the responsibility of providing the schools with political guidance.[42] With this system of control, the political conversion of the universities and colleges was carried out with very little delay. In September 1950, the regional authorities of Southwest China called a conference on higher education. Immediately after the conference, the 43 existing institutions of higher learning were put through the initial "reform." As a part of the "thought reform," 808 college teachers and 5,212 students were enlisted to serve in the Land Reform Movement. In the summer of 1951, 191 teachers and 1,640 students were sent to farms and factories to practice what they had been learning in school.[43]

873 Among the more acute difficulties

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42. "Decisions Concerning the Revision of Relations of Leadership for Institutions of Higher Learning," announced by the Government Administration Council on Oct. 6, 1953; People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 558-59.

43. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religioned Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

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This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive

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1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

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771 and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was
668 the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

771 Religions in the twentieth century were
777 caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of the Western powers which held China in thrall.

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2. O. Brière, "Les courant philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

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Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the triumph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property and the secularization of the clergy. The Communist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the Southwest China Region.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Szechwan	490,700	190
Yunnan	36,130	1
Kweichow	2,730	17

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Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped in Chungking and elsewhere, and publishing houses closed. The Han-Tibetan College in Chungking, along with other Buddhist colleges, has been closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[1] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders.[17] Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists to reform and defend

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16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

17. According to Buddhism in China, Peking, Nationalities Publishing House, 1955, p. 2, the effective date of organization was June 1953, when 93 persons representing "the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen of different nationalities and Buddhist schools of the various regions" were elected to serve as its board of directors.

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their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and the Party. In China's relations with the Buddhist countries of Asia, it will be used as a propaganda device to allay their fear that China is an enemy of Buddhism; it will also be used to "soothe" and control Buddhist populations in Mongolia, the former Sikang province, and Tibet.[18] Domestically, the new association, like all others in Communist China, will be used primarily for the indoctrination and control of its members. As early as May 1951, a central committeeman of the Party outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in land reform, (2) opposition to counterrevolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[19]

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18. The Dalai Lama, the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Chagan Kogen of Inner Mongolia, and the Venerable Hsu Yun have been chosen as honorary presidents of the Buddhist Association. Cf., Buddhism in China, p. 20. A photograph in the same volume shows an encampment of Tibetan tribesman in Sikang listening to a lama's sermon. Another shows a Southern Buddhist temple in the Tai Autononous area in Yunnan.

19. Richard Walker, China Under Communism, New Haven, 1955, pp. 188-89.

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779 the development of any social, educational, or medical program. (Efforts along these lines proved abortive.) Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communist will complete this process. The Communists them-
779 selves recognize that "Religious Taoism" is
668 dead. In 1949, when bidding for the support of religious groups, they invited representatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects, simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors have steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy,

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29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

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575 strong political function as a focus of anti-dynastic and anti-official sentiment and activity; they made a notable contribution to the victory of the republicans in 1911. Yet Sun Yat-sen found them unmanageable political allies, and by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek -- despite whatever support he may have derived from them in his seizure of power in 1927 -- began to campaign against them.[33] This was interrupted by his campaigns against the Communists and his preparations to resist the Japanese.

575 668 The Communist regime obviously will not tolerate any such closed, self-supporting, potentially subversive groups, and a series of campaigns has been carried out against them. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies and that the battle was essentially won."[34] That his claims of victory were premature is suggested by a recent report of the dissolution of five secret society

33. Cf. B. Favre, Les Sociétés Secrètes en Chine, Paris, 1933, p. 177.

34. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

575 organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The
668 report accused the societies of elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and efforts to infiltrate Communist organizations.[35] (The societies' power of resistance are discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

575 Secret societies have been particularly numerous and powerful in North China, but those which have had important followings in Southwest China might be mentioned here:

1. Hung-chiang hui. The Society of Redspears, an offshoot of Pai-lien chiao, the White Lotus Society. Once powerful in the north, since 1924 it has been active in Kiangsu, Hupeh, Hunan, and -- in Southwest China -- in Szechwan.[36]

2. Ko-lao hui. The Society of the Elders. It is somewhat more religious than other societies, has a history of resistance to government. Founded in Fukien, has been

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35. NCNA, June 16, 1955; SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

36. Chan, op. cit., pp. 158-59; Encyclopedia of China Problems, p. 480.

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Province	Pop. in Millions	Moslems	Mosques
Szechwan	48.	2,615,330	2,279
Yunnan	15.	4,567,290	3,971
Kweichow	14.3	519,160	449

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Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

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47. Cf. Chan op. cit., pp. 190-91.

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Province led in this movement; in 1937, eighteen Chinese students were sent to Egypt, and half of these were from Yunnan. By 1930, the Islamic Theological College attached to the Chungking mosque had been in operation five years, and the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or co-ordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools.[49] Yet the spread of modern type education was handicapped by the poverty of the Moslem communities and by religious prejudice against Chinese learning. For example Shantien, in Yunnan, was the outstanding Islamic cultural center in China and sent more students abroad than any other town; yet in 1949 it had a population of only 5,000, of which two were college graduates and "some thirty" high school graduates; it had one grade school with 360 students but no high school.[50]

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What have been Chinese Communist policies toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The

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49. Ibid., pp. 198-201.
50. Ibid., p. 200.

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policies adopted towards major centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have something in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: An All-China Islamic Association which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before[51] liberation. This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are increasingly being given the prescribed Communist education.

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51. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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668 The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[52]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech of Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

> "...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and Socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[53]

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52. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.
53. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

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779 668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions: (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems."[54] Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not read Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

779 563 We have little detailed and reliable information on the Islamic communities of the

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

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779 797 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of [648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, 668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com- 798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of 797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism 779 as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

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two-hundred adult groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün, Army, or Legion, of Mary. Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

Communist policies and propaganda have made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played

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62. Monsterleet, p. 148. It seems to have had much less strength in the Southwest than in the major cultural and commercial centers. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

63. Cf., Hsü, Hsin-Chung-kuo ti tsung-chiao ko-hsin yü-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13. Hereafter cited as Hsü.

744 563 claim that among minority groups in the Southwest Region, 98,406 people received free medical treatment and 72,900 people were given vaccination against smallpox.[10]

V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

744 668 In 1952 the Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive. It was designed primarily to integrate health work with the mass propaganda campaign which accused the United States of engaging in bacteriological warfare. The Patriotic Health Drive was, therefore, stimulated by the conflict in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In the name of patriotism the Chinese people were called upon to clean their cities and work for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Upon the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in April 1952, some 70 to 80 per cent of the population in the key cities of the Southwest Region were mobilized. According to statistics released in September 1952, the following accomplishments were claimed:

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10. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 3.

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Refuse removed		1,000,000 tons
Flies exterminated		20 tons
Fly larvae destroyed	some	70 tons
Mosquito larvae destroyed	some	23 tons
Mosquitos exterminated		190 pounds
Ditches dredged and repaired		868 miles
Rats exterminated		800,000
Rat holes sealed up		96,619
Public comfort stations improved and constructed		7,993
Wells improved and dug		9,418

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The Communists claimed to have used new types of rat traps, and more efficient ways of exterminating fleas and other pests were utilized. One activist of the Patriotic Drive, it was claimed, killed 9,000 flies in a single day and on the following day surpassed his own record by killing 13,900.[11] We must assume that the New China Daily, in enthusiasm for such a display of industry, has quoted approximate figures.

VI. OBSERVATIONS

1. In 1953, the Patriotic Health Drive began earlier in the year. In many localities it was integrated with house-cleaning before the Chinese New Year. Instead of killing flies in the summer, the people were called upon to dig up and destroy fly larvae. To publicize these activities and accomplishments, the Party bureaucrats demanded further details with which to adorn their reports. One county government in Szechwan asked each village farmer to answer 120 questions. When exterminating rats, for example, the farmer was to classify them as being large, medium, or small. The weight of each rat was to be given; farmers were expected to give the length of the rats' bodies and the length of their tails.[12]

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11. New China Daily, Sept. 26, 1952, p. 3.
12. Ibid., June 7, 1953, p. 3.

744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

[[3]] 744 757 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

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13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 42-43.

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731 houses were destroyed. This calamity created 120,000 refugees.[7]

731 668 As if these were not enough, the people on the mainland of China were beset by a number of man-made adversities -- the land reform, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and warfare in Korea. About 90,000,000 people were affected.[8] Land Reform has been completed in 12,165 villages (about 82 per cent of the total area) in the Southwest Region, and the number of people involved in this violent change was estimated at 74,315,489, of which 3,715,774 were landowners. One estimate gives the number of casualties of these purges as follows:[9] some 2,600,000 landlords suffered from the land reform, with 148,430 put to death; some 2,500,000 died as counter-revolutionaries as the result of the Three-Anti

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

8. Kung-fei-ti Chiu-chi Kung-tso [Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists], *The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1955, pp. 2-3.

9. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 2-5.

*/ Hereinafter cited as Relief Work.

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731 and Five-Anti campaigns, 272,800 men were
669 mobilized and sent to fight in Korea from the four southwest provinces. Among the prisoners of war who chose to go to Formosa rather than return to Communist China, 5,184 men were from Southwest China.[10]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

657 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the
744 Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, have been in name only, and little relief work has been accomplished.[11]

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun

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10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6.

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527 children are conducted. In the period 1950-52,
746 according to one report, more than 1,000,000 children received a health examination.[30]

In the Southwest, in Chungking, on Children's Day 1953, more than 33,000 children gathered at the "Working People's Cultural Palace." Entertainment and games were on the day's program, as well as speeches by the mayor and vice-mayor of the city. In eleven other cultural centers" in the municipality of Chungking on that same day, special motion pictures for children were shown. The New China Bookstore opened its new department for children, and on the first day a sale of more than 3,700 children's books was reported.[31]

746 The first conference of the workers in
668 women's and children's welfare was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production as the over-all purpose, the scope of their welfare work was described as to serve the masses of working

30. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
31. Ibid., June 2, 1953, p. 1.

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746 women and their children. Their main tasks
568 were to promote the health of women and children and to solve the problems which arise in the rearing and educating of the children of working people. At the conference it was reported that 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in two years (to November 1951) 4,340 persons were trained to care for children and 3,743 were trained as health workers to care for women and children. During the same period, propaganda agencies arranged 128 exhibits to promote good health among women and children; 7,295,095 people were reported to have attended these exhibits.[32]

746 By the end of 1952, there were 34,000 public health agencies for women and children, with additional mobile corps, organized under all the provincial governments. In 1952, in mining and construction work, in other enterprises, in public organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in existence; in larger cities, 4,346 street creches were set up, and in the rural areas 148,000 creches were

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32. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, 1951, No. 12, Dec. 1951, pp. 47-48.

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665 classes were expected to attend school in the
874 evening.

The purpose of the ideological school is to train Party members, candidates for membership, and leaders of mass organizations. Located in Chungking, the Southwestern ideological school is under the joint control of the Southwest Party Bureau and the Chungking Municipal Party Committee. Together with its 108 branch schools, it trained some 80,000 people in 1952. Instructors are trained in two special schools, where they study such things as Party history, the Party Constitution, and Soviet works on economic reconstruction.[25]

H. Affiliated Party Organizations

•668 The Party attempts to utilize the enthusiasm of youth through two organizations which, although not a part of the Party, are under its supervision: the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and its subordinate group, the Young Pioneers, for youths aged

25. New China Daily, Jan. 17, 1953, p. 1.

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9 to 15. The Young Pioneers are subordinates of the Youth Corps, looking to the latter for leadership and guidance.

1. New Democratic Youth Corps

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The Party controls the NDYC through the Southwest China Working Committee of the corps. The constitution of the corps assures the Party of effective control.[26] It permits Party members to be in charge of corps above the county level, thus placing the direction of corps activities in the hands of the Party. The first function of the corps is to provide a reservoir of potential new Party members; for example, the corps contributed the highest number of new Party members during the 1952 membership drive.[27] Its second task is to supply needed activists in all organizations, particularly in the factories and rural communities. In Chungking, for example, corps units are maintained in all

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26. The Chinese text of the Constitution of the NDYC and Li Ch'ang's explanatory report in People's Daily, July 7, 1953, pp. 1, 3. English text in Current Background, No. 258, Sept. 10, 1953.

27. New China Daily, Nov. 3, 1952, p. 1; Oct. 11, 1952, p. 3.

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organizations.[28] The final task of the corps is to engage in the broadest possible range of activities in order to reach segments of society which have no Party organizations. In 1952, when Party organizations were small and relatively ineffective in the Southwest, the NDYC had 440,000 members. Thus, it paved the way for the sharp increase in Party membership that took place after that date.

The organization of the corps follows that of the Party. Prior to 1955, a Southwest China Working Committee of the NDYC was established to serve as the representative of the Central Committee of the NDYC. Local corps organizations on provincial, municipal, and county levels are empowered to establish representative committees in the administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees on administrative-district and ch'ü levels, the constituent corps organizations rest upon a dual authority. Each level has

28. Ibid., Oct. 21, 1951, p. 3.

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883 a congress and a committee elected by it.
668 These committees are the executive organs of the corps and their component members are approved by the upper-level committee.

The corps branch, like the Party branch, is an essential link with the population as a whole. It may be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village, government agency, company of the armed forces, school, or street where there are three or more corps members. A general corps branch and corps committee can be formed, depending upon the size of the branch. These basic-level agencies of the corps serve to mobilize youth and the masses and also may take over Party functions where Party agencies are inadequate.

The New Democratic Youth Corps has at least 3,000,000 more members than the Party itself. However, it is not an organization with political power; it is rather the instrument through which the Party exercizes control over youth, and, more particularly, over youth organizations in the militia, the army, and the schools.

2. The Young Pioneers Chapter 7 of the constitution of the corps governs the

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883 relationship between the corps and the Young
668 Pioneers.[29] The pioneers are completely subordinate to the corps and their regional influence is far less apparent. Earlier, the pioneers concentrated upon the promotion of patriotic fervor among the youth between the ages of nine and fifteen; since 1953 they have placed increasing emphasis on cultural education. In October 1952 there were 183,000 Young Pioneers in Southwest China. Since that time efforts have been made to acquire additional members in rural areas.[30] National membership now stands at 70 million, about 15 per cent of the youth in that age group.[31]

II. POLITICAL CONTROLS

668 The Party has consolidated its power by a network of controls not only over Party agencies but over all bureaucratic, military, public security, and mass organizations. The control is maintained by placing members of the Communist Party of China in key positions in all these organizations, by reserving all policy-making decisions to the Party, and

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29. Chinese text of the Regulations of the Young Pioneers, People's Daily, June 1, 1954, p. 2.

30. New China Daily, Oct. 7, 1952, p. 6.

31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], March 14, 1955, p. 1.

• 668 by agitation to arouse popular enthusiasm in favor of the Party

A. Party Controls Over Government Organs

1. Party and Government Fusion. Control of government organs has been accomplished primarily by the fusion of government and Party in authority, in functions, and in personnel at all levels and in all spheres of political activity. Two systems, the report and the inspection system, have been introduced into all Party organizations in order to facilitate this fusion. The former requires that all Party organizations periodically report to and seek instructions from Party units at a higher level. The latter directs high level Party units to check regularly on the conduct of subordinate units.

Another powerful means of control is the placing of Party members in key administrative positions. On the regional level, for example, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the First Secretary of the Southwest China Party Bureau, served concurrently as deputy chairman of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee between 1950 and 1952. The several committee

668 chairmen under the regional government also were Party secretaries, thus holding key positions in both hierarchies. One example is Sun Chih-yüan, who served concurrently as Secretary General of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee and as Secretary of the Party Military and Political Committee.

The pattern on the provincial level is similar. Li Ching-ch'üan, First Secretary of the Szechwan Communist Party, formerly served as chairman of the Szechwan provincial government. Liao Chih-kao and Hsieh Fu-chih held similar positions in Sikang and Yunnan, respectively. At present, the newly elected governors generally are second secretaries of their branch Parties; however, all real power has been retained by the first secretaries.

At lower levels this fusion is even more frequent.

2. Cadre Utilization. A second method through which the Party exercises control over state organs is the appointment of

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•668 faithful and capable cadres (Party members as well as non-Party members) to serve in the rank and file of judicial and administrative organizations.[32] Party secretaries in charge of Party personnel are appointed to head the personnel offices of the government organizations. For example, in 1952 Yü Chiang-chen, the chief of the Department of Organization of the Southwest Party Bureau, was appointed director of the Department of Personnel in the regional government. In Szechwan, An Fa-hsiao, head of the Department of Personnel in the provincial government, served concurrently as deputy chief of the Department of Organization of the provincial Party Committee.[33]

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32. For a discussion of the Party's role in the control of state organs, see Hsiung Hsi-yüan, People's Daily, November 18, 1954, p. 3; for definition and the utilization of cadre, see Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Cambridge, M.I.T., 1942, ii.

33. A list of the members of the Szechwan Provincial Government can be found in New China Daily, Nov. 18, 1952, p. 1.

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668 After the Constitution was promulgated, all government personnel offices of the central and provincial governments were disbanded. This may mean even firmer Party control of personnel policy.

3. The Department of Supervision and Other Instruments of Control. One of the most common and effective instruments of Party control over the government is the Office of Supervision, formerly the People's Control Commission. It is found at all levels from the central government down to the county government. This system of control should be distinguished from the judicial agencies of control, namely, the People's procuratorates, and from the public security agencies.[34] Supervisory offices of all levels and in all organizations are strictly controlled by the Party. As a rule, heads of these offices are either Party secretaries or chiefs of public security agencies. Personnel working in these offices are usually activists, who, like the members of the Party, only carry out Party directives.

The offices of supervision check the execution of government policies directed

34. *Discussions of judicial and public-security organs will be found in later studies.*

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against officials guilty of misdemeanors, disobedience, and corruption. Unlike the People's procuratorates, they check only government employees.[35]

The highest supervisory agency is the Southwest People's Control Commission. Control branches have been established in state enterprises, financial and economic offices, transportation agencies, notably railways, and post offices.[36] At the provincial level, such offices are formed within each department and bureau dealing with financial and economic matters. From two to four workers are employed in each branch.

The work of the supervisory offices in the region is co-ordinated with the major yearly drives. The tasks for the nation in 1955 are the elimination of nationwide waste, corruption, and degeneration within the government.[37]

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35. T'an Cheng-wen's article in "Chien-ch'üan Jen-min Chien-ch'a Chih-tu, Kung-ku Kuo-chia Fa-chih," ["Construct a People's Protectorate and Reinforce State Judicial System"], New China Monthly, No. 2., Feb. 28, 1955, pp. 28-29.

36. People's Daily, Jan. 6, 1953, p. 1.

37. Kuang-ming Jih-pao, June 13, 1955, p.3.

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668 People's supervisory reporters are sent out by the supervisory commission or selected within the organization itself. They are organized into small working broups to spy on the individual worker for evidence of misdemeanors, waste, corruption, bureaucratic attitudes, and other behavior not in the "best interest" of the State. Their techniques are varied. They may make direct accusations, establish a network of mass contact, spy on their own colleagues, tamper with People's complaint boxes, and control the hearings of the "reception room." The complaint boxes are used to encourage accusations and complaints against officials and agencies. This arrangement is required in all government offices, and the head of the office is responsible for the examination of these letters and appropriate replies. The reception rrom enables people to make accusations and complaints directly to the government. In 1952 there were 749 supervisory reporters in Southwest China.[38]

B. Party Control Over Mass Organizations

Communist policies toward mass

38. New China Daily, Dec. 1, 1952, p. 3.

668 organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. These policies encourage and regulate the activities and political utilization of mass organizations.

From the Party point of view, mass organizations are a political asset because each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is itself a social or economic force.

Immediately after the Communist seizure of power in this region, mass organizations sprang to life. Not until 1952, however, were mass organizations placed upon a permanent basis. There are as many mass organizations in this region as at the central level.[39] The most influential are examined to illustrate the patter of Party control.

467 668 1. Trade Unions. Trade unions are regarded as the transmission belt between the Party and the workers.[40] Their

39. See Chao Kuo-chün, The Mass Organization in Communist China, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T., 1953.

40. Constitution of All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 248, June 22, 1953.

467 organization is patterned after that of the
668 Party. A branch office of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has been set up in the Southwest. Under this regional office, local trade union councils stretch from provinces, municipalities, and counties to towns. Since farmers and handicraft workers are ineligible, hsiang are not included.

The establishment of Party control over the trade unions in Southwest China did not prove to be an easy task. A sweeping and drastic campaign was required before control was comfortably secured. The "democratic reform" campaign, launched in 1951, was directed at the trade unions and was aimed at the liquidation of the old trade union leadership and the strengthening of the Party's hold on the urban population.[41]

To facilitate the Party's political control of trade unions, there is a basic trade union branch or cell, similar to the Party branch, composed of the trade union members working in the same enterprise. If the branch is of sufficient size, this basic trade union committee will set up a workshop (department) committee. The trade union

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41. Reports of the campaign are printed in the following issues of the New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 25, 1951, p. 1; Jan. 1, 1952, p. 3.

467 committee may be divided into trade union
668 teams according to production units. The general methods employed by the Party for political control of other organizations are applicable here. Trade union affairs are subject to the direction of the Party commission on trade unions; and Party members are placed in key positions within the unions.

However, the most effective method is the initiation of union policies in the Party rather than in the union.[42] This involves three steps: first, the Party branch within the union initiates major policies, including directives, working plans, and cadre policy. Secondly, the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the Trade Union Council policies in need of discussion. Party members elected to the presidium direct the trade union meeting and successfully guide the Party proposal through the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out.

668 2. Federation of Democratic Women. By October 1951 almost one-third of the women of Southwest China had become

42. People's Daily, May 8, 1953, p. 2.

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• 668 members of the Federation of Democratic Women and its affiliates.[43] The federation's importance in the region, however, is not based solely on the large size of its membership. The position of women in society is such that they not only constitute an important part of the labor force, but also exert a profound influence on the entire population. The Communists correctly regard the federation as a major political force and are most eager to see that women's organizations are formed.

At the village level, the federation plays the most active role in the rural movement. The wide participation of women in the Peasants' Association should be noted. In October 1951 there were 7,700,000 women enrolled in Southwestern associations. The federation plays a political role in all the farm drives and gives full support to the hsiang governments and party apparatus. Since the completion of land reform, women have begun to take an active part in the producers' co-operatives. In May 1954, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women held its first "rural work meeting" and called

43. People's Daily, May 9, 1953, p. 2.

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668 upon all women on the farms of China to join the movement.[44]

In the cities, women are important to the urban inhabitants' committees and the worker's family committees, both Party devices for urban control. Apart from participation in all drives in the cities -- notably the "democratic reform" movement and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns -- the Federation of Democratic Women also co-operates with the Department of Women Workers of the trade unions. In addition, it urges all women to participate in social work.

Women have played an increasingly active role within both the government and the Party. For example, the Chungking Party branch listed 5,759 women among its members.[45] Furthermore, in 1954, twenty per cent of the elected representatives of hsiang People's Congresses were women.[46]

Party control of women's federations follows the same pattern as that of other mass

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44. People's Handbook, 1955, p. 3.
45. People's Daily, March 11, 1955, p. 3.
46. Ibid., June 11, 1953, p.1.

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668 organizations. The Party, as well as the New Democratic Youth Corps, maintains a commission on women's affairs. The commission has the power of direction and policy-making. However, the work of the commission is subject to the supervision of other basic departments such as the departments of organization, propaganda, rural work, and so forth. Party personnel are placed in key positions in the federations.

3. Other Mass Organizations. A number of mass organizations which have a strong influence on society are represented in this region. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth maintains branches in all key cities and counties in each province.[47] Also active is the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles. The most elaborately organized group is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, established in 1949. By April 1951 it had 33,583 members in the Southwest.[48] Party control of these mass organizations follows the usual pattern.

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47. Regulations governing the ACFDY can be found in the People's Daily, June 17, 1953, p. 1.

48. Hopei Daily [Paoting], April 15, 1951, p. 1.

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668 C. Political Control in the Rural Areas

The rural movement is the foundation of Communist political power in Southwest China. Here lies the strength and the weakness of the region and of the Party; here the pattern of political dynamics is most revealing and Communist power encounters the greatest opposition.

The establishment of Communist power in the rural areas can be divided into three stages: the initial construction period prior to the completion of land reform, when political power was centered in the peasants' associations and closely related to land reform in the rural areas; the consolidation period, a period of experiment for the producers' co-operative movements, marked by a gradual shift of p0litical power from the Peasants' Association to the hsiang government, controlled by the Party; the election and the post-Constitution periods when the continuous suppression of opposition in the rural areas (during the elections of 1953-54) strengthened the foundation of Communist political power, and when such political power has been firmly entrenched in the government and the Party (during the post-Constitution period).

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1. Initial Construction: 1950-1952. Communist leaders have emphasized the political significance of land reform.[49] They regard it as a political struggle, and its essence is conceived to be the abolition of the "feudal" system of land ownership, the creation of a political force under Party control, and the establishment of "democratic authority."

Land reform is divided into three stages: preparation, execution, and re-examination. The preparatory stage is aimed at the liquidation of the existing holders of political power. The executive stage includes confiscation and redistribution of land in order to destroy the basis of the landlord class. During the re-examination period, the foundation of new political power is laid.

During the land reform period, political power in the rural area rested upon: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasants' Association, (3) the

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49. Liu Shao-ch'i's report on land reform in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, June 30, 1950, p. 1; English text in The Agrarian Law of the People's Republic of China, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1950.

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hsiang government, (4) the militia, and (5) other mass organizations, notably the women's federations and the youth organizations.[50] Of these, the Peasants' Association and the militia, organized as instruments of terror, were of particular importance.

The Communist conquest of the Southwest was accompanied by widespread disorder and unrest. Therefore, the initial organization of peasant associations took place under the auspices of Communist military forces. In addition, Communist soldiers helped the peasants organize militia units for the suppression of "bandit activities" and carried out the first stage of the land reform program. Unrest was so prevalent that in some areas land reform had to be delayed until the fall of 1952.[51] Once the land reform program was

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50. For reference, consult Kung-fei Jo-ho K'ung-chih Nung-ts'un Yü Ch'eng-shih [How the Communists Control Villages and Cities], Taipei 1954, also Nung-ts'un Kung-ch'an-tang-yüan K'o-pen [Textbook for Rural Party Workers], Canton, Hua-nan, 1951.

51. By the spring of 1952, land reform had been carried out by most of the rural areas. Further delay occurred only in areas occupied (continued next page)

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668 under way, membership in the Peasants' Association increased rapidly. For example, during the initial stages of land reform, membership in the Eastern Szechwan Special District rose from 455,990 to 619,000, an increase of 30 per cent.[52] The number of "poor peasants" who entered the associations also increased rapidly. In the Northern Szechwan Special District, "poor peasants" made up 65 per cent of the membership of the peasants' associations and 70 per cent of that of the militia. In addition, they represented 80 per cent of the membership in hsiang governments and militia units.[53]

701 668 The militia, an armed force at the disposal of the Party, is an organization of poor peasants, farm laborers, and young people.[54] Prior to the Communist conquest, there were no militia units in Southwest China. Although Communist forces immediately set about building up a militia, only 500,000 recruits had been enrolled by 1950. Central control of the new units was not established

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51. (continued) by national minorities and in some parts of Kweichow. See New China Daily, Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2; Sept. 28, 1952, p. 1; May 10, 1952, p. 1; and Oct. 2, 1951, p. 2.

52. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1951, p. 3.

53. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1951, p. 2.

54. For a study of the militia, see Li Tang, Militia of Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954.

701 until 1952, following the completion of land
668 reform. At the present time, the militia of Southwest China is far smaller than that of other regions.

The duties of the militia in peace time are to assist the public security forces in matters concerning arrests and detention, co-operate with troops in campaigns against bandits, to guard bridges and transportation centers, and to take charge of food transportation and the maintanence of order at public meetings. In war time, the militia's duty is to co-operate with area commands in district defense.

668 2. Consolidation Period: 1952-53.
As land reform came to a close, Communist power was established, but challenged, in the rural areas. Party organizations had not yet been established in many rural areas. Even where they existed, they generally were weak and ineffective. Party indoctrination was neglected, with the result that Party members acted like dictators and Party leaders became confused. In order to remedy this situation, the Party launched its membership drive of 1952 and sought to

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strengthen already existent Party organizations.[55]

Together with reports of general apathy was the Wu-to (the "five-too-many") phenomenon. Its name has reference to the practice of permitting an individual to hold a number of different jobs at one time, and it was one of the causes contributing to Party inefficiency in the rural areas. It was reported that in one hsiang in Szechwan, the deputy county chief held more than ten jobs, spent most of his time in meetings, and neglected his official duties.[56] This phenomenon was nationwide and was so serious that the Communists issued directives against it.

At the same time, the Party sought to establish hsiang governments and bring them under its firm control. Various organizations, notably the peasants' associations and other mass organizations, were instructed to select representatives to a hsiang People's Representative Conference. These delegates in turn elected the members of the new hsiang government. The new governments consisted of one

55. New China Daily, Aug. 16, 1952, p. 3.
56. Ibid., June 7, 1953, p. 2.

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.668 chief, one or two deputy chiefs, and anywhere from nine to eleven committeemen. Administrative organs included commissions on civil affairs, finance, food, education, sanitation, production, militia, and public security.

The Party especially sought to establish closer control over ethnic minorities. First, military forces were used to liquidate "bandits" hiding in the remote mountainous regions inhabited by these minorities. Under the auspices of these forces, schools were organized for the training and indoctrination of political cadres and activists. By December 1952, 65 autonomous area governments and 127 coalition governments had been formed among ethnic minorities in the Southwest.[57] Over 368 trade stations had been established to exploit the economic resources of the region. Acting through 170 purchasing teams, agent of the trade stations scoured these areas for raw materials, to be exported to the Soviet

57. See the report of Ho Lung, Deputy Chairman of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee in New China Daily, Dec. 11, 1952, p. 1.

668 Union.[58]

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3. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period:. 1953-1955. Premier Chou En-lai's announcement of a nationwide election in 1953 and the fact that the majority of 280,000 hsiang had held all-circle People's conferences indicated the degree of Communist confidence in their power.

At the village and hsiang levels, the key task in the period prior to the election was the consolidation and strengthening of the hsiang government and the allocation of electoral districts.[59] The ts'un (village) lost its status as an administrative unit. Its powers were taken over by the new hsiang government. At the same time, delegates to the hsiang representative conference were formed into a team for liaison work between the ts'un and the hsiang government. The jurisdiction of the hsiang governments was reduced, in order that they might exert closer control over the population under their authority. Jurisdiction was limited to area within a radius of 30 li

58. Ibid., Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

59. See the directive issued by Chang Chi-ch'un in Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2.

668 (approximately 10 miles) of the local head-
666 quarters and a population between 500 and 10,000. Ch'ü and county administrations were dealt with in similar fashion. The former was to have not more than 10 hsiang under its jurisdiction and the latter, not more than 10 ch'ü. Finally, electoral delegates were alloted on the basis of hsiang population.

668 After the promulgation of the Constitution, Communist political power was further strengthen ed. The hsiang People's congress now holds the highest formal authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the hsiang People's council. Resistance remains strong in the rural areas, however, and in 1955, two strong countermeasures were passed by
474 the Party.[60] Further expansion of agricultural
668 producers' co-operatives was temporarily checked, and the first Rural Basic-Level Organization Conference was held in April 1955 for the purpose of strengthening Party

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60." Wei-shen-ma Pi-hsü Chung-shih Nung-yeh Sheng-ch'an Ho-tso-she Ti Kung-ku Kung-tso?" ["Why Should Productive Co-operatives Be Strengthened?"], New China Monthly, March 1955, pp. 133-134.

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474 leadership over the agricultural producers'
668 co-operative organization before gradual collectivization began.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Conference:[61] (1) Party organization shall be based on territorial and production units, with emphasis on the development of more Party branches in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. (2) Collective work rather than individual achievement is to be stressed. (3) There is to be further expansion of Party indoctrination programs. (4) The county Party secretary's leadership and the Party's political role in the producers' co-operatives is to be strengthened.

The chief problems which the agricultural program of the Party faces are the need for cadre education, the lack of Party strength, and the peasant's sense of individuality and love of his own land.

369 D. Political Control in the City
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The establishment and consolidation of

61. Summary report on the conference in New China Monthly, No. 4, April 1955, pp. 27-28.

369 Communist power in the cities followed the
668 same general course as in the rural areas. The Democratic Construction Movement, directed in particular at the urban population and the trade unions, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, directed at the Party itself, the government administration, and industrial and business circles of society, in effect, performed functions similar to those in the land reform in rural areas.

668 Communist power in the city is retained through the maintenance of a set of control organizations, extending from workers' trade unions to the students' federation.[62]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committee, composed of one-hundred to six-hundred families, is organized with the stated aim of contributing to the welfare of the residents. The basic unit is a family residing in or sharing a house with others. Under the committee are sub-committees representing

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62. Regulation of committees, People's Daily, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 1-2. English text in Current Background, No. 310, Jan. 17, 1955.

668 fifteen to forty families. Minority nationality groups and workers' residential areas are organized in similar units. It is reported that more than 70 per cent of the cities in China are under the control of these organizations.

The Urban Street Office is a representative of the city government and acts as a liaison between the government and the street for the maintenance of public order. Its jurisdiction parallels that established for the Public Security Sub-Station, thus enforcing a double-check on residents. The Public Security Sub-Station is responsible, in the main, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

The Mediation Committee is a mass organization established both in the city and in the village.[63] Its function is to mediate disputes and to propagandize government statutes, and, provisionally, to exercise "judicial" power in the village or street for misdemeanors not under the jurisdiction of the People's tribunal. Although the committee acts as a third party in a dispute, it represents

63. People's Daily, March 23, 1954, p. 1.

•668 the government's view and emphasizes the technique of self-criticism.

Communist control in the city is much more rigid and forceful than in the village. With the spread of Communist domination over many organizations, factories, and other professional organizations, Communist domination is strengthened. Although public security sub-stations play a leading role in enforcing government decrees, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be minimized.

III. ELECTIONS AND POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

666 665 A. Elections

The nationwide election which produced the People's congresses at all levels was held in the Southwest between 1953 and July-August, 1954.

1. Election Mechanism. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China was

665 Fifty nine thousand election handbooks were
666 distributed by some 180,000 specially trained
208 propagandists, many of them members of the Szechwan Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Among other devices used were 34 mobile motion picture projection teams, 400 slide-projector units, innumerable "cultural" exhibits, and periodic radio
665 broadcasts. Election personnel were chosen
668 from various Party, governmental, and mass organizations. Students also were widely used. For example, in Kweichow some 400 students of political science and law, together with several hundred graduates of the Provincial Institue of Nationalists, served as election officers.[67]

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. In all provinces, between one-fourth and one-third of the deputies elected to the Provincial People's Congresses were members of the Communist Party.[68] Most non-Party deputies enthusiastically supported the Party's program. It would seem that, like most elections in Communist states, the general elections of 1953 and 1954 were

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67. Ibid., May 19, 1953, p. 3.

68. People's Daily, March 21, 1954, p. 3; also April 28, 1954, p. 3.

665 promulgation of the Constitution in September
666 1954, the establishment of these committees in administrative districts, cities, and counties was encouraged. The new Constitution only allows for the establishment of these committees in provinces and in municipalities directly under the central authority.

With the consolidation of Communist political power at all levels, the position of minor parties is further endangered. For instance, the liquidation of capitalists in the transitional stage certainly will reduce the power of the China Association for the Promotion of Democracy. Eventually, minor parties no longer will exist as political forces in the ordinary sense of the term, simply because they no longer will exert political influence.

665 1. Control and Infiltration of Minor
668 Parties. The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. The guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

665 indicates the degree to which these minor
668 parties have subordinated themselves to the Communist Party of China. Minor parties "must assist the state organs and set the social forces in motion ... to maintain close contact with the masses ... to continue to consolidate and develop the alliance between China and the U.S.S.R. .... and to study Marxist-Leninist theories on a voluntary basis, study state policy, elevate political levels, practice self-criticism and criticism, and strive for ideological remolding."

The Communist Party relies chiefly on infiltration to eliminate minor parties. Through the Party Committee's Department of the United Front, the Party maintains a close control over the policies and activities of the minor parties. Often it virtually dictates their policies. For example, the resolution on party expansion adopted by the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party in December 1951 authorized the appointment of Communist Party members to high posts within the organization. In addition, it forbade the establishment of party units in the countryside and excluded party activists from such organizations as the People's Liberation Army, the public security agencies, and intelligence units.

665 2. Minor Parties and "Pressure
668 Politics." In a democracy, the political activity of minor or opposition parties may indicate the measure of effective democracy. Likewise, special interest groups, as such, can enjoy their political privileges under democratic rule. In Communist China, since public opinion is controlled by the Communist Party, and since the minor parties have only assigned duties to perform, special interest groups and the dissident parties exert no "pressure" upon the state organizations dominated by the Party nor do they take part in the making of decisions.

Deputies of the minor parties were allowed to make speeches at the All-People's Conferences, but they limited themselves to priase, criticizing only those minor faults which the Communists themselves had admitted publicly.

Finally, with the retirement of aging leaders whose authority dates from the pre-Communist period, and with the absence of young and vigorous new members, the value of the minor parties is in rapid decline.

CONCLUSION

665 Since 1952 both the size and the influence of the Communist Party have increased

Even after the Communists consolidated
668 their hold on Southwest China, open and clandestine opposition of all kinds was reported by the new regime. Two main sources of subversion were marked as targets for destruction by the government: (1) "Counterrevolutionaries" or "basically hostile elements" -- inclusive terms embracing all social, economic, and political elements considered enemies of the socialist state. (2) Harmful activities such as corruption, waste, and theft which are reported to have caused degeneration and inefficiency in Party and government organizations, industrial
578 establishments, and rural co-operatives. A third source of danger to the Communist regime -- tension and discontent within the party, government, and the populace -- can be inferred as concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[2]

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2. Studies of the USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954.

669 Yunnan's border with Burma and within ethnic minority areas of the province. In December 1952, the Communists announced the capture of the last Nationalist stronghold inside Yunnan and the annihilation of 21,573 Nationalist soldiers and intelligence agents. However, the presence of Kuomintang forces under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan across the Yunnan border in Burma constituted a continuous threat to the province's security until they were withdrawn to Formosa in late 1954.

In Sikang, the "bandit-suppression" campaign was on a much smaller scale.[7] It lasted from February to November of 1950 and was reported to have destroyed 30,000 "bandits."

B. Landlords

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668 Under the Land Reform Law and the joint directive of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court,

7. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, pp. 1071-73.

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565 landlords were convicted of a variety of crimes
668 during the Land Reform Movement. Punishment ranged from death to short terms of imprisonment. After release from prison, landlords were given a small piece of land to work and placed under the surveillance of public security agencies or were required to
[697] serve in forced-labor camps. During and after the Land Reform Movement, forced-labor units were established throughout the Southwest Region, and nearly every county maintained a forced-labor battalion.[8] These battalions were engaged in all types of construction from the building and repairing of roads in ethnic minority areas to the extraction of minerals in mining areas. Still other landlords were classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in the Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries issued by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council[9] in Feb. 1951. They

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8. For example, see report on the province of Kweichow, New China Daily, Oct. 8, 1951, p. 1.

9. Text of the regulation in People's Daily, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

565 were deprived of their political rights and
668 subject to surveillance for at least three years as well as being made liable to forced labor at any time and in any place they were needed.

A new type of "potential landlord," regarded by the Communists as hostile to the new regime, came into existence after land reform. This "new rich" group was composed of Party members and former middle peasants who had acquired wealth following the redistribution of land. Since 1953, they have been accused of such hostile acts against the state as seizing control of rural governments, destroying agricultural producers' co-operatives, and disrupting Communist political control in rural areas. Cases of these kinds have been reported everywhere.[10] (See section on Rural Security in chapter on Public Order and Safety.) According to Communist accounts, the "new rich" group destroyed rural co-operatives by bribing Party cadres and responsible persons in the organizations or by employing collaborator

10. For an early report see New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1952; for more recent accounts see the reports of deputies to the National People's Congress, People's Daily, July 29, 1955, pp. 5, 6; and July 31, 1955, p. 3.

565 to infilitrate and capture key positions. Through
568 these agents, the "potential landlords" spread rumors among the peasants, falsified co-operative accounts, and engaged in other disruptive maneuvers to disorganize the co-operatives' work and membership.

C. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries and Espionage Agents

668 As early as July 1950, the Government
687 Administration Council of the Central Government and the People's Supreme Court issued a joint directive calling for the suppression of all counterrevolutionaries throughout China. The directive demanded the apprehension and severe punishment of organizers of open resistance, saboteurs in factories and warehouses, and murders of government officials. Nationalist intelligence agents and "bandit leaders" were particularly singled out for elimination. However, not until the nationwide Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 did the campaign against subversives reach major proportions and involve mass participation. At the conclusion of the movement, the foundation had been laid for the construction of a network of mass security organizations.

668 1. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951. Like other mass movements

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• 668 initiated by the Communists, the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951 relied heavily on techniques for arrousing mass hysteria. The people were drawn into mass meetings to be bombarded with propaganda. With mass fear and emotion aroused, the populace was led to make accusations in public and in private and to sign patriotic agreements. The campaign was carried on in factories, schools, and other organizations. Finally, security committees were established in every organization, street, and village, so that a public security network reached into every sector of social, economic, and political life. In Chungking, for example, four area-security committees, 90 branch-security committees, and 1,211 security teams were set up between June and September 1951. The membership of the committees was overwhelmingly made up of workers' representatives.[11]

Throughout the movement, cases of subversion and espionage were deliberately manufactured or exaggerated by the Communists. This deceptive practice seems

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11. New China Daily, Oct. 7, 1951, p. 1.

668 to have been a convenient means of absolving the regime of responsibility for any of its failures. In the Southwest Region, 5,168 cases of counterrevolutionary activity were reported during the movement, and 70 per cent of them were described as involving open resistance.[12] Their crimes were reported to have included the murder of 14,000 government workers and activists, the poisoning of 6,000 others, and the destruction or theft of several billion yuan worth of crops and other property.

Toward the end of the movement, its general success was praised in a spate of reports. At the same time, the Communist press noted failures, stressed the need for continuing vigilence, and issued warnings to particular areaswhere the movement had not been carried out successfully or had been completely ignored. In the Fu-ling Administrative District of Szechwan, for instance, only 34 per cent of the hsiang were credited with having done an adequate job in ferreting out counterrevolutionaries. Chou Hsing, head of the Department of Public Security of the Southwest China regional government, pointed out that the enemies of the regime had not

12. Ibid., Nov. 12, 1951, p. 2.

668 been entirely eliminated. He called for continued efforts to detect and suppress Nationalist intelligence agents, "bandits," and landlords, and for concentration on the strengthening of the "democratic reform movement" and the establishment of public security committees.

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669 2. Suppression of Nationalist Spies. The threat of Nationalist expionage in Southwest China was greatest at the time the Communists assumed power in the region. The Communists not only reported 80,000 Nationalist intelligence workers at large in the region, but also claimed their influence and operations extended to the remnants of Nationalist forces, "bandit" units, and secret societies in Southwest China. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity of ridding the region of these spies to assure the well being of the new regime.

During 1950, the Communists concentrated on the disbanding of Nationalist espionage organizations and obtaining the surrender and arrest of spies. In the western Szechwan special district, the Communist authorities reported the surrender of 2,000 spies and the arrest of 318 others in the first half of 1950. During the same period in the southern Szechwan special district,

726 apparently were intended to convince the people
669 that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

726 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents."
•668 Closely connected with the suppression of
798 Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

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575 memberships dissolved, the Communists invaded and controlled the societies' former areas of strength. This move was largely accomplished through the "democratic reform movement,"[22] which involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of the societies' membership and activities. Another part of the movement consisted of a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of secret socieites. Some of them had acquired leadership of labor groups in charge of wharves, railway, stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists introduced a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

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In December 1951, the Communists

22. New China Daily, Oct. 14, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 29, 1951, p. 1; July 24, 1952, p. 2.

661 launched the Three-Anti Campaign against
668 waste, corruption, and bureaucracy; a few months later the regime initiated the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information. These campaigns did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the drives also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the first campaign hit Party and administrative personnel from two sides and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

B. Corruption

661 Most of the charges and disclosures
685 that accompanied the progress of the Three-Anti

661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

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Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

578 668 and Five-Anti campaigns. Other signs are apparent in press references during the past few years to the deleterious effects on the health and efficiency of the people in forcing them to over-extend their energies in work or study and to sacrifice all their free time to participation in indoctrination programs and propaganda drives. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected in the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the Marriage Law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such evidences of restiveness in the population and from our knowledge of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the causes and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

1. Regimentation and Restriction. The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

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The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconvenience. However, the demand that spare-time be devoted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmer spends his money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advise on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The process is not only time-consuming, but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and to attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected. Almost no time is left for taking care of private affairs.

2. <u>High Taxation and Public Obligation.</u>

651 The high taxes and business restrictions

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constantly patrolled, and each village near the
65/ right-of-way must maintain a specially
70/ organized force for this purpose and participate in the guard duty for a 72-hour period every month.[40] In addition, the village maintains a militia in which all the young residents must serve. Besides training or participating in the unit's cultural and indoctrination activities, the militia patrols key areas in the village, guards government grain, helps in loading it for shipment, and assists in keeping the village free of bandits. Misuse of the militia by the Southwest China Military Command in 1953 was criticized as having wasted 24,700 man-hours per day.[41]

Similar public and military services are required of city dwellers. They must engage in military training, participate in the local military unit's cultural and organizational activities, and serve on patrols in their own or neighboring areas whenever needed.

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208 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations

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40. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 4.

41. Report of the Second Southwest China Militia Conference, Ibid., May 20, 1953, p.1.

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have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not outbreaks of violence. To some extent, at least, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The regime seeks to offset disaffection by emphasizing in its propaganda the necessity and patriotism of individual sacrifice for the national welfare. If some non-vital aspect of the Communist program occasions bitter and widespread complaint, the regime bends to public opinion and institutes changes. Wherever possible, the Communists attempt to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public. Nevertheless, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

B. Tension within Organizations

578 The use of various overlapping control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directive has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party,

665 Party members cannot escape the endless
578 program of Party indoctrination and rectification. The dual pressures and resulting tension are in large part responsible for the high rate of expulsion and resignation from the Party. Many people who are outwardly in favor of the regime are reluctant to join the Party. The fate of former Parry members after expulsion or resignation is not known, but they are undoubtedly confined in prisons or forced labor camps for some period of time. If allowed to remain free or when released, ex-members are probably subject to security surveillance. However, they may in time form a new subversive group.

668 Tension also exists in mass organizations
578 as the result of pressure imposed upon them by the Party and higher organizations. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These group must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from

668 expanding beyond safe limits seems to lie in
578 constant vigilance and an incessant barrage of propaganda. By instituting stricter controls and by disposing of undesirable members, the regime has sought to keep these organizations in the service of the Party.

CONCLUSION

Subversive potentialities cannot be eliminated however effective a dictatorship or tyranny may be. The forces in opposition to Communist rule in Southwest China are the victims of power, the traditional resistance groups, and discontented ex-members of the Communist Party.

The victims of Communist power -- landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and other elements which have been named by the Communists as "counterrevolutionaries" -- constitute the most threatening opposition to the current regime. Most of the former Nationalist forces have been eliminated, imprisoned, or placed under surveillance, but some of them may still remain at large. Because of past experience, any officials of the former regime still operating in the

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Southwest Region are in the best position to assume leadership over all resistance groups. Potential additions to the subversive elements in the region are present in the peasants opposed to collectivization and the "new rich" group, classed as hostile by the regime.

The operation of traditional resistance groups is manifest in the continued activities of the secret societies. Because they are attractive to illiterate peasants and laborers, the regime may find itself in the curious position of having to eliminate considerable numbers of the proletariat and peasantry, whose interests the Communists claim to protect and advance.

Too little is known of the fate and activities of the former Communist Party members in China to be able to speculate on their subversive potentialities. However, it seems certain that the chances for opposition by this group and its possible strength and cohesion will vary inversely with the success, power, and unity of the Chinese Communist Party.

Public discontent and tension within organizations in the Southwest Region are by no means indications of the impending collapse

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of the Communist regime. Rather, they are the reactions to be expected from a controlled society under a tight dictatorship. Tension and public discontent would have to develop in intensity and proportion far beyond their current manifestations before the regime would be weakened or seriously handicapped, and the loss of Party morale and unity would have to extend far beyond its present level before the entire Communist system was threatened with disruption.

and the labor bureau, to a cut in wages of from 40 to 60 per cent to help tide the capitalists over a difficult period.[8] 468

On the basis of experience in settling labor disputes, the Ministry of Labor in April 1950 issued a "Directive Concerning the Establishment of Labor-Capital Consultative Councils in Privately Owned Enterprises." In accordance with the directive, 34 different groups of private enterprises in Chungking formed their labor-capital consultative councils between mid-1950 and mid-1951. Labor and capital were equally represented on the council. During the period, consultations between labor and capital in various Chungking enterprises resulted in 2,224 agreements which were submitted to the labor bureau for ratification. Almost without exception, matters brought up in the councils for consultation were concerned with wages and the discharges of workers.[9]

III. POLITICIAL INDOCTRINATION

The Communists insist that the strength and class consciousness of the workers can only grow out of political indoctrination. In the guise of implementing this dogma, the Communists initiated the "Democratic Reform" Movement among the working class in May 1951, followed by the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement as well as the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. Through 467 668

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, 1951, p. 1013; Workers' Daily, June 21,1950,p.1.
9. New China Daily, Oct.10,1951,p.2.

467 these drives, the Communists claim that trade
668 union organization was greatly expanded throughout the nation and the unity of the working class increased.

The "Democratic Reform" Movement was aimed specifically at the elimination of reactionary elements from labor organizations. Launched in Central-South China in May 1951, the movement was extended to the whole country in the following months. Its centers of action were the public and private factories, mind, and transportation systems.

To initiate "Democratic Reform" in any enterprise, the trade union leaders called meetings, at which everyone was free to make complaints or accusations against workers, union cadres, or managers. Once initiated, the campaign continued for days or weeks. In subsequent meetings, criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. The Communists claimed that many reactionary elements were disclosed this way. Within the transportation industry alone, 15,616 gang labor chiefs were said to have been eliminated throughout the country a few months after the movement started.[10]

The Communists claim that the conditions of construction workers at Ta-tu-k'ou and coal miners at the T'ien-fu mine, both in Chungking, were improved after the "Democratic Reform"

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10. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Oct. 15, 1951, No. 128.

467 Movement was initiated there in mid-1951. Prior
668 to the Communist regime, the system of recruitment in contruction work and in the mining industry was known as the gang master system. The gang master made a contract with the head engineer or manager of a company to supply labor for certain jobs at a stipulated price. He employed villagers for low wages and pocketed the difference between his payroll and the contract price. According to the Communist press, when the Red Army took Chungking at the end of 1949, the gang labor chiefs infiltrated the labor organization and some of them even pretended to be activists. The Communists assert that in the criticism and self-criticism meetings these gang labor chiefs were discovered and eliminated from the labor organization in Chungking.[11]

IV. LABOR EMULATION AND PRODUCTION

466 Labor emulation is a Communist method
461 for increasing labor productivity without raising production costs. It was practiced in Communist China during the early 1940's in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[12] Extended to all China in 1950, the labor emulation drive was stepped up in 1951 after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War. According to the

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11. New China Daily, Oct.10,12,14,1951; and Oct. 2,1952, p. 2.

12. Abundant Clothing; Sufficient Food, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, May 1944.

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575 people apart, this source of inspiration has likewise vanished. Ideals of filial piety and of veneration for older persons, though still observed, have lost much of their former appeal as a result of the war and the infiltration of Western thought. On the other hand, *yi* and brotherhood, which are at the core of all Ko Lao Hui activities—particularly those involving social insurance and security—have not only remained cardinal principles of the society but are being observed with greater zeal than ever, largely because the security of the people is increasingly threatened by the present system of government.

575 A prominent characteristic of any secret society is the use of a special terminology by its members. For various reasons—to distinguish mem-
198 bers from non-members, to permit members to outwit government authorities, etc.—a secret society, especially in the early stages of development, finds it convenient to designate terms of its own making which differ sufficiently from common usage to enable members to communicate with one another without being understood by the uninitiate. At present, however, the Ko Lao Hui has come so far into the open that nearly everyone knows of its existence and may join it if he so desires. Since most of its activities are common knowledge, there is no longer a need for a secret language with which to conceal them. Instead, a number of new terms have been introduced into Ko Lao Hui parlance, indicating a certain adaptation to changing conditions of society.

575 The progressive relaxation of entrance requirements to a point where almost anyone may join has made for marked local dissimilarities. The
565 wholesale entrance into the Ko Lao Hui of local warlords, retired politicians, corrupt government officials and demobilized soldiers, few of whom are interested primarily in the social aims of the society, is causing the society to engage in an increasing number of undesirable activities while at the same time encouraging the tendency toward separatism among the branches. To a Ko Lao Hui member of the old school, such a trend represents degeneration which must result ultimately in complete separation and dissolution.

575 On the other hand, it is clear that the Ko Lao Hui will retain its power until something can be found to replace it. The government,
• 668 though well aware of the growing power and influence of the society, has done little to combat it beyond occasionally voicing expressions of alarm. Government officials have been forbidden to join the society, and

6:Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

students in government schools have been threatened with expulsion if they become members. But one may question the efficacy of a policy which ignores a manifestation of this kind while permitting it to grow stronger. Surely, it would be better to investigate the Ko Lao Hui—to discover why it exists, how it operates and what are its effects—and then to seek means of reforming it, of converting it into an effective force for improving the welfare of the people. For the *basic* principles of the Ko Lao Hui are not anti-social. And if the political situation in the province remains chaotic; if corruption in government continues; if unemployment, especially of demobilized soldiers, is not combated; if popular education remains completely inadequate; and if some sort of social insurance is not provided in the present period of rehabilitation; then, the people will certainly continue to look to the Ko Lao Hui for protection and for a livelihood.

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Chengtu, Szechuan, 1946

635 of Sikang, which rounded out the western part of the Southwest Region, began to be developed as a part of the frontier colonial territory during the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

635 669 563 When the Red Army overran the Southwest Region in 1949, the Communists fell heir to the problems the territory has posed to every governing authority in China. As had often happened in the past, the mountainous terrain of the Southwest Region was the last refuge of armed resistance to the new regime. According to the Communists, Kweichow was not completely in their hands until January 1951,[1] and more "bandits" (a common Communist term for its armed enemies) were found in the Southwest Region than in any other region.[2] A more difficult and longer-term problem was that of the tribal people who had never been assimilated into Chinese culture. Constituting about 20 per cent of the region's population, the autochthonous people in many areas of the Southwest were still organized under their own tribal laws and respected the authority only of their own tribal chiefs.

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1. Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 205, pp. 12-13. Hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. Unless specifically attributed to the American editors, citations from this source refer to literal translations from Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

2. Ibid., 212, p. 24.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 167 563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

175 669 563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being [167] suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

175 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese
•669 central government occurred further to the
563 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem
798 population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

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The Southwest Region felt the impact of the West later and less profoundly than the regions of China bordering on the Pacicic Ocean. Western military might made an initial impress on the region but was not followed by the broad penetration of new material and ideological forces that changed so much of the environment and thinking in the maritime provinces. The bureaucracy of the Ch'ing Dynasty was succeeded by the warlords of [669] the Republican period. They maintained their power under the Nationalist Government and effectively blocked the wide dissemination of revolutionary doctrine in the Southwestern provinces, while playing along in the power struggle of the twentieth century revolutionary period. Only under the wartime needs and influence of the Nationalist Government in Chungking did the Southwest experience a growth of largely small-scale industrialization, the dissemination of new political and social ideas devoid of revolutionary content, and an advance in direct control by the central political authority.

[Footnote 23 continued]

interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H. B. Morse, op. cit.; and John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yü Teng, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the following pages are taken from these sources.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
• 669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian intrusion into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

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Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 635 563 669 The revolt was still in progress when the Communists passed through the Southwest Region on their "Long March." Approaching northwestern Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sung p'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

635 669 175 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175 imperial era served to perpetuate these conditions
635 during the Republican period that followed. What
669 part the region played in the revolutionary ferment that marked much of China south of the Yangtze River from 1911 to 1928 was characterized by greedy provincialism and military expediency rather than by national aspiration and political idealism.

An immediate and direct cause of the revolution that overthrew the imperial regime was the outbreak in Szechwan during September 1911 of strikes and violence against the central government when it attempted to take over from the province the financing and construction of the Hankow-Szechwan Railway. However, the Chinese do not mark this event as the start of the 1911 Revolution, because the Szechwan outburst was not motivated by anti-dynastic feeling. Rather, the resistance was an outgrowth of jealous provincialism and, apparently, the hope of local investors in the mismanaged and corrupt provincial venture into railway building that the central government could be coerced into replacing their financial losses.[31] When the dynasty showed
175 hesitancy in dealing with the Szechwan outbreak,
669 revolutionary politicians elsewhere in China made another and successful bid, after more than a decade of abortive attempts, to establish republican government in China. The premature explosion of a bomb on October 10, 1911 at the Hankow (Hupeh) headquarters

31. On the Szechwan outbreak see Harley F. MacNair, China in Revolution; An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 28-29.

175 of one group plotting to overthrow the dynasty is
669 celebrated as the beginning of the republican revolution.

Both the outbreak of open warfare between the die-hard revolutionaries and the dynasty, opportunistic militarists in the Southwest Region as elsewhere in China were ready to take advantage of the situation to promote their own interests. Ts'ai Ao (Ts'ai O), a Ch'ing military commander in Yunnan, was the strong man of the Southwest Region. His troops quickly eliminated the Ch'ing adherents in the province and in neighoring Kweichow and Szechwan. As a reward for his contribution to the success of the revolution, he was made military governor of Yunnan under the new republic. A follower of the reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao rather than the revolutionist Sun Yat-sen, Ts'ai stood aside in the struggle for power which soon developed between the parliamentary-minded supporters of Sun Yat-sen and the dictatorial-minded president of the republic, Yüan Shih-k'ai. After Yuan had won the battle by dissolving parliament and crushing its adherents' attempt at resistance, Ts'ai was persuaded to move to Peking and take a nominal part in Yüan's increasingly more personalized government. When in 1915 Yüan attempted to cap his dominance of the central government by making himself emperor, Ts'ai fled the capital by way of Japan and returned to Yunnan in December to institute a rebellion that cost his life but eventually forced Yüan to relinquish his ambition and lose his hold on China south of the Yangtze River before he died in June 1916.[32]

32. Ibid., pp. 42-44.

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After Ts'ai's death, his place of leadership and influence in the region and national affairs was aspired to by T'ang Chi-yao, a native of Yunnan and supporter of Sun Yat-sen. Along with other military strong men, he supported the various ephemeral governments established in Canton with Sun's real or nominal leadership between 1918 and 1924. They claimed varying jurisdictions -- always over Kwangtung and Kwangsi, generally over Yunnan and Kweichow, and sometimes over Szechwan and other provinces south of the Yangtze River. On Sun's death following the revitalization and strengthening of the Kuomintang with Soviet Union guidance and material aid, T'ang made a bid for the dead leader's mantle. The Yunnan militarist adopted the title of vice-generalissimo of the Kuomintang armies, a post which had been offered him before Sun's death. T'ang's amibitious move and his command of a combined Yunnan-Kwangsi army posed a threat to the largely Kwangtung military force and leadership of the Kuomintang. Within six weeks of Sun's death, the Yunnan-Kwangsi army was decimated and T'ang forced into retirement.[33]

Thereafter, the Southwest was splintered into petty domains dominated by a number of minor warlords. The influence of the revolution as of the

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33. Ibid., pp. 64-68, 95-96.

175 669 [661] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

668 were evidently inspired by economic rather than political factors. Enemy bombings and infantry drives against economic objectives, inflation, heavy taxes, and forced delivery of grain quotas to the government at prices far below the open market rate drove farmers and townspeople into bankruptcy, starvation, and desperate measures. After the war, the Nationalist Government was preoccupied with containing or eliminating the Communists while restoring its position in the agriculturally and industrially wealthier, more developed regions of North, Central-South, East and Northeast China. The Southwest was left more to its own devices and the rule of local warlords than was originally planned by the central authorities.

IV. THE RISE AND VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

A. The Long March

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669 Before the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, Communism had had a more fleeting existence in Southwest China than in any other region of China. The only period of considerable Communist activity in the Southwest prior to the autumn of 1949 was at the time of the circuitous Long March. The six thousand-mile trek was a Communist retreat from areas of strength in Kiangsi and Fukien to Shensi under constant pressure from Kuomintang air and ground forces.

The first Communist migration occurred in 1933 when Nationalist Government attacks on the

668 soviets in the Honan-Hupeh-Anhwei border area
669 forced a partial withdrawal of the Communist troops there to Szechwan.[37] They were able to hold on to the naturally defensible northwest corner of the province, and this became the initial goal of the main forces of the Chinese soviets when they were forced to leave their bases in Kiangsi and Fukien under the sledge hammer blows of the Fifth Campaign launched by Chiang Kai-shek in October 1934. The line of retreat for the main body passed through Kweichow, Yunnan, and eastern Sikang.

In these provinces and in Szechwan, the Communists undertook propaganda activities among the Chinese and tribal peoples to gain their good will for the passage of the retreating column of soldiers and civilians. Such acts as the furnishing of arms to the Lolo tribesmen of southwestern Szechwan and eastern Sikang and the distribution of excess captured food supplies to the Chinese peasants all along the route of march helped ease the Communists' way into the Sung-p'an area of Szechwan in July 1935.

While the spent ranks of the new arrivals paused to regain their strength, the Communist leaders argued out future strategy. Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai from the Kiangsi-Fukien soviets insisted that the march be resumed with Shensi as the objective. The leaders of the former Hunan-

37. On the Communist retreat through the Southwest Region see Snow, op. cit., pp.178-194.

Hupeh-Anhwei force, Chang Kuo-t'ao and Hsü Hsiang-ch'ien, favored remaining at the Szechwan base. Evidently the difference was bound up with a continuing power struggle and could not be resolved. In late August, the main force under Mao and Chou struck north into Shensi. Chang and Hsü with their contingent did not follow until a year later, and then only when driven out of Szechwan by Chiang Kai-shek's armies.

From 1936 until the Red Army invaded the Southwest in 1949, no large-scale Communist movement showed itself in the wartime stronghold of the Nationalist Government. However, a small number of official Communist representatives led by Chou En-lai were stationed at Chungking to maintain liaison with the Kuomintang in the uneasy and mutually expedient alliance between the two armed parties of China during the war of resistance against Japan.

B. Personalities with the Communist Regime

Although the Southwest experienced Communism only briefly before 1949, some of the top men in the Communist regime today derived from Szechwan. Three early converts to Communism from Szechwan are military men -- Chu Teh, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Ch'en I.

The best known and most remarkable of the trio is Chu Teh.[38] Born into a wealthy family,

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38. Ibid., pp. 346-55.

669 he was early trained in Western military science
668 and accustomed to luxury and the opium habit. After distinguishing himself as one of Ts'ai Ao's leading generals in 1911 and 1915-16, Chu fell back into the indolent, corrupt life of a warlord-bureaucrat in Yunnan until his habit of reading stirred him into beginning a new life in his late thirties. Forsaking his family and position in Chungking, he broke himself of opium addiction, came under the influence of young leftists and Communists in Shanghai, and travelled and studied in Germany, France, and Moscow before returning to China in 1925. Caught up in the Nationalist Revolution then rising to flood stage, Chu became a full-fledged Communist in 1927 when the split in the Kuomintang-Communist alliance faced him with choosing one side or the other. From 1928 when he joined his forces with those of Mao Tse-tung on the Kiangsi-Hunan border until the end of the Long March in Shensi some seven years later, Chu Teh became a legendary figure in China and in the annals of defensive-guerrilla tactics. Since 1931 he has been commander of the Communist armies, and is now one of the most honored "old comrades" of the Party.

Both Ch'en I and Liu Po-ch'eng joined the Communist Party before Chu Teh, but they did not begin to distinguish themselves until the war of resistance against Japan. Ch'en led the New Fourth Army in the Yangtze River area, while Liu headed the 129th division of the Eighth Route Army in the North China Region. During

669 668 the civil war that followed almost immediately on Japan's surrender, Ch'en I rose to the position of commander of the Third Field Army and Liu Po-ch'eng was promoted to the command of the Second Field Army. The two armies were responsible for the campaigns in the East and Central-South regions, and the Second Army carried the brunt of the attack on the Southwest Region. Ch'en I became a major figure in the East China Region after the Communist victory, and Liu Po-ch'eng assumed various positions of military and civilian leadership in Southwest China.

Another native of Szechwan, Kuo Mo-jo, is one of the leading figures of modern, pre-Communist Chinese literature, journalism, and scholarship. Not a member of the Communist Party as far as is known, Kuo has been heaped with honors by the Communist regime, allowed to travel extensively outside China, and given numerous official positions in the regime's cultural and literary organizations. Originally an advocate of art for art's sake, he became gradually more socially conscious and radical in his literary and journalistic work. Forced to flee to Japan because of his leftist political ideas, he added serious studies in Chinese archeology and ancient history to his long list of writings in poetry, fiction, and political-social polemics.

C. Postwar Victory

By the time the Communist forces entered the Southwest Region in strength, the rest of the Mainland had been overrun and the Communist

669 regime formally established in Peking.[39] It
668 was November before the Second Field Army under Liu Po-ch'eng launched an attack on Kweichow, taking the provincial capital at Kwei-yang on November 15. Chungking in Szechwan fell to the Second Field Army on the last day of the month. During the next few weeks, Liu's forces moved westward toward Chengtu while the Fourth Field Army struck into Szechwan from the north. After Chengtu fell December 27, many of the remaining organized Kuomintang forces surrendered to the Communists in Yunnan and Sikang, and the Communists officially claimed the complete "liberation" of the Southwest Region. However, it is clear that large-scale unorganized resistance continued for a good part of 1950, and isolated bands undoubtedly held out much longer in the rugged mountain areas of the Southwest. It is
630 doubtful, too, whether the Communists have any more real control than had former regimes over the semi-independent tribal areas of the Southwest, especially along its borders with Indo-China and Burma.

669 The lack of any prolonged organized resistance in the naturally defensible areas of the Southwest Region was the result of several factors. Little faith in the Kuomintang cause remained

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39. The names, dates, and campaigns connected with the Communist victory are largely taken from a Communist source, which is accurate in regard to these facts as far as can be determined by checking against other scattered sources: Liao Kai-lung, From Yenan to Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1954, pp. 108-09.

•669 among the Nationalist armies and the Chinese
668 people left in the Southwest region. The best Kuomintang troops that could be salvaged from the Communist avalanche had already been withdrawn with the government and its leading officials to Formosa. Other nationalist armed forces retreated into Burma under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, living off the Burmese countryside and making occasional harrassing raids into Southwest China for several years until withdrawn to Formosa. Many of the troops and their leaders who surrendered wholesale to the Communists in the Southwest provinces were warlord elements which never had had any commitment, let alone loyalty, to the Nationalist Government.

For the tribal people, the advent of the Communists meant only a change in rulers, with no guarantee that the new overlords would be any more upright or considerate in their dealings with the unassimilated peoples than had been the old Nationalist bureaucracy. The Chinese people of the region were thoroughly sick of warlord exploitation and Nationalist Government corruption. Any regime that promised peace and stability would have been welcomed. To the great majority of the Southwest's population, the peasants, the struggle for power was none of their business. They stood aside waiting for the winner to emerge, and accepted the victory of the Red Army as the beginning of a new dynasty which had inherited the "mandate of heaven" from the discredited Kuomintang.

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III. THE NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS

A. The Hui of Yunnan

563 The Hui intermarry with the Han Chinese. When a Han Chinese bachelor desires to marry a Hui girl, he must embrace the Islam[1] faith; a Han Chinese girl who wishes to marry a Hui man does not have to change her own religion. Therefore, although physical difference sets the Hui apart from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more complex. Hence, Hui cohesiveness is attributable to factors other than mere racial physical difference. Their language, religion, and customs that follow religious practice and observance make them cohesive as an ethnic group against outside forces, despite the fact that in Yunnan the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

[669] In the past there was enough antagonism between the Hui and the Han Chinese to cause several rebellions against the Chinese government. The bloody suppression of the Hui rebellion led by Tu Wen-hsiu in the middle of the nineteenth century devastated Hui communities in Yunan to such an extent that they have never recovered from it. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that the Hui were so sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities that they did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's

[1] [i.e., the Muslim faith -- Analyst]

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,
Political Background

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. MILITARY CONQUEST

101 Southwest China was the last region to come under the power of the Chinese Communists.

The term Southwest covers the following provinces: Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang. However, Sikang has been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955.

669 A brief account of the conquest of these four provinces follows. The Communist army began their move toward this region at the beginning of November 1949. This task was entrusted to the 1st Field Army under P'eng Te-huai and to the 2nd, under Liu Po-ch'eng. When these two armies were fighting in the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan, they were further reinforced by the 4th army under Lin Piao. While the main force of P'eng's army went ahead for a direct attack of the Northwest Region, a part of his army remained in Shensi to fight the Nationalist army under the command of Hu Tsung-nan, who was withdrawing from Shensi to Szechwan and Sikang.

669 The second field army under Liu Po-ch'eng coming from Shansi and Shensi encountered the Nationalist army on the border of Hupeh, Hunan, and Szechwan. This army was under the command of Sung Hsi-lien, who tried to stop the Communist advance. A battle took place between them, and Liu succeeded in destroying Sung's main force at I-ch'ang and Sha-shih and in crossing the Yangtze River. Liu, not satisfied with this partial success, continued the pursuit of Sung's army to Kweichow and Szechwan.

While Hu Tsung-nan's army was on the way to Chengtu, in the west of Szechwan, it was threatened on both sides: on the northern side by P'eng, and on the southeastern side by Liu. Hu Tsung-nan tried to escape to Ya-an and Hsi-ch'ang, but as Lin's army had already entered Yunnan after the surrender of Governor Lu Han, Liu crossed the border of Yunnan and annihilated Hu's army in Hsi-ch'ang, while Hu himself excaped by plane. Thus the Nationalist Army was completely wiped out.

721 Tibet, which was then a buffer state between China and British India, was still beyond the reach of the Chinese Communists. Liu Po-ch'eng raised the question of Tibet at a meeting of the Southwest Military and Political Committee held on July 27, 1950 and announced that the Tibetan campaign would follow quickly in order to get rid of Anglo-American imperialism. Following this declaration, the Communist Army

423 landowners, and less than 3 per cent in the hands of the middle and poor peasants.[5] He came to the conclusion that as 40,000 people out of a total population of 57,400,000 were on the verge of starvation, the policy of Mao Tse-tung was justified and should be carried out.

745 162 In this period it was also found that there was a large number of persons in Southwest China who depended upon the government for a living. Teng Hsiao-p'ing reported on April 11, 1950 that there were 900,000 disbanded Kuomintang soldiers, 400,000 old civil service men, and 700,000 Communist soldiers. He emphasized that if they were not well-fed, a state of disorder might result.[6] The Communists considered the collection of a grain levy on the whole population in order to feed the armies and the civil service men as the most urgent need at this time.

669 The Communists were greatly concerned that the Kuomintang members would make trouble. Their fears were confirmed when the rebellion led by Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, two Kuomintang generals, took place in Kunming. Part of the 2nd and 4th field armies were sent from southern Kwangsi to Yunnan, and the rebellion was quickly stamped out, although the rebel leaders succeeded in escaping to the border of Burma.

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5. Ibid., p. 1006.

6. Ibid., p. 991.

625 Other units such as a cadre school, border public security bureaus, and forced labor batallions were also under the department's jurisdiction. Public security bureaus were organized within administrative districts and municipalities. County bureaus were empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in ch'ü and hsiang, and they were placed in charge of detention houses and prisons.

B. Public Security in the Rural Areas

625 701 During the land reform period, rural security relied on peasant associations and the militia to enforce decrees and destroy the old rural system, to crush the intelligence agencies controlled by the Kuomintang, to suppress banditry, and to eliminate landlords and "despots."

625 701 669 At the time of the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement in the cities, climaxed by the use of violence in 1951, a similar campaign was carried out in rural areas. Official reports during this time indicated the unrest and the resistance of the peasants, expressed in the forms of organized "underground armies," the killing of militia,

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625 the burning of granaries, and the slaughtering
701 of cattle. Communist authorities in the
669 Southwest China region called for the strengthening of rural public security.[20] Village committees, composed of from 3 to 11 members, were organized, and public security teams were formed.[21]

The extent of rural unrest was indicated by Wen-hui Liu, deputy from the province of Szechwan, at the second session of the National People's Congress.[22] He reported destruction of agricultural implements, sabotage of a dam, murder of Communist cadres and activists, arson, and impairment of relationships between the Han and the minority groups.

In August 1953, bands of armed police were transferred from the military command to the public security agencies in an attempt to strengthen rural public security.

C. Public Security in the Cities

625 The maintenance of public order and

20. New China Daily, June 29, 1952, p. 1, and Oct. 9, 1952, p. 3.
21. People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1952, p. 1.
22. Ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 5.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2f,
Political Background

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

669 The most serious challenge to the Communist regime immediately after its assumption of power in the Southwest Region was the open resistance of armed groups. The Communists credit the Nationalist Government with having established fifteen guerrilla bases and organized thousands of intelligence workers in Southwest China before evacuating the region. Nearly one million members of Nationalist units and various resistance groups "controlled by the Nationalists," in addition to 80,000 intelligence agents, were reported by the Communiststo have been left behind to harass the new regime.[1]

000 Even after the Communists consolidated

1. Report of Chou Hsing, head of the Department of Public Security of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 12, 1951, p. 2; and report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

I. SUPPRESSION OF COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

669 The term "counterrevolutionaries" as used by the Communists is only vaguely defined. It includes all persons whose past or present actions are deemed contrary to the purpose and interests of the Communists, particularly "bandits," landlords, armed resistance groups, spies, saboteurs, secret societies, and unrepentant former Nationalist Government officials, army officers, and members of the Kuomintang. Any person to whom the term was applied was generally subject to the penalty of death or forced labor.

A. Extermination of Nationalist Forces and "Bandits"

Prior to 1952, the term "bandits" applied only to remnants of the Nationalist Government forces on the Mainland and long-active bands of robbers, the great majority of which were regarded by the Communists as "agents of Nationalist underground forces." The politically subversive nature of the "bandits" in the Southwest Region was emphasized from the beginning of the Communist attempt to consolidate control there by Liu Po-ch'eng, then chairman of the Southwest China Military and

669 Political Committee and commanding general of the Second Field Army.[3]

669 727 Another factor that contributed to the nature of the "bandit-suppression campaigns" in the Southwest was the large number of Nationalist troops that surrendered to the Communists in this region. The Communists claim they accepted the surrender of 900,000 Nationalist soldiers in Southwest China -- 400,000 of them in organized units and the remainder in scattered groups or as individuals. Part of the captured forces were reorganized and relocated as Communist units, but large numbers were discharged and ordered to their homes. Some of this latter group remained at large to create serious problems for the Communists, including reported participation in open rebellions during 1950 and 1951.

669 725 Communist military campaigns in the Southwest against the remnants of Nationalist

3. Report of Liu Po-ch'eng, Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-Kao Hui-Pien, 1950, [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, People's Press, 1951, pp. 989-91.

669 725 forces and robber gangs were conducted in the same manner as in other regions. Elements of the regular Red Army encircled the opposing forces, while Party cadres organized and indoctrinated local militias. The combined Communist forces then cut the opposition into small groups and destroyed the main body of resistance. The mopping up of isolated elements was entrusted to the local militia, permitting large numbers of regular troops to be shifted to pacified rural areas for political work.

669 Within the general pattern of "bandit-suppression" strategy, different timing and tactics were employed in each province to meet the varying conditions encountered by the Communists. The work of eliminating armed resistance in Szechwan was undertaken within four special districts.[4] Counter-revolutionary activity organized by Kuomintang elements and aided by professional bandits, as the Communists described it, seems to have posed the greatest threat in the southern and eastern special districts of Szechwan. Simultaneous campaigns launched during the spring of 1950 in the four special

4. For reports of the work of the four special districts in Szechwan, see Compendium of Government Reports 1950, pp. 1025-70.

669 districts were brought to a close in September with the announcement that 170,000 "bandits" had been eliminated in the southern special district, 120,000 in the eastern district, and lesser numbers in the other two districts.

Pacification of Kweichow was a far more difficult and prolonged problem. The Communists admit that in April 1950 they controlled only the cities and county seats of 48 counties as against 31 counties held by counterrevolutionary forces. Fifteen Nationalist regiments and numerous Nationalist-organized local militias were said to form the backbone of the opposition, which was not overcome until November 1950.[5]

A similar situation confronted the Communists in Yunnan.[6] Many Nationalist troops were identified as taking part in open resistance to the new regime during 1950-51. The situation was complicated by the operation of Nationalist elements along and across

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5. On the Kweichow situation, see New China Daily, Oct. 2, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 23, 1951, p. 3.
6. On the Yunnan situation, see People's Daily, Oct. 24, 1950, p. 3; New China Daily, Dec. 17, 1952, p. 1.

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669 Yunnan's border with Burma and within ethnic minority areas of the province. In December 1952, the Communists announced the capture of the last Nationalist stronghold inside Yunnan and the annihilation of 21,573 Nationalist soldiers and intelligence agents. However, the presence of Kuomintang forces under Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan across the Yunnan border in Burma constituted a continuous threat to the province's security until they were withdrawn to Formosa in late 1954.

In Sikang, the "bandit-suppression" campaign was on a much smaller scale.[7] It lasted from February to November of 1950 and was reported to have destroyed 30,000 "bandits."

B. Landlords

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668 Under the Land Reform Law and the joint directive of the Government Administration Council and the People's Supreme Court,

7. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, pp. 1071-73.

668 been entirely eliminated. He called for continued efforts to detect and suppress Nationalist intelligence agents, "bandits," and landlords, and for concentration on the strengthening of the "democratic reform movement" and the establishment of public security committees.

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669 2. Suppression of Nationalist Spies. The threat of Nationalist expionage in Southwest China was greatest at the time the Communists assumed power in the region. The Communists not only reported 80,000 Nationalist intelligence workers at large in the region, but also claimed their influence and operations extended to the remnants of Nationalist forces, "bandit" units, and secret societies in Southwest China. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity of ridding the region of these spies to assure the well being of the new regime.

During 1950, the Communists concentrated on the disbanding of Nationalist espionage organizations and obtaining the surrender and arrest of spies. In the western Szechwan special district, the Communist authorities reported the surrender of 2,000 spies and the arrest of 318 others in the first half of 1950. During the same period in the southern Szechwan special district,

726 669 2,451 spies were arrested and 1,200 gave themselves up, according to Communist sources. Throughout the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951, further efforts were made to apprehend Nationalist intelligence personnel. As one means to this end, the Communists required that all former Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain register with public security agencies. The officers who complied were placed under surveillance.

Despite the emphasis placed on uncovering spies during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement, relatively few of the cases dealt with during the campaign involved espionage. In the eastern Szechwan special district, of all prosecuted cases, 79 per cent dealt with "bandits" and "local despots" and only a small percentage concerned intelligence workers.[13]

Counterrevolutionary activities, including Nationalist espionage operations, have received increased publicity since 1954. Three counterrevolutionary cases presented for mass trial in January 1955 at Chungking[14]

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13. Ibid., Dec. 4, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, Feb. 7, 1955, p. 3.

726 apparently were intended to convince the people
669 that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

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668 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." Closely connected with the suppression of
798 Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbĕr-ddĕr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wùa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ö (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•669 gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

*487 The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wùa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu *133 鳴音吾), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill *137 at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat, [241] oats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are [291] still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large [301] key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wùa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi.lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wùa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yünnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yünnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

563 Panthay has become fairly familiar to Europeans from the great Panthay rebellion which was the means of devastating and depopulating Yün-nan from 1854 to 1873, in which latter year it was finally put down. The rebellion began in a quarrel between Chinese and Mahommedan miners, in which the latter thought, probably with reason, that they did not get justice from the Chinese official who investigated the case. The two races are never very friendly, and the Panthays were quite ready to take up arms in hopes of turning Yün-nan or part of Yün-nan into a Mahommedan state where they would be independent of Chinese officials. They had a very good try for it, and for some years they held the greater part of the west of the province, with Ta-li as the capital. Finally the Chinese Government, having, with Gordon's assistance, put down the Taiping rebellion, were able to turn all their forces against the Panthays. Ta-li was taken by the treachery of a Mahommedan officer, and the rebellion brought to an end with the usual slaughter of thousands of the rebels.

563 669

The two races naturally hate each other and always will do so, but there is no enmity observable on the outside. A Chinaman and a Mahommedan meeting will always be quite civil to each other. The Mahommedanism of the Panthays is really a very nominal affair, and I do not suppose that Mahommedans so ignorant of their religion could be found anywhere. This ignorance is no doubt partly due to their being isolated among a non-Mahommedan people, but I think also partly to their Chinese origin, for a Chinaman is not by nature a religious man. Though there is doubtless a certain amount of Arab or Tartar blood among the Panthays, they have far more Chinese in them than anything else. I imagine most of their ancestors were Tartars or Turkomans who came into the province with Kublai Khan's armies, but these men must have married Chinese wives. Also many of the present Panthays have their origin from Chinese children who have been adopted by Mahommedans and brought up in that religion. In some cases one can tell a Mahommedan by his features, but very often they are undistinguishable from the Chinese.

563 Along the main road from T'êng-yüeh to Ta-li there

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

good many Chinamen living there too, and most of the 563
people appear to talk both languages. They are well
known as the biggest blackguards in this part of Yün-nan, 579
and many of them are wanted by the Chinese Government for murders and other crimes, but the country is so little under Chinese control that the officials are not very keen on trying to make arrests. On a subsequent journey I again had trouble at that very town[1], the only place in Yün-nan where I have ever encountered anything like organised opposition. Mêng-hung is in Chên-k'ang territory, but the sawbwa of the latter place finds it more than he can manage and has no real authority there.

The next day we reached Mêng-pun (Möng Pawn), a 361
Shan village of 40 houses, not to be confused with Mêng-p'êng (Möng Hpawng), a somewhat larger place a day's march off W.S.W. In the afternoon a man arrived who had been sent by the Chên-k'ang sawbwa to guide us on to Mang-shih. There had been a good deal of rain lately, and it fell heavily here at night.

The recent fighting from which the warriors I met at 669
Mêng-hung had just returned, was naturally the subject of conversation everywhere in this neighbourhood, and from enquiries made at different places I gathered the following as to its origin. About the year 1890 the late sawbwa of Chên-k'ang was going round his state, and while at the village of Ya-k'ou, which lies two or three marches south-west of the capital, he was murdered by his nephew Tao-lao-wu, who usurped the sawbwaship. He, however, only held it for a few days, as a Chinaman called Ma, who lives on the hills near Hsiao-mêng-t'ung (Möng Htawng), and is one of the principal head-men of the Chên-k'ang state, got some men together, marched on the capital, killed Tao-lao-wu, and dispersed his followers. The present sawbwa, who is the son of the murdered man, and was at that time only two years old, then became the nominal ruler of the state.

Since then the adherents of Tao-lao-wu had been constantly dacoiting in the western part of Chên-k'ang, near the Burmese border. The Chinese authorities accordingly

[1] See p. 136.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

• 669 gave orders that the sawbwas of Chên-k'ang, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, were to collect men and combine against the rebels. They seem to have been successful in dispersing them for the time, though I could not hear of much loss of life on either side. This is the story as given me, but, though there is nothing improbable in it, I will not be answerable for its correctness. A Chinaman always has a story to account for any circumstance he may be asked about, with an equally ready answer to any further questions that may be put to him.

133 The next day we continued our journey, crossing a range at 6,800 feet. On the top there are several basins, two of them of considerable size, with villages in them, the water of which has no outlet, the streams running into holes in the hills. In one of these, in which the village of T'ien-pa-chai is situated, the hole is not big enough to take all the water which comes down when the stream is swollen, so that in the rains a small lake is formed where it enters the hill.

On the 2nd May we had a steep bit of down-hill to the Salween, which is here 2,050 feet above sea level. We crossed it at Han-kuai ferry, which is just below the corner where the river begins to make its westerly bend. The Salween is here 120 yards wide with a strong current, and is crossed by one good-sized ferry-boat. The boatmen live at Han-kuai village, which is on the right bank, nearly 2000 feet above the river, up a very steep hill—an inconvenient arrangement for travellers arriving from the east, as they have to wait till the ferrymen choose to come. The usual custom is to fire a gun to attract their attention.

The next day a very hilly march, passing Möng Nawng[1], a small Shan plain with a swampy lake in it, brought us to Pin-ka, a plain five miles long, inhabited by Chinamen and under the jurisdiction of Lung-ling. Two more days of hilly marching in wet weather took us to Hsiang-ta, another little Chinese plain containing about 15 small villages, and on the 6th of May we descended to Möng Hkwan, an important Shan state, called Mang-shih by the Chinese.

The plain is watered by the Nam Hkwan, a tributary

[1] Mêng-nung in Chinese.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

wide, but the crossing did not take long, as the large punt-shaped boat would carry 10 mules at a time. 000

This ferry is a good deal used, as nearly all the salt for the Shun-ning and Yün Chou districts comes across here from the wells of Wei-yüan and Chên-yüan. I asked the salt depôt man at the ferry how much salt crossed this ferry in a year. With the usual readiness of a Chinaman he promptly replied, "300,000 mule-loads." "But this would make 800 loads a day all the year round," I ventured to suggest. And as there is no traffic in the rains, he had to acknowledge that he might have slightly over-estimated. From what I saw myself on the road I should think 8000 or 9000 mule-loads a year would be a fair estimate. 317

Salt is a very important article of trade in Yün-nan, as it is a Government monopoly, and none is allowed to be brought into the province from abroad. There are three parts of Yün-nan where salt is obtained. These are (1) Yün-lung Chou, which supplies north-western and a good deal of western Yün-nan, including T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang, and Ta-li; (2) Wei-yüan, Chên-yüan, and Ching-tung districts and Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh: these wells supply southern and south-eastern Yün-nan; (3) the country north of Ch'u-hsiung Fu: from here is supplied the northern part of the centre of the province, including the capital. The north-eastern corner of Yün-nan, including Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung obtains its salt from Ssŭ-ch'uan province. It is always officially laid down for each district where it is to get its salt from, and none is allowed to be brought from elsewhere.

After crossing the ferry we followed the river down for a little way and then climbed up to the village of T'uan-shan to sleep. We were now in the district of Ching-tung T'ing, but the bit of country round the ferry is in charge of a retired highway robber. A Mahommedan by religion, he naturally sided with his own people in the Panthay rebellion, but towards the end, being a prudent and far-seeing man, he recognised how things were going, and went over to the Chinese side. So zealous did he show himself in the slaying of his former brothers in arms, that the Chinese Government rewarded him by granting him official rank and a small piece of country to rule. Such instances 669

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 669 of treachery on the Mahommedan side were very common all through the rebellion.

After an uphill march on the 18th through jungle and 000 fir woods to the pleasant little hill village of Pai-yin-ch'in, we descended the next day to the Ching-ku Ho, which here runs through a curious valley, so much cut up by wooded spurs and deep sandstone ravines that it can hardly be called a plain. There is scarcely any flat ground, but there are a good many villages scattered along the valley, and the side streams are lined with terraced fields. The country reminds one very much of the upper part of the Shweli River.

245 There is a certain amount of tea grown on the hillsides here, at heights between 4,500 and 5,500 feet in a sandstone soil. It is not considered so good as that produced in the Shan state of Keng Hung, the famous P'u-êrh tea.

136 I shot a woodcock on the march which brought us into the Ching-ku valley. I have occasionally seen this bird in different parts of Yün-nan, and have met with it in May in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 Our route for the next day and a half still lay down the Ching-ku Ho, but the country is so broken by steep spurs running down to the river, that there is little actual flat going. The river is twice crossed. The first crossing is by a wooden bridge where the stream, though not 20 yards wide, runs in a tremendous chasm between cliffs 200 feet high. These extraordinarily deep ravines are characteristic of this valley.

We reached Wei-yüan on the 21st December, and I found the place in no way changed since my previous visit. From Wei-yüan to P'u-êrh is only four or five marches by the direct road, but I had been along this route in 1895. I therefore struck off in an easterly direction for Hsin-fu, a place near which Turner and Ker had come in to the P'u-êrh-Ta-li road in the previous season. From there by turning south to P'u-êrh I should be able to get in the only part of this important road that had not been surveyed by our parties.

Our route led northward for a day and a half up the Wei-yüan Chiang, along the road to Chên-yüan T'ing, which had been followed by Captain Wingate in 1895. The

of troops to defend the city against a resolute opponent. Sung pan ting has hardly more than 1,500 settled families. Their cloak of protection is therefore far too wide. Inasmuch as there are few Chinese farmers in the vicinity, the city is not required to provide shelter for many refugees in case of a war. This was also a reason why in the 1860s when the Tai ping rebellion weakened the government and the Tibetans and Mohammedans therefore thought their hour of emancipation had come, the city could not offer any resistance against the Tibetan attackers, and rapidly fell. For three years the city, as well as the entire territory up to Nan ping and down to Lung ngan fu and as far as Mao tschou, was ruled by the native aristocrats and the Chinese were so oppressed that to this day they celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation. The day happened to occur during my visit. The Mohammedans also take part in the pleasures of this festival, for they, too, suffered very much under the Tibetans. The latter wanted to re-establish the old kingdom of the Nessedin (Nasding) rgyalbo. The memory of this Tibetan king is still very vivid here.

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The relationship between Chinese and Mohammedans who constitute about half the population of the city, is relatively very good, and that is why there are two Mohammedan prayer halls inside the city wall; and a large mosque has been preserved from ancient times not far from the city across the left bank of the Min ho. As far as other buildings are concerned, we need mention only the old Chen tai yamen in the northern part of the city and the government building of the Ting on a rock terrace in the west. On the periphery of the city are a few lamaistic (Saskya-, Nima-) monasteries. The dwellings /277/ are largely made of wood and many of them are three-storied. A whole section of the city looked very new because just three years before there had been a large fire here. The shops are found along the main street, as everywhere in China. Here one always sees a few Tibetans buying luxury items. The Tibetan population which visits Sung pan ting gives the city a distinctive appearance. The streets are crowded with Ngolok who come riding into the gates on horseback, and above all with hordes of poorly-dressed Bo lo tse or Po lo (Tibetan: Kredyang), men and a surprising number of young women, on foot, and mostly barefoot, clothed only in a coarse, blackish-brown hairy shirt, often without a hat, without any kind of

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133 completely exhausted from constantly breaking through.

On August 26 we rode for only two hours. We saw not a soul anywhere. Not a single wild animal, not even a little fox or an antilope was to be glimpsed in the numerous ravines and gullies. The brook in our valley had become a small river and was 12 meters wide; the valley, too, had constantly grown wider. Our new campsite lay in the Niendorba Plain which showed absolutely no signs of habitation. Not far from it a road track runs due west over a very flat pass. If one follows it, one can in five days reach Ngaba Metsang (Middle Ngaba) with its houses and fruitful fields of loess and its 12 sub-tribe nomads.

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669 Here I asked to be told about the punitive expedition of 1902 against Ngaba. It furnished a whole day's subject of conversation for my companions, for they had all taken part in it. This "war" had also begun in the customary fashion. The chief - with the title of rgyalbo - /285/ of Ngaba Metsang had robbed merchants from Sung pan ting and at their complaint before the ting he had not given up his plunder. He felt so secure in the midst of his barley fields and stone houses that from now on he let himself be addressed as "emperor" (gong ma). Thus the Sung pan yamen, with the approval of the central government, levied troops and sent 800 men up into the Ts'ao ti, under the command of three majors. The troops were apparently well armed and their weapons consisted of newly-acquired Mauser and Hotchkiss guns; but not a man of them had any idea of how to handle the guns. It was not considered necessary to drill the troops, nor did it occur to the officers to let their motley crew, of which only a very few had ever had a gun in their hands, practice a few shots at a target. A few of the Tschang La men had secretly aimed their new weapons at some stones and had for this been given 50 blows in the place that is usually covered with trousers. Again the idea was to proceed in typical Asiatic-Chinese fashion and only bluff. In spite of the poor roads, the gentlemen majors let themselves be carried into the field by their subordinates in sedan chairs. Everything went smoothly until they came within 50 li of Ngaba where they set up a fortified encampment.

The officers thought they could negotiate with Ngaba from their encampment, and when the Ngaba chief did not appear for this, 500 horsemen were sent ahead to invite him. But that is exactly what the Fan tse had been waiting for. They marched into the field, allegedly 1,700 to 2,000 men strong. Their horsemen were dressed in coats of mail and thickly padded jackets which gave very good protection against ordinary bullets. The Chinese horsemen who were supposed to fetch the chieftain and who had been told as a matter of encouragement

that their new guns carried 10 to 20 li, began firing at 3 li without, of course, wounding even a single opponent, for no one had told them a word about aiming, etc. The 30 cartridges which each of them carried were soon used up and when they had only empty guns in their hands the cuirassiers came storming up. A large number of Chinese, among them an officer, were captured, a captain and 21 men were killed. The Chinese fled back to China in disbandment without, however, being annoyed by the Fan tse. The prisoners were also sent home after four days. In the following year (1903) 1,500 Chinese were called to arms. This time, however, they marched via Merge and not via the Gari li. Not far from the Merge monastery I saw the remains of the fortified fixed quarters. At the request of the officers, the tschümsad of the Merge gomba intervened and succeeded in making peace within a few months. The chieftain of Ngaba Metsâng paid 200 taels for every dead Chinese and 300 for the captain. However, there was nothing to be done about the tea that had been stolen because it was already drunk up. This success was possible because the Tibetans were not united among themselves. Ngaba Metsâng had meanwhile become hostile with Ngaba Tsenda and had to be prepared for an attack in the rear by the latter because it had "eaten" Chinese money.

Our battle with the swamps of the Re Chu was extremely tiring. The rain continued and at times made the mapping-out of the country almost illusory. Every little lateral valley was filled with a bog. The two scouts who were supposed to discover the best passage for the horsemen and pack horses that followed, were constantly stuck in a mire. Often for long stretches horse and rider sank knee-deep into the swamp at every step. But the tsung ye goaded them on without ceasing. I had never seen such a nervous person and one who was in such a hurry. There was not a day's march that was long enough for him and every time we stopped for tea he brought me his gun and asked whether it was still in order - which was quite justified, for the poor man could not ride, had never before been out in wet weather and was therefore the one who was most frequently stuck in a mud puddle and got sand and mud into his gun barrel, even though, like all brave Chinese soldiers of that time, he had a thick stopper in the muzzle of his loaded gun.

/286/ Below the Niendorba plain the Re Chu Valley became narrower. The floor of the valley was still boggy. It led due north. On the twenty-sixth during our march we saw a rider. My Ba tsung who had ridden ahead as scout came dashing back, crying: "The

178 596 No comparable institutions existed to inculcate in youth a moral and ethical code that would serve as a common guide in the new society. Attempts by the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the National Government to restore filial piety along with a revised Confucian code to the service of an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met with failure among the nation's youth.[8]

IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Marriage Law

596 671 582 In reconstructing Chinese society, the Communist regime has undertaken to change the nature and function of the family. The first step in this direction was the new Marriage Law promulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law -- were announced at a later date but put into effect within a much shorter time and with greater immediate success.[9]

Eassentially, the outward provisions of the Marriage Law are comparable to the laws affecting marriage and the family in the civil and penal code announced by the National Government in 1930 and 1931.[10] The basic features of the new law are summed up in its first three articles, which provide for:

(1)...The abolition of arbitrary and compulsory marriage and the putting into effect of freedom of marriage for men and women.

(2)...The abolition of the feudal system

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, Aug.1955, pp.515-32.

[9. and 10. next page]

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of marriage...based on the superiority of man over woman, and the putting into effect...of monogamy, and equal rights for both sexes.

(3)...The abolition of the feudal system of marriage which neglects the interests of the children, and the putting into effect of the New Democratic system of marriage, which protects the lawful interests of women and children.[11]

In propagandizing and implementing the Marriage Law, the regime struck hard against the old authoritarianism of the family head, child marriage, mistreatment of women and discrimination against them as inferior to men, and the mistreatment of children by parents. Wives, especially wives of arranged marriages, were encouraged to seek divorce from intolerant, unrepentent husbands. However, if husbands could be made to adopt the new attitude toward women, partners of arranged marriages were urged to remain united.

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To help traditionally-minded families

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9. See comment by the American editors of Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 236, pp. 1-3; hereafter cited as C.B.: Unless editorial comment is indicated, as here, citations from Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers, and should be evaluated accordingly.

10. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, p. 3.

11. "Document 7," C.B., 236, pp. 22-29.

596 should be the highest criterion governing our
668 actions toward our parents."[13]

An editorial in the People's Daily in March 1955 notes that remnant feudal ideologies still obstructed "the participation of women in Socialist construction and various political activities." The editorial then goes on to state that it is in order to promote the political and production zeal of women that their rights must be promoted and protected and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relationships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

•671 As the Nationalist government had made no
596 attempt to put into effect the marriage and family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not

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12. See especially C.B., 273, pp.1-3; pp.4-14 and Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong American Consulate, 932, iv; hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. The same conditions apply to this source as to Current Background; see footnote 8.'

13. SCMP, 973, p. 31.

14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., p. 4; and SCMP, 104 pp. 30-31.

encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

The result was apathy, when not open resistance, toward the reorientation of marriage and family practices among the farming population. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people generally.[16] However, Liu Ching-fan's criticism in 1953 of the use of force by village cadres to achieve acceptance of the new Marriage Law's provisions indicates that up to that time violence accompanied this measure as it had other measures in Communist China.[17]

The regime became aware only slowly of the failure of the Marriage Law to take automatic effect. A preliminary investigation gave such cause for concern that a thorough investigation was made at the end of 1952.[18] The results impelled the Communists to launch a drive

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16. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.

17. C.B., 273, p. 4.

18. See comment of American editors of C.B., 136, pp. 3-4.

596 671 for the thorough implementation of the Marriage Law and intensive indoctrination of the people in its principles. The movement was restricted to Han Chinese areas where land reform had been completed.[19]

Summing up the result of the campaign before the Government Administrative Council on November 11, 1953, Liu Ching-fan reported satisfactory indoctrination of 80 to 90 per cent of the adults in 15 per cent of the nation's hsien and municipalities where land reform had been completed and, to a somewhat lesser degree, 60 to 70 per cent of the people in 60 per cent of similar local areas. Almost no progress was indicated in the remaining 25 per cent of the localities.[20] Assuming the population in these areas to be roughly equal, these figures would mean that on an over-all basis even partial success was claimed for only 48 to 55.5 per cent of the population subjected to the indoctrination process.

596 671 582 C. The Communists' Vague Picture of Success

Unfortunately, we cannot precisely judge how successful the regime has been in implementing the Marriage Law nationally or regionally. Communist evaluations are too generalized to reveal a definite picture, and statistics released by the regime are sketchy and, when available, rarely provide a basis for significant comparison. Reports on the results of the 1952

19. C.B., 273, p. 1.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

596 171 562 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were evidently intended to illustrate the extremes of backwardness and progress in family practices rather than to give a comprehensive picture of them. A spate of press accounts in January 1952 referred to conditions from good to bad found in political units of varying size throughout the country, but none of the accounts contained references to the Southwest Region. Evidently, the regime encountered more difficulties here than elsewhere. Last of the regions to fall to the Communists and to complete land reform, the Southwest was still reporting difficulties in expanding the Party organization in the region and complaining of the lack of education and soundness in existing cadres as late as January 1954.[21]

The Communist press announced in October 1951 that all areas in the Southwest Region had begun a check-up on Marriage Law implementation, but noted that one of the duties of the work teams involved in the task was to educate local cadres. The report also referred to a meeting of government organs in Sikang to correct the "erroneous ideas" of some cadres that to publish the Marriage Law "would cause confusion" in the central work of the Party.[22]

Some light was shed on the situation in the Southwest Region by a Communist article written in the fall of 1953. Referring to "the

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21. SCMP, 858, Supplement, vii-xii; 970, pp. 29-32.

22. Ibid., 198.

596 671 582 stubborn remnants of the old marriage system... still damaging the prosperity, security, and happiness of the people of New China," the article cited the example of the subdistrict of Chen-yu in Szechwan. According to the article, there had been no strong "progressive" influence in the area before "liberation," and the Marriage Law team found family relations little changed from the traditional pattern. To propagandaize and implement the new Marriage Law in the subdistrict, the team undertook the training of new cadres made up of village administrators, leaders of peasant women's associations, and members of the Communist Party and New Democratic Youth Corps. It soon turned out that "at least half [the new cadres] were themselves influenced by feudal ideas." Further troubles were encountered when an attempt at a panel discussion to illustrate the need for reform by soliciting personal experiences ended in failure. In carrying the movement to the people, the method of assembling individual families and encouraging wives to reveal abusive treatment by husbands and mothers-in-law had to be called off because 23 the sessions only succeeded in developing quarrels. This revelation of the resistance to family reorientation in the Southwest Region has no parallel insofar as is known, although similar problems were undoubtedly encountered outside the Southwest Region.

The latest report on the reorganization of family life in China was given in March 1955 by the Marriage Law Implementing Committee.

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23. Fang Yen, "Making the Marriage Law Work," China Reconstructs, Peking, Sept.-Oct. 1953, pp. 32-33.

596 Couched in general terms, the announcement
671 gave no clear indication of the true situation in
582 the country or any one of its regions. For example, the committee reported on the prevalence of free marriages during the first quarter of 1954, stating that of the 402,025 applications for marriage registration in 562 hsien and municipalities of 15 provinces only 1.07 per cent were denied because the contemplated marriages had been arranged without the consent of the couples concerned.[24] No figures were released on the remaining, roughly three-quarters of the country's hsien and municipalities, nor was any indication given to show whether the figures cited were typical of the whole country, the only figures available, or figures selected for propaganda or other purposes. If the figures can be given credence, they indicate a remarkable advance over the situation existing two years earlier. After an investigation of Marriage Law implementation in 1952, a woman minister of justice, Shih Liang, reported that in only three of the country's 2,086 counties were families reformed "up to perfect Communist standards," and that in the East and Central-South regions freely contracted marriages and other reforms had gained no acceptance with the people.[25]

The Marriage Law Implementing Committee's report in March 1955 also included a summary of conditions "in certain advanced areas in Shansi and elsewhere." It is unlikely that any of the "advanced areas elsewhere" were

24. SCMP, 1002, p..3.

25. China News Analysis, Hong Kong, No. 5, p. 2.

596 in the Southwest Region. Far more likely, the
671 region would have been mentioned in reports on
582 the areas "least progressive" in family reform, had the Communists cared to publicize such conditions in 1955. But the report on the "advanced areas" gives some indication of the best the Communists have been able to do in places where they have been long estabished. According to the commitee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90 to 95 per cent of the homes and "bad" in only 5 to 10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10 to 15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The commitee announcement added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer oppressed, beaten, or scolded, but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[26]

C. Reorientation of Family Reform

596 No rapid change in traditional family
185 attitudes and practices in the Southwest Region is likely to have occurred to date. The all-out effort to revolutionize the Chinese family in the spring of 1953 has not been repeated. Soon after the 1953 campaign, decreasing emphasis was given by the regime to quick implementation of the new Marriage Law. Family reform was made a continuing part of the everyday work of the various

26. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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III. CRIMINAL CODES AND LAWS GOVERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

•671 Although the establishment of a criminal and civil code is assigned to the Commission on Codification under the Government Administration Council, to date no report has been made by the committee. However, decrees and orders concerning counterrevolutionary activities have been issued by all levels of government.

A. Criminal Code

671 694 A decree promulgated by the chairman of the People's Republic of China in December 1954 explained the procedure for arrest and detention.[29] As a rule, arrests must first be approved by the People's court or by the People's procuratorates, and before making an arrest, public security agencies must obtain a warrant from the People's Procuratorate. However, there are circumstances under which immediate arrests can be made. These exceptions, in fact, grant the security agencies more power than the decree would suggest. For example, persons who are unable to establish their place of residence

29. People's Daily, Dec. 21, 1954, p. 1.

671 are subject to immediate arrest. It is true
694 that certain provisions in the decree guarantee each individual the right to demand a warrant, a minimum period of detention, and an early and rapid trial; nevertheless, at least two factors minimize the value to the individual of these provisions -- warrants for arrests are not always obtained by security agencies, and exceptions to these provisions are allowed to facilitate the arrest of counterrevolutionaries.

687 Apart from those decrees relating to the punishment of counterrevolutionaries, discussed below, other orders that may be singled out for discussion include the decree on the safekeeping of confidential information[30] and that implemented in cases involving the violation of laws concerning national currency.[31] Since "confidential material" is loosely defined by the Communists, the "unlawful disclosure" of any information whatsoever can be regarded as a crime. "Confidential information" includes not only national security and military matters in the usual sense, but also any data relating to economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, and matters of a

30. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.
31. Ibid., April 28, 1951, p. 4.

361 Mien-ning Hsien, there are three flourishing towns Lu-ku, Li-chou, and Tê-ch'ang, and a large number of big villages, many of which must contain some hundreds of houses.

241 The whole of the plain[1] is fairly well cultivated. In the extreme northern part round Mien-ning there is not much rice grown, and wheat, maize, and opium are the principal crops. But through the greater part of the valley there is plenty of rice cultivation, while wheat, beans, and opium are grown as winter crops. The white wax insect tree and the mulberry as food for silkworms are also culti-
316 vated. Copper and iron are mined in the hills, and probably much more mining could be done if the Lo-lo country to the east of the valley were more settled. Coal is found in the hills east of Ch'i-lung, a large village a few miles north of Li-chou.

438 I met nothing in the way of trading caravans except
[288] some native-made cotton cloth from Ya-chou Fu, carried in the Ssŭ-ch'uan fashion by men on foot, for mule or pony transport is but little used in this province. It is with this Chinese-woven stuff that the inhabitants of the valley are chiefly clothed. They find it cheaper, warmer, and more durable than the more finely woven products of England or India. No doubt much more trade passes along this road in April when the crops of white wax insects and opium are being gathered.

161 The whole population of the Chien-ch'ang Valley I estimate at 150,000. Though there are plains in Yün-nan which, both in riches and in density of population, would, in *proportion to their size*, compare favourably with this valley, yet there is certainly nowhere in Yün-nan such a large extent of well-populated country all in one plain.

•672 At Lu-ku an unpleasant incident occurred. Lachman Jadu, the surveyor, had a lot of his things stolen out of his room in the inn. On a journey of this sort no one has any superfluous kit and the loss of almost any article is serious. By Chinese custom the innkeeper is responsible for any theft that takes place in his house, and accordingly I took him with me the next day and handed him over to the nearest official, the *Hsün-chien* at Mien-shan. As far as
000 I know the thief was never caught.

Following up the eastern source of the An-ning Ho

1 [Chien-ch'ang valley -- Analyst]

plete record of transactions, collects a tax in place of the government.[13] 575 In addition, the Ko Lao Hui controls many inland communications in 437 the sense that it operates chains of control points similar to customs houses at which merchants and other travelers are stopped for contributions.

Other, irregular sources of income are more difficult to assess. Most 575 big stores within the territory of a branch must present gifts, in cash or in kind, either to the director or to the branch, several times each 674 year. The amount of the contribution depends on the size of the store. Special collections occur frequently and may affect not only businessmen but also landowners, who pay a certain amount on each acre. Although stealing, robbery and kidnapping are not openly encouraged by most branches, members who have committed such crimes usually go to their director and present the branch with a large portion of their gains in return for its protection. (One can usually regain a "lost" article if one knows the right person in the branch to turn to.) Some leaders of the Ko Lao Hui capitalize on the power of the society for private and selfish ends at the expense of non-members, or even of other members, but a portion of their profits are invariably devoted to the needs of the society.[14]

ONE OF THE most interesting aspects of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan 575 concerns the changes in its forms and activities which have taken place in recent years. Shifts in the needs and interests of communities in which the Ko Lao Hui exists have brought about changes in the motivation and spirit of the society. For example, patriotism—specifically, opposition to the Ch'ing rulers—is thought to have been the main motive for the original establishment of the Ko Lao Hui. But since the disappearance of the Ch'ings as rulers and of the Manchus as a

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[13] At one such "market" in 1945 the society branch collected CNC$200 on each *tan* (133 pounds) of rice sold. On an average day 300 *tan* might change hands, resulting in a rake-off, on rice sales alone, of some CNC$60,000. There are eight or nine "market" days each month.

[14] An illustration of how the society looks after its own was afforded by an incident which recently occurred one morning six miles outside of Chengtu. Three cotton dealers, carrying a huge sum of money, were set upon by three highwaymen (Ko Lao Hui members acting on instructions from one of their leaders). A company of road guards, chancing to come upon the scene just after the robbers had secured their loot, started a gun fight which lasted several hours and resulted in the wounding of several guards and the death of two guards and two of the robbers. The surviving robber escaped with the money, all of which was later set aside for the future welfare of the families of the two dead members.

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BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

PUNISHMENTS (刑法), *hsing fa*

I. *Punishments not involving death* (活刑), *huo hsing.*

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Ch'ih (笞), to beat with the small bamboo rod. This rod is about three feet long, and one inch wide, and is applied to the thighs over a space of about six inches. A few thousands of strokes may be given till the thigh bone is made bare. This punishment is inflicted mostly upon the thief. Scholars or dignitaries are exempt from this humiliation. A permanent scar is made which officials make a point of examining when investigating a case. The runners are sometimes bribed by friends to lay on lightly, or reduce the number of blows, or beat the ground. This is a parental form of correction and the prisoner has to thank the magistrate for inflicting it. Tartars, as the conquering race, were exempt from this punishment.

The heavy bamboo, *chang* (杖), about 4 feet long and about 4 inches wide, sometimes made of wood and at other times of bamboo. The punishment meted out varies from 80 to 200 blows. This chastisement is generally to the disobedient and unfilial. The prisoner is bound and held down while being beaten. Another kind of beating is called *t'ou hsing* (頭刑) or *mao pan* (茅板). The instrument used is a large bamboo split in two halves and not polished in the least ; a pile of bricks is made, over which the prisoner is bent and this instrument of correction applied to the buttocks. A few tens of blows may be sufficient to cause death. *Li pi chang hsia* (立斃杖下) means to die under the bamboo.

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There are three kinds of banishment: one is *liu* (流), transportation for a few hundreds of miles; this punishment is frequently inflicted on persons guilty of adultery, manslaughter, or incendiarism. *T'u* (徒) or *liu t'u* (流徒), is also transportation; but the punishment is often to be confined by night and free by day; this is called *tso t'u* (坐徒). The individual thus punished is neither reckoned worthy of death nor of life; a useless wastrel.

Ch'ung chün (充軍) is banishment beyond the Great Wall, or to the frontier military posts without any hope of a return. This is a heavy military punishment and mostly imposed upon officials and soldiers.

Penal servitude (監禁), *chien chin*, may be for three, eight or for twenty years, or for life. The life sentence is called *lao fan* (牢犯) or *lao chien*, and also *yung yüan* (永遠) *chien chin*. Prisoners on entering jail have their heads shaved, the hair afterwards being left to grow long. No barber is allowed in jail except at New Year times when some favored few may have their beards shaved. The only knife allowed in jail is a piece of broken crockery.

Criminals just taken into custody and awaiting trial, whose offences are slight, and who await the payment of fines or a surety to bail them out, are confined in a guardhouse, *ch'ia chin* (卡禁). A place of confinement better than the guardhouse, into which gentry and scholars are put while waiting for judgment or bail, is called in some cities *tai-chih so* (待質所); in others, *tzŭ-hsin so* (自新所), a penitentiary.

One of the most painful of beatings is termed *t'iao-tzŭ* (條子) or *niu chin* (牛筋), ox sinew stripes. It is inflicted mostly for indecent behaviour. Women are stripped of their upper garments and beaten across the shoulders and back, while men are stripped and suspended by the arms and beaten.

Sometimes a man is kept in custody in the inn, *ya pao tien* (押保店) till the matter is settled. The prisoner in this case has to feed the yamen underlings and give them sufficient opium; if he does not bribe them his chains will not be taken off at night.

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• 681 A form of punishment meted out to scholars and gentry is beating on the hands with a piece of polished board, such as is used in schools.

To beat on the cheek with a thong of leather fixed to a wooden handle is called *ta tsui pa* (打嘴巴). The instrument is shaped something like the sole of a Chinese shoe. By this punishment the teeth are not infrequently knocked out and the face swells to a great size.

The punishment called *yang pan* (仰板), to beat on the front of the thigh, is reserved for priests, nuns and loose women, and is administered in the public courtyard.

Cages in which prisoners are kept, *lung chin* (籠禁), are of several kinds. *Chan lung* (站櫳) is a standing cage, the height of a man. The top is composed of two boards fitting exactly together, in the centre of which a round hole is cut, the size of a man's neck. The prisoner is put in, and this cover put on and nailed down. The prisoner can just manage to put his hand round and convey some food to his mouth. If he bribes the yamen runners he may get release at night, if not he may be left to stand all the night through.

The *tso* (坐) *lung* or *ai* (矮) *lung* is a kind of cage in which the prisoner may sit on a cross bar or put his legs through the bottom or walk slowly; the neck part is the same as the former.

The cat cage, *mao* (貓) *lung* is too low for the prisoner either to straighten his back or stretch his limbs. A month or two in this and he is turned into a deformed, useless creature. If food is stopped, as is frequently the case, the man dies very quickly. *Chia chin* (枷禁), the cangue, is a heavy wooden frame which divides in the centre into two halves, where a round hole is made to fit the neck. It is carried as a collar by the criminal. If food is allowed it is very difficult to convey it to the mouth. When food is forbidden the prisoner cannot survive more than a few days. The weight of the cangue varies from 20 to 100 catties.

There is also a double cangue for two people. This punishment is for brothers who quarrel, or in cases of adultery.

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These criminals are exposed to the public gaze with their offence written on the pillory. 681

There is even a three-hole cangue into which three people are fixed. This is generally inflicted on gamblers and the smart-fingered gentry.

The boy's cangue is used for boys addicted to gambling or who have entered the boys' secret society known as the 棒棒會.

The *chüeh p'ên* (脚盆) *chia* or *pan t'ou* (蟠頭) *chia*, foot tub or dish cangue, is light, and can easily be carried about the streets. Such is sometimes put on the tax gatherer when he fails to collect the taxes; and he carries it from market to market.

A chain is fastened to a heavy stone and the criminal is chained all day and released at night to sleep in the guard-house. This is *t'ieh lien shih têng* (鐵鍊石磴).

The hand cangue, *shou chia* (手枷), confines the hands as well as the head; the foot cangue, *chüeh* (脚) *chia*, is a wooden block round the two ankles; the wearer can move about slowly. The *yüan yang* (鴛鴦) *chia* confines one foot and one hand of each of two persons. The *yüan* and the *yang* are the mandarin drake and duck which never leave their mates.

Cutting off the ears, *hsüeh êrh to* (削耳朵), was a punishment in use up to the present year.

Branding on the forehead, *mei hsing* (墨刑), or *tz'ŭ tzŭ* (束字), is an ancient punishment and was still in use until the revolution. A needle is used to prick the characters on the skin, then indigo is rubbed into the wound, and when healed the blue characters are seen. The punishment is generally inflicted on pickpockets and swindlers.

Ko chüeh chin (割脚筋), to cut the tendons at the back of the foot is also a very ancient punishment and is still practised. It is generally inflicted upon robbers only, as the man is lamed for life.

Another punishment is to carry an iron bar of from 30 to 40 catties in weight, *pei t'ieh kan* (背鐵杆). An iron ring is welded round the neck and the bar is attached to this with

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681 a chain. If the criminal bribes the blacksmith and runners he may get released from it at night. The man who has suffered this penalty often bears the nick-name of *t'ieh kan* for life.

Other punishments are *ch'a êrh chien* (插耳箭), to double the ears and put a bamboo needle through the cartilage; *ts'o ching* (剉脛), breaking the ankle bone, and the *t'ieh ch'ien* (鐵鉗), or iron tongs. This is an iron frame-work into which the hands and feet are fastened, and the whole is suspended from the neck; the part at the back of the neck being sharp, immediately the hands let go, or the feet move, it cuts the flesh. This is a punishment for the gambler.

II. *Fei hsing* (匪刑), or *k'o hsing* (酷刑), illegal punishments.

Ta chia kuan (打加官), putting on the mask, that is, to suffocate the criminal by putting several layers of paper soaked in lime water over the face. This is done by yamen runners at the wink of the official owing to the case being one of danger to himself and to the district.

Chêng cha pao (蒸鮓包). The unfortunate is put into a cage or pit, and covered up with quick-lime, water is then poured in and the man is roasted or boiled alive. In some cases fire crackers are wound round the body and set alight.

To light the candle; the criminal is chained to a heavy frame, his body is then wound with cotton wool, which is soaked with oil and lighted at the crown of the head.

III. *Death penalty.* (死刑) *Ssŭ hsing.*

Tiao kao lung (吊高櫳), is to hang up in a cage by the neck. The cage has no bottom and stands about ten feet high. The neck is encircled by the top cover of the cage, the head being outside. Death comes very soon, and it is reckoned a light penalty because the body is not mutilated. Any district magistrate may use this method of execution and also *Yung k'ou chia* (擁口枷), or the clasp-throat cangue. This is a heavy oak pillory and is over 100 catties in weight.

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The neck is clasped tight and the frame is so large that food cannot be conveyed to the mouth ; the criminal soon collapses and, with the fall, the neck is generally broken.

Death by strangling is called *chiao hsing* (絞刑). Three posts are fixed into the ground. To the centre one the criminal is tied, a rope with a running noose is put round his neck, and then one man pulls at each end of the rope, two strong pulls ; the rope is then fastened to the side posts ; then the doomed man gets a heavy kick in the abdomen and the breath is driven from his body by the rectum. This is most frequently administered to soldiers for breach of military laws.

To cut off the head of a person worthy of death after death has come from other causes, or to cut the corpse limb from limb, is called, *chua shih* (抓屍).

In the punishment called *ch'êng kan ch'êng jen* (秤桿秤人), to weigh a man on the scales, huge iron clamps are driven into the ribs on both sides of the backbone and a rope is attached. The unfortunate man is then raised over a cross beam to the height of about 8 or 10 feet from the ground, where he hangs suspended face downwards, and may live for two or three days.

The family of a rebel, whether official or civilian, is exterminated and his goods are confiscated. This is called *wa kên tuan miao* (挖根斷苗), or *chu tsu* (誅族).

Another punishment is to nail the living door god, *ting huo mên-shên* (釘活門神), that is, crucifixion. The criminal's hands and feet are nailed to a door or cross. The nails are made red-hot and driven through the palms of the hands and the front of the foot. Hot nails are used to staunch the bleeding. A hole is made through the back of the cross through which the queue is put to keep up the head. Sometimes the head is held up by nailing the skin on either side of the neck. The wretch may live two or three days unless he can bribe the yamen runners, through his friends, to give him a dose of opium. He is raised so high that a large crowd of people can stare at him. This punishment can be inflicted without reference to a superior officer, as it does not mutilate the body.

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681 *Ling ch'ih sui kua* (凌遲碎剮), to hack in pieces. This punishment was, prior to the Revolution, inflicted on both men and women, usually for the murder of a parent or a husband. The criminal was tied to a stake at the crossing of two streets or on the execution ground; first the skin of the brow was cut and pulled over the eyes; then the nose, lips, ears, hands, arms, were taken from the body, then the sword pierced through the heart and the body was hewn in pieces. Formerly the flesh was roasted and the fat used to light the four gates of the city, the flesh and the bones cremated and the ashes scattered to the four winds. This punishment required the sanction of a senior officer, as it mutilated the body.

Beheading, *ta p'i* (大辟), is the utmost penalty of the law and the one most dreaded by the Chinese, who all shrink from the idea of becoming a headless ghost. To such an extent is this feared that a head is often sewn on immediately after execution unless it has to be exposed in the person's native village, *hsiao shou* (梟首). The executioner is sometimes bribed to leave a part of the neck unsevered. All such punishments must be sanctioned by the superior officers before they can be carried out. Therefore the whole case has to go through a great many different phases before the execution can take place. Such are as follows:

681 696 *K'ao wên* (考問), to investigate the case and obtain the person's own confession of guilt. Unfortunately this is very often got by torture. After the magistrate has obtained what he thinks sufficient evidence he must notify his superior officer, *hsiang ping* (詳稟), by an official dispatch, giving all details, after which the superior officer sends a deputy to investigate the confession, *ch'ing k'ou kung* (清口供). Much depends upon this man; if not well treated by the district magistrate he might get him into trouble by reporting unfavorably of his judgment. After the criminal has acknowledged his guilt (落供), *lo kung*, he has to dip his thumb in ink and make an impression on the official document.

The criminals hold a feast, *fên li chiu* (分離酒), just before midwinter, which is the general time for executions as

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at this season the death principle reigns throughout nature. This is a farewell feast to those about to die. 681 696

Shang chüeh liao shou chou (上 脚 鐐 手 肘) is to put in fetters, hands and feet. As soon as the deputy has confirmed the district magistrate's sentence of death the criminal is chained, hands and feet.

The warrant of death is an official dispatch through which a nail is driven and bent, *ting fêng* (釘 封), and sealed. There is also a black tablet sent along with the warrant, which is carried into the gaol when the prisoners are taken out. This is called the *hei p'ai* (黑 牌). Whenever the warrant arrives the yamen runners make a raid on the rope-makers for ropes to bind the prisoners, paying nothing; for days before an execution the rope-dealers display few, if any ropes, for fear they will be seized.

When the warrant arrives the official orders wine and food to be set before the doomed men. Sometimes abundance of wine and pork is supplied, at others, only a limited amount. Some drink themselves quite drunk and others only reach the tipsy stage.

Then the hands are bound behind the back and ropes put on the neck, and the tallies are stuck in the band of the criminal's lower garment at the back. These tallies are strips of bamboo a few feet in length and a few inches wide, on which are written the doomed man's name and crime. The characters are written with ink which has been mixed with tea. No teacher likes to use tea in mixing his ink as it is reckoned unlucky.

The fetters are knocked from the hands and feet. This is done by a blacksmith in the roughest way.

The assistant executioner, *t'i shou* (替 手), holds the sword in front of the doomed man's face while the real executioner stands at the back to do his work.

The *kuei tzŭ shou* (劊 子 手), or executioner, belongs to the military yamen. His pay used to be 800 cash per head.

It is the duty of the military official, whose men do the work of execution, to witness it, *chien chan* (監 斬).

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● 681 696 The district magistrate goes to the temple, burns incense and makes a declaration to the city god that he has not had these men beheaded for any personal spite or selfish ends, but simply because of their own evil deeds. Returning to his yamen, a heap of straw with crackers is set fire to at the entrance, through which he is carried at a furious pace, *kuo huo yen shan* (過火焰山) (passing the flame-hill), for fear any of the disembodied spirits of the men should have followed him. Many of these men vow before death that after death their chief work will be to kill the official. Hence these past months, during the rebellion, it was said that the soldiers of Hades were moving to help them, *yin ping tung liao* (陰兵動了). The people burned straw sandals by the thousand as an offering to these spirits.

After the executions are over the yamen runners arm themselves with clubs and go round and round the yamen, *p'an ya* (盤衙), and enter the official's private quarters, flourishing these clubs to drive away the evil spirits. They make their obeisance to the official, who in turn gives them a present.

Those remaining in gaol after the midwinter executions, as most probably they may live another year, have a feast together, *t'uan yüan chiu* (團圓酒).

If only one person should be left in the government prison, he may be strangled in prison, *chien hou chiao* (監候絞).

IV. *Torture, K'ao ta hsing* (拷打刑).

695 The following are a few of the methods used to extort confession, etc.:

Kuei t'ai ho (跪抬盒), to kneel in the carrying box. This instrument of torture takes its name from the box frame in which presents are carried from one place to another with one pole between two men. The prisoner is made to kneel in this box, sometimes on ashes, sometimes on broken glass or iron chains. A heavy weight is then placed upon the legs, pressing the knees down into the ashes. The hands are passed through the holes on either side and wedged in

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huo kou (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water and dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing. 647 693

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'êng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy. 647 796

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農) (B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned in a roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*) 647 681

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575 natures of the branch officials, followed by the name and rank of the recipient; and on the sixth page, the date of issuance.[8]

The second function of the "fifth-moon" assembly is promotion of members in rank. Promotions are granted most often in recognition of heroic or otherwise admirable behavior toward the community or the director, financial contributions to the society, assistance rendered to fellow members, and the like. Members in the upper ranks are much more apt to receive promotions than those of lower degree, who must remain back-benchers indefinitely. Having once gained the position of director, a man relinquishes the post only on his death. Incidentally, the death of a man of such importance as a director is mourned by the entire community, non-members as well as members. The mourning period lasts seven weeks.[9]

575 681 The third function of the "fifth-moon" meeting has to do with punishments of members. The Ko Lao Hui has an extensive code of regulations and disciplines, but the process of change which has affected other aspects of the society has also made this code more or less obsolete. The myriad regulations that were strictly enforced at one stage in the history of the Ko Lao Hui were designed to promote brotherhood, the observance of loyalty and *yi,* filial piety, a proper attitude toward women, patriotism, respect for the aged, and contempt for money. Nowadays there is a marked variation among different branches in the strictness with which rules are observed and infractions punished; the degree depends upon the ethical standards observed by the members in each branch. A man who has violated a regulation of the society is first reproved by the director of his branch or by his intimates. Serious crimes are dealt with at once through a meeting of a few prominent members without waiting for a grand assembly. In consequence, the cases considered at the grand assembly are usually only minor misdemeanors. These are discussed briefly before the director announces the punishment to be applied to each case.

Punishments are divided into several grades: death (by ignominious

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[8] This list illustrates the extent to which Ko Lao Hui ritual has accommodated itself to present-day fashions.

[9] After the death of a director in Chung Yi, a large building in the market center was set aside for mourning activities, while numberless couplets, expressing sorrow at the loss of a great leader, and pieces of white silk and sacrifices in the form of goods and money decorated the main street. Mourners came from great distances. Even Sun Yat-sen's death had not created such a stir.

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slow dismemberment, burial alive or shooting), beating with a rod, beating with a ruler, and public degradation (causing the culprit to kneel on a special bench in public with a red tape on his back describing his crime). Except for the death penalty, punishments are meted out with the intention of correcting rather than hurting members. No one likes to see a fellow-member punished. In fact, although punishments exist in name, in reality most miscreants receive only a warning or reproof. If a case is extremely serious, the criminal is "thrown away"—that is, shot. The society prefers to execute its own members instead of delivering them to the government, for the latter course implies an insult to the whole society. Expulsion from the branch may be substituted for the death penalty; in such an event, the criminal will not be taken in by any other branch. 575 681

The second grand assembly of the year, held on the thirtieth day of the twelfth moon, is a time of celebration and house-cleaning, with some gambling and opium-smoking on the side. Neither of these latter activities is regarded as criminal by the society; they bring in vast sums of money to the society exchequer. Since this assembly occurs at (Chinese) New Year, which is celebrated for at least two weeks, members have a grand opportunity for social intercourse. During this meeting there is usually discussion of general society policy and of financial reports, funds are collected from members according to their financial status, elections are held to fill vacant positions, and reports on recent important events are delivered. Often, too, promotions and demotions are announced; this is done particularly in the case of a branch that has more "good" than "bad" members. Steps taken to clear the branch of bad elements are announced, warnings are given to undesirables, and dates are set for the expulsion of major criminals. Every one sits down together to share the last meal of the year, thus symbolizing the unity and brotherhood which bind the members. 575

THERE ARE several reasons for the spread of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan, and for the extension of its activities into so many aspects of present-day society. For one thing, in a country such as China, where law enforcement does not extend to the small hamlets or individual farms, persons sharing similar interests are inclined to band together to protect those interests even though by doing so they may bring disaster upon others. The majority of members possessing real power in the Ko

6:Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

575 Lao Hui of the Chengtu Plain belong to the middle class. Each owns between five and eight acres of land, and derives his income directly or indirectly from the land on which he lives; in addition, he may own a store or two in the market center. These people regard the society as a form of social insurance which will guard the well-being of their families, benefit their business activities, and protect their properties from intrusion, alienation or undue taxation. Initially the Ko Lao Hui arose in response to ultra-conservative needs, for it maintains the social order, upholds accepted standards of behavior, and affords its members protection in case of disaster.[10] Such security is desired most in an area where lawlessness prevails and where provision for Western types of insurance—accident, personal or social—is lacking. The Ko Lao Hui is in fact a mutual assistance association, a means of safeguarding one's property and security through the protection of one's neighbors' property and security.

When a large number of middle-class people band together, they often gain a controlling voice in community affairs; whoever wishes to remain in the community must work either with or against them. As a result, members of the upper class are apt to cooperate with them; sometimes, indeed, because of their superior knowledge of administration, these upper-class representatives may assume the leadership in a society branch. Occasionally, well-educated and social-minded persons must participate in the activities of the society if they wish to remain and work in a community. Lower-class persons, too, discovering that they must depend on the society for a living, enter its lower ranks. The practice of *yi* offers the lower classes a form of insurance against personal misfortune. If a lower-class member falls sick or dies, his family will be looked after. In certain areas, tenants who are members of the Ko Lao Hui cannot be evicted no matter how often ownership of the land may change. If one obeys orders from above, one need have no fear of being unemployed; in the event that such orders contravene government laws, one can depend on being housed and fed and cared for in general
575 while being sought by the government. If a high-ranking member
681 commits a crime and is (for a wonder) energetically pursued by the

[10] In Chengtu in 1942 the author met a Ko Lao Hui member who, though he had lost all of his limbs and thus his earning power, was nevertheless enjoying the company of four young concubines in a large and well-appointed house. It transpired that his comfortable situation was due entirely to the assumption of his fellow-members that, since he had been a good brother in the society before his misfortune, he now merited the very best treatment.

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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government, the society will provide and pay for a substitute to confess to the crime and to suffer the consequences in his stead.

Another reason for the continued existence of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan is the confusion and disorder which have prevailed there in recent years. During the war the central government, which had established its capital in Szechuan and was anxious to avoid unnecessary unrest, encouraged the provincial government in its lax administration. The attitude of compromise adopted toward most problems fostered the development of localism and gave the Ko Lao Hui an opportunity to increase the scope and variety of its activities to a point where it interfered with many aspects of government administration. In any case, government in Szechuan has been so corrupt for so long that the people have no confidence in it.[11] The war years simply aggravated popular dissatisfaction with and distrust of the government, so that any new official measure is received with suspicion. The people have become accustomed to managing their affairs and settling their disagreements by extra-governmental means. It is natural for them to turn to the local Ko Lao Hui branch director, who represents, in theory at least, the virtues of brotherhood, filial piety and proper behavior toward women. Thus the director has become not only the possessor of power but a symbol of righteousness as well. Disagreements between non-members of the society, as well as between members, are now commonly referred to him for settlement.

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The Ko Lao Hui is not a political party, nor does it entertain any pretensions regarding the shaping of national policy—so long as the interests of its middle-class founders are not endangered. Thus far Ko Lao Hui political activities have remained defensive. Individual members may occupy important government posts, but the society as a whole remains aloof from Kuomintang party politics. The society has voiced sharp criticism of Communism, which it regards as inimical to middle-class interests. While adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude toward politics,

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[11] The demobilization, in the closing years of the Sino-Japanese war, of many Szechuanese troops without adequate provision for their reemployment greatly swelled the number of undesirable members of the society, and in turn made things more difficult for the government. The possession by society members of an extraordinarily large number of small arms aggravates the situation. In the course of his investigation of two districts near Chengtu, the author learned that nearly every member of the Ko Lao Hui in those localities owned a pistol or a rifle. In Chengtu district one out of every two members possessed such arms without a license. Leaders not infrequently had late-model machine guns.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

712 Government, the amount being deducted from the soldiers' pay. There were small forts garrisoned by these men all along the road from Manwaing to Nampaung.

262 The traders of Manwaing asked us to dinner one day, and the next evening we dined with Colonels Liu and Wang in the fort. Some of their dishes, such as birds' nest soup, are excellent; others are very much the reverse, pigs' insides often forming part of the menu.

524 Neither of the colonels was at all averse to drinking, and after dinner they played a game which consists in two players sitting opposite each other and simultaneously shooting out one or more fingers of one hand, at the same time shouting out a number. The player who shouts out correctly the total number of fingers shown by the two players wins, and the loser has to drink a glass of rice spirit as a forfeit. The game is, I believe, practically the same as the *mora* of the Italians.

•682 On the 22nd January we set out westward for Bhamo, passing, about two miles out of Manwaing, the place where Margary of the Chinese Consular Service was murdered in 1875. He had just made a journey through from Shanghai to Bhamo and had gone back to Manwaing to make arrangements for Colonel Browne's expedition, which was just leaving Bhamo for T'êng-yüeh (Momien). While he was alone at Manwaing, when the main expedition was still on its way there, he was assassinated. Whoever the actual murderers may have been, there is little doubt that the deed was done by order of the Viceroy of Yün-nan.

In nine cases out of ten when Europeans are killed in China, the officials, if not the direct instigators, are really responsible for the murder, and could have stopped it if they had liked. The natives of a district very soon find out if their official is anti-foreign, and those who have the same leanings feel that they can act with safety. If every murder was followed by the decapitation of the official in whose district it took place, murders would cease. At present killing an Englishman is apt to prove a safe and agreeable pastime for evil-disposed Chinamen.

After three miles of flat going we began to climb the Kachin Hills and camped at 4,900 feet at the fort of Sare the headquarters of Colonel Wang, who commanded the Trade Protection Levy.

661 launched the Three-Anti Campaign against
668 waste, corruption, and bureaucracy; a few months later the regime initiated the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information. These campaigns did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the drives also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the first campaign hit Party and administrative personnel from two sides and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

B. Corruption

661 Most of the charges and disclosures
685 that accompanied the progress of the Three-Anti

661 and Five-Anti campaigns can be grouped under
685 the general heading of corruption. In Southwest China, the department of industry was one of the first to be singled out for attack.[23] An initial study of the department's operation under two years of Communist rule disclosed 157 cases of corruption involving 173 persons and property valued at 668,000,000,000 yuan. One worker was accused of corruption amounting to 79,000,000,000 yuan, and another, in collaboration with a merchant, of stealing from the state equipment and material valued at 100,000,000 yuan. Many of the cases revealed in the financial and economic organizations of the Southwest Region were reported to be connected with espionage activities.[24] Not only individuals were charged with supporting Nationalist espionage through corruption in state organizations; the bureau of taxation in one county was reported to have appropriated 20,000,000 yuan from tax revenues for the use of counterrevolutionaries. The total loss to the government in 1950 and the first half of 1951 from the corrupt practices of personnel working in the tax-collection organizations of

23. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1951, p. 2.
24. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1951, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

661 the Southwest Region was set at over
685 11,000,000,000 yuan.[25] Charges of widespread corruption were also lodged against military organizations. At the conference of the general Party branch of the Southwest China Military Command held in December 1951, regional Party leaders warned the gathering of the seriousness of the situation.[26] Corruption was reported to be most rife in the quartermaster and political and cultural departments of the command.

The most frequently mentioned type of corruption in all organizations was the misappropriation of funds.[27] Government employees were accused of living luxuriously at the expense of the state. One means to this end was the extravagant appropriation of funds for government meetings. A meeting called by the department of industry of the Southwest China regional government lasted 21 days, during which 10,000,000 yuan were spent on food and an equal sum on the furnishings for one of the living accommodations.[28] The political and cultural department of the region's military command was accused of having spent

25. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
26. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
27. See for instance reports in ibid., Jan. 1, 1952, p. 2; June 17, 1952, p. 1.
28. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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661 58,000,000,000 for the repair of one theater
685 and 40,000,000,000 yuan for the construction of one film factory.

Within the 26 departments of the Southwest China regional government, 139 persons accused of corruption involving less than one billion yuan were arrested during a six-month period;[29] another 182 individuals in the municipal government of Chungking were arrested within the same span of time;[30] personnel of the provincial governments were also charged with corruption and taken into custody. Among the members of the Kweichow Provincial Government arrested were Chang Chin-po, deputy head of the department of public security, and Wang Jen and Yen P'u, both officials in the bureau of information and publications.[31]

Charges of corruption entailing bureaucratic abuses ranging from dictatorial acts to disobedience were lodged against Party and government officials during the Three-Anti Campaign. Some of the accused were dismissed from the party; others were

29. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1952, p. 1.
30. Ibid., Feb. 19, 1952, p. 1.
31. Ibid., March 12, 1952, p. 2; Jan. 23, 1952, p. 1.

661 placed on trial in the People's courts. Among
685 the Southwest China officials punished for bureaucratic abuses were Tu Hung, chief of the secretariat of the Chungking Municipal Government and concurrently secretary of the Party branch of the municipal government. He and his deputy chief were accused of dictatorial acts.[32] Similar charges were lodged against T'u Kuo-lin, deputy of the Southwest China broadcasting station;[33] T'ang P'eng, deputy of the New Democratic Youth Corps school; and Mei Wen-hua, an official of the Chungking Federation of Democratic Women.[34] Kou Hsing-ts'ai and his deputy, Chang Tse-min, officials in the public security department of the eastern Szechwan special district, were accused of disobedience.[35]

C. Theft and Waste

687 The Communist definition of theft extends beyond the usual meaning of the word. Tax evasion and the falsification or default of government contracts are considered theft

32. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1952, p. 1.
33. Ibid., Jan. 16, 1952, p. 2.
34. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1952, p. 1.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

A horse is also very unlucky and will not be allowed to leave a house which it may have entered before the owner pays a fine. 784

If a cow trespasses on the ancestral graves it will also be liable to be seized and held till the spirits of the ancestors have been appeased. If a chicken comes to the house the chief fear is that people should know; thus honest people return it at once, but others either hasten to kill and eat it, or take steps to have it sold for fear of detection. When a chicken is lost the loser not infrequently suspects the right person, and will deliberately sit down and curse what is called the speckled cock, *ma hua chi chung*, or curse the spotted turtle, curse the pheasant red and curse the neighbours all round.

Chickens are often stolen by the street arabs, who kill them and make the feathers into feather dusters. The low class of inn where these rascals put up is called *chi mao tien*, chicken feather inn, so named because chickens are killed and feathers stored and manufactured there. 685

There is a saying which means Rather lend the chief room of a house to deposit a coffin, than lend it to anyone to hold a marriage in. A marriage and a funeral are both to be avoided unless the person belongs to the family, but a marriage held in the house is more unlucky than a funeral, and no one will allow it at any cost. 784 777

No woman from an outside family may sit on the door step of the chief room of the house. No woman who has been confined will be tolerated in another person's house till her forty days of purification have been accomplished; a woman during that time must certainly *tso yüeh* (坐月), sit one moon. No woman would dare to go near the chief room of her own house for the same length of time for fear of offending the idols.

No one may go to another person's home and weep, for fear of troubling the weeping spirit. Nor may anyone go with a fresh wound into another's house, as it is very unlucky.

When the white-necked crow makes a lot of cawing it is very unlucky; this bird is called the *kuei lao ya*, demon crow.

671 are subject to immediate arrest. It is true
694 that certain provisions in the decree guarantee each individual the right to demand a warrant, a minimum period of detention, and an early and rapid trial; nevertheless, at least two factors minimize the value to the individual of these provisions -- warrants for arrests are not always obtained by security agencies, and exceptions to these provisions are allowed to facilitate the arrest of counterrevolutionaries.

687 Apart from those decrees relating to the punishment of counterrevolutionaries, discussed below, other orders that may be singled out for discussion include the decree on the safekeeping of confidential information[30] and that implemented in cases involving the violation of laws concerning national currency.[31] Since "confidential material" is loosely defined by the Communists, the "unlawful disclosure" of any information whatsoever can be regarded as a crime. "Confidential information" includes not only national security and military matters in the usual sense, but also any data relating to economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, and matters of a

30. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.
31. Ibid., April 28, 1951, p. 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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687 judicial and legislative nature. In the same fashion, any violation of the laws governing national currency committed with the intention of aiding counterrevolutionary activities is regarded as an act of counterrevolution and carries a severe penalty.

B. Counterrevolutionary Decrees

According to the Communists, "counterrevolutionaries" are persons who engage in activities contrary to the interest of the state. This term specifically includes bandits of all kinds, landlords, "despots," spies, Kuomintang intelligence agents, former high-ranking Nationalist officers continuing to engage in counterrevolutionary activities, and members of secret societies.

Regulations on the suppression of counterrevolutionaries[32] were first issued by the Government Administration Council in February 1951. These regulations are reportedly based on the "spirit" of Article 7 of the Common Program, which registered

32. Yangtze Daily, Feb. 23, 1951, p. 1.

1;Stanford U S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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687 the determination of the Communist regime to punish all counterrevolutionaries and "other criminals" and to impose upon them the punishment of "Reform-through-labor." Counterrevolutionaries are those who collaborate with foreign imperialist powers, instigate mutiny in the militia and armed forces, or organize secret societies. Counterrevolutionaries are subject to trial both by the People's courts and by the military tribunals. Former members of political parties, including the Kuomintang, the Chinese Youth Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party, former intelligence personnel under the Nationalist regime, and former Nationalist officers above the rank of captain are required to register with public security agencies.[33] Their political rights may be witheld for a period of time, their property may be confiscated, and they are subject to political surveillance.

The control of counterrevolutionaries is made possible by two laws promulgated by the regime -- the law of control of counter-revolutionaries and regulations governing "Reform-through-labor." The law concerning counterrevolutionaries was issued in July

33. Ibid. Aug. 13, 1951, p. 1.

1:Stanford U S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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687 1952 by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council.[34] Decisions on the means of suppression of counterrevolutionaries can be made either by the People's court or by the public security agencies at county and municipal levels. In the villages, hsiang and ch'ü governments may initiate this control, subject to the approval of the public security agencies at the county level. Sub-stations in the city may also initiate control, subject to the approval of public security sub-bureaus. Persons under surveillance are deprived of their political rights, including the right to vote. The period of surveillance may be three years or less. During the period, the individual is sent to a forced-labor camp.

The regulations governing "Reform-through-labor," issued by the Government Administration Council in August 1954, provided a detailed scheme for the establishment of forced labor throughout China.[35] Centralized authority no doubt facilitates control of counterrevolutionaries.

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34. People's Daily, July 16, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Sept. 7, 1954, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 293, Sept. 15, 1954.

565 to infilitrate and capture key positions. Through
568 these agents, the "potential landlords" spread rumors among the peasants, falsified co-operative accounts, and engaged in other disruptive maneuvers to disorganize the co-operatives' work and membership.

C. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries and Espionage Agents

668 As early as July 1950, the Government
687 Administration Council of the Central Government and the People's Supreme Court issued a joint directive calling for the suppression of all counterrevolutionaries throughout China. The directive demanded the apprehension and severe punishment of organizers of open resistance, saboteurs in factories and warehouses, and murders of government officials. Nationalist intelligence agents and "bandit leaders" were particularly singled out for elimination. However, not until the nationwide Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 did the campaign against subversives reach major proportions and involve mass participation. At the conclusion of the movement, the foundation had been laid for the construction of a network of mass security organizations.

668 1. Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement of 1951. Like other mass movements

726 apparently were intended to convince the people
669 that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

726
668 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." Closely connected with the suppression of
798 Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

• 687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

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687 During 1950-52, sabotage was combatted by the reinforcement of union control and the organization of security committees and safety teams in factories and industrial organizations. Nevertheless, 146 sabotage cases were reported in the Southwest China region[15] during 1950 and the first half of 1951. One case cited involved the open assault on a mining installation by 1,000 persons.

With the inauguaration of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953, regulations on safety and labor discipline were strengthened.[16] "To observe labor regulations, to guard state property, to safeguard economic information, and to observe all safety and security regulations" became the duties of every worker. However, increasing the responsibility of the workers did not eliminate industrial sabotage. The woman minister of justice Shih Liang told the Second Session of the First National People's Congress in July 1955 that 364,604 cases of sabotage[17] had occurred throughout China between January 1954 and May 1955.

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15. Ibid., Dec. 11, 1951, p. 2.

16. Text of the regulation in ibid., July 14, 1954, p. 2.

17. Text of the speech in ibid., July 30, 1955, p. 6.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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687 The revival of Communist concern with counterrevolutionary activities since 1954 after a lapse of only two years, could indicate an upsurge of resistance against the regime. Nearly all the reports made by the various ministers and deputies from all over China at the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July-August 1955 contained references to serious instances of subversive activity. In Kweichow in 1955, counter-revolutionary crimes of all types were reported to be 13 per cent higher than in the previous year; subversive acts involving murder had risen 27.4 per cent, those involving arson, 90 per cent.

D. Secret Societies

575 687 Secret societies have been a source of irritation, if not subversion, for every regime in China, including the Communist. The latter, on attaining power, took immediate steps to wipe out these clandestine organizations. In the Southwest Region, the Ko-lao-hui sect had been for centuries the most influential of the secret societies.[18]

18. See Wei Ta Fa-shih, Chung-kuo Pang Hui [Chinese Secret Societies], Chungking, Shuo-wen-she, 1949; and Ko-lao-hui Yü Ch'ing pang Kai-k'uang [General Survey of Ko-lao-hui and Ch'ing-pang], Hsi-pei Yen-chiu-she, 1940.

575 687 Formed at the end of the Ming Dynasty in the seventeenth century, the Ko-lao-hui served as center of resistance against the succeeding, alien dynasty. The sect initiated several organized uprisings against the Manchu (Ch'ing) rulers, and its influence gradually extended to all sections of society. In the last days of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Ko-lao-hui was one of the secret socities which supported the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-sen, the leading figure in the founding of the Republic of China. After 1911, the society was an open organization participating in politics. Particularly in Southwest China, warlords relied considerably on this sect for support, and many of the local military leaders were heads of the organization. These militarists either were eliminated by the Communists or absorbed into their ranks when the Red Army overran the Southwest Region. As a result, the Ko-lao-hui has not been active under the Communist regime.

Another major secret society, I-kuan Tao, was practically unknown in the Southwest Region before the advent of the Communists but is now the most active sect opposing the Communist

661 placed on trial in the People's courts. Among
685 the Southwest China officials punished for bureaucratic abuses were Tu Hung, chief of the secretariat of the Chungking Municipal Government and concurrently secretary of the Party branch of the municipal government. He and his deputy chief were accused of dictatorial acts.[32] Similar charges were lodged against T'u Kuo-lin, deputy of the Southwest China broadcasting station;[33] T'ang P'eng, deputy of the New Democratic Youth Corps school; and Mei Wen-hua, an official of the Chungking Federation of Democratic Women.[34] Kou Hsing-ts'ai and his deputy, Chang Tse-min, officials in the public security department of the eastern Szechwan special district, were accused of disobedience.[35]

C. Theft and Waste

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32. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1952, p. 1.
33. Ibid., Jan. 16, 1952, p. 2.
34. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1952, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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687 from the government. Contracting firms experienced a particularly bad time during the Five-Anti Campaign. The Chien Yüan Contracting Company, for example, was accused of cheating on its government contracts to the amount of 10,000,000,000 yuan.[36] The Ta Hua Pharamacy was charged with theft from the government for supplying substandard first-aid kits to the People's Liberation Army in Tibet. Theft of other kinds was involved in the cases of Wang Jo-hsi, a merchant who was accused of stealing economic information for profit; and Fan Wei-ch'ao, another merchant who was reported to have collaborated with a government employee in the sale of food stolen from a state-owned food trading company.

One of the most publicized examples of large-scale, organized theft to be disclosed during the Five-Anti Campaign involved a business organization known as the "Thursday Club."[37] According to the Communist account, the club was organized by the owners of

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36. Ibid., Jan. 22, 1952, For examples of other cases see ibid., Jan. 18, 1952, p. 1; March 14, 1952, p. 1; and Jan. 21, 1952, p. 1.

37. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1952, p. 1; Feb. 29, 1952, p. 1; and March 16, 1952, p. 6.

687 several privately operated iron and steel companies to exchange information on government contracts with the intent of monopolizing government contracts and, thereby, increasing profits. Originally, the group was said to have concentrated its efforts on the factories managed by the Ministry of Heavy Industry. When the club later extended its manipulations to shipbuilding and accounting contracts, according to the Communist account, the members organized a "Friday Club" and a "Saturday Club" to handle the new interests. The businesses operated by the group were substantial and, following the prosecution of their owners, were taken over by the Communists and transformed into state-owned enterprises. Similar cases of large-scale theft became more numerous as the regime expanded its industrialization program and the accompanying conversion of private enterprises into elements of state-owned industry.

Waste was another "poison" singled out for detection and elimination during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. Industrial and trading organizations bore the brunt of the drive against waste, which seems to have resulted in large part from the inefficiency of Communist manufacturing, transportation, and

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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storage methods. For example, during one four-month period of 1951, 317,000,000 pounds of crops worth 28 billion yuan were reported to have spoiled due to improper warehousing.[38] Instances of waste increased as industrialization was accelerated. An inspection during the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955 of a major industrial organization with a factory in Chungking revealed an accumulation of excess materials valued at 350 million yuan (new currency). One of the construction jobs in which the Communists originally took great pride was the four-year task of building an auditorium in Chungking patterned on the "Temple of Heaven." In 1955, the Communist press reported that the structure required the annual expenditure of 100,000 yuan (new currency) and the services of 50 men for maintenance.[39]

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687 The cases cited above are only examples of the charges and prosecutions brought against thousands of firms, private individuals, government officials, and Party members in the Southwest Region during the Three-Anti

38. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 1.
39. Ibid., April 9, 1955, p. 2.

661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

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Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

697 When the Chinese Communists seized control of Mainland China, they declared that they were going to use forced labor as a means of punishment for political offenders. The "landlord class, bureaucratic capitalists, and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang" would be compelled to "Reform through labor" in order to qualify as "new men under the new regime."

687 In Southwest China the Communists instituted the Land Reform Movement and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries as they had done in other regions of the country. Chou Hsing, Chief of the Public Security Bureau of the Military and Political Committee in Southwest China, reported on November 17, 1951, that, according to incomplete statistics, there had been 5,181 cases in 1950 involving spies, bandits, "local despots," and other types of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region. 697 Up to June 1950, of the population of that region, 80 per cent were said to have joined with local governments in suppressing counterrevolutionary elements, and thousands of arrests had been made. Beginning in May 1951 public security

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 battalion at Myitkyina, and very useful indeed they proved, especially in the Tibetan part of our journey.

Two of these, Naik Seowlal Thapa and Doba Ram, accompanied me, and our party was completed by my Madrassi cook, a Chinese mule man promoted to be servant, and the surveyor's Khalassi cook. For our baggage we had 16 mules with Chinese drivers.

On the 20th November, we reached Mêng-lung, a village of hill Chinamen, the first Chinese we had come across, the inhabitants so far being all Kachins. As usual on this frontier range the night was a cold one, the thermometer falling to 21°. The next day we crossed the Irrawaddy-Taping watershed at a low place at 6,500 feet, and descended gradually to the Chan-ta plain. We slept at the village of Ho-pyek, as the road does not pass through the capital of the state.

687 Moreover a visit at this moment to the town of Chan-ta would not have been very opportune, as the sawbwa, my host of last year, had lately had his head cut off by the Chinese authorities.

The story as told me at Ho-pyek is as follows:—In the summer of 1899 a person appeared pretending to be the nephew of the sawbwa and the rightful heir to the throne. Possibly because they wished to get rid of the sawbwa, who had not a very good reputation, the Chinese officials at T'êng-yüeh took the part of the pretender. They marched some Chinese soldiers down to Chan-ta, and the sawbwa fled to the hills, where the Kachins received him and prepared to resist the Chinese. The officer in command, being apparently more of a diplomat than a warrior, did not like the idea of attacking Kachin stockades. He invited the sawbwa to come back to his capital, and said that in order to settle things in a friendly way they would lay the matter before a meeting of Shan sawbwas. The sawbwa was foolish enough to come in, and of course had his head cut off. The supposed nephew then reigned in his stead. but the Chinese soon afterwards found out that he was an impostor, and decapitated him too.

Now this sounded quite a circumstantial and probable story, but the next day, only a few miles off, I was to hear an equally circumstantial but absolutely different version of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

687 the affair. Here they told me that a relation of the Chinese general at T'êng-yüeh asked the sawbwa to lend him some money, the loan being no doubt intended for the general himself. The sawbwa said he had no money to spare, and refused. A little while afterwards the general's relative or someone sent by him tried to break into the sawbwa's house and steal the money he wanted, but the thief was caught in the act and shot. Soon afterwards the general invited the sawbwa to go up to T'êng-yüeh, and asked him to dine with him. After dinner he had his head cut off.

A few days afterwards we heard from Mr Jamieson, the Consul at T'êng-yüeh, the Chinese official version of the case. This was that the sawbwa had been guilty of a series of crimes culminating with the murder of his old Chinese clerk. The T'êng-yüeh authorities therefore tried him, condemned him to death, and executed him.

Which of these three stories is the true one I will not venture to guess—probably none of them. The sawbwa had not a good reputation and possibly deserved his fate. But among the Shans whom I spoke to there was evidently a feeling that an injustice had been done, and the sawbwa's wife had gone down to Rangoon en route for Peking to complain to the emperor.

000 On the 22nd I meant to get to the new town of Kan-ai (Möng Na), where I was to meet Ryder, but being much delayed by taking a short cut which turned out a very bad road, and by crossing the Taping by ferry, we did not reach the Nam Ti till nightfall and then found this river unfordable. It was too dark and too late to look for a boat, so I had to return a mile or two and sleep in a Shan monastery, where the worthy monks were all hard at work smoking opium! Strict Buddhism does certainly not thrive in places which have come at all under Chinese influence.

The next morning I found Ryder in Chiu-ch'êng, the old town of Kan-ai. He had also been delayed by bad roads and had been able to get no further than this. So, as we heard that the road from the new town up the right bank of the Nam Ti was very bad for mules, we decided to stick to our last year's route. Three marches brought us to T'êng-yüeh on the 25th November.

Here we found Mr Jamieson, who had been appointed

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2d,
Political Background

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

692 In a totalitarian regime, the employment of terror is a primary strategy by which "public order" is maintained and the consolidation of political power is assured. The Communist regime in the Southwest Region has not hesitated to pursue such a policy, employing it on an intensive scale which covers all spheres of activity. Such a policy is insured by the maintenance of rigid control over the populace and the employment of various means for the suppression of opposition. The judicial organ of government is conceived neither as an institution of justice nor as a protector of individual rights, but it is designed to serve as a weapon of the state for the suppression of all opposition, thereby "safeguarding the people's democratic system and protecting public property." Likewise, to insure observance of Communist law," the local People's Procuratorate, although a "judicial organ," exercises procuratorial authority over all local state agencies, over government workers, and over all citizens in general. The procuratorates serve as instruments of control over the People's courts and public

692 security agencies, particularly since they have the power to supervise the People's courts in adjudication matters, the security agencies in investigation activities, and the execution of judgment in criminal cases. Both the police and public security agencies with their own security forces are instruments of violence. They assume direct responsibility for the maintenance of public order and constant vigilance over the entire populace. They are integrated systems, subject to the control of the Central People's Government and rigidly supervised by the Communist Party.

The use of terror is inherent in a dictatorship, where subordination to a single will is required. The imposition of a single will upon an entire society is certain to meet opposition; the more rapid and drastic the change, the stronger the resistance. To crush this resistance, terror and violence are employed. The Communist regime imposes upon society a new political ideology and its acts are calculated to destroy the old order while creating a new one. It is for this reason that violence and terror are widespread and their impact upon the entire society alarming. (The activities of resistance groups will be discussed in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

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I. PEOPLE'S COURTS AND PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATES

A. People's Courts

692 As political weapons of the state, the People's courts have actively engaged in the suppression of counterrevolutionary activities and maintenance of public order. The Supreme People's Court was established in November 1949, and a year later the Southwest China Branch Court was formed and given final authority in the region.[1] Local People's courts were formed at all levels, and mediation committee functioned in rural areas. The Municipal People's Court in Chungking handled 11,550 criminal and 7,635 civil cases in the first year of its operation.[2] Kweichow prosecuted 5,260 civil and 5,041 criminal cases in a period of nine months.[3]

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1. Official report by Chuen-ju Shen, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], June 2, 1950, p. 1.

2. Report in Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports of 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 1016-24.

3. Report of Tseng-ku Ch'en, ibid., pp. 1098-1112.

692 The courts, like other agencies of the state, underwent several stages in development; however, they followed dissimalar courses and their functions varied from time to time. For instance, during the first stage, prior to June 1952, the courts served as instruments of violence, carrying out with relentnessness the Land Reform Movement in the rural areas and the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns in the cities. During the second stage, between June 1952 and the spring of 1953, the courts completed judicial reform that enabled them to legalize their authority, replacing that of the former courts. The reform affected Southwest China two months later than other regions and was not as vigorously carried out, chiefly because other regional projects demanded greater attention. During the third stage, from September 1954 to the present, the courts have consolidated their authority and have begun to function as judicial agencies in conformity with the Organic Law of the People's courts of the People's Republic of China.[4]

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4. English text of the law is available in Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, No. 303, Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 1-7.

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692 1. The First Stage. The distinguishing feature of judicial activities during this stage is the wide use of the People's tribunal in the land reform, and in Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. This devotion to the administration of the criminal code in connection with the suppression of opposition made possible the concentration of judicial authority in the hands of Party functionaries and the complete subordination of judicial functions for political expediency.

The city and county governments were empowered by the Central Government to organize People's tribunals for land reform. People's tribunals were established in every two or three ch'ü and were given sole authority in dealing with criminal matters, including the authority to impose sentences of not more than five years' imprisonment. They also have the authority to prosecute counter-revolutionaries and to initiate arrests. The political character of the tribunal can be detected by the composition of the adjudication committee, composed of a president, a deputy, and several judges, half of whom were to be appointed by the People's government and the rest "elected" by the People's representatives

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692 from public security, the Peasants' Association, and other mass organizations. Specifically, the county head in some cases and the ch'ü head in all cases were the presidents of the tribunals.

A directive issued by the Southwest China Military and Political Committee in December 1951 offered specific regional instructions.[5] Tribunal personnel, drawn from those showing strong class consciousness, were to be trained by provincial and county governments. County governments were to hold training courses, and provincial governments were to supply instructors and instruction materials. Government authorities claimed that by September 1950 People's tribunals were functioning in all key areas of Southwest China.[6]

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5. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Dec. 24, 1951, p. 2.

6. Report of Tan Mou-hsing, head of the Department of Justice of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, ibid., Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2.

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692 The operation of these tribunals relied
695 heavily on mass hysteria and mob hatred. The administration of the trials by Party functionaries insured the use of terror. When cases were heard, the judges of the People's tribunals bombarded the masses with propaganda. The masses were sufficiently agitated to denounce as reactionaries those whom the Party had previously singled out for prosecution. After mass emotion was aroused and denunciations were made, judgment was passed by the masses and sentence rendered at the instigation of the adjudication committee controlled by the Party. Such a mass trial could not avoid intimidation and violence toward the accused.

During the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, People's tribunals were established by the directives of the Government Administration Council.[7] Members of the committee were activists representing various Party-controlled organizations. These tribunals were empowered to mete out death sentences.

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7. Directives on the Three-Anti tribunal in People's Daily, March 31, 1952, p. 1; on the Five-Anti tribunal, ibid., March 25, 1952, p. 1.

692 The effective use of People's tribunals as weapons of force was introduced after the judicial reform.[8] During the nationwide electons in 1953-54, People's tribunals were again widely used. Their main function was to suppress and punish violators and unqualified candidates and voters, including those citizens accused of counterrevolutionary activity. These tribunals worked in co-ordination with the election committees at all levels.

2. The Second Stage. The Judicial Reform Campaign was a mass movement aimed at eliminating judicial personnel previously serving with the Nationalist Government.[9] Exaggerated accounts of corruption and practices detrimental to the state were publicized. Mass meetings were held to identify, accuse, and pass judgment upon the accused workers. A large percentage of the old-established personnel was affected. For example, in the city of Chungking about 50 per cent of the total personnel in the Municipal People's Court had served under the

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8. For functions of the election tribunal, see People's Daily, Feb. 7, 1954, p. 3.

9. For reports on campaign conducted in Chungking, see New China Daily, Aug. 29, 1952, p. 1, and ibid., Sept. 19, 1952, p. 3.

692 Nationalist Government; some 60 per cent were charged with corruption.[10]

Mediation committees were set up to deal with local disputes and disseminate government propaganda. The active participation by the public security sub-stations in the cities and the hsiang governments in the rural areas indicates the political nature of the mediation.[11]

692 695 In regard to the elimination of old judicial practices, the Communists attacked the old system on four counts:[12] (a) that the judiciary was a weapon employed by one class for the suppression of the opposing class; (b) that the exceedingly mechanical procedure of the old courts should be condemned as a bourgeois practice; (c) that the assumption of a purely legalistic approach to a case that does not reflect the economic and social relationship of the society was contrary to the socialist view of law; and (d) that the use of precedents for adjudication of a case should also be discarded as a bourgeois practice.

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10. Ibid., Sept. 27, 1952, p. 1.

11. Report on the conclusion of the campaign in this region, ibid., Dec. 14, 1952, p. 1.

12. Yangtze Daily, Feb. 18, 1951, p. 3, and Li Kuang-ts'an, "P'i-p'ing Jen-min Fa-lü Ti Chiu-fa Kuan-tien" ["Criticizing the People's Law from the Old Jurisprudential Viewpoint"], Hsüeh-hsi [Study], No. 7, Oct. 1, 1952, pp. 16-19.

692 To stress the development of a new
695 judicial system, the Communists introduced several innovations: (a) the simplification of jurisdiction, the reduction of appellant cases, and the concentration of judicial authority in the lower courts; (b) the adoption of adjudication committees and the administration of law by collegia; (c) the review and periodic check of non-appellant cases by the higher courts and the practice in the lower courts of seeking instructions from and reporting to the higher courts; (d) the conduct of circuit hearings; (e) the use of People's assessors, a system similar to the Western jury system, which includes representatives from various People's organizations; (f) the use of trials for cases involving disputes among Party members and workers in factories, offices, and enterprises; and (g) such new techniques as oral inquiries and on-the-spot investigations and the establishment of People's reception rooms and mediation committees as means of enlisting mass support as well as for the intimidation of the masses.

692 3. The Third Stage. After judicial reform, further effort was concentrated upon the establishment of the new system and the training of new cadre to fill the vacancies which resulted from large-scale liquidation of

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692 the former workers. In 1953, as a result of the second session of the All-China Judicial Conference, a directive was issued calling for the immediate training of 200 to 500 judicial workers and for the drafting of a training plan in each region.[13] Effort was made to strengthen judicial authority at the lower levels and to set up special courts in industrial and mining centers as well as courts with jurisdiction over railways and waterways. As of September 1954, only eight railway courts and one waterway court had been established in the entire nation.[14]

"Comrade trial courts" were established in factories. Members of these courts were activists of the trade unions, and their tactics were similar to those of the mediation committeemen. Their jurisdiction was limited to disciplinary cases, and they were to recommend suitable punishments. As of June 1954, 70 comrade trial courts had been reported in major cities of the nation.[15]

The new judicial system was made permanent by the Organic Law of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China, which

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13. People's Daily, Sept. 10, 1953, p. 1.
14. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1954.
15. Ibid., June 5, 1954, p. 3.

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692 was promulgated at the First Session of the National People's Congress.[16] The law also formalized the relationships among the various courts.

B. People's Procuratorate

The People's Procuratorate is called a "judicial organ" but is, in effect, a prosecuting agency exercising control over both People's courts and public security agencies. It is in itself a centralized system. Powers exercised by the local offices include the supervision of decisions, orders, and measures of local state agencies, inquiry into criminal activities, supervision of the work of the People's courts, guidance in passing judgment on criminal cases and the activities of the agencies for "Reform-through-labor," and the right to prosecute criminal cases or to join in the prosecution of important civil cases involving the interest of the State and the people.

Prior to 1954, the Supreme People's Procuratorate was represented in Southwest China by the Southwest China Branch.[17] At the Second Session of the National People's Congress in July 1955, Chang Ting-ch'eng, the Supreme People's Procurator, announced

16. Text in Current Background, No. 303, Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 1-7.
17. Text, ibid., pp. 8-9.

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692 the course of action for the People's procuratorates for 1955.[18] He emphasized the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and in the armed forces. From September 1954 to July 1955 the number of People's procuratorates increased from 199 to 1,963.

II. PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS AND POLICE

625 Perhaps the most powerful instrument of violence, with the exception of the armed forces, is the public security organ which exists in all government and functional organizations throughout China. It maintains close control over the entire populace and assumes the responsibility for arrests and punishment. Furthermore, it has at its disposal the public security forces, which are said to be efficiently staffed. There is no doubt that the public security agencies, by collaborating with other secret agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, have become the best physical and psychological instruments for the maintenance of public order.

18. People's Daily, July 24, 1955, p. 2.

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627 feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên*
697 (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

147 A new appointment is announced in the Provincial
693 Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüch ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is also a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

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On a lucky day at a lucky hour the seals are handed over in the yamen inner court in the presence of the official underlings and public men. After this the yamen runners march round the outer court, jumping as they go, and then go in and *k'o t'ou* to the new official. This is to welcome him and to acknowledge his authority.

He sends cards to the important men and offices in the city, after which people call to pay their respects.

Then the roll of underlings is called, including the writers, yamen runners and country headmen. This is afterwards done monthly.

The grain in the government granaries has to be measured, *yüeh ts'ang* (閱倉), before the former official leaves; but sometimes an estimate is made and a sum of money paid over to cover deficiency.

The retiring magistrate must receive an acknowledgment that all has been duly handed over. Unless he produces this to his superior officer in the capital he will not get a new post.

The new man puts out a proclamation, *kuan fang* (關防), telling the public he has brought no relatives or friends with him and that they are not to be deceived by any professing to be such.

The former official is escorted out of the city, and the guilds and shopkeepers cover his sedan chair with red silk or cloth. If he has been popular a big umbrella, embellished with many people's names, may be given to him ; tables are set out in the street with wine and sweets.

An examination is held for candidates for the attorneys' or copyists' places, *k'ao tai shu* (考代書). Successful candidates, about eight in each district, have to pay thirty taels before receiving their seals. They may have associates who pay part of the money and use the same seals. All lawsuits pass through these men's hands. An indictment is not received unless written on the official paper and stamped by the official attorney.

On certain fixed days, usually the 3rd and 8th of each moon, the large doors of the yamen are thrown open and the

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indictments by poor people are received without fees, *fang kao* (放告). Such are not received on other days unless on the 1st and 15th as the magistrate returns from worshipping at the temple.

A table hung in the yamen gives a list of cases and dates of trial.

There are three courts in a yamen. The outer, *ta t'ang* (大堂), is the imperial court ; the second, or *êrh t'ang*, is the district court and the inner, *hua t'ing* (花廳), is the magistrate's private court. Both when he takes his seat in the imperial court and when he adjourns the court, three guns are fired.

When a "coroners' inquest" is held a pavilion is put up for the magistrate and his retinue ; his nose is filled with assafœtida, *o wei* (阿魏), and underlings carry incense. If the body is fresh the *wu tso* (仵作) simply calls out to the recorder the wounds, etc., on the body. In an important case, the magistrate himself examines what is said to be the fatal wound, *chih ming shang* (致命傷). If the body is decayed it is boiled in big pots, the bones are rubbed clean with cotton wool and the wounds show up on them ! For such a case the *wu tso* has to call in experienced assistants. Some seventy or eighty different kinds of knives or instruments are brought into use; the bones of the body are counted and expected to number 360; the water-carriers are put on oath, since salt mixed with the water obliterates bruises on the bones.

If murder is suspected in a house and no traces can be seen, the room is shut up and thoroughly fumigated with mulberry leaves and the walls and floor are soaked with vinegar; then the blood will show up on the walls and even the position of the body may be clearly seen. This kind of inquest involves the expenditure of some thousands of taels and only the rich can indulge.

On returning from an inquest the magistrate in his chair goes through burning straw at his yamen entrance, to drive off noxious smells and evil spirits.

When there is a conflagration the magistrate must get up any hour of the night to assist. Underlings carry a

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huo kou (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water and dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing. 647 693

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'êng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy. 647 796

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農) (B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned in a roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*) 647 681

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A suit may often be stopped, *lan liu* (攔留), by payment 694
of money even after the indictment has been written. In family quarrels this is common, even in life and death cases, as a mother-in-law beating to death her daughter-in-law.

Sometimes one goes straight to the magistrate and calls for redress of a grievance; he must come out or send a deputy; but the usual result is an order to present an indictment.

A first petition being rejected the litigant may try again, altering what the magistrate has objected to, adding necessary witnesses, etc.

Before going to a higher court there are eight ways in which a litigant may appeal to an official against his decision. Sending up documents to a higher court costs a great deal of money, both to the official and to the yamen bureaus.

Tzŭ kao (自稿) is a plea written by the petitioner himself; the language is generally forcible and the copyist adds these two characters.

Tzŭ ch'o (自戳) means stamped by himself. Sometimes a hand or a foot, but usually only the thumb, is put in the ink. The magistrate dreads such cases, for the petitioner will only be satisfied with a decision in his favor, and an appeal to a higher court is probable.

Sometimes litigants are requested to put thumbmarks to a document declaring each side will accept the magistrate's decision and end the case.

When a magistrate is about to leave, cases are sometimes withdrawn, *ch'ou an* (抽案), for fear he should unduly hasten a decision or should leave them undecided to a successor who may shelve them.

Signs of Authority, Followers, etc.

When the magistrate is judging a case a duplicate of the 695
seal box is hung behind him. A jar of bamboos stands on 693
the table; if he throws down one tally, it means a hundred blows; if he tumbles out all the tallies it means unlimited beating. There are other tallies for other uses; aud there is

8. Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

695 693 a box of vermilion ink for signing official documents. These things are called the official's life (性命), *hsing ming*, life, or his 衣, 飯, 碗 *i, fan, wan*, clothes, rice, and bowl.

647 693 On going out his sedan chair is carried by four men, he wears official garments, beads and hat; criers go before and men with boards on which are written his literary degrees and former offices; assistants follow on horseback, and every one, whether riding or on foot, must get out of the way as he passes.

The district magistrate is really the strongest official in a province and has life and death in his hands. He is called the father and mother official, *fu-mu kuan*, and *chêng t'ang* (正堂).

His first class confidential secretary is called *hsing min shih yeh* (刑民師爺) by the official and *hei pi* (黑筆) *shih yeh* by the people. He is also called *mu p'in* (幕賓), or district steward.

The tutor in the magistrate's family ranks with him; at a feast only one of them can be present as he must have the chief seat; the other has a table sent to his own quarters.

The *shu chi* (書記), or *t'ieh hsieh* (帖寫), letter-writer and indictment-maker for the official, is usually a student for the secretariat.

There is an apprentice to the secretary, *mao kai tzŭ shih yeh* (毛蓋子師爺).

Between the official and people is a middleman called *ta yeh* (大爺) *mên kao* (門稿) and other names. He is said to be the magistrate's throat since all business passes through him. His assistant is the *kuan an san yeh*, manager of law-suit documents.

The clerk who puts the red ink finishing touches on official papers is called *ch'ien ya* (簽押). When the seals are used the magistrate or his wife sits by to prevent their unauthorized use.

The *shui ch'i* (稅契) receives taxes on sales of property.

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The yamen food is in three grades; the official and secretaries have the first class, the *ta yeh* the second, the watchmen and other menials the third. 647 693

There are a few other employees in a yamen besides those above named.

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III. CRIMINAL CODES AND LAWS GOVERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

671 Although the establishment of a criminal and civil code is assigned to the Commission on Codification under the Government Administration Council, to date no report has been made by the committee. However, decrees and orders concerning counterrevolutionary activities have been issued by all levels of government.

A. Criminal Code

671 694 A decree promulgated by the chairman of the People's Republic of China in December 1954 explained the procedure for arrest and detention.[29] As a rule, arrests must first be approved by the People's court or by the People's procuratorates, and before making an arrest, public security agencies must obtain a warrant from the People's Procuratorate. However, there are circumstances under which immediate arrests can be made. These exceptions, in fact, grant the security agencies more power than the decree would suggest. For example, persons who are unable to establish their place of residence

29. People's Daily, Dec. 21, 1954, p. 1.

671 are subject to immediate arrest. It is true
694 that certain provisions in the decree guarantee each individual the right to demand a warrant, a minimum period of detention, and an early and rapid trial; nevertheless, at least two factors minimize the value to the individual of these provisions -- warrants for arrests are not always obtained by security agencies, and exceptions to these provisions are allowed to facilitate the arrest of counterrevolutionaries.

687 Apart from those decrees relating to the punishment of counterrevolutionaries, discussed below, other orders that may be singled out for discussion include the decree on the safekeeping of confidential information[30] and that implemented in cases involving the violation of laws concerning national currency.[31] Since "confidential material" is loosely defined by the Communists, the "unlawful disclosure" of any information whatsoever can be regarded as a crime. "Confidential information" includes not only national security and military matters in the usual sense, but also any data relating to economic and financial affairs, transportation conditions, and matters of a

30. Yangtze Daily, June 11, 1951, p. 1.
31. Ibid., April 28, 1951, p. 4.

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627 If a thief is killed while entering a house the householder is guiltless; but should he be killed after escaping a hundred yards or so, the killer may suffer for it. Sometimes a thief is killed first and the hole to enter the house is made afterwards. Sometimes a corpse is carried on to another man's land to get him into trouble. One who lends a knife for a murder may be convicted of murder.

Presenting petitions or indictments.

647 There are official, appointed copyists who prepare and stamp nearly all documents going to the official.

694 The *hung ping* (紅稟), red petition, is a statement of public business, used in government circles only and costing only the price of the paper, since the government employees may write their own statements.

694 The *pai ping* (白稟), petition on white paper, is used by headmen or heads of bureaus in notifying business to the official.

The *hung pai ping*, red and white petition; if the official keeps the red and returns the white it means approval, the reverse means that trouble may be looked for.

A petition has to pass through the hands of eighteen persons before reaching the magistrate, and as many more afterwards before it reaches the archives.

There are men who live by stirring up strife and lawsuits; they are called *sung kun* (訟棍), pettifoggers, *ch'ien kou chiang* (牽狗匠), dogleaders, and other names.

The *yüan kao* (原告), plaintiff, formerly paid some 3,200 cash official fees and the *pei kao* (被告) an indefinite amount to the runners.

Eyewitnesses, *kan chêng* (干證), are named in the indictment, but only after getting their consent.

An indictment or petition must be written on special, lined paper, *ta kê shih* (大格式), holding some 120 characters; it costs from 100 to 300 cash according to the official. A smaller sheet may be used by the poor. The magistrate keeps a copy, *fu chuang* (付狀), for reference, if necessary, after he has left the district.

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Sometimes one goes straight to the magistrate and calls for redress of a grievance; he must come out or send a deputy; but the usual result is an order to present an indictment.

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692 The operation of these tribunals relied
695 heavily on mass hysteria and mob hatred. The administration of the trials by Party functionaries insured the use of terror. When cases were heard, the judges of the People's tribunals bombarded the masses with propaganda. The masses were sufficiently agitated to denounce as reactionaries those whom the Party had previously singled out for prosecution. After mass emotion was aroused and denunciations were made, judgment was passed by the masses and sentence rendered at the instigation of the adjudication committee controlled by the Party. Such a mass trial could not avoid intimidation and violence toward the accused.

During the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, People's tribunals were established by the directives of the Government Administration Council.[7] Members of the committee were activists representing various Party-controlled organizations. These tribunals were empowered to mete out death sentences.

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7. Directives on the Three-Anti tribunal in People's Daily, March 31, 1952, p. 1; on the Five-Anti tribunal, ibid., March 25, 1952, p. 1.

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692 Nationalist Government; some 60 per cent were charged with corruption.[10]

Mediation committees were set up to deal with local disputes and disseminate government propaganda. The active participation by the public security sub-stations in the cities and the hsiang governments in the rural areas indicates the political nature of the mediation.[11]

692 695 In regard to the elimination of old judicial practices, the Communists attacked the old system on four counts:[12] (a) that the judiciary was a weapon employed by one class for the suppression of the opposing class; (b) that the exceedingly mechanical procedure of the old courts should be condemned as a bourgeois practice; (c) that the assumption of a purely legalistic approach to a case that does not reflect the economic and social relationship of the society was contrary to the socialist view of law; and (d) that the use of precedents for adjudication of a case should also be discarded as a bourgeois practice.

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10. Ibid., Sept. 27, 1952, p. 1.

11. Report on the conclusion of the campaign in this region, ibid., Dec. 14, 1952, p. 1.

12. Yangtze Daily, Feb. 18, 1951, p. 3, and Li Kuang-ts'an, "P'i-p'ing Jen-min Fa-lü Ti Chiu-fa Kuan-tien" ["Criticizing the People's Law from the Old Jurisprudential Viewpoint"], Hsüeh-hsi [Study], No. 7, Oct. 1, 1952, pp. 16-19.

692 To stress the development of a new
695 judicial system, the Communists introduced several innovations: (a) the simplification of jurisdiction, the reduction of appellant cases, and the concentration of judicial authority in the lower courts; (b) the adoption of adjudication committees and the administration of law by collegia; (c) the review and periodic check of non-appellant cases by the higher courts and the practice in the lower courts of seeking instructions from and reporting to the higher courts; (d) the conduct of circuit hearings; (e) the use of People's assessors, a system similar to the Western jury system, which includes representatives from various People's organizations; (f) the use of trials for cases involving disputes among Party members and workers in factories, offices, and enterprises; and (g) such new techniques as oral inquiries and on-the-spot investigations and the establishment of People's reception rooms and mediation committees as means of enlisting mass support as well as for the intimidation of the masses.

692 3. The Third Stage. After judicial reform, further effort was concentrated upon the establishment of the new system and the training of new cadre to fill the vacancies which resulted from large-scale liquidation of

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Those remaining in gaol after the midwinter executions, as most probably they may live another year, have a feast together, *t'uan yüan chiu* (團圓酒).

If only one person should be left in the government prison, he may be strangled in prison, *chien hou chiao* (監候絞).

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695 The following are a few of the methods used to extort confession, etc.:

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tightly. A string is then attached to one finger of each hand and pulled tightly outward. The back is covered with incense, which is lighted. This burning incense is often fanned till sometimes the fat drops on the ground. I have known the ribs and backbone to be exposed as the result of this burning. Sometimes long cuts in the flesh are made in the shape of a Chinese waistcoat, these are filled with incense and set fire to; this is called *ch'uan ling chia* (穿領架). The prisoner may stay for hours in this position while the magistrate does other business. When he has promised to confess, he is let down, but if his confessions are not enough he may be put in a second time. Many die as the result of this cruel treatment.

"The monkey moving the log." A high bench is placed in court. The criminal is stretched on it and his thumbs and toes tied to the bench; he is then swung underneath the bench, suspended by his thumbs and toes and a heavy weight is attached to the body. A candle is lit, the flame of which just touches the buttocks—*t o la* (坐蠟), or sitting on the candle.

Tso lan pan têng (坐懶板凳), to sit on the lazy stool. The criminal is made to sit on a stool with his back against a pillar. The legs are tied tightly at the knees and ankles and weights are attached; the hands are tied behind the back and to the pillar; a strong string or oftener a chain is tied round the head tightened with wedges—the *hua ku ku mao* (花箍箍帽), the flowery hat.

Tsan chih (拶指). Needles are stuck in, five under each nail, beginning with the second finger, then the forefinger and finally the other fingers. Both hands are done and this sometimes when the poor creature is kneeling in the *t'ai ho* as described above.

P'ao lo (炮烙) is to brand with hot irons or to place red-hot coins direct on the body.

Tien chih la (點指蠟), to roll the fingers in oil paper and set them on fire. This is what is called burning finger-candles.

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695 To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

627 697 *Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing* (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (團倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen.* On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they all returned within three days; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan.*

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shêng* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

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A tax-gatherer, *liang pan* (糧班), or his sons, may enter the literary examinations, but not the other yamen underlings. 647

The *hu pan* (戶班), or local runner, knows every person in his district and is used in making arrests.

The *p'u pan* (捕班) are the chief jailor's runners, for catching robbers, and the *tsao pan* (皁班), or *hou pan* (吼班), are the "black band" with tall hats, who run shouting before the magistrate's chair, when he goes out on public business.

There are various other bands, messengers, door-keepers, etc., etc.

There is an apprenticeship to this work and often the apprentice suffers for his master's mistakes. If he is beaten, the *ling pan* gives him 400 cash; if he is condemned to the cage he gets 100 per day and 300 cash on release; if he suffers capital punishment, the *ling pan* supports his widow. Many become yamen runners to escape the result of crime, thus eluding the law a little longer. An official can put runners to death and thinks very lightly of doing it.

In some districts there are women thus employed.

Judicial Cases.

A black clothes case, *ch'ing i an* (青衣案), is one where execution is certain as soon as the evidence has been given; generally robbery with violence. 695

A red clothes case, *hung i an* (紅衣案), is a difficult case, perhaps of murder; if the accused is clever he may, after years of imprisonment, gain his liberty. If the knife used in a murder cannot be produced the accused cannot be condemned.

Disputes about estates or marrages are called *chêng an* (正案). Petty quarrels are often pursued in the courts till a family is ruined in seeking justice or revenge.

Cases of rebellion or where human relationships are violated; a wife killing a husband, son killing a father, etc., are seldom dealt with in an open, regular way; they are settled in private, the criminal being done to death by the family clan. 627

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8. Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

695 693 a box of vermilion ink for signing official documents. These things are called the official's life (性命), *hsing ming*, life, or his 衣, 飯, 碗 *i, fan, wan*, clothes, rice, and bowl.

647 693 On going out his sedan chair is carried by four men, he wears official garments, beads and hat; criers go before and men with boards on which are written his literary degrees and former offices; assistants follow on horseback, and every one, whether riding or on foot, must get out of the way as he passes.

The district magistrate is really the strongest official in a province and has life and death in his hands. He is called the father and mother official, *fu-mu kuan*, and *chêng t'ang* (正堂).

His first class confidential secretary is called *hsing min shih yeh* (刑民師爺) by the official and *hei pi* (黑筆) *shih yeh* by the people. He is also called *mu p'in* (幕賓), or district steward.

The tutor in the magistrate's family ranks with him; at a feast only one of them can be present as he must have the chief seat; the other has a table sent to his own quarters.

The *shu chi* (書記), or *t'ieh hsieh* (帖寫), letter-writer and indictment-maker for the official, is usually a student for the secretariat.

There is an apprentice to the secretary, *mao kai tzŭ shih yeh* (毛蓋子師爺).

Between the official and people is a middleman called *ta yeh* (大爺) *mên kao* (門稿) and other names. He is said to be the magistrate's throat since all business passes through him. His assistant is the *kuan an san yeh*, manager of law-suit documents.

The clerk who puts the red ink finishing touches on official papers is called *ch'ien ya* (簽押). When the seals are used the magistrate or his wife sits by to prevent their unauthorized use.

The *shui ch'i* (稅契) receives taxes on sales of property.

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681 *Ling ch'ih sui kua* (凌遲碎剮), to hack in pieces. This punishment was, prior to the Revolution, inflicted on both men and women, usually for the murder of a parent or a husband. The criminal was tied to a stake at the crossing of two streets or on the execution ground; first the skin of the brow was cut and pulled over the eyes; then the nose, lips, ears, hands, arms, were taken from the body, then the sword pierced through the heart and the body was hewn in pieces. Formerly the flesh was roasted and the fat used to light the four gates of the city, the flesh and the bones cremated and the ashes scattered to the four winds. This punishment required the sanction of a senior officer, as it mutilated the body.

Beheading, *ta p'i* (大辟), is the utmost penalty of the law and the one most dreaded by the Chinese, who all shrink from the idea of becoming a headless ghost. To such an extent is this feared that a head is often sewn on immediately after execution unless it has to be exposed in the person's native village, *ksiao shou* (梟首). The executioner is sometimes bribed to leave a part of the neck unsevered. All such punishments must be sanctioned by the superior officers before they can be carried out. Therefore the whole case has to go through a great many different phases before the execution can take place. Such are as follows:

681 696 *K'ao wên* (考問), to investigate the case and obtain the person's own confession of guilt. Unfortunately this is very often got by torture. After the magistrate has obtained what he thinks sufficient evidence he must notify his superior officer, *hsiang ping* (詳稟), by an official dispatch, giving all details, after which the superior officer sends a deputy to investigate the confession, *ch'ing k'ou kung* (清口供). Much depends upon this man; if not well treated by the district magistrate he might get him into trouble by reporting unfavorably of his judgment. After the criminal has acknowledged his guilt (落供), *lo kung*, he has to dip his thumb in ink and make an impression on the official document.

The criminals hold a feast, *fên li chiu* (分離酒), just before midwinter, which is the general time for executions as

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at this season the death principle reigns throughout nature. This is a farewell feast to those about to die.

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Shang chüeh liao shou chou (上 脚 鐐 手 肘) is to put in fetters, hands and feet. As soon as the deputy has confirmed the district magistrate's sentence of death the criminal is chained, hands and feet.

The warrant of death is an official dispatch through which a nail is driven and bent, *ting fêng* (釘 封), and sealed. There is also a black tablet sent along with the warrant, which is carried into the gaol when the prisoners are taken out. This is called the *hei p'ai* (黑 牌). Whenever the warrant arrives the yamen runners make a raid on the rope-makers for ropes to bind the prisoners, paying nothing; for days before an execution the rope-dealers display few, if any ropes, for fear they will be seized.

When the warrant arrives the official orders wine and food to be set before the doomed men. Sometimes abundance of wine and pork is supplied, at others, only a limited amount. Some drink themselves quite drunk and others only reach the tipsy stage.

Then the hands are bound behind the back and ropes put on the neck, and the tallies are stuck in the band of the criminal's lower garment at the back. These tallies are strips of bamboo a few feet in length and a few inches wide, on which are written the doomed man's name and crime. The characters are written with ink which has been mixed with tea. No teacher likes to use tea in mixing his ink as it is reckoned unlucky.

The fetters are knocked from the hands and feet. This is done by a blacksmith in the roughest way.

The assistant executioner, *t'i shou* (替 手), holds the sword in front of the doomed man's face while the real executioner stands at the back to do his work.

The *kuei tzŭ shou* (劊 子 手), or executioner, belongs to the military yamen. His pay used to be 800 cash per head.

It is the duty of the military official, whose men do the work of execution, to witness it, *chien chan* (監 斬).

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565 landlords were convicted of a variety of crimes
668 during the Land Reform Movement. Punishment ranged from death to short terms of imprisonment. After release from prison, landlords were given a small piece of land to work and placed under the surveillance of public security agencies or were required to
[697] serve in forced-labor camps. During and after the Land Reform Movement, forced-labor units were established throughout the Southwest Region, and nearly every county maintained a forced-labor battalion.[8] These battalions were engaged in all types of construction from the building and repairing of roads in ethnic minority areas to the extraction of minerals in mining areas. Still other landlords were classified as counter-revolutionaries within the meaning of the term as used in the Decree on the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries issued by the Ministry of Public Security of the Government Administration Council[9] in Feb. 1951. They

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8. For example, see report on the province of Kweichow, New China Daily, Oct. 8, 1951, p. 1.

9. Text of the regulation in People's Daily, Feb. 22, 1951, p. 1.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

I. INTRODUCTION

697 When the Chinese Communists seized control of Mainland China, they declared that they were going to use forced labor as a means of punishment for political offenders. The "landlord class, bureaucratic capitalists, and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang" would be compelled to "Reform through labor" in order to qualify as "new men under the new regime."

687 In Southwest China the Communists instituted the Land Reform Movement and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries as they had done in other regions of the country. Chou Hsing, Chief of the Public Security Bureau of the Military and Political Committee in Southwest China, reported on November 17, 1951, that, according to incomplete statistics, there had been 5,181 cases in 1950 involving spies, bandits, "local despots," and other types of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region.
697 Up to June 1950, of the population of that region, 80 per cent were said to have joined with local governments in suppressing counterrevolutionary elements, and thousands of arrests had been made. Beginning in May 1951 public security

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697 agencies in the whole region began to clear the accumulated cases and organized the convicts for Reform through labor.[1] A report from Formosa estimated the number of prisoners sentenced to death or to Reform-through-labor for political reasons in this area at 1,484,000 up to the end of 1953, and those who had been put under public surveillance[2] at 743,154. The latter also were forced to perform manual labor.

But in some cases of forced labor, the political aspect has been overshadowed by the economic significance. Men were sent to forced-labor camps not only because they held different political views from the ruling class, but also because they were needed to fulfill huge economic plans such as the Hwai River project in East China and the Ching River harnessing project in the Central-South Region. In the Southwest similar examples may be found in the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and of the Sikang-Tibet Highway.

II. MASS LABOR IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION (CHENGTU-CHUNGKING LINE)

499 The Chengtu-Chungking Line is 505

1. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Nov. 21, 1950.
2. Pei-kuan-chih T'ieh-mu Hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, No. 5, p. 3.

499 workers elsewhere, for they did not use such
466 methods as "emulation drives" and "model workers' elections" to speed up work as they did on other projects. On the contrary, the authorities on the Sikang-Tibet Highway prohibited overtime work. The fact that the labor supply was not so abundant in this region and that they could not afford to transport workers from other parts of the country made them more lenient to the laborers on this project.

The Sikang-Tibet highway was opened to traffic by the end of 1954. To travel from Peking to Lhasa once took several months; today the trip can be made in fifteen days.

IV. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

697 A Communist report admitted that, in the Southwest Region, of the prisoners convicted through suppression of counterrevolutionaries, through land-reform laws, and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, 65 per cent had been organized by the end of 1951 into Reform-through-labor corps. They were employed in such heavy work as road-building, house construction, coal mining, collective farming, brick- and tile-manufacturing, and in handicraft industries such as weaving and shoe-making.[19] The size

19. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951, p. 2.

697 of the labor corps varied in accordance with the actual needs of the locality and was under the jurisdiction of the local public security offices. The following are some of the labor camps in the Southwest Region.

A. Reform-through-labor Camps in Chungking

Chungking was the headquarters for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the Southwest Region in 1951. In that year there were 100,000 arrests in Chungking alone. There were four Reform-through-labor camps in Chungking suburbs: (1) the Shih-pan-p'o, with 4,000 prisoners; (2) Tz'u-ch'i-k'ou, with 1,000 prisoners; (3) Wang-shan camp, with 2,000 prisoners; and (4) Sun-chia-hua-yüan camp, with 1,300 prisoners. The prisoners were organized according to physical condition and production techniques into groups engaging in different trades such as tile- and brick-making, wood, stone, earth, and lime works, and sewing, weaving, and other handicraft industries.

In addition to these permanent setups, there were temporary labor camps in Ts'ai-yüan-pa, Shan-hu-pa, and Ch'ao-t'ien-men. These temporary labor camps had been established to relieve the overcrowded prisons before

697 the labor corps were sent away to construction sites.[20]

B. Reform-through-labor Camp in Ch'i-chiang Hsien (East Szechwan)

Most of the prisoners here were employed in railway construction and coal mining. The corps who were engaged in coal digging netted 13,000,000 yuan (old currency) per month, while the women prisoners in the shoe factories netted 3,000,000 yuan per month.[21]

C. Labor Camp in O-mei Hsien (South Szechwan)

This camp was organized in March 1951, and laborers began work with one worn-out cart; later the camp developed into a large organization, including carpentry, lime kiln, brick and tile shops, paper-making works, and a duck farm. It accumulated a fund of 60,000,000 yuan (old currency) in 1952.[22]

These two cases of Reform-through-labor corps indicate that the Communists carried out the policy of combining punishment with labor

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20. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1951, p. 2; also Cheng Ch'u-yuan, op. cit., p. 78.
21. New China Daily, Nov. 8, 1951.
22. Ibid.

•697 production as defined in the forced-labor code, "Regulations Governing Reform-through-labor," promulgated in August 1954. Article 74 of that measure stated that the funds for the agencies enforcing Reform-through-labor are derived from (1) appropriations from the state budget and (2) income from production under Reform-through-labor.[23] In the case of O-mei Hsien Labor Camp, the state had supplied one "worn-out cart." The prisoners produced surplus value for the state at the start.

D. Labor Camps in Fu-ling Administrative District in Szechwan

The local government of Fu-ling Administrative District chose about 90 "intellectuals" and cadres from different hsien for training in the techniques of Reform-through-labor and then sent them back to their native places to join Reform-through-labor camps. They strengthened the rules in the labor camps and enforced among the prisoners a system of awards and punishment. Those prisoners who were found idle during labor service or who violated control measures were severely punished. Others, who had obeyed the law, exerted effort to study, and engage actively in production

23. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.

697 were awarded with praise, material reward, or a reduction of their sentences. After these changes the productivity of the labor corps in this district doubled.[24]

What happened to prisoners who refused to "reform" may be judged from the case of Chiang-chin (Szechwan), where six labor-camp inmates were executed because they resisted control regulations and joined counterrevolutionary groups during the period of Reform-through-labor.[25]

E. Reform-through-labor Corps in Kweichow and Yunnan

According to a report by Ch'en Tseng-ku, vice-chairman of Kweichow Province, 70 per cent of the population of the province had joined the drive for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. There were about 25,000 prisoners undergoing Reform-through-labor in Kweichow Province in 1951, half of whom became self-supporting when they began work.[26] Most of the prisoners were officials of the Nationalist regime or officers of the Nationalist Army. They were organized into teams according to their knowledge and ability. Those

24. New China Daily, Oct. 20, 1951, p. 2.
25. Ibid., Dec. 12, 1951.
26. Ibid., Nov. 23, 1951.

697 who had no professional training were formed into groups to reclaim waste land, repair or build municipal warehouses, and work on the highways.[27]

697 In Li-chiang hsien, Yunnan Province,
731 a Reform-through-labor corps of 30,000 prisoners was employed to repair the damages of an earthquake in December 1952. With the help of the peasants in the area, they dredged 6 rivers, rebuilt more than 100 villages, dug 78 ditches, and constructed 87 water basins to irrigate 110,000 mou (about 16,610 acres) of rice field, which was returned to production by the prisoners.[28]

There are several Reform-through-labor camps in the suburbs of Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province. One is in T'an-hua-ssu, and contained 3,000 prisoners in 1954.[29]

V. COMMENTS

464 It is doubtful that the use of patriotic appeals in recruiting peasants to work on the construction of such projects as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway would be successful again and again. The

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27. Sung Wei-ta, Hung-chieh Yü-sheng [Life After Red Terror], Taipei, 1955, p. 104.

28. Yün-nan Tung-nan-ya Ti Huo-san [Yunan--the Volcano of Southeast Asia], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, The Nationalist Party, May 1954, p. 31.

29. World Today, Aug. 1, 1954, p. 12.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

695 To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

627 697 *Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing* (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (團倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen.* On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they all returned within three days ; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string ; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan.*

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shêng* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16 .

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Again, all the lice, bugs, fleas, and other vermin that can be caught are let loose on his person and every other kind of filth which can be collected is all thrown on him. The unfortunate prisoner is bound with his nose over the manure bucket for a whole night.

A hollow bamboo or old sleeve of a garment is filled with filth from the manure pit, the novice is laid on his back and bound, while the other prisoners occupy themselves with blowing this on to the eyes, nostrils, and mouth of the helpless wretch, *ch'ui wu tu wu* (吹唔嘟唔). In the morning he is bound in the outer court of the prison and the filth of the prison cells poured over him.

Again, his hands and feet are tied to a pillar and the hair fastened to a cross beam in the roof; in this position he has to stand the whole night. This is *ying ko chia* (鸚鵡架), the parrot's perch.

He is stripped naked and hung up by a rope under the arms with the tips of the toes just touching the ground; he is then whipped by the company and his body swings from side to side like the wind bending the willow, *ta fêng pai liu* (打風擺柳). Or he is stripped and suspended by a rope round the waist, about three feet from the ground, and beaten; the body thus suspended resembles and is called a duck swimming in water, *tang hu ch'uan* (蕩湖船), to rock the lake boat. The novice is suspended from the roof by the four limbs in a small cell; he is then rocked from one side of the cell to the other, when different parts of the body get driven against the walls.

He is bound hand and foot and blindfolded, a red-hot goblet is then placed on the head; this is called wearing the iron hat.

He is put in a butt of dirty water with his hands and feet tied, with his nose and mouth above water. This is called soaking the water-gourd, *p'ao shui hu-lu* (泡水葫蘆).

To tie up the novice at the door for the night and forbid sleep or rest is called sticking up scrolls, *t'ieh tui-tzŭ* (貼對子), and to be hung up by the hair for the night with hands and

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

627 feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên*
697 (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate,

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

647 A new appointment is announced in the Provincial
693 Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is also a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

178 in the new business or political hierarchy and
565 yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 Influenced by the idea of democracy which
565 they had discovered in the new schools, the in-
668 tellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 During this period of social and political
701 disorder, military men began to gain power, ob-
874 taining offices by virtue of their military success.
555 Rather than despising the military as the older
565 scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

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668 under way, membership in the Peasants' Association increased rapidly. For example, during the initial stages of land reform, membership in the Eastern Szechwan Special District rose from 455,990 to 619,000, an increase of 30 per cent.[52] The number of "poor peasants" who entered the associations also increased rapidly. In the Northern Szechwan Special District, "poor peasants" made up 65 per cent of the membership of the peasants' associations and 70 per cent of that of the militia. In addition, they represented 80 per cent of the membership in hsiang governments and militia units.[53]

701 668 The militia, an armed force at the disposal of the Party, is an organization of poor peasants, farm laborers, and young people.[54] Prior to the Communist conquest, there were no militia units in Southwest China. Although Communist forces immediately set about building up a militia, only 500,000 recruits had been enrolled by 1950. Central control of the new units was not established

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51. (continued) by national minorities and in some parts of Kweichow. See New China Daily, Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2; Sept. 28, 1952, p. 1; May 10, 1952, p. 1; and Oct. 2, 1951, p. 2.

52. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1951, p. 3.

53. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1951, p. 2.

54. For a study of the militia, see Li Tang, Militia of Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954.

701 until 1952, following the completion of land
668 reform. At the present time, the militia of Southwest China is far smaller than that of other regions.

The duties of the militia in peace time are to assist the public security forces in matters concerning arrests and detention, co-operate with troops in campaigns against bandits, to guard bridges and transportation centers, and to take charge of food transportation and the maintanence of order at public meetings. In war time, the militia's duty is to co-operate with area commands in district defense.

668 2. Consolidation Period: 1952-53.
As land reform came to a close, Communist power was established, but challenged, in the rural areas. Party organizations had not yet been established in many rural areas. Even where they existed, they generally were weak and ineffective. Party indoctrination was neglected, with the result that Party members acted like dictators and Party leaders became confused. In order to remedy this situation, the Party launched its membership drive of 1952 and sought to

625 Other units such as a cadre school, border public security bureaus, and forced labor batallions were also under the department's jurisdiction. Public security bureaus were organized within administrative districts and municipalities. County bureaus were empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in ch'ü and hsiang, and they were placed in charge of detention houses and prisons.

B. Public Security in the Rural Areas

625 701 During the land reform period, rural security relied on peasant associations and the militia to enforce decrees and destroy the old rural system, to crush the intelligence agencies controlled by the Kuomintang, to suppress banditry, and to eliminate landlords and "despots."

625 701 669 At the time of the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement in the cities, climaxed by the use of violence in 1951, a similar campaign was carried out in rural areas. Official reports during this time indicated the unrest and the resistance of the peasants, expressed in the forms of organized "underground armies," the killing of militia,

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625 the burning of granaries, and the slaughtering
701 of cattle. Communist authorities in the
669 Southwest China region called for the strengthening of rural public security.[20] Village committees, composed of from 3 to 11 members, were organized, and public security teams were formed.[21]

The extent of rural unrest was indicated by Wen-hui Liu, deputy from the province of Szechwan, at the second session of the National People's Congress.[22] He reported destruction of agricultural implements, sabotage of a dam, murder of Communist cadres and activists, arson, and impairment of relationships between the Han and the minority groups.

In August 1953, bands of armed police were transferred from the military command to the public security agencies in an attempt to strengthen rural public security.

C. Public Security in the Cities

625 The maintenance of public order and

20. New China Daily, June 29, 1952, p. 1, and Oct. 9, 1952, p. 3.
21. People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1952, p. 1.
22. Ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 5.

imposed by the Communist regime are likewise
651 unpopular. In the rural districts, the Communist San Ting policy, initiated at the end of 1953, taxes and regulates the production, purchasing, and marketing of farm produce. The forced sale of surplus products -- mainly rice and cotton -- at a central, government-controlled market has created great resentment among the peasantry. Urban businesses are subject to a similar scheme of taxation and control. Businessmen must pay high taxes, purchase bonds, and make regular "voluntary contributions" to government-sponsored organizations. The transformation of private businesses into elements of state-owned enterprises is a major cause of discontent among the business class.

Public obligations imposed upon the people are a further cause of public discontent. The average peasant is required to perform duties for the state periodically and on demand. The four seasonal drives in the rural districts require his active participation. In the construction of flood-control projects, peasants are forced to abandon their fields to labor in distant regions. Young persons in the villages
651 are required to participate in military training
701 and to perform military service whenever the state deems it necessary. All railways are

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constantly patrolled, and each village near the
651 right-of-way must maintain a specially
701 organized force for this purpose and participate in the guard duty for a 72-hour period every month.[40] In addition, the village maintains a militia in which all the young residents must serve. Besides training or participating in the unit's cultural and indoctrination activities, the militia patrols key areas in the village, guards government grain, helps in loading it for shipment, and assists in keeping the village free of bandits. Misuse of the militia by the Southwest China Military Command in 1953 was criticized as having wasted 24,700 man-hours per day.[41]

Similar public and military services are required of city dwellers. They must engage in military training, participate in the local military unit's cultural and organizational activities, and serve on patrols in their own or neighboring areas whenever needed.

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208 Controls imposed upon the people by security agencies and other organizations

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40. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 4.

41. Report of the Second Southwest China Militia Conference, Ibid., May 20, 1953, p.1.

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631 officials who live at Yün-nan Fu, viz.: the Fan-t'ai or treasurer, the Nieh-t'ai or provincial judge, the Liang-tao or grain-tax commissioner, and the Yen-tao or salt commissioner. These four with the Viceroy form a board to settle important matters.

701 The chief military authority in Yün-nan is the T'i-t'ai or provincial commander-in-chief, whose residence is not at the capital, but at Ta-li Fu. Under him are five officers of the rank of Chên-t'ai or general who have their headquarters at different places in the province and command large districts which do not necessarily correspond with the civil administrative divisions. Under them again are various officers distributed all over the province, their rank corresponding to the size or importance of the garrisons they command. The lowest military officials are those known as hsün-kuan (pronounced *sin-kuan* in western Yün-nan). These men correspond nearly to our police sergeants, and are placed in some of the large villages with from four to eight men under them, in charge of a small circle.

The soldiers are divided into regulars and irregulars. The former are locally recruited men, armed with any sort of weapon, and kept up principally for police purposes. They are hardly expected to do any fighting. The irregulars or "braves" are the men who are sent out where there is any fighting to be done. Many of them are recruited from other provinces, those in Yün-nan coming principally from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan. They are the only part of the military forces who can be called soldiers[1].

206 On the 15th January, the day after my arrival in T'êng-yüeh, a Chinese telegraph clerk who knew a few words of English came to see me, and told me that Mr Jensen, a Dane in the Chinese telegraph service, was expected to arrive at T'êng-yüeh that day, and asked me to change my quarters to the telegraph office. He also told me that P'êng, the Chinese official who had accompanied us in our search for the "gates" the previous year, was now in charge of the T'êng-yüeh telegraph office. He knew nothing whatever of telegraphy, but this is considered a matter of no importance: in fact in many of the Chinese

[1] This was written before the formation of the Lu Chün, the modern army of China.

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797 In these remarks I hope I have said nothing which will give offence to either sect. I shall always remember the missionaries I have met in western China, both French and English, as men devoted to the cause they have taken up, and always ready to offer hospitality and assistance to the traveller.

000 Père Bourgain returned to Tê-ch'ang the next day, so I had not the pleasure of his company any further. Our march of 19 miles was somewhat monotonous, the plain broadening out and becoming more level. The weather which had been a little warm quite changed again, and the snow on the hillsides was very nearly down to the plain.

361 We slept at Ma-tao-tzŭ, and on the following morning, sending my mules straight on by the main road, I made a circuit myself to have a look at Ning-yüan Fu[1]. This town lies three or four miles to the east of the road, separated from it by a low spur which runs down from the eastern hills. It is consequently not so flourishing a place commercially as some of the smaller towns which lie right on the main road, but officially it is the most important town in the district. It must contain nearly 4000 houses and is surrounded by a good wall three miles or so in perimeter. Just to the east of the city is a good-sized lake some five miles long. The story is that there was formerly a town there which was destroyed when the lake was formed by an earthquake or some volcanic disturbance.

• 701 After leaving Ning-yüan I was passed on the road by a Lo-lo chief with some of his soldiers. He was the T'u-ssŭ[2] of T'ung-an-chou, a place I had passed through a little time before between the Yangtze and Hui-li Chou. A year or two before this he had got up a sort of rebellion against the Chinese authorities, but the Hui-li mandarin was considered by the Chinese Government as partly to blame for this outbreak, so the T'u-ssŭ was pardoned on condition that he would fight for the Chinese against the Independent Lo-los who had lately been raiding. This he was nothing loth to do, as he is what in the dialect of western China they call a "kuai jên," "a bad man," i.e. fond of fighting. So in the recent hostilities the Chinese troops had been held in reserve while the Lo-lo levies had

[1] Also called Chien-ch'ang Fu. Hence the name of this valley.
[2] Local chief.

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done most of the fighting for them. This is an arrangement that seems to suit everybody, for as the Chinese put it, "The Lo-los are stupid men who are not afraid of dying." 701

The T'u-ssŭ keeps up a small standing army, and every one of his men that I saw was armed with a breech-loader. He also appears to recognise the importance of discipline, for a man goes in front of his troops with a red placard on which is written the T'ung-an-chou "Army Act." 703

For not obeying bugle calls—To be beheaded.

For being drunk and fighting—To be put in the stocks.

For losing arms or ammunition—To be beheaded.

For destroying the property of civilians—To be beheaded.

For being absent at night—To be put in the stocks.

For gambling—To be put in the stocks.

For extorting money by threats—To be put in the stocks.

For taking a wrong rifle—To be put in the stocks.

For buying things and refusing to pay—To be put in the stocks.

We slept the night at Li-chou which in spite of its name is not an official town of the *chou* class, though it is a prosperous commercial place. 000

The following day, the 22nd February, we had another level march to the town of Lu-ku which is built where the two sources of the An-ning Ho meet, one coming down from Mien-ning Hsien, and the other and smaller branch from the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass.

I had now been along nearly the whole of the Chien-ch'ang valley and a little later, on my road to Mien-ning Hsien, I was able to see the rest of it, so I will summarise here my observations on it.

The plain stretches from a little beyond Mien-ning Hsien in the north down to the village of Hsin-kai-tzŭ in the south. It is, therefore, about 110 miles in length, but has not an average width of more than two miles. Its elevation at Mien-ning is 6,250 feet, and from this it slopes down by a scarcely perceptible descent to some 4,200 feet in the south. 133

Besides the two official cities of Ning-yuan Fu and 361

his post two secretaries, a cook and four servants from the lowland; 000
the Chinese never take their wives along when they go so far into the interior of Tibet. But he was loaded down with so many goods that at first I took him to be a wholesale merchant. He had put all his cash into tea and cotton and of course traveled on ula which was furnished by the subjects of the Ming tscheng tu se. Since he had brought along only wooden saddles and no saddle blankets and did not want to lose time, the Chinese servants forced the ula men to strap the sharp-edged saddles on the bare backs of the poor animals. Tears were streaming down the faces of the Tibetans and they threw themselves on their knees in front of the Chinese, but the gentlemen rode mercilessly off without saddle padding. They were, after all, only ula animals!

After the Leang tai, officers from Yünnan and Hunan moved into my hotel. Every day new reinforcements arrived from down below. From dawn to dusk recruits were drilled in the temples and yamen, there were exercises in the handling of arms and there was target practice. The soldiers were armed with old European repeater guns and made a good impression. (1) C T 701

1. The punitive expedition of the Anglo-Indian government which was carried out with such forbearance was a reply to the challenging refusal of the Dalai Lama. It came to an end in August 1904, under Younghusband with his entry into Lhasa and the Potala. Therewith the weakness of the Chinese position in those lands was clearly proven. In order to regulate matters at last, the Peking court sent off a special minister in 1904 whose duty it was to introduce a more rigid rule. Before this minister Feng had set foot on the actual land of the Dewa schung of Lhasa, however, he was shot in April 1905, along with his band of riders by the Dschraba of the Ba tang monastery. The monks of the Gelugba sect no longer wanted the Chinese to gain supreme authority. The rebellion spread rapidly toward Li tang and the Mekong and Yangtze Valley and as far as Aten tse in the northern part of Yünnan. C T 175

The active Tschao ör fong who was at that time still dao tai - during the Chinese revolution he was well-known governor of Szechwan and as such was beheaded in 1912 in the streets of Tscheng tu fu by the Kuo ming

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Besides the two official cities of Ning-yuan Fu and 361

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000 on the next day, the 23rd February, our road led up a very stony, little-cultivated valley hedged in by steep hills on
712 each side. Every mile or so along this road are little forts as a protection to travellers from Lo-lo raids, but they only have garrisons of two or three men each, and no one seems to anticipate any danger.

703 In one of these forts I saw some more regulations written up after the manner of those of the T'ung-an-chou army. They were as follows:—

If when ordered out to fight, any soldier says he is afraid to go—To be beheaded.

If a soldier gets too old to fight—To be discharged.

For smoking opium—To be discharged.

I have little doubt that nine-tenths of both officers and men are confirmed opium smokers.

361 Passing the little town of Mien-shan about halfway, we reached Têng-hsiang-ying in the afternoon. This is a
342 fortified village of some 150 houses, and is the head-quarters of the major who commands all the troops in the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. It is built just where the narrow valley gets still narrower, and is at a height of 7,850 feet, 2,200 feet above Lu-ku, though the rise is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. The roofs of the houses here are made of planks kept in their places by large stones placed on top of them. This is a style of roof I found not uncommon in parts of western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 On the 24th February we crossed the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. The top I made exactly 10,000 feet. There were only a few patches of snow in shady places, but the last three or four days had been sunny; no doubt in cloudy weather the whole top of the pass would be in snow at this time of year. The ascent from the south is very gradual. In fact it is, without exception, the easiest road up a high range that I have ever seen in western China. The descent on the northern side is however steep, the road falling at the rate of 1000 feet in a mile.

The top of the pass is in a saddle, so Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a hill 1000 feet higher and got a fairly good view of the country round. To the east is a mass of high and steep ranges inhabited by the Independent Lo-los.

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173 Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1255) Shan-shan was divided into four Wan-hu fu or four cities of 10,000 families each. In the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1276) it was changed to Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路 (Circuit of Chung-ch'ing).

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the name was changed to Yün-nan fu 雲南府, which then ruled over four chou and nine hsien.

Ed. Chavannes, in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. 6 (1905), p. 4, raises the question as to the identity of Shan-shan 善闡 and concludes that it is not to be identified with Yün-nan fu. He is inclined to accept the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* where it states that T'o tung is the present-day P'ing-ting hsiang 平定鄉, north of K'un-yang chou 昆陽州 in Yün-nan fu. K'un-yang chou is on the south-western point of K'un-yang Lake. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chi kao*, Vol. 8, ch. 3, fol. 9a, states explicitly that T'o-tung ch'eng is the Yün-nan fu of to-day, and that it was also called Shan-shan fu.

Another reference, however, is in Vol. 14, ch. 14, fol. 5b, of the same Chinese work, where it says that the ancient Ya-ch'ih ch'eng 押赤城, which Chavannes accepts as the present-day Yün-nan fu, was 20 li south-east of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣. Lo-tz'u hsien is north-west of Fu-min 富民, so this would mean that Ya-ch'ih ch'eng was between Lo-tz'u hsien and Fu-min.[7]

172 173 *The city wall.* — The wall of K'un-ming (the ancient T'o-tung ch'eng), was first built by Feng-ch'ieh-i[8] in the second year of Kuang-te 廣德 (764) (*see* p. 13, note 4), though according to tradition it is the ancient wall built by Chuang Ch'iao, first king of Tien Kuo.

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the wall was replaced by a brick wall nine and three-tenths li in circumference, 29 feet and 2 inches high, and having six gates, each with a tower.

[7] If this were true the town could not have been surrounded by water on three sides. From many of the Chinese records it seems apparent that Ya-ch'ih and Shan-shan were two different cities. Ya-ch'ih was the capital of the Wu man. We read in the *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史 (New Mongol History), ch. 122, fol. 6b, that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai attacked the Wu man (Black savages), then the territory of the Lo pu 羅部 (Lo tribe who dwelt at Lo-tz'u hsien), and defeated Kao-hua 高華, the chief of the Man. He then advanced on the city of Ya-ch'ih (it actually says Ch'ih-ya which is a misprint). Three sides of the city are on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih (K'un-ming Lake). He employed *pao* 礮 (machines for throwing heavy stones), attacked its north gate and set fire to it. He was however unable to take it. In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fol. 22a, it states that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai divided his army and took the adjacent capital Shan-shan. He then turned around and attacked the Shui ch'eng 水城 of the Wu man Ho-la-chang 合剌章, etc. Further on it relates that he advanced on Ya-ch'ih, a city on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih and surrounded on three sides by water.

Shan-shan has survived in the K'un-ming of to-day while Ya-ch'ih has completely disappeared. The Na-khi however call K'un-ming, to this day, Yi-chi or rather Yi-ch'i, which seems to be the Ya-ch'ih of the Mongols, but they may be referring to the capital of the Wu-man with which they were classed by the Chinese.

The temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu 筇竹寺 (Temple of the Ch'iung bamboo [a variety of bamboo with great many knots]) situated 20 li west of K'un-ming on the Yü-an Shan 玉案山 (Jade-table Mountain) was built by Kao Kuang 高光 of Shan-shan about 638, so the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* relates. A stele in the same temple which bears the date of May 15, 1316, and which has only recently come to light, bears two inscriptions, a Chinese and a Mongol. The former states that the priest Hsüan Chien 玄璧 holds forth in the temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu of Yün-nan Ya-ch'ih.

[8] He was the son of Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 who ruled over the Nan-chao Kingdom from 748 to 788.

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In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 蠻些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧鷄關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482] [438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

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The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbĕr-ddĕr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wùa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ö (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

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has its source on the western slopes of Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 (also written 芒 and 鋩), which are visible through Yeh-tsi valley. Part of the waters of its stream are led by ditches to the village, which is inhabited by Tibetans only. The sky is an azure blue, the atmosphere crystal clear, making every rock stand out sharply defined.

In this valley is situated the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, called Yang-pa-chen-ling (Yangs-pa-chan-gling,[50] Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺), which belongs to the Yellow sect, perhaps so named after a monastery in northern Tibet of the same name. It is, however, also the name of a city in Magadha on the site of modern Allahabad. The lamasery was built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753). Hung-p'o is known in Tibetan as Ngü-phu,[51] from *dngul*, silver, and *phu*, the upper part of a sloping valley. There are also two villages called Hung-po, one north and one south of the lamasery.

Ngun-ya village. — Beyond Yeh-tsi we cross a spur and follow along the now more gently sloping hill-side, past another gap, and arrive at the village of Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 果念); this is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, and is the last pure Na-khi village in north-west Yün-nan. There are, however, other villages inhabited either wholly or in part by Na-khi, across the Yün-nan border in Hsi-k'ang.

At Ngun-ya, or Gun-ya, the Mekong flows in a deep trench imprisoned by steep rock walls. It makes a sharp curve to the east, flows through a defile and encircles the spur on the southern slopes of which Ngun-ya is situated; it makes in fact a double horseshoe bend. (PLATES 168). Beyond Ngun-ya it flows through a very narrow gorge with a tributary descending through a rocky, arid canyon with the pinnacles of the high mountains visible in the distance.

Fuel is scarce here, the nearest wooded mountain being Pai-mang Shan to the east. The people of Ngun-ya are very friendly and helpful to the traveler, quite a contrast to the surly attitude of the people of Yeh-tsi. They are, however, sorely afflicted with goitre. On the road one meets now only Tibetans, stalwart fellows who greet one with upturned hands raised to about the chest — survival of an ancient custom to show that the hands hold no arms.

All along the Mekong on small promontories are more or less ruined watch-towers built of mud bricks (PLATE 169) their walls pierced with loop-holes. It used to be, and still is, the belief that these towers were built by the ancient Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pe (Mu Sen-pe, as it is pronounced by the Na-khi). But, as has already been related, they were not erected by the Na-khi rulers but by the T'u-fan, against the invasion of Na-khi soldiers led by their chiefs. These towers are to be found all along the Chinese — Tibetan, not political, but ethnic border. They are common north in Mu-li, on the Zho Chhu, on the hills in the Li-t'ang River valley, on the Ya-lung, and in the region of Chiu-lung hsien 九龍縣, south of Ta-chien-lu. They form, in fact, an ethnic boundary line from the Mekong to the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河.

From the gorge beyond Ngun-ya the trail again climbs the rocky, steep

[50] ཡངས་པ་ཆན་གླིང [51] dNgul-phu ངུལ་ཕུ

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PLATE 169.—ANCIENT TIBETAN WATCH TOWERS, COMMON IN THE MEKONG VALLEY

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

These towers were built by the Tibetans to ward off Na-khi troops led by their chiefs, bent on punishing Tibetan outlaws.

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ter of the north-western half of the lake and exactly ten li from Hli-ki; Hle-wu-be, off the south-western point of T'u-bbu peninsula and separated from the latter by a channel breast-deep; and the third Nyi-se, a mere oblong rock, probably once fallen from the heights above or part of the rocky shore of the lake. It is covered with scrub vegetation. Of the two Ssu-ch'uan islets one is called Bu-wua and belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu; it is in the south-eastern half of the lake close to the slopes of the T'u-bbu peninsula. The second is called A-na-wa and belongs to the Mu-li lama King (PLATE 255). It is a small islet situated south-east of the spur of Ta-dzui which forms the bay in the Mu-li part of the lake-shore. 133*

Nyo-ro-p'u. — (PLATES 251, 252). Nyo-ro-p'u, which the Hli-khin people call Khyo-ō-on and the Na-khi Khü-wua-gku, is the most important strategically, as it is out of the range of rifle bullets, being located in the center of the lake. It is 100 feet in height and is surrounded by a wall with watch-towers and loop-holes, to ward off attacks by possible bandits. Furthermore, to prevent landing anywhere on the island, large pine trees have been sunk around the island, the base of the trees resting on the shore the branches sticking out of the water (PLATE 252). It is impracticable for any row-boat to approach the island save on the west side, where there is a regular landing place, a channel between sunken pine trees. There are also only two gates in the wall, one at the landing on the west shore, and one opposite on the east shore. The highest point, 100 feet above the lake, is at the southern end. The western side is nearly a straight line, and is 813 feet long; the eastern side is convex and measures 1,083 feet; the north point of the island is 66 feet across and the south point 40 feet, giving the island a total circumference of 2,002 feet. The northern crest is long and narrow with a small path leading to a lovely little tea or rest-house. The island has only been recently again inhabited (since 1920) when the late Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan, brother-in-law of the chief, built a residence first on the northern slope and then a larger and massive house on the highest point after levelling off the top of the island. Here at least his family could be safe from the attacks of the Gangkar-ling bandits, who more than once came to Yung-ning to loot and burn. No rifle shot can reach the island and as there are no other boats available except those owned by him, it is impossible for any one to approach it; furthermore the Tibetans, having a holy fear of water, would never venture on the lake. From behind the loop-holes in the solid wall, any enemy could be held at bay. The island serves also as a treasure-house for all valuables, such as silver ceremonial utensils, butter lamps, etc., used in the lama ceremonies. All the valuable brocade dresses with gold and silver spangles, valuable Tibetan paintings, heirlooms, etc., not only of the Yung-ning chief, but also the treasures belonging to the Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü) chief to the south of Yung-ning, are kept in safety on the island. I was often told that it held over 100 horseloads of treasure. 133* 712

On this island were born the last three children of the Tsung-kuan's last marriage (PLATES 253, 254); the youngest son, born in 1927, was, during my visit to Yung-ning in 1931–1932, declared by Lhasa to be the third incarnation of a Huo-fu (Living Buddha) of Dre-pung Lamasery, situated 173

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505 133 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by China-men, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

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712 Government, the amount being deducted from the soldiers' pay. There were small forts garrisoned by these men all along the road from Manwaing to Nampaung.

262 The traders of Manwaing asked us to dinner one day, and the next evening we dined with Colonels Liu and Wang in the fort. Some of their dishes, such as birds' nest soup, are excellent; others are very much the reverse, pigs' insides often forming part of the menu.

524 Neither of the colonels was at all averse to drinking, and after dinner they played a game which consists in two players sitting opposite each other and simultaneously shooting out one or more fingers of one hand, at the same time shouting out a number. The player who shouts out correctly the total number of fingers shown by the two players wins, and the loser has to drink a glass of rice spirit as a forfeit. The game is, I believe, practically the same as the *mora* of the Italians.

682 On the 22nd January we set out westward for Bhamo, passing, about two miles out of Manwaing, the place where Margary of the Chinese Consular Service was murdered in 1875. He had just made a journey through from Shanghai to Bhamo and had gone back to Manwaing to make arrangements for Colonel Browne's expedition, which was just leaving Bhamo for T'êng-yüeh (Momien). While he was alone at Manwaing, when the main expedition was still on its way there, he was assassinated. Whoever the actual murderers may have been, there is little doubt that the deed was done by order of the Viceroy of Yün-nan.

In nine cases out of ten when Europeans are killed in China, the officials, if not the direct instigators, are really responsible for the murder, and could have stopped it if they had liked. The natives of a district very soon find out if their official is anti-foreign, and those who have the same leanings feel that they can act with safety. If every murder was followed by the decapitation of the official in whose district it took place, murders would cease. At present killing an Englishman is apt to prove a safe and agreeable pastime for evil-disposed Chinamen.

After three miles of flat going we began to climb the Kachin Hills and camped at 4,900 feet at the fort of Sare the headquarters of Colonel Wang, who commanded the Trade Protection Levy.

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713 Protection Levy. The soldiers[1] were chiefly from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan provinces. The men were good enough, but they were wretchedly armed. Among a hundred men one might see ten different sorts of weapon, from the most modern rifles to flint and steel muzzle-loaders. Cartridges are served out anyhow, and a man often gets ammunition that does not fit his rifle. They therefore like getting weapons of as big a bore as possible. A small cartridge wrapped round with rags or paper can be got into a big bore rifle and might go off, but a big cartridge with a small rifle is naturally hopeless.

•712 On the 23rd a fairly good road, still through the hills, brought us to Shih-t'i, a fort commanded by Ma, a Panthay or Chinese Mahommedan, who formerly raised and commanded a band of men of his own and used to escort trading caravans through this part of the Kachin country, getting paid by the merchants. Now that the Chinese Government had taken over the safe-guarding of the road, he had been given the rank of an officer in the Trade Protection Levy.

Just before entering the fort we passed between two Kachins' heads in little baskets, stuck on poles on each side of the road. The Chinese told us they could not walk far from their forts alone. Only three or four months before this a Chinese non-commissioned officer had been murdered on the road.

At Sare P'êng, the Chinese deputy who had been with us all the time, left for Momien. He had been most civil and friendly, and we had got on excellently with him and were very sorry to part from him.

On the 24th a steep downhill road took us to the Nampaung, a mountain stream 30 yards wide, which forms the boundary between Burma and China, and we said good-bye to Colonels Liu and Wang and climbed up to the British fort, garrisoned then by a detachment of the 3rd Burma Infantry under Lieut. Whitehead. A hilly march to Myothit and a boat journey of 7½ hours down the Taping brought us into Bhamo on the 26th January, 1894.

[1] [garrison of Sare, Kachin Hills.-- Analyst]

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133 descended into the flourishing little valley of Ho-shun-hsiang. The road turns up this valley and going through a short gorge between two low hills reaches the T'êng-yüeh plain, passing a splendid waterfall 100 feet high, by which the T'êng-yüeh river runs down into the Ho-shun-hsiang valley. Into the pool below this fall hundreds of Panthays are said to have been thrown after the final suppression of the Mahommedan rebellion.

I found an excellent place to pitch my tent near a white temple outside the north-west face of the city, but I very soon found out that pitching a tent near a Chinese town does not answer. Large crowds soon assembled, who though quiet enough after a time became a nuisance, and I always afterwards went to inns in Chinese cities.

• 712 T'êng-yüeh has been described in considerable detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, and there is now a British Consul there, so it will not be necessary to say much about it. It was, however, the first walled city I came across in China, and as all these walls are built in very much the same way, a description of it will answer, with variations in shape and measurements, for most other towns. It is nearly a square, each side about 1,200 yards long, and not, in the case of T'êng-yüeh, built square to the points of the compass but facing nearly north-west, north-east, etc. The wall is of brick, nearly 30 feet high and two feet thick, and backed up on the inside by an earth parapet 30 feet thick, and some six feet lower than the wall. This parapet, besides supporting the wall and giving solidity to the defences of the city, acts as a banquette for the defenders to stand on. The top part of the wall is deeply crenelated for men or small guns to fire from, and there is a loop-hole in each bit of high wall between the crenelations. Each face has a gate in it which is usually protected by a wall, similar to, but slightly smaller than, the main city wall, enclosing a square space in front of the gate. The entrance from outside leading into this space is placed in one of its side walls, and is not therefore directly opposite the main gate. These defences in front of the gates also flank the walls, and there are usually somewhat similar flanking defences at the corners and at intervals in other parts of the faces. In T'êng-yüeh there is on one side some remains of

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712 an old moat, but this is exceptional, for in Yün-nan it is rare to find a town with a moat round it. These walled cities are found all over China, built in much the same sort of way. The Chinese have found them extremely useful in the numerous rebellions which have taken place in that country. Even against modern armies the solidity of these defences would make them formidable obstacles if well defended, especially in a country like Yün-nan where nothing larger than mountain artillery could be brought against them.

361 T'êng-yüeh has another peculiarity which is characteristic of most Chinese towns, namely, that there are large open spaces and even fields within the city walls, while the principal shops and business houses are in the suburbs. This latter fact is probably to be accounted for by the rule which prevails throughout China that the city gates should be shut all night, so that people coming home late have to seek a lodging outside or to present the officer of the guard with a tip of perhaps as much as threepence to be allowed to go in. At T'êng-yüeh in fact many of the richest merchants do not live in the town at all, but at Ho-shun-hsiang, Yi-lo or one of the other large villages in the plain.

101 The real original name of T'êng-yüeh given it by the Shans, who no doubt inhabited it before the arrival of the Chinese, was Möng Myen, and by this name the Shans still know it. Momien, as the town is often called by Europeans, is merely the Burmese corruption of this. The origin of the Chinese name I discovered some years afterwards while travelling in a distant part of Yün-nan. Near Ch'ü-ching Fu, which lies to the east of the capital of the province, is a place called Yüeh-chou, formerly a town of the "chou" class. But as it has two other official towns within easy reach, one on each side of it, it was not considered necessary to keep it up, and it was reduced to the rank of a village, and Momien made an official town instead of it. The first syllable "t'êng" means to "fly away from" or "move away from," so that the name T'êng-yüeh Chou means "Moved away from Yüeh Chou." At present its official title is T'êng-yüeh T'ing, but the inhabitants of the place invariably refer to it as T'êng-yüeh Chou, and on the stone guide-posts, which one finds at nearly every cross-road about here, it is always called "the chou."

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 town of Hsia-kuan. There is also a path up the right bank, but it does not seem to be much used. About a mile
712 short of the town are the famous Hsia-kuan forts. Here for 500 yards or so the valley narrows in and the sides become precipitous. The gorge is closed by two archways, one on each side of the stream, which completely block the roads. On the right bank there is in addition a small stone block-house, and a stone wall runs along the bank of the river up to the town so as to flank the roads down either bank. The whole would be very effectual against an enemy who came along the road, but there is nothing in the world to prevent men climbing the hills on either side a mile before coming to the "gate" and thus getting round and coming down on it from above.

The Hsia-kuan Ho, which is from 20 to 30 yards wide through most of its course, narrows down at the point where the archways are to a width of scarcely more than six feet. There is a big stone laid across it here, which it is said has been crossed by venturesome individuals, but the sides leading down to it are so steep and slippery that anyone attempting this feat would probably tumble in and be drowned. The current here is tremendous.

361 Hsia-kuan is a prosperous commercial town with a population of perhaps 10,000. There is no official here. Ta-li is the official town, and Hsia-kuan the business town. All the merchants live at Hsia-kuan and not at Ta-li, which lies a few miles off the main road from Yün-nan Fu to Burma.

On the 2nd February eight miles of perfectly level road brought us into Ta-li Fu. The road is unfortunately paved and the stone being volcanic is unusually slippery and most difficult to ride or walk over. The plain is some two miles wide, with the Ta-li lake to the east and the Ts'ang Shan mountains rising 7000 feet above it to the west. Villages are numerous, and between the road and the lake the plain is well cultivated, but on the left of the road it is chiefly stones and graves.

764 Graveyards in China are not the enclosed churchyards or cemeteries that we are accustomed to. Each family has its own burying-ground, and they are often in most picturesque places in the hills among fir woods. Round every town

361 the walls is fairly well filled with houses and contains some 600 or 700.

511 The whole town and district[1] are very poor, a fact to which the broken bridges and unrepaired roads testify. There does not seem to be a single merchant of any importance in the place, and mules and ponies are scarce. In fact there appears to be absolutely no trade in the district except in the necessaries of life, and the whole way from Ta-li to Shun-ning we did not meet a single mule caravan, or even a pedlar on foot.

The city magistrate came to see me in the evening and was very civil. He was a Chiang-hsi man and much more inclined to be obliging than the majority of Chinese officials. I halted a day at Shun-ning and went to call on the mandarins. The magistrate had never heard of Kun-long himself, but he got out his map and sent for men who knew the country, and did his best to help me. It appears there are two roads, one through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), and the other through Yün Chou and Mien-ning T'ing. The former was said to be the shorter, but is hilly and difficult. The Yün Chou route seemed to offer the best prospect of a possible railway line or trade route, so I decided to go by it.

•712 There is only a very small garrison at Shun-ning. It was then commanded by an old white-moustached gentleman of 60, who had, however, only attained the rank of *Shou-pi* or lieutenant. So promotion is sometimes slow in the Chinese army. The military head-quarters of the Shun-ning district is at Mien-ning T'ing where there is a *Hsieh-t'ai* or colonel.

635 Shun-ning was originally a Shan state, and it is still known to Shans by its original name of Möng Hköng. It has now for a long time been a Chinese district, but the Shan or half Shan origin of the people is plainly visible in their features. So much like Shans did some of them appear to me that I stopped one man on the road and asked him if he was not a Shan, but he did not take it at all as a compliment, and his companions were much amused at the question.

000 One day at Shun-ning was quite enough, and I was glad to get out of the miserable one-storied inn in which we

[1] [Shun-ning -- Analyst]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

coming, and were not prepared to act on the spur of the moment, so we passed quietly on after the usual Shan salutation, "Where have you come from?" had been given and answered on both sides. 000

On the range of hills to the west of Man-hpa we passed through two villages, Hkun-kaw and Pa-hka, inhabited by Lo-los who have adopted Shan Buddhism and have monasteries in their villages, the only instance I have ever come across of Buddhist Lo-los. The women's dress differs from that worn by those of their tribe who still inhabit the Mêng-hua district. In fact they have taken to dressing themselves almost, if not quite, like the La-hu[1] women, in black jackets, black skirts reaching to their knees, black cloth gaiters, and black turbans put on so as to leave a lot hanging down behind. For ornament they wear very large ring-shaped silver earrings.

Man-hpa lies a little to the north of the town of Mêng-ko (Möng kaw), while still higher up the Nam Tum valley lies Mêng-tung (Möng Tum). These two little Shan districts together with Mêng-sung (Möng Hsung), which lies a day's march further east, were formerly part of Kêng-ma. But, for some reason I did not learn, they quarrelled with the sawbwa of that state, and appealed to the Chinese mandarin at Chên-pien. The result was that this official took these districts over and governed them through a Shan chief who resided at Mêng-ko. 631

We left Mêng-sung on the 19th March and finding no village at a convenient distance camped out for the night on the banks of a little stream. Another 3½ miles the next morning brought us to the Chinese fort of Ai-shwai. This was one of several posts that had been established by the Chinese in this part of the country in the previous few years while they had been fighting the La-hus. 712

Formerly the Chinese Government did not trouble themselves about the wild tribes that inhabit this border tract, and they exercised very little authority over them. But since the annexation of Upper Burma they have adopted a

[1] It is possible that I was misinformed as to these people being Lo-los. They may have belonged to the cognate tribe of La-hus. The fact that they were Buddhists would however be equally remarkable whether they are La-hus or Lo-los.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

712 [411] much more forward policy, probably through fear of British encroachments—fears which are quite groundless, as this part of the country is of no value. The La-hus with their strong cross-bows and poisoned arrows made a stout resistance, and the Imperial troops were by no means uniformly victorious. But the Chinese Government, though they move slowly, are always eventually successful in their wars with less civilised tribes, and at the time of my visit most of the La-hus had submitted and the country seemed fairly peaceful.

The fort is built close to the La village of Ai-shwai and is surrounded by a high mud wall. The garrison was nominally 100 men, but there were really only 70 or 80, so that the officer in command might pocket the pay of the remainder.

I saw the lieutenant in command and went on, escorted by five of his men. A very steep up and down road brought us to the group of five La villages, which is called Nawng-hpaw by the Shans and Lung-t'ang-chai by the Chinese. Since leaving Man-hpa the country had changed a good deal. There was little or no thick jungle. The hills were bare and dry looking, and well cultivated by the Las and La-hus who inhabit them.

712 The next day we passed another Chinese fort. Its proper Shan name is Ho-sak or Nam-sak, corrupted into Nan-cha by the Chinese. Close to the fort was a small village with a wall round it, in which some of the married soldiers were living. Many of these had La-hu wives, and their principal occupation seemed to be growing opium. They will probably eventually settle down here as soldier-colonists, for it is from such colonies that much of the present Chinese population of Yün-nan has sprung.

I went in and saw the two officers. They complained that they were very much bored at having to live in this out-of-the-way place on the hill-tops, far away from all civilisation. They told me there had been a good deal of fighting about here a few years before, and that there had formerly been a large La-hu village at Nan-cha, which the Chinese had destroyed.

000 We continued our march the same day and had a descent of 3000 feet through fir woods. We had not gone

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

000 salt from the Wei-yüan[1] salt wells to districts in Möng Lem and Keng Hung. From the further bank of the river a long bit of up-hill brought us within sight of the Mêng-pan plain lying three or four miles off to the north. Our road however did not enter it but descended in an easterly direction to Mêng-lêng, a village with a mixed population of Chinese and Shans.

P 291 Here I first came across another change in the dress of the Shan women. The jacket, which is dark or light blue, is folded back across the front like a low cut waistcoat, and is tucked inside the petticoat which is usually of a greenish grey colour but occasionally dark blue. This is fastened round the waist by a strip of cloth which is often bright red. The turban is dark blue put on in a round shape and is much smaller than that worn by other Chinese Shans. The earrings they wear are large plain silver rings. This dress I found universal in Möng Pan (Mêng-pan), Möng Ka (Mêng-ka), Möng Waw (Wei-yüan), and other places east P [197] of the Mekong. The dialect of these trans-Mekong Shans also differs somewhat from that spoken elsewhere.

The men's dress is the usual dark blue. It is a noticeable fact that among the non-Chinese tribes of western China it is the women's dress that forms the distinguishing outward sign of the tribe. The men of all these races, with few exceptions, dress very much alike, the dark blue coat and trousers of the pattern worn by the lower classes of the Chinese being almost universal.

S ● 712 The next day we reached Mêng-chu, a place of 100 houses in a small plain. It is now inhabited by Chinamen and Panthays, but its name indicates its Shan origin and it is still under the Shan sawbwa of Mêng-pan, who is subordinate to the Chinese official of Wei-yüan. There is a Chinese garrison here of nominally 80 men under a *Shou-pi*.

000 Two days chiefly through fir woods in a hilly country inhabited by Chinamen brought us to the Wei-yüan Chiang[2], a river 60 yards wide and in the dry season only knee deep. It runs down from the town from which it takes its name, and eventually joins the Mekong. Its

[1] Called Möng Waw by the Shans.
[2] Called Nam Waw by the Shans.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

We had two more days of hilly walking, with occasional glimpses of the Wan-tien plain below us to the east, and then turning in a westerly direction we went down 3000 feet to the little plain which the Chinese call Mêng-po-lo and the Shans Möng Maw. Here I pitched my tent in the courtyard of the Shan monastery which stands on the bank of the Yung-ch'ang river among magnificent trees.

This place lies at an elevation of 2,300 feet, and is not far above the river's junction with the Salween. The inhabitants are all Shans, and the plain very small and poor. It is only remarkable as being one of the few places in Yün-nan low enough to grow cotton. The crop is dependent on a good rainy season, and the amount produced is quite insignificant.

On the 27th December we forded the Yung-ch'ang river and had the usual stiff climb out of the valley. We travelled for three days over a very hilly country to Mêng-p'êng[1], a little plain containing three or four Chinese and one La village. There was also a recently constructed fort here with a small garrison of Chinese soldiers.

The country we had passed through between Mêng-po-lo and Mêng-p'êng is chiefly inhabited by Chinese and Lo-los, but we met on the road one day some people whose women I recognised by their white pleated kilts as belonging to the Miao tribe whom I had previously seen in the Southern Shan States. They told us there were only a few villages of their race in this neighbourhood, and that they had emigrated from Kuei-chou province thirty or forty years ago.

This tribe I have come across in many places scattered about Western China and the Shan States, though nowhere in very large communities. I have seen them as far north as the Tibetan State of Mi-li and as far south as Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States. Westward I have not heard of them beyond the neighbourhood of Taw-nio. All these people, I believe, originally come from the southern part of Kuei-chou province, where they still inhabit a large tract of country, ruled by semi-independent chiefs of their own race. Miao or Miao-tzŭ is the name the Chinese have

[1] Möng Hpawng in Shan.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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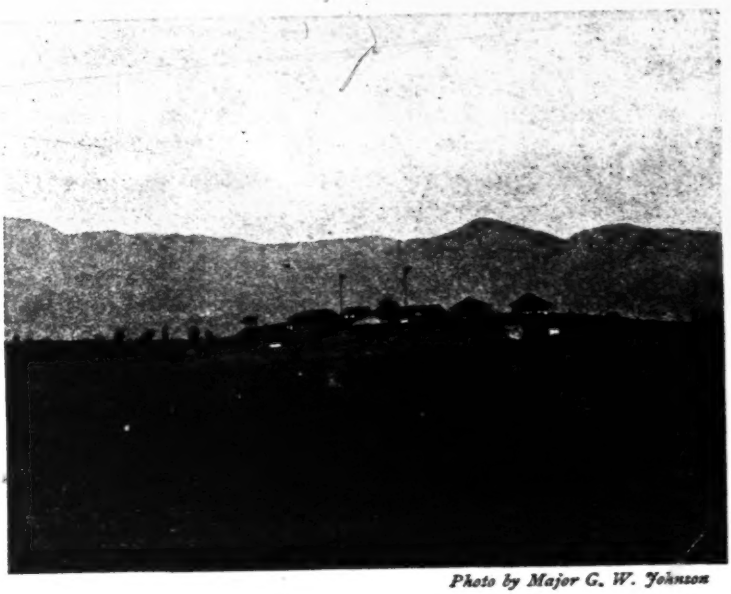

Photo by Major G. W. Johnson

Taw-nio Fort

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

Ch'üan-kang ferry

Plate XXX

[Face p. 132]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four
177 others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who
[304] still use their own language, but have in other respects
adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women
[249] binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had
•712 been on my former visit. In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 on the next day, the 23rd February, our road led up a very stony, little-cultivated valley hedged in by steep hills on
• 712 each side. Every mile or so along this road are little forts as a protection to travellers from Lo-lo raids, but they only have garrisons of two or three men each, and no one seems to anticipate any danger.

703 In one of these forts I saw some more regulations written up after the manner of those of the T'ung-an-chou army. They were as follows:—

If when ordered out to fight, any soldier says he is afraid to go—To be beheaded.

If a soldier gets too old to fight—To be discharged.

For smoking opium—To be discharged.

I have little doubt that nine-tenths of both officers and men are confirmed opium smokers.

361 Passing the little town of Mien-shan about halfway, we reached Têng-hsiang-ying in the afternoon. This is a
342 fortified village of some 150 houses, and is the head-quarters of the major who commands all the troops in the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. It is built just where the narrow valley gets still narrower, and is at a height of 7,850 feet, 2,200 feet above Lu-ku, though the rise is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. The roofs of the houses here are made of planks kept in their places by large stones placed on top of them. This is a style of roof I found not uncommon in parts of western Ssŭ-ch'uan.

000 On the 24th February we crossed the Hsiao-hsiang-ling pass. The top I made exactly 10,000 feet. There were only a few patches of snow in shady places, but the last three or four days had been sunny; no doubt in cloudy weather the whole top of the pass would be in snow at this time of year. The ascent from the south is very gradual. In fact it is, without exception, the easiest road up a high range that I have ever seen in western China. The descent on the northern side is however steep, the road falling at the rate of 1000 feet in a mile.

The top of the pass is in a saddle, so Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a hill 1000 feet higher and got a fairly good view of the country round. To the east is a mass of high and steep ranges inhabited by the Independent Lo-los.

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Plate LV.

/224C/

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The tallest deio tower still standing in Kin tschuan.)

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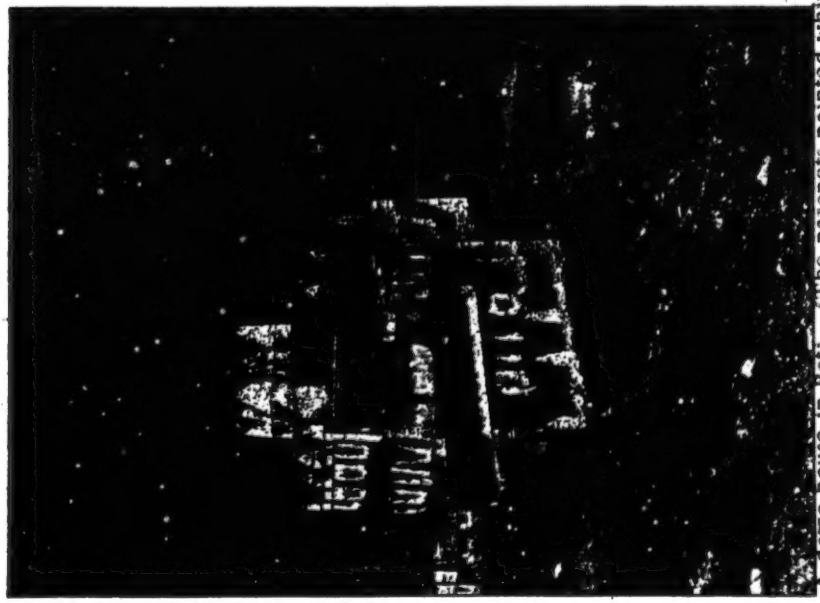

A daro house in Batl. (The parapets painted white with slaked lime are typical for houses in Kin tschuan.)

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

post-haste on news reaching the town that the Tong-wa Tibetans, who live in Hsi-k'ang 西康 to the north of Chung-tien, are on the war-path. These *people not only loot in and around Chung-tien, Bbĕr-ddĕr, etc.*, but they often cross the Yangtze and invade Li-chiang territory, as in 1922, when they burned the town of Ta-ku, and killed many people, shooting the girls, who had climbed trees to avoid falling into their hands, like pigeons off the branches. When I visited Ta-ku shortly afterwards I found the town in a terrible state; many girls had broken limbs which had ulcerated and were beyond hope. In 1933 the Tibetans came again, but satisfied themselves by occupying Chung-tien for a considerable time, whence they undertook raiding expeditions in various directions. 631

The present native ruler of Bbĕr-ddĕr is of the rank of Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant), and besides Bbĕr-ddĕr rules also over his own district called Ha-ba (Ha-pa), to the south. His family name is Yang 楊. His Mohammedan ancestors came originally from Shan-hsi province. They lived in Ta-li, but escaped during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856 and fled to Chung-tien. He again is under the immediate control of the Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Chiliarch, Lieutenant) of Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, also of the name of Yang, though they are not related. Both positions are hereditary. The latter is directly under the magistrate of Chung-tien, who is usually an absentee. Yang Pa-tsung of Ha-pa is a half-breed, his mother being a Tibetan woman and his father a Chinese Mohammedan. The latter was killed by Tibetan bandits in a raid which they were making into his territory. Unfortunately, the present ruler, who is addicted to opium, lacks all the qualities necessary to control such a district, and one can but pity the poor peasants who have to look to such an individual for help in time of stress. It is impossible for a magistrate to remain or keep order, unless he has a large force of regular troops to rely on for protection. The few militia soldiers, with antiquated, rusty rifles, and bullets which often do not fit the barrel, are no protection against the wild hordes of Tong-wa Tibetans, who are usually well armed.

Strange as it may seem, these Tibetan bandits were often armed by Chinese generals, residing in Ning-yüan fu, Ssu-ch'uan, under whose nominal jurisdiction they come. The generals, being interested mainly in money, sold their old rifles to the highest bidders, in this case the Tibetans and Lo-lo on the Yün-nan border. In 1931 when I was in Yung-ning, the good Tsung-kuan 總管 who, unfortunately for his country, has passed on to the Great Beyond, complained to me bitterly about the sale of arms to the wild Tibetans and Lo-lo by the Ning-yüan generals. They had actually sent for the Tibetans, sold them their surplus or old rifles, and given them a *hu-chao* 護照 (passport) and even a Chinese escort to prevent their being molested *en route*. The King of Mu-li (Mi-li) did not wish them to pass through his territory, but could not refuse them transit in view of their passes from the Ning-yüan generals, under whose jurisdiction the Mu-li King comes. 579 713

In 1929 Ch'en 陳,[2] the Tsung-pan 總辦 of Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung River in Ssu-ch'uan, sent many loads of rifles, commandeering peasants on the road to carry them to Yung-ning in Yün-nan, to be sold to whoever had the money

[2] He was murdered by the Communists in April, 1934, when the latter passed through Ssu-ch'uan from Yün-nan.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

579 713 to buy them for more than 100 dollars silver apiece with 25 rounds of ammunition. In order that they should not fall into the hands of the Lo-lo or Tibetans the rulers of Yung-ning had to buy as their finances allowed. When Ch'en Tsung-pan and his party were in Yung-ning on their way towards Li-chiang to sell their remaining rifles, the Gangkar-ling Tibetans, having learned of their presence there with arms for sale, came post-haste to Yung-ning, followed and overtook them at a village to the south. They then attacked them in order to capture the arms. Ch'en, who had some Ssu-ch'uan soldiers with him, resisted, keeping up a constant fire and using up all the ammunition which was to be sold with the rifles. The Tibetans retreated and finding a Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 Tibetan caravan which was returning from Li-chiang, attacked and robbed it. Under such conditions, the poor unarmed peasants have indeed a difficult existence.

505 *487 From the south there are three approaches to the Ha-pa and Bbĕr-ddĕr territories, but the Yangtze must be crossed no matter where one enters them, coming from Yün-nan. The quickest way to reach the district used to be by way of Ta-ku immediately north of Li-chiang, two stages distant. A ferry plied there, but, since the Tibetan bandits used it to cross over to Li-chiang in 1922, it has been destroyed and there is now no intercourse with Ha-pa, at least not from the Ta-ku side. People do cross on goatskin rafts which are hastily constructed, but the skins are kept on the Chung-tien side, none being available at Ta-ku. Thus to cross from the Ta-ku side, although the easiest approach, is now impossible (1932). This still held good in 1944.

*489 The second best approach, only feasible in the summer, is via the pass called Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 (Snow gate cut) over the mountain near Bbĕr-ddĕr to the west. The valley which leads to it from the Bbĕr-ddĕr side is called Gyi-na lo (Black water gulch). From the pass a trail leads west to the Yangtze above Ch'iao-t'ou (Bridge head). From autumn to spring the pass is deep in snow, and many have lost their lives in trying to cross in the winter season.

The third and longest and most difficult approach is the one by the Yangtze gorges. When mentioning the Yangtze gorges, those known to the tourists at I-ch'ang 宜昌 come into mind, but let it be said that the latter can never be compared with the gorge the Yangtze has cut for itself through the Li-chiang Snow range. Having always wished to explore the gorge through the Yü-lung Shan, I took this route to Bbĕr-ddĕr, and it is this which I shall describe. Bacot is said to have traversed the gorge, but he says little or next to nothing about it, and mentions it as being 2,000 metres deep. It is much more than that, and 10,000 feet is about right.

2. FROM NV-LV-K'Ö TO THE MOUTH OF THE YANGTZE GORGE

Nv-lv-k'ö (At the foot of the snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村[3] as the Chinese call it, is situated at the end of the north-western branch of the

[3] (Hsüeh) Sung is the highest and central peak of the Wu-yo 五嶽 (Five sacred mountains) on which the ancient emperors worshipped Shang-ti (God). The Sung peak lies in Ho-nan fu in the province of Ho-nan, on the watershed between the Yellow and the Han Rivers. As the title of Pei-yo (North sacred mountain) had been bestowed on the Yü-lung Shan, the village lying at its foot was given the name Sung, which also stands for eminent and lofty.

•7/3 Protection Levy. The soldiers[1] were chiefly from Hu-nan and Ssŭ-ch'uan provinces. The men were good enough, but they were wretchedly armed. Among a hundred men one might see ten different sorts of weapon, from the most modern rifles to flint and steel muzzle-loaders. Cartridges are served out anyhow, and a man often gets ammunition that does not fit his rifle. They therefore like getting weapons of as big a bore as possible. A small cartridge wrapped round with rags or paper can be got into a big bore rifle and might go off, but a big cartridge with a small rifle is naturally hopeless.

7/2 On the 23rd a fairly good road, still through the hills, brought us to Shih-t'i, a fort commanded by Ma, a Panthay or Chinese Mahommedan, who formerly raised and commanded a band of men of his own and used to escort trading caravans through this part of the Kachin country, getting paid by the merchants. Now that the Chinese Government had taken over the safe-guarding of the road, he had been given the rank of an officer in the Trade Protection Levy.

Just before entering the fort we passed between two Kachins' heads in little baskets, stuck on poles on each side of the road. The Chinese told us they could not walk far from their forts alone. Only three or four months before this a Chinese non-commissioned officer had been murdered on the road.

At Sare P'êng, the Chinese deputy who had been with us all the time, left for Momien. He had been most civil and friendly, and we had got on excellently with him and were very sorry to part from him.

On the 24th a steep downhill road took us to the Nampaung, a mountain stream 30 yards wide, which forms the boundary between Burma and China, and we said good-bye to Colonels Liu and Wang and climbed up to the British fort, garrisoned then by a detachment of the 3rd Burma Infantry under Lieut. Whitehead. A hilly march to Myothit and a boat journey of 7½ hours down the Taping brought us into Bhamo on the 26th January, 1894.

[1] [garrison of Sare, Kachin Hills.-- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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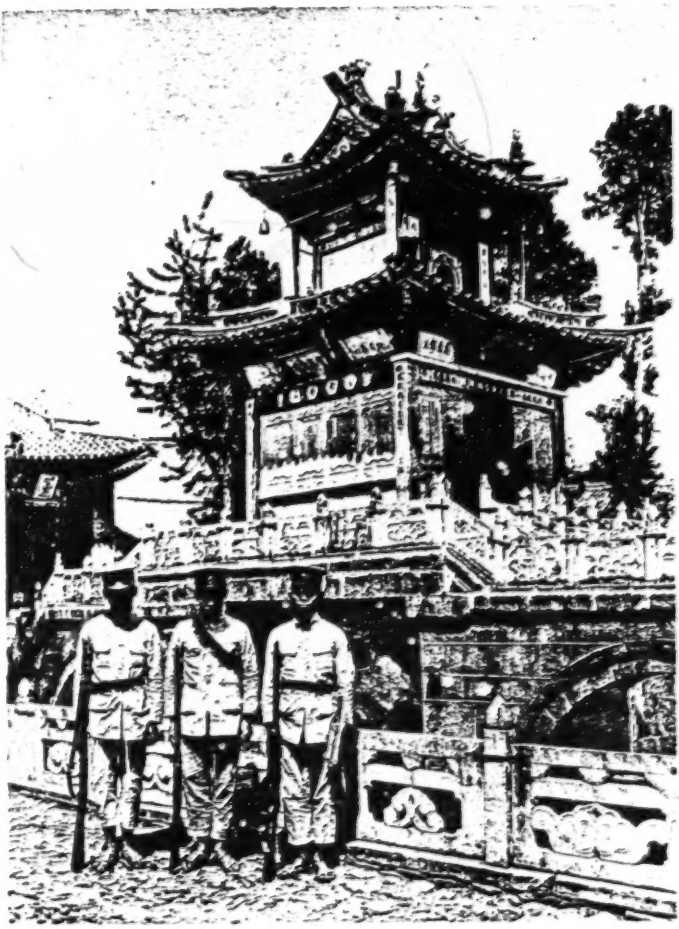

PLATE 5. — KUAN-YIN SSU BETWEEN HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI

大石庵下關大理之間

The shrine is built over a rock (seen behind the soldier on the right) which is supposed to have been carried here by the Goddess of Mercy, disguised as an old woman. Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺, or Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, is thus also known as Ta-shih An, Great Rock Shrine.

[p. 28 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border
Peoples AE3

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PLATE 82.—WARRIOR DRESSED IN HLI-KHIN ARMOR

古康俗鎧士裝甲

Dressed in armor made of pigskin blades, lacquered red, wearing a helmet of iron segments, Hli-khin and Hsi-fan warriors, danced at Nga-ha prior to their attacking Li-chiang in the 12th century.

[p. 156 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 175.—A TIBETAN SOLDIER FROM A-TUNG

西藏古宗兵

He is armed with flintlock gun and sword; his garment is of P'u-lu (Tibetan woolen cloth) and his boots of felt with leather soles.

[p. 330 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 239. — A NA-KHI SOLDIER OF O-YÜ, NOW SERVING THE MU-LI T'U-SSU

一木蘆土司的護卫兵

The Na-khi of O-yü are the descendants of professional soldiers who guarded the region, which from 1406 to 1729 was ruled by Na-khi chiefs. They were said to have been placed there by Mu Sheng-pai. Many are now soldiers in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's tribal guard. He wears a panda skin as headdress.

[p. 426-0]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

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Photo by Major H. R. Davies

A Chinese Shan soldier

Plate III

[Face p. 20]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 Mr and Mrs Stevenson, and some other members of the China Inland Mission, who most kindly gave us much assistance in many ways. We were also fortunate enough to meet Mr Archibald Colquhoun, who has travelled much in China and other countries of the Far East, and had now come through Kuei-chou from the Yangtze and was on his way down to Tong-king. Mr Jensen, the Superintendent of Telegraphs, was away inspecting the line when we arrived, but soon afterwards came in. It was a great pleasure to renew acquaintance with him.

Our quarters at the inn were anything but pleasant, as the whole place smelt abominably, so Mr Stevenson kindly arranged that on Mr Colquhoun's departure we should go into the quarters he was occupying—a very nice little house in a small garden where we were free from all noise.

361 The town of Yün-nan Fu is by far the largest in the province. It is surrounded by a fine brick wall, 30 feet high, and measuring about 4½ miles round. As usual in Chinese cities, a very large part of the population live in the suburbs, which extend to a considerable distance round three sides of the town. I should estimate the population, including suburbs, to be about 80,000, but this is not much more than a guess and I will not guarantee its accuracy.

The plain extends some 35 miles to the south and contains several other towns, but a large part of it is 505 taken up by the K'un-yang Lake. There is a good deal of navigation by large sailing-boats on this lake, both for the conveyance of passengers and cargo, and by means of a canal things can be brought right up to the west gate of the city.

•719 Mr Jensen took us one day to see the arsenal. This is in charge of Chinamen, who have learnt their work from Europeans at Nanking or Shanghai. They make Krupp guns, Nordenfeldts, and rifles and cartridges. The machinery was worked by steam, but they had no steam hammers, so that the work is not likely to be first-rate. What they were making principally at the time of our visit was an enormously heavy rifle, between six and seven feet long, for two men to fire. The man in front rests it on his shoulder while the man behind fires it. These weapons, they explained to us, are meant to defend the city walls.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•719 The nominal head of the arsenal was also in charge of the Yün-nan telegraphs. He was a stout, pleasant old Manchu gentleman, who did not pretend to know anything whatever about either telegraphs or arsenals.

132 The weather since we left Ch'u-hsiung had been getting a little warm, but in Yün-nan Fu we had quite a change. A heavy thunderstorm ended in a fall of snow, which lay on the ground two inches deep for some hours. The height of Yün-nan Fu I made 6,700 feet, and its climate is never hot, 85° in the shade being about the maximum summer temperature. There are frosts in winter, but no very severe weather is ever experienced.

669 The second field army under Liu Po-ch'eng coming from Shansi and Shensi encountered the Nationalist army on the border of Hupeh, Hunan, and Szechwan. This army was under the command of Sung Hsi-lien, who tried to stop the Communist advance. A battle took place between them, and Liu succeeded in destroying Sung's main force at I-ch'ang and Sha-shih and in crossing the Yangtze River. Liu, not satisfied with this partial success, continued the pursuit of Sung's army to Kweichow and Szechwan.

While Hu Tsung-nan's army was on the way to Chengtu, in the west of Szechwan, it was threatened on both sides: on the northern side by P'eng, and on the southeastern side by Liu. Hu Tsung-nan tried to escape to Ya-an and Hsi-ch'ang, but as Lin's army had already entered Yunnan after the surrender of Governor Lu Han, Liu crossed the border of Yunnan and annihilated Hu's army in Hsi-ch'ang, while Hu himself excaped by plane. Thus the Nationalist Army was completely wiped out.

• 721 Tibet, which was then a buffer state between China and British India, was still beyond the reach of the Chinese Communists. Liu Po-ch'eng raised the question of Tibet at a meeting of the Southwest Military and Political Committee held on July 27, 1950 and announced that the Tibetan campaign would follow quickly in order to get rid of Anglo-American imperialism. Following this declaration, the Communist Army

72 marched into Tibet from both neighboring provinces, Sikang and Tsinghai. The battle of Ch'ang-tu cleared the way for the march to Lhasa. In May 1951, an agreement of peaceful solution was signed by the Tibetan and Chinese delegates in Peking. Thus the military conquest of the Southwest came to an end with an extension of Chinese sovereignty to Tibet.

63 In the first period of conquest by the Chinese Communists, this region was divided into eight units: namely, (1) Ch'uan-tung (East Szechwan), (2) Ch'uan-hsi (West Szechwan), (3) Ch'uan-nan (South Szechwan), (4) Ch'uan-pei (North Szechwan), (5) Yunnan, (6) Kweichow, (7) Sikang, and (8) the Special Municipality -- Chungking.

After two years, the four sections of Szechwan were reassembled into one province as before. Sikang, which had been considered attached to Tibet long ago and declared a separate province only in 1928, was now incorporated into Szechwan. Chungking's status as a special municipality under the Peking government, was cancelled. Thus today the Southwest Region comprises only the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan

II. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

423 The first program of this period was based on the eight points[1] announced by Mao Tse-tung in the third session of the seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party held on June 6, 1950

1. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Gov't Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

From here it ascends and leads over a narrow pass high above the river. The cliffs are densely wooded and very steep; at the pass itself stone barricades had been erected with loopholes, to prevent Tibetan brigands from paying their annual visits to this part and to within sight of Li-chiang itself, for the purpose of looting and burning. A little beyond the pass on the plain is the Chinese village of Pai-feng-ch'iang 白粉墻 (H-M., Befeng djiang), in the Li-chiang records written 白粉嶂. The distance to this village from Shang-ko-tzu is 45 li. About 15 li beyond is the village of Wu-hou-p'o 武侯坡. 487* 133* 137*

Thirty li from Pai-feng-ch'iang we reach the hamlet of La-dsu-lo (H-M., Ladsulö). The trail passes through groves of *Quercus variabilis*, over rocky slopes, and along steep mountain-sides, over landslides and boulders — the path being positively dangerous.

La-dsu-lo is situated at the mouth of a long valley which extends deeply into the western watershed. A good-sized stream flows here into the Yangtze, crossed by a stone-arch bridge. Beyond La-dsu-lo are fine broad rice-fields through which the trail winds, the valley floor being quite broad but narrowing beyond, the trail following close to the river bank and somewhat above it. Here in the Yangtze is a long, sandy grass-covered island where natives are busy washing gold in the most primitive way.

Passing through scrub oaks and by sandstone boulders, we reach an old temple, whence one can see Chü-tien across the broad expanse of the river valley, while, beyond, a blue ridge practically closes the valley, save for an outlet for the river from the north.

5. CHÜ-TIEN 巨甸

The trail now follows the mountain, leaving the Yangtze and entering the valley of its tributary, the Chü-tien Ho (Hsin-i Ho 新移河), which has its source in the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 hills. A stone bridge crosses it and one trail leads north from here to Chü-tien, while another to the left leads to Lu-tien 魯甸 and Wei-hsi 維西.

Chü-tien, called Kün-dü (Kun-sdud)[25] in Tibetan, and Gkv-dü in Na-khi, situated at an elevation of 6,450 feet, is a dusty, miserable place; the upper or northern half of the town had been burned by Tibetan brigands. 721 ●

Like their ancestors whose depredations are recorded in the Mu Chronicle, the Tibetans still invade this territory, burn, rob, and loot to their hearts' content, for there are no more native Shih-men guards to keep them back, as in the days of old. These hordes can only be held in check by troops which are occasionally rushed up from Ta-li with machine-guns, usually much too late and after the Tibetans have done their depredations and have retreated into their mountain fastnesses, where the Chinese soldiers are unable to pursue them.

To Chü-tien belongs a lamasery named Hsing-hua Ssu 興化寺, called in Tibetan, Theg-chhen-dar-rgyas gling pronounced The-chhen dar-gye-ling.[26] It is situated north-west of the Chü-tien plain, 10 li from the town. [778]

At Chü-tien (Major Davies, Ch'i-tien; H-M., Tjü-tien) the river is very 487* 133* 137*

[25] ཀུན་སྡུད།

[26] ཐེག་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང།

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

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In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

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Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Mêng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

S 636 634 Sh 631 648 twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wu-tei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which Sh 669 joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey, in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

Sw 133 636 241 563 Sh 631 241 In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma. The northward-looking view is from approximately above Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area constitutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yun-nan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as Sw 721 648 old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo. It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

162 4. A separate survey conducted during January-June 1947 in two large cities in this region further indicated that the age of fathers at the birth of first child was 20-35, and for mothers, 20-25. The mortality rate was highest in the 0-5 and 50-60 age groups. Pulmonary and typhoid diseases took the heaviest toll.'

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

166 The Southwest Region is singular in China's history of internal migration in that it has seen two large-scale migrations into this region within the past five hundred years. The first mass migration took place when the population of Szechwan Province was nearly exterminated during the chaos that marked the end of the Ming Dynasty (circa A.D. 1640). The succeeding authorities decreed migrations from Hunan and Hupeh provinces east of this region and encouraged voluntary migration from any area by promising land to the settlers. Over 1,700,000 settlers were recorded in the period[14] 1667-1707. [722] The second mass migration occurred after the 1937 Japanese invasion of China, when a huge number of people fled the northern and the coastal provinces west of this region. The latter migration is discussed in Chen Ta's Population of Modern China, which includes an analysis of

14. Lou Yün-lin, op. cit., p. 36.

Annex "A," Subparagraph li,
Sociological Background

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

538 184 Intellectual and artistic expression is interpreted in this chapter to mean the communication of ideals and ideas through creative and academic writing, painting, the plastic arts, dancing, and music.

The Chinese written language is the vehicle for official business and creative expression in all parts of China. Therefore the bulk of the creative and academic writing of the Southwest Region of China does not differ from that produced in China as a whole. In the past cultural activities originating in Peking and Shanghai stirred up cities like Chungking, Chengtu, and Kunming in the Southwest as well; and the support from these citie gave cultural movements originating in coastal [722] cities a national appearance. During the war with Japan, these Southwestern cities became wartime Chinese cultural centers, as the sites of the wartime campuses of the best Chinese universities. The identification of the bulk of the creative and academic writings of the Southwest with that of the Chinese nation is particularly true today when the nation is ruled by a centralized government and when all cultural innovations emanate from Peking.

538 The Chinese, especially the Chinese Communists often speak of literature and the arts as one. In the Communists' policy statements, what pertains

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

871 It is to be noted that Southwest China, 222 unlike other regions, had an opportunity to expand educational facilities during World War II when many schools in North and East China were forced to move to the interior.

II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

871 Mao Tse-tung stated in his work On New Democracy, that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "New China," Mao believed that the education program in China would be successful if it contained "scientific substances, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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results after ninety years of effort, was to reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936.[81] This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

The Sino-Japanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north and central China. At the war's end, the

81. Damobriena, p. 83.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. BACKGROUND

722
744 During the War of Resistance against Japan, while a major part of China was under the domination of Japan and Japanese-controlled puppet governments, Southwest China emerged as the base of operations of the Chinese government. The city of Chungking in Szechwan Province became China's wartime capital. With the air-route over the Himalayas and the opening of the Burma Road, the Southwest Region also furnished China important lines of communication with the outside world. Following the moving of government to Chungking, government organizations and workers moved in. Taking refuge from the Japanese, numerous educational and cultural institutions moved to the Southwest and settled in their temporary quarters in Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and Sikang. Although this worked hardship on both the natives and the newcomers, it gave an opportunity for a cultural fusion which was a great benefit to the Southwest. Along with this cultural invasion, modern medical and health organizations were given a chance to spread and expand at a faster pace in this region of China.

181 adapt to change, and less likely to show enthusiasm for the Communist program. The rich, who have more to lose, are generally more dissatisfied with the Communist regime than their poorer countrymen. These patterns of attitudes tend to cut across occupational stratification. In view of the technical limitations imposed on this discussion, occupational stratification will be used, with allowance for the exceptions within each category.

I. FARMERS

565 184 The rich absentee-landowners of China, whose social status ranks with that of government bureaucrats and whose interests are identified with those of rich merchants, are all but nonexistent in Mainland China today. The Chinese farmer class consists chiefly of poor peasants and "middle farmers" holding small lots of land. These people have had little opportunity to identify themselves with the state or its destiny. Especially in Southwest China, where warlords ruled until the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, the development of a national feeling among the farmers has been late and slow. However, the cessation 565 722 of what used to be perpetual skirmishes between 184 warlords and the presence of a single centralized authority during World War II furnished many farmers in this region with a basis on which to form a concept of nationalism. Although no part of Southwest China was overrun by Japanese troops, the experiences of enemy bombings, anti-Japanese propaganda, and contact with refugees made

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of cooperatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

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177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

6: Liao S-5 (1943-1945)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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government, the society will provide and pay for a substitute to confess to the crime and to suffer the consequences in his stead.

Another reason for the continued existence of the Ko Lao Hui in Szechuan is the confusion and disorder which have prevailed there in recent years. During the war the central government, which had established its capital in Szechuan and was anxious to avoid unnecessary unrest, encouraged the provincial government in its lax administration. The attitude of compromise adopted toward most problems fostered the development of localism and gave the Ko Lao Hui an opportunity to increase the scope and variety of its activities to a point where it interfered with many aspects of government administration. In any case, government in Szechuan has been so corrupt for so long that the people have no confidence in it.[11] The war years simply aggravated popular dissatisfaction with and distrust of the government, so that any new official measure is received with suspicion. The people have become accustomed to managing their affairs and settling their disagreements by extra-governmental means. It is natural for them to turn to the local Ko Lao Hui branch director, who represents, in theory at least, the virtues of brotherhood, filial piety and proper behavior toward women. Thus the director has become not only the possessor of power but a symbol of righteousness as well. Disagreements between non-members of the society, as well as between members, are now commonly referred to him for settlement.

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The Ko Lao Hui is not a political party, nor does it entertain any pretensions regarding the shaping of national policy—so long as the interests of its middle-class founders are not endangered. Thus far Ko Lao Hui political activities have remained defensive. Individual members may occupy important government posts, but the society as a whole remains aloof from Kuomintang party politics. The society has voiced sharp criticism of Communism, which it regards as inimical to middle-class interests. While adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude toward politics,

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[11] The demobilization, in the closing years of the Sino-Japanese war, of many Szechuanese troops without adequate provision for their reemployment greatly swelled the number of undesirable members of the society, and in turn made things more difficult for the government. The possession by society members of an extraordinarily large number of small arms aggravates the situation. In the course of his investigation of two districts near Chengtu, the author learned that nearly every member of the Ko Lao Hui in those localities owned a pistol or a rifle. In Chengtu district one out of every two members possessed such arms without a license. Leaders not infrequently had late-model machine guns.

178 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of
822 China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

185 Since the migration of the National government into the
654 Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible
241 plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry
314 resources of the Basin. Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of

669 Political Committee and commanding general of the Second Field Army.[3]

669 727 Another factor that contributed to the nature of the "bandit-suppression campaigns" in the Southwest was the large number of Nationalist troops that surrendered to the Communists in this region. The Communists claim they accepted the surrender of 900,000 Nationalist soldiers in Southwest China -- 400,000 of them in organized units and the remainder in scattered groups or as individuals. Part of the captured forces were reorganized and relocated as Communist units, but large numbers were discharged and ordered to their homes. Some of this latter group remained at large to create serious problems for the Communists, including reported participation in open rebellions during 1950 and 1951.

669 725 Communist military campaigns in the Southwest against the remnants of Nationalist

3. Report of Liu Po-ch'eng, Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-Kao Hui-Pien, 1950, [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, People's Press, 1951, pp. 989-91.

669 725 forces and robber gangs were conducted in the same manner as in other regions. Elements of the regular Red Army encircled the opposing forces, while Party cadres organized and indoctrinated local militias. The combined Communist forces then cut the opposition into small groups and destroyed the main body of resistance. The mopping up of isolated elements was entrusted to the local militia, permitting large numbers of regular troops to be shifted to pacified rural areas for political work.

669 Within the general pattern of "bandit-suppression" strategy, different timing and tactics were employed in each province to meet the varying conditions encountered by the Communists. The work of eliminating armed resistance in Szechwan was undertaken within four special districts.[4] Counter-revolutionary activity organized by Kuomintang elements and aided by professional bandits, as the Communists described it, seems to have posed the greatest threat in the southern and eastern special districts of Szechwan. Simultaneous campaigns launched during the spring of 1950 in the four special

4. For reports of the work of the four special districts in Szechwan, see Compendium of Government Reports 1950, pp. 1025-70.

668 been entirely eliminated. He called for continued efforts to detect and suppress Nationalist intelligence agents, "bandits," and landlords, and for concentration on the strengthening of the "democratic reform movement" and the establishment of public security committees.

726
669 2. Suppression of Nationalist Spies. The threat of Nationalist expionage in Southwest China was greatest at the time the Communists assumed power in the region. The Communists not only reported 80,000 Nationalist intelligence workers at large in the region, but also claimed their influence and operations extended to the remnants of Nationalist forces, "bandit" units, and secret societies in Southwest China. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity of ridding the region of these spies to assure the well being of the new regime.

During 1950, the Communists concentrated on the disbanding of Nationalist espionage organizations and obtaining the surrender and arrest of spies. In the western Szechwan special district, the Communist authorities reported the surrender of 2,000 spies and the arrest of 318 others in the first half of 1950. During the same period in the southern Szechwan special district,

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726 669 2,451 spies were arrested and 1,200 gave themselves up, according to Communist sources. Throughout the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951, further efforts were made to apprehend Nationalist intelligence personnel. As one means to this end, the Communists required that all former Kuomintang officials and army officers above the rank of captain register with public security agencies. The officers who complied were placed under surveillance.

Despite the emphasis placed on uncovering spies during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement, relatively few of the cases dealt with during the campaign involved espionage. In the eastern Szechwan special district, of all prosecuted cases, 79 per cent dealt with "bandits" and "local despots" and only a small percentage concerned intelligence workers.[13]

Counterrevolutionary activities, including Nationalist espionage operations, have received increased publicity since 1954. Three counterrevolutionary cases presented for mass trial in January 1955 at Chungking[14]

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13. Ibid., Dec. 4, 1951, p. 2.
14. People's Daily, Feb. 7, 1955, p. 3.

726 apparently were intended to convince the people
669 that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

726
668 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." Closely connected with the suppression of
798 Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

/190/ Through Li the secretary I received the first certain news about the theater of war in Ba tang where Tschao ör fong had for the past year been revenging the death of the resident minister who was murdered by the Tibetans in 1905. Nothing was made known about it in Hsining and we heard only vague reports about it in Tschendu and Dscherku ndo. According to these reports sometimes the Tibetans and then again the Chinese were said to be the victors. The Shensi merchants of Dscherku had urged me not to travel to Ta tsien lu and said that on account of this war they had not received any new goods. Even in Tschoktsen the merchants could not tell me whether the big tea route to Ta tsien lu was even open, and it was not until now that I heard some details about the situation and learned of the battles to which His Excellency Von Mumm had referred in his writings years before. T C 726

On April 17 in the late afternoon my cavalcade reached Tschanggu. We first came to the monastery bearing this name, then to the village, and finally to the old castle. All three are on the right bank on a broad terrace 200 meters above the river which makes a large bend here. The ascent up the Tschanggu mountain is steep. It was too much for two of my horses. Half way up my old white riding horse which I had bartered at the Hartschiu yurts from the young Rengan horse thiefs, suddenly hung its head. Even without its saddle it was unable to lift a foot, and succeeded in staggering down to the Tsa lung Chu Valley only after we had poured some brandy into it, but it died at a mill down in the valley. A second horse, a young chestnut from Lab gomba, developed a weak pulse and could not climb the mountain, but in the following night it recovered sufficiently so that it was brought to me in Tschanggu where I received just 10 rupees for it. With my final strength, therefore, I just succeeded in reaching the place where the first Chinese administrative official ruled. C 361

The Tschanggu mandarin's official title was "Lu ho tenn hsien," that is, colonial district of the Lu River. Thus, he was at the same time Tung ling, that is, officer. His yamen lay in the old Tu se castle; he occupied the sixth story. Cage gallows (mo lung) three meters high stood like sentinels in front of his gate. His sign-board consisted of heavy K'ang boards and little boxes like bird cages, except that they contained skulls of robbers instead of canaries, and announced to everyone that he was not a person to be fooled with. C 634

Two servants quickly appeared from behind the cage gallows. They were dressed in colored velvet and silk and requested me immediately to visit their da lao ye. Was it the sight of the grinning skulls that

669 Political Committee and commanding general of the Second Field Army.[3]

669 727 Another factor that contributed to the nature of the "bandit-suppression campaigns" in the Southwest was the large number of Nationalist troops that surrendered to the Communists in this region. The Communists claim they accepted the surrender of 900,000 Nationalist soldiers in Southwest China -- 400,000 of them in organized units and the remainder in scattered groups or as individuals. Part of the captured forces were reorganized and relocated as Communist units, but large numbers were discharged and ordered to their homes. Some of this latter group remained at large to create serious problems for the Communists, including reported participation in open rebellions during 1950 and 1951.

669 725 Communist military campaigns in the Southwest against the remnants of Nationalist

3. Report of Liu Po-ch'eng, Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-Kao Hui-Pien, 1950, [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, People's Press, 1951, pp. 989-91.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 organized during the busy farming seasons to care for an estimated 850,000 children of agricultural families.[33] In the Southwest Region, many factories were reported to have provided creches to care for the children of working mothers. In a report made in 1953, the total number of creches of this category was given as 77, caring for approximately 4,400 children.[34] For the region as a whole, this number is far too small to be considered adequate.

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 746 In relief work in Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been regarded with utmost seriousness and has been treated as relief work in the more usual sense. The welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families was specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the earliest documents adopted by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and of members of the revolutionary forces, who are in need, shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or

33. New China Daily, April 18, 1953, p. 4.
34. Ibid., May 30, 1953, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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729 746 retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with the means of livelihood or with occupation."[35] However, the nationwide campaign did not begin until late in 1950, which indicates that this necessity was caused by the warfare in Korea.[36] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime promulgated five sets of regulations relating to compassionate payments. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen; preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen killed in action or upon illness; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers injured or killed; and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service injured or killed.[37] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included receiving land and farming implements as well as government scholarships for their children, lower prices, discounts from commercial establishments, and so forth. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

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35. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign LanguagesPress, 1949, p. 10.

36. Relief Work p. 18.

37. New China Monthly, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

729
746 At the time of the Spring Festival in 1951, 10,000,000 people were rallied to take part in the campaign to honor servicemen and their families, according to a report made by the Department of Civil Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee. Festivals at the lunar New Year and again on August 1, the Chinese Communist Army Day, have since become annual affairs. Through the Government relief and rehabilitation program, the report claimed, many members of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen and many disabled veterans became local Party leaders, and members of Communist cadres and others were elected as delegates and committeemen to Communist conventions and assemblies. In the county of Tung-chiang[38] in Szechwan Province, as many as 963 cadres were chosen from among these people in 1953.

The system of substitute-tilling during the absence of responsible family members was promoted in most rural areas in the Southwestern provinces. Among the 7,040 families of "martyrs" and servicemen who lived in the rural districts in the Chungking municipality, 1,431 families were granted substitute tillers to cultivate their lands in 1952. In 71 other counties and municipalities of Szechwan,

38. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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729 746 according to the same report, out of a total of 209,813 families of "martyrs" and servicemen, 80,174 families were granted substitute tillers during 1951. However, the report also mentioned confused management and inadequate enforcement of this system in many places in the Southwest.[39] Apparently, much improvement is to be desired and substitute-tilling may always remain a source of dissatisfaction among the rural population.

In the cities in the Southwest Region as well as in all other regions, the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were organized for production and trained for employment. Statistics covering the cities of Chungking, Chengtu, Wanhsien and Nan-ch'ung in Szechwan Province, Kweiyang in Kweichow Province and Kunming in Yunnan Province, showed 102 organized production units involving 2,139 people, and further, that 9,550 people obtained employment through the efforts of the government. In addition, in 22 counties in southern Szechwan Province, 202 units were organized and 3,726 members of servicemen's families engaged in 729 746 659 production work. For those who were unable to work (as of June 1952), the regional government appropriated relief payments amounting

39. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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729 874 gone into construction work.[43] Some of these schools are in the Southwest, but the number and their locations are not known. According to their own criticism, expressed in Communist newspapers, Southwestern schools for disabled veterans are few in quantity and poor in quality.[44]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen had become participants in mutual-aid groups and cooperatives and many were elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or village cadres.[45] The People's Daily reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans were elected "labor heroes" in July 1954.

VII. CONCLUSION

746 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China, the emphasis is on production rather than the alleviation of suffering. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save

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43. Relief Work, p. 19.
44. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.
45. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 On November 9, 1943, China became a
657 member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CRRA) as a department of the Nationalist Government on the level of ministries, was established in January 1945, as was the China office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of relief and the rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] It was extremely unfortunate that peaceful projects of this sort did not continue; their efforts were suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the Mainland of China.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locusts and other harmful insects, frost, wind-storms, and hail-storms, have caused famines, beginning in the rural districts and spreading through the entire nation. According to one estimate, natural calamities, climaxed by the floods of 1954, affected many millions as shown

4. China Handbook, pp. 538-541.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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1949	60,000,000
1950	38,000,000
1951	28,000,000
1952	33,000,000
1953	47,000,000
1954	180,000,000

above.[5] No region has escaped entirely from these disasters. If there are differences between them, it is only a matter of degree.

In Southwest China, spring and summer droughts were severe in 1950 and 1951. Some 246 counties were affected and some 4,471,970 people faced starvation. Before this condition was remedied, the spring drought of 1952 affected 133 counties and another 2,000,000 were in danger of starvation.[6] In the Li-chiang special district there was a severe earthquake in 1951. As a result some 300 people died, 2,000 were injured, and 20,000

5. Kung-fei T'ung-chih Hsia-ti Wen-hua yü she-yüan [Cultural and Social Movements Under the Communist Rule], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1953, p. 103.

6. Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu Hou-ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1954, pp. 35-37.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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731 houses were destroyed. This calamity created 120,000 refugees.[7]

731 668 As if these were not enough, the people on the mainland of China were beset by a number of man-made adversities -- the land reform, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and warfare in Korea. About 90,000,000 people were affected.[8] Land Reform has been completed in 12,165 villages (about 82 per cent of the total area) in the Southwest Region, and the number of people involved in this violent change was estimated at 74,315,489, of which 3,715,774 were landowners. One estimate gives the number of casualties of these purges as follows:[9] some 2,600,000 landlords suffered from the land reform, with 148,430 put to death; some 2,500,000 died as counter-revolutionaries as the result of the Three-Anti

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

8. Kung-fei-ti Chiu-chi Kung-tso [Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists], *The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1955, pp. 2-3.

9. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 2-5.

*/ Hereinafter cited as Relief Work.

731 and Five-Anti campaigns, 272,800 men were
668 mobilized and sent to fight in Korea from the four southwest provinces. Among the prisoners of war who chose to go to Formosa rather than return to Communist China, 5,184 men were from Southwest China.[10]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

657 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the
744 Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, have been in name only, and little relief work has been accomplished.[11]

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun

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10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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746 carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. From this the Chinese Communist have not deviated. As a matter of fact, most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroad lines are undertaken, in part, by famine refugees, who thus are expected to pay in labor for government efforts to prevent starvation.[21]

746 73/ In an official report on relief work in 1952, the deputy chief of the Department of Civil Affairs of the Southwest Region gave some interesting slogans used by the government to rally the people in famine areas.[22] In order to ensure a good harvest, "one must get rid of the traditional belief of relying on nature (God or heaven) to live." "One must believe that men can conquer nature." In preventive measures against drought, the Southwest mobilized 30,000,000 people to build and repair waterways. In the southern part of Szechwan, 252,182 water-wheels were set up, and enough people were mobilized to tread them

21. Relief Work, pp. 9-12.

22. New China Daily, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 6.

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day and night. When 15 counties were faced with flood in East Szechwan, people were called out to fight the inundation and to build dikes. To exterminate insects, 1,560,000 people were mobilized in South Szechwan, and "260,000,000 insects amounted to some 70 tons in weight" were caught, according to the same report. Against the traditional spring and summer famine spells as many as 150 kinds of secondary production (usually handicrafts) were developed in the various parts of the Southwest. In reporting on the substitution of work for relief, it was revealed that in addition to the building of roads, railways, and dikes, the famine refugees also undertook the shipment of coal and salt and the building of granaries and army camps. In 1951, the report said, 200,000 refugees were engaged in cutting timber and in reforestation in southern Szechwan. Expanding the theme of self-help, the Communists advocated mutual-aid. In Southwest China there were drives to economize in order to be able to contribute for relief. Slogans demanded that everyone give each day a bowl of rice and a handful of vegetables for relief. In this way the cities contributed their share for the welfare of the rural areas, and even other administrative regions. The 1952 report also stated that in 1950 JMP$ 57,250,000,000 were contributed to the winter clothing fund for the refugees of northern Anhwei and

746 northern Kiangsu provinces in East China
by the people of the Southwest. In 1951, the
731 city people of East Szechwan contributed
JMP$ 425,000,000 and some 2,700,000 pounds
of food to the famine-stricken rural areas.[23]

464 In the cities, especially in the early period of the Communist regime, unemployment was an extremely serious problem. In the Southwest Region it was estimated that in 1952 about 2,600,000 people were unemployed or partly unemployed,[24] and as a result the Communist regime established a Labor Employment Committee in Peking as well as on the various levels in local governments. Under this committee the "registration of labor employment" was conducted. The following steps were taken to alleviate the problem of unemployment: (1) the centralization of employment agencies under the Labor Employment Committee, (2) the establishment of training courses, (3) the substitution of work for direct relief, (4) the advocation of self-help-through-production, (5) outright relief (only to cases of extreme hardship), and (6) a

23. Ibid.
24. Relief Work, p. 13.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

697 who had no professional training were formed into groups to reclaim waste land, repair or build municipal warehouses, and work on the highways.[27]

697 731 In Li-chiang hsien, Yunnan Province, a Reform-through-labor corps of 30,000 prisoners was employed to repair the damages of an earthquake in December 1952. With the help of the peasants in the area, they dredged 6 rivers, rebuilt more than 100 villages, dug 78 ditches, and constructed 87 water basins to irrigate 110,000 mou (about 16,610 acres) of rice field, which was returned to production by the prisoners.[28]

There are several Reform-through-labor camps in the suburbs of Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province. One is in T'an-hua-ssu, and contained 3,000 prisoners in 1954.[29]

V. COMMENTS

464 It is doubtful that the use of patriotic appeals in recruiting peasants to work on the construction of such projects as the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway would be successful again and again. The

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27. Sung Wei-ta, Hung-chieh Yü-sheng [Life After Red Terror], Taipei, 1955, p. 104.

28. Yün-nan Tung-nan-ya Ti Huo-san [Yunan--the Volcano of Southeast Asia], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, The Nationalist Party, May 1954, p. 31.

29. World Today, Aug. 1, 1954, p. 12.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li. 137 133 487

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買鋪, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).[20]

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village 731 137 133 487

[20] Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文案洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649–902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 險 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (*see* p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 甸. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522–1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 龍峪那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (*see* p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the former Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋羅, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 傍彌千, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (*Lang-k'ung hsien chih lüeh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

487 731 133 137 the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables. [508]

487 133 137 *Twelfth stage.* — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu is 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 蒙化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[21] marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[22]

[731] We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[21] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381).

[22] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 泰國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 33 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 5a, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are 361
two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built 344
by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐祐,[32] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua 344
lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks 731
of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuḍa, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model [539]
of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were 344
erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[33] Around the pagodas have

T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem 173
that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[32] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 勸. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[33] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yüan-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 巻韜徽義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

482 coolies take care of the lesser freight transport. They carry their burdens piled high on their shoulders. The carrying of larger burdens on horizontal spring poles as is customary in lower China, for example in Hu pe etc., is done only among individual itinerant craftsmen and specialists that come from a specific region of China and overflow into the western borderlands.

In Romi Tschanggu I had refused to ask the yamen for ula. I felt that it was not right for me as a foreigner to demand it. But the difficulties of the road piled up to such an extent that I very much regretted having been so considerate. The road was in much poorer condition than people had admitted and on the way I could get help for only short stretches and at high prices. I had so many accidents that finally I indicated those dates in my diary on which I did not experience some major mishap. It was also practically impossible to buy straw for the animals. And from the corn flour alone which we had to feed them, they developed colic. Thus, on June 16, I lost a horse from colic and barely cured two others.

782 During the night of the sixteenth and seventeenth an extremely heavy thunderstorm with a cloud burst descended on the valley. The echo of the thunderclaps in among the high rock walls would not cease and from all sides came the deluge. In an hour the river rose nearly one and one-half meters. The natives - I was staying with Chinese who lived in small huts by the wayside - lit their incense candles and stuck them on their door posts. In the short intervals between the thunder-claps their "crackers" could be heard incessantly and a thousand times they called out the name "Yü hwang ye" through the open door.

• 731 On the morning of the seventeenth we had scarcely gone two kilometers when the high muddy waves of the swollen Hsiao Kin tschuan Ho blocked our way inexorably. Waves one and one-half meters high flowed over the narrow path at the foot of steep valley walls. In an attempt to brave the obstacle, our guide barely escaped being washed away by the current, along with one of the horses. It meant waiting until the water had gone down, and since I had not been able to replenish my horse fodder at the last encampment, I stayed in my tent with the packs by the side of the river and sent Skewliu and Dardyi back empty to the Tschortensa gomba monastery which I had passed two days earlier (Plate LIII).

On June 18 the water rose even higher although meanwhile good weather had set in and the thermometer rose to +34° at noon. In the

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afternoon, just as I had longingly checked the water level with my gauge, the waves tossed up two coolie corpses one after the other. Two large packs bobbed on the surface like huge pork bladders, floating downstream, and on them hung the bodies /221/ of the unfortunate men, aimlessly wedged between tree trunks or hurled against rocks. 731

Finally on the 19th the water dropped about four feet. At the same time I had succeeded in rounding up 15 Chinamen who carried my packs. At some difficult and deep places the coolies were tied to a rope so that no one would be injured. Within two kilometers we reached the bridge of Dä hsin kiao where the largest part of the carriers had to be exchanged after Skewliu and Dardyi had safely returned with the unloaded animals. 487

Three kilometers farther on I struck the next obstacle of which not a soul had told me. Here a Mure /wall of silt?--Translator/ had been discharged across the road and the fields at the bottom of the valley, which stopped all traffic so that the animals sank up to their bellies at each step and I had to build a corduroy road in order to get them across. The going was easier along the river bank because there were more stones there. Brdyal tried to get my best K'am horse through there. But quite suddenly the animal came to a spot that was too soft and in it sank. With our combined efforts we finally succeeded in lifting it out, half choked. Fifteen minutes later it was dead.

After having worked from dawn on, we found ourselves, at four in the afternoon, just above the mud wall on a dry spot of the two-foot-wide road. The carriers from Dä hsin kiao now demanded their pay because they wanted to go back to eat and because the road was supposed to offer no further difficulties. Scarcely a few hundred feet farther up, however, the rain had washed out the road within a small gorge so completely that only pedestrians could get through and these only if they climbed on their hands and knees. Helplessly we faced this new obstacle with our horses. Dead tired, the animals lay down with their packs on their backs on the narrow path and in the nearby small fields. By the time new men and hooks, planks and axes had been found, in order to repair the imperial military road, it had grown dark and it was late at night when the caravan finally reached the town and the inn of Senggersung. It had taken us 15 long hours to go 9 kilometers on this day.

The altitude of Senggersung is 2,200 meters. From here on there were no more difficulties along the way. The valley grew wider and

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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414 campaign to encourage workers to return to the rural areas to engage in production.[25] All in all, the basis of city relief was self-help-through-labor, which was also the emphasis of rural relief policies. For example, in Chungking needy people were organized into handicraft-production teams. Early in 1955, it was reported that in addition to those performing regular and seasonal labor, 32,000 needy people were organized into productive labor teams in Chungking. Among the people who were unable to make a living, including the aged, the cripple, and the young, relief was given to 41,828 families in the period January-October 1954, according to a Communist source.[26]

735 733 548 Beggars, pickpockets, and prostitutes were the subjects of an intensive campaign. It was reported in 1952 that the majority of these three city elements had been sent to institutions for reform and training in productive works.[27] In a speech in September 1954, the Communist Minister of Internal Affairs told the National People's Congress that prostitutes, beggars, and opium smokers were "basically

25. Ibid., p. 16.

26. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, America Consulate General, No. 1008, Supplements, March 16, 1955, pp. 8-10.

27. New China Daily, Sept. 28, 1952, p. 4.

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733 "non-existent" in Communist China and the
735 number of vagrants had been greatly reduced.[28]
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V. CHILD WELFARE

527 Following the international practice of
746 dedicating one day in the year to the children, in 1931 April 4th was promulgated as China's Children's Day by the Nationalist Government. But the Chinese Communist regime changed this date to June 1st, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation in 1949 at Moscow.[29] Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic, i.e., not designed for the well-being of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1st every year, all the propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the happy state of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and references to the "plight" of children in the free world. And it is also around this time in most large cities on the Mainland of China that health examinations for

28. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-13.
29. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chich-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [History of the Memorial Days], Shanghai, T'ai-lien ch'u-pan she, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 180-83.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-i AE7

shed at 5,600 feet, one of the lowest points in this part of the range. From here we went by an equally gradual descent to T'ou-tao-shui, a little village in which a market is held every five days. The small official in charge of the police here came to see me in the evening somewhat the worse for liquor, and I saw three or four other men in the same state, rather an unusual sight in China. Most Chinamen drink rice spirit, but they seem to know when they have had enough, and one seldom sees a drunken man.

From T'ou-tao-shui there are two roads on to Kun-long. The most direct route passes through Mêng-lai, but I took a longer and better road round by Mien-ning. The next day we had an easy march to Yi-wan-shui, and on the 20th we slept at La-tien-p'o, a village which lies on the Mêng-lai Ho, the main source of the Nam Ting. Still following up this stream we reached Mien-ning T'ing on the 22nd.

Since leaving Shun-ning the country and climate had been gradually changing, and we were now in a district more resembling the Shan States than the higher part of China we had hitherto been travelling in. The elevations of the hills are much lower, the climate considerably warmer, and the whole country is covered with jungle of a semi-tropical kind instead of the bare hills and pine forests of the districts further north.

The Mien-ning plain is some seven miles long by three miles wide. The town is built near the southern end of it on the left bank of the Mêng-lai Ho, a stream 30 yards wide and three or four feet deep, which runs down the middle of the plain from south to north. There is a great deal of vacant space inside the walls, and the town contains only 200 houses, but it is surrounded on all sides by suburbs amounting to another 300 or 400. The largest suburb is on the east, and this appears to be the chief commercial quarter, such as it is. The inns are miserable, and I found quarters in a good-sized temple, built by the Ssŭ-ch'uan residents of the place.

Mien-ning is always pronounced Mien-ling by the inhabitants. It was originally a Shan state, and its proper Shan name is Möng Myen. There are still a great many of this race living here, but the Chinese are now in the majority, and the Shans are taking very much to Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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177 dress and customs, and even to the Chinese language. It is quite probable that in another generation or two they will all call themselves Chinamen, and the place will afford another instance of the absorption of the Shan by the Chinaman in places which are over 4000 feet high, and
S are therefore healthy enough for the Chinese of Yün-nan to
P live in.

438 We halted a day at Mien-ning to rest our pack mules. There is no trade in the place to speak of. There are a
S few small merchants who occasionally go with small mule
P caravans to Mêng-sa and the other Shan States in the
793 neighbourhood. In the morning I went up to the Shan
292 monastery and saw the priest, a native of Mien-ning, who had ten years before been on a visit to Rangoon to worship at the pagoda. He was dressed in the usual unorthodox fashion of the Chinese Shan priests, with a yellow robe covering both shoulders, a red cap on his head, and Chinese socks and shoes on his feet, a contravention in three respects of the rules of Burmese Buddhism, which ordain that one shoulder must be bare, that no head-
S covering may be worn, and that no shoe must be used
P which covers the top of the toes.

[733] Like many Chinese Shan priests he was an opium smoker and did not seem the least ashamed of it, as he got through three pipes while I was there. He told me that formerly the whole of this country was inhabited by Shans, but that now the Chinese were gradually ousting them. I noticed that even the priest himself, though he spoke Shan to me, would address his pupils in Chinese.

000 On the 24th February, 15 miles of somewhat up and down road took us to Ping-yüan-hsün. At the little village of Pang-mai which we passed on this march, in a pleasant valley covered with fir trees, is an isolated colony of Mêng-hua Lo-los, who emigrated from their own district a few generations ago. Their language I found to be nearly the same as that spoken at Wu-li-hei, but they are giving it up and are beginning to talk Chinese even among themselves. The women already tie up their feet in the Chinese fashion, and they will no doubt soon cease to call themselves Lo-los.

The next day, after three or four miles of level going,

241 near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal, if the family is fortunate enough to have one, and as fuel for cooking, and, 291 rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of 342 cloth shoes. Wood for all purposes, is more abundant in Yunnan and Szechwan than elsewhere in China, but farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the rice region, of bamboo lathe and mud plaster. Floors are of earth, and only the dwellings of the wealthiest farmers have •735 glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and over-population became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of over-population China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional

235 authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

178 311 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintegrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

178 Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of

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2. Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London 1951, p. 111. H.L. Richardson, commenting in 1942 on Szechwan -- usually regarded as a fertile and prosperous province -- says: "The condition of the individual farmers is less happy than the prosperity of the Province as a whole would suggest, and the pressure of the whole population on the supplies of food and other agricultural products, such as cotton, is very intense." Cressey, op. cit., pp. 178-79.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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464 campaign to encourage workers to return to the rural areas to engage in production.[25] All in all, the basis of city relief was self-help-through-labor, which was also the emphasis of rural relief policies. For example, in Chungking needy people were organized into handicraft-production teams. Early in 1955, it was reported that in addition to those performing regular and seasonal labor, 32,000 needy people were organized into productive labor teams in Chungking. Among the people who were unable to make a living, including the aged, the cripple, and the young, relief was given to 41,828 families in the period January-October 1954, according to a Communist source.[26]

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3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

To give away medicine and sticking-plaster to the poor is merit, but it is reckoned still greater merit to give away good prescriptions, as these are often a legacy of ancestors, and any person having a few good ones might start in business. Some people keep a tea pot or crock full of tea at their doors for people to drink out of during the hot weather. Others light a lamp at a dark and dangerous part of the road to keep people from falling into a ditch or over a precipice. They open a free ferry *k'ai i tu* 開義渡 for transporting travellers over streams and rivers, or give away rice gruel to the poor in times of distress; or rice and money to the poor at New Year times, or after a fire or flood. 783

They give free coffins for the poor and for unknown travellers who die by the way; or land for free burying grounds; these are found everywhere. This is reckoned very great merit.

An individual or a number contributing will open free schools. Others give away clothing, bedding and fire-baskets to the poor at the beginning of the cold weather. This is largely done by ladies who wish to prepare for leaving this world. Poor-houses for the aged and orphans are kept up both by government and by public subscription.

To open an orphanage is great merit. The infant children of poor parents are taken to this institution and are here reared; many of the slave girls of officials are procured from these places.

Institutions are opened also for the blind, deaf and maimed, *k'ai t'zŭ yu t'ang* 開慈幼堂; some for adults, some for children; and asylums for the shelter and support of widows. Such women get benefit from a Society's funds if they are well recommended, and on condition that they do not remarry. Some set up a tramp's refuge, *ch'i liu so* 棲流所 for men and women from a distance; shelter is provided free, but not food. Beggars' refuges for the local poor are supported.

The chief beggar carries a rod with which he administers correction to the disobedient, and he visits the farmers at harvest time and gets grain from them, and shopkeepers at feast times to get his wages for keeping the beggars in order. 735

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 212 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

426 farm the land himself it is called *ti tang tzŭ ching* 地當自耕. This is reckoned a dangerous speculation, especially if the mortgagee is an unscrupulous man.

To change the rental into a mortgage; to add the deposit on property till it amounts to a mortgage is *chiu tien chia tang* 就佃加當.

To make the mortgage into a purchase by adding a little money (very probably more than the property is worth) is *chiu tang chia tang* 就當加當. To make the deposit of rental so heavy that it is really a mortgage, no rental or a nominal one is paid to the owner, but he saves his face by saying it is a rental. This is termed *ming tien an tang* 明佃暗當. Sometimes a property is mortgaged then rented back to live in, *tang ch'u tien hui* 當出佃回. The necessity of moving the family idols is thus avoided, but it is a method that causes much trouble afterwards.

To mortgage a second time owing to the original owner being unable to redeem the property is *chuan tang* 轉當.

Ting ta 頂打 or *ting tang* is a kind of mortgage which is more stringent than the ordinary kind, and is almost equivalent to a purchase, without it being so stated. These are more difficult to manage than a pure mortgage; a rental has to be paid, but it is almost impossible to turn the mortgagee out. The neighbours need to be notified of these proceedings to make them binding upon them. This of course means a feast.

* * *

Beggars 乞丐 *ch'i kai.*

735 Some terms for beggars are:—

叫化子 *chiao hua tzŭ*; 討口子 *t'ao k'ou tzŭ*; 濫仗客 *lan chang k'ê.*

Few beggars are born in that class, but nearly all have come to beggary through laziness, gambling, opium, wine or calamity. Those who are poor through no fault of their own are pitiable, but the others are contemptible. These pests waylay the traveller and extort money; gather in crowds at funeral and marriage feasts; bellow for hours behind a gentleman's door with half-a-dozen dogs howling round them, or

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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walk along the street with a stick wagging behind and the dogs hanging on to it. It is a fully organized profession, with its officers and king; a race which is difficult to reclaim; the saying runs 討得三天口官都不想做; 'After begging for three days they do not desire even an official position.' They won't work and don't desire to be lifted up, and are known as 方上的弟兄, or brethren of the four quarters, that is, they go everywhere to get a living. The king of the beggars is called *ta yao pa* 大么爸. He rises to this position by ability and public recognition and is generally negotiated with at feast times in order that beggars may not come and lie at the doors of the houses.

The beggars' resort or refuge is called 乞丐所 *ch'i kai so*, or 棲流所 *ch'i liu so*, or 孤老院 *ku lao yüan*. In order to get admission an official permit is required, and a record of entries is kept in the yamen. Some have official rice and winter clothing granted to them besides. In these refuges all kinds may be found, such as the widow, the aged and the orphan. In districts where no such place is provided they congregate in temple doorways, under bridges and arches. They collect all the rubbish of the country-side and eat such things as dead dogs, cats, and rats. Unwashed, uncombed and clothed in filthy rags they seem to reach the utmost limit of human degradation.

The place where the beggars' branch of the secret society meets is called 什仿堂 *shih fang t'ang*. It may be arranged for at any place, but the connection with the society is very real and wide-spread.

The beggars have a superstitious dread of the following words:—

不絕 *pu chi*, don't give; 狗咬 *kou yao*, the dog bites, 斷路 *tuan lu*, block the road; 短食 *tuan shih*, short of food.

The noise made by the beggars with their clappers at the door is called 打蓮花鬧 *ta lien hua nao*. This noise is also commonly made by the vagrant priests, who use a 彈板 *tan pan* to thrum on with the fingers. *Wo t'ao shan ch'ih* 惡討善吃, gotten by wickedness, eaten with good manners, this is what is said of beggars' manners.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•735 The beggars call the rice and wine given to them at feasts or New Year time *fa-ts'ai fan* and *fu-kuei chiu* 發財飯 and 富貴酒. It is a kind of good wish for the prosperity of the giver. 'New Year rice' is given to beggars on the first day of New Year; beside this some give New Year money, meat, dumplings, etc. If beggars are diligent at the New Year they can beg enough to keep them for a month or two.

After persons have given money or food to a beggar, the latter says that he has succeeded in instructing his son 訓子 *hsün tzŭ*. Such spectacles as are displayed in most Chinese streets, the displaying of maimed limbs, frost-bitten feet, knocking the head on the paving stones with a thud, candles and incense stuck in hands and shoulders, and anything which works on the feelings of the people are included by beggars under this heading of 'instructing their children.'

Ao men niu 遨悶牛, to follow the stupid ox, is said by beggars who pursue people on the roads asking for alms. To pursue a person on the road and repeatedly waylay him for money or to exact money from the person by blackmail, is called by the beggars, 'chasing the dog.'

A beggar will beset wealthy families and stay for hours at the door bellowing for food. The first time he gets food that day he says that it was his 'big son' 大的兒 *ta ti êrh* who gave it him; the second time it is the 'second son,' and so on. These things make the beggars hated by many people, and a class which is loathsome to behold becomes also repugnant to the kindest of hearts.

* * *

ROBBERS 盜賊 *tao tsei.*

548 These are divided into several classes, the following being a few of them:

Flying thieves, 飛賊 *fei tsei.* These enter the house by going over the roof with a pole; their sandals being made of human hair. In the day time they pretend to be sleepy, lazy fellows, but when they go to steal they can fly over the beam or walk on the partition' 飛梁走壁 *fei liang tsou pi.*

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one sees upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Cressey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 ●743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ta'ing Hwa University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

C. Modern Precautions

751 744 625 The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures[1] stated above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

751 203 The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private individuals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

751 743 203 The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the missionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

751 743 203 208 751

Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the <u>absolute</u> effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. N, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection; but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. BACKGROUND

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744 During the War of Resistance against Japan, while a major part of China was under the domination of Japan and Japanese-controlled puppet governments, Southwest China emerged as the base of operations of the Chinese government. The city of Chungking in Szechwan Province became China's wartime capital. With the air-route over the Himalayas and the opening of the Burma Road, the Southwest Region also furnished China important lines of communication with the outside world. Following the moving of government to Chungking, government organizations and workers moved in. Taking refuge from the Japanese, numerous educational and cultural institutions moved to the Southwest and settled in their temporary quarters in Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and Sikang. Although this worked hardship on both the natives and the newcomers, it gave an opportunity for a cultural fusion which was a great benefit to the Southwest. Along with this cultural invasion, modern medical and health organizations were given a chance to spread and expand at a faster pace in this region of China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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In the four Southwest provinces, in 1947, there were 59 government health organizations at the provincial level, with 6,529 medical and health personnel. At the county level, there were 904 government health organizations.[1] As to preventive medical care, in the year 1946, 720,702 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 1,029,541 were inoculated against cholera, and 448,415 were inoculated against both cholera and typhoid by various government health agencies.[2] Statistical data are far from satisfactory for the presentation of a balanced picture of the health work and health conditions of the Southwest before 1949, particularly since figures for private practitioners and private institutions are not available; however, it is hoped that the few figures given above may serve as background. Furthermore, there are indications that all the achievements claimed by the Chinese Communist regime in health and sanitation are not completely new developments; many projects were begun under the Nationalist Government.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

In July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education of the

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1. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, 344.
2. Ibid., p. 347.

744 Southwest Military and Administrative Region,
751 made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950.
[874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50 seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

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3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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751 Ch'u's report indicated that the Communist regime was placing emphasis on prevention of disease, on improvement and restoration of organizations of health and sanitation, development of health programs for women and children, organization of health and medical workers, and dissemination of health knowledge and education. All these points of emphasis seemed to be in conformity with the general policies on health and sanitation set forth by the Central People's Government in Peking.

Two years later, in September 1952, Lu Chih-chün, vice-chairman of the Health Department of the Southwest Region, spoke on "The Development of the People's Health Work in the Southwest in the Past Three Years."[4] He began with acknowledgment of the guidance given by the Party and the government, and went on to "prove" that noticeable achievements had been accomplished in the Southwest in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Central People's Government. Since one important aspect of health work undertaken by Communist China was disease-prevention, this report placed stress upon preventive measures and enumerated those taken against contagious diseases in the Southwest Region.

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4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, September 26, 1952, p. 3.

• 744 751 Smallpox headed the list. To combat the possibility of an epidemic, 50,000,000 people were reported to have been given vaccination in the three years covered by the report. As a result, the threat of smallpox was greatly reduced. In twelve important cities, Chungking, Chengtu, Pei-p'ei, Wanhsien, Tzu-kung, Nan-ch'ung, Nei-chiang, and Wu-t'ung-ch'iao in Szechwan Province, and in Hsia-kuan and Ho-k'ou in Yunnan; Tsun-i in Kweichow; and Ya-an in Sikang (now incorporated into Szechwan), there were no smallpox epidemics in 1952.

Recurrent fever was second on the list. In 1951, preventive medical corps were sent into many localities for the prevention and treatment of this disease. At the same time the public was alerted to check its spread by exterminating fleas. Thus in Lung-ch'ang, a special district of Szechwan, the number of sufferers from this disease in the spring of 1952 was claimed to be only 7 per cent of the number so afflicted in the spring of 1951. In Pi-chieh, a special district of Kweichow, the number of people affected by recurrent fever in March 1952 was half the number reported in March in the preceding year.

Only slightly less common causes of epidemics in the Southwest were typhoid and cholera. To combat these epidemics, the chief measures were the disinfection of drinking water

744 and the betterment of environmental hygiene.
751 Early preventive inoculations were also recommended. Lu Chih-chün claimed that there were no cases of cholera in the region and that the number of cases of typhoid had been greatly reduced.

Malaria was a common disease in the Southwest Region, according to the report. In addition to the promotion of environmental hygiene, malaria-prevention centers and malaria-prevention corps were established in the key cities in the four Southwestern provinces. Preventive centers for other local contagious diseases, such as bubonic plague and hookworm, were also established, according to Lu's report.

Referring to the improvement of health conditions in the Southwest, it was claimed that in large cities like Chungking and Chengtu that there were "fewer" people reported sick in 1952 than in 1951. Finally it was claimed that health centers had been established in 85 counties, and that the number of hospital beds in 1952 had been doubled since 1950.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

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At the First Session of the First National People's Congress (1954), Li Teh-ch'uan (General Feng Yü-hsiang's widow), Minister of

744 Health, spoke on public health.[5] She reported that efforts to protect the health of mothers and children made much headway, and that the mortality rate of expectant mothers and infants had dropped. Special attention to the health of women and children is urged in a Chinese Communist document, "The Common Program." Article 48 of this document declares that "Public health and medical work shall be expanded, and attention shall be paid to the protection of THE health [844] of mothers, infants, and children."[6] She reported that the training of midwives, the re-educating of "old-style" midwives, and the prevention of various childhood diseases have been stressed throughout China as well as in the Southwest.

To cite the municipality of Chungking, for example, by the middle of 1953 there were 26 health centers for women and children and 70 maternity stations with 684 midwives on duty. The practice of modern obstetrics showed a noticeable increase; modern methods were used in 10 per cent of the births in 1951, 30 per cent

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5. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 41-42.

6. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

.744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given [751] to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

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7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.

8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

744 563 164 was reported that the minority groups in both the Southwest and the Central-South suffered from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. In Yunnan Province in 1950, from 64 to 94 per cent of the children of the minority peoples were affected with enlargement of the spleen, and 39 per cent had malarial parasites in their blood. The basic measures proposed for the improvement of health conditions in the minority nationalities were the establishment of additional public health agencies and the training of additional health workers.[9]

744 563 Two years later, twenty-five mobile health corps units had been formed and were serving the minority nationalities areas in Southwest China, according to Communist sources. Not only were the treatments and preventive injections said to have been administered free, but the dissemination of modern methods of sanitation and education in hygiene were the responsibility of these traveling medical workers. A special effort was made to train members of minority groups as health workers among their own people. Incomplete statistics for 1949-52

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9. Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, pp. 5-7.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744 563 claim that among minority groups in the Southwest Region, 98,406 people received free medical treatment and 72,900 people were given vaccination against smallpox.[10]

V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

744 668 In 1952 the Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive. It was designed primarily to integrate health work with the mass propaganda campaign which accused the United States of engaging in bacteriological warfare. The Patriotic Health Drive was, therefore, stimulated by the conflict in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In the name of patriotism the Chinese people were called upon to clean their cities and work for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Upon the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in April 1952, some 70 to 80 per cent of the population in the key cities of the Southwest Region were mobilized. According to statistics released in September 1952, the following accomplishments were claimed:

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10. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 3.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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Refuse removed		1,000,000 tons
Flies exterminated		20 tons
Fly larvae destroyed	some	70 tons
Mosquito larvae destroyed	some	23 tons
Mosquitos exterminated		190 pounds
Ditches dredged and repaired		868 miles
Rats exterminated		800,000
Rat holes sealed up		96,619
Public comfort stations improved and constructed		7,993
Wells improved and dug		9,418

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The Communists claimed to have used new types of rat traps, and more efficient ways of exterminating fleas and other pests were utilized. One activist of the Patriotic Drive, it was claimed, killed 9,000 flies in a single day and on the following day surpassed his own record by killing 13,900.[11] We must assume that the New China Daily, in enthusiasm for such a display of industry, has quoted approximate figures.

VI. OBSERVATIONS

1. In 1953, the Patriotic Health Drive began earlier in the year. In many localities it was integrated with house-cleaning before the Chinese New Year. Instead of killing flies in the summer, the people were called upon to dig up and destroy fly larvae. To publicize these activities and accomplishments, the Party bureaucrats demanded further details with which to adorn their reports. One county government in Szechwan asked each village farmer to answer 120 questions. When exterminating rats, for example, the farmer was to classify them as being large, medium, or small. The weight of each rat was to be given; farmers were expected to give the length of the rats' bodies and the length of their tails.[12]

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11. New China Daily, Sept. 26, 1952, p. 3.
12. Ibid., June 7, 1953, p. 3.

744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

[[3]] 744 157 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

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13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 42-43.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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•744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical [878] Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

744 In a joint convention in Chungking, a similar
757 criticism was voiced.[18] Although many traditional practices have proved to be effective, it still remains to be seen to what extent the use of medicinal herbs can be justified by modern science. It also remains to be ascertained whether this enthusiasm for traditional medicine on the part of the Chinese Communists is more than an evanescent interest.

744 The health of the people of a nation depends on many factors. Preventive medical care or even a lower infant mortality rate does not necessarily mean the general betterment of public health. Malnutrition as the result of an inadequate diet may offset whatever has been accomplished by vaccinations and inoculations. Since little information is revealed in Chinese Communist publications, on the diet and nutrition of the people, it is necessary to point out that while reports on health and sanitation improvements on the mainland of China should not be discounted, other factors must also be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the general health of the Chinese people.[19]

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18. Ibid., No. 1012, Supplement, pp. 4-5.

19. For medical education and health in schools, see chapter on Education; for health and sanitation in the factories and among industrial workers, see chapter on Labor.

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731 and Five-Anti campaigns, 272,800 men were
668 mobilized and sent to fight in Korea from the four southwest provinces. Among the prisoners of war who chose to go to Formosa rather than return to Communist China, 5,184 men were from Southwest China.[10]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

657 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the
744 Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, have been in name only, and little relief work has been accomplished.[11]

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun

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10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6.

657 Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this
744 organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. In the organizing of branch offices, four years later it was reported that twenty-three large cities in all regions of China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In Southwest China, branch offices have been established in Chungking and Chengtu in the province of Szechwan and in Kunming in the province of Yunnan. A special provincial branch office was also set up in Kweichow Province.[12] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[13]

464 Due to the increase of unemployment, the
657 Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administrative Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established in August of the same year. Later similar committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[14]

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12. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955. pp. 396-397.

13. Cultural and Social Movements, pp. 6-8.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	19th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Chin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Some time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Pa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small alter just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through West Town and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ts'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

offended a local woman who was dispatching milk because the friend's wife washed the milk woman's measuring bowl before dipping it into the milk ... The milk woman's reason was that the bowl was carried on her body, just next to her under-clothes so it could not be dirty at all. 744 364 515

Ideas about public health are lacking. Sickly dogs are seen everywhere; donkeys, horses and mules make a mess freely on every street. Children and adults enjoy their conveniences in the main thoroughfares or around any corner of any lane. No one even bothers to clean up the streets. Often poor farmers or their children come to the streets to gather up the human and animal excretion for fertilizer in the fields. About three years ago the missionary college and the local middle school organized a joint campaign on public hygiene. Teachers and students of both institutions carried out a general cleaning up of all the streets of the town and killed about fifty homeless and sickly dogs. Quite a number of the local inhabitants lent support to the effort. At the same time public lectures were given in the main streets by some of the students on the importance and significance of the campaign. For a period of time following the campaign the town was free from obvious dirt heaps, etc. But the old way of life returned gradually. Today no one even recalls this campaign. 744 364

[p. 7]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason - to clean up the area for gods - is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets; the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offendor will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental
Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1942)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.F.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhea-causing food.

744 784 moxa leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. Then asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area P) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

C. Modern Precautions

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The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures[1] stated above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

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The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private individuals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

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The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the missionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

757 As stated before, all of the doings described in Chapter IV of this paper happened within the duration of the epidemic - about one month. Some occurred simultaneously. For example, the dates of several prayer meetings overlapped each other. And the prayer meetings were held as the volunteer prescriptions and moral advice spread. Some are supplementary to others. For example, the purification of the air by smoke, the cleaning up of the streets, the abstenance from meat and fish, and the disuse of the streams for washing purposes were all supplementary to the prayer meetings. They are means of avoiding the displeasure of the gods whose help is being invoked.

[744] Cleanliness, both public and private, as the modern world understands it, is not customary. And the relation of cleanliness to the avoidance of "choleric bacteria" is not at all conceivable in the culture.

[784] The taboo on a large number of vegetables and fruit may be said to be based upon sanitary ideas of a sort, but it is a sort different from what the modern man is accustomed to think of as scientific knowledge.

Closer to modern knowledge are some of the medicinal prescriptions. The analysis of their composition, as we have seen, shows that many elements would be effective in beating down the disease. But other prescriptions may be entirely useless or even fatal to the patient. The method of opening up finger tips to let out blood, for example, leads to bad infection and may render futile any application of modern treatment by serum. The drinking of the so-called "fairy water" from a cave in a hill is another alarming example. It may simply increase the rate of infection to a tremendous extent, and provide stimulus to such practices, as we have seen, as drinking unboiled water springing from an incense burner converted into a fountain.

The situation may be further analysed, as in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM I

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Taboos on food (potato, string beans, turnip, all sour fruit, confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish, pumpkin, egg plant, etc.)	Ex.: "To please the gods" "To avoid making abdomen cold" Un.: Sanitation, or arrestation of the growth of the bacillus	Spiritual or Physical (the latter may be good or indifferent)
Taboo on dirt and animal and human soil in streets	Ex.: "To make the air and place clean for gods" Un.: Sanitation	Spiritual or Physical (the latter is definitely good)
Insistence on morals	Ex.: "To purify the heart and so please the gods"	Spiritual

423 landowners, and less than 3 per cent in the hands of the middle and poor peasants.[5] He came to the conclusion that as 40,000 people out of a total population of 57,400,000 were on the verge of starvation, the policy of Mao Tse-tung was justified and should be carried out.

745 162 In this period it was also found that there was a large number of persons in Southwest China who depended upon the government for a living. Teng Hsiao-p'ing reported on April 11, 1950 that there were 900,000 disbanded Kuomintang soldiers, 400,000 old civil service men, and 700,000 Communist soldiers. He emphasized that if they were not well-fed, a state of disorder might result.[6] The Communists considered the collection of a grain levy on the whole population in order to feed the armies and the civil service men as the most urgent need at this time.

669 The Communists were greatly concerned that the Kuomintang members would make trouble. Their fears were confirmed when the rebellion led by Li Mi and Yü Ch'eng-wan, two Kuomintang generals, took place in Kunming. Part of the 2nd and 4th field armies were sent from southern Kwangsi to Yunnan, and the rebellion was quickly stamped out, although the rebel leaders succeeded in escaping to the border of Burma.

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5. Ibid., p. 1006.

6. Ibid., p. 991.

the Korean war, the Chinese workers were urged 465
to make "voluntary" contributions to finance the 571
war. Within three months of 1951, workers in the 651
city of Chungking contributed 13,200,000,000
yuan (old currency).[28]

The Communists have reported an increase 511
in bank savings throughout the whole country. By 466
early May 1954, total savings deposits in cities nationwide were stated to be ten times larger in May 1954 than at the end of 1950. By the end of 1953, savings deposits in the Southwest Region had increased by 7.5 times as compared with 1950. But the increased savings do not necessarily indicate surplus spending power in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1952, the Chinese Communists forced each worker to put 25 to 30 per cent of his income in the People's Bank as compulsory savings to prevent possible inflation and to accumulate capital for national construction.[29] After deducting the "voluntary" contributions and compulsory savings, there is not likely to be money for the workers to spend for other than daily living needs.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law promulgated 745
by the Communist government in March 1951, 5,380,000 workers throughout China received insurance coverage for death, old age, illness and disability. In the Southwest China Region, there were 163,824 workers, other than railway

28. New China Daily, Oct. 25, 1951, p.2.
29. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, Jan.4, 1954, p. 41.

745 and telecommunication employees covered by the insurance law in mid-1952. In the whole region, there were only three large sanitoria, nine rest homes, and 53 crêches established under the provisions of the Labor Insurance Law. The largest sanitoria for workers is located in Nan-wen-ch'üan (Southern Warm Spring), a famous health resort and scenic beauty spot ten miles south of Chungking.

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

466 The Chinese Communists claim that from 1949 to 1953 the People's Government enacted 119 decrees, rules, and regulations concerning labor safety and sanitation. But there are no indications that any of them has been enforced to any extent. Since the intensification of the labor emulation drive in 1951, the incidence of industrial accidents in Southwest China has been increasing. A report covering the first half of 1952 showed a serious situation. According to the deputy director of the Department of Industry of the Southwest Region,[30] during the first six months of 1952, 3,245 industrial accidents occurred in the region and the accident death rate increased 56.25 per cent over the corresponding period of 1951. From June to August 1952, there were 273 serious industrial accidents reported in Chungking alone. As a result of these disclosures, the municipal government of Chungking issued a directive in September 1952 calling on all responsible parties in the factories and mines of Chungking to follow carefully the labor safety measures and to establish special agencies in each

30. Ibid., January 19, 1953, p. 7.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1q,
Sociological Background

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. INTRODUCTION

.746 Under the Nationalist Government during the war years (1937-1945), the first and foremost agency in the work of public welfare was the National Relief Commission. It was the pivot upon which China's machinery of relief and rehabilitation depended. Through its various efforts from 1938 to 1944, 30,152,131 refugees from war and famine were benefited.[1] In addition to immediate war and disaster relief, it also operated clinics, occupational relief works, and organizations for the training and care of children. A number of private and semi-private welfare and relief agencies were also active, and most of these were founded to meet the needs of the war conditions.[2] For women and children, there were the National Association for Refugee Children, the National Child Welfare Association of China, and the Women's

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1. China Handbook 1937-1945, compiled by Chinese Ministry of Information, New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 521-37.
2. Ibid.

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746 Advisory Council. For servicemen, there were the Friends of the Wounded Society and the YMCA Emergency Service to Soldiers. And for general war work there were the China Wartime Relief Association, and the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies, such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China of the United States, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through different medium also helped to aid China in her distress.

746 657 The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940s, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the many relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in Southwest China.[3] With Chungking as the wartime capital of China, and the Southwest provinces as the base of operations in the long resistance war against Japan, the Southwest Region, in spite of material hardships, made cultural and social progress. This was equally true in public welfare.

3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

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RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA */
(June 1947)

Province	Relief Organizations	Farmers' Welfare Socities	Child Welfare Units	Social Service Offices	Employment Agencies Independent	Employment Agencies Auxiliary
Szechwan	571	32	295	181	22	19
Sikang	33	1	10	9	1	1
Yunnan	160	22	53	6	7	5
Kweichow	97	22	42	32	10	6
Chungking	78	5	76	21	13	3
Total	939	82	476	249	53	34

*/ See Footnote 3.

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746 On November 9, 1943, China became a
657 member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CRRA) as a department of the Nationalist Government on the level of ministries, was established in January 1945, as was the China office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of relief and the rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] It was extremely unfortunate that peaceful projects of this sort did not continue; their efforts were suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the Mainland of China.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locusts and other harmful insects, frost, wind-storms, and hail-storms, have caused famines, beginning in the rural districts and spreading through the entire nation. According to one estimate, natural calamities, climaxed by the floods of 1954, affected many millions as shown

4. China Handbook, pp. 538-541.

:1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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IV. RELIEF AND RELIEF POLICIES

746 During the convention of the National People's Congress in Peking in September 1954, Hsieh Chieh-ts'ai, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Chinese Communist regime, made a report on the state of relief and welfare on the China Mainland. After alluding to the expanse and severity of natural calamities from 1949 to 1954, he reiterated the policies of the Chinese Communist Government in conducting its relief work. The first effort is to mobilize the masses to work on the prevention of drought, frost, harmful insects, and flood. Secondly, when disaster strikes, the people are expected to adopt measures to "help themselves through production," "to economize during the famine period," and "to offer mutual-aid." Only when it is absolutely necessary should the government be expected to offer outright relief.[19]

In discussing public welfare and relief in Communist China, it is necessary to recognize how the Communists interpret certain common terms. The word relief, although it is generally taken to mean "money or necessaries given to people who are in need,"[20] to the Communist

19. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-12.
20. Fairchild, H.P. Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams, 1955, p. 255.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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•746 carries no implication of unconditional succor. Their basic relief policy, including emergency relief, is "self-help through-production," and their basic relief method is the substitution of work for relief. From this the Chinese Communist have not deviated. As a matter of fact, most of their projects for water conservation, road building, and the laying of railroad lines are undertaken, in part, by famine refugees, who thus are expected to pay in labor for government efforts to prevent starvation.[21]

746
73/ In an official report on relief work in 1952, the deputy chief of the Department of Civil Affairs of the Southwest Region gave some interesting slogans used by the government to rally the people in famine areas.[22] In order to ensure a good harvest, "one must get rid of the traditional belief of relying on nature (God or heaven) to live." "One must believe that men can conquer nature." In preventive measures against drought, the Southwest mobilized 30,000,000 people to build and repair waterways. In the southern part of Szechwan, 252,182 water-wheels were set up, and enough people were mobilized to tread them

21. Relief Work, pp. 9-12.

22. New China Daily, Oct. 4, 1952, p. 6.

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day and night. When 15 counties were faced with flood in East Szechwan, people were called out to fight the inundation and to build dikes. To exterminate insects, 1,560,000 people were mobilized in South Szechwan, and "260,000,000 insects amounted to some 70 tons in weight" were caught, according to the same report. Against the traditional spring and summer famine spells as many as 150 kinds of secondary production (usually handicrafts) were developed in the various parts of the Southwest. In reporting on the substitution of work for relief, it was revealed that in addition to the building of roads, railways, and dikes, the famine refugees also undertook the shipment of coal and salt and the building of granaries and army camps. In 1951, the report said, 200,000 refugees were engaged in cutting timber and in reforestation in southern Szechwan. Expanding the theme of self-help, the Communists advocated mutual-aid. In Southwest China there were drives to economize in order to be able to contribute for relief. Slogans demanded that everyone give each day a bowl of rice and a handful of vegetables for relief. In this way the cities contributed their share for the welfare of the rural areas, and even other administrative regions. The 1952 report also stated that in 1950 JMP$ 57,250,000,000 were contributed to the winter clothing fund for the refugees of northern Anhwei and

746 northern Kiangsu provinces in East China
731 by the people of the Southwest. In 1951, the city people of East Szechwan contributed JMP$ 425,000,000 and some 2,700,000 pounds of food to the famine-stricken rural areas.[23]

464 In the cities, especially in the early period of the Communist regime, unemployment was an extremely serious problem. In the Southwest Region it was estimated that in 1952 about 2,600,000 people were unemployed or partly unemployed,[24] and as a result the Communist regime established a Labor Employment Committee in Peking as well as on the various levels in local governments. Under this committee the "registration of labor employment" was conducted. The following steps were taken to alleviate the problem of unemployment: (1) the centralization of employment agencies under the Labor Employment Committee, (2) the establishment of training courses, (3) the substitution of work for direct relief, (4) the advocation of self-help-through-production, (5) outright relief (only to cases of extreme hardship), and (6) a

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23. Ibid.
24. Relief Work, p. 13.

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733 "non-existent" in Communist China and the
735 number of vagrants had been greatly reduced.[28]
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V. CHILD WELFARE

527 Following the international practice of
746 dedicating one day in the year to the children, in 1931 April 4th was promulgated as China's Children's Day by the Nationalist Government. But the Chinese Communist regime changed this date to June 1st, in accordance with a decision made by the International Democratic Women's Federation in 1949 at Moscow.[29] Children's Day as it is celebrated in the United States and in Great Britain was branded as capitalistic, i.e., not designed for the well-being of the children of the laboring classes. Around June 1st every year, all the propaganda media are mobilized for the promotion of child welfare, praise of the happy state of children in Communist China and in the Communist bloc of nations, and references to the "plight" of children in the free world. And it is also around this time in most large cities on the Mainland of China that health examinations for

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28. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 211-13.

29. Hung Hsin-t'ao, Chi-nien Chieh-jih Shih-shih Tzu-liao [History of the Memorial Days], Shanghai, T'ai-lien ch'u-pan she, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 180-83.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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527 children are conducted. In the period 1950-52,
746 according to one report, more than 1,000,000 children received a health examination.[30]

In the Southwest, in Chungking, on Children's Day 1953, more than 33,000 children gathered at the "Working People's Cultural Palace." Entertainment and games were on the day's program, as well as speeches by the mayor and vice-mayor of the city. In eleven other cultural centers" in the municipality of Chungking on that same day, special motion pictures for children were shown. The New China Bookstore opened its new department for children, and on the first day a sale of more than 3,700 children's books was reported.[31]

746 The first conference of the workers in
668 women's and children's welfare was convened October 3-12, 1951, under the aegis of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. With national production as the over-all purpose, the scope of their welfare work was described as to serve the masses of working

30. New China Daily, May 30, 1953, p. 3.
31. Ibid., June 2, 1953, p. 1.

746 668 women and their children. Their main tasks were to promote the health of women and children and to solve the problems which arise in the rearing and educating of the children of working people. At the conference it was reported that 15,700 child welfare organizations, including creches, kindergartens, and relief institutions, had been established on the China Mainland. Another report claimed that in two years (to November 1951) 4,340 persons were trained to care for children and 3,743 were trained as health workers to care for women and children. During the same period, propaganda agencies arranged 128 exhibits to promote good health among women and children; 7,295,095 people were reported to have attended these exhibits.[32]

746 By the end of 1952, there were 34,000 public health agencies for women and children, with additional mobile corps, organized under all the provincial governments. In 1952, in mining and construction work, in other enterprises, in public organizations and schools, 2,738 creches were in existence; in larger cities, 4,346 street creches were set up, and in the rural areas 148,000 creches were

32. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Peking, 1951, No. 12, Dec. 1951, pp. 47-48.

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746 organized during the busy farming seasons to care for an estimated 850,000 children of agricultural families.[33] In the Southwest Region, many factories were reported to have provided creches to care for the children of working mothers. In a report made in 1953, the total number of creches of this category was given as 77, caring for approximately 4,400 children.[34] For the region as a whole, this number is far too small to be considered adequate.

VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

729 746 In relief work in Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been regarded with utmost seriousness and has been treated as relief work in the more usual sense. The welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families was specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the earliest documents adopted by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and of members of the revolutionary forces, who are in need, shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or

33. New China Daily, April 18, 1953, p. 4.
34. Ibid., May 30, 1953, p. 3.

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retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with the means of livelihood or with occupation."[35] However, the nationwide campaign did not begin until late in 1950, which indicates that this necessity was caused by the warfare in Korea.[36] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime promulgated five sets of regulations relating to compassionate payments. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen; preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled servicemen killed in action or upon illness; citations and compassionate payments for revolutionary workers injured or killed; and citations and compassionate payments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service injured or killed.[37] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included receiving land and farming implements as well as government scholarships for their children, lower prices, discounts from commercial establishments, and so forth. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

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35. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

36. Relief Work p. 18.

37. New China Monthly, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

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At the time of the Spring Festival in 1951, 10,000,000 people were rallied to take part in the campaign to honor servicemen and their families, according to a report made by the Department of Civil Affairs of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee. Festivals at the lunar New Year and again on August 1, the Chinese Communist Army Day, have since become annual affairs. Through the Government relief and rehabilitation program, the report claimed, many members of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen and many disabled veterans became local Party leaders, and members of Communist cadres and others were elected as delegates and committeemen to Communist conventions and assemblies. In the county of T'ung-chiang[38] in Szechwan Province, as many as 963 cadres were chosen from among these people in 1953.

The system of substitute-tilling during the absence of responsible family members was promoted in most rural areas in the Southwestern provinces. Among the 7,040 families of "martyrs" and servicemen who lived in the rural districts in the Chungking municipality, 1,431 families were granted substitute tillers to cultivate their lands in 1952. In 71 other counties and municipalities of Szechwan,

38. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.

729 746 according to the same report, out of a total of 209,813 families of "martyrs" and servicemen, 80,174 families were granted substitute tillers during 1951. However, the report also mentioned confused management and inadequate enforcement of this system in many places in the Southwest.[39] Apparently, much improvement is to be desired and substitute-tilling may always remain a source of dissatisfaction among the rural population.

In the cities in the Southwest Region as well as in all other regions, the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were organized for production and trained for employment. Statistics covering the cities of Chungking, Chengtu, Wanhsien and Nan-ch'ang in Szechwan Province, Kweiyang in Kweichow Province and Kunming in Yunnan Province, showed 102 organized production units involving 2,139 people, and further, that 9,550 people obtained employment through the efforts of the government. In addition, in 22 counties in southern Szechwan Province, 202 units were organized and 3,726 members of servicemen's families engaged in 729 production work. For those who were unable 746 to work (as of June 1952), the regional govern- 651 ment appropriated relief payments amounting

39. Ibid.

729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

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729 874 gone into construction work.[43] Some of these schools are in the Southwest, but the number and their locations are not known. According to their own criticism, expressed in Communist newspapers, Southwestern schools for disabled veterans are few in quantity and poor in quality.[44]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen had become participants in mutual-aid groups and cooperatives and many were elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or village cadres.[45] The People's Daily reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans were elected "labor heroes" in July 1954.

VII. CONCLUSION

746 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China, the emphasis is on production rather than the alleviation of suffering. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save

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43. Relief Work, p. 19.
44. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.
45. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

746 themselves by "self-help-through-production." Even in concern for the welfare of women and children, the chief purpose is to gain energy to further production. The Communists are not concerned with the welfare of individuals or the lives of individuals. Whereas the humanitarian element prevails in public welfare in the free world, it is generally lacking in a Communist state. In the charter of the People's Relief Administration, Article 2 explains its function in the following sentence: "This Administration is an organization of the people under the leadership of the Central People's Government to unite and guide...all relief and welfare workers to help the Government in the organization of the masses for the promoting of production and economy, labor and mutual-aid, so that the relief and welfare works for the masses of the people shall be enhanced."[46] The key words here are production, economy, labor, and mutual-aid. There is no allusion to the alleviation of suffering or the promotion of the well-being of the people.

000 When one understands the Communist attitude toward public welfare, it helps one to grasp the overwhelming plight of those who become the victims of man-made calamities.

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46. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, May 5, 1950, p. 1.

747 The Red Cross Society of China has had a history of 50 years. In August 1950 the Communists assumed control and reorganized it under the leadership of the Ministry of Health. It has done more medical work than relief work, especially in and around construction projects where large numbers of laborers congregated. In Southwest China, the Communist Red Cross sent medical and epidemic-prevention corps to serve the laborers in the building of the Chungking-Chengtu Railway and the Hunan-Kwangsi Railway (Hsiang-Kuei Railway). This organization also did medical and propaganda work among the minority nationalities in the Southwest province.[15]

During the war of resistance against Japan, the China Defense League was founded (June 1938) by Soong Ching-ling in Hong Kong. It acted as the channel for international aid chiefly to bring medicine and relief to Communist bases. In 1941, its headquarters was moved to Chungking. After the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, this organization changed its name to the China Welfare Institute (August 1950). Its chief

15. Ibid., p. 8; People's Handbook, 1955, p. 396.

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activities have been in Shanghai.[16] Beginning in January 1952, the China Welfare Institute has published an international, propaganda-disseminating, bimonthly magazine, China Reconstructs, in the English language.

The Chinese People's National Committee for the Defense of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 in Peking, in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of this organization is also Soong Ching-ling. The policy of this committee, apart from the promotion of child welfare, was defined as anti-imperialisism and the defense of world peace.[17]

A group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association in 1948. The Communist regime brought this organization under their control and then moved it to Peking in 1951. In August 1953, a conference of the workers was called, and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. It is reported that tuberculosis prevention units all over the country are affiliated with this organization.[18]

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16. Ibid., pp. 397-398; Relief Work, pp. 8 - 9.
17. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 260-61.
18. Ibid., p. 398; Relief Work, pp.8-9.

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747 On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the suffering masses still under Communist rule. In the past five years, the association has aided more than 967,000 refugees and helped 51,846 people to escape to Formosa. During the flood of 1954, this organization sent thirty-five airplanes to the Mainland of China and dropped about 100,000 pounds of rice and 7,500,000 handbills. The Free China Relief Association was also responsible for the rehabilitation of 14,500 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea, who chose Free China rather than return to the Communist fold. Over one-third (5,184) of these men are natives of the Southwestern provinces. The group arrived in Taiwan on January 23, 1954. The FCRA has established connections with the UN and the United States and has extended aid to Chinese refugees in many places, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea.[48]

At the UN Security Council meeting on November 28, 1950, the American delegate, Warren Austin, spoke of the relief supplies sent to China from the United States, of

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48. Chiu-chi T'e-k'an [Special Relief Bulletin], The Free China Relief Association, Taipei, Sept. 1, 1955.

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747 American efforts to feed and to clothe thousands and thousands of Chinese people in the postwar years, and of the friendship expressed by the American people for China. Friendship between America and China has a long history. Because this is true, and a truth remembered by millions of Chinese, the Peking regime and the Communists do all in their power to slander the United States.

During a period of some two years after V-J Day (1945-47) China received millions of US dollars in American aid through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.[49] Although relief and rehabilitation work was disrupted by the civil strife between the Nationalists and the Communists and was brought to an abrupt end by the Communist domination of the Mainland, many people were benefited. After the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Chinese Communist Government made the decision to assume control of all American-subsidized educational, relief, and religious organizations. According to a Communist report, American assets in these three categories amounted to

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49. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 46, Jan. 11, 1951, pp. 17-20.

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747 US$ 41,900,000. Of this sum, 47 per cent was for relief and welfare work, the operation of 200 orphanages, 20 leper asylums, 10 schools for the mute and deaf, and 30 schools for the blind.[50] It is apparent that without American aid much welfare work will be suspended. It is unlikely that those who have received the benefit of subsidized institutions will readily forget such gestures of American friendship.

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50 Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Dec. 30, 1950, p. 1.

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In the four Southwest provinces, in 1947, there were 59 government health organizations at the provincial level, with 6,529 medical and health personnel. At the county level, there were 904 government health organizations.[1] As to preventive medical care, in the year 1946, 720,702 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 1,029,541 were inoculated against cholera, and 448,415 were inoculated against both cholera and typhoid by various government health agencies.[2] Statistical data are far from satisfactory for the presentation of a balanced picture of the health work and health conditions of the Southwest before 1949, particularly since figures for private practitioners and private institutions are not available; however, it is hoped that the few figures given above may serve as background. Furthermore, there are indications that all the achievements claimed by the Chinese Communist regime in health and sanitation are not completely new developments; many projects were begun under the Nationalist Government.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

In July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education of the

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1. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, 344.
2. Ibid., p. 347.

744 Southwest Military and Administrative Region,
751 made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950.
[874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50 seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

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3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

744 751 Ch'u's report indicated that the Communist regime was placing emphasis on prevention of disease, on improvement and restoration of organizations of health and sanitation, development of health programs for women and children, organization of health and medical workers, and dissemination of health knowledge and education. All these points of emphasis seemed to be in conformity with the general policies on health and sanitation set forth by the Central People's Government in Peking.

Two years later, in September 1952, Lu Chih-chün, vice-chairman of the Health Department of the Southwest Region, spoke on "The Development of the People's Health Work in the Southwest in the Past Three Years."[4] He began with acknowledgment of the guidance given by the Party and the government, and went on to "prove" that noticeable achievements had been accomplished in the Southwest in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Central People's Government. Since one important aspect of health work undertaken by Communist China was disease-prevention, this report placed stress upon preventive measures and enumerated those taken against contagious diseases in the Southwest Region.

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4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, September 26, 1952, p. 3.

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751 Smallpox headed the list. To combat the possibility of an epidemic, 50,000,000 people were reported to have been given vaccination in the three years covered by the report. As a result, the threat of smallpox was greatly reduced. In twelve important cities, Chungking, Chengtu, Pei-p'ei, Wanhsien, Tzu-kung, Nan-ch'ung, Nei-chiang, and Wu-t'ung-ch'iao in Szechwan Province, and in Hsia-kuan and Ho-k'ou in Yunnan; Tsun-i in Kweichow; and Ya-an in Sikang (now incorporated into Szechwan), there were no smallpox epidemics in 1952.

Recurrent fever was second on the list. In 1951, preventive medical corps were sent into many localities for the prevention and treatment of this disease. At the same time the public was alerted to check its spread by exterminating fleas. Thus in Lung-ch'ang, a special district of Szechwan, the number of sufferers from this disease in the spring of 1952 was claimed to be only 7 per cent of the number so afflicted in the spring of 1951. In Pi-chieh, a special district of Kweichow, the number of people affected by recurrent fever in March 1952 was half the number reported in March in the preceding year.

Only slightly less common causes of epidemics in the Southwest were typhoid and cholera. To combat these epidemics, the chief measures were the disinfection of drinking water

744 and the betterment of environmental hygiene.
751 Early preventive inoculations were also recommended. Lu Chih-chün claimed that there were no cases of cholera in the region and that the number of cases of typhoid had been greatly reduced.

Malaria was a common disease in the Southwest Region, according to the report. In addition to the promotion of environmental hygiene, malaria-prevention centers and malaria-prevention corps were established in the key cities in the four Southwestern provinces. Preventive centers for other local contagious diseases, such as bubonic plague and hookworm, were also established, according to Lu's report.

Referring to the improvement of health conditions in the Southwest, it was claimed that in large cities like Chungking and Chengtu that there were "fewer" people reported sick in 1952 than in 1951. Finally it was claimed that health centers had been established in 85 counties, and that the number of hospital beds in 1952 had been doubled since 1950.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

744 At the First Session of the First National People's Congress (1954), Li Teh-ch'uan (General Feng Yü-hsiang's widow), Minister of

744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given [751] to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.
8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

From Na-ri we follow a narrow trail up and down, first high above the river, then in and out of ravines; the main road, however, leads on the west bank at an even grade. A few li bring us to the hamlet of Yun-gou where the ravine becomes very narrow and the stream enters a deep limestone gorge lined with Cupressus trees. Beyond the gorge on the east bank of the river is a huge limestone boulder which appears suspended over the stream, its lower surface being flat; hot water passes through the rock and flows from the flat under-surface as from a sieve. Limestone crags and mountains tower 2,000 feet above the river-bed, the slopes being covered with scrub oak and pines. The whole scenery is strange and dismal. 487* 133* 137*

At the end of the day's stage is the hamlet of Dshü-dzong situated on the east bank of the river. From this village the trail follows the clear stream, crosses two lateral affluents and ascends a rocky bluff. The trees on the lower slopes are all walnuts, while oaks and *Pinus yünnanensis* clothe the upper. We come to a cantilever bridge at the village of Ndo-sung (To-sung 奪松) on the east bank of the stream. The entire village consists of one large white house and a few log huts. We enter forest of pines and deciduous oaks in the broadening valley; mountains about 12,000 feet in height and composed of limestone rise to the east. The next village, called Sha-lon, in Chinese Sha-lung 沙龍, is situated on a hill in the valley. The Tibetan dialect spoken here is different from that of A-tun-tzu and Chung-tien. Three li beyond the village of Sha-lon, the trail leaves the main stream, enters a narrow valley and crosses the affluent which issues from it.

We follow on the top of the spur which separates it from the main stream to a small hamlet called Chao-to (Ch'ang-ta 昌大); five li beyond we reach the village of To-gu-ti the Chinese T'o-ko-ti 拖格底. Near the entrance to the village a gate was erected across the trail. It consisted of two pine trees connected by braided strands of bamboo from which wooden swords dipped in blood hung suspended. On inquiry I was informed that an epidemic was rampant among the horses in this village, and the swords, were to drive or keep out the demon which caused it. At the other end of the village was a similar gate, but from the bamboo rope swung the huge wooden penis of a horse. Not far from this village situated on the left bank, is the hamlet of Nin-yü, where another cantilever bridge spans the river. As the valley floors became broader and the land more suitable for agriculture, villages are also more frequent. 751● 487* 133* 137*

Two li bring us to the village of Ka-su, and a short distance beyond situated on a terrace is the village called Sa-gè-ti (Sheng-keng-ting 生更丁); here are limestone and black shales both much contorted. Walnuts grow along the river bank, the Tibetans, similarly to the Na-khi, use the oil for cooking. The trail crosses a rather large, flat cultivated area to a village called Sha-shao 沙哨 situated under a huge limestone bluff. Here a valley opens out into the Yon-dze-khà, from the right, or west, bringing a stream of considerable size from the eastern slopes of the mountains, which form the Mekong—Yangtze divide in the neighborhood of Yeh-chih. A trail leads up this valley and over the divide to the Mekong a little north of Yeh-chih. [252]

To the south of the valley is a high spur which Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls Ko-bu-dä — this is the Chinese Kuo-pu-te 過不得 (Cannot be

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to. 852 782

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu êrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year. 776

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜蹠), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this 751 778

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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wood warded off demons. The present-day belief in charms probably arose from this custom and is very general, and the superstition regarding them very deep; they are used in almost every phase of life.

Charms to be carried on the person are made up of all kinds of material, and worn on the shoulder, back or breast, to protect from disease, demons and every evil influence; even a cross is worn by Chinese children to prevent them from being kidnapped or harmed by foreigners. A few years ago there was a great anti-cigarette movement over an extended area in Ssŭch'uan; vile rumours were circulated about foreigners breaking graves and extracting skulls to make cigarettes, and doubtless many graves were tampered with by evilly disposed persons, whose chief object was to get the jade ornaments worn by aged persons when buried. The rumours also had it that foreigners were castrating children, and this caused thousands of children in our district alone to wear huge white crosses sewn on the backs, shoulders or breasts of their clothing. Some children wore two or even three of these cross charms to prevent foreigners touching them. The idea has become widely diffused that foreigners have a superstitious dread of the cross and will not trample on it, and I have seen lads run in front and write a cross on the road and then stand aside to see if the foreigner would tread on it.

Shao hui t'un fu (燒灰吞符), the swallow-ashes charm. Another charm is commonly made up of incantations against demons, written on yellow paper. This is burned, the ashes mixed with clean water and swallowed.

Wu fang chên chai (五方鎮宅) *fu*, the charm which protects the five corners of the house. This charm concerns the living only, and is written on yellow paper and put at the four corners of the house, a fifth one being placed at the foot of the family altar in the centre of the room. It is believed to keep the house free from demons.

Wu fang tien mu (五方奠墓) *fu*, a charm for the five corners of a grave. This is prepared and burned by geomancers to give repose to the soul of the dead; it is buried at the four corners and at the foot of the tomb.

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There is a charm written by the descendants of Chang T'ien shih (張天師), of Lung hu shan (龍虎山) in Kiang-si; it is believed to be one of the most efficacious of charms for warding off demons and healing sickness.

There is also a charm written by Ling kuan (靈官). It is said that there are seventy-two idols bearing this name, all deified after the death of different individuals who, when living, had a reputation for driving out demons and warding off evil influences. This charm is widely used and almost universally believed in wherever I have had opportunity of observation; it is generally in the form of a picture, but is sometimes placed in a small box, with a spring lid, which being touched, the *ling kuan* flies out. This is a very fierce and dreadful looking thing, which is the chief reason for its being so widely used and universally trusted.

Chu yao chan kuai (誅妖斬怪) *fu*, the kill-ghost charm, is kept in haunted houses.

Chao ts'ai chü pao (招財聚寶) *fu*, the collect-wealth charm, is often made of yellow silk and hung in the centre of the chief room of the house, or it is painted yellow on white calico.

Hsueh fu (血符), the blood charm, is made by the sorcerer, who wounds his own brow and breast and lets the blood flow on to a piece of calico which is given to a sick person to wear on his body. At execution times people dip calico into the blood of the victim, and wear it on their persons. Large cash are also taken and stained in the blood and worn as a protection against evil influences; this practice is most common among devotees of the Lo Lo and Honan chiao.

An t'ai (安胎) *fu*, the settle-fœtus charm, is used by women who fear miscarriage, or whose beds must be moved during pregnancy; it is mostly carried on the person or tied to the bed curtains, but sometimes it is burned and the ashes swallowed.

Ts'ui shêng (催生) *fu*, the hurry-birth charm. This charm is prepared by the midwife, burned, and the ashes

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swallowed; it is used in cases of protracted labour where complications have set in.

T'ao (桃) *fu*, the peach-wood charm, which is hung up on the outside of the chief door of the house on the last day of the Chinese year, is simply a slip of peach-wood, but is widely used, being considered very effectual in driving away demons.

Ai (艾) *fu*, the artemisia charm, is used on the 5th of the 5th moon; it is a bunch of artemisia hung over the door of the dwelling-house to ward off evil.

Shan chi chao fu, the pheasant and mirror charm; a picture of a pheasant is hung in the house opposite a mirror, and when the demon comes and looks into the mirror he sees the pheasant, fears being pecked from behind and forthwith flees. This is said to be a very ancient charm.

T'ai shan shih kan tang (泰山石敢當) *fu*, the *t'ai shan* charm, or the stone warden charm. A stone from Mount T'ai in Shantung is believed to have great power in warding off demons, though any local hard stone may be used; on it will be written the above characters, "The stone from Mount T'ai dares to oppose." It is used on the streets especially at quick turnings where demons are likely to strike against it. It is largely used in country dwelling-houses and on public roads.

K'ai t'ien fu, the open-heaven charm, used in divination when the heavens are slow in response to the prayers of the family.

Chieh hui (解穢) *fu*, the purification charm, is used to purify an impure well or filthy water buckets, the charm being burned and the ashes dropped into these places. It is also used in silkworm culture at times when the silkworms become yellow instead of white, the ashes being scattered over them.

P'o yü (破獄) *fu*, the open-hell charm, used at wakes to burst open the gates of Hades and release the imprisoned soul. Then the call-spirit charm 招魂 *chao hun fu* is used, to help the soul out of Hades.

Lien hua (煉化) *fu*, the purge or purifying charm; also called the suicide charm. If anyone threatens to commit

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suicide this charm is used to drive away the demon. It is also used after deaths to purge away the bad acts of the deceased. 751/778

Chao hsien fu, the call-fairy charm. It is said that each celestial has a particular charm.

Shê kuei (攝鬼) *fu*. The seize-demon charm is for haunted houses and is used both for wearing and for burning.

Ch'ien chiang (遣將) *fu*, the dispatch-general charm. It is believed that there are in the spirit world thirty-six *shuai* (帥) and seventy-two *chiang* (將) or generals; and this charm can command the help of all these to ward off an attack by evil spirits.

Wu kuei fu, the five-demon charm. It is believed that the four points of the compass have their particular evil influences and one which controls the centre. This charm wards off these evil influences.

Ch'i sha (七煞) *fu*, the seven baneful deaths charms. These seven deaths come from the following seven sources: heaven, earth, man, year, month, day, and hour.

San sha. The three baneful deaths come from the following sources, and are spoken of separately as *sui* (歲) *sha*, *ch'ieh* (刼) *sha*, *tsai* (災) *sha*, the evil influences of the year, robbery and calamity respectively.

Wu lei fu, the five-thunder charm, is used to break up an attack of ague or demon possession. It is burned and swallowed or worn on the person. The ague demons (擺子鬼) are said to be five in number, three cold and two hot; the two hot demons were originally named *mao* (毛), and the three cold ones named *chao* (趙). Legend has it that these five stole Lu pan's (魯班) hatchet and chisels and on being pursued, two fell into fire and were burned and three fell into the river and were drowned. The patient blackens the face, adding patches of red over the eyes and nose; a high cap is put on his head and he goes out with a club in his hand and stands motionless in an open place. Sometimes people who want medicine for ague dare not even whisper the name of *pai tzŭ* for fear that when they speak it, it will come; they will simply give a description of the disease and sometimes hardly

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751 778 that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han èrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符龍節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

776 DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shén*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary ~~rotary~~ and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY IN DISTRESS

164 The cholera epidemic came to West Town as to other localities in the area from Hsia Kuan on the Burma Road, and spread with the stream of refugees that steadily flowed into the town and villages.(6) It affected a wide area. In West Town it began at about the beginning of the Fourth Moon (about the tenth of May, 1942) and ended at about the end of the same month (about the tenth of June, 1942). Only a few deaths occurred at first; then heavier tolls were taken of the population. For a period of time even in the town itself there were six or seven deaths a day. The price of coffins rose from five hundred dollars to two or three thousand dollars each, and later coffins were practically unobtainable. Carpenters worked day and night. Funeral processions of various kinds became a common every-day sight. At night the streets, unlike before the onset of the epidemic, were practically empty. Darkness and silence ruled everywhere except in carpenters' shops where much activity was in evidence.

A. Cholera Prayer Meetings

751 796 The authority of the missionary college urged its students and faculty members to be injected immediately when two cases of cholera appeared in the local hospital.[1] But the general populace took little notice of it until about the seventh of the month. Prayer meetings then took place one after another. Such meetings took place not only in the center of the town but also in all the surrounding villages. Within the confines of the town at least several areas had such prayer meetings, in two places twice. Some of these are big events, employing at least three Taoist priests and three or four musicians in addition to a larger number of volunteer ushers and officers from the area. Others are smaller events with only one priest and no musician, in addition to a small number of ushers and officers. In each case there is a big or small altar covered with canvas, on which are displayed tablets or pictures of the various gods, the priests paraphernalia and quantities of offering to the gods. In the case of the one-priest affair the meeting usually lasted for one or two days. The larger affairs lasted three days and four nights each. The author had opportunity to watch such prayer meetings in several surrounding villages in addition to the those in the town itself. The following list gives the area and villages according to the order of the appearance of the prayer meetings: (See Diagram, Names of areas being represented by alphabet letters, arabic numbers indicate order of appearance of the prayer meetings).[2]

Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meeting.	Date (Lunar Calendar)	Number of Priests Engaged
1. A	7,8,9, 4th Moon	1 priest
2. B	About 9, 4th Moon	1 "
3. C	" 9, " "	1 "
4. D	8,9,10, " "	3 "
5. E	9,10, " "	1 "
6. F	10,11,12 " "	3 "
6. G	10,11, " "	1 "
7. H	12,13, " "	1 "

(6) When Burma fell.

[1] [ON the first of the month--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 10-- Analyst]

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Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meetings	Date (Lunar) Calendar		Number of Priests Engaged
8. I	15,16,17,	4th Month	3 Priests
9. J	16,17,18	" "	(T'an Ching only)
9. K	16,17,18,19,	4th Moon	3 (with Wen God ceremony)
10. L	21,22,	" "	1
11. M	About 20,	" "	3
12. N	22,23,24,	" "	3
12. O	22,23,	" "	1
13. H	23,24,25,	" "	5 (with Wen God ceremony)
14. P	About 25,	" "	1
15. Q (Prayer and the ceremony of receiving a special goddess)	25,26,27,	" "	3
16. E	1,2,3	5th Moon	5

(Altogether nineteen meetings are here recorded. See Diagram for the approximate location of each area.)

A complete description of the rites involved in these prayer meetings is impossible in the present paper. The author proposes here to state in outline form only (1) the main points of the rites, (2) the cost of the meetings, and (3) the meaning of the prayers.

1. The Main Points of the Rites

The most important thing is the work of the priests in reading their scriptures, reciting incantations, and burning petitions to the gods. In the smaller one-priest affairs the reading and reciting is done by the priest alone, with the accompaniment of the sound of a "wood fish" or a bell. In the larger three-priest affairs this is done in singing and reciting. The singing is accompanied by cymbals, bugles, and stringed instruments played by three or four accompanists who often join in the priests' chorus. This is done by three or four priests taking turns or together, from about 7:00 in the morning to about 11:00 or 12:00 in the evening, stopping for meals or for a pipe. Petition papers are burned to the various gods at one time or another. The burning of such papers involves many strenuous duck steps made in succession by three priests so that their faces are covered with perspiration. Both the scriptures and the petitions state that the people of the locality have deep sins and know that the gods are now showing their anger, but respectfully and tremblingly request the gods to withdraw the punishment, and that the people promise to obey the superior spirits forever. On the second evening of the prayer meeting the chief priest assumes the dress of a chief monk and sits on a lotus flower-shaped seat fixed on a high platform; while many boys and men hold their immediate ancestors' (usually father or mother) paper tablets and gradually push the latter over a cloth "bridge" towards the chief priest, as the latter performs various rituals. This is the ritual of "sitting the lotus" and is for giving blessing to the souls who have died of sudden illness or accidents (as a matter of fact, mostly deaths due to the epidemic). The third night is signified by a ritual spreading of porridge and paper money to homeless (i.e., descendent-less) spirits who may be about the place, along the [533]

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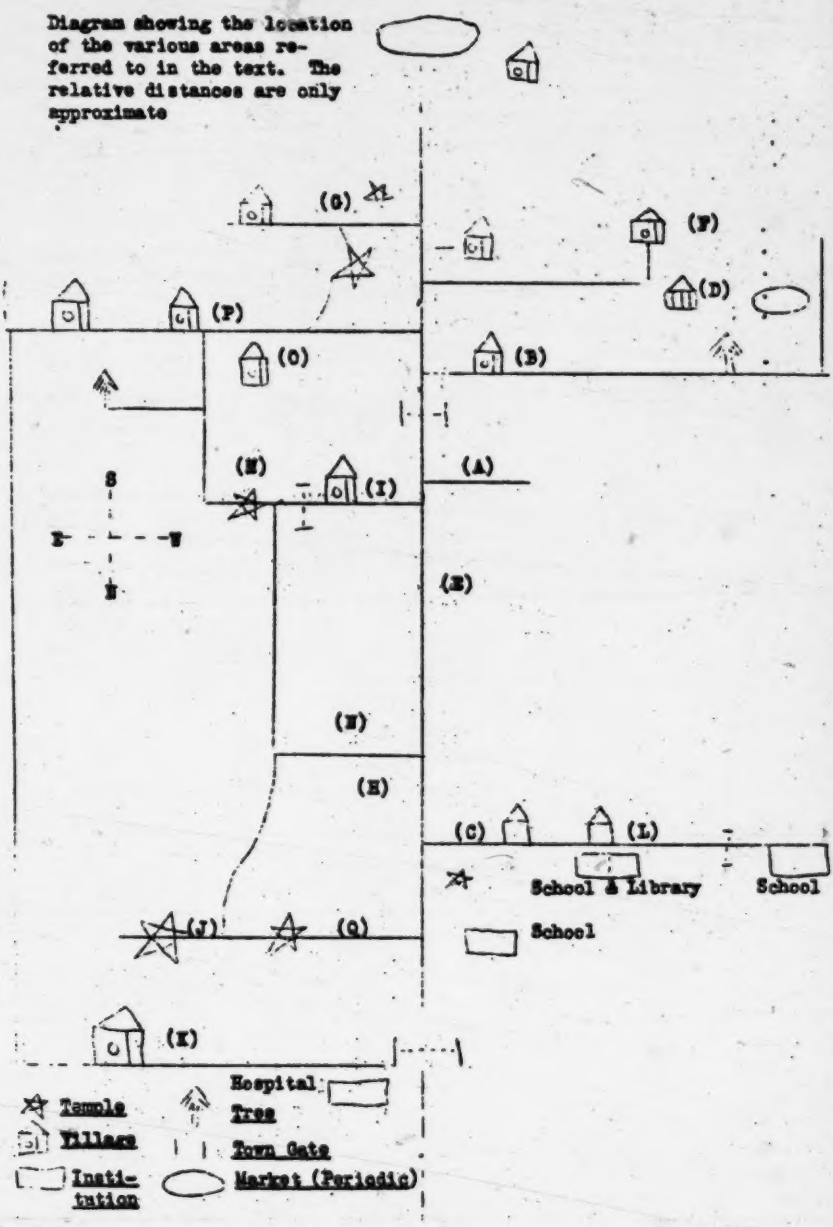
Diagram showing the location of the various areas referred to in the text. The relative distances are only approximate



streets leading away from the center of the town to the outer highway. The fourth night is chiefly occupied by rituals concerned with the Wen God (or the God of Epidemics). This god can release and arrest all evil spirits causing any form of epidemics. On this night his image (made of paper on a bamboo frame, about 15 foot high) is carried about in a torch procession formed by the chief priest and music players through the various streets of the town and its surrounding villages. In this way the god will have collected all those evil spirits and at about 1:00 a.m. the image of the god and a dragon boat (also made of paper and bamboo framework) full of paper ingots, rice, and other things are ritually taken out to the main highway about three li west of the town and burned. The Wen or epidemic is then regarded as having been sent away. (Only two prayer meetings include this Wen God ceremony.)

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The number of persons engaged in each of these affairs is impressive. In most cases the officers of a meeting are listed on a yellow sheet of paper and posted in advance on a wall near the meeting. The smallest number that came to the author's notice was about 12 and the largest number, as in a meeting which took place at Area I on the Diagram, was 77. A moderate list is as the following:

General Direction	10	Looking after offering	1
Management	8	Treasury	1
Receiving guests	1		
Looking after the food	1 or 2		
Worshipping on the altar	2	Inviting Guests	1
Arranging furniture	2	Cooking rice	3
In charge of incense and candles	1	Boiling tea	1
		Serving feast dishes	4-8
Looking after vinegar and charcoal	1	Serving tea	2-3
		Sprinkling porridge	2

The directors are elders or powerful personalities in the local area who do not actually have a close connection with the work of the meetings. The meetings are run by the managers, who are usually younger than the directors. It is difficult to form a clear picture as to who in fact sponsor these prayer meetings. In the Area I, e.g., some of the managers and elders got together and decided on the prayer meeting after a moment's discussion. In the Area X, one elder, who was later in the list of managers, was the moving spirit; discussion of some of the major points concerning the prayer meeting (such as the site) was first announced by him in a little yellow notice posted on the wall near the center of the street, and the others replied by calling upon him.

A scrutiny of some of the lists of officers in the various meetings reveals that generally speaking the managing, directing and worshipping duties are in the hands of older persons, while the works (cooking, serving food, offering, etc.) are on the shoulders of the younger people, professional or otherwise. The duty of serving tea is always done by boys. But it will be wrong to say that the older people start these prayer meetings. The latter are in the tradition no less than the customary organization in agriculture. Different members of a family may have different duties in, as well as ideas regarding, the sowing and planting of rice, but none of them will have any doubt as to the time, necessity and usual manner of the sowing and planting. So it is with these prayer meetings. Such meetings are such a deep-rooted institution that adult members of the community are familiar with their out-

751 796 line to an amazing extent. The author had spoken to many local persons about these prayer meetings, in the beginning of the epidemic as well as after it was over. Not a single adult had any difficulty at all in grasping what was being asked about after the simplest possible reference was made.

In the above list two kinds of officers need a special word. First, the two officers who are in charge of Worshipping on the Altar. These are volunteers who take turns to kneel in front of the gods on the altar during the entire period of the priests' ritual activities. The man on such a duty holds with both of his hands in front of him a special incense bowl containing burning incense powder. In most meetings the duty falls on elderly people who are in the locality all the time. In the Area I, one of these officers was a clerk from the branch office of a governmentally owned savings bank in Paoshan, about 200 kilometers southwest of West Town on the Burma Road. He does not stay home normally. The idea is that he who is on this duty represents the community to show the gods the people's earnestness and sincerity in their appeal.

Secondly, from the latter part of the list it will be clear that there is some feasting. In regular prayer meetings of the community (for example on one of the birthdays of gods) the feasting is usually participated in by all members of the community who have joined the meeting. But in the cholera prayer meetings there is much less feasting. The priests and the music players have to be lavishly fed. So must be most of the volunteer officers. To visitors from this or other areas is served hot tea. Some of the volunteer tea-servers are pupils of the local middle school whose homes are located in the area in which the particular meeting had taken place.

On the walls near all such meetings, and in some cases on the walls of the entire area, are square posters of yellow paper with eight characters in red: "Pray and abstain from evils with all sincerity, clean up and avoid dirt absolutely." At the entrance to the larger prayer meetings, or at the ends of the street leading to them, are large couplets showing that good deeds and earnestness are essential for mobilizing the gods, or that the prayer meetings are a collective effort to propitiate the gods who may decide to forgive sins previously committed by the community.

2. Cost of the Prayer Meetings

556 796 In all the prayer meetings expenses are met by voluntary contributions. The managers send out emissaries to solicit contributions, but a large proportion of the contributors send their contributions in money or in kind before being asked at all. Generally within a local area everybody knows what everybody else is worth, and the contributions are as a general rule proportionate to one's ability to contribute. Sometimes social position in the locality determines the amount one contributes. When the meeting is over the income, with a detailed list of the names of contributors and amounts they have contributed, and expenditures are posted in a public place. Usually the list puts the larger contributor's names first, but again social position of the contributor may be the first consideration. A person's name may appear in the lists of contributors of several prayer meetings just as it may appear in the lists of officers of several prayer meetings. This is either because the person owns shops or houses in the several areas or because his social prestige is important to the success of the meetings in question. In some cases the sum of contribution does not seem to be related at all to the contributor's social position

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Yo Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The medical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end thatit is from "a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Ho and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The line hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long time line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with lime powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of lime powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved (12)). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason - to clean up the area for gods - is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets: the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offender will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental
Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1942)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.P.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhea-causing food.

744 784 moxa leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area P) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

freely to applicants we may infer that such doings are not idle anthropological curiosities. We shall now mention the "Fairy Water" from a rock about ten li northwest of Tali and about thirty li away from West Town. The rock with the "water" is called Chiu Hu Ch'uan (or Nine Goddesses Spring) which is situated in a temple called Wu Wei Ssu, (or Do Nothing Temple). All informants, among them several managers of the prayer meeting at Area E, testified to the author that the rock only produced "water" when there was an epidemic and was at all other times dry. As will be clear from the table showing the order of the prayer meetings, the one at Area E occurred at about the end of the epidemic, so when the several managers spoke to the author about this "water" they also pointed out: "You see, now the illness is lessening, so the water from the spring is about finished." Nobody, of course, ever went to check up on this tale. On account of some personal difficulties the author was not able to check on it either. During the entire epidemic this water was carried to West Town on pack horses and was sold at fifty cents a cup. People say that its effectiveness (both for prevention and cure) varies, but no one says that it is useless.

One more fact is to be mentioned in this connection. At the prayer meeting in Area E, the managers (not the priests) gave expression to a novel idea which had not been seen anywhere else during the entire epidemic. The prayer meeting was held in an open square, on one side of the street. There were the main altar, the middle altar and then a sort of gate with pine branches and couplets and two national flags. The street was still open to traffic, but just opposite, on the other side of the street, was built another altar-sort of structure. This was an artificial rock with tiny grottoes and elevations, "trees" and flowers in the grottoes and on the elevations: amidst its "trees" and flowers were various wooden, brass and porcelain images of gods and goddesses, (In the center was Buddha. There were two goddesses of Mercy, one wooden and the other porcelain) and dragons cut of paper. Attached to this structure were also several decorative couplets, and arches cut of paper-wrappers of fruit tins. The whole thing was evidently a hotch potch and formless collection created through a moment's fancy on the part of the worshippers. The interesting thing that concerns us here is the incense burner in front of the structure. From inside of this burner a continuous thin line of water welled up and shot into the air before falling into a receptacle on the ground. The device was perfectly simple. It was produced by fixing in the incense burner a tube which led to a barrelful of water on the second floor of the building behind the artificial rock. The water pressure is enough to produce this fountain-like effect. This "fountain" went on during the whole time of the prayer meeting and provided a spectacle for many curious men, women and children. The author was amazed by the following fact at first: One old woman approached the "fountain" with her young grandson. She took out a small cup from her pocket, received a cupful of the water and then drank some of it before letting her grandson finish it. She frowned a little after drinking the water. On being asked about the reason for drinking the stuff she said it was a "fairy water" and could guard its drinker against the epidemic!! The author afterwards noticed more women doing the same. Frankly, at first the author thought that the local people took a playful rather than serious attitude towards this rock structure with its midget fountain, but after observing behavior such as the above he has to modify his first impression. The similarity of the psychological background between the incense ash as medicine from certain temples (a common practice in the culture) is manifest. In a culture where a single almighty deity is inconceivable, any shrine put up by anyone enjoys a spiritual prestige unknown to the modern West.

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C. Modern Precautions

751 744 625 The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures[1] stated above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

751 203 The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private individuals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

751 743 203 The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the missionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

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Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the <u>absolute</u> effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. N, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection: but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

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spirit one may have offended unintentionally after all," was his conclusion.

A local boy by the name of Yang is the author's friend. He is eighteen years of age and a third-year junior middle school pupil. He was the tea-server at the prayer meeting in Area I and was most enthusiastic when the author inquired about the rituals of this prayer meeting. He had two free injections in the local hospital. He told the author that the hospital only gave one injection and that he knew the college infirmary gave three. He believed that the hospital was being economical and that one injection alone would be ineffective. So he insisted on having two, by telling the hospital people that he would pay for the second one if he were refused it. He thought that injection was the only way to prevent one from getting cholera, but working in the prayer meeting gave him a good time. "Besides," he said, "My parents want me to be at the prayer meeting."

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The trader (formerly primary school teacher) mentioned in the above list, lives in a village south of the town and is thirty-six years of age. His mother is over seventy, and he has a wife and three children. His father recently died of cholera. At the time of the author's interview with him, the cholera prayer meeting in his village had just been over. All of his family members except his wife were injected. He firmly believed in the efficacy of the injection and told the author the following story to indicate the strength of his belief: At first his third son would not have the injection in spite of his persuasion. Then the boy became sick. The man then took the boy for an injection and some modern medicine. The boy was well at once. Paradoxically, he knows also that the injection is useless on a person after the cholera attack has already begun. He contributed fifty national dollars to the cause of the local prayer meeting and was one of its many officers.

Further detailed enumeration of all the thirty more cases is not necessary here. Though the cases studied are small in number and therefore from them a definite conclusion cannot be drawn, one or two impressions may be given. The author's primary impression from such a study is that the injection is <u>another</u> device against the epidemic, not the only device or even the most important one; it is a measure to be taken together with the other means of cure or prevention. To rely upon it alone, or any one thing alone, is thoroughly unwise. The cholera prayers are a thing that the community has always had and are a matter of course. For this reason the author found most of the children who (whether in school or not) were about the various prayer meetings had been injected, but most adults had not been injected. The parents do not mind having their children subjected to this novel device, but as for themselves, that is often a different question. It varies more with circumstances. The cook who with his wife runs the bachelors' mess for faculty members of the missionary college allowed his children and wife to take three injections at the college infirmary, but he himself absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter after the first dose. He said "It is too painful." His wife went for the injections only under pressure of some of the members of the mess, who threatened to discharge her if she refused. She is usually more pleasant than her husband.

Very few local women have had the injection. The ones whom the author had the opportunity of asking mostly also replied, "It is too painful." The woman who is included in the above list of injected persons is a widow and goes to meetings of temple prayers and other similar functions regularly, but she is also very inclined toward the outsider's ways of life. She owns a part of the house which is the Women's Dormitory of the missionary College

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomenal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area Z took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

CHAPTER VI

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE INTO A RUSTIC COMMUNITY

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Conscious efforts in seeking to propagate modern medicine and health measures in the various backward countries so far run along two lines: (a) the "dictatorial method" and (b) the "democratic method". These two terms are the author's own adoption and have nothing to do with their current usages.

(a) The "Dictatorial Method".

The first method is resorted to by governments which assume the role of Dieu Protecteur and require the people to follow their instructions and legislation with a minimum of, or no, explanation at all. The Yunnan Provincial Government tried this method. A friend of the author's, Mr. Chang Tze-ji, visited Yu Hsi Hsien, Yunnan, during a time when the periodic markets failed to take place. Upon inquiry he found that the provincial health department was enforcing compulsory inoculation against typhoid and cholera, and the villagers evaded it by refusing to come to the market altogether. The Japanese authorities in Occupied China often enough have tried this method. And the British rulers in Africa have frequently required the clearing of bushes with compulsory labor or moving away whole villages in the tzetze fly area in order to exterminate the sickness of which the fly is the cause, or resorted to other measures equally drastic.

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Are such measures fruitful? Yes and no. All such efforts undoubtedly achieve some results (the authorities in question may always be able to show figures of increase in hospital beds or equipment or of the number treated). Certain sanitary measures, such as the disinfection of water sources or the clearing away of tzetze fly bushes, are best done with some exercise of governmental power, but such efforts so far have neither secured a really widespread cooperation on the part of the peoples nor taken a deep root in the indigenous cultures. The peoples on whom such measures are imposed may decide to evade them, as some Chinese have done. They may retard the intended progress so that even enthusiastic ethnographers like Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald have to admit, after over thirty years of European administration and missionary work, that:

> "Both ways, those of old Africa and of modern Europe, are tried alternatively" (Op. cit., p. 98); or again, "Although the activities may not be fully understood, the health service has shattered the influence, of the sorcerer and magician. Of course, not entirely." (Ibid., p. 98)

In Samoa, where "more than a quarter-century of continuous and persistent work with the staff and resources, made possible through the cooperation of the Navy Department (U.S.A.)," has been carried on, the results are, as we have seen in two quotations, far from satisfactory and have caused Professor Keesing to observe that,

> "The first enthusiastic assaults of the latter (modern medicine and public health measures) have made some headway, but the traditional forces, strong enough in Western society, have been little or very impermanently shaken. For the timebeing, therefore, there has been at many points a compromise.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 little stream in the middle of a beautiful forest, with abundant firewood and grass.

So far we had been very little troubled with bad weather, but we were now to experience the inconveniences of marching in snow. The next day we reached the top of the Ya-lung-Yangtze watershed at 15,300 feet. The snow already lay several inches deep, and in the afternoon it began to fall again with the accompaniment of a bitterly cold wind. The road still kept up on the ridge at an average height of 15,000 feet, and I persevered in hopes it would soon begin to descend and bring us into a warmer climate.

By six o'clock we had not got perceptibly lower, but luckily one of the guides knew of a deserted hut a little way off the path, and this we reached just at dark. The roof was full of holes, but there were dry corners to be found, and with this and two tents we all managed to get some sort of shelter. We were able to light fires and cook with melted snow, and the snow was not quite deep enough to prevent the mules grazing, so on the whole things might have been worse. My Indian followers, some of them men from the warmer parts of India, must have felt the cold keenly, but neither of cold nor of anything else did any of them ever complain.

Loading the mules with fingers numb from cold was rather a long operation the next morning, but once on the move things began to look more cheerful. In a couple of hours' marching we got out of the snow, and after 12 miles of continuous downhill reached Lei-lung, the first village we had seen since leaving Mi-li—an uninhabited stretch of nearly 40 miles.

The sun which shone brightly on our morning's march was very welcome after the dismal weather of the day before, but the glare which it caused from the snow had the unfortunate effect of giving several of my men snow-blindness. They suffered no pain from it, but everything looked dark to them. I had fortunately foreseen this contingency, and had in Yün-nan Fu bought several pairs of coloured spectacles which I now served out all round.

•751 In sunny weather with snow on the ground it would be almost impossible to do a march in Tibet without some protection to the eyes. The Tibetans often use a sort of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•751 veil of horse-hair for this purpose, and they eagerly buy up the spectacles which Chinese traders occasionally bring in for sale. I once suffered slightly from snow-blindness myself, having imprudently started on a march without my coloured glasses. The effect was to make everything look purple, but it passed off after a few hours inside a house.

000 On the 23rd we still went on downhill, for a mile or two, to a river which here flows at the surprisingly low level of 6,200 feet. It is crossed by a bridge 50 yards long, made with layers of beams stuck out one over the other from both banks, with a span of planks in the middle, resting on the ends of these beams. This seems the common type of bridge in this part of the country, and I have seen several similar ones in Yün-nan. After passing the river, we crossed a spur and camped for the night at the little village of Tzŭ-lo.

The next day an unusually easy road brought us to Wei-jih, where with much difficulty I bought some maize for the mules and flour for the men. From here two roads branch off, both leading, they say, to Chung-tien. I took the more northerly of the two, as being the more likely to keep me longer on unsurveyed ground, away from Ryder's route from Yung-ning.

On the 25th we reached Ran-da, a very small village, where wheat was the only grain to be got for the mules. I should have halted here for the night if I had known what the road in front was like, but as not a soul in Ran-da knew a word of Chinese it was a little difficult to get information.

As it was, the day being still young, we pushed on. The next two miles entailed a climb of 2,750 feet, and at nightfall we found ourselves with exhausted mules forced to camp in a place so steep that one side of my tent was three feet higher than the other.

It began to snow soon after dark and went on steadily all night, so that there were several inches on the ground by daylight. The thermometer stood at 27° at seven o'clock in the morning—not extreme cold certainly, but quite enough to be very unpleasant when camping out in a snowstorm.

The two guides we had brought from Ran-da had had

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During my stay there was an old Chinese physician in Ma tang, who for more than a lifetime had traveled through here each year and who was well-known among young and old. He was a smallpox specialist and on his travels applied the old Chinese method of variolation. In small bamboo tubes he kept human pock lymph with which he "inoculated" or, more accurately, infected, all children up to 12 years that were brought to him, for 300 cash. He put a few drops of his liquid into each child's nose whereupon the children fell ill of smallpox (variola, or, in the native language, dabram) after four or six days and had up to one or two dozen pock efflorescences on their faces or on their chests. He always got his lymph back on his journeys by pricking open individual pustules before they dried up, and gathering the contents. He chose sick persons who had as few eruptions as possible, but beside that he thinned out the lymph with water. The man's opinion was that by means of this dilution he had first of all succeeded in preventing the severe pox among his patients and that they recovered within a week. I was told that throughout Kin tschuan this variolation method is practiced and that if only part of the children in a village are "inoculated" and the rest become infected without having been treated by the specialist, then the ones who were not vaccinated had severe cases of smallpox, a true variola; furthermore, that the variolation caused much severer symptoms among adults than among children under 12.

My long-drawn-out wait for the messengers of the Li fan yamen was interrupted by several excursions to the nearest mountains, whenever the weather permitted. As a rule it rained many hours every day, if not all day and all through the night. The time of the summer solstice means the rainy season for the entire eastern Tibet, especially for the southern portions. For days the sky is covered with rain clouds; and scraps of fog, the worst enemies of topographers, hang low in the valleys. If I climbed south from my campsite up the Tsche kou (eat-bitterness) Pass and from there to the nearest mountains I reached the flat mountain formation a little beyond 4,250 meters the base, from which rose the row of peaks with their slopes of rock fragments and isolated snow patches. I stood on meadows there which were smoothly sloped, broken with swamps and dotted with rounded knolls (roches moutonnées). But already below 4,000 meters, at 3,700 meters, the valley floors widened and were more trough-shaped than at the market place of Ma tang, which still lies wedged in, causing cold in winter and lack of sun, about which the inhabitants complain bitterly. Beginning with 3,700 meters most of

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3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

788 Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four
842 Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

231 When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow
842 at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man
788 riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

842 At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous
778 *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown
753 healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

842 Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from
778 a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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789 made into which a pair of scissors is stuck, and the whole thing is displayed outside the house; this it is believed will keep the family in peace. In some places a huge paper bird is paraded round the streets with a crowd following, probably an imitation Phoenix Bird.

On the seventh of the seventh moon there is the custom known as *hsien kua*, to offer the melon. This is also the time when girls pray for ability, or *ch'i ch'iao* (巧). In some places women and girls take what is known as *ch'iao ya tzŭ*, or ability sprouts, which are really sprouted beans. The sprouts with a basin of water are taken before the shrine of the tutelary god, where incense and candles have been lit. Each girl takes one of the long sprouts, breaks it into small pieces and throws them into the basin of water, then waits to see if these form into the shape of a flower; if they do she will be clever at needlework.

On the first of the tenth moon there is a custom known as *hsien niu wang*, offering to the ox spirit. Rice cakes, *ch'i pa* (糍粑), are made and given to the ox, which is not supposed to do any work on that day. Anyone daring to work his animal will be cursed and told that he ought to become an ox in the next life. In many country homes the oxen are dressed and petted on this their birthday.

753 824 Hydrophobia (瘋狗傷人), *fêng kou shang jên*. It is said that the snake when about to hibernate eats of a herb called *ling chih ts'ao*, "boletus." At the time of moving insects (驚蟄), it comes forth from hibernation, and vomits a great amount of phlegm, *shê hsüan tu* (蛇漩毒), which smells very strongly. If a dog eats this or if individuals smell it, they are from a Chinese point of view doomed to an attack of hydrophobia. This herb if eaten by human beings makes them comatose, but after the effects have been slept off, it is believed that the individual will live to a great age. This disease of hydrophobia is to be found all the year round, but is most common in spring time when the oil plant is in flower, so much so that the saying runs The rape is in flower; mad dogs will make their appearance. But it is said that the disease among dogs has nothing to do with the rape

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plant, but with the snakes that come out about that particular season. 753 824

There is a small bamboo which grows on the hill-tops, whose root is black; when powdered this root is believed to cure persons bitten by a mad dog. The bamboos are also used as walking-sticks as it is believed that rabid dogs are afraid of this particular kind of bamboo. 755 753

When a dog has got rabies, it stops eating, drops its tail and pushes out its tongue, barks wildly, stiffens its neck and runs furiously; bites its own people and then runs outside to bite others. If it should bite at a person's shadow or sweep suddenly past anyone, they are in danger, and so is even the person who kills it, and must go through the treatment given for rabid dog bites. Nothing is said of these animals fearing water.

The poison from these bites is a terrible thing in the Chinese opinion; for they think the person bitten becomes impregnated with puppies and if these cannot be driven out with the fæces or urine, death is certain. The trouble may begin any time from seven to forty-nine days after the bite. But one is not reckoned safe till one hundred and twenty days have passed. When a person has been bitten the specialist is invited at once, who generally heals by contract. He expects nothing if the patient dies. The calf of the leg and flesh of the forearm are pounded by people in turn till the person is almost unconscious. This is done to bring the poison to a head. The mad dog is hunted and killed by some; the flesh taken and eaten, the skin made into a sleeping mat; the hair burned to ashes and applied to the wound, while medicine is taken every seven days for forty-nine days.

To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is believed by many to be as bad as the actual bite, and medicine is needed to counteract it. In fact, even to fear or see a dog of this kind is reckoned very dangerous and causes great superstitious dread.

When a person who has been bitten is getting sick, he becomes silent and the eyes become fixed, soon he barks like a dog, throws off his clothing and tears it to shreds, pulls out his hair, eats off his finger nails, runs off like a wild animal

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753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

that of the laborers and those sample families studied is large. His monthly income is even more than double the comparatively high income of the butchers. Probably this fact is responsible for making a larger percentage of them opium addicts than they would have been had their economic position been less favorable. The priests of West Town are undoubtedly a privileged class of people. 796 793 465

3. The Meaning of the Prayer Meetings

(a) The Priest's Explanations. - The author has spoken to three officiating priests of these prayer meetings, one of them the most famous priest in the locality, about the meaning of these prayers. Their explanation is the following: The epidemic is caused by evil Wen spirits, spread forth by the Wen God to punish the people for their sinful deeds. The Wen God acts by order of the superior deities. In order to avert the disaster it is necessary to invoke the mercy of superior deities who will require the Wen God to retract the Wen spirits which he let loose earlier on. It is necessary to invoke as many superior deities as possible. The chief deities, worshipped in the center of the main altars, are the San Ch'ing, who are three deities in one, or Lao Tzo, the founder of Taoist religion.(10) More deities are invoked each day of the prayer meeting, so that a one-day prayer meeting can invoke only a much smaller number of deities than a two-day prayer meeting. The latter again is less effective than a three-day prayer meeting. Usually three days and four nights are an adequate duration, but for real perfection seven or eight more days will be desirable. 796 753

In order to move the deities it is necessary to show first of all that the people of the locality are moral and then that their hearts are absolutely earnest and that their request is extremely pressing. For this reason posters exhorting the people to take care of their moral qualities rather than anything else are essential. For the same reason in each prayer meeting one or more representatives must be chosen to perform a continuous worshipping duty (namely to kneel on the altar with an incense burner in hand during the entire length of the prayer meeting). For the same reason, too, it is necessary for each street as well as each village to have a separate prayer meeting. The petition papers burnt during the prayers are like petitions to our worldly officials. The various amulets and incantations used and performed respectively are special keys which the mortal does not comprehend but to which the deities will readily respond. The loud music by bugles, drum, cymbals, flute, bells, etc., as well as the singing and reading by the priests, are for the deities to hear. The louder the music and voice, the higher will they reach and consequently the easier and more quickly will the deities notice the distress of the area and the more swifty take actions for its relief.

Only a properly "qualified" priest can perform the duty of the prayer, and certain special inborn priests enjoy more such power than others who are less fortunate.

It is not necessary for every prayer meeting to include the "Wen-God-retracting-evil-Wen-spirits" ritual; one or two will be enough to fulfil the purpose. But more ritual actions are always a safer course to take than less ritual actions. The ritual of spreading rice porridge along the streets

(10) It will be interesting to note that this "three deities in one" tale is entirely based upon a traditional novel on deities called Feng Shen Pang (literally, List of Ordained Gods).

[1][Of cholera, in "West Town" -- Analyst]

796 leading to the main road away from the town or village is a measure to make
753 sure that all descendant-less spirits and those spirits who are the results of undue or accidental deaths will be sent away so that they will not be able to create trouble or wreck vengeance on innocent souls by means of the epidemic.

(b) The Worshippers' Explanations. - These explanations are neither
796 as precise nor as uniform as that of the priests. The word "worshipper" needs
753 a word of definition. The author cannot decide whose belief is genuine or firmer and whose is false or less firm. He can only use the criterion of
124 external behavior. In this way he regards as worshippers not only those who subscribe financially or by work to these prayer meetings but also those who do not belong to the few agencies of outside influence such as the college, the middle school and the hospital, and who do not exclusively resort to modern measures of sanitation and injection but passively take the prayer meetings as a matter of course.

In all, through personal inquiries, the investigator has collected about sixty statements. From a review of these statements he has been able to distinguish the following categories:

1. One type of statements gives the questioner the impression: "Why ask? Isn't it natural enough?" To this category belongs the answer given by the watcher of a public granary in the Temple of God of Literature in Area F. He said: "When there is general illness, there is prayer meeting." No amount of explanatory effort on the part of the investigator could make him give a different answer. He knows nothing about the prayers uttered by the priests. He is about 45 years of age and has a wife and children. He and his family have not had any injection. Another man, one of about fifty, a dye-shop keeper, is almost blind of trachoma. He was the sole person on worshipping duty in Area E prayer meeting. That means that the man knelt on the altar for three days and four evenings till 12:00 P.M. or later except for brief intermissions. The author had hoped that this man would have much to say about the prayer meeting but was disappointed to receive the following answer: "That (prayer meeting) is because there is Wen Sickness." He would not mention anything about ghosts or spirits at all. When the author pursued his query further, the man simply pulled up his trousers and showed the author his badly wounded knees, while remarking: "You see, both knees are sore from kneeling." The majority of this class of statements refer to the meetings by saying, "This is doing a good deed."

2. A second type of statements is more philosophical. It may be represented by the statement of a cloth and gold dealer of about 38 years of age, who used to travel among several western Yunnan and Burma cities like T'eng Yueh, Mynkyina, and Paoshan, and had returned to West Town just two months before the onset of the epidemic. He contributed the sum of fifteen dollars to the cholera prayer in his street. He said, "The prayer is good for appeasing the spirits so that the Wen will not continue. I give some money because I want to do my part, not for anything else." When the query was pursued further, the man turned to psychological terms: "You outsiders need not fear the epidemic or other catastrophe in a strange locality at all. When I went out into strange places I know nothing about their gods; I did not fear." "When you walk over a tomb and do not realize that it is a tomb, you are not afraid."

Regarding the doings of the priests in these prayer meetings he said, "Although I know how to read and write a little, I don't know what is

written in their (the priests') books. No scholars do - their Chiao (or creed) is a different one. ... We only pay them, and what they sing or pray are not matters for us to dictate. We just let them do what they deem necessary."

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This man's attitude of indifference towards the priests' incantations and scripture-reading represents, in the author's opinion, that of a large number of the inhabitants toward these prayer meetings.

3. The third type of statements implies that who is or who is not struck by the epidemic is all a matter of fate (Chieh Shu), and that there is no really effective way of prevention or cure. It may best be illustrated by a man's statement concerning the medical powder which a Feng's Dispensary gave free of charge to all applicants. This powder is advertised by this dispensary throughout the town as very effective for curing cholera. One of the managers in the prayer meeting in Area E, a man of about forty-five, showed the author a packet of this powder which he carried in his pocket and asked the author to smell it. The stuff smelled like a combination of aromatic and incense. He and another older man agreed that the powder had been effective on some patients and entirely useless on others. Their explanation was that the question was one of fate and not of medicine or anything else. Yet somehow these two men seemed also to think that the medicines and the prayer meetings were not without their favorable effects. To prove the latter they pointed to the fact as evidence that by then (the beginning of the Fifth Moon) the force of the epidemic was gradually slackening.

4. The fourth class of statements gives one or more specific points of explanation. One man, about thirty years of age, a local shop assistant, said that the prayer meetings were for cleaning up the Wen atmosphere (or air). He did not mention spirits or ghosts until the author advanced to him the idea of "catching ghosts" in a doubtful manner. Then he said: "Yes, yes, they (the prayer meetings) are for uplifting and sending away (Ch'ao Tu) all those descendantless ghosts and spirits! There have indeed been too many deaths of late."

Another man, about twenty-five years of age, who is a laborer of some description said that "the prayer meetings are for providing something (like material comfort) for homeless spirits so that they will go away and not harm the living." (The idea is that each of these spirits, like those which are caused by undue deaths, will usually claim a substitute.)

5. The fifth and last class of statements is from individuals who are very much conscious of the outsider's difference in ideas and customs from their own and yet feel that they cannot raise themselves over and above the doings and affairs of their community. Thus a mason, about thirty-two years of age, named Yang, offered the author at first the idea that the prayer meetings were for uplifting and sending away ghosts and spirits which were descendantless, a statement practically the same as that given by the first man illustrating the fourth class of statements. But as the conversation developed the man suddenly smiled and said: "Of course all these are superstitions." (Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term).

Some statements from the only remaining Chu Jen in West Town, an aged man of about seventy and a highly honored soul among the populace, are even more striking. He first said that the prayer meetings were for the good of the community. Then he concluded, "Ah, Wen sickness, prayers and

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reading of sacred scriptures can keep it away?" "The prayer meetings can clean up the locality" (never mentioned a word about the ghosts or spirits). The author then intentionally echoed in a very affirmative tone: "Of course, the prayer meetings have cleared up the epidemic." Upon hearing this the old man instantly responded: "But all these are simply superstitions." (again Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The author then explained to him, following Malinowski, that the true effect of these prayers might be to stabilize the community during a crisis, in which case they would have their proper function. He made no comment on the author's explanation. It might be that he failed to comprehend what was being said. It might also be that he understood it but did not know how to reply properly. But he simply went on to say that the meetings were "affairs" of the community, and as a personality of standing in the community he had to patronize them. He also mentioned that the community had this sort of prayer meetings on a large scale only once before, in the seventh year of the Republic (about twenty-three years ago) when another Wen broke out (not cholera, but headache and vomiting). This old man contributed twenty dollars to one prayer meeting and twenty-five dollars to another. (He is not at all wealthy.) He headed the list of directors in the prayer meeting which took place at Area H (center of the town) in which the highest single donation was $2,400.

This class of persons generally express, in one way or another, that they feel happier if they participate in the "affairs" of the community in the proper manner, whatever the outsider thinks about these "affairs". To this class also evidently belong some outstanding citizens of wealth in this community. The L. family, e.g. which is the chief supporter of the hospital and the middle school and the sole owner of the public library, spent over a million dollars for a pompous funeral in the traditional style and was the largest single contributor in at least two prayer meetings (one of which took place at the center of West Town). The R., another wealthy family, is also very much in the same position. A most interesting fact was observed in connection with a certain U. family which used to be the sixth or seventh wealthy family of the locality but which has been going down hill for some time. In a conversation Mrs. U. told the author that her family contributed five hundred national dollars to the cost of the prayer meeting in her street (Area E). But on examination of the list of contributors the author found that her husband's name was only associated with the insignificant sum of one hundred national dollars among donators of much larger sums.

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Incidents such as the last reveal that support lent to the prayer meetings is primarily a matter of social prestige, and the individual or family that has not been able to keep up with the expected level feels very much embarrassed.

An analysis of the conditions of these informants gives no definite impression as regards the significance of their age. The author had at first expected to find older people more conservative about the prayer meetings, giving more details, and the younger ones less so. This expectation is not met by the data. It is true that, as stated before, the elders and older people are in charge of the direction-managing and worshipping duties in practically all the prayer meetings. An inspection of some of the prayer meetings in session will also tell us that the spectators standing or sitting about the places of meeting during most hours of the day are either older people or children or older women. But such phenomenon is perhaps natural enough. The middle-aged or other able-bodied men and women have their work in shops, fields, and at home.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ya Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

of the Shweli, and is some 12 miles long by eight miles 133
broad. It is full of villages and well cultivated, and is one [241]
of the largest, and quite the richest, of the plains inhabited
by Chinese Shans. The town, like all the other villages of 361
the plain, is so surrounded with bamboos and with banyan
and other trees that it cannot be seen till one is close up to
it. It contains 500 or 600 houses, well built of soft bricks [342]
in the Chinese style, and most of them have tiled roofs.
The sawbwa's new palace is a very fine building, occupying [346]
a considerable part of the middle of the town. There is
also a large monastery, and the whole place wears a greater
air of prosperity than any Shan town I have ever seen.
There has been a mud wall round it, but this is now all
broken down. One of the sights of the place was a panther, [136]
which the sawbwa kept shut up in a cage just outside his
palace. It was said to have been caught on the hills which
overlook the plain. I have occasionally seen panther's
tracks in Yün-nan, and no doubt they exist in many places
in the province.

I was put up in the old palace, which was occupied by the 62a
sawbwa's uncle, who then had more to do with the management of the state than the sawbwa himself. He was a very pleasant-mannered and intelligent man, apparently about 50 years of age. He had travelled all over the Chinese Shan States, and had visited Ta-li Fu and Yün-nan Fu. I sent my card to the sawbwa, and he returned the call in person. He was considered too young to govern the state, and his uncle was at that time officially recognised as regent by the Chinese authorities[1]. The sawbwa had just been to Rangoon to worship at the big pagoda, and seemed much pleased with his visit.

The height of Möng Hkwan is about 3,350 feet, and it 133
is considered too unhealthy for Chinamen to live in except
in the cold weather. A good many Chinese traders come 753
here in the winter, but they all go away in March or April.
The guide who brought us down from Hsiang-ta went back
home at once; nothing would induce him to sleep the night
in the plain. However we were for several days in these
comparatively low-lying Shan States, but none of my China-

[1] The young sawbwa assumed the government of the state himself soon after my visit.

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• 753 men suffered from fever at all. These places are doubtless somewhat feverish, but the Chinese exaggerate their unhealthiness.

000 The next day we followed the plain down for some distance and then turned in a westerly direction over some grass land into Möng Chi, a district of Möng Hkwan lying along the narrow valley of the Nam Chi. The Chinese call it Hsien-kang.

On the 8th we climbed a range to a height of 6,500 feet, when at about nine o'clock it came on to rain very heavily, so, finding a large temple in the Chinese village of Ho-t'ou-ts'un, we stayed there for the night. On the 9th we descended to Möng Yang, another Shan district which forms part of the state of Möng Ti or Nan-tien. It consists of a plain seven miles long, lying along the valley of the Shweli, which is called the Nam Yang by the Shans in this part of its course. The river is here 60 yards wide, and is at this time of year easily fordable by men, but is just deep enough to wet the bottom of mule loads. Möng Yang is called Hsiao-lung-ch'uan by the Chinese; its height is 3,300 feet.

The next day we had a steep climb up a range 5,400 feet high and an equally steep descent to the valley of Möng Hüm, called Lo-pu-ssŭ-chuang or *the four turnip farms* in
231 Chinese, also a district of Möng Ti. This narrow plain we followed down for the rest of the day, passing numerous Shan villages full of large flocks of ducks and geese, which
000 feed in the sandy shallow bed of the Nam Hüm. We slept at Ung-lön, almost the last village in the plain. The headman here said he would give me no guide to Ho-hsa (Hu-sa) as the people were all afraid of the Kachins along the road. Luckily there happened to be two Ho-hsa men sleeping in the same monastery at Ung-lön, and I had no difficulty in getting them to act as guides, as they were going the same way themselves. Our road climbed to a height of 6,350 feet, passing the large Kachin village of Pang-sang. On top of the range is a lot of open grass land, and the road winds about in this for some miles, till the Möng Wan[1] plain comes in sight below. The road,

[1] Called Lung-ch'uan by the Chinese, or sometimes Ta-lung-ch'uan to distinguish it from Hsiao-lung-ch'uan (Möng Yang).

000 The next day, the 24th, we crossed the watershed between the Mekong and the Black River at 7,500 feet, and on Christmas Day reached Hsin-fu. The village contains only 30 houses, and is built on the Pa-pien Ho, a river 50 yards wide, which is the upper part of the Black River of Tong-king.

•753 The height of Hsin-fu is only 3,400 feet, and the whole of this part of the Black River valley has a bad reputation 764 for unhealthiness. The Hsün-chien, the small official who is in charge of the district, had just died and was in his coffin in the room of the temple I was sleeping in, awaiting removal to his native place for burial.

132 Certainly I did not find the Black River valley a pleasant climate even at this time of year. At night the thermometer would go down to 40°, and there would be a nasty cold mist till the sun broke through about ten o'clock, when it would become decidedly hot. But in justice to this valley I should mention that Turner and Ker were travelling in it for some days in the height of the rainy season, and that none of their party, which included several Chinamen, suffered at all from fever. So healthy are the great part of the uplands of Yün-nan, that the Chinese of that province are apt to condemn as unfit to live in any place where it is possible to get fever.

000 For two days from Hsin-fu we followed down the Pa-pien valley, but keeping generally some way off the actual river. An uninteresting country, very thinly populated by Chinese and K'a-tus. Later on in March and April there is a good deal of traffic in P'u-êrh tea along this road, but at this time of year there is no trade except in salt carried by men on foot from Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh.

317 Leaving the Pa-pien valley altogether on the 28th, we turned more westward and the next day reached Mo-hei, a large village with an important salt well which supplies a very large part of southern Yün-nan.

Here our route joined the main road from Yün-nan Fu to P'u-êrh Fu, and the next day, crossing a range at just over 6000 feet, we dropped down into the P'u-êrh plain.

206 The only apparent change in P'u-êrh since I was there five years before was the establishment of a telegraph 000 office. In the evening I spent several hours at the office

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847 their girls because they are unable to support them. It is impossible to get enough information to make a reliable estimate of illegitimate births and infanticides, but it is certain that both are very numerous among both rich and poor.

754 791 When a person falls sick a quack doctor may make him believe that his spirit has already departed and entered into a certain pregnant woman, and that the only hope for his life is to curse this woman and make her miscarry. This is done by the 胎術 *t'ai shu*, womb black art. Generally a witch is called in; she takes an egg and recites over it an incantation somewhat as follows: "If the spirit has gone south the south precinct god 土地神 *t'u ti shên* will bring it back; if to the north, the north precinct god will do the same," etc. The egg is then put in hot ashes, and if it spurts in any direction the spirit is called back from that quarter with the usual ceremonies. Persons known as *shuan t'ai-ti* 拴胎的 are called in for the purpose of counteracting this black art.

845 It is believed that deformed and maimed births 屬精瞎怪 *ch'üeh ching hsin kuai*, are the outcome of sin, whether of adultery or of irregular intercourse as to time or place.

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[11.]

CHAPTER II

PASSING THROUGH CRISES

(OR, CROSSING THE BARRIERS 度關 *tu kuan*)

To take children through the important crises in their lives is the work of a sorcerer. On consultation the fortune-teller announces the critical times in the child's life, when that life may be in danger. The sorcerer's help is then asked for, and he invokes the aid of the *k'ai-kuan t'u-ti* 開關土地 the precinct god who opens barriers.

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The following are a few of the crises or barriers which may occur in a child's life, and with respect to which he must be carefully guarded.

There is the 短命關 *tuan ming kuan* or short-life barrier, which means that the child may die at any age before 12 years. At 12 the barrier or crisis is over. There is also the 100-days barrier; the child is not safe till past that age.

The Buddhist-priest barrier 和尚關 *ho-shang kuan*, means there is danger that the boy will run away from home and become a priest, which is equivalent to losing him altogether.

The "knock-door crisis" 撞門關 *ch'uang mên kuan* means there is danger that the child some time visiting a neighbour's house will get bitten by a dog or catch

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some infectious disease. This barrier is avoided in the following fashion. The parents take the child out for a walk, and accost the first person they meet, pedlar, beggar, or what not. They salute him and tell him the matter, asking him to become surety for the child. If he consents he will give the child a new name and become his *kan tieh* 乾爹 informal adoptive father (or *kan ma* 乾媽 adoptive mother). The person is then invited to the house and food put before him, and the same evening the necessary ceremony, much the same as in sorcery, is performed in the house.

The danger may be that the child must pass the *lei-kung kuan* Thunder-god barrier, or be killed, as the Chinese say, by thunder. Such death is regarded as evidence of the special displeasure of Heaven.

Another crisis is the *ch'ü-ming kuan* 取命關 or taking-life barrier. There is danger of the child's life being taken by a demon. In this case a butcher is asked to become surety or adoptive father, because he carries a knife and can thus frighten away the slaying demon. Much the same ceremony is performed as in the "knock-door crisis."

It may be threatened that some heavy or sharp article shall fall on the child and kill it; this is a *tao-chên kuan* 刀砧關 or knife and anvil crisis. A butcher with his knife or a blacksmith with his sledgehammer is sought as *kan tieh*.

The danger may be that of drowning, *lo-shui kuan* 落水關. Any willing person may be made *kan tieh* in this case.

The *p'ei-ma kuan* 披麻關 or donning-sackcloth barrier, means that there is danger the child may be left an orphan, or that he will fall sick if he sees anyone in mourning.

The crisis to be dreaded may be that the child will one day fall through a hole in some bridge and be drowned. This is the *tuan-ch'iao kuan* 斷橋關 or broken-bridge crisis.

The child may be liable to the *chiang-chün kuan* 將軍關; that is, he may be accidentally shot. To avert this calamity, or to get past this barrier he must worship at the tomb of some military general 將軍, or at some memorial stone. Such a lad will most likely carry through life the nickname *pei* 碑 or tablet, because he worshipped at the stone slab.

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There is a crisis recurring at 3, 6 and 9 years old, *san liu chiu sui kuan* 三六九歲關. The child with this threat on him is not allowed to travel far or visit any house where a corpse or coffin may be till he is ten years old.

The white tiger barrier 白虎關 *pai-hu kuan*, means that a dog will bite the child, or a demon attack him, or that he will be left an orphan.

There is fear that the child will be made ill by the sight of blood; this is called the blood-dish barrier 血盤關 *hsüeh-p'ên kuan*. A butcher is the proper *kan tieh* to be sought for in this case.

There is danger lest the child should be scalded by the upsetting of a kettle of water or burned by the fire-brazier in the winter. The people are in the habit of putting the fire-basket under their clothes or even taking it to bed with them with the result that many lives are lost and much property destroyed.

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776 If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

788 Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the
791 heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

788 What would appear to have been originally an exception-
754 ally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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The tablet used is 三十二天上帝中央一元梵天帝君 788 *san shih êrh t'ien shang ti chung yang i ch'i fan t'ien ti chün*; 754 or a Buddhist priest uses 二十四諸天菩薩無量世尊 *êrh shih ssŭ chu t'ien p'u sa wu liang shih tsun.*

Note that there is one incense stick and one candle for each spirit worshipped.

Another ceremony is the worshipping or thanking Earth 788 *kung ti* 供地 or *hsieh t'u* 謝土.

This is deemed necessary when a house has been repaired, the dragon having possibly been disturbed; or when a new house is first occupied, or when 土府不安 *t'u fu pu an*, the place does not agree with the resident. This is indicated perhaps by his digging up some unlucky thing, such as *t'u lung tan* 土龍蛋 dragon's eggs, which are black, soft balls with contents like blood: in such cases there is need to worship Earth. Or it may be necessary because a geomancer states that the resident is at variance with the five capital evils 五皇煞 *wu huang sha*, or with those of the current year *sui* 歲 *sha*, or with that of the yellow flag *huang fan* 黃幡 *sha* or that of the leopard's tail *pao wei* 豹尾 *sha;* when Earth is worshipped these disturbing spirits are worshipped.

This ceremony also is managed by a married Taoist sorcerer. A table is set outside the house and candles and incense lighted on it. On the ground the four points of the compass are marked by lines of dry lime, a candle being stuck in the earth at each extremity of the lines and in the centre. Sometimes, especially when the fault is with the house itself, the ceremony is performed in the chief room.

Five tablets are set up to the five dragons of the five 778 points *wu lung shên* 五龍神, inscribed with 東方青帝青 788 龍神君 *tung fang ch'ing ti ch'ing lung shên chün*, the eastern green dragon spirit, and similarly for the other four, which are the southern red, the western white, the northern black, and the central yellow dragon spirits. Along with these tablets there are others to the gods of the five planets; in the east the wood-virtue god (Jupiter), while south, west, north and middle are the gods of fire-virtue (Mars), metal-virtue (Venus), water-virtue (Mercury), and earth-virtue (Saturn) respectively. The inscriptions are 東方木德星君 *tung fang mu tê hsing chün*, etc.

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757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it
791 is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master. Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

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Sometimes large sums of money are paid to have a ghost taken out of the house, but twenty or thirty taels is quite a common price. If the person who let loose the ghost is invited to remove it, he will demand much more than another, but another can do it. When he does find the wooden idol it is burned and it is popularly believed that the person who let the ghost go will suffer, because the spirit will go and harass him. Most Chinese have a great dread of certain objects and houses which are supposed to be haunted, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can cut clear of this superstition; it should always be borne in mind that such things are very real to them, however silly they may appear to us. 754 775

The "Planchette."

To seek the counsel of the spirits by the aid of the stylus, *k'ung chung hsüan pi* (空中懸筆). Various forms of this cult have been in use for many centuries. The present mode is to make a string of silk thread or human hair and suspend it from the roof, with a pen made of peach or willow twig. Directly under this pen is placed a table covered with fine dry river-sand. Incense and paper are burned before the tablet of the stylus house god, the attention of the spirits called and their help besought. 787

When the spirits come the pencil moves and writes characters on the sand. If nonsense is written, the manager, *chi shou* (乩手), further invokes the spirits by the *k'o t'ou* (kotow) and more incense and paper burning, and when the pencil writes real characters one man reads aloud and another makes a record. Enquiring from a converted *chi shou* as to the possibility of falsifying these pencil motions, he declares that with this kind of stylus there is no trickery, but the pencil does not move without being invited and not always then, and seldom moves to advantage, but he has known it to write wonderfully true things.

The tablets written in the stylus house are of two different sorts, one to the celestials, the other to *lü tsu* (呂祖). They are as follows:

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buzzing about, but as soon as they are caught they become pieces of paper again. 789

The leaves and twigs of a willow tree are broken into pieces and thrown into the river, where they appear to become fishes, but when caught they are simply the willow twigs.

A coin is placed on the upper side of a thick board with one hand and received on the lower side with the other.

A child is laid down with the stomach bent upwards, boxes full of heavy things are put on its stomach, then a man goes on to the top of the boxes, but still there is no sign of the distended stomach giving way under the weight.

A child is taken and rolled in red calico, the conjurer asks for money and, after a contribution has been given, a sword is displayed and the child yells, then another collection is taken up, after which the child's arm is cut off and thrown to the horrified crowd, and still another collection is taken up, then another arm is cut off and thrown out. The child is thus gradually dismembered before the gazing and credulous crowd, but the greatest wonder of all is that this child will be well and about the next day! This is generally the last and most exciting act of the conjurer in a place; for this he often gets large sums of money in collections.

Divination or Sorcery, Wu Shu (巫術).

A sorcerer is called *tuan kung* (端公); the classical name is *nan wu* (男巫), and the colloquial or slang name is *kuei hsiang yo* (鬼鄉約). 754 791

A witch is *tuan kung p'o* (端公婆), *tsou yin* (走陰) *p'o*, *shên hsien* (神仙) *p'o*, or *nü wu* (女巫) (a bookish name). One term may be common in one place while another will be used elsewhere.

Though the art of divination is much the same everywhere, still the Tibetan art is more intense than that practised by the Chinese sorcerers. The Tibetan sorcerer does all the Chinese do and some things extra. So before dealing with

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the subject as found among the Chinese we will notice the practices peculiar to the Tibetans.

A Tibetan sorcerer is called *man* (巫) *tuan kung*. The idol worshipped by him and used in his practice is a full-dressed lama or Buddhist Tibetan high priest.

When a demon is being exorcised a boiler is made red-hot and the afflicted person made to stand in it: it is believed that if his feet do not blister there is no hope of his recovery; or a red-hot chain is put round his neck with the same cheerful hope of blisters.

The sorcerer opens a vein in his own body and lets blood flow on to a cloth, which is given to sick persons to carry as a charm, *k'an hsüeh fu* (砍血符).

In Chinese sorcery an altar is set up, *shê sung* (設送), for the taking away of a disturbing demon from a sick person, and paper money is burned.

It is customary to worship a person's natal star in order to avert calamity or death. Each person is believed to have a star which influences him through life; and the stars are believed to be governed by the Dipper (*tou*), which is largely invoked by Taoist priests and sorcerers to avert death or other calamity, *jang hsing li tou* (禳星禮斗). When a person comes to a certain period in his life believed by fortune tellers and others to be unlucky, a sorcerer is called in to bridge over this difficult time. For people who have had an accident, or for homes where something unlucky has happened, also when a person has reached a great age, the friends and neighbours get up a subscription and present him with a night's incantations; they also present a joint petition to the king of Hades and stand surety for the person's good character and beg that many years may be added to his life. In this ceremony a tablet is written to the local god who joins the bridge of longevity (接限壽橋土地); to this tablet the younger generations *ko t'ou*. The work of the sorcerer is all done in the night. When chanting for the living, cow-horn trumpets are employed; but in wakes for the dead the conch-horn or sea-shell is used.

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Setting up the altar for the purpose of divination is an elaborate affair. A chart belonging to the sorcerer is hung up over the family gods; in this chart the *san ch'ing* (三清) have a prominent place. A bushel and a pint measure are filled with grain or dry river-sand, into which sand are stuck lighted candles and incense, all having been previously placed before the sorcerer's chart. The "three pure" are *t'ai ch'ing* (太清), *yü* (玉) *ch'ing* and *shang* (上) *ch'ing*, and are said to correspond to heaven, earth and man. A tablet to the five heads of demons or *wu ch'ang* (五猖) is put under the table; the tablet to all the poor spirits or 寒林 is put up outside the door. The writing being 寒林會上五音五姓孤魂由子等衆, "To the heads of the Society of the orphan spirits of all names and kinds."

To cleanse the altar the divining priests go with beating of gongs and blowing of trumpets to a stream or pool of water and bring back a vessel filled with clean water; this is called *ch'ing shui* (請水). The water is sprinkled all over the altar and vessels, after which the priest opens the ceremony by putting on his robes and worshipping the idols and tablets all round; this is spoken of as *k'ai t'an*, to open the altar.

The priest prepares a genealogy of the sick person, his name, residence, details of the sickness, etc., which is first read to the company and then despatched to the spirit world by burning.

After the despatch has been sent telling of the need, then the company waits to receive the return message from the spirit world.

The divining priest then enters the kitchen and asks the kitchen god to use his good offices on the sick person's behalf, while the family of the sufferer kneel in a row before the kitchen god to implore his assistance.

The repentance ode is chanted and a prayer for the healing of the disease; this is done amid the beating of gongs and drums, and the yelling of the priests who are ably assisted by the juveniles of the family.

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The priest next makes a number of charms, one to be worn on the person, another to be hung on the bed curtains, another for the bedroom door, and one is burned and the ashes put into a basin of water which has been cursed, and is drunk by the sick person. These charms are supposed to drive away the demons from the clothing, the bed and the inward man. This ceremony takes it as a foregone conclusion that all sickness is caused by demons.

After burning paper money in little or great quantities according to the ability of the family, the priest takes the clothes of the sick person and bears them, along with a tablet on which is written his name and genealogy, out to a place overlooking a hollow with water in it. Here the priests assisted by the relatives call back the spirit of the sick person from across the waters, repeating several times the following two sentences, *san hun kuei shên, ch'i p'ai fu t'i* (三魂歸身, 七魄附體); that is, may the three souls and seven spirits return to the body; then they finish up with a weird yell of "come back, come back." Of course when the sick man is in delirium it is believed that the soul has already left his body and gone wandering elsewhere.

Straw or reeds of any kind may be used to make an effigy, and paper clothing is made and put on it. Wine and rice are offered to it. A piece of paper money is ignited and applied to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Sometimes a needle is used to prick these four organs; all this is done with incantations, after which the effigy is supposed to become accursed as the substitute of the sick person. It is carried to the sick chamber and is addressed by the sorcerer as *mao ta lang* (茅大郎), great straw gentleman, or as *mao ta chieh* (茅大姐), great straw sister, according to the sex of the sick one. One sorcerer faces the effigy and questions it and another crouches behind it and answers the questions; while a third sits on a chair and pronounces judgement. The effigy is asked from whence he came; and for what purpose. The sorcerer from behind replies that he has come from a great distance purposely to be the substitute and bear the penalty of the sick person, whose name he gives.

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A vegetable knife, scales, three pairs of chopsticks, one charm, one sorcerer's tablet called a *shih tao* (師刀) or master's knife, are collected. The tablet and charm are the property of the sorcerer, while the other things belong to the family. These things the sorcerer gathers together in one hand, swings them round his head, and drops them behind his back; and then all the persons gather round and listen to the reading of the omens of these articles as they lie on the floor and give indications as to the outcome of the sickness. If the three pairs of chopsticks lie in order, recovery is considered to be probable. These chopsticks are spoken of as the *lu ma* (祿馬), emolument horses; if lying in order it means the patient will need them and use them.

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The scissors in this affair are known as the *chu ch'üeh* (朱雀), or red bird. Birds are all reckoned unlucky because their beaks are pointed, but birds with red patches or red beaks are much more so, and make trouble or even death in the family. The vegetable knife is spoken of as the white tiger (白虎). If the sharp edge of this knife should lie near the rope handle of the scales, it is reckoned to be a very unpropitious omen; as white is the sign of mourning and the tiger is the most ravenous of wild beasts. The scales are reckoned to be the sick man's body, and whatever falls near this is reckoned to be falling near the sick man himself. If the *ling p'ai* (令牌) or charm falls near the scales it is an indication that the spirits are protecting. The writing inside the tablet is said to be the Pearly Emperor's name. The arm jutting out with the three crosses is said to be the three pure ones, who are believed to be peculiarly fitted for the work of frightening away demons.

The next proceeding is to *fên kua* (分卦), to read the diagrams. These are made of two pieces of bamboo which fit closely and exactly together. The two parts are thrown into the air; if the two flattened sides fall with their faces to the ground, that is called a *yin kua* (陰卦), female diagram; if the flat sides face upwards that is called a *yang kua* (陽卦), male diagram; if one flat and one round side lie upwards that is called a *shên kua* (神卦), spirit diagram. The female diagram is reckoned very unlucky, while the male and spirit

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787 diagrams are reckoned lucky, especially the latter, and the
791 spirits are invoked repeatedly to give a *shên kua.*

754 At this juncture the sorcerer enters the sick chamber, taking the straw effigy and a mug containing an egg. The sick person draws a deep breath and blows into the mug, which is then covered with a white cloth and firmly tied with a string. The sick person then blows a deeply drawn breath on to the face of the straw effigy, and in this way it is believed that the sickness demon is put into the mug and his life put into the straw substitute, who suffers for him.

A paper tray on which are painted various kinds of demons and called the flowery plate is brought; the candles, incense and other signs of the proceeding are gathered and, together with the mug, are put on a sieve and carried with the effigy outside the door of the house; the sorcerers then put up charms on the bedroom door and in the kitchen. A basin of rice soaked in water, and another basin of dry rice is then put on the sieve; into the latter sticks of lighted incense and lighted candles are stuck; the whole is then carried out to a secluded place, where the effigy is burned; the mug containing the egg is buried and the incense and candles stuck into the ground; the rice is carried home by the sorcerer; the sieve and basins are taken home by the members of the family, but are thrown behind the outside courtyard door for three days before they dare take them inside the house, lest any evil influence should be clinging to them.

When the party returns from escorting out the evil influences, the sorcerer proceeds to take down his chart, burns incense and exhorts the family gods, packs up his sorcerer's paraphernalia, eats a hearty meal, counts the wages of divination and takes his departure.

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out demons. These screens are called *ch'a p'ing* (插 屏), 789
stuck-in screen. When a house is troubled with sickness the neighbours often ask whose dirty demon has come hither to give trouble.

When a person has a hatred for another and is bent upon 754
secret revenge, a straw effigy of the enemy is made and pricked in the eyes and nose with a needle, cursed and burned; it is believed that this will inflict sickness or even death upon the enemy and is spoken of as *shê yin chien* (財陰箭), shooting a secret arrow. Another way is to go to the temple of the city god, and accuse the person at the idol shrine; the indictment is written out and presented with candles and incense, after which it is burned to ashes. This is called *kao yin chuang* (告陰狀), making an indictment to Hades. When a dead child has been carried out of the house, the doorstep is sawn or hacked to indicate that the debt of some ancestor has now been paid in full.

Sometimes over the door of the house will be found 789
written the two characters *i shan*, one good deed; being an abbreviation of the saying, "one good deed will cover a thousand bad ones." This is to deceive the demons and keep them out of the house.

Some haunted houses have a mirror hung up over the door, so that when the demon comes and sees his own face he will take fright and depart. Some parents use for their children what are known as tigers' pillows so as to frighten the demons.

On the eighth of the fourth moon there is a custom known as *chia mao ch'ung*, or marrying out the caterpillar. The idea is that caterpillars are females and in marrying them out they will leave this part of the country alone. A small red rosette is put up in the chief room of the house as an evidence. 佛生四月八,毛蟲今日嫁,嫁在深山去,永遠不歸家. On the eighth of the fourth moon was Buddha's birth. On that day caterpillars are married out. Married far into the mountain recesses never more to return.

At the spring equinox there is a custom known as *ching chüeh wang*, to reverence the king of birds. Rice loaves are

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The mas-
S sive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortu-
[579] nately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

plant, but with the snakes that come out about that particular season. 753 824

There is a small bamboo which grows on the hill-tops, whose root is black; when powdered this root is believed to cure persons bitten by a mad dog. The bamboos are also used as walking-sticks as it is believed that rabid dogs are afraid of this particular kind of bamboo. 755 753

When a dog has got rabies, it stops eating, drops its tail and pushes out its tongue, barks wildly, stiffens its neck and runs furiously; bites its own people and then runs outside to bite others. If it should bite at a person's shadow or sweep suddenly past anyone, they are in danger, and so is even the person who kills it, and must go through the treatment given for rabid dog bites. Nothing is said of these animals fearing water.

The poison from these bites is a terrible thing in the Chinese opinion; for they think the person bitten becomes impregnated with puppies and if these cannot be driven out with the fæces or urine, death is certain. The trouble may begin any time from seven to forty-nine days after the bite. But one is not reckoned safe till one hundred and twenty days have passed. When a person has been bitten the specialist is invited at once, who generally heals by contract. He expects nothing if the patient dies. The calf of the leg and flesh of the forearm are pounded by people in turn till the person is almost unconscious. This is done to bring the poison to a head. The mad dog is hunted and killed by some; the flesh taken and eaten, the skin made into a sleeping mat; the hair burned to ashes and applied to the wound, while medicine is taken every seven days for forty-nine days.

To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is believed by many to be as bad as the actual bite, and medicine is needed to counteract it. In fact, even to fear or see a dog of this kind is reckoned very dangerous and causes great superstitious dread.

When a person who has been bitten is getting sick, he becomes silent and the eyes become fixed, soon he barks like a dog, throws off his clothing and tears it to shreds, pulls out his hair, eats off his finger nails, runs off like a wild animal

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

[13] 744 757 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

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13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 42-43.

•757
744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical [978] Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744 757 In a joint convention in Chungking, a similar criticism was voiced.[18] Although many traditional practices have proved to be effective, it still remains to be seen to what extent the use of medicinal herbs can be justified by modern science. It also remains to be ascertained whether this enthusiasm for traditional medicine on the part of the Chinese Communists is more than an evanescent interest.

744 The health of the people of a nation depends on many factors. Preventive medical care or even a lower infant mortality rate does not necessarily mean the general betterment of public health. Malnutrition as the result of an inadequate diet may offset whatever has been accomplished by vaccinations and inoculations. Since little information is revealed in Chinese Communist publications, on the diet and nutrition of the people, it is necessary to point out that while reports on health and sanitation improvements on the mainland of China should not be discounted, other factors must also be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the general health of the Chinese people.[19]

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18. Ibid., No. 1012, Supplement, pp. 4-5.

19. For medical education and health in schools, see chapter on Education; for health and sanitation in the factories and among industrial workers, see chapter on Labor.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

To invite the spirit of the seventh virgin, *ch'i ku-niang* (七姑娘). She is said to be the seventh daughter of the Pearly Emperor, and is patronized by girls who want to know what kind of lot may be in store for them. The maiden who is inquiring sits with head covered while others burn incense and paper. 787

To look at the flowers, *kuan hua* (觀花). The girl who inquires for the others is set down in a quiet spot; others burn incense and candles to invite the spirit of the flower garden. She then goes in spirit and thus finds out under which tree the lot of her client is to be cast. If under the palm, fir, or soap trees, the lot will be a bitter one. If under the *kuei hua* the lot will be one of riches and honour. Under the camelia means happiness and peace; the cedar means long life and strength. The person who practises this art is paid for it by the clients.

To invite the spirit of the broom, *sao pa* (掃把) *shên*. The broom is put into a child's hands and the eyes blindfolded, paper and incense are burned and the spirit invited to help the child to sweep the floor. If the floor is not well swept, the child is beaten by the onlookers.

To invite the spirit of the earth bullock. Two youths are blindfolded and set down together. The spirit is invited and when it comes the two youths begin to knock each other's heads till some serious injury is inflicted. Eyes are knocked out, noses broken, and the youth is not infrequently injured for life. Parents forbid the practice, but it is still secretly done in secluded spots.

To invite the stool (*pan têng*, 板凳) god. Two children are blindfolded and set one at each end of a form to hold it down. The spirit is invited and when it comes the stool tilts up or turns round with the children sitting on it.

Ghosts.

Anathematizing the ghost, *chou hsiao shên tzū* (咒小神子), is done by such persons as the travelling fortune teller or the itinerant Taoist priest called a 遊方道士. He may go to a house on the excuse that he desires to tell a boy's fortune, 757 787

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757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master.
791 Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ta Tueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

278 757 and (2) by Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine in the National Yunnan University, Kunming. Dr. Shen has also been kind enough to secure for the author the aid of an old Chinese physician (trained in the traditional manner) in identifying certain drugs.[1] The results of this examination are given in the appendix to this paper.

Certain observations may be made on these prescriptions. First, in six out of eight prescriptions we find the item Lophanthus rugosus (Hue Hsiang) (about six to ten grams). This medicine is boiled with other ingredients and the juice thus obtained is drunk. According to both the old Chinese physician and the Codex of Chinese Drugs this medicine is good for stopping vomiting and for improving the digestive function. The latter volume further indicates that the drug is also good for stopping diarrhea abdominal pains, and cholera. The second thing to be observed is that one of the prescriptions which has been considered by one village as most effective contains one item only (Alumen usta or dehydrated potash alum) (composition, $K\,Al(SO_4)_2$ (see Part I of Appendix, Prescription No. 2).

Now, according to Manson's Tropical Diseases (edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935), one treatment of cholera is as follows:

"Kaolin, or bolus alba, as an intestinal astringent in large doses absorbs toxins, thus rendering them inert. It consists of Kaolin, 200 grams (7 oz.) in 400 cc (14 oz.) of water. This is a single dose, but if there is vomiting it may be repeated and sipped in small amounts at a time" (pp. 448-449) (Composition of Kaolin: $Al_2Si_2O_7 . 2H_2O$).

Dr. F. P. Shen informs the author that dehydrated potash alum (alumen usta) if used in the proper manner may serve the same absorptive purpose. He suggests however that in the local prescription the quantity of dehydrated potash alum is rather small (3.1249 gms.) and its dilution in a quantity of boiling water or soup will rather defeat its purpose.

Third, as regards the question of absorption. In the list which gives names of drugs required in two or more of the collected prescriptions we may find that at least seven drugs have to do with absorption, while seven drugs have the property of stopping vomiting or diarrhea. In another prescription which is considered most effective by the local people seven out of fourteen drugs have to do with absorption and eight have to do with stopping vomiting and diarrhea. This means that these drugs would at least be partially effective in beating down cholera. Fourth, some prescriptions are, from the point of view of modern medicine, irrelevent to the desired objective while others are detrimental to the prospect of cure. One example of the latter is the first prescription given in Part I of the Appendix. This prescription, while giving Chlorodynum (which is regarded by the modern physician as effective), also insists on the opening up of finger tips to let out blood (which Dr. Shen has been kind enough to inform the author may cause bad infection and render any further treatment of the patient by serum ineffective because of embolism.)

203 278 757 A word must be devoted to an extra advice contained in one of the posters. This is a prescription which includes Alumen Usta as one among fifteen other drugs, to be ground into powder and inhaled through the nostrils as well as taken in water. At one end of the paper the advertiser gives the following:

[1] [See p 52 -- Analyst]

"Those who are not sick ought to have anti-cholera injections, so as to prevent themselves from being infected." 203 278 757

The poster is lithographed and the advertiser says that his prescription was received from an "unworldly man" (usually a fairy) in the middle of the late Ch'ing Dynasty when a serious epidemic broke out in Kuei Chow Providence. He also says that his prescription is good for "72 kinds of Sa illness as well as for Sheep-wool Sa, Wen, Spasmatic feet Sa, etc." He calls the present epidemic Sa, but in his extra advice to people not yet attacked he uses the modern term Huo Lan (translation for the term cholera). He signs himself, "An old man of later happiness".

The author has not succeeded in finding out the composition of any of the ready-made cures in powder form, given freely to applicants. The stuff is to be inhaled through the nose or taken in water by mouth. These ready-made cures and the prescriptions are very popular. In Area E the author once met six or seven old officers of the prayer meeting who had in their possession some such powdered drugs given by one of the advertisers. They told the author that they inhaled a pinch of it from time to time as a precautionary measure. 757 278

The moral type of posters is usually long. It begins by stressing the importance of good deeds. Then it points out that the God of Wen has descended upon the people on the noon of the Fifth of the Fifth Moon to scrutinize their behavior and will give blessing to those who are good and disaster to those who are evil-hearted. One poster announces that the advice given in it was written in person by Kuan Kung, the Wary God of Wealth and a historical hero of the people (meaning that the words were given by the god when the latter was ritually invited). It says that those who offer incense, read scriptures and keep to vegetarian diet on the first and the fifteenth of every Moon will be free from disasters. In another section of the same poster the author of the poster says that he who after reading what has been stated in the poster will print another ten copies and disseminate them to the public will free his family from the epidemic and he who will print and disseminate 100 copies to the public will free his district from the epidemic; but he who after seeing the poster will do nothing about disseminating it or letting other people know about it will die of vomiting blood. 203 757

The reason for the trouble and expense given to such posters and charity in drugs is not complex. It is conceivable that the dispensary which gives out a special cure freely during the crisis may earn a name for itself of advantage to its later business transactions, but in a local community where people know each other intimately such a commercial technique is rather superfluous. The real reason, as far as the author has been able to ascertain, is verbalized in an exaggerated form in the last sentences of the poster just mentioned. Such charity is a kind of good; it goes on to one's "otherworldly" record and will be one more security on one's prosperity and health. This is clearly related in psychology to a fact mentioned in connection with the prayer meetings: There it has been made clear that in combating the epidemic, goodness of the heart and in deeds is essential. To this point indeed most posters allude in a way. In one poster the advertiser addresses the public as "Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters". It is clear that the epidemic has in a way drawn the people closer to each other and revived the communal feeling.

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The medical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end that it is from "a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Wo and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The line hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with lime powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of lime powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved (12). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

744 moxa leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area
784 in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area F) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

freely to applicants we may infer that such doings are not idle anthropological curiosities. We shall now mention the "Fairy Water" from a rock about ten li northwest of Tali and about thirty li away from West Town. The rock with the "water" is called Chiu Hu Ch'uan (or Nine Goddesses Spring) which is situated in a temple called Wu Wei Ssu, (or Do Nothing Temple). All informants, among them several managers of the prayer meeting at Area E, testified to the author that the rock only produced "water" when there was an epidemic and was at all other times dry. As will be clear from the table showing the order of the prayer meetings, the one at Area E occurred at about the end of the epidemic, so when the several managers spoke to the author about this "water" they also pointed out: "You see, now the illness is lessening, so the water from the spring is about finished." Nobody, of course, ever went to check up on this tale. On account of some personal difficulties the author was not able to check on it either. During the entire epidemic this water was carried to West Town on pack horses and was sold at fifty cents a cup. People say that its effectiveness (both for prevention and cure) varies, but no one says that it is useless.

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One more fact is to be mentioned in this connection. At the prayer meeting in Area E, the managers (not the priests) gave expression to a novel idea which had not been seen anywhere else during the entire epidemic. The prayer meeting was held in an open square, on one side of the street. There were the main altar, the middle altar and then a sort of gate with pine branches and couplets and two national flags. The street was still open to traffic, but just opposite, on the other side of the street, was built another altar-sort of structure. This was an artificial rock with tiny grottoes and elevations, "trees" and flowers in the grottoes and on the elevations: amidst its "trees" and flowers were various wooden, brass and porcelain images of gods and goddesses. (In the center was Buddha. There were two goddesses of Mercy, one wooden and the other porcelain) and dragons cut of paper. Attached to this structure were also several decorative couplets, and arches cut of paper-wrappers of fruit tins. The whole thing was evidently a hotch potch and formless collection created through a moment's fancy on the part of the worshippers. The interesting thing that concerns us here is the incense burner in front of the structure. From inside of this burner a continuous thin line of water welled up and shot into the air before falling into a receptacle on the ground. The device was perfectly simple. It was produced by fixing in the incense burner a tube which led to a barrelful of water on the second floor of the building behind the artificial rock. The water pressure is enough to produce this fountain-like effect. This "fountain" went on during the whole time of the prayer meeting and provided a spectacle for many curious men, women and children. The author was amazed by the following fact at first: One old woman approached the "fountain" with her young grandson. She took out a small cup from her pocket, received a cupful of the water and then drank some of it before letting her grandson finish it. She frowned a little after drinking the water. On being asked about the reason for drinking the stuff she said it was a "fairy water" and could guard its drinker against the epidemic!! The author afterwards noticed more women doing the same. Frankly, at first the author thought that the local people took a playful rather than serious attitude towards this rock structure with its midget fountain, but after observing behavior such as the above he has to modify his first impression. The similarity of the psychological background between the incense ash as medicine from certain temples (a common practice in the culture) is manifest. In a culture where a single almighty deity is inconceivable, any shrine put up by anyone enjoys a spiritual prestige unknown to the modern West.

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

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Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the <u>absolute</u> effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. N, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection; but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

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spirit one may have offended unintentionally after all," was his conclusion.

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A local boy by the name of Yang is the author's friend. He is eighteen years of age and a third-year junior middle school pupil. He was the tea-server at the prayer meeting in Area I and was most enthusiastic when the author inquired about the rituals of this prayer meeting. He had two free injections in the local hospital. He told the author that the hospital only gave one injection and that he knew the college infirmary gave three. He believed that the hospital was being economical and that one injection alone would be ineffective. So he insisted on having two, by telling the hospital people that he would pay for the second one if he were refused it. He thought that injection was the only way to prevent one from getting cholera, but working in the prayer meeting gave him a good time. "Besides," he said, "My parents want me to be at the prayer meeting."

The trader (formerly primary school teacher) mentioned in the above list, lives in a village south of the town and is thirty-six years of age. His mother is over seventy, and he has a wife and three children. His father recently died of cholera. At the time of the author's interview with him, the cholera prayer meeting in his village had just been over. All of his family members except his wife were injected. He firmly believed in the efficacy of the injection and told the author the following story to indicate the strength of his belief: At first his third son would not have the injection in spite of his persuasion. Then the boy became sick. The man then took the boy for an injection and some modern medicine. The boy was well at once. Paradoxically, he knows also that the injection is useless on a person after the cholera attack has already begun. He contributed fifty national dollars to the cause of the local prayer meeting and was one of its many officers.

Further detailed enumeration of all the thirty more cases is not necessary here. Though the cases studied are small in number and therefore from them a definite conclusion cannot be drawn, one or two impressions may be given. The author's primary impression from such a study is that the injection is <u>another</u> device against the epidemic, not the only device or even the most important one; it is a measure to be taken together with the other means of cure or prevention. To rely upon it alone, or any one thing alone, is thoroughly unwise. The cholera prayers are a thing that the community has always had and are a matter of course. For this reason the author found most of the children who (whether in school or not) were about the various prayer meetings had been injected, but most adults had not been injected. The parents do not mind having their children subjected to this novel device, but as for themselves, that is often a different question. It varies more with circumstances. The cook who with his wife runs the bachelors' mess for faculty members of the missionary college allowed his children and wife to take three injections at the college infirmary, but he himself absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter after the first dose. He said "It is too painful." His wife went for the injections only under pressure of some of the members of the mess, who threatened to discharge her if she refused. She is usually more pleasant than her husband.

Very few local women have had the injection. The ones whom the author had the opportunity of asking mostly also replied, "It is too painful." The woman who is included in the above list of injected persons is a widow and goes to meetings of temple prayers and other similar functions regularly, but she is also very inclined toward the outsider's ways of life. She owns a part of the house which is the Women's Dormitory of the missionary college

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomanal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

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speculation. As years go by and if the external influence continues its pressure as it does now, an increasing proportion of the local population will undoubtedly take the modern injection, but they will not necessarily withdraw their support from the measures embodied in their ancestral traditions and customs. The modern injection will then, in the minds of the local people, be ranked side by side with the prayer meetings, the many native prescriptions, the food taboos, etc., and be carried out and received in the traditional manner and not in that of the modern ways of science.

As the author travelled back from West Town to Kunming on a truck, he observed that in all towns along the road, and in Kunming itself, which the epidemic touched, prayer meetings similar to those prevalent in West Town took place. This fact shows that at least using prayer meetings to combat the epidemic is not peculiar to West Town.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

757 As stated before, all of the doings described in Chapter IV of this paper happened within the duration of the epidemic - about one month. Some occurred simultaneously. For example, the dates of several prayer meetings overlapped each other. And the prayer meetings were held as the volunteer prescriptions and moral advice spread. Some are supplementary to others. For example, the purification of the air by smoke, the cleaning up of the streets, the abstenance from meat and fish, and the disuse of the streams for washing purposes were all supplementary to the prayer meetings. They are means of avoiding the displeasure of the gods whose help is being invoked.

[744] Cleanliness, both public and private, as the modern world understands it, is not customary. And the relation of cleanliness to the avoidance of "choleric bacteria" is not at all conceivable in the culture.

[784] The taboo on a large number of vegetables and fruit may be said to be based upon sanitary ideas of a sort, but it is a sort different from what the modern man is accustomed to think of as scientific knowledge.

Closer to modern knowledge are some of the medicinal prescriptions. The analysis of their composition, as we have seen, shows that many elements would be effective in beating down the disease. But other prescriptions may be entirely useless or even fatal to the patient. The method of opening up finger tips to let out blood, for example, leads to bad infection and may render futile any application of modern treatment by serum. The drinking of the so-called "fairy water" from a cave in a hill is another alarming example. It may simply increase the rate of infection to a tremendous extent, and provide stimulus to such practices, as we have seen, as drinking unboiled water springing from an incense burner converted into a fountain.

The situation may be further analyzed, as in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM I

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Taboos on food (potato, string beans, turnip, all sour fruit, confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish, pumpkin, egg plant, etc.)	Ex.: "To please the gods" "To avoid making abdomen cold" Un.: Sanitation, or arrestation of the growth of the bacillus	Spiritual or Physical (the latter may be good or indifferent)
Taboo on dirt and animal and human soil in streets	Ex.: "To make the air and place clean for gods" Un.: Sanitation	Spiritual or Physical (the latter is definitely good)
Insistence on morals	Ex.: "To purify the heart and so please the gods"	Spiritual

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Diagram I (Continued)

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Prayer meetings	Ex: "To invoke the gods". "To ask them to forgive our sins", etc. "This is the proper communal way", etc.	Spiritual
Hanging cactus stalks, making hand-prints on doors, etc.	Ex.: "To stop ghosts from coming in", etc.	Spiritual
Medicinal prescriptions	Ex.: "To cure" Un.: Indifferent or defeating its own purpose	Physical (may be good, indifferent or bad)
Fairy water	Ex.: Cure and prevention Un.: Infection and death	Spiritual or Physical (the latter definitely bad)

Note: Ex. represents "expected results" while Un. represents "unexpected results".

As will be evident from a closer scrutiny of the data presented in the foregoing pages certain measures, though carried out for the benefit of the gods or spirits obviously also produce other results than the expected ones. And these results, from the scientific point of view, may either be good or bad or indifferent. The taboos on food, for example are for two ostensible reasons: to avoid displeasure of the gods (taboo on meat and fish) and to avoid "making the abdomen cold" (taboo on vegetables and fruit). The unexpected result of these taboos comes by virtue of two reasons: First, fruits are usually eaten without washing and peeling, while vegetables are often washed in the streams and then either eaten raw or not sufficiently cooked. By abstaining from most vegetables and all fruits the unsuspected result of sanitation is thus obvious. The taboo on fish and meat may produce a similar unsuspected result or it may be entirely irrelevent to the epidemic. Second, these taboos may produce an unexpected result on the prevention of the epidemic because of the behavior of the bacteria: According to Manson's Tropical Diseases, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. . . Meat broth, blood-serum nutrient gelatin and potato are all suitable culture media." (p. 440)

Now, isn't it obvious that by abstaining from potato and meat the local people have attained a genuinely valuable measure of prevention? The unexpected sanitary result of the taboo on dirt, etc., is obvious and needs no more comment. The drinking of "fairy water" is traditionally an undifferentiated physical or spiritual measure. It may lead to results directly opposite to the expected ones. The prescriptions may either be effective cures or disastrous. The other measures, such as the insistence on "morals", the prayer meetings, and the hanging of cactus stalks and the making of hand-prints on gates, etc., are, as far as we can see at present, without direct physical bearing on the epidemic. However, as the prayer meetings are the center around which the majority of the taboos operate, it may be said that such prayer meetings are also responsible for the unexpected beneficial physical results coming from the various taboos.

The anti-choleric injection and other modern measures of sanitation, on the other hand, are without such root in the community. They have to come in by way of individual adjustments and not by way of communal transformation. It is this fact, the author thinks, which is responsible for the phenomenon that more children than adults have taken the injection. It is this fact also which is responsible for the circumstance that the older people are in directing positions in the prayer meetings. This fact also indicates that the modern injection will have to become another accepted way of doing things (whether it be magic or science as the outside observer conceives of it) in order to come into the community at all. For although individual adjustments may be comparatively easier to effect than a communal transformation, as long as the individual has to live and be a respectable member in the community he or she cannot afford to be indifferent or antagonistic towards the life, work and public affairs of the community. In such a case, individual refusal to participate in the communal undertakings means much more than an individual affair. The individual refuses to participate at the risk of being ostracized for by doing so he is thought to be endangering the entire community. 813 177

We have thus in a way reversed Professor Malinowski's position on the relation between magic and science. He took science for granted and conceived of magic as something secondary, to take up the places where science has failed. Professor Malinowski has lived and thought in the scientific era of European civilization, where magic in many spheres of life, such as technology and hygiene, is clearly distinguishable from the main body of knowledge based upon modern science. When we look at the matter from the point of view of the rustic culture the picture is entirely changed. For then science is no longer the general background; the background, usually a mixture of sound knowledge and magic, is cloaked under the local traditions and habits, while the clearly defined scientific ideas and usages from outside will have to struggle for a foothold, taking up the places where the traditional mixture of real knowledge and magic has failed and being woven into this mixture.

There is a further question to be answered. Can we say that, following Malinowski, if some of the practices (such as the prayer meetings) do not seem to have any obvious physical bearing on the epidemic, they nevertheless provide the individual and the community with a means to psychological stability to tide over the crisis? The answer, as the author sees it, is neither in the positive nor in the negative because, after the foregoing analysis, the question does not in fact exist at all. All the practices so far analyzed are traditional ways of meeting life's problems and situations and therefore undifferentiated as regards science or magic. The prayer meetings are as important as the taboos on food. The latter again are as important as one or other of the many medicinal prescriptions or the emphasis on "morals". Very often, to many individuals, all of these are again as important as the drinking of the "fairy water". That this is the characteristic mental attitude may be confirmed without difficulty in other walks of life. At a wedding, for example, the practices which we as investigators brand as magic (such as the custom that the bridegroom must face a certain direction when the bride's sedan chair comes in) exist side by side with others which we as investigators brand as real knowledge (such as the use of a sedan chair to carry the bride, or a particular way of displaying the dowry through the streets). On the Fifth of the Fifth Moon, a festival, each child or adult has some orpiment (As_2S_3) (mixed in water) smeared in earholes, nostrils and other vital parts of the body. This is to ensure that no worms or anything else should penetrate into the body through those openings. At the same time small brushes or mops made of 757

757 hemp dyed in different colors are hung on the body, to sweep away diseases throughout the coming year. Now, by chemical analysis we know that orpiment has disinfecting properties, and therefore the first practice has a scientific basis; but no science has yet told us the disease-cleaning property of a tiny hemp mop hung on the body. In the treatment of particular diseases we may observe the same thing. In West Town the traditional method of treating skin diseases, like scabies, is the following: (1) The women of the house, with the patient, go to a corner just outside the southern town gate and cook an afternoon meal in the open air. When the meal is ready the eldest woman, leading the patient, makes an offering of food and incense and koutous with the patient in all directions. Some paper money is burned. Then the women have a meal together with the patient on the spot. (2) Before or after the above ritual the family prepares a kind of mixture consisting of Hwang Lien (Coptis teeta, Wall or Radix coptidis, containing Berberin ($C_{20}H_{17}NO_4$)) and lard, and smears it on the sores. The idea behind the offering is that a Ku Nai (goddess) is in control of all cases of the disease and has to be appeased. None of the women of whom the author inquired could give any definite relationship between the medicinal mixture and the offering. Some women simply answered: "Here we also believe in this." (This refers to the medicinal mixture.)

813 Now which type of practice provides psychological stability and which does not? Can we say that the prayer meetings provide an emotional outlet for the people more than do the many medicinal prescriptions? Can we say that the direction in which the bridegroom is sitting is of greater psychological importance than the use of the sedan chair? Can we say that the smearing of orpiment on the body on the Fifth of the Fifth Moon comes from a different kind of reasoning than does the carrying of tiny hemp mops on the same occasion? And finally, in the case of the treatment of the skin diseases, can we say that the offering-picnic satisfies the people's spiritual want more than does the particular kind of local therapeutics? Or to put the matter more plainly, is the method of wielding an axe in order to secure fuel for the kitchen any less important psychologically than the matter of putting a string of coins on the main beam (to ensure peacefulness) in the construction of a house (the practice is prevalent in the author's home village in southern Manchuria)? The author fails to see the desired distinctions and must repeat the observation that both the "scientific" acts and the acts based upon false assumptions are traditionally standardized behavior and are hardly distinguishable as one or the other in the minds of the majority of the people. Even in such a crisis as the present epidemic, the West Town populace's attitudes as a whole regarding it and their means to combat it are highly formal. The demand for an explanation from the ordinary folk of the community meets again and again with replies which may be summarized in the following unreflective statement: "When there is Wen (epidemic) we have these prayer meetings. We had prayer meetings on such a scale once before, in the Seventh year of the Republic, when another Wen broke out in our community."

When there is an untraditional happening of momentum such as a bombing or enemy invasion the people may either treat it as a traditional occurrence (the inhabitants of Lu Feng, Yunnan, set up prayer meetings against bombing in the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War[15] or ran into an

(15) The author is indebted for this information to Dr. H. T. Fei, who came across the occurrence while investigating in the area.

APPENDIX

Part I

Three Prescriptions Locally Regarded As Most Effective

(1) Notice to the Public.

The present epidemic is, of course, pre-ordained in our fate. The symptoms of all patients appear, however, to be the same. These are vomiting, diarrhea, spasm, etc. These symptoms are those of cholera (Huo Luan, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The onset of the illness is a matter of a few minutes, and doctors (either Chinese or Western trained) may not arrive in time. From my personal experience, when illness comes, the best thing to do is to drink one small bottle (or half a bottle) of Bi La Sui or Sheng Ling Sui (both are forms of chlorodyzum). At the same time take several tens of Mr. Ma Po-liang's Cholera Pills (Sa Ch'i Wan) (composition not known) and grind them into powder form. Put this powder on the tip of the patient's tongue and help the patient to swallow it with some boiling hot water. In this way the patient's illness will be half gone. Then you need to prick the Sa (a traditional term for cholera) and let out blood. Take first a thin hemp chord to tie each of the patient's fingers at the last joint. Use a needle to open up the flesh just above the finger nails and make them bleed. All fingers must be so opened, one by one. When blood has flowed out you will be able to tell the prognosis of the patient. If the blood is dark and thick the prognosis is bad. If the blood is fresh and thin the power of the illness is already slackening. In this way I cured my wife. I don't dare to be selfish and keep such a good cure to myself and have therefore decided to offer it to the public. I hope that this notice will receive the attention of all. It will be advisable for each family to purchase some of the aforementioned kinds of medicine (both liquid and pills) to prepare for a possible emergency. If there are poor people who cannot afford to buy such medicine they may come to my house, and I shall present them with some of the medicine. This is only an expression of a good will on my part. This notice is hereby respectfully presented to Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters, with many best wishes for their health, by,

Signed
(The 20th of the 4th Moon,
Lunar Calendar).

(2) Dehydrated potash alum (Alumen usta), one tenth of a Chien (about 3.1249 gms.), mix in boiling soup or water and drink; will cure instantly. Must not take rice or rice-water, or ginger. If one of these prohibitions is violated the patient will be hopeless.

From the famous physician in the army (not dated)

(3) Good prescription for emergency.

For vomiting, diarrhea, convulsion and cholera, the patient ought at once to drink the juice from boiling Elsholtzia Patrini Garcke (Latin) (Hsiang Hsu, Chinese). If the symptoms are augmented by fever and perspiration, add Lophanthus Rugosus (Huo Hsiang) to the boiling mixture.

(Neither signed nor dated)

PART II

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Drugs which Appear in Two or More of the Collected Local Prescriptions(20)

Lonhanthus rucosus, p. 1888. Function: promote digestion, stop vomiting; effective for cholera, etc.

Alumen nata, pp. 694-696. Function: relieves fever, stops diarrhea; effective for cholera.

(Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine at the National Yunnan University, says that the drug is effective for absorption and adsorption just as Kaoline, if used in proper dosage.)

Peel of Sweet Orange, p. 1684. Function: Absorbs water, promotes perspiration, stops diarrhea and vomiting; effective for cholera.

Glycyrrhiza glabra, pp. 342-343. Function: Strengthens muscles, relieves abnormal hot or cold gas in the chest or abdomen, neutralizes poisons from all sources, etc.

Bupleurum falcatum, pp. 844-845. Function: relieves gas in the chest or abdomen, promotes digestion, relieves fever; especially effective for malaria, etc.

Atractylis ovata, Thunb., pp. 1574-1575. Function: promotes perspiration, absorbs water, helps digestion, etc. Also: with several other ingredients can be effective for cholera (p. 1579).

Alisma plantago, or Water Plantain, p. 1693. Function: absorbs water and relieves fever, stops diarrhea and vomiting, etc.

Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes), p. 1038. Function: relieves gas, promotes digestion, stops vomiting and diarrhea, etc.

Pinellia Tuberifera, p. 307 and p. 313. Function: absorbs water, stops vomit, stimulates the circulation of blood; effective for cholera, etc.

Siler divaricatum, B. et H., p. 666. Function: absorbs water; effective as a mild drug to stimulate perspiration, etc.

Cyprus longus, pp. 935-938. Function: smothens gas, relieves pains from different sources, helps digestion, etc.

Realgar, Orpiment, p. 1386. Function: absorbs water, kills worms, neutralizes all poisons, etc. etc.

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(20) The properties of these drugs are quoted from The Codex of Chinese Drugs, edited by the Society for the Study of Chinese Drugs (chief editor: C. J. Ch'en), 1935, in two volumes. The World Book Company, Shanghai. Preface by Dr. F. C. Yen (President, Shanghai Medical College) and other notable personalities in both Western and Chinese medical fields. The number following each drug refers to these two volumes.

PART III

Drugs in the Prescription which is Locally Regarded as Most Effective(21)

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Perilla Mankinensis (Benc), pp. 1209-1210. Function: dispels cold, relieves gas in the abdomen; also effective for neutralising poisons from fish or meat.

Pinn tuber, p. 1735. Function: absorbs water, stops diarrhea and promotes urination, etc.

Pachyrhizus angulatus, pp. 1484-1485. Function: stimulates saliva and relieves thirst, promotes perspiration and relieves fever; stops vomiting, etc.

Platycodon grandiflorum A.D.C., pp. 979-980. Function: dispels cold, relieves abdominal congestion, etc.

Magnolia hypoleuca, p. 816. Function: absorbs water, promotes digestion, relieves abdominal congestion; effective for cholera and sun stroke, etc.

Cortex semenarcae (Latin) or Areca nut bark (English), p. 95. Function: stimulates the flowing of water (probably absorption of or expelling water), etc.

Pachyma Cocos (Latin or Lycoperdon English), pp. 1056. Function: expels water, stimulates urination, etc.

There are altogether fifteen drugs in this prescription. The others are: Lophanthus rugosus, Alisma plantago, Bupleurum falcatum, Atractylis ovata, Thunb., Peel of Sweet Orange, Pinellia tuberifera, Cyprus longus, Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes). All of these drugs have been examined in Part II of this Appendix.

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(21) In Part II, seven drugs have to do with stopping vomiting or diarrhea, and seven with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water. In Part III, seven drugs have to do with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water, and eight drugs with stopping vomiting or diarrhea. The rest, as far as we can see, are irrelevant for purposes of curing cholera.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XIX

YÜN CHOU TO TA-LI FU.

Watts-Jones's line across the Mekong—Theatricals at Mêng-lang—Wild pig and pheasants—The Mekong at Hsi-chang ferry—Narrow paths—Falls of our mules—A Chinaman's pipe—P'u-mans—Exploring a pass—Panthay villages—An Arabic koran—A midnight thief—The Kung-lang valley—Hot springs—Mêng-hua T'ing—An anti-foreign town—Iron mine—Ta-li Fu—Mr Amundsen's travels—No news of Ryder or Watts-Jones.

000 At Yün Chou we had found a letter left there by Watts-Jones. He had discovered a practicable way across the Mekong *viâ* Mêng-lang and Kung-lang, but there were some passes to the east of the latter place which he had not had time to explore. It was possible that these might prove easier than the line he had found, so we determined to examine them on our way to Ta-li.

545 After two days' halt at Yün Chou we set out again, and had a fairly easy march to the village of Mêng-lang. Here New Year festivities were still going on, and we were invited to a theatrical performance in the village temple. The young men of the village had got themselves up as elephants, lions, stags, storks, and other animals. The disguise was most crude, and the performance consisted of dancing uninteresting dances and turning somersaults very badly. However the villagers were quite pleased, and we expressed our delight and surprise at the histrionic talent of the place and rewarded the performers with some lumps of silver. I should mention that in places where there is no regular theatre, temples are the recognised places for theatrical performances.

000 Leaving this village the next day we passed some sulphur springs with regular covered-in bathing tanks. [757] These hot springs are very common in Yün-nan and are much resorted to by rheumatic people. Quitting the main

5: Davies : G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291 ually wear are made of felt and soled with leather. Our own boots were in a deplorable condition after 2000 miles of Chinese roads, and we were glad to be able to get such serviceable substitutes as the Tibetan article. They are not, however, altogether comfortable: the sole is so thin that every sharp little stone can be painfully felt through it.

435 We had brought with us some musical boxes and field glasses as presents to reward friendly individuals who might assist us in our travels, but we soon found that among Tibetans there was not the slightest prospect of finding anyone friendly enough to deserve a present. So we began to make use of these things in our horse dealing bargains. Two musical boxes and a pair of glasses was the price of a very nice pony we bought from one of the military mandarins.

132 The climate of Ba-t'ang we found extremely pleasant, very much like a hot summer day in England. During our stay the maximum temperature was 80° and the minimum 55°. The heat can never be very great in summer. Snow, they say, falls occasionally in winter but [241] always thaws by the middle of the day. The place lies 133 too high to cultivate rice, but wheat and barley grow well, and peach trees appear to thrive. We made the height 9,300 feet by both aneroid and boiling point thermometer. This is considerably higher than the observations of other travellers. Desgodins gives 8,065 feet, Rockhill 8,223 feet, Bower 8,500 feet, and Gill 8,546 feet[1].

758 The inhabitants of Ba-t'ang we found quite pleasant, and Manifold made them still more friendly by performing several operations for cataract. After the first patient—an old woman—had been successfully operated on and found she could see again, there was quite a run on Manifold's services and he restored the sight of seven people altogether. There was some danger that the patients would be too anxious to use their eyes again and would not keep them bandaged for the necessary four days, but we heard afterwards that all the operations were successful.

[1] Hosie, however, who has visited Ba-t'ang since we were there, makes the height 9,184 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

36/101 the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大研里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wùa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 魯南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; *mbue-tkhi* is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 魯嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned [762] for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦壳 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lä-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. — This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wùa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Li-chiang plain at the very foot of the snow range, its elevation being 9,400 feet. Owing to its proximity to the range it has always been my headquarters while exploring the north-west of Yün-nan and Hsi-k'ang. It is from this village that I left for the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. The trail leads from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö over a pass called Hăr-lĕr-gkv (Wind-call pass,[4] or Pass whence the spirits call the wind), elevation 10,500 feet, to the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜 in Chinese; H-M., Aschi) on the western bend of the Yangtze. The village of A-khi is, however, considerably south of where the Nv-lv-k'ö trail first strikes the Yangtze. Ere reaching the top of the pass the trail passes an *obo* (rock pile) with oak branches (such as one usually finds on mountain passes in Tibetan country); this particular place is known as Shi-zhi-k'ö (At the place of the mountain spirit), and also called Hăr-lĕr-man (Tail of the wind-call pass). 487*

A magnificent view unfolds over the plain with the many villages which dot it; in the spring it looks like a large chess-board, with the thousands of wheat-fields for squares. Here the mountain-side is wooded with pines — both *Pinus Armandi*, the tall white pine, and the yellow *Pinus yünnanensis* — oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), maples, spruces, etc. The air is clear as crystal and every tree and house stands out as sharply as if one were viewing them at close range. (PLATE 52). 487* 133* 137*

From the pass we reach an oblong depression filled with water, the howling wind whipping the surface and carrying the spray clear across, drenching the traveler as from a shower-bath. The water of this small lake, which has its source mainly in underground springs but also from small rivulets descending from the surrounding spurs, rushes cascade-like through a forested gorge down to the plain, where it joins the waters of a broad spring called Mba-mä which is used entirely for irrigating the fields of the many villages. The trail skirts the pond on the north side to a pass at the other end called Hăr-lĕr mbu (Hill whence the wind is called).

From Hăr-lĕr mbu the trail leads along the western slopes covered with pines and prostrate oaks, overlooking the lake Gkaw-ngaw (Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子 in Chinese; H-M., Ganhaidsi). This lake, like the La-shih-pa Lake, appears and disappears through subterranean outlets (PLATE 112). The mountain south of Gkaw-ngaw and facing La-shih-pa is called La-shi ch'ou-mä Ngyu; it is much frequented by Na-khi intent on suicide. The zigzag trail continues through forest to the main A-khi road, the junction being called Shi-zhi mbu (Hill of the mountain god), elevation 10,500 feet. The road is broad and lined by forest of magnificent, centuries-old, oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) and spruces, mainly *Picea likiangensis*. To the left is a valley, whose western wall is a high, partly forested (with firs, spruces, birches, maples, etc.) mountain called the Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain; H-M., Yau-schan), about 13,500 feet in height. It is the Na-khi Gkaw-ngaw gkü-p'ĕr Ngyu. We are now on the western slopes of the snow range above the Yangtze valley, the river flowing north. [762]

[4] The word *hăr* means wind, but pronounced in the third tone *hăr* means to cut. Both meanings are here employed. The fiercest and most cutting winds come over this pass onto the Li-chiang plain, rocking the houses of the last village for months during the winter and spring. As spring is the windy season, the Na-khi use the symbol of wind for spring.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER IV

DEATHS 喪禮

763 WHEN a person seems just about to die a few bundles of cash-paper are burned at his side; two candles and some incense are also burned. The dying person is sometimes moved from the bed and laid on the ground, but it is more lucky to die in bed. The superstitious, however, will not afterwards use the bed where one has died, for fear of the demons. Children of the dying kneel at the bedside while the spirit takes its departure. Rice is thrown about the house to drive away demons, if by any means the life may still be saved.

As soon as life is gone a tablet is set up. On its front is written the name of the dead, and on the back the dates of birth and death, with the characters for the five elements, gold, wood, fire, water and earth.

Beside the tablet, to call the spirit to enter it, a yellow paper flag is set up bearing the characters meaning, "To the goddess of mercy who saves from suffering."

If the corpse does not stiffen or does not close its eyes there is fear that more deaths in the family will soon follow.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Soon after death the evil influences of the dead are let out from the house *ch'u ssü hsing* or *sha* 出死星 or 煞, by poking a stick or bamboo pole through the roof; a person inside calls, "Has it come out?" and one outside replies, "It has come out." Then the stick is pushed through the hole onto the roof, and no one will touch it again if he knows it has been used for this purpose. 763

Before death the bed-curtains are removed, that the spirit may have easy exit. After death the body is laid on the ground or on the coffin-lid to cool. 764

In the case of the aged, one envelope full of paper money for each year the deceased has lived is burned in the central room. While this is done the corpse is bound in a chair, and an umbrella held over its head; women wave peach and willow branches toward heaven, and others flourish knives toward the earth, lest hungry ghosts should come and rob the dead of his travelling money.

The ashes of this paper imitation money are gathered and put into a jar, to be buried with the body, either in the coffin or beside it. The idea is that as soon as the spirit is free it is in need of cash to secure its passage through the various courts of Hades.

Five garments of each kind, suitable for all seasons of the year, are often put on the corpse. The shoes are made with cloth or grass soles, no leather being allowed. The coverlet is often very expensive. The pillow is filled with sawdust, cedar branches, or wood ashes.

In wealthy families the whole body is bound in a single piece of white cloth or silk, each finger, toe and limb being bound up by itself. Only the napkin for the head is separate. After this, or, in poor families, after the corpse has been washed and shaved, it is dressed. No outsiders are allowed to see these operations.

In ancient times it was believed that a precious stone held in the mouth 含玉 *han yü*, would preserve the corpse from corruption. The custom now is to put a piece of silver or some small article in the mouth.

It is said that a corpse has a small loaf of bread placed in one hand and a stick in the other. If attacked by a dog

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires. 487 133 137

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 俗富郡. 173

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about. 137 133 [764] 487

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 宏治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段祥瑞 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹爲憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
487 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers, the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is
[316] mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩 *f.* is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村舖, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華硐 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江舖, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉井湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[764] Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

137 133 487

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

[291]

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5).[1] In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

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Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聲寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音塘 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里塘 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but the dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[1] [See p. 28 E-- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHRONICLE

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

1. THE DESCENT OF MAN

173 The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu dsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-na* 玉龍山靈脚陽伯那 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-sun ta-tsu huan-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族宦譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mbĕr* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It is chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

173 It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*), or the Creation
173 of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the
form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony.
764 There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-

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173 ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit.
773 The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by some-
764 one in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with: "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan-bpö d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-zä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

212 *First sentence.* — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-*
173 *ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnü-gkv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbův ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:

The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bů), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nāga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan-llü-ndaw-gyi (Ḳhu). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草佛地能佛 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 弗 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

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1795 When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (*see* p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.[8] There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,[9] Pad-ma Kun-bzang[10] and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.[11] The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling[12] in Dege sDe-dge),[13] the Chinese Te-ko 德革.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

1971 It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist cere-
[1764] monies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 剌寶, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled.

1795 Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

8 ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས། 9 པདྨ་སྙིན་བྱེད། 10 པདྨ་བཟང་། 11 པདྨ་དབང་ཆེན། 12 དཔལ་གླིང་། 13 རྡེ་དགེ

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On the top of this hill, in its crater-like depression, the Na-khi of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö in ancient days used to cremate their dead and bury their ashes. The first burial *à la chinoise* took place from the village of Shu-ho 束河 (in Li-chiang pronounced Ssu-ho) in 1723, when the mother of one Ho Tsung-shun 和宗順, headman of Shu-ho, was placed in a coffin and interred. To-day cremations still take place but only of women who have died in child-birth, or within 100 days after. They are no longer cremated on the top of the hill, however, but in the little ravine at its foot. 764 133*

North of the hill is the little artificial pond called Yü-hu Ḳhü (*see* p. 216) constructed by one of the early Na-khi kings, and in it is a small islet with a solitary tree. It was here that a Na-khi king exposed his sister in a cage, as related in the history of Nga-ba (*see* p. 221). 133* 137*

A neat village temple (now dismantled and changed into a forestry station) surrounded by a grove of *Picea likiangensis* trees is west of the pond. These spruces are the remnant of once extensive forests which here covered the plain. The temple contains an image of Buddha in Tibetan style, in the Bhūmisparśa mudrā = Earth-touching or Witness attitude. A marble slab in its court, now broken and merely giving certain rules of conduct, bears the date Ming Wan-li 36th year (1608); it may however have been built earlier. The temple is known as Nv-lv kwuà-d'a to the Na-khi, and as Hsüeh-sung An 雪松庵 to the Chinese. It was one of the 12 *d'a* (*see*: note 155, p. 148) of the Na-khi chiefs, in which a certain specified part of each year was spent. The great chief Mu Sheng-pai kept here a herd of deer (*Cervus albirostris*) in captivity at Nv-lv kwuà-d'a; a place a little below the temple is still known as Ch'wua-k'o-lo (Garden of the stags), the pond Yü-hu Ḳhü serving them as drinking pool. 778

The inner walls of the little temple were once covered with beautiful frescoes, of which only a small portion remains (now totally destroyed). In the third year of the Republic, when anti-religious feelings ran riot, the ancient statue of Buddha was carried up the snow range and hidden in a cave to save it from destruction. It again sits peacefully on its throne erected centuries ago, while the old quinces still bloom in the little court as of yore.[6]

Beyond the village of Nv-lv-k'ö the region is wild in the extreme, lonely forests alternating with stretches of meadows, rocky wastes, pine-covered spurs, and deep ravines. Every hill, spur and cliff has its Na-khi name, some of which figure in their ancient manuscripts. 133* 137*

To the north of Yü-hu Ḳhü is a grassy knoll with graves, at its foot a marshy meadow drains into the pond. This hill is called Wua-nà mbu-dtò — *Wua-nà* being the name of an ancient Na-khi, and *mbu-dtò* meaning hill. From the hill a trail leads down to the stream called Ssaw-ssu gyi, also Ssaw-ssu gyi-na gyi, crossed by a small stone bridge. Beyond the little bridge the trail loses itself over a stony waste called Na-dò-k'o, also Lv-na-k'o (Place with the black rocks) which merges into a lovely pine forest known as T'o-dshwua-mbu. The trail, again distinct, leads on to a stream called Bpö-lü k'a, also Gyi-p'ĕr gyi; its source gushes forth from beneath a layer of rocks on the eastern slopes of the snow range at a spot called Gyi-mbu-gkv. Crossing it, we reach open country,

[6] The statue of Buddha had been removed when the temple was taken over by the forestry department and placed elsewhere in the village. Thus one of the old landmarks has ceased to exist.

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

I. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
S
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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Soon after death the evil influences of the dead are let out from the house *ch'u ssŭ hsing* or *sha* 出死星 or 煞, by poking a stick or bamboo pole through the roof; a person inside calls, "Has it come out?" and one outside replies, "It has come out." Then the stick is pushed through the hole onto the roof, and no one will touch it again if he knows it has been used for this purpose. 763

Before death the bed-curtains are removed, that the spirit may have easy exit. After death the body is laid on the ground or on the coffin-lid to cool. 764

In the case of the aged, one envelope full of paper money for each year the deceased has lived is burned in the central room. While this is done the corpse is bound in a chair, and an umbrella held over its head; women wave peach and willow branches toward heaven, and others flourish knives toward the earth, lest hungry ghosts should come and rob the dead of his travelling money.

The ashes of this paper imitation money are gathered and put into a jar, to be buried with the body, either in the coffin or beside it. The idea is that as soon as the spirit is free it is in need of cash to secure its passage through the various courts of Hades.

Five garments of each kind, suitable for all seasons of the year, are often put on the corpse. The shoes are made with cloth or grass soles; no leather being allowed. The coverlet is often very expensive. The pillow is filled with sawdust, cedar branches, or wood ashes.

In wealthy families the whole body is bound in a single piece of white cloth or silk, each finger, toe and limb being bound up by itself. Only the napkin for the head is separate. After this, or, in poor families, after the corpse has been washed and shaved, it is dressed. No outsiders are allowed to see these operations.

In ancient times it was believed that a precious stone held in the mouth 含玉 *han yü*, would preserve the corpse from corruption. The custom now is to put a piece of silver or some small article in the mouth.

It is said that a corpse has a small loaf of bread placed in one hand and a stick in the other. If attacked by a dog

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764 he may first feed it with the bread and then, if necessary, drive it away with the stick.

Coffins are of various prices, according to the wood and varnish used. It is common for elderly people to have their coffins lying ready in the house for many years. The provision of a good coffin and an expensive funeral gets over many a difficulty in family relationships.

The body is encoffined 入殮 *ju lien* as soon as everything is ready. The sealing of the coffin lid 封棺 *fêng kuan* or 閉殮 *pi lien* takes place three days later, the delay being to give the spirit time to return if it will. Black varnish is generally used for sealing, and a charm is pasted on at the top and bottom. The stick and bread are taken out before the sealing. Three days later the coffin is placed in position in the central room, preparatory to the chanting for the dead. It may remain there for three months 三月殯 *san yüeh pin*, or for a year.

To show the importance of burial, there is a saying 亡人得土如得金. Earth is to the dead what gold is (to the living).

Funeral rites are counted more important than care for the living. The *Li-chi* 禮記 ideal is for one mourning a parent to have a bed of straw and a pillow of clay 寢苫枕塊, and for three years the teeth must not be shewn in laughter; neither wine nor meat should enter the mouth, nor silks cover the body; but coarse weeds and coarse food must be the mourner's lot.

The rule to mourn a parent for three years is based on the mother's nursing of her child for that time.

Strips of white paper are pasted on the sign-board, etc., mourning scrolls over the door-gods and the sorcerer's chart over the family altar.

There is a custom confined to the mountain districts and decidedly aboriginal: old and young of both sexes sing and dance in a ring round a pot of wine 跳鍋椿 *t'iao kuo chuang*. After dancing, each person cuts a piece from a large lump of pork, sits on the ground and sucks wine from the pot through a long pipe stem. This goes on for two or three days and nights.

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On every seventh day after the death, till forty-nine days have elapsed there is chanting, and the women of the family weep. [765] 764

Soon after death there is a ceremony to open the road for the spirit; this is done by chanting and is more or less elaborate according to the family means.

A passport to Hades is also burned and the ashes put in or near the coffin and buried.

Immediately after opening the road a ceremony may be performed called 繞棺 *jao kuan*, to go round the coffin, or 熱血道場 *jê hsüeh Tao ch'ang*, hot blood chapel. The Taoist priest chants the 救苦經 *chiu-k'u ching* save-from-sorrow classic. The ceremony may last from one to three days, according to the means of the family. It is the short way of getting through the funeral ceremonies; the longer will be described later.

Within three days all mourning preparations must be complete. The chief mourners must have white garments, turbans and shoes, with a coarse girdle; sometimes the clothes are of coarse hempen cloth. If a son of the deceased should hold an official position he must vacate office for three years.

The coffin is guarded by sons and grandsons while in the house.

The tablet set up immediately after death, and called 血靈位 *hsüeh-ling wei*, is only temporary. It is removed, and a new one of wood, sometimes gilded, takes its place 設靈位 *shê ling wei*. This is carried to the grave at the funeral, brought back, and kept in the house for three years.

At each family meal food is offered to the spirit, in some families for three years, in others only till the funeral, perhaps during seven or fourteen days. Much depends on the position of the family.

The priestly ceremonies: 道場 *Tao ch'ang*.

Chanting for the emancipation of the soul is done by Taoist priests and lasts for from three to eight days, according to the family means. The first act of the ceremony is to invite water 請水 *ch'ing shui* for the cleansing of the altar. The priests go in a body to the river where they bury paper,

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764 incense and candles, chant awhile, and return to the house with a vessel full of water.

Then the priests have a day of tramping round the house, a man following them with a tray of vegetarian dishes of all kinds, 轉齋 *chuan chai.* Some of this food is first offered to the dead; the rest is eaten by the company. At the close of the ceremony the rice offered to the dead is at once carried off and presented to families with no male issue, in the hope that sons will then be born.

The priests then proceed to break open Hades 破地獄 *p'o ti-yii.* Quicklime is sprinkled on the ground in the form of a square to represent Hades; at each of the four sides is an imaginary gate. The priests walk round it, chanting as they go, then a priest breaks it open by smashing a basin or tile with his staff at each corner and in the middle.

At certain seasons lighted lanterns are set adrift on the rivers to appease the spirits of those dead who have no one to sacrifice to them.

To each of the ten kings of Hades a tablet is set up; the priests go round them chanting prayers and followed by the youth of the family. Each time they go round a passport is burned, till all ten kings have been thus passed.

In the courtyard of the house a small platform is erected for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*; ten lighted yellow candles are set thereon, incense is offered, and there is much chanting with clanging and banging of gongs, etc. It is said that when the spirits are pleased a small black line appears on the candles.

A ticket containing an official declaration about the person for whom the chanting is being done is burned with a thick bundle of paper, and thus sent to the gemmeous Emperor. This is called 上表 *shang piao.*

The priests cast a flower here and stick another there; this is supposed to take away sin or to lessen its evil consequences.

The departed spirit is exhorted 勸亡 *chü'an wang* to behave and and not to injure the living. It is also invited, with chanting, to return, the youths of the family kneeling meanwhile.

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A platform is put up, paper and incense burned on it, commands issued to the spirits, and 鬼弹子 *kuei tan-tzŭ* scattered for the benefit of orphan spirits. These *tan-tzŭ* are bread and cakes; the people scramble for them and eat them; those who eat become bold and are free from bad dreams.

A little weeping may be heard directly after the death, but it is generally checked because it confuses the spirit so that it cannot find its way; but after the formalities of opening the way and escorting the spirit through the difficulties of Hades are finished, the floodgates of weeping are opened. There are few if any paid weepers at a funeral, and this may be regarded as the real and spontaneous outflow of grief, though some, of course, weep as a mere form.

The ceremony of chanting for the dead is performed every seventh day for seven weeks, at the end of 100 days, and on the first, second and third anniversaries of the death.

The three Offerings to the dead, etc. 三獻禮 *san hsien li.*

Only those occupying a high position in social life and having an ancestral hall can have this expensive ceremony.

The three offerings are all alike, but one is given by the eldest son, one by the eldest grandson, and one by younger sons and grandsons. In each case the offerings are of three kinds, as follows: 酒樽, *chiu tsun*; 羹饌 *kêng chuan*; 香帛 *hsiang pi*; or, respectively, wine, soup and food, incense and silks. But various minor gifts are also included under these headings.

In this ceremony sacrifices are made to Heaven, Earth, the well, the kitchen god, the door god, the carrying-poles for the funeral, *sang yü shên* 喪輿神; to the effigy which leads the way 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*, and to the 河伯 *ho pei* or gods of the river if a stream has to be crossed.

Temporary buildings are generally put up for the purposes of the ceremony; they are called 望燎所 *wang liao so* or 望位所 *wang wei so*, and often adjoin the house. They consist of rooms where are stored the three kinds of offerings named above; a 'chapel,' *tsan chiang t'ang* where the master of ceremonies performs the ceremonies; a pavilion 歌講廳

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764 *ko chiang t'ing* for the singers, who are generally scholars with youths to assist; a room for the mourning robes of the family, etc.

The officiating masters are usually literati, who call on the mourners to do certain things in a certain order. They are, the officiating priest 點主官 *tien chu kuan*; the two precentors 引讚生 *yin tsan shêng*; three or four assistant precentors 通讚生 *t'ung tsan shêng*; the reader of the eulogy 讀祝生 *tu chu shêng*; singers of the poetic eulogy 歌詩生 *ko shih shêng*; the teacher of filial duties for the youth of the family 講書生 *chiang shu shêng*.

Letters are sent to relatives, announcing the date of the funeral and the time when offerings to the deceased should begin, and giving an invitation to be present.

The mourners arrive for the ceremony, bringing many kinds of gifts, such as pigs and sheep for sacrifice; pig's head, feet and tail, raw, or cooked with coloured rice; paper, candles, incense, gold and silver tinsel money, with "golden youths and gemmy maids" *i.e.* slaves made of paper.

A paper shrine is prepared to contain the tablet when carried to the grave.

The sons and daughters put on their white or coarse hemp garments, and white turbans or girdles are given out to all visitors.

A likeness of the deceased is hung in the chief room of the house. Lanterns are hung, and mourning scrolls of any coloured paper except red; the most commonly used are white and light blue. On the lanterns are the characters 當大事 *tang ta shih*.

The services are begun by the sons going round to the mourning department, donning the mourning robes and taking from each store such things as wine, incense, etc.; these they offer to the tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai*, and then fall down before it while the the preacher reads and the singers chant the Filial Piety classic 孝經 *hsiao ching*.

The members of the family walk up to the pavilion where the ancestral tablet has been placed. They prostrate themselves before it at the bidding of the master of ceremonies, and return to their places. This is done thrice.

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764

A notice is read that the family has entered on a season of mourning 讀成服文 *tu ch'êng fu wên.* Then the chief mourners kneel towards the *wang liao so,* the master of ceremonies burns the notice of mourning, the mourners and friends enter the house, and the initial ceremony is at an end.

The ancestral tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai,* is a double piece of wood about three feet long, the outer portion fitting on the other like a box-lid; on both surfaces is written 新故某公某母某諱某老人老孺人之神主 meaning that it is the abode of the newly deceased person, name, etc., being given.

The consecration of the tablet begins by the eldest son kneeling down and taking it on his back; he carries it to the ceremonial table and there leaves it.

Then the scholar *tien chu kuan* who is to perform the duty is brought in; he washes his hands and approaches the table, where a pencil and red ink are also put ready. He takes the tablet from its casket and lays the two parts on the table with their surfaces exposed. Then the finger of the chief mourner is pricked for blood, with which the officiating scholar mixes his red ink. The pencil, having been dipped in this blood and ink, is breathed on by the scholar. The idea is to get the life, virtue and ability of the son and the officiating scholar into the tablet, as in writing a Heaven and Earth tablet. (See under *Family Altar*).

Next, a dot of red is put over the date of birth and another over the date of death. Then a red stroke is made through the character 神 *shên* on the inner tablet 穿內神 *ch'uan nei shên,* and a red dot is put on the 主 *chu.* These characters being thus completed they are enclosed by covering with the external part of the tablet 合主 *ho chu.* The same two characters on the outer tablet are then finished in the same way.

A red circle is put on each side of the tablet to represent the ears; a red dot at the top is for the forehead, and one at the bottom is for the feet; down the middle of the tablet is put another red mark, on both front and back. This whole proceeding is called *k'ai kuang* 開光 or opening the senses. It is to be remarked that there is an inner part of the tablet,

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764 supposed to correspond to the inner man, while the sense organs are on the outer tablet, and the breath on the pencil touches all into life.

When the writing is finished the scholar throws the pen over his shoulder. It is caught and used to paint the sores of smallpox: they will then not run together.

The tablet is put back into its casket, and the scholar addresses it as the person himself and lauds his virtues.

The chief mourner then knocks his head 磕頭 *k'o t'ou* four times to the officiating scholar, who now retires, and the tablet is taken by the son and placed beside the spirit tablet 靈牌 *ling p'ai.*

Incense and wine are offered to the tablet, while the preacher reads aloud the pacificatory ode 安主文 *an chu wên.*

A document in which are written the virtuous deeds of the deceased is burned. The sons bow thrice while this is done, fire-crackers are let off, women weep and singers praise the dead man's virtues; and the ceremony comes to an end.

The funeral 送喪 *sung sang.*

The finding of a lucky spot for the grave is the geomancer's business, and is a most important matter. Many miles may be travelled and much money spent in seeking the right place, especially for a parent's grave. The prosperity of the family depends on the position of the ancestral tombs. It is said that if the *wang ming* 亡命 departed life and the earth crust 山甲 *shan chia* do not agree, the spirit returns and troubles the living with sickness and disaster. For this reason the remains are sometimes removed to a new resting-place.

The geomancer has also to fix the day for the funeral. As all branches of the family must have their convenience suited, the funeral may be postponed for years, the remains being kept in the house or in a temple, or the coffin may be put outside and thatched with straw against the weather 寄土, *ch'i t'u* or 停棺 *t'ing kuan.* When the lucky day is agreed on, the lucky times for leaving the house and for lowering the coffin are also fixed.

At the proper time the coffin is carried out and a catafalque placed over it; a tile on the roof is driven outwards

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with a hatchet and broken to pieces; sometimes rice is scattered and swept inwards as the coffin is carried out. 74

Strips of white paper attached to the ends of bamboo rods are used as flags to lead the spirit to the grave 引魂幡 *yin hun fan.*

Paper money called 買路錢 *mai lu ch'ien,* buying-road money, is scattered to the demons on the way. This money is of various shapes and sizes.

The tablet which is to be destroyed at the end of three years, not that belonging to the ancestral hall, is carried out on a portable pavilion *t'ing tzŭ,* with candles, incense, etc. Afterwards it is taken back to the house.

A paper image to which sacrifice has been offered, is put in front of the coffin to open the road, 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên.* It is burned at the grave.

On the coffin a white cock is carried, to lead the spirit which is supposed to be in the coffin. For there are three spirits; one enters Hades, one the tablet, while the third goes to the grave. The cock is the perquisite of the geomancer.

Paid men carry the coffin, and the chief mourners dressed in weeds go in front and pull. Women generally go in chairs, weeping as they go. They are accompanied by umbrellas, gongs, fire-crackers, etc.

A coffin may not be borne through a city unless it has the dragon's head at its back and front. This becomes absolutely necessary when a funeral cortège has a long distance to go.

Husbands and wives are laid close together, the side of the first grave being opened and the side of the coffin laid bare, that the new-comer may lie close. This is termed 聯棺合塚 *lien kuan ho chung.*

The grave is dug 開山 *k'ai shan* a day or more beforehand at a lucky time, and in the direction fixed by the geomancer.

A scholar with a degree is invited to 破土 *po t'u* break earth. He shoots three arrows away from the grave, then burns incense and worships. The idea is that the progeny of the deceased will become like this scholar.

A notice is read, to inform the spirits of the hills that the interment has taken place and to set the spirit of the deceased at rest.

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764 The shops which sell other funeral requisites have ready-printed forms for title-deeds of the ground on which burial is made. These are read at the grave and on the third day burned there. In the case of land acquired for the purpose of course it is a copy of the real deed which is used.

The position of the coffin in the grave is fixed by the geomancer with chart and compass.

Three days later an offering of food, wine and paper money is brought to the grave 三日伏山 *san jih fu shan.*

Cranes, deer and a tombstone, all of paper, are taken to the grave; the tombstone is placed where the proper stone will afterwards be erected; the other things are left on each side of the grave to be destroyed by the weather.

The grave is guarded by the sons of the family, but sometimes people are paid to do it. Grave riflers might otherwise strip the dead of their clothing, though the punishment for such crime is death. For the first three nights a straw torch is lighted at the grave; if it is burns out it is a lucky omen, it is unlucky if half is left unburned.

After a few months fresh earth is heaped on the tomb, and every spring or winter afterwards.

A tombstone or ornamental arch is erected to the memory of the dead. In wealthy families the stone is set on the back of a stone tortoise. In the case of officials stone pillars are put up. High officials have stone lions round the grave, to remind them of the stone lions of their yamens. The trees of a graveyard are spoken of as being like the clothing on the body. If they grow well the family will increase and prosper. There is hence trouble when one branch of a family wishes to cut down trees round the ancestral tombs.

Before the graves of very important men are set up statues of men, horses, etc.

Public graveyards are generally on land given for the purpose, and the title-deeds are kept in the yamen for 60 years, after which the graves and tombstones are a sufficient guarantee. In some such public cemeteries small towers 枯骨塔 *k'u ku t'a* are built as receptacles for dry bones dug up in grave-digging; on them may be the characters 骨肉相遇 *ku jou hsiang yü*, flesh and bones meet.

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A young child is often rolled in a mat or old garment and buried without ceremony, and new-born babies are often thrown out to be devoured by the dogs.

Buddhist priests' graves may be known by the small pagoda-shaped stone in front.

It is supposed to have been the custom to level all grave mounds at the beginning of a new dynasty, till the Ta Ch'ing dynasty, whose grace extended to love of the bones of the dead 泽及枯骨 *chai chi k'u ku.* At the present time much land is occupied by the dead which is greatly needed for the use of the living.

766

Sometimes the astrologer says the deceased has done something which will shortly cause another death in the family 犯重喪 *fan ch'ung sang.* Then a coffin is prepared and funeral rites gone through for some imaginary person or perhaps for a known sick person, and the empty coffin is buried. It is hoped this will deceive the demons and prevent the second death.

The Cantonese in Ssŭch'uan often remove the bones of their dead to another place. A grandparent's bones are inurned and kept on the family altar, in some cases being counted and strung together on wire or cord.

The aborigines find out from the astrologer how a body should be disposed of, whether by hanging out for the birds to devour 天葬 *t'ien tsang,* by throwing to the beasts of the field 地葬 *ti tsang,* by cremation 火葬 *huo tsang,* or by throwing into the river 水葬 *shui tsang.*

765

National mourning 國服 *kuo fu.* On the death of an emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty men went unshaved for a hundred days; and no red buttons might be worn on the hat; if the New Year came in this period no red scrolls were pasted on the doorposts, etc., but white or blue scrolls might be put up in sign of mourning. Women did not wear their ornaments, and marriages and theatricals were deferred till the hundred days were over.

During the first three days all officials sat for a certain time on straw in the temple, while no public business was attended to, except urgent cases of life and death.

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000 town of Hsia-kuan. There is also a path up the right bank, but it does not seem to be much used. About a mile
712 short of the town are the famous Hsia-kuan forts. Here for 500 yards or so the valley narrows in and the sides become precipitous. The gorge is closed by two archways, one on each side of the stream, which completely block the roads. On the right bank there is in addition a small stone block-house, and a stone wall runs along the bank of the river up to the town so as to flank the roads down either bank. The whole would be very effectual against an enemy who came along the road, but there is nothing in the world to prevent men climbing the hills on either side a mile before coming to the "gate" and thus getting round and coming down on it from above.

The Hsia-kuan Ho, which is from 20 to 30 yards wide through most of its course, narrows down at the point where the archways are to a width of scarcely more than six feet. There is a big stone laid across it here, which it is said has been crossed by venturesome individuals, but the sides leading down to it are so steep and slippery that anyone attempting this feat would probably tumble in and be drowned. The current here is tremendous.

361 Hsia-kuan is a prosperous commercial town with a population of perhaps 10,000. There is no official here. Ta-li is the official town, and Hsia-kuan the business town. All the merchants live at Hsia-kuan and not at Ta-li, which lies a few miles off the main road from Yün-nan Fu to Burma.

On the 2nd February eight miles of perfectly level road brought us into Ta-li Fu. The road is unfortunately paved and the stone being volcanic is unusually slippery and most difficult to ride or walk over. The plain is some two miles wide, with the Ta-li lake to the east and the Ts'ang Shan mountains rising 7000 feet above it to the west. Villages are numerous, and between the road and the lake the plain is well cultivated, but on the left of the road it is chiefly stones and graves.

764 Graveyards in China are not the enclosed churchyards or cemeteries that we are accustomed to. Each family has its own burying-ground, and they are often in most picturesque places in the hills among fir woods. Round every town

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Êrh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

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000 The next day, the 24th, we crossed the watershed between the Mekong and the Black River at 7,500 feet, and on Christmas Day reached Hsin-fu. The village contains only 30 houses, and is built on the Pa-pien Ho, a river 50 yards wide, which is the upper part of the Black River of Tong-king.

753 The height of Hsin-fu is only 3,400 feet, and the whole of this part of the Black River valley has a bad reputation
764 for unhealthiness. The Hsün-chien, the small official who is in charge of the district, had just died and was in his coffin in the room of the temple I was sleeping in, awaiting removal to his native place for burial.

132 Certainly I did not find the Black River valley a pleasant climate even at this time of year. At night the thermometer would go down to 40°, and there would be a nasty cold mist till the sun broke through about ten o'clock, when it would become decidedly hot. But in justice to this valley I should mention that Turner and Ker were travelling in it for some days in the height of the rainy season, and that none of their party, which included several Chinamen, suffered at all from fever. So healthy are the great part of the uplands of Yün-nan, that the Chinese of that province are apt to condemn as unfit to live in any place where it is possible to get fever.

000 For two days from Hsin-fu we followed down the Pa-pien valley, but keeping generally some way off the actual river. An uninteresting country, very thinly populated by Chinese and K'a-tus. Later on in March and April there is a good deal of traffic in P'u-êrh tea along this road, but at this time of year there is no trade except in salt carried by men on foot from Mo-hei, near P'u-êrh.

317 Leaving the Pa-pien valley altogether on the 28th, we turned more westward and the next day reached Mo-hei, a large village with an important salt well which supplies a very large part of southern Yün-nan.

Here our route joined the main road from Yün-nan Fu to P'u-êrh Fu, and the next day, crossing a range at just over 6000 feet, we dropped down into the P'u-êrh plain.

206 The only apparent change in P'u-êrh since I was there five years before was the establishment of a telegraph
000 office. In the evening I spent several hours at the office

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On every seventh day after the death, till forty-nine days have elapsed there is chanting, and the women of the family weep. [765] 764

Soon after death there is a ceremony to open the road for the spirit; this is done by chanting and is more or less elaborate according to the family means.

A passport to Hades is also burned and the ashes put in or near the coffin and buried.

Immediately after opening the road a ceremony may be performed called 繞棺 *jao kuan*, to go round the coffin, or 熱血道場 *jé hsüeh Tao ch'ang*, hot blood chapel. The Taoist priest chants the 救苦經 *chiu-k'u ching* save-from-sorrow classic. The ceremony may last from one to three days, according to the means of the family. It is the short way of getting through the funeral ceremonies; the longer will be described later.

Within three days all mourning preparations must be complete. The chief mourners must have white garments, turbans and shoes, with a coarse girdle; sometimes the clothes are of coarse hempen cloth. If a son of the deceased should hold an official position he must vacate office for three years.

The coffin is guarded by sons and grandsons while in the house.

The tablet set up immediately after death, and called 血靈位 *hsüeh-ling wei*, is only temporary. It is removed, and a new one of wood, sometimes gilded, takes its place 設靈位 *shé ling wei*. This is carried to the grave at the funeral, brought back, and kept in the house for three years.

At each family meal food is offered to the spirit, in some families for three years, in others only till the funeral, perhaps during seven or fourteen days. Much depends on the position of the family.

The priestly ceremonies: 道場 *Tao ch'ang*.

Chanting for the emancipation of the soul is done by Taoist priests and lasts for from three to eight days, according to the family means. The first act of the ceremony is to invite water 請水 *ch'ing shui* for the cleansing of the altar. The priests go in a body to the river where they bury paper,

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A young child is often rolled in a mat or old garment and buried without ceremony, and new-born babies are often thrown out to be devoured by the dogs. 764

Buddhist priests' graves may be known by the small pagoda-shaped stone in front.

It is supposed to have been the custom to level all grave mounds at the beginning of a new dynasty, till the Ta Ch'ing dynasty, whose grace extended to love of the bones of the dead 泽及枯骨 *chai chi k'u ku.* At the present time much land is occupied by the dead which is greatly needed for the use of the living.

Sometimes the astrologer says the deceased has done something which will shortly cause another death in the family 犯重丧 *fan ch'ung sang.* Then a coffin is prepared and funeral rites gone through for some imaginary person or perhaps for a known sick person, and the empty coffin is buried. It is hoped this will deceive the demons and prevent the second death. 766

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B. Social Role

596 562 769 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, becuase only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life afte death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was reemphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to carry on the yearly observances was regarded as a major failing on the responsible male's part and a tremendous catastrope for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providingsons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

554 561 596 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did

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PLATE 49.—THE ANCESTRAL TABLET OF YANG SHEN

楊慎牌位

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Another account says they were written by 漢班超 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have done it, but the former story is the more generally believed. 778 173

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet. 778 769

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t'ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t'ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k'ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *ssü* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k'un* 昆, *jêng* 礽, *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

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778 ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry
769 may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

778 The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls
775 seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 子派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

778 A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon,
779 and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng;* the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün*; Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni.* (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 銀闕大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti.* The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one sees upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Cressey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnan-fu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disproportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

•771 Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

[178] With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, 771 as they gained more and more rights and conces- 648 sions from a weakening China, demanded and

771 648 got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion -- a religioned Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

771 668

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive

1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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771 and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was
668 the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

771 Religions in the twentieth century were
999 caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of the Western powers which held China in thrall.

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2. O. Brière, "Les courant philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16
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668 Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the triumph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property and the secularization of the clergy. The Communist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the Southwest China Region.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

1795 When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (*see* p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.[8] There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,[9] Pad-ma Kun-bzang[10] and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.[11] The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling[12] in Dege sDe-dge),[13] the Chinese Te-ko 德格.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

1971 It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist ceremonies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 剌鮑, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled. 1795 Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

[1764]

8 ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས། 9 པད་མ་ཉིན་བྱེད། 10 པད་མ་ཀུན་བཟང། 11 པད་མ་དབང་ཆེན། 12 དཔལ་པོ་གླིང། 13 སྡེ་དགེ

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S ST [184] 771 The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

S ST [764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

S ST 177 [579] Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

S 631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pai-I AE7

S P 101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P 212 191 All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary P 177 212 191 language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans S P 771 from very different countries can understand each other. I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P [142] 181 They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pa.1-1 AE7

edges with stripes of red, white, and yellow. To complete the costume a very short jacket similarly ornamented is also often worn over the other jacket.

But the most remarkable thing about these Shans is that they are not Buddhists, but spirit worshippers. They are the only non-Buddhist Shans I have ever come across, except a few scattered families of the race whom I found in northern Yün-nan and in Tibetan Ssŭ-ch'uan. They have possibly lived so far from the influence of both Burma and Siam that Buddhism has never reached them. By Buddhism I do not of course refer to the religion of China, but to the Burmese form of Buddhism which is so universal among the Shans of Yün-nan.

The houses at Mo-sha are built of soft mud bricks and have flat roofs made with timber, covered with earth. These flat roofs are a peculiarity of the Hsin-p'ing Hsien district, in which we had now arrived. Chinese, Lo-los, and Shans all build alike, and use their roofs to sit on, and also as a place to stack wood and straw. This style of building I do not remember to have seen anywhere else in Yün-nan. We slept at Ta-t'ien-fang, a village which lies up a little side valley, and is called Ho-nam-tok by the Shans.

The next morning, the 11th January, we had a very steep climb up to Chiu-ti-mo, the road at one time rising 1,400 feet in a mile. We were here wrapped in dense mist, which did not clear till just before sunset. The mist in the Red River valley is curious. Down in the plain the air is quite clear and dry. The bottom of the mist is at about 3000 feet in the morning, extending up to 5000 feet. It then gradually rises till its top reaches 7000 feet, and it does not disappear till late in the afternoon. Villages like Chiu-ti-mo, which are at about 5000 feet, live in almost perpetual damp and darkness, and the mist makes it very cold all day.

Crossing a range we reached Hsin-p'ing the next day. The place lies far from all main roads, and the populace had apparently never seen a European before[1]. They had got wind of our coming, and the whole population lined the

[1] M. Rocher I find visited this town in 1872.

2: Rock K-5 (:934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHRONICLE

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

1. THE DESCENT OF MAN

173 The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu Jsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-na* 玉龍山靈脚楊伯那 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-sun ta-tsu huan-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族宦譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mbĕr* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It is chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

173 It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*), or the Creation
173 of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the
764 form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony. There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit. The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by some-
● 173 one in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with:
164 "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-du* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan-bpo d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-zä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

212 *First sentence.* — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-*
173 *ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnu-gkv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnu*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbbv ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:

The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnu* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Llu-ghugh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bû), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Llu-ghugh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nāga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan-llu-ndaw-gyi (Ḳhu). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草佛地能佛 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnu-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 弗 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Mo-so Kingdom was called Hua-ma Kuo. The Chü-tien River has its source west of it, on the south-eastern slopes of Li-ti-p'ing and in Han-sou Mountain 漢叟山. The Li-chiang records state that Hua-ma Shan is 350 li from Li-chiang. This must be an error, or perhaps the extreme northern end is meant, and this would indicate that the mountain extends to T'a-ch'eng, which is 350 li from Li-chiang. On the Chinese military map the mountain is marked from south of Shih-men Kuan to San-kai-tzu 三街子 (this should read Shang-ko-tzu 上格子).

Beyond Hung-shih-ngai canyon the river widens and makes a large sweeping curve on the west bank. The mountains look bleak and dreary and are grass-covered only. Immediately beyond the cliff, and beneath the vertical sandstone wall on the north side, is a nice little temple which belongs to the hamlet of Ssaw-ssaw-gku — in Chinese the name is transcribed Shan-hsien-ku 仙姑 (H-M., Sansankou) — only one li distant. Willow trees and large, spreading Albizzias line the bank of the Yangtze, while long, sandy or rock-strewn islets are visible everywhere in the river-bed (October).

The trail, now muddy, leads between rice-fields for about ten li to the Na-khi hamlet of Aw-gkv-dzhi. Wide valleys open out into the main gorge. We enter beautiful groves of *Castanopsis Delavayi* and oaks, beyond which we reach the hamlet of Shŏ-dzo (Shang-ko-tzu or Upper Ko-tzu), while further down is the hamlet of Hsia-ko-tzu (Lower Ko-tzu). As already remarked, the Chinese map gives the village wrongly as San-kai-tzu 三街子 (H-M., Sangaidsi), but the Li-chiang records give it as I wrote it down on the spot. The village is situated on the floor of a broad lateral valley carrying a fairly large stream called the Sung-chiang Ho 宋江河, which is crossed by a covered wooden bridge. Opposite on the east bank, in Chung-tien territory, is the hamlet of Nda-lä.

A legend is connected with the cliff at Nda-lä, which is known as Bä-mä-'a. It is the story of a girl who was given in marriage. When she left her home she looked back, and was carried off by the clouds and winds to Bä-mä-'a. She was hence known as Nda-lä-a-ssaw-mi, which means the girl (whose soul) was scattered or blown by the wind to Nda-lä. A whole book is devoted to the seven wind spirits of which she is one. It is chanted during the Här-la-llü k'ö ceremony in propitiation of these wind spirits, who are believed to liberate the dogs of the clouds and wind, and bombard the houses of the people with stones, and close up the water-courses.

Beyond the hamlet the hill-sides are pine-covered, and the river-bed narrow and of considerable depth. Near here the river makes a rather sharp curve to the west, due to a broad peninsula which extends deeply into its bed (PLATE 154). The vegetation is of a scrub-xerophytic type and consists mainly of Pyracantha bushes, Escholtzia, Prinsepia, Ligustrum, while blue-flowered Didissandra cling to the rock walls. The trail skirts the mountain-side which it also ascends, and here we encounter Castanopsis, *Cornus capitata*, Excoecaria, etc. Descending again to the plain we pass the hamlet of Dsi-gku (Tz'u-k'ai 茨開)[22] situated near the river bank. The Chinese

[22] In the Li-chiang records it is written Tz'u-k'o 茨科, which is the better transcription of the Na-khi name of the place.

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This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a certain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival during which they light fires on all the mountains, amid great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the country from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith, but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on one's back they carry fastened to a band on their forehead. 101 [87] [52] [73] [48]

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River upstream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension 491

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER II

1. The Mountains of Li-chiang

according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*

(上 CH. 4, FOLS. 23A–24B)

Wu-lieh Shan 吳烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 娘娘廟, where barren women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children. 842 778

Tung Shan 東山 [1] (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city. 133

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,[2] also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wùa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (PLATES 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple called P'u-te t'an 普德壇,[3] built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the 778 774

[1] To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-ma*, (Tibetan, *gtor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

[2] San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

[3] The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muan-bpö d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

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T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

Chih Shan 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子崖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

Ma-tso-shu Shan 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外隴山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

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falls within that period. The temples, according to memorial stones found in them, existed in ancient times, that is, before 1587, which is the year of Mu Tseng's birth. The record states that they were rebuilt by Mu Tseng but not finished at that time. They were later finished by Mu Pen-li 木本立 and 32 others.

4. ANCIENT NA-KHI ALTARS

At Pai-sha-kai there is said to be an altar or 墠 [*muan̲-bpö d'a*[27] in Na-khi], called Hsien-t'ao t'an 渼陶墠, built during the T'ang dynasty. The name of the altar is derived from a Na-khi chief called Hsien-t'ao A-ku 渼陶阿古; he lived during the time of Yeh-yeh, who is considered the first ancestor of the Mu chiefs. It was Hsien-t'ao A-ku, chief of the natives of the village of Boa-shi (Pai-sha), who recognized in Yeh-yeh signs of nobility. This happened during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). Although the *t'an* (altar) bears the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku it could hardly have been built by him, for the records state that it was built in the T'ang dynasty and Hsien-t'ao A-ku lived in the Sung dynasty.[28]

Another altar at Pai-sha-kai is the Yüeh-chün t'an 月均墠, which was built during the reign of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (901–904). The name of the altar most likely refers to one of five village chiefs whose name was Wa-chün 瓦均, and *Yüeh* 月 is perhaps a misprint for *wa* 瓦. He lived during the Sung dynasty, at the same time as Hsien-t'ao A-ku. In the first moon the native officials used to lead their clansmen to this altar (in all probability also a *muan̲-bpö d'a*) to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain (PLATE 65).

Behind the village of Shu-ho 東河, at the foot of the cliff, and overlooking a pond is the small altar called Tzu-che t'an 子宅墠 15 li west of Li-chiang, built in the 46th year of Ming Wan-li (1618). In the third and seventh moon of each year the peasants of Shu-ho li 東河里 repair to that temple to worship the spirits of the Shih Pao 十保神 (Ten Protectors).

Outside of the former east gate of Li-chiang there is an altar called Hsien-nung t'an 先農宸. It was built in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) by the Chinese magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成. Another is called She-chi t'an 社稷墠 (Altar of the spirits of the land and grain) and was built in the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1740). These are Chinese altars and not Na-khi *muan̲-bpö d'a*.

[27] A *muan̲-bpö d'a* is a place where the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon of every year.

[28] It is, of course, possible that Hsien-t'ao was the clan name. Every Na-khi clan has its own *muan̲-bpö d'a* wherein they propitiate Heaven in the first moon, and so it is very likely that it was built by the ancestors of Hsien-t'ao A-ku during the T'ang dynasty.

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778 ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry
769 may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

778 The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls
775 seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 子派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

778 A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon,
779 and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng*; the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün*; Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni*. (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 銀闕大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti*. The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

BOOK II—SOCIAL

CHAPTER I.

THEATRICALS, ETC., 演戲

THE puppet shows or Punch and Judy shows are called *chou chou tzŭ* 肘肘子 because the puppets are held up in a man's arms (*chou*, arms). An ancient name for puppets was *k'uei lei* 傀儡. Another name is *pang* 棒. This kind of play is said to have been originated by T'ang Ming Huang (唐明皇) now deified as god of the theatre under the title T'ai tzŭ 太子 p'u sa. His image is worshipped in the *lao lang* temple 老郎廟 which is the temple of actors. In this temple and guildhall aged and infirm actors are housed and fed, and are buried at guild expense. 545

The puppets are made from the heads of coffins 猬頭 of newly beheaded or murdered persons. Such wood is believed to be very responsive 靈 *ling*. The spirit of the dead person is worshipped and called for daily, and after a time is supposed to enter the puppet and speak from the stage. 545 775

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757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master.
791 Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

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Sometimes large sums of money are paid to have a ghost taken out of the house, but twenty or thirty taels is quite a common price. If the person who let loose the ghost is invited to remove it, he will demand much more than another, but another can do it. When he does find the wooden idol it is burned and it is popularly believed that the person who let the ghost go will suffer, because the spirit will go and harass him. Most Chinese have a great dread of certain objects and houses which are supposed to be haunted, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can cut clear of this superstition; it should always be borne in mind that such things are very real to them, however silly they may appear to us.

754 775

The "Planchette."

To seek the counsel of the spirits by the aid of the stylus, *k'ung chung ksüan pi* (空中懸筆). Various forms of this cult have been in use for many centuries. The present mode is to make a string of silk thread or human hair and suspend it from the roof, with a pen made of peach or willow twig. Directly under this pen is placed a table covered with fine dry river-sand. Incense and paper are burned before the tablet of the stylus house god, the attention of the spirits called and their help besought.

787

When the spirits come the pencil moves and writes characters on the sand. If nonsense is written, the manager, *chi shou* (乩手), further invokes the spirits by the *k'o t'ou* (kotow) and more incense and paper burning, and when the pencil writes real characters one man reads aloud and another makes a record. Enquiring from a converted *chi shou* as to the possibility of falsifying these pencil motions, he declares that with this kind of stylus there is no trickery, but the pencil does not move without being invited and not always then, and seldom moves to advantage, but he has known it to write wonderfully true things.

The tablets written in the stylus house are of two different sorts, one to the celestials, the other to *lü tsu* (呂祖). They are as follows:

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wanted to apprehend any one, they used to make vows to this hideous image and put opium on its mouth. The *ti fang shên* or local deity, who corresponds to the headman in the country, is close by; this deity knows where every demon resides. His body is white and, like the chicken-footed god, he has a wife and family around him and is worshipped by the yamen runners. In this temple there is also that unseemly idol known as *Ho ho wu ch'ang* (赫赫無常), to frighten people into remembering that their days on earth are uncertain, and if they do not repent their end will be destruction. In Kwan Hsien city temple there is a stone city god, which was dug up somewhere in the country; when it was brought to the city the magistrate refused to admit it, saying, as in each city there was only one magistrate, so likewise only one city god could be tolerated, but after a time it was admitted and placed in a corner of the temple. In the lower courts of the city god temple are the ten Buddhist hells, presided over by the *shih tien nien wang* (十殿閻王) or ten kings of Hades. These are supposed to give a history of the soul's travail from death till transmigration takes place. These are as follows:

秦廣王. The first of the ten hells, where the spirit goes at death. Here the records of lives are kept; if the individual is very good a pass is given into the Western paradise; if very bad, he is cast into the lowest abyss for ever; if he needs purging he is sent to the other nine kings of Hades and put through their sufferings and terrors till transmigration is reached. The pains in this first hell are hunger and thirst, and there is a mirror to show up the shortcomings of each person.

楚江王. In this court the unfilial have their limbs cut off or are sawn asunder. There are here sixteen minor places of punishment, among which are the black sand cloud hell, manure hell, impaled on pikes hell, hunger and thirst hell, burning thirst, blood hell, axe hell, grindstone hell, weigh up hell, chicken hell (where chickens peck their murderers), dust river hell, cut in pieces hell, double edged sword hell, fox and wolf hell, frost and ice hell. This hell is called the living hell.

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775 宋帝王. In this division of purgatory all have to pass over a bridge and many fall into the water; then there is the thousand knife hill, on which many fall and are impaled. There are sixteen minor places under this king; the following may be named. The salt hell, hemp rope and cangue hell, pierce ribs hell, scrape face hell, also extracting kidneys, liver, heart, eyes and skin alive hell; amputation of foot, finger and toe nails hell, suck blood hell, hang head downwards hell, break collar bone, break knee, etc. etc.

五官王. Here are to be found the oil caldron and fire pillar for adulterers. Under this king there are sixteen other hells, such as the slough hell, pikes, scalding, extracting marrow, crush bones, brush skin, nail skin, sit on needles, sear with hot iron, prick eyes, dust filling mouth, prick lips, pour medicine, slippery road and burying hells.

閻羅王. By the side of this king of Hades are placed two demons, one with a cow's and the other with a horse's head. Here is the cold ice, the sawing asunder and other sufferings, after which it is said that the wind of Hades flows on the broken and bruised spirits and makes them whole and ready for the next court.

卞城王. In this court is an iron bound city with no way out, and the tearing out of the tongues of those who have been liars. This is called the yelling hell.

泰山王. Here the god of thunder strikes some dead, while others are killed by heaping stones over them.

都市王. This is the dirty blood hell; many are ground on the grindstone; it is called the disturbed court and has sixteen minor places of punishment under it.

平等王. In this court those who have killed dogs are eaten by dogs, and those who have killed chickens are pecked by chickens, and those who have killed horses or oxen are tormented by them.

轉輪王. When the souls reach this stage they are given some soup, called *mi hu t'ang* (迷昏湯), which makes them forget their former sorrows and existence, and they are sent forth again into the world in all kinds of different forms. This is what is known as the revolving wheel of transmigration of souls.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 stream one beholds a succession of rapids (a total of 34 rapids through the
*133 entire gorge) — stretches of churning white with alternating bands of blue-
*137 green (PLATE 121). To the right, or south, the walls are perfectly straight, culminating into snow-capped pinnacles and battlements of limestone, grey and forbidding, with here and there patches of forests clinging tenaciously to the buttresses in their lower or middle portion.

A sharp turn of the trail and we come to the small Na-khi hamlet of Gyi-p'ĕr-lo (H-M., Dyipalo) (White water gorge or valley). It is the last real Na-khi hamlet in the gorge and is called in Chinese Liang-chia-ts'un 兩家村 (Two-family village), although seven families make their home in that most isolated of all places, elevation 7,775 feet. Although available land for cultivation is very scarce, these families have their small oak grove and enclosure with stone altar (*muan̲-bpō d'a*), in which they make their offerings and propitiate Heaven in the first week of the first moon. There are, however, a few Na-khi settlements further on, but not worthy of the name village.

The rocks here are white limestone, rose-quartz, and porphyry. Across on the north side of the gorge they are slate and schist, except the summit crags and the south wall of the gorge, which are limestone.

Gyi-p'ĕr-lo is situated in a veritable chaos of rocks (PLATE 122) a most untidy place and having the appearance as if a cyclone or earth-quake had ruined it. From this forlorn hamlet of seven families, the trail descends through dusty, stony fields into a wilderness of boulders, becoming next to impassable, while the heat is unbearable, the thermometer registering 102° Fahr. (March, 1931). On the mighty cliff opposite, on what appears as a large white scar, there is visible a black patch of rock resembling a mule and
●[776]. a human figure riding astride. This, the Na-khi say, is one of the seven female wind-spirits, called 'A-ts'an̲-boa-ndü-mi, who howls during the night when danger lurks and death is to take its toll. She and her six co-spirits are propitiated in a special ceremony called *Hăr-la-llü k'ö*, and their names, etc., are given in two special books called *Hăr-shu* and *Bpö-lü-k'u* (PLATE 229).

The trail from here turns straight up a vertical wall with overhanging cliffs, and in endless zigzags we climb and climb in the heat of the afternoon sun in this arid waste of stone, to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The rock walls are folded into incredible shapes, testifying to Nature's terrific convulsions.

Arrived at the top of a spur we behold in a shallow amphitheater, above steeply sloping, terraced fields and hemmed in by cliffs, the scattered hamlet of Boa-ndü-wùa, or Boa-dü-wùa (Pen-ti-wan 本地灣 in Chinese), elevation 7,900 feet. It is possible to bring pack animals as far as this place, but not with the Yünnanese saddle-frames, only such as the Tibetans use, where the load is directly tied on to the saddle. From here on, porters have to be employed to carry the tents and other camping equipment through the gorge, for no animal could manage the difficult stretches of trail which remain to be negotiated. Above the village of Pen-ti-wan (H-M., Bundua) is fir (*Abies*) and spruce (*Picea*) forest, overtopped by the mighty snow-capped crags of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the fourth peak in height of the snow range. There is little level space and even the pitching of a tent becomes a problem. Here are no more Na-khi, but Li-su and Chinese families, squatters from Ssu-ch'uan who have selected this difficult region to extract from the barren soil barely

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*487 slopes densely forested with pines and large oaks with undergrowth of brilliant
*133 pink, red and white-flowered rhododendrons. It was like walking in fairyland
*137 — birds singing and the a'mosphere cool and pleasant. The ravine opens out into an oblong, cultivated basin encircled by forested hills. The fields were planted with wheat, and the hamlet to which they belonged, called T'khi-dtü in Na-khi, and in the dialect of Ha-ba, Chi-chŭr (H-M., Tjatü), nestled against the mountain slope. From here there is to be had a beautiful vista of the high limestone mountains of Gkü-dü, 15,420 feet in height. (PLATE 133.)

Instead of descending to the village the trail keeps to the mountain spur in virgin pine forest. A deep valley is to the east or right of us with narrow, terraced rice-fields far below. Here are excellent camping places, for little streams cross our path everywhere. Near these streams are offerings to the
[774] water-spirits of large *k'o-byu*[10] painted with dancing Dto-mba and spirits; other offerings consist of wooden tea-bowls, baskets, goat skins and cane-brake with colored paper tied to it.

We continue in dense forest on the steep hill-side at 8,850 feet elevation. To the east below us is the hamlet of A-wùa, of 20 families, with its terraced rice-fields. The gorge which we have been following over a trail leading high above it is called So-lo-dzu. The path skirts a ravine and leads to a pass, elevation 8,800 feet. The eastern spur of the So-lo-dzu forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze, while the eastern wall is formed by the 16,000 feet high Ha-ba su-p'e-zu (H-M., Hsuetschou schan).[11]

Here, at the foot of a sharp angular ridge sloping north, is the confluence of the So-lo-dzu (from the south) and (from the west) the Gyi-na lo which rises in the Hsüeh-men-k'an mountains and receives *en route* from the north the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi. United these streams flow east into the Yangtze as the P'u-wùa gyi in the deep canyon called P'u-wùa lo. The Yangtze makes a sharp turn at the mouth of the P'u-wùa.

From the pass, in the north were visible the high mountains of Gkü-dü, at the foot of which the Yangtze flows northwards. In this immense landscape of stupendous chasms, snow-covered peaks, vast rocky ranges and lovely forests, one feels like a fly on a windowpane. There is often not level ground enough to pitch a tent; the vertical surfaces exceed many times the horizontal.

We follow now the edge of Gyi-na lo, high above the valley floor, the terraced fields of the village of Wa-shwua (H-M., Waschua) far below us. Wa-shwua is composed of 100 Na-khi families. Pine forest still covers the spur, but soon we come out onto a rocky waste with scrub vegetation, the rocks being sharp, rough limestone. Crossing a bluff with a dry basin which in the

[10] *K'o-byu* are pine boards roughly cut, usually oblong, several feet in length, about four inches broad and half an inch thick. (Plate 135.) Their bases are wedge-shaped so as to be stuck into the ground, their surfaces are planed, and the apex is either triangular or truncate. When truncate it is an offering to the headless demons called *Dtĕr*; the particular deities, spirits or demons to whom they are offered are usually painted with other symbols on the surface of the board. In this particular case the Llü-mun (water-spirits) were painted on them, with dancing Dto-mba (To-pa 多巴 in Chinese) suppressing the malevolent ones. *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E-O.* T. XXXIX; 1939, Plates XX–XXX.

[11] This is the Mount Bonvalot of GERVAIS COURTELLEMONT, which is in fact part of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, a limestone range a little farther north.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Na-khi swimmers with their goatskins had been summoned from the various villages, and were ready to ferry us across the rapid-flowing river to the opposite shore in the Li-chiang district. Below the edge of the main valley is a terrace over which we made our way and then zigzag to the only place available on the bank of the river, among huge boulders, where loads could be untied. Here also was an eddy in the river which permitted the swimmers to get back to the starting point. 487* 133* 137*

Two of them would undress at a time, fastening the goatskins to their bodies by means of straps over their buttocks, that is, they would slip them on like a pair of trousers. The neck of the skin is held in one hand close to the mouth and is thus easily inflated. The raft consisted of a few sticks to which eight inflated goatskins were tied (PLATE 143). To cross one lay flat on one's stomach on the raft. One man and a trunk or box would be ferried across at a time (PLATE 144). One Na-khi with his inflated goatskin would be in front of the raft, pulling with a rope, and one behind would push. The river was swift indeed. Once in the center of the current the raft is carried down at express speed about one-third of a mile to another eddy among a pile of boulders. The horses and mules must swim; they are held by either one or two men with goatskins tied to their bodies and thus paddle across the river.

The height of the Yangtze near Ta-ku, at the place where one is now ferried across on goatskin rafts, is 5,300 feet. The river thus drops 770 feet in about 115 li (35 miles) from the ferry at Yu-lo (6,070 feet) to the ferry at Ta-ku (5,300 feet). The entire river-bed is conglomerate, like the plain of Ta-ku. The main village of Ta-ku is one and a half li from the river bank and at a height of 5,900 feet above sea-level and 600 feet above the Yangtze.

7. T'AI-TZU TUNG, OR CAVE OF THE HEIR APPARENT, IN A-HSI LI

The Na-khi of Li-chiang believe in three mountain spirits of whom Sa-ddo is the most venerated, as the god of the Li-chiang Snow range. The legends connected with Sa-ddo, or Sa-ddon as he is also spoken of, and the history of his temple at the foot of the snow range on its eastern slopes, etc., is related elsewhere (*see* p. 191-200). 776 ●

Sa-ddo had two elder brothers. The first was called Aw-wùa-wùa, who dwelled on the western slopes of the snow range in a limestone cave called T'ai-tzu tung, after an Imperial heir apparent who came to live there. History is, however, silent as to the identity of the heir apparent or the date of his father's reign.

The second elder brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and his temple is at La-shi Na-ngyu-wùa, west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih-pa.

T'ai-tzu tung is situated on the western slopes of the snow range and is mentioned under the A-khi or A-hsi district to which it belongs. It is visited by crowds of pilgrims during the second moon. 487* 133* 137*

To reach T'ai-tzu tung we follow the same trail over Hăr-lĕr mbu as described on the journey to the Yangtze gorge of 'A-ts'an-gko, as far as T'o-k'ö-shĕr. From this place instead of descending the valley we turn north through pine forest into a bowl-shaped depression in which is situated the hamlet of Muan-ndĕr, elevation 8,575 feet. As seen from here the crags of the snow range are

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

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PLATE 245.—LION MOUNTAIN GODDESS SENG-GE GA-MU

永寧獅子山山女神僧格嘉

She rides a hind and is patroness of Yung-ning. From a Tibetan painting made in Lha-sa. To the left, near her hand holding a flute, is Lion Mountain; lower left, Yung-ning lake with two ducks. Above her in center is Amitabha.

[p. 458 E]

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The Kitchen god 竈神 Tsao shên, is the universally worshipped god of the kitchen, who preserves the lives of the families from starvation and poison. There is said to be a wife also, who acts as the god's deputy when he ascends to heaven on the 23rd of each month to give in his monthly report. In the last moon he goes up to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct through the year. Before he goes incense is burned on his altar, and sugar candy offered him to gain his favour and get a good report.

He is said to have been Sui jên 燧人 the Prometheus who taught the Chinese how to get fire. The belief dates back to the mythological period. Fire was then produced by driving a drill into different kinds of wood according to the seasons; in spring the elm and willow were used; in summer the date and apricot, or in late summer the silk-worm oak; in autumn the gardenia and rosewood, and in winter the oak and hornbeam.

The kitchen god has been styled the lord of the house. He has two assistants, the stick-gatherer 撥柴童子 *pan ch'ai t'ung tzü*, and the water-carrier 運水郎君 *yün shui lang chün*. He is chiefly worshipped in his niche in the kitchen, but occasionally in the chief room. He takes special care of the domestic animals, chickens, cats, dogs, etc., and sometimes a picture of these is put up just below his shrine. In the kitchen fire nothing dirty may be burned, for fear of offending him, nor may flesh of dog or cow be cooked in his pot. No quarrelling is allowed in the kitchen, lest he should hear and report, 一家吵鬧使我不安我必降災 廚登牛犬穢氣觸我我必降災.

"If in kitchen vessels the vile odour of dog or cow annoys me I will send calamity; if the family quarrels and disturbs me I will send calamity."

The domestic lares are husband and wife, 長生土地 *ch'ang shêng t'u ti* and 瑞慶夫人 *jui ch'ing fu jên*. The domestic god of the soil bestows long life, and his wife gives good luck to the household. His place in the house is just below the Heaven and Earth tablet, and special offerings are made to him on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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776 If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

788 791 Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

788 754 What would appear to have been originally an exceptionally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria: 782

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard. 782 776

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八蠻進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (蹣索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand. 789

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登罈子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY

CHAPTER I

GODS OF WEALTH (財神), *Ts'ai Shên*

The god of wealth is a very important image in these parts, as the Chinese are exceedingly practical and their chief delight is to drive a good bargain; they revel in hairsplitting differences; a grin of satisfaction lights up the countenance when they are counting money and they may get black in the face with rage over a single cash worth of vegetables; a woman will disturb the whole street in order that the family night-soil may bring a few cash more. They have a system of banking and reckoning which goes down to the tenth of a brass cash; lending money for usury is a practice of long standing; the fixed official rate is two per cent. per month, but that rate is often surpassed and such exorbitant interest as forty cash per day for the loan of one thousand brass cash is often extorted. The pawn shops are well managed and the fixed official rate is 2½ per cent. per month. If a pawn shop is burned the owner is released from responsibility. In spring time many people put their winter clothing in the pawn shop as a place of safe keeping. The abacus is a very efficient instrument for reckoning, both speedy and accurate. The following are a few of the gods of wealth known in these parts:

Wên (文) *ts'ai shên*, or *t'zŭ fu t'ien kuan* (賜福天官), the literary god of wealth; said to be Ko Tzŭ-i (郭子儀) of the Han dynasty, who is reputed to have had a hundred sons and a thousand grandsons living at the same time; he had

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776 also enormous family wealth. His image depicts him sitting on a chair, with a long white beard and white garments; he carries a sceptre as a sign of authority and on the sceptre are engraved the four characters (萬事如意), that is, everything shall be as you desire it.

Wu (武) *ts'ai shên;* or *Tsêng fu* (增福) *ts'ai shên*, the military god of wealth. The image depicts this god as riding on a tiger; he has a long black beard and coloured face; in his left hand he holds golden nails, which he gives to his devotees, in his right hand he holds a baton. This is commonly believed to be Chao Kung-ming (趙公明) of Ssŭch'uan fame, who became a celestial on the Ch'ing ch'êng shan (青城山) at Kwan Hsien.

Wei wei (危危) *ts'ai shên*, said to be the Mohammedan god of wealth. The two characters, or rather the pronunciation, is probably derived from the Arabic. It is said that the Mohammedans offer beef on his altar, and that the image is dressed like a Tibetan with a high-crowned hat. Some think that the characters have their derivation from the star (紫微星). Others think that there is a connection between this idol and the eight persons who, dressed as Tibetans, visit the houses at New Year time to bring good luck to the house. This custom is known as *ao nien* (鬧年), and coupled with it is the saying 八蠻進寶, that is, With the eight Tibetans comes wealth.

Ho ho êrh (和合二) *ts'ai shên;* the partnership god of wealth, depicted as two partners in business carrying a large coin between them. The real historical characters are said to be two rich business partners of the Han dynasty.

Fu lu (福祿) *ts'ai shên.* The god of happiness and emolument, mostly worshipped by the farmers and merchant classes.

Wu lu (五路) *ts'ai shên*, the god of wealth for five ways. These five roads are said to be the north, south, east, west and central; also said to be the three ways of making a livelihood (scholars, military, artisans), with hills and rivers; the last two, because the wealth of the country is largely deposited in them, and includes mining and fishing.

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Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year. 776

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜蹠), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this 751 778

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751 that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the
778 kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han èrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符誌節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

•776 DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shén*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

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houses, public offices and temples; the former is the picture of a civil official in the likeness of T'ien kuan, the latter, mostly seen on street doors, is generally a military official with shield and buckler, bow and arrows, ready for the fray.

T'ung tzŭ (童子) *mên shên*, the youthful door god, is the likeness of two youths with red cord tied round the hair.

Ho ho êrh hsien (和合二仙) *mên shên* is the door god of business partnership. It is a picture of four youths (two on either side of the picture), holding a large coin between them.

There is a female door god, *nü mên shên*; this is a picture of a woman, said to be one of the fairies.

Ch'in chün Hu shuai (秦軍胡帥), a picture of two military officials of the T'ang dynasty, one called Ch'in Shu pao and the other, Hu Ch'ing tê.

Lo chüeh (落脚) *mên shên*, a door god as large as the door. Only those in high office or with high degrees dare have this style of door god. Some have civil and others military officials in full dress painted or engraven on their doors the full height of the door.

Shên t'u yü li (神荼鬱壘), the mourning door god. In this case there is no picture, and all former door gods are washed or scraped off and the above four characters only are pasted two on each half of the door. Shên t'u and Yü li are said to be two brothers mourning for a parent.

P'an (蟠) *lung*, the coiled dragon door god, is only used on temple doors at the two season sacrifices. No private residence dare use it as it is typical of the emperor.

Hêng ho (哼哈) *êrh mên shên*, the Buddhist door gods, ferocious-looking, only to be seen on the doors of Buddhist temples. These two *hêng* and *ho*, are said to be parts of the goddess of mercy, who, on becoming a celestial, divided into seventy-two parts.

Tu chüeh shou (獨角獸), the unicorn door god, can only be used by official families.

Chi kung mên shên, the rooster door god. This is a very ancient one, probably of aboriginal origin, and still used by the tribesmen in the mountain districts west of Kuan hsien. The rooster is believed to drive away ants and chicken blood

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776 drives away demons, hence the widespread use of cock's blood on the prow and stern of boats on the Yangtse. The Ssŭ-ch'uanese say that their province is a *chi lung hsüeh* (雞 龍 穴), a chicken coop; that is, it is surrounded by mountains, and when a coop is full the first thing to be done is to seize some chickens and kill them. This has been what other provinces have done to Ssŭch'uan in the past and what is feared in the present. So whenever trouble breaks out, chickens are killed and eaten wholesale to avert if possible this calamity.

Wu fu p'êng shou (捧 壽), the five happinesses complete in old age. These five blessings are age, riches, peace, virtue, happiness. In this charm the character *shou* for old age occupies the centre with five bats fluttering around it; the five bats represent the five happinesses (蝠 for 福).

THE GODDESS OF MERCY (觀 音), *Kuan Yin.*

Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, is said to have been the third daughter of Miao Chuang wang (妙 莊 王), she and her sisters being styled as follows:

Ta chieh Wên Shu (大 姊 文 殊), Erh chieh P'u Hsien (二 姊 普 賢), San chieh Kuan Yin (三 姊 觀 音).

Miao Chuang wang is of aboriginal origin, and legend has it that he migrated from the Indian border to Ssŭch'uan and settled in Sui-ling hsien at a temple called Pei ch'üeh ssŭ, where his daughters became nuns. The temple where they lived was burned down; probably by their father, because of the lewd lives they were living; but legend says that the three nuns were unharmed. The worship and deification of lust is not unknown in Ssŭch'uan even now. The presence of the harlots' quarters in the city of Kuan hsien is said to preserve the good luck of the city. A few years ago when the police pulled down their houses and drove them away, several things happened which were reckoned unlucky and all was put down to the disturbing of these bad places. In some temples obscene pictures are still to be found; and the worship of the tribesmen in the Wa si region is still a worship of evil passions.

The goddess holds in her left hand a small bottle of dry dew, containing the elixir of life, which carries people over the

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sea to the bliss beyond, while in her right hand she holds a willow twig. In all probability this goddess is none other than the Queen of Heaven, worshipped by the tribesmen and Tibetans. There are among the Chinese many forms of this goddess, a few of which are herewith given.

Shui Kuan Yin, the water goddess. This image is put up in wells and by river sides. The idea is that she purifies the water and makes it fit for food. Sometimes the priests make her devotees throw cash at the image till they strike the same spot as their own pain is situated in; after the devotees have gone the priests fish up the money for their own use.

Kao Wang (高王) Kuan Yin; this form of the goddess is said to be derived from Kao huan kuo wang (高歡國王), who is said to have been condemned to death, but he invited the goddess to chant a thousand pages of the Chiu k'u ching or Save from suffering classic; and when the day of execution came, the sword broke in two, and from that time onward the goddess claimed this name among her many others.

Ch'ien shou Kuan Yin, the thousand-hand goddess, the omnipotent one. The origin of this form of the goddess is said to have been with a certain princess whose father's hand was diseased (probably cancer); she poulticed it with meat daily; but not content with this, she went to the goddess and begged her to heal the hand, which she did; this princess was afterward made into the "thousand-hand goddess," whose image is covered all over with hands, which are believed to be extended in all directions for the saving of people from suffering.

Ch'ien yen Kuan Yin. The thousand-eye goddess, able to see everywhere; the omniscient one.

Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin, the son-giving goddess. To her shrine crowds of women resort every year. She is depicted holding a child in each arm and many more clinging about her.

Nan Kuan Yin, the male god of mercy. That is, by a process of divination she may be changed into a male. This god is also called the *tz'ŭ hang tao jên* (慈航道人) and is believed to have charge of the boat of compassion which ferries people over the difficulties of life.

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Fêng po-lang Kuan Yin, the goddess of the winds and waves, and of the boatmen, who stills the turbulent waters.

Chin kang shan huo Kuan Yin, the diamond hill fire goddess. She saves people from burning houses.

Pai i Kuan Yin, the white-robed goddess. She is believed to be willing to visit the very poorest of homes and help people in their poverty.

P'iao hai Kuan Yin, the cross-sea goddess.

Wu lei fa wang (法王) Kuan Yin, the goddess of the five thunders, which issue from each of the points of the compass and one from overhead.

Tzŭ chu lin chung Kuan Yin, the goddess of the red bamboo grove.

PRECINCT OR LOCAL GOD (土地神), *T'u ti shên.*

Pên chai (本宅) or Chia shên (家神) t'u ti, the domestic precinct god; whose shrine is situated at the foot of the heaven and earth tablet. His two servants are Chao ts'ai (招財) t'ung tzŭ and Chin pao (進寶) lang chün, a pair of youths who gather wealth. He is styled the Lord of the family and also the old man t'u ti. In Ssŭch'uan the 7th of the 7th moon is his birthday, and his worship is conducted inside the house. He is said to have originated in the Yuan dynasty at which time a *chia ta-tzu* (家搭子) or Mongol is said to have been billeted in each family; a conspiracy was formed and on the 30th of the 12th moon they were all killed. Afterwards the houses were haunted, and to pacify the spirits the slaughtered Mongol was made into the precinct god of the domestic altar, his duty being to keep away evil from the house. He is said to be a dwarf, and if on the 7th of the 7th moon there should be a rise in the river that is spoken of as *chang ai tzŭ shui* (漲矮子水) or the dwarf's flood, and it is regarded as a lucky omen.

Miao mên or Shan Mên t'u ti. The local god of the temple door. The following scrolls indicate what this idol expects: 進門先拜我,登殿莫欺吾. In entering first worship me. In ascending the altar don't deceive me.

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Ch'êng mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the city gate, is the deputy of the city god and one is placed at each city gate.

Ya shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the yamen. This shrine is usually inside the yamen and is patronized by the yamen runners and other public servants.

Chien ch'a (監察) t'u ti, the precinct god of the judgement hall. This idol is buried or covered with a flat stone in the centre of the first pavilion of the government office; the idea is that the idol is there to listen to the evidence given and the judgement pronounced.

Yang miao t'u ti or Ching sui fu jên, the precinct god of crops, looks after the growth of the grain; if caterpillars or other pests attack it, he goes to the rescue. The shrines are very common all over the country. The scrolls on his shrine are often thus: 作一方之保障, 佑四境以平安. The protector of whole district; keeping the four boundaries in place. If he fails in his duty it is not uncommon to see this idol beheaded, his shrine roofless and the headless body exposed to the weather as a punishment for his neglect. If the vegetable gardens are robbed he is blamed for it, or if slugs or moles eat the crops. Travellers suffering from sore feet or sore back put stones in front of these shrines all along the way, believing that they will get better for so doing.

Kao shan or Shan shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the hills who protects people from wild beasts.

Wu chin t'u ti, the precinct god of mines. He governs the five metals, viz., gold, silver, brass, iron, coal; the shrine is near the entrance to the mine.

Ho chieh (閭街) t'u ti; the precinct god of the street. His shrine may be at the end or in the middle of the street.

Ch'iao liang or Ch'iao t'ou t'u ti, the precinct god of bridges; if the bridge has a roof over it, the first name is used and the shrine is situated at the centre of the bridge; otherwise the shrine will be found at either end and the second name is used to designate it.

Yao mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the kiln; all lime, brick and tile kilns have this shrine at the entrance.

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Têng kan (燈 杆) t'u ti, the lamp-pole precinct god. At the New Year season, from the 7th to the 15th of the first moon, a pole is fastened to the top of a high tree near the house and a lantern hung out at night. Sometimes a pole is set up by itself and the lamp raised every night of the year; this is mostly in connection with temples and ancestral halls, but in both cases the idea is the same; first, to scatter the orphan and wandering spirits; second, it is a prayer to the Pearly Emperor for peace and plenty throughout the land.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS (神 會), *shên hui.*

The 輔 德 大 王 or 城 隍, *Ch'êng Huang*, the city god, is believed to be an exact counterpart of the civil official. His jurisdiction extends over all the spirit world, and his shrine is a miniature yamen; many people go to it to protest their innocency. The ridiculous side in idolatry may be seen in the temple of the city god, for here we find his wife, his son and heir, his bedroom and bedding and toilet requisites; the priest spreads out the bedding at night and folds it up in the morning. The city god's wife is styled *niang niang* which is a title given to an empress and much superior to *t'ai t'ai* which is the style used for the civil official's wife. On entering this temple, on the right hand is to be found the *p'an kuan* (判 官) or decider of fates in Hades, while on the opposite side is *hsiao kuei* (小 鬼) who is head thief-catcher or *ling pan* (領 班). Standing at the side in front are found the *kên pan* or lackeys, who are at his beck and call; while further down at the entrance are the *hou pan* (吼 班) or callers who go in front of the official; also in the temple court is to be found the precinct god of the yamen, *Ch'êng huang t'u ti.* This idol is worshipped by yamen people in general, while close by are the famous yamen runners, Ch'in San (秦 三) and Wu Ssŭ (吳 泗). Ch'in San is said to belong to the T'ang dynasty, Wu Ssŭ to Hsü Chên chün 許 眞 君; these are worshipped by yamen runners before embarking upon a difficult case. The chicken-footed god is a conspicuous idol, with black body and tongue hanging out; by his side are his wife and family. When yamen runners

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wanted to apprehend any one, they used to make vows to this hideous image and put opium on its mouth. The *ti fang shên* or local deity, who corresponds to the headman in the country, is close by; this deity knows where every demon resides. His body is white and, like the chicken-footed god, he has a wife and family around him and is worshipped by the yamen runners. In this temple there is also that unseemly idol known as *Ho ho wu ch'ang* (赫赫無常), to frighten people into remembering that their days on earth are uncertain, and if they do not repent their end will be destruction. In Kwan Hsien city temple there is a stone city god, which was dug up somewhere in the country; when it was brought to the city the magistrate refused to admit it, saying, as in each city there was only one magistrate, so likewise only one city god could be tolerated, but after a time it was admitted and placed in a corner of the temple. In the lower courts of the city god temple are the ten Buddhist hells, presided over by the *shih tien nien wang* (十殿閻王) or ten kings of Hades. These are supposed to give a history of the soul's travail from death till transmigration takes place. These are as follows:

秦廣王. The first of the ten hells, where the spirit goes at death. Here the records of lives are kept; if the individual is very good a pass is given into the Western paradise; if very bad, he is cast into the lowest abyss for ever; if he needs purging he is sent to the other nine kings of Hades and put through their sufferings and terrors till transmigration is reached. The pains in this first hell are hunger and thirst, and there is a mirror to show up the shortcomings of each person.

楚江王. In this court the unfilial have their limbs cut off or are sawn asunder. There are here sixteen minor places of punishment, among which are the black sand cloud hell, manure hell, impaled on pikes hell, hunger and thirst hell, burning thirst, blood hell, axe hell, grindstone hell, weigh up hell, chicken hell (where chickens peck their murderers), dust river hell, cut in pieces hell, double edged sword hell, fox and wolf hell, frost and ice hell. This hell is called the living hell.

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796 these parts are often people who have made a vow at the shrine. Among them are those who wear chains, or the cangue, or hang lamps on their flesh, or carry incense; some are dressed as the celestials of the eight caves (八洞神仙); others as the deciders of fates in Hades (四值功曹) and still others who *k'o t'ou* at each step as they go.

Luan chia (鑾駕) *hui*, or imperial carriage society. This displays various pewter articles carried high on poles; such as a man's hand, a melon, official seals, hatchet, spear, etc. These are to show forth the glory of the idol.

Tuan hsiang p'an (端香盤), to carry incense urns. The gentry and merchants dressed in their best clothing, wearing their official hats and high boots, walk in front of the idol, some carrying incense urns, others gold fishes or silver and other precious metals. The proper order in the procession is as follows: incense, flowers, lanterns, water, fruits, tea-leaves, cakes, precious stones, silver and pearls. These are all brought out as the people's offering to the city god.

The Lung têng hui, a dragon lantern society; Shih têng hui, the lion lantern society; Lung hu hui, the dragon tiger society; Chin hua hui, the gold flower society; Shih kung hui, the nourishment society, and many others join in the great throng, and thousands of people with sticks of incense in their hands follow in the idol procession. The celestials, 796 personified by men, who come out with the city god, are as 776 follows:

Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓), a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. He is worshipped by the sick, and carries a sword for defence. The eight celestials are said to represent male and female, old and young, rich and honourable, poor and destitute.

Han Chung-li (漢鍾離). This celestial carries a fan with which he fans the souls of the departed in Hades and restores them to life.

Lan Ts'ai-ho (藍采和), said to be a woman, who carries a basket of flowers and assists florists.

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T'ieh Kuai-li (鐵拐李), believed to have been a beggar who died and rose again from the dead; he carries a crutch and a melon and is said to assist physicians. 796 776

Ts'ao Kuo-chu (曹國舅), said to have been a rich man; he wears official garments and hat, in his hands he carries castanets, and he is the patron of mummers and actors.

Chang Ko-lao (張果老), an old scholar who carries a bamboo pencil-case and ink pot and helps scholars to obtain a good style in writing.

Han Hsiang-tzŭ (韓相子), a youth who is said to have been the apprentice of Lü Tung-pin; he carries a flute and is the patron of musicians.

Ho Hsien-ku (何仙姑), a woman who stands on the floating petal of the lotus flower with a fly whip in her hand, and helps in house management.

Têng kan hui (燈竿會), lantern pole festival. The lanterns are of several kinds, such as *san kuan têng*, three lamps hung out at New Year time representing the Taoist trinity. 796

Wu ku têng, five lanterns lighted in a temporary building to represent the five kinds of grain and the desire for a good harvest.

Yen wo têng, wild goose lantern, a number of lanterns strung on a rope and hoisted high in the air to represent a flock of wild geese on the wing. In some places a pole is erected with cross poles every few feet on which lanterns are hung. These geese are believed to have the power of determining the seasons.

T'ien têng, a sky lantern. This is a single lantern erected in a temple and on river sides, kept lighted all the year round and called *wan nien têng*, ten-thousand-year lantern.

Han lin têng, the orphan spirits' lantern. This is a lantern lighted in a building prepared for the purpose, especially to lighten the benighted spirits.

Yü huang hui (玉皇會), the birthday of the Pearly Emperor, the 9th of the first moon; the Buddhist devotees worship him and offer gifts on the shrine.

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Unfortunately we again had a rainy day. There is an ancient temple dedicated to the Chinese Mars, Kwan ti; it lies on a small meadow outside the border wall, surrounded by old willows and poplars, by slender spruce and thick underbrush which runs up the valley slope. This is a favorite resting place for the caravans that come and go. The clay statues of Kwan ti and his two shield-bearers, Tschou sang and Kwan ping, were completely covered with khadars and Tibetan prayer pennants, with large red and blue Chinese flags and clothes and a thick layer of dirt and pigeon droppings. Although my entire personnel lit incense candles to the god and fell down before him, nevertheless they had no respect for his dwelling-place. Since it was more comfortable to be under shelter in the drizzling rain, the waka were lit beside, in fact, under the large stucco steeds in the entrance hall; in fact, a Tibetan company of travelers which had joined us brewed their tea in the schang fang where towered the images of the gods. The countless remains of ashes and coals which one had to step over in order to get inside showed that this was the custom. I was baffled anew to find such disdain along with all kinds of devotion: however, it was a Chinese sanctuary and not a Tibetan one. It stood outside the boundary wall so that the god might defend the boundary against enemies; the dwelling place of a god need not be protected by any man, for the god could do that best himself.

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August 25. It is raining, it rained during our march and will continue to rain throughout the night. Meanwhile we followed the valley and gradually climbed up to 3,800 meters. The road was good all the way, at least what is considered good here. Alders and willows and other tall-growing trees ran along the side of the brook which grew ever smaller up to an altitude of 3,500 meters. Higher up I saw only a few clumps of spruce on steep northern slopes. At nine o'clock we had reached a fork in the valley which my companions called Lien ho kou. There were no settlements anywhere, we only found occasionally three stones which betrayed the fact that previous travelers had been there, and twice (in Lien ho kou and San niba) we came across remnants of old fortified military encampments. (1) My tsung ve was

1. From Lien ho kou a valley branches off to the north. Through this one soon reaches a pass and gets into the valley of Bau ts'o and after 180 li reaches Da dien se or Da tse gomba, a Bönbo monastery, and many farmer-villages; after five days one gets to the Tschudie gomba, Dalagu, Ngea, Dschomo gomba, etc. The

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The art of the horse, pig and ox stealer is called *t'ai mên* 548
擡門, lifting the door. He carries, besides his fuse and other weapons, a tube of water which is poured into the wooden hinges of the door to keep them from squeaking. When a pig is the object of theft it is given *hua chiao* 花椒 or red pepper; this benumbs its mouth so that it cannot squeal, and is thus more easily carried out of the place. When an ox is stolen, as soon as it is outside the door, a man takes hold of each horn and another takes the tail; the man behind pricks the ox with a goad, making it run furiously and heedless of all obstacles away from the house. Horses are taken off in a similar manner. In stealing ducks or chickens the necks are seized and tied; while cats are put in a sack.

Thieves are naturally very superstitious. Many of them 548
carry on their person the wooden image of a dog with an iron 777
band round its nose, to keep it from barking or biting, as dogs are their chief fear and natural enemy. They are very much afraid of any combination of words having *fan* 飯 and *fa* 髮 in them. Even to eat rice is known by them as *ch'ao fên tzŭ* 搞粉子. Their chief object is to avoid detection; one might almost say that the only sin is the loss of face on being caught. They also have a superstitious dread of the following words: *ti chu* 抵注 to get up against; *ch'uang tao* 撞倒 to knock against, and *k'ung shou* 空手 empty-handed: a thief if he enters a house will do all in his power to carry something away with him, however small, as it is most unlucky for him to leave empty-handed; *ma tzŭ*, 馬子, an enemy: the master of the house is the natural enemy of the thief; *liang* 亮, light: their works being evil they hate the light. Each clique has a particular call by which it is known; some mew like a cat, others blow a bamboo whistle; others have a call like *wu hu*, while others have a song. Any householder hearing these sounds close by gives a warning to his household, and calls out for the thief to come in and he will give him a "light for his pipe;" with the mention of light the thief very often departs. In entering a tea shop they call for water, not for boiling water or hot water as other people do, as these expressions are used by them to indicate that trouble is coming. They also hate the words *pu shun shou* 不順手,

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548 777 that is, it won't come to hand. They also fear *pu tui t'ou* 不對頭, or unsuitable. The number four is never used by them as it is the same sound as 'trouble.' So on the 3rd and 4th of each month, also on the 14th and 24th they cease their depredations. Owing to the light of the moon, little or no work of their kind is done from the 3rd to the 16th of each moon, but with the exception of the 24th they go on almost unceasingly from that time to the end of the month. The thief also dreads the character *ch'ieh* 截, to to cut off, fearing that his head will be sliced off.

In carrying on his depredations whatever comes into his hand is reckoned to be his rightful property; but if a thief has got no stolen property in his possession it is impossible to impeach him; the saying runs 盜賊無贓硬如鐵樁 'a thief with no stolen property is hard as an iron bar,' and he will no brook any aspersion on his character. The saying also runs 拿賊要拿贓拿姦要拿雙 'catching a thief, catch his stolen property; catching adulterers, catch the pair.' No greater insult can be thrown at any family than to say that they are *nan tao nü ch'ang* 男盜女娼, the males thieves and the women harlots.

This class of men much resent another person putting their feet on the end of a stool while they are still sitting on it; the fear being that they will be locked up and made to sit down. They also resent anyone taking hold of the pipe while they are smoking, or taking hold of their queue while they are walking. They also fear any one standing on the bed to dress, or tilting any article on its side to get anything out, or lifting up the basin with the vegetables in it to pour some gravy over their rice.

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If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire. 787 777

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to :—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon. 796 782

Ch'ien sung huo hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

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BOOK VIII—SUPERSTITIOUS DREAD

THINGS TO BE AVOIDED (忌 諱), *chi wei*

The first question of importance in Ssŭch'uan is how to gain a livelihood; the people say that every thing else is false, hunger only is real. But next to satisfying hunger, comes the great art of appeasing and hoodwinking demons. There can be little doubt that superstitious dread haunts most people from youth to old age. A young woman well known to us happened to overlay her child in the night, and next day she showed no signs of grief or trouble; on being pressed for a reason, she replied, "Oh, we must cheat the demon;" the idea being that if she had shown any sorrow, the demon would have come and taken the other child also. Much of the callous exterior of this people is not real, but put on for fear of demons. 784

Lucky days are chosen for almost every event of importance in life; beginning an education, starting on a journey, opening shop at New Year time, marriages, funerals, changing houses, repairing or building houses, will not only be begun on a lucky day, but in a lucky year. It has seemed to me that the day of a person's birth and the day of his death are the only events which they make no pretence at controlling. 777

Odd numbers are more lucky than even ones; for example, an odd number of days must elapse between a death

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777 and a funeral, and every seventh day is observed by the women as a time for weeping till seven times is reached, and the mourning in many cases ended.

The first and fifteenth are the recognized days for worship in the temple and in the home. The seventh moon of each year is the most idolatrous of the twelve, when the spirits of the family ancestors are supposed to return and share the feast of meat and wine. The pagoda of each city, which is said to be built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and intended to govern the literary welfare of the city, has, as far as I have seen, always got an odd number of storeys. The Chinese are not without their superstitious dread of the foreigner. I have been asked many times if I could see three feet into the ground; and the call, *Yang jèn tao pao* (洋人盜寶), indicates that they believe that our eyes have wondrous powers of finding treasure which they believe lies hidden in the earth. It is quite a common thing to meet a man on the road who will put his nose in his sleeve while passing lest he should smell the foreigner. The smell of the ink of a foreign book is unlucky in the house. The small print of foreign books will injure their eyes, foreigners' tea will bewitch them, etc. We shall now look at a few of the things to be avoided in classified order.

784 *Superstitions connected with the first day of the year.* On that day no one in the family may mention the words demon, tiger, cat, snake, monkey, suicide, blood, wounds, short-lived, death, sickness, son died, daughters departed, speechless, lost money ; also the following with a play on the double meaning of the words : *tuan lu*, short road, suicide; *tuan t'su*, to sever head from body ; *pu tsai*, lost, also meaning dead ; *pu hao*, not good, also meaning to be sick, etc.

On this first day the brooms of the house are carefully hidden for fear they may be used and sweep away the family inheritance. The scales for weighing vegetables are also hidden as the marks and figures make it resemble a snake. For any member of the household to have dishevelled hair on that day is very unlucky, as that is said to be how demons look, and is a bad omen for the New Year. The breaking of

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A horse is also very unlucky and will not be allowed to leave a house which it may have entered before the owner pays a fine. 784

If a cow trespasses on the ancestral graves it will also be liable to be seized and held till the spirits of the ancestors have been appeased. If a chicken comes to the house the chief fear is that people should know; thus honest people return it at once, but others either hasten to kill and eat it, or take steps to have it sold for fear of detection. When a chicken is lost the loser not infrequently suspects the right person, and will deliberately sit down and curse what is called the speckled cock, *ma hua chi chung*, or curse the spotted turtle, curse the pheasant red and curse the neighbours all round.

Chickens are often stolen by the street arabs, who kill them and make the feathers into feather dusters. The low class of inn where these rascals put up is called *chi mao tien*, chicken feather inn, so named because chickens are killed and feathers stored and manufactured there. 685

There is a saying which means Rather lend the chief room of a house to deposit a coffin, than lend it to anyone to hold a marriage in. A marriage and a funeral are both to be avoided unless the person belongs to the family, but a marriage held in the house is more unlucky than a funeral, and no one will allow it at any cost. 784 777

No woman from an outside family may sit on the door step of the chief room of the house. No woman who has been confined will be tolerated in another person's house till her forty days of purification have been accomplished; a woman during that time must certainly *tso yüeh* (坐月), sit one moon. No woman would dare to go near the chief room of her own house for the same length of time for fear of offending the idols.

No one may go to another person's home and weep, for fear of troubling the weeping spirit. Nor may anyone go with a fresh wound into another's house, as it is very unlucky.

When the white-necked crow makes a lot of cawing it is very unlucky; this bird is called the *kuei lao ya*, demon crow.

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● 777 784 When the cock goes crowing to bed or a hen crows in the yard both are reckoned unlucky. A crowing hen is a sign of misfortune, or the female taking the place of the male as head of the family. Many date the beginning of China's troubles to the time when the late Empress Dowager usurped the authority of the empire.

The repeated changing of houses is very much deprecated, as it disturbs the ancestral altar and poverty comes to those who do this. Towards the end of the year in the cold weather no one will change house for fear he will not have a suitable place to worship his ancestors at New Year time.

If the kitchen pot rings or the kitchen fire puffs and blows it is very unlucky; it is generally believed to betoken the death or sickness of some of the young women of the family.

The farmer is very particular not to enter his fields on the spring equinox lest birds should make havoc among the growing grain; neither will he thatch his house on that date lest the birds destroy his thatch. Many of the farmer class will not eat beef; they say that the ox who has borne the yoke ought not to be killed; others say the cow is an unclean animal; others that she is unlucky, and still others are afraid of another ox coming to gore them. Farm labourers and coolies are very much afraid of rain falling on their hair, the fear being that each drop becomes transformed into a louse.

The following things are avoided according to the rotation of the sexagenary cycle. The ten stems are taken first and are as follows :—

甲 Do not open granaries; fear of poverty.
乙 Do not sow or plant; seed rots.
丙 Do not build; fear of fire or workmen ceasing work.
丁 Do not use the barber; fear of boils.
戊 Do not manage the sale of property.
己 Do not touch the graves of ancestors.
庚 Do not weave cloth or make ropes.
辛 Do not manufacture condiments.
壬 Do not change irrigating sluices.
癸 Refrain from litigation.

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The twelve branches are as follows :—

子 Do not enquire by divination.
丑 Do not buy hats and garters.
寅 Do not sacrifice to gods.
卯 Do not dig wells.
辰 Do not weep, for weeping may be protracted.
巳 Do not travel to a distance for fear of not coming back.
午 Do not thatch or make raincoats.
未 Do not eat medicine.
申 Do not sleep during the day.
酉 Do not receive guests.
戌 Do not eat dog flesh.
亥 Do not arrange marriage affairs.

The following are some of the things to be avoided by business men :—

In the early morning it is very unlucky to use the abacus, or to turn up the account books; but each morning the abacus is washed to clean away the assistants' malpractices; when the shop is opened and closed, the abacus is shaken violently to drive away demons. No one entering the shop may touch the abacus, such an act would be deeply resented by many. The abacus is not generally used for business purposes before breakfast. Anyone trying to force a reckoning before breakfast will be suspected of an evil intention.

Such common things as ears ringing, sneezing, hot ears, hot face, clothing caught and torn, heart quivering, all betoken family quarrels and general bad luck throughout the day or even the year. The upsetting of a basin of rice on the table or elsewhere is very unlucky, and to take any person's rice-steamer and empty it on the ground is one of the greatest insults that can be given to a family. The twitching of the eye-lashes has deep significance.

Brick and tile-makers have a superstitious dread of *hung* (紅), or red, as red bricks and tiles are not half the value of the black or grey coloured ones. The lime-kiln owner has a dread of the words *tao tsang* (倒臧), as this means that the limestone won't be burned through and will be returned to him.

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777 784 The iron foundry owner is afraid of the word *ma* (麻) as this indicates that his iron will not weld together properly. Barbers fear the words *ya pa* (芽 杷), that is, cutting their customers, who will then not come back. The butcher fears the two words *ko ch'i* (擱 起), which means that his meat may be left unsold. Carpenters and masons have a superstitious dread of the two characters *tao fan*, empty out rice ; lost the job. The rice shops dread the two characters *t'ing shih*, a stoppage of food, or indigestion. Tea and wine shop masters are afraid of the three characters *mai pu t'o* (賣不脫), can't sell it, and *shih pên* (十本), ten copies, which is the same sound as *shih pên* (失本), to become bankrupt. Boatmen are afraid of such words as *fan tao*, turn over; *tao*, to empty out, also *k'o ch'i*, to stick on mud; and *tang tao*, stopped. Hewers of wood have a dread of such words as the following: *ta tao*, struck, also *ch'ang shên*, to stretch out, and *pu tung*, inanimate. The pig dealer dreads the words *pu tui ts'ao* (槽), that is, the pig will not settle to eat ; or the words *pu tui t'ou*, unsuitable. This is shown by the pig's tendency to whine and dig up the pig-sty.

The traveller dreads the words *pu hui lai*, not to return, just as he is about to start on a journey from home. The servant dreads the words *pu yao*, or we don't want you.

If a family has been robbed the people of the house, when filling up the hole made by the thieves in the wall, will bury some *fan*, rice, and some *fa*, hair, at the bottom of the hole in the wall, believing that the thief will *fan fa*, or break the law, the play being on the sound of the characters.

Woodmen are afraid of the following: *ho ch'a*, drink tea, as tea is the first thing offered to a swooning man ; *ho t'ang*, drink soup, also *tao*, to upset, and *fên k'ai*, to separate, *ta p'o*, to split up, also *ch'ai p'o*, to tread to pieces, for fear one of their number should be killed.

In the paper factory the owner is in constant dread of the water being let off from the vats before the paper is ready to come out. He also fears the water getting sour ; this is called *ma* (麻) *shui*, spoiled water. He also dreads *tuan pu ch'i lai*, or it cannot be lifted up, also *lan kao*, rotten in the

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vats, also *yin ch'i*, spoiled for lack of sun to dry it. If a woman during her forty days after confinement should venture near a paper factory, she will need to stand surety for the peace and prosperity of the factory for 120 days.

Fishermen dread the words *fan wang*, the net upset, also *chiao jao*, to implicate, by fishing up a human head or something else bad. The distiller dreads the words *huai kang*, that is, the butt is broken, as the wine will then lose its savour. He also fears *tuan tso*, which means that wine will be short weight.

On the fifth of the fifth moon every person reckons to lay aside work for a time; the fear is that sickness may overtake them if they don't. On the fifteenth of the seventh moon no guests are kept in the house, as the spirits of the ancestors are expected back to partake of the family feast. No debts are collected at this feast as it is purely an ancestral worship feast, and the ancestors must have their dues paid to them. This is called *t'ao ya pa chang* (討 啞 吧 帳), the dumb asking for accounts to be paid. Perhaps readers may have noticed that in the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons funerals and marriages are very rare, and no official likes to go to a new position during these months unless he is absolutely forced to by circumstances.

The first-born son of the family is never allowed to talk to or play with a pregnant woman, for fear the child's spirit should be called to be the other woman's son. Some sick persons will not see people, *chi jên* (忌 人). Women avoid visitors on even days and men on odd days; there is some superstitious dread that visitors might call away their spirits. At such times a bamboo with a flag on it is stuck outside the door, and people seeing it know not to enter the house.

When a new animal has been bought and taken home, a dirty person is not allowed to lead it into the stable, nor is a lazy person allowed to feed it, for fear the animal should get degraded through contact with them.

In arranging the position of a bed in a bed-room, it is never put facing the door as that is how a coffin is placed.

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784 On entering a tea-shop it is very unlucky to upset your own tea or to see a tea-cup upset by another.

777 [782] Boatmen, when starting on a journey, always choose a lucky day for the crew to come on board, the sacrifice to be made and the boat started. The sacrificial chicken is intoxicated before it is killed, wine being poured down its gullet ; when slain, the blood is sprinkled on the prow of the boat and the feathers stuck to it as a witness of the transaction. On the journey demons are seen in the head winds and adverse currents, and when it is difficult to pull the boat over a rapid ; rice is then thrown overboard to feed the hungry ghosts. The boatmen will rarely tell you how far they are from a certain place, lest the demons should know of their whereabouts, while the distance is generally given as so many stages. They will never tell you where they intend to stay for the night or how far away is an anchorage, lest the demons should waylay them. The custom of boatmen whistling and howling for the wind is a curious one and probably has to do with the idea that the spirits are in the wind and are helping them. In the bottom of each boat there is one division lower than the others, called the *t'ai p'ing ts'ang*, into which all the leakage water in the bottom of the boat is expected to flow, to be ladled out into the river ; no one may shout or swear while in this division lest the boat should be wrecked. The words *kuai* (拐), and *ch'iung* (傾), are used to take the places of *huai* (壞), wreck, and *tao* (倒), to empty out. The exact number of trackers should never be counted for fear it should bring disaster. Boatmen never tread on the front of the boat, and care should be taken to avoid this as much as possible by any one. Boatmen always sleep across the boat and never dress standing on their bedding.

Woodmen employed in the forest never call any of their comrades by name before breakfast. Nor are they called to breakfast lest one of them should be called upon to die before the evening. Anyone daring to dress standing on his bed, or knocking his chopsticks together may be fined to the extent of food and tea for a meal, as these things indicate that the axe-head may slip off and kill someone. The water in which

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the vegetables were cooked must not be poured out until after the breakfast has been eaten, lest someone's blood should be spilt that day. Any of the unlucky words, such as have already been given, are not tolerated till after breakfast at least. Chair coolies do not like any one to step over the front bar of the sedan chair lest they should get sore shoulders; for women to do this is very unlucky; it is also very unlucky to step across a coolie's carrying pole, for the same reason. Coolies often throw their worn-out sandals on to the roof of the houses lest people should gather and burn them; when their feet would become blistered. Women are never allowed to sleep upstairs at a Chinese inn. If a man has no intention of selling his cow, he objects to anyone looking at it lest the animal should become unsettled and bellow or take sick and die. A horse may be looked at by a would-be purchaser, but the animal may not be ridden unless the owner is prepared to part with him. It is also reckoned unlucky to look at fat pigs with a view to purchase until the owner is prepared to part with them. A three-hoofed pig, a cow with three teats, or one with spots on its head, or with black marks under the tail or in the mouth is reckoned very unlucky. The advent of a flock of sparrows is a sign of poverty.

The advent of crows foreshadows luck and prosperity to the family; crows are reckoned filial birds because they cherish their aged. If they leave the family grove it betokens poverty and fire. Owls are reckoned to be unlucky because it is said that they devour their aged. It is said that the owl flies with his head exalted and his wickedness fills the heavens. Their call heralds death and fine weather. Magpies are reckoned to be lucky and filial birds. If the swallow's brood is five in number, it is reckoned that the floods will come in the fifth moon.

If a dog sneezes it is believed that fine weather is about to come. If you laugh at a dog it will rain. If a person is bitten by a dog he asks for a hair of the dog; this is singed and applied to the wound. To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is as bad if not worse than being actually bitten by one.

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784 If a person sneezes, the first thing he will say is "Who is
777 speaking about me?" If a person's ears ring, some evil is being spoken of him. If ears burn a law suit is impending. A burning face indicates the loss of property. The god of the bed is worshipped on the moving from one house to another, and when a new bed is brought, in order that peaceful slumbers may come to the family. Soldiers sharpen their swords once yearly on the thirteenth of the fifth moon. Kites are flown by men on the ninth of the ninth moon as a medium for carrying off evil influences from the home. If a kite should fall on any person's house it is reckoned to be very unlucky and no one would dare to go and claim it. Children often wear a small mirror on the front of their hats in order that the demons may see their ugly faces and depart.

If a man should dream that he has swallowed the sun and moon or pearls, he will eventually have a rich son. To dream of much water is to get great riches. To dream of fire is to get honours by learning. People who are troubled by evil dreams go and tie a knot on a shrub known as the *mêng hua*, dream flower. If an old man has a red nose it is the sign of the greatest happiness. If the house is infested with rats, many people keep what is called a *shên mao êrh*, or spirit cat, pasted up in the kitchen. This is also called a Kien chou (簡州) *mao êrh* because they are made at that place. This is simply the picture of a cat painted on a piece of yellow paper. It is reckoned very unlucky to howl or shout on a hill-top as a gale of wind and rain may follow.

The terror of the nine-headed monster (蠱) is great in some places. This would appear to be a flock of wild geese flying in the shape of the character nine. If these pass over a city at night many people rush out of doors to drive them off as it is believed that if it drops pus, the family will become poor; if it drops blood, the whole family will die.

The Chinese believe that there is such a monster and the contention of the heads for the ascendancy makes it drop blood.

789 Houses whose doors open on some public path sometimes have wooden screens set up in front of the doors to keep

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753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

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frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tzŭ (桑根紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

strawberries and strawberry blossoms reminded me of the German forests. We did not see any game except foxes and now and then a band of monkeys that fled from branch to branch with a great deal of noise. C 137 [136]

Many of the Hsining horses which were not used to the narrow and slippery paths, fell down the embankment, and always delayed us at the countless shaky bridges. At each bridge the packs had to be unloaded and carried over individually by us humans, while the animals were held at the head and tail and half lifted and half shoved across to the other shore. Fortunately not one of the horses was in such good spirits while this was going on that it felt like making wanton capers. A few of the bridges that were 30 paces long were made of only a single plank which lay only a handbreadth on the spars that extended from the banks of the river. At every step the planks bent and swayed so that the horses could hardly keep on their feet unaided. Four meters below, the cataract tore, roared and foamed. My old bitch Tschimo always got dizzy and when everyone else had crossed she cautiously crossed the plank on her belly. 000

Beginning at 2,400 meters the settlements in the narrow wooded valley began to grow denser. For a long time there were only isolated farms and small groups of houses, most of which in the narrow valley bottom are inhabited by Chinese colonists. They squat in miserable straw huts, whereas the Tibetans occupy stone houses on the steep clearings of the slopes. They have here remained wealthy land owners. But for how long? The Tibetans plant little corn, but a great deal of barley and wheat. The Chinese in the bottom of the valley plant corn almost exclusively and are traders. C T 361 241

Every afternoon toward two o'clock we made camp upon some /Plates XLIX, L, LI, and LII appear between pp. 216 and 217 in the original text. / /217/ small clearing. The animals always found some food in the woods and were also fed with corn and tsamba which we had brought from Ta tsien lu. Most of these clearings originated as a result of forest fires. At all of them were to be found the familiar three stones (tab rdo) which had served previous travelers as a cooking place. These are also regarded by the natives here as the home of some hearth god who wishes to be well treated. Woe to him who touches the three stones with his foot who carelessly drops the kettle and perhaps spills its hot contents on the three stones or on the fire! Without doubt luck will be against him from that moment on! C T 777

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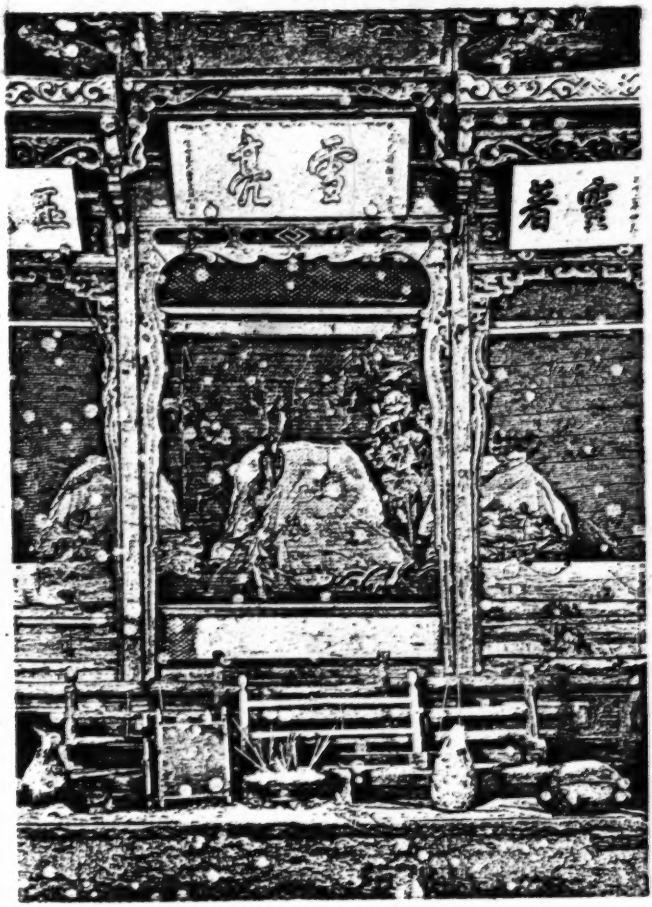

PLATE 62. — MAIN SHRINE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO

主殿王殿

The central figure is Sa-ddo (Pei-yo); to his left sits his wife Gkyi-chi-ndzär-dto, and to his right his concubine Gkyi-chi-ndzär-mun. When prayers are offered to Sa-ddo their names are also mentioned. He, himself, is addressed as P'u-la Sa-ddo hä ddü, the god Sa-ddo, the great god.

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PLATE 63. — CHHOS-KYI-HBYUNG-GNAS

The Guru Karma-pa who visited Li-chiang. After a painting from the Yü-feng Seu (Jade-peak Lamasery) at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan.

[p. 108-0]

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the last few years of his life dissipating and drinking. He had written over one hundred different collections of essays, and was considered the first poet of his time. During the reign of Hsi Tsung, period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627), he was canonized as Wen Hsien 文憲. Mu Kung and Mu Kao, the 14th and 15th generations of Na-khi chiefs, were his contemporaries and literary friends, and at the request of Mu Kao, the compiler of the Mu Chronicles, he wrote an introduction to the Second Chronicle.

* * *

Beautifully situated at the foot of the western hills which hem in the plain and lake of K'un-ming, is the Temple of P'u-hsien (Ssu) 普賢寺.[23] Adjoining it to the south, with a separate entrance, facing east over the lovely lake is the shrine of Mao Yü 毛玉 and Yang Shen (PLATE 47). The shrine is in good repair and on the altar between ancestral tablets there sits enthroned a figure with a very human and jovial expression, representing Yang Shen (PLATE 48), so different from the stiff and severe-looking deified emperors one encounters in Chinese temples. Walled-in in the enclosure of the court are several memorial stones giving the history of the shrine and also something of the life of Yang Shen himself, as well as of his father Yang T'ing-ho, and of his friend Mao Yü,[24] a native of K'un-ming and high official of Nan-ching (Nanking).

Over the entrance to the shrine is the following inscription: *Mao Yang erh kung tz'u* 毛楊二公祠 (Shrine of the two Lords Mao and Yang). In the center of the court is a very old Cycad (*Cycas revoluta*), and to the right and somewhat below it is a stone bearing the two characters *Hai-chuang* 海莊 (Villa by the sea).[25] The shrine has been built apparently at the same spot where Yang Shen

[23] The Temple of P'u-hsien is situated west of the city of K'un-ming in the li 里 of Kao-yao 高嶠 (pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan). The actual date of its first construction seems to be unknown, as the records state it was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, the 1st year of Cheng-hua (1465), and completed in the winter of 1466. It is located at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain), a northern spur of Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, more commonly known as Hsi Shan 西山. The Pi-chi Shan faces the Chin-ma Shan 金馬山 (Golden horse Mountain) in the east. It is the Temple of P'u-hsien or Samanta Bhadra, who rides an elephant, and whose seat of worship is on Mt. O-mei in Ssu-ch'uan.

[24] Mao Yü received the degree of doctor in 1505. He was chosen to be Chi-shih-hung 給事中 (Junior metropolitan censor) of the Li-k'o 吏科 (Section of personnel) of Nanking. He had a villa at the foot of Pi-chi Shan. He was among those who remonstrated with the Emperor at the east gate of the palace, whereupon he was imprisoned together with Yang Shen and unfortunately bamboоed to death. His ancestral tablet reposes with that of Yang Shen (PLATE 49) on the altar of the shrine. He left ten volumes of memorials addressed to the Emperor.

[25] At the base of the small stone bearing the two large characters *Hai-chuang* a brief note is engraved which reads as follows:

"Records state that Hai-chuang is below Kao-yao Shan. Yang Shen sojourned there. He built the Pi-yao, a beautiful dwelling where he used to rest. Time has flown quickly and many generations have passed, and nothing has remained [of the villa]. The natives of the land themselves had practically no knowledge of the name Hai-chuang. Therefore this stone-tablet has been erected so that the same may not be forgotten.

"Written by hou-hsüeh (your pupil) Lin Sung 林松, also Ch'ien Mu-ling 錢穆齡, in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 of the period Chia-ch'ing, in the autumn in the seventh moon (August 21st to September 19th, 1819).

Lin Sung, whose literary name was Yü-t'ien 玉田, was a native of K'un-ming; during

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778 had built himself a villa and where he carried on his literary activities whenever he resided in Yün-nan fu. Yün-nan became enriched by Yang Shen's in-
173 voluntary residence, for he wrote many essays on this province, one of the best known being his *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom). The preface to the latter work is dated: "The autumn, the eighth moon, of the 29th year of Chia-ching" (September 11th–October 10th, 1550). We let the records found engraved on the memorial stones within the court, and here translated for the first time, speak for themselves:

Historical Record of the Shrine of Yang Shen

173 "Emperor Shih Tsung, in the first year of his reign [the first year of the period Chia-ching 嘉靖, 1522] wanted to confer an honorary title on Prince Hsing Hsien 興獻 [father of Shih Tsung], but the ministers at the court were of the opinion that this should not be done. More than 100 officials remonstrated tearfully with the Emperor at the Tso-shun men 左順門, of the palace. As a result of this demonstration which angered the Emperor, more than 90 of the remonstrators were bambooed, among whom was Lord Fan 范, a native of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden). [This was Fan Tsung 范鏦 the great-grandfather of Fan Ch'eng-hsün who became viceroy of Yün-nan in 1686, and who rebuilt the Yang Shen shrine; his interest and feeling for Yang Shen were heightened because his great-grandfather was bambooed to death at the same time as Yang Shen received his bambooing, from which he, however, recovered]. Lord Mao 毛 of Tien-nan 滇南 (Yün-nan) and Lord Yang Chieh-fu 楊界夫 and his son Yang Shen-an, natives of Hsin-tu, were also bambooed. At that time Yang Shen-an, being the first successful Chin-shih 進士 [graduate of the doctors' degree] served as historiographer, while his father occupied an important position at the court. All died under the bamboo except father and son natives of Hsin-tu. It was because Heaven wanted to preserve loyal and reproving persons.

"First Yang Shen was charged with the duty of guarding the Chinese frontier at Yen-men 雁門, and Wen-chung Kung 文忠公 (the posthumous title of Yang Chieh-fu, his father) was dismissed from office. Yen-men [in Shansi] was at that time a barren and desolate land and would have made Lord Yang exceedingly poor. The Emperor, however, still bore a grudge against him and exiled him to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 instead of to Yen-men. Oh, how severe the punishment was!

"As Lord Yang, a son of good family, was thoroughly versed in the books of Cheng Shu 正叔 and K'ao-t'ing 考亭,[26] it is clear to us that he could not be

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the reign of Tao-kuang he became a Sui-kung 歲貢 (3rd rank certificate from middle school). Ch'ien Mu-ling was also a native of K'un-ming, and became a Chü-jen (Provincial graduate) in *mou-wu* 戊午 of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798); he died at 54 years of age.

[26] Cheng Shu or Ch'eng I 程頤 (1033–1107) was a native of Lo-yang in Ho-nan. He was tutor of the Emperor Che Tsung 哲宗. He had many enemies at the court; in 1097 he was sent to take up a post in Ssu-ch'uan and was later recalled to be reinstated in the Imperial academy. In 1103 he was again in trouble and finally retired. In 1241 his tablet was admitted to the Confucian temple. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 280.

K'ao-t'ing or Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) was a native of Fukien and received the doctor's degree at the age of 19. He was accused of sedition, of magic, breaches of loyalty and filial

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a eulogy, and to which he offered sacrifices in the hall. Because of this, the people as well as retired scholars again revered Lord Yang's influence and reputation; they also appreciated Lord Fan's filial piety, loyalty to the State and the encouragement he gave to scholars. The people dwelling in the far-off and deserted border region thus learned to know the meaning of paying respect to former worthies. 173

"They particularly rejoiced that on account of Lord Yang's exertions the defense of the State became as strong as a wall of metal and moats filled with scalding liquid. How admirably Lord Fan had acted!

"I have been in charge of the Salt Tax for three years without being properly qualified, and have often followed Lord Fan's advice. Having perceived that the filial heart of Lord Fan was worthy of imitation, how could I not rejoicingly take the responsibility of writing on his behalf the biography of Lord Yang?

"Thereupon I, Lords Hsü 許, Yüan 元 and Nieh chang 臬長 [chiefs of the court], bought a property of 300 acres, the produce of which is to be devoted to sacrifices to Lord Yang.

"Written by Wang Chao 王照,[33] native of Wan-p'ing 宛平 [a district in Ho-pei], in the period K'ang-hsi, the year *keng-wu* 庚午, Chung-tung 仲冬, the 2nd day (December 2nd, 1690)."

The T'ai-shih Tz'u 太史祠, *Shrine of the Historiographer*
(According to the *Old Yün-nan T'ung-chih*)

"The shrine is situated at Kao-yao-ts'un 高嶢村, west of the city of Yün-nan fu, and is dedicated to Yang Shen, Historiographer of the Ming dynasty. It was built by Liu Chih-lung 劉之龍, Pu-cheng-shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[34] during the Wan li period (1573–1619). Later on it was rebuilt and then fell again into disrepair. In the 28th year of K ang hsi (1689) it was rebuilt by the viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün, who also bought some fields the produce of which was to be devoted to sacrifices to Yang Shen. 178 173

Selections from "A Historical Account of the Pi-yao College by Viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün"

"During Lord Yang's exile in Yün-nan he had lived here and there: in Po-nan 博南, Lan-chin 蘭津, Ts'ang-erh 蒼洱 and Chin-pi 金碧.[35] He had many 173

[33] He took charge of the Yün-nan Salt Tax in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). He was a Yin-sheng 廩生 (Honorary Licentiate).

[34] Liu Chih-lung was a native of Fu-shun 富順, a district city in Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 in Ssu-ch'uan. He held the degree of doctor.

[35] Po-nan must refer to Po-nan Shan, a mountain between Yung-p'ing 永平 and the Mekong, on the highway to Yung-ch'ang to which place Yang Shen had been exiled. The pass over this mountain is 8,150 feet above sea level. From there the trail leads to the village of Sha-yang 沙陽 and down to the Mekong where an iron chain-bridge spans it. This is apparently the place called Lan-chin, the ancient ford on the Mekong. On the slopes of Po-nan Shan at an elevation of 7,500 feet, 18 li from Sha-yang, there stands a temple called Yung-kuo

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CHAPTER II

1. The Mountains of Li-chiang

according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*

(上 ch. 4, fols. 23a–24b)

Wu-lieh Shan 吳烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 娘娘廟, where barren women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children. 842 778

Tung Shan 東山 [1] (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city. 133

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,[2] also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wùa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (Plates 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple called P'u-te t'an 普得壇,[3] built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the 778 774

[1] To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-ma*, (Tibetan, *gtor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

[2] San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

[3] The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muan-bpō d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

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774 T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the
778 sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

133 *Hsiang Shan* 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern
312 point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

133 *Chih Shan* 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子崖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

[233] *Ma-tso-shu Shan* 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhěr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

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khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po

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may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given. 173 814

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel[20] that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618–913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北嶽廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[21] The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wùa-wùa (A-wu-wùa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wùa in La-shih-pa 刺是埠, to the west of Li-chiang (*see* Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth. [178]

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His 173

[20] *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

[21] This is the Tibetan rGya-sde ཤ་ཏ. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40′, to the western confines of the principality of Chha-mdo (Chhab-mdo), *circa* longitude 96° 25′ E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuḍa). In the Na-khi religion the Garuḍa plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'ĕr Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

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Among the Yung-ning Lü-khi, a very ancient form of Bön Shamanism, called by them *Nda-pa*, is still practiced. The priests wear similar head-dresses to those worn by the Dto-mba of Li-chiang, but, unlike the latter, they have no literature and all their prayers, etc., are chanted from memory. (PLATE 222). 795

The ancient religion of the Li-chiang Na-khi, and that of the Lü-khi or Hli-khin Nda pa of Yung-ning, will be treated in separate publications. We are here only concerned with Karma-pa lamaism, a late introduction into Li-chiang. Excepting the Na-khi who have become lamas, and live in the few lamaseries in the district, there are few if any followers among the lay population. It may be said that in Li-chiang they are in a decadent state and the number of lamas is constantly decreasing. In the Wei-hsi district are both sects, the Red Karma-pa, and the Yellow Gelug-pa (dge-lugs-pa); the former preponderates. In the Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) and Pen-tzu-lan 奔子蘭 lamaseries, the lamas who are adherents of the Yellow sect are nearly all Tibetans. It is in the Red or Karma-pa lamaseries of the Wei-hsi and Li-chiang districts that Na-khi lamas predominate.

In the Li-chiang district proper there are five Karma-pa lamaseries. In order of importance they are: 795 778

1. *Chieh-t'o-lin* 解脫林 (Monastery of Emancipation). — This lamasery is called in Tibetan, 'Og-min-rnam gling[14] (pronounced O-min-nam-ling). During the reign of the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung 熹宗 (1621–1627) the name of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 was bestowed on it by Emperor Hsi Tsung himself. The actual date of its founding is not known as it was once destroyed by fire and all records were burnt with it. It was said to have been rebuilt in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) and that 53 years had elapsed between the fire and the rebuilding of the monastery.

Chieh-t'o-lin was originally founded by the 9th incarnation of Dü-sum-khyen-pa (Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa) whose name was Chhos-dbyings rDo-rje.[15] Dü-sum-khyen-pa himself, the founder of the Karma-pa sect, was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192.

Before the founding of the lamasery, the land on which it was built was the execution ground during the rule of the Mu chiefs; later a small Chinese Buddhist temple was built on the former execution ground. The Na-khi name of the place was Bbue-na-k'o, written in Chinese Pei-na-k'o 背拿課. Other names are Nao-tu-lin 腦獨林 and Wu-mei-nao-tu-lin 吾妹腦獨林 — the latter is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name. The monastery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan 芝山, called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu (PLATE 64).

In the Ming dynasty the Ssu-pao 四寶 lama came from the Ta-pao 大寶[16]

[14] དགོ་ལེགས་ནམ་གླིང

[15] ཆོས་དབྱིངས་རྡོ་རྗེ

[16] Shortly after Kublai Khan ascended the throne, he invited the very scholarly and wise nephew and successor of Saskya Paṇḍita the famous hPags-pa-bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (born in 1234) to China. He wished to discuss with him the form of government of Tibet and also the conversion of the Mongols to the Lama Buddhist church. He thereupon appointed him as head of the entire clergy and bestowed on him the titles of King of the Law in the three realms, venerable Lama and Ta-pao fa-wang 大寶法王 = King of the great and precious law (Mahāratna-dharma-rāja). He is usually known in Chinese literature as

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795 778 of Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏 (the name of Tibet during the Ming dynasty) to Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 to worship. *En route* they passed through Li-chiang when the reigning Na-khi King extended a warm welcome to the Erh-pao 二寶 (Second precious one), who pointed out that Chih Shan was an excellent place on which to build a lamasery. Thereupon the Na-khi King presented the land to him. On his return journey he took with him six disciples to enter a school in Tibet. After their studies had been completed they returned to Li-chiang and established the Lama religion and built the lamasery. On a stone, set into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the principal temple, is engraved a detailed description of the mountain; every ridge, ravine and prominent rock is mentioned by name, but no definite date when the lamasery was built. The rock is dated T'ien-ch'i 天啓 *ting-mao* 丁卯 of the Ming dynasty, which corresponds to 1627. The temple was built by Mu Sheng-pai, whose official name was Mu Tseng. As he was born in 1587, took office in 1598 and died in 1646, the building of the temple must fall within the period 1598–1646 — in all probability in the early part of the seventeenth century. The *Yün-nan Hsü-t'ung-chih-kao* (Supplementary Topography of Yün-nan) does not give the date of its erection, but states that it was repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by the lamas. (*See Chih Shan*, page 184).

2. *Chih-yün Ssu* 指雲寺. — Called in Tibetan, Nges-don-phun-tshogs gling, pronounced Nge-dön-phün-tsho-ling,[17] (Lamasery of perfection and absolute knowledge of the truth). It must not be confused with the big lamasery called Phun-tshogs gling in Tsang Tibet, belonging to the Jonang-pa sect. It is situated on a mountain called Mo-tu Shan 秣度山, 20 li west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih 剌是, and was built in the fifth year of

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Pa-ssu-pa 八思巴. In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) ch. 202, fol. 1b, he is called Ti-shih P'a-k'o-ssu-pa 帝師帕克斯巴 or Imperial Tutor P'a-k'o-ssu-pa. His biography is contained in the above-mentioned chapter. He received a jade seal from Kublai Khan who also appointed him Kuo-shih 國師 (Preceptor of the realm). He invented a new Mongol script of about 1,000 signs with 41 radicles. He died in the sixteenth year of the period Chi-yüan 至元 (1279).

While the first Ta-pao fa-wang was a Saskya Lama, the Ta-pao here in question was a Karma-pa Lama. It was in the year 1405 that the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu (period Yung-lo) at a time when the reformer Tsong-kha-pa had already appeared, bestowed on a Karma-pa ecclesiastic the title of Ta-pao fa-wang and not on a Saskya Lama. The lama so honored on account of his sanctity was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa, the fifth head of the Karma-pa sect. He had been ordained in 1403 when in his twentieth year. The title was apparently inherited by the successive incarnations.

From the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* we learn that there are five heads of the Karma-pa sect known as the Wu-pao or the Five Treasures. They are reborn in Tibetan territory. All the lamaseries of Wei-hsi (*q.v.*) comprising about 800 lamas belong to the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect, *i.e.* are subject to the fourth of the Five Treasures.

The Ta-pao fa-wang hPhags-pa of the Saskya sect was a contemporary of the second head of the Karmapa sect namely Karma-pa-zhi whom historians commonly call Bakshi or Karma Bakshi. Both resided at Kublai Khan's court for a time. Thus hPhags-pa and Bakshi are two different persons. Karma-pa-zhi was the first incarnation of the founder of the Karma-pa sect Dü-sum Khyen-pa who built the first Karma-pa lamasery in 1154 north of Lhasa which is still the most powerful of that sect. Karma-pa-zhi established in the hills west of Lhasa a monastery called Tsor-pu-ling.

17 ངེས་དོན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གླིང་

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Yung-cheng (1727) under Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成.[18] He personally contributed money and became the patron for the collection of funds for the building by the lama Li Hsiang 立相 and others.

Teacher Wan Hsien-yen 萬成燕[19] states that at the foot of a mountain south-west of La-shih li there was in ancient days a water spring which later became obstructed. A western lama from Mo-ka-t'o 摩迦陀 (Magadha, in southern Behār, the cradle of Buddhism down to 400 A.D.) sat down cross-legged by the spring, on a pile of sharp, conical rocks. He took a stick and poked into the empty well, and the water gushed forth. His footprints are said to be still there. The lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu was then built at that spot. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it was rebuilt by the lamas in the sixth year of Kuang-hsü (1880).

In the lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu there are two memorial stones, one dealing with the monastic rules of the lamasery, admonishing the lamas "to respect the old monks and to take care of them, not to drink liquor, to chant the classics morning and evening in the great chanting hall, and to behave well during the ceremonies. The crops of the fields belonging to the lamasery must not be given away to relatives of the lamas. The head of the lamasery must be obeyed and treated reverently. The aged and ill, the naked and hungry, must be cared for, healed, clothed and fed, while living; and when dead, they must be properly buried. The buildings of the lamasery must be well taken care of and repaired. The incense fires must be kept going, and the memory of the founder should be kept alive for ever."

This memorial stone is dated the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756). It also relates that the first lamasery built was Chieh-t'o-lin, and that during the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730),[20] the teacher of the law of the Four Treasures of the western land (Tibet) went to worship at Chi-tsu Shan, and passed *en route* through Li-chiang. He pointed out that in La-shih li 剌是里 in the grotto of Lo-shui-tung 落水硐 where the footprints of the patron saint of Magadha (Mo-ka-t'o) are preserved, there should be built a Buddhist temple

[18] He was a native of Chih-li 直隸, of the city of Ching-hai 靜海 in T'ien-ching 天津. He was a *lin-sheng* 廩生, or former salaried graduate of the first degree or *hsiu-ts'ai* 秀才. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) he became Commissioner of revenue of Yün-nan province.

[19] He was a native of Shih-p'ing 石屏 and held the degree of *chin-ssu* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate). He was the fourth school teacher in Li-chiang, and assumed his post in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724). In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), as he was deserving of special merit, he was promoted to become magistrate of Ching-yen 井研, Ssu-ch'uan.

[20] This date does not correspond with the one given both in the Li-chiang Records and in the Yün-nan Topography, where the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) is given as the date of the building of this lamasery. According to the memorial stones in Chih-yün Ssu, the Karma-pa lamas who passed through La-shih li on their way to Chi-tsu Shan in 1730 pointed out where the lamasery should be built; according to these latter records the lamasery was not built until several years afterwards by Li Hsiang. Which is the correct version is difficult to say, but I should trust the prefectural records rather than those of the monastery itself. As it is stated that the name Chih-yün Ssu was given by magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng, it must have been in the fifth year of Yung-cheng, as in the sixth year, that is, 1728, he was succeeded as magistrate by Feng Kuang-yü 馮光裕, according to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 5, fol. 58a.

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for the protection of the country and the people. They recommended that silver to the value of over 700 ounces of gold should be collected for the purpose. The Buddhist priest Li Hsiang listened and obeyed and went to all parts of the country collecting funds. Several years afterwards the foundations were laid. Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng then gave the temple the name of Chih-yün Ssu.

Another memorial stone in the lamasery refers to the fields belonging to the said temple. It also states that the King of the Law of the Four Treasures 四寶法王 gave 200 taels of silver to buy these fields. (They are mainly situated in the Yangtze valley between Shih-ku and Chü-tien.)

3. *Wen-feng Ssu* 文峰寺. — Also called Wen-feng yüan 院. Its Tibetan name is gSang-sngags-dgah-tshal gling [21] (Lamasery of Secret religious instruction and garden of happiness), pronounced Sang-nga-ga-tshe-ling. This lamasery is situated ten li south-west of Li-chiang at the foot of Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, called in Na-khi, Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv. In ancient days a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺 stood on the site, but later fell into ruins. In the eleventh year of Yung-cheng (1733), the Tibetan lama Ka-li-pu 喝立布 built a hut in that place. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739) the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛 of the Karma-pa sect came to Li-chiang to prostrate himself before magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣,[22] and to ask him for funds and to allow the priest Ming Chü 明巨 to solicit contributions from all over the country for the building of the lamasery.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the lamasery was rebuilt in the seventh year of Kuang-hsü (1881).

There is a cave on Wen-pi Shan called Ling tung 靈洞 (Spiritual cave). It is related that the Karma-pa lamas crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) three times in search of a beautiful place before they found the Ling tung, which they pronounced to be one of the 24 Ling tung of the Nan Chan-pu chou 南贍部洲 (Southern Jambudvīpa) or Southern Continent of the Universe situated south of Mount Meru — as the inhabited world is referred to by Buddhists.

4. *P'u-chi Ssu* 普济寺 (Lamasery of Universal aid). — Its Tibetan name is Thār-pai-lam-hdzin gling [23] (Lamasery of the Keeper of the road to salvation), pronounced Thār-pai-lam-dzin ling.

Needless to say it also belongs to the Karma-pa sect and is located 13 li west of Li-chiang near the village of P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦, called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, and a short distance south-west of the larger village of Shu-ho, in Na-khi Shwua-wùa.

This, and the monastery of Chieh-t'o-lin, were destroyed by soldiers during the Mohammedan rebellion, with the exception of the large gate to the latter monastery.

[21] གསང་སྔགས་དགའ་ཚལ་གླིང་

[22] He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi. He became *chin-ssu* (Metropolitan graduate) in the year 1718, and in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736) was appointed magistrate of Li-chiang.

[23] ཐཱ་པ་ལམ་འཛིན་གླིང་

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The head lama of P'u-chi Ssu belonged to the Ho family 和氏 of P'u-chi village 普济村. His name was Lo 羅. He was middle-aged when he became a lama. His nephew, also a lama, by name Tien 典, was greatly reverenced by the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect. He was told that in his previous existence he was a Lo-han 羅漢 (Arhat), and that if it pleased him he should build the lamasery on the mountain, behind the village of P'u-chi. Many mendicant priests became his disciples. He died at the age of 80. After three years, the Ssu-pao lama said he would be reborn in the same family. Later lamas enquired and found the child. When he was six years old they brought him to P'u-chi Ssu. At the age of ten he was taken to Tibet to study the Tibetan classics while the priests looked carefully after him. When he had finished his studies he returned to P'u-chi Ssu and became its abbot.

Although no exact date of the building of P'u-chi Lamasery is recorded it must have been during the reign of Ch'ien-lung. Both the priest Lo and his nephew Tien studied at Fu-kuo Ssu in the beginning of Ch'ien-lung. Lo was asked by mendicant priests of the Ssu-pao lama to become head of the Fu-kuo Ssu, but this he refused and said he would build his own lamasery. This he built on the mountains of La-shi. This seems to contradict the records of Chih-yün Ssu, where it states that it was built by the priest Li Hsiang and others, unless he is included under "and others." In the P'u-chi Ssu records it states definitely that Lo 剌是山成大叢林即今指雲寺 "completed on La-shih mountain the large Buddhist monastery which is now Chih-yün Ssu." It is possible that Li Hsiang was the first to collect funds, but that he was only enabled to lay the foundations, and that later in the Ch'ien-lung period it was completed by Lo.

P'u chi Ssu, as stated, must have been built after the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung, as it is the only lamasery not mentioned in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, which was published in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743).

5. *Yü-feng Ssu* 玉峯寺 (Jade peak Lamasery).—Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling,[24] pronounced Tra-shi-chhö-phe ling.

It is situated on the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range to the west of the village of Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村 (Dü-gkv) and the temple of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham). It was built during the Ming dynasty, probably during the Wan-li period (1573–1619). No memorial stones are extant in the temple grounds and the lamasery shelters now only seven or eight priests. It has an incarnation, or Huo-fu, who is now in Tibet, but they have no money to bring him back. Most of the lamas were addicted to opium and they are nearly all on the last rung of the ladder.

Yü-feng Ssu is really beautifully situated on the slopes of the snow range, embedded in a forest of old *Pinus Armandi* trees (Yün-nan white pines). A lovely little pond, encircled by huge trees, is in front of the main entrance to the temple. The latter itself is in a most dilapidated condition. It is the home of rats, whose excrements lie inches deep in the building and on the seats, testifying that the lamas very rarely occupy them in praying as the rules require. In the upper story of the main temple, dangerous to visit on account of the decayed condition of the floor and ceiling, is a small library, the books

[24] ཁྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གླིང་

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795 wrapped in dusty silks, a picture of neglect. It is, in fact, the most forlorn and forsaken lamasery I know of.

778 *An-lo Chi-hsiang lin* 安樂吉祥林. — This lamasery, which is unknown to me, is called in Tibetan bKra-shis-spro-bde gling[25] pronounced Tra-shi-tro-de ling (Monastery spreading happiness and bliss). As the Chinese name indicates, it is supposedly located near the villages of An-lo and Chi-hsiang in the li of La-shih 刺是.

The smaller temples. — In addition to these five larger lamaseries, there are several smaller temples under the Karma-pa sect which are of interest. The most important ones are here briefly discussed. The various Chinese temples found in the Li-chiang district are omitted.

To the east of the market town of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai), there are two Lama temples, one on the eastern outskirts of Pai-sha-kai proper, and one some distance north-east of it. The nearer one is called Pai-sha Ta-pao-chi Kung 白沙大寶積宮 (Temple of the collection of the great treasure of Pai-sha). The Ta-pao-chi has undoubtedly reference to the collection of the 49 sutras known as Mahāratnakūṭa, arranged by Bodhiruci, a Śramaṇa (ascetic) who came to China and Lo-yang in particular in A.D. 508. It is known to the Na-khi as Boa-shi Dta mä-lo, and is also called Hu-fa T'ang 護法堂 (Hall of Dharmapāla) and Hu-fa ch'ieh-lan 伽藍 (Hu-fa monastery), the monastery or temple of the Defender of the faith.[26] Beautiful murals decorate the walls of the temple, they were executed during the Ming dynasty by the same artist who painted the murals of Hsüeh-sung An now destroyed, *see* pp. 156, n. 8; 219.

According to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, the temple was built during the Ming dynasty. A tablet states that the Na-khi chief Mu Wang 木旺 built it. Mu Wang was born in 1551, became hereditary ruler of Li-chiang in 1580 and died in 1596. It must have been built between 1580 and 1596, as the tablet bears his title as magistrate 知府.

In the temple, now decayed and dilapidated, but still inhabited by two Karma-pa lamas who hail from the lamasery of Chieh-t'o-lin, is a shrine containing a figure of Mahākāla (mGon-po nag-po མགོན་པོ་ནག་པོ, or the Black Lord), one of the defenders of the faith. His sanctuary is closed the entire year, except on the 20th day of the first moon when the box-like shrine is opened, and a live chicken is thrown in, which is said to die instantly. All the peasants from the Li-chiang plain as well as some from the Yangtze valley at A-hsi 阿喜 come to worship on that day.

Further to the north-east of Pai-sha are two temples close together, one called the Chin-kang Tien 金剛殿 (Hall of the Diamond sutra) and the other the Ta-ting Ko 大定閣 (Hall of Great abstract meditation). Both were rebuilt by the famous Na-khi chief Mu Tseng during the Ming dynasty. Mu Tseng ruled between 1598 and 1646, and the rebuilding of these two temples

[25] ཀྲ་ཤིས་སྤྲོ་བདེ་བླིང

[26] The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons. In this case the Lord-demon Mahākāla is meant.

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falls within that period. The temples, according to memorial stones found in them, existed in ancient times, that is, before 1587, which is the year of Mu Tseng's birth. The record states that they were rebuilt by Mu Tseng but not finished at that time. They were later finished by Mu Pen-li 木本立 and 32 others.

4. ANCIENT NA-KHI ALTARS

At Pai-sha-kai there is said to be an altar or 墠 [*muan-bpö d'a*[27] in Na-khi], called Hsien-t'ao t'an 羨陶墠, built during the T'ang dynasty. The name of the altar is derived from a Na-khi chief called Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羨陶阿古; he lived during the time of Yeh-yeh, who is considered the first ancestor of the Mu chiefs. It was Hsien-t'ao A-ku, chief of the natives of the village of Boa-shi (Pai-sha), who recognized in Yeh-yeh signs of nobility. This happened during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). Although the *t'an* (altar) bears the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku it could hardly have been built by him, for the records state that it was built in the T'ang dynasty and Hsien-t'ao A-ku lived in the Sung dynasty.[28]

Another altar at Pai-sha-kai is the Yüeh-chün t'an 月均墠, which was built during the reign of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (901–904). The name of the altar most likely refers to one of five village chiefs whose name was Wa-chün 瓦均, and *Yüeh* 月 is perhaps a misprint for *wa* 瓦. He lived during the Sung dynasty, at the same time as Hsien-t'ao A-ku. In the first moon the native officials used to lead their clansmen to this altar (in all probability also a *muan-bpö d'a*) to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain (PLATE 65).

Behind the village of Shu-ho 東河, at the foot of the cliff, and overlooking a pond is the small altar called Tzu-che t'an 子宅墠 15 li west of Li-chiang, built in the 46th year of Ming Wan-li (1618). In the third and seventh moon of each year the peasants of Shu-ho li 東河里 repair to that temple to worship the spirits of the Shih Pao 十保神 (Ten Protectors).

Outside of the former east gate of Li-chiang there is an altar called Hsien-nung t'an 先農壇. It was built in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) by the Chinese magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成. Another is called She-chi t'an 社稷墠 (Altar of the spirits of the land and grain) and was built in the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1740). These are Chinese altars and not Na-khi *muan-bpö d'a*.

[27] A *muan-bpö d'a* is a place where the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon of every year.

[28] It is, of course, possible that Hsien-t'ao was the clan name. Every Na-khi clan has its own *muan-bpö d'a* wherein they propitiate Heaven in the first moon, and so it is very likely that it was built by the ancestors of Hsien-t'ao A-ku during the T'ang dynasty.

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On the top of this hill, in its crater-like depression, the Na-khi of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö in ancient days used to cremate their dead and bury their ashes. The first burial *à la chinoise* took place from the village of Shu-ho 東河 (in Li-chiang pronounced Ssu-ho) in 1723, when the mother of one Ho Tsung-shun 和宗順, headman of Shu-ho, was placed in a coffin and interred. To-day cremations still take place but only of women who have died in child-birth, or within 100 days after. They are no longer cremated on the top of the hill, however, but in the little ravine at its foot. 764 133*

North of the hill is the little artificial pond called Yü-hu Ḳhü (*see* p. 216) constructed by one of the early Na-khi kings, and in it is a small islet with a solitary tree. It was here that a Na-khi king exposed his sister in a cage, as related in the history of Nga-ba (*see* p. 221). 133* 137*

A neat village temple (now dismantled and changed into a forestry station) surrounded by a grove of *Picea likiangensis* trees is west of the pond. These spruces are the remnant of once extensive forests which here covered the plain. The temple contains an image of Buddha in Tibetan style, in the Bhūmisparśa mudrā = Earth-touching or Witness attitude. A marble slab in its court, now broken and merely giving certain rules of conduct, bears the date Ming Wan-li 36th year (1608); it may however have been built earlier. The temple is known as Nv-lv kwuà-d'a to the Na-khi, and as Hsüeh-sung An 雪松庵 to the Chinese. It was one of the 12 *d'a* (*see*: note 155, p. 148) of the Na-khi chiefs, in which a certain specified part of each year was spent. The great chief Mu Sheng-pai kept here a herd of deer (*Cervus albirostris*) in captivity at Nv-lv kwuà-d'a; a place a little below the temple is still known as Ch'wua-k'o-lo (Garden of the stags), the pond Yü-hu Ḳhü serving them as drinking pool. 798

The inner walls of the little temple were once covered with beautiful frescoes, of which only a small portion remains (now totally destroyed). In the third year of the Republic, when anti-religious feelings ran riot, the ancient statue of Buddha was carried up the snow range and hidden in a cave to save it from destruction. It again sits peacefully on its throne erected centuries ago, while the old quinces still bloom in the little court as of yore.[6]

Beyond the village of Nv-lv-k'ö the region is wild in the extreme, lonely forests alternating with stretches of meadows, rocky wastes, pine-covered spurs, and deep ravines. Every hill, spur and cliff has its Na-khi name, some of which figure in their ancient manuscripts. 133* 137*

To the north of Yü-hu Ḳhü is a grassy knoll with graves, at its foot a marshy meadow drains into the pond. This hill is called Wua-nà mbu-dtò — *Wua-nà* being the name of an ancient Na-khi, and *mbu-dtò* meaning hill. From the hill a trail leads down to the stream called Ssaw-ssu gyi, also Ssaw-ssu gyi-na gyi, crossed by a small stone bridge. Beyond the little bridge the trail loses itself over a stony waste called Na-dò-k'o, also Lv-na-k'o (Place with the black rocks) which merges into a lovely pine forest known as T'o-dshwua-mbu. The trail, again distinct, leads on to a stream called Bpö-lü k'a, also Gyi-p'ĕr gyi; its source gushes forth from beneath a layer of rocks on the eastern slopes of the snow range at a spot called Gyi-mbu-gkv. Crossing it, we reach open country,

[6] The statue of Buddha had been removed when the temple was taken over by the forestry department and placed elsewhere in the village. Thus one of the old landmarks has ceased to exist.

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PLATE 135.—THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BHER-P'ER-DTER

北海眼泉

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bhér-p'ér-dtér sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *k'o-byu* on which are painted various *Lü-mas* or Nāgas, serpent spirits, whom the dta-mba propitiate.

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*133 race becomes higher in one place, causing the water to desert its old terrace and to flow over the hill in another direction, to build anew. The whole hill is therefore covered with ancient basins and terraces, some much broken and covered with vegetation and of a dark grey, resembling the hide of an elephant. Some of the circular basins are fully 20 feet broad, yet are only a foot or less deep, growing ever taller like stalagmites, which they really are, with the only difference that instead of shedding all the water, they retain a quantity in a shallow, broad basin. (PLATES 136, 137, 138.)

One part of the terrace is especially high, forming a large, bulging promontory resembling the fat-bellied god of the Chinese, Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛, whose name it bears (PLATE 139). Below the bulge is a natural slit in the limestone which communicates with the interior. Here barren women come to pray for children, burning incense before the opening.

In the shallow sinter basins, as well as in the furrows and corrugations of the terraces over which the water flows, there are to be found millions of pisolites or oölites, resembling the roe of fish. These are formed around minute algæ which are the nuclei of the pisolites. They are not exactly round, but somewhat oblong and flattened and never thicker than the depth of the water which flows over them. They differ notably from pisolites known from similar sinter basins and terraces, as those of Madagascar and the Yellowstone of America. Instead of being composed of concentric rings, they are dichotomously branched. They are constantly rolled back and forth by the flowing water; the basins are full of them, though they never grow larger than a pea.[13]

● 778 The natives and their sorcerers look upon this terrace as sacred and as being the property of the Llü-mun, the equivalent of the Chinese dragon kings and the Tibetan Lu (serpent spirits; written kLu). *K'o-byu* offerings adorn the spring (PLATE 135), as also paper streamers, saplings, etc. Under the trees is a stone altar on which the Dto-mba (priests) burn pine branches and incense, while they chant incantations to propitiate the Llü-mun. They have a special ceremony called *Ssu-gv*, during which many books are chanted and many objects offered to propitiate the serpent spirits. The books of this ceremony, as well as those belonging to numerous other ceremonies performed by the Na-khi, I have translated and these will form two separate volumes.

*133 The spring and terraces have no connection with the deep ravine and valley
3/2 which encircle this hill; the water is forced up to the surface from hundreds of
[164] feet below. It forms the water-supply of most of the villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr. Goitre is very prevalent, but the inhabitants should never suffer from indigestion. The water is conveyed to the villages first in a ditch and then in wooden flumes which, after having been in use for a certain time, have a most curious appearance. The ditches are encrusted with lime and the flumes have become so filled with it that the boards merely serve as support for the limestone which has been built up above the edge and bulges over the boards. The water thus flows in a limestone trough several inches above the original flume. At Gu-dù the water empties from the flume to the ground. Here the mouths of the hollowed out logs which serve as troughs look as if they were covered with icicles. The main stream of water has formed a stalactite, while from the ground

[13] DR. HOFFET, of the Geological Service of Indo-China, kindly analysed these pisolites for me.

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a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water. 133

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bbĕr-ddĕr propitiate Heaven. 312

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe. 342 156 291

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bbĕr-ddĕr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bbĕr-ddĕr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bbĕr-ddĕr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) 778

meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13] 191

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bbĕr-ddĕr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bbĕr-ddĕr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ĕr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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*778 all demons and evil spirits flee. The possession of such rocks, the Dto-mbas say, will also enable them to better drive out demons when performing their shamanistic rituals.

6. RETURN JOURNEY TO LI-CHIANG BY TA-KU

*487 As the mountain passes were still under snow and as I did not care to repeat
*733 the arduous journey through the Yangtze gorge, we decided to leave Bbĕr-ddĕr
*1317 via Ha-ba for Ta-ku (Nda-gv), crossing the Yangtze on inflated goatskins (PLATES 141, 142).

Descending again into the Ha-ba lo basin over the pass Wa-'a mbu, elevation 9,250 feet, we take the trail which leads in the center of the valley over a spur between two streams and fields. This trail is a miserable one, as are all those that pass by villages and through fields, for the peasants collect the rocks in their fields and dump them into the middle of the paths. We pass through the hamlet of Wua-pa-dtu, elevation 8,150 feet, and continue zigzag through nearly the entire inhabited length of Ha-ba, excepting the lowest part in the narrow ravine which debouches into the Yangtze. It is the poorest part, arid and composed of limestone, the stream in a deep gorge below; it has been occupied, however, similarly to unwanted places in the Yangtze gorge, by Ssu-ch'uanese squatters.

The trail crosses the stream which flows along the southern valley wall, much the smaller stream of the two, and then leads up the hill-side along the slopes of the southern valley wall of Ha-ba lo, at an elevation of 7,700 feet. The trail then enters more pleasing country, away from habitations, into lovely pine forest. Looking back a marvellous view is to be had of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the snow peak. Continuing near the top of the spur we come to a grassy bluff and then turn south to the little hamlet called Lä-t'o-dshi, elevation 7,800 feet. Here the Na-khi have adopted Chinese customs and we meet again with graves. From this village we follow the Yangtze up-stream, we going south, the river flowing north, in a deep, barren gorge which on its eastern side is precipitous and composed of grey limestone, culminating into the peaks of Dzu-ku nv-lv. On a terrace overlooking the Yangtze is the hamlet of Lo-ndo.

The pine forest gives way to scrub vegetation and an arid rocky waste without a tree, and the temperature over 100° F. After skirting a ravine with a dry, rocky stream-bed, we turn sharply to the hamlet of Za-ba (H-M., Sabe), elevation 7,100 feet.

To view the exit of the Yangtze gorge, I continued a short distance along a pine-covered spur to a small bluff directly facing its outlet. From the bluff called Ghügh-shi-gku, elevation 7,000 feet a grand vista opens out into the gorge and up the broad slope of the third highest peak of the Li-chiang Snow range, Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv; its summit is a broad, oblong declivity, covered in the upper third with a vast sheet of ice.

From near Ghügh-shi-gku the trail leads over a bare, rocky flat with sandy fields, where the Na-khi of Za-ba grow pumpkins in the summertime. Here is also situated the hamlet of Yu-k'o, elevation 6,200 feet. We cross over the barren, sandy fields to the edge of the Yangtze valley at an elevation of 6,050 feet.

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From here it ascends and leads over a narrow pass high above the river. The cliffs are densely wooded and very steep; at the pass itself stone barricades had been erected with loopholes, to prevent Tibetan brigands from paying their annual visits to this part and to within sight of Li-chiang itself, for the purpose of looting and burning. A little beyond the pass on the plain is the Chinese village of Pai-feng-ch'iang 白粉墻 (H-M., Befeng djiang), in the Li-chiang records written 白粉廣. The distance to this village from Shang-ko-tzu is 45 li. About 15 li beyond is the village of Wu-hou-p'o 武侯坡. 487* 133* 137*

Thirty li from Pai-feng-ch'iang we reach the hamlet of La-dsu-lo (H-M., Ladsulö). The trail passes through groves of *Quercus variabilis*, over rocky slopes, and along steep mountain-sides, over landslides and boulders — the path being positively dangerous.

La-dsu-lo is situated at the mouth of a long valley which extends deeply into the western watershed. A good-sized stream flows here into the Yangtze, crossed by a stone-arch bridge. Beyond La-dsu-lo are fine broad rice-fields through which the trail winds, the valley floor being quite broad but narrowing beyond, the trail following close to the river bank and somewhat above it. Here in the Yangtze is a long, sandy grass-covered island where natives are busy washing gold in the most primitive way.

Passing through scrub oaks and by sandstone boulders, we reach an old temple, whence one can see Chü-tien across the broad expanse of the river valley, while, beyond, a blue ridge practically closes the valley, save for an outlet for the river from the north.

5. CHÜ-TIEN 巨甸

The trail now follows the mountain, leaving the Yangtze and entering the valley of its tributary, the Chü-tien Ho (Hsin-i Ho 新移河), which has its source in the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 hills. A stone bridge crosses it and one trail leads north from here to Chü-tien, while another to the left leads to Lu-tien 魯甸 and Wei-hsi 維西.

Chü-tien, called Kün-dü (Kun-sdud)[25] in Tibetan, and Gkv-dü in Na-khi, situated at an elevation of 6,450 feet, is a dusty, miserable place; the upper or northern half of the town had been burned by Tibetan brigands. 721

Like their ancestors whose depredations are recorded in the Mu Chronicle, the Tibetans still invade this territory, burn, rob, and loot to their hearts' content, for there are no more native Shih-men guards to keep them back, as in the days of old. These hordes can only be held in check by troops which are occasionally rushed up from Ta-li with machine-guns, usually much too late and after the Tibetans have done their depredations and have retreated into their mountain fastnesses, where the Chinese soldiers are unable to pursue them.

To Chü-tien belongs a lamasery named Hsing-hua Ssu 興化寺, called in Tibetan, Theg-chhen-dar-rgyas gling pronounced The-chhen dar-gye-ling.[26] It is situated north-west of the Chü-tien plain, 10 li from the town. [778]

At Chü-tien (Major Davies, Ch'i-tien; H-M., Tjü-tien) the river is very 487* 133* 137*

[25] ཀུན་སྡུད

[26] ཐེག་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང

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*487 crosses it, over which the trail leads to Chü-tien. Instead of going over the
*133 bridge, we follow the south side of the stream to the hamlet of Hsin-i (Bi-me-
*137 t'ang in Na-khi). The southern side of the lower part of this valley is crystalline limestone, while the rocks near Bä-da are mica schist. The people are a mixture of Na-khi and Chinese, but not Tibetan as Kingdom Ward tells us.
[778] One li beyond Hsin-i we come to the village of Gu-du-wùa; here we meet with lamaistic structures, such as *mani* rock piles, on the smooth surfaces of which is chiseled the familiar Tibetan prayer, the magic formula of Chenrezig, *Om mani padme hum*. A few li more bring us to the hamlet of La-p'iu-gku (H-M., Lapikou; the Chinese, La-p'ieh-ku 拉撇古) which boasts of a large Chinese temple dedicated to the Kuan-sheng Ti 關聖帝.
[241] The trail continues up the cultivated valley where in the order of their importance, maize, rice, beans, and buckwheat are grown, also sorghum. Here, beyond La-p'iu-gku, we cross the stream over a narrow board bridge and follow its northern bank. The trees along the bank are mostly willows,

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gether they flow south-east past Chü-tien hsün 巨甸汛 (Chü-tien military post) into the Yangtze. On the northern bank of the Chü-tien Ho, between the two bridges which span that tributary of the Yangtze, is situated a small hamlet called Pai-t'a 白塔 (White stupa, or White pagoda).

Two li south of Chü-tien on the slopes, above the Yangtze, there stands a pagoda known to the people as Man-tzu t'a 滿字塔 (Pagoda with Manchu letters). The pagoda is actually below a Kuan-yin Temple (Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺) near the village of A-wùa (A-wa-ts'un 阿瓦村), in the li of Chü-tien. It is about 15 feet or more high and is quadrangular. Tradition relates that it was built by Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) at the time of his Burmese campaign. His army travelled by this road (Chü-tien) while en route to attack Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). On their arrival at Chü-tien they were footsore and weary and they camped there. As they were people from the north it is believed that they knew Manchu characters (probably Mongolian script) and thus the building of this pagoda is attributed to Kublai Khan. As the rock selected for the building of the *t'a* was of a poor quality, the characters soon became illegible. It was later repaired and reconstructed and a Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddha) was requested to write the text, previously chiseled into the rock, on the plastered walls of the repaired pagoda.

The text written in Tibetan is still legible. It reads as follows:

"Om Ma Ni Pad Me Hum Hri!

May the pagoda with basis and globe grant long life, health, happiness and perfection for a period of hundred years (perpetually) to traversing military forces, travelers, etc., while crossing the river which has the appearance of milk.

Erected in the fire — female-sheep year, in the beginning of the year, in the third moon, on the 14th day, on a full moon, on a Thursday.

Chiseled into the rock by the inscription sculptor Nyi-ma, motivated by me A-zho La-tsa-yar.

May long life, health, happiness and perfection be granted."

This last sentence is repeated. The pagoda was to guarantee success to those who were to undertake the crossing of the river at this place. As it is said that the pagoda was erected by Mongols while engaged in an expedition against Burma, the date given above can only be April 26, 1307, or the eleventh year of the period Ta-te 大德 of the Mongol Emperor Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (Timur or Olcheitu). It could not have been the year 1247, the previous fire-sheep year, for the Mongols did not make their appearance in Yün-nan until the year 1253.

Olcheitu succeeded Kublai Khan on the throne of China. The foundations of houses which once upon a time stood around the pagoda are still visible. Every year people worshipped here.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 159. — NA-KHI LAMAS OF THE YELLOW SECT

麗江納西黃教喇嘛

Unlike the Li-chiang Na-khi lamas who belong to the Karma-pa sect, the lamas of K'ang-p'u, Shou-kuo Ssu, belong to the reformed Yellow Sect.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 *Wei-hsi.*—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 你那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung)[16] in Tibetán, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch'un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T'ung-p'an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 ordered the T'ung-p'an Ch'en Ch'üan 陳權 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T'ao 王濤 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T'ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

[797] A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The 778 Ssu-ch'uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch'un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 寶華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 維安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 蘭經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.[17]

*487 Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch'un
*133 Ho from the Mekong.[18] The mountain is called the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山
*137 (Mountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T'ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹苗. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong[19] pronounced Kye-nà-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is "To hold or maintain the West."

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEH-CHIH 葉枝 PLAIN

[323] We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

[16] འབར་ལུང

[17] བཀྲ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གླིང

[18] The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GREGORY).

[19] སྐྱ་ནག་རོང

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

622 spacious house and court, facing the west on the second floor, is the private Lama chapel of our friendly host. [He has since died; the early ancestor who was commissioned T'u-ch'ien-tsung in the seventh year of Yung-cheng 772 (1729) was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, see p. 296.] The lamas here are all Na-khi. 778 (PLATE 159).

Their lamasery is called Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺 and is situated beyond K'ang-p'u in a grove of pines above the village of Ga-la-she (Ka-la-she 喀拉舍). It is 240 li north of Wei-hsi, and was built in the 12th year of Yung-cheng (1734). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling,[20] and the region in which K'ang-p'u is situated is known as Mi-nag-rong[21] (Valley of the black people). This, with the A-tun-tze lamasery called Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 in Chinese and bDe-chhen-gling[22] in Tibetan, and the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery called Don-grub-gling[23] in Tibetan, and situated at Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), belong to the (Ge-lug-pa Yellow reformed sect), whose head is the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa. To this same sect belongs also the lamasery of Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺, the Tibetan Yangs-pa-chan[24] situated north-east of Wei-hsi and built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753).

*487 From K'ang-p'u we descend to the Mekong over a rocky trail, then in *133 great zigzags over a huge bluff to 500 feet above the river. Enormous *137 boulders project everywhere, covered with orchids. At the summit of the bluff is a fine grove of pines and two *mani* shrines, with slabs of smooth rock engraved with the ubiquitous Tibetan formula. The Mekong is here very narrow, flowing between steep walls, but widens somewhat near the village of Ga-la-she, beyond which the river turns east-north-east. There a canyon opens into the Mekong gorge, sending a torrent of clear water between huge vertical cliffs of whitish-yellow limestone into the river, while high above a snow-capped peak crowns the scene.

The Mekong now enters a narrow gorge, the waters forming tremendous rapids of considerable length which undermine the walls of conglomerate and black slate on both banks. Near the village of Hsiao-sheng-tao the river widens, the hamlet being situated on a gentle, fan-shaped slope at the mouth of a circular ravine. Several li beyond, the trail skirts a huge, yellow sandstone cliff, over steep steps, with a sheer drop of 50 feet to the river. The trail is exceedingly narrow and hewn into the cliff, in places broadened by a plank or log with an abyss beneath. Ahead is a long island covered with forest; the river is here very broad, and terraced rice-fields extend down to its banks.

612 *Yeh-chih plain.* — The plain of Yeh-chih 葉枝 is called Yu-dtü in Na-khi and is under a Tu-ssu 土司 of the Na-khi tribe. The late chief's name was Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 (PLATE 160). He is known as the Mun-kwua (Military Official), commonly spoken of as the Mu-kua 木瓜 in Chi-

[20] བཀྲ་ཤིས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་ [21] མི་ནག་རོང [22] བདེ་ཆེན་གླིང [23] དོན་གྲུབ་གླིང

[24] ཡངས་པ་ཅན། Yangs-pa-chan is the Tibetan translation of the name of the town Vaisāli, in which Buddha often resided.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

ice, tapering into a spire of ethereal blue, almost transparent and merging into an azure sky. /133*

Next to it is a huge crest of ice, a giant cock's comb known as Pe-zhwa (Pad-zhwa ཟྭ) or Lotus hat, while the peak Dam-pa Sang-gye (written Dam-pa sangs-rgyas),[11] meaning "Excellent (Holy) Buddha" adjoins it to the north. The central pyramid is Kha-wa-kar-po proper, with radiating glaciers, one of which extends deep down into the Mekong valley to within two miles of the river. The glaciers are however retreating. The peak to the north of the central pyramid is called Si-go-dum (written Sri-mgo-rdum)[12] which means "Headless demon Si (Sri)." A village situated at its foot is also called Si. This last of the higher peaks is adjoined by two minor ones to the north, beyond which the range dwindles to snowless crags. The base of the range consists of mica schist, covered by Minchia limestone and black shale, which are overlaid by basalt, which lies beneath tuffaceous trachyte with coarsely porphyritic sanidine trachyte on the summit (GREGORY). In Chinese the northern end of the range is called Tu-ch'ü-ling Hsüeh-shan 都取嶺雪山.

The entire range is called Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山 — "Great snow-range of the four Mang."[13] The Tibetans look upon the range, or Kha-wa-kar-po proper, as the abode of the great Yi-dam bDe-mchhog,[14] the Sanskrit Samvara, Chief of happiness, also called dPal-khor-lo-sdam-pa.[15] This Yi-dam is the tutelary deity of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, a branch of the Nying-ma-pa (rNying-ma-pa) Red lama sect. /133* 7118

One of the best views obtainable of this range is from a mountain west of A-tun-tzu called Mt. Drong-go (written Grong-gog),[16] 13,500 feet in height. The summit of this mountain is clear of trees, although Abies and rhododendron forest cover its slopes. On this summit-meadow a seat of stone slabs has been erected for lamas to sit and meditate. A more wonderful place for meditation it is certainly difficult to find. The Mekong flows about 12,500 feet below the summit of the Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid (PLATE 174), at an elevation of 7,500 feet. /133* /137*

From Pai-mang Shan a beautiful view of this range is also to be had (PLATE 203) but the best view is unquestionably from Mt. Drong-go.

The Tibetans circumambulate this range in the late summer, ere the passes become closed by the snow. Coming from Tsha-rong (Hot valley) in South-eastern Tibet, they cross the Shu La (Shug-la),[17] a 16,000 feet high pass, and descend by Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹) into the Mekong valley whence they go south, crossing the Mekong to the east bank at Liu-t'ung-

[11] ཌམ་པ་སངས་རྒྱས། [12] སྲི་མགོ་རྡུམ།

[13] The *Mang* 蟒 are large serpents; they are the Mahoraga of the Hindu-Buddhists and Lamaists, which the Tibetans call ITo-hphye-chhen-po ཐོ་ཕྱེ་ཆེན་པོ. They are the great reptile or creeper demons in shape like boas. The *Mang* are also large serpents as the python, and it is possible that that name has been given the range on account of its length, or on account of the long snake-like glacier which descends from Kha-wa-kar-po into the Mekong valley.

[14] ཡི་དམ་བདེ་མཆོག [15] དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་སྡོམ་པ། [16] རྒྱང་གོ། [17] ཤུ་ལ།

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 182. — TIBETAN OFFERINGS TO THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO MOUNTAIN GOD

藏古宰那山供獻山神

On a small hill called Hlu-wu-si, in full view of the Kha-wa-kar-po Peaks, Tibetan pilgrims deposit bamboo canes, wooden tea bowls, queues, stones, flags, rags, etc., as offerings to the gods believed to inhabit the snow peaks.

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of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

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The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 711

S ST 346 778

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪布 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] ཐོག་ལས་ཀ་ཀ་ཡ་ལས་ཤོ

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos=enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་བསྐྱིད་གླིང་). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 剌羅佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use. 487*

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture. 133* 137*

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as 778 782 262 251

* In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling རྫེ་བོ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང་). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 228. — THE MAITREYA OR COMING BUDDHA IN YUNG-NING LAMASERY

永寧彌勒佛像

This giant image was erected by the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. It is of gilt clay and its interior is filled with the Kang-gyur (bKah-hgyur) and Tang-gyur (bsTang-hgyur), the Tibetan Classics; in all some 317 Volumes. Note the tall lamas to both sides of the image.

[p. 426-D]

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PLATE 246. — SENG-GE GA-MU'S SHRINE ON NYO-RO-P'U

永寧達拉岡木雪為上獅子山鐘塔

In the little window of the shrine is a picture of the goddess. Pine branches are burned as offering to her every morning and evening in the little furnace, while a lama strikes the gong suspended from the tree. Prayer flags flutter from under the roof of the shrine which is situated in the center of Nyo-ro-p'u.

[p.458-F]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

842 785 261 *chên-wu chai* 眞武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

842 778 Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai êrh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzŭ*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai*.

787 842 Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssŭ chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

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788 Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four
842 Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

231 When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow
842 at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man
788 riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

842 At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous
778 *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown
753 healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

842 Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from
778 a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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In some places a meeting called *t'ung-tzŭ hui* 童子會 is held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon, when women who have obtained sons by taking away a child-idol from Kuan-Yin's shrine return the images to the goddess. When worship is finished these idols are carried off to be given to other childless families, and that night the streets are lively with processions of this kind going to their destinations.

842 796 778

Another present with the same object is a turnip with the leaves on; this is put on the family altar and incense and paper offered to it.

The piece of wood used by a sorcerer to hang his chart on when exorcising a spirit is also regarded as a useful present to a childless family.

At Ch'eng-tu 成都 it used to be the custom on 5th of the 5th moon for youths to pelt with plums women of 'doubtful reputation.' These plums were then got hold of by other people and sent to friends anxious for sons. The origin of the idea is said to be in the story that the mother of Lao Tzŭ dreamed before the birth of her illustrious son that she had eaten a plum.

At the New Year lighted lamps are hung on trees or high poles; they are believed to attract homeless, wandering spirits, and they are afterwards given to childless families.

At the fast for protection against fire and epidemics small lighted lanterns soaked in oil are set adrift on the river. These are sometimes stolen and presented to some home lacking children, where they are kept on the family altar.

In some temples there is an apartment called the 玉皇樓 *Yü-huang lou*, the Gemmeous Emperor's dwelling. Before his image hangs a lantern. This is sometimes stolen and presented to a childless family. A new lantern is presented to the temple if a child is born. Such lanterns, 玉皇燈 *Yü-huang têng*, are also hung in numbers in an orchard or elsewhere with the object of securing a good crop.

During the first moon lamps are lighted before the shrines of the *t'u ti shên* 土地神 or gods of the soil. After being used they are often presented to childless people in the firm belief that children will then be born.

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CHAPTER V

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR 家神*

778 THE domestic altar is called *chia k'an hsiang huo* 家龕香火 or *shên k'an* 神龕 or *shên kuei* 櫃; on the upper part is an incense pot; in the niche or cupboard is *t'u ti* 土地 the precinct god. This shrine is the last thing to leave the house when the habitants remove, and as long as it is there the owner of it claims to be in possession. When he removes the cupboard he invites the domestic gods to follow him, *ch'ing chia-shên* 請家神, the colloquial for worshipping them being *kung* 供 *chia-shên*.

778 173 The Heaven and Earth tablet 天地君親師 *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih* is dedicated to Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestors and Teachers. It is said this tablet originated with Ssŭ tzŭ Yen wang 四子燕王 of the Han dynasty. Before he became emperor he fled before soldiers seeking to kill him, but stopped at the request of some friendly folk who asked him to write a tablet for the family altar. He wrote the above five characters, and explained that "Heaven has a covering grace, Earth a supporting grace," and so on.

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Another account says they were written by 漢班超 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have done it, but the former story is the more generally believed. 778 173

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet. 778 769

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t'ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t'ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k'ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *ssŭ* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k'un* 昆, *jêng* 礽, *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

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778 ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry
769 may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

778 The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls
775 seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 子派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

778 A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon,
779 and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng;* the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün*; Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni.* (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 銀闕大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti.* The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

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The tablet used is 三十二天上帝中央一元梵天帝君 788
san shih êrh t'ien shang ti chung yang i ch'i fan t'ien ti chün; 754
or a Buddhist priest uses 二十四諸天菩薩無量世尊
êrh shih ssŭ chu t'ien p'u sa wu liang shih tsun.

Note that there is one incense stick and one candle for each spirit worshipped.

Another ceremony is the worshipping or thanking Earth 788
kung ti 供地 or *hsieh t'u* 謝土.

This is deemed necessary when a house has been repaired, the dragon having possibly been disturbed; or when a new house is first occupied, or when 土府不安 *t'u fu pu an*, the place does not agree with the resident. This is indicated perhaps by his digging up some unlucky thing, such as *t'u lung tan* 土龍蛋 dragon's eggs, which are black, soft balls with contents like blood: in such cases there is need to worship Earth. Or it may be necessary because a geomancer states that the resident is at variance with the five capital evils 五皇煞 *wu huang sha*, or with those of the current year *sui* 歲 *sha*, or with that of the yellow flag *huang fan* 黃幡 *sha* or that of the leopard's tail *pao wei* 豹尾 *sha;* when Earth is worshipped these disturbing spirits are worshipped.

This ceremony also is managed by a married Taoist sorcerer. A table is set outside the house and candles and incense lighted on it. On the ground the four points of the compass are marked by lines of dry lime, a candle being stuck in the earth at each extremity of the lines and in the centre. Sometimes, especially when the fault is with the house itself, the ceremony is performed in the chief room.

Five tablets are set up to the five dragons of the five 778
points *wu lung shên* 五龍神, inscribed with 東方青帝青 788
龍神君 *tung fang ch'ing ti ch'ing lung shên chün*, the eastern green dragon spirit, and similarly for the other four, which are the southern red, the western white, the northern black, and the central yellow dragon spirits. Along with these tablets there are others to the gods of the five planets; in the east the wood-virtue god (Jupiter), while south, west, north and middle are the gods of fire-virtue (Mars), metal-virtue (Venus), water-virtue (Mercury), and earth-virtue (Saturn) respectively. The inscriptions are 東方木德星君 *tung fang mu tê hsing chün*, etc.

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778 788 The five dragons and five planets have an intimate association with the five cardinal tenets of the secret societies.

Another tablet of a more general nature is set up, 土府九壘高皇大帝 *t'u fu chiu lei kao huang ta ti.* This is for worshipping the god of springs and placating the five dragons. *T'u fu* seems to include the whole family of Earth, while *chiu lei* is said to refer to the nine continents.

There is also a somewhat similar ceremony of worshipping the gods of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Sun, Moon and Stars; the tablets being Fêng po 風伯 (*fêng*, wind); this was a statesman of the T'ang dynasty named K'uei Chêng 魏徵. He is said to have killed the five-horned dragon. Yü Shih 雨師 (*yü*, rain), a statesman of the Yin dynasty, by name Fu Yüeh 傅說. Le tsu 雷詛 (*lei*, thunder) is said to have been Wên t'ai shih 文太師. And lastly Yün lung 雲龍, the cloud dragon. The sun is the emperor, the moon the empress, the planets the statesmen, the larger stars the provincial officials and the smaller stars, the people.

There is also thanksgiving to the Fire-star, 謝火星君 *hsieh huo hsing chün*, both a parochial and a domestic affair. We here speak only of the domestic side, the other being dealt with under the Feast of All Souls. When there has been anything approaching to a conflagration in the house, or anything to indicate that the fire-demon is in the ascendant, a few pieces of red-hot coal are taken from the kitchen fire, put into a jar, and extinguished with water, while the priest chants the incantations necessary to drive the demon from the house.

Those who live by rivers and marshes worship or thank the Water-star 謝水星 *hsieh shui hsing*, hoping to be thus saved from flood. In this ritual the dragon of the five cardinal points is the chief object of worship. A jug of water is brought from the river, and the priest chants his incantations over it. After the ceremony both jug and water are taken outside and thrown away.

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Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year. 776

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜蹠), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this 751 778

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wood warded off demons. The present-day belief in charms probably arose from this custom and is very general, and the superstition regarding them very deep; they are used in almost every phase of life.

Charms to be carried on the person are made up of all kinds of material, and worn on the shoulder, back or breast, to protect from disease, demons and every evil influence; even a cross is worn by Chinese children to prevent them from being kidnapped or harmed by foreigners. A few years ago there was a great anti-cigarette movement over an extended area in Ssŭch'uan; vile rumours were circulated about foreigners breaking graves and extracting skulls to make cigarettes, and doubtless many graves were tampered with by evilly disposed persons, whose chief object was to get the jade ornaments worn by aged persons when buried. The rumours also had it that foreigners were castrating children, and this caused thousands of children in our district alone to wear huge white crosses sewn on the backs, shoulders or breasts of their clothing. Some children wore two or even three of these cross charms to prevent foreigners touching them. The idea has become widely diffused that foreigners have a superstitious dread of the cross and will not trample on it, and I have seen lads run in front and write a cross on the r d and then stand aside to see if the foreigner would tread on it.

Shao hui t'un fu (燒灰吞符), the swallow-ashes charm. Another charm is commonly made up of incantations against demons, written on yellow paper. This is burned, the ashes mixed with clean water and swallowed.

Wu fang chên chai (五方鎮宅) *fu*, the charm which protects the five corners of the house. This charm concerns the living only, and is written on yellow paper and put at the four corners of the house, a fifth one being placed at the foot of the family altar in the centre of the room. It is believed to keep the house free from demons.

Wu fang tien mu (五方奠墓) *fu*, a charm for the five corners of a grave. This is prepared and burned by geomancers to give repose to the soul of the dead; it is buried at the four corners and at the foot of the tomb.

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There is a charm written by the descendants of Chang T'ien shih (張天師), of Lung hu shan (龍虎山) in Kiang-si; it is believed to be one of the most efficacious of charms for warding off demons and healing sickness.

There is also a charm written by Ling kuan (靈官). It is said that there are seventy-two idols bearing this name, all deified after the death of different individuals who, when living, had a reputation for driving out demons and warding off evil influences. This charm is widely used and almost universally believed in wherever I have had opportunity of observation; it is generally in the form of a picture, but is sometimes placed in a small box, with a spring lid, which being touched, the *ling kuan* flies out. This is a very fierce and dreadful looking thing, which is the chief reason for its being so widely used and universally trusted.

Chu yao chan kuai (誅妖斬怪) *fu*, the kill-ghost charm, is kept in haunted houses.

Chao ts'ai chü pao (招財聚寶) *fu*, the collect-wealth charm, is often made of yellow silk and hung in the centre of the chief room of the house, or it is painted yellow on white calico.

Hsüeh fu (血符), the blood charm, is made by the sorcerer, who wounds his own brow and breast and lets the blood flow on to a piece of calico which is given to a sick person to wear on his body. At execution times people d calico into the blood of the victim, and wear it on their persons. Large cash are also taken and stained in the blood and worn as a protection against evil influences; this practice is most common among devotees of the Lo Lo and Honan chiao.

An t'ai (安胎) *fu*, the settle-fœtus charm, is used by women who fear miscarriage, or whose beds must be moved during pregnancy; it is mostly carried on the person or tied to the bed curtains, but sometimes it is burned and the ashes swallowed.

Ts'ui shêng (催生) *fu*, the hurry-birth charm. This charm is prepared by the midwife, burned, and the ashes

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swallowed; it is used in cases of protracted labour where complications have set in.

T'ao (桃) *fu*, the peach-wood charm, which is hung up on the outside of the chief door of the house on the last day of the Chinese year, is simply a slip of peach-wood, but is widely used, being considered very effectual in driving away demons.

Ai (艾) *fu*, the artemisia charm, is used on the 5th of the 5th moon; it is a bunch of artemisia hung over the door of the dwelling-house to ward off evil.

Shan chi chao fu, the pheasant and mirror charm; a picture of a pheasant is hung in the house opposite a mirror, and when the demon comes and looks into the mirror he sees the pheasant, fears being pecked from behind and forthwith flees. This is said to be a very ancient charm.

T'ai shan shih kan tang (泰山石敢當) *fu*, the *t'ai shan* charm, or the stone warden charm. A stone from Mount T'ai in Shantung is believed to have great power in warding off demons, though any local hard stone may be used; on it will be written the above characters, "The stone from Mount T'ai dares to oppose." It is used on the streets especially at quick turnings where demons are likely to strike against it. It is largely used in country dwelling-houses and on public roads.

K'ai t'ien fu, the open-heaven charm, used in divination when the heavens are slow in response to the prayers of the family.

Chieh hui (解穢) *fu*, the purification charm, is used to purify an impure well or filthy water buckets, the charm being burned and the ashes dropped into these places. It is also used in silkworm culture at times when the silkworms become yellow instead of white, the ashes being scattered over them.

P'o yü (破獄) *fu*, the open-hell charm, used at wakes to burst open the gates of Hades and release the imprisoned soul. Then the call-spirit charm 招魂 *chao hun fu* is used, to help the soul out of Hades.

Lien hua (煉化) *fu*, the purge or purifying charm; also called the suicide charm. If anyone threatens to commit

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suicide this charm is used to drive away the demon. It is also used after deaths to purge away the bad acts of the deceased. 751/778

Chao hsien fu, the call-fairy charm. It is said that each celestial has a particular charm.

Shê kuei (攝鬼) *fu*. The seize-demon charm is for haunted houses and is used both for wearing and for burning.

Ch'ien chiang (遣將) *fu*, the dispatch-general charm. It is believed that there are in the spirit world thirty-six *shuai* (帥) and seventy-two *chiang* (將) or generals; and this charm can command the help of all these to ward off an attack by evil spirits.

Wu kuei fu, the five-demon charm. It is believed that the four points of the compass have their particular evil influences and one which controls the centre. This charm wards off these evil influences.

Ch'i sha (七煞) *fu*, the seven baneful deaths charms. These seven deaths come from the following seven sources: heaven, earth, man, year, month, day, and hour.

San sha. The three baneful deaths come from the following sources, and are spoken of separately as *sui* (歲) *sha*, *ch'ieh* (刼) *sha*, *tsai* (災) *sha*, the evil influences of the year, robbery and calamity respectively.

Wu lei fu, the five-thunder charm, is used to break up an attack of ague or demon possession. It is burned and swallowed or worn on the person. The ague demons (擺子鬼) are said to be five in number, three cold and two hot; the two hot demons were originally named *mao* (毛), and the three cold ones named *chao* (趙). Legend has it that these five stole Lu pan's (魯班) hatchet and chisels and on being pursued, two fell into fire and were burned and three fell into the river and were drowned. The patient blackens the face, adding patches of red over the eyes and nose; a high cap is put on his head and he goes out with a club in his hand and stands motionless in an open place. Sometimes people who want medicine for ague dare not even whisper the name of *pai tsŭ* for fear that when they speak it, it will come; they will simply give a description of the disease and sometimes hardly

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751 that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.
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The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han èrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shè (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符龍節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

776 DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shên*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary ~~rotary~~ and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

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They contract for the bringing of a lunatic to his right mind. 791/789

They arrange for the removal of a ghost from a house. If houses have uncanny sounds or have the reputation of being haunted or are troubled with snakes, insects or other vermin, the geomancer fixes a lucky day and invites a sorcerer to assist him drive out the pests or ghosts.

Divining by copper cash is called *Wên Wang kua.* On the side of the cash are Chinese characters, that side is known as *ma tzŭ* (麻子). The side with Manchu characters is known as the *mo êrh* (末兒). Three cash are used and the count kept as to how many *ma tzŭ* or *mo êrh* show in six throws of the coins.

Mei hua shu (梅花數), to divine by whatever the divining person may carry in the hand or on the person is known as *sui chi ying pien* (隨機應變), to answer as occasion demands.

They also divine by the use of the six *jên* (壬) or combinations in the sexagenary cycle; by this method it is said that they can find out the name, dwelling place and likeness of a thief and where he has hidden the stolen goods, and other necessary details.

There is a method of divining invented by Shao K'ang-chieh of the Han dynasty. It was largely prophetic and dealt with the future of the country. Though this method is still used, few if any are able to understand it fully.

Ch'i mên tun chia (奇門遁甲), to divine by an appeal to the stars. This method is generally used in connection with prophetic prognostications.

Divining by the use of dominos is a method used to fix the dates for marriages, to find lost articles or a lost relative, or when wealth may be obtained.

The Itinerant Vendor

Pedlars sell spirit charms from such idols as the Ling kwan and the T'ien shih; both are to prevent or to heal diseases. 778 443 789

freely to applicants we may infer that such doings are not idle anthropological curiosities. We shall now mention the "Fairy Water" from a rock about ten li northwest of Tali and about thirty li away from West Town. The rock with the "water" is called Chiu Nü Ch'uan (or Nine Goddesses Spring) which is situated in a temple called Wu Wei Ssu, (or Do Nothing Temple). All informants, among them several managers of the prayer meeting at Area E, testified to the author that the rock only produced "water" when there was an epidemic and was at all other times dry. As will be clear from the table showing the order of the prayer meetings, the one at Area E occurred at about the end of the epidemic, so when the several managers spoke to the author about this "water" they also pointed out: "You see, now the illness is lessening, so the water from the spring is about finished." Nobody, of course, ever went to check up on this tale. On account of some personal difficulties the author was not able to check on it either. During the entire epidemic this water was carried to West Town on pack horses and was sold at fifty cents a cup. People say that its effectiveness (both for prevention and cure) varies, but no one says that it is useless.

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One more fact is to be mentioned in this connection. At the prayer meeting in Area E, the managers (not the priests) gave expression to a novel idea which had not been seen anywhere else during the entire epidemic. The prayer meeting was held in an open square, on one side of the street. There were the main altar, the middle altar and then a sort of gate with pine branches and couplets and two national flags. The street was still open to traffic, but just opposite, on the other side of the street, was built another altar-sort of structure. This was an artificial rock with tiny grottoes and elevations, "trees" and flowers in the grottoes and on the elevations: amidst its "trees" and flowers were various wooden, brass and porcelain images of gods and goddesses, (In the center was Buddha. There were two goddesses of Mercy, one wooden and the other porcelain) and dragons cut of paper. Attached to this structure were also several decorative couplets, and arches cut of paper-wrappers of fruit tins. The whole thing was evidently a hotch potch and formless collection created through a moment's fancy on the part of the worshippers. The interesting thing that concerns us here is the incense burner in front of the structure. From inside of this burner a continuous thin line of water welled up and shot into the air before falling into a receptacle on the ground. The device was perfectly simple. It was produced by fixing in the incense burner a tube which led to a barrelful of water on the second floor of the building behind the artificial rock. The water pressure is enough to produce this fountain-like effect. This "fountain" went on during the whole time of the prayer meeting and provided a spectacle for many curious men, women and children. The author was amazed by the following fact at first: One old woman approached the "fountain" with her young grandson. She took out a small cup from her pocket, received a cupful of the water and then drank some of it before letting her grandson finish it. She frowned a little after drinking the water. On being asked about the reason for drinking the stuff she said it was a "fairy water" and could guard its drinker against the epidemic!! The author afterwards noticed more women doing the same. Frankly, at first the author thought that the local people took a playful rather than serious attitude towards this rock structure with its midget fountain, but after observing behavior such as the above he has to modify his first impression. The similarity of the psychological background between the incense ash as medicine from certain temples (a common practice in the culture) is manifest. In a culture where a single almighty deity is inconceivable, any shrine put up by anyone enjoys a spiritual prestige unknown to the modern West.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

We had two more days of hilly walking, with occasional glimpses of the Wan-tien plain below us to the east, and then turning in a westerly direction we went down 3000 feet to the little plain which the Chinese call Mêng-po-lo and the Shans Möng Maw. Here I pitched my tent in the courtyard of the Shan monastery which stands on the bank of the Yung-ch'ang river among magnificent trees.

This place lies at an elevation of 2,300 feet, and is not far above the river's junction with the Salween. The inhabitants are all Shans, and the plain very small and poor. It is only remarkable as being one of the few places in Yün-nan low enough to grow cotton. The crop is dependent on a good rainy season, and the amount produced is quite insignificant.

On the 27th December we forded the Yung-ch'ang river and had the usual stiff climb out of the valley. We travelled for three days over a very hilly country to Mêng-p'êng[1], a little plain containing three or four Chinese and one La village. There was also a recently constructed fort here with a small garrison of Chinese soldiers.

The country we had passed through between Mêng-po-lo and Mêng-p'êng is chiefly inhabited by Chinese and Lo-los, but we met on the road one day some people whose women I recognised by their white pleated kilts as belonging to the Miao tribe whom I had previously seen in the Southern Shan States. They told us there were only a few villages of their race in this neighbourhood, and that they had emigrated from Kuei-chou province thirty or forty years ago.

This tribe I have come across in many places scattered about Western China and the Shan States, though nowhere in very large communities. I have seen them as far north as the Tibetan State of Mi-li and as far south as Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States. Westward I have not heard of them beyond the neighbourhood of Taw-nio. All these people, I believe, originally come from the southern part of Kuei-chou province, where they still inhabit a large tract of country, ruled by semi-independent chiefs of their own race. Miao or Miao-tzŭ is the name the Chinese have

[1] Möng Hpawng in Shan.

232 *Westward from Mien-ning Hsien. The*
Neither of these tribes
791 have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Their religion includes
563 the sacrifice of animals, I was assured by the people of No-po. The Hsi-fans I found everywhere most friendly. It is not till one gets into a country that is more under the thumb of the lamas, that obstruction begins.

563 Leaving No-po on the 11th March, we were obliged to make rather a short day as, after crossing one big spur, we still had the main range, with 6000 feet more of climbing, in front of us, and I did not think our mules would be equal to this. We slept at Mo-tzŭ-kou among the Miao-tzŭ or Mhong, a tribe which I have found scattered in small and widely dispersed communities all over western China. I had met some on the road the day before who had tried to emigrate southward, but had been driven away by the Lo-los, who considered the land in that part of the country to belong to them. In Kuei-chou province the Miao-tzŭ are very numerous and powerful, but here they are evidently too few to be able to afford to quarrel with their neighbours.

342 We were now getting into a more Tibetan country, and on this march saw for the first time pagodas and praying wheels. The former, some twelve feet or so high, were made of more or less conical-shaped heaps of stones with Tibetan inscriptions on them, and usually a wooden pole sticking out a little way at the top. It was a sort of rough version of the Burmese pagoda with its *hti*.

• 778 The praying wheel consisted of a cylinder about three feet long and one and a half feet across, made of leather, and said to contain religious writings. The cylinder was fixed on to the top of a little water wheel which, worked by a small stream, revolved continually. The whole was protected by a stone shed well roofed in. It was a work of merit, which must have cost a good deal of time and money to erect in this out of the way spot. These water praying wheels were fairly common in the Tibetan country we travelled through, and when we got into a thoroughly lama district the ordinary praying wheels turned by hand were to be seen in every house.

000 The next morning we crossed the big range, reaching the top at 13,200 feet, but to the north of the road the range attains a much greater elevation than this. The

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II. BUDDHISM

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798 This oldest of imported religions shows, in its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot Tai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and Nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered severe attrition. Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools, barracks, and police stations.[5]

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

779 The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia generated widespread anti-Buddhist sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

779 792 The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parastic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained largely negative.[6] Thus gradual extinction of

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6. Chan, Religious Trends, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to 70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

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the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time. But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy and establishments in Southwest China were numerous, especially in the rich and populous province of Szechwan.[7]

Provinces	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries and Nunneries
Szechwan	158,610	39,089
Yunnan	37,180	9,920
Kweichow	720	410

It is not possible to trace the decline from 1930 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of boty clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to "less than 100" in 1954.[10]

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7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook], 1933, p. T2.

8. Ibid., Basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. [see following page]

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779 Estimates on the total number[11] of clergy vary,
792 but in 1931 they appear to have numbered 500,000 to 600,000. Refugees in 1949-50 reported that four out of every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954 it was estimated that there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its dwindling influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

779 While the traditional clergy was in decline, Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. The leadership of the movement

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9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, (a four-page pamphlet), Buddhist Association of China, Taiwan, 1954; hereinafter cited as Atrocities.
10. Ibid.
11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
12. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Atrocities.

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779 was largely from the East China Region. In the Southwest, Szechwan was an important secondary center. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: that an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were organized. Buddhist writing and publishing were encouraged.[14]

The Chinese Buddhist Association, founded in 1914 to oppose the effort to make Confucianism a state religion, continued as

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14. Chan, op. cit., pp. 1-62, points out that 537 Buddhist works and 58 Buddhist periodicals were published in the years 1920-35 in all parts of China. Most of the periodicals were short-lived.

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779 the main organization of Chinese Buddhists. It claimed 4,620,000 members in 1947, but its organization was loose and weak; it included heterogeneous components: Buddhist philosophers, simple believers, reformist clergy and many of the old clergy, nationalists, internationalists, and Japan-oriented pan-Asians. The great abbot Tai-hsü, master monk-politician, tried to weld these elements into a strong, effective, and enduring organization which could formulate an attractive, long-range program and defend Buddhism against attack. But he ultimately failed, and the Buddhists of China had not the means to defend themselves against Kuomintang pressure; when the Communists came, the Buddhists had a stronger adversary and neither the means nor the spirit to resist. Some residue of the modern Buddhist movement may be found in the Southwest, perhaps only in Szechwan. The following is a breakdown, by provinces, of the number of Buddhist believers claimed in 1930 by the China Buddhist Association. The second column gives the number of modern type Buddhist organizations such as schools, translation and publication societies, missionary societies, etc.[15]

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15. Shen-pao Yearbook, 1933, p. T2.

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Szechwan	490,700	190
Yunnan	36,130	1
Kweichow	2,730	17

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668 Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped in Chungking and elsewhere, and publishing houses closed. The Han-Tibetan College in Chungking, along with other Buddhist colleges, has been closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[16] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders.[17] Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists to reform and defend

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16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

17. According to Buddhism in China, Peking, Nationalities Publishing House, 1955, p. 2, the effective date of organization was June 1953, when 93 persons representing "the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen of different nationalities and Buddhist schools of the various regions" were elected to serve as its board of directors.

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779 their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized,
68 and manipulated by the state and the Party. In China's relations with the Buddhist countries of Asia, it will be used as a propaganda device to allay their fear that China is an enemy of Buddhism; it will also be used to "soothe" and control Buddhist populations in Mongolia, the former Sikang province, and Tibet.[18] Domestically, the new association, like all others in Communist China, will be used primarily for the indoctrination and control of its members. As early as May 1951, a central committeeman of the Party outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in land reform, (2) opposition to counterrevolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[19]

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18. The Dalai Lama, the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Chagan Kogen of Inner Mongolia, and the Venerable Hsu Yun have been chosen as honorary presidents of the Buddhist Association. Cf., Buddhism in China, p. 20. A photograph in the same volume shows an encampment of Tibetan tribesman in Sikang listening to a lama's sermon. Another shows a Southern Buddhist temple in the Tai Autononous area in Yunnan.

19. Richard Walker, China Under Communism, New Haven, 1955, pp. 188-89.

779 In the principal cities, especially those visited by delegations from Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, a few temples are maintained for religious use. But the greatest number of temples have been converted for use by the state. One source, admittedly strongly biased, asserts that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1, in Shanghai from 600 to 2, and in Hangchow from 300 to 1.[20] Certain Buddhist monuments of historical and cultural importance are being restored and preserved.[21]

779 As we have pointed out, the clergy has
792 been largely secularized. In Shanghai, as in other cities, monks have opened restaurants specializing in Buddhist dishes. Everywhere the clergy has converted temples into small factories in order to produce hand-made articles. Monks of the Fa-tsang temple in Shanghai now work on

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20. Atrocities.
21. Buddhism in China, introduction and plates.

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•779 nearby farms. In Hangchow, some 1,800
782 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22] We have few details on the fate of the Buddhist clergy in the Southwest.

779 There are occasional reports of Buddhist
178 ceremonies, such as the celebration of the Buddha's birth day.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer

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22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

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779 to resist totalitarianism or the trend of the
178 times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[24]

III. TAOISM

779 Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purposes to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism

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24. The outstanding example is Chü-tsan -- a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religious, and social work -- the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü-tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. also, Chü-tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

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779 as an organized religion; the other is Taoism as a folk religion at the village level.[25] The Taoist religion developed as a reaction to the challenge of the imported faith of Buddhism. It borrowed extensively from its alien rival; its scriptures, its clerical hierarchy and organization, its rituals, its heavens and hells were often scarcely disguised copies of those of Buddhism. Its decline over the last five-hundred years has been slow but steady; in recent years its decline has accelerated. Some aspects of this should be noted. Intellectual vitality has long since disappeared, and there was little doctrine on which to base a modern revival of the religion. The priesthood, divided between northern and southern sects, was largely locally recruited; there was no central control exercised by the hereditary "Heavenly Teachers" (T'ien-shih) of the two sects, and the monks gained the reputation of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe

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25. The residue of philosophic Taoism is dealt within the chapter on Basic Attitudes in this handbook.

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779 in them.[26] The last "Heavenly Master" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time for him to buy some books to read."[27] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yün-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant; the Nationalist Government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yün-kuan.

Religious Taoism has not had the inspiration or the leadership to develop modern doctrines and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-15,[28] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by

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26. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

27. Ibid., p. 152. Another source says that he was "deposed" by Chinese Nationalist troops in 1927. Cf. Ch'en Hung-shun, "The Taoist Press in China" in Rudolf Lowenthal, ed. The Religious Periodical Press in China, Peking, 1940, p. 167.

28. Shina mondai jiten [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.

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779 the development of any social, educational, or medical program. (Efforts along these lines proved abortive.) Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and the Communist will complete this process. The Communists them-
779 selves recognize that "Religious Taoism" is
668 dead. In 1949, when bidding for the support of religious groups, they invited representatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[29]

779 Folk Taoism in the present study includes all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects, simply magnified and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors have steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy,

29. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

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779 and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshipped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[30] One sample survey showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for their original purpose;[31] the decline in the last twenty-five years has been accelerated. It should be noted that many of the folk cults of Yunnan and Kweichow are of local origin and do not share the common characteristics of the folk Taoism of the old settled provinces.

798 In the case of folk Taoism, and other local cults, the Communists have moved to bring to an end a complex of ancient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay

30. Cf., Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

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IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

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Islam was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

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41. (continued) p. 3, and JMJP, July 7, 1955, p. 3.

42. The account of the suppression of I-kuan tao and other secret societies in the Kalgan area includes details of their considerable resourcefulness. *Cf. SCMP, No. 1078,* pp. 27-28.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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779 563 The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizaing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

779 794 563 The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Iman, usually elected from among senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes,

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43. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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interprets Islamic law, and presides at ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

In the Southwest China, Mohammedan communities are found in all provinces, but by far the highest concentration is in the province of Yunnan where tension and conflict between Han-Chinese and the Moslems has been endemic in modern times. The following table indicates the provincial distribution of believers and religious establishments (probably places of worship rather than Islamic schools or any such institutions) throughout the region as of 1938.[45] Population estimates for the same period are added to suggest the proportion of Moslems in the total population. The source of the Moslem figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars regard as far too high.[46]

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44. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems.

45. Chung-kuo Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

46. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammaden scholar Pai-Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Language Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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Province	Pop. in Millions	Moslems	Mosques
Szechwan	48.	2,615,330	2,279
Yunnan	15.	4,567,290	3,971
Kweichow	14.3	519,160	449

779 668 Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

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47. Cf. Chan op. cit., pp. 190-91.

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779 795 As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874) of Yunnan Province, and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

779 563 873 Chinese Mohammedans, in their moves towards modernism, came to accept the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic. They had, by 1936, opened eleven high schools for Moslem children, and they began to send students abroad to foreign centers of Islamic learning. Yunnan

48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.

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779 Province led in this movement; in 1937,
563 eighteen Chinese students were sent to Egypt,
873 and half of these were from Yunnan. By 1930, the Islamic Theological College attached to the Chungking mosque had been in operation five years, and the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or co-ordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools.[49] Yet the spread of modern type education was handicapped by the poverty of the Moslem communities and by religious prejudice against Chinese learning. For example Shantien, in Yunnan, was the outstanding Islamic cultural center in China and sent more students abroad than any other town; yet in 1949 it had a population of only 5,000, of which two were college graduates and "some thirty" high school graduates; it had one grade school with 360 students but no high school.[50]

779 What have been Chinese Communist policies
668 toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The

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49. Ibid., pp. 198-201.
50. Ibid., p. 200.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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policies adopted towards major centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have something in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: An All-China Islamic Association which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before[51] liberation. This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are increasingly being given the prescribed Communist education.

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51. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[52]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech of Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

> "...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and Socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[53]

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52. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.
53. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

1;Stanford U. S-4; 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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779 668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions: (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems."[54] Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not read Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

779 563 We have little detailed and reliable information on the Islamic communities of the

54. Chinese Moslems, introduction.

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

779 563 Southwest today. But some trends should be noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the goverment, and the youth will tend in time to become more Communist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit communities in the Southwest will probably 779 proceed apace. The Communist government 563 boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth 177 now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and chü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955; SCMP, 1067, p. 23.

57. Ibid.

1 Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

58. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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779 because of its foreign support and its allegiance
797 to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The
793 most striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of worldwide policies in any age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[59]

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

59. Jean Monsterleet, S.J., Les Martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung contre l'Eglise duChrist, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

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797 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of [648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, 668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com- 798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of 797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism 779 as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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668 two-hundred adult groups and thirty youth
798 groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal
797 Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion
779 of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün, Army, or Legion, of Mary. Many experienced Catholic missionarie were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

798 Communist policies and propaganda have
797 made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the
779 Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played

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62. Monsterleet, p. 148. It seems to have had much less strength in the Southwest than in the major cultural and commercial centers. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

63. Cf., Hsü, Hsin-Chung-kuo ti tsung-chiao ko-hsin yü-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13. Hereafter cited as Hsü.

798 up, and nationalistic feelings against it were
797 aroused. Its role as property owner --
779 "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" --
was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le Communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, [see following page]

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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798 espionage.[66]
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In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried" and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

798 The next step in the campaign against
795 Catholicism resembled the policy followed
797 in Russia and in the East European satellites.
779 This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments; and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communist teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge.

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65. (continued) p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

67. Ibid., p. 28.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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798 Apparently this organization has had only limited
795 success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2
797 per cent went over to the "reform church";
779 many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

798 From October 1952 on there was less
797 persecution of Catholics, although between
779 January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

797 Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy
797 than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another
204 index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

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Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations of Christianity to the Chinese.[78]

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78. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les Missions Protestantes en Chine" Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Ser. III. Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1955, p. 305, observes: "Far more disruptive in almost every mission area has been the swarm of small, independent sects -- pentecostal, holiness, fundamentalist -- most of them divisive. Not only do they assert their unwillingness to co-operate with other Christian groups, but they seek most of their converts from the established churches."

1:Stanford U. S-4,, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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797 Naturally the antagonism between Catholic and
779 Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[79] Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the motivations of conversion in the village he studied: "The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries."[80] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and, in the twenties and thirties there were serious efforts to curb them. One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor

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79. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, pp. 158-64.
80. Ibid., p. 159.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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777 results after ninety years of effort, was to
779 reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936.[81] This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

[722] The Sino-Japanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north and central China. At the war's end, the

81. Damobriena, p. 83.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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797 Protestant missionaries returned and set
779 about the rehabilitation of church establishments. Apparently progress was made, but there were disquieting aspects. The interdenominational unions which the Japanese had imposed during their occupation broke apart and sectarian rivalries sprang up again.

> "The measure of self support achieved in wartime necessity collapsed before the inflowing torrent of foreign funds. Leadership which had demonstrated both courage and competence through years of crisis politely yield to colleagues returning from the West."[82]

American financial support also drew upon the Protestants an increasing barrage of Communist and left-wing criticism as the Nationalist Government -- receiving American support -- became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their preponderant emphasis on the social gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clear-headed of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

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82. Lacy, op. cit., p. 306.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER III

LAMASERIES AND BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF LI-CHIANG

1. THE KARMA-PA SECT AND ITS HIERARCHS

The Karma-pa, a sub-sect of the Kargyu-pa, founded about the middle of the twelfth century, look upon rDo-rje hChhang as their supreme deity. He is regarded as a reflex of Buddha himself. He is the metamorphosis of Indra and is called Vajradhara in Sanskrit. Directly inspired by rDo-rje hChhang was Ti-lo-pa (Tai-lo-pa), who had Nā-ro-pa as disciple. Thence followed Mar-pa, who was the teacher of the famous Mi-la (Mi-la-ras-pa, pronounced Mi-la-re-pa), the Cotton-clad. Mar-pa was born in 1010 (Bacot in *La Vie de Marpa*, p. 2, n. 1, gives 993 as the year of his birth and 1081 as that of his death); Mi-la-re-pa was born in 1038 and died in 1122. 779 795

His disciple was Dwags-po. This latter's disciple was Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa who became the actual founder of the Karma-pa sect. He was born in 1109 and died in 1192. 795

There have been 15 incarnations, including the present one, of Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (pronounced Dü-sum khyen-pa).

Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's disciple was hGro-mgon Ras-chhen; the latter's disciple was sPun-brag-pa.

The first incarnation but second head of the Karma-pa sect was Karma-pa-zhi (1203–1282); he was invited by Kublai Khan to China. His disciple was mKhas-grub U-rgyan-pa (the abbot writes A-rgyan-pa.)

The second incarnation was Rang-byung rDo-rje (1283–1338); he was the third head of the Karma-pa Church. He was invited to Peking by the Emperor Tohan Timur, Shun Ti 順帝, or Hui Tsung 惠宗 (1333–1367). The third incarnation was Rol-pai rDo-rje (1339–1382); he was the fourth head; the fifth head (fourth incarnation) was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1383–1415); in the abbot's list he is called De-bzhin-shes-pa; he was invited to China by the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu 成祖 (Yung-lo 1403–1424); the sixth head was mTshong-wa Don-ldan; the seventh head Chhos-grags-rGya-mtsho; the eighth Rang-byung mTsho-skyes; the ninth Mi-bskyod rDo-rje; the tenth Chhos dbyings rDo-rje; the eleventh Ye-shes rDo-rje; the twelfth Byang-chhub rDo-rje; the thirteenth bDun-bdul rDo-rje; the fourteenth Theg-mchhog rDo-rje and the fifteenth mKhah-khyab rDo-rje.

The sixteenth head but fifteenth incarnation of Dü-sum Khyen-pa was found nearly a decade ago. His name is Rod-pas rDo-rje[1] pronounced Rö-pe-dor-je.

[1] [illegible]

[p. 201]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

778 ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry
769 may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

778 The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls
775 seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 子派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

778 A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon,
779 and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng*; the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün*; Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni*. (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 銀闕大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti*. The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

276 and for this purpose keeps in his house a taper constantly smouldering. To blow this taper into a flame is quite an art. It requires a short quick puff, stopping very suddenly, and the European unused to such a thing finds considerable difficulty in managing it.

000 We camped at Hsiao-ch'in, which lies near the mouth of the side valley which we wished to explore. Here at last I found P'u-mans who knew their own language, and I took down a vocabulary from them[1]. It resembles the La and Wa languages, and I have little doubt that they are connected with these tribes, especially as they here call themselves Wa-la. P'u-man is only a name given to them by Shans and Chinamen.

Leaving our camp standing at Hsiao-ch'in, we started the next morning to explore the side valley which runs down from the high range to the east. In a few miles the view of the steep hills at the top of the range convinced us that this was no good for a railway, and that the route Watts-Jones had surveyed up the Kung-lang valley was the only likely way to get up out of the Mekong.

•779 Our day was not, however, without interest, as we discovered that there are a good many Panthay villages in this out-of-the-way spot. On our way back we went in and had tea with the head-man of one of these. He told us that they had lived here for 16 or 17 generations, so if that is true they may be the descendants of some of Kublai Khan's soldiers. I asked them if they had korans in Arabic, and they at once produced one. The head-man said he could read it, but did not seem very anxious to give us a specimen of his Arabic scholarship. We thought it more polite not to press him, as he would have found it rather difficult to "save his face," if it turned out that he could not read a word.

000 We slept at Hsiao-ch'in again, and in the middle of the night were waked up by loud yells. It appears that one of the mule men had heard someone moving about on the hillside, and that when he shouted to know who it was, the man ran away. No doubt he was looking about to see what he could pick up, but he had not succeeded, as

[1] See vocabularies in pocket of cover.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

173 782 539 INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦景帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦景帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-shan Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪石北嶽安邦景帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮[24] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man, of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and, mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rainstorm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

[24] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

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346 782 173 *The Pei-yo Temple.* — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃祺熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use. 487*

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture. 133* 137*

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as 778 782 262 251

[6] In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BOOK I—DOMESTIC

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHS, 生產 *shêng ch'an, etc.*

WHEN the birth is delayed it is put down to Lo Hou 羅睺, and the master of the house fires a gun over his shoulder towards the heavens to drive away the evil influences. These influences are believed to come from the *t'ien-kou hsing* 天狗星 or heavenly Dog-star. In some houses a picture of Chang kung 張公 is hung up; he is depicted as carrying a sling and stones; he is supposed to throw at this heavenly dog which comes to devour the expected child. It is said that Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 was an incarnation of this heavenly Dog-star, which is also the devourer of the moon in lunar eclipses.

To take away or escort the blood demon 送血鬼 *sung hsüeh kuei*, or demon of birth-pangs *ch'an-nan kuei* 產難鬼, is the work of a sorcerer, and many incantations are practised and charms used to assist the birth; the ceremony may take place a few days before the birth is expected.

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The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 烧三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jin tai nai* 防人帶奶. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

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On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house, *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge. 844 782

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue. 842 782

They beg a prayer-tally, 求籤 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month); 842 795 261

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou tso-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

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Such customs as are noted above have a great hold on otherwise quite enlightened people.

The following customs are connected with the protection of children.

If during the first month or two of the child's life it cries a great deal, this request is put out: 小兒夜哭請君念讀若還不哭請君萬福; "My little one cries in the night, will good men take note and read; if after this it does not cry may ten thousand blessings rest on you."

People who are afraid of their child becoming a priest make a priest's hat and other garments for it. They think the spirits will be thus deceived and suppose the child is a priest already.

For fear a child may not live long a ring is put round its neck and locked, *so kuan* 鎖關. This is even done to sick adults, with the idea of locking in the life that it may not leave the body.

With the same idea an old horse-shoe is made into a bangle and locked on the child's wrist—*ta ma-chang ch'üan* 打馬掌圈.

Money also is collected from many other families 化千家錢 *hua ch'ien-chia ch'ien*, and made into a silver, iron or bronze collar, which is locked on the child's neck.

A tablet called *ch'ang-ming p'ai* 長命牌 is made up of the characters for long life, riches and honour. It may be worn suspended round the child's neck or on his cap. It is sometimes the gift of friends. A tablet with the figures of the Eighteen Lo-han is similarly worn.

A coin-shaped tablet on the cap with the Eight Diagrams 八卦 *pa kua* engraven on it is supposed to repel evil influences.

In the same way are worn the images or names of the 12 Buddhist *pratyéka* who were disciples of the goddess of Mercy 十二圓覺 *shih-êrh yüan-chüeh*; or of the twenty-eight constellations; or of the 36 or 72 famous generals who are supposed to be able to ward off demons.

An embroidered cat on the cap, with eyes and mouth facing outward, is worn to drive away demons. A monkey embroidered on the shoulder has similar virtue.

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The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to. 852 782

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzū, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu êrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

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CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR A FUTURE LIFE. 修來世 *hsiu lai shih.*

782 THIS is also spoken of as *yin kung* 陰功 or secret merit. Secret merit is supposed not to be spoken of, and is rarely practised by people under forty, but some, after they have sown their wild oats desire to accumulate merit to counteract their evil practices; as the saying runs 一善改千惡; one good deed changes a thousand bad ones.

To set free living creatures bought for the purpose, *fang shêng* 放生, such as birds, fishes, tortoises, eels, etc., is reckoned great merit. So is the building of bridges by subscription. To repair the public roads near the home, when done out of free will is also believed to be very meritorious, but it is expected that travellers will contribute to this work, and has now come to be a respectable way of begging. This kind of work is also inflicted by law for light offences.

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735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 212 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

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through the villages and cities on their knees. The Buddhist devotees are divided into two kinds *ta* and *êrh chü shih*, 大 and 二居士, men and women respectively. These latter are called *tao yu* 道友 or friends of the doctrine. 788

Another way is to *sung chîng pai ch'an* 誦經拜懺 chant the classic of "regret for the past." It is said that chanting is a Buddhist idea, while the doctrine of repentance has its roots in Taoism. These classics and repentance odes are very plentiful. Fasting, *ch'ih chai* 喫齋 or *ch'ih su* 素, is meritorious. It means the abstaining from wine, garlic, and meats, whether for a whole lifetime or at stated times and on stated days. A person who is afraid that his family may not do enough chanting, etc., for him after he is dead has a special lot done while he is alive, and sent on ahead to await him in the next world; also lots of paper and incense are burned and deposited in the treasury of Hades. This is called *chi k'u tao ch'ang* 寄庫道場. 782

Some seek merit by issuing tracts about the protection of life, exhorting people not to throw lime in the paddy fields, because it kills the insects there; to refrain from treading on any living thing; they even exhort people to allow vermin to live on the clothing and person; also to abstain from breaking off tender twigs on trees and bushes; because there is life in them. These ideas are from the Buddhist pantheism.

People abstain from treading on anyone's shadow. To do so is to treat them lightly and it is also very unlucky. To strike a person's shadow in a vital part is reckoned to be almost as serious as to strike the person himself.

It is merit to abstain from food on a mother's birthday, because she suffered so much at one's birth. The Mohammedans fast from dawn to dusk on that day. It is great merit to go to the *nan hai p'u to* 南海普陀. This is one of the most sacred places of Buddhism, or the place where the goddess of mercy is said to have made her appearance after becoming a celestial. A Taoist idea is for a person to sit erect with legs crossed, the eye fixed on the nose, lips closed, tongue straight, and to swallow the saliva; the thoughts must be kept pure and sleep kept away; the old nature is thus cast off by the top of the head and the aspirant becomes an

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782 immortal. This is called *lien tan hsüan kung* 煉丹玄功. The body is said to have ten openings, but the one on the top of the head needs to be opened in this way before it is effectual.

* * *

EXHORTATION 說書 *shuo shu.*

792 To explain the Sacred Edict, 講聖諭 *chiang shêng yü.* The Sacred Edict originally had six chapters composed by the emperor Shun-chih 順治, but it was enlarged and edited by his successor K'ang-hsi, and now contains sixteen chapters. Before the exhorter begins his works a tablet has to be erected on which are engraved the two characters Shêng yü. Candles are lighted on either side and in front, paper and incense are also burned before the tablet; the exhorter then bows three times, and knocks his head nine times to the ground before he begins to talk. The custom is to pay 100 cash for each chapter explained, and three chapters are generally gone over each evening. This money is generally paid by rich people in order to accumulate merit; not uncommonly a rich farmer or wealthy merchant invites an exhorter to his house for this purpose. At its beginning this practice may have been better than it now is; unfortunately the wicked lives of many of these men does much to nullify their words; and their exhortation is no longer confined to the doctrines contained in the Sacred Edict, but is largely made up of old wives' fables, and local and provincial scandals.

Many preachers of the Sacred Edict also use the method of exhortation by proverbs, *chiang kê yen* 講格言. There is a slight resemblance to, and connection with, the Sacred Edict, but most of the incidents are taken from the law courts, or scandals in business and private circles.

533 Men walk through the streets and sing ballads of a national or amorous character, *ch'ang shan shu* 唱善書. The idea is generally to procure travelling expenses for themselves or others to some distant place

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787 To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien fing shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

789 *Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu* (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tsü* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssü niang tsü (踹私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely of wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

782 *Ching t'an* (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shên* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much

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more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria: 782

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard. 782 776

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八滿進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (蹤索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand. 789

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登罈子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

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If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire. 787 777

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to :—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon. 796 782

Ch'ien sung huo hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

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A dragon made of light bamboo covered with green cloth is carried through the streets and into the homes of the people; each family receives it with incense, candles and paper, while the men who parade it are rewarded with money. Many of the incantations and ritual given under the fire and epidemic fast are practised in this also.

Again an epidemic boat is made, with a man *shao kung* (艄公) at the bows and a woman, *shao p'o*, to steer, while in the centre of the boat sits the demon. The beard of the fire demon is red, while that of the pestilence demon is green. The god of the pestilence is said to have been K'ang t'ien chün, whose tablet is as follows: 當年行瘟天子至德尊神. To the god of pestilence who governs the current year.

A fast of praying to heaven is held, *Lo* (羅) *t'ien* or *Ch'i* (祈) *t'ien ta chiao*, in times of distress or at regular intervals from three to fifteen years in different cities. When the fast is proclaimed it is generally a very rigid one, with much ritual, sorcery and chanting, and may last from seven to fifty days. During the recent rebellion, before the establishment of the republic, this fast was proclaimed in many places to ask for protection from the government soldiers.

Huang ch'ung (蝗蟲) *chiao* is a fast held in the country to keep the locusts and caterpillars from the crops. If this fast is held in a temple the local precinct god is notified by the burning of incense and putting up of fresh scrolls at his shrine. Five-coloured flags are put up at the corners of the field; this is said to be equivalent to invitation to the rooks to come and devour the pests. The old custom of walking round the fields beating a gong or drum is still to be found; it is said that the caterpillars fall to the ground at the sound. Farmers say that one of the chief benefits of a heavy thunderstorm is to make these pests drop off by the thousand.

FASTS FOR RAIN AND FINE WEATHER, (祈晴禱雨) *Chi ch'ing tao yü*

In times of drought or very wet weather the official issues a proclamation forbidding the butcher to kill pigs or oxen, chin tu (禁屠). The idea is that the taking of life is an offence against the gods.

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In times of drought an altar is put up at the Lung Wang miao, the temple of the dragon king. In times of flood it is erected at the Huo shên miao, the temple of the god of fire. At this altar the district magistrate makes obeisance morning and night.

When fasting for fine weather the north gate of the city is closed; when fasting for rain, the south gate; because it is said in the eight diagrams, the North belongs to water and the South to fire.

To shoot the mists, ta wu (打霧). In times of continued wet weather, soldiers are told of to shoot at the mists. The people put great faith in this practice.

In wet weather the official has to worship the sun tablet in some temple, and all the people have to worship a tablet to this luminary at the doors of their dwellings.

In times of drought the Dragon king is worshipped and each home has a tablet put up beseeching his help; also the water dragon is brought out. This is a plaited bamboo frame joined together with sackcloth, which is paraded through the streets by young men; each house prepares a bucket of water and a ladle and as the dragon passes it is drenched with water. Another method is to *hsiao kou*, to laugh at the dog. The custom has its origin in the saying, if you laugh at a dog the weather won't be fine. In times of desperation for lack of rain, a dog is dressed up as a bride, put in a chair and carried through the streets and every one laughs at it, hoping that by doing so rain may come.

Officials go barefooted and pray for rain; this is said to be an example of an official suffering for his people.

In some cases the Ch'êng huang or city god is stood in the sun. I have known of the district magistrate getting angry at the prolongation of the drought and demanding that the city god give him an explanation; he said, "You govern the dead, and I the living; let us both stand in the sun and the one whose head splits first must bear the blame of the drought." The result was that the idol's head was cracked by the sun.

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Men also go to the dragon pool and carry home a bucketful of water, which is worshipped at the altar. At the pool a chicken is sacrificed and its head thrown to the dragon. On the return journey twigs are stuck into the hair of those who go on this errand.

The *pang* (蚌) *pang yü* or *wa* (娃) *wa yü*, is a human-headed fish, a kind of mermaid; it is caught and kept in a tank of water till the rain comes. This is a rare fish, but it has come under my notice on two or three occasions, when thousands of people have run mad after the creature.

When the magistrate is not in favour with the people, they may attack the yamen and demand water for fields or rain.

Another method is to throw the egg. A water butt is prepared and filled with water, and decked round with cedar and willow branches. An egg is selected, over which "thunder" incantations are read morning and evening for three days, after which it is thrown up into the air with the belief that the rain will accompany it on its downfall.

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784 On entering a tea-shop it is very unlucky to upset your own tea or to see a tea-cup upset by another.

777 [725] Boatmen, when starting on a journey, always choose a lucky day for the crew to come on board, the sacrifice to be made and the boat started. The sacrificial chicken is intoxicated before it is killed, wine being poured down its gullet; when slain, the blood is sprinkled on the prow of the boat and the feathers stuck to it as a witness of the transaction. On the journey demons are seen in the head winds and adverse currents, and when it is difficult to pull the boat over a rapid; rice is then thrown overboard to feed the hungry ghosts. The boatmen will rarely tell you how far they are from a certain place, lest the demons should know of their whereabouts, while the distance is generally given as so many stages. They will never tell you where they intend to stay for the night or how far away is an anchorage, lest the demons should waylay them. The custom of boatmen whistling and howling for the wind is a curious one and probably has to do with the idea that the spirits are in the wind and are helping them. In the bottom of each boat there is one division lower than the others, called the *t'ai p'ing ts'ang*, into which all the leakage water in the bottom of the boat is expected to flow, to be ladled out into the river; no one may shout or swear while in this division lest the boat should be wrecked. The words *kuai* (拐), and *ch'iung* (倾), are used to take the places of *huai* (坏), wreck, and *tao* (倒), to empty out. The exact number of trackers should never be counted for fear it should bring disaster. Boatmen never tread on the front of the boat, and care should be taken to avoid this as much as possible by any one. Boatmen always sleep across the boat and never dress standing on their bedding.

Woodmen employed in the forest never call any of their comrades by name before breakfast. Nor are they called to breakfast lest one of them should be called upon to die before the evening. Anyone daring to dress standing on his bed, or knocking his chopsticks together may be fined to the extent of food and tea for a meal, as these things indicate that the axe-head may slip off and kill someone. The water in which

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitious and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ya Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements begin to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of [illegible]se Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

482 coolies take care of the lesser freight transport. They carry their burdens piled high on their shoulders. The carrying of larger burdens on horizontal spring poles as is customary in lower China, for example in Hu pe etc., is done only among individual itinerant craftsmen and specialists that come from a specific region of China and overflow into the western borderlands.

In Romi Tschanggu I had refused to ask the yamen for ula. I felt that it was not right for me as a foreigner to demand it. But the difficulties of the road piled up to such an extent that I very much regretted having been so considerate. The road was in much poorer condition than people had admitted and on the way I could get help for only short stretches and at high prices. I had so many accidents that finally I indicated those dates in my diary on which I did not experience some major mishap. It was also practically impossible to buy straw for the animals. And from the corn flour alone which we had to feed them, they developed colic. Thus, on June 16, I lost a horse from colic and barely cured two others.

• 782 During the night of the sixteenth and seventeenth an extremely heavy thunderstorm with a cloud burst descended on the valley. The echo of the thunderclaps in among the high rock walls would not cease and from all sides came the deluge. In an hour the river rose nearly one and one-half meters. The natives - I was staying with Chinese who lived in small huts by the wayside - lit their incense candles and stuck them on their door posts. In the short intervals between the thunder-claps their "crackers" could be heard incessantly and a thousand times they called out the name "Yü hwang ye" through the open door.

731 On the morning of the seventeenth we had scarcely gone two kilometers when the high muddy waves of the swollen Hsiao Kin tschuan Ho blocked our way inexorably. Waves one and one-half meters high flowed over the narrow path at the foot of steep valley walls. In an attempt to brave the obstacle, our guide barely escaped being washed away by the current, along with one of the horses. It meant waiting until the water had gone down, and since I had not been able to replenish my horse fodder at the last encampment, I stayed in my tent with the packs by the side of the river and sent Skewliu and Dardyi back empty to the Tschortensa gomba monastery which I had passed two days earlier (Plate LIII).

On June 18 the water rose even higher although meanwhile good weather had set in and the thermometer rose to +34° at noon. In the

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To give away medicine and sticking-plaster to the poor is merit, but it is reckoned still greater merit to give away good prescriptions, as these are often a legacy of ancestors, and any person having a few good ones might start in business. Some people keep a tea pot or crock full of tea at their doors for people to drink out of during the hot weather. Others light a lamp at a dark and dangerous part of the road to keep people from falling into a ditch or over a precipice. They open a free ferry *k'ai i tu* 開義渡 for transporting travellers over streams and rivers, or give away rice gruel to the poor in times of distress; or rice and money to the poor at New Year times, or after a fire or flood. 783

They give free coffins for the poor and for unknown travellers who die by the way; or land for free burying grounds; these are found everywhere. This is reckoned very great merit.

An individual or a number contributing will open free schools. Others give away clothing, bedding and fire-baskets to the poor at the beginning of the cold weather. This is largely done by ladies who wish to prepare for leaving this world. Poor-houses for the aged and orphans are kept up both by government and by public subscription.

To open an orphanage is great merit. The infant children of poor parents are taken to this institution and are here reared; many of the slave girls of officials are procured from these places.

Institutions are opened also for the blind, deaf and maimed, *k'ai t'zŭ ya t'ang* 開慈幼堂; some for adults, some for children; and asylums for the shelter and support of widows. Such women get benefit from a Society's funds if they are well recommended, and on condition that they do not remarry. Some set up a tramp's refuge, *ch'i liu so* 棲流所 for men and women from a distance; shelter is provided free, but not food. Beggars' refuges for the local poor are supported.

The chief beggar carries a rod with which he administers correction to the disobedient, and he visits the farmers at harvest time and gets grain from them, and shopkeepers at feast times to get his wages for keeping the beggars in order. 735

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BOOK VIII—SUPERSTITIOUS DREAD

THINGS TO BE AVOIDED (忌 諱), *chi wei*

The first question of importance in Ssŭch'uan is how to gain a livelihood; the people say that every thing else is false, hunger only is real. But next to satisfying hunger, comes the great art of appeasing and hoodwinking demons. There can be little doubt that superstitious dread haunts most people from youth to old age. A young woman well known to us happened to overlay her child in the night, and next day she showed no signs of grief or trouble; on being pressed for a reason, she replied, "Oh, we must cheat the demon;" the idea being that if she had shown any sorrow, the demon would have come and taken the other child also. Much of the callous exterior of this people is not real, but put on for fear of demons. 784

Lucky days are chosen for almost every event of importance in life; beginning an education, starting on a journey, opening shop at New Year time, marriages, funerals, changing houses, repairing or building houses, will not only be begun on a lucky day, but in a lucky year. It has seemed to me that the day of a person's birth and the day of his death are the only events which they make no pretence at controlling. 177

Odd numbers are more lucky than even ones; for example, an odd number of days must elapse between a death

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777 and a funeral, and every seventh day is observed by the women as a time for weeping till seven times is reached, and the mourning in many cases ended.

The first and fifteenth are the recognized days for worship in the temple and in the home. The seventh moon of each year is the most idolatrous of the twelve, when the spirits of the family ancestors are supposed to return and share the feast of meat and wine. The pagoda of each city, which is said to be built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and intended to govern the literary welfare of the city, has, as far as I have seen, always got an odd number of storeys. The Chinese are not without their superstitious dread of the foreigner. I have been asked many times if I could see three feet into the ground; and the call, *Yang jèn tao pao* (洋人盜寶), indicates that they believe that our eyes have wondrous powers of finding treasure which they believe lies hidden in the earth. It is quite a common thing to meet a man on the road who will put his nose in his sleeve while passing lest he should smell the foreigner. The smell of the ink of a foreign book is unlucky in the house. The small print of foreign books will injure their eyes, foreigners' tea will bewitch them, etc. We shall now look at a few of the things to be avoided in classified order.

784 *Superstitions connected with the first day of the year.* On that day no one in the family may mention the words demon, tiger, cat, snake, monkey, suicide, blood, wounds, short-lived, death, sickness, son died, daughters departed, speechless, lost money ; also the following with a play on the double meaning of the words : *tuan lu*, short road, suicide; *tuan t'su*, to sever head from body ; *pu tsai*, lost, also meaning dead ; *pu hao*, not good, also meaning to be sick, etc.

On this first day the brooms of the house are carefully hidden for fear they may be used and sweep away the family inheritance. The scales for weighing vegetables are also hidden as the marks and figures make it resemble a snake. For any member of the household to have dishevelled hair on that day is very unlucky, as that is said to be how demons look, and is a bad omen for the New Year. The breaking of

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a rice basin or the spilling of water in the kitchen is a very unlucky thing and is taken to mean that the family affairs will be troubled. To have a house set on fire, or for any one to mention fire on the first day is a very unlucky thing.

Those who are in mourning will cast away their mourning weeds for the day; but will not pay calls on that day, for fear of disturbing the weeping god. No weeping is allowed in the family on that day lest it should last throughout the year. It is very unpropitious to quarrel, sing, lose or lend an article, to catch the clothing on anything and tear it, to give a ladleful of water, or even a light to light a neighbour's fire or lamp. No one will ask for the payment of an outstanding account on New Year's day for fear they may become beggars. Neither will they sell or allow anything to go out of the house for the same reason. Money is given to beggars on New Year's day, having been previously given out for the express purpose. The practice of sitting on another person's door-step is deeply resented by some families at all times; others do not forbid men, but they would be deeply insulted if women should sit there; but on New Year's day no one is allowed to sit there as it stops the flow of wealth and hinders the passage of the spirits to and from the house. On this day the bell on the idol's shrine must not be touched by strange hands; if an outsider should dare to disturb the family gods he will be severely dealt with for his trouble. To tell any person on New Year's day that he has *pei shih*, or turned his back on the times, is a very serious insult, as it means the family affairs will be unlucky throughout the year.

Continual fears of all classes. The proverb says, *chu lai ch'iung, kou lai fu:* the coming of a pig into the house betokens poverty, and the advent of a dog betokens riches; the reason given for this is that the pig only sleeps and eats, whereas the dog protects the family. But if a dog goes in and out of the house barking for no apparent cause this is reckoned to be very unlucky. It is said that a dog is an ancestor in another form and the name can be read on its belly; for this reason hardly anyone will kill a dog. This idea seems to have had its origin in the following. A dying man

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•784 owed another family five hundred cash, which he promised to return and pay. Soon after his death a litter of puppies came into the house, and on the belly of one was written the name of the man to whom the money was owing; the puppy was given to him and his family became rich.

In connection with the pig there are some curious ideas, which seem to have been imported by Buddhism, such as the following: 曾見孫孫娶祖母爺皮彌鼓打諸親鍋內煮—Already I have seen the grandson marry the grandmother, and the grandfather's skin acting as a drum at the ceremony; while the whole of the friends (become pork) were boiling in the pot to be eaten at the feast. This is transmigration of souls in earnest! If a pig becomes unsettled and snorts in and out of the sty or gets out of the sty and away this is a very unlucky sign; as it may be that it is threatened with an attack of the pig's epidemic. For the last forty years the pigs have been smitten with a disease spoken of as the *huo yin tzū wên* (火印子瘟), or the fire-stamp epidemic; this disease is peculiar and is easily known by the large red marks all over the body of the pig just like the stamp from an official seal. The Chinese say that this is done by demons, and it is attributed to a movement among the soldiers of Hades, and for some years it has been feared that human beings would be afflicted by the epidemic. Is it possible that this is an attempt of the disembodied spirits to gain an entrance to the body of the pig? It is often said of a pig if it thrives well, that it is a *huan chang ti* (還帳的), that is, someone who owed them or their forefathers some money, come back in the form of a hog to repay the debt.

If a cat comes to the house it is a sign that the mourning clothes will soon be needed. If a cow comes it is also a bad omen; the fear is that some murder or accident involving life may happen, and therefore the animal is seized and kept till a fine is paid which is used to pacify the family gods and restore the peace of the house. The owner of the cow will also have to hang up a red cloth over the door of the dwelling and fire off crackers at the door as he departs with the animal.

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A horse is also very unlucky and will not be allowed to leave a house which it may have entered before the owner pays a fine. 784

If a cow trespasses on the ancestral graves it will also be liable to be seized and held till the spirits of the ancestors have been appeased. If a chicken comes to the house the chief fear is that people should know; thus honest people return it at once, but others either hasten to kill and eat it, or take steps to have it sold for fear of detection. When a chicken is lost the loser not infrequently suspects the right person, and will deliberately sit down and curse what is called the speckled cock, *ma hua chi chung*, or curse the spotted turtle, curse the pheasant red and curse the neighbours all round.

Chickens are often stolen by the street arabs, who kill them and make the feathers into feather dusters. The low class of inn where these rascals put up is called *chi mao tien*, chicken feather inn, so named because chickens are killed and feathers stored and manufactured there. 685

There is a saying which means Rather lend the chief room of a house to deposit a coffin, than lend it to anyone to hold a marriage in. A marriage and a funeral are both to be avoided unless the person belongs to the family, but a marriage held in the house is more unlucky than a funeral, and no one will allow it at any cost. 784 777

No woman from an outside family may sit on the door step of the chief room of the house. No woman who has been confined will be tolerated in another person's house till her forty days of purification have been accomplished; a woman during that time must certainly *tso yüeh* (坐 月), sit one moon. No woman would dare to go near the chief room of her own house for the same length of time for fear of offending the idols.

No one may go to another person's home and weep, for fear of troubling the weeping spirit. Nor may anyone go with a fresh wound into another's house, as it is very unlucky.

When the white-necked crow makes a lot of cawing it is very unlucky; this bird is called the *kuei lao ya*, demon crow.

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When the cock goes crowing to bed or a hen crows in the yard both are reckoned unlucky. A crowing hen is a sign of misfortune, or the female taking the place of the male as head of the family. Many date the beginning of China's troubles to the time when the late Empress Dowager usurped the authority of the empire.

The repeated changing of houses is very much deprecated, as it disturbs the ancestral altar and poverty comes to those who do this. Towards the end of the year in the cold weather no one will change house for fear he will not have a suitable place to worship his ancestors at New Year time.

If the kitchen pot rings or the kitchen fire puffs and blows it is very unlucky; it is generally believed to betoken the death or sickness of some of the young women of the family.

The farmer is very particular not to enter his fields on the spring equinox lest birds should make havoc among the growing grain; neither will he thatch his house on that date lest the birds destroy his thatch. Many of the farmer class will not eat beef; they say that the ox who has borne the yoke ought not to be killed; others say the cow is an unclean animal; others that she is unlucky, and still others are afraid of another ox coming to gore them. Farm labourers and coolies are very much afraid of rain falling on their hair, the fear being that each drop becomes transformed into a louse.

The following things are avoided according to the rotation of the sexagenary cycle. The ten stems are taken first and are as follows :—

甲 Do not open granaries; fear of poverty.
乙 Do not sow or plant; seed rots.
丙 Do not build; fear of fire or workmen ceasing work.
丁 Do not use the barber; fear of boils.
戊 Do not manage the sale of property.
己 Do not touch the graves of ancestors.
庚 Do not weave cloth or make ropes.
辛 Do not manufacture condiments.
壬 Do not change irrigating sluices.
癸 Refrain from litigation.

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The twelve branches are as follows :—

子 Do not enquire by divination.
丑 Do not buy hats and garters.
寅 Do not sacrifice to gods.
卯 Do not dig wells.
辰 Do not weep, for weeping may be protracted.
巳 Do not travel to a distance for fear of not coming back.
午 Do not thatch or make raincoats.
未 Do not eat medicine.
申 Do not sleep during the day.
酉 Do not receive guests.
戌 Do not eat dog flesh.
亥 Do not arrange marriage affairs.

The following are some of the things to be avoided by business men :—

In the early morning it is very unlucky to use the abacus, or to turn up the account books; but each morning the abacus is washed to clean away the assistants' malpractices; when the shop is opened and closed, the abacus is shaken violently to drive away demons. No one entering the shop may touch the abacus, such an act would be deeply resented by many. The abacus is not generally used for business purposes before breakfast. Anyone trying to force a reckoning before breakfast will be suspected of an evil intention.

Such common things as ears ringing, sneezing, hot ears, hot face, clothing caught and torn, heart quivering, all betoken family quarrels and general bad luck throughout the day or even the year. The upsetting of a basin of rice on the table or elsewhere is very unlucky, and to take any person's rice-steamer and empty it on the ground is one of the greatest insults that can be given to a family. The twitching of the eye-lashes has deep significance.

Brick and tile-makers have a superstitious dread of *hung* (紅), or red, as red bricks and tiles are not half the value of the black or grey coloured ones. The lime-kiln owner has a dread of the words *tao tsang* (倒賊), as this means that the limestone won't be burned through and will be returned to him.

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vats, also *yin ch'i*, spoiled for lack of sun to dry it. If a woman during her forty days after confinement should venture near a paper factory, she will need to stand surety for the peace and prosperity of the factory for 120 days.

Fishermen dread the words *fan wang*, the net upset, also *chiao jao*, to implicate, by fishing up a human head or something else bad. The distiller dreads the words *huai kang*, that is, the butt is broken, as the wine will then lose its savour. He also fears *tuan tso*, which means that wine will be short weight.

On the fifth of the fifth moon every person reckons to lay aside work for a time; the fear is that sickness may overtake them if they don't. On the fifteenth of the seventh moon no guests are kept in the house, as the spirits of the ancestors are expected back to partake of the family feast. No debts are collected at this feast as it is purely an ancestral worship feast, and the ancestors must have their dues paid to them. This is called *t'ao ya pa chang* (討 啞 吧 帳), the dumb asking for accounts to be paid. Perhaps readers may have noticed that in the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons funerals and marriages are very rare, and no official likes to go to a new position during these months unless he is absolutely forced to by circumstances.

The first-born son of the family is never allowed to talk to or play with a pregnant woman, for fear the child's spirit should be called to be the other woman's son. Some sick persons will not see people, *chi jên* (忌 人). Women avoid visitors on even days and men on odd days; there is some superstitious dread that visitors might call away their spirits. At such times a bamboo with a flag on it is stuck outside the door, and people seeing it know not to enter the house.

When a new animal has been bought and taken home, a dirty person is not allowed to lead it into the stable, nor is a lazy person allowed to feed it, for fear the animal should get degraded through contact with them.

In arranging the position of a bed in a bed-room, it is never put facing the door as that is how a coffin is placed.

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784 On entering a tea-shop it is very unlucky to upset your own tea or to see a tea-cup upset by another.

777 [782] Boatmen, when starting on a journey, always choose a lucky day for the crew to come on board, the sacrifice to be made and the boat started. The sacrificial chicken is intoxicated before it is killed, wine being poured down its gullet; when slain, the blood is sprinkled on the prow of the boat and the feathers stuck to it as a witness of the transaction. On the journey demons are seen in the head winds and adverse currents, and when it is difficult to pull the boat over a rapid; rice is then thrown overboard to feed the hungry ghosts. The boatmen will rarely tell you how far they are from a certain place, lest the demons should know of their whereabouts, while the distance is generally given as so many stages. They will never tell you where they intend to stay for the night or how far away is an anchorage, lest the demons should waylay them. The custom of boatmen whistling and howling for the wind is a curious one and probably has to do with the idea that the spirits are in the wind and are helping them. In the bottom of each boat there is one division lower than the others, called the *t'ai p'ing ts'ang*, into which all the leakage water in the bottom of the boat is expected to flow, to be ladled out into the river; no one may shout or swear while in this division lest the boat should be wrecked. The words *kuai* (拐), and *ch'iung* (傾), are used to take the places of *huai* (壞), wreck, and *tao* (倒), to empty out. The exact number of trackers should never be counted for fear it should bring disaster. Boatmen never tread on the front of the boat, and care should be taken to avoid this as much as possible by any one. Boatmen always sleep across the boat and never dress standing on their bedding.

Woodmen employed in the forest never call any of their comrades by name before breakfast. Nor are they called to breakfast lest one of them should be called upon to die before the evening. Anyone daring to dress standing on his bed, or knocking his chopsticks together may be fined to the extent of food and tea for a meal, as these things indicate that the axe-head may slip off and kill someone. The water in which

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the vegetables were cooked must not be poured out until after the breakfast has been eaten, lest someone's blood should be spilt that day. Any of the unlucky words, such as have already been given, are not tolerated till after breakfast at least. Chair coolies do not like any one to step over the front bar of the sedan chair lest they should get sore shoulders; for women to do this is very unlucky; it is also very unlucky to step across a coolie's carrying pole, for the same reason. Coolies often throw their worn-out sandals on to the roof of the houses lest people should gather and burn them; when their feet would become blistered. Women are never allowed to sleep upstairs at a Chinese inn. If a man has no intention of selling his cow, he objects to anyone looking at it lest the animal should become unsettled and bellow or take sick and die. A horse may be looked at by a would-be purchaser, but the animal may not be ridden unless the owner is prepared to part with him. It is also reckoned unlucky to look at fat pigs with a view to purchase until the owner is prepared to part with them. A three-hoofed pig, a cow with three teats, or one with spots on its head, or with black marks under the tail or in the mouth is reckoned very unlucky. The advent of a flock of sparrows is a sign of poverty.

The advent of crows foreshadows luck and prosperity to the family; crows are reckoned filial birds because they cherish their aged. If they leave the family grove it betokens poverty and fire. Owls are reckoned to be unlucky because it is said that they devour their aged. It is said that the owl flies with his head exalted and his wickedness fills the heavens. Their call heralds death and fine weather. Magpies are reckoned to be lucky and filial birds. If the swallow's brood is five in number, it is reckoned that the floods will come in the fifth moon.

If a dog sneezes it is believed that fine weather is about to come. If you laugh at a dog it will rain. If a person is bitten by a dog he asks for a hair of the dog; this is singed and applied to the wound. To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is as bad if not worse than being actually bitten by one.

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784 If a person sneezes, the first thing he will say is "Who is
777 speaking about me?" If a person's ears ring, some evil is being spoken of him. If ears burn a law suit is impending. A burning face indicates the loss of property. The god of the bed is worshipped on the moving from one house to another, and when a new bed is brought, in order that peaceful slumbers may come to the family. Soldiers sharpen their swords once yearly on the thirteenth of the fifth moon. Kites are flown by men on the ninth of the ninth moon as a medium for carrying off evil influences from the home. If a kite should fall on any person's house it is reckoned to be very unlucky and no one would dare to go and claim it. Children often wear a small mirror on the front of their hats in order that the demons may see their ugly faces and depart.

If a man should dream that he has swallowed the sun and moon or pearls, he will eventually have a rich son. To dream of much water is to get great riches. To dream of fire is to get honours by learning. People who are troubled by evil dreams go and tie a knot on a shrub known as the *mêng hua*, dream flower. If an old man has a red nose it is the sign of the greatest happiness. If the house is infested with rats, many people keep what is called a *shên mao êrh*, or spirit cat, pasted up in the kitchen. This is also called a Kien chou (簡州) *mao êrh* because they are made at that place. This is simply the picture of a cat painted on a piece of yellow paper. It is reckoned very unlucky to howl or shout on a hill-top as a gale of wind and rain may follow.

The terror of the nine-headed monster (蟲) is great in some places. This would appear to be a flock of wild geese flying in the shape of the character nine. If these pass over a city at night many people rush out of doors to drive them off as it is believed that if it drops pus, the family will become poor; if it drops blood, the whole family will die.

The Chinese believe that there is such a monster and the contention of the heads for the ascendancy makes it drop blood.

789 Houses whose doors open on some public path sometimes have wooden screens set up in front of the doors to keep

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The medical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end thatit is from "a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Ho and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The line hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long line line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with lime powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of lime powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved (12). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason - to clean up the area for gods - is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets; the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offender will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental
Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1942)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.P.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhea-causing food.

744 moxa leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area
784 in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area P) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

757 As stated before, all of the doings described in Chapter IV of this paper happened within the duration of the epidemic - about one month. Some occurred simultaneously. For example, the dates of several prayer meetings overlapped each other. And the prayer meetings were held as the volunteer prescriptions and moral advice spread. Some are supplementary to others. For example, the purification of the air by smoke, the cleaning up of the streets, the abstenance from meat and fish, and the disuse of the streams for washing purposes were all supplementary to the prayer meetings. They are means of avoiding the displeasure of the gods whose help is being invoked.

[744] Cleanliness, both public and private, as the modern world understands it, is not customary. And the relation of cleanliness to the avoidance of "choleric bacteria" is not at all conceivable in the culture.

[784] The taboo on a large number of vegetables and fruit may be said to be based upon sanitary ideas of a sort, but it is a sort different from what the modern man is accustomed to think of as scientific knowledge.

Closer to modern knowledge are some of the medicinal prescriptions. The analysis of their composition, as we have seen, shows that many elements would be effective in beating down the disease. But other prescriptions may be entirely useless or even fatal to the patient. The method of opening up finger tips to let out blood, for example, leads to bad infection and may render futile any application of modern treatment by serum. The drinking of the so-called "fairy water" from a cave in a hill is another alarming example. It may simply increase the rate of infection to a tremendous extent, and provide stimulus to such practices, as we have seen, as drinking unboiled water springing from an incense burner converted into a fountain.

The situation may be further analyzed, as in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM I

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Taboos on food (potato, string beans, turnip, all sour fruit, confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish, pumpkin, egg plant, etc.)	Ex.: "To please the gods" "To avoid making abdomen cold" Un.: Sanitation, or arrestation of the growth of the bacillus	Spiritual or Physical (the latter may be good or indifferent)
Taboo on dirt and animal and human soil in streets	Ex.: "To make the air and place clean for gods" Un.: Sanitation	Spiritual or Physical (the latter is definitely good)
Insistence on morals	Ex.: "To purify the heart and so please the gods"	Spiritual

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsu niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge. 844 782

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sü-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue. 842 782

They beg a prayer-tally, 求籤 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month); 842 785 261

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842 785 261 *chên-wu chai* 眞武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

842 778 Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai êrh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzŭ*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai*.

787 842 Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssŭ chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou tso-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGES 婚姻 *Hun Yin.*

584 Betrothal may take place very early; friends will sometimes betroth their unborn children.

Marriage with one of the same family name is forbidden by law; but such marriages do take place when there is a different ancestry, 同姓不同宗 *t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung.*

A male go-between is called 媒 *mei*, and a female is 灼 *cho*. Marriages are said to be arranged by 父母之命媒灼之言 *fu mu chih ming mei cho chih yen*, "Parents' will and middleman's words." The children are supposed to have nothing to do with the arrangements, but in fact their likes and dislikes count for a good deal.

Another name for the go-between is *hung-yeh* 紅葉 red leaf. The term originated in the T'ang dynasty. A female palace-slave whose life was made bitter by her imperial mistress wrote her troubles on a red leaf and threw this into the moat. A young scholar got it and forwarded a reply in the same romantic way. Later some of the slaves were married off by imperial orders, and the girl fell to the lot of the scholar without their knowing till afterwards that they had been the corresponding parties.

584 787 Preparing the horoscope before marriage is called *k'ai pa tzŭ* 開八字, preparing the eight characters. These characters give the year, month, day and hour of birth. The

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saying is, "The man's horoscope is never false; the woman's never true." A fortune-teller is called in to examine the girl's horoscope, and if he finds it is an unlucky one it will be falsified before being reported to the family with whom a marriage is sought. 584 787

It is said that in the time of Han Wên Ti 漢文帝 a barbarian chief wished for marriage relationships with the Chinese. The Chinese professed willingness, but warned the barbarian Man-tzŭ that it would be unlucky for them if marriages were made with unsuitable horoscopes. They were then able to decline marriage on the ground that 八字不合 *pa tzŭ pu ho*, the horoscopes do not agree. To this day, in refusing a proposal of marriage the people almost always say *jên k'ên hun pu k'ên* 人肯婚不肯, "We are willing but the horoscope is not."

The parents who seek a bride for their son first find a middleman, or more likely he finds them. They ask him to take presents to the home of a certain girl and to beg that her horoscope may be sent them for examination. The middleman has probably already paved the way, and he soon brings back the horoscope, which is put on the family altar for from 3 to 8 days to see if anything happens, good or bad. If a bowl is broken during this time, or something lost, or a cat or dog dies, the horoscope is promptly returned as being unlucky. This is called *t'ui hung kêng* 退紅庚. If on the contrary some piece of luck befalls during this period, an astrologer is called in to examine the two horoscopes and see if they agree. The comparison may show upper, middle or lower degree of suitability. If the boy's parents are satisfied with the horoscope they send the middleman to the girl's parents to say they feel quite unworthy to be related to such an exalted family, but since there was such condescension they were willing to fix the agreement *hsia p'in shu* 下聘書, *hui hua* 回話, or *ch'a hua* 插花. Much depends on the go-between, and as it is difficult to prevent bribery there is great need for caution and private enquiry.

The girl's parents reply 寫允書 *hsieh yün shu*, generally saying their daughter is weak and useless, but they are willing 584

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BOOK IV—THE SUPERNATURAL

CHAPTER I

SPIRIT RAPPING (請神), *ch'ing shên*

●787 This is rather a game than any real intercourse with the spirits, but it is very difficult to fix the boundary between the two; worship and play seem to dovetail the one into the other.

To invite the table spirit, *cho-tzŭ shên* (桌子神): table rapping. One table is put face downwards on another with a common rice basin between them. A person then takes hold of each of the four corners of the upturned table, and tries to hold it steady. When the spirit comes the table moves up and down or turns round.

To invite the spirit of the carrying pole, *pien tan shên* (請扁擔神). The pole is laid across the table, two persons blindfolded hold the ends, and try to keep the pole down. When the spirit comes, the pole moves up and down in spite of them.

To invite the rake (*pa*, 筢) spirit. A youth sits with eyes blindfolded and holds a rake upright. The others burn incense and paper and invite the spirit of the rake to come and do the work for them. When the spirit comes the rake is moved and the fuel is gathered by the rake itself apart from human energy.

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To invite the spirit of the seventh virgin, *ch'i ku-niang* (七姑娘). She is said to be the seventh daughter of the Pearly Emperor, and is patronized by girls who want to know what kind of lot may be in store for them. The maiden who is inquiring sits with head covered while others burn incense and paper. 787

To look at the flowers, *kuan hua* (觀花). The girl who inquires for the others is set down in a quiet spot; others burn incense and candles to invite the spirit of the flower garden. She then goes in spirit and thus finds out under which tree the lot of her client is to be cast. If under the palm, fir, or soap trees, the lot will be a bitter one. If under the *kuei hua* the lot will be one of riches and honour. Under the camelia means happiness and peace; the cedar means long life and strength. The person who practises this art is paid for it by the clients.

To invite the spirit of the broom, *sao pa* (掃把) *shên*. The broom is put into a child's hands and the eyes blindfolded, paper and incense are burned and the spirit invited to help the child to sweep the floor. If the floor is not well swept, the child is beaten by the onlookers.

To invite the spirit of the earth bullock. Two youths are blindfolded and set down together. The spirit is invited and when it comes the two youths begin to knock each other's heads till some serious injury is inflicted. Eyes are knocked out, noses broken, and the youth is not infrequently injured for life. Parents forbid the practice, but it is still secretly done in secluded spots.

To invite the stool (*pan têng*, 板凳) god. Two children are blindfolded and set one at each end of a form to hold it down. The spirit is invited and when it comes the stool tilts up or turns round with the children sitting on it.

Ghosts.

Anathematizing the ghost, *chou hsiao shên tzŭ* (咒小神子), is done by such persons as the travelling fortune teller or the itinerant Taoist priest called a 遊方道士. He may go to a house on the excuse that he desires to tell a boy's fortune, 757 787

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757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it
791 is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master. Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

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Sometimes large sums of money are paid to have a ghost taken out of the house, but twenty or thirty taels is quite a common price. If the person who let loose the ghost is invited to remove it, he will demand much more than another, but another can do it. When he does find the wooden idol it is burned and it is popularly believed that the person who let the ghost go will suffer, because the spirit will go and harass him. Most Chinese have a great dread of certain objects and houses which are supposed to be haunted, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can cut clear of this superstition; it should always be borne in mind that such things are very real to them, however silly they may appear to us. 754 775

The "Planchette."

To seek the counsel of the spirits by the aid of the stylus, *k'ung chung hsüan pi* (空中懸筆). Various forms of this cult have been in use for many centuries. The present mode is to make a string of silk thread or human hair and suspend it from the roof, with a pen made of peach or willow twig. Directly under this pen is placed a table covered with fine dry river-sand. Incense and paper are burned before the tablet of the stylus house god, the attention of the spirits called and their help besought. 787

When the spirits come the pencil moves and writes characters on the sand. If nonsense is written, the manager, *chi shou* (乩手), further invokes the spirits by the *k'o t'ou* (kotow) and more incense and paper burning, and when the pencil writes real characters one man reads aloud and another makes a record. Enquiring from a converted *chi shou* as to the possibility of falsifying these pencil motions, he declares that with this kind of stylus there is no trickery, but the pencil does not move without being invited and not always then, and seldom moves to advantage, but he has known it to write wonderfully true things.

The tablets written in the stylus house are of two different sorts, one to the celestials, the other to *lü tsu* (呂祖). They are as follows:

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天上地下蓬萊洞府仙眞,純陽演正警化孚佑帝君.

The *t'ao chi liu pi* (桃箕柳筆) is a forked branch of a peach tree with willow twig fastened to the lower side of the single point; it resembles a bird with outspread wings and beak, and is supposed to contain the essence of seminal power and divine influence. Two men grasp the prongs of the stylus and hold it over the table of sand; the spirits are invoked and the stylus writes. This is a more degraded method than the former, as the two men who hold the prongs, if of one mind, can write almost anything they please. This form of the stylus is also known as *fu luan chiang chi* (扶鸞降乩).

The most degraded of magic pens is that used by one man, *tu jên mei pi* (獨人墨筆), who pleases himself what he writes.

Sometimes the magic pen will only write nonsense and then he has resort to the following charms to correct the trouble: *chua-hsien fu* (抓仙符), the grasp celestial charm; *chan kuei fu* (斬鬼符), behead-demon charm; *chu yao fu* (誅妖符), kill-demon charm. These charms are all burned before the tablet to the stylus house god.

Necromancy (交邪).

Tsou yin chiang hsiang (走陰降像), to enter Hades and obtain an image. This is done by a male devotee of some idol, whose eyes are blindfolded with five feet of red or black cloth. A charm is made and burned, and he has to drink part of the ashes mixed in water, after which he has to sit on a chair, while another person spatters a mouthful of the charm-water all over his person. This done, he opens his mouth and speaks what is believed to be the revelation from the spirits.

Ch'i shui k'an wan (起水看碗), to lift water and stare into the bowl. This is done by both sexes of all ages. The basin is filled with water, a charm is prepared and burned and the ashes mixed with the water. The reader of the spirits' decrees then stares into the basin and declares he sees and hears wonderful things belonging to another world.

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Ch'i kuang chao p'an (起光照盤), to make the light shine upon the platter. A platter is taken and the necessary charms burned and incantations made over it; it is then handed to the person seeking guidance and light, who is made to look therein, and he may be persuaded to believe that he sees something that will throw light on his path.

To call the immortals and question them as to the happiness or misery and final condition of the departed and as to whether they are able to help or hinder those at present living, is called *kuan hsien* (關仙).

To invite the spirits of departed ancestors, or deceased relatives, to enquire about their state in Hades is *kuan hun chien ch'in* (關魂見親). This is done much in the same way as in the first and second items under this heading.

In curing the demon-possessed, *shou fêng ta hsieh* (收瘋打邪), the demoniac is brought into the presence of the practitioner of the art; a jar is brought into the room and the witch makes many mysterious motions with the fingers, hands and arms. These motions are spoken of as the five-thunder occultism (五雷訣) and the nine-ox strength (九牛搠); by these the demon is supposed to be got into the jar, which is then covered with a white cloth, taken out and buried or carried home by the practitioner. This is an art which demands high payment, and I am informed that in some cases cures have been effected. Lunacy is always attributed to demon possession, and the lot of this unfortunate class is a very hard one indeed. They are often chained to the bed-post or pillar of the house and starved to death, or stoned out of the town by boys, driven from house and home by their relatives, and if violent they are beaten to death. If good-natured they are teased and mocked. They wander about in rags and filth, sleep in temples and caves and are often addicted to many of the lowest vices of mankind.

To divine as to whether a sickness will be fatal or not is called *p'an tuan chi hsiung* (判斷吉凶). The patient's head is covered, while charms, incense and paper are burned and the spirits besought to reveal their will regarding him.

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787 To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien fêng shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

789 *Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu* (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tzŭ* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssŭ niang tzŭ (踱私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely of wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

782 *Ching t'an* (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shên* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much

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Setting up the altar for the purpose of divination is an elaborate affair. A chart belonging to the sorcerer is hung up over the family gods; in this chart the *san ch'ing* (三清) have a prominent place. A bushel and a pint measure are filled with grain or dry river-sand, into which sand are stuck lighted candles and incense, all having been previously placed before the sorcerer's chart. The "three pure" are *t'ai ch'ing* (太清), *yü* (玉) *ch'ing* and *shang* (上) *ch'ing*, and are said to correspond to heaven, earth and man. A tablet to the five heads of demons or *wu ch'ang* (五猖) is put under the table; the tablet to all the poor spirits or 寒林 is put up outside the door. The writing being 寒林會上五音五姓孤魂由子等衆, "To the heads of the Society of the orphan spirits of all names and kinds."

To cleanse the altar the divining priests go with beating of gongs and blowing of trumpets to a stream or pool of water and bring back a vessel filled with clean water; this is called *ch'ing shui* (請水). The water is sprinkled all over the altar and vessels, after which the priest opens the ceremony by putting on his robes and worshipping the idols and tablets all round; this is spoken of as *k'ai t'an*, to open the altar.

The priest prepares a genealogy of the sick person, his name, residence, details of the sickness, etc., which is first read to the company and then despatched to the spirit world by burning.

After the despatch has been sent telling of the need, then the company waits to receive the return message from the spirit world.

The divining priest then enters the kitchen and asks the kitchen god to use his good offices on the sick person's behalf, while the family of the sufferer kneel in a row before the kitchen god to implore his assistance.

The repentance ode is chanted and a prayer for the healing of the disease; this is done amid the beating of gongs and drums, and the yelling of the priests who are ably assisted by the juveniles of the family.

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The priest next makes a number of charms, one to be worn on the person, another to be hung on the bed curtains, another for the bedroom door, and one is burned and the ashes put into a basin of water which has been cursed, and is drunk by the sick person. These charms are supposed to drive away the demons from the clothing, the bed and the inward man. This ceremony takes it as a foregone conclusion that all sickness is caused by demons.

After burning paper money in little or great quantities according to the ability of the family, the priest takes the clothes of the sick person and bears them, along with a tablet on which is written his name and genealogy, out to a place overlooking a hollow with water in it. Here the priests assisted by the relatives call back the spirit of the sick person from across the waters, repeating several times the following two sentences, *san hun kuei shên, ch'i p'ai fu t'i* (三魂歸身, 七魄附體); that is, may the three souls and seven spirits return to the body; then they finish up with a weird yell of "come back, come back." Of course when the sick man is in delirium it is believed that the soul has already left his body and gone wandering elsewhere.

Straw or reeds of any kind may be used to make an effigy, and paper clothing is made and put on it. Wine and rice are offered to it. A piece of paper money is ignited and applied to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Sometimes a needle is used to prick these four organs; all this is done with incantations, after which the effigy is supposed to become accursed as the substitute of the sick person. It is carried to the sick chamber and is addressed by the sorcerer as *mao ta lang* (茅大郎), great straw gentleman, or as *mao ta chieh* (茅大姐), great straw sister, according to the sex of the sick one. One sorcerer faces the effigy and questions it and another crouches behind it and answers the questions; while a third sits on a chair and pronounces judgement. The effigy is asked from whence he came; and for what purpose. The sorcerer from behind replies that he has come from a great distance purposely to be the substitute and bear the penalty of the sick person, whose name he gives.

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A vegetable knife, scales, three pairs of chopsticks, one charm, one sorcerer's tablet called a *shih tao* (師刀) or master's knife, are collected. The tablet and charm are the property of the sorcerer, while the other things belong to the family. These things the sorcerer gathers together in one hand, swings them round his head, and drops them behind his back; and then all the persons gather round and listen to the reading of the omens of these articles as they lie on the floor and give indications as to the outcome of the sickness. If the three pairs of chopsticks lie in order, recovery is considered to be probable. These chopsticks are spoken of as the *lu ma* (祿馬), emolument horses; if lying in order it means the patient will need them and use them.

The scissors in this affair are known as the *chu ch'üeh* (朱雀), or red bird. Birds are all reckoned unlucky because their beaks are pointed, but birds with red patches or red beaks are much more so, and make trouble or even death in the family. The vegetable knife is spoken of as the white tiger (白虎). If the sharp edge of this knife should lie near the rope handle of the scales, it is reckoned to be a very unpropitious omen; as white is the sign of mourning and the tiger is the most ravenous of wild beasts. The scales are reckoned to be the sick man's body, and whatever falls near this is reckoned to be falling near the sick man himself. If the *ling p'ai* (令牌) or charm falls near the scales it is an indication that the spirits are protecting. The writing inside the tablet is said to be the Pearly Emperor's name. The arm jutting out with the three crosses is said to be the three pure ones, who are believed to be peculiarly fitted for the work of frightening away demons.

The next proceeding is to *fên kua* (分卦), to read the diagrams. These are made of two pieces of bamboo which fit closely and exactly together. The two parts are thrown into the air; if the two flattened sides fall with their faces to the ground, that is called a *yin kua* (陰卦), female diagram; if the flat sides face upwards that is called a *yang kua* (陽卦), male diagram; if one flat and one round side lie upwards that is called a *shên kua* (神卦), spirit diagram. The female diagram is reckoned very unlucky, while the male and spirit

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diagrams are reckoned lucky, especially the latter, and the spirits are invoked repeatedly to give a *shên kua.*

At this juncture the sorcerer enters the sick chamber, *taking the straw effigy and a mug containing an egg.* The sick person draws a deep breath and blows into the mug, which is then covered with a white cloth and firmly tied with a string. The sick person then blows a deeply drawn breath on to the face of the straw effigy, and in this way it is believed that the sickness demon is put into the mug and his life put into the straw substitute, who suffers for him.

A paper tray on which are painted various kinds of demons and called the flowery plate is brought; the candles, incense and other signs of the proceeding are gathered and, together with the mug, are put on a sieve and carried with the effigy outside the door of the house; the sorcerers then put up charms on the bedroom door and in the kitchen. A basin of rice soaked in water, and another basin of dry rice is then put on the sieve; into the latter sticks of lighted incense and lighted candles are stuck; the whole is then carried out to a secluded place, where the effigy is burned; the mug containing the egg is buried and the incense and candles stuck into the ground; the rice is carried home by the sorcerer; the sieve and basins are taken home by the members of the family, but are thrown behind the outside courtyard door for three days before they dare take them inside the house, lest any evil influence should be clinging to them.

When the party returns from escorting out the evil influences, the sorcerer proceeds to take down his chart, burns incense and exhorts the family gods, packs up his sorcerer's paraphernalia, eats a hearty meal, counts the wages of divination and takes his departure.

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If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire. 787 777

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to :—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon. 796 782

Ch'ien sung huo hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

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BOOK VII—PLAUSIBLE PRETENTIONS

(扯謊場) THE LIARS' MART (天話街), *T'ien hua chieh*

The above name is applied to the Yamen or temple courtyards or any place where there is concourse of people, and where the fortuneteller, geomancer, physiognomist, sorcerer and witch doctors have their stands. To try and follow these men into all the intricacies of their dark and crooked ways is impossible. It will be our plan to find out what they pretend to accomplish, under what pretences they obtain a living and how the people are fleeced by them. They are divided into classes; the first to mention is the business of the Startler, *Ching shêng i* (驚生意), under which the following take their places :—

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The *ts'è tzŭ* (測字) tells fortunes by dissecting characters and putting them together again.

Suan ming (算命), the fortuneteller. This class differs from the former in that it may pretend to define a whole life, while those who dissect characters generally confine themselves to one particular matter. The fortunetellers are divided into two schools, one called the *chang chang tzŭ* (張張子), who tells a person's fortune and gives it to his client in writing; the other is known as the *t'ieh pan suan* (鐵板算), who are mostly blind, who after hearing the client tell the fortune *viva voce.*

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P'u kua (卜卦) is to forecast future events by means of the eight diagrams, to divine.

K'an hsiang (看相). The physiognomist makes the book *Liu chuang shên hsiang* (柳莊神相) by Shui Ching of the Han dynasty, or the *ma i* (麻衣) *hsiang* by Ch'ên Tuan of the Sung dynasty the basis of his art.

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The following are some of the things they pretend to be able to do :—

They guarantee that their clients will get by raffle the funds of the joint stock company. Several people join in a company when they want to get a larger sum together than they could otherwise do at one time, but by paying in monthly instalments they can manage it. The fund is raffled for each month at the home of one of their number. Some families who want the money quickly appeal to this class for assistance to get the lucky number.

They undertake the protection of a family from demons and snakes. They also fix the site of a dwelling house, the choice of a lucky day to begin building, and the lucky day for hoisting the top beam of the house.

They fix a lucky day for funerals, marriages and almost everything, by an appeal to the stars. Each day has a governing star and they decide whether the day star agrees with the birth star of the individual. This is one of the most common of the methods of fixing a lucky day, and it is done by what is known as the *fa chia,* one of the schools of geomancy.

They fix a lucky day by what is known as an appeal to the three things which harmonize ; that is, heaven, earth, and man. This method is known as the *hsing chia* (形家), or *k'an yü* (堪輿) *chia*, and is another of the schools of geomancy.

Wu ho (合) and *liu ho*. They tell fortunes by an appeal to the five elements, gold, wood, water, fire and earth, or by an appeal to the four points of the compass with the zenith and nadir. These methods are used by fortunetellers and geomancers.

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method of going round the country preying on the feelings and superstitions of the people is called by themselves "repairing the viscera temple" (修五臟廟). While doing this the priest goes from door to door and distributes his cards and a little later he comes back to collect the money from each house. 792

Mendicant priests go round the streets with a note-book and take the names of those who give subscriptions. Or they may sell pills at a high price, the profits going to the priesthood. A band of mendicant priests, seven or eight in number, will go through the streets, one carrying the idol, another the burning incense, singing, while another attends to the music, leaving the remainder to look after the collecting of money; some people give large sums to this class as a good speculation.

One class of priest often carries a kneeling-mat and a whip for driving away demons and wears a high crowned hat made of human hair and a yellow robe, which, when spread out, does for a sleeping coverlet. The sandals on his feet denote that he is a pilgrim, the staff in his hand is to beat the unruly; at one end of it is fixed a little spade with which he buries any unclean thing.

THE NINE STARTLERS (九驚), *chiu ching*

The first is *Mang Tzŭ* (蟒子) *ching*, the blind man who plays the guitar and tells fortunes. Next, *Liu* (流) *liu ching*, the rambling fortuneteller who bears a bamboo clapper and goes through the streets seeking for work. *Tsui* (嘴) *tzŭ ching* uses a bird of some kind to pick out a character from a box with which character he divines for his clients. *To* (朶) *to ching* divines from a character picked out by the client himself. The *Tai* (帶) *tzŭ ching* is a fortuneteller who carries the characters and explanation already written on his person. The *P'ing* (平) *ching* is a fortuneteller who sets up his stand and speaks about his trade and attracts customers. The *Lo* (挪) *ching* sings, and the *Hai* (海) *tzŭ ching* plays the harp as they practise their arts. The *Hua* (花) *hua ching* is a female fortuneteller. 791 787

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PHYSIOGNOMISTS (相師), *hsiang shih*

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Ma i (麻衣) *hsiang fa*, *Liu chuang* (柳莊) *hsiang fa* and *Ta ch'ing* (大清) *hsiang fa* are well-known books on this science.

Internal physiognomy is called *nei hsiang*, which includes a study of the fæces, voice, etc., and the external physiognomy, *w'ai hsiang*, includes a study of the bones; hair growing in ears, nose and eyebrows; colour of the face, etc.

Face physiognomy, *mien hsiang*, includes the study of the *San t'ing* (亭) *wu kuan*, the three divisions of the face and the five organs. The *san t'ing* are the *t'ien t'ing* or brow, the *chung t'ing* or nose, the *hsia t'ing* or chin.

Shou hsiang, or palmistry, deals with the *chiu kung* (九宮) or nine places where there is fulness round the palm of the hand, upon which much stress is laid.

The science is based on the following ten characters, which are supposed to represent ten types of Chinese face:—

Yu (由), weak brow; *chia* (甲), chin weak; *shên* (申) chin and brow weak; *t'ien* (田), lacking brow and chin; *t'ung* (同), mouth prominent, chin lacking; *wang* (王), equally balanced, jaw lacking; *yüan* (元), jaw strong, nose weak; *mu* (木), brow weak, jaw strong; *yung* (用), strong, but chin lacking; *fêng* (風), a strong face.

GEOMANCY (陰陽), *yin yang*

It is the geomancer's work to select the site for a house: the direction in which it faces must not disagree with the life star of the owner. He decides how and where the doors and windows are to be placed; and which way it should be approached; hardly ever by a straight road. He also selects lucky days for beginning the foundations, for beginning the carpentry work, for putting up the frame-work; and above all, the lucky day and hour for hoisting the top beam on the roof. On this occasion the workmen have extra money, a feast, and the rest of the day free from work. He fixes the position for a burying place, and the way a grave will face. Traffic in the

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vicinity of the grave is stopped lest the spirit be disturbed. It is reckoned very unlucky to tread on or through a family graveyard. 791 787

To decide how a protecting wall round a grave should be built and when it may be built is the geomancer's duty, and when earth can be put on the graves. The proverb runs, *chêng, san, wu, ch'i, chiu, mu shên tso ti shou*: In the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons, the spirit of the grave sits on the ground and guards; during these months no funerals of any importance are carried out and old graves are left severely alone.

He decides when the tombstone may be erected without disturbing the spirit of the grave, and fixes all the lucky times connected with a funeral. (See *Funerals.*)

Hsiu shêng chi (修生寄) is to prepare with the help of an astrologer the foundation for a grave before death, so as to be perfectly sure that it is all right; the coffin is often ready many years before.

Hsing chia is the astrologer who will look at the formation of a mountain before he will fix upon a grave. He makes much of the dragon, he uses the triad compass in his work. The triad is the *san ho* (三合), or heaven, earth and man.

Fa chia is the astrologer who simply decides the position of the grave, for prosperity to the progeny. He uses the eight-diagram compass. The *ts'ê* (擇) *chia* is an astrologer who simply decides lucky days, and is like the fortuneteller.

The following represents the transmigration or rotation of souls as far as the geomancer is concerned; hence his control over both the dwellings of the living and the dead. These stages are written on the above compass and used by both classes.

Born, 長生; washed, 沐浴; clothed, 冠帶; rank, 臨官; prosperity, 帝旺; aged, 衰; sick, 病; death, 死; buried, 墓; ended, 絕; conceived, 胎; nourished, 養.

To build a pagoda to make up a deficiency in the formation of the hills, or to break the monotony of a plain, in order that luck may attend the scholars of the district is called *p'ei fêng shui* (配風水) and *p'u wên fêng* (培文峯).

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These pagodas are all built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and almost always have an odd number of storeys, which is reckoned more lucky.

To dig a little on the wrong side is to transgress the geomantic influences, *fan fêng shui.* This is reckoned very serious, and must be counteracted, sometimes by buildings being pulled down or pieces added, doors and windows being closed up and fresh ones being opened.

A building erected hundreds of *li* distant may spoil the geomantic influences of a district or town.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Yung-cheng (1727) under Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成.[18] He personally contributed money and became the patron for the collection of funds for the building by the lama Li Hsiang 立相 and others.

Teacher Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕[19] states that at the foot of a mountain south-west of La-shih li there was in ancient days a water spring which later became obstructed. A western lama from Mo-ka-t'o 摩迦陀 (Magadha, in southern Behār, the cradle of Buddhism down to 400 A.D.) sat down cross-legged by the spring, on a pile of sharp, conical rocks. He took a stick and poked into the empty well, and the water gushed forth. His footprints are said to be still there. The lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu was then built at that spot. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it was rebuilt by the lamas in the sixth year of Kuang-hsü (1880).

In the lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu there are two memorial stones, one dealing with the monastic rules of the lamasery, admonishing the lamas "to respect the old monks and to take care of them, not to drink liquor, to chant the classics morning and evening in the great chanting hall, and to behave well during the ceremonies. The crops of the fields belonging to the lamasery must not be given away to relatives of the lamas. The head of the lamasery must be obeyed and treated reverently. The aged and ill, the naked and hungry, must be cared for, healed, clothed and fed, while living; and when dead, they must be properly buried. The buildings of the lamasery must be well taken care of and repaired. The incense fires must be kept going, and the memory of the founder should be kept alive for ever."

This memorial stone is dated the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756). It also relates that the first lamasery built was Chieh-t'o-lin, and that during the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730),[20] the teacher of the law of the Four Treasures of the western land (Tibet) went to worship at Chi-tsu Shan, and passed *en route* through Li-chiang. He pointed out that in La-shih li 剌是里 in the grotto of Lo-shui-tung 落水硐 where the footprints of the patron saint of Magadha (Mo-ka-t'o) are preserved, there should be built a Buddhist temple

[18] He was a native of Chih-li 直隸, of the city of Ching-hai 靖海 in T'ien-ching 天津. He was a *lin-sheng* 廩生, or former salaried graduate of the first degree or *hsiu-ts'ai* 秀才. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) he became Commissioner of revenue of Yün-nan province.

[19] He was a native of Shih-p'ing 石屏 and held the degree of *chin-ssu* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate). He was the fourth school teacher in Li-chiang, and assumed his post in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724). In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), as he was deserving of special merit, he was promoted to become magistrate of Ching-yen 井研, Ssu-ch'uan.

[20] This date does not correspond with the one given both in the Li-chiang Records and in the Yün-nan Topography, where the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) is given as the date of the building of this lamasery. According to the memorial stones in Chih-yün Ssu, the Karma-pa lamas who passed through La-shih li on their way to Chi-tsu Shan in 1730 pointed out where the lamasery should be built; according to these latter records the lamasery was not built until several years afterwards by Li Hsiang. Which is the correct version is difficult to say, but I should trust the prefectural records rather than those of the monastery itself. As it is stated that the name Chih-yün Ssu was given by magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng, it must have been in the fifth year of Yung-cheng, as in the sixth year, that is, 1728, he was succeeded as magistrate by Feng Kuang-yü 馮光裕, according to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 5, fol. 58a.

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou tso-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh*. The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

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788 842 Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

231 842 788 When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

842 778 753 At the *T'ien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

842 778 Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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776 If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

● 788 791 Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

788 754 What would appear to have been originally an exceptionally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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The tablet used is 三十二天上帝中央一氐梵天帝君 788
san shih êrh t'ien shang ti chung yang i ch'i fan t'ien ti chün; 754
or a Buddhist priest uses 二十四諸天菩薩無量世尊
êrh shih ssü chu t'ien p'u sa wu liang shih tsun.

Note that there is one incense stick and one candle for each spirit worshipped.

Another ceremony is the worshipping or thanking Earth 788
kung ti 供地 or *hsieh t'u* 謝土.

This is deemed necessary when a house has been repaired, the dragon having possibly been disturbed; or when a new house is first occupied, or when 土府不安 *t'u fu pu an*, the place does not agree with the resident. This is indicated perhaps by his digging up some unlucky thing, such as *t'u lung tan* 土龍蛋 dragon's eggs, which are black, soft balls with contents like blood: in such cases there is need to worship Earth. Or it may be necessary because a geomancer states that the resident is at variance with the five capital evils 五皇煞 *wu huang sha*, or with those of the current year *sui* 歲 *sha*, or with that of the yellow flag *huang fan* 黃幡 *sha* or that of the leopard's tail *pao wei* 豹尾 *sha;* when Earth is worshipped these disturbing spirits are worshipped.

This ceremony also is managed by a married Taoist sorcerer. A table is set outside the house and candles and incense lighted on it. On the ground the four points of the compass are marked by lines of dry lime, a candle being stuck in the earth at each extremity of the lines and in the centre. Sometimes, especially when the fault is with the house itself, the ceremony is performed in the chief room.

Five tablets are set up to the five dragons of the five 778
points *wu lung shên* 五龍神, inscribed with 東方青帝青 788
龍神君 *tung fang ch'ing ti ch'ing lung shên chün*, the eastern green dragon spirit, and similarly for the other four, which are the southern red, the western white, the northern black, and the central yellow dragon spirits. Along with these tablets there are others to the gods of the five planets; in the east the wood-virtue god (Jupiter), while south, west, north and middle are the gods of fire-virtue (Mars), metal-virtue (Venus), water-virtue (Mercury), and earth-virtue (Saturn) respectively. The inscriptions are 東方木德星君 *tung fang mu tê hsing chün*, etc.

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788 The five dragons and five planets have an intimate association with the five cardinal tenets of the secret societies.

Another tablet of a more general nature is set up, 土府九壘高皇大帝 *t'u fu chiu lei kao huang ta ti.* This is for worshipping the god of springs and placating the five dragons. *T'u fu* seems to include the whole family of Earth, while *chiu lei* is said to refer to the nine continents.

There is also a somewhat similar ceremony of worshipping the gods of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Sun, Moon and Stars; the tablets being Fêng po 風伯 (*fêng*, wind); this was a statesman of the T'ang dynasty named K'uei Chêng 魏徵. He is said to have killed the five-horned dragon. Yü Shih 雨師 (*yü*, rain), a statesman of the Yin dynasty, by name Fu Yüeh 傅說. Le tsu 雷詛 (*lei*, thunder) is said to have been Wên t'ai shih 文太師. And lastly Yün lung 雲龍, the cloud dragon. The sun is the emperor, the moon the empress, the planets the statesmen, the larger stars the provincial officials and the smaller stars, the people.

There is also thanksgiving to the Fire-star, 謝火星君 *hsieh huo hsing chün,* both a parochial and a domestic affair. We here speak only of the domestic side, the other being dealt with under the Feast of All Souls. When there has been anything approaching to a conflagration in the house, or anything to indicate that the fire-demon is in the ascendant, a few pieces of red-hot coal are taken from the kitchen fire, put into a jar, and extinguished with water, while the priest chants the incantations necessary to drive the demon from the house.

Those who live by rivers and marshes worship or thank the Water-star 謝水星 *hsieh shui hsing,* hoping to be thus saved from flood. In this ritual the dragon of the five cardinal points is the chief object of worship. A jug of water is brought from the river, and the priest chants his incantations over it. After the ceremony both jug and water are taken outside and thrown away.

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735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 212 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

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through the villages and cities on their knees. The Buddhist devotees are divided into two kinds *ta* and *êrh chü shih*, 大 and 二居士, men and women respectively. These latter are called *tao yu* 道友 or friends of the doctrine. 788

Another way is to *sung ching pai ch'an* 誦經拜懺 chant the classic of "regret for the past." It is said that chanting is a Buddhist idea, while the doctrine of repentance has its roots in Taoism. These classics and repentance odes are very plentiful. Fasting, *ch'ih chai* 喫齋 or *ch'ih su* 素, is meritorious. It means the abstaining from wine, garlic, and meats, whether for a whole lifetime or at stated times and on stated days. A person who is afraid that his family may not do enough chanting, etc., for him after he is dead has a special lot done while he is alive, and sent on ahead to await him in the next world; also lots of paper and incense are burned and deposited in the treasury of Hades. This is called *chi k'u tao ch'ang* 寄庫道場. 782

Some seek merit by issuing tracts about the protection of life, exhorting people not to throw lime in the paddy fields, because it kills the insects there; to refrain from treading on any living thing; they even exhort people to allow vermin to live on the clothing and person; also to abstain from breaking off tender twigs on trees and bushes; because there is life in them. These ideas are from the Buddhist pantheism.

People abstain from treading on anyone's shadow. To do so is to treat them lightly and it is also very unlucky. To strike a person's shadow in a vital part is reckoned to be almost as serious as to strike the person himself.

It is merit to abstain from food on a mother's birthday, because she suffered so much at one's birth. The Mohammedans fast from dawn to dusk on that day. It is great merit to go to the *nan hai p'u to* 南海普陀. This is one of the most sacred places of Buddhism, or the place where the goddess of mercy is said to have made her appearance after becoming a celestial. A Taoist idea is for a person to sit erect with legs crossed, the eye fixed on the nose, lips closed, tongue straight, and to swallow the saliva; the thoughts must be kept pure and sleep kept away; the old nature is thus cast off by the top of the head and the aspirant becomes an

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beginning and the end of a Chinese quarrel, but on this occasion the usual peacemakers were not to the fore, and the words were succeeded by the sound of heavy blows resulting in one of the disputants falling down yelling and screaming. The conqueror, after enjoying his triumph for a short time, went away, and no sooner was he out of hearing than the defeated combatant, still lying on his back, began to kick his legs up and down on the ground like a naughty child, and for a good half-hour yelled abuse in unprintable language. 579

Our first march out of Mien-ning was a short one, for on arriving at Ha-ha-hsün, 9½ miles off, we found ourselves confronted by a big range of mountains, which our mules would scarcely have been equal to surmounting that day. 000

The next morning, the 5th March, a very steep rocky road took us to the top at 11,700 feet, the last 3000 feet of ascent being done in two miles. Lachman Jadu and I climbed up a peak 600 feet higher and were rewarded with a fine view of big mountain ranges. The highest peaks were white, but there was not so much snow as I expected to see. We seemed to be passing through a spell of particularly fine weather. The descent on the western side of the pass was as steep as the ascent had been, and we spent the night at 7,600 feet in Ma-t'ou-shan, a village which consists of two large inns in a narrow valley, shut in by wall-like hills.

One or two unusual incidents had relieved the monotony of the day's march. As we were nearing the top of the pass, one of my Chinamen, who had got behind, came up and said he had seen some Lo-los hiding near the road we had just come along. It looked as if they were going to waylay our mules, so I was preparing to interview them with a gun and a rifle. But these preparations were needless, for just at this moment they all took up loads, put them on their backs, got back into the road, and went on down the hill. They were evidently harmless people, who, frightened at the sight of strange looking, strangely dressed men, had been hiding in the jungle to let us go by.

A little further on I became aware of a curious noise like the buzzing of bees, and having a lively horror of wild 788

•788 bees' nests bred of experience in Indian jungles, I was looking round to see where it came from. The noise got nearer and nearer, when six men suddenly appeared round the corner of a zigzag. It was not till I actually saw them that it dawned on me that the noise I had taken for the humming of bees proceeded really from human throats reciting prayers in a monotonous mumble. The deception was most perfect. Neither myself nor the Chinamen with me doubted when we first heard the noise that it was a swarm of bees or hornets. The men belonged to the Mo-so tribe and were on a pilgrimage to a temple in the Chien-ch'ang valley. This is a race of men I have seen very little of. They appear roughly speaking to inhabit the country north of Li-chiang Fu, and from there westwards towards Wei-hsi and northwards nearly to A-tun-tzŭ. Most, if not all, of them have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Captain Ryder came across them in the town of Yung-ning (lat. 27° 45′, long. 100° 40′), where they constitute the bulk of the population. By the evidence of their language they are closely connected with the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo races.

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The men we met would stop their chaunt for a moment to answer a question, but would begin again at once afterwards. We were evidently getting near a country under Tibetan influence. What Chinaman would think of reciting prayers as he went along the road?

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The Mo-sos were not the only new race I was to see on this march, for soon afterwards we met some Hsi-fans, carrying loads of a sort of spice called *hua-chiao*, which they grow extensively about here. Just after they had passed us, the last of them, an elderly man, gave vent to his feelings in a loud noise in a high tone of voice, more like a shriek of forced laughter than anything else. I thought at first he was amused at something, possibly at my personal appearance. The Chinese guide said it was their way of singing—a somewhat vague explanation. It was a noise I often heard afterwards among Tibetans, and is simply a means of calling to each other when distance makes a loud yell necessary to attract attention. It sounds a most extraordinary noise at first, but one soon gets accustomed to it in Tibet. One of my Gurkha sepoys told me the people

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in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

S 609

Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

S ST 788 609

Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

S 609

In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

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787 To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien fêng shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

789 *Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu* (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tzŭ* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssŭ niang tzŭ (踹私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely of wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

782 *Ching t'an* (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shên* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much

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more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria: 782

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard. 782 776

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八蠻進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (踹索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand. 789

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tsŭ* (登罈子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

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789 A woman balances a ladder on the palms of her hands, then a child threads each rung up and turns over the top and threads its way down again head downward. This is called *fan fei yün t'i* (番飛雲梯).

A bare table is covered with a cloth; after beating of drums and burning of incense and paper, the actor will ask if the guests have all come, and on being assured that they have arrived, the table-cloth is removed and there is displayed a fine, hot, ready-cooked feast.

A flower-pot is covered with a cloth and after some music and incantations the cloth is removed and a fine flowering orchid exposed to view. The same kind of trick is also done with a pot of earth in which a melon seed is sown.

The wooden frame which holds the fire basin is put down and covered with a cloth; and after music and incantations the cloth is removed, when a hot fire on the fire basin is exposed to view. Many are willing to pay large sums of money for instruction in this art.

An empty wine-glass is held in one hand and an empty jar in another and after a few motions and incantations wine is found emptied from the jar into the wine cup, and people are invited to drink.

A woman's embroidered shoe is manipulated in the hand, and it suddenly becomes a rabbit, pigeon, rat or other creature. The conjurer after a little seizes the animal and knocks it on the back of the head and it becomes a shoe once again in his hand.

A wisp of straw becomes changed into a rat. This is very much the same as the last.

Coloured paper is cut into strips and covered with a cloth. When the cloth is removed the strips of paper have been transformed into pretty lanterns already lighted.

A fan is torn to shreds. The conjurer then makes various motions with his hands and the fan is produced and opened up as good as new.

Paper is torn into small pieces and covered with a cloth; when the cloth is removed a swarm of hornets fly

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buzzing about, but as soon as they are caught they become pieces of paper again. 789

The leaves and twigs of a willow tree are broken into pieces and thrown into the river, where they appear to become fishes, but when caught they are simply the willow twigs.

A coin is placed on the upper side of a thick board with one hand and received on the lower side with the other.

A child is laid down with the stomach bent upwards, boxes full of heavy things are put on its stomach, then a man goes on to the top of the boxes, but still there is no sign of the distended stomach giving way under the weight.

A child is taken and rolled in red calico, the conjurer asks for money and, after a contribution has been given, a sword is displayed and the child yells, then another collection is taken up, after which the child's arm is cut off and thrown to the horrified crowd, and still another collection is taken up, then another arm is cut off and thrown out. The child is thus gradually dismembered before the gazing and credulous crowd, but the greatest wonder of all is that this child will be well and about the next day! This is generally the last and most exciting act of the conjurer in a place; for this he often gets large sums of money in collections.

Divination or Sorcery, Wu Shu (巫術).

A sorcerer is called *tuan kung* (端公); the classical name is *nan wu* (男巫), and the colloquial or slang name is *kuei hsiang yo* (鬼鄉約). 754 791

A witch is *tuan kung p'o* (端公婆), *tsou yin* (走陰) *p'o*, *shên hsien* (神仙) *p'o*, or *nü wu* (女巫) (a bookish name). One term may be common in one place while another will be used elsewhere.

Though the art of divination is much the same everywhere, still the Tibetan art is more intense than that practised by the Chinese sorcerers. The Tibetan sorcerer does all the Chinese do and some things extra. So before dealing with

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P'u kua (卜卦) is to forecast future events by means of the eight diagrams, to divine.

K'an hsiang (看相). The physiognomist makes the book *Liu chuang shên hsiang* (柳莊神相) by Shui Ching of the Han dynasty, or the *ma i* (麻衣) *hsiang* by Ch'ên Tuan of the Sung dynasty the basis of his art.

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The following are some of the things they pretend to be able to do :—

They guarantee that their clients will get by raffle the funds of the joint stock company. Several people join in a company when they want to get a larger sum together than they could otherwise do at one time, but by paying in monthly instalments they can manage it. The fund is raffled for each month at the home of one of their number. Some families who want the money quickly appeal to this class for assistance to get the lucky number.

They undertake the protection of a family from demons and snakes. They also fix the site of a dwelling house, the choice of a lucky day to begin building, and the lucky day for hoisting the top beam of the house.

They fix a lucky day for funerals, marriages and almost everything, by an appeal to the stars. Each day has a governing star and they decide whether the day star agrees with the birth star of the individual. This is one of the most common of the methods of fixing a lucky day, and it is done by what is known as the *fa chia*, one of the schools of geomancy.

They fix a lucky day by what is known as an appeal to the three things which harmonize ; that is, heaven, earth, and man. This method is known as the *hsing chia* (形家), or *k'an yü* (堪輿) *chia*, and is another of the schools of geomancy.

Wu ho (合) and *liu ho*. They tell fortunes by an appeal to the five elements, gold, wood, water, fire and earth, or by an appeal to the four points of the compass with the zenith and nadir. These methods are used by fortunetellers and geomancers.

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They contract for the bringing of a lunatic to his right mind. 791/789

They arrange for the removal of a ghost from a house. If houses have uncanny sounds or have the reputation of being haunted or are troubled with snakes, insects or other vermin, the geomancer fixes a lucky day and invites a sorcerer to assist him drive out the pests or ghosts.

Divining by copper cash is called *Wên Wang kua.* On the side of the cash are Chinese characters, that side is known as *ma tzŭ* (麻子). The side with Manchu characters is known as the *mo êrh* (末兒). Three cash are used and the count kept as to how many *ma tzŭ* or *mo êrh* show in six throws of the coins.

Mei hua shu (梅花數), to divine by whatever the divining person may carry in the hand or on the person is known as *sui chi ying pien* (隨機應變), to answer as occasion demands.

They also divine by the use of the six *jên* (壬) or combinations in the sexagenary cycle ; by this method it is said that they can find out the name, dwelling place and likeness of a thief and where he has hidden the stolen goods, and other necessary details.

There is a method of divining invented by Shao K'ang-chieh of the Han dynasty. It was largely prophetic and dealt with the future of the country. Though this method is still used, few if any are able to understand it fully.

Ch'i mên tun chia (奇門遁甲), to divine by an appeal to the stars. This method is generally used in connection with prophetic prognostications.

Divining by the use of dominos is a method used to fix the dates for marriages, to find lost articles or a lost relative, or when wealth may be obtained.

The Itinerant Vendor 778

Pedlars sell spirit charms from such idols as the Ling kwan and the T'ien shih ; both are to prevent or to heal diseases. 443 789

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443 They sell the spirit cat which is the figure of a cat painted on paper with the charm 勅令, *chih ling*, written on it. 778 Also the pictures of Chung K'uei (鍾馗), which ward off 789 demons. He was a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. Scholars take his pictures to the examination boxes to keep away demons during the examinations.

They also sell pictures of the hills and valleys, of flowers and bamboos (generally as scrolls), of various birds and animals, also a well-known set of four Chinese pictures of fisherman, woodman, farmer and student.

Imitations of ancient styles of writing are also hawked about.

Mai hsin wên is the news vendor. Sometimes the news is purely of an idolatrous and superstitious nature, at others it is political and agitating.

Chu-ko Liang is believed to have written a number of prophetical sayings, which he had engraved on stone slabs and buried ; every now and then one of these is reported to have been dug up and the inscription printed in cheap book form and sold as reliable news. There is an unlimited supply of words and examples from the lives of eminent men printed and sold, as well as stories of the efficacious and healing power of the idols, or how these idols meted out retributions to the wicked, or prescribed a medicine to stop a plague.

Another work sold is the prophetical utterances of the celestials as contained in the *Kuan Yin ching* or the *T'ai Yang ching*.

Others sell *ch'uan su ko* (勸俗歌), ballads which exhort the people against gambling, wine and fornication, or illustrated booklets which describe the evils of opium.

ITINERANT BUDDHIST AND TAOIST PRIESTS, *Hsing chueh sêng* (行脚僧), and *Yu fang tao* (游方道)

792 It is commonly said that this class of persons will surely find some way of taking revenge if offended. It is also said that all the physiognomists belong to the palliative business and the palliatives come under the priests' rule. Their

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784 If a person sneezes, the first thing he will say is "Who is
777 speaking about me?" If a person's ears ring, some evil is being spoken of him. If ears burn a law suit is impending. A burning face indicates the loss of property. The god of the bed is worshipped on the moving from one house to another, and when a new bed is brought, in order that peaceful slumbers may come to the family. Soldiers sharpen their swords once yearly on the thirteenth of the fifth moon. Kites are flown by men on the ninth of the ninth moon as a medium for carrying off evil influences from the home. If a kite should fall on any person's house it is reckoned to be very unlucky and no one would dare to go and claim it. Children often wear a small mirror on the front of their hats in order that the demons may see their ugly faces and depart.

If a man should dream that he has swallowed the sun and moon or pearls, he will eventually have a rich son. To dream of much water is to get great riches. To dream of fire is to get honours by learning. People who are troubled by evil dreams go and tie a knot on a shrub known as the *mêng hua*, dream flower. If an old man has a red nose it is the sign of the greatest happiness. If the house is infested with rats, many people keep what is called a *shên mao êrh*, or spirit cat, pasted up in the kitchen. This is also called a Kien chou (簡州) *mao êrh* because they are made at that place. This is simply the picture of a cat painted on a piece of yellow paper. It is reckoned very unlucky to howl or shout on a hill-top as a gale of wind and rain may follow.

The terror of the nine-headed monster (蠱) is great in some places. This would appear to be a flock of wild geese flying in the shape of the character nine. If these pass over a city at night many people rush out of doors to drive them off as it is believed that if it drops pus, the family will become poor; if it drops blood, the whole family will die.

The Chinese believe that there is such a monster and the contention of the heads for the ascendancy makes it drop blood.

789 Houses whose doors open on some public path sometimes have wooden screens set up in front of the doors to keep

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out demons. These screens are called *ch'a p'ing* (插屏), stuck-in screen. When a house is troubled with sickness the neighbours often ask whose dirty demon has come hither to give trouble. 789

When a person has a hatred for another and is bent upon secret revenge, a straw effigy of the enemy is made and pricked in the eyes and nose with a needle, cursed and burned; it is believed that this will inflict sickness or even death upon the enemy and is spoken of as *shê yin chien* (財陰箭), shooting a secret arrow. Another way is to go to the temple of the city god, and accuse the person at the idol shrine; the indictment is written out and presented with candles and incense, after which it is burned to ashes. This is called *kao yin chuang* (告陰狀), making an indictment to Hades. When a dead child has been carried out of the house, the doorstep is sawn or hacked to indicate that the debt of some ancestor has now been paid in full. 754

Sometimes over the door of the house will be found written the two characters *i shan*, one good deed; being an abbreviation of the saying, "one good deed will cover a thousand bad ones." This is to deceive the demons and keep them out of the house. 789

Some haunted houses have a mirror hung up over the door, so that when the demon comes and sees his own face he will take fright and depart. Some parents use for their children what are known as tigers' pillows so as to frighten the demons.

On the eighth of the fourth moon there is a custom known as *chia mao ch'ung*, or marrying out the caterpillar. The idea is that caterpillars are females and in marrying them out they will leave this part of the country alone. A small red rosette is put up in the chief room of the house as an evidence. 佛生四月八, 毛蟲今日嫁, 嫁在深山去, 永遠不歸家. On the eighth of the fourth moon was Buddha's birth. On that day caterpillars are married out. Married far into the mountain recesses never more to return.

At the spring equinox there is a custom known as *ching chüeh wang*, to reverence the king of birds. Rice loaves are

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789 made into which a pair of scissors is stuck, and the whole thing is displayed outside the house; this it is believed will keep the family in peace. In some places a huge paper bird is paraded round the streets with a crowd following, probably an imitation Phoenix Bird.

On the seventh of the seventh moon there is the custom known as *hsien kua*, to offer the melon. This is also the time when girls pray for ability, or *ch'i ch'iao* (巧). In some places women and girls take what is known as *ch'iao ya tzŭ*, or ability sprouts, which are really sprouted beans. The sprouts with a basin of water are taken before the shrine of the tutelary god, where incense and candles have been lit. Each girl takes one of the long sprouts, breaks it into small pieces and throws them into the basin of water, then waits to see if these form into the shape of a flower; if they do she will be clever at needlework.

On the first of the tenth moon there is a custom known as *hsien niu wang*, offering to the ox spirit. Rice cakes, *ch'i pa* (糍粑), are made and given to the ox, which is not supposed to do any work on that day. Anyone daring to work his animal will be cursed and told that he ought to become an ox in the next life. In many country homes the oxen are dressed and petted on this their birthday.

753 824 Hydrophobia (瘋狗傷人), *fêng kou shang jên*. It is said that the snake when about to hibernate eats of a herb called *ling chih ts'ao*, "boletus." At the time of moving insects (驚蟄), it comes forth from hibernation, and vomits a great amount of phlegm, *shê hsüan tu* (蛇漩毒), which smells very strongly. If a dog eats this or if individuals smell it, they are from a Chinese point of view doomed to an attack of hydrophobia. This herb if eaten by human beings makes them comatose, but after the effects have been slept off, it is believed that the individual will live to a great age. This disease of hydrophobia is to be found all the year round, but is most common in spring time when the oil plant is in flower, so much so that the saying runs The rape is in flower; mad dogs will make their appearance. But it is said that the disease among dogs has nothing to do with the rape

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847 their girls because they are unable to support them. It is impossible to get enough information to make a reliable estimate of illegitimate births and infanticides, but it is certain that both are very numerous among both rich and poor.

754 791 When a person falls sick a quack doctor may make him believe that his spirit has already departed and entered into a certain pregnant woman, and that the only hope for his life is to curse this woman and make her miscarry. This is done by the 胎術 *t'ai shu*, womb black art. Generally a witch is called in; she takes an egg and recites over it an incantation somewhat as follows: "If the spirit has gone south the south precinct god 土地神 *t'u ti shên* will bring it back; if to the north, the north precinct god will do the same," etc. The egg is then put in hot ashes, and if it spurts in any direction the spirit is called back from that quarter with the usual ceremonies. Persons known as *shuan t'ai-ti* 拴胎的 are called in for the purpose of counteracting this black art.

845 It is believed that deformed and maimed births 屬精瞎怪 *ch'üeh ching hsin kuai*, are the outcome of sin, whether of adultery or of irregular intercourse as to time or place.

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776 If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

788 Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the 791 heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

788 What would appear to have been originally an exception- 754 ally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master.
791 Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

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buzzing about, but as soon as they are caught they become pieces of paper again. 789

The leaves and twigs of a willow tree are broken into pieces and thrown into the river, where they appear to become fishes, but when caught they are simply the willow twigs.

A coin is placed on the upper side of a thick board with one hand and received on the lower side with the other.

A child is laid down with the stomach bent upwards, boxes full of heavy things are put on its stomach, then a man goes on to the top of the boxes, but still there is no sign of the distended stomach giving way under the weight.

A child is taken and rolled in red calico, the conjurer asks for money and, after a contribution has been given, a sword is displayed and the child yells, then another collection is taken up, after which the child's arm is cut off and thrown to the horrified crowd, and still another collection is taken up, then another arm is cut off and thrown out. The child is thus gradually dismembered before the gazing and credulous crowd, but the greatest wonder of all is that this child will be well and about the next day! This is generally the last and most exciting act of the conjurer in a place; for this he often gets large sums of money in collections.

Divination or Sorcery, Wu Shu (巫術).

A sorcerer is called *tuan kung* (端公); the classical name is *nan wu* (男巫), and the colloquial or slang name is *kuei hsiang yo* (鬼鄉約). 754 791

A witch is *tuan kung p'o* (端公婆), *tsou yin* (走陰) *p'o*, *shên hsien* (神仙) *p'o*, or *nü wu* (女巫) (a bookish name). One term may be common in one place while another will be used elsewhere.

Though the art of divination is much the same everywhere, still the Tibetan art is more intense than that practised by the Chinese sorcerers. The Tibetan sorcerer does all the Chinese do and some things extra. So before dealing with

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the subject as found among the Chinese we will notice the practices peculiar to the Tibetans.

A Tibetan sorcerer is called *man* (巫) *tuan kung*. The idol worshipped by him and used in his practice is a full-dressed lama or Buddhist Tibetan high priest.

When a demon is being exorcised a boiler is made red-hot and the afflicted person made to stand in it; it is believed that if his feet do not blister there is no hope of his recovery; or a red-hot chain is put round his neck with the same cheerful hope of blisters.

The sorcerer opens a vein in his own body and lets blood flow on to a cloth, which is given to sick persons to carry as a charm, *k'an hsüeh fu* (砍血符).

In Chinese sorcery an altar is set up, *shè sung* (設送), for the taking away of a disturbing demon from a sick person, and paper money is burned.

It is customary to worship a person's natal star in order to avert calamity or death. Each person is believed to have a star which influences him through life; and the stars are believed to be governed by the Dipper (*tou*), which is largely invoked by Taoist priests and sorcerers to avert death or other calamity, *jang hsing li tou* (禳星禮斗). When a person comes to a certain period in his life believed by fortune tellers and others to be unlucky, a sorcerer is called in to bridge over this difficult time. For people who have had an accident, or for homes where something unlucky has happened, also when a person has reached a great age, the friends and neighbours get up a subscription and present him with a night's incantations; they also present a joint petition to the king of Hades and stand surety for the person's good character and beg that many years may be added to his life. In this ceremony a tablet is written to the local god who joins the bridge of longevity (接限壽橋土地); to this tablet the younger generations *ko t'ou*. The work of the sorcerer is all done in the night. When chanting for the living, cow-horn trumpets are employed; but in wakes for the dead the conch-horn or sea-shell is used.

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Setting up the altar for the purpose of divination is an elaborate affair. A chart belonging to the sorcerer is hung up over the family gods; in this chart the *san ch'ing* (三清) have a prominent place. A bushel and a pint measure are filled with grain or dry river-sand, into which sand are stuck lighted candles and incense, all having been previously placed before the sorcerer's chart. The "three pure" are *t'ai ch'ing* (太清), *yü* (玉) *ch'ing* and *shang* (上) *ch'ing*, and are said to correspond to heaven, earth and man. A tablet to the five heads of demons or *wu ch'ang* (五猖) is put under the table; the tablet to all the poor spirits or 寒林 is put up outside the door. The writing being 寒林會上五音五娃孤魂由子等衆, "To the heads of the Society of the orphan spirits of all names and kinds."

To cleanse the altar the divining priests go with beating of gongs and blowing of trumpets to a stream or pool of water and bring back a vessel filled with clean water; this is called *ch'ing shui* (請水). The water is sprinkled all over the altar and vessels, after which the priest opens the ceremony by putting on his robes and worshipping the idols and tablets all round; this is spoken of as *k'ai t'an*, to open the altar.

The priest prepares a genealogy of the sick person, his name, residence, details of the sickness, etc., which is first read to the company and then despatched to the spirit world by burning.

After the despatch has been sent telling of the need, then the company waits to receive the return message from the spirit world.

The divining priest then enters the kitchen and asks the kitchen god to use his good offices on the sick person's behalf, while the family of the sufferer kneel in a row before the kitchen god to implore his assistance.

The repentance ode is chanted and a prayer for the healing of the disease; this is done amid the beating of gongs and drums, and the yelling of the priests who are ably assisted by the juveniles of the family.

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The priest next makes a number of charms, one to be worn on the person, another to be hung on the bed curtains, another for the bedroom door, and one is burned and the ashes put into a basin of water which has been cursed, and is drunk by the sick person. These charms are supposed to drive away the demons from the clothing, the bed and the inward man. This ceremony takes it as a foregone conclusion that all sickness is caused by demons.

After burning paper money in little or great quantities according to the ability of the family, the priest takes the clothes of the sick person and bears them, along with a tablet on which is written his name and genealogy, out to a place overlooking a hollow with water in it. Here the priests assisted by the relatives call back the spirit of the sick person from across the waters, repeating several times the following two sentences, *san hun kuei shên, ch'i p'ai fu t'i* (三魂歸身, 七魄附體); that is, may the three souls and seven spirits return to the body; then they finish up with a weird yell of "come back, come back." Of course when the sick man is in delirium it is believed that the soul has already left his body and gone wandering elsewhere.

Straw or reeds of any kind may be used to make an effigy, and paper clothing is made and put on it. Wine and rice are offered to it. A piece of paper money is ignited and applied to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Sometimes a needle is used to prick these four organs; all this is done with incantations, after which the effigy is supposed to become accursed as the substitute of the sick person. It is carried to the sick chamber and is addressed by the sorcerer as *mao ta lang* (茅大郎), great straw gentleman, or as *mao ta chieh* (茅大姐), great straw sister, according to the sex of the sick one. One sorcerer faces the effigy and questions it and another crouches behind it and answers the questions; while a third sits on a chair and pronounces judgement. The effigy is asked from whence he came; and for what purpose. The sorcerer from behind replies that he has come from a great distance purposely to be the substitute and bear the penalty of the sick person, whose name he gives.

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A vegetable knife, scales, three pairs of chopsticks, one charm, one sorcerer's tablet called a *shih tao* (師刀) or master's knife, are collected. The tablet and charm are the property of the sorcerer, while the other things belong to the family. These things the sorcerer gathers together in one hand, swings them round his head, and drops them behind his back; and then all the persons gather round and listen to the reading of the omens of these articles as they lie on the floor and give indications as to the outcome of the sickness. If the three pairs of chopsticks lie in order, recovery is considered to be probable. These chopsticks are spoken of as the *lu ma* (祿馬), emolument horses; if lying in order it means the patient will need them and use them.

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The scissors in this affair are known as the *chu ch'üeh* (朱雀), or red bird. Birds are all reckoned unlucky because their beaks are pointed, but birds with red patches or red beaks are much more so, and make trouble or even death in the family. The vegetable knife is spoken of as the white tiger (白虎). If the sharp edge of this knife should lie near the rope handle of the scales, it is reckoned to be a very unpropitious omen; as white is the sign of mourning and the tiger is the most ravenous of wild beasts. The scales are reckoned to be the sick man's body, and whatever falls near this is reckoned to be falling near the sick man himself. If the *ling p'ai* (令牌) or charm falls near the scales it is an indication that the spirits are protecting. The writing inside the tablet is said to be the Pearly Emperor's name. The arm jutting out with the three crosses is said to be the three pure ones, who are believed to be peculiarly fitted for the work of frightening away demons.

The next proceeding is to *fèn kua* (分卦), to read the diagrams. These are made of two pieces of bamboo which fit closely and exactly together. The two parts are thrown into the air; if the two flattened sides fall with their faces to the ground, that is called a *yin kua* (陰卦), female diagram; if the flat sides face upwards that is called a *yang kua* (陽卦), male diagram; if one flat and one round side lie upwards that is called a *shên kua* (神卦), spirit diagram. The female diagram is reckoned very unlucky, while the male and spirit

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787 diagrams are reckoned lucky, especially the latter, and the
791 spirits are invoked repeatedly to give a *shên kua.*

754 At this juncture the sorcerer enters the sick chamber, taking the straw effigy and a mug containing an egg. The sick person draws a deep breath and blows into the mug, which is then covered with a white cloth and firmly tied with a string. The sick person then blows a deeply drawn breath on to the face of the straw effigy, and in this way it is believed that the sickness demon is put into the mug and his life put into the straw substitute, who suffers for him.

A paper tray on which are painted various kinds of demons and called the flowery plate is brought; the candles, incense and other signs of the proceeding are gathered and, together with the mug, are put on a sieve and carried with the effigy outside the door of the house; the sorcerers then put up charms on the bedroom door and in the kitchen. A basin of rice soaked in water, and another basin of dry rice is then put on the sieve; into the latter sticks of lighted incense and lighted candles are stuck; the whole is then carried out to a secluded place, where the effigy is burned; the mug containing the egg is buried and the incense and candles stuck into the ground; the rice is carried home by the sorcerer; the sieve and basins are taken home by the members of the family, but are thrown behind the outside courtyard door for three days before they dare take them inside the house, lest any evil influence should be clinging to them.

When the party returns from escorting out the evil influences, the sorcerer proceeds to take down his chart, burns incense and exhorts the family gods, packs up his sorcerer's paraphernalia, eats a hearty meal, counts the wages of divination and takes his departure.

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BOOK VII—PLAUSIBLE PRETENTIONS

(扯謊場) THE LIARS' MART (天話街), *T'ien hua chieh*

The above name is applied to the Yamen or temple courtyards or any place where there is concourse of people, and where the fortuneteller, geomancer, physiognomist, sorcerer and witch doctors have their stands. To try and follow these men into all the intricacies of their dark and crooked ways is impossible. It will be our plan to find out what they pretend to accomplish, under what pretences they obtain a living and how the people are fleeced by them. They are divided into classes; the first to mention is the business of the Startler, *Ching shêng i* (驚生意), under which the following take their places :—

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The *ts'ê tzŭ* (測字) tells fortunes by dissecting characters and putting them together again.

Suan ming (算命), the fortuneteller. This class differs from the former in that it may pretend to define a whole life, while those who dissect characters generally confine themselves to one particular matter. The fortunetellers are divided into two schools, one called the *chang chang tzŭ* (張張子), who tells a person's fortune and gives it to his client in writing; the other is known as the *t'ieh pan suan* (鐵板算), who are mostly blind, who after hearing the client tell the fortune *viva voce.*

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791 787 *P'u kua* (卜卦) is to forecast future events by means of the eight diagrams, to divine.

K'an hsiang (看相). The physiognomist makes the book *Liu chuang shên hsiang* (柳莊神相) by Shui Ching of the Han dynasty, or the *ma i* (麻衣) *hsiang* by Ch'ên Tuan of the Sung dynasty the basis of his art.

791 788 The following are some of the things they pretend to be able to do:—

They guarantee that their clients will get by raffle the funds of the joint stock company. Several people join in a company when they want to get a larger sum together than they could otherwise do at one time, but by paying in monthly instalments they can manage it. The fund is raffled for each month at the home of one of their number. Some families who want the money quickly appeal to this class for assistance to get the lucky number.

They undertake the protection of a family from demons and snakes. They also fix the site of a dwelling house, the choice of a lucky day to begin building, and the lucky day for hoisting the top beam of the house.

They fix a lucky day for funerals, marriages and almost everything, by an appeal to the stars. Each day has a governing star and they decide whether the day star agrees with the birth star of the individual. This is one of the most common of the methods of fixing a lucky day, and it is done by what is known as the *fa chia*, one of the schools of geomancy.

They fix a lucky day by what is known as an appeal to the three things which harmonize; that is, heaven, earth, and man. This method is known as the *hsing chia* (形家), or *k'an yü* (堪輿) *chia*, and is another of the schools of geomancy.

Wu ho (合) and *liu ho*. They tell fortunes by an appeal to the five elements, gold, wood, water, fire and earth, or by an appeal to the four points of the compass with the zenith and nadir. These methods are used by fortunetellers and geomancers.

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They contract for the bringing of a lunatic to his right mind. 791 789

They arrange for the removal of a ghost from a house. If houses have uncanny sounds or have the reputation of being haunted or are troubled with snakes, insects or other vermin, the geomancer fixes a lucky day and invites a sorcerer to assist him drive out the pests or ghosts.

Divining by copper cash is called *Wên Wang kua.* On the side of the cash are Chinese characters, that side is known as *ma tzŭ* (麻子). The side with Manchu characters is known as the *mo êrh* (末兒). Three cash are used and the count kept as to how many *ma tzŭ* or *mo êrh* show in six throws of the coins.

Mei hua shu (梅花數), to divine by whatever the divining person may carry in the hand or on the person is known as *sui chi ying pien* (隨機應變), to answer as occasion demands.

They also divine by the use of the six *jên* (壬) or combinations in the sexagenary cycle ; by this method it is said that they can find out the name, dwelling place and likeness of a thief and where he has hidden the stolen goods, and other necessary details.

There is a method of divining invented by Shao K'ang-chieh of the Han dynasty. It was largely prophetic and dealt with the future of the country. Though this method is still used, few if any are able to understand it fully.

Ch'i mên tun chia (奇門遁甲), to divine by an appeal to the stars. This method is generally used in connection with prophetic prognostications.

Divining by the use of dominos is a method used to fix the dates for marriages, to find lost articles or a lost relative, or when wealth may be obtained.

The Itinerant Vendor 778 443

Pedlars sell spirit charms from such idols as the Ling kwan and the T'ien shih ; both are to prevent or to heal diseases. 789

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method of going round the country preying on the feelings and superstitions of the people is called by themselves "repairing the viscera temple" (修五臟廟). While doing this the priest goes from door to door and distributes his cards and a little later he comes back to collect the money from each house. 792

Mendicant priests go round the streets with a note-book and take the names of those who give subscriptions. Or they may sell pills at a high price, the profits going to the priesthood. A band of mendicant priests, seven or eight in number, will go through the streets, one carrying the idol, another the burning incense, singing, while another attends to the music, leaving the remainder to look after the collecting of money; some people give large sums to this class as a good speculation.

One class of priest often carries a kneeling-mat and a whip for driving away demons and wears a high crowned hat made of human hair and a yellow robe, which, when spread out, does for a sleeping coverlet. The sandals on his feet denote that he is a pilgrim, the staff in his hand is to beat the unruly; at one end of it is fixed a little spade with which he buries any unclean thing.

THF NINE STARTLERS (九驚), *chiu ching*

The first is *Mang Tzŭ* (蟒子) *ching*, the blind man who plays the guitar and tells fortunes. Next, *Liu* (流) *liu ching*, the rambling fortuneteller who bears a bamboo clapper and goes through the streets seeking for work. *Tsui* (嘴) *tzŭ ching* uses a bird of some kind to pick out a character from a box with which character he divines for his clients. *To* (朵) *to ching* divines from a character picked out by the client himself. The *Tai* (帶) *tzŭ ching* is a fortuneteller who carries the characters and explanation already written on his person. The *P'ing* (平) *ching* is a fortuneteller who sets up his stand and speaks about his trade and attracts customers. The *Lo* (挪) *ching* sings, and the *Hai* (海) *tzŭ ching* plays the harp as they practise their arts. The *Hua* (花) *hua ching* is a female fortuneteller. 791 787

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PHYSIOGNOMISTS (相師), *hsiang shih*

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Ma i (麻衣) *hsiang fa*, *Liu chuang* (柳莊) *hsiang fa* and *Ta ch'ing* (大清) *hsiang fa* are well-known books on this science.

Internal physiognomy is called *nei hsiang*, which includes a study of the fæces, voice, etc., and the external physiognomy, *w'ai hsiang*, includes a study of the bones; hair growing in ears, nose and eyebrows; colour of the face, etc.

Face physiognomy, *mien hsiang*, includes the study of the *San t'ing* (亭) *wu kuan*, the three divisions of the face and the five organs. The *san t'ing* are the *t'ien t'ing* or brow, the *chung t'ing* or nose, the *hsia t'ing* or chin.

Shou hsiang, or palmistry, deals with the *chiu kung* (九宮) or nine places where there is fulness round the palm of the hand, upon which much stress is laid.

The science is based on the following ten characters, which are supposed to represent ten types of Chinese face:—

Yu (由), weak brow; *chia* (甲), chin weak; *shên* (申) chin and brow weak; *t'ien* (田), lacking brow and chin; *t'ung* (同), mouth prominent, chin lacking; *wang* (王), equally balanced, jaw lacking; *yüan* (元), jaw strong, nose weak; *mu* (木), brow weak, jaw strong; *yung* (用), strong, but chin lacking; *fêng* (風), a strong face.

GEOMANCY (陰陽), *yin yang*

It is the geomancer's work to select the site for a house: the direction in which it faces must not disagree with the life star of the owner. He decides how and where the doors and windows are to be placed; and which way it should be approached; hardly ever by a straight road. He also selects lucky days for beginning the foundations, for beginning the carpentry work, for putting up the frame-work; and above all, the lucky day and hour for hoisting the top beam on the roof. On this occasion the workmen have extra money, a feast, and the rest of the day free from work. He fixes the position for a burying place, and the way a grave will face. Traffic in the

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vicinity of the grave is stopped lest the spirit be disturbed. It is reckoned very unlucky to tread on or through a family graveyard. 791 787

To decide how a protecting wall round a grave should be built and when it may be built is the geomancer's duty, and when earth can be put on the graves. The proverb runs, *chêng, san, wu, ch'i, chiu, mu shên tso ti shou;* In the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons, the spirit of the grave sits on the ground and guards; during these months no funerals of any importance are carried out and old graves are left severely alone.

He decides when the tombstone may be erected without disturbing the spirit of the grave, and fixes all the lucky times connected with a funeral. (See *Funerals.*)

Hsiu shêng chi (修生寄) is to prepare with the help of an astrologer the foundation for a grave before death, so as to be perfectly sure that it is all right; the coffin is often ready many years before.

Hsing chia is the astrologer who will look at the formation of a mountain before he will fix upon a grave. He makes much of the dragon, he uses the triad compass in his work. The triad is the *san ho* (三合), or heaven, earth and man.

Fa chia is the astrologer who simply decides the position of the grave, for prosperity to the progeny. He uses the eight-diagram compass. The *ts'ê* (擇) *chia* is an astrologer who simply decides lucky days, and is like the fortuneteller.

The following represents the transmigration or rotation of souls as far as the geomancer is concerned; hence his control over both the dwellings of the living and the dead. These stages are written on the above compass and used by both classes.

Born, 長生; washed, 沐浴; clothed, 冠帶; rank, 臨官; prosperity, 帝旺; aged, 衰; sick, 病; death, 死; buried, 墓; ended, 絕; conceived, 胎; nourished, 養.

To build a pagoda to make up a deficiency in the formation of the hills, or to break the monotony of a plain, in order that luck may attend the scholars of the district is called *p'ei fêng shui* (配風水) and *p'u wên fêng* (培文峯).

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791
787 These pagodas are all built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and almost always have an odd number of storeys, which is reckoned more lucky.

To dig a little on the wrong side is to transgress the geomantic influences, *fan fêng shui.* This is reckoned very serious, and must be counteracted, sometimes by buildings being pulled down or pieces added, doors and windows being closed up and fresh ones being opened.

A building erected hundreds of *li* distant may spoil the geomantic influences of a district or town.

232 *Westward from Mien-ning Hsien. The*
Neither of these tribes
791 have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Their religion includes
563 the sacrifice of animals, I was assured by the people of No-po. The Hsi-fans I found everywhere most friendly. It is not till one gets into a country that is more under the thumb of the lamas, that obstruction begins.

563 Leaving No-po on the 11th March, we were obliged to make rather a short day as, after crossing one big spur, we still had the main range, with 6000 feet more of climbing, in front of us, and I did not think our mules would be equal to this. We slept at Mo-tzŭ-kou among the Miao-tzŭ or Mhong, a tribe which I have found scattered in small and widely dispersed communities all over western China. I had met some on the road the day before who had tried to emigrate southward, but had been driven away by the Lo-los, who considered the land in that part of the country to belong to them. In Kuei-chou province the Miao-tzŭ are very numerous and powerful, but here they are evidently too few to be able to afford to quarrel with their neighbours.

342 We were now getting into a more Tibetan country, and on this march saw for the first time pagodas and praying wheels. The former, some twelve feet or so high, were made of more or less conical-shaped heaps of stones with Tibetan inscriptions on them, and usually a wooden pole sticking out a little way at the top. It was a sort of rough version of the Burmese pagoda with its *hti*.

778 The praying wheel consisted of a cylinder about three feet long and one and a half feet across, made of leather, and said to contain religious writings. The cylinder was fixed on to the top of a little water wheel which, worked by a small stream, revolved continually. The whole was protected by a stone shed well roofed in. It was a work of merit, which must have cost a good deal of time and money to erect in this out of the way spot. These water praying wheels were fairly common in the Tibetan country we travelled through, and when we got into a thoroughly lama district the ordinary praying wheels turned by hand were to be seen in every house.

000 The next morning we crossed the big range, reaching the top at 13,200 feet, but to the north of the road the range attains a much greater elevation than this. The

779 The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia generated widespread anti-Buddhist sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

779 792 The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parastic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained largely negative.[6] Thus gradual extinction of

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6. Chan, Religious Trends, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to 70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time. But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy and establishments in Southwest China were numerous, especially in the rich and populous province of Szechwan.[7]

Provinces	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries and Nunneries
Szechwan	158,610	39,089
Yunnan	37,180	9,920
Kweichow	720	410

It is not possible to trace the decline from 1930 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of boty clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to "less than 100" in 1954.[10]

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7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook], 1933, p. T2.

8. Ibid., Basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. [see following page]

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779 Estimates on the total number[11] of clergy vary,
792 but in 1931 they appear to have numbered 500,000 to 600,000. Refugees in 1949-50 reported that four out of every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954 it was estimated that there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its dwindling influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

779 While the traditional clergy was in decline, Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. The leadership of the movement

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9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, (a four-page pamphlet), Buddhist Association of China, Taiwan, 1954; hereinafter cited as Atrocities.
10. Ibid.
11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
12. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Atrocities.

779 In the principal cities, especially those visited by delegations from Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, a few temples are maintained for religious use. But the greatest number of temples have been converted for use by the state. One source, admittedly strongly biased, asserts that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1, in Shanghai from 600 to 2, and in Hangchow from 300 to 1.[20] Certain Buddhist monuments of historical and cultural importance are being restored and preserved.[21]

779 792 As we have pointed out, the clergy has been largely secularized. In Shanghai, as in other cities, monks have opened restaurants specializing in Buddhist dishes. Everywhere the clergy has converted temples into small factories in order to produce hand-made articles. Monks of the Fa-tsang temple in Shanghai now work on

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20. Atrocities.
21. Buddhism in China, introduction and plates.

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~~AF16~~

779 nearby farms. In Hangchow, some 1,800
782 monks and nuns have opened restaurants or are working in mills and on farms; they have established an association in order to co-ordinate their enterprises.[22] We have few details on the fate of the Buddhist clergy in the Southwest.

779 There are occasional reports of Buddhist
178 ceremonies, such as the celebration of the Buddha's birth day.[23] But the general impression is that Buddhism is dying. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed under the present regime. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern religious community, has turned to other pursuits. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer

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22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Based on testimony of refugees, 1950.

23. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, 1058, p. 48; also photograph of the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha" on May 20, 1953, in Buddhism in China.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien. 634

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納. 173

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li. 634

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect. 346 792

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. 484

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu- 114 484

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778

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 159.—NA-KHI LAMAS OF THE YELLOW SECT

麗江喇嘛黃教喇嘛

Unlike the Li-chiang Na-khi lamas who belong to the Karma-pa sect, the lamas of K'ang-p'u, Shou-kuo Ssu, belong to the reformed Yellow Sect.

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622 spacious house and court, facing the west on the second floor, is the private Lama chapel of our friendly host. [He has since died; the early ancestor who was commissioned T'u-ch'ien-tsung in the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, see p. 296.] The lamas here are all Na-khi. (PLATE 159).

Their lamasery is called Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺 and is situated beyond K'ang-p'u in a grove of pines above the village of Ga-la-she (Ka-la-she 喀拉舍). It is 240 li north of Wei-hsi, and was built in the 12th year of Yung-cheng (1734). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling,[20] and the region in which K'ang-p'u is situated is known as Mi-nag-rong[21] (Valley of the black people). This, with the A-tun-tze lamasery called Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 in Chinese and bDe-chhen-gling[22] in Tibetan, and the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery called Don-grub-gling[23] in Tibetan, and situated at Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), belong to the (Ge-lug-pa Yellow reformed sect), whose head is the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa. To this same sect belongs also the lamasery of Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺, the Tibetan Yangs-pa-chan,[24] situated north-east of Wei-hsi and built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753).

From K'ang-p'u we descend to the Mekong over a rocky trail, then in great zigzags over a huge bluff to 500 feet above the river. Enormous boulders project everywhere, covered with orchids. At the summit of the bluff is a fine grove of pines and two *mani* shrines, with slabs of smooth rock engraved with the ubiquitous Tibetan formula. The Mekong is here very narrow, flowing between steep walls, but widens somewhat near the village of Ga-la-she, beyond which the river turns east-north-east. There a canyon opens into the Mekong gorge, sending a torrent of clear water between huge vertical cliffs of whitish-yellow limestone into the river, while high above a snow-capped peak crowns the scene.

The Mekong now enters a narrow gorge, the waters forming tremendous rapids of considerable length which undermine the walls of conglomerate and black slate on both banks. Near the village of Hsiao-sheng-tao the river widens, the hamlet being situated on a gentle, fan-shaped slope at the mouth of a circular ravine. Several li beyond, the trail skirts a huge, yellow sandstone cliff, over steep steps, with a sheer drop of 50 feet to the river. The trail is exceedingly narrow and hewn into the cliff, in places broadened by a plank or log with an abyss beneath. Ahead is a long island covered with forest; the river is here very broad, and terraced rice-fields extend down to its banks.

622 *Yeh-chih plain.* — The plain of Yeh-chih 葉枝 is called Yu-dtü in Na-khi and is under a Tu-ssu 土司 of the Na-khi tribe. The late chief's name was Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 (PLATE 160). He is known as the Mun-kwua (Military Official), commonly spoken of as the Mu-kua 木瓜 in Chi-

[20] བཀྲ་ཤིས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་ [21] སྨན་ནག་རོང [22] བདེ་ཆེན་གླིང [23] དོན་གྲུབ་གླིང

[24] ཡངས་པ་ཅན། Yangs-pa-chan is the Tibetan translation of the name of the town Vaiśālī, in which Buddha often resided.

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 慕頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[651] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[1912] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[797] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[463] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged
[438] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
[135] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich
[346] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu
[197] possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo)[10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] ཁ་བ་ [10] སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

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346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

792 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*487 *133 *437 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra) [7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子欄

173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 牟頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角霸, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 了拉郎 villages.

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ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (Gorré).

[7] 奔子欄

[8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tun-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

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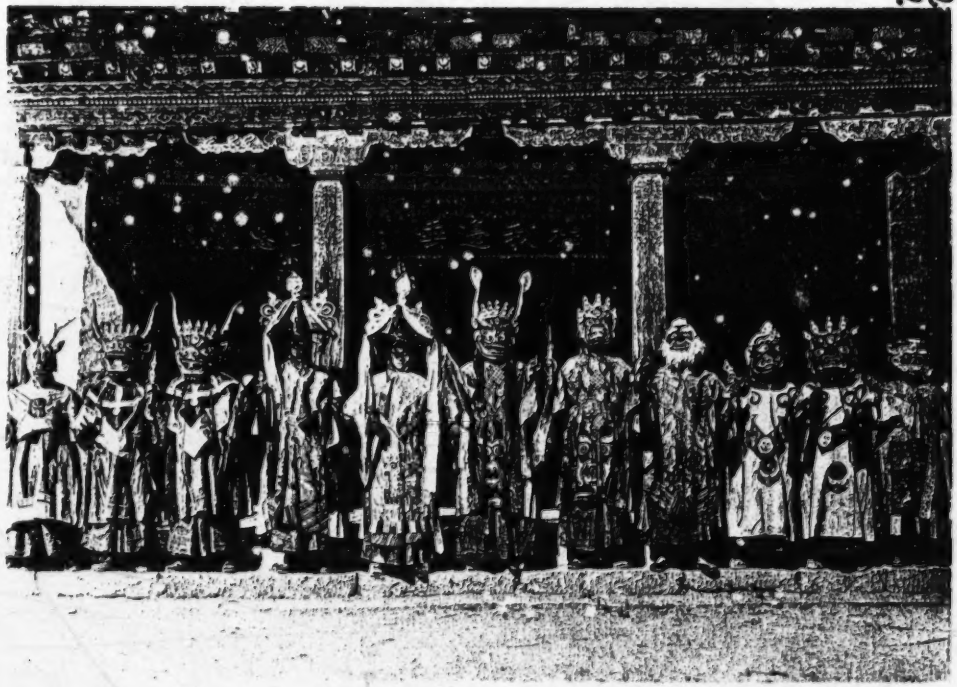

PLATE 226. — LAMA DANCERS OF YUNG-NING

永寧黃帽喇嘛者巫歌舞

They represent from left to right: 1, the Tibetan stag or Sha-wa, the messenger of the god of the dead; 2 and 3, the central and northern gShin-rje sngon-po = the blue Lords of the dead; 4 and 5, Shwa-nag = Black hat dancers (sorcerers); 6, Dam-chan-gshin-rje chhos-kyi-rgyal-po = Yama the Lord (judge) of the dead; 7, the latter's wife Chi-mun-tra; 8, mGon-po bram-ze = Brā-hma nātha; 9, kShe-tra-pā-la = the oracle of Serra monastery; 10, Ma-hā-kā-la or mGon-po phyag-drug-pa; 11, Seng-ge gdong-chan = the lion-faced companion of Lha-mo the She-devil.

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PLATE 249. — TSO-SO BÖN LAMAS GATHERED FOR THE DANCE

四川左所黑喇嘛開歡會

Once a year the Bön Lamas of Tso-so celebrate the Ta-lha festival which ends in a religious dance. Unlike the Yellow sect they wear a peculiar cornucopia-like ceremonial hat of various colors.

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PLATE 254. — LU-ZO THE LAST-BORN SON OF THE LATE YUNG-NING TSUNG-KUAN

永寧攝管小兒祿佐活佛

In 1931 Lha-sa authorities declared him an incarnation of a high lama of Dre-pung Monastery. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdsin-dbang-phyug. He was preliminarily installed in the Yung-ning Lamasery on February 11th, 1932.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

782 immortal. This is called *lien tan hsüan kung* 煉丹玄功. The body is said to have ten openings, but the one on the top of the head needs to be opened in this way before it is effectual.

* * *

EXHORTATION 說書 *shuo shu.*

792 To explain the Sacred Edict, 講聖諭 *chiang shêng yü.* The Sacred Edict originally had six chapters composed by the emperor Shun-chih 順治, but it was enlarged and edited by his successor K'ang-hsi, and now contains sixteen chapters. Before the exhorter begins his works a tablet has to be erected on which are engraved the two characters Shêng yü. Candles are lighted on either side and in front, paper and incense are also burned before the tablet; the exhorter then bows three times, and knocks his head nine times to the ground before he begins to talk. The custom is to pay 100 cash for each chapter explained, and three chapters are generally gone over each evening. This money is generally paid by rich people in order to accumulate merit; not uncommonly a rich farmer or wealthy merchant invites an exhorter to his house for this purpose. At its beginning this practice may have been better than it now is; unfortunately the wicked lives of many of these men does much to nullify their words; and their exhortation is no longer confined to the doctrines contained in the Sacred Edict, but is largely made up of old wives' fables, and local and provincial scandals.

Many preachers of the Sacred Edict also use the method of exhortation by proverbs, *chiang kê yen* 講格言. There is a slight resemblance to, and connection with, the Sacred Edict, but most of the incidents are taken from the law courts, or scandals in business and private circles.

533 Men walk through the streets and sing ballads of a national or amorous character, *ch'ang shan shu* 唱善書. The idea is generally to procure travelling expenses for themselves or others to some distant place

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

443 They sell the spirit cat which is the figure of a cat painted on paper with the charm 勅令, *chih ling*, written on it.
778 Also the pictures of Chung K'uei (鍾馗), which ward off
789 demons. He was a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. Scholars take his pictures to the examination boxes to keep away demons during the examinations.

They also sell pictures of the hills and valleys, of flowers and bamboos (generally as scrolls), of various birds and animals, also a well-known set of four Chinese pictures of fisherman, woodman, farmer and student.

Imitations of ancient styles of writing are also hawked about.

Mai hsin wên is the news vendor. Sometimes the news is purely of an idolatrous and superstitious nature, at others it is political and agitating.

Chu-ko Liang is believed to have written a number of prophetical sayings, which he had engraved on stone slabs and buried ; every now and then one of these is reported to have been dug up and the inscription printed in cheap book form and sold as reliable news. There is an unlimited supply of words and examples from the lives of eminent men printed and sold, as well as stories of the efficacious and healing power of the idols, or how these idols meted out retributions to the wicked, or prescribed a medicine to stop a plague.

Another work sold is the prophetical utterances of the celestials as contained in the *Kuan Yin ching* or the *T'ai Yang ching*.

Others sell *ch'uan su ko* (勸俗歌), ballads which exhort the people against gambling, wine and fornication, or illustrated booklets which describe the evils of opium.

Itinerant Buddhist and Taoist Priests, *Hsing chueh sêng* (行脚僧), and *Yu fang tao* (游方道)

792 It is commonly said that this class of persons will surely find some way of taking revenge if offended. It is also said that all the physiognomists belong to the palliative business and the palliatives come under the priests' rule. Their

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method of going round the country preying on the feelings and superstitions of the people is called by themselves "repairing the viscera temple" (修五臟廟). While doing this the priest goes from door to door and distributes his cards and a little later he comes back to collect the money from each house. 792

Mendicant priests go round the streets with a note-book and take the names of those who give subscriptions. Or they may sell pills at a high price, the profits going to the priesthood. A band of mendicant priests, seven or eight in number, will go through the streets, one carrying the idol, another the burning incense, singing, while another attends to the music, leaving the remainder to look after the collecting of money; some people give large sums to this class as a good speculation.

One class of priest often carries a kneeling-mat and a whip for driving away demons and wears a high crowned hat made of human hair and a yellow robe, which, when spread out, does for a sleeping coverlet. The sandals on his feet denote that he is a pilgrim, the staff in his hand is to beat the unruly; at one end of it is fixed a little spade with which he buries any unclean thing.

THE NINE STARTLERS (九驚), *chiu ching*

The first is *Mang Tzŭ* (蟒子) *ching*, the blind man who plays the guitar and tells fortunes. Next, *Liu* (流) *liu ching*, the rambling fortuneteller who bears a bamboo clapper and goes through the streets seeking for work. *Tsui* (嘴) *tzŭ ching* uses a bird of some kind to pick out a character from a box with which character he divines for his clients. *To* (朵) *to ching* divines from a character picked out by the client himself. The *Tai* (帶) *tzŭ ching* is a fortuneteller who carries the characters and explanation already written on his person. The *P'ing* (平) *ching* is a fortuneteller who sets up his stand and speaks about his trade and attracts customers. The *Lo* (挪) *ching* sings, and the *Hai* (海) *tzŭ ching* plays the harp as they practise their arts. The *Hua* (花) *hua ching* is a female fortuneteller. 791 787

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my Chinese servant behind here as he was suffering from bronchitis and fever, brought on, I believe, by the rainy, misty weather which is most unusual at this season of the year. I found him quite recovered. 000

I now turned towards Yung-ch'ang Fu, but determined to keep in unexplored country by taking a route some way to the north of the T'êng-yüeh Yung-ch'ang main road. The mountain range which separates the Shweli from the Salween valley is here a very high one, nearly precipitous at the top so that there are only a few paths across it. I decided to take one known as the Ma-mien-kuan pass. This being rather an out-of-the-way road, I had all the usual stories told me to try and dissuade me from going that way. The tales this time took the form of accounts of the deeds of Li-so robbers and a description of a sort of poisonous shrub which would kill the mules if they ate it. This last has, I believe, some foundation, as the shrub was pointed out to me on the pass, but I cannot imagine that animals would eat it if there was any grass to be got. The pass has evidently a bad name as I had great difficulty in getting a guide. Only one man would come, and I had to pay him at the exorbitant rate of 10½*d.* a day. 137 000

It was not till the second day out of Kai-t'ou that we tackled the pass. From Shan-yao where we had slept, there is a pretty stiff climb to begin with, and then some down hill before the really bad part comes. In the last two miles there is an ascent of 2,500 feet to the top of the range, which I made about 10,500 feet above sea level.

Just before reaching the summit is a Buddhist monastery, where four or five Chinese monks live who give food gratis to travellers and look out for people who miss the road in the snow, which often falls heavily in January. They have a very substantial house, the lower story built of stone and the upper of wood. As a special favour I was taken into the inner court by the head monk, who said he did not usually let people inside. The door from one court to the other in the lower story is barred up by great beams, and to get in we had to climb a ladder, go round the upper storey, and get down again inside. This, they say, is a precaution against Li-so robbers. The monastery was extra- 792 • [346]

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792 ordinarily dirty and so were the monks, but they certainly impressed me with their sincerity much more than the ordinary temple priest, who is often a great blackguard, and is usually held in no respect by his fellow-countrymen.

The descent on the eastern side of the pass was as bad as the ascent had been, and we had to go down 6000 feet to the village of Ssŭ-ling-kang before we could find any shelter or forage. We got in just after dark, our mules dead beat, having taken ten hours to do the march of fourteen miles.

The next day, the 16th December, we crossed the Salween at Mêng-ku ferry at an elevation of 2,550 feet, a drop of 8000 feet from the range we had crossed the day before. The river is here 100 yards wide, running with a current which precludes all idea of navigation. In some places the hills close right in on both sides, in other places there is half a mile or a mile width of rice cultivation. The valley has the warmer climate and denser vegetation of the Shan States—quite different from all the neighbouring [244] plains of Yün-nan. It is a mild enough climate to grow chillies, and it also produces persimmons which are sold dried like figs.

563 The population of this part of the country is small but varied. On the hills are Lo-los, Li-sos, and Chinese, while in the valley are Shans, and also Chinamen who most of them come from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yünnanese finding the place too hot and feverish. I do not think that the Shans extend up the Salween valley very much higher than this, for from all accounts one soon gets into a country ruled by semi-independent Li-so chiefs.

Four more marches through a very hilly country brought us to the top of the range which divides the Salween from its tributary, the Yung-ch'ang river. The road crosses it at 8,400 feet, and from the top is a fine view of range after range of beautiful mountains, the snow-capped Ts'ang 346 Shan, which overlooks Ta-li Fu, being clearly visible. We descended into the Yung-ch'ang plain and slept in a remarkable temple called the Shui-fu-ssŭ or Sleeping Buddha Temple. It is picturesquely placed at the foot of a jungle-covered spur with a piece of water in front of it. The inner shrine is a large natural cave, in which is the image

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CHAPTER XXVI

T'ÊNG-YÜEH TO P'U-ÊRH.

Ryder starts for Yün-lung Chou—I start for Lung-ling T'ing—A charitable Buddhist monk—A hilly journey to the Shweli—Man-lo ferry—Am taken for Jamieson—Lung-ling—A direct route to Yün Chou—The Salween valley—Precipitous hills—P'an-chih-hua ferry—Lo-los—Yao-kuan again—A Mahommedan fort—The Yung-ch'ang River at Wan-tien—A Shan plain—Buckwheat—A hare—Ta-mêng-t'ung—Strike into our route of the year before—Yün Chou—Objections to my leaving the main road—Stories of rebellion—The Mêng-ma valley—A former Shan state—The Mekong at Ka-li ferry—The salt trade—The salt wells of Yün-nan—A retired highway man in charge of the district—A Mahommedan traitor—The Ching-ku valley—Tea growing—A woodcock—Deep sandstone chasms—Wei-yüan—Up the Wei-yüan River—A salt well—My drunken cook—An abominable road—The K'a-tu tribe—Hsin-fu—The Black River valley—Christmas with a coffin—Unpleasant climate—An uninteresting country—The Mo-hei salt wells—P'u-êrh—Difficulties of longitude by telegraph—Our final success—The treaty port of Ssŭ-mao—Mr Cary's invitation.

000 On the 27th November we set out again. Ryder took the road north-east to Yün-lung Chou, while I went south-east towards Lung-ling T'ing.

I did not take the direct road to that place, as this had been already surveyed by Captain H. B. Walker of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry the year before. To avoid known country I therefore retraced my steps to Nang-sung-kuan, our last camp before marching into T'êng-yüeh, and struck across eastward from there.

The first day out of Nang-sung-kuan proved an uphill march, and I got no further than the little hill monastery of Chai-t'ang, inhabited by a white-bearded Buddhist
• 792 priest. These monks, who live in the mountains far from any village, are very superior men to the ordinary priest of the village temple, and give themselves up to small works of charity, such as giving food or straw sandals to travellers.

000 In the morning, while still in the Nam Ti valley, I got a shot at some coolan (*grus cinerea*) and killed two with

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361 size, and has some approach to regular streets in it. The
[792] monastery is a fine one and is said to contain 1800 lamas. The population of the place is chiefly Tibetan but there are a good many men of Chinese descent who have intermarried with the natives of the country and become Tibetanised.

631 There are three Chinese officials in the town, one civil and two military. The latter command the small garrison of 70 soldiers and are not men of any rank. The civil mandarin is called the *liang-t'ai* and is practically a commissariat officer, his duties being to collect supplies for Chinese officials passing along the road.

None of these Chinese officers have any jurisdiction except over the Chinamen living in the town. The government of the state is in the hands of a hereditary Tibetan chief who has under him a second chief, while the lamas, here as everywhere in Tibet, have considerable influence in affairs of state[1].

797 A French Catholic mission has been established here for many years, and the missionaries have passed through many vicissitudes. In 1881 Père Brieux was murdered a few miles from the town. The Tibetan authorities put the crime down to brigands, but there seems little doubt that the murder was instigated by the Ba-t'ang lamas. In 1887 there was an organised rising of the Tibetans, the mission stations at Ba-t'ang, Ya-k'a-lo, and A-tun-tzŭ were burned, and M. Brieux's grave was desecrated.

For some time the work of the missionaries was at a standstill, but after long negotiations, supported by the French Government, they obtained full compensation, and their houses were rebuilt for them. The Viceroy of Ssŭ-ch'uan can evidently exercise his authority here when he likes, though in ordinary circumstances the Tibetans are left very much to themselves.

291 We spent three days in Ba-t'ang, employing the time in buying boots for ourselves and in getting an extra transport animal or two. The boots that Tibetans habit-

[1] Owing to a rebellion which took place about 1904 things have changed considerably in Ba-t'ang. There is now a Chinese garrison there, and the monastery is said to have been destroyed.

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000 On the 29th an easy march up the side of a valley brought us to Ya-ra-gong. We put up in the village, and then went to the French mission station which lies a mile further on. The name of Père Soulié, the French priest here, was already familiar to us. He had in 1894 made a journey from Ta-chien-lu to Ya-k'a-lo through unexplored country, and had written an account of his travels for the Paris Geographical Society[1].

We halted two days in Ya-ra-gong, passing much of the time in the society of Père Soulié who has a great knowledge of this part of Tibet. He had been in Ya-ra-gong two or three years and had been occupied in building houses for himself and for the two families of Christian Tibetans that he had brought with him. He had also been negotiating for buying land: the Catholic missionaries usually do this so that they can settle down their converts in communities instead of having them scattered about.

The good father has established most friendly relations with all his neighbours, even with the lamas. These lamas belong to the red or old sect, whose members are always less hostile than are the yellow lamas of the reformed Tibetan church.

Manifold had several patients here, and on the second day of our halt we went with Père Soulié to the neighbouring monastery of Troi-gön where Manifold performed three operations for cataract, the patients being two old women and a lama.

•792 The lamas were very civil and we went to see the *Tchreul-ko* or "Living Buddha." Most monasteries of importance are presided over by a *tchreul-ko*, who is selected when a child by the lamas as being a reincarnation of Buddha. He becomes an object of reverence to lamas and laymen, but does not necessarily take much part in the government of the monastery.

The "Living Buddha" at Troi-gön was a bright little boy of eleven years, who was allowed to have his sister brought up to the monastery every day to play with. I gave them some old Christmas cards which pleased them

[1] See *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, Vol. XVIII. Except his fellow-missionaries Père Soulié had seen no European since meeting Captain Bower in 1892. We were probably the last travellers he saw, as he was murdered by Tibetans in the rising of 1904.

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much, and Manifold gave the little boy some medicine for warts on his fingers. 792

Ya-ra-gong is the name really of a district under Ba-t'ang and not of any particular village, but this village may be considered as the headquarters of the district, as Troi-gön, the principal monastery, which contains 300 lamas, is here. The height of the house we put up in (which is somewhat lower than the French mission) we made 11,900 feet. The climate at this time of year was very pleasant. Père Soulié told us there was a rainy season beginning in June but that the rain is not very heavy or continuous. 631 132

We stayed at Ya-ra-gong rather longer than we intended as the Gurkha naik who had been hit by a stone at the Mekong bridge was not going on very well. He had a good deal of fever and his head began to swell again. However, two days' rest did him a lot of good and he soon afterwards made a good recovery.

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779 because of its foreign support and its allegiance
797 to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The
•793 most striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of worldwide policies in any age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[59]

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

59. Jean Monsterleet, S.J., Les Martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung contre l'Eglise duChrist, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

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793
797 This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the older Catholic areas in North and Central China, the least in such provinces as Kweichow and Kwangsi. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[60] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

873
797 Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges and universities have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and universities have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Zikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clea that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

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60. Ibid.

796 on these cholera prayer meetings to the cause of the War against the national enemy. The wealthiest family of the locality, after spending more than one million dollars on a funeral in West Town, gave fifty thousand dollars from their condolers' presents to the national cause and earned for themselves much publicity in the papers.

An analysis of the items of the expenditures shows that from about one-ninth to one-fourth of the total is paid to the priests and their musical and other assistants; from about one-half to two-thirds is expended on food for human beings as well as for the gods and spirits; and the rest is expended on paper money, incense, candles, fire crackers, paper works (image and dragon boats, etc.) and miscellaneous expenses.

796 The ordinary priest's wage for a working day is as follows:

793 Wage - $55.00; Tobacco - $5.00; rice (one sheng) - worth about $18.00; total - $78.00 NC.

465 For the chief priest in a prayer meeting the working day wage may be considerably more. In addition to the above he gets a larger share of the rice offered by those who want their newly deceased family members "uplifted" in the spirit world on the second night of the prayer meeting. In the larger meetings such a source of income is considerable. In the prayer meeting which took place in Area E, the author counted nineteen tables ritually "uplifted" on the second night, which meant that the priests would receive nineteen sheng of rice (or about three hundred and eighty dollars) for the meeting alone.

The priest's wage is very impressive when we compare it with the expenditures of the sample families mentioned above and with the wages of other workers in the community. The author only studied the work of the priests in the community to a very limited extent, so cannot say how many days the average priest works during a month. But when we consider the number of ritual occasions stated in Chapter II of this paper, the total number of the population, and the fact that there are not more than a hundred priests in the community(8) (the community refers to the town and its surrounding villages), we shall have a fair idea on the working opportunities of each priest. Now then, if we assume that each priest works for ten days a month, then his monthly income will at least amount to somewhere around five thousand national dollars.(9) The daily wage of a laborer on a farm around West Town, on the other hand, during rice-planting which occurred in the same month as the prayer meetings, was seven dollars to seven dollars and fifty cents a day plus board. That means that the laborer gets about 240 dollars plus food a month during the "busy period" on farms while the priest gets about twenty times that sum or more plus ten days of food a month. Food for a month per person, according to the best standards in West Town, was not more than three or four hundred national dollars during the corresponding period. The distance between the income of the priest and

(8) This figure may not be exact. It was obtained from the estimates of a few informants. The author's attempts at studying the census records of the sub-district government (which are not exact by any means) met with some unsurmounted obstacles at the time.

(9) For ordinary prayers of blessing and in funerals the wage may be less than that in these cholera prayer meetings.

that of the laborers and those sample families studied is large. His monthly income is even more than double the comparatively high income of the butchers. Probably this fact is responsible for making a larger percentage of them opium addicts than they would have been had their economic position been less favorable. The priests of West Town are undoubtedly a privileged class of people. 796 793 465

3. The Meaning of the Prayer Meetings

(a) The Priest's Explanations. - The author has spoken to three officiating priests of these prayer meetings, one of them the most famous priest in the locality, about the meaning of these prayers. Their explanation is the following: The epidemic[1] is caused by evil Wen spirits, spread forth by the Wen God to punish the people for their sinful deeds. The Wen God acts by order of the superior deities. In order to avert the disaster it is necessary to invoke the mercy of superior deities who will require the Wen God to retract the Wen spirits which he let loose earlier on. It is necessary to invoke as many superior deities as possible. The chief deities, worshipped in the center of the main altars, are the San Ch'ing, who are three deities in one, or Lao Tzo, the founder of Taoist religion.(10) More deities are invoked each day of the prayer meeting, so that a one-day prayer meeting can invoke only a much smaller number of deities than a two-day prayer meeting. The latter again is less effective than a three-day prayer meeting. Usually three days and four nights are an adequate duration, but for real perfection seven or eight more days will be desirable. 796 753

In order to move the deities it is necessary to show first of all that the people of the locality are moral and then that their hearts are absolutely earnest and that their request is extremely pressing. For this reason posters exhorting the people to take care of their moral qualities rather than anything else are essential. For the same reason in each prayer meeting one or more representatives must be chosen to perform a continuous worshipping duty (namely to kneel on the altar with an incense burner in hand during the entire length of the prayer meeting). For the same reason, too, it is necessary for each street as well as each village to have a separate prayer meeting. The petition papers burnt during the prayers are like petitions to our worldly officials. The various amulets and incantations used and performed respectively are special keys which the mortal does not comprehend but to which the deities will readily respond. The loud music by bugles, drum, cymbals, flute, bells, etc., as well as the singing and reading by the priests, are for the deities to hear. The louder the music and voice, the higher will they reach and consequently the easier and more quickly will the deities notice the distress of the area and the more swifty take actions for its relief.

Only a properly "qualified" priest can perform the duty of the prayer, and certain special inborn priests enjoy more such power than others who are less fortunate.

It is not necessary for every prayer meeting to include the "Wen-God-retracting-evil-Wen-spirits" ritual; one or two will be enough to fulfil the purpose. But more ritual actions are always a safer course to take than less ritual actions. The ritual of spreading rice porridge along the streets

(10) It will be interesting to note that this "three deities in one" tale is entirely based upon a traditional novel on deities called Feng Shen Pang (literally, List of Ordained Gods).

[1] [of cholera, in "West Town" -- Analyst]

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dress and customs, and even to the Chinese language. It is quite probable that in another generation or two they will all call themselves Chinamen, and the place will afford another instance of the absorption of the Shan by the Chinaman in places which are over 4000 feet high, and are therefore healthy enough for the Chinese of Yün-nan to live in.

We halted a day at Mien-ning to rest our pack mules. There is no trade in the place to speak of. There are a few small merchants who occasionally go with small mule caravans to Mêng-sa and the other Shan States in the neighbourhood. In the morning I went up to the Shan monastery and saw the priest, a native of Mien-ning, who had ten years before been on a visit to Rangoon to worship at the pagoda. He was dressed in the usual unorthodox fashion of the Chinese Shan priests, with a yellow robe covering both shoulders, a red cap on his head, and Chinese socks and shoes on his feet, a contravention in three respects of the rules of Burmese Buddhism, which ordain that one shoulder must be bare, that no head-covering may be worn, and that no shoe must be used which covers the top of the toes.

Like many Chinese Shan priests he was an opium smoker and did not seem the least ashamed of it, as he got through three pipes while I was there. He told me that formerly the whole of this country was inhabited by Shans, but that now the Chinese were gradually ousting them. I noticed that even the priest himself, though he spoke Shan to me, would address his pupils in Chinese.

On the 24th February, 15 miles of somewhat up and down road took us to Ping-yüan-hsün. At the little village of Pang-mai which we passed on this march, in a pleasant valley covered with fir trees, is an isolated colony of Mêng-hua Lo-los, who emigrated from their own district a few generations ago. Their language I found to be nearly the same as that spoken at Wu-li-hei, but they are giving it up and are beginning to talk Chinese even among themselves. The women already tie up their feet in the Chinese fashion, and they will no doubt soon cease to call themselves Lo-los.

The next day, after three or four miles of level going,

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000 they were able to stand without difficulty and to tie the rope to the body, but as we were pulling it across the rope broke and the body was again carried away.

We tied a stone to the rope and threw it across again to Ryder and Manifold, who got back to the shore in safety. We looked down stream some way but saw no more of the unfortunate Gurkha, and next morning Manifold with two men searched the river for several miles but was equally unsuccessful.

It was a sad business so near the end of our journey and we felt much depressed over it. It is, I am glad to say, the only time in my travels that any of my followers have met with any serious accident.

233 Li-t'ang stands in a plain 15 miles long and five miles
[361] across at the widest part, but not an inch of it is cultivated. The whole is covered with grass, on which are many encampments of nomads with large herds of yaks and sheep. All grain and rice has to be brought from a distance. The height at the town we made 13,800 feet, a higher estimate than that given by other travellers[1].

361 The town contains some 300 houses, of which, at least, half are inhabited by Chinese or half-Chinese who have most of them been born here and have become very much Tibetanised, though they can all speak Chinese as well as Tibetan.

•793 At one end of the town is a very large monastery, which is said to contain 3,700 lamas. As elsewhere in Tibet, the lamas are all-powerful, and the small Chinese official dare do nothing without their approval.

In Li-t'ang they are a particularly anti-foreign lot, and on the following day the head lama sent a message to us to say that he was not at all pleased at our coming, and that we must leave Li-t'ang that day. This we refused to do, and he then sent orders that no one was to sell us anything. However, the trading instincts of the Chinese were too strong to make this order effective. They dared not bring us anything openly, but at night after dark we got everything we wanted.

000 On our arrival at Li-t'ang we found three French

[1] Rockhill gives 12,914 feet: Hosie, 13,234 feet: Gill, 13,280 feet: Potosi, 13,330 feet: A. K. 13,400 feet.

779 The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart
563 from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizaing caravans, butchering leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

779 The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem
●794 village community centers on its mosque presided
563 over by its Iman, usually elected from among senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes,

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43. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

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779 interprets Islamic law, and presides at
563 ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in
794 Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

779 In the Southwest China, Mohammedan
563 communities are found in all provinces, but by far the highest concentration is in the province of Yunnan where tension and conflict between Han-Chinese and the Moslems has been endemic in modern times. The following table indicates the provincial distribution of believers and religious establishments (probably places of worship rather than Islamic schools or any such institutions) throughout the region as of 1938.[45] Population estimates for the same period are added to suggest the proportion of Moslems in the total population. The source of the Moslem figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars regard as far too high.[46]

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44. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems.

45. Chung-kuo Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

46. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammaden scholar Pai-Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Language Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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779 795 As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874) of Yunnan Province, and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

779 563 873 Chinese Mohammedans, in their moves towards modernism, came to accept the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic. They had, by 1936, opened eleven high schools for Moslem children, and they began to send students abroad to foreign centers of Islamic learning. Yunnan

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48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.

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798 espionage.[66]
797
779 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried" and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

798 The next step in the campaign against
795 Catholicism resembled the policy followed
797 in Russia and in the East European satellites.
779 This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments; and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communist teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge.

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65. (continued) p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

67. Ibid., p. 28.

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798 Apparently this organization has had only limited
795 success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2
797 per cent went over to the "reform church";
779 many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

798 From October 1952 on there was less
797 persecution of Catholics, although between
779 January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

797 Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy
797 than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another
204 index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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CHAPTER III

LAMASERIES AND BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF LI-CHIANG

1. THE KARMA-PA SECT AND ITS HIERARCHS

The Karma-pa, a sub-sect of the Kargyu-pa, founded about the middle of the twelfth century, look upon rDo-rje hChhang as their supreme deity. He is regarded as a reflex of Buddha himself. He is the metamorphosis of Indra and is called Vajradhara in Sanskrit. Directly inspired by rDo-rje hChhang was Ti-lo-pa (Tai-lo-pa), who had Nā-ro-pa as disciple. Thence followed Mar-pa, who was the teacher of the famous Mi-la (Mi-la-ras-pa, pronounced Mi-la-re-pa), the Cotton-clad. Mar-pa was born in 1010 (Bacot in *La Vie de Marpa*, p. 2, n. 1, gives 993 as the year of his birth and 1081 as that of his death); Mi-la-re-pa was born in 1038 and died in 1122.

His disciple was Dwags-po. This latter's disciple was Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa who became the actual founder of the Karma-pa sect. He was born in 1109 and died in 1192.

There have been 15 incarnations, including the present one, of Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (pronounced Dü-sum khyen-pa).

Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's disciple was hGro-mgon Ras-chhen; the latter's disciple was sPun-brag-pa.

The first incarnation but second head of the Karma-pa sect was Karma-pa-zhi (1203–1282); he was invited by Kublai Khan to China. His disciple was mKhas-grub U-rgyan-pa (the abbot writes A-rgyan-pa.)

The second incarnation was Rang-byung rDo-rje (1283–1338); he was the third head of the Karma-pa Church. He was invited to Peking by the Emperor Tohan Timur, Shun Ti 順帝, or Hui Tsung 惠宗 (1333–1367). The third incarnation was Rol-pai rDo-rje (1339–1382); he was the fourth head; the fifth head (fourth incarnation) was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1383–1415); in the abbot's list he is called De-bzhin-shes-pa; he was invited to China by the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu 成祖 (Yung-lo 1403–1424); the sixth head was mTshong-wa Don-ldan; the seventh head Chhos-grags-rGya-mtsho; the eighth Rang-byung mTsho-skyes; the ninth Mi-bskyod rDo-rje; the tenth Chhos dbyings rDo-rje; the eleventh Ye-shes rDo-rje; the twelfth Byang-chhub rDo-rje; the thirteenth bDun-hdul rDo-rje; the fourteenth Theg-mchhog rDo-rje and the fifteenth mKhah-khyab rDo-rje.

The sixteenth head but fifteenth incarnation of Dü-sum Khyen-pa was found nearly a decade ago. His name is Rod-pas rDo-rje[1] pronounced Rö-pe-dor-je.

1 ཤ་ཀ་ཡ་ཤ་ཏ

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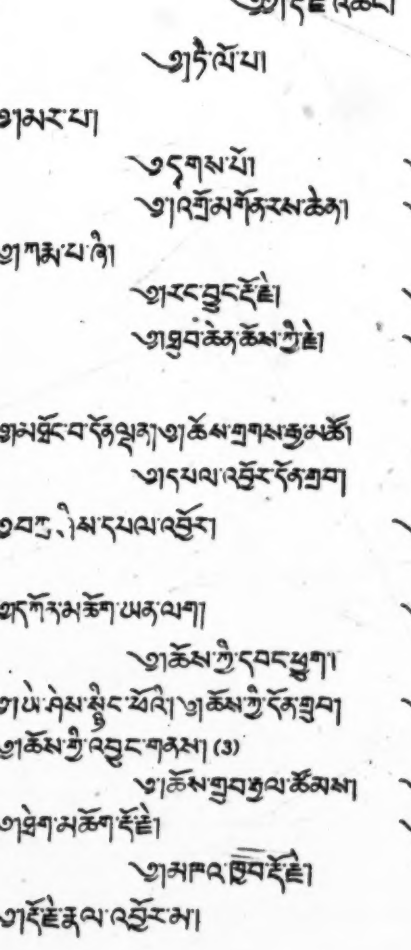
795 Herewith is the succession tree of the Karma-pa hierarchs, including 14 incarnations as given to me by the abbot of the Yü-feng Ssu 玉峯寺 Karma-pa Lamasery of Li-chiang.[2]



[1] The list must be read from left to right; all names not occurring among those of the sixteen hierarchs are those of their disciples. The final syllable *hi* is not part of the name, but represents the genitive.

[2] Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas, he was the Guru Karma-pa who came to Li-chiang; *see* p. 204.

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2. TWO FAMOUS GURU

In the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* 維西聞見錄[4] we are told that, "There are 13 different sects of the Red Lama Church [Hung-chiao la-ma 紅教喇嘛] and that of these only one is to be found in Wei-hsi,[5] namely, the Ko-ma 格馬 (Karma-pa) sect. This latter sect has five heads, or chief lamas, who are known as the Wu-pao 五寶 (Five treasures). They are reborn in Tibetan territory through successive transmigrations; in all more than ten generations now have appeared without danger of extinction.[6] They are thus called Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddhas)." There are in Wei-hsi five monasteries composed of 800 Red sect lamas, who adhere to the rules of the Ko-ma Ssu-pao la-ma 格馬四寶喇嘛 (Lama of the four treasures of the Karma-pa sect). We read further that "the adherents of the Karma-pa sect are mainly Mo-so. Among them strife becomes daily more common, as the Yellow lamas oppress them considerably. . . ." During the Ming dynasty it was the Red lamas who oppressed the Yellow.[7]

La-ma Shan-chih-shih. — In the same work we read (fol. 14b) about Shan-chih-shih 善知識 lama, who was a *Kao ti-tzu* 高弟子 (Exalted disciple or Sthavira) of the Karma-pa Ssu-pao lama. His previous births and incarnations, however, are not known. He was born in the year *chi mao* 己卯 of the Ch'ien-lung period (1759) in the village of Liu-ts'un 六村 in the family of the Mo-so interpreter, Wang Yung-shan 王永善. Before his birth the wife of Wang Yung-shan dreamed that the brightness of the sun illuminated her chest, the warmth so penetrating that she could not be awakened. Afterwards Shan-chih-shih was born. His appearance was remarkably beautiful and had no resemblance to a Mo-so. When he sat down on the ground he crossed his legs Buddha-fashion; he could also speak, and he said to his mother, "The ancient homeland of your son is cold, but it produces apricots, raisins and *p'u-lu* [the red woolen cloth woven by the Tibetans]. I cannot offer you anything now to mark this rebirth which I owe to you, my mother, but after a few years I shall be able to make you rich." His mother understood nothing of this discourse. In the year *ting hai* 丁亥 of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1767), the Ssu-pao lama ordered a number of lamas to take with them gold, silver, horses and mules to the value of 700 (oz.) of gold, and travel to the home of Wang Yung-shan.

[4] The *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* is to be found in the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih* 雲南備徵志 of which it forms the 18th chapter. The part concerning the lama sects occurring in Yün-nan is to be found also in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 204, *Nan-man chih* 南蠻志 and *Chung-jen* 種人, 6, fols. 13a–19a.

[5] This lama sect has also settled in Li-chiang and other parts of western Yün-nan.

[6] This was written about 1769, as the author, Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, resided at that time in the yamen of Wei-hsi during his elder brother's incumbency as ruler of that district.

[7] In one of a set of six Chinese illustrated tribal albums in my library there is one plate representing the Hsi-tsang Ta-pao with the following statement: "In Tibet there are the Ta-pao, Erh-pao and San-pao who are Huo-fu (Living Buddhas). Out-side Tibet are the Ssu- and Wu-pao lamas."

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1795 When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (*see* p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.[8] There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,[9] Pad-ma Kun-bzang[10] and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.[11] The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling[12] in Dege sDe-dge),[13] the Chinese Te-ko 德格.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

1971 It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist cere-
[1764] monies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 剌寶, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled.
1995 Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

8 ཆོས་ཀྱི་hbyung-gnas 9 པད་མ་ཉིན་བྱེད 10 པད་ཀུན་བཟང 11 པད་མ་དབང་ཆེན 12 དཔལ་པོ་གླིང 13 སྡེ་དགེ

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Among the Yung-ning Lü-khi, a very ancient form of Bön Shamanism, called by them *Nda-pa*, is still practiced. The priests wear similar head-dresses to those worn by the Dto-mba of Li-chiang, but, unlike the latter, they have no literature and all their prayers, etc., are chanted from memory. (PLATE 222). 795

The ancient religion of the Li-chiang Na-khi, and that of the Lü-khi or Hli-khin Nda pa of Yung-ning, will be treated in separate publications. We are here only concerned with Karma-pa lamaism, a late introduction into Li-chiang. Excepting the Na-khi who have become lamas, and live in the few lamaseries in the district, there are few if any followers among the lay population. It may be said that in Li-chiang they are in a decadent state and the number of lamas is constantly decreasing. In the Wei-hsi district are both sects, the Red Karma-pa, and the Yellow Gelug-pa (dge-lugs-pa); the former preponderates. In the Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) and Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌 lamaseries, the lamas who are adherents of the Yellow sect are nearly all Tibetans. It is in the Red or Karma-pa lamaseries of the Wei-hsi and Li-chiang districts that Na-khi lamas predominate.

In the Li-chiang district proper there are five Karma-pa lamaseries. In order of importance they are: 795 718

1. *Chieh-t'o-lin* 解脫林 (Monastery of Emancipation). — This lamasery is called in Tibetan, 'Og-min-rnam gling[14] (pronounced O-min-nam-ling). During the reign of the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung 熹宗 (1621–1627) the name of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 was bestowed on it by Emperor Hsi Tsung himself. The actual date of its founding is not known as it was once destroyed by fire and all records were burnt with it. It was said to have been rebuilt in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) and that 53 years had elapsed between the fire and the rebuilding of the monastery.

Chieh-t'o-lin was originally founded by the 9th incarnation of Dü-sum-khyen-pa (Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa) whose name was Chhos-dbyings rDo-rje.[15] Dü-sum-khyen-pa himself, the founder of the Karma-pa sect, was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192.

Before the founding of the lamasery, the land on which it was built was the execution ground during the rule of the Mu chiefs; later a small Chinese Buddhist temple was built on the former execution ground. The Na-khi name of the place was Bbue-na-k'o, written in Chinese Pei-na-k'o 背拿課. Other names are Nao-tu-lin 腦獨林 and Wu-mei-nao-tu-lin 吾妹腦獨林 — the latter is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name. The monastery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan 芝山, called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu (PLATE 64).

In the Ming dynasty the Ssu-pao 四寶 lama came from the Ta-pao 大寶[16]

[14] འགོ་ཁོག་ནམ་ལིང་ [15] ཆོས་དབྱིངས་རྡོ་རྗེ

[16] Shortly after Kublai Khan ascended the throne, he invited the very scholarly and wise nephew and successor of Saskya Paṇḍita the famous hPags-pa-bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (born in 1234) to China. He wished to discuss with him the form of government of Tibet and also the conversion of the Mongols to the Lama Buddhist church. He thereupon appointed him as head of the entire clergy and bestowed on him the titles of King of the Law in the three realms, venerable Lama and Ta-pao fa-wang 大寶法王 = King of the great and precious law (Mahāratna-dharma-rāja). He is usually known in Chinese literature as

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of Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏 (the name of Tibet during the Ming dynasty) to Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 to worship. *En route* they passed through Li-chiang when the reigning Na-khi King extended a warm welcome to the Erh-pao 二寶 (Second precious one), who pointed out that Chih Shan was an excellent place on which to build a lamasery. Thereupon the Na-khi King presented the land to him. On his return journey he took with him six disciples to enter a school in Tibet. After their studies had been completed they returned to Li-chiang and established the Lama religion and built the lamasery. On a stone, set into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the principal temple, is engraved a detailed description of the mountain; every ridge, ravine and prominent rock is mentioned by name, but no definite date when the lamasery was built. The rock is dated T'ien-ch'i 天啓 *ting-mao* 丁卯 of the Ming dynasty, which corresponds to 1627. The temple was built by Mu Sheng-pai, whose official name was Mu Tseng. As he was born in 1587, took office in 1598 and died in 1646, the building of the temple must fall within the period 1598–1646 — in all probability in the early part of the seventeenth century. The *Yün-nan Hsü-t'ung-chih-kao* (Supplementary Topography of Yün-nan) does not give the date of its erection, but states that it was repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by the lamas. (*See Chih Shan*, page 184).

2. *Chih-yün Ssu* 增雲寺. — Called in Tibetan, Nges-don-phun-tshogs gling, pronounced Nge-dón-phün-tsho-ling,[17] (Lamasery of perfection and absolute knowledge of the truth). It must not be confused with the big lamasery called Phun-tshogs gling in Tsang Tibet, belonging to the Jonang-pa sect. It is situated on a mountain called Mo-tu Shan 抹度山, 20 li west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih 剌是, and was built in the fifth year of

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Pa-ssu-pa 八思巴. In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) ch. 202, fol. 1b, he is called Ti-shih P'a-k'o-ssu-pa 帝師帕克斯巴 or Imperial Tutor P'a-k'o-ssu-pa. His biography is contained in the above-mentioned chapter. He received a jade seal from Kublai Khan who also appointed him Kuo-shih 國師 (Preceptor of the realm). He invented a new Mongol script of about 1,000 signs with 41 radicles. He died in the sixteenth year of the period Chi-yüan 至元 (1279).

While the first Ta-pao fa-wang was a Saskya Lama, the Ta-pao here in question was a Karma-pa Lama. It was in the year 1405 that the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu (period Yung-lo) at a time when the reformer Tsong-kha-pa had already appeared, bestowed on a Karma-pa ecclesiastic the title of Ta-pao fa-wang and not on a Saskya Lama. The lama so honored on account of his sanctity was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa, the fifth head of the Karma-pa sect. He had been ordained in 1403 when in his twentieth year. The title was apparently inherited by the successive incarnations.

From the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* we learn that there are five heads of the Karma-pa sect known as the Wu-pao or the Five Treasures. They are reborn in Tibetan territory. All the lamaseries of Wei-hsi (*q.v.*) comprising about 800 lamas belong to the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect, *i.e.* are subject to the fourth of the Five Treasures.

The Ta-pao fa-wang hPhags-pa of the Saskya sect was a contemporary of the second head of the Karmapa sect namely Karma-pa-zhi whom historians commonly call Bakshi or Karma Bakshi. Both resided at Kublai Khan's court for a time. Thus hPhags-pa and Bakshi are two different persons. Karma-pa-zhi was the first incarnation of the founder of the Karma-pa sect Dü-sum Khyen-pa who built the first Karma-pa lamasery in 1154 north of Lhasa which is still the most powerful of that sect. Karma-pa-zhi established in the hills west of Lhasa a monastery called Tsor-pu-ling.

[17] ངེས་དོན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གླིང།

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Yung-cheng (1727) under Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成.[18] He personally contributed money and became the patron for the collection of funds for the building by the lama Li Hsiang 立相 and others.

Teacher Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕[19] states that at the foot of a mountain south-west of La-shih li there was in ancient days a water spring which later became obstructed. A western lama from Mo-ka-t'o 摩迦陀 (Magadha, in southern Behär, the cradle of Buddhism down to 400 A.D.) sat down cross-legged by the spring, on a pile of sharp, conical rocks. He took a stick and poked into the empty well, and the water gushed forth. His footprints are said to be still there. The lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu was then built at that spot. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it was rebuilt by the lamas in the sixth year of Kuang-hsü (1880).

In the lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu there are two memorial stones, one dealing with the monastic rules of the lamasery, admonishing the lamas "to respect the old monks and to take care of them, not to drink liquor, to chant the classics morning and evening in the great chanting hall, and to behave well during the ceremonies. The crops of the fields belonging to the lamasery must not be given away to relatives of the lamas. The head of the lamasery must be obeyed and treated reverently. The aged and ill, the naked and hungry, must be cared for, healed, clothed and fed, while living; and when dead, they must be properly buried. The buildings of the lamasery must be well taken care of and repaired. The incense fires must be kept going, and the memory of the founder should be kept alive for ever."

This memorial stone is dated the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756). It also relates that the first lamasery built was Chieh-t'o-lin, and that during the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730),[20] the teacher of the law of the Four Treasures of the western land (Tibet) went to worship at Chi-tsu Shan, and passed *en route* through Li-chiang. He pointed out that in La-shih li 剌是里 in the grotto of Lo-shui-tung 落水硐 where the footprints of the patron saint of Magadha (Mo-ka-t'o) are preserved, there should be built a Buddhist temple

[18] He was a native of Chih-li 直隸, of the city of Ching-hai 靜海 in T'ien-ching 天津. He was a *lin-sheng* 廩生, or former salaried graduate of the first degree or *hsiu-ts'ai* 秀才. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) he became Commissioner of revenue of Yün-nan province.

[19] He was a native of Shih-p'ing 石屏 and held the degree of *chin-ssu* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate). He was the fourth school teacher in Li-chiang, and assumed his post in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724). In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), as he was deserving of special merit, he was promoted to become magistrate of Ching-yen 井研, Ssu-ch'uan.

[20] This date does not correspond with the one given both in the Li-chiang Records and in the Yün-nan Topography, where the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) is given as the date of the building of this lamasery. According to the memorial stones in Chih-yün Ssu, the Karma-pa lamas who passed through La-shih li on their way to Chi-tsu Shan in 1730 pointed out where the lamasery should be built; according to these latter records the lamasery was not built until several years afterwards by Li Hsiang. Which is the correct version is difficult to say, but I should trust the prefectural records rather than those of the monastery itself. As it is stated that the name Chih-yün Ssu was given by magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng, it must have been in the fifth year of Yung-cheng, as in the sixth year, that is, 1728, he was succeeded as magistrate by Feng Kuang-yü 馮光裕, according to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 5, fol. 58a.

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795 778 for the protection of the country and the people. They recommended that silver to the value of over 700 ounces of gold should be collected for the purpose. The Buddhist priest Li Hsiang listened and obeyed and went to all parts of the country collecting funds. Several years afterwards the foundations were laid. Magistrate Yuan Chan-ch'eng then gave the temple the name of Chih-yün Ssu.

Another memorial stone in the lamasery refers to the fields belonging to the said temple. It also states that the King of the Law of the Four Treasures 四寶法王 gave 200 taels of silver to buy these fields. (They are mainly situated in the Yangtze valley between Shih-ku and Chü-tien.)

3. *Wen-feng Ssu* 文峯寺. — Also called Wen-feng yüan 院. Its Tibetan name is gSang-sngags-dgah-tshal gling [21] (Lamasery of Secret religious instruction and garden of happiness), pronounced Sang-nga-ga-tshe-ling. This lamasery is situated ten li south-west of Li-chiang at the foot of Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, called in Na-khi, Sä-bpi zhěr nv-lv. In ancient days a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺 stood on the site, but later fell into ruins. In the eleventh year of Yung-cheng (1733), the Tibetan lama Ka-li-pu 喝立布 built a hut in that place. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739) the Ssu-pno la-ma 四諾喇嘛 of the Karma-pa sect came to Li-chiang to prostrate himself before magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣,[22] and to ask him for funds and to allow the priest Ming Chü 明儒 to solicit contributions from all over the country for the building of the lamasery.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the lamasery was rebuilt in the seventh year of Kuang-hsü (1881).

There is a cave on Wen-pi Shan called Ling tung 靈洞 (Spiritual cave). It is related that the Karma-pa lamas crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) three times in search of a beautiful place before they found the Ling tung, which they pronounced to be one of the 24 Ling tung of the Nan Chan-pu chou 南贍部洲 (Southern Jambudvīpa) or Southern Continent of the Universe situated south of Mount Meru — as the inhabited world is referred to by Buddhists.

4. *P'u-chi Ssu* 普濟寺 (Lamasery of Universal aid). — Its Tibetan name is Thär-pai-lam-hdzin gling [23] (Lamasery of the Keeper of the road to salvation), pronounced Thär-pai-lam-dzin ling.

Needless to say it also belongs to the Karma-pa sect and is located 13 li west of Li-chiang near the village of P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦, called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wûa, and a short distance south-west of the larger village of Shu-ho, in Na-khi Shwua-wûa.

This, and the monastery of Chieh-t'o-lin, were destroyed by soldiers during the Mohammedan rebellion, with the exception of the large gate to the latter monastery.

[21] གསང་སྔགས་དགའ་ཚལ་གླིང

[22] He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi. He became *chin-shih* (Metropolitan graduate) in the year 1718, and in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736) was appointed magistrate of Li-chiang.

[23] ཐར་པ་ལམ་འཛིན་གླིང

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The head lama of P'u-chi Ssu belonged to the Ho family 和氏 of P'u-chi village 普濟村. His name was Lo 羅. He was middle-aged when he became a lama. His nephew, also a lama, by name Tien 典, was greatly reverenced by the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect. He was told that in his previous existence he was a Lo-han 羅漢 (Arhat), and that if it pleased him he should build the lamasery on the mountain, behind the village of P'u-chi. Many mendicant priests became his disciples. He died at the age of 80. After three years, the Ssu-pao lama said he would be reborn in the same family. Later lamas enquired and found the child. When he was six years old they brought him to P'u-chi Ssu. At the age of ten he was taken to Tibet to study the Tibetan classics while the priests looked carefully after him. When he had finished his studies he returned to P'u-chi Ssu and became its abbot.

Although no exact date of the building of P'u-chi Lamasery is recorded it must have been during the reign of Ch'ien-lung. Both the priest Lo and his nephew Tien studied at Fu-kuo Ssu in the beginning of Ch'ien-lung. Lo was asked by mendicant priests of the Ssu-pao lama to become head of the Fu-kuo Ssu, but this he refused and said he would build his own lamasery. This he built on the mountains of La-shi. This seems to contradict the records of Chih-yün Ssu, where it states that it was built by the priest Li Hsiang and others, unless he is included under "and others." In the P'u-chi Ssu records it states definitely that Lo 羅是山成大道林即今指雲寺 "completed on La-shih mountain the large Buddhist monastery which is now Chih-yün Ssu." It is possible that Li Hsiang was the first to collect funds, but that he was only enabled to lay the foundations, and that later in the Ch'ien-lung period it was completed by Lo.

P'u chi Ssu, as stated, must have been built after the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung, as it is the only lamasery not mentioned in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, which was published in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743).

5. *Yü-feng Ssu* 玉峯寺 (Jade peak Lamasery).—Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling,[34] pronounced Tra-shi-chhö-phe ling.

It is situated on the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range to the west of the village of Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村 (Dü-gkv) and the temple of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham). It was built during the Ming dynasty, probably during the Wan-li period (1573-1619). No memorial stones are extant in the temple grounds and the lamasery shelters now only seven or eight priests. It has an incarnation, or Huo-fu, who is now in Tibet, but they have no money to bring him back. Most of the lamas were addicted to opium and they are nearly all on the last rung of the ladder.

Yü-feng Ssu is really beautifully situated on the slopes of the snow range, embedded in a forest of old *Pinus Armandi* trees (Yün-nan white pines). A lovely little pond, encircled by huge trees, is in front of the main entrance to the temple. The latter itself is in a most dilapidated condition. It is the home of rats, whose excrements lie inches deep in the building and on the seats, testifying that the lamas very rarely occupy them in praying as the rules require. In the upper story of the main temple, dangerous to visit on account of the decayed condition of the floor and ceiling, is a small library, the books

[34] ཁྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གླིང

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wrapped in dusty silks, a picture of neglect. It is, in fact, the most forlorn and forsaken lamasery I know of.

An-lo Chi-hsiang lin 安樂吉祥林. — This lamasery, which is unknown to me, is called in Tibetan bKra-shis-spro-bde gling[26] pronounced Tra-shi-tro-de ling (Monastery spreading happiness and bliss). As the Chinese name indicates, it is supposedly located near the villages of An-lo and Chi-hsiang in the li of La-shih 拉世.

The smaller temples. — In addition to these five larger lamaseries, there are several smaller temples under the Karma-pa sect which are of interest. The most important ones are here briefly discussed. The various Chinese temples found in the Li-chiang district are omitted.

To the east of the market town of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai), there are two Lama temples, one on the eastern outskirts of Pai-sha-kai proper, and one some distance north-east of it. The nearer one is called Pai-sha Ta-pao-chi Kung 白沙大寶積宮 (Temple of the collection of the great treasure of Pai-sha). The Ta-pao-chi has undoubtedly reference to the collection of the 49 sutras known as Mahāratnakūṭa, arranged by Bodhiruci, a Śramaṇa (ascetic) who came to China and Lo-yang in particular in A.D. 508. It is known to the Na-khi as Boa-shi Dta mä-io, and is also called Hu-fa T'ang 護法堂 (Hall of Dharmapāla) and Hu-fa ch'ieh-lan 護伽藍 (Hu-fa monastery), the monastery or temple of the Defender of the faith.[27] Beautiful murals decorate the walls of the temple, they were executed during the Ming dynasty by the same artist who painted the murals of Hsüeh-sung An now destroyed, *see* pp. 136, n. 8; 219.

According to the *Yün-nan T'ung chih*, the temple was built during the Ming dynasty. A tablet states that the Na-khi chief Mu Wang 木旺 built it. Mu Wang was born in 1551, became hereditary ruler of Li-chiang in 1580 and died in 1596. It must have been built between 1580 and 1596, as the tablet bears his title as magistrate 知府.

In the temple, now decayed and dilapidated, but still inhabited by two Karma-pa lamas who hail from the lamasery of Chieh-t'o-lin, is a shrine containing a figure of Mahākāla (mGon-po nag-po ཞི་བ་ནག་པོ, or the Black Lord), one of the defenders of the faith. His sanctuary is closed the entire year, except on the 20th day of the first moon when the box-like shrine is opened, and a live chicken is thrown in, which is said to die instantly. All the peasants from the Li-chiang plain as well as some from the Yangtze valley at A-hsi 阿喜 come to worship on that day.

Further to the north-east of Pai-sha are two temples close together, one called the Chin-kang Tien 金剛殿 (Hall of the Diamond sutra) and the other the Ta-ting Ko 大定閣 (Hall of Great abstract meditation). Both were rebuilt by the famous Na-khi chief Mu Tseng during the Ming dynasty. Mu Tseng ruled between 1598 and 1646, and the rebuilding of these two temples

[26] ཀྲ་ཤིས་ཏྲོ་ལེ་ཅན།

[27] The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons. In this case the Lord-demon Mahākāla is meant.

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falls within that period. The temples, according to memorial stones found in them, existed in ancient times, that is, before 1587, which is the year of Mu Tseng's birth. The record states that they were rebuilt by Mu Tseng but not finished at that time. They were later finished by Mu Pen-li 木本立 and 32 others.

4. ANCIENT NA-KHI ALTARS

At Pai-sha-kai there is said to be an altar or 坛 [*muan̲-bpö d'a*[27] in Na-khi], called Hsien-t'ao t'an 蒙陶坛, built during the T'ang dynasty. The name of the altar is derived from a Na-khi chief called Hsien-t'ao A-ku 蒙陶阿古; he lived during the time of Yeh-yeh, who is considered the first ancestor of the Mu chiefs. It was Hsien-t'ao A-ku, chief of the natives of the village of Boa-shi (Pai-sha), who recognized in Yeh-yeh signs of nobility. This happened during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). Although the *t'an* (altar) bears the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku it could hardly have been built by him, for the records state that it was built in the T'ang dynasty and Hsien-t'ao A-ku lived in the Sung dynasty.[28]

Another altar at Pai-sha-kai is the Yüeh-chün t'an 月均坛, which was built during the reign of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (901–904). The name of the altar most likely refers to one of five village chiefs whose name was Wa-chün 瓦均, and *Yüeh* 月 is perhaps a misprint for *wa* 瓦. He lived during the Sung dynasty, at the same time as Hsien-t'ao A-ku. In the first moon the native officials used to lead their clansmen to this altar (in all probability also a *muan̲-bpö d'a*) to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain (PLATE 65).

Behind the village of Shu-ho 東河, at the foot of the cliff, and overlooking a pond is the small altar called Tzu-che t'an 子宅坛 15 li west of Li-chiang, built in the 46th year of Ming Wan-li (1618). In the third and seventh moon of each year the peasants of Shu-ho li 東河里 repair to that temple to worship the spirits of the Shih Pao 十保神 (Ten Protectors).

Outside of the former east gate of Li-chiang there is an altar called Hsien-nung t'an 先農坛. It was built in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) by the Chinese magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成. Another is called She-chi t'an 社稷坛 (Altar of the spirits of the land and grain) and was built in the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1740). These are Chinese altars and not Na-khi *muan̲-bpö d'a*.

[27] A *muan̲-bpö d'a* is a place where the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon of every year.

[28] It is, of course, possible that Hsien-t'ao was the clan name. Every Na-khi clan has its own *muan̲-bpö d'a* wherein they propitiate Heaven in the first moon, and so it is very likely that it was built by the ancestors of Hsien-t'ao A-ku during the T'ang dynasty.

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. ROCK, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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The farm year, toilsome everywhere in China, is punctuated by other activities and festivals which relieve some of the monotony of the long seasons of work. The first of the annual festivals after the New Year is that of Ch'ing-ming, which corresponds in time to the Western Easter. Like Easter, the Ch'ing-ming observance was once a spring fertility festival. At this time, the ties of the living and dead members of the family and clan are celebrated; the family or clan graveyard is swept and food offerings are made to the dead. The performance of these duties is often the occasion for a family picnic at the graveyard. All relatives make special efforts to join in this annual celebration of family solidarity, and the outing is a pleasant relief from winter and indoor work.[6]

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4. (continued) landlord-tenant relations in the Southwest which involve the ethnic minorities, see chapter on Ethnic Minorities.

5. J.L. Buck's study of 16,786 farms showed that 39 per cent of these were in debt in the period 1929-32. Cited in Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, 1946, p. 69.

6. Wolfram Eberhard, Chinese Festivals, New York, 1942, pp. 113-127. Cf. the full description of this festival observance in Yunnan in 1942 by Francis Hsü in Under the Ancestors' Shadow, New York, 1948, pp. 178-82.

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On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month is the Dragon Boat Festival. This is of southern origin and is traced by Eberhard to the human sacrificial rites of the Tai aborigines of south China.[7] In modern times it has been somewhat less popular in the north than in the south. It is in the south that the dragon boat races were held on rivers and lakes. For most rural families the festival meant somewhat better food than usual and particularly the steamed rice dumplings known as tsung-tzu, symbolic of the rice sacrifices made on this occasion to the shade of Ch'ü Yüan -- ancient statesman and poet of the feudal state of Ch'u.

On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, usually in late August, is the feast of souls, the primitive origin of which has been transmuted by Buddhist belief and symbolism. It is at once a festival for the souls of one's ancestors and a community salute to the dead. Ancestral graves are cleared, sacrifices of food are made, and paper replicas of desirable objects are burned. As a further salute to the dead, lantern-lit boats are floated on some

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7. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 69-96.

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body of water, to symbolize the community's concern that all the dead may be guided to the "other shore" -- a Buddhist metaphor for salvation. Many persons pay visits to nearby temples and pay for masses for the souls of the dead, particularly for the souls of the people in the community who died without descendants to commemorate their passing. At this festival, too, special food is prepared for the dead and for the living, and the farmers and their families enjoy leisure and conviviality.[8]

The mid-autumn festival is primarily a moon festival, and the ceremonies in honor of the moon carried out at moon-rise on this autumn night are full of the symbols of fertility and longevity. In modern times it has been mainly a festival of women, and the Old Man in the Moon is sacrificed to as the one who arranges all marriages on earth. The moon cakes, in the shape of the full moon, are one of the special delicacies of this season. This too was perhaps originally a fertility festival, and in some areas it is a popular time to make pilgrimages to nearby mountains.[9]

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8. Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 129-33.
9. Ibid., pp. 97-112.

527 These are the festivals that have
796 retained the most significance for the Chinese farmer into modern times. Many of them have changed drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[10] The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals and other milestones of family and individual life.

527 In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for

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10. For a description of wedding celebrations in Yunnan in the 1940's cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 93-98.

536 relaxation, special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently the storyteller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin his 622 tales to an impromptu audience. The election of a village headman often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages 796 to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. 521 Perhaps the most universal reaction was, as in all illiterate communities, gossip and desultory conversation. Francis Hsü describes the recreation pattern in a small Yunnan town:

> In the evening, many shop doors may be found open to welcome neighbors and friends who care to come into the brightly lighted interior for a chat, and little clusters of men stand or squat near some street corner, often near a food stand.... The topics discussed at these gatherings range from rumors about national affairs and market prices to local rights and wrongs.[11]

11, Hsü, op. cit., p. 25.

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own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire, now brought to villages by traveling troupes. Special mobile teams trained to deliver organized "cultural lectures" or to show films dramatizing the "New Order" have been moving through the countryside. The old exchange of visits with relatives in nearby towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[25]

The seasonal pilgrimage, in company, to some famous shrine also has its Communist counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native village, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[26] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[27]

Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function

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25. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23, 1955, p. 2.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid. Also, SCMP, 972, 1954, p. 21. We have no data on this for the Southwest.

776 as a celebration of kinship ties and family
668 continuity. Although we have no data, it is safe to assume that the elaborate festival calendar of "West Town," Hunan, described by Hsü, has been severely reduced by "anti-superstition" campaigns and other work of
527 the cadres.[28] The next approved traditional
668 holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races have been revived, and the poet Ch'ü Yüan, now a "people's hero, martyred in protest against a corrupt feudal regime," is the focus of celebrations.[29] The moon festival in autumn is also celebrated with extra food allowances and "cultural" activities. The various anniversaries of the Chinese Communists and of the world Communist movement probably do not break into the agricultural working year, but may be the occasion for special propaganda arranged by the local cadre. It will be seen that the pattern of living in the villages has been drastically altered; what remains of the old pattern consists of elements too deeply ingrained to be abruptly condemned without precipitating a crisis, useful to the Communists in the interest of morale, or adaptable in the promotion of their rural program of change and indoctrinatic

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28. Cf. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 22-24.
29. SCMP, 1075, June 23, 1955, p. 25.

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In some places a meeting called *t'ung-tzŭ hui* 童子會 is held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon, when women who have obtained sons by taking away a child-idol from Kuan-Yin's shrine return the images to the goddess. When worship is finished these idols are carried off to be given to other childless families, and that night the streets are lively with processions of this kind going to their destinations.

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Another present with the same object is a turnip with the leaves on; this is put on the family altar and incense and paper offered to it.

The piece of wood used by a sorcerer to hang his chart on when exorcising a spirit is also regarded as a useful present to a childless family.

At Ch'eng-tu 成都 it used to be the custom on 5th of the 5th moon for youths to pelt with plums women of 'doubtful reputation.' These plums were then got hold of by other people and sent to friends anxious for sons. The origin of the idea is said to be in the story that the mother of Lao Tzŭ dreamed before the birth of her illustrious son that she had eaten a plum.

At the New Year lighted lamps are hung on trees or high poles; they are believed to attract homeless, wandering spirits, and they are afterwards given to childless families.

At the fast for protection against fire and epidemics small lighted lanterns soaked in oil are set adrift on the river. These are sometimes stolen and presented to some home lacking children, where they are kept on the family altar.

In some temples there is an apartment called the 玉皇樓 *Yü-huang lou*, the Gemmeous Emperor's dwelling. Before his image hangs a lantern. This is sometimes stolen and presented to a childless family. A new lantern is presented to the temple if a child is born. Such lanterns, 玉皇燈 *Yü-huang têng*, are also hung in numbers in an orchard or elsewhere with the object of securing a good crop.

During the first moon lamps are lighted before the shrines of the *t'u ti shên* 土地神 or gods of the soil. After being used they are often presented to childless people in the firm belief that children will then be born.

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Discussions are held 講評書 *chiang p'ing shu*, generally in a tea shop or open courtyard, when some ancient character's merits and demerits are discussed, with a good deal of sarcasm and dramatic contortion; the speech is often lewd and the characters of many of the speakers are of the lowest; in fact many are libertines, with some wit and humour to cloak their wickedness. 521

A news vendor who carries a stool and books round with him is called 上馬冊冊 *shang ma ts'ê ts'ê*; he stands on the stool and sells his literature, which has a bearing on current events; his sign is a pair of chopsticks. 203

A news vendor of the yellow press is called 下馬 *hsia ma ts'ê ts'ê*. He travels round and carries a flag of yellow or sometimes white paper on which are written the latest sensations. He visits the towns and markets, and to this kind of individual many false rumours are to be traced. He stands on the ground as compared with the former who stands on a stool.

On the birthday of the goddess of Mercy Kuan-yin or other festival there are often mixed gatherings in the temples to hear the Buddhist doctrines preached. The crowds are often of the lowest type. 796

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PURCHASE OF PROPERTY 田地買賣 *t'ien ti mai mai.*

THE middleman to find a purchaser first writes a *t'o yo* 託約 as an evidence of willingness to sell the property. In this deed the size of the house or the extent of the land offered for sale, and also the price wanted, must be stated. If the owner is at all an unreliable person he will probably be made to write a *yün yo* 允約 or a deed of willingness to sell, which he will have to sign in the presence of witnesses, lest he should turn round and blame the middlemen and get them into trouble. 425 432

The price should be fixed in the presence of the seller, purchaser and middlemen, 三面定價 *san mien ting chia*, but it is more commonly settled in the tea shop by the middlemen alone. After the price has been agreed upon,

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huo kou (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water and dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing. 647 693

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'êng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy. 647 796

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農) (B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned in a roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*) 647 681

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40 cash. The *tsung pao* is nominated by the people and appointed by the magistrate. The *t'uan shou* is elected by the "parish" and the *p'ai shou* by those concerned. Each reports to his superior, the *tsung pao* often having free access to the yamen. The *tsung pao* settles many local troubles and in lawsuits his word goes a long way; but bribery and injustice are very common. 647 651

The title deeds of newly purchased property have to be stamped, *yin ch'i* (印契), at the yamen; and the rate has risen to 2 per cent with 1,000 cash for the *ch'i wei* (契尾), a document sent to be kept in the provincial treasurer's yamen. Formerly an official about to leave office used to reduce the stamp fees, because all the money from this source went into his private purse; but latterly the tax-office has controlled this business.

The office of *lao tien* (老典) is sold for a term of five years. The price varies, of, course, in different places but in some places 3,000 taels are paid down with an annual payment of 1,000 taels: this belongs to the magistrate. In many places the gentry pay the incumbent 300 taels per annum, whether they have lawsuits or not, but if a guarantee against lawsuits is required much more is paid. These bureaus are where litigation is hatched and fostered, mismanaged and traded on, and the purchase money is very quickly recovered. 647

Hereditary pensions are paid to families of men who have done important service to the state, *fa yin hsi* (發蔭襲).

The hereditary barons among the tribesmen, *t'u ssü* (土司), receive taxes from their people and pay tribute to the court.

There are four spring officials, *ch'un kuan* (春官), one for each city gate, whose duties are to superintend the making of the spring ox and driver, *mang shên* (芒神). On the coming in of spring, these men don Ming dynasty clothes and a high hat called *t'ieh sha mao* (鐵紗帽). They enter the magistrate's office, give congratulations, and receive food and wine, with silver medals for the year, then they leave the city, 647 796

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647 796 the magistrate following. In a selected field an old farmer and his wife await them. The magistrate ploughs his seven furrows, the farmer sows some grain, the wife bears a basket of food for him, and the couple receive a silver medal.

The post of *ch'un kuan* is bought for a fixed sum and may be held for life. It gets an annual payment from the magistrate. (See under *Four Seasons.*)

At the end of the year the official seals are sealed up and are brought into use again at the middle of the first moon. (See under *New Year.*)

647 The literary examinations, *k'ao k'o* (考課), have been much changed lately and much chaos has resulted; hence a few notes on the old system must suffice.

Chi (季)*k'o* examinations were held in the Academy at the four seasons, the subjects being penmanship and composition.

Monthly examinations, *yüeh* (月) *k'o*, were held to select students for the Academy. The Academy head master had great power and could degrade unworthy scholars after examinations, *shih k'o.*

The local gentry also held examinations in the country *hui* (會) *k'o.* Twice in three years an examination, *k'ao shih* (考試), was held to pick out the students fit to proceed to the prefectural examinations. The magistrate had to be shut in with the students in the examination hall, control the examination of the essays and publication of lists of passes.

No public business is done on the anniversaries of the deaths of former emperors, *shou chi ai* (守忌哀).

[796] On the anniversaries of the accession of former emperors, the magistrate wore court dress, worshipped the *wan sui p'ai*, but did not stop work. The birthdays of emperor, of empress, of empress-dowager and heir-apparent were similarly observed. At an emperor's death the magistrate had to sit in straw, *tso ts'ao* (坐草), for a certain period.

At the proper time a tablet is hung in the yamen announcing "No litigation in harvest time," *nung mang t'ing*

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The festival of the city god is the greatest event of the year in most cities, and generally extends over one month, when theatricals are acted in honour of the event; and probably many hundreds of taels squandered in every city. In many of the market towns on the Ch'eng tu plain, city gods' temples are still to be found, and the explanation is that these towns were formerly district cities with resident magistrates; they still keep their festivals on the old dates, which vary in almost every place. When the date approaches the residents and shopkeepers are visited by the heads of a society, and every house is asked to contribute to the expenses of the festival. The streets are decorated with coloured and embroidered cloth called *p'êng ts'ai*. A coolie wheels a barrow through the streets with a fire tub on which are burning the branches of the cedar tree or *pai chih* (柏枝) (these branches are widely used for disinfecting houses after disease). Following the wheelbarrow come the *p'an kuan* and the *t'u ti*; these go round on a tour of inspection to see that the streets are fit for the idol procession on the following day. This is spoken of as *sao chieh*, sweeping the streets.

Cho (捉) *han lin*, to seize the wild spirits. This is done by dressing a beggar as a demon, and placing him at a fixed point in the country. Certain persons dressed as runners of the city god go out and apprehend this person, put a chain round his neck and lead him into the city in triumph. Great crowds of people stand round to see this performance. The belief is that unless this is done trouble will break out at the theatricals during the month.

Ch'êng huang ch'u chia (城隍出駕), the city god goes for a ride. In front of this procession the following may be seen:

Ta chu (燭) *hui*, the big candle society, which provides a huge candle carried in front of the idol.

Ta hsiang (香) *hui*, the big incense society, which provides a large stick of incense to be carried between two men in the procession.

Yin ch'ai (陰差) *hui*, for providing runners, or men dressed as demons, to go before the idol. Those who act

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796 these parts are often people who have made a vow at the shrine. Among them are those who wear chains, or the cangue, or hang lamps on their flesh, or carry incense; some are dressed as the celestials of the eight caves (八洞神仙); others as the deciders of fates in Hades (四值功曹) and still others who *k'o t'ou* at each step as they go.

Luan chia (鑾駕) *hui*, or imperial carriage society. This displays various pewter articles carried high on poles; such as a man's hand, a melon, official seals, hatchet, spear, etc. These are to show forth the glory of the idol.

Tuan hsiang p'an (端香盤), to carry incense urns. The gentry and merchants dressed in their best clothing, wearing their official hats and high boots, walk in front of the idol, some carrying incense urns, others gold fishes or silver and other precious metals. The proper order in the procession is as follows: incense, flowers, lanterns, water, fruits, tea-leaves, cakes, precious stones, silver and pearls. These are all brought out as the people's offering to the city god.

The Lung têng hui, a dragon lantern society; Shih têng hui, the lion lantern society; Lung hu hui, the dragon tiger society; Chin hua hui, the gold flower society; Shih kung hui, the nourishment society, and many others join in the great throng, and thousands of people with sticks of incense in their hands follow in the idol procession. The celestials, 796 personified by men, who come out with the city god, are as 776 follows:

Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓), a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. He is worshipped by the sick, and carries a sword for defence. The eight celestials are said to represent male and female, old and young, rich and honourable, poor and destitute.

Han Chung-li (漢鍾離). This celestial carries a fan with which he fans the souls of the departed in Hades and restores them to life.

Lan Ts'ai-ho (藍采和), said to be a woman, who carries a basket of flowers and assists florists.

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T'ieh Kuai-li (鐵拐李), believed to have been a beggar who died and rose again from the dead; he carries a crutch and a melon and is said to assist physicians. 796 776

Ts'ao Kuo-chu (曹國舅), said to have been a rich man; he wears official garments and hat, in his hands he carries castanets, and he is the patron of mummers and actors.

Chang Ko-lao (張果老), an old scholar who carries a bamboo pencil-case and ink pot and helps scholars to obtain a good style in writing.

Han Hsiang-tzŭ (韓相子), a youth who is said to have been the apprentice of Lü Tung-pin; he carries a flute and is the patron of musicians.

Ho Hsien-ku (何仙姑), a woman who stands on the floating petal of the lotus flower with a fly whip in her hand, and helps in house management.

Têng kan hui (燈竿會), lantern pole festival. The lanterns are of several kinds, such as *san kuan têng*, three lamps hung out at New Year time representing the Taoist trinity. 796

Wu ku têng, five lanterns lighted in a temporary building to represent the five kinds of grain and the desire for a good harvest.

Yen wo têng, wild goose lantern, a number of lanterns strung on a rope and hoisted high in the air to represent a flock of wild geese on the wing. In some places a pole is erected with cross poles every few feet on which lanterns are hung. These geese are believed to have the power of determining the seasons.

T'ien têng, a sky lantern. This is a single lantern erected in a temple and on river sides, kept lighted all the year round and called *wan nien têng*, ten-thousand-year lantern.

Han lin têng, the orphan spirits' lantern. This is a lantern lighted in a building prepared for the purpose, especially to lighten the benighted spirits.

Yü huang hui (玉皇會), the birthday of the Pearly Emperor, the 9th of the first moon; the Buddhist devotees worship him and offer gifts on the shrine.

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Wên Ch'ang hui, the festival of the god of literature, who is now one of the patron idols of the secret society, owing to the Confucius Society being gradually amalgamated with the larger Society. This is held on the 2nd of the 2nd moon.

Kuan yin hui, the birthday of the Goddess of Mercy, held on the 19th of the 2nd moon.

Hua shên hui, the birthday of the god of flowers, who is said to be Wu Tsê-t'ien (武則天) of the T'ang dynasty. The date is the 2nd of the 2nd moon.

Lao chün hui, the birthday of the founder of the Taoist sect, who is said to have been born at the Ch'ing yang kung near Ch'engtu, where a great annual fair is held in honour of his birthday on the 15th of the 2nd moon. This is perhaps the most famous fair in the province, large numbers of people go to worship at the shrine of the Sage and also at that of his mother, which is next door, and at the shrine of the celestial Chang san fêng of the Ming dynasty. Li lao chün is made more famous by being reputed to be the ancestor of Li Ping of irrigation fame.

San p'o hui (三婆會) the Goddess of Mercy festival. This is *san hsiao* (三霄) or the *Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin*; this birthday falls on the 3rd of the 3rd moon.

T'ung tzŭ hui, the baby festival. This is often held on the same day as the last-named feast; the custom of *ch'iang* (搶) *t'ung tzŭ*, scrambling for small images, is still carried out with great gusto.

Fo tsu hui (佛祖會), the birthday of Buddha, held on the 8th of the 4th moon.

Lü tsu hui, the birthday of one of the celestials, the god of the sorcerer, those who manage the magic pen.

Tung huang hui, the birthday of Yo Fei, who became the god of the eastern peak. This is a Taoist festival and is held on the 28th of the 3rd moon.

Tan tao (單刀) *hui*, the birthday of Kuan ti, ancestor of the Secret Society; being a native of Shansi the people toward the north make much of this festival.

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Lang chung (國 中) *hui*, the birthday of Chang Fei. This is the day for butchers, soldiers, and archers, and falls on the 22nd of the 3rd moon.

Ts'ai shên hui, the birthday of the god of wealth, the patron deity of the silversmiths, cash shops, and business men in general.

Yüeh wang hui, the birthday of the god of medicine, worshipped by doctors and medicine shop keepers. This falls on the 28th of the 4th moon.

Wang yeh hui, the boatmens' god festival. Said to be Yang Ssü wang (楊 泗 王), of the Sung dynasty. His title is Chên Chiang wang (鎮 江 王); the date is the 6th of the 6th moon. The festival is kept by boatmen, raftsmen and all who trade on the waterways.

Ling tsu hui, the festival of the witch, wizard and sorcerer, on the 16th of the 6th moon.

Yen ti hui, the birthday of the god of fire; in some cities a great procession parades the streets on this date.

Lu pan (魯 班) *hui*, the birthday of Lu pan or the carpenters' god, said to have been the son of a statesman of Lu who lived in Ch'ü fou (曲 阜) about 500 B.C. He is said to have been clever at inventions and is now worshipped by carpenters, masons, hewers, sawyers, and carvers.

Lo (羅) *tsu hui*, the birthday of Lo tsu the barbers' god. On that day the barbers have one of their few holidays. It falls on the 13th of the 7th moon.

Ts'ai lun hui, the birthday of the paper-makers' god, a general holiday for the paper factory employees.

Mêng t'ien hui, the birthday of the pencil-makers' god. The workers have a holiday on this day.

San huang hui; this is the festival of the fortune tellers and quack doctors.

Hsuan yüan hui, festival of the tailors' god.

K'ung Tzü hui, the birthday of Confucius. In schools the tablet of Confucius is worshipped. Chair-bearers also worship the sage because they believe that he invented the sedan chair.

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Ch'i pao hui, the festival of the miners of gold, silver, brass, iron, pewter, coal and lime. This is a great feast; pigs are killed and crackers fired off in honour of the god of precious things.

Shan wang hui, the birthday of the god of the hills, worshipped by woodmen.

Ch'ai wang hui, the wheelbarrowmens' festival. Ch'ai was an ancient emperor who only ruled a few months. Barrowmen also worship Kuan ti who is said to have been a barrowman in youth.

Lao lang hui, the actors' festival.

Shuang ling hui, the yamen runners' festival. At this time the chicken-footed god and the local deity come out for an airing. This falls on the 4th of the 4th moon, and the yamen runners worship the above two deities who assist them in sifting out difficult cases.

Niu wang hui, the birthday of the ox king. The general holiday for oxen; few if any do any work on this day, the 1st of the 10th moon.

Ma wang hui, the birthday of the king of horses. Yamen runners and horse-fanciers make a good deal of this festival.

Tu K'ang (杜康), the festival of the god of wine, worshipped by the distillers of alcohol; I Ti (儀狄), who lived about the time of Hsia Yü wang is said to have been the first famous Chinese brewer, and he was executed lest his art should be propagated among the people.

Ma t'ou niang, the silk-worm god, worshipped by all who rear silk-worms.

Chien tu shên, the god of the professional gamblers. He is set on the table, in worship incense, candles and crackers are used, a chicken is killed and a bow made toward the table and the image.

Wên shên (瘟神), the god of pestilence. It is believed that he saw a demon poison the well, and jumped in and drowned himself to keep the people from drinking the water.

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Hsien nung shên, the farmers' god, said to be Chou Wên wang, the ancestor of Hou chi. Some people still write *Hou chi hsien nung* as a tablet and worship it.

T'ai tzŭ, the actors' god. Said to be T'ang Ming Huang, whose image is kept on a chair on the stage to keep the actors from laughing.

Chin ching (金精), the gold essence or silversmiths' god. The pure gold is believed to be a spirit.

Lu yü (陸羽), the tea growers' god. This was a personage belonging to the Sung dynasty who was able to grow good tea.

Ch'i yu (蚩尤), the salt god festival, said to be Hsüan yuan. Tradition has it that he was the first rebel, and his blood became salt.

Jih yu shên, the rambling god of the day who is believed to have only one foot.

Yeh yu shên, the rambling god of the night, who is believed to have only one hand.

Chiang t'ai kung, the fishermans' god, who is believed to be Chou Wên wang and the originator of idolatrous practices. Though a scholar, he fished till he was eighty years of age with a straight hook and rice as bait.

Fire and Pestilence Fast (醮會), *Chiao hui*

The feast of All Souls is held yearly from the first to the fourth moons, and is strongly believed in as a protection against fire and pestilence. It is called *Ta ch'ing chiao* (打清醮), *Wên ho* (瘟火) *chiao*, and *P'ing an* (平安) *chiao*.

The fast may last from four to fifteen days. There is no killing of pigs, oxen and chickens or any live stock, *chin t'u* (禁屠), and so rigid is the fast sometimes, that it is hardly possible to buy an egg.

Strings are stretched across the streets and yellow paper flags, with fringed edges and holes punched through them are displayed, *yang fan* (揚幡), to call the spirits to enter the hall of the fast.

A list of contributors to the expenses of the feast is made out, with the names of the priests invited, and the particular

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796 deities to be invoked. The altar is sometimes set up in a temple, but sometimes in a booth for the purpose. The idolatries practised and the rites performed are much the same as in sorcery. In each family the kitchen god is specially worshipped.

A boat is made of a bamboo frame covered with paper, for carrying away the demons of fire and plague. At the end of the feast it is carried out and destroyed. The following is the tablet pasted on the door of the temple where the fast bureau is situated; at the close it is carried away (火 瘟 分 遞 四 值 功 曹 傳 送 土 地) to the piazza where the offerings are burned, also to the spirits of the four points of the compass, and to the precinct god.

The tablet *Wên ho p'ai*, to the god of fire and pestilence is set up at the door of each house where they have contributed to the funds of the fast. It is presented by the managers of the fast and is carried out along with the other paraphernalia at the close: 當 年 太 歲 瘟 火 二 部 至 德 尊 神 各 家 本 宅 廚 竈 神 君. To the spirit of pestilence and fire of the current year. To the kitchen god of each family.

Ch'ao fan (朝幡). To visit the streamers. Each 10 or 20 families besides having streamers stretched across the street, have a small flag staff set up in their vicinity, some 15 to 20 feet high; during the day a long yellow streamer is suspended from it, and at night a light is displayed there. The officiating Taoist sorcerer visits each of these poles morning and night throughout the fast. On the first visit he burns an official dispatch to the god of fire and pestilence, and afterwards burns paper each morning and evening and kneels and worships the fire spirit of the vicinity. The tablet written and pasted on the pole is as follows: 幡 桿 使 者 樹 幟 大 神. To the angel of the pole, the great spirit who unfurls the flag.

It is said that this fast was instituted by a priest at Niang tzŭ ling named Ch'ên Chung-yen soon after the Chinese subjugated the Chin Ch'uan (金 川) district; at that time, whole armies of Chinese and aboriginal troops were

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slaughtered, making the disembodied and orphan spirits very many; and this mode of appeasing them was adopted.

Each family who pays a contribution toward the expenses of the fast, also hands in at the same time the names and birthdays of the heads of the family to the officiating priest, who finds out from the Yü chang shêng shên (羽章生神), whether the year will be propitious for them or not, in order that precautions may be taken.

The names of contributors are sent by dispatch to the Pearly Emperor. This dispatch is burned in front of the fast bureau. Similarly, he receives a list of the classics chanted and the incantations done during the fast.

Two tablets are written and given to each family, one for the kitchen god, another for the fire and pestilence god. Candles and incense are also distributed to each family. The kitchen god in each household is worshipped by burning *ch'ien ma* cash horse (this is one difference from the ancestral worship where *chih ch'ien*, paper money is used); then the fire and pestilence boat begins to parade the streets.

Before the boat reaches the house a tub of water is placed in front of the door, and a lighted lamp is placed inside the tub; then someone blows out the lamp, which implies that the fire is extinguished. When the epidemic boat reaches each house a man with a broom goes and sweeps a little in front of each door, collects what remains of the tablet candles, incense, paper money, etc. and throws them into the boat; this is called *sao t'ang* (掃蕩). The boat, after fulfilling its purpose of collecting all the fire and demon influences of the district is then taken to the river side and set fire to, and pushed out on to the water which carries it quickly away.

To *san chèn chai fu* (撒鎮宅符) is to give a charm of protection to each family which has part in the fast. A charm is written on yellow paper, of varying size. These character charms are all made up by sorcerers for the special purpose; they are the seal of the *san ch'ing*, of the Pearly Emperor, of *Tou k'ou* (斗口), or the *Ling kuan* charm.

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Small paper lamps which have been soaked in oil are then lit and sent off on the river in the dark to light the orphan spirits of the drowned.

Ch'ien sung shêng chia (餞送聖駕) is to disperse the spirits to their abode with an offering.

Food and warning are given to the demons *shih shih fang chieh* (施食放戒). A row of candles is set up by the wayside (this is called *ch'a lu cho* 插路燭) to lighten the demons to the spot. The candles are made of lengths of bamboo four or five feet high, and are sometimes eighty or more in number; they are wound round with paper soaked in oil and pitch. After they are lighted some rice gruel is placed at the foot of each candle; so that the spirits may have both light and food, along with the exhortation to repent and forsake their evil works. T'ang pa tzŭ are scattered sweetmeats, which are scrambled for and eaten by everybody; the belief being that they who eat them will be relieved from bad dreams and the danger of becoming crazy.

The idols of the temple where the fast has been held have to be pacified, lest they may have been offended or jealous; and this ends the yearly fast for preventing fire and pestilence.

A fast to the god of fire, Ta (打) *ho chiao*, is proclaimed when there has been a conflagration in the neighbourhood, or certain omens point to one being imminent. In the case of a conflagration the family in whose house it started may be fined and beaten by the official and people, kept from receiving any monetary help disbursed or may even be driven from the district. In cases of thieving during the conflagration the goods are rarely taken home for seven days till the danger of fire connected with them is quite removed. So great is the fear of fire that when distributing relief, no one will dare to take the relief unless they have really suffered, lest they themselves should be implicated. Those who are thus burned out of house and home are not allowed to enter any person's house for seven days, lest they should bring the fire demon with them; for this and the following things the fire demon has to be appeased.

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If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire. 787 777

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to :—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon. 796 782

Ch'ien sung hao hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

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A dragon made of light bamboo covered with green cloth is carried through the streets and into the homes of the people; each family receives it with incense, candles and paper, while the men who parade it are rewarded with money. Many of the incantations and ritual given under the fire and epidemic fast are practised in this also.

Again an epidemic boat is made, with a man *shao kung* (艄公) at the bows and a woman, *shao p'o*, to steer, while in the centre of the boat sits the demon. The beard of the fire demon is red, while that of the pestilence demon is green. The god of the pestilence is said to have been K'ang t'ien chün, whose tablet is as follows: 當年行瘟天子至德尊神. To the god of pestilence who governs the current year.

A fast of praying to heaven is held, *Lo* (羅) *t'ien* or *Ch'i* (祈) *t'ien ta chiao*, in times of distress or at regular intervals from three to fifteen years in different cities. When the fast is proclaimed it is generally a very rigid one, with much ritual, sorcery and chanting, and may last from seven to fifty days. During the recent rebellion, before the establishment of the republic, this fast was proclaimed in many places to ask for protection from the government soldiers.

Huang ch'ung (蝗蟲) *chiao* is a fast held in the country to keep the locusts and caterpillars from the crops. If this fast is held in a temple the local precinct god is notified by the burning of incense and putting up of fresh scrolls at his shrine. Five-coloured flags are put up at the corners of the field; this is said to be equivalent to invitation to the rooks to come and devour the pests. The old custom of walking round the fields beating a gong or drum is still to be found; it is said that the caterpillars fall to the ground at the sound. Farmers say that one of the chief benefits of a heavy thunderstorm is to make these pests drop off by the thousand.

FASTS FOR RAIN AND FINE WEATHER, (祈晴禱雨) *Chi ch'ing tao yü*

In times of drought or very wet weather the official issues a proclamation forbidding the butcher to kill pigs or oxen, chin tu (禁屠). The idea is that the taking of life is an offence against the gods.

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In times of drought an altar is put up at the Lung Wang miao, the temple of the dragon king. In times of flood it is erected at the Huo shên miao, the temple of the god of fire. At this altar the district magistrate makes obeisance morning and night.

When fasting for fine weather the north gate of the city is closed; when fasting for rain, the south gate; because it is said in the eight diagrams, the North belongs to water and the South to fire.

To shoot the mists, ta wu (打霧). In times of continued wet weather, soldiers are told of to shoot at the mists. The people put great faith in this practice.

In wet weather the official has to worship the sun tablet in some temple, and all the people have to worship a tablet to this luminary at the doors of their dwellings.

In times of drought the Dragon king is worshipped and each home has a tablet put up beseeching his help; also the water dragon is brought out. This is a plaited bamboo frame joined together with sackcloth, which is paraded through the streets by young men; each house prepares a bucket of water and a ladle and as the dragon passes it is drenched with water. Another method is to *hsiao kou*, to laugh at the dog. The custom has its origin in the saying, if you laugh at a dog the weather won't be fine. In times of desperation for lack of rain, a dog is dressed up as a bride, put in a chair and carried through the streets and every one laughs at it, hoping that by doing so rain may come.

Officials go barefooted and pray for rain; this is said to be an example of an official suffering for his people.

In some cases the Ch'êng huang or city god is stood in the sun. I have known of the district magistrate getting angry at the prolongation of the drought and demanding that the city god give him an explanation; he said, "You govern the dead, and I the living; let us both stand in the sun and the one whose head splits first must bear the blame of the drought." The result was that the idol's head was cracked by the sun.

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Men also go to the dragon pool and carry home a bucketful of water, which is worshipped at the altar. At the pool a chicken is sacrificed and its head thrown to the dragon. On the return journey twigs are stuck into the hair of those who go on this errand.

The *pang* (梆) *pang yü* or *wa* (娃) *wa yü*, is a human-headed fish, a kind of mermaid; it is caught and kept in a tank of water till the rain comes. This is a rare fish, but it has come under my notice on two or three occasions, when thousands of people have run mad after the creature.

When the magistrate is not in favour with the people, they may attack the yamen and demand water for fields or rain.

Another method is to throw the egg. A water butt is prepared and filled with water, and decked round with cedar and willow branches. An egg is selected, over which "thunder" incantations are read morning and evening for three days, after which it is thrown up into the air with the belief that the rain will accompany it on its downfall.

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BOOK VI. TIMES AND SEASONS (四季), *ssŭ ch'i*

THE SEASONS OF THE YEAR (二十四節)

Ying ch'un (迎春). Meeting the spring is the farmer's annual holiday. Great crowds go to the city to see the spring ox and the official procession. On the morning of the day, the various small officials of a district city make their way to the magistrate's office, where they get their pay for that day. Later in the forenoon, the magistrate, dressed as a court official, with 16 men bearing his chair and 16 pulling it, comes out in state. Even the yamen underlings ride horses and wear degreed men's hats on this occasion. They proceed to the east gate and meet spring in the form of an earthen ox and an image spoken of as the *mang shên* (芒神) or ox driver. The spring ox is taken to a field on the east of the city, attached to a plough and taken a few times up and down the field, with the magistrate after it; the magistrate then approaches the real plough and buffalo, which has been prepared and decorated for the purpose; this is called *kung ching* (躬耕), personal ploughing. After worshipping the spring ox and driver, he returns to his office by the south or west gate. That day he gives a feast to all his underlings who have congratulated him on being the priest of spring. This is the only day in many officials' lives when they really can be great. Sometimes he rides in an open chair with

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garlands of flowers and branches over and around him. The day costs him some hundreds of strings of cash and is one of the gala days of the year.

The ox is made by special instructions from the official, and great interest is taken in all the details of colour both of the ox and the driver. If the ox is yellow, the people say that the year will be a fruitful one, and a bumper harvest is expected. If it is red, fire and calamity will be rife; if white, mourning will be very plentiful; if green, plague will ravage the country; if black, sickness and disease will be plentiful. The spring will be early or late according as the tail is uplifted or downhanging. If the ox is lying down it is also an indication of a late spring. If the garments of the driver are stripped off and trousers tucked up then an early spring is expected, but if its shoes are on and down at the heels the spring will be late. If the clothing is properly on with girdle and garters complete, then the spring will be an ordinary one.

The ancient custom of making a mud ball in the shape of a drum during the winter and breaking it at the opening of spring *chi t'u ku* (擊土鼓) is probably the origin of the spring ox.

Li ch'un or *ta ch'un* is to begin spring. This is the day following the meeting of spring, and the crowd is much smaller. On this day the farmers will not sweep their floors for fear of sweeping away Mother Earth who has to bring forth her fruits, neither will they disturb her by sowing or digging. The spring ox and driver having been taken the day previous to the yamen court, the official, dressed again in the robes of the priest of spring, makes an offering to them, after which he strikes the first blow at the ox which is speedily demolished by the crowd and carried off to the homes and the fields of the people. The calf inside it is taken and carried to some family which has no sons. The driver is burned and the whole cleared out of sight and the ceremony is now over. Among the rustics all this is very important, and some even believe that if there was no spring ox there could hardly be any harvest.

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Yü shui (雨水), spring rain. At this season flowers are transplanted and trees grafted. Aged people, who need to *chieh hsien* (接限) do so with the greatest benefit, they believe, at this season. (See *Sorcery*.) 796 805

Ching chih (驚蟄), the time of moving insects. At this season snakes come forth from hibernation and bees emerge from their hives. The silk-worms' eggs are now taken on to the bodies or into the beds of people, to be hatched.

Ch'un fên, spring equinox, a general holiday for farmers, called the master's gathering, 當家會. No one goes into his field or garden on that day lest he should be troubled with birds and insects through the year. On this date the king of birds is worshipped.

Ch'ing ming, clear brightness. At this season, great crowds of people visit the graveyards, *shang fên* (上墳), and put flags on the graves. These flags are said to show the grave is still attended, but in some places their purpose is said to be to call the spirit. Incense and paper are burned, and food prepared at home is carried here and eaten picnic style. Many go to weep at the graves, but many more go for a day's pleasure, to drink wine, and play at "Morra," and many become deeply intoxicated. It is believed that the departed ancestors present themselves and partake of the offered food. At the New Year and the 7th moon feast the spirits of the ancestors return to the home, but at this season, the living visit the habitations of the dead. In Kwan Hsien this feast is spoken of as *lao wa* (老鴉) *hui*, or crows' festival.

At this time the city god goes to relieve the orphan spirits *shang ku* (賞孤), by burning the cash paper. On his return journey, the district magistrate goes to meet the idol procession.

Han shih (寒食) *chieh*, the cold food feast. This is an ancient feast held the day preceding *ch'ing ming*. Formerly no one lighted fires in the house on this day, in remembrance of a certain *Chieh Chih t'ui* (介之推) who was a henchman of one of the princes of the Lieh Kuo period. When on one occasion the prince was about to die of starvation, Chieh Chih

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t'ui cut off a piece of his own flesh and gave it to the prince to eat, and thus saved his life. When the prince got to the seat of power, he forgot his faithful henchman, whereupon he fled with his mother, having a willow twig stuck in his hat, to a certain Mien Shan 綿山. When the prince eventually recollected his friend and benefactor he sent men to seek him; Though it was reported that he was hidden on a certain mountain, they could not find him. So in desperation they set fire to the brushwood on the mountain to force him out, but he would not yield and was burned to death; and ever since that time some remembrance has been kept of him; though no one refrains from lighting a fire on that day as formerly, still many people wear a twig of the willow tree, either in the hat or hair, in remembrance of him.

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Ku yü, rice rain. This is the time when the rice seed bed is sown. Rain and sunshine are both needed at this time.

Li hsia, beginning of summer. Summer is believed to come from the south.

Hsiao man, small fullness. That is, the *hsiao ch'un* or spring crop is ready for reaping in order to clear the land for the summer crop.

Mang chung, hurrying to plant the rice crop. This is the busiest season of the year, with reaping and ploughing, harrowing and planting.

Hsia chih (夏至), the midsummer solstice. At this season the male and female principles are unequal and therefore have to be avoided.

The people now begin to count the days till the dog days or 三伏天 commence. If the three *fu* (伏) are complete, there will be 30 days, but they rarely are complete, the autumn coming in before these days have run through their course, but after autumn there are still twenty-four autumn tigers, 秋老虎, following on the *san fu*. In each Chinese moon there are three *kêng* (庚), that is, one in every ten days; after midsummer three of these *kêng* are counted and then the dog days begin, and may last from 21 to 29 days.

Hsiao shu, small heat, and *ta shu*, great heat; these two cover the period just spoken of as the dog days.

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805 The seventh and eighth nines, the hands still hug the clothes. Nine-nines are eighty-one, the farmer ploughs his land.

Hsiao han and *ta* (大) *han*, small cold and great cold. These two periods cover part of the eighty-one days of cold. This period has also a saying—小寒大寒凍死老蠻, small and great cold freeze the old aboriginal to death.

NEW YEAR (過年), *kuo nien*.

796 805 As soon as the last moon comes people begin to be anxious as to how they are to collect and pay off their debts; much scheming and quarrelling and even suicide is the outcome.

Tao ya (倒牙). The last meat day of the year. Workmen and apprentices are expected to receive pork twice each month; and an apprentice after he has eaten 72 of these pork feasts is supposed to be a full fledged workman. This is the last of these *tao ya* for that year and it falls on the 16th of the last moon.

On the 20th of the last moon the official seals up his official seals, *Fêng yin*. The seal is put on a table and incense and candles burned in its honour; the official then bows down and worships it. Afterwards it is taken and put into its own case; this case is then enclosed in two others which are locked and sealed, after which it is again worshipped and put away for the New Year holidays. During this period no important official business is transacted, except for cases of preserving peace and life.

K'ang (炕) *la jou*; smoking the New Year bacon has to be done after midwinter; if done before, the meat will not keep good. The poor buy a piece of pork and make their bacon; but the rich kill their own pigs. This is an important affair in the country districts; before the pig is brought forth for the slaughter the master of the house puts cash paper on the ground where the pig will be killed; three sticks of incense and two candles are stuck in the ground round about the spot. When the pig is brought forth the master of the house kneels and worships it, saying, "We are going to kill you for use at

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the New Year season, but in the next life may you become a man." After killing the animal the bucket containing the blood is taken and offered to the family gods, the cash paper on which some blood has dropped is placed on the family altar. This is called *hsien hsüeh ch'ien*, offering blood cash. The pig's blood, after being offered to the idol, is taken and made into black puddings.

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After the 20th of the 12th moon the evil influences which have been governing the year are removed, and any and every part of the house may be turned topsy-turvy; so the housewives take advantage of this liberty and have a house cleaning. After the dust is swept down, the windows are papered with fresh paper for the New Year season.

The kitchen god is sent off to make his yearly report to the Pearly Emperor. Before he goes sugar candy and tea are offered to him and some even make a written petition regarding the affairs of the family. This petition, called a *tsao shu*, kitchen god petition, is burned at his shrine. He is supposed to leave on the 23rd and come back on the 24th of the last moon, but in some places it is the last night of the New Year before the returning ceremony is observed; when he does come back there is much idolatry with a great deal of importance attached to the event.

Owing to business being largely suspended for some days, and the general need of money by everybody, great quantities of idolatrous and eatable supplies are laid in during the last week of the year. Among the rich plenty of sweetmeats are prepared in the home by a specially engaged cook.

Gratuities are given to servants and assistants at the close of the year.

About the 24th there is a feast to wind up the year, *t'uan* (團) *nien*, when the whole household is expected to be present. Before eating, the ancestral tablet is worshipped and the food is offered to the ancestors. It is implied that the spirits of the ancestors return to the home at this season; for this reason no outsider is permitted to partake of this meal, but friends and acquaintances are sometimes invited by the less superstitious.

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Spring scrolls, *ch'un tui-tzŭ*, are put up on either side of the door and on the lintel. A good business is done during the last few weeks by the scholars, who write scrolls for the small sum of from 12 to 30 cash per set.

Fresh door gods are pasted up by nearly every family.

Five sheets of lucky paper or tin foil, *hua ch'ien* or *hsi ch'ien*, are hung up over the door; these remain till business is about to be begun when they are taken down and burned.

The barbers are busy at this season, but after the 16th of the last moon many of the formalities of barbering are dispensed with and only that which is necessary to make a person clean is done in the barber's shop.

Paper clothing and money for the ancestors are burned on the last day of the old year.

In the hill districts the people go to the graves and invite the spirits of their ancestors to return on this last night of the year, when a fire is lighted for their comfort in the chief room of the house and offerings of food prepared for them; but even when the spirits are not invited their presence in the house is implied by every act.

To fire off crackers, *fang huo pao*, is part of almost every act of the New Year season.

On the last night of the year, the younger generations make obeisance to the elder, while the elders make the juveniles presents of money to pass the New Year season.

The rich also make presents to the poor, the gentry to officials; the officials to gentry, etc. The presents are carried in an open tray with a card accompanying. Official presents generally consist of pears, scented rice, oranges, tea and sea dainties. At this season such men as the keepers of the city gates, the night watchmen, street police, come with a present which is only for show and, in return, they expect their annual gratuities.

A card is taken round late on the last night of the year and pasted on the doors of friends and acquaintances; taking leave of the old year, *tz'ŭ nien t'ieh tzŭ* (辭年帖子), or *mên chien* (門箋). In the morning some doors are pretty well covered with them.

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Very early on the first morning of the year the head of each household goes outside his dwelling and offers paper and incense, tea and wine, to the New Year.

There is a custom of going out for a walk before dawn, *ch'u hsing* (出行), or *ch'u t'ien fang* (出天方). If any one is met, no words pass, and what one hears is an indication of what his year will bring of good or bad luck, peace or quarrelling. This custom is also spoken of as *chieh hsi shên*, to welcome the pleased spirit. The almanac tells the direction in which the spirit may be met.

Picture gods of wealth are taken round from door to door and sold for a few cash, the vendor using lucky words and good wishes for the year.

People mutually pay calls, *pai ta nien*, on the 2nd of the moon, and receive and give cakes and sweetmeats.

On the 5th, newly married people go to visit their relatives, *pai hsin nien*. The 5th of the first moon is also known as *p'o wu* (破五), breaking the fifth, after which a good many people begin work and business.

At the New Year season everyone wears his best, and everyone tries to have something new for fear of otherwise becoming a beggar during the year. Flour balls or *t'ang yüan* (湯元) are eaten so that worldly affairs may be good "all round." Dough strips are eaten by almost everyone and are a favourite kind of present, because it "eats long," which may mean long life or abundance of wealth. In the same way stale rice is often eaten at this time, as it is a good omen of plenty in the barns for the coming year. Beggars are often given money on their first asking, as an omen that money will be easy during the year. See under *Superstitious Dread*.

Gambling, *tu po* (賭博), is one of the many curses that come to an idle Chinese population. Up to the 5th, no one pretends to try to stop it. After that date an official proclamation forbids it, but everyone knows this is merely for official self-protection in case of trouble; nearly everyone gambles at this season from the highest officials down to the poorest of the people, and many youths are ruined by it.

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The season is an opportunity for visiting, *tsou jên hu* (走人戶), much taken advantage of by the women and girls, who are largely confined to the house at other times of the year; no one goes empty-handed as that would be very unlucky; but presents of cakes, sweets, bacon, etc., are often handed round several times during this visiting season.

After the 5th some shops begin business, but very often only half the shutters are taken down. No credit is given and no past debts will be asked for. The first customer will be allowed to have the goods at his own price, as it would be unlucky to turn away the first comer without doing business.

A lamp is lighted at the door of each house. In some places the residents are fined if they neglect this custom; the idea is that if the streets are lighted no demon will come to do damage.

The Dragon Lantern festival is held on the 15th. A lantern in several lengths is made, with a head after the likeness of a dragon's. Each length is supported by a light pole and carried by a young, lusty fellow. The different lengths are joined together by red calico, and are swung round and round so as to appear somewhat like a worm writhing. The dragon is the king of the scaly tribe and hence is feared by all the demons. First it is carried to a temple and the idols are worshipped; afterwards it is paraded through the streets and carried into any courtyard that will receive it. The streets are lighted with many-coloured lanterns, and the dragon lantern, lighted up, is paraded round the streets with two men carrying a *pao* or precious thing in front. Huge crowds collect, and a rowdy evening is the result with much stealing, hustling and jolting. This is a very ancient custom, and the chief idea is that the dragon drives away pestilence.

The lion lantern, *shih têng*, is made up by two men walking with bent backs; one manages the head and the other the tail. A huge cloth with a lion's head painted on the front and a tail sewn to the other end makes the lion. After having visited the temples, the procession parades the streets with a priest in front leading the lion. The priest carries a brush in his hand. If invited, they enter any house to drive

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away pestilence. On the streets high platforms are made of square tables piled one on top of the other, and on these the lion-actors perform acrobatic feats of jumping, rolling over to the ground, standing on the head, etc.

The ox lantern is an ox-head painted on a bamboo sieve, with a cloth body and tail. It is used in country towns with the idea that it will bring a full harvest for that year.

A rabbit lantern is pulled along the street by two persons; one, dressed like a Tibetan, leads the rabbit, and another, dressed like a Tibetan woman, drives it. This is connected with the idea that the Tibetan is not only wealthy, but also brings in wealth.

There are also fish, turtle, tortoise, prawn and crab lanterns; the *ao shan* (鰲山) lantern has camphor mixed with the oil and sheds a pretty green light.

There are displays, which are both elaborate and expensive, of *yen ho chia* (烟火架), fireworks. In many of these fireworks much medicine is mixed with the oil; the idea seems to be the driving away of pestilence from the home or community.

The *ch'ing ch'un chiu* (請春酒) is a feast generally given by a landlord to his tenant farmers from the 5th to the 10th of the first moon. Sometimes it is held later and may even be in the second month.

Riddles are written and hung up over the door of the house, and in the light of the lantern festival, people guess the meaning and then, if right, jump up and pull them down; rewards of fruit and sweetmeats are often given to those who make a right guess.

At this time the people eat flour balls with treacle inside; these balls are now called *yüan hsiao* (元宵). There seems to be a kind of concert held in the home, and young men and maidens sing and trip in the form of the figure eight both on the street and in the home. The ballads they sing are called *nung an ko*, farmers' peaceful ballads; but they have now lost that ideal and have degenerated into mere *yin ko* (淫歌) sensual songs.

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Opening accounts, *k'ai chang*, is not done till after the *hsi ch'ien* (禧錢) has been burned. When this takes place much idolatry is observed, crackers fired off and all to get what is spoken of as *k'ai chi* (吉) *chang*, a lucky start in business for the New Year.

Official seals are released *k'ai yin* generally on the 19th of the first moon. A similar ceremony is observed as at the sealing up time.

To visit the graves of ancestors before the 15th of the first moon is called *shang nien fên;* this is done by those who for any reason were hindered from doing so during the last moon of the year. Those graves not attended to before the 15th are known as *yeh kuei fên* (野鬼墳). The reason graves are mostly repaired in the last moon is because the influences controlling the year are in abeyance during the last days of the old year.

To steal some person's vegetables, *t'ou ch'ing* (偷青) on the 15th of the first moon, is lucky.

Children return to school, *shang hsüeh*, any time after the 8th of the first moon ; they have to pay their respects to the master by bowing and knocking their heads, and giving a small present of money. In the case of a gentleman inviting a private tutor for his home he has to make a written agreement the year before as to what salary he will give and when and in what currency ; and what present he will give at the feasts. This is called *hsia p'in* (下聘). A common salary for a master of the old school is anything from 40 to 80 strings of cash with board and lodging, with few holidays except at the 5th and 7th moon feasts. When the time arrives to welcome a new tutor, the gentleman sends a chair and servant to escort him. On his arrival a feast is spread, the tablet to Confucius is worshipped by the head of the house with the three-fold *k'o t'ou*. The scholars must also bend and worship the tablet to the sage of learning and wisdom on beginning their studies.

Then (大人做生意, 娃娃檢狗屎) adults go to business and the children to gather dog manure. That is, every one must get to work.

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MIDSUMMER FEAST (端陽節), *tuan yang chieh* 796

This feast is held on the fifth of the fifth moon, this being the time when the sun is believed to be overhead, and the dragon festival is observed.

The story of Ch'ü yüan is well known: he was a statesman of Ch'u, accused to and cast off by his prince, he saw his country ruined, sat down and wrote the poem *Li sao* then went and committed suicide by drowning. The people oughtfor his body and afterwards started the dragon boat festival on this date to commemorate his merits. The dragon boat is long and narrow with a dragon's head and tail; it is well manned and simply flies over the water. In the centre of the boat is a drum, with a man to beat time to the rowers, a clown rises up and down making fierce grimaces, and armed men stand on the prow of the boat brandishing their weapons to frighten the demons so that they may give up Ch'ü Yüan. This festival has, however, become degraded by the influence of Sui Yang Ti (隋煬帝, A.D. 605), and is chiefly composed of and managed by the inconstant and vagabond set, who amuse themselves by throwing plums at the women of the crowd.

One of the ideals of this feast is to take a bath, *hsi tsao*. People wander round the country to find special herbs and different kinds of grasses, *yu pai ping* (遊百病), which are taken home and boiled and the concoction used for the healing of disease, or they are mashed into a salve for boils called *pai ts'ao kao* (膏). Others bathe in the water in which the herbs and grass have been boiled. Even prescriptions prepared on this day are believed to be more efficacious than those prepared on other days.

A small bag is carried near the breast in which incense, camphor, and other medicines are put to draw away disease; the shapes of these bags are varied, being like frogs, monkeys, tigers, and cats, or like a red pepper-corn.

Frequently the bodies of children are smeared all over with hartall wine, *hsiung huang chiu*, as it is believed it will protect from snake-bites.

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• 796 *Hsiung huang suan* (雄黄蒜), garlic dipped in a preparation of hartall, is hung at the door. Mashed garlic and hartall wine is sprinkled on the floor and door posts of the house to keep away snakes and ants; it is said that if a snake touches hartall its body will decompose. A few ounces of pork is dipped in this hartall and then hung up over the door.

This practice of hanging artemisia over the doorway seems to have some foundation in history. It is said that in the T'ang dynasty, a rebel, Huang Ts'ao (黄曹), who ravaged the country, captured a woman fleeing with two children; the woman carried the big child on her back and made the little one walk. The rebel chief asked the reason for this and she explained that the big one belonged to the elder brother of the family and the little one to herself, but the elder brother's child being the more important she carried it on her back. Seeing her piety he gave her a sprig of artemisia and sent her home, telling her to put the sprig over her door, and when the rebels came to the place they would not harm her.

Nearly every one stops work at least half a day, and in the afternoon houses are almost deserted, every one going out to the country to walk off their sickness. All business is suspended and theatricals are held in the country temples.

An old custom was to put millet in a cow's or sheep's horn *chüeh shu* (角黍), and drop it in the river to find Ch'ü Yüan. This custom has now changed into eating *tsung tzü* (粽子), or glutinous rice balls, rolled up in bamboo leaves. They are eaten by almost every family and are freely given as presents on this occasion.

It was a custom in Ch'êng-tu for men to throw plums at women of doubtful character; the plums were afterwards taken home in the hope that male issue might be given. The custom has been stopped for some years in Ch'êng-tu.

This is a time when teachers' salaries are due, and school fees paid. Teachers give scholars fans and scholars give money to the teachers. Presents are freely exchanged in many walks of life from the magistrate to the humblest citizen. People like to dress well at this feast, and policemen and beggars expect their gratuities. It almost seems as if it

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was the children's feast, because they get a great deal of attention at this time.

The image of Chang Tao-ling, the ancestor of the Taoist popes, a fierce-looking idol, is carried out in an open chair with a canopy to keep off the sun or rain.

He is said to be riding a tiger probably because of the *t'ien shih* (天師) belonging to Lung hu shan in Kiangsi province. When he comes out it is in style of an official, with umbrellas, flags, and boards as evidence of his position, but besides these, there are many persons dressed up as his underlings and assistants. Thus, two children, each on horseback, carry the credentials of the idol, *ch'ih shu* (勅書), and the seals of office.

P'an Kuan, the decider of fate in Hades, rides a horse in front of the idol. He is masked and in his hand he holds the book in which the fates are written. During the procession he is supposed to take note of all he sees and record it in the book.

The *T'u ti*, precinct god, rides behind the decider of fates and is supposed to impersonate the *Shan mên t'u ti*, who is said to control the demons of the city. On this day he comes out on a tour of inspection.

There are four judges of appeal in Hades, *ssŭ chih kung ts'ao* (四值功曹). One judge holds power for a year, another for a month, and another for a day, and the fourth for one Chinese hour (two hours). These are the messengers of the idol to run at his bidding and are all impersonated on this occasion.

The five thunders, *wu lei*, are represented by five men riding on horses with a frame and drum (for thunder) slung on their backs, with a chisel which represents lightning in one hand and a kind of clapper in the other.

The five poisonous creatures, *wu tu* (五毒), are snakes, toads, spiders, centipedes, and scorpions. These are made of paper and tin-foil and carried through the streets before the idol, alternating with the five thunders.

The chicken-footed god, *chi chüeh shên*, is represented by a man with a hideous mask and a garment covered with

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● 796 chickens' feathers. His mission is to call people to repentance. The true characters are said to be 機覺, and the meaning 知機警覺; that is, "know of this opportunity and repent."

Some persons paying their vows hang lamps on their bodies, *kua shên têng*. Thus, a son may have made a vow that if a sick parent got better he would walk in the procession of the idol with a certain number of lamps hung from his skin. This custom is said to be derived from the *jan têng Fo* (燃燈佛), the "light lamp Buddha"; when these men walk the streets a dozen or more persons walk alongside of them with split bamboos which they shake and rattle all the time to keep people from coming near their persons, as if they were sacred.

Others of less note pay vows by having a sword handle glued to the abdomen and the point glued to the backbone, giving the appearance of being stabbed through the body, *k'ai ch'ang p'o tu*. It is believed that this custom had its origin in the aboriginal tribes, who have an image of this kind.

Seventh Moon Feast (中元), *chung yuan*.

T'u ti (土地) *hui*, the birthday of the precinct god is celebrated on the 7th of the 7th moon. On that day new paper clothing is put on him and incense and candles are burnt at his shrine. The meats offered are afterwards eaten by the family. At all the temples there is careful observance of this day.

The *Yü lan* (盂蘭) *hui*, is a Buddhist festival observed on the 14th of this moon for the transmigration of orphan spirits. It is believed that the doors of Hades are opened and the imprisoned spirits set at large from the 10th to the 15th. Those who have no home to go to roam about the streets and country. Many people will not go out at night during these five days.

To give forth rules of behaviour to the freed demons, *fang chieh* (放戒), or *li yu küng chieh* (利幽公戒), the priests erect a stage with many lighted lanterns. Some chanting takes place at which the spirits are admonished to

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keep the laws, and the priest afterwards scatters *kuei tan tzŭ*, which consists of bread and cakes. These the people scramble for and eat. After the 15th the spirits again return to their own place.

A sacrifice is made to the orphan spirits by the heads of guilds and societies. Sometimes over 100 taels is spent, and if the guild is rich even 1,000 taels may be lavished on these orphan spirits.

Wine, meat, and even whole tables of feasts are offered to the ancestors, who are said to return to the home at this season. This is one of the most binding of all the idolatrous festivals of the year.

The likenesses of departed ancestors are hung in the chief room of the house. Some keep paintings, others have busts. Some keep them always hanging, others only display them at this season.

All the necessities of the spirit world are burned in paper in huge piles in front of the doors about the 13th of the month. This is a very important affair in the eyes of the people. On the 15th cash paper is burned.

MIDAUTUMN FESTIVAL (中秋節), *chung ch'iu chieh*, The Eighth Moon Feast

This is the third time for collecting debts, equally important with the 5th moon, but of course less so than the time before the New Year.

Yüeh kuang hui is the moon festival. On the evening of the 15th the moon is worshipped. At this particular season the moon is said to give forth different kinds of light and some declare that the heavenly beings can be seen in the moon. It is also said that Wu Kang (吳剛) can be clearly seen at this time hacking away at the *Olea fragrans*, but the tree still stands. A lunar eclipse at this season is very unlucky.

Little round cakes are made called moon cakes, the centre of which is black, being made of lentils, boiled soft and then baked. Some cakes are white in the centre, being made

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with flour and sugar, some are red, made from flour and rose-water. At this time walnuts, pears, and pomegranates are presented, all being round like the moon, and it is hoped by offering these that the family affairs will be prosperous "all round."

Sha chia t'a tzŭ, "to kill the Manchu of the family," is an expression which, some say, refers to the Tartars of the Yüan dynasty, others say it refers to the Ch'ing dynasty. It is commonly believed that a Manchu was billeted in each home. A plot was made to kill them on the 15th of this moon, the secret sign being a ticket giving the date to be put inside the moon cakes. The plot was carried out, and the family Manchu became the *t'u ti* of the family. In this eighth moon the anniversary of his death is observed. The black hearts of the moon cakes are said to represent the hearts of the Tartars.

On the evening of the 15th children put a lighted stick of incense on to the end of a bamboo pole and lift it high in the air. This is called *shua hsing hsü* to play at stars. Similarly branches of the pumelo-tree are taken and sticks of lighted incense fixed to the twigs and held high in the air. This practice is now gradually falling into disuse.

This is the time when teachers' salaries are due and children take presents to them. The teacher gives the children pencils. The head of the beggars, the keeper of the city gate, and the night watchman all collect their dues from the shop-keepers and private residences. The fifth and eighth moon feasts and the New Year are the great feasts of the Chinese people.

THE NINTH MOON FEAST (重陽節), *Ch'ung yang chieh*

The ninth of the ninth moon is called *Ch'ung yang* or a double nine. Rice for distilling is mixed with chrysanthemums; the wine thus made has a good flavour, but any wine is supposed to be better when distilled on that date.

Bags filled with dogwood seeds are carried to protect from sickness and give long life. Scholars carry their food to

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some high place, where they make poetry and afterwards feast and drink wine. 796

The birthday of Hsü Ching yang (許旌陽) of Kiangsi is kept; he was an official in Ssŭch'uan and is now deified and worshipped in the Kiangsi guilds. Legend has it that he had a bamboo stick on which he rode each evening to his native province to visit his mother; she, disturbed by the frequency and suddenness of his visits, broke his magic stick, and it took him a full month to get back. Meanwhile his public business was in sad arrears and the country in disorder. So he got the precinct god of his yamen to help him.

The birthday of Chiu Huang is celebrated; he is one of the nine stars of the Northern Bushel. These first nine days of this moon are spoken of as the Chiu Huang (九皇). If it should rain on the first of the ninth moon, it is likely to rain the whole nine days. During these nine days most people eat pulse or herbs, and at eating-houses flags are exposed with *chiu huang su shih* (素食) written on them, "vegetarian food for the feast." At this time no animals are killed and yellow flags are hung up everywhere, much chanting is done, such classics being used as the *pei tou ching* or the *chiu huang ching*. The delusion is that those who abstain from eating meat on these days have as much merit as those who are vegetarian for life.

If the family has moved or repaired the house during the year a ceremony of *kung t'ien an shên*, "worship heaven and pacify the family altar," is believed to be necessary for the peace of the living and is called *Hsiang shih* (祥事), while *Tao ch'ang* (道場) is for the dead.

To *chieh shou* is to add life and length of days to another person. This has its origin in the time of the Three Kingdoms when a certain Chao Yüan worshipped the Northern Bushel and said that he was willing that years should be taken from his own life and added to his parents'. Now there is the custom at this season of worshipping the Northern Bushel in order to obtain long life. The constellation is believed to be the chariot of the Pearly Emperor and is situated in the centre of the sky and revolves once a year, the four

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seasons being subject to its influence, hence the ancient custom of meeting spring at the East, summer at the South, autumn at the West, and winter at the North.

On the evening of the ninth all trace of the feast is removed and burned at the door of the house, and soon the shambles are well stocked with pork and other flesh.

TENTH MOON FEAST (下元節), *hsia yüan chieh*

Shang yüan is the feast on the 15th of the 1st moon while *hsia yüan* is the feast on the 15th of the 10th moon. This probably has its origin in the time when the Chinese New Year was held about mid-winter.

On the 1st of this 10th moon is the festival of the Ox King, *niu wang hui*, the birthday of the king of oxen. This festival is reckoned very important in the country districts as the ox is said to be the foundation of all farming operations, and is therefore worshipped by many. In many of the temples and shrines chanting is carried on, theatricals and feasts are held in honour of the occasion. There is also a *ch'ang nien hui*, farm servants' fair. On this day theatricals are given; these gather people together at various temples, when some hiring is arranged between masters and servants.

The city god goes to the necropolis, where piles of paper money, houses, and clothing are burned as a provision for the orphan spirits during the cold weather.

On the first of the 10th moon, the city god's wife, accompanied by the city god, is carried out into the country to certain places which are said to be her maiden home, to pay her yearly visit to her parents. This is one of the most absurd of idolatrous practices.

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753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

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frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇 龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tzŭ (桑 根 紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through sons of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still rivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people. 177 [626] 797 177

The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunnar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Hwang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'ang
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Yuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tzo
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Yuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

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Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
7th	19th	Birthday of the God of Pao Miao
8th	1st	" " Chin Chia
"	3rd	" " The Kitchen God
"	15th	The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival)
"	27th	Birthday of Confucius
9th	9th	" " Tou Mu
10th	15th	" " the God of Water
10th	(Some time)	Visiting ancestral graveyards
11th	19th	Birthday of Sun God
12th	8th	" " Pa Ch'a
"	23rd	The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven
"	30th	New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods.

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small altar just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through West Town and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ta'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY IN DISTRESS

164 The cholera epidemic came to West Town as to other localities in the area from Hsia Kuan on the Burma Road, and spread with the stream of refugees that steadily flowed into the town and villages.(6) It affected a wide area. In West Town it began at about the beginning of the Fourth Moon (about the tenth of May, 1942) and ended at about the end of the same month (about the tenth of June, 1942). Only a few deaths occurred at first; then heavier tolls were taken of the population. For a period of time even in the town itself there were six or seven deaths a day. The price of coffins rose from five hundred dollars to two or three thousand dollars each, and later coffins were practically unobtainable. Carpenters worked day and night. Funeral processions of various kinds became a common every-day sight. At night the streets, unlike before the onset of the epidemic, were practically empty. Darkness and silence ruled everywhere except in carpenters' shops where much activity was in evidence.

A. Cholera Prayer Meetings

751 796 The authority of the missionary college urged its students and faculty members to be injected immediately when two cases of cholera appeared in the local hospital.[1] But the general populace took little notice of it until about the seventh of the month. Prayer meetings then took place one after another. Such meetings took place not only in the center of the town but also in all the surrounding villages. Within the confines of the town at least several areas had such prayer meetings, in two places twice. Some of these are big events, employing at least three Taoist priests and three or four musicians in addition to a larger number of volunteer ushers and officers from the area. Others are smaller events with only one priest and no musician, in addition to a small number of ushers and officers. In each case there is a big or small altar covered with canvas, on which are displayed tablets or pictures of the various gods, the priests paraphernalia and quantities of offering to the gods. In the case of the one-priest affair the meeting usually lasted for one or two days. The larger affairs lasted three days and four nights each. The author had opportunity to watch such prayer meetings in several surrounding villages in addition to the those in the town itself. The following list gives the area and villages according to the order of the appearance of the prayer meetings: (See Diagram, Names of areas being represented by alphabet letters, arabic numbers indicate order of appearance of the prayer meetings).[2]

Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meeting.	Date (Lunar Calendar)	Number of Priests Engaged
1. A	7,8,9, 4th Moon	1 priest
2. B	About 9, 4th Moon	1 "
3. C	" 9, " "	1 "
4. D	8,9,10, " "	3 "
5. E	9,10, " "	1 "
6. F	10,11,12 " "	3 "
6. G	10,11, " "	1 "
7. H	12,13, " "	1 "

(6) When Burma fell.

[1] [ON the first of the month--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 10-- Analyst]

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Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meetings	Date (Lunar) Calendar		Number of Priests Engaged
8. I	15,16,17,	4th Month	3 Priests
9. J	16,17,18	" "	(T'an Ching only)
9. K	16,17,18,19,	4th Moon	3 (with Wen God ceremony)
10. L	21,22,	" "	1
11. M	About 20,	" "	3
12. N	22,23,24,	" "	3
12. O	22,23,	" "	1
13. H	23,24,25,	" "	5 (with Wen God ceremony)
14. P	About 25,	" "	1
15. Q (Prayer and the ceremony of receiving a special goddess)	25,26,27,	" "	3
16. R	1,2,3	5th Moon	5

(Altogether nineteen meetings are here recorded. See Diagram for the approximate location of each area.)

A complete description of the rites involved in these prayer meetings is impossible in the present paper. The author proposes here to state in outline form only (1) the main points of the rites, (2) the cost of the meetings, and (3) the meaning of the prayers.

1. The Main Points of the Rites

The most important thing is the work of the priests in reading their scriptures, reciting incantations, and burning petitions to the gods. In the smaller one-priest affairs the reading and reciting is done by the priest alone, with the accompaniment of the sound of a "wood fish" or a bell. In the larger three-priest affairs this is done in singing and reciting. The singing is accompanied by cymbals, bugles, and stringed instruments played by three or four accompanists who often join in the priests' chorus. This is done by three or four priests taking turns or together, from about 7:00 in the morning to about 11:00 or 12:00 in the evening, stopping for meals or for a pipe. Petition papers are burned to the various gods at one time or another. The burning of such papers involves many strenuous duck steps made in succession by three priests so that their faces are covered with perspiration. Both the scriptures and the petitions state that the people of the locality have deep sins and know that the gods are now showing their anger, but respectfully and tremblingly request the gods to withdraw the punishment, and that the people promise to obey the superior spirits forever. On the second evening of the prayer meeting the chief priest assumes the dress of a chief monk and sits on a lotus flower-shaped seat fixed on a high platform; while many boys and men hold their immediate ancestors' (usually father or mother) paper tablets and gradually push the latter over a cloth "bridge" towards the chief priest, as the latter performs various rituals. This is the ritual of "sitting the lotus" and is for giving blessing to the souls who have died of sudden illness or accidents (as a matter of fact, mostly deaths due to the epidemic). The third night is signified by a ritual spreading of porridge and paper money to homeless (i.e., descendent-less) spirits who may be about the place, along the [533]

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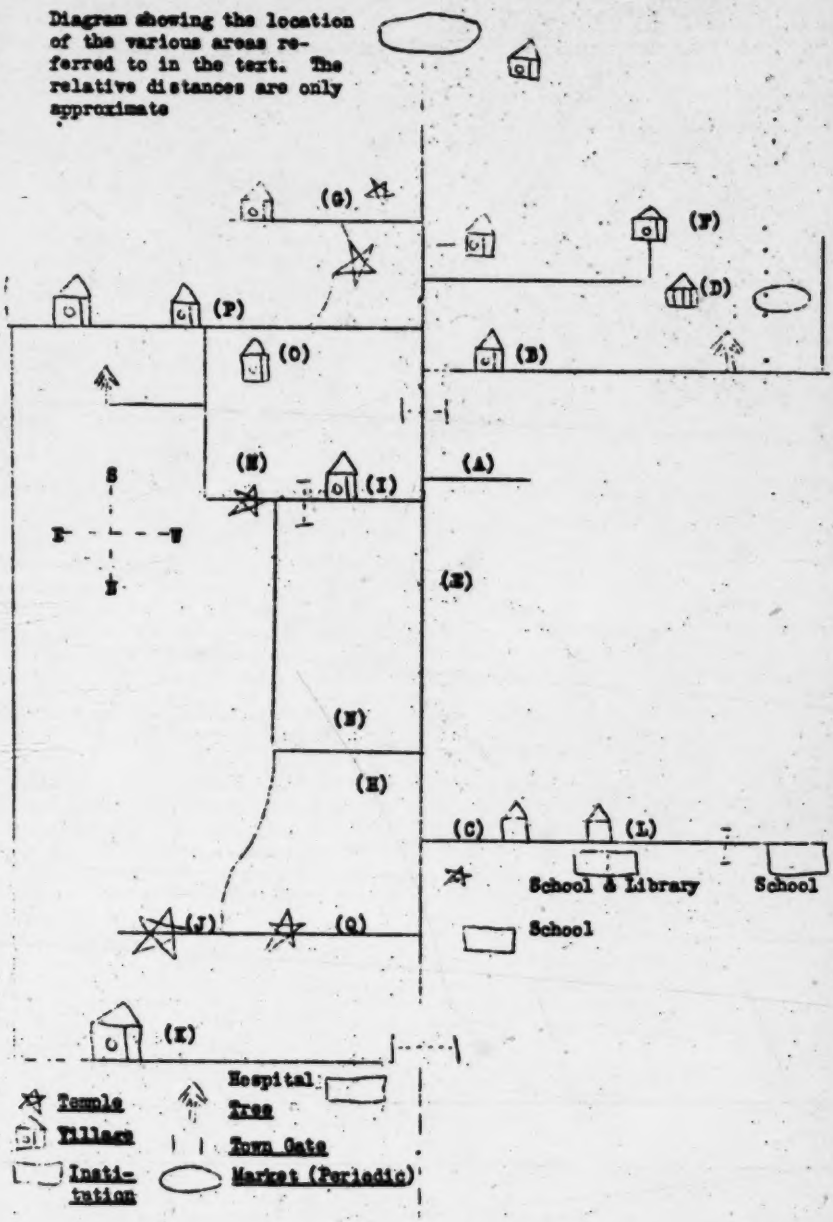
Diagram showing the location of the various areas referred to in the text. The relative distances are only approximate



streets leading away from the center of the town to the outer highway. The fourth night is chiefly occupied by rituals concerned with the Wen God (or the God of Epidemics). This god can release and arrest all evil spirits causing any form of epidemics. On this night his image (made of paper on a bamboo frame, about 15 feet high) is carried about in a torch procession formed by the chief priest and music players through the various streets of the town and its surrounding villages. In this way the god will have collected all those evil spirits and at about 1:00 a.m. the image of the god and a dragon boat (also made of paper and bamboo framework) full of paper ingots, rice, and other things are ritually taken out to the main highway about three li west of the town and burned. The Wen or epidemic is then regarded as having been sent away. (Only two prayer meetings include this Wen God ceremony.)

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The number of persons engaged in each of these affairs is impressive. In most cases the officers of a meeting are listed on a yellow sheet of paper and posted in advance on a wall near the meeting. The smallest number that came to the author's notice was about 12 and the largest number, as in a meeting which took place at Area I on the Diagram, was 77. A moderate list is as the following:

General Direction	10	Looking after offering	1
Management	8	Treasury	1
Receiving guests	1		
Looking after the food	1 or 2		
Worshipping on the altar	2	Inviting Guests	1
Arranging furniture	2	Cooking rice	3
In charge of incense and candles	1	Boiling tea	1
		Serving feast dishes	4-6
Looking after vinegar and charcoal	1	Serving tea	2-3
		Sprinkling porridge	2

The directors are elders or powerful personalities in the local area who do not actually have a close connection with the work of the meetings. The meetings are run by the managers, who are usually younger than the directors. It is difficult to form a clear picture as to who in fact sponsor these prayer meetings. In the Area I, e.g., some of the managers and elders got together and decided on the prayer meeting after a moment's discussion. In the Area X, one elder, who was later in the list of managers, was the moving spirit; discussion of some of the major points concerning the prayer meeting (such as the site) was first announced by him in a little yellow notice posted on the wall near the center of the street, and the others replied by calling upon him.

A scrutiny of some of the lists of officers in the various meetings reveals that generally speaking the managing, directing and worshipping duties are in the hands of older persons, while the works (cooking, serving food, offering, etc.) are on the shoulders of the younger people, professional or otherwise. The duty of serving tea is always done by boys. But it will be wrong to say that the older people start these prayer meetings. The latter are in the tradition no less than the customary organization in agriculture. Different members of a family may have different duties in, as well as ideas regarding, the sowing and planting of rice, but none of them will have any doubt as to the time, necessity and usual manner of the sowing and planting. So it is with these prayer meetings. Such meetings are such a deep-rooted institution that adult members of the community are familiar with their out-

751 796 line to an amazing extent. The author had spoken to many local persons about these prayer meetings, in the beginning of the epidemic as well as after it was over. Not a single adult had any difficulty at all in grasping what was being asked about after the simplest possible reference was made.

In the above list two kinds of officers need a special word. First, the two officers who are in charge of Worshipping on the Altar. These are volunteers who take turns to kneel in front of the gods on the altar during the entire period of the priests' ritual activities. The man on such a duty holds with both of his hands in front of him a special incense bowl containing burning incense powder. In most meetings the duty falls on elderly people who are in the locality all the time. In the Area I, one of these officers was a clerk from the branch office of a governmentally owned savings bank in Paoshan, about 200 kilometers southwest of West Town on the Burma Road. He does not stay home normally. The idea is that he who is on this duty represents the community to show the gods the people's earnestness and sincerity in their appeal.

Secondly, from the latter part of the list it will be clear that there is some feasting. In regular prayer meetings of the community (for example on one of the birthdays of gods) the feasting is usually participated in by all members of the community who have joined the meeting. But in the cholera prayer meetings there is much less feasting. The priests and the music players have to be lavishly fed. So must be most of the volunteer officers. To visitors from this or other areas is served hot tea. Some of the volunteer tea-servers are pupils of the local middle school whose homes are located in the area in which the particular meeting had taken place.

On the walls near all such meetings, and in some cases on the walls of the entire area, are square posters of yellow paper with eight characters in red: "Pray and abstain from evils with all sincerity, clean up and avoid dirt absolutely." At the entrance to the larger prayer meetings, or at the ends of the street leading to them, are large couplets showing that good deeds and earnestness are essential for mobilizing the gods, or that the prayer meetings are a collective effort to propitiate the gods who may decide to forgive sins previously committed by the community.

2. Cost of the Prayer Meetings

556 796 In all the prayer meetings expenses are met by voluntary contributions. The managers send out emissaries to solicit contributions, but a large proportion of the contributors send their contributions in money or in kind before being asked at all. Generally within a local area everybody knows what everybody else is worth, and the contributions are as a general rule proportionate to one's ability to contribute. Sometimes social position in the locality determines the amount one contributes. When the meeting is over the income, with a detailed list of the names of contributors and amounts they have contributed, and expenditures are posted in a public place. Usually the list puts the larger contributor's names first, but again social position of the contributor may be the first consideration. A person's name may appear in the lists of contributors of several prayer meetings just as it may appear in the lists of officers of several prayer meetings. This is either because the person owns shops or houses in the several areas or because his social prestige is important to the success of the meetings in question. In some cases the sum of contribution does not seem to be related at all to the contributor's social position

or to his wealth as compared with others in the same area. Thus two coffin-shop owners in one area (Area E) contributed between them a sum of two thousand and five hundred dollars and are the biggest contributors of the area. The reason is that they have suddenly made a lot of money through the epidemic. In order to make other people feel better and their newly acquired wealth more secure, they deem it best to give generously first to the popular cause. 556 796

There are others who refuse to contribute. These do not openly say that they disbelieve the cause but simply play a game of delayed action until the solicitors are tired of them. In none of the local areas is the proportion of such individuals large, and as far as the author is aware in only three areas are they found at all.

Then as to the actual cost of these meetings. The one meeting which cost the biggest sum took place at the center of the town (Area H). The sum is, in round numbers, fourteen thousand and nine hundred national dollars. The one which cost the least took place in Area B. The sum is about one hundred national dollars. The total publicly announced expenditure for nineteen meetings amounts to about $43,175. NC. 796

In order to realize the significance or insignificance of this figure it will be necessary to compare it with other figures on financial matters in the community. The average monthly expenditure of a family of three to eleven individuals was, according to a graduate from the refugee missionary college, about one hundred and twenty-five national dollars in the first half of 1940. Using this as a basis, when the rise of prices is taken into consideration, the corresponding amount in the first half of 1942 (when the cholera prayer meetings took place) should be from $548. to $1,096. (both in national currency).(7) It is thus clear that the amount expended on cholera prayers in 1942 would represent the average monthly expenditure of from 39 to 79 families of the locality. It is to be pointed out that, although the locality contains some outstandingly wealthy families which could afford to expend thirty thousand or a million dollars for a funeral the largest individual donation in these prayer meetings that came to the author's notice is two thousand and four hundred dollars. This means that the major part of the funds comes not from a few families but from many families.

On the other side of the picture we may mention that at no time had West Town's populace contributed more than one-fifth of the amount expended

(7) According to An Tze-ming: General Conditions of Economic Conditions in West Town (B.A. thesis, 1940), p. 120, 140 and 141. The number of sample families taken is small, so that the average on the expenditure is bound to be questionable. The figure $250.00 monthly is an impression rather than hard statistical fact. Taking 1936 price as 100, the price for the first half of 1940 was 1,848.38 (p. 141, ibid.), and for the first half of 1942, 8,060 to 16,120. Therefore the average monthly expenditure for the families for the first half of 1942 should be as stated in the text. (The sums are obtained by the following formula: (1) 250:1,848 - X:8,060, or (2) 250:1, 848 - X:16,120). One of the author's students in the same college (Mr. Hu Ju-hwai) had made a study of all butchers' families in West Town (May, 1942) and has found that most butchers smoke opium and their average family expenditure about doubles the results of the above calculation. However, this last mentioned study is based upon a special trade. The cost of opium may also have largely been responsible for the much larger average monthly expenditure. No definite conclusion can be drawn from it.

796 on these cholera prayer meetings to the cause of the War against the national enemy. The wealthiest family of the locality, after spending more than one million dollars on a funeral in West Town, gave fifty thousand dollars from their condolers' presents to the national cause and earned for themselves much publicity in the papers.

An analysis of the items of the expenditures shows that from about one-ninth to one-fourth of the total is paid to the priests and their musical and other assistants; from about one-half to two-thirds is expended on food for human beings as well as for the gods and spirits; and the rest is expended on paper money, incense, candles, fire crackers, paper works (image and dragon boats, etc.) and miscellaneous expenses.

796 The ordinary priest's wage for a working day is as follows:

793 Wage - $55.00; Tobacco - $5.00; rice (one sheng) - worth about $18.00; total - $78.00 NC.

465 For the chief priest in a prayer meeting the working day wage may be considerably more. In addition to the above he gets a larger share of the rice offered by those who want their newly deceased family members "uplifted" in the spirit world on the second night of the prayer meeting. In the larger meetings such a source of income is considerable. In the prayer meeting which took place in Area E, the author counted nineteen tables ritually "uplifted" on the second night, which meant that the priests would receive nineteen sheng of rice (or about three hundred and eighty dollars) for the meeting alone.

The priest's wage is very impressive when we compare it with the expenditures of the sample families mentioned above and with the wages of other workers in the community. The author only studied the work of the priests in the community to a very limited extent, so cannot say how many days the average priest works during a month. But when we consider the number of ritual occasions stated in Chapter II of this paper, the total number of the population, and the fact that there are not more than a hundred priests in the community(8) (the community refers to the town and its surrounding villages), we shall have a fair idea on the working opportunities of each priest. Now then, if we assume that each priest works for ten days a month, then his monthly income will at least amount to somewhere around five thousand national dollars.(9) The daily wage of a laborer on a farm around West Town, on the other hand, during rice-planting which occurred in the same month as the prayer meetings, was seven dollars to seven dollars and fifty cents a day plus board. That means that the laborer gets about 240 dollars plus food a month during the "busy period" on farms while the priest gets about twenty times that sum or more plus ten days of food a month. Food for a month per person, according to the best standards in West Town, was not more than three or four hundred national dollars during the corresponding period. The distance between the income of the priest and

(8) This figure may not be exact. It was obtained from the estimates of a few informants. The author's attempts at studying the census records of the sub-district government (which are not exact by any means) met with some unsurmounted obstacles at the time.

(9) For ordinary prayers of blessing and in funerals the wage may be less than that in these cholera prayer meetings.

that of the laborers and those sample families studied is large. His monthly income is even more than double the comparatively high income of the butchers. Probably this fact is responsible for making a larger percentage of them opium addicts than they would have been had their economic position been less favorable. The priests of West Town are undoubtedly a privileged class of people. 796 793 465

3. The Meaning of the Prayer Meetings

(a) The Priest's Explanations. - The author has spoken to three officiating priests of these prayer meetings, one of them the most famous priest in the locality, about the meaning of these prayers. Their explanation is the following: The epidemic[1] is caused by evil Wen spirits, spread forth by the Wen God to punish the people for their sinful deeds. The Wen God acts by order of the superior deities. In order to avert the disaster it is necessary to invoke the mercy of superior deities who will require the Wen God to retract the Wen spirits which he let loose earlier on. It is necessary to invoke as many superior deities as possible. The chief deities, worshipped in the center of the main altars, are the San Ch'ing, who are three deities in one, or Lao Tzo, the founder of Taoist religion.(10) More deities are invoked each day of the prayer meeting, so that a one-day prayer meeting can invoke only a much smaller number of deities than a two-day prayer meeting. The latter again is less effective than a three-day prayer meeting. Usually three days and four nights are an adequate duration, but for real perfection seven or eight more days will be desirable. 796 753

In order to move the deities it is necessary to show first of all that the people of the locality are moral and then that their hearts are absolutely earnest and that their request is extremely pressing. For this reason posters exhorting the people to take care of their moral qualities rather than anything else are essential. For the same reason in each prayer meeting one or more representatives must be chosen to perform a continuous worshipping duty (namely to kneel on the altar with an incense burner in hand during the entire length of the prayer meeting). For the same reason, too, it is necessary for each street as well as each village to have a separate prayer meeting. The petition papers burnt during the prayers are like petitions to our worldly officials. The various amulets and incantations used and performed respectively are special keys which the mortal does not comprehend but to which the deities will readily respond. The loud music by bugles, drum, cymbals, flute, bells, etc., as well as the singing and reading by the priests, are for the deities to hear. The louder the music and voice, the higher will they reach and consequently the easier and more quickly will the deities notice the distress of the area and the more swifty take actions for its relief.

Only a properly "qualified" priest can perform the duty of the prayer, and certain special inborn priests enjoy more such power than others who are less fortunate.

It is not necessary for every prayer meeting to include the "Wen-God-retracting-evil-Wen-spirits" ritual; one or two will be enough to fulfil the purpose. But more ritual actions are always a safer course to take than less ritual actions. The ritual of spreading rice porridge along the streets

(10) It will be interesting to note that this "three deities in one" tale is entirely based upon a traditional novel on deities called Fong Shen Pang (literally, List of Ordained Gods).

[1] [of cholera, in "West Town" -- Analyst]

796 leading to the main road away from the town or village is a measure to make
753 sure that all descendant-less spirits and those spirits who are the results of undue or accidental deaths will be sent away so that they will not be able to create trouble or wreck vengeance on innocent souls by means of the epidemic.

(b) The Worshippers' Explanations. - These explanations are neither
796 as precise nor as uniform as that of the priests. The word "worshipper" needs
753 a word of definition. The author cannot decide whose belief is genuine or firmer and whose is false or less firm. He can only use the criterion of
124 external behavior. In this way he regards as worshippers not only those who subscribe financially or by work to these prayer meetings but also those who do not belong to the few agencies of outside influence such as the college, the middle school and the hospital, and who do not exclusively resort to modern measures of sanitation and injection but passively take the prayer meetings as a matter of course.

In all, through personal inquiries, the investigator has collected about sixty statements. From a review of these statements he has been able to distinguish the following categories:

1. One type of statements gives the questioner the impression: "Why ask? Isn't it natural enough?" To this category belongs the answer given by the watcher of a public granary in the Temple of God of Literature in Area F. He said: "When there is general illness, there is prayer meeting." No amount of explanatory effort on the part of the investigator could make him give a different answer. He knows nothing about the prayers uttered by the priests. He is about 45 years of age and has a wife and children. He and his family have not had any injection. Another man, one of about fifty, a dye-shop keeper, is almost blind of trachoma. He was the sole person on worshipping duty in Area E prayer meeting. That means that the man knelt on the altar for three days and four evenings till 12:00 P.M. or later except for brief intermissions. The author had hoped that this man would have much to say about the prayer meeting but was disappointed to receive the following answer: "That (prayer meeting) is because there is Wen Sickness." He would not mention anything about ghosts or spirits at all. When the author pursued his query further, the man simply pulled up his trousers and showed the author his badly wounded knees, while remarking: "You see, both knees are sore from kneeling." The majority of this class of statements refer to the meetings by saying, "This is doing a good deed."

2. A second type of statements is more philosophical. It may be represented by the statement of a cloth and gold dealer of about 38 years of age, who used to travel among several western Yunnan and Burma cities like T'eng Yueh, Mynkyina, and Paoshan, and had returned to West Town just two months before the onset of the epidemic. He contributed the sum of fifteen dollars to the cholera prayer in his street. He said, "The prayer is good for appeasing the spirits so that the Wen will not continue. I give some money because I want to do my part, not for anything else." When the query was pursued further, the man turned to psychological terms: "You outsiders need not fear the epidemic or other catastrophe in a strange locality at all. When I went out into strange places I know nothing about their gods; I did not fear." "When you walk over a tomb and do not realize that it is a tomb, you are not afraid."

Regarding the doings of the priests in these prayer meetings he said, "Although I know how to read and write a little, I don't know what is

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written in their (the priests') books. No scholars do - their Chiao (or creed) is a different one. ... We only pay them, and what they sing or pray are not matters for us to dictate. We just let them do what they deem necessary."

This man's attitude of indifference towards the priests' incantations and scripture-reading represents, in the author's opinion, that of a large number of the inhabitants toward these prayer meetings.

3. The third type of statements implies that who is or who is not struck by the epidemic is all a matter of fate (Chieh Shu), and that there is no really effective way of prevention or cure. It may best be illustrated by a man's statement concerning the medical powder which a Feng's Dispensary gave free of charge to all applicants. This powder is advertised by this dispensary throughout the town as very effective for curing cholera. One of the managers in the prayer meeting in Area E, a man of about forty-five, showed the author a packet of this powder which he carried in his pocket and asked the author to smell it. The stuff smelled like a combination of aromatic and incense. He and another older man agreed that the powder had been effective on some patients and entirely useless on others. Their explanation was that the question was one of fate and not of medicine or anything else. Yet somehow these two men seemed also to think that the medicines and the prayer meetings were not without their favorable effects. To prove the latter they pointed to the fact as evidence that by then (the beginning of the Fifth Moon) the force of the epidemic was gradually slackening.

4. The fourth class of statements gives one or more specific points of explanation. One man, about thirty years of age, a local shop assistant, said that the prayer meetings were for cleaning up the Wen atmosphere (or air). He did not mention spirits or ghosts until the author advanced to him the idea of "catching ghosts" in a doubtful manner. Then he said: "Yes, yes, they (the prayer meetings) are for uplifting and sending away (Ch'ao Tu) all those descendantless ghosts and spirits! There have indeed been too many deaths of late."

Another man, about twenty-five years of age, who is a laborer of some description said that "the prayer meetings are for providing something (like material comfort) for homeless spirits so that they will go away and not harm the living." (The idea is that each of these spirits, like those which are caused by undue deaths, will usually claim a substitute.)

5. The fifth and last class of statements is from individuals who are very much conscious of the outsider's difference in ideas and customs from their own and yet feel that they cannot raise themselves over and above the doings and affairs of their community. Thus a mason, about thirty-two years of age, named Yang, offered the author at first the idea that the prayer meetings were for uplifting and sending away ghosts and spirits which were descendantless, a statement practically the same as that given by the first man illustrating the fourth class of statements. But as the conversation developed the man suddenly smiled and said: "Of course all these are superstitions." (Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term).

Some statements from the only remaining Chu Jen in West Town, an aged man of about seventy and a highly honored soul among the populace, are even more striking. He first said that the prayer meetings were for the good of the community. Then he concluded, "Ah, Wen sickness, prayers and

796 753 124

reading of sacred scriptures can keep it away!" "The prayer meetings can clean up the locality" (never mentioned a word about the ghosts or spirits). The author then intentionally echoed in a very affirmative tone: "Of course, the prayer meetings have cleared up the epidemic." Upon hearing this the old man instantly responded: "But all these are simply superstitions." (again Mi Hsin, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The author then explained to him, following Malinowski, that the true effect of these prayers might be to stabilize the community during a crisis, in which case they would have their proper function. He made no comment on the author's explanation. It might be that he failed to comprehend what was being said. It might also be that he understood it but did not know how to reply properly. But he simply went on to say that the meetings were "affairs" of the community, and as a personality of standing in the community he had to patronize them. He also mentioned that the community had this sort of prayer meetings on a large scale only once before, in the seventh year of the Republic (about twenty-three years ago) when another Wen broke out (not cholera, but headache and vomiting). This old man contributed twenty dollars to one prayer meeting and twenty-five dollars to another. (He is not at all wealthy.) He headed the list of directors in the prayer meeting which took place at Area H (center of the town) in which the highest single donation was $2,400.

This class of persons generally express, in one way or another, that they feel happier if they participate in the "affairs" of the community in the proper manner, whatever the outsider thinks about these "affairs". To this class also evidently belong some outstanding citizens of wealth in this community. The L. family, e.g. which is the chief supporter of the hospital and the middle school and the sole owner of the public library, spent over a million dollars for a pompous funeral in the traditional style and was the largest single contributor in at least two prayer meetings (one of which took place at the center of West Town). The R., another wealthy family, is also very much in the same position. A most interesting fact was observed in connection with a certain U. family which used to be the sixth or seventh wealthy family of the locality but which has been going down hill for some time. In a conversation Mrs. U. told the author that her family contributed five hundred national dollars to the cost of the prayer meeting in her street (Area E). But on examination of the list of contributors the author found that her husband's name was only associated with the insignificant sum of one hundred national dollars among donators of much larger sums.

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Incidents such as the last reveal that support lent to the prayer meetings is primarily a matter of social prestige, and the individual or family that has not been able to keep up with the expected level feels very much embarrassed.

An analysis of the conditions of these informants gives no definite impression as regards the significance of their age. The author had at first expected to find older people more conservative about the prayer meetings, giving more details, and the younger ones less so. This expectation is not met by the data. It is true that, as stated before, the elders and older people are in charge of the direction-managing and worshipping duties in practically all the prayer meetings. An inspection of some of the prayer meetings in session will also tell us that the spectators standing or sitting about the places of meeting during most hours of the day are either older people or children or older women. But such phenomenon is perhaps natural enough. The middle-aged or other able-bodied men and women have their work in shops, fields, and at home.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotse and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Ta Tueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

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and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of the Western powers which held China in thrall.

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2. O. Brière, "Les courant philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

58. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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779 because of its foreign support and its allegiance
797 to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits, speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The
793 most striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of worldwide policies in any age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[59]

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

59. Jean Monsterleet, S.J., Les Martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung contre l'Eglise duChrist, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

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797 This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the older Catholic areas in North and Central China, the least in such provinces as Kweichow and Kwangsi. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[60] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

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797 Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges and universities have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and universities have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Zikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clea that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

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60. Ibid.

779 797 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of [648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, 668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com- 798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of 797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism 779 as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

668 two-hundred adult groups and thirty youth
798 groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal
797 Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion
779 of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün, Army, or Legion, of Mary. Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

798 Communist policies and propaganda have
797 made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the
779 Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played

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62. Monsterleet, p. 148. It seems to have had much less strength in the Southwest than in the major cultural and commercial centers. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

63. Cf., Hsü, Hsin-Chung-kuo ti tsung-chiao ko-hsin yü-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13. Hereafter cited as Hsü.

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798 up, and nationalistic feelings against it were
797 aroused. Its role as property owner --
779 "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le Communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, [see following page]

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798 espionage.[66]
797
779 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried" and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

798 The next step in the campaign against
795 Catholicism resembled the policy followed
797 in Russia and in the East European satellites.
779 This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments, and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communist teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge.

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65. (continued) p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

67. Ibid., p. 28.

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798 Apparently this organization has had only limited
795 success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2
797 per cent went over to the "reform church";
779 many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

798 From October 1952 on there was less
797 persecution of Catholics, although between
779 January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

797 Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy
797 than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another
204 index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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797
204 of the region had a total of 9 periodicals, while the province of Hopei alone had 40.[71] The following table indicates the number of Catholics and the distribution of Catholic centers in the Southwest:[72]

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71. Cf. R. Lowenthal, The Religious Periodical Press in China, Peking, 1940, p. 8.

72. Figures on Catholics are from Annuaire des missions catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939. Distribution of Catholic centers from Monsterleet, pp. 16-17.

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797

Province	Pop. in Millions	Catholics	Metropolitan Bishoprics	Suffragan Dioceses
Szechwan	53	176,772	Chungking	Chengtu Shun-ch'ing (Nan-ch'ung) Wanhsien Chia-ting I-pin K'ang-ting Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan)
Yunnan	15.	19,999	Kunming	none
Kweichow	14.3	36,866	Kweiyang	none

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798
797 Government and Party moves against the Catholic communities of the Southwest followed the general pattern outlined above. The bishops of K'ang-ting and I-pin, Szechwan, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured in 1951. They were accused of espionage, of recruiting for the Legion of Mary, of sabotaging the movement for "triple autonomy," etc. At the end of 1952 in K'ang-ting, the bishop had been expelled from China, six Chinese priests were in prison, and only two were allowed a limited freedom. Thirty Catholics were in prison; the Franciscan lay missionary brothers were dispersed; the hospital, the orphanages, the leprosarium had been taken over by the Communists.[73] From this and other reports from the Southwest it would appear that the Communists have destroyed a great deal of the young and weak Catholic organization in these provinces. The missionaries returning from this area are generally more pessimistic about the future of Catholicism in China than those returning from areas where the church is better established. Commenting on the situation in Szechwan in July 1952, an authoritative Catholic journal said that there was not a single foreign missionary active in the entire province and

73. Monsterleet, pp. 44-45.

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only four in prison. In the dioceses under the Foreign Missionary Fathers of Paris, and in those in the charge of native clerics, the situation was appaling; the visible hierarchy of the church had disappeared or had been completely neutralized; the faithful deprived of organization and supervision, were left to shift for themselves.[74]

There was a respite from persecution from the Autumn of 1952 onward, though it is doubtful that this permitted any arrival of Catholicism in the Southwest. Churches in Shanghai were well attended, and although missionaries and native priests were continually harassed, they went on with their work. A group of British residents who left Shanghai in November 1955 testified that "Church attendance... has remained large, and Roman Catholic churches, in particular, are said to be jammed at all masses."[75] But the following month the Bishop of Shanghai and his "principal accomplices" were arrested and charged with "plotting a counterrevolutionary uprising." It seemed likely that another wave of persecution was rising in

74. Bulletin de la Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris, quoted in Monsterleet, pp. 211-12.

75. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

798 Shanghai and elsewhere.[76] It might well lead to
797 the extinction of the church in areas such as the Southwest when its situation was already desperate.

The Church in China obviously faces further trials. The fundamental question is how can the church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnesses the persecution in Kwangsi, sounds a sombre note of warning, He is speaking of the cadres:

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds.... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship

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76. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, U.P. dispatch dateline London, Dec. 10; China News Analysis, Hong Kong, 105, p. 1. No details of action taken outside of Shanghai are given.

798 797 nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

177 779 797 In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

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•797 779 Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations of Christianity to the Chinese.[78]

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78. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les Missions Protestantes en Chine" Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Ser. III. Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 4, Dec. 1955, p. 305, observes: "Far more disruptive in almost every mission area has been the swarm of small, independent sects -- pentecostal, holiness, fundamentalist -- most of them divisive. Not only do they assert their unwillingness to co-operate with other Christian groups, but they seek most of their converts from the established churches."

•797 Naturally the antagonism between Catholic and
779 Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[79] Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the motivations of conversion in the village he studied: "The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries."[80] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and, in the twenties and thirties there were serious efforts to curb them. One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor

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79. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, pp. 158-64.
80. Ibid., p. 159.

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•797 results after ninety years of effort, was to
779 reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936.[81] This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism in thought.

[722] The Sino-Japanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north and central China. At the war's end, the

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81. Damobriena, p. 83.

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777 Protestant missionaries returned and set
779 about the rehabilitation of church establishments. Apparently progress was made, but there were disquieting aspects. The interdenominational unions which the Japanese had imposed during their occupation broke apart and sectarian rivalries sprang up again.

> "The measure of self support achieved in wartime necessity collapsed before the inflowing torrent of foreign funds. Leadership which had demonstrated both courage and competence through years of crisis politely yield to colleagues returning from the West."[82]

American financial support also drew upon the Protestants an increasing barrage of Communist and left-wing criticism as the Nationalist Government -- receiving American support -- became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their preponderant emphasis on the social gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied areas than did the Catholics. Yet the more clear-headed of the Protestants could not but dread the rise of Communist power.

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82. Lacy, op. cit., p. 306.

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798 The timetable of Communist moves
797 against Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools, and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. The following figures show the decrease in Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and the almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[83] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have made their peace with the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectarianism, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The "three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this, when stated by the

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83. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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798 Communists, as a praise-worthy end.[84] A
797 leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) "a grand union of the churches"; (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[85] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[86] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist

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84. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-08.

85. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1950, p. 3.

86. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

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798 regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of
797 the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of the church in China is dark indeed.

204 Southwest China was a relatively late
797 and underdeveloped field of missionary effort; it suffered from the tendency of Protestant missions to concentrate in the coastal and easily accessible provinces. The distribution of Protestant periodicals serves to illustrate this fact. Between 1914 and 1937, 18 Protestant journals were established in the southwestern provinces (none in Kweichow). During the same period 124 were started in Kiangsu -- most of them probably in Shanghai -- and 115 in Kwangtung --
797 most of them probably in Canton. The following table shows the distribution of Protestants in the three provinces of the Southwest.[87]

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87. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages appear to be far too high and would yield a larger number of Protestants than the churches ever claimed.

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Province	Pop. in Millions (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Gross number of Protestants (1924)
Szechwan	48.	3.9	12,954
Yunnan	13.9	2.4	7,816
Kweichow	14.7	2.8	9,446

In social composition, the small Protestant communities of the Southwest probably are roughly those of Chinese Protestantism as a whole: 75 per cent rural, 25 per cent urban, with farmers, petty merchants, and workers predominating.[88]

798 Chinese Protestant leaders have not
797 suffered in the way that Catholic leaders have. They have apparently led their churches in a policy of accomodation to the new regime. An account by a Chinese Protestant -- and it is
797 impossible to check its accuracy -- states that there are 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai holding services every Sunday, and we know

88. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

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[redacted] AF16

797 from British evacuees from Shanghai that churches are well attended there.[89] The same Chinese Protestant describes the renovation or building of churches, nine in Hangchow, one at least in rural Kiangsu. He stresses particularly the assumption by Chinese Protestant sects of their own missionary functions -- one of the "three autonomies," he mentions missionary work in Fukien, but none in the Southwest. He further states that nearly 200 students have been enrolled in divinity schools in both Nanking and Peking.[90]

The future of Protestantism is uncertain. The key to its survival is whether, within the strict limits imposed by the new Communist-Nationalist orthodoxy, a Christian church can win over a significant number of the youth. Christianity is continually castigated in education and in the press as backward, superstitious, and unscientific. The rewards of place and prestige go to those Chinese most fervent in their acceptance of the Communist orthodoxy. It is doubtful if a significant number of youth will act to cut themselves off from these rewards by embracing an alien religion.

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89. Wu Yao-tsung "Freedom of Religious Belief in Prosperous Strong Fatherland," Hong Kong, Wen Wei Pao, Oct. 1, 1955; SCMP, 1159, Oct. 28, 1955, p. 41; New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

90. Wu, op. cit., p. 41.

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361 *Wei-hsi.*—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 倪那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung)[16] in Tibetan, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch'un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T'ung-p'an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 ordered the T'ung-p'an Ch'en Ch'üan 陳權 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T'ao 王濤 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T'ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

● [799] 778 A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The Ssu-ch'uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch'un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 寶華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 維安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 蘭經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.[17]

*487 *133 *137 Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch'un Ho from the Mekong.[18] The mountain is called the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 (Mountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T'ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹苗. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong[19] pronounced Kye-nà-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is "To hold or maintain the West."

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEH-CHIH 葉枝 PLAIN

[323] We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

[16] འབར་ལུང

[17] བཀྲ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གླིང

[18] The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GREGORY).

[19] སྐྱེ་ནག་རོང

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Here[1] prior to

1905 a Catholic mission was established, where Père Dubernard was murdered in cold blood by the fanatic lamas. The bridge is 150 feet above the river-bed and one glides down at express speed to less than 50 feet on the other side. Those unaccustomed to crossing by such not altogether too safe means, strapped to an oak-wood slider greased with yak butter, are all but cheerful at the prospect, be they native or European; those used to crossing such ropes suspended high above the river, pass back and forth as unconcerned as we would cross a courtyard. The rope is often greased by the man sliding across; he would put liquid butter from a bamboo tube into his mouth and, holding his head above the rope, would let the butter run out of his mouth on to the rope. Only mules, horses and heavyweights reach the other bank without aid. Lightweights remain suspended on the sagging rope, in the middle over the roaring torrent. This necessitates pulling oneself up hand over hand to the other side. Once crossed one must confess that this sliding into space is not an unpleasant sensation, the only disagreeable feature is the preliminary tying up in leather straps, fastened to the short semicircular oaken slider. The horses are not less frightened than their riders, for they kick the air with tails up and open mouths, and lie down exhausted from fear on the other side (PLATE 164). 487* 133* 137*

From Tz'u-ku to Tz'u-chung 茨中 (in Na-khi, Tsu-dĕr)[40] is a distance of five li. The latter is a scattered Tibetan village consisting of about 30 houses, with a few Na-khi families who have settled there, while beyond the poor village are a few leper huts. The most imposing building here is the Catholic church, almost worthy of the name cathedral. It was built here, after the destruction of the mission at Tz'u-ku in 1905, by Père Ouvrard who also built the church at Ta-chien-lu. He died later at Tz'u-chung. It was Père Ouvrard who told me that it was easier to convert a Tibetan lama than a Na-khi layman, of whom he had not a single convert. A short distance north of Tz'u-ku, on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ch'eng-to-lo 秤多洛, in Tibetan, Chhu-rdo-lung, pronounced Chhu-do-lung or Valley of water and stones. 361 797 487* 133* 137*

From Tz'u-ku a trail leads up the mountain range to the Hsi La 夕拉 in Tibetan Sribs La,[41] a pass over the Mekong-Salween divide (this part of the range being also called Hsi-la hsüeh-shan 錫拉雪山), and thence to the Salween, which route will be described in a separate chapter, although no Na-khi live there. Between Tz'u-ku and Tz'u-chung the river bank is strewn with boulders of coarse-grained purple porphyry and rhyolite, marking the beginning of another development of igneous rocks. At Tz'u-chung proper the river bank consists of pink and black porphyry, which also extends up the hill-side to about 6,800 feet (GREGORY).

Do-lung gorge and Mt. Me-tse-mo. — From Tz'u-ku we follow the east bank of the Mekong, never wider than 60–80 yards, to the Tibetan village of Huan-fu-p'ing 換夫坪 or 換富坪 (H-M., Fangfuping) 25 li distant, and

[40] In Tibetan the name is variably written Tshogs-drug ཚགས་ཏྲུ or Tshed-grong ཚད་ནང pronounced Tshe-drong.

[41] [illegible] [1] [TZ'U-KU-- Analyst]

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 穆頂], A-tung 阿董, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown.
[651] Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in
A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both
[192] the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 be-
[797] lievers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few
[463] merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and
[438] shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged
[135] for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk,
[346] wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich
[197] mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo)[10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] [illegible] [10] [illegible]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 溜頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[20] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual.

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields.

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江舖, La-p'u 腊舖, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴美 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 壩永鍋 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo.

[20] ཨ་ཁ་ལོ

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through sons of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still rivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people. 177 [626] 797 177

The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunnar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Hwang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'eng
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Yuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tzo
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Yuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

[p. 5]

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764 there are enormous tracts of country taken up by graves. In Yün-nan they are usually along the foot of the hills in ground which lies too high to be irrigated and cultivated.

797 On arriving at the town I went to the house of Mr Smith of the China Inland Mission, who very kindly put me up. The European population of Tali consisted of Mr and Mrs Smith and their children, two missionary ladies who lived with them, and M. Leguilcher, a French priest who had been some 40 years in the province.

361 Ta-li is built at a height of 6,900 feet near the foot of the hills which rise up to about 14,000 feet on the west, while a mile away to the east is the Ta-li lake, the official name [133] of which is Érh Hai. This lake is a fine piece of water 30 miles long and from three to seven miles wide, bounded on the east by low, bare, reddish coloured hills. It is [505] full of fish and is navigated a good deal by small sailing boats, carrying passengers and cargo from one part of the plain to another. The origin of the name Tali I imagine to be the Shan words *ta li* meaning *good ferry*. This is only a guess on my part, but as Shans almost certainly once inhabited this plain and as there is still a ferry across the lake near the town this derivation seems probable.

The town is surrounded by the usual wall, which in this case is built of stone, and the population of the place is perhaps 30,000. The people in the town are Chinese with a good many Panthays among them, but the majority of the inhabitants of the villages belong to an aboriginal tribe who call themselves Pê-tsö, but whom the Chinese know as Ming-chia. These people retain their own language, and many of them can barely speak Chinese. Their women do not as a rule bind their feet, but in most respects they now conform to Chinese customs. They seem a quiet, peaceable, hardworking people, and in the winter some of them find their way as far as Burma in search of work.

316 One of the chief industries of Ta-li is the quarrying of marble in the Ts'ang Shan range. The stone is white mixed with black and various shades of grey, brown, green, yellow, and red. It is polished and worked up into representations of scenery which they say are natural, though I have heard this doubted, and it is possible that they sometimes use some stain to help the natural colours.

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•797 Ta-li was the first place where I came across missionaries, but in subsequent journeys I met them in several places, and it was always the greatest pleasure to meet fellow-countrymen in these out-of-the-way spots. Some years later when I had the opportunity of visiting Shanghai and other treaty ports in eastern China I found a great prejudice existing against missionaries among some of the European merchant population. They are represented as men who have come out to China to better themselves, who live in good houses, are highly paid, and enjoy a life of comfortable idleness, always ready to leave their missions and take up any more lucrative occupation that may be offered them.

I am not prepared to defend every missionary in China, and it is possible that such men do exist, but I am convinced that they are, as far as those missionaries are concerned who work in the interior, rare exceptions. Their pay is small—indeed those who have private means receive none at all—and their furniture and food are of the plainest. To suppose they enter the mission as a money-making profession is absurd; and still more ridiculous to anyone who has travelled in the interior is the accusation that they lead pleasant, comfortable lives.

To live for years scores, and perhaps hundreds, of miles from any other European, surrounded by a population who cordially despise everything foreign, and in some places show their contempt in very disagreeable ways, is not the generally accepted idea of a pleasant life. Even travellers in China do not always find their path one of unalloyed pleasure, but they are always moving on and soon forget little unpleasantnesses. It is quite a different thing to settle down for years to an isolated life among the Chinese. Nor must it be forgotten that a missionary in the interior, far from gunboats and consuls, has always in the background the possibility of being rioted and perhaps murdered. The sad events of 1900 have shown that the risk to life that they run is by no means a small one.

As to their relations with the Chinese, they often find considerable difficulty in establishing new mission stations where the inhabitants do not know them and are consequently suspicious. Once established, their relations with

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the respectable inhabitants are generally friendly and even 797
cordial. It is true that beneath this there is in the minds of the Chinese a vein of suspicion, for it is difficult for a Chinaman to look on a European as the same kind of being as himself. But I do not believe that the bad feeling which exists in some of the more anti-foreign places is directed against him because he is a missionary, but because he is a European. The Chinese are not a race with any deep religious feeling, and are quite ready to let men follow whatever religion they please, but disinterestedness is rare among them and they consequently cannot understand men coming out to teach a new religion without any ulterior object. It is difficult for them to believe that it is not some insidious design of foreign governments to introduce western customs.

In the province of Yün-nan no great progress has so far been made in making converts, and they say the Yün-nanese are more difficult to convert than the people of other provinces. Moreover the English missionaries are generally very careful as to whom they allow to be baptized, and make it a rule to accept no man as a convert without a considerable period of probation. Whether their success in their own work be great or small, I believe that English missionaries, simply by living in the country, do a great deal to raise the character of Europeans in the estimation of the Chinese. To the Chinaman in his natural state, the European is thought of as an outer barbarian of grotesque appearance, scarcely belonging to the human race at all. An enormous majority of the Chinese have never seen any Europeans but missionaries, and on them therefore falls the task of trying to dispel these ideas. They wear Chinese dress and conform as far as possible to Chinese customs, so that in course of time the Chinese begin to feel that they are not an entirely different race of beings from themselves. Certainly I have found the people more civil and less inquisitive in places where there are missionaries than in places where there are none.

During my stay in Ta-li the curious festival called the 527
Yin-ch'un was held. This ceremony is performed annually in Yün-nan about the time of the Chinese New Year. It consists in carrying an earthen representation of a man and

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panthers' tracks. It is not often in any country that one would get such a good look at a tiger, and such an opportunity of observing his ways. 136

We were now well into the Chien-ch'ang valley. This part of it is not, however, a flat plain. In fact there is scarcely any really level ground, but between the hills on either side is a width of about a mile of gently sloping land which is cultivated in terraced fields. There are a fair number of villages, but this end of the valley does not strike one as extraordinarily rich. 241

We slept at Liang-lu-k'ou, a small village just opposite the town of Tê-ch'ang which is on the other side of the An-ning Ho, and is said to contain 700 houses. The river is here crossed by ferry in many places, and they were building an iron chain suspension bridge across it at Tê-ch'ang. 797

The next day I was overtaken on the march by a bearded horseman in Chinese dress whom I at once recognised as a French missionary. He turned out to be Père Bourgain who lives at Tê-ch'ang. We both slept at Huang-shui-t'ang, and had a very pleasant talk in the evening.

He is one of five priests who are established in this part of Ssŭ-ch'uan. They had had a good deal of trouble with the Chinese of this valley who are not very partial to Europeans, but the matter had been taken up and the missionaries had got the best of it, so the Chinamen were at present on their best behaviour. I certainly found them very civil the whole way up the Chien-ch'ang valley; and even in Ning-yüan Fu which has a very anti-foreign reputation I did not see any signs of unfriendliness.

Père Bourgain seems to have many converts, and has some even among the Lo-los, though he says it is very difficult to cure them of their habits of drunkenness.

It is impossible not to admire the zeal and unselfishness which induces the Catholic missionary to come to China there to spend the rest of his days in the cause of his religion, without any hope of ever seeing his native country again. For it is only in very rare instances that a Catholic missionary ever goes back to his own land. He makes up his mind from the beginning to live and die in China. Living alone, as most of them do, it is a very salutary rule that they have, that when possible every priest shall go and

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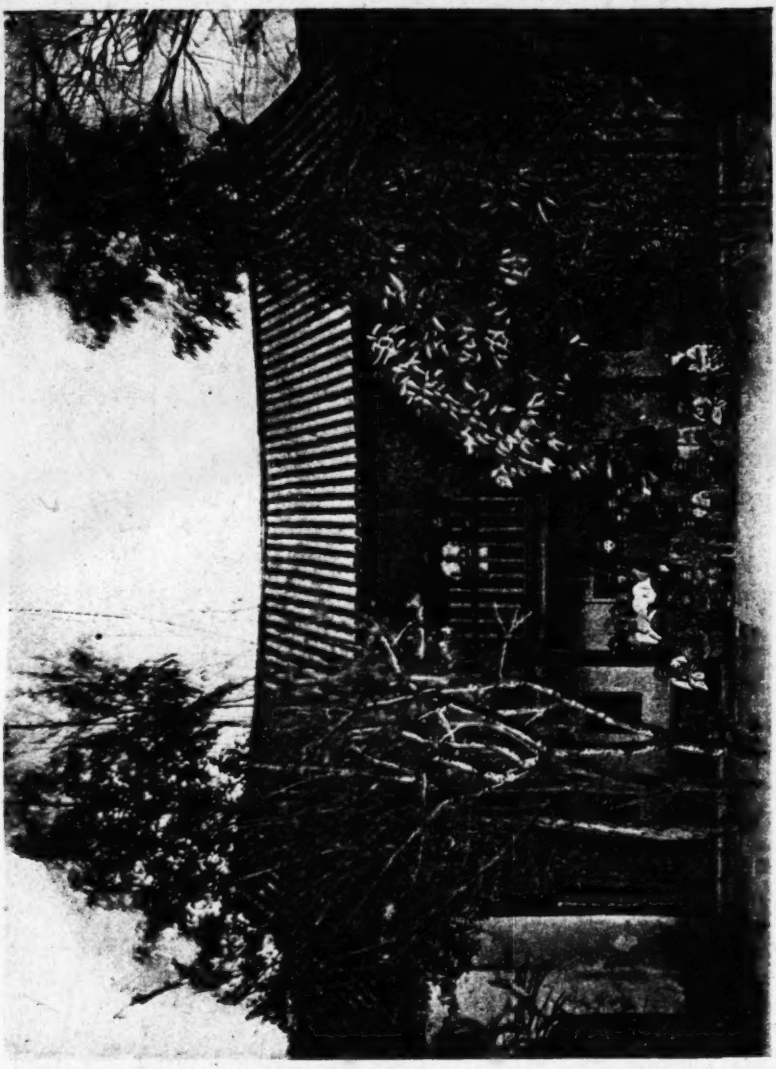

Photo by Captain W. A. Watts-Jones

A French missionary and his congregation

Plate L

[Face p. 218]

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visit one of his confrères once every month, thus mitigating to some extent the feeling of being constantly alone among strangers.

I have during my travels met several French missionaries, and it has always been a great pleasure to talk with a man whom one feels to be a fellow-countryman, for it is only necessary to meet in a country like China, to realise how very much alike are the ways of thought of all Europeans. Many times on the Tibetan border we were much indebted to the French priests for their advice and assistance, always so willingly given.

It is interesting to compare the different methods of the French and English missionaries. The Catholics have been in the field for more than two centuries and at one time enjoyed much favour at the court of Peking. Consequently they have many adherents who have been Christians for centuries, and it is as much in the character of a parish priest as of a proselytiser that the French missionary comes to China. In fact I believe that most of them do not do any public preaching themselves with the view of making converts, but depute much of the work of the extension of their faith to Chinese preachers drawn from their congregations. Being able to go about without attracting much attention, and knowing their countrymen thoroughly, these Chinese preachers can no doubt do much good work.

The Protestant, on the contrary, finds in western China no ready-made congregation to minister to. He often, in fact, establishes himself in a town in which there is scarcely a single convert. He associates freely with Chinamen of all classes, propagating his religion to some extent by public preaching, but more perhaps by private conversations. The progress, as far as Yün-nan is concerned, is usually very slow, but this is partly due to the refusal of the missionaries to accept converts unless they are prepared to show by a period of probation that their conversion is genuine.

The Catholics are perhaps not quite so particular in this respect. The Protestant argues that by taking anyone who offers himself, they will often get men who simply hope to get some employment through the mission, or those who being engaged in a lawsuit expect that the influence of the missionary will enable them to win their case.

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797 The Catholic would answer that though a proselyte may fall far short of the standard of an ideal Christian, still, once include him in the Church, the influence of the priest will reform him or will at all events be able to bring up his children in the way they should go.

In their general attitude towards officials and people the French also differ much from the English missionaries. A French priest once remarked to me, "The only way to keep a Chinaman in order is to make him afraid of you." There is much truth in this remark, and for a traveller it is of much importance that he should do his best to enforce respect. But the object of a missionary is different from that of a traveller, and perhaps the French priests have carried the matter too far.

They have now successfully claimed official rank, and from all accounts are somewhat given to making their influence felt in cases where members of their congregation are concerned. This naturally gives offence to the Chinese officials, and brings unpopularity on the missionary. One must, however, admit that there is another side to this question: it would be very hard on a priest to have to see injustice inflicted on one of his congregation without doing anything to remedy it. However much officials may complain of the interference of priests, no one who knows Chinese mandarins will doubt that the action of the missionary is often in the interests of justice.

The Protestant missionaries adopt as a rule a different attitude. They refused the offer of official rank, which they had the right to claim when it was given to the Catholics. They try, in fact, to be friendly with those mandarins who show any inclination to be civil, but at the same time not to thrust themselves into official matters, and to do without the help of the mandarins as far as possible. Their idea is to conform as far as they are able to Chinese usages, and not to claim any special privileges.

I think that the Catholic system of making themselves feared ensures them greater respect outwardly and perhaps saves them from some of the insults and annoyances experienced by the Protestants. But perhaps, on the other hand, the Catholic in making himself feared also makes himself hated, and is apt to fare worse in any serious anti-foreign outbreak.

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797 In these remarks I hope I have said nothing which will give offence to either sect. I shall always remember the missionaries I have met in western China, both French and English, as men devoted to the cause they have taken up, and always ready to offer hospitality and assistance to the traveller.

000 Père Bourgain returned to Tê-ch'ang the next day, so I had not the pleasure of his company any further. Our march of 19 miles was somewhat monotonous, the plain broadening out and becoming more level. The weather which had been a little warm quite changed again, and the snow on the hillsides was very nearly down to the plain.

361 We slept at Ma-tao-tzŭ, and on the following morning, sending my mules straight on by the main road, I made a circuit myself to have a look at Ning-yüan Fu[1]. This town lies three or four miles to the east of the road, separated from it by a low spur which runs down from the eastern hills. It is consequently not so flourishing a place commercially as some of the smaller towns which lie right on the main road, but officially it is the most important town in the district. It must contain nearly 4000 houses and is surrounded by a good wall three miles or so in perimeter. Just to the east of the city is a good-sized lake some five miles long. The story is that there was formerly a town there which was destroyed when the lake was formed by an earthquake or some volcanic disturbance.

701 After leaving Ning-yüan I was passed on the road by a Lo-lo chief with some of his soldiers. He was the T'u-ssŭ[2] of T'ung-an-chou, a place I had passed through a little time before between the Yangtze and Hui-li Chou. A year or two before this he had got up a sort of rebellion against the Chinese authorities, but the Hui-li mandarin was considered by the Chinese Government as partly to blame for this outbreak, so the T'u-ssŭ was pardoned on condition that he would fight for the Chinese against the Independent Lo-los who had lately been raiding. This he was nothing loth to do, as he is what in the dialect of western China they call a "kuai jên," "a bad man," i.e. fond of fighting. So in the recent hostilities the Chinese troops had been held in reserve while the Lo-lo levies had

[1] Also called Chien-ch'ang Fu. Hence the name of this valley.
[2] Local chief.

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000 of Nrui-da or Tung-ch'u-ling which lies away on the hillside to the left of the road. This is a notable place
797 in the history of the French Mission, for it was here that M. Renou, the first missionary in this part of Tibet, passed ten months studying Tibetan in the year 1852. He lived disguised as a Chinese trader, and established most friendly relations with the principal lama.

000 We slept at Pê-kê and hardly had we started on the following morning when we met some of Ryder's mule-men on their way down to buy corn and straw. We learnt from them that his camp was a little way in front of us, and we soon reached it and found Ryder there.

He had arrived here a few days before, and finding the pass impracticable for animals, had gone on foot to A-tun-tzŭ, so as not to be late in our appointed meeting place. Finding neither Manifold nor myself there he had come back to get his mules over the pass.

We were camped here at 14,200 feet in about a foot of snow, but in this country there are curious thaws of patches of ground while there is deep snow elsewhere, so we were able to get fairly clear spaces for our tents.

The next day, the 3rd April, we tried the pass, and had a hard day's work. We started early so as to get over as much ground as possible while the snow was still frozen. Besides the main ridge there are two other big spurs to be crossed, so that it amounts to crossing three passes, the highest point being 15,500 feet. The snow was two or three feet deep, but was somewhat less in the actual path, as a Tibetan caravan had crossed the day before and trodden it down.

By midday it began to thaw, and my weak mules found considerable difficulty in getting along. They were constantly falling down, and we were all kept hard at work in undoing their loads and getting them on their legs again. To make it worse, we were at a height that made the slightest exertion painful owing to the difficulty of breathing. Several of our men got bad headaches from the rarified air. This mountain sickness I have usually found come on to a certain extent at 13,000 feet, but different passes seem to vary, and sometimes I have felt no bad effects even at 15,000 or 16,000 feet.

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361 [792] size, and has some approach to regular streets in it. The monastery is a fine one and is said to contain 1800 lamas. The population of the place is chiefly Tibetan but there are a good many men of Chinese descent who have intermarried with the natives of the country and become Tibetanised.

631 There are three Chinese officials in the town, one civil and two military. The latter command the small garrison of 70 soldiers and are not men of any rank. The civil mandarin is called the *liang-t'ai* and is practically a commissariat officer, his duties being to collect supplies for Chinese officials passing along the road.

None of these Chinese officers have any jurisdiction except over the Chinamen living in the town. The government of the state is in the hands of a hereditary Tibetan chief who has under him a second chief, while the lamas, here as everywhere in Tibet, have considerable influence in affairs of state[1].

•797 A French Catholic mission has been established here for many years, and the missionaries have passed through many vicissitudes. In 1881 Père Brieux was murdered a few miles from the town. The Tibetan authorities put the crime down to brigands, but there seems little doubt that the murder was instigated by the Ba-t'ang lamas. In 1887 there was an organised rising of the Tibetans, the mission stations at Ba-t'ang, Ya-k'a-lo, and A-tun-tzŭ were burned, and M. Brieux's grave was desecrated.

For some time the work of the missionaries was at a standstill, but after long negotiations, supported by the French Government, they obtained full compensation, and their houses were rebuilt for them. The Viceroy of Ssŭ-ch'uan can evidently exercise his authority here when he likes, though in ordinary circumstances the Tibetans are left very much to themselves.

291 We spent three days in Ba-t'ang, employing the time in buying boots for ourselves and in getting an extra transport animal or two. The boots that Tibetans habit-

[1] Owing to a rebellion which took place about 1904 things have changed considerably in Ba-t'ang. There is now a Chinese garrison there, and the monastery is said to have been destroyed.

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Szechwan and not with India. The reason lies not only in the fact that they are of the same race and origin and have the same taste /211/ for Szechwan-Chinese tea, but above all in the geographical characteristics which make traffic possible all the year round in Inner Tibet, and especially in fall and winter when the animals of the nomads have become fat, whereas the Himalaya passes and ravines are open only for a few weeks to the great caravans.

T C .797

The excellent location of the city of Ta tsien lu has also attracted the large missionary societies that are active in China. Since 1866 Ta tsien lu has been the seat of the Bishop of Tibet. The Catholic Mission du Thibet, a branch of the Missions étrangères, is probably the one mission which can show the most martyrs in relation to the number of its members. The history of this mission (see Desgodins, Le Thibet, Paris, 1865, and Launay, Histoire de la Mission du Thibet, Paris, 1902) is a continuous history of suffering. In the year 1846 Pope Gregory XVI created the apostolic vice-regency with its seat in Lhasa, but the Mission has not yet been able to reach that city. Its members have been completely driven out of the lama state of Lhasa ever since the 1860s and only bide their time on the Chinese-Tibetan border. However, in the meantime, a great, great many have been killed by the fanatical lamaists.

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I was not only most graciously received by Monseigneur Giraudeau (since 1897 Episcopus ecclesiae Tiniadensis et Vicarius apostolicus Thibetanus) but he also helped me overcome a great difficulty. When I came out of the interior and telegraphed my bank to send me money, the comprador sent the sum I had requested to such a small Chinese bank in Chung king, the nearest larger town in which there is a bank, that the post office could not find out where it was. In order to save me new delays, Monseigneur Giraudeau showed me how I could quickly get money through his commissioner. I should like, at this time also, to repeat my sincere expression of thanks for this service.

I was also very graciously received by the other missionaries - since the 1890s there are also Protestant missions here - by Dr. Shelton, an American medical missionary, and M. Sörrenson (member of the China inland mission), although my attire had become nothing less than shiny and my last European coat had been swept away by the waves of the Dsa Chu. I also saw Mr. Amundsen once again. He arrived two days after I did in Ta tsien lu, because the Mandarin Wu had not permitted him to travel farther than Tschanggu. I was kept

T 796 the motley crowd. Schnapps put a crown on the day and soon the valley resounded with singing and shouting. The dancing and singing continued from the end of the performance until far into the night and youth and maiden had their day. What Fan tse does not know something about flirting?

T 563 Bo lo tse were also to be seen at the performance in the monastery. However, everybody looked askance at them for the visitors and all the people from the monastery were Hsi fan, genuine Tibetans from the Scharba tribe. Many of them were ill at ease at the appearance of these simply-dressed people. Involuntarily the women said: "Watch out, there are Bo lo tse over there," and when one of the audience lost track of his horse, suspicion was immediately aroused: "the Bo lo tse have stolen it."

C 437 804 While I was shopping in Sung pan ting for my further journey I came across a Szechwan arrangement that I had never before encountered in China. Whenever I wanted to pay in silver for something in a shop and we had come to an agreement about the price, the merchant asked me to go with him to the kwan ping to weigh the silver. In a low shop on the main street an elderly gentleman sat in front of large iron scales for weighing silver. Thoughtfully and with an air of importance he examined through the large round lenses of his horn spectacles piece after piece of silver which the by-standers passed him. Then he weighed them and with his long-nailed fingers made out a certificate concerning weight and validity, for a small percentage of the value. If one stops to think that in the entire commercial city of Sung pan ting this was the only man in possession of an official license to weight silver, that no other set of scales was regarded as authentic, that everyone who paid in silver hastened to the kwan ping, then one realizes the importance of this position and its profitableness. The owner of the scales had to buy his license for a lump sum from the ting. But the people were so used to the procedure that not only the uncoined silver but also the Szechwan silver dollars which had been introduced four years before by the kwan ping man, had to be tested for weight and value. The people regarded the arrangement as a benefit because they were thus protected from frequent fraud, from bad silver and bad scales.

C 797 During my shopping I accidentally learned in one of the stores that there was another European beside myself staying in the city. A few days before Monseignor Dury, priest of the Missions étrangères, had moved into the house belonging to his mission. When I called on him I found the extremely gracious Frenchman all alone with a

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Chinese Christian as his servant. In Sung pan his mission owned an old one-story Chinese house and had transformed the so-called schang fang in the back part of the long freehold farm into a chapel. However, since the most recent persecution of Christians this was only surreptitiously visited. /281/ Monseignor Dury had come up from Mao tschou in order to demand indemnity for this persecution; the Bishop of Tschang tu fu had been assured by the provincial authorities that the instigators would be punished. This persecution of the Christians had also started as a result of an incident which was in itself trivial. The yamen of the ting had introduced a kwang ping, an official set of scales, for weighing medicinal roots. Everyone who sold drugs was supposed to use these scales and pay a small tax, similar to that paid for the silver scales. The scales franchise was offered for sale by the yamen and an old Catholic had bought it for 100 taels. However, his competitors for this sinecure banded together and used the general dissatisfaction among the druggists, which had arisen as a result of the innovation, to stir up feeling first of all against the owner and then against his religion and his brothers-in-faith. To be sure, Monseignor Dury was not at all in favor of having his confessant buy the kwan ping and become a "publican and sinner," but it had already happened when he heard of it.

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Hate increased. The yamen people, frightened by the unsuspected effect of their new institution, said that the Catholic had persuaded them to adopt it, and that increased the fury of the populace. The result was that 9 Catholic Christians and 23 non-Catholics were slain at night. But the people of Sung pan ting were not satisfied with this. In order to calm them the ting and the tschen tai (general) issued a proclamation saying that people should rest assured, from now on no Christian would be permitted to hold any kind of office. And when the druggists and numerous root-diggers who live lower down in the Min Valley threatened to attack the city, the general promised to hand over to them all Catholics in bonds. However, things did not go that far. The French missionaries learned about the affair and handed in a protest in Tscheng tu fu. The kwan ping was no longer given out and the populace gradually calmed down, while the yamen finally declared his willingness to pay 2,000 taels for the murdered Christians.

Intrigues and obstacles on the part of the ting filled in the period from August 6 to 23. Then a small group of riders newly equipped and with fresh horses left the north gate of Sung pan, followed the Min River upstream along a very comfortable mule road and, after

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175 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,
669 outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese
563 central government occurred further to the
798 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

[continued next page]

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II. BUDDHISM

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798 This oldest of imported religions shows, in its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot Tai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and Nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered severe attrition. Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools, barracks, and police stations.[5]

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

779 and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshipped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[30] One sample survey showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for their original purpose;[31] the decline in the last twenty-five years has been accelerated. It should be noted that many of the folk cults of Yunnan and Kweichow are of local origin and do not share the common characteristics of the folk Taoism of the old settled provinces.

798 In the case of folk Taoism, and other local cults, the Communists have moved to bring to an end a complex of ancient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay

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30. Cf., Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

798 away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."[32] At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Hygiene Movement, and the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," "unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

575 Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society. These organizations have traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, especially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a

32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

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779 797 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of [648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, 668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com- •798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of 797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism 779 as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

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668 two-hundred adult groups and thirty youth
798 groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal
797 Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion
779 of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün, Army, or Legion, of Mary. Many experienced Catholic missionarie were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

798 Communist policies and propaganda have
797 made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the
779 Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played

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62. Monsterleet, p. 148. It seems to have had much less strength in the Southwest than in the major cultural and commercial centers. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

63. Cf., Hsü, Hsin-Chung-kuo ti tsung-chiao ko-hsin yü-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13. Hereafter cited as Hsü.

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798 up, and nationalistic feelings against it were
797 aroused. Its role as property owner --
779 "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le Communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, [see following page]

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798 espionage.[66]
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779 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried" and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

798 The next step in the campaign against
795 Catholicism resembled the policy followed
797 in Russia and in the East European satellites.
779 This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments, and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communist teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge.

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65. (continued) p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

67. Ibid., p. 28.

798 Apparently this organization has had only limited
795 success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2
797 per cent went over to the "reform church";
779 many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

798 From October 1952 on there was less
797 persecution of Catholics, although between
779 January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

797 Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy
797 than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another
204 index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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• 798 797 Government and Party moves against the Catholic communities of the Southwest followed the general pattern outlined above. The bishops of K'ang-ting and I-pin, Szechwan, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured in 1951. They were accused of espionage, of recruiting for the Legion of Mary, of sabotaging the movement for "triple autonomy," etc. At the end of 1952 in K'ang-ting, the bishop had been expelled from China, six Chinese priests were in prison, and only two were allowed a limited freedom. Thirty Catholics were in prison; the Franciscan lay missionary brothers were dispersed; the hospital, the orphanages, the leprosarium had been taken over by the Communists.[73] From this and other reports from the Southwest it would appear that the Communists have destroyed a great deal of the young and weak Catholic organization in these provinces. The missionaries returning from this area are generally more pessimistic about the future of Catholicism in China than those returning from areas where the church is better established. Commenting on the situation in Szechwan in July 1952, an authoritative Catholic journal said that there was not a single foreign missionary active in the entire province and

73. Monsterleet, pp. 44-45.

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798 only four in prison. In the dioceses under the
797 Foreign Missionary Fathers of Paris, and in those in the charge of native clerics, the situation was appaling; the visible hierarchy of the church had disappeared or had been completely neutralized; the faithful deprived of organization and supervision, were left to shift for themselves.[74]

There was a respite from persecution from the Autumn of 1952 onward, though it is doubtful that this permitted any arrival of Catholicism in the Southwest. Churches in Shanghai were well attended, and although missionaries and native priests were continually harassed, they went on with their work. A group of British residents who left Shanghai in November 1955 testified that "Church attendance... has remained large, and Roman Catholic churches, in particular, are said to be jammed at all masses."[75] But the following month the Bishop of Shanghai and his "principal accomplices" were arrested and charged with "plotting a counterrevolutionary uprising." It seemed likely that another wave of persecution was rising in

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74. Bulletin de la Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris, quoted in Monsterleet, pp. 211-12.

75. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

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798 797 Shanghai and elsewhere.[76] It might well lead to the extinction of the church in areas such as the Southwest when its situation was already desperate.

The Church in China obviously faces further trials. The fundamental question is how can the church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnesses the persecution in Kwangsi, sounds a sombre note of warning, He is speaking of the cadres:

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds.... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship

76. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, U.P. dispatch dateline London, Dec. 10; China News Analysis, Hong Kong, 105, p. 1. No details of action taken outside of Shanghai are given.

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nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

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798 The timetable of Communist moves
797 against Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools, and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. The following figures show the decrease in Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and the almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[83] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have made their peace with the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectarianism, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The "three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this, when stated by the

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83. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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798 Communists, as a praise-worthy end.[84] A
797 leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) "a grand union of the churches"; (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[85] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[86] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist

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84. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-08.

85. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1950, p. 3.

86. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

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798 regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of
797 the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of the church in China is dark indeed.

204 Southwest China was a relatively late
797 and underdeveloped field of missionary effort; it suffered from the tendency of Protestant missions to concentrate in the coastal and easily accessible provinces. The distribution of Protestant periodicals serves to illustrate this fact. Between 1914 and 1937, 18 Protestant journals were established in the southwestern provinces (none in Kweichow). During the same period 124 were started in Kiangsu -- most of them probably in Shanghai -- and 115 in Kwangtung --
797 most of them probably in Canton. The following table shows the distribution of Protestants in the three provinces of the Southwest.[87]

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87. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages appear to be far too high and would yield a larger number of Protestants than the churches ever claimed.

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Province	Pop. in Millions (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Gross number of Protestants (1924)
Szechwan	48.	3.9	12,954
Yunnan	13.9	2.4	7,816
Kweichow	14.7	2.8	9,446

In social composition, the small Protestant communities of the Southwest probably are roughly those of Chinese Protestantism as a whole: 75 per cent rural, 25 per cent urban, with farmers, petty merchants, and workers predominating.[88]

798 Chinese Protestant leaders have not
797 suffered in the way that Catholic leaders have. They have apparently led their churches in a policy of accomodation to the new regime. An account by a Chinese Protestant -- and it is
797 impossible to check its accuracy -- states that there are 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai holding services every Sunday, and we know

88. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

726 apparently were intended to convince the people
669 that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

726 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents."
668 Closely connected with the suppression of
798 Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

Chinese Christian as his servant. In Sung pan his mission owned an old one-story Chinese house and had transformed the so-called schang fang in the back part of the long freehold farm into a chapel. However, since the most recent persecution of Christians this was only surreptitiously visited. /281/ Monseignor Dury had come up from Mao tschou in order to demand indemnity for this persecution; the Bishop of Tschang tu fu had been assured by the provincial authorities that the instigators would be punished. This persecution of the Christians had also started as a result of an incident which was in itself trivial. The yamen of the ting had introduced a kwang ping, an official set of scales, for weighing medicinal roots. Everyone who sold drugs was supposed to use these scales and pay a small tax, similar to that paid for the silver scales. The scales franchise was offered for sale by the yamen and an old Catholic had bought it for 100 taels. However, his competitors for this sinecure banded together and used the general dissatisfaction among the druggists, which had arisen as a result of the innovation, to stir up feeling first of all against the owner and then against his religion and his brothers-in-faith. To be sure, Monseignor Dury was not at all in favor of having his confessant buy the kwan ping and become a "publican and sinner," but it had already happened when he heard of it.

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T 796 the motley crowd. Schnapps put a crown on the day and soon the valley resounded with singing and shouting. The dancing and singing continued from the end of the performance until far into the night and youth and maiden had their day. What Fan tse does not know something about flirting?

T 563 Bo lo tse were also to be seen at the performance in the monastery. However, everybody looked askance at them for the visitors and all the people from the monastery were Hsi fan, genuine Tibetans from the Scharba tribe. Many of them were ill at ease at the appearance of these simply-dressed people. Involuntarily the women said: "Watch out, there are Bo lo tse over there," and when one of the audience lost track of his horse, suspicion was immediately aroused: "the Bo lo tse have stolen it."

C 437 804 While I was shopping in Sung pan ting for my further journey I came across a Szechwan arrangement that I had never before encountered in China. Whenever I wanted to pay in silver for something in a shop and we had come to an agreement about the price, the merchant asked me to go with him to the kwan ping to weigh the silver. In a low shop on the main street an elderly gentleman sat in front of large iron scales for weighing silver. Thoughtfully and with an air of importance he examined through the large round lenses of his horn spectacles piece after piece of silver which the by-standers passed him. Then he weighed them and with his long-nailed fingers made out a certificate concerning weight and validity, for a small percentage of the value. If one stops to think that in the entire commercial city of Sung pan ting this was the only man in possession of an official license to weight silver, that no other set of scales was regarded as authentic, that everyone who paid in silver hastened to the kwan ping, then one realizes the importance of this position and its profitableness. The owner of the scales had to buy his license for a lump sum from the ting. But the people were so used to the procedure that not only the uncoined silver but also the Szechwan silver dollars which had been introduced four years before by the kwan ping man, had to be tested for weight and value. The people regarded the arrangement as a benefit because they were thus protected from frequent fraud, from bad silver and bad scales.

C 797 During my shopping I accidentally learned in one of the stores that there was another European beside myself staying in the city. A few days before Monseignor Dury, priest of the Missions étrangères, had moved into the house belonging to his mission. When I called on him I found the extremely gracious Frenchman all alone with a

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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The Twelve Months.—

正月十五湯圓子　二月蠶蛰抱窠子　三月清明填標子
四月芒種栽秧子　五月端陽喫粽子　六月六來扇扇子
七月半　燒箔子　八月中秋喫餅子　九月重陽釀糟子
十月初一穿襖子　冬月間烤烘籠子　臘月三十貼對子

On the 15th of the first moon we eat sweet dumplings.
In the second moon the insects stir and we feed silk worms.
In the third moon comes clear brightness and we put up grave-flags.
In the fourth moon is the busy season and we plant rice.
In the fifth moon comes the dragon festival and we eat rice dumplings.
In the sixth moon comes the great heat and we use our fans.
In the seventh moon there is a festival and we burn paper money.
In the eighth moon is the mid-autumn festival and we eat moon cakes.
In the ninth moon there comes a festival and we eat fermented rice.
In the tenth moon the cold comes and we put on our wadding.
In the eleventh moon it gets colder and we light our fire-baskets.
In the twelfth moon comes the time to put up New Year scrolls.

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The digits.—

大指拇　二指弟　中三娘　王夥契　身小巴兒子出不得氣

The thumb is the elder brother, the forefinger is the younger, the middle finger is the aunt, the fourth the chief partner, but the youngest piggie is almost smothered to death.

The Bamboo grove.—

京竹極　苦竹極　對門對戶對親家　親家兒子會跑馬
親家女會剪花　大姊剪的靈芝草　二姊剪的牡丹花
三姊剪不來　丟下剪刀紡棉花　紡了三丈三大哥
二哥縫件夏布衫　三哥說我心不平　把我嫁在高山苦竹林
要柴燒柴又高　要水喫水又深　打溼花鞋不當緊
打溼羅裙一千針

The green bamboo and the bitter bamboo
Were intermarried relations living in opposite doors.
The sons on one side were brave cavaliers

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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BOOK VI. TIMES AND SEASONS (四季), *ssŭ ch'i*

THE SEASONS OF THE YEAR (二十四節)

Ying ch'un (迎春). Meeting the spring is the farmer's annual holiday. Great crowds go to the city to see the spring ox and the official procession. On the morning of the day, the various small officials of a district city make their way to the magistrate's office, where they get their pay for that day. Later in the forenoon, the magistrate, dressed as a court official, with 16 men bearing his chair and 16 pulling it, comes out in state. Even the yamen underlings ride horses and wear degreed men's hats on this occasion. They proceed to the east gate and meet spring in the form of an earthen ox and an image spoken of as the *mang shên* (芒神) or ox driver. The spring ox is taken to a field on the east of the city, attached to a plough and taken a few times up and down the field, with the magistrate after it; the magistrate then approaches the real plough and buffalo, which has been prepared and decorated for the purpose; this is called *kung ching* (躬耕), personal ploughing. After worshipping the spring ox and driver, he returns to his office by the south or west gate. That day he gives a feast to all his underlings who have congratulated him on being the priest of spring. This is the only day in many officials' lives when they really can be great. Sometimes he rides in an open chair with

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796 garlands of flowers and branches over and around him. The
805 day costs him some hundreds of strings of cash and is one of the gala days of the year.

The ox is made by special instructions from the official, and great interest is taken in all the details of colour both of the ox and the driver. If the ox is yellow, the people say that the year will be a fruitful one, and a bumper harvest is expected. If it is red, fire and calamity will be rife; if white, mourning will be very plentiful; if green, plague will ravage the country; if black, sickness and disease will be plentiful. The spring will be early or late according as the tail is uplifted or downhanging. If the ox is lying down it is also an indication of a late spring. If the garments of the driver are stripped off and trousers tucked up then an early spring is expected, but if its shoes are on and down at the heels the spring will be late. If the clothing is properly on with girdle and garters complete, then the spring will be an ordinary one.

The ancient custom of making a mud ball in the shape of a drum during the winter and breaking it at the opening of spring *chi t'u ku* (擊土鼓) is probably the origin of the spring ox.

Li ch'un or *ta ch'un* is to begin spring. This is the day following the meeting of spring, and the crowd is much smaller. On this day the farmers will not sweep their floors for fear of sweeping away Mother Earth who has to bring forth her fruits, neither will they disturb her by sowing or digging. The spring ox and driver having been taken the day previous to the yamen court, the official, dressed again in the robes of the priest of spring, makes an offering to them, after which he strikes the first blow at the ox which is speedily demolished by the crowd and carried off to the homes and the fields of the people. The calf inside it is taken and carried to some family which has no sons. The driver is burned and the whole cleared out of sight and the ceremony is now over. Among the rustics all this is very important, and some even believe that if there was no spring ox there could hardly be any harvest.

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Yü shui (雨 水), spring rain. At this season flowers are transplanted and trees grafted. Aged people, who need to *chieh hsien* (接 限) do so with the greatest benefit, they believe, at this season. (See *Sorcery.*) 796 805

Ching chih (驚 蟄), the time of moving insects. At this season snakes come forth from hibernation and bees emerge from their hives. The silk-worms' eggs are now taken on to the bodies or into the beds of people, to be hatched.

Ch'un fên, spring equinox, a general holiday for farmers, called the master's gathering, 當 家 會. No one goes into his field or garden on that day lest he should be troubled with birds and insects through the year. On this date the king of birds is worshipped.

Ch'ing ming, clear brightness. At this season, great crowds of people visit the graveyards, *shang fên* (上 墳), and put flags on the graves. These flags are said to show the grave is still attended, but in some places their purpose is said to be to call the spirit. Incense and paper are burned, and food prepared at home is carried here and eaten picnic style. Many go to weep at the graves, but many more go for a day's pleasure, to drink wine and play at "Morra," and many become deeply intoxicated. It is believed that the departed ancestors present themselves and partake of the offered food. At the New Year and the 7th moon feast the spirits of the ancestors return to the home, but at this season, the living visit the habitations of the dead. In Kwan Hsien this feast is spoken of as *lao wa* (老 鴉) *hui*, or crows' festival.

At this time the city god goes to relieve the orphan spirits *shang ku* (賞 孤), by burning the cash paper. On his return journey, the district magistrate goes to meet the idol procession.

Han shih (寒 食) *chieh*, the cold food feast. This is an ancient feast held the day preceding *ch'ing ming*. Formerly no one lighted fires in the house on this day, in remembrance of a certain *Chieh Chih t'ui* (介 之 推) who was a henchman of one of the princes of the Lieh Kuo period. When on one occasion the prince was about to die of starvation, Chieh Chih

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t'ui cut off a piece of his own flesh and gave it to the prince to eat, and thus saved his life. When the prince got to the seat of power, he forgot his faithful henchman, whereupon he fled with his mother, having a willow twig stuck in his hat, to a certain Mien Shan 綿山. When the prince eventually recollected his friend and benefactor he sent men to seek him; Though it was reported that he was hidden on a certain mountain, they could not find him. So in desperation they set fire to the brushwood on the mountain to force him out, but he would not yield and was burned to death; and ever since that time some remembrance has been kept of him; though no one refrains from lighting a fire on that day as formerly, still many people wear a twig of the willow tree, either in the hat or hair, in remembrance of him.

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Ku yü, rice rain. This is the time when the rice seed bed is sown. Rain and sunshine are both needed at this time.

Li hsia, beginning of summer. Summer is believed to come from the south.

Hsiao man, small fullness. That is, the *hsiao ch'un* or spring crop is ready for reaping in order to clear the land for the summer crop.

Mang chung, hurrying to plant the rice crop. This is the busiest season of the year, with reaping and ploughing, harrowing and planting.

Hsia chih (夏至), the midsummer solstice. At this season the male and female principles are unequal and therefore have to be avoided.

The people now begin to count the days till the dog days or 三伏天 commence. If the three *fu* (伏) are complete, there will be 30 days, but they rarely are complete, the autumn coming in before these days have run through their course, but after autumn there are still twenty-four autumn tigers, 秋老虎, following on the *san fu*. In each Chinese moon there are three *kêng* (庚), that is, one in every ten days; after midsummer three of these *kêng* are counted and then the dog days begin, and may last from 21 to 29 days.

Hsiao shu, small heat, and *ta shu*, great heat; these two cover the period just spoken of as the dog days.

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Li ch'iu. The beginning of autumn, which is believed to come from the west. The people are pleased if it is very hot on this date as it means there will be dry grain in the granaries. Again, if this day should happen to be a *chia* (甲), it will rain for 120 days, if a *ping* (丙), it will be fine for that time. 805 221

Ch'u shu, the finish of the heat; after this date the water is drained from the general crop of rice.

Fai lu, white dew. Cool weather arrives.

Ch'iu fên, mid-autumn equinox.

Han lu, cold dew. At this season the farmers sow turnips, plant cabbages, sow tobacco seeds, the tobacco seedlings standing all through the winter, ready to be planted out in the spring.

Shuang chiang, descending frost. The military official goes out at this time to meet the frost which is said to appear as a horse-headed woman. This is the time when all nature dies, and the officials follow after Heaven's idea and carry out such executions as may be necessary.

Li tung, the beginning of the winter, which is believed to come from the north.

Hsiao hsüeh, small snow, and *Ta hsüeh*, great snow. These two periods cover a part of the winter in which it is said the pot cannot be heated.

Tung chih, midwinter. The ancients kept this as New Year. At this season the people worship their ancestors 始祖, and the officials worship the tablet to the reigning emperor. This is said by many to be the root of the year. At this season the family hog is killed or the meat purchased with which the La jou (臘肉), or New Year bacon, is prepared. From midwinter begins the counting of the nines until eighty-one days is reached. In this connection the following stanzas are in common use: 805

The first and second nines, the hands are blown for cold.
The third and fourth nines, the frost kills pigs and dogs.
The fifth and sixth nines, the frost kills the old ox.

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805 The seventh and eighth nines, the hands still hug the clothes. Nine-nines are eighty-one, the farmer ploughs his land.

Hsiao han and *ta* (大) *han*, small cold and great cold. These two periods cover part of the eighty-one days of cold. This period has also a saying—小寒大寒凍死老獠, small and great cold freeze the old aboriginal to death.

NEW YEAR (過年), *kuo nien*.

796 805 As soon as the last moon comes people begin to be anxious as to how they are to collect and pay off their debts; much scheming and quarrelling and even suicide is the outcome.

Tao ya (倒牙). The last meat day of the year. Workmen and apprentices are expected to receive pork twice each month; and an apprentice after he has eaten 72 of these pork feasts is supposed to be a full fledged workman. This is the last of these *tao ya* for that year and it falls on the 16th of the last moon.

On the 20th of the last moon the official seals up his official seals, *Fêng yin*. The seal is put on a table and incense and candles burned in its honour; the official then bows down and worships it. Afterwards it is taken and put into its own case; this case is then enclosed in two others which are locked and sealed, after which it is again worshipped and put away for the New Year holidays. During this period no important official business is transacted, except for cases of preserving peace and life.

K'ang (炕) *la jou*; smoking the New Year bacon has to be done after midwinter; if done before, the meat will not keep good. The poor buy a piece of pork and make their bacon; but the rich kill their own pigs. This is an important affair in the country districts; before the pig is brought forth for the slaughter the master of the house puts cash paper on the ground where the pig will be killed; three sticks of incense and two candles are stuck in the ground round about the spot. When the pig is brought forth the master of the house kneels and worships it, saying, "We are going to kill you for use at

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the New Year season, but in the next life may you become a man." After killing the animal the bucket containing the blood is taken and offered to the family gods, the cash paper on which some blood has dropped is placed on the family altar. This is called *hsien hsüeh ch'ien*, offering blood cash. The pig's blood, after being offered to the idol, is taken and made into black puddings.

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After the 20th of the 12th moon the evil influences which have been governing the year are removed, and any and every part of the house may be turned topsy-turvy; so the housewives take advantage of this liberty and have a house cleaning. After the dust is swept down, the windows are papered with fresh paper for the New Year season.

The kitchen god is sent off to make his yearly report to the Pearly Emperor. Before he goes sugar candy and tea are offered to him and some even make a written petition regarding the affairs of the family. This petition, called a *tsao shu*, kitchen god petition, is burned at his shrine. He is supposed to leave on the 23rd and come back on the 24th of the last moon, but in some places it is the last night of the New Year before the returning ceremony is observed; when he does come back there is much idolatry with a great deal of importance attached to the event.

Owing to business being largely suspended for some days, and the general need of money by everybody, great quantities of idolatrous and eatable supplies are laid in during the last week of the year. Among the rich plenty of sweetmeats are prepared in the home by a specially engaged cook.

Gratuities are given to servants and assistants at the close of the year.

About the 24th there is a feast to wind up the year, *t'uan* (團) *nien*, when the whole household is expected to be present. Before eating, the ancestral tablet is worshipped and the food is offered to the ancestors. It is implied that the spirits of the ancestors return to the home at this season; for this reason no outsider is permitted to partake of this meal, but friends and acquaintances are sometimes invited by the less superstitious.

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Spring scrolls, *ch'un tui-tzŭ*, are put up on either side of the door and on the lintel. A good business is done during the last few weeks by the scholars, who write scrolls for the small sum of from 12 to 30 cash per set.

Fresh door gods are pasted up by nearly every family.

Five sheets of lucky paper or tin foil, *hua ch'ien* or *hsi ch'ien*, are hung up over the door; these remain till business is about to be begun when they are taken down and burned.

The barbers are busy at this season, but after the 16th of the last moon many of the formalities of barbering are dispensed with and only that which is necessary to make a person clean is done in the barber's shop.

Paper clothing and money for the ancestors are burned on the last day of the old year.

In the hill districts the people go to the graves and invite the spirits of their ancestors to return on this last night of the year, when a fire is lighted for their comfort in the chief room of the house and offerings of food prepared for them; but even when the spirits are not invited their presence in the house is implied by every act.

To fire off crackers, *fang huo pao*, is part of almost every act of the New Year season.

On the last night of the year, the younger generations make obeisance to the elder, while the elders make the juveniles presents of money to pass the New Year season.

The rich also make presents to the poor, the gentry to officials; the officials to gentry, etc. The presents are carried in an open tray with a card accompanying. Official presents generally consist of pears, scented rice, oranges, tea and sea dainties. At this season such men as the keepers of the city gates, the night watchmen, street police, come with a present which is only for show and, in return, they expect their annual gratuities.

A card is taken round late on the last night of the year and pasted on the doors of friends and acquaintances; taking leave of the old year, *tz'ŭ nien t'ieh tzŭ* (辭年帖子), or *mên chien* (門箋). In the morning some doors are pretty well covered with them.

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Very early on the first morning of the year the head of each household goes outside his dwelling and offers paper and incense, tea and wine, to the New Year.

There is a custom of going out for a walk before dawn, *ch'u hsing* (出行), or *ch'u t'ien fang* (出天方). If any one is met, no words pass, and what one hears is an indication of what his year will bring of good or bad luck, peace or quarrelling. This custom is also spoken of as *chieh hsi shên*, to welcome the pleased spirit. The almanac tells the direction in which the spirit may be met.

Picture gods of wealth are taken round from door to door and sold for a few cash, the vendor using lucky words and good wishes for the year.

People mutually pay calls, *pai ta nien*, on the 2nd of the moon, and receive and give cakes and sweetmeats.

On the 5th, newly married people go to visit their relatives, *pai hsin nien*. The 5th of the first moon is also known as *p'o wu* (破五), breaking the fifth, after which a good many people begin work and business.

At the New Year season everyone wears his best, and everyone tries to have something new for fear of otherwise becoming a beggar during the year. Flour balls or *t'ang yuan* (湯元) are eaten so that worldly affairs may be good "all round." Dough strips are eaten by almost everyone and are a favourite kind of present, because it "eats long," which may mean long life or abundance of wealth. In the same way stale rice is often eaten at this time, as it is a good omen of plenty in the barns for the coming year. Beggars are often given money on their first asking, as an omen that money will be easy during the year. See under *Superstitious Dread*.

Gambling, *tu po* (賭博), is one of the many curses that come to an idle Chinese population. Up to the 5th, no one pretends to try to stop it. After that date an official proclamation forbids it, but everyone knows this is merely for official self-protection in case of trouble; nearly everyone gambles at this season from the highest officials down to the poorest of the people, and many youths are ruined by it.

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The season is an opportunity for visiting, *tsou jên hu* (走人戶), much taken advantage of by the women and girls, who are largely confined to the house at other times of the year; no one goes empty-handed as that would be very unlucky; but presents of cakes, sweets, bacon, etc., are often handed round several times during this visiting season.

After the 5th some shops begin business, but very often only half the shutters are taken down. No credit is given and no past debts will be asked for. The first customer will be allowed to have the goods at his own price, as it would be unlucky to turn away the first comer without doing business.

A lamp is lighted at the door of each house. In some places the residents are fined if they neglect this custom; the idea is that if the streets are lighted no demon will come to do damage.

The Dragon Lantern festival is held on the 15th. A lantern in several lengths is made, with a head after the likeness of a dragon's. Each length is supported by a light pole and carried by a young, lusty fellow. The different lengths are joined together by red calico, and are swung round and round so as to appear somewhat like a worm writhing. The dragon is the king of the scaly tribe and hence is feared by all the demons. First it is carried to a temple and the idols are worshipped; afterwards it is paraded through the streets and carried into any courtyard that will receive it. The streets are lighted with many-coloured lanterns, and the dragon lantern, lighted up, is paraded round the streets with two men carrying a *pao* or precious thing in front. Huge crowds collect, and a rowdy evening is the result with much stealing, hustling and jolting. This is a very ancient custom, and the chief idea is that the dragon drives away pestilence.

The lion lantern, *shih têng*, is made up by two men walking with bent backs; one manages the head and the other the tail. A huge cloth with a lion's head painted on the front and a tail sewn to the other end makes the lion. After having visited the temples, the procession parades the streets with a priest in front leading the lion. The priest carries a brush in his hand. If invited, they enter any house to drive

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away pestilence. On the streets high platforms are made of square tables piled one on top of the other, and on these the lion-actors perform acrobatic feats of jumping, rolling over to the ground, standing on the head, etc.

The ox lantern is an ox-head painted on a bamboo sieve, with a cloth body and tail. It is used in country towns with the idea that it will bring a full harvest for that year.

A rabbit lantern is pulled along the street by two persons; one, dressed like a Tibetan, leads the rabbit, and another, dressed like a Tibetan woman, drives it. This is connected with the idea that the Tibetan is not only wealthy, but also brings in wealth.

There are also fish, turtle, tortoise, prawn and crab lanterns; the *ao shan* (鰲山) lantern has camphor mixed with the oil and sheds a pretty green light.

There are displays, which are both elaborate and expensive, of *yen ho chia* (烟火架), fireworks. In many of these fireworks much medicine is mixed with the oil; the idea seems to be the driving away of pestilence from the home or community.

The *ch'ing ch'un chiu* (請春酒) is a feast generally given by a landlord to his tenant farmers from the 5th to the 10th of the first moon. Sometimes it is held later and may even be in the second month.

Riddles are written and hung up over the door of the house, and in the light of the lantern festival, people guess the meaning and then, if right, jump up and pull them down; rewards of fruit and sweetmeats are often given to those who make a right guess.

At this time the people eat flour balls with treacle inside; these balls are now called *yüan hsiao* (元宵). There seems to be a kind of concert held in the home, and young men and maidens sing and trip in the form of the figure eight both on the street and in the home. The ballads they sing are called *nung an ko*, farmers' peaceful ballads; but they have now lost that ideal and have degenerated into mere *yin ko* (淫歌) sensual songs.

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Opening accounts, *k'ai chang*, is not done till after the *hsi ch'ien* (禧錢) has been burned. When this takes place much idolatry is observed, crackers fired off and all to get what is spoken of as *k'ai chi* (吉) *chang*, a lucky start in business for the New Year.

Official seals are released *k'ai yin* generally on the 19th of the first moon. A similar ceremony is observed as at the sealing up time.

To visit the graves of ancestors before the 15th of the first moon is called *shang nien fên;* this is done by those who for any reason were hindered from doing so during the last moon of the year. Those graves not attended to before the 15th are known as *yeh kuei fên* (野鬼墳). The reason graves are mostly repaired in the last moon is because the influences controlling the year are in abeyance during the last days of the old year.

To steal some person's vegetables, *t'ou ch'ing* (偷青) on the 15th of the first moon, is lucky.

Children return to school, *shang hsüeh*, any time after the 8th of the first moon ; they have to pay their respects to the master by bowing and knocking their heads, and giving a small present of money. In the case of a gentleman inviting a private tutor for his home he has to make a written agreement the year before as to what salary he will give and when and in what currency ; and what present he will give at the feasts. This is called *hsia p'in* (下聘). A common salary for a master of the old school is anything from 40 to 80 strings of cash with board and lodging, with few holidays except at the 5th and 7th moon feasts. When the time arrives to welcome a new tutor, the gentleman sends a chair and servant to escort him. On his arrival a feast is spread, the tablet to Confucius is worshipped by the head of the house with the three-fold *k'o t'ou*. The scholars must also bend and worship the tablet to the sage of learning and wisdom on beginning their studies.

Then (大人做生意, 娃娃檢狗屎) adults go to business and the children to gather dog manure. That is, every one must get to work.

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753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

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frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tsŭ (桑根紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard *snake, is red with spots* and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of enderic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

speculation. As years go by and if the external influence continues its pressure as it does now, an increasing proportion of the local population will undoubtedly take the modern injection, but they will not necessarily withdraw their support from the measures embodied in their ancestral traditions and customs. The modern injection will then, in the minds of the local people, be ranked side by side with the prayer meetings, the many native prescriptions, the food taboos, etc., and be carried out and received in the traditional manner and not in that of the modern ways of science.

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As the author travelled back from West Town to Kunming on a truck, he observed that in all towns along the road, and in Kunming itself, which the epidemic touched, prayer meetings similar to those prevalent in West Town took place. This fact shows that at least using prayer meetings to combat the epidemic is not peculiar to West Town.

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All these[1] show that real knowledge is intertwined with false assumptions: but since all these doings are traditionally handed down, the two are not exactly and always distinguishable in the minds of the local folk at all. They show that, should we unconditionally agree with Prof. Malinowski that magic fills the gaps of science, our position will be quite untenable. The distinction between magic and science is a post-industrial product and is not present, the author believes, in most rustic cultures. In a rustic culture, assumptions based upon real knowledge are traditionally defined and built up no less than are assumptions of a magical nature. Both are habitual ways of conduct. In this manner magic, far from necessarily occurring at places where real knowledge is lacking, may indeed exist, flourish and operate side by side with sound scientific knowledge, for attaining the same general aims. This conclusion is made especially obvious when the culture is subjected to external pressure - as in West Town. Here we have a situation in which one line of action is traditionally defined and a mixture of magic and real knowledge, while another line of action is clearly based upon modern science and, as far as the moderns can see, contains no significant false assumptions. Can the new knowledge based upon scientific experiments replace the traditional mixture? The answer has already been given in the facts presented in the foregoing pages: It cannot. First, as we have seen, the use of either magic or real knowledge in the community comes from the same attitude of mind. Second, the traditional attitude which gives sanction to the local practices inevitably requires that when new practices present themselves they be added to the total list if they are not too strange and rejected. The addition is not to replace the old ones but to operate side by side with the others. The attitude behind practices based upon theories of modern medicine, on the other hand, is characterized by a vehement desire to replace the old practices completely. This attitude of mind is incomprehensible to the rustic mind.

Third, the native measures are largely of a communal nature. An examination of the diagram just given will show that the prayer meetings are the center and most other measures taken (such as the taboos on dirt, food, insistence on morals, drinking of "fairy water", etc.) are supplementary to them and form with them a whole conceptual and working system. These communal doings are part of the social organization. They reveal the position of the individual in the community. They bind individuals of the community to one another. They are as important as other communal doings, either religious ones (such as shown in the annual cycle of religious occasions and many others) or social ones (such as the suppression of breach of customs, especially in the sexual domain). That the most literary man of the district (Mr. Chao) had to participate in more than one prayer meeting and yet failed to defend his position when asked by the outsider, that the two carpenters who made the most out of the epidemic had to subscribe very generously to the cause of the prayer meetings, and that the wealthiest family of the locality which had given shape to the modernized hospital and schools should also lend large financial support to these prayer meetings, are all indications of the true weight of the rustic practices. The last case is especially interesting. The family's support of two widely divergent types of institutions at the same time shows that both efforts do not involve a question of principles (whether magic or science) but are means by the traditional pattern to achieve the same social end, namely prestige in the community. That is why, although West Town has been subjected to so much influence from outside, as we have seen in Chapter II of this paper, still the traditional practices remain as firmly entrenched in the minds of the populace as ever.

1 [measures taken against epidemic cholera -- Analys]

The anti-choleric injection and other modern measures of sanitation, on the other hand, are without such root in the community. They have to come in by way of individual adjustments and not by way of communal transformation. It is this fact, the author thinks, which is responsible for the phenomenon that more children than adults have taken the injection. It is this fact also which is responsible for the circumstance that the older people are in directing positions in the prayer meetings. This fact also indicates that the modern injection will have to become another accepted way of doing things (whether it be magic or science as the outside observer conceives of it) in order to come into the community at all. For although individual adjustments may be comparatively easier to effect than a communal transformation, as long as the individual has to live and be a respectable member in the community he or she cannot afford to be indifferent or antagonistic towards the life, work and public affairs of the community. In such a case, individual refusal to participate in the communal undertakings means much more than an individual affair. The individual refuses to participate at the risk of being ostracized for by doing so he is thought to be endangering the entire community.

We have thus in a way reversed Professor Malinowski's position on the relation between magic and science. He took science for granted and conceived of magic as something secondary, to take up the places where science has failed. Professor Malinowski has lived and thought in the scientific era of European civilization, where magic in many spheres of life, such as technology and hygiene, is clearly distinguishable from the main body of knowledge based upon modern science. When we look at the matter from the point of view of the rustic culture the picture is entirely changed. For then science is no longer the general background; the background, usually a mixture of sound knowledge and magic, is cloaked under the local traditions and habits, while the clearly defined scientific ideas and usages from outside will have to struggle for a foothold, taking up the places where the traditional mixture of real knowledge and magic has failed and being woven into this mixture.

There is a further question to be answered. Can we say that, following Malinowski, if some of the practices (such as the prayer meetings) do not seem to have any obvious physical bearing on the epidemic, they nevertheless provide the individual and the community with a means to psychological stability to tide over the crisis? The answer, as the author sees it, is neither in the positive nor in the negative because, after the foregoing analysis, the question does not in fact exist at all. All the practices so far analyzed are traditional ways of meeting life's problems and situations and therefore undifferentiated as regards science or magic. The prayer meetings are as important as the taboos on food. The latter again are as important as one or other of the many medicinal prescriptions or the emphasis on "morals". Very often, to many individuals, all of these are again as important as the drinking of the "fairy water". That this is the characteristic mental attitude may be confirmed without difficulty in other walks of life. At a wedding, for example, the practices which we as investigators brand as magic (such as the custom that the bridegroom must face a certain direction when the bride's sedan chair comes in) exist side by side with others which we as investigators brand as real knowledge (such as the use of a sedan chair to carry the bride, or a particular way of displaying the dowry through the streets). On the Fifth of the Fifth Moon, a festival, each child or adult has some orpiment (As_2S_3) (mixed in water) smeared in earholes, nostrils and other vital parts of the body. This is to ensure that no worms or anything else should penetrate into the body through those openings. At the same time small brushes or mops made of

757 hemp dyed in different colors are hung on the body, to sweep away diseases throughout the coming year. Now, by chemical analysis we know that orpiment has disinfecting properties, and therefore the first practice has a scientific basis; but no science has yet told us the disease-cleaning property of a tiny hemp mop hung on the body. In the treatment of particular diseases we may observe the same thing. In West Town the traditional method of treating skin diseases, like scabies, is the following: (1) The women of the house, with the patient, go to a corner just outside the southern town gate and cook an afternoon meal in the open air. Then the meal is ready the eldest woman, leading the patient, makes an offering of food and incense and koutous with the patient in all directions. Some paper money is burned. Then the women have a meal together with the patient on the spot. (2) Before or after the above ritual the family prepares a kind of mixture consisting of Hwang Lien (Coptis teeta, Wall or Radix coptidis, containing Berberin ($C_{20}H_{17}NO_4$)) and lard, and smears it on the sores. The idea behind the offering is that a Ku Nai (goddess) is in control of all cases of the disease and has to be appeased. None of the women of whom the author inquired could give any definite relationship between the medicinal mixture and the offering. Some women simply answered: "Here we also believe in this." (This refers to the medicinal mixture.)

813 Now which type of practice provides psychological stability and which does not? Can we say that the prayer meetings provide an emotional outlet for the people more than do the many medicinal prescriptions? Can we say that the direction in which the bridegroom is sitting is of greater psychological importance than the use of the sedan chair? Can we say that the smearing of orpiment on the body on the Fifth of the Fifth Moon comes from a different kind of reasoning than does the carrying of tiny hemp mops on the same occasion? And finally, in the case of the treatment of the skin diseases, can we say that the offering-picnic satisfies the people's spiritual want more than does the particular kind of local therapeutics? Or to put the matter more plainly, is the method of wielding an axe in order to secure fuel for the kitchen any less important psychologically than the matter of putting a string of coins on the main beam (to ensure peacefulness) in the construction of a house (the practice is prevalent in the author's home village in southern Manchuria)? The author fails to see the desired distinctions and must repeat the observation that both the "scientific" acts and the acts based upon false assumptions are traditionally standardized behavior and are hardly distinguishable as one or the other in the minds of the majority of the people. Even in such a crisis as the present epidemic, the West Town populace's attitudes as a whole regarding it and their means to combat it are highly formal. The demand for an explanation from the ordinary folk of the community meets again and again with replies which may be summarized in the following unreflective statement: "When there is Wen (epidemic) we have these prayer meetings. We had prayer meetings on such a scale once before, in the Seventh year of the Republic, when another Wen broke out in our community."

When there is an untraditional happening of momentum such as a bombing or enemy invasion the people may either treat it as a traditional occurrence (the inhabitants of Lu Feng, Yunnan, set up prayer meetings against bombing in the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War[15]) or ran into an

(15) The author is indebted for this information to Dr. H. T. Fei, who came across the occurrence while investigating in the area.

absolute panic because they are without means to deal with it.) (The inhabitants of West Town and of the Tali district in general were very much stirred up when Burma fell and a Japanese invasion was imminent in the spring of 1942. Many families began to move further north.) In the latter case the emotional tension is not relieved at all.

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The behavior of West Town people and the conduct based upon modern scientific medicine in connection with the epidemic may therefore be summarized in the following diagram (Diagram II). In both types of behavior there is an aim and an expected result. The behavior is the means. In the traditional way, the epidemic is not felt unless deaths have occurred in considerable numbers. Then the epidemic is represented as a simple ailment falling upon the populace as a sort of punishment from the gods for unsatisfactory conduct. There is no effort to differentiate what kind of epidemic it is. And the ways of dealing with it are ready-made and a straight-forward matter - the prayer meetings, the taboos and other doings come by with a minimum of reflective effort or none at all. All these doings present an appearance of spontaneity. Every measure in outline and function is practically understood and known to all adults and is not a matter for dispute or discussion. The expected result is the end of the epidemic.

The way of modern medicine based upon experimental sciences is more complicated. The point of departure is the sudden discovery of a few cases of suspicious symptoms. Then there is an effort to determine the responsible bacteria, with the aid of the microscope. It is then decided that the cause is vibrio cholerae, and their is a sudden alarm of an impending epidemic. Steps to deal with this crisis are then decided upon. After the scientifically determined measures have been meticulously carried out, the modern public health officer may declare that the epidemic will probably end soon.

In either pattern of behavior a medium of the trouble is decided upon, the difference being that in one case the medium is found to be precisely vibrio cholerae, while in the other it is all and any god. In the modern pattern the effort of general cleanliness and prevention of infection is a highly deliberated matter, with the definite view of preventing the transmission of the bacteria. In the local pattern much the same effort is carried out during the crisis for the purpose of pleasing the gods. It is clear then, that the situation is not one of difference between magic on the one hand and science or real knowledge on the other, but one between a certain body of traditionally defined behavior based upon a mixture of knowledge and fantasy, on the one hand, and a certain other body of behavior based upon knowledge and ideas derived from experiments and observations through procedures of modern science, on the other. The first body of behavior has become a part of the indigenous culture, while the second body has just come from outside and is struggling for a foothold.

In the individual cases the traditional behavior pattern is somewhat different. The illness causes a person and his or her family to think in terms of a variety of causes - maybe the patient has displeased the gods; maybe it is his fate; or maybe the illness is simply a bodily trouble; but usually the causes are multiple. No effort, of course, is directed at determining the exact cause, but actions are taken on all known possibilities. Spirits are invoked, medicines taken, finger tips needled to let out blood, "fairy water" is drunk, fortune tellers are consulted, and so forth. Almost anything that presents the slightest suggestion of a cure, whether the information

8/3 comes from a qualified person or not, if the suggestion be not too drastically different from the traditional conceptions, may be accepted. In such a context the modern injection or medicine may be accepted - not through an understanding of the therapeutic principles by the accepting party but simply because it is another unknown power, whether it be magical or scientific.

DIAGRAM II

COMMUNAL (a. the traditional way: b. the scientific way)

Aim	Means		Result
a. Epidemic(to get rid of the Wen that causes many deaths).	Prayer meetings, taboos, etc. (There is no question that the cause is spirits or fate, but this is only understood, not discussed. Certain "cold" food may also be responsible for some individual cases of the illness.)		End of the epidemic
Aim	Means (1)	Means (2)	Result
b. Epidemic (to get rid of it)	What epidemic? (Cholera. The use of the microscope enables man to find out that it is caused by vibric cholerae which multiply rapidly in optimum temperatures and in suitable media, etc.)	(1) Injection (using fluid containing 8 billion bacteria to the cc), etc. (2) control of transmission of bacteria by flies, water, natural ice, etc. (3) General sanitation, etc.*	The epidemic will end.

* Modern medical authorities think that "the forecasting of cholera epidemics has now become an actual possibility. Based upon statistics which have been subjected to modern scientific analysis, an outbreak of cholera can be predicted two to three months ahead." Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, pp. 438-439.)

INDIVIDUAL

Aim	Means(1)	Means (2)	Result
a. Individual illness caused by Wen or cholera to be relieved.	Fate, Displeased gods, bodily trouble, accidental.(the various causes are not certain nor clearly defined.)	To invoke spirits, observe taboo on food, etc. Also, Medicine (any) Let open finger tips, Needling, any other means, including injection, drinking "fairy water" etc.	Cure or death
b. Individual attacked by sudden illness of certain symptoms	Infected by the prevalent bacteria.	Hospitalisation of very serious cases. Other cases treated at home. One line of curative effort consistently followed. Stools disposed of, etc., etc.	There is a fair chance of cure.

II. THE GENRES OF LITERATURE

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A. Translations from Russian Literature

Translations from Russian literature are included in this section because of the influence they have had on Chinese intellectuals.

According to a survey made in 1937 in twenty-one Chinese universities and eight high schools, foreign literature, particularly Russian, English, and American, had an important place in the intellectual life of contemporary youth in China. Gorky was mentioned oftener than any other foreign author. Other favored Russian authors included Tolstoy and Turgeniev.[13] This popularity of Russian literature seems remarkable in view of the fact that between 1927 and 1949 there were no Russian schools in China and almost no Russian was taught. Of course, many works of Russian literature were translated into Chinese.

The success of Russian literature in China stems from the appreciation of the problems confronting Russian and Chinese society: the conflict of generations, new sexual ethics, the struggle for sexual equality, the struggle between the doctrine of "non-resistance" and a revolutionary attitude toward life. Sympathy with the Russian revolution has also played a part.[14]

Translations of post-1917 Russian writings

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13. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, pp. 276, 363-64.

14. Ibid., p. 276. O. Briere, Les tendances dominantes de la litterature chinoise contemporaine, Bul. Univ. Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. 9, #35, 7/1948, p. 251.

538 such as Krymov's Tanker Derbent (1939),
814 Ostrovsky's How Steel Was Tempered (1937), Simonov's Days and Nights, a novel of Stalingrad, Scholokhov's And Quiet Flows the Don, and Virgin Soil Upturned, a novel about collective farming, and Fadeyev's The Young Guard (1945) were read by secondary school and college students. These novels encouraged young intellectuals with a yearning for a "positive" life of action no less heroic, revolutionary, and romantic than that experienced by the heroes about which they read. These novels had an obvious influence on the radical movement among the students who defied the Kuomintang regime.

Today, Bassov, hero of Krymov's Tanker Derbent, and Korchagin, hero of Ostrovsky's How Steel was Tempered, are more familiar to the students than many of the characters in novels written by Chinese authors, most probably because the Chinese novels are poor imitations of Russian originals. Mayakovsky's poem "Lenin" is acclaimed by the Chinese Communists as a model of socialist realism, and Michael Prishvin's nature petry is popular. Chinese translations of Ehrenburg's Storm and Nikolayava's Harvest are best-sellers.[15]

Since the establishment of the Central People's Government, delegations of Russian authors have visited Peking and other important cities of China. Russian is now taught in Chinese schools as the foreign language. Under the Communist regime, the Sino-Soviet Friendship

15. [see next page]

538 Association, which has branches throughout
814 China, has contributed much in the promotion of popular appreciation of Russian culture.

B. Academic Writings

814 Academic writing under the direction of the Chinese Communists seems to be concentrated upon the history of peasant rebellion during the last one hundred years, anthropological studies of the ethnic minorities in China, commentaries, political and philosophical, on texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and archeology and pre-historic Chinese society.

In the field of modern Chinese history, the Chinese Historical Society[16] is most comprehensive in its program of research. It has sponsored the compilation of a series of documents on modern Chinese history. To date, the published volumes of the series include Nien Chün, concerning the peasant rebellions in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Honan, and Shantung in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and the Hui Revolt, the

15. "'Liberating' the Creative Impulse in China," The Times Literary Supplement, August 5, 1955, xlii. For the Chinese Communists' own estimation of influence of Soviet literature on Chinese writing, see Pa Jen, Look at the Soviet People Through Soviet Literature, Peking, Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien ch'u-pan-she, 1955.

16. Society is now called the Institute of Chinese History, a division of the Academy of the Sciences at Peking.

814 revolt of the Hui people in the Northwest and in the province of Yunnan in the Southwest in the nineteenth century; The Opium War (1839-42); and The Hundred-Day Reform (1898). This series will include twelve collections of source materials including works on the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the May Fourth Movement (1919).

The published volumes contain a wealth of source materials. In addition to assembling records kept by previous governments, the works bring together the memoirs of individuals concerned and documents which have lain undisturbed in county archives. However, one cannot find in these volumes any interpretation of or commentaries on the material gathered. In the prefaces to these published volumes it is stated that:

> "Counterrevolutionary forces always try their best to distort fact. Because they often suppress and destroy revolutionary literature, the latter is seldom preserved for posterity. New research in past revolutionary events can only proceed from the records kept by the counterrevolutionaries. Therefore those who are going to use the material here assembled must be reminded that they should approach the matter with a viewpoint opposite to that advocated by the authors of the material."

So far no major historical treatises based on this material have been written. The first volume of Part I of Fan Wen-lan's Modern

814 History of China (Harbin, Tung-pei shu-tien, 1948), which deals with the period 1840-1905, is the text on modern Chinese history; Fan's book was published before the Communists achieved national power. Other historians such as Ku Chieh-kang, who at the beginning of the Communist rule in China expressed his gratitude to the Chinese Communist regime for enabling him to continue his research, have so far produced nothing.[17] Historians in China now prefer to annotate published works rather than write their own views of history, probably for fear that the whims of some Communist critics may some day put them in peril. As a result of the lack of new historical texts, history books written before 1949 are now being reprinted.

Of the academic people who have transferred their allegiance to the Communist regime, the anthropologists seem to be faring better than others. Fei Hsiao-t'ung, author of Peasant Life in China (London, 1939) and China's Gentry (Chicago, 1953), published his Revamping the Universities (Shanghai, Shanghai ch'u-pan kung-ssu 1950), in which he anticipated the change of college curricula under the Communist government. Fei has since led several government delegations to visit the ethnic minorities in the South and Southwest and has made some first-hand studies of these peoples. In the field of anthropology much basic study is possible without running afoul of the Communist line. Despite the

17. The re-writing of history textbooks with a dialectic materialist viewpoint for primary and secondary school students is not considered in this section. See the chapter on Education in this handbook.

•814 omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by the anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might do in a free society.

829 In the field of philosophy, especially in political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new books since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily

In addition to those listed in Table 9, there were undoubtedly many more lesser regional magazines which failed to compete for attention in a regional newspaper's advertising columns. On the other hand, many major national magazines were listed, such as People's Pictorial, New Reconstruction, Study, and the Chinese version of For A Lasting Peace and For A People's Democracy. The prices listed in Table 9 may be compared with the price for rice, about JMP$700 a pound, and pork, about JMP$2,850 a pound, in 1953 in Chungking. 204

3. Contents and Readership

Textbook distributors, in the Southwest China Region, have been doing a profitable business. Next to textbooks, popular literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets have been and resumably still are easiest items to sell.[22] One of the typical booklets is the "March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet," published by the Southwest People's Publishing Company in 1952.[23] It 214 814

22. A national survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped the list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol.I, No. 5, Peking, March 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature, with 1673 titles, ranked first among all categories of books published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

23. T'a-p'o Hsüeh-shan Chin-chün Hsi-ts'ang [March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet], Chungking, Hsi-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China
[redacted] AF16

214 is a collection of articles by different authors,
814 as collective authorship has become a fad in Communist China. About a hundred pages is the average length of most of these booklets, and 5" x 7", the usual size of their format. A few photographic illustrations at the beginning of the work depict the "peaceful liberation of Tibet" and the scenes along the route traveled by the Communists army. The picture showing how Communists Army cadres give medical treatment to the native people is a tell-tale selection reflecting the purpose of the whole booklet. In the preface, the editorial department of the publisher states that the publication is designed to show the "greatness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's troops, and their contribution to the Tibetan people." Depsite its minor flaws, the book seems to be well prepared, well presented, and very readable to people with a basic command of Chinese.

214 Subheadings such as "The Kindness [of the
208 Communist Army] Is as Deep as the Ocean" on page 94, and "Our Tibetan Brothers and We Have Become One Family" on Page 92, need no elaboration on their propaganda slant. There is a good deal of excellent descriptive material, emotion-packed, sweeping, and touchingly vivid. An objective evaluation of such writings cannot but lead to the conclusion that the propaganda pens of trained Communist writers are skillfully used and, judging by this particular sample, the writers seem to have a sincere feeling for the subjects they are treating in the book.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

103 thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

173 The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 351b, "*Tribus et regionis nom. in N.W. provinciae Sinar. Yunnan. cuj. urbs principalis est* Sa-tham *seu* Ly-Kiang-fou. *Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et* Nashi *ab ipsismet incolis*, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan." Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (*See* J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48–49: also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 37.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage* (1902), p. II, states that, strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndër-tkhyu-bpa-la-llü, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein, a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. of Roerich.

173 814 The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated, have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. Sarat Chandra Das gives 441 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-btsan); Schlagintweit in his "*Die Koenige von Tibet*, p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-bshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. Waddell, in his *Buddhism of Tibet* (*Lamaism*), p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang 羌, of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an 三耽), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960–1126). In the *Yuan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang 麥良, also called A-liang 阿良, was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan 三耽管民官. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-haieh tribe dwelled there.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given. 173 814.

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel [20] that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gky (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618–913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北岳廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加宮地.[21] The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wûa-wûa (A-wu-wûa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wûa in La-shih-pa 拉世巴, to the west of Li-chiang (*see* Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth. [178]

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His 173

[20] *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

[21] This is the Tibetan rGya-sde ཤ ད. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40′, to the western confines of the principality of Chha-mdo (Chhab-mdo), *circa* longitude 96° 25′ E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuḍa). In the Na-khi religion the Garuḍa plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'ir Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

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CHAPTER II

WEI-HSI 維西

1. THE WEI-HSI RECORDS

173 According to the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, and the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* 維西聞見錄 (Transcription or records of things heard and seen about Wei-hsi), ch. 18, fol. 1, Wei-hsi was outside the border of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan). It was incorporated with Li-chiang and its territory ruled by the (Li-chiang) T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect)[1].

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, p. 44b, states that, "In the T'ang dynasty, the T'u-fan T'ieh-ch'iao 吐蕃鐵橋 was the territory of a Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner). In the Mongol dynasty it became the territory of the Li-chiang Circuit, and in the Ming dynasty that of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. At the change of the dynasty, Wu 吳 (Wu San-kuei) rebelled and later his grandson gave the land to the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it belonged to Ho-ch'ing fu. A T'ung-p'an of the latter place was transferred to reside there and to protect their territory. In another line on the same page it says that a Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-class assistant department magistrate) from Chien-ch'uan chou 劍川州, a town to the south of Li-chiang resided there with a garrison.

"Wei-hsi t'ing was the Lin-hsi hsien of the Yüan dynasty. It was in the northwest, and was the land of the T'u-fan.

"In the Ming dynasty the native magistrate sent his soldiers to improve the land; its existence dates from that time."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that Wei-hsi became part of the empire during the Ming dynasty. During the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) it was under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) a transferable official was appointed there. Nothing is known of the previous successive changes in the Wei-hsi district.

The Wei-hsi Geographical Records state that from the Han dynasty to the Sung dynasty nothing is known about it. In the Yüan dynasty it adjoined the border of Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.

No records of the climate or customs of the territory were kept.

814 173 In the year *chi-ch'ou* 己丑 of Ch'ien-lung (1769), a certain Yü Ch'ing-ch'ang 俞慶長 filled the function of T'ung-p'an at Wei-hsi. Yü Ch'ing-yüan 俞慶遠, who was his younger brother and had the rank of Kung-sheng 貢生 (Senior licentiate) lived with him in the yamen. He enquired about the past from the old native officials, and also from such as could speak Chinese, and thus he acquired considerable knowledge. Yü Ch'ing-yüan composed the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* already quoted, and it is due to him that we have any records at all about this interesting region, its people, customs, etc.

[1] The office of T'ung-p'an of Li-chiang was established in 1723. The Na-khi T'u-chih-fu (Native prefect) was reduced at that time to assistant prefect of the second class.

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Mo-so Kingdom was called Hua-ma Kuo. The Chü-tien River has its source west of it, on the south-eastern slopes of Li-ti-p'ing and in Han-sou Mountain 漢叟山. The Li-chiang records state that Hua-ma Shan is 350 li from Li-chiang. This must be an error, or perhaps the extreme northern end is meant, and this would indicate that the mountain extends to T'a-ch'eng, which is 350 li from Li-chiang. On the Chinese military map the mountain is marked from south of Shih-men Kuan to San-kai-tzu 三街子 (this should read Shang-ko-tzu 上格子). 487* 133* 137*

Beyond Hung-shih-ngai canyon the river widens and makes a large sweeping curve on the west bank. The mountains look bleak and dreary and are grass-covered only. Immediately beyond the cliff, and beneath the vertical sandstone wall on the north side, is a nice little temple which belongs to the hamlet of Ssaw-ssaw-gku — in Chinese the name is transcribed Shan-hsien-ku 山仙姑 (H-M., Sansankou) — only one li distant. Willow trees and large, spreading Albizzias line the bank of the Yangtze, while long, sandy or rock-strewn islets are visible everywhere in the river-bed (October).

The trail, now muddy, leads between rice-fields for about ten li to the Na-khi hamlet of Aw-gkv-dzhi. Wide valleys open out into the main gorge. We enter beautiful groves of *Castanopsis Delavayi* and oaks, beyond which we reach the hamlet of Shŏ-dzo (Shang-ko-tzu or Upper Ko-tzu), while further down is the hamlet of Hsia-ko-tzu (Lower Ko-tzu). As already remarked, the Chinese map gives the village wrongly as San-kai-tzu 三街子 (H-M., Sangaidsi), but the Li-chiang records give it as I wrote it down on the spot. The village is situated on the floor of a broad lateral valley carrying a fairly large stream called the Sung-chiang Ho 宋江河, which is crossed by a covered wooden bridge. Opposite on the east bank, in Chung-tien territory, is the hamlet of Nda-lä.

A legend is connected with the cliff at Nda-lä, which is known as Bä-mä-'a. It is the story of a girl who was given in marriage. When she left her home she looked back, and was carried off by the clouds and winds to Bä-mä-'a. She was hence known as Nda-lä-a-ssaw-mi, which means the girl (whose soul) was scattered or blown by the wind to Nda-lä. A whole book is devoted to the seven wind spirits of which she is one. It is chanted during the Här-la-llü k'ö ceremony in propitiation of these wind spirits, who are believed to liberate the dogs of the clouds and wind, and bombard the houses of the people with stones, and close up the water-courses. 821 773

Beyond the hamlet the hill-sides are pine-covered, and the river-bed narrow and of considerable depth. Near here the river makes a rather sharp curve to the west, due to a broad peninsula which extends deeply into its bed (PLATE 154). The vegetation is of a scrub-xerophytic type and consists mainly of Pyracantha bushes, Escholtzia, Prinsepia, Ligustrum, while blue-flowered Didissandra cling to the rock walls. The trail skirts the mountain-side which it also ascends, and here we encounter Castanopsis, *Cornus capitata*, Excoecaria, etc. Descending again to the plain we pass the hamlet of Dsi-gku (Tz'u-k'ai 茨開)[22] situated near the river bank. The Chinese 487* 133* 137*

[22] In the Li-chiang records it is written Tz'u-k'o 茨科, which is the better transcription of the Na-khi name of the place.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

753 and bites people. At this period the strength is great and
755 no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

821 The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou*
777 *hsing;* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

805 The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all
796 eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kuan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssūch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssūch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tzū (桑根紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

491 between Chengtu and Kuang-yüan runs parallel to the new rail line at many places and cuts through a narrow defile just north of Kuang-yüan.

[341] West of Chengtu, the city of O-mei
491 stands on one of the two main overland routes linking Szechwan with the former province of
[823] Sikang. The mountain to the southwest of O-mei, after which the city is named, has been the favorite subject of classical Chinese literature because of its scenic beauty and its connection with Buddhism. Another main overland route from Chengtu westward is the much-heralded Sikang-Tibet Highway. Now that the province of Sikang has been abolished, it remains to be seen how the name of this highway is to be changed. An important highway trunk-line in West China, it passes through Ya-an, former capital of Sikang Province. Southward from Ya-an is a road running through the only rich valley area on the huge tableland of western Szechwan and Yunnan provinces.

Two highways connect Szechwan Province with Yunnan Province to the south. The eastern route from Chungking continues through Kweichow Province. The first key city on the highway in Kweichow Province is Tsun-i, which the red Army occupied twice during the Long March in 1934-35. The school playground on which the Red Army staged a huge rally in 1934 is now a national shrine and gives renown to the city

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CHAPTER VI

YUNG-NING LAKE AND TSO-SO TERRITORY

1. LU-KU HU (YUNG-NING LAKE)

The Yung-ning Lake (called Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 in Chinese and by the Li-chiang Na-khi La-t'a Ḳhü) is known to the Yung-ning people as Lo-shu Khü.[1] This magnificent sheet of water is divided almost in half by a long peninsula, broad where it projects from the land and narrowing to a sharp point; this peninsula is called T'u-bbu and extends from north-east to south-west into the lake. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border passes through the lake, cutting off the south-western point of the peninsula. A ravine extending down the western face of the wooded spur is the border. By far the larger part of this beautiful lake is in Yün-nan as are also three of the five islands scattered over it.[2] The smallest island is west of the Yün-nan border and is called Nyi-se. It is an oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and only a short distance from the northern shore between the villages of Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr, the Chinese Lo-shui 囉水 or Hsiao 小 (Small) Lo-shui. 133x 131

Immediately beyond is the border of the Yung-ning — Mu-li — Tso-so territory. Here is a boundary stone, erected in the 17th year, second moon and 27th day of Chia-ch'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty (April 8th, 1812), which denotes the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning. On one side is inscribed the above date, and on the western face of the stone is inscribed 雲南永寧土司東北界至此 (Up to here is the Yün-nan Yung-ning T'u-ssu north-east border); on the eastern face is engraved 四川木裏土司西南界至此 (Up to here is the Ssu-ch'uan — Mu-li T'u-ssu south-west border).

Strange to say, the Mu-li King possesses a strip of land on the north shore of the lake, three li long; it consists of a spur and a bay, with a valley extending west-north-west, a continuation of the bay. The spur is bare, the soil red; it extends from a white limestone bluff on Lion mountain to the bank of the lake. In the lake, just beyond the little peninsula which forms the narrow bay belonging to Mu-li, is a triangular island called A-na-wa, once a part of the projecting spur which forms the bay. This island also belongs to the Mu-li lama King. The ridge is semicircular in outline and is part of a crater wall, the island of A-na-wa being a remnant of the other half of the crater.

Legendary origin. — At the foot of the ridge near the frontier is a huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Ḳhü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake came forth). It is believed that here the lake has its source. A legend connected 823

[1] This may be in imitation of Lo-shui, two villages by that name situated near the lake shore. The two villages in question are called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi and Lū-khi.

[2] Part of the northern, and all of the western and southern shore of the lake is in Yung-ning, Yün-nan territory, while the eastern end and a short stretch of the northern shore, where it joins the eastern, is in Ssu-ch'uan. The peninsula of T'u-bbu, with the exception of the south-west end, is also in Ssu-ch'uan.

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823 with this bluff relates that in ancient days before the existence of the lake there lived in a rock cave (now under the water at this bluff) a huge fish. The people tried to pull this giant out of the cave, but could not move it. They then employed nine yak, tugging a rope tied to the fish's tail. When they had pulled the fish out, a tremendous volume of water poured forth, forming the present lake. The area now occupied by the lake is said to have been a large plain on which many yaks grazed.

Another story relates how a deaf and dumb yak herder saw under the rock at the foot of the bluff, a water-hole which was plugged up with a huge fish. Daily he cut off a piece of this fish for food. One day the other yak herders found out whence he secured his fish. Thereupon they used yak, and in the above described manner pulled out the fish.

173 *Yung-pei t'ing Records.* — The Yung-pei t'ing Records state that where now the lake is there was once upon a time a hsien called Lu-ku hsien 瀘沽縣. In ch. 2, fol. 4b, it relates that: "The *Yüan-shih ti-li chih* 元史地理志 (Geographical Records of the Mongol History) states that Lu-ku hsien, (magistracy of Lu-ku) was subject to Li chou 禮州 of Chien-ch'ang Lu 建昌路 (Circuit of Chien-ch'ang, [the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 or Ning-yüan fu 寧遠府 in Ssu-ch'uan]). The Lo-lo-man (Lo-lo savages) dwelled there. On the arrival of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649) they found that of all the feudatory tribes the Lo-lo had been the first settlers, and so the Wu-man chief was placed in charge of Pei-ch'eng 北城[3] [the Lo-lo belong to the Wu-man or Black barbarians]. They gradually became flourishing and numerous and thus they called themselves the Lo-lan pu 落蘭部 or Lo-lan tribe; they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.

"P'u-te 蒲德, who was their descendant, sent his nephew Chien-tai 建帶 to make his submission. Later he turned against his uncle and killed him. He himself then said: 'I am a great chief,' and the entire tribe joined him. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) he was pacified [suppressed].

"A Ch'ien-hu 千戶 [official ruling over 1,000 families] was then established. In the 13th year (1276) he was promoted to a Wan-hu 萬戶 [official ruling over 10,000 families]. In the 19th year (1282) the office was changed into a magistracy (hsien), but it is not known when it became part of the chün 郡 (of Yung-pei). Now the Lu-ku Lake is said to have been their land, that is, where the lake is now was their land."[4]

[3] The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 401, fol. 4b, states Tz'u-ch'eng 此城 instead of Pei-ch'eng. By the former the town or *ch'eng* of Lu-ku is meant and by the latter the city of Yung-pei or Pei-sheng; which is correct is difficult to say, but it seems probable that Lu-ku hsien is meant. The Lo-lo settled there and called themselves Lo-lan pu.

[4] It is quite possible that in ancient days the lake and the surrounding territory belonged to Lu-ku hsien; Lu-ku hsien was established by the Mongols in 1278, and the name Lu-ku has survived in the name of the Yung-ning Lake to the present day. We find the name Lu-ku Shui 瀘沽水 in the Mongol History but whether it was a river or lake is not mentioned; it is possible that Lu-ku Shui was the ancient name of the Ya-lung which is known as the Lu Shui 瀘水. Furthermore the Mongol History states that Li chou which governed Lu-ku hsien was east of the Lu-ku Shui, which would then be correct. There is, however, a gross error in the map of the Ning-yüan (Hsi-ch'ang hsien) district in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (Topographical Records of Ssu-ch'uan). There the Ya-lung River is called the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER IX

YUNG-CH'ANG FU TO TA-LI FU.

Leave Yung-ch'ang—Chinese ignorance of topography—The Mekong—The Chinese New Year—Ch'ü-tung and Yung-p'ing—Four hilly marches—Lo-los—Yang-pi—The Ts'ang Shan—Hsia-kuan—Ta-li Fu—The Ming-chia—Industries—Missionaries—A New Year's festival.

On the 24th January we left Yung-ch'ang. The road goes up and across the plain and ascends the usual bare hills from its north-east corner, finally following the bed of a stream up a narrow gorge to the top of the range at 7,800 feet. From here there is a slight descent to the little village of Ta-li-shao, where I pitched my tent, and my followers found shelter in a temple. Ta-li-shao is not to be recommended as a halting place. There is no inn, and the hillside is so steep that it is not easy to find room to pitch a tent. Shui-chai which is a good-sized village is only two miles further on, and would have been a better place to sleep at. 000

The stream which runs down the Yung-ch'ang plain is shown on some maps as falling into the Mekong, but Chinese maps give it as a tributary of the Salween, and this I ascertained on a subsequent journey to be correct. Towards the south end of the plain the river does make an easterly bend, and this has probably led some former traveller to suppose it ran into the Mekong. The Chinamen as usual were very vague about it. One of those that I asked said it ran into the Mekong, but that I was perfectly correct in saying that it joined the Salween eventually, as the former river was a tributary of the latter! This is a good specimen of the geographical knowledge of the Chinese. It is curious that, while Burmans, Shans, Kachins and other tribes are such excellent hands at topography, 133 823

[p.61]

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133 and can draw a good map with a stick on the ground, the
823 Chinese should be so lacking in this faculty, and will give one all sorts of geographical information which is obviously incorrect.

Our road on the 25th led gradually down hill as far as Shui-chai. From here the descent is down a narrow gorge with precipitous crags rising on each side. The path is zigzagged or it would be impossible for animals. Finally a bit of more gradual down-hill along the hillside brings one to the Mekong which is crossed by another of the iron-chain suspension bridges, the chains on the right bank being fastened round short pillars of natural rock cut out of the hillside.

133 The river averages from 80 to 100 yards in width, flowing with a strong current which renders it quite unnavigable. It runs between wall-like hills which rise almost sheer for 1,500 or 2000 feet and then slope more gradually back to the tops of the ranges. There is absolutely no level ground in the valley. This is characteristic of this river during its course through Yün-nan. I have subsequently seen it in several places and have found it much the same everywhere. The elevation at the bridge I made 3,900 feet, 1,700 feet higher than that of the Salween. After crossing, a very stiff ascent brought us to the long narrow village of
527 Sha-yang. It was the Chinese New Year's Eve, and every house had a young fir tree stuck up in front of the door. This is, I believe, the universal custom in Yün-nan, but it does not seem to obtain in eastern China.

New Year's Day is the great holiday of the Chinese year. It occurs during the months of January or February, but not on any fixed date in our calendar, for the length of the Chinese year does not correspond with ours. They have twelve months, six of them of thirty days and six of twenty-nine days, making 354 days in all. So to make it come right with the sun they have to reckon one of the months twice over every three years. The same system of an intercalary month is used in Burma, but the Burmese calendar does not correspond in other respects with that of the Chinese.

On New Year's Day all shops are shut and no business of any sort is done. The people all put on their best clothes, often hired from a pawnshop for the occasion, and

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 downhill passing a most remarkable temple, called Ch'a-fang-ssŭ, built on a ledge in a precipitous rock which rises sheer some 300 feet.

During this descent the Yang-pi River is seen on the left hand running most unexpectedly in a north-easterly direction. It makes a very sharp bend in this part of its course and afterwards again comes round into its original southerly direction. The Yang-pi is at the ferry 130 yards wide, with a moderate current, but a little lower down it gets squeezed in between the hills again, and becomes narrower, deeper, and more rapid. It is crossed by a rather shaky bamboo raft, and a few hundred yards of steep ascent brings one to Hsin-niu-kai, where there is a dilapidated official rest-house.

133 The people of this village are Chinese, not Lo-los, and from here on to Shun-ning the inhabitants are principally Chinamen. The height of the Yang-pi here is 3,900 feet, a fall of more than 1,200 feet from where we had last crossed [132] it on the Yung-ch'ang-Ta-li road. The climate at this low elevation is much warmer than most places in this part of the country and the opium crop was nearly ripe, whereas at Ta-li and other higher lying plains it was only just showing above the ground.

• 823 The river in this part of its course is not known to the Chinese as the Yang-pi Ho. The people here seem to have no name for it but call it vaguely the Ta Ho or Big River. In fact the Chinese very seldom give names to their rivers, but call them after the nearest town or important village through which they pass. Nearly all rivers thus have different names in different parts of their course. This according to our ideas of geography is extremely inconvenient, so I have thought it best to adhere to the name of Yang-pi River.

136 I had had scarcely any shooting so far, but on this march I first had an unsuccessful stalk after two barking deer, and afterwards shot a hen pheasant (*Phasianus elegans*), one of nine or ten that got up.

000 On the 11th we had an uphill road, climbing the Ta-chin Shan, a hill with a conspicuous pagoda on its summit. We left this pagoda on our left hand and followed a narrow path cut out of an almost precipitous hill-side to the village

823 The Basin has often been referred to by western writers as "the Eden of the Flowery Republic," or the "Garden of Asia." By the Chinese themselves, it is popularly called the "Tien Fu," which literally means the "Treasury of Heaven." Although these
241 names may appear exaggerated, they do suggest the agricultural
433 richness and the amazing diversity of the products of the Basin. Normally, Szechuan Basin leads all China in the production of corn and rape. It holds second place as a producer of rice, potatoes, and silk; fifth place, as a producer of wheat; and sixth, as a producer of millet, kaoliang, and soy beans. The Basin has been for decades unchallenged as a producer of such internationally known products as tung oil, bristles, herbs, Cho Tsai (pickled vegetables), Wu Pei Tze, and Nanmu (lumber).

The agricultural richness of the Basin and the important role it now plays in China's present war effort are demonstrated by one significant fact. The Basin alone contributes about 60 per cent of the total food supply for the entire Chinese fighting force, comprising over five million men. The Basin is truly a granary of all free China.

314 In forestry land use, the Basin normally produces about
433 a third of the total annual production of tung oil for all China. This product constitutes a critical cash crop for farmers in many parts of the Basin, particularly in the hilly east and southeast. At present tung oil occupies a vitally important position in the export trade of the Basin. It, alone, comprised about 65 per cent of the Basin's total export trade in 1940.

[388] Another important forestry product of the Basin is white wax. The Basin normally produces over 90 per cent of the total white wax of China. Although the economic value of this unique forestry product is not great, the spectacular snow-white color of the wax tree in the late Autumn adds much to the picturesqueness of the Basin's agricultural landscape.

[386] Lacquer derived from the varnish tree, has been famous in the Basin ever since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). It still remains one of the Basin's most reputed products.

135 The variety and abundance of strategic minerals in the Basin is second only to its richness in agricultural and forestry products. Today the Basin leads all China in the production of brine salt. Its iron reserve ranks second and its coal reserve ranks third in the country, but it is at present the leading

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789 made into which a pair of scissors is stuck, and the whole thing is displayed outside the house; this it is believed will keep the family in peace. In some places a huge paper bird is paraded round the streets with a crowd following, probably an imitation Phoenix Bird.

On the seventh of the seventh moon there is the custom known as *hsien kwa*, to offer the melon. This is also the time when girls pray for ability, or *ch'i ch'iao* (巧). In some places women and girls take what is known as *ch'iao ya tsü*, or ability sprouts, which are really sprouted beans. The sprouts with a basin of water are taken before the shrine of the tutelary god, where incense and candles have been lit. Each girl takes one of the long sprouts, breaks it into small pieces and throws them into the basin of water, then waits to see if these form into the shape of a flower; if they do she will be clever at needlework.

On the first of the tenth moon there is a custom known as *hsien niu wang*, offering to the ox spirit. Rice cakes, *ch'i pa* (糍粑), are made and given to the ox, which is not supposed to do any work on that day. Anyone daring to work his animal will be cursed and told that he ought to become an ox in the next life. In many country homes the oxen are dressed and petted on this their birthday.

753 824 Hydrophobia (瘋狗傷人), *fêng kou shang jên*. It is said that the snake when about to hibernate eats of a herb called *ling chih ts'ao*, "boletus." At the time of moving insects (驚蟄), it comes forth from hibernation, and vomits a great amount of phlegm, *shê hsüan tu* (蛇漩毒), which smells very strongly. If a dog eats this or if individuals smell it, they are from a Chinese point of view doomed to an attack of hydrophobia. This herb if eaten by human beings makes them comatose, but after the effects have been slept off, it is believed that the individual will live to a great age. This disease of hydrophobia is to be found all the year round, but is most common in spring time when the oil plant is in flower, so much so that the saying runs The rape is in flower; mad dogs will make their appearance. But it is said that the disease among dogs has nothing to do with the rape

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

plant, but with the snakes that come out about that particular season. 753 824

There is a small bamboo which grows on the hill-tops, whose root is black; when powdered this root is believed to cure persons bitten by a mad dog. The bamboos are also used as walking-sticks as it is believed that rabid dogs are afraid of this particular kind of bamboo. 755 753

When a dog has got rabies, it stops eating, drops its tail and pushes out its tongue, barks wildly, stiffens its neck and runs furiously; bites its own people and then runs outside to bite others. If it should bite at a person's shadow or sweep suddenly past anyone, they are in danger, and so is even the person who kills it, and must go through the treatment given for rabid dog bites. Nothing is said of these animals fearing water.

The poison from these bites is a terrible thing in the Chinese opinion; for they think the person bitten becomes impregnated with puppies and if these cannot be driven out with the fæces or urine, death is certain. The trouble may begin any time from seven to forty-nine days after the bite. But one is not reckoned safe till one hundred and twenty days have passed. When a person has been bitten the specialist is invited at once, who generally heals by contract. He expects nothing if the patient dies. The calf of the leg and flesh of the forearm are pounded by people in turn till the person is almost unconscious. This is done to bring the poison to a head. The mad dog is hunted and killed by some; the flesh taken and eaten, the skin made into a sleeping mat; the hair burned to ashes and applied to the wound, while medicine is taken every seven days for forty-nine days.

To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is believed by many to be as bad as the actual bite, and medicine is needed to counteract it. In fact, even to fear or see a dog of this kind is reckoned very dangerous and causes great superstitious dread.

When a person who has been bitten is getting sick, he becomes silent and the eyes become fixed, soon he barks like a dog, throws off his clothing and tears it to shreds, pulls out his hair, eats off his finger nails, runs off like a wild animal

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frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended. 805 796

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place. 821 777

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country. 825

Snakes and Dragons (蛇龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given:— 137 825

Sang kên tzŭ (桑根紫), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

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The speckled snake, *ma pan* (麻斑), believed to be poisonous.

Wu shao (烏稍), a grey snake, reckoned to be poisonous.

Wu pang (蜂), a grey tailless snake or one whose tail does not taper like the other species. It boldly faces men and when attacked shows no inclination to flee.

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Chueh shê and *shou kung* (守宮), the lizard. The Chinese fear these entering the tea-cups and leaving poison.

The snake's body is very cold, its teeth of the finest, its bite the most venomous. On seeing it every Chinese gets a fright, and generally speaking the belief is that they should be killed, with exceptions which will be given. The saying runs that if you see a snake and do not kill it, in the next life you will be dumb. Snakes in private homes and temples must not be killed. Those in private houses are believed to be the spirits of the ancestors come back in this form to present themselves to the family, and incense is often offered inviting them to go.

Those in temples are called *shên shê*, spirit snakes: it is said that the god of literature and the city god are snakes and come to receive the incense at the altar. It is said if one goes very early to the bedroom of the city god in his temple one will find two snakes asleep on the bed.

Besides this 真武足踏龜蛇, the *chên wu* idol or *Lin Chang shêng* has his foot on tortoise and snake, that is, he is able to subdue them.

Country people declare that by suddenly entering a bamboo grove a snakes' gathering, *shê hui*, may be seen; but on being disturbed they flee in all directions.

Snakes have a propensity for stealing living creatures such as chickens, rabbits, etc., and in so doing it is believed that the ancestor is only taking his due. Such are some of the ideas which run in the minds of the people regarding snakes, and we now turn to the king of the scaly tribe. The dragon bore nine sons something as follows:—

Hsieh chai (獬豸), a fabulous monster like a deer, which it is said can discriminate between right and wrong.

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Said to be the *shên yang*, or spirit sheep, which takes away seditious and disloyal intentions from the minds of the people. 825.

T'ao t'ieh (饕餮). This is a monstrous tiger-like animal with horns. It ornaments every yamen entrance exactly facing the magistrate's office and is called *t'an* (貪) by the people. Opposite the animal is a picture of the sun, which the monster appears to be intent upon devouring. The sun is representative of the ruling emperor, and the picture is supposed to be a continual warning to the officials to avoid covetousness and rebellion. This monster also appears on old rice basins, etc., in the form of a head without the body or a headless trunk to warn people against the vice of gluttony. In the yamen entrance there is another picture of a crane and a deer; these face outward toward the people; the idea is that if the official is not avaricious there will be long life and spring on all sides. *lu ho t'ung ch'un* (鹿鶴同春). The people eat hartshorn in great quantities and at great expense, hoping for long life, as both the crane and the deer are believed to live to a great age.

Pi hsi (贔屭). A male and female tortoise borne down by affliction. This emblem is now largely used as a pedestal for tombstones, one head looking each way. The allusion is to the tortoise bearing its great burden of grief from which it cannot be relieved.

Lang pei (狼狽), a fabulous animal said to be a native of water regions, but it can be at home on land; it is popularly believed to have short hind legs, unsuitable for locomotion, so when it desires to move from one place to another it is necessary for two animals to be together, when one rides the other making use of the two pairs of fore legs. This combination is used as a symbol of two persons joined together for wickedness.

Kan (犴) is a monstrous scaly beast with one horn, the image of which is painted on the wall above the doors of jails, as a warning to people to repent of their evil deeds and not enter therein.

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•205 The influence of the dragon is very far reaching; the saying runs (飛龍在天), *fei lung tsai t'ien*, the flying dragon is in heaven.

Ti mei lung shên is the dragon's pulse of the earth; the geomantic influence.

Hai lung wang, the dragon of the deep, who has his dwelling in the depths of the sea.

The wicked dragon: 惡龍鬥鮮地頭蛇. The wicked dragon has difficulty in tripping up local snakes. A wicked emperor cannot overcome public opinion.

Another saying is, When the dragon moves a step even the grass renews its spring appearance.

Clouds follow the dragon and wind the tiger.

When a sage appears all nature stares.

If a snake bites a man there is a medicine to heal it, but if man bites man there is none. This latter half of the proverb refers to being wrongly involved in the law courts, a thing difficult indeed to heal; but a real human bite is also very difficult to cure, and they are not uncommon among the many quarrels of the people.

[The end]

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tion[1]: there are a few Shan villages to the north scattered up the Salween valley for a distance of 40 miles or so, but eastward no more of this race are now met with, though they doubtless did originally inhabit this country before it was taken by the Chinese.

European travellers have made a great deal of the unhealthiness of the Salween valley, but it must be remembered that all their information came from the Chinese. Now the Chinaman of Yün-nan lives in such a high-lying healthy country that in lower-lying places he is probably more liable to fever than a man of any other race. A height of 4000 feet or thereabouts is the limit below which the Yünnanese cannot live and keep their health, and this is the reason why the Shans have been able to retain possession of many of the rich plains of south-western China, while the few Chinese who live in that part of the country lead an uncivilized existence on the hill-tops. One seldom finds Shans living above 4000 feet, not that they cannot stand the climate, but because the Chinese *can* stand it, and have therefore dispossessed the original owners. In a few places such as Nan-tien, which averages a little under 4000 feet, one finds the two races living together, the Chinese slowly and gradually swamping the Shans.

The Salween valley is not considered more feverish than Mong Hkwan, Nam-hkam, and other Shan States. The Yünnanese avoid all these places from March to November, but the Shans continue to live in them all the year round, and in a subsequent journey I came across a colony of Ssü-ch'uan Chinese living in this same Salween valley only 40 miles above the bridge. I do not suppose the Lu-chiang-pa, as the Chinese call the plain, is exactly a health resort, but I expect its unhealthiness has been much exaggerated.

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The Chinese say it is exceedingly dangerous to swim mules across the river, as there is a beast in it, which they describe as being like a blanket and full of mouths, which

[1] It is true that in a subsequent journey I discovered Shans in the north of Yün-nan and even in the Tibetan part of Ssü-ch'uan, but in such small and isolated communities as to be scarcely worth counting, except as a curiosity. See p. 378.

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825 sucks animals down as they cross. Our mules were fortunate enough to get across without encountering this monster. It is perhaps hardly worth any naturalist's while to come out to investigate this strange animal. A Chinaman likes to have a story to account for anything that takes place. In the spring and early summer there would be a good deal of melted snow in the water of the river, while the climate of the valley would be extremely hot and close. The sudden change from hot air into cold water might well produce cramp.

[241] The next day, a good up-hill road brought us to P'u-p'iao, a little plain covered with villages and well cultivated with the winter crops—beans, wheat, and opium. On this march there is an alternative road to Yung-ch'ang, branching off from the village of Fang-ma-ch'ang; it is said to be shorter but more hilly than the main road which I took. Gill travelled by it, but Baber and most other travellers have come by the same road as myself. Baber mentions that he heard that the stream which runs through the P'u-p'iao plain falls into a lake, but the answers to all my enquiries were that it joins the Salween. On the Chinese map there is a small lake marked a few miles lower down, but it is shown as the source of a small tributary of the main stream.

Our road on the 21st rose to the top of a bare range at 7000 feet, and a little beyond this the Yung-ch'ang plain came in sight. The path descends to the plain at the village of A-shih-wo, just before reaching which a cave is passed in the hillside to the left which is said to go right through the hill and come out on the other side.

361 The plain of Yung-ch'ang Fu is about 18 miles long
312 and six miles wide, covered with villages and well cultivated; it is one of the largest and richest in the province. As in many other plains there is a summer crop of rice, and after the rice has been harvested in the autumn, the winter crops of beans, opium or wheat are put in. A good-sized stream running from north to south irrigates a great part of the plain, and water for this purpose is also collected in reservoirs where some of the side streams run down from the hills.

485 I put up at an inn in the middle of the town. The

814 omnipresent praise for Communist policies, the articles written by the anthropologists do indicate that new facts are being discovered; and the fact that these discoveries are financed by the government and are used in the administration of the minority peoples may suggest the favored position held by anthropologists in China today. On the other hand, anthropologists so busily employed by the government are prevented from doing the work they might do in a free society.

• 829 In the field of philosophy, especially in political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's books are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new books since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily

829 the case since "truth" was declared in Marxist writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views." Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

C. Fiction

538 The larger part of Southwest China came under Communist control after all the other regions of China. Southwest China, therefore, is not among the first to face problems such as the recovery of industries, the increase of agricultural and industrial productions, the land reform, and the liquidation of the anti-Communist forces. Since Communist literature is largely intended to describe the solution of these problems, stories and novels which deal with these aspects in Southwest China are stereotyped and lacking in originality, imitations of the prototypes written in other regions and earlier. As a result, stories and novels produced in other regions of China are more popular in Southwest China than that produced locally.

People in Southwest China, like those in other parts of China, read Yüan Ching and K'ung Chüeh's best-seller Hsin Erh-nü Ying-hsiung Chuan (The Biography of a New Hero and Heroine) a 200,000-word account of the repulse of the Japanese invaders in North China, written in the

18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (4 vols.), Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER II

1. The Mountains of Li-chiang

according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*

(上 ch. 4, fols. 23a–24b)

Wu-lieh Shan 乌烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 娘娘廟, where barren women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children. 942 978

Tung Shan 東山 [1] (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city. 133

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,[2] also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wùa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (Plates 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple called P'u-te t'an 普德壇,[3] built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the 778 774

[1] To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-ma*, (Tibetan, *gtor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

[2] San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

[3] The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muan-bpō d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsü niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge. 844 782

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man ssü-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue. 842 782

They beg a prayer-tally, 求籤 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month); 842 795 261

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

842 785 261 *chên-wu chai* 真武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

842 778 Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai érh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzü*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai*.

787 842 Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssü chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou tso-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

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788 842 Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

231 842 788 When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

842 778 753 At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

842 778 Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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In some places a meeting called *t'ung-tzŭ hui* 童子會 is held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon, when women who have obtained sons by taking away a child-idol from Kuan-Yin's shrine return the images to the goddess. When worship is finished these idols are carried off to be given to other childless families, and that night the streets are lively with processions of this kind going to their destinations. 842 796 778

Another present with the same object is a turnip with the leaves on; this is put on the family altar and incense and paper offered to it.

The piece of wood used by a sorcerer to hang his chart on when exorcising a spirit is also regarded as a useful present to a childless family.

At Ch'eng-tu 成都 it used to be the custom on 5th of the 5th moon for youths to pelt with plums women of 'doubtful reputation.' These plums were then got hold of by other people and sent to friends anxious for sons. The origin of the idea is said to be in the story that the mother of Lao Tzŭ dreamed before the birth of her illustrious son that she had eaten a plum.

At the New Year lighted lamps are hung on trees or high poles; they are believed to attract homeless, wandering spirits, and they are afterwards given to childless families.

At the fast for protection against fire and epidemics small lighted lanterns soaked in oil are set adrift on the river. These are sometimes stolen and presented to some home lacking children, where they are kept on the family altar.

In some temples there is an apartment called the 玉皇樓 *Yü-huang lou*, the Gemmeous Emperor's dwelling. Before his image hangs a lantern. This is sometimes stolen and presented to a childless family. A new lantern is presented to the temple if a child is born. Such lanterns, 玉皇燈 *Yü-huang têng*, are also hung in numbers in an orchard or elsewhere with the object of securing a good crop.

During the first moon lamps are lighted before the shrines of the *t'u ti shên* 土地神 or gods of the soil. After being used they are often presented to childless people in the firm belief that children will then be born.

744 Health, spoke on public health.[5] She reported that efforts to protect the health of mothers and children made much headway, and that the mortality rate of expectant mothers and infants had dropped. Special attention to the health of women and children is urged in a Chinese Communist document, "The Common Program." Article 48 of this document declares that "Public health and medical work shall be expanded, and attention shall be paid to the protection of THE health [844] of mothers, infants, and children."[6] She reported that the training of midwives, the re-educating of "old-style" midwives, and the prevention of various childhood diseases have been stressed throughout China as well as in the Southwest.

To cite the municipality of Chungking, for example, by the middle of 1953 there were 26 health centers for women and children and 70 maternity stations with 684 midwives on duty. The practice of modern obstetrics showed a noticeable increase; modern methods were used in 10 per cent of the births in 1951, 30 per cent

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5. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 41-42.

6. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BOOK I—DOMESTIC

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHS, 生產 *shêng ch'an, etc.*

WHEN the birth is delayed it is put down to Lo Hou 羅睺, and the master of the house fires a gun over his shoulder towards the heavens to drive away the evil influences. These influences are believed to come from the *t'ien-kou hsing* 天狗星 or heavenly Dog-star. In some houses a picture of Chang kung 張公 is hung up; he is depicted as carrying a sling and stones; he is supposed to throw at this heavenly dog which comes to devour the expected child. It is said that Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 was an incarnation of this heavenly Dog-star, which is also the devourer of the moon in lunar eclipses.

To take away or escort the blood demon 送血鬼 *sung hsüeh kuei*, or demon of birth-pangs *ch'an-nan kuei* 產難鬼, is the work of a sorcerer, and many incantations are practised and charms used to assist the birth; the ceremony may take place a few days before the birth is expected.

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844 782 The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 燒三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jên tai nai* 防人帶肋. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

844 431 On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場, 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house, *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family. 846 852

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After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year. 431 851

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847 their girls because they are unable to support them. It is impossible to get enough information to make a reliable estimate of illegitimate births and infanticides, but it is certain that both are very numerous among both rich and poor.

754 791 When a person falls sick a quack doctor may make him believe that his spirit has already departed and entered into a certain pregnant woman, and that the only hope for his life is to curse this woman and make her miscarry. This is done by the 胎術 *t'ai shu*, womb black art. Generally a witch is called in; she takes an egg and recites over it an incantation somewhat as follows: "If the spirit has gone south the south precinct god 土地神 *t'u ti shên* will bring it back; if to the north, the north precinct god will do the same," etc. The egg is then put in hot ashes, and if it spurts in any direction the spirit is called back from that quarter with the usual ceremonies. Persons known as *shuan t'ai-ti* 拴胎的 are called in for the purpose of counteracting this black art.

845 It is believed that deformed and maimed births 厥精瞎怪 *ch'üeh ching hsin kuai*, are the outcome of sin, whether of adultery or of irregular intercourse as to time or place.

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Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu êrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

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Such customs as are noted above have a great hold on otherwise quite enlightened people.

The following customs are connected with the protection of children.

If during the first month or two of the child's life it cries a great deal, this request is put out: 小兒夜哭請君念讀若還不哭請君萬福; "My little one cries in the night, will good men take note and read; if after this it does not cry may ten thousand blessings rest on you."

People who are afraid of their child becoming a priest make a priest's hat and other garments for it. They think the spirits will be thus deceived and suppose the child is a priest already.

For fear a child may not live long a ring is put round its neck and locked, *so kuan* 鎖關. This is even done to sick adults, with the idea of locking in the life that it may not leave the body.

With the same idea an old horse-shoe is made into a bangle and locked on the child's wrist—*ta ma-chang ch'üan* 打馬掌圈.

Money also is collected from many other families 化千家錢 *hua ch'ien-chia ch'ien*, and made into a silver, iron or bronze collar, which is locked on the child's neck.

A tablet called *ch'ang-ming p'ai* 長命牌 is made up of the characters for long life, riches and honour. It may be worn suspended round the child's neck or on his cap. It is sometimes the gift of friends. A tablet with the figures of the Eighteen Lo-han is similarly worn.

A coin-shaped tablet on the cap with the Eight Diagrams 八卦 *pa kua* engraven on it is supposed to repel evil influences.

In the same way are worn the images or names of the 12 Buddhist *pratyêka* who were disciples of the goddess of Mercy 十二圓覺 *shih-êrh yüan-chüeh*; or of the twenty-eight constellations; or of the 36 or 72 famous generals who are supposed to be able to ward off demons.

An embroidered cat on the cap, with eyes and mouth facing outward, is worn to drive away demons. A monkey embroidered on the shoulder has similar virtue.

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The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu êrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER II

PASSING THROUGH CRISES

(OR, CROSSING THE BARRIERS 度關 *tu kuan*)

To take children through the important crises in their lives is the work of a sorcerer. On consultation the fortune-teller announces the critical times in the child's life, when that life may be in danger. The sorcerer's help is then asked for, and he invokes the aid of the *k'ai-kuan t'u-ti* 開關土地 the precinct god who opens barriers. 852 754

The following are a few of the crises or barriers which may occur in a child's life, and with respect to which he must be carefully guarded.

There is the 短命關 *tuan ming kuan* or short-life barrier, which means that the child may die at any age before 12 years. At 12 the barrier or crisis is over. There is also the 100-days barrier; the child is not safe till past that age.

The Buddhist-priest barrier 和尚關 *ho-shang kuan*, means there is danger that the boy will run away from home and become a priest, which is equivalent to losing him altogether.

The "knock-door crisis" 撞門關 *ch'uang mên kuan* means there is danger that the child some time visiting a neighbour's house will get bitten by a dog or catch

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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some infectious disease. This barrier is avoided in the following fashion. The parents take the child out for a walk, and accost the first person they meet, pedlar, beggar, or what not. They salute him and tell him the matter, asking him to become surety for the child. If he consents he will give the child a new name and become his *kan tieh* 乾爹 informal adoptive father (or *kan ma* 乾媽 adoptive mother). The person is then invited to the house and food put before him, and the same evening the necessary ceremony, much the same as in sorcery, is performed in the house.

The danger may be that the child must pass the *lei-kung kuan* Thunder-god barrier, or be killed, as the Chinese say, by thunder. Such death is regarded as evidence of the special displeasure of Heaven.

Another crisis is the *ch'ü-ming kuan* 取命關 or taking-life barrier. There is danger of the child's life being taken by a demon. In this case a butcher is asked to become surety or adoptive father, because he carries a knife and can thus frighten away the slaying demon. Much the same ceremony is performed as in the "knock-door crisis."

It may be threatened that some heavy or sharp article shall fall on the child and kill it; this is a *tao-chên kuan* 刀砧關 or knife and anvil crisis. A butcher with his knife or a blacksmith with his sledgehammer is sought as *kan tieh*.

The danger may be that of drowning, *lo-shui kuan* 落水關. Any willing person may be made *kan tieh* in this case.

The *p'ei-ma kuan* 披麻關 or donning-sackcloth barrier, means that there is danger the child may be left an orphan, or that he will fall sick if he sees anyone in mourning.

The crisis to be dreaded may be that the child will one day fall through a hole in some bridge and be drowned. This is the *tuan-ch'iao kuan* 斷橋關 or broken-bridge crisis.

The child may be liable to the *chiang-chün kuan* 將軍關; that is, he may be accidentally shot. To avert this calamity, or to get past this barrier he must worship at the tomb of some military general 將軍, or at some memorial stone. Such a lad will most likely carry through life the nickname *pei* 碑 or tablet, because he worshipped at the stone slab.

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There is a crisis recurring at 3, 6 and 9 years old, *san liu chiu sui kuan* 三六九歲關. The child with this threat on him is not allowed to travel far or visit any house where a corpse or coffin may be till he is ten years old.

The white tiger barrier 白虎關 *pai-hu kuan*, means that a dog will bite the child, or a demon attack him, or that he will be left an orphan.

There is fear that the child will be made ill by the sight of blood; this is called the blood-dish barrier 血盤關 *hsüeh-p'ên kuan*. A butcher is the proper *kan tieh* to be sought for in this case.

There is danger lest the child should be scalded by the upsetting of a kettle of water or burned by the fire-brazier in the winter. The people are in the habit of putting the fire-basket under their clothes or even taking it to bed with them with the result that many lives are lost and much property destroyed.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to. 852 782

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

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596 who might otherwise be free of the constant
575 direct influence of the government. These two
562 groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit
861 for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that the trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

596 With the Communist regime's emphases
593 on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
166 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied
178 in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
871 was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

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11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

178 and intelligible to the younger generation than the
871 classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, it at least had taught him not to be resigned to his lot, but to look to the future rather
178 than to the past for betterment. With the in-
871 crease of schools, there emerged in the cities
565 a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together; and with their newly established organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although frequently dependent for subsistence on their families, students had nothing to do with the cultivation or management
178 of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to
565 find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast with the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions in the ruling elite class, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social nobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social rôles were less clearly defined; sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status

178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

871 offered to a broader segment of the population in
178 the decade before World War II. New social,
596 political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press.
489 Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or
596 more away from the nearest great city were
178 brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

668 An even more disturbing influence on the
178 old way of life was the increasing spread of revo-
596 lutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive a basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

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1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

•871 Nationalist officials singled out two of the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus a mild social reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy of education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Officials explanations stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

Under the Nationalist Government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were [873] made by such people as James Yen (an internationally known promoter of mass education), who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist Central People's Government, who did much for the development of vocational education in China.

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

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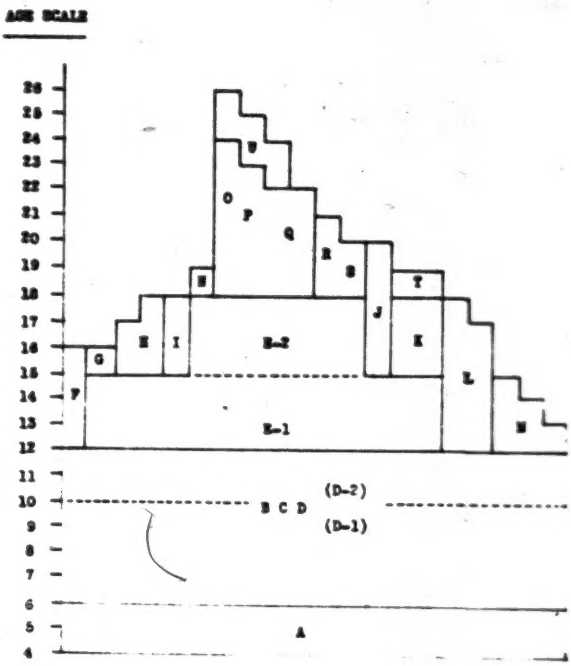
It is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the eve of the Communist seizure of power. 871.

The application of the broad principles of education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the chart which follows.

CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

87/ As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students at rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit and may be sufficient, for all general purposes, if the students must devote themselves to manual labor upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their formal education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

By 1946, it was announced by the Nationalist Ministry of Education, 54.52 per cent of the

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nation's population above the age of six either had attended or were attending schools.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In the Southwest China Region, 30 schools for advanced education were in operation in 1947. Of these, 16 were general, 8 were technical, and 6 were for teacher-training.[5] Other pre-Communist statistics on education in Southwest China, cited in Table I, will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1,623.

5. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, pp. 1,591-594.

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Table I. Education in Southwest China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	No. of Schools	No. of. Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
Szechwan	47,931	3,696,712	825	283,205	(4,635)	(64,828)
Yunnan	11,150	724,833	173	38,844	(2,014)	(169,572)
Kweichow	7,901	623,983	155	38,961	(9,394)	(149,091)

* The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions. The figures for Sikang Province have been included in those for Szechwan Province.

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871
722 It is to be noted that Southwest China, unlike other regions, had an opportunity to expand educational facilities during World War II when many schools in North and East China were forced to move to the interior.

II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

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Mao Tse-tung stated in his work On New Democracy, that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "New China," Mao believed that the education program in China would be successful if it contained "scientific substances, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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871 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[8] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to education, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that "education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[9]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution

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8. Comprador - a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China, to have charge of its native employees.

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, Section B, p. 9.

871 says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian-style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles

871 of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those of stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation

10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. People's Education, Oct. 1954, p. 13.

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C. Changes in Organization

871 Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[14] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Goverment Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October

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14. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Last Five Years], Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communists.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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871 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[15] (1) the reorganization will ascertain the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educational classes in the regular school system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and the two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China"; and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major

15. People's Education, Oct. 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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87 reorganization of schools was completed.[16] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[17] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Administration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-years and two-levels." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[18]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to

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16. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.
17. People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 24.
18. Ibid., p. 8.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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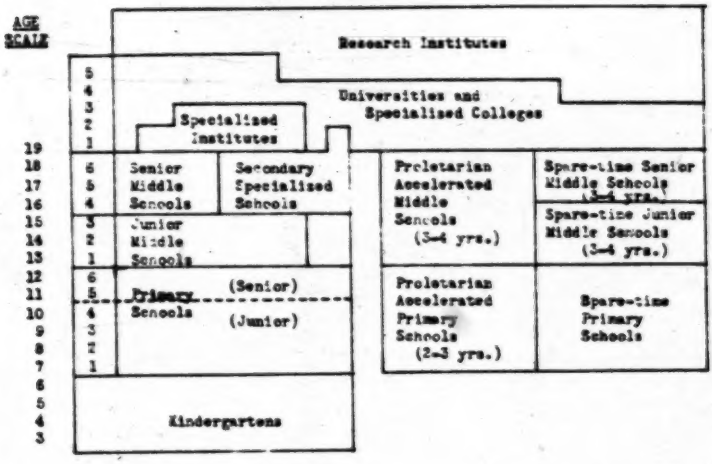
87/ achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities as prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[19] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-mei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

19. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

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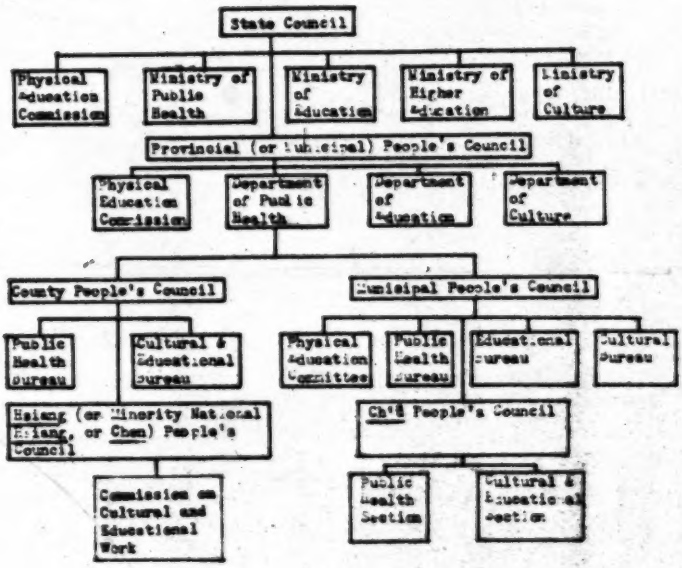
Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

(Chart 3 faces p. 285.)

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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871 Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program; the Ministry of Education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activities" other than education, such as the press, publications, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

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871 665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

871 668 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime

21. People's Education, Dec. 1954, p. 30.

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in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not begin until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological erros. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education

•871 668 in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The State Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is designed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth. (This is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.) Instruction begins in kindergarten, where the Communists teach pupils to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property, and to aid their parents in the work at home and in the fields. Grade school children are given manual work, partly as physical exercise and

22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. People's Education, May 1955, p. 5.

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partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be given "New China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved or the separation from familiar places it may entail. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any of the several levels of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

C. Physical Education Movement

Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3),[1] the State Council and the two

25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

1 [facing p. 285--Analyst]

668 ministries of education have been seriously
871 concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." In April 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued a joint directive in July 1954 reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions for Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequte diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under

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26. People's Education, Aug. 1954, p. 65.

668 the Communists in China. Language reform,
• 871 important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed.

IV. SCHOOLS ON VARIOUS LEVELS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in Southwest China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

872 The development of kindergartens in the Southwest China Region followed the basic policies laid down by the Communists: to consolidate the existing schools and improve their efficiency before building new schools. The program was tied in with the child welfare program and there has been no specific discussion on the progress made in Southwest China. According to Ch'u T'u-nan, Chairman

8B similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary schools. In this way, any person pursuing studies in his spare-time can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

8B1 The Communist government expressed concern over two aspects of the "proletarian" education program. One was that so far the schools have not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, in spite of the fact that more and more children of peasants and workers were reported to be enrolled in schools. The government admitted that in certain schools children from peasant- and worker-families still felt themselves discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. The other aspect was the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[58] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to deficient students.

~~F. Education for Minority Nationalities~~

58. People's Education, Aug. 1953, pp. 31-32.

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F. Education for Minority Nationalities

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With the slogan "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[59] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[60] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Southwest China, three colleges and a number of middle and special technical schools have been established; the total enrollment of these schools in 1951 was 6,800.

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59. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
60. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 35.

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871 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended
563 spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000
[665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 The Communists claimed that their policy
563 of providing educational opportunities for
186 minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

876 they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

871 Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations. Lack of financial support for students causes preoccupation with means of livelihood when they should be studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of co-ordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although it is not clear if such practices are continuing in Southwest China, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking

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871 to issue an order banning such a practice.[65] Too frequent transfers of teachers in Kweichow Province resulted in the temporary suspension of classes at the Ch'ien-hsi Primary School.[66] Too many government-required extra-curricular activities deprived the students at the First Normal School in Chungking of 65 class-hours in a period of 24 days.[67] Too many extra assignments reduced the effectiveness of the teacher's instruction. One teacher at the Kuan-hsien Primary School in Szechwan Province complained that he had to serve on 13 committees, concerned with problems ranging from the repair of school buildings to dissemination of political propaganda.[68] Multiple control and supervision of school administration tends to confuse the administrators. The School for Iron and Steel Industries in Chungking had to

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65. Ibid., Aug. 1951, p. 8.

66. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Communists], Taipei Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 12-13.

67. New China Daily, Chungking, Jan. 23, 1953, p. 1.

68. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1953, p. 2.

•871 take orders from six government agencies; as a result the school administration found it difficult to please everybody.[69] According to Southwest China press reports, these were not isolated cases; they reflect the confusion that plagues the entire educational system in China today.

Until adequate officially-approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to translations of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. Since such translated works have not yet been slanted to the needs of the Chinese, it is doubtful that they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The effort of the government to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are all thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism, there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not grow among those who have been denied the choice of jobs.

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69. Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 225.

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871 In summary, it should be noted that, although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their work is far from accomplished. The attitudes of the many people involved in the system of education can not be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expedient nature of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the graduates. According to a Communist report, some students of primary schools spent more than four years in a single grade; in some middle schools about 17 per cent of the students failed; in 1954, 73 per cent of the applicants for engineering department failed in mathematics in the college entrance examination.[70] There is no information available on how the college graduates fared; but it seems reasonable to assume that they could not have done much better.

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70. People's Education, Jan. 1955, p. 5.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one sees upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Cressey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ta'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.

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668 the Communists in China. Language reform,
871 important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed.

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872 of the Cultural and Educational Commission for Southwest China, the emphasis in educational development in that region immediately after the Communist seizure of power in 1949 was to "build and strengthen a few institutions of higher learning and middle schools."[27] Obviously the expansion of kindergartens in Southwest China was to come later.

872 668 The development of primary schools received prompter attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The policy has been to strengthen the primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments.

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27. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien, 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1,000.

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 575-76.

872 668 In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. By September 1952, over 16,000 primary school teachers had gone through the "thought reform" process in Southwest China. Refresher courses were arranged during summer and winter vacations and other off-duty hours to improve the qualifications of primary school teachers; over 18,000 teachers were reported to have attended these courses before the end of 1952.[29]

872 In 1950, there were 76,000 primary schools in Southwest China with a total registration of 5,000,000 students. By September 1952, the total enrollment of primary schools in this region had increased to 7,167,000, or about half of the number of school-age children in Southwest China. Of these students, nearly 90 per cent were from peasant and worker families.[30] The Communists pointed out the high percentage of "proletarian" students in primary schools as a proof of the improved educational opportunity for the working class.

One of the most difficult problems in improving the primary school system was the fact the teachers were dissatisfied because they

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29. Pei Kuan-chin T'ieh-mu hou Ti Hsi-nan [Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 17-19.

30. Ibid.

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872 were not paid as much as industrial workers and their political status was lower than the often-untutored government "cadres". Much of this discontent was bared during a lengthy discussion in the Primary School Teacher, a monthly published by the Ministry of Education. From September 1953 through May 1954, the magazine received over 20,000 letters and articles arguing the pros and cons of this issue. Many of the letters were from teachers in Southwest China.[31] On the other hand, Chou Hui-wen, a young woman teacher at a primary school in Chengtu,[32] recounted in detail how she reformed badly behaved students for the glory of the "New China." There seem to be similarly dedicated teachers, thoroughly indoctrinted in Communism and devoted to the responsibility of "being the People's teacher," in all parts of Southwest China.

The emphasis in primary school education has been to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for country. Thus, students in a history course were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that

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31. Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih [Primary School Teacher], Sept. 1953 through May 1954 issues.

32. Ibid., Nov. 1953, p. 6.

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•872 he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[33] Schools which succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm or factory work upon graduation were cited as "model" institutions. In April 1955, the schools at Kuang-yüan (Yunnan Province) reported with pride that out of 204 students graduating in the last class, 80 took up jobs with mutual-aid teams and agricultural co-operatives.[34] To achieve this result, school teachers had to persuade the students' parents that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education. However, in spite of the fact that the government has made "labor education" the primary point of emphasis in political indoctrination, lack of success was revealed by Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu, Mayor of Chungking, who reported on January 13, 1955 that "the idea of looking down on physical labor and the laboring class still prevails among students."[35]

873 B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in

33. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
34. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1012, April 26, 1955, pp. 12-13.
35. Ibid., Supplement, pp. 4-5.

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me abruptly and said: "These are my servants and they are carrying 574
out my orders." With a commanding voice that suddenly made me think of Ru da lao ye of Kue de ting and the fate of Captain Watts-Jones, he thundered at me: "You are my guest. There is no other place for you but a room in my castle (tsch'ai tse)." I was so startled that at first I only dared ask him cautiously whether there was peace in China and what was the relationship between Europeans and Chinese.

But Wu was an excellent host. As long as I lived in his house my servants were not permitted to cook for me. He personally invited me morning and afternoon to his two meals and for three days he would not let me travel on. When he learned of my misfortune in fording the Dsa Chu he sent out couriers who were again supposed to hunt for my things.

I had been given a large room. I had scarcely sat down there at a very shaky table and hoped to be able to work in peace and quiet, when my first visitors came dashing in. The two bright young sons of the mandarin, boys of six and eight years, had, after the manner of European youngsters, decided I was their interesting uncle and attached themselves to me until the last minute I was there. One of them on his second visit already brought his favorite plaything, a snarling old monkey, which, with its smart tricks, /192/ did not add to the quiet of my room. The Tibetans had chopped off its tail, which was supposed to make it smarter. Even the nursemaid came hurrying up with [304]
the youngest offspring, and soon the mothers of the little ones appeared, six Chinese women who were heavily made up with white and tripped along on their three-inch lily feet. The mandarin had brought them along from his distant home of Hu peh.

Even at night there was not much peace and quiet in the castle. In the next room which was separated from mine by a thin wall of boards, the soldiers sat on guard and from the stroke of nine on they beat their drum. Fortunately for me, the drum had a large hole and produced only a muffled sound. About every hour a shot was fired which startled me unmercifully. Finally, if one got accustomed to all this racket and lay in sweet slumber early in the morning, the
Chinese school began just across the courtyard. There 30 abecedar- 872
ians, Chinese and Tibetan children, learned to read and write Chinese. In back against the wall was the teacher's lectern, and in front of the teacher, with their backs to him and facing the door and me, the pupils sat on low benches, and shouted out into the courtyard the ancient wise sayings of Confucius and the other great philosophers of antiquity from their primers. From the rear the teacher saw to it that

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872 each pupil bellowed. "If he doesn't bellow, he isn't learning, but chattering or making mischief."

The mandarin pays for the upkeep of this school. The children live and eat in the castle and bring only their sleeping blankets and in winter a coal brazier from home. "The lessons are conducted according to the new Western style," the teacher told me. Every hour there was a short pause and every day there was physical exercise. If the teacher wanted to begin or interrupt the lessons he drummed on a hollow tree trunk, just like a South Sea Islander.

241 166 The mandarin was also obliged to distribute seeds to the Chinese immigrants; and because the last few years there had been poor harvests he had to order tsamba from Dawo and Romi Tschanggu and rice from the city of Ya tschou. (1) Otherwise all the colonists would have

1. The price for barley in Tschanggu was exactly 15 times as much as in Hsining fu.

long since gone home to China. The colonization here, unlike that of Mongolia, is sponsored by the government. A few years ago 100 families were established here; they had land as well as free seeds, schools for their children and complete freedom from taxes for the first years. And yet conditions were so unfavorable that more than half of them had already gone back and there were only 40 Chinese families left.

651 From the Tibetan families the mandarin gets free escort (ula) and compulsory military service, besides 2.5 Candareen (tael cents) a year. Thus, his income is slight and during each meal Wu da lao ye complained when it came to the rice and rice wine that in this post he had to supply a great deal (presumably 2,000 taels annually).

353 The hall in which my first reception had taken place was also the dining hall where the mandarin, his first secretary, the teacher and /Plates XLV, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII appear between pp. 192 and 193 in the original text. / /193/ I were served. (1) Already in

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1. Wu tschin hsü Da lao ye had even had Chinese pigs brought from the lowlands for slaughtering because he thought the Tibetan species which is raised throughout Hor in large quantities, was too fleshy and tasted bad. The Hor Tibetans eat their pork sometimes raw and sometimes cooked.

563 too various to describe in this chapter.[36] Under
596 the Communists, the tribal peoples have been given special treatment, and the uniqueness of [37] their social systems has been largely preserved. No attempt was made to implement the new Marriage Law in the ethnic minority autonomous areas established by the new regime.

178 In the twentieth century, family patterns among the Chinese people of the Southwest Region have largely followed the forms of traditional China before the beginning of industrialization and the resulting outgrowth of revolutionary social and political forces.[38] The customs and practices of the Chinese people long established on the Cheng-tu Plain and of immigrants, mostly from the Yangtze River provinces of the Central-South and East China regions, were little disturbed by modern trends until the capital of the Nationalist Government was moved to Chungking during the war with Japan. Previously, Western-style commerce and industry had made little progress in the region, the intrusion of modern trends from other parts of China had been barred by the lack of railway and highway links with the outside world, and warlord rule had perpetuated traditional values and practices. One significant modern influence that
178 had made its way into the region was modern edu-
873 cation at the universities, especially in the

36. The chapter on Ethnic Groups describes some of the major social characteristics of the principal indigenous tribes.

37. See Fei Hsiao-t'ung, "Minority Groups in Kweichow Province," C.B., 150, pp.8-15.

38. On the family in the Southwest Region, see Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1948; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, China's [cont'd]

178 provincial capital of Chengtu and its vicinity.
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Just before the war, transportation sys-
178 tems began to bring the Southwest Region into contact with the rest of China. The wartime needs of the Nationalist Government led to the beginning of modern industrial and commercial development within the region and the exploration and development of its mineral resources. Refugee students and professors from other parts of China were scattered in makeshift unversities throughout the Southwest Region. Many of the educated group made determined efforts to filter to the people some of the new political and social ideas derived from Chinese contact with the West through the mesh of the Kuomintang wartime censorship. Some refugee intellectuals were enlisted in the rural reconstruction program, headed by James Yen, who attempted in scattered rural areas to improve literacy, agricultural methods, and living habits and to spread new social and political ideas. Although stripped of their former revolutionary content, they contained within them the seeds of change in family and other areas of life.[39]

563 The results of these innovations in the
178 Southwest Region appear to have been minor and ephemeral, but it is still too early to assay their long-range and lasting effects. The influences of the intellectuals and of the personnel of the rural

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39. On the rural reconstruction program see Paul M. A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic.] : A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 218-22.

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871 Nationalist officials singled out two of the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus a mild social reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy of education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Officials explanations stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

Under the Nationalist Government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were [873] made by such people as James Yen (an internationally known promoter of mass education), who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist Central People's Government, who did much for the development of vocational education in China.

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

871 of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those of stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation

10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. People's Education, Oct. 1954, p. 13.

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873 of the educational system was administratively impossible), the Communist instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricular for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricula-reform in the Institutions of Higher Learning." The main point of this directive was that, "Institutions of higher learning must... abolish the politically reactionary courses, install revolutionary political courses of the New Democracy.... The curriculum of all departments must practice the principle of proper specialization ... must install and

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.873 strengthen necessary and important courses and omit those overlapping and unimportant courses and materials, in accordance with the principle of intensification and simplification."[12]

Following this conference, major changes in college curricula were carried out. Similar measures were also adopted for secondary and primary schools by modifying the courses and altering the subject-content. In January 1951, the Communist Ministry of Education moved to check on the results of curricula "reform" by holding a "Conference on Inspection of Teaching Plans for the Academic Year 1950 of All Institutions of Higher Learning." Again, similar actions were taken for schools on the lower level. After September 1951, official efforts were mainly devoted to "thought reform" and the inspection of course material and teaching methods to ensure that the reform measures were truly carried out in the Communist spirit. These efforts have not lessened in the past five years.

Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricula

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12. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. II, No. 5, Sept. 1950, p. 1,134.

•873 "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricula "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels, supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences, before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious, but their technical quality can not be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard works in non-Communist countries.[13]

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13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on Public Information and Propaganda and Artistic and Intellectual Expression. Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China], Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 218-27.

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872 he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[33] Schools which succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm or factory work upon graduation were cited as "model" institutions. In April 1955, the schools at Kuang-yüan (Yunnan Province) reported with pride that out of 204 students graduating in the last class, 80 took up jobs with mutual-aid teams and agricultural co-operatives.[34] To achieve this result, school teachers had to persuade the students' parents that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education. However, in spite of the fact that the government has made "labor education" the primary point of emphasis in political indoctrination, lack of success was revealed by Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu, Mayor of Chungking, who reported on January 13, 1955 that "the idea of looking down on physical labor and the laboring class still prevails among students."[35]

873 B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in

33. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
34. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1012, April 26, 1955, pp. 12-13.
35. Ibid., Supplement, pp. 4-5.

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•873 Southwest China went through the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization according to the Communist policy for education. Incomplete statistics from a Communist source indicate that in that year there were 1,200 schools with 150,000 students in this region.[36] Suspension and merging of many private schools in the subsequent years reduced the total number of middle schools in Southwest China to 674 in 1951. However, student enrollment apparently suffered little from the reorganization of schools; in the spring of 1952, there were 216,000 students attending middle schools. Of this number, about 50 per cent were from "proletarian" families.[37] In Szechwan, the largest and richest province in this region, the policy has been to establish a middle school in every "old revolutionary base" (area occupied by the Communists in the 1930's). Although there is no up-to-date information on the accomplishment of this program, the government in Szechwan was prepared to do everything possible to develop education in the northern parts of that province, including the

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36. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1,000.

37. Southwest China behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

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• 8B organization of "substitute tiller" teams to help those families which, after sending their older children to school, would not have sufficient manpower to work on the land.[38] Concrete results of middle school expansion were reported in Chungking Municipality; in 1954, 18 junior middle schools were either newly built or expanded.[39]

Aside from giving technical instruction commensurate with the level of the school, secondary education in Mainland China stressed the same things as the primary schools. To make the teacher conform to the government policy of education, a rotating system of indoctrination was inaugurated for secondary school principals and other administrators, with the commissioners of education of each provincial government responsible for the supervision of indoctrination. The program got underway in Southwest China in 1951; by September 1952, over 11,000 teachers and administrators had completed their "training."[40]

Some important changes were made in the curricula for secondary schools. To the natural science courses was added a subject

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38. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan Under the Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 21.

39. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1012, pp. 4-5.

40. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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873 called Elementary Darwinism. To the social sciences courses was added a study of the Common Program, later replaced by a study of the new Constitution of 1954 after its promulgation. During the past five years there have been times when a scheduled course was suspended at the last minute because the official textbook for the course was not ready.[41] Many textbooks were revised several times to measure up to the changing Party line as interpreted by Peking.

C. Institutions of Higher Learning

873 668 In principle, the control of institutions of higher learning is centralized under the Ministry of Higher Education, except for the teacher's training program which falls under the Ministry of Education (see Chart 3).[1] In practice, the Government Administration Council has instructed the various central government ministries in charge of various industries to "supervise and co-ordinate" the programs for advanced technical schools. These central government ministries in turn can appoint local government personnel to take charge of the schools in order to maintain close supervision.

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41. People's Education, Aug. 1954, pp. 63-64.

1 [facing. P. 285 -- Analyst]

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873 668 In this connection, local governments, mainly provincial, are given the responsibility of providing the schools with political guidance.[42] With this system of control, the political conversion of the universities and colleges was carried out with very little delay. In September 1950, the regional authorities of Southwest China called a conference on higher education. Immediately after the conference, the 43 existing institutions of higher learning were put through the initial "reform." As a part of the "thought reform," 808 college teachers and 5,212 students were enlisted to serve in the Land Reform Movement. In the summer of 1951, 191 teachers and 1,640 students were sent to farms and factories to practice what they had been learning in school.[43]

873 Among the more acute difficulties

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42. "Decisions Concerning the Revision of Relations of Leadership for Institutions of Higher Learning," announced by the Government Administration Council on Oct. 6, 1953; People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 558-59.

43. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

• 873 experienced during the conversion and reorganization of universities were:[44] (1) the "thought reform" of college professors, who were subject to public criticism by their students, and (2) the transfer of certain departments from one university to another, which disrupted the administration of those institutions. By the end of 1952, nine of the schools of higher education in Southwest China had been revamped to include 39 more departments, of which 25 were directly controlled by government agencies in charge of industrial affairs. Seventeen "new type" technical schools were established, of which 11 were engineering schools.[45] Not all of these schools were on the college level.

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44. Accounts of thought reform for college professors are presented (possibly with some exaggeration) in such works as Ts'ui Shu-ch'in, Ta-lu Hsüeh-jen Ti Pei-chü [Tragedy of Scholars on the Mainland], Taipei, Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1953; and Kung-fei Ti Nu-i Wen-hua Yü Chiao-yü [The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952.

45. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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Table II. Institutions of Higher Learning in Southwest China (1954)*

Name	Location	Departments	Special Courses	Specialization
Szechwan University	Chengtu	7	none	General
Yunnan University	Kunming	8	none	General
Chungking University	Chungking	6	2	Mining, engineering
Chengtu Engineering College	Chengtu	3	1	Engineering
Chungking College of Civil Engineering	Chungking	1	1	Civil engineering
Kunming Engineering College	Kunming	2	1	Engineering
†Szechwan College of Chemical Engineering	Lu-chou	4	none	Industrial chemistry
Hsi-nan Agricultural College	Chungking	6	none	Agriculture
Kweichow Agricultural College	Kweiyang	1	none	Agriculture
Agricultural College, Szechwan University	Chengtu	4	none	Agriculture
Agricultural College, Yunnan University	Kunming	2	none	Agriculture
Szechwan College of Finance and Economics	Chengtu	4	none	Finance, Economics
Hsi-nan College of Political Science and Law	Chungking	none	1	Pol. science, law
Szechwan Medical College	Chengtu	3	none	Medicine
Kweiyang Medical College	Kweiyang	1	none	Medicine
Hsi-nan Russian Institute	Chungking	none	1	Russian
Hsi-nan College of Physical Education	Chengtu	1	none	Physical ed.
Hsi-nan Normal College	Chungking	11	4	General
Szechwan Normal College	Nan-ch'ung	5	5	General
Kweiyang Normal College	Kweiyang	7	6	General
Kunming Normal College	Kunming	4	5	General
Chungking Special School for Teacher Training	Chungking	none	4	General
Szechwan Special School for Teacher Training	Lu-chou	none	3	General
Hsi-nan Special School of Music	Chengtu	none	3	Music
Hsi-nan Special School of Fine Arts	Chengtu	none	3	Fine arts

*Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 569-71.

†Szechwan College of Chemical Engineering specializes in training students in the process of pulp-making and tanning.

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873 In 1950, there were 43 schools of higher education with 15,000 students in Southwest China[46] -- some 13 schools added to the number existing in 1947. However, subsequent reorganization and merging of the schools left only 25 in operation in 1954 (see Table II). Of these, nine were technical schools, two specialized in medicine, and two were full-fledged "general" universities. Some of these schools simultaneously conducted two- and three-year special courses. The establishment of the short-term special course is in accordance with the over-all government policy of preparing sufficient technical personnel to meet the needs of the national reconstruction program.

Problems were created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates and other students to the places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in school, the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."[47] The 9,190 college students graduating in 1950-52 in Southwest

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46. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1,000.

47. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-yung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

•873 China were assigned jobs.[48] Supporters of this program said that this would bring to an end the complaint that "graduation means unemployment." But placing so many graduates properly so that everyone of them would make use of what he had studied was not a simple undertaking, and there were undoubtedly many misassignments resulting in dissatisfaction on the part of the students.

D. The Teachers' Training Program

874 As shown in Chart 2, colleges and secondary schools for teacher training have equal standing with general schools on the same levels. The urgent need for trained teachers for schools on different levels was first announced in October 1950 by Ma Hsü-lun, then Minister of Education. Ma told the first All-China Conference on Primary Education and Teacher's Training that, before 1957, according to the planned expansion of schools, China would need 1,000,000 new teachers. Of these, 200,000 would be for "spare-time" schools for peasants and workers, 130,000 for regular

48. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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874 These stopgap measures, however, were unable to meet the shortage of teachers pointed out by Ma Hsü-lun in 1950. In 1954, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, still mentioned the possible shortage of 100,000 secondary school teachers in the next five years.[51] Nine months later, a report from the Ministry of Education stated that, according to plan, the expansion of secondary schools in 1954 would need about 28,000 additional teachers. Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. At the same time the teachers' colleges also had to be expanded, thus absorbing a number of graduates. As a result, the Ministry of Education reported, only about 7,600 new teachers would be available for other assignments.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres, and the Illiterate

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To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists'

51. People's Education, Jan. 1954, pp. 17-18.

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873 theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on September 30, 1950.[52] He quoted Mao Tse-tung as saying that, because the peasants and workers constituted over 80 per cent of China's population, they were the main force upon which would depend the transition of Chinese society from "New Democracy" to Socialism. Ch'ien stressed the following points: (1) The most immediate task was to combat illiteracy. (2) The cadres among the peasants and workers must be the first to be educated so that they would provide proper leadership for the masses. (3) This type of education must be fitted to local conditions which might vary from place to place.

[665] No line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between the educational institutions for peasants and workers and those for Party and other government cadres. Altogether these schools form a part of the regular school system. As Ch'eng Fang-wu, former president of the College of the War of Resistance at Yenan, reported in July 1952,[53] the development

52. People's Education, May 1951, pp. 12-16.
53. Ibid., July 1952, p. 6.

873 of this type of education under the Communists could be traced back to Mao Tse-tung's Peasant Movement Institute in Hunan in the early days of the Chinese Communist movement. Later, when the Communists established a stronghold in southern Kiangsi Province, cadre schools were established to train political and military personnel. These institutions were succeeded by the College of the War of Resistance and by the Northern Shensi Institute in Yenan in the 1930's and early 1940's. As the Communist Army occupied North China after World War II, the North China University and the North China People's Revolutionary University were established for cadres training. After 1949, the Chinese People's University emerged in Peking, with 30 per cent of its curriculum devoting to political education and 70 per cent to the specific fields in which the cadre students were specializing.

The first government effort in Southwest China to promote a "study drive" for peasants and workers resulted in registering 350,000 participants in 1951. In the municipality of Chungking, it was reported, over 96 per cent of the workers took part in spare-time studies. In the same year, over 6,000,000 peasants in Southwest China enrolled in "winter schools," and later about 4,000,000 continued their studies by registering in "year-round" peasant schools. Eight schools were established in

873 various cities in this region, enrolling a total of 2,604 students in 1952; of these students, 200 were graduated and registered in "proletarian accelerated" middle schools.[54] No report is available on the exact number of such middle schools in Southwest China, however, as early as 1950, the Southwest Experimental Proletarian Accelerated Middle School was established; another was established by Szechwan University in Chengtu in 1952.[55]

In the proletarian accelerated secondary schools (see Chart 2),[1] a formal curriculum is pursued. The courses taught there are similar to those in regular secondary schools except that emphasis is placed on technical subjects while anything without direct bearing on farm or factory work is simplified in order to shorten the time of study. In the classes irregularly conducted during the spare-time of the peasants and workers, political study consists of lectures and discussions, using as topics whatever happens to coincide with the most recent official Party propaganda line.

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54. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

55. New China Daily, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

[1] [see p. 284 -- Analyst]

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823 665 For political cadres, regardless of their own professions, study of Marxian and other Communist theories are required. The Central Committee of the Communist Party periodically issues directives listing the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung to be studied. Chiefs of local Party branches are charged with the responsibility of supervising these studies at weekly meetings.[56]

Classes to teach beginners to read the Chinese language are held separately, but once the students have graduated from these classes they are given the opportunity to advance to higher levels of learning. An attempt is made to raise the academic level of cadres among peasants and workers to that of graduates of regular schools. In a directive issued by the 873 Communist Party on December 24, 1953,[57] it was stated that those who pursued spare-time study at least six hours a week for forty weeks a year, covering the essential courses prescribed for the primary school level by educational authorities, were entitled to enroll in a junior secondary school. Three years of

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56. A sample list of materials to be studied is found in People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 535-36.
57. Ibid., p. 538.

8B similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary schools. In this way, any person pursuing studies in his spare-time can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

87 The Communist government expressed concern over two aspects of the "proletarian" education program. One was that so far the schools have not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, in spite of the fact that more and more children of peasants and workers were reported to be enrolled in schools. The government admitted that in certain schools children from peasant- and worker-families still felt themselves discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. The other aspect was the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[58] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to deficient students.

~~F. Education for Minority Nationalities~~

58. People's Education, Aug. 1953, pp. 31-32.

779 795 As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874) of Yunnan Province, and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

779 563 873 Chinese Mohammedans, in their moves towards modernism, came to accept the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic. They had, by 1936, opened eleven high schools for Moslem children, and they began to send students abroad to foreign centers of Islamic learning. Yunnan

48. Ibid., pp. 192-94.

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779 Province led in this movement; in 1937,
563 eighteen Chinese students were sent to Egypt,
873 and half of these were from Yunnan. By 1930, the Islamic Theological College attached to the Chungking mosque had been in operation five years, and the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or co-ordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools.[49] Yet the spread of modern type education was handicapped by the poverty of the Moslem communities and by religious prejudice against Chinese learning. For example Shantien, in Yunnan, was the outstanding Islamic cultural center in China and sent more students abroad than any other town; yet in 1949 it had a population of only 5,000, of which two were college graduates and "some thirty" high school graduates; it had one grade school with 360 students but no high school.[50]

779 What have been Chinese Communist policies
668 toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The

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49. Ibid., pp. 198-201.
50. Ibid., p. 200.

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793
797 This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the older Catholic areas in North and Central China, the least in such provinces as Kweichow and Kwangsi. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[60] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

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797 Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges and universities have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and universities have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous Zikawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clea that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

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60. Ibid.

729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

466 enterprise to supervise the enforcement of safety rules and make detailed reports on industrial accidents. Working conditions were reported to have been improved since the issuance of the directive.[31]

C. Labor Education and Recreation

•873 466 At the time the Communists took over Mainland China in 1949, from 60 to 80 per cent of Chinese workers were illiterate (i.e., they could read less than 1,000 Chinese characters). In June 1950, the Government Administration Council issued the "Instructions for Developing Spare-time Education of Workers," a measure aimed at teaching all workers at least 1,000 characters within a period of three to five years and the ability to read simple books and newspapers. The Communist Trade Union Law stipulates that the management or owner of every enterprises must allocate a certain sum for the education of workers. By mid-1952, besides night classes opened in individual factories and mines, there were 652 spare-time schools in the region. "The Quick Method of Learning Chinese Characters" devised by cultural instructor Chi Chien-hua of the People's Liberation Army is lauded as a great help in accelerating the learning process among workers. Workers having a high degree of intelligence are reportedly being sent to universities and technical institutions for advanced study. The

31. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 16, 22, 1952, p. 3.

873 Party, unions, and management decide who is qualified for additional technical training. The workers entering schools receive financial support equal to their former wages. The stated intention of the Chinese Communists is to build a new intelligentsia within the working class.

466 In the interest of worker recreation, the Communists reported that 11,929 clubs had been set up in factories, mines and other enterprises throughout the country by the end of 1954. From 1949 to 1952, 348 workers' clubs and 712 libraries were reported to have been established in Southwest China.[32] Workers were encouraged to enjoy their leisure time in these clubs and libraries. But in Communist China, even the "leisure" of the masses is controlled by the Party. After an 8- to 10-hour working day, workers have to participate in political studies, criticism or self-criticism meetings, or various campaigns, movements and drives initiated by the Party. It is doubtful that the Chinese workers have any real leisure time at all.

D. Housing Conditions

362 According to a Communist report, People's
466 Government spent more than 286,000,000 yuan (new currency) on housing projects for workers throughout China in 1952. In 1953, the government allocated 130,000,000 square feet of floor space for building workers' living quarters.

32. New China Daily, Sept. 29 and 30, 1953.

178 in the new business or political hierarchy and
565 yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

178 Influenced by the idea of democracy which
565 they had discovered in the new schools, the in-
668 tellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders in China shows that the majority of them came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and had attended modern schools.[12] The labor unions, the peasants' associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectuals began their new career.

178 During this period of social and political
901 disorder, military men began to gain power, ob-
874 taining offices by virtue of their military success.
555 Rather than despising the military as the older
565 scholars did, many intellectuals began to seek similar careers as a means to power. This tendency began with the opening of the Huang-p'u (Whampoa) Military Academy in Kwangtung for the training of officers for the 1923-27 campaigns

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12. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-21.

178 against the warlords. In the war against Japan
701 the prestige of military men was greatly enhanced.
874 A military career has now become a major
555 attraction to ambitious intellectuals as a possible
565 channel for social advancement. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, who owe much of their prestige to their military skill, suggest the reputation acquired by military men in the modern period.

III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

565 The Chinese Communists, like Com-
668 munists elsewhere, claim adherence to orthodoz Marxist teachings. They analyze the existing social structure in China in terms of the theory of class struggle and insist on the inevitability of a classless society. In the name of evolving toward this state they justify the liquidation of certain segments of the Chinese population "which stand in the way of the regime." Doing so, they cause changes in the social structure of China.

A. Class Differentiation among the Chinese Population

In his book On the People's Democratic Dictatorship (1949), Mao Tse-tung divided Chinese nationals into those who because of their anti-revolutionary character and their "crimes against the Chinese nation" were deprived of the right to be numbered among the People, and those who were to enjoy all the rights of the People. In the first group were included

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 SW China
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873 China were assigned jobs.[48] Supporters of this program said that this would bring to an end the complaint that "graduation means unemployment." But placing so many graduates properly so that everyone of them would make use of what he had studied was not a simple undertaking, and there were undoubtedly many misassignments resulting in dissatisfaction on the part of the students.

D. The Teachers' Training Program

874 As shown in Chart 2, colleges and secondary schools for teacher training have equal standing with general schools on the same levels. The urgent need for trained teachers for schools on different levels was first announced in October 1950 by Ma Hsü-lun, then Minister of Education. Ma told the first All-China Conference on Primary Education and Teacher's Training that, before 1957, according to the planned expansion of schools, China would need 1,000,000 new teachers. Of these, 200,000 would be for "spare-time" schools for peasants and workers, 130,000 for regular

48. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 3.

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middle schools, 10,000 for colleges, and the remainder for kindergartens.[49] Measures adopted to expedite the training of teachers included the condensation of courses and the establishment of special short-term courses for training primary school teachers who, upon completion of training, would be promoted to teach in junior middle schools. To improve the qualifications of teachers, refreshers courses were organized during vacations and in evenings. In 1953, there were 1,280 such refresher courses throughout China. For teachers in outlying districts correspondence courses were designed in addition to reference materials brought to them by mobile libraries. The Communists claim that 407 counties in China were serviced by mobile libraries in 1953. In the same year, the teachers in 220 counties formed correspondence clubs and exchanged their teaching experiences, thus helping one another to improve teaching techniques.[50] Another measure adopted was the hiring of some high school graduates after a period of apprenticeship to serve as teachers in the schools from which they graduated.

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49. The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists, p. 23.

50. People's Education, Jan. 1953, p. 23.

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874 These stopgap measures, however, were unable to meet the shortage of teachers pointed out by Ma Hsü-lun in 1950. In 1954, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, still mentioned the possible shortage of 100,000 secondary school teachers in the next five years.[51] Nine months later, a report from the Ministry of Education stated that, according to plan, the expansion of secondary schools in 1954 would need about 28,000 additional teachers. Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. At the same time the teachers' colleges also had to be expanded, thus absorbing a number of graduates. As a result, the Ministry of Education reported, only about 7,600 new teachers would be available for other assignments.

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres, and the Illiterate

873 To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists'

51. People's Education, Jan. 1954, pp. 17-18.

744 Southwest Military and Administrative Region,
751 made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950.
[874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50 seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

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3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

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744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical Society. The committee reported that, among [878] the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

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729 to JMP$ 29,409,100,000. About 30 per cent
746 of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen
657 received this relief, but later the majority of these dependents were obliged to undertake production work.[40]

[873] Some 3,855 children and minor dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen were given government scholarships and financial aid in the three municipalities of Chungking, Chengtu, and Kweiyang, and 19,371 children and dependents in southern Szechwan were given scholarships, the Communists report.[41]

As a measure of encouragement, the Chinese Communists in June and July 1952 mobilized the populace of the Southwest Region to elect "model dependents" of "martyrs" and servicemen, "model disabled veterans," and "model workers for the protection and betterment of the servicemen's families."[42] Those elected were honored by recognition similar to that afforded "labor heroes" during the Land Reform Movement.

729 In September 1954, there were 67 special
874 schools for disabled veterans on the China Mainland, with a total enrollment of 5,000; from these schools, 10,000 graduates had already

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

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729 874 gone into construction work.[43] Some of these schools are in the Southwest, but the number and their locations are not known. According to their own criticism, expressed in Communist newspapers, Southwestern schools for disabled veterans are few in quantity and poor in quality.[44]

According to a broadcast in January 1955 by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen had become participants in mutual-aid groups and cooperatives and many were elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or village cadres.[45] The People's Daily reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans were elected "labor heroes" in July 1954.

VII. CONCLUSION

746 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China, the emphasis is on production rather than the alleviation of suffering. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save

43. Relief Work, p. 19.
44. New China Daily, Feb. 1, 1953, p. 2.
45. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

665 took place prior to 1955. The reorganization of agricultural producers' co-operatives, which took place in 1955, was the first Party reform movement conducted in the Southwest.

G. Indoctrination and Training

Another way of maintaining Party unity and discipline is by the constant indoctrination and training of each member.[21] This practice is aimed at the revitalization of adherence to Party doctrine.

665 874 Southwest China maintains two schools, a cultural school to raise the general level of education and an ideological school to tighten adherence to doctrine.

In the country as a whole, one half of the cadres, most of them Party member, have less than a junior high school education,

21. Pamphlets published by the 6th Section of Kuomintang on Formosa relative to this subject are of interest: Fei-tang Hsün-lien Ti P'ou-shih [An Analytical Study of Indoctrination of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1952; Chung-kung Tang Ti tsu-chih yü K'ung-chih [Organization and Control of the Communist Party of China], Taipei, 1951.

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and some actually are illiterate.[22] To remedy this, a cultural school system, administered by the Party and the government was established in this region in 1951, with the aim of raising the cadre standard to the junior high school level.[23] The course called for two semesters of twenty weeks, with four two-hour evening classes per week. In January 1954, a revised plan was ordered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, establishing a nationwide system and bringing both individuals and the responsible secretaries below the county and ch'ü levels into the new plan.[24] The plan called for cadre education equivalent to grade school and/or that of junior high school. Also included in the program, and to be completed in three or four months, was a class for the illiterate. Evening schools for the average cadre took twenty weeks at six hours a week. The secretaries and administrative personnel of the Party who were unable to take time off during the day for the supplementary

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22. People's Daily, Jan. 22,1954, p. 1.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

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665 classes were expected to attend school in the
874 evening.

The purpose of the ideological school is to train Party members, candidates for membership, and leaders of mass organizations. Located in Chungking, the Southwestern ideological school is under the joint control of the Southwest Party Bureau and the Chungking Municipal Party Committee. Together with its 108 branch schools, it trained some 80,000 people in 1952. Instructors are trained in two special schools, where they study such things as Party history, the Party Constitution, and Soviet works on economic reconstruction.[25]

H. Affiliated Party Organizations

668 The Party attempts to utilize the enthusiasm of youth through two organizations which, although not a part of the Party, are under its supervision: the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and its subordinate group, the Young Pioneers, for youths aged

25. New China Daily, Jan. 17, 1953, p. 1.

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of Communist Education

•876 Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in the school system and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are expedient in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction outlined in the first Five-Year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and the centralized publication of textbooks. In other words, every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure, the Communists have yet to achieve complete uniformity in education in comformity with the Party line, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation.

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People's Attitudes

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the

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876 Communists expect to teach the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism, "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses, Russian technique is singled out as the "advanced model" to be copied. This is particularly observable in institutions of higher learning in North China. Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed throughout the country. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or a potential enemy and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language classes, they defended their position by saying that Russian would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works into Chinese, but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[64] However,

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64. People's Education, Feb. 1952, p. 7.

876 they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

871 Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations. Lack of financial support for students causes preoccupation with means of livelihood when they should be studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of co-ordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although it is not clear if such practices are continuing in Southwest China, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking

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9 to 15. The Young Pioneers are subordinates of the Youth Corps, looking to the latter for leadership and guidance.

1. New Democratic Youth Corps

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The Party controls the NDYC through the Southwest China Working Committee of the corps. The constitution of the corps assures the Party of effective control.[26] It permits Party members to be in charge of corps above the county level, thus placing the direction of corps activities in the hands of the Party. The first function of the corps is to provide a reservoir of potential new Party members; for example, the corps contributed the highest number of new Party members during the 1952 membership drive.[27] Its second task is to supply needed activists in all organizations, particularly in the factories and rural communities. In Chungking, for example, corps units are maintained in all

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26. The Chinese text of the Constitution of the NDYC and Li Ch'ang's explanatory report in People's Daily, July 7, 1953, pp. 1, 3. English text in Current Background, No. 258, Sept. 10, 1953.

27. New China Daily, Nov. 3, 1952, p. 1; Oct. 11, 1952, p. 3.

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organizations.[28] The final task of the corps is to engage in the broadest possible range of activities in order to reach segments of society which have no Party organizations. In 1952, when Party organizations were small and relatively ineffective in the Southwest, the NDYC had 440,000 members. Thus, it paved the way for the sharp increase in Party membership that took place after that date.

The organization of the corps follows that of the Party. Prior to 1955, a Southwest China Working Committee of the NDYC was established to serve as the representative of the Central Committee of the NDYC. Local corps organizations on provincial, municipal, and county levels are empowered to establish representative committees in the administrative districts and ch'ü.

With the exception of those working committees on administrative-district and ch'ü levels, the constituent corps organizations rest upon a dual authority. Each level has

28. Ibid., Oct. 21, 1951, p. 3.

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883 a congress and a committee elected by it.
668 These committees are the executive organs of the corps and their component members are approved by the upper-level committee.

The corps branch, like the Party branch, is an essential link with the population as a whole. It may be formed in any factory, mine, enterprise, farm station, village, government agency, company of the armed forces, school, or street where there are three or more corps members. A general corps branch and corps committee can be formed, depending upon the size of the branch. These basic-level agencies of the corps serve to mobilize youth and the masses and also may take over Party functions where Party agencies are inadequate.

The New Democratic Youth Corps has at least 3,000,000 more members than the Party itself. However, it is not an organization with political power; it is rather the instrument through which the Party exercizes control over youth, and, more particularly, over youth organizations in the militia, the army, and the schools.

2. The Young Pioneers Chapter 7 of the constitution of the corps governs the

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883 668 relationship between the corps and the Young Pioneers.[29] The pioneers are completely subordinate to the corps and their regional influence is far less apparent. Earlier, the pioneers concentrated upon the promotion of patriotic fervor among the youth between the ages of nine and fifteen; since 1953 they have placed increasing emphasis on cultural education. In October 1952 there were 183,000 Young Pioneers in Southwest China. Since that time efforts have been made to acquire additional members in rural areas.[30] National membership now stands at 70 million, about 15 per cent of the youth in that age group.[31]

II. POLITICAL CONTROLS

668 The Party has consolidated its power by a network of controls not only over Party agencies but over all bureaucratic, military, public security, and mass organizations. The control is maintained by placing members of the Communist Party of China in key positions in all these organizations, by reserving all policy-making decisions to the Party, and

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29. Chinese text of the Regulations of the Young Pioneers, People's Daily, June 1, 1954, p. 2.

30. New China Daily, Oct. 7, 1952, p. 6.

31. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], March 14, 1955, p. 1.